

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XL 1972
PART III

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LIST OF OFFICERS

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- 1970 Mrs. JEAN E. O'DONNELL
 1971 Mr. H. J. POWELL
 1972 Mr. C. H. I. HOMES

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 1971 Mrs. JEAN O'DONNELL, Mr. J. G. HILLABY, Mrs. DIANA C. D.
 CURRIE, Mr. J. W. TONKIN
 1972 Mr. H. J. POWELL, Mrs. JEAN O'DONNELL, Mr. J. G. HILLABY,
 Mrs. DIANA C. D. CURRIE

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 Miss M. J. THOMAS, vice Mr. C. H. I. Homes (to retire April, 1973)
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 Mr. R. C. PERRY (to retire April, 1974)
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 Dr. W. H. D. WINCE (to retire April, 1975)

- | | | | |
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<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

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Hereford Road	Wigmore	Wigmore
Weobley	Leominster	Leominster
Hereford	HR6 9UD	HR6 9UD

Proceedings, 1972

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 15th January: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A., gave an illustrated talk on "The Foundation of the Bishop's Boroughs of Ross, Bromyard and Ledbury". Firstly, he considered the relative value and population of the three boroughs at c. 1285. This showed Ross to be only two-fifths of either Bromyard or Ledbury which were practically equal. By 1801 the population of Ross had grown 2½ times to that of Bromyard and Ledbury which had grown in proportion.

Secondly, he attempted to discover when these market towns were founded and why Ross lagged behind in the early days but expanded so much in the later period. To do this he used documentary evidence from the charter rolls and suggested that the three boroughs though not created by 1086, the time of the Domesday survey, were possibly founded between 1115-1127 during the bishoprics of Geoffrey de Clive and Richard de Capella. He suggested that Ross grew for about forty-five years whereas Bromyard and Ledbury grew for about 150 years and when the towns recovered from the Black Death Ross continued to expand much more than the other two.

SECOND MEETING: 12th February: Mrs. D. Currie, Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin, B.A., gave an illustrated talk on "The Buildings of the Grimsworth and Ewyas Lacy Hundreds". He explained that a survey of all houses built up to c. 1900 had been going on during the past two years as well as documentary work. In comparing the two hundreds he spoke about the use of local materials, the age and plan-types of the houses and the interior workmanship. From analysis of inventories some light was thrown on the social standing of the people who lived in them.

Members endorsed the committee's decision to protest against the amalgamation of Herefordshire and Worcestershire as Area 17.

THIRD MEETING: 5th March: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

Mr. P. Thomson, B.A., gave an illustrated talk on "Wild Orchid Habitats in Western Europe". Firstly, he described the structure of an orchid plant and flower and said that an orchid according to species takes from three to fifteen years to flower, and needs undisturbed ground and fungus to promote growth.

Secondly, he showed slides of a number of orchids flowering in their natural habitats in Lewis in the Outer Hebrides, the Cairngorms, the Pennines, the chalklands of the South Downs, the Central Massif and the Mediteranean Alps.

FOURTH MEETING: 25th March: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

Mr. P. A. Barker, M.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on "Rescue". He explained that Rescue was not concerned with standing buildings but with those which were buried and that money was needed for emergency excavations because so many monuments were being wholly or partly destroyed. He said that archaeological sites were being destroyed by extensive cultivation, the laying of gas and oil pipelines and the building of motorways.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 8th April: The President, Mr. H. J. Powell, in the chair.

The assistant secretary reported that the club now had 686 members.

The President after briefly reviewing the year's activities gave his address "Herefordshire Churches of the Gothic Revival". This is printed on pp. 304-311.

Mr. C. H. I. Homes was installed as President for 1972-73.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 29th April: LLANDOVERY AREA

The object of this field meeting was to visit the upper reaches of the river Towy where the Llyn Brianne Dam was recently constructed and the reservoir beginning to fill with water. It is a rock-filled dam, 300 ft. high, 900 ft. wide at the crest and 1,100 ft. wide at the bottom. Boulder clay for the core was brought from seven miles up the valley. The rockfill was quarried from behind the dam and from the excavations of the mountainside for the spillway which is being constructed of reinforced concrete. Large quantities of sand and gravel from Bodenham in Herefordshire have been used. A reservoir four miles long covering 500 acres with a capacity of 13½ million gallons of water will be formed for the use of the West Glamorganshire Water Board.

SECOND MEETING: 3rd June: LEDBURY

This meeting was a follow-up to the Presidential address given by Mr. J. G. Hillaby. See the club's *Transactions* Vol. XL (1970) pp. 13-27.

Members visited St. Michael's parish church and its related buildings, the Upper Hall (now the Grammar School), and viewed the Lower Hall and the Old Rectory. They walked down Church Lane where they examined the so-called King Edward VI Grammar School building of c. 1500, to the market place, the medieval 'Middle Town', but now High Street. The position of the original burgrave plots was noted together with the fine range of subsequent buildings of widely varying but yet mutually sympathetic styles. The reconstructed section of the Butcher's Row still standing behind Messrs. Boots was inspected before proceeding via St. Katherine's Hospital to Bye Street, the Bishop Street of the middle ages, a secondary market area now transferred to the cattle market.

THIRD MEETING: 24th June: WHITBOURNE AND TEDSTONE DELAMERE AREA

This meeting was a follow-up to two lectures one on the parish of Whitbourne by Mrs. P. Williams and the other on early hop-growing in Herefordshire by Mr. Inett Homes.

At Whitbourne school Mrs. Williams spoke about its history saying that it was founded in 1798. The present school was built in 1856, the annexe to it in 1875 and the school house in 1878. Walking around the village halts were made at Poplands, Meadow Green, Bradburns and Whitbourne Court, once a summer residence of the bishops of Hereford.

After a picnic lunch in the grounds of Whitbourne Court the party visited the Thrift Farm to see the mid-18th-century hopper-type hop-kilns. The party then divided into two groups. One group under the direction of Mr. Prosser visited the church at Clifton-on-Teme and the Norman churches at Upper Sapey and Tedstone Delamere.

The other group walked up the Sapey Dingle to the Norman church at Lower Sapey which has not been used since 1877. Close by the 17th-century Church House Farm with its 17th and 18th century farm buildings with evidence of hop-drying in them were seen. The group walked across fields to Winley to the 17th-century timber-framed and stone house with a hall and cross-wing and a 17th-century hop-kiln attached. The next stop was at Tipton Hall, a timber-framed farmhouse with a hall and two cross-wings and late 18th-century hop-kilns. The final stop at the end of the walk was at Tedstone Court to view the two round brick hop-kilns of c. 1850.

The whole party visited Upper Norton Farm to see two early 18th-century lath-and-plaster hopper-type hop-kilns and a stone cider-mill and press.

FOURTH MEETING: 20th July: BERKELEY AND SHARPNESS AREA

After coffee at the Beaufort Arms Hotel, Tintern, the party proceeded over the Severn Bridge and through Alveston and Thornbury to Berkeley where the castle was visited. The shell-keep dates from c. 1153 and the other buildings within the curtain wall are 14th-century. The 14th-century great hall has a magnificent timber roof, the screen is 16th century whilst the staircase is dated 1637. There is also a collection of portraits, tapestries, china, silver and furniture.

After a picnic lunch in the Chantry gardens the party divided into two groups. One group under the direction of Mr. Tonkin visited Wanswell Court, a 15th-century moated house of the Thorpe family which was enlarged in the early and late 16th century and re-windowed after the Restoration. The hall has a fine 15th-century roof.

The other group under the direction of Mr. Homes visited the docks at Sharpness where members saw the locks filling for ships to leave and enter. Walking around they saw soya flour being unloaded and scrap iron loaded.

The two groups then switched venues, Mr. Tonkin's group going to Sharpness and Mr. Homes taking his to Wanswell Court.

After tea the party visited the Jenner Museum in the house of Dr. Edward Jenner, 1749-1823, who discovered vaccination against small-pox. In the grounds of the Chantry members saw the hut in which he carried out his experiments.

At the church the president spoke about its history saying that the detached tower of 1753 was built on an earlier site. There is strong evidence that there

was probably a Norman church on the site of the present 13th, 14th and 15th-century building.

FIFTH MEETING: 17th August: CIRENCESTER AREA

After coffee at the Dog Inn, Over, the party proceeded to Cirencester. The first visit was to the recently excavated section of the Roman town wall where members were able to see two bastions. A short walk in the Abbey grounds was made to view the late 12th-century abbey gateway.

After lunch members walked to the Beeches Road site where excavations were being carried on. Mr. Alan McWhirr, the director, explained what Roman remains had been found. These included two town-houses with mosaic floors and bath suites. The mosaic floor with a hare in the centre has been removed and later will be on view at the Corinium Museum in the town where members saw a vast collection of Roman remains which have been found in the area.

Canon Hill welcomed members at the magnificent parish church which was largely rebuilt in the late 15th century. There are some fine side chapels, early brasses and monuments, and a 15th-century pulpit.

SIXTH MEETING: 9th September: MALVERN AREA

This was a geological field meeting led by Mr. Kendrick to study the rocks of the great Malvern fault and other associated faults. A number of exposures were examined.

SEVENTH MEETING: 16th September: BRILLEY AREA

The first visit was to the church at Michaelchurch-on-Arrow where the 15th-century screen and font, the baldachino over the altar, the tower and the church plate were viewed. At the Cwmma Farm members were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Joyce on behalf of the National Trust. The Cwmma is a mid-17th-century farmhouse with a two-storey hall and cross-wing and stairwell. The 18th-century kitchen has two bake-ovens. The outbuildings which are probably 16th century retain their painted joists.

Near Hergest the president pointed out the water meadows and explained how the early irrigation scheme worked. The last visit was to a water-mill on the river Arrow where the recently restored machinery and wheel were inspected as well as a late 18th-century corn-drying kiln in the same building.

NORFOLK VISIT: 10th to 15th July

Forty members travelled to Keswick Hall, Norwich, and on the way looked at the canal basin and the locks of the Grand Junction Canal at Stoke Bruerne, and the cathedral at Ely.

Next day visits were made to Norwich Cathedral, St. Benet's Abbey, Ranworth Church and the site of the Roman town of Venta Icenorum at Caister St. Edmunds.

On Wednesday members visited Kings Lynn, Castle Acre Priory, Oxborough Hall and Wymondham Church. In the evening Mrs. Miller gave an illustrated talk on Norwich.

On Thursday the party visited many places in Norwich, Coltishall Church and Blickling Hall. In the evening Mr. Cartwright gave a lecture on the geology, scenery and land use of Norfolk.

On Friday Blakeney Point Nature Reserve, Binham Priory, Walsingham and the Saxon cathedral of North Elmham were visited.

On the return journey stops were made at Peterborough Cathedral and Sulgrave Manor.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

F. C. MORGAN LECTURE: 7th October in the Town Hall: Mrs. D. Currie, Vice-President, in the chair.

Professor G. E. Aylmer gave a lecture on "Who was Ruling in Herefordshire from 1645 to 1661?". He explained what part various Herefordshire committees and families played during the Commonwealth period.

On behalf of the 140 members present Mr. Tonkin thanked Professor Aylmer for his talk. The club also expressed its thanks to Mr. and Miss Morgan for providing the tea. This is printed on pp. 373-387.

SECOND MEETING: 4th November: The President, Mr. I. Homes, in the chair.

Mrs. E. M. Shetliffe and Major-General R. C. Money presented the letters of William and Emma Money which were written between 1803 and 1843. William Money who lived at the Homme House, Much Marcle, married Emma Down of Coney Hatch in 1805. The letters written throughout their lifetimes paint a picture of the daily life of the times.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 9th December: The President, Mr. I. Homes, in the chair.

Officers for 1973-74 were elected.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the accounts for 1971. These are printed on p. 303.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick in explaining how the Woolhope Club was formed and how it got its name said that in 1851 changes were taking place; chairs of geology were being set up at the universities and material was coming back from abroad for identification. The railway era was beginning. Distinguished visitors such as Bentham from Kew Gardens and Professor Babington frequently came into the county and met the Rev. Purchas and others who discussed the formation of a club. In the Woolhope dome area where the Silurian system comes through the Old Red Sandstone Murchison was working on the classification of the rocks. It was a good area for both geologists and botanists. The quarries here and the railway cuttings which were being made provided useful exposures for the geologists. The area was also within easy reach of Hereford. Thus this area three miles by five miles and some 350 million years old gave its name to the Woolhope Club.

During 1972 the club purchased forty-five new chairs for use at meetings in the Woolhope room. The club is very grateful to the following members who donated chairs and also to those who wished to remain anonymous: Mr. and Mrs. Ainslie, Mrs. Barnett, Mr. R. E. Bailey, Mr. D. C. Bishop, Mrs. Braithwaite, Mr. and Mrs. Buckle, Miss Bulmer, Mr. H. W. Butcher, Mr. Cadbury, Mr. Charleton, Lord Croft, Miss E. P. Davies, Mr. Godfrey Davies, Miss Dunne, Mrs. Eagling, Mr. Ellis, Miss Frost, Miss Hipwell, Mrs. Howse, Mrs. Jenkins, Mr. J. E. Jones, Miss Kilgour, Dr. and Mrs. Langdale-Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd, Mr. Lloyd-Johnes, Mr. and Mrs. Mills, Preb. and Mrs. Moir, Air-Cdre and Mrs. Moore, Rev. and Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Paske, Mr. Peabody, Mrs. Peters, Mr. Preece, Mr. and Mrs. Rimmer, Lord Rennell, Mr. and Mrs. Sandford, Mr. Shaw, Mrs. Shetliffe, Mr. Sprackling, Miss Spurway, Hon. Mrs. Talbot Rice, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. N. Walker and Mrs. Whiting.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB

Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December 1971

1970				1970			
RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
£		£	£	£		£	£
	Balances: 1st January 1971						
	Cash at Bank:						
682	Current Account ...	916.52		19	Insurance ...	19.48	
2,872	General Deposit Account ...	2,645.52		1,596	Printing and Binding Transactions ...	275.40	
255	Marshall Fund ...	272.51		123	Printing and Stationery ...	95.08	
117	Herefordshire Flora ...	123.39		84	Postage and Telephone ...	71.06	
—	Hereford City Excavations ...	429.93		35	Purchase of Chalkboard ...	—	
—	Archaeological Research Group ...	21.11		31	Subscriptions and Donations ...	29.37	
				21	Expenses of Meetings ...	11.79	
				11	Excavation Expenses ...	532.21	
				32	Archaeological Group Expenses ...	6.03	
				5	Sundry Expenses ...	9.63	
2	Cash in hand ...	—		40	Honoraria to Assistants ...	75.00	
—	Less Due to Secretary ...	3.29		—	Expenses of Covenant Scheme ...	41.12	
			4,405.69				1,166.17
	West Midland Trustee Savings Bank				Balances: 31st December 1971		
	Archaeological Research Group				Cash at Bank:		
27	Balance brought in ...	—		917	Current Accounts ...	1,255.31	
397	Grants ...	—	900.00	2,646	General Deposit Account ...	3,676.28	
	Interest on Investments			273	Marshall Fund ...	291.72	
33	3½% War Stock ...	32.64		—	Excavations Account (Ministry) ...	110.50	
80	Herefordshire County Council Loan ...	62.60		123	Herefordshire Flora ...	128.20	
212	Bank Deposit Interest ...	165.01		430	Hereford City Excavations ...	448.25	
	Subscriptions			21	Archaeological Research Group ...	26.35	
862	General ...	900.47					
26	Archaeological Group ...	10.02		6,407		5,936.61	
	Bequest ...	25.00		3	Less Due to Secretary ...	1.97	
252	Sales of Offprints etc. (Net) ...	269.11					5,934.64
44	Income Tax Refunds ...	282.71		6,404			
116	Field Meetings (Net) ...	47.56					£7,100.81
427	Hereford City Excavations			£6,404			
	Committee ...	—					
			1,795.12				
£6,404			£7,100.81				

NOTE: The Club owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and £1,040 Herefordshire County Council Loan Stock.

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.

20th April 1972.

Presidential Address

Herefordshire Churches of the Gothic Revival

By H. J. POWELL

LESS than half a century ago Victorian Gothic architecture was held up to ridicule and the Victorians, in reusing Gothic forms, have been accused of failing to design in the media of the age in which they lived. Instead it was said that they revived past styles and copied medieval work from the examples around them. But can the great mass of Victorian Gothic to be seen in public buildings and particularly churches up and down the country ever be seen as mere copies of earlier prototypes? The Victorians, in adopting the pointed arch, certainly produced churches which were undoubtedly of their own time.

There was after all a very good economical reason for adopting Gothic forms. It was found that the pointed arch was cheaper to construct over large spans than classical forms of post and lintol which required large blocks of stone. The mass of the English churches was built in the Gothic style and church people felt more at home with this style. Once started, the style for churches was fostered and encouraged by the Cambridge Camden Society, a body that was formed in 1839.

Sir Gilbert Scott, that great champion of the revival, took it for granted that Gothic should be revived. He is recorded as saying that like the dove it found no fit resting place 'and retired for a time, leaving behind the monumental creations to be taken as models in some distant but happier age'. Now that the age had come, what variety of Gothic should be adopted? In Herefordshire the medieval style had never really died and Gothic-type churches such as Norton Canon, Whitney-on-Wye and Monnington were erected during the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1798 James Wyatt was at work at Hereford Cathedral and there is the Strawberry Hill Gothic church at Shobdon.

At first and prior to about 1850 some churches were built in so called Early English or Perpendicular forms. These churches were generally hard and mechanical and the detail poor. Early in the 19th century public attention had been drawn to the lack of churches in the larger cities and towns and this culminated in Parliament passing the Church Building Act. This Act had no direct effect on Herefordshire but nevertheless the need for new churches was felt even in growing country towns and the influence of the Commissioners Churches, as they were called, was shown in some new churches built in Herefordshire. Examples can be seen at Callow (1830), Much Birch (1837) (PL. I), Hereford St. Nicholas (1842), St. Martins (1845). Better examples can be found at Yazor (1843) and Huntington, Holmer (1850) (PL. II). The last example is built on the foundations of the former Norman church and is really very good.

Although many of the new churches were built in Gothic forms, the plans in many cases were not medieval and no true understanding of the churches' requirements appears to have been in the minds of the church builders. This state of affairs was recognized by certain people who thought that the English rite required long chancels, choir stalls, fonts and altars raised on steps exactly in the old way. As a result of this there arose the Cambridge Camden Society which in 1839 was formed by two young undergraduates from Cambridge for the study of Gothic architecture and the restoration of mutilated remains. Resulting from this study, Symbolism became an important doctrine in the design of churches and furthermore it was decreed by the Ecclesiologists that the 'Decorated' style or 'Second Pointed' was the only true Gothic style. It was hoped that, having assimilated Decorated, the architects would be able to progress to a new and even finer kind of Gothic, not like English Perpendicular or continental Flamboyant, but something that would exceed even the splendour of Early Decorated as much as Early Decorated exceeded Perpendicular.

Because of these doctrines an incalculable amount of harm was done to old churches in the attempt to make them correct in architecture and truly symbolic. Genuine old work was sometimes destroyed to make room for more symbolic features. East windows of three lights were inserted in place of original windows of five lights and octagonal fonts substituted for ancient specimens that did not symbolize re-generation. These theories were carried to absurd lengths and there are still some who will explain that a chancel out of line with the nave symbolized the inclination of Our Lord's head on the cross. The clergy were carried away with enthusiasm and the architects had to follow whether they agreed or not. Herefordshire, although a remote county, did not escape from these theories and in fact much of the work carried out between 1850-1880 is directly influenced by them, e.g. Tedstone Wafre (1873) (PL. III).

It is also necessary to remember the part played by the railways in church building and restoration in the 19th century. In medieval times communications and roads were bad and it was the custom to use local materials for building which meant that for Herefordshire red sandstone was generally used except in the areas where the local stone was limestone. Oak was the common timber for roofs and furnishings and stone tiles for covering the roofs. With the coming of the railways no such inhibitions were necessary, if local stone was used for walling, Bath stone was pre-eminent for all carved work, bases, capitals and all dressed stonework, being cheap and easily worked. Oak was not now plentiful but what was more suitable than some nice pitch pine suitably stained and varnished. Quite a few churches retained their stone tiles but when an alternative was required clay tiles and slates from North Wales and Pembrokeshire were easy to obtain and comparatively cheap. The thought that some of these materials were out of character in Herefordshire never seemed to have occurred to anyone, e.g. Tedstone Wafre (1873) (PL. III).

Another influence that started about the middle of the 19th century was the building of brick churches by the architect William Butterfield who lived from

1814-1900. His first church was built in 1844 but his first famous church was All Saints', Margaret Street. This church was built in many coloured bricks, a style that he called constructive colouration and soon became very common. There were also different coloured marbles and granites and paintings on the vaults. The Ecclesiologists became very interested in this and in 1850 said, 'We are everyday more and more convinced that this is one of the problems which the revived pointed architecture of the 19th century will have to sort out if it means to vindicate itself and become a living and growing style'. Foreign influence also encouraged the use of bands of coloured bricks in the walls and the voussoirs of arches were treated after the same fashion. Mercifully there are no real examples of this sort of architecture in Herefordshire but the influence can be seen inside St. Paul's Church, Tupsley where the walls are built in different coloured bricks. Also about this time architects began to travel abroad and sketch examples of Gothic architecture in France. This led to a different type of capital sometimes with a square abacus and a single cylindrical shaft instead of a clustered pillar. This influence can be seen in many Herefordshire churches and it also helped to reduce costs. Herefordshire's prime example of foreign influence in church architecture is the church at Hoarwithy.

This work was carried out by J. P. Seddon and consisted of encasing and embellishing a church of 1843 which apparently was a 'neat Brick Building'. Seddon, who practised mainly in South Wales and the West Country, was a diligent student of medieval architecture and developed a style of his own which was influenced by his love and study of Venetian Gothic.

At Hoarwithy, which was still incomplete in 1885, he chose a South Italian Romanesque style, and whilst not strictly a Gothic Revival church it is nevertheless interesting and instructive of the way foreign architecture influenced Victorian buildings in form and decoration.

Sir Gilbert Scott, the best known of all the Victorian Gothic architects, died in 1878 and in his *Recollections* written shortly before his death he has the following to say of the Gothic Revival. 'The Revivalists began without premeditation; reproduction ripened into revival, first for ecclesiastical, then for general use. Then they began to flatter themselves that they would supplant Classicism; then they began to entertain a religious horror of Classic'. The trace of the courses of the revival are outlined. First, free choice of style but this was seen to be inconsistent with an organized revival starting from where the best medieval work finished and Middle Pointed was fixed on and Norman and Perpendicular were shunned. Then there was a move back to Early Pointed which coincided with foreign influence. Then there was a reaction against this and against the excesses of the structural colouration theory of William Butterfield. Scott seemed to be disillusioned and said 'we are at sea again'.

He need not, however, have been despondent as some of the best Gothic work was to be done during the last quarter of the 19th century. There are many churches built during this period which are no better than their predecessors

but on the other hand some churches were built that are better than anything done before and free from the excesses and over ornamentation of the earlier churches. In fact a reaction had set in. The foreign Gothic craze which was connected with the adoption of an earlier style had come to an end. The architects who had been first to copy foreign examples—Pearson, Bodley and Street—were first to return to their native examples richer from their experiences. There was now no limitation of style and some of the excesses of ornament and sculpture were mercifully forgotten. The architects were now more interested in the question of how to build churches that should be suitable to present-day needs. Examples of this can be seen in churches of Herefordshire, such as Hope under-Dinmore (Kempson) and Aston Ingham (Nicholson). So far we have concentrated on the new churches but we must not overlook the restoration of the old churches many of which had been neglected and were in a poor condition. The Cambridge Camden Society had been formed for the study of Gothic architecture and the restoration of mutilated remains and it is probably due to the restoration more than the new churches that Victorian architects have such an evil reputation. Whether this is wholly justified is another matter and the position will be investigated before any final conclusion is reached. Restoration can be classified in three ways. It may simply be preservation, it may mean preservation with a certain amount of reconstruction or it may mean demolition and rebuilding. We will deal with these three ways and try and understand the problems of the Victorian architects. Firstly, preservation has always been carried out but it depends on the skill of the restorer as to the final result. If this type of work is carried out sympathetically it can be successful but most Victorian architects left their mark by using alien materials for their dressed stonework and stripped plaster from the internal walls in the mistaken belief that medieval church walls were bare stonework. When parts of the fabric have deteriorated too badly there are cases where rebuilding is necessary and this would have been even more so in Victorian times than today when we have better materials and equipment to deal with structural defects. On the other hand when rebuilding was done in an exemplary manner it is often unnoticed today and thought to be original work. This applies to the north wall of the chancel of Kington church which was rebuilt in 1873-74 but looks like the original work. A paper contributed by the late Mrs. W. H. Banks in *The Kington Parish Magazine* in 1905 has this to say of this work. 'At this restoration, the whole of the north wall of the Chancel, with its six old lancet windows was taken down as it had become much too curved to be safe and rebuilt; each stone of the old windows being numbered and replaced in its former position. The east wall was also repointed and recoped'. It should not be forgotten that some churches were in a dreadful condition as Docklow Church was before restoration by Thomas Nicholson, the architect, in 1891.

Plate IV shows the completed work.

I have also a copy of a report by Thomas Nicholson made in 1866 on the old church at Little Marcle which makes interesting reading and throws new light on the problems encountered at that time.

COPY OF NICHOLSON'S REPORT

'To the Rector, Churchwardens and Parishioners of Little Marcle.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with your instructions I have made a survey of the Parish Church of Little Marcle, and have acquainted myself with its state and condition, and beg to report that the fabric is greatly dilapidated. The West wall especially. This wall has given way at both quoins. It heaves over considerably from the perpendicular and the rents are so large on the North and South sides that I should be fearful it might further give way and fall at any time.

The North and South walls of the Nave are not so immediately dangerous, but the masonry of the windows is broken away, and likely to fall, and the walls themselves have spread outwards and are much weakened by settlements. There is no constructional Chancel and a very wretched modern window occupies the east end.

The roofs are covered with stone tiles in the worst possible state of dilapidation and decay, and the construction of the timbering is such—The rafters being so unusually far apart that it would not be possible to make a permanently weather proof roof without going to the expense of placing additional trussed rafters between the present ones.

The timbers supporting the Bell Turret are decayed at the ends and render the removal of the latter advisable. The internal walls and ceilings and the exterior walls of the portion considered as the Nave, are overspread with plaister, which tho' objectionable is absolutely necessary to conceal the cracks and keep the building dry, but which constantly requires renewing from increasing settlements and fissures breaking it away and causing it to become loose and fall.

The pewing is of the obsolete kind, very high and awkward and especially inconvenient, the flooring under is decaying, and the stone pavements are uneven, broken and damp.

The Porch is altogether past repair.

This being the condition of the church it would be impossible to restore it in the proverbial acceptance of the word. It would require rebuilding. This perhaps is the less to be regretted in an Ecclesiological sense, as it was only built upon its present site some century and a half ago—the ancient church having been destroyed about that time, and when this miserable construction was erected some of the old materials were re-employed.

I am, gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully,

(signed) Thomas Nicholson, F.R.I.B.A.
(Diocesan Architect)'

Hereford 15th May, 1866.

The demolition of defective work and the rebuilding, sometimes in a different style, is another matter but this sort of thing was encouraged by the Cambridge Camden Society if the original work was said to be in the wrong style and incorrect in their point of view. The architects argued that they could build good Gothic, had studied the purest examples and were they not men of upright and Catholic living? To remove post-Reformation work or 15th-century work and substitute work of the best period was their vocation.

Further extracts from the paper on Kington Church said 'The plaster ceiling of the Nave was removed. The lead was stripped from the roof and replaced by tiles. The timbers were found to be so decayed as to require entire removal'. 'Also the porch being found not to be exactly centre with any arch of the Nave was pulled down and rebuilt near the Tower'. All this work was carried out at the restoration of 1861. Some architects were ignorant of these matters as they are today and there was no central body in Victorian days to hold a watching brief. If they were reluctant to carry out certain works there is no doubt that they were goaded on by over enthusiastic incumbents and patrons to carry out wholesale rebuilding schemes.

Church restoration is specialist work and there are many architects today who know little or nothing about it. When we consider that the Victorians started from 'scratch' and also, that there were not enough architects to carry out all the work properly, or builders either, it is a wonder that they carried out all the work as well as they did. Of course, they made mistakes and pulled down buildings that we should restore but on the other hand they undoubtedly saved many churches that would otherwise have been lost. Although Herefordshire was somewhat remote from London in the 19th century, particularly some of the outlying districts, nevertheless at least fourteen London and nationally famous architects designed and restored churches in the county, and an examination of their work is of interest if only to compare it with work done by local architects at the same period. It will be found that in many cases famous architects have been employed through connections with a local patron or landed gentleman who has in some cases had the same architect working at his mansion. Such a case occurs at Bredenbury (1877) where the architect for the new church, T. H. Wyatt, was working at Bredenbury Court.

Sir Gilbert Scott working at Eastnor Church may have been engaged locally at the Castle and Bodley, of course, had local connections and, in fact, married a lady from Kinnersley Castle. He is buried in Kinnersley churchyard. He was probably the most interesting architect working in Herefordshire at that time. He became an international figure in the world of architecture and was responsible for Washington Cathedral as well as having an interest in Liverpool Anglican Cathedral. Llangrove church, built in 1854-56, was an early work which shows his hand in the south arcade which has no capitals. At Canon Frome where he rebuilt the church with the exception of the tower in 1860, the work is undistinguished but in the chancel at Burrington Church (1864) his influence can again be seen in the window corbels. Another new church of his at Ross (Hom

Green) does not come within the scope of this paper as it was erected in 1905-6. He also carried out restoration at Kingsland, Wigmore and at Kinnersley Church where he designed the organ case and decorated the walls of the church.

The Roman Catholic church at Broxwood (1863) was designed by R. C. Hansom, the brother of the inventor of the Hansom Cab who was also an architect. They were of a Roman Catholic family. Belmont Abbey (1854-82) was designed by Pugin and Pugin the successors of A. W. Pugin who also had joined the Roman Catholic Church although his best client was the Church of England.

What was the work of these London architects like and was it superior to the work of the local architects? There is no evidence to suggest that it was and in fact some of it was inferior to the work of completely unknown men. Scott's work is quite undistinguished with the possible exception of some of the work at Eastnor (1852) and in the case of Edwin Loach (1860) (PL. V) is downright ugly. Street at Monkland (1866) is satisfactory and of course Seddon is well-known for his interesting church at Hoarwithy (1885). He also built the attractive little church at Adforton (1875). He specialised in a style of his own based on Venetian Gothic but his church at Hoarwithy is Italian Romanesque and Adforton is normal Victorian Gothic.

Pritchard, a one time partner of Seddon, was responsible for only one new church in Herefordshire and that is the little church of Ganarew erected in 1849-50. Externally this church is very pleasing but like so many Victorian churches is disappointing internally and the roof is cluttered up with a system of iron tie bars. Welsh Bicknor, the work of a London architect named Rushforth in 1858-59, sits down below a wooded hill on the banks of the river Wye. It is a picturesque building but the use of a curious mixture of Norman and Early English detail suggests that Rushforth was what the late H. S. Goodhart Rendel called a 'rogue architect'. Stoke Prior church built in 1863 by G. Colley, a London architect, is a very ordinary building and could have been designed by almost anyone of the period.

Putley Church, a new church erected in 1875, is a rich Victorian structure by Thomas Blashill who was in partnership in 1862 and wrote a very interesting paper on Shobdon and Kilpeck Churches in 1871 which states the origins of the Herefordshire School of Sculpture as later propounded by Dr. Zarnecki. Yarkhill Church (1862) was by Ainslie and Blashill.

Blakemere is a very successful small church by Truefitt in 1877. He had been a pupil of the elder Cottingham, the architect responsible for the restoration of the Cathedral tower.

Many local architects from the county and surrounding districts worked in the diocese, most of them designing one or perhaps two churches. Some of their work is very good and equal if not excelling that of the London men. Such churches are found at Little Birch (1869) and the tower at Eye by W. Chick, Castle Frome (1860) by Martin Buckle, Stretton Sugwas (1877-80) by Cheiake, Llandinabo by Lloyd Oswald (1881), Lingen by Curzon (1891), and Huntington,

Holmer, by Cranstoun (PL. II). Hardwick church, erected in 1851, is quite attractive but who the architect was is a mystery.

Poor and unsightly churches were erected at Collington (1856), Bolstone (1877), and Ballingham (1884-5).

There were, however, two local architects who between them built at least sixteen new churches in Herefordshire. I refer, of course, to F. R. Kempson and Thomas Nicholson. The late Mr. W. H. Howse in his excellent book on Radnorshire is particularly scathing in his remarks on Thomas Nicholson, the Diocesan Architect, whom he calls the 'destroyer'. Having studied some of Thomas Nicholson's work, both new and restoration, I am of the opinion that he was by no means the worst of his contemporaries and certainly superior to F. R. Kempson who was working in the county at the same time. Two of Thomas Nicholson's early churches, Marstow (1855) and Staunton-on-Arrow (1856) (PL. VI) are quite pleasing to the eye and the tower at Staunton is a feature which was used at other churches by Nicholson outside Herefordshire. They are more in keeping than Frome's Hill Chapel by Kempson (1865). The pseudo-Norman church at Pencombe (1864-5) is also quite good of its type and the detail is infinitely preferable to Kempson's effort at Bishop's Frome in 1861. Kempson's new churches at Stoke Lacy (1863) and Tupsley (1864) show affinity in the broach spires. Tupsley is a pleasing church and probably one of his best but in my opinion does not compare with Nicholson's church at Hereford St. James. This church was badly damaged by fire after being erected in 1869, but was rebuilt by Nicholson and Hartree in 1902-3 to its original design.

In 1883 Kempson built the nave and aisles of Holy Trinity, Hereford, which was described by the late H. S. Goodhart Rendel as 'the dullest design I have ever seen—not worth describing'. The chancel was added in 1907 by Nicholson and Hartree. On the other hand Kempson's work at Hope-under-Dinmore in 1879-96 is much better and I think is amongst his best work and obviously influenced by the reaction that had set in. Thomas Nicholson's small church at Bartestree built in 1888 and Aston Ingham (1891) are both quite pleasing although the latter church is rather dark internally. They both harmonize with their surroundings. On the other hand Kempson's work at Coddington (1865), Dinedor (1867-68), Breinton (1866-70) and Bullinghope (1880) (PL. VII) is out of character either in whole or in part.

I hope that in the short time available to me, I have been able to convince you that there is more in the best Victorian work than the mere copying of medieval plans and details, and that the Gothic Revival churches of Herefordshire have at least lead the way to a better understanding of medieval Gothic and the more enlightened restorations of the present time.

A Discoidal Knife from Walford, Ross-on-Wye

By W. R. PYE

DURING the early part of 1971, F. Hall, Esq., 13 Woodedge Road, Ross-on-Wye, made the discovery at Cubberley, Walford, Ross-on-Wye, Hereford, of a discoidal knife, at present unique in Herefordshire, and indeed rare in Wales and the Marches.

The site, since developed for housing, is at SO 584227, and is at approximately 120 ft. above sea level. It is overlooked by Arbour Hill on its eastern side, and the slight rise of Hom Green on its south-west, while to the north the ground slopes gradually to the river Wye, some 650 yds. away.

Of rounded triangular form, the implement is 85 mms. long, 81.5 mms. wide, and is 18 mms. through its thickest point; it weighs 4½ ozs. The flint is a fresh, translucent brown, indicative of manufacture in the south-east. Made from a large flake, with a pronounced bulb of percussion, it is worked mainly around the outside of the flake with the polishing occurring on approximately one-third of the circumference, and that at right-angles to the main axis of the flint, along the broad side.

The other side is heavily worked, with deep, wide, flake scars evident. Around the edge this working becomes steeper, and in places is in keeping with scraper-type working. A large 'tranchet' type flake, at right-angles to the main axis of the flint gives a 'hollow ground' effect to the knife, which is highly polished between this flake and the edge of the implement, the polishing overlapping the tranchet flake at both ends only, partly levelling the flake scar. This is the only point at which any polishing occurs away from the periphery of the flake. A creamy-brown patination consistent with that of south-east Herefordshire occurs intermittently on the polished areas of the implement.

DISCUSSION

This implement does not readily fit into any of J. G. D. Clarke's four categories of discoidal knives.¹ Whilst it does retain 'the general plan of the scraper from which in all probability it descended', it also has the triangular form of type 2, and certain aspects of type 3. The 'tranchet' type flake at right-angles to the main axis of the flint, too, is rare, as is the lack of polishing on the flake scars away from the edge of the implement, and the non-smoothing of a very pronounced bulb of percussion.

Whilst only 119 had been found in the British Isles until 1929, four only of these knives have been found in Wales and its bordering counties to date (this being the fifth), and it must therefore be considered of relevance in any future appraisal of distribution and trading to the whole Welsh area.



FIG. 1

A DISCOIDAL KNIFE FROM WALFORD, ROSS-ON-WYE

The sites for the finds of these knives in Wales have been at Pentrefoelas, Denbighshire,² since lost, and Trefeglwys,³ Montgomeryshire (now in Welshpool Museum), both of which were referred to in Clarke's article. Two recent finds have, however, taken place at Capel Gwynfe, Llangadog, Carmarthenshire,⁴ and during excavations at Tooth Cave, Ilston, Gower.⁵

The main centres of these knives on the distribution maps are almost all in the eastern half of the country and south of the Jurassic Ridge, with the exception of the Derbyshire Peak district. Clarke's argument that the knives date from the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages, citing five cases, would appear to be borne out by more recent finds, and their numerical superiority in the east of the country possibly a reflection of the population demands.⁶

An early Bronze Age context for this knife too, would not be amiss; near the site, at Whitchurch, is the 'Queens Stone',⁷ a standing stone of Neo/Bronze date, while also in the parish of Whitchurch, Beaker pottery and Bronze Age occupation has been established, at Merlins Cave.⁸ King Arthur's Cave also had its Bronze Age occupation.⁹ Further afield in Herefordshire beakers occurred in the Olchon Cist burials,¹⁰ now in Hereford Museum.

Explaining the occurrence of the two Welsh discoidal knives in his definitive article, Clarke states 'these specimens must have come from the Peak District'. The map of L. F. Chitty and Cyril Fox of *Antiquities of the Bronze Age*¹¹ clearly shows a north/south trend along the Welsh borders, following the Severn valley through to the Cheshire plain, with little apparent eastern contact. To the west of this line, however, the major valleys seem to have been infiltrated, which together with coastal trade, explains the more southerly of the Welsh knives. From Shropshire an important route, of which the Clun-Clee ridgeway¹² forms

a part, is seen towards Anglesey and in all probability the Denbighshire knife is thus explained. It would seem therefore that the idea of the discoidal knife came into Wales and the border areas via the Cotswolds/Severn valley and coastal routes.

Trade with the south-east had of course been long since established, as can be shown through distribution maps of stone and flint axes, and indeed through the Severn/Cotswold group of long-barrows. Recent discoveries of the Throne Farm, Weobley,¹³ axe, the Radnor valley find by C. J. Dunn of a fragment of an axe from Buckinghamshire,¹⁴ and the scraper find by the writer, believed to be of a type of flint found in Lincolnshire,¹⁵ show trade contacts with the south-east.

Also of relevance are the disc-scrappers (from which discoidal knives may have originated) of the 'Knighton School Collection', found on the outskirts of Knighton, and since presented to the Radnorshire County Museum,¹⁶ Llandrindod Wells.

The knife is shortly to be returned to the finder.

In writing this article, I would like to thank the museum staff of Hereford City Library and Museum, through whose good offices I was able to see the implement, C. J. Dunn and C. H. Houlder for help with various references.

Since writing this article, I am indebted to Dr. H. N. Savory who has advised me that three discoidal knives have recently been recognised in a private collection from the Rhondda Valley.

FOOTNOTES

¹ 'Discoidal Polished Flint Knives—their Typology and Distribution', J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, VI, No. 5 (1929), 40-54.

² J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 340.

³ 'A Parochial Account of Trefeglwys', *Montgomeryshire Collect.*, 12 (1879), 25-27.

⁴ H. N. Savory, 'Prehistoric Carmarthenshire (Since 1935)', *Carmarthen Antiq.*, III pt. 2 (1960), 55.

⁵ J. C. Harvey, R. Morgan and D. P. Webley, 'Tooth Cave, Ilston, Gower, An Early Bronze Age Occupation', *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, 22 pt. III (1967), 279-280.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷ 'The Queen's Stone, Huntsham Meadow', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1933-5), 42.

⁸ C. W. Phillips, 'A Final Report on the Excavation of Merlin's Cave, Symond's Yat', University of Bristol—*Proceedings of the Spelaeological Society*, 4, No. 1, 25.

⁹ H. Taylor, '2nd Report on the Excavations at King Arthur's Cave', University of Bristol—*Proceedings of the Spelaeological Society*, pp. 59-84.

¹⁰ *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1932), 147.

¹¹ Sir Cyril Fox, *Personality of Britain*, Map 'C' by L. F. Chitty and Cyril Fox; see also L. F. Chitty and C. Fox, *Distribution of Beakers of the Early Bronze Age in Southern Britain* (1932), Plate III, also *Distribution of Flint Daggers of the Early Bronze Age in Britain*, Fig. 21, p. 47, which parallels the Discoidal Knife distribution.

¹² L. F. Chitty, 'The Clun-Clee Ridgeway—A Prehistoric Trackway Across South Shropshire', *Culture and Environment* (1963).

¹³ J. P. L. Norwood, 'Prehistoric Accessions to Hereford Museum', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVI (1959), 236. This is paralleled by an axe from Linton, Kent, and donated by B. Kennard to Maidstone Museum.

¹⁴ C. J. Dunn, 'Some Additions to Flints from the Radnor Basin', *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.*, XXXIV (1964), 21.

¹⁵ R. J. Jenkins, 'Flint Artefacts and Other Material Found in the Kington Area, 1956-57', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXV (1957). Scraper from Lee Nursery, Staunton-on-Arrow.

¹⁶ F. Noble, 'Archaeological Finds in the Knighton Area October 1954-July 1957', *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.*, XXVII (1957). Not mentioned specifically, but amongst those from Ffrydd Road.

Round Barrows in Herefordshire

By A. E. BROWN

WORK since the end of the last century has shown that the flint-knapping debris of Neolithic and Bronze Age people is a feature commonly met with in archaeological fieldwork in Herefordshire.¹ This note is an attempt to suggest that in addition to this a detailed search might well show that round barrows are in fact more plentiful in the county than might be expected from a casual glance at the Ordnance Survey map.

The mounds hitherto recorded which can reasonably be regarded as prehistoric barrows in Herefordshire are indeed few: a denuded pair on the west of the Malverns at Colwall² and an example at Walford noted at least as long ago as the 18th century.³ The great majority of mounds marked as "Tumulus" on the Ordnance map must be considered as mottes, both from their situation close to churches and farms and from their steep-sided and flat-topped appearance. This must be true for example of the mound at St. Weonards listed in the Royal Commission inventory as a barrow on the basis of Thomas Wright's excavation in 1855 and which has continued to be so described until very recently.⁴ Here its situation close to the church, its appearance and even the evidence of the excavator's published section⁵ combine to suggest a motte rather than a barrow. Other mounds can be regarded as natural formations (e.g. Buckton Park),⁶ the result of landscaping (e.g. Shobdon),⁷ of pond cleaning or quarrying (e.g. St. Margarets),⁸ as ruined buildings (e.g. Craswall)⁹ or as possibly connected with rabbit warrens (e.g. Orcop).¹⁰

Other mounds are more difficult to explain and recent destruction has so obliterated the evidence that field checking is impossible in many cases. A mound at Pen Twyn, Urishay, might have been a barrow to judge from brief notices which appeared about it in the 1930's;¹¹ a photograph in the writer's possession shows a low rather flat-topped mound about 3 ft. high carrying a stand of larch and pine. The profile does not suggest a barrow but since the mound has now been destroyed in the interests of agriculture the chance of further examination has gone. In the 1950's the series of mounds at Upper Chilstone, Madley, was still preserved in pasture.¹² They were much smaller than one would normally expect prehistoric barrows to be and required consideration in relation to the other earthworks in the area, including a remarkable circular enclosure about 64 ft. in diameter, but again the evidence has been largely destroyed by ploughing. The mound of uncertain status and date excavated in 1933 on Stockley Hill, Peterchurch,¹³ survived on rough land until the 1950's with its excavation trench still open but since then the area has been cleared, ploughed and put down to grass, involving the levelling of the mound which survives merely as a low rise somewhat stonier than the rest of the field.

In 1967 the writer noticed a group of low mounds in ploughed fields in the Arrow valley to the south of the Pembridge-Milton Cross road, just to the east of Rowe Ditch. Mound A, at SO 38256012, is circular, 106 ft. in diameter and 4 ft. high. Mound B to the east of it at SO 38506020 is 83 ft. across and 5 ft. high and Mound C at SO 38656028 is 79 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. high. All three have gently-rounded profiles and their size, appearance and the fact that they lie in a straight line strongly suggest a group of round barrows. This is supported by the presence on an R.A.F. vertical air photograph taken in 1959 of a dark semi-circular band around the southern half of Mound A, suggesting a ditch.¹⁴ Their general situation on a low-lying gravel spread not far from a river, recalls a pair of mounds by the river Lugg recorded at Kinsham by the Royal Commission in 1934.¹⁵ One at SO 36096400 is 120 ft. across and 7 ft. high (PL. VIII); the other at SO 35846410 is 100 ft. across and 4 ft. high. They are in pasture and therefore better preserved than the Pembridge examples; both have gently-rounded profiles. The suggestion that they are barrows receives support from the presence until very recently of a cup-marked stone nearby at SO 35956419 (PL. IX). It is sad to record that this fine stone has been removed during recent land improvement operations and deposited face downwards against the eastern hedge of the field at SO 36056419.¹⁶ The barrow at Walford already mentioned occupies a similar low-lying position some 700 yds. from the river Teme, and in this case it is possible that as at Pembridge and Kinsham more than one mound is involved. An earlier account speaks of two barrows on the right side of the road leading to Brampton Bryan; the surviving mound is on the left of the road, and it is possible therefore that two have been destroyed.¹⁷

All this suggests that the gravel spreads along the river valleys in Herefordshire might well repay detailed fieldwork in search of barrows. This suggestion receives support from finds made in recent years just outside the county boundaries but in the same river valleys as those discussed in this account. Mr. C. Dunn has located several barrows and abundant flint knapping debris in the Radnor basin, the valley of the Hindwell Brook, a tributary of the Lugg which it joins about half a mile to the west of the barrows at Kinsham.¹⁸ In the valley of the Teme at Bromfield in Shropshire excavations by Mr. S. C. Stanford and aerial photography have accounted for a dozen barrows in the space of a mile.¹⁹ It would not be particularly surprising therefore if detailed work involving the checking of field and place-names, aerial photography and ground survey produced worthwhile results in Herefordshire.²⁰

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- ⁵ T. Wright, 'Treago and the Large Tumulus at St. Weonards'. *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 3rd series, I (1855), 168-74. The account includes on p. 170 a view of the mound as it appeared in 1855, and a section drawing on p. 172.
- ⁶ At SO 393740. *R.C.H.M.*, III (1934), 29, (Buckton and Coxall 4). Their appearance suggests a glacial origin. Also P. Cross, 'Aspects of the Glacial Geomorphology of the Wigmore and Presteigne Districts', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1968), 202 and Map 2.
- ⁷ At SO 40156256. *R.C.H.M.*, III (1934) 182, (Shobdon 25). The mound lies in the grounds of Shobdon Court, between the garden terrace and the Swan Pool.
- ⁸ At SO 359338. *R.C.H.M.*, I (1931), 227, (St. Margarets 8). The mound stands close to a damp hollow, possibly a former pond. It might however be the result of quarrying; *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, Vol. for 1933-5, lxxxiv.
- ⁹ The barrow (SO 275382) described as lying near the Abbey Farm site at Craswall (*Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIII (1950), 115) might well be a ruined stone building, with a fragment of stone walling protruding from it and recent pottery scattered around. The barrows on Parc y Meirch (*ibid.* 116) could not (1967) be traced.
- ¹⁰ At about SO 464282. *R.C.H.M.*, I (1931), 52, (Much Dewchurch 12). The mound, which is very small (about 18 ft. across and 1 foot high), lies in the middle of a group of pillow mounds which in all probability represent a rabbit warren. In the 18th century part of Orcop Hill was called Conygar Hill (D. J. Coleman, 'Orcop--Aspects of Manorial Life', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1968), 359).
- ¹¹ At SO 31093705. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, Vol. for 1933-5, lxiii, lxxxiv, 57 and 62.
- ¹² At SO 400394. The earthworks are described but not illustrated in *R.C.H.M.*, I, (1931), 198, (Madley 25). The Royal Commission possess the investigator's field plan of the earthworks. One of the mounds and the circular enclosure are illustrated in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, Vol. for 1924-6 pl. 4 facing p. xxiii.
- ¹³ At SO 36283848. G. Marshall, 'Report on the Excavations of a Prehistoric Mound in the Parish of Peterchurch'. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, Vol. for 1933-5, 30-5.
- ¹⁴ RAF air photograph F2/58/RAF/2694 27 Jan 1959.
- ¹⁵ *R.C.H.M.*, Vol. III (1934), 101, (Kinsham 11 and 12). The cup-marked stone is also described, but not illustrated.
- ¹⁶ See C. J. Dunn and W. R. Pye, 'A cup marked boulder at the Llanerch Farm, Llanfihangel nant Melan, Radnorshire, and its Welsh context', *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.*, XXXVIII (1968), 61-5, for a discussion of similar stones from Wales.
- ¹⁷ 'Leintwardine, the site of Bravinium', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* (1874) 164. This refers to the existence of an MS account of the discovery in 1736 in one of the barrows of a 'vase like earthen vessel'. Camden's *Britannia* (ed. Gough, Vol. III, 1806 p. 78) has a reference to two barrows 'about a quarter of a mile' from Brandon, which quite probably relates to this group. One, opened in 1662, contained an urn and burnt bones.
- ¹⁸ C. J. Dunn, 'Flints from the Radnor Basin', *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.*, XXXIV (1964), 42-50; 'Further Archaeological Discoveries in the Radnor Basin', *ibid.* XXXV (1965), 10-21; 'Surface Finds from a Barrow and its immediate vicinity, near Walton, Rads', *ibid.* XXXVI (1966), 9-14.
- ¹⁹ Information from Mr. S. C. Stanford, January, 1968.
- ²⁰ For an earlier expression of this view see *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, XV (1952-4), 305.

Leintwardine—The East Gate

By S. C. STANFORD

FROM previous excavations it has been concluded that the Roman use of the Leintwardine village site (SO 405741) began with a civilian settlement in the first century A.D. but was followed by the construction of a large fort, probably a supply base, of 14 acres (5.47 hectares) over its timber-laced rampart. This was constructed later than c. A.D. 160 and remained in use well into the 4th century. The size of the enclosure (even excluding a southern annexe containing the bath-house) has always made its status problematical, and has encouraged the persistence of some support for a civilian status throughout. The writer's view that it was a military establishment rests mainly upon the following considerations:

1. The timber-laced rampart with multiple layering is matched precisely on the forts of Caersws, Coelbren and Forden Gaer. It was found too in what is believed to be a military context at Wall Town in south-east Shropshire.
2. The south-west and north-west angles of the fort are unusually faceted, but seemed to be similar in plan, as though dictated by military schemes rather than seeking the minimum enclosure of a civilian settlement.
3. A succession of ovens in the intervallum space within the north-west angle echoes a siting that is normal within forts.

Besides these arguments has to be set our failure to recover any positively military building plans and the sparsity of military material among the relatively few finds. These deficiencies need to be borne in mind whenever a future opportunity occurs for excavation within the "fort" interior. At the same time it is also possible to reconsider the fort hypothesis by seeking opportunities to test the conjectured symmetry of the east and west halves of the defences as set out in the 1968 report (these *Transactions*, XXXIX (1968), fig. 20). There, a break in the earthworks of the western rampart was conjectured to mark an original entrance and related in plan to an east-west road of three periods found in trench 5 between the rampart and High Street. If Leintwardine (Bravonium) of the timber-laced rampart was a fort this road would be the *via principalis* and should lead across the village to an East Gate just south of Church Street on the line of the east rampart.

An opportunity to check this idea arose in May 1972 when the writer was able to inspect briefly the foundation trenches for a new veterinary surgery in Church Street. This was at the time an unscheduled part of the Roman fort and we owe this valuable opportunity to the interest of the County Planning Authority and the Department of the Environment, and to the generous co-operation of the

owners, Messrs. R. S. Millard and J. Horlock, their builders Messrs. J. Cox, and surveyor Mr. B. Mear.

In general the east side of the Leintwardine fort is reasonably well defined by a scarp that runs from the north-east corner southwards past the east end of the church and across Church Street to the south-east angle. It is followed by a line of property boundaries part of which is shown on fig. 1 (based on a site plan kindly provided by Mr. Horlock). This rampart was timber-laced with sets of logs between layers of imported pale grey clay, the whole showing various amounts of iron staining and panning wherever previously excavated. In the builders' trenches marked by pecked lines on fig. 1 this distinctive iron-stained clay was exposed in section between A and B and between A and C. In the trenches to the south-east of these points the subsoil was browner showing that the rampart material was absent. Only in the extreme north-western corner of these excavations was the distinctly laminated clay-and-timber character of the rampart noticed and it seems clear that the original rampart structure was only present in this north-western corner at A on fig. 1. The iron-stained clay without strong horizontal formation seen to the east and south of A will be downwash from the rampart, similar in character to that found in front of the rampart in 1958-59. It appears therefore that the front of the original, Antonine, rampart lay just within the north-west corner of the new building, about 3 ft. east of the property boundary line that was formerly thought to define the approximate position of the rampart front. The coincidence is close enough to make it unnecessary to suggest a new plan for the fort or to alter any of the approximate dimensions and area given in the 1968 report.

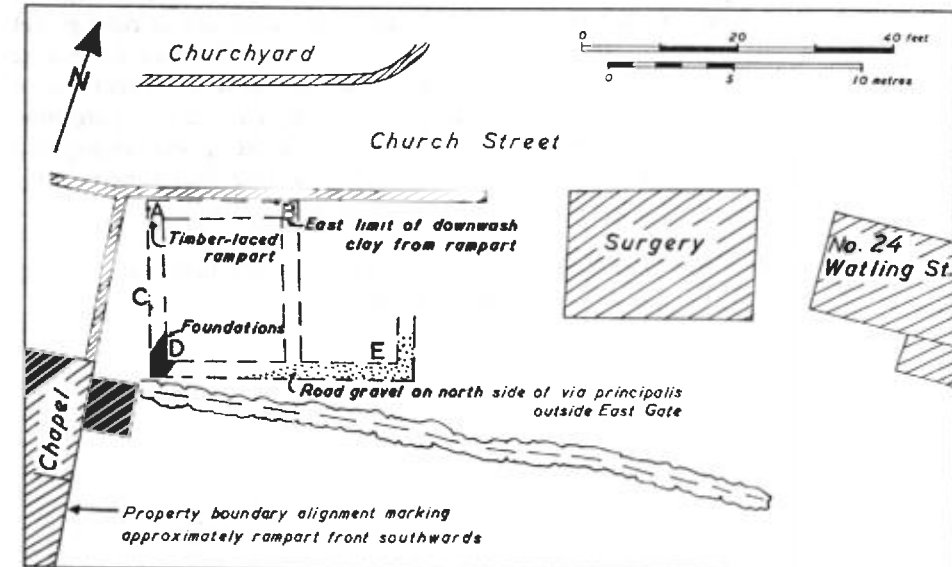


FIG. 1
LEINTWARDINE—THE EAST GATE

Not even the downwash clay from the rampart was found in the southernmost builders' trench between D and E but a deposit of gravel was noticed in the side and floor of this trench in the area shown on fig. 1. The absence of the rampart clay and the appearance of this gravel (presumably the edge of a road) is sufficient to indicate that this is the approximate position of the east entrance to the fort. The plotted edge of the gravel, trending north-eastwards rather than due east probably represents the spread of road material sideways once the road, which should parallel the east-west axis of the fort, was outside the confines of the gateway. If this edge is projected westwards it would cross the line of the rampart front just east of the chapel buildings and 28 ft. (8.4 m.) south of Church Street. This ought to be the approximate position then of the north jamb of the gateway. With this in mind it is significant that this point is also the approximate focus for a short line of wall foundations exposed in corner D. Like many of the Roman foundations north of the fort bath-house in Mill Street, these were composed of limestone slabs bedded in a matrix of pale grey clay. The matrix was noticeably clean, showing that the foundations were not put in at a late date through the overlying black garden soil. They will be Roman, although here laid horizontally rather than pitched as in the bath-house, and it is assumed that they represent a front rampart revetment that should be related to a gateway, since such a revetment has not been observed anywhere else on the rampart.

The position of the gateway as thus conjectured, 28 ft. south of Church Street, is very close to the position suggested in the 1968 report, where it was drawn 20 ft. south of Church Street. The coincidence is once again close enough to encourage the adoption of the 1968 plan and to relate the exposure of road gravel found by the surgery to the three gravel roads discovered in 1959 in trench 5 west of High Street. This support for an east-west road across the fort in this position between a west gate indicated by a break in earthworks, and an east gate now shown by both road and foundations, is of special interest in confirming the developing symmetry of the Leintwardine plan and the case therefore for this being regarded as a military establishment rather than a civilian one.

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The Niche in Medieval Churchyard Crosses

By B. J. MARPLES

MEDIEVAL churchyard crosses are commonly found in many parts of the country. A survey of them which is being attempted has already led to the locating of over thirteen hundred examples, and this is certainly less than the total number for the whole country. Somerset, with 175, is the county with the greatest number, while the south-eastern counties have few or none. Herefordshire is second, with 116. Special surveys of the crosses have been made in only a few of the counties, and Herefordshire is fortunate in having one of the most recent of these. This was the work of Watkins, issued by the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club in 1930, and it is illustrated with photographs of every cross.

The basic pattern of one of these medieval crosses consists of a set of steps, usually square, on top of which is placed a block, the base or socket stone, which supports the shaft. The shaft is a tall, slender, monolith carrying the head. This is usually not of cruciform shape but is of tabernacle form with sculptures of the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin and other figures. At the Reformation the destruction of crosses was ordered, and so very few heads remain at the present time.

Though this is the general pattern of crosses in all districts except the south-west, when one comes to examine the details it appears that considerable variation exists. Sometimes adjacent crosses are very similar and were presumably made by the same person, or at least one is copied from the other. An example of this in Herefordshire is afforded by the crosses at Mordiford and Hampton Bishop, which are described below. More interesting is the fact that different districts may tend to have their own particular type of cross. Watkins drew attention to a very clear case of this in Herefordshire in the presence of a niche in the base of the cross. The present account is an attempt to extend further the observations of Watkins on this topic.

The niche with which we are concerned is a small recess cut in the base of the cross, usually on its western face and sometimes provided with a canopy or other elaboration. Watkins observed thirty-nine of these niches in Herefordshire crosses and says that they are "a practically unknown feature in most districts". It seemed worth while to find out if possible whether there were niches outside the county, perhaps in the diocese of Hereford, which in medieval times included southern Shropshire and extended a little further east than it does at present. The majority of the crosses in the adjacent counties, as well as in Herefordshire, were visited, and eleven additional niches were found, most of them close to the Herefordshire border. Though there is one anomalous outlier in Berkshire, which will be described later, it is clear that the practise of having a niche in the base

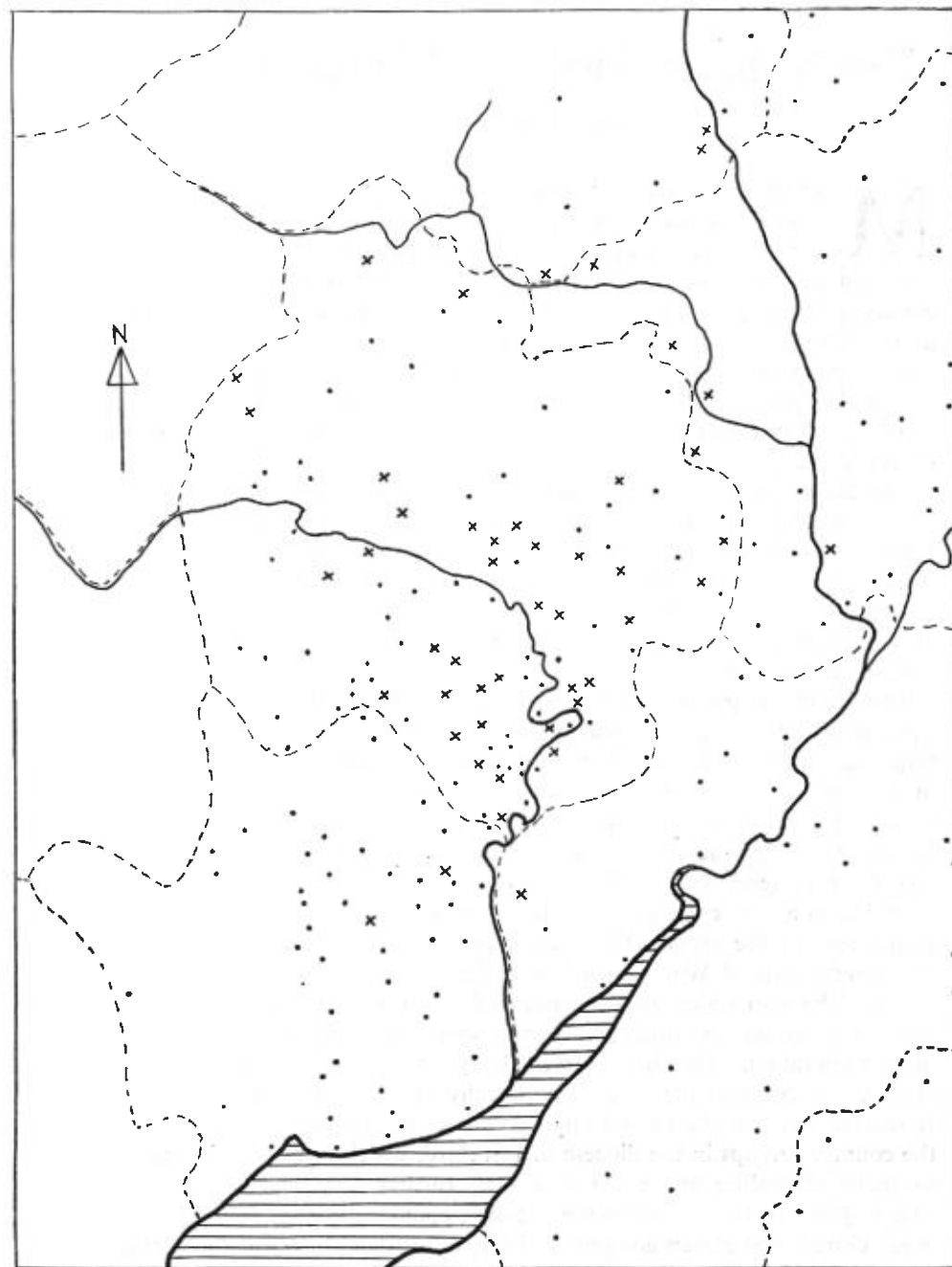


FIG. 1

THE NICHE IN MEDIEVAL CHURCHYARD CROSSES

Sketch map showing the approximate positions of the medieval crosses in Herefordshire and parts of the adjacent counties. The ones which have a niche are marked by a cross. Only one niche is known outside this area, in Berkshire.

of the cross is one belonging to the area centred on Hereford, though not strictly confined to that diocese. The numbers found in the counties are as follows: Herefordshire 37; Worcestershire 5; Shropshire 3; Monmouthshire 2; Gloucestershire 1; Berkshire 1. Some may have been overlooked and information would be welcomed by the author.

The niche usually is a rectangular recess, taller than wide, with its upper end rounded, pointed or ogee in shape, the numbers recorded for each being 4, 25 and 8 respectively. Owing to wear and weathering of the stone it is not always clear which is the precise shape. In 10 examples the top of the niche has a pair of cusps, and in 4 the edges of the opening are chamfered off. Four examples have the spandrels beside the pointed top slightly indented. One cross, that at St. Weonards (Hereford), has the niche shallowly recessed below the surface of the base, but in 12 others the margin of the opening projects strongly in front of the surface. Five of these have the projecting margin finished at the top by a gabled roof with eaves and a cylindrical ridge. In 3 others the canopy is finished at the top with a crocketed pinnacle in relief, flanked on each side by a smaller one. The most elaborate of all the niches is that at Highley (Shropshire). Here the raised margin has large crockets up the sides and a crocketed pinnacle at the top, all in relief. The base here is more or less cubical and is most unusual in having a large cable moulding round the top and a human head carved at each corner. It is interesting that very similar bases exist a few miles away at the churches of Albrighton and Donington, but neither of these possesses a niche.

At Raglan (Monmouth) the base is unusual in having relief decorations, shields and recessed panels, on all its sides. It has a niche which is unique in being wider than it is high, 7 by 8½ ins., and it is on the north face of the base. The base, however, may have been moved during restorations.

The niche is usually placed in the face of the base with its floor a few inches above the top step, but 12 of them have no floor and extend right down to the step. At Bredwardine (Hereford) and Westhide (Hereford) there are niches, or recesses, in the base which are widely open at the top. This opening seems to be original and not, as sometimes happens, due to weathering. At Knighton on Teme (Worcester), where there is an ordinary niche, a similar recess widely open at the top occurs in a corner of the base. It seems possible that these three recesses were not part of the original design of the cross but were added later for some function other than that fulfilled by the ordinary niche. This is supported by the fact that at Westhide the recess is not symmetrically placed with respect to the shaft and so looks like an addition, and at Bredwardine the dimensions of the recess are not symmetrical while the socket hole and the mouldings on the base are very cleanly cut. At Bishops Lydeard (Somerset) one of the crosses has three octagonal steps and in the middle one there is a recess. It has a rounded interior, is open at the top and is 11 ins. wide and 12 ins. deep. It is not centrally placed in one of the faces of the octagon and so again seems to be a later addition to the design. Pooley (1877) suggests that it has been cut out "to admit of kneeling, and the presentation of offerings", but

it seems very ill adapted for either of these functions. Another suggestion as to the function of these recesses is that they were intended to contain a light.

What seems to be an unique structure is to be seen at Kinlet (Shropshire). This has been restored as a war memorial and now has a modern monolithic cross on top. Here the base is raised, not on steps, but on a square building having a roof with a gable over each face. Each face of the building has a large recess, and in the western one, which is the deepest, is a niche of the usual kind. There is also a smaller one up above, under the point of the gable. Though this structure is so different from the usual cross, the niche is similar in size and position to the normal ones and so may have fulfilled the same function.

It seems doubtful if the niche at Tretire (Hereford) should be included with the others. It is only 1 in. deep, is surrounded by a curious pattern of ridges and has above it a gabled roof. Watkins records that this cross was once a sundial and though it has since been restored as a war memorial the base appears to be old and so the niche may be original. At Cradley (Hereford) and Much Dewchurch (Hereford) there are brass plates let into the bases, but these do not seem to be covering niches.

There has been some discussion as to the function of the niche. Pooley (1868), describing the cross at Newland (Gloucester), says that it was probably used as a reliquary or a receptacle for the Pix, when a service was being celebrated. Vallance says that it has been suggested that the niche was to contain a light, but it was much more likely that it was to contain the Pix on Palm Sunday. The crosses clearly played an important part in the Palm Sunday processions, and so probably existed in every churchyard. Vallance quotes the Constitutions issued in 1229 by the Bishop of Worcester ordering that there should be, throughout the diocese "*crus decens et honesta, vel in cimiterio erecta, ad quam fiet processio ipso die Palmarum, nisi in alio loco consuevit fieri.*" Watkins says that the niche has been called the Paschal niche, and he quotes an account of the Palm Sunday rite, including a procession to various Stations, which indicates that the usage might vary in different dioceses. The Hereford Processional unfortunately has not survived. Thurston explains that the liturgy for Palm Sunday re-enacted the story of the entry into Jerusalem, and says that "of very early date was the use of the book of the holy Gospels, which was solemnly carried in a sort of shrine called a portatorium as a symbol of Jesus Christ Himself. In this country, however, the almost universal practise seems to have been to unveil the processional cross or crucifix and to supplement this with a feretory (a portable bier or shrine) containing both relics and the Blessed Sacrament, the last mentioned detail being tracable to the time of Lanfranc". He goes on to say, "Simon, Abbot of St. Albans in the twelfth century presented the monastery with *unum vas mirificum*, which seems to have been a kind of monstrance, expressly for carrying the Blessed Sacrament on this occasion". The present day monstrance, with its large radiating form, is of later date, and in medieval times a small pix was used for containing the Sacrament. Watkins says, "I doubt

if the relics at Hereford would go into so small a niche and most country churches probably had no movable relics, only those seated on the altar stone. But all had the Host, and the Pix, dovelike or of whatever form, would take but little room. Would not its chain hang round the cross".

In view of these speculations about its use, special attention was given to the dimensions of the niche, and the measurements are included in the descriptions. The average height and width of the niches are about 13 and 7 ins., the upper and lower limits of each being 20 to 5½ ins., and 12½ to 4 ins. The depth is a more critical dimension and its average is about 4 ins., with limits of 7 to 1 in. Ten of the niches are only 3 ins. or less in depth, and the smallest, at Sutton St. Nicholas (Hereford), measures 5½ ins. high, 4 ins. wide and 3 ins. deep. At Raglan (Monmouth) the floor of the niche has a strong slope outwards. One does not have knowledge of the size and shape of the pix, but it can hardly have been less than several inches across. For putting down an object of this size, which must not be allowed to fall, the niche appears to be most impractical. It is possible, however, as Watkins suggests, that the chain was passed round the shaft of the cross, and so the pix was suspended in the niche. Even so it is difficult to see how this could be accomplished in a convenient and decorous manner when the Palm Sunday procession halted at the cross.

The only example of which I am aware of a niche not in Herefordshire or adjacent to it is to be found at East Hagbourne in Berkshire. It is also the only one which is not in a churchyard. The niche, which is 12 by 12 ins. and 3 ins. deep, is situated in a large extension to one side of the base. A similar arrangement is found elsewhere only at Weobley (Hereford). The East Hagbourne cross is also unique in having a second niche, situated in the shaft. It has a pointed top and measures 10 by 3 ins. and is 2 ins. deep. One other niche in a shaft is known, that at Great Malvern (Worcester). This has a pointed top with cusps and a plain canopy, and measures 24 by 6½ ins. and is 2 ins. deep. In this connection the existence of the small upper niche in the curious basal structure at Kinlet (Shropshire) may be recalled.

The niche in the shaft at Great Malvern contains at present part of a broken slab of stone which does not fit properly and may have been inserted later. This does, however, suggest that these niches may have been designed to accommodate a carved, or even a painted, figure. Such is actually seen at Holford (Somerset) where a rectangular slot in the shaft, 4½ ins. wide, provides attachment for a carved figure. One or more carved figures on the shaft are a local style of decoration of crosses in Somerset and Dorset, seldom found elsewhere. They are usually carved out of the stone from which the shaft is made, not attached to it.

If the niches in the shaft originally contained carved or painted figures one wonders whether the niches in the base might not have done the same. If so it is not surprising that no traces survive, as they would have been the first thing to attract the attention of vandals of the Reformation or later times.

DESCRIPTIONS OF CROSSES WITH NICHES

Below are listed the crosses which have niches, grouped according to county. Unless otherwise stated all the crosses are in churchyards and the niche is in the western face of the base. A brief description of the whole cross is included as so many are in danger of disintegration owing to overgrowth by ivy and even shrubs. It is to be hoped that incumbents will prevent the loss of their cross by keeping these cut back, even if consolidation of the weathered stonework cannot be undertaken.

The parts of the cross which are mentioned here are the steps, the base, the shaft and the head, and certain descriptive terms are used. The base commonly has a square section below and an octagonal one above, and this is expressed as "base 4-8". The corners of the square are chamfered off to make the octagon. What is here called the "chamfer" is the transition between the two, and it may be a horizontal or inclined plane surface, or it may be drawn up into a pointed or a rounded shape. When a horizontal edge is cut away this is referred to as a "bevel".

BERKSHIRE

East Hagbourne. The upper cross. At a road junction not far from the church but well outside the churchyard. Five square steps, base and shaft. The base is extremely worn, at least 6 ins. has gone from the top, but it seems to be 4-8 with pointed chamfers. The west side has a large extension in which is the niche. Its top has been worn away but seems to have been pointed. Height about 12 ins., width 12 ins., depth 3 ins. In the shaft is another niche, with a pointed top. Height 10 ins., width 3 ins., depth 2 ins. This cross seems to be unique in having two niches. Elsewhere a niche in the shaft occurs at Great Malvern (Worcester).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Newland. The cross was rebuilt in 1864 evidently copying the old one as the old base remains alongside. The base is 4-8 with rounded chamfers. Width 37 ins. and height (of the new base) 29 ins. The niche has a pointed top with cusps, and in the new base has no floor, extending down to the top step. Height (of the new niche) 17½ ins., width 8 ins., depth 7 ins.

HEREFORDSHIRE

Blakemere. Four square steps, base and shaft with new head. The base is 4-8 with horizontal grooved chamfers. Width 26 ins., height 23 ins. The niche has an ogee top with cusps. Height 9½ ins., width 5½ ins., depth 3½ ins.

Brampton Abbots. Three square steps and base. The upper part of the base, the shaft and the head are new. The base is 4-8 with sloping grooved chamfers. Width 30 ins., height 23½ ins. The niche is plain with an ogee top. Height 15 ins., width 6½ ins., depth 4½ ins.

Bredwardine. Base only. Octagonal reduced to a smaller octagon by a complex moulding. Face of the octagon at the bottom 16 ins., at the top 12 ins., height 14 ins. There is a square recess, open at the top, in the north side. It is

probably not a niche and is not symmetrically cut. Height 8½ ins., width 7 to 8 ins., depth at the bottom 7 to 8 ins., at the top 3½ to 4 ins.

Brockhampton. Three square steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is 4-8 with grooved chamfers. Width 28 ins., height 25 ins. The niche has a plain pointed top. Height 9½ ins., width 6 ins., depth 4½ ins.

Burghill. Four square steps and base, with new shaft and head. The base is 4-8 with grooved chamfers near the top. Width 32½ ins., height 21 ins. The niche has a pointed top with large cusps. Height 18 ins., width 9 ins., depth 5 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Callow. The base of the cross has been cut down into a pear-shape to form the bowl of the font, but most of the niche remains. It probably had an ogee top with large cusps. Height 9½ ins., width 5½ ins., depth at least 3 ins.

Coddington. A plinth and two square steps, base and shaft whose top is new. The base is square reduced by a slightly concave bevel. Width 26 ins., height 21 ins. Around the niche is a projecting rim about 3 ins. wide extending the full height of the base, with a pointed top. The niche itself has a pointed top with cusps whose faces are slightly recessed. Height 18 ins., width 6½ ins., depth 6 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Colwall. Three square steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is 4-8 with concave sloping chamfers with a bar above. The niche has a bluntly pointed top with a canopy above. This has a large crocketed pinnacle in the middle and a small one on each side. Height 14½ ins., width 7½ ins., depth 5 ins.

Dewsall. Two square steps and base. The base is square with the top edges bevelled off. Width 27 ins., height 20 ins. The niche has a rounded top. Height 9½ ins., width 6½ ins., depth 4 ins.

Hampton Bishop. Three octagonal steps, base and shaft, new head. The base is square reduced by a bevel to a smaller square, and then to an octagon by rounded chamfers each having a diagonal ridge. Width 35 ins., height 26 ins. The bottom of the niche is flush with the wide part of the base and so above the bevel it projects and is crowned by a gabled roof, with eaves and a cylindrical ridge. The niche itself has a pointed top. Height 20 ins., width 8½ ins., depth 5½ ins. This cross closely resembles that at Mordiford.

Holmer. Four square steps and base, with new shaft and head. The base is 4-8 with a large ballflower at each corner. Width 28 ins., height 19 ins. The niche, which is the east face, has chamfered edges and an ogee top with large cusps. Height 14 ins., width 8 ins., depth 4 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

How Caple. Base and stump of shaft. The base is 4-8 with pointed chamfers and a large bevel at the top. Width 25 ins., height 21 ins. The niche has an ogee top. Height 15 ins., width 7 ins., depth 4 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Kenderchurch. One square step and base, with new shaft and head. The base is 4-8 with rounded chamfers. Width 32 ins., height 13 ins. The niche, which is in the south face, has a pointed top. Height 8 ins., width 5 ins., depth 2½ ins.

Kington. Two octagonal steps probably new, base and stump of shaft. The base is 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers. Width 30 ins., height 18 ins. The niche, which has an ogee top, has a rim 2 ins. wide all round, projecting 1 in. Height 12½ ins., width 5½ ins., depth 5 ins.

Knill. Three square steps, perhaps new, base, new shaft and original head. The base is 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers. Width 25 ins., height 16 ins. The niche has a pointed top with cusps. Height 15 ins., width 6 ins., depth 3 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Little Dewchurch. Three square steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is square, bevelled at the top. Width 28 ins., height 22 ins. The niche has a flattened ogee top. Height 11½ ins., width 5 ins., depth 4 ins.

Llanwarne. Base only, partly embedded in the ground, 4-8 with pointed chamfers. Width 38 ins. The niche, which is very weathered, has an ogee top. Height about 13 ins., width about 5½ ins., depth 2½ ins.

Mansel Lacy. Four octagonal steps and base, with new shaft and head. The base is octagonal with faces 12 ins. and height 18 ins. The niche has a pointed top with cusps. Height 13 ins., width 8 ins., depth 1½ ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to a the top step.

Mathon. Base only, partly embedded in the ground and very weathered. Probably once 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers. Width 34 ins., height 26 ins. The niche, which is in the south face, is contained in a rectangular extension projecting 2 ins. and stretching the whole height of the base. The niche itself has a low pointed top, the spandrels on each side of it slightly indented. Height 15 ins., width 10 ins., depth 5 ins. Above the niche are two shallow niches, about 6½ ins. high, 3½ ins. wide and ¾ in. deep. Their tops are very weathered but they seem to have been pointed with cusps and probably had canopies above.

Mordiford. Three octagonal steps, base and shaft with a new head. The base is square reduced by a bevel to a smaller square and then to an octagon with rounded chamfers, each with a diagonal ridge. Width 33 ins., height 25 ins. The shaft is unusual in being fixed diagonally. The lower part of the niche is flush with the wide part of the base, and so above the bevel it projects and is crowned by a gabled roof with eaves and a cylindrical ridge. The niche itself has a pointed top. Its bottom is square and is unique in containing a rounded pedestal 2 ins. high. Height 18 ins., width 8 ins., depth 4 ins. This cross closely resembles that at Hampton Bishop.

Much Birch. Three square steps and base, recently restored. The base is 4-8 with concave ogee chamfers. Width 35 ins., height 25 ins. The niche has a rounded top. Height 13 ins., width 6½ ins., depth 4 ins.

Orcop. Two square steps, base and stump of shaft. Base square. Width 28 ins., height 20 ins. The niche is surrounded by a rim 1 in. wide and projecting 1½ ins.,

crowned by a gabled roof with eaves and a cylindrical ridge. The niche has an ogee top. Height 7 ins., width 5½ ins., depth 4 ins.

Orleton. Four octagonal steps, base and shaft. The base is 4-8 with low, rounded, pointed chamfers. Width 35 ins., height 22 ins. The niche has a pointed top and the spandrels are slightly indented. Height 16 ins., width 7 ins., depth 4 ins. The niche has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Pipe & Lyde. Two square steps, base and shaft. The base is 4-8, having two corners with pointed and two with flat chamfers, and a plain moulding at the top. Width 30 ins., height 20 ins. The niche has chamfered edges and an ogee top with cusps. Height 13 ins., width 6 ins., depth 5 ins.

Preston on Wye. Base only, 4-8 with concave chamfers. Width 32 ins., height as exposed 21 ins. The niche has a rounded top. Height 9½ ins., width 6 ins., depth 3½ ins.

Putley. Three square steps, base, new shaft and original head. The base, which is very weathered, is 4-8 with pointed chamfers. Width 25 ins., height 19 ins. The niche has an ogee top. Height 13 ins., width 7 ins., depth 4 ins.

St. Weonards. Base partly embedded in the ground and a new shaft. The base is octagonal with sides 15 ins. The niche is pointed at the top, with the spandrels indented, and has no floor. Height 18½ ins., width 7 ins., depth 4½ ins. It lies in the inner of two rectangular recesses, of which the outer is 10½ ins. wide and is indented ½ in. below the face of the base, and the inner is 8½ ins. wide and indented a further ½ in.

Sellack. Three octagonal steps, base and new shaft and head. The base is 4-8 with rounded chamfers and a moulding at the bottom. Width 30 ins., height 26 ins. The niche has a pointed top. Height 14 ins., width 7 ins., depth 4 ins.

Sollers Hope. Three square steps, base and lower part of shaft. The upper part and head are new. The base is 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers. Width 30 ins., height 25 ins. The niche has a pointed top. Height 14½ ins., width 7 ins., depth 4½ ins.

Stoke Lacy. Base only embedded in the ground. It is 4-8 with pointed chamfers. Width 28 ins. The niche has a pointed top. It is partially filled with cement but the height is at least 11 ins., width 7½ ins., depth 4½ ins.

Sutton St. Nicholas. Base only, loose in the churchyard. It is 4-8 with concave sloping chamfers with a bar above. Width 22½ ins., height 20 ins. The niche is very near the top of the base and its top, which was probably pointed, is now broken through. Height about 5½ ins., width 4 ins., depth 3 ins.

Tarrington. Two square steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is a square reduced to a smaller square by a large bevel, and on the top is a low octagon. Width 34 ins., height 30 ins. The niche has a pointed ogee top. Height 13½ ins., width 9 ins., depth 7 ins.

Tretire. Three square steps and base, the whole now converted into a war memorial. Watkins records that the old shaft once carried a sundial, and then

a ball. There are traces of a sundial scratched on top of the base. It is 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers and a bevel at the top. The niche is quite unlike any other and gives the impression of being a decorative representation of a niche. It is on a slightly projecting area, 23 ins. wide and 20 ins. high, ending above a gabled roof with eaves and a rounded ridge. Between the niche and the margin is a pattern of low ridges forming five horse-shoe shapes, their inward-facing points ending in trefoils. The niche itself has a pointed top. Height 10 ins., width 9½ ins., depth 1 in. It has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Weobley. Five octagonal steps and base. Shaft and head new. The base is 4-8 with pointed chamfers and a moulding at the top. Width 27 ins., height 17 ins. The north, south and east faces of the base have shallow niches with cusped, pointed tops. The west face has a strong square extension the full height of the base, width 14 ins. and projecting 5 ins. In it is the niche, which has a cusped, pointed top. Height 13 ins., width 8 ins., depth 5 ins. It has no floor, extending down to the top step.

Westhild. Three circular steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is circular, diameter 32 ins. and height 10 ins., and is quite plain. There is a recess which has no top and had a thin floor, now broken away. Height 8 ins., width 5 ins., depth 3 ins. The recess is neither squarely nor diagonally placed with relation to the shaft and is probably a later addition, not a true niche.

Weston Beggard. Three square steps and base. The base is 4-8 with pointed chamfers and a bevel at the top. Width 33 ins., height 28 ins. The niche has a rounded top. Height 8 ins., width 7 ins., depth 4½ ins.

Whitchurch. Four circular steps and base. Shaft and head new. The base is circular reduced by a bevel half way up. Diameter 35 ins., height 27 ins. The niche, which has a pointed top, has a surround which projects 1½ ins. from the wide part of the base. It is crowned by a gabled roof with eaves and a ridge reaching to the top of the base. Height 15 ins., width 12½ ins., depth 4½ ins.

Wigmore. Steps, shaft and head new. Base 4-8 with slightly rounded, pointed chamfers. Width 36 ins., height 23 ins. The niche has a triangular top. Height 15½ ins., width 8½ ins., depth 5 ins.

Withington. The whole cross was renewed in 1897 and the base, now octagonal, may have been carved out of the original one. The niche seems old. It has a pointed top. Height 11 ins., width 9 ins., depth 3 ins.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

Raglan. Four square steps, base and stump of shaft. The base is 4-8 with a bevel at the top. Width 41 ins., height 33 ins. It is elaborately decorated on all sides with recessed quatrefoils, shields and other patterns. The carving seem never to have been completed. On the north face there is a niche with a pointed top. Height 7 ins., width 8½ ins., depth 3½ ins. It is the only niche which is wider than high, and, as its height inside at the back is only 5 ins., its floor slopes outwards. Above it is a square frame with a deeply cut trefoil, on the left of

it is a rectangle containing a crocketed pinnacle in relief, while the area to the right of the niche is plain.

Wonastow. Restored, only the base is old. The base is 4-8 with low, rounded, pointed chamfers. Width 36 ins., height 23 ins. The niche is in the south face and has an irregular triangular top, very slightly cusped. Height 15½ ins., width 9 ins., depth 4 ins. It has no floor, extending down to the top step.

SHROPSHIRE

Burford. Four octagonal steps, base and part of the shaft which is unusual in being set diagonally. The top of the shaft and the head are new. The base is 4-8 with convex chamfers. Width 30 ins., height 25 ins. The niche, which is in the north face has a pointed top with cusps. Height 14 ins., width 6 ins., depth 4 ins. It now has a brass plate dated 1867.

Highley. Three square steps, base and part of shaft. The base is square, with a large cable moulding round the top, and a large head carved on each corner. On the south face is a raised relief. Width 41 ins., height 31 ins. The niche is the most ornate of all the niches. Its edge is moulded and it is surrounded by a flat canopy having a pinnacle at the top and three large, ornate crockets on each side. It has a pointed top. Height 14 ins., width 6 ins., depth 5 ins. There are figures and heads carved on the shaft also.

Kinlet. This is a most unusual structure and perhaps should not be included here. It consists of a square building, 77 ins. wide and 48 ins. high at the corners, having a gable over each face and a stone roof made to look like overlapping tiles. Each face has a large recess with a pointed top, that on the west face being the largest, height 78 ins., width 42 ins., depth 32 ins. The other recesses are 64 ins. high and 36 ins. wide, the eastern one being 12 ins. deep, the others only 8 ins. deep. On the back wall of the western recess is a niche with a pointed top, height 20 ins., width 10 ins., depth 5½ ins., and there is a smaller, shallower niche above the recess under the point of the gable. On top of this structure there is a base, set diagonally. It is 4-8 with the top corners chamfered off, and it has a moulded bevel at the top edge. The whole has been restored as a war memorial and now has a modern monolithic cross on the top.

WORCESTERSHIRE

Broadwas. Restored, only the base old. The base is 4-8 with rounded chamfers. Width 32 ins., height 24 ins. The niche is in the south face. It has a pointed top and its back wall is slightly concave. Height 13 ins., width 6 ins., depth 4 ins.

Clifton on Teme. Three square steps and base. Shaft and head new. The base is square with a concave bevel to the top. The niche has chamfered edges and a pointed top with the spandrels slightly indented. Height 13 ins., width 5½ ins., depth 2½ ins.

Great Malvern. Three octagonal steps which look new, base and shaft. The base is 4-8 with pointed chamfers and a bevel at the top. Width 32 ins., height 15 ins. The shaft is 4-8 with pointed chamfers, width 11 ins., height about 12 ft. There is a niche in the shaft, on the west face, 18 ins. from the base.

It has a pointed top with cusps, and a plain projecting canopy. Height 24 ins., width $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins., depth 2 ins. It contains part of a broken slab which is too narrow and may be a later insertion.

Knighthon on Teme. Three square steps, base and part of shaft. The base is very worn. It is 4-8 with grooved, rounded chamfers. Width 35 ins., height 21 ins. One of the chamfers of the base has been hollowed out into a recess, open above. The edges of the niche project $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the face of the base. There is a triangle below and a crocketed canopy above, with a pinnacle on each side, all in relief. The niche has a triangular top. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins., width 6 ins., depth $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Severn Stoke. Base and part of shaft. The base is 4-8 with rounded chamfers and a moulded bevel at the top. The niche is on the south face and it has a pointed top extending up through the moulding. The edge is raised and extends as a ridge to the top of the base. Height 15 ins., width 8 ins., depth 5 ins.

Suckley. Three square steps and base. The base is 4-8 with pointed chamfers. Width $35\frac{1}{2}$ by 34 ins., height 21 ins. The niche, on the south face, has a pointed top. Height $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins., width 7 ins., depth 5 ins.

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Land Tenure in the Bishop's Manor of Whitbourne

By PHYLLIS WILLIAMS

WHITBOURNE parish is situated on the north-east uplands of the county of Hereford, and covers some 3,000 acres. Since earliest records the manor of Whitbourne has belonged to the bishop of Hereford. Apart from four fields once part of the parish of Norton, the boundaries of the present parish and ancient manor seem the same. The eastern border of the parish is also the county boundary with Worcestershire, and mainly marked by waterways, the river Teme, the Sapey Brook and the little Marl Brook. On the south and west, Whitbourne is bounded by the parishes of Linton, Brockhampton and Norton, all of which were part of the ancient manor of Bromyard and also belonged to the bishop of Hereford. To the north Whitbourne adjoins the parish of Tedstone Delamere which lies in Herefordshire, and the parish of Clifton upon Teme in Worcestershire. Several boundary oaks still stand; the Gospel oak on Bringsty Common also serves to remind us of the ceremony of beating the bounds that took place at Rogationtide. It was usual to recite a passage from the scripture at the major turning points, and the name Gospel Oak shows where the procession halted.¹

There are no recognised pre-historic or Roman earthworks in the parish of Whitbourne, although in 1655, Silas Taylor describing the bishop's palace there continues, 'It hath a parke belonging to it & adjoyning w^{ch} very lately was disparked in w^{ch} is the remaynes of almost a deleted Roman fortificacion w^{ch} tradicion & markes make to be one of their encampings'.² Another writer claimed about 1900, 'on a high camp-like site on Poswick Farm, in the demesne of Whitbourne Hall, is an orchard designated the "Camp Orchard", with steep sides and a general aspect betokening defensive occupation. Upon this eminence Roman and British coins have been dug up within a generation; and there are symptoms within a few hundred yards, of the Roman occupation'.³ Despite the similarity the two historians were describing different parts of the parish. The bishop's palace now known as Whitbourne Court lies in the east of the parish close to the river Teme, whilst Poswick Farm which had the same name in 1655 lies to the west of the parish; the Whitbourne Hall estate was not established until 1861. An interesting earthwork (SO 722569) appears to be a crossing of hollow ways with adjacent croft boudaries, although the quite massive banks could represent something more.

Most of the place-names in the parish are Anglo-Saxon, Whitbourne itself being an Anglo-Saxon word meaning white or clear stream.⁴ In the early days the name of the settlement would be at the white bourne, but in time White

Bourne denoted the village and the later word brook was added to the original stream name. So far as is known no record remains of the grant by the king to the bishop of Hereford, of the manor of Whitbourne; it is generally accepted that the bishop's manors within the county were granted in Anglo-Saxon times, but the charters were destroyed in 1055 when the Welsh attacked Hereford and the cathedral was burned. Whitbourne, which lay in Plegeliate Hundred, was not listed in the Domesday Survey of 1086; it seems likely it was included with the large manor of Bromvard which also belonged to the bishop of Hereford.

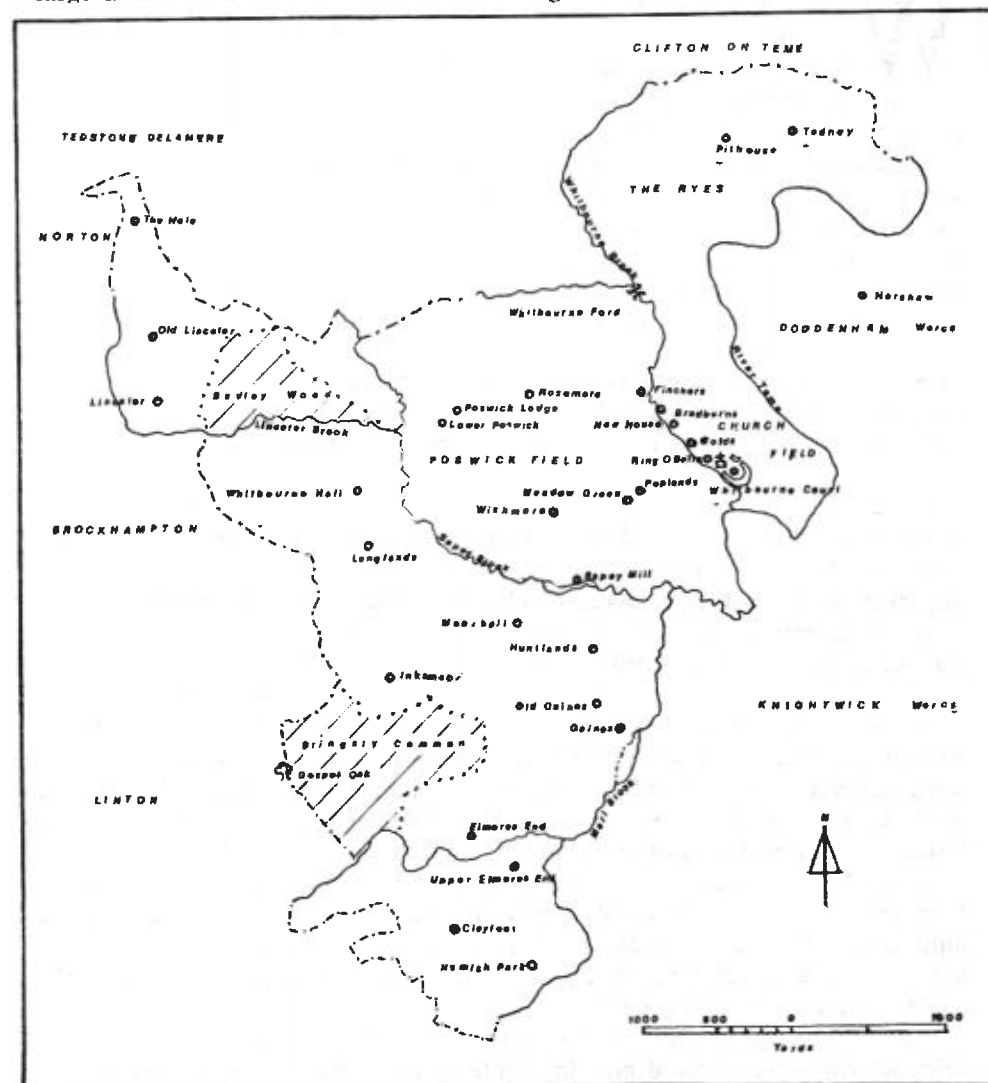


FIG. 1
LAND TENURE IN THE BISHOP'S MANOR OF WHITBOURNE
Map of Whitbourne parish.

A number of documents relating to the manor and parish of Whitbourne have survived. The bulk of these are title deeds to the various properties in the parish. These are principally in the Whitbourne Court, Whitbourne Hall and Gaines collections. There are excellent parish records and registers, some of which have been transcribed and indexed, and are in the custody of the rector, the Rev. Chignall. Furthermore, there are:

- (a) The *Red Book*, which is a survey of the bishop of Hereford's manors including the manor of Whitbourne and dates from c. 1285, can be seen in the Hereford County Record Office.
- (b) A manorial rental for Whitbourne of 1494 can be found in the Dean and Chapter Archives, Hereford.
- (c) A further and very detailed survey of the bishop of Hereford's manors was made for Bishop Scory by Swithun Butterfield between 1575-80. This too can be seen in the County Record Office.
- (d) The Tithe map and apportionment of 1839, of which there are copies in the County Record Office and Whitbourne.

These records make it possible to attempt a reconstruction of the medieval manor of Whitbourne. Together with

- (e) Title deeds for virtually the whole parish, covering the year 1900
- (f) The farm sizes in 1971

these documents show how the size of land holdings, within the manor and parish of Whitbourne, have developed over the last 700 years, between c. 1285 and 1971. The later records also enable us to see how the sizes of the actual farming units have changed between 1839 and 1971.

Size of holding Statute acres	Units of land ownership c. 1285-1971				Farming Units		
	a c. 1285	c 1577	d 1839	e 1900	f March 1971	1839	March 1971
2 virgates or 2 yardlands or over 80 acres	1	4	9	5	7	13	9
1 virgate or 1 yardland or 40-80 acres	5	13	2	0	2	5	3
$\frac{1}{2}$ virgate or $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland or 20-40 acres	25	9	2	0	1	4	3
1 noke or 8-20 acres	8	5	6	3	4	10	5
2-8 acres	24	2	18		not known		
house or cottage with less than 2 acres	9	7	40		not known		

(a) **The manor of Whitbourne at the time of the Red Book, c. 1285.**

The heart of the parish and the manor was the church and bishop's palace. That the bishop of Hereford was lord of the manor must have influenced the fortunes and development of Whitbourne considerably. The pleasant, tranquil church of St. John the Baptist dates from late Norman times. Within are buried Bishop Scory who died in 1585, and Bishop Godwin who died in 1633; the church also witnessed the marriage of Bishop Godwin's daughter, Alice, in 1619. Adjacent stood the strong, stone built manor-house, the summer palace of the bishops of Hereford, stoutly defended by a deep moat and drawbridge.⁵ In early days the bishop with his retinue usually stayed at the manor-house in Bromyard when dealing with business in this part of the see. Then Whitbourne gradually became a more favoured residence. In 1356, when it was decided to maintain only five of over twenty manor-houses belonging to the bishop, Whitbourne was retained, whilst the manor-house at Bromyard was not.

There seems to have been a great deal of traffic through Whitbourne, across the river Teme to Horsham in Worcestershire. In Butterfield's survey part of the bishop's own land 'stretcheth from Horsham bridge'; Horsham bridge meadow lies due north of the manor-house. Then in 1597 when all the landowners of the parish worked together to repair the churchyard wall, John Combey began at the stile towards Horsham, and repaired from the pale of the moat. A few yards up river from where the bridge must have stood is a fording place, here also a boat ferry service was maintained by the proprietor of the Boat House estate for which there is a plan dated April, 1802; the estate totalled five acres (SO 727576). The Boat House Inn was pulled down earlier this century.

From the church and manor-house the main village road straggled north-west along the Whitbourne Brook to Whitbourne Ford which marks a boundary with Tedstone Delamere. Either side of the street stood the village farm-houses; three medieval houses still stand today, Ring of Bells, Bradburns and Fincher's. Other present day houses can be identified with medieval landholders. Northwards from Whitbourne Ford lay another medieval centre of settlement, the village of Tedney, meaning 'Teda's island',⁶ marked now by Pithouse Farm. The earthworks of the houses of this thriving medieval community can be seen in the field to the east of the farm-house, called on the Tithe map of 1839 Mound Field and Mound Orchard. There was also in 1285 a mill of Tedney, *molendium de Tedene*, for which the rent was 20 shillings a year.

South-west of Whitbourne Ford and one mile west of the church is Poswick, meaning 'Possa's dairy farm', which could well have been another centre of settlement in the parish. By the 13th-century survey both Ellen of Possewike and Walter of Possewike held lands in the manor of Whitbourne. The houses of Poswick Lodge and Lower Poswick farms lie only a few yards apart; both are medieval. Nearby is Longlands, a large and important estate held by William de la Walle by military service at the end of the 13th century. Separated from the rest of Whitbourne by Badley Wood Common (Badeliche) is Linciter. Alice of

Lincestre⁷ and Walter of Lincestre are mentioned in the early survey, as are Margaret Walters of Badeliche and Ralph of Badeliche.

Medieval farming in this northern part of the parish was principally in large common fields. Farm-houses would have clustered together in small villages or hamlets (nucleated settlements), the farm land being spread in small strips of less than an acre over the common fields belonging to the community. There are no field-names in the 13th-century survey of the manor. However, the common fields recorded in the very detailed survey of 1577 include, Churchfield (north-west of the church); the Rye (at Tedney); Posswick field; Birchhornfield (adjoining Whitbourne Brook south of Whitbourne Ford); Pondsteale; Perrie Field; Cromolbery Hill; forty meadow; Stocking Field.

The manorial mill 'Sapysmulne' was on the Sapey Brook (SO 717563), the water corn-mill was still working during the 1914-18 war with the Sapey mill bakery, but is now a ruin.

It does seem that this northern area, practicing common-field husbandry, was the earliest part of the parish to be cleared and settled. The names of the farms immediately to the south suggest marginal land, Wishmoor meaning 'meadow marsh', Moorhall, Inksmoor, whilst Bringsty common is still unenclosed and uncultivated. In the days of early settlement this area would have been used for common grazing, as Bringsty common still is. A particular boundary seems to be the present A44 highway, traversing the parish west to east. South of this road no evidence has been found of common fields, and the land seems to have been farmed in enclosed holdings since it was first cleared, which suggests Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon colonisation. Nevertheless this part of the parish was being farmed extensively by 1285.

An area called Honteland, which means 'land of the huntsman', extended southwards from the present line of the A44, apparently stretching from the county boundary on the east, to Bringsty common, which was woodland until the 16th century, on the west. In 1241 Henry III granted to the bishop of Hereford and his successors the right of free warren over all his manors. This right meant the bishop was free to hunt game in the unenclosed forests and woods formerly the sole prerogative of the king. The manor of Huntinglands (Huntlands farm) was held in 1304 by Richard of Hampton by military service, from here the bishop could hunt over his adjacent manors of Whitbourne, Bromyard and Stanford Bishop. This could explain the still extensive unenclosed commons of Badley Wood, Bringsty, and Bromyard Downs; Woofferwood Common in Stanford Bishop was only enclosed in the last century. In 1290 whilst the bishop was resident at Whitbourne, his hounds were put out to the villagers to be cared for.⁸ The survey of 1577 records houses in Hounds Lane.

South of 'Honteland' field-names again suggest marginal land, Snigmoor, Blackmoors, Wasdens, before the valley opens to the lovely, banky country of Elmores End. At the end of the 13th century there were Christopher, David, Reginald, Richard and Osbert de Ellemer. Despite the name Newton Common for the detached tongue of Bringsty (SO 708548), used in 1839, there is no

evidence for a village of Ellemer. It is possible this name represents medieval settlers coming to Whitbourne from Ellesmere, Shropshire. The interesting hollows, mounds and ways, to the west of Lower Elmores End farm, could well be the result of quarrying for the stone, which can be seen in the buildings, walls, bridges and field ways in the vicinity.

These were the physical bounds of the manor and parish of Whitbourne within which most of the inhabitants lived and worked, with excursions for the weekly markets or annual fairdays in the nearby market town of Bromyard. Most of the inhabitants came from within the manor, and many 13th-century names serve to pinpoint centres of settlement. The few exceptions included Roger of Evesham who held 24 acres in Whitbourne, and the estate of Clater in the manor of Bromyard. Roger had been granted by Bishop Cantilupe in 1276 the right to pasture goats, gather fuel and house-building wood from the bishop's wood of Bringsty.⁹ Alice of Colynton (Collington), may have been a widow having only a house within the manor, whilst Reginald of Hotleye had a shop or stall. Walter the Botiler (butler) who held Sapey mill and other property described himself about 1300 as 'of Tewkesbury'.¹⁰ Although farming was the principal concern of medieval Whitbourne there were other occupations: Adam the Taylour (tailor); Roger le Weyte (night watchman); Robert the Palmer (pilgrim); Alwy the ffoler (fuller); Adam and Alfred the Canon; Alfred and William the Bedel (a petty officer of the parish whose duty was to make proclamations); Robert the smith.

Medieval Landholding

As the bishop of Hereford held his manor of Whitbourne from the king, so the landholders within the manor held their land from the bishop. Although listed as tenants paying rent, this was not the landlord-tenant system as we know it today, which could also exist. Rather the landholders would be the equivalent to owner-occupiers owing allegiance to the lord of the manor, and the rent similar to a land tax. The medieval survey shows eighty-one people having land or property in the manor of Whitbourne at the end of the 13th century, for which they paid rent or did service. The size of holdings varied considerably being measured by the acre or virgate (alternatively known as yardland). Until the statute acre of 160 square perches (4,840 square yards) was recognised nationally, many regions of the British Isles had their local acre. The Herefordshire acre was two-thirds the statute acre, evidently the same as the Roman acre and the present hop acre, and was considered to be the amount of land a team of eight oxen could plough in a day on heavier soils. The virgate or yardland was a quarter of a hide; and it has been said the hide was the amount of land one plough-team of eight oxen could plough in a year; it was a basic unit of taxation and also thought to be the Anglo-Saxon holding sufficient to support a ceorl and his household.¹¹ The scribe wrote in Swithun Butterfield's survey of the manor in 1577:

'And it is noted, the customary lands the jury did estimate after the rate of 4 perch brode and 40 perch long to be an acre of ground, (every perch containing 16½ feet according to the statute). And guess the same by view as rightly as they could: . . . Further the said jury do say that by the custom of the country, 60 acres of land is a yardland, 30 acres is a halfyardland, and 15 acres is a nooke of land'.

and later

'According to the rate as we have estimated the custom lands (which is as near as we could unto the statute measure) 2 acres as we have estimated is three acres of the old measure; and after that rate it seems that 40 acres as we have estimated is a yardland and commonly. But 60 acres is here accompted for a yardland. There for I think their measure at the time of the Red Book was not so great as the statute measure now.'¹²

It would seem that a virgate or yardland in the manor of Whitbourne was 40 statute acres, and holdings measured in acres in the 13th-century *Red Book* should be reduced by one third to give statute acres.

As would be expected, the bishop's own holding, the 'demesne', was the largest in the manor, in all 178 acres comprising 146 acres of arable, 14 acres of meadow, 18 acres of pasture with a garden pasture with fruit. Next in importance to the bishop's demesne were the estates held by scutage or military service, men holding land by this superior tenure would be expected to provide a mounted knight to support their lord, the bishop. William of the Walle held one virgate which can be identified at the present Longlands farm, and Richard of Homptone, who was at that time under age, held one virgate of land at 'Honteland', later known as the manor of Huntinglands and now Huntlands farm. Both these farms had extensive fishponds. These can still be seen.

Seventy-one people held property by socage, that is freehold, paying rent in money or kind. John of Midwode held the largest freehold farm of one virgate and 12 acres for which he paid an annual rent of 14s. 10d.; Adam of Longe with a virgate paid 11s.; Walter the son of Pagam paid 5s. for his half virgate, whilst Adam Baret with the same amount of land paid 8s. Roger of Evesham with 12 acres of land and 12 acres of assart (forest clearing) paid a rent of 6s. 8d., Alice of Lincestre paid 2s. 1d. for three acres of assart, Richard of Biyme paid 5s. 1d. for 15 acres of assart. Forlet land was also being held by the free tenants of the manor, this may be land retained by the bishop for his own farm in earlier days, but by the end of the 13th century being rented out. Robert Urban paid 4d. a year for 1 acre of forlet, Henry Elys paid 12d. for three acres, Walter of Hontelande held 5 acres of forlet for 10d. a year. Margaret Coppe only paid 1d. for her house (messuage), as did Alice of Colynton, Walter of Bromcombe, Nicholas Joie, Alfred Ally and Margery the Hope. Others who held a messuage with a curtilage (courtyard) owed rents of between 4d. and 8d. a year. Sixteen men who also paid a money rent for land were listed as owing: for honey and by gift at the feast of Blessed Andrew (30 November), 1 hen at Easter 17d., at the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) for fish and 10 sheep

2½d., at Michaelmas (29 September) 1 goose or 2d. It would seem, these were owed for stock received by the tenant, from his lord, on entering a holding. An 11th-century treatise on estate management lists as due from the lord for one yardland: two oxen, a cow, six sheep, seven acres already sown, implements for husbandry, and house furniture.¹³ Another seventeen men owed by gift at the feast of St. Andrew from 2½d. to 10d., mostly 6d. and apart from Roger Mucegolde, Robert the Smith, David of Ellemer and Christopher of Ellemer they also held property by other rents. The total annual value of the free rents in Whitbourne given by the scribe in the *Red Book* was £9 9s. 6d. The free lands and properties included by medieval measurement 2 virgates held by scutage, 4½ freehold virgates, 70 acres of land, over 80 acres of forlet, and 57 acres of assart. There were evidently 10 houses without land attached, 4 of which had curtilages, 1 water corn-mill and 1 shop.

The third type of tenure was customary, the tenants holding their land according to the customs of the manor, feudally regarded as unfree, customary tenants nevertheless enjoyed security of tenure, their holdings being inherited by their customary heir. In Whitbourne as in most of the bishop of Hereford's manors a tenant's customary heir was his eldest son, failing sons the eldest daughter or for lack of children the next of kin. If the tenant left a widow she had a life interest in the holding called her freebench. Thirty-six customary tenants were listed in the manor of Whitbourne at the end of the 13th century, paying annual rent in either money or work on the lord's own farm. Seventeen customary tenants holding a messuage and half-virgate each, appear to have commuted their labour services for a money rent . . . for common carriage, seedtime and wine services owe rent for the year 11s. 6d., except for Richard Joye who only owed annually 9s. 2d.

A note at the end of the survey suggests that sixteen of these messuage and half-virgate holders, doubtless those owing the 11s. 6d. rent, also owed together skilled work on the demesne; as for eight virgates of land it was owed to plough (for the lord) 8 acres, sow with grain and harrow. This service would surely be owed by established customary holdings in the common field area of the manor. In addition those lands called La Rede, probably the name given to the more recently cleared lands at Elmores End, should plough (for the lord) 16 acres out of every 40 and sow with oats. For this the workers were paid at the rate of 3d. for every acre, plus four loads of oats per virgate for sowing the same and the equivalent in grain for ploughing.

Another five half-virgates were held for varying money rents from the 2s. 2d. paid by John the Kyng to 6s. 8d. paid by Reginald and Richard of Ellemer who shared a half-virgate between them. Robert the Palmer paid 2s. 2d. for 6 acres of land, and Robert Urban 10d. for a messuage. These customary rents totalled £12 5s. 0½d. for 11 virgates, 6 acres of land, one messuage, the mill at Tedney and lands once held by Alwy the fuller which were worth 3½d.

Another eleven customary tenants held varying acreages for day works and as the value of these is also given it is not unlikely these tenants could also

commute their labour services, for a money rent. Adam the Canon with 5 acres and Roger of the Golde for 3 acres, owed 40 labours before autumn worth 20d. and 9 autumn labours worth 9d. John the Norreys, Henry Sparke, Osbert Coppe, Simon Porcher, Alfred the Beadle, William the Beadle and William of Midwode holding 6 acres each, owed before the autumn 40 labours worth 20d. and in the autumn 18 labours valued at 1s. 5½d. Nicholas of Tedene having 12 acres owed 80 labours worth 40d. before the autumn and during autumn 18 labours worth 1s. 5½d. The autumn labours, which are worth twice as much as those owed earlier in the year, appear to date from August 1st covering harvest time and the sowing of the winter corn, for the working days would be longer with pressure to get the work done before the wet weather. Four of these men also owed boon works called *benrip*, that was 5 services at Michaelmas worth 5d. Alfred the Canon who otherwise seemed to have no land or property and paid no other type of rent also owed *benrip*. These tenants owing day works were allowed in a year 3 days holiday, so nine of the ten men worked one day for 49 weeks, whilst Nicholas of Tedene worked for two days in 49 weeks of the year. Customary lands that had been held for day works, were referred to in the 16th-century survey as *lundim lands* and later as Monday's lands. So it would seem that the work was usually fulfilled on the first working day of the week. The total of the day works before the autumn was 440 and in the autumn 117, worth in money 28s. 4½d. The customary lands and properties included: 16 messuages with 8 virgates of land (1 messuage and a half-virgate holding), 3 virgates, 68 acres of land, 1 messuage without land and the mill at Tedney.

Although seventy-one free tenants are listed to thirty-six customary tenants the greater value in the manor lay with the customary lands, and when the survey is examined it transpires that thirty people hold by both freehold and customary tenancies. Everyone of the sixteen men having a customary messuage and half-virgate for which they owe money and work also appear as the sixteen free tenants who owe for honey, by gift, 1 hen, for fish and 10 sheep and 1 goose to the value of 1s. 9½d. annually. Of the seventeen men who owe a small sum of money by gift once a year, thirteen have customary lands. Sixteen men with customary lands also hold small acreages of freehold forlet, Richard Joie a messuage and half-virgate holder has 2 acres of free land for which he pays 6d. a year. Newly cleared land was usually granted in free tenure to encourage new settlers, all the assarted land (forest clearing) comes into this category. Possibly the 70 acres of free land represents clearing from unwooded wastelands.

If one considers the holding of a virgate or half-virgate to be the basic and probably oldest unit of land holding in the manor, and sufficient to support a medieval family (not including the two virgate holders by scutage), seven men and women held 4½ free virgates and twenty-three men held 11 customary virgates. Of these thirty people, only Simon of the Birch held both a free half-virgate and customary half-virgate. The rentable value of a half-virgate varied considerably, John the Kyng paid 2s. 2d., whilst Adam Baret paid 8s.; about 5s. 6d. seems the

most common, the criteria seeming to be the land rather than the tenure. However, the sixteen half-virgate holdings with a messuage all owed 11s. 6d. plus some work. Forlet land was usually let at 4d. an acre, assart from 2d. to 8d. an acre and land 2d. to 4d., although for the customary tenants who owe work services for their acreages of land the equivalent money value rises to about 6d. an acre.

There were c. 1285, five men holding a virgate or more, twenty-five men and women with a half-virgate and less than a virgate, eight people with between 8 to 20 acres, twenty-four tenants with 2 to 8 acres, and nine tenants with a house or cottage and less than 2 acres. A quarter-virgate (10 acres in Whitbourne) is generally accepted to be the smallest holding able to support a medieval family above subsistence level.¹⁴ The soil in the parish of Whitbourne is very fertile and with the great expanse of unenclosed common land (which still covers 1/15th of the parish) in which all tenants had rights of grazing for their stock, it seems likely that 8 acres would be sufficient to feed a family. The thirty-three tenants having less than this could have been craftsmen, widows, childless couples or men augmenting their holding by working for larger landholders.

The standard of living of the farmers in Whitbourne probably depended more on the size of their holdings than their free or customary status. Of the present houses in the parish containing medieval building, there is Whitbourne Court, the bishop's own house, Huntlands farm which was held by military service, Lower Poswick which was freehold, Poswick Lodge both free and customary premises and Ring of Bells, Bradburns and Fincher's, all customary village holdings.

(b) 15th-Century Landholding from the Manorial rental of 1494.

Within two generations of this survey a series of plagues culminating in the Black Death of 1349, decimated the population of England. It is thought that nearly half of the rural population died.¹⁵ Consequently the isolated rental of 1494 for the manor, shows a very different picture of Whitbourne. Whereas in the late 13th century there were eighty-one men paying rent to the bishop, in 1494 there were only thirty-one and few of the surnames correspond. This does not necessarily mean a new set of families had arrived in Whitbourne, rather that names had become established and were no longer immediately descriptive and therefore liable to change with alternative trade or abode.

In the 1494 rental, free and customary tenants are not differentiated and no acreages of holdings are given, so it is only possible to compare the rents paid. Eleven men were paying an annual rent of over 12s. for their holding, the same number between 6s. and 12s., and nine men under 6s. The highest rent was that of Thomas Combey at 33s. 4d., Richard Bedyll of the mill paid 24s. 8d. a year, William Dene 18s. 4d. John Combey of Gynes paid 8s. the same rent as that paid nearly one hundred years later by the heirs of James Bedell for an amalgamated estate of three holdings called Gynes, Huntlands and Pitthouse. The lowest rents were those of John Cradeley, 6d., and Robert Brome, 3d.

The money rents due in the year 1494 were £15 17s. 0½d., defective rents which may have been from empty holdings amounted to £7 9s. 11d.

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In 1577 a very comprehensive survey of the manor of Whitbourne was made by Swithun Butterfield for Bishop Scory. The bishop's own lands, the "demesne", are carefully described including the "one water myll adioynynge to the motte w^{ch} a lytle lane w^{ch} lyeth betwene the back broke & the motte",¹⁶ but the acreage not given. Of the 178 acres of demesne described in the *Red Book* some 300 years earlier, the scribe writes 'There are not now so many acres therefore these acres were smale or else Demesnes wanteth'.¹⁷ The bulk of the demesne was consolidated north, east and south of the manor-house. Nevertheless a trace of unenclosed common farming can still be discerned:

'one parcel of meadowe in the common meadow in the neather rye which adioyneth to the netherende of the lords meadowe called the nether rye, the tenants medowe grounde butting upon it (and it is saide that the lorde agreed with the tenants that it should not be enclosed in his demesne called the neather rye, because cattell cann com to the water in the former tyme most easily there. Item one parcel of meadowe grounde (being about ii swarthes brode called the waye ridge, lying in the comon meadowe in the other rye between the ffreelandes of Richard Wynne called huntlands acre and the ffreelandes of Wm. Gower'.¹⁸

This first item gives a view of the relationship that appeared to exist between the lord and his tenants in the manor of Whitbourne. It was in the lord's interest to have a contented and flourishing tenantry. 'It cannot be urged too often that the real guarantee against a dispersion of peasantry lay in the general fairness of the conditions in which it was placed'.¹⁹ A note made at the end of the list of fields belonging to the demesne demonstrates one method of achieving an estate within a ring fence:

'the meadow or pasture called walknyllhome now in the occupatn of John Browning is pcell of the pasture called the Conyngrye & is w^{thin} y rate of acres. And all the sayde parcells w^{ch} are called the Conyngry & the Vynnyge are the yardlande w^{ch} the lord bought of Ric Drew 4 Henric octavi, called Wallande sometyme Thomas Cradley; for w^{ch} mess & yarde lande the said Drew had for parte of recompence the custome land at Tedney called Cooks and Botryesgrounds (the rente of Wallande als. the Conyngry was 14^s by y yeare'.²⁰

Several fields called the Vinnings lay south of Meadow Green, east of the road to Sapey Bridge. In view of the references to medieval wine services it seems that at some time grapes were grown for wine making in Whitbourne, as they were at Ledbury. Even in 1910, a field north of the Sapey Brook (SO 723563) was known as the Vineyard. The Coneygree lay between the Vinnings and Sapey Brook the name describes a cultivated rabbit warren, a common feature of medieval economy.²¹ Walkmillhome lay east of the Coneygree and appears

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to be bordered on the south by the Sapey Brook and on the east by the river Teme; it would have been associated with a fulling mill and was possibly the land once of Alwy the Fuller mentioned at the end of the 13th century.²²

Robert Stallwarde held by military service and payed annually to the bishop 9s. for a messuage called Longlands with a virgate of land, all of which was occupied by Henry Barnes. Thomas Coningsby, esquire, of Hampton²³ held Huntlande with a virgate of land by the same service and that estate was in the tenure of Richard Wynne. A deed dated 31 August, 1555, witnessed that Hugh Wynne and James Bedell both yeomen of Whitbourne, jointly purchased from one Robert Twyfforde, a citizen and draper of London, all the manor of Huntlands otherwise called Huntinglands lying in Whitbourne and other lands of Robert Twyfforde in Whitbourne, Poswick, Bromyard and Brockhampton all in the county of Hereford. Of this purchase Hugh Wynne retained the manor of Huntlands and certain lands, whilst James Bedell took the residue of the manor and other lands. Thomas Coningsby was then tenant-in-chief to the bishop but to all intents and purposes the estate belonged to the Wynne family.

These two estates would conform with the two estates of one virgate each held by scutage at the end of the 13th century. However in 1577 the scribe also notes:

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At the time of his death James Bedell owned most of the free land at Elmers End, namely Willie Heath and Willie Close alias Ellms Lands comprising 26 acres. By 1727 this was described as the Old House. Surrounded on three sides by parish boundaries, Willie Heath now known as Old House Meadows, extends westwards into the parish of Linton (SO 7054), and being the closest enclosed land to Clater may be the 24 acres of assart and land held by Roger of Evesham about 1285, of which it was said at the time that nobody owed suit of court. Elmores Ende, Yeanard's or the Batch was another freehold farm belonging to James Bedell, covering over 50 statute acres which straggled east and south from Willie Heath to the extreme southern boundary of the parish. In addition James Bedell had about 15 acres of pasture and a close of land at Elmores End. It is hard to reconcile these spread out lands as the grant of an estate by scutage, rather they seem an amalgamation of free lands claimed from wood and wasteland, lying at the periphery of the parish. Holding by scutage was abolished in 1660; so the manorial assessors were not to be vexed for many more years by the status of this free estate at Elmores End, and this record again serves to illustrate the influence of the tenants on matters appertaining to the manor.

Twelve other free tenants were listed holding freehold estates. The heirs of Brockhampton, namely John Abington, esq., John Gage, esq. (in the right of his wife), and Richard Barneby, gent. (in the right of his wife), held one messuage and one virgate of land called Midwides Ground, also Blanche Close at Meadow Green both of which were let to Richard Perkes, and had been in the family of the Habingtons or Abingtons of Brockhampton for several generations. In November 1545 'Richard Abington lord of Brokhampton (was buried) at Whitborne'.²⁵ Also a messuage at Bringsty called Hinksmore (Inksmoor) which they had recently acquired, 'where Combey dwelleth which was late sold and now is the heyres of Brokhampton'. For these three properties they owed an annual rent of 18s. 4d. The heirs of James Bedell held a second free estate in Whitbourne namely the amalgamation of three messuages and lands which took the name of the only messuage at that time standing, Gynes (Old Gaines) of which the annual rent was 8s. Henry Barnes who was leasing Longlands from Robert Stallwarde (which premises were bought from William Stallard by James Barnes in 1618) held in his own right two freehold messuages near Longlands with a virgate of land, for which he paid in rent 9s.

John Whytinge held a messuage and virgate called Lyncestre, for which he paid 10s. 6d. The area known as Linciter covers some 160 acres all of which seems to be freehold. By the end of the 17th century Linciter seems to have been divided into four farms. The Combe now a ruin and known as the Hole, but which was a fine, well built early 17th-century house with later stone additions and about 40 acres of land. Old Linciter a relatively modern farmhouse, which probably belonged to Thomas Clarke who in the mid-17th century split off parts of his farm called Linciter for his sons. Also Great Linciter which seems the largest of the farms, and although the present brick farmhouse is fairly recent there is an early 17th-century timber-framed building close by. The greater part of the Linciter farm lands were acquired at some time by the Brockhampton estate, which estate now in the hands of the National Trust still owns nearly half the area.

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to be bordered on the south by the Sapey Brook and on the east by the river Teme; it would have been associated with a fulling mill and was possibly the land once of Alwy the Fuller mentioned at the end of the 13th century.²²

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belonging. The Rector of Whitbourne paid 6d. for a garden adjoining the Rectory. The glebe was never included in these manorial surveys, but amounted to just over 35 acres in 1839 mainly spread in the common fields of the manor. A house called the "Churchehouse" then in the hand of the lord also paid 6d.

The total annual free rents for the manor for 5½ virgates and certain parcels of land, were now £4 0s. 11d., less than half the valuation at the end of the 13th century (£9 9s. 6d.). However the acreage seems very similar, 4½ virgates and 207 acres of land, forlet and assart.

In the 1577 survey 25 tenants have customary holdings. Although these are assessed in virgates they are described and itemised down to a rood in estimated statute acres. From this survey it is possible to reconstruct the common field system of the manor fairly well. The rent and size of the holdings varied considerably. As in previous surveys, the highest rent was paid for Sapey Mill. Joan Harris paying 24s. 8d. for 'le custome myll' and 1½ acres of land. The lowest rent was that of Richard Parkes who paid 3d. for 'one lytle pcell of custome land'.

James Bedell possessed, with the free lands, a large customary holding, the largest in the manor, comprising two messuages called Elmers End and Warners or Churchland with one yardland (virgate) belonging, in total 86 acres 2 roods. This was now in the possession of John Coles (in the right of his wife, the widow of James Bedell). The holding appears to have stretched from James's free lands part of Gynes (Old Gaines) to the north, to the Worcester county boundary on the east and south, and to his other free estate (claimed by military service) at Clayford (Clayfoot). The present council road probably approximated their north-west extent. The paved footpath that runs on part of this boundary at Clayfoot was known as Canon's lane and Canon's close lay to the west; so Churchfield was perhaps part of the medieval holding of the two canons, Adam and Alfred. John Coles owed 13s. 8d. for this customary holding, which unlike the other rents, was payable to the bishop and dean and chapter of Hereford. The land now forms Upper Elmores End farm and Hamish Park.

Bordering John Cole's land was that of Richard Combey of the Red House (Lower Elmores End), a half yardland of 36 acres 3 roods, owing 5s. a year. This farm may have been associated with the medieval lands called 'La Rede', but is more likely to have taken the name from Richard the Rede otherwise Richard Ruffus of c. 1285.

Richard Wynne of Huntlands, whose forbear had been partner with James Bedell in 1555, also held two customary messuages with a yardland belonging in the right of his wife. One of the messuages stood at Meadow Green, the other on the road to Rosemore, the 56 acres 3 roods lay in 39 parcels stretching from the Vinnings and the Coneygree to Crumplebury, Whitbourne Ford and Tedney. The largest field was a 6 acre croft of arable land, another 5 acres lay together in Rowlesfield, and 4 acres in the Stocking. There were 3 acres of pasture in Smallhamhill between Uggan's ground and John Browning's ground, similarly a 3 acre parcel of pasture in Poldhurst called the slade, several parcels

lay in Tedney and 16 parcels were under an acre. Richard Wynne owed annually 21s. 7d. for his customary holding.

William Huck owed 8s. for a messuage and half yardland at Poswick (Poswick Lodge), William also held a yardland of free land belonging to the heirs of James Bedell and 20 acres of forlet land 'which is thought to lye in one parcell together in Posswick field . . . all which lands hath ben so long occupied together that . . . is not known which is customary nor which is the free lands, which is the Lord's lands nor which is the heyres of James Bedell'. Subsequently when Susannah, the daughter of John and Elizabeth Huck of Poswick (Lodge), married the Rev. Thomas Jennings in 1764, the property was part of her marriage settlement. It was finally sold out of the family in 1857 after the death of the widow of their son, John Jennings. The farm then covered 133 acres of freehold and customary (copyhold) land. The house, Poswick Lodge, incorporates a three-bay cruck building, with many later additions.

Virtually all of the 400 acres of land comprising Tedney were customary, four men who held 177 of these acres did not hold land elsewhere in the manor (apart from 2 roods in Poswick field). John Combey paid a rent of 16s. for 76½ acres, of which 48 acres lay within a ring fence 'all adioyning together—and bounded on the east and north parte with the sheire meere (which possibly means the boundary marsh); on the west part Hollands land and the common way; and on the south part the arrable in the Over Ries'. Spread over Tedney were 14 parcels, and 2 roods lay in Poswick field. Richard Holland held in the right of his wife Botries Land and Cocks, 39½ acres, rent 8s. 8d., 'all late in the occupacion of Richard Drew'.

Thomas Collins paid 8s. for 31 acres 3 roods, called Hillande; the house and 13 acres lay together. Gregory Collins held a messuage and half yardland, called Pittland, of 27½ acres. John Browning had a messuage and half yardland in the village of Whitbourne called Wayttsland (New House farm) and a messuage and half yardland in Tedney called Suardslande, in all 36 acres owing 8s.; 31 of these acres, in 19 parcels, appear to have been in Tedney. John Moseley with his house and half yardland called Goldslands, had some 15 acres out of 24 at Tedney.

The total value of the rents of the customary ground in 1577 was £11 18s. 7½d. for 14 yardlands, 1 nook and 8 acres.

Tenantes per Indenture, was a new class of tenant found in the 1577 survey; these were tenants leasing, for a period of years, parts of the bishop's demesne. Until 1502 the bishop farmed his own demesne through his bailiff, but in that year he leased the lands, not including the manor house, to William Nott for 29 years at a yearly rent of £10 10s. 6d.²⁷ William Shawe, husbandman of Whitbourne, was the next lessee, for 21 years at the same rent. By 1577 Bishop Scory was leasing to 'Silvani Scory, gentleman of Whitbourne', not only the demesne lands, but also the manor-house and all the houses and buildings within the moat, with the right to cut timber for fuel and house repairs, in

Bringsty and Badley Woods, the bishop was responsible for repairs. In return Silvanus agreed "that if the saide Reverend Father or his successors will at any tyme dwell wth his household in the saide Manoure and there keepe hospitalitie, that vi moneths warnyng given beforehand to the saide Sylvani or his assignes by the saide Reverend ffather or his successors, hee the saide Reverend Father or his successors during his & their such habitacion shall have the syte of the saide manour wthall houses wthin the mott of the saide syte". Further in 1578 Bishop Scory granted to Sylvani Scory and his natural sons John and Edmund Scory the right of pannage 'in all his wood comonly called Bringstie . . . wthin the parishes of Bromyarde and Whitborne'.²⁸

'Walkmyll Homme' a pasture lying between the Coneygree and the Sapey Brook was leased by the bishop for 'a terme of three score and tenn years' to William Gardner, Joan his wife and Thomas Erlich all of Whitbourne. William Huck of Poswick leased 20 acres of arable land forlet in Poswick field. Thomas Huck, husbandman of Whitbourne, leased a messuage and demesne land stretching from the King's Bridge on the one part to a road leading to the Slaughter House at the Coneygree on the other. The Moseley family leased Clays Yate at Tedney for the term of their natural lives. John Ingram of Martley paid 3s. 4d. a year for the right of fishing in the river Teme, the bishop having the first option to buy any fish caught. Margaret Cowcher held some houses and gardens in Houndslane (in the county of Worcester). Thomas Collins leased part of the demesne lands in Tedney for 21 years at 20d. 'and one cople of good fatt capons yearly'. The rents by indenture came to 50s. 6d. which doesn't include the site of the manor. In addition 'Richard Combey toke by indenture iii acres of the lordes wast which he allwayes held by copey with his custome lands and payeth the rent within the some of the 5s. which he payeth for his custome lande, the rent of this is vid. Richard Combey of the Broke holdeth in his copey with Birchlande one acre of the demaynes and of longe tyme so hath ben holden'.

Five tenants each holding a cottage by indenture either at Meadow Green, in Bringsty Wood or in Badley Wood owed two hens, or two hens and 24 eggs as a yearly rent, and Thomas Collins for his demesne land up at Tedney owed two capons, and Richard Combey of the Redhouse two capons for his wasteland, whilst 15 customary tenants each owed two hens for their lands elsewhere enumerated.

Swithun Butterfield's survey shows 40 land or property holding tenants in the manor of Whitbourne in 1577, half the number recorded 300 years earlier, and 18 of the estates comprise more than one holding. The desertion of medieval farmhouses is shown:

'John Browning holdeth . . . one messuage in Whitbourne called Wayttslande (unbuylded) and half yard lande to the same belonginge, . . . the place where the said messuage called Waytts was sometyme builded (is now a playne close) lyeth between Richard Hollande lytle croft, and the custome

house and close of John Moseley called Golds Tofte and stretcheth from the comon waye to Whitbourne broke'.

'One lytle close called Whitbourne plock which is the place where the messuage was sometyme buylded which did belong to Cocks lands (as Richard Combey sayth old Collins did tell him)'.

'Thomas ffdoe holdeth . . . one messuage unbylded called Whishmores and half yarde land to the same belonging, viz The place and scyte where the same messuage was sometyme buylded with iiii crofts of arrable land and one lytle meadow with a barn upon it adjoyning together, stretching from Posswick field to the custom myll close'.

Some 12 freehold and 20 customary messuages are recorded as built, and 5 freehold and 15 customary messuages recorded as unbuilt. The reason for noting the no longer standing farmhouses can be found in the following extracts:²⁹

'It is very apparent in the Courte Roles that every custome tenante which dieth seased of custome landes . . . doe paie (Heriot) for every messuage . . . his best beaste . . . How the best beaste is due for heryotte as well of the free as custome tenante . . . Custome tenantes by agreement betwene the lord and them have accepted to paye to the lorde for heryott at their decease for every messuage xxvi s. vii d. or their beaste at the choyce of the lorde: which agrement for heryott against that tenante is good by lawe, as I have heard some saie which are learned . . . Further it is not denyed of any but that heriott is due for every messuage buylded or unbuylded . . . Therefore it behoveth the stewardestes and officers to keep still the names of messuages in the custome tenants copeys, although the same are unbuilt'.

By 1577, 4 landowners had estates in Whitbourne exceeding 80 acres (or 2 virgates or 2 yardlands) these were, the manor-house and demesne, William Huck with Poswick (Lodge), William Woode with Kings (now Lower Poswick), and John Coles with Elmers End (now Upper Elmores End). Thirteen men held between 40-80 acres (or between 1 and 2 virgates or yardlands). There were 9 holdings of 20-40 acres and 5 between 8-20 acres, just 9 people had less than 8 acres (see table p. 335). These were units of land-ownership held from the lord of the manor and would in most cases also have been farming units. However, as with the 3 farms of the heirs of Brockhampton and the properties belonging to the heirs of James Bedell, more than one undertenant farmed the land.

The mid-17th-century civil wars left their mark on Whitbourne. In September, 1642, a Parliamentarian army returning from Hereford to Worcester via Bromyard, marched over Bringsty Common through Whitbourne parish to cross the river Teme at Knightsford Bridge. Then 1645 saw the army of Charles I passing through Whitbourne travelling from Worcester to Hereford to relieve that city besieged by a large Scottish army. Peace in 1649 found Cromwell and Parliament in power, episcopacy was abolished and the bishop of Hereford's manors confiscated. Colonel John Birch, M.P. for Leominster, a Parliamentarian, one time Governor of the city of Hereford, bought the manor of Whitbourne and came to

live in the parish. As time passed John Birch changed his allegiance, and was imprisoned in Worcester for six months, the bishop's palace in Whitbourne being occupied by government troops. The ancient palace was about this time sadly destroyed, probably by fire, in case it was manned against the government.³⁰ The restoration of 1660 saw Charles II on the throne and bishops returned to their sees. The bishop of Hereford reclaimed his manor of Whitbourne, an estate John Birch was in no hurry to relinquish as at great personal expense he had rebuilt the ruined palace now called Whitbourne Court,³¹ and no doubt found the situation close to the river Teme, and his fine new house very congenial.

A compromise was reached, the bishop granted a long lease on the property, and from this time although the bishops of Hereford retained the right to reside at the court when they wished, the house and farm were usually occupied by a tenant of some standing. This arrangement continued until the manor was sold out of ecclesiastical ownership in 1867. John Birch later moved to Garnstone and represented the town of Weobley in parliament, leaving his second son Samuel, who was buried in the parish church in 1704, tenant of Whitbourne Court. The square stone house was extended in brick by Richard Chambers in the second half of the 18th century, and another extension was built by Sir Richard Harington about 1900. These later extensions incorporate a medieval building of c. 1500 left standing after the destruction of the former bishop's palace.³²

Whether the tenant of the Court farmed more than the demesne lands depended on his own ambitions. Colonel John Birch possessed much more land in the parish, most of which was sold away from the estate in 1716. Between 1762 and 1810 Richard Chambers of Whitbourne Court consolidated the demesne by buying up adjacent parcels of land as they became available and also acquired virtually the whole of Tedney which up to that time had belonged to six or seven farmers.

(d) Landholding in Whitbourne, 1839

The next complete survey of the parish was for the purpose of tithe commutation in 1839. The process of amalgamation of lands had yet to reach the peak, but the trend was clear. There were now only 19 holdings over 10 acres in the parish, 13 of these were over 25 acres (see table p. 335). The Whitbourne Court estate, which had already passed its zenith, now totalled only 251 acres. The Tedney estate totalled 420 acres. It now belonged to Charles Griffiths, the result of the sale of the property of Richard Chambers in 1817, pursuant to a decree in the High Court of Chancery.

The Gaines estate, owned by John Freeman, covered an area of 745 acres in 1839. The process by which this large holding was built up, is of interest. It was founded on the free estate of James Bedell comprising the three messuages of Gynes, Huntlands (a separate property to the manor of Huntlands) and Pitthouse (the two latter no longer standing in 1577), with certain parcels of

land belonging thereto. In 1663 John Arden had bought the considerable estate known as Gynes (now Old Gaines) bequeathing it twenty years later, to his kinsman Bellingham Freeman, as part of the settlement on Bellingham's marriage with Elizabeth Gower of Suckley, Worcestershire. It is accepted in the Freeman family that Bellingham planned and built the new mansion house, whilst living at Old Gaines. In six years of marriage Bellingham and Elizabeth had four children. John, the last and their son and heir, was born in May, 1689. The following month Bellingham himself died at the age of 43. Elizabeth survived him 40 years. She subsequently remarried and, with her second husband John Cresswell, continued to live in New Gaines and administer the Freeman estate until the heir John Freeman was able to take over the reins for himself. The house, planned by Bellingham Freeman and built in the late 17th century, is the central five bays of the present large red brick building. In direct succession four John Freemans continued to extend both the new house of Gaines and the Gaines estate, until the death in 1870 of John Freeman of Gaines without male heirs. A Justice of the Peace, he had been High Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1832.³³ His only son Captain John Arthur Freeman had died unmarried in the Crimea in 1854, and the estate was inherited by John Freeman's eldest daughter, Mary Harriet, the wife of Arthur Childe, rector of Edwin Ralph and Collington. Arthur and Mary Harriet took the name of Childe-Freeman in 1879, building Ferney Bank in Whitbourne which was to be their home. Mary Harriet administered the estate until her death in 1921. During her lifetime two direct male heirs died, her son Arthur John in 1892 and her grandson John Arthur Childe-Freeman unmarried, on active service in France in 1917. In consequence her grand-daughter, Mary Abigail (nee Childe-Freeman) the wife of Sir James Harman, Lord Mayor of London 1963-4, inherited the Gaines estate in tail male in 1921. The following year the large estate was put up for auction in separate lots.

The Longlands estate, held by William of the Walle about 1285 and by Robert Stallwarde in 1577, belonged in 1839 to Samuel Wall, son of Samuel Wall of Foregate Street, Worcester, who died in 1813 a year after buying the estate. Longlands, by this time a farm of 250 acres had been largely consolidated by the Barnes family. Henry Barnes, gentleman, of Broadwas, Worcestershire, acquired land in Whitbourne in 1566 and was living in the parish in 1568 when he leased Longlands from John and Katherine Stallard (Stallwarde) of Castle Frome. His son, James Barnes, bought Longlands in 1618, and the estate was sold out of the family in 1729, after the bankruptcy of William Barnes of Longlands. Samuel Wall also owned in 1839 Wishmoor, a farm of 46 acres, held by Robert of Wysshmore about 1285 and by Thomas Fidoe in 1577.

In 1839, John Barneby of Brockhampton owned 186 acres in Whitbourne principally in the three tenanted farms of Great Linciter, Crumplebury and the Oaks. These were not the same properties as those held by the heirs of the Brockhampton estate in 1577. There were nine other holdings of over 80 acres in 1839. These were, Upper Poswick (now Poswick Lodge) and the Shop, 146

acres belonging to Mrs. Martha Attwood; Upper Rosemore farm (now Rosemore farm), 85 acres belonging to John Winwood; Lower Rosemore, 106 acres, belonging to Mrs. Hannah George; and Poplands, 136 acres, belonging to Joseph Davies.

Mrs. Hannah George and Joseph Davies were two of the children of Benjamin Davies of Poplands (which he so named) who died in 1791. On inheriting their father's estate in Whitbourne of over 240 acres, they partitioned it to their mutual satisfaction. Much of the Poplands estate was an amalgamation of lands purchased and inherited by the Hodges family who had farmed in Whitbourne since the 17th century. These included Meadow Green Farm (once Midwides ground), a freehold farm of 76 acres bought by Unett Hodges from Bartholomew Richard Barneby in 1752 and three customary messuages and land called Osbornes, Howmans and Sifflings. Benjamin Davies had bought these properties from Samuel Hodges in 1781. He had also bought in the same year a customary messuage and lands known as Hull Place (Lower Rosemore in 1839, now Old Rosemore, the farmhouse having been burnt down about 1900) and 11 acres of ground called Midwode Close.

(e) Landholding 1900

There were by 1900 only five landowners in Whitbourne with holdings of over 20 acres in area (see table p. 335). Sir Richard Harington now owned Whitbourne Court and the ancient demesne. The Gaines estate belonged to the Child-Freeman family. Tedney was still the property of the Griffiths family and the Brockhampton estate still owned over 80 acres in this parish. The other nine substantial holdings of 1839, were now part of the Whitbourne Hall estate established by Edward Bickerton Evans in 1861.

Edward Bickerton Evans was the son of Edward Evans, a banker and business man of Worcester. His first purchase in Whitbourne was the Longlands and Wishmore estate, and on part of Longlands he built his new house. Edward Bickerton Evans, a great traveller, conceived a house built in the Greek style, the Erechtheum being the particular building of his choice. Consequently the front of Whitbourne Hall has a six column Ionic portico with a pediment and the central main doorway is of similar proportions and style. The entrance hall is open to the roof with pillars and columns around carrying the gallery.³⁴ A noble and impressive house, well suited to be the centre of an estate to which belonged over 900 acres, almost one-third of the parish of Whitbourne, by the end of the century.

(f) Landholding 1971

However, the tide is now turning for March, 1971, found twice the number of larger landowners in the parish compared with 1900 (see table p. 335). The Whitbourne Hall estate, still in the ownership of the Evans family, covers nearly one-third of the parish. Whitbourne Court and the old demesne, belongs to Judge Harington. Tedney now belongs to Mr. Edward Walker of Hilltop, Horsham, Worcestershire, who farms the land with the assistance of a Bailey

bridge recently erected to cross the river Teme. With the break up of the Gaines estate in 1922, four previously individual holdings have again emerged, namely, Old Gaines, Huntlands Farm, Upper Elmores End and Hamish Park.

The two latter Upper Elmores End and Hamish Park, were in 1577, the custom estate of the late James Bedell (held by John Coles in the right of his wife, the widow of James), called Elmers End and Warners otherwise Churchland, of 86 acres. The 56 acres known as Hamish Park were sold away from Elmers End at the end of the 17th century and the farmhouse built for this new farm about 1713. It may be that these 56 acres on the edge of the parish were an enclosed park for rearing and containing deer, and associated in medieval times with the manor of Huntinglands. Warners could well derive from the medieval wareine meaning 'a game reserve' and warnere, meaning 'a game keeper'.³⁵

The Brockhampton estate, now in the hands of the National Trust, is still substantial, but of the farms in Whitbourne covering Linciter, Great Linciter has been sold to the present owner-occupier Mr. R. J. Roper, thereby dividing one of the larger units of 1900 into two today. The tenth holding over 20 acres is the Scar made up with land sold recently from the Whitbourne Hall estate.

The Size of Farms

The purpose of the surveys, which have been the sources of information on the estates of Whitbourne parish, was to determine who owned the land thereby owing tax or tithe. In consequence it is not always possible to discover the size of the individual farming units. It seems likely that most of the 81 medieval property owners in Whitbourne farmed their own land, and of these, 39 (including the bishop), held over 8 acres. Similarly many of the landowners in 1577, would have been farming their own holdings. Although by this time some of the large estates were divided up into a number of separate farms. So with 31 holders of over 8 acres of land, there could well have been more than this number of individual farms.

The tithe schedule however, makes it possible to differentiate between landholdings and farms. In 1839 although there were only 19 landholders in the parish with over 8 acres, there were 32 farms of over 8 acres. Of these 24 farms were in the hands of tenant farmers and 8 were farmed by owner-occupiers; 13 farms were over 80 acres; 5 over 40 acres; 4 of the 20-40 acre size; and 10 in the 8-20 acre range. Likewise it is possible to enumerate the farming units of today; to 14 landholdings of over 8 acres there are 20 farms, of these 9 are farmed by owners and 11 by tenants. 9 of these farms are over 80 acres, 3 in the 40-80 acre category, 3 of 20-40 acres and 5 below this size (see table p. 335). Probably the most interesting point is that today, 3 men own and farm for themselves over one-third of the parish.

During the last 700 years in one Herefordshire parish the size of farming estates has waxed and waned. The reasons are various but predominantly caused by population changes and economics. The most common estate and farm size

in the parish at the end of the 13th century was 20-40 acres. Probably the amalgamation of farms and holdings started with the drop in population consequent to the disastrous 14th-century plagues. The movement continued, to culminate in the great 19th-century estates, two of which, the Gaines estate of John Freeman and the Whitbourne Hall estate of Edward Bickerton Evans comprised together well over half the parish. This century has seen the break down of the Gaines estate and no further movement to build up similar estates of tenanted farms. Rather farm sizes are increasing and as farms become vacant they are being merged into larger farming units whether owner-occupied or tenanted. This process has now been recognised by the government, for it is paying compensation and grants to landowners prepared to amalgamate farms, as it realizes the larger farming units are economically more viable.

I would like to express my gratitude to: Mr. J. Hillaby who first suggested a talk on Whitbourne and who has since read this paper and suggested improvements. Mrs. M. Tonkin who so carefully transcribed and translated the pages of the *Red Book* relating to Whitbourne and the 1494 rental. Mr. J. W. Tonkin, who has visited and recorded so many houses in the parish. Mr. T. Stewart and Mr. P. Barker, who first noted and identified the deserted medieval village at Tedney and drew my attention to the medieval work in Whitbourne Court. Mrs. M. Gelling for her help with place-name meanings. My husband who drew the map (p. 334), checked my figures and helped compile the table (p. 335). The many people of Whitbourne, who have, for so many years, kindly let me walk over their land, explore their houses and examine their documents. Mr. G. Woods, who initially mentioned the wealth of historic documents within the parish; Judge and Mrs. J. Harington who possess the Whitbourne Court collection of papers and have been so helpful; Captain E. Evans, who gave me every facility to examine the Whitbourne Hall documents. The Rev. Chignall, who has the custody of the parish records and Mrs. J. Hopkinson for so ably typing my notes.

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The Government of Hereford in the 16th Century

By I. M. SLOCOMBE

ONE of the most interesting features of the history of English boroughs is that each is unique for, having gained some degree of independence from royal or seignorial control, each borough developed its individual system of government. Certain broad similarities did exist both in the privileges obtained by boroughs at various stages in their history and in the systems of government they developed for there was sometimes conscious imitation of each other and inevitably also similar reactions to the prevailing economic, social and political conditions. Even so, no two boroughs were exactly alike.

By the beginning of the 16th century Hereford had acquired most of the privileges normally associated with a borough. Its first charter of 1189 had granted its citizens the right to hold the borough at a fee farm rent of £40. A merchant guild was established by John's charter of 1215 and a three-day fair in October (distinct from St. Ethelbert's fair which was controlled by the Bishop) was held from 1227 onwards. Complete control of all the law courts held in the borough, including a right to the profits arising from them, was confirmed by Richard III in 1399 in return for a payment of £100. From quite early days the King's reeve must have been superseded by an elected bailiff who in 1383 was given the title of mayor although it is doubtful whether in practice this made any significant change in his powers or duties. Despite all these privileges Hereford was not legally incorporated until 1597 and before that, for example, it was not entitled to hold land without obtaining a special charter. The administrative machinery needed to deal with these privileges evolved from the existing law courts and, in fact, administrative and judicial work and procedures never became completely separated in medieval times.

In many boroughs the gradual development of a system of government was affected in the late 14th and early 15th centuries by the opposition of the lesser citizens or 'inferiores' to the growing oligarchic control. Often this led to the establishment of a double council, as at King's Lynn and Norwich, with the original councillors becoming aldermen and a new council, usually called the 'common council' and numbering twice the aldermen, being formed. In other places, such as Coventry and Newcastle under Lyme, an older system survived with the jury of the Court Leet still exercising considerable control over both judicial and administrative affairs. Hereford bears a much closer resemblance to Coventry and Newcastle under Lyme than to King's Lynn and Norwich.¹ Although its council composed of aldermen and common councillors played an increasingly important role, the three inquests meeting at the Lawdays remained the formal administrative body.

Lawdays were to be held in Hereford twice a year, once between Michaelmas and All Saints Day and again between Easter and Whitsun. These meetings were to be 'in the most public place of the whole city' and were to be attended by 'all the discreetest sort of the city and of whatsoever hold or lordship within the city, suburbs or liberties they shall be'. On each occasion three inquests were to be chosen: 'one of the suburbs and liberty; and other of the men dwelling within the city in any street soever; the third of the discreetest and stoutest men of the whole city which shall confirm the verdict of the other inquests'.²

By the 16th century the three inquests were no longer strictly chosen by the medieval custom. The first or great inquest was chosen almost entirely from the 'elect', the members of the common council, but the second and third inquests were no longer based on the geographical criterion of within the walls and without the walls. In the earliest part of the period some men did appear for the first time on either the second or the third inquest and some did jump straight from the third to the first inquest but the three inquests became increasingly hierarchial with a progression from the third to the second to the first inquest. A few examples illustrate this:

Philip Llewellyn: 3rd inquest, 1509, 1513;
2nd inquest, 1516, 1518, 1520, 1521;
1st inquest, 1526 onwards.

Rowland Rees: 3rd inquest, 1518;
2nd inquest, 1520, 1521;
1st inquest, 1530 onwards.

Richard Partriche junior: 3rd inquest, 1534;
2nd inquest, 1536, 1540, 1542;
1st inquest, 1557 onwards.

Other evidence helps to confirm this progression. The list of men from whom the three inquests were chosen in 1573 shows the name of John Bodenham added to the bottom of the first inquest and crossed through in the list of the second inquest. Henry Flacher appears at the bottom of the second inquest and his name is erased from the third inquest. Most conclusive of all is the evidence provided by the records of the tourn showing in each ward the names of the householders and whether each lived within or without the walls. Thus in 1578, for example, three of the second inquest, which by medieval custom was chosen from those within the walls, lived outside while twelve of the third inquest, by custom chosen from those living outside the walls, came from within the walls.³ It is important to realise that each inquest was apparently not fixed at the traditional twelve members even though it was sometimes referred to as the 'twelve' for the actual number varied from twelve to twenty-one.

Meetings of the Lawday still followed the medieval practice of two a year. In the earlier part of the 16th century the date of the first meeting varied from early September to late December. By Elizabeth's reign, however, the meetings were almost invariably held on a Monday, the first about 20th October and the second in late April or early May. The increasing amount of business clearly

could not be dealt with in two meetings and also, of course, it would have been most inconvenient if some matters had to wait up to six months before being considered. It became usual, therefore, to recall all or some of the three inquests at a later date. In 1586 the Lawday was held on 21st October, then all three inquests were adjourned to 7 a.m. on 24th October, then another meeting was held at 8 a.m. on 30th October. In 1582 the first inquest originally met on 22nd October but then had seven further meetings, the final one being on 29th January 1583. Again in 1587-8 the first meeting was on 23rd October and this was followed by a series of meetings until the last one on 9th February. As the next Lawday was convened on 29th April, the first inquest did in fact hold fairly frequent meetings throughout the year. The original jury was expected to attend all the subsequent meetings until a new jury was formed at the next Lawday, the penalty for non-attendance being 40 shillings.

It is not clear when the council, or 'Election' as it was more usually known, first emerged although it was certainly well established by the 16th century. Lists of councillors are to be found in the *Mayor's Book* and the *Great Black Book*⁴ and, although not complete, some 68 years are covered between 1486 and 1591 with the main gap between the two books (1531 to 1542) but with a continuous run from 1543 to 1591. As the century progressed, the membership and organisation of the council became much more formal and more rigid rules were introduced. The number on the council was not at first fixed for in 1486 it was 45 while in 1492 it was only 37. There may have been an attempt at control of the borough by an oligarchy for in 1495 it was agreed 'for diverse considerations' that the number should be allowed to decrease further until it reached 31 which it did by 1514. However, in 1516, two members died and the question of their replacement caused one of the first electoral disputes. It was noted that 'for the replenysshynge of the seid nombre there was dyverse labors made as well by fryman as by other dyverse of the seid nombre by affection for dyverse persons which were not to be accepted and taken to the seid nombre for youth and other cause resonable'. It was decided to keep the number at 29 and then gradually reduce this to 25 which should then remain the permanent number. Vacancies were clearly filled by co-option: 'the residue of the nombre of the seid eleccion shall then be at the seid day of eleccion which shall be yerely the day after the Fest of Seynt Luke the Evangelist chose and electe other good and able persons of the seid Citie after there discessions to fulfill the seid nombre of xxv persons'. The council stayed at 25 members until 1520 when for some unrecorded reason it was increased to 31 members. In that year there were four other vacancies so almost a third of the members must have been completely new to the council. The council of 31 members was confirmed by the charter of 1597 and in fact remained at this number right up to the reform of municipal corporations in 1835.

A fairly strict hierarchy or order of precedence soon developed within the council. At the Lawday of 1518 it was ordered that 'every person that nowe is of the election of the city or hereafter shall be of the said number shall go in his room according as he is called to the election'. That this refers to the order

of precedence is confirmed by the fact that the lists of the councillors in the *Mayor's Book* and the *Great Black Book* follow a strict order of seniority from year to year. This arrangement was closely linked with the election of aldermen and to a lesser extent of the mayor. The lists record firstly the mayor, then the ex-mayors in order of seniority, the first six of these being aldermen, and then the common councillors in the order in which they were elected to the council. For example, Richard Partriche junior became a member of the council for the first time in 1545 and his name was recorded at the bottom of the list. As other councillors left or died he gradually moved up to fifteenth position by 1554 and, after being mayor in 1558, he assumed ninth position as the most junior of the ex-mayors, eventually becoming an alderman in fourth position until the last reference to him in 1581. Another long record as a councillor but a rather different one is that of William ap Rees who became a member of the council in 1550 and slowly worked his way up to thirteenth position by the time of his death in 1580 but, as he never became mayor, he could not have become an alderman or moved to the more senior positions in the lists.

In the second half of the century, some exceptions were made to this practice with men of influence and wealth assuming places high in the order of precedence on the council without the usual progression through the ranks. The most notable of these were:

James Boyle: became mayor in 1572 without having previously been a member of the council.

Gregory Price: first became a member of the council in 1572 in third position (an alderman) and then became mayor next year.

Richard Warnecombe: first became a member of the council in 1574 in twelfth position and then became mayor next year.

John Scudamore: first became a member of the council in 1585 in second position (an alderman) and remained in this position until at least 1591 although he was never mayor.

William Garnons: became mayor in 1588 without having previously been a member of the council.

It seems very possible that this is part of what has been described as the 'tidal advance of the gentry into the borough'. Certainly there are clear connections through marriage or political allegiance between many of the leading men within the city and the most powerful and often opposing groups in the county and through them with national politics. The Warnecombes, for example, were linked by marriage to the Crofts while Gregory Price and James Boyle seem to have been closely linked with supporters of the Leicester/Sidney faction.⁵ It may be also significant that many of these leading figures were also members of parliament for Hereford at various times and that Gregory Price and James Boyle owed their wealth at least within the city to their ownership of estates of the dissolved monastic houses of St. Guthlac's and the Greyfriars.

The mayor was, and is, the chief citizen of the borough but, although it is clear that he was elected by the council, it is difficult to see exactly in practice

how the choice was made each year and to decide whether the office was highly prized or simply regarded as an onerous duty. For the early part of the 16th century the election of the mayor took place the day after the Feast of St. Luke (18th October) but later it seems to have been on the Monday after Michaelmas (29th September). However, this was simply the formal ceremony as the real election had already been decided at a previous council meeting. In 1522 this meeting was said to have taken place at the time of the Lawday held after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th September). On another occasion, in 1567, it was said to be held each year on the Monday before the Feast of St. Lawrence the Martyr (10th August). The choice made at this meeting had to be kept secret until the formal election day on pain of disfranchisement.

At an earlier period it was not uncommon for a man to hold the office of mayor not only many times but also for continuous stretches. John Mey held the office 21 times including the periods 1405 to 1411 and 1423 to 1429. However, an ordinance made at a Lawday in the reign of Edward IV precluded anyone from being mayor in successive years. This seems to have been generally observed but there was one exception in Roger Gibbes who was mayor in 1497 and again in 1498. For the 117 years between 1485 and 1603, some 74 different men held the office of mayor with Richard Phelips and Thomas Gibbons each being mayor six times.

There seems to have been no clear pattern governing the election of the mayor. Thomas Webb was a councillor for eight years before becoming mayor in 1559; John Gibbs became mayor four years after being elected to the council but he then served as a councillor for another 27 years before his death without becoming mayor again. It has already been noted how James Boyle and William Garnons became mayor without having previously been a member of the council. On the other hand, John Darnell was a councillor for 26 years and William Russell for 27 years without either becoming mayor. On one occasion in 1520 the mayor, Roger Beale, died in office and the next day the senior alderman, Richard Brown, was elected to fill the office for the remainder of the term.

There is evidence that at least some men regarded the office of mayor as a burden rather than as an honour. In 1566 John Shewarde was nominated mayor but the council accepted his plea that he was 'not hable in bodie to exercise that office'. He was discharged for ever from being mayor on payment of a fine of £5. Incidentally he remained a member of the council for another 16 years. In 1578 two members of the Council of the Marches, Whitgift and Fabian Phillips, wrote to the council informing them that the nominee for mayor, James Warnecombe, had recently been ill and prayed them to release him. This was no case of a rival faction trying to remove an enemy for James Warnecombe was related through his wife to Sir James Croft, a cousin and political ally of Fabian Phillips. That the council all the same elected James Warnecombe as mayor may perhaps indicate the lack of external interference in the borough's affairs but all the same the plea may well have been a true one for Warnecombe died two years later. The outstanding case was that of James Yayden. He had

been nominated mayor in 1580 but failed to appear when summoned on the formal election day, so an alternative, Walter Hurdman, had to be elected. Yayden was fined £20 but he refused to pay. Eventually in 1581 a compromise was reached by which Yayden was to pay £6 13s. 4d. to the chamberlain, part for the repair of the market house and the remainder to the poor, and in return he was not to be charged with the office of mayor for the next four years. When this time had elapsed in 1585, Yayden successfully petitioned to be relieved of his position as a councillor as he was employed as a 'Register of the Dean of the Cathedral'. Even more conclusive evidence is that half of Yayden's original fine of £20 was to have gone to Walter Hurdman as compensation for becoming mayor instead of him.⁸ Possibly the main reason for the reluctance of some men to become mayor was the almost inevitable financial burden of the office. In the 16th century a large part of the borough's finance limited as it was passed through the mayor's account and was directly administered by him. He was allowed a fee of £10 for his expenses but in most years the mayor's account showed a loss: 1553 'thus owing to the mayor £6 11s. 11d.'; 1577 'thus owing to the mayor £20 4s. 6d.'; 1582 'the city owes the mayor £12 10s. 4d.'; 1587 'thus owing to the mayor £10 1s. 7d.' These deficits were not carried forward to the next year and, as there would appear not to have been any fund from which these amounts could have been paid, it must be assumed that the mayor simply had to accept the loss out of his own pocket.

Councillors and aldermen held their office for life or, more accurately, 'during good behaviour'. Many certainly did die in office such as John Pyvinche in 1587 after only six years as a councillor and William Rawlins after thirty years on the council and twice mayor. Other councillors such as Richard Scarlett in 1555 and John Hopwood in 1587 were excused from the council on moving from Hereford. Some, however, were disfranchised for 'misbehaviour' of various sorts. Robert Carpenter 'made affray upon one Thomas Tailour another of the seid councill house in the hight causey'. Henry Chippenham was disfranchised in 1515 for misbehaving himself in unfitting language to the mayor while Philip Symonds had said to another member, 'Thowe are a borst belly churle'. All these were readmitted to the council after a year or so on payment of a fine. In 1582 John Eliot, gentleman, and Richard Davies, fishmonger, were disfranchised for being known recusants.

Although being elected mayor may have been a doubtful honour, there seems to have been competition to become a common councillor. The dispute over the election of new members in 1516 illustrates this as does the willingness of some men to pay a fairly heavy fine for reinstatement to the council. The case of Richard Partriche similarly illustrates the competition for the six aldermanic seats. As he had fallen on lean times a subscription list was opened in 1582 by the mayor, aldermen and leading citizens to provide him with a pension on the condition that he should give up 'his room as alderman'.

Admission as a freeman and member of the Gild Merchant, synonymous in the 16th century, was important both for the economic privileges it conferred

and the eligibility it gave to take part in the government of the borough. The qualification for admission by right, although a payment of 12d. for 'wine and thanks' was expected, was by inheritance as the eldest son of a freeman, or by serving an apprenticeship for seven years under a freeman, or by marriage to the widow of a freeman. Others were admitted by purchase. At the beginning of the century the payment fluctuated from the supposedly standard of 6s. 8d. to as little as 20d. It was therefore agreed in response to a petition to the Lawday in 1518 that in future the fee should be 20s., half to go to the mayor and half to the chamberlains. It had also become accepted that a freeman must own freehold land in the city. For many 'foreigners' who bought their freedom this requirement was satisfied by their accepting responsibility for a section or loop of the city walls. Repairs were to be made when necessary 'from the stondynge wtin the seid walles uppeward and from the grounde without the walles uppewards'. By the ordinance of 1472 petitions for admission as freeman were considered by the three inquests at the two Lawdays each year. This was extended in 1558 to any freeman's court held in the city before the mayor, steward and a quorum of freemen and in 1573 this was further extended so that the mayor with ten of the common council and ten other citizens, even without the steward, could admit freemen at the freeman's court. This latter ordinance was repealed 16 years later. The number of admissions varied from year to year and it is not possible to ascertain exactly how many freemen were admitted in the century as a whole. For some years the number can be calculated from the mayor's account:

	by purchase	by right	total
1553	14	4	18
1577	1	5	6
1580	27	12	39
1582	4	5	9
1587	13	0	13

In order of precedence, the first official of the borough was the Steward although his duties were nominal and for these he received a small fee of £2 a year. Almost invariably the office was held by a leading figure of court or a local magnate whose patronage and favour would have been of value to the borough. Sir James Croft, Steward from 1559 until his death in 1590, held a variety of important offices including Comptroller of the Queen's Household, was a member of the Council of the Marches and a M.P. for Herefordshire. He was succeeded by the even more famous Robert, Earl of Essex. At an earlier period the Steward might have been expected to give the borough any legal advice it required but the charter of 1597 provided that he should appoint one or more deputy stewards for this purpose ('unum virum in lege eruditum vel plures viros in lege eruditos'). It seems fairly certain that long before 1597 similar appointments had been made for the mayor's accounts show a fee of 13s. 4d. being paid to a number of men described as 'membra a consilio'. At least some of these were attorneys of considerable standing locally and at the Council of the Marches.⁷

Of increasing influence and importance was the Town Clerk who, unlike today, was normally a member of the council. For much of the 16th and 17th centuries the office was dominated by the Clarke family who were of some importance in their own right. John Clarke was related through his wife to the Crofts and his son, Thomas, who succeeded him as Town Clerk, married into the Garnons family. The Town Clerk's annual salary of £2 was augmented by fees from the mayor's court in which he acted both as clerk and as an attorney, a position wide open to abuse. The immense power he wielded is indicated by the complaint of Paul Morse in 1584 that 'it was not meete that Mr. Clark shuld be governor of the citie' and that 'Mr. Clarke was an Extorcynor and a bryber and hath taken xij d. extorciously for making of a recognisance for silling of ale'. Bribes were probably also given to councillors by potential office holders and, in fact, an ordinance expressly forbidding this practice was proposed in 1543 and was only narrowly accepted by the Great Inquest by nine votes to six.

The four serjeants-at-mace were primarily officials of the law courts, being responsible for the execution of all warrants and attachments, for receiving bail, for the custody of prisoners, for forming juries and for receiving all fines. Set fees were levied for each of these services and, once again, there was the occasional misuse of powers. Thomas Bennett, serjeant-at-mace in 1559, was accused of stealing 13s. 4d. from the funds administered by him, of demanding a bushel of wheat from William Rees before he would agree to attach Harry Baker and of refusing to attach Harry Bluet for John Bodenham even after being paid 12d. which was more than the accustomed fee.

The sword-bearer, a lesser official, received £2 a year for his ceremonial duties. The two chamberlains, responsible for receiving the rents of the city's properties and for payments from this fund, were perhaps of less importance than might be expected simply because the city had very little property. The annual appointment of two bealdes seems to date from 1558. Their main duties were to keep watch for vagrants and beggars; to visit every house once a month warning the householders of the city bye-laws against keeping swine and ducks in the city streets; to impound such animals as were found in the streets and unringed swine on Widemarsh Common; to act as 'traffic wardens' on market days by turning strangers' horses away from the market place. They received a fee of 13s. 4d. a year and a gown with the city's badge on the left shoulder.

The office of bellman poses some problems. Not only did he not receive a fee but he seems to have had to pay for the privilege of holding the office. At least it was ordained in 1523 that he had to pave 200 yards within the city at his own cost except that the chamberlains supplied the necessary gravel and stone. If he were a 'foreigner' newly elected to the office and to the position of freeman, he had to pave 400 yards in his first year of office and 200 yards each year he held office afterwards. It is also difficult to discover his precise duties, if any, for the common bell was rung by the clerk of St. Peter's from 8 to 9 every night from All Saints Day (November 1st) to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (March 25th) for a salary of 11s. 8d. a year (he failed to get a rise in 1596).

It was reported in 1566 that the day bell had not been rung for two years and that this was making it difficult for poor people to get up to start work. As a result it was agreed that the bell in All Saints Church should be rung at 4 a.m. for half an hour each morning from All Saints Day to Candlemass (February 2nd). It is interesting to note that it was then stated that there was no waits in the city. Later on there were certainly waits for in 1587 William Jackson petitioned the three inquests for an increase in his wages, having served every winter quarter for the last seven years. He seems to have died in the same year for Roger Squyre petitioned for the wait's place as a result of the death of the 'late head wayte and musician'.

The porters at each of the six gates of the city collected the tolls, safeguarded the keys of the gates and locked the gates every night by 10 p.m., opening them at day break. Other duties included issuing notices for the coming Lawday and Quarter Sessions, summoning the Watch at the right times and even, it would appear, providing a room in which the court called the 'Tourn' could be held twice a year. For all this they seem to have been paid no regular salary apart no doubt from the inevitable fees. At least their petition in 1576 claimed that they had been paid in the time of Richard Phelips, mayor, but now had 'no recompense or wages or anie other commoditie for their paines'.

The other city officials were the Keepers of Widemarsh, the Constables of the Peace, the Watch, the ale tasters and leather searchers. The town clerk, the sword bearer and the serjeants-at-mace each received a livery each year at a total cost of £10 in 1553 rising to £13 6s. 8d. by 1577.

The relationships between the three inquests within the Lawday and between the Lawday and the council were complex. Although the city council was well established by the 16th century it seems to have been the three inquests at the Lawday who still played the greater part, at least formally, in the administration of the city. There were no formal records of the council as such and the main administrative records are contained in the proceedings of the three inquests together with the relevant papers and petitions. The *Mayor's Book* and the *Great Black Book* were not minute books either of the council or of the three inquests but were simply register books containing some of the major decisions of the Lawdays and also records of recognisances, of sales of land, of disfranchisements and, from 1572, of apprenticeship indentures. It must be remembered that the Lawday also served as a court dealing with presentments similar to those before the Tourn and even the Quarter Sessions and, although this aspect of its work slowly declined, it had not completely disappeared by the end of the century. However, it is clear that the council gradually became more important, that it worked closely with the three inquests at the Lawday and assumed many of the functions of what might be called an executive committee. Perhaps in any case the distinction between the Lawday and the council was not so fundamental in practice for the first or great inquest was chosen entirely from the common councillors.

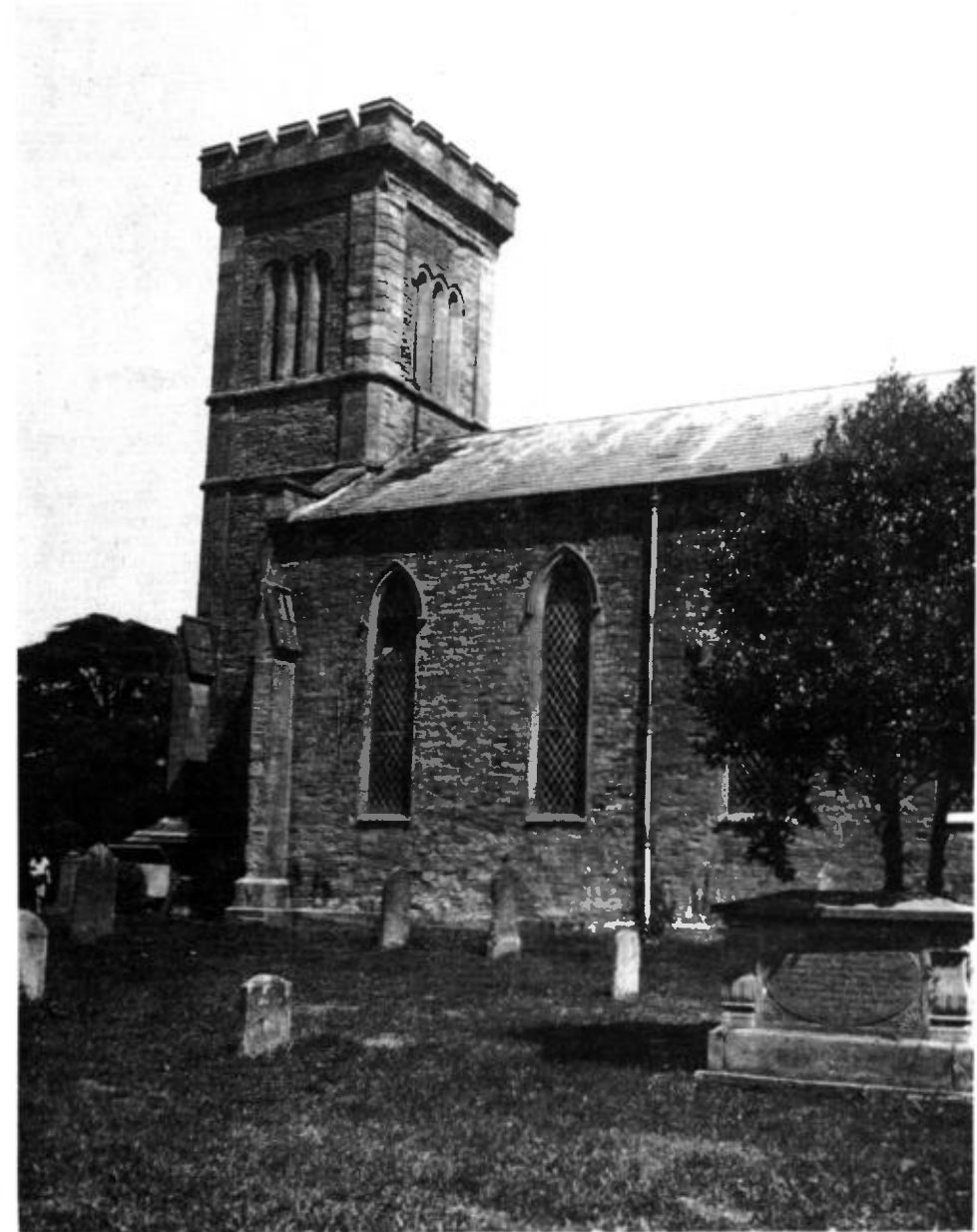
At the Lawdays petitions were considered by all three inquests meeting separately and, if agreed, were endorsed with the standard formula: 'The thryd inquest agreth uppon thys bylle; the second inquest agrithe upon this byll; confyrmat per prima inquir'. As agreement was necessary by all three inquests before a petition was allowed, it was not only the first inquest which had a power of veto. For example, the petition of the clerk of St. Peter's for an increase in his fee for ringing the common bell was allowed by the second inquest but rejected by the third inquest. Although the second and third inquests agreed to the admission of John ap Thomas as a freeman in 1559, the first inquest disallowed this: 'The great Inquest do nott allowe thys bylle for that thys bylle ys nott sufficient cause conteyned in the same to be allowed'. Sometimes the first inquest rejected a petition with the annotation 'Ignoramus'. The more frequent use of the veto by the first inquest arose mainly from the fact that most petitions were first considered by the second and third inquests and only if agreed by them were they passed to the first inquest. But it is clear that petitions and proposals could and were from time to time introduced into any of the three inquests.

In practice the increasingly important part played by the council in the administration of the city came about not by any formal re-allocation of power or duties between the Lawday and the council but by joint activity and by the referral of important matters to the mayor, the aldermen and the council for a decision. Many of the ordinances recorded in the *Great Black Book* were said to have been 'made and established and confirmed as well by the iij inquests sworn at a lawdaie as also approved and allowed by the maior and aldermen of the said cytie'. When the three inquests agreed to the lease of a garden with lime pit above Eign in 1579 to Ellis Jones, the rent was left to be fixed by the mayor, his brethren and the common council. Similarly Thomas Church, a dyer who had recently extended his workshop near Widemarsh Gate, was allowed by the three inquests to make a small door in the wall in order to enable him to wash his cloth in the town ditch but with the proviso that this could be reversed by the mayor and aldermen if they thought it was hurtful to the city. On other occasions a 'sub-committee' was formed to deal with particular problems. Thomas Benet wished to add a chimney to his house in Guildford Street but as this would mean an encroachment on the 'King's land' the agreement of the three inquests was necessary. Before this was given, it was decided that 'Mr. Meyre and hys Brethryne and certen of the enquests shall vewe the sayd lane and ground before the graunts doth passe'. A similar joint activity of the three inquests and council took place in 1558 when it was decided to make a survey of all the lands of the city by a committee consisting of William Rawlins and John Kerry, aldermen, John Clarke, town clerk, the two chamberlains, James Yayden for the second inquest and Richard Davies for the third inquest. At some times there was virtually a meeting of the council within the normal framework of the Lawday, as, for example, when various officials gave account of the funds they administered to the mayor, his brethren and the great inquest at a Lawday.

The council also took action independent of the Lawday. The decision in 1585 to send a present to the new Lord President of the Council of the Marches was made at a meeting of the mayor and a group of eleven councillors. Such meetings of the council are also implied in the ordinance of 1523 (by the mayor and council and not by the three inquests) which imposed a fine of 12d. on anyone who failed to attend when summoned 'there to have any communication for any comyn wele to be hadde or otherwise to comyn among themselves'. It is possible that these meetings were held at the Tolsey⁸ but a more secret meeting is hinted at in the disfranchisement of William Sheward, himself a councillor, who was discovered peering into the windows of the mayor's parlour at 10 p.m. while the mayor and others were talking and drinking there.

The three inquests might disagree on individual petitions but there is no real evidence for most of the 16th century of any basic differences between them. Probably this was helped by the steady 'promotion' from the third to the second to the first inquest which prevented the development of any rigid division into superior and inferior citizens. The common sense of purpose between the Lawday and the council also perhaps stems from the selection of the first inquest from the councillors. Possibly right at the end of the 16th century the traditional and harmonious working of this arrangement began to break down. The cases of influential men coming straight on to the council have already been noted and the decline of the power of the second and third inquests seems to be illustrated by their petition in 1587 to the mayor in order to see the new charter then being negotiated: 'We the second and thryde Inquestes sworne at this last leete and lawe daye for the cytie of Hereford most humblye desyreth your worshippe that we may have the syght and perusall of our charter nowe in hande to be renewed before the same doe passe out under seale to the intende we maye heare see and knowe the contents therof that the same maye agree in all respects wyth the ancient goode and lawdable customes of our citie wherunto we are sworne and that the newe exacted fees of late receyved contrary to our ancient custome may be reduced agayne to the said ancient and accustomed fees, the redresse whereof we have heretofore sought and cannot obtayne albe yt sundry promyses have byn made unto us for redresse therof'. Even if there was some diminution in their work and powers, the three inquests continued to meet until at least the end of the 17th century.

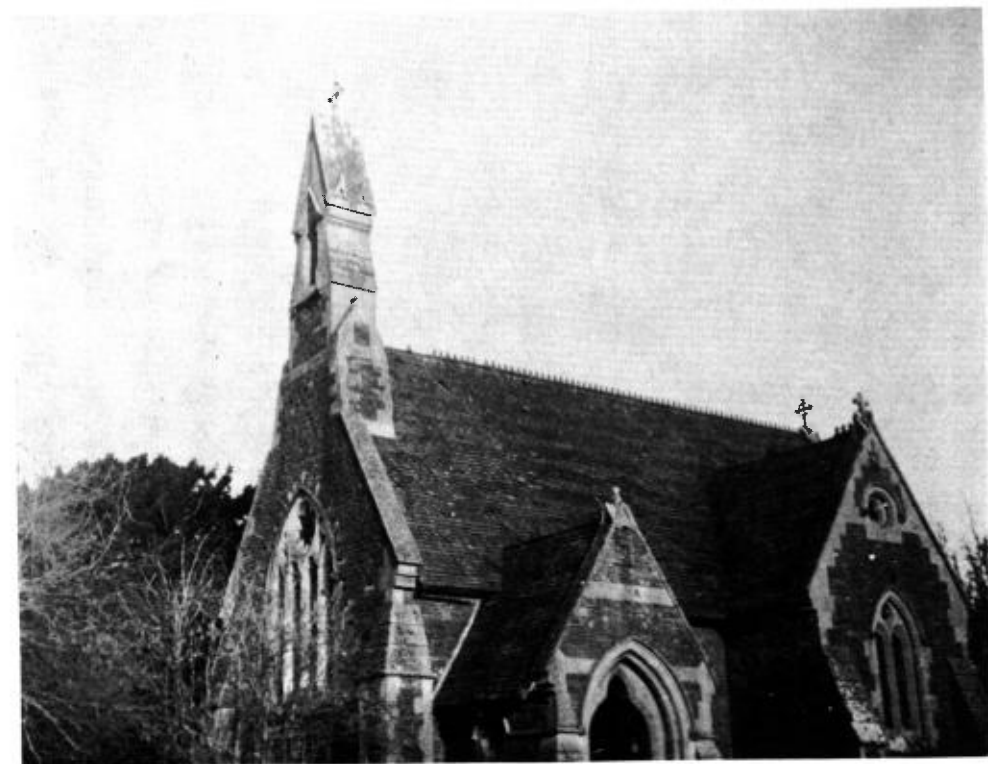
It is not the intention to give here a full account of all the ordinances made by the three inquests at the Lawdays for the government of Hereford in the 16th century.⁹ But it is important to realise that considerable control was exercised over many aspects both political and economic of life in the city in the 16th century by the Lawdays and the council directly or indirectly. The ordinances registered in the *Mayor's Book* and the *Great Black Book* cover such wide and varied subjects as the keeping of swine in the streets, the market, ringing of the common bell, leasing of land, restrictions on candidates for parliamentary elections, and appointment of officers. Many of these bye-laws were consolidated in the Mayor's Proclamation issued each year. Even after Richard



I—Much Birch, 1837.



II—Huntington, Holmer, 1850.



III—Tedstone Wafre, 1873.

POWELL, VICTORIAN CHURCHES



IV—Docklow, 1891.



V—Edvin Loach, 1860.

POWELL, VICTORIAN CHURCHES



VI—Staunton on Arrow, 1856.



VII—Bullinghope, 1880.

POWELL, VICTORIAN CHURCHES



VIII—Barrow at Kinsham.



IX—Cup-marked stone, Kinsham.

BROWN, ROUND BARROWS



XI—Old Gaines

WILLIAMS, MANOR OF WHITBOURNE



X—Whitbourne Court.

SPECIMEN

W. H. PARKER'S PRINTING TYPES,
BROAD CAPUCHIN-LANE, HEREFORD.

Two Line Double Pica.
ABCDEF GHIJ KLMN

Two Line English.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

Double Pica.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

English, No. 1.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

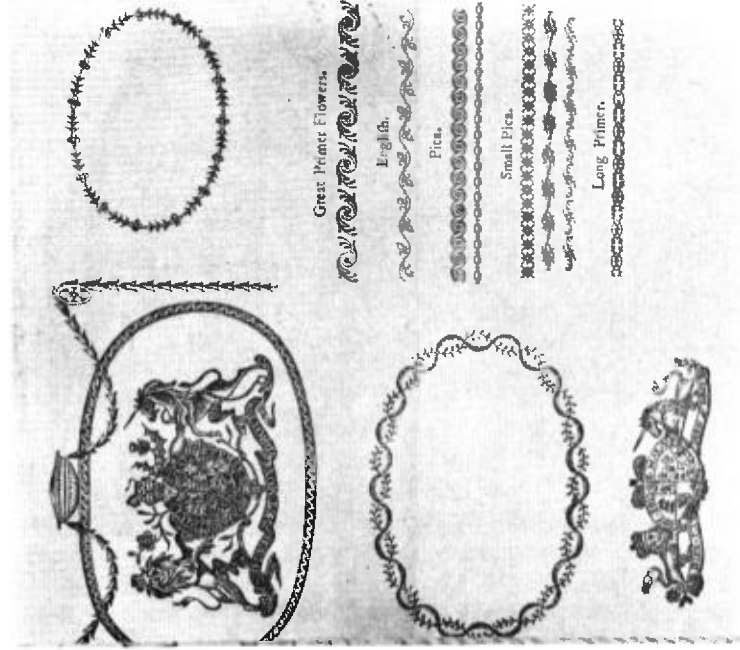
Great Primer.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

English, No. 2.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

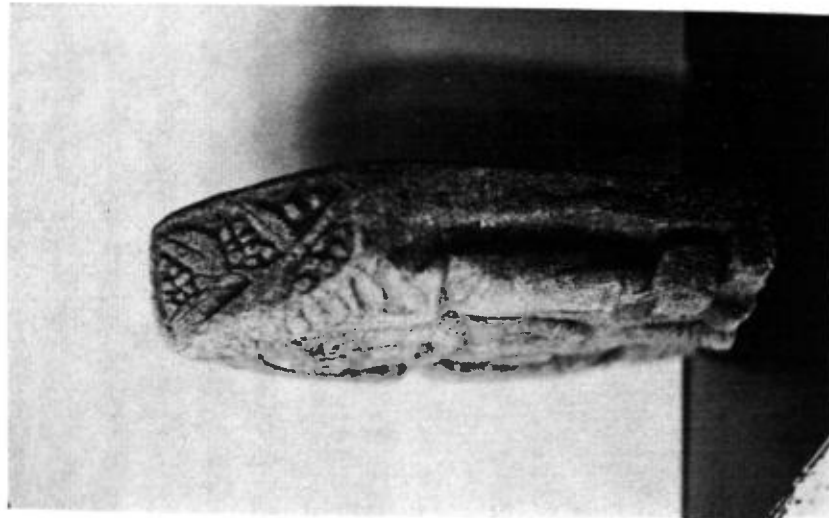
Long Primer.
The grand Palladium of Freedom, in every Country, is the Liberty of the Press; wherever that is free, the People can never be degraded into Machines. But where it is attacked by the strong arm of Power, it may be degraded into ABCDEF GHIJ KLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ

XII—Specimen Types

MORGAN, TYPE SPECIMENS



XIII—Specimen Ornaments.



XV—Limestone carving from Leysters.



XIV—Limestone carving from Leysters.

MUSEUM REPORT

Phelip's gift in 1535, the city's property controlled by the three inquests was never very extensive. Even so there were frequent and often important decisions to be made on the leasing of property and especially on matters arising from Wide-marsh Common. It was the Lawday which regulated the use of the common, set the scale of fees for pasturing cattle on it and dealt with the problem of enclosing part of the common in the middle of the century. The economic activity of the city was directly regulated by many of the Lawday's ordinances to stop forestalling and regrating, to settle disputes arising from the market and from the October fair. (St. Ethelbert's fair in May was in the hands of the Bishop and, despite continual disputes, remained outside the jurisdiction of the council and of the three inquests). There was perhaps even greater indirect control over the trade of the city for trading was strictly limited to members of the gilds which in turn were controlled by the three inquests at the Lawdays. The charters regulating the gilds' powers and organisation had to be confirmed by the three inquests and this of course meant also that the three inquests controlled the establishment of new gilds such as that of the tallow chandlers in 1582. The fees for entry to the gilds were fixed by the three inquests and a portion of these fees were paid to the mayor and to the chamberlains as did any fines imposed by the gilds for breaches of their rules. Further control of the gilds was obtained from the practice of referring internal disputes to the mayor for arbitration. The three inquests also intervened, for example, when Robert Corren was refused admission to the bakers' gild and when John Symons petitioned them to be admitted to the occupation of copper. Apprenticeships also tended to be controlled by the mayor and the three inquests as for example by the provision in 1572 that all apprenticeship indentures had to be registered with the mayor.

In Hereford the 16th century did not mark the beginning of new or modern administrative institutions. The medieval system of the three inquests meeting at the Lawdays continued to be the main channel through which the city was governed but, within this, procedures became more clearly fixed and the council emerged as a more powerful element. At the end of the century in 1597, the great Elizabethan charter officially recognised the incorporation of the city with its attendant rights of perpetual succession, the power to sue and to be sued, the authority to hold property, to have a common seal and to issue bye-laws. It did not, however, introduce any new institutions or procedures but simply ratified what already existed, giving the city permission to function under a constitution already evolved but never before so precisely described.

I am indebted to Miss E. M. Jancey and the staff of the Hereford County Record Office for their valuable assistance and advice.

REFERENCES

- ¹ M. D. Harris, *The Coventry Leet Book*; T. Pape, *Newcastle under Lyme in Tudor and Early Stuart Times*; W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*; Historical Manuscripts Commission: King's Lynn, 11th Report. On the question in general see E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, 385-391.

² W. H. Black and G. M. Hills (ed.), 'Customs of Hereford', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1871), 465-6.

These 'Customs of Hereford' purport to be of 12th-century origin. The only surviving copy is a 17th-century translation headed 'The rules, orders and auncient customes before the Conquest and since used in the Cittie of Hereford and Liberties thereof, in the time of John Gaunter, Bayliff, in the time of King Henrie the Second in the yeare of our Lord God, 1154', and at the end 'The customs of the city of Hereford, newly written and renewed by John Chippenham, Esq. then Mayor of the City aforesaid, viz. in the second year of King Henry the Seventh after the Conquest A.D. 1486).

The 'Customs' are really answers to questions put by various Welsh towns which had been granted privileges similar to those of Hereford. Internal evidence suggests that the customs must date from the last quarter of the 13th century.

³ Members of the three inquests 1578 and their place of residence by wards and whether within or without the walls:

	Wyebridge		Eign		Widemarsh		Bysters		St. Owens		Totals		Uncertain
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	
1st	2	1	3	1	2	0	5	0	1	0	13	2	1
2nd	4	1	4	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	12	3	0
3rd	1	1	3	0	2	0	5	0	1	0	12	1	1

⁴ I. M. Slocombe, 'The Mayor's Book and the Great Black Book, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII (1965), 149-150.

⁵ Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I*, chap. 9.

⁶ Similar rules applied in Leicester. In 1490 a penalty of £20 was imposed for refusing to become mayor, £10 being paid as compensation to the man who did assume the office and £10 to the Chamberlains.

M. Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, Vol. 2, p. 328.

⁷ 'Membra a consilio':

1498?	Roger Bodenham, William Rudhall, Rowland Morton, William Clarke.
1553	Thomas Havard, Richard Seborne.
1577	Richard Seborne, James Boyle, John Elliott, William Baggard.
1580	Richard Seborne, William Garnons, Thomas Jones.
1582	Richard Seborne, James Boyle, William Garnons, Thomas Hyde.
1587	Thomas Smalesman, William Garnons, James Boyle.

In 1529 Leicester retained a lawyer, John Beaumont, for a fee of 6s. 8d. 'to answer in suche causes as the towne shall nede and requyre'.

M. Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, Vol. 3, p. 26.

⁸ The Tolsey was situated at the west end of Bye Street (now Commercial Street) in the centre of the road approximately opposite the present Odeon Cinema. See the map of Hereford in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic Towns*, Vol. 1.

⁹ For a fuller account of such regulations and orders see F. C. Morgan, 'Local government in Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXI (1942), 37-57.

APPENDIX 1

HEREFORD CITY COUNCILLORS 1486-1591

This list of councillors is based on the *Mayor's Book* and the *Great Black Book*. These records are complete except for some of the earlier years and a gap of 12 years (1531-1542) between the two books.

Notes:

(1486) and (1591): The dates at which the *Mayor's Book* begins and the *Great Black Book* ends.

[] : Where there is a gap in the records, this indicates the nearest date at which the person's name is not recorded in the list e.g. [1525] 1527-1530. [1543]. This man was certainly a councillor from 1527 to 1530. He must have become a councillor after 1525 and ceased to be one before 1543.

d. = died.

M. = Mayor.

The year given is that of the beginning of the term of office which normally began in September.

There was little consistency in the spelling of surnames but only in cases of wide variation is an alternative spelling given in this list.

Where known the trade of the councillor has been indicated.

Aldeford, John	(1486) [1491]
Aldeford, Walter	(1486) - 1494 [1497]

Asshe, Henry (mercier)	(1486) - 1513 [1515]
Aston, John	1548 - 1550
Bagard, John	1550 - 1553
Barkeley, John	1565 - (1591) M. 1566, 1581
Barkeley, William	[1530] 1543 - 1550 M. 1543
Barton, John	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Beale, Roger	[1491] 1494 - 1519 M. 1506, 1519 (died in office 19 Mar 1520)
a Beignham, Thomas	1555 - 1558 d.
Beignham, William	[1494] 1497-1505 [1511] M. 1508
Benett, William	1563 - (1591) M. 1570
Benlloyd, Richard	(1486) - 1494 [1497]
Benlloyd, William	[1505] 1511 [1513]
Boulyng, Leonard	1548 - 1557
Boyle, James	1572 - (1591) M. 1572, 1579, 1583
Boyle, John	1530 - 1550 d.
Boyle, Thomas	1554 - 1564
Boyle, William	1588 - (1591)
Breinton, Thomas	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Bromwich, Richard	(1486) - 1515 [1518] M. 1499, 1510
Bromwich, Richard	1558 - (1591) M. 1577
Bromwich, Thomas	(1486) - [1491]
Bromwich, Thomas	[1530] 1543 - 1563 M. 1546
Brown, Richard	(1486) - 1530 [1543] M. (from 19 Mar 1520 on death of Roger Beale)
Brugge, John (vintner)	(1486) - 1520 [1523] M. 1504
Brylles/Brynles, Thomas	(1486) - 1502 [1505]
Buriton, Robert	(1486) - 1494 [1497] M. 1488
Caldicott, William (tailor)	[1530] 1543 - 1547
Canturcelly, John (weaver)	[1505] 1511 - 1547 M. 1529
Cardigan, Richard	(1486) - 1494 [1497]
Carpenter, Robert (ironmonger)	1502 1505 - 1530 [1543]
Carpenter, Thomas	(1486) - 1491
Cartwright, Bevis	1565 - 1574 M. 1568
Cardwardine, John	1587 - (1591)
Cardwardine, Walter	1547 - 1570 d. 8 Jan 1571 M. 1557
Casnall, Richard	[1494] 1497 - 1502 d.
Chippenham, Henry	[1494] 1497 - 1518 M. 1501, 1505
Chippenham, John	(1486) - 1491 [1494] M. 1486, 1490
Church, Thomas	1551 - (1591) M. 1563, 1586
Clarke, John	1560 - 1573 d. 13 May 1574
Clarke, Thomas	1580 - (1591)
Cross, Richard	(1486) - 1497 d.
Curren, Thomas	1564 - 1579
Darnell, John	1551 - 1576
Davies, Maurice	[1502] 1505 - 1529
Davies, Richard	1575 - 1582
Davies, Thomas	[1491] 1494 - 1515 [1518]
Davies, Thomas	1570 - 1589 M. 1582
Draper, John	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Draper, Thomas	(1486) - 1513 [1515] M. 1491, 1495
Dudeston, Henry	1548 - 1579 d. 19 May 1580 M. 1562
Edwards, Bartholomew	1583 - (1591)
Elliott, John	1560 - 1582
Flemyn, Thomas	1520 [1524]
Fletcher, Thomas	1589 - (1591)
Furny, Richard	[1505] 1511 - 1520 [1523]
Garnons, William	1588 - (1591) M. 1588
Garraway, James (chapman)	1520 - 1529
Gebons, Hugh	[1530] 1543 - 1563 (disfranchised)
Gebons, Thomas (mercier)	[1502] 1505 - 1548 M. 1512, 1514, 1515, 1523, 1533, 1535, 1538
Gibbes, John	1557 - 1588 M. 1561
Gibbes, Robert	[1491] 1494 - 1524 M. 1517, 1521
Gibbes, Roger	(1486) - 1502 d. M. 1494, 1497, 1498
Gibbes, Thomas (draper)	[1505] 1511 - 1547 M. 1526, 1530, 1542

Glover, Philip	(1486) - 1497 d. M. 1487
Goldesmyth, Hugh	1520 [1523]
Grainger, Thomas	[1520] 1523 - 1549 M. 1536
Grene, Edward	[1502] 1505 - 1520 [1523]
Grene, Henry	1551 - 1574
Grossemont, John	(1486) - 1494 [1497]
ap Gwilliam, John	(1486) - 1494 [1497]
Gyttyn, Thomas	1549 - 1558
Harper, John	1586- (1591)
Harries, John	[1505] 1511- 1525 [1527]
Havard, Thomas	[1525] 1527 - 1568 M. 1528, 1539, 1552, 1556
Henond, William (butcher)	[1530] 1543 - 1548
Herbert, John (smith)	[1497] 1502 - 1530 [1543] M. 1527
Herring, John	(1486) - 1505 [1511]
Herring, Simon	[1491] 1494 [1497]
Hill, John	(1486) - [1491]
Honor, George	[1502] 1505 - 1523 M. 1513
Hopwood, John	1572 - 1586 (left the city)
Horsenet, John	(1486) - [1491]
Hosyer, David	(1486) - 1502 d.
Hosyer, John	[1511] 1513 - 1515 [1518]
ap Hugyn, Hugh	1520 [1523]
Huntyngton, Maurice	[1494] 1497 - 1502 d.
Hurdman, George	1580 - (1591) M. 1584
Hurdman, Walter	1575 - (1591) M. 1580
Hyde, John	1599 - 1567
James, Richard	1581 - 1587
Jeffries, Matthew	1563 - 1571 M. 1569
Jenkins, John	1570- (1591)
Jevance, Maurice	1587
Jones, Andrew	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Jones, Roger	(1486) - 1505 [1511]
Kerry, John	1546 - 1559 d. M. 1555
King, Richard	1577 - (1591)
Lawton, Edward (yeoman)	1525 - 1530 [1543]
Leighton, Folc	1546 - 1549
Lewis, John	1566 - 1569
Llewellyn, Philip (hatmaker)	1520- 1530 [1543]
Marvil, Hugh (goldsmith)	[1520] 1523 - 1530 [1543]
Marvill, Robert	[1494] 1497 - 1505 d.
Masser, William	1524 - 1530 [1543]
Maylord, John	1546 - 1585 M. 1560, 1564, 1567, 1574
Maylord, Thomas	1571 - (1591) M. 1591
Maylord, William	1568 - (1591) M. 1585
Meredith, John	1528 - 1545 M. 1534
Meredith, Hugh	[1525] 1527 - 1556 M. 1541, 1550
Meredith, Thomas	1583 - 1586 (excused from the council)
Mey, James	[1494] 1497 - 1502 d. M. 1500
Mey, Thomas	(1486) - 1491 [1494] M. 1485, 1489
Mey, William	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Middleton, John	[1513] 1515 - 1544
Monyngton, George	(1486) - [1491]
Morris, Lewis	[1494] 1497 - 1545
Mower, John	(1486) - 1519
Nevile, Richard (vintner)	[1497] 1502 - 1525 [1527]
Nevile, Thomas (butcher)	[1511] 1513 - 1525 [1527]
Newton, Walter	(1486) - 1502 d.
Owgan/Oban, Morgan	[1530] 1543 - 1561
Partriche, John	1551 - 1565
Partriche, Richard (senior)	[1530] 1543 - 1568
Partriche, Richard (junior)	1545 - 1581 M. 1558
Payne, Thomas	[1494] 1497 - 1515 [1518]
Pearle, John	1558 - 1569
Penderyn, Lewis (innholder)	[1494] 1497 - 1505 [1511]

Pennock, Walter	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Perrott, Richard	1581 - (1591) M. 1589
Phelps, John (tailor)	[1530] 1543 - 1550 M. 1549
Phelps, Richard (draper)	[1494] 1497 - 1535 d. M. 1509, 1516, 1518, 1520, 1524, 1532
Phelpotts, Paul	1582 - 1589 M. 1587
Phelpotts, Roger	[1502] 1505 - 1515 [1518]
Phelpotts, Thomas	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Price, Gregory	1572 - (1591) M. 1573, 1576
Pyvinche, John	1581 - 1586 d.
Ragon, John	[1491] 1494 - 1507 (excused from the council 20 Mar 1508)
Ravenhill, Richard	1590 - (1591)
Rawlings, Edward	1587 - (1591)
Rawlings, William	[1530] 1543 - 1571 d. 12 Jan 1572 M. 1551, 1565
Rayneford, John (barber)	[1525] 1527 - 1530 [1543]
ap Rees, John	1571 - (1591)
ap Rees, Lewis (mercier)	1530 - 1548 M. 1545
Rees, Rowland	1524 - 1568 M. 1547
ap Rees, William	1520 - 1530 [1543]
ap Rees, William	1550 - 1580 d.
Russell, Thomas	1549 - 1565
Russell, Walter	[1525] 1527 - 1529
Russell, William	1554 - 1580 d.
Scarlett, Richard	[1530] 1543 - 1554 (excused, living outside the liberties of the city)
Scudamore, John	1585 - (1591)
Sherman, David	[1494] 1497 [1502]
Sheward, John	[1530] 1543 - 1582 (1566 discharged for ever from being Mayor 'not able in body')
Smothie, William	[1530] 1543 - 1557 M. 1553
Sporyour, Hugh	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Symonds, Philip	[1530] 1543 - 1559 (disfranchised 1545 but reinstated in 1548)
Symonds, Philip	1583 - (1591)
Synaugh, William	1520 - 1530 [1543] M. 1522
Tailor, Adam	[1494] 1497 - 1515 [1518]
Tailor, Henry	1552 - 1557
Tailor, Thomas	[1502] 1505 - 1525 [1527]
Teylowe, John	(1486) - 1502 (left city) M. 1492, 1496
ap Thomas, Richard	[1530] 1543 - 1546
ap Thomas, William	1520 - 1550
Townshend, John	1520 - 1530 [1543]
Vaughan, Hugh	[1497] 1502 - 1505 [1511]
Vaughan, Walter	(1486) - 1505 d.
Veale, Richard	1558 - (1591)
Vicaries, Richard	[1525] 1527 - 1544
Vicarics, William (butcher)	[1502] 1505 [1511]
Walker, John Lloyd	(1486) - 1494 [1497]
Walker, Roger	[1497] 1502 [1505]
Wall, John (mercier)	(1486) - 1518 M. 1493, 1511
Wall, William	(1486) - 1530 [1543] M. 1503
Wallford, Edward	1580 - (1591) M. 1590
Walshe, Hugh	1520 - 1561 M. 1531, 1537, 1544, 1554
Walshe, Richard	1549 - 1553
Warnecombe, James	1569 - 1580 d. M. 1571, 1578
Warnecombe, John	[1520] 1523 - 1551 M. 1548
Warnecombe, Richard	[1513] 1515 - 1547 M. 1525, 1540
Warnecombe, Richard	1574 - 1579 M. 1575
Watkins, William	1519
Webb, Thomas	1551 - 1564 M. 1559
Webb, William	1570 - (1591)
Welford, John	(1486) - 1491 [1494]
Welshe, Edward	1559 - (1591)
Whitelyche, John	1564 - 1568

Whitewodde, John
 Whitlache, William
 Wilbram, Edward
 Wilcocks, Thomas
 Williams, Hugh
 Wodde, John
 Wodward, David
 Wolfe, Richard
 Wyne, John (skinner)
 Yayden, James

[1513] 1515 - 1530 [1543]
 1590 - (1591)
 1566 - (1591)
 [1530] 1543 - 1562
 (1486) - 1494 [1497]
 [1520] 1523 - 1530 [1543]
 (1486) - [1491]
 [1494] 1497 - 1502 d.
 (1486) - [1494]
 1562 - 1584

Who was Ruling in Herefordshire from 1645 to 1661?

By G. E. AYLMER

HISTORIANS who spend too long bemoaning the difficulties of what they are trying to do can all too easily become a bore. But it does seem desirable to look briefly at the sources and authorities and their limitations, relevant for my subject. First, there is the obvious and lamentable absence of any complete county history, either of the classic period from the late 17th to mid-19th centuries, or of the *V.C.H.* in this century. Second, there are no Quarter Sessions or indeed any other records of the Justices of the Peace going back before the Restoration, and none at all yet in print. Third, the Heralds' Visitations of 1634 and 1683 have not been printed in their entirety, the best versions of both only being available in the College of Arms and until very recently not accessible for research.¹ Fourth, certain series of governmental records of the Interregnum, are more fragmentary for this county than for some others, such as Kent: I refer particularly to the books and papers of the county committees and to the returns for various kinds of taxation.

Turning to the credit side, however, there are some important collections of papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum which do enable us to reconstruct the membership and operations of the Hereford Committee (if not all the committees connected with the county) from 1646 to 1649.² Besides the survival of such papers as these, there are the collections and editions, both published and unpublished of a whole series of antiquaries, editors and collectors, from Silas Taylor³ and Thomas Blount⁴ in the 17th century, through Robert Biddulph Phillippis,⁵ F. W. Weaver and others in the 19th century,⁶ to Mr. Michael Faraday whose edition of the Herefordshire Militia Assessments of 1663 this year⁷ sets a splendid standard of exact and painstaking scholarship and is a major contribution towards making the source materials available. Then there is the notable succession of historians of the county and of particular towns within it, among whom John Duncomb and his continuers deserve the first mention, covering between them this city and (if I am not mistaken—the publishing of the different volumes and parts of the work being something of a bibliographical nightmare!) seven out of the eleven historical hundreds which make up the county.⁸ Second only to Duncumb and his successors (amongst whom, although the author of a separate work, C. J. Robinson⁹ deserves special mention) and in my view somewhat superior in historical acumen, is the Reverend John Webb, whose *Memorials of the Civil War . . . as it affected Herefordshire and the adjacent counties* appeared, edited and completed by his son the Reverend T. W. Webb, himself an astronomer of some repute, in the 1870s, but

which must have been substantially complete by the mid-century (the elder Webb was actually born as early as 1776 and lived to be about 93!).¹⁰ Webb's achievement is the more noteworthy in that writing when he did, many of the basic sources (such as the *Calendars of State Papers* and the *Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts* in the B.M.) were not yet available, while the history of England at the national level in the 1640s and 50s had not yet received the exact attentions of S. R. Gardiner and C. H. Firth. Hence Webb could not take more for granted than had long been available in the writings of Clarendon, Burnet, Ludlow, Hume and others. It is worth remembering too that the first edition of Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* only appeared in 1845 (when Webb himself was already approaching seventy) and the first volume of Macaulay's *History of England* in 1849. The two Webbs' achievement was the more remarkable in that, while both obviously felt passionately about the issues which had divided the county in the time of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, neither carried royalist-anglican partisanship to the point of overlooking faults and misdeeds on either side, of blurring the historical record, or of mistaking the evils of civil war—which it takes two to make as well as to resolve. Another source of strength was their obviously intimate knowledge of the county's landscape and topography, which I can only suppose came from having ridden over a great deal of it on horseback. True topographical "feel" for an area cannot be achieved merely by driving around in a car; if one is reasonably tall, walking, otherwise bicycling being perhaps the nearest substitute for equestrian explorations and for the view of the countryside and its details obtainable from horseback. Moreover for clergymen rather than soldiers, the two Webbs' excellent treatment of military movements and encounters seems likeliest to be explained in this way.

More or less contemporaneous with the work of Duncumb's continuers and of the Webbs, was the foundation of this Club and the beginning of the scholarly work associated with many of its leading members, a tradition which has happily been continued by Mr. Morgan and others down to the present time. I should also like to mention the volumes published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire being one of the earliest counties for which their reports were completed,¹¹ and that notable figure in the tradition of English topography, albeit not himself native-born to this county, Professor Nikolaus Pevsner.¹²

Nonetheless, for the Civil War period in Herefordshire there is still a great deal of work to be done, besides the areas of permanent ignorance due to lack of surviving evidence.

It is not the purpose of this paper to try to overturn the general outlines of the received interpretation—as found for the county itself in Duncumb and Webb and for the county within a national context in S. R. Gardiner's *Great Civil War* and other works. I am concerned rather to supplement these authorities where they have relatively little to say, or to revise particular aspects in the light of additional source materials made available since they wrote.

There is a little evidence of discontent in the county by the late 1630s, under the last stages of Charles I's Personal Rule: not resentment at the absence of Parliament as such, but at the burden of Ship Money—light as it was compared to what was to come from both sides, in the 1640s; at the military preparations of 1639-40 aimed against the Scots, and perhaps at some of the more extreme manifestations of Laudian high-church clericalism. The county, like most of the country, was overwhelmingly monarchist, but at the same time in favour of the Long Parliament's initial reforms of 1640-41 aimed at rectifying the abuses of the previous decade. Herefordshire 'royalism', as a force in opposition to parliamentarianism, was a product of 1641-2. Among the inseparable elements in its creation were:

1. loyalty to the Church of England—its government, liturgy and place in society, as opposed to Root and Branch Puritanism—either Presbyterian or more radically sectarian in nature;
2. loyalty to the King (his person and the monarchy not yet being distinct in most people's minds) as the traditional head of the executive side of government and the formal head of State;
3. social conservatism in the widest sense—a general fear of what Shakespeare in *Ulysses*' great speech meant by 'untuning that string'.

But in speaking of Herefordshire at this time we mean, of course, the articulate members of society—and in particular the M.P.'s, J.P.'s and Grand Jurors, drawn overwhelmingly from the gentry class and predominantly from the ruling élite within it.

Here we should bear in mind certain peculiarities, or at least special features, of Herefordshire society in the second quarter of the 17th century, in varying degrees of contrast with some other counties:

1. the very small number of peers directly connected with the county; only a small fraction of its lands being owned by members of the House of Lords,¹³ and that very untypical Cavalier, the 1st Viscount Scudamore—so attached to his books, his orchards and his ideal of a reformed, restored Anglican Church—being the only resident peer;¹⁴
2. a very numerous gentry class, stratified into many different graduations of wealth, culture, interests, outlook, and so on, with some changes in its composition at the top due to mortality, geographical mobility etc., but displaying remarkable cohesiveness and continuity;
3. not very many very wealthy yeomen, or non-gentry townsmen of real substance and importance;
4. the co-existence of a relatively prosperous class of farmers and husbandmen, agricultural improvers and exploiters of economic change, with numerous very poor people for whom life had extremely little to offer;¹⁵
5. in religion, the absence of any strongly High-Church diocesan Bishop against whom to revolt. Bishop Coke being an episcopalian Anglican but not a Laudian or Arminian,¹⁶ and these attitudes being limited virtually to a few cathedral clergy, the Puritans of Herefordshire remained a distinct

minority. They did not, as elsewhere coalesce with the broad mass of anti-Catholic Protestants against the Laudians and Arminians in the 1630s and early 40s.

Once the war had broken out in the late summer—early autumn of 1642, the county's role was partly dictated by the predominant royalism of its upper class. This was not so overwhelming as is sometimes made out, as will appear when we come to assess the standing of the county's rulers after Parliament's victory over the King. As against this royalist preponderance at the top, there was a small but zealous and vocal puritan-parliamentarian minority led by the Harleys of Brampton Bryan and their allies, consisting of a few other substantial gentry families, some townsmen, and some lesser men only on the margin of the gentry class—of whom more anon.¹⁷

But from the autumn of 1642 until late in 1645, it was military factors, largely extraneous to the county as a community and beyond the control of its inhabitants, which determined its destinies, and decided whose rule should be carried on. Both sides had skeleton administrations in being, especially for military and taxation purposes. But Parliament's forces only made temporary intrusions of any significance and none which was of much duration. There were:

1. the invasion and brief capture and occupation of Hereford by Lord Stamford and Colonel Edward Massey in the autumn of 1642;
2. the invasion and second capture of Hereford under Sir William Waller in the spring of 1643, this occupation lasting even less time than the first;
3. subsequent campaigns by Massey and others based on Gloucester, mainly occurring in and around Ross and Ledbury in 1644 and 5;
4. the Scottish Army's invasion of the county and its unsuccessful siege of Hereford in the summer of 1645.

Otherwise the county remained strongly, though never absolutely solidly or without challenge, royalist until the disintegration of the King's forces in late 1645 and 1646, symbolised by the third—and final—capture of Hereford, by Colonels Morgan and Birch in December 1645. Until then it was mainly the King's government, that is rule by royalists and royal appointees, which was carried on. Parliament's civil power never got nearer to the county than Gloucester, the seat of the joint-committee for the two counties and for Monmouth and S.E. Wales in 1644-5.

We may note in passing the growth of both popular and upper-class war-weariness in the latter stages of the conflict, and the phenomena of neutralism and side-changing by some of the gentry and others. For instance Kyrle of Walford; Baskerville of Pontrilas; William Price (Mayor in 1642-3) and others in Hereford;¹⁸ and above all the so-called Clubmen and their revolt against Prince Rupert in the early spring of 1645.¹⁹

Correspondingly, the strength and completeness of Parliament's hold on the county after 1645, despite some further royalist incursions, and Henry Lingen's attempted come-back even in the second Civil War of 1648,²⁰ was again due primarily to military factors outside the county and beyond its control.

Just as the royalist administration of 1642-5 had rested ultimately on the strength of the King's field armies under Prince Rupert and others; so in the last resort the parliamentary and later republican rulers of the county from 1645-60 depended—perhaps even more immediately—on the power of the New Model Army under Fairfax and later Cromwell and then under Cromwell's would-be successors from his death until the eve of the Restoration. This only ceased to operate with General Monck's submission of the military to the civil power in 1660 and the subsequent disbandment of the Army during the first year of the Restoration.

The very completeness of the parliamentary military victory accentuated the deepening divisions on political, religious, and even social and economic issues among the victors during 1646 and 7. This development in the country at large was paralleled inside the county. But the intra-parliamentarian quarrels in Herefordshire did not merely mirror those of the capital or of the nation as a whole. The first great clash, of the Harleys and their supporters against Colonel John Birch, his fellow officers and his few civilian allies was not simply a reflection of the growing tension between Parliament and Army, and the conflict of so-called Presbyterian and Independent which dominated events in 1646 and 7. Colonel Birch, ironically, was in political, if not also religious terms, very much of the same ideological hue as Sir Robert and his son Colonel Edward Harley; indeed two years later they were alike to be victims of Colonel Pride's famous—or notorious—purge of the Long Parliament, and remained basically in opposition to the successive republican regimes which followed.²¹ The historian should always be chary of ascribing motives to the men and women of the past beyond what the evidence will bear, especially when this entails passing unfavourable judgments on people who cannot reply in their own defence. Still it does look as if the quarrel was of the Harleys' not of Col. Birch's making, and as if they were jealous of a military man, an outsider to the county and one of plebeian origin at that, gaining the credit for the final capture of Hereford and then holding the important post of governor there. The committee-man with whom Birch came into collision soonest and most sharply in the autumn of 1646, one John Bromwich, was a known trouble-maker, or at least the object of earlier disapproval; for we find Massey and others complaining of him to the Harleys, back in 1644-5.²² But by 1647 any personal or political rivalry between Colonel Birch and the Harleys was overtaken by, or subsumed under the more general tension between the civil and military authorities. Birch's and the other parliamentary forces in Herefordshire, like those almost everywhere in the country, were owed increasingly large arrears of pay, and the men refused to disband (or in some cases even to obey orders) until these arrears were met. Many units resorted to free quarter, that is to living off the country, until their pay came through. Increasingly it was the civilian administrative authorities set up by Parliament, responsible for levying the taxes to meet the cost of the Army, who were blamed for this state of affairs. And the same conditions prevailed in Birch's absence when the garrison

was commanded by his brother Major Samuel Birch, and after his replacement successively first by Colonel John Humphreys and then by Major (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Wroth Rogers. In fact the then treasurer of the Hereford Committee was to complain of at least one mutiny and peremptory demand for back pay by a unit under one of the younger Harleys, although Edward Harley himself boasted to his father of his success in having quelled a riot, indeed of having nipped in the bud a potential popular rising against military exactions in Ewyas Lacy hundred.²³

The fall of the Harleys, as a result of the changes in national politics during the winter of 1648-9, led to corresponding changes in the membership of the ruling group at the county level. Some of those who had been acting as J.P.s or Committee-men during the years 1646-8 were summarily excluded; others simply dropped out as a result of Pride's Purge and the consequent trial and execution of the King. Others, including one of Sir Robert Harley's younger sons, continued to act until at least September 1649. In his case, it was evidently the compulsory imposition of the 'Engagement', or loyalty oath to the new Commonwealth without King or House of Lords, rather than the mere facts of regicide and then of a republic which brought about this withdrawal.²⁴

Nor were the changes of personnel in 1649 as complete as they had been with the parliamentary victory of 1645-6, or as they were to be again in 1660. For what such crude figures are worth, about 13 men who were regularly named to committees connected with Herefordshire from 1642 to 1648 (and who were still alive) were *not* so named, or if appointed did not act, from 1649 to 1659 inclusive; at least ten who had been of age but had not been on committees before 1649, appear regularly from then on; while some 19 were appointed and, as far as the evidence shows, were reasonably active, both before and after the revolutionary events of 1648-9.²⁵

Mention of committee-men, and earlier of *the* committee is potentially misleading and required some further explanation. The Long Parliament appointed its own committees at Westminster to have charge of the affairs of particular counties or groups of associated counties. Thus Sir Robert Harley, Sir Robert Pye (of Herefordshire origin though latterly resident in London and Berkshire), Walter Kyrle of Walford, and from 1646 others, such as Edward Harley and Bennet Hoskyns who were 'recruited' in the by-elections held to replace previously expelled royalist members, sat on them.²⁶ Those were strictly parliamentary committees, consisting of M.P.s only (or till 1648 nominally of peers and M.P.s) and operating in the capital. They should be distinguished from the so-called county committees, sometimes in charge of Associations, or groups of counties, bodies which might include M.P.s but were in no way limited to them, and which were essentially institutions of local or regional government. These can be divided, a little arbitrarily, as follows:

1. those for penal taxation and the management of sequestered royalist estates under various parliamentary ordinances of 1643 and after, with the county

committees increasingly subordinated to the central committees for Compounding and the Advance of Money in London;

2. those responsible for general military and financial matters in the Associated Counties; one important change here resulted from Parliament's decision in May 1644 to associate Gloucestershire with Herefordshire, Monmouth and S.E. Wales, instead of with the south-western counties of England, as it had been in 1643.²⁷

From 1646 it is possible to distinguish the different institutions involved more precisely:

1. the Sequestration Committees responsible for the leasing, management, sale of confiscated property and use of the revenues accruing from them. The more strongly Royalist that a county had been or the more known Roman Catholic property-owners that it contained, the more work there was for the sequestration committee to do, the larger its resources and so—on the whole—the greater its power;
2. the Assessment Committees responsible for raising the regular monthly tax on all property-holders, friend or foe alike;
3. the Militia Committees responsible for local forces usually raised on a temporary basis, as opposed to the national standing army.

Some of the surviving documents are confusing, being simply headed 'the Committee at Hereford'. But the bulk of the loose orders, warrants and so on which remain (chiefly from 1646-9, the ones of earlier date relating rather to the Associated Counties', or 'Grand Committee' at Gloucester) and the only order book extant (for 1646-7)—these apparently belong to the small Sequestration Committee, with occasional items pertaining to the larger and potentially more powerful bodies for the Assessment and the Militia.²⁸

The Sequestration Committee also controlled the Fifth and Twentieth, a penal tax on all non-parliamentarians; this, in effect, was a discriminatory levy on neutrals and inactive royalists as well as on active opponents of the Parliament, who were in addition of course liable to Composition and/or Sequestration.²⁹

Until the sales respectively of episcopal lands in 1646-8 and of capitular (Deans' and Chapters') lands in 1649-50, they also controlled the sequestered estates of the erstwhile Bishop and of the Cathedral, and the income accruing from them. These revenues were largely used for very traditional purposes—to pay the schoolmasters of the City, the artificers and artisans connected with the cathedral and the castle, the regular doles of bread to the poor of the City, the salaries of the corporation's baker and of the preaching ministers, who had been appointed to replace the resident canons and the previous parsons of the City's churches.

The collectors, receivers and treasurers of the monthly Assessments for Parliament's armies, were in charge of much larger sums of money—as is clear from the surviving accounts;³⁰ but they enjoyed less autonomy and less scope for initiative in how the money was spent.³¹

The Militia Committee too was of particular importance, either in the absence of sufficient regulars, or if and when these needed reinforcement by auxiliaries. For instance its membership in 1648 certainly reflects a bid by the Harleys and their allies to recover control of the county—as an aspect of the opposition by the so-called Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament to the New Model Army. But the Harleys were still anti-royalist. It was indeed part of this militia, under Major Robert Harley (Sir Robert's second son), which helped to defeat Sir Henry Lingen's forces in the second Civil War of 1648.

Mention of so-called Presbyterians also requires some further explanation. The term is used customarily, though not by all historians, of the more conservative majority of Parliamentary M.P.s in 1646-8 who regarded a settlement with Charles I as a lesser evil than the power of the Army and of popular radicalism. Not all these men were presbyterian in religion; nor were the more politically radical Parliamentarians, the so-called Independents, necessarily all religious congregationalists, baptists or adherents of other sects.³² Sir Robert Harley himself, a leading 'Presbyterian', was a strong iconoclastic puritan and anti-episcopalian, but he was emphatically not a believer in theocracy. He and his sons and their allies were only religious Presbyterians in the sense of wanting what their Scots allies were to call, with disgust if not derision, 'a lame Erastian Presbytery'.³³

Despite the passing of a special ordinance for a godly preaching ministry in the county (spring 1646),³⁴ the number of Puritan, let alone of specifically Presbyterian ministers, who were "intruded"—that is, put into the livings of expelled Anglicans or other vacant benefices in the county—was strictly limited. Consider the numbers given in the modern revised editions of John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* and of Edmund Calamy's *Account of the Ministers Ejected*—the Puritan work to which Walker's was the Anglican response. A. G. Matthews, the modern editor and reviser of both works, calculated that 49 clergy, including those connected with the cathedral, were deprived and one killed under the Puritan regime in the county; but that only 33 benefices (out of well over 200 parishes) were sequestered in the whole period 1643-60.³⁵ When the Church of England was restored in 1660-62, the comparable total of Puritan ministers ejected was 23 or 24, according to Matthews.³⁶ Even allowing for natural mortality during the years 1642-60, for movements to other livings and voluntary withdrawals, it still seems likely from these figures that in some parishes the clergy must have conformed to all the successive changes, from the fall of Laudianism in 1640-41 through the innovations of the 1640s and 1650s, to the restoration of episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer in the early 1660s.³⁷

Some changes in the roles of the Committees meanwhile, were functional rather than ideological in nature. The virtual cessation of the fifth (on personal) and twentieth (on real property), known euphemistically as the Advance of Money, the greater centralisation of compounding business under the parent committee at Goldsmiths' Hall in London, and the sale by the Long Parliament of almost all the ex-church and ex-crown lands, likewise those of many sequestered 'delinquents' as their defeated royalist enemies were known (that is, of those

considered too incorrigible to be allowed to compound and so to recover their lands for a lump sum payment, calculated by a correlation of the value of the estate with the degree of its owner's delinquency)—all this reduced the scope of the county sequestration committees.

Then in 1650 they were replaced by Sequestration Commissioners for each county. These were the direct agents and appointees of the Compounding Committee in London in a way that the earlier Sequestration Committees had not been. Nonetheless, judging by the surviving materials, from 1650 on until the virtual cessation of compounding and sequestration in 1654 (to be revived only very briefly and patchily in 1659-60) the kind of business remained much the same as before. But none of the three or four Sequestration Commissioners had been on the 1646-9 committee; moreover two of them—Silas Taylor (the antiquary and son of the Shropshire parliamentarian Sylvanus Taylor, who was also rather confusingly a Herefordshire committeeman) and Benjamin Mason, who moved from Somerset on his appointment to Herefordshire in 1651-2, were soon violently at logger-heads with one another. Taylor, a man of some scholarly and artistic cultivation, was accused of having given a musical reception in Hereford which had been used as a cover for a secret pro-royalist gathering. Charles II's invasion of the neighbouring county of Worcestershire in 1651, despite its final decisive defeat, made such alarms the more plausible, as did likewise the continuation of some genuine, if abortive, cavalier conspiracies. The charge came before the Compounding Commissioners in London (seven salaried officials who had by then replaced the earlier parliamentary Compounding Committee in charge of the whole system of penal taxation). And eventually they dismissed it, exonerating Taylor but retaining Mason, ostensibly to work in harness with him.³⁸ As with the collisions between parliamentarians back in 1646-7, it is hard to know how much political significance should be read into this. There is a little other evidence that Taylor was regarded as a less radical supporter of the puritan republic than some of Mason's associates.³⁹ One or two of these were apparently allies of Major-General Thomas Harrison, leader of the millenarian republicans at the time of the Barebone's Parliament in 1653, who had enjoyed considerable power in Wales since 1650, and exercised some influence at least in the neighbouring English counties.

Did the shift from 'moderate', or Presbyterian parliamentarians to republicans in 1649 bring about a further change in the wealth and social standing of the county's rulers, comparable to the split between Cavalier and Roundhead back in 1642-5? Certainly the two Militia Committees of spring and winter 1648 show a strong pro-Harley element with slightly more of the greater gentry and fewer of the known radicals in evidence than were active on committees before or after this. As for the Sequestration, Assessment, and Militia Committees under the Commonwealth in 1649 and after, with the presence of a Kyrle of Much Marcle, a Brydges of Bridstow, a Hopton of Canon Froome and a Scudamore of Kentchurch, no more than the earlier parliamentary committees of 1643-8 did

they lack for representatives of the traditional county élite. They did however contain significantly more of certain other elements:

1. middling and lesser gentry, some of whom had been on the earlier committees, but none of whom would have been at all likely to be on the Commission of the Peace before 1642, several being found as J.P.s from 1650 on; the archetype of these men is perhaps Thomas Rawlins⁴⁰ of Kilreeg in the parish of Llangarren but Miles Hill of Weobley⁴¹ and others could also be cited;
2. rather more urban types, either professional men (lawyers, physicians and so on) or men with commercial rather than landed interests, usually called gentlemen but probably not armigerous according to the Heralds in 1634;⁴²
3. more outsiders to the county. Although Herefordshire borders on six other English or Welsh counties and although some families, like the Harleys themselves with their Radnorshire properties, must always have straddled one or more of these boundaries, the pre-Civil War county élite was remarkably self-contained. Apart from members of the Privy Council and the Judges, the Commission of the Peace only included one absentee landowner, the head of the Devereux family, the 3rd earl of Essex and one London-based official, Sir Edward Powell of Pengethley, as opposed to all the rest who had their main seats in the county.⁴³ If we look at the J.P.s and Committee-men of the 1640s and 50s the picture is distinctly different.⁴⁴ Of the military men, Birch himself, though he speedily acquired estates in the county and became a Herefordshire landowner, was an outsider;⁴⁵ so was Wroth Rogers, the Governor of Hereford from 1648 to 1660, who came from Lanvach between Newport and Chepstow in Monmouthshire;⁴⁶ John James, although he acquired an estate at Tripleton through his wife Jane Higgins, came of a Worcestershire family;⁴⁷ Samuel More, son of a parliamentary M.P. and himself the father of a Compounding Commissioner of the 1650s, was a Salopian;⁴⁸ of the two medical men, Dr. Nathaniel Wright, active in the county 1643-8, was really a Salopian too, if possibly of Essex origins,⁴⁹ the other Dr. Bridstock Harford, who lived to a great age and founded a family of Hereford worthies, was the son of a Wiltshire parson;⁵⁰ Ralph Darnell, Assistant Clerk of the Parliaments, came from Hertfordshire;⁵¹ and so on.

Whether Colonel Wroth Rogers was so unpopular purely for personal reasons, or because he was an outsider in the geographical sense, because he was a social upstart, or simply because he was the resident representative of the republic's ultimate sanction of military power, it is impossible to say. Perhaps it was a bit of each. Certainly he did not rule the county single-handed as an autocrat in the 1650s⁵² any more than the Harleys had done in the later 1640s. 17th-century government, even under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, was not like that. The intermittent presence of more senior military figures—Major-General Harrison in the early 1650s, and Major-General James Berry in 1655-6⁵³—may seem to underline Herefordshire's subordination to the power of the central military machine. Yet without the men who acted as Justices and

Jurors, High Constables, etc., and who operated the Committees and served on their subordinate staffs, the republican authorities would have had to resort to naked military rule. From 1654 such service was easier for non-republicans, since they could hold office under the Protectorate without taking the Engagement. As in other counties some ex-moderates who had been out of public affairs since 1648-9 reappeared in 1654 and after. The Harleys and some of their allies, were actually named to the Committee for the Ejection 'of Scandalous Ministers (the so-called Ejectors) in 1654.⁵⁴ But this was perhaps more of a sop to their religious Presbyterianism than part of a systematic political detente.

Despite some further oscillations, towards reconciliation of the moderate gentry in 1657, and back towards more doctrinaire republicans under the restored Rump and renewed Commonwealth in 1659, there was no real shift in Herefordshire's rulers until after General Monck's re-admission of the Secluded Members of Parliament, who had been purged by Pride back in December 1648, to the House of Commons in February 1660. From then until the formal restoration of monarchy and the King's return in May, England remained in name a Commonwealth but one ruled by non-republicans. This was reflected in Herefordshire as elsewhere by striking changes of personnel.⁵⁵

By this time Sir Robert Harley was dead. Whether his son, Colonel Edward Harley could ever have succeeded to such a dominating position, seems doubtful. He was too suspect, as an erstwhile parliamentarian and as a presbyterian in religion, to too many influential people.⁵⁶ The successful royalist recovery of control over the county can be seen from the composition of the 1660 Commission of the Peace, the M.P.s elected early in 1661, the purging of municipal Corporations under the new Act of that year, the expulsions of Puritan clergy, and the disappearance of committed republicans. Edward Harley meanwhile was temporarily removed from the scene, being Governor of Dunkirk from May 1660 to June 1661. This must certainly have 'made it easier for the out-and-out Anglicans and Cavaliers to reinstate themselves. As in the country at large, by 1661-2 the men who had been instrumental in restoring Charles II, that is the one-time parliamentarian moderates of the 1640s, the Presbyterians, and the non-regicidal, non-republican adherents of the Protectorate were left with relatively little to show for their contribution. There are exceptions of course: Monck with his dukedom, his immense grants of lands and money, and numerous offices; Edward Mountague with the earldom of Sandwich; Manchester; Holles; and some others. And at a lower level, it is not altogether fanciful to see Edward Harley's Knighthood of the Bath in 1661, as a kind of consolation prize. Power at the county level had once more to be shared with representatives of families who had been wholly absent from the political scene since 1645: namely those of Brabazon, Coningsby, Cornewall, Lingen, Scudamore (other than those of Kentchurch), Skipp, Tomkyns, Vaughan, Whitney and various others.⁵⁷ Not that Edward Harley was the sole survivor from the intervening years. The houses of Brydges and Kyrle (two branches each), Scudamore of Kentchurch, Hoskins of Morehampton, Bernithan and Harewood, provided continuity, as

did a few lesser figures who weathered the return of monarchy successfully. Despite his having to disgorge his purchases of church lands, so too did that staunch Whig-to-be and formidable parliamentary critic of governmental abuses, Colonel Birch.

The lasting impact of the upheavals of the mid-century—whether or not these deserve the name of a revolution—remains to be worked out, for Herefordshire as far as the country as a whole. And this is too big a topic to embark on here. While much of the normal pattern of private and family life—work and leisure, joy and sorrow—continued unaffected in the 1640s and 50s, nonetheless for many contemporaries on both sides and on neither the revolutionary nature of the conflict and the changes which followed its outcome must have been inescapable. Fortunately for the defeated party, the adherents of the English republic were intensely legalistic, by 20th-century standards chary of indiscriminate bloodshed (anyway in England as opposed to Ireland), and themselves concerned to minimise the socially revolutionary nature of the new order. Even so, the Reverend Webbs of the 19th century had a juster perception than some present-day theorists, of the inescapable evils of civil war and revolution—no matter what the issues at stake or the outcome may be.

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- ² Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic Interregnum, Commonwealth Exchequer Papers: PRO, SP 28/ esp. 228-9; British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, MS. 16,178, 'Orders and Graunts made by the Commyttee by ordynance of Parlyament att Hereford', March 1646-May 1647.
- ³ B.M. Harl. MSS. 6,726 and 6,766, Silas Taylor MSS.
- ⁴ Hereford City Library, Thomas Blount MS. (the survivor of two volumes, the other having been lost in or before the 19th century).
- ⁵ Herefordshire County Record Office, Robert Biddulph Philipps MSS. from Belmont Abbey, esp. MSS. B.56/ 1, 2, 4-6. The preparation of this paper would have been impossible without the generous co-operation of Miss Meryl Jancey and her staff at the County Record Office. I am grateful to Miss Jancey and others for their patience and help at intervals over the last ten years. I am also grateful for his help to Mr. Porter the Hereford City Reference Librarian.
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- ⁸ J. Duncumb, W. H. Cooke, Morgan G. Watkins, J. H. Matthews, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* 6 vols (Hereford, 1804-1915).
- ⁹ C. J. Robinson, *Castles of Herefordshire* (1869) but more especially his *Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1873), which is much more scholarly and thorough than the earlier book. Note too that Add. MS. 35,280 is Robinson's own interleaved copy of *Mansions and Manors*, used by him with a view to a 2nd and fuller edition, and bequeathed at his death to the B.M.
- ¹⁰ J. Webb, ed. T. W. Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War . . . as it affected Herefordshire and the adjoining counties* 2 vols. (1879). See also J. R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* 2 vols. (1874), much inferior to Webb.
- ¹¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Herefordshire, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in 3 vols.* (1937-4).

- ¹² N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, no. 25, Herefordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1963).
- ¹³ See Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments*, Introduction, s.(v), especially pp. 17-18.
- ¹⁴ Besides references in works on the county already cited, see D.N.B., 'John (first Viscount) Scudamore'; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*; and refs. in H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Life of Archbishop Laud* (1940 and 2nd edn. 1962). There are considerable MSS. collections on the Scudamores of Hom Lacy in B.M., Add. MSS., esp. 11,042-3, 11,050-4, and in P.R.O., Chancery Masters' Exhibits, Duchess of Norfolk's Deeds, C. 115, esp. M. 21.
- ¹⁵ On Herefordshire agriculture see interesting references in Joan Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967); Eric Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution* (1967); and Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (eds.), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972). On farming in relation to wealth and social structure see the articles by J. N. Jackson and E. L. Jones, in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVI (1958) and XXXVII (1961).
- ¹⁶ D.N.B., 'George Coke, or Cooke' and references in numerous other sources for the Church in the 1630s: especially D. Mathew, *The Age of Charles I* (1951); C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church* (Oxford, 1956); Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*.
- ¹⁷ The broad lines of division are sketched by Duncumb, Webb and others. On the Harleys, see—among recent works—references to Sir Robert in G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants* (1961); P. Zagorin, *The Court and Country* (1969); D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge* (Oxford, 1971); and to Colonel, later Sir Edward Harley, in D. R. Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1969). Of the numerous works concerned with Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford, which touch on the family background, note especially Angus McInnes, *Robert Harley, Puritan Politician* (1970), 19-25, 188-9.
- ¹⁸ Hereford City Library, MSS. 23,132-3, Papers of William Price. These show that Price and other civic leaders acted as tax collectors both for the Royalists and during the brief Parliamentary occupation in 1643.
- ¹⁹ Besides Webb, see S. R. Gardiner, *The Great Civil War 1642-1649* 3 vols. (1886-91) or 4 vols. (1893), ch. XXVIII; C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War 1641-7* (1958); A. Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (1961), p. 94.
- ²⁰ See Webb, and Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ch. LXIV.
- ²¹ For Birch, see D.N.B.; Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, and numerous references in sources for parliamentary and general political history 1660-90; also Joseph Hillaby, 'The Parliamentary Borough of Weobley, 1628-1708', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1967).
- ²² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Portland*, vol. VIII, 4; vol. III, 129, 134-5, 137. For the clash in October 1646, see J. and T. W. Webb (ed.), *Military Memoir of Colonel John Birch . . . by Roe, his secretary* (Camden Soc., new ser. vol. 7, 1873), pp. 141-4; B.M.; Add. MS. 16,178, fo. 110.
- ²³ P.R.O., S.P. 28/228-9, complaints by the ex-Treasurer, Major Thomas Blaney (himself a neighbour and dependant of the Harleys); Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, 123, 162; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, 165 and n. See also now J. S. Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies, 1645-47', *Past and Present*, 56 (1972), 49-74, esp. p. 67 and p. 89.
- ²⁴ For the Engagement see *Journals of the House of Commons*, VI, 306-7; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* 3 vols. (1911), II, 325-9. A shortened version is in S. R. Gardiner (ed.), *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660* 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1906), 391, and in J. P. Kenyon (ed.) *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1966), 341-2. For discussion of its imposition and the consequences, see Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* 3 vols. (1894-1901) and 4 vols. (1903), chs. VII, VIII, X; and most recently Q. Skinner, 'Conquest and Consent' in Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660* (1972), 79-98, 208-9, 222-4.
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- ²⁶ For these men see M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-1641: A Biographical Study of its Members* (Philadelphia, 1954); D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament* (1954); Underdown, *Pride's Purge*. W. R. Williams' monograph on Herefordshire M.P.s (Brecknock, 1896) is wholly derivative from other works particularly the (Official) *Return of the name of every Member returned . . .* 2 vols. (1878), and is not reliable for biographical or family details.
- ²⁷ *Commons Journals*, III, 291; *Lords Journals*, VI, 611-12; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, I, 428-31.
- ²⁸ P.R.O. S.P. 28/228-9; B.M., Add. MS. 16,178. For communications with the parent body in London see Herefordshire references in *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, ed. Mrs. M. A. E. Green, 5 vols. (1889-92), vol. 1, General Proceedings, vol. 5, General Index. Besides *Cal. Citec. Compdg.*, Herefordshire royalists and Catholics are tabulated in B.M., Add. MS. 19,678, fo. 34 et seq. and in Add. MS. 5,494, fos. 120-134.

²⁰ See *Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money*, ed. Mrs. M. A. E. Green, 3 vols. (1888).

²¹ See Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments*, Table 2, pp. 12-13, columns for 1647 and 1648; P.R.O., S.P. 28/228-9.

²² The levying, collection and auditing of the Assessment, under the Army Committee of Parliament and the Receivers-General (who were also the Treasurers-at-War) can be reconstructed from the surviving records in P.R.O., S.P. 28/1-190. See also Aylmer, *The State's Servants* (1973).

²³ The literature on this is considerable. See in particular J. H. Hexter, *Re-appraisals in History* (1960), ch. 7, 'The Problem of the Presbyterian Independents'; articles by David Underdown in the *Journal of British Studies*, III (1964) and VIII (1968); also Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, esp. ch. III.

²⁴ See now in addition to other standard sources, Valerie Pearl, 'London's Counter-Revolution', in Aylmer, *The Interregnum*, pp. 29-56, 207, 216-19; and for the different kinds of religious presbyterianism, H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'Scotland and the Puritan Revolution', in H. Bell and R. Ollard (eds.), *Historical Essays 1600-1750: presented to David Ogg* (1963) and reprinted in Trevor-Roper, *Religion, The Reformation and Social Change* (1967).

²⁵ *Commons Journals*, IX, 396; *Lords Journals*, VIII, 242, 244; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, I, 840-1, 28 March 1646.

²⁶ A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford, 1948), pp. xiv-xv, 8-9, 191-6.

²⁷ Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), pp. xii-xiii, 578.

²⁸ See also F. C. Morgan, 'Hereford Presentments, 1611-59', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1939-41), 79-89.

²⁹ *Cal. Cttee. Compdg.*, pp. 515, 534, 563-4, 604, 605, 613, 620-1, 637, 640-61, 682, 684, etc.

³⁰ D.N.B., 'Silas Domville alias Taylor (1624-1678)'; John Aubrey, 'Brief Lives' . . . , ed. A. Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), II, 254-6; anon., *Impostor Magnus, or The Legerdemain of Richard Delamain, now Preacher in the City of Hereford* . . . (1654), esp. pp. 21-2. There are two copies of this rare pamphlet in the B.M.; shelfmarks 698.h.32, and 1417.b.1.

³¹ Thomas Rawlins (c.1587-1676 or 7) was made a Deputy Lieutenant by the earl of Essex on 30 Sept. 1642 (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, 100); he was on virtually every committee for the county, except purely parliamentary ones, from 1643 to 1660; he was a J.P. from 1650 to 1660. He served as Receiver of the cathedral revenues from 1646 to 1649 (P.R.O. S.P. 28/228-9) and was also Treasurer of the county sequestration committee in 1646-7 (*ibid.*). In 1646-7 three other Rawlinses were in the service of the Committee at Hereford (B.M., Add. MS. 16,178; P.R.O., S.P. 28/228). In 1649 Rawlins was in serious trouble before the Indemnity Committee in London, for having failed to deliver his accounts as a Sequestrator, as required by an Ordinance of August 1648 (P.R.O., State Papers Domestic Interregnum, Indemnity, S.P. 24/4, fo. 25v, 24/71 Petitions and Plaintiffs' Papers, surnames Ra-Ri; S.P. 28/229; B.M. Add. MS. 5,494, fos. 118-119). There are also refs. in Duncumb and his continuers, Robinson, and Webb, and inscriptions in Llangarron church, of which he was a benefactor, leaving endowments also for the poor of that parish and of St. Weonards. Originally styled Gent., he ended his days as an Esquire.

³² Miles Hill was Collector and Receiver under the Gloucestershire Committee in 1643-4; co-Treasurer of the Herefordshire Committee from August 1645; sole Treasurer in 1646 until his dismissal in October; in prison until released by Major Birch and other officers of the garrison in Feb. 1647; Surveyor for the sale of dean and chapter lands in the county, 1649-50; on almost all committees for the county and the city 1649-52 and 1657-60. Although originally a supporter of Colonel John Birch, Hill was reckoned an extreme radical in both politics and religion; he was of course an enemy of the Harleys. In 1650 he published an often-quoted pamphlet on the depredations committed by the Scottish Army in the county during their siege of Hereford in the summer of 1645. (P.R.O., S.P. 24/1, fo. 203; 24/54, Petitions H.; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, 139, 153, 162, 171; B.M., MS. Add. 16,178; P.R.O., State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, S.P. 18/11/103; Webb, *Memorials*, II, 216 n.2, 222 and n.2, 397 n.1, 417-18; Allen, *Bibliotheca Herefordiensis*, p. 20; *Impostor Magnus*, p. 2 *et seq.*). Hill's relations with Birch while the latter was in opposition to the Republic (1649-60) are unclear. Except for Mr. Hillaby's paper, little has been published on Weobley.

³³ Examples: John Cooper, or Cowper, of Hereford; Charles Darley, or Durlay, of Ross; Richard Dolphin of Leominster; Thomas Seaborne of Hereford and Sutton St. Nicholas; Isaac Seward of Leominster.

³⁴ P.R.O., State Papers Domestic, Charles I, S.P. 16/405, Liber Pacis 1636-7; P.R.O., Crown Office Docquet Books, Index 4212, pp. 246-547, additions to commission of peace, June 1637-March 1643.

³⁵ *The Names of the Justices of the Peace* (Nov. 1650), B.M., E. 1238 (4); S.P. 18/95/72 I. Names of J.P.s in county of Hereford, March 1655; Index 4213, pp. 233-400, renewals and additions to commission of peace, 1652-8; P.R.O., Chancery, Liber Pacis 1660, C.220/9/4. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Faraday for giving me copies of the 1655 and 1660 lists. For committee-men, see above n. 25.

³⁶ See note 21 above. Birch was certainly of 'middle-class' origin from Lancashire.

³⁷ J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire* 2 vols. in 12 parts (1904-32), IV, 14, 114, 148, 187-8.

³⁸ Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, pp. 171, 185; Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments*, p. 147 and n.88; B.M., Add. MS. 35,280, fos. 249v-250; *Visitation of Worcestershire in 1634* (Harleian Society, vol. 90, 1938), pp. 52-3.

³⁹ D.N.B., 'Richard More (d.1643)', 'Richard More (1627-1698)', 'Samuel More (1594-1662)'.

⁴⁰ Some sources (e.g. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* 2 vols. (1721), 'Fasti', I, 503) confuse Dr. Lawrence Wright (?1600s-1686) with Oliver Cromwell's Physician, Dr. Nathaniel Wright (c.1590-1657). But this was corrected by Webb (see *The Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley* (Camden Soc., LVIII, 1854), p. xlix, and Webb, *Memorials*, II, 11, n.3). He was an active committee-member in the county during 1646-7 (P.R.O., S.P. 28/228-9), was named to a taxation committee as late as February 1648 (Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, I, 1084), but by 1652 had apparently returned to medical practice probably in Shrewsbury (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, 199).

⁴¹ Bridstock Harford (c.1604/5-94/5) figures in numerous sources on the county and the city. For his family connections see: Herefs. County Rec. Office, Philipps MSS., B56/2; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, pp. 33-34 and n. His period of greatest political activity seems to have been from 1649 to 1652 (see e.g. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, 171; sources for committee-men and J.P.s as above in notes 25 and 44).

⁴² The administrative career of Ralph Darnall, or Darnell (c. 1610-1660s) is discussed more fully in my forthcoming book *The State Servants*, where detailed references will be found. For his Herefordshire properties see Duncumb and his continuers, *Collections*, vol. III, 'Grimsworth Hundred', p. 74; Robinson, *Mansions and Manors*, pp. 23, 63; Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments*, pp. 75, 107.

⁴³ As was suggested by W. R. Williams in his *Parliamentary History of the County of Hereford* (Brecknock, 1896), pp. 47-8, and tends to be implied by my friend Professor David Underdown (see his *Pride's Purge*, ch. X esp. pp. 308, 312, 314-15, and p. 341, and his chapter 'Settlement in the Counties 1653-1658' in Aylmer, *The Interregnum*, p. 179). In general, however, these chapters are the best treatment available of county in relation to national politics during the 1650s, and contain many suggestive remarks on Herefordshire. See also Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (Historical Association, pamphlet G.70, 1969), and other relevant works by Professor Everitt. For Rogers' military career see C. H. Firth and G. Davies, *Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1940), pp. 398, 400, 401. Although there seems little doubt about his political and religious radicalism, his military standing—as Lieutenant-Colonel of a foot regiment, seconded to command of the Hereford garrison, 1648-59—was a relatively modest one. The absence of quarter sessions or other records of the J.P.'s activities, and of detailed committee records after 1649, makes it impossible to say how far he dominated the day-to-day proceedings in local government under the Commonwealth or the Protectorate.

⁴⁴ During the so-called 'rule of the Major-Generals', Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire were grouped with Wales and Monmouth (see S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* 3 vols. (1894-1901) or 4 vols. (1903), ch. XL; D. W. Rannie, 'Cromwell's Major-Generals', *English Historical Review*, X (1895, 471-506). For the career of James Berry (c.1610-91) see D.N.B.; J. Berry and S. G. Lee, *A Cromwellian Major-General* (Oxford, 1938), and Firth and Davies, *Regimental History*.

⁴⁵ Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, II, 971.

⁴⁶ E.g. on the Militia Committee of 12th March 1660 (*ibid.*, 1432).

⁴⁷ Besides D.N.B., see the very interesting material calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland*, III, esp. p. 229 *et seq.*

⁴⁸ If other leading royalist families, such as that of Croft, are absent, it is usually because there was no suitable made representative of age available. Herbert Croft was, of course, Bishop of Hereford from 1661.

This paper was given as the F. C. Morgan Lecture, 1972, by Professor G. E. Aylmer, University of York.

Note on a Hereford Pipemaker

By IAIN C. WALKER

OUT of a total of 347 pipemaker-apprentices recorded in the Bristol Apprentice Rolls between the first such entry in 1619 and the last in 1827, four came from Herefordshire families, and of these one was the son of a hitherto unknown Hereford pipemaker.

This apprentice was William Purton, noted in the Apprentice Rolls as the son of John Purton of Hereford, tobacco-pipe maker, and apprenticed 19 August 1714 to Thomas and Anne Harvey.¹

Nothing further is known of William Purton; his freedom is not recorded, and it is likely he died during his apprenticeship. Such deaths must have been frequent, but they are never recorded in the Bristol Apprentice Rolls, though dismissals are noted.

The Bristol Apprentice Rolls often indicate when the father of an apprentice was dead, but whether they do so consistently enough to allow one to assume no reference to his being dead indicates he is still alive is uncertain; it is therefore not certain whether John Purton was still alive when his son was apprenticed, but it is likely he was and assuming the son was about fourteen when apprenticed, the father was presumably married and in business by at latest 1700.

Virtually nothing is known about the Hereford and Herefordshire pipe-industry,² but by the later 17th century it was producing a distinctive bowl form with some affinities to those produced at Broseley, to the north in Shropshire, and using otherwise unknown forms of marking, such as a heel-mark of a rose surmounted by a crown with initials on either side, or a portcullis or rayed symbol on the bowl facing the smoker. The Herefordshire industry was clearly a major one, for Herefordshire and Herefordshire-style pipes occur in museums and collections as far apart as Nuneaton in Warwickshire and St. Fagans, Cardiff, and covering the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire to name only those noted in counties covered by this writer while making a survey of the West Country, South-West, South Wales and lower Severn valley for Bristol pipe material. The extent of Herefordshire or Herefordshire-style material to the north and west remains unknown, but examples do occur at Montgomery Castle in central Wales.³

The distribution of Herefordshire and Herefordshire-style pipes in the central and lower Severn basin is particularly interesting because in conjunction with the even more widespread distribution of later 17th-century and earlier 18th-century Broseley and Broseley-style pipes they take over a market held in the mid-17th century by Bristol makers, a market which Bristol makers appear to have abandoned during the third quarter of the century in order to concentrate on the more lucrative New World pipe trade.⁴ The zenith of this New World

trade was the first three decades of the 18th century, when Bristol pipes found their way to North America from Newfoundland to Jamaica and inland to the Mississippi;⁵ and it was in all probability this fame which suggested to John Purton that he apprentice his son in Bristol.⁶

REFERENCES

- ¹ Bristol Apprentice Rolls, volume for 1711-24, f.74. I am very grateful to Miss M. E. Williams, City Archivist, Bristol, for much help with these rolls.
- ² Cf. A. Watkins, 'Herefordshire Pipe Factories', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1930), 132-3 and illus. facing p.132.
- ³ J. M. Lewis, 'The Excavation of the "New Building" at Montgomery Castle', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* CXVII (1968) 141, 147-8.
- ⁴ The evidence is rehearsed in tedious detail in the writer's Ph.D. thesis for the University of Bath, at present nearing completion; it is hoped this will be published by the National Historic Sites Service of the Canadian government, the writer's present employer.
- ⁵ I. C. Walker, *The Bristol Clay Tobacco-Pipe Industry* (City Museum, Bristol, 1972).
- ⁶ A possible Herefordshire or Herefordshire-style pipe has recently been recorded from the Hallows site in Westmoreland County, Virginia, together with products of several Bristol pipemakers (W. T. Buchanan, jr., and E. F. Heite, 'The Hallows Site: A Seventeenth-century Yeoman's Cottage in Virginia', *Historical Archaeology* 1971 V (1972) 44 fig. 4,H). The find was of a bowl fragment with the mark of a rose facing the smoker; such a mark could also be Dutch, but it is impossible to be certain of identification from the drawing. Other artefact material from the site suggests a second-half-of-the-17th-century context, which would agree with the dating noted above for the growth of the Herefordshire pipe-industry.

William Henry Parker's Type Specimens

By F. C. MORGAN

WHEN writing the article on Herefordshire printers, published in the *Transactions* for 1941, the writer had access to the large collection of Herefordiana belonging to Mr. H. J. Davies who died about 1955 at a great age. One of the most important items mentioned was the type specimen sheet of W. H. Parker who began printing in Hereford as early as 1784. Part of this was illustrated. The article has been quoted several times in bibliographical publications, the last mention being in *John Soulby, printer, Ulverston* by Dr. Michael Twyman and published by Reading University Museum of English Rural Life in 1966 which illustrates another type specimen sheet and states that the Hereford example could no longer be traced. Mr. H. J. Davies bequeathed the collection made by his grand-father to the City Library, Hereford, and unfortunately the type-sheet was not included in the index of the volume (Davies Colln. No. 46) in which it had been tightly bound as two sheets (one of type 31.5 cms. by approx. 19.5 cms.; the other of ornaments or flowers as they were called 25 cms. by approx. 19.5 cms.) and was therefore overlooked. The Davies collection contains many volumes and folios of early Hereford drawings, prints, pamphlets, etc., including rare and unique items. See PL. XII and XIII.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1972

By R. SHOESMITH

MEDIEVAL

Hereford—Cantilupe Street (SO 513397). Excavations during and after Easter 1972 in the back garden of number 5 Cantilupe Street exposed the remains of what is, without any doubt, the best surviving example of Saxon town defensive works so far discovered in this country.

When completely excavated, the rampart was found to be surviving to a height of some 2½ m. above the natural undisturbed soil of the site. The rampart was built using a clayey soil and possibly some turf, and was consolidated with horizontal branches laid throughout its thickness.

In the primary construction, the front of the rampart was retained by a timber wall consisting of vertical round posts 15-20 cms. in diameter and about 1 m. apart. Between the verticals and the ramparts, horizontal timbers, split from the round into rough planks up to 25 cms. in width had been laid on top of each other. The timber wall stood long enough for the pressure of the rampart to cause the top of the timbers to slope forward.

To strengthen the defences, and support the existing timbers, a stone wall was built on the berm and acted as a massive revetment against the timber work. The wall, when excavated, was found to be standing to a maximum height of 2 m. against the timber work and was about 2 m. thick with many traces of a pink lime mortar. It was constructed mainly of quarried slabs up to 10 cms. thick with little attempt at coursing. A smaller wall, about 80 cms. thick, was built on the rear crest of the rampart, some 4 m. behind the front wall and presumably helped to preserve the flat rampart top.

No signs of a ditch could be found within the limits of the excavation, so the berm must have been at least 4½ m. in front of the timber wall.

Indications of at least two re-building phases of the timber works at the front of the rampart and above the wall could be seen and presumably are the remains of the breast works.

Eventually the whole defensive structure was partially demolished or fell into disuse and the faces of both walls collapsed so that the whole defensive feature became a relatively smooth bank. A timber post-trench suggested a late re-fortification using this bank as a defence. The whole of the rampart was covered, and preserved by a large amount of relatively clean gravel which was presumably the upcast from a large new ditch and may well indicate the new works necessitated by the extension of the town. This gravel may have been a defensive work in its own right before it was eventually faced, some 6 m. in front of the Saxon wall, by the medieval wall.

No dating evidence was discovered during the course of the excavation but evidence from the 1968 excavation on the western side of the town suggests that the overlying gravel rampart and the town extension are of the same period and may well be the work of Harold Godwinson who re-fortified the town after it was sacked by the Welsh in 1055. The original clay bank may have been built by Aethelfleda about 914 to withstand the attacks by the Danes.

Earlier defensive features discovered on the western side of the town presumably relate to a smaller fortified area and could be part of the defences built by Offa against the Welsh.

A proposal has been put forward to modify the scheme for repairing the medieval wall so as to expose the front Saxon wall and make a permanent feature of the whole sequence of the defences.

Bredwardine (SO 336440). Plans for further excavation on the medieval farm buildings during August had to be changed when it was discovered that the Moccas estate intended to bring back into use one of the medieval fishponds close to the site, as a trout pool. This involved some re-scarping of the banks and raising the height of the dam.

Excavation was concentrated on the surrounds to the pond and details of construction of the associated dam and water system. A full contour survey was made of the area before the reconstruction work commenced.

J. S. R. Hood.

REDUNDANT CHURCHES

National and local interest was aroused in September 1971 when six redundant churches were offered for sale by the Church Commissioners. Details of the churches and possible conversions to private use are being supplied to the Council for British Archaeology Churches Committee and it is hoped that proposals will come forward for any necessary excavations.

The following churches are for sale or have been sold:

Mansell Gamage (St. Giles) (SO 394445). Situated on the southern slope of Garnons Hill about 9 miles west of Hereford and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the A438. The church is built of local stone with a stone tiled roof and comprises chancel, nave, north and south transepts, south porch and tower. The nave and south door are of the 12th century, and the south transept and timber south porch are of 14-15th centuries. The west tower was built in 1824. The building has been sold and planning permission has been agreed to convert it to a house.

Brobury (St. Mary Magdalene's) (SO 346443). Situated about 11 miles west of Hereford and approached by a narrow lane leading south from the A438. The building has been abandoned for over 12 years. It is built of local stone with a stone tiled roof and bellcote. Only the chancel remains, the nave having been demolished during the 19th century. The building is probably of the 13th century or earlier. Plans have been submitted to the County Planning Department for conversion to a house but details have not yet been completed.

Willersley (St. Mary Magdalene's) (SO 312474). Situated about $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Hereford on the A438, this church is also built of a local stone with a stone tiled roof. It consists of a nave and chancel without division and a timber-framed south porch surrounding a Norman south door with a decorated lintel. There are the remains of a Norman window in the north wall of the nave, and a 13th-century lancet in the north wall of the chancel. The building is in the process of being sold for conversion to a house.

Lucton (St. Peter's) (SO 437643). This church, which is about 5 miles north-west of Leominster, was built of local stone with a slate roof in 1850 on the foundations of an older church. The building is still for sale and no detailed plans have been submitted.

Avenbury (Chapel of Ease—St. Mary) (SO 663532). The building, 1 mile south-east of Bromyard is in ruins and only 3 sides of the tower remain. Some walling is standing at the east end of the former chancel which contains Norman windows. Otherwise it appears to be of 13th-century date. It has been sold as a 'garden of rest'.

Tedstone Wafer (St. James's) (SO 677591). The church was built in 1873 in a Gothic style and is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Bromyard.

Due to lack of vehicular access, it is unlikely that planning permission for conversion to a house will be agreed.

Although other churches in the county have recently, or are about to be, declared redundant, it is hoped that the Redundant Churches Commission will take responsibility for any of great historic interest although one or two others may be sold.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SECTION

REPORT FOR 1972

THE group continues to flourish with a well-established membership which continues to expand. There have been fewer issues of the newsletter due to increased postage rates and the increased amount of archaeological work undertaken by the secretary. However the individual issues have been of greater size and all members were issued with a copy of the interim report on the excavations in Cantilupe Street, Hereford.

Field meetings are arranged each month, and all have specific archaeological purposes. The oil pipe-line which involved a trench across the north of the county was investigated at three field meetings, and further meetings have been devoted to mapping and measuring details of the Leominster canal. Other meetings have included a visit to Walterstone and to Brayston Hill and field-work was carried out at both.

The Annual Meeting was held in December 1971 and the following were elected:

Chairman: Miss M. Thomas

Secretary: R. Shoesmith

Treasurer: P. Cooper

Assistant Secretary: Miss Heywood

Meetings Secretaries: Miss R. Hickling and J. G. Calderbank

Committee: Mrs. J. O'Donnell, W. R. Pye and L. Skelton.

Concern was expressed at the meeting about the damage caused to monuments by deep drainage and other similar farming works. Members mentioned hill forts at Ivington and Kimbolton, the Roman Fort at Stretton Grandison and the moated site at The Yeld, Pembridge, as particular examples.

The meeting was followed by an excellent slide show by Nicholas Thomas of Bristol Museum entitled 'A museum man in the New World'.

Buildings, 1972

By J. W. TONKIN

NINETEEN SEVENTY TWO has been an active year in the houses field. The Recording Group has met regularly, its principal work having been in the Broxash Hundred. This is not reported below as it is hoped to publish a full 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 their active encouragement of this work.

In April a University extra-mural week-end course on recording was held at the College of Education, Hereford. It was well attended and was directed by the writer with help from the president, Mr. C. H. I. Homes, and from Mr. R. C. Perry and my wife. A second University extra-mural week-end course was held in Ludlow with the writer as tutor and spent a day in North Herefordshire.

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.

ACTON BEAUCHAMP

ACTON MILL. SO 711504.

Small water-mill dated 1813. Interesting in its use of a jointed-cruck construction.

ADFORTON

RANDALL'S COTTAGE, PEYTOE. SO 412714

Two-bay timber-framed house probably of the second half of the 17th century, raised about a hundred years later and refronted in stone in the mid-19th. A lean-to, stone kitchen and dairy were added possibly at the same time as the house was raised. A four-centred doorway is still in situ.

BISHOPS FROME

CHEYNEY COURT MILL. SO 664478

Water-mill with undershot wheel, cider-mill and press and clover winnowing machine. Has a light, upper-cruck roof probably of mid-19th-century date.

PAUNTON MILL. SO 670500

Water-mill of four storeys with jointed-cruck roof with king-post above collar. Probably 18th century.

BRILLEY

CWMMA. SO 277512 (R.C.H.M. 3)

The cattle shed adjoining the house is of four bays. The north-eastern is an addition probably of the 17th century. The other three are apparently of early 16th-century date with big beams and closely-spaced joists. The bay nearest the house has been altered in being converted into a bathroom. The next bay has an open roof in the loft and the beams and joists are painted with a chevron design. The mortices for a post and panel screen are in situ between this and the next bay which has a much more brightly painted ceiling and again an open roof above.

CASTLE FROME

FROMEY MILL. SO 655456 (R.C.H.M. 8)

Present semi-ruinous state of building has revealed heavy, cambered tie-beams probably of the 16th century and a four-centred doorhead.

CRADLEY

CRADLEY MILL. SO 731488

Small 17th-century timber-framed house with cross-wing and hall adjoining old mill.

New stone mill of five storeys bears the date 1834 with cast-iron windows.

DORSTONE

COURT HOUSE. SO 316418

Although at first sight a late 18th or early 19th-century house, the basic fabric is apparently 17th. A cellar under the parlour has chamfered beams and joists, with long, scratched carpenters' marks. At the other end of the house the doorway into the kitchen has a shaped head of the Black Mountains-Monmouthshire type. The original stair ran from cellar to attics and it would seem that this is a 17th-century stone house very much altered.

EYE, MORETON AND ASHTON

THE NEST. SO 502639 (R.C.H.M. 5)

This building is about to be restored to one house. The heavy, cambered tie-beams and short, curved braces look 16th century rather than 17th and the floor of at least one of the hall-block bays has been inserted. It seems likely that this was a house of the first half of the 16th century, with parlour, hall, cross-passage and service-end heavily restored in the third or fourth decade of the 17th when the cross-wing was rebuilt and floors inserted in the hall.

VICARAGE FARM. SO 502642 (R.C.H.M. 10)

This house has recently been restored. From the carpenters' marks and general construction it appears to be a mid-17th-century house with a crog-loft at one end and open at the fire-place end. A single-storey timber-framed extension westwards was built in the 18th century and a stone lean-to kitchen and dairy added on the north perhaps at the same time, perhaps later. The timber-framed upper storey was added to the westward extension about 70 or 80 years ago.

LEDBURY

17 HIGH STREET. SO 712376 (R.C.H.M. 18)

The first-floor window has little sidelights not normally found in Herefordshire, but frequently found in Ledbury. The building behind the shop runs parallel to the street. Its roof is of post and pad construction and this and the geared timber winch in the attic presumably mean that this was used for storage.

LEINTWARDINE

THE SELDA. SO 405739

A stone, two-storey hall and cross-wing of early 17th-century date much altered and added to at various times since. The adjoining bake-house built in 1930 has a king-post roof with carpenters' marks virtually indistinguishable from that of the loft over the stable built probably about 1840. A complete set of documents from 1612 enables a documentary history to be traced.

LEOMINSTER OUT

CHOLSTREY COURT BARN. SO 466595 (R.C.H.M. 21)

A four-bay cruck barn. Four trusses are probably of 16th-century date and the fifth of 17th. The original barn was apparently thatched and hipped for both end trusses stopped at the collar as did also the added truss. The 16th-century trusses are very heavy and of poplar. This has been removed to Avoncroft Museum of Buildings.

MUCH MARCLE

HALL COURT. SO 644353 (R.C.H.M. 6)

A careful examination shows that the original screens-passage was at the north end of the hall, but soon after the house was built it was moved to the south and a porch was added. Presumably this was to give the occupier direct access to the parlour without having to come through the hall.

The late 18th-century hop-kilns west of the house have heavy, upper-cruck trusses.

ORLETON

ORLETON MANOR. SO 491669 (R.C.H.M. 2)

During restoration an examination of this house showed that the ovolo mullioned windows, the bay window and the porch were added in the 17th century to the 16th-century house. The ash-pits of the hall and service-end fire-places have been found in the excavations.

KITCHEN HILL. SO 489669

A puzzling house. The stone, rubble ground-floor with straight chamfered mullioned windows and doorway supports a deeply jettied, timber-framed upper storey and attic. There is some medieval cut stone in the garden. The house requires a thorough examination.

WESTON-UNDER-PENYARD

BOLLITREE CASTLE. SO 637240 (R.C.H.M. 6)

A very interesting building. Alterations this year revealed that behind the five-bay, red sandstone house of c.1700 the apparently Gothick building of c.1775 actually encased a much earlier timber-framed L-shaped house. The main block of this has heavy pyramid stops and may well be early 16th century, especially as the wing appears to have had an open roof which was given new purlins in the 18th century.

WIGMORE

CASTLE STREET, COTTAGE. SO 411690

A small, three-part plan house. The centre bay seems to have been open. The timber-framing is of early 17th-century type, but has been underpinned in stone at the back and both gables.

Excavations revealed the floor and foundations of a two-part plan house below the present building.

CHURCH STREET, COTTAGE. SO 413690

Building work revealed that this brick house, apparently of 19th-century date was built around an earlier timber-framed structure. The original house of heavy framing was apparently a single cell with an attic above. This was extended and raised to give a two-room plan on two storeys probably well on in the 18th century and the whole encased in brick in the 19th.

DANVERS. SO 411691

Now a ruin, only the lower walls remaining. The house collapsed during the second world war. It appears to have been a two-part plan, late, timber-framed house with an added brick kitchen and dairy. The timber-framing had been cased in stone to first-floor level on three sides and brick on the fourth. The outbuildings were of brick with 18th-century timber-framed upper floor.

During the year members of the listed buildings sub-committee have looked at 35 buildings most of which were for minor changes. Of these 6 were demolitions or part demolitions. As a result Cholstrey Court Barn, a four-bay, 16th-century, cruck building was saved and is being re-erected at Avoncroft Museum of Buildings. The president represented the club at the enquiry at Kington into the proposed demolition of 30, 31 and 32 High Street. Objections were raised in July 1971, against this proposal.

As far as is known the following was the only listed building demolished during 1972: St. Vincent's Orphanage, Berrington Street, Hereford.

Thanks are due to Mesdames J. McCulloch and P. Williams, Mr. C. H. I. Homes and my wife for reports on buildings.

Deserted Medieval Villages, 1971, 1972

By ROSAMUND HICKLING

IN 1970 and 1971 the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group obtained copies of aerial photographs taken by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph in Herefordshire. These photographs considerably expand our knowledge of possible sites in the county as on some, croft boundaries, hollow ways and associated house sites of abandoned and shrunken settlements are clearly visible. The photographs are low level oblique shots taken in winter when long shadows make the earthworks show up.

The first evidence for shrunken settlements in Ewyas Lacy Hundred has come from these photographs, and at Upper Maescoed they show a cluster of rectangular earthworks within a roughly circular enclosure—a pattern quite unlike the rectangular layout of crofts on either side of a street seen in the east of the county.

Sites for which there is only the evidence of earthworks cannot be dated without excavation, however, these sites are being listed in the hope that someone studying the local history may be able to discover the period of occupation and date of desertion. I should be very grateful if anyone finding documentary evidence relating to the occupation of these sites could notify the Club so that I may be informed.

The villages are grouped according to the modern hundred, the name of the medieval hundred used in documents is given in parentheses after the name of the village only where it differs from the modern hundred. The initials following the National Grid reference of the village indicate the documents in which the village is mentioned, as listed in the *Report* for 1970 with the following additions:

H Herefordshire Local Collection.

P Photograph taken by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph in the possession of the Deserted Medieval Research Group, 67 Gloucester Crescent, London, NW1.

BROXASH HUNDRED

CASTLETON. SO 595453. H P

This is a shrunken site with three houses still occupied. Boundaries enclosing seven crofts are visible north and south of Upper Castleton Farm and west of Lower Castleton adjacent to the moated site.

CLATER. SO 685542. P

There are well-marked hollow ways and house platforms in the old parkland due south of Clater Park House.

GROVE. SO 696556

Abundant stone and clearly marked house sites lie on either side of a hollow way crossing a shallow valley. House sites on the south-west side of the hollow way have been disturbed by excavations to repair the dam of the adjacent Grove Pool within the memory of a local inhabitant. This site was discovered by members of the Bromyard Historical Society.

MONKTON. SO 582458. H P

Boundaries enclosing nine crofts with house sites can be distinguished on either side of a hollow way running through a meadow called Little Monkton on a map of 1842.

RED WITCHEND. SO 619479. P

Boundaries enclosing five crofts are visible west of the farmhouse.

EWYAS LACY

LONGTOWN. SO 322291. DS P

This is a shrunken settlement, a low boundary bank extends north-westwards from the large enclosure and on the south-east side of it, house sites and crofts are visible on the north-east side of the road as far as the inn.

UPPER MAESCOED. SO 327352. P

A shrunken settlement where two house complexes and several hollow ways are visible. One of the latter has been bulldozed out.

GREYTREE

OLD HYDE. SO 638352. P

Ten possible house sites are visible on either side of a deeply sunken hollow way. On *Bryant's Map* of 1835 it is called the Far Hyde.

GRIMSWORTH

BRIDGE SOLLERS. SO 423419. DS NV LS PT57 P

Vague earthworks are visible south and west of Marsh Court Farm. Two fields separate these from the earthworks around the church.

LOWER LYDE. SO 520440. DS NV PT42

Hollow ways link Lower Lyde Court and Farm each with a moated site adjacent. There are vague earthworks, an empty house and another deep hollow way in a field north of the Court Farm.

RADLOW

LITTLE MARCLE. SO 666363. DS NV LS PT47 P

A shrunken site where the foundations of the old church lie between well-marked hollow ways and crofts at SO 663360 and the scattered dwellings of the remaining village link it with more earthworks at SO 673370.

MASSINGTON. SO 740395. H P

There are the remains of a possible moated site, two fishponds and vague earthworks with two house platforms east and south of the farmhouse. A sherd of 14th-century green glazed ware was picked up near a hollow way which has been bulldozed.

WEBTREE

CARWARDINE. SO 403409. LS PT shared 193 with 3 others P

Vague earthworks in the fields north and south of the farmhouse.

WOLPHY

STOCKTON (LEOMINSTER). SO 519613. DS NV LS P

Clearly marked croft boundaries south of Stockton Cross show that this village has shrunk slightly.

Entomology, 1972

By H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH

It has been a poor year for butterflies; also for moths.

Dr. Harper of Ledbury has kindly added to my rather meagre list.

He had the good fortune to see a rarity not reported since 1870, a Bedstraw moth, seen on 20th and 21st July.

On 11th April we saw a Brimstone in the garden, a Holly Blue and Orange-tips a few days later.

Last year was a good one for Holly Blues, but they are now declining, some were seen during the spring, and on 21st and 22nd August at Ledbury—very local.

A few Red Admirals and Tortoiseshells around Tarrington. Painted Lady on Bachby Hill 6th August and elsewhere on 18th September and 23rd October. A fair number of Grayling emerging late.

A small colony, only 6, of Marbled Whites at Malvern. Seen Hairstreaks at British Camp on thyme, also seen on Common Hill in July.

On Tarrington Common, a few Meadow Browns and Cabbage Whites. Gate-keeper and Ringlets also seen.

Mammals, 1972

By W. H. D. WINCE

BATS. A study of the status and distribution in the county is needed; their numbers are declining. They are insect eaters and their food supply is diminishing with the use of insecticides, the removal of hedges and copses and the draining of ditches and ponds which are the sources of insects. Demolishing old buildings and the cutting down of old hollow trees destroys their homes. Fumigation of houses to treat beetle and the use of pesticides on farms may damage or actually poison these animals. Bats are unpopular animals and in addition they are disliked because of their droppings in such places as churches. The droppings are dry and non-corrosive to paintwork for they are mainly composed of the chitinous skeletons of insects. Conservation measures include the provision of bat boxes, similar to bird boxes and the avoidance of clearing bats from roofs in the months June/August because of the presence of non-weaned young. In such situations it should be noted that they feed on wood-boring insects including the death watch beetle.

SQUIRRELS. The Grey Squirrel is becoming a major pest barking trees with a particular liking for the Spanish Chestnut and the Sycamore, and by its attacks on the nests of many useful birds.

There is a record of a Red Squirrel being seen at Covenhope; it is of course known to occur in other parts of the Mortimer Forest adjacent to the Shropshire border.

BADGERS. A record of cruelty to this species was passed to me and I think a note of this should be published. A badger had been caught in a snare and the observer noticed that it was being battered with a spade by the owner of the land in an attempt to kill it. The observer tried to persuade the owner to stop beating the animal or if not at least to shoot it. This was unsuccessful and the owner dragged the badger away by the snare which was round its neck with the animal still trying to breath. The incident lasted 35 minutes.

At a sett I am able to watch fairly regularly badgers during their excavations threw out a gin trap.

Badgers it would seem are fairly often road casualties and I noted three deaths. On 18.7.72 at Derndale, 30.8.72 on the A417 road by the Lugg at Bodenham and on the following day on the A49 at Burghope. The latter record is of particular interest as I had seen a dead animal on exactly the same spot in the autumn of 1969, it is likely therefore that a traditional badger track crosses this road at this particular point.

MINK. Continuing to spread in our rivers.

OTTER. The Hunt indicate an increase in 1972. As far as can be ascertained none was killed by the Hunt.

POLECAT. This species has now crossed the county and spread to Worcestershire. There are many records of Polecats having been killed on estates by gamekeepers. It is said that this animal preys on pheasants, but it should be mentioned that its main diet is the rat; it also takes rabbits and squirrels.

FALLOW DEER. Dr. Walker reports seeing 11 at Nupend. Fallow Deer have also been recorded at Gladestry; this is the first observation in Radnorshire. The distribution of this deer is related very much to the old deer parks in the county and the species has come to exist in the feral state as the parks fell into disuse and retaining fences were not repaired. In the south of the county there has been some spread across the Wye from the Forest of Dean.

MUNTJAC. In July 1969 a buck was found in a Leominster garden; it was released on Dinmore Hill. A doe was seen by Mr. M. Evans of Leominster during the summer in Wellington woods.

Ornithology, 1972

By W. H. D. WINCE

IN January 1972 many ducks and swans were attracted to the flooded reaches of the Lugg and Arrow. Numbers of Teal, Wigeon and about 30-50 Bewicks Swans were present on the Arrow at Monkland in the second half of the month. In February Bewicks Swans were seen on the flooded Lugg Meadows at Hereford. It is of interest that one of the birds at Monkland and three at Hereford had dyed yellow tails—the method of marking these swans adopted by the Wildfowl Trust at Slimbridge. Tufted Ducks and Pochard were seen on various pools and Goosander were again winter visitors to the Wye. A female Goosander with 9 young was noted at Carreg Ddu on 9th June, the first breeding record for this species in the area.

There were many records of Sparrow Hawks being seen in 1972 and 4 breeding records. This species seems to be holding its own and perhaps increasing in numbers after its serious decline in recent years. The Kite, Merlin and Hobby were all seen and on 23rd June a Goshawk was observed in the north of the county.

There were only single records of Quail and Corncrake. The usual large winter flocks of Lapwings were present. In January a mixed flock of 400 Lapwings and Golden Plover was seen at Mortimers Cross, two-thirds of these being of the latter species. In February 600 Golden Plover were seen in the Pembridge district and 500 at Shobdon in October.

The Collared Dove continues to spread widely but only a small number of Turtle Doves occurred. A large Starling roost exists in Westhyde Wood occupied by many thousands of birds.

The Corn Bunting was seen and heard in the Kings Acre area and there is evidence that it again bred. Crossbills irrupted in the year and 200 were seen in the Wigmore Rolls towards the end of the year. In the autumn there was an influx of Bramblings and Redpolls with a few Siskins.

1972 was a poor year for Sedge and Grasshopper Warblers and Whitethroats remained scarce. A Blackcap was noted in a garden at Moreton-on-Lugg late in the year. Redstarts remained uncommon and there was only one Nightingale record with no evidence of breeding.

My thanks are due to the Herefordshire Ornithological Club and their recorder Mr. A. J. Smith for allowing me to use records and notes collected by members of that Club.

Hereford City Museum Report, 1972

By MARY H. CRUTTENDEN

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

- 9665 Limestone carving showing a man with a beard standing under foliage; found in the garden at Hill View, Leysters, Leominster. Although the date is uncertain, there are possibly clues in the face which strongly resembles those on Celtic heads. The figure appears to have cloven hooves, and hence may have occult associations. Height 10½ ins. width 6 ins. See plates XIV and XV.
17th-century Herefordshire trade tokens.
- 9643/1 ½d. of John Baynham, mercer, Bromyard, 1664.¹
- /2 ½d. of Thomas Taylor, 1659. Lloyd no. 70.¹
- 9644 ½d. of Richard Clarke, mercer, Weobley. 1667. Lloyd no. 72.¹
- 9651/1 ½d. of Thomas Hancock, bookseller, Hereford. 1668. Williamson no. 13.²
- /2 ½d. of Thomas Matthews, Hereford. 1661. Williamson no. 22.²
- /3 ½d. of Lyson Thomas, ironmonger, Hereford. 1668. Williamson no. 32.²
- /4 ½d. obv. AT LEOMINSTER 1659 = Arms of Leominster in a shield.
rev. IN HEREFORDSHIRE = MIP. Unpublished.
- 9727 Silver 1d. of William I PAXS type: 1086/7.
Obv. XPILLELI I REX.
Rev. XORDPI ON HREFRI.
Mint, Hereford; moneyer Ordwi.
- 9736 Silver 1d. of Henry I. Pellets in Quarterfoil, Hereford. Moneyer Reverswert. North 870.³
- 9656 Basket-makers' tools; commander for straightening canes, cleave for splitting canes into 4, plane for reducing thickness of cane and upright for reducing width of cane.
- 9673 3 agate tipped burnishers for polishing gilt edges and areas of tooling, and 5 paste brushes; all used by a book binder.
- 9745 Plough from a house, formerly the *Plough Inn*, Blakemere; 1 moulding board, 2 wheels, made by Kell and Co., Gloucester c. 1900.
- 9757 Butter churn from a farm at Clehonger; in the shape of a barrel on a stand. Early 20th century.
- 9693 Collection of late 19th-century tools and equipment from Hall Court, Much Marcle. Items included equipment for agriculture, cheese and butter making, cider making, maintenance and horse transport.

- 9655 Lady's dressing gown; printed cotton, quilted and filled with swans-down. c. 1870.
- 9663 Grey silk parasol with silver thread decoration of flower sprays; white glass handle. c. 1880.
- 9678 Child's white cotton dress, decorated with broderie anglaise and white embroidery. c. 1865.
- 9705 2 lady's straw hats. c. 1917.
- 9764 Purple silk dress covered with fine black net; separate bodice and skirt; bodice pointed at waist, back fastening; skirt has 5 deep frills. c. 1850.
- 9767 Pair of lady's sandals, wooden soles. c. 1945.
- 9713 Self portrait by John Scarlett Davis. Oil on wood. 12 ins. x 10 ins.
- 9675 4 pieces of elaborately embroidered cloth, from a dress of c. 1912. White silk embroidered with metal thread and pale silks, mostly yellow and fawn.
- 9735 Tea service of multi-coloured, transfer-printed earthenware, with terracotta ground and a little gilding. Probably Pratt ware, dating between 1850 and 1855.
- 9778 Blackbird's nest from a garden in Quay Street, Hereford. Specimens brought to the museum and sent away to be mounted—song thrush, grey squirrel, kingfisher, 2 tawny owls, vixen, sparrow hawk, fox cub, stoat, great tit.
- 9667 Needlework sampler, embroidered with flowers round a central panel in which is sewn the alphabet, numbers 1 to 9, *Hereford 1820*, a pious verse and *Mary Townsend's work*.
- 9717 Toy *Felix*, a black and white soft toy cat, with long limbs and tail, grinning mouth and button eyes. c. 1920.
- 9724 Golden brown *teddy bear*, won at the May Fair, Hereford, c. 1920.
- 9748 Theatre ticket in the shape of a copper disc, found at Munderfield, Bromyard. One side blank, the other bearing the legend THEATRE ROYAL HAYMARKET SECOND GALL, 1778.
- 9714 Pair of large domestic bellows, last used in the 1860's.

FOOTNOTES

¹ *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1883-5), 183-209.

² George C. Williamson, *Trade Tokens issued in the 17th century* (1891).

³ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, Vol. 11 (1960).

RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)

I.—That the Society be known as the "WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)" for the practical study in all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the districts immediately adjacent.

II.—That the Club shall consist of ordinary members (ladies and gentlemen) and such honorary members as may from time to time be admitted; from whom a president, four vice-presidents, honorary treasurer and honorary secretary shall be appointed at the annual winter meeting to be held in Hereford in the latter part of each year, and they shall hold office for one year beginning at the next annual spring meeting. The club may also accept for affiliation as approved such societies or groups as exist for the furtherance of similar purposes to those of the club. Each group shall be entitled to have one representative at all meetings of the club, to receive copies of the *Transactions* and generally be treated as one ordinary member.

The club shall admit junior members between the ages of 14 and 18. Such junior members may become full members at the latter age, but those who are bona-fide full-time students may remain junior members until the age of 21. Nobody of the age of 18 or over may be elected a junior member.

III.—The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said seven officers *ex-officio* and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or re-election *en bloc* shall be accepted. In the event of ties the president or the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote. Casual vacancies may be filled at any general meeting and any member then elected shall hold office until the date when the term of office of the member whom he or she succeeds would have expired. The central committee shall be empowered to appoint an assistant secretary; its duties shall include making all arrangements for the meetings of the year. Seven shall form a quorum.

IV.—That the members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural

history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V.—That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £1.50, payable on the 1st January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional members of the same household may at their option be reduced to 50p each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be 50p. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of 25p for a full day meeting, or 12½p for a half-day meeting, in respect of each visitor.

VI.—That the president be requested to favour the club with an address at the annual spring meeting on the proceedings of the year, together with such observations as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the club, and the promotion of its objects.

VII.—Every candidate for membership of the club shall be proposed and seconded by members. The central committee shall elect or reject the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.

VIII.—That members finding rare or interesting specimens or observing any remarkable phenomenon relating to any branch of natural history, or making or becoming acquainted with any archaeological discovery in the district, shall immediately forward a statement thereof to the honorary secretary or to the appropriate sectional editor.

IX. That the club undertake the formation and publication of correct lists of the various natural productions and antiquities of the county of Hereford with such observations as their respective authors may deem necessary.

X.—That any member whose annual subscription is twelve months in arrear shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privileges of membership, and that any member whose annual subscription is two years in arrear may be removed from the membership of the club by the central committee.

XI.—That the assistant secretary send out circulars ten days at least before the annual spring meeting to all members who have not paid their subscriptions and draw their particular attention to Rule X.

XII.—That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or alteration at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.

XIII. That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting, or has been approved by the central committee.

XIV.—That these rules be published in each volume of the *Transactions*.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

1851	Club formed in the winter months	1897	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil, F.R.C.S.E.
1852	LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.	1898	MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.
1853	LEWIS, Rev. T. T.	1899	BEDDOE, Mr. H. C.
1854	SYMONDS, Rev. WM. S., B.A., F.G.S.	1900	LEIGH, The Very Rev. The Hon. J. W., D.D., Dean of Hereford
1855	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1901	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.
1856	WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt	1902	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart, M.A.
1857	LINGEN, Mr. Charles	1903	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.
1858	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1904	HUTCHINSON, Mr. T.
1859	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1905	BAYLIS, Mr. Phillip, M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.
1860	BANKS, Mr. R. W.	1906	WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.
1861	LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert	1907	RANKIN, Sir James, Bart, M.A.
1862	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1908	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil, M.R.C.S.E., and RANKIN, Sir James, Bart, M.A.
1863	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1909	WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.
1864	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1910	FARN, Mr. A. B.
1865	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1911	PHILLIPS, Mr. E. Cambridge
1866	BULL, H. G., M.D.	1912	STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F. S., M.A.
1867	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1913	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1868	McCULLOUGH, D. M., M.D.	1914	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1869	RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.	1915	WOOD, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
1870	COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.	1916	JACK, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
1871	CAM, Mr. Thomas	1917	GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
1872	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1918	BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A.
1873	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1919	WATKINS, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
1874	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1920	HUMFRYS, Mr. W. J.
1875	ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.	1921	JAMES, Mr. Francis R.
1876	CHAPMAN, T. A., M.D.	1922	MARSHALL, Mr. George, F.S.A.
1877	MORRIS, J. Griffiths	1923	BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph A., C.B., M.A., D.LITT.
1878	PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.	1924	DURHAM, Herbert E., D.SC., M.B., B.CH., F.R.C.S.(ENG.)
1879	ARMITAGE, Mr. Arthur	1925	MACKAY, Mr. J. C.
1880	KNIGHT, Mr. J. H.	1926	SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
1881	LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.	1927	DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D.D., F.S.A.
1882	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.	1928	SYMONDS, Mr. Powell Biddulph
1883	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1929	SMITH, The Right Rev. Martin Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
1884	BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.	1930	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1885	MARTIN, Mr. C. G.		
1886	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.		
1887	ELLIOT, Rev. William, M.A.		
1888	ELLIOT, Rev. William, M.A.		
1889	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.		
1890	CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart, M.A.		
1891	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart, M.A.		
1892	BARNEBY, Mr. William Henry		
1893	LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.		
1894	DAVIES, Mr. James		
1895	WATKINS, Rev. M.G., M.A.		
1896	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil, F.R.C.S.E.		

1931	SYMONDS-TAYLER, Lt.-Colonel R. H.	1951	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A., M.A.
1932	SWAYNE, Lt.-Colonel O. R., D.S.O.	1952	SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.
1933	HAMILTON, Brig.-General W. G., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.	1953	COHEN, Mr. I., M.I.MECH.E.
1934	WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.	1954	JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.
1935	ELLISON, Captain F. B.	1955	MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.
1936	ROBINSON, Mr. R. S. Gavin	1956	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable A. J., M.A.
1937	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.	1957	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1938	BETTINGTON, Mr. E. J., F.R.S.A.	1958	LANGFORD, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
1939	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.	1959	LEEDS, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.
1940	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.	1960	MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch, M.A.
1941	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.	1961	STANFORD, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.
1942	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.	1962	ZIMMERMAN, Mr. A. U.
1943	WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R., D.D., Dean of Hereford	1963	COLEMAN, Mr. V. H.
1944	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.	1964	NOBLE, Mr. F., B.A.
1945	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.	1965	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.
1946	RICHARDSON, Mr. L., F.R.S.E., P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.	1966	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1947	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.	1967	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.
1948	GILBERT, Captain H. A.	1968	CURRIE, Mrs. Diana C. D.
1949	WALLIS, Captain, O. B., M.A., LL.B.	1969	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
1950	CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.	1970	O'DONNELL, Mrs. Jean E.
		1971	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.
		1972	HOMES, Mr. C. H. I.

LIST OF MEMBERS as at 31st DECEMBER 1972

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHITTY, Miss L. F.S.A., Ingleside, Pontesbury, Salop.
COHEN, Mrs. H., 7 Angela Close, Hampton Park, Hereford.
THE EDITOR, The Hereford Times, Berrow House, Bath Street, Hereford.
KENYON, Dame K.M., F.S.A., Old Brands Lodge, Terriers, High Wycombe, Bucks.
MARTIN, Mrs. C.H., 203 Hinton Road, Hereford.
MORGAN, F.C., F.S.A., 1a The Cloisters, Hereford.
SHERWOOD, J. F. W., City Library, Hereford.
WEBSTER, Dr. G., F.S.A., 30 Portland Street, Leamington Spa.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

BANGOR: The Library, University College of North Wales.
BIRMINGHAM: Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place, 1.
BIRMINGHAM: Dept. of Extramural Studies, The University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, B15 2TT.
BIRMINGHAM: University Library, Edgbaston, 15.
BOSTON SPA: National Lending Library for Science and Technology, Walton, Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ.
BRECON: County Library, High Street.
BRISTOL: City Library.
BROMYARD: Bromyard & District Local History Society.
CARDIFF: Library, University College, P.O. Box 78, Cathays Park, CFI 1XL.
GLOUCESTER: City Museum & Art Gallery, Brunswick Road.
HEREFORD: Botanical Society, Great Oak Corner, Eardisley, Hereford.
HEREFORD: City Library, Broad Street.
HEREFORD: College of Education, College Road.
HEREFORD: County Library, Widemarsh Street.
HEREFORD: Ornithological Society.
HEREFORD: Teachers Centre, Uplands, Folly Lane.
HEREFORD: Whitecross School, Baggallay Street.
ILLINOIS: Serials Dept., University of Illinois Library, Urbana.
KIDDERMINSTER: Public Library, Market Street.
LEDBURY: Ledbury Naturalist & Field Club.
LEICESTER: The University Library.
LEOMINSTER: Historical Society.
LIVERPOOL: The University Library, 3.
LONDON: British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
LONDON: Institute of Geological Sciences, Exhibition Road, S.W.7.
LONDON: Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
LONDON: Society of Genealogists, 37 Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.
LONDON: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, WC2A 1LR.
LONDON: University of London, The Library, Senate House, W.C.1.
NEWPORT: Public Library, Dock Street.
NEW YORK: Central Serial Record Dept., Cornell University Library, Ithaca, 14850.
PRINCETON: Serials Division, Princeton University Library, New Jersey.

SALT LAKE CITY: Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 107 South Main Street.
SHREWSBURY: County Library Headquarters, Column House, London Road, SY2 6NW.
SOUTHAMPTON: Archaeology Division Library, Ordnance Survey, Romsey Road, Maybush.
SWANSEA: The Library, University College of Swansea, Singleton Park.
SYDNEY: Serials Dept., 100507, Fisher Library, University of Sydney.
WIGMORE: Comprehensive School.
WISCONSIN: The General Library, University of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, 6.
WOLVERHAMPTON: Public Library.
WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.
WORCESTER: County Library, Love's Grove, Castle Street.

The names and addresses of Club members have been redacted.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

Birmingham Archaeological Society.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.
British Mycological Society.
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society.
Cardiff Naturalists' Society.
Essex Archaeological Society.
Essex Field Club.
Geological Society of London
Hertfordshire Natural History Society
Kent Archaeological Society.
North Staffordshire Field Club.
Offa's Dyke Association.
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.
Powysland Club.
Radnorshire Society.
Shropshire Archaeological Society.
Somerset Archaeological Society.
South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society.
Surrey Archaeological Society.
Worcestershire Archaeological Society
Worcestershire Naturalists' Field Club.
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

Antiquaries Journal.
Archaeologia.
Cambrian Archaeological Society.
Harleian Society.
Journal of Industrial Archaeology.
Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology.
Mammal Society.
Midland History.
Prehistoric Society.

