TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLIII 1980

PART II

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PART II

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LIST OF OFFICERS

1980-81

President - - - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
President-elect - - -	Mrs. M. M. VOSS
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Hon. Treasurer - - -	Mr. J. C. HOLLAND
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Hon. Editor - - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Hon. Assistant Editors -	Mr. R. E. KAY (*Archaeology*) Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (*Natural History*)

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Botany and Geology - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
Buildings - - - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Deserted Medieval Villages -	Mrs. R. E. SKELTON
Entomology - - -	Mrs. M. W. PRYCE
Industrial Archaeology -	Mr. C. H. I. HOMES
Mammals - - - -	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE
Ornithology - - -	Mr. C. W. SHELDRAKE

Address of Hon. Secretary:	*Address of Hon. Asst. Secretary:*	*Address of Hon. Editor:*
Mr. F. M. KENDRICK	Mrs. M. TONKIN	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
40 Stanhope Street	Chy an Whyloryon	Chy an Whyloryon
Hereford	Wigmore	Wigmore
	Leominster	Leominster
	HR6 9UD	HR6 9UD

Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the *Woolhope Club Transactions* should be submitted to the editor whose address is given under LIST OF OFFICERS. *Notes for Contributors* to the *Transactions* will be sent on request.

Proceedings, 1980

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 12 January: Mr. R. A. Page, senior vice-president, in the chair.

Mr. Noel King, the area conservancy officer, gave an illustrated talk on 'The Work of the Nature Conservancy Council in Hereford and Worcester'. He made particular reference to the importance of the Lugg meadows for the snake's head fritillary, the Doward for the fly orchid and bats, Moccas Park which is the most important biological site in Britain, and the Wye Valley. For ten years Chaddesley Wood had been a nature reserve and soon it was hoped to add another 800 acres to the 800 acres of the Wyre Forest. Mr. King said that some sites were vulnerable to outside pressures and consultations were constantly taking place to solve the problems.

SECOND MEETING: 9 February: Mr. R. A. Page, senior vice-president, in the chair.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A., spoke on 'Herefordshire during the Great Anarchy of Stephen's Reign, 1135-54'. He based his talk on the writings of William of Wykeham, Florence of Worcester and others. He explained how Robert de Bethune through the influence of Miles of Gloucester and Payn fitzOsbern became bishop of Hereford from 1131-48. He later became the prior of Llanthony Abbey. In the struggle between Stephen and Matilda, the latter was supported by Miles of Gloucester and the former by the earls of Leicester and Worcester. Hereford was besieged in 1138 and 1139. Later Miles plundered a number of churches and was excommunicated by Bishop Bethune. In 1148, Roger, son of Miles, made peace with Bishop Gilbert Foliot. Stephen was succeeded in 1154 by Henry II, son of Matilda, who found himself in a struggle with the Marcher lords, including the Mortimers.

THIRD MEETING: 8 March: Mr. R. A. Page, senior vice-president, in the chair.

This was the open meeting held in St. Peter's Hall as the annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Dr. Wendy Davies spoke on 'The Llandaff Charters and Herefordshire'. She explained how the Archenfield area of Herefordshire was once part of the diocese of Llandaff and said that the Llandaff charters were an exceptional source material for its early history. The charters were a collection of some nine collections, and careful analysis showed that they were made up in the 12th century but referred to the previous six centuries. Dr. Davies also explained how the Archenfield area had retained its distinctive identity.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 29 March: Mr. R. A. Page, senior vice-president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 822 members.

Mr. Page briefly reviewed the year's activities. Mrs. Muriel Tonkin gave an address 'Mr. Guy's Hospital and its Herefordshire Estate' which is printed on pp. 91-115. This was the subject which the late president, Mr. A. T. G. Garnett, had intended using for his presidential address.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick was installed as president for 1980-81.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 26 April: DOWNTON AND BOULDEN AREA

This meeting was arranged as a follow-up to Mr. Page's presidential address. At Downton members walked down to Forge Bridge and inspected the very ruinous site of the old forge where Mr. Page referred to the Knight and other families connected with the iron industry, and Mr. Homes explained how the industry seemed to work from at least the 17th to the 19th century. After lunch the party visited the site of the old furnace at Boulden and the small Norman chapel at The Heath. The last stop was at Croft Castle where the Knight family lived from 1746-99.

SECOND MEETING: 24 May: THE LEON VALLEY

This meeting was led by Mr. Reeves who has recently written *The Leon Valley: Three Herefordshire Villages*. Members visited Monkland Church which was restored in 1866 by A. G. Street but retains Norman windows with tufa surroundings dating from *c.*1100. At Eardisland Church Norman work dating from *c.*1200 was seen whilst Kingsland Church, which is of one build, dates from *c.*1300.

THIRD MEETING: 14 June: CHURCH STRETTON AND THE CORVEDALE

Despite heavy rain throughout the day the morning was spent at the Acton Scott Farm Museum which is a working farm of the period 1870 to 1914. Wilderhope Manor built of local Aymestry limestone soon after 1583 by the Smallman family is little altered, with its fine brick chimneys, timber-framed partitions, good plaster ceilings and stone doorways and fireplaces. The next visit was to Shipton Hall, built about 1587 by Richard Lutwyche and lived in by the Mytton family for 300 years. In Georgian times a stable block was added and also a wing at the rear of the house.

FOURTH MEETING: 12 July: LLANTHONY AREA

After a visit to Clodock Church with its 12th-century nave, 13th-century chancel, 15th-century tower and communion rails, and a pulpit and monuments dating from *c.*1700, the party divided into two groups. Fifty of the sixty-four members walked from Longtown over the mountain track used by Bishop Bethune who was bishop of Hereford, 1131-48, to Llanthony Priory. The others visited the ruined Longtown Castle and travelled to Llanthony by coach. Mr. Hillaby described the ruins of the priory and gave an account of its foundation and that of Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester in 1137. Patrishow Church with its fine 15th-century carved rood-screen, Laudian altar rails and a font said to date from *c.*1055 was also visited.

FIFTH MEETING: 14 August: WHITFIELD COURT AND KILPECK

Members were welcomed at Whitfield Court by Lady Mary Clive and Mr. George Clive. The house was built 1755-60 and a top storey added in the 19th century. The largest oak in the county, a ginko and other trees were seen in the gardens. After tea, kindly supplied by Lady Mary, the party visited Kilpeck Church where Mr. Lees-Smith explained the various proposals for the protection of the stonework of the south doorway. At The Mynde, Mr. Twiston Davies the owner, allowed members into the five-bay Georgian hall with giant Corinthian pilasters and fine plasterwork. The Pye tombs were seen in Much Dewchurch Church.

SIXTH MEETING: 13 September: BRECON AREA

Members were welcomed by the incumbent at Llanfilo Church where some records were displayed. Features noted were the Norman font, the 15th-century barrel ceiling of the nave, rood loft and screen of *c.*1500 and two stone altars of *c.*1200. After a visit to the Brecon Beacons Mountain centre the party visited Brecon Cathedral where Dr. David Walker gave a brief history of it. It was a Benedictine priory church, a parish church from 1537 and became a cathedral in 1923. The early 13th-century chancel is very similar to the Lady Chapel in Hereford Cathedral and the Norman font compares with the one at Eardisley. At Aberedw Church was seen the 14th-century nave, a plaster barrel chancel roof, 19th-century Gothic cast-iron altar rails and a 15th-century Radnorshire type screen with a 17th-century addition.

SPECIAL MEETING: 26 July: CEFNTILLA COURT AREA

Lord Raglan welcomed members to Cefntilla Court which dates from 1616 but was rebuilt in 1858. Llangwm Church with its late 15th-century rood-screen, carved on one side only and a standing, stone lamp believed to date from the end of the 11th-century was also visited.

RIPON VISIT: 31 July to 7 August

Forty-nine members spent a week at the College of Ripon and York St. John and on the way there visited Bramham Park built for Lord Bingley, 1700-10. On Thursday visits were made to Ripon Cathedral, the Town Hall to see the salon and civic plate, the town itself, and Newby Hall designed by Adam and its gardens, followed by a tour of Harrogate and Knaresborough.

Saturday was spent in Wensleydale, Wharfedale and Bishopdale when visits were made to Masham Church, Jervaulx, Middleham Castle, Aysgarth Falls and Church and Ripley Castle still lived in by the Ingilby family.

On Sunday Studley Royal deer park, Fountains Abbey, Brimham Rocks and Norton Conyers Hall, 1470-1500, were visited.

Monday was spent in Richmond as well as a walk from Muker to Gunnerside in Swaledale.

Thirsk, Coxwold, the Rievaulx Terraces and Vanburgh's Castle Howard were seen on Tuesday.

Wednesday was spent in York visiting the Viking excavations, the Merchant Adventurer's Hall, York Minster, the Treasurer's House, Railway Museum and Beningbrough Hall.

On the return journey Erddig, recently restored by the National Trust, was visited.

Lectures were given by Mr. W. T. C. Walker on Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal, and Mr. R. Hall, the director, on the Viking excavations in York.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 4 October: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, president, in the chair.

Dr. A. D. Brian gave an illustrated talk on 'The Pollination of Flowers'. She explained that pollination was necessary to produce seeds and that cross pollination as opposed to self pollination was important for the production of new varieties. The two main methods of pollination were by wind and insects. Flowers and insects have evolved together to make cross pollination possible. Bees are the largest group of pollinators.

SECOND MEETING: 25 October: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, president, in the chair.

Mr. John van Laun in his illustrated talk on 'The Iron Industry in South-west Herefordshire' explained that in the area in the 17th century there were plentiful supplies of wood for charcoal, and water for power, which encouraged the establishment of the blast furnace at St. Weonards and the forges at Llancillo, Pontrilas and Peterchurch. The furnace at St. Weonards seems to have been established before the Civil War and was still in operation after 1720 when it was rebuilt. The forge at Pontrilas was working before 1623, the one at Llancillo by 1637 and that at Peterchurch was still producing in 1736.

THIRD MEETING: 15 November: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Industrial Archaeology and Mammals, and the Archaeological Research Section gave their reports for 1980. Reports are printed on pp. 223-40.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 6 December: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1981 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1979 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 90. Field meeting dates and venues for 1981 were agreed.

Mr. C. H. I. Homes in his talk on 'Ballard's Vinegar Brewery' explained that a brewery had been established in Bye Street, Ledbury, and that in the 1880s it was proposed to move it to Colwall where there was a good supply of pure water and a soot-free atmosphere. The ferro-concrete building, the earliest in the county, was erected by 1884; the first brew was made on 21 May 1885, and the vinegar was on sale in September 1885. A variety of products was made and many awards were received at exhibitions in Paris, Brussels and Edinburgh. By 1912 the vinegar industry was being hit by the ascetic acid industry so the Ballard brothers sold out to Fardens of Birmingham.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1979

1978		RECEIPTS	£ p	£ p	1978	
£	£				£	£
		Interest on Investments				
33		3½% War Loan	32.64		42	
		Hereford and Worcester			113	
70		County Council Loan ...	119.84		1,176	
609		Bank Deposit Interest ...	1,124.35		61	
—	712			1,276.83	200	
		Subscriptions			51	
1,989		General	2,363.90		125	
		Archaeological Research				
61		Group	55.50		6	
40		Natural History Section ...	37.75		—	
—	2,090			2,457.15	125	
	149	Sale of Publications ...		232.15	27	
	64	Royalties		11.90	—	1,926
	284	Field Meetings (Net) ...		608.30		
	262	Donations		—		
		Income Tax Refund—			846	
	—	3 Years		283.32	917	
	—	Sundry Income		.79		
				4,870.44	47	
		Bank Balances 1st January			67	
		Current Accounts				
189		General	845.86		10,002	
773		Subscription	916.91		416	
77		Natural History ...	47.45			
		Archaeological Research			52	
12		Group	67.39		—	12,347
		Deposit Accounts				
9,268		Subscription	10,001.61			
393		G. Marshall Fund ...	415.80			
—		Natural History Section	52.51			
—	10,712			12,347.53		
	£14,273			£17,217.97	£14,273	

1978		PAYMENTS	£ p	£ p
£	£			
		Insurance	41.55	
		Printing and Stationery ...	90.13	
		Printing and Binding ...	3,937.60	
		Expenses of Meetings ...	—	
		Postages and Telephones	436.88	
		Subscriptions & Donations	87.17	
		Honoraria	125.00	
		Archaeological Research		
		Group Expenses ...	15.40	
		Natural History Section		
		Expenses	16.94	
		Accountant's Fees ...	155.25	
		Sundry Expenses	—	
				4,905.92
		Bank Balances 31 December		
		Current Accounts		
		General	2,762.72	
		Subscription	279.31	
		Natural History		
		Section	43.26	
		Archaeological Research		
		Group	107.49	
		Deposit Accounts		
		Subscription	8,569.30	
		G. Marshall Fund ...	463.82	
		Natural History		
		Section	86.15	
				12,312.05
				£17,217.97

Auditor's Certificate

I have audited the above Receipts and Payments Account and certify it to be in accordance with the Books, Bank Statements and Vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

(*Signed*) H. S. BERISFORD, F.C.A.,
Honorary Auditor.
4th November, 1980

Presidential Address

Mr. Guy's Hospital and its Herefordshire Estate

By **MURIEL TONKIN** for the late A. T. G. GARNETT

MR. Garnett, the club's president, died in December 1979 whilst in office. As I had had many discussions with him on various matters during his researches I felt that I would complete and present his proposed address.

I can begin in no better way than by quoting from a letter written in 1979 by Mr. Garnett to the Trustees of Guy's Hospital, in which he says, 'As an old Guy's man I thought it fitting that I should prepare a paper built round the one-time Guy's estates in Herefordshire. I am of the opinion that to confine my paper to the Guy's Herefordshire estates would be quite inadequate. I feel that it is essential to have something of Thomas Guy himself, something of how the hospital came into being, with the attending need for an income to run it, which leads to the Herefordshire estates, and finally something of the hospital today'.

THOMAS GUY

Thomas Guy was born in 1644 or 1645 in Pritchard's Alley, in the parish of Southwark, south of the Thames, not far from the site of the hospital. His father was Thomas Guy, a well-off lighterman and barge builder carrying on business on the Thames. His mother was Anne Voughton from Tamworth in Staffordshire. His father died in 1652-3; so Anne with Thomas who was then aged eight returned to Tamworth with his younger brother, John, and sister named Anne. His mother re-married, and it seems that Thomas was brought up at Tamworth and educated at Tamworth Grammar School. In September 1660, Thomas returned to London and was apprenticed for eight years to John Clarke, the younger, bookseller and bookbinder of Cheapside. On completion of his apprenticeship in 1668 he was admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company and in October 1673, admitted into the livery of that company. He immediately set up his own business, as a bookseller, in premises at the junction of Lombard Street and Cornhill, the shop being stocked with £200 worth of books. It remained unchanged until early in the 19th century when it was swept away for re-building King William Street.

As a publisher, and because of his religious background, being the son of a Baptist, Guy wished to see every family being able to afford a Bible. At this time those being printed in England were of poor quality; so contrary to the restrictions allowed by the Stationers' Company of which he was a liveryman, he entered into the profitable business of importing and selling English Bibles which were being printed in Holland. On this point he came into conflict with the Stationers' Company. Soon after the order by the government not to import Bibles, Guy, still with the same object in mind, in partnership with Peter Parker, a man of some wealth and another rebel against the Stationers' Company, in 1678 became Bible printers and sellers for the Oxford University Press. They invested £8,000 in the project and after fourteen years, in 1692, when they were forced by the Stationers' Company to give up, it is said that the partnership had made a profit of £10,000 to £15,000. Guy had, however, produced well-printed Bibles on good paper at low cost. His shop he named the Oxford Arms or Oxford University Book Warehouse. He was now aged forty-eight and wealthy. He continued in business until his death on 27 December 1724, aged seventy-nine. At this time his partner was John Osborn, a relative, who had been apprenticed to him in 1703. Osborn amalgamated the business in 1726 with Thomas Longman who had been his apprentice and who was the first of the many Longmans, and who also had married an Osborn. Guy invested his profits in government securities including South Seas Stock which he sold in 1720 before the South Sea Bubble burst. It is said that his £54,000 investment made a profit of over £234,000. This was Guy as a successful business man.

There was another side to him, the philanthropic. He was a bachelor and lived simply and unostentatiously, and throughout his life used his money to benefit others. In 1677, only nine years after being in business, he sent £5 to Tamworth towards rebuilding the schoolroom of the Grammar School. The following year, 1678, he bought a piece of land in Gungate, Tamworth, and on it built almshouses and a library for six poor women costing £200. In 1687, again at Tamworth, he gave £5 towards the conversion of a barn into a spinning school for the local children, and in 1692 he enlarged his almshouses by seven rooms for seven poor men and provided for their maintenance. These almshouses were restored in 1913. From 1695-1707 he was a Whig M.P. for Tamworth, and during this period in 1701 he built the Town Hall with an open market underneath. It is constructed of red brick with stone dressings and has been little used since the new municipal buildings were erected in 1889. These benefactions to Tamworth show how interested Guy was in the town where he was brought up and educated. Then in 1707 the burgesses of Tamworth rejected him as their M.P.; he never stood for Parliament again, and no more gifts were made to Tamworth. It is also noteworthy that in his will he made provision for the maintenance of the almshouses, but the inmates were to be selected from neighbouring townships and not from Tamworth. Any of his relatives should be given preference.

From this time onwards his attention turned to London although in 1694, when chosen as sheriff, he preferred to pay a fine of £420. As Guy lived near St. Thomas Hospital, one of those hospitals which had developed from monastic origins, he was generous to it and in 1704 was made one of its Governors. In 1708 at a cost of £1,000 he built three new wards for sixty-four patients on to the hospital and endowed it with £100 per year for the benefit of the poor. About 1707 he gave £100 for the support of the Protestant refugees from the Palatinate in Germany with an order that they could be admitted to St. Thomas's. He did not forget the Stationers' Company, for in 1717 he gave them £1,000, the interest to be used for poor members and widows. A little later he gave them a further £2,750 from which the interest of £125 per year was to be paid to him as will be stated in his will. In the last year of his life, 1724, he made a new entrance with fine iron gates to St. Thomas's from Borough High Street.

Thomas Guy whilst a Governor of St. Thomas's Hospital saw a need for a hospital for those who were discharged from hospital and still needed assistance. He referred to them as 'incurables' and it was for these people he, with Dr. Mead, a physician at St. Thomas's, drew up a scheme for a new hospital, to be erected close to St. Thomas's. A 999-year lease of land belonging to St. Thomas's was obtained and by 1721 the site was completely cleared. It was almost finished when Guy died in December 1724.

His executors laid on a splendid funeral for him on 7 January 1725. His body lay in state in the Hall of the Mercers in Cheapside, followed by a procession of forty coaches each drawn by six horses preceded by 200 Bluecoat boys from Christ's Hospital to the parish church of St. Thomas where he was buried.

THE HOSPITAL

The hospital was built on the medieval plan with two cloistered quadrangles joined by a colonnade with the wards on the upper floors. This form provided natural ventilation for the wards. Guy did not employ any of the wellknown architects of the time, but chose Thomas Dance, one of the many craftsmen-architects. He was a plasterer by trade, a freeman of the Company of Plaisterers, and according to his will when he died in 1733 was of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden. His training would have given him the necessary qualifications to make adequate drawings and prepare specifications for a building as large as Guy's. It was constructed of plain brick with a simple facade. Agreements were drawn up between Guy and the principal contractors specifying as clearly as possible the nature and quality of the work and the materials to be used. The contractors were to be paid as each phase of work was completed. James Porter, bricklayer, was responsible for digging out the site, bricklaying, tiling and drainage work. Nicholas Swaine and John Prude, carpenters, were responsible for the

structural woodwork and joinery; James Paget, stonemason, built the arches on which the building stands and all other stonework. The total cost was £18,750 and the fact that the building has stood for two and a half centuries is a tribute to the quality of the work. The building laws of the time meant that the hospital had to have a stone cornice and the window frames had to be set back four inches from the face of the wall behind a brick reveal. Richard Newsham, engineer, supplied two 'engines' and several pumps for the water-supply system, costing £60. This was Guy's Hospital when the first patients were admitted on 6 January 1726, only one year after Guy's death. To understand what Thomas Guy's intentions were and what has happened since 1726 one must turn to his will which was dated 4 September 1724 and proved on 4 January 1725.

THOMAS GUY'S WILL

Thomas Guy described himself as Thomas Guy of the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth in London, Esq. He was aged 79. His brother John had pre-deceased him in 1699 and it would seem that his sister Anne had married someone with the surname Varnam. His lands in Tamworth and Wiggington in Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Derbyshire, he bequeathed to those who appear to be his nearest but distant relatives such as grandchildren of his sister and grandchildren of his uncle. To over one hundred persons who he described as 'cousins' he left annuities of varying amounts totalling £63,000. Among these were Margaret and Samuel Guy, the children of Samuel Guy, late of Egham in the county of Surrey, to whom he left £500 each invested in stock. There is nothing to say whether there was any relationship. The legacies were either in sterling or government stock. The remainder of his estate he left as follows:

1. £1,000 in trust for the release of poor prisoners for debt out of any of the prisons in London, Middlesex and Surrey but not to pay more than £5 for the discharge of any one person.

2. £400 per year to the President and Governors of Christ's Hospital to provide education for four poor boys or girls between the age of 7 and 10 with preference to be given to any relative.

3. By a bond dated 3 February 1717 the Stationers' Company is bound with the Governors of St. Thomas Hospital in the sum of £5,500 from which they pay £125 per year to Thomas Guy himself. They now have to pay this £125 to his executors for the maintenance of his almshouses in Tamworth. £80 of it was to be used to pay 2s. per week to each of the fourteen inmates and the remainder for repairs. £35 was to be used for putting to apprentice in nursing, four, six or eight persons of the family of Voughtons or Woods; £10 for putting to apprentice in nursing two or more persons of the Guy family.

4. £1,000 was to be distributed at the rate of £200 every three months for the relief and maintenance of poor housekeepers.

5. The residue he bequeathed to his executors, the President, the Treasurer and seven Governors of St. Thomas Hospital until an Act of incorporation could be obtained for the management of his charity to 'carry on, erect, finish, and fit up the two new squares of building in Southwark, by me some time since began, and intended for an Hospital for reception of such sick persons as are herein after mentioned; and such other erections offices and buildings, as shall, in the opinion of my said Executors and Trustees, be for that purpose further necessary; and also provide and furnish the same with beds and all other conveniences for the reception of, and receive and entertain therein four hundred poor persons or upwards, labouring under any distempers, infirmities, or disorders, thought capable of relief of physick or surgery; but who by reason of the small hopes there may be of their cure, or the length of time which for that purpose may be required or thought necessary, are or may be adjudged or called incurable and as such not proper objects to be received into or continued in the present hospital of St. Thomas or other hospitals, in or by which no provision has been made for distempers deemed or called incurable; of whom my mind is that they receive and entertain lunatics, adjudged or called, as aforesaid incurable, not exceeding twenty in number at one time . . . and my mind and will further is, that if my said Executors and Trustees shall not find cause, or shall, on any account whatsoever, not think fit to keep all or great part of the beds or wards in the said intended hospital filled and supplied with sick persons deemed or called Incurable, as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for them, to cause any number of the said beds or wards to be filled and made use of in like manner, and with like patients, as the beds in the hospital of St. Thomas are ordinarily used'.

These were the terms for the foundation of his hospital. He also laid down that an Act of Parliament be obtained for the setting up of a Corporation to manage it. He named sixty governors of St. Thomas's to constitute the Corporation which was to consist of fifty but not more than sixty persons. A President and Treasurer with twenty-one others were to form a committee to run the hospital and to be responsible to the General Court. He named twenty-three persons whom he wished to see as the first President, Treasurer and committee. The governors as soon as possible after the hospital had been paid for were to invest the surplus money in the purchase of lands, the income from them to provide 'for the maintenance and cure of such poor sick persons as are to be received into and entertained' in the hospital.

The executors met the day after the funeral and Dr. Mead agreed to deal with the Act of Parliament which was passed in 1725 to set up the Corporation. The twenty-three persons named in his will formed the first committee. The

governors were empowered to make all hospital appointments such as physicians and surgeons and the committee was to appoint the apothecary, matron and others. If the governors at any time sold any land the money had to be re-invested in the purchase of land. The governors were also allowed to erect a statue or monument of Thomas Guy in a suitable place but the cost of it was not to exceed £2,000.

Thomas Guy's estate at his death was valued at £335,000. From this amount some £63,000 had to be used for annuities to be paid out by the governors to the various legatees mentioned in his will. This left, after his hospital had been paid for, over £200,000 from his residuary estate to be spent in the acquisition of land. It was usual to endow a charity with land. So what did they buy? They purchased land in Southwark near the hospital; Sir James Lumley's estate at Great Bardfield in Essex, the Beaumont and Leeze (Leigh's) Priory Estates totalling about 8,000 acres; property at Sutton and Luton in Lincolnshire, 5,162 acres costing £39,000 and in Herefordshire the Duke of Chandos estate for £60,800. The rents from all these lands were for the maintenance of the hospital. Here we have the connection between Herefordshire and Guy's Hospital which existed until 1961.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE LANDS

The governors obviously were looking for suitable lands to purchase; so why did they eventually buy in Herefordshire? Agricultural land in Herefordshire was rich and largely enclosed; there were woodlands and the climate was mild. On the other hand Herefordshire was a long way from London from the administrative point of view; communications and roads were poor as in the 1730s it took four to five days to travel from London to Herefordshire.

In 1728 James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, 1674-1744, who was born at Dewsall, owned a large estate of some 10,000 acres. His principal seat at Wilton was the family inheritance and to this he added more lands. He had been M.P. for Hereford and held high offices in the country including that of paymaster-general. He had lived a princely life and was in financial difficulties. His son and heir, John, born in 1703 died in 1727 and was married to Catherine, the second daughter of Lionel Tollemache, Earl of Dysart. In 1728 the Duke of Chandos was desperate to sell his estate and put it on the market. In November 1728 the Treasurer of Guy's notified the committee but the governors thought the estate was too dear although cheaper than land near London. There was no family seat with the estate either to be maintained or demolished. The governors did, however, expect it to be cheaper because of the distance from London, and also because Lady Caernarvon, the widow of the duke's late son, John, had a two-thirds jointure for life in it. This made it difficult to sell. By Michaelmas 1731, almost three years later the governors agreed to buy the estate for £60,800

allowing twelve years for the jointure of Lady Caernarvon. She did not die until January 1754, thus ten years longer than was anticipated and during which time the governors calculated they had lost £14,300.

The land which the hospital acquired was situated in two areas, one in the centre of the county based on Hereford, and the other in the south of the county based on Ross. See Appendix A.

Two-thirds of this estate did not come into the hands of the hospital until 1754 because the rents had to go to the Marchioness of Caernarvon. Her lands included Wilton, Aconbury, Stretton, Dewsall and Lyde Arundell, to name a few, and gave her an income of over £4,000 per year. At this time the hospital was only receiving an income of about £1,250. After the death of the Marchioness in 1754, the hospital received all the rents, but had to spend a lot of money on repairs to the property. The initial cost of the estate worked out at just over £6 per acre. The income from rents of the farms, the sale of timber from the woods, and the profits of the courts of the manors amounted to something in the region of £6,000 per annum thus the farm rent on average was 12s. per acre. By 1857 the annual income had risen to nearly £10,000, and after revaluation in 1858 rose to over £15,000 in 1878, but fell in the period of the agricultural depression up to 1900 to between £14,000 and £10,000 per year. The size of the estate varied very little between 1734 and 1890 but during that time the hospital was said to be the largest property owner in the county. It always kept the management of the woodlands in its own hands, as they were always a valuable commodity. During this period some lands were exchanged, e.g. in 1784 a small piece of land in Holmer parish was exchanged for a piece of land in Little Dewchurch parish. Some farms were sold off, e.g. in 1807 Parks Farm in the parishes of Burghill, Canon Pyon and Wellington, about 132 acres, was sold to the sitting tenant for £2,800. At the same time Glewston and Arbor farms in the parishes of Goodrich and Marstow totalling about 75 acres but with some woodland were sold for £2,900. Widdenhams and Welshwood farms in the Eardisley-Brilley area, some 277 acres, were sold in 1806 for £4,250. All these were farms on the extremities of the estate. Other lands were purchased to make the estate more compact and convenient, e.g. in 1754 Stretton Court Farm was 427 acres whereas by 1880 it had increased to about 700 acres.

For 230 years, 1731-1961, the estate was administered from London where the policies were laid down. The President, Treasurer and governors had a two-fold task. Firstly, they had to use the income along with those from the Essex and Lincolnshire lands to support the hospital's needs and carry out the founder's bequest. Secondly, they had to behave as reasonable landlords to their tenants. Herefordshire was not often visited; the President, Treasurer and thee governors came down in 1775 and that was the first visit for twenty-one years. They then

reported that a lot of money had been spent on the estate but that the agents were doing very well. The local agent was directly responsible to the Treasurer in London who would from time to time seek advice from the agent. Who then were the local agents? The type of person required was described in 1755 by the hospital as 'A person fit to be a Bailiff to a Nobleman or gentleman would be sufficiently qualified for the service, provided he was a master enough of his pen, to relate observations and proceedings in writing'. Thus, who did they employ? From 1732-7 Theophilus Lane who had been employed by the Duke of Chandos and was paid one shilling in the pound on the net rents. Then followed William Fortune from 1737-56; thus for his last two years he was in charge of the whole of the Herefordshire estate. At first he was paid 5% commission but for the last two years had a fixed salary of £200 with allowances. In July 1756 he was demoted because of his incompetence with the accounts and his inability to execute leases. The hospital decided to split the estate into two divisions, the larger one based on Hereford and the smaller one on Ross. Fortune managed the Ross division until his death four months later. From 1757-91 the Ross division was managed by Robert Keyse. During the period 1756-80, the Hereford division was in the hands of James Woodhouse who had been the steward for the Marchioness; and he was followed, 1780-91, by his nephew, James Woodhouse. They were lawyers and property owners. In 1791 the hospital decided to have one overall agent and appointed James Woodhouse, the nephew. He carried on until his death in 1809 and proved to be more incompetent than Fortune who was 'honest'. There had been a number of sales and exchanges and when these were later inspected grave abuses were revealed. The next eighty years was covered by the Armitage family, barristers, living in the Bridstow area. Whaley Armitage was agent from 1809-49, and his son Arthur from 1849-89. Arthur was warned by the hospital to keep within the limits of his duty. He had hoped that his son would succeed him, but the hospital would not agree to this, and in 1889 on his resignation appointed Henry Haywood of the firm of Haywood and Son, the first direct association with professional agents and valuers. This firm had been agents for the Cornewalls at Moccas as well as other Herefordshire estates. The hospital had a security bond of £3,000 from Henry Haywood.

At this time it was felt that a detailed report on the Herefordshire estate was due, the standing rules having been changed little since 1755. The agent was now to receive £350 a year as salary with a six months notice of termination of employment on either side. All business had to be conducted with the Treasurer. The hospital would pay expenses if the agent was summoned to London. He had to collect the rents half yearly and send them direct to the Treasurer. An account was opened with the National Provincial Bank in Hereford and periodically an amount would be paid into this account by the Treasurer from which the agent could pay authorised wages, etc. The annual accounts ended at Michaelmas and these had to be sent to the Treasurer not later than the end of February. The firm of Haywood and Son was carried on by H. K. Foster and Grace and it was still the agent in 1924.

This gives some idea of what went on between the hospital and the agents, but how did the tenants fare? The hospital always expected good references. It preferred good farmers who were resident and had sufficient capital. The qualities of 'ability, steadiness and respectability' were looked for. It is noted that many generations of the same family tenanted individual farms. The Philpott family was at Trelasdee from 1728-1895 and the Fisher family at Michaelchurch Farm from at least 1774-1859. The hospital in 1755 warned the agents not to let a farm 'to a carpenter or cooper without an express order from the Court of Committees his trade being particularly mentioned . . . carpenters are very improper tenants where they can so easily help themselves to wood without being discovered'. The farms in the 18th century were usually let to tenants on the lease system of anything from seven to twenty-one years. There were a variety of covenants attached to the leases, e.g. not to plough up meadow or grassland without permission; not to take manure from one farm to another; not to damage woodlands. Later the tenancies became yearly. The hospital preferred to carry out the erection of new farmhouses, alterations and repairs to buildings. In July 1789 a farmhouse was built at Lower Lyde for the tenant Richard Woodhouse. It cost £210. At the same time a barn, cart house, stable and sheds for swine were constructed at a cost of £64. The work was carried out by Francis Thomas and William Ford. In May 1811 an agreement was made to erect a house and offices at Moraston in the parish of Bridstow and to be completed by March 1815. This was occupied by the agents, the Armitages, and cost £2,408 11s. 1d., £408 11s. 1d. above the estimate. See Appendix B. If the tenant made improvements the rental in the lease was adjusted. It would appear that the hospital kept a fairly tight control on the tenant who in return received a fair deal.

THE HOSPITAL

Having considered various aspects of what went on in Herefordshire between the governors and the tenants, it is probably true to say that similar circumstances pertained to the Essex and Lincolnshire lands. Now one must turn to what was happening at the hospital itself. On 6 April 1725, the President, Sir Gregory Page, Bart., Charles Joye, Esq., Treasurer, and thirty-nine governors held a General Court. This was only three months after Guy's funeral. In this period the executors had administered his personal estate and a balance of £340 14s. 8d. was transferred into the hospital's cash account. On 28 October 1732 on the completion of the administration of the residuary estate of his investments, there was a balance of £220,134 2s. 7½d. for the hospital funds.

The Court was able to make a good start because the Treasurer and some of the governors held office at St. Thomas's and therefore had some experience in management. At the second Court meeting two weeks later it appointed two physicians and two surgeons. The salary of the physician was £40 per year and this remained unchanged up to 1948 and his tenure was always 'during pleasure'. The salary of the surgeon was also £40 a year. In May 1726 a chaplain was appointed at a salary of £80 a year and from 1741 onwards he received in addition 2s. 6d. for every burial.

The first Court of Committees met on 9 April 1725 and its task was to appoint the administrative staff. Charles Callaghan was the first apothecary, Mrs. Anne Rowney, the first matron at a salary of £50 a year. Ten sisters were appointed at £25 a year each and their wards were named Job, Lazarus, Luke, Naaman, Samaritan, Charity, Dorcas, Lydia, Martha and Patience. These were old traditional names and some are still used. The Treasurer was always a man of some standing and received no salary. The annual hospital staff salaries in 1725 amounted to £1,349 18s. 8d. This, with the hospital building consisting of two quadrangles joined by a colonnade gives a picture of the hospital ready to receive its first patients.

As the 18th century progressed so the building grew and likewise its running costs rose too. The building had to be enlarged to accommodate and look after more patients and buildings were needed to house the administrative staff. The development began with an east wing completed between 1738 and 1741 under the supervision of James Steere. There is some confusion as to who designed it but it contained the residences for the Treasurer and Steward, the Court Room, the Committee Room and the Counting House. This was the management area. During this period in 1739 the brass statue of Guy by Scheemakers which cost 500 guineas was removed from the inner courtyard to the front courtyard where I believe it still stands. The west wing comprising the Chapel and houses for the Matron and Chaplain was built in 1774-7 under the direction of Richard Jupp who was referred to as an architect. In 1777-8 the main entrance and portico were remodelled. It consists of five bays faced in Portland stone and surmounted by a classical pediment. The ground-floor of five rusticated arches supports two Ionic pilasters, one at each end, with four Ionic columns between. By 1788 there was a need for more ward accommodation so the arcades on the sides of the original courtyards were filled in making two L-shaped wards which became known as the Cornelius Ward on the west side and the Astley Cooper Ward on the east side. Thus by the end of the 18th century there is a Georgian building containing the work of Dance, Steere and Jupp. About £25,000 was spent on the building of the west wing and other improvements in the hospital. This amount included over £1,600 for repairing the beams and rafters of the east wing, only thirty years old, and replacing the roof with 'best Westmoreland and Tavistock slating'.

After the completion of the chapel in 1778 the remains of Thomas Guy were brought from St. Thomas's parish church and placed in the chapel crypt. The monument to Guy designed by John Bacon, R.A., also in the chapel is said to be one of the noblest and most sensitive of its date in England.

During the 18th century there is very little contemporary writing to tell us what life was like inside the hospital. An inspection report of 1788 showed that the hospital, despite being purpose built, was far from good, for example some wards were only nine feet six inches high, wooden bedsteads harboured bugs, discipline was lax. Patients who were mobile visited the local public houses and brought back beer and spirits. The mobile patients were also expected to help the insufficient number of nursing staff to look after those who were confined to bed. A surgical operation was very rare and the medical attention was infrequent, but the hospital was providing a refuge in the way of food and lodging and some medicine to 'poor, sick persons'.

Moving into the 19th century more expansion took place with Mr. Benjamin Harrison as Treasurer, in command. His friend, and fellow governor, William Hunt, died in 1829 and left to the hospital £180,000 to extend the hospital 'within three years of his decease' so as to admit at least another one hundred patients. He is the second founder of the hospital and is buried in the chapel beside Guy. By this time some lands had been sold off from the hospital's estates in the distant counties and land in the vicinity of the hospital purchased. This land comprised old hop warehouses and houses which were quickly converted into wards for particular needs such as Children and Eyes. The permanent building known as Hunt's House in this area, behind and north of the original Guy's House, was not completed until 1871. By 1840 the hospital was equipped with 550 beds.

Earlier in this paper it was stated that Guy's hospital in 1726 got off to a good start because it was in the hands of persons who were connected with and had experience at St. Thomas's. It seems that Guy intended that there should be a close association with St. Thomas's but not that it should remain so forever. Students were taught at Guy's soon after it opened and at the same time were able to attend lectures at St. Thomas's. Guy's specialised in medicine, chemistry, botany and physiology whilst St. Thomas's specialised on the surgical side. In 1825 St. Thomas's refused to appoint Bransby Cooper, the nephew of Astley Cooper, as his successor in the lectureship in anatomy at St. Thomas's. Astley Cooper was also a Guy's surgeon. From then onwards the two hospitals became independent and Guy's founded a separate Medical School which has flourished ever since.

By the third quarter of the 19th century the income from the hospital's lands had dropped by half from £40,000 to little over £20,000 due to the agricultural depression when farmers (tenants) were unable to pay their rents. The governors in the first instance had to pay the annual legacies to Christ's Hospital and Tamworth according to Guy's will, so they were in financial difficulties in running the hospital. As a result money had to be borrowed and provision was made for payment by patients. In 1875, 600 beds were occupied but these were reduced to 460 in 1882. Appeals were then made for public money to continue improvements such as replacing flock mattresses by ones made of hair. In 1895 the yearly loss in income was still £20,000 so it was agreed to launch an appeal for an endowment fund of £200,000. This was done by the Prince of Wales who became President of Guy's.

Special reference must be made to the Dental School. In 1799 Guy's was the first hospital in London to appoint a dental surgeon and in 1888, almost a century later, a Dental School was established. In 1893 this school moved from temporary accommodation into a new block situated to the west of the original building and remained there until 1975 when it moved into the Tower block of the modern buildings. Frederick Newland-Pedley was an outstanding dental surgeon and on his death in 1944 bequeathed his estate, valued at £55,000, subject to certain annuities, to Guy's for the benefit of the Dental School.

THE 20TH CENTURY

So far one has a glimpse only of some aspects of the development of and the life in the hospital from 1728 to about 1900 as a result of the bequests of Thomas Guy and William Hunt, appeals for money and other gifts. The increased expenditure to run the hospital was now becoming a burden. To illustrate this, the cost per patient per week in 1728 was 2s. 6d., in 1913, £2 and in 1920, £4. The annual expenditure pre-1914 was about £70,000; in 1920, £144,000; 1938, £252,000 and in 1949, £990,000. What was the solution? About 1925 the governors took legal advice and examined the terms of Guy's will and it was decided that the relief of 'poor sick persons' was the fundamental object of the hospital and therefore it would not be right to charge in-patients. It was agreed that on discharge from hospital, patients could voluntarily make a contribution. Some money did come in by this means and there were also a number of generous gifts such as a block of wards for paying patients built at his own expense in 1933 by Lord Nuffield. The agricultural estates were also being sold off. In 1919 the Lincolnshire estates were transferred to the Board of Agriculture in return for an annual rent. By 1920 part of the Essex lands was sold and the money reinvested in the purchase of considerable property in Southwark, in the neighbourhood of the

hospital. In 1941 the remainder of the Essex lands was sold and the money used to purchase more woodland in Herefordshire which now amounted to about 4,000 acres.

During the 1939-45 war the hospital patients were moved to Orpington in Kent, the medical school to Tunbridge Wells and the dental school to Sherwood Park, Tunbridge Wells. Back in London the hospital had received severe damage. Guy's old building was shaken to its foundations and partly roofless. The Treasurer's House, the Court Room and Counting House had only their walls left standing. Nuffield House alone escaped damage. Around the hospital a seven and a half acre area suffered even worse. This area was destined to be the site for the new Guy's. About £100,000 was received in war damage and by September 1946, 136 beds were back in operation and in that year £288,000 had to be spent on repairs. The National Health Service Act had been passed in 1946 and the Court agreed that when the time came the hospital must be handed over to its new owners in as good a state of repair as was possible and in full working order. By 1947 the hospital was largely restored at a cost of over half a million pounds including a grant of £200,000 from the Ministry of Health. By this time the annual running costs had risen to over half a million pounds.

According to the 1946 Act the lands, buildings and equipment of the hospital had to pass from the President and governors to the Minister who would appoint a new Board of Governors representing all interests concerned. On 5 July 1948 the General Court, as constituted by the Act of 1725 and as laid down by the will of Thomas Guy, met for the last time. It inspected the minutes of the first meeting held on 6 January 1725, which were laid on the table, and resigned its task of administering the hospital. The Court remained in being to administer some special trusts. The Endowment Fund with assets of about two million pounds was held in trust by the Board of Governors for purposes relating to hospital services or for the investigation of disease as approved by the Board.

The Herefordshire estates in 1948 when this took place were still part of the Endowment Fund and amounted to some 16,000 acres whereas when purchased in 1731 they totalled just under 10,000. A financial report of the hospital for 1960-1 says that, 'During the year the Governors took professional advice regarding a possible sale of the Hereford Estate. After very careful consideration they decided in February, 1961, that it should be sold. A Charity does not benefit from many of the advantages to be accrued to individuals who invest in agricultural land and the Hospital can obtain a higher net yield by investment in other types of holding'. The report for the following year 1961-2 states 'A matter which attracted some considerable publicity was the sale by the Governors of the Herefordshire Estate to Mr. Charles Clore. The estate which comprised 68 farms and small holdings . . . under present conditions it was felt that the capital invested in this

agricultural estate could be re-invested more satisfactorily in commercial and industrial properties or Stock Exchange securities both trustee and non-trustee'. After the 1961 sale the proceeds were mainly invested in land in Beauchamp Place, off the Brompton Road, where today stands a block of flats with associated shops called Hereford House. This property was later sold. By 1961 the average annual rent per acre had risen from 12s. to just over £3, a five-fold increase. The average value of the land per acre had risen from about £6 to over £90. These figures are taken from the 1961 sale catalogue when the annual rental was £53,400 and the estate of 16,045 acres was sold to Charles Clore for one and a half million pounds. See Appendix C. Since the recent death of Sir Charles Clore in 1979 the Herefordshire lands have been acquired by the Prudential Assurance Company and are said to be valued at approximately twenty million pounds, i.e. £1,250 per acre.

In 1974 there was reorganisation with the National Health Service. The Board of Governors was abolished and replaced by a small committee. When this took place the responsibility for the management and control of the Endowment Funds passed to the Special Trustees who are responsible for administering charitable funds and thus are not part of the National Health Service. The Board of Governors in the 1950s secured powers from the Court to invest in equities and these combined with the previous power to invest in land have meant that they, followed by the Special Trustees, have been able to manage the funds in a business-like way so that in terms of real value they have kept up with, and even more than surpassed inflation.

Since 1948, therefore, Guy's has been receiving funds from two sources, central government and endowment funds. What do we see today as compared with 1725? A completely new building has been designed and is being built in stages. To conserve land the buildings take the form of a tower with linking tall blocks. First to be completed in 1961 and occupied in 1971 was New Guy's House at a cost of two and a half million pounds, the Endowment Fund contributing half a million. In 1964 Guy's House which received heavy war damage was restored, the entire cost being borne by the Endowment Fund. By doing this the front quadrangle, the facade and the colonnade of the original hospital remain. It now provides the administrative and senior nursing staff accommodation. In August 1979, Mr. Garnett was accommodated in Flat 3 on the third floor. Hunt's House main staircase which was also badly damaged during the war has been replaced.

The tower, Guy's Tower, was being designed in 1961 but was not opened until May 1975. In 1966 planning permission was given for it to be built in front of the recently erected New Guy's House. Excavations were carried out in 1965 and 1967 before and during its building. Archaeological evidence revealed floods in the middle of the 15th century, timber with later stone and brick building and a

large amount of pottery dating from the late 15th and early 16th century. Guy's Tower is linked to New Guy's House and consists of two linked towers. The taller has thirty-one floors with the Dental Hospital and School using the top nine floors. The other, smaller tower, is the communications tower and will act as the hub for future development. The structural cost of these towers was over eight million pounds. It seems that due to economies made during the construction one of the incinerator flues collapsed in April 1978 damaging its twin, and serious cracks have been found in the remaining four. The six flues were of unique design in pairs in three rectangular shafts to the full height of the tower. The next phase planned is to replace Hunt's House. All these buildings have been designed to cater for the needs of the patients and the medical profession.

CONCLUSION

What then can one conclude? In the two and a half centuries the many changes which have occurred could never have been foreseen by Thomas Guy. He left a large sum of money to found and maintain his hospital. The President and governors guided by excellent Treasurers through the voluntary system had carried out to the best of their ability the terms laid down in his will right up to the passing of the 1946 National Health Service Act. The income was insufficient to run a modern hospital. The agricultural lands which were purchased as the endowment have been sold and the proceeds invested more profitably. The Endowment Fund still exists and is administered by the Special Trustees who are still concerned with the wishes of the founder and the future of the hospital. The hospital has produced eminent physicians and surgeons such as Richard Bright, Thomas Addison, Charles Aston Key and Branby Cooper.

Finally, I must quote from Mr. Garnett's letter to the Trustees after his stay there in 1979, 'I do not need to tell you that I was very moved by my visit to Guy's and by no means least, by being accommodated in Guy's House'.

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APPENDIX A

C99/III/215. Undated but probably *c.*1731 a list of the farms and woods belonging to the President and Governors of Guy's Hospital.

1. Much Dewchurch	The Green and Pennocks	Robert Berrow's execs.
2. Allensmore	See 19	
3. Burghill	Part of Glebe and tithes	Dorothy Parsley
	*Part of Stretton Court Farm	Jn. Skyrme
4. Bacton	Mantooth in Bacton	Sir E. Boughton's execs.
5. Abbeydore	Williams Wood, Cockyard Vald	In hand
	Jury	Jas. Barnett
	New Brook	Wm. Prosser
	Doors Wood	Sarah Morgan
6. Eaton Bishop	New Mills	Mrs. Richard's execs.
7. Holmer	Widemarsh Moor	Jas. Cranston
8. Dewsall	Stallards. See 10	Wm. Skyrme
9. Vowchurch	Timberline Copy House Hazel Land Wood	
	Warsall Cops Busby Hill do. Hollawas Brooks and Embrys Coppice	In hand
	*Monnington Court Farm	Thos. Webb
	*Holsty Farm Parlours and Preeces	Jos. Lea
	Chapel Farm and Hergest	do.
	Lands purchased by Vaughan and others	do.
	Farm in Timberline	Benj. Watkins
10. Madley	Westons Wood Fabuaris and Powka Woods	In hand
	*Batchby and Woodfield	Benj. Watkins
	*Chilstone	Jo. Pritchard's execs.
	Forty Farm and late Husbands	Tho. Foote
11. Stretton	Brockhall Coppice and Hansell do.	In hand
	*Stretton Cross House	Benj. Aston
	*Tenement and lands at Sugwas Pool	Jas. Jones
	*Sugwas Pool	Dr. Symonds
	*Tenement and lands by do.	Benj. Wild
	*Stretton Court	John Skyrme
12. Kenchester	*Part of do. Farm	do.
13. Credenhill	* do.	do.

14. Aconbury	*Netherwood, Links Coppice, Pikes Wood.	
	Lady Cops. Rough Hill, Little Field Wood	
	Wallbrooks and Heald Wood	In hand
	*Aconbury, Bowle and Caldicott Farms	Walter Fisher
	*Madoxton Farm	do.
	*Part of Twyford	Saml. Bickerton
	*Mournhall Farm and Rabbell do.	Saml. Bullock
	*Part of Kings Bills	Fr. Powel
	*A tenement and lands at the Cross hand	Jo. Verry
	*Part of Pullaston Farm	Wm. Bryan
	The Cush House and Camp	Wm. Skyrme
15. Little Dewchurch	Morraston Coppice, Old Orchard Coppice	
	*Baylis's and Fox woods	In hand
	*Morraston, Whitehouse. Woodlands and other lands	Richard Garrold
16. Pipe and Lyde	*Lower Lyde Court Farm	John Burlton
	*Lyde Arundell Farm	Thos. Floyd
	*A farm in Lower Lyde	Mr. Jas. Woodhouse
	*Late Meaks in Lower Lyde	Thos. Adams
	*Another farm in do.	do.
17. Callow	*Williams Close and Rodds Coppice	In hand
	*Part of Twyford Farm	Saml. Bickerton
	*Upper Hill and part of Kings Pitts	Roger Francis
	*Twyford Brook and late Rodds	Thos. Preece
	*Blackways Farm, Callow Inn and other lands	Sarah Layton
	*Part of Pullaston Farm	Wm. Bryan
	*Callow Court Farm	Wm. Beavan
	*The Oak Farm	do.
	*The Oak row Farm	Henry Rogers
18. Dewsall	*Brook Acre Coppice and Hampton Rough	In hand
	*Demesne of Dewsall Smiths tenement and Beaths	Wm. Skyrme

19. Much Dewchurch	*Munkhall Farm	Jo. & Walter Mayors
20. Eardisley 21. Brilley	Widdenhams and Weschwoods	Mrs. Hare's execs.
22. Kings Pyon	Park Farm	Peter Grevnor
23. Wellington	Part of do.	do.
24. Mansell Lacy	*Bunshill Farm	Wm. Weaver's execs.
	*Bank Wood late part of Bunshill	Wm. Parry Esq.
25. Mansell Gamage	*Part of Bunshill Farm	Wm. Weaver's execs.
26. Goodrich	Glewstone Coppice	In hand
	Glewstone and Arbour	Meredith George
27. Langarren	The Tuft of oaks	In hand
	Cross House	Thos. Brown
	*Tredunnock and Masbach	Jo. Evans
	*Kilrege	Timothy Green
28. St. Weonards	*Trelisdee	Wm. Philpots
	Part of Old Field	Wm. Embry
29. Garway	The Wood and Rough	In hand
	Old Field and Tomlins Field	Wm. Embry
30. Walterstone	Warm Locher load laigwm Gerlad wour	In hand
	Alterynnis and Walterstone	Jas. Lane and Jo. Rogers
31. Michaelchurch	*Part of Home Farm, Mill Farm Winstons and Kilbeast	Thos. Preece
	*Part of Michael Church Farm	Jas. Fisher
32. Tretyre	*Part of Home Farm, Mill Farm Winstons and Kilbeast	Thos. Preece
	*Part of Michael Church Farm	Jas. Fisher
33. Sellack	Baysam	Edward Jones
34. Bridstow	*Bonhills Farm Long Meadow. Part of Jennings's Farm The lower Tuck Mill	
	Moors Parlours Meads Part of Dairy House Farm and New Purchase	Hump. Lycett
	*Moraston Barn Oak Round Meadow Parlours Pool Grounds and Walkers	Jo. & Saml. Hodges
	Orchard with Garden	
	Worcester and Endall Meadows and Washing Meadow	Walter Hill

35. Peterstow	*Wear End	Jo. Jones
	*The Flan and Poolhety	Wm. Taylor
	Lower white Cross Plock Part of Pool Grounds The Scite of Prossers Cottage The Two Upper Moors, Other Part of the Dairy House Farm and new Purchase	do.
	The 9 Acres and the piece adjoining Other part of the Dairy House Farm and New Purchase	Hump. Lycett
	*The Minnitt and Hopes Meadows	Jo. Baskervill
	*The Bannut Tree	Jnthn. Barrow
	The White Lion Inn and lands	Adam Loumore's execs.
	*White cross Farm, Barrows Top Gatelays part of Pool Grounds and Increased Ground	John Meredith
	*Wilton Castle and Talbots Meadow and Upper Stenders	Wm. George
	The Byfields Meadow	Jn. Jones
36. Little Birch	Tenement and smiths Shop at Birch	Thos. Mason

* indicates lands still in the possession of Guy's Hospital when sold in 1961 to Charles Clore.

APPENDIX B

C99/III/325. Abstracts from an agreement dated 24 May 1811 between W. Armitage, Esq. of Burton, agent, on behalf of the President and Governors of Guy's Hospital and Mr. John Tristram of Ross, builder, to erect and fit out a house, offices and premises at Moraston for £2,000 to the satisfaction of John Matthews, Esq. of Belmont, according to plans supplied.

These indicate a house with a frontage of 69 ft. and a depth of 47 ft. consisting of a drawing room 25 ft. by 19 ft., with a library or breakfast room 25 ft. by 16 ft. behind it and a dining room 25 ft. by 19 ft. with a kitchen 18 ft. square behind it separated by a vestibule and staircase area 14 ft. wide. At the rear are two wings each 35 ft. long and 20 ft. wide. That behind the kitchen contains the brewhouse or back kitchen 17 ft. by 17 ft. and larder 17 ft. by 9 ft., and the other wing the children's room 17 ft. by 12 ft. and the servant's hall 17 ft. by 12 ft. The outbuildings are 70 ft. from the rear of the house and in one range 68 ft. by 18 ft. containing two stables 18 ft.by 15 ft. and 12 ft. by 15 ft. respectively, a coach house 18 ft. by 15 ft. and a harness room 5 ft. by 15 ft. as well as a coal and wood store, 10 ft. by 15 ft.

Over the coach house to be erected a sleeping room for men servants, properly ceiled with a staircase, a hayloft on one side and a granary and malt room on the other side, with spouts over the coach house and stable to take rainwater into a cistern in the courtyard which shall be pitched. The ground cellars over which the house is to be built to be 'drained and made thoroughly dry'. These to be 7½ ft. high and 'paved with large flat stones from the Forest of Dean'. The wine cellar to be arched and have suitable stone or brick bins and partitions with doors, locks and keys. On each side between the house and stables to be a 70 ft. long stone or brick wall, 7 ft. high 'coped with forest stone'.

Ground-floor rooms to be 13 ft. high. Sitting-room windows 'down to floor having stone steps to each to go out upon the lawn'. Breakfast room and small room adjoining to have French windows. Window cases to be bevelled inwardly to admit more light, window frames to be of oak, and all, except French windows to be made to let down at top as well as throw up at the bottom with lines, pulleys and weights. Every window, except servants' bedrooms, to have divided shutters with fastenings. 'Cills shall be throated up inside and outside to prevent driving rains from penetrating the floors of the Vestibule of the principal rooms on the ground floor'. Principal staircase to be of oak. Floors of the other rooms to be of elm except the kitchen, brewhouse and offices which to be of stone. Sitting rooms on the ground floor and vestibule to have plain moulded cornices. Chimney pieces, hearths and sides of the chimneys for taking grates to be forest stone having 'arcaded pillastered mantle piece and shelf'. Sitting room doors on ground floor to have morticed locks from London and all other doors to have good common locks with keys and bolts. All windows to have proper fastenings. Kitchen, back-kitchen, footman's pantry, china closet, dairy and larder to have suitable dressers, drawers and shelves. 'Frontispiece house door and fan light over shall be made agreeable to Plan No. 5'. Sitting rooms on ground floor, vestibule and staircase to be stuccoed and painted in oil a French grey or some other colour fixed by the President and Governors of the hospital. To be painted four times in oil. Remainder of the house and offices, wood and ironwork, three times in oil. Sitting rooms to have skirting boards dado and mouldings and in all rooms the plastering to be continued down to the floor behind the skirting boards.

Exterior walls to be 2 ft. thick from the foundation to the first floor and roughcast on the outside. Walls to be battened throughout and 'there shall be pugging of saw dust or other proper materials between the several ceilings and floors but so as not to stop or prevent the free circulation of Air'. Skylight to be 'a glazed lanthorn covered with slates'. A water closet to be fitted up with a 'lead cistern, pipes, bason and trap'. Two detached privies. Closets with shelves in convenient places. First-floor rooms to be papered with papers and borders suitable for bed chambers and chosen and approved by the President and Governors. The roof to project 2 ft. 6 inches and 'of that kind called a Cantalever or

projecting roof posts in the blades having lead or copper spouts with corresponding pipes to carry the water off': to 'be covered with slates exactly similar to those used to cover a House at Hoarwithy . . . . belonging to Miss James each slate to be fastened by two nails which shall be previously dipped in paint'. Gutters, valleys, hips and ridge rows, the platform round the lanthorn 'and the top frontispiece' to be covered with lead of a proper thickness. Glass in the windows 'shall be the best Crown Glass except in the Kitchen and Servants rooms'. A well to be sunk, a pump erected and the water conveyed to the brewhouse or back kitchen.

All the work to be done to the satisfaction of John Matthews 'or such other person as the said President and Governors shall appoint'. The best and soundest materials to be used and to be ready for the use and occupation of a family before 25 March 1814. Tristram to supply at his own costs all materials except 'providing and putting up of all the Gates and Coppers and the hanging of the Bells' which the President and Governors undertake to provide.

The £2,000 to be paid in four instalments of £500 as follows (a) laying the foundation stone (b) when the house and offices roofed (c) when the principal floors laid (d) when completely finished and fitted up. Any alterations, additions or amendments or improvements to be completed and agreed to by the President and Governors before the last payment of £500 to Tristram.

The President and Governors 'shall cause to be marked and set apart a sufficient quantity of Oak and Elm timber trees for the construction of the said house offices and premises the same to be fallen squared and converted at the expense' of Tristram who also to make the scaffolding. All the scaffolding and waste timber not used to revert to the President and Governors. Tristram allowed 30 tons of bark from the oak trees; if more, the President and Governors to have the surplus. They to carry all materials to the 'Spot where they are to be used'. Tristram to deposit at Wilton 'all the lime and slates to be used' and the President and Governors to carry to Moraston. Tristram agrees that at his own expense 'the stone shall be raised and bricks burned as near to Moraston as possible'. If house not roofed by 1 October 1812 Tristram to forfeit £50 and if the house not fit for occupation by 25 March 1814 to forfeit £100. If any chimneys smoke Tristram to cure at his expense. If deal or any other seasoned wood 'should be used' then to exchange for oak or elm provided by the President and Governors. Thomas James of Little Dewchurch timber surveyor to value and measure the deals and provide oak or elm of equal value in return. Tristram at his own expense makes the bricks on the land of the President and Governors and pays the 'Duties payable for such Bricks'. Against this payment he may make and sell an additional quantity of bricks equal in number to those used in the construction of the house. John Matthews to settle in writing any dispute and if he is not alive then settlement to be made by Charles Bodenham Esq. of Rotherwas.

Total cost £2,408 11s. 1d. and was paid by 23 May 1815.

APPENDIX C

Abstracts from Sale Catalogue 20 and 21 September 1961 when Guy's Hospital Herefordshire Estate was sold to Mr. Charles Clore.

68 farms and small-holdings in 15 blocks totalling 16,045 acres including 1,300 acres of woods; shooting and sporting rights and 4 miles of fishing on the river Wye producing an annual income of £53,400.

1.	Pipe and Lyde	1 block	
*	Lower Lyde Court Farm	319.847 acres	
*	Lower Lyde Farm	343.357	5 cottages
*	Lyde Arundell Farm	293.331	4
*	Land	13.575	
*			2
2.	Credenhill	1 block	
*	Stretton Court Farm	452.432	9
*	Brockhall Gravel Pit and site Parish Hall	177.995	4
	Home Farm, Burghill	237.829	3
	Tillington Court Farm	218.950	1
*	Bunshill Farm, Bishopstone	250.841	6
3.	Tyberton	4 blocks	
	Lower Blakemere Farm	356.339	3
	Lyonshall Barn Farm, Peterchurch	105.676	2
	Church House Farm, Tyberton	253.843	2
	Holywell Cottage, Blakemere	.360	
	Sheep Pastures Farm	160.104	
	The Cottage, Stockley Hill	1.622	
	Lower House Farm (or Eynons), Tyberton	296.576	3
	Woodfield Farm, Tyberton	250.331	2
	Lower Bellimore, Preston-on-Wye	186.595	1
	Green Farm Land, Preston-on-Wye	86.922	

	Haybridge Land, Preston-on-Wye	17.097	
	Lower Shenmore	44.269	1
	Shenmore Cottage	.385	
*	Upper Chilstone, Madley	370.103	5
	Lower Chilstone, Madley	331.930	4
	Bucknall's Wood	20.909	
*	Church Farm	127.140	1
*	Holsty Farm, Vowchurch	224.040	2
*	Monnington Court and Wassall Farm, Vowchurch	442.000	cottages
*	Land, Vowchurch Common	2.954	
*	Yew Tree Farm	39.717	
*	The Batcho, Madley	171.840	3
*	Tyberton Woodlands	527.000	
4.	Arkstone	1 block	
	Arkstone Court Farm	399.641	3
	Meer Court, Kingstone	117.773	
	Cottage Knight's Common	1.006	
	Enclosures, Allensmore	3.154	
5.	Home Section	3 blocks	
*	Aconbury Court Farm	382.792	5
*	King's Pitts and Pullastone, Callow	108.007	1
*	Upper and Lower Twyford	233.354	2
*	Twyford Brook Farm	98.490	
*	Cottage Twyford Farm	.904	
*	Callow Farm (including Blakeways and Oak Farms)	173.148	1
*	Cross-in-Hand Farm, Wormelow	82.934	
*	Maddoxton and Caldicott, Dinedor	161.556	2
*	Morraston, Little Dewchurch	297.564	
*	Parts of Ballis Wood, Little Dewchurch	3.306	
	Bigglestone Farm, Much Birch	132.683	3
	Upper and Lower House Farm, Little Birch	65.631	

* Merrivale, Aconbury	173.177	1
Uplands, Little Birch	7.868	
* Upper House, Kingsthorne	12.934	
Lower House, Kingsthorne	13.110	
Crossway Cottage, Aconbury	.443	
* Greenwood Cottage, Aconbury	1.055	
* Woodbine Cottage, Kingsthorne	.363	
* Cottage site, Kingsthorne	1.948	
Quarry Cottage, Little Birch	.503	
Three fields Much Birch	1.803	
Castlepool Cottage, Kingsthorne	.250	
Grass enclosure, Much Dewchurch	.715	
* Lower Black Pitts, Little Birch	.996	
Two enclosures, Little Birch	2.703	
* Estate office etc., Kingsthorne	1.393	
* Thorne Villa, Kingsthorne	.308	
Field, Much Birch	.551	
* Warren Farm, Aconbury	9.170	
* Warren Cottage, Kingsthorne	.246	
* Mount Skippitt, Aconbury	10.903	
* Dewsall Court, Dewsall	493.708	5
* Monkhall Farm, Callow	328.764	2
Haywood Farm, Haywood	376.682	4
Land north of Dewsall Court	11.471	
* Woodland, Dewsall	38.903	
Kiverknoll, Much Dewchurch	245.431	3
Grove Farm, Wormelow	262.050	3
* The Home Woodlands	615.304	

6. Harewood End — 1 block

Grange and Home Farm, Harewood End	265.180	4
Woodlands Farm, Harewood End	159.307	1
Elvastone Farm, Harewood End	136.716	3
Llanfrother Farm, Hoarwithy	220.219	2
Redbrook Farm, Hoarwithy	53.774	
Grassland, Hentland	9.534	

7. Ross — 2 blocks

* Flann Farm, Peterstow	120.293	3
* Minnett Farm, Peterstow	127.941	1
* Weir End Farm, Bridstow	245.121	6
* Bowers and Poolhelig, Bridstow	78.122	1
* Whitecross, Borams and Bridstow Glebe Farm	238.684	4
* Benhall, Ross	175.716	5
* Moraston Farm, Bridstow	207.313	3
* White House Farm, Sellack	230.207	4
* Ashe Ingen Farm, Bridstow	192.819	2
* Wilton Castle, Bridstow	2.100	
* Building site Bannut Tree Lane	.200	
Land	.251	
* Poolmill Farm	13.855	
Meadows	37.580	

8. Tretire — 1 block

* Tretire	189.409	3
* White House Farm, Tretire	166.174	3
* Michaelchurch Court Farm	187.159	1
Trevase Farm, Tretire	136.308	2
* Trelasdee Farm, St. Weonards	336.943	4

9. Llangarron — 1 block

* Tredunnock and Blackhouse Farm, Llangarron	248.963	2
* Kilreague, Llangarron	225.761	3
Treworgan Farm, Llangarron	622.879	4
Penblaith Farm, Llancloudy	179.713	2

* indicates lands which were purchased as part of the Duke of Chandos estate in 1731.

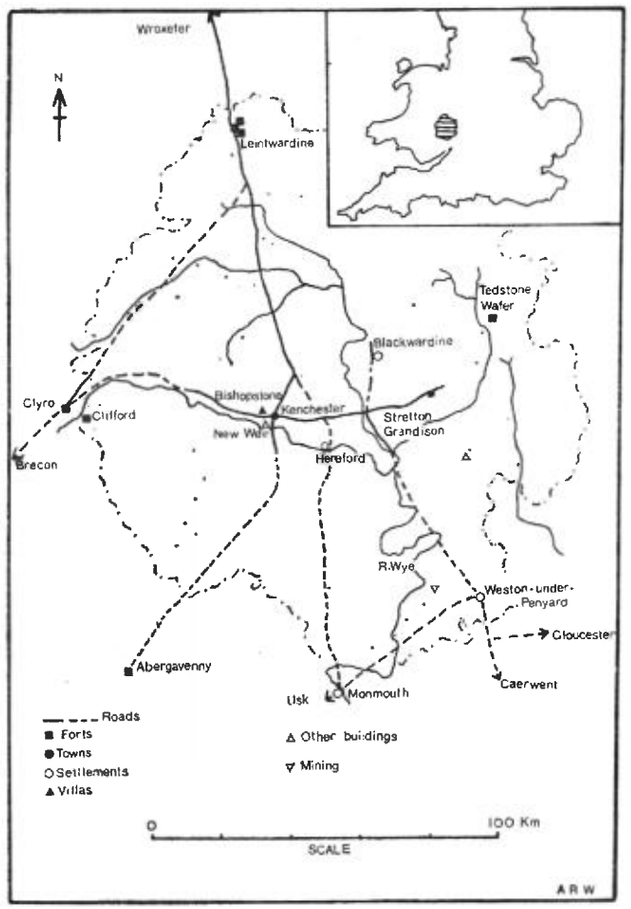

FIG. 1
Roman Herefordshire

Kenchester *(Magnis)*: A Reconsideration

By A. R. WILMOTT

THIS paper originated as an M.A. dissertation for the University of Birmingham. The purpose of the study was to make a comprehensive reassessment of the history, structures, and development of the Romano-British town of *Magnis*, with particular reference to the sequence of nuclear settlements from the Iron Age hill-fort of Credenhill, to *Magnis* and ultimately to the Saxon and later town of Hereford. It was considered desirable to make this study at a time when a settlement closely related to the town was being excavated and studied.[1] It is not intended here to publish all of the detail of structures and finds, but to put forward evidence for the major conclusions reached in the study, and to present a model of development for *Magnis*.

TOPOGRAPHY (FIGS. 1, 2)

Magnis, like Hereford, lies on the glacial gravels along the river Wye[2] in the Hereford basin. A reason for the siting of major settlements on these gravels is the readily available water supply which can be tapped by means of wells.[3] To the north of *Magnis* the range of hills which includes Credenhill, Garnons Hill, and the Wormsley Ridge is formed of outcrops of the Old Red Sandstone Downtonian series capped by the almost horizontal layers of the Dittonian.[4] These hills present a considerable barrier to communication from the north. To the south lies the river Wye which flows eastwards, and turns to the south east of Hereford. The site of *Magnis* lies on a spur between the valley of the Wye to the south, and, to the north, the valley of a small stream called by Stukeley[5] the river Ine. Though this name is no longer current, it will be used below to describe the stream (FIG. 2).

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Horsley[6] was the first to connect Kenchester with the *Magnis* of the 13th Iter of the Antonine itinerary, an identification which has held good since. The historiography of the town has frequently been discussed,[7] and it is unnecessary to detail work undertaken by the antiquaries, though reference to these will be made where necessary. Excavations were carried out on the town in 1913 and 1926,[8] and on the defences in 1956-1963.[9] Aerial photography has revealed the town plan in some detail.[10] Excavations on the hill-fort of Credenhill,[11] in Hereford[12] and in the town extramural area[13] have also been conducted in recent years. The concept of a sequence of nuclear settlements mentioned above has developed over a long period. Leland suggested that Hereford grew from the decay of *Magnis*,[14]

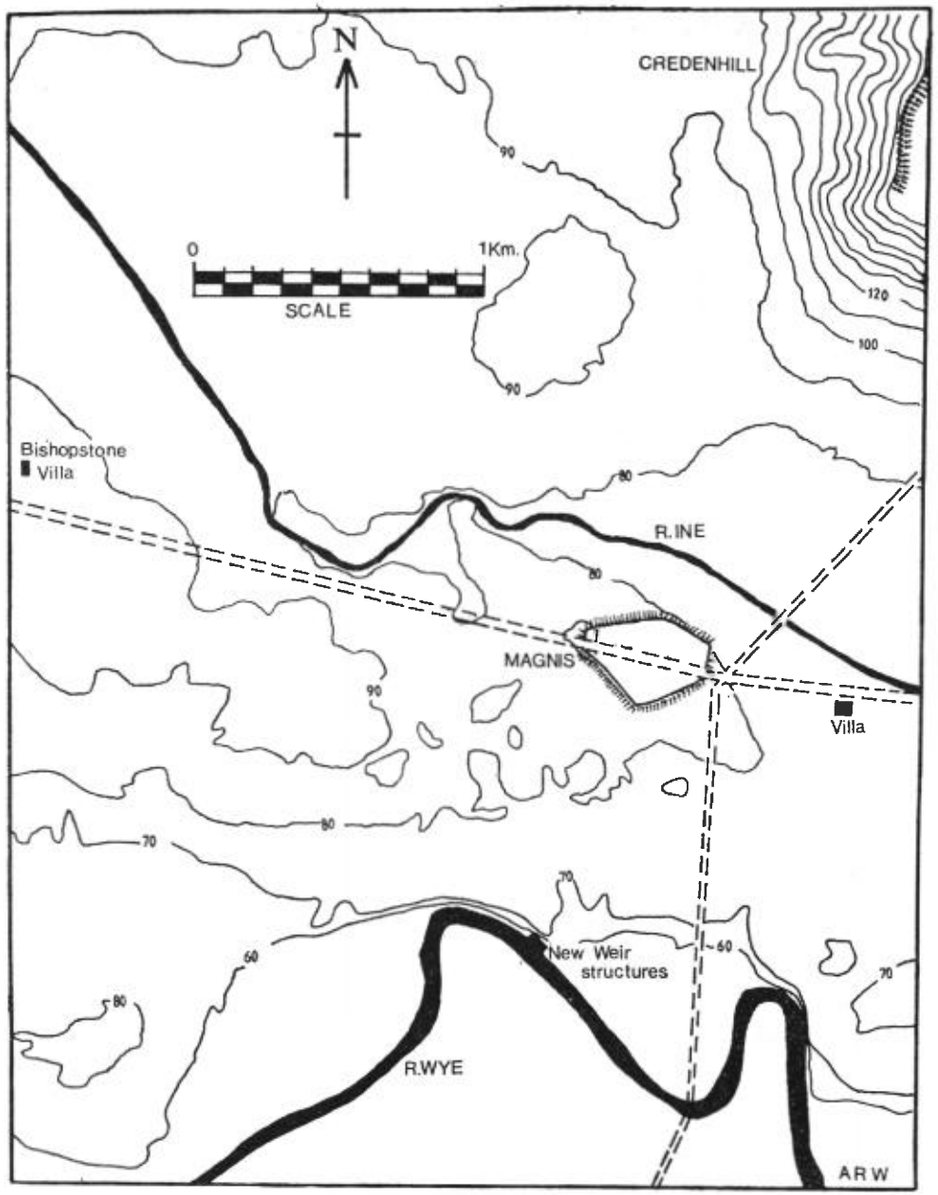

FIG. 2
Magnis. Local topography

while in the late 19th century it was first suggested that *Magnis* itself might have succeeded to Credenhill.[15] When considering Magnis it is important to remember the limitations of the available evidence, and particularly the sketchy nature of the reports on excavations in the early part of the 20th century[16] upon which many of the following conclusions are based. Clearly further excavation in the region would be needed to confirm or disprove these conclusions which should be seen as an interim interpretation based on limited, and in places tenuous evidence.

IRON AGE BACKGROUND

The study area is dominated by the hill-fort of Credenhill (SO 448441) which lies to the north of *Magnis*. This is a univallate hill-fort of 50 acres internal area, dating evidence from which can be related to that from other hill-forts in the Herefordshire region.[17] The evidence for the Iron Age in Herefordshire has been the subject of research by Dr. S. C. Stanford, whose contention that the Herefordshire hill-fort group represents an individual culture related to an Iron Age political grouping[18] has recently been disputed.[19] Stanford further suggests that this culture should be identified with that of the *Decangi* mentioned by Tacitus. Stanford puts forward several features by which his Herefordshire hill-fort culture can be identified. His idea that the Malvernian pottery industry supplied this group exclusively[20] has been shown to be erroneous by the discovery that Iron Age pottery, including the Malvernian products were distributed widely by trade[21] and that the distribution of these wares extends beyond the Herefordshire region.[22] Further identifying marks are the type of hill-fort construction and the exclusive use of square or rectangular buildings on these hill-forts. It has recently been shown by Hogg[23] that hill-fort construction of the sort found in Herefordshire, as well as the use of rectangular buildings, fit into the pattern of an Iron Age culture extant throughout Wessex and the Welsh marches, and the recent discovery of a round hut in a lowland Iron Age settlement close to both Credenhill and *Magnis*[24] must to some extent invalidate any distinction based solely on types of building. Not only does this draw the region into the more general picture of mixed Iron Age building types, but the presence of Iron Age occupation on a non-hill-fort site suggests a somewhat wider range of activity during this period than is postulated by Stanford.

The attribution of tribal names to territories is a tenuous process which should be approached with circumspection. Tribal areas can be identified broadly with their Roman counterparts, but these can only be identified by place names, epigraphic evidence and the distribution of artifacts associated undisputedly with a named tribe, such as coins. The only such evidence from the Kenchester area is the letter 'D' on a milestone (R.I.B. 2250). This is generally supposed to refer to the Dobunni. The *Decangi* of Tacitus have been convincingly identified with the

Deceangli of Flintshire attested by place-name and epigraphic evidence.[26] Stanford's proposal is based solely on his postulated identification of a wealthy, centralised Iron Age 'state' and an assumption that such a 'state' would not have been ignored in Tacitus' account of the conquest of Wales. There seems little cause to alter the accepted pattern of Welsh tribal areas in view of this, at least until a great deal more evidence can be presented.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST

The evidence for the Claudian military conquest of the area is sparse, and should be related to the history of the conquest of the Welsh border area as a whole. In the present study the main question raised is whether a fort was situated at *Magnis.*

It has been argued that the campaign of Scapula against the Silures in A.D. 47 included an advance up the Wye valley to Clyro.[27] This fort, fourteen miles west of *Magnis* (FIG. 2) was large enough to hold a legionary vexillation, or several brigaded auxilliary units, and has been dated to the conquest period.[28] The road to this fort led up the Wye valley from the fort at Stretton Grandison,[29] which lay fourteen miles east of *Magnis,* and is the road which later formed the main street of the town. This route clearly was also of the conquest period. It is possible that the fort at Clyro was a nodal point in the conquest and that the postulated road from near Leintwardine to Clyro[30] and thence to Brecon[31] was of military origin. Two roads branched from the main northern route from Leintwardine and Wroxeter; one ran through Hereford to Monmouth and Usk, and the other through Kenchester to Abergavenny, crossing the Wye and the Wye valley road (FIG. 1). Thus strategically important features within a mile of *Magnis* are a very large hill-fort, a river crossing and the crossing point of two military roads. *Magnis* is fourteen miles away from forts to the west and east, which is a frequently encountered distance between forts, being found both on the Stanegate[32] and in the Stracathro[33] series of marching camps. There is a distance of forty miles between Abergavenny and Leintwardine, and it seems probable that a fort was sited between them. Since *Magnis* was situated half way between these forts on a major river crossing it would be a likely location.

These facts present a *prima facie* case for a fort at *Magnis,* but despite extensive aerial photography no fort has been identified. The site of the town itself, on a spur between two river valleys, overlooking to the north a major hill-fort and to the south the river crossing, with a wide field of view over both of these major strategic points, would be the optimum position in the immediate vicinity for such a fort. The discovery of three pieces of military metalwork[34] wthin the town may be an indication that a fort should be sought beneath the civilian occupation strata. It has been shown that the argument concerning the local tribes is futile as there

is an almost total lack of evidence. It may however be remarked that the placing of a Roman fort near Credenhill need not necessarily reflect the hostility of its inhabitants; for example the nearby northern section of the Dobunni may have been allied to Rome, but it is known that the tribes in Scapula's operational hinterland were disarmed prior to his campaign.[35] The desertion of Credenhill might be seen as related to this disarming.

Magnis: ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

The origins of *Magnis* would appear to conform closely to those of many other Romano-British small towns. If the above argument for the presence of a fort is correct it could be suggested that the origin lay in the establishment of a military *vicus.* Frere has pointed out that a large percentage of small towns had this sort of origin,[36] and that where forts exist in close proximity to centres of native population it was the presence of the fort which gave the economic stimulus to the initiation of town life. A combination of a settled native population and the fort seems to have caused the initial development of *Magnis.* The lowland settlement excavated in 1977-8 may have extended much further to the west than the excavated area[37] and *Magnis* might thus be an existing centre of population as well as a strategically important site for a fort. There is no need here to invoke settlers from the hill-fort drawn to the valley by the honey-pot of military pay.[38] It is unlikely that the settlement grew up as a roadside market, as its main axis was on a minor road whose sole function in leading to Clyro, appears to have been related to the military conquest.

The only evidence for occupation before the later 2nd century consists of undated structures, and a few finds which themselves provide a *terminus post quem* for the postulated important 2nd-century or later horizon of activity on the site. If military occupation on the site is accepted, it is unlikely that it lasted into the latter part of the 2nd century, and civilian occupation before this date should be sought. It is however possible that military occupation lasted into the Flavian period. Clyro was deserted by this time but Leintwardine and Abergavenny continued in occupation.[39] The position of Kenchester on the line of communication between these forts and commanding the major river crossing would argue for the retention of any fort situated here.

The plan of the town before the late 2nd century (FIG. 3) is incompletely known. Roads within the town revealed on aerial photographs follow two basic alignments. One of these reflects the later 2nd-century street layout, while the other follows the alignment of the N-S through-route. It seems likely that the latter was the earlier, belonging to a period before the erection of defences, when the main crossroads determined the street alignment. It is probable that extramural streets can also be attributed to this period. After the town was enclosed

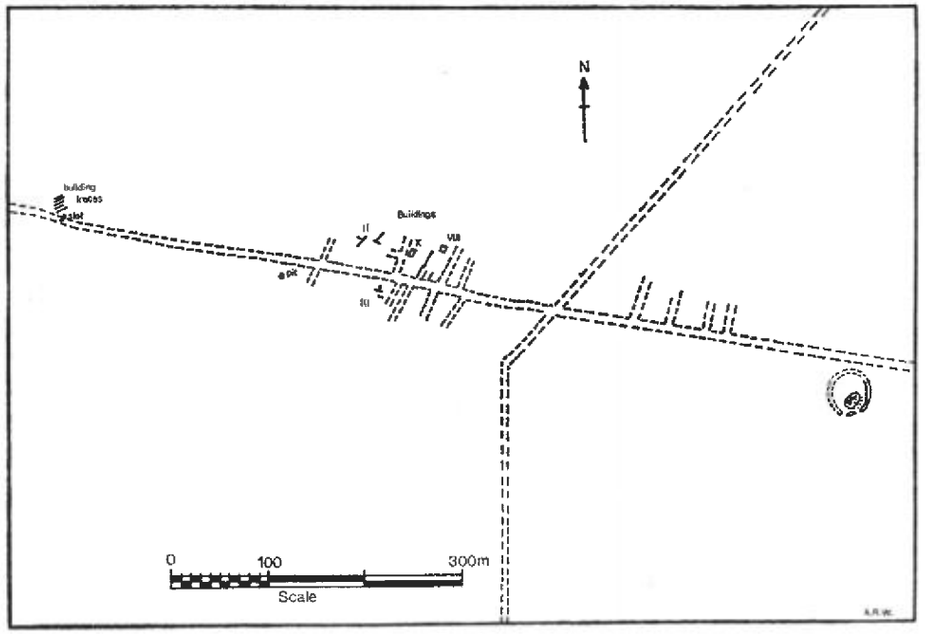

FIG. 3
Magnis. Before the mid-second century

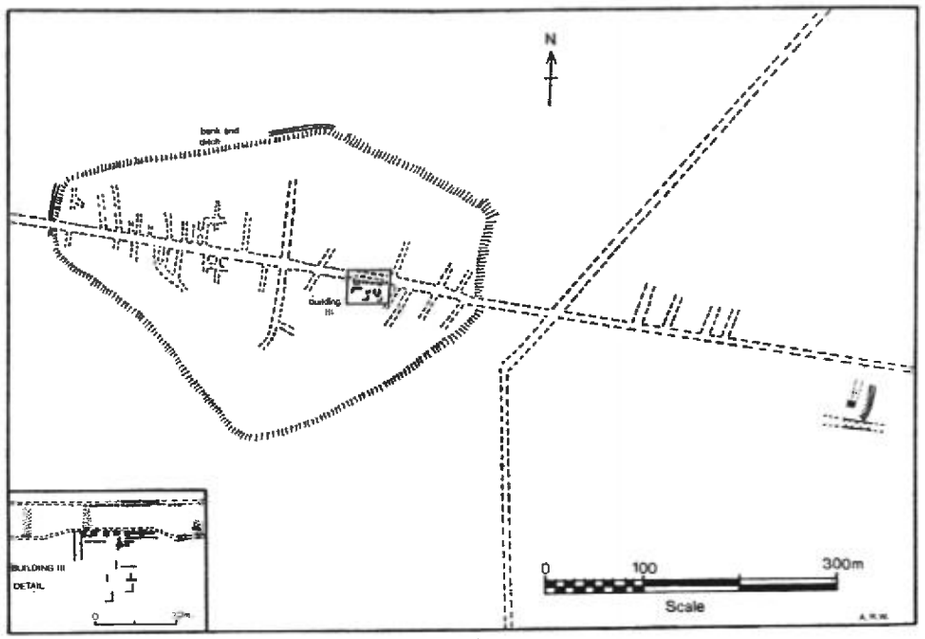

FIG. 4
Magnis. Mid-second century alterations

by defences the interior area appears not to have been filled. In these circumstances it is unlikely that further extramural settlement would have taken place. Early structures are very imperfectly known. Building II[40] in its early phase had two walls placed off the alignment of the later building. These were aligned with the 'early' roads. They appear to represent two adjacent structures divided by a path. The *terminus ante quem* of these was given by a Samian sherd stamped *ATILIANVS* (AD160/5-190).[41] In the area of Building III insubstantial stone walls, possibly sill walls intended for a timber superstructure, were found surrounded by soot and burnt clay,[42] and it is possible that this represents burning of such a superstructure. These layers occurred beneath a later mortar floor. Column bases in front of the later structure on this site were dug into burnt material containing 'Antonine pottery and coins'.[43] In preparation for the erection of the western defences, structures, including a hearth containing a coin of Trajan and a stone layer containing Samian dating up to the mid-2nd century, were levelled.[44] A slot lay beneath the 2nd-century road at the west gate,[45] and a pit containing the mid-Antonine stamp of *CACASIM*[46] was found beneath the road drain.[47] It is possible that Buildings X and VIII, which appear to have followed the postulated early alignment may have belonged to this period. There is no evidence to indicate the nature of the occupation represented by these features. However, a large amount of Flavian pottery was found[48] and it could be suggested that it was around this time that civilian occupation became established.

THE LATER 2ND CENTURY (FIG. 4)

In this period the excavation reports provide concrete evidence for a series of major reconstructions. The provision of earthwork defences probably with timber gateways took place *c.* A.D. 150.[49] The western defences consisting of an earth bank of glacis construction and a 'V' shaped ditch, have been excavated.[50] Such defences have been attributed to the departure of Clodius Albinus in A.D. 197,[51] though it is possible that a military threat in the west provided the main impetus.[52] The extramural settlement to the east was defined during this period, by means of a palisade, bank and ditch.[53]

The poor quality of excavations of the early 20th century resulted in very little pottery and coins being recorded as stratified. However, some dating evidence for the alterations to be postulated below was obtained.

During or after the late 2nd century the town appears to have been remodelled as a deliberate act of policy. The two main streets of the town were aligned on the cardinal points of the compass. The crossing of these roads lay approximately in the centre of the defended area of the town. The original phases of these roads were identical in construction[54] and gave every appearance of being contemporary. The streets were cambered, and on each side lay stone-built drains (though it is

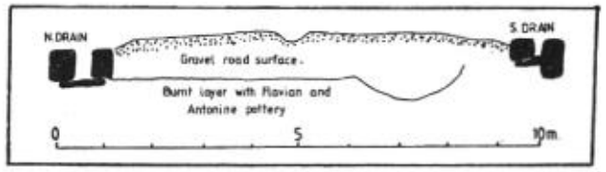

FIG 5
Magnis. Section of road

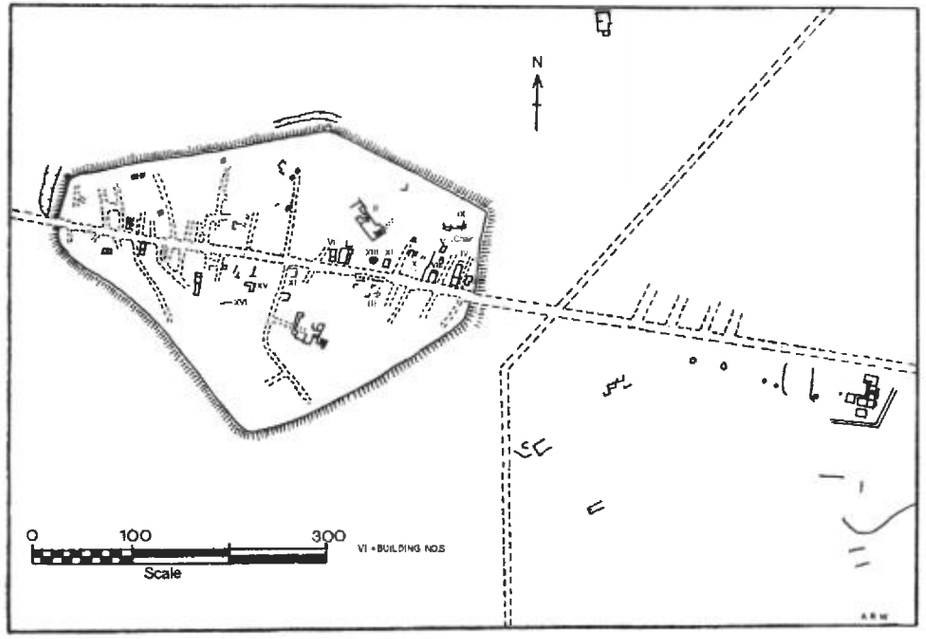

FIG. 6
Magnis. Subsequent development

possible that to the west, the south drain was of timber construction and formed the culvert observed in the west gate excavations[55]. Where roads were sectioned (FIG. 5),[56] the inner walls of these drains served as retaining walls to the *agger* of the road. The side walls of the drains were laid on top of flat slabs which lay above sandy silt and formed the drain bottom.[57] These were thus original features of one build with the roads. In published sections through the roads they are shown as overlying a burnt layer containing Flavian and Antonine pottery.[58] There does not appear to have been pottery later than the Antonine period in these layers. Samian stamps published as underlying the road and road drains[59] include two of *CINTUSMI* (*c.* 160-80) and *PISTILLI* (*c.* 160-90) which give the only available *terminus post quem* for the layout of these roads. The extensive evidence of destruction from the town is paralleled by burning found on the site excavated in 1977-8[60] in a late 2nd-century context. This is probably coincidental; the dating of the burnt material in the town is not very secure, and it would be premature to draw any conclusion, though these destruction horizons have interesting possible implications.

Building III was the only structure which can be interpreted as part of this layout (FIG. 4). The building, as already stated, overlies the burnt layer which produced Antonine pottery. It was set forward from the road frontage, the only structure so treated. It lies close to the centre of the town. The road drain was diverted in course to skirt the forward projection of the structure. This does not appear to have been secondary but an original part of the conception of the roadside drains. The frontage of this building was carried on two series of four columns, one resting on a foundation wall. The second, the most complete, had two central columns built on rubble foundations, and the two end ones carried down to natural, to support the weight of the ends of a structure.[61] In view of this it is possible that here there were two buildings of similar structure and importance. Though the rest of the street frontage was lined with timber porticos, this is the only indication that a stone-built portico also existed. Sandstone column bases reused in Credenhill village (SO 451435)[62] may have been part of the superstructure on these bases. Lewis suggested that this facade may have belonged to a classical temple.[63] Whether or not this is so, the forward projection of the frontage, and the building material employed, suggest that this may have been a public building of some importance, conceived as part of the overall redevelopment.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT (FIG. 6)

Owing to the lack of evidence, further activity cannot be chronologically assigned with any confidence. Reconsideration of the structures has not added materially to knowledge of building plans or methods, though a few valid points may be made. Building II[64] in its more completely excavated period has a *terminus post quem* of *c.* A.D. 165-90 based on the Samian stamp mentioned

above. This date is consistent with the appearance of similar winged corridor-type houses in other towns.[65] The position, with the frontage turned away from the crossroads, and the commercial property on the street frontages, parallels a similarly orientated house of similar date and plan from Butchery Lane, Canterbury.[66] Building IV was of massive construction[67] and included several reused altars. The presence of reused stone, only otherwise encountered in the town defences of the 4th century, may indicate that this was a late structure. Building XI[68] was placed in the angle between the two main streets. It had a facade of four stone column bases. Lewis[69] suggests that this also may have been a classical temple. Building IX[70] may be the only structure where the superstructure is known, but its plan is tantalizingly vague. The 'Chair' a niched piece of masonry first described in the 16th century[71] is part of this structure. Stukeley drew this wall;[72] it was a well-built structure, eighteen courses high, with a niche 5 ft. (1.52 m.) high and 3 ft. (0.91 m.) broad. Near the 'Chair' was found a bath 'about seven feet (2.13 m.) square with the pipes of lead (and those of brick) intire'.[73] This was not the bath excavated by Jack and Hayter in 1913[74] which comprised two sections 2.20 m. (7 ft. 6 ins.) long and 1.88 m. (6 ft.) wide. In the same area was a large drain 1.1 m. (4 ft. 6 ins.) deep and 13.90 m. (43 ft.) in excavated length. It seems likely that these features constituted parts of a public bath house, or mansio. Most of the remaining structurues were of strip house plan with ends resting on the street frontage. The street appears to have been flanked with wooden posts set into stone bases, which must have held up porticos or verandahs.[75]

Excavations on the W. gate of the town[76] have shown that the defences were refurbished in stone and that *c.* A.D. 350 bastions and a gatehouse were erected, and a new, wider defensive ditch was dug.[77] It is possible that this work should be seen in the context of the A.D. 369-70 visit of Count Theodosius. Subsequently the gate had one of its portals blocked, and the ditch was drawn round to cover the blocking.[78] This took place at a time when the gravel surfaced road had become rutted. The gravel road was contemporary with the stone gateway and was superseded by a road built of stone slabs. This indicates that towards the beginning of the 5th century, sufficient authority existed to carry out defensive public works in an effective manner.

EXTRAMURAL FEATURES

To the east of *Magnis* along the Wye valley road lay an extramural farmstead. This was the subject of excavations from 1977-8, and was found to consist of a villa complex whose main feature was a winged corridor structure. At Bishopstone Old Rectory gardens (SO 417435) a mosaic[79] and walls were found, part of a settlement which may also have served an agricultural purpose. Other extramural sites are known from aerial photography[80] (FIG. 6), and from the chance find of a sculptured head at Credenhill.[81] On the banks of the Wye a further site

has been noted.[82] The nature of this site is not known, though it appears to have been both wealthy and extensive, it may have been a temple complex. The chief surviving features of the site are an octagonal well or cistern, and a series of abutments which appear to be intended to retain the terrace on which the site is situated. In Hereford itself there is some evidence of Roman occupation; two altars were found there last century[83] and further altars were found reused in Saxon date corn-dryers in the town.[84] It seems unlikely that the latter were robbed from buildings in *Magnis* and reused in Hereford. This evidence may indicate a religious character for the Roman occupation in Hereford. The altar, found in 1879 (R.I.B. 303), was dedicated to Silvanus.

COMMUNICATIONS

Only one road led to *Magnis* from the north. This fact reflects the barrier to communications formed by the hills which lay immediately to the north (FIG. 1). Road and river communications southward were far more convenient. Moore[85] states that in the absence of weirs the river Wye would be navigable as far as Kenchester. Cargoes landed on the river bank would only have a mile journey over the gently sloping flood plain to the town. Boats on the rivers Wye, Severn, Lugg and Monnow could command a wide circle of trade in the South and West Midlands and Wales. Road communications are also orientated southwards (FIG. 1). This southward bias to trade may be reflected by the presence in Credenhill and on the 1977-8 site of oolitic limestone used to make column bases and the sculpted head. This was possibly derived from the Cotswold region. A further indication of the southern trade is the stamped tiles on the 1977-8 site which originated in the Cirencester and Gloucester area.

DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS

It has been suggested above that *Magnis* grew from a joint origin in a native settlement and a fort *vicus* and that military occupation could well have continued into the Flavian period. Such occupation would be succeded by a civilian settlement including the *vicus* and the area of the fort itself. By the mid-2nd century the town was of sufficient standing to be defended at the time when town defences in the south and west were being erected, while at the same time the extra-mural settlement excavated in 1977-8 was developed for the first time into a separate establishment with some evidence for an official function.[86]

The 2nd century or later road layout and the erection of at least one major public building may imply that the town received some new function or importance. To consider this question further it is necessary to return to the question of which tribal area the town can be allocated to. It has been shown that the

suggestion that the *Decangi* were the tribe concerned is based on purely circumstantial evidence and can be dismissed. The milestone found reused in the northern defences of *Magnis*[87] inscribed R.P.C.D. (*Res Publicae Civitatis D*—R.I.B.2250) is generally accepted as referring to the *civitas* of the Dobunni[88] and it seems reasonable to follow this interpretation. The siting of the fort near Credenhill does not prove the existence of a hostile tribe so it is impossible to relate Credenhill to the Silures, the Dobunni, or indeed to any as yet unknown tribal group. Though it is known that the Dobunni were in alliance with Rome[89] during the conquest period, the distribution of their coins does not extend as far to the north as *Magnis*. Webster avoids this problem by suggesting that the area around the town was allocated to the allied Dobunni as compensation for land taken to establish the *colonia* at Gloucester.[90] It is possible that such an allocation would be made during the late 2nd century when the *civitates* of Wales were being established,[91] and this would fit the earliest possible date for the alteration of the street plan. These arguments do not indicate the sort of status the town may have enjoyed, although suggestions on this subject have been made. Rivet has proposed that it may have been the centre of a *pagus* governed separately from the main tribal area from which it was split by the *territorium* of Gloucester.[92] Todd suggests that it may have achieved the status of a *vicus* on the lines of Petuaria. Both these ideas were based on the fact that *Magnis* was wealthy enough to have stone-built public buildings, mosaics, and other outward signs of wealth. It might be more plausible to combine the ideas put forward by Webster and Rivet, though this need not preclude Todd's suggestion that *vicus* status was eventually achieved. It is not impossible that Magnis became a later *civitas*-capital on the lines of Ilchester,[94] though it is not possible to suggest the date or mechanics of such a change in status. It is perhaps feasible that this might have occurred during the Diocletianic reforms when the Dobunnic capital of Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*) became the administrative centre of Britannia Prima. Whatever the status of the town it would be logical to see the laying out of the street plan as being contemporary with the achievement of some rank, which should thus post-date the late 2nd century.

The economic base of the town rested in the villas of the countryside around, several of which are known. Coins found in the town show an increase in wealth in the mid-3rd century. 450 coins are recorded from the years A.D. 253-84, though only a quarter of that number have been found for dates before A.D. 250. The coin count never returns to its early low level until *c.* A.D. 395. How far this is reflected in the prosperity of surrounding villas cannot as yet be assessed, but evidence from the site excavated in 1977-8 indicates that this may have been the case. It has been suggested that wealth in *Magnis* was partly derived from soldiers taking leave from Wales, though there is no evidence to support this tradition.

THE SUB-ROMAN PERIOD

The final problem to be dealt with here involves the origin of Hereford as the final stage in the nuclear settlement sequence, and how far it can be suggested that the city was settled as the immediate successor to *Magnis*.

In this question a great deal must depend on the terminal date for occupation in *Magnis*. The refurbishment of the defences[96] as stated above, indicates the presence of an administration capable of major public works in the late 4th century and possibly towards the beginning of the 5th. Despite the military precision of these works, one would hesitate to cite them as evidence for the presence of federate troops in the area. Coins from the site include 85 from the last thirty-five years of the 4th century. The latest coin was one of Theodosius I (A.D. 379-95) and others included 34 of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-75), 47 of Valens (A.D. 364-78), and four of Valentinian II (A.D. 375-392). Of these, excavated worn specimens total 40, the rest are surface finds which have been prone to wear by weathering. The hoard found in a hypocaust[97] included some of the worn late coins, the latest of which was a coin of Gratian (A.D. 367-83). Also in this context it may be noted that a coin of Eudoxia (A.D. 383-408) was found in Hereford[98] and a coin of Honorius (A.D. 393-423) appeared in Blackwardine. The worn nature of these late-4th-century coins, and the fact that coins of the 5th century occur in the area seem to indicate that the Roman monetary economy continued, albeit perhaps in an attenuated form, until the 5th century. There is evidence therefore that, even this late, civic administration and the monetary system continued, although the workman-like blocking of the west gate does not imply the peaceful enjoyment of these advantages.

Sub-Roman institutions south of the Wye are known. In south Wales the kingdom of Gwent appears to have been derived from the *civitas* of the Silures. The name of the kingdom comes from that of the *civitas* capital, *Venta Silurum*.[99] The founder of the royal house of Gwent was Caradaws Vriechas. His estimated birth date *c.* A.D. 390-400[100] would indicate that he may have been a Romanised ruler. His royal house was also that which ruled the kingdom of Archenfield or Ercing,[101] to the north of Gwent. It has been suggested that the name of Ercing was derived from that of *Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard)[102] and that a similar continuity from Roman administration to Celtic kingdom as that found in Gwent took place here. Place-names identified with Ercing, and dedications to the Ercing Saint Dubricius occur exclusively to the south of the Wye. The kingdom of Ercing lasted until the time of the Domesday survey when 'Archenfield Welshmen' (as distinct from the Herefordshire English), were summoned to the Herefordshire moot.[103] These facts may accentuate the theory that the north border of the Silures and the southern border of an administrative system based on *Magnis* lay on the river Wye, but no implications can be drawn from this as to the sub-Roman status of the town itself. The Anglian settlements of the area were

accomplished by 691 when the settlers, called the Magonsaete had a king and dynasty based on Hereford.[104] The name Magonsaete has been derived from that of *Magnis*[105] but there are numerous difficulties in this derivation. *Magnis* lies in the south of the kingdom of the Magonsaete. It is unlikely that the tradition of looking to the south from *Magnis*, based as it was on local topography, could be so completely abandoned. Also if *Magnis* was the source of the name Magonsaete one might expect that some trace would remain in the modern, Anglo-Saxon name of the town. The name however is the proprietorial *Cenas ceaster*, now Kenchester.[106] There are also linguistic problems associated with the derivation, which would involve settlers having a prior knowledge of the name.[107] The evidence for the derivation is not strong, and perhaps some other source for the name should be sought.

There appears to have been some Roman occupation of Hereford, and it is possible that it is here that continuity should be sought. Hereford appears to have been chosen as a royal centre, and then a bishopric in the late 7th or early 8th century.[108] Its first bishop, Putta, died *c.* 688.[109] It is possible that it was chosen because of its position on a river crossing on a major north-south Roman road, and its position between Welsh and English. Such strategic importance is attested in the name Hereford, or 'ford of the army'.[110]

Magnis was on a road with a primarily military function, leading ultimately to Brecon, which was deserted by the 3rd century.[111] After that date the road west would probably not be much used. To the south the road ran to Abergavenny,[112] which was also deserted in the Roman period. The major centres to north and south, Wroxeter and Caerwent were served by Watling Street (west) which followed the direct route through Hereford. The roads to *Magnis* were thus, by the 4th century, offshoots from the main system of communication. As an administrative centre *Magnis* may have been viable in the late Roman period, but when this function ceased the site would become irrelevant to the system of communications. The move eastwards was to a major ford with strategic importance based not on the 1st-century conquest, but on the situation obtaining during the 6th and 7th centuries. The mechanics of the change in focus are not yet understood. However there would appear to be a case for this change to have occurred during a relatively short period, and for the opinion first expressed by Leland that 'of the decaye of Kenchester, Hereford rose and flourishyed'.

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The Club gratefully acknowledges a grant towards the publication of this paper from C.B.A. Group 8.

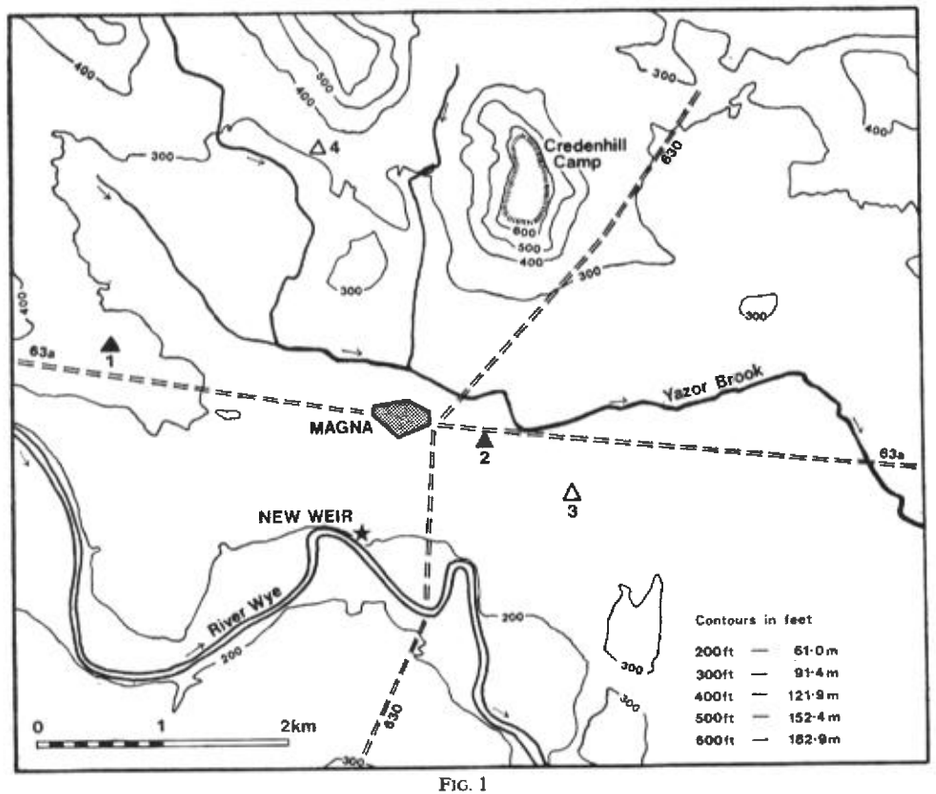

FIG. 1
The neighbourhood of *Magnis (Magna)* in the Roman period showing the New Weir site (see p.135 for reference)

The Roman Buildings at New Weir, Herefordshire

By R. SHOESMITH

INTRODUCTION

REMAINS of walls and an octagonal cistern in the National Trust's gardens at New Weir, some 6.5 km. west of Hereford, were provisionally identified as Roman in a report written for the National Trust in May 1977. The report proposed that small trial holes be excavated to establish the extent and condition of the remains, and these were dug during two weekends in October 1977. Early in the following year a resistivity survey of the site was made to establish the extent of the buildings, and later, the bed of the river in the vicinity was examined.

This report describes and discusses the evidence obtained from this exploratory work and considers the site in relation to the known Roman remains in the area.

I would like to thank Mr. A. J. Finlinson of the National Trust and Mr. V. W. Morris of New Weir House for granting permission for the excavations and for their interest in the project. Mr. Allison of Beaven and Hodges kindly visited the site and provided details of the water supply to and from the hydraulic ram which is close to the site. Martin Boulton assisted with the original survey; John Hood provided the equipment and expertise for the resistivity survey and examined the soils; Tim Copeland examined the pottery and all three together with Ruth Devitt and Christine Knowles helped to dig the trial trenches. Divers from the Gloucester Sub-Aqua Club examined the bed of the river in the immediate vicinity of the site. The finds and excavation records are deposited in the Hereford City Museum (Accession Number 1980/ooo).

THE SITE

New Weir is almost 1 km. south of the Roman town of *Magnis* (Kenchester) and is 0.5 m. west of the line of the Roman road which travels south from the eastern gate of *Magnis* towards a postulated bridge crossing over the river Wye[1] (FIG. 1).

The site is on a terrace, close to the Wye, at the south-eastern corner of the New Weir gardens. The terrace is some 120 m. long and has a gentle slope upward from the steep bank of the river for about 30 m., after which the ground rises steeply again. Two paths cross the area which otherwise grows wild flowers and rough grass. Several young trees have recently been planted (FIG. 2).

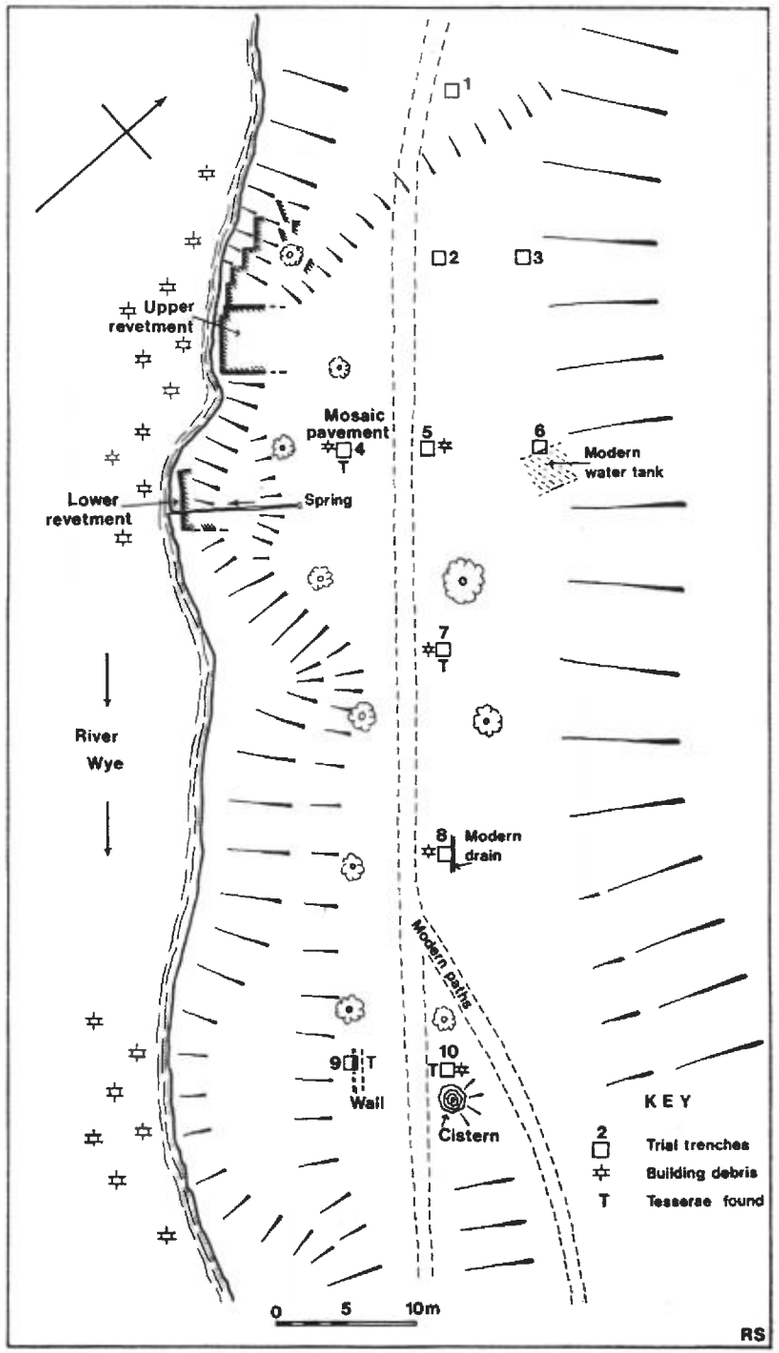

FIG. 2
New Weir. Site plan showing position of revetments, cistern and trial excavations

Springs occur at the base of the steep slope, above river level, and at the south-eastern end of the terrace there is a hydraulic ram and an emergency pump house, both associated with the water supply to the New Weir House.

Some 20 m. north-west of the pump house are the remains of an octagonal stepped cistern (FIG. 3 and PL. I). The cistern, which was repaired early in the 20th century after its discovery in 1891, retains its original form and dimensions although some stones are misplaced. Each of the six steps is shaped as a regular octagon except for the lowest stone which is a single block with a hole in the centre.

Two stone revetments support the river bank some 50 m. upstream of the cistern. The one most distant from the cistern is the best preserved with masonry standing about 4 m. high (FIGS. 4 and 5 and PL. II). The river elevation, much overgrown with ivy, has a base of large blocks of cut stone with a well-coursed wall of smaller stones above. Similar masonry continues at right angles into the bank to the north-east where the stonework rises higher and has a plastered surface. The large stone masonry foundation continues north-west from the main block of the revetment, stepping into the bank as footings. At the north-west of the main part of the revetment, and at right-angles to it, an upper wall continues into the bank, and the remains of a mortar floor can be seen over 1 m. below the present ground level with building debris above. Traces of other walls, and fragments of Roman tile and mortar are visible in the river bank immediately upstream. South-east of this upper revetment and about 3 m. forward from its face is a second, lower revetment. Only the large stone footings remain and they are covered in a growth of tufa. Between the two revetments, in the river bank, is a mass of fallen roofing stone.

The river bed, for some distance downstream of the revetments, is littered with large blocks of masonry, similar in size to those used in the revetment foundations.

The remains are marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:10560 map (1938 edition) as 'Roman Masonry' and are described and illustrated in early volumes of these *Transactions*. The first reference by H. C. Moore, in 1891,[2] describes the discovery of the cistern. The spring supplying the hydraulic ram had dried up and a trench was excavated parallel, and presumably close to the river, to seek a fresh supply. A spring was found and in following the course, the workmen 'found their operations, when at a depth of from four to nine feet (1.2 to 2.7 m.) obstructed by enormous stones, which were broken and otherwise got out of the way, until their attention was drawn to the fact that these stones were carefully hewn, dressed, and of an unusual shape . . . thenceforward the excavations were proceeded with

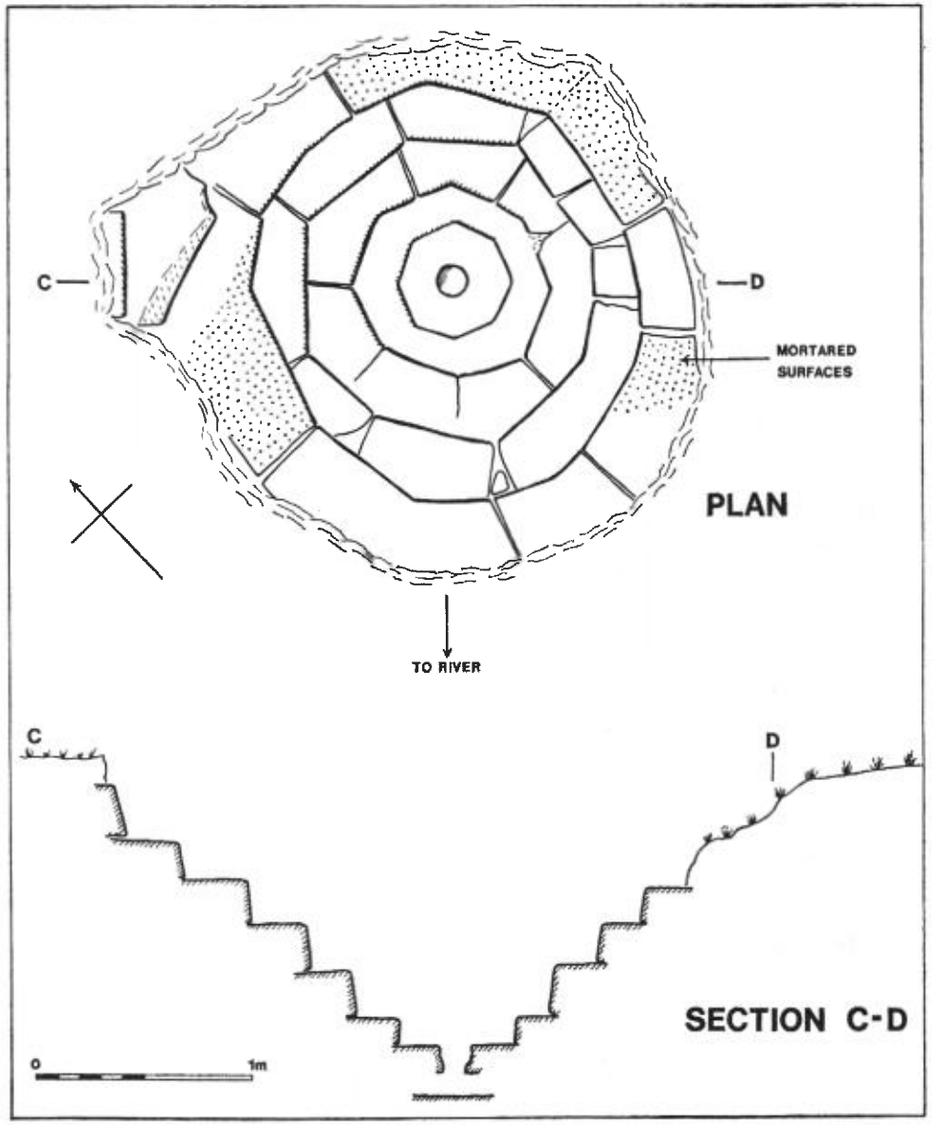

FIG. 3
New Weir. Plan and section of the cistern

more carefully, until what remained undisturbed of a buried mass of masonry exposed to view a structure about seven feet (2.1 m.) in diameter, forming a series of steps conducting, in gradually diminishing diameter, to a single large stone at the bottom, perforated by a circular hole six inches (0.15 m.) in diameter. When this hole was cleared out numerous tesserae were brought out of it in handfuls. The position of the circular hole was found to be in the course of a streamlet, issuing from the high grounds above, the overflow of which was conducted to the river along a shallow stone channel or trough'.

Moore included a plan, section and photograph in his report and an admirable set of measurements of each step in the cistern. He also noted that the excavations 'cut across a road which was buried only about 18 inches (0.46 m.) below the present ground level' between the cistern and the revetments. The road was later described as 10-12 feet (3.0 to 3.7 m.) wide.[3] Surprisingly Moore decided that the cistern was a medieval well and was not of Roman origin.

Moore and several friends visited the area again in 1893, when the river was exceptionally low, to examine the bank revetments.[3] Photographs and measurements were taken, and, although it was observed that 'the concrete which formed the filling in or backing of the upper abutment, being exposed, was found to . . . contain numerous close textured tiles, generally with flanges which . . . have been pronounced to be Roman', it was decided that the remains represented a medieval or later quay or landing place.[4]

The site was neglected thereafter and there are no other written records concerning it. However, Mr. Morris of New Weir House recollected that he and the late owner, Mr. Parr, did some digging 'years ago' and discovered bits of mosaic paving which were 'either returned to the earth or sent to the local museum'. There is no record of any such finds in the Hereford Museum.

THE 1977 TRIAL EXCAVATIONS

Ten trial holes, each one metre square, were carefully positioned along the terrace to avoid disturbance to the water supply and damage to growing trees (FIG. 2). Full details of the stratification and finds from each of these trenches are included in the archive in the City Museum. The following brief descriptions of the principal features and layers are a summary of this archival material.

Trench 1: The position of this trench to the north-west of the main terrace was chosen to establish the undisturbed soil pattern in the area. Below the turf were silt and gravel layers 0.7 m. deep which were interpreted as hill wash. They sealed a stony layer, which may either have been an undisturbed natural deposit or possibly a destruction layer. It, in turn, sealed a clean alluvial silt which appeared to be further hill-wash material. A fragment of Roman tile was found in the upper silt layer.

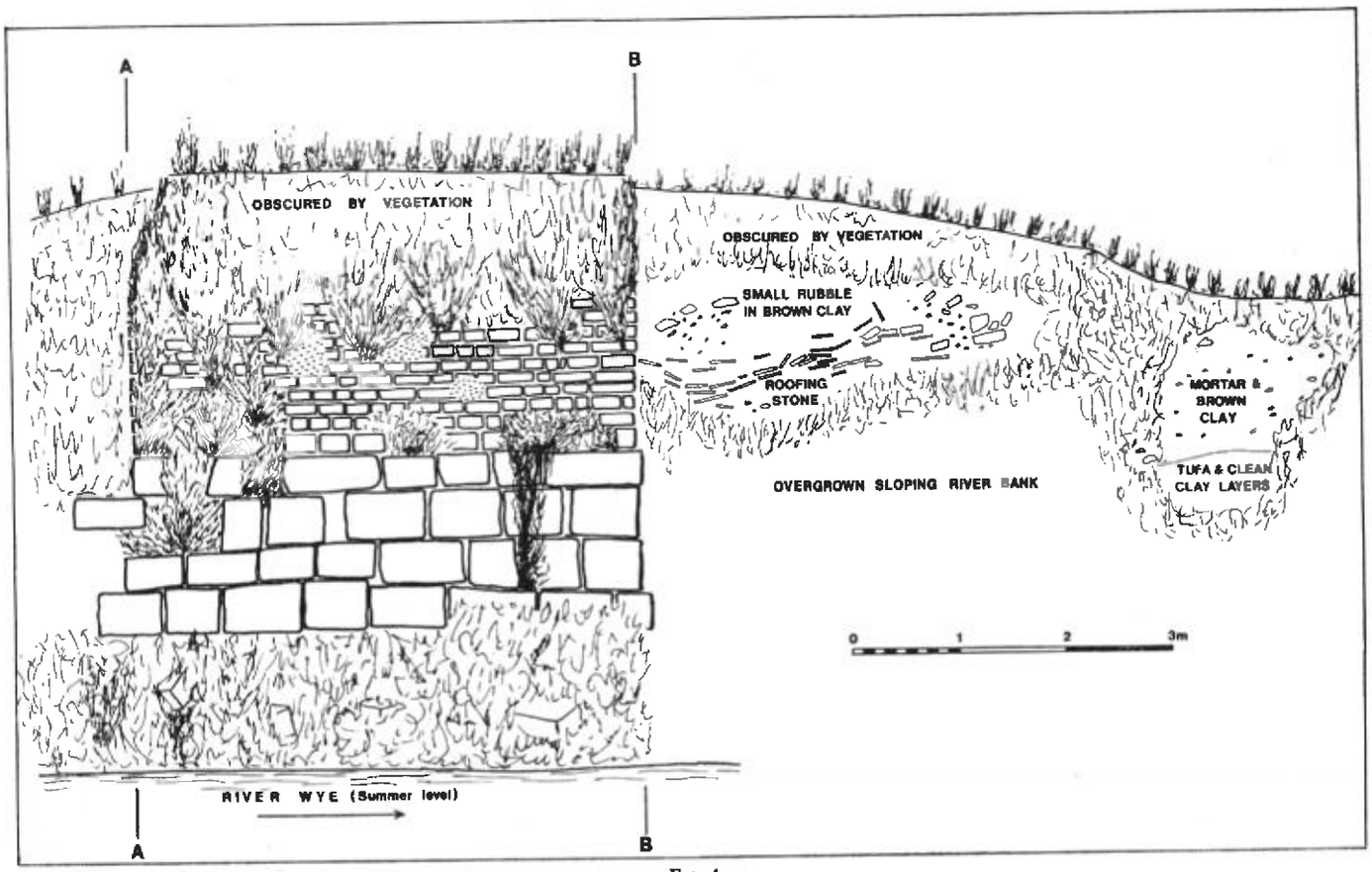

FIG. 4
New Weir. The upper revetment, south-western elevation

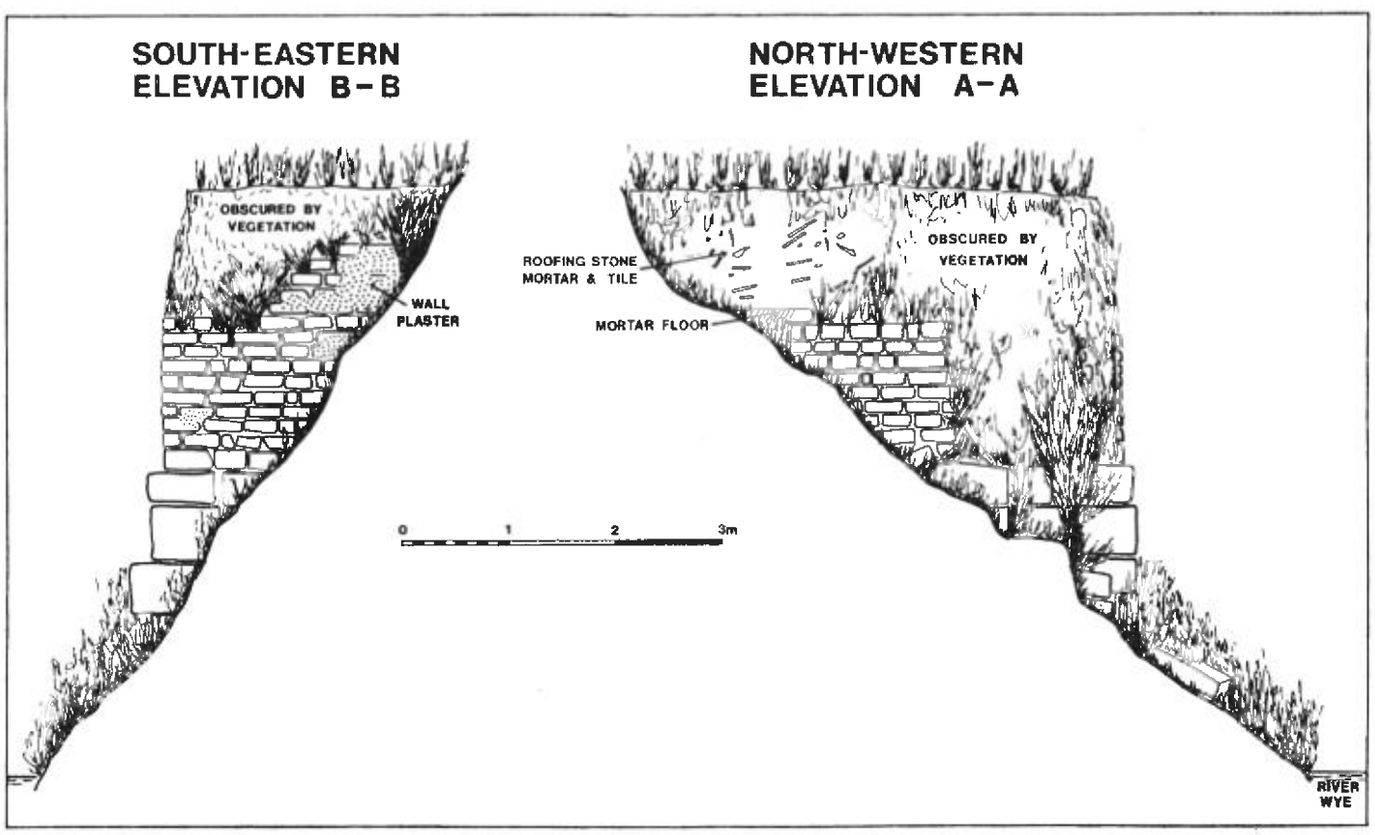

FIG.5
New Weir. The upper revetment, south-eastern and north-western elevations

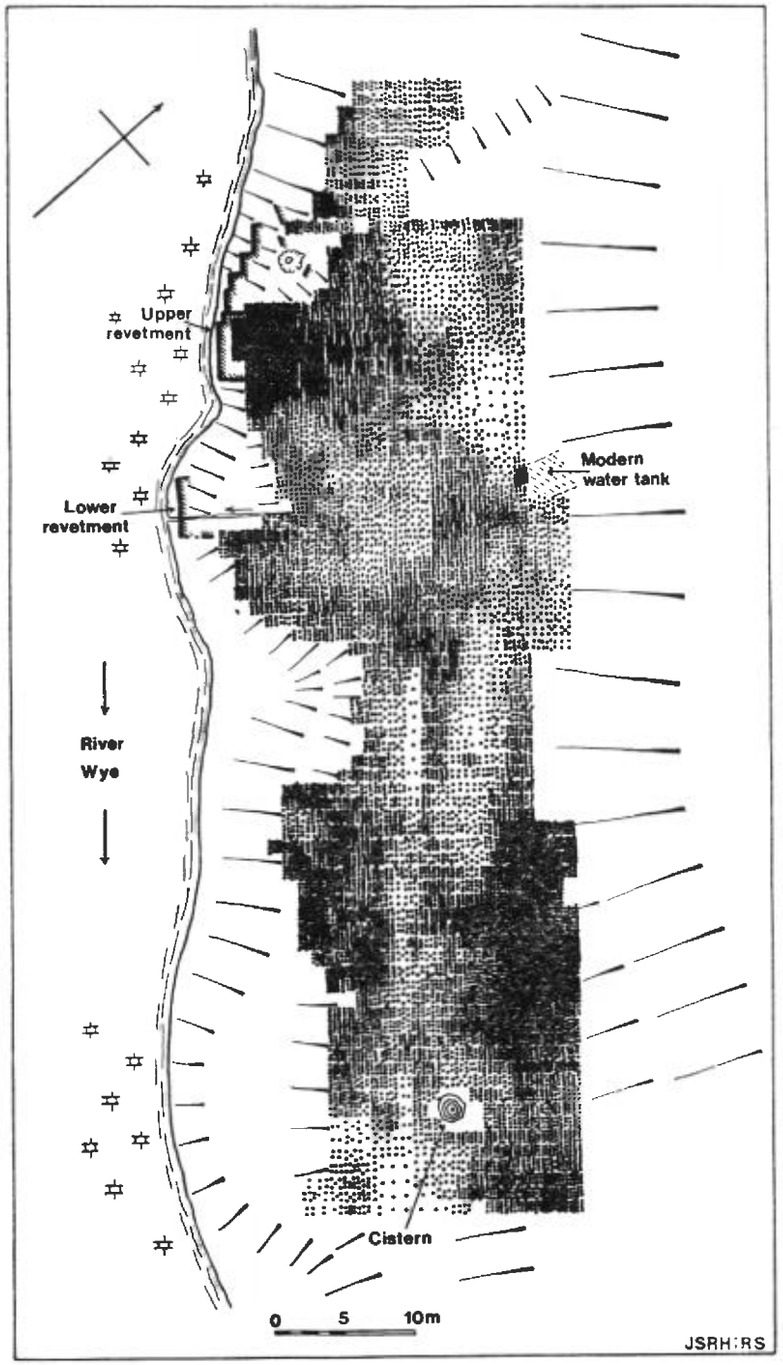

FIG. 6
New Weir. The resistivity survey

Trench 2: This trench was 11 m. south-east of trench 1 and thus on the main terrace. The ground level was 1.32 m. above that of trench 1. Hill-wash material similar to that in trench 1 predominated but the lowest excavated level, which was found at 0.6 m. deep, could have been redeposited natural and was possibly the remains of an earthen bank or some similar built-up feature. Several fragments of Roman tile were found in the hill-wash material.

Trench 3: The trench was 6 m. north-east of trench 2, close to the steep bank rising from the terrace, with a ground level 2.60 m. above that of trench 1. It was excavated to a total depth of 0.9 m. through presumed hill-wash silt and gravel but contained no Roman material whatsoever.

Trench 4: 14 m. south of trench 2, trench 4 was approximately 10 m. east of the upper masonry revetment. The ground sloped down to this trench from the north, south and east so that the ground level was only 0.34 m. above that of trench 1. The upper levels of the trench contained much stone together with many fragments of Roman tile, several grey and white tesserae, a few sherds of Roman pottery and a piece of painted wall plaster. This stony layer was covered and filled with a grey silty material which was interpreted as hill-wash. About 0.8 m. below the surface, part of a mosaic pavement was found in the northern corner of the trench. The spread of tesserae from it covered less than one quarter of the trench and it appeared that the mosaic was the corner of a pavement, possibly with robbed-out walls surrounding it on the south-west and south-east. Both grey and white tesserae were used in the portion of mosaic visible, apparently arranged in a geometric design. The pavement was laid on a mortar layer which was also only present in the northern corner of the trench. The mosaic was not disturbed and the trench was carefully backfilled. Even in this small part, over 80 tesserae were in place, of which 10 in the corner were white. The overlying layer contained some 40 loose tesserae, but all were grey, suggesting that the disturbance to the pavement was minimal and caused solely by the wall robbers.

Trench 5: 5 m. north-east of trench 4 and with a ground level 1.29 m. above that of trench 1, this trench contained many stones, in places tumbled on top of one another, all within a grey hill-wash material. A few stones were removed exposing further masonry. At an average depth of 0.5 m. the trench had to be abandoned due to its small size and the many large stones in section. Many fragments of Roman tile were found amongst the stones. This stonework was presumably a spread of debris from a building. It is important to realise that, when abandoned, the bottom of this trench was still over 1 m. above the level of the mosaic pavement in trench 4, only 5 m. away.

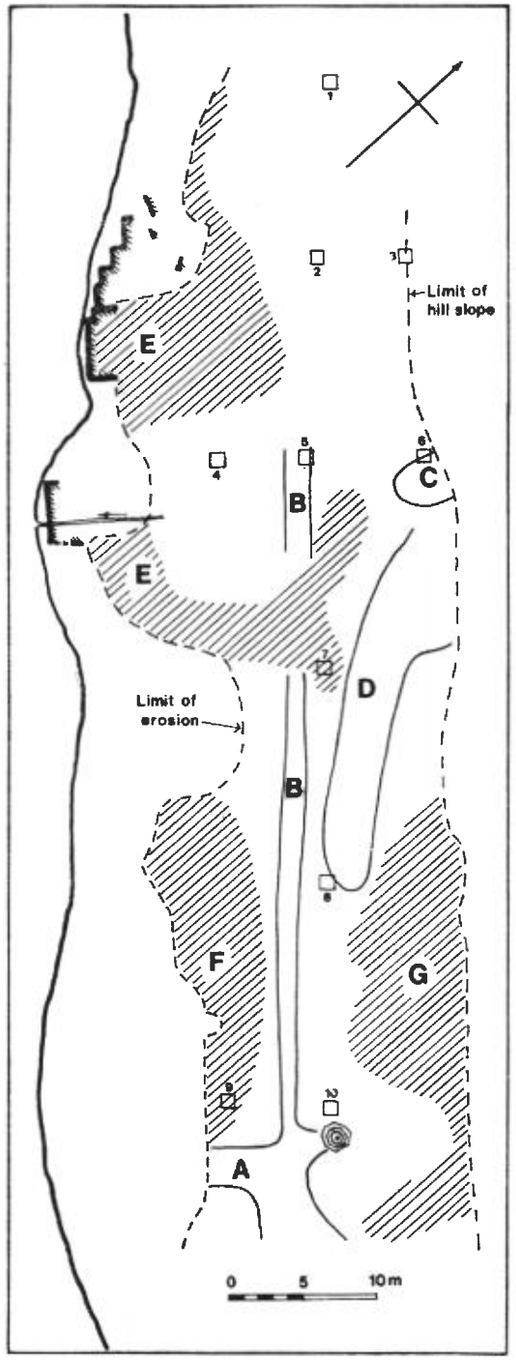

FIG. 7
New Weir. Interpretation of the resistivity survey

Trench 6: This trench was 7 m. north-east of trench 5 and close to the steep bank rising from the terrace. The ground level was 2.59 m. above that in trench 1. Part of a stone cover of a water tank was found in the eastern part of the trench. The size of this, presumably disused 19th-century tank, was established by rodding. It was about 1 m. deep and 2.7 m. long. It was full of water containing a lot of weed. In the surrounding soil were several pieces of Roman tile.

Trench 7: This trench was 14 m. south-east of trench 5 at a point where river erosion has caused the terrace to become narrow. The ground surface was 1.84 m. above that in trench 1. The fill was similar to that in trench 5 but with a thicker layer of grey-brown silt sealing stones and river pebbles. Occupation traces, at a depth of 0.6 m. included white, black and grey tesserae and fragments of tile. The trench was excavated to a total depth of 0.8 m., at which point the many large stones were found to be sitting on a layer of clean gravel which may have been undisturbed ground. The presence of building debris but lack of any floor level suggests that this trench was just outside the limits of a building.

Trench 8: 14 m. south-east of trench 7 and 18 m. north-west of the cistern, this trench had a surface level 1.7 m. above that in trench 1. Modern disturbances were found to have removed most of the Roman levels. Along the north-eastern side of the trench, at a depth of 0.8 m., a disused channel had been constructed from semi-circular field drains. The south-western part of the trench was also cut by a modern disturbance which was not bottomed at 0.8 m., but the fill of the feature contained fragments of modern drainpipe. The narrow ridge in the centre of the trench contained some stone, Roman tile and pottery. A calcareous layer sat on top of clean gravel, which may have been natural, at about 0.8 m. depth.

Trench 9: This trench was 16 m. south-south-east of trench 8 and 8 m. south-west of the cistern. The area had apparently suffered some erosion from the river and the existing ground surface was only 0.2 m. above that in trench 1. The footings of a substantial wall, running parallel to the river, were exposed in what was presumed to be a foundation trench at 0.5 m. deep. The stones were left *in situ*. The overlying layers included hill-wash material and loose stones which were apparently the debris remaining from when the wall was robbed out. Roman pottery, tile and tesserae were found in the upper levels but there was no definite evidence to indicate that the wall was Roman. However, if this assumption is made, a small piece of clay-pipe stem from amongst the wall debris material would suggest that it was partly robbed out in the 18th or 19th century.

Trench 10: This trench was 2 m. north-west of the cistern and 6 m. north-east of trench 9. Below the topsoil was a layer of large stones including one ashlar block all within a grey silty hill-wash material. The stones and silt sealed a layer of

broken stone roofing tile. Both layers contained Roman tile and some pottery, and the stone tile layer contained several chalk and sandstone tesserae. Under the roofing stone was a mixed calcareous orange layer some 20 mm. thick which lay on a clean white calcareous layer. Neither of these layers had the appearance of floors but may represent a ground level. However, the debris above them indicates that the cistern was within or in close proximity to one or more buildings.

THE RESISTIVITY SURVEY

The whole of the flat terrace area was covered by the resistivity survey on a 1 m. grid. The results were plotted in a dot-density form, onto a site plan, by hand (FIG. 6). The survey is published at the same scale as the site plan, which shows the trenches excavated, to enable the results of both forms of exploratory work to be compared.

The normal pattern in a resistivity survey of this nature is to show areas which have large quantities of masonry such as walls and floors as more dense, when plotted, than areas which have little masonry. Thus an image, of the buried structures, similar in some forms to an X-ray, can be obtained. The results, on a survey such as this, can be confused by contemporary pits and by any later trenches or other features which may have been dug across the site.

The survey is simplified on the interpretive plan (FIG. 7) where an attempt is made to relate known features to the results of the resistivity survey and thus isolate those features which may be Roman. The modern disturbances include the excavations of 1891 (p oo) between the cistern and the river (A), part of the presumed water-pipe trench which crosses the site (B), and the site of the disused water tank (C). The modern disturbances seen in trench 8 may explain the less dense patch which stretches from there towards the water tank (D).

The remaining features can be resolved into several areas all of which may have a Roman origin. Trenches 4, 5 and 7 all produced building rubble and 4 and 7 contained tesserae so it would be reasonable to assume that the dense area (E) between these trenches and the two river revetments represents a building complex, possibly involving ranges of rooms around a small courtyard. Downstream, the wall foundation found in trench 9, again associated with tesserae, suggests that the dense area F may also represent a range of buildings. This range may continue into area G, where no trial trenches were situated, but where the resistivity meter gave very high readings. If this is the case, then this relatively high density area to the north-east of the cistern could represent further buildings in the complex.

THE FINDS

Pottery

A total of 24 sherds were found of which 5 were modern. The Roman material is fully described in the archive. Only 3 sherds are suitable for illustration (FIG. 8), the remainder being body sherds and small fragments. The illustrated sherds are:

1 Rim of shallow bowl with out-turned rim derived from Samian form Dr. 36. It has a soft, sandy, oxidized fabric with brown inclusions and could be a product of the Oxfordshire kilns.[5] It is probably of 4th-century date[6, 7] (Trench 7).

2 Base of bowl copying Samian form Dr. 36. It has a soft, sandy oxidized fabric with traces of a dark red colour coat and is possibly a product of the Oxfordshire kilns.[5] 3rd or 4th century (Trench 7).

3 Hooked flange from a bowl in a micaceous, fairly hard, sandy, buff ware. Copy of Dr. 38 and probably of late-3rd or 4th-century date (Trench 8).

The assemblage is too small to form any definite conclusions but can be used to suggest that there was occupation on the site during the late 3rd and 4th centuries. A large proportion of the sherds found are of a sandy, micaceous buff fabric and only a few are of black burnished ware.

Tile and brick

Fragments of tile and brick were found in most of the trenches except 1 and 3. None are illustrated. The main concentrations were in trenches 4, 7, 8 and 10 and include fragments with wavy, combed decoration. Identified pieces include hypocaust tiles, roof tiles and box flue tiles. Full details are in the archive.

Metalwork

Seven nails and one possible handle were found. None are illustrated.

Glass

Two small fragments could both be Roman. They are not illustrated.

Plaster and Mortar

Several fragments of *opus signum* were found, mainly in trench 4, together with small pieces of plaster. They have not been examined in detail.

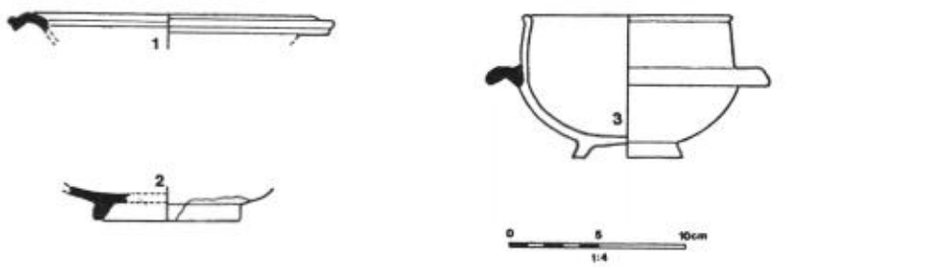

FIG. 8
New Weir. Finds of Pottery

A small sample of plaster, found *in situ* on the south-eastern elevation of the upper revetment (FIG. 5), consisted of a fine gravel mortar up to 47 mm. thick with a thin (2 mm.), fine, hard lime skin on the outside. This surface had apparently been whitewashed and may have had some dark red painted decoration on it.

A sample of the floor, exposed in the erosion face of the north-western elevation of the upper buttress (FIG. 5), consisted of a fine lime mortar with some glacial pebbles up to 35 mm., occasional angular stone fragments and charcoal flecks. A 3 mm. surface skim of cemented fragments of fired red clay is perhaps more likely to represent a continuous floor level than a foundation for tiles or mosaic.

A sample of plaster from above this floor contained small stones and fragments of fired red clay which may have originated as tile or pot.

Stone – Building

A few very small pieces of white Bath stone with traces of a carved decoration were found in trench 10. They are too small to illustrate.

The masonry of the upper revetment (FIGS. 4 and 5; PL. II) is in two parts. The lower four courses are of large, squared blocks each of which contains a lewis-hole. They are generally about 0.5–0.6 m. square although occasional blocks exceed 1 m. in length. Many stones of this description are strewn along the bed of the river below both of the abutments. The upper courses are regularly laid using well-shaped stone in courses 0.13 m. thick, pointed, and in places covered with a good quality mortar. The lower revetment, which is covered in a calcareous tufa layer, is more ruined and consists only of the larger, squared blocks.

The bank on either side of the upper revetment contains many fragments of roofing stone and similar examples were found in the nearby bed of the river.

The cistern is made of carefully shaped stones, each tier of steps being composed of several stones shaped to form an octagon (FIG. 3; PL. I). The base is formed of one large stone, some 0.5 m. across, with a circular hole 0.15 m. in diameter in the centre. Several stones which were moved when the cistern was discovered in 1891 were probably replaced in incorrect positions when the cistern was restored at a later date, resulting in the slightly uneven plan which is exhibited (FIG. 3).

Stone – Tesserae

Loose tesserae were found in several of the trenches and a small portion of mosaic *in situ* was exposed in trench 4. The distribution was:

TRENCH	NUMBER OF LOOSE TESSERAE
4	48 (Plus 94 *in situ*)
7	18
9	4
10	27

It is evident from this distribution, and the significant absence in the intermediate trenches 5 and 8, that the buildings contained more than one mosaic pavement.

The loose tesserae include 24 white (chalk), 71 grey (sandstone), 1 black and 1 red. The mosaic floor in trench 4 consisted only of white and grey tesserae.

Most of the tesserae are *c.*15 mm. cubes but there are several which are less than 10 mm. and two which are in excess of 20 mm. A few are of oblong shape.

CONCLUSIONS

There is now no doubt that the terrace was occupied during part of the Roman period with buildings of some stature. The nature and method of construction used in the revetments indicates that the complex was deliberately built into the river bank. This solid buttressing of the bank, which has survived for over 1,500 years, suggests that the course of the river in the immediate area has remained unchanged throughout this period. Some erosion of the bank has taken place both up and downstream of the existing masonry and a comparison of the site with the photographs taken in 1893 suggests that this erosion is increasing.

The physical limits of the terrace would not allow for large courtyards but it is evident from the excavations and survey that the Roman buildings extend from upstream of the upper revetment to some point, as yet undiscovered, downstream of the cistern. The complex of buildings is thus at least 70 m. long. The extent to which the buildings are buried on the north-east of the site by hill-wash material (especially in area G (FIG. 7) of the resistivity survey) and the amount lost by erosion, particularly downstream of the revetments, are both unknown so the total

original width of the site can only be estimated. If the Roman tile and brick found in the disturbed trench 6, and the dense area G of the resistivity survey are both accepted as indicating traces of buildings in these areas, then the total existing width of the site is in excess of 30m., measured to the river bank, or 20 m. to the beginning of the erosion slope. The evidence from the excavation and survey indicates that the building complex filled most of this 2,000 sq. m. area.

The degree of preservation of the remains has not been fully established by the trial excavations. The mosaic pavement, exposed in trench 4, was at a depth of 0.35 m. below that of the ground level at trench 1. Of the significant trial trenches, only number 9 was excavated to a greater depth and in that trench the top of the wall foundation trench was about 0.3 m. below the ground level at trench 1. Levels which were presumed to be undisturbed natural in trenches 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 may well represent an accumulation of hill-wash material over the site, and the overlying scatter of Roman material may be due to the activities of stone robbers and drain diggers. In the Roman villa at Chedworth, which has a similar position below a steep hill slope, collapsed walls were buried within hill-wash material in excess of 1 m. in thickness.[8]

The level of the upper stones in the cistern is approximately the same as the presumed Roman ground level in trench 10, at 0.8 m. above the trench 1 ground level. This is about 1.1 m. above the top of the wall foundation trench in the nearby trench 9 and 1.15 m. above the mosaic pavement in trench 4. It is evident that the several ranges of buildings on the site were built at different levels and joined together with ramps or steps. Chedworth again provides a comparison for such a stepped construction on a sloping site.[8]

The use of the buildings

The excavations and survey have shown that there is a complex of rooms in the vicinity of the revetments which includes at least one mosaic. Some 50 m. south-east there is apparently a further building complex close to the cistern, and the tesserae found in the central hole and in the nearby trenches indicates the presence of at least one more mosaic. The restricted nature of the site would inevitably influence the design of the buildings so a standard plan could not be expected.

The cistern or pool is perhaps part of a water-shrine or nymphaeum and as such would probably have had a prominent position in the whole design of the villa.[9] If it is assumed that the villa was approached from the south-east, which would seem most likely, then the cistern would have been central to the design. Water shrines in similar positions are apparent at Downton, Wilts and at Dorenth, Kent.[9]

The resistivity survey does not provide complete details of the building plan but it is suggested that the remains represent two main building complexes, perhaps joined by a corridor with a further range of rooms.

The remains are apparently those of a medium-sized villa deliberately built in a spectacular situation next to the Wye and possibly associated with a nymphaeum. The complex is sufficiently large to have incorporated two separate residential units[9] presumably with at least one bath building. The siting of the buildings and the restricted area available makes it unlikely that they were of a form where extra room would be needed for service buildings and outer yards. It is possible that the deliberate choice of this secluded site, which includes several calcareous springs, and is within 1.5 km. of the Roman town of *Magnis*, has a religious significance and that the building complex incorporates a temple or shrine.

However, the possibility of the Wye being used for trade should not be ignored. During the 17th and 18th centuries many efforts were made to improve the navigation of the river[10] and it seems an inescapable conclusion that the Wye had been in use for this purpose for many years previously. Water transport was probably of reasonable importance during the Roman period and the possibilities of the Wye would not have been ignored. The New Weir villa may well have been the home of a merchant, supplying goods which he had brought up the Wye to the nearby town of *Magnis*.

The preservation of the remains

The remarkable degree of preservation indicated by the revetments and the cistern need not be common to the remainder of the site. The trial trenches have shown that the Roman floor levels are buried at least 0.6 m. deep close to the river bank and that they are probably deeper near the hill slope. However there are several factors which affect the preservation and which could not be answered by these limited observations.

The first is the extent of erosion by the Wye. This is a continuing process and masonry visible in the river suggests that some collapse has occurred in the not too distant past. Visible undercutting of the remaining parts of the revetments indicates that they are still under active threat from the river. Upstream of the revetments, the remains of walls in the river bank and an exposed floor level demonstrate the serious extent of the erosion. Downstream, trench 9 was as close to the eroded river bank as possible. It contained the footings of a wall but there was no indication of a floor level and any associated room could be on either side. It is evident that the full width of the Roman terrace survives only in the immediate area of the revetments.

The second factor which will have affected the preservation of the Roman remains is the use of the area for water collection for New Weir House for at least 100 years. During this period trenches have been dug across the site and water collection tanks inserted below ground level. The shallow 'rumble drains' seen in trenches 3 and 9 would not normally go deep enough to interfere with the Roman levels but drainage pipes such as the one in trench 8 at 0.6 m. deep and tanks such as the one in trench 6 which was *c.*1.0 m. deep would have destroyed all but the deepest of the remains. The total extent of these disturbances is not known but it is likely that most of them are linear features running parallel to the river. They were probably associated with the less dense part of the resistivity survey (FIGS. 7 and 8) and as such would cause some damage to the remains but would leave the overall plan intact.

Most Roman sites in this type of location have suffered some root damage from trees. However, in the trial trenches where horizontal stratigraphy existed, there was little sign of rooting activity below the topsoil.

The surrounding area

It would be presumptuous to draw any far-reaching conclusions about the Roman occupation of the middle Wye valley from the exploratory work at New Weir. It is sufficient at this point to observe that a number of Roman sites within easy walking distance of *Magnis* have now been found and more will doubtless be discovered. FIG. 1 indicates the known and possible Roman sites, the details being listed below.

1 Bishopstone Roman Villa. Discovered during excavations for the foundation of a new rectory in 1812. The full size was not ascertained but the building included at least one mosaic, 9 m. square, and it is evident from the contemporary descriptions that parts of it remain buried.[11, 12]

2 Excavations during 1977 and 1978 exposed part of a Roman villa-farm which apparently had some continuity from the Iron Age.[13, 14]

3 Probable farm or villa site completely lost by quarrying in the 1960s. Workmen on the site were seen collecting Roman pottery in large quantities (personal observation).

4 A Roman well was found in 1887 and partly excavated. The associated buildings have not been discovered.[11, 15]

5 Roman remains have frequently been found in Credenhill village. It is likely that the village and possibly the RAF camp conceal several Roman buildings.[16]

The road numbers used on FIG. 1 are taken from *Roman Roads in Britain*.[17]

SUMMARY

The river revetments in the National Trust grounds at New Weir are in a remarkable state of preservation considering the destructive power of the fast-flowing river. They are the highest standing pieces of Roman masonry in Herefordshire and, for a building of this type, in the west midlands or Wales. The excavations and resistivity survey have demonstrated the existence of surviving Roman levels which include at least one mosaic pavement. The remains, covering approximately 2,000 sq. m. are apparently those of a medium-sized Roman villa, possibly including a water shrine, and deliberately built in a spectacular position into the river bank.

It is apparent from the photographic evidence that bank erosion has taken place in the present century and the river is now beginning to undermine the upper revetment. The remains are in considerable danger of being lost to the river and rescue work will be needed in the very near future to ensure the preservation of this important site.

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A Saxon Spearhead from the River Lugg at Lugg Mills, Hereford

By W. R. PYE

DISCOVERY AND LOCATION

DURING the summer of 1973, the Herefordshire County Council commenced a bridge widening scheme at Lugg Mills, near Hereford (SO 53134178), and it was during the work that a diver brought up a Saxon spearhead.[1] This was taken to the Hereford City Museum to which it has since been presented by the Hereford County Council as Accession No. 9936.

DESCRIPTION

The spear has a total length of 357 mm. This is made up of three sections; (a) a straight-sided blade of angular form which has a total length of 204 mm., (b) a plain, undecorated shank, from the base of the blade to the balustered first wire winding, being some 30 mm. in length, (c) the socket, a decorated section, having ten wire windings up to the distal end of the spear, making up the socket, with a length of 123 mm. (FIG. 1).

The coloration of the blade is grey green towards the tip, with patches around the damaged central portion, becoming black and red-brown on the shaft and socket, with the wire windings showing up black, with flecks of a golden coloration in places.

(a) The Blade. Corrosion emanating from a slight bend from 128 to 170 mm. from the tip has damaged the blade, and a small fragment 6 x 4 mm. is missing.

In the central area are more corrosion lines. In this case they are chevron-shaped and in two rows, the central spine being their dividing line. A peculiarity of this is that on the one side of the spear they face forwards, on the other backwards.[2]

(b) The Shank is joined at an angle of 120 degrees by the blade, and the diameter of this section immediately before the first wire winding is 12 mm. From this point to the tip of the spear is a uniform taper.

(c) The Socket is decorated by ten wire windings. The first is balustered and has a width of 3.5 mm. The rest have widths of 2 to 3 mm. and are spaced at intervals of 12 to 21 mm. In places it appears that the wire in these windings has been

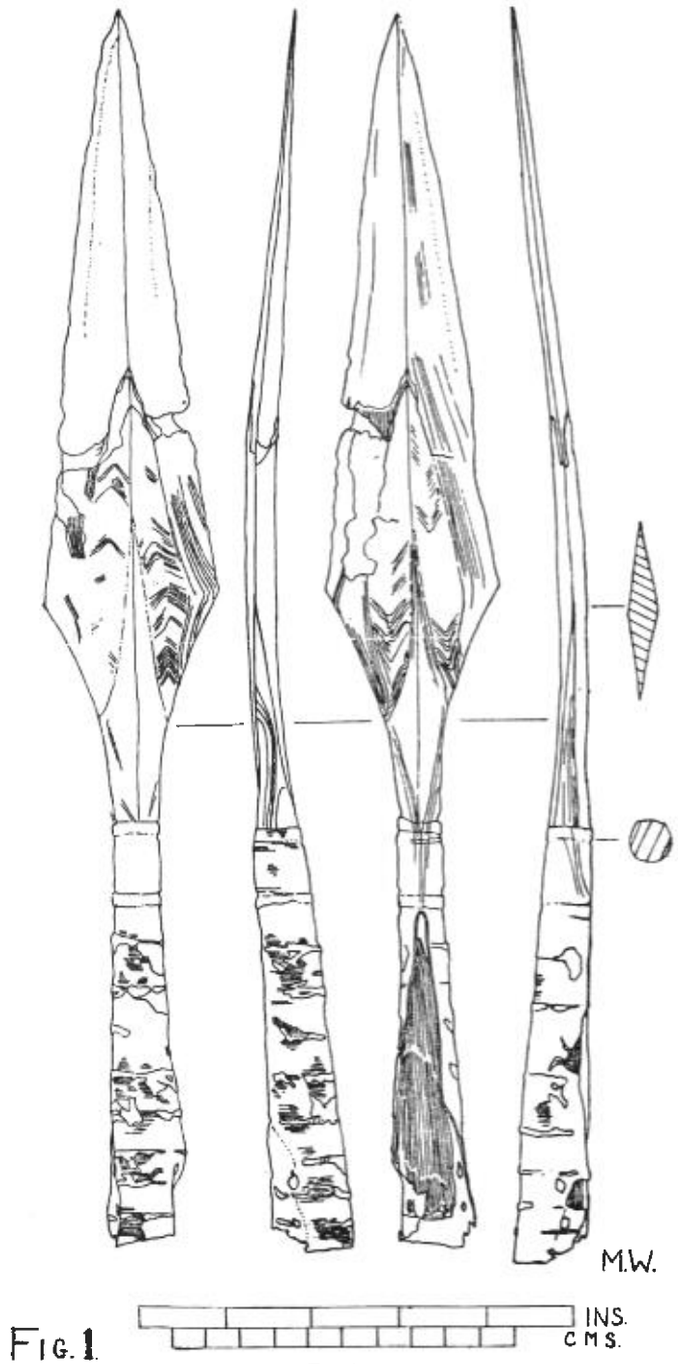


FIG. 1.

FIG. 1
Saxon Spearhead from the River Lugg

I - The Roman cistern at New Weir from the south-west

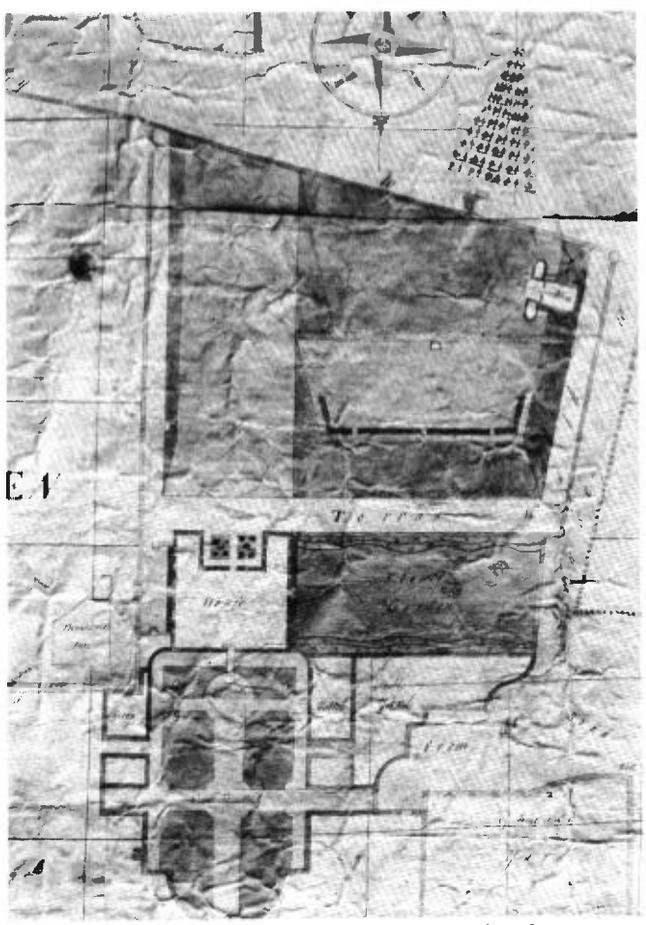
II - The Roman upper revetment at New Weir from the south

III - Hope-under-Dinmore, font, *c.* 1250, detail St. John the Baptist

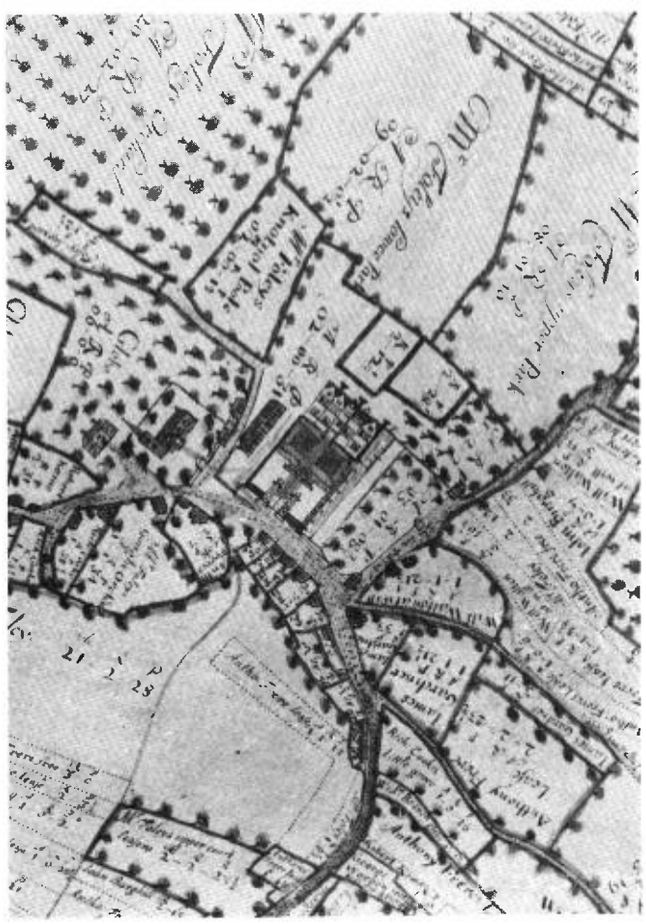
IV - Hope-under-Dinmore, font, *c.* 1250, detail Christ

VI - Lichfield Cathedral, detail Christ, tympanum of Chapter House doorway, *c.* 1240-50
(By courtesy Dean & Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral)

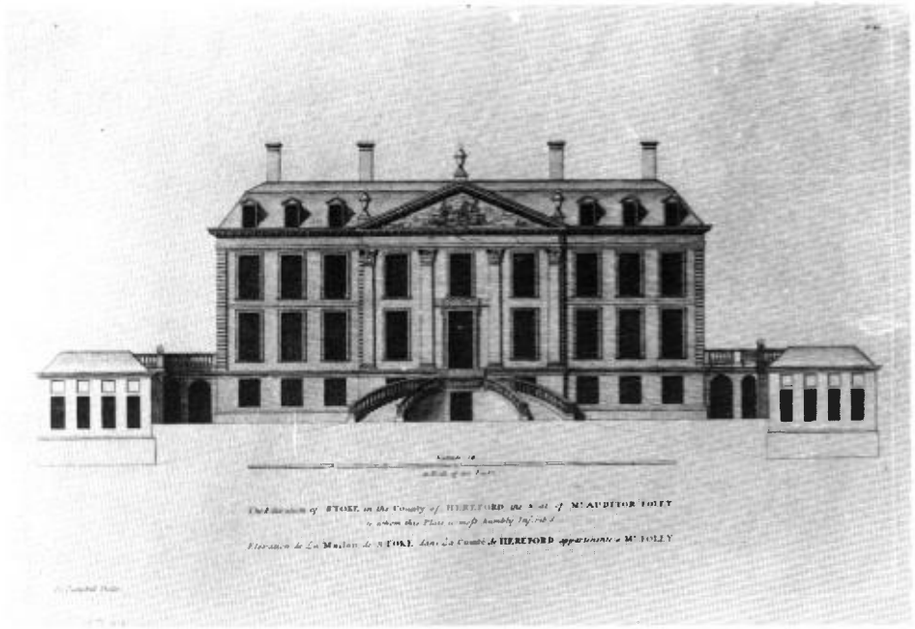
V - Amesbury Psalter, Oxford, All Souls College, MS 6 f 6r, Christ in Majesty
(By courtesy The Warden & Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford)



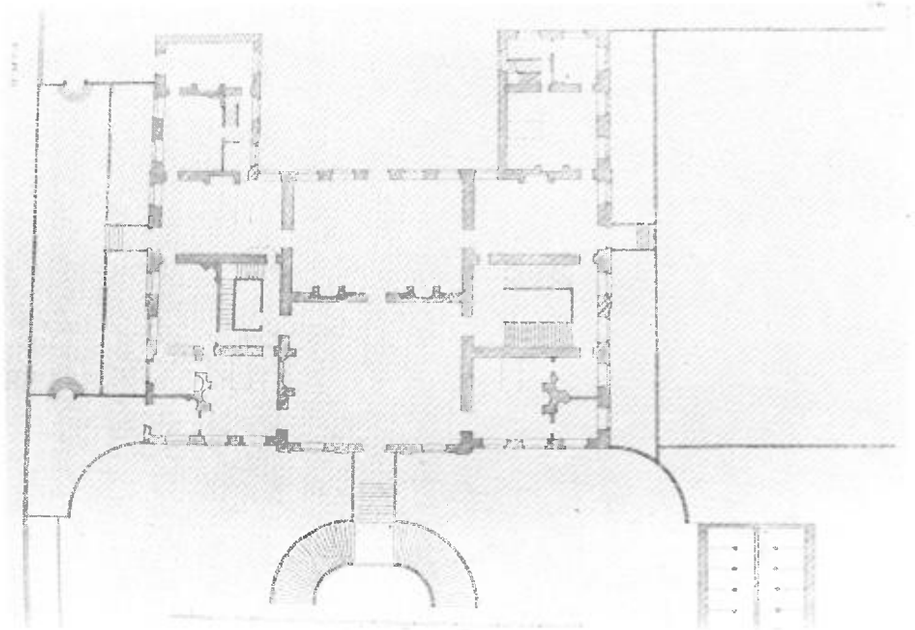
VIII - Part of John Bach's plan of the house and gardens at Stoke Edith, 1766



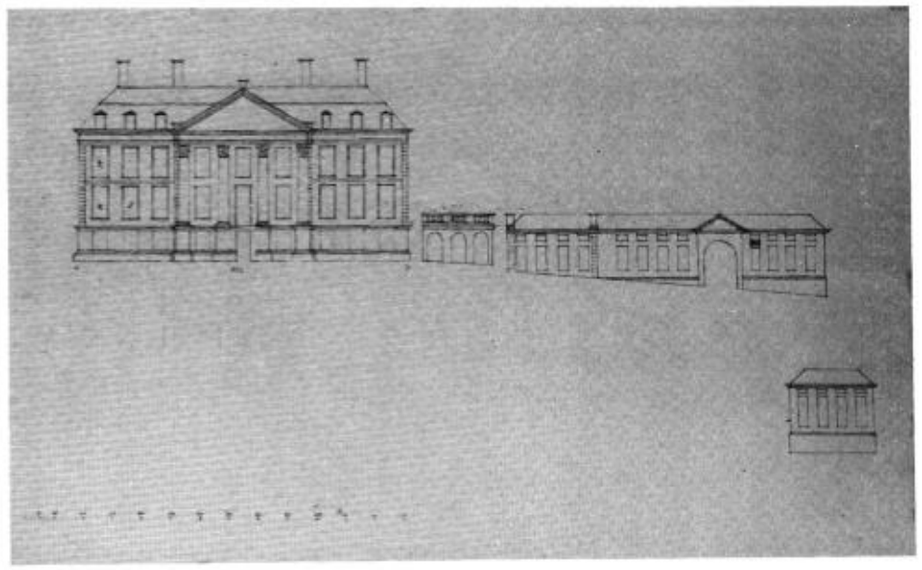
VII - Part of William Deeley's survey of Stoke Edith, 1680



IX - The north elevation of Stoke Edith from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715)



X - The plan of Stoke Edith from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715)



XI - An unidentified drawing of Stoke Edith
(By courtesy RIBA Library)

XII - Stoke Edith from Repton's Red Book, 1792

plaited. These are, of course, only on the metal, and have presumably burst on the open part of the split socket, which is round ended and 98 mm. in length from the butt of the spear. The width of the split is 2.5 mm. at its narrow end, the width at the distal end being distorted through the socket being forced open to approximately 20 mm. when its wooden shaft was broken.

At 9 mm. and 24 mm. from the butt of the spear, and 6 mm. from the edge of the split, and on either side of it are nail holes, (a total of 4 holes), of 2.5 mm.

Within the socket was part of the wooden shaft, with a length of 82 mm. and a dry weight of 3.1 gms. The butt end of this wood showed a break which coincided with the damage to the socket.

METALLURGICAL REPORT. The following is a summary of the lengthy technical report undertaken by Messrs. Henry Wiggins Ltd., of Hereford.[3]

The spear was non-destructively examined by means of superficial microscopical examination, x-ray analysis of surface scale, and electron beam microanalysis.

The microstructural variations indicate a variation in carbon content from at least 0.05 to about 0.6 per cent.[4] The spearhead was built up from four separate pieces, the socket, a shank forming the spine of the blade and joining it to the socket, and the blade which consists of two pieces. These were joined by 'smith-welding'.

Radiographs showed that the inner section of the blade had been made by the 'Pattern-Welding' technique.[5] The process is described in detail by Maryon.[6]

The presence of a weld between the two parts of the blade has been confirmed microscopically. The overlying pattern at this area did not show the characteristic pattern, which suggests that this particular region of the blade had not been made from twisted elements.

However, from previous metallurgical examination of pattern-welded swords or spearheads for example Schurman and Schroer,[7] also Collins and Beeny,[8] there can be no doubt that a similar heterogeneous structure is present below the scale pattern at the central basal section of the blade, which in a suitable electrolite, would corrode preferentially.

The blade had been quenched in water, but for some reason the critical velocity was not generally achieved.

The surface scale consists mainly of siderite (FeCO3). This is explainable by its prolonged contact with the river Lugg water which is fairly hard. In fact the hardness was 216 at the 1973 analysis at Lugwardine, so that the scale which formed has been converted by the calcium salts in the water.

The golden surface coloration on the wire windings were globules of copper-iron sulphide, having a composition of the type Cu2S.Fe2S3 containing 30 to 35 per cent of copper. Evidence of the difference between this and iron pyrites was provided by micro-indentation hardness tests. The globules of copper pyrites had hardness of 330 to 350 D.P.N.,[9] whereas that of iron pyrites was in excess of 900 D.P.N., which is in qualitative agreement with those values of Moh's (scratch) hardness values of 3.5 to 4 quoted by Rutley.[10]

These were obviously formed by fusion from the molten condition, and were applied as a gold imitation.

REPORT ON THE WOODEN SHAFT by Professor A. G. Smith head of the Department of Botany, University College, Cardiff: - . . . 'The wood is of Ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) . . . It appears however, not to be the centre of a single stem but at the narrower end to have been cut from approximately the tenth to twentieth year's growth. The tree was apparently very slowly grown and must have been living in rather marginal conditions'.

GENERAL DISCUSSION. As both the historical and archaeological position of Hereford is well attested, this is not out of place, although the first spearhead from the area.

The absence of pagan and other types of Saxon spearheads in the border counties and Wales is shown by Swanton,[11] and he dates this spearhead as a middle to late-Saxon type, of his as yet unpublished, later classification. (pers. corr.).

This angular type appears to have been influenced by Scandinavian design, and the split socket was initially found in east Germany during the 5th century.[12]

The pattern-welding technique is fairly common, and the chevron-type of pattern welding noted, but a spear having been rebuilt appears to be fairly unusual, although Grasida, a spear which began as an 8th-century sword, was remade as a spear, and was still in use in the 13th century.[13]

Whilst ash was the predominant wood in the making of spear shafts, apple, rowan, and birch feature to a lesser degree.[14]

Wire windings, partly utilitarian, partly ornamentation, are fairly commonplace, in small number—say up to five,—upon spears of this type, but a spear having ten is exceptional, whilst the use of copper pyrites for their decoration, at the time of writing, is thought to be unique. This may of course be due to the poor state of preservation in which the spear sockets are usually found.

The site of the find at Lugg Mills was on the crossing of the Kenchester to Stretton Grandison Roman road,[15] and it was this angle between the road and the river Lugg which became the Hereford City boundary.

The possibility of a very early bridge crossing at this important point cannot be ruled out, as there appears to have been a 'Great Lugg Bridge'[16] in existence here before 1154, which was repaired in 1409,[17] and a mill erected prior to the 16th century.

It would therefore appear that the spear was lost at a turbulent time when Hereford was an important border town.

In writing this note I would like to express my thanks to the author of the metallurgical report, A. J. Brightmore, and to his company, Messrs. Henry Wiggins of Hereford, whose expertise and generosity provided such an excellent report, and for permission to reproduce from it. Thanks are also due to Professor A. G. Smith for the report on the wooden shaft, also Miss C. Bloxham, the late Miss L. F. Chitty, C. J. Dunn, H. Gayter, Dr. W. Manning, the late F. Noble, A. J. Parkinson, and Dr. M. J. Swanton, to the curator and staff of Hereford Museum, and Miss M. Winsch for permission to reproduce her drawing of the spear.

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The Thirteenth-Century Font at Hope-under-Dinmore

By M. THURLBY

THE octagonal font at Hope-under-Dinmore (Herefordshire) is an interesting product of the school of sculpture that flourished in the West Country from about 1175 until 1250.[1] The bowl stands on a stem with panelled sides and angle ribs and a water-holding base. Each side of the bowl is carved with a seated figure set under a cinquefoil arch which is carried on columns with moulded capitals and bases. The spandrels are filled with symmetrically arranged stiff-leaf foliage. Certain figures may be accurately identified by their attributes. On the south-east face is the figure of St. John the Baptist, a particularly appropriate choice for the decoration of a font, who holds a disc with the *Agnus Dei* away from his body in his left hand (PL. III). On the south face next to St. John the Baptist is St. Paul who is identified by his receding hair line and the sword he holds in his right hand. Next to St. Paul is a long-haired figure who holds a book on his left thigh and raises his right hand in blessing (PL. IV). Although this figure is not given a cruciform nimbus it seems likely because of the nature of the blessing, that He is to be identified as Christ. The lack of the nimbus is perhaps not so surprising since it is absent from all the other figures, and, as we shall see, is omitted from another Christ figure in the West Country School. Christ is frequently represented between Saints Peter and Paul and therefore identification of this figure as Christ is substantiated by the fact that the next figure is St. Peter holding the keys in his left hand. The cross held in the right hand of the figure on the north-west face suggests identification with St. Philip.[2] The remaining figures cannot be precisely named. That they are apostles is indicated by their bare feet and it seems likely that one of the two figures on the north and east faces represents St. James the Great who frequently carries a scroll.[3] The figure on the north-east face holds the underside of a book on his thigh and raises his right hand in front of his chest.

For analysis of the figure style the Christ and St. Paul are particularly useful. Their clothing is virtually identical and the manner in which it is arranged over the legs and around the waist is ultimately derived from the figure of Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents on the fourth order of the north door of Glastonbury Lady Chapel which was carved between 1184 and 1189.[4] There is a similarity in throne in the two places and the Glastonbury Herod may also be seen as a model for the positioning of the arms of the apostle on the north-east face of the font. An even closer parallel for the Christ and St. Paul is with the

angel on the side of St. Dyfrig's tomb in Llandaff Cathedral which was probably executed around 1200.[5] In addition to the similarity of the throne and the folds over the legs and around the waist we notice the same arrangement of the toga falling from the left shoulder and the 'V' folds over the chest.

In comparing the figures on the font with sculpture of the late 12th century we might at first be tempted to date the Hope-under-Dinmore work to the same era. However, such hasty judgement must be avoided for there is in the West Country a family of figures clearly developing from the Glastonbury Herod which are datable down to 1250.[6] A particularly relevant example is the figure of Christ on the vault boss at the junction of the choir and east transept of Worcester Cathedral which is to be dated around 1320.[7] The pose is just the same as the Hope-under-Dinmore Christ even to both figures holding the side of the book, the arrangement of the draperies is akin and the halo is omitted in both sculptures. The Worcester Christ is set within stiff-leaf foliage of the same basic type as that in the spandrels of the Hope-under-Dinmore bowl arcade. Specifically, however, we notice that the individual leaves at Worcester are composed of four lobes while those on the font have only three. A closer comparison for the font foliage is in the east spandrel of the east bay wall arcade of the Lady Chapel south aisle at Worcester Cathedral, 1224-32.[8] In both works we notice that the two smaller side lobes have raised main veins while the larger, more elongated central lobe has the vein cutting into it and forming a hollow. At Worcester the blind arches have trefoil heads while on the font they are cinquefoil. This detail is of great importance in dating the font, for it is not found in the West Country until *c.*1240-65 in manuscripts associated with the Sarum Illuminator.[9] Specific reference may be made to the arch framing the Virgin and Child on folio 4a of the Amesbury Psalter, (Oxford, All Souls College, MS lat. 6). Like the figures on the Hope-under-Dinmore font the Amesbury Psalter Virgin and Child are derived from the late 12th and 13th-century school of sculpture in the west of England.[10] A kinship between the figure style in the manuscript and on the font is therefore to be expected. In the absence of a Virgin and Child group on the font it is more convenient to turn to the Christ in Majesty in the psalter for comparative purposes (PL. V). Here we notice that He holds a section of drapery away from His body in His left hand in just the same way as St. John the Baptist on the font (PLS. III & V). Also there is a very precise similarity between the folds over the legs of Christ in the miniature and the Christ on the font (PLS. IV & V). It is clear that this last pattern derives from the Glastonbury Herod but an important difference from the 12th-century figure is the way in which the folds from around the right shin are pulled up over the left thigh in taut, shallow folds rather than falling between the limbs in deeply-carved, loose troughs. It is this sort of detail along with the cinquefoil arch heads that suggests a date for the font contemporary with the manuscript around 1250. Happily this date may be substantiated by

comparing Christ and St. Paul on the font with the Christ on the tympanum of the Chapter House door of Lichfield Cathedral, *c.*1240-50, (PLS. IV & VI).[11] The formal drapery motifs are obviously the same and, further, may be directly compared with the Llandaff angel. It is just this parallel that is so telling for in spite of the use of the same drapery conventions the Lichfield sculpture appears dry and angular beside the soft, fluid Llandaff angel. While the easy flow of the Llandaff angel's garments looks back to the Glastonbury Herod, 1184-89, those of the Lichfield Christ share an uncomfortable rigidity with the Hope-under-Dinmore figures.

In conclusion it must be said that while the Hope-under-Dinmore font does not rank as one of the highest quality products of the West Country School of Sculpture it is of great importance in demonstrating the close inter-relationship between sculpture and painting in the area in the early Gothic period. Furthermore, in tracing the figure style of the font to its ultimate origin in the Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents on the Glastonbury Lady Chapel north door the importance of late 12th-century classicism for British sculpture of the first half of the 13th-century is manifest.

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2 *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Second revised edition, (ed.) F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, (1977), 1080; G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (1961), 140, 165.

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4 The Glastonbury Herod is illustrated in *Country Life* (June 3, 1976), 1508, fig. 1. After the fire on St. Urban's Day (25 May) 1184 which consumed the whole monastery of Glastonbury, except a bell tower and chamber in which the monks took refuge, the Lady Chapel was rebuilt by Ralph Fitzstephen who held the abbey on behalf of the king. He completed the structure 'omitting no possible ornament' before the end of his custodianship, with the death of Henry II, in 1189 (Adam de Domerham, *Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne (1727), 335; J. A. Robinson, 'On the rebuilding of Glastonbury after the fire of 1184', *Archaeol. J.*, 85 (1928), 18-22). The sculpture of the Glastonbury Lady Chapel doors has frequently been dated later than the building. (F. Saxl, *English Sculptures of the Twelfth Century* (1954), 75, n. 64, regarded *c.*1185 as 'a little too early for the carvings in the voussoirs'. T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100-1216* (1953), 220-I, says that 'it is hard not to think that this sculpture is later work'. L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (1955), 106, gives a date in the third decade of the 13th century. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, South and West Somerset* (1958), 173-4, states that the sculpture is 'hardly possible before 1230'. G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140-1210* (1953), 50, 63, pls. 129-30, offers a circa 1210 date). Careful internal examination of all the sculptural decoration of the Lady Chapel completed for my B.A. report, university of East Anglia, 1971, demonstrated the sculpture to be contemporary with the architecture. This conclusion was accepted by Zarnecki, ('The West Doorway of the Temple Church in London', *Beitrage zur Kunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60. Geburtstag* (1975), 250), and was further reinforced with external parallels in my PhD thesis, (see note I).

5 The Llandaff angel is illustrated in *Country Life* (June 3, 1976), 1508, fig. 2. It is not dated by any precise documentary evidence. Circa 1200 is given on the basis of comparison of the draperies with the figures on the left capital of the west door of the cathedral. It seems likely that the early Gothic building programme which progressed west to east was commenced soon after Bishop Henry of Abergavenny took office in 1193 thus putting the west door capitals to the last years of the 12th century. (On Henry of Abergavenny see, W. de Gray Birch, *Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (1912), 278-80). This date agrees happily with the occurence of a similar historiated style of capital sculpture at Wells Cathedral, *c.*1185-1205. For the early Gothic phases of Llandaff see, E. W. Lovegrove, 'The Cathedral Church of Llandaff', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, N.S. 35 (1929), 75-101. A full bibliography is given in F. J. North, *The Stones of Llandaff Cathedral* (1957), 118-9.

6 For example the Virgin and Child on the tympanum of the west central door of Wells Cathedral, *c.*1215-20, (E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (1912), fig. 314; the effigy of King John in the choir of Worcester Cathedral, completed by 1232, (L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (1955), pl. 87. For the 1232 date see below note 7); the Christ in Majesty at the apex of the outer order of the north transept door of Lichfield Cathedral, *c.* 1230-40; and the Christ in Majesty on the tympanum of the Chapter House door of Lichfield Cathedral, *c.*1240-50, (see PL. VI).

7 Work on the east arm of Worcester Cathedral, the Lady Chapel, east transept and choir, commenced in 1224, (*Annales Monastici*, iv, Rolls Series, 415), and would have been completed for the burial of King John in his new tomb in 1232, (*Annales Monastici*, i, Rolls Series, 84). For the east end of Worcester see: R. Willis, 'The Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral', *Archaeol. J.*, 20 (1863), 99-108; B. Singleton, 'The Remodelling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the earlier part of the C13th', *Trans. Brit. Archaeol. Ass. Conference*, 1975 (1978), 105-15.

8 See note 7.

9 For the Sarum Illuminator see A. Hollaender, 'The Sarum Illuminator and His School', *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Natur. Hist. Mag.*, L (1942-4), 230-62; G. Henderson, 'Studies in English Manuscript Illumination', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 112-4, for the attribution of the Paris Apocalypse (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 403) to this school.

10 The sail-like mantle of the Virgin and the pose of the Child's legs look back to the Virgin and Child on order 4 of the Glastonbury Lady Chapel north door, 1184-89, and may also be paralleled with the Virgin and Child on the tympanum of the west central door of Wells Cathedral, (see note 6); the Virgin and Child next the gatehouse of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol, *c.*1220-30; the Virgin and Child on the east boss of the Worcester Lady Chapel high vault, pre 1232, (see C. J. P. Cave, 'The Roof Bosses in Worcester Cathedral', *Trans. Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, N.S. II (1934), 75-86. Cave's doubts about the originality of the Lady Chapel and east transept bosses are totally unfounded as they are described and illustrated before the restoration in C. Wild, *An Illustration of the Architecture and Sculpture of the Cathedral Church of Worcester* (1823), II, pl. VII, figs. 7 & 8); and the ivory Virgin and Child in the Hamburg Museum für Kunst and Gewerbe, (K. Hoffmann, (ed.), *The Year 1200*, I, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1970), no. 55). The drapery looping between the legs of the Virgin is like that of the Virgin in the Coronation on the west front of Wells Cathedral, (L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (1955), pl. 82). The figure proportions, suckling Child, and the inclination of the Virgin's head are close to the Virgin and Child on the outer order of the north transept door of Lichfield Cathedral, *c.*1230-40. The stiff-leaf frieze of the throne is paralleled on the Wells and Hamburg ivory groups, and the latter also shares with the miniature the lion and basilisk trodden under foot and exactly the same pattern on the cushion of the throne.

11 The date of the Lady Chapel is not documented. R. Willis, 'On Foundations of Early Buildings Recently Discovered in Lichfield Cathedral', *Archaeol. J.*, XVIII (1861), II, notes that the Chapter House with vestibule 'belong to the same work as the north transept' for which he gives a *c.*1240 date on the plan opposite p.22. E. S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (1900), 319, follows Willis in giving *c.*1240. Comparison of the figure and foliage in the Chapter House with the north transept door suggests that the Chapter House is slightly later than the transept. The north transept was finished by 1241 when Bishop Patteshull was buried before the altar of St. Stephen which is in the east aisle of that transept, (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), 439). The Chapter House may therefore be put to *c.*1240-50.

Mobility of Parochial Clergy in Hereford Diocese c. 1400

By P. E. H. HAIR

THE extant record of the episcopal visitation of Hereford diocese in April-July 1397 covers ten out of the fourteen contemporary deaneries.[1] Probably the eastern Shropshire deaneries (Burford, Stottesdon, Wenlock) were visited and the record lost: the remaining deanery (Hereford) was exempt. In the ten deaneries, almost all the parishes reported: a handful were exempt, and a few more are not specifically indicated in the record, either because they failed to report or because of clerical recording errors and lacunae in the slightly damaged manuscript. A large number of sub-parochial units also reported. Almost all the few free chapels reported, these being mostly castle chapels. More inconsistently and confusingly, many dependent chapels also reported. There were over one hundred of these in the ten deaneries, but the majority were very properly included in the report of the mother parish. However a substantial minority, for no stated and no obvious reason, were allowed to report separately. Hence, the number of ecclesiastical units reporting in 1397 was 264, of which 207 were parishes (or other units with beneficed clergy, e.g. free chapels), and 57 were dependent chapelries.[2]

As part of a study of the 1397 visitation I have listed, largely from the bishops' registers,[3] partly from the visitation return, and occasionally from other sources,[4] the names of the clergy who at this date held the beneficed posts in each of the parishes of the ten deaneries. I have added the names of a small proportion of the lower clergy serving in the deaneries at this date, mainly those names recorded in the visitation return in reports from parishes or from such chapelries as reported separately, together with a few which chance to be mentioned and related to specific posts in the registers. Since my list includes a handful of parishes missing from the visitation return, the number of parochial and other beneficed units rises to 212; and I list 66 chapelries.[5] Because some parishes had 'portioners', that is, two or more rectors, the number of benefices is 217. For almost all of these (201 out of 217), I have the name of a clergyman who was certainly or almost certainly occupying the benefice in 1397; and for some parishes I have also the names of some of the unbeneficed chaplains, or 'curates', who assisted the beneficee. But for most of the listed chapelries (50 out of 66) I have drawn a blank. There is nothing in the records to indicate the names of the chaplains who in 1397 were specifically serving in these units.[6] For the moment therefore I concentrate on the list of names of beneficed clergy.

In this paper I direct attention to the period of years the clergy held one specific post. In the case of the lower clergy, tenure of a post meant the same thing as serving in a specific parish or chapelry. But in the case of the beneficed clergy, not all actually served the parish or free chapel whose benefice they held, for some rectors were non-resident. However, there can be little doubt that the vast majority of the beneficed clergy did in fact live and serve in the parish of their benefice. Hence, to avoid the cumbrous term 'tenure of post' (indicating tenure of benefice and/or service in a parish or chapelry) I shall use the less exact term 'service' to cover both beneficed and unbeneficed clergy, and will suggest towards the end of the paper the qualifications that have to be made with respect to those exceptional clergy who held posts but did not serve them personally.

For beneficed clergy the normal source of information regarding periods of service is the bishops' registers. Theoretically all changes of personnel in benefices were recorded in the registers. To trace the service of clergy who held a post in 1397, I have examined the printed editions of the registers of bishops Trillek to Spofford, covering the period 1344 to 1448. In practice, the record of service of a large proportion of the beneficed clergy cannot be traced in full from the registers;[7] and for many clergy the particulars of when they were instituted to the post they held in 1397 and when they left it are missing. In some part this is because of technical snags (incomplete entries, loose spelling of names, clerical error, contemporary and editorial miscopying, bad indexes in the printed registers, etc.). But in large part it is because of episcopal vacancies, when the bishop's duties had to be performed temporarily by other authorities, either within the diocese or without, and when consequently the duties failed to be recorded in the bishops' registers, correctly or by lapse (see Appendix 1). Hereford diocese had nine bishops in this period of 104 years, and *sede vacante* sections are to be found in the registers in only two out of the eight vacancies. Even these two sections seem incomplete. Judging by the sequence of dates, the institution lists are more complete than the lists of exchanges or ordinations: nevertheless, I calculate that the former contain chronological gaps during vacancies totalling 68 months or five per cent of the whole period. In the most relevant period, 1370 to 1420, the gaps total fifty-two months or nearly ten per cent.[8] Because of these vacancy gaps, because of the snags, and perhaps because of other reasons, it is frequently impossible to trace either when an individual clergyman was appointed to a parish or when he resigned his cure (or died).

It is true that sometimes these dates can be estimated with fair certainty from other evidence, from known dates on which the individual left an earlier or took up a later post, or between which another individual held the benefice in question. But there is always an element of doubt in this procedure (e.g. doubt whether the earlier appointment was the immediately preceding one); and it is therefore

essential to distinguish between certain and highly probable 1397 incumbencies. The certain are those in which the registers provide the two dates, and therefore the length of service in the parish. Out of 217 beneficed posts, I have the certain particulars of 86, or forty per cent. That is, I know the name of the incumbent in 1397 and the period of his service in the parish, normally running both before and after that date. For instance, John Bourghulle became vicar of Lugwardine in 1372 and resigned in 1406. I now propose to analyse the periods of parish service of these eighty-six clergy. Though they represent only two-fifths of the beneficed clergy in the ten deaneries, their experience in this respect is most probably a fair reflection of that of the whole group, since the main reasons for exclusion from the sample (technical snags and episcopal vacancies) would seem to have no bearing on the issue.

The period of tenure in their 1397 parish of the 86 beneficed clergy was as follows:

1 - 2 years	9	(10%)
3 - 5 years	5	(5%)
6 - 9 years	16	(19%)
10 - 19 years	17	(20%)
20 - 29 years	14	(16%)
30 years and over	25	(29%)
	86	(100%)

Thus, over half served in one parish ten or more years, and over one-quarter served thirty or more years. The number who exercised spiritual care forty or more years was eight, and this included four who served fifty and more years. The record was fifty-two years held by Hugh Hawkeley or Hakeley, rector of Tedstone Delamere from 1366 to his death in 1418 (his will called for burial in the church); with runners-up Master Roger Hore, rector of Stoke Edith from 1367 to his death in 1418, and John Passy, vicar of Staunton-on-Arrow from 1362 to his death in 1413. (But if the 'Nicholas de Dorleye' who became one of the portioners of Westbury, Salop, in 1370, was the same as 'Nicholas Burley' who died in the post in 1430, the record would be extended). It is worth noting that Stoke Edith was one of the richer benefices of the diocese (as befitted Master Hore, a senior administrator who also held a cathedral post) whereas Tedstone Delamere was one of the poorer, its rector little better off than the average vicar.[9]

A further seventeen beneficed clergy can be traced through part of their service in the 1397 parish. Though date of arrival or date of departure is missing from the registers, either the individual was mentioned at an intermediate date after 1397 or else he was named in the 1397 return. Hence we can be certain that these clergy were serving in 1397 and that their period of tenure was at least so many years. Out of the seventeen, ten were recorded as serving ten or more years and they included three who had served at least thirty-three, thirty-four, and forty-six years. A further twelve beneficed clergy were almost certainly serving in specific parishes in 1397. Though date of arrival or date of departure is missing from the registers, it can be supplied with near certainty from other evidence. For instance, Richard Wolmer was appointed rector of Bosbury in 1393, and the next recorded appointment was in 1400: Wolmer's departure was not recorded but since no episcopal vacancy fell between 1393 and 1400, it is very unlikely that there was an unrecorded intermediate appointment and highly likely that Wolmer resigned or died in 1400. Out of these twelve clergy, six served ten or more years and one served nineteen years.

All told, 115 out of 217 beneficed clergy in the ten deaneries, just over half, have been traced with respect to their period of tenure in their 1397 parish. Since the experience of the two smaller groups agrees with that of the first and most certain group, let us consider the total experience. Out of the traced clergy, seventy-one or 62% served ten or more years, forty-three or 37% served twenty or more years, and twenty-eight or 24% served thirty or more years. It would seem that among the beneficed clergy of Hereford diocese at the end of the 14th century long service in one parish was common, and very long service not uncommon. This feature of beneficed tenure applied equally to rectors and to vicars. The traced clergy consisted of sixty-nine rectors and forty-six vicars: 61% of the former and 67% of the latter served ten or more years, 23% of the former and 24% of the latter served thirty or more years.[10]

The date of termination of service in the 1397 parish is known for 113 clergy. The registers record that the service of twenty-six terminated with their death; and that a handful of others were awarded a pension, that is, they retired. (The true number in each case may have been much higher). Those with very long service in one parish naturally tended to conclude their career there. But a few who had served twenty or more years moved on to other parishes, though normally for only a short period before death or retirement removed them from the registers. However Walter ap Ithel, after thirty-two years as the poorly-paid vicar of Bridge Sollers, soldiered on for a further twenty years as rector of neighbouring Bishopstone, a handsomely endowed benefice, retiring thereafter with a well-earned pension. Movement from the 1397 parish to a later parish or later parishes can be traced for thirty-six of the clergy. Of these, twenty moved to another dio-

cese and so are lost to the Hereford registers. The remainder can be traced to other Hereford parishes before they too disappear from the registers. But nearly fifty of the parochial clergy of 1397 do not reappear in the Hereford registers after they leave their 1397 parish. Presumably some of these also moved to another diocese while others simply retired. It seems likely that their 1397 parish was the last parish for between one-third and one-half of the sample of clergy. This, taken together with the long tenure, implies that in general the clergy did not change benefices frequently.

Turning from the end of a clerical career to its beginning, it is possible to trace the ordination in Hereford diocese of some fifty-one out of the 115 clergy.[11] It is frequently impossible to trace an individual through all the orders (or even the three major orders), and this must be partly due to the patent confusion in some of the ordination lists and to the vacancy gaps.[12] Hence it is possible that a few more individuals were ordained in the diocese but missed the registers. At this point it is relevant to look at the experience of another group of clergy. Apart from the 115 who certainly or almost certainly served in specific parishes in 1397, there are a further eighty clergy who are known to have served in other parishes of the deaneries for periods of uncertain length approaching 1397. Though it cannot be proved that they actually served in the parish in question in 1397, and though it is improbable that perhaps more than half did, each represents the nearest incumbency to 1397 recorded in the registers. For instance, John Gohz or Gohr or Gour became rector of Turnastone in 1372, and the next entry in the registers relating to this parish records that John Smyth became rector in 1415; whether Gohz was rector in 1397 is uncertain—there may have been an unrecorded institution during the vacancies of 1375-7 and 1388-9—but his is the nearest previous incumbency to 1397 known. Let us call these the near-1397 clergy. Out of the eighty near-1397 clergy, the ordination in the diocese of forty-eight can be traced, and again the true number was perhaps a little higher. Thus, out of a total of 195 clergy (of 1397 or near-1397) at least ninety-nine were ordained in the diocese. We can be reasonably certain that a majority of the beneficed clergy of 1397 were Hereford diocese ordinands.

The provenance of the ordinands can sometimes be traced. A few came from other dioceses, bearing letters dimissory. But it is likely that the vast majority were natives of the diocese. Many bore names derived from places in the diocese: though this probably confirms regional provenance, by this date it would be unsafe to assume that Richard de Lodlowe came from Ludlow or Hugh Pontesbury from Pontesbury. But the registers occasionally add toponymics, and David Fissher de Leintwardine was rector of Wentnor and John Brasur de Blakemere rector of Pencombe, each about fifteen miles from home. Titles offered at ordination regularly confirm diocesan origin and sometimes closer local origin: William Smith

of Pembridge had title from the vicar of neighbouring Eardisland, Walter Millinchope's title was land in neighbouring Diddlebury. Finally, some clergy with place-names as their surname are found in the immediate neighbourhood, John Bourghulle as vicar of Lugwardine, Robert Cowern as vicar of Bromyard, Walter Stagebache as vicar of Birley, William de Stow as vicar of Stowe, and so on: this cannot always be coincidence. All in all, though I cannot offer statistical proof, it would seem that a fair proportion of the clergy were local men, natives of the immediate vicinity of their 1397 location.

Normally the major orders were given in quick succession, often over a period of only two years, hence we can establish a date when priest's orders were finally given even when the registers supply only the dates of lower orders. For sixty-six of the 195 clergy the period between ordination and first recorded benefice can be calculated: and for thirty-seven, or more than half, the period was one of ten years or over, with a few having to wait for more than twenty years. However, these figures are slightly suspect, since the first recorded benefice may not have been the actual first benefice (which may, for instance, have been in another diocese). A more exact test covers thirty-eight of the clergy: these were described as *capellanus* at institution to their first recorded benefice and this was therefore almost certainly the actual first benefice. Of these thirty-eight, twenty-three or again more than half had had to wait for ten or more years, and two had waited for more than twenty years. Thus it is clear that many clergy only received a benefice long years after ordination.[13] It may be presumed that during this period of waiting they served as chaplains, either parochially or for local gentry, or as stipendiary priests.

However a small proportion of clergy, most of them rectors, received benefices at the earliest possible moment—if rectors, sometimes before they were priested, and when they were little more than youths. For instance, Hugh Hawkeley became rector of Tedstone Delamere in 1366 when only in acolyte's orders: in the two following years he received a licence to study, and being away did not take priest's orders until 1372. He made up for this halting pastoral start by sticking to the benefice and dying in it after fifty-two years, when he was perhaps still under the age of seventy. Edwin Hopton served at least forty-eight years as rector of Bitterley before his death, and had previously been rector of Stockton-on-Teme for seven years; but since he had received the first benefice when only an acolyte, he may well have been only in his earlier seventies when he died. On the other hand, John Jay who served twenty-six years as rector of Credenhill up to his death had waited sixteen years after ordination for his first benefice. Again, reasons for long service must have varied with individuals: Bitterley was a very rich benefice (about £20 p.a.); Credenhill an average one (£8 according to the 1379 subsidy roll); Tedstone Delamere a poor one (£4 3s. 4d.).

The 1397 visitation return recorded the names of three chaplains at Dilwyn, each of whom subsequently received a benefice. John Snede, priested in 1392, waited only nine years to become vicar of Eardisland, three miles away; Walter Robyns, priested in 1382, waited twenty-seven years before he became vicar of Dilwyn: John Skylle or Skele, ordained deacon in 1382 (his priesting unrecorded), had served fifteen years without a benefice in 1397 and probably only achieved his first benefice, as vicar of Dilwyn, after twenty-one years, in 1403 (less than certainty arises because he was not described at this date as 'chaplain'). But this group of chaplains was exceptional in that each was eventually promoted: this may have been because Dilwyn seems to have had an element of collegiate status and therefore may have attracted superior staff and trained them better. But many if not most chaplains never received a benefice. Though they spent their whole clerical career in the diocese, they retired or died as they had begun, unbeneficed, and hence their service is normally not recorded in the registers.

The 1397 visitation received reports from fifty-seven chapelries, but as stated earlier, many other chapelries reported under their parish church. The full number of chapelries in the ten deaneries is impossible to ascertain from the registers and difficult even to estimate, since chapels were mentioned only casually, and some which are known to have existed are never mentioned. Putting together information in the registers and information in the visitation return, it would appear that in 1397 there were not less than 120 chapels (including about a score of chantries) in the ten deaneries. Normally each of these chapels was served by at least one chaplain, and many parish churches also employed one or more chaplains as direct assistants to the beneficed clergy. The number of chaplains serving in 1397 in the ten deaneries must therefore have been over 150 and may well have exceeded 200. In 1406 a subsidy roll listed 177 chaplains in the ten deaneries, and the distribution by deaneries suggests that some returns were incomplete.[14] The ten deaneries probably had almost as many chaplains as beneficed clergy.[15]

Only very occasionally do the registers name and locate a chaplain; but the visitation return names forty-two chaplains, the vast majority of whom are either stated to be serving in a named parish or chapelry or can reasonably be assumed to be serving in the parish or chapelry of the presentment which mentions them. All told, I have the names of some fifty chaplains, probably about one quarter of those serving in 1397. But further information about these men is meagre, and in many cases I can learn no more than their names. A majority can be traced backward in time to their ordination in the diocese, but few can be traced forward to a benefice.[16] The following instances represent some of the varieties of chaplain experience. John Yale, chaplain at Alberbury in 1397, was still chaplain there in 1417 (his dates of ordination have not been traced). William Crompe, ordained

subdeacon in 1380, was mentioned in the Leominster presentment of June 1397 and had presumably been one of the many chaplains in Leominster; but two months earlier he had been instituted to the chantry at Yarpole, three miles north. William Calwe, chaplain at Aylton from 1368, was perpetual chaplain at St. Anne chantry in Ledbury from 1384 to his death in 1409. This was a superior post in an important town church (in 1536 it was assessed at £5 15s.): in 1401-2 Calwe doubled as vicar of Ledbury, and when he died he had a brass dedicated to his memory (still to be seen in the church). William Hopton served two years at the chantry in King's Pyon immediately after ordination, and then succeeded to the vicarage. John Smythe, chaplain at Goodrich in 1397, and perhaps the John Smythe of Castle Goodrich ordained deacon in 1371, was probably the John Smythe who became vicar of nearby Welsh Newton (1399-?1406). John ap Adam, chaplain at Llanwarne in 1397, ten years after his ordination, rose to become the poorly-paid vicar of Llanrothal (under £4) before 1408 and the probably little better-paid rector of Birch St. Thomas (also under £4) in 1413. Reginald Penymawe, stipendiary chantry chaplain at Mansell Gamage (off the Hereford-Hay road) in 1397, was said to be regularly absent, but had good reason, since two south Shropshire parishes reported independently that 'Reginald kept in those parts a certain Jane (who bore his name), and had done for 20 years': perhaps this indicated the length of time he had been a chaplain. However he survived the reports, rising to be vicar of Lydbury North (1401-9) (£4 13s. 4d.), rector of Cleobury North (1409-10) (£8 13s. 4d.), and rector of Lydham (1410-20) (£4 6s. 8d.), all conveniently situated in south Shropshire. Perhaps these stray instances indicate one feature of chaplain experience, that promotion often came in the parish where the chaplain served, or in a parish of the near vicinity. But for many chaplains promotion never came, and so their clerical careers passed unrecorded. It is certain therefore that many chaplains served long years, but it is unfortunately impossible to find out whether they moved rapidly from job to job, or stayed for long periods in one parish.[17]

Now we return to the beneficed clergy (of 1397 and near-1397). About thirty of the 195 in my sample had served previously in other dioceses, and about the same number moved subsequently to other dioceses: these are the numbers that can be traced in the registers and the true numbers must be rather higher. Movement was largely to and from the neighbouring dioceses, the Welsh ones (St. Asaph's, St. David's, Llandaff), Lichfield and Worcester; and there was some drift eastwards, that is, more clergy left Wales than went there. Whereas a substantial proportion of the 195, probably well over a half, seem to have spent the whole of their clerical career in Hereford diocese, a number of men had shifted between dioceses more than once. The lightest of foot was John Cokkes, alias Clive or Cleve, who in thirty years after ordination moved between four posts in

Hereford diocese and three intercalated posts in Worcester and Lichfield dioceses. John Gotte or Greete stayed one year in Hereford between posts in Llandaff and Lincoln: William Bulkleghe stayed two years between posts in St. Asaph's and Worcester—none of the three had been ordained in Hereford and all drifted east.

Among those clergy who stayed in the diocese and so can be traced, there were many long-servers, as we have seen. But there were also a few who moved around rapidly. John Kilfody had the five-year itch: rector of Llandinabo 1385-90 (£3 1s. 8d. in 1536), rector of Stoke Lacy 1390-95 (£7); rector of Eastnor 1395-1400 (£5 13s. 4d.); rector of Sollers Hope 1400-?1402 (under £4)—he may have died before completing the last quinquennium. Richard Baker, ordained 1371, is not recorded as receiving a benefice until nineteen years later, but thereafter he held five posts in twenty-one years: rector of Hopton Wafers (1390-1, with a licence for non-residence) (£4 2s. 6d.); vicar of Presteigne (1391-?) (£10 according to the 1379 subsidy roll), vicar of Bromyard (?-1404) (£9 10s. 7½d. in 1536), rector of Hampton Bishop (1404-5) (£6 13s. 4d. in 1291 but £13 in 1536), vicar of Monkland (1405- death 1411) (£6 13s. 4d. in 1379). But the most rapid movers tended to be those who moved into or out of, or into *and* out of, the diocese: John Cokkes, mentioned above, held three Hereford posts each for three years or less. It must be added, however, that some of those who hopped in or out of Hereford diocese may have had, previously or later, posts of longer service in other dioceses. While there were a few persistent hoppers, and a few whose whole career was spent in one post, many individuals had both long and short periods of service, as one might expect. Younger men started with lowly and poorly-paid incumbencies for short periods before finding a more comfortable berth in which to spend the rest of a lifetime. Or most of the rest of a lifetime, since the elderly sometimes resigned from a post of long service in order to take up for a few years a less exacting pre-retirement post. The period of service (or periods of service) in other parishes can be discovered for about fifty-five of the sample of 195; and in this case three-quarters of the periods were under ten years. Michael Inge before his period of twenty-one years as rector of Humber (£5) had served two years as vicar of Weston Beggard (under £4) and five years as vicar of Preston-on-Wye (under £4). Geoffrey Melan was rector of Rudford (£8) for three years after serving as vicar of Much Dewchurch (£4) for sixteen years: he then went off to Llandaff diocese. John Hampton, though ordained in Hereford was serving in York diocese before becoming rector of Colwall (£10) in 1394: after six years he moved to Whitbourne (£6 in 1291 but £14 13s. 4d. in 1536) where he remained thirty-two years until his death. William Kynstone, after serving twenty-five years as rector of Sarnesfield (£4 6s. 8d.), became vicar of Bodenham (£5) for two years, and then vicar of Bromfield (under £4) for the last two years of his life. John Ingayn was ordained in Hereford but probably held a benefice in Lincoln diocese before becoming rector of Old Radnor (£26 13s. 4d.) in 1390, a rich benefice he held for twenty-two years: he then became rector of Kingsland (£20) for only three years. This pattern of service, with individuals during a lifetime mixing long and short service, is interesting only in the sense that it is commonplace and what might be expected.

While it is clear that many beneficed clergy stayed long periods of years in one post, it is unfortunately less clear what this meant from the point of view of pastoral care of the parish. In view of the shorter life-expectancy of medieval times, it is likely that many clergy over the age of sixty were in rapid physical and mental decline, if not actually senile. We know that a chaplain was sometimes called in to assist. For instance, Robert Cowern had served thirty-three years as vicar of Bromyard, and was in his forty-fourth year since ordination, when a coadjutor had to be appointed because of his physical incapacity. Again, Richard de Kyneford or Kyneward had served thirty-six years as vicar of Ocle Pychard when a coadjutor was appointed on account of his paralysis. Thus very long tenure did not necessarily mean very long pastoral care. There is also the difficult question of non-residence.[18] In 1366, a return of pluralities in the diocese did not include more than a handful of parishes in the ten deaneries (canonries and prebendries of the cathedral being the most common plural benefices). In 1385 Bishop Gilbert issued an admonition to rectors who had absented themselves from their cure: only five were named, only three of them in parishes of the ten deaneries.[19] Finally, if in investigating the extent of absenteeism, 'for all their hazards, visitation records are the only statistical guide we have',[20] then weight must be given to the fact that the 1397 visitation return contains few complaints about absentee incumbents: four parishes complained about the non-residence of their rector, one adding that it was not known where he lived; six parishes complained about frequent or long absences of vicars or chantry priests, one vicar being in Rome. The tiny amount of non-residence recorded compares amazingly with the position in Lincoln diocese a century later when one quarter of the incumbents were said to be non-resident.[21] It may well be that the true amount in Hereford was very much more than that recorded: nevertheless, what was assumed earlier in this paper will be difficult to challenge, that the vast majority of clergy instituted took up residence in their parish.

As scholars have recently insisted, non-residence is partly a matter of definition. I consider that total non-residence was uncommon in Hereford diocese *c.* 1400, but pastoral care must also be assessed in relation to spasmodic residence. Thus, in 1397 the parishioners of Coddington complained that it was difficult to get babies baptised because the rector was often out of the parish. It is likely that more incumbents were spasmodically resident than were totally non-resident. For both reasons, it cannot be assumed that long-serving clergy were model pastors. Reginald Monyworthe who was rector of Munsley (£4 6s. 8d.) for thirty-three years was reported in 1385, and again in 1397, apparently for total non-residence. Master William Levyot was rector of Kinnersley (£15 6s. 8d. in 1379)

for thirty-nine years (and is portrayed on a brass in the church), but during the 1390s and 1400s he served the diocese as commissary-general, so can seldom have been literally resident in those decades.

However, as scholars have also recently stressed, it must be questioned whether there is any direct connection between residence or non-residence, and pastoral care.[22] The cure of souls in many parishes was either shared in practice between the incumbent and his curate, a chaplain, or was undertaken solely by the curate during such times as the incumbent was absent, or in decline, or simply inactive. It follows that a study of the period of tenure of beneficed clergy may tell us little about the pastoral care of the parishes. What we need to know is the total clerical staffing of each parish, and this we cannot find out. It is arguable that continuity of pastoral care in many parishes depended less on the stability of the beneficed clergy and more on the stability of the unbeneficed. We know that some chaplains were mature men, and that some stayed long periods in posts; and it may be that non-residence or spasmodic residence of incumbents, their long service or their rapid movement, mattered little where such chaplains served. It is striking that the 1397 presentments which complain about absentee clergy do so in terms which suggest that it was less the absence which was deplored than the failure to provide an adequate locum.

The point may be illustrated by an extreme case of clerical hopping. My analysis, being based on a synchronic cross-section, does not lend itself to investigating how many clergy served in a parish over a period of time, on average. But one instance of very rapid turn-over has come to my attention. The vicarage of Tidenham (£6 13s. 4d.) belonged to an alien priory and was therefore in the hands of the Crown. In the early 1390s some corrupt Crown officer in London allowed it to be used by a clerical employment agency as a shunting point for clergy on the move. Between 1390 and 1394 it had nine incumbents, collected from St. Asaph's, Worcester, Lincoln, York, Canterbury and Chichester dioceses. This was 'choppechurche' with a vengeance. ('Accursed consorts in guilt of Gehazi and Simon Magnus' those concerned were called by Archbishop Courtenay, himself a former bishop of Hereford, when he denounced 'choppechurches' in the middle year of the Tidenham operation, 1392).[23] Presumably none of these incumbents ever saw Tidenham. Yet, disgraceful though this was, it may not have affected the parish. In 1397 the parishioners found plenty to complain about to the visitation, including the conduct of a deceased chaplain, but said nothing about the odd things that had happened recently to the vicarage. Were they uninformed or just unconcerned?

Finally, the monetary value of benefices to some extent influenced the strategy of individuals, naturally. The few instances cited above confirm what one would have expected, that clergy sometimes moved to improve their lot financially. In

the case of the younger men who were supporting a faithful hearthmate (*focaria*) and raising a locally respected family, there were the normal secular motives for advancement: and those clergy who remained on the lowest remunerations, especially some chaplains, must have found it hard to be other than celibate. But the hierarchy of benefices also provided opportunities for developing management capacities—with the gain of both power and responsibility—in the organisation and control of lesser parochial colleagues. The normal urge to move upwards with seniority may be predicated, but otherwise we cannot determine precisely why individuals moved.[24] Even the money-values given in the text cannot be taken as precise measures, for they represent the institutional value of a benefice and not the 'take-home pay' of the beneficee, and they ignore the value of associated 'perks'. Apart from straightforward economic motivation, other factors must have contributed to and sometimes predominated in the decision to move on, factors such as the personalities of clerical superiors, peers and juniors, of the local squire or his representative, of the leading parishioners: the condition of the manse or other lodging: the appropinquity of blood-relatives, or their decent distance: the cooking of a housekeeper or the burden of an outworn *focaria*.[25] It is equally plausible that many clergy found a dimension of motivation in their religious and moral ideals. Service to the church, its Lord and His people, however fallibly interpreted, is the postulated factor in mobility perhaps most unassessable by the reductionist analysis of a social historian.

To sum up. In Hereford diocese *c.* 1400, among the beneficed parochial clergy a long period of tenure in one parish was common, and a very long period not uncommon. The majority of beneficed clergy were Hereford ordinands, and a fair proportion took incumbencies in the vicinity of their place of origin. Many only received a benefice long years after ordination, and during this period they served as chaplains. But many chaplains never received benefices. Though the number of unbeneficed clergy was large, information about them is scanty. Hence, though we can gain a moderately clear picture of the pattern of parochial service of the beneficed clergy, it is not possible to study in detail their unbeneficed service, or the service of their unbeneficed colleagues. It follows that it is impossible to draw direct conclusions about pastoral care. These points may be expressed in a more general conclusion. The historian's task is to investigate all extant records and to make of them what he can. But it is equally his task to note the gaps that appear in the records, and to define the consequent limits to knowledge of the past. In this case, the defects and inherent limitations of the episcopal registers allow only an incomplete study of the occupational structure and mobility of the parish clergy, and they inhibit any firm conclusions about the relationship of periods of beneficed tenure to the effectiveness of the operation of pastoral care in the parish.

Appendix: Sede vacante records of Hereford diocese.

The administration of the *spiritualia* of vacant sees reverted to the archbishop, who appointed administrators, sometimes in accord with a long-standing treaty (as at Worcester) but at Hereford at will. For Hereford vacancies 1350-1420, only some commissions of appointment appear in the Canterbury register, and if the administrator, who normally took charge of institutions and exchanges, and sometimes licenced a suffragan bishop for ordinations, sent a record of his activities back, it regularly failed to appear in the Canterbury register. Whereas neighbouring Worcester kept a separate *sede vacante* register (though even this covers only fourteen out of nineteen vacancies in the period 1301-1435) in which institutions and some ordinations were recorded, the extant *sede vacante* records of Hereford are exiguous and among the poorest for any English diocese. During the 1416 vacancy an attempt was made to persuade the administrator that *sede vacante* records should be retained in the diocese, and this may indicate that Hereford had once possessed a procedure similar to that at Worcester for local enrollment; but if it did, the procedure did not produce a systematic record which has survived. Material sent to Canterbury seems to have been largely lost. The archiepiscopal records are said to contain no Hereford *sede vacante* material for the vacancies of 1375 and 1389, the ones immediately before 1397; and the printed register of Chichele includes very little on the 1416-7 vacancy. For none of these vacancies is there material in the Hereford registers. They do contain material on the 1369-70 and 1404 vacancies, including institutions in both instances and exchanges in one; yet ordinations appear in neither. Thus in general *sede vacante* institutions, exchanges and ordinations, falling between the two stools of the registrars of Hereford and Canterbury, are lost to the historian. Worse still, the Hereford registers contain gaps which are wider than the actual period of vacancy. Most strikingly, Gilbert's register does not begin to record institutions and exchanges until nearly two years after his accession to the see in 1375, and it seems likely that the extant register is not complete. Regrettably the editors of the printed Hereford registers failed to draw attention to these gaps and their significance. It must be said that, because of these unexplained though not inexplicable gaps, the tracing of clerical careers through the Hereford registers is less rewarding than would be the case if the same exercise were performed in the contemporary registers of another diocese with better-preserved *sede vacante* records. For the position of Hereford in relation to Canterbury, see I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury administration* (1933), vol. I, 160, 220, 231; and for *sede vacante* at Worcester, see R. M. Haines, *The administration of Worcester diocese in the first half of the fourteenth century* (1965), 268-316, and J. W. Willis-Bund, *The register of the diocese of Worcester during the vacancy of the see . . . 1301-1435*, Worcestershire Historical Society (1893-1897), ix, xlv. See also D. M. Smith, *Guide to bishops' registers of England and Wales*, Royal Historical Society (1981), 95-9.

REFERENCES

1 The visitation record was discovered in Hereford Cathedral archives around 1905. It was the subject of an undated scholarly booklet ('Visitation presentment in 1397', one of a series of booklets sold in the cathedral, a copy in Hereford Public Library) written by W. W. Capes (died 1914); and the material most probably first appeared in the *Hereford Diocesan Messenger* (other booklets in the series appeared as articles in issues between 1907 and 1912, but the Public Library lacks the issues for 1905-6). In 1929-30 the text was published by A. T. Bannister (*Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 44, 279-89, 445-53; 45, 92-101, 444-62). In the introduction, as in an earlier article ('Parish life in the fourteenth century', *The nineteenth century*, (1927), 394-404), Bannister gave the misleading impression that the record had just been discovered. I am indebted to the cathedral archivist, Miss Penelope E. Morgan, for allowing me in 1972 to consult the manuscript and have it photocopied. Examination showed that, though Bannister failed to state this, he did not publish the complete text. While supplying a generally accurate reading of the rest of the manuscript, he omitted a large number of judgements (*comperta*, appearing irregularly and more difficult to read and decode than the *detecta*). A revised edition of the text is in preparation, based on a transcript by Christopher and Margaret Whittick; and I am also indebted to Dr. Paul Hosker for guidance in the analysis of the full text and in the compilation of this present paper. From a study of the manuscript the names of two more of the parishes visited and of a few more clergy have been recovered, but with these slight exceptions the visitation material cited in this paper is available in Bannister's text.

2 Very curiously, a few non-ecclesiastical units were also allowed to report: 5 *villatae*, vills or townships (two near Leominster jointly, one near Wigmore, two near Clun).

3 All the pre-1535 episcopal registers of Hereford diocese have been published. The registers of bishops Trillek to Spofford (1344-1448) appeared in the Cantilupe Society series between 1910 and 1917, edited by J. H. Parry, W. W. Capes and A. T. Bannister; and were reissued by the Canterbury and York Society between 1912 and 1919. The editors were inconsistent in their dating practice. In five registers the dates in the institutions, exchanges and ordination lists are silently adjusted to N.S., and I have therefore similarly adjusted dates in the remaining registers (Charlton, Gilbert, Mascall, Lacy). All the volumes have indexes which are moderately reliable, but the indexes for the Lacy, Polton and Spofford registers do not cover ordinations. A cumulative index for the registers 1275-1535 (by E. N. Drew, Hereford, 1925) lists parishes but not individuals and is unreliable. Incumbencies cited below can be checked in the registers through their dates and via the indexes. The original registers are in the possession of the Diocesan Registrar, who in 1975 kindly allowed me to inspect the Gilbert and Trefnant registers. Cursory examination of the Gilbert ordination lists confirmed defects in the editing (e.g. failure to correct misordered folios) and enabled me to make more sense of some of the entries. The task of checking all entries in the six volumes of printed registers used in this paper was beyond my resources but is commended to scholars making further studies of the medieval diocese.

4 The relevant *Calendars of Patent Rolls* and *Calendars of Papal Registers*, providing information on royal and papal presentations, disappointingly add only very marginally to information in the episcopal registers (partly because a proportion of the presentations appear to have been later withdrawn, or to have been otherwise ineffective). The three extant clerical subsidy rolls for this period (in the Public Record Office, under E179/30) are even more disappointing. Roll 21 (1406) covers the whole diocese and provides lists of some beneficed and most unbeneficed clergy, but supplies personal names only for the latter, though their chapelry, etc., is also named. Roll 7 (1379) covers only Weobley and Leominster deaneries, and supplies names in the main only for chaplains—and these in the main are only forenames, gathered into deanery lists in which their chapelries, etc., are occasionally named. Roll 10B (1380/1 poll tax) covers only Forest, Ross and Irchenfield deaneries, listing beneficed and unbeneficed clergy by parish or chapelry of each, but by forenames only, with a single exception. Thus the subsidy rolls, taken together, supply full names for very few beneficed clergy; and only the 1406 roll supplies full names for most unbeneficed. Moreover, in a disturbingly large proportion, forenames or full names of the benificees in the subsidy rolls do not match the names in the episcopal registers. Defects in the latter cannot be the whole explanation, and I suspect that because exact information about individuals was of little interest to the exchequer, the listing and the copying of names for and in subsidy rolls were done carelessly. The 1379(?) subsidy roll for Chester archdeaconry in Lichfield diocese which Bennett has studied (M. J. Bennett, 'The Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy 1379', *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancashire Cheshire*, 124 (1974), 1-30) lists unbeneficed clergy by name but beneficed only by benefice, hence the problem of matching roll and register did not arise.

5 The visitation return lists 57 dependent chapelries, and another nine have their chaplain or chaplains named in the registers.

6 I have dodged the issue of chantries. On my list I have the names of six clergy who served chantries: since these names come from institution lists they were perpetual chaplains, enjoying beneficed or at least semi-beneficed status. Nevertheless, since pastorally they were quite distinct from rectors and vicars, I have counted them among the unbeneficed. There were of course much larger numbers of chantries and chantry priests, but the majority of these priests were stipendiary chaplains, without a shred of a benefice, and their names do not occur in the registers. The existence of chantries to some extent blurs the distinction between parishes and chapelries, for a dependent chapelry might contain a beneficed and therefore semi-independent chantry.

7 'Everyone who has attempted to compile lists of incumbents of parish churches from episcopal registers knows how frequent the gaps in institutions become, even where the registers are quite complete, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century': A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English clergy and their organization in the later Middle Ages* (1947), 108. Hamilton Thompson tends to ascribe the gaps to unrecorded exchanges and crown presentations (for instance, Wycliffe's presentation to Lutterworth). A peculiar difficulty with the Hereford registers is that one of those most relevant to the present inquiry, that of Bishop Trefnant (1389-1404), regularly omits from its list of institutions and collations the cause of vacancy. This means that previous incumbents are not named and we also cannot learn whether an incumbent retired or died.

8 The effect of vacancy gaps is shown by the following figures. (a) In December 1366, Bishop Charlton ordained seven sub-deacons secular, and at the next three ordinations, during 1367, all but one became deacon and then priest. Moreover four of these had become acolytes during the same bishop's earlier ordinations, in 1361-5. This smooth flow of recorded ordinations is broken by only one lapse: one man's name is missing from the list of deacons in March 1366/7 though he became sub-deacon at the previous and priest at the succeeding ordination. (b) Perhaps more typically, in December 1374 Bishop Courtney ordained nine sub-deacons, of whom five became deacon and then priest at this bishop's two final ordinations; and five of the nine had become acolytes during his earlier ordinations, in 1372-4. Here there is still a flow of recorded ordinations, though it is not quite so smooth. (c) In contrast, at Bishop Courtney's penultimate ordination of March 1374/5 he ordained nineteen sub-deacons, eight of whom had become acolytes at earlier ordinations 1370-4 and eight of whom became deacons at the bishop's final ordination. But none of the eight was priested by Courtney's successor, either at his first recorded ordination in September 1377 or at subsequent ordinations up to 1389. Further, not one of the eighteen men made sub-deacon at Courtney's final ordination ever appeared on his successor's ordination lists, though one of the sub-deacons of 1374/5 did become deacon in 1377. Thus the flow of recorded ordinations was almost totally broken by the vacancy, during which Hereford ordinands must have been ordained either elsewhere or by a suffragan bishop whose record in lost.

9 According to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (TE) of 1291, the benefice of Stoke Edith and its chapel of Westhide was assessed at £14 3s. 4d. p.a., whereas Tedstone Delamere was assessed at £4 3s. 4d. and the vicarage at Staunton at 'under £4'. I have compared, for all benefices throughout the ten deaneries, the assessments of 1291 with those of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (VE) of 1536, and with fragmentary assessments given in episcopal registers and subsidy rolls at intermediate dates; and I conclude that the TE figures may normally stand in for values *c.* 1400. While it cannot be supposed that the TE figures give a fair picture of the income of individual clergy, since there were great variations in both additional income and compulsory expenses (for instance, those of supplying chaplains, particularly when there were many dependent chapelries), nevertheless they throw some light on relative incomes. The general picture *c.* 1400 was probably this. Many vicars and not a few rectors held benefices assessed at around £4 p.a; many vicars and most rectors held benefices assessed at between £5 and £10; and a handful of rectors held benefices assessed at between £10 and £25 (for by this date most benefices worth over £10 had been appropriated by the religious orders). Thus, as far as one can tell, in these deaneries *c.* 1400 there was a pyramid of poverty and wealth among the beneficed clergy, but not a very steep one, so that though few could attain the upper third, the degree of inequality between the upper and lower thirds was only that of about 4 : 1, large but not unrestrained. (The pyramid in Lichfield diocese seems to have been very much steeper, see the figures in Bennett, *op. cit.* in note 4, 22-3, 27). But if chaplains only *averaged* £4 p.a., as seems likely, then the range between poverty and wealth among all the parish clergy was somewhat wider. Figures for the value of benefices given in the text hereafter are, unless otherwise stated, from TE.

10 The comparable experience in Lincoln diocese a century later is briefly discussed by Mrs. Bowker. 'Usually a patron was lucky if he could present to a living more than once in ten years. Nearly a quarter of those presented to livings under Bishop Smith [1495/6-1513/4] were still in possession of them . . . in 1526': M. Bowker, *The secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln 1495-1520* (1968), 68. If we suppose that the Lincoln clergy were all presented at the very beginning of Smith's tenure of the see, then in 1526 nearly a quarter would have served thirty years—whereas in Hereford *c.* 1400 nearly a quarter definitely served thirty years or more. Since the supposition above is untenable, it follows that very long service was even more common in Hereford than in Lincoln. But in Hereford a patron presented to a living more than once in ten years on about one third of the occasions. The longest period of tenure Mrs. Bowker cites was one of nearly thirty years.

11 Included with the ordinations are a few cases where letters dimissory were issued, allowing the recipient to gain ordination elsewhere.

12 Of the clergy in our 1397 list who appear in the Hereford ordination lists, only between 50% and 60% can be traced to priest's orders: I have made separate calculations for those in 1397 who were rectors, vicars and chaplains, but the results are similar. Now we know that almost all these clergy were in fact priests. According to the explanation at the head of the institution lists in each of the printed registers, all candidates were priests unless otherwise stated: only a handful were specified otherwise, as 'clerks', and these lacked all orders. There is therefore no comparison with the position in the 13th century when the proportion of vicars in priest's orders was about 80% and the proportion of rectors 'often no more than twenty or 25%'. (This according to J. R. H. Moorman, *Church life in England in the thirteenth century* (1945), 48; but the calculation is based on the questionable assumption that the description *capellanus* indicated a priest—and its absence a non-priest, presumably. About one-quarter of the candidates in the institution lists in my Hereford registers are described as *capellanus*, but careful checking has shown that these were, with a few unexplained exceptions, candidates who had not previously held a benefice and had only been a chaplain or, rather confusingly, had only been the rector of a free chapel. Thus the term *capellanus* does not refer directly to priestly status, though the priesting of many thus indicated in the institution lists can be proved from the ordination lists). The absence of record of priesting for over 40% of clergy whose lower orders can be traced indicates both difficulties in tracing (caused, for instance, by variant spellings and miscopying or misreading of names) and inherent defects in the registers.

13 The comparable experience in Lincoln diocese a century later was that 'most of those who eventually received a benefice took about five years after their ordination to do so' (Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, 73, but the generalisation appears to be based on a very small sample). Thus the period of waiting seems to have been on average longer in Hereford.

14 P.R.O., E 179/30/21.

15 This is a much smaller proportion of unbeneficed than often suggested. Moorman thought that in the 13th century the number of clergy per parish averaged four or five: allowing for deacons, this would still give two or three times as many chaplains as beneficed clergy (Moorman, *op. cit.* in note 12, 53). Bennett argues that in 1379 in Lancashire and Cheshire the proportion of unbeneficed to beneficed clergy was probably 4 : 1—though it is pointed out that the very large parishes of this region, which required large numbers of chaplains, may make it untypical (Bennett, *op. cit.* in note 4, 5). Beginning with the enrolled tax figures for Hereford diocese supplied in J. S. Russell, *British medieval population* (1948), 134, and taking note of Bennett's argument, in relation to the clerical population of Chester archdeaconry in Lichfield diocese, to the effect that the best estimate is obtained by increasing the 1379 enrolled return by about one fifth, it can be estimated that the total clerical population of Hereford diocese *c.* 1400 was about 1,000. The total clerical population of the ten deaneries can then be estimated as about 600, comprising 130 religious (calculated from D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (1971)) and 470 beneficed and unbeneficed clergy. But it is pointless to detail the many assumptions and tortuous calculations involved in this estimate, since it is patent that the starting-point, Russell's figures, is an unreliable one. Until the disorganised and incomplete records of the clerical poll taxes and subsidies have been investigated more systematically at the national level, diocesan estimates of total clerical population can be little more than inspired guesswork. Thus the modest agreement between the figures given in the text (217 benefices and perhaps as many unbeneficed clergy) and the total given above (470) means little; the total throws no real light on the number of unbeneficed.

16 Out of sixty-eight curates (i.e. chaplains) at Boston in 1500 and in Leicestershire in 1517, only eleven can be traced to benefices; out of 112 ordained clergy ordained 1495/6-1513/4, only

twenty-eight received benefices by 1526 (Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, 72-3). In Chester archdeaconry 'only one in ten of the chaplains recorded in the 1379 poll tax seems to have eventually obtained a benefice' (Bennett, *op. cit.* in note 4, 16).

17 A little is known about the experience in Lincoln diocese a century later. Out of twenty-six curates at Boston in 1500, four were still there in 1526: two curates stayed at Grantham from 1500 to 1526: out of forty-two Leicestershire curates in 1517, at least nine were in the same curacy in 1526 (Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, 72). Since a proportion of these chaplains must have been middle-aged men when first counted, and some must therefore have died before the second count, the figures suggest that a fair number of chaplains stayed for long periods in a curacy.

18 The most recent detailed discussions of non-residence relate to the early 16th century: Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, chap. III, P. Heath, *The English parish clergy on the eve of the Reformation* (1969), chap. IV. See also the general but perceptive comments in R. E. Rodes, *Ecclesiastical administration in medieval England*, Notre Dame (1977), 162-3.

19 *Registrum Simonis de Langham*, Canterbury and York Society, 1956, 39-44; *Registrum Johannis Gilbert*, 80-2. Of thirty-seven Hereford diocese pluralists recorded in 1366, twenty-three held, in this diocese at least, only non-parochial benefices (as prebends, canons or rectors of free chapels). Discounting two others who only held a parochial benefice with a free chapel, there were only twelve pluralists who held parochial benefices together with another benefice or benefices in this diocese or elsewhere, and thus had some reason or good excuse for being regularly non-resident. Clearly in Hereford diocese plurality at this date impinged on cathedral and administrative posts, on free chapels and on portions, but very little on the regular parochial system.

20 Heath, *op. cit.* in note 18, 57.

21 Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, 90-1. But in Norwich diocese in 1499 and Canterbury in 1511, the proportions of incumbents reported to be absent from their livings was much lower, about one-tenth and one-seventh respectively: Heath, *op. cit.* in note 18, 56. For a comment on Hereford non-residence see Rodes, *op. cit.* in note 18, 162.

22 Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 10, 104-5; Heath, *op. cit.* in note 18, 63-7; Rodes, *op. cit.* in note 18, 162-3.

23 Hamilton Thompson, *op. cit.* in note 7, 107-8.

24 The assessment of the mentality, morality and pastoral activity of the late-medieval English parish priest I find most convincing is that in Rodes, *op. cit.* in note 18, 166-71.

25 Patronage is a dimension of analysis ignored in the text. Certainly it would be useful to know whether there was any significant difference in average period of service as between benefices under lay patronage and other benefices; and also the extent to which the direction of clergy movement was influenced by considerations of patronage. However the present inquiry does not lend itself to producing satisfactory quantitative answers to these questions; first, because (as explained above) the data is essentially synchronic and concentrates on a single occupancy of each benefice, and secondly, because the total clergy movement which can be related to patronage is limited (since many clergy moved little, some of the movement was out of the diocese, and one of the registers in print—Trefnant's—does not record the patronage for exchanges). Nevertheless the second question can be given an answer based on general impressions. A glance through the lists of exchanges and the patronages involved (to be found in all registers except Trefnant's) strongly suggests that in the period 1350-1450 very seldom did clergy exchange between two benefices of the same patron. But we should not assume that what applied to exchanges necessarily applied to other clergy movement. Among the 1397 clergy, instances of positive relationships between movement and patronage can be found. Thus, the bishop appointed John Hampton to Colwall rectory in 1394 and then to Whitbourne rectory in 1400; Gloucester Abbey appointed Geoffrey Melan to Much Dewchurch rectory in 1391 and then to Rudford rectory in 1407; and Llanthony Abbey appointed William Hert to Huntley rectory before 1470 and then to Llanwarne rectory in 1416. Three of the five benefices held by John Yonge during his career came from Wigmore Abbey, though the earliest (in the 1380s) was divided from the later (in the 1420s) by the incumbency of Stoke St. Milborough vicarage, to which he was presented by the Crown on behalf of Wenlock Priory. However, as often as not there appears to be no connection between movement and patronage: clergy moved between lay and non-lay patrons, between different lay patrons and between different monastic and ecclesiastical patrons. Of course a lay patron may have been in a position to persuade a religious establishment to offer a better benefice to a protégé occupying the lay patron's benefice (and occasionally a religious establishment may have been able to do the same in reverse); but this connection cannot be proved from the registers. Therefore, as far as our evidence goes, there is little to suggest that clergy movement was shaped by patronage.

The Purchase and Building of Stoke Edith Park, Herefordshire, 1670-1707

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

AMONG the extensive Foley archives in the Hereford Record Office there is a small book of accounts kept during the building of Stoke Edith Park which, until its tragic destruction by fire in 1927, was one of the most important country houses in Herefordshire.[1] Built in the Pratt-May tradition, it was the companion of Holme Lacy House and Shobdon Court, the only other great houses to be built in the county in the late 17th century. The building accounts are therefore of some interest for the light they shed, at a relatively early date, upon the building process and for the inferences that can be drawn about the architectural ideas of Paul and Thomas Foley who built the house.

In 1670 Thomas Foley of Great Witley, the head of the greatest ironfounding family in the west midlands, negotiated with the trustees of Sir Henry Lingen for the purchase of the Stoke Edith estate for his second son Paul.[2] At this date the Lingen estates were in considerable confusion. Sir 'Harry'—the famous Cavalier—had died suddenly of smallpox at Gloucester in 1662, leaving an heir Henry who died in 1670. He, in turn, left an infant son William who was dead by 1676.[3] According to Foley's attorney, Stoke Edith, which came to the Lingens in the mid-16th century, had been for sale for several years and like their other estates at Aymestrey, Sutton St. Michael, Lye, Cusop and Lingen was mortgaged and subject to various incumbrances.[4]

Undoubtedly, Sir Henry's financial difficulties began with the parliamentary fines imposed upon him for 'delinquency' during the Civil War: £3,960 in 1646 and a further £2,382 in 1648. Bearing in mind that Sir Henry's estates in Herefordshire were valued at a mere £937 per annum in 1646, these were considerable sums and although Parliament granted some abatement, in 1650 he was forced to sell Shelve in Shropshire to raise the £1,200 still outstanding in 1651. His estates also suffered in other ways. For example, the County Committee of Herefordshire obtained a license in 1649 to cut down timber and to prevent this proceeding, Sir Henry had to raise a further £650.[5]

Stoke Edith, in fact, seems to have escaped the worst of these misfortunes since it was still in the hands of Sir Henry's mother Blanch, the daughter of Sir Roger Bodenham of Rotherwas. Although her second husband Henry Morgan of Pentrebach, Monmouthshire had his estates sequestered, Blanch was able to keep Stoke Edith as part of the jointure settled on her by her first husband Thomas Lingen.[6]

It seems clear, however, that the money to pay Sir Henry's fines was raised by mortgaging much of his estate. Thus, the total value of the Lingen property in Herefordshire, excluding Stoke Edith, was estimated by Foley's attorney in 1670 as £9,800 but the charges upon it came to £9,921. Consequently, the future for Lady Alice, Sir Henry's widow who was living at Stoke Edith with her daughters—three of whom were significantly still unmarried—looked rather bleak. No one was more conscious of this than Lady Alice herself who had survived until 1670 by ignoring the rising flood of debts to the 'utter ruin of her daughters' interest'. The arrival of Paul Foley from Worcestershire provided an unexpected opportunity to relieve some of the burden.[7]

The purchase of the Stoke Edith estate was arranged with the executors of young Sir Henry; namely, his uncle, Thomas Lingen of Leighton Court, Much Cowarne, Lady Alice and Sir William Gregory, who according to a statement of title recorded in Paul Foley's Register Book, could 'sell all or any of the said manors, lands etc. as they shall think fitt and at such rates as they shall think convenient and shall dispose of the money raised by sales etc. towards payment of the debts mentioned in the schedule annexed to the will'.[8]

It was agreed that the purchase price of £6,100 was to be paid in two instalments; the first of £3,100 was to be paid to Lady Alice on 1 March 1671 and with this she was to discharge the mortgage on Stoke Edith. Only after this would she receive the second payment of £3,000. What happened in reality is not very clear but Lady Alice wrote to Thomas Foley on 25 March after receiving £3,100 asking for a further payment in order that she could recover Freen's Court in the parish of Sutton St. Michael as a place to live.[9] She hoped that Thomas would 'please to take the request of a poore widowe in your serious consideration' and wished his son 'all the happiness in the world and the blessing of God with it'. Behind these obsequious phrases there was an urgent will to survive. It seems that a further £2,300 was advanced to Lady Alice but as soon as she was installed at Freen's Court she refused to pay off the Stoke Edith mortgage and challenged the agreement with Foley on the grounds that she was the sole executor of her husband's will and that her son's will was irrelevant. Sir Henry's testament survives and is dated 20 January 1662, a few days before he died. It is relatively short and apart from disposing of £4,000 in bequests to his nine children, it names his eldest son Henry as his ultimate heir. Lady Alice, however, was to be responsible for his 'education and breeding up' until he reached the age of 21, she was also the only executrix and was granted for life all Sir Henry's property at Sutton St. Michael. Whether, with the unexpected death of the younger Henry in 1670, who may still have been a minor, Alice could regard herself as the sole heir under the earlier will is a moot point but it caused Paul Foley considerable embarrassment.

Naturally, Paul Foley appealed to law and substantiated his contract by showing that Sir Henry in the delirium of smallpox was 'non compos'. Nevertheless, the case dragged on until 1677, partly because Foley's difficulties were multiplied by the loss of 'the writings' for his estate in a fire at the Temple.[10] The outcome of Lady Lingen's rearguard action—as memorable in some ways as her husband's defence of Goodrich Castle in 1646—is unknown but her descendants were still living in Sutton in the following century.

According to Robinson quoting a late 16th-century document, the house purchased by Paul Foley contained 'twelve bays of Byldinge, divided into hall, parlor, chambers and other houses of office cov'ed with slatt'. but a much more modest house is depicted on William Deeley's estate plan of 1680 (PL. VII). It stands in a walled garden above Stoke Edith Church and is approached from the west across a courtyard and lawn through two rusticated stone gate piers. There are only five gabled bays with the centre bay projecting to provide a porch on the ground floor. Two main storeys are indicated with dormers and the window details suggest mullions. Above the house rise three brick stacks with what seems to be a bell-cote on the roof of the south bay adjoining the porch. Below the house towards the church Deeley shows a long barn-like structure with twelve bays of timber clearly indicated.

A great deal more information about the internal arrangements is provided by Sir Henry's inventory drawn up in February 1662 which shows that the house contained twenty-one rooms excluding the cellars, the dairy, the brewhouse, the bakehouse and 'the men's chamber without the house'. Life at Stoke Edith, it appears, was organised around Sir Henry's many children; an inner, outer and upper nursery are mentioned together with a schoolroom situated next to a 'starching room'. The porch is mentioned with a room above and a hall sparsely furnished with two tables and two forms. At one end of the hall there was a first-floor gallery. The absence of expensive fittings graphically demonstrates the impoverishment of the Lingens. In room after room the contents are valued at less than £1 and only in Lady Lingen's chamber is there any sign of luxury. Nevertheless, when Celia Fiennes passed Stoke Edith on the eve of its demolition in 1695 she described it as 'a very good old house of Timber worke but old fashion'd.[11]

The structural condition of the house which Paul Foley purchased is unknown but a fragmentary account dated 1674 shows that he spent £62 8s. 6d. on repairs and a further £10 5s. 11½d. improving the garden. A letter from Peter Booth, Foley's steward, in April 1674 provides some detail: the 'Newent masons' were rebuilding a wall and raising certain steps whilst an unspecified number of joiners were expected after Whitsuntide and had promised not to leave until their aspect

of the work was complete. Outside gravel was being laid on the paths.[12] Clearly, at this date there was no intention of completely rebuilding the house and instead Foley concentrated upon augmenting his new holding by making several substantial purchases of property in the vicinity of Stoke Edith.

His Register Books are full of surveys, particulars and extents of local estates which were regarded as potential purchases. Among these was an estate in the parishes of Yarkhill, Tarrington, Weston Beggard and Sollers Hope which belonged to John Bodenham of Rotherwas—the head of another indigent royalist family—and was sold to Foley for £8,500 in 1683. Other additions close to Stoke Edith included four farms in Woolhope parish, together with Devereux Park, which belonged to William Ravenhill, a member of an ancient Woolhope family; Priors Court in Mordiford parish bought from Thomas Price of Wistaston, Marden, for £3,650 in 1684; Park Farm at Westhide for £900 in 1686 and the manor of Monkhide from John Abrahall of Hereford for £1,900 in 1692. Apart from these tenanted estates Foley kept in hand 436 acres of demesne at Stoke Edith, Tarrington, Ashperton and Stretton Grandison.

Much of this land was well wooded and its purchase formed part of a deliberate strategy to extend the Foley family's ironfounding business into Herefordshire. A valuation carried out by Paul Foley of the Stoke Edith estate prior to his purchase in 1671 shows that nearly one third of the demesne was woodland. Stoke Wood itself was 120 acres in extent and contained coppice of twenty years growth which the survey notes if felled on a 6 acre rotation was valued at £10 per annum. Peter Booth's letters regularly refer to charcoal burning in the Woolhope woodlands. In 1674 the 'colier has now begun to fire some pits' in Stoke Wood and on a subsequent occasion 'corders' are mentioned working in Prior's Wood.[13]

Foley appears to have bought out the Scudamore interest in the local iron industry and by 1677 several of the Herefordshire furnaces and forges including Peterchurch, Llancillo, Pontrilas and St. Weonards were in his hands. Later these were transferred to the Ironworks Partnership, a company set up by the Foleys which controlled a substantial part of the iron industry in the Forest of Dean and the Stour valley in Worcestershire. In 1692 the company undertook to use wood from Paul Foley's coppices for charcoal hence, perhaps, the entry in the Stoke Edith parish register of the burial of 'a wandering man, a collier of Dudley in Staffordshire' in September 1697.[14]

Meanwhile, at the height of the Exclusion Crisis in 1679 Paul Foley was elected M.P. for the city of Hereford, becoming a political ally of Sir Edward Harley and Col. John Birch, the leading Whigs of Herefordshire. Apart from a short break in 1685, Foley represented Hereford until his death in 1699. He was

a useful member especially after he had become Speaker of the House of Commons in 1695.[15] Not only did he help to obtain a new charter for the city, in 1697, which restored the corporation's independence, recently eroded by Charles II's charter of 1682, but he also promoted an Act to improve the navigation of the river Wye. Thus, in 1696 the Common Council of the city wrote to the Speaker expressing their satisfaction with his 'rare industry and integrity in the furthering of the said act of Parliament for the river's navigation, notwithstanding the malicious reflections of some person or persons to the contrary'.[16] As the discussion below will show there was an element of self-interest here for not only did the improvement of the river reduce the cost of carrying pig iron from the partnership's furnaces in the Forest to their forges in Herefordshire but it also made it easier to bring building materials to Stoke Edith.

Foley's alliance with the Harleys was cemented by the double marriage of Robert and Edward Harley, Sir Edward's sons, to Elizabeth and Sarah Foley, the daughters of Paul's brother, Thomas Foley of Great Witley.[17] Like Robert Harley, Paul Foley's enthusiasm for Whiggism diminished and he found himself frequently allied with the independent Tories who were particularly unhappy about William III's schemes for the defeat of Louis XIV and the increased expenditure that this involved. Nevertheless, Foley's integrity was a by-word, calling forth Lord Macauley's famous remark that 'the greatest fault which could be imputed to him was that he paraded his independence and disinterestedness too ostentatiously and was so much afraid of being thought a fawn that he was almost always growling'.[18]

In 1695 Speaker Foley began to consider rebuilding his ancient house. From the rough calculations made by Peter Booth towards the end of the building accounts he could well afford it.[19] Foley's total assets in 1697 appear to have been £33,984 which included £10,000 for estates and investments in Staffordshire, £6,500 stock and £5,000 owed him by his father-in-law Sir Thomas Lane. The remainder, unaccounted for by Booth, presumably included his estates in Herefordshire and his industrial concerns. Set against these assets were debts and loans amounting to £12,028. Booth also provides an account of income and expenditure at Stoke Edith for the half year from April to September 1697 where outgoings, including taxes, household expenses and carriage, came to £1,133 4s. 4½d. and income from rents etc. to £2,114 5s. 8d. which Booth notes left £981 1s. 0¾d. to be used upon the house. It was therefore, certainly time that Foley provided a suitable home for himself especially as his cousin Edward Harley was also about to embark upon a similar project at Eywood in west Herefordshire.[20]

As a prelude to rebuilding Stoke Court, Paul Foley first of all set about redesigning his garden, a project which had been in his mind since 1692 when George London, the most prolific garden designer of the period, visited Stoke Edith.

Robert Harley, Foley's cousin wrote to his father Sir Edward in July 1692: 'Mr. London, the King's chief gardener, is gone down to Stoke; if it were worth so much money he would go over to Brampton and see the situation, and could make a draught of what he thought the place capable of'.[21] London, of course, was an obvious choice for any great landowner who wished to remodel his estate in the late 17th century but his designs which combined amenity and ornament with the conservation of woodlands, were particularly suitable for the Stoke Edith estate with its emphasis upon timber production.[22] A letter from Peter Booth to his master in April 1693 shows that the remodelling of the park was well underway: 'Mr. London's man' had set out an avenue of elms, instructing Foley's gardener Robert 'in the setting of the large firres in their places appointed for them all through the walk, and all the lesser spruce firres, pines and scotch firres within 15 elms length'. Unfortunately, the work had come to a halt because 'Mr. London's man' had discovered 'the ground further in the walk was not fit to plant such things in, it being poure cold ground'. Elsewhere, the workmen were busy digging up the ground for a new kitchen garden and in the following January more levelling was taking place and Robert Reese was employed to make a 'Bason'.[23] Although there are no further documentary references to this work it would appear that the landscape around Stoke Edith was being reorganised along the lines suggested by Le Notre with several enclosed gardens near the house laid out with geometrical walks, flower beds and fountains; radiating from which were a series of avenues cut with precision through the surrounding countryside, lined with elms and conifers, leading to viewpoints and arbours.[24]

It is possible to deduce with some accuracy the disposition of Speaker Foley's gardens by comparing Deeley's plan of 1680 with a later survey by John Bach of 1766 (PL. VIII). Equally helpful are two pictorial needlework hangings which, it has been suggested, depict the terrace gardens at Stoke Edith *c.* 1710.[25] The pleasure grounds of the old house in 1680 were fairly rudimentary. Apart from the gravel court and lawns before the main front of the house, there were two walled gardens to the east with an adjoining orchard, in one corner of which there was a summerhouse or dovecote. Beyond and to the north there were 'Mr. Foley's Upper Park' and 'Mr. Foley's Lower Park', in all extending to approximately seventeen acres. Nearer the church there was 'Mr. Foley's Knotnol Pool' and above the house, on the slopes of Seager Hill, 'Mr. Foley's Conygreave Walk' which ran, lined with trees towards Stoke Wood. This was, no doubt, the formal approach to the 'delicate Parke above the house, pailed in, that is stored with deare both red and fallow' noticed by Celia Fiennes in 1695.[26]

John Bach's survey of 'the House gardens part of the Park and Lands adjoining at Stoke Edyth' commissioned by Thomas Foley in 1766 was intended to inaugurate a scheme of 'propos'd alterations' to the landscape around the house.

The plan suggests that the late 17th-century gardens were already in decay but the original arrangement is fairly clear. The garden which stood on the east of the Lingen mansion in 1680 is now referred to as the 'Old Garden'. In the south corner there is a large octagonal 'fountain' and nearer the house a 'Pheasants Pen'. The latter implies that this garden no longer had any formal function and is, perhaps, the kitchen garden referred to in 1693 with its 'Bason' constructed by Robert Reese. The garden is entirely surrounded by walls except for the prospect immediately opposite the east front of the house which is open to allow an uninterrupted view along the 'Tarrington Walk'. This is indicated on Bach's plan as an avenue of mixed deciduous and evergreen trees which may well be the elms and firs planted by 'Mr. London's man' in 1693 although Celia Fiennes mentions another 'row' leading from the north of the house towards the river Frome.

The situation on the south and west fronts of the house is less clear. Bach's plan shows a small garden set within the central recess of the south front of the new house. This adjoins a 'Terras Walk' which surrounds a large irregular foursided garden to the south-west of the house. Both terrace and garden are enclosed by a wall which appears to have round towers or alcoves in the south and west corners. The terrace walk is described by Celia Fiennes 'paved with black and white marble and iron palisadoes, it has a long space and broad for walking'. She also described how the walled gardens and walks were situated 'one below another'. The arrangement seems to be indicated on Bach's plan by a sunken area in the centre of the garden, adjoining which there is a winged building. It is perhaps, this garden which is shown on the Stoke Edith hangings with a fountain beneath a terrace surrounded by quartered compartments enriched with tulip beds, trimmed evergreens and two scantly clothed statues with their arms raised. On either side the gravel walks are lined with orange trees in pots which are destined in the winter for the orangery shown behind. This building has an enriched pediment and tall windows separated by Ionic pilasters. It is flanked by two formal pedestrian entrances through the garden wall and may possibly be a modified version of the building shown on Bach's plan.[27]

On the west side of the new house Bach marks a rectangular 'Flower Garden' separated from the sunken south garden by the 'Terras Walk'. Two borders with wavy edges are situated on either side of a broad central path at the end of which there are three round beds. The second of the Stoke Edith hangings shows a further *'Parterre à l'Anglaise'* divided into four compartments which can possibly be placed on this front of the house although it has few features in common with Bach's plan. Once again there is an abundance of statuary, two fountains and a large number of potted and trimmed trees. A central path leads towards an alcove with a coffered ceiling flanked by two armless caryatids.

In 1710 Stoke Edith clearly had intricate surroundings to match the princely gardens created by London and Wise at Hampton Court, Chatsworth and Blenheim. Indeed, Pope's oft quoted lines satirising the gardens at Canons, also created by London and Wise for Foley's protégé, James Bridges, the first Duke of Chandos, could equally apply to the gardens depicted on the Stoke Edith hangings:

> 'His gardens next your admiration call,
> On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall!
> No pleasing intricacies intervene,
> No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
> Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
> And half the platform just reflects the other.
> The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,
> Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as trees,
> With here a Fountain, never to be play'd,
> And there a Summer-house, that knows no shade;
> Here Amphitrite sails thro' myrtle bow'rs;
> There Gladiators fight, or die, in flow'rs;
> Un-water'd see the drooping sea-horse mourn,
> And swallows roost in Nilus' dusty Urn.'[28]

Although the basic plan of the garden and its surroundings had presumably been settled in 1692 very little had been achieved when the building accounts begin in June 1695 with the raising of stone at Felton. As the crow flies Felton is six miles north of Stoke Edith and was chosen because it is situated on the Old Red Sandstone. Unlike the Woolhope Limestones which occur in abundance above Stoke Edith, this stone is particularly useful for building purposes. When Felton Church was rebuilt in 1854 it was entirely reconstructed of 'the excellent stone of the neighbourhood'. Three quarries are mentioned on the Felton tithe award (1840) and others still exist today close to the church and on Wood Hill above Derndale.[29] The freemasons working at the quarry were paid 25s. 6d. per load and between July and October one of them, Rowland Pitt, raised 78 loads. Before it left the quarry the stone was rough dressed—a process referred to in the accounts as 'scubling'. The cost of carriage to Stoke was 6s. or 7s. per load and altogether between July 1695 and December 1697, £269 was spent on raising, preparing and carrying stone. Small quantities were still being raised in the spring of 1698 but this aspect of the work was completed by June.

In July 1695 James Herbert the stonecutter arrived and began to receive the stone at Stoke. As he appeared two years before the bricklayer John Phillips, he presumably spent most of 1695-7 laying the foundations of the house where most of the stone would have been employed. Apart from a two month break because

of bad weather after Christmas in 1696, he worked fairly continuously from 1695 to 1698. It is interesting that several payments are made to him in London where, perhaps, he was engaged upon other work.[30] This would also account for the fluctuating sums paid to him during the earliest phase of the project which range from £15 to £1 per week. Obviously, he was not working alone but must have brought his own labourers and journeymen and since a skilled mason could expect to be paid 1s. 6d. per day and a labourer 1s. per day, a payment of £15 represents a considerable workforce.[31]

Between July 1695 and July 1698 Herbert received a total payment of £381 14s. 2d.—fairly close to the £350 estimated by Peter Booth for this aspect of the work. He continued to receive small payments until the very end of the building operations although these sums are much reduced after October 1697 by which date the greater part of the main structure was complete. Apart from the foundations, Herbert's principal activity would have been to cut the stone for the quoins and architraves, carve the balustrades, the urns, the capitals to the Corinthian pilasters and the allegorical scene in the pediment.[32] Some of these enrichments may have been carved in 'Wye stone'—presumably from the famous quarries at Bishopswood or Caplar—a small quantity of which was bought in April 1697.

Herbert appears to have settled at Stoke Edith where two of his children were buried in 1702 and 1708. Occasionally, between 1705-8, he is credited with payments in Thomas Foley's pocket book which suggests, that since the house was complete, he was carving the statuary for the gardens. With the completion of this task he moved to Hereford where he purchased his freedom as a mason in 1708 and was described in the Council Order Book as 'of Stoke Edith'.[33]

Whilst the masons were busy at Felton, brick was being made by Simon Peter, to the south-west of the house, over Seager Hill in Devereux Park. Peter Booth refers to their manufacture in January 1694 when 'Ponds' were being made and because of the 'extream cold and greate snow' it was impossible to cut wood for the faggots to fire the clamps.[34] However, by the time the brickmaking account opens on Lady Day (25 March), 1696, Simon Peter had produced 701,900 bricks for which he received £210 11s. or 6s. per 1,000. He was made a final payment in London in June 1698 for a further 845,000 bricks. The relative cheapness of the brick—in Worcester in 1703 a thousand bricks cost 10s. at the kiln—was obviously due to the low cost of fuel from the Stoke Edith estate.[35] The bricks were burnt entirely with wood and a long account totalling £190 survives for making faggots. Fuel from the estate was also used for burning lime, a suitable stone for which was readily available above the house.[36]

In April 1698, towards the end of the brickmaking period, a small amount of 'stone coal' valued at £4 was purchased. Since the price of coal in Hereford in 1676 was 15s. per ton,[37] £4's worth was certainly not sufficient to burn brick or lime and presumably it was employed by the stonemasons and carpenters for forging and repairing their tools. Devereux Park is about three miles from the house, in the centre of the Woolhope Hills; thus, there was a fairly substantial bill for carriage. For example between 20 September and 10 October 1697, £47 16s. 8d. was disbursed upon the carriage of brick and lime and there were further bills for carrying the faggots to the clamps.

With the foundations laid and a large quantity of bricks already available, John Phillips, the bricklayer arrived in June 1697 and worked continuously throughout the winter until 11 March 1698 when he received his final payment of £341. His most intensive period of work occurred between July and October 1697, with a peak in August when he received £76 for the month's work. The speed at which Phillips worked suggests that he brought with him a large workforce. Like James Herbert and Simon Peter he came from London and can perhaps be identified with John Phillips, a mason, who was made free by redemption of the London Masons Company in 1691 and who may well be the same John Phillips, a builder, who negotiated for the purchase of Chandos House in St. James' Square in 1727. James Bridges, later the first Duke of Chandos was elected M.P. for Hereford the year after Phillips came to Stoke Edith. According to his biographer, Bridges regarded his fellow burgess, Paul Foley as his patron at this time. Later he also used Phillips to survey the Lodge in Enfield Chace.[38] Clearly, when Phillips worked at Stoke Edith he was already a large scale undertaker who could call upon substantial reserves of labour. Moreover, the brickwork at Stoke Edith was especially fine and unparalleled elsewhere in Herefordshire at this date—a factor which tends to emphasise Phillips' metropolitan connections.[39]

A substantial section of the accounts is concerned with felling, sawing and carrying timber for the carpenters, most of which took place in the autumn and spring of 1697-8. Elm, oak and ash were all obtained from the estate, especially from Ashperton Park, an outlying portion of the Stoke Edith demesne. In January 1698 Mr. Wheeler was paid £6 0s. 6d. for felling trees in the park whilst other trees were felled at Cosington, above Tarrington. Generally, the trees were sawn up where they fell: £16 11s. was paid for sawing 3,312 feet of ½ in. oak boards and £18 2s. for 3,811 feet of elm boards. To haul 2,000 elm boards to the building site cost a further £1 3s. 4d. Most of the elm, which is recorded early in the timber account, was used for scaffolding, trestles and catwalks for the bricklayers and masons, rather than in the structure of the house itself.

Early in 1698 a quantity of imported deal arrived from Bristol—£60 was paid for 800 common deals and £15 for 100 black deals. A small amount was also brought from London by John Phillips in May 1698, but compared with the Bristol deals the price was prohibitive: 30s. for a load of 100 planks. The difference in price serves to emphasise the importance of the Wye Navigation, not only for Paul Foley's building project, but also for Herefordshire in general. The timber from Bristol was unloaded at Mordiford from whence it was carried to Stoke at 4s. per load.[40] The repeated journeys of the carriers' waggons damaged the local roads and in May 1698 a small sum of money was disbursed upon 'mending ways for Timber carryers'. The only other timber mentioned in the accounts was walnut. Early in 1698, two trees were cut up into 48 feet of planks and subsequently resawn for veneers.

By employing different artisan contractors for each aspect of the work Paul Foley was following the recommended practice of his day.[41] Hence, the principal carpentry work was carried out by Richard Blythman who came with John Phillips in June 1697. Once again, Blythman was a London craftsman; the son of William Blithman of Chertsey in Surrey, he had been apprenticed to John Jones a carpenter of Pettycoat Lane in 1669 and is, in turn, recorded taking an apprentice of his own in 1692.[42] Blythman's share of the work which involved putting in floor joists, roof trusses etc. was completed by June 1698 by which time he had received £254 9s. 10d.[43] Like Phillips he was a very professional craftsman, keen to keep to his schedule, and apart from a three-week break at Christmas his men were at work throughout the winter of 1697-8.

An important stage in the proceedings was reached on 9 October, 1697 when £5 was spent on a 'Rearing Dinner' which presumably marked the occasion when the main frame of the roof was erected on the parapet walls. The celebration serves to underline the novelty of a brick building in Herefordshire at this date since 'rearing' was an archaic practice usually associated with the erection of timber-framed structures.[44]

Whilst Blythman's men were scrambling over the roof there was considerable activity on the ground. In August 1697 John Mould, Samuel Mousal and Edward Vick opened up a quarry at Stoke for paving stone to be laid in the basement of the house by John Jones, the pavior.[45] At the same time a large number of labourers were hired to level the area around the house for the terrace walks. Clay was laid here in May 1698 and a few months later Peacock the 'pitcher' was paid at a rate of 2d. per yard to spread gravel. The main structure of the house was now far enough advanced for John Hunt, the joiner, to be employed upon the windows. A bill of £4 5s. for pulleys and cords, together with 'Mr. Hunt's journey'

suggests that sash windows were being constructed and that Hunt made a special journey either to London or Bristol for the mechanisms. If this assumption is correct, these were probably the earliest sash windows in Herefordshire.[46]

Late in the summer of 1697 a London slater, Thomas Knight, began to lay the roof aided by William Griffiths, a plumber, whose job it was to make the house waterproof by laying lead in the gulleys and providing flashing. The hazardous character of Knight's occupation is perhaps demonstrated by the final entry in his account for 22 December, 1698: 'Tho. Kt. funeral—£2 16s. 2d.'. Did the unfortunate slater slip off a roof made treacherous by a wintry shower? The parish register is less dramatic but more mysterious: 'Thomas Knight of London was . . . found dead in a fold of an Apoplexie as was supposed'.

Both the slate and the lead made long journeys to Stoke Edith. In the region of 88,000 slates were brought from Cornwall up the Severn to Bewdley, where the Ironworks Partnership had a storehouse and then overland to the Foley forge at Shelsey Walsh on the Teme from where they were carried to Stoke, presumably along a route regularly used by the Company.[47] The carriage of 8,000 slates from Shelsey to Stoke cost £3 5s. They were purchased by a Mr. Wh. who, with a fair amount of confidence, can be identified with John Wheeler of Wollaston Hall, near Stourbridge, the 'chiefe cash keeper and agent' of the Foley organisation.[48] Mr. Wh. also arranged for the transportation of 10 tons of lead from Derby via Bewdley, Redstone (on the Severn) and Shelsey. A smaller quantity was also purchased at Worcester and altogether 21 tons of lead was brought to Stoke at a cost of £170 8s.[49]

The final stage of the project was reached in 1697 when William Wilson began painting and an unnamed plasterer is employed to render the internal walls. As a preliminary to this aspect of the work the accounts record the purchase of lathes, hair and dyes. The 'walling out' of the offices occurred in December so that structurally by June 1698 the house was complete and virtually all the accounts fade away. From a summary of expenditure at the end of Peter Booth's book it appears that the total cost of the work was £4,117 2s. 1d. which included an estimated £100 still to be spent on glass, £100 on marble and £100 on the park. Four thousand pounds was a very modest sum compared, for instance, with the £78,240 spent by Lord Carlisle upon Castle Howard between 1701-38, the £30,000 spent by Lord Nottingham at Burley between 1696-1708 or even the £12,460 expended by the Duke of Chandos at Canons between 1720-23.[50] Stoke Edith, however, in 1698 was simply a shell without any interior enrichments.

Nevertheless, Celia Fiennes was impressed by what she saw on her second visit in 1698 and guessed that an income of £10,000 per year would be necessary to live in the new house. She leaves an excellent description:

'I went to Stoake 4 miles I saw Mr. Folies new house which was building and will be very fine when completed; there is to be 3 flat fronts to the gardens sides, the right wing of the house is the severall appartments for the family, 2 drawing roomes and bed chambers and closets opening both on a terrass of free stone pavements each end, and the middle there is stone stepps goes down on each side with half paces to the garden, which is by more stepps descending one below another; the other wing is to the other garden and are to be roomes of state which lookes towards Herrifford town: this is to be coupled together with a large hall which composes the front and is of stone work, the rest is brick only coyn'd with stone and the windows stone, and is in forme of a halfe moone each side with arches to the severall offices and stables; to this front which is to be the entrance large opening iron spike gates which lookes into their Grounds and Meddowes below it of a great length with rows of trees to the river; the roofe is cover'd with slatt which shines and very much represents lead, its adorn'd round the edges with stone figures and flower potts; there is a noble Parck and woods behind; it will be very fine when finished, now I saw it only in the outside shell and plattform.'[51]

This was substantially the situation when Paul Foley died in November 1699 at the age of fifty-four leaving Stoke Edith to his son Thomas. According to Colen Campbell who published an elevation and plan of the house in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715) (PLS. IX, X) Stoke Edith was 'designed and built' by Thomas Foley.[52] As Paul's eldest son, Thomas was obviously deeply involved in the project and wrote to his cousin Robert Harley from Stoke Edith in May 1694 that he was 'employed in pulling down all things about this place. I make it everyday like a new one'. Nevertheless other members of the Harley circle acknowledged that Paul Foley was the prime mover behind the building. Francis Gwyn an agent of Robert Harley wrote in 1697 'I asked your brother Ned concerning the magnificent building of Mr. Speaker, which though I had heard of, I did not believe, but he assures me it is all new'.[53]

It seems likely, therefore, that Campbell's attribution was intended to flatter Thomas Foley who had recently been appointed to the New Churches Commission and was therefore ideally situated to obtain new commissions for Campbell, the architect.[54] Moreover, as we have seen, Thomas Foley was cousin of the Lord Treasurer, Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford, and shared the office of Auditor of the Imprest with Robert's younger brother Edward.[55] As the Lord Treasurer controlled any appointments made by the Commission, Campbell's stratagem is obvious and the presence of Shobdon Court in *Vitruvius Britannicus,* the house of Sir James Bateman, can be explained in a similar way. Thomas Foley was regarded by contemporaries as a man of taste—as the interior enrichments of Stoke Edith indicate—and may therefore have appreciated Campbell's gesture even though its author secured no advantage from either the Tory or Whig commissions.[56]

Campbell's attribution does, however, raise the question of who designed Stoke Edith. In an age when architecture was regarded as an aristocratic accomplishment, it is not unreasonable to assume that Paul or Thomas Foley would have possessed the necessary knowledge and skill to draw up a design of their own. On the other hand, both were busy men and like most of their political contemporaries they may therefore have sought the advice of one of the eminent architects of the day. Robinson says that Auditor Foley 'possessed some architectural knowledge, and it is possible that designs for the house may have been drawn up by him, with the assistance of Sir Christopher Wren'.[57] Wren was not a country house architect although he was occasionally consulted by his friends as, for example, when John Evelyn 'got Sir Christopher Wren, the King's surveyor, and Mr. London, his gardner, to go and estimate the repairs' to his house at Deptford recently wrecked by the Tsar, Peter the Great.[58] There is no evidence, however, that Paul or Thomas Foley could exploit a similar relationship with Wren and call upon him for advice at Stoke Edith. Nevertheless, before dismissing the claim it is worth remarking upon the treatment of the east and west elevations at Stoke, especially the use of the continuous quoin and the heavy stone architraves, which are reminiscent of Wren's work at Hampton Court. But these are rather incidental features, and ones not restricted to Wren's work alone.[59]

Among the buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is the west front of Chatsworth, attributed by Campbell to William Talman.[60] In a monumental way this is a more exuberant version of the pilaster portico at Stoke Edith. Talman also had Herefordshire connexions having caused Lord Coningsby 'vexations' whilst drawing up plans to modernise Hampton Court, near Leominster, in *c.* 1700.[61] Coningsby was M.P. for Leominster, with a short break, from 1679-1710 and his political career although less distinguished than Paul Foley's, developed along similar lines.[62] His attachment to Whiggism eventually made him a bitter opponent of the Harley faction but in *c.* 1695 before the hardening of political attitudes in the later years of Queen Anne's reign, it is conceivable that Foley and Coningsby may have shared the same architect and, of course, the ubiquitous landscape gardener, George London.[63]

Perhaps it is safest to view Stoke Edith, together with Shobdon Court, as further examples of the Pratt-May tradition in English architecture. Shobdon with its hipped roof, two bay wings with quoins, its enriched five-bay pediment and cupola is a descendant of Roger Pratt's Clarendon House whilst Stoke Edith's pilastered and pedimented centre, as Sir John Summerson has pointed out, echoes Berkeley House, designed by Hugh May.[64] Paul Foley may, indeed, have been consciously imitating Holme Lacy House, less than six miles from Stoke Edith, where Hugh May was directly involved in 1674 and which, it appears, was not completed until the 1690s.[65] Alternatively, Foley may have obtained his ideas from various

sources, garbling several schemes to provide a design of his own. Across the Worcestershire border in 1701, Thomas Vernon, a barrister of the Court of Chancery and later M.P. for Worcester city was rebuilding Hanbury Hall. Three minor provincial craftsmen supplied plans each of which contained elements which can be identified in the finished house. Presumably, Vernon used them as a source of ideas before deciding upon a final design.[66]

A measured drawing of Stoke Edith showing the north front, part of the terrace with its balustrade and one of the service wings pierced with a coach entrance occurs in the British Architectural Library (PL. XI). Its provenance and identity are unknown but the scale and proportions of the house are indicated in what appears to be a late 17th-century hand. The quality of the draughtmanship indicates that this is more than an amateur sketch and, if contemporary with the building of the house, suggests the work of a national rather than provincial architect.[67]

The example of Hanbury, however, is especially pertinent because of the employment there not only of George London but also Sir James Thornhill 'the King's history painter' who decorated the staircase hall. This was carried out in *c.* 1710, six years after Thornhill had provided the great hall and staircase hall at Stoke Edith with a similar series of grand paintings on themes derived from classical mythology.[68] Thornhill 'made a great many designs in architecture' and may well have been consulted about Stoke Edith.[69] The lower half of the hall at Stoke was divided into panels painted with grotesque rocky landscapes by Isaac Bayley whose correspondence and accounts survive among the Foley archives.[70]

On 3 March 1704 Bayley wrote to Thomas Foley:

> 'Mr. Thornhill showed me your letter that several Roomes would be ready in a short time and you expected me down about the latter end of April . . . this week I recd. a letter from Harly who says you like the greenish pattern for your great Hall, I think it will best to adopt with Mr. Thornhill in that points, for I may not only putt you to more charge but doe damage to Mr. Thornhill's works, for to paint very beautifull coullers will take the Eye from his paintings which is principall'.

The reference to Harley, presumably Edward Foley's cousin, acting as an intermediary is particularly interesting and suggests that Bayley may have been working for Harley at Eywood, just as he was at this time employed by another Herefordshire gentleman, Joseph Clark of Hill Court, Walford, near Ross-on-Wye.[71] Bayley's total bill for work between September 1704 and October 1707 came to £304 13s. 7d. This involved painting throughout the house including japan varn-

ishing the great staircase, 'painting several lights like brick', providing blue and gold figures and a gilded cornice for the dressing room, painting a coat of arms on the great gate and gilding the iron works in the garden.

As a tribute to his father Thomas Foley had the Speaker presenting a bill to parliament introduced by Thornhill into the decorative scheme for the great hall. There is, of course, no reason why this conceit could not have been decided before Paul Foley's death, although it is more convenient to separate the main phase of building described in Peter Booth's accounts from the interior adornment carried out by the Speaker's son between 1704-27. This, at least helps to explain Colen Campbell's attribution of the total design to Thomas. However, a series of accounts with a London haberdasher, Mr. Hibbert, dated March 1699 indicate that Speaker Foley was considering the interior details of his house in the months before his death.[72] Among the hangings purchased by Foley was a tapestry of Diogenes twenty-seven yards long and another depicting the Seasons twenty-five yards long. In all £120 was spent on this occasion upon curtains and soft furnishings. Other 'Damaske' hangings with matching chair covers and cushions were bought from a Mr. Ramsay in 1714.[73] The final touches were still being added to the house in 1727 when Foley corresponded with Jonathan Ody, a glass-maker, of the Castle, St. Paul's Churchyard about several mirrors, one of which was destined for the drawing room and another for the 'chamber'. The order had been placed by Roger North on behalf of Auditor Foley in April 1727 but the mirrors had still not materialised in September although Ody explained that the stone had already been measured at the stonecutter's yard.[74]

Celia Fiennes made a final visit to Herefordshire in *c.* 1702 and recorded the following description of Stoke Edith:

> 'I went from New house to Stoake four miles, Mr. Foleys the Speakers son, has a very fine pile of building, the wing to Herreford being now up in the shell, which is all for state, great parlour drawing roome and bed-chambers, with their appendixes, and back staires and a great stair case with chambers over for state; this is entred into out of the greate hall the middle of the house raiseing many stepps out of the Court, the entrance which on each side as buildings uniform for coach house stables dairy out houses; the wing to the garden side is finish'd being their appartment, a pretty staircase that two easily go up, light from the skye, iron railes and barristers, this from an arch isle below, which goes to the kitchen, and hath a doore into this front Court, and into the gate backward tho' not visible on the garden side by the disguise of painting; from this you ascend these staires to the dineing roome which is even to the great hall and must enter from it when finish'd; out of this on the right hand was Mr. Paul Folies the fathers studdy, long and large, with back staires and a servants roome; on the left hand is a drawing room, beyond his Ladys bed chamber closet and servants roome, and next it are these staires of iron railes that goes up to the next stage which is over this same wing and is the apartment of the young Mr. Folie (Thomas Foley) and his Lady which now is the heir and in possession.
>
> There is their chamber, her fine closet, a servants roome, and a large studdy for him, there is also two large chambers for strangers which takes the whole wing over the dineing roome and studdy, there is also a little roome at the end for strangers, opposite to Mr. Folies roome, which lookes to the front; this dineing roome is what they eate in allwayes is well wanscoated. . . the offices are all below and even with the first entrance of the front; what is finished is neate good wanscoate and tapistry, there is two or three damaske beds and one velvet one what they had before, so noe new furniture, but the best wing noe doubt will be finely finish'd and furnish'd."[75]

The house seems to have remained substantially unaltered until *c.* 1770 when an Adam or Wyatt scheme of decoration was provided for the saloon.[76] Since several drain heads were dated 1771 it seems likely external alterations also took place. By the time the earliest prints of the house became available much of its baroque quality—the 'flower potts and figures globes and scallop shells' on the roof, the enriched pediment and other stone dressings—had all disappeared. The straitened tastes of Thomas Lord Foley, the son of Auditor Foley, who inherited the estate in 1737 are reflected in the new church built with almost Greek simplicity in *c.* 1740, probably to the designs of Henry Flitcroft. A letter from the architect refers to 'dressing up the recess on the north side of the church in the Gothick'—a rather alien ingredient which is absent from the present severely classical church.[77] The Hon. John Byng passed the house on his tour of north Wales in 1784 and wrote in his journal for the 29 June:

> 'Three miles farther, at Stoke, is the seat of Mr. E. Foley who seeing us from a newly erected bridge, over the road, gave us a pressing invitation to dinner; or to take his house on our return: the view, tho fine, is staring, and the house built in a very bad taste, and the spot enjoys nothing of the park'.[78]

Four years later Edward Foley consulted Humphrey Repton and a Red Book was produced for the Stoke Edith estate.[79] Several account books kept by Foley's steward, John Edwards and a plan of 1801 provide a comprehensive account of the topographical changes which occurred in the vicinity of Stoke between 1792-1802.[80] All vestiges of George London's landscape, which still existed in a fragmentary state on Bach's plan of 1766, were now erased. Whereas London's schemes converged upon the south front of the house, Repton realised the possibilities of the gently sloping ground towards the Frome meadows to the north. The

view from this side of the house was channelled between two newly-planted coppices and several informal groups of trees towards Shucknall Hill. Similarly, towards the east and west, the prospect from the house was enhanced with new coppices and small clusters of trees and a new pool in the direction of Tarrington.[81] In 1806 the *Hereford Guide* refers to these improvements:

> 'carried on agreeable to the designs of Mr. Repton, who has displayed his taste and judgement to great advantage. The view of this elegant Seat from the public road, has a fine effect: its beautiful front—the extensive shrubberies—the parish church—the parsonage house—the village—with the park richly clothed with fine timber on the back ground, rising to a considerable height above the mansion, present even to the passing stranger a very pleasant scene'.[82] (PL. XII).

The 'public road' had hitherto passed close to the house—where Byng met Foley in 1784—but henceforward it followed its present course between sunk fences in a wide arc five hundred yards below the house. The changes are referred to in 1813: 'The late Hon. Mr. Foley of Stoke, with his accustomed liberality, gave an extent of ground through valuable fields near his house, as the site of a new road, which by his own orders was made thirty-six feet wide, whilst the site or rather the chanell of the old road, which he got in exchange, scarcely measured half that dimension'.[83] The privacy that Stoke Edith now enjoyed necessitated two new entrance lodges designed by Repton's friend, William Wilkins in 1792. He also produced a portfolio of cottage designs 'for the intended village at Stoke' to provide accommodation for a tailor, two weavers, a butcher, a blacksmith and a shoemaker. In addition there was a schoolhouse with separate classrooms for boys and girls and a cider press situated on the village green 'ornamented by a Colonade, of twelve trees with the Bark on, giving the building an appearance of a kind of rude primitive Temple'.[84]

Meanwhile, John Nash was consulted about a scheme of redecoration for the parlour. A new marble chimney-piece was provided by William Stephens of Worcester for £69 and a team of plasterers directed by Mr. Poultney was drafted in from London. The room was completed in September 1795 at a cost of £264 1s. 3d.[85] Five years later Charles Heathcote Tatham—one of the most uncompromising exponents of neo-classical taste in England—was employed by Edward Foley to carry out a 'general survey of the house with a view to ascertaining the present state of the rooms and furniture, as to convenience and comfort and painting and such means as are necessary to render the whole complete'. This resulted in a series of designs for the drawing room which involved a new chimney-piece from William Stephens, arabesque paintings by Henry Thomson and plasterwork by Peter Hartley of Lugwardine.[86] Tatham also provided designs for a number of cottages but before the improvements were completed Edward Foley died and

Tatham was called upon in 1806 to design an impressive Greek revival monument for Stoke Edith Church.[87] Tatham was still in favour in 1812 when he designed a temporary ballroom erected on the bowling green adjacent to the house for a public ball and supper to celebrate the coming of age of Edward Thomas Foley whose principal contribution to the house was a new theatre—accommodated in the eastern range of the service wing—designed by Charles Heather of Hereford in 1831.[88]

Edward Thomas Foley's widow, Lady Emily, commissioned W. A. Nesfield to restore the gardens to their pre-Repton state.[89] He provided five folders of proposals which included a parterre terrace with architectural features such as lions holding armorial shields, a dial and globe, balustrades and vases. Various plants and shrubs were recommended, a new vista was opened up towards Tarrington Church and to create 'an impression of mystery and infinity' Repton's thickening belts of trees were to be thinned. Finally, he offered advice on the furnishing of the drawing room and designs to improve the Hereford Lodge. Today, Nesfield's terraces with their crumbling ornaments are gradually disappearing beneath a rampant mixture of wild shrubs and Victorian exotics which together provide a melancholy setting for the decaying fragments of one of Herefordshire's finest houses.

REFERENCES

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2 H. E. Palfrey, 'The Foleys of Stourbridge, *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.*, XXI, N.S. (1944), 1-15.
3 C. J. Robinson, *The Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872), 179-80.
4 H.R.O., E12/F/P2.
5 J. Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War . . . as it affected Herefordshire*, II (1879), 424-5; M. A. E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding . . . 1643-1660*, II (1889), 1525-6.
6 *Ibid.*, IV, 3065.
7 H.R.O., E12/F/P2.
8 H.R.O., F/IIH/I, f.121. Sir William Gregory of Fownhope was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1679 and a future political ally of Paul Foley, see W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the County of Hereford* (1896), 94.
9 In 1645 this house appears to have been Sir Henry's chief residence and was described as a 'faire howse'. C. E. Long (ed.), *Richard Symonds: diary of the marches of the royal army during the Great Civil War*, Camden Soc. (1859), 263.
10 H.R.O., E12/F/P2; AA20 1661/2/128; Robinson (1872), 180.
11 *Ibid.*, 258; AA20 1661/2/128; 'A true Survey of the parish of Stoke Edith . . . taken by William Deeley, 1680'; C. Morris (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (1949), 44-5. For the Hearth Tax of 1664 Stoke Edith was assessed at 17 hearths only two less than Freens Court. Walford Court was assessed at 15, Brampton Bryan 17, The Mynde 23 and Garnstone 10. See M. A. Faraday, *Herefordshire Militia Assessments of 1663*, Camden Soc. 4th Series, X (1972), 101, 67, 135, 180, 116.
12 H.R.O., E12/F/P18; F/IIH/II. Peter Booth had been steward for the Lingens. See Stoke Edith parish register, f.10, 1667.
13 H.R.O., F/IIH/II; E12;F/P2. Cattle and corn figure largely in the estate papers as well as cider which was being sold in Worcester in 1700.

14 *Ibid.*, See also John Van Laun, 'Seventeenth Century Ironmaking in Southwest Herefordshire', *Jnl. of the Historical Metallurgy Soc.*, XIII, No. 2 (1979), 55-6; B. L. C. Johnson, 'The Foley Partnerships: the Iron Industry at the End of the Charcoal Era' in *Geographical Interpretations of Historical Sources*, ed. A. R. H. Baker (1970), 175-7; R. G. Schafer, 'Genesis and Structure of the Foley Ironworks Partnership of 1692', *Business History*, XXII (1971), 34.

15 Williams (1896), 93; J. G. Hillaby, 'The Parliamentary Borough of Weobley 1628-1708', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1967), 126-7.

16 H.R.O., Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Hereford 1693-1707, ff.27, 33-41. See also E. M. Jancey, *The Royal Charters of the City of Hereford* (1973), 11, 28; T. S. Willan, *River Navigation in England* 1660-1750 (1936), 36-7; *Hist. Mss. Comm., Portland III*, 437, 570.

17 T. R. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, II (1782), 465.

18 *D.N.B.*, I (1975), 711; A. McInnes, *Robert Harley, Puritan Politician* (1970), 26-61; T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, IV (1967), 67.

19 H.R.O., W12 F605. Booth's figures are no more than 'financial musings' and are therefore difficult to interpret in isolation. Even so, it seems that Paul Foley should be considered as a 'Great Landlord', see G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), 19-26.

20 Robinson (1872), 269. Eywood was demolished in 1954 but some of the surviving brickwork, which still stands to the top of the ground floor windows, appears to date from *c.* 1700.

21 *Hist. Mss. Comm. Portland III*, 494. There are suggestions in the subsequent Harley correspondence that some alterations did take place to the gardens at Brampton Bryan. *Ibid.*, 514.

22 M. Hadfield, *A History of English Gardening* (1969), *passim.*

23 H.R.O., F/IIH/II.

24 D. Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne* (1956), 30-47, 202.

25 H.R.O., 'A Plan of the House gardens part of the Park and Lands adjoyning at Stoke Edyth in the County of Hereford belonging to Thos. Foley Esqr. as Surveyed in March 1766 by John Bach, Hereford'. The hangings are illustrated in L. Fleming and A. Gore, *The English Garden* (1979), pls. 29-30. They are now at Montacute, Somerset.

26 Morris (1949), 45.

27 *Ibid.*, 336. Celia Fiennes also notices a 'fine Bowling Green walled in and a Summer house in it all new', 45.

28 *Epistle to Lord Burlington* (*Moral Essays IV*), 1731. Leonard Knyff's south-east prospect and north prospect of Hampton Court, near Leominster (1699) where the grounds were also laid out by George London gives some indication of the likely appearance of the landscape in the vicinity of the new house at Stoke Edith in *c.* 1710. See J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House* (1979), pls. XVIa-b.

29 E. Cassey, *History, Topography and Directory of Herefordshire* (1858), 80. The only Foley connexion with Felton seems to be that Paul Foley presented to the living in 1688, H.R.O., F/IIH/II.

30 Surprisingly there is no sign of Herbert in the extensive lists of London masons in D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The London Mason in the 17th Century* (1935), *passim.*

31 See F. C. Morgan, 'The Repair of the Wye Bridge, Hereford, 1684-5', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXII (1947), 145-50.

32 C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715), pls. 45-6. Mr. A. T. Foley has in his possession a photograph of a painted panel originally fixed above the fireplace in a bedroom at Stoke Edith which shows the north front of the house with an enriched pediment supporting what appears to be a winged Mercury and several recumbent figures. On subsequent 18th-century prints, however, the pediment is empty.

33 H.R.O., Thomas Foley's pocket book F/IV/2953; Hereford Corp. Archives, HLM/172 Minute Book *c.* 1708-54 (mutilated).

34 H.R.O., F/IIH/II.

35 Worcs. Corp. Archives, Audit of Accounts 1693-1713—by 1703 coal was the principal fuel for brick kilns in Worcester.

36 H.R.O., Foley Portfolio II, 555. Lime was brought from Dormington to repair Wye Bridge, Hereford in 1684. See Morgan (1947), 147.

37 I. Cohen, 'The Non-Tidal Wye and its Navigation', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXV (1957), 89.

38 Knoop and Jones, (1935), 13, 84; C. H. Collins Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Bridges, First Duke of Chandos* (1949), 215-6, 389; Williams (1896), 95.

39 It has been suggested that the Mansion House in Widemarsh Street, Hereford, built for Dr. William Brewster in *c.* 1697 was also Phillips' work. See M. G. Watkins, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (1902), 129. A more likely candidate would be Chandos House, St. Owen Street, Hereford.

40 Mordiford, where the Lugg joins the Wye, was an important transhipment point. See Cohen (1957), 100.

41 H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* 1600-1840 (1978), 20-1; Knopp and Jones (1935), 39, 55-6.

42 B. Marsh, *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters* I (1913), Apprentices Entry Books 1654-1694, 67, 125, 188.

43 Blythman presumably contributed to the interior of the house since he was still resident at Stoke Edith in 1701 when the parish register records the burial of his son.

44 For a discussion of 'rearing' see F. W. B. Charles, *Medieval Cruck Building and its Derivatives* (1967), 19-24.

45 Edward Vick, described as a bricklayer, became a freeman of Hereford in 1705. H.R.O., Minute Book 1693-1736, f.165. His descendants were still stonemasons in the early 19th century. R. Gunnis, *A Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851* (1962), 409.

46 Sash windows were still a novelty in Worcester in 1720. *Worcester Postman* 4 March 1720.

47 From Tintagel according to *English Life*, March 1925, 263-8.

48 Schafer (1971), 36; Johnson (1970), 177. For the Foley political interest in Bewdley see P. Styles, *Studies in Seventeenth century West Midlands History* (1978), 53-4. Paul Foley's brother Philip was M.P. for the borough.

49 Derbyshire was the usual source of lead for west midlands building projects in this period. For example the restoration of Worcester Cathedral in 1660, see J. Noake, *The Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester* (1866), 324-5.

50 Collins Baker (1949), 146; J. Lees-Milne, *English Country Houses: Baroque* (1970), 154; Mingay (1963), 160.

51 Morris (1949), 233, 336. She fails to notice the great fountain—Britannia surrounded by prancing horses [?]—shown on the painted panel. See note 32 above.

52 Campbell (1715), 5.

53 *Hist. Mss. Comm., Portland III*, 550, 587.

54 T. P. Connor, 'The Making of Vitruvius Britannicus', *Architectural History*, XX (1977), 24.

55 McInnes (1970), 63, 158; Williams (1896), 97; Robinson (1872), 258.

56 Campbell (1715), pls. 59-60. The pedimented elevation of Shobdon is a simplified version of Stoke Edith. Like Robert Harley, Thomas Foley was a collector of books. *Hist. Mss. Comm., Portland III*, 592.

57 Robinson (1972), 258.

58 W. Bray (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1895), 571.

59 The similarity was noted by Leonard Willoughby in *The Connoisseur* (June 1909), 77.

60 Campbell (1715), 6, pl. 75. The authorship of the west front is uncertain. Colvin (1978), 805.

61 Sabine Galleries, *A Country House Portrayed: Hampton Court, Herefordshire 1699-1840* (1973), *passim; Country Life*, 1 March 1973, 518-9; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (1963), 141.

62 Williams (1896), 134-5.

63 *D.N.B.* (1975), I, 423; G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (1863), 159-60. Talman and London frequently worked together, for example, at Dyrham, Hampton Court, Chatsworth and Canons.

64 J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain* (1970), 152-3, 258-9. Shobdon's cupola is shown on Kip's view.

65 Colvin (1978), 544; Pevsner (1963), 194.

66 J. Lees-Milne in *Country Life*, 4 January 1968. John Harris has detected Talman's influence at Hanbury. J. Harris, 'Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire', *Architectural History*, IV (1961), 13, 19-20. George London laid out the gardens.

67 British Architectural Library (R.I.B.A.), RAN I/i/9.

68 The paintings are fully described in *English Life*, March 1925, 263-8 and *The Connoisseur* (June 1909), 67-74 when apparently, Thornhill's original designs still survived.

69 J. Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (1766), 41. Moor Park, Herts., illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, pls. 52-5 and the south-east view of Wotton House, Bucks, drawn by Thornhill reproduced in J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House* (1979), 259 share many features with Stoke Edith. Was the panel referred to in notes 32 and 51 painted by Thornhill? If so, perhaps this represents his scheme for the house.

70 H.R.O., E12/F/P12.

71 J. Cornforth, 'Hill Court', *Country Life*, 3 February 1966.

72 H.R.O., E12/F/P12. See also Robinson (1872), 259 where the date is wrongly described as 1689. Hibbert, Hubbard or Hibbut of Bartholemew Close provided bedroom furniture and hangings for James Bridges' house in Red Lion Square in 1697. Collins-Baker (1949), 24. Thomas Foley was still paying 'Mr. John Hibbert' in February 1713. H.R.O., F/iv/2953.
73 *Ibid.*
74 H.R.O., E12/F/P12.
75 Morris (1949), 335-6.
76 Illustrated in *English Life*, March 1925 and more recently in R. Strong, *The Destruction of the Country House* (1974), 281.
78 C. Bruyn Andrews, *The Torrington Diaries* (1934), I, 126.
79 D. Stroud, *Humphrey Repton* (1962), 51. The Red Book remains in the possession of Mr. A. T. Foley.
80 H.R.O., E12/FIII Stoke Edith Improvements 'A Map of Stoke Demesne and Estates in the County of Hereford the Property of the Hon. Edward Foley: Survey'd by D. Pain, Lugwardine 1801'.
81 In the context of the heated debate raging between Repton and Richard Payne Knight following the publication of the latter's poem *The Landscape* (1794) it is significant that Repton's schemes for Stoke Edith concentrated upon the 'vapid' 'bare and bald' pasturelands below the house ignoring the 'quarry long neglected and overgrown' and the 'ponderous masses' of the great oaks in Stoke Park above the house. Similarly, London's 'moss grown terraces' and 'ancient avenue' had all been removed by 'th'improver's desolating hand'. Therefore, Knight may well have had Stoke Edith in mind when he came to write his poem in 1794. The view from the new Hereford to Ledbury road would certainly have been very 'flat, insipid, wavering plain' for all who passed by at that time.
82 W. J. Rees, *The Hereford Guide* (1806), 137; E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales,* VI (1805), 589.
83 J. Duncumb, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford* (1813), 142.
84 H.R.O., B30/1. Most of the cottages seem to have been built and a number of them can be identified today.
85 H.R.O., E12/FIII Stoke Park Improvements. For William Stephens see Gunnis (1962), 373.
86 H.R.O., E12/F/P12.
87 Colvin (1978), 809.
88 H.R.O., E/12/F/P12, 15. The theatre was said to be disused in 1909. See Willoughby (1909), 219.
89 H.R.O., E12/F/P13. Now in the possession of Mr. A. T. Foley.

Herefordshire Agriculture in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

By J. PHILLIP DODD

INTRODUCTION

THE land use of Herefordshire has been the subject of comment by several writers in the past. Dr. John Beale in 1657[1] distinguished a number of sub-regions including 'shallow and starvy land . . . about Lemster and towards Keinton and towards Fayremile', while 'about Bromyard', there was 'a cold air and a shallow barren soyl'. 'All over the Irchinfield (Archenfield),' there was 'a shallow, hot sandy or stony rye-land . . . exposed to a changeable air from the disgusts of the black mountain'. These conditions were also to be found near Weobley and Hay. The best wheat was grown on the stiff clay lands, which would accord with conditions on the Plain of Hereford. Near Hereford 'at Clehongar and some parts of Irchinfield, the rye is as good as the muncorn or miscellane (maslin) of many other countreys, and our wheat is upon the ground far richer than I saw in the fair Vale of Esome (Evesham)'.

Beale also remarked on the quality of grass-lands, the best being 'in the richest vale of the county—by Frome banks'. In the Ross district grasses had 'a course sea-green blade' or were short and poor species. Most of the river grass-land was flooded in winter and Beale commented 'our graziers which are butchers —find fault in the excellent pastures stored with gilt-cups, which is a kind of crowfoot'. As the marsh marigold or kingcup is a spring-flowering plant in meadows which are semi-aquatic, Beale's observation indicates just how wet these meadows were and as grazing stock avoid the bitter herbage, the meadow grazing must have been relatively unproductive for much of the year. Two centuries later, Henry Higgins,[2] farming near Hereford, reported that much of the county was even then in need of draining. He was himself reclaiming some of this poor pasture, the 'gilt-cups' being eradicated as the ground was pared and burnt.

William Camden in *Brittania* (1585) remarked that the county was 'fruitful for corn and cattle feeding' while the productivity of Herefordshire was proclaimed at greater length by Defoe.[3] 'One would hardly expect so pleasant and fruitful a county as this, so near the barren mountains of Wales . . . not any of our southern counties, the neighbourhood of London excepted, comes up to the fertility of this county'. The Hundred of Wigmore was 'fruitful and pleasant', and at Brampton Bryan and Wigmore Castle 'the parks are still very fine and full of large timber'.

Although the wheatfields around Leominster drew praise from Defoe, it was the reputation of the county for fine quality wool, particularly in the Hundred of Wigmore, from the Leominster district and from the sheep pastured in the Golden Vale, which encouraged him to state that it 'is the finest without exception, of any in England'. Although he enthused over the 'richness of the pastures on the banks of the River Dore', the exposure of the valley grasslands to flood damage, earlier noted by Beale, did not escape his notice. 'The Wye—sometimes incommodes', the citizens of Hereford 'very much by the violent freshes that come down from the mountains of Wales'.

While these early observers did not fail to commend the hop-gardens and orchards of the county, some later writers tended to stress only these features thus losing sight of the fact that Herefordshire in general was much more significant as a wheat and wool producer and as time went on, an important cattle rearing and breeding county. Celia Fiennes,[4] for example, wrote that 'Herrifordshire . . . appears like a Country off Gardens and Orchards, the Whole Country being very full of fruit trees etc, it looks like nothing else, the apple trees, pear trees etc are so thick even in their corn fields and hedgerows'.

John Clark in 1794,[5] in reporting on the agriculture of the county stated that it was 'equalled by few spots in the island of Great Britain for the production of every article that can contribute to the comfort, the happiness, and, in some degree, the luxury of society. . . . On the flats the atmosphere is so loaded with the riches which it collects from the sweet-scented herbs around, that the inhaled air gives a glow of health and vigour to the surrounding vegetables on which it breathes . . . Cornfields, meadows, orchards, extended lawns, and hop-grounds, satiate the eye by one continued scene of luxury'.

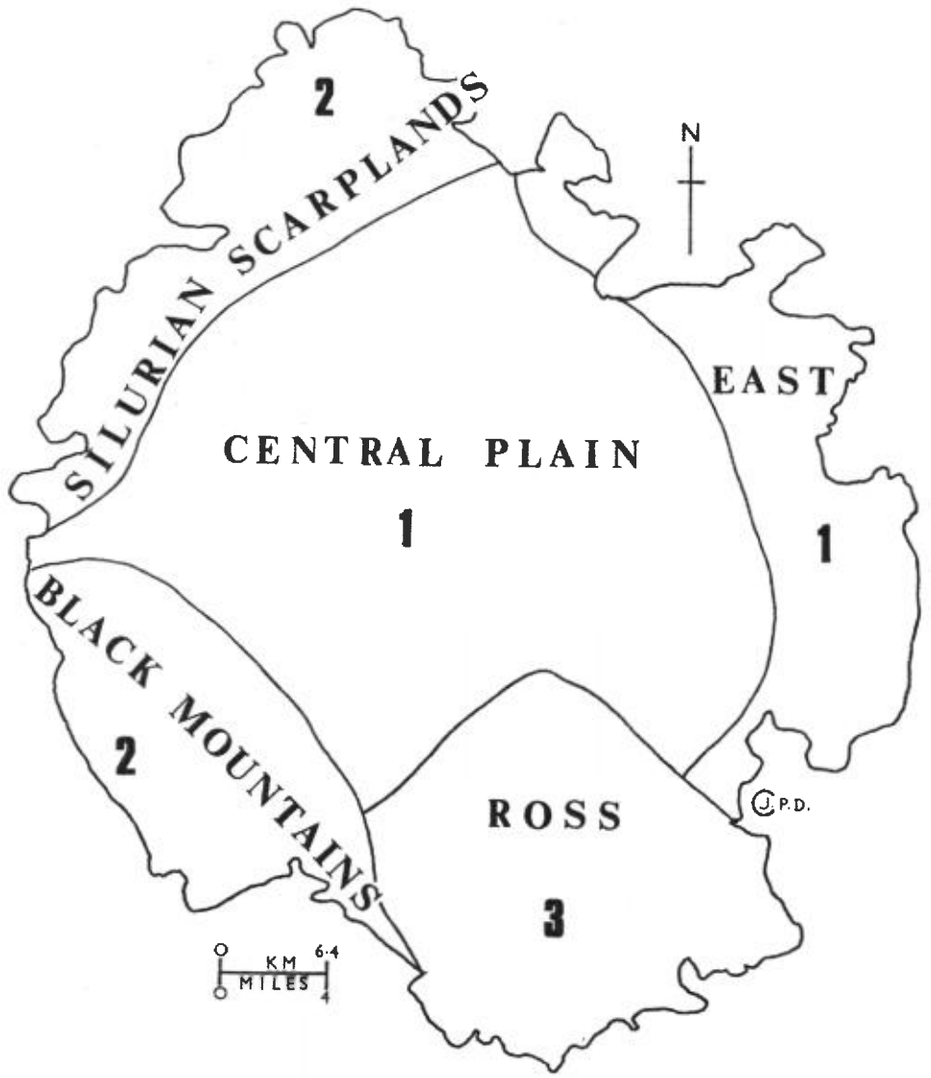
William Marshall[6] although he forebore to comment on these effusive passages was not complimentary about much of the remainder of this account of the county's farming. His own view was that—'the most natural division, and at the same time, the best agricultural distinction, is into strong and light lands' . . . The strong lands were 'the clayey loams of a superior character . . . the lighter lands, the sandy loams are principally to the south-east quarter of the county . . . to what are termed the "Rye lands of Herefordshire" '. Clark[7] noted the clay lands as lying north of Hereford but Duncumb in the second *View of Agriculture*, produced a soil map which showed the plain of Hereford composed of 'deep, argillaceous loams', the 'sandy region in the south-east, and zones of 'shallow, argillaceous loams' to the south-west and north-east of the central plain, with a belt of 'loose soils' in the north-west, all of which accords well with modern views of land-use regions. Both Clark and Duncumb had much to say on orchards and hops but Kennedy and Grainger in 1828,[8] while noting the Redstreak apples

reported 'there are scarcely any good eating apples found in the county. . . . The wool here, on account of its fineness, is esteemed equal, if not superior, to any in the United Kingdom. . . . This county abounds with valuable and ornamental timber. It has several rivers . . . the banks of which are very fertile, particularly those of the Wye, which feed great numbers of cattle for the butcher. . . . A vast improvement has been made . . . upon various pastures, which formerly grew nothing but rushes or sedgy grass'.

Rowlandson's prize essay on farming in the county[9] (1853) more or less reiterated the information shown on Duncumb's map but was otherwise well below the standard of other essays in this Royal Agricultural Society series. One third of the essay was taken up with a discussion on cider making and a further three pages on the use of lime. Hereford cattle were mentioned in the space of half a page but little real information was provided. In view of what could and should have been written on arable and stockfarming in the county this essay is not worth perusal.

Insofar as statistical sources of information are concerned, the Crop Returns for 1801[10] collected at parish level, cover most of the county except for two narrow bands of parishes which extend east from the Radnor border to Leominster and east from Craswall to Ledbury. These statistics did not include the acreage in bare fallow nor in temporary grass so one cannot evaluate the extent of the arable acreage. However, the evidence is sufficient to produce a map showing the dominant cereal, a distribution which tends to reflect changing physical conditions in the several regions of the county (FIG. 1).

The tithe apportionments of the 1840s provide a second source of statistics embracing most parishes and these enable one to determine regional changes in the acreage in arable or grass. Thirdly, although Herefordshire was not included in the pilot study of eleven counties in England and Wales for the 1854 collection of agricultural statistics, its neighbours Shropshire, Brecknock and Worcestershire were. These statistics were collected from parishes grouped under Poor Law Unions, which tended to overlap county boundaries. Accordingly a valuable source of evidence is available from Poor Law Unions such as Knighton, Clun, Church Stretton, Tenbury, Martley, Bromyard, Upton on Severn, Ledbury, Newent, Hay and Builth Wells. For the central core of the county, the statistics gathered at parish level in preparation for the Poor Law Act of 1834, yield evidence not only as regards land use but also on immigrant agricultural labour, size of farms and similar information having relevance to agriculture. If one adds to these sources the information to be derived from farm diaries and estate accounts, it may be said that despite the shortcomings of some of the earlier agriculture reportage, there is a diversity of evidence available.



REGIONS 1850

FIG. 1
Regions 1850
1 = virtual monoculture of wheat in 1801
2 = wheat and oats with barley a poor third
3 = wheat and barley more or less equal

R. H. Tawney is often quoted on the need to use one's boots to study local history, the view of the landscape as derived from excursions in the field is even more essential in the instance of writing agricultural history.

REGIONAL LAND USE

The greater part of Herefordshire is comprised of the central plain having as its base rocks the Lower Old Red Sandstone. The solid geology is obscured however by a cover of Boulder Clay left by the Wye glacier, this ground moraine extending as far east as Orleton and Stoke Lacy, and to Hereford in the south (FIG. 1). In the north-west, the older rocks of the Wenlock, Ludlow and Aymestry Limestone and Shales form an uplifted rim, the Silurian Scarplands, which reach a height of 1284 ft. O.D. at Kington.

To the south-west the rim is continued by the Old Red Sandstone rocks of the Black Mountains which rise to 2300 ft. O.D. along the Brecknock border. In the south of the county the uplands of the Orcop area rise to 900 ft. O.D. but further east the Upper Old Red Sandstone at Penyard is some 200 ft. lower. The encircling upland rim is continued in the east by the Cambrian and Pre-Cambrian rocks of the Malvern Hills. The north-eastern margin of the central plain is developed on the Old Red Sandstone uplands averaging 700-800 ft. O.D. between Leominster and Mathon.

Rainfall is orographic in distribution, being heaviest on the Black Mountains, some 50 - 60 ins. per annum, with a lesser incidence from west to east. Thus the western and southern borders receive 30 - 35 ins. but the central plain is drier with an average of 27.5 ins. The slightly higher upland between Leominster and Mathon receives some 30 ins. per annum.

THE SILURIAN SCARPLANDS

The region extends from the Clun Forest region of Shropshire southwards along the Radnorshire border as far as Hay. The succession of limestones and shales in the Silurian rocks followed by massive folding during the Caledonian period has given rise to a ridge and valley topography. The wooded ridges correspond with the limestone while the lush valleys relate to the shales as for example in the vale of Wigmore. The land use of individual parishes in this north to south zone (FIG. 1) obviously showed variation according to the nature of the topography and geology, thus at Kington whereas arable cultivation was no more than 279 acres per 1000 of the total area, at Leintwardine the proportion was 438 acres. For the whole region the land use at the mid-century was as follows.

TABLE A. Land Use of Silurian Scarplands per 1000 acres.

Arable	*Permanent Grass*	*Rough Grazing*	*Wood*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*
332	485	107	73 acres	163	515	49 Head

In 1875 some 11.4% of the total holdings in the county fell within the category of 50 - 100 acre farms. The average size based on these statistics being 74 acres. A cross-section (FIG. 2) has been drawn to indicate a west to east view of the topography and distribution of farms in the region. Insofar as it is possible to generalise the average farm at the mid-century comprised some 78 acres, of which 26 acres were cultivated as arable. Cropping was as follows.

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Turnips*	*Beans*	*Leys*	*Bare Fallow*	
6.5	4	4.5	2.5	1	5	2.5	Acres

Examination of the 1801 Crop Returns[11] for parishes in the region suggests that very little change of emphasis in the values of wheat, barley and oats in the rotation had taken place, if anything, oats were closer to the wheat acreage.

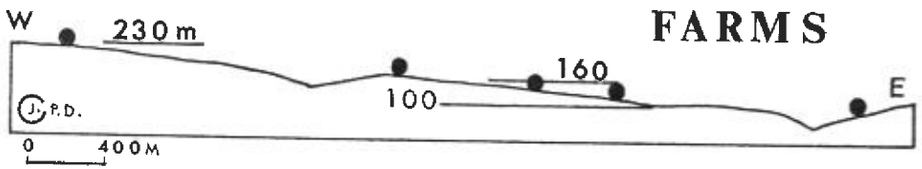


FIG. 2
Radnor Border.
Section across Brilley and Eardisley parishes showing location of farms.

The nature of the country and the fact that permanent grass and rough grazing represented some forty-six acres of the sample farm of seventy-eight acres, naturally inclined the farm economy in the direction of livestock rearing and feeding. In discussing the density of stocking it should be remarked that many farms had access to more rough grazing than others, as for example those adjacent to common lands such as Yatton Hill, Leinthall Common in Aymestrey, Hergest Ridge, Bradnor Hill, Rushock Hill, Herrick Hill, and Haywood Common.[12] Figures for stock are based on the 1854 Crop Returns,[13] the statistics for which were collected after the Michaelmas and Martinmas stock sales so that the stocking quoted relates to the stock being carried on through the winter of 1854-5.

The seventy-eight acre sample farm had thirteen cattle which comprised five milch cows with three calves. In addition five stores were wintered as were ten store sheep made up of wethers and culled ewes for selling fat in the following summer. The remainder of the sheep flock of forty-one was the ewe flock of nineteen, and twelve lambs, probably representing a fertility ratio of some 80.0%. Apart from the usual poultry and four pigs the indications are that most farms had horse-breeding as a sideline. In the region as a whole there were three colts to every ten horses while the horse stocking itself was in excess of what was esential for cultivation by some 35.0% even after allowing that soils were heavy and difficult enough to require six horses per 100 acres of arable.

THE BLACK MOUNTAINS REGION

The region is characterised by high relief (FIG. 3) where the Plateau Beds of the Old Red Sandstone provides a resistant capping, with deep glacial valleys and a rainfall which declines from 60 ins. on the high plateau to 30 ins. further east where the topography changes to the central plain of Hereford. Heather moorland on the plateau is interspersed with dwarf gorse which with the peaty podsols represent much of the 4.1% of Herefordshire described as gorse, scrub and moor. The valley bottoms are poorly drained and wet with grade 8 pasture types[14] composed of common bent grass and rush, while most of the region falls within the Ministry category 8 of poor mountain land.[15]

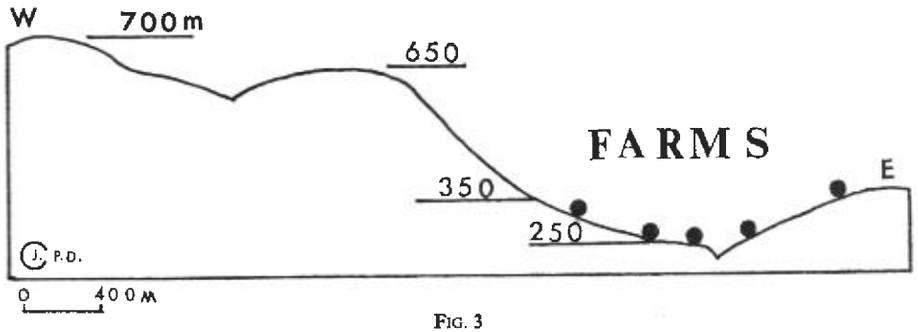


FIG. 3
Black Mountains..
Section across Craswall parish showing location of farms

As is indicated by FIG. 3, the farms are located on the valley sides and the cultivated land occurs where downwash from the upper slopes has ameliorated the poor acid soils of the lower land. As is shown in Table B less than one third of the land was in arable cultivation although this proportion increased on the lower land further east. Thus at Dorstone at the head of the Golden Valley 346 acres per 1000 was in arable while at Abbey Dore the proportion increased to 457 acres.

TABLE B. Land Use in Black Mountains Region per 1000 acres.

Arable	*Permanent Grass*	*Rough Grazing*	*Wood*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*	
324	517	102	54	Acres 164	1470	53	Head

In 1623 'the whole hundred of Ewyas Lacy, in the Black Mountains rising up on the west side of the Golden Valley, was described as a country more in dairies than in tillage'.[16] In the 1850s with 62.0% of the region occupied by permanent grass and rough grazing, it is clear that pastoral conditions still obtained. Probably

the writer of 1623 had seen Rowland Vaughan's estate at New Court in the Golden Valley. Vaughan, an early enthusiast for watering grasslands, kept 300 kine, 300 young cattle and 3000 sheep all winter and summer, which yielded a plentiful supply of cheese, butter and meat for the market.[17] The figures were obviously rounded off but if reasonably correct, his estate must have approached 2500 acres and probably more.

Farm holdings in the 1850s were small averaging fifty-eight acres, many of which relied on the stints of common grazing such as those of Cefn Hill and Black Hill, to remain viable.[18] Clark in 1794, obviously favoured the extinction of such common rights. Of the cottagers 'with a few enclosed acres with the right to put stock on the common hills' he commented that the waste at the foot of the Black Mountains, above the Golden Valley was 'a district which produces more felons than any other in the county'.[19] The amount of arable on a holding as small as fifty-eight acres was no more than nineteen acres which was cropped as follows

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Turnips*	*Beans*	*Leys*	*Bare Fallow*	
5.2	3	4	1.5	0.6	3	1.7	Acres

In 1801 cereal values were of like proportions with wheat more significant in parishes from Peterchurch to Kentchurch on the more fertile land of the eastern side of the region while western parishes with wetter conditions to contend with favoured oats. Livestock farming was the principal interest and although rearing was significant the emphasis rested on wintering as many stock as possible.

Compared with the Silurian Scarplands (Tables A and B) while the density of cattle stocking was of the same order there was a marked difference in the sheep population of the two regions. Thus one a fifty-eight acre Black Mountains holding ten cattle were kept, of which three were milch cows with two calves, the sheep flock totalled eighty-six. In the case of cattle a small unit such as this would have difficulty in wintering five stores, fodder stocks would hardly suffice to feed for many weeks beyond Christmas. Farmers with greater capital resources could condition and fatten cattle with artificials such as the cotton oil cake then in vogue but these beasts would have to do with straw, roots and chopped hay. Even with more favourable land and a farm of twice the acreage, South Cheshire farmers in the same period found it necessary to send off cattle at about one per week between January and April.[20]

The sheep flock was made up of twenty ewes and sixteen lambs, which indicated that all the season's output was being wintered. However the fifty stores forming the remainder of the flock represented a stock spread over three years, which would suggest that the wool clip was regarded as the basic consideration in

terms of financial return. That it was possible to stock sheep at this density arises from essential differences in the quality of the herbage common to the Old Red Sandstone compared with upland grazing elsewhere in Britain. The high summer stocking and relatively high wintering capacity of the Welsh Borderland grazings have been related to fodder herbage available. Holliday and Townsend[21] in discussing this, point out that 'Calluna—Erica—Nardus provide the main diet in autumn and winter' where 'the absence of Nardus and Eriophorum reduces wintering capacity'. It needs only to be said that all these species are available on the Old Red Sandstone of the Black Mountains region.

As with the Silurian Scarplands, farmers appear to have engaged in horse rearing as another sideline. The numbers kept in the region were 37.0% in excess of what would be necessary assuming that all the land required the utmost horse traction power. Duncumb in 1805[22] implied that oxen supplied 50.0% of farm needs in this respect, however specific evidence as to whether the use of draught oxen was then widespread or that it continued as a general practice in the 1850s, has yet to be discovered. If it did the implication would be that horses were even more in excess on these farms despite allowing for the fact that the custom of shepherding on horseback was traditional on the Black Mountains. As colts were kept at a ratio of 38 per 100 horses, these too were a marketable commodity.

THE ROSS REGION

The region is characterised by light sandy soils, pervious and easy to work. According to Dr. Beale[23] these were 'hot soils' and although hemp, flax, turnips and parsnips did well enough, the land was unsuitable for wheat, peas and vetches. However, rye was better than the mixed corn of many counties. The region and the adjacent parts of Gloucestershire were traditionally known as the 'Ryelands'. Rowlandson in 1853[24] appeared to believe it was 'not capable of growing with equal advantage any other crop than rye', and accordingly omitted any further mention other than that the remnants of old ryeland flocks of sheep could still be seen near Ross. It is obvious that he lacked any first-hand acquaintance with the region and certainly not of the manner of its cultivation.

At the time of the collection of the 1801 Crop Returns the region stands out (FIG. 1) for the growth of barley which was then almost of equal status to wheat. In 1833 Joseph Stallard farming along the Gloucestershire border,[25] considered that the sand land there 'was not as strong and of such good quality as that of Herefordshire'. However, the 'sand land will yield wheat and will produce as well as the wet land under good cultivation'.[26] Cobbett, who frequently visited the region commented on the pervious nature of the soils 'the soil dry under foot, though the rain had scarcely ceased to fall!'[27] Nonetheless, he considered that

'the land was very rich, the pastures the finest I ever saw', and the fruit trees, walnut trees and the fine oakwoods of Penyard Hill 'surpassing on average any that I have before seen in England'. In fact he thought the area could well stand comparison with Long Island, U.S.A.

Stallard grew wheat, barley, turnips and oats and his observations on wheat productivity under good cultivation were supported by Cobbett, who noted wheat yields of forty bushels per acre at Weston-under-Penyard in 1820. Here the occupier was experimenting with the cultivation of swedes, which on twenty acres yielded 23 - 27 tons to the acre when drilled or transplanted compared with 7 - 10 tons when sown broadcast. Drumhead cabbages in 1821 produced thirty tons from six acres, these being utilised for autumn fodder for sheep.

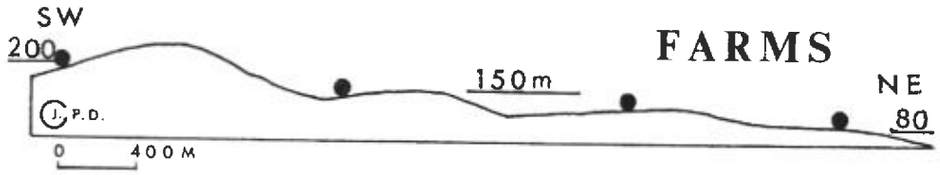


FIG. 4
Monmouth Border.
Section across Welsh Newton parish showing location of farms

Cobbett noted that 'the ground lies in a sort of ridges' and this undulating character is illustrated in the cross-section (FIG. 4) for the parish of Welsh Newton. Land use in the 1850s was as below.

TABLE C. Land Use in the Ross Region per 1000 acres

Arable	*Permanent Grass*	*Rough Grazing*	*Wood*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*
538	308	—	136 Acres	95	660	96 Head

This was essentially an arable region based on a sheep-corn system, with a large proportion of soils favouring rotations where barley and roots were important features, although wheat was still the major cereal crop. Turnips were a traditional element in the rotation but as indicated above the larger farmers had gone over to the Swedish turnip or swede. Similarly clover-vetch leys were being supplemented with lucerne on some farms. At Pencoyd in 1826 a patch of lucerne had been cut four times and in mid-September was ready for a fifth cutting. This had already provided feed for two horses per acre during the summer. In addition it was suggested that a catch crop of interplanted early cabbages could be taken, the lucerne having been drilled in rows four feet apart.

Pasturing sheep on the arable was no new thing in this part of Herefordshire. Beale mentioned the practice in 1656[29] and also that sheep were fattened on the pastures which were improved by the ensuing manuring. In the Weston-under-Penyard area, sheep were folded on swedes but were first put on drumhead cabbage. Three acres of cabbage estimated to comprise '10,000 cabbages, kept ninety five wethers and ninety six ewes, large fatting sheep for five weeks'. The sheep were transferred to the swedes in early November and then would clear the cabbage stalks ready for ploughing for the wheat crop.[30] Incidentally oxen were still employed in field operations in this district in 1826.

Although a few farmers kept small dairies of twenty cows and made cheese on farms along the Gloucestershire border,[31] the proximity of Ross and Hereford encouraged many to concentrate on the milk trade. With 44.0% of the herds comprised of milch cows and 21.0% in calves it is clear that milk was the important product. Sheep were largely breeding flocks with 40.0% in ewes, 38.0% in lambs and 22.0% as stores. In this farmers enjoyed the best of both worlds, selling the fat sheep off in summer after taking the wool from all the flock carried through the winter. As these were a ryeland-cross or in some cases pure ryeland, the fleeces were the fine wool particularly in favour by Yorkshire buyers, accordingly fetching a higher price. Stallard in 1833 selling his wool at Ross Fair expected to obtain fourteen shillings per stone, his fleeces making up at three to the stone of thirteen lbs.[31] At the turn of the century the ryelands were said to produce two-lb. fleeces so evidently there had been considerable improvement over the intervening period.

THE CENTRAL PLAIN REGION

The reddish clay loams of this region derived from the Boulder Clay residual from the Wye glacier moving eastward across the county, provide a fertile soil although the clods require a lot of cultivation to break down to a workable tilth. The stiffness of the soil and a relatively low rainfall have proved highly favourable for the growth of wheat, as is demonstrated by FIG. 1 based on the 1801 Crop Returns. The soils were equally advantageous for the growth of hops and for apple and pear trees, many of which formed a constituent feature of the hedgerow timber. Celia Fiennes has previously been quoted on this aspect of the plain, while in respect of hops, Defoe commented 'they plant abundance indeed all over this county, and they are very good. . . . As for cyder, here it was, that several times for twenty miles together, we could get no beer or ale in their publick houses, only cyder; and that so very good, so fine, and so cheap, that we never found fault with the exchange'.[32]

However, Defoe was able to obtain ale at Leominster and 'the finest bread; whence Lemster Bread and Webley Ale, is become a proverbial saying'. In 1834 hops were mentioned in several parishes indicating that cultivation then extended

right across the plain from Pembridge to the Malvern border.[33] John Turner, in 1833 owned 900 acres near Leominster[34] in three farms of 400, 270 and 230 acres respectively. On one farm 15.0% of the acreage was orchard and a further 9.0% was laid down to hops. He stated that the region comprised 'strong deep land for growing hops and fruit' but also stressed the fact that 'hops were used to pay the rent but (farmers) starve the rest of the land to manure the hops'. Wheat on such farms yielded twenty bushels to the acre in general whereas on farms without hops the yield at the extreme could reach thirty bushels.

The view that hop cultivation was in many cases detrimental to good farming and that the land gradually ran down, was held by many observers in this period. Turner had discontinued hop cultivation on the 400 acre farm held by himself. In the other main growing counties his opinions received ample substantiation, thus in Kent it was said that hops received the manure at the expense of the rest of the farm and that many holdings had run down.[35]

James Caird speaking of hops in Sussex, stated 'in eastern parts 10,000-12,000 acres cultivated for hops, which require the richest soil on the farm, receives all the manure and thus robs the corn and root crops of what they need. . . . Keeps many farmers on verge of bankruptcy due to chancy nature of yield. Would benefit agriculture if cultivation were to cease'.[36] By the 1850s many parishes in Herefordshire had discontinued growing but on the plain in parishes such as Eardisland, Canon Pyon, Burghill, Wellington, Pencombe and Kimbolton, the crop occupied a total of 177 acres per 1000 of total area, but in parishes in N.E. Herefordshire the proportion fell to sixteen acres and even along the Malvern border it only reached forty-two acres. In the county as a whole the proportion was five acres per 1000.

In surveying the land use of the plain in the 1850s the position was as follows

TABLE D. Land Use on the Central Plain per 1000 acres

Arable	*Permanent Grass*	*Rough Grazing*	*Wood*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*
424	499	5	67 Acres	89	506	71 Head

In 1794, Clarke mentioned a crop rotation of two crops and a fallow followed by three crops and a fallow on this clay land. Duncumb in 1805 said five crops and a fallow were common, while in 1828 the rotation on heavy land in Herefordshire was fallow; wheat; beans or tares; barley; seeds. By the 1850s three crops with seeds for one or two years and a fallow was fairly common, which is reflected in the 14.0% of the arable land in fallow as given below.

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Roots*	*Beans and Peas*	*Leys*	*Fallow*	
37.0	8.0	8.0	9.0	11.0	13.0	14.0	% of Arable

This was typical of most farms where economic viability was a consideration but on some estate farms as for example that of the Arkwrights near Leominster,[37] the proportions were slightly different.

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Roots*	*Beans*	*Leys*	*Fallow*	
34.0	5.0	19.0	12.0	4.0	13.0	13.0	% of Arable

The estate had a heavy investment in horseflesh which represented 18.0% of the total livestock, which no doubt accounts for the higher proportion of land devoted to oats. However, while the volume of stable dung was probably responsible for yields of forty-five bushels for oats and beans on the home farms, the estate accounts showed a loss of £498 over a period of seven years and yields on the several farms were at the bottom or middle range of those given below.

Yields on Arkwright Farms in 1857

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Beans*	
20-30	12-30	20-45	20-45	bushels per acre

In the same area, at Brockmanton Hall Farm, on deep red clay loam, wheat yielded thirty bushels per acre,[38] while further south near Hereford, where drainage presented problems, twenty-six bushels could be obtained on improved land. However on undrained land the yield fell to thirteen bushels. Lack of draining was widespread and in 1828 it was reported that 'in many places the land is wet and neglected'.[39] The same impression was given in evidence laid before the Select Committee in 1848.[40]

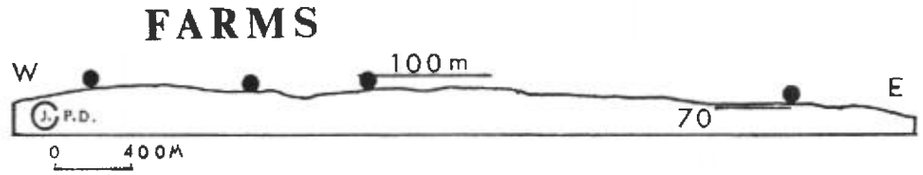


FIG. 5
Central Plain.
Section across Monkland parish showing location of farms

The impression of imbalance with wheat virtually as a monoculture was already apparent in the 1801 Crop Returns and continued well beyond the 1850s. Obviously the undulating land of the plain as illustrated in the cross-section for Monkland parish (FIG. 5) was ideal wheat country but even so half the total acreage of the region remained in permanent grass. There was a strong interest in livestock farming with dairying a significant feature, and cows formed 45.0% of the cattle stock. Calves represented 21.0% which suggests that some had gone for the veal trade or to other regions. At Hampton Court, Leominster,[41] one fifth of the

cow stock was described as "feeding cows' evidently being prepared for the Christmas market, and 13.0% of the oxen probably went with them. On the estate, sheep were dominantly regarded as a breeding and rearing enterprise as the ewe flock comprised 49% of the total and lambs a further 36.0%. These were proportions typical of the region where ewes formed 44.0%, lambs 35.0% and only 21.0% of the total flock were wintered as stores.

THE EAST HEREFORDSHIRE REGION

From the fringe of the glacial soils of the central plain (FIG. 1) the region extends eastwards across the Old Red Sandstone to the Cambrian Shales along the foot of the Malvern Hills. In the north-east the region merges with the Kyre Uplands of Worcestershire.

Land use was directed towards arable farming as is indicated in the table below.

TABLE E. Land Use in East Herefordshire per 1000 acres

Arable	*Permanent Grass*	*Rough Grazing*	*Wood*	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*
496	387	30	87 Acres	82	434	40 Head

The stiff red clays typical of much of the region obviously were more favourable to a wheat-beans rotation and this heavy-land trend can also be detected in the proportion left in fallow and in leys.

Wheat	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Beans*	*Turnips*	*Leys*	*Fallow*	*Hops*	
32.0%	6.0%	4.0%	10.0%	9.0%	14.0%	17.0%	8.0%	% of Arable

The overwhelming importance of wheat was a marked feature in 1801 although in the north-east at that time oats was also a strong element with barley hardly in evidence. With virtually one third of the arable in leys and fallow the picture was not unlike what was said of the common fields in 1801. Thus John Lodge, vicar of Bosbury reporting in 1801 stated 'About one half of the arable land in the parish of Bosbury is in Common Fields. This is injurious to general cultivation as they lie fallow every third year'.[42]

Farms in the region averaged some eighty-one acres and relied on wheat as the cash crop with a secondary interest in sheep breeding and rearing and the feeding of Hereford store beasts. The stock of seven cattle comprised three stores, one perhaps two calves and two milch cows. No more than four two-year sheep were wintered, the remainder of the flock being made up of nineteen ewes and twelve lambs giving a total of thirty-five sheep in all. There were the usual poultry and a bacon pig and also three horses.

The arable land was disposed as follows.

TABLE F. Sample 81-acre farm in East Herefordshire

Arable	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Oats*	*Turnips*	*Beans*	*Leys*	*Fallow*	
40	14	3	2	4	4	6	7	Acres

Some income was also derived from the orchard and a small hop-yard.

Some opposition to the collection of the 1854 Agricultural Statistics was reported in the region. In fact for Ledbury Poor Law Union the report was of 'great opposition . . . we should have failed in obtaining the requisite information had it not been for the influence and kind and valuable assistance rendered by the Rev. W. B. Vale of Mathon Court'.[43] It is fair to say that the farming sector of the national economy was especially incensed at the failure to exclude farmers from the effects of Gladstone's fiscal measures which in 1854, increased income tax to 1s. 2d. in the pound. That this resentment was transferred to the statistical collection scheme is clear from the report from Bromyard Poor Law Unions. 'Difficulty arose from an apprehension that it would be used by the Government for the purpose of taxing them, and also disclose too much to their landlords'.[44] However the statistics were collected without serious default which contrasted sharply with the position in some other counties, notably Hampshire[45] and Suffolk[46] where political opposition to the government was more forcefully expressed and several blocks of Poor Law Unions refused their co-operation.

CONCLUSION

Although there were regional differences in the nature and emphasis placed on the several aspects of the economy in the upland regions of the county as compared with the major regions of the central plain, there were a number of common aspects of farming in the first half of the 19th century. Primarily the feature which stands out is the role of Herefordshire as a great wheat-growing county, producing much more than the native population could absorb. This made the county a granary for the more urban areas with a denser industrial population structure.

The second important feature is the duality of the agricultural economy, committed to arable farming but with a significant livestock interest in evidence in all parts of the county. In every region it has been shown that the wool clip was an important element, much of it the finer counts particularly in demand by the West Riding textile manufacturers at this time. Although cattle or sheep rearing and often both, were specific interests, the production of fat stock often by farms which were small-scale in operation, was also to be seen making a valuable contribution to the meat supply of the nation.

The railway network was not of significant advantage to Herefordshire in this period so it is possible that as the traditional routes followed by Welsh cattle drovers crossed the county, some farmers may have taken advantage of this facility so conveniently provided, and thus have committed their beasts to the drovers for sale in the south and east. The northern route from Radnorshire went via Pembridge, Eardisland, Cholstrey, Leominster, Bromyard to Worcester or Pershore, while the southern route from Willersley passed through Hereford, Tarrington, Ledbury and thence to Hollybush and Tewkesbury.[47] The trade was well in evidence in 1750[48] and in 1817[49] it continued on a seven-day week basis as seen from the presecution of two Welsh drovers convicted 'for profanation of the Sabbath in driving cattle through the village of Mordiford, Herefordshire . . . a practice that of late has been too general and must have proved truly painful to the Christian observer'.

The improvement of the native cattle of the county was already taking place by the early 18th century, with Richard Tomkins of King's Pyon then building up the qualities of the female stock as well as those of the oxen. His son, Benjamin (1714-89) carried on the family interest and became a noted breeder while the tradition of improvement was continued in the third generation by Benjamin (1745-1815).[50] Several other breeders were becoming well-known in the same period and a noted herd was to be seen at Wigmore Grange, which probably influenced the introduction of the breed into Corvedale, Shropshire, and Plymley in 1803 observed 'upon the south confines of the county, the Herefordshire breed is now gaining ground'.[51] By the mid-century the Berwick herd at Attingham, near Shrewsbury was celebrated throughout England and the breed was to be found in cattle marts in all parts of Shropshire.

To the west, Hereford cattle invaded Brecknock by way of the Wye valley probably in the 1780s, and in 1815 had penetrated the Irfon valley above Builth Wells and in the vale of Usk to Trecastle.[52] Hereford cattle were also found in southern England and part of a herd of eighty at Burghclere, Hampshire in 1826, 'nearly fat . . . fatting on grass only will soon be worth £30 each'.[53] Lean bullocks sold at £22 10s. 0d. although in the Leominster area the price was said to have declined to £12 in 1833. It was then considered that breeding and rearing were 'the most profitable part of farming at this time'. Cattle were not broken in for draught purposes but sold off the farm to feed for the London market. The breed had been improved and 'are very much in request, and I have myself given 100 guineas for a breeding cow'.[54] The latter was significant proof that whereas some breeders tried only to improve bulls, Hereford breeders had realised that it was an uneconomic exercise to try to improve the strain by using nondescript cows, however good the bull.

By the 1850s there were first-class herds in all parts of the county as for example, Hollings of the Hillend, Hereford; Vevers of Ivington Park Leominster; Duckham of Baysham Court, Ross; Stallard of Brockhampton, Ross; Paramore of Dinedor Court, Hereford; Tudge of Adforton, Leintwardine; Monkhouse of the Stow, Hereford; Evans of Swanstone Court, Dilwyn, Leominster; Roberts of Ivington Bury, Leominster; Pitt of Chadnor Court, Dilwyn; Turner of the Leen, Pembridge; and Arkwright of Hampton Court, Leominster; all of whom were well-known exhibitors at agricultural shows including the 'Royal'. The capacity of Herefords to 'withstand cold and to fatten without artificial food' persuaded a Banff, Scotland, breeder to invest in a herd *c.* 1850.[55]

The county had exhibited signs of progress in other directions, the Herefordshire Agricultural Society having been founded in 1797 'to make generally known in this county, the most successful modes of husbandry adopted in others'. There were other societies as for example, Hereford Farmers' Club, whose secretary in 1848, stressed the fact that an annual subscription of five shillings enabled each member to obtain access to new periodicals alone which cost forty times that sum'.[56] Some ten years earlier the Royal Agricultural Society of England had been founded and attracted support from most landowners and the larger farmers in Herefordshire, two of whom, John Arkwright of Hampton Court and Charles Wren Hoskyns of Harewood, Ross, the latter a frequent contributor of agricultural articles, became members of its Council.

The county also proved attractive to industrialists seeking agricultural investment such as ironmasters like the Knight family at Wormsley, and the Foleys of Stoke Edith who came from the Stour valley near Kidderminster. Others were the Arkwrights at Hampton Court disposing of the profits from textiles at Cromford, Derbyshire, John Turner at Brockmanton Hall, who had engaged in tanning and in the carpet trade at Kidderminster, and another ironmaster from Stourbridge who in 1833 was buying up land near Leominster at £18 10s. 0d. an acre.[57] In some instances a contribution to the agricultural improvement of the county was made as in the case of Thomas and Richard Payne Knight whose work in horticulture and forestry is well-known. Richard Payne Knight and Sir Uvedale Price of Yazor also influenced the thinking of Humphrey Repton on the laying out of parkland, while Duncumb in compiling his *General View of the Agriculture of Herefordshire* relied heavily on contributions by T. A. Knight whose *Pomona Herefordensis* appeared in 1811.

The period, more especially between 1815 and 1848, was characterised by several periods of recession, which generated reductions in farmers' expenditure particularly in respect of the labour bill, which represented the easiest option. On the Arkwright estate the labour bill was cut from £1012 in 1814 to £344 in 1815. Other landlords and farmers were of course doing the same but this was small

consolation for the workforce. For those whose services were retained wages tended to rise and fall in relation to the state of the harvest, the labourer's intake of food presumably being expected to follow the same pattern. In 1819, ten shillings weekly was paid summer and winter, by 1821 the rate was nine shillings and in 1823 eight shillings. Over the years 1825 to 1831 there was a recovery to nine shillings, but from 1832 to 1837 the rate dropped to eight shillings. A rise to nine shillings in 1838 continued to 1846. Between 1850 to 1852 the rate returned to eight shillings but in 1853, nine shillings was paid in June and eleven shillings in December which indicates that the elasticity in the system related not to the rate for the job but to the number of hours worked. In a dominantly rural county like Herefordshire there was little industrial competition to draw off labour and thus force up wage rates. One may see the difference in regions like the West Riding where the expanding textile and heavy industries competed for labour with the rural areas to the latter's disadvantage.[58] In Herefordshire the wage rates in the south of the county in the 1830s were said to have been influenced by labour demand from the industrial areas of Glamorgan,[59] but otherwise farmers were able to control effectively the local wage structure.

Turner in 1835[60] stated that the food of the rural poor was largely composed of bread and potatoes. This could hardly rank as sufficient in providing the energy for a ploughman in winter who had to walk eight miles per day over heavy clays in the course of a day's ploughing.[61] Although bond labour had supposedly disappeared from England by Victorian times, of thirteen replies by Herefordshire farmers to the question 'is it a condition that the wife and children of the man hired shall work on the farm?'[62] five stated that this was the case. Eight replies out of fourteen confirmed that wage rates were only adequate to support a family if the farmer also provided some meals, five stated the rates were insufficient and only one thought the wages adequate. Possibly this was the same man who declared 'when a labourer takes a cottage under me, of course I expect him and his wife to give me *the whole of their time.* That is an understood thing when they take the cottage'.[63] At harvest time there was an influx of Welshmen[64] which obviously reduced the amount of work available for Herefordshire labourers and thus depressed incomes.

Wages, working conditions, poor accommodation which was cramped and often damp, these were contributory factors to the migration of the rural workers from the land. In 1811 some 62.8% of the labour force was chiefly engaged in agriculture, in 1821 the proportion was 62.0% and in 1831 it had declined to 54.8%.[65] It is accepted that the basis of classification adopted in these tables is open to qualification but the pattern of the trend perists nevertheless. By 1851 the tide of migration from the county was flowing at the rate of 19,000 per annum, 6,000 of which was to London and 2,000 to Lancashire. In 1871 the rural population of Herefordshire per 1000 acres was well below any of its neighbours.

Rural Population per 1000 acres in 1871:

Monmouth	*Gloucesters*	*Worcs.*	*Shropshire*	*Herefordshire*
280	331	334	196	173

Loss of population was of course common to all the border counties and to south-west England during this period but other matters of concern such as the anticipated disaster which was to follow on Repeal of the Corn Laws turned out to be a non-event. In 1833 Turner in giving evidence to the Select Commission stated that he 'did not think land in Herefordshire could withstand the effects of Free Trade'.[66] Following Repeal there were a number of upsurges in the quantity of wheat imported but these were related to deficient British harvests and in 1851-2 the harvest was from a much increased acreage and although yield was poor the price was good. In 1852-3 the yield was worse but the price advanced from 53s. 3d. to 72s. 5d. while the harvest and yield of 1853-4 was the best since 1844. Because of the decline in imports following the outbreak of the Crimean War the price of wheat in the English market rose to 74s. 8d. and the acreage was again expanded in 1854-5. Arable farming continued profitable for another decade and in 1869 the county was still heavily committed to wheat with 113 acres per 1000 compared with 39 for barley and 22 for oats.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Sue Hubbard and the staff of the county record office for their helpful cooperation in locating farm records and estate papers, also for accepting a considerable increase in their work-load arising from production of the tithe apportionments for the county, without which detail the present survey would have been so much the poorer.

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Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1980

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

Without any doubt, the most important event of 1980 has been the publication of the first volume of the long-awaited report on Hereford City Excavations. It is published by the Council for British Archaeology.

This volume *Excavations on Castle Green*, contains a full report of the archaeological work which took place during 1973 and also includes a reassessment of the results of a small excavation in 1960. It has been written by R. Shoesmith the director of excavations for the committee and contains an historical introduction by D. A. Whitehead. Other contributors include J. Bayley and C. A. Keepex, and Professor P. A. Rahtz acted as academic adviser.

The report is mainly concerned with the early history of the Castle Green area when it was used as one of the principal burial grounds of the city and also occupied by the collegiate church of St. Guthlac. The graveyard was abandoned and the religious settlement moved to a new site in the city suburbs in the mid-12th century and its property became absorbed in the bailey of the castle. The report establishes the national importance of the site and the high level of preservation of the remains. Although the areas excavated were too small to give an overall picture of the early occupation, the results were sufficient to establish a period sequence, with conjectural dates, for both the monastic buildings and the burials.

The remaining two volumes are now in an advanced stage of production. It is intended that the detailed parts of each of these will be in microfiche form and available in a wallet at the rear of each volume. However the parts in microfiche will be summarised in the printed text to ensure that the volumes can be read as a continuous work.

Volume 2, *Excavations on and close to the defences*, will contain summaries of the excavations at Victoria Street, Cantilupe Street, the Brewery, Bewell House and Berrington Street sites as well as reports on several minor excavations and watching briefs. It will also include a geographical and historical introduction and will summarise the present state of knowledge of archaeology in the city. The third volume, which is concerned entirely with the finds and environmental evidence, is almost complete.

Two other publications from the Archaeology Committee have also appeared during 1980. A booklet entitled *A short history of Castle Green and Hereford Castle* is intended to introduce the general public to the history of this important corner of Hereford and is the first of a proposed series of archaeological publications sponsored by the Archaeology Committee and the Hereford City Museums.

The completion during 1980 of the consolidation work on the Saxon and medieval defences at the rear of 5 Cantilupe Street is the occasion for the publication of a leaflet, or in its unfolded form, a wall-chart, which describes the history of this important site.

There have been no formal archaeological excavations within the city boundaries during 1980 but contractors' trenches and other excavations have been examined in several parts of the city including the Stonebow Road car park where new hospital buildings are proposed close to the 12th-century site of St. Guthlac's monastery; the new Liberal club building where a useful collection of post-medieval pottery was recovered and the cathedral crypt where deposits of random human bone probably related to its previous use as an ossuary. Currently the GPO are excavating deep trenches in King Street and Bridge Street and already have exposed a length of possibly 10th-century roadway constructed of timber which crossed a marshy area in King Street.

The committee have also made representations to the planning authority about developments at Godsell's Garage in Bath Street and the future use of the site at the corner of Mill Street and St. Owen Street and have been concerned about the archaeological problems involved in the development of sectors A, B and C in the northern part of the walled city.

The committee has been involved with the City Council in the various stages of the production of a report 'Toward a policy for archaeological conservation' which, it is hoped, will promote better opportunities for the effective control or investigation of archaeologically sensitive sites in the city. In co-operation with Miss A. Wilson of the County Archaeological Department the director of excavations has prepared a report on 'Archaeological Considerations for a District Plan for the Rural West' for South Herefordshire District Council. The director also prepared reports, for the coroner, on two Civil War coin hoards found in South Herefordshire during 1980 and is continuing with work on a report on excavations in Chepstow.

HEREFORD—KING STREET

A trench, some 2.4m. deep, was dug during October 1980 along King Street from a point in Broad Street, on the edge of the cathedral close, to the junction with Bridge Street. The trench which averaged 0.7m. wide and was in the southern part of the highway was for telephone ducts. The total distance involved was about 110m. and as the excavation progressed along King Street the trench was rapidly shored, the ducts were installed and the trench refilled with clean gravel. Opportunities to observe the excavations were limited by the speed of the operation and consisted solely of the examination of the faces of the trench after the shoring had been put in place. A measured sketch was prepared of a length of 16m. of the south face of the trench.

King Street has a pronounced 'dip' between the cathedral and the northern end of Bridge Street with the lowest point close to the junction with Aubrey Street. The 'dip', which is of the order of 1.2m., has been considered to reflect the line of the King's Ditch first noted by Alfred Watkins (Watkins, 1920, 249-58) and examined by Heys and Norwood in 1958 (Heys and Norwood, 1958, 117-25). It was thought that the ditch may have separated the Bishop's fee from the King's fee or that it was an early defensive boundary for the city.

Excavations in the bishop's palace gardens in 1979 (Shoesmith, 1979) indicated that the area near the junction of the two tennis courts was marshland at least until the 15th century. A similar result was obtained by Heys and Norwood when they dug behind the Bridge Street Methodist Chapel in 1958.

The trench along King Street confirmed these earlier observations and demonstrated that the marshy area was at least 50m. wide and that the total depth was greater than the 2.4m. excavated. The lowest 0.7m. consisted of a heavy, waterlogged, black silt which was covered by a series of large branches and small tree trunks laid at right-angles to the line of King Street. The wood was still in a good state of preservation and is considered to represent the earliest road surface so far discovered in Hereford. It may date to the 10th century or earlier and should represent the earliest attempt to cross the marshy area to the west of the cathedral by a road. The surviving street plan of Hereford indicates that King Street, with its continuation of St. Nicholas Street to the west, and possible continuation to the east as Castle Street, is one of the earliest roads in the city.

Above the timber roadway were lenses of silt and several layers of large stone and gravel which apparently represent the further consolidation of the surface of the road across this marshy area throughout the historic period.

Scraps of leather shoes were found in the black silt layers but apart from them there was no dateable material. Samples of the silts were taken together with examples of the timbers. It is hoped that arrangements can be made to obtain radiocarbon dating and possibly dendrochronological dating. The waterlogged silts may contain seeds and shells which could give an indication of the vegetation cover of the area before the road was laid.

OLD CHURCH – LLANWARNE

A complete photographic survey, accurate plan and measured elevations and cross-sections of several parts of the building took place early in 1978, preceding consolidation works (Shoesmith, 1978, 23-35). These works were completed, apart from the north wall of the chancel, which had a precarious lean outwards. Part of this wall collapsed in the winter of 1979-80 before any attempt to stabilize it could be undertaken.

The north wall of the chancel is in two parts, separated by a chamfer on the external face. To the east of the chamfer the wall consists of large blocks, reasonably coursed, but to the west, between the chamfer and the north chapel, the wall is of small, poorly-coursed rubble. Internally the wall is entirely of small rubble, poorly coursed, which changes gradually to the east with a rather unconvincing break to a slightly better coursed wall near the eastern corner of the chancel. In the 1978 survey the western part of the wall was dated to the early 14th century and the eastern part, including the chamfer, to the 16th century.

The repair work planned for 1980 was in two parts. It was decided to attempt to winch the eastern part of the wall back to a vertical line. This work required new concrete foundations to be inserted below the ground level. The second part of the work was to rebuild the western part of the wall, where the collapse had occurred, on new foundations.

Before any reconstruction work started the D.O.E. decided that a full archaeological survey of the walls should be prepared, that the remainder of the wall which had fallen should be removed to a suitable level by archaeologists and that any foundation trenches required should be archaeologically excavated. The initial survey, demolition and excavation works were directed by M. G. Boulton and the work was completed by R. Shoesmith.

The internal and external faces of the chancel wall were drawn to a scale of 1 : 20, some additions being made from the 1978 drawings. As excavations progressed these drawings were continued below the present ground level.

The western part of the wall was carefully dismantled to about 0.5m. above the present ground level and mortar samples kept. Photographs were taken of all stages of the above works.

The D.O.E. agreed that the necessary foundation trench excavations could be extended beyond the area required for structural purposes by not more than 2m. in any direction in order to obtain a coherent archaeological record. The presence of stone-lined graves and the shoring for the chancel wall made extensions impractical except for the internal area close to the eastern part of the north chapel arch where the foundation trench was extended into a small area.

The maximum depth excavated was 1.7m. below the present ground level, at which point at least four mortar floor levels had been encountered, two of which had involved major reconstruction works. Finds were very limited and dating evidence poor but the available evidence suggests that the earliest floor level found was probably of 13th-century date. Further floor levels may remain buried but it was considered that these would not be disturbed during the reconstruction works and that they could not be properly examined in the limited area available. Layers of fine silt on top of two of the floor levels probably indicate flooding—samples have been taken for analysis.

One skeleton was completely removed—it was close to the eastern end of the chancel and was in very poor condition. A second stone-lined grave was examined to establish the date of deposition. The elaborate early 19th-century coffin was left *in situ*.

CHURCH OF ST MARY—ABBEY DORE

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was commissioned by the D.O.E. to make an archaeological survey of the surviving pier and arch of the southern nave arcade. The survey was in advance of major repair works which were required because of a recent fall of masonry which had been caused partly by the elements and partly by deep-rooted shrubs.

The abbey, for Cistercian monks, was founded about 1147 but none of the surviving masonry appears to be of that date. The building of the abbey was apparently continuous from about the middle of the 12th century until about 1200-10. It is suggested that at least two bays of the nave were begun about 1180 (RCHM, I, 1931, 1-9). The abbey was suppressed in 1536 and in 1633, John, Viscount Scudamore, restored the eastern arm and transepts for use as a parish church. A restoration was carried out between 1895 and 1904 under the direction of R. W. Paul who also excavated parts of the site.

The nave as finally completed was ten bays long. It has been entirely destroyed except for the east respond and first column of the north arcade, the east respond and first column of the south arcade with the arch between them.

The survey comprised the following. A site plan showing the relationship of the two surviving columns to the existing west wall of the church and the disposition of known graves in the immediate area; measured elevations of the north and south side of the single remaining bay showing each stone and a measured elevation of the present west wall of the church showing the relationship of the existing south arcade to the filled nave and aisle arches.

The survey has indicated the extent of the buttressing work and has raised some doubt about the positioning of the springing-stones for the aisle-vault. It has also indicated that the opening above the arch, of which fragments only remain, may not be a clearstorey but could have led directly from the nave into the upper part of the aisle.

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Buildings, 1980

By J. W. TONKIN

THIS year the Old Buildings Recording Group has continued its work in the Stretford Hundred and a report of this will appear in due course.

A week-end school with the writer as tutor was based at Leominster. As in the past we are once again indebted to the university of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work. As the area of the county covered grows each year the number of buildings in this report is bound to get fewer.

This year two houses of considerable interest have been visited. In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though sometimes the two need to be read together.

EGLETON

UPPER EGLETON COURT. SO 637450 (R.C.H.M. 2)

It is a good example of a complete farm set-up of the late 17th century with the house extended to the south later over a good set of cellars. There is a long range of buildings for processing hops with their attendant hop-kilns to the west beyond a contemporary complete cider-mill and press. It would seem to have started as a late-17th-century farm-house and was converted into a gentleman farmer's residence some hundred and fifty years later.

BROCKHAMPTON

BROCKHAMPTON HOUSE. SO 686551

A very interesting house which at first sight appears to be *c.* 1750 with alterations of about a hundred years later. However, part of the rear of the house seems to date from *c.* 1600 and there are typical carpenters' assembly marks of that period and panelling which dates from the earlier part of the 17th century. The brickwork of the main block is in Flemish bond. On the first-floor and in the attics is a good set of fireplaces some with varied, patterned tiles and some made from what appears to be south Devon limestone.

The roofs of the house are all of king-post construction with butt-purlins while there is a nine-bay upper base-cruck type of roof in the range over the stables. The billiards room of one storey only has a glass roof.

Behind the main house is a courtyard and adjoining that on the west a bigger courtyard surrounded by farm buildings. Interesting features are the dovecote, butcher's shop, laundry, game larder and skittle alley. Even the fishing spears are still there.

LITTLE MARCLE

LOWER HOUSE FARM. SO 677372 (R.C.H.M. 7)

The barn recorded in the R.C.H.M. vol. II has two cruck-trusses at one side of the threshing-bay with the blades meeting on a vertical line.

PRESTON (GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

PRESTON COURT. SO 679346

This attractive, timber-framed house is just over the border in Gloucestershire and is a wellknown sight to travellers on the B4215. The service-wing is framed separately from the hall and parlour wing and it looks very much as though it may have been built a little later than the hall and parlour cross-wing. There is a four-light ovolo-moulded window in the attics in the framing at the end of the hall-block which is now blocked against the service-wing. It seems quite likely that this may have replaced an earlier, lower building.

There is some good early 17-century panelling in the parlour with a frieze of stylised dragons. In the service-wing a smoking chamber on the first-floor at the side of the big stack still retains its timber hooks.

During the year 42 planning applications from within the old county of Herefordshire have been received. Of these the really important one was the proposal to demolish Bewell House about which the club protested. A proposed public inquiry has been postponed indefinitely and it seems that new plans will retain the house.

As always my thanks are due to a number of people especially Mr. C. H. I. Homes, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Perry and Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Ward.

Entomology, 1980

HOPEFULLY Mrs. Pryce will be recording again next year. As a professionally trained entomologist she has made most valuable observations of Orders not previously reported in the *Transactions*, and her record of the Duke of Burgundy fritillary (*Hamearis lucina*) near the Black Mountains in 1973, not convincingly reported since 1941, must encourage further searches in areas where cowslips and primroses still abound.

BUTTERFLIES

In most respects it has been a deplorable year for butterflies and their admirers. Following a heat-wave in May, the summer and autumn have been unusually wet and dismal; but there have been compensations. More than 20 people have taken the trouble to send me at least some reports from 24 of our 35 10Km. squares (nine of which mainly involve adjacent counties).

The brimstone (*Gonepteryx rhamni*) has been of special interest this year. It has never been a common butterfly in Herefordshire and at present mainly breeds in the east of our county. Its larval food plants, the Purging Buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*) and Alder Buckthorn (*Frangula alnus*) are uncommon and decreasing, but this year, through the enterprise of Dr. Harper, several members of our Nature Trust are propogating these plants and by distributing them, mainly in the east of the county hope to maintain and perhaps extend the range of this beautiful creature.

Female brimstones tend to remain near their larval food plant, but males roam further afield. There have been isolated records from Staunton-on-Wye, Upper Lye-on-Lugg, Welsh Newton, Hole in the Wall, Checkley and the Doward (4), and in our Nature Reserves at Nupend, Lee and Pagets Wood and Holywell Dingle (2). Our most westerly female was seen at the Doward where its larval food plant is known to exist.

There have been three reports of the dark green fritillary (*Argynnis aglaja*), confirmed at Brampton Bryan Park where Mr. Harley warmly welcomed the British Entomological and Natural History Society, and also from near Nash Scar and at Checkley. The high brown fritillary was also confirmed, after netting at Brampton Bryan.

Sadly, though not surprisingly, there has been only one report of the white letter hairstreak (*Strymondia w-album*) in Haugh Wood precisely where it was seen last year. Its larvae feed on elm so its future is precarious.

Only two white admirals (*Ladoga camilla*) have been noticed, both near Ledbury.

(Dr. B. E. Miles)

HAUGH WOOD AND QUEENS WOOD (KEMPLEY) LEPIDOPTERA SURVEY

I have recently compiled a list of lepidoptera for these two very important woodland sites over the last fifteen years (1965-80). The total number of species for both woods is 725. Out of this total 655 species have been recorded for Haugh Wood while the smaller figure of 470 species occur in Queens Wood, probably still under-recorded. The importance of these woodlands is further highlighted by the diversity of species present, especially those of very local distribution. 93 species fall into this category, while 56 of these have been recorded only from these two woodland areas. Three species so far are known to have disappeared during the survey.

Both woodlands are managed by the Forestry Commission and are still undergoing a profound ecological change from a deciduous to coniferous canopy. The invertebrate importance is self evident and depends largely on the overall deciduous character of these forest areas. It is to be hoped that in the future some further planting of oak may take place, together with a sympathetic management of the rides with their deciduous fringes. Such a policy will help to lessen the ecological impact of this change, thereby reducing the total number of 'lost' species to a minimum.

(Dr. M. W. Harper)

Ornithology, 1980

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

ONE report has come in to say that a hobby has successfully bred in north Herefordshire raising two young.

After the bad winter of 1978/79 the number of birds has increased again, e.g. the wrens at Whitfield have now used the nest boxes again, whereas last year they were not present.

There has been an increased number of kingfishers along the Herefordshire borders on the river Monnow.

Following the milder winter of 1979/80 a successful year has been obtained with the Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme, the details are as follows: -

	1980		1979	
	Nest	*Fledged*	*Nest*	*Fledged*
Pied Flycatcher ...	187	897	132	705
Blue Tit	161	1247	153	1036
Great Tit	154	1034	133	736
Marsh Tit	7	58	3	25
Coal Tit	8	66	11	101
Redstart	8	30	5	43
Nuthatch	7	38	7	51
Wren	7	32	3	—
Others	7	90	51	
	546		498	

There has been an increase in clutch sizes and fledgling success with a slightly earlier breeding season. The first eggs being laid as follows: -

	1980	1979
Great Tits	26 May	1 May
Blue Tits	18 April	28 April
Pied Flycatchers ...	5 May	11 May

After the mild winter of 1979/80 the weather deteriorated during the year. This was attributed to Mount St. Helens, Washington State, U.S.A. erupting on 18 May. It was estimated that the explosion was 500 times more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and approximately 2¼ cubic kilometres disappeared from the mountain.

Although much of the ash came down in the vicinity, dust circumnavigated the upper atmosphere and interupted weather patterns in the northern hemisphere.

Mr. J. Griffiths of Birtley, Lingen, died in June 1980 aged 89. At first a bird-nester like most young naturalists he made a comprehensive egg collection. In 1908 he began to operate a nesting-box scheme in Pedwardine Wood and neighbourhood to encourage the breeding of redstarts and pied flycatchers, and carried it on successfully until his old age. He also devised special fittings for the gables of his house at Birtley, providing nesting places for large numbers of swifts.

(Editor's note)

Archaeological Research Section, 1980

By MARY THOMAS

A programme of nine field meetings has been completed this year. Only one of these was affected by bad weather but on this occasion two members braved the elements and were able to carry out some survey work on the site. Attendance at all other meetings has been good and a number of detailed, well-illustrated reports have been published in the newsletter.

Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* were published, one in January and one in August.

MEDIEVAL

A hitherto unrecorded motte at Bage Pool House, Dorstone was examined. The area has been affected by the cutting of the Golden Valley Railway and by a farm track. The mound occupies a strong defensive position on a spur of high ground in a meander of a small brook and rises to a height of ten feet above the natural level on the spur. There is no evidence of a bailey. Mr. R. Kay, who recorded the monument, considers that it may have been succeeded by the motte and bailey castle of Newton Tump less than half a mile to the north of the Bage.

The shrunken village of Whyle was visited. Some deep hollow ways and the general layout of present dwellings suggests a much larger settlement. A bell in Pudlestone Church is said to have come from Whyle Chapel but no trace of the building survives.

Opinion was divided on the possibility of a moated site at Hom Green, Walford. This visit gave us the opportunity of looking at the 12th-century cross in Hill Court Woods, which was restored early this century and inspecting a possible milestone to the south of the hamlet. There is no trace of any lettering on it and we wondered whether the inscription had been deliberately removed during World War Two.

The 14th-century priory at Flanesford gave rise to much discussion and speculation as the buildings have been adapted for farm use. Many of the interesting, high quality architectural features remain but close inspection of the upper storey is impossible because of the derelict state of floors and beams.

INDUSTRIAL

In January an examination was made of an old railway coach, which had been spotted by one of our members, in a field south of the M50, near Dymock. The coach has been identified as a first class 'day saloon' of the LNWR, which was later adapted for use in the General Command train on the continent of Europe during the First World War.

On the same day we looked at an impressive stretch of the Gloucester/Hereford Canal including the entrance to the tunnel at Boyce Court.

Last year's report mentioned a leat which we thought might feed the mill at Whyle. This was followed up but turned out to be the main channel of an elaborate irrigation scheme for water meadows.

Gerald Parker has made a study of the village water supply at Credenhill. This dates from 1909 and, initially, the pump was powered by oil/gas providing 1500 gallons of water per week and supplying the school and two residences. Various adaptations and improvements were introduced over the years until in 1971 a capacity of 60,000 gallons a day was reached. The old pumping station has now disappeared and there is little to see of the system. The Water Board introduced a 'mains' supply in 1971.

Visits to two farm museums, one at Wormhill, Eaton Bishop and one at Whitchurch reminded us of the most important local industry—agriculture. The owners of these two private collections are to be congratulated for preserving what many of us have been guilty of throwing away. Both display dedication and care in preserving their exhibits. We were particularly pleased to see that the horse gin from Wormbridge had found a resting place at Wormhill. Mr. Johnson is hoping to restore it to working order.

MISCELLANEOUS

An examination of the outside of Wisteston Court was saddening. The original 17th-century building has seen many alterations but is now a crumbling ruin. A stone barn to the east of the house suggests domestic origins with fine mullioned windows but no evidence of a fire-place. The farm buildings at the back of the house belong to the earliest period.

A hedgerow survey, on the road from Harewood End to Pontrilas awaits analysis.

As reported on p. 234 Mr. J. Griffiths died this year. His original work of unearthing and reassembling finds from deserted 17th-century pottery sites in the north of the county was a lifetime's work and was appreciated by the Woolhope Club.

(Editor's note)

Natural History Section, 1980

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

THIS year two indoor meetings and five field meetings took place and they are as follows:

29 February. An indoor meeting was held at St. Peter's Church Hall with the Wye Valley Beekeepers Association. Dr. Brian gave a lecture and showed slides on the solitary and social species of wild bees. Members learned that solitary bees nest both underground and in plant stalks, and, how it is possible to encourage this by using small bundles of cane and dry sheds. Social bees mainly nest in holes in the ground vacated by field mice and voles. The stark reality was brought home in the last slide, which showed open-type farming in East Anglia with no hedges or habitat for wild life.

15 March. A nature walk took place at Haugh Wood led by Mrs. Hunt. Twelve members assembled at 10 a.m. and had an interesting walk viewing different aspects of undergrowth.

3 May. Joint meeting with the Friends of Westhope. A nature walk was led by Mr. Robert Ellis around Westhope Hill; the object of this walk was to list all birds and flowering plants to form a basis for a complete list for the whole of the year.

26 June. An evening meeting at Moccas Park with Mr. Noel King, Nature Conservancy Officer, who took eight members round the park. He outlined the work of Nature Conservancy to create a National Nature Reserve.

20 September. Visit made to the CEGB Salmon Hatchery, Llanfrynach, Nr. Brecon. We had a talk and film on the work of the Hatchery to produce 5000 two-year old salmon, ready for release into the river Usk river system. We then went on to the Brecon Mountain Centre for lunch and two interesting films on the natural history of the Brecon Beacons.

11 October. Annual fungi foray at Queens Wood led by Mr. & Mrs. Thomson. Many varieties were found during the foray and the highlight was the finding of the *Cortinarius Xalthophyllus.* Information received from Kew showed that this was the second British record for this variety, the first record was in 1853 when it was found at Dinmore. It should also be noted that this variety was again found, one week later, by a member of the Ledbury Naturalists in Haugh Wood during their fungi foray.

23 October. A joint meeting took place with the Herefordshire & Radnorshire Nature Trust at the Royal National College for the Blind, Venns Lane, Hereford, when Dr. Cameron gave an illustrated talk on the life and natural histories of slugs and snails.

1 November. A follow-up field meeting led by Dr. R. Cameron was held at Roamers Wood and Motlins Hole, both being properties of the Nature Trust. Nine people attended and twenty-seven species were found.

SALMON (SALMO SALAR) AND THE WORK OF THE CYNRIG HATCHERY

The Cynrig salmon hatchery near Brecon is owned by the Central Electricity Generating Board. The hatchery was opened in 1965 to make good losses caused by migrating salmon being caught in the cooling systems at Uskmouth power stations near Newport. The design of the hatchery was by the late W. J. Menzies, Chief Inspector of Salmon Fisheries in Scotland.

Adult salmon are caught on the tributaries of the Usk river system in November at spawning time. Electrodes are placed in the river, a small electric charge is maintained which stuns the fish to enable them to be caught in nets. The females are stripped of eggs, into a bucket, and males stripped of melt which is added directly on top of the eggs. River water is added to the bucket to make conditions as natural as possible. The contents are mixed together for fertilization (99.9% success rate), excess dead melt is washed off the eggs. The eggs are transported to the hatchery and placed in 50 trays of 5,000, the count is by volume displacement (Archimedes' principle). Constant filtered running river-water is allowed to flow over the trays until the salmon hatch out and are suitable to be placed in fry tanks. The hatching time depends entirely on the temperature of the river water. A mild winter and little snow—1980/83 days, a cold winter—1979/111 days. Eyes appear in the eggs at 40 days. The yolk sack contains enough food to sustain life for six weeks and after this the alevins are fed on minced cattle liver hourly (14 feeds a day), a complete food of carbohydrate protein and vitamins, and later on progress to dry food.

During the two year period in the hatchery the small salmon are graded to prevent cannabalism and to keep faster growing, stronger, fish together.

Before release the fish being 20 cm. long, are tagged just below the dorsal fin. On release tagged fish have been recaptured at Uskmouth 2½ days later, a journey of 60 miles.

Further evidence from the recovery tags shows that some fish remain off Ireland whilst others from the same batch travel across the Atlantic to south-west Greenland. These recoveries have been within days of each other. Proof is also established that fish return to their own river system for breeding, the first return sometimes at the end of eighteen months and others up to four years.

After ferocious feeding the adult salmon are in prime condition, and on entering fresh water feeding ceases until, in poor condition, they return to the sea again after the breeding season in November. The breeding cycle is every other year.

Salmon have growth rings on the scales and under a microscope these can be interpreted to show the period of feeding at sea and also when they were present and how many times they returned to fresh water.

The terms used in the life cycle of salmon are as follows: 1. Eggs; 2. Alevins; 3. Fry; 4. Parr; 5. Smolt. The first journey to sea is the smolt and after spawning they are then called the kelt.

Valuable conservation work has resulted from this project, from the 250,000 eggs 50,000 are taken through to the fry stage with a guarantee of 5,000 fish being put into the river Usk each year for compensation against losses at Uskmouth power station.

Weather Statistics, 1980

Month	*Sunshine hours*	*Days with sun*	*Max. screen temp. °F*	*Min. screen temp. °F*	*Air night frost*	*Ground night frost*	*Rainfall ins.*	*Days with rain over 0.005 ins.*	*Max. rainfall 1 day*	*Day*
January	69.4	23	53	17	12	20	2.01	10	0.48	21st
February	48.8	21	55	31	1	4	2.04	17	0.48	23rd
March	74.6	22	53	25	4	8	2.84	20	0.56	24th
April	153.2	30	68	32	—	5	0.45	3	0.26	1st
May	205.2	31	77	34	—	2	1.42	8	0.52	31st
June	158.2	29	81	43	—	—	3.15	19	0.58	15th
July	153.3	28	75	46	—	—	1.77	10	0.76	14th
August	146.6	30	75	42	—	—	1.945	11	0.55	30th
September	108.6	27	73	41	—	—	1.77	13	0.56	21st
October	76.5	22	65	29	1	9	3.07	16	0.58	16th
November	59.9	21	59	30	1	5	1.34	12	0.34	7th
December	59.1	23	59	24	2	9	1.04	12	0.39	20th
Total	1313.4						22.845			

(by courtesy of Chave & Jackson Ltd., Hereford)

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