

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XLIV 1984
PART III

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- 1983 Mrs. M. TONKIN
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Proceedings, 1984

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 14 January: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Mr. M. Handford, M.A., M.Sc., gave an illustrated talk on 'The Herefordshire and Gloucestershire Canal.' He said that Mr. Homes and he had been walking and studying the canal from Gloucester to Hereford for the last seven years. Construction commenced at Gloucester about 1789, the canal reached Ledbury at the Old Wharf by 1798, was extended to Ledbury itself by 1832 and to Barrs Court, Hereford in 1845. The section between Ledbury and Hereford was built on a much grander scale than that from Gloucester to Ledbury. This was probably due to the influence of Stephen Ballard who at that time was clerk to the Canal Company. It closed in the 1880s.

SECOND MEETING: 11 February: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Mr. R. A. Page gave an illustrated talk on 'In Search of an Architect—T. F. Pritchard.' He explained that there was little documentary evidence of his work out in 1964 John Harris found a portfolio of architect's drawings in the Library of Congress in Washington, and in 1966 John Cornforth found them to be the work of T. F. Pritchard, 1723-77, who in 1748-9 married Eleanor Russell at Shrewsbury. Mr. Page showed a number of slides of work in Shropshire which has been identified as that of Pritchard.

THIRD MEETING: 10 March: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

This meeting was the F. C. Morgan annual lecture and was held in St. Peter's Hall. Dr. Graham Webster, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated lecture on 'The Roman Military Campaigns in the Welsh Marches from A.D. 48 to 52.' He pointed out that there were a series of four campaigns against the tribes along the Marches, some are described by Tacitus. He said the Romans did not really want to come to the Marches but had to because Caractacus fled there after his defeat in the south-east. He suggested that there should be a fort at Ariconium to complete the line from Caerleon to Chester.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 31 March: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 815 members.

Mrs. Tonkin reported on the year's activities, referred to the growth of membership over the years and said that the club was financially sound due to careful investment. She said that since the club was formed in 1851 changes had taken place but it had kept some of its traditions and customs and should continue to do so. As to the future she felt that the club could fulfil a need in providing leisure pursuits for an increasing retired and longer-living population. Many new members had joined the club to learn about the county and the late Frank Noble's words of 1965 still apply and are worth repeating, 'that the Club's work and purpose covers all aspects of local studies in the county. Its function as a centre and focus for the pursuit of work in archaeology, natural history, geology, local history and rural life is a valuable one.'

Mrs. Tonkin gave her address 'The Wigmore Inclosure Act and Award, 1810-28' which is printed on pp. 283-300.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin was installed as president for 1984-5.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 28 April: TREWYN AND PENTWYN

It was almost exactly one hundred years since the club visited Trewyn—abstracts from the *Transactions* for 15 May 1884 were read. The party was welcomed by the owner, Miss Telford, and divided into two groups for a tour of the house and gardens. The present house is built of stone and is three storeyed. It dates from 1694 and was much altered in Victorian times but is built on a barrow and contains the shell of a 14th-century house.

After tea about thirty members walked up the steep ascent to Pentwyn Iron Age hillfort where Mr. Kay explained the layout. The return from Trewyn was delayed by half an hour because the new coach picked up a boulder, approximately 10 inches by 4 inches which lodged itself between one of the rear double wheels. Miss Telford is keeping it as a reminder of the club's 1984 visit.

SECOND MEETING: 17 May: T. F. PRITCHARD IN SHROPSHIRE

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. Page as a follow-up to his talk to the club on 11 February, on the work of the architect T. F. Pritchard.

In Ludlow members walked to Hosyers Almshouses, The Guildhall and 27 Broad Street which illustrate external features. Shipton Hall which was built c. 1587 of limestone and lived in for about 300 years by the Mytton family was next visited. It was altered internally and enlarged c. 1750. The plaster-work of the ceiling of the hall and library and some of the fireplaces are attributed to Pritchard.

At Benthall Hall which dates from c. 1583 and is of local sandstone, the party was welcomed by Sir Paul Benthall. The staircase is early 17th century and richly carved. The mantelpieces in the dining and drawing-rooms i.e. on each side of the hall, were designed by Pritchard in 1756 and are made of Hopton marble from Derbyshire.

The owner, Mr. West, met members at Broseley Hall. This house was built c. 1727 of brick and is almost unaltered. Five chimneypieces by Pritchard were seen in the house as well as copies of the chimneypiece designs in the architect's portfolio which was found in the Library of Congress, Washington.

The final visit was to Cound Hall, now unoccupied, but built in 1704 for Edward Cressett by John Prince of Shrewsbury. The house is of brick, nine bays by five bays, with two storeys and a basement. The outstanding internal feature is the 'flying' staircase of the late 18th century which fills the entrance hall, runs up through two storeys and has a metal handrail.

THIRD MEETING: 9 June: CASTLES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN S.W. HEREFORDSHIRE

This was the president's choice—the theme being to visit some Herefordshire castles and religious buildings recently listed in the *Transactions* for 1982 and 1983.

The first visit was to Abbey Dore Church where a Cistercian abbey was founded in 1147. The early 13th-century aisles and ambulatory and the work of John Abel 1633 were seen.

After coffee at Pandy members travelled to Michaelchurch Court which is being restored. It dates from c. 1600 but probably contains a medieval core. The porch plaster-work is dated 1602. Much of the Victorian wing added by J. F. Bodley in the 1860s has been demolished.

The earthworks and the castle with its circular keep at Longtown were noted at lunch-time. The party then travelled to Garway and visited the stone dovecote and church. The dovecote was either built or rebuilt in 1326 by the Knights Hospitallers. The walls are four feet thick and contain 666 pigeon-holes. The Knights Templars acquired the church c. 1170 and after the dissolution of this order in 1308 it passed to the Knights Hospitallers. Excavations in 1927 revealed the foundations of the round church which are still to be seen.

At Skenfrith Castle, the rectangular enclosure within a stone curtain-wall with drum towers at each corner, a fifth tower in the middle of the west side and round tower in the centre were seen. It probably dates from 1228-32. The last visit was to Goodrich Castle constructed of red sandstone with a mid-12th-century square keep which was enclosed by a wall with angle towers in the early 13th century. Some alterations were made in the 15th and 16th centuries.

FOURTH MEETING: 7 July: WROXTON ABBEY AND GARDENS

Since 1963 Wroxton Abbey has been restored and is owned by Fairleigh Dickinson University of New Jersey. Members were taken around the house by the director of studies. The abbey started life as an Augustinian priory in the 13th century and remains of this were seen in the cellars. Over these an early-17th-century house was built for Sir William Pope. The property passed to the North family who made additions on the north in the late 17th century, and added on the east the chapel by Sanderson Miller in 1747, the library c. 1830 by Smirke and the south wing in 1859.

The grounds, which have been restored, were laid out 1720-37 by Tilleman Bobant and re-designed in the 1740s by Sanderson Miller. A tulip tree was in flower and dragonflies were seen on one of the ponds. At Wroxton Church nearby, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, the tower was rebuilt by Sanderson Miller in 1748. Monuments and brasses to the Pope and North families were seen in the sanctuary.

FIFTH MEETING: 8 August: STANWAY AND TODDINGTON AREA

Toddington Manor, now Avicenna College, is a charitable trust funded by benefactors from the Middle East. Toddington Park was built in 1681, was demolished and the present house was built by Charles Hanbury Tracy on higher ground 1820-35 costing £150,000. It consists of three rectangles each around an open court. Many of the rooms have Rococco Gothic decoration. Charles Hanbury Tracy who was an architect, was responsible for some work at Hampton Court, Herefordshire.

Two railway enthusiasts showed members around the Great Western Railway Museum at Toddington where the long-term aim is to restore the line from Stratford-on-Avon to Cheltenham.

In the afternoon the party visited Stanway House which is a typical Cotswold limestone manor-house built 1580-1640 by the Tracy family. The tithe barn dating from the 14th century containing base-crucks and two tiers of wind-braces was visited. It was restored in 1927 under the direction of Sir Philip Stott.

SIXTH MEETING: 15 September: LEDBURY CANAL SITES

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. Handford and Mr. Homes as a follow-up to the talk to the club on 14 January. The party first visited the Old Wharf site where the canal had reached Ledbury from Gloucester by 1798. Other sites visited were the stables and warehouse in New Street, the probable locations of the locks (by walking down the old railway line) and the gas-works area. Mr. Handford constantly referred to the history of the canal.

After tea members visited Ledbury Park by kind permission of Chapman, the printers. It dates mainly from the late 16th and 17th centuries.

FAMILY MEETING: 14 July: QUEENS WOOD AND WELLINGTON

Twenty adults and children visited the exhibition centre at Queens Wood, walked to the Lookout and under the guidance of Mr. Norton identified plants, trees, butterflies, moths and fossils. After lunch Mr. Tonkin took the group to the church and village of Wellington pointing out the architectural features and materials used.

SPECIAL MEETING: 16 August: WROXETER

This meeting was a follow-up to the F. C. Morgan lecture given by Dr. Webster on 10 March. Wroxeter had been the capital of the Roman province of Britannia Secunda and was the fourth largest city in the British Isles. The site occupies 180 acres. Mr. Barker met members and explained his work there since 1966. Before lunch he conducted the party around the site dating from c. 58 A.D. After lunch members were taken by Dr. Webster around the market hall site which he has been excavating since 1955 and he explained the background history of it. About 100 persons were working on the site and among them was Prince Edward.

Attingham Park and grounds were left to the National Trust in 1947 by Lord Berwick. It was designed by George Steuart for Noel Hill and was built of Grinshill stone, 1783-5, and incorporated Tern Hall which was demolished in 1840. The grounds were laid out by Repton and John Nash who was also responsible for the picture gallery and the new staircase. The Samuel Green organ dates from 1788. All these and the vaults containing the Berwick silver by Storrie were seen.

CARMARTHEN VISIT: 4-11 September

Fifty-three members spent a week at Trinity College, Carmarthen. En route a visit was made to the Dolaucothi Gold Mines where members were taken through the workings. It is hoped to establish it as a teaching and demonstration unit. At Lampeter, the Revd. Price gave a brief history of St. David's College which was founded in 1827 and built by Cockerell. After the evening meal Mr. Perry outlined the week's programme. At the gold mine Miss Edwards slipped and broke her wrist and Dr. Mrs. Smith kindly went with her to the hospital at Carmarthen.

On Wednesday the first visit was to Slebech Forest where almost all the members either walked a mile or a third of a mile in the woods which are leased by the owner of the Slebech estate to the Forestry Commission. All met up at Blackpool Mill, a restored corn-mill which was rebuilt in 1813, and went on to Llawhaden Castle, once a rich possession of the bishops of St. David's dating from the 13th century which was rebuilt as a fortified mansion in the 14th century. In the afternoon the 19th-century Tide Mill at Carew and Carew Castle dating from the 13th to the 16th century were visited. At Carew Cheriton Church Canon Vernon John spoke about the church.

Thursday morning was spent at Laugharne where the party walked around the town which is mainly of the 18th and 19th centuries, to Dylan Thomas Boat House and to the church where the incumbent welcomed members and where they could see the grave of Dylan Thomas. The first visit in the afternoon was to the county museum at Abergwili which is housed in the former palace of the bishop of St. David's. Some followed the nature trail in the seven-acre garden. At the Drefach Velindre woollen mill and museum, some machines were working and a guide described the history of the industry. The party walked along the riverside to see the Henllan Falls. After the evening meal Miss S. Lloyd-Fern gave an illustrated lecture on the excavations which were taking place at the Friary in Carmarthen.

Friday morning the coach proceeded to Tenby and soon the party were on Caldy Island after a three-mile boat trip. The abbey here was founded in the early 12th century by the abbey of Tiron and was suppressed in 1536 when the island was granted to John Bradshaw of Presteigne. The remains of their buildings are incorporated into the old Priory and St. Illtud's Church which were restored in 1897. The present monastery was built 1910-2 and since the late 1920s belongs to the Order of Reformed Cistercians. St. David's, the parish church, was restored in 1838 and 1906 by the Anglican Benedictines. In Tenby the three-storeyed Tudor Merchant's House dating from the 14th and 15th centuries was visited. After lunch at the 15th and 16th-century Plantagenet House next door, the party moved on and halted at Kiln Park to see the limekilns built by Nash in the early 19th century. The rest of the afternoon was spent at Manorbier where the castle, church and surrounding sands were visited. The castle, the birthplace of Giraldus Cambrensis c. 1146, dates from the 12th century with additions in the 13th, 16th and 17th centuries. The church was restored in 1867. After the evening meal the majority of the members were welcomed at St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, by the Revd. Goulstone. This church is associated with the mayor and corporation. Of special interest at the east end of the south aisle is the Consistory Court of the diocese of St. David's. Unfortunately Mr. and Mrs. Voss had to return home as Mr. Voss was unwell.

The first visit on Saturday was to the lighthouse and coastguard station at St. Anne's Head where the work of both services was explained. Over forty members walked 2½ miles along the cliff path to Dale. The afternoon was spent at St. David's visiting the cathedral and the ruins of the bishop's palace. Bishop Gower, 1328-47, was responsible for much of the work in both of these buildings. On the way back to Carmarthen a stop was made at Treffgarne where many members walked to the site of the Brunel broad gauge railway which was explained by Mr. R. Worsley. After the evening meal Mr. Worsley gave a fascinating talk on various aspects of Pembrokeshire.

Sunday morning was free but some went to church services and others had a look at Carmarthen buildings. After lunch Miss Lloyd-Fern conducted the party around the Friary excavations pointing out various features including two burials which had been found since her talk to members. The next visit was to the Kidwelly Industrial Museum, the site where the Kidwelly Tinplate Works worked from 1737 to the 1940s when a mechanised process took over. Kidwelly Castle dating from the 13th to the 16th century was visited whilst some members went to the church. An informal meeting was held after the evening meal when the visit and future visits were discussed.

On Monday morning more work of Bishop Gower was seen at Lamphey, another of the palaces of the bishops of St. David's. Pembroke Castle, of mainly 12th and 13th-century work and the birthplace of Henry VII was next visited. At Milford Haven, Nelson relics were seen in St. Katharine's Church completed in 1808. At the docks there was much 'container' activity and at the Friends' Meeting house many tombstones to the Starbuck family were seen. Samuel Starbuck was responsible for building the meeting house in the early 19th century.

On the return journey on Tuesday Margam Country Park, which has a range of activities was visited. At the abbey the verger produced some vestments made 135 years ago in France and a Victorian illuminated litany. A collection of Celtic stones and crosses was seen in a nearby building. The present mansion, now ruinous, was built 1830-40. The house and park were acquired by Glamorgan County Council in 1973. The Orangery, built 1786-90, now used for exhibitions, was restored in 1977. Two twenty-minute films, one on wildlife throughout the year in the park and the other on the history of the estate and the Mansell family are available in the visitor's centre. At Aberdulais Falls members were taken around the site which is being excavated. It started as a copper-smelting centre in the 16th century and finally became an iron forge linked with the early tinplate industry using the Falls as a source of power. Across the road members saw the restoration work which is going on at the basin at the junction of the Neath and Tannant Canals, the former completed in 1799 and the latter in 1824.

Tea was taken at The Old Barn, Three Cocks, where coffee had been enjoyed on the outward journey.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 6 October: Mr. F. M. Kendrick, vice-president, in the chair.

Miss S. M. Davis, B.A., gave a talk on 'The History of Cider Making.' She said that 12th-century documents indicated that the art of cider making came to England from France and the apple used up to the end of the 16th century was probably the Wilding. In the 17th century Lord Scudamore of Holme Lacy introduced the Redstreak and Herefordshire became one of the biggest producers in the country. In the 18th century T. A. Knight of Downton bred improved varieties of apples and pears. The club published *The Herefordshire Pomona* edited by Dr. Bull in 1884. The Revd. C. H. Bulmer of Credenhill, a member who helped with the publication, imported apple stocks from France which formed the basis of the modern varieties used for cider making.

SECOND MEETING: 27 October: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Mr. I. J. Standing, B.D.S., gave an illustrated talk on 'Old Mines and Furnaces of Dean.' He said that iron mining in the Forest of Dean had been in existence some 2,500 years. The iron is found in a band of limestone, averaging forty feet thick, in caverns and not in seams. He traced the history of the iron mining from the ancient open-cast or scowl holes with their bloomeries when charcoal was used for making the wrought iron. In the 17th century blast furnaces produced cast iron. He referred to documentary evidence over the centuries.

THIRD MEETING: 17 November: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

This was the annual F. C. Morgan open lecture and was held at the National College for the Blind. Mr. J. Purseglove, M.Sc., B.A., Dip.L.A., who for the last six years has been the senior landscape architect for the Severn Trent Water Authority, gave an illustrated lecture on 'Nature Conservation and River Engineering.' He said that in 1974 ten water authorities had been set up to cover the whole of England and Wales. Their task was to combat flooding in the towns and to improve land for farming especially for cereal growing. In recent years the landscape architects and the river engineers have been working together more closely, and it seems the best method is to draw up a scheme which must be carefully explained to those being affected, whether it be townspeople or farmers. His slides showed a number of schemes, some were destructive, and others created or saved natural habitats. He said that about five years ago a meadow was lost at Clehonger and that in the last twenty years some 95% of flower-rich meadows have disappeared. He also said that a marsh at Bridstow disappeared in 1983 and in the Olchon Valley fifty acres have been converted to grain growing.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 8 December: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1985 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1983, due to the absence of the treasurer, were presented and adopted at the meeting on 12 January 1985. These are printed on pp. 281.

Dr. J. D. Blainey gave a talk on 'Doctor Dunne of Ludlow.' He explained that there were some 500-600 letters among which there were some medical records, all belonging to Dr. Martin Dunne, in the Dunne of Gatley collection. He lived 1740-1814, was a member of the Dunne family and lived at 36-7 Broad Street, Ludlow, and probably founded the Ludlow Dispensary. From a couple of case histories to which Dr. Blainey referred it would appear that Dr. Dunne was

using most of the traditional remedies but that he was fifty to sixty years ahead of his time by using static electricity for the treatment of hysteria. Lengthy correspondence tells a story when Dr. Dunne assumed responsibility for two young nephews, the sons of his younger brother who died in 1786 when vicar of Martlev.

An exhibition on various aspects of the club's activities was mounted in the Shirehall, Hereford, on 17-8 October, 1984, as part of the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust's exhibition.

The second public inquiry concerning the Norwich Union Scheme Sector C was held on 25-7 July 1984. The Secretary of State has ruled against the stopping-up of Maylord Street.

The Hereford City Council has renewed the blackout to the windows in the Woolhope Room.

The CBA Group 8 has donated £100 towards the publication of Mr. Shoemith's article on 'The Blackfriar's Preaching Cross' in the 1983 *Transactions*.

A copy of the *Survey of Herefordshire Woodlands* published by the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Trust under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission has been donated to the club's library.

It is with regret that one records the death of Mrs. W. Leeds of Ross in November 1984, aged 101. She was the club's first lady president in 1959. During the year Dr. A. W. Langford who was the club's president in 1958 and Mr. N. Bridgewater, who directed a number of archaeological excavations have also died.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1983

1982				1982			
£	£			£	£		
33		Interest on Investments		46		Insurance ...	50.80
		34% War Loan ...	32.64	79		Printing and Stationery ...	178.35
129		Hereford and Worcester		2,551		Printing and Binding ...	2,419.76
1,470		County Council Loan ...	94.11	129		Expenses of Meetings ...	10.00
	1,632	Bank Deposit Interest ...	1,714.98	364		Postage and Telephones	290.50
				82		Subscriptions & Donations	73.50
			1,841.73	330		Honoraria ...	330.00
1,997		Subscriptions		21		Archaeological Research	
		General ...	2,105.55			Section: Expenses ...	30.07
34		Archaeological Research		48		Natural History Section:	
50		Section ...	40.00			Expenses ...	54.73
	2,081	Natural History Section...	59.00		3,650		
							3,437.71
			2,204.55			Bank Balances—31st December	
74		Sale of Publications ...	115.63			Current Accounts	
46		Grants and Donations ...	475.00	147		General ...	172.46
27		Royalties ...	31.13	792		Subscription ...	300.15
111		Field Meetings (Net) ...	273.23	19		Natural History Section	23.58
211		Income Tax Refund ...	216.65			Archaeological Research	
		Bank Balances—1st January		104		Section ...	107.96
		Current Accounts		1		Field Meetings ...	77.24
1,489		General ...	146.60			Deposit Accounts	
790		Subscription ...	792.10	4,523		Subscription ...	4,310.08
16		Natural History Section	19.31	10,000		Group Deposit ...	12,000.00
		Archaeological Research		631		G. Marshall Fund ...	659.45
141		Section ...	104.03	187		Natural History Section	199.15
		Field Meetings ...	.94	387		Field Meetings ...	651.42
		Deposit Accounts				Archaeological Research	
1,125		Subscription ...	4,522.56	51	16,842	Section ...	54.51
12,000		Group Deposit ...	10,000.00				18,556.00
578		G. Marshall Fund ...	630.81			Cash in hand	
171		Natural History Section	186.84			Archaeological Research	
		Field Meetings ...	387.45			Section ...	6.00
		Archaeological Research					
		Section ...	51.15				
	16,310		16,841.79				
	£20,492		£21,999.71		£20,492		£21,999.71

Note—The Club owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and has Deposit Loans with the Hereford and Worcester County Council amounting to £1,040.

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,
16th March, 1984

OBITUARY

NORMAN P. BRIDGEWATER, B.Sc. 1914 - 1984

It was with regret that members of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club learned of the death on 23 May 1984, at the age of 70 years of Norman P. Bridgewater, after a long and distressing illness. A native of Wiltshire, a position as chemist with the Bass-Charrington Group had led him early in the 1950s to take up residence at Llangarron in south Herefordshire and eventually to move to Wales in 1965. His scientific interests had early expanded from a chemical-analytical base to include metallurgy, archaeology and soil analysis.

From 1955 until 1974 he was an active member of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club and during this time was instrumental in founding the Archenfield Archaeological Group of which he became excavator and field-work leader and as such undertook a number of important excavations and field surveys in the south of the county. These were sited at Whitchurch, Huntsham, St. Weonards, Ariconium, Tretire, Wallingstones, Marstow and Hentland. His scholarly and lucid reports made a significant contribution to the *Transactions* of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club between 1958 and 1973. It is hoped to collate his final unpublished excavation work on the Roman villa complex at Huntsham and the site at Hentland in a future volume of the *Transactions*.

He took a keen interest in Industrial Archaeology and was a founder member of the Historical Metallurgy Society to which he contributed a number of papers. An authority on early iron smelting techniques and an expert on soil, slag and mortar analyses, his last published work before his untimely death was a detailed report on the analysis and dating of mortar and plaster remains from the gateway and defences of Roman Gloucester.

To all who knew him well, he had a very positive and likeable personality, willing always to impart his knowledge to others. He was a meticulous instructor to his assistants on archaeological 'digs', two of whom, after such a grounding, went on to study and take degrees in archaeology.

R.E.K.

Presidential Address

The Wigmore Inclosure Act and Award, 1810-28

By MURIEL TONKIN

WIGMORE parish is situated in the north of the county of Hereford surrounded by the parishes of Adforton, Leintwardine, Lingen, Aymestrey, Leinthall Earles and Leinthall Starks. The total acreage of the parish is 3,480 acres comprising the two townships of Wigmore and Limebrook. The Wigmore area lies on the eastern side of the parish at about 400 feet above sea-level with the village settlement east and west of the A4110. In 1772-4, (see these *Transactions*, vol. XLI Part III (1975)), 406 acres 1 rood 22 perches of common land, moor and woodland were enclosed. This left the Forest of Deerfold in the township of Limebrook still unenclosed. It is a plateau between the 700 and 900 feet contours, Silurian limestone being the basic rock.

Enclosure had been going on over the centuries. With the coming of the agricultural revolution the need for enclosure increased, but the private acts of Parliament were expensive and took a long time to enact. The first private act in the country had been that for Marden in 1606. Between 1760 and 1797 about 1,500 private acts had been passed for enclosure in England. In 1801 a general enclosure act was passed which made it much easier for local acts to be obtained and put through Parliament. The 1810 act for Wigmore was only one of 63 acts for Herefordshire between 1801 and 1865.

In the northern part of the county areas of common land in parishes around Wigmore were also being enclosed:¹

Aston and Elton	...	...	Act 1799	Award 1803	2,185 acres enclosed
Shobdon, Lingen and Aymestrey	...	...	Act 1809	Award 1829	900 acres enclosed
Wigmore	...	...	Act 1810	Award 1828	793 acres enclosed
Aymestrey and Kingsland	...	...	Act 1814	Award 1817	340 acres enclosed
Orleton	...	...	Act 1817	Award 1819	437 acres enclosed
					4,655 acres enclosed

Thus in the first quarter of the 19th century 4,655 acres of commons and waste lands were enclosed in the north of Herefordshire.

Notice here that it took twenty years to get the Shobdon, Lingen and Aymestrey award carried out and eighteen years for the Wigmore one. The other three private acts mentioned on average took only three years. Why then did Wigmore take so long? Often one reads about lands in a parish being enclosed but does one know how it was done, how long it took, who was involved, exactly what was enclosed and what the costs were? A study of the previously mentioned private acts show that there were similarities and differences.

THE WIGMORE ACT OF 1810³

A general enclosure act was passed in 1801 making it easier to obtain a local act. At that time there were in the parish of Wigmore certain waste Lands, Common Fields Lands, and Commonable and Open Lands' which would be of 'great Benefit and Advantage to the several Persons interested' if they 'were divided and inclosed, and Specific Parts and Shares thereof assigned and allotted, according and in proportion to their several and respective Estates, Rights and Interests.' Also at this time the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer claimed to be the lord of the manor of Wigmore; the bishop of Hereford held the advowson and 'right of patronage of the rectory of Wigmore;' the Revd. Robert Davies was leasing from him some of the tithes and the Revd. John Grub was the vicar of Wigmore.

The Earl of Oxford, Somerset Davies, Esq., the Revd. William Jones and other proprietors of lands in the parish were the chief promoters to obtain an act for the enclosure of the common lands in Wigmore. The act was passed on 31 May 1810 by the Commons, agreed by the Lords on 6 June and given the Royal Assent on 9 June. It had, however, been delayed for four months, the petition to enclose having been made on 8 February and read on 16 March in the Commons. On 4 May 1810³ Joseph Hampton, Esq. of Longdon, Worcestershire, impropiator of the rectory of Aymestrey, opposed the enclosing of lands in Wigmore (as well as in Aymestrey parish under the 1809 act for Shobdon, Lingen and Aymestrey). The matter was laid upon the table until a report was received. Sir John Cotterell⁴ reported back from the committee stage of the bill stating that the allegations made had been examined and were true. The parties concerned, however, gave their consent 'to the satisfaction of the Committee' except the proprietors of lands assessed at £1 2s. 7d. per annum who refused to sign the bill, and the proprietors of lands assessed at £2 9s. 5d. per annum who remained neutral. The total annual value assessed was £85 2s. 7d. Several amendments were made and agreed to. The opposition to the enclosure was thus only 4.22%.

What then did the act say?

Two commissioners were appointed to divide and allot the lands according to the rules laid down. They were John Harris of Wickton, gent. and Edward Robson Ward of Kingsland, gent. Should either of these die, become incapacitated or refuse to act power was given to elect a new commissioner according to the following procedure:

- (a) the lord of the manor with the major proprietors of lands with common rights in the parish were to hold a public meeting in the parish church of Wigmore or some other convenient place in the parish.
- (b) ten days previous to the date of the meeting a notice from the clerk of the commissioners must be affixed on the door of Wigmore parish church and inserted in a newspaper.
- (c) the date, time, place and reason for the meeting must be stated.

If any differences arose between the commissioners then an umpire could be appointed using the same procedure as for appointing commissioners.

The umpire would then take the oath which would be administered by one of the commissioners and would be attached to the award as legal evidence. The oath reads:

'I . . . do swear, That I will faithfully, impartially and honestly, according to the best of my Skill and Judgment, execute and perform the several Powers and Authorities vested and reposed in me as Umpire, by Virtue of an Act passed in the Fiftieth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, intituled . . . , according to Equity and good Conscience, and without Favour or Affection, Prejudice or Partiality, to any Person or Persons whomsoever. So help me GOD.'

The daily allowance to the commissioners and umpire 'as a Recompence for their Pains and Trouble' was £2 12s. 6d. 'and no more.' They had to pay their own expenses when attending any meeting. All meetings were to be announced 'immediately after Divine Service' on Sundays and a notice was to be affixed on the church door at least ten days in advance giving details of the meeting to be held. Meetings had to be held in the parish or within eight miles. At the same time notices of all meetings had to be inserted in the *Hereford Journal* or some newspaper circulating in the county.

The commissioners were given the power to settle differences between interested parties, they could assess and award costs and charges, and if anyone refused to pay they had the power to sell the goods and chattels of that person in order to cover the costs awarded and the expenses of having to sell the goods. Anyone

who was dissatisfied with any allotment could have the matter determined by 'Trial at Law' at the Hereford Assizes provided that notice was given within three months.

No person was permitted to graze cattle, sheep, lambs or goats on any highway, lane or passage which had been laned off or fenced on both sides for seven years after the award was made. If grazing took place there within the seven years a fine of 20s. for every beast or horse and 10s. for every sheep, lamb or goat was levied. Also any proprietor had the right to impound any animal and accept the fine.

The lord of the manor to compensate for 'his right of soil' was to have an allotment of one-sixteenth of the value of all the lands. The residue, i.e. fifteen-sixteenths, was to be allotted among all owners and persons according to their claims, rights and interests. A notice had to be placed on the outer doors of Wigmore Church ordering the rights of common on the lands being enclosed 'to be extinguished or suspended forever.'

The commissioners were to direct as to how the common lands should be enclosed, hedged, ditched, fenced and maintained. Gaps and openings were to be left in the fences for six months after the award was made so that cattle and carts could pass through, unless the interested parties agreed to fence completely before the time was up.

When the roads and ways were laid out, the surveyor of highways for Wigmore parish was to have some 'parcels of land being part of the commons' 'for digging for and getting of stone, gravel and other materials for the repairs of the highways, public and private roads.'

The allotment which was made to the vicar of Wigmore in respect of his glebe, had to be fenced 'on the outward Boundaries' at the expense of all the other persons entitled to allotments.

All the lands enclosed were to take on the same tenure as the lands on which the allotment was claimed.

It was laid down that no cattle, sheep, lambs or goats were to be turned into or kept in any allotment for seven years unless a fence was made 'to guard the young Quick Fences' round the allotments 'from being cropped, hurt or damaged by such Cattle, Sheep, Lambs or Goats.'

The commissioners were empowered to sell by private contract or auction sufficient of the common lands to be enclosed to pay the expenses of:

- (1) obtaining the act of Parliament.
- (2) carrying it out, i.e. surveying, measuring, planning, valuing, dividing and allotting the lands.
- (3) enclosing or fencing the allotments.
- (4) scouring, widening and repairing ancient bridges, brooks, ditches or watercourses.
- (5) making the public and private roads.
- (6) preparing, executing and enrolling the award.

The commissioners could convey the lands when sold to the purchasers when they had paid over the money. If not enough money was received from the sale of lands then all the other persons had to make up the difference in their respective proportions. If there was a surplus of money from the sale of lands, this was to be divided among the proprietors.

The commissioners could borrow money at interest from any one who was willing to lend to defray the expenses of the act and award, but as soon as the sale of common lands was made, the money had to be repaid.

Exchange of lands was allowed provided the details were specified in the award and the cost of these had to be borne by those making the exchanges.

When the award was completed and enrolled it was to be deposited in the church chest of Wigmore. Each year after the act was passed a true statement of the accounts with the relevant vouchers had to be laid before the justices of the peace for the county of Hereford and by them examined and balanced. If anyone was aggrieved he could appeal within three months to the Quarter Sessions provided the complaint had been made in writing and fourteen days notice had been given. The lords and ladies of the manor retained their rights as before.

The act had received the Royal Assent on 9 June 1810 so what did the commissioners carry out?

THE AWARD (See map)

The award is dated 10 November 1828⁵ and it was enrolled on 28 September 1831. So what happened between 1810 and 1828 and what did they do? Unfortunately, the minutes of the commissioners do not appear to have survived—a pity—as these could have been enlightening.

Street, St. Clement Danes, Middx., now of Kennington Lane, Parish of Lambeth, Surrey, and in 1828 as of Blackmoor, Essex, gent. John Harris, was late of Wickton and now of Heath, county of Hereford, gent. The commissioners were chosen by the main proprietors and Harris may have been the choice of the clergy.

The award document is two feet square. It contains a coloured map one foot six inches by two feet of the area enclosed showing all the allotments, either numbered or lettered, and nine pages of parchment, two feet three inches by two feet in copper-plate handwriting giving full details. Some official documents are also attached.

Eleven public roads, referred to as 'public carriage and drift roads' each thirty feet wide and three private roads, 'private carriage and drift roads' each twenty feet wide were laid out. Precise details and directions were stated, e.g. public road, No. 5, Dickendale Road was described as 'one other public carriage and drift road of the width of 30 feet branching out of the public road No. 4 and extending in an easterly direction till it meets an old road leading to Lower Ley by the homestead of William Harper and continuing in the same direction till it meets the old road between the old enclosures of the Earl of Oxford and William Harper leading to Dickendale.'

Twenty-five plots of land were sold to cover the expenses; unfortunately no accounts have been found. These plots amounted to 346 acres 1 rood 25 perches of the 793 acres 3 roods 29 perches which was 43.6% of the whole, leaving 56.4% to be allocated. These twenty-five allotments were sold to fifteen different persons. William Harper, The Haven, bought 173 acres 3 roods 1 perch, the largest amount; the smallest was 1 acre 2 roods 25 perches purchased by the Revd. William Jones. An example of an allotment which was sold reads: 'Unto and for William Beddoes one plot or Allotment Number 6 on Plan containing eight acres three roods and twenty-eight perches bounded on the North by the Public Road Number 3, on the East by an Allotment made to the Earl of Oxford, South and West by Allotments sold to George Bowen and William Harper. To fence against the said Road George Bowen and William Harper.'

The surveyor of the highways for Wigmore parish was allowed 3 acres 3 roods in the form of six little quarries for stone and gravel for the public and private roads.

Two public watering-places were allocated for the use of the public. One was a spring of water and the other Goldway Pool, a total of 1 rood 30 perches.

The Earl of Oxford as lord of the manor of Wigmore was entitled to one-sixteenth of the residue and received 20 acres 2 roods 26 perches.

The residue of the common lands enclosed, 395 acres 2 roods 6 perches was allocated among forty-six persons 'in right of their respective properties.' The two largest receivers were 202 acres 1 rood 24 perches, 51% to the Earl of Oxford; and 104 acres 2 roods, 26% to the Revd. James Keville. This left 23% to be divided among the other forty-four persons. Although the Earl of Oxford received 202 acres 1 rood 24 perches this was made up of twenty-eight plots varying in size from 53½ acres to 1 rood 4 perches. On the other hand the Revd. James Keville's 104½ acres was made up of three plots, two being 46½ acres and 54½ acres respectively and the third 3½ acres. The other forty-four persons among them received fifty-three allotments, the smallest were 6 perches and 4 perches to John Jennnings and James Birch respectively. The allotments ranged as follows:

under 1 rood = 19	1 rood to 1 acre = 14	
1 to 5 acres = 15	5 to 10 acres = 4	10 to 20 acres = 1

An example of an allotment of the residue which was allocated to Thomas Bowen reads: 'Unto and for Thomas Bowen and his Heirs one Plot or Allotment Number 77 on the Plan containing one Acre and thirty-three perches bounded on the North East by an Allotment made to John Hagley Mason, South by the Turnpike Road, South West by an Allotment to the Surveyor of the Highways, and on the West by the boundary of the parish of Lingen. To fence against the Turnpike Road and the Surveyor of the Highways.'

Nine allotments totalling 11 acres 1 rood 37 perches, lettered A-J (no I), were allocated to seven leaseholders. There was only one exchange. The Earl of Oxford exchanged 1 acre 10 perches for 2 roods with William Hanbury.

The award showed 793 acres 3 roods 29 perches of land allotted and divided into 127 allotments. Fifty-eight persons were involved including the prime movers of the act, the Earl of Oxford and the Revd. James Keville. Roads and rivers amounted to 15 acres 2 roods 25 perches. (See Appendix).

THE COST

We now know the details of the act and the award and how much land each person received, but we do not know what costs were involved. In the case of the Aymestrey and Kingsland enclosure act of 1814 the proceeds from the sale of land to defray the expenses were given as part of the award.⁷ These worked out at £14 per acre, a total cost of £971 10s. Fortunately a number of deeds conveying the lands which were sold to defray the costs of the Wigmore enclosure act of 1810 survive. These are of interest as they show that soon after the 3 February 1816,⁸ the date when lands were to be sold by public auction, they were being purchased. On 6 February 1816,⁹ Harris and Ward, the commissioners agreed with William Harper of the Haven, timber merchant, to sell to him forty-four

acres at £9 per acre and fifteen acres at £11 per acre. He paid a deposit of £50 and had to pay the remainder by the 6 May. For this land he paid £560 17s. 6d. On 14 November 1817¹⁰ he bought a further twenty-six acres for £329. On 2 March 1816,¹¹ Harris and Ward, sold four acres at £20 per acre to Francis Mason, farmer. This indenture states that at the public auction on 3 February 1816,⁸ 'no bid reached the reserved value' but that Francis Mason 'since offered demanded sum of £20 per acre' . . . 'being part and parcel of the waste called Dearfold' . . . 'and set out and allotted' by the commissioners 'for sale' having 'old enclosures of the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer on the north the New Road lately set out by the said commissioners leading to Dickendale on the south and other parts of the said waste on the other parts thereof.' He paid £80 for four acres and this has been identified as Plot 17 on the plan of the award. Enclosed with this deed was the bill for the conveyancing of the land which Francis Mason also had to pay. This was dated 12 February 1816 and amounted to £8 16s. 6d. As the money was not paid 13s. 4d. was added to the bill making a total of £9 9s. 10d. and said that it must be paid on 13 June at the Oak Inn, Leominster. On 13 June William Harper (apparently on behalf of Francis Mason) paid £9 to Joseph Harris who was clerk to the commissioners. He endorsed it 'The commissioners are to pay me the balance.' These deeds also stated that the purchasers at their own expense were to fence as the 'commissioners shall order or direct to their entire satisfaction' 'by a good imbankment and well quicked and railed.' The purchase price of 124 acres out of the 346 acres which were sold to defray the expenses have been traced and amounted to £1,749 10s. This works out at £14 per acre, identical to that for the Aymestrey act. Hence one can estimate fairly accurately that the total cost of the Wigmore act was £5,850. In addition the purchasers had to pay their conveyance and fencing charges. It is noticeable that the land must have varied in quality as the cost per acre ranged from £9 to £20.

We now know that 59% of the land in the Limebrook township was enclosed 1810-28. The enclosing of the land meant that the common rights on the land enclosed were extinguished. The land would become more productive and the landscape would change. Previous to 1810 542 acres 1 rood 25 perches, 41% of the land in this township was under cultivation. What do we know about the area pre the enclosure, who received the allotments because of their common rights and where were they living?

THE AREA PRE-ENCLOSURE

In 1591¹² the Forest of Deerfold was leased by the Crown to Downing and Kiffen who worked the ironworks at Bringewood. By 1595¹³ it was held on lease by Sir Gelly Meyrick and Sir Henry Lindley and after 1601¹⁴ when Meyrick was executed Lindley held it on his own. During the period 1610-18 it seems that the

area was heavily felled to supply the ironworks and Ludlow Castle. A survey in 1632¹⁵ by Samuel Parsons stated that the unenclosed area was 1,330 acres. Charles I leased Deerfold to the Earl of Lindsey who on 2 September 1637¹⁶ agreed with the 'inhabitants of Wigmore Borough, Adforton, Letton, Newton, Stanway, Lymebrook, Dervolds Chappel, the Grange and Peytoe, Walford, Overlye and Netherlye, Sherlye, Lingen and Yeattons who claimed to have right of Common in the Forest of Dervold' to enclose for his own use one half of it, and the other half to be left for the commoners use. Lindsey ditched and enclosed his half and the commoners broke down his fences and complained that the Earl should 'disafforest and destroye the deer therein,' as they 'do great hurt and damage them in their corne.' The Earl destroyed the deer, surveyed, measured and cut down much of the timber and divided, ditched and quicksetted. Lord Craven acquired these lands from Lindsey, and he in 1664¹⁷ agreed to enclose 540 acres which were to include 'Francis Lowes house and backsyde, Vallowes in Dickendale, the Banck below Dyers house, and all other late erected cottages upon Dervold, except such as by the Commoners shall be judged, inconvenient to remayne where they now are erected.' By 1722¹⁸ the Earl of Oxford was the chief landowner. A little document dated 3 February 1663¹⁹ referred to eleven or twelve cottagers with the 'best land about the cottages.'

This is interesting because the 1845 tithe map for the Limebrook township of Wigmore parish gives a total of 1,336 acres 1 rood 14 perches and we know that 793 acres 3 roods 29 perches were enclosed in 1810-28, so that left 542 acres 1 rood 25 perches under cultivation which almost agrees with the 1,330 acres of 1632 and 540 acres of 1664. Other references in deeds for 1767,²⁰ 1778,²¹ and 1785²² mention cottages 'recently built.'

This showed that soon after 1600 much of the timber was cut down and used at Bringewood Forge, that by 1663 smallholdings had been created and this continued in a small way up to the act of 1810, and it was the inhabitants from the various places mentioned in the 1632 survey who then claimed their common rights 'from time out of mind.' From the poor lewne of 1662²³ it would seem that there were about 14 households in the Limebrook township and from the church lewnes for 1663,²⁴ 1671,²⁵ 1673²⁶ and 1681²⁷ there were 18 households. From the 1803²⁸ Wigmore Overseers accounts these could have reached 24.

THE AREA POST-ENCLOSURE

Having considered the area pre-1810 what has happened there since? The area enclosed was compared with the identical area on the 1845 tithe map for Wigmore.²⁹ This document gives a good picture, showing the owners, occupiers, names and sizes of the fields and the land use. An analysis of the land use showed the following.

arable land	...	440 acres	3 roods	15 perches	55.6%
pasture land	...	294 acres	2 roods	23 perches	37.1%
meadow land	...	8 acres	0 roods	6 perches	
woods etc.	...	45 acres	1 rood	19 perches	7.3%
house plots	...	4 acres	0 roods	37 perches	

Of the whole of the Limebrook township 42.2% was arable. This showed how the landscape had changed in thirty-five years, and the demand for grain to feed the growing population of the country and in particular the people in the towns as a result of the Industrial Revolution. At this time very little grain was being imported because the sailing ships were small and slow and the steamship had not yet developed.

From the tithe map it is clear that there were 36 homesteads actually in the township and some of the land was being farmed and owned by people living outside the township and even outside the parish. Examples are: Richard Harper at Chapel Farm, John Owen at Lodge Farm, Edmund Price at Upper Limebrook, all in Wigmore parish but outside the area enclosed; William Harper of the Haven in Aymestrey parish and St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Of the 36 homesteads, the Earl of Oxford owned 12 which included Lodge Farm of 245 acres. He was the largest freeholder.

The 1841 and 1851 census returns were also used.

The 1841 census³⁰ for the Limebrook township showed that there were 178 persons living in 35 houses, an average of 5.235 per household. One house was uninhabited and one was being built. The occupations were:

12 farmers	16 agricultural labourers
2 wheelwrights	2 independents
1 shoemaker	1 flaxdresser

The 1851 census,³¹ only ten years later, showed that there were 148 persons (a decrease of 30) living in 35 houses, an average of 5 persons per household. There were five houses uninhabited. The occupations were:

13 farmers	13 agricultural labourers
1 wheelwright	1 blacksmith
2 shoemakers	1 of no occupation but was the flaxdresser of the 1841 census

The sizes in acres of these 13 farms were: 2 of 200; 120; 100; 95; 60; 57; 50; 46; 32; 21; 9 and 2.

The census returns for 1861, 1871 and 1881 would no doubt show further changes.

In February 1984,³² 56 persons were living in 23 houses of which 2 were unoccupied; an average of 2.67 per household. Of these 56, 7 only were children. Of the 23 households, 16 were engaged in farming, the farms varying in size; 3 were occupied by retired couples and the 2 remaining households were each lived in by one person, occupations, if any, unknown.

Thus if one assumes that in 1803 there were 24 households in the Limebrook township, by 1841 these had risen to 34 plus one house uninhabited in 1845 there were 36, and in 1851 there were 30 plus 5 uninhabited houses. This implies that new houses had been built to replace older ones which were vacated, or that depopulation had commenced.

In 1970,³³ 23 houses were occupied and there were visible remains of 3 others. Today (1984) there are still 23 houses of which 2 are unoccupied but in good condition. In recent years most have been modernised and added to.

A reminder that the Limebrook township had been quite a settlement is borne out by the fact that the tombstones in the burial ground near the site of the Wesleyan Chapel, which was in liquidation in 1853,³⁴ near the Cross of the Tree, still remain. Also a Primitive Methodist Chapel was built at Crookmullen in 1864. In recent years this has been converted into a house. The chapel built in 1864 showed a shift of the centre of the settlement from the Cross of the Tree to Crookmullen, i.e. from west to east and nearer the village of Wigmore.

SUMMARY

As a result of the 1810 act almost 800 acres of common land in the Limebrook township were enclosed, making a total of 1,330 acres available for agriculture. By 1845 this area was arable, pasture, meadow and woodland. The population and number of houses increased, not a depopulation as had happened in some areas. The regular, straight hedges as laid out by the 1828 award are still intact, but almost all the land which was arable in 1845 is now in pasture. Sheep and cattle-rearing are the methods of farming now practised. The number of households increased to 36 in 1845 and today (1984), there are 23, practically the same as before the enclosure took place. The 16 farms are family run; so the agricultural labourer has disappeared; and because of mechanisation so have the

wheelwright and blacksmith, and also the shoemaker who was a necessary craftsman in any settlement. The 14th-century Chapel Farm, the 15th-century Upper Limebrook and 16th-century Lodge Farm farmhouses from outside the enclosure area are still in use, but many of those which were constructed of poor quality limestone before and as a result of the enclosure have gone. These changes have brought about a rural depopulation of the area. Of the public roads which were laid out, most are motorable and the others walkable, but the private ones have either disappeared or are overgrown. It is a peaceful, sheep and cattle-rearing area on the 700-900 feet plateau.

Finally, to a particular tree. In the club's *Transactions* for 1869 Dr. Bull reported on a tree³⁵ growing 'in the ancient Forest of Deerfold.' At that time this tree was one of eight known examples, three being in Herefordshire, of mistletoe growing on oak and referred to as the Mistletoe-oak. The sessile oak tree was then measured at five feet from the ground and its girth was 5 feet 8 inches, and was considered to be fifty to sixty years old. An account of it is given in the 1970 *Transactions* when it was visited during a field meeting in the area on 24 May 1870.³⁶ It was again visited by the club on 24 June 1930³⁷ when the girth measured at five feet from the ground was 9 feet 9 inches and the mistletoe was still growing on it. On 1 March 1984 at five feet from the ground the girth measured 13 feet 9 inches. The mistletoe was no longer there and it is thought that the branch on which the mistletoe was growing was blown down in the gale on 2 January 1976.³⁸ The scar where the branch was attached to the tree can be seen. This oak tree is situated in the boundary hedge between the parishes of Aymestrey and Wigmore. Was it planted some time during the enclosure between 1810 and 1828? Are the other two mistletoe-oak trees at Tedstone Delamere and Eastnor Park still flourishing?

On the same day, 1 March 1984, two ash trees in the hedge, each side of the entrance gate at The Gutters where there were once three houses, and opposite the mistletoe-oak were measured at five feet from the ground. The girth of the one to the east was 7 feet 5 inches and the other one to the west was 8 feet 2 inches. Do these also date from the time of the enclosure?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff of the Hereford Record Office for producing the documents and my husband for walking the enclosure area with me in 1983-4 to compare it with the plan of 1810-28.

REFERENCES

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- ² H.C.R.O., J64/115.
- ³ *The Journals of the House of Commons*, Wigmore petition, 4 May 1810, 327.
- ⁴ *Idem*, 8 May 1810, 340.
- ⁵ H.C.R.O., Q/R1/58.
- ⁶ H.C.R.O., Kingsland parish registers, burials, AJ16/16.
- ⁷ H.C.R.O., Q/R1/1.
- ⁸ Fortey Bequest. LC 2726 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, LC 2756 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, LC 2765 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ¹¹ *Op. cit.* in note 8.
- ¹² Dr. Bull, 'The Ancient Forest of Deerfold. Part IV. The Forest Inclosure', *Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1869), 184.
- ¹³ *Idem*.
- ¹⁴ *Idem*.
- ¹⁵ H.C.R.O., Downton Collection, T74 bundle 436. By kind permission of D. P. H. Lennox, Esq.
- ¹⁶ *Op. cit.* in note 12, 185.
- ¹⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 12, 188.
- ¹⁸ *Op. cit.* in note 12, 189.
- ¹⁹ *Op. cit.* in note 15, bundle 408.
- ²⁰ *Op. cit.* in note 8, LC 2746 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, LC 2713 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ²² *Ibid.*, LC 2696 = H.C.R.O., N 100.
- ²³ Wigmore parish records, LC 5821 = H.C.R.O., P5/12.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, LC 5802 = H.C.R.O., P5/7.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, LC 5804 = H.C.R.O., P5/8.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, LC 5805 = H.C.R.O., P5/9.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, LC 5803 = H.C.R.O., P5/10.
- ²⁸ H.C.R.O., Wigmore churchwardens accounts, G46/23.
- ²⁹ H.C.R.O., Wigmore tithe map, diocesan records.
- ³⁰ P.R.O., H.O.107/428.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, H.O.107/1982.
- ³² Taken from the *Register of Electors* 16 February 1984 for the Limebrook township of Wigmore parish.
- ³³ My husband and I walked the area in 1970 to compare it with the plan of the 1828 award.
- ³⁴ See will of Ann Harper late of Haven, dated 30 December 1851 proved P.C.C. 28 May 1853 in Fortey Bequest LC 2738 = N 100.
- ³⁵ Dr. Bull's account, *Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1869), 15 and opposite.
- ³⁶ Field Meeting 24 May 1870, *Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1870), 7-8.
- ³⁷ Field Meeting 24 June 1930, *Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1930), xvii-xviii.
- ³⁸ Information from club member, Mr. J. G. Keely, Wigmore.

H.C.R.O. = Hereford County Record Office. LC = Local Collection.
P.R.O. = Public Record Office.

APPENDIX

ALLOTMENTS FOR SALE

<i>Purchaser</i>	<i>Plot</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>roods</i>	<i>perches</i>
William Harper	1	35	1	30
do.	2	63	3	33
do.	3	48	2	00
do.	4	14	0	00
do.	5	11	3	18
William Beddoes	6	8	3	28
do.	7	2	0	00
George Bowen	8	11	1	32
do.	9	9	2	00
William Hill	10	21	3	00
do.	11	20	2	34
Cornelius Dewsall	12	8	1	39
do.	13	0	0	30
Samuel Lloyd	14	13	0	00
Thomas Rickards Watkyns	15	32	1	14
do.	16	14	2	27
Francis Mason	17	4	0	00
Francis Bowen	18	1	3	37
John Abell	19	4	0	00
do.	20	2	0	00
William Crump	21	2	2	08
William Wanklin	22	2	1	24
Revd. William Jones	23	1	2	25
Matthew Jones	24	7	2	06
William Edwards	24a	3	2	00

ALLOTMENTS FOR MATERIALS

Surveyor Highways	25	0	2	00
do.	26	0	3	00
do.	27	0	3	00
do.	28	0	1	00
do.	29	0	2	00
do.	30	1	0	00

ALLOTMENTS FOR PUBLIC WATERING PLACES

For use of the Public	31	0	1	00
do.	32	0	0	30

MANORIAL RIGHT ALLOTMENT

Earl of Oxford	33	20	2	26
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ALLOTMENTS OF THE RESIDUE

Earl of Oxford	34	36	2	10
do.	35	1	1	00
do.	36	1	0	05
do.	37	6	0	19
do.	38	2	2	00
do.	39	3	0	36
do.	40	6	0	03
do.	41	5	1	20
do.	42	0	2	00
do.	43	0	0	33
do.	44	1	1	34
do.	45	53	2	16
do.	46	4	3	14
do.	47	0	0	38
do.	48	29	2	37
do.	49	5	2	09
do.	49a	0	2	27
do.	50	12	1	33
do.	51	0	1	16
do.	52	0	1	04
do.	53	10	3	35
do.	54	0	3	33
do.	55	12	2	25
do.	68	0	1	15
do.	69	0	2	26
do.	70	1	1	09
do.	56	1	3	33
do.	57	1	2	14
Revd. James Keville	58	3	1	15
do.	59	46	3	16
do.	60	54	1	09
Matthias Price	61	2	2	10
do.	62	18	0	37
John Woodhouse	63	7	0	37
Matthew Jones	64	1	3	33
do.	113	2	2	09
William Crump	65	1	2	26
John Prince	66	2	2	25
William Harper	67	0	0	17
do.	69a	0	0	21
do.	71	0	0	21
Thomas Rickards Watkyns	72	0	0	34
St. Bartholomews Hospital	73	3	1	12
John Hagley Mason	74	0	1	02
do.	75	0	2	16
do.	76	6	0	33
Thomas Bowen	77	1	0	33
William Hanbury	78	1	0	10
do.	78a	0	0	27

William Jennings	...	79	0	0	10
John Jennings	...	80	0	0	06
James Birch	...	81	0	0	04
Preece and Wanklin	...	82	0	0	09
Thomas Monnington	...	83	0	0	15
Edward Rogers	...	84	0	0	10
Poor of Parish of Wigmore	...	85	0	0	14
— Jones	...	86	0	0	14
John Child	...	87	0	0	13
John Evans	...	88	0	0	14
Henry Prince	...	89	0	0	23
John Owens	...	90	0	0	32
William Thomas	...	91	0	0	39
James Prince	...	92	0	0	39
Thomas Preece	...	93	0	1	07
Benjamin Hill	...	94	0	1	13
William Wynde	...	95	0	2	09
Jane Lewis	...	96	0	2	00
Debora Bowen	...	97	0	1	21
Vicar of Wigmore	...	98	0	2	38
Glebe allotment					
William Lowe	...	99	0	3	35
Richard Prince	...	100	0	3	17
William Corbett	...	101	0	2	36
Richard Morris	...	102	0	2	24
Alice Yapp	...	103	0	3	39
William Palmer	...	104	1	0	08
Thomas Lewis	...	105	1	2	08
Robert Pennie	...	106	1	2	33
Ann Oakley, widow	...	107	1	3	20
William Hammonds	...	108	2	0	20
do.	...	109	2	3	33
Edward Turner	...	110	5	1	32
do.	...	111	8	0	07
Revd. William Jones	...	112	0	3	02
— Evelin, Esq.	...	114	4	1	15

ALLOTMENTS TO LEASEHOLDERS

William Pearce	...	A	3	2	03
Cornelius Dewsall	...	B	2	0	02
Samuel Lloyd	...	C	0	0	28
William Lowe	...	D	0	1	39
do.	...	E	0	3	10
William Harper	...	F	2	0	25
do.	...	G	0	2	26
do.	...	H	0	1	15
do.	...	J	1	1	09

Some Herefordshire Trichoptera (Caddis-flies)

By B. E. MILES

I report 39 different caddis-flies caught by myself, Dr. Michael Harper and Jonathan Cooter from 1982-4. Two were larvae.

Having persuaded me that to identify caddis-flies was beyond the competence of an ordinary amateur, Jonathan Cooter, Keeper of Natural History at our City Museum, engaged the interest of Dr. Ian Wallace, a distinguished trichopterist, national recorder for this Order, and Keeper of Invertebrate Zoology in the Merseyside County Museum Service, who was aware that Herefordshire was very under-recorded for these insects.

HISTORY

There seem to be no caddis records in the *Transactions* of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club. In the Victoria County History, *Herefordshire* (1908) there is undated reference to three species from Leominster and I put the likely modern names in brackets, *Anabolia coenosa* (*Limnephilus coenosus* Curtis), *Stenophylax striatus* (*Micropterna sequax* (McLach.)) and *Mormonia basalis* (*Lasiocephala basalis* (Kolenati)), the first and third found by Newman—surely Edward Newman the noted naturalist and editor whose parents lived in Leominster—the second by McLachlan an expert trichopterist.

H. M. Hallett, in the centenary volume of the Woolhope Club, *Herefordshire* (1954), drew attention to the 25 species caught by Col. Yerbury throughout the county (though seldom by the river Wye) during a prolonged visit to our renowned entomologist Dr. J. H. Wood at Tarrington in 1902. His captures were identified by R. McLachlan.¹ Notable were *Limnephilus ignavus* McLach. at Woolhope and *Tinodes dives* (Pict.) at Tarrington. Hallett himself added *Sericostoma personatum* (Spence) from the Lea near Ross-on-Wye, probably at Rudhall Springs. He also mentions the capture of *Lype reducta* (Hagen) at Bromyard by A. D. Grensted and identified by his father Professor L. W. Grensted an Oxford theologian.² Of special interest are the only recorded British specimens of *Hydroptila lotensis* (Mosely) caught with a M.V. light-trap at Hampton Bishop by C. M. Harrison on 12.8.59 and identified by D. E. Kimmins at the British Museum.³ Dr. Wallace has kindly supplied me with some further records. Brooker and Morris (1980) drew attention to the fact that the river Wye had received little attention from freshwater biologists. Their survey included three

sites—Bredwardine, Ross-on-Wye and Goodrich, relying upon larval identifications. In addition to species reported in this paper they found *Glossosoma conformis* (Neboiss), *Polycentropus flavomaculatus* (Pictet) and *Hydropsyche angustipennis* (Curtis).⁴

The lower Wye is notable for two rare leptocerid caddis, *Oecetis notata* (Rambur) found by Dr. Wallace at Ross-on-Wye and Symonds Yat in 1972 and *Setodes punctatus* (Fab.) found a few years ago at the same places. These leptocerids breed in faster water than is usual in the river Wye at Tupsley.

Dr. D. J. L. Harding has been good enough to let me report the finding of *Enoicyla pusilla* (Burmeister) larvae on 26.9.79 near Brockhampton Court (SO 685555) to the east of Bromyard⁵ and John Griffiths has allowed me to report the discovery of the same caddis about one mile south west of Bromyard (SO 644538) during the seventies and first recognised as such about 1978.⁶ Neither location has been previously recorded.

Other Herefordshire records are bound to be present in scientific journals and museums but Dr. Wallace is still at an early stage in abstracting records for his national recording scheme.

From 1964-71 M.V. light-traps were set up at 67 sites in Great Britain for the Rothamsted Insect Survey, the Trichoptera being identified by M. I. Crichton of Reading University. Unfortunately Herefordshire was not included in this operation.^{7, 8}

METHODS

My specimens came from a Robinson's 125 Volt M.V. light-trap situated 100 yards from the river Wye in the Tupsley parish of Hereford (SO 5239). Many were photographed after 3-4 minutes in my deep-freeze and later immersed in 70% spirit. Michael Harper's caddis were caught by net during moth-hunting expeditions, and his dried specimens sent with mine to Dr. Wallace with the photographic slides. He also identified Jonathan Cooter's adults and larvae. Altogether there were some 160 specimens and 117 slides. The slides were mainly for my own benefit, there being no comprehensive illustrated text-book on Trichoptera in English. Only a small proportion can be identified with confidence from slides, study of wing venation and microscopy of genitalia being required for certainty.

The names of Trichoptera mentioned are according to *Limnofauna Europea* (1978) ed. J. Illies.

SPECIES IDENTIFIED

TABLE I

SPECIES CAUGHT AT HEREFORD BY B.E.M.

FAMILY AND GENUS	SPECIES	NUMBER AND SEX	DATES 1983	ANGLER'S FLY
RHYACOPHILIDAE				
<i>Rhyacophila</i>	<i>dorsalis</i> (Curtis)	1 m	2/11	The sand fly
	<i>munda</i> McLach.	8 m	10/11-29/12	
GLOSSOSOMATIDAE				
<i>Agapetus</i>	<i>ochripes</i> Curtis	1 m 1 f	10/6-30/6	
HYDROPTILIDAE				
<i>Hydroptila</i>	<i>lotensis</i> Mosely	1 m 1 f	22/6	
PSYCHOMYIIDAE				
<i>Psychomyia</i>	<i>pusilla</i> (Fab.)	2 m 6 f	17/6-6/9	Small yellow sedge
HYDROPSYCHIDAE				
<i>Hydropsyche</i>	<i>contubernalis</i> McLach.	5 m 1 f	25/5-16/7	Marbled sedge
	<i>pellucidula</i> (Curtis)	9 m 11 f	25/5-29/9	Grey flag
	<i>siltalai</i> Döhler	2 f	13/7-29/7	
<i>Cheumatopsyche</i>	<i>lepida</i> Pictet	8 m 1 f	28/6-15/8	
PHRYGANEIDAE				
<i>Phryganea</i>	<i>grandis</i> Linn.	1 m	12/6	Great red sedge
	<i>bipunctata</i> (Retzius)	1 f	19/6 (1984)	
LIMNephilidae				
<i>Limnephilus</i>	<i>affinis</i> Curtis	1 m	1/10	Cinammon sedge
	<i>auricula</i> Curtis	4 m 4 f	30/5-2/11	
	<i>extricatus</i> McLach.	1 m	17/6	
	<i>flavicornis</i> Fab.	1 m	26/9	
	<i>lunatus</i> Curtis	2 m 1 f	2/8-24/10	
	<i>rhombicus</i> Linn.	1 m	26/9	
	<i>vittatus</i> Fab.	2 m 1 f	20/5-25/9	

<i>Grammotaulius</i>	<i>nigropunctatus</i> Kolenati	1 m	13/9	
<i>Halesus</i>	<i>radiatus</i> (Curtis)	5 m 1 f	29/9-9/11	The caperer
<i>Stenophylax</i>	<i>permistus</i> McLach.	5 m 3 f	24/5-6/11	
LEPTOCERIDAE				
<i>Athripsodes</i>	<i>albifrons</i> (Linn.)	1 f	25/6-20/7	
	<i>cinereus</i> (Curtis)	1 f	16/7	Brown silverhorn
<i>Ceraclea</i>	<i>annulicornis</i> (Stephens)	1 m 3 f	7/6-22/6	
	<i>dissimilis</i> (Stephens)	8 m 6 f	10/6-1/10	
	<i>fulva</i> (Rambur)	1 m 3 f	21/7-28/8	
<i>Mystacides</i>	<i>azurea</i> (Linn.)	2 f	16/7-6/8	Black silverhorn
	<i>longicornis</i> (Linn.)	1 f	21/6	The grouse wing
GOERIDAE				
<i>Goera</i>	<i>pilosa</i> (Fab.)	1 f	28/6	Medium sedge
BRACHYCENTRIDAE				
<i>Brachycentrus</i>	<i>subnubilus</i> Curtis	2 m 1 f	16/4	The grannom
LEPIDOSTOMATIDAE				
<i>Lepidostoma</i>	<i>hirtum</i> (Fab.)	3 m 2 f	25/6-5/8	The silver sedge

The number and dates refer to the specimens sent to Dr. Wallace. On a 'good' night I caught several hundred caddis-flies but only sent him those that I thought might be different.

SPECIES IDENTIFIED

TABLE II

SPECIES CAUGHT BY M.H.

FAMILY AND GENUS	SPECIES	NUMBER AND SEX	DATES	PLACE AND ANGLER'S FLY
HYDROPSYCHIDAE				
<i>Hydropsyche</i>	<i>pellucidula</i> (Curtis)	1 f	23/8	The Flitts Marsh SO 3742 Grey flag
PHRYGANEIDAE				
<i>*Trichostegia</i>	<i>minor</i> (Curtis)	1 m	24/7	Upper Welson Marsh SO 293157
LIMNephilidae				
<i>*Limnephilus</i>	<i>hirsutus</i> (Pictet)	1 f	18/8	R. Wye. Seven Sisters Rocks SO 5415
<i>*Potamophylax</i>	<i>latipennis</i> (Curtis)	1 f	18/8	As above. Large cinamon sedge
BERAEIDAE				
<i>*Beraea</i>	<i>pullata</i> (Curtis)	1 m	7/6	The Flitts Marsh SO 3742
SERICOSTOMATIDAE				
<i>*Sericostruma</i>	<i>personatum</i> (Spence)	1 f	18/8	R. Wye. Seven Sisters Rocks SO 5415 Welshman's button

* Not in Table I

SPECIES IDENTIFIED

TABLE III

SPECIES CAUGHT BY J.C. IN 1982/84

FAMILY AND GENUS	SPECIES	DATE	PLACE
RHYACOPHILIDAE			
<i>Rhyacophila</i>	<i>dorsalis</i> (Curtis)	30/9	Downton gorge. River Teme. (N.N.R.) SO 454750
PHILOPOTAMIDAE			
* <i>Philopotamus</i>	<i>montanus</i> (Donovan)	8/3/84	Larva The Gullet, Lingen SO 3567
LIMNEPHILIDAE			
<i>Limnephilus</i>	<i>vittatus</i> (Fab.)	9/10	Moccas Park. (N.N.R.) SO 3442
<i>Grammotaulius</i>	<i>nigropunctatus</i> Kolenati	9/10	Moccas Park. (N.N.R.) SO 3442
* <i>Anabolia</i>	<i>nervosa</i> (Curtis)	30/9	Downton gorge. River Teme. (N.N.R.) SO 454750
* <i>Potamophylax</i>	<i>cingulatus</i> (Stephens)	8/3/84	Larva The Gullet, Lingen SO 3567
BRACHYCENTRIDAE			
<i>Brachycentrus</i>	<i>subnubilus</i> Curtis	14/4	Hereford SO 5139

* Not in Tables I and II. N.N.R. indicates National Nature Reserve.

DISCUSSION

1983 was an unusual year with very low summer rainfall so that the river Wye at the bottom of my orchard with its mainly sandy bottom was abnormally sluggish and as low as the Welsh Water Board permits during late June, July and August. Near the river bank the water was tepid and nearly stagnant. There is a small marshy area near the Wye 200 yards away from which the Bulrush Wainscot moth (*N. typhae*) comes to my trap and two or three small ponds within 500 yards.

Dr. Wallace informs me from his knowledge of their larval habitat that most of my specimens came from the river but a few species, e.g. *Limnephilus affinis*, *L. auricula* and *Grammotaulius nigropunctatus* may have come from the neighbouring ponds, whereas *Stenophylax permistus* breeds in ditches which only hold water in the winter and the adult wanders widely, even into the middle of large cities.

The 39 species recorded out of the 198 British Trichoptera may be divided by life-style into three groups, each with families represented.⁹ (See Tables).

1. RHYACOPHILIDAE with free-roaming caseless larvae.
2. PSYCHOMYIIDAE, HYDROPSYCHIDAE and PHILOPOTAMIDAE—web makers.

The larvae of the Psychomyiidae build galleries, tunnel-shaped structures several times the length of the larva, constructed with mineral fragments and silk, fixed to a rocky surface, our sole representative feeds on a variety of diatoms. Surprisingly we had no representative of the Polycentropodidae which spin loose webs which snare underwater animals in the same manner as terrestrial spiders.

The larvae of the Hydropsychidae typically colonise moss-covered stones in fast flowing water; an open-ended tube fixed between moss stems terminates anteriorly in a complicated net constructed as a rule at right angles to the current so that plant and animal material is trapped to be eaten by the larva.¹⁰

The Philopotamidae larvae commonly found in small fast flowing streams spin nets in the form of long tubular bags with exceedingly fine mesh, which they use to filter out minute food particles.

3. The remaining families in the Tables have case-building larvae which represent some three-quarters of British Trichoptera. They construct a silken tube which they decorate with vegetable material, leaves, stalks, pine needles, etc. cut to

measure, or heavier ballast such as sand, tiny stones or even snail shells appropriate to the prevailing conditions. The larvae drag these cases along the river bed for camouflage and protection as they seek their microscopic animal or plant food.

Case-building is not unique to these insects and is exemplified in the Lepidoptera by the Coleophoridae whose larvae walk about protected by cunningly rolled-up leaf fragments previously cut from the leaf margins. The mode of inheritance of such complex, delicate and subtle practices, bearing in mind that the larvae enlarge through a series of moults, is beyond comprehension.

Though not relevant to this paper, I digress for a paragraph on the recently discovered Herefordshire sites for the unique case-builder *Enoicyla pusilla* mentioned previously. It is the only British caddis that is purely terrestrial, building its case as a rule in oak leaf litter. The female is wingless. Apart from its great interest its distribution and the means of its apparent spread is tantalising. For years it was thought to be confined to Wyre Forest but since it has been found in other Worcestershire woods and also in the south east corner of Shropshire. Now we have two Herefordshire sites. One established Worcestershire stronghold is at High Wood alongside the West Malvern Field Centre but strangely it has not been found on two occasions, the last in 1984, at Vinesend—which the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust 'manage'—or Cotherwood, a nature reserve, both within half a mile or so from High Wood and in Herefordshire. Mr. Harris, the warden at the Field Centre, has been most co-operative. No doubt other sites will be found in our county if looked for. The caddis is easy to identify once seen, and Jonathan Cooter has larval cases in our City Museum and can instruct anyone in their identification.

Outstanding was the capture of a male and female *H. lotensis*. The first and only British record was, as previously mentioned, in 1959 at Hampton Bishop, two miles down stream from my orchard. It is tiny, with a forewing of less than 3 mm., and easily overlooked.

Dr. Wallace was surprised by my captures of *Rhyacophila munda*, normally from upland stony rivers. It might have been blown from a distance but its presence at light on October 10, October 27, November 2, November 11 and December 29 makes this unlikely. The capture of two leptocerids, *Mystacides longicornis* and *Ceraclea fulva*, typical of lakes, was also unexpected. Presuming that they came from the Wye, it bears witness to the very slow nature of the particular section adjacent to my light-trap.

Angler's names for caddis flies with some useful information for beginners and several photographs, were obtained from Goddard's *Trout Fly Recognition*.¹¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper would have been impossible without the professional help of Dr. I. D. and his wife Dr. B. Wallace who made virtually all the identifications. For their many hours looking at the specimens and slides I am most grateful. Their thorough criticisms of the first draft of my paper has saved me from several solecisms and their extra references will be of great assistance to future students of this fascinating Order in Herefordshire.

Jonathan Cooter, apart from his specimens, has been invaluable; advising me what to read, providing reprints of relevant articles and acting as go-between with the Wallaces. His wide knowledge of insects and professional criticism were very much appreciated and a credit to our local Museum service.

Michael Harper with characteristic helpfulness took the trouble to catch some of the most interesting caddis specimens found.

Dr. Harding and John Griffiths have been eager to help in every way.

Apart from a few specimens retained by the Wallaces for their collections at Liverpool the insects are now stored at the City Museum, Hereford.

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The Mollusca of some Herefordshire Woodland Reserves

By R. A. D. CAMERON

MOLLUSCA (slugs and snails) are often ignored in general surveys of nature reserves, because many species are small or inconspicuous, and some are hard to identify. This is unfortunate, since many species have rather restricted distributions, and may be dependent on conservation for long-term survival. This is especially true in ancient woodland, which is much the richest habitat for molluscs; many species are found most often there, and some are restricted to it. Herefordshire still retains substantial areas of deciduous woodland, and has a diversity of rocks, including limestone, which support rich molluscan faunas. A number of rare and restricted species are recorded for the county, most notably *Phenacolimax major* in Cusop Dingle.¹

Over the last few years I have taken parties from the Woolhope Club to survey molluscs in seven woodland reserves owned or managed by the Hereford and Radnor Nature Trust. The visits have each involved about 1-2 hours searching within the wood, and the collection of bags of litter subsequently searched through in the laboratory. This method has proved reliable for snails, in that a fairly complete list is obtained on one visit, but is less so for slugs. Only repeated visits in appropriate weather will ensure a complete record. The results of these surveys are given here, together with surveys of Holywell Dingle carried out by Dr. June Chatfield and Mr. & Mrs. P. J. Port. The surveys of Leeping Stocks and Woodside on the Doward are supplemented by earlier surveys carried out by Mr. D. C. Long.

Details of the sites are as follows:

(a) *On Great Doward.* Samples made in 1976 (D. C. Long) and 1982 (R.A.D.C.).

Three sites have been sampled, Woodside (SO 555157), Leeping Stocks (SO 548162) and White Rocks (SO 549158). All are on thin soils on Carboniferous limestone. The woodlands are probably ancient, but have been subject to some disturbance, as shown by planted beech, by the presence of much grazing resistant blackthorn and hawthorn, and by the occurrence of birch, willow and aspen thickets. The woodland flora is not especially rich, and is frequently dominated by bramble. Only snails found in the woods are listed; Woodside also includes an old meadow in which grassland snails occur.

(b) *Near Fownhope.* Samples made in 1977 and 1981 (R.A.D.C.).

Two sites have been sampled, Nupend (SO 582353) and Lea and Paget's Wood (SO 597343). Both overlie Silurian limestone. Nupend is rather open and dry in places, with old quarries. The upper and drier areas contain much yew and oaks; lower and damper areas, with a richer flora, are oak/hazel coppice. Lea and Paget's Wood is generally richer—a mixed deciduous wood with coppicing, and a rich calcareous woodland flora.

(c) *Near Tenbury.* Samples made in 1980 (R.A.D.C.).

Two sites have been sampled, Motlins Hole (SO 603625) and Romer's Wood (SO 603633). Both lie on Old Red Sandstone, with some steep slopes and seepage. Motlins Hole is very damp in its lowest parts. Both are probably ancient coppices subsequently overplanted with timber trees in the 19th century.

(d) *Holywell Dingle.* (SO 312513). Samples made in 1980 and 1981 (Dr. J. Chatfield, P. J. Port).

A typical, but rather sparse dingle woodland along a stream on Old Red Sandstone.

The eight sites sampled are widely distributed over the county. The table lists the species found in each, giving a total of 33 species of snail and 14 of slugs. Both the total number of species found, and the species composition are similar at all sites. For snails, which can be more reliably sampled on a single visit, 15 out of the 33 species occur in all, or all but one of the sites. Because some species have extremely patchy distributions, even within a single wood, these lists are almost certainly not complete: if they were, the close resemblance between the sites would probably be even more striking. Of the less frequent species of snail in the list, *Acicula fusca*, *Columella edentula* and *Nesovitrea hammonis* are small and inconspicuous, and *Zenobiella subrufescens* and *Helicigona lapicida* are often patchily distributed. *Pomatias elegans* and *Cochlicopa lubricella* are found only at Nupend, and in rather open areas, while *Carychium minimum* and *Vertigo substriata* are species typical of wetter soils, which were only sampled adequately at Motlins Hole.

The slugs are less adequately sampled, and the highest total (at Holywell Dingle) occurs in the site visited most often.

Taken together, the mollusc faunas are typical of woodland on fertile and lime-rich soils without waterlogging. The overall richness, and the presence of such woodland indicators as *Acicula fusca*, *Limax cinereoniger* and *Cochlodina laminata*^{2 & 3} suggests that all the woods are ancient. They are, however, not as rich as some ancient woods elsewhere—for example the Cotswold scarp wood-

lands. This may be because most of them show signs of considerable disturbance. The least disturbed appears to be Lea and Paget's Wood, and a full list from that site (which might add a further 4-8 snail species) might come close to the richest known sites in the country.

A number of other species are recorded from Herefordshire woodland. Boycott¹ & ⁴ records *Phenacolimax major*, *Azeca goodalli* and *Arianta arbustorum* from Cusop Dingle, and the rare woodland slug *Limax tenellus* from Haugh Wood. Other species recorded for Herefordshire, and which might well occur in woods are *Deroceras laeve*, *Leiostryla anglica*, *Macrogastra rolphii* and *Helix aspersa*.⁵

This list of species already recorded in Herefordshire woods is thus already more than 50, which represents more than a third of the known British fauna. Many of these species are rare outside ancient woodland and woodland relic hedges, emphasizing the importance of woodland nature reserves as refuges for our molluscan fauna.

I should like to thank Mr. Cyril Sheldrake for organising the visits, and for supplying me with much information, Mrs. P. J. Port for the results of their survey of Holywell Dingle, and Mr. Peter Thomson for botanical and geological information about the sites. Thanks are also due to all those who came and helped on the site visits.

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Table of species occurrence. Snails and slugs are shown separately. The names, and the order in which they are listed follows Kerney and Cameron (1979).⁶ Agg. indicates an aggregate group of species not identifiable in the field. *Phenacolimax major* has been found by D. C. Long at Woodside, but in old meadow, not in the wood.

Species	Doward			Woolhope		Tenbury		
	Leeping Stocks	Woodside	White Rock	Lea & Paget's	Nupend	Romer's	Motlins Hole	Holywell Dingle
<i>Pomatias elegans</i>	...				x			
<i>Acicula fusca</i>	...	x	x		x			
<i>Carychium tridentatum</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Carychium minimum</i>	...					x	x	
<i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Cochlicopa lubricella</i>	...				x			
<i>Columella edentula</i>	...		x			x		x
<i>Vertigo substriata</i>	...						x	
<i>Lauria cylindracea</i>	...			x			x	
<i>Vallonia costata</i>	...	x						
<i>Acanthinula aculeata</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>Ena obscura</i>	...	x		x	x			
<i>Punctum pygmaeum</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Discus rotundatus</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Vitrina pellucida</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Vitrea crystallina</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Vitrea contracta</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>Nesovitrea hammonis</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Aegopinella pura</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Aegopinella nitidula</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>Oxychilus cellarius</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Oxychilus alliarius</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>Oxychilus helveticus</i>	...		x	x		x	x	
<i>Euconulus fulvus</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Cochlodina laminata</i>	...		x	x		x	x	
<i>Clausilia bidentata</i>	...	x		x	x			x
<i>Balea perversa</i>	...							x
<i>Zenobiella subrufescens</i>	...	x	x	x				x
<i>Trichia striolata</i>	...		x					
<i>Trichia hispida</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Helicigona lapicida</i>	...			x	x			
<i>Cepaea nemoralis</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Cepaea hortensis</i>	...	x	x	x				x
Total Snails	...	22	20	23	22	21	19	20

Species	Doward			Woolhope		Tenbury		
	Leeping Stocks	Woodside	White Rock	Lea & Paget's	Nupend	Romer's	Motlins Hole	Holywell Dingle
<i>Arion ater</i> agg	...	x	x	x		x	x	x
<i>Arion lusitanicus</i>	...							x
<i>Arion subfuscus</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Arion circumscriptus</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x		x
<i>Arion silvaticus</i>	...		x					
<i>Arion fasciatus</i>	...							x
<i>Arion hortensis</i> agg	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Arion intermedius</i>	...	x	x	x				x
<i>Milax sowerbyi</i>	...	x						
<i>Milax budapestensis</i>	...		x					x
<i>Limax maximus</i>	...	x	x	x				x
<i>Limax cinereoniger</i>	...		x			x	x	
<i>Limax marginatus</i>	...	x	x	x		x	x	x
<i>Deroceras reticulatum</i>	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Total Slugs	...	9	6	7	4	7	6	10

Pentwyn Hillfort (SO 322230)

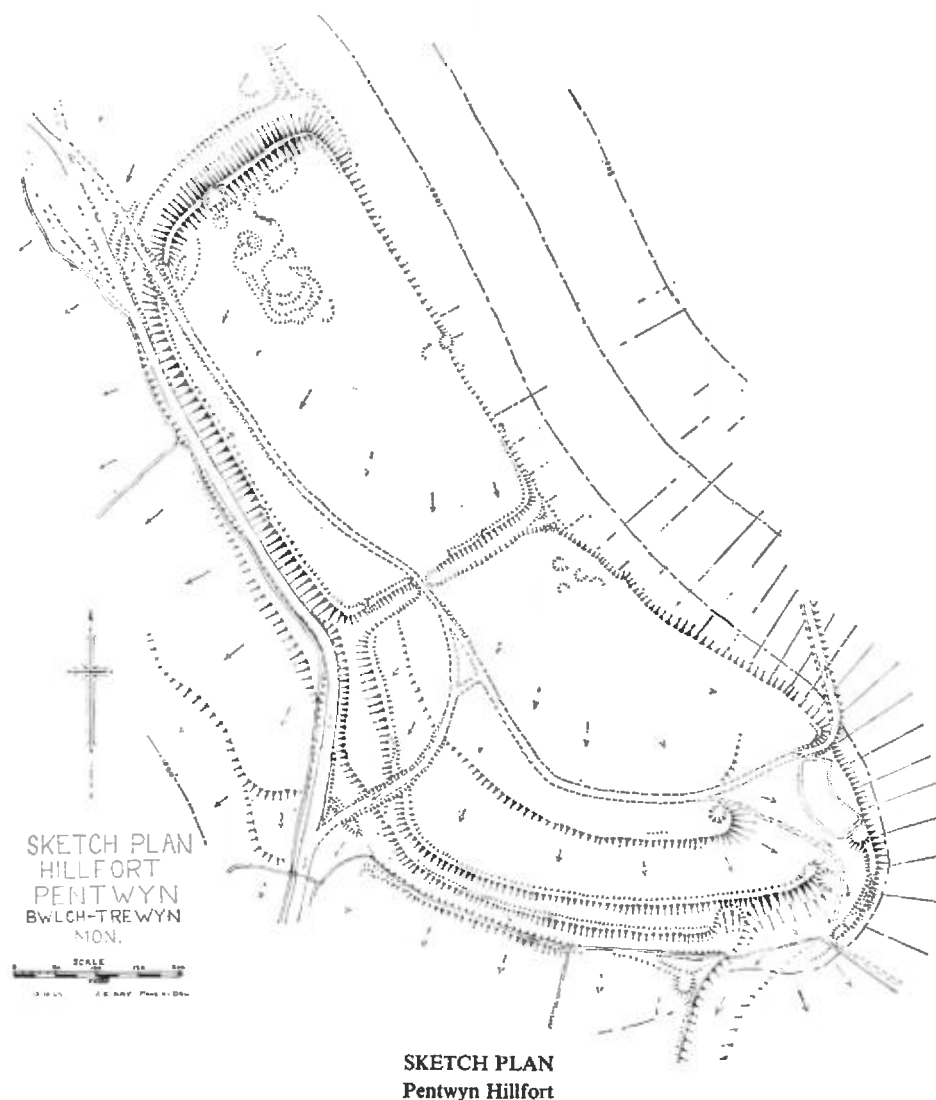
By R. E. KAY

A FIELD SURVEY OF THE EXISTING REMAINS

TO anyone travelling by rail or road from Hereford to Abergavenny on the approach to the village of Pandy the wall-like ridge of Hatterall Hill and its southern termination, Pentwyn, are silhouetted against the sky and the nick of the N rampart and the ditch of the hillfort in the outline of the ridge top form a prominent landmark.

Hatterall Hill, the easternmost ridge of the main massif of the Black Mountains, descends gradually to its southern termination of Pentwyn at a height of 1080 ft. OD and then plunges to the vicinity of the junction of the Monnow and Honddu at Pandy. These streams run in deep valleys on either side of the main ridge before arriving at their confluence. There is a continuing and abruptly rising upland from Pentwyn to the south-west at Llwy Hill, separated by the lower saddle at Groes Llwyd. The hillfort is at the south extremity of Pentwyn at the point where the slope descends steeply to this saddle. On a clear day the site commands a vast prospect in all directions except to the north and its close neighbouring hillforts at Walterstone Common and Twyn-y-gaer are visible across its valleys immediately to the east and west. The site is an exposed one, with the ground sloping precipitously away on the east to the floor of the valley of the Monnow many hundreds of feet below. On the west the slope, although not precipitous, drops steeply down to the Honddu Valley, while on the south the slope is of a slightly less gradient. Only towards the north is the approach to the defences level, rising after a short distance by easy slopes to the main bulk of Hatterall Hill.

Pentwyn will be seen to be a rather remarkable hillfort of a somewhat irregular, elongated plan with some curious complexities in the lay-out of its defences, whose surface remains would seem to indicate some complications in the development of the site over the period of its occupation, which probably extended over the last four or five centuries of the pre-Roman Iron Age. It could be suggested from the visible surface evidence that its defences were drastically remodelled at least twice during this time. The first probably took place during a period (perhaps phase is a better word to use!) of expansion and the second following a subsequent period of contraction. The earthwork seems to belong to that group of Brecknock and Monmouthshire hillforts showing a main enclosure sub-divided by cross ditches and ramparts and of which Castell Dinas¹ and neighbouring Twyn-y-Gaer² are supreme examples. Like the latter its defences are, in part, bivallate.



The defences of the suggested Initial Phase or Phase 1 of the occupation of the site seem to have been largely obscured by later alteration and destruction but it was probably a single large univallate enclosure with its defences following the north and west ramparts of the present northern subrectangular 'enclosure' or division of the hillfort and then sweeping round to the south-west and south along the line of a low scarp within the present southern sub-division of the hillfort. This scarp would seem to indicate the site of an early and subsequently levelled rampart. There are still fairly substantial remains of what appears to be an original entrance on its south-east segment.

During a suggested Phase 2, the enclosed area of the defences was further extended to the south and south-west after the apparent slighting of the defences of Phase 1 in this portion of their circuit. The new defences being constructed further out and lower down the hillslope, consisted of an inner rampart, below which was a wide berm or terrace and an outer rampart defended by a ditch and counterscarp bank. The wide intervening space between the two ramparts may indicate an attempt at constructing in an economic manner defences in depth. The single entrance remained at the south-east of the defences close to the east escarpment of the ridge and in line with the entrance through the demolished Phase 1 rampart.

A suggested Phase 3 seems to indicate a late and considerable contraction of the site. A new straight ditch and rampart was dug east to west across the narrow waist of the previously defended area, thus forming the present north sub-division of the hillfort, an almost rectangular area. The north and west ramparts of Phase 1 and 2 were retained and that on the north probably at this time, increased in height. During this phase the south defences of Phase 2 seem to have been neglected if not totally abandoned and the area of the south sub-division no longer used, at least in a defensive sense.

The excavations which have been painstakingly undertaken over a number of years at neighbouring Twyn-y-Gaer, where the area enclosed by the main defences of the hillfort had been divided into three sub-divisions by cross-ditches and ramparts, show that there were no fewer than five main phases in the development of its defences. Evidently any future excavation at Pentwyn could increase the possibility of more phases at this site, and if analogies to findings at Twyn-y-Gaer, were found at Pentwyn it may modify or even reverse the sequence of its suggested chronology of the development of the Pentwyn defences as suggested. Excavations at Twyn-y-Gaer would seem to suggest that Pentwyn on the fringe of Silurian territory also would have had a sparse occupation level, with a population level of a small hamlet, and not a crowded and densely huddled oppidum such as Croft Ambrey³ in neighbouring Decangian territory.

In now giving a little more detailed description of the earthworks it may be said that on the east side of the hillfort, the mountain slope is of such precipitous steepness that no artificial defences other than a little scarping and possibly a palisade were necessary.

The north subrectangular 'enclosure' or sub-division, as has been previously stated, seems by the comparative completeness of its defences, to represent the final modification of the hillfort. The south end of the Pentwyn ridge has been separated from the level and then gradually rising ground to the north by a deep dry ditch and a formidable rampart constructed in one almost straight length of 200 ft.. This rampart of considerable proportions, still rises some 18 ft. above the ditch and up to 10 ft. above the interior. Although it might not compare with the monumental size of the south rampart of Gaer Fawr, (near Newchurch, Mon.) similarly built across the neck of a ridge or the even more stupendous proportions of the defences of some of the larger Herefordshire hillforts, it is still an impressive work. On the west after a modern break, formed by a trackway, the rampart angles sharply round and runs in a southerly direction rising only 1 ft. to 2 ft. above the interior level but with a steep external scarp of 13 ft.. It runs some 400 ft., roughly parallel with the precipitous east scarp of the ridge, but bows outward slightly.

The west ditch for the portion of the defences described, has been altered by having been utilised as a roadway in recent times. There appears to have been a strong counter scarp bank to its southern half, now obscured by a dry-built stone wall. The suggested Phase 3 defences, just described, would appear to be the same as those of Phase 1 and 2, perhaps modified or over laid. On the south side of this north sub-division of the hillfort the defences consisted of a newly-cut ditch and a modest rampart across the waist of the older, larger defended area. This completed the defences of Phase 3. This rampart and ditch, although moderately strong, is of much slighter proportions than the north and west defences of the reduced area. A causeway over, or interruption in its ditch, leads to a simple entrance or gap in the rampart near its south-west angle. For some little distance to the east of this entrance, the rampart has recently (early 1960s) been levelled. Where the north and south ramparts of the reduced area approach the precipitous scarp at the east side of the ridge they angle round before dying out. A grassy trackway passing through the south entrance traverses the interior and cuts through the defences at the north-west angle of the enclosure, but only the south entrance is an original feature. The area enclosed has a large number of irregularities and shallow quarry pits, probably of 18th or 19th-century date and dug in search of the flat tile-like stones of the Old Red Sandstone measures, of which the dry-stone walling in the nearby field boundaries has been constructed. These disturbances are mostly

in the northern part of enclosure, close to the great north rampart. It has been reported that two Roman copper coins of Constantine were found during 1936 in the upcast from a rabbit burrow near the north rampart but it was not stated if the findspot was inside or outside the defences. Their present venue is unknown.⁴

The defences of the southern sub-division of the hillfort although quite traceable in their entirety, have in places been rather mutilated by the construction of a roadway, various tracks, dry-stone walling and past attempts at levelling. On the west a sunken trackway has been cut through the two ramparts of the suggested secondary phase of expansion of the defences, but this mutilation does not seem to mask any original entrance. West of the roadway in the field which slopes down towards the valley of the Honddu are certain ploughed down scarps which may or may not be natural features. The two ramparts of Phase 2 are seen best preserved in the middle of the south side. The inner rises 1½ ft. above the interior with an external scarp of 6 ft. to 8 ft. dropping, without a ditch, to a wide berm or terrace, varying in width, from 25 ft. to nearly three times that distance. The outer rampart rises directly from this berm or terrace, rising no more than 1 ft. to 2 ft. with an outer scarp of 5 ft. to 8 ft. to which there is a strong external ditch, now mutilated by the roadway and associated trackways on the west and south-west. The arrangements of the prominent counter-scarp bank beyond the ditch have likewise been obscured by the dry-stone walling of field boundaries. Within the area of this southern sub-division of the hillfort, and set back some 60 ft. and more from the inner rampart of suggested Phase 2 construction is a 3 ft. to 4 ft. high scarp, marking the last vestiges of the assumed Phase 1 rampart. Both this and the Phase 2 ramparts make clever use of the natural contours of the ground. On the west side of the original entrance the Phase 1 rampart shows signs of thickening to an inturn, bearing on its top a considerable pit-like depression. With the Phase 2 defences, on the west side of its steeply sloping entrance the inner rampart shows a characteristic inturn with a second depression this time on the slope of its outer scarp. East of the entrance the rampart curves outwards in a sickle shape, forcing the approach to the entrance to be made at a tangent, under the inturning rampart.

This sickle-like projection is now the only portion of the defences to show on the surface, its stony construction. The outer rampart ends a little distance to the west of the entrance, on the edge of a large depression in the outer slope of the inner rampart. This depression is possibly of recent date. The approach to the entrance through the counterscarp bank was by way of a further shallow depression, natural this time, sloping rather steeply up from the south. On the west of the entrance way, the counterscarp bank ends in a square bastion-like projection, showing traces of dry-walling and backed by a rock-cut excavation.

This feature may represent grass-grown foundations of a more recent date. The interior of the southern sub-division of the hillfort is more uneven, sloping markedly away to the west and south, than the almost level and higher northern sub-division. There is in its north-east quarter further small quarry pits similar to those south of the great north rampart. A sunken track leaves the south sub-division of the hillfort to the north of its entrance and continues as a ramp down the precipitous east escarpment of the ridge. It is probably not earlier than medieval in date. Finally, some little distance down the hillslope below the entrance and to the south-east are the remains of a fairly strong bank with a ditch on its upper side. This crosses the present approach path then angles to the north and after a little distance dies out into the precipitous eastern slope of the ridge.

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St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford

By R. SHOESMITH

INTRODUCTION

THE approximate site of St. Guthlac's Priory in the suburbs of Hereford outside the medieval Bye Street (Bysters) Gate has always been recognised. In the 19th century it was occupied in part by the Hereford Gaol and the Hereford Union Workhouse and now includes the Classic Cinema, the 'bus station and the County Hospital.

There has been little ground disturbance in recent years in the area occupied by the Classic and the 'bus station (the area which was formerly the Gaol) but developments regularly occur in the hospital area and the purpose of this paper is to draw together the evidence gleaned from these developments and from earlier documentary sources and to establish as far as possible the original disposition of the monastic settlement.

The site evidence has occurred as a result of two principal developments—the excavations for an underground walk-through duct at various times between 1978 and 1982 and the construction of a Mental Illness Unit in 1983. These areas are shown in FIG. 1 together with other minor developments which, as a whole, produced negative evidence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Contractors working on the first part of the underground duct (Area 1, FIG. 2) in 1978 exposed a series of skeletons and the Health Authority contacted the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee for help and advice. The Committee mounted an emergency rescue project to examine and catalogue the remains and in this they were assisted by Miss Sandford of the Hereford City Museum and by voluntary helpers. Several members of the staff of the County Hospital helped with the examination of the skeletal material and dental charts were prepared by Mr. E. P. Powell. Skulls were rebuilt where possible and photographically recorded in the hospital laboratory.

The duct was extended in 1982 (Area 2, FIG. 2) and the Area Health Authority provided the necessary funds to allow the Committee to examine the area and to catalogue the remains. The recording procedure was similar to that used in 1978 with archaeological staff visiting the site whenever necessary.

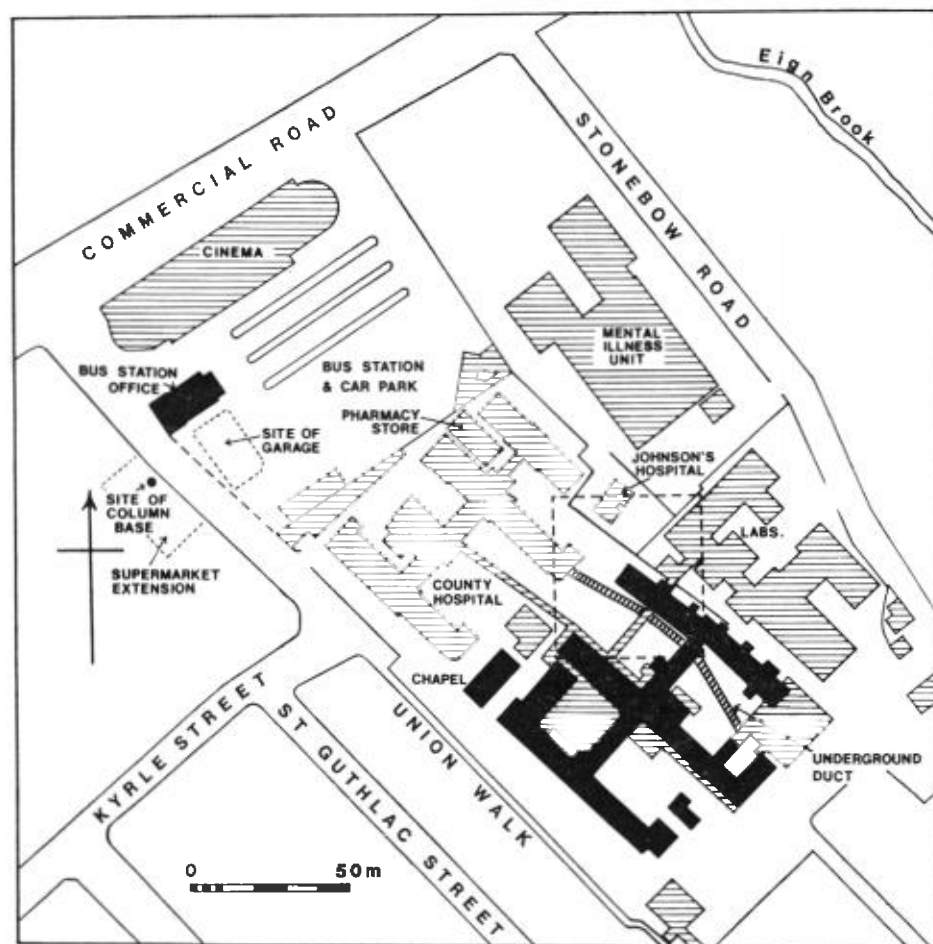


FIG. 1

The site at present showing developments which have occurred between 1978 and 1983. The buildings shown solid are the remaining parts of the Hereford Gaol (the governor's house) and the Hereford Union Workhouse. The outlined area is shown in detail on FIG. 2

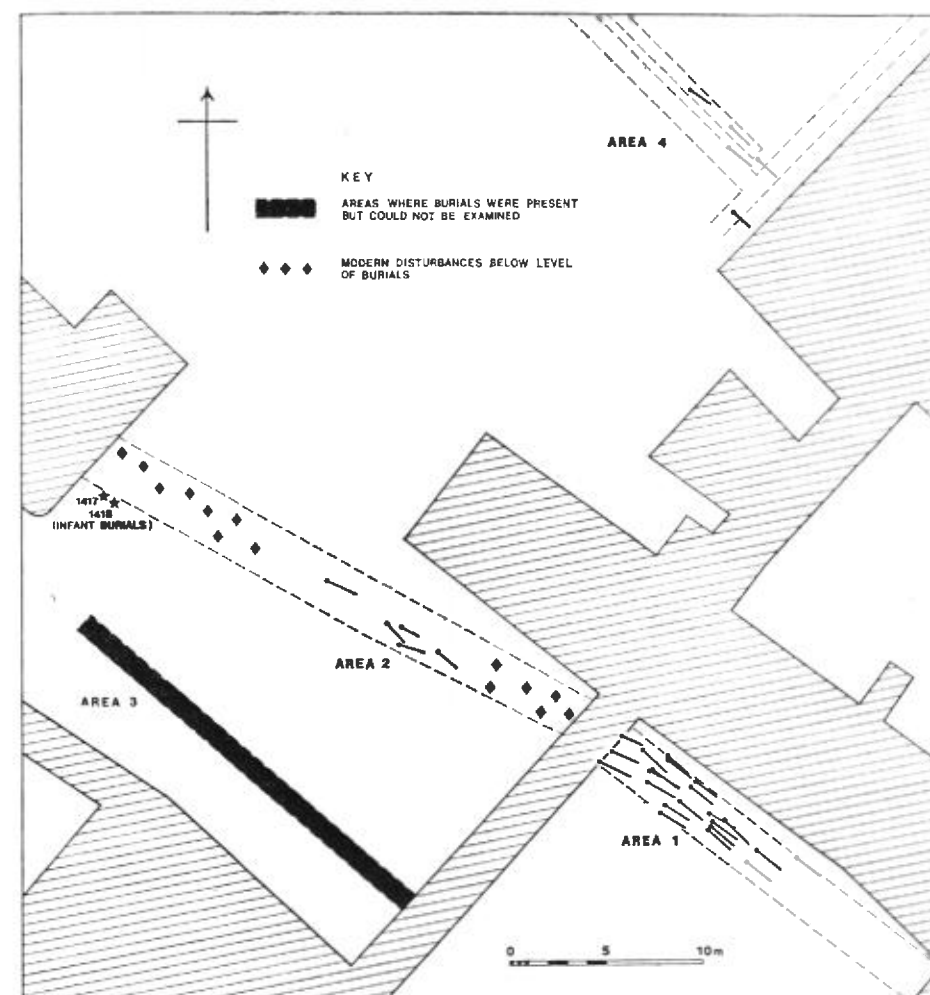


FIG. 2

The areas in which burials were found (see FIG. 1 for position). The alignments of the individual burials are shown wherever this could be assessed with any accuracy. Details of the burials in areas 1 and 2 are shown in FIGS. 4 and 6

Foundation and drainage trenches excavated in advance of the construction of the Mental Illness Unit were recorded as they were dug, often in difficult circumstances, as a result of a grant from the Department of the Environment. Skeletal material, which only occurred in a small area of this site, was recorded as previously.

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee is indebted to the Health Authority for its assistance and help during the work including the provision of site accommodation; to the various people who assisted in the examination and cataloguing of the information; to the excavation and recording staff and in particular Miss R. M. Crosskey, Miss F. Valentine and Messrs. M. G. Boulton, G. Jenkins and C. Vowles and to the several contractors on the sites who were exceedingly patient with the slow progress of archaeological retrieval and recording.

The skeletal material was eventually re-buried in accordance with the licence issued by the Home Secretary; the remains were interred in 1978 in the Hereford City Cemetery and in 1982 in Belmont Abbey burial ground.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

St. Guthlac died in A.D. 714 and was buried at Crowland in Lincolnshire. An account of his life was written soon after his death, and certainly not later than A.D. 749, by his contemporary the monk Felix.^{1, 2} Guthlac was the son of Penwold, a Mercian nobleman, and after some years fighting in the borderlands he decided to become a recluse and retired to an island in the Fens. It was not until the 10th century that St. Guthlac became somewhat of a cult figure perhaps after the destruction of Crowland in A.D. 870 when the saint's relics may have been dispersed.³

The original site of the collegiate church of St. Guthlac was, together with the city cemetery, within the area now known as Castle Green. The date of the foundation is not known but it is possible that this christian community was in existence, on the gravel terrace close to a ford across the river Wye, before there was a cathedral at Hereford. The original foundation may have been associated with the spring which was later said to have had miraculous powers as St. Ethelbert's Well. The pre-Conquest history has been discussed at some length in the historical introduction to the archaeological excavations which took place on Castle Green in 1973⁴ and need not concern us here. However, an event which occurred shortly before the Norman Conquest was to have far reaching effects on the monastic community and it is from this point that we take up the history.

Ralph, the son of the Count of Vexin, became earl of Hereford about A.D. 1046 and is accredited with constructing a castle at Hereford and installing a Norman garrison at some date before A.D. 1052.⁵ The castle would doubtless have been much smaller than the great royal fortress of the 13th century and may have consisted of a motte and bailey or a defensive ringwork. It has been suggested that, if the former was the case, the mound which was Ralph's castle may still exist at the present day as Hogg's Mount on the north-eastern corner of Castle Green. The choice of this site, which would have been next to the east gate of the Saxon town, may well have been more appropriate than the eventual site of the castle motte which was between St. Guthlac's Monastery and the cathedral, separating the religious enclosures and isolating St. Guthlac's from the main part of the city.⁶

Ralph's castle was overrun and destroyed by the Welsh in A.D. 1055 when the town and cathedral were burnt and it is probable that the castle site was neglected from this date until the Norman Conquest eleven years later.⁷

In A.D. 1066 William Fitz Osbern, lord of Breteuil in Normandy, was created earl of Hereford and was probably responsible for re-building works at the castle of Hereford if indeed he did not reconstruct it entirely. A castle was certainly in existence in A.D. 1067 for it was harassed by Edric the Wild during that year.⁸

It is possible that William built the large motte which stood to the west of Castle Green and then joined it with a northern rampart to Hogg's Mount, assuming that the latter was the site of the earlier castle. If this was the case then William's construction, together with the Saxon city defences which ran down the eastern side of the Green, would have isolated St. Guthlac's Monastery and the city cemetery within the new castle boundaries with no infringement of their land ownership.

It is certainly obvious that St. Guthlac's suffered as a result of the Norman Conquest for the Domesday survey records that much of its property had passed into the hands of laymen including estates at Pembridge, Bartestree, Maund and Moccas.⁹

At some time before 1084 Walter de Lacy, a Norman baron, built two new churches in Hereford; St. Peter's, in the new market place laid out by William Fitz Osbern to the north of the Saxon defences of the city; and St. Owen's (*Audoeni*), also outside the defences to the east of the city. Although there were apparently close ties between these churches and St. Guthlac's, and some of the prebendaries of St. Guthlac's were transferred to St. Peter's on its foundation,¹⁰ St. Peter's and St. Guthlac's are separately identified in the

Domesday survey.¹¹ However in 1101 Walter de Lacy's son, Hugh, gave both St. Peter's and St. Owen's to the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester.¹² This was eventually to affect St. Guthlac's Monastery partly as a result of an event which occurred during the Wars of Succession after the death of Henry I.

In 1140 Miles of Gloucester and Geoffrey Talbot besieged the king's garrison in the castle and during the siege the citizens saw 'the bodies of their relatives, some half putrefied, others very lately buried, drawn without remorse from their graves' and 'thrown up against the ramparts of the castle' as Geoffrey, with siege engines on the cathedral tower, assaulted the king's soldiers from one side whilst Miles, also with siege machines, attacked from the other.¹³

The burial place which was disturbed was presumably the one which surrounded St. Guthlac's Monastery '*intra ambitum castelli*'¹⁴ and it was probably inevitable, due to this 'strife and bloodshed' and to the growing need for space within the expanding castle, that the monastic settlement had to look for a new site.

This event took place during the episcopacy of Bishop Robert de Bethune (*ob.* 1148) about 1143 and the event is recorded in the Gloucester Cartulary.

'Bishop Robert united the church of St. Peter of Hereford, situated in the market place, and the church of St. Guthlac, unsuitably situated within the circuit of the castle itself, and brought them together with all their private possessions and dignities to form one church, and by his authority as bishop consecrated it for the perpetual service of the Lord as the church of the apostles St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Guthlac, built by him from its foundations outside the city in a place most suitable for religion, in the time of Gilbert the Abbott.'¹⁵

This was probably the time of reform for St. Guthlac's which apparently lost its prebendaries and became a regular Benedictine monastery with a prior and monks. St. Peter's presumably lost its secular prebendaries also and was no longer in any sense monastic; it became purely and simply a parish church.¹⁶

It is evident that St. Guthlac's Priory rose to some importance and received several new endowments after its move to the Bye Street suburbs. The history of the priory from its new foundation to the Dissolution is yet to be written: much survives in the cartulary, a manuscript which has never been fully transcribed and is apparently somewhat difficult to read,¹⁷ and in a manuscript rental of 182 folios covering the period from 1436 to 1559.¹⁸ However several articles, which have been published in the *Transactions* of the Woolhope Club, make use of these and other source materials, and are listed below:

'*A note on an obscure episode in the history of St. Guthlac's priory, Hereford*' by Rev. A. T. Bannister.¹⁹

This refers to an incident in 1322 when the sheriff of Hereford was instructed to take the priory into the king's hands because of contention between the prior, William de Irby, and brother Thomas de Burghill which had resulted in the priory being 'so much destroyed and impoverished that its goods are insufficient to maintain the charges and works of piety ordained for the souls of the king's ancestors, for which purpose the priory was founded and annexed to the Abbey of Gloucester.'²⁰

'*The possessions of St. Guthlac's priory, Hereford*' by Rev. A. T. Bannister.²¹

This paper summarises the rental mentioned above, comparing the possessions of the priory at various times and extracting some items of interest—the rents paid; the evidence for the break-up of the manorial system; street names, mills, etc.

'*St. Guthlac, Hereford's forgotten Saint*' by S. M. Martin.²²

Prebendary Martin gives a brief account of the life of St. Guthlac and details of the temptations which befell him. He also discusses the connection of St. Guthlac with Hereford and includes a brief history of the priory.

'*St. Guthlac's priory and the city churches*' by S. M. Martin.²³

This paper is based on information gleaned from the charters of Hereford Cathedral, the registers of the bishops of Hereford published by the Cantilupe Society, and the cartulary of St. Guthlac's Priory.²⁴ Preb. Martin discusses the move from Castle Green to the suburbs and the relationship of St. Guthlac's with the parish churches.

There is also a mention of the grant of Ballingham to St. Guthlac's in 1252 by William d'Evreux and some brief details of the priory in an article by F. R. James,²⁵ and a reference to the prior's mill at Eign being pulled down and the mill by the castle, which also belonged to St. Guthlac's, being burnt during the time of Simon de Montfort.²⁶

Duncumb, writing in 1804, discussed the history of the priory from the Norman Conquest, detailing the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291 and itemising the possessions of the priory at the Dissolution. He includes an interesting abstract of the cost of building the gaol on the site of the priory in 1794-7.²⁷

An impression of the wealth of the priory is given by the 1291 Taxation which was intended to assist Edward I in an expedition to the Holy Land.

The return of the possessions is given in full in Dugdale,²⁸ the totals being:

Spiritualities	£32. 6s. 4d.	} £87. 15s. 10½d.
Temporalities (including <i>Mobilia</i>)	£55. 9s. 6½d.	

The total figure can be compared with those from other local priories such as Chepstow (£35. 19s. 11d.); Abergavenny (£51. 17s. 10½d.) and Monmouth (£85. 18s. 8d.).²⁹

From the time of the Taxation to that of the Dissolution of the house in 1539 no considerable donations appear to have been made to the monastery.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives the total annual value of the priory and its disbursements in 1535, just before the Dissolution. It is printed in full in Dugdale's *Monasticum*.³⁰

Income	£189. 2s. 1½d.
Disbursements	£19. 2s. 7d.
After allocations	£169. 19s. 6½d.

After the Dissolution most of the possessions of the priory were conveyed to John ap Rice, Esq., apparently in two separate lots between 1541 and 1545. The first lot included the priory site and is described as:

'The site, extent, enclosure and confines of the late house of the said priory or cell with the existing granaries, stables, houses, buildings, gardens, orchards, arable lands, dove-cots, ponds, streams, strips and grounds within the site, the confines and enclosure of the said late house or cell of St. Guthlac Hereford together with a certain pasture called the 3 Mores adjacent to the said site, comprising 4 acres of land. And one acre of arable land in the common field there, which is called Portesfield. One pasture called Cobbe Hall, lying next to the rivulet Lugg, in the parish of Lugwarden, comprising 10 acres, and the first pasture of the field called Whitehull lying in the parish of Wethington by the said rivulet Lugg, comprising about 10 acres. Another field which is called Wallney, lying in the parish of Hampton next to the said rivulet Lugg, comprising 5 acres of land, each and every one of which the said John ap Rice has purchased in perpetuity from his Royal Majesty and his heirs at the annual value of £2. 4s. 9d.'³¹

The second lot consisted of all the remaining possessions of the priory in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Salop, Stafford and Wyrn for which, after deductions for rents, pensions, etc., John ap Rice was prepared to offer £45. 15s. 4d. per annum for a fifty-year term. In the particular for the grant John ap Rice wishes to be able to:

'at any time transfer and alter all the houses and buildings on the premises or the parcels thereof and if any appear superfluous or unnecessary to destroy and demolish them and as far as he may see fit to construct and build anew.'³²

Shortly after the Dissolution the following description was written:

'The site itself on the north side of the city without Biesters Gate very pleasant and large with much land, spacious gardens and orchards, fine walks (walls?), a small rivulet running under the walls called Eigne, the buildings large and great stately chambers and retirements and a large melancholy chapel built with many descents into it from the ground and then of a great height in the roofs struck the enterers with a kind of religious awe.'³³

THE POST-DISSOLUTION USE OF THE SITE

John ap Rice (1502?-55), who was born in Brecknock, played an important part in ecclesiastical matters in the 1530s. By about 1530, having been admitted to the Middle Temple some years earlier, he was one of Thomas Cromwell's officials and, in that way, came into the employment of the king. As a notary public and principal registrar of the king in causes ecclesiastical he was involved in the abrogation of the papal power and was himself one of the visitors to the monasteries in 1535.³⁴ He was thus directly involved in the arrangements for the Dissolution, and, although his position brought him little direct profit, it enabled him to secure grants from the king. He obtained leases of Carmarthen Rectory and Brecon Priory and, as we have seen, purchased St. Guthlac's Priory in Hereford where he took up residence. In 1540 he became secretary of the Council in Wales and the Marches and was a member of various commissions in the border areas. He was a Member of Parliament for Hereford, 1553, and for Ludlow, 1554, and was knighted in 1546-7. He died at Hereford on 15 October 1555. He was married, in 1534, to a relative of Cromwell's wife, and had eleven children.³⁵

Sir John Price's eldest son and heir, Gregory, who was born in 1535, married Mary, second daughter of Humphrey Coningsby of Hampton Court,³⁶ and continued as owner of the priory estate.³⁷ He was Member of Parliament for Herefordshire, 1557-8, and for the city, 1572 and 1584-97. In 1573, 1576 and

1597 he was Mayor of Hereford.³⁸ In 1590 Gregory objected to a fee-farm rent of £2. 2s. 6d. payable by the manor of St. Guthlac to the mayor and citizens of Hereford. In this he was unsuccessful and the rental continued to be paid.³⁹

The full descent of the property which had originally belonged to St. Guthlac's monastery is uncertain for a while, but Robinson notes that one of the eventual co-heirs of Sir John Price in the mid-17th century was Anne, the wife of a John Seabourne of Sutton.⁴⁰

The deeds of the area which includes St. Guthlac's Priory are in the possession of Hereford City Council and the abstract mentions a release of 20 January 1675 whereby John Seabourne (presumably the son of the John Seabourne mentioned above) and Elizabeth his wife, in consideration of £213. 15s., did grant 'all the site of the late dissolved priory of Guthlac' to a Richard Williams.⁴¹

At this time, the ruins of the priory were probably still visible for, in 1645 during the Civil War, it is recorded that Colonel Birch hid 150 men with firelocks in the ruins of St. Guthlac's whilst six of his men, dressed as labourers, entered the town through Bysters Gate and overpowered the guards.⁴² The resulting advance was successful and the Parliamentarians occupied the city.

Richard Williams died some time before 1693 leaving his wife Elizabeth and his son James, who was heir to the property. In 1693 a settlement to provide for Elizabeth was drawn up to take effect on the marriage of James Williams to Mary James, daughter of Ann James, widow, of Glasbury. The release includes the following parcels of land:

'All the site of the late dissolved Priory of Saint Guthlace otherwise called Guthlac otherwise Guthlake with the appurtenances within the suburb of the City of Hereford together with the pasture, meadow ground, fold yards, backsides and gardens thereunto belonging and adjoyneing being by estimation fourteen acres . . . and all lands and house within the parishes of St. John Baptist, All Saints, St. Peter's, St. Nicholas and St. Owen's . . . and likewise seven acres of land . . . lyeing and adjoyneing to the Ruins or walls of the said late dissolved priory. And also that parcell of land with the appurtenances on which a certain water mill formerly stood but now decayed and fallen down commonly called . . . Monksmoore Mill⁴³ . . . And all that part or parcell of Lands . . . heretofore belonging to the Priory . . . known by the name of the Priory Park and are now divided into three parts and doo containe by estimation seventeen acres . . . and are situate . . . in Aylestone'⁴⁴

together with other property in the city and the manor and court of Stanford in Stanford Bishop and Avenbury parishes.

The property was mortgaged in 1695 to Sarah Pauncefoote of Holborne and in 1701 there was a Commission of Bankruptcy awarded against James Williams. As a result, in 1714, the priory lands were conveyed to Thomas Apperley, doctor of physick, and Thomas Tranntor, apothecary, both of Hereford.⁴⁵ In 1720 the immediate priory lands were conveyed to Benjamin Fownes of Hereford. The fourteen-acre site is described in more detail as:

'Shooting upon the Northside to a Lane or Street there called Bysters Street otherwise Bishopsgate Street leading from . . . Hereford . . . to a place called . . . the Stonebow and . . . from the Stonebow by a Brooke Side . . . called the Stonebow Brook⁴⁶ to a certain Mill called Scutt Mill⁴⁷ and on the South Side leading from the mill by a certain field called . . . the Portfield into . . . Bysters Street.'

The sale also included the seven acres of adjoining land but did not include Monksmoore Mill which henceforth was under separate ownership.

Various conveyances followed, all with redemption clauses, and in 1731 the property passed to Joseph Payne, a glover, of Hereford. Joseph died shortly afterwards leaving his daughter Catherine as his heir and in 1736 she married William Price, then a woolstapler, of Ludlow. He moved to Kingwood in Hampshire where he became an inn-holder but by 1751 had returned to his original profession of woolstapler in Hereford. It appears that William Price occupied a house on the site called 'The Priory.' He died about 1763 and the property, after being held by an Ann Powell for a short time, was bought by William Symonds, a mercer of Hereford, in 1776. The deed of sale quotes the description in 1720 (excluding the seven acres of adjoining land) but the size is altered from fourteen to sixteen acres.

In 1793 William Symonds sold the land and the dwelling house 'The Priory' to Benjamin Hallows, Clerk of the Peace of the County of Hereford, as the site for a new county gaol and this was built by 1797 to the design of John Nash.⁴⁸ A further part of the site was used for the Hereford Union Workhouse which was built shortly after the Poor Law Act of 1834 and a small part became Johnson's Hospital in 1863. Priory Farm, north-east of the workhouse, was built sometime before 1841. By the middle of the 19th century accurate plans had been made of the whole area (FIG. 3).

The gaol was demolished in 1930 with the exception of parts of the high surrounding wall and the governor's house which is now used as the 'bus station office. The gaol site now contains the Classic Cinema in addition to the 'bus station. The workhouse became the County Hospital and between 1938 and 1940 there were considerable additions in the previously cultivated area between

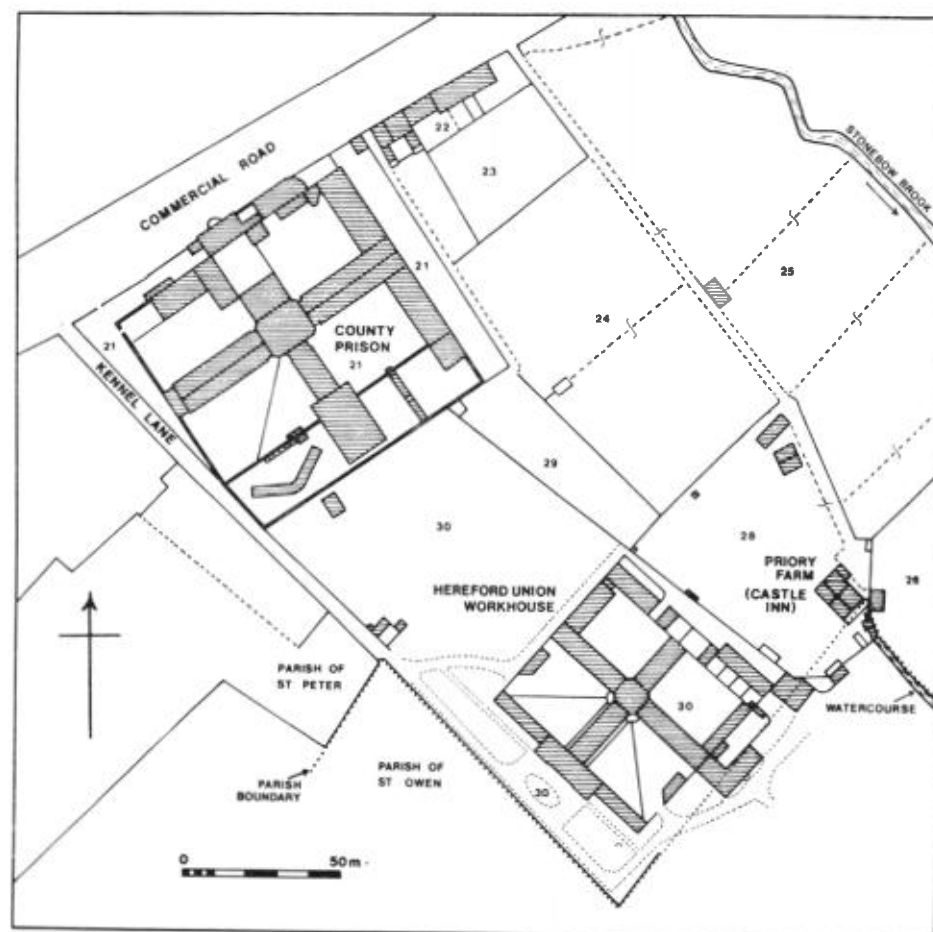


FIG. 3

The site in the middle of the 19th century with plot numbers as shown on the St. Peter's Tithe Map (p. 346). This plan covers the same area as FIG. 1

the workhouse and the prison buildings. The Priory Farm became the Castle Inn in the 1870s. It has since been demolished and part of the site to the north-east of the workhouse buildings is now occupied by the hospital laboratories which were built in the 1970s (FIG. 1).

EARLY OBSERVATIONS

There are several references to finds from the area of the priory, in the *Transactions* of the Woolhope Club and other works, which can now be considered.

Most monastic sites have traditions of underground passages and St. Guthlac's is no exception. Stukeley⁴⁹ mentioned the possibility of a passage 'from the priory into the city under ditch and wall, in order that their members might, on occasion, retire from the fury of war' but observed that no traces remained. A longer passage, which is discussed in some detail by Alfred Watkins,⁵⁰ was supposed to run from St. Guthlac's to The Vineyard, one of the possessions of the priory situated close to the Wye and almost a mile to the south-east of the monastic buildings. The line has been shown on several maps⁵¹ but Watkins, after full consideration of the evidence, decided that the cavities and features seen were all due to natural causes.

Several architectural fragments found in the early 1930s are attributed to St. Guthlac's. They were discovered in the basements of two properties on the southern side of High Town. The first discovery was in Nash House, on the eastern side of the Boothhall passage and comprised 'some Norman capitals, stones and mouldings in a couple of heavy built-up columns with a passage between.' They supported flat slabs, at least one of which was a grave cross-slab.⁵² The Royal Commission noted that the columns were of 14th century date and had been brought from elsewhere.⁵³ The following year several heavy moulded stones, again not in their original positions, were found in the basement of Greenlands (now rebuilt as Marks and Spencer) which were 'identical to those found in Nash House.'⁵⁴ It was suggested that these stones came from St. Guthlac's because:

1. St. Guthlac's was demolished at about the same time as Nash House was built (The Royal Commission considers Nash House to be of late-15th or early-16th-century date).
2. Similar fragments of masonry were found in the fireplace above the columns, indicating both were built at the same time.
3. The grave slabs must have come from a religious site.

The stones from Greenlands have been lost but those in Nash House, now 'Country Casuals' of 17 St. Peter's Street, are still in place.

The attribution of the masonry described above to St. Guthlac's is rather doubtful but two other pieces of carved stone, found close to the priory precincts, are far more likely to have belonged to the monastery. One, a gable cross, was first noted in 1938, standing against the wall of the Castle Inn (previously the Priory Farm) (p. 333), where it had been for some fifty years previously. It dates from the late 13th century and is now in St. Peter's Church.⁵⁵ The second fragment was recorded in 1946 although it had been found some eighteen years earlier. It was apparently the base of a column some 1.14 m. (3 ft. 9 ins.) across and octagonal in shape. It had been hollowed out at some time and had a drain hole in the side apparently for use as a trough.⁵⁶ It was originally found immediately to the south-west of Union Walk (FIG. 1) but was not *in situ* as a column base. The stone was rediscovered in 1982 during construction of an extension to the Fine Fare Supermarket. Unfortunately, it has been removed from the site and is now an ornamental stone in a garden in Shropshire.

The remaining observations are of skeletal remains found during the construction of the new hospital buildings between 1938 and 1940 in the area between the workhouse buildings and the 'bus station (FIG. 1). The human remains were 'numerous' and one skeleton was in a stone cist. They were described as being buried at 'an original depth of about 3 ft. 6 ins. (1.1 m) on undisturbed gravel about 5 ft. (1.5 m.) below the present surface of the soil.'⁵⁷ A large flat cup of local glazed ware was also found. Three skulls were examined; one was an old male, the second an adult male, and the third a juvenile between the ages of twelve and sixteen.⁵⁸ A few isolated human bones were also found when the new laboratories were built to the north-east of the workhouse.⁵⁹

THE EXCAVATIONS

The archaeological evidence described in the following section has occurred as a result of two developments, both concerned with the County Hospital. The first was the construction of an underground, walk-through, ducting passage which leads in a south-easterly direction from the 1938 hospital buildings through the two courtyards at the rear of the old workhouse building, and the second was the construction of a Mental Illness Unit between the 1938 hospital buildings and Stonebow Road. This site had previously contained a row of houses and a garage, both facing on to Stonebow Road, and several prefabs in the area between the houses and the hospital. The area closer to Commercial Road had for a long time been in use as a car park and is landscaped as part of the Mental Illness Unit scheme (FIG. 1).

The Underground Duct

The excavation for the underground duct consisted of a trench some 2.5 m. wide and deep. Due to the confines of the area most of it had to be dug by hand. The duct was constructed in two sections, as finance was available, the south-

eastern part being built in 1978 (FIG. 2, area 1) and the remainder in 1982 (FIG. 2, area 2). A drain had to be re-aligned during the 1982 works and this necessitated a third trench being dug by hand (FIG. 2, area 3).

The contractors exposed several skeletons in the north-western corner of area 1 and the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was contacted for advice. As archaeological funds were very limited, the contractors continued with the main trench whilst unit staff exposed, cleaned, recorded, photographed and removed the burials as they were found. Full *in situ* recording of all the burials was not feasible (FIG. 4) but all the skeletal material was collected and examined at a later date, skulls being re-built wherever possible.

The foundations of several walls crossed the area under examination but they were all later than the burials, and as a whole not deep enough to disturb them, and all were assumed on pottery evidence to be associated with the workhouse. They were not examined in detail.

As the work progressed several factors became apparent which provided some detail of the use and size of the cemetery. The contractors' trench extended to the south-east to the limits of the workhouse buildings (FIG. 1) but skeletal remains were limited to the north-western part (FIG. 2) and it was evident that the full extent of the cemetery in this direction had been found. There was no indication that a wall limited the burial ground at this point and indeed the proximity of the site boundary would suggest that this was unlikely. The circumstances of the excavation and the disturbances caused when the workhouse buildings were erected were such that no traces of any more flimsy boundary such as a fence or hedge could be expected to survive. All upper levels were confused to the extent that the original ground level at the time of burial could not be ascertained and grave cuts could not be seen until the level of natural gravel was reached.

The burials were at various different levels within a band of about 0.5 m. and in several cases early burials had been disturbed by later ones. A chart has been constructed which gives some indication of the general period relationship of the burials (FIG. 5) but there was no evidence which would allow a date sequence to be applied to this chart.

A most interesting feature was the alignment of the burials. This varied slightly from grave to grave but it soon became obvious that the general alignment was almost north-west/south-east (FIG. 2) rather than the more common west-east. Possible reasons for this are discussed in the conclusions.

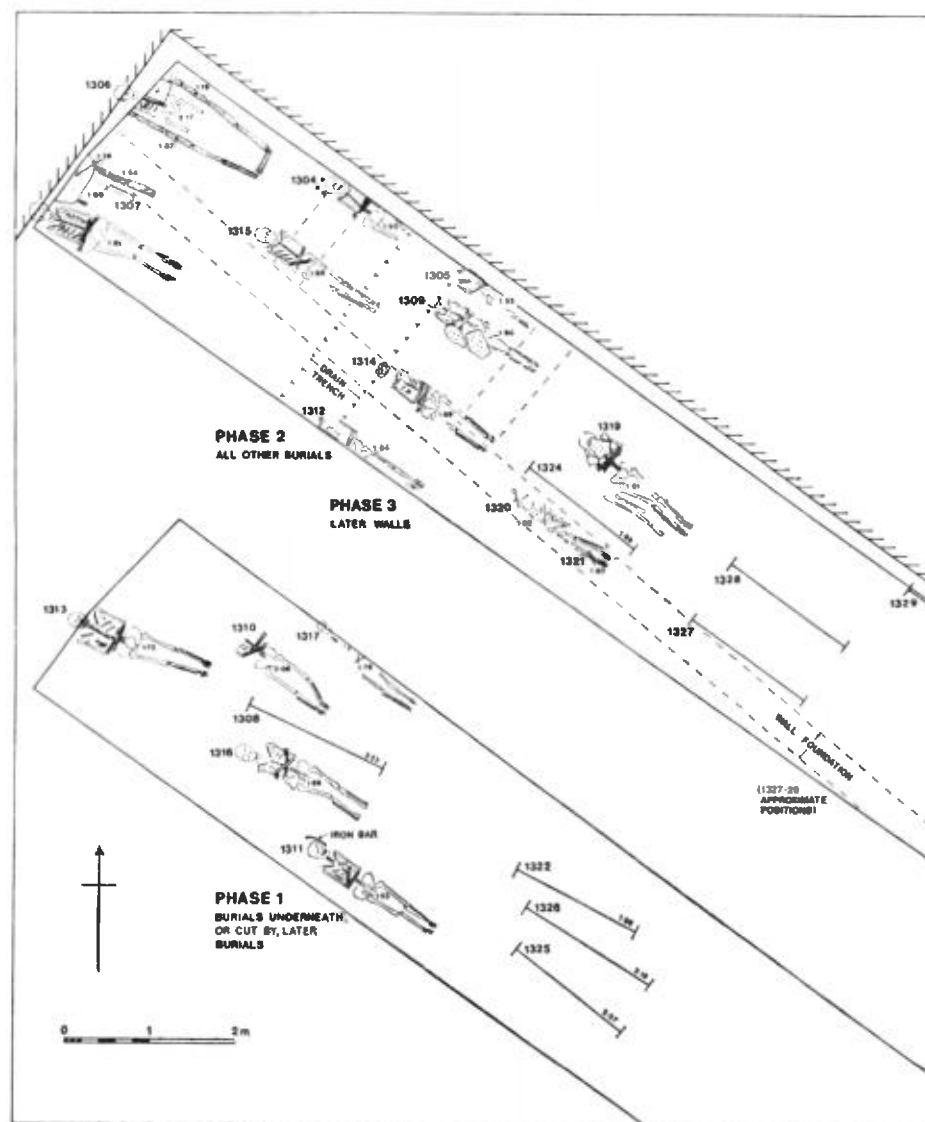


FIG. 4
The burials in area 1

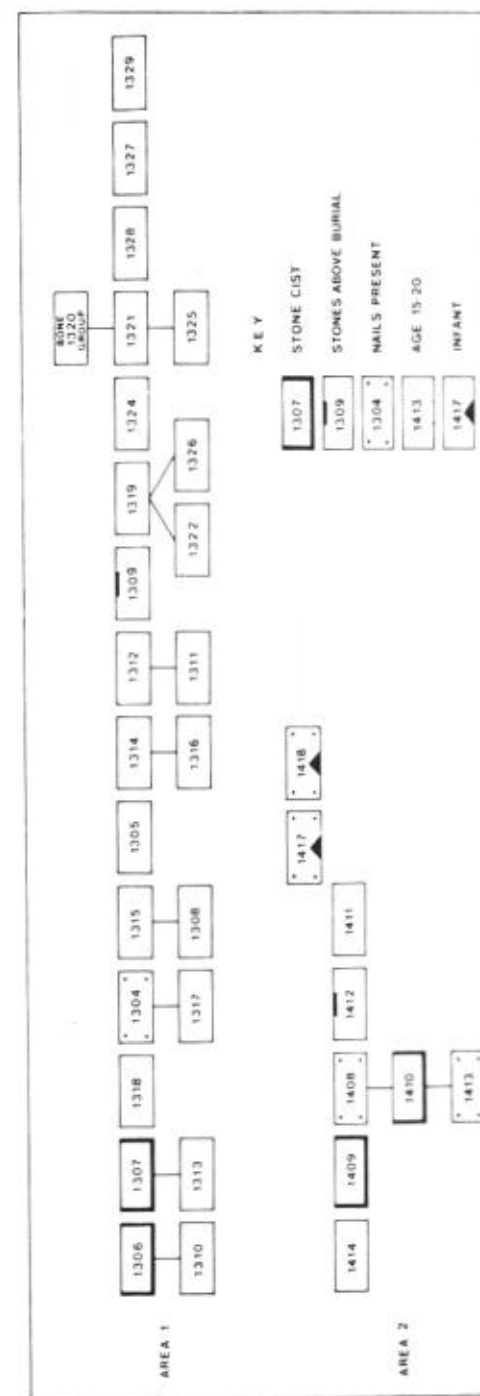


FIG. 5
The burial relationship in areas 1 and 2

The extension of the duct in 1982 in a north-westerly direction towards the 1938 hospital buildings (FIG. 1) was preceded by a small trial hole which suggested that burials continued throughout most of the area to be disturbed and the Health Authority and the contractors again made facilities available to the archaeological unit.

Area 2 had suffered from more disturbance than area 1 during the work-house construction period and foundations of the demolished north-western wing extended down to, and in places through, the level of the cemetery (FIGS. 1, 3, & 6). In addition disturbances had occurred during the construction of the 1938 block (p. 334) at the north-western end of the duct. Most of the burials were disturbed and fragmented and many random bones were found in the overlying layers. However, it was possible to clean and fully record several skeletons and establish the areas in which others had been present.

The burials were all in the same absolute depth range as those in area 1 and it was evident that the surface variations in level in this area were recent features. The alignments of the skeletons were similar to those in area 1.

The third area disturbed during the construction of the underground duct was to the south-west of area 2 and consisted of a trench for a replacement drain for one disconnected during the construction of the underground duct. The trench was narrow and deep and had to be shored as it was dug. This made archaeological recording almost impossible but skeletal material was collected and the general provenance established. It was evident that burials had occurred throughout the length of the trench, at similar depths and with similar approximate alignment, as in area 2.

The Mental Illness Unit

The new building occupies the south-eastern part of the area bounded by Commercial Road on the north-west, Stonebow Road on the north-east and the bus station and hospital buildings to the west and south (FIG. 1). The area between the Unit and Commercial Street will eventually become gardens. The constructional disturbances were limited to the area of the building and the surrounding areas to the north-east, south-west and south-east. Foundation trenches were dug by machine and usually filled with cement as soon as possible. There was little time for archaeological recording and trench sides had only minimal tidying before sketch sections were drawn. As a result only major features such as walls and large pits/ditches could be recorded and there was little evidence to date any features.

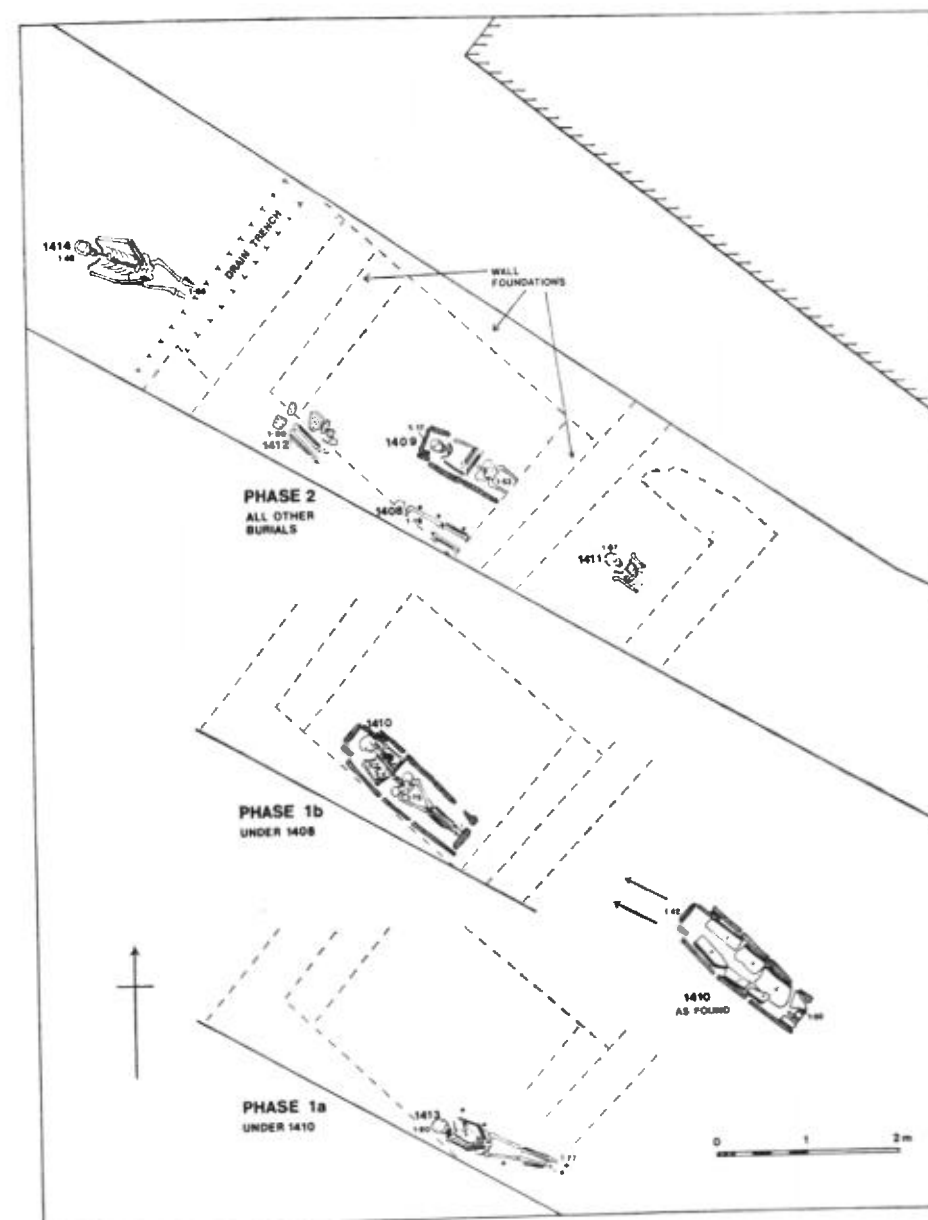


FIG. 6
The burials in area 2

the area but the boundary on the whole of the south-western side incorporated a change in level; the areas to the south-west being between 0.5 and 1.0 m. higher than the site. There was little trenching close to this boundary but the available evidence suggested that the level of the top of the natural gravel also rose along this line.

Several burials were exposed in trenches which were dug in the southernmost corner of the Mental Illness Unit site for drainage purposes (FIG. 2—area 4). They were laid on a similar alignment to those in areas 1, 2 and 3. No complete skeletons were retrieved due to the width of the trenches but all bones disturbed were recorded and removed for full examination. The trenches which were dug in this corner of the site were sufficient to be positive that the full extent of the cemetery in a north-easterly direction had been established (FIG. 7).

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Building and demolition works have occurred on several sites in the immediate vicinity and although they have not exposed any traces of pre-Dissolution occupation, they merit a brief mention.

In 1982 a pharmacy store was built close to the 1938 hospital buildings (FIG. 1). The new building was in an almost enclosed courtyard and the strip foundations cut into ground which had already been disturbed by the foundation trenches for the 1938 buildings on three sides. It was only on the north-western side that earlier deposits were observed. In this trench the average depth from the present ground level to undisturbed gravel was c. 1.9 m. The only major feature seen was the foundations of the wall shown on the 1843 tithe map separating plots 29 and 30 (FIG. 3). It was built of roughly coursed, irregular sandstone blocks and was c. 0.6 m. wide, surviving to a maximum of three courses high and laid on a mortar spread about 0.8 m. below the existing ground level.

Demolition of a garage and removal of underground tanks in the 'bus station area in 1982 (FIG. 1) did not expose or destroy any archaeological features.

A supermarket extension to the south-west of Union Walk was also built on strip foundations. The trenches did not expose any features earlier than the foundations of the house which was demolished to make way for the new development. The column base previously mentioned (p. 334) was in the grounds of this house but was not in its original position.

THE BURIALS

Thirty-nine identifiable burials were found in the various excavations between 1978 and 1983. Where practicable they were cleaned, planned and photographed *in situ* and in all cases the bones were collected and removed for further examination. Skulls were reconstructed wherever possible and then photographed from several different aspects. X-rays were obtained when necessary using the County Hospital facilities. Most skeletons were examined by various members of the hospital staff and their comments and observations have been added to the report. The full report on the skeletal remains is published in microfiche form but the following details have been abstracted.

Several different types of burial were recognised and are listed below:

TYPE	DETAIL	NUMBER
Wooden coffin or bier	Nails found in association with the burial	4
Stone cist	Stone slabs arranged vertically around the burial. In 3 cases flat cover stones were also present	4
Stones in grave	Flat stones placed in the grave on top of the burial	3
No trace of coffin	—	18
Infant burials	(see following note)	2

The position of the arms is of some interest. In the twenty cases where both arm positions could be established, thirteen had the arms in a folded position on the waist, two had the hands on the pelvis, one had the arms crossed over the chest and four had the two arms in different positions. In the cemetery surrounding the earlier site of St. Guthlac's on Castle Green⁶⁰ arm positions were more random but the large majority were crossed on the pelvis or extended by the side of the body. In the Saxon monastic burial ground associated with Beckery Chapel at Glastonbury⁶¹ the arms were extended in the large majority of cases and in the late medieval burials within Llangar Church in Clwyd⁶² arms were either extended or crossed on the pelvis. The evidence suggests that crossing the arms at the waist, which was the most common position at the site under examination, is a feature of post-Conquest monastic sites, uncommon in secular burial grounds and in earlier monastic cemeteries.

Where the sex could be ascertained all the skeletons examined were male confirming that this was indeed a monastic cemetery.

The age distribution using all the available evidence was:

AGE RANGE	NUMBER
Infant	2
15-20	3
20-25	1
25-35	4
35-45	3
45+	10
Old	7
Adult	9

The three youths (1323, 1413 and 2201) may have been novitates and the two infants (1417 and 1418) are considered to represent a post-Dissolution use of this consecrated ground for the burial of unbaptized children. In the 14th century and probably later the Dean and Chapter kept the Cathedral cemetery gates locked at night to prevent 'the secret burials of unbaptized infants, the mischief done by swine and other animals that dragged the dead bodies from their resting place in the ground . . . '63

It can be seen from the table that majority of the monks lived into later middle age—at least seventeen being 'over 45' with only eleven younger than this.

The stature was estimated for all articulated bone groups where suitable bones survived.

Height (cm.)	153	162	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	174	175	177	179
Number	1	1	1	3	1	4	3	1	2	2	5	4	1

Excluding the juvenile at 153 cm., the mean is 172 m. (5 ft. 7½ ins.)—well up to modern-day standards for adult males.

As would be expected in a predominantly elderly population, degenerative joint disease (osteoarthritis) was common with bony lipping of the vertebrae occurring in seventeen cases and in the long bone articulations on occasion.

There was one example (1306) where the 4th and 5th cervical vertebrae were fused. It was probably congenital. One elderly individual (1309) had evidence of rheumatoid arthritis in the metatarsal and phalanxes of the right big toe and on the facets of the clavicles and to a lesser extent on the facets of the scapulae.

There were only six examples with significant calculus formation and although caries were found in several specimens, chronic abscess cavities only occurred in three. One elderly individual (1315) showed marked alveolar resorption in places opposing standing teeth. One case (1326) exhibited an extreme protrusion of the lower jaw and teeth with a reverse overjet of approximately 10 mm.

The cephalic index was calculated for fifteen skulls: two were dolichocephalic; five were mesocephalic; six were brachycephalic and the remainder, two, were hyperbrachycephalic.

Signs of several fractures were seen and in most cases, X-rayed. One elderly individual (1308) had a healed fracture of the right tibia which had apparently caused a slight growth on the right fibula and pelvis and fusion of the right hip bone with the sacrum. In another example (1310) there is evidence of what was probably a long splintered break in the right ulna. The bent metacarpals on the left hand of 1316 are probably due to a healed fracture and 1319 has a healed fracture of the right clavicle.

Evidence suggesting rickets was found in one specimen (1322) where the bent femur shows Harris lines on X-ray.

The likely cause of death was apparent in one case only—1313 where the right hand had been amputated and was placed on the right chest of the skeleton. The amputation could have occurred *post-mortem* but it would seem more likely that it was a contributory cause of death.

THE FINDS

There were very few finds from any of the areas examined and none are considered to be worthy of illustration. They are deposited in the Hereford City Museum and summarised in the following notes.

Nails were found associated with several graves. They are all in such a corroded condition that the shape and length is uncertain but the longest is c. 55 mm. in length with a head c. 15 mm. across. An iron bar was found close

to the head of burial 1311. It had been shaped to a gentle curve with one end tapering to a blunt point. It is rectangular in cross-section, the maximum dimensions being 13 mm. by 7 mm.. X-rays (now in the museum archive) confirmed the shape and thickness but produced no further details.

Pottery was found in many places on the Mental Illness Unit site but not in any quantity. The fragments which could be of pre-Dissolution date were more common in the western part of the building site in the areas close to the bus station. Most common were green-glazed jug fabrics of 14th to 16th-century date but one or two sherds of late-12th or early-13th-century cooking pots were also present. Roof tile, of 14th and 15th-century date, had a similar distribution to the pottery but no large accumulations were found.

Animal bone was mainly restricted to several pits which were not securely dated and may well have been of post Dissolution date. Only a few samples were retained.

CONCLUSIONS

Although much of the documentary history of St. Guthlac's has yet to be unravelled, the accumulated evidence from the published records, the post-Dissolution deeds and the recent archaeological work allows certain deductions to be made about the area adjoining Bysters Street (now Commercial Road) which was originally in the possession of the priory.

The present use of the area has already been described and illustrated (FIG. 1) and the early editions of the Ordnance Survey maps⁶⁴ and the various city directories⁶⁵ illustrate the late-19th and early-20th-century occupation when both prison and workhouse were in use and a series of houses, shops and an inn (the Castle Inn) fronted on to Stonebow Road.

FIGURE 3 shows the area in the middle of the 19th century. It is an amalgamation of information from two main sources—the 1842 St. Peter's tithe map⁶⁶ and the 1858 Curley plan of Hereford.⁶⁷ The plot numbers are those used on the tithe map and the associated schedule provides the following information:

PLOT NUMBER	OWNER	OCCUPIER	USE	ACREAGE*
21	Clerk of the Peace and County Treasurer	—	County Prison and garden	2.06
22	Solomon Leonard	Childs White	Buildings and garden	0.22
23		George Green	Garden	0.44
24		Solomon Leonard	Potato grounds	1.37
29		Solomon Leonard	Arable/meadow land	0.32
25	James Thomas Woodhouse	James Thomas Woodhouse	Pasture/meadow	2.77
26**			Pasture/meadow	4.64
27**			Withy bed	0.28
28	Morgan William	Himself and others	Cottage and garden	0.77
30	Guardians of the Hereford Union	—	Hereford Union house and garden	2.82
TOTAL ACRES				15.69

* the decimal acreage has been calculated from the tithe figure in acres, roods and perches

** Plots 26 and 27 are between the Stonebow Brook and the watercourse and are better shown on FIG. 8

The area included in the above table is that part of St. Peter's parish which is on the south-eastern side of Commercial Road and bounded to the south-west by Kennel Road (now Union Walk)

Although Stonebow Road is shown as Priory Road on the 1886 Ordnance Survey map it is only indicated as an accommodation road leading to Priory Farm (later the Castle Inn) in 1858 and there is no trace of the road whatsoever on the Tithe Map. It was presumably not the Priory Lane mentioned in 1436 as has been assumed by a recent writer.⁶⁸ Union Walk is shown as Kennel Lane on the 1858 map but is not named on the tithe map where it is shown as a lane leading to the Workhouse grounds. It could, of course, be earlier than the Workhouse.

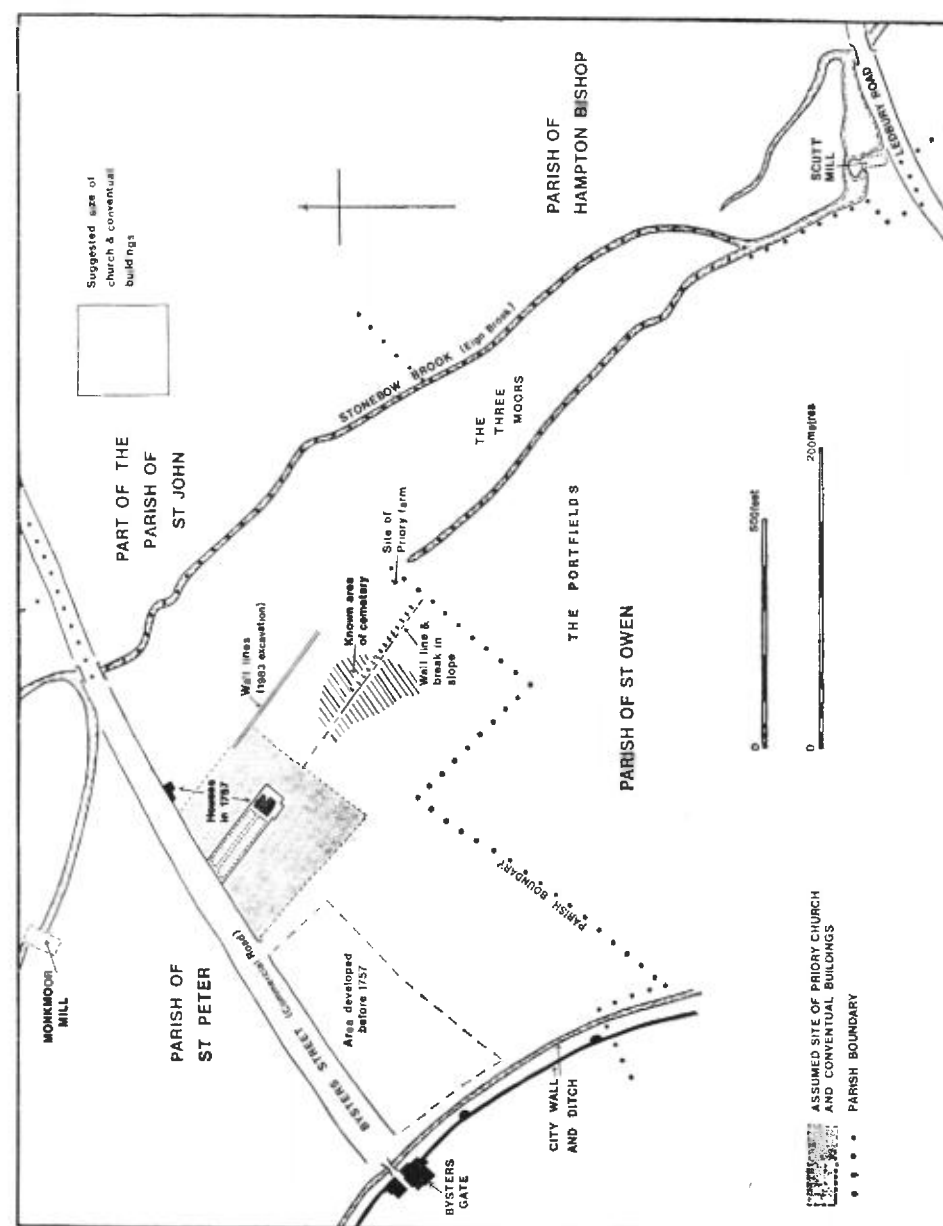


FIG. 8
The part of St. Peter's parish on the southern side of Bysters Street and bounded by the city defences on the south-west and the Stonebow Brook on the north-east. Features of pre-19th-century date are shown together with the most favoured area for the monastic buildings

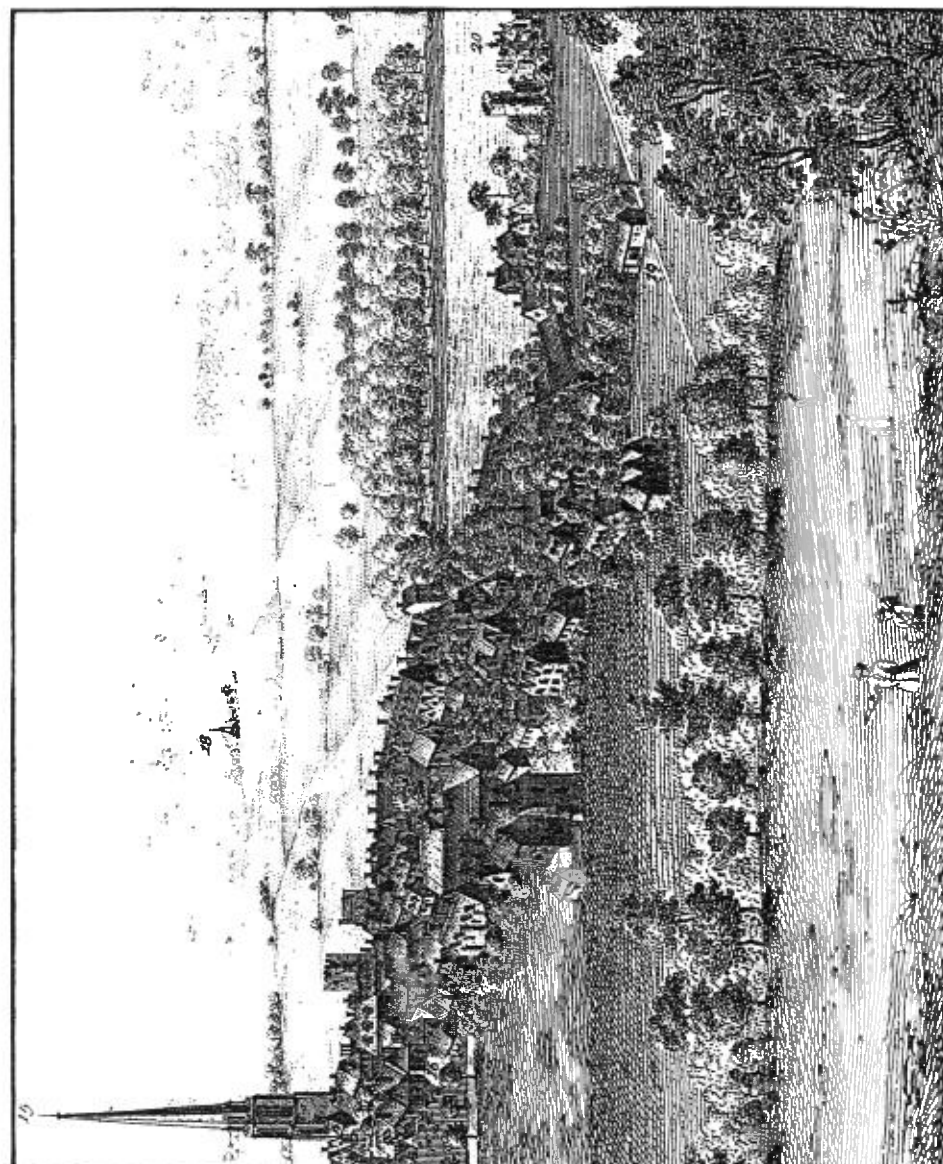
The Workhouse was built about 1835 and the Prison by 1797. It was in 1793 that William Symonds sold the sixteen-acre site which he had bought in 1776 (p. 331), shortly after the death of William Price. The sixteen acres agrees very well with the 15.69 acres listed in the abstract from the tithe (p. 347) and is also in agreement with the description quoted in the various deeds between 1720 (where it is described as fourteen acres) and 1776 and it would be reasonable to assume that they are all one and the same.

We can now look at the area as it would have been in the middle of the 18th-century when William Price owned the whole site and occupied a dwelling house known as The Priory (p. 331). The area is at the extreme edge of Taylor's 1757 Map of Hereford⁶⁹ but this map includes a reasonably large building set well back from Bysters Street and standing in its own grounds and the details have been transposed to the composite plan (FIG. 8). It is in the middle of the area which was later to become the prison and both house and grounds are laid out at a slight angle to Bysters Street. This alignment is quite important for it is parallel to the wall shown dividing plots 28 and 29 from plot 30 in the mid-19th-century (FIG. 3) and which still survives either as a wall or as a break in slope (p. 332), and is also parallel to the wall found in the Mental Illness Unit excavation (FIG. 7). One of the features of the late-18th and early-19th-century development of this area seems to have been the gradual change of the alignment of properties from the earlier one described above to one at right angles to Bysters Street.

Taylor also shows the extent of development on the south-eastern side of Bysters Street by 1757 but does not include the area further to the south-east. The details of this area on the composite plan (FIG. 8) are taken from later maps on the assumption that as the watercourses are coincident with parish boundaries then they must be of considerable antiquity.

The large building shown on Taylor's map is apparently also on the 1732 Prospect of Hereford⁷⁰ as seen from the Aylestone Hill area. The relevant part (FIG. 9) shows Bysters Street crossing diagonally to the right foreground from Bysters Gate (16). The large building to the left of the centre is set well back from the road line in approximately the same position as the house shown on Taylor's map. This building, with the double gable end and tall chimneys, standing two stories high, cannot easily be dated on architectural grounds, but the situation and size makes it probable that it is William Price's dwelling house.

The earlier 18th-century deeds mention a parcel of seven acres 'lyeing and adjoyneing to the Ruins or walls of the . . . priory' (p. 330). This acreage has been compared with that of neighbouring fields in St. Owen's parish as shown on the appropriate tithe map⁷¹ but there is no obvious relationship. However the remaining part of St. Peter's parish on the south-eastern side of Bysters



Part of 'The North-East Prospect of the City of Hereford' drawn by Buck in 1732. (15 - All Saint's Church; 16 - The Town Gaole (probably the one which was part of Byster's Gate); 18 - Eaton Bishop; 19 - Leather Mill; 20 - Coningsby's Hospital. The leather mill was probably on or close to the Stonebow Brook and the line of Byster's Street

Street, which is bounded by the City Wall and ditch on the south-west, is approximately seven acres and this area in all probability belonged to the priory. Taylor shows the Bysters Street frontage of the area developed with housing—this may have occurred early in the 18th century as individual plots were sold.

We must now look at the area as it would have been after the Dissolution of the priory. The constraints on the site are apparent on the plan (FIG. 8)—the line of Bysters Street to the north-west; Stonebow Brook to the north-east; the parish boundary and the Portfields to the south; and the City Wall and ditch to the south-west. The watercourse, which is mysteriously shown as starting at the site of Priory Farm and joining into the Stonebow Brook (and was filled in before 1886),⁷² is followed by the parish boundary and is assumed to be part of the boundary of the monastic grounds. The area between the two watercourses, plots 26 and 27 (p. 347), is 4.92 acres. Within the site this is the only area which fits with the description of the pasture land called The Three Moors described in 1541 as being adjacent to the priory site and comprising four acres.

The excavations have established the northern and eastern boundaries of the monastic cemetery. The normal position for such a cemetery would have been to the east or south-east of the monastic church, assuming that the church was laid out with an east-west alignment for the nave and chancel.⁷³ However it is suggested that St. Guthlac's did not follow this normal alignment and that the long axis of the church was nearer to north-west/south-east. The evidence for this is found in the cemetery where all the burials are aligned between 20° and 45° to the north-west of an east-west line (FIGS. 4 & 6). When a graveyard is laid out the individual interments are normally aligned with the nearest major feature, usually the church, and although deviations may occur, for example to align with a church path, they are usually of limited extent.^{74 & 75} The various 18th-century features already mentioned—William Price's house and the various walls—have a similar orientation being 36° north-west of the east-west line. The available evidence indicates that there is a strong likelihood that the monastic church and the associated conventual buildings were laid out with an orientation of about 126°/306° and that, as a result of this alignment, the cemetery would have been to the south-east of the church rather than the east. A similar situation occurred at Abbey Dore, founded about 1147, where the church was built on a 128°/308° alignment—almost the same as that suggested for St. Guthlac's.⁷⁶

At the Dissolution, when the site was conveyed to John ap Rice, the acreage within 'the confines and enclosure' is not given, but the adjacent Three Moors is said to comprise four acres (p. 328). In the earliest deeds (p. 330) the whole site is estimated to be fourteen acres and as the Three Moors are not separately mentioned, it is assumed that by then they were included within the whole.

The 'confines and enclosure,' which is assumed to be the monastic precinct, must therefore have been of the order of ten acres—approximately the size of the remaining part of St. Peter's parish on the south-east of Bysters Street excluding the area assumed to be the Three Moors (p. 328) and the seven-acre plot nearer the city (p. 330). Within the precinct would have been the church, the various ranges of buildings surrounding the cloister, the cemetery, a kitchen and possibly a guest wing, a farmery, storage barns, stables, etc. The precinct would almost certainly have been walled and entered by a substantial gatehouse.⁷⁷

The area occupied by the main monastic buildings—the church, cloister and surrounding conventual buildings—is not known. It is likely to have been larger than the small Grandmontine house at Craswall (c. 40 x 55 m.)⁷⁸ but smaller than Abbey Dore (c. 80 x 70 m.).⁷⁹ The whole could well have been included in a square with sides some 60 m. long.

An important part of the original choice of the site for the priory would have been the availability of an adequate supply of water for general purposes and particularly for flushing the drains. The line of the watercourse which ran from the site of Priory Farm to the Stonebow Brook, if continued to the north-west, would have gone through the precinct area described above, and, after crossing Bysters Street, could have rejoined the Stonebow Brook, being regulated by sluices in the Monkmoor Mill area and thus providing this essential service.

Taking into consideration all the available evidence, the most likely place for the principal monastic buildings and church is a part of the site which is now occupied by the 'bus station and cinema and perhaps including an additional area to the north-east. It is shown stippled on FIG. 8. If this is accepted, the main buildings would be between Bysters Street and the cemetery with an open area to the north-east leading down to the Stonebow Brook. This site slopes downwards close to Bysters Street (FIGS. 7 & 8) so the buildings were probably set back some distance from the street.

The most likely arrangement for the buildings within this area would seem to be with the church to the south-west and the cloister to the north-east. Although this is a reversal of the more common situation, where the cloister is placed on the south side of the nave to enable it to catch the sun, the plan would have been dictated by the line of the watercourse which would have run close to the cloistral range opposite the nave. The plan (FIG. 8) suggests that the most likely route for the watercourse would have been along the north-eastern side of the favoured area and hence it is most probable that the church was at the south-western side.

The alternative site to the south-west of the favoured area is considered unlikely because of the position of the watercourse and the lack of any traces of foundations in recent developments. It is possible that the monastic site was to the north-east of the favoured area, with the church on the north-eastern side of the cloister. This would put the cemetery to the south of the church—unusual but not impossible.

Assuming that the favoured area is correct then some impression of the arrangement of the buildings can be given. Close to Bysters Street would have been the prior's lodging and perhaps the guest house. These may have been on the first floor above the cellarer's range on the western side of the cloister. The opposite side of the cloister would have been occupied with the chapter house and perhaps the warming house with the dorter on the first floor above the whole range. A passage, between the chapter house and the church transept, leading from the cloister to the cemetery is likely. The range of buildings opposite the church would have included the refectory and close-by would have been the kitchen. The main gateway would doubtless have allowed access from Bysters Street into the outer parlour which was probably in the cellarer's range.

We know that the ruins of the priory buildings were sufficiently extensive to hide 150 men during the Civil War in the mid-17th century (p. 330). Were part of these ruins rehabilitated to provide a dwelling-house for William Price? There was a local precedent for such work—Sir Thomas Coningsby converted the west range and part of the nave of the Dominican Friary close to Widemarsh Street into a town house early in the 17th century.⁸⁰ If this was the case then the position of the house on the 1757 map would suggest that it was the dorter range which was so used.

Some considerable time has been spent elucidating the history of the site during the 450 or so years since the Dissolution. However it must be appreciated that the priory was present on the site for a period of some 400 years up to the Dissolution and for the whole of this monastic occupation we have no evidence except for the burials and a few pieces of masonry all of which are out of context. Much more may be learnt in the not too distant future for the City Council have long-term plans to develop the 'bus station as a multi-storey car park. It is partly with this in mind that the present article has been written so that when the time comes for development to take place the historical importance of the buried remains will be fully appreciated.

THE SKELETAL ARCHIVE

The archive contains the details of all the skeletons from which the summary chart (Table 1, p. 355) was obtained. It does not contain the X-rays, which were not considered suitable for reproduction, and these are available in the site archive in Hereford City Museum.

Retrieval varied in each case but, as far as possible, the following record is available for each skeleton:

- 1 Chart showing the bones present, the position of the arms and legs and details of disturbances, coffin (if present), condition of remains, associated finds and epiphyseal union.
- 2 Site photograph(s).
- 3 Analysis chart including sections on dentition, skull measurements, bone measurements and comments on particular features. The chart also indicates the stature, sex and estimated age of the individual.
- 4 Skull photographs usually including the front, one side and the mandible and palate showing the teeth.

This archive is available on two microfiche which can be obtained from the Hereford Archaeological Unit or from Hereford City Museum.

Photocopies of individual sections can be provided but it should be appreciated that the reproduction of photographs is better on fiche than on photocopy.

The Club is much indebted to English Heritage for a grant towards publishing this report.

TABLE 1
Skeletal remains - summary chart

NUMBER	AMOUNT OF SKELETON	TYPE OF COFFIN	POSITION OF ARMS		SEX	AGE	HEIGHT (cm)	CEPHALIC INDEX	NOTES
			R	L					
1304	B	W	C	C	M	25-35	170	80.7	
1305	C	-	P	-	-	A	166	-	
1306	B	SC	C	-	M?	45+	177	81.3	Fused 4th and 5th cervical vertebrae
1307	C	SC	-	-	-	A	174	-	
1308	A	-	C	C	M	0	177	74.2	Healed fracture of R. tibia and associated bone growths on fibula and pelvis
1309	A	S	C	C	M	0	175	84.8	Rheumatoid arthritis sufferer. Abscesses in palate and mandible
1310	B	-	C	C	M	A	169	-	Long splintered break on R. ulna
1311	A	-	Ch	C	M	35-45	170	84.7	Abscesses in mandible
1312	C	-	-	C	M?	A	169	-	
1313	A	-	C*	C	M	45+	167	81.0	*Death probably due to hand injury
1314	B	-	C	C	M	A	168	-	
1315	A	-	P	C	M	0	167	87.0	Alveolar resorption of jaws
1316	A	?	Ch	Ch	M	45+	170	78.1	Possible fractured L. metacarpals
1317	C	-	-	P	M?	0	162	73.7	
1318	A	-	-	C	M	35-45	179	76.8	
1319	A	S	C	C	M	45+	177	-	Possible fracture to R. clavicle
1320	D	-	-	-	-	35-45	-	76.2	Bone Group (3 individuals). Skull only in summary
1321	C	-	-	C	-	A	175	-	
1322	B	-	S	C	M	0	169	81.6	Rickets? Harris lines
1323	C	-	-	-	-	17-20	-	85.1	
1324	A	-	C	Ch	M	0	174	76.3	
1325	A	-	C	C	M	25-35	172	77.8	
1326	A	-	C	C	M	25-35	175	-	Reverse overjet of 10mm
1327	D	-	-	-	-	45+	-	-	
1328	D	-	-	-	M?	45+	-	-	
1329	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Left ilium
1408	C	W	-	-	-	A	-	-	
1409	A	SC	C	C	M?	0	175	-	
1410	A	SC	C*	C*	M	45+	-	-	*Hands together
1411	C	-	-	-	M?	25-35	-	-	
1412	D	S	-	-	-	A	172	-	
1413	A	W	P	P	M?	15-18	153	-	Juvenile
1414	B	-	P	P	M	45+	175	-	
1417	B	W?	-	-	-	Infant	-	-	?Post-dissolution use
1418	B	W?	-	-	-	Infant	-	-	?Post-dissolution use
2201	C	-	-	-	-	17-20	-	-	
2202	C	-	-	P	M	A	171	-	
2203	B	W?	-	-	M?	45+	169	-	
2204	C	W?	-	-	-	45+	167	-	
2225	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Unstratified bones from area 4
2230	C	W?	C	C	-	20-25	177	-	

KEY:

Amount of skeleton: A - complete; B - more than half; C - less than half; D - fragments
 Type of coffin: W - wood; SC - stone cist; S - stones in grave
 Position of arms: C - crossed on waist; P - with hand on pelvis; Ch - crossed with hand on chest; S - crossed with hand on shoulder
 Sex: M - male; M? - probably male
 Age: O - old (estimated much more than 45); A - adult (no other information available)

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- ⁴⁴ Aylestone Hill is in the north-eastern part of Hereford further out from the centre than the Priory.
- ⁴⁵ Was this the same Thomas Traunter who was mayor of Hereford (*op. cit.* in note 38) in 1717?
- ⁴⁶ The brook running along the edge of the Priory grounds is also known as the Eign Brook and encircles the city partly as the Widemarsh Brook. It was probably the original course of the Yazor Brook, which now flows into the Wye on the west of the city through an artificial cut (see A. Watkins, 'The Brooks called Eign', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXIII (1918-20), 175-7 and R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations*, Vol. 2: *Excavations on and close to the defences*, Research Report 46, C.B.A. (1982), 87-8).
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Hereford Gold: Irish, Welsh and English Land The Jewish Community at Hereford and its Clients, 1179-1253 Part I

By JOE HILLABY

1 SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY

Settlement, 1179-94

THE medieval Jewry in England was composed of interlocking urban communities, for the English Jews were at that time exclusively town-dwellers.¹ Much of the work on this subject has thus taken the form of studies of specific Jewries. By 1221, such communities were officially recognised in seventeen towns. Small groups were to be found elsewhere and a number subsequently achieved formal recognition, but the total 'at any time can rarely, and then only temporarily, have exceeded twenty. No more than thirteen communities were recognised continuously throughout the thirteenth century'.² Hereford was one of those thirteen. It is therefore surprising that, though there have been studies of the medieval Jewries of Bristol,³ Cambridge,⁴ Canterbury,⁵ Exeter,⁶ Lincoln,⁷ Northampton,⁸ Norwich,⁹ Oxford¹⁰ and York,¹¹ no attempt has been made to portray the Jewish community at Hereford.¹²

The English Jewry was an offshoot of the French Jewry. According to one of the texts of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regis*, the first Jews were brought over from Rouen to London by William the Conqueror. More certainly, another of the texts records that there were Jews in London who entered 'into controversy with our bishops' at the instigation of William Rufus 'who, in jest as I suppose, had said that if they mastered the Christians in open argument, he would become one of their sect'.¹³ The first English 'Street of the Jews' is recorded in London, about 1128, and their financial activities appear in the first extant Pipe Roll, of 1130-1.¹⁴

During the reign of Stephen, at the latest, the Jews moved from London to towns in the wealthier districts of the south-east. They were settled in Oxford by 1141;¹⁵ in Norwich, where in 1144 there was a considerable community, probably by 1135;¹⁶ and in Cambridge by 1155-6.¹⁷ The Pipe Rolls for 1159 give the first clear indication of the extent of this movement and the relative importance of individual settlements, for they specify the number of marks (a coin worth 13s. 4d. — $\frac{2}{3}$ of £1) paid in tax by each of eleven communities in that year. There is an overwhelming concentration in the east of the country—London 200 marks; Norwich 72½; Lincoln 60; Cambridge 50; Thetford 45; and Bungay 22½—but with beginnings of movement to the west—Hampshire, meaning Winchester and possibly Southampton, 50; Oxford 20; Gloucestershire, that is Gloucester, 5; and Wiltshire 2 marks. (FIG. 1) By 1170 the Gloucester Jewry had grown considerably in stature, for one of its members, Josce of Gloucester, owed the king a fine of £5 'for the moneys which he lent to those who against the king's prohibition went over to Ireland', a reference to the highly successful Irish expedition in 1170 of Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke.¹⁸

The first reference to a Jew in Hereford is to be found in the Pipe Rolls for 1178-9 which record that Moses the Jew paid two and a half of the five marks owed to the Exchequer for the right to debts of £7-6-8 against Henry 'de Minariis' and £3-6-8 against Hugh de Beauchamp. In 1180-1 Moses paid a further £1 into the Exchequer; the outstanding debt of one mark was settled in the following year. Henry 'de Minariis' had cleared his debt to Moses by 1181, but that of Hugh de Beauchamp was still owing the next year. There is no further reference to Moses, but in 1185-6 'Helyas, Jew of Hereford' paid two marks into the Exchequer for a licence for an agreement with 'Cypora, Jewess'.¹⁹

By 1194 we are on firm ground. In that year, representatives of the English Jewry were called to Northampton to allocate a special tallage of 5,000 marks, their contribution to Richard I's ransom of £100,000. Details of the so-called *Donum* of Northampton are preserved in the records of the Exchequer. They give details, not only of the contributions of the twenty major Jewries, but also the names of, and the amounts subscribed by, the various individuals within each of those communities.²⁰ The details provided, like all medieval statistics, have to be treated with caution, but there is no reason to believe that they give an unduly distorted picture of the overall hierarchy of provincial Jewries at that time. The former hierarchy had been catastrophically changed, following the coronation of Richard I in 1189, by the series of terrible massacres which had wiped out whole communities at York, Stamford and Bury St. Edmunds and drastically reduced that at Norwich.

TABLE 1 Northampton *Donum*, 1194

Contributions of Individual Jewish Communities

Community	£	s	d	% ¹	Rank
London ...	471	6	3	27	1
Lincoln ...	277	16	3	16	2
Canterbury ...	242	14	4	14	3
Northampton ...	160	18	3	9	4
Gloucester ...	116	19	4	6.5	5
Cambridge ...	98	10	0	5.5	6
Winchester ...	84	15	7	5	7
Norwich ...	71	11	5	4	8
Warwick ...	62	7	10	3	9
Colchester ...	41	13	4	2	10
Oxford ...	35	13	6	2	11
Chichester ...	26	0	0	1.5	12
Bristol ...	22	14	2	1	13
Hereford ...	11	1	8	0.5	14
Nottingham ...	5	6	4	0.3	15
Worcester ...	4	8	8	0.25	16
Hertford ...	4	4	3	0.24	17
Bedford ...	1	14	0	0.09	18
Exeter ...	1	2	3	0.06	19
Wallingford ...	1	0	0	0.05	20
Coventry ...	11	9		0.03	21
	£1,742	9	2		

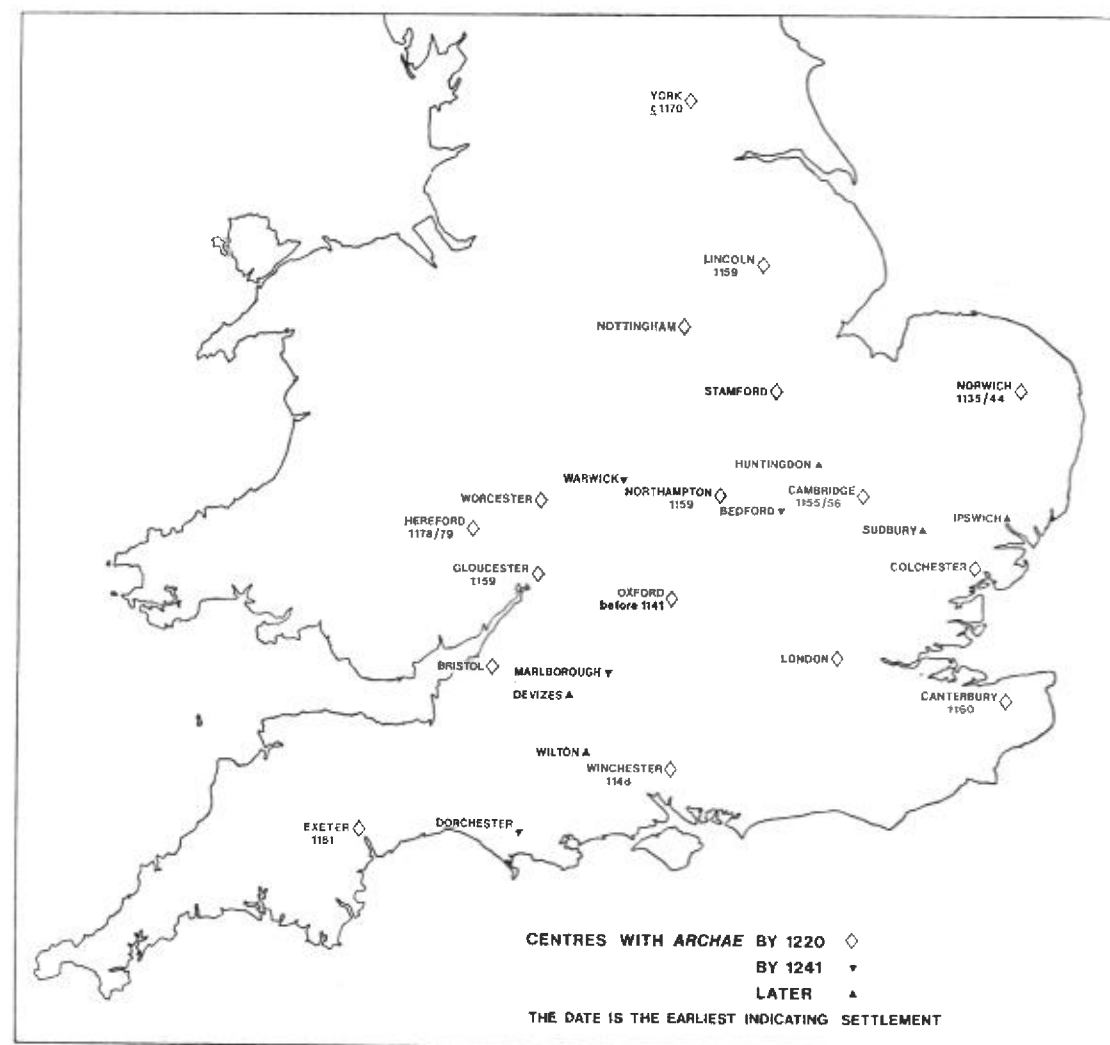
¹ Figures over 1 rounded to nearest .5%*JHSE Miscellany*, 1 (1925), lix-lxxiv.FIG. 1
Jewish Communities in England, late 12th and 13th centuries

Table 1 shows the Hereford Jewry ranking fourteenth: its tax burden, £11-1-8, was twice that of Nottingham (£5-6-8), Worcester (£4-8-8) and Hertford (£4-4-3) but half that of Bristol (£22-14-2) and one tenth that of Gloucester (£116-18-13), fifth in rank order.

TABLE 2 Northampton *Donum* 1194

Contributions of the Hereford Community

	£	s	d	%	Rank
1. Abraham <i>genere</i> Elias ...	13	0		5.9	6
2. Peter the Jew ...	11	8		5.3	8
3. Abraham of Colchester ...	1	18	10	17.5	2
4. Elijah ...	1	3	4	10.5	4
5. Isaac of Bungay ...	1	8	8	12.9	3
6. Salococ ...		12	10	5.8	7
7. Melin ...	3	13	4	33.1	1
8. Samuel of Hereford ...	1	0	0	9.0	5
	£11	1	8		

Table 2 indicates the contributions made by the eight most prosperous members of the Hereford community to the Northampton *Donum* of 1194. The poorer members were not liable to payment of tallage, so we are not able to estimate the total size of the Jewish settlement in 1194 from this source. The names are of interest. Abraham (1) is distinguished from Abraham of Colchester (3) by the name of his father-in-law. He was known as 'Abraham, son-in-law of Elias', a not uncommon form of Jewish appellation at the time. Peter (2) bears a Christian, not a Jewish, scriptural, name. This was most unusual. Elias is a form of Elijah (4) who may, therefore, have been the father-in-law of Abraham (1). Salococ (6) is a variant of Salomon or Solomon, whilst Melin (7) is the diminutive form of Samuel, which suggests that Melin may well have been the son of Samuel of Hereford (8).

Two major characteristics of the English medieval Jewries are reflected in this, the earliest nominal roll of Hereford's Jewry. Firstly, many of the provincial Jewries were dominated by one especially wealthy family. At Hereford, from about 1221 to 1253, the Jewish community was very much under the control, first of Hamo and afterwards of his sons, Ursell and Moses. There then seems to have been a power vacuum for a few years until the arrival in the 1260s of the Londoner, Aaron le Blund, who dominated the scene until the Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290. In 1194 there was nothing approaching the great contrast in wealth which characterised the Hereford Jewry

in the 13th century, but differentiation was already marked. The tax burden of Melin, the wealthiest member of the Hereford Jewry in 1194, was six times that of Abraham, son-in-law of Elias, Salococ and Peter the Jew and twice that of Abraham of Colchester, the second most wealthy member of the community. In the latter case, the comparison may not be just for Abraham seems to have retained some of his Colchester interests after his arrival in Hereford.

Secondly, there was a high degree of mobility between communities. This remained almost as true of the 13th century as it was of the period of settlement. The heads of two of Hereford's Jewish households have toponymics based on the place names of other English towns. In general, this may be 'highly controversial and problematic evidence' and it will be discussed more fully later.²¹ Here, however, we do have firm evidence of two of the places from which Hereford recruited, both in the more affluent south-east of the country—Colchester, a wealthy community; and Bungay, which had disappeared as an independent Jewry. In the early 12th century, Bungay had been a flourishing Suffolk town, with a weekly market, two annual fairs and a mint, situated at the gates of the castle of the Bigods, earls of Norfolk, but the castle was demolished after Hugh Bigod's revolt in 1174.²² The Jews of Bungay moved to other towns, in all probability because, in the disturbed conditions of 1189-90, they no longer had adequate security. The *Donum* of 1194 shows four Jews 'of Bungay' in Norwich, two in Lincoln and one in Northamptonshire, as well as Isaac in Hereford. Others may well have been living, in these and other places, under patronymics. Isaac did not come directly from Bungay to Hereford. He moved first to Norwich, for he is shown in the 1194 tax list for that town as still owing 2s., *de vetero tallagio*, a reference to the previous tallage of Richard I's reign. His brother, Ursell of Bungay, assessed at 16s. in the Norwich list, was still resident there in 1194. It is equally clear that Abraham of Colchester (3) had been a resident of the town from which he took his name. The *Donum* of 1194 shows that 'Abraham, son of Jacob of Colchester' payed 12s. towards the Colchester assessment in the same year that he paid £1-18-10 at Hereford. Confirmation that he continued to retain some of his Colchester interests after he had settled in Hereford comes from the Pipe Rolls, which record payments by him to the sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1192, 1193 and 1197. The traffic was not merely one-way. Between 1204 and 1206 Jacob 'of Hereford,' in all probability based on Bristol, was making loans in Wiltshire and Somerset.²³ Nor were loans in Herefordshire exclusively the preserve of the Hereford community, for at the same time Leo of Warwick was in Herefordshire and lent £32 to Walter Baskerville²⁴ and £10 to Roger *filius Maur*.²⁵

These early Jewish settlers do not seem to have been deterred by the advice given by the French Jew in the near contemporary *Chronicle* of Richard of Devizes, 'choose not a seat in the marches, Worcester, Chester or Hereford, because of the Welsh who are prodigal of the lives of others'.²⁶ Nor would they have been unduly influenced by Hereford's other claim to fame at that time:

'Eels of Gloucester . . .
The bath of Bath . . .
Skins of Shrewsbury . . .
Archers of Wales . . .
Cord of Warwick . . .
Rymers of Worcester . . .
Fur of Chester . . .
Soap of Coventry . . .
The leather of Bristol . . .
Girls of Hereford'²⁷

because Rabbinic law was always concerned to prevent marriage with idolatrous Gentile neighbours.

Not all the individuals named in the Hereford section of the *Donum* disappear wholly from view after 1194. In that year Richard I's ministers adopted a series of measures which, it was hoped, would prevent the recurrence of such outrages as those of 1189-90 and safeguard the king's considerable financial interests in 'his Jews'. Two officials of the royal Exchequer were given responsibility for Jewish affairs, an arrangement which later developed into a regular judicial administration, known as the Exchequer of the Jews, to supervise the local machinery established to control and monitor Jewish moneylending activities at a number of specified centres. Here, all deeds recording loans from Jews to Christians had to be registered. They were drawn up in front of a royal representative and two Jewish and two Christian clerks, specially nominated for the purpose, and all able to provide firm guarantees as to their probity. The bonds were recorded in duplicate on parchment and were then cut along an irregular line on which the word *chirographum* had been written. One part of the deed, or chirograph, was kept by the creditor and the other was placed in an *archa*, or chest, which was secured by three separate locks. The details of each transaction were entered onto two rolls, one to be kept by the Christian and the other by the Jewish chirographers; any amendment or cancellation of the terms had also to be entered on the rolls. In this way, a full record of Jewish moneylending activities was available to the king for taxation purposes. Originally, *archae* had been set up in only six or seven centres, but by 1220 the system had been extended to some ten more centres.²⁸ Hereford was one of these. (FIG. 1)

From 1194, under this new system, every Jewish moneylender had to swear an oath on the scroll of the Laws, the Pentateuch, that he would register all his bonds according to the new procedures and denounce any fraud or evasion of which he was aware. A number of references are to be found in the Pipe Rolls between 1194 and 1199 to the Hereford Jews, Isaac and Salococ (Table 2, Nos. 5 and 6), illustrating the operation of this procedure—and the difficulty experienced by sheriffs in obtaining moneys due to the crown. In 1194 Isaac swore his oath under the new regulations but did not pay the one mark (13s. 4d.) due. In 1196 Salococ swore his oath; neither did he pay. Salococ paid 3s. 4d. on account in 1197 and Isaac followed suit in 1198. In 1199 the sheriff's account still records 10s. outstanding from each.²⁹

Community, 1194 - 1221

The Northampton *Donum* shows Hereford to have been a well-established and prosperous Jewry in 1194, with roots going back at least fifteen years. The choice of Hereford as a Jewish centre was a good one, as the subsequent history of the community well shows. The town possessed the three essentials for success—a royal castle, a sheriff and an adequate hinterland. The most important of these was the presence of a royal castle. Of the seventeen major Jewish centres with *archae*, only Stamford was situated in a town without one.³⁰ But a royal castle did not offer a water-tight guarantee of safety. The redoubtable keep built by William I and restored by Henry II in 1172-3 had not saved the York Jews from the virulent anti-Semitism of the mob led by Richard Malebisse in 1190. They had been able to hold out there for several days, but their fate was sealed when specially constructed siege engines were moved in.³¹ The relationship of the Hereford Jews with the castle, as with the king, was always highly ambiguous, for royal protection was closely linked to royal exploitation. A passage in the survey of the condition of the castle, after its transfer from William de Saint Omer to John le Bretun in 1254, clearly illustrates this: 'the chamber under curtain wall of the keep where the Jews are wont to be put when they are detained for the tallage'.³²

Hereford was also a shire town, one of those centres of county administration where the sheriff discharged the local military, judicial and fiscal functions of the crown. In all these capacities, the sheriff exercised direct authority over the Jews in his shire town. He was responsible for their security in times of troubles and for the collection of the various financial obligations imposed upon them with such frequency. He also had to ensure that they had access to and were amenable to royal justice. For this reason, all the major Jewries, except Bristol and Stamford, were situated in county towns.

The need for the Jews to live so close to sheriff and royal castle was a reflection of their legal status, which has been described as one of rightlessness in relation to the king.³³ In Bracton's words, 'the Jew can have nothing of his own, for whatever he acquires, he acquires not for himself but for the king'. Certainly, it was on this basis that, in 1210, John imprisoned all the more important English Jews and seized their bonds and records. Nevertheless, a number of crucial rights had been confirmed to them by Henry II. The most fundamental were the rights to reside within the realm and to move freely with their chattels within the network of established Jewries. They might trade, meaning in reality the taking of pledges, in all except church ornaments and blood-stained garments. Pledges not redeemed within a year and a day could be sold. They could sue and be sued only in royal courts or those of the castle within whose bailiwick they lived. Thus, in a feudal society, the Jews were in the unusual position of looking solely to the king for justice. In return, the English kings increasingly regarded the wealth of the Jews, usually within certain conventions, as being at their disposal through such forms as tallages, reliefs and 'gifts.' 'What good reason the King had to be thus tender of the Jews appears from the absolute property he had in them.'³⁴

Their wealth came overwhelmingly from the lending of money. To this end, they and their agents travelled widely to meet their clients, especially to the great fairs. Although they were town-dwellers, most of their trade, as will be seen, was not with townspeople but with the people of the countryside. There was undoubtedly a considerable amount of pawnbroking, yet this is but meagrely reflected in the records. (PL. XIII). There is some evidence of Jews pursuing trade and crafts, but these were for the most part dependent upon that small number of very wealthy families which dominated the provincial Jewries and whose fortunes were invested in the lending of money which, under favourable circumstances, could double in two years.³⁵

Hereford offered a considerable hinterland. To the south, it was bounded by the Bristol Jewry, which seems to have included within its influence parts of South Wales as well as Somerset and the areas immediately adjoining. To the east were the Jewries of Gloucester and Worcester, with Warwick and Nottingham beyond. There was no Jewry in Shropshire, although a number of attempts were made to establish one, based not on the county town, but on the royal castle at Bridgnorth.³⁶ Nor was there a Jewry in Cheshire or the land to the north. The nature of the clientele of the Hereford Jewish moneylenders will be examined in detail later, but the records show that they were drawn not merely from Herefordshire but from the neighbouring counties of Shropshire, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire.

The first evidence of the acceptance by the crown of Hereford Jewry as a formal community comes after the end of John's reign (1199-1216). The concept of community, in terms of rights and obligations, was fundamental in medieval law, as, for example, in the cases of the vill, the hundred, the shire and the borough, as well as the commune of the realm. This concept was extended to the Jewry. It was both convenient and profitable, as we have seen in the case of the Northampton *Donum*, for the crown to regard the Jews as a community with privileges of self-regulation. This did not apply merely to the allocation of the tax burdens. In 1201 John had granted 'to our Jews of England that breaches of right that shall occur among them, except such as pertain to our crown and justice . . . be examined and amended amongst themselves according to their law, so that they administer their own justice amongst themselves.'³⁷ This was possible, as the *Commune Iudeorum Anglie* offered no threat to the state because of the Talmudic principle that declares the law of the state to be divine law. At both national and local levels, the medieval legal concept of community was grafted onto an existing, much wider and more powerful, Jewish concept of community. Pressure from without, as well as a physical separateness, led to a proud affirmation of Jewish identity in terms of religion, law, language and family life, which combined to give their small and isolated local communities a remarkable cohesion which carried them through many dire crises. How this Jewish concept of community found expression in 13th-century Hereford will be discussed later; at the moment we are concerned with it merely in a legal sense, as a 'juridical person with a capacity for holding property and incurring common burdens'. In particular, we are concerned to explore the relations of that legal community with the Christian state.³⁸

The accession of the nine-year-old Henry III in 1216 brought the English Jews immediate relief from the tribulations they had suffered during the later years of John's reign. William Marshal and the Council which ruled the kingdom on the young Henry's behalf did their best to re-establish that sense of confidence which had pervaded the English Jewry in the time of Henry II. Following William Marshal's death in 1219, his successor, Hubert de Burgh, continued this policy of moderation.

In 1218 the Council, 'informed what great Profit might arise from the Jews if they were kindly dealt with', took immediate measures to secure that end.³⁹ Jews in captivity were released; Jewish immigration was encouraged; Jewish privileges were confirmed; and measures were taken to safeguard the English Jewries against popular attacks. The Patent Roll for 1218 confirms the right of Jews to reside at Hereford and the sheriff was particularly commanded to protect them from any violence. It is also highly likely that, as at Gloucester, Lincoln, Oxford and Bristol, twenty-four of the most prominent citizens were

made responsible for their security from molestation, 'especially from Crusaders'—a measure re-introduced in Hereford in 1282. Hugh de Mapenor, who had been appointed bishop of Hereford by the influence of the papal legate after John's death in 1216, seems to have attempted, with a number of other bishops, to bring cases concerning Jewish debts within the province of the ecclesiastical courts. On 19 June 1218, the regent and the royal council took firm action to maintain the crown's rights over the Jews. Walter de Lacy, sheriff of Hereford, was ordered to 'proclaim throughout all the district under your charge that we have assured to the Jews our peace. No action to the contrary taken by the bishop of Hereford is of any effect, for our Jews are no concern of his . . . You shall not permit the Jews to be impealed in any ecclesiastical court on account of any debt. All these things you shall do as they were done in the days of our father, John'.⁴⁰

Under this new regime, the Hereford Jews flourished and we find them acting in their capacity as a legal community on a number of occasions. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had promulgated a number of canons concerning relations between Christians and Jews. One of these dictated the wearing of a distinctive mark by Jews. In March 1218 the royal council, under pressure from the papal legate, ordered that all Jews should wear on their outer garment a piece of cloth, or other material, in the form of '*duas tabulas albas*'—'the badge of shame', representing the two tablets of stone on which the ten commandments had been inscribed. The Council of Oxford, 1222, was to specify that the badge be two fingers wide and four long. There was further regulation in 1253 and the *Statutum de Judeismo* of 1275 was to order that it be six fingers long and three wide, of yellow taffeta, and worn by all Jews over six years of age.⁴¹ However, in the early 13th century, dispensations from wearing the badge were easily bought, either by wealthier individuals or by communities. Thus, in 1218 the commune of Hereford paid 12s. 5d. for such a licence; at the same time, the commune of Canterbury paid 8s. 4d. and that of Stamford, 18s. 10d. How far exceptions were made to the later regulation of 1275 is not known, but a manuscript of 1277 in the Public Record Office has, drawn in the margin, a caricature of Aaron, 'son of the Devil', of Colchester which clearly shows him wearing the *tabula*.⁴² (PL. XIV).

About 1220, when Jews were required to secure their loans by means of the new written bonds, the commune of Hereford paid 20s. for a licence to continue using the older way of recording loans, by tallies.⁴³ The tally was a piece of wood, about eight inches to a foot in length, on which the sums advanced were recorded by marks or notches. It was then split down the middle, one half being given to each of the parties to the transaction. This system of recording debts, which had been used in classical times, and was to continue in use in

the royal Exchequer, was not really compatible with the *archa* system just being extended to Hereford. Similar licences of exemption were granted to the communes of Northampton and Exeter, which had also been given chests at this time. These licences may, therefore, have been a short-term expedient to help some of the less experienced members of these communities. They would enable them to familiarise themselves more fully with the new practice of recording loans by means of bonds, the parchment chirographs, copies of which, according to this system, had to be deposited in the community's chest.

However carefully the new procedures had been drawn up, there was still room for fraud and there were always those bold or foolhardy enough to take the risks involved, as one case brought before the authorities shows. This involved two sons of Abraham of Hereford—Josce and Moses. In 1244 a certain Hugh le Brun was arrested with a fraudulent chirograph in his possession. On examination by the justices, Hugh told them that he had been asked by Josce to go with him to the house of Thomas, one of the Hereford chirograph clerks, to impersonate Robert le Berwe so that Thomas the clerk would witness a chirograph recording a loan of £12 from Josce's brother, Moses, to the said Robert le Berwe. In return, Josce promised Hugh that he would get a royal writ that would release Hugh from his own debts, recorded in another chirograph in the Hereford chest. Josce defended himself, saying that he only went to Thomas' house on Moses' orders, 'witting not why or wherefore'; all of which Moses denied. When Thomas was asked 'Who came with Josce to make the charter?' he answered that 'Moses came but went away before the charter was made and (that) it was Josce and Hugh that told him to make the charter and that Josce gave him the wax with which the charter was sealed'. The judgement of the justices was that they both be hanged and they sent a mandate to the sheriff of Hereford that the sentence should be carried out 'Monday next after Martinmas'.⁴⁴

2 HAMO OF HEREFORD AND HIS HEIRS, c. 1218 - 1253

The 1221, 1223 and 1226 Tallages

Clear evidence of the character and prosperity of the Hereford Jewry in the early years of Henry III's reign is to be found in the receipt rolls for the tallages of the period which name all Jews 'possessing chattles to the value of 40s. and upwards'. Three are of especial value. The first, for the so-called 'Aid', in reality a tallage, levied on the English Jewry on the marriage of the king's sister, princess Joan, to the Scots king Alexander in 1221, is quite intact and gives full details of the sums raised from the seventeen major communities.⁴⁵ The second tallage, of 3,000 marks in 1223, is only lacking in some details for

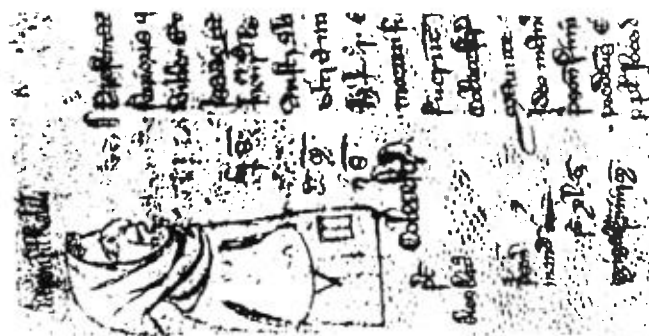
Winchester.⁴⁶ The third tallage, of 4,000 marks in 1226, is in a far less satisfactory condition, for almost all the text on the right hand of both sides of the roll has been obliterated, including the returns for the two major centres of London and York, as well as the less important Jewries at Northampton and Exeter.⁴⁷ It is difficult, therefore, to make detailed comparisons for 1226, but this imperfect roll does give details of sums raised from four minor Jewries, not listed separately in the two earlier rolls—Wilton, Southampton, Huntingdon and Bedford.

Table 3 gives details of the contributions of the various taxpaying members of the Hereford community to the first of these tallages, the 'Aid' of 1221. In most cases, payment was made in two instalments (i and ii). The numbers beside the names relate to the position of those names in the two lists. Some difficulties of interpretation arise from variations and ambiguities in personal names. The range of such names available to an English Jew in the 13th century was restricted to a much greater degree than for his Gentile neighbour. Almost all were drawn from the scriptures. Predominant were Abraham, Elias or Elijah, Hagim, Isaac, Jacob, Josce, Manasser, Moses, Samuel, and Salomon or Solomon, with a range of variants and diminutives. Thus Isaac could be abbreviated to Cok or Hak and took the diminutive Hakelin. The diminutive for Jacob was Copin and for Samuel it was Molkin or Melkin (Table 2 No. 7). Somewhat less popular were a small number of Norman-French equivalents to Hebrew names, such as Benedict, Bonefaunt, Deudonne, Deulecresse or Cresse, and Vives. Only rarely were names of Christian origin used, as in the case of Peter the Jew (Table 2 No. 2).⁴⁸

For the Jew even more than the Gentile it was, therefore, essential to be distinguished by an additional name. These were drawn from four categories—locality, relationship, occupation or nickname. A small number of Jews bore names of occupation, status or office, or nicknames. Thus Manasser and two other Hereford Jews are known to have borne the title *episcopus* or *evesk*; others, such as Isaac (Table 3ii No. 1), were described as *Blund* or *le Blund*, 'the fair-headed'. The latter seems to have become a widespread family name by the 13th century, but in most cases such titles had not yet become hereditary. Names of locality and relationship were far more popular than those of occupation or nicknames, but rarely were they fully distinctive. As we have noted in the case of the Northampton *Donum*, toponymics do not necessarily refer to the principal place of abode. Sometimes they reflected change of residence, for an unusual toponymic was an ideal form of distinction. Thus, as we have seen, Isaac of Bungay, together with a number of other former residents of that place, retained that name for years after their community had been dispersed; and Abraham of Colchester continued to be so called long after



XIII—Pawnbroking (BL Add. MSS 27, 695)
Genoese Jews lending money on the security of precious objects. On the right one negotiates the sum to be lent whilst on the left the other enters details in their register. On the table, covered with a cloth embellished with swastika motifs, are coins. Behind, hanging from a rail, are pawned objects—a sword, two belts and domestic utensils. The scene is depicted inside a building with five *bifora* windows, a stout door and battlements



XIV—Aaron, son of the Devil, *filius Diaboli*, of Colchester (PRO, Essex Forest Roll, 1277)
Aaron is shown with a prominently hooked nose and the 'badge of shame', the two tablets of stone on which the ten commandments had been inscribed. First introduced after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, sixty years later Edward's Statute of the Jewry laid down that it should be of yellow taffeta, six fingers long and three wide and should be worn by all Jews over six years old



XV- Shobdon, south doorway (*Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A*) c. 1918



XVI- Shobdon, south doorway (*F. C. Morgan, M.A., F.S.A.*) c. 1945



XVII- St. Giles' Hospital, Hereford (*A. Watkins, F.R.P.S.*)



XVIII- Rowstone, south doorway (*A. Watkins, F.R.P.S.*)

TABLE 3 The Tallage of 1221
Contributions of the Hereford Community

	First Payment (i)			Second Payment (ii)			Total		
	£	s	d		s	d	£	s	d
1 Aaron s of Josce	12 6	9 Aaron	...	15 10	1	8	4
2 Isaac s of Solomon	3 9	6 Isaac of Northampton	...	4 9		8	6
3 Isaac s/l of Moses	10 0	7 Isaac of Bristol	...	10 0	1	0	0
4 Gente d of Isaac	5 5	2 Gente d of Isaac	...	4 10		10	3
5 Deulecresse of Oxford	6 3	5 Deulecresse of Oxford	...	7 11		14	2
6 Solomon of Kent	6 3	4 Solomon of Kent	...	7 11		14	2
7 Benjamin s/l of Isaac	5 0	3 Benjamin s/l of Isaac	...	6 4		11	4
8 Moses of Aylesbury	5 0	8 Moses of Aylesbury	...	6 4		11	4
9 Hamo of Hereford	17 2 4				17	2	4
10 Manasser s/l of Hamo	16 8	10 Manasser <i>Episcopus</i>	...	11 8	1	8	4
11 Elias of Hereford	2 3 6				2	3	6
12 Serfdeu of Hereford	3 15 0				3	15	0
13 Isaac of Hereford	14 2	1 Isaac Blund	...	18 0	1	12	2
			27 5 10			4 13 7 ¹	31	19	5

¹ Incorrect total of £4-3-7 in text.
s son; d daughter; s/l son-in-law.

PRO E401/4 m4

he had settled in Hereford. On the other hand, Aaron, the greatest Jewish financier of the 13th century, whose operations were based on York, appears in 1221(i) as Aaron 'of Lincoln', his city of origin, then in 1221(ii) as Aaron, 'son of Josce'. It is only in 1223 that he is described by the name by which he has gone down to posterity, Aaron 'of York'. Similarly, his contemporary David, who was living and was taxed in Oxford in 1221, appears as David 'of Lincoln' in that year and 1223 and only becomes David 'of Oxford' in 1226.

To sum up the available evidence suggests that toponymics can signify one of a number of things about the bearer: that he had been born in that town; that he had once lived there; or that he was currently resident there. In addition, in the case of certain small towns or villages, 'it would seem that these apparent country-dwellers were not permanently resident in the place from which they acquired a surname . . . but that there found it convenient to have a house or business and occasional residence'. The Hagin de Weobley de Hereford, mentioned in a list of Hereford Jews drawn up at the Expulsion in 1290, quite clearly belongs to this category.⁴⁹

In the Hereford tallage returns for 1221, 1223 and 1226 eleven individuals are identified by toponymics. Six bear names of other towns: Isaac of Northampton (1221(ii) 6), Isaac of Bristol (1221(ii) 7), Deulecresse of Oxford (1221 5), Solomon of Kent (1221(i) 6), Moses of Aylesbury (1221 8) and Benjamin of Oxford (1223); whilst five are distinguished as 'of Hereford'—Hamo (1221(i) 9), Elias (1221(i) 11), Serfdeu (1221(i) 12), Isaac (1221(i) 13) and Aaron (1223).

Surnames of relationship constitute the last category. The most popular form, for Jews as for Gentiles, was the patronymic, which described a man as the son of his father—Aaron, son of Josce (1221(i) 1) and Isaac, son of Solomon (1221(i) 2); or a woman as the daughter of her father—Genta, daughter of Isaac (1221 4). Less common, but not unknown, was the use of the metronymic, which described a person in relation to his or her mother. An interesting Hereford example occurs in the return to a royal writ in the months preceding the 1221 tallage, where a certain Abraham is referred to as *nepote Avegaie*, grandson of Abigail.⁵⁰

A more unusual Jewish form, which did not occur amongst the Gentiles, was to name a man in relation to his father-in-law, thus underlining the status of the father-in-law. One Hereford Jew was so styled in the *Donum* of 1194—Abraham *gener* Elias, Abraham, son-in-law of Elias. There are six examples in the Hereford tallage returns for 1221-6 (Table 4). Three are in the 1221(i) list: Isaac, son-in-law of Moses (3), that is, Moses of Aylesbury (8); Benjamin, son-in-law of Isaac (7), possibly Isaac of Hereford (13); and Manasser, son-in-law of Hamo (10), of whom more will be said later. Another is found in the 1223

Hereford in Wall(ia)	
Hamo de Hereford(ia)	Lxx li. de Tall(agio) mmm marce
Moss(e) de Allesbir(ie)	xxiiij sol. viij d.
Isaac de Bristol	xlx sol. ij d.
Aaron de Hereford	liij li. ij s. viij d.
Isaac Blund	Lxx sol. vj d.
Benjamin de Oxon	xxiiij sol. vj d.
Aaron le Prestre	xix sol. viij d.
Manasse(er) le Evesk	Lxxiiij sol. ix d.
Abrah(am) fil(ius) Serfdeu	xxxij sol. x d.
Salance de Kant	xxxj sol. liij d.
Serfdeu	xxiiij li. xv sol.
Josce tene Serfdeu	xlx sol.
Isaac de Northampton	xix sol. viij d.
Deulecresse de Oxon	xxxij sol. x d.
Comm(un)ia Judaea Heref(ordia)	x sol. j d.
	xx liij xvi li. x s. vj d.

FIG. 2
The Tallage of the Hereford Jewish Community, 1223

TABLE 4 Tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226
Contributions of the Hereford Community

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	Payment			Percentage			Rank		
	1221	1223	1226	1221	1223	1226	1221	1223	1226
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d						
1 Aaron s of Josce	1 8 4	4 2 7		4.4	3.7		5=	3	
2 Isaac s of Solomon	8 6	19 8	14 0	1.3	0.9	1.8	13	13=	8
3 Isaac s/l of Moses (8)	1 0 0	2 9 2	13 11	3.1	2.2	1.8	7	6	9=
4 Genta d of Isaac	10 3			1.6			12		
5 Deulecresse of Oxford	14 2	1 12 10	19 5	2.2	1.5	2.5	8=	8=	5
6 Solomon of Kent	14 2	1 11 4	17 0	2.2	1.4	2.2	8=	10	6
7 Benjamin s/l of Isaac	11 4	1 4 6	13 11	1.8	1.1	1.8	10=	12	9=
8 Moses of Aylesbury	11 4	1 4 7	13 11	1.8	1.1	1.8	10=	11	9=
9 Hamo of Hereford	17 2 4	70 0 0	25 14 0	53.5	63.3	65.7	1	1	1
10 Manasser s/l of Hamo	1 8 4	3 13 9	1 7 11	4.4	3.3	3.6	5=	4	4
11 Elias of Hereford	2 3 6			6.8			3		
12 Serfdeu of Hereford	3 15 0	14 15 0	2 10 0	11.7	13.3	6.4	2	2	2
13 Isaac of Hereford	1 12 2	3 5 6	8 0	5.0	3.0	1.0	4	5	13=
	31 19 5								
14 Aaron le Prestre		19 8	8 0		0.9	1.0		13=	13=
15 Abraham s of Serfdeu		1 12 10			1.5			8=	
16 Josce s/l of Serfdeu		2 9 0			2.2			7	
17 Commune of the Jews of Hereford		10 1			0.5			15	
	110 10 6								
18 Blanche		2 4 8				5.7		3	
19 Moses s of Isaac		13 11				1.8		9=	
20 Aaron s/l of Abraham		16 0				2.0		7	
21 Benjamin s/l of Aaron		8 0				1.0		13=	
	39 2 8								

s son; d daughter; s/l son-in-law

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list, where Josce (16) is described as son-in-law of Serfdeu (12). Two more occur in 1226; Aaron, son-in-law of Abraham (20), immediately followed by Benjamin, *genere suo* (21), that is son-in-law of Aaron. The only person whose identity is in doubt is Aaron, son-in-law of Abraham (20). He may have been the Aaron, son of Josce (1) of the 1221(i) list but this is unlikely for he was clearly a man of considerable standing in the community. In 1221(ii) he was referred to simply as Aaron and in 1223 as Aaron of Hereford, when he ranked third in the Hereford Jewry. It is unlikely that a man of this stature would assume the name of his father-in-law. Aaron, son-in-law of Abraham is therefore shown as a separate entry (20) in Table 4. If this assumption is correct, we have no data for Aaron of Hereford in 1226, which suggests that either he was dead or he had left the town by that date. This problem of the two Aarons illustrates well the difficulties that beset the compilation of Jewish pedigrees in our period.

Confusion is further compounded, as surnames of place and relationship are interchangeable. Thus, the person or persons who drew up the 1221(i) and 1226 lists seem to have favoured surnames of relationship, whilst the authors of the 1221(ii) and 1223 lists favoured toponymics. In this way, Isaac, son of Solomon (1221(i) 2) is Isaac of Northampton in 1221(ii); Isaac, son-in-law of Moses (1221(i) 3) is Isaac of Bristol in 1221(ii) and 1223, but is listed immediately after Moses of Aylesbury as *gener suo*, his son-in-law, in 1226. Benjamin, son-in-law of Isaac in 1221(i) and 1226, is Benjamin of Oxford in the 1223 list; whilst, as we have seen, Aaron, son of Josce (1221(i) 1) is merely Aaron in 1221(ii) and Aaron of Hereford in the 1223 list. Finally, Manasser appears as son-in-law of Hamo in 1221(i) and 1226 but with the surname of occupation, *Episcopus* and *le Evesk* in 1221(ii) and 1223.

Table 4 starkly illustrates the dominant position of Hamo and his family within the Hereford Jewry in the early years of Henry III's reign. Hamo was responsible for slightly more than half (53.5%) of his community's contribution to the tallage of 1221. Five years later, it was almost two-thirds (65.7%); whilst the total liability of Hamo's family in that year amounted to three-quarters of the whole, for Manasser, his son-in-law, contributed 2.6% and Manasser's mother, Blanche, was separately assessed at £2-4-8, that is 5.7%.

There were only two other major contributors in 1221, Serfdeu (12) at 11.7% and Elias (11) at 6.8%. The latter was the grand old man of the Hereford Jewry, whose career in the town began in the period of settlement if he is the Elijah, father-in-law of Abraham, who ranked fourth amongst the Hereford Jews taxed to the 1194 *Donum*, when he paid £1-3-4 (10.5%), and the 'Helyas' fined two marks in 1186 for his 'agreement', in all probability for marriage, with the Jewess, Cypora. During his thirty-five years in the town, Elias would have witnessed one of the most terrifying periods in the history of the English Jewry, the years

after 1210, when king John had imposed the 'Bristol' tallage of 66,000 marks and imprisoned most of its senior members. After 1221 there is no further reference to Elias in the records, although his son, Abraham, and son-in-law, also called Abraham, do appear later. Serfdeu was the head of the third major Jewish family in Herefordshire. His contributions peaked in 1223, when he himself was assessed at 13.3%, whilst the assessments of his son, Abraham, and of his son-in-law, Josce, were 2.2% and 1.2% respectively, giving a total for his family of 16.7%. In that year, the two families of Hamo and Serfdeu together accounted for 80% of the Hereford assessment. In 1226 Serfdeu paid only 6.4%, less than half his previous percentage, and there is no mention of the other members of his family.

Serfdeu was not alone in experiencing such a decline in his fortunes. The tax liability of Isaac of Hereford (13) dropped from 5% to 1% within the period 1221-6. The fortunes of the others, with the possible exception of Isaac, son-in-law of Moses (3), remained remarkably stable, if we can take the percentages and rank order as an index of their wealth. For a few of these men, further biographical details are available. Moses of Aylesbury and Deulecresse of Oxford had only recently taken up permanent residence in the town. In 1220 Deulecresse was one of half a dozen Oxford Jews who had had to give security that they would not leave London, where they were on jury service before the Justices of the Jews, until their judgement had been given. Moses had also come here from Oxford, for he was named on the receipt roll of 1220 as one of eleven Oxford Jews who still had debts outstanding to the Exchequer under the terms of the Bristol tallage of 1210. In 1221 he was one of three Jews named in response to a royal writ inquiring about debts, secured at Hereford by deeds, tallies and chirographs, and incurred before 'the general arrest of the Jews' in 1210.⁵¹ In Moses' case the tally was for a debt of £3-3-0. The inference must be that Moses had been conducting business in Hereford from his Oxford base for more than a decade. It is highly likely that Benjamin (7) was another recent arrival from Oxford.

What had persuaded Deulecresse, Moses and Benjamin to transfer the base of their operations from Oxford eighty miles further west to Hereford? It may have been due to the favourable climate and the increased business opportunities offered at Hereford as a consequence of the policies adopted by the council of regency in 1218. Certainly, they may well have been influenced by a wave of anti-Semitism at Oxford, associated in particular with the Dominican friars, who had just established their priory in the midst of the Jewry, 'to the end that by their exemplary carriage and gift of preaching the Jews of Oxford might be converted to the Christian faith'. This wave reached a peak in 1222 when a deacon, who had adopted Judaism, had been circumcised, and had married a Jewess, was handed over to the secular authorities who burned him at the stake.⁵²

The two other Jews mentioned in the 1221 return as still possessing chirographs for debts incurred prior to 1210, were Isaac Blund and Abraham *nepote Avegaie*. The former had a chirograph for £15 in the name of William de Stanton, whilst the latter held one for £3 in the name of William de Cuberlece. It is interesting to speculate why Abraham should have borne the metronymic of his grandmother, Abigail. The answer seems to lie with her reputation as one of the major London Jewish financiers. At the time of the Northampton *Donum*, she had made a total contribution of £40-7-8, whilst her son, Abraham, 'son of Abigail', paid £33-13-4. In 1183 mother and son had accepted the manor of Tottenham, with power to alienate it if repayment was not made, as security for a loan of 100 marks. Abraham, like many others, seems to have fallen seriously behind with his tallage payments. At Michaelmas, 1199 he still owed 512 marks for the 1186 and 1188 tallages and in 1211, with a number of other prominent London Jews, he was condemned to death on charges of tax evasion.⁵³

These new-comers from Oxford and elsewhere posed no threat to Hamo's business interests. By 1226 the economic disparities within the community were much more pronounced than they had been in 1194. At the time of the *Donum*, the difference between the highest and the lowest contributions, those of Melin on the one hand, and of Abraham, Peter and Salococ on the other, was of the order of x6. By 1223 the difference was x60. In 1226 Hamo, the wealthiest Jew in Hereford, paid ten times more than even Serfdeu, the second wealthiest. Taking tax liability as an index of wealth, Hamo's position at Hereford was unassailable.

Such, then, was Hamo's predominance within his own community, but what was his status within the *Commune Iudeorum Anglie*? How did he stand amongst the other great Jewish financiers of his day? The tax burdens imposed on the English Jewry were apportioned by a process of self-regulation. In the case of the 1194 *Donum* and the tallage of 1241, for example, representatives were called for this purpose to meetings at Northampton and Worcester respectively, which were later mockingly described as 'parliaments'.⁵⁴ In 1219 six elected assessors, acting on behalf of the major communities, came together with representatives of the *majores*, the most wealthy families, to assess the tallage. On this occasion the representatives of the *majores* were Aaron of York; Leo of York; David of Oxford; Aaron, son of Abraham; Aaron le Blund; and the brothers, Benedict and Jacob Crespian, all of London. It is self-evident that amongst such men there was a keen appreciation of the precise financial standing of their colleagues, for they formed a small group, closely linked by their business interests. Occasionally there were claims of over-assessment, such as that of David of Oxford in 1236, when he persuaded Henry III to order the Justices of the Jews to ensure that he was not over-assessed in the next tallage.⁵⁵ Such cases were few, for the community was understandably loath to put its fiscal

TABLE 5 Tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226
Major Jewish Contributors

	1221			1223			1226				
	£	s	d	Rank	£	s	d	Rank	£	s	d
Aaron of York ¹	28	15	0	1	43	2	8	5			
Leo <i>Episcopus</i>	27	7	6	2	44	13	6	4			
Benedict <i>Episcopus</i>	21	12	6	3	42	0	0	6			
Isaac of Northampton	20	0	10	4							
Aaron s of Isaac	17	17	1	5	15	17	0				
Hamo of Hereford	17	2	4	6	70	0	0	1	25	14	0
Josce of Kent	15	12	1	7	34	10	0	8			
Benedict Deulcesse	15	4	10	8	18	12	0				
David of Oxford ²	14	5	0	9	49	7	6	3	15	2	6
Vives s of Isaac	12	17	7	10	25	0	0	10			
Pictavin	12	11	4	11	24	13	6	11	12	0	0
Benedict <i>Episcopus</i> (Crespin)	12	10	0	12	25	13	6	9			
Elias of Lincoln	10	0	0	13	16	0	0				
	225	16	1								
Leo s of Isaac (le Blund)	9	4	2		20	4	0	14			
Aaron s of Leo (le Blund)	8	13	9½		50	0	0	2			
Elias s of Leo (le Blund)	8	12	6		21	5	9	13			
Jacob s of Samuel	7	0	0		37	10	0	7			
Josce Furnag	2	6	8		21	13	4	12			

¹ 'of Lincoln' in text; ² 'of Lincoln' in text

PRO E401/4; E401/6; E401/8

autonomy at risk by internal squabbling. Where there was a strong sense that injustice had been done, it was normally rectified by adjustment on the next round.

A comparison of Tables 5 and 6 will show how this process of adjustment operated. Table 5 lists, according to the size of their contributions, the thirteen Jews who paid £10 and over to the 1221 tallage. It gives a clear picture of the financial structure of the English Jewry for between them these thirteen *magnates* paid £225-16-1, that is 34.5% of the total of £654-13-5½ raised. The next column gives details of the payments of £20 and over by fourteen Jews to the 1223 tallage. Because of the imperfect state of the 1226 receipt roll, particularly in relation to the important York and London entries, it is not possible to give a comparable list for that year. Such payments as are legible, those of Hamo of Hereford, David of Oxford, Pictavin of Stamford, Elias of Lincoln and Josce Furmag of Bristol, are noted.

Table 6 gives the contributions of the various Jewish communities to the tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226. Details of the 1255 tallage of 2,000 marks are provided for purposes of contrast.⁵⁶ The 10% premium levied on all Jewish communities in that year as the portion of Aaron of York, 'granted exemption this time from tallage because of his poverty', has not been included as it does not effect the overall ranking. The contributions of Winchester in 1223 and of York, London, Northampton and Exeter in 1226 are not available.

The wealth of the York community, only thirty years after the great massacre and mass suicide, was overwhelming. In 1194 it did not figure in the Northampton *Donum* (Table 1). In 1221 its assessment of £164-10-0 represented one quarter of the total sum to be raised (Table 6); it was double the assessment of London and some three times those of Winchester, Lincoln, Canterbury and Northampton, third, fourth, fifth and sixth respectively in rank order. The same point is made by Table 5 where six out of the seven wealthiest Jews are members of the York community.

The York community does not seem to have been altogether happy with the assessment of 1221, when four of the representatives of the *maiores* had been Londoners. London did not fair so well in 1223; its assessment, in relation to that of York, was considerably increased and four Londoners are found in the ranks of those paying over £20—Benedict Crespin, with Leo le Blund and his sons, Aaron and Elias. The last-named was the father of that Aaron le Blund who was to dominate the Hereford Jewry in the 1270s and 1280s as fully as Hamo did in the 1220s. In particular, when most assessments merely doubled, Aaron le Blund's increased more than five-fold, to make him the second largest contributor at £50-0-0, but he was not alone.

TABLE 6 Tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226
Contributions of Individual Jewish Communities

	1221			1223 ^a			1226 ^b			1255		
	£	s	d	Rank	%	Rank	£	s	d	Rank	%	Rank
York	164	10	0	25		1	286	16	8	1	16.5	1
London	80	10	4	12		2	214	17	1	2	12.5	2
Winchester	53	7	1½	8		3				3	11.5	3
Lincoln	52	10	1½	8		4	156	19	3½	4	9	4
Canterbury	52	8	10	8		5	81	16	3	5	4.5	11
Northampton	47	9	11	7		6	92	17	11	7	5.5	7
Stamford	37	17	11½	6		7	84	14	10	8	5	10
Hereford	31	19	5	5		8	110	10	6	5	6.5	5
Norwich	28	7	4	4		9	103	2	7	6	6	6
Oxford	27	8	2	4		10	87	11	0	9	5	9
Bristol	22	12	9	3.5		11	92	5	6	8	5	8
Gloucester	19	2	4	3		12	51	13	11	14	3	14
Cambridge	16	6	9	2.5		13	52	1	3	13	3	13
Exeter	8	5	8	1		14	73	10	6	12	4	12
Nottingham	6	6	9	1		15	11	9	2	17	0.5	17
Worcester	3	1	2	0.5		16	24	15	6	15	1.5	15
Colchester	2	8	9	0.5		17	15	17	3	16	1	16
Wilton												
Southern												
Huntingdon												
Bedford												
Marlborough												
Warwick												

^a Rank and percentage estimated; ^b Rank estimated

PRO E401/4; E401/6; E401/8; PR, 1225, 439-44

In 1221, Hamo of Hereford, in sixth place, was the only non-York Jew to appear amongst the first seven contributors. Two years later, he suffered almost as badly as Aaron le Blund when he was reassessed at four times the previous sum. David of Oxford and the two Bristol Jews also suffered disproportionate increases. This reassessment placed Hamo at the head of that small group of Jewish plutocrats which dominated the market in large loans during the minority of Henry III. His tax liability was 40% greater than those of Aaron le Blund of London, David of Oxford and Aaron of York. We do not have full details for 1226, but such as we have tend to suggest that Hamo retained this position, for the differential between him and David of Oxford was more than fully maintained. It is unwise to argue too precisely from these figures, but what they do show quite clearly is that, at this time, Hamo's fortune could bear comparison with those of any of the other great Jewish financiers of his day—even with the legendary Aaron of York.

The Loans of Hamo's Family: the 1244 List

In Hamo's heyday, Hereford ranked high amongst the English Jewries—fifth in 1223 and possibly even fourth in 1226—but here, as at Canterbury, Oxford, Northampton, Stamford and Bristol, it was a reflection of the outstanding wealth of one family within the community (Table 7).

Persecution and pogrom apart, dramatic changes in the wealth and ranking of many of the English provincial Jewries represented primarily the rise and fall of such outstandingly wealthy families. This principle can be clearly seen in operation at Hereford. By 1255, two years after the death of Hamo's last remaining son, Moses, Hereford had slipped virtually to the bottom of the league table. Twenty-one Jewish communities contributed to the tallage of 2,000 marks in that year. Of these, apart from Nottingham and Warwick, it was Hereford, with Colchester, Gloucester and Stamford that made the smallest contributions. Conversely, Worcester had been regarded administratively as a mere adjunct of the Hereford Jewry. The 1221 return shows it had a common bailiff with Hereford and its financial contribution amounted to a mere ¼% of the total of the tallage of that year. Yet in 1255, Worcester ranked sixth. However, in the years immediately prior to the Expulsion, during the era of Aaron le Blund of Hereford, the Worcester Jewry was closed down and its people were moved to Hereford, where the Jewry rose once more to prominence and ultimately to pre-eminence amongst the remaining English communities.⁵⁷

Details of Hamo's family and its business dealings can be reconstructed from a number of sources, but by far the most important is a list which records all the debts due to the family in 1244. This document, amongst the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, was published in full in the first volume of the

TABLE 7 Tallages of 1221, 1223 and 1226

Status of Jewish Provincial Magnates within their Communities

Name and Community	1221				1223				1226			
	Payments		%		Payments		%		Payments		%	
Hamo of Hereford	17	2	4	54	70	0	0	63	25	14	0	66
Hereford	31	19	5		110	10	6		39	12	7	
David of Oxford ...	14	5	0	52	49	7	6	56	15	2	6	49
Oxford	27	8	2		87	11	0		30	14	2	
Pictavin	12	11	4	33	24	13	6	29	12	0	0	45
Stamford	37	17	11½		84	14	10		26	7	9	
Jacob s of Samuel ...	7	0	0	31	37	10	0	41	*			
Bristol	22	12	9		92	5	6					
Benedict Deulecresse	15	4	10	29	18	12	0	23	*			
Canterbury	52	8	10		81	16	3					
Vives s of Isaac ...	12	17	7	27	25	0	0	27	*			
Northampton	47	9	11		92	17	11					

* Figures not available

PRO E401/4; E401/6; E401/8

Calendar of these Rolls. After Hamo's eldest son, Ursell, died in 1241, the sheriff of Herefordshire was ordered to send from the Hereford chest to the Exchequer in London the counterparts of all debts outstanding to Hamo's family, so that the Justices of the Jews might assess the relief due from his heirs. The clerks at Westminster thus drew up this document listing, not only the debts recorded in the Hereford chest, but also those recorded elsewhere. These are indicated by numbers in Table 8. In all, they summarised forty-six counterpart charters spanning the years 1221-44. These relate to debts due to Hamo, 1221-31; to three of his four sons, Ursell, 1225-41, Leo, 1233, Moses, 1237-44; and to seven other members of the family between 1230 and 1244. The total amount due was £2,597-13-0. In addition, the list refers to ten charters of enfeoffment of land to Hamo and Ursell, representing mortgaged estates. Unfortunately, it does not specify where they were or to whom they belonged.

Table 8 itemises the loans due to Hamo's family in 1244, not in the original order of the list, but under the name or names of those who contracted the loan. Under each such heading the details are placed in a chronological sequence, based upon the date that the loan was due for repayment, except in three cases, numbers 18, 19 and 23, where we are given the date the loan was made rather than the date repayment was due. In seventeen cases (marked i in Table 8) the loan was to be repaid in instalments ranging from one to twelve years. Sometimes repayment followed quite a complex pattern. Thus John de Balun of Much Marcle was to repay the 105 marks he had borrowed from Moses, son of Hamo, '6 marks on the quindene of the Purification (2 February) in the 28th year (1244), 10 marks at the ensuing Easter, 6 marks at the feast of St. John (24 June), and 10 marks at Michaelmas (29 September), and so in the 2nd year, and in the 3rd year 6 marks at the Purification, 10 marks at Easter, 60 marks at the feast of St. John the Baptist, 5 marks at Michaelmas, and (in the 4th year) 5 marks at the Purification, 5 marks at Easter, and 5 marks at the feast of St. John the Baptist'.⁵⁸

In each case, the amount due is noted, but this was not necessarily the same as the amount originally loaned, for it is known that on some occasions money-lender and client agreed that the interest to be paid should be hidden, in part or in total, by recording a higher sum as principal. Some repayments were not in money but in kind. In this case, the unit of measure was the seam, a pack-horse load. This, like other medieval measures such as the bushel, varied according to locality and commodity, but it was most commonly reckoned as eight bushels of grain. The text suggests a value of 5s. for each seam of grain. Details of these payments, which represent the family's business with those at the lower end of the social scale, are listed in Table 9.

TABLE 8 The 1244 List of Debts outstanding to Hamo's Family

Name	Payment Due			Date
	£	s	d	Kind
Hamo (1221-1231)				
1 Crennocc de Hamme				2s corn p.a. 2s oats p.a.
2 Walter de Bereford	6	13	4	E 1221 ¹
3 Walter son of Osbert Galand	1	17	4	X 1224
4 Alan FitzAlan of Bleys	5	15	0	E 1226 ²
5 Miles de Mucegros	23	2	0	M 1226
6 Alured de Scothot	12	5	0	M 1226
7 Richard de Cundus	20	0	0	M 1226
8 John de Sutton	8	0	0	M 1228 i
9 Mael de Dene				2s corn 2s oats AH 1230
10 Nicholas FitzBernard of Cubepape				2s corn 3s oats AH 1231
	77	12	8	
Ursell (Joshua), son of Hamo, (1225-41)				
11 John de Alebrigge son of Simon de Materisdon	13	6	8	D 1225 ³
12 Walter de Mucegros	96	0	0	M 1227 i
13 John de Monemuwe	30	0	0	E 1231
14 John de Monemuwe	35	0	0	M 1231
15 Humfrey de la Haye	4	0	0	J 1232 i
16 John de Monemuwe	24	0	0	B 1232
17 John de Monemuwe	60	0	0	M 1232 i
18 William de Lancaster	10	0	0	vL 1232* ⁴
19 John le Marshall	133	6	8	tJ 1233* ⁵
20 Florencius, Prior of Monemuwe	4	13	4	H 1233
21 Robert, parson of Dudelbyr'	6	13	4	E 1233 ⁶
22 Walter de Lacy	666	13	4	M 1233 i
23 John de Monemuwe	3	6	8	S 1233*
24 Richard Le Seinner of Bakinton				6s corn p.a. M 1234 i
25 Clement de Udo	13	6	8	J 1236 ⁶
26 Henry de Longo Campo	23	6	8	M 1237 i
27 Henry de Longo Campo	8	0	0	M 1237
28 Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke	138	0	0	M 1237 i ¹

Ursell (continued)

29	Ralph Cusyn (father)	12	0		M	1237
30	Walter Maynard	13	4		D	1237
31	John Baret of Wubelay	13	4		D	1237
32	Ralph de la Burtote	3	6	8	D	1237
33	John Craft	2	13	4		1238
34	John Cudac	14	13	4	M	1238 i
35	Nicholas de Dudewell of Wybel'	13	6	8	20s oats	M 1238 i
36	John de Rowere				27½s corn	M 1240
					27s grain	
					55s oats	
					7s pease	
37	William Moze	15	0		J	1241 i
		£1,348	13	8		
Abraham, son-in-law of Elias (1230-32)						
38	Robert de Sausay, parson of Pipe	20	0	0	M	1230 i
39	John Marshall	60	0	0	M	1232 5
		£80	0	0		
Ursell with Manasser Episcopus (1232-33)						
40	John de Monemuwe	9	0	0	Eth	1232
41	William FitzWarin	33	6	8	M	1233 i
		£42	6	8		
Elias (Leo), son of Hamo (1233)						
42	William FitzHugh of Hees	3	0	0	M	1233
		£3	0	0		
Moses, son of Hamo (1237-44)						
43	John de Balun	70	0	0	P	1244
		£70	0	0		

Moses; with Abraham, son of Elias; Cuntessa, daughter of Ursell; Deudonne, son of Abraham; and Fluria, his wife (1243-44)

44	John Hagurner	18 6 8	E	1243 i
45	Gilbert de Lacy of Frome	600 0 0	E	1243 i
		<hr/>		
		£618 6 8		

Moses; with Abraham, son of Elias; Cuntessa, daughter of Ursell; Deudonne, son of Abraham; Fluria, his wife; and Cuntessa, daughter of Leo (1244)

46	Roger de Clifford	400 0 0	E	1244 i ⁷
		<hr/>		
		£400 0 0		

Total outstanding £2,597 13 0

A The Annunciation, 25 March; AH All Hallows, 1 November; B Bartholomew, 24 August; D St Denis, 9 October; E Easter; Eth St Ethelbert, 20 May; H St Hilary, 13 January; J Nativity of St John the Baptist, 24 June; L St Lucy, 13 December; M Michaelmas, 29 September; P Purification of Blessed Virgin, 2 February; S Sts Simon and Jude, 28 October; X Christmas, 25 December; v vigil of; t Tuesday before

1-7 Deeds not in Hereford chest, from: 1 Worcester; 2 Warwick; 3 Southampton; 4 Lancaster; 5 Northampton; 6 Salop; 7 London

i loans to be repaid in instalments

s seams

* date loan contracted, not payment date

EJ, 1, 65-8

TABLE 9 Clientele of Hamo's Family, 1244
Payments in Kind

Debtor	Creditor	Annual Rent Charge and Principal <i>where given</i>				%	Due	Further Comments
		Corn	Oats	Mixed Pease Grain	Cash			
Crennoc de Hamme	Hamo	2 s		2s			“Yearly”	“in default 5s for each seam”
Mael de Dene	Hamo	2 s		2s			AH 1230	
Nicholas fitz Bernard	Hamo	2 s		3s			AH 1231	
Richard le Seinner	Ursell	6 s					M 1234	“and so year by year, and term by term to the end of the world”
Nicholas de Dudewell	Ursell	P		20s		20m		
	R			1s		1m	M 1238	“and so year by year”
John de Rowere	Ursell	P 27½s	55s	27s	7s			
	R	1 s	2s	1s	3b		M 1240	

P Principal; R Annual rent charge;

s seam; b bushel; m mark;

AH All Hallows (All Saints), 1 November; M Michaelmas, 29 September;

EJ, 1, 65-8

The list does not record all the financial transactions made in the period covered by the charters, 1221-44; it merely itemises those debts still outstanding in 1244. Thus it does not indicate the overall quantity of business conducted by the family in these years, but there is no reason to believe that it does not represent a fair cross-section of that business, in terms of the clientele and of the size and nature of loans negotiated. A number of the loans were still within the term specified for repayment, for example nos. 43-6 in Table 8. It is, therefore, of particular interest to see that three of the most recent ones were negotiated on the basis of a family consortium, of five members in the case of charters 44 and 45, and six in the case of charter 46. Four other charters, 38-42, record loans in which other members of this extended family were included.

This seems to have been a common practice, for the instructions to the talliators in 1219 had been quite specific on this matter. They were told that they 'should be careful to assess the taxation upon all who ought to be taxed, whether a kinsman such as a father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, nephew or niece, grandfather or grandmother, father-in-law or son-in-law or the husband of a niece or any person who stands in any sort of (family) relationship'.⁵⁹ Here the royal officials were seeking to define the extended family in order that none should evade tax. In the case of the tallage, the convention of the responsibility of the head of the family for the tax burden of that family seems to have been maintained with only a few exceptions. Thus Serfdeu's son, Abraham, and his son-in-law, Josce, were only taxed separately for the tallage of 1223, not those of 1221 and 1226; and Blanche, mother of Manasser *Episcopus*, was taxed separately in 1226 but not in the preceding years. Thus, for the families of the Jewish magnates, marriage alliances also represented close financial relationships.

Three early charters in the collection, 3, 6 and 8, refer to Hamo as the 'son-in-law of Elias'. These record loans contracted in 1224, 1226 and 1228 when Hamo's career was at its peak. Charters 38 and 39 record large loans made by 'Abraham, son-in-law of Elias' to important clients of Hamo's family—John Marshal and one of the de Sausays of Pipe and Lyde; three other charters (44, 45 and 46) firmly link 'Abraham, son of Elias' with the consortium being operated by Hamo's family in 1243 and 1244. It would be tempting to assume from this that Hamo's wife, Cuntessa, was the daughter of Elias, the grand old man of the Hereford Jewry who had been established in the town since his marriage to Cypora in 1186, but we have no firm evidence to support such an assumption. Indeed, the size of Hamo's fortune in 1221, which would not easily have been accumulated in a few years, and the fact that there is no reference to him at Hereford in the reign of John, strongly suggest that he only took up residence in the city after John's death in 1216, when the Council of Regency introduced

its new regime to encourage Jewish financial activity. Elias, or Leo, was one of the most common of Jewish names and we may well have to look far beyond Hereford for both Hamo's father-in-law and the source of his fortune, since by 1225 his eldest son was in business in his own right (Table 8 No. 11).

Hamo's Heirs: Ursell, 1231-41; Moses, 1241-53

On Hamo's death in 1231, his eldest son, Ursell, (the name is a variant of the scriptural Joshua) took over responsibility for managing the family business, although he had been making loans on his own account for a number of years prior to this. Thus he had lent 20 marks to John de Alebrigge, son of Simon de Materisdon, which was due for repayment at the feast of St. Denis, 9 October—Hereford's second great fair day—in 1225 (Table 8 No. 11). The first task that Ursell had to face in 1231 was the negotiations with the royal Exchequer over the relief due from his father's estate. The size of this fine or relief that Hamo's heirs had to pay for possession of their inheritance confirms the evidence of the receipt rolls of 1221, 1223 and 1226, that Hamo's fortune amply bore comparison with those of the very wealthiest Jewish financiers of his day. It was set at 6,000 marks, £4,000.⁶⁰ As it was assessed at one third of the total estate, this represents a valuation of Hamo's lands, houses, chattels and debts at some £12,000. The highest recorded relief paid on the death of any English medieval Jew was that levied on the estate of Leo of York (*Leo Episcopus* in Table 5) in 1244, when his son, Samuel, came to terms with the crown for a fine of 7,000 marks.⁶¹ In the same year, a fine of 5,000 marks was imposed upon Licorica of Winchester, the widow of David of Oxford (Table 4).⁶² Thus, Hamo's heirs apparently had the dubious privilege of paying the second highest recorded relief for any English Jew.

It is more difficult to compare the 6,000-mark relief paid by Hamo's heirs with those demanded of the feudal nobility. The second chapter of Magna Carta determined that the relief of 'the heir or heirs of an earl for a whole earldom should be £100, the heir or heirs of a baron for a whole barony, 100 marks and the heir or heirs of a knight for a whole knights fee, 100s, at the most'. However, such a comparison is not altogether valid, for the barons at Runnymede had sought to fix such reliefs at what they considered their 'ancient' value. Where the crown was not so constrained, it often required much larger sums. For example, in 1258 the widow of the earl of Lincoln had to pay the crown a fine of £4,000 for the custody of her young son, Henry. But by any standard, the relief paid by Hamo's heirs was vast.

As the principal part of Hamo's estate was represented by bonds on money lent, the royal Exchequer had to come to terms with his sons for the payment of the relief over an extended period. They were able to raise and pay 1,000 marks immediately. The remaining debt was to be met by annual instalments

of 300 marks. As the royal castle at Hereford was the only effective guarantee of the safety of the Jewry in the town, it was not inappropriate that, in December 1232, Hamo's heirs should have been ordered to make one third of their annual payment for the forthcoming year to William fitz Warin, the sheriff of the county, as recompense for the 100 marks for the custody of the castles of Hereford and Painscastle.⁶³ This was not unusual. Two years earlier, when Hamo of Hereford and Josce of Worcester had paid the sheriff, Henry fitz Nicholas, £12-13-4, the sum still outstanding for their contributions to the 8,000 mark tallage of 1229, much of this money had been allocated by the king to 'the works at the castle of Hereford'.⁶⁴

To further facilitate the discharge of their obligations to the crown, Hamo's heirs were freed of liability for tallage until the relief had been paid in full and in the last section of the settlement, it is placed on record that, if any of the debts still outstanding on Hamo's accounts were pardoned by the king, then such sums would be deducted from that part of the fine still owing to the Exchequer. When very large sums, such as this 6,000 mark relief, were due, the king had few scruples about applying direct pressure on Jewish debtors. Thus, in July 1233 the sheriff of Oxford was told to 'order Walter de Clifford to pay, without delay, to the heirs of Hamo of Hereford the 1,000 marks with interest which he owes them by chirograph placed in the chirograph chest'. The king, however, relented—for reasons we shall discover. In May 1234 Walter was pardoned his debt and it was ordered that 1,000 marks should be deducted from the 5,000 marks due from Hamo's heirs—at the rate of 200 marks a year over the next five years. Such pardons were not new. For some time the crown had realised that an economical means of rewarding those who had served it well was to remit their Jewish debts, in part or in full. Thus, in June and July 1230, Henry III had given varying degrees of relief to a number of the more important debtors of Hamo and his business associates 'whilst on service overseas', *quamdiu fuerit in partibus transmarinis in servicio domini regis*. John de Botterell, Robert Mucegros and Ralph Russell were released from interest payments. John de Botterell died very soon afterwards on the royal service in Poitou. For Roger I de Clifford and Hugh de Vivon, castellan of Bristol and Seneschal of Gascony, there was not only relief from interest but also respite from repayment of the principal during their service. Later in that year, 1230, Hugh was pardoned the whole of the £100 which he owed to Hamo and his partners and the king engaged to ensure that his creditors 'would not be too much burdened' by this arrangement. On other occasions, the crown would readjust the term at which the principal was to be repaid. Thus, in February 1229, Hamo was informed that the £73-10-0 which he had lent Roger de Leyburn on the surety of John de Balun and Pagan of Burghill would now be repaid in five instalments, varying from £20 to £8-8-0, over the succeeding two years.⁶⁵

The royal practice of pardoning interest and principal was to grow. Together with the increase in the incidence and rate of tallage, it was to make the lot of the wealthier Jewish moneylenders ever more precarious. After de Burgh's disgrace in 1232, Henry III fell increasingly under the sway of foreign favourites, especially the Savoyard friends and relatives of his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Financial extortion and religious and cultural repression had never been wholly absent, but from this time onward it developed to proportions only previously experienced during the later part of the reign of his father, John. The tallages imposed on the Jews increased in both frequency and amount. It has been calculated that between 1232 and 1259 they totalled over 250,000 marks, without reckoning other wholesale levies of unspecified amounts.⁶⁶ Interference in Jewish affairs increased. In 1233 a *Domus Conversorum* was set up for converted Jews in the street between the Old Temple in Holborn and the New Temple by the Thames, the street which later was to become Chancery Lane.⁶⁷ In 1248, the rate of interest on Jewish loans was fixed at two pence in the pound per week.⁶⁸

Hamo had been astute but he had also been fortunate, for his business career had spanned those last prosperous years for the Jewish community between Henry III's accession in 1216 and the fall of de Burgh in 1232. In contrast to some of his contemporaries and business associates who outlived him, Hamo died a very wealthy man. For example, Aaron of York (Table 4), the wealthiest of all English Jews of the century, was bankrupted in 1255 as a result of royal exactions and died thirteen years later, still in penury. Unlike Aaron of York, Hamo's heirs were not eventually driven to bankruptcy by the demands of the king, but their own heirs were to relapse into obscurity and were to play no significant part in the life of the Hereford community after the death of Moses in 1253.⁶⁹

Hamo and Cuntessa had two other sons, Leo and Abraham. There is no record of Abraham, the youngest, after 1232. The second son, Leo, was more of a scholar than a man of business. At his death in 1234, his financial interests did not justify the payment of a relief, but he did leave custody of his 'books and chattels', in that order, to his brother, Ursell, and his mother, Cuntessa. When Leo's widow, Flurie or Flora, married again in 1236, she claimed these 'books and chattels' for herself, but Ursell and his mother contested the claim and managed to obtain a royal judgement in their favour, for which they had to pay the crown four palfreys, the light saddle horses frequently ridden by women. According to the Pipe Rolls, three of these palfreys were still due to the crown in 1241. Their success suggests that the books and chattels in question were originally Hamo's and that they had come down to Leo either as part of his marriage settlement or his inheritance or both, in which case it would be natural for them, according to Jewish custom, to revert to Leo's family when his wife ceased to be a member of that family on her remarriage. It was quite common

for the more affluent Jewish families to have their own collections of books, sometimes even large collections, and this at a time when private libraries were a rarity amongst their Gentile neighbours. Thus, Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, the greatest English scholar of this century, had only some ninety books. What is of especial interest is that this collection should have been of such value as to justify the effort and expense taken by Ursell and his mother, Cuntessa, to secure their retention within the family.⁷⁰

The provincial magnates of medieval England were drawn together by compelling forces, a profound sense of their religious and cultural identity as well as their vulnerability in an alien and frequently hostile society. Despite the obvious business rivalries and suspicions engendered by the system for allocating their tax burden, there was a tight network of relationships, business and social, between the leaders of the various provincial communities. The closeness of this virtually nationwide network is an important factor in explaining Jewish success. On many occasions loans were made, not by an individual or by a family group, but by a group of magnates. Thus we find Hamo co-operating in June 1230 with Aaron of York and David and Copin of Oxford, and in July and September with Isaac of Norwich and Jocepin of Bristol. In 1236 Ursell was collaborating with David of Oxford and Samar of Winchester.

Such joint enterprises solved a number of urgent problems. Short-term difficulties relating to the availability of capital at provincial centres could be overcome in this way. The use of credit notes enabled the development of a more sophisticated relationship of supply and demand. Risks, possibly too great for one individual to assume, could be spread, in a way rather similar to that adopted by bookmakers today. Clients' special needs, such as payment at a number of different centres, could be met.

Naturally, close business relationships were cemented by marriage alliances. Hamo's son, Leo, was linked by marriage to one of the most remarkable members of the Angevin Jewry, Abraham of Berkhamstead. At an early stage Abraham had established a close relationship with Richard of Cornwall, Henry III's younger brother. When in 1231 he married Isabella Marshal at the age of twenty-two, Richard was given, amongst other lands, Berkhamstead and the honour of Wallingford and already in that year he was securing the royal favour for Abraham. In 1235 he was permitted to give his especial protection to the Jews of Berkhamstead, meaning in effect Abraham and his family, and a chest or *archa* was established there for their convenience. In 1255 Abraham, now one of the wealthiest Jews in the kingdom and with debtors over half of the country, was 'given' to Richard and a personal *archa*, serviced from Oxford, was established at Wallingford. As Richard's biographer says, whatever the duke's relationship with Abraham, he was certainly not borrowing from him. Richard,

already an extraordinarily rich man, carried out a highly successful recoinage, the profits of which he shared with his brother, the king. Clearly, the Jewish financial expertise at his disposal contributed to the success of this difficult operation. A not inconsiderable element of his personal fortune may have come from speculation through Jewish debts and the land market.

The closeness of Abraham's relationship with Richard of Cornwall is brought out with great clarity by Matthew Paris when he describes a cause celebre of 1250. Referring to Abraham as being 'for some improper reason or other intimate with earl Richard' he tells us how 'Abraham bought a beautifully carved and painted image of the Virgin and Child which he placed in his privy'. Eventually Floria his wife, a beautiful and faithful woman, 'by reason of her sex was touched with sorrow and secretly going to the place washed the dirt from the face of the image which was enormously defiled'. When Abraham discovered what she had done he 'secretly and impiously smothered her'.

After Abraham had been thrown into the Tower he was accused by the leaders of the English Jewry of 'money clipping and other heavy crimes'. They offered earl Richard 1,000 marks to withdraw his protection so that Abraham could be put to death. Richard rejected the offer and secured Abraham's release from the king. The next year the Jew was 'given' by Henry III to his brother and continued in his service and under his protection until his death in 1272, when he was granted to Edmund of Almain, Richard's son and heir. Evidently Abraham was able to place very special skills at Richard's disposal.

Hamo's family's relations with Abraham were not smooth. After Leo's death, Abraham, who apparently had custody of his daughter, Cuntessa, claimed on her behalf Leo's chattels and her full heritage, 'according', as he said, 'to the laws of the Jews'. The outcome of the case is not known, but Moses was certainly disposing of Cuntessa's resources in 1244, when her name was included in the family consortium that made the loan, to be repaid over a ten year period, to Roger II de Clifford in 1243. (FIG. 3; Table 8 No. 46).

One of Moses' daughters was married to Josce, the son of the wealthy Isaac, leader of the Worcester community. Her dowry included a house in Bishop Street, now Commercial Street, in Hereford. At the time of Moses' death, Isaac of Worcester and his family may well have reflected that this alliance had brought them scant advantage, for in 1253 little was left of the wealth and prestige that had belonged to Hamo. Yet this was not so. When the Worcester Jewry was closed on the orders of Eleanor, the queen mother, in 1275, its members were transferred to Hereford. There, at the time of the final expulsion fifteen years later, were to be found Josce's son, Maunsell, and brothers, Aaron and Sampson. All were living in comfortable circumstances; Maunsell was the third wealthiest member of the Hereford community.⁷¹

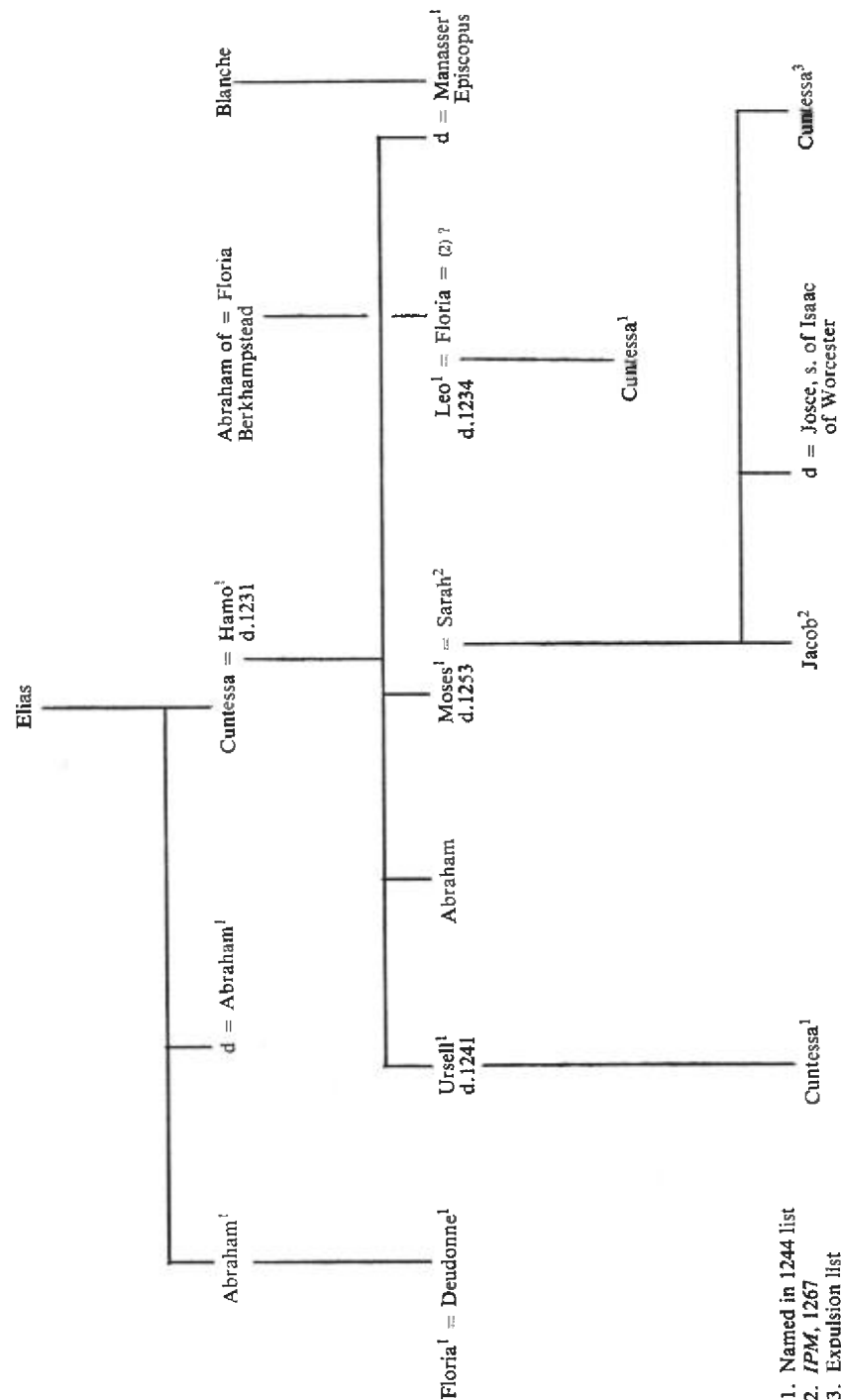


FIG. 3
The family of Hamo of Hereford: a suggested pedigree

The royal bureaucracy seems to have been unable to come to terms with Leo's death, for five years after his death, in February 1241, his name, together with those of his brothers, Ursell and Moses, and those of Manasser Leveske, Jacob, son of Jacob, and Jacob le Mester, appears on the summons directed to the six 'more wealthy and powerful Jews' of the city of Hereford to attend the so-called Worcester Parliament, to apportion the tallage of 20,000 marks in that year. This was a doubtful privilege, for they were also to be responsible to the crown for the collection of their community's contribution and any such collector who fell into arrears was to be imprisoned. In the Pipe Roll for the following year, a terse entry records that Ursell and Moses each paid a fine of five marks 'for discontinued imprisonment'. Just below it is noted that Hamo's heirs 'still owe £3,154-1-0 for their father's fine'. The arithmetic is difficult to unravel, for, in addition to the lump sum of £1,000 and the annual payments of £200, the king had supposedly been allocating pardoned debts against the total outstanding for some ten years.⁷²

The Manasser Leveske who attended the Worcester 'Parliament' in 1241 was the man who had been described in the 1221(i) and 1226 tallage lists as Manasser *gener* Hamo, who is shown in the 1244 list in partnership with Ursell, his brother-in-law, in loans made to John of Monmouth in 1232 and William fitz Warin in 1233. A year later, a royal mandate to the Justices ordered them to note that reasonable terms had been made for the payment of the debt due from Gilbert 'de Minerres' to Manasser and 'Blanche, his mother', and Bertin, Jew of Hereford. Blanche formed part of the consortium that provided funds for Gilbert de Lacy and she appears with 'the heirs of Hamo of Hereford and Cuntessa of Hereford, Jewess', as one of Walter de Lacy's creditors in the Fine Roll of 1245 when £40 was due to her from his estate.⁷³

After ten difficult years in charge of the family business, Ursell died and in October 1241 the sheriff of Hereford was ordered to 'make diligent inquiry concerning the lands and chattels of Ursell'.⁷⁴ He and his brother, Leo, both left daughters called Cuntessa after their mother. Ursell's daughter was a member of the family group that made a loan of £600 to Gilbert de Lacy of Frome, to be repaid at the rate of forty marks at Easter and Michaelmas each year, commencing Easter 1243. (Table 8, No 45). The next year, the same family group which Leo's daughter now joined, lent £400 to Roger de Clifford on rather similar terms. On this occasion, the biannual payments were to be £20 each and were to commence at Easter, 1244. (Table 8 No 46). In both cases, there was a long-term investment of family capital to establish what we would regard as a family pension fund, bringing in, in the latter case a clear return of 10% per annum.

Moses, the third son, now assumed responsibility. Representing 'the heirs of Hamo', he made fine with the king in the sum of £3,000 for what is specifically referred to as 'the goods of Hamo'. It seems that the decision was to carry forward what was still outstanding on the old account, for the sum is extraordinarily close to the '£3,154-1-0 for their father's fine' which appeared in the Pipe Rolls for 1242.⁷⁵ If this was the case, Moses had a raw deal. The 1244 list provides a full description of the family's outstanding bonds only a short time after the assessment of the relief. They total only £2,597-13-0. To this must be added the value of the ten unspecified estates referred to at the end of the list; the value of family property in Hereford, about which more will be said later; cash in hand; and valuables such as jewellery, etc. Yet the relief demanded of Moses, if it had been levied at the usual rate of one third, would indicate a valuation of the total estate at £9,000. This seems to have been far from the case, for the bonds would have represented the major part of the family's wealth. They were its stock in trade. Given the dramatic decline in the family's fortunes in the decade since Hamo's death, we can be confident that this £3,000 represents an attempt by the crown to safeguard the interest it had established in the family business after Hamo's death.

In 1246 Henry III assigned Moses' annual payments 'to the works of the church of Westminster'.⁷⁶ The greatest of Henry's building projects, the rebuilding of Edward the Confessor's abbey church, had begun the previous year. The full cost of the works, which continued for the rest of his reign, was borne by the king and is estimated to have been about £42,000, excluding the cost of the shrine of St. Edward.⁷⁷ All manner of payments to the crown were used to help defray the expense. 4,000 marks of the 5,000-mark relief which Licorica of Winchester had been called upon to pay for the estate of her late husband, David of Oxford, went towards the building fund, and two of the arch-presbyters of the Jews made individual 'gifts'—Aaron of York gave 20 gold bezants and Elias l'Eveske provided the great chalice with two handles. Thus, one of the largest contributions to the coronation and burial church of the English monarchy was made by a Hereford Jew. The archdeacon of Westminster and Edward, whose father was Odo the Goldsmith, keeper of the works, and who was one of Henry's 'most trusted servants and his constant adviser on artistic matters' were appointed 'to receive the money at the terms granted to the said Moses, to wit £50 every Easter and Michaelmas from Easter next'. In return, Moses was to be 'seized of all the debts and pledges and goods which are in the king's hands' and the barons of the Exchequer were directed 'to distrain the debtors of the said debts to pay the said Moses'.⁷⁸

The crown was, however, mistaken. Not all the goods and chattels had been in the king's hands, for the family had managed to conceal a number of valuable items of jewellery which had originally belonged to Hamo. These came to the

attention of the authorities when Moses, in all probability hard pressed to find the initial contribution to the £3,000 relief, pawned to Roger de Troye, burgess of Hereford, a leather belt decorated with 'large members of silver and gold and otherwise beautifully and fittingly wrought'. This was evidently a very special belt, fit for a king, for Henry III ordered the Justices of the Jews to reimburse Roger de Troye 'for that belt which we have kept in our possession, from the chattels of the said Moses'. Other concealed items of Hamo's jewellery were discovered as a result of the ensuing enquiry. Sarah, Moses' wife, had another belt. This was embellished with decoration representing 'the twelve months', referring, in all probability, to the occupations of the months, a favourite theme of medieval artists and craftsmen—of which numerous examples are still to be found in painting and carving. Locally, the theme is to be found on the misericords at Great Malvern Priory, Worcester Cathedral and Ripple parish church. The king ordered that Sarah was to be kept in prison 'until she has surrendered that belt . . . when you will send it to us'. Furthermore, Moses himself was to be distrained for 'two gold chaplets, one golden comb and other items of jewellery of the weight of half a mark of gold', all to be sent to the king for his use.⁷⁹

These were only a few of Moses' tribulations. In 1242 John de Balun of Much Marcle was provided with a royal pardon for money he owed to Moses, and in 1245 John of Monmouth received a similar royal pardon for the £160 he owed Moses. Frequently, Moses had to resort to the courts for the recovery of money due to him. When, in 1246, Moses tried to distrain certain lands belonging to the hospital of St. John at Ludlow for the debts which Walter de Lacy owed Hamo's heirs, the sheriff of Shropshire was ordered by the king to stop the proceedings. Apparently, the lands or part of the lands which were security for the loan had passed into the possession of the custodian and brethren of the hospital. There seems to have been a rather similar case in 1253, when Moses brought an action against Ralph, abbot of the Cistercian abbey at Bordesley in Worcestershire, 'that he pays him 18s, with interest, in respect of lands late of Alan de Blad, which with others of the said Alan's lands are his gage for 100s with interest'. There was no need for royal intervention in this case. When the abbot, through William his attorney, demanded to know 'by what instrument Alan was bound to the Jew and in how much interest?' Moses' attorney answered that 'the obligation was by a tally-chirograph' but was unable to produce any part of it, nor did he know how much interest was due.

Moses lost that case, but success was with him on other occasions. In 1244 John de Mahel had been summoned to court by Alan de Welton 'for that he (John) came to his house and without warrant took three of his oxen, value 30s, and led them off for a debt that he demanded of him to the use of Moses, son

of Hamo'. After a series of comings and goings, Alan eventually withdrew his charge. In 1253 Moses brought an action against 'Thomas Rossall and Amice his wife touching a plea that they pay him £20, with interest which they owe him upon the lands late of William fitz Warin, grandfather of the said Amice whose heir she is, the lands they hold being gage for fifty marks which the said William owed to Moses' brother Ursell, by chirograph, whereof Moses has administration by livery of the king'. As Amice failed to answer the summons to appear, there had to be an adjournment and there is no record of the eventual verdict. This is quite evidently one of the loans referred to in the 1244 list (41), because fitz Warin had died some years before that list was compiled. By the terms recorded there, it had been due for repayment in two instalments twenty years earlier—one payment of 25 marks at Michaelmas, 1233 and the remainder at the feast of the Annunciation (Lady Day), 25 March, 1234. The inability to regain the principal lent on loans such as this was one of the major causes of the decline in the family's fortunes.⁸⁰

That case was heard at Hereford, but others took Moses and his attorney farther from home. At Gloucester in the same year, Moses was successful in obtaining repayment of a debt due from Henry de Kays. This is evident from the formal acknowledgement and quittance given by Moses on behalf of 'himself, his heirs and his father Hamo and his brother Ursell and all their sons of all debts . . . from the creation to the end of the world'. At Northampton he managed to obtain 20 marks at Easter from William Marshall 'upon account of a debt of 185 marks made by chirograph under the names of the said William and Moses'. It was quite usual for the chirographs of loans of the more important clients to be kept in chests far from home. Thus, the records of two loans (Table 8, 19 and 39) made to William's father, John the Marshal, an old-established client of the family who had died in 1242, had both been kept in the Northampton chest.⁸¹

There is no doubt about the financial pressure that Henry III put on the English Jewry in the early 1250s. The king was desperate for money and ultimately, in 1255, 'assigned' the English Jewry to his brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, for a loan of 5,000 marks. In the three years between Michaelmas 1250 and July 1253, there had been six separate tallages amounting to 26,000 marks. In 1252 Moses had made two payments, of £6-13-4 and £2-1-8, to the Exchequer 'on behalf of the commune of Hereford'. However, he was not able to keep up with the royal demands and after his death the Patent Rolls record 'arrears of Mokke of Hereford, £7-14s'. Death may well have saved him from the fate which overtook his father's colleague and rival, Aaron of York, two years later—bankruptcy and total impoverishment. Certainly, after his death the pickings must have been meagre, for the king was not prepared to allow his heirs to retain even the family property in Hereford.⁸²

In July 1253 the sheriff of Hereford was commanded to carry out a full inquiry into Moses' property interests in the town. His inquisition describes eleven plots of land with their houses and appurtenances. They were:

- i. 'All the land stretching from the land of Nicholas Cays to the land of Hugh Judde on the front towards the great street (*magnum vicum*)', High Town;
- ii. 'on the lower side all the land stretching from the land of William Mariotmon to the bakery of William de la Stone with the curtilages and things belonging to the said houses';
- iii. 'the land lying between the land of Walter de Pipa and the the land of William Seyssel with the curtilage belonging to it';
- iv. 'all the land late of Philip Roard against All Saints Church belonged to the said Mock but Cedemon the Scot held in fee part of that land and paid Mock 6s';
- v. 'all the land late of Wymund de Maliarstret, except a house held by Wymund's wife and another house held by Henry Bonvillet and a curtilage belonging to it';
- vi. 'all the land late of William Tirponet in 'Maliarstret' lying between the land of Walter Adames and that of John the clerk, with its curtilage';
- vii. 'the land late of Dieus the Jew in 'Maliarstret' with its curtilage';
- viii. 'the land late of Herbrund in the Jewry with its curtilage, and the synagogue of the Jews';
- ix. 'the land late of Hugh Tapiner in 'Vydemareys' street from which the said Mock received yearly 6s';
- x. 'the land late of Philip Roard in the Jewry with its curtilages';
- xi. 'the land late of Hamelyn the Cordwainer in the Jewry, with its curtilage'.⁸³

Originally, the king had intended that Moses' own house should be given to a member of his household, William de Sancta Ermina. However, later, in 1255, Henry III decided that 'on account of transgressions by William de Sancta Ermina made in the royal park of Windsor, the king now wishes that Richard of Cornwall has it as part of the agreement we have made concerning the king's Jews'. But this was not the end of the story. In 1267, after his return from service overseas, William contended that 'whereas the king gave him a messuage in Hereford which was an escheat by the death of Moke of Hereford, a Jew, certain persons took it during the absence of the said William from England,

and retain it'. The complaint was minuted, 'The sheriff to inquire'. This second inquisition revealed that 'the king gave the said house to the said William as stated; and when William left England, Sarah wife of the said Mocke the Jew came and begged that the king through the justices of the Jews would grant her the said message as if by way of dower; this the king did and Sarah held the said message during her life and disposed of it at her will; after her death Jacob, son of the said Moke had seisin of it by the king's command; and between him and the said Sarah they sold the said messuage and all the houses, stone and timber thereof'.⁸⁴

It seems clear that the stone house on the site was the family home and that this, with the synagogue referred to in the earlier inquest of 1253, Moses had inherited from Hamo, his father. These two important buildings will be discussed in detail later. The sale of the family home by Sarah and her son, Jacob, indicates how far the family's fortunes had fallen. There is no mention of Jacob in the tallage return for Hilary Term, 1275, which lists the principal members of the Hereford Jewry. Cuntessa, Jacob's sister, assessed at 5s. 9d., is the only member of Hamo's family still to be found there, but we do know that another of Moses' daughters was in comfortable circumstances. She had married Josce, son of the wealthy Isaac of Worcester, during her father's lifetime and the latter had given Josce 'a house, stable, garden and curtilage in the highway called Bishopstret in Hereford' as a marriage portion. This, too, William de Sancta Ermina had 'claimed to have by gift of the king' but had ultimately to accept the validity of Josce's title before the Justices of the Jews, in 1267-8. Cuntessa appears in the list of Jews living in Hereford at the time of the Expulsion, when debts outstanding to her were valued at £8-6-8. The last of Hamo's three grand-daughters to bear that name, she was the one remaining link with the era of Hamo's greatness, seventy years earlier.⁸⁵

3 THE CLIENTS OF HAMO AND HIS FAMILY

Barons and Knights

Who were the principal clients of the great Jewish moneylenders in the first half of the 13th century? The question is of considerable importance in the general context of the economic history of England in the middle ages because of the light which an answer would throw on movements in the land market and thus on the changing fortunes of the two dominant groups in feudal society, the greater and the middle range of landowners. These two groups are often described as barons and knights, but this nomenclature is not altogether satisfactory, for, as we shall see, not all members of the baronage were great landowners, whereas some knights were. It has been suggested, on the one hand, that the 13th century was a period of particular difficulty for the knights,

when there was a 'severe social and economic crisis for the class as a whole'.⁸⁶ Others, whilst accepting that many of the great landowners added to their lands at this time, believe that this was 'hardly to an extent which reduced significantly the major shift of land towards the 'knights' which had taken place since 1086'. They also believe that the active land market of the 13th century may provide evidence of a polarisation of this class, that 'some elements . . . fell on evil days, some fell out of (it) altogether but others learned to seize their chances, becoming the restricted class of knights of the late 13th century and the entrenched *busones* whose continuous activity in local government is attested by administrative records'.⁸⁷ Much valuable evidence of the financial embarrassment of both barons and knights is to be found amongst the records of the Exchequer of the Jews. The 1244 list of the debts of Hamo and his family is one of the most important of these available to us.

Almost all the larger loans, those recorded in the *archae*, were secured on land. Generally, it was only the smaller loans that were secured on goods. However, in the case of default a Jew could not foreclose and take possession of the mortgaged estates, for it was held that, in a feudal society, a Jew could not fulfil many of the more important services required of such land—in particular, military service. This, it might be thought, placed him at a considerable disadvantage. When default occurred, he could avail himself of the income from the mortgaged lands, in most cases agricultural produce, but he could not sell the estate to recover his stock in trade, his cash. However, as we have seen, the king was an interested party in such transactions and he had a powerful local agent at his disposal to ensure the payment of those debts in which he had an interest. Thus, pressure to clear debts, although it came immediately from the Jewish financier, often carried royal sanction, either at county court level or beyond, for, without clearance of such debts, the Jews were unable to meet the financial obligations imposed on them by the crown.

Subjected to such pressure, a landowner was obliged to find a third party to purchase the mortgaged estate. This process has been referred to as 'the solvent which broke down the apparent rigidity of the structure of feudal land tenure and facilitated the transfer of estates to a new capitalist class, the religious communities or to new men who were making their fortunes in the service of the crown'.⁸⁸ The evidence of such transfers is not to be found amongst the abundant records of the English Jewry in the 13th century, for the Jews, although beneficiaries of such transactions, were not directly involved as vendors or purchasers.

In a few cases, evidence of transfers is quite clear. Professor Hilton provides two local examples. The first, drawn from the cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory, refers to Elured of Penkull, who found himself in such extremity in 1230

that, in return for the payment of his Jewish debts of two and a half marks, he made over his seven acres of land in Lindridge to the priory. The second, drawn from the Beauchamp cartulary, refers to a transaction in the 1260s when John, son of Robert of Abetot, gave James, brother of the first Beauchamp earl of Warwick, all his lands in Acton Beauchamp in return for the payment of his debts to Isaac of Worcester.⁸⁹

The document by which a Jewish creditor freed his debtor on payment of principal and agreed 'profit' or 'amelioration', *debitum cum lucro*, was called a Starr. The Latin *Starrum* came from the Hebrew *Shetar*. The same term was given to another document which made possible the tripartite bargains we have been discussing. A Herefordshire example indicates how the system worked. Samson, son of Moses, and Osaye, son of Eleasaph, on behalf of his sister Bellasea, issued a Starr by which they formally undertook 'to make no claim against Stephen de Wygornia, the abbot, and the convent of Dore with regard to certain lands with a meadow which they had bought from Henry le Franceys of Kyngeston, who owes a debt to the said Samson and Osaye'. Dated on 'the feast of St Peter ad vincula, 25 Henry III', 1 August 1241, it was written in Hebrew with a Latin translation below and then, to make perfectly sure of the validity of the Latin text, the legend '*Hoc est q(uod) superius sc(r)iptum est in Hebreo*' is written immediately above the signatures to the agreement.⁹⁰

In this way the Cistercian house at Dore, which had been pursuing an active policy in the Herefordshire land market since the end of the reign of Richard I, ensured that their title to that 'certain land with a meadow', which had previously been the security for Henry le Fraunceys' loan from Samson and Osaye, was not subject to any further action in the courts. The Starr thus provided the purchasers of previously mortgaged property with freedom from action for the recovery of other debts owed by the vendor for which the creditors might seek to claim that the transferred land was also security.

The sale of land under pressure from Jewish creditors was much more widespread than the evidence suggests. The more important the debtor, the more anxious he was to mask the sale of land under the cloak of charity. Thus it is often the case that such transfers can only be inferred or that they have to be pieced together from small clues found here and there. It can be quite suggestive where one person is to be found both as a benefactor of the church and a debtor to the Jews, for not infrequently it transpires that 'apparent benefactions to monasteries are in reality the transfer of property in return for the acquittance of debt' for, as has been said, 'when piety had done its work . . . ecclesiastical business acumen took over. Churches were great buyers of land and by no means averse to taking advantage of a layman's embarrassment'.⁹¹

What were these movements in the land market? Who was selling and who buying land in the 13th century? For Hilton 'the monastic cartularies show the lesser or middling landowners (whose incomes did not match their social pretensions) were obliged to mortgage their lands, or sell them outright to wealthy ecclesiastical institutions in order to raise money to pay their debts. In this way the big landowners (lay as well as ecclesiastical) got richer . . .'.⁹² Professor Postan has indicated that 'most of the abbeys, of which the records have been preserved, and some of the great baronial families whose fortunes are known, were enlarging their landed possessions in the 13th century by purchase'. Whilst 'we know of hardly any instances of land alienated in their favour by other magnates or abbots' yet 'references to land sales of smaller men—knights and freeholders—abound. We are thus driven to the conclusion that the smaller men were losing their hold over land and thereby also their collective share in the landed wealth of the country'.

Postan then looks in general terms at the evidence for debt which comes 'wholly from the records of the Exchequer of the Jews' which, he says, 'makes it quite clear that among the Jews' debtors smaller landowners predominated and that their lands formed the bulk of the property mortgaged with money-lenders. On the other hand there is hardly any evidence in the Jewish records of large-scale indebtedness on the part of the greater manorial landowners'.⁹³ Victor Lipman, in his study of the *Jews of Medieval Norwich*, comes to a rather similar conclusion, based on a head-count from the Norwich Day Book which records all transactions at the Norwich *archa*, 1225-7. 'Assuming that in the Day Book we have a representative sample of about 300 borrowers . . . the names of great noblemen or religious houses form only a very small part of the total. Only one religious house is mentioned; there are less than a dozen individual clergy . . . Most of the loans seem to be to members of the rural gentry. But there are some which are contracted by people who are obviously villagers . . . There are a number of Norwich citizens'.⁹⁴

The picture that emerges from an analysis of the 1244 list of debts due to Hamo's family is rather different. The most cursory examination of Table 8 shows the extraordinary range in the value of loans made. Families such as the de Lacys and the de Cliffords were borrowing what were then the enormous sums of £666 and £400 (22 and 46); yet Ursell was apparently quite content to make a loan of merely 12s., less than one mark, to Ralph Cusyn (29) for repayment at Michaelmas in 1237. Even Hamo had been prepared to lend such small sums. For example, Walter, son of Osbert Galand, had borrowed £1-17-4, which he failed to repay when it became due at Christmas in 1224 (3). Small loans may well have arisen from a desire to accommodate lesser members of the Hereford Jewish community who were, in effect, acting as commission agents, but they certainly did not form the staple of the family business.

The 1224 list tells us about Hamo and his family, but it is much more important for what it tells us about those who borrowed from them. Apart from the bewildering range in the value of the loans made, an analysis of the list identifies three major characteristics of the clientele. Firstly, and in this respect the trade of Hamo and his heirs was quite typical, there were but few townsmen or clergy. The family business was based overwhelmingly on those who lived in the countryside. Secondly, whilst, in terms of number, what Postan calls 'the smaller men'—knights and freeholders—predominate amongst the clients of Hamo's family, the amount owed by baronial families was much larger than the combined sum owed by the knights and freeholders. This leads to the third conclusion, that there certainly was 'large scale indebtedness on the part of greater manorial landowners'.

Table 10 lists, according to the size of their total debt, those owing money to Hamo's family in 1244. In addition, the status of the client—baron, knight, cleric or townsman—is indicated where this can be established. Where members of the family had held the shrievalty of the county of Hereford, the year or years are given.⁹⁵ In addition, where the contract specified that the loan was to be repaid in a number of stages, the stipulated period of repayment is noted.

Six clients had outstanding debts which totalled more than £100. Four of these were members of the baronage. A fifth, Roger II de Clifford, married Isabel, one of the daughters of Robert II de Vipont. She inherited half of the barony of Appleby and, in 1308, the whole of the honour passed to the de Cliffords. Roger's mother had inherited the honour of Ewias from her father, Robert de Ewias, but following the death of Roger I de Clifford, her third husband, that barony passed in 1236 to her son by her first marriage to Robert II de Tregoz.⁹⁶ The sixth member of this group, Gilbert de Lacy of Castle Frome, although closely related to the de Lacys of Weobley and Ludlow, earls of Meath, was not himself a member of the baronage.⁹⁷ On the other hand, John II de Balun, or Ballon, in the second category of those owing between £15 and £100, was a baron. Both he, in 1235, and his father, John I, in 1203, had paid the baronial relief of £100 to obtain possession of their lands, which they held 'of the old enfeoffment', but the size of their estates, at Much Marcle in Herefordshire and at Great Cheverell in Wiltshire, hardly justifies their classification as greater landowners.⁹⁸ However, if we exclude Gilbert de Lacy and include Roger II de Clifford and John II de Balun in the baronial group, the total sum owed by these 'magnates' to Hamo's family was £1,629-6-8, that is 62.7% of the whole.

Members of the knightly class who can be identified, in addition to Gilbert de Lacy, are Walter and Miles de Mucegros, Henry de Longchamps of Wilton Castle, Richard de Chaundos and John Hagurner of Munderfield, near Bromyard.

TABLE 10 Clientele of Hamo's Family, 1244
Range in Value of Loans

	Status	Shrievalty	Payments over	£	s	d
Over £100						
1 Walter de Lacy 22	B	1216-23	5 years	666	13	4
2 Gilbert de Lacy 45	K		22½ years	600	0	0
3 Roger de Clifford II 46	B	1198/1205/ 1215	10 years	400	0	0
4 John the Marshall 19, 39	B			193	6	8
5 John of Monmouth 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 40	B	1231	(17) 4 years	161	6	8
6 Gilbert, earl of Pembroke 28	B		2+ years	138	0	0
				2,159	6	8
£15 – £100						
7 Walter de Mucegros 12	K	1182	12 years	96	0	0
8 John de Balun 43	B		3 years	70	0	0
9 William fitz Warin 41	B	1232-4	1 year	33	6	8
10 Henry de Longchamp 26, 27	K	1189	(26) 4 years	31	6	8
11 Miles de Mucegros 5	K	1182		23	2	0
12 Robert de Sausay 38	C		15 years	20	0	0
13 Richard de Cundus 7	K			20	0	0
14 John Hagurner 44	K		5½ years	18	6	8
				312	2	0
£10 – £15						
15 John Cudac 34			4+ years	14	13	4
16 Nicholas de Dudewell 35	T?		20 years	13	6	8
17 Clement de Udo 25				13	6	8
18 John de Alebrigge 11				13	6	8
19 Alured de Scothot 6				12	5	0
20 William de Lancaster 18				10	0	0
				76	18	4

£1-£10				
21 John de Sutton 8		6 years	8	0 0
22 Robert, parson of Diddlebury 21	C		6	13 4
23 Walter de Bereford 2			6	13 4
24 Alan fitz Alan of Bleys 4			5	15 0
25 Florencius, prior of Monmouth 20	C		4	13 4
26 Humfray de la Haye 15		2 years	4	0 0
27 Ralph de Burtot 32			3	6 8
28 William fitz Hugh 42			3	0 0
29 John Craft 33			2	13 4
30 Walter son of Osbert Galand 3			1	17 4
			46	12 4
Under £1				
31 William Moze 37		1½ years	15	0
32 Walter Maynard 30			13	4
33 John Baret 31	T?		13	4
34 Ralph Cusyn 29			12	0
			2	13 8
Total outstanding			£2,597	13 0

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William fitz Warin, as a younger son, had also belonged to this group but the barony of Wahull became his, as a result of marriage, in 1218. Three other clients were in holy orders: Florencius, prior of Monmouth; Robert, parson of Diddlebury in Shropshire; and Robert de Sausay, parson of Pipe. As Nicholas de Dudewell and John Baret are both additionally described as 'of Weobley', they may have been burgesses of that borough, in which case they are the only townsmen who can be identified. Of the remainder, all owing sums of less than £15 or payments in kind, little can be said. It is possible that Alured de Scotthot belonged to the knightly family of Esketot or Scottot mentioned in the mid-12th-century transcript of the Herefordshire section of the Domesday survey. A Crennoc or Wrennoc de Hamme appears in a de Lacy charter relating to Holme Lacy and may have been one of their estate bailiffs.⁹⁹ Certainly, the great majority must have been smaller landowners and peasants.

TABLE 11 The Clientele of Hamo and his Family, 1244
Social Composition

Category	No	Total Loan			%	Mean		
		£	s	d		£	s	d
Baronial families	7	1,662	13	4	64.0	237	10	6
	(8)	(2,262	13	4)	(87.1)	(282	16	8)
Knightly families	6	788	15	4	30.4	131	9	3
	(5)	(188	15	4)	(7.3)	(37	15	1)
Clergy	3	31	6	8	1.2	10	8	11
Townsmen	2?	14	0	0	0.5	7	0	0
Others	16	100	17	8	3.8	6	6	1
	34	2,597	13	0				

In Table 11 the family's clients are classified according to social status. The total owing from each of these social groups is given. In addition, that total is expressed as a percentage of the whole. The final column indicates the mean loan for each of the groups. A number of difficulties arise, of which the most important is the relationship between landownership and social class. As the example of John II de Balun shows, not all members of the baronage can be regarded as belonging to the group of 'greater manorial landowners'. Turning to the knightly families, the mean for the group is considerably distorted by Gilbert de Lacy's vast loan of £600. Without this, the mean loan for the knights would be only £37 and the total a mere 8.5% of the whole. Although he belonged to one of the most powerful families in the Welsh march, he was not a member of the baronage. From a Shropshire branch of the family, his position at Castle Frome in the 1240s may well have been due to the concern of his

kinsman, Walter de Lacy, for the family's interests, and their stronghold, in eastern Herefordshire after the death of his only son, Gilbert, about 1233. We do not know how a man of the standing of Gilbert of Frome was able to raise so large a sum as £600. Only a family of magnate status could have offered adequate security for such a loan. The money was, in all probability, required for the promotion of Lacy family interests at Castle Frome and elsewhere. Nevertheless, Gilbert has been placed in the second category.

Another difficulty is presented by the size of the sample, which is small indeed by comparison with evidence available from southern France. Yet this collection, summarising forty-six bonds, is one of the largest available in this country for the first half of the 13th century and it is unquestionably of first rank importance amongst the records of the Exchequer of the Jews. Whatever the qualifications that have to be made, it provides valuable evidence as to the social pattern of indebtedness in the southern Welsh march at this time.

It is interesting to compare the analysis of the 1244 list in Table 11 with that made by R. W. Emery in his study of *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century*. This was based on the remarkable series of seventeen notarial registers preserved at Perpignan for the years 1261-87, which provide details of 1,321 new loans made by local Jewish moneylenders within that period. These, Emery has analysed according to class of borrowers and the results can be tabulated as follows.

TABLE 12 New Loans of Jews to Christians in Perpignan, 1261-86
Social Composition of Borrowers

Category	No	Total Loan		%	Mean	
		s	d		s	d
Royal Officers	5	2,068	1½	1	413	7½
Knights & Nobles	32	17,107		9	534	7
Clergy	12	10,930	6	5.5	910	10½
Townsmen	399	80,156	7	41	200	11
Villagers	862	84,469	1½	43	98	
Unidentified	11	862	4½	0.5	78	5
	1,321	195,593	8½			

Note: Unit is the Barcelona shilling

His analysis of the single surviving register from that century for Montpellier, which gives details of 101 new debts to Jews, suggests that 'Jewish moneylending (in Montpellier) was strikingly similar in type and significance to that in Perpignan'.¹⁰⁰

The Jewish community at Perpignan was one of the largest north of the Pyrenees, with an estimated population of 300 to 400 souls. They were living in particularly favourable circumstances, because the county of Roussillon, with the county of Barcelona, had passed into the sphere of influence of Aragon and, in 1258, it was relieved of even nominal homage to the French monarchy. In consequence, the Jews of Perpignan did not suffer the excessive exploitation practised by the French kings.

A comparison of Tables 11 and 12 places the business of Hamo's family in a wider context and helps to establish its particular characteristics. There are two major points of contrast between the trade of the Perpignan and Hereford Jews. Firstly, that of the Perpignan Jews was almost equally balanced between town and countryside. This, no doubt, was in large measure a reflection of the more highly urbanised nature of Roussillon society. Loans to townsmen were of vital importance to the Perpignan Jews, for they represented 41%, in value, of their business. A total of 80,000 Barcelona shillings was borrowed by town-dwellers between 1261 and 1287, almost all by merchants, investors and craftsmen. Town-dwellers engaged in agriculture, such as vine growers, vegetable growers and general agricultural labourers, borrowed only 3,000 shillings.¹⁰¹

Secondly, although the categories used by Emery do not permit precise comparison, it is evident that there is a marked difference, not only in the amount of business concluded with country men, but also in the pattern of that trade. At 43%, the total value of loans made to villagers was slightly larger than that made to townsmen. This stands in stark contrast to the 3.8% shown in Table 10 for loans made by Hamo's family to freeholders and others. In both cases, this obviously represented the poor end of the trade, for the loans made to these people were for the most part small. At Perpignan, three quarters of the loans made in this category were, in fact, below the mean of 98s. Much more important, however, is the very different role played by the feudal aristocracy as clients of the Perpignan and Hereford Jews. Although Emery places knights and nobles in the same category, clear-cut conclusions can be made about contrasts in business practice. Even with the inclusion of the 2,068s. lent to the five royal officers, of whom four were palace officials of the Majorcan royal family, the feudal aristocracy represents only 10% of the total trade in loans of the Perpignan Jews. The same social group provided the Hereford Jews of Hamo's family with 94% of their trade. Table 10 gives some indication of how this was divided up between baronial and knightly families.

Only a detailed examination of the background of these families will enable us to comment on the significance of the 1244 list in terms of the debate about the relative fortunes of these two groups. But first it is necessary to examine

the business carried on by the family with clients at the other end of the social scale, for it was this aspect which had to be developed by the members of the Hereford community in the very different circumstances in which they found themselves in the second half of the 13th century.

The clients at the lower end of the social scale hardly represent a significant element in terms of the overall pattern of the family's outstanding debt in 1244. Nevertheless, some of these entries do raise interesting questions. Within this category, there were sixteen loans which were due for repayment in cash. None of these was for a sum over £15; the majority were under £10; and four were for sums under £1. In addition, five clients had contracted to make repayments in kind and one, Nicholas Dudewell of Weobley, had to pay in cash and in kind—twenty seams of oats as well as £13-6-8 over twenty years. Details are shown in Table 9.

Such repayments in kind, usually in grain, often represented an annual rent charge. Thus, Ursell had provided Richard le Seinner of Bakington (Bacton) with an undisclosed capital sum. This Richard would not repay; instead he undertook to provide Ursell with '3 seams of corn at Michaelmas in the 18th year (1234) and 3 seams at the ensuing Easter, and so year by year, and term by term, to the end of the world' (Table 9, 24). Crennoc de Hamme (probably Holme Lacy) had to provide Hamo with two seams of oats and two seams of corn 'yearly'. As this charter does not specify payment 'to the end of the world', it suggests an agreement binding, not in perpetuity, but for the duration of Crennoc's life. However, it did include a penalty clause of 5s. for each seam if the contract was not fulfilled, suggesting that in such a case at least part of Crennoc's land would be at risk. Similar arrangements seem to have existed in two other cases where the principal is mentioned. For twenty marks and twenty seams of oats, Nicholas de Dudewell of Weobley makes repayments of one mark and one seam 'year by year', whilst John de Rowere seems to have had a somewhat better deal, paying annually one seam of corn, one seam of mixed grain, two seams of oats and three bushels of pease in respect of twenty-seven and a half seams of corn, twenty-seven seams of mixed grain, fifty-five seams of oats and seven seams of pease. The two other cases of repayment in kind appear to be conventional loans, with a single date, but it may well be that the original bond was not adequately transcribed by the clerks at the Exchequer of the Jews. We are told that 'Nicholas fitz Bernard of Cubepape owes Hamo 2 seams of corn and 3 seams of oats, due at the feast of All Saints, 1231' and that 'Mael de Dene paid the same 2 seams of corn and 2 seams of oats, due at the feast of All Saints, 1230'. In both these cases, the 'due date' may well be the date of the first payment, as it was for John de Rowere. There, the same formula was applied, but we know this represents the first payment because the principal was specified.

Here we have evidence, in England about 1230, of a process well charted on the continent where 'the earliest traces can be found in France in the twelfth century. The process spread slowly after 1200 and became universal after 1250'.¹⁰² These country men were in financial need. Possibly their crops had failed, or they needed cash to buy an animal or more land or to meet the financial exactions of their lord. Whatever the reason, they were prepared to cede an annual or perpetual rent charge on their land for cash. Most peasants borrowed at sowing time and would make their repayments at harvest time—Michaelmas, 29 September, in the case of Ursell's clients, Richard le Seinner and the two mentioned above, but All Saints Day, 1 November, for Hamo's clients, Mael de Dene and Nicholas fitz Bernard. The annual rent charge levied by Ursell on Nicholas de Dudewell was 5% but on John de Rowere it was only 3.6%. On the continent, a charge of 8% was not unusual, but even that compared favourably with the 2d. per £1 per week, 43.3% per annum, the usual rate of interest imposed when Jewish loans were not repaid within their specified term.¹⁰³ Clearly, these annual rent charges must have appeared to many small proprietors an attractive means of raising money in times of dire need.

The dangers implicit in the alternative can be graphically illustrated by deeds in the collection of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford. In 1234 Leuca, the widow of Ralph de Wormeton, near Kilpeck, in order to raise capital to repay debts to the Jews, Judas and Jacob, was obliged to grant a lease for thirteen years on her dower of six acres in Wormeton to Reginald, master of St. Ethelbert's hospital in Hereford.¹⁰⁴ This was not an isolated case. The Dean and Chapter's records show that the hospital, which had been founded by Elias of Bristol, a canon of the cathedral, nine years earlier, was very active in the land market. Hugh Freeman of Shelwick had to adopt similar methods to repay two debts 'to Jews' of five marks and forty shillings. He was obliged to grant sixteen and a half acres of land in the vill of Shelwick to Thomas de Geyton. These lands included '2 acres in the field called Monstan (Munstone) and 3 acres lying between the acre of John Craft and the water of the mill of Lude (Lyde) and extending at one end as far as the land of Simon, son of John, and at the other end as far as the 'mulpund' of the mill of Skelwick'.¹⁰⁵ Equally poignant is a short entry in the sheriff's accounts for 1278 when Sir Roger de Burghill took over the office from Giles de Berkeley and with it 'four beasts of Adam de Wygmore . . . for a Jew's debt'.¹⁰⁶

By the second half of the 13th century, the pattern of Jewish moneylending had radically changed. Such small loans as these had become the staple of the majority of Jewish moneylenders. This was due to a combination of factors, of which the impoverishment of the Jewry and the ever increasing restrictions on Jewish economic activity are the most obvious. However, the availability

of the more sophisticated credit facilities of the Italian and other merchants would in any case have deprived the Jews of many of their clients amongst the greater manorial landowners. Thus there was to be a sharp contrast in the size of the loans and in the clientele of Hereford's two great Jewish financiers, Hamo in the early and Aaron le Blund in the later 13th century. There were none of the greater manorial landowners amongst Aaron's clients and, whilst he did make loans to members of the knightly class, very few of these exceeded £20.

We do not have to rely on the 1244 list alone for a cross-section of the clients of Hamo and his family. Indeed, the ten entries in that list against Hamo's name can hardly be regarded as representative. These debts had been outstanding for thirteen to twenty-four years. The largest amount owing was a mere £23-2-0 and of the ten debts listed seven were for sums less than £10. This is not the sort of business that put Hamo in the forefront of his profession and made him one of the wealthiest financiers of his day. Fortunately, further details of the family's financial transactions can be gleaned from the Close Rolls between 1229 and 1236 where a number of entries record the granting of the royal pardon on the interest or the capital of debts owed to Hamo, his son, Ursell, and their partners. The sums involved are specified in about half the entries. They range from the ten marks due from 'bishop John' to the 1,000 marks owed by Walter III de Clifford of Clifford Castle. In the case of Robert de Vallibus, the principal is not mentioned, but it was substantial, for he was to pay the debt, which was secured on his Cumbrian lands, at the rate of 100 marks a year. But the details of the clients named are more important than the sums involved.

From the names listed in Table 13, it is evident that a number of the baronial and knightly families in the 1244 list (Table 9) were family clients of long standing and, as one would have expected, had been recruited by Hamo himself. Thus the business relationship with the de Lacy, and both the Clifford and Tenbury branches of the de Clifford family had been established by Hamo. The size of his fortune at his death suggests that the same could be said for most of the family's more important clients. In this respect, it is interesting to note that John de Balun, whose lands in Much Marcle, Herefordshire, and Great Cheverell, Wiltshire, were in pawn to Ursell in 1236, had himself stood as security with Roger de Burghill, when Roger de Leiburn borrowed 100 marks from Hamo seven years earlier, in 1229.

What necessity drove such men to borrow from Jewish moneylenders? Various suggestions have been put forward. In some cases, personal extravagance may have been the answer, in this era of 'increasingly expensive standards of living for aristocrats and would-be aristocrats'; but other, more profound causes were at work. This was, for England, the period when it first experienced

TABLE 13 The Clientele of Hamo and his family
from the Close Rolls, 1229-36

<i>Date</i>	<i>Debtor/s</i>	<i>Creditor/s</i>	<i>Sum</i>
1 15 Feb 1229	Roger de Leiburn	Hamo	£73 10 0
2 21 May 1230	Gilbert de Lacy		
3 16 June 1230	Roger I de Clifford	Hamo Aaron of York David of Oxford Copin of Oxford	
4 17 July 1230	Hugh de Vivon	Hamo Isaac of Norwich Jocepin of Bristol	£100 0 0
5 12 Jan 1232	'bishop John'	Hamo	£6 13 8
6 21 June 1233	Robert de Vallibus	Ursell Benedict Crespin	
7 4 July 1233	Walter III de Clifford	Hamo	£666 13 8
8 15 Dec 1233	Walter de Lacy	Hamo	
9 25 May 1234	Gilbert de Lacy	Ursell	
10 25 May 1234	John le Rus	Ursell	£6 4 0
11 10 Aug 1234	Ralph de Salceto	Ursell	
12 1236	John de Balun	Ursell David of Oxford Samar of Winchester	

from the Patent Rolls, 1242

13 2 Nov 1242	Robert de Tregoz and his mother	Heirs of Ursell	
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severe inflation. It is known that livestock prices, for example, were 'remarkably stable during the tenth, eleventh and much of the twelfth centuries' and 'the evidence then points to a period of very rapid inflation for a short period around 1200'. This has been called the English inflation of 1180-1220, when 'the prices of corn, livestock and the few other goods for which we have evidence doubled or trebled'. Many landowners responded quite quickly to the new circumstances and turned from leasing out their estates to demesne farming. The crown could not respond in the same way and had to try other means of increasing its income.¹⁰⁷

Warfare was becoming more highly developed and, therefore, more expensive. Stone castles, under influences from the eastern Mediterranean, were

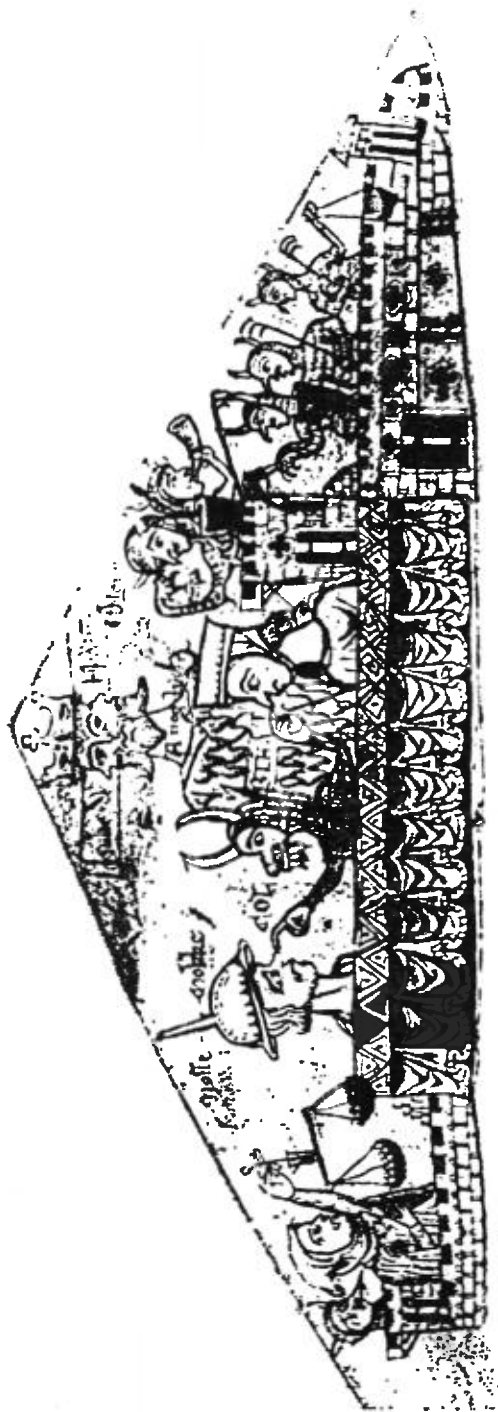


FIG. 4 Caricature of Isaac of Norwich on the Receipt Roll of 1233 (PRO E401/1565)

In the centre is Isaac himself, crowned and with three heads indicating the wide-ranging nature of his activities. Below are two of his agents. To the left 'Mosse Mokke', Moses wearing what is possibly a form of pointed Jewish hat. He was hanged in 1242. To the right 'Avegaye', Abigail, wearing headgear, as ordained for all Jewish women. The wimple tied under the chin covers her hair which falls below it in long plaits down her back. Between them is the demon called 'Colbif' pointing to their noses. Behind and to the right on a tower is 'Dagon' and next to him another demon blows a trumpet to call the devilish host. To the left a hooded figure watched by another demon holds the scales. The drapery may be intended to represent the stage setting of a miracle play, with the walls of medieval Norwich to either and a gate on the extreme right.

assuming new and more elaborate forms. The most evident was the replacement of the square by the round tower. The ground plan of the castle built on a completely new site above the Wye at Clifford in the early 13th century illustrates well these new forms. The round keep at Longtown is another example. Here 'recent work by Mr. Richard Hartley . . . has shown that the Romanesque voussoirs which form a major prop of its late 12th-century dating are re-used pieces, demanding a date after, not before 1200'. Longtown Castle as we know it is, therefore, the work of Walter de Lacy.

Improvements in defence led to more costly manning and provisioning and to longer sieges. This was another reason for increased government borrowing and taxation. But the feudal aristocracy had also to bear greater charges as castle owners and as professional soldiers. Even the humblest knight now had to pay more for his warhorse and military equipment. A detailed study of the baronial and knightly families listed in Table 9 may not provide complete answers to the question 'Why did they borrow?' but it certainly will show that, for some, indebtedness had dramatic implications.¹⁰⁸

ABBREVIATIONS

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| CR | Close Rolls, 1204-27, <i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</i> , 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1833-4);
1227-72, <i>Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III</i> , 7 vols. (PRO, 1902-38). |
| ChR | Charter Rolls, 1194-1216, <i>Rotuli Chartarum</i> , (Record Commission, 1837);
1226-57, <i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i> (PRO, 1903). |
| EJ | <i>Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews</i> , ed. J. M. Rigg, Sir Hilary Jenkinson & H. G. Richardson, 4 vols. (1905-72). |
| FR | Fine Rolls, 1199-1216, <i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus</i> , (Record Commission, 1835);
1216-72, <i>Excerpta e Rotulis Finium</i> , 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1835-6). |
| HDCR | Hereford Dean and Chapter Records. |
| IPM | <i>Inquisitions post mortem</i> , <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> , Henry III (PRO, 1904). |
| LR | Liberate Rolls, <i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i> , 1226-51, 3 vols. (PRO, 1916-37). |
| Monasticon | William Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (1817-30). |
| NS | New Series. |
| PR | Patent Rolls, 1201-16, <i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</i> (Record Commission, 1835);
1216-58, <i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> , 4 vols. (PRO, 1901-8). |
| PpR | Pipe Rolls, <i>Great Roll of the Pipe</i> , 1166/1167 to 1219 (Pipe Roll Society, 1889-1976). |
| RS | Rolls Series. |
| S | Series. |
| TrJHSE | <i>Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England</i> . |

The author wishes to express his thanks to Ron Shoesmith for drawing the map of Medieval Jewish Communities in England.

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- ¹ H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (1960), 83. 'The Jew was a town-dweller. Whatever his occupation, he was not an agriculturalist and, except as a source of profit, agricultural land had no interest for him' but see G. I. Langmuir, 'The Jews and the Archives of Angevin England: Reflections on Medieval Anti-Semitism', *Traditio*, 19 (1963), especially 210-21 on the extent to which Jews were primarily urban and mercantile throughout the Middle Ages and on the stereotypic character of the Jew as implied by Richardson.
- ² Richardson (1960), 19.
- ³ Michael Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* (1939), ch. 4 'The Jews of Medieval Bristol', 175-251.
- ⁴ H. P. Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (1913), 103-215.
- ⁵ Adler (1939), ch. 11 'The Jews of Medieval Canterbury', 47-124.
- ⁶ Michael Adler, 'Medieval Jews of Exeter', *Trans. Devonshire Ass.*, 63 (1931).
- ⁷ Cecil Roth, *Medieval Lincoln Jewry and its Synagogue* (1934) and J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), ch. 11 'The Jews', 217-38.
- ⁸ A. J. Collins, 'The Northampton Jewry and its cemetery in the 13th Century', *TrJHSE*, 15 (1939-45), 151-64.
- ⁹ V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (1967) and A. Jessup & M. R. James (eds.), *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, Cambridge (1896).
- ¹⁰ Cecil Roth, *Jews of Medieval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, NS, 9 (1951); Sarah Cohen, 'The Oxford Jewry in the 13th century', *TrJRSE*, 25 (1973-5), 43-7.
- ¹¹ R. B. Dobson, *The Jews of York and the Massacre of March 1190*, Borthwick Papers, 45 (1974) and 'The Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews of York', *TrJHSE*, 26 (1979), 34-52.
- ¹² Isaac Cohen, President of the Club 1953, started making notes on the subject from a range of printed sources. His MS notes are now in the possession of Mr. Basil Butcher.
- ¹³ *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regis*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 90 (4) (1889), 317.
- ¹⁴ C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (1941), 7, 269-70.
- ¹⁵ Roth (1951), 2.
- ¹⁶ Lipman (1967), 4.
- ¹⁷ Stokes (1913), 126.
- ¹⁸ *PpR*, 1169-70, 78.
- ¹⁹ *PpR*, 1178-9, 41; 1179-80, 117; 1180-1, 3; 1181-2, 14; 1185-6, 30. Henry 'de Minariis' was a member of the Mynors family that held the manor of Burghill of the honour of Brecknock under the successors of Miles of Gloucester. Henry's grandfather, Roger was granted the manor of Westbury on Severn by Henry II. His father, William, made a considerable grant of land to Flaxley Abbey and died about 1200. Henry himself appears on the Curia Regis Rolls for 1200 in a Westbury context and recurs, as benefactor and witness, in the Flaxley cartulary. In 1208-9 he was holding land at Foxcote (Glos.) of the bishop of Worcester but soon after gave it to the Templars with litigation resulting which continued after his death. He died in 1217 and was succeeded by three daughters and co-heiresses, Isabel, Elizabeth and Basilia, married respectively to Geoffrey de Longchamp, William de Gamages and Payn de Burghill. I am obliged to Sir Humphrey Mynors for this information on the Mynors of Burghill.
- ²⁰ Printed in full by I. Abrahams, 'The Northampton *Donum* of 1194', *JHSE Miscellany*, 1 (1925), lix-lxxiv. Total for each town with rank order is provided by Lipman (1967), 5-7 with comments.
- ²¹ Dobson (1979), 37.
- ²² Lipman (1967), 21.
- ²³ His wife Abigail appears in 1215 as a partner of Josepin of Bristol and his brother Bonefey, CR, 1215, 220. His son Moses took up residence in Northampton but his house was confiscated by king John who made a gift of it to William Brewer in 1214, *ChR*, 1214, 200.
- ²⁴ *FR*, 1205, 246 refer specifically to 'Leo, Jew of Warwick.' Walter Baskerville got more deeply into debt. In the Pipe Roll for 1211 he is shown as owing the king £390-5-4 on account of his debts to the Jews. In 1218 Walter 11, his son and heir, still had £282-14-8 outstanding on this account. In 1230 £141-1-0 was still owing. For the family see R. Coplestone-Crow, 'The Baskervilles of Herefordshire, 1086-1300', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, 43 (1979), 18-39.
- ²⁵ *FR*, 1204, 197, 202, 210, 231, 236.
- ²⁶ *Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J. T. Appleby (1963), 66.
- ²⁷ 'English Places and their Associations in the mid-13th century' in *English Historical Documents, 1189-1327*, ed. H. Rothwell (1975), 881-4.

- ²⁸ Roth (1941), 28-31 and Richardson (1960), 14-9. For the general use of the chirograph see M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (1979), 65-7.
- ²⁹ *PpR*, 1194-5, 138; 1196-7, 89; 1197-8, 195; 1198-9, 212.
- ³⁰ Worcester had been a royal castle but when John was buried at the cathedral there in 1216 the monks persuaded the royal ministers to restore to them that part of their burial ground which Urse d'Abitot had seized some 150 years previously to make the castle bailey. The castle was of little strategic value without a bailey and the motte was handed over to the Beauchamps, hereditary sheriffs of Worcestershire, *History of the King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, 1 (1962), 112.
- ³¹ Stamford had been a royal castle and borough but by the reign of John it was in the hands of William de Warenne. Christine Mahany, 'Excavations at Stamford Castle', *Chateau Gaillard*, 7 (Caen, 1977), 226 quoting *PR*, 1216, 197 and *CR*, 1216, 246.
- ³² Colvin, 2 (1963), 289 and Dobson (1974), 27.
- ³³ *Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 1, (PRO, 1916), 70-1; At Winchester there was also a Jews' Tower within the castle, *LR*, 1236, 235-6.
- ³⁴ Langmuir (1963), 196-210; Richardson (1960), 109-34.
- ³⁵ S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 10 (1965), 52-7, 92-115; 11 (1967), 3-76; D'Bloissiers Tovey, *Anglia Judaica* (1738), 68; Richardson (1960), 109-34 discusses 'The Jewry and the State'; the 'Charter of the Jews of England' and the 'Confirmation to the Jews of their Liberties' issued by John in 1201 are printed in *ChR*, 1201, 93 and *Select Pleas, Stairs and other records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews (1220-84)*, ed. J. M. Rigg, Selden Society, 15 (1901).
- ³⁶ For the broader context Baron, 4 (1957), 197-215 and James Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community* (1938), 339-55.
- ³⁷ The sheriff of Shropshire was ordered to remove all Jews, except Miles, son of Isaac, from the town and to sell all their houses and other goods in Bridgnorth in 1274 *CR*, 1274, 130; *PR*, 1275, 48.
- ³⁸ *ChR*, 1201, 93.
- ³⁹ I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896), 35-61, 307-39; L. Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1963); I. Epstein, 'Pre-Expulsion England in the Responsa', *TrJHSE*, 14 (1940); M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290* (1888); Richardson (1960), 83, 130-4; R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History* (1973), 50-62. For medieval communities see S. Reynolds, *Kingsdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (1984).
- ⁴⁰ Tovey (1738), 77.
- ⁴¹ *PR*, 1218, 157; *CR*, 1218, 354, 357, 359.
- ⁴² D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 1 (1737), 570-1, 590-1; Abrahams (1896), 291-306; Roth (1941), 70-1, 95-6; Richardson (1960), 178-84. On relations between the Catholic church and the Jews in general see Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (1966).
- ⁴³ Cecil Roth, 'Portraits and Caricatures of Medieval English Jews', *Jewish Monthly* (April 1950).
- ⁴⁴ PRO E401/4 m5.
- ⁴⁵ *EJ*, 1, 75.
- ⁴⁶ PRO E401/4. This has been transcribed by H. M. Chew, 'A Jewish Aid to Marry, AD 1221', *TrJHSE*, 11 (1924-7), 92-111. Some caution must be exercised in the use of the details of the 'Aid'. The threat of a double charge on those who were tardy in payment seems to have had the desired effect for only a small number of entries bear the comment *debet duplum* in the margin. Nevertheless there is some discrepancy between the 1,000 marks demanded and the 981 marks received—which included the double charges.
- ⁴⁷ PRO E401/6. The 1223 tallage of 3,000 marks.
- ⁴⁸ PRO E401/8. The 1226 tallage of 4,000 marks.
- ⁴⁹ Roth (1941), 93-5; Stokes (1913), 66 for Hebrew names and Norman-French equivalents.
- ⁵⁰ For the debate on the precise significance of these Jewish local or locative surnames Richardson (1960), 13-14; R. Chazan, 'Jewish Settlement in Northern France', *Revue des études juives* 128 (1969), 59; *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale*, ed. B. Blumenkranz (Toulouse, 1980), 28.
- ⁵¹ "Certain popular notions hinted at in the Talmud and enlarged and more clearly expressed in the Zohar were the bases for this practice—Sabbath 66b, Pesahim 112a" 'The Naming of Children' in J. Z. Lauterbach, *Studies in Jewish Law, Custom and Folklore* (1970).
- ⁵² PRO E101/249/13(ii) printed in Richardson (1960), 291.
- ⁵³ Roth (1961), 19-20, 37, 169-70.
- ⁵⁴ Richardson (1960), 100, 170, 173, 254-7.
- ⁵⁵ *CR*, 1241, 353-5; 'A Jewish Parliament' in Stokes (1913), 83-92.

- 55 Stokes (1913), 250 quoting PRO E249/12 and CR, 1236, 302.
 56 PR, 1255, 439-44.
 57 V. D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry', *TrJHSE*, 21 (1968), 68; PR, 1255, 439-44.
 58 *EJ*, 1, 65-8.
 59 Stokes (1913), 250-1 quoting PRO E249/12.
 60 FR, 1232, 226 'The four sons of Hamo, Ursell, Leo, Moses and Abraham, make fine with the king to pay 6,000 marks to have the lands, houses, debts and chattels which were the said Hamo's. Of which 6,000 marks they have handed over to the king at his exchequer 1,000 marks,' 10 September 1232; LR, 1233, 214-5 'Compute to the sons and heirs of Hamo of Hereford . . . in the fine of 6,000 marks that they made with the king and of which they render 300 marks yearly.'
 61 FR 1244, 412; Adler (1939), 146 who adds, incorrectly, that 'the estate of Hamo of Hereford paid 6,000 marks in 1232 and in 1235, a further 5,000 marks.' The latter was not a sum paid but the sum outstanding in 1235.
 62 CR, 1244, 260; Roth (1951), 54-7. Adler (1939), 20 n3 writes that at Isaac of Norwich's death 'his heirs paid to the Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe the sum of £4,878, the usual one-third.' This was, in fact, not a fine of one-third but was the amount still outstanding of the fine of 10,000 marks imposed upon him by king John. His heirs were ordered to pay off these arrears at the rate of 40 marks a year! Lipman (1967), 104-5.
 63 PR, 1232, 5.
 64 *PpR*, 1230, 222.
 65 FR, 1232, 226; CR, 1233, 314; 1234, 434; 1230, 414, 415, 420, 439; 1229, 152. Walter de Clifford's pardon is discussed in Part 2.
 66 P. Elman, 'The Economic Causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 7 (1937), 145-54 and Roth (1941), 270-1.
 67 'The History of the Domus Conversorum' in Adler (1939), 279-339.
 68 CR, 1248, 114; 1249, 216.
 69 'Aaron of York and Henry III', Adler (1939), 125-64 and Dobson (1979), 35-6 who suggests 'with no disrespect to the Rev. Michael Adler's learned study' that Aaron's 'spectacular career would still repay scrupulous reassessment.'
 70 CR, 1234, 400; FR, 1236, 295. R. W. Hunt, 'The library of Robert Grosseteste' in *Robert Grosseteste*, ed. D. A. Collins (1955), 127-9.
 71 CR, 1230, 415; 420, 439; 1236, 278; 1231, 468; 1235, 46; 1241, 393; *Placitorum Abbreviatio* (Record Commission, 1811), 111, 114. On the relationship of Richard and Abraham see Richardson (1960), 16-17 and N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (1947) especially 69-70. For Isaac and Josce of Worcester note 85 below.
 72 CR, 1241, 353-4; *Pipe Roll*, 26 Henry III (1241-2), ed. H. L. Cannon (Yale, 1918), 161-3.
 73 CR, 1234, 362; FR, 1245, 445. Manasser appears, with a number of other Jews of Hereford, London and Winchester, as the creditors of Henry de Brayboef in 1236. CR, 1236, 307.
 74 FR, 1241, 356.
 75 PR, 1246, 474; Cannon (1918), 161-3.
 76 PR, 1246, 474.
 77 Colvin, 1 (1962), 133-5.
 78 PR, 1246, 478; CR, 1244, 156; I Abrahams & H. P. Stokes, *Starrs and Jewish Charters preserved in the British Museum with additions by H. Loewe*, 2 (1932), 42; also LR, 1246, 46 'Liberate to the archdeacon of Westminster and Edward, son of Odo, keeper of the works of the church of Westminster, £25 for a like sum delivered in the Exchequer of the goods of Mokke of Hereford, which the king gave to those works' and CR, 1246, 414-5.
 79 FR, 1245, 441. Some idea of Henry III's personal treasure is given in a note of 1254 which lists 219 rings of gold, 18 wreaths of gold, 56 gold brooches, 12 girdles of silk and leather with bars of silver gilt, one gilt horn, one boat of silver-gilt, with stones and four wheels, 211 cups of silver, 17 silver pots, 44 pairs of basins of silver, etc. PR, 1254, 314-5. For 'the twelve months' J. C. Webster, *The Labours of the Months*, (1938). See also CR, 1245, 329.
 80 CR, 1243, 22; 1245, 345; 1246, 440; *EJ*, 1, 117, 58, 123.
 81 *EJ*, 1, 114, 115.
 82 N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (1947), 68-71; Elman (1937), 153-5; PRO E401/20; PR 1255, 444.
 83 *IPM*, 1253, 62; FR, 1253, 165.
 84 CR, 1255, 12, 67; *IPM*, 1267, 112.
 85 *EJ*, 4, 33; A. T. Bannister, 'A lost cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1917), 271, item 27. This 'lost cartulary' in is fact Bodleian MS Rawlinson B329.
 B. L. Abrahams, 'The Debts and Houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290', *TrJHSE*, 1 (1894), 156.

- 86 R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society* (1966), 49-50; M. M. Postan in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 1 (2nd ed. 1966), 592-5; P. R. Cross, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 68 (1975), 26-50.
 87 E. Miller & J. Hatcher, *Medieval England, Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (1978), 172-3; D. A. Carpenter, 'Was there a crisis of the knightly class in the thirteenth century? The Oxfordshire evidence', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 95 (Oct. 1980), 726 suggests that 'when this evidence is analysed the material health of middle and upper knightly families in the thirteenth century emerges as rather less fragile and the general social and economic climate rather less treacherous than the crisis thesis seems to suggest.' See also E. King, 'Large and small landowners in thirteenth-century England. The case of Peterborough abbey', *Past and Present*, 47 (May 1970), 26-50.
 88 Richardson (1960), 94.
 89 Hilton (1966), 19, 50-1.
 90 *Ancient Deeds*, 3 (PRO, 1890-1915), D1168.
 91 Richardson (1960), 94; Miller & Hatcher (1978), 171.
 92 Hilton (1966), 50.
 93 M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (1975), 181-2.
 94 Lipman (1967), 94.
 95 *List of Sheriffs*, PRO, List and Indexes, 9 (1898), 59.
 96 Burke, *Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages* (1866), 122.
 97 See Part 2.
 98 I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of their origin and descent, 1086-1327* (1960) provides succinct biographies of these baronial families. The Balun family is discussed in J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the county of Hereford*, 3 (Greytree Hundred), ed. W. H. Cooke (1882), 2-6.
 99 *Monasticon*, 6, 1,035; also Bannister (1917), 271, no. 32.
 100 R. W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century, an economic study based on notarial records* (New York, 1959), 9, 131-3.
 101 Emery (1959), 39-66.
 102 Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* (1968), 255.
 103 Duby (1968), 255.
 104 HDCR, No 2013.
 105 HDCR, Nos 334, 335.
 106 Helen Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930), 65-6 quoting PRO E109/18/2.
 107 D. L. Farmer, 'Some price fluctuations in Angevin England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2S, 9 (1956), 34-43 and 'Some grain price movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2S, 10 (1958), 207-20; P. D. A. Harvey, 'The English Inflation of 1180-1220', *Past and Present*, 61 (1973), 3-30; Miller & Hatcher (1978), 64-9.
 108 J. K. Knight, 'Usk castle and its affinities' in *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation*, ed. M. R. Apted, R. Gilyard Beer & A. D. Saunders (1977), 151. It was D. F. Renn, in 'The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 90 (1961), 137 who argued 'at present we can only question the keeps themselves, but their architectural evidence corroborates local history, and points to the period 1185-1245 from Long'own to Tretower. Bronllys and Builth are rather later.'

Two Documents Illustrating The Marriage of Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy and Mary Shelton

By W. J. TIGHE

TO marry at the court of Elizabeth I was a perilous undertaking. The queen's aversion to clerical matrimony is well known, and in addition to this prejudice (which might be dismissed as a surprising survival of medieval prejudice in the protestant queen were there not evidence that this sentiment of hers extended beyond the clergy) she appears to have discouraged matrimony and disparaged the married life to the women who served her at court. These were the ladies and gentlewomen of the bed chamber and the privy chamber, and the maids of honour. Thus, on 1 February 1585 Frances Howard wrote an extraordinary letter to her lover the earl of Hertford.¹ The two had been seeking to marry from at least 1575, but the queen had constantly refused her permission, and in view of Hertford's troubles over his previous marriage to Catherine Grey it is understandable that he was unwilling to take precipitate action. Frances reported that her brother Charles, lord Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, had moved the queen in favour of the marriage, using many arguments to promote it and concluding that it was only the fear of offending the queen which had held it up for so long a time. The queen replied that she was sure the earl did not aim at marriage but would be content to give his sister a pension and so keep her. Howard replied that Hertford was a man of honour, and that he would never again take Frances for his sister if she should allow herself to be so dealt with. At this the queen 'rose up and lafte wyth these wordes, that he had done the part of a good brother and as he ought to doe, but stell che saed che thought it was no parte of your desire.' The next day the queen asked Frances (who had become a gentlewoman of the queen's privy chamber in 1568)² when Hertford would next come to court, and after that began to speak of her conversation with the lord admiral on the previous day. She concluded by asking Frances whether she would like the matter to be brought to an end, and what cause she had to marry Hertford. Frances replied that it was a matter of affection and that she would think herself the happiest woman in the world if with her mistress's liking she could be bestowed on Hertford. Evidently the queen was unimpressed, for Frances continued, writing:

'many perswasons che used agaynst maryage and the inconvenyenses thereof and how lettell you wolde care for me tellyng me how well I was here and how much che cared for me. I humble thanked her maieste

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and did acknowleg as much. Many kynde speeches passed betwyne us but in the end che resoved wyth me that att your comyng if it were your contentment and lykyng che wolde not be agaynst my desier and good fourtune.'

By the middle of 1586 Frances Howard had become countess of Hertford.

This story had a happy ending for all concerned. Others did not. Walter Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton, Robert Tyrwhitt and Bridget Manners, the earl of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon, the earl of Pembroke and Mary Fitton, the earl of Essex and Elizabeth Brydges and, supremely, the earl of Leicester and Lettice Knollys—these pairs all ran foul of the queen by their coupling. And if the queen forgave the men involved their matches, as slowly and grudgingly she did (even Leicester), their wives were not generally so fortunate. Against them her sentiments of rancour or contempt retained their force, and seldom or never did she allow them to come into her presence at court. The Scudamore-Shelton match was, in the end, one which won the queen's unqualified favour, but it was a close thing.

Although remote from the centre of English national politics in the 16th century, Herefordshire was well-represented in the royal household. In January 1570 Sir James Croft of Croft Castle became comptroller of the household and a privy councillor. This marked his rehabilitation after a decade of disgrace which he had incurred at the siege of Leith in 1560 when he quarrelled with the duke of Norfolk, the commander of the Scottish expedition. It was probably the earl of Leicester, whose follower Croft had been in the 1560s, who facilitated his return to favour, but by the 1580s their divergent views about the appropriate English response to the revolt of the Netherlands had made them bitter enemies, and in 1588 Croft's eldest son was to be in trouble for seeking to procure the earl's death by sorcery just at the time that he did in fact die.³ Despite some very indiscreet dealings during the abortive peace negotiations with the Spanish in the spring of 1588 which led to a brief spell in the Fleet prison, Croft retained his offices until his death in September 1590 and shortly before his death he was able to place a younger son, another James, in the band of gentlemen pensioners, where he remained until his death in 1624. At about the same time that the younger Croft was becoming a gentleman pensioner the head of another Herefordshire family, Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court, was becoming one as well. As one who had been on bad terms with the comptroller and was soon to be a violent adversary of Croft interests and clients in his county, it comes as no surprise to learn that Coningsby had had associations with the earl of Leicester in the 1580s and later was to prosper under Leicester's step-son, the earl of Essex.⁴ There was also John Scudamore.

Scudamore's grandfather, another John, had been successively a gentleman usher and esquire for the body to Henry VIII. Enriched by monastic properties he had retired from court before the end of the reign and lived the remainder of his exceptionally long life as one of the principal gentlemen of Herefordshire. Queen Mary made him one of the Council in the Marches of Wales. Unlike his cousins, the Scudamores of Kentchurch, he conformed to the Elizabethan settlement of religion, but he could scarcely have been enthusiastic about it, since both his will, made two months before he died in September 1571, and the epitaph on his tomb in Holme Lacy Church, are entirely traditional in tone and content.⁵ At least two of his younger sons held court offices: Richard was a yeoman of the toils under Henry VIII and Edward VI, and Philip served Queen Elizabeth I as a gentleman usher quarter waiter for three decades until his death in 1602. John's eldest son, William Scudamore, married one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Pakington and lived at Lyvers Ocle. He died before his father, in 1560.

Born on 1 February 1542⁶ John Scudamore was under age at his father's death. On 11 July 1561 young Scudamore's wardship and marriage was granted to Sir James Croft.⁷ Soon Lord Robert Dudley, the future earl of Leicester, was writing to Scudamore's grandfather to promote a marriage between Croft's daughter and young Scudamore. That is why, Dudley wrote, he had secured the wardship for Croft, but now the elder Scudamore's demands for money were delaying the match.⁸ Soon Scudamore was married to Eleanor Croft, by whom he had three sons and three daughters by the time she died in 1569.⁹ The marriage cemented a firm friendship between Croft and the younger Scudamore, one which the death of Croft's daughter in no way affected. At an unknown date Croft wrote to his son-in-law a paternal letter advising him 'to bere with your grandfather,' who had been troublesome and to credit Philip Scudamore, the young man's uncle, for more specific suggestions.¹⁰ Croft's return to court office in 1570 opened the way to Scudamore as well. As early as 4 July 1570 Croft wrote to Scudamore that if the latter could obtain his grandsire's permission 'I woold you were heare againste the progresse, for the queene asked for you sins your departure, and therefore it is thought that she will looke for your attendaunce about that tyme.'¹¹ His position was made official when, sometime between 1 January 1571 and 25 March 1572 he was admitted to the band of gentlemen pensioners, that elite quasi-military corps of fifty well-born young men which Henry VIII had instituted at Christmas 1539.¹² It was at court that he was to meet his future wife.

Mary Shelton was one of the children of Sir John Shelton of Shelton, Norfolk, who had died on 15 November 1558. She was the queen's second cousin, for Sir John Shelton's mother had been a daughter of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling, Norfolk, whose son Sir Thomas Boleyn was the father of Anne

Boleyn, Queen Elizabeth's mother. The queen generally favoured her kinsfolk, so it was not surprising that in the early 1570s young Mistress Shelton should be called to serve at court.¹³ A letter from Eleanor Bridges, a maid of honour,¹⁴ to the earl of Rutland, dated January but with no year, recorded the queen's reaction when she was apprised of the Scudamore-Shelton marriage. 'She hath telt liberall bothe with bloes and yevell wordes,' she wrote, 'and hath not yet graunted her consent.'¹⁵ Eight years later, when Bess of Hardwick told the tale to the captive Queen of Scots, the queen was said to have broken Mary Scudamore's finger in her fury. The marriage probably took place in December 1573 or January 1574, for Mary Shelton last signed herself as such in the Wardrobe of Robes day book which recorded royal gifts of clothing and the loss of jewels from the queen's apparel on 10 November 1573, and next appeared as Mary Scudamore on entries of 26 August and 26 October 1574.¹⁶ This would suit well with Eleanor Bridges's letter, which probably was written in January 1574.

The marriage was childless, but evidently happy. Mary Scudamore appears to have got on with her step-children, and interceded with her husband on behalf of his wayward eldest son, Harry Scudamore.¹⁷ Bishop Scory of Hereford, by origin a Norfolk man, regarded Mistress Scudamore as one of the few patrons of the reformed religion in an otherwise rather backward part of the realm.¹⁸ And once the pair were received back into the queen's favour Scudamore's career prospered. Already in 1569 a justice of the peace of the quorum in Herefordshire, by May 1574 he had become *custos rotulorum* and within three more years was to be one of the deputy lieutenants of the county. He served as junior knight for Herefordshire in the House of Commons in 1571, 1572, 1584, 1586, 1589 and 1597, in the first five of these with his father-in-law Sir James Croft and in 1597 with his fellow courtier Sir Thomas Coningsby. In 1593 and 1601 he withdrew in favour of Herbert Croft, Sir James's grandson and Coningsby's bitter enemy. The queen knighted him in 1592, and from June 1599 to May 1603 he was at the pinnacle of his court career as standard-bearer of the gentlemen pensioners. In 1601 he became steward of the city of Hereford and in the following year a member of the Council in the Marches of Wales. Lady Mary Scudamore, also, stood high in the queen's favour throughout the reign, serving her mistress as one of her bed chamber women until the end. The queen, who it is well known was not given to extravagance with money, presented Lady Scudamore with £300 as a free gift in May 1594.¹⁹ At James I's accession the Scudamores quitted their court offices. Mary Scudamore did not long survive her retirement, for she was buried at Holme Lacy on 15 August 1603. Sir John died at the age of 81 on 14 April 1623. He remained a powerful influence in Herefordshire, although much of this influence may have been wielded by Sir John's son Sir James Scudamore, who was senior knight for the shire in 1604 and 1614, until the latter's early death on 13 April 1619.²⁰ It was

Sir James's son Sir John who succeeded his grandfather in 1623 and was thereafter to attract additional renown to his family when, as viscount Scudamore of Sligo he served Charles I as ambassador in Paris and later as a royalist commander in the Civil War.

During his years at court Sir John Scudamore acquired a wide circle of friends and followers. With Sir James Croft he remained friendly to the end. In February 1588, when Croft's anxiety for a peace with Spain and extrication from the Low Countries had caused his loyalty to be called in question by some, Scudamore cheered the old man by relaying to him some highly favourable remarks which the queen had let fall concerning her comptroller.²¹ The closest friendship, however, was that which Sir John and Lady Mary shared with Gilbert and Mary Talbot, after 1590 earl and countess of Shrewsbury. Both the Scudamore papers and the Talbot archives retain abundant tokens of this prolonged intimacy, which appears to have begun in the 1580s and continued until the earl's death in 1616.²² It was a fortunate friendship, for Scudamore was able to augment his influence in Herefordshire by adding to his own estate the prestige that arose from the general supervision of the Talbots' extensive properties which the earl conferred on him. Evidence survives of Scudamore's friendship with Sir George Carey, lord Hunsdon's heir,²³ with Arthur Gorges, a minor poet and fellow pensioner,²⁴ with Francis Harvey, also a gentleman pensioner,²⁵ with Thomas Bodley (whose munificence founded the Bodleian Library)²⁶ and with a circle of Herefordshire gentlemen like Thomas Harley, father of Sir Robert, the parliamentarian,²⁷ Roger Wigmore,²⁸ Herbert Croft, his kinsman,²⁹ and Thomas Kerry. The last was a native of Hereford who from Mary's reign until his death in 1607 was one of the clerks of the privy seal and as such was extremely well placed to tip off his friends at home about such calamities as impending requests for privy seal loans, and to see that the burden of them was lifted from friends and laden upon enemies.³⁰ This he certainly had a hand in doing during the raising of the loan of 1589, when he reported to Scudamore with obvious pleasure his successful obstruction of Thomas Coningsby's attempt to exempt Gregory Price, one of his friends, from paying anything in the loan. Kerry had agreed to get Price's assessment lowered from £50 to £25 and was annoyed that Coningsby had gone behind his back to Sir Francis Walsingham in order to have the remainder remitted. Price had to pay the £25.³¹

Scudamore was in great demand as a source of ready money. Importunate demands for loans survive from Huphrey Baskerville,³² Robert Wiseman (a poverty-stricken aged fellow gentleman pensioner),³³ Herbert Croft³⁴ and Scudamore's brother-in-law James Croft³⁵ over the years between 1582 and 1618. It is less easy to descry whether he had prominent enemies. He was certainly not on very good terms with Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, who in 1590 or 1591 forced the corporation of Hereford to revoke their appointment of Scudamore

as steward of the city in succession to Sir James Croft and give it to him instead.³⁶ This affront was followed, on 2 August 1592, by a chilly and menacing letter in which Essex desired that Scudamore, if he desired to retain the earl's good opinion of him, should restrain those who were using Scudamore's name to cross his authority. Or else he would reform the matter as he may and conceive of Scudamore as he finds.³⁷ Somewhat surprisingly, Scudamore appears to have kept clear of involvement in the sporadic violence between Herbert Croft, his friends and followers, on the one hand, and Thomas Coningsby and his men. Coningsby was deeply attached to the earl of Essex, whom he had served as muster master in Normandy in 1591, while Essex had acquired many of the local offices in Herefordshire and the Marches which Sir James Croft had held and which Herbert, his grandson, had hoped to retain in the family after 1590.³⁸ Nevertheless it was Coningsby who after Essex's execution in 1601 ingeniously but unavailingly raised a faction in Hereford to endeavour to block Scudamore's election to the stewardship.³⁹ Scudamore held the office until his death, but after his withdrawal from court in 1603 the record of his role in city and county politics becomes distinctly spotty, although he lived to die at the great age of eighty-one at 4 a.m. on Easter Monday, 14 April 1623.⁴⁰

Lady Scudamore had long predeceased her husband, for she survived her mistress by only a few months, being buried at Holme Lacy on 15 August 1603. Her influence at court grew from her intimate service upon the queen. As the sovereign lady grew older and more difficult of access, so the small circle of women who formed her most intimate friends were more and more enabled to trade upon their positions, earning in the process a reputation for avarice and rapacity. Thus as early as 24 February 1594 Francis Markham wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury to express his desire for a lieutenancy so as to follow the wars. He explained (from Gray's Inn) that such positions were had by two means, 'the commendacion of some nobleman whom' the captains serve 'or the brybing of some about hir maiestic, ladyes of the privie chamber or such lyke.'⁴¹ It is difficult to estimate how high a position Lady Scudamore occupied among this group of women or to what extent she joined in the general scramble for profit. There are some scraps of evidence, though. On 21 December 1593 that witty cleric George Boleyn, dean of Lichfield and the queen's kinsman, wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury to advise him on how to stay the confirmation of a lease which the chapter of Lichfield had made to Sir Thomas Stanhope, Shrewsbury's enemy, in the dean's absence.⁴² First replying to the earl's complaint that he had heard nothing from court, 'I am afraide', he wrote:

'that your lordship is not like to heare in haste from my cosen Skidmore, who thowghe she be my good frende and cosen whom I love well, yet is she one that is wonte to delaye more then needes, and looseth many a tide for the takyng, thowge she must wathe for her tyde if she will speede her businesse . . .'

The real difficulty cropped up later: access to the queen. The Stanhopes had long enjoyed the patronage of the Cecils, father and son, and Sir Thomas Stanhope had two brothers serving the queen at court. John Stanhope obtained the postmastership in 1590 and six years later was to rise to become treasurer of the chamber, while Michael Stanhope served as a groom of the privy chamber during these years. 'But the question will be howe to gett either my letters or the chapters delivered to her Maiestie,' continued the dean:

ffor my Lord Chamberlayne certaynlie will not deliver it: and as for my cosen Skydmore or Scudamore there is no full confidence in her. Experto crede Roberto is an old proverb. But as her speeche is fayre & as smoothe as a reede, so do I beseche your honor to take this as a wathe worde spoken under benedicite, bicause I feare a writt called ne noceat. ffor women be waspishe and will do a man more harme whan they ar angered then good whan they be quiet. And therefore the Countesse I trust shall not knowe of this leaste one woman tell an other, as Graculus graculo gaudet.'

In 1594 she relayed to the queen George Goring's proposals for the repayment of the vast debts his father had run up as receiver-general of the Court of Wards by appropriating the queen's revenue.⁴³ Later in that same year Sir William Cornwallis, nettled that 'a base merchant's son of Norwich shall go home and tell all that town in my own country how he hath more power by lending my Lady Skidmore £500 five years agone, or rather indeed by putting some purse into her pocket' than Cornwallis himself had, notwithstanding his twenty-four years' service of the queen, upon whom, he curiously added, he had in his own time spent £2,000 or £3,000,⁴⁴ described Lady Scudamore to Sir Robert Cecil as a barbarous brazen-faced woman. In 1600 Lord Buckhurst wrote to Lady Scudamore asking her to move the queen in behalf of his step-son who had excited her displeasure by visiting Rome, and in 1602 Edith Beale, Alderman Richard Martyn, a certain G. Knyghton, the earl of Shrewsbury and Captain Henry Clare were either using the lady to set forward their suits to the queen or else using information she had furnished them with to press Cecil on their own behalf.⁴⁵ All these cases hint at a person of some power, or at least one in a position to profit from its appearance.

I. *P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7338*. Sir James Croft to John Scudamore, 12 June 1573.⁴⁶

Syns your departyng I have spoken with my lord keper and doe fynd by hym that your motyon wyll goe ('sol' struck through) slowy forward ('forward' struck through) for he intendethe not to breke the matter unto the quens maiesty tyll he hathe spoken with you, and within fortynight he meanthe [to] goe into

Suffocke, and therefore I thinke good that you doe com hether with as moche spede as you can with a small company, that apon conferens you may consyder what ys to be don and so I commyt you to god. at grenewich the xijth of June 1573

Your fatherinlaw and assured frend

Jamys Croft

Endorsed: To my son

Scudamore these be delivered

II. *P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7611*. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, to Mary Shelton, 22 June 1573.

I have verey good lykyng of the gentylman for hym sylff alweyz and by that I see & am informyd of by otherz there ys good cause why I shuld so have. Mary for the state hys lyvyng stondes in the cas ys verey hard ffor req'ryng of hym but CC markes joynter & that the same myght remeyne to the chylde that god may send betwene you, hys answeere was that hys land was so tyed uppon hys former maryage that he could assure but on Cⁱ land for your joynter, which he agreyd shuld remeyne to the chylde betwene you beyng soones but beyng doughterz then he semyd verey lothe to leve them lond but was content to advaunce them with money, which I did not myslyke & ther uppon I requyryd VII^c ('C' struck through) markes for a pece. Thys semyd to hym to be verey mooche and so uppon that poynt we ded agre to forbere to determyne untill our next metyng. Thys was the soome of oure talk. In the end I seyde I hopyd he wold be as good in thys matter as he could. He answeyrd that so he wold gladly be. I told hym withall that no conclucion must growe of these matters before hur maiestie be made privye, wher unto he consentyd. Now for my owne opynyon. Albeyt I wold gladly have hym cum to my demaunde, yet rather then the mache shuld breke I wold receyve hys offer, dealyng well with the doughterz as I see he wyll. Althoughe the joynter be but lytle yet that as I take yt wyll be satysfyed with your dower yf hys lyvyng be as good as yt ys informyd, for yt shall be so ordryd that you shall be at your choyce to take joynter or dower, which shall be the better. The rest you are to thynk on your sylff, and as occacyon shall serve. Uppon advertysment you shall not [lack] my councell nor eyd to the best I can at my return which by the grace of god wyll be within xty daye. ffare you well. xxii of June 1573 by your ffrynd

N. Bacon C.S.

Endorsed: Lord Keper.

To Mistres Shelton

give theis.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Longleat House, Seymour Papers, V, ff. 164-5.
- ² The warrant appointing her to be a gentlewoman of the queen's privy chamber and assigning her wages of £33 6s. 8d. a year was dated 18 November 1568 (P.R.O., E. 351/1795).
- ³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House*, I (1883), 336-7; R. E. Ham, 'The Autobiography of Sir James Croft', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, L (1977), 57; *The Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P. W. Hasler (1981), I, 670. It was the earl of Leicester who on 25 November 1569 wrote to Croft to inform him of his impending employment at court (P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7536).
- ⁴ For the gentleman pensioners, the Crofts and the Coningsbys, see my unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (1984), *The Gentlemen Pensioners in Elizabethan Politics and Government*.
- ⁵ *The Commons 1509-1558*, ed. S. T. Bindoff (1982), III, 284-5; P.R.O., SP.12/60/22; PROB.11/53; ff. 314v-315r (P.C.C. 44 Holney). The genealogical researches of Mr. John Hunt of Montrose have shown that the elder John Scudamore married in 1511, which probably dates his birth to between 1485 and 1490. His mother survived until 4 June 1558 (P.R.O., E.150/456/1).
- ⁶ The date of his birth is given on the inquisition post mortem taken upon his father's lands, P.R.O., C.142/126/82. (The years mentioned in this article are reckoned in new style, that is, as beginning on 1 January rather than 25 March, but the dates are otherwise unchanged).
- ⁷ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth I, II, 1560-1563, 111.
- ⁸ B.L., Additional MS. 11049, f. 2.
- ⁹ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 18th edition (1972), III, 811-6.
- ¹⁰ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7341.
- ¹¹ B.L., Additional MS. 11049, f. 4.
- ¹² P.R.O., E.407/1/6; E.407/2/187.
- ¹³ *The Visitation of Norfolk, 1563 and 1613*, ed. Walter Rye (Harleian Society, XXIII, 1891), 247; *The Visitation of Norfolk, 1563*, ed. G. H. Dashwood and W. E. G. T. Bulwer (1878-95), II 347. The warrant appointing Mary Shelton to be a chamberer of the queen's bed chamber and assigning her her wages of £20 a year was dated 1 January 1571 (B.L., Lansdowne MS. 59: 22).
- ¹⁴ P.R.O., E.179/69/93. This subsidy list of office-holders in the royal household was drawn up in 1576, but since Eleanor Bridges's name was third on a list of seven maids of honour, and as these lists were often arranged in order of seniority, she must have been serving in that capacity for some years. She had not been one in 1567, the date of the preceding list (P.R.O., E.179/69/82).
- ¹⁵ H.M.C., Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle* (1888), I, 107.
- ¹⁶ Janet Arnold, 'Lost From Her Majesties Back' (The Costume Society, Extra Series, VII, 1980), 10-11, 15, 48, 50. The day book has remained among the Scudamore papers, now to be found in the Public Record Office, and was probably taken to Holme Lacy by Mary Scudamore sometime after June 1585, when the last entries were made (P.R.O., C.115/Box L/6697).
- ¹⁷ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7369.
- ¹⁸ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7545.
- ¹⁹ The information on the careers of Sir John and Lady Mary Scudamore is from my Ph.D. thesis.
- ²⁰ Scudamore's eldest son, Henry, an accomplice of Herbert Croft in the latter's struggles against Thomas Coningsby and a man prone to violence, was dead by 1595 (H.M.C., *Hatfield House*, V (1894), 445-7). The next son, John, was baptised on 3 August 1567. He may have been the Scudamore whom Walsingham set to keep watch upon the plotter Anthony Babington (*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, VIII (1843), 353). Then, in 1591, he turned catholic, went abroad, and after being ordained priest on 7 May 1592 returned to England under the alias of John Wiseman with an Irishman, one Hugh Cahill, who, when they were apprehended, accused Scudamore of plotting to kill the queen at the behest of Father Parsons. Nevertheless, while Cahill languished in prison Scudamore was set free and allowed to leave England (*Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. H. Foley (1880), VI, 185; *The Letters and Dispatches of Richard Verstegan*, ed. A. G. Petti (1959), 101-2). Perhaps he was a double agent all along. In any event in 1606 he returned to England and turned protestant (*The*

Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 233). He was later taken into the household of the archbishop of Canterbury and survived his father, for on 26 March 1624 he confirmed to his nephew, Sir John Scudamore, Bt., all of the landed estate formerly belonging to his father. He was not mentioned in his father's will, though (P.R.O., PROB.11/142, ff. 137r-138v (P.C.C. 84 Swann)). James, the third son, was baptised 10 June 1568, and in general appears to have given his father no trouble. He was active in the tiltyard at court in Elizabeth's reign, was knighted at Cadiz in 1596 and in the reign of James I was an important figure in Herefordshire affairs. His portrait is at Kentchurch and that of his second wife Mary Throckmorton, previously married to Sir Thomas Baskerville, is at the National Portrait Gallery in London. He died in his fifty-first year in 1619.

- ²¹ P.R.O., SP.12/208/81, 82.
- ²² P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7560. Shortly after Sir John was knighted in 1592 Lady Mary wrote to the earl and countess, declaring 'for that Mrs. Skidmores sake who was ever bound to you I do offer myself, Ladiship & all, to be at your service' and later concluded 'as for my husband Sir John my Ladiship never saw him since the Queen did him that favor. I doubt me he hath playd me a Walsh trick, for except he be with you I knowe not what is become of him' (Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot MS. H., f. 441). Much later, in 1610, the earl and countess wrote sadly to Sir John from James I's court, 'oft doe we remember the former worlde in this place and the difference that is now betweene this and that, which is suche, as no man that lyves not in it but can conceive, but all worldly thynges are subject to change and alteration and therefore in the generall not to be wondred at' (P.R.O., C.115/Box N/8519).
- ²³ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7364.
- ²⁴ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7430.
- ²⁵ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7513.
- ²⁶ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7595.
- ²⁷ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7432.
- ²⁸ B.L., Additional MS. 11042, ff. 87-8.
- ²⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot MS. H., f. 519.
- ³⁰ P.R.O., LC.2/4(1), f. 27r; LC.2/4(2), f. 29v; E.179/69/93; LC.2/4(4), f. 49r. Kerry made his will on 16 April 1607; it was proved on 15 July following (P.R.O., PROB.11/110, ff. 124r-128r (P.C.C. 63 Huddleston)).
- ³¹ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7314. Bundle 13 of this section of the Scudamore papers contains a great deal of material on the 1589 privy seal loan in Herefordshire. Kerry also acted as an agent for the earl of Shrewsbury in financial matters. In 1590 he wrote a frank letter of advice to the earl a few days after the latter had succeeded his father in the title (Lambeth Palace, Shrewsbury MS. 701, ff. 173-4), and in 1594 he was negotiating on the earl's behalf the purchase of Welbeck Abbey from the crown (Lambeth Palace, Shrewsbury MS. 701, ff. 9-11). Scudamore took part in the business as well, at least to the extent of defending Kerry's conduct in a letter to the countess of Shrewsbury (Lambeth Palace, Shrewsbury MS. 698, ff. 153-4).
- ³² P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7501.
- ³³ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7482.
- ³⁴ P.R.O., C.115/Box N/8507. Doubtful about his chances of success, Herbert Croft offered Scudamore as security a bond which had, he claimed, been recently wrought out of the custody of Sir Thomas Coningsby.
- ³⁵ B.L., Additional MS. 11049, f. 8.
- ³⁶ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7618.
- ³⁷ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7558.
- ³⁸ P.R.O., SP.12/259/82. The Croft-Coningsby feud has left abundant memorials among the records of the Court of Star Chamber. Scudamore's eldest son Henry was closely associated with Herbert Croft in some of these disorderly doings in 1590 (P.R.O., STAC5, C.57/29, C.7/27, C.44/8).
- ³⁹ P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7581. The attempt, which involved obtaining from Common Pleas warrants to arrest debtors who happened to have the same names as certain of Scudamore's more prominent supporters among the Hereford aldermen, with the collusion of the sheriff, ended in a Star Chamber case brought by Richard Parrott, one of the aggrieved burgesses (P.R.O., STAC5, P.44/22). An early draft of Parrott's bill of complaint survives among the Scudamore papers (P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7615). Herbert Croft supported Scudamore in the affair after vainly attempting to persuade the other faction's candidate, the earl of Pembroke, to withdraw (P.R.O., C.115/Box M/7614).

⁴⁰ Hereford Record Office, Holme Lacy Parish Registers, vol. I. The only surviving unfavourable reflection upon Scudamore's character that I have found came in a long letter which his daughter-in-law wrote to Salisbury on 18 September 1609, in the midst of her bitter breach with her husband Sir James Scudamore. She claimed that she had been turned out of doors by her husband and her father-in-law 'because I did not frame my self to Sir John Scudamore according to the damnable counsell of my husband' (P.R.O., SP.14/48/40).

⁴¹ Sheffield Central Library, Bacon Frank MS. 2/119.

⁴² Lambeth Palace Library, Shrewsbury MS. 707, ff. 221-2.

⁴³ H.M.C., *Hatfield House*, IV (1892), 516, 528; V (1894), 205.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 30-1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, X (1904), 234, 305; XII (1910), 12, 377, 503, 540.

⁴⁶ In editing these letters I have expanded contractions and punctuated according to the sense but have not introduced other changes. Croft's penmanship is fiendishly bad. One wonders if he was right-handed before he lost that arm at the assault on Hardebot Castle in 1546, and afterwards learned to write with the other. The words in brackets, one in each letter, have been supplied to clarify the meaning.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1984

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

THE archaeology unit has been involved in a wide variety of projects during 1984 ranging from a medium-sized excavation in the Maylord Street redevelopment area to survey work at Goodrich Castle with, of course, a variety of post-excavation work which has led to several reports being ready for publication. This is often where a delay occurs until finance is available; a problem which has beset both the report on the Chepstow excavations, to be published by the Cambrian Archaeological Association as a monograph, and Volume 3 of the Hereford report which deals with the finds and is to be published by the Council for British Archaeology. The latter should be available by the middle of 1985 but the former may be delayed until later in the year. Reports completed include one on St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, and a short note on the closure and sale of three Primitive Methodist Chapels on the Hereford/Shropshire border, for the *Transactions*. The report on Burwarton Old Church, mid-way between Ludlow and Bridgnorth, which the unit surveyed in 1983, has also been completed and will be published in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*. This simple, two-cell building of 12th-century date, which was last visited by the club in 1893,¹ is now in a very precarious condition and could collapse completely at any time. A note was published on the building in the summer 1984 issue of the Council for British Archaeology's Churches Committee Bulletin.²

A large-scale restoration project took place at Coningsby Hospital during 1984 and the Archaeology Committee was very concerned about the extent of the work which included the total replacement of the east window and the bell-cote of the chapel both without any archaeological recording. The Committee received little satisfaction from the DoE and the director eventually wrote an article for *Rescue News*³ commenting on the uncertainties in the legislation which allowed this type of project to be undertaken without considering all alternatives and without proper recording.

The 1979 Archaeological Areas Act finally came into force in 1984 with Hereford being one of the five cities in England designated as an Area of Archaeological Importance. The others are Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and York. The effects of the designation are that prior notice is required of any

operations which will disturb the ground and any proposed flooding or tipping operations. An appointed investigating authority (in the case of Hereford this is the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee) is then empowered to enter, investigate and if necessary excavate the site. The purpose of the Act is to help prevent important archaeological sites being damaged or destroyed without there first being an opportunity for proper archaeological investigation and record. The Act has only been in force for three months but arrangements have already been made to examine several sites during operations and a greater involvement is anticipated in 1985. The Committee is supporting a project, to be jointly funded by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission and the Manpower Services Commission, to set up an archaeological excavation team which will investigate selected sites in Hereford prior to development and thus take full advantage of the Act.

The most important excavation in the city in 1984 was on the southern side of Maylord Street in an area which was part of the yard of Wilson's florist shop. The area had suffered little disturbance during the Victorian period and was considered to be the most promising part of the Maylord Street redevelopment site for a medium-scale excavation. The work was funded by the Norwich Union and took place between June and August. An interim report is appended (see p.00).

Early in 1984 the Unit examined and recorded trenches associated with the construction of two small extensions to the Bowling Club pavilion on Castle Green. The importance of Castle Green as the Saxon burial ground for the city and the original site of St. Guthlac's Priory before becoming 'one of the fayrest, largest and strongest castels in England'⁴ is now well known.⁵ The foundation trenches, which were hand-dug, were comparatively shallow and did not disturb the burial ground. Evidence of the castle occupation was established in the lower levels but most of the upper levels consisted of successive builds of the embankment during the 18th and 19th centuries. This helped to establish the extent of the landscaping after the Civil War when the Green was laid out 'for publique use and benefit'⁶ and confirmed that the castle occupation and earlier levels were well preserved and had suffered little disturbance.

The corner site at the junction of Mill Street and St. Owen Street has been derelict for many years with the remains of the city wall gradually crumbling away along the rear boundary. Early in 1984 the surviving fragments of wall were consolidated and rebuilt as a retaining wall for the high level rear gardens of the houses on the north-east side of Cantilupe Street. These gardens seal the remains of the Saxon defences of the City, one of the most important of its

monuments, and retention without disturbance was of prime importance.⁷ Once the wall had been rebuilt, development of the site for a block of flats could commence and both operations were monitored by the archaeological unit. The Saxon defences were not encountered during any phase of the operations and should now remain sealed and well preserved for many years.

Each year there is some development in the County Hospital area—part of the site which was occupied by St. Guthlac's Monastery between about 1144 and 1539.⁸ Early in the year foundation trenches for an extension to the nurses' dining room were examined and just before Christmas foundation trenches for extensions to the David Garrick and Kemble wards again cut through parts of the monastic burial ground. Emergency recording of the remains in this area is still continuing.

Minor sites examined during the year included MEB trenches at the north-western corner of Offa Street and at the northern end of Bridge Street. In the latter slight traces of the foundations of St. Nicholas' Church were seen. At the rear of the new Kwiksave store in Commercial Road burials, associated with the old Baptist Church, were observed but not recorded—however a survey of the remaining gravestones was undertaken. Foundation trenches for a new extension at the rear of the National Westminster Bank in Broad Street and for the multi-storey car park and offices in Widemarsh Street were examined when time permitted but no items of archaeological interest were seen. The Unit examined and photographed re-used medieval masonry in the cellar of Country Casuals on the southern side of St. Peter's Street (originally Nash House)⁹ and also advised on a well, discovered during works in the cellar of St. Owen's Press on the south side of St. Owen's Street. The Excavation Committee continues to provide advice to the City Council Planning Department on development in the City which affects both listed buildings and archaeological levels and is represented on the Conservation Area Advisory Committee by the Director of Excavations.

Some two months of the year have been spent in detailed survey work at Goodrich Castle on behalf of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. The work has included the preparation of detailed plans and elevations of the rooms above the chapel and entrance passage and the whole interior of the south-western tower. The drawings provide a full record of the building before consolidation works commence and are used by the Commission and the contractors to itemise the detailed work which is a necessary part of the consolidation.

Staff of the Unit were involved with clearance and consolidation works to the round church at Garway, originally exposed by Mr. G. H. Jack in 1927¹⁰ and consolidated at the expense of the club in the following year.¹¹ The remains, which were until recently totally obscured by vegetation, are now fully visible and the conservation works will, it is anticipated, last at least another fifty years.

Unit staff continue to be involved in the field of adult education particularly by providing speakers for local groups and taking part in Workers Educational Association activities. Advice on ancient monuments and listed buildings is also provided for local architects and builders—this is a field in which we anticipate considerably more work in 1985 as a result of the Archaeological Areas Act. 1984 has been a busy and varied year but all indications are that in 1985 the Unit will have a greater involvement in development in the City with, it is hoped, a corresponding increase in its resources.

THE MAYLORD STREET EXCAVATION—INTERIM REPORT

Historical

From the late 18th to the early 20th centuries, Maylord Street was a peripheral shopping and warehousing area dominated by Perret's brewery and Felix & Sons fruit merchants on the south and with small shops on the north increasing in size and stature as one travelled west with the Georgian White Lion Inn and the impressive neo-Classic Hereford Times building.

The earlier history of the street is of more importance for it was of some considerable significance during the 12th and 13th centuries. It was probably first constructed shortly after the Norman Conquest as a back lane to burgage plots which were laid out to the north from High Town and Commercial Street as a planned development associated with William Fitz Osbern's new market place. Originally it would have continued to the north-east behind properties in Commercial Road but it was cut by the construction of the medieval defences, late in the 12th century, and the eastern end re-routed along the inside of the wall to the gate in front of the present Kerry Arms.

The street has been known variously as Maylord Street (or *Maliarstret*) and Jewry Lane since the 13th century. Although the western part is shown as St. Thomas Street on the 1757 plan, this is probably incorrect and St. Thomas Street should be identified with Commercial Street (otherwise known as Bye Street). This identification is evident in 18th-century deeds and is a reasonable interpretation of the name on Speede's Map of 1610.

The full extent of the Jewish settlement in Hereford has not been established but although they owned property in High Town and Widemarsh Street it is apparent that the main area of occupation was centred on Maylord Street. A Jewish quarter had been founded in Hereford by the second half of the 12th century and included one or more stone houses and a synagogue. The Jews were expelled from England in 1290 at which time the Hereford Jewry was the second largest in the whole country in terms of size and wealth.

One of the aims of the excavation was to establish the presence of buildings along Maylord Street during the 13th century. Information concerning the date of construction of the street was also sought and it was anticipated that the work would provide a sequence of use for this back lane which occupied such a significant part in the medieval history of the city.

The Excavation

The area chosen for excavation was first cleared of rubbish and top soil using a large excavator provided by the demolition contractor. This was followed by a more thorough machine clearance using a JCB with a broad, toothless bucket. Apart from the remains of buildings, this machine removed all the levels associated with the 18th and 19th-century use of the site.

18th to 20th centuries. Most of the site was the garden of Gladestry House up to the early part of the 20th century. To the east was a coach house and stable block with stone footings which was approached by a cobbled yard from Maylord Street. This building had had many alterations during its life and was apparently built for a different purpose, possibly extending further to the east, with two small doorways opposite each other in the north and south walls. It was probably built in the early 18th century. Behind the coach house was the brick footings of a greenhouse with traces of its extensive heating system.

The northern part of the site had contained a row of small buildings which were demolished between 1858 and 1888. The buildings had extended beyond the limit of the site to the north and when they were demolished Maylord Street was widened from the site to the junction with Gomond Street. These structures did not belong to the main part of the site and the remaining ground, after road widening, was purchased and added to the Gladestry House estate. These small buildings were probably workshops or warehouses and were of timber construction on top of stone footings. The floor levels were somewhat below the general ground level and a new stone footing and brick arches had to be inserted to

support the pavement on the widened Maylord Street. Several large pits, containing 19th and early-20th-century rubbish, were found and a modern drain crossed the site from north to south.

16th and 17th centuries. There were no buildings on the site during this period but in several places large pits were dug for rubbish. Much of this consisted of animal bone suggesting a butchery or tannery in the immediate area. The articulated head and upper body of a horse was found in a shallow pit.

14th and 15th centuries. Finds again suggest that there were buildings close to the site and, as the concentration of pottery finds increased towards the north of the site, it may have been that there were small buildings fronting Maylord Street during this period. A fence line crossed the site in line with the northern face of the 18th-century stable block. This indicated that the northern part of the site was separated from the remainder as was the case in the later periods.

11th to 13th centuries. The major feature on the site throughout this period was first visible as a spread of gravel some 3½ m. wide running parallel to Maylord Street with its centre some 5 m. south of the 1858 southern edge of Maylord Street. The upper surface was cut by many later pits and as excavation progressed it was evident that the soil levels to the south of the gravel spread had been regularly cultivated and contained few features of interest. To the north the disturbance from a large 16th-century pit had removed most levels.

As the excavation continued it was evident that the gravel spread was up to 0.5 m. thick and was in fact a series of road surfaces consisting of small pebbles and layers of red gravel. The edges were irregular and varied from surface to surface throughout. The earliest road was laid in the late 11th or early 12th century and the track continued in use until the end of the 13th century and quite possibly later. Pottery finds were scarce but at all levels there were large quantities of animal bone which were again indicative of butchery or tannery waste. As the original subsoil of the site was reached, traces of the bottoms of post-holes were seen. These could indicate that, at varying times throughout this period, there were timber buildings to the south of the roadway. However, no definite plans have been established and, of course, cultivation destroyed all traces of any floor levels.

Between the northern edge of the roadway and the site boundary the subsoil was covered with a layer of pebbles which was probably laid shortly after the earliest road surface but continued in use for most of the period. Although the roadway consisted of successive layers, which covered a period of perhaps 200 years or more, individual parts were re-metalled as necessary rather than a scheme of complete refurbishment.

In the earliest part of the period, towards the eastern end of the site, the roadway split into two parts between which was a line of some twelve shallow pits. They contained a pebble layer in the bottom (c. 0.2 m. deep) and may have held posts for a fence or even a building if associated with a ground beam.

This road, running parallel to the line of Maylord Street, could have been an earlier course for the back lane which was replaced with a new road further north in the 14th or early 15th century, or it could be the southern branch of a wider road with a small metalled market place between the two branches where temporary stalls could have been erected.

It is apparent that the excavation has left many questions unanswered and arrangements are being made to ensure that further recording can take place during the excavation works for the new development. It is still possible that the foundations of the Jewish houses and synagogue, which were in this area, remain to be found and examined.

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- 2 R. Shoesmith, Burwarton Old Church, *Bulletin of CBA Churches Committee*, XX (Summer 1984).
- 3 R. Shoesmith, Repairs to Listed Buildings . . . , *Rescue News*, XXXV (Autumn 1984), 6.
- 4 L. T. Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, II (1964), 64.
- 5 R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations I—Excavations at Castle Green', *CBA Research Report*, XXXVI (1980).
- 6 J. W. Lloyd, 'Hereford Castle and appurtenances', *T.W.N.F.C.*, XI (1884), 161-4.
- 7 R. Shoesmith, 'Hereford City Excavations II—Excavations on and close to the defences', *CBA Research Report*, XLVI (1982), 35-45 and 74-83.
- 8 See p. 00-00.
- 9 A. Watkins, 'Archaeology, 1930', *T.W.N.F.C.*, XXVII (1930-2), 56-7.
- 10 Note in *T.W.N.F.C.*, XXVI (1927-9), xxi.
- 11 *Op. cit.* in note 10, lvi, lxxix, cxiv and 86-101.

Buildings, 1984

By J. W. TONKIN

As explained in recent years these reports tend to get shorter as more of the county is covered by the Old Buildings Recording Group. In 1984 it worked in Leominster and a report of its findings will appear in due course. As in the past we are once again indebted to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based on Hereford.

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.

BRAMPTON BRYAN

HOUSE SOUTH SIDE OF GREEN. SO 369724

This house seems to have been partially re-erected, perhaps as a result of the Civil War siege. The long carpenters' assembly marks point to a late-16th-century date, but the remodelling seems to be late 17th century. A stone lean-to was added in the late 18th or early 19th century.

HENTLAND

GILLOW MANOR. SO 531253 (R.C.H.M. 3)

A fascinating example of a rare type of building, a moated manor house dating from the late 14th century with a gatehouse which was rebuilt in the 16th century and alterations made in the early 17th. The roofs of all parts are typical of the Marches with heavy through purlins and a ridge purlin. The cut-off ogee stops of the beams and the ovolo-moulded windows of the north-west wing are evidence of late-17th-century improvements. An interesting feature is the way the 14th-century window was fashioned for shutters.

KINGSLAND

LAWTON HALL. SO 445594 (R.C.H.M. 36)

The 16th-century east wing still has a painted pattern on its beams and right round two of the rooms. There are some fine sixteen inch wide floor-boards and the roof is of the typical, local, through-purlin type. There is still a hop-kiln at the west end of the building and a three-seater 'necessary house.'

In the fields below are some house platforms of an earlier settlement site with a later building with long straight, passing wind-braces and carpenters' marks about 1½ inches long. It is eight panels long and probably dates from c. 1700 or a little later.

LEINTWARDINE

POST OFFICE CHURCH STREET. SO 404740 (R.C.H.M. 12)

Please see p. 254 (1983) where the other half of this building is mentioned. The carpenters' marks are of the same period as those next door. The main room seems to have been on the corner with High Street and this room has a Dale Co. fireplace which must have been brought here in the 18th century from Coalbrookdale. The cellar is partly cut out of the hill behind this room.

LEOMINSTER

TOWNSEND HOUSE. SO 493592 (R.C.H.M. 6)

There is little to add to the R.C.H.M. account of this interesting 16th and early-17th-century house. The alterations c. 1800 show the very fine carpentry of that period.

PEMBRIDGE

SWAN HOUSE. SO 388581

This house appears to have been built early in the 15th century, for it has three tiers of wind-braces on both sides of what must have been the hall which consists of two bays divided into half-bays by an intermediate truss and a spere-truss. All three trusses have quatrefoiled and trefoiled bracing. The ground-floor beams have a remarkably wide chamfer of nine inches. The inserted ceiling is of the chequered type with joists running at right angles to each other in alternating panels and has the initials TC and the date 1682 over the fireplace.

STAUNTON-ON-WYE

KILKINGTON MANOR. SO 378453 (R.C.H.M. 3)

This is an interesting farmhouse probably built c. 1600. The western, front wing is a straightforward early-17th-century three-room block on two main floors with attics the full length and a cellar under the parlour. It is of close-set timber-framed construction now encased.

The wing at right angles to it on the east contains the kitchen, office, back-kitchen and stables all with rooms above. There are a series of heavy posts reminiscent of the belfry at Pembridge, but when these were examined they had mortices and other evidence which showed they were re-used and had once been horizontal. Their origin is a problem which it is hoped may be solved at some future date.

WEOBLEY

MARLBROOK HOUSE. SO 402515 (R.C.H.M. 54)

There is little to add to the R.C.H.M. account except that there are carpenters' assembly marks nine inches long with curved and straight marks on them to differentiate between levels.

STANAGE, POWYS

This parish is now in Wales, but was in Herefordshire. R.C.A.H.M. (Wales) has not dealt with it and it is not in the Herefordshire volumes of the R.C.H.M.

HEARTSEASE. SO 343725

A typical substantial farmhouse of c. 1700 quite probably built as the landowner's house before Stanage Park. The service rooms run along the back of the house, only the kitchen partly forming a wing at the east end. The first floor runs over the whole of this, but the attics are over the front range of rooms only giving an imposing facade to the road. The cellar is also under part of the front block.

THE HENDRE. SO 319723

A three-bay cruck house dating from the early part of the 14th century. The parlour end is the south-western, uphill, bay, the other two bays are the hall, but beyond them to the north-east is a wide cross-passage and then two lower bays still called the 'bothy' and presumably once the cattle part of the house.

The arch braces of the central cruck have a quarter-round moulding while above the cambered collar are cusped braces forming a quatrefoil in the centre and a trefoil on either side.

During the year 34 planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations and additions. One was for the demolition of a barn at Winforton Court which was reported on in these *Transactions* vol. XLII (1977), page 199. Although the club raised no objections to its demolition permission was refused.

Another was for the demolition of St. Charles Flats, Lower Bullingham. The club objected to this for buildings by P. P. Pugin who built this in 1867 are rare in this area and it is felt that some use could be found for this building.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people especially the members of the Old Buildings Recording Group and those owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander round their buildings.

Industrial Archaeology, 1984

By C. H. I. HOMES

ICE HOUSES

THIS year I want to speak about Ice Houses, 18th-19th century domestic structures found in the grounds of most large country seats or mansions. These are underground structures to store ice for domestic use during the following summer.

These are often sited a quarter of a mile or more from the house; usually built of brick in the form of a large well 10-12 feet in diameter by 20-25 feet deep with a domed top and covered with a large earth mound planted over with thick shrubs and trees. The entrance was by a short tunnel to a heavy door at the top of the side wall. To prevent flooding a drain led from the bottom to lower ground.

When in use a thick layer of washed gravel was placed in the bottom to provide drainage and the structure filled with broken ice and the door closed and sealed.

The fact that this large mass of ice was stored underground in a practically air-tight chamber meant that some of the ice would survive for up to nine months.

In the dairy or cellar of the house were large wooden chests with thick insulated sides and lids. They were lined with zinc and had a drain with a trap in the bottom. These refrigerators as they were known were partly filled with ice and the meat, fish, dairy produce etc. placed on top and the lid closed. Every eight to ten days a fresh supply of ice was obtained from the ice house.

In some cases special cold rooms were constructed, either in the house or nearby. A small brick room with insulated walls and roof containing an inner room of insulated timber construction with air-lock type of doors and a container for the ice in one corner.

During the second half of the 19th century ice works were constructed in most towns and one hundredweight blocks of ice became available. Thus ice houses became obsolete, but the wooden ice chests or refrigerators went on being used up to the 1930s in rural areas.

Owing to the danger of animals or people falling into derelict ice houses most of them have been filled in with rubbish or soil. This, plus the fact that they are underground and in shrubberies and woods makes the finding of them difficult and no worthwhile information has been published.

I have located eight sites in Herefordshire at Eywood; Shobdon; Croft Castle; Hampton Court; one near Belmont roundabout; two near Belmont Abbey and at Aramstone.

These ice houses should not be confused with other underground structures often found close to farm houses and private houses. These may possibly have been used as cellars or cold rooms but I fail to see how they could store ice for more than a month or two. Although they are often called ice houses, there are various uses that they could be put to but they need more research before making any conclusion.

Mammals, 1984

By W. H. D. WINCE

RECORDS of mammals in the county continue to be incomplete and those given below perhaps indicate more the location of the observer. In the past year there seems to have been an increased interest in bats after the formation of an informal Bat Group as part of the Herefordshire & Radnorshire Nature Trust.

LESSER HORSESHOE BAT (*Rhinolophus hipposideros*). Roosts in winter with Greater Horseshoe Bats in caves in the south of the county. Small roost found by M.N. at Wigmore Castle. A roost was reported by N.K. at Brockhampton (National Trust), the bats having been seen in May and June.

DAUBENTON'S BAT (*Myotis daubentoni*) and **NOCTULE** (*Nyctalus noctula*) were seen at Titley Pool by M.N. and S.H. in September. Noctules were also seen flying high over Ladye Grove woods on Birley Hill in July; these bats were in flight early well before martins and swallows had gone to roost.

NATTERER'S BAT (*Myotis natterii*) and **BROWN LONG-EARED BAT** (*Plecotus auritus*) were found in a roost in an out-building at Croft Castle on 8.8.84 by I.D.; identification was confirmed by mist netting.

PIPISTRELLE (*Pipistrellus pipistrellus*). The commonest bat in the county. On 29.6.84 304 bats were seen to emerge from a roost at Crowards Mill north of Leominster.

POLECAT (*Mustela putorius*). Road casualties were noted at Mortimer Forest, Ledbury and Dymock by M.N., N.K. and W.W.

BADGER (*Meles meles*). A fierce fight involving two large boar badgers was witnessed by W.W. at 10 p.m. on 11.6.84. While he was watching cubs and yearlings at play at a large sett on a hillside to the north of Hereford a sow rushed down the hill probably from a sett higher up making a grunting noise; the badgers, now nine in all, retreated into holes. The two fighting males then appeared growling loudly and biting one another round the throat and head at the sett for about ten minutes; the fight then continued in the undergrowth for a time after which there was silence.

OTTER (*Lutra lutra*). A.W. saw one at Eign Bridge at 10.50 on 20.3.84. The time is unusual but a complete and accurate description of an otter was given. There are other reports of otter traces in the county.

ROE DEER (*Capreolus capreolus*). Continue to be seen in small numbers in the Wigmore Rolls area with some tendency to spread into Shropshire. M.N.

MUNTJAC (*Muntiacus reevesi*). Numbers seem to be increasing in Mortimer Forest, Wigmore Rolls and Wapley Hill.

Records received from:

Ian Davies, Nature Conservancy Council, Attingham, Shrewsbury; Ms. S. Holland, Herefordshire & Radnorshire Nature Trust; Noel King, Nature Conservancy Council, Malvern; Martin Noble, Forestry Commission, Ludlow; A. Welch, Woolhope Club, and W. H. D. Wince, mammal recorder.

Ornithology, 1984

By BERYL HARDING

THIS year will be remembered for its summer but the hot, dry weather was not as damaging to birds as that of 1976, although sand martins seem to have seriously declined in numbers. With dry weather, and a consequent lowering of the river Wye, shingle beds can be exposed leading to a southward migration of waders downriver. The drought this year brought such conditions and the study area of the Herefordshire Ornithological Club covering 1½ miles of river below Hereford was walked daily and gave interesting wader visits.

From 9 July some fourteen common sandpipers arrived and remained until the end of September. Green sandpipers were present for much of this time but never more than four. Four redshanks arrived for a week in mid-July, an unusual late summer migrant for the area. Three dunlin appeared for a day and a snipe on another. Dry conditions used to bring snipe to the Wye but now there seem to be too few to come. Two greenshanks arrived on 19 July, the earliest arrival for fourteen years, and ten to sixteen were seen on most days in August. In fact, it became easier to see them, often sleeping on a pond near the river, than the moulting blackbirds who were hiding away.

During June, in some parts of the county, there was not only a dawn chorus but an equally rich evening chorus—especially of blackbirds. Following the dry summer the wet and comparatively sunless autumn brought forth burgeoning growth from many plants, previously on the verge of shedding their leaves. This provided abundant plant and insect food for early winter so many berries and fruits were still ignored by the birds by the close of the year. These, plus fallen orchard fruits, will give a rich food source well into next January and compensate for colder conditions.

The Nest Box Survey for the H. & R. Nature Trust has not been completed for 1984 as some returns are still outstanding. These records will reach us later.

Hawk Trust

Birds of prey have become rare due to poisoning of prey and illegal killing but mostly due to loss of habitat. The Hawk Trust, founded in 1969, aims to take positive action to reverse this downward trend, especially by the promotion of greater understanding of the problems. Four endangered species have been surveyed in recent years to give a population census.

The Barn Owl (*Tyto alba alba*), although an endangered species is still relatively abundant and widespread in England, Wales and Ireland. It is very vulnerable to human disturbance, especially in daytime near the nest site so causing breeding failure. This makes a census difficult. However, a full two-year survey began in January 1983. From 2,000 recordings notified in the first year some contraction of the owl's range and a 30% decline in numbers is indicated. Evidence gained so far suggests that three breeding pairs per 100 km. square is necessary to maintain a stable population.

The decline seems mainly attributable to loss of traditional habitat and consequent nest sites due to the drainage of wetlands and loss of permanent pasture. Even in near-optimum hunting conditions with pockets of prey-rich woods, hedges and verges some areas show low-breeding success. In other areas where traditional nest sites are left intact but no longer occupied other factors seem to contribute to their decline, such as road casualties, death by drowning in troughs and tanks and probably the widespread use of new rodenticides.

The Hawk Trust has prepared leaflets on the conservation of the barn owl and on the construction and siting of nest boxes. A national scheme is being pursued to encourage barn manufacturers to include built-in lofts for these owls. The results from the 1984 survey have yet to be published.

Llanwarne Notes

Rolling fields with hedges and patches of woodland sloping down to the Gamber stream give a variety of habitats. Some 200-300 lapwings feed in the lower meadows nearby and have remained in the vicinity all year to rear many young. A bevy of twenty to thirty partridges range the upper fields with some pheasants. The partridges also raised young successfully.

With fewer trees now along our section of the stream there is less cover but thirty siskins still returned last winter to feed on the alders and a green sandpiper has taken up residence, appreciating the cleared spaces, a second one has appeared occasionally and also a snipe. Flocks of fieldfares found good feeding in the fields without clearing all the apples lying around (even larger flocks of up to 1,500 were seen feeding on the Lower Lugg meadows after floods in February).

Mild weather around 2 March gave sightings of a pipistrelle at dusk, the curlews returning to breed by the stream and a reed-bunting in summer plumage. By 8 April the first 'willow-chiffs' were sighted. By 20 April they had been heard and identified as willow warblers, the swallows had returned and the first

cuckoo was calling. The male continued to call both day and night well into May! By the middle of the month all our summer visitors were well established—the house martins, blackcaps, whitethroats, chiffchaffs, yellow wagtails and spotted flycatchers. The winter flocks of linnets, green and goldfinches had separated for breeding, also the flocks of skylarks. Mute swan, little grebe and tufted duck, plus the usual coot, mallard and moorhen had successfully reared young on the pools, also a pair of great crested grebe on a pool further afield.

The little owls regularly breed 'at the bottom of the garden' but the great excitement was the return of a pair of barn owls to their usual nest site in an oak tree. They successfully reared two young in 1983 and this year managed to produce three. The youngest and smallest owlet did not venture from the nest until 10 August, some twenty-five days after the other two. Most of this time was spent at the entrance hole calling and admiring the antics of the stronger siblings until their return for general feeding. Other raptors seen nearby this year were sparrowhawk, kestrel, merlin and a juvenile buzzard, usually being mobbed by crows. The tawny owl is calling again after a five-year absence.

Most of the crow family have been abundant, especially the magpies, and the titmice, including the resident flock of ten to twelve long-tailed tits. Wrens and dunnocks appear to be on the increase. The green and greater spotted woodpeckers have been seen and heard all year and the lesser spotted was heard last January, the first time for more than five years.

The mild winter until the end of December seemed to cause aberrant behaviour in plants and birds. By the end of the month polyanthus, hebe and heleborus were blooming simultaneously, sparrows were collecting nest material and the male of a pair of goldcrests was seen displaying.

The City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1983-4

By JOE HILLABY

IN October 1977 Hereford City Council established a Conservation Area Advisory Committee. Its purpose was to advise the Council and its officers on applications for planning permission which would affect the character or appearance of the City's Conservation Areas. These, at present, are:

1. Central Area and Extension, 1/1/A and 1/1/B
2. Hampton Park Area, 1/2/A
3. Aylestone Hill Area, 1/3/A
4. Broomy Hill Area, 1/4/A
5. Huntington Area, 1/5/A
6. Widemarsh Common Area, 1/6/A

Those attending the fortnightly meetings represent Hereford City Council, Hereford Chamber of Commerce, Hereford Civic Trust, the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee, Herefordshire Buildings Conservation Trust, Herefordshire Society of Architects, the Dean and Chapter, Aylestone Hill Action Group and the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

Each year members consider some 250 planning applications. Many of these are concerned with relatively minor matters, such as the display of illuminated and non-illuminated signs—on which guidance is offered by the City Council's *Development Control Procedures Documents No. 5: Design Guidelines for Shopfronts and Advertisements*. This report is intended to give some indication of the range and variety of the more important applications which were considered in the last two years and to summarise the committee's comments on those applications.

Chandos House, St. Owen Street. H/25793/LB of 6 April 1983.

Internal and external alterations to form shops and flats from the former County and District Council premises. Comments were made on the need to retain the integrity of rooms with 18th-century plasterwork and on the suitability of the proposed fenestration of the St. Ethelbert Street facade.

Manse of the Friends' Meeting House, 21a King Street. H/P/25865 of 6 April 1983.

Application for change of use from a single dwelling-house to a six-bed-roomed shared house with separate self-contained housekeeper's accommodation. In the 1820s the Friends' Meeting was transferred from Friar Street (Quakers Lane), where it had been first established in 1765, to the present site behind 21 King Street. Meeting house and manse are both of this date. The committee welcomed an imaginative scheme permitting the retention of this interesting building, which had previously been threatened with demolition.

Lindsey Price Building, 16-17 Commercial Street. H/P/25849 of 6 April and H/P/25968/LBC of 17 May 1983.

Proposed alterations to the principal facade. The original design of this interesting building was apparently based, at Alderman Lindsey Price's request, upon that of the Lloyd's Bank building, 6-8 High Town, with its emphasis upon the qualities of integrity and stability. It was suggested that this should, as far as possible, be retained.

Bewell House, Bewell Street. H/23990/LB of 1 June 1983.

Details of restoration and alteration works as required by condition 4 of the Listed Building Consent of 19 May 1982. Mr. R. Shoesmith provided the committee with a detailed diagrammatic analysis of the range of window types found in the building prior to the commencement of the present restoration work. The committee emphasised the need to retain original detail wherever possible. However, problems relating to the fenestration of the principal facade, which the contractors had undertaken to retain, have been raised on numerous occasions at subsequent meetings.

In 1984, as a year had passed and the original windows had not yet been replaced, the committee raised the matter with the Chief Executive. On 11 October he informed the committee that 'another Company have acquired a leasehold interest in the property and this new Company's architect has questioned the need and practicality of reinstating the windows. They have been told that it is felt that the integrity of the building would best be served by the reinstatement of the original windows as previously arranged. Tesco themselves have expressed a willingness to replace the specified windows and I am confirming to them that this should be done.'

Land adjacent to Litley Court, Hampton Park Road. HP/P/26095 of 14 June and H/P/26390 of 4 October 1983.

Application to erect fourteen houses and garages and to build an access road. The committee believed it was essential to retain this wedge of undeveloped land with its fine mature trees on an important road into the city. A similar earlier application had been refused by the planning authority early in 1981. The applicant appealed against the City Council's decision not to permit the development. A D.o.E. letter of 11 February 1985 indicated that the Inspector had upheld that appeal.

Castle Cliffe. H/P/26115 of 14 June 1983.

Proposals for concrete canoe ramp. It was suggested that modification of the existing steps would provide a much less obtrusive solution in this important and sensitive part of the city.

The Cathedral. H/26447/LB of 19 October 1983.

Application to site a floodlight on the boundary wall adjacent to the coal storage area for security purposes. It was suggested that the floodlight should be placed at a low level to illuminate the west end of the library and muniment room as well as the coal store and that experiments should be carried out to determine the most advantageous siting in this respect.

5 (part), 6, 6a Commercial Street. H/P/26551/LBC of 16 November 1983.

Application by Norwich Union Property Group to demolish existing buildings and erect six retail units with associated storage at first-floor level and seven dwellings at second-floor level. The committee was unanimously opposed to the demolition of the building, which formed the foyer of the Classic, formerly the Focus and originally the Odeon cinema. This fine example of an inter-war cinema had been constructed by the local builder, W. H. Peake, to the design of Roland Satchwell. It opened its doors to the public on 17 April 1937. It was deemed especially worthy of retention, not only as a notable and characteristic building of the period, but also because all interior fittings and furnishings were still intact, even down to the original light fittings and ash trays. It was noted that the City's Planning and Transport Committee had resolved on 18 February 1982 that it 'supports the efforts being made by the Thirties Society to identify buildings of the 20s and 30s of architectural and historic interest' and that 'Members and officers be requested to inform the City Technical Services Officer should they be aware of any building worthy of consideration and these be forwarded to the Thirties Society'. In addition the committee noted the social importance of the Classic as the only commercial cinema still available to young people between Worcester and Bulth Wells.

43-55 Widemarsh Street. H/26514/LB of 16 November 1983.

Rehabilitation of structure including dismantling and rebuilding where unavoidable to form residential accommodation on upper floors. The committee was given a detailed exposition of the changes to be made by the City Council.

Land off Broadlands Lane. H/P/26586/CON of 29 November 1983 and H/P/26891/CON of 13 March 1984.

Submission of consultation document by the County Council under the General Regulations, 1976, concerning plans to erect sixteen dwellings with garages and the construction of an estate road. The committee was alarmed at the effect the development could have on the appearance of the brow of Aylestone Hill when seen approaching the city along the Worcester Road across Lugg meadows. On both occasions it was suggested that the applicants provide properly constructed views of the proposed development to show its effect on the skyline.

Former Canon's Residence, Cathedral Close. H/2666/LB of 3 January 1984.

Application for change of use of ground and first floors from flats to diocesan offices. It was suggested that this was contrary to the City's *Guidelines* concerning the retention of residential use in the city centre.

Former St. Owen's Boys Junior School, Bath Street. H/P/26647/LBC/CON of 3 January 1984.

The County Council submitted plans for consultation for the refurbishment of the premises as a new 65-place Centre for the Handicapped and an extension to include a Special Care Unit for the Multiple Handicapped. The committee indicated that the Symonds Street elevation was of primary importance, that the facade should be treated as a whole, and that all new fenestration, tiling and brickwork should be compatible with the existing.

Former St. Peter's Girls Junior School, Gaol Street. H/P/26350 of 21 September 1983.

Application for temporary use as Salvation Army Citadel.

Both the above applications arose from the County Council's decision to close these Hereford schools. Their histories are interestingly interrelated. St. Peter's was founded in the early 19th century as a National (Church of England) Society school. Curley's Map of Hereford, 1858 shows two premises: Hardings', or Old School Hall as it was sometimes called, behind the buildings in Union

Street; and the purpose-built Infant School with its playground on Jail Lane, now Gaol Street. Unfortunately, the inscription in the pediment, which gave the date of construction, can no longer be read.

Under the terms of the 1902 Education Act, Hereford City Council and Herefordshire County Council became Local Education Authorities and replaced the numerous School Boards which had been established in the county as a result of the 1870 Education Act. Hereford City Education Committee immediately set about the task of creating a coherent system of elementary education within the town. A new school for boys, St. Owen's, was opened in Symonds Street and St. Peter's became a girls' school. Infant schools had been opened at All Saints in February 1871 and at St. James in 1896 but St. Peter's retained its infants' department virtually to the outbreak of World War I. St. Peter's and St. Owen's finally closed their doors to Hereford children in July 1983. It is to be hoped that a suitable permanent alternative use will be found for the interesting St. Peter's School building once the Salvation Army has moved to its new citadel.

47-53 Widemarsh Street. H/P/26722/LB of 18 January 1984.

The committee appreciated the quality of the restoration work on the facades of these buildings (application considered 16 November 1983 and noted above) but was not impressed by the proposals now submitted for new shopfronts. These, it was suggested, should in each case be carefully related to the design and materials of the facade above.

The proposals were revised.

3 Widemarsh Street (The Pippin). H/26953/LB of 27 March 1984.

The members of the committee were deeply dismayed by the proposals for the conversion of the former public house for use as a retail shop, office and second-floor residence. This is an important building on an important site. Designed by William Parker, to whom the oldest part of the General Hospital of 1779-83 is ascribed, it is high quality work of about 1790. If carried out, the proposals would have obliterated the rustication at ground-floor level and drastically modified the fenestration. However, these were revised in line with the recommendations of the committee and a worthy restoration of the exterior has now been completed.

In addition to fine, late 18th-century elevations on Bewell and Widemarsh Streets, this property, together with those adjoining to the north, has a very important stone cellar, which was dated by the R.C.H.M. *Herefordshire*, I, 138 as late 15th century. It was fully described and illustrated by E. J. Bettington

in his presidential address of 13 April 1939 printed, with his detailed plans and elevations and drawings by R. A. Ford, in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1939), iv-xi. The committee was concerned that any new staircase leading to the cellar should in no way be allowed to trespass on this undercroft. It was hoped that the new proprietors would continue to allow public access or, even better, use it as part of their shopping area.

New Salvation Army Citadel, corner of Canonmoor and Edgar Streets. H/P/26969 of 10 April 1984.

The plans and elevations of the new citadel were welcomed with enthusiasm as it was held that they represented one of the most exciting new buildings to be proposed for the city in the last two or more decades.

Multi-storey car park, corner of Newmarket and Widemarsh Streets. H/P/27092 of 15 May 1984.

Two linked buildings were proposed. Both elevation and perspectives suggested that the scale and mass of the car park would be greater than those of the office block on the corner. The committee believed that the reverse should be the case. It was suggested that, if only minor modification was possible at this stage,

- 1) the level of the eaves of the office building should be raised above the arch-headed windows on the top floor;
- 2) more care should be taken to integrate the design of the projecting windows on the corner with the fenestration on the adjacent street facade;
- 3) the vertical emphasis in the car park building, which is too strong, could be countered by increasing the depth of the lowest string course from two to, say, six courses of bricks and by using semi-engineering bricks between the highest and intermediate string courses, to match the remainder of the brickwork, leaving only string courses in blue-black brick;
- 4) as landscaping did not appear to have been considered in detail, provision should be made for planting and growth of mature trees between the office block and the Market Tavern and where the car park issues out into Widemarsh Street.

29-33 St. Owen Street. Erection of shopping mews and first-floor flat. H/P/27155 of 30 May 1984.

St. Owen Street is Hereford's principal street of Georgian town houses. Any new design for this site should take careful cognisance of this fact. Unfortunately, the proposed facade for St. Owen Street does not come to terms with this

prime design consideration. First-floor fenestration should be carefully related to that on the ground floor, and in its proportions should be related to that of the major buildings adjacent to the east and west, of which the most important are numbers 25 and 35. A two-storey building on this site does not conform to the general height of buildings in St. Owen Street, which are three storeys. The relationship of one flat to five shops reflects a poor planning gain for the development of this important site. It was suggested that the provision of a third floor containing residential accommodation should be considered. This would be a planning gain. There would be more residential accommodation in the city centre; the mews, lived in at night, would be 'defended space.' Additionally it would provide a building of the correct height for the site.

Minor amendments to the proposals have been made.

Old Ritz Cinema, Commercial Road. H/P/27378 of 7 August 1984.

The plans for the change of use of the former Bingo and Social Club to ground-floor shop with cinema, entertainment/function room at first-floor level were welcomed as offering a means of retaining a building of increased importance, now that the Odeon cinema has been demolished. The committee was especially impressed by the bold and architecturally sensitive proposals for a three-storey extension at the southern end to form offices and access and bar for the function room.

89 East Street. H/P/27515 of 2 October 1984.

The application was for change of use from offices to wholefood cafe and an art and crafts exhibition gallery. This was welcomed. The former Law Society room was a structure of great dignity. The committee hoped that the applicant would be encouraged to preserve the character of the building. Internally this could be enhanced by the removal of the suspended ceiling. It was noted with surprise that this was not a Listed Building.

Conservative Club, East Street. H/27631/LB of 30 October 1984.

Permission was sought to reduce in height the fire screen to expose ceiling mouldings in a first-floor room. The plaster ceiling in this room is so fine that more than half a century ago it was selected for illustration in R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, 1 (Plate 160a). But this is not all: in addition it has full wood panelling and an elaborate carved overmantel. All these features date from the second half of the 17th-century. It is, without doubt, the finest room of its period now remaining in Hereford.

Recommendations made by the Fire Prevention Officer had led to the building of a fire screen right across this room. The intention behind the proposal was to make it possible to obtain at least a hint of the true glory of the room. The committee asked whether some other, less draconian, solution to the problem could not be found. If further expenses were involved, surely support could be found from a Town Scheme or similar grant?

St. Ethelbert's Hospital, Castle Street. H/27641/LBC of 13 November 1984.

Detailed proposals were submitted for the restoration of the stonework on various elevations and the recutting of carved features. The committee spent much time discussing these proposals. They indicated that the greatest care needs to be taken over the selection of the type of stone, for the masonry of the building is of varying periods and types. The same applied to the methods of pointing and the mortar mix. Here again the keynote was, at present, variety—not uniformity. Above all, action needed to be taken to retain, not recut, all carved medieval parts of the building. R.C.H.M. *Herefordshire*, 1, 131 indicated that 'reset in the walls are a number of carved stones, mostly from the destroyed portions of the cathedral chapterhouse. These include two carved spandrels from the wall-arcade, foliated corbels or bosses, pieces of wall-panelling or the side of a tomb, etc., all of the 14th century.' It was suggested that such features should be treated with urethane rather than silicone, as specified in the restoration proposals.

The committee was pleased to have been consulted on the proposals for the restoration of what is essentially a building of 1805. This was in marked contrast to our experience in relation to the work carried out on the next item.

Coningsby Hospital, Widemarsh Street.

Demolition and rebuilding of certain key features of these medieval and early 17th-century buildings took place without any consultation. The committee noted on 30 May that the matters it had raised in this connection would be 'presented to the next Planning Committee.'

Romanesque tympanum in the west gable wall of St. Giles' hospital, St. Owen Street.

Members expressed concern about the rapid deterioration in the condition of this important monument, a work of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture. In subject matter and artistic treatment it is closely related to one of the two Shobdon tympana which were built into the folly, known as the Shobdon Arches, by Richard Bateman in 1752-6 and to the tympanum which

can still be seen above the south door at Rowstone. They all depict Christ in Majesty, seated within a mandorla not, as is frequently the case, surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists but held by four flying angels 'in precipitous positions and a little as if they were tumblers in action.'

Shobdon, the earliest work of the school, provided the inspiration for the sculptors at Hereford and Rowstone but, tragically, the Shobdon Majesty is now so weathered that one can only obtain an impression of its original power from the lithograph of G. R. Lewis or the plaster cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum. If adequate precautions are not taken, the St. Giles' Majesty will soon be in a similar condition. This would be most unfortunate, for the Rowstone, example, whilst still beautifully preserved, was artistically the weakest of the three.

The convenor of the CAAC wrote to the secretary of the Hereford Municipal Charities about this matter and on 27 November 1984 he reported that he had received a letter from their architect who had advised him that it was intended to erect a porch over the tympanum to protect it from the weather. In the subsequent discussion it was suggested that treatment with urethane, at an appropriate moment, might also help to arrest further decay. On the other hand, some members were of the opinion that a valuable opportunity might be lost, of bringing together under one roof all of Hereford's romanesque sculpture, from the cathedral and from St. Giles'. With adequate interpretative material such as photographs, drawings, diagrams, maps and text, this could provide the numerous visitors to the cathedral, city and county with a clear yet scholarly introduction to the many other treasures of romanesque sculpture still to be seen in the Hereford diocese, a number of which had been so superbly displayed at the recent exhibition of romanesque art at the British Museum. This should surely be an inspiration to city and diocese?

See Plates XV–XVIII. The Herefordshire tympana showing Christ in Majesty in a mandorla, supported by four angels—unique in English sculpture. At Shobdon and Hereford the upper pairs of angels are ascending, but at Rowstone are descending.

Archaeological Research Section, 1984

By MARY THOMAS

THE section now has forty-eight members and our programme of monthly meetings has been better supported this year. In October we were joined by several members of the Natural History Section to continue our hedgerow dating survey. It is hoped that further joint field meetings will be arranged in 1985. We also spent a day in the Golden Valley with the Ewyas Harold W.E.A. Group. This meeting was led by Mr. R. Shoesmith and involved visits to castle sites and to Urishay Chapel where restoration work is still taking place.

One issue of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* has been produced. This continues to print full reports of all our field meetings. Mr. Shoesmith has made an index (up to issue 40) which will be published with the next issue. The following visits were made during 1984.

PREHISTORIC

Cefn Hill, Michaelchurch Escley

A small burial cist, probably early Bronze Age, was examined and photographed. (See *Transactions* (1982) p. 121). The brow of the hill revealed other large slabs of stone, some moved to field boundaries in land-clearing operations. There is a possibility of further burial mounds and the area needs to be investigated and mapped more fully.

Twyn-y-Gaer, near Cwmyoy, Gwent – SO 294219

Members were met by Mr. L. A. Probert who began his excavations at this hillfort in 1965. The defences are partly bivallate and enclose an area of 1.8 hectares which is divided by single bank and ditch structures into three enclosures. The ditches are all rock-cut providing stone for dry wall revetments for the ramparts. The east and west entrances have well-defined in-turned terminals.

Mr. Probert described six structural periods. Most of his work was in excavation of the gates and defences. Carbon-14 analysis gives a date of 392 B.C. for the end of Period 1. He considers that Twyn-y-Gaer marks the most southerly point to which Central Marches influence extends. The structure and finds echo discoveries at Midsummer Hill and Croft Ambrey. (An Interim report on Mr. Probert's work appears in *Welsh Antiquity* published by the National Museum of Wales (1976) and presented to Dr. H. N. Savory upon his retirement as Keeper of Archaeology).

ROMAN

Mantooth, Vowchurch – SO 367346

A Section 20 ft. x 4 ft. was made across an ancient roadway which runs between the farm buildings and the old railway line at Mantooth. The track can be traced from Abbeydore to Peterchurch following the valley bottom. The road seems to be a continuation of the stretch by Abbeydore station which has been exposed for some years and is generally thought to be Roman (part of a Roman horse-shoe was found on this road. (See *Transactions* (1969) p. 479).

The purpose of the excavations was to compare these two stretches of the track. The Mantooth section was of similar dimensions and had deep wheel ruts showing single-track usage. Metalling was mainly of natural grey limestone cobbles. An earlier surface was poorly constructed and well worn. Repairs to the road were haphazard as mud was not cleared before re-surfacing. Earliest finds were of post-mediaeval dating and there is no way of assessing the age of the road with accuracy. It is certainly less robust than the Abbeydore section.

MEDIAEVAL

Earthwork, Whitehouse, Cefn Hill – SO 296357

This small mound about 7 ft. high is roughly rectangular in shape with rounded corners and measures 35 ft. x 21 ft. The summit is flattened though disturbed and some traces of masonry remain. The mound is in the southern portion of a roughly oval enclosure, which measures 91 ft. at its longest point. The boundary ditch and low bank barely appear to be defensive.

The nature and date of the monument remain obscure.

Mynydd Brith, Dorstone – SO 281415

This motte is well preserved rising out of the bailey to a height of 20 ft. The east side has been landscaped in recent years to form terraces and planted with rock plants. The summit has low walls in a reconstruction of a mediaeval lay-out. Some of the original stone has been used and as the features become over-grown the picture becomes rather confusing.

On the opposite side of the modern road we were invited by the present owners Mr. & Mrs. Budgen, to look round their delightful, stone-built farmhouse and buildings. They showed us further earthworks, south of the road. These consisted of banks and small platforms on the slope of the hillside. We were unable to suggest an origin. A wide track passing to the south-west of the farmstead would appear to be the line of an early road serving the settlement.

POST-MEDIAEVAL

Moated Site Eastnor Park – SO 738357

This site was first noted by a team working under the leadership of Mr. P. Price in 1983. It is rectangular and lies on a step, half way up the side of the valley. A larger rectangular area on the south side is enclosed by a narrow, shallower moat. North-east of these features some levelled areas suggest further buildings.

Seventeenth-century black glazed pottery was found in an adjacent field. The name of the site is not known at present.

INDUSTRIAL

Rowland Vaughan's Waterworks, Vowchurch

1984 was the 400th anniversary of the beginning of this enterprise. To mark the occasion another survey was made of known features and several new ditches and sluices added to the map. A re-appraisal of Ellen Woods publication of 1897 posed a few more intriguing queries for discussion and surmise.

VAGAR HILL

An inspection was made of several derelict farmhouses and cottages above the 1350 ft. contour line on Vagar Hill. One of these, Glis Farm (SO 289395), originally a quarryman's cottage has been drawn and described by Mr. R. Kay in *H.A.N.* number 36. It is thought locally that there was a drovers inn here. Members examined the remains of Castle Farm (SO 285395) and also Vagar Farm which was sited on the spring line about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of Glis. Of this site very little remains above ground.

In November Miss J. Wills of the County Archaeological Unit, came to speak about the work of the department. She explained the financing, aims and general running of the unit. She told us of ways in which other groups in the country were helping with investigation and recording of sites and emphasised the importance of reporting new finds and features immediately so that they can be added to the detailed card index kept at their headquarters in Worcester.

In addition to our investigations we made visits to the following known and already documented sites: Bronsil Castle, Eastnor; Pentwyn Hillfort, Trewyn; Partrishow Church; and Snodhill Castle, Peterchurch.

Natural History Section, 1984

By BERYL HARDING

MEMBERSHIP has increased to seventy this year. One indoor meeting was held and seven field meetings. Attendance at these ranged from seven to seventeen. Our gratitude is extended to the various leaders with their fund of expertise which made each expedition so enjoyable and informative.

12 March. The Annual General Meeting took place at the Woolhope Room. This was followed by a talk with slides by Tim Barfield on the 'Herefordshire Woodland Survey.' He was team leader for this work which has been published by the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Trust.

14 April. The first field meeting to Pepper Wood, near Bromsgrove, was led by Andrew Thompson, the Community Woodland Officer of the Woodland Trust. This is an ancient oak woodland, a 134-acre remnant of Feckenham Forest, with remains of old boundary banks and extensive past coppicing, since overgrown until the Woodland Trust purchased it five years ago. Now a programme of clearing and new coppicing allows in extra light giving fresh growth in selected stands. The cut wood is sold for funds and the smaller 'lop and top' left on the soil to provide winter cover. Part of the higher woodland remains uncleared to give comparative results.

The aim of the Trust here is to provide a 'Community Woodland,' an amenity rather than a reserve and to safeguard the area from clearance for agriculture. Maintenance is by local volunteers. Although close to the Midlands conurbations good management and a sympathetic approach to conservation prevent it being over-walked or over-ridden with benefit to the whole community. The scheme has been so successful that the Woodland Trust hope to do likewise elsewhere.

Many male Brimstone butterflies (*Gonepteryx rhamni*) were seen but no females. The primary larval food-source, Alder Buckthorn, was found in small clumps where it had suckered. With no bud-scales the larvae find it an easy food to eat.

19 May. A visit to Tyler's Vallet Wood, Yarpole, was led by Tim Barfield who had examined the wood during the previous autumn as part of the county survey. It provided an interesting comparison with Pepper Wood as it is private and clearance is minimal. There are records existing back to 1750 but the occurrence of Herb Paris (*Paris quadriflora*) indicates that the wood has existed since the early 17th century. Vallet means 'fell it' and there is evidence of heavy coppicing in the past.

To the south the wood slopes to a stream. The moist alkaline soil produces alder-carr and a typical base-rich flora but on the other side of the stream accumulation of peat from patches of Tussock Sedge (*Carex paniculata*) allows seepage of water through this producing a quite different pH and flora. The Herb Paris was found here.

Ascent from the stream shows transition from alder to typical lowland oak wood with hazel, birch and rowan on the drier slopes but little ash. At the top of the hill specimen oaks have been left amid new areas of felling. The ground flora was dying out, bleached by excess light. Here also occur huge goat willows and oaks, previously coppiced, but now over 15 metres. Clouds of drifting willow seeds showed that colonisation would be rapid.

16 June. We were invited to join the Botanical Society on a field meeting at the old limestone quarries at Llanymynech and Llyncllys Reserves, near Oswestry. Both have a rich limestone flora and many orchids.

14 July. A geological field trip was led by Dr. Chris Fletcher. The object of the expedition was to trace the stratigraphic succession from younger to older rocks along the edges of the Malverns and was intended for non-geologists. The first stop at Alfrick Pound gave an exposure of New Red Sandstone at the northern end of the Malverns and showed the youngest rocks visited that day. Moving southwards other exposures were visited, both samples and fossils were collected.

The day culminated at the Gullet Quarry where quarrying has revealed the Pre-Cambrian Malvernian basement rocks of some 1,000 million years age. These have been upthrust through the overlying rocks of conglomerate beach deposits and marine silts of the invading Silurian seas of 450 million years ago. So great was this lateral thrust from the east that these basal rocks and the overlying strata are tipped nearly vertical. The same contortions probably occur all along the N-S axis of the Malverns but are not exposed elsewhere. This area is now one of those protected by the Malvern Hills Conservators.

11 August. A butterfly outing was led by Dr. Michael Harper, of the Ledbury Naturalists, on the oolitic limestone of Leckhampton Hill overlooking Cheltenham. The expedition started before 10 a.m. so the butterflies were still 'warming up' with wings outspread, making observation easier. Eighteen species were identified in particular the Brown Argos (*Aricia agestis*) and the Chalkhill Blue (*Lysandra coridon*)—the latter feeding on the carline thistles. Patches of Saw-wort (*Serratula tinctoria*) provided a rich nectar source attracting spectacular numbers of many species.

Since myxomatosis too few rabbits graze the hillsides with the consequent invasion of scrub and longer grasses so inhibiting the development of chalkland species. The Marbled White (*Agapetes galathea*) prefers longer grass and was present in abundant numbers.

By noon it was so hot that most species had either sought shade or were too fast-flying for easy identification. Many of the Blues were still in evidence as their wing-scales are able to reflect heat.

29 September. A riverside walk through the wooded slopes of Capler Hill was led by Mrs. Jackson-Dooley. A vixen and her cubs were sighted at the base of the old quarry. The small-leaved lime trees found there show that these are the remains of ancient woodlands.

20 October. The annual fungus foray was led by Mr. and Mrs. Peter Thompson at Haugh Wood in crisper and sunnier weather than is often the norm for the end of October. After this year's drought followed by the mild autumn, with renewed plant growth, leaf fall was not complete. Nevertheless, forty-eight species were identified. Some edible specimens collected were borne home in triumph. One noteworthy species found was *Otidea onotica*, an ear-shaped cup fungus of beautiful pinkish-buff colour.

Species found in the fungus foray, Haugh Wood, 29 October, 1984

<i>Amanita citrina</i>	False Death cap	<i>Inocybe cookei</i>	
<i>A. muscaria</i>	Fly Agaric	<i>I. geophylla</i>	
<i>Armillaria mellea</i>	Honey Fungus	<i>I. geophylla</i> var. <i>lilacina</i>	
<i>Boletus edulis</i>	Cep	<i>Lactarius blennius</i>	
<i>Cantherellus infundibuliformis</i>		<i>L. camphoratus</i>	
<i>Clavaria cristata</i>		<i>L. chrysorrheus</i>	
<i>Clitocybe clavipes</i>		<i>L. quietus</i>	
<i>C. flaccida</i>		<i>L. torminosus</i>	
<i>C. nebularis</i>		<i>Lycoperdon perlatum</i>	Common Puff Ball
<i>C. odara</i>		<i>L. pyriforme</i>	
<i>Collybia butyracea</i>		<i>Melanoleuca melaleuca</i>	
<i>C. fusipes</i>	Spindle Shank	<i>Mycena galericulata</i>	
<i>C. maculata</i>		<i>M. polygramma</i>	
<i>C. peronatus</i>		<i>Otidea onotica</i>	
<i>Coprinus comatus</i>	Shaggy Ink-cap	<i>Paxillus involutus</i>	
<i>Cortinarius torvus</i>		<i>Peziza orantea</i>	Orange Peel Fungus
<i>Craterellus cornucopioides</i>	Horn of Plenty	<i>Piptoporus betulinus</i>	
<i>Entomola niderosum</i>		<i>Russula fragilis</i>	
<i>Helvella crispa</i>		<i>R. mairei</i>	
<i>Hirneola auricula-Judae</i>	Jew's Ear	<i>R. puellaris</i>	
<i>Hygrophorus cossus</i>		<i>Tricholoma nudum</i>	Wood Blewett
<i>Hygrophoropsis aurantia</i>		<i>T. saponaceum</i>	
<i>Hyphotoma fasciculare</i>			

RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

(HEREFORDSHIRE)

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

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

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

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

IV.—That the members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members

by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V.—That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £3.00, payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £1.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £1.00. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of 50p. for a full day meeting, or 25p. for a half-day meeting, in respect of each visitor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

1851	Club formed in the winter months	1905	BAYLIS, Mr. Phillip M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.
1852	LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.	1906	WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.
1853	LEWIS, Rev. T. T.	1907	RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.
1854	SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.	1908	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil and RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.
1855	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1909	WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.
1856	WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt	1910	FARN, Mr. A. B.
1857	LINGEN, Mr. Charles	1911	PHILLIPS, Mr. E. Cambridge
1858	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1912	STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F. S., M.A.
1859	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1913	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1860	BANKS, Mr. R. W.	1914	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1861	LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert	1915	WOOD, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
1862	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1916	JACK, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
1863	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1917	GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
1864	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1918	BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A.
1865	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1919	WATKINS, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
1866	BULL, H. G., M.D.	1920	HUMFRYS, Mr. W. J.
1867	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1921	JAMES, Mr. Francis R.
1868	McCULLOUGH, D. M., M.D.	1922	MARSHALL, Mr. George, F.S.A.
1869	RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.	1923	BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph A., C.B., M.A., D.LITT.
1870	COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.	1924	DURHAM, Herbert E., D.S.C., M.B., B.CH., F.R.C.S. (ENG.)
1871	CAM, Mr. Thomas	1925	MACKAY, Mr. J. C.
1872	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1926	SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
1873	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1927	DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D.D., F.S.A.
1874	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1928	SYMONDS, Mr. Powell Biddulph
1875	ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.	1929	SMITH, The Right Rev. Martin Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
1876	CHAPMAN, T. A., M.D.	1930	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1877	MORRIS, Mr. J. Griffiths	1931	SYMONDS-TAYLER, Lt.-Col. R. H.
1878	PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.	1932	SWAYNE, Lt.-Col. O. R., D.S.O.
1879	ARMITAGE, Mr. Arthur	1933	HAMILTON, Brig. General W. G. C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.
1880	KNIGHT, Mr. J. H.	1934	WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
1881	LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.	1935	ELLISON, Captain F. B.
1882	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.	1936	ROBINSON, Mr. R. S. Gavin
1883	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1937	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.
1884	BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.	1938	BETTINGTON, Mr. E. J., F.R.S.A.
1885	MARTIN, Mr. C. G.	1939	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1886	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1940	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1887	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1941	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1888	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1942	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1889	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1943	WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R., D.D., Dean of Hereford
1890	CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.A.	1944	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1891	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart., M.A.	1945	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1892	BARNEBY, Mr. William Henry	1946	RICHARDSON, Mr. L., F.R.S.E., P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.
1893	LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.	1947	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
1894	DAVIES, Mr. James	1948	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1895	WATKINS, Rev. M. G., M.A.	1949	WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.
1896	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil		
1897	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil		
1898	MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.		
1899	BEDDOE, Mr. H. C.		
1900	LEIGH, The Very Rev. The Hon. J. W. D.D., Dean of Hereford		
1901	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.		
1902	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart., M.A.		
1903	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.		
1904	HUTCHINSON, Mr. T.		

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

1950	CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.	1967	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.
1951	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A., M.A.	1968	CURRIE, Mrs. D. McD.
1952	SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.	1969	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
1953	COHEN, Mr. I., M.I.MECH.E.	1970	O'DONNELL, Mrs. Jean E.
1954	JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.	1971	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.
1955	MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.	1972	HOMES, Mr. C. H. I.
1956	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable A. J., M.A.	1973	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.
1957	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1974	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
1958	LANGFORD, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	1975	PERRY, Mr. R. C.
1959	LEEDS, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.	1976	HAYNES, Rev. W. B., B.A.
1960	MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch, M.A.	1977	WINCE, Dr. W. H. D., M.B., B.S., M.I.Biol.
1961	STANFORD, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.	1978	PAGE, Mr. R. A.
1962	ZIMMERMAN, Mr. A. U.	1979	GARNETT, Mr. A. T. G., L.D.S., R.C.S.(Eng.).
1963	COLEMAN, Mr. V. H.	1980	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1964	NOBLE, Mr. F., B.A.	1981	VOSS, Mrs. Marjorie M., B.A.
1965	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1982	BRIAN, Mrs. Anthea D., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1966	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1983	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
		1984	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A., F.S.A.

LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1984

HONORARY MEMBERS

MARTIN, Mrs. C. H., 90 Faithfull House, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham.
 WEBSTER, Dr. G., F.S.A., The Old School House, Chesterton, Harbury CV33 9LF.
 WHITEHOUSE, B. J., Hereford Library, Broad Street, Hereford.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

ABERYSTWYTH: The Library, Hugh Owen Building, Penglais SY23 3DZ.
 BANGOR: Serials Acquisitions, University College of North Wales, c/o Science Library, Deiniol Road, Gwynedd LL57 2UN.
 BIRMINGHAM: Dept. of Extramural Studies, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, B15 2TT.
 BIRMINGHAM: Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place, B3 3HQ.
 BIRMINGHAM: The Library, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, B15 2TT.
 BOSTON: British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa, Wetherby, Yorkshire LS23 7BQ.
 BRISTOL: Central Library, College Green BS1 5TL.
 BROMYARD: Bromyard and District Local History Society.
 CARDIFF: The Main Library, Arts Periodicals, University College Cardiff, P.O. Box 78 CF1 1XQ.
 EXETER: Periodicals Dept., University Library, Prince of Wales Road EX4 4PT.
 GLOUCESTER: City Museum and Art Gallery, Brunswick Road.
 HEREFORD: Headmaster, The Bishop of Hereford Bluecoats School, Tupsley HR1 1UU.
 HEREFORD: Botanical Society, c/o Hollybush Cottage, Newton Lane, Kington HR5 3NG.
 HEREFORD: Museum of Cider, 21 Ryelands Street, HR4 0LW.
 HEREFORD: The Librarian, Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.
 HEREFORD: The Library, Herefordshire Teachers' Centre, College Road, HR1 1EB.
 HEREFORD: Ornithological Club.
 HEREFORD: Principal, Technical College, Folly Lane.
 HEREFORD: Headmaster, Whitecross School, Baggallay Street.
 HEREFORD-WORCESTER: County Libraries, Divisional Headquarters, Shirehall.
 KIDDERMINSTER: Hereford and Worcester County Museum, Hartlebury Castle DY11 7XZ.
 KINGTON: Kington History Society.
 LAMPETER: Librarian, St. David's University College, Dyfed SA48 7ED.
 LEDBURY: Ledbury Naturalists' Field Club.
 LEICESTER: The University Library.
 LEOMINSTER: Leominster Historical Society.
 LIVERPOOL: The Sydney Jones Library, P.O. Box 123, L69 3DA.
 LLANDRINDOD WELLS: County Library Headquarters, Cefnylls Road LD1 5LD.
 LONDON: British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road SW7 5BD.
 LONDON: Geological Society of London, Burlington House W1V 0JU.
 LONDON: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane WC2A 1LR.
 LONDON: Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House W1V 0HS.
 LONDON: The Library, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, WC1E 7HU.

LIST OF MEMBERS

MEMPHIS: John Willard Brister Library, Memphis State University, Tennessee 38152.
 MONTREAL: Sir George Williams University Library, Acquisitions Dept., 1445 De Maisonneuve Blvd., W.
 NEWPORT: Central Public Library, John Frost Square NPT 1PA.
 NEW YORK: Central Serial Record Dept., Cornell University Library, Ithaca 14850.
 NOTTINGHAM: The Library (Serials), British Geological Survey, Nicker Hill, Keyworth NG12 5GG.
 PRINCETON: Serials Division, Princeton University Library, New Jersey 08540.
 SHREWSBURY: Salop County Library Headquarters, Column House, 7 London Road SY8 6NW.
 SOUTHAMPTON: National Monuments Record, Archaeological Section (Southampton Branch), Green Lane, Maybush SO1 9FP.
 SWANSEA: The Library, University College of South Wales, Singleton Park SA2 8PP.
 SYDNEY: Serials Dept., 10057, Fisher Library, University of Sydney.
 WALSALL: West Midlands College of Education, Gorway WS1 3BD.
 WIGMORE: Headmaster, The High School.
 WISCONSIN: Serials Dept., Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin, 728 State Street, Madison, 53706.
 WOLVERHAMPTON: Reference Dept., Central Library, Snow Hill WV1 3AX.
 WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.
 WORCESTER: County Library, Love's Grove, Castle Street.

Members' names and addresses have been redacted.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

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

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

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

