TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLV 1986

PART II

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Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 1986

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City of Hereford C.A.A.C.

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1986-87

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	Mrs. M. TONKIN
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Proceedings, 1986

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 11 January: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president in the chair.

Mr. P. Thomson, B.Sc., gave an illustrated talk on 'Plants of Some Herefordshire Habitats.' He said there are about 800 species in the county and that the Botanical Society is mapping these on 2 x 2 km. squares. The results will show where plants grow, distribution patterns and will form a data base for conservation. Mr. Thomson outlined the geology of the county which had both lowland and upland areas and described the variety of habitats and the various plants to be found in them. The habitats included woodland, meadowland, flood meadows, roadsides, riversides, wetlands and mountainous areas. He said that the small-leaved lime is a sign of an old woodland; the bluebell is less common; 95% of the meadowlands have been lost since the second world war and some black poplar is found along riversides.

SECOND MEETING: 8 February; Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

Dr. P. Cross gave an illustrated talk on 'The Glacial Diversions of the River Teme.' He referred to the work of Dreyhouse and Miller in 1930 and the observations made by Grindley some seventy years ago which have proved to be true. He traced the course of the Teme from Lingen Bridge near Brampton Bryan eastwards to Leintwardine where it joins the Clun, then through the Downton Gorge to near Bromfield where it is joined by the Onny and Corve, then southwards to Woofferton and eastwards north of Tenbury to Newnham where it is joined by the Rea. Dr. Cross explained that there were two diversions, one at Downton and the other near Orleton, when two lakes were formed, one at Wigmore and the other at Woofferton, due to moraines being deposited by the melting ice and diverting the Teme in an easterly direction. The gravel deposits at Aymestrey and Bromfield are evidence of moraine deposits. When the oil pipe-line was being laid near Orleton Dr. Cross collected material which was sent to the University of Birmingham for analysis by radio-carbon dating. The results show that these deposits were laid down much later than was previously thought and that they date from some 11,000 to 12,000 years ago. The deposits at Aymestrey are probably of the same date.

THIRD MEETING: 8 March: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

This meeting was the twenty-third annual F. C. Morgan lecture and was held at the Royal National College for the Blind. Mr. Peter Smith, B.A., F.S.A., secretary of the R.C.A.H.M. (Wales) gave an illustrated talk on 'The Architectural Personality of the British Isles.' He said that there were four reasons which accounted for the changes in domestic architecture from one area to another. They were the local materials used, the culture of the people who built them, the geographical effect of lowland and highland

areas and the different periods during which the varying parts of the British Isles developed. He pointed out the area of the bayed roof in the north and west and the trussed-rafter roof in the south-east, posing the question as to whether this was ethnic or because of the heavier timber in the former regions. History, farming conditions and relative wealth played their part. He compared the great corn barns of the south-east with those of Wales and the 15th-century yeoman's house with the Hebridean house of this century.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 29 March: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

It was announced that a notice had been circulated to members in accordance with Rule XII that the committee was recommending that the annual subscription be raised as from January 1987. The formal proposal will be made at the general meeting on 17 May 1986.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 866 members.

Mr. Attfield reported briefly on the year's activities and said that the winter lectures on a variety of subjects had an average attendance of over seventy. The six summer field meetings and a visit to an ancient woodland were well supported as in recent years. Fifty-three members spent a week based at Chichester and the two sections for archaeology and natural history had continued their programmes.

Mr. Attfield gave his address 'Hereford in the 1850s' which is printed on pp. 347-70.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby was installed as president for 1986-7.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 26 April: CRASWALL AREA

This meeting was a follow-up to the lecture on 4 October 1985 given by Miss C. Hutchison on the 'Grandmontine Sites and Craswall.' Because of narrow roads and parking difficulties this visit has to be limited to one coach. Members walked from Craswall Church to the site of Craswall Priory, one of three sites in England of the order of Grandmont. Miss Hutchison who had motored down from Essex pointed out the areas which had been excavated by Lilwall, 1904-8, and Wright in 1962, and guided members around the site pointing out the chancel and nave, the north and south chapels, the chapter house and cloister, and the frater and reredorter to the south.

Mr. Hillaby said that the De Lacy family which had come over from France with the Conqueror was connected with Ludlow and Weobley and in this area had built the early castle at Pont Hendre and the later castle at Longtown and had given the land at Craswall to the Grandmontines.

The party walked back to Craswall Church and after a picnic tea the church was visited where Mr. Tonkin referred to it as an early community centre, with the school at the west end of the church and the fives-court and cockpit situated outside to the north. He pointed out the four-bay 15th-century roof with painted decoration in the eastern bay, the late 14th-century doorway with moulded jambs, the east window dating from *c.* 1400, the two south windows of 1883 and the preaching cross outside on the south side of the church with external seating as at Llanveynoe and Patricio.

SECOND MEETING: 17 May: HIGHNAM AND LITTLEDEAN AREA

At Highnam Court members were welcomed by the present owner, Mr. R. Smith, and the previous owner, Mr. T. Fenton. The estate had belonged to the abbey of Gloucester but after the Reformation came into lay hands. The rectangular brick house was built *c.* 1658 probably on the site of an earlier one and faced south. About 1840 and in the 1870s alterations were made and a new entrance with a pedimented portico was added on the north with a wing to the west and a large billiard room to the east. The music room and drawingroom are in the Rococo style and said to be the work of William Stocking of Bristol. In 1838 the Guise family sold Highnam to Thomas Gambier Parry, father of Sir Hubert Parry. Parry furnished the house with early Italian furniture which in 1966 as a whole was handed over to the Courtauld Institute. In the grounds are many rare trees and a pinetum similar to the one at Westonbirt but not in such good condition. The house was inherited by Mr. T. Fenton who sold it in 1978 to Mr. R. Smith. Since then it has been used as a music centre especially for opera. Repair work is under way and it is hoped that it will re-open as an Arts Hotel and be used for musical events.

The party walked across to Highnam Church where Mr. Fenton explained that the church was built as a memorial to Isabella, the first wife of Thomas Gambier Parry who died in 1848. It is built of stone from Hartpury quarry with Bath stone dressings and was designed by Henry Woodyer. The wall paintings throughout the church were the work of Parry himself and have not been touched since 1859. They are a 'spirit fresco', a dry plaster method suitable for surviving the English climate. Parry also built the school, church lodge and the parsonage.

In the afternoon members visited Littledean Hall to see the house and the excavations in the grounds. The stone house dates from the 16th century with the north wing added *c.* 1609 and a third storey added in 1852. Some rooms contain 16th and 17th-century panelling. Due to very heavy rain few visited the excavations where Professor Barri Jones of Manchester University, on an annual basis, is excavating the site of a Roman temple. This work only commenced in 1985.

The final visit was to Lea Church where the tower has a 14th-century upper stage and broach spire on top of a 13th-century lower stage. Architectural features also seen were the 15th-century chancel, the north aisle and north chapel added after the 1418 consecration, the carved capitals of the octagonal columns of the 15th-century nave arcade, the remnants of the rood-screen, a 13th-century dug-out chest and the font which was given to the church in 1907. This font is thought to be an Italian stoup *c.* 1200. The bowl stands on

a shaft carried by an elephant, and the rim of the font and saddle of the elephant are decorated with cosmati work.

THIRD MEETING: 5 June: CHADDESLEY CORBETT AND HANBURY HALL AREA

After viewing the bridge over the Severn at Holt Fleet designed in 1828 by Telford members travelled to Chaddesley Woods Nature Reserve which was established in 1973. It consists of fifty-three hectares of native oak woodland and forty-seven hectares of recent plantations and was once part of the royal forest of Feckenham dating from the Norman Conquest. As well as the sessile and pedunculate oak other native species such as birch, rowan, hawthorn, holly, field maple, yew, lime, ash and hornbeam survive. Members walked through the woods where a badger sett and masses of bluebells were seen and across cornfields to the village of Chaddesley Corbett.

In the parish church of Chaddesley Corbett dedicated to St. Cassian Mr. Hillaby said that the nave and aisles dated from the Norman period, the chancel was remodelled in the 14th century and said to be the best Decorated chancel in Worcestershire. The font dating from the Norman period belongs to the Herefordshire School of Carving and can be compared with those at Eardisley, Castle Frome, Orleton and Stottesdon.

On a walk through the village Mr. Tonkin pointed out a number of 17th-century timber-framed houses, the Lychgate House, early Georgian, Tudor House, mis-named but dating from the 1750s with a classical pedimented doorway and a Venetian window and the brick Charity Houses dated 1812.

The final visit was to Hanbury Hall built for Thomas Vernon in 1701 and probably designed by Talman. In 1953 Sir George Vernon left it to the National Trust. The house is brick with stone dressings, the south front being of eleven bays with projecting wings each of three bays. The staircase was painted in 1710 by James Thornhill. The long gallery with a dairy underneath is detached from the main building. The orangery dates from soon after 1732 and the ice-house from the mid-18th century. The gardens were laid out by Loudon and Wise but the formal gardens were swept away in the late 18th century. The present walls, gates and gazebos were built between 1856 and 1870.

FOURTH MEETING: 5 July: CARDIFF AND NEWPORT AREA

The visit in the morning was to the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff founded in 1907 'to teach the world about Wales and the Welsh people about their own fatherland.' The main building built in a fine classical style houses the departments of art, archaeology and three natural sciences viz. geology, botany and zoology. In the west wing were exhibits from the Welsh Industrial and Maritime Museum.

At lunch time at Tredegar Park members were able to walk in the grounds and view the 17th-century brick house, stable block and orangery from the outside.

Members were welcomed by one of the clergy at Newport Cathedral. He explained that Newport had been in the diocese of Llandaff and was created a diocese in its own

right in 1921. The original church was dedicated to St. Woolas and was founded *c.* 500. The cathedral is entered through St. Mary's Chapel which contains some Saxon work and was heightened *c.* 1200. A Norman archway with dog-tooth ornament of *c.* 1080 leads into the Norman nave with a clerestory. The building was damaged by Owen Glyndwr and restored in the 15th century when the south aisle was heightened and the north aisle, tower and south porch with a priest's room above were built. Restorations took place in 1818-9, 1853 and 1913. Since its creation as the seat of the diocese of Monmouth, the chancel has been demolished and a larger one erected under A. D. R. Carre, the architect, with a modern mural and east window designed by John Piper. In 1977 the altar from St. Mary's Chapel was moved to the choir chapel in the south aisle. The tower contains twelve bells, the largest peal in Wales. The cathedral silver and registers were shown to the party.

FIFTH MEETING: 7 August: HOLME LACY AND SUFTON AREA

The county council of Hereford and Worcester kindly gave permission for members to visit Holme Lacy House to view the ground-floor rooms with fine plaster ceilings, the artist unknown, and the well-carved architraves of the doorways. The overmantels said to be by Grinling Gibbons, have been removed to Kentchurch Court and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Mr. Hillaby said that the Holme Lacy estate was one of the earliest possessions of the De Lacy family but the principal manor was held by the cathedral of Hereford and remained with the dean and chapter until 1581 when it was exchanged with the Scudamore family for the rectory of Fownhope. About 1545 a mansion stood on the site and in 1672 the second viscount Scudamore added two fronts in red sandstone incorporating some of the old structure. A contract dated 1674 signed with Anthony Deane, the builder, mentions Hugh May who probably designed it. Alterations were made by William Atkinson, 1828-31, when the porch and the stone balustrades along all fronts were added. About 1910 Sir Robert Lucas Tooth bought the house and added the ballroom and main staircase. The Scuadmore coat of arms impaling Cecil was seen on the outside.

Members were welcomed by Major Hereford at Mordiford Church which is dedicated to the Holy Rood. It has a Norman south doorway and a nave *c.* 1125-50. The central tower was removed *c.* 1811 and a new one built on the south-west. A major restoration took place in Victorian times. Many monuments to the Hereford family were noted.

The party then walked across a field to see the remains of a flash lock on the river Lugg. A flash lock is an early type of lock having only one pair of gates.

At Sufton members were shown over the house which was designed by Wyatt and built by 1790. It is constructed of Bath stone, of five bays and two and a half storeys; one bay has a pediment with a Venetian window beneath it. Inside are some good fireplaces and delicate friezes. The grounds were laid out by Repton.

Old Sufton, which has not been occupied for some twenty years, but is soon to be restored was next visited. This is an early 17th-century timber-framed house later largely encased in stone but in the main block there is evidence of an earlier great chamber or

possibly a hall. On the first floor of the wing some contemporary murals have recently been discovered. On the high ground members visited the 18th-century, brick dovecote.

The president Mr. Hillaby, thanked Major and Mrs. Hereford for their kind invitation and hospitality at Sufton which was last visited in May 1927.

SIXTH MEETING: 13 September: BATH AREA

This was the president's choice and in the morning Mr. Hillaby took members on a guided tour of Bath. The walk commenced at Lansdowne Crescent built by John Palmer, 1789-93, and included St. James Square also by him, 1790-3; The Royal Crescent, 1767-74, by John Wood the younger; Kings Circus, 1754-8 and Queens Square, 1728-34 by John Wood the elder. He pointed out the architectural features and explained the changes which had taken place from the time of John Wood the elder through to John Palmer, i.e. 1728-93.

The afternon was spent at the American Musuem at Claverton Manor on the outskirts of Bath. The house built of Bath stone in 1820 was designed by Wyatville. This was the first American Museum to be established outside the United States. It was founded by Dallas Pratt and John Judkyn and opened in July 1961. Two hundred years of American life is seen in a series of furnished rooms and other exhibits. Because of heavy rain the grounds were not visited.

SPECIAL MEETING: 17 June: NEWENT AND LEDBURY

This was a joint meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and the Woolhope Club. The theme for the day was to compare the evolution of the market towns of Newent and Ledbury. Mr. Hillaby explained that in medieval times the manor of Newent was attached to the abbey of Cormeilles and that of Ledbury to the bishop of Hereford, thus both having an ecclesiastical nucleus. With the aid of maps he indicated that Ledbury developed much earlier and in a more organised manner than Newent.

Unfortunately it was not possible for members to climb to the top of the tower of Newent Church to study the layout of the town. Of particular note in the church was the large-spanned nave of 1675-9. The timber-framed market house of *c.* 1600 was next visited and this was followed by a walk around the town to see its development and the remaining 16th-19th century buildings, timber-framed and brick.

At Ledbury Church the majority of the party climbed to the top of the tower from where the layout of the town and its burgage plots was seen. Visits were made to various buildings in Church Lane, the 'Old Grammar School', the house removed from the Butchers' Row and now restored and the Congregational Church of 1852 being restored as a hall for meetings. Also visited were the Market Hall of 1633 attributed to John Abel, the council chamber and the 14th-century St. Katherine's Hall. Mr. Hillaby thanked Miss Robinson for her help in Ledbury and a member of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society thanked Mr. Hillaby for arranging the joint meeting.

EXETER VISIT: 3-10 September

Forty-five members spent a week based at Exeter University. En route the first visit was to Colyton which in 1523 was the fourth largest town in Devon and in 1699 had over 300 lace workers. At the church the Norman chancel and transepts, a stone screeen of *c.* 1500 and good monuments to the Pole family were seen. At Cadhay the party was welcomed by the owner, Mr. Powlett, and taken around the house which was built 1545-87 by John Haydon incorporating material from demolished collegiate buildings from Ottery St. Mary. It was altered by Williams *c.* 1737 and Whetham in 1909 and purchased by the grandfather of the present owner in 1935. Ottery St. Mary Church, modelled on Exeter Cathedral and dating mainly from the mid-14th century was also visited. After the evening meal Mr. Ward outlined the week's programme.

On Thursday morning in Exeter visits were made to the Guildhall with a colonnaded front dating from 1592 and an arch-braced roof of 1468-70, and to the remaining wing, now a museum, of the Benedictine priory of St. Nicholas founded in 1080. At Buckfast Abbey, built 1907-32, by six French Benedictines, members were conducted around the abbey and its treasures explained. At the Parke Estate, left to the National Trust in 1974, members were able to see the interpretation centre, walk in the woods or visit the rare breeds farm. At Haytor, the granite outcrop at 1491 ft., members walked to the Haytor granite tramway which was opened in 1820 to carry granite from the quarries there to the Stover Canal and then by the river Teign to the sea. The final visit of the day was to the church at Widecombe-in-the-Moor dating from the 14th century which was enlarged *c.* 1500 and has a cradle roof with carved bosses and the remains of a wooden screen with painted panels.

On Friday morning the party travelled to Paignton, boarded the steam-hauled train to Kingswear and then crossed by ferry to Dartmouth which has been a trading port since the 12th century and was created a borough in 1341. Points of interest were the Royal Naval College, 1902-5, by Sir Aston Webb, the Butterwalk, Fairfax Place, Mansion House, Customs House and St. Saviour's Church with its complete 15th-century wooden screen. Early in the afternoon members were taken around the Slapton Ley Nature Reserve by the warden who referred particularly to the biological changes in the lake. In Totnes members walked from the top of the town down to the Plains and saw the Butterwalk and many interesting 17th and 18th-century buildings including the house of Nicholas Bell who made a fortune from trading pilchards. His widow married Bodley and when she died Ball's fortune went to him and he founded the Bodleian. Visits were made to the early 17th-century Guildhall and to the church which is mainly 15th century and has one of the best stone screens in the country. After the evening meal Mr. Peter Beacham gave a talk on 'Devon Buildings.'

Two visits were made on Saturday morning, the first to Buckland Monachorum where the school endowed in 1702 by Sir Mannasseh Masseh Lopes and the 15th-century church with a hammer-beam roof and associated with Drake were seen. The second was to Buckland Abbey, a Cisterian abbey founded in 1278, bought by Sir Richard Grenville in 1541 whose grandson of 'The Revenge' converted the nave and one transept into a house. Since 1951 the National Trust has leased it to Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery and

here is exhibited Drake's drum. Nearby stands the tithe barn of *c.* 1300 housing a collection of horse-drawn vehicles. At Meavy was seen the manor-house where Drake lived, the church dating from the 11th to 13th century and a propped-up oak tree said to be as old as the church. The party then travelled over Dartmoor past the prison built in 1806 to Merrivale where members walked up to some high ground where there were a number of Bronze Age hut circles and two rows of stones, the one to the north 590 ft. from a circle to a menhir and the other to the south 849 ft. between two menhirs. The information centre and the clapper bridge made up of three 15 ft. spans with flat stones supported on piers at Postbridge were also visited.

Sunday morning was free but some members attended church services whilst others walked in the grounds or into Exeter. The afternon was spent at Topsham, an important port on the river Exe since at least Roman times.

The greater part of Monday morning was spent in Tiverton which in 1334 was the eighteenth wealthiest town in Devon and by the end of the 15th century was the largest industrial town of Devon due to the manufacture of kersey. Places of interest noted were the church with its external carved frieze of ships; Old Blundell's School, 1604; Chilcot School, 1611; Greenway Almshouses, 1527 and the Slee Almshouses, 1610. Members then joined the Grand Western Canal at Halberton and travelled to the Tiverton canal basin on the horse-drawn boat. In the afternoon the glassworks at Torrington, which was set up in 1968 by Dartington Hall, was visited. Here members were shown a film and then were able to tour the factory and see the glass-blowing, finishing process and packaging. After the evening meal Mr. Tom Grant gave a talk on 'The Landscape and Wildlife of Dartmoor.'

The first visit on Tuesday was along narrow lanes to the village of Dunchideock to see the small, red sandstone, medieval church with 15th-century bench-ends and a complete, restored rood-screen. The rest of the morning was spent at the Exeter Maritime Museum where members were enthusiastic at seeing the world's largest collection of British and foreign boats which is housed in 19th-century warehouses. The party was also allowed to see the Customs House, the first brick building in Exeter and completed in 1681. On the first floor three plaster ceilings by the Abbot family were seen.

Two visits were made in the afternoon, the first to Berry Pomeroy Castle, built by the Pomeroy family *c.* 1300, standing on the edge of a cliff. In 1548 it was purchased by Edward Seymour whose son built a new house, 1575-93, within the castle. This was burnt out between 1688 and 1701 but the ruins are now being restored. The second visit was to Dartington Hall. The building dates from the 14th century with additions in Tudor and Georgian times by the Champernowne family. In 1925 it was runinous but was acquired by Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst who restored it and made it a centre for education. The hall with a hammer-beam roof, the medieval kitchen as well as the terraced gardens were seen.

On Wednesday the greater part of the morning was spent in Exeter with a guided tour of the cathedral. The seat of the diocese moved from Crediton in 1050. The present cathedral is mainly 14th century built on the earlier Norman site incorporating the Norman towers, nave walls and western part of the choir. The final visit was to the

Coldharbour Mill Working Museum at Uffculme. From 1799-1981 this mill produced serge, flannel and worsted yarns, but is now a working wool museum. The various processes were explained and demonstrated.

Tea was taken at Clevedon where coffee had been enjoyed on the outward journey. Mr. and Mrs. Ward were thanked for arranging and leading the visit, Wendy for her safe driving and co-operation and Mr. and Mrs. Charnock for their assistance to Miss Lewis after her accident.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 4 October: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

This meeting was the twenty-fourth annual F. C. Morgan lecture and was held at the Royal National College for the Blind. Dr. G. R. Coope, reader in geological sciences at the University of Birmingham gave an illustrated talk on 'The Natural History of the Last Ice Age: what the beetle saw.' He explained that for the last thirty years he had been studying insects of the last Ice Age. This had been triggered off by the variety of bones of extinct animals such as mammoth and bison, sea shells and lots of bits of insects which were to be found in the gravel pits at Upton Warren. His special study was of beetles which have not changed over 42,000 years. Distribution maps showed that a beetle now found in eastern Siberia under tundra conditions, and dung beetles now in the Himalayas above 10,000 ft. were in Britain during the last Ice Age. Those in Spain and Italy were in Britain during the warm periods. The winter temperature during an Ice Age would have been -15° to -25° and the last one was 10,000 to 11,000 years ago. In the past half a million years there have been twelve Ice Ages and the next one should take place within the next 5,000 to 10,000 years. Drilling in the north Atlantic of cores from the ocean bed has shown the same picture and whereas today the influence of the Gulf Stream reaches Iceland, at the time of the last Ice Age it only touched the Mediterranean. Dr. Coope said that Ice Ages tend to build up slowly and with the onset of warmth are destroyed more quickly.

SECOND MEETING: 25 October: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Dr. E. Peters gave an illustrated talk on 'Historic Farm Buildings in the Hereford-Worcester area.' He explained how farm buildings are related to the type of farming, e.g. arable or livestock. He pointed out the different types and construction of barns from the 14th to the late 19th century, some timber-framed, some stone, and some brick, some containing crucks and others of box-frame construction. He described the use and positioning of cart-sheds, granaries, stables and cow-houses. Smaller in size but still part of a farmstead Dr. Peters referred to pigsties, hen-houses and goose-pens. Also of importance were the horse-engine, the dovecote and the cider-house. He did not deal with hop-kilns as these had been covered by Mr. Homes.

THIRD MEETING: 15 November: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Mr. D. A. Whitehead, M.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'St. Ethelbert's Hospital, Hereford.' He traced the history of the hospital from its foundation charter *c.* 1225 to its recent restoration. From documentary sources he showed how it had moved from Broad Street to Castle Street probably in the mid-16th century. The almshouses for ten persons were rebuilt in 1805 at a cost of £665 3s. 2½d. under the direction of Robert Jones. This paper is printed on pp. 415-25.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 6 December: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1987 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1985 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 346.

Mr. W. H. Champion gave an illustrated talk on 'Apple Growing in Herefordshire.' He gave a brief history of the growing of apples which are known to have been growing wild in the Black Sea region in pre-Classical times, and were referred to by Homer as being planted in Egypt and Greece. The Romans learned the art from Greece and brought their expertise to England. There is little mention of fruit growing in Herefordshire in the Domesday Book. From the time of Edward I to Henry VIII apples were being imported from France but the latter king sent Richard Harris to France and an orchard was established in Kent from which the fruit spread over England. Mr. Champion said that the Herefordshire soil with red marl underlying gravel was ideal for apple growing. He referred to the work done by Lord Scudamore of Holme Lacy in the early 17th century with the Redstreak apple for cider making. He also paid tribute to the work of Thomas Andrew Knight of Downton, and Hogg and the *Herefordshire Pomona.* He explained how different varieties have been developed over the years by selection, the development of smaller trees which can be picked from the ground, the method and use of sprays and present-day marketing. During the last ten years a large number of Herefordshire orchards had been replanted and the average life of a tree was fifteen to twenty-five years.

On 17 May 1986 the raising of the annual subscription as from January 1987 was passed without any objection. The rates will be as follows:

Member £6.00	Member and Spouse £8.00	Overseas member £8.00
Junior member £2.00	Each additional member of a family £2.00	

The Club is very grateful to Miss P. E. Morgan who has donated a Kodak Carousel SAV 1050 projector in memory of her father the late F. C. Morgan, M.A., F.S.A. and to Mr. R. A. Page who has provided the Kodak 180 mm. lens and accessories for the projector.

The Club wishes to thank the Hereford City Council for redecorating the Woolhope Room as in Victorian times and for carpeting the floor.

Canon E. J. Gethyn-Jones has kindly given several of his published works for the Club's library as also has Trevor Rowley his *The landscape of the Welsh Marches.*

Once again an exhibition of the Club's activities was mounted in the Shirehall, Hereford, on 23-4 October as part of the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust's exhibition.

It is with regret one records the death of Colonel T. W. M. Johnson who was the Club's president in 1954.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1985

RECEIPTS

1984			£ p	£ p
£	£			
		Interest on Investments		
33		3½% War Loan	32.64	
		Hereford & Worcester		
87		County Council Loan ...	112.56	
1,114		Nat. Savings Investment ...	1,619.35	
622		Bank Deposit Interest ...	309.60	
	1,856			2,074.15
2,185		General Subscription ...	2,269.31	
295		Sale of Publications ...	218.65	
100		Grants and Donations ...	500.00	
3		Royalties	—	
252		Income Tax Refund ...	272.18	
59		Natural History Section ...	74.33	
67		Archaeological Research		
		Section	116.62	
—		Field Meetings (Net) ...	681.05	
	2,961			4,132.14
		Bank Interest 1st January		
		Current Accounts		
173		General	2,508.51	OD
300		Subscription	282.13	
24		Natural History Section ...	43.10	
108		Archaeological Research		
		Section	125.76	
77		Field Meetings	26.44	
		Deposit Accounts		
4,310		Subscription	3,789.71	
—		Nat. Savings Investment ...	13,113.69	
659		G. Marshall Fund ...	597.19	
199		Natural History Section ...	212.14	
55		Archaeological Research		
		Section	58.13	
651		Field Meetings	398.02	
2,000		Group Deposit	—	
	18,556			16,137.80
	6	Cash in Hand A.R.S. ...		3.00
	23,379			22,347.09

PAYMENTS

1984			£ p	£ p
£	£			
51		Insurance	65.80	
34		Insurance and Stationery	250.56	
5,785		Printing and Binding ...	93.03	
83		Expenses of Meetings ...	—	
546		Postage and Telephones ...	195.00	
76		Subscriptions & Donations	67.50	
330		Honoraria	330.00	
39		Natural History Section -		
		Expenses	36.22	
53		Archaeological Research		
		Section - do.	63.10	
241		Field Meetings (Net) ...	—	
	7,238			1,101.21
		Bank Balances 31st		
		December		
		Current Accounts		
2,509	OD	General	404.28	
282		Subscription	253.44	
43		Natural History Section ...	34.88	
126		Archaeological Research		
		Section	109.66	
27		Field Meetings	32.52	
		Deposit Accounts		
13,114		National Savings		
		Investment	15,233.04	
3,790		Subscription	3,846.10	
597		G. Marshall Fund ...	638.40	
212		Natural History Section ...	258.47	
58		Archaeological Research		
		Section	107.25	
398		Field Meetings	304.34	
	16,138			21,222.38
	3	Cash in Hand		
		Archaeological Research		
		Section		23.50
	23,379			22,347.09

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

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 Club.

(*Signed*) H. S. BERISFORD, F.C.A.,
Honorary Auditor,
24th February, 1986

Presidential Address

Hereford in the 1850s

By CLARENCE E. ATTFIELD

IF in describing the City of Hereford it was said that it has a remarkable clean and healthy appearance, the streets being well paved and lighted and the roads macadamised, the streets in general are of moderate width, containing excellent shops and private dwellings, and there are reading rooms and numerous public institutions which add greatly to the comfort of the inhabitants, you would probably agree with that description today.

But if I said that the streets were lighted with gas you would wonder what period it was describing. Similarly, if I told you that a party of Woolhope Club members assembled in Hereford to depart on a field day, that would be natural enough. But if I then mentioned that they set off in a 'brake' and not a coach, you would also question the period referred to.

In my address today I am going to tell you something about life and conditions in Hereford in the early days of the formation of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, what important event took place in 1853, and the part which members of the Club in those days played in that event.

If I mention H. G. Bull, Richard Johnson, and Andrew Rowan, most of you will connect Bull with the general editorship of the *Herefordshire Pomona* with Robert Hogg as the technical editor. Richard Johnson, Town Clerk of Hereford 1832-67 wrote a well-known book entitled *The Ancient Customs of Hereford* in 1868. Andrew Rowan an analytical chemist may not be known to you. They were all members of the Club in 1852, it being formed so we are told, towards the end of 1851. According to the Registrar-General, the sub-district of Hereford in 1851 had a population of 11,151, an increase of only 193 since the census of 1841. It was a thriving city and in addition to those trades and professions of today, included several different ones.

There were two animal and bird preservers, eleven braziers and tin plate workers, six coach builders, seventy-two boot and shoemakers (not so much transport available in those days), two fellmongers, eight hatters, seventeen maltsters, four nail and chain makers, two rope and twine makers, a sail maker, three tanners, umbrella makers and woolstaplers, sixteen blacksmiths, seven wheelwrights and four stay makers to help hold the ladies together. (Appendix 1)

Apart from the mayor, magistrates, aldermen, councillors, officials including a recorder and clerk to the commissioners of Paving and Lighting, there was also a town crier. (Appendix 2)

Coaches all had names such as Mail, Mazeppa, Arrow, Queen, etc. According to *Lascelles & Co.'s Directory* of 1851, the important buildings and features in the City included the following:-

The Old House, High Town
The Bishop's Palace
The Infirmary (now the General Hospital)
Portions of the City Walls which were entered by six gates
The Castle Green surrounded by beautiful walks and seats for the accommodation of the numerous families who daily resort there
The stately Column erected to the memory of Lord Nelson after his Victory at Trafalgar, 11th October, 1805
At the outer ward of the Castle which overhangs the river, a Public Baths, a Subscription Reading Room adjoining which was the residence of the Keeper of the Green, and a Public House adjoining the latter
Two markets were held weekly, Wednesdays and Saturdays, the show of cattle was very considerable and renowned for the superior breed
The Fairs were held on the Tuesday after 2nd February, Easter Wednesday, 1st July, 20th October, Great Market Wednesday after St. Andrew's Day (30th November)
The Glove Trade in the City which had been considerable, had declined because of competition from Worcester but a considerable trade was carried on in cider, malt, hops and especially oak bark of which there was a great abundance in Herefordshire.

Places of Worship included:
The Cathedral (said to be in a dilapidated state and undergoing extensive repairs and alterations at an expense of upwards of £30,000)
All Saints Church situate at the top of Eign Street
St. Martin's Church, Ross Road
St. Nicholas' Church, Victoria Street
St. Peter's Church, St. Owen's Street
Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Berrington Street
Friends Meeting House, King Street
General Baptist Chapel, Commercial Road
Independent Chapel, Eign Brook
Primitive Methodist Chapel in St. Owen's Street Without
Roman Catholic Chapel, Broad Street
United, or Plymouth Brethren Building, Bridge Street
Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Bridge Street
The various Public Buildings and Officers included the Asylum, the Dispensary, the City Gaol, Commercial Road, the Guildhall, Widemarsh Street where City Petty Sessions were held every Monday and Thursday, the Shire Hall, St. Owen's Street the old Town Hall in High Town on oak pillars.
There was a Museum and Reading Room in High Street (supported by subscribers, open Wednesday and Saturday 11.0 a.m. to 2.0 p.m., strangers admitted at sixpence each), the Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute situated in the Cathedral Close consisting of a small library and reading room. Subscription 5s. per year. The City Fire Engine Station was located near the City Gaol and the Gas Works in Commerical Road. The Industrious Aid Society was in Bye Street (now Commerical Street) and we are told that 'This institution was formed for the improvement of the condition of the industrious classes. In order to render this establishment as efficient as possible, a Provident Bank has been established, likewise a stock of coals is kept, to enable a working man to obtain that article at a cheap rate; soup is also provided in the winter season and in fact, everything which can in any way conduce to the benefit of the industrious poor has been done, as far as the funds of the Society would admit.'

There were various schools, the theatre in Broad Street, the railways, the canal, and the Union Workhouse situated near the County Gaol, Commercial Road, where it was said 'Every attention appears to be paid to the general comfort of its inmates who number at present near 200; the juvenile branch are taught the art of cultivation under the superintendence of a farm bailiff, and a good piece of land is laid out for this purpose.'

The Almshouses comprised Coningsby's Hospital situated without Widemarsh Gate, Price's Hospital above Eign, and Lazarus or Sick Man's Hospital above Eign (now Whitecross Road), St. Ethelbert's Hospital, Castle Street, St. Giles and Williams Hospital, St. Owen's Street and Trinity Hospital, Bye Street.

The Club members in those days were all men, and on their field meetings they certainly made a day of it. They started early enough. On 7 June 1853 it is recorded in the *Transactions*[1] that they assembled at 6.0 a.m. at The Green Dragon Hotel and were conveyed in a brake (a large wagonette) to the Somers Arms, Eastnor where they breakfasted before transacting their business. That was a joint meeting of the Woolhope, Cotteswold and Malvern Naturalists' Field Clubs. Members usually ended the day by having dinner in the late afternoon. It must have been an enjoyable ending because they usually drank toasts 'after the cloth had been cleared.' On this occasion they drank toasts to the health of the Queen, Prince Albert, the rest of the Royal Family (it is not known whether it was a separate or omnibus toast), the health of the chairman, followed by that of the presidents of the other two Clubs (the president of the Cotteswold Club being in the chair).

They certainly needed something then to sustain them. On 26 July 1853[2] a party of members started from Hereford at 5.30 a.m. (again in a brake supplied by Messrs. Bosley) 'notwithstanding the frequent and heavy rain which was then falling,' for Leintwardine, which they reached some 3½ hours later at 9.0 a.m. They needed a good breakfast in the Lion Inn. After a delightful and instructive ramble of about six hours duration they met at the Hundred House Inn, Wigmore 'where they refreshed their exhausted frames with an excellently served dinner.'

But what a pity the ladies could not enjoy those occasions! Just by chance I happened to read the account of the Club Spring Annual Meeting held on 10 April 1919 when Alfred Watkins was installed as the new president. During the meeting he said that Dr. Boycott had sent in the names of two ladies to be nominated for membership. 'The rules were quite colourless on the matter.' In the discussion that followed we are told that one practical reason why their admission was thought inadvisable was the difficulty as to brakes, etc., in excursions! The proposition fell to the ground on the statement that Dr. Boycott was an hon. member. (It was thought that hon. members could not propose members.)

How gratifying it is to consider that the rule was changed, eventually, with the consequent considerable contribution ladies have made to the enrichment of the Club's activities.

The City may have had fine buildings and institutions. What it did not have was any proper system of drainage, sewerage, or water supply, and there were other problems, more of which will be said later.

The Hereford Town Council at their meeting on Saturday, 1 January 1853, after discussing various matters including the Governor of the City Prison and the state of fire engines coming back from the country, a committee report on 'The Rival Railway Scheme,' were notified of a visit by the Sanitary Commission of the General Board of Health to take place on the 5th January and elected a committee to meet him and explain all necessary matters. These were the Mayor, Town Clerk, Messrs. Bishop, Parry and Lockett. Mr. Bishop objected to serving, 'his name being so much mixed up with the matter already.' This was held to be a reason for the retention of Mr. Bishop's name.

There were of course many other things to take up the attention of the public. Of three men convicted locally for stealing a breast of mutton, one was sentenced to seven years transportation and the other two to three months' hard labour.[3]

The Mayor and his fellow Magistrates tried cases at the Guildhall, Widemarsh Street, Hereford and the colourful reporting of one such is described as follows:-

> An Incorrigible—James Williams (better known as 'young Jockey Williams') was brought up in custody and charged with having violently assaulted the police whilst they were in the discharge of their duty. The defendant whose 'phiz' is rather familiar to the Bench and who only the previous week was fined 10s. and expenses for obstructing the police whilst they were endeavouring to convey some of his drunken and disorderly companions to the lock-up, was at a 'dance at the Bell' in Pipe Lane where with others it appeared he had tripped it in heavy boots until morning, and had by that time became 'half seas over.' P. C. Watkins entered for the purpose of seeing that improper characters were not assembled, and was immediately knocked down by the defendant, P. C. Howell of the Newport & Abergavenny Railway went up to the assistance of Watkins and was rewarded for his trouble with a 'smeller' on the nose, which made 'the claret' to flow. The Bench fined Williams in the sum of 40s. and costs for each offence or in default of payment, two months' hard labour.[4]

There were also the usual accounts to demonstrate the care of the less fortunate. Under the heading of 'A gratifying Scene' it was reported[3] that 'A pleasing scene presented itself to our notice at Christmas-eve, viz., the marching in procession of the boys and girls from the Union Workhouse under the escort of the schoolmaster Mr. Robert Carpenter, and their schoolmistress, into the City, to lay out, agreeably to their respective tastes, the halfpences which had been bestowed upon them during the previous part of the year. We understand that it is the custom of these poor children of misfortune, whenever they have a halfpenny or a penny presented to them, to make their kind-hearted master or matron their treasurer for the year; and at Christmas time they are allowed to enter the City and spend their savings, to the amount of 6d. each, in order that they may possess some moments of the happy season.

"That to the cottage, as the crown
Brought tidings of salvation down."

To those who have not been able to save their sixpences, and where conduct has been deserving, the amount is generally made up by the master or matron, or the schoolmaster or schoolmistress as was the case in several instances on the present occasion; and thus once in the year at least, the hearts of these poor children are made to rejoice, and all fancy themselves rich indeed! The appearance of the children on the occasion referred to—the boys wearing new caps and clean pinafores and the girls being very neatly attired—was exceedingly clean and healthy; and their countenances beamed with joy, as they expended their riches.'

The Herefordshire Society (established 1710) for the benevolent purposes of Clothing and Apprenticing in London and its vicinity, poor children, Natives of the County or born of Herefordshire Parents, was holding its quarterly meeting in London.[3] 'The inmates of Coningsby's Hospital in this City were regaled on Thursday last (Old Christmas Day) with a plentiful dinner of excellent roast beef and plum pudding by their kind and generous patron, John Arkwright Esq. of Hampton Court. The females belonging to the establishment were, at the same time, each presented with a packet of tea. The Chaplain presided at one of the tables and the Rev. F. T. Havergal, Curate of St. John Baptist at the other.'[4]

The treatment or prevention of ailments in those days was not of course confined to the medical fraternity. It is quite obvious that if the inhabitants of the City had only heeded the claims for the various pills and potions set out in great detail in the local papers, none of them would have died except in the case of old age! There was Moxon's Effervescent Magnesium Aperient. 'This elegant preparation .... acts on the bowels mildly, is of eminent service in Pains in the Head, Sick Headaches, Casual or Habitual Costiveness (Concise Oxford Dictionary—see Constipation), Bilious Affections, Nausea, Sickness, Heartburn, Piles, Fistula, and in all Febrile Affections, and is a certain remedy for the unpleasant effects of excess, either in eating or drinking ... the only safe preventative and remedy for the GOUT ... sold in bottles by all respectable Medical Vendors.' Frampton's Pills of Health were said to be 'particularly efficacious for stomach coughs, colds, agues, shortness of breath and all obstructions of the urinary passage. Persons of Full Habit who are subject to Head-ache, Giddiness, Drowsiness and Singing in the Ears, arising from too great a flow of Blood to the Head, should never be without them, as many dangerous symptoms will be entirely carried off by their immediate use.'

The two just quoted, however, pale into insignificance compared with Holloway's Pills (Advert headed 'Health for a Shilling') and the claims in the advert. Letters from persons cured of all kinds of ailments after taking the pills included this one, headed:-

'Infallible cure of a Stomach Complaint with Indigestion and Violent Headaches.'
Extract of a letter from Mr. S. Gowen, chemist of Clifton near Bristol dated 14 July 1852.

'To Professor Holloway,
Dear Sir, I am requested by a Lady named Thomas, just arrived from the West Indies, to acquaint you that for a period of eight years herself and her family suffered from con-

tinual bad health, arising from disorders of the Liver and Stomach, Indigestion, Loss of Appetite, violent Headaches, pains in the side, weakness and general debility for which she consulted the most eminent men in the colony, but without any beneficial result; at last she had recourse to your beneficial pills, which in a very short time effected so great a change for the better, that she continued them, and the whole family were restored to health and strength. Further she desires me to say, that she has witnessed their extraordinary virtues in those complaints incidental to children, particularly in cases of Measles and Scarlatina, having effected positive cures of these diseases with no other remedy.
Signed: S. Gowen'

It continues to assure readers that:

'These celebrated Pills are wonderfully efficacious in the following complaints:-

Ague	Dysentery	Lumbago	Ulcers
Asthma	Erysipilas	Piles	Venereal Affections
Bilious complaints	Female irregularities	Rheumatism	Worms of all kinds
Blotches on the skin	Fevers of all kinds	Retention of the Urine	Weakness from whatever etc., etc.
Bowl complaints	Fits	Sore Throats	
Colics	Gout	Scrofula or King's Evil	
Constipation of the Bowels	Head-ache	Stone and Gravel	
Consumption	Indigestion	Tic Doloureux	
Debility	Inflammation	Tumours	
Dropsy	Liver Complaints		

Sold at the Hereford Journal Office (apart from the establishment of Professor Holloway) and by most all respectable Druggists and Dealers in Medicines throughout the Civilised World at the following prices:

1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 33s. each Box.
There is a considerable saving by taking the larger sizes.
NB: Directions for the Guidance of Patients in every Disorder are affixed to each box.'[5]

You may well assume from this that if Dr. Bull and the other physicians had ensured that the inhabitants of the City were dosed regularly with Holloway's Pills there would never have been any need for an Inquiry by the General Board of Health in 1853.[6]

Not many persons will be familiar with *tic doloureux* or *scrofula*. My information is that *tic doloureux* is another name for facial neuralgia due to some affection of the fifth cranial nerve, and characterised by pain, situated somewhere about the temple, forehead, face or jaw and sometimes by spasm in the muscles of the affected region. So far as scrofula or king's evil as it was sometimes called is concerned, it was described as a disease with glandular swellings, probably a form of tuberculosis in one definition, but another refers to it being a state of constitutional weakness, generally exhibiting itself in early life, and characterised mainly by defective nutrition of the tissues which renders them a ready prey to tuberculosis. Furthermore, it states that the condition as it manifests itself in disease of the glands of the neck was formerly known as king's evil from the belief that the

touch of the monarch could effect a cure. This superstition can be traced back to the time of Edward the Confessor and to a much earlier period in France. Samuel Johnson was touched by Queen Anne in 1712 and the same supposed prerogative of royalty was exercised by Prince Charles in 1745.

The reason given by the Inspector for the Inquiry on behalf of the General Board of Health was because the mortality rate averaged over the years 1846-52 was above 27 to the 1,000. Any mortality rate averaging over 23 to the 1,000 was a sufficient reason for the General Board of Health to conduct an enquiry. It is interesting to examine the causes of death as given in the Tables of Mortality for the sub-district of Hereford: Population (1851) 11,156.[7] These ranged from zymotic (epidemic, endemic and contagious) diseases (average of 7 years 36-6/7ths) to sporadic diseases which included:

Dropsy, cancer and other diseases of uncertain or variable seat	Average 12-3/7ths
Tubercular diseases (consumption, etc.)	Average 38
Disease of the lungs and other organs of respiration	Average 47-4/7ths
Age	Average 24
Violence, privation, cold and intemperance (inquests unspecified)	Average 16-1/7th
Causes not specified	Average 2-6/7ths

The grand total was 2,090 and the average for the seven years was 298-4/7ths.

These Tables of Analysis were handed to the Inspector by Dr. Bull, H. G. Bull, M.D., of Hereford was one of the first members of the Club and is listed in the *Transactions* for 1852. He lived at Harley House, St. John's Street, Hereford and a commemorative plaque has been placed on the boundary stone wall to the property. He was very interested in botany and not only presented reports to the Club but also gave special prizes at that time for a competition for the best Herbarium of Herefordshire wild flowers, collected and dried by the competitor within the year. First prize was a gold pencil case. This was won in September 1852 by the Rev. J. F. Crouch of Pembridge Rectory for the largest and most carefully arranged collection bearing the motto 'Nature is the book of God, before thee set' and contained about 355 specimens and was judged by careful pressing, generally correct naming and scientific arrangement. The second prize was a silver pencil case. Clergymen formed an important part of the early Club membership and in 1852 out of 30 total, no less than 10 were men of the cloth. There were also 8 medical men. Dr. Bull's particular interest in the Inquiry was of course related to the effect of adverse conditions on his patients and the general inhabitants (he was also Medical Officer to the County Gaol) and commented at the Inquiry on the unsatisfactory drainage and water-supply, the weekly market held in one of the public thoroughfares and the state of the mill ponds, and burial grounds. He was without doubt, one of the most forward thinking and community minded influential members of the Woolhope Club at that time.

He was not the only one of the medical fraternity of course to give evidence. There was also Mr. G. R. Terry, surgeon to the Union Workhouse and Mr.John Morris, surgeon, who lived at Drybridge House, St. Martin's, Andrew Rowan, M.D., chemist and Member of the Royal College of Chemistry in London and also a member of the Club in 1852, a man, who like Dr. Bull, had a wide variety of interests, more of which will be men-

tioned later. The diseases which these gentlemen were particularly concerned about at that time included typhus, smallpox, erysipelas and other infectious diseases, of which smallpox, thankfully, has been eliminated worldwide and the matters they discussed in detail were matters which, although some might be reluctant to expand on today, were very much part of everyday life in those days and affected all the citizens of the City.

So on that 5 January 1853 a Mr. Thomas Webster Rammell, Superintending Inspector for the General Board of Health, went to the Guildhall at the appointed hour and 'found assembled several of the ratepayers and other inhabitants of the City, including many of the City Commissioners.'

He then went through the preliminaries, explained that the reason for the Inquiry was because the mortality rate was above the rate of 23 in the 1,000 inhabitants annually on an average of seven consecutive years. The matters he was particularly interested in were as follows:-

'The sewerage, drainage and supply of water.
The state of the burial grounds.
The number and sanitary condition of the inhabitants.
The local Acts of Parliament (if any) in force within the City for paving, lighting, cleansing, watching, regulating, supplying with water, or improving the same, or having relation to the purposes of the Public Health Act, 1848.
The natural drainage areas.
The existing, municipal, parochial or other local boundaries which may be most advantageously adopted for the purpose of the Public Health Act, 1848; *AND* as to other matters with respect to which the Board was desirous of being informed.'

Having got that out of the way he then invited any observations on those matters and said he would he happy to answer any questions on the working of the Public Health Act.

The first to speak was Mr. Parry, who was one of those elected by the Council to meet him. It is refreshing to hear the same sentiments expressed then by a local representative of the ratepayers faced with a prospect of an outside (Government) statutory autonomous body being able to impose duties and costs on local inhabitants which they don't like, or consider necessary, as they do in present times. He said he should be happy to give any information in furtherance of the Inquiry. He added: 'That he knew there was a strong feeling among the citizens of Hereford against being placed under the control of the Board of Health, as they were fearful that they might thereby be put to an enormous expense. Reports had been circulated here of the great expense to which other towns that had been placed under the control of the Board of Health had been subjected, and Hereford, not being a very rich city, and consequently unable to pay heavy expenses, a fear had been engendered in the minds of the citizens as to the consequences of the application of the Public Health Act to the City.'

The Inspector hopefully allayed the feelings of the assemblage by explaining that local affairs under the Act were under the management and discretion of the Local Board, that there was no compulsion on them to undertake works if they did not think proper. If the Act was applied to Hereford, the Local Board would have the power of appointing

and dismissing their own officers and of fixing their salaries. There were two qualifications, namely, in the case of the surveyor, who, once being appointed could not be dismissed without the sanction of the General Board and of the medical officer, who, if the Local Board thought proper to appoint one, must, on appointment, be approved by the General Board. (It does seem odd that one could not be dismissed and the other could not be appointed without approval of the General Board of Health.)

Having dealt with that the Inspector commenced hearing evidence over the next three days, but in the 'after part' of each day he inspected various parts of the City and surrounding district when he was accompanied by several of the gentlemen who had attended the meetings.

At the beginning of his Report, the Inspector included a general description and history of Hereford and the boundaries, including the City, the parishes and liberties.

He mentioned that the City had no less than twenty-five Charters at different times, the first granted by Richard I in 1189 and the last by William III in 1696. Miss E. M. Jancey, in her book *The Royal Charters of the City of Hereford* lists twenty-two (up to 1597) but a footnote states that additional ones are known to have been made.

Mr. R. Johnson, the Town Clerk, informed the Inspector that 'Price's map shows the entire city and liberties; we take it with us when we beat the boundaries, which we do every three years.' The city boundaries were defined in Act 2 and 3, Will.4 c.64 (1832). (To beat the bounds means to mark parish boundaries by striking certain points with rods.)

A large part of the city was held under the Dean and Chapter, and the Custos and Vicars of the Cathedral by lease for terms of 29 and 21 years, renewable in practice every seven years on payment of a fine. Many houses were also held under hospital and charities trusts on lease, and the church also owned extensive land around the city. To the extent that Mr. Johnson also stated that he considered 'The present condition of the tenure of land ... very prejudicial, as preventing improvements within the city, and preventing buildings and general improvements in the neighbourhood.' Certain it is that the bishop of the diocese blocked a proposal by a private company to establish a new burial ground in the parish of St. Nicholas in 1849.

There were five local Acts in force in the city at that time.[8] They covered a wide range of items including paving, repairing, cleansing and lighting the streets, removing nuisances and annoyances, inclosing divers waste grounds, the better application of charity money for setting the poor people of the city to work (in particular carrying out the trusts of a legacy from Lord Scudamore who died in the 20th year of Charles II). Also the Corporation could sell land, establish market places, provide slaughtering-houses, establish a nightly watch, gave powers to light the city with gas and limited the duration of St. Ethelbert's Fair from nine to two days, transferring the jurisdiction thereof from the bishop to the mayor, aldermen and burgesses, the bishop being compensated with yearly payments of 12½ bushels of the best wheat.[9] (This ceremony of measuring and handing over a bushel of wheat is still carried out at the May Fair held in High Town, Hereford.)

The Commissioners found great difficulty in rendering Scudamore's Charity (1774 Act) serviceable to the poor and over the years had loaned money, all of which was repaid,

to a Mr. Gough to establish a flannel works, a Mr. Benbow, a glover, and a Mr. Hatton for making stockings or woollen articles. They wanted to erect a workhouse but were told by the Attorney-General that this could not be done, so in 1840 they were given the powers to use the funds 'to provide for the poor children of the said City of Hereford a sound, practical and useful education, based on religious, moral and industrial instruction and ... providing buildings for school-room ... or for dwelling-houses of the masters or mistresses ... under such rules and governance ... as the Lord Bishop of Hereford ... shall direct.' The Scudamore School was accordingly built in 1851-2.

Returning to the Inquiry, Mr. Parry, as a City Commissioner, having told the Inspector that the City could not afford any great expenditure (being poor), and Mr. R. Johnson the Town Clerk defining the boundaries, we can now look more closely at the general state of things in the City, and what certain of the local inhabitants, some of whom as already stated were members of the Woolhope Club, had to say. Today we expect an unlimited supply of pure and wholesome water but in Hereford in 1853 the situation was opposite as the following description shows only too well.

WATER SUPPLY—There is no public provision for the supply of water in the ordinary sense of the term. The whole city is supplied by means of wells. There are seven public wells, which, however, are closed up, and only available in case of fire. For soft water the river is usually resorted to. It is commonly sold throughout the city at the rate of ½d. a bucket. The river water is generally used for brewing. For washing purposes many of the inhabitants, who have the necessary conveniences, catch and store the rain water from the roofs.

The well water is generally very hard, but is described as being good in other respects, except when it is affected by impurities draining through the soil from cesspools and sewers; and the substratum being porous, this is a contingency which is by no means infrequent. Evidence upon this subject is given under the head DRAINAGE. (See p. 361).

Dr. A. Rowan, a chemist of Harley Place, Hereford, a member of the Club in 1852 who had already enlightened members at meetings with two papers, one headed 'Decomposition of Sulphuretted Hydrogen by Herefordshire Marl—The Cholera,' plus 'The Origin and Use of Peroxide of Iron in the Old Red Sandstone,' and one 'The destruction of Fern and Gorse by the application of Fresh Lime, etc.' was the first contributor. He had examined samples of well water and found chemicals which in his opinion would act on lead (lead poisoning). He was also supported by others.

Dr. Rowan stated:- 'I have examined several samples of well water in this city; it generally contains eight grains of solid matter to the pint, in the summer months; chiefly carbonate of lime. There is also chlorine in it, in all the samples, I have examined. That would act upon lead. There is also an unusually large quantity of carbonic acid in these waters, which would likewise act upon lead. I have heard medical men state that their patients had been afflicted by the presence of lead in pump water; but I have myself not had sufficient experience to speak to this.'

Other witnesses spoke more particularly to the presence of lead in pump waters, and to its deleterious effects.

Mr. Trokes stated:- 'I was present at two cases of poisoning by pump water. The pump in question was situate in Broad Street. I went for the medical man, Mr. Bleeck Lye, who, upon attending the cases, said that the illness in both arose from the use of water impregnated with lead, both the persons were ill for some time, but eventually recovered.'

Mr. T. T. Davies stated:- 'I once heard of a case of pump water being affected by lead. It was about 20 years ago. The pump was situate in King Street. Some portion of the family was affected by the water, and it was tested, and found to contain lead.'

Mr. Buckham stated:- 'The water of the kitchen pump in my house at Dry-bridge cannot be used for any purpose. It is a lead pump.'

Not all the experts agreed, however.

Dr. Bull stated:- 'I have never known cases of lead poisoning from pump water. The lead colic, however, is a frequent complaint in this city, and neighbourhood, owing to lead pipes being used in conveying the cider from the cellars. Cider it is well known acts rapidly upon lead and people who drink it from the tap early in the morning are frequently and seriously affected. I have not known deaths to result, but permanent paralysis in many instances. It is not infrequent that at farm-houses the servants are attacked more or less severely with colic from drinking cider which has been allowed to remain in contact with lead.'

This witness also states:- 'I do not think the sanitary condition of this city can be rendered such as it ought to be, until each house is properly supplied with water.'

WATER ANALYSIS—The following is the Report of Mr. Holland, on a preliminary examination of seven specimens of water sent from the City of Hereford:-

No. 1. Well Water from the Public Well in the High Town Square, opposite Sun Tavern.

This water was colourless and very nearly clear, containing nothing visible except very minute floating particles, but the taste was vapid, saline, and unpleasant as if from the presence of nitrates, which on examination proved to be the case. Tests showed the presence also of bicarbonate and sulphate of lime in considerable quantity, and chloride (probably common salt), and magnesia. The hardness was 48 degrees.

The total quantity of saline matter was about 77 grains per gallon.

No. 2. Well Water from Dr. Bull's Well, St. John Street.

This specimen was clear and colourless, but had a slight saline taste, and also of vegetable infusion.

Tests showed in it the presence of sulphate and bicarbonate of lime in abundance, also of chloride (probably common salt), and a small quantity of magnesia. When evaporated to dryness the residue burnt with a peaty smell, and left saline contents in the proportion of about 77 grains per gallon.

The hardness was 45 degrees, occasioned almost entirely by the presence of salts of lime.

No. 3. Well Water from St. Ethelbert's, or Bride Well.

This water was bright and clear, free from colour, taste or smell, and pleasant to drink.

Tests showed the presence of the same salts as in No. 2, but in somewhat smaller quantity. The saline contents were 58 grains per gallon, and the hardness 33 degrees, principally occasioned by sulphate and bicarbonate of lime.

No. 4. Well Water from Mr. Johnson's (Town Clerk's) Well.

This water was very nearly clear, had no colour or smell, but an unpleasant saline taste, and was very vapid. It contained nitrates.

Tests showed also the presence of a chloride (probably common salt) in abundance, also much sulphate of lime, bicarbonate of lime, and a little magnesia.

The hardness was 50 degrees, almost entirely occasioned by lime salts. The residue, which burnt with a peaty smell, was in the proportion of about 100 grains per gallon.

(The Government Chemist thought the poor quality of samples 1-4 was probably due to some decomposing animal matter in the soil through which the water percolated.)

No. 5. Well Water from the River Wye above the City (flooded eight feet above Summer Level).

This water was clear, but had a slight tinge, and decided taste of peat.

Tests showed the presence of a very little sulphate of lime, rather more bicarbonate of lime, and a trace of a chloride, but hardly more than rain-water generally contains. The total saline contents were scarcely more than three grains per gallon, after the peaty matter left on evaporation had been burnt off.

The hardness was 3 degrees nearly.

No. 6. Water from the Moor Spring, supplying the Monk-moor or Stonebow Brook.

This water was bright, clear, colourless, and had only a very slight, scarcely perceptible, taste of vegetable infusion.

Tests showed the presence of a little sulphate of chloride, and a considerable quantity of bicarbonate of lime, with a little magnesia.

The hardness was 16 degrees, softened very much by boiling, and by adding lime water, to 3-3/3rd degrees.

The total saline residuum was 17 grains per gallon, that left after precipitation of the carbonate of lime was only about 3½ grains per gallon. It now closely resembled the water of the Wye (No. 5) except from containing less peaty matter.

No. 7. Water from the Yazor, or Town Brook, above the City.

This water was clear and colourless, free from taste or smell; there was little fine sand and a few particles of vegetable mould at the bottom of the bottle.

Tests showed the presence of the same salts as in No. 6, which it very closely resembled.

The hardness was 17 degrees, reduced by boiling without evaporation, or by adding lime water, to 3½. The separation of the bicarbonate of lime reduced the saline contents from 17½ to 4½ grains per gallon.

The four specimens of well water are all too hard to be fit for town supply; two of them,

No. 1 and No. 4, contain nitrates in marked quantity, which probably owe their origin to some decomposing animal matter in the soil through which the water percolates to the spring. Neither of these are at all fit for drinking or any other domestic use. The other two, though not unpleasant to drink, contain a very objectionable quantity of lime and other saline matter.

The water from the Wye (No. 5) having been taken in time of flood, was not improbably more tinged with peat than it may be at ordinary times. The liability to be thus tinted is an objection to this source of supply; there is also the risk of the water being objectionably warm in hot weather, objections which will also apply to the Town Brook, but not to the Moor Spring supply, provided that be sufficiently abundant and accessible. With respect to the hardness of that water, it may be reduced so as scarcely to exceed that of the Wye at flood, by a process at once easy, cheap and effectual. This consists of simply mixing rather than more a pound of quick lime (the exact quantity being easily known while the process is in operation) with every 1,000 gallons of water. Carbonate of lime will be formed by the union of the lime added with bicarbonate of lime naturally present, which in less than a day will completely subside leaving the water bright, clear, pure and soft, pleasant to drink, economical to wash with, and fit for all domestic purposes. It will be scarcely harder than rain-water, not so hard as it often is as retained in cisterns for use; so that if such water as this would be were introduced into Hereford, not only would all pumps and wells be unnecessary, but rain-water cisterns and butts would be superseded, and all the trouble, inconvenience and expense, and dampness they so frequently occasion be prevented.'

Having commented on the unsuitability of the samples from the wells for drinking or other domestic purposes, the Government Chemist suggests reducing the hardness by adding quick lime to the Moor Spring supply (supplied Monkmoor or Stonebow Brook). He goes on to add the following, which demonstrates the importance attached to drinking a certain beverage in those days! 'Besides its importance for washing, saving soap, and preventing the excessive labour and wear of clothes occasioned by hard water, soft water is far the best for cooking, and especially for tea-making. For instance, equal quantities of the leaf will make four cups of tea with the Wye water, but only three cups equally strong with well water No. 1. But the softer water, besides making more or stronger tea with equal quantities of the leaf, makes it of better and more agreeable quality; it is harsher as well as weaker when made with the hard well water. The substitution of soft water will, therefore, be more than equivalent to saving one fourth of what those who now use hard water for tea-making spend in tea, as with soft water they may make better tea at three fourths the cost. For cooking also, and for brewing, and for all purposes of manufacture, soft water is much to be preferred.

Whitehall, 13th July 1853. (Signed) P. H. HOLLAND'

But besides the hardness of the water due to lime salts, what was the cause of the other more unpleasant compounds found therein? Wells affected by Soakage from Cesspools:- Numerous witnesses gave evidence upon a fact which could hardly be doubted, that the soakage from the cesspools, so studiously promoted by the mode of their structure, pollutes the water in wells to a serious extent.

Our Dr. Rowan seized the opportunity which was too good to miss by giving a short lecture on the chemistry of action between the sulphuretted hydrogen of cesspools with other chemicals in the soil thus proving contamination between cesspools and wells. He then turned to some specific examples and said: 'I have noticed a marked effect upon the wells of the soakage from the cesspools. The sub-stratum of the city is a red gravel, more or less coarse and running from about the size of a nut to the finest sand. It is principally a drift bed from the parent rock,—the old red sandstone. In the higher parts of the city, I imagine this drift bed to be about 10 feet deep, while the water level is about 14 feet deep. In Widemarsh Street Without, the drift bed is about four feet deep, and the wells I should say about 10 feet deep. The flat area on the opposite side of the river, has a somewhat similar character, and there the wells are about 10 feet deep. There is a deposit of silt above the sand there. Everywhere over the gravel is a superficial layer of mould or soil, varying in thickness. The wells are in all cases carried below the cesspools. I have examined many samples of well water in the city, and I have found it more or less pure in proportion to its distance from the cesspools. I have found distinct traces of animal matter in the samples examined, the particularly traces of free sulphur, which is due, I imagine, to the sulphuretted hydrogen of the cesspools; the oxygen of the iron combining with the hydrogen of the gas, and forming water. So far this disinfects the water passing from the cesspools towards the well. The sulphur of the sulphuret of iron becomes liberated by the iron again becoming a peroxide of iron, and the sulphur is washed by percolation of water into the well. I am able to trace thus a communication between the cesspools and the wells in the city; and I believe the water in some instances to be affected by this matter to an injurious degree. I have known the well water to smell offensively after heavy rains.'

This witness stated, that his examination of well water 'had by no means been general,' and that 'he could speak only of the wells which he had examined.' He said:- 'I have examined the well water of the Kerry Arms Inn, in Bye-streeet, by desire of the landlord, who considered it to be bad. I did not analyze it, but from its taste, smell and appearance when examined by aid of a pocket microscope, I thought it to be affected by the cesspool of a water-closet near. It has since been remedied. The water had no metallic taste.

'I have tasted my own well water, and I should say, that of six or eight other wells. There are two cesspools at my house in Harley-place; and I consider my well water to have been affected by one or both of them. One cesspool is about five yards from the well, the other about 15 yards. The wells are lower than the cesspools; it may be two yards lower. I think the more distant cesspool may under certain circumstances affect the well. I think any well within six yards of a cesspool would be affected, but not to an equal extent in all cases. I am aware that the occupier of a house in High-Town was compelled to sink a new well, the old one being supplied in this way. I have sunk holes, and distinctly traced a connexion between a cesspool and a well. This was in a case where a medical man had considered illness to be due to the water of the well; and I was called in to examine it professionally.'

In the case of the well at the Kerry Arms Inn, mentioned by this witness, Mr. Buckham stated that in his opinion the pollution of the water was owing to soakage from

the public sewers; in confirmation of which he stated:- 'I saw the liquid oozing through the wall of the cellar of the house.'

Dr. Bull, in his general evidence upon the sanitary condition of the place, mentioned the fact of the water of a well being affected by soakage from cesspools, to such an extent as to produce disease, and that it could no longer be used; and that to his knowledge the water was similarly affected in some other houses. So if you stayed at the Kerry Arms in those days, you could either be poisoned by the water, or if you drank cider, from the lead dissolved in the cider from the lead pipe used for conveying it from the cellars and pay for the privilege!

DRAINAGE—But if the water supply was unsatisfactory, the drainage arrangements were in an even more parlous state. All the refuse (drainage) from the various culverts and sewers in the City drained into the streams which eventually went into the river Wye. The whole system was in a very had state. However, Mr. Leonard Johnson who was the Surveyor at a salary of £35 per annum, was not going to admit that. The trouble was he said that different parties would keep making private communications into the sewers although the Local Act prohibited passing night-soil into them. Even when discovered and stopped up for a time, the communications had been opened up again. But nevertheless to allay any fears and paint the best possible picture, he gave the following information:- 'I have been surveyor of the city 14 years next March. The sewers are of different sizes, and have been put down generally at different times, previously to my having anything to do with them. There is no map showing the city sewerage; my knowledge of the drains is derived from opening them at different times, and in many cases enlarging and extending them; there are, to the best of my knowledge, sewers under all the principal streets; all the main sewers are brick, except some grafts into them; they vary in size from nine inches to two feet across; most of them are circular in form, but some of the larger ones are egg-shaped; I think only one has a flat bottom; none of them are square, as far as I know. They are generally from two and a half feet to five feet in depth, and seven feet below the surface. They are not low enough to drain the cellars; they were laid down not to take privy soil, but only surface water and slops from houses. The Local Act prohibits the passing of night-soil into them; a great many privies, nevertheless, communicate with the sewers. These communications have been made privately from time to time by different parties; notice has been repeatedly taken of it by the Commissioners; they have forbidden parties doing so, and have also given notice to stop these private drains. In many instances the communications have been stopped for a time, but in course of time they have been opened again; it may now be said to be a common practice, but one not sanctioned by the Commissioners. On opening the sewers I have found some of them quite clean, others half full, most of them have more or less deposit in them. In the summer time in very dry weather, where there are no traps, a bad smell arises from them; there may be a dozen traps in the town, I do not know one instance where there has been a complete stoppage in the sewers; the water has always been able to run off.'

With regard to surface drainage, the witness said:- 'Some two or three of the streets have been partially flooded on the occasion of very heavy thunder-storms, but it is a rare occurrence; Bye-street, King-street, Widemarsh-street, St. Owen's-street have been par-

tially flooded during a thunder-storm; the water got into a few cellars in each street, but steps have been taken to avoid this occurring again. In some instances the smallest sized culvert was at the end, and so obstructed the discharge of the water. In King-street, for instance, there was an 18-inch culvert running into a 12-inch one. I altered that.'

But neither Mr. J. D. Buckham, a contractor, nor our Dr. Bull were letting him get away with that! Mr. J. D. Buckham, contractor, stated:- 'The public sewers in Hereford are in my opinion, quite inoperative during droughty weather; there being then no water coming from the brook or any other source to flush them. Most of the solid matter then passing into them remains, and much of the liquid matter soaks away through the brickwork into the gravel beneath, and of course affects the wells more or less. The drains have scarcely any fall. Bewell-street (already alluded to) is nearly on a dead level. The deposit in this drain last Midsummer, when examined, it was nearly two thirds deep. Every five or six yards the drain was obliged to be opened, and the deposit raked out, to the hindrance of the traffic of the street. In Bewell-street at the south end, last Midsummer, there was a complete stoppage of the public sewer. It was also stopped at the same time at the other end; and there was no flow through it all the way long, excepting what was carried off by soakage through the brickwork. In Cabbage-lane I saw the sewer quite filled up with mud, and stopped about the same time. Last Midsummer, the time I refer to, I was one of a committee appointed by the Commissioners to inspect the sewers generally. We had holes made in most of the sewers for the purposes of the examination; I found deposit more or less in all of them. The sewer down Bye-street we found pretty clean, but this was the only one free from large deposit. Some were half filled with deposit, some two thirds, and one opposite the Maidenhead Inn was choked up entirely.'

Dr. Bull stated:- 'I have seen the public sewers in Church-street and East-street when opened quite filled with solid matter, so that no flow of sewage could take place. I may say that the drains in the city are not equal to the discharge of storm waters, and that cellars in many parts of the city are filled when heavy rains take place. I called Mr. Johnson's attention to a drain in Town-ditch-lane, which I had observed in the course of my survey, to be stopped up. He stated, in explanation, that the drain in question was a private drain, and that he was repairing it as a private builder. He added, that this drain ran into a public drain in the same street, but could not say at what point the public drain and the private drain joined.'

Mr. Johnson was examined in reference to the state of a drain in Bewell-street. He stated:- 'The drain in Bewell-street is a public drain. It was opened three or four months ago, and was found to be three parts full. There might have been three or four inches of clear space at the top. There are many waterclosets emptying into it, and the ground is very flat; it was, moreover, a very dry season. This drain is about one foot in diameter. It was opened in consequence of complaints of the smells from the gratings. A house-drain was stopped at the highest part of the culvert, the mouth being covered.' He added:- 'I have had a great many cases of house-drains being stopped in a similar manner; it is a common occurrence. I do not call this a stoppage of the main drain.' 'We have no power over house-drains in private premises. We could of course prevent their communicating with the main drain. Some of the authorities of the city set the example, and it has been tolerated ever since.'

Dr. Bull was Medical Officer to the Town Gaol, and the average number of inmates including the officers, was given at nearly thirty persons. All the drainage went into the brook, the outfall pipe being situate at a low level and sometimes immersed we are told. He stated:- 'That he had been requested by one of the visiting magistrates to represent the effect of the damming-up of the Stonebow Brook upon the ventilation of the gaol. The fires could not be lighted then, nor for months past, in consequence of the water coming into the place where the furnace is placed, and which is nearly three feet below the surface. This was frequently the case in wet seasons. The ventilation and warming of the prison is thus seriously interfered with.'

But a delightfully detailed account of the problem was supplied by Charles Anthony, Esq., the Mayor, who said:- 'My opinion, founded on considerable experience, is that the city not only wants street drainage—it has now surface-water drainage, though I cannot admit that it has been efficient,—but house drainage into public sewers, with waterage. I might cite the instance of my own residence, and perhaps few persons have expended more money privately in endeavouring to get good ventilation, and an abundance of water all over his premises, than I have, but all my endeavours have been ineffectual, and for this simple reason,—I am obliged to drain into my own garden, instead of into the public sewer. I believe that the watercloset on my premises is the oldest in the city. It is supplied with water from the top of the house, by means of a force-pump in the cellar. I have also gone to a considerable expense to get a supply of water up-stairs by catching the surface water from the premises, but the supply is very inadequate for general purposes. The watercloset drains into a cesspool in the garden, which was opened about six or eight years ago, when I found that I was obliged to make a new one. This will be full in a few months, when the nuisance and expense of opening must be again resorted to. At various times I have had three cesspools in the same garden; indeed, besides these, there are the remains of many others. If the population of the city goes on increasing, and the use of waterclosets also increases, what is to be the end of it; are the back premises in every street to be converted into cesspools? On my own premises are two privies, which in summer time are a great nuisance, and might be the source of zymotic diseases; and unfortunately these privies were within a few yards of the back premises of my neighbour, Mr. Bullock, to whom the effluvium must in the summer time be most offensive. In consequence of not having a sufficient supply of water, I am unable to remedy the nuisance, except at the great expense and constant labour of a force-pump. Another nuisance arises from a pantry in my house abutting against the privy of my neighbour, the consequence of which is, that, when the contents of the privy rise to a certain height, the effluvium is most offensive. I have gone to a considerable expense to remedy it, but have been unable to do so; and in certain states of the atmosphere my family are almost driven out of the house. Now these are facts connected with my own house alone, and yet I am fortunate enough to have very large premises, so that I can do almost anything with regard to ventilation. If the citizens now erect waterclosets, they are obliged almost to surreptitiously drain them into the street sewer, which is quite inefficient. With all due respect to my fellow-citizens, and without desiring to be invidious, I will state my humble opinion that the great want of the city is through street and house drainage, with sufficient water at command for every house; and to secure these benefits would in the end to be truest economy. I believe that

the city will not be in a proper state of cleanliness, nor the excessive mortality reduced, until these wants are supplied.'

The word 'privy' has been mentioned. For the unenlightened, this has nothing to do with the Privy Council (the monarch's private counsellors) or the privy purse (an allowance from public revenue for the monarch's private expenses). It is as delightfully described in a book on practical sanitation as 'a place where the demands of nature may be satisfied with due regard to privacy.' Basically it is a small hut or building containing a box seat with a receptacle which can be emptied from time to time. The author suggests that to reduce its unattractiveness it be surrounded by latticework on which are trained vines or flowers!

The poorer sections of the community suffered as well as the wealthy and influential. Mr. Dalton, draper, stated:- 'A privy in Barnard-court is a great nuisance to all the neighbourhood. There are 10 cottages in the yard; the privy is in the front of them, and in such a public position that any one entering it must be seen from the cottages, and even from the street. The privy is in the middle of my premises, but does not belong to me. I have no means of remedying it.'

Mr. G. R. Terry, Surgeon of the Union, also spoke of the improper position of this privy, which is certainly open to all the objections urged against it. 'It is close to the foot-path, standing out in such bold relief that it is impossible for any one to go into or out of it without being seen by the whole neighbourhood.'

The privy accommodation generally in Hereford was of a very low order, and attended with the nuisances usually resulting from the want of means for carrying away the refuse matters. Cesspools, of course abounded being the rule rather than the exception, many of them being in the cellars of the houses. Privies were threfore often connected to cesspools.

Our Andrew Rowan, chemist, was a very versatile fellow indeed. Not only was he listed in a local directory as hat manufacturer, and agent to the Minerva Life Assurance Company, Broad Street, but having established a business in Hereford for emptying cesspools with a view to the employment of their contents for agricultural purposes, went into great detail on their defects of construction, many of which were in the cellars of houses. He must have been the originator of the saying 'Where there's muck there's brass.' He had his 'soil-yard' behind the gas-works near the Stonebow Brook and for the edification of the Inspector, described the preparation by a further process of decomposition if necessary, and mixing with dry ingredients. Testimonials of its efficacy being equal to that of guano (natural fertilizer consisting of the accumulated droppings of sea birds) he may have had, but the unfortunate residents in close priximity in his manure works and the gas-works which was operated by a private individual constantly complained about it. Not that Dr. Rowan was admitting it.

Dr. Rowan's manure factory had itself been complained of as creating a nuisance, and had been the subject of legal proceedings and was still a matter awaiting the decision of the City Commissioners. Dr. Rowan stated:- 'The first complaint against the factory as creating a nuisance was carried before the Board of Guardians, acting in the execution of

the Nuisances Removal Act, but on examination of the premises it was dismissed. On four occasions complaints have been made to the Commissioners, and committees appointed to inquire into the circumstances. In the two first cases the committee reported that there was no nuisance; in the third case there was no inspection of the premises, but I received notice to quit; that notice was rescinded at the next meeting. The fourth case of complaint is still undecided. The complainants in all cases are the same parties. These parties not being satisfied with the decision of the Commissioners and the Board of Guardians, preferred a bill of indictment at the assizes. A true bill was found, the case was traversed to the following assizes, when I was acquitted.' He added:- 'Mr. Herapath of Bristol, in company with several respectable inhabitants of Hereford, inspected my factory before the trial; and their depositions, at least such as were taken, were favourable. Mr. Herapath said, that my system of deodorizing animal matter was the most effectual he had ever seen, and freely expressed his opinion that the factory was no nuisance.'

I do not intend to go into detail on the various nuisances which resulted from slaughterhouses, pigsties, stables, candle manufactories, (where fishermen get maggots from in summer), etc., but Mr. Johnson the Town Clerk was very concerned about the Castle mill-ponds. Apart from the smell he said that in summer there was a kind of green slime which covered the pool, almost giving the appearance of a lawn (I seem to have read an account where a gentleman stepped into it, thinking it was a lawn and got a very unpleasant surprise!).

Dr. Bull gave considerable evidence on the general unsatisfactory conditions obtaining in the City at that time. Metals tarnished in a night in one or two of the most respectable shops in this city, by the escape of sulphuretted hydrogen! In one house it was so unhealthy that the whole family were obliged 'to remove to the country two or three times in the course of the year for the benefit of their health.'

But even though you ran the risk of bad water, drainage, obnoxious smells, various ailments, disease and nuisances, when you came to your last resting place, you were not always allowed to rest in peace! The burial grounds were insufficient and overcrowded. It was a common practice to put an iron bar down through the ground in the graveyard to see if there was another coffin, since no proper records were kept. Detailed evidence on this subject was also given by Dr. Bull. Furthermore, he told the Inspector that following various parochial meetings on this unsatisfactory state of affairs, a public meeting had been held in 1849 at the Guildhall, the Mayor being in the chair. It was decided to form a company called The Hereford Cemetery Company and the names of the Mayor and 141 of the principal inhabitants of the city were attached to the prospectus. A piece of ground six acres in extent in the parish of St. Nicholas, was chosen for the purpose and notice was given of the intended application to Parliament.

I mentioned earlier that the church had control of extensive lands in and around the City and the comments that Richard Johnson, Town Clerk, had made to the Inspector about the tenure of land preventing improvements. It appeared that the scheme did not meet with the sanction of the bishop of the diocese and indeed was threatened with his decided opposition. Further proceedings were therefore abandoned. From the correspondence which passed between the bishop and the promoters of the cemetery com-

pany upon this subject, it appears that his lordship's opposition was based upon the consideration that 'it would be injurious to the interests of the see and of the church to alienate the landed property of the see, and especially that adjacent to the city;' and upon these grounds he refused his consent to the enfranchisement of the piece of ground proposed to be adopted for the cemetery.

Having completed his Inquiry, listened to all the representatives and visited the various parts of the City, the Inspector made the following conclusions and recommendations:

'GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. That the city of Hereford is situate on the north bank of the Wye, which here takes a circuitous course, inclosing one of the parishes, that of St. Owen on three sides; and that the town is skirted at its eastern and western extremities by two brooks, one called the Town-brook and the other the Mill-brook; and that for mill purposes the waters of the latter are dammed up considerably above their natural level; that the general level of the city is low, being in the highest parts only 18 or 20 feet above the level of the Wye; and that the consequence is that the city is occasionally subject to storm floods, particularly on the northern and eastern sides.
2. That some provision has been made within a few years past, for the carrying off of surface waters, but that additional and improved provision is still very necessary.
3. That, as respects surface drainage, the provision is very limited in extent, and not having been done upon any well devised system, it is most unsatisfactory in operation; the sewers upon a recent occasion when they were examined, being found all more or less loaded with deposit, and some entirely choked up; that although the discharge of privy-soil into the sewers is prohibited, the privies of many of the houses communicate with them.
4. That the greater portion of the sewage of the town is discharged in the first instance into open streams, which surround the city, emptying eventually into the Wye; but that a part of it is deposited in a mill-pond; and the offensive emanations contaminate the neighbouring atmosphere.
5. That the privy accommodation is very deficient, and that in the great majority of cases it is in connexion with cesspools, which are purposely so constructed that the liquid refuse may drain away into the soil.
6. That there is no public provision for water supply, the inhabitants drawing their supply chiefly from wells; that the well water is hard, and in many cases polluted by the leakage of filthy refuse from cesspools.
7. That many nuisances exist in the city which there is no adequate power to suppress.
8. That the city is lighted with gas, from works established under Act of Parliament by a company, but which are now leased to an individual.
9. That the sanitary condition of the inhabitants is low, the mortality being at the rate of 27 to 1,000 of the population: that a large proportion of deaths are due to zymotic diseases, the average number of such cases being 40 annually out of an average gross mortality of 300; and that the proportion of deaths from such causes to the number of the population is as 1 to 300.

10. That there is a great deficiency of burial accommodation in the city, the cathedral precincts and the old burial-grounds being much overcrowded; and that their condition is detrimental to the health of the community.
11. That the comfort and health of the inhabitants would be promoted, and their condition improved by—
    (a) An improved system of surface drainage, and the lowering of the water level by the removal of the mill-dams on the brooks in the immediate vicinity.
    (b) A complete system of refuse drainage.
    (c) An abundant supply of pure water.
    (d) Increased privy accommodation, and the filling-up of all existing cesspools.
    (e) Improved ventilation and other sanitary arrangements in the dwellings of the poor
    (f) Increased burial accommodation.

I THEREFORE RECOMMEND—

I That the Public Health Act, 11 & 12 Victoria, be applied to the city and liberties of Hereford.

II That the boundaries within which the Act be so applied be those defined by the Act 2 and 3 Will. 4. c. 64. (Upon the Act being applied the Town Council will be the Local Board of Health for the District).

I have the honour to be,
My Lords and Gentlemen,
Your very obedient servant,
T. W. RAMMEL,
Superintending Inspector.'

The Inquiry into the sanitary condition of Hereford was fully reported in the local papers, e.g. *The Hereford Journal* on Wednesday, 12 January 1853, but interestingly without any comment on the implications it might have for improving conditions in the City. However, in the edition of the following week, (Wednesday, 19 January) a letter to the Editor signed CIVIS, criticised the Corporation and Commissioners for Paving and Lighting for their failure to remedy any of the ills mentioned at the Inquiry. It further stated: 'It has been said that unless you happen to be a Commissioner, or kept on pretty good terms with the Surveyor, you have little chance of having any defect in your paving or drainage attended to, the necessary repair of which every ratepayer has a right to expect.' It expressed the hope that 'a clean sweep will be made of all the parties who have had a hand in perpetuating the present state of things.'

The Report must have covered the subject matter thoroughly, because although after publication the General Board of Health invited written statements with respect to any matter contained in or omitted from the Report, there is no record of any received by the Public Record Office.

A letter of 5 May 1854 from the Board to Lord Resedale discussing the Improvement Bill for Hereford, contains the following information about Rammell's Report:- 'No statements on that report or on the recommendations contained therein have been received by the General Board.'[10]

The Inspector made his recommendations to the General Board of Health but the question is whether they bore any fruit since we all know what can happen to such reports. I can tell you it culminated in the passing of an Act of Parliament for the improvement of the City of Hereford and for other purposes of which the short title was 'The Hereford Improvement Act, 1854,' so they certainly did not delay action at Government level.

It was given a short title because in those days it was traditional to preface an Act with an explanatory preamble. This one was no exception and it starts off: 'Whereas an Act was passed in the fourteenth yeare of George the Third Chapter thirty eight intituled an Act for paving, repairing' etc., continues with a description of the local Acts then in force and relevant, 'whereas it is expedient that further provision be made for the Improvement of the City and that the Corporation be empowered,' for example to improve sewage and drainage, make and maintain Water-works and supply water to the City, acquire the Gas-works, provide Burial Grounds, etc., and 'whereas it is expedient that the recited Acts be repealed ... May it please your Majesty that it may be enacted.'

It is one thing to pass an Act of Parliament, however, but sometimes those bodies with the powers conferred on them are reluctant or slow to act. It is gratifying to note, therefore, that Broomy Hill has been the site of the Hereford City Water Works since 1856, a new Cattle Market provided in the same year, and the Butter Market, High Town in 1860, Eventually sewers were constructed to serve various parts of the City, such sewers 'terminating in or upon the shores of the River Wye' or discharging into the river Wye. It was not until 1885, however, that a sewage treatment works was built at Eign, completion being in 1890-1. Other matters such as burial grounds (The bishop finally gave land to the parishes for this purpose in 1858 although the municipal one was not provided until 1909), nuisances, mill-ponds, the gas-works (purchased by the Corporation in 1872) were gradually dealt with, some more speedily than others, to the mutual benefit of the inhabitants, and all due to the Inquiry in 1853.

It was gratifying to record that it was founder members of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club who took time from their professional and business interests to make an outstanding contribution to the deliberations of the Inquiry which in due course brought such benefits in health, well-being and environmental improvement to the citizens of Hereford City.

REFERENCES

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6 Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the City of Hereford, in the County of Hereford, by Thomas Webster Rammell, Esq., Superintending Inspector, 20th July, 1853.
7 *Ibid,* 17.
8 Local Acts in force in the City:- 14 Geo. III (1774); 56 Geo. III (1816); 5 Geo. IV (1824); 1 & 2 Vict. (1838); 3 & 4 Vict. (1840).
9 Act 1 & 2 Vict. (1838).
10 Private communication from the Public Record Office, ref. Q1051 of 13 February 1986.

APPENDIX I

CLASSIFICATION OF TRADES, PROFESSIONS, ETC., HEREFORD

LASCELLES & CO.'s DIRECTORY AND GAZETTEER OF HEREFORDSHIRE, 1851

Accountants, 7
Agents, 11 - See also Insurance Agents
Architects & Surveyors, 2 - See also Land Agents
Artist, 1 (Animal painter)
Auctioneers & Appraisers, 6
Baby Linen Warehouse, 6
Bakers & Flour Dealers, 27
Bankers, 6
Basket Makers, 3
Beer Retailers, 19
Berlin Wood Repositories, 5
Billiard Table Keepers, 3
Bird and Animal Preservers, 2
Blacksmiths, 16
Bookbinders, 7
Booksellers, Printers & Stationers, 12
Boot & Shoemakers, 72
Braziers & Tin Plate Workers, 11
Bricklayers and Masons, 20
Brushmaker, 1
Builders (see also Joiners), 16
Butchers, 35
Cabinet Makers & Upholsterers, 17
Carvers & Gilders, 2
Cheese & Bacon Factors (see also Grocers & Provision Dealers), 1
Chemists & Druggists, 13
Chimney Sweepers, 3
China, Glass & Earthenware Dealers, 3
Coach Builders, 6
Coal Merchants (see Merchants)
Confectioners, 14
Coopers, 10
Cork Cutter, 1
Corn Merchants (see Merchants)
Corn Millers, 5
Curriers and Leather Sellers, 7
Cutlers (Working), 4
Dairymen (see also Farmers), 4
Distillers, 1 (Wm. Pulling & Sons)
Dyers, 2
Eating & Coffee House Keepers, 7
Farmers, 11
Fellmongers, 2
Fishing Tackle Makers, 6
Fishmongers & Dealers in Game, 5
Fly Proprietors, 6 (inc. Boseley, W. & J., Broad Street)
Furniture Brokers, 7
Gardeners, 10
Greengrocers, 7
Grocers, Tea & Provision Dealers, 36
Gun Makers, 4
Hair Dressers, 10
Hatters, 8
Horse & Gig Letters, 5
Hosiers & Glovers (see also Drapers), 2
Hotels, Inns & Taverns, 68
Insurance Agents, 27
Iron & Brass Founders, 2
Ironmongers, Cutlers, etc. 7
Jewellers & Silversmiths (see also Watch & Clock Makers), 3
Joiners & Carpenters (see also Builders) 19
Land Surveyors (see also Architects), 7
Lath Maker, 1
Leather Breeches Makers, 1
Leather Glove Makers, 1
Linen & Woollen Drapers, Silk Mercers, Hosiers, etc., 15
Livery Stable Keeper, 1
Maltsters, 17
Merchants, 21 (Corn, Coal, Bark, Timber)
Milliners & Dress Makers, 54
Millwrights & Machinists, 6
Nail & Chain Makers, 4
Newspapers - "Herefordshire Journal" pubd. every Wednesday by W. H. Vale, Broad Street, "Times" pubd. every Saturday by Charles Anthony, Widemarsh Street.
Paper Box Maker, 1
Patten & Clog Makers, 2
Pawnbroker, 1 - Myer Abraham, Bye Street
Physicians, 7 (Bull - Henry G., St. Johns St.)
Piano Forte & Music Warehouse, 2
Plasterers & Colourers, 11
Plumbers, Painters & Glaziers, 15
Professors & Teachers (Language & Music - Harp)
Rope & Twine Makers, 2
Saddlers & Harness Makers, 9
Sail Maker, 1
Schools (Boarding), 13
Schools (Day), 7
Shopkeepers, 58
Small Ware & General Dealers, 2
Solicitors, 28
Stay Makers, 4
Stone & Marble Masons, 8
Straw Bonnet Makers, 15
Surgeons, 9
Surgeon Dentists, 2
Tailors, 44
Tallow Chandlers, 4
Tanners, 3
Toy Dealers, 3
Travelling Drapers, 5
Travelling Tea Dealers, 3
Umbrella Makers, 3

Veterinary Surgeons, 2
Watch & Clock Makers, 9
Wheelwrights, 7
Whitesmith & Bell-hanger, 1
Wine & Spirit Merchants, 5
(incl. Bulmer & Whitfield, Widemarsh St.
Wm. Pulling & Sons, East St. Charles Watkins, Widemarsh St.
Wood Turners, 3
Woolstaplers, 3

NOTE
Although described as pawnbroker, Abraham Myer of Bye Street was a jeweller, silversmith, watch maker and fashionable clothing dealer, and became a town councillor. His descendants run the well-known firm of Horatio Myer & Co. Ltd., Vauxhall Walk, London, which manufactures and sells beds. The firm produced a centenary publication in 1976 which showed the Hereford connection, and the son of one of the directors was named after his Hereford great-great-great-grandfather, Abraham.

APPENDIX II

CORPORATION OF HEREFORD, 1851

Thomas Evans, Esq. - Mayor
Magistrates - 5 (including the Mayor)
Aldermen - 6
Councillors - 18

PUBLIC OFFICERS

Recorder
Steward
City Coroner
City Treasurer
Clerk of the Peace)
Town Clerk)
Clerk to the City Magistrates
Registrar of Births & Deaths for Hereford District
Registrar of Marriages
Surveyor of Taxes
Clerk to Commissioners of Paving & Lighting
Inspector of Weights & Measures and Inspector of Market
Overseer and Collector of Poor Rates
City Crier

A Roman Forger at Kenchester

By R. SHOESMITH

EVIDENCE that a forger was at work during the Roman period at Magna (Kenchester) has been established as a result of a chance find of a small piece of lead sheet. This paper describes the forger's piece and its use.

Anyone who has walked over a recently ploughed field in the vicinity of a Roman settlement will know that objects associated with the occupation of the site can often be found in this disturbed topsoil layer. The most common objects are small pieces of pottery and tile which, although they have lost all direct relationship with features and structures which may remain buried below the plough soil, can provide the trained archaeologist with clues to the nature and date of the underlying deposits. Occasionally other objects such as coins, brooches and perhaps carved stones may be found which will provide evidence in the evaluation of the site.

This is very much the case with the small lead sheet which is the subject of this paper (PL. XXV). It was found in a field immediately to the south-west of the walled Roman town of Magna (Kenchester), some 6 km. west of Hereford, and was brought into the City Museum for identification. The field, which is regularly ploughed, is likely to include Roman extra-mural occupation, perhaps of a similar nature to that excavated some years ago to the west of Magna.[1] When it was found the lead sheet was folded but it broke into two parts when the finder attempted to open it. Each part of the sheet bears the impression of a coin and the piece was eventually examined by the British Museum.[2]

The lead sheet is approximately 3.5 mm. thick and, unfolded, consists of two roughly-shaped pentagons (PL XXV). Measuring from the broken edge in a clockwise direction the dimensions are:-

Left part: 34 x 18 x 22 x 42 x 11 mm.
Right part: 34 x 23 x 27 x 25 x 20 mm.

The photograph shows the irregular shape of the original sheet which had apparently been gouged along the central line for ease of folding. The modern break had occurred along this fold-line, the 34 mm. side.

The internal face (as the piece was found) bears the impressions, in register when the sheet is folded, of a silver DENARIUS or gold AUREUS of the Roman emperor Titus (79—81 A.D.) from similar but different dies to BMC No. 11.[3]

Obv: Head of Titus facing left, laureate, bearded.
IMP TITVS CAES VESPASIAN AUG P M

Rev: Venus standing to right, leaning on cippus, holding helmet and spear
TR P VIII IMP XIIII COS VII P P

The observe impression is on the right part and the reverse impression is on the left. Straddling the broken centre line are traces of an earlier impression of the reverse of a DENARIUS, now unidentifiable. This impression had been beaten out almost flat, causing an increase in the diameter, before being further defaced by the gouging for the fold. The beaten-out impression is overlapped by the later impression of the reverse of the Titus coin.

The sheet was examined by X-ray fluorescence and found to be almost pure lead with just a trace of copper.[4]

There have been several similar finds of lead sheets bearing coin impressions from both Roman and medieval periods. Boon[5] mentions lead-alloy sheets with coin impressions dating from the Roman period from Arlon and Mandeure. These may well be similar to the Kenchester piece although they are described as moulds with crudely-cut connecting channels. During the archaeological excavation of the medieval site at Quinton Moat in Northamptonshire two pieces of lead sheet were found.[6] The smaller bears the impression of the obverse of a penny of Edward I (1280-81) whilst the larger piece is covered with the overlapping impressions of no less than nine pennies apparently all of the same reign. It is perhaps worth noting that lead waste was found in a small circular oven on the same site.

How are these lead sheets used to produce forgeries? The impressions must have been made by hammering the lead sheet over a genuine coin but, because of the overlapping of the impressions, the low melting point of lead, and the lack of casting channels, the sheets cannot themselves have been used as moulds—they must be a by-product of a more involved process.

This process involved the use of gold or silver foil in association with the genuine coin. A sheet of foil is placed on each side of the coin and this is then inserted between the two lead sheets. (FIG. 1). This package is then placed on a solid platform and struck with a heavy hammer. The soft lead sheets take up the reverse impressions of the two sides of the coin and the two pieces of foil bear facsimile impressions of the coin. This method is described by Theophilius in the 12th century[7] and the piece described in this paper makes it evident that the process was known and used during the Roman period.

The remaining part of the process involves placing a disc of suitable solder between the two foil impressions and gently heating until the solder flows. Once the new 'coin' had hardened it could be cut to shape and trimmed as necessary. A series of experiments in the British Museum[8] suggested some refinements to this simplified process. Thus if a folded piece of foil was used rather than two separate pieces then the two faces of the coin would remain "in register" and solder would not get on the outside of the impressions. In addition the use of a suitable flux within the coin impressions would ensure that the foil adhered to the base-metal core whilst a 'stopping out' mixture applied to the remainder of the foil would prevent the solder sticking and enable the surplus foil to be reused. It is suggested that a small blow pipe was probably used in conjunction with a controlled heat source to ensure that the heat could be cut off immediately the solder had melted thus ensuring that the foil did not dissolve in the molten solder.

The foil itself could well have been made from a genuine coin which would be beaten until it was about 0.1 mm. thick. This would have produced enough foil for four or five forgeries—a very reasonable return for a metalworker who would require no special apparatus to produce successful results.

What happened to forged coins made by this process? Many would doubtless have deteriorated, either due to poor adhesion between the foil and the solder disc or because

base metals tend to corrode in the presence of finer ones. A second reason for the non-recognition of forgeries produced by the method described in this paper is that an alternative forging process produces similar, but not identical, results. This involves the use of a specially prepared disc, consisting of a base-metal core with a precious metal covering, which is struck with false dies to produce the forgery. With plated forgeries, either the plating does not completely cover the edges or the core tends to corrode leaving the two separate foil discs. The impression, however, has the appearance of that of an official die.

It is apparent that the production of plated forgeries during the Roman period was very common[9] and, although no examples have been seen by the author, the following have been noted. A copper SESTERTIUS of Severus Alexander (AD 222-35) from the Gare, Cornwall;[10] a DUPONDIUS of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-61) from Caerleon[11] and a DENARIUS of Gordian III (AD 238-44) also from Caerleon.[12]

Medieval examples have been documented in some detail;[13] the most important examples being from the Colchester 1902 hoard of Short-cross coins buried *c.* 1240, which included four silver foil discs;[14] and the group of Long-cross pennies, abstracted from circulation in 1256, from the Colchester 1969 hoard.[15] This group included fragments of some ten forgeries, all in very corroded condition.

Hitherto all plated forgeries of Roman coins have been supposed to have been the result of using false dies and plated blanks. The lead sheet from Kenchester demonstrates that a method practised and well known in the medieval period was also used in Roman Britain. This important piece of evidence thus adds a completely new dimension to the study of the techniques used by Roman forgers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It would not have been possible to produce this paper without the help and assistance of Miss M. M. Archibald and W. A. Oddy of the British Museum who both examined the piece and provided the results of their researches and also many of the references used herein. My most grateful thanks are due for their kind co-operation.

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[14] H. A. Grueber, A find of silver coins at Colchester, *Numismatic Chronicle,* III, (4th Ser.), (1903), 111-76. The hoard is in the British Museum. (1902-1-1199, 1229, 1301).
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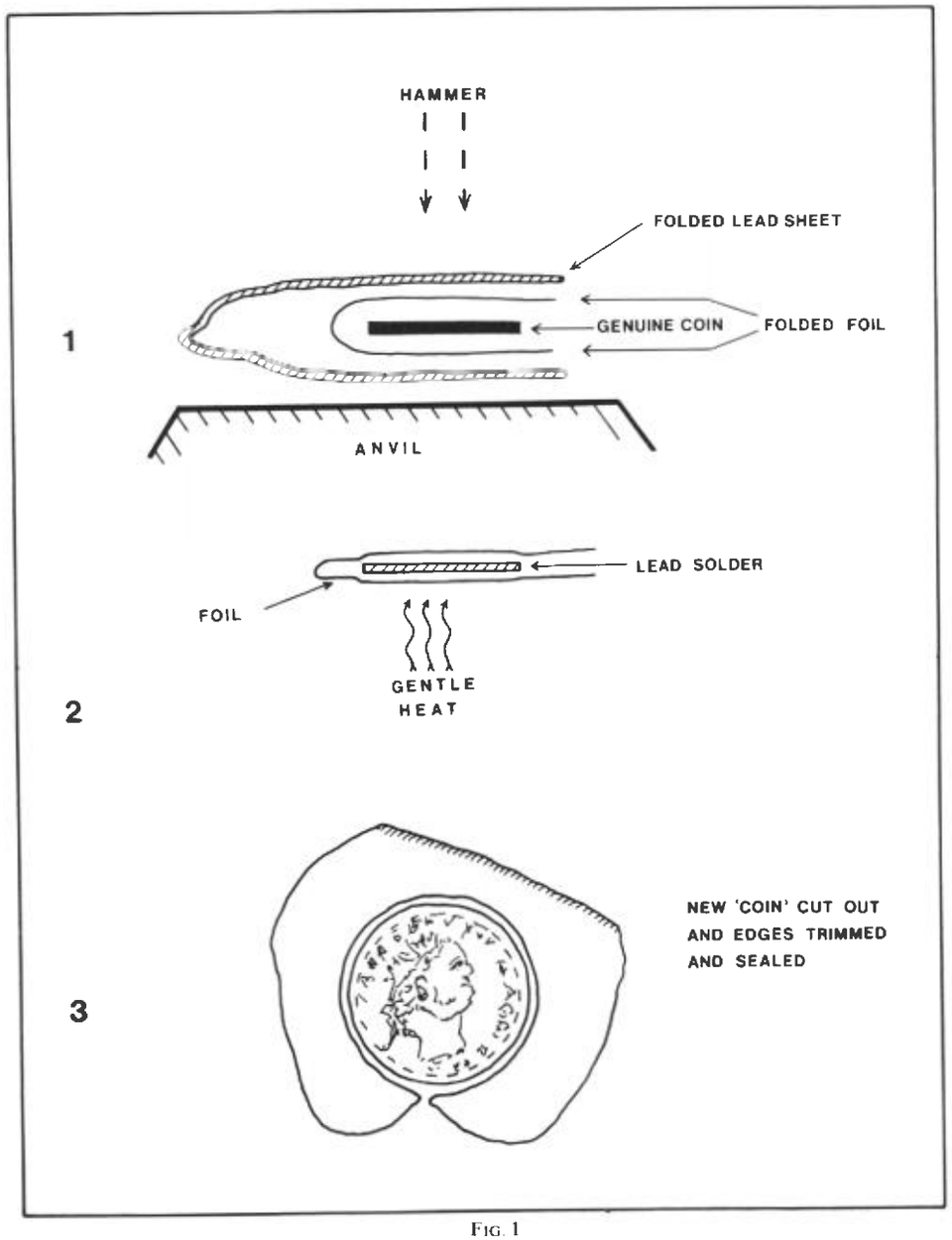

FIG. 1

Roman Forger's Piece. The forging process:
1. Production of foil facsimile 2. Heating new 'coin'
3. Trimming and finishing

The Fief of Alfred of Marlborough in Herefordshire in 1086 and its Descent in the Norman Period

By BRUCE COPLESTONE-CROW

INTRODUCTION

ALFRED of Marlborough was one of the most important of the king's tenants in-chief in Herefordshire in 1086. Of Norman, or perhaps Breton, origin, he had been a landholder in the county before the Conquest, but owed his position there in 1086 to William fitzOsbern, earl palatine in Herefordshire from 1067 to 1071. Herefordshire was not the only county in which he had lands, however; when DB was written he had over 281 hides of land, worth £302 4s. 0d. per annum, in that county and in the counties of Wiltshire, Worcestershire, Somerset, Hampshire and Surrey (see FIG. 1). At his death in a soon after 1086, Alfred left a daughter, Agnes as heiress, but her claim to his lands and that of Thurstan of Wigmore her husband, was overlooked by the king. Instead his fief was broken up and given to a number of donees. Chief among these were Harold of Ewyas and Bernard de Neufmarché whose descendants retained their respective interests in Alfred's former fief to the end of the Norman period and beyond.

ALFRED'S ORIGINS

Alfred was of Norman or more likely Breton origin. As Round has shown, a number of men called Alfred who were associated with England both before and immediately after the Conquest were of Breton origin.[1] The English name Alfred enjoyed a particular vogue with the Bretons from the 9th century onwards, and as he had lands in Herefordshire and Worcestershire before 1066 it could be that Alfred was yet another of the Bretons introduced into England by Edward the Confessor.[2] He is almost certainly the Alfred *Malbedeng* or Maubanc who occurs in a number of Norman charters dating from between *c.* 1069 and 1081. In one of these, a deed from the cartulary of the abbey of Mont St. Michael, he is associated with the abbot of that place which lies on the border between Normandy and Brittany.[3] In the 12th century a family called Maubanc, who may have been distantly related to Alfred, became settled at Monnington Stradel which had belonged to Alfred in 1086. At least two members of this family bore the Breton name Ruald and one, in the early 13th century, the name Alfred.[4] This family, and Alfred himself, may be members of the widespread family named or nicknamed, Maubanc[5] whose chief representative in 1086 (apart from Alfred?) was William Maubanc, lord of Nantwich, Cheshire, and of other places in Wiltshire and Dorset, under earl Hugh of Chester.[6] When in 1085 Roger de Lacy entered into agreement with the bishop of Hereford at Hereford, probably, for the services due from the manor of Holme Lacy, one of the witnesses to the act was William Maubanc of Nantwich.[7] William is associated there with earl Roger de Montgomery of Shrewsbury, in whose earldom he held lands, but it may also be that his presence was dictated by the fact that he was related to one of the leading landholders of Herefordshire, Alfred Maubanc of Marlborough.

If the Alfred Maubanc of the Norman deeds referred to was indeed Alfred of Marlborough, then one of them connects him closely with known post-Conquest landholders in Herefordshire. This is Round's charter no. 1432, in his *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France,* dated 30 November 1074, which is a notification of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, that he has bought for St. Mary's of Bayeux the land of Cheffreville from Herbert de Agnellis with the consent of his lord, Ralph de Conches. The deed (as indeed is no. 714, above) is witnessed, among others, by Roger de Montgomery, in whose train William *Malbedeng,* as he is called in DB, was in 1085, and by Alfred *Malbeding.* Ralph de Conches was known as Ralph de Tosny at the time DB was written, and he then had fourteen estates in Herefordshire, including Clifford castlery, as well as many manors in other English shires. Herbert de Agnellis was Ralph's tenant within his castlery at Clifford and also at Eaton near Leominster.[8] Alfred Maubanc was thus in 1074 familiar with men of Herefordshire and this increases, the likelihood that he is Alfred of Marlborough. Another of the Norman charters shows that Alfred Maubanc had had land at Giberville near Caen which he had given to the nearby abbey of Troarn.[9]

The evidence tends to suggest, therefore, that Alfred of Marlborough was a Breton who was known as Alfred Maubanc in Normandy, who was related to the Maubancs of Nantwich in England and who was followed on one of his Herefordshire manors by a family whose use of the rare nickname Maubanc suggests that they too were related. As a Breton his presence at Ewyas Harold from 1067/71 onwards may have been the point of contact which led to the founding of a vigorous Breton colony at nearby Monmouth after 1075. It may or may not be a coincidence that the leaders of this colony, Wihanoc and his nephew and eventual successor, William fitzBaderon, hailed from the vicinity of Dol and Mont St. Michael.[10]

Alfred is not known to have had any interest in Marlborough, Wiltshire, in or before 1086, that could account for his surname in DB. In this he is curiously paralleled by the family called Maubanc who became settled at Monnington Stradel. They were known as 'of Calne', although their interest in that Wiltshire town, though real, is hard to determine. In Alfred's case, however, an association with Marlborough that terminated before 1086 could account for his DB surname.

ALFRED IN ENGLAND BEFORE 1066

Before the Conquest Alfred had lands at Pencombe in Herefordshire and Severn Stoke in Worcestershire.[11] He was thus one of the small group of 'Normans' settled in the West Midlands under Ralph de Mantes, Edward the Confessor's nephew, who was earl in Herefordshire and other Midland shires from 1047 onwards. Also settled in Herefordshire at this time was Alfred's uncle, Osbern Pentecost. From Osbern is named Pentecost's Castle, which was in existence in 1052 and which is almost certainly the castle at Ewyas Harold.[12]

Prior to Ralph de Mantes's appointment Herefordshire had lain within the earldom of Sweyn, eldest son of Godwin, earl of Wessex. Godwin's younger son Harold (later king Harold) also seems to have had rights in the shire, however. In 1050 earl Godwin and all his sons were banished from England through the intrigues of the king's Norman

favourites at court, and DB says of Brinsop and Burghill, which Alfred of Marlborough had in 1086, that 'Osbern (Pentecost) uncle of Alfred had these two manors after Godwin and Harold had been exiled.'[13] In 1052 Godwin and his family returned in strength and were restored to their former positions. Then it was the turn of the Normans in England to flee. Only a few of the king's especial favourites were allowed to remain, and of the rest, a party fled west to Osbern Pentecost's castle. These Normans, together with Osbern and his fellow castellan, Hugh were then obliged to seek the permission of earl Leofric of Mercia to pass through his earldom and take refuge, in Scotland. Having taken service with king Macbeth all of them were killed two years later fighting against earl Siward of Northumbria.[14] Since Alfred survived to gain or regain lands in Herefordshire after the Conquest he plainly cannot have been one of those forced to flee to Scotland. One of the particular favourites allowed to remain in England, the king's equerry, was in fact called Alfred, and R. J. Adam thinks it entirely possible that Alfred of Marlborough was this person.[15]

ALFRED'S FIEF IN 1086

An invaluable assistant in the various stages of the acquisition of his earldom by William fitzOsbern would have been Alfred of Marlborough because, like Osbern fitz Richard of Richard's Castle, he is the only 'Norman' who had lands in Herefordshire after the Conquest who is known to have had lands there before that event. William fitzOsbern was made palatine earl in Herefordshire (and probably also in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire) early in 1067. From then until 1069 he was occupied in affairs of state in both England and Normandy, and it was not until the spring of the latter year that he was able to devote himself to the affairs of his earldom. His first task was to win Herefordshire from the English under the local leadership of Edric the Wild, his second was to secure it against attacks from Edric's Welsh allies and the third was to effect a permanent settlement of the county for his Norman followers. The first he had achieved by the autumn of 1069 and the second and third he achieved by the time he departed the country, never to return, in December 1070.[16] Alfred and Osbern's knowledge of the county and its neighbouring shires dating from before 1066 will have been invaluable to the new earl in all the stages of conquest and settlement, and the earl will also have had the assistance of the garrison of Hereford Castle which seems to have maintained itself since the days of earl Ralph de Mantes.[17] To secure the county from Welsh attacks earl William constructed a number of castles in the west. Arriving at the old castle of Osbern Pentecost at Ewyas Harold he refortified it and began to organise its adjacent lands into a dependent castley before handing it over to Alfred.

In support of Ewyas Harold and its castlery, Alfred received from earl William ten other estates in Herefordshire; these he still had in 1086. Within the castlery there were then ten carucates and about five hides of land and outside it seventy hides, with the total value of all he had in the county standing at £81.

Ewyas Harold was the caput of all Alfred's lands in England. Besides the castle he had there a small borough, and nearby lay a manor called *Manitone* or *Mulstone*. Within the castlery lay lands at 'Elston'/Pontrilas (including Kentchurch), *Stane*/Kenderchurch),

Walterstone (with Llancillo and Rowlstone)[18] and attached to it, though not within it, were lands later represented by the Welsh commote of Teirtref, otherwise the marcher lordship of the Three Castles.[19]

Elsewhere in Herefordshire he had the manor of Ashe Ingen in Archenfield and near to it the manor of Eaton Tregoz which lay partly within and partly without Archenfield. In the Golden Valley area he had the manors of Monnington Stradel and Bredwardine and in the rest of the shire the the manors of Brinsop, Burghill, Pembridge, Stretford, Pencombe and Much Cowarne.[20]

Alfred's manor of Severn Stoke in Worcestershire which may have been returned to him by earl William and which he held of the abbot of Westminster, contained fifteen hides and was worth £10 per annumn.[21]

Outside earl William's former palatine earldom in the West Midlands, Alfred had lands in the counties of Wiltshire, Somerset, Hampshire and Surrey. In Wiltshire he had twenty-four manors totalling nearly 143 hides and with the revenues of various burgages in Wilton, Cricklade and Malmesbury, worth £113 4d. 0d. to him. His twenty-four manors lay at Allington (including All Cannings), Rowde, Teffont Evias, Crofton, Newton Toney, an unidentified part of Winterbourne, Lydiard Tregoz, Swindon, Moredon (including Haydon Wick), West Widhill, Upton Scudamore, Norton Bavant, Rockley, Fifield Bavant, Lacock, Clevancy, Swallowcliffe, Great Somerford, Chedglow, Horringsham, West Kennett and West Tytherton (Tytherton Lucas).[22] His lands at Newton in North Petherton, Combwich, Pensford and Chelwood (part) in Somerset Alfred held of the count of Boulogne; another part of Chelwood he held in-chief. In all there were 15 hides of land worth £18 per annum. In Hampshire he had the manors of Shipton Bellinger and Eastrop, which contained 13½ hides and were worth £64. In Surrey he had the 15-hide manor of Send which was worth £15 10s. 0d. yearly.[23]

The barony as a whole totalled something over 281 hides valued at £302 14s. 0d. per annum. Wiltshire contained just about half the fief, but Alfred chose to make Ewyas Harold in Herefordshire its caput. This must reflect both the importance Alfred attached to his association with earl William and conversely, Alfred's importance to earl William. It may also reflect the fact that in Herefordshire lay the centre of Alfred's interest in England before 1066. His powerful castlery at Ewyas Harold, moreover, controlled an important route from England into south Wales, into which area a border baron such as Alfred may expand his lands when the time was right.

THE CASTLERY OF EWYAS HAROLD (See FIG. 2)

In 1086 there were five carucates of land at Ewyas Harold and five carucates at nearby *Manitone*. *Manitone* is now a lost place, but it may have lain between Ewyas Harold and Pontrilas.[24] On these ten carucates Alfred himself had two ploughs in demesne and his five knights and sergeants, Richard, Gilbert, William, William and Arnold, another five. Other knights or sergeants had lands further afield but still within the castlery. Two knights, William (de Lestres) and Ralph (de Scudamore) had land for two ploughs, probably at 'Elston'/Pontrilas and at Corras in Kentchurch. Thurstan and Warner had lands

worth 1s. 7d. and 5s. respectively, possibly in Dulas. On these nine men Alfred could call at short notice to defend the castle. A demesne manor of Alfred's lay at 'Elston'/Pontrilas whose recorded priest probably served the church at Kentchurch. The borough of Ewyas Harold has only two burgages (held by Henry de Ferrers) recorded for it in DB, but references to other burgages there occur in the 12th and later centuries. The whole castlery was worth £10 annually to Alfred.

Within the castlery, but not under Alfred's control, lay four carucates of land in Roger de Lacy's hands. These had been given to Roger's father, Walter, by earl William and were held of Roger by William and Osbern in 1086.[25] They probably lay at Walterstone, which may be named from Walter de Lacy. Also, Roger had from Henry de Ferrers in the same area three churches and a priest. These are likely to have been the churches of Walterstone, Llancillo and Rowlstone, with the priest serving all three but based at the ancient foundation of St. Tyssilio at Llancillo.

Three other estates lay within the castlery and under Alfred's control. These were *Stane*/Kenderchurch, 'Elston'/Pontrilas (with Kentchurch) and Dulas. Attached to the castlery but not within it was a large territory represented later by the commote of Teirtref.

Either Alfred or earl William before him, had taken *Stane*/Kenderchurch from the see of Hereford and made it part of the castlery. According to DB Walter de Lorraine, bishop of Hereford 1061-79, had had a manor at Didley and another one lying next to it called *Stane* with a total of ten hides in both estates. Both manors had been laid waste by the Welsh sometimes between 1061 and 1066, and they were still waste in 1086, except for one hide at Didley which was worth £2. Of the remaining nine hides some had been put into the king's forest and some had been made part of Alfred's castlery, although they all still belonged to the bishop by rights.[26]

Walter de Lorraine would thus seem to have had two five-hide units, one at Didley and one at *Stane* lying next to it. Didley still exists as a place, but *Stane* is lost. If five hides lay at Didley, one of them still productive but the rest waste, it is likely that the five hides at *Stane* was the part within the castlery of Ewyas Harold. *Stane,* therefore, most likely lay between Didley and Ewyas Harold. In medieval times there were two centres of population between these places, one at Wormbridge and one at Howton in Kenderchurch. Wormbridge came into the hands of the Hospitallers by gift of king Richard I.[27] Richard is known to have made large grants of land out of his forest of Treville to Abbey Dore, so it may be that his gift of Wormbridge also came out of that forest. One frequently finds in the medieval period that if the church could prove that it had been deprived of a certain estate at some point then it very often returned to the church in some way. This could have been the case with Wormbridge. This lies closer to Didley than to Ewyas Harold, so it is possible that Wormbridge represents the four waste hides of the church of Hereford's former estate there which, having been put in the royal forest of Treville (probably by earl William), remained there until king Richard returned it to the church in the shape of the Hospitallers in the 1190s.

If this assumption is correct then the five-hide estate called *Stane* will have been between Wormbridge and Ewyas Harold. The obvious location for it is therefore in the

Howton/Kenderchurch area. In later medieval times the secular centre of this area lay at Howton and the ecclesiastical centre at the ancient Welsh foundation of St. Cynidr at Kenderchurch. Although itself of post-Conquest origin, the place-name Howton represents pre-Conquest English settlement within a predominantly Welsh environment which had its focal point at the church of St. Cynidr. The present parish in which Didley stands also displays this dual English-Welsh nature, with its Welsh centre at the church of St. Dyfrig at St. Devereux and its English centre at Didley. It seems, therefore that in the DB record for Didley and *Stane* we are dealing with two adjacent manors each with its ancient Welsh and more recent English centres. Dual English-Welsh centres within estates is a phenomenon frequently met with in the predominantly Welsh territory of Archenfield and neighbouring areas. It occurs for instance at Wilton-Bridstow, Kynaston-Hentland, 'Wormington' (lost)—Much Dewchurch, 'Ashminton' (lost)—Llanwarne, Withington-Kilpeck (and also at *Manitone*-Dulas in Ewyas Harold, probably) and probably resulted from peaceful English infiltration and settlement of a predominantly Welsh area at a date comparatively close to 1066. Neither Didley nor *Stane* was in Archenfield before or after 1066, however, being hidated and within the English hundredal system as they were.[28] But since they both clearly bordered onto this territory and were close to the forest of Treville it is probable that Didley was to St. Devereux what *Stane* was to Kenderchurch. Possibly there was at one time in Kenderchurch parish a prominent standing stone (*Stane* = OE *stane* 'stone'), similar to Wergins Stone on the banks of the Lugg in Sutton parish, which gave the English settlement its name. This settlement probably never recovered from its ravaging by the Welsh between 1061 and 1066 and after the Conquest it was replaced by Howton.

To sum up, it is thought that the present parish of Kenderchurch represents the DB estate called *Stane* and that *Stane*/Kenderchurch was therefore the location of the five-hide manor belonging to the bishop of Hereford before 1066. After the Conquest it was made part of the castlery of Ewyas Harold, probably by earl William, who may also have been responsible for putting part of the bishop's neighbouring estate of Didley into the royal forest of Treville.

It has been said above that two of Alfred's knights recorded under the castlery, William (de Lestres) and Ralph (de Scudamore) had land for two ploughs that probably lay at 'Elston'/Pontrilas and Corras in Kentchurch; the identity of the two men and the location of their lands (both entirely reasonable) was first made by Warren Skidmore.[29] Kentchurch lay in Archenfield in 1086 as did *Elwistone,* an estate of Alfred's recorded under the heading of that territory in DB. Elwistone stood at or near Pontrilas, and a modern rendering of the place-name may be 'Elston'.[30] At 'Elston' Alfred had a priest, who may have served St. Keyne's church at Kentchurch,[31] and also one and a half demesne ploughs the whole manor being worth £1 10s. 0d. yearly to him.

In the 'Elston'/Kentchurch area in the 12th century a family taking their name from Poyntington (then in Somerset, now in Dorset) had land of the lord of Ewyas Harold by rent service. Poyntington, and other places in Somerset and Dorset, were held by a certain William de Lestres in 1086 as subtenant of the earl of Mortain.[32] Skidmore suggests that because of the connexion between Poyntington and 'Elston' in the 12th century, William

de Lestres there and William, Alfred's knight, are the same person. On two of his Wiltshire estates later held by the Scudamore family Alfred had a certain Ralph as his subtenant, and Skidmore has deduced from contemporary charter evidence that this Ralph was the father of Reginald de Scudamore who had Corras in Kentchurch early in the 12th century.[33] It Skidmore is right, then William de Lestres and Ralph de Scudamore held lands in Kentchurch which should have been entered in DB under the heading of Archenfield alongside or within the record for 'Elston', rather than under the heading of Alfred's castlery. Probably, however, the two records compliment each other, one providing further details of the other and the details only differing in the personnel giving evidence to the Domesday commissioners. In all likelihood the lands of the two knights and the manor of 'Elston' lay in the castlery in 1086, although prior to the castlery being established 'Elston' was in Archenfield.

The lands within the castlery of the knights or sergeants called Thurstan and Warner, valued at 1s. 7d. and 5s. respectively, may have lain in Dulas. In the 12th century, probably when it was founded in 1147, a certain 'Warner son of Ralph' gave to Abbey Dore the land of *Cheuenerounem,* now Upper and Lower Cefn in Dulas.[34] The occurrence of the somewhat unusual name of Warner in this context may suggest that he had some connexion with the Warner of DB.

The DB record for the castlery of Ewyas Harold includes the statement that 'The king also granted him (Alfred) the land of Ralph de Bernay which belonged to the castle.' This 'land' is likely to have been the territory later represented by the commote of Teirtref or lordship of the Three Castles.[35] It seems to have been attached to the castle at one point, probably when earl William had the castle in his own hands, became detached from it when earl William gave the castle to Alfred and came into Alfred's hands by direct grant of the king, only after the palatine earldom in Herefordshire came to an end with the revolt and banishment of the earl's son, earl Roger, in 1075. Besides refortifying Ewyas Harold, earl William is known from an independent authority, to have built a castle at Monmouth at a time when Walter de Lacy was his chief lieutenant and Ralph de Bernay was his sheriff in Herefordshire.[35] The fact that Ralph de Bernay's name is thus connected with the area of Ewyas Harold and Monmouth by two independent authorities may suggest that he had a special interest in that area. This special interest may be that he was lord of lands lying between these two centres, in what was later the lordship of the Three Castles, which earl William had obtained while working from his castle at Ewyas Harold and which he granted to Ralph de Bernay when he gave Alfred the castle. On later evidence the castlery established at Monmouth before 1086 included lands that extended into the Welsh cantref of Gwent Uwchcoed as far as the river Trothy and the Llymon Brook. Between this castlery and the castlery of Ewyas Harold, west of the river Monnow, lay the later medieval centres of Skenfrith and Grosmont associated with which were a castle (White Castle) in Llantilio Crossenny and a small priory at Llangua. It is thus inconceivable that earl William, working from Monmouth and Ewyas Harold castles, did not have this area in his hands. In fact we know for certain that he did because there is documentary evidence to prove it. Before he departed from England in December 1070 he gave the abbey he had founded at Lyre in Normandy certain lands which formed the

endowment of a small cell of that abbey at Llangua. These were the manor of Llangua (*Lonkywan*), tithes of all the forest of Grosmont (*Grossomonte*), half the tithes of Chepstow and half the tithes of the region between Usk and Wye.[36] He cannot have given these unless all or part of the area later represented by Teirtref and the lordship of the Three castles was in his hands. Having gained that 'land' he gave it to Ralph de Bernay, who may then have proceeded to fortify it to maintain his hold on it. Grosmont is a Norman-French place-name and it is at least possible that he named it thus. When however, his overlord, earl Roger, suffered forteiture it seems that Ralph was one of the 'many others' that *Liber Llandauensis* says were disinherited with him in the year 1075. As an appurtenant of the castle of Ewyas Harold the king then gave it to Alfred of Marlborough. Among the personnel recorded at Alfred's castlery in 1086 are nine Welshmen with six ploughteams, and it may be that they represent the current inhabitants of Ralph de Bernay's former 'land'.[37]

OTHER LANDS OF ALFRED IN HEREFORDSHIRE

On the other side of Archenfield to his manor of 'Elston' Alfred had in his possession the manor of Ashe Ingen. It had been an outlier of earl Harold's manor of Cleeve-with-Wilton before 1066 and appears in DB, under the heading of that manor, as one and three-quarter hides that earl Harold was holding when he died but which Alfred of Marlborough had now. Earl William had in the meantime taken it from Cleeve and given it to Alfred, and it duly appears again in DB under his lands in Archenfield. Alfred is said to have there a man with one and a half ploughteams who paid him 10s. annually.[38]

Close to Ashe Ingen, but centred on the other side of the Wye, Alfred had the manor of Eaton Tregoz. The ecclesiastical centre of this manor lay at the Welsh church of St. Tyfai at Foy on the Archenfield side of the Wye, so we have in Eaton—Foy another example of the dual English-Welsh foci. TRE the 2½ hides here were valued at £2 10s. 0d. but at only £2 when Alfred received it and in 1086.

In the area between Hereford and Bromyard Alfred had two large and valuable manors at Pencombe and Much Cowarne. Alfred's fifteen-hide manor in Thornlaw Hundred is not named in DB but is identified as Pencombe in HDB.[39] He himself had held the estate before 1066, and in 1086 his daughter Agnes was his tenant. It was valued at £14 TRE, but only £10 in 1086.

Much Cowarne was Alfred's most valuable Herefordshire manor. Like Pencombe it was assessed at fifteen hides although six of these had been freed from tax by gift of the king. Again the whole manor was in the hands of Agnes but this time in conjunction with her husband, Thurstan of Wigmore. One hide was waste and in the king's forest; this hide is possibly represented today by Cowarne Wood. One other hide of land lay at Bache and an outlier lay at Lower Hopton or Hopton Hagurnel (see below). Before 1066 Harold Godwinson had had the estate and as earl in Herefordshire had made his third penny of the pleas of three hundreds payable there.[40] This arrangement was discontinued after the Conquest. The manor fell in value from £25 to £20 between 1066 and 1086.

Alfred had four manors west of the river Lugg—Pembridge, Stretford, Brinsop and Burghill. The largest of these was Pembridge, a manor which the monks of St. Guthlac at

Hereford claimed had been taken from them by earl Godwin and Harold his son. Its ten and three-quarter hides included an outlier at Moorcot. DB says there was then sufficient woodland to feed 160 pigs 'if it had produced mast.' This must refer to the large areas of woodland that existed (and still do, to a certain extent) at Barewood and Broxwood. Before 1066 Pembridge had a value of £16, when Alfred had it it was waste and of no value and in 1086 it was valued at £10 10s. 0d. The fact that it was waste soon after the Conquest and that its value was still much reduced in 1086 suggests that some of the woodland present had grown up on formerly productive land. The post-Conquest wasting of the manor may have been a result of earl William's operations against Edric the Wild.

Just to the east of Pembridge, at the point where Watling Street crosses the Stretford Brook, Alfred had the small manor of Stretford. This two-hide manor was held from Alfred by Thurstan (possibly his son-in-law Thurstan the Fleming) and Thurstan had Gilbert as his own subtenant. In the 12th century the manor was held by a family called Hagurner; the Christian name Gilbert occurs among them, so it is possible that the DB subtenant was their ancestor. The value of the manor had been reduced from £1 10s. 0d. in 1066 to £1 in 1086.

To the south of Pembridge, towards Hereford, Alfred had two manors, Brinsop and Burghill which have already been referred to extensively above and which can be conveniently dealt with together here. Brinsop contained five hides and was held from him by Richard; he was possibly the progenitor of the Torel family who had the manor in the 12th century. Before 1066 it has been worth £8 but in 1086 only £6. Burghill contained eight hides and to this manor Alfred's five burgesses in Hereford made their render. Two knights had one plough each and an English thane, Godric, another. The two knights (possibly Gilbert de Minières and William Picard) were settled at Burghill and at Burlton, an outlier of the main manor; another outlier lay at Tillington. In the 12th century the Minières family held Burghill, the Picard family Burlton and the Burghill family Tillington all by knight's service. Earl Harold had had the estate TRE and, as at Much Cowarne, he had made his third penny of certain hundreds payable to it, in this case the hundreds of Cutsthorn and Stretford. The manor had fallen in value from £20 in 1066 to £15 in 1086.

The tenurial history of these two manors before 1066 has been given above. After the Conquest earl William gave them to Alfred just as he had given him his uncle's estate at Ewyas Harold. Having received the manors Alfred then held them until he himself disappeared from the scene in or soon after 1086.

During this period, however, the churches at Brinsop and Burghill seem to have had a different history. Orderic Vitalis says that in 1079, on the occasion of the refounding of the church of St. Mary at Auffay as a cell of Saint-Évroul at Rouen by Gilbert de Auffay its lord, Bernard de Neufmarché, nephew of the refounder and current possessor of certain rights in Speen and Newbury, Berkshire, gave the mother-house as endowment the church of Speen, with all the land pertaining to it, and received from Saint-Évroul in exchange for 20s. of rent in Newbury the churches of Brinsop and Burghill.[41] After Alfred's demise Brinsop and Burghill manors were among several of his estates acquired by Bernard and this makes the latter's interest in the churches at those places before that

event very interesting. There is some evidence that the man named Bernard who was Durand of Gloucester's tenant on six of his Herefordshire manors in 1086 was Bernard de Neufmarché.[42] Perhaps he was at the same time Alfred's tenant for the manors of Brinsop and Burghill—DB is not always scrupulous in recording subtenancies—and if this tenancy extended back beyond 1079 this would then explain his otherwise inexplicable desire to obtain the churches at those places. Presumably it was Alfred himself who had given them to Saint-Evroul.

South of the river Wye, in the Golden Valley area, Alfred had two manors and these were Monnington Stradel and Bredwardine. The five-hide manor of Monnington Stradel had had one hide taken from it wrongfully by Ralph de Bernay, but this had been restored to it by 1086. It probably lay at Coldwell in Kingstone. Kingstone was a royal manor which would have been administered by sheriff Ralph de Bernay under earl William. Ralph may have sought to increase his revenues from Kingstone while he had it in his charge by adding to it illegally an outlier of Monnington Stradel that lay on its borders. The whole manor was waste in 1066 and worth only 30s. to Alfred in 1086. Bredwardine was likewise waste TRE. The cause of the wasting of both these estates was undoubtedly the great raid Gruffydd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd made on Herefordshire in 1055, a raid which directly involved the Golden Valley area.[43] The church at Bredwardine contains some late 11th century architectural characteristics which are themselves additions to an even older church that may have been ruined at one point.[44] If correct, the ruination may also have been caused by the raid of 1055. In 1086 Bredwardine was assessed at five hides and its value to Alfred put at £3 yearly. A Welshman recorded there probably lived in the Benfield district, where Welsh place-names survive to this day.

ALFRED OF MARLBOROUGH'S DEMISE AND THE DIVISION OF HIS FIEF

Alfred died or otherwise departed the scene (almost certainly he died) in or soon after 1086. There is circumstantial evidence that his end came about while DB was being assembled. In the Surrey folios Alfred is shown in the body of the return as the tenant-in-chief for his manor of Send, but in the index-list of chief tenants added to the front of the return his name is replaced by that of his tenant, Rainald son of Erkembald. These lists were added by the Exchequer clerks at Winchester after the material was collected from the counties and before the complete work was presented to the king at the end of 1086. It may therefore be that news of Alfred's death reached Winchester in the interim and that the clerks, not knowing who his successor was to be, simply filled in the space in the index-list with Rainald's name.

However, even if Alfred's death or demise did not occur in 1086, he had pretty certainly left the scene within the next two years. For one of the elements that secured Bernard de Neufmarché's rise from obscure subtenant in Herefordshire in 1086 to one of the leading men of the March of Wales who joined the revolt against William Rufus in 1088[45] must surely have been his acquisition of that large share of Alfred's lands in Herefordshire that we find later in the hands of his descendants.

Bernard had only a part of Alfred's lands, however, and another far larger portion is later found in the hands of Harold of Ewyas and his descendants, so it seems, that a

division of his lands was affected after Alfred's demise. But before this could happen his lands would have excheated to the crown so that any legitimate heirs could come forward and claim them. If Alfred's daughter Agnes, and her husband came forward at this point their claim was evidently overlooked and a division of the lands decided upon.

The reason for this may be that Thurstan of Wigmore, Agnes's husband, was already tainted with treason in the eyes of the crown. Thurstan had been a feoffee of earl William who had preceded Ralph de Mortimer at Downton-on-the-Rock and possibly also, as his name indicates, at Wigmore. He had probably been dispossessed of these as a consequence of joining the revolt of earl Roger in 1075. Agnes and Thurstan left heirs of their own, but they survived only as tenants of the new lords of Ewyas Harold, thus, perhaps, paying through the ages for the treachery of Thurstan their ancestor.

The decision to divide Alfred's fief having been made it was used by the crown to show favour towards certain individuals. The largest beneficiary proved to be Harold, son of Ralph de Mantes and nephew to Edward the Confessor. In 1086 Harold held of the king in-chief two manors in Gloucestershire and one in Worcestershire which his father had previously held, another manor in Warwickshire which he himself had held TRE and a hide of land in Droitwich, Worcestershire.[46] At the same time he had the subtenancy of Whitney, in Herefordshire of the monks of St. Guthlac at Hereford and also, apparently, a subtenancy under Alfred of Marlborough himself at part of Chelwood in Somerset.[47] After Alfred's demise he received from the king in Herefordshire the castlery of Ewyas Harold—minus some of its constituent parts, but including 'Elston' and Kentchurch—Ashe Ingen, Monnington Stradel, Pencombe and Eaton Tregoz. He also received Send in Surrey, Shipton Bellinger in Hampshire and in Somerset the five manors of Newton, Combwich, Pensford and Chelwood (in two parts) that we later find his descendants holding of the honour of Boulogne. In Wiltshire he had all Alfred's manors except Rowde, Crofton and Newton Toney.

The second largest beneficiary was Bernard de Neufurarché who, as we have seen, most likely received his share before 1088. He received the Herefordshire manors of Brinsop, Burghill, Bredwardine, Stretford and Much Cowarne, and nothing more. It is said in 1137-9, however, that his grandson, Miles of Gloucester then had all the fief of Alfred of Marlborough in Herefordshire except Pembridge.[48] Pembridge had gone to William de Braose of Bramber (probably at a date later than when Harold and Bernard received their shares). Bernard seems to have had an especially close relationship with that lord that may have precluded any claim Miles had on Pembridge though not, as it would seem, any (unsubstantiated?) claim he could make to what Harold of Ewyas had received in Herefordshire.

Harold and Bernard may have received their shares from the Conqueror himself, who died in September 1087, but William de Braose does not seem to have had Pembridge until the reign of Rufus. It probably formed part of the same grant of land to the Braose family that included the crown manor of Radnor and also, apparently, the whole fief that Gruffydd, son of Maredudd ab Owain, king of Deheubarth, had in Herefordshire in 1086.[47] Gruffydd died in 1091 trying to gain his fathers kingdom, and it may have been at that juncture that all the above lands were given to William. He died in 1093/4, but it may

be that he and his son Philip had already been able to progress beyond Radnor to Builth for Philip is found as lord of both Radnor and Builth in about 1095.[50] Pembridge and the fief of Gruffydd ap Maredudd may have been given to William to bolster his position at Radnor and support any more he made against the Welsh; the gift was probably made in 1091 and the move forward had been undertaken by about 1095.

Other parts of Alfred's fief were retained by the crown, either to be granted out at a later date or to be retained indefinitely. In this category came the land of Teirtref formerly attached to the castle of Ewyas Harold the manors of Crofton and Newton Toney in Wiltshire and the manor of Eastrop in Hampshire. Minor parts of Alfred's fief also went their different ways. The lands of Roger de Lacy in the castlery of Ewyas Harold were probably removed from its influence at Alfred's demise. It seems likely also, that *Stane*/Kenderchurch returned to the bishop of Hereford at the same time.

The initial division of Alfred's lands on his demise would thus seem to have put something like 178 of his 281 hides into the hands of Harold of Ewyas and 35 hides into those of Bernard de Neufmarché. Harold's share was valued at £200 4s. 0d. and Bernard's at £45. Later, 10¾ hides valued at £10 10s. 0d. were given to William de Braose. It can be seen, therefore, that Harold of Ewyas was by far and away the largest beneficiary under the division and this fact together with the fact that he made Alfred's caput at Ewyas Harold the centre of his new barony, makes him *the* successor to the Domesday tenant in-chief to all intents and purposes.

THE BARONY OF HAROLD OF EWYAS

Harold of Ewyas married Gytha, daughter of Osgod Clapa (died 1054), an old companion of king Cnut, and had by her at least seven sons. From him Ewyas Harold takes its distinguishing suffix. His eldest son Robert, succeeded him in the barony of Ewyas Harold. To one of his younger sons John, went the four manors Harold had in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, and these were never afterwards part of the barony. Another son, Alexander is said to have been the progenitor of a family who settled at Teffont Evias in Wiltshire and yet another son William, may be the ancester of a family calling themselves Ewias who had lands in Ewyas Harold and in Clevancy. In 1100 Harold made a grant of churches and tithes in Ewyas Harold and elsewhere to Gloucester Abbey as endowment for a priory at Ewyas, although the actual foundation does not seem to have been made for another twenty years or so.[51] His date of death is unknown, although he was still alive when Ewyas Harold Priory was finally founded. His son Robert(I) married a certain Sibyl and had by her a son, Robert (II). Robert (I) founded Dore Abbey in 1147 on lands in the northern part of the manor of Ewyas Harold. He was constable of Hereford Castle under earl Roger of Hereford (1143-55) and was still alive in 1150-4.[52] Robert (II) married a certain Petronilla or Pernel and died in 1196 leaving his daughter Sibyl, as heiress. She married, firstly, Robert de Tregoz (died 1198) and, secondly, Roger de Clifford (died 1231).

Harold and his son and grandson organized the lands they had from Alfred of Marlborough into a feudal barony dependent on Ewyas Harold. Certain lands at Ewyas Harold and *Manitone,* together with the manors of Eaton Tregoz and Lydaird Tregoz,

were retained in demesne; others such as those in 'Elston' and Kentchurch, were let out in socage; but the vast majority of them became the abode of knights who owed the service of castle-guard at Ewyas Harold Castle. The number of knight's fees that owed this service is reviewed below (pp. 398-9). For his Somerset lands the lord of Eywas Harold himself owed knight's service to the honour of Boulogne. This honour became vested in the crown when the heiress of count Eustace of Boulogne, the DB holder, married Stephen of Blois and when in 1135 Stephen became king of England.

EWYAS HAROLD

As has been said, it is probable that the lands Harold received here were smaller in extent than Alfred's castlery. Roger de Lacy may have been able to remove his lands and rights at Walterstone, Llancillo and Rowlstone, from the control of the castlery at Alfred's demise and add them to his embryonic lordship of Ewyas Lacy. The bishop may likewise have been able to regain control of *Stane*/Kenderchurch. This would then leave to Harold the castle, borough and manor of Ewyas Harold, *Manitone,* 'Elston' and Kentchurch, and also, possibly, Dulas, which included an outlier at Bilbo.

The grant that Harold made to Gloucester Abbey in 1100 was intended to provide for a cell of that church in the church of St. Michael of Ewyas. His grant consisted of the church of St. Michael itself, the chapel of St. Nicholas in the castle, tithes in Ewyas Harold and the church of Eaton Foy or Eaton Tregoz with all its tithes. Outside Herefordshire his grant consisted of tithes in Norton Bavant, Lydiard Tregoz, Clevancy, Allington and Teffont Evias, all in Wiltshire, and in Somerset tithes in Burnham and Brean.[53] No priory was founded until about twenty years later, however, when bishop Bernard of St. David's took it under his wing.[54] Robert (I) gave land near the castle as the site of a new church dedicated to SS. James and Bartholomew and made also a number of gifts to enable the priory to further establish itself. Among these were tithes of the land of *Blancheberbeshale.*[55] In *c.*1150-*c.*75 the monks of the new foundation were known as 'the clerics of the castle'.[56]

The land called *Blancheberbeshale* or *Blakelarbestall* also provides the site of Dore Abbey. This was founded by Robert son of Harold on 26 April 1147, for Cisterin monks from Morinund, and its site was in the lordship of Ewyas Harold and parish of Bacton.[57] No foundation charter for the abbey survives, but it seems that besides *Blancharbesal* Robert's initial grant also included all the open ground (*tota plana terra*) lying between *Blacpolam* and *Broc Justini,* in Dulas all the assarts of Maescoed as far as *Brocgestyn,* and a fishery in the Wye at Eaton Tregoz.[58] Warner son of Ralph gave the land of *Cheuenerounem* in Dulas, and in about 1200 Walter de Lacy of Ewyas Lacy gave the land of Robert the Clerk in Maescoed. According to a locally held tradition, Robert (II) de Ewyas was slain in 1196 'at the Stoney Cross beside Abbey Dore, and many others with him, and lies in Abbey Dore in the middle of the choir.'[60]

At Ewyas Harold and *Manitone* two knight's fees had been established before 1135, either by Harold or by his son, Robert. In 1166 Richard de Carneville had one 'old' fee in Ewyas Harold and Godfrey de *Mamintone* one 'old' fee *de feodo castellariæ meæ de Evias.*[61] Richard de Carneville's origins are unknown; however, he left as heiress two

daughters, one of whom, Basilia, married Walter de Ewias and took half her father's fee to him.[62] Another daughter married a family taking their name from *Elwistone* or 'Elston' and they had the other half of Richard's fee. Godfrey de *Mamintone* may be the Godfrey son of David who, as a boy, witnessed, the bishop of St. David's confirmation of Harold of Ewyas's grant to Gloucester Abbey.[63] He had a descendant in the Reginald de *Mulstonton* who in 1300 had one fee of the lord of Ewyas Harold, half in Ewyas Harold and half in *Mulstoneston* or *Manitone.*[64]

A family calling themselves Ewias[65] are possibly descended from William, one of the younger brothers of Robert (I) de Ewyas. A member of this family, possibly William, was established at Clevancy, Wiltshire, before 1135. Walter de Ewias witnessed a charter of earl Roger of Hereford in 1148-55 and also gave two acres in *Blackpole* to Dore Abbey, probably in 1147.[66] In 1166 Roger de Ewias had one 'old' fee at *Cliva* or Clevancy.[67] The Walter de Ewias who married Basilia de Carneville, and had with her ½ fee at Ewyas Harold, may have been Roger's son. Walter may have demised his wife's inheritance to a relative of his, Eustace, for a term without his superior lord's permission, for in 1181 Eustace de Ewias fined 40s. for having a recognition of ½ fee and also his rights in 60 *solidates* of land (possibly at Clevancy) against Robert (II) de Ewyas.[68] Basilia de Ewias gave one acre of land upon *Wanthill* to Dore Abbey.[69] Walter's son, William, was a knight in 1195 and Walter himself was still alive in 1206.[70]

KENTCHURCH AND 'ELSTON'

The lord of Eywas Harold had others of his men settled at these places. Ralph de Scudamore had lands at Corras, that probably included Kentchurch also, in 1086. Early in the 12th century a family taking their name from Poyntington in Somerset became domiciled at 'Elston' in succession to William de Lestres, who had lands there in 1086. Finally, a family called after the Wiltshire town of Calne, but nicknamed Maubanc, became lords of a lost place called 'Hardwick' in Kentchurch and also of Monnington Stradel. None of the lands in Kentchurch and 'Elston' were held of the lord of Ewyas Harold by knight's service.

Ralph de Baskerville had Upton Scudamore and Fifield Bavant in Wiltshire, and one plough in Kentchurch of Alfred of Marlborough in 1086. At the same time he had Poston, in the Golden Valley, and Little Hatfield, near Bromyard, of William de Écouis.[71] His son Reginald, together with his brothers Walter and Hugh witnessed Bernard of St. David's confirmation of Harold of Ewyas's gifts to Gloucester Abbey in 1115-25.[72] Before 1135 Reginald gave his brother Walter, for his homage and service and for doing guard in Ewyas (Castle) or paying one mark, Corras (*Kaveros*) and its appurtenances and one-third part of Upton Scudamore and all its appurtenances.[73] The Corras lands are presumably the lands Ralph de Baskerville had in Kentchurch in 1086. Although Reginald gave them to Walter in order that Walter should do castle-guard at Ewyas Harold Reginald did not hold these particular lands of the lord of Ewyas Harold by knight's service, the intention being that Walter's service should relieve some of the castle-guard owed by Reginald for his Wiltshire lands. In 1166 Walter's son, Walter (II), held Corras for one 'old' fee of Godfrey de Scudamore, son of Reginald.[74] Besides Corras, Walter's descendants also held

Poston and Little Hatfield under Reginald's descendants. In 1137-9 Walter (I) de Scudamore witnessed a deed of Sibyl de Lacy, widow of Payn fitz John, to Gloucester Abbey and its cell at Ewyas Harold.[75] In 1149 Walter (II) gave land in Poston called *Ffoulkes mead* to Dore Abbey in a deed later confirmed by his son, Walter (III).[76] Walter (III) de Scudamore was in Normandy in 1195 with Philip de Stapleton and Elias de Chigeham when all three had their £8 expenses, incurred in transporting Welsh horses and foat to Normandy in two ships, defrayed out of the farm of Barfleur by the king's writ.[77] Walter's son, Ralph, gave further lands in Poston to Dore Abbey.[78] Walter (IV) de Scudamore gave Corras to his daughter and heiress, Sibyl; she gave it to William de Tregoz, brother of the lord of Ewyas Harold, and from him it passed to the Templars of Garway.[79]

At a date before 1148/61 Harold of Ewyas or Robert his son gave the church of *Sanctae Kaenae cum capella de Caneras* (Corras) to Gloucester Abbey and the priory of Ewyas Harold.[80] In 1184 there was a case in *curia regis* between Robert (II), lord of Ewyas Harold, and the abbot of Gloucester concerning the presentation to the church of *Kema* or *Kemam* and the chapelry *de Dewias.*[81]

William de Lestres had one plough at 'Elston' of Alfred of Marlborough in 1086 and at the same time Poyntington and Bickenhall, Somerset, of the earl of Mortain, lord of Montacute. William left a direct male descendant in the Richard de Lestres who in 1166 had four knight's fees, mostly of the honour of Montacute.[82] His lands in Kentchurch must therefore have come into the hands of a family called Poyntington by demise or marriage. In 1166 Roger de Poyntington (*Pontonia*) had one 'old' fee at Allington and All Cannings, Wiltshire, of the lord of Ewyas Harold.[83] Sometime before 1198 Geoffrey, parson of Poyntington and lord of *Heliston* or 'Elston', with the consent of Agnes and Margaret his sisters and heiresses, gave to Gloucester Abbey and its cell at Ewyas Harold his mill of 'Elston' and a fishery there.[84] This gift was confirmed in separate charters by his elder brother, Peter de Poyntington, by Baldwin Martel husband of his sister Agnes, by Agnes herself after Baldwin's death, and by Robert de Tregoz, lord of Ewyas Harold.[85] Peter de Poyntington may have been heir to Roger of 1166.

The third family to have lands in the Kentchurch-'Elston' area in the 12th century acquired them from the family of Rainald son of Erkembald, who was Alfred of Marlborough's tenant at Send and Shipton Bellinger in 1086. Rainald's father may have been the Erkembald, son of Erkembald the Sheriff, who in about 1067 was at Rouen with earl William fitzOsbern.[86] Rainald himself had a son called Erkembald who witnessed bishop Bernard of St. David's confirmation of Harold of Ewyas's gifts to Gloucester Abbey.[87] In 1130 he appears on the Pipe Roll for Surrey as Erkembald son of Rainald.[88] Erkembald seems to have left as heir a daughter or granddaughter, Beatrice de Send, who was the wife of 'Ruald the knight, called of Calne.' In 1174-79 there was a dispute between Ruald and Gloucester Abbey concerning two-thirds of the tithes of the demesne of *Herdewicka-juxta-Ewias.* The case had been referred to the pope by bishop R(obert Foliot) of Hereford (1174-86), who at the time had been summoned to a council at Rome, and it has been settled in the chapter of Hereford. The monks claimed the tithes of 'Hardwick' by gift of Harold of Ewyas and grant of Erkembald then his knight of the same fee,

with fifteen acres of meadow and the tithes of his mill and of his house when he stays in Ewyas. Ruald conceded the tithes to the abbey; he also gave the monks the chapel which he had recently built at 'Hardwick' with the knowledge of Alfred, the priest of *St. Kenedri* (i.e. St. Cynidr of Kenderchurch, probably a mistake for *St. Keina* or *Keyna* of Kentchurch), in whose parish the chapel was founded, in return for which they found a chaplain to serve there continually.[89] The lands at 'Hardwick-juxta-Ewyas' which Ruald inherited from Erkembald son of Rainald through his wife, cannot now be located with certainty, as 'Hardwick' seems to be a lost place. However, a manorial centre may have existed in the vicinity of Bowlston Court Wood in Kentchurch in medieval times and this may represent 'Hardwick'.[90]

Ruald de Calne was lord of Monnington Stradel in 1160-70; he may well have succeeded Erkembald there as well as at 'Hardwick'.[91] In 1166 Ruald had five 'old' fees of Robert de Ewyas.[92] Two of these were at Send, two at Shipton Bellinger and one at Monnington Stradel. The fact that this fee was of the ancient enfeoffment shows that that he or his predecessor was established there before 1135. Ruald appears regularly on the Herefordshire Pipe Rolls between 1167 and 1181 paying off various amercements for forest offences the nature of his amercements probably reflecting the closeness of his lands at Monnington Stradel and 'Hardwick' to the royal chases at Treville and Orcop. In 1176 a certain *Calna Rualdi* was also amerced for forest offences and this took until 1185 to pay off. In 1181 the amount owing is annotated *Sed debet requiri in Wiltesr*[93] and thus undoubtedly refers to whatever interest Ruald and his family had in Calne, Wiltshire. Their connexion with Calne may have led to a certain Rainald or Reynold de Calne (possibly a son of Ruald) being domiciled there in the late 12th and early 13th centuries;[94] he clearly takes his name from the father or grandfather of Ruald's wife, Beatrice. Ruald himself fined one mark in 1189 for having his case against Walter Mauduit concerning ½ knight's fee heard in *curia regis,* the mark was still outstanding in 1193; when the sheriff of Herefordshire accounted for it.[95] Early in the reign of Richard, Ruald and his wife, with the consent of William Maubanc, their son and heir, gave lands in Send and Shipton Bellinger for the endowment of a priory at Newark in Send. After his death, which must have occurred shortly after 1193, the endowment was confirmed separately by his widow and his heir.[96]

William Maubanc appears as William son of Ruald de Calne on the Surrey Pipe Roll for 1185.[97] In 1195 he witnessed a charter of Robert(II) de Ewyas to Gloucester Abbey.[98] At about the same time as this he confirmed to St. Michael and St. James and the monks of Gloucester at Ewyas the grant which Ruald de Calne had made, viz. fifteen acres of land in 'Hardwick' free of all service, and then made his own grant of eighteen acres of land there, the tithes of his mills, when they are built, and the tithes of his house in Ewyas whenever he stays there.[99]

Both Ruald de Calne's son, William, and grandson Ruald, used the alternative surname, or nickname, Maubanc. In this they must have been following a precedent set by Ruald himself. He is nowhere set down in writing as Ruald Maubanc, though we may be certain that he did call himself that; his wife, Beatrice, did[100] and she would have had no reason to unless her husband had. The use of the name in fact went further than Ruald's

immediate family. Ruald(II)'s heirs were his three daughters, one of whom married Henry de Pembridge, lord of Pembridge Castle. Henry's younger son, Geoffrey, had Send of the lord of Ewyas Harold and he called himself Geoffrey Maubanc as well as Geoffrey de Pembridge.[100A] The tenacious way in which this family thus clung to the Maubanc name suggests very much that they were at pains to show that they were scions of the more important house of Maubanc of Nantwich and Dorset. If a connexion *can* be made with this house, it is just possible that Ruald was younger brother to William(II) Maubanc of Nantwich (died 1186), who had come to be associated with Calne via the family's Wiltshire lands. He would thus have been a grandson of William Maubanc of DB, after whom he named his son and heir William, and also, very probably, a distant relation of Alfred 'Maubanc' of Marlborough.

TEIRTREF

Having returned to the crown in or soon after 1086, 'the land of Ralph de Bernay which belonged to the castle' seems to have remained in royal hands until the reign of Henry I. Henry gave it to Payn fitz John and a few years later Payn gave it back to the crown in exchange for the land of Archenfield. It then remained in the hands of the king for the remainder of the 12th century, when the Pipe Rolls record much building work at the castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and Llantilio, in fact until 1201, when king John gave it to Hubert de Burgh.

The evidence for king Henry having given Teirtref to Payn fitz John and his having exchanged it for Archenfield is contained in a charter dating from the end of 1137. In this charter king Stephen confirms to Payn's heiress, Cecily, and her husband, Roger, son of Miles of Gloucester, all that her father had given her as her *maritagium* in the fief of Hugh de Lacy and also the lands, fees and tenements Payn had acquired during his career and which had passed to his daughter after his death in July 1137.[101] Payn fitz John and Miles of Gloucester were two of king Henry's ministers who had been chosen for special advancement. As one mark of favour to Payn, Henry gave him, sometime after the death of its holder in about 1115, the whole fief of Hugh de Lacy in Herefordshire, Shropshire and elsewhere. Payn and Miles worked closely together to promote the king's interests in the march of Wales and their association in this task led naturally to a marriage between their heirs, Cecily and Roger. This marriage had probably taken place before Henry's death in December 1135, while they were still in their early 'teens, and in any case before Payn's own death in July 1137. At the end of 1137 Miles obtained the document referred to from Stephen as a statement and confirmation of what Cecily and Roger (or rather Miles himself as their guardian) then held. The bulk of the charter, however, seems to make use of an earlier deed, now lost, in which Stephen confirmed to Payn all that he had acquired during Henry's reign and added to them certain gifts of his own. This charter may have been obtained by Payn at the outset of the new reign as part of his price for supporting the usurper on the throne. When, therefore, Stephen came to confirm to Payn's heiress and her husband what they had he found conveniently listed in the earlier charter much that needed confirming this time round, and made use of it accordingly. From the earlier charter comes the following passage:-

> *Et Erchenfeldam, quod (king Stephen) debit ei (Payn fitz John) in escambio de Lantilio et de firma de Grossomonte, cum omnibus que ad illud pertinent et nominatium cum nemore de Orcop et cum landa de Garou et de Trawern et cum nemone de Harewuda.*[102]

Sometime between December 1135 and July 1137, therefore, when king Stephen confirmed Payn in all his acquisitions and possessions, he added to it his gift of Archenfield, with the specified woods of Orcop and Harewood and the lands of Garway and Trewarne, which Payn exchanged for Llantilio and the farm of Grosmont. Although only Llantilio and Grosmont are mentioned, there seems little doubt that the whole of Teirtref is intended. Towards the end of Henry's reign Archenfield had been valued at £21 per annum and in 1164 the farm of Grosmont, Llantilio and Skenfrith was put at £21 14s. 4d.[103] This latter figure had increased from £14 1s. 1d. in 1162[104] which suggests that its revenues were then in the process of being realised. It may be therefore, that when Teirtref was exchanged for Archenfield it was worth considerably less financially, which is what one would expect in order for Payn to agree to it. Clearly Stephen needed to possess Teirtref, which may already have contained its triumvirate of castles, and this need may have arisen as a result of the almost universal revolt of the Welsh against Norman domination of their country that followed hard on the heels of king Henry's death. In order for him to be able to exchange Teirtref with Stephen Payn needed to have been placed in possession of it, at some point, by the crown. Being high in king Henry's favours it is not difficult to imagine that it formed part of that king's largesse towards his minister, the gift perhaps having been made in recognition of his special duties and position in the Welsh Marches. Teirtref lay in the diocese of Llandaff and Payn is known to have been a magnate of that diocese in 1119.[105] This is thought to have been in right of his possession of the Lacy lands in Ewyas Lacy, but it may also have been in right of possession of Teirtref.

Having, therefore, returned to the crown in 1136 or 1137, Teirtref remained in royal hands until in 1201 it was given by king John to Hubert de Burgh.[106] In 1155 king Henry II confirmed the abbey of Lyre in all its possessions in Gwent, including Llangua (*Langmai*), where it had a cell, and in 1183 Nicholas, bishop of Llandaff, issued a similar confirmation.[107] Five years before Nicholas's confirmation the monks of Lyre's cell at Llangua and the monks of Gloucester reached agreement regarding the tithes Lyre claimed in Ewyas Harold.[108] It is recorded in 1162 that the prior of Llangua was want to receive £1 annually from the king's revenues of the district.[109] In 1196 *fratrem Hilarius monachus priorem de Langiwen* represented the abbot of Lyre in a legal suit concerning land attached to the church of Feckenham, Worcestershire, which had been given to Lyre by earl William fitzOsbern.[110] From 1161 and 1201 the three castles in Grosmont, Skenfrith and Llantilio (White Castle) make regular appearances in the Pipe Rolls as building work at each was undertaken.

STANE/KENDERCHURCH

Kenderchurch and Howton, which seem to have comprised the DB manor of *Stane*, may have returned to the bishop, whose right to it was clearly stated in DB, after Alfred's

demise. In the 12th century the bishop may have exchanged it with the Lacys for their lands at Much and Little Birch.

In 1086 Roger de Lacy had certain lands called *Mainaure* in DB which are identified as *Birches,* or Much and Little Birch, in the *Herefordshire Domesday Book.*[111] Roger's brother and successor, Hugh(I) de Lacy, gave the church of Llanwarne and its chapel of Much Birch (*La Birich*) to Llanthony Priory, probably when it was founded in about 1108.[112] In 1200-15, however, we find that Giles de Braose, bishop of Hereford, has in his hands the communities of Birches (Much and Little), Llandinabo (*Laund'*), Tresech (*Trayhac*) and Attelgunt (*Altwint*), all of which, very likely had been in Roger de Lacy's DB estate of *Mainaure.*[113] Clearly the Lacy lands there had come into the hands of the bishopric at some point in the 12th century. Moreover, we find Hugh(II) de Lacy, sometime between 1163 and 1173, giving to St. Guthlac of Hereford, and Gloucester Abbey its mother-house, in a deed confirmed by Henry II, *inter alia,* two-thirds of the tithes of his demesne land at Howton (*Hugetune*) in Kenderchurch, an estate which would seem to have returned to the bishop of Hereford after 1086. It seems possible, therefore, that sometime between *c.*1108 and 1163/73 an exchange between the two lands had been effected.

ASHE INGEN

There is no certainty that this manor descended with the lords of Ewyas Harold although it probably did. In the 12th and later centuries its subtenants were the same family that also held Aston Ingham of the honour of Cormeilles. In 1127 a certain Hingan (= Ingen, Ingham) witnessed a deed of Richard fitzPoyntz, lord of Clifford.[114] His son, Walter fitzHingan, had Aston Ingham in 1137-9.[115] He had one fee at Aston Ingham and Pixley of Richard de Cormeilles in 1166.[116] His successor was another Hingan who held Ashe Ingen and Aston Ingham in 1160-70.[117] Hingan, who apparently was known as *Hingani acarii* 'Hingan the Archer', had a number of sons, among whom Richard seems to have been his successor at Ashe Ingen and Aston Ingham.[118] Later members of the family adopted the surname Aston.

As in DB Ashe Ingen appears twice in the *Herefordshire Domesday Book,* once under Cleeve-with-Wilton and once under Archenfield. Hingan(II)'s name appears against the Cleeve-with-Wilton entry as its holder, but against the Archenfield entry the name Hugh *de Esses* appears.[119] Hugh is likely to be a subtenant of Hingan, a subtenant who clearly took his name from Ashe (Ingen). A Hugh de Esse was amerced one mark in Herefordshire in 1186.[120]

In the 13th century Ashe Ingen and nearby Strangford were chapelries of Foy. The abbey of Lyre had both chapels, but Gloucester Abbey claimed that their tithes should go to the mother-church at Foy, which had been given to the abbey, and its priory at Ewyas Harold, by Harold of Ewyas.[121] Strangford chapel had probably been given to William fitzOsbern's foundation at Lyre by its DB holder, Hugh Donkey, a known companion of earl William and benefactor of that house. Earl William may himself have given rights in Ashe Ingen to Lyre.

EATON TREGOZ

Much of the tenurial history of this manor has already been given. Since it remained a demesne manor of the lords of Ewyas Harold it had no subtenancies within its bounds. Harold of Ewyas gave the church of Eaton (at Foy), the tithes of his fishing weir, his mill and 'the whole tithe of the same vill on both sides of the water (of Wye)' to Gloucester Abbey as endowment for the priory at Ewyas Harold.[122]

Adjacent to the DB manor on the north-east side was an estate which eventually became included within its bounds. This estate was called *Turlestane* and contained one hide of the royal manor of Much Marcle which was waste and lying in the king's forest. Before 1066 it had paid fifty lumps of iron and six salmon to Much Marcle.[123] Since the salmon would clearly have come from the Wye, *Turlestane* must have lain close to its banks and may be represented today by Perrystone Court in Eaton Tregoz. In the 12th century Perrystone was known as Snogsash,[124] and was then the site of a hundred court. The hundred of *Fnogesesse* or *Frogesesse* was amerced for murder in 1180 and again in 1197,[125] but apart from these two entries in the Pipe Rolls nothing is known of Snogsash Hundred. In 1086 Eaton Tregoz had been in Bromsash Hundred and *Turlestane* in Winstree Hundred with the rest of Much Marcle. During the reign of Henry I, however, the hundreds of Herefordshire were reorganised, and Bromsash and neighouring Greytree Hundred were combined with parts of Winstree Hundred, including Much Marcle, to form an enlarged Greytree Hundred. At least Greytree was its name in the 13th century. Unlike the names of most of the other reorganized hundreds of Herefordshire, Greytree Hundred never appears in 12th century records. The otherwise unknown hundred of Snogsash does, however, and as Snogsash was in what was later Greytree Hundred, it seems possible that this was the first name of the reorganized hundred of Greytree-with-Bromsash. Snogsash itself became part of Eaton Tregoz, probably when it ceased to be the site of a hundred court. In 1375 Henry de Pembridge had *Fuoggesshassh* of Thomas de Grandison as of the manor of Eaton Tregoz.[126]

PENCOMBE

Alfred of Marlborough's unnamed manor in Thornlaw Hundred in 1086 is called Pencombe in the *Herefordshire Domesday Book.*[127]

Agnes, Alfred's daughter, and Thurstan the Fleming of Wigmore her husband were succeeded here by their son, Eustace, who also became lord of Whitney. At the request of his mother, 'Eustace the knight, lord of Whitney' gave one hide of land, called Sidnall (*Sudenhalle*) in Pencombe to Gloucester Abbey in a deed witnessed by his brother Thurstan *Flandrensis*. In *c.*1115-25 he witnessed bishop Bernard of St. David's confirmation of Harold of Ewyas's gifts to Gloucester Abbey and in 1130-9 he, or perhaps a successor of his called Eustace de Pencombe, witnessed a charter of Robert son of Harold of Ewyas to the same house.[129]

Eustace's descendants held Pencombe and Whitney, and also Coldwell in Kingstone and Combwich, Somerset, down to the 14th century. In the 1160s, however, they had a subtenant at Pencombe and he was William Torel 'of Pencombe' lord of Brinsop.[130] In 1166 William had two 'new' fees at Pencombe of Ewyas Harold.[131] When Robert de

Whitney held these two fees in 1243, however, they were said to be 'of the old enfeoffment.'[132] The evidence as to whether Eustace was enfeoffed at Pencombe by knight's service before or after 1135 is therefore contradictory. Maybe we should believe the earlier evidence as being nearer the event; on the other hand, it seems unlikely that the grandson of the DB tenant-in-chief would hold his lands there before 1135 by anything other than knight's service. William Torel of Pencombe confirmed the hide of land at Sidnall to Gloucester Abbey.[133]

MONNINGTON STRADEL

This was in the hands of Ruald de Calne in the mid-12th century. He or his predecessor (Erkembald?) had been enfeoffed with one knight's fee there by the lord of Ewyas Harold before 1135. This fee was one of five 'old' fees held by Ruald of that lord in 1166, so his name, *Ruald' de Canne,* duly appears against the manor's name in the *Herefordshire Domesday Book.*[134]

Towards the end of the 12th century part of the manor came into the hands of a person called Richard son of Fulk, perhaps in marriage with a daughter of Ruald's. Richard was active in 1196 and in 1205-15 was constable of Ewyas Harold Castle.[135] He was involved in a legal case with the villagers of *Molitone* in 1224.[136] The lands of his family are variously called Ash (*Asse*) or Foukesyate and they owed the service of ¼ fee.[137]

The part of the manor lying at Coldwell seems to have no tenurial history until 1300 when Eustace de Whitney had ½ fee there.[138]

LANDS OF HAROLD OF EWYAS OUTSIDE HEREFORDSHIRE

WILTSHIRE

The manors in this shire that are known to have been in the hands of Harold and his descendants are Allington with All Cannings, Teffont Evias with Swallowcliffe, Lydiard Tregoz, Moredon with Haydon Wick, West Widhill with Chedglow, Upton Scudamore, Norton Bavant, Fifield Bavant, Rockley, Clevancy, Great Somerford, Horningsham, West Kennett and Tytherton Lucas. What happened to Alfred's small manors in Lacock, an unidentified 'Winterbourne' and Swindon is unknown, as also is the fate of his burgages in Cricklade, Wilton and Malmesbury.

Allington with All Cannings was held in 1166 by Roger de Poyntington as one 'old' fee.[139] Peter de Poyntington, perhaps Roger's successor, witnessed a charter of Robert(II) de Ewyas in 1195.[140] The family also had lands at 'Elston' in Kentchurch.

Teffont Evias and Swallowcliffe were held as one 'new' fee by Godfrey de Teffont in 1166., Godfrey is said to have been a son of Alexander de Ewyas, son of Harold.[141] Lydiard Tregoz was a demesne manor of the lords of Ewyas Harold.

Moredon was held by Nigel de Moredon for one 'old' fee in 1166 and at the same time Morel de Haydon held Haydon Wick for another 'old' fee. Both these manors were in Alfred's estate called Moredon in 1086. A Nigel de Moredon witnessed in *c.*1120-*c.*50 a

deed of Robert(I) de Ewyas and in 1184 another person of the same name gave, with the consent of his brother and heir, Ellis, one virgate of land and appurtenances in Haydon to Bradenstoke Priory.[142]

Adam de Chelworth (*Celegord*) held West Widhall and Chedglow for one 'old' fee in 1166.[143] Walter de Chelworth witnessed Robert(II) de Ewyas's deed of 1195 noted above and William de Chelworth one of Robert de Tregoz in 1198-1215.[144]

Godfrey de Scudamore held Upton Scudamore and Norton Bavant for two 'old' fees each in 1166 and Fifield Bavant for one 'new' fee.[145] For some reason these five fees of Godfrey's were in dispute in 1166 and Robert(II) de Ewyas was not willing to accept his homage for them.[146] From then until well into the 13th century Godfrey and his descendants held their fees fo the king-in-chief.[147] In 1147-8 Robert's father had given Godfrey's father (also called Godfrey) the vill of Upton Scudamore 'for his homage and service and for a white warhorse', to be held for 'doing thereafter by service of one knight's fee at my castle of Ewyas to keep guard at the castle beginning at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February) lasting until the Invention of the Holy Cross in May (3rd) at his own cost except that the lord will properly provide sufficient firewood, straw and water during the said term with his hunting in the whole of the demesne during the aforesaid ward, and if he does not do guard then he will owe ½ mark by the year and do the royal service that pertains (that is, he can commute his annual castle-guard for ½ mark, but if the king calls on Robert to attend him with his full *servitium debitum* Godfrey is bound to go)'.[148]

Rockley was held for one fee of the lord of Ewyas Harold by the lord of Kilpeck in Herefordshire.[149] 'Hugh the Forester of Kilpeck and Henry his son' witnessed a deed of Robert son of Harold in *c.*1120-*c.*50 and in *c.*1215-44 Hugh de Kilpeck witnessed one of Robert de Tregoz.[150]

In 1166 Clevancy was held for one 'old' fee by Roger de Evias, a member of a cadet branch of Harold of Ewyas's family.

Osmund de Somerford had one 'old' fee at Great Somerford in 1166. His name is English rather than Norman or Anglo-Norman and this suggests that he may be a descendant of the Englishman, Siward, who was Alfred's subtenant in 1086.

Sometime before 1189/93 Robert(II) de Ewyas gave ½ mark of rent in Little Horningsham to Bradenstoke Priory.[151] This grant seems to have been followed by a gift of the whole manor for in 1242-3 Henry de Leuston held Little Horningsham in socage of the prior of Bradenstoke and he of Robert de Tregoz, lord of Ewyas Harold.[152]

West Kennett was held by William de Kennett (*Cheinetone*) for one 'old' fee in 1166.[153] William witnessed Robert de Ewyas's deed of 1195 and was succeeded by Thomas de Kennett.[154] The family seem also to have had lands in Ewyas Harold borough; in 1359 the tithes of 'the Kennett' (*La Ketetie*) in Ewyas Harold were defined as part of the vicarage there.[155] 'The Kennett' may originally have been the burgage plot on which the family had the house they used when called on to attend their overlord.

Lucas de Tytherton had one 'old' fee at Tytherton Lucas in 1166.

SURREY

As we have seen Send was held by Rainald son of Erkembald in 1086. His granddaughter or great-granddaughter married Ruald de Calne and two of the five 'old' fees Ruald had of Ewyas Harold in 1166 lay here. Ruald and his wife Beatrice, founded Newark Priory on land in the manor in about 1190.

HAMPSHIRE

Rainald son of Erkembald also had the manor of Shipton Bellinger in 1086. Again, two of the five 'old' fees Ruald had in 1166 lay here.

SOMERSET

Most of the evidence for the descent of Harold of Ewyas's lands in this country, is very late in date. In 1284/5 Richard de Newton had ½ fee in Newton (in North Petherton) of John de Tregoz, lord of Eywas Harold, and at the same time Eustace de Whitney had a moiety of the manor of Combwich of John for ¼ fee.[156] In 1303 Ralph Pipard had ¼ fee (at Pensford) in Belluton of the heirs of John de Tregoz, Walter de Chelwood ⅛ fee in Chelwood of the same heirs and Laurence de Hameldene ¼ fee at the same place in dower of the heir of John la Ware, himself one of the said heirs.[157] Robert de Tregoz, father of John, was said in 1242-3 to have 2½, ⅔, ¼ and 1/20 (or approximately 3½) fees in Somerset.[158] Two of these fees were at Brean-with-Burnham and Combwich, and they were two of the four fees that Robert had of the king's honour of Boulogne in 1217-8.[159] The Combwich fee may represent collectively, the fractions of fees at Newton, Combwich, Pensford and Chelwood in 1284/5 and 1303, in other words they were all held by John de Tregoz and his predecessors of the honour of Boulogne just as Alfred held most of his manors in Somerset in 1086 of the count of Boulogne. None of the aforesaid fees owed service at Ewyas Harold; on the evidence of the Whitney fee at Combwich in 1303, they owed service at Burnham.

KNIGHT'S SERVICE DUE TO HAROLD OF EWYAS AND HIS DESCENDANTS

The majority of the lands of Harold of Ewyas and his descendants were held in the 12th century by military tenants owing castle-guard at Ewyas Harold. On the evidence presented above there were in Herefordshire in the second half of the 12th century 5½ fees (2 of them at Ewyas Harold), 3 of them 'old' and 2½ 'new'. In Wiltshire there were 15 fees, 13 'old' and 2 'new'; in Surrey 2 'old' and in Hampshire 2 'old'. The total of fees was therefore 24½ of which, as far as can be seen, 20 were 'old' fees enfeoffed before 1135 and the rest 'new'. In 1166 Robert de Ewyas declared 19 fees (16 'old' and 3 'new') to the king and this became the *servitium debitum* of his barony. He seems, however, to have had up to 24 fees enfeoffed on his estates at the time.

The evidence of the Scudamore fee at Upton Scudamore shows that in the mid-12th century each fee was expected to provide a knight to do castle-guard at Ewyas Harold for three months in the year at his own cost. It seems likely from this that a quarterly rota of knights existed and that there would therefore be either five or six doing guard at any one time, depending on when between 1135 and 1166 the 'new' fees came into being.[160] There

is some evidence that in order to provide some 'home comforts' for each knight during their lengthy sojourn in Ewyas Harold, the knightly families who owed service maintained houses in the borough. This is certainly, or almost certainly, the case with the families of Calne, Evias, Scudamore and Kennett.

Constables of the castle are mentioned in deeds, but not until the very end of the 12th century. The first securely datable constable is Walter Mauduit in 1193, although it seems likely from the close links this family had with the lords of Ewyas Harold and with the Scudamores that he was the last of a line of hereditary constables. Walter seems to have been followed by Richard de Grosci, and in 1206 Harold de Grosci was constable.[161]

THE LANDS OF BERNARD DE NEUFMARCHÉ

Bernard used his Herefordshire manors of Burghill, Brinsop, Bredwardine, Stretford and Much Cowarne to support his invasion and conquest of the Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog. Having achieved that conquest he attached them to his newly created honour of Brecon.

Bernard married Agnes or Nest daughter of Osbern fitz Richard of Richards Castle and had many children by her; only two of them, Mahel and Sibyl, survived into adulthood, however.[162] Before 1121 Mahel, 'a distinguished knight', was disinherited by king Henry, through the plottings of his mother, and in that year Sibyl, now Bernard's heiress, married Miles of Gloucester.[163] Bernard himself died sometime between 1123 and 1127. Miles was created earl of Hereford in 1141, by the empress Maud, and died in 1143. His son, earl Roger, married Cecily, heiress of Payn fitz John, and died in 1155. His successors were his four brothers, none of whom inherited the earldom and none of whom produced any surviving offspring. The last of them, Mahel, died in 1165. All Bernard's estates then passed to earl Roger's sisters, Margaret, Bertha and Lucy, and their husbands. Margaret married Humphrey de Bohun, Bertha William(II) de Braose and Lucy Herbert fitzHerbert. To Bertha and William went the lordship and honour of Brecon. William de Braose died in 1175 and his son, William(III), in 1211.

BURGHILL

The church here was part of Bernard de Neufmarché's endowment of his priory at Brecon.[164] When Miles of Gloucester founded the priory of Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester in 1136, however, he gave the same church to that house, apparently unaware that Brecon already had it.[165] The resulting competing claims were settled by earl Roger, through the mediation of bishop Gilbert Foliot of Hereford, with Llanthony keeping the church and Brecon receiving in compensation Roger's mills at Burghill and Much Cowarne.[166]

Three of the knightly tenants of the honour of Brecon had lands in Burghill. These were the families of Burghill, Picard and Minières.

The family of Burghill were lords of Tillington. Roger de Burghill was a constant companion of earl Roger and of his brothers Henry and Mahel; he was steward to the latter, as indeed may he also have been to earl Roger.[167] He married a daughter of Robert

de Chandos of Snodhill. In 1163 his son, William, then a minor, was given lands at Wistaston in Marden, Hurstley in Kinnersley and Wellington by Robert de Chandos to hold for the service of a towel and 12d. yearly 'saving the services of the king'.[168] 'The services of the king' were due on the lands at Wistaston and Hurstley, which Nigel de Wistaston, doorward to the lord of Snodhill, had once held for ½ fee. His own services on this ½ fee Robert was plainly commuting for the annual towel and 12d. As William was a minor his father Roger had in 1166 the ½ fee that Nigel formerly held.[169] After he had succeeded his father William was lord of Benni in the lordship of Brecon, constable of Brecon and in 1196-8 and 1199-1200 undersheriff of Herefordshire.[170] He was alive in 1208 but dead by 1210.[171] In 1211/12 his elder son, Payn, had one fee of the honour of Brecon, half of it at Tillington and half at Benni, possibly.[172]

One of the charters Roger de Burghill had witnessed on behalf of Mahel of Hereford in 1165 was also witnessed by a William de Minières,[173] who was lord of Burghill. He was a member of a family who had been domiciled in Gloucestershire since the days of earl William fitzOsbern. In 1072-1104 Gilbert de Minières consented to a gift of land in Upper Coberley, Gloucestershire to Gloucester Abbey.[174] This manor was held by Thomas, archbishop of York, in 1086 (although it had formerly belonged to Gloucester Abbey) and since Gilbert does not appear as his subtenant in DB, the gift was presumably made after that date.[175] In 1130 another Gilbert de Minières was an official of Miles of Gloucester and Payn fitzJohn in Gloucestershire.[176] This same Gilbert, in the time of king Henry I, gave permission for the brothers Payn and Erkembald de Monceaux to give tithes in Monceaux to the abbey of Conches.[177] He and a William de Minières were benefactors of William fitzOsbern's abbey of Lyre.[178] Gilbert seems to have been succeeded in England by Roger de Minières. He had Westbury-on-Severn from king Henry II and in 1166 had one fee at Foxcote (in Withington) and Gotherington (in Bishop's Cleeve), Gloucestershire, of the bishop of Worcester.[179] The William de Minières who witnessed Mahel of Hereford's charter was probably Roger's son. William's brother, Gilbert, had Upper Coberley of the archbishop of York in 1166.[180] William had witnessed a deed of bishop Gilbert Foliot in favour of Kilpeck Priory in 1148-55 and in 1160-70 was lord of Burghill.[181] In 1170 he was given £10 to fortify Chepstow and in 1176 he was ward of the daughter of Roger de Troilli in Gloucestershire.[182] In 1179 his son Henry was in debt to the Jews and in the 1180s Henry gave land in Burghill to Roger son of Eilaf.[183] Henry was involved in the protracted border warfare between the king of England and the king of France in the Norman Vexin, presumably on king Richard's side, although in 1198 we find Lucas fitzJohn accounting for 12s. of his expenses for conducting Henry de Minières (as prisoner) from Rouen to Lyons-la-Forêt.[184] William de Minières his father was still lord of Burghill early in the reign of John, however, although he was dead by 1211/2 when Henry had ½ fee there of the honour of Brecon.[185] Henry's heiresses were said to have one 'old' fee at Burghill in 1243, and the fact that it was enfeoffed before 1135 perhaps indicates the length of the family of Minières' association with the place. Unlike the Burghills of Tillington, however, they were not landholders in the lordship of Brecon and this and their particular association with Miles of Gloucester and his kin in Gloucestershire suggests that it was he who enfeoffed them at Burghill after he had inherited (in 1123/7) Bernard de Neufmarché's lands.

A man named Picard accompanied Bernard in the conquest of Brycheiniog and received, as reward for his assistance, Tretower and its surrounding lands, which he held of the lord of Brecon for three knight's fees. He is possibly the man, Christian-named William, who had Staunton-on-Wye of Roger de Lacy in 1086.[186] In or before 1103-7 he gave land and tithes in the lordship of Brecon to Brecon Priory.[187] Roger Picard, Picard's son, witnessed the marriage settlement between Bernard's heiress and Miles of Gloucester in 1121.[188] He later witnessed charters of Miles's sons, earl Roger and Walter of Hereford.[189] Roger's son, John(I), was lord of Middleton-on-the-Hill (which he held of the honour of Brecon) in 1160-70 and probably also of Burlton in Burghill.[190] A William Picard, possibly John's brother, had witnessed Mahel of Hereford's charter to Brecon Priory (above) alongside Roger de Burghill and William de Minières and in 1166 he held two fees in Gloucestershire under Margaret de Bohun, one of Mahel's heiresses.[191] In 1176 John(I) Picard challenged Ralph de Baskerville for one fee at Staunton-on-Wye, but it was his son, John(II), who paid a small fine in Herefordshire in 1190.[192] By 1191 John had succeeded William in the fee or fees he held in Gloucestershire and in 1199 he was seneschal to William(III) de Braose, lord of Brecon, his overlord at Tretower and Burlton.[193] In 1211/2 he had three fees of the lord of Brecon, but this did not include ½ fee at Burlton; this ½ fee was said to be 'of the new enfeoffment' in 1243.[194]

BRINSOP

The subtenant named Richard here in 1086 may have been the ancestor in England of the Torel family. In 1143-55 William Torel witnessed a charter of earl Roger of Hereford, lord of Brecon and in 1165 he witnessed the charter of Mahel of Hereford that was also witnessed by Roger de Burghill, William de Minières and William Picard.[195] In 1166 he had ¼ 'old' fee at South Cerney, Gloucestershire, of Margaret de Bohun, heiress to earl Roger and his brothers, and in 1165-81 he witnessed one of that lady's charters.[196] William is the *W. Torelle* whose name is connected with Brinsop in 1160-70 and also with Pencombe.[197] From 1182, while Henry II was in Normandy, William was an acting justice in *curia regis* at Westminster; he was also sheriff of Herefordshire for two years from Easter 1183.[198] He seems to have died in 1185, leaving as debts from his period as sheriff £40 0s. 1d. blank of the old farm of the shire and owing also many hawks for the forest of Treville.[199] In 1154-66 William had witnessed of notification of Manasser Biset that he had given his brother, Bartholomew, his land of Wiggold (near Cirencester), and after Manasser's death William had custody of the heir, Henry.[200]

Sometime before 1184 Ralph Torel, William's heir, witnessed two deeds concerning Haydon Wick, Wiltshire, in the presence of Robert de Ewyas its overlord.[201] Later, he gave to Brecon Priory, with the permission of his son and heir, Ralph, and of his wife, Joan, and for the soul of his father William, certain lands and messuages in Brinsop.[202] It was probably this Ralph, son of William Torel, rather than his son Ralph, who had one fee at Brinsop of the lord of Brecon in 1211/2.[203]

BREDWARDINE

Another of Bernard de Neufmarché's lieutenants in the conquest of Brycheiniog was Roger, son of Robert de Baskerville of Eardisley; he received as reward a sub-lordship based on Pencelli in Breconshire and also the manor of Bredwardine. The fee and service of Roger de Baskerville was part of the *maritagium* that Sibyl de Neufmarché took to Miles of Gloucester in 1121.[204] Roger was still alive in *c.*1127 when he witnessed a notification of Richard fitzPoyntz, lord of Clifford.[205] His heir was his son Ralph.

Ralph(I) de Baskerville had been in Ceredigion in 1110-4 to witness a gift of land in that province to Gloucester Abbey by Gilbert fitzRichard de Clare.[206] He was an important tenant of the Lacy lords of Weobley as well as of the lords of Brecon. As a tenant of the latter he was closely associated with Miles of Gloucester and Roger his son. Roger had Archenfield with his wife Cecily, daughter of Payn fitzJohn, and Ralph de Baskerville received from Roger (or rather from Miles as his guardian) the lands of Orcop and Treaddow in that territory. Ralph gave the church of Orcop and tithes in Treaddow (*Trairat*) to Miles of Gloucester's foundation at Llanthony Secunda at a date after 1137 but before 1142.[207] In 1148 or 1149 Ralph was with earl Roger when he made a treaty of 'conditional love' with William, earl of Gloucester, and also when he made a treaty with William(II) de Braose.[208] He died in 1148/9 having confirmed his father's grants to St. Guthlac's of Hereford and having assumed the habit of a monk, presumably at St. Guthlac's.[209]

At Ralph's death his lands were divided between his two eldest sons, Robert and Ralph(II). Robert took Eardisley, Orcop and Treaddow and Ralph Pencelli and Bredwardine. Ralph married Nest (died 1219), granddaughter of the lord Rhys of Deheubarth. He had Bredwardine in 1160-70 and also at the same time, as ward of minors, Whitney and lands in Laysters.[210] In 1185-9 he gave to his daughter Matilda as her *maritagium* 100 *solidates* of land in Bredwardine, that is, fifty *solidates* in a hide of land at Woodbury (in Moccas) which he held of Walter de Clifford, ten *solidates* in the little mill below the castle of Bredwardine, twenty-two *solidates* in the lands of Robert Vilti, Baldwin his brother, John Sparrow, Serlo and Dorwinni, ten *solidates* in the land above the park of Bredwardine which Nicholas held and eight *solidates* in the lands of Godfrey and Osbern.[211] He also gave land 'in the mountain of *Benefeud'* in Bredwardine to Dore Abbey.[212] Ralph was murdered in his house at Hellidon near Daventry, Northamptonshire, on 26 May 1190 or 1191 by his liegeman Roger son of William, a deed that was witnessed by his younger son Thomas.[213]

Ralph's eldest son, Ralph(III), married Sibyl, daughter of Adam de Port of Kington. He died in 1210 leaving three daughters as heiresses. Between them these heiresses and their husbands, or their representatives, held 4⅓ fees of the lord of Brecon in 1211/2.[214] One of these fees (of the 'old' enfeoffment) was for Bredwardine and three for the sublordship of Pencelli.[215] Ralph(III) made two very detailed grants of land in Bredwardine to Brecon Priory and from 1194 onwards was involved in a protracted legal tussle with Nest his mother, Thomas his brother and Robert le Wafre, husband of one of his daughters, for possession of Bredwardine Castle.[216]

STRETFORD

In 1160-70 *R. Hagurner* had this manor.[217] He is very likely to be the Richard le Hagurner who in 1166 had ½ fee in Kent of Cecily, daughter of Payn fitzJohn, widow of earl Roger of Hereford and now wife of Walter de Mayenne.[218] Richard is probably the person called Seer or Saer le Hagurner who in 1143-55 witnessed two charters of earl Roger to Brecon Priory and who also witnessed a charter of Roger son of Picard, lord of Tretower and Burlton in Burghill.[219]

Richard or Saer seems to have been succeeded by a person called Gregory, Geoffrey or Gilbert le Hagurner, but who was also called Saer. In 1174-9 Geoffrey le Hagurner witnessed a deed of Cecily, countess of Hereford, to Llanthony Secunda.[220] When journeying through Breconshire in 1188 Gerald of Wales recalled that in his lifetime a remarkable thing had happened to a man of the region called Gilbert *Hagurnel;* after three years hard and unremitting arguish, with pains as of a woman in labour, he gave birth to a calf with a crowd of onlookers to witness the event.[221] Geoffrey, or Gilbert, had two daughters, Matilda and Margaret, who knew their father as Gregory or Saer le Hagurner, and also a son, Richard. Matilda and Margaret made grants of land at Crickie in Breconshire to Brecon Priory.[222] Richard le Hagurner and Emma his wife were involved in two charters of that priory that concerned its church at Bodenham.[223] He had one fee of the honour of Brecon in 1211/2.[224] Only half of this fee was at Stretford, however, the other half being at Hopton Hagurnel in Much Cowarne, apparently.

MUCH COWARNE

At a date before 1104 Bernard de Neufmarché gave the church of St. Mary at Cowarne, together with the land and tithes belonging to it and a 'hide of land at Bache, to Gloucester Abbey.[225] Later his grandson, earl Roger, gave Brecon Priory the mill of Much Cowarne in part settlement of a dispute with Llanthony Secunda concerning the church of Burghill.[226]

Agnes of Marlborough and Thurstan of Wigmore her husband had this manor in 1086 but nothing further is recorded of them or their descendants here. In 1160-70 *H de Hesela* was its tenant.[227] He is presumably the Hugh de Hazle who in 1141 witnessed a charter of Miles of Gloucester.[228] He was present on two occasions in 1159-60 when the tenure of Alvington, Gloucestershire (given to Llanthony Secunda by Miles's son, Walter) was in dispute and in *c.*1160-5 he witnessed a charter of Henry of Hereford, another of Miles's sons.[229] Hugh had in 1166 one 'old' fee of the bishop of Hereford at Hazle, south of Ledbury.[230] By 1210-2 he had been replaced at Hazle by Richard Pauncefoot and Jordan de Wick and the same two men had one 'old' fee of the honour of Brecon in 1211/2.[231] Richard was son of George and Isabel Pauncefoot, and was lord of Bentley Pauncefoot, Worcestershire, in 1198 and of Hasfield, Gloucestershire, in 1199.[232] In 1214 Richard Pauncefoot and Elena his wife and Jordan de Wick and Eva his wife contested the presentation to Much Cowarne church with Gloucester Abbey, saying that Ellen, grandmother of Elena and Eva, had presented the present vicar, Adam and not the abbey.[233] Probably Ellen was Hugh de Hazle's widow and Elena and Eva his granddaughters and heiresses.

Hopton Hagurnel (now Lower Hopton) seems to have been held separately by the Hagurner family of Stretford. In 1373 Richard de la Bere had ½ fee at Hopton of the honour of Brecon.[234] This may represent half the single fee Richard le Hagurner had of that honour in 1211/2.

WILLIAM DE BRAOSE AND PEMBRIDGE

The probability that William de Braose of Bramber had this manor, along with Radnor and the whole of Gruffydd ap Maredudd's DB fief in Herefordshire, by grant from the king, in or soon after 1091, has already been mentioned. William was alive in 1093 but dead in 1096; his son Philip was lord of Radnor and Builth in about 1095.[235] Philip died in 1133-9 and was succeeded by his won, William(II). William married Bertha, one of the heiresses of Miles of Gloucester and earl Roger his son, and had with her Bernard de Neufmarché's lordship of Brecon. He died in 1175[236] and was followed by his son, William(III). William was disinherited by king John in 1208 and died in Normandy in 1211.

Before going on the First Crusade in 1096 Philip de Braoze, while at Radnor, confirmed to St. Florent of Saumur all the endowment his father had made ot them in England and Normandy, and then gave Monmouth Priory, its cell in England, further lands and rights in England, in a deed witnessed among others by a certain Ralph de Pembridge *(Pena Burga).*[237] This Ralph is quite possibly the person called Ralph *de Boceio* who before 1087 had witnessed a letter of William de Braoze to Philip his son.[238] He may also be the plain *Buceius* who attested a notification of Philip's that may very probably date from January 1096.[239] Ralph of *Boceio,* that is Boucé, twenty-one kilometres east-south-east of Briouze-Saint-Gervaise (dépt. Orne), the home-town of the Braoses, may be tne name Ralph de Pembridge was known by in Normandy. As Ralph 'of Pembridge' he clearly had that vill as subtenant of the Braoses before 1096. In 1100 he witnessed a grant of Hugh de Lacy to Gloucester Abbey and in 1103 another deed of Philip's.[240] Years later, between 1158 and 1164 the abbot of Reading, superior of Leominster Priory, gave to a certain Baderon ½ hide and a mill at Luntley, in Dilwyn, that Ralph de Pembridge, with the consent of his son and heir Payn, had given to the priory on the occasion of his becoming a monk there.[241] Payn was in possession of Pembridge and its outlier at Moorcot in 1160-70[242]

Payn seems to have been succeeded by a Henry de Pembridge. He married a sister of Walter de Cormeilles of Tarrington and had with her the manors of Winstone and Weston Subedge, Gloucestershire. In 1177 Henry was amerced one mark in Gloucestershire and in 1178 his vill of Winstone fined ½ mark.[243] When Walter died in 1203 Henry proffered £5 for having custody of his barony until his daughters and heiresses came of age.[244] In the 1190s Henry witnessed a charter of his lord, William(III) de Braose of Radnor and Brecon in which he confirmed the manor of Glasbury to Walter de Clifford.[245] Soon after William was given the lordship of the Three Castles or Teirtref by king John in 1205 (in succession to Huberd de Burgh), he obtained from the Templars at neighbouring Garway a grant of land, called Newland, which he gave to Henry to hold for ½ knight's fee.[246] It was probably Henry who commenced to build there a castle which is now called Pembridge

Castle. He died in 1210. His son and heir, Ralph, had one 'old' fee at Pembridge of the honour of Radnor in 1211/2.[247]

LANDS RETAINED BY THE KING

Five of Alfred of Marlborough's DB manors seem to have been retained by the crown for some considerable time after his demise. These were the manors of Eastrop, Rowde, Corfton, Newton Toney and Severn Stoke.

Eastrop and Corfton were held of Alfred by the same man, Hugh, in 1086. He seems to have been the ancestor of the Brayboef family, one of whose representatives, Hugh de Brayboef, had two fees in Wiltshire of Humphrey de Bohun in 1166,[248] and was lord of Eastrop in 1167.[249] Eastrop, Crofton and Newton Toney are all found in the hands of Humphrey de Bohun's successors, the earls of Hereford (of the third creation), in the 13th century.[250] These earls were descendants of a man who had been steward to Henry I and it seems probable that the three manors of Eastrop, Crofton and Newton were given by Henry to his steward.

At some point, probably in the reign of Henry II, the manor of Rowde was made appurtenant to the royal castle of Devizes.[251]

Twelve of the fifteen hides Alfred had at Severn Stoke are found in the king's hands at a date shortly after DB.[252] The king is said to have held his part of the manor of the abbot of Westminster for one fee in 1166, but it seems likely that the abbey never in fact had full possession or overlordship of it after 1086.[253]

ABBREVIATIONS

ASC = G. N. Garmonsway (trans. & ed), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1953).
Bradenstoke Cartulary = V. C. M. London (ed), *The Bradenstoke Cartulary,* Wiltshire Record Society, 35 (1979).
Brecon Cartulary = R. W. Banks, 'Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannes Evang. de Brecon', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* (1882) and (1883).
CRR = *Curia Regis Rolls,* P.R.O., (1922-79).
DB = *Domesday Book,* Record Commission, (1786).
Duncumb = J. Duncumb and continuators, *History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford,* (1804-1915).
FA = *Feudal Aids 1284-1431,* H.M.S.O., (1899-1920).
Fees = *Book of Fees,* H.M.S.O., (1920-31).
Florence of Worcester = B. Thorpe (ed), *Florentius Wigorniensis Chronicon ex Chronicis,* (1848-9).
Gloucester Cartulary = W. H. Hart (ed), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae,* Rolls Series, (1863-7).
HDB = V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (eds.), *Herefordshire Domesday Book 1160-70,* P.R.S., 63(1950).
Inq. p.m. = *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (2nd series), H.M.S.O., (1904-).
Lib. Land. = J. G. Evans and J. Rhys (eds.), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv,* (1893).
Monasticon = W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* (1849 ed.)
PR = *Pipe Roll* (as published by the P.R.S., 1882-).
RBE = H. Hall (ed), *The Red Book of the Exchequer,* Rolls Series, (1896).
RCR = Sir F. Palgrave, *Rotuli Curiae Regis,* Record Commission, (1835).
Round *A.C.* = J. H. Round, *Ancient Charters Prior to 1200,* P.R.S., 10 (1888).
Round *CDF* = J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206,* H.M.S.O., (1899).
VCH = *Victoria County History.*

Walker, Charters = D. Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201', *Camden Miscellany,* 22(1964).
Walker, Register = D. Walker, 'A Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester' *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany,* Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Records, 11(1976).

REFERENCES

[1] *Feudal England* (1909), 327-9.
[2] For this see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd. ed., 1947), 419-20; F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (1970), 41 note 3.
[3] Round, *CDF,* no. 714.
[4] Alfred Maubanc flourished in Wiltshire in 1214; D. M. Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices, 1198-1212,* vol. 4 Selden Society, 84(1967), no. 4723.
[5] Maubanc is a Norman-French nickname, which became adopted as a surname: see G. Tengvick, *Old English Bye-Names,* Nomina Germanica 4 (Uppsala, 1938), 349-50.
[6] *DB,* ff. 68b, 69, 265-6.
[7] V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085', *Eng. Hist. Rev,* 44 (1929), 353-72.
[8] *DB,* ff. 180, 183. Herbert was almost certainly Ralph's tenant at Ashperton in 1086 also, although there is no reference to this in DB. Herbert's descendants in Herefordshire assumed the surname 'Ashperton'.
[9] Round, *CDF,* no. 463, dated ?1069.
[10] K. E. Kissack, *Medieval Monmouth* (1974), 11.
[11] *DB,* ff. 175, 186.
[12] *ASC,* MS.E., s.a.; Round, *Feudal England,* 324.
[13] *DB,* f.186.
[14] Florence of Worcester, i, 210.
[15] *A Conquest of England,* 39-40.
[16] On the timing of earl William's movements see W. E. Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitzOsbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-71', *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* 77 (1962), 6-17.
[17] Ralph de Mantes was allowed to stay in England in 1052 and died, still earl in Herefordshire, in December 1057. Edric the Wild, attacked the garrison of Hereford Castle in 1067, long before any of the Normans who landed in 1066 appeared west of the Severn: *ASC,* MS.D., s.a.
[18] Rowlstone were not under Alfred's control but that of Roger de Lacy and Henry de Ferrers: *DB,* ff. 184, 185.
[19] *DB,* ff. 181, 184, 185, 186.
[20] *Ibid.,* ff. 181, 186.
[21] *Ibid.,* f. 175.
[22] *Ibid.,* ff. 64b, 70, 70b.
[23] *Ibid.,* ff. 36b, 47b, 91b, 97. The 10½-hide manor of Shipton Bellinger was worth £60 or nearly one-fifth of the value of all his English lands.
[24] It is not Monnington Stradel as has been thought. Later records of Ewyas Harold show that there lay close to it a place called *Manitone* or *Mulstone.* A modern rendering of the place-name may well be 'Monnington'; in 1086 Monnington Stradel was *Manetune* and in 1224 it was *Molitone* (*CRR,* xi, no. 1903).
[25] *DB,* f. 184. The 'Cutsthorn Hundred' heading over this entry and over Henry de Ferrers's interest in the castlery (f. 185) is almost certainly a mistake. None of the lands referred to under them were hidated and are therefore unlikely to have been in an English hundred in 1066. Except for *Stane*/Kenderchurch, which *was* hidated, no other part of the castlery was or had been within a hundred.
[26] *DB,* f. 181b.
[27] *Monasticon, vi, 80.*
[28] No hundred heading is given on f. 181b, but the record for Didley and *Stane* is part of a group of estates formerly belonging to the bishop of Hereford which had all been usurped by laymen before 1086. Since the locations of the other four estates in the group leave no room for doubt that they were in one or other of the Domesday hundreds, despite the lack of a hundred heading, one cannot doubt that Didley and *Stane* were, or had been, also. It is probable that before they were taken into the forest or the castlery they were in Stretford Hundred as other neighbouring areas were still.
[29] *The Scudamores of Upton Scudamore: a knightly family in medieval Wiltshire* (Akron, Ohio, 1982), 4-5.
[30] See F. Thorn and C. Thorn (eds.), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire* (1983), 1:56 note.
[31] *DB,* f. 181. St. Keyne's church may originally have stood at Corras, only moving to Kentchurch in post-Conquest times. There is some evidence of a similar move at neighbouring Garway. In 'Elston'-Kentchurch we seem to have another example of the dual English-Welsh foci noted above.

[32] *Ibid.,* f. 93; *VCH Somerset,* i, 412.
[33] *op. cit.,* 1-7.
[34] *Monasticon,* v, 555 Charter X. Cefn in Dulas was *Kevenbaugh* in 1537: *Monasticon, loc.cit.,* Charter XIII.
[35] *Lib. Land.,* 277.
[36] P. Piolin *et al* (eds.), *Gallia Christiana* (Paris, 1874) xi, col. 644 and Instrumenta col. 125. As it stands the charter in Instr. cols. 124-5 is clearly spurious, being a conflation of two separate charters, one being earl William's confirmation to Lyre of its Norman lands and the other being his confirmation of its English and Welsh lands. There is no reason to disbelieve its constituent parts, however, especially as its 'English' part is witnessed by known associates of his in his English earldom—Walter de Lacy and Hugh Donkey.
[37] *DB,* f. 186.
[38] *DB,* ff. 180, 181.
[39] p. 59.
[40] The three hundreds were probably those of Radlow (in which Much Cowarne lay), Thornlaw and Plegelgate which conjoined on its northern boundary.
[41] *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. 1969-78), iii, 247-55. Bernard's gift cannot be securely dated, although it was almost certainly made in 1079. When Gilbert de Auffay, his maternal uncle, decided to replace a college of secular canons at Auffay with regular monks he chose Saint-Evroul because Bernard's younger brother, Drogo, had become a monk and because he had subsequently become friendly with its abbot, Mainer. His original endowment seems to have been considered insufficient by Mainer, however, and it was not until Gilbert had persuaded his friends and vassals to add to it that the foundation went ahead. Sufficient endowment having been made the foundation act took place in 1079 in the 14th year of king William's reign, i.e after 14 October, Gilbert laying his gifts on the altar in the presence of those who had added to them, Bernard de Neufmarché included. Orderic's biographical account of Bernard and his relations suggests that his birth followed the death of his paternal uncle Hugh de Morimont in October 1053 by no great interval. Bernard may therefore have been born in 1054, with his brother Drogo following in a year or so. Drogo will not, therefore, have reached his majority until 1076 at the earliest, and since Orderic says he had a career as a knight before becoming a monk that landmark must have been passed by, say, two or three years before he took the tonsure. It seems likely, therefore, that Drogo's decision to become a monk, followd by Gilbert de Auffay's endowment of a cell at Auffay and the additions to the endowment by his friends and relatives, such as Bernard, all occurred in the year leading up to the foundation act in the last quarter of 1079.
[42] *DB,* ff. 180, 186b.
[43] *ASC,* MS.C., s.a., Florence of Worcester, i, 213-4.
[44] H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1965), i, 97 and note 1.
[45] Florence of Worcester, ii, 24-5.
[46] *DB,* ff. 169, 177, 244.
[47] *Ibid,* ff. 91b, 182b. See also *VCH Somerset,* i, 527-8 and R. W. Eyton. *Domesday Studies: Somerset* (1880), i, 119-20. The monastic structure of St. Guthlac's foundation had so far been eroded by 1086 that Harold's position at Whitney may effectively have been that of a tenant in-chief. Although it later recovered some of its status, St. Guthlac's never afterwards had an interest in the manor.
[48] *HDB,* 79.
[49] It can be shown from *HDB* that the Braoses had Gruffydd's fief in the early part of the 12th century.
[50] Round, *CDF,* no. 1120.
[51] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 76; Walker, Register, pp. 7-8 and no. 98.
[52] Walker, Charters, no. 57; W. W. Capes (ed.) *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (1908), 12. Earl Roger was the great-grandson of an obscure Herefordshire knight called Bernard de Neufmarchè; the grandfather of the earl's constable was Richard Mantes, nephew to the king, who as earl in Herefordshire, would have had a constable in Hereford Castle under *him* in the 1050s. A nice reversal in fortunes is revealed here.
[53] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 76; Walker Register, no 98. Burnham and Brean were in the hands of Walter de Douai in 1086 (*DB,* ff. 94b-95); it is not known how they came to Harold. His descendants held them under the honour of Boulogne: *Fees,* 241, 1429; *FA,* iv, 312.
[54] Walker, Register, no. 99: bishop Bernard's confirmation of Harold's gifts adds the church of Bilbo (Great Bilbo, SO 359293) to the list.
[55] *Ibid.,* nos. 100, 104.
[56] *Ibid.,* no. 111.
[57] D. H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976), 2; D. Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England,* 74. As the Gloucester Register names an area of Ewyas Harold as *Blancharbesal'* or the like, this effectively removes any doubts Williams had (*loc. cit.,* note 6) over the authority of his source (a Kentchurch Court MS) which said that the abbey was first called *Blakelarbestall.*
[58] C. S. Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872), 1; *Monasticon,* v, 555

Charter X. *Broc Justini* is probably the brook running down Holling Grange Dingle; *Blacpolam* may have lain near Abbey Dore.

[59] *Monasticon, loc. cit.*
[60] Williams, *op. cit.*, 2.
[61] *RBE,* 286.
[62] Walker, Register, nos. 129-131, 133.
[63] *Ibid.*, no. 98; *Gloucester Cartulary,* no. 238.
[64] *Inq. p.m.*, iii, no. 603.
[65] I have called this family 'Evias' to distinguish them from the main family of 'Ewyas' of Ewyas Harold.
[66] Walker, Charters, no. 17; *Monasticon,* v, 555 Charter X.
[67] *RBE,* 286.
[68] *PR 27 Henry II,* 3-4.
[69] *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226-57* (P.R.O.), 59.
[70] Walker, Register, nos. 105, 129.
[71] *DB,* ff. 180, 185b.
[72] Skidmore, *op. cit.* in note 29, 9.
[73] Hastings Deed no. 1080 quoted *in extensio* by Skidmore, p. 112. This original deed now resides in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California.
[74] *RBE,* 245; Skidmore, *op. cit.*, 13, 64, 140 note 11.
[75] Walker, Register, no. 138.
[76] Skidmore, 139 note 9.
[77] T. Stapleton (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae* ... (1840-4), i, 275.
[78] *Monasticon,* v, 555 Charter X; *Charter Rolls 1226-57,* 59.
[79] Skidmore, 141 note 27; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1242-7* (P.R.O.), 515.
[80] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 76.
[81] *RCR,* i, 30. *Dewias* is probably a very bad corruption of 'Hardwick', for which, see below.
[82] *RBE,* 231-2.
[83] *Ibid.*, 286.
[84] Walker, Register, no. 147.
[85] *Ibid.*, nos. 114-6, 148.
[86] Round, *CDF,* no. 81.
[87] *Gloucester Cartulary,* no. 238.
[88] *PR 31 Henry I,* 51.
[89] Walker, Register, no. 1378. Walker, following Canon Bannister (*History of Ewyas Harold*, 53 no. 40), dates this to the episcopacy of Richard de Swinfield, 1282-1316. However, Ruald's line in Monnington Stradel and 'Hardwick' came to an end between 1243 and 1246 when his grandson, Ruald, died. The deed is a notification by G. dean of Hereford, made during the episcopacy of bishop R., and witnessed by archdeacon Peter and master Jordan. There is no bishop R. who coincides with a dean G. and an archdeacon Peter in the first half of the 13th century, when the second Ruald de Calne flourished, so the deed must be earlier than that. It must, in fact, date from the first half of the episcopacy of Robert Foliot (consecrated 6 October 1174—died 1186), when dean Geoffrey (*c.*1158-*c.*81) and archdeacon Peter (*c.*1127-*c.*79) had office and when a master Jordan, priest (later *c.*1182-*c.*86, dean of Hereford), also occurs. See Z. N. Brooke and C. N. L. Brooke, 'Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century'. *Cambridge Hist. J.,* 8 pt. 1 (1944), 7-8, 15 and 8 pt. 3 (1946), 179-85. The limits of date are therefore 6 October 1174-*c.*1179.
[90] See R. E. Kay, 'Three Unrecorded Earthworks from South-West Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1967), 42. 'Hardwick-juxta Ewyas' was probably so called to distinguish it from Hardwick near Clifford. There was an *Archeboldfelt* in Kentchurch in 1205-65: Walter, Register, no. 158.
[91] *HDB,* 59.
[92] *RBE,* 286.
[93] *PR 27 Henry II,* 2.
[94] *Bradenstoke Cartulary,* nos. 98, 281, 289, etc.
[95] *PRs 1 Richard I,* 145 and *5 Richard I,* 92. Walter was constable of Ewyas Harold in 1193. His family had been closely connected with the lords of that place and with the Scudamores since the early 12th century. Skidmore, *op. cit.*, 8-9, 72 no. 1, 111 note 2, 115 note 19. The Mauduit ½ fee may have been at West Widhill, Wiltshire.
[96] *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1300-1326* (P.R.O.), 429; C. M. H. Pearce 'An account of the buildings of Newark Priory with a note on its founders' family', *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.,* 40 (1932), 1-39.
[97] *PR 31 Henry II,* 237.
[98] Walker, Register, no. 105.

[99] *Ibid.*, no. 136.
[100] Pearce, *op. cit.*, 30.
[100A] *Calendar of Close Rolls 1302-7,* 362.
[101] Round, *AC,* no. 21.
[102] The punctuation in this passage is mine. The giver is confirmed as king Stephen later on when he refers to 'the wardenship of Hereford which king Henry gave him (Payn)', i.e. the gift is being made subsequent to Henry's day.
[103] *HDB,* 75; *PR 10 Henry II,* 6.
[104] *PR 8 Henry II,* 58.
[105] *Lib. Land.*, 93-4.
[106] T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis regnante Johanne* (1844), 19.
[107] *Monasticon,* vi, 1092. Charter I (R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry the Second* (1878), for date, and 1095 Charter XXVI.
[108] Walker, Register, no. 143.
[109] *PR 8 Henry II,* 58.
[110] *Feet of Fines of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I,* P.R.S. 17 (1894) no. 220; *DB,* f. 180b.
[111] *DB,* f. 181; *HDB,* 20.
[112] W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England* (Berlin, 1930-52), no. 89.
[113] *Fees,* 1273.
[114] Round, *AC,* no. 12.
[115] *HDB,* 78.
[116] *RBE,* 285.
[117] *HDB,* 9, 61.
[118] Round, *AC,* no. 50; *Fees,* 100; *CRR,* iv, 294.
[119] *HDB,* 20.
[120] *PR 32 Henry II,* 31-2.
[121] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 76 and nos. 236, 238.
[122] *Ibid.*, i, 76 and no. 238.
[123] *DB,* f. 179.
[124] Duncumb, vi, Upper Division, pt. 1, 135.
[125] *PRs 26 Henry II,* 117 and *9 Richard I,* 197.
[126] *Inq. p.m.*, xiv, no. 192; see also *Inq. p.m. Henry VII,* ii, no. 261. and Duncumb, vi, Upper Division, pt. 1, 140-1.
[127] p. 59.
[128] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 107 and no. 621.
[129] *Ibid.*, no. 238; Walker, Register, no. 103.
[130] *HDB,* 59.
[131] *RBE,* 286.
[132] *Fees,* 806, 814.
[133] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 107.
[134] *RBE,* 286; *HDB,* 59.
[135] *CRR,* vii, 329; Walker, Register, no. 113.
[136] *CRR,* xi, no. 1903.
[137] *Fees,* 1479; *Inq. p.m.*, iii, no. 603.
[138] *Inq. p.m., loc. cit.*
[139] *RBE,* 286, *Fees,* 725.
[140] Walker, Register, no. 105.
[141] Skidmore, *op. cit.*, 9.
[142] Walker, Register, no. 100; *Bradenstoke Cartulary,* no. 220.
[143] *RBE,* 286.
[144] Walker, Register, no. 116.
[145] *RBE,* 245, 286.
[146] *PR 14 Henry II,* 160-1; *Fees,* 45.
[147] Skidmore, *op. cit.*, 13-4, 25-6.
[148] *Ibid.*, 11-2.
[149] *VCH Wiltshire,* xii, 144; *Inq. p.m.*, iii, no. 603.
[150] Walker, Register, nos. 102, 117.
[151] *Bradenstoke Cartulary,* nos. 5, 286.
[152] *Fees,* 738.

[153] *RBE,* 286: West Kennett is called *Keneton* in 1250; see E. A. Fry (ed.), *Calendar of Feet of Fines Relating to Wiltshire 1195-1272* (Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc., 1930), 44.
[154] Walker, Register, nos. 105, 110, 170.
[155] *Ibid.,* no. 179.
[156] *FA,* iv, 278, 281, 308.
[157] *Ibid.,* 311.
[158] *Fees,* 755.
[159] *Ibid.,* 237, 241, 1429.
[160] It is interesting that the fee that Robert de Ewyas gave to Godfrey de Scudamore in 1147-8 is not counted as a 'new' fee in 1166. This suggests that what Robert was doing was redefining the services due from an already existing 'old' fee.
[161] Walker, Register, nos. 129, 147, 148.
[162] Bernard founded a priory at Brecon in or before 1103-7 and endowed it with lands *pro salute anima mee et uxoris et filiorum filiarumque:* Brecon Cartulary, 141. His eldest son was called Philip. The choice of this rare (for the times) Christian name suggests that Bernard had a particularly close relationship with William(I) de Braose, one of the co-beneficiaries under the division of Alfred's lands and Bernard's near-neighbour at Radnor, whose only surviving son also born that name. No doubt they were both named from Philip I, king of France, 1060-1108. Bernard and William were together involved in two deeds of William the Conqueror, one (said to be spurious) in 1070-1, when Bernard can only have been a teenager, and one in 1086: R. H. C. Davis *et al* (eds.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (1913-68); nos. 62, 220.
[163] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales* (trans. L. Thorpe, 1978), 89; Round, *AC,* no. 6.
[164] Brecon Cartulary, 141.
[165] Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England,* no. 26.
[166] Walker, Charters, nos. 11, 24; Brecon Cartulary, 150. Burghill Mill was actually at Shelwick: *Ibid.,* 153.
[167] *Ibid.,* 148, etc.; Walker, Charters, no. 43, etc.
[168] *HDB,* p. xxii.
[169] *RBE,* 285.
[170] Brecon Cartulary, 26; *List of Sheriffs from the Earliest Times to 1831* (P.R.O. lists and Indexes 9, 1898), 59.
[171] *CRR,* v, 130; Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis ....,* 199, 225.
[172] *RBE,* 601; *Fees,* 802. See also note 203, below.
[173] Walker, Charters, no. 86.
[174] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 70-1 and nos. 136, 137.
[175] *DB,* f. 164b. The family also had lands at Culkerton and Rudge (in Hardwick) in Gloucestershire, the former of which was held by knight's service of the descendants of Miles of Gloucester and earl Roger: *VCH Gloucestershire,* x, 183, xi, 238-9.
[176] *PR 30 Henry I,* 78, 80.
[177] Piolin *et al* (eds.), *Gallia Christiana,* xi, Instrumenta col. 132. Monceaux lies close to Damville in the department of Eure; within a stone's throw of Damville is the vill of les Minières which was presumably Gilbert's place of origin.
[178] *Ibid.,* xi, 644.
[179] M. Hollings (ed.), *The Red Book of Worcester* (Worcester Record Society, 1934-50), 417, 431, 439, etc.; *RBE,* 300.
[180] *RBE,*296.
[181] A. Morey and C. N. L. Brook (eds.), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (1967), no. 302; *HDB,* 58.
[182] *PRs 16 Henry II,* 75 and *22 Henry II,* 129.
[183] *PR 25 Henry II,* 41; T. Wright, 'Treago and the Large Tumulus at St. Weonard's', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 3rd ser., 1 (1855), 165. note 1, no. 1.
[184] Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae ...,* ii, 418.
[185] *Fees,* 803, 1270; *RBE,* 602.
[186] *DB,* f. 184b.
[187] Brecon Cartulary, 142.
[188] Round, *AC,* no. 6.
[189] Walker, Charters, nos. 40, 68.
[190] *HDB,* 14. Middleton-on-the-Hill had been held by Bernard de Neufmarché under Dunard of Gloucester, uncle and predecessor of Miles of Gloucester, in 1086; *DB* f. 180.
[191] *RBE,* 294.
[192] *PRs 22 Henry II,* 43 and *2 Richard I,* 48.
[193] Walker, Charters, no. 89.
[194] *RBE,* 601; *Fees,* 803.

[195] Walker, Charters, nos. 52, 86.
[196] *RBE,* 294; Walker, Charters, no. 99.
[197] *HDB,* 58, 59.
[198] *Ibid.,* 112; *List of Sheriffs,* 59.
[199] *PR 30 Henry II,* 30.
[200] C. D. Ross (ed.), *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey* (1964), no. 263 and p. 240 note.
[201] *Bradenstoke Cartulary,* nos. 220, 221.
[202] Brecon Cartulary, 29-31.
[203] *RBE,* 602; *Fees,* 802. When the lands of Miles of Gloucester and his sons were divided between the three heiresses in 1165, Brinsop and Tillington in Burghill were allocated, amongst other places to the third of the sisters, Lucy, wife of Herbert fitzHerbert (died 1204). However, Lucy and her husband had very great difficulty in obtaining their share of the lands from the other two sisters and their more powerful husbands and successors. It is doubtful, indeed, whether Lucy and Herbert had possession of them—and then not all of them—until the very end of Herbert's life. He, or his son, Peter, formed them into an honour centred on Blaenllyfni in Breconshire. It is to this honour therefore that the lands at Brinsop and Tillington technically owed their service in 1211/12, even though they are then shown as belonging to the honour of Brecon. However, the persistence of the other two families, and particularly the Braoses of Brecon, in denying the fitzHerberts their proper inheritance may account for this, even though the Braoses' hold on their own lands was temporarily in abeyance.
[204] Round, *AC,* no. 6.
[205] *Ibid.,* no. 13.
[206] Davis *et al* (eds.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum,* ii, no. 1041.
[207] Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England,* no. 26.
[208] R. H. C. Davis, 'Treaty Between William Earl of Gloucester and Roger Earl of Hereford' in P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (eds.), *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton,* PRS new series 36(1960), 144; *Cambridge Hist. J.,* 8 pt. 3 (1946) 185.
[209] Morey and Brook, *op. cit.,* no. 318.
[210] *HDB,* 52, 59, 63.
[211] G. F. Warner and H. J. Ellis, *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum* (1903), no. 65.
[212] *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (P.R.O., 1890-1915); i, B366, B404, B1275, etc.
[213] *RCR,* ii, 257; *Fees,* 933, 945; R. W. Eyton, *The Antiquities of Shropshire* (1854-60), i, 236 note 1.
[214] *RBE,* 601.
[215] *Fees,* 811; see also my 'Baskervilles of Herefordshire, 1086-1300', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld Club,* XLIII (1979), 18-39.
[216] *RCR,* i, 86, 110, 426; ii, 75; *CRR,* i, 76; Stenton, *Pleas Before the King or His Justices,* i, nos. 3176, 3356; *PR 7 John,* 274; etc.
[217] *HDB,* 60.
[218] *RBE,* 195.
[219] Walker, Charters, nos. 48, 51; Brecon Cartulary, 167.
[220] Walker, Charters, no. 65.
[221] Gerald of Wales, *op. cit.,* 88. Gilbert seems to have been one of those very rare unfortunates who, when they are born, have within or attached to them some remnant of an undeveloped twin. In his case this would seem eventually to have become discharged or detached from him when adult, the distorted foetal remains of his lifeless twin resembling a calf to the witnesses.
[222] Brecon Cartulary, 300.
[223] *Ibid.,* 32, 33.
[224] *RBE,* 602.
[225] *Gloucester Cartulary,* i, 80.
[226] Walker, Charters, no. 24.
[227] *HDB,* 60.
[228] Walker, Charters, no. 3.
[229] *Ibid.,* nos. 72, 84.
[230] *RBE,* 278.
[231] *Ibid.,* 496, 602; *Fees,* 807.
[232] *VCH Worcestershire,* iii, 226; J. N. Langston, 'The Pauncefoots of Hasfield', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.,* 71 (1952), 122-3.
[233] *CRR,* vii, 216-7.
[234] *Inq. p.m.,* xiii, no. 167.
[235] Round, *CDF,* nos. 1118 (dated 1 December 1093), 1119 (dated 4 January in what was almost certainly the year 1096, shortly before Philip departed on the First Crusade), 1120.

236 See I. W. Rowlands, 'William de Braose and the Lordship of Brecon', *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, 30 (1982), 123-33.
237 Round, *CDF*, no. 1120, to be dated 1095, probably.
238 *Ibid.*, no. 1110.
239 *Ibid.*, no. 1119.
240 *Gloucester Cartulary*, iii, no. 995; *Monasticon*, iv, 1083.
241 K. M. Morgan (ed.), *An Edition of the Cartulary of Leominster Priory up to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (University of Wales M. A. thesis, 1972), no. 221.
242 *HDB*, 59.
243 *PRs 23 Henry II*, 45 and *24 Henry II*, 59.
244 *PR 5 John*, 56.
245 The charter is quoted in full in Rowlands 'William de Braose and the Lordship of Brecon', 133.
246 T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati* (Record Commission, 1833-44), 135; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1227-31* (P.R.O.), 389-90; *Inq. p.m.*, iv, no. 235.
247 *RBE*, 603; *Fees*, 805, 814.
248 *RBE*, 243.
249 *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 148.
250 *Rotuli Hundredorum* (Record Commission), ii, 259; *Fees*, 744.
251 *VCH Wiltshire*, vii, 218-9; x, 238-9.
252 P. H. Sawyer, 'Evesham A, a Domesday Text', Worcester Historical Society, *Miscellany I* (1960), 23. The other three hides were in the hands of Westminster Abbey, Alfred's DB overlord.
253 See *VCH Worcestershire*, iv, 192.

Fig. 1
THE FIEF OF ALFRED OF MARLBOROUGH IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1086

Fig. 2 *THE CASTLERY OF EWYAS HAROLD AND THE LAND OF TEIRTREF*

St. Ethelbert's Hospital, Hereford: Its architecture and setting

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

LATE in 1984, Hereford City Council received an application from the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral seeking permission to carry out a comprehensive restoration of the fabric of St. Ethelbert's Hospital in Castle Street.[1] The work included scaling down considerable areas of stonework - in places to a depth of 5 inches - treating with Siliconester and re-facing with new stone either from the Forest of Dean or Staffordshire. A number of minor surface details were also to be replaced. An external examination of the building indicated that there were possibly several building phases, the earliest of which could, it was felt, be medieval especially when taken in conjunction with the carved stones on the Castle Pool facade which the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments felt were 14th century.[2] In order to ascertain more accurately the architectural history of the building a search was made of the Dean and Chapter archives and other relevant local sources.

The story of the foundation of St. Ethelbert's Hospital has been told several times before.[3] In *c.*1225 Elyas of Bristol, a canon of Hereford, founded a house for the poor *(domus elemosinaire pauperum)* on lands which had recently belonged to Stephen son of Hugh, next to the cemetery of St. Ethelbert *(juxta cimiterium sancti Ethelberti)*.[4] Elyas was not only a canon but also a clerk in the King's service and was granted special protection by Richard I in 1198.[5] Accordingly, Elyas included the King in the dedication of the hospital, together with his father Henry II and his brother, King John. Elyas was therefore a rather special canon, a career churchman who appears to have risen in the royal service.[6] His Bristol connections were supported by a gift of six loads of beans from St. Augustine's Abbey in that city which continued to be received by the hospital as late as 1426.[7] As a 'civil service' churchman Elyas may have been non-resident although he certainly owned considerable property in Hereford, including a house next to Stephen son of Hugh's which was to become part of the hospital and several estates in the countryside including Winston in St. Martin's suburb, Egleton in the parish of Stretton Grandison and many more from which St. Ethelbert's Hospital received an income usually in the form of rent charges.[8]

In founding his hospital Elyas was giving expression to the Church's growing appreciation of the problems associated with the growth of large towns. The lead had been taken by Pope Innocent III and was reflected in his patronage of the Friars whose mission was basically aimed at urban society.[9] Significantly, within a decade of the foundation of St. Ethelbert's Hospital the Grey Friars were to establish themselves outside St. Nicholas Gate and were followed in 1246 by the Black Friars who attempted a settlement in the Port Fields.[10] An important aspect of the Church's campaign to rescue the new towns from heathenism and brutalism was the 'hospital movement' which left its mark upon Hereford in this era. A leper hospital dedicated to St. Anne and St. Louis was founded beyond Eign Gate in the early 13th century; a bridge-head hospital dedicated to St. John was established close to St. Martin's Church in 1227; St. Giles in St. Owen Street was in existence in

1263 whilst the Hospitallers, perhaps the 'brothers of the hospital' referred to in the Pipe Rolls, had arrived in the mid-12th century.[11] Elyas, in founding St. Ethelbert's Hospital, was simply increasing the stock of socially useful institutions which were appearing in each of Hereford's suburbs at this date. In some quarters, however, hospitals were seen as a burden upon the community for in 1250, Pope Innocent IV opposed the settlement of the Black Friars because Hereford had 'a great college of Friars Minor, many hospitals for the poor, a great multitude of needy, and consequently no alms to spare.'[12]

The foundation charter and the earliest documents referring to the hospital make it clear that the hospital was not built in Castle Street. In the early 13th century when the castle was at its zenith, the crown would hardly have tolerated a hospital sited beneath the recently constructed great gate of the castle.[13] Although the Dean and Chapter acquired land adjacent to the castle ditch at an early date, several documents indicate that even in the late Middle Ages, when the castle was in decline, it was either void or garden ground. A special commission was sent to Hereford in 1395 to enquire who had built upon the highway leading to the castle, thus impeding the Dean and Chapter from free ingress and egress to a piece of land adjoining the bridge and ditch (*foss*) of the castle.[14] The same land is referred to in a Dean and Chapter lease of 1438 for a garden in Castle Street between the lane (St. Ethelbert's Lane) which leads from the said street as far as the castle bridge at the other end, in breadth extending from the said street and the castle ditch.[15] The specific topographical information provided here leaves little doubt that the garden referred to was eventually to be the site of the present hospital.

The earliest documents relating to the hospital all repeat the simple formula that it was situated 'next to the cemetery of St. Ethelbert' or 'next to the church of St. Ethelbert.' However, a grant by the citizens of Hereford to the hospital of a tithe of the tolls and profits of their fair on St. Denys' day, states that the hospital was situtated *'in feodo domini Willelmi Marescalli.'*[16] This is presumably William the Marshall, earl of Pembroke whose interest in the Welsh border dated from 1189 when he married Isabella, the daughter and heiress of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke and Striguil (Chepstow). Earlier in his career the earl had been sent by Henry II with Ralph, archdeacon of Hereford on an embassy to Philip of France and he also appears as a witness to a charter of Richard I whereby the latter granted the Dean and Chapter sixty acres of land in the royal forest of Haywood.[17] Unfortunately, notwithstanding these tenuous connexions with Hereford, it has proved impossible to identify William the Marshall's fee in the City. Apart from the well known fees of the bishop and the king, there appear to have been several independent lordships within the City in the Early Middle Ages. Land outside St. Owen's Gate, for example was referred to in *c.*1150 as the fee of *(de feudo)* Walter de Lacy whilst the fee of the Knights of St. John in Widemarsh Street Without was defined in a rental of 1505.[18]

Some light is thrown upon the location of the hospital in 1406 when the mayor of Hereford gave permission for the Chapter and the custos of the hospital, William Peion, to make a stone or wooden step measuring in width four feet 'in the street called Brodestrete to aid divine worship in the chapel of the almshouse so that a multitude of christian people may flow there more easily.'[19] Capes noticed this reference but felt Broad Street 'was not a convenient spot for a chapel for the inmates of the alms-house which

stood in what has always been called Castle Street.'[20] On reflection, however, it is certainly strange that St. Ethelbert's Hospital with its extensive endowments and close links with the cathedral, should, in more recent times at least, have lacked a chapel. Both St. John's in Widemarsh Street and St. Giles' in St. Owen Street have surviving medieval chapels whilst Price's Hospital in Whitecross Road which, we may suspect is the successor of the leper hospital, also has a chapel albeit dating from the late 17th century. Indeed, virtually every substantial medieval hospital in England had a chapel appended and several notable examples survive in neighbouring cathedral cities although frequently reconstructed e.g. St. Oswald's in the Tything at Worcester and St. Bartholomew's in Westgate Street, Gloucester.[21] It seems most unlikely that Elyas of Bristol would neglect this aspect of his pious work. It is strange, however, that it is not referred to in the foundation charter. Perhaps it was so obvious it needed no specific mention.

The chapel of St. Ethelbert's does make an appearance on 7 April 1515 when Bishop Mayew carried out several ordinations in 'the chapel of S. Ethelbert's Almshouse.'[22] Canon Bannister who edited Mayew's Register finds this difficult to accept and notes that the hospital in Castle Street does not have a chapel. Nevertheless, these two references make it clear that the medieval hospital was situated in Broad Street next to the cemetery of the cathedral and like most other medieval almshouses it had a chapel. (PL. XXVI)

in 1520 the Dean and Chapter were in dispute with the master of St. Ethelbert's Hospital and a suit was pending in the Court of Arches. Bishop Bothe intervened claiming the right of visitation of the hospital 'otherwise called the almeshalle by the churchyarde of your cathedrale churche.' The Dean and Chapter challenged the bishop's claim and after consulting the muniments and archives of his predecessors, the bishop reluntantly agreed he had no right of visitation.[23] The reference to the 'almeshalle', however, perhaps tells us something about the arrangement of the original hospital. The modern design of an almshouse consisting of several individual cottages seems to have developed in the late 15th or early 16th century.[24]

The usual medieval plan was a single great hall with the chapel attached on the same axis or perhaps separate. In many cases the great hall combined the functions of a dormitory and refectory and was thus much more like the modern hospital ward. A unique example survives in St. Mary's at Chichester but St. Katherine's, Ledbury provides a local and appropriate parallel as it was founded soon after St. Ethelbert's by Bishop Hugh Foliot in 1232. Here the building called to-day St. Katherine's Hall combined the functions of hall and chapel like St. Saviour's at Wells where Leland noticed 'The Hospitall and Chapelle is buildid al in lenghth under one Roofe.'[25] The 'almeshalle' at Hereford perhaps centred upon a great hall in this fashion with an associated chapel.

The Dean and Chapter's dispute with the master of St. Ethelbert's, Hugh Pole, was the prelude to a major change in the organisation of the hospital. In 1525 Pole was displaced by William Burghill, treasurer of the cathedral since 1518 and henceforward, the offices of master and treasurer were to be combined. This act of pluralism was justified on the grounds of the poverty of both the treasurership and the hospital 'which has become so reduced that it can scarcely support a warden or master.'[26] One condition of the amalgamation was that the treasurer had to be a resident canon and he now

occupied the master's house, presumably adjoining the hospital in Broad Street. As a general rule in the Early Middle Ages the master was expected to live in the hospital although possibly in separate apartments.[27] A reference in 1230 to a certain Master Reginald *'custos domus elemosinarie sancti Ethelberti Herefordie, et ceteri confratres illius domus'* suggests that the master and inmates at this date lived, if not as a community, certainly in close proximity.[28]

The position of the master's house and its relationship to the hospital is made a little clearer in 1586 when Edward Cooper, the treasurer and custos of the hospital leased 'the capitall scite or mansion howse of the master or custos, comonly called the Allmeshall howse' to Griffyth Lewys, Doctor of Divinity, prebendary of Moreton Magna and Dean of Gloucester.[29] The document continues:

> 'wyth the greate chamber over the scholhowse and all the buyddynes and gardeynes to the sayde mansion howse appteyninge and belongeinge (The new buyldinges pcell of the primsses That ys to wytte, The greate chamber or parlor wyth all chambers and easements over and under the sayde greate chamber wth the entrye betwene the greate hall and gardeyne lyinge on the east pte of the sayde mansion howse togeather wyth the same gardeyne, and the buyldynges, howses and lodgynges on the westsyde of the gate or doore of the sayde churchyarde nowe in the tenure of James Scudamore gent by ffree ingresse, egresse; and wegresse as well to and from the premisses and everrie parcell thereof, as also to and from the same premisses through and by the greate gate into and from Broade Streete in the sayde cytie of Hereford to the sayde Edwarde Cowper.....'

The excellent topographical detail in this lease provides a great deal of valuable albeit sometimes obscure information. At this date the complex of buildings in Broad Street seems to have accommodated three bodies: the school, the master and the hospital. The last is most difficult to place and one is tempted to believe it had already been moved to Castle Street but the preamble of the lease states that Edward Cooper was 'custos of the Halmeshall of Saints Ethelberte adjoyning to the churchyarde of the Cathedrall church of Hereford.' The hospital is, perhaps, included in the 'buyldynges, howses and lodgynges' on the west side of the gate adjoining the churchyard. It would therefore, occupy the site of the present Post Office building. It is possible, however, that the almshouses were not all on one site. The second of the Laudian statutes states that 'custos of the said hospital shall not let out any house within the said city belonging to the said hospital to anybody upon pain of purjury till all the ten poor people are provided with convenient houses to dwell in as near the church as may be'.[30] Clearly, in 1635 the ten poor people were not expected to be accommodated upon one site but were dispersed 'in as near the church as may be.' Cooper's lease seems to suggest this when it later refers to 'the sayde hospitallscite or mansion howse' implying that the mansion house and hospital were one and the same thing.

The 'greate hall' is also a possible candidate for the site of the medieval hospital as is the 'scholehowse' below the great chamber which was presumably a large room which may also have included the chapel. The position of the 'freeschool' (later the Cathedral School) in Hereford during the 16th and 17th centuries, which W. T. Careless found such

a mystery is solved by this document—it occupied the 'almeshall' of old St. Ethelbert's Hospital.[31] The majority of the buildings, it seems, provided lavish accommodation for the treasurer with an entrance to the churchyard close to James Scudamore's house and another entry through 'the greate gate'—presumably the medieval portal of the hospital onto Broad Street.[32] (PL. XXVII)

The descent of the hospital site can be followed from the late 16th century to the mid-19th century in a series of deeds for the Treasurer's House and its appurtenances.[33] The process of sub-division began in 1595 when Edward Cooper left to his nieces Margaret and Ann Cooper the lease of part of the 'almeshall' garden at that time occupied by the archdeacon who lived at the rear of the property in Church Street.[34] In 1656 two messuages and gardens 'formerly the dwelling house of Dr. Perry, member of the hospital of St. Ethelbert and Treasurer of the Cathedral Church' were acquired, illegally it seems, by Silas Taylor, the infamous Parliamentary Sequestration Commissioner and antiquarian.[35] Indeed, the Civil War and its aftermath appears to have been a disaster for St. Ethelbert's. Much of its extensive patrimony, recorded in the early cathedral muniments, had disappeared by the late 17th century. In 1663 the Chapter Act Book refers to a tenant who 'confesses' he held property 'he knows not if it belongs to the hospital.'[36] Finally, in 1787 the Hereford Improvement Commissioners acquired part of the Broad Street site for £520 which the Dean and Chapter prudently invested in government consols.[37] When the Charity Commissioners accurately surveyed the remaining property in 1848 it was restricted to the frontage running from The Mitre Hotel passage to the catholic church.[38]

It is remarkable that such a large complex of medieval buildings left no trace or memory in Broad Street for, not withstanding the watchfulness of the Woolhope Club and other antiquarian observers, no fragment of the hospital has been located.[39] There is, however, a tradition which deserves notice. W. J. Rees in *The Hereford Guide* (1827) states:

> 'It is recorded, that there was formerly in Broad Street a Nunnery dedicated to St. Catharine, having, on the front of the building, a painting of St. Catharine and her Wheel. Its site is not known, but it is supposed to have been opposite where the Theatre now stands.'[40]

The story derives from Duncumb but he fails to pin-point the exact position opposite the Theatre i.e. between The Mitre Hotel and the catholic church. The nuns of Hereford receive a single reference in Domesday Book where they leased a small estate from the canons of the cathedral at Withington and appear to have given their name to the hamlet in that parish called Nunnington.[41] There is no hint in the foundation charters that Elyas of Bristol founded his hospital on the site of a defunct religious house although medieval piety frequently found expression in this type of metamorphosis—traditionally sacred sites acquired churches, hermitages became monasteries etc. Nor is there any indication that the dedication of St. Katherine was employed instead of St. Ethelbert albeit a popular name for hospitals in England and one used for the sister establishment at Ledbury.[42] There was, of course, the double chapel of the bishop dedicated to St. Katherine and Mary Magdalene close to the Palace which could have caused confusion in the minds of earlier antiquarians. Nevertheless, the tradition seems to be fairly strong and we can

perhaps assume that the painting of St. Katherine and her wheel were set up for all to see above the gate of the medieval almshall or its successor the Treasurer's House.

Having firmly established that the medieval hospital was in Broad Street, the question arises: when did St. Ethelbert's begin to occupy its present site in Castle Street? The decline in the importance of the castle in the early 14th century resulted in the crown relaxing its control over the land adjoining the Great Gate. A lease of 1472 refers to a parcel of land 'extending in length from the place where the bridge of the said castle was of old.'[43] This situation is confirmed by John Leland who notes in 1536 that the 'great bridge of stone archis, and a draw bridge in the midle of it .... is now clene downe.'[44] Some of the land belonged to the mayor and *communitas* of the city of Hereford who in 1494 granted it to Owen Pole 'clerk custos of the almshouse of St. Ethelbert.' It was described as a piece of void (*vacue*) ground lying in *castelstrete* 'extending from the lane leading from the said street (presumably St. Ethelbert's Lane) to the ditch of the castle at one end' and as far as the land of the king at the other end being eight feet wide near the lane and thirty feet near the land of the king. In length from the land to the king's land it was forty one tayler's yards (*virga sissoris*).[45] The present frontage of the hospital from the land to the Castle Pool Hotel is thirty eight yards increasing to fifty yards if measured along the gardens overlooking the pool. The grant, therefore, seems to represent the present site of the hospital and was presumably augmented by adding to it in width other property which the hospital is known to have owned in Castle Street during this period; some of which may well have been part of Elyas's original grant.

The earliest reference to the hospital in Castle Street occurs in a lease of 1589 for a garden with 'cottes' upon it in Castle Street with the castle on the east, a narrow land on the west and 'the gardens of the almeshouses on the north.'[46] The grantor is Edward Cooper, custos of the hospital, who demands an entrance fine from the leasee of 'Twoe wayne loades of Tyle stones towardes the reparacons of the Almeshouses.' As the Laudian statutes later indicate, however, some of the almeshouses may have still been standing close to the churchyard in Broad Street where they had earlier been repaired in 1542 when the custos Nicholas Wallewen reserved a 'quarrell of stone upon Capler' for the use of the hospital.[47] Wallewen's full title 'custos and master of Seynt Ethelbert Almeshall in the City of Hereford by the churchyard of the said cathedral church' once again leaves little double that in 1542 the hospital was still on its original site.

The absence of any firm evidence about the re-location of the hospital between 1542-89 is disappointing but the most obvious instigator of this project was Edward Cooper, Master of St. Katherine' Hospital, Ledbury; Archdeacon of Hereford between 1565-78 and Treasurer 1583-96. His memorial stone at Ledbury refers to the battles he fought on behalf of the hospital of St. Katherine and one of his first acts on becoming Treasurer and thus, custos of St. Ethelbert's, in July 1583 was to request four oaks out of Canon's Wood at Woolhope for the hospital. This, taken with the roof tiles referred to in 1589, suggests a major building programme connected with the hospital. As we have seen, Cooper disposed of the Master's House in Broad Street in 1589 and re-built for himself a commodious residence adjoining the hospital at Ledbury. This event perhaps indicates the moment when St. Ethelbert's left the Broad Street site. Among Cooper's other projects

were the re-building of Stoke Edith Church in 1575 and a new market hall at Ledbury for which he left £3 in his will.[48] It seems very likely, therefore, that a suite of new almshouses in Castle Street, built on a linear plan in the 'modern' fashion, but without a chapel was another of his undertakings. In his will of 15 July 1595 he leaves forty shillings 'to the ten poor people inhabiting within the hospital and almshouses of St. Ethelbert in the City of Hereford.' The failure to describe the hospital as 'next to the churchyard' is again suggestive, albeit negative evidence, that the building had moved. The matter is finally clinched by Speede's plan of 1610 which marks the almshouses on their present site in Castle Street, dwarfed by the twin towered gate of the castle.

The history of the hospital during the 18th century is fairly uneventful. The Dean and Chapter seem to have been reasonably vigilant on the inmates behalf and after a visitation in 1769, for instance, they pursued the retired master, Thomas Breton to Northampton, accusing him of leaving the hospital in a 'dilapidated state.'[49] Several craftsmen are subsequently employed to survey the fabric and carry out basic repairs. The whole of one side of the roof is stripped and 3000 stone tiles relaid. A bill for £29 14s. 10d. is sent to the old master.

The re-building of 1805 came about in the same way when following another visitation the Chapter Act Book records the 'ruinous state' of the almshouses and on 10 November 1804 approached the executrix of the late master, Joseph Guest to pay for repairs. The following February Miss Evans had provided £182 and the Dean and Chapter promised to find the timber and stone from their estates. Additional monies were raised by selling timber on the hospital lands and disposing of a dilapidated house in Little Castle Street (St. Ethelbert Street) to the Hereford Improvement Commissioners. The Chapter also accepted a plan for the new building from Robert Jones who was to supervise the whole operation, directed by Dr. Morgan, the new custos of the hospital.[50]

Robert Jones was one of those late 18th-century craftsmen who successfully made the transition from artisan to architect. He was able to combine the practical skills of building with the more esoteric demands of surveying and design and seems to have succeeded the ill-fated Thomas Symonds as architect to the Dean and Chapter soon after the re-building of the Cathedral in 1796.[51] His duties with regard to the hospital are defined in Dr. Morgan's account book where he is responsible for 'making plans, elevations, taking dilapidations and directing workmen.'[52] His documented work is quite extensive. He surveyed the 'scite' of St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury in 1798 and provided the Chapter with a plan of alterations to the schoolhouse in 1804.[53] The Hereford Improvement Commissioners called upon him in 1808 to produce a design for a new frontage for a house partly demolished during the widening of Widemarsh Street and he is regularly consulted by them about the bills and claims of minor craftsmen.[54] In 1814 he surveyed the site of the Old Gaol in St. Peter's Square for the commissioners responsible for the re-building of the Shirehall.[55] His connexions with the Chapter and the genteel trustees of institutional building projects ensured that he was frequently employed in the countryside. Sir George Cornwall of Moccas Court sought his advice about the east window of Bredwardine Church in 1804 whilst at Stoke Edith in 1791 he was asked to examine the account of John Rawlings, a joiner working for no less a person than John

Nash who had recently supervised the refitting of the Dining Parlour and Pillar Hall for Edward Foley. Later Jones was to provide some joinery work at Stoke House suggesting that this may have been his original craft.[56] Finally, in 1825, he provided an estimate for John Lucy Scudamore for rendering the facade of Kentchurch Court—a rather drastic recommendation which was sensibly ignored.[57] This is undoubtedly an incomplete record of Robert Jones' career but it is enough to suggest that the designer of the new almshouses in Castle Street was one of the most respected craftsmen/architects resident in the City at this date.

The building process at St. Ethelbert's can be traced in considerable detail from the main record of disbursements kept by Dr. Hugh Morgan; the separate account book of Robert Jones and several loose paper bills belonging to individual craftsmen.[58] There were five or six principal undertakers who contracted for different aspects of the work. Usually they provided some of the materials and paid their own workmen. The mason's work was carried out by William Hargest (Hergest) junior, a member of a family of masons who were continuously employed upon the fabric of the Cathedral throughout the 18th century. In all he was paid £207 13s. 4d. for mason's work, tiling and plastering. In the mid-Summer of 1805 there were ten masons at work on the building receiving payments ranging from 9s. to 17s. 6d. for a seven day week. Most of the stone appears to have come from a quarry at Holmer but 'decayed' stone from the old Chapter House was sold by the Dean and Chapter at 15s. per ton whilst another load of re-cycled stone was also brought from the Coningsby Hospital in Widemarsh Street. Two hundred and sixty-four feet of paving stone, delivered in September 1805, came from St. Margarets in West Herefordshire supplied by Philip Seabourne, a member of a family of monumental masons whose stones can still be seen standing in the churchyards of that area. There was a good deal of brick in the core of the building which came from the kilns of John Herring at Tupsley. It arrived with qualities described as either 'hard' or 'soft'. Lime for mortar came from Fownhope, Sufton and Woolhope whilst sand was collected from the Bridewell on Castle Green where it was delivered in barges. The roof seems to have been covered with a variety of materials—brick tiles, slates and stone tiles, again from St. Margarets at 9d. per 100.

The masons were dependent upon the principal carpenter, William Garstone, and his men for servicing several important aspects of their work. They built the wheelbarrows at 5s. 7½d. each, made the deal moulds for the circular parts of the front windows and provided the tilers with fixing pegs. Garstone's most important contribution to the exterior of the building, however, concerned the making of ten gothic casements for the Castle Street frontage at 8s. each. The main structural timber was oak which came from the hospital lands at Gorsty Common, Holmer and Lyde. Smaller wood, presumably for scaffolding, was extracted from coppices at Little Dewchurch and Canon Frome whilst five hundred and forty eight feet of 1 inch elm board was supplied by a Mr. Wainwright at £12 14s. 10d. He also found the lath for the plasterers. In total Garstone received £144 15s. 3d.

The blacksmith, Thomas Burston, also assisted both the mason and the carpenters, providing an endless supply of 'sharps', stonehammers, wedges, tilepikes, chimney cramps, locks, window bars and the grates. He repaired broken forks and supplied 103 brushes. By September 1805, the basic structure had been completed and the workmen

were treated to a supper at The Catherine Wheel in High Town. The landlady, Susan Gough, submitted her bill to Dr. Morgan for 15 dinners at 1s. 3d. each, 1 gallon of ale with the supper and thirty pints afterwards at £1 15s. 9d. The workmen had also consumed three hogsheads of beer during the work which cost the charity a further £12.

The final touches were now put to the building and Thomas Wood was commissioned to cut the seal of St. Ethelbert's Hospital in Painswick stone for the entrance. Wood was a local stone carver and marble mason and many of his rather unimaginative tablets can be seen in the parish churches of Herefordshire as far afield as Shobdon and Sollers Hope. He was later to carve the urn mounted on the top of Nelson's column in Castle Green.[59] The windows were also glazed by Mrs. Rachel Price and the woodwork painted with 'oak colour paint' at 1s. per pint. Meanwhile, in Castle Street Messrs. Williams and Trehearne were digging a well which was groined and provided with a pump. During a cold spell in January 1806 a ton of coal was bought, the houses aired and the inmates' goods carried from their temporary accommodation to the new lodgings. Out in the garden one of Mr. Garstone's last acts was to build a toolshed, the ground was ploughed and limed ready for potatoes in the Spring. Finally, James Cranstone of the Kings Acre nursery supplied 300 hawthorn quick for hedging at 3s. 9d. and a trained Royal George peach at 8s. 0d. for the south wall of the almshouse.

The total cost of re-building was £665 3s. 2½d. which provided ten dwelling houses, each with an upper and lower room with individual entrances at the rear. Contemporaries agreed that the end result was 'a remarkably neat and substantial stone building .... very appropriate and pleasing.'[60] Its gothic style was also noticed together with the carved stones set in the wall facing the garden which came from the demolished Chapter House. (PLS. XXVIII-XXXI)

The new hospital must be seen, however, in the context of the mood of urban improvement which stirred in Hereford in the late 18th and 19th centuries. 'Neat', rather austere buildings, the hallmark of the restrained taste of the Improvement Commissioners, were going up in many streets close to the hospital—across the Close in St. John Street, for example. The medieval gates of the City were coming down, narrow streets were being widened and High Town was about to be cleared of its fossilized market stalls. Several other public buildings had just been completed or were in the planning stage, among them the General Hospital, the County Gaol and the Shirehall. The Dean and Chapter were therefore participating in this movement, contributing to the improved state of Hereford's townscape.

St. Ethelbert's Hospital, built in a gothic style, was rather different from the other buildings of this era which were generally neo-classical in inspiration. The choice of a pointed style was very suitable for an institution which had medieval roots and was so intimately connected with the Cathedral. So convincing was this period dress that 20th-century commentators have hitherto assumed that the hospital had always occupied this site from foundation. Its rusticity was also highly desirable for a site close to Castle Green whose picturesque qualities had recently been enhanced by the addition of a Doric temple-cum-coffee house and was soon to receive Nelson's column and Sir Robert Smirke's Jacobean 'cottage', The Fosse. The pictorial possibilities of a group of almshouses,

embellished with authentic fragments of medieval sculpture, were fully appreciated by those with discriminating sensibility. It provided one of those 'lively picturesque circumstances' praised by Uvedale Price, as well as advertising the philanthropy of the Dean and Chapter. Indeed, the cheerful inmates, tending their gardens or hanging out their washing, provided ample lessons of the simple life inherent in Rousseau's vision of Arcadia. (PLS. XXXII-XXXIII)

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The Annunciation and the Lily Crucifixion

By G. W. KEMP

THE account of the Annunciation is found only in the Gospel of St. Luke (i: 26-38) of the New Testament gospels, but it appears also in various versions in some of the apocryphal gospels,[1] e.g. Book of James or Protevangelium (x, xi); Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew (ix.); The Gospel of Bartholomew (ii); Gospel of the Birth of Mary (ix).

It is often considered that the earliest representations of the annunciation are in the catacombs, namely on a fresco in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome, where a wingless figure stands before a seated woman and another similar fresco in the Peter and Marcellinus catacomb. However, some authorities dispute this, and it is not certain that this is so. Apart from these there are no other representations before the Council of Ephesus in 431. As a result of this Mary's status in the christian hierarchy was enhanced by the theologians and leaders of the church and the annunciation motive from the second half of the 5th century onwards begins to appear on all types of church decoration. Probably the first authenticated example of the annunciation is on a mosaic in the church of S. Maggiore in Rome which is of the 5th century.

During the later middle ages the madonna cult occupied a major position in religious life and church ceremony, and this was reflected in the dominant position it attained in church decoration. In the period during which gothic architecture was in vogue, the annunciation was a very common feature of cathedral and major church facades. The event was often included in doorway sculpture when illustrating scenes both of the life of Our Lord and from the Virgin's life.

Throughout the medieval period there were broadly two methods of presentation, the more commonly used abstract type and the historical narrative type.

In the *abstract type*[2] the artists mainly restrict the composition to the depiction of Mary and Gabriel with either a plain or diapered background, or even an imaginative landscape, none of which obtrude on the symbolic portrayal of the event. This type can expressively portray the annunciation as the first mystic act in the great work of the Atonement. Also this type was used where restrictions, e.g. limited space, expense, or skill necessitated a simple and uncomplicated representation.

The *historical narrative type*[3] produced a realistic and more complicated composition, and required the participants to be shown as people situated in a place, and maybe a specific time of day indicated. This type began to appear at the beginning of the 14th century and a more detailed narrative than appears in St. Luke's gospel was needed if the artists and designers were to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by this type of presentation. As it developed the writings of the medieval mystics were also used, e.g. *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of Pseudo Bonaventura and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.*

Considerable latitude was taken in the portrayal of the event. It was historically accurate to show it occurring in the Spring, but the time of day was not given in any source. Often it was shown taking place at eventide where the serenity and beauty pro-

vided a most appropriate setting and artists effectively used chiarosuro with the contrast sometimes heightened by a lighted candle or lamp in the room.

EARLY REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE 5TH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE ROMANESQUE PERIOD

On the earlier settings in Western art Mary is usually shown seated before a standing Gabriel, while in Byzantine art it is usual for both Mary and Gabriel to be standing. In later settings Mary is shown either standing or sitting and this ceases to be a distinguishing feature between western and eastern annunciations.

Another annunciation type can be identified in northern Italy, southern France and Byzantium, in which the angel appears to Mary while she is at the well. The Book of James and the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew are the only texts mentioning that the annunciation takes place at the well.

The *annunciation at the well* was always a rarity. Examples can be seen on an ivory book cover in Milan Cathedral, *c.*500,[4] on a mosaic in St. Marks, Venice, 11th century, and at Daphne near Athens. It continues to appear in Byzantine art and regions under eastern influence until the 12th century, after which it disappears. In later settings both Mary and Gabriel are sometimes shown standing one on each side of the well.[5]

Often in Byzantine annunciations Mary is shown holding a spindle,[6] and occasionally in Romanesque annunciations the spindle is seen. This again refers to the accounts of the event given in the two apocryphal gospels already mentioned, where it states that the Virgin was engaged in spinning thread for the veil of the temple when the angel spoke to her.

In Romanesque art both standing and sitting Virgins are used indiscriminately. In England, however, the more important examples show both Mary and Gabriel standing, e.g. Hardham Church, Sussex, and Westminster Abbey.

Probably the earliest representation in Britain is that carved on the Saxon Ruthwell Cross (PL. XXXIV), which is in the parish church in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. Most authorities agree its date to be *c.*685.[7] On the eastern side of the cross is carved a relief of the annunciation. This sculpture is of high quality and is considered to be the work of an eastern Mediterranean master sculptor who was brought to Britain to assist in the creation of the Northumbrian Saxon crosses. The Virgin's stance and attitude where she is shown raising her hand to her face is stated to be of Syrian origin or influence.

There are two other Saxon reliefs which are probably the archangel Gabriel and which could be part of annunciations or even alone represent the annunciation. They both date from the second half of the 8th century. Firstly, a fine relief[8] in Breedon-on-the-Hill parish church Leicestershire, which shows the angel with the right hand raised in blessing in the Greek manner, while in the left hand is held a tall staff with a trefoiled head, which is one of the common attributes of Gabriel. Also a growing flower is shown on both sides of the angel, which is an early feature of annunciation settings indicating that the event occurred during Springtime. Secondly, a smaller angel holding a staff on a relief in Fletton Church, near Peterborough. Although rare, there are examples where Gabriel alone without Mary represents the annunciation, e.g. on a painted late 12th-century

wooden roof in the church at Zillis, Switzerland. Alternatively, the normally accompanying relief of Mary could have been lost or destroyed during the Viking raids which ravaged the Saxon churches of which these sculptures were part.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INCARNATION ON ANNUNCIATION COMPOSITIONS[9]

In St. Luke's gospel nothing is stated as to the time of the Incarnation or its formulation. The angel said, 'The Holy Spirit shall come over thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee' (i.35).

The sacred events of the annunciation and incarnation were the subject of searching deliberation by the theologians of the early church, and the ideas they expressed concerning the immaculate conception had a profound influence on the iconography of the annunciation. It was considered that conception could have been affected in three possible ways, viz., through her ear; by mystical aspiration, or by the blossoming branch of lilies brought by Gabriel to the Virgin. Mystical aspiration by rays, or other indications, often being directed towards Mary are the usual methods of pictorial illustration shown in annunciation settings. Usually rays are shown descending from heaven towards Mary, sometimes actually to her ear. Very often a dove glides down along the rays representing the Holy Spirit. The rays emanate from heaven in several ways, namely from God the Father, shown as as old man, God the Son, shown as a young man or occasionally from both together,[10] sometimes from the Hand or Eye of God, or from a cloud or sun in the sky. On some settings a baby, the Christ child is shown gliding down the rays on its own, or occasionally preceded by the dove.

The scroll often held by the angel is sometimes directed towards Mary.

Perhaps the most extreme example of reception by ear, is shown on the tympanum at St. Mary's Church, Wurzburg, southern Germany, where God the Father speaks through a tube to the Virgin's ear.

ICONOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF GOTHIC ANNUNCIATIONS

Gabriel's rod, mace or staff. Gabriel holds a staff as early as the 6th century, which is indicative of him being an envoy or herald. The rod is often but not invariably shown. It was very common in early representations, then became less common, but towards the end of the medieval period its popularity increased. It is often tipped with either a cross or trefoiled flower.

In Italian art from the later 14th century, the rod is often replaced by a lily branch. This is rarely seen outside Italy, although an important exception was on Van Eyck's great altarpiece at Ghent where Gabriel is shown holding the lily branch.

The Salutation. It appears in St. Luke's gospel and reads as follows, 'And the angel came unto her and said, "Hail thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women."'

Gabriel sometimes has one hand pointing upwards towards God the Father, or lifted towards Mary with the Latin blessing.

A scroll with the words of the salutation inscribed in Latin, 'Ave gracia plena domine,' is often to be seen. The scroll is very rare on both Byzantine and Romanesque annunciations. It is uncommon on gothic examples until the 14th century when it becomes quite popular in most of Europe, except Italy and the Netherlands where it was less prevalent.

In the majority of cases the scroll is attached to one of Gabriel's hands and then is projected off in any direction according to the whim of the artist. It is not uncommon for it to proceed to Mary's ear. In sculpture often a bare scroll remains, the painted inscription having worn off or been erased.

There are a few examples where the angel gives Mary the salutation in the form of a letter.[11] This naive motive was obtained from oriental poetry.

POSITION AND ATTITUDES OF THE VIRGIN MARY AND GABRIEL

In the majority of annunciations Gabriel is shown on the left and Mary on the right, although there are a considerable number of cases where the position is reversed. Instead of a spindle Mary now holds a book, the bible, either closed or is shown having inserted her finger in the bible to keep her place while she closes it to attend to the angel's salutation. Later the open bible rests on a prayer desk or lectern. The origin of this is from the mystics' writings of the period, particularly the *Meditationes vitae Christi,* and its translation by Nicholas Love entitled, Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, in which it is stated that Mary was reading Isaiah's prophesy of the incarnation at the moment the angel appeared to her. (vii. 14).

Mary is shown standing or seated on a chair, bench, or throne, also sitting or kneeling in front of a prayer desk or altar. She may be facing the angel; turning her face away from the angel, or kneeling and facing away from him and in the act of turning and looking over her shoulder towards him. This last ensemble first appears around the end of the 14th and of the 15th centuries in the work of the *illuminators,*[12] the artists who created those colourful devotional *books of hours* so coveted by the nobility of this period. It is probable it was first introduced by the Master of Boucicaut (PL. XXXV) and his associates in France, but it was also used by the famous Dutch artist Jan van Eyck[13] on his annunciation which formed part of the Ghent altarpiece painted in 1432. This attractive feature swiftly became very popular throughout Europe from this time onwards. The archangel Gabriel is shown arriving either as a flying angel, or more sedately with a slow levitation action indicating a walking or floating angel. The flying angel, initially an early manuscript feature where the story is based on the apocryphal gospels, is also used occasionally during the 14th to 16th centuries mainly in Italian art.[14] The normal arrival, the floating or walking angel, an Italo-byzantine motive is considered to have developed from the Greek winged victory, the classic Nike. At the beginning of the 14th century in Italy, the angel is increasingly shown kneeling, and this posture became very popular throughout the western world.

All sizes and shapes of wings are shown attached to the angel, and in a few instances he is without them. The peacock feathered wings of the 14th and 15th century Italian annunciations are very colourful.

The attitudes of both Mary and Gabriel as indicated by artists and sculptors show a wide variation of interpretation in annunciation scenes.

The apocryphal early life of Mary which describes her living[15] and giving humble service in the Jewish temple gave the impulse for the artists to portray her as a young, innocent and attractive young woman. They have endeavoured to express in Mary's figure and action, the emphasis on one of her three basic reactions to the angel's message namely, her fear at Gabriel's appearance; her questioning wonder at his message, or her humble willingness to fulfil her mission.

The variation of emphasis on the portrayal of Gabriel is chosen from his power and awesome presence; his friendly and comforting approach, or expressing although an archangel and messenger of God, a feeling of reverence for one who has been chosen as the earthly mother of the Son of God.

It is the incarnation rather than the annunciation which influences these compositions where Mary is shown as a dignified and more mature woman; an aristocratic lady dressed in finery, or even as a crowned queen on a throne.

The devotional attributes of the scene were generally maintained up to and including the early Renaissance, but later representations became more worldly, and in particular Gabriel lost his religious attributes, and is often portrayed as a young man of little significance.

THE LILY AND THE LILYPOT

A vase of flowers in annuncation scenes is of early origin, there being a 10th-century coptic example, and 12th-century examples in both England and Austria. M. Male the French art historian considers that the flower was not originally a lily, but merely a flower to show that the annunciation took place in the Spring. (Lady day March 25). Later the flower was defined as a lily, and became indicative of the purity of Mary. The lilypot and lilies became the most important addition to the annunciation iconograpy in the 13th century. From thereon it became extremely common in western representations.

The precise meaning of the lilypot symbol has not been established. Some researchers consider it to originate from the legends mentioned by the medieval mystics in their writings. A commonly quoted story is that given in a sermon on the annunciation by John Mirk, prior of Lilleshall about 1400. 'A jew and a christian were discussing the nativity with a winepot between them. Then the christian man said, "We believe that right as the stalk of the lily groweth and conceiveth the colour of green, and after bringeth forth a white flower without craft of man, or impairing of the stalk, right so our Lady conceived of the Holy Ghost, and after bringeth forth her Son without stain of her body, that is the flower and chief fruit of all women," Then said the jew, "When I see a lily spring out of this pot, I will believe and e'er not." Then anon therewith a lily sprang out of the pot, the fairest that ever was seen.'

The lilypot has a variety of shapes and sizes. Sometimes it is shown as a vase, at other times as a winepot complete with handle, spout and lid.

THREE RARE TYPES WITH ENGLISH EXAMPLES

The Dove type. In the south transept of the collegiate church of Hedon, south-east Yorkshire, there is a free standing statue of Mary, which has a dove perched on one of her hands with its beak near to and on a level with her ear (PL. XXXVI). It represents the annunciation. The accompanying angel is missing, for the chancel, the collegiate part of this church where this statue was found, is in ruins. Consequently the angel may have been broken, or taken away during the hundred or more years this chancel has been neglected and become ruinous.

There is a complete example of this type of annunciation carved on the columns of the western porch of Freiburg Cathedral in southern Germany. (PL. XXXVII) The Virgin and Gabriel are carved in standing position on the columns of the doorway. Mary holds the dove of the Holy Spirit in her hand. No other attribute is shown.

It would be interesting to ascertain if any further examples of this type remain in England.

The Feathered Angel type. In this type the angel is attired in feathered clothing such as is seen on representations of the Nine Orders of Angels, and as was used for angels in the medieval mystery plays.

Over the original entrance to the early 16th-century octagonal chapel of Hertford College, Oxford, is a mutilated sculptured relief of the annunciation on which a standing Gabriel is attired in this feathered clothing and holds a staff. (PL. XXXVIII)

Another example appears on a 15th-century stained glass panel in the east window of the south chancel aisle of Newark Church, Notts., where a feathered Gabriel kneels before the Virgin. Another quaint example can be seen at the top of a Jesse Tree on a bench end on the northern side of the chancel in Chester Cathedral.

The Lilybranch type. It seems as though there existed an English lily branch type of annunciation setting. In a window in Alstone Church, Gloucs., are assembled its remaining pieces of medieval glass. One 15th-century piece shows a kneeling Gabriel with one hand raised giving a blessing, while in the other hand is held a single, vertical, tall lily stalk with two flowers at its top, and small leaves along its stalk (PL. XXXIX). Mary is missing from this intriguing setting, which is very different in form from that shown on Italian examples. It appears as though the angel's rod has been utilized as a lily branch.

Is this an isolated example, or do others of this type still exist in England?

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE SETTINGS OF THE 14TH, 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

In historical narrative representations from the 14th to the mid-16th century the individual characteristics of the components of annunciation scenes, e.g. Gabriel's staff, whether he is standing or kneeling; the lilypot, or the attitude of Mary, cease to be the important factors in deciding the date of the painting or country of origin. The main criterion of date and origin now becomes the overall composition of the setting, and the kind of place or environment shown on the annunciation scene.

D. M. Robb[16] states that Giotto in his representations in the Arena Chapel at Padua dated 1305, and Duccio's painting at Sienna dated 1311 (PL. XL), were the first realistic

narrative settings to be produced. In both of these scenes the event takes place in two bays of an open portico rendered in perspective, with evidence shown of a room in the background. Gabriel and Mary each occupy a separate bay in the double arcade with a column situated between them. The arrangement of a column separating the two figures becomes the hallmark of northern Italian historical narrative annunciations, and is only rarely absent until the end of the 15th century.

The development of the narrative annunciation was probably aided by ideas presented in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* The relevant passage reads as follows, 'Gabriel then entred in to maryes chaumbre ... knelinge with reverence ... the mylde mayden marye... kneled down with sovereyn devocioun.' Mr. Robb considers the mention of Mary's chamber initiated the eventual interior setting and the bed associated with later north Italian and German settings. Also both the angel and Mary kneeling became a frequent feature in later settings. The progress towards an interior composition continued, with more internal features being included, until around 1370 wholly interior scenes were produced mainly in northern Italy, and it was there that the totally interior scene originated. During the mid-14th century French artists were strongly influenced by Italian work. The two-bay portico, the kneeling angel and seated Virgin of Italian settings are often shown. It was the great French and Belgian schools of illuminators, who used both gold and silver to highlight the very beautiful devotional books they created, that provided the distinctive style of ecclesiastical architectural type of French annunciation settings which achieved their highest standard at the beginning of the 15th century, before oil paintings supplanted this type of work.

It is considered that it was Jean Pucelle's mid-14th century settings that provided the initial catalyst to develop the French type by introducing the external architectural features of the building or chapel containing the two-bay interior annunciation setting. It is probable that the school of the Master of Boucicaut eventually produced the first of the wholly interior ecclesiastical church-like compositions towards the end of the century (PL. XXXV). This interior ecclesiastical type was the typical French narrative setting which continued throughout the remainder of the period.

Strangely the discarded apocryphal incident of Mary spinning reappears as a small illustration around the margin of some of these 'illuminated annunciation' settings, along with incidents from the legendary lives of her parents Anne and Jocachim (PL. XXXV). Popular medieval religious books such as the ***Biblia Pauperum,*** (Poor Man's Bible) contained a range of subjects illustrated and arranged as antitypes and types. The antitypes being the New Testament subject or incident, and the types adjacent to it being incidents or scripture prophesies from the Old Testament, which were supposed to have foretold the New Testament antitype subject.[18] The annunciation is usually the first New Testament incident shown in the list of antitypes. Also in the margins of these 'illuminated annunciations' an Old Testament type prefiguring the annunciation is sometimes shown.

A third kind of setting emerges during the first quarter of the 15th century, which is named the northern bourgeois type of annunciation setting.[19] It appears rather suddenly with little evidence of any transitional development leading towards its establishment as a very popular type in the Netherlands and northern Germany during the last three quarters

of the 15th and during the 16th centuries. The Mérode altar-piece *c.*1425 painted by Robert Campin, provides the first major example of this distinctive bourgeois type, with its domestic interior, and its use of everyday utensils arranged symbolically to function as attributes of the Virgin (PL. XLI). This is quickly followed by a similar iconographical setting by another major Flemish painter Jan van Eyck's annunciation panel on his Ghent altar-piece *c.*1432. Roger van der Weyden was the third important artist to support this type of setting *c.*1433/5.

In the Netherlands the bourgeois interior is usually that of a merchant's house, a secular interior, whereas in northern Germany the interior is often more architecturally decorated and includes Mary's bed and a settle.

Although there were overlaps and variations these European regional narrative types were readily identifiable, and may be summarised as follows,

Italy. In the south the setting is mainly that of an external portico, while in the north an interior setting divided into two rooms, or sections by a pillar was popular.

France. The ecclesiastical setting, usually interior, as basically defined by the Master of the Book of Hours of Marechal de Boucicaut around 1400 is the prevailing type.

Netherlands. The bourgeois interior type is generally depicted. It shows a room in a merchant's house, complete with typical furniture, and also includes symbolic utensils arranged prominently.

Germany. In southern Germany and the Tyrol the bourgeois Netherlands type was used. In northern Germany, Italian influence tended to modify, the room being more architectural in character. A settle and Mary's bed are often included in the setting.

THE CHRIST-CHILD MOTIVE IN ANNUNCIATION ICONOGRAPHY[20]

Mr. D. Robb in an appendix to his treatise on annunciation iconography of the 14th and 15th centuries, gives an illuminating description of the development of this rather unexpected feature in annunciation settings.

It is considered that the motive was Italian and introduced early in the 14th century. Mr. Robb states that the earliest example of which he is aware is that on the painting of the Tree of Life by Pacino de Buonagruda in the Academia in Florence, which is not later than 1310. It consists of a large crucifix surrounded by forty-seven medallions, each of which represents an incident, or incidents in the life of Christ as recounted in the Bonaventura Sermon, *Lignum vitae* (Tree of Life). They are formulated in the sermon as the fruit on the twelve branches of the Tree of Life, which is the Cross. The medallion of the annunciation which also includes with it the visitation, is the third of the four medallions on the first branch.

The motive is found in Florentine and Sienese painting of the first half of the 14th century, and spreads to northern Italy, Spain, Bohemia and Germany in the second half of the 14th century, and continued in these regions throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. It appears in the Netherlands on the Mérode altar-piece *c.*1425, and quite often afterwards. French artists avoided the motive until the middle of the 15th century, after which it becomes fairly common. Although never popular in England, there were

examples during the 15th century (PL. XLV),[21] and the motive was mentioned in the Coventry mystery plays.

Normally the use of this motive would involve a dove, i.e. the Holy Spirit, preceding the baby, gliding down the rays. However variations occur, the most common being the absence of the dove, with the baby alone gliding along the rays. Sometimes the Christ-child is shown holding a cross indicating Christ's earthly mission.[22] The motive was mainly a popular one used by secondary artists.

The theologians attacked such portrayals of the Christ-child almost as soon as they appeared, and they were finally condemned and outlawed by Pope Benedict XIV in the 18th century, as a heresy implying that the earthly body of Christ was formed before Mary received the Holy Spirit.

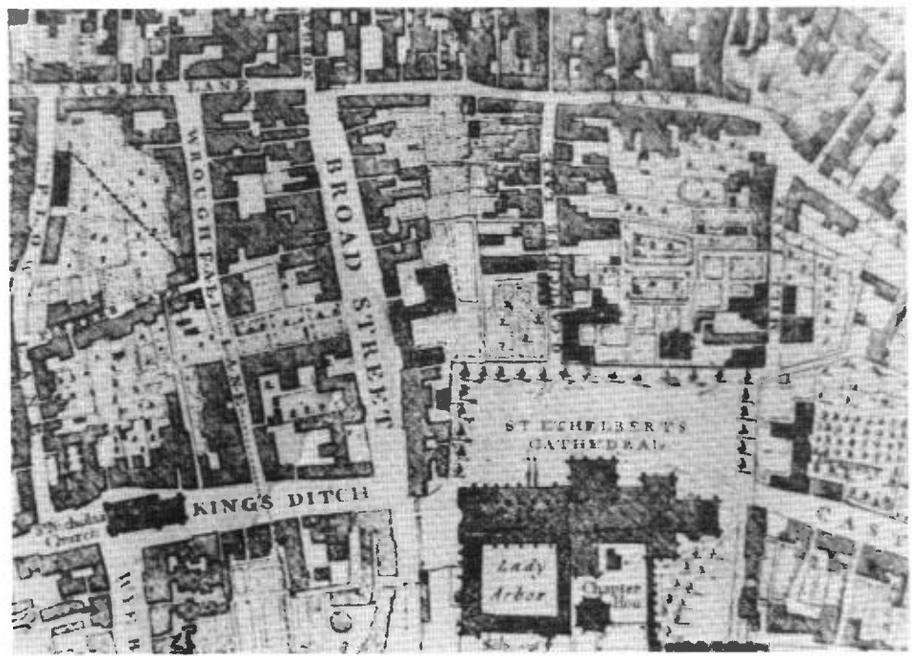
THE LILY CRUCIFIXION TYPE OF ANNUNCIATION

This distinctive annunciation is unique to England, and was discovered by Dr. W. L. Hildeburgh. Apart from his main article in 1925,[23] further material was given by Dr. Hildeburgh in another article in 1932[24] as a result of which eleven examples of this lily crucifixion were described and pictured. A further example, that at South Kilworth, Leics., had been noted, but not fully accepted as a lily crucifixion. Since then three further examples have been discovered. Firstly a painted one at Abingdon,[25] which is part of a Jesse tree on a 14th-century ceiling or roof, and secondly, a sculptured lily crucifixion situated at the bottom of the tracery on the centre mullion of a 15th-century window in Wellington parish church, Somerset. Thirdly, a wall painting at Godshill, Isle of Wight. The lily crucifixion appears during the late 14th, 15th and in the first half of the 16th century. So far no example of this setting has been found in continental art, and only fifteen examples remain, although it is possible that further examples may be found, particularly when repair and cleaning work in churches in places difficult of access or view takes place.

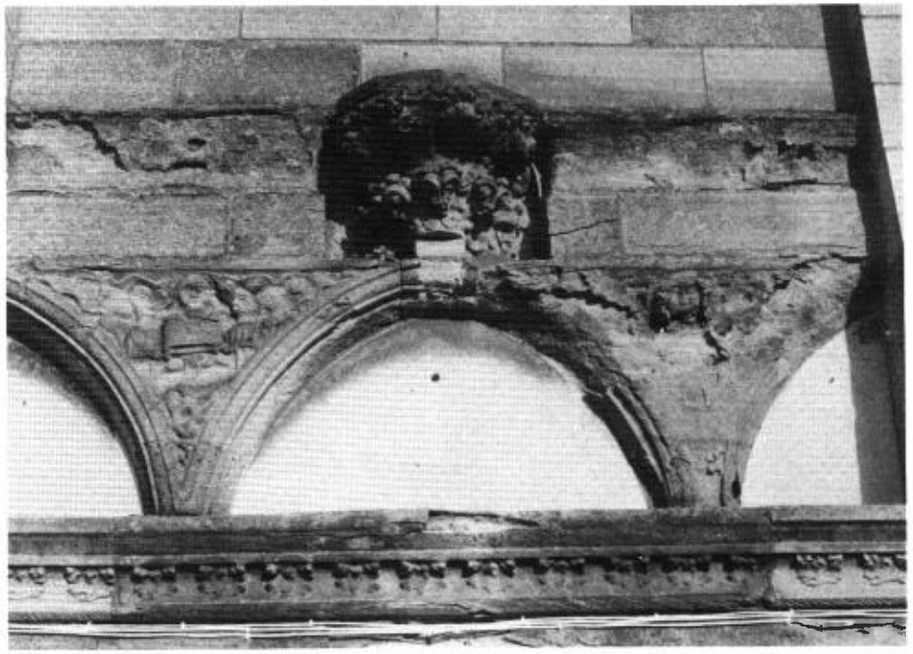
The general pattern of this type of annunciation is for the Crucifixion scene, with Christ nailed either to a lily plant or a cross entwined with the plant, to be placed between Mary and the angel. Herewith a short description of the remaining examples.

1. *An English alabaster relief in a museum in Cologne, Germany.*[26] It was originally painted. A combined lily crucifixion and trinity scheme of unusual layout. The panel is divided into an upper half representing heaven, and the lower half earth. In the lower half is an annunciation with a lily plant of considerable size placed between Mary and Gabriel, which extends up from a typical lilypot into the heavenly section where Our Lord is shown crucified on the lily plant, which is held by and in front of God the Father seated on a throne. The panel is broken and the dove is missing. Date *c.* 1375.
2. A three-part painted wooden panel inclined on two sides around a pillar. It is part of the chancel screen in the parish church of *Kenn, Devonshire, near Exeter.* It is a combined lily crucifixion and trinity. On the two inclined panels are painted figures of Gabriel and Mary. The central panel shows a lily plant in a large two-handled vase. The crucifix is fixed to the upper stem of the lily, which has white flowers, buds, and green leaves. Christ crucified is shown, and above is the dove with outstretched wings, and at the top the figure of God the Father with a triple crown. Date, early 16th century.

XXVI - The medieval site of St. Ethelbert's Hospital in Broad Street next to the cemetery of the Cathedral



XXVII - Part of Taylor's *Plan of the City of Hereford* (1757) shewing the original site of St. Ethelbert's Hospital



XXVIII -)
XXIX -) Medieval fragments from the demolished Chapter House of Hereford
XXX -) Cathedral set in the south wall of St. Ethelbert's Hospital in Castle
XXXI -) Street

XXXII - St. Ethelbert's Hospital from Castle Street before restoration

XXXIII - St. Ethelbert's Hospital from Castle Green

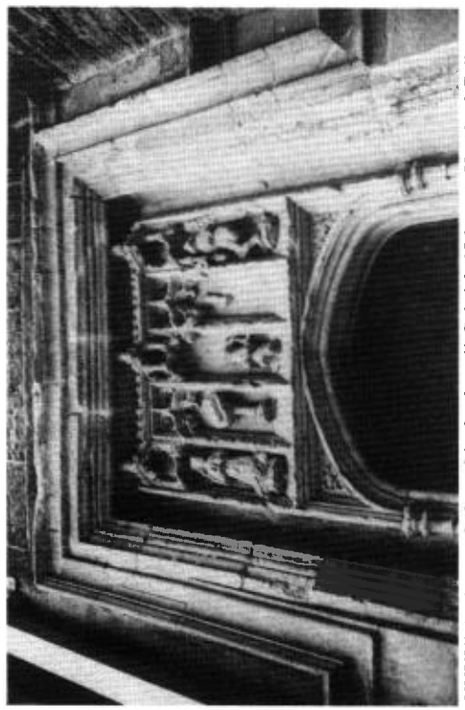
XXXIV - The Annunciation, Ruthwell Cross, *c*.685. Dumfriesshire (*Courtesy of Manchester Museum*)

XXXV - Annunciation. Boucicaut Master, *c*. 1400. Florence, Corsini Collection, Book of Hours. (*Courtesy Phaidon Press Ltd.*)

XXXVI - Virgin Mary and Dove, *c*.1370. Part of an Annunciation, Hedon Church, South Yorkshire.

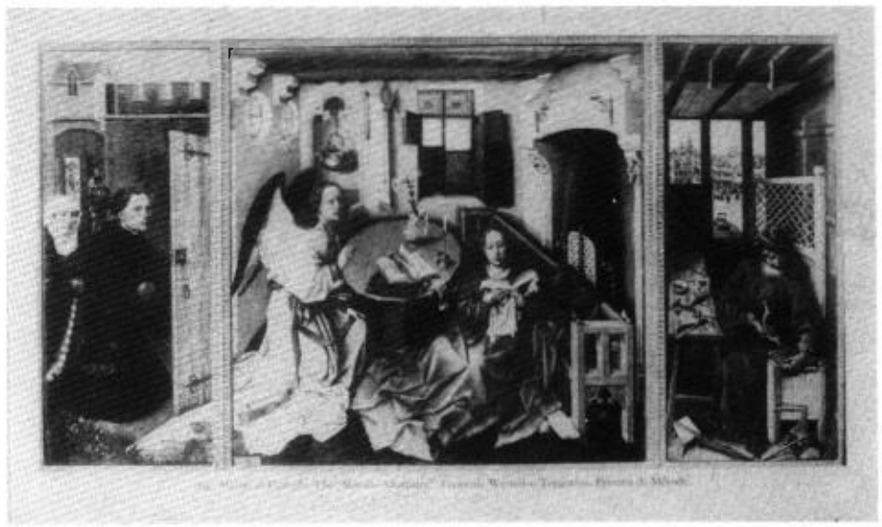
XXXVII - Annunciation, with Virgin Mary and Dove, 14th cent. Freiburg Cathedral, Germany

XXXIX - Angel of the Annunciation holding Lily Branch, late 14th cent. Alstone Church, Gloucs.

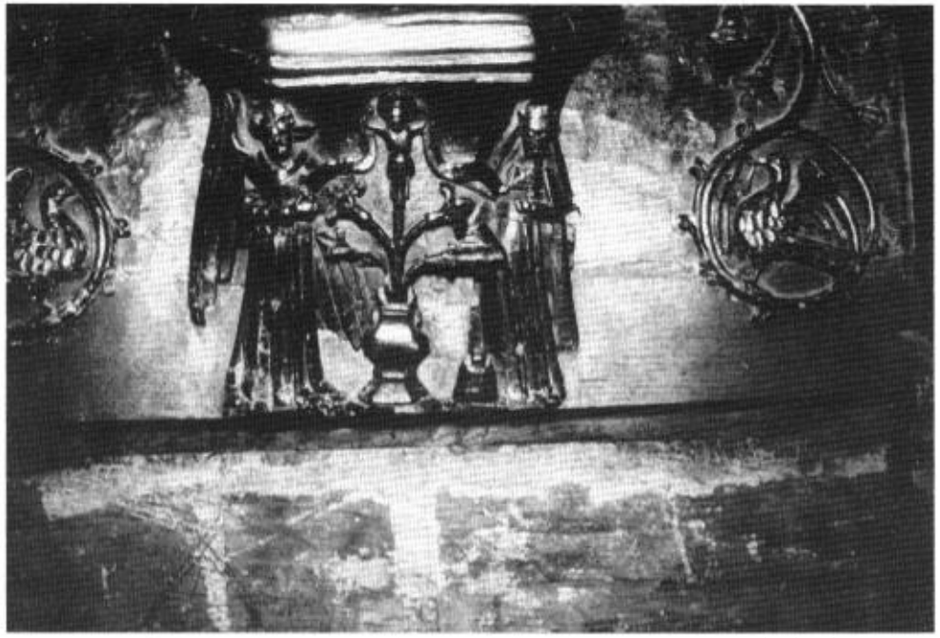


XXXVIII - Annunciation with 'feathered' Gabriel. 15th cent. Hertford College, Oxford.

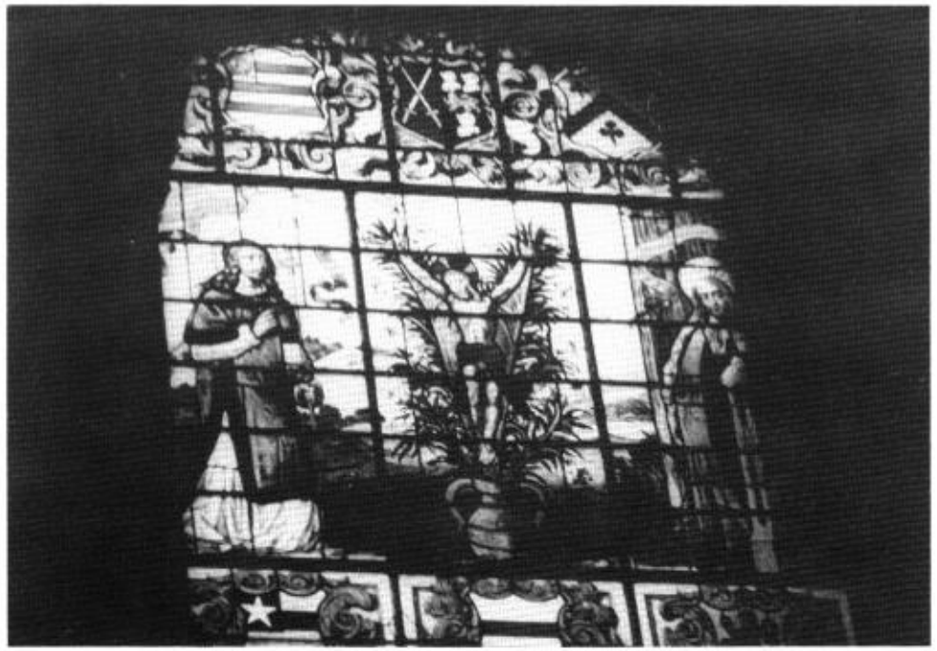
XL - The Annunciation. Duccio, *c.*1311 (*Courtesy The National Gallery*)



XLI - Bourgeois type. Netherland Historical Narrative Setting, Mérode Altarpiece *c.*1420-30. Robert Campin (*Courtesy Harvard University*)



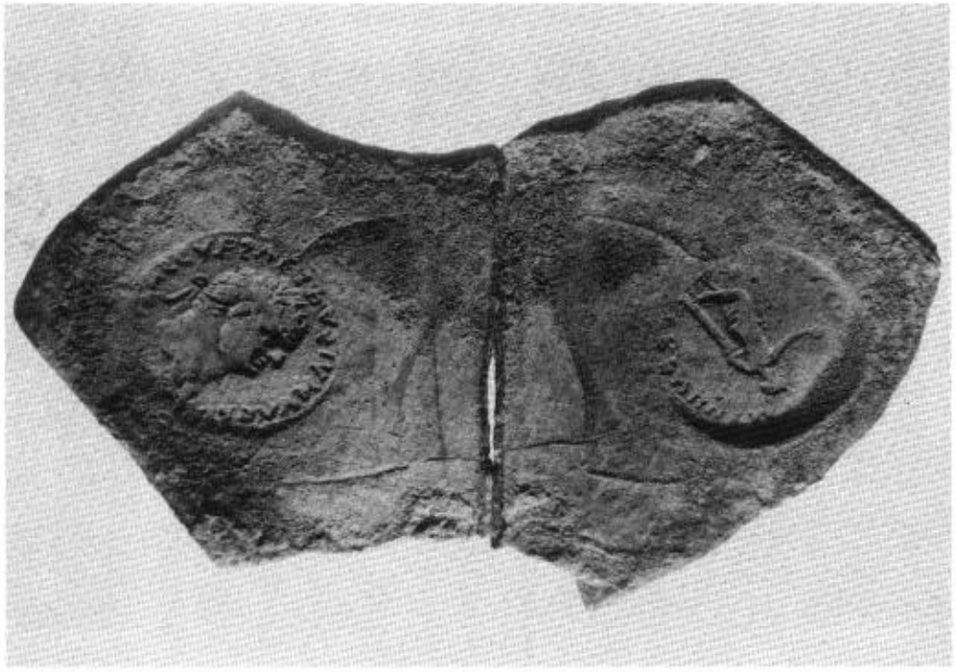
XLII - Lily Crucifixion Annunciation. *c.* 1410. Tong Church, Shropshire, Misericord



XLIII - Lily Crucifixion Annunciation, *c.*1550. Stained glass window, Queen's College Chapel, Oxford.

XLIV - Annunciation on Misericord, *c.*1415. Leintwardine, Herefordshire

XLV - Annunciation with Dove and Baby. On end of Rudhall tomb, 1530. Ross-on-Wye Church, Herefordshire



XXV - The Roman forger's piece from Kenchester (*Derek Evans, F.R.P.S.*)

XLVI - Token of Ralph Turford. Actual size 1.8 cm. Diam. (*Hereford Museum*)

XLVIII - Celtic Head. Female **head**

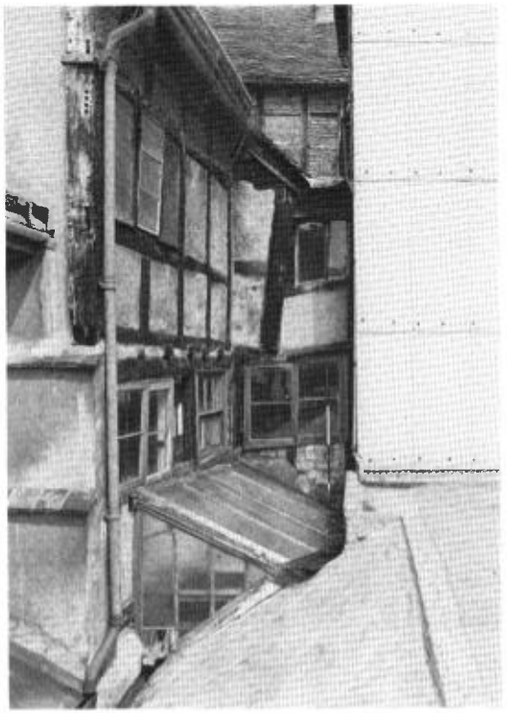
XLVII - Celtic **Head. Female head** from Yarkhill (front)

XLIX - Celtic Head. Female head (side)

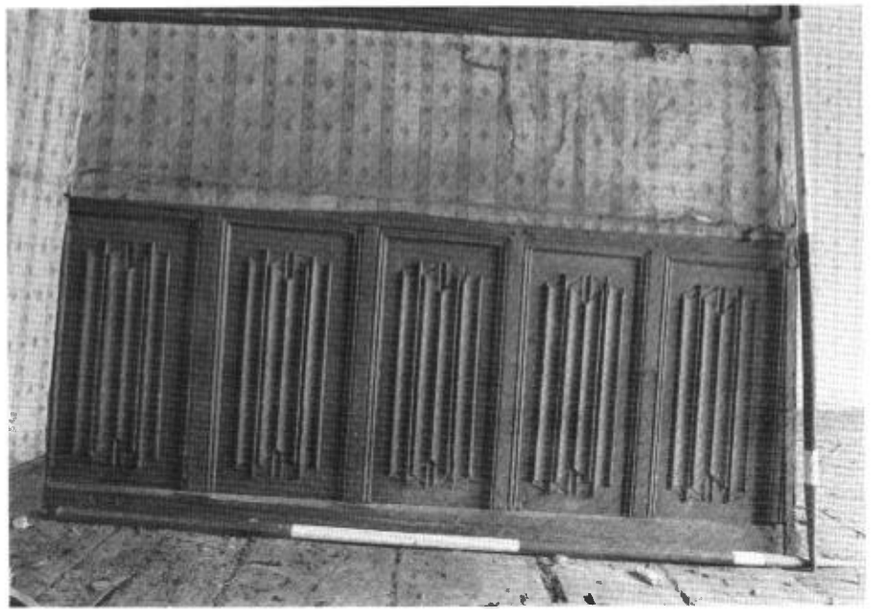
L - Celtic Head. Male head from Yarkhill (front)

LI - Celtic Head. Male head

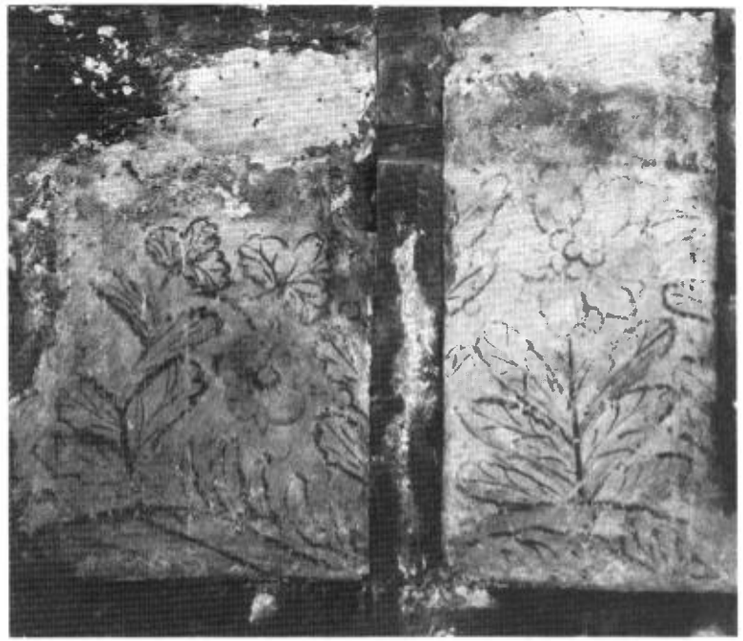
LII - Celtic Head. Male head (side)



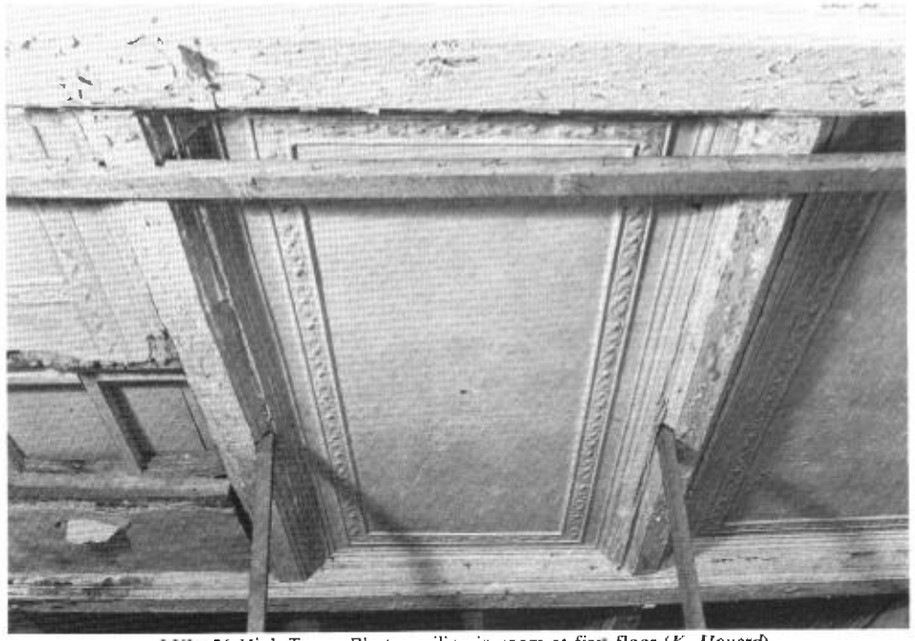
LIII - East side of 27 and rear of 26 High Town showing how the tilt to the east was arrested by anchoring the jetty laterally to the western wall of 26. Note added brick-filled framing *c*.1800 (*K. Hoverd*)



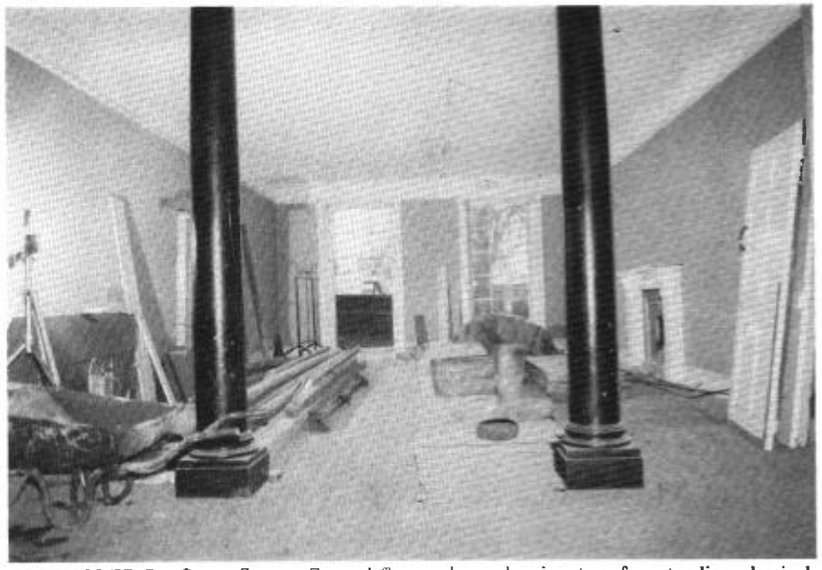
LIV - 27 High Town. Early-16th-century linen-fold panelling (*K. Hoverd*)



LV - 27 High Town. 17th-century wall painting (detail) on the exterior of the western wall of 26 High Town which had become the eastern wall of 27 High Town when jetty of latter building was modified (*K. Hoverd*)



LVI - 26 High Town. Plaster ceiling in room at first floor (*K. Hoverd*)



LVII - 25/27 St. Owen Street. Ground-floor saloon showing two free-standing classical columns, continuous frieze at cornice level and ground-floor windows (*K. Hoverd*)

LVIII - House to rear of 4 High Town. North facade showing blocked four-light mullioned and transomed casement window (*J. Hillaby*)

LX - House to rear of 4 High Town. West side from 4 Widemarsh Street (*J. Hillaby*)

LIX - House to rear of 4 High Town. North facade showing sash replacement window (*J. Hillaby*)

3. A painted wooden panel in the *Victoria and Albert Museum,*[27] *London* of unusual design. Mary sits on a throne or canopied seat, with the angel kneeling towards her on her left. A bust of God the Father is situated at the top right hand corner, and rays from him are shown going down towards Mary with the dove above her. The double-handled vase marked i.h.c. with the lily crucifixion is on a shelf on the right-hand side. Date, 15th century.

4. A stone side of a tomb chest, in *South Kilworth Church, Leicestershire* of Richard de Whitenhall. The panel is divided into three sections by moulded mullions. It is rough work, and has deteriorated owing to previous exposure in the churchyard. In the left and right compartments are the angel and Mary. In the centre is what appears to be a rough rendering of a lily crucifixion. Date, possibly late 14th century.

5. A panel on the stone tomb of William Earnley in the church of *West Wittering, West Sussex.* The complete setting is shown without any divisions in the panel. The angel and Mary face each other, with Mary at a prayer desk. The double-handled lily pot with the lily crucifixion is placed between them and a bust of God the Father above the angel sends rays towards Mary. Date *c.* 1545.

6. On the front of an alabaster tomb chest in *St. Mary's Church, Nottingham.* The tomb is that of John de Tannesley who died in 1414. The annunciation is set in three small arched panels separated by longer panels between them. The panel which contains the lily crucifixion has been defaced, and is positioned between the panels containing Gabriel and Mary. The lily is stylised. A Trinity is carved on one end of the tomb.

7. A misericord in *Tong Church, Shropshire* which can be dated around 1410. On this wood carving both Mary and the angel are standing, and Mary is crowned. The lily crucifixion is in the centre of the design. A lectern is adjacent to Mary (PL. XLII).

8. A stained glass window in the north choir aisle of *York Minster.* This small annunciation is in the most westerly window of the aisle. It is in the middle light of the three-light window which has four small scenes spaced vertically down the window, and the annunciation is the second scene from the top. The lily crucifixion is centrally placed between the kneeling Gabriel and Mary who wears a blue gown. The window commemorates Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, 1407-23.

9. A stained glass window in the chapel of *Queen's College, Oxford* (PL. XLIII). The window was made during the first half of the 16th century, is enamel painted and has a landscape background. The lily crucifixion is placed between a standing Gabriel without wings, and Mary who stands in front of a seat, and wears a bright blue gown. Our Lord has a rayed nimbus. It is a very colourful setting.

10. A stained glass panel in *St. Michael's Church, Oxford.* It is of 15th-century date and shows only the lily crucifixion, without the figures of Gabriel and Mary. Christ appears to be nailed to the lily plant. There is no cross. The background is of dark red, and the lily pot yellow, orange and white.

11. A stained glass window in *Westwood Parish Church, Wiltshire.* Here again only the lily crucifixion is represented without Gabriel and Mary. It is of late 14th or early 15th-century date. Our Lord is nailed to a *tau* cross which is positioned behind the lily plant, which apart from the lower green leaves emerging from the large lily pot is rather inconspicuous compared with the large figure of the crucified Christ. The background is

red with two rows of bright yellow flowers interspersed between the lilies on either side of the figure.

12. A stained glass window panel in *Long Melford Church, Suffolk.* This is the third example which consists only of the lily crucifixion without Mary and Gabriel. There is neither lilypot nor cross. A diminutive Christ is nailed to the lily plant which has comparatively large white flowers. The background is dark blue, and there is evidence of a crown of thorns. It is of the later 14th century date.

13. Three panels on a late 14th-century painted ceiling which are part of a Jesse tree at *St. Helen's Church, Abingdon near Oxford.*[28] The 26 ft. x 16½ ft. roof of the lady chapel consists of a central horizontal part with sloping sections on either side. Each sloping section is divided into twenty-six panels which contained the alternating figures of Old Testament prophets and kings, shown full length on a vermillion background. Only thirty-eight figures remain but including the last three figures at the east end of the north sloping side, which form a lily crucifixion annunciation. On the left is Gabriel kneeling. The lower part of Mary's figure is destroyed, but she wears a blue cloak, has a halo and the dove above her head. The centre panel contains the lily crucifixion with Christ nailed to the lily plant with his head drooping on to his chest. There is no cross.

14. A sculptured lily crucifixion situated at the top of the centre mullion just beneath the tracery of the four-light 15th-century east window of the south aisle in *Wellington Parish Church, Somerset.* It shows Christ crucified with his head inclined. His arms are raised in a vee shape and are fixed centrally on a five-branched lily plant which emerges from a handleless vase. Lower down in large hollow mouldings on both sides of the window are nodding ogee-arched niches. These niches are now empty, but originally could have feasibly held statues of Gabriel and Mary.

15. A mural painting on the east wall of the south transept of *All Saints Church, Godshill in the Isle of Wight.* This painting was discovered in the mid-19th century under the limewash put on during the Reformation. It was restored in 1966 and consists of a large triple-branched lily plant in the centre of the wall, on which Our Lord is nailed, there being no cross. His head is inclined and has a crown of thorns. In its present state there are no flowers and no evidence of a lily-pot. The date is *c.* 1500. On either side of the crucifixion is an area which has been overpainted with a reddish paint, which has almost obliterated the subjects of the original mural. On the left-hand side amidst the confusion of subjects, beneath the reddish paint can definitely be seen the wings of an angel, but there appears to be also more than one figure. The most prominent of these figures looks to be facing away from the crucifixion. The general pattern suggests there are at least two sets of paintings one beneath the other. The right-hand reddish area is blurred and very difficult to decipher. However a female head can be seen.

Gabriel and Mary could be among the figures originally painted on these, but it needs modern photographic methods and materials under expert direction, to analyse and retrieve more of the original pattern of this mural before it can be defined as a standard type of Lily crucifixion.

At both South Kilworth and Wellington it is not possible to identify the plant as specifically a lily. In medieval times these sculptures would most likely have been painted making identification easy.

Dr. Hildeburgh comments that he has examined a considerable number of medieval English manuscripts and examples of English needlework without finding a single lily annunciation among the many annunciations depicted.

Considering the fifteen surviving examples, there is shown to be a wide variation of design and situation where lily crucifixions are used.

Two are probably devotional retables. Three are part of tomb decoration.
Five are contained in stained glass windows. One is on a misericord.
One is painted on a chancel screen. One is part of a painted Jesse tree.
One is a sculpture on a window mullion. One is a large mural painting.

The most northerly distribution is at York Minster. The south is represented in Sussex, Wiltshire, and the Isle of Wight. The range includes both East Anglia and the West Country. The Midlands has the most examples, with the only multiple appearances being in the Oxford region, with two in Oxford and one nearby in Abingdon. The overall numbers are too small for realistic assessment, but it is possible that Oxford may have been one of the centres of this cult.

Four examples do not have the figures of Mary and Gabriel. It could be therefore that some lily crucifixions were made to be alone, without being part of an annunciation setting. However it is significant that three of these are of stained glass, the most fragile form of material, and the missing figures could easily have been either broken accidentally, or more likely deliberately destroyed during the Reformation or Commonwealth, when the cult of the Virgin Mary was savagely attacked. Likewise at Wellington there are empty niches which are likely to have contained the destroyed figures of the angel and Mary.

At present there is no convincing and really satisfactory explanation as to the origin of this rather late form of annunciation setting. Aspects worthy of consideration are:- The association of Christ's cross with a living tree instead of a carpenter's cross is an ancient one dating back to the 7th century.[29] In the writings of early theologians there are many references where the cross is called a tree, and pictorial examples of the crucifixion on a living tree are not uncommon. In medieval times the Holy Rood was sometimes called the Tree. These crucifixions using living trees and vegetation could have influenced artists towards the use of a crucifixion on a lily plant.

In medieval England, 25 March was accepted as both the date of the annunciation and the crucifixion.[30] Only Lady Day is now on this date, but the collect for this day suggests by part of its wording the old association of the two events:- 'that as we have known the incarnation of thy Son, Jesus Christ by the message of an angel, so by His cross and passion we may be brought into the glory of His resurrection.' This association of the two events may have contributed towards the combining of them, particularly on tomb decoration.

Even in the heyday of Greek civilisation the lily was considered to be a symbol of purity, and this symbolism was also to be found in the Jewish faith, and was carried forward into medieval times in the Christian church. The lily was associated with both Christ and the Virgin Mary in christian iconography.[31] It is considered that the fact that the annunciation occurred in the springtime was the reason for flowers appearing on early

annunciation scenes. St. Bernard of Clairvaux stated 'the flower willed to be born of a flower at the time of flowers.' Later in the early 13th century the flowers in the lilypot became clearly defined lilies. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and in the York play of the annunciation was developed the idea that Christ was the 'lilyflower borne by the lilylike Mary.'

The Venerable Bede considered the lily symbolised Christ's resurrection, and several writers and poets used the lily as a figure of speech to illustrate the resurrection.

If such ideas were acclaimed by medieval artists, then the lily crucifixion could be symbolic not only of the crucifixion, but also the lily plant on which He is transfixed refers to His resurrection. The lily crucifixion type of annunciation setting could therefore show in its imagery the first and last great events of the Atonement.

HEREFORDSHIRE ANNUNCIATIONS

Brinsop Church. On the south wall is a greatly defaced mural painting of the annunciation. Part outlines of the angel, dove and Mary's prayer desk can be observed, but the general composition of this 14th-century painting has been irretrievably lost. On the splay on an adjacent window is a less defaced painting of the visitation.

Dulas Chapel. On a wooden desk are small carved panels of both the annunciation and the nativity. The annunciation is contained within a small oval recess, surrounded by two bunches of fruit below and two cherubs with feet on corbels and elbows on supports above the recess. Gabriel strides boldly towards a kneeling Mary at a prayer desk. A dove descends along rays towards Mary. It is a foreign carving of 17th-century date.

Ross-on-Wye Church. On the alabaster tomb side panel of William Rudhall *c.*1530. The Virgin is crowned and kneeling at a prayer desk, and has turned around to greet the kneeling angel. Along rays are the dove and Christ-child being projected downwards toward Mary. A winepot containing lilies lies between Mary and Gabriel. A scroll proceeds from the angel towards Mary. Additional scrolls also appear behind both of their heads. The family is depicted as praying mourners behind the angel (PL.XLV).

Eye Church. A relief on the south side of the tomb chest of Sir Richard Cornewall in the north chapel of the chancel, dated *c.*1540. Both Gabriel and Mary kneeling, face each other with the lilypot in between them. Scroll, dove and rays and prayer desk are shown together with kneeling mourners on either side of annunciation.

Kingsland Church. A mid-14th-century stained glass panel in the centre light of the chancel east window. Although small and plain with no attributes shown, the figures on this small panel are beautifully designed. Mary is on the left with wimple, and light brown outer garment covering a red under garment. The angel has the typical 'S' shaped pose of the 14th century. There are brown-leaved side borders, and grisaille glass above and below the panel. All four archangels are represented in appropriate incidents in this window.

Leintwardine Church. On a defaced misericord on the south side of the chancel. A kneeling Virgin Mary turns around from a canopied altar or prayer desk to face the angel. A lily plant intertwined with a scroll is between them. Mary's head, and probably a bust of God the Father have been destroyed. Only the hands of God remain. There are censing angel supports (PL. XLIV).

Hereford Cathedral. Part of a brass to William Porter dated 1524. A vaulted room is shown within a canopied niche. A typical 16th-century scene is represented with both participants kneeling, Mary on the left, turns around from her prayer desk to acknowledge the angel's greeting. A dove glides down along rays, and a two-handled lily pot holding an attractive lily plant is in the centre of the scene. Scrolls above both are inscribed with the salutation.

There is also the controversial Romanesque capital originally in the east arch of the presbytery dated *c.*1100. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner states it is an annunciation, G. Zarnecki suggests it may be the angel appearing to Joseph. M. Thurlby considers it to be the Virgin appearing to St. Ethelbert.[32]

The right hand figure appears to be male. The left hand figure could either be a man or woman, but is wingless. The limitations of the size and detail of the sculpture seem to prevent a definite interpretation of this scene. A further suggested interpretation is that it could represent Isaiah telling King Hezekiah he is to be healed and not to die.[33] The object held by the left hand figure is either an open book, or an object, the top of which may have been broken off.[34] There is a psalter of the 10th century in Paris which shows this scene in detail,[35] and its associated scene where Isaiah has told Hezekiah he was to die is shown on a 7th-century fresco in Rome. These Old Testament stories were therefore used by continental artists at this period. Also the Norman ecclesiastical authorities tended to dismiss and ignore their Saxon predecessors, so it could be contended that they might prefer to use iconographical scenes from familiar French sources, rather than scenes from Anglo-Saxon history in such an important position as a presbytery arch.

Great Malvern Priory Church. There are five representations of the annunciation among the ancient stained glass in the priory. The scene in the north nave aisle shows the unusual feature of the Virgin's rosary on the shelf under her prayer desk.[36]

Ludlow Church. There are three settings of the annunciation in the medieval stained glass of this church, including a very fine example with unusual features situated in the more westerly window in the north wall of St. John's Chapel. It is of mid-15th-century date. A seated Mary at a lectern faces a kneeling Gabriel. A mullion divides them. A scroll inscribed with salutation extends from the hand of the angel to the lectern. There is evidence of the lilypot and plant near to the angel, but most of it is eliminated by the mullion. The dove approaches Mary's ear along rays which proceed downwards from busts of both God the Father and Son which occupy one of the tracery lights. Curtains drawn back by hands to reveal the mystery of the annunciation are positioned in the cusped heads of the tracery below the tracery lights. This conceit is also shown on the 15th-century tympanum of St. Mary's Chapel, Wurzburg, Germany on its annunciation relief.

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Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, 1327-1344

By G. W. HANNAH

THE appointment of Thomas Charlton as bishop of Hereford well illustrates the manoeuvres of king, Pope and candidate on such occasions. In theory, bishops were chosen by free, canonical election of the cathedral chapter concerned, but, in practice, 'the political importance of medieval bishops rendered a system of free elections impracticable.'[1]

Thomas Charlton was consecrated at Avignon on 18 October 1327 by the bishop of Palestrina.[2] It was a case of "third time lucky", as Thomas had twice before been recommended for bishoprics.

In 1316, having been of good service to the Crown and possessing many tokens of royal favour, he was a candidate for the rich see of Durham.[3] Doubtless Edward II wished to show appreciation of his servant's work by securing him this much-coveted prize of the English Church. There were, however, several other aspirants for the diocese each with his own patron and Thomas, despite royal backing, failed to acquire this bishopric.[4]

The following year witnessed his unsuccessful attempt to obtain the see of Hereford, again under the king's auspices and in spite of Edward's repeated letters of recommendation to Pope John XXII.[5] His final appointment seemed fortuitous. Thomas was at Avignon 'on the king of England's business' (though there is no indication what this concerned), when Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford, was translated to Worcester. The Pope therefore 'immediately .... provided to the church of Hereford Master Thomas Charlton then present at the Curia.'[6] John XXII perhaps recalled previous royal petitions in Thomas's favour and decided to make amends for his earlier disappointments. However, this Pope's predilection for candidates with high qualifications in civil law may also have been an influential factor.[7]

Meanwhile, Edward III, far from recommending Thomas Charlton, had nominated Wolfran, Prior of Worcester, as his candidate for Hereford. The Pope, having appointed Charlton to the chagrin of the royal nominee, wrote to the new king explaining that although he could not comply with his request to elevate the Prior, '....he will not forget Wolfran in due time and place ....'—a significant comment on the "election" of medieval bishops![8]

Thomas Charlton was a good appointment and a worthy choice for a position which entailed far more than the pastoral care of a diocese. As the son of Robert Charlton and younger brother of John, Lord of Powis, he was well-connected to one of the great local baronial families. The Charltons had been resident in the area of Wrockwardine since the grant of the manor to them by Henry II in 1172.[9] From that time through careful management and prudent marriages, the family had flourished. They became powerful and influential in a troubled part of the king's domain.

John Charlton probably succeeded to his father's estates in 1300. On the death of Gruffudd ap Owain in 1309, he married Hawyse, sister and heiress of that deceased Welsh chieftain. This gave him extensive lands and great power. As well as Welsh estates, John now had considerable territory in Shropshire. By 1313 his position as a marcher lord was recognized when he was summoned to parliament.[10]

Thomas's baronial connections were important. The bishop of Hereford had special responsibilities regarding the policing of the borders, so a strong man was essential. In this respect Thomas Charlton, because of his family background, was an apposite choice. This was clearly perceived by Edward II when writing to the Pope in March 1317 during the ill-fated attempt to secure his appointment as bishop. According to the king, not the least of Thomas's qualities was that, *'ex illis partibus, ex Nobilibus Parentibus traxit originem et multos habet ibidem de genere suo Nobiles et Magnates'* who could help him suppress rebellions bringing forth peace and plenty of the marches.[11]

Good academic standing is another principal attribute for a successful diocesan and Thomas Charlton possessed such a quality—a second good reason for his appointment.

Charlton was an M.A., probably of Oxford, by 1311.[12] As the normal age for inception as a Master was twenty one, we have here a vague clue as to his possible date of birth. On this basis, Charlton could well have been born towards the end of the 1280s. This, however, is only conjecture.

Little is known about the early details of his academic career. In January 1311, he received a licence to study at university for one year, and, in 1313, similar permission for a further two years. By 1317, Thomas was a Doctor of Civil Law and as such, reflects the tendency for the study of law among the 14th-century episcopate.[13] The apparent lack of any theological training may seem strange to 20th-century minds, but would have passed as commonplace among Charlton's contemporaries.

A third and vital factor in Thomas Charlton's appointment to the see of Hereford, was his proven administrative experience and his ability to govern. This was a crucial element in the success of any medieval bishop and, one must add, it probably ranked above a high degree of holiness. In reality, the saint often perished and failed whilst the administrator survived and succeeded. Personal spirituality was a laudable quality in any prelate, but energy, determination and, above all, complete mastery of the complex diocesan machinery, were the indispensable qualities of effective spiritual leadership. Such qualities Thomas Charlton had in abundance. They are clearly revealed in his life both before and after his elevation to the diocese.

Thomas was a king's clerk by 1307. In March 1316, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, a post which he held until 1320.[14] He became Controller of the Wardrobe in July 1316 remaining there for two years, when the position passed to Gilbert Wigton.[15] However, his dismissal in 1318 was not a reflection of any administrative inefficiency. He lost office largely as a result of the political situation.[16] Charlton was certainly an able civil servant and for two years, after 1316, he held the Privy Seal and the Wardrobe jointly. The link between the importance of the Keepership and the character of its holder has already been noted by historians.[17]

That Thomas was extremely busy when in government office is shown by numerous entries on the Patent and Close Rolls of business transacted 'on the information of Master Thomas de Charlton.'[18]

The crown had no intention of losing a good man and Thomas continued to serve the king in government well after his consecration. He was Treasurer of the Exchequer from May 1328 to September 1329, when he received a final command to deliver up the 'rolls, keys and other things touching that office.'[19]

Thomas was a trusted servant of the crown and undertook a variety of missions for the king. In 1318, he went to Scotland.[20] He was special envoy to the Pope at Avignon in

January 1320, where he assisted the appointment of Henry Burghersh to Lincoln diocese.[21] He was at the Roman Curia again throughout the spring and summer of 1327 and, as noted above, gained his mitre while at Avignon.[22]

Two years after his elevation to Hereford, Thomas was abroad again, this time in France arranging the conditions of Edward III's homage to Philip VI for Guienne.[23]

Possibly the most significant event of his political career was his administration of Ireland from 1337 until 1340, first as Chancellor and finally as Keeper.[24] Ireland was then 'in more than its chronic state of anarchy,'[25] and Edward III must have had a high regard for the bishop's industry, integrity and administrative ability to entrust him with such a vital commission. The Dublin administration was 'as contemptible as it was weak' and Charlton faced serious problems.[26] The bishop worked hard, fulfilling royal expectations and Charlton's administration was 'marked by energetic action.'[27]

The purpose of his presence was 'to reform that land, preserving peace and repelling the king's Irish enemies.'[28] His duties were onerous. Thomas was to arrange for members of the king's council to survey the Dublin exchequer twice a year, at Michaelmas and Easter, to make sure that royal interests were being maintained.[29] In 1339, he was ordered to advise the king on all his Irish lands.[30] He had to regulate the currency, ensuring that no merchant used 'black money.'[31] He was entrusted with the supervision of all 'castles and dangerous places,' seeing that all were provided with food and arms.[32] All castle guardians and constables who neglected their duties were to be removed from office by Charlton's authority.[33]

In February 1340, after Edward III had changed the royal seals and the style of his own title (calling himself king of France), Thomas had to make sure that the impressions of the new seals were made known throughout the whole of Ireland.[34]

He was to prevent any encroachment by tenants onto the royal domains and to sell 'in the king's name' all wardships and marriages to Edward's greatest advantage.[35]

Charlton was clearly industrious and capable, yet his efforts were largely in vain. The Irish remained as troublesome as ever to the English crown. The bishop returned to the comparative quiet of his diocese in 1340 with the king owing him £607 3s. 7¾d. for his services.[36] The Irish exchequer was slow to act, so Edward made provision to pay his servant from the customs farms of several towns including Dublin, Drogheda, Cork and Waterford.[37]

When he became bishop of Hereford, Thomas Charlton already had many benefices and ecclesiastical positions. He possessed about eight canonries including stalls at York, St. Paul's, Salisbury and Chichester, as well as five other prebends, five rectories and a deanery. He was also Archdeacon of Northumberland. In all, Charlton held over twenty benefices.[38]

Although an area 'remarkable for its variety, fertility and beauty,'[39] the diocese of Hereford presented many difficulties for its medieval bishops. The wild nature of its terrain put many districts beyond the control of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Charlton thus faced a continual state of lawlessness. Even his own person was not immune from attack as he found out to his horror when he was assaulted by a gang of robbers in the parish of St. Nicholas, Stantonshill in 1332.[40]

Another obstacle facing Thomas Charlton was the difficulty of travelling. This again

was due largely to the location of his see. Even in better areas, roads were mere tracks reduced to dustbowls in summer and to mires in winter. This doubtless helps to explain why he never visited the whole of his diocese. Despite this hardship, he was always on the move as shown by the places mentioned in the dating of his official correspondence.[41]

After consecration at Avignon in 1327, Thomas returned home quickly to begin his episcopal duties.[42] He took his first ordination service at Momerfield on Holy Saturday 1328.[43] Nevertheless, it was not long before he was engaged in crown affairs as Treasurer. Government duties did not, however, appear to hinder his diocesan work as Thomas held regular ordinations throughout his tenure of the Treasurership.[44] Religious responsibilities were set aside though during his visit to France in April 1329, but Charlton was ordaining again by the following September.[45]

Throughout the years 1329-37 and 1340-44, the bishop worked in his diocese undisturbed by royal mandates. It was only with his summons to Ireland in 1337, that the most significant interruption of his episcopate occurred. During his absence, the diocese did not receive the attention it merited. Ordinations ceased and, from the absence of letters dimissory between 1336 and 1341, it would appear that no candidate from the diocese entered holy orders.[46]

Visitations also came to an end and this together with the interruption of ordinations, suggests that Thomas had not employed a suffragan bishop. Such duties were beyond the scope of a vicar-general.[47]

In any case, Thomas Charlton's vicar-general remains a mystery. There is no record of the appointment of such an official or of the duties which he ought to have performed. Institutions and collations to benefices ceased during Charlton's absence. Exchanges of benefices came to an end, as did dispensations for non-residence granted to parish clergy.[48]

When available, Thomas Charlton regularly ordained men to the ministry. On average, he held ordination services at least twice a year.[49] Such services were scheduled to be undertaken at four specific times in the liturgical calendar,[50] but Charlton, in common with many of his fellow bishops, conducted the services whenever convenient as he travelled about. In fact, only seven of his thirty-one ordinations were held in the cathedral. The remainder took place either in parish churches or in the chapels of episcopal manors.[51]

In the ten years after 1327, the bishop ordained 1022 priests. Many of them though remained poor, a condition limiting considerably their effectiveness in the parishes.[52] This was partly Thomas Charlton's fault. He manifestly failed to check the ordination titles of many ordinands.

Any man desirous of holy orders was required by Canon Law to show that he had sufficient "title", that is the financial ability to support himself and the dignity of clerical status without becoming a liability to the Church. The value of Hereford titles at this time was about four marks.[53] These titles came from many sources: private patrons, families, parish churches, Oxford Halls or monasteries. The latter funded an increasing number of men during the 14th century.

Of the 1022 priests ordained between 1327 and 1337, 42% received their titles from religious houses of the diocese.[54] As a general state of poverty prevailed in many local monasteries, the significance of this evidence becomes clear. Namely, that many houses simply could not afford to pay the promised money should the need arise.

Some monasteries even pledged themselves for sums representing close on their annual incomes. Craswall Priory for instance had a yearly revenue of £5 13s. 4d. or 8½ marks, yet it provided two priests with titles, representing about eight marks, at an ordination service conducted by Charlton at Ross in June 1330.[55]

Such practices aggravated the problem of poverty among the parish clergy already acute and shown clearly in Bishop Trefnant's visitation returns of 1397.[56] Charlton is in the wrong; he should have paid closer attention to the authenticity of these monastic titles.

One of the bishop's major duties entailed the supervision of the spiritual and moral welfare of both laity and clergy. Paramount in this respect was the task of visitation, when Charlton travelled round his diocese enquiring into the general conditions of the parishes. None of Thomas's visitation returns has survived, but we know that he did attend to this aspect of his work.

In July 1332, he visited the parish of Eardisland. He went to the church at Munslow in the following October, where the rector was warned to reside in his parish.[57] Thomas also consecrated churches and churchyards during the course of some visits.[58]

Charlton was concerned also to relieve the poverty of his parish clergy. He provided benefices for 'poor clerks of the diocese' as in December 1330, when he ordered his archdeacon to collate John fitz-John to a parish in the gift of Monmouth Priory.[59]

The appropriation of churches by religious houses was fully sanctioned by Thomas Charlton so long as the vicar received adequate financial provision.

In May 1331, Dorstone Church was appropriated to the Prior and Convent of Clifford. Thomas was careful to safeguard the vicar's stipend. The precise value is not stated, but if he ever received his rightful share of the church fruits, the incumbent should never have gone hungry. Simon, the vicar in 1331 and his successors, were granted certain houses to the east of the church, which the prior was to repair, twenty-five acres of arable, a meadow called 'Clerk's Meadow', tithes on another called 'Long Meadow', hay from the churchyard, the right to graze six animals with those of the lord of the manor, as well as altarage, the lesser tithes on all priory manors except one, and an annual payment at Michaelmas of one measure of wheat and oats. The prior even undertook to shoulder the burden of procurations for episcopal visitations.[60]

Thomas Charlton was equally supportive of the vicar of Lugwardine in July 1331, when the church and its attendant chapels were appropriated to the Dean and Chapter of Hereford.[61]

Here we see the bishop at his best, lending his powerful influence to maintain the interests of lesser clerics.

As he journeyed round his diocese, Thomas became aware of the low standard of learning prevailing among the parish clergy. As they were the key-stones of faith and

example within their localities, if their standards could be raised the Church in general would benefit. Charlton clearly perceived the problem and took constructive measures to combat it by granting clergy "study-leave" from their benefices. In most cases petitioners were allowed to be absent for a year, but two-year grants were given to the rectors of Munsley and Rock in 1332 and 1334 respectively.[62] In all, Charlton sanctioned fifty-two such dispensations.[63]

Closely connected with the spiritual welfare of the diocese as a whole, was Thomas Charlton's welcome of the Mendicant Orders as instruments of pastoral reform. By February 1331, the Dominicans were already seeking to enlarge their house at Hereford and during the following years they flourished.[64] Inevitably there was some jealousy from the secular clergy who resented any interference and exposure of their weaknesses. Charlton's policy was not completely successful, but it did at least show his broad-minded approach.

In a characteristic quest for what may be termed "spiritual efficiency", Thomas Charlton did all he could to ensure that his diocese should not lack the services and sacraments of the Church. Priests unable to perform their duties through old age or infirmity, received coadjutors to look after their parishes. In 1334, the rector of Shrawardine became blind, so John Clone was appointed as assistant *'ad regimen et curam ecclesie supradicte.'*[65]

On occasions when the laity asked to have their own chaplains in their manor houses, Charlton lent a sympathetic ear. He made two such grants in 1331 in an effort to promote the Faith within the diocese.[66]

Any religious unorthodoxy was vigorously crushed as in April 1336, when the cathedral canons were ordered to set up a special court to try a Hereford citizen accused of 'heresy.' Unfortunately, the precise details of the charge are lacking.[67]

So, how well did Thomas Charlton fulfil his potential? How well did he serve his corner of the Lord's vineyard? In general, the answer must be that he did extremely well considering his attachments to the Crown. As a bishop, Charlton was expected to serve the king and his mitre was part-payment for royal duties. Thus, one must not judge him too harshly if, on occasions, the diocese suffered through his temporary absences. When he was in residence, Thomas tackled his religious duties with that same degree of skill and efficiency so manifest in his secular work. It is indeed remarkable that between 1327 and 1344 he was able to achieve such a measure of episcopal control considering his other commitments. John Trillek, his successor at Hereford, inherited a sound spiritual legacy.

On 11 January 1344 Thomas Charlton died. He was buried in an altar tomb against the north wall of the north transept of his cathedral.[68]

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[30] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1339-41, 97 and 99.
[31] *Ibid.,* 98.
[32] *Ibid.,* 244.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.,* 457. Edward III formally assumed the title of King of France in January 1340 see, ed. Powicke and Fryde, *op. cit.,* 36.
[35] *Cal. Fine Rolls,* 1337-47, 122 and 91.
[36] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1339-41, 527.
[37] *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1340-43, 40; *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1339-41, 601.
[38] Emden, *op. cit.,* 1, 392-3. For Chichester see, *Cal. Pap. Lett.,* 1305-42, 153.
[39] 'A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield during part of the years 1289 and 1290,' ed. J. Webb, in *Camden Society,* LXII (1854), xviii.
[40] *Reg. T. Charlton,* 25-6. The bishop and his suite were attacked by *quidam Sathane satellites.*
[41] *Ibid., passim.*
[42] Ed. Powicke and Fryde, *op. cit.,* 230.
[43] *Reg. T. Charlton,* 97.
[44] *Ibid.,* 97-107. Thomas was out of government office by September 1329.
[45] *Ibid.,* 105.
[46] No ordinations were held between June 1337 and Whitsun 1340, *Ibid.,* 171 and 177. For the absence of letters dimissory see, *Ibid.,* 88.
[47] The powers and duties of a vicar-general are discussed in A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (1947), 46-8.
[48] *Reg. T. Charlton,* 83 and 92.
[49] *Ibid.,* 97-202.

[50] For the dates of ordination services as specified by the Sarum version of the *Celebratio Ordinum* see, H. S. Bennett, 'Medieval Ordination Lists in the English Episcopal Registers,' in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson,* ed. J. C. Davies, 21.
[51] *Reg. T. Charlton, passim.*
[52] For the ordination of priests 1327-37 see, *Ibid.,* 93-177.
[53] John Caumbry of Ashford received a title of four marks from the parish in 1335. *Ibid.,* 158.
[54] Figures calculated from the register as in note 52 *ut supra.*
[55] For an account of poverty among the Hereford monasteries see, D. M. A. Thompson, *The Religious Houses of the Diocese of Hereford 1317-1448.* Unpublished University of Birmingham B.A. dissertation, March 1971, chapter 1. For Craswall's income see, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291,* ed. S. Ayscough and J. Caley, 172 and 274b. *Reg. T. Charlton,* 115.
[56] Hereford was one of the poorer dioceses of the English church. In 1291, it was worth £5,541 15d. 4¾d. and 155 of the 446 benefices were worth less than ten marks a year. *Taxatio ... A.D. 1291,* 177. The sum of the temporalities and spiritualities as given should amount to £5,542 3s. 4¾d. 'Visitation Returns for the Diocese of Hereford, 1397', ed. A. T. Bannister, in *Engl. Hist. Rev.,* XLIV (1929), 279-89 and 444-53, *passim;* and *loc. cit.,* XLV (1930), 92-101 and 444-63, *passim.*
[57] *Reg. T. Charlton,* 20, 24 and 30.
[58] *Ibid.,* 24.
[59] *Ibid.,* 6 and 15.
[60] *Ibid.,* 67-8.
[61] *Ibid.,* 16-7.
[62] *Ibid.,* 91 and 92.
[63] *Ibid.,* 89-92, *passim.* Forty-seven of the fifty-two grants were made to rectors.
[64] For the policy of John Trillek, Charlton's successor, towards the Mendicants see, G. W. Hannah, 'John Trillek, Bishop of Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XLI (1974), 177.
[65] *Reg. T. Charlton,* 32-3.
[66] *Ibid.,* 8 and 13.
[67] *Ibid.,* 71.
[68] D.N.B., IV, 129. *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in Herefordshire,* 1, (1931), 110. For the exact location of the tomb in the transept see the cathedral plan, *Ibid.,* 105. For a picture see, *Ibid.,* pl. 145 opposite p. 120.

The Seventeenth Century Iron Forge at Carey Mill

By ELIZABETH TAYLOR

THE SITE

IT has been known for some time that an iron forge had existed in the early 17th century at Carey Mill in the (now) parish of Brockhampton. SO 574307. Although Carey Mill is shown on Bryant's map of 1835, no remains of the forge or the mill had been found. Between the steep wooded hillside and the riverbank the level ground is in places only ten feet wide, leaving no room for a leat to carry the water to drive the wheels and this has been puzzling.

The only other works known to have been sited on the river Wye between Hay-on-Wye and Monmouth were the forge at New Weir and a mill near Fownhope, both of which took water from the river through a leat. All other mills and works were sited on tributaries.[1]

The extraordinarily low level of the Wye by the end of the dry summer of 1984, left part of the river-bed quite dry between the left bank and the most downstream of the three Carey islands and above that, the river-level was low enough to show that the islands had been all joined together by stone walls to make the course of the river between the islands and the southern bank into a mill-pond with a weir from the upstream island to the northern, Ballingham bank diverting sufficient water into it.

The two ends of the weir were still clearly visible although it was one of those destroyed before 1680 to make the Wye navigable.

The top island was not visited but some traces of stonework could be seen on its bank. This island stands higher than the others and itself makes a sufficient wall. The middle island is higher at one end than the other. Despite the dense tangle of brambles and fallen trees it was seen that the low end had had the bank raised by stonework. The downstream island which is low and narrow was entirely covered upstream of the forge site, by large pitched stones. That the stonework had previously been higher is evidenced by the roots of the alder trees standing right up clear of the stones. The walls connecting the islands had been much disturbed by eel trapping activities at the beginning of this century but the great quantity of stone implies that the walls made a massive barrier.

The site of the forge wheels is marked by an area of the river-bed paved with pitched stones. Quantities of iron slag were present on the river-bed at that point and some stone walling was found in the riverbank. The two roughly built stone walls across the course of that part of the river may have been connected with a sheep-wash which had formerly been in use, rather than with the forge.

Nothing remains of the forge building, but the rectangular and level site of the coal-house is clearly marked by the charcoal still present and the large area of spread of charcoal must indicate the site of the coal-yard. The long narrow depression shown on the plan is identified by a document quoted subsequently, as the tail-race. The part nearest the

forge must have been filled and levelled at some time. The foundations of the house which belonged with the old corn-mill and which was inhabited until the 1870s were also found.

Subsequent research in the Public Record Office was rewarded by the discovery of accounts covering the building of the forge, details of the implements used, references to other forges and furnaces and information about the financing of the enterprise.

THE BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS

Several South Herefordshire landowners were attracted to iron making as a profitable use for their extensive woodlands. The Scudamores of Holme Lacy had been involved with iron making prior to 1618 when Sir James mentioned his iron mill and furnace at Linton in his will.[2]

His son, Sir John Scudamore (created Viscount in June 1628) had large areas of woodland, particularly in Bolstone, Little Birch and Abbey Dore and from one of the calculations he was in the habit of making, it appears that he was very dissatisfied with the 1s. 10d. per cord which he had been getting for his wood at Abbey Dore.[3]

An unsigned and undated proposal was made to him suggesting that he build a forge at Whitchurch or provide £300 for the building. He was also to pay the rent and provide £500 stock in money (at interest) as working capital 'if so may it shall be thought needful.' In return for this high investment he would have 5s. a cord for 1,500 cords yearly from his woods at Gilbert Hill 'and other the woods in Dore' and the stock of money was to be repaid 'at the end of our term.' This intended forge was to use 200 tons of sow iron yearly from the furnace 'now intended to be built at Whitchurch.'[4]

Whether he was actually involved with the Whitchurch Forge isn't known but another calculation, 'My cosen Baskervilles guess at his charge to make a tunne of Iron of my wood... £11 17s. 2d.'[5] which also allowed 5s. a cord for his wood, did result in the building of Pontrilas forge. The very detailed estimate dated 23 January 1626 is given as an appendix.

A note made of 'the trewe charge of the makinge of one tunn of Barr Iron at Pontrilas forge' gives the cost per ton as £11 16s. 5½d. and the price received in Bristol as £13 10s. 'The perfect gayne per tunne apeareth £1 13s. 6½d.' which multiplied by 160 tons made a yearly profit of £268 6d. 8d. This note shows that 10% was the interest charged on the £400 capital investment and that the sow or pig iron came from Mr. Kyrle's furnance.[6]

'Mr. Kyrle' was made a baronet in May 1627 and as Sir John Kyrle of Much Marcle he quoted his charge for making bar iron as £10 6s. a ton.[7]

Three days later on 20 November 1627 an agreement was signed, witnessed and endorsed 'John Kyrles agreement for a forge to be by me erected for him.'

In this agreement Sir John Scudamore was to pay £200 a year rent to Kyrle and build the forge at his own expense. Sir John Kyrle was to pay 3s. per cord for 1,350 cords of wood annually for seven years. The wood was all to be growing within an average of three miles of the forge and Kyrle was to pay for coaling it. The forge was to be within seven miles of Kyrle's furnace and a £3 penalty was to be paid if it was not ready to work by 28 September 1628.[8]

On 1 May of the following year another agreement was drawn up between the two Sir Johns and this, surprisingly, reversed the payment of rent. Kyrle was to pay £250 annually for seven years to Scudamore. It seems unlikely that this agreement was ever signed but it does give information about the forge, '...an Yron mille or fordge near to a nowe mille called Carie mille... with a chafferie and two fineries with wheeles and bellowes sufficient for the same fordge and with hammer and anvell and all other tooles and implements ... sufficient to beat out marchantable bariron one hundreth and fiftie tons yearly.'[9]

A cord of wood was to be a stack of 4ft. long billets measuring 8ft. long by 4ft. high. The wood was to be coppice of not less than fifteen years growth, cut before mid-April and left at least two months before being corded.

This agreement shows that Sir John Kyrle was in association with George More of Burghope. More had been the Earl of Shrewsbury's steward at Goodrich Castle which adds to the probability that the furnace which was to provide the raw or pig iron was the Whitchurch furnace on the earl's lands. Kyrle is also known to have had the lease of the earl's Newmill forge at Whitchurch prior to 1633.

Whatever the final agreement really was between Scudamore and Kyrle, it pleased neither of them. Accusations of giving short weight and breaking promises were made and Kyrle apparently overcharged for his pig iron. Scudamore was still chafing under this uncomfortable agreement at the end of 1630, when at the end of a summary of the cost of production at Carey Forge it was stated that 'If Sir John Kyrles Bargains were ended you may deduct in the price of Sow iron 18s. in a ton of Bar iron.'[10]

William Scudamore of Ballingham received a letter from Kyrle in which was expressed his desire 'to dissolve his knott'. The disagreements and contentions between them were blamed conveniently on their clerks and on 'John Scudamore who under a sivill cariage or rather a hypocritical shewe doth wrong us bothe.'[11] The letter is addressed to 'Mr. Sheriff' and must date from 1634-5 when William Scudamore was High Sheriff.

William Scudamore of Ballingham was the third of the gentlemen involved with Carey Forge. He also owned woodlands, including part of the wood next to the forge and the land on which it was to be built. Unlike the participation of Kyrle which seems in fact to have been little more than the supply of pig iron, the Scudamores were to act as partners. Although seven different agreements between them exist,[12] their differences were fairly amicable. Building costs and rents were to be charged equally, woods were to be used at the rate of twenty-one acres annually, charcoal needed beyond that amount was to be bought. Raw iron, carriage and payments for wood bought 'from strangers' was to be paid out of the money received from iron sold. The 'Bargain' was to last for twenty-one years 'if the woods last so long.'[13]

The impression gained from all the broken agreements is not of inefficient business methods but of a struggle for a better share of the business.[14]

THE 17TH CENTURY SITE

The land needed for the forge belonged to three different owners and ownership of each piece was disputed in law suits. The old corn-mill and watercourse and part of Carey

Wood belonged to the Cope family and this was claimed unsuccessfully by William Scudamore.[15]

The site for the forge and another part of Carey Wood had been bought by William Scudamore early in the century and leased to Sir John Kyrle's cousin, Robert Kyrle of Walford, in 1609. It is possible that he leased it with the intention of building a forge but perhaps lacked sufficient capital. This land was the subject of a law suit between William Scudamore and Sir John Kyrle and may have contained an explanation of the reversal of rents referred to earlier, but only a fragment has been found.[16]

The other case was heard in the court of Chancery and it gives information about the tail-race for the forge. The disputed land was Captain Hick's pasture which 'said pasture ground lying very convenient for to make a trench channel and water course ... to convey and leade from the said Iron myll into the said River of Wye withoute which the said worke cannot long subsist. William Scudamore ... hath not only entered but made trenches and gutters through the same...'[17]

Considering these difficulties there must have been strong practical reasons for the choice of Carey Mill as the site for a forge.

The mill had been in existence since at least 1250. It is mentioned in the charters of St. Guthlac's Priory, where some land in Ballingham is described as 'versus gurgitem molendini de Kary.'[18] This implies that the weir was on the Ballingham side of the river where the remains of it still exist, and that the watercourse for powering the mill was already in existence in the 13th century.

In 1307 William Bancard was accused of taking salmon in the close season at the 'mill pool of Aber Care.'[19] The confluence of the river and the brook at Carey cannot have been the aber referred to, as a millpool on the brook would have been quite useless for netting salmon. The only other aber is the confluence of the two courses of the river caused by the artificial division by the island and wall system shown in the plan.

In 1528 Roger Cockes of Fawley had a lease from the prior of Llantony near Gloucester of 'Two water mills constructed under one building called Cary mills with the weir and fishing there...' And in 1603 Thomas Gwillym of Much Fawley had a 'course of water in the river Wye with Carye mille.'[20]

With 400 years of use behind it, Carey Mill was sited on a well tried source of water-power and building work commenced in 1628.

THE BUILDING WORK

During the building of the forge, accounts were kept and entered every four weeks beginning 31 May—28 June 1628.[21]

Labourers began work in the watercourse which was later referred to as the pounds. 286 man days were worked in the first 4 weeks, rising to 728 in the Aug.—Sept. period. A total of nearly four thousand man days were worked before the 'casting of the pounds' in Jan.—Feb. The labourers were paid 8d. per day, rising to 8½d. in late winter and spring, then dropping back to 8d. again. Noxon received 1s. a day and was probably the foreman

of the labourers. After 'casting the pounds,' labouring work decreased to something like 150-200 man days per 4 week period.

A great deal of carpentry work was done right from the start of the building. John Slade must have been a master carpenter who paid his own men and he received £17-19-0 in the first 4 week period and £18-16-0 in the next. After that, the payments decreased ending in Nov.—Dec. with a payment of £4-12-0. Although John Slade is not mentioned again, other carpenters were working all the time, but payments were usually about £4-£5 per period, totalling over 1,250 man days.

Work on the weir also began at once with lopping wood and in July, 1,000 faggots were made to 'stop the weir'. No major work can have been done, men actually working on the weir were paid 1s. a day and only 93 man days were worked. The work was finished by Nov.—Dec. but some minor work was done in the following summer.

With much of the timber coming from the Viscount's woods in Abbey Dore, there was a lot of work for the teams drawing the timber to the mill and working at the mill as well. A man and his team were paid about 3s. 2d. to 3s 4d. a day.

The masons began work in September and lime was bought for the work. They were paid between 8d. and 1s. 4d. a day according to their skill. Significantly, no mention of stone is made until May—June 1629 when Hodges was paid 3s. 4d. for digging stone for 5 days and in the next month Tyler received 15 well-earned shillings for digging 20 boat loads. This implies that the masons had been re-using the existing stonework. Thomas Kidley was paid 1s. 6d. for stone. He was a gentleman of Fownhope and this must have been for special stone unavailable in the local quarry. The masons worked a total of about 650 man days. The sawyers began work in the period Oct.—Nov. The boards were sawn and brought from Abbey Dore. They were paid for at the rate of 1s. 10d. per hundred feet and enormous quantities were used. The 'colehouse' for storing the charcoal would have been made of boards. The rectangular, level area which must have been the site of the 'colehouse' measures about 40 x 45 feet. The building probably had a lean-to used for storing brays—the fine charcoal used in part of the refining process. This compares with other 'colehouses' whose sizes are known and they were about twelve to sixteen feet 'in the side walls.' Great quantities of planks would also have been used for the sluices and for channelling the water to the wheels.

By October the 'Beme to wegh Iron £1-10-0' had arrived and 5s. was given to the men who brought the hammer-beam. From November onwards labourers were paid for 'watching and laining by night.' Laining means lying hidden (to catch thieves.) In the Nov.—Dec. entry, 2s. was given to the finer and the hammer-man at their contract.

The accounts then contain entries related to the equiping of the forge in addition to the building work. 'Carrying 2 ton 3qts Rawe Iron from Whitchurch. For 14C (cwt.) of Perfect Iron from Pontrilas. for 10C 40 pounds from Gotheridge (Goodrich) and for the same iron at £6 the ton and for casting of it being 1ton 13C 1qtr. £11-16-8.'

The same entry contains payment to 'the Smyth for making 8 payer of tongs and 2 sledges 8s, for 4 double hooks 1s.' 'Dec 13th to Jan 24th being six weeks but in work but four weeks' shows that the twelve days of Christmas really were all kept as a holiday.

In February 4,700 lath nails were bought. John Slacke, (Sir John Kyrle's clerk) was paid for '1ton 2C 2qtr of rawe iron cast in gogins, brasses, hurst and boits. Wye founder. more to Slacke 10C 3qtrs rawe iron and for implements had of Mr Moore 1C 35(pounds) and for 1ton 9C 2qts rawe iron at Lynton furnace and casting the same in plats £14-15-0.'

This rather garbled entry is concerned mostly with the wheel and hammer machinery. Gogins are probably gudgeons, the centre pin of the wheel-shaft which turned on the boits (bearings). The hurst was a cast collar at the pivot end of the hammer-beam and plats are the iron plates which made the finery hearth. Founder is presumably foundry where the items were cast.

At this point a brief note about the iron making process may not come amiss to some readers.

Dean Forest iron ore was capable of making the highest quality malleable iron suitable for working into tools, armour etc. It was smelted in furnaces and cast into pigs or sow iron as it is called in these accounts. In that state it was only suitable for casting by pouring into moulds and remained brittle and unsuitable for working. Casting was done at a foundry, which in the early 17th century seems to have been the same as the furnace. The subsequent reference to 'Wye founder' is interesting.

The pig iron was then refined at a forge by heating in the finery and hammering to remove the impurities. It was then reheated in the chaffery and hammered into bars of measured weight for sale as top quality merchant iron or bar iron. A forge needed a water-powered wheel to drive a shaft which raised the hammer on cams which then dropped by its own weight onto the iron on the anvil. Water-wheels were also used to power the bellows to blow the hearths for the finery and chaffery.

Refining iron is a complex chemical process in which the charcoal played a part as well as providing heat. The design of the hearth, the quality of the charcoal and other factors were crucial and the skills of the finer and hammer-man cannot be overestimated. In the accounts they do not appear to have been paid wages but they were given apparently casual random amounts after they were contracted. They were probably paid so much per ton for the iron they produced. See the costs of production on page where 19s. per ton is allowed for 'the making'.[22]

In March, the clerk and hammer-man 'went to look for hammers and for the cutting 2 hammers and expenses 9s. 6d.' Also 15 cwts 3 qtrs 26 lbs of bar iron was bought from Roger Scudamore at 16s. a cwt. £12-15-8.

More raw iron was bought the next month from Nathaniel Barnes. 17 cwt 3 qrts being cast into a hammer and six plates costing £5-10-0.

In April—May 1629 the millwright was paid 6s. 4d. Nine hides and bellows nails were bought and the next month, Nicholas Mathews and David Gregorie were paid £1-5-2 'for making 3 payer bellowes, 2 flatings, 1 payer of tonges, 5 payer of joynt whopes, 4 single whopes and 2 colde chissels.' Whopes being iron hoops to strengthen the hammer-beam etc. A vessel was bought for 1s. 6d. 'to put liquor in' and £1-18-0 was paid for 118 pounds of liquor at 4d. per pound. Another 7 stone and 6 pounds were bought in May—June.

This was for dressing the bellows leather. Rye meal was bought for that purpose in June and August.

In June—July Andrew Phillips was paid £2 'for sawing three rooms of building for the workmen and storehouse.' David Gregorie was paid 6s. for cutting the hammers and ten shillingsworth of hurds were bought 'to stop the trows.' The trows would be the troughs for quenching the iron or cooling the tools and hurds were the coarse waste fibres of flax or hemp used like plumbers tow or oakum for caulking the joins. Pitch was bought as well, 8 pounds of it for 2s.

In the July—August entry, 11s. 10d. were spent on hinges for the forge door and windows and 6 shillings was spent on drink 'at the rearing of the house.'

It is interesting to see that the custom of celebrating the erection of the timber-frame of a new house with free drink for all those who came to help was still carried out even though the purpose of the building was so unusual.

Having reared the house, in August John Elsmore received £3-3-4 for his carpentry work in 'building 3 rooms of houses for the finers and store house.' Three sheets of white plate cost 1s. 3d. and Bick was paid for 'cogs and rounds' and David Gregorie for making '2 payer of gogings.' The cogs and rounds must have been the iron cams on the hammer wheel-shaft for raising the hammer.

The last of the four-weekly entries is for 2 Oct. to 7 Nov. 1629. Carpenters, masons, labourers, teams and sawyers were all still at work. Messengers were sent on 'arrants' to Dore and Bewdley and the clerk charged 2s. for his expenses in going to Ledbury. Locks, hinges, staples and hooks were paid for and Roberts made and hung a gate for 2s. The last entry is a mystery, 'Payde Glouds wife for sifting hamslowe 1s.'

A further short statement was added for items which had been left out of the main account. This included rents etc. and brought the final total to £632-2-9.

Although the building work appears from the accounts to have gone on until November 1629, the work of forging bar iron must have already begun or began immediately after as the following stocktaking account shows (Jan. 1629 in modern terms would be called Jan. 1630.).

'Carie Fordge. Account of Richard Meeke 31 May 1628 to Jan 1st 1629

Stock remayning at the Forge the 1st Jan 1629		
Cords of wood remayning in Devereux Park		
245 co: 2 qtr at 3s. per cord valett		36-16- 6
Cords remayning at Gaygarway[23] 73 at 3s.		10-19- 0
Cords remayning in Caplor 6 co: 3 qtr valett		1- 0- 9
Cords remayning in Carie wood 112 co: at 3s. valett		16-16- 0
	Total of cords	64-12- 3
Coales remayning at the forge 104 at 20s. per doz.		104- 0- 0
Bar Iron remayning at forge 3 ton 10cwt at £15 per ton and at Worcester 10 cwt.		60- 0- 0
Raw Iron remayning at forge 87 ton at £6 per ton		522- 0- 0

And there is in hammers and anvils at the forge and at Upton on Severn 4 ton	24- 0- 0
Horses at forge to carry coales viz. 3 horses	7- 3- 4
There is in debts by bond and without specialty for Yron and timber sold £61-19-9 and money paid on accounts to workmen £42-17-6 in the whole in debts and payd on account	104-13- 3
The whole stock remayning at the forge Jan 1st 1629 and debts owing for yron and timber together with money payd on account to the workmen cometh to the summe of	886- 8-10'[24]

The building accounts were summarized to show how the money had been expended.

'First Book May 31st 1628—May 2nd 1629 Building Charge

Casting Implements	2-13- 4
Carriages	31-16- 3
Gifts	6-12- 8
Hammers and Anvils	1-12- 6
Implements	1- 9- 9
Iron perfect for building	12-15- 8
Lyme	6-14- 2
Messengers	1- 1- 0
Nayles	8-19- 6
Raw iron bought for building	25-18- 0
Sawyers	17-11-10
Stones	1- 6
Timber	1-14- 6
Travailing expenses	14- 4
Captaine Hicks	9- 6- 8
Carpenters	116- 4- 1
Hair	4- 8
Hides	14-17- 0
Liquor	3- 8- 0
Labourers	163- 6- 6
Masons	24-14- 0
Mill rent paid	6- 0- 0
Paper	1- 3
Rye meal	1- 6
Smyth work	10- 8
Tarre	16- 6
Weare worke	10- 2-10
	469- 9-6

Building Charge from May 2nd 1629 till Jan 2nd 1629

Bellows		13- 2
Boat Hyer		10- 0
Casting of Implements		2-13- 4
Carpenters		36-18- 3
Carriages		5- 7-10
Fires		50- 0- 0
Glasing		4-10
Gifts		14- 0
Haire		6
Hammers and Anvils		5-12- 6
House rent		6- 8
Hurds		10- 0
Implements		1-17-11
Labourers		35- 5- 6
Lyme		2- 0-11
Masons		11- 4-10
Nayles		3- 0-10
Pitch		2- 0
Rye meale		3- 4
Sawyers		8- 2- 1
Smyths work		1- 4- 6
Stones		18- 4
Tarre		16- 6
Timber		2- 4- 8
Weare work		15-17- 3
	Tot	186- 9- 9
	Both Totals	655-19- 3
Clarks wages for the first year		
Bar iron delivered to the use of the work		30- 0- 0
	Total	685-19- 3'[25]

A separate summary was made dealing specifically with the implements and iron bought to equip the forge.

'In the olde booke of Accounts past.

March 3rd 1628		
pd Mr Benedict Hall for 2 hammers and 1 Anvill, wayght 17 hund: 3 qts: 14po: att 8s per hund.		7- 3- 0
the cariage		0-10- 0
Nov. 22th 1628		
pd for 1 ton 1 cwt 3 qts of Rawe Iron att £6 per ton		9-13- 6

pd for the cariage of it from Whitchurch		0- 6- 8
pd for the cariage 10cwt 3 qts cast iron from) Whitchurch, and 1cwt 40po: from Gotheridge)		0- 4- 6
pd for castinge it, beinge 1ton 13 cwt 1qt.		1- 2- 0
	Tot	18-19- 8
Januar. 31th 1628 (1629)		
pd John Slacke for 1ton 1cwt 2 qts of Rawe iron beinge cast in gogions, brasses, hurst and boyts att £6 per ton		6- 9- 0
for castinge the same		1- 2- 0
John Slacke more, for 10cwt 3qts att Rawe Iron, 6s per cwt.		3- 4- 6
for the cariage of the same		0-11- 8
pd for 1ton 9cwt 2qts of Rawe iron att Linton Furnace att 6s cwt		8-18- 6
for casting the same in plates		0- 9- 4
for the cariage of the same to Carie mill		0-10- 0
	Tot	21- 5- 0
April 3rd 1629		
pd Nathaniel Barnes for 17cwt 3qts Rawe iron beinge 1 hammer and six plates		5- 5- 0
for casting the same		0- 5- 0
for the cariage to Carye mill		0- 6- 0
	Tot	5-16- 0
April 18th 1629		
pd for 17 cwt 3qts of Rawe iron beinge 1 hammer and 6 plates		5- 5- 0
pd for castinge the same		0- 5- 0
pd for the cariage		0- 6- 0
	Tot	5-16- 0
August 23th 1629		
pd for 2ton 3cwt 2qts of hammers and anvills att £7 per ton att the furnace		15- 6- 6
pd for castinge them		0- 7- 0
for carryinge of them to Bewdley		1- 0- 0
for cariage from Bewdley to Upton		0- 6- 0
from Upton to Carye mill		1-10- 0
	Tot	18- 9- 6
	Total	70- 6- 2
	Total of both books	131- 8- 0

In the newe Book of accounts.

March 13th 1629. (1630)		
pd for 1 tonne of Iron in hammers & Anvils		7- 0- 0
for casting the same		0- 4- 6
for cariage to Wye		0- 3- 0
given the workmen		0- 0- 6
for boatinge the same to Hinsome		0- 3- 4
for cariage of the same to Carye mill		0- 6- 0
for takinge up the hammers at Upton		0- 5- 0
for boatinge the same to Bristoll		0- 4- 0
for boatinge the same to Hunsome		0- 6- 8
for the cariage of the same to the forge		0- 6- 0
for expenses att Upton		0- 1- 0
	Tot	9- 0- 0
June 5th 1630		
pd Rich: Morse for 1 tonne of plates		6- 0- 0
for castinge the same		0- 7- 0
for cariage of the same to Wye		3- 0
pd for cariage from Hunsome to the Forge		0- 6- 0
	Tot	0-16- 0
August 7th 1630		
pd for 2 tonne of hammers		13-10- 0
for castinge the same		0- 9- 0
for the cariage to Bewdley		0-13- 4
for cariage of the same from thence to Upton		5- 0
for the cariage from thence to the Forge		1-10- 0
expences to goe to buye them		0- 8- 0
	Tot	16-15- 4
Julye 2nd 1631		
pd Mr Glasbrooke for 2 ton of hales hammers)		13-10- 0
at £6 15s the tonne)		
for castinge the same		0- 8- 0
for the cariage to Bewdley		1- 0- 0
for the cariage from thence to Upton		0- 6- 0
for the cariage from thence to the Forge		1- 10- 0
expenses		0- 7- 0
	Tot	17- 1- 0
June 4th 1631		
pd Mr Hankinson for 2 tonne of hursts)		10- 0- 0
boyts and plates att £5 the tonne)		
for castinge		0-13- 0
for cariage		0-16- 6

Tot	11- 9- 6
Tot of all the somes is	61- 1-10
Total of both books	131- 8- 0'

On the back of the page the following item is added.

'Perfect iron bought March 1st 1628	12-15- 8
pd for 15cwt 3 qts 26 po: att 16s per cwt.	
Beinge for hoopes and other necessaries	
Total of all is	144- 3- 8'[26]

Of particular interest in the above account are the references to Bewdley. The carriage costs show that some hammers and anvils were bought locally. Those bought from Benedict Hall probably came from his Newland furnace at Upper Redbrook.

But in August 1629 over 2 tons of hammers and anvils were bought, carried to Bewdley and sent down the river to Upton-on-Severn and then brought overland to Carey. This followed messengers and a letter being sent to Bewdley presumably to make the arrangements.

Another ton of hammers and anvils were entered in the account for 13 March 1629/30. This was from a local furnace again as they were only carried a fairly short distance to the Wye before coming up river to Huntsham and overland to Carey. The same entry shows that other hammers were taken up at Upton, sent right down the Severn to Bristol and then up the Wye to Huntsham, finishing their long journey by road to Carey.

This formidable journey emphasises the difficulties of road transport. The previous overland journey from Upton must have made it seem worthwhile to try the long route down and up river. The experiment was not repeated. Future loads only went by river to Upton and then came by road.

The entry dated 2 July 1631 'pd Mr Glasbrooke for 2 ton of hales hammers' provides the explanation for the Bewdley purchases. Local iron was not hard enough to make satisfactory hammers and anvils for use in a forge. Hales furnace in the Stour Valley was known to have sent hammers and anvils for use in the Forest of Dean forges in the 1670s and this is earlier evidence of their use.

The entry in the subsequent account showing that Mr. Glasbrooke owed money for iron bought from the Carey Forge indicates that the very high quality merchant iron made in this area was already being exported to the Midlands. Hales furnace itself only produced cold short pig iron of low quality.[27]

The Bewdley references are misleading as no reference is made of where the hammers came from but every entry records carriages from somewhere to Bewdley. A comparison of carriage charges from the various furnaces mentioned for comparable weights can be roughly estimated which approximates fairly well with the distance from Bewdley to Hales furnace near Halesowen.

William Scudamore's uncle, George Scudamore lived at Bewdley. Possibly a member of that family acted as a go between to make the arrangements in that area, hence the connection in the clerk's mind with Bewdley to describe the source of the hammers.

The average hammer weighed about 5 cwts. and it would give about 120 strokes a minute. H. R. Schubert estimated that forge hammers in the Forest of Dean at the end of the 17th century needed to be renewed about six times a year and the anvils twice. As forge methods remained unchanged for 200 years up to the end of the 17th century, this would be the case at the Carey Forge.[28]

Yet another account by that tireless and diligent accountant Richard Meeke, for the period 31 May 1628 to 1 Jan. 1629/30 contains the following item.

'Mr. William Glasbrooke and divers others' owed a debt of £56-15-9. 'And he' (the accountant) 'is to be allowed in the prise of Mr Glasbrookes yron £1-10-0.'

This account shows that Richard Meeke received from Viscount Scudamore £299-6-8, 132 tons of timber used for building the forge and 515¾ cords of wood.

From William Scudamore £293-19-5, '140 ton 10 foote' of timber and 283¼ cords of wood were received.

He had 'received in perfect Yron from the workemen at the workes within the space above said 86 tun 12 C 3qtr 6lb' and had sold 81 tons 4 cwt 3 qtr 12 lbs of bar iron 'at several rates' for £1221-6-5.

With £33-5-10 for timber and bark sold from Devereux Park and £14 rent for the house and other land belonging to Carey Mill, he had received a total of £1861-18-4.

The other side of the account in money disbursed and debts owing, totalled £1858-19-0. Richard Meeke finishes with the gentle memorandum that his wages for 1 year and 7 months 'are not put to this account.'[29]

The production of 86 tons in so short a time is surprising. Unfortunately the only other production figures are the following, dated 24 December 1630.

'The Charge of making a ton of Bar Iron at Carey Forge

2 cord of wood to make a load of coals	7- 6
Cutting and cording	2- 6
Coling	2- 4
Carriage	3- 4
Charge of a load of coale delivered at forge is	0-15- 8
Now 2 loads 3qtrs of cole will make a ton of iron which cometh to	2-13- 1
1 ton 6 cwt of sow iron at £6 per ton is	7-16- 0
The making	19- 0
Clerks wages and other petty charges	6- 8
	11- 4- 9

Hitherto Meeks note.

More to be added. Carriage to Bristol	13- 0
Stock[28]	8- 0
Whole charge is	12- 5- 9
If Sir John Kyrles Bargains were ended you may deduct in the price of sow iron 18s in a ton of Barr-Iron	18- 0
Then the charge will be	11- 7- 9'[30]

Early in 1632 the forge was enlarged by the addition of another hammer and finery hearth.

'Carie Forge Febr: 20 1631 The Chardge of buildinge the new Hammer and Finarie there beinge sett Downe by Richard Meeke the said Day and Yeere and alsoe the chardge of labourers for some new buildinge there.

Imprimis the hammer and anvill one hurst, two boytes, 2 gudgions, two brasses: and two gudgions and 2 brasses for the finarie shafte.	6- 3- 4
The hamerer beame	2-10- 0
The Wheele	3-13- 4
The putting upp of the wheele and Droome beame	0- 8- 0
The putting in of the Anville blocke	0- 4- 0
The plummer blocke & penstocke and the rest of the harnesse belonging to the hammer	1- 6- 8
The putting in of the fall	0- 3- 4
Three tons of timber which made the Droome beame and the Finarie shafte	1- 0- 0
The making of the Finarie shafte and wheele	2- 0- 0
The plummer block sleepers and fall which belong to the Finarie	0- 6- 8
The bellows & wood harnesse	0-10- 0
Two hides for the bellowes	2-13- 4
The pipes and yron hernesse for the bellowes	0-15- 0
The making of the bellowes and liquor to dress them	0- 6- 8
The labourers to make the way for to bringe home the hammer beame, and putting it upp	1- 0- 0
The labourers to enlarge the powndes and the water course belowe the Forge & levelling the whole place	4- 0- 0
The Masons and Carpenters worke about the chimney for the finarie, haire lyme and plaisteringe	1-10- 0

The plates for the finarie hurth and other raw iron in the same chimney		3- 0- 0
The bar yron in the finarie chimney and whoops upon the shafte		1- 4- 0
The bar yron upon the hammer beame and anvile blocke		3-10- 0
The making of the stable		0-13- 4
	Tot	36-17- 8

Timber received for the use of Carie Forge

Rec. of my Lord Scudamore	141 ton 15
Rec. of Mr. Wm. Scudamore	169 ton 45
More (debited?) by my Lord to Mr Scudamores own use	7 00'[31]

No information has yet been found to tell how long the Carey Forge was in operation. The only clue is that William Scudamore renewed his lease of Carey Mill from the Cope family in 1637 for another twelve years.[32]

That Viscount Scudamore considered it a profitable venture is borne out by the fact that he must have begun building another forge at Holme Lacy. Already very short of wood, in January 1649, the citizens of Hereford petitioned Parliament against the iron works which 'his Lordship is now erecting on the Wye about Ham' saying that the county was 'likely to be utterly ruyined' and begging for their assistance to stop the building and pull down the weirs.[33] In the draft of his speech to the Commons in defence of his forge, the Viscount concluded that if 'the forge near Hereford being taken down may bring public profit to the city of Hereford, then I pray consideration to my building charge...'[34]

In 1680 Carey Mill was included in the list of mills and weirs to be purchased and destroyed to make the Wye navigable. Compensation was paid to the Cope family and 'Cary mills with the house, 14 acres of vallet wood' etc. were valued at £20. No mention was made of the forge.[35]

APPENDIX. (This refers to PONTRILAS FORGE)

23 Jan. 1626 Charge of making a Forge.	
For 150 ton of tymber at 4s per tun	30-0- 0
For ordering the Forge	
To the workmen for building of the said forge sufficiently with hammer wheele, chafery wheele and 2 fynery wheeles with the carpenters work and the bellowes and chimneys and all carpenters and sawyers work belonging to the same with bayes and hutches and to be hutched to the brooke if neede required	
For which is to be payd	55- 0- 0
The charge of nayles for the house and Bellowes	

By estimation 10,000 of tenpenny nailes	4- 3- 4
For spike nailes	1- 0- 0
For 2000 of Bellowe nailes	1- 0- 0
For whopps for all the shaftes	4- 0- 0
For Bar Iron for all the hammers, plates, anvills gudgions, boyts, hursts, and brasses	
Four tunne and halfe at	20- 0- 0
For tongs of all sorts, furgons, ringers with morris barrs, Chymney barres and all other implements of perfect iron, for bellowes and all other things that shall be needful and be preserved in the forge for the Iron and making thereof	8- 0- 0
For leathering all the bellowes	12- 0- 0
For masons work for the Chymneys and for daubing them	4- 0- 0
For all earth worke for the hutches and all others except for the enlarging of the forge poole	6-13- 4
For making a Colehouse of 45 foote in leingst 24 in breadth and 12 hyghe between sill and walle platt and boording the ruff and walls makeing a Dorm and windoe and wide doore with 2 leaves	20- 0- 0
For 50 tonne of tymber to make the said Colehouse at 4s per tunne	10- 0- 0
For allowance to Mr Baskerville for converting his owne houses to storehouse and workmens houses for all the workmen	13- 6- 8
For enlargeing the Channell from the weare towarde the Mill till you come to the bridge that leadeth out of the Meadowe into Old Lane, this aforesaid being enlarged about two yards and the earth to be carryed over the channell to repayre the Bankes on the other side sufficiently and from the Bridge downward till you comepeere to the Mill all the earth to be carryed away betwixt the chanell and the lane and against the Forge and above and belowe the forge for the space of 20 yards on etherside or thereabouts as need shall requyer which will be as nowe we take it, almost from the mill until you come neere the aforesaid Bridge taking away so much earth as it may carry water level with the bottom of the fynery trowes For which is to be payd	60- 0- 0
For allowance for ropes, ladders and sufficient help for rearing the forge and colehouse	2- 0- 0
For nayles for the Colehouse 10,000 of tenpenny nayles	4- 3- 4

For mending the weare that now is to make it sufficient	10- 0- 0
For carrying of all timber and digging stone	30- 0- 0
The whole charge cometh to	295- 6- 8

At the end of 8 years the forge with all Implements belonging there unto is to be redelivered in sufficient reparacons.[36]

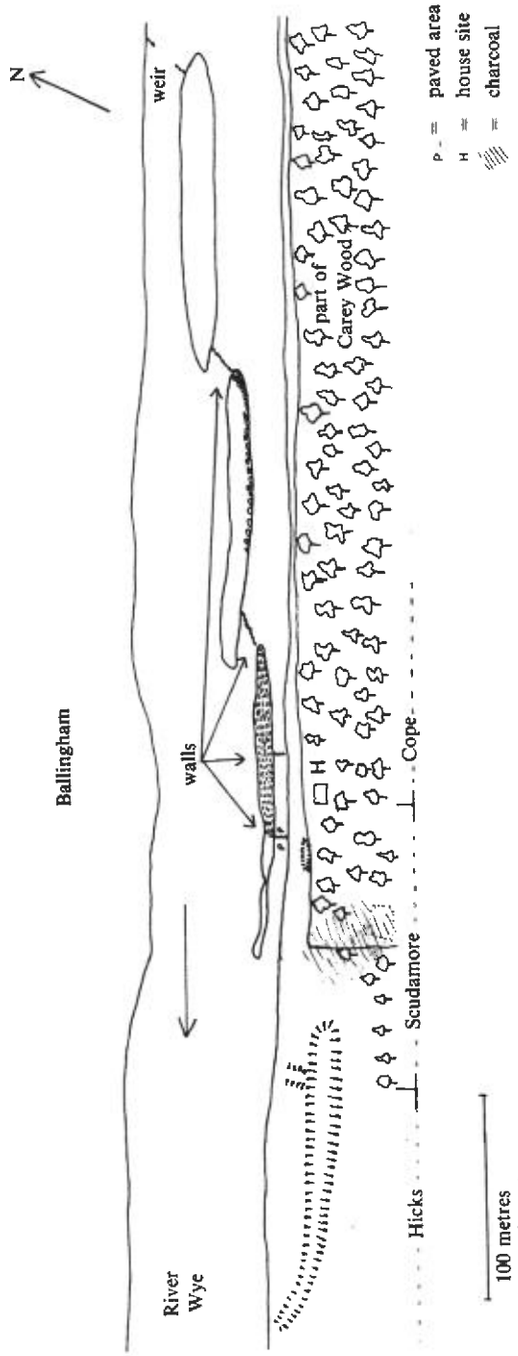
REFERENCES

1 S. D. Coates and D. G. Tucker, *Water Mills of the Middle Wye Valley* (1983), 35 and 55.
2 Public Record Office. IND 23396 nos. 518 and 519. Mention in a deed of 1677 (HRO G87/23/4) of 'the way between the Croose and the Furnace' and three fields called Furnace Hill in the Linton Tithe Map Apportionment, point to the site being on the Rudhall Brook at G.R. 666237.
3 Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 11052 no. 62.
4 *Ibid.*, no. 78.
5 *Ibid.*, no. 70.
6 *Ibid.*, no 60 and see H. C. B. Mynors, 'Iron Manufacture under Charles II,' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* (1952), 3-6.
7 PRO C115/R.1.
8 PRO C115/D.24.2079.
9 PRO C115/I.1. 5569.
10 Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 11052 no. 67.
11 *Ibid.*, Addl. Mss. 11047 no. 129.
12 PRO C115/D.24.2080, 2089, F.9.2991, I.1.5574, 5570, 5569, 5564.
13 Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 11052, no. 6.
14 The makers of these agreements were all related. Kyrle's wife was a Scudamore, William Scudamore's wife was a Kyrle and his son was married to the Viscount's sister. The Viscount's mother was the widow of a Baskerville.
15 Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 11048 no. 35. Injunction from the Court of Wards and Liveries.
16 PRO C115/I.1.5555.
17 PRO Chancery Proceedings. C2/399/4.
18 Hereford R.O. Microfilm X/5. Cartulary of St. Guthlac's Priory. Charter 95.
19 Assize Roll. Just. Itin. no. 307 Easter. 36 Edw. I quoted in HRO A25/16 Appendix no. 10.
20 PRO C/115 F.1.2587.
21 PRO C/115 D.24. 2082. (Full copy will be deposited in HRO.)
22 For information about charcoal iron making see John Van Laun, '17th Century Iron Making in South West Herefordshire', *Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society,* 13 February 1979, (Woolhope Club Library 6.72), and H. R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry* (1957), particularly chap. XVI, also Cyril Hart, *Industrial History of Dean* (1971).
23 Gaygarway Wood in Bolstone.
24 PRO C115/I.1.5559.
25 PRO C115/D.24.2083.
26 PRO C115/D.24.2085.
27 B. L. C. Johnson, 'Foley Partnerships—Iron Industry at the end of the Charcoal Era', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* in HRO Pamphlet 105. Hales furnace site is at SO 966845.
28 H. R. Schubert, *loc. cit.* in note 22.
29 PRO C115/I.1.5559.
30 Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss. 11052, no. 67.
31 PRO C115/D.24.2084.
32 PRO C115/I.1.5595.
33 *Loc. cit.* in note 30, no. 74.
34 *Ibid.*, no. 75. Remains of what are presumed to be these buildings are still clearly visible by the river bank at Holme Lacy.
35 HRO QS/0 1680 p. 115.
36 PRO C115/D.24.2081. A 17th-century plan of the forge is in HRO AL/1873.

Note. Two letters found in the collection of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace Library show that the earl had a forge at Goodrich producing bar iron in 1603. These will also be deposited in the Hereford Record Office.

H.G. Baker, 'Early Iron Manufacture and an Inventory of Whitchurch Forge, Herefordshire, in 1633,' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* (1943), 103-18, contains more information about the Whitchurch Iron works.

I am indebted to John Van Laun for help with the problem of Hales hammers and to Dr. Anthea Brian for her helpful criticism.



PLAN OF THE CAREY ISLANDS AND SITE OF CAREY FORGE.

Hereford Apothecaries' Tokens and Their Issuers

By the late T. D. WHITTET

TRADESMEN'S tokens formed an illegal money of necessity issued between 1648 and 1679 when small change was scarce. The standard work on the subject is *Trade tokens issued in the seventeenth century* originally published by William Boyne[1] in 1858, revised by George C. Williamson[2] in two volumes 1889-91 and reprinted in three volumes by B. S. Seaby Ltd., in 1967.

This work is now popularly called 'Williamson' and will be referred to as such in this paper.[3]

Williamson[3] listed two Herefordshire tokens bearing the Apothecaries' arms, those of Thomas Rodd, included in the Addenda, and of Ralph Turford. Three other tokens of the county have been found to have been issued by apothecaries and another was almost certainly so.

1. *Thomas Rodd of Ross-on-Wye*

O. THOMAS . RODD . OF . ROSS - The Apothecaries' arms.
R. APOTHECARY . 1666 - T . B. R. (¼d.).

Williamson gave no information about the issuer. Mr. J. D. Parry of Ross-on-Wye (personal communication November 1974) has informed me that there used to be a specimen in Hereford Museum and also a similar one dated 1660 which can no longer be traced. He believed that the former may have been a misreading of the latter token but had been unable to trace any specimens. The reading was taken from a manuscript of the late J. W. Lloyd, sub-editor for the county in Williamson, which is in the Pilley Collection in the County Library Hereford.

The issuer was buried in Ross in 1671 and his widow Blanch was also buried there in 1676.

The Herefordshire Record Office contains a manuscript headed 'The Account of Blanch Rodd widdow relict and administrator ... of Thomas Rodd who died intestate.'[4] His goods etc. were valued at £86 16s. 8d. and there were various payments amounting to £133 18s. 8d. These included £5 to Edmund and George Mason, tobacconists for tobacco and £2 to Mr. Wilcox of Downham for glass bottles. The account was dated 16 January 1673/4.

Thomas Rodd was probably related to Hugh Rodd, who issued a token bearing the arms of the city of Hereford on the obverse and the device of an elephant and castle on the reverse, and to John Rodd whose token bears the device of a cavalier's hat on the obverse. Williamson[3] wrote of them 'Hugh and John Rodd were brothers ... and belonged to the Rodds, of the Rodd, a family seated there as far back as the fifteenth century.' The family was a wealthy armigerous one. Burke's *General Armoury*[5] gave the following blazon:-'RODD (co. Hereford) Ar. two trefoils in fess vert, a chief or.' Williamson stated that Hugh and John Rodd were members. John Rodd of St. Peter in Evesham, surgeon-apothecary, to whom five apprentices were bound between 1779 and 1796,[6] was probably a descendant of one of these persons.

2. *Ralph Turford of Kington*

O. RALPH . TVRFORD . OF 1668 - The Apothecaries' arms.
R. IN . KEINGTHON - HIS HALF PENY (½d.). (PL. XLVI).

Williamson[3] made the following comments on the spelling of the names of towns on Herefordshire tokens 'The spelling of names and places on these tokens varies considerably, the Herefordshire series affording ample evidence, for instance, Bramyard for Bromyard, Hereford spelt in four different ways Kington and Leominster in three and Ross in two.' He quoted from the parish registers the burial of Turford's wife Elizabeth on 30 June 1669 and of his daughter Elizabeth on 12 December 1669. Ralph Turford and Katherine Baskerville were married by licence on 3 February 1669 and on 24 December 1670 their daughter Katherine was baptised. Thomas and Martha Turford, who were married by licence on 29 January 1684, were probably relatives.

Mr. Parry wrote that in the Hearth Tax of 1665 'Mr. Turfitt' was assessed for two hearths.

ADDITIONAL APOTHECARIES TOKENS

3. *Thomas Mathews of Hereford*

O. THOMAS . MATHEWS - ob.
R. IN . HEREFORD . 1661 - T . M. (½d.). (FIG. 1).

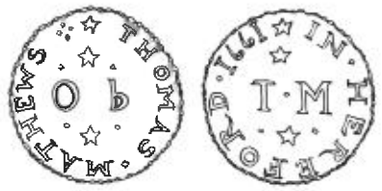


FIG. 1
Token of Thomas Mathews. Drawn for a specimen in the Norweb collection supplied by Mr. R. H. Thompson. Actual size 1.7 cm. diam.

Williamson[3] wrote of this token that there is a variety from different dies and of its issuer 'Thomas Matthews was Mayor in 1667, and was assessed for two fire-hearths in Bysters Ward, 16 and 17 Chas. II (1666/7). Thomas Matthews signed the Register of St. Peter's in 1681 as Churchwarden.'

The letters ob. on the obverse are an abbreviation of obolus, the Latin for a small coin, originally derived from the Greek obol.

Mr. Parry has told me that Thomas Matthews was an apothecary who owned land in the High Street and that his name and trade are on a list of token issuers presented before the Hereford Quarter Session on 3 October 1661 and again in October 1667 when he was styled as a gentleman.

The issuer was probably the occupier of a 17th-century apothecary's shop formerly no. 3 High Street, Hereford. In 1966 it was moved temporarily about 250 yards to a site in

High Town, near the Butchers' gild house, and then returned to its original site and incorporated into Littlewood's store where the upper stories can still be seen. An apothecary called Sainsbury is said to have hanged himself there in the 17th-century.[7, 8]

The token issuer was probably an ancestor of Robert, son of Thomas Matthews, taylor of Hereford, who was bound on 20 August 1712 to William Russell, barber-surgeon and periwig maker of Hereford, and of the physician John Matthews, M.D., F.C.P., M.P. (1756-1826) of Hereford.[9]

4. *William Mathewes of Ledbury*

O. WILLIAM . MATHEWES - A drug jar.
R. IN . LEDBVRY . 1653 - W . M . M. (½d.). (FIG. 2).

FIG. 2
Token of William Mathewes. Drawn from a photograph of a specimen in the Ashmolean Museum. Actual size 1.7 cm. diam.

Williamson[3] gave no occupation for the issuer of this token and he called the device on it an earthen jar but, as William Mathewes was an apothecary, it seems likely to have been a drug jar. It is the same shape as the jar used in the device of the pot of lilies frequently found on apothecaries' tokens.

Williamson[3] wrote 'This token is in the Bodlean Library, Oxford. William Mathewes was assessed for four fire-hearths.' The token is actually in the Ashmolean Museum. He quoted the following burials from the parish registers:-

1686. Mary, daughter of William Mathews; 1706. Mary, wife of William Matthews; 1708. Mr. William Mathews, senr.; 1712. Sarah, wife of William Mathews; 1712. William Matthews.

The family name was obviously spelled in many ways. Whilst the name Mary corresponds with the additional initial on the token, the issuer would have been at least seventy-eight by the time of the death of William Mathews Senr., so the latter may have been his son and William Jr. his grandson.

The minutes of the Society of Apothecaries[10] record that on 7 May 1667 'Thomas Mathewes son of William Mathewes of Ledbury in the Countie of Heref. Apothecarie, exd. appr. & bound to Peter Sambrooke for 8 years from our Lady last.' I have not found his freedom.

The apprenticeship register of the London Grocers' Company[11] includes on 5 June 1667 an entry in Latin of the binding of William, son of William Matthews of Ledbury,

Hereford, pharmacopole (apothecary), to George Chancey, possibly a druggist. These appear certain to have been the sons of the token issuer.

On 7 October 1652 the Apothecaries' minutes[12] record 'George Mathew petitioned to bee made free by Redemption, haveing served an appothecarie in the Countrie & one free of the Grocers' Companye London but this Court denyd him until hee will pay them 30lb wch he sayth he is in noe Wayes able to doe.' He may well have been of the same family.

The Thomas Mathewes mentioned above may have been the person of that name, apothecary of Gloucester, who was on 29 January 1678/9 a bondsman for the marriage licence of Richard Skipp, apothecary of Ledbury and Elizabeth Pryke.[13]

The will of William Mathewes, apothecary of Ledbury, was made on 18 June 1712.[14] He left on trust to his trustees, his uncle Thomas Mathewes, apothecary of Worcester, brother-in-law Richard Bullock, mercer and Benjamin Cole, Sr., both of Ledbury, 'All my messuage or burgage where I now live, with house, gardens etc. thereto and all that garden I recently purchased of John Skipp, situate at Ledbury,' possibly a relative of Richard above.

He and his wife Sarah, since deceased, had acquired the freehold of a farm, greenhouse and two tenements of the Manor of Dymoke, Gloucs. and he left them to the trustees along with the Ledbury property. The latter were to pay his mother Elizabeth £15 p.a. for life and the balance of the trust was to be used for the benefit of his heirs.

He made the following bequests:- uncle Thomas Mathewes, all his books; Richard Bullock, a silver tankard; John, son of the latter, a silver cup; William, son of Benjamin Cole, a silver tumbler and two silver spoons; his two daughters, whose names were not given; William and Elizabeth, children of Richard Bullock, a silver spoon each; his aunt Mathewes 12s. and a gold ring.

The will was proved on 6 June 1713. The testator was probably the son or grandson of the token issuer. His mother's name of Elizabeth does not correspond with the additional initial on the token nor with that of Mary, wife of William Senr. mentioned above. It is possible that both the token issuer and William Senr. had more than one wife, as was common in the 17th century because of diseases and the hazards of childbirth.

There were numerous apothecaries called Mathews or one of its variants in the area. Robert, son of - Matthews, of Leominster, who was bound in 1745 to Robert Bennett, apothecary of that town, was probably of the same family.[9]

5. *Thomas Seaborne of Hereford*

O. THOMAS . SEABORNE - The city arms without shield.
R. IN . HEREFORD . 1652 - T . S. (¼d.). (FIG. 3).

Williamson[3] was unaware that Seaborne was an apothecary. He wrote 'This is the earliest of all the Hereforshire tokens. The following interesting entry is found in the registers of St. Peter's, in the city of Hereford: "I, Thomas Seaborne, one of the Justices of the Peace for the city of Hereford, well knowing that Mr. Wm. Voyle was duly chosen Parish Minister of St. Peier's Parish within the said city upon the twenty-second day of

September, 1653, doe approve of him so to be and have sworne him to deal honnestly in the said office. *It a est.*, Thos. Seaborne."

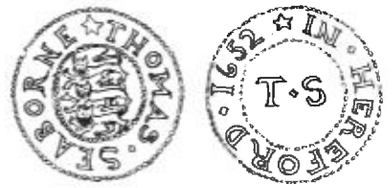


FIG. 3
Token of Thomas Seaborne. Drawn from a photograph in Spink's Catalogue (1979), no. 7. Actual size 1.5 cm. diam.

Thomas Seaborne was Mayor in 1649 and part of 1648, and was assessed for two fire-hearths in Wigmarsh Ward, 14 Car. II., and for one in Wyebridge Ward, 16 and 17 Car. II.'

Williamson[3] also quoted the following entries from All Saints' register:- Baptisms of children of Thomas and Elizabeth Seaborne - Thomas, 10 March 1669/70; Hannah, 4 June 1672; Thomas, 17 October 1697. and from St. Nicholas' register:- Baptisms of children of Thomas and Elizabeth Seaborne - John, 22 November 1674 and Samuell, 12 July 1678. The last named was buried on 2 July 1679.

The Apothecaries' minutes[15] contain an entry for 1 January 1657/8 that Thomas, son of Thomas Seaborne of the city of Hereford, apothecary, was bound to James Whitchurch. He was freed on 5 June 1666 and was obviously the son of the token issuer. He may have been the person whose children were baptised between 1669 and 1678. A Mrs. Ann Seaborn, who was buried at All Saints' on 8 January 1690/1 may have been his mother and the wife of the token issuer.

On 12 June 1666 Thomas Seaborn, son of John, late of Sutton Hereford, gent., was bound to Henry Seaborne, barber-surgeon of London. He was probably a relative of the token issuer, possibly his nephew.[16]

John Seaborne of Hereford, who was granted on 17 August 1702 an episcopal licence to practise surgery, seems likely to have been the child baptised in 1674 and a grandson of the token issuer.[17]

Thomas Seaborne, apothecary of Hereford, who had Edmund Mason bound to him in 1745 and Robert Hathway[18] in 1752 was also probably a descendant of the token issuer. Members of the family thus appear to have been in practice in the city for at least a century and in about four generations.

PROBABLE APOTHECARIES' TOKEN ISSUERS

John Hill of Hereford and of Ross

O. IOHN . HILL . HEREFORD - ½D in an oval.
R. HIS . HALFE . PENEY . 57 - ½D in an oval. (½d.). (FIG. 4).

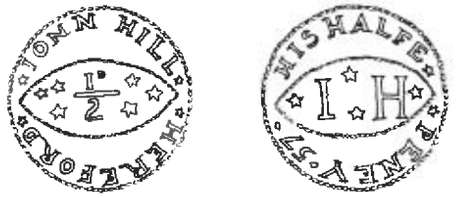


FIG. 4
Token of John Hill of Hereford. Drawn from a photograph in Spink's Catalogue (1979), no. 7. Actual size 1.8 cm. diam.

Williamson[3] gave no occupation for the issuer but wrote 'John Hill was mayor of this city in 1659, and appears to have carried on a business in Ross as well as in Hereford, as a token of the same type was issued there in 1666.

A John Hill was assessed for one fire-hearth in St. Owen's Ward and in Wyebridge Ward, "Jno Hill hath in his house 5, and in a voide house in the same ward 2" (hearths).

The name of John Hill appears in the list of benefactors to the cathedral library. In the registers of St. Nicholas Church is the following interesting entry: "Buryed the 10th. day of June 1670, Mr. John Hill, alderman of this city, whose happiness it was in his tyme of mayorality to p'clamye (sic) King Charles ye Second King of England."'

Under Ross Williamson[3] included:-

O. IOHN . HILL . OF . ROSS - ½D in an oval.
R. HIS . HALFE . PENEY . 66 - I . H. in an oval (½d.). (FIG.5).

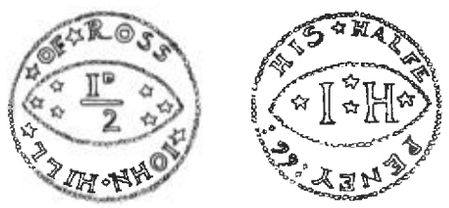


FIG. 5
Token of John Hill of Ross. Drawn from a photograph in Spink's Catalogue (1979), no. 7. Actual size 1.9 cm. diam.

He wrote 'Same type as John Hill's token issuer at Hereford 1657, and probably by the same issuer.'

He also included:-

O. IOHN . HILL . OF - I . E. H.
R. ROSS . MERCER - I . E . H. (¼d.).

He wrote of the issuer 'John Hill was assessed for three fire-hearths, 14 Car. II (1674).' These two issuers may have been the same person as the apothecaries of Hereford were in the Mercers' of Merchants' gild.[19] There are examples of persons being called

mercer and apothecary or druggist. The former pharmacy of Mr. F. D. P. Lewis-Smith at 3, High Town is said to have been founded by W. Ravenhill, mercer and druggist in 1793.[20] The latter may have been a relative of Timothy Ravenhill, who, on 28 January 1785 was bound to Philip P. Price, apothecary of Hereford, for seven years.[21]

There is evidence to suggest that the token issuer John Hill was an apothecary. John Hill of Hereford was in a list of 1665 of suppliers of Lockier's pills[22] included in an advertisement leaflet and a Mr. Hill, apothecary of Ross, was listed in the *Medical Directory* of 1779.[23] There are many examples of the occupation being practised by several generations. Thomas Hill, surgeon-apothecary of Ledbury was mentioned in the same directory and was probably the surgeon of that name and town who had Eastman Price bound to him in 1780 and Eli Munn in 1790.[24] He was presumably of the same family.

The only will of administration of a John Hill I have been able to trace is that of an ironmonger of St. Nicholas' parish, dated 1672.[25] As this was almost two and a half years after the death of the token issuer and the estate amounted only to £3 11s. 8d. it seems likely that it was his since he was obviously a wealthy man, having been mayor and the owner of two large houses in Hereford and premises in Ross.

A POSSIBLE APOTHECARY'S TOKEN

On 5 March 1694/5 Thomas, son of Thomas Taylor of Ross-on-Wye, grocer, was bound to Anthony Wyer of the Society of Apothecaries.[26] His father issued a token in 1656 without device or occupation. He may have been a grocer or grocer-apothecary. Anthony Wyer was the son of Charles of Grendon, Herefordshire and had been apprenticed to John Arrowsmith.[27]

On 12 November 1711 Benjamin, son of - Taylor of Hereford, was bound to Thomas Morgan, barber-surgeon of that city.[28] They were probably of the same family.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of the research in this paper was carried out with the aid of a grant from the Wellcome Trust and I express my gratitude to the trustees. I wish to thank my wife Doreen M. Whittet for drawing figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 and Mr. J. D. Parry for information.

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The Political Organisation of Hereford, 1693-1736

By J. F. MORRIS

THE primary sources for this research were the surviving Common Council Minutes of the city of Hereford, between the years 1693-1707 and 1729-36, the central section being missing. The manuscript poll books for 1708 and 1734, the Chamberlain's account, and the book of oaths were also used. The minutes themselves have an interesting history, being stolen by one Ester Garnstone, convicted of their larceny in 1830.[1] When recovered all the pages were halved, and though now reattached with great skill, are often difficult to read, in consequence.

Hereford's role as a marketing centre for the rich agricultural hinterland had grown over the centuries and by the early 16th century it was a prosperous market town with three weekly markets, glove making a speciality, but also cloth, boat building, tanning, and milling industries.[2] It was a strong and conservative ecclesiastical centre, with almost half of the city under the jurisdiction of the Bishop. It resisted change during the Reformation, and suffered when Henry VIII ordered the destruction of two fulling-mills and two corn-mills belonging to the Dean and Chapter. The loss of the fulling-mills damaged the wool trade with Wales, and together with that of the corn-mills, which had been grinding a thousand bushels of wheat weekly, was an economic blow from which the city took many years to recover. To meet expenses it was forced to levy such heavy tolls that trade was restricted. The lands from the dissolved priories of St. Guthlac, Grey Friars and Black Friars passed to county gentry and leading citizens and this was a further loss to the city. The previously thriving pilgrim trade, based on Bishop Ethelbert, canonised in 1320, was a further economic blow when it ceased. During the Civil War Hereford changed hands many times, and in 1645 was under siege for five weeks during which the citizens held the city for the king, while surrounded by Scots unable to penetrate its defences. At the Restoration Hereford was in great financial difficulty, with roads and bridges ruined, and streets 'foul and nastye' with drug and 'filthy miskins.'[3]

The Common Council in 1693 consisted of thirty-one members, including a mayor and aldermen. In Letters Patent[4] issued on 16 August 1597, Elizabeth confirmed former charters, and stated that the council was to meet regularly at the Guildhall, that the mayor was to be elected annually, together with other officers, that the corporation should have a court, a prison, a view of Frankpledge and that the mayor and aldermen were to be Justices of the Peace. Vacancies were to be filled by councillors choosing a freeman of the city to serve, and refusal to do so meant a fine. John Ravenhill was elected in October 1701, refused and was fined £20. In June 1702 he refused 'to impoverish his children' to pay the fine, but a visit from the chamberlain, sword-bearer and two sergeants had the desired result and two months later he paid up and became a councillor. Elizabeth's Charter also confirmed three weekly markets, two annual fairs and a Merchant Gild.

Over the first period there was an average of 15.3 meetings annually, with an average attendance of 19.34 per meeting. The second period shows a slightly higher average attendance of 22.38, but a marked decrease in the number of meetings, down to 8.42 per

annum. The attendances throughout the year were relatively constant, but there is a marked seasonality in the number of meetings per month, peaking around the time of the election of a new mayor, on the Monday following Michaelmas, and decreasing through the winter.

The occupations of the councillors, when stated, indicate the commercial background of the majority, mercers being the largest single group. The years served as members (Table 1) show the stable nature of this elitist group, and the number of members who became mayors, sometimes more than once, is considerable, fifty out of a total of eighty-one councillors became mayors. Council services was lifelong unless dismissed, and in the years studied only two members were dismissed, one because he moved to a house three miles from Hereford, and councillors were expected to live within the city, and one for misbehaviour, in this case an unpaid debt to the city.

The normal pattern of office holding seems to be mayor within ten years of first becoming a councillor (Table 2), and then to become an alderman and J.P. Fourteen councillors served more than twenty-five years, and two for more than forty years. There are eleven instances of a father and son serving together, and one family, the Symonds, had eight different members on the council serving between them some ninety-three years. The continuity of the council is plain.

Origins of freemen were shown in the 1724 Poll List when all 'foreigners' were indicated, including freemen from places like Kings Acre, Venns Lane and Barrs Court, all now part of the city. Of the incomers only seventeen had origins more than thirty miles distant, out of a total of more than eight hundred. This confirms the introverted nature of Hereford at that time. (Table 3).

The council minutes give details of its many and varied functions. The responsibilities for law and order seem particularly wide and well organised. A porter was appointed for each of the six gates, as well as gate-keeping and toll-gathering he was expected to police the area. In April 1695 there is a minute that he is 'not to suffer mischief on Wye Bridge.' The streets were lit and in November 1695 there is an order that every councillor pay one shilling towards the lamps. There are many references to conserving the city walls, and fines for removing the stone. Rewards were offered increasing from five shillings to £20 to try to stop this practice. The council took upon itself the keeping open of rivers and roads by the removal of fallen trees. Repairs to the bridge were authorised, milestones were erected, encroachments of buildings or standings upon the highway regularly discussed. Rioters concerned the council in 1705 and 1706, and letters threatening 'fire, murder or any other mischief' in 1730. Organisation of the Watch, with pairs of councillors 'beginning with the juniors' elaborately sworn in nightly, 'you shall not sleep after this time till tomorrow morning sun rising.' Stocks were erected for 'persons committed to the Brideswell' (November 1730), market organisation and tolls figure regularly, size of loaves of bread (July 1697), ordering a councillor to 'pull down lay stalle for dung' (November 1705), control of dogs (August 1705); their concerns were many. There was even a primitive fire service, and in April 1705 there is an order to 'take what measures seem fit that the great water engine for extinguishing fire, belonging to this city, be put in order.' The jurisdiction of the city was shared between the bishop and the

mayor, they each had their own officers and prisons and this led to many disputes, the strangest being the ownership of a pig 'arrested' by the beadle in 1702, and put in the city pound, but claimed by the bishop as it was wandering in his part of the city.

The cleanliness of the city was another of the council's concerns. From 1694 a scavenger was appointed at £8 per annum and in 1697 a contract to 'carry away all dirt and dung from within the walls' for £15 per annum. In 1729 all inhabitants on one Saturday morning were ordered to assemble to sweep the streets. Waterworks were discussed in 1696 to bring water from the Wye to the city, and in 1732 'common pumps' ordered to be repaired. The throwing of rubbish into the Wye was condemned regularly. There was a genuine attempt by the council to overcome the problems of the hygiene of the city.

Much of the council's attention was occupied with leasing and maintaining, surveying and purchasing property. Annually the key keepers were ordered to open the Common Chest and count the money therein. The mayor was responsible for the fee-farm, and on his appointment each September, was paid £20 towards this. In the case of bad debts the chamberlain, who was the council's treasurer, was ordered to collect, accompanied by sergeants-at-mace and swordbearer.

Many charities were administered by the corporation. They had the letting of six 'hospitals' or almshouses. Strangely there is no reference to education, although the Cathedral School, The Grammar School for Boys, and Lord Scudamore's Schools were by then in existence. Mr. Walton's Christmas Dole was distributed to the poor by councillors each November, and there was a circulating loan charity founded by a Doctor Gardiner, and a scheme for apprenticing poor boys. In 1729 a workhouse was established 'to put the poor to work in woollen, linen, cotton and gloving manufacture' and this was paid for by subscription. The council itself took a charitable and paternalistic attitude to its citizens, for example donating towards the rebuilding of a burnt house (September 1694).

The relationship between the Common Council and the city gilds was close and symbiotic. The route to success in the city lay through both. One could not be admitted to a gild unless one was a freeman, the oath for which is included in the appendix. The normal route to becoming a freeman was to serve a seven-year apprenticeship. Alternatively fines were payable ranging from five shillings to £20, the usual being £5. The only other ways were to marry the childless widow of a freeman, or to inherit from a parent. The binding of apprentices and the registering of freemen occurs regularly in the minutes. The latter peaks in the winter of 1733-4, when fifty-two men paid fines totalling £94, following a collection of names by the sergeants-at-mace of 'foreigners who were never admitted free of the city who publically keep open shop in defiance of Charter and Custom.' The closed nature of the elitist power group was further confirmed in 1519 by a law which stated that only freemen of the city could become M.Ps. and of course freemen were the only enfranchised citizens, some eight hundred in the early 18th century.

Hereford's first gild was established in 1215, the Merchants Gild, and by the end of the 16th century twelve gilds were in existence (Table 4). The relationship between gilds

and council was amicable as might be expected when councillors were probably also leaders of gilds, and when there were many regular ceremonials which concerned both, when all processed with 'all the city's companies to attend with their drums and streamers' (March 1704). There were attendances at bonfires each fifth of November, oath swearing after each election at St. Peter's Church, Christmas attendances at church and attendances at each fair. Failure to attend any of these meant a fine. Appearances were to be in their 'gowns according to ancient custom,' which was described as 'long gowns of colour murrey' and failure to be correctly gowned also incurred fines. The mayor was accompanied from his house on these occasions, and when the ceremony was at the cathedral, they entered by a special door, with porters on guard to see that no unauthorised person entered this way. There were processions to mark special occasions such as Queen Anne's Coronation in April 1702, and every year in the summer a free buck was eaten, a present of venison to the corporation from the Chief Steward. These occasions for public confirmation of their superiority and authority must have impressed the lesser citizens of Hereford as they were meant to do.

There are references to the special clothing and effects of the officials of the city, and each had his own oath to swear on taking office. The 'Oath of those that be Elected and admitted to be Chiefe Cittizens or Comon Councill Men' is to be found in the appendix. The swordbearers in October 1700 were allowed thirty shillings for new gowns and black velvet hats for funerals. The six porters had new wooden staves with 'plain silver heads and city arms upon them' at a total cost of thirty shillings in October 1733. Two beadles were appointed in November 1735 whose main duties were to arrest vagrants. Their salary was £4 annually 'and a coat of blue coloured cloth and breeches of the same, with shoes, stockings and a decent laced hat.' The aletaster, whose oath demanded he 'taste ale and beer to the intent whether wholesome for man's body or not' was supplied with leather breeches, as his test for sugar was to pour a pot of beer onto a wooden bench, then sit in the puddle for half an hour. If on rising his leather breeches stuck to the bench the ale failed the test. Other officers included the Chief Steward, sergeants-at-mace, town clerk, a bellman and a crier.

There is evidence of external pressures on the council. The need and expense of renewing charters with each change of monarchy is seen in the early minutes. There is a constant one-way contact with the monarchy, addresses of congratulation or condolence. Following a period of political insecurity the council seemed to need to keep reminding the monarchy of its loyalty.

Of a more practical nature is the council's relationship with patrons and Parliament. A pressing problem would bring contacts with various local patrons with requests for them to forward their cause in Parliament. The navigability of the Wye was such a case in 1695, and the repair of the roads leading to Hereford in 1730.

Ecclesiastical pressures and disputes occur throughout, and include taxes, civic arrests on church property and whether the city could exclude the church's tenants from trading. The main contention was however St. Ethelbert's Fair. The bishop had the right to hold a three-day fair to celebrate the local saint, granted by Henry I. This gradually extended to nine days and was highly lucrative. The bishop claimed all market tolls and

jurisdiction over the whole city for its duration. During the fair all shops were closed and goods were sold only at the fair. The Merchant Gild obviously resented being unable to trade freely on such a profitable occasion, and the bishop's enforcement inevitably led to friction. His rights were removed only in 1838.

The minutes for 1705 are the most eventful of those studied. There were twenty-three meetings, a maximum for the period, no doubt necessary to deal with all the problems. There is evidence of internal conflict and discontent, with an assize between two councillors Will Wadoley and John Hill. Insufficient members attended meetings, two councillors were accused of keeping money belonging to the city and £480 was removed in five bags from the common chest and given to Mr. Henry Smith, attorney, for safe keeping. There was conflict with the bishop, problems with market organisation, and riots against the mayor. The early years of the 18th century were ones of unrest nationally, and Hereford was no exception.

Hereford during this period had a population which was increasing only slowly so that comparatively it was of declining importance. It was an ecclesiastical centre and there was typical conflict of the time between authorities. It was however atypical in that although it had many gilds there were no intergild disputes, and no conflict between gilds and council. It appears to be backward in its development as a late medieval town, still self-contained and self-sufficient, with tight social organisation and defensive walls. The changes taking place elsewhere in England between 1550 and 1650 were not present in Hereford. Incomers were resisted, the craft structure was still strong and the urban elite was not splintered as in other places. It was an introverted town, a mixture of old traditions and new ideas. It clung to its ancient defences and a Xenophobic outlook, due perhaps to its proximity to Wales. Its gilds still practised their old restrictions and this no doubt contributed to its stagnation. Its political organisation remained medieval and its oligarchy in control in early 18th-century Hereford.

TABLE 1. Years served by councillors.

Term	*Number of councillors*	*Percentage of whole*
- 5 years	18	22.22%
-10	27	33.33%
-15	18	22.22%
-20	0	0
-25	4	4.93%
-30	7	8.84%
-35	3	3.70%
-40	2	2.46%
40 +	2	2.46%
Total	81	100.16

TABLE 2. Time taken to become mayor of Hereford.

Name	*Elected*	*Mayor*	*Years*
Jonah Taylor	1694	1695	1
Charles Carwardine	1694	1702	8
John Morse	1694	1694	0
Richard Hankins	1696	1703	7
Bridstock Harford	1697	1697	0
Charles Woodhouse	1697	1704	7
William Wadoley	1698	1705	7
William Symonds	1700	1706	6
Robert Clayton	1700	1707	7
William Maddox	1702	1709) 1723) 1743)	7
Thomas Bayley	1704	1710	6
Thomas Barrow	1704	1711	7
Philip Symonds	1704	1712) 1727)	8
B. Phillips	1705	1713	8
Thomas Raynard	1705	1715	10
Thomas Wytherston	1705	1714	9
Thomas Symonds	1706	1716	10
J. Lord	1731	1741	10
J. Clarke	1733	1757	24
W. Stephens	1736	1742	6

Christian names are given in their normal English form, e.g. Charles for Caro.

TABLE 3. 'Foreign' freemen 1724 poll list

Number of miles	*Number of incomers*
0- 9	55
10-19	33
20-29	12
30-39	4
40-49	9
50+	4

TABLE 4. Hereford City Gilds

Corvisors	established 1569
Clothworkers	1572
Mercers	1572
Butchers	1592
Tanners	1593
Tailors	1598
Weavers	1598
Bakers	1601
Goldsmiths	1604
Glovers	1625
Haberdashers	1696
Joiners	1697

from *A Short History of Hereford,* William Collins.

TABLE 5. Annuities from the Company's or Chambers Rents.

	s. d.
Blacksmiths	4. 4
Tanners	7. 8
Glovers	7. 8
Taylors	7. 8
Bakers	7. 8
Corvisors	7. 8
Coopers	5. 0
Clothworkers	2. 0
Joyners	2. 6
Butchers	9. 0
Mercers	11. 0
Goldsmiths	7. 8
Haberdashers	7. 8
Weavers	6. 0

from the Chamberlains Account 1732.

TABLE 6. Occupation of Mayors of Hereford.

Occupation	*Year*	*Total*
Clothier	1692, 1719, 1737	3
Hatter	1689	1
Baker	1698, 1722	2
Glazier	1696	1
Currier	1703	1
Mercer	1704, 1706, 1712, 1727, 1733, 1734, 1754, 1735, 1749, 1741, 1757.	11
Corvisor	1709, 1723, 1743	3
Apothecary	1714	1
Pitcher	1716	1
Attorney	1729	1
Butcher	1720, 1731	2
Goldsmith	1730	1
Joiner	1725, 1732	2
Glover	1736	1
Malster	1738, 1752	2
Proctor	1739, 1724	2
Bookseller	1724	1
Dyer	1740, 1756	2

TABLE 7. Members of Hereford's Common Council, 1693-1736.

Name	*Date*	*Occupation*	*Office held*
John Abrahall	1693-1695		Mayor 1693
Robert Symonds sen.	1693-1694		
Thomas Raynard	1693-1695		
Thomas Church	1693-1736	Clothier	Keykeeper 1696 Mayor 1692 Mayor 1719 Alderman 1736
John Williams sen.	1693-1695		
James Price	1693-1705		Keykeeper 1696 Alderman 1696
Richard Gower	1693-1696		
John Williams jun.	1693-1700		
Henry Smith	1693-1707	Hatter	Mayor 1689 Alderman 1700
Gabriel Blyke	1693-1707		Mayor 1690 Alderman 1701

Richard Poole	1693-1721		Mayor 1691 Mayor 1721
John Morse sen.	1693-1707		Mayor 1694 Alderman 1705 Keykeeper 1707
Thomas Morn	1693-1693		
William Greene	1693-1698		
Richard Baynham	1693-1707	Baker	Mayor 1698
James Lane	1693-1707		Overseer 1694 Mayor 1699
George Greene	1693-1735		Overseer 1694 Mayor 1700
Adam Wiggins	1693-1705		Mayor 1701
Abraham Seward	1693-1698		Deputy Mayor 1696
Richard Wadoley	1693-1707		Keykeeper 1705
Thomas Matthews	1694-1700	Clerk	
Thomas Clarke sen.	1694-1699		Mayor 1688
Thomas Clarke jun.	1694-1703		Alderman 1696
Thomas Aldorne	1694-1707	Glazier	Mayor 1696
Benjamin Hill	1694-1699	Corvisor	
Theophilus Alye	1694-1704		
Jonah Taylor	1694-1707		Mayor 1695
Robert Symonds jun.	1694-1697	Attorney	
Charles Carwardine	1694-1707		Mayor 1702
John Morse jun.	1694-1698		Mayor 1694
Herbert Westfalling	1696-1697		M.P. 1714-1727
Robert Dobyns	1696-1707		Deputy Steward 1697-1707
Richard Hankins	1696-1729	Currier	Mayor 1703
John Hill	1697-1707	Chandler	
Bridstock Harford	1697-1707		Mayor 1697
Cave Woodhouse	1697-1736	Mercer	Mayor 1704
William Wadoley	1698-1723		Mayor 1705
William Matthews	1698-1700	Chandler	
James Wellington	1699-1704	Taylor	
William Symonds	1700-1729	Mercer	Mayor 1706
Robert Clayton	1700-1733	Esquire	Mayor 1707
Philip Scandrett	1701-1707	Gent	
William Maddox	1702-1735	Corvisor	Mayor 1709, 1723, 1743
Roland Andrews	1703-1707		
Thomas Bayley	1704-1730	Gent	Mayor 1710 Alderman 1730
Thomas Barrow	1704-1707		Mayor 1711
Philip Symonds sen.	1704-1736	Mercer	Mayor 1712, 1727

B. Phillips	1705-1707	Apothecary	Mayor 1713
Thomas Raynard	1705-1707		Mayor 1715
Thomas Wytherston	1705-1733	Attorney	Mayor 1714
Thomas Symonds	1706-1707	Pitcher	Mayor 1716
J. Saunders	1706-1707	Ironmonger	
R. Crofton	1706-1707	Chandler	
Thomas Lane	1729-1736	Attorney	Mayor 1729
Thomas Ford	1729-1736	Esquire	Mayor 1728
Samuel Birch	1729-1734	Esquire	Deputy Steward
Thomas Russell	1729-1732		Mayor 1718
Thomas Smith	1729-1734	Butcher	Mayor 1720
J. Baynham	1729-1736	Baker	Mayor 1722
James Hunt	1729-1730		Mayor 1726
Philip Symonds jun.	1729-1736	Maltster	Mayor 1730
Charles Mayo	1729-1736	Goldsmith	Mayor 1725, 1732
Thomas Willim	1729-1736	Joyner	
Robert Ravenhill	1729-1736	Mercer	Chamberlain 1730 Mayor 1733
William Holmes	1729-1736	Mercer	Chamberlain 1730 Mayor 1734, 1754
James Symonds	1729-1736	Mercer	Mayor 1735, 1749
Joseph Trumper	1729-1736	Glover	Mayor 1736
William Morse	1729-1731	Baker	Mayor 1737
William Rowley	1729-1736	Clothier	
Edmund Thomas	1729-1736	Maltster	Mayor 1738, 1752
Thomas Croft	1729-1736	Proctor	Mayor 1739
John Hunt	1729-1736	Bookseller	Mayor 1724
Thomas Williams	1729-1736	Butcher	Mayor 1731
Thomas Sandford	1729-1736	Sadler	
Walwyn Shepherd	1729-1736	Esquire	Deputy Steward 1729
James Brotherton	1729-1736	Dyer	Mayor 1740, 1756
J. Lord	1731-1736	Mercer	Mayor 1741
James Havard	1733-1736	Mercer	
Josiah Clarke	1733-1736	Mercer	Mayor 1757
William Stephens	1736-1736	Proctor	Mayor 1742

APPENDIX

The Oath of those that be Elected and admitted to be chiefe Cittizens or Common Councill Men.

1. ffirst, You shall sweare that you shall hold true and faithfull Allegiance to our Soveraigne Lord King George and his heires and lawfull successors, Kings and Queens of this Realme.
2. You shall assist the Mayor and Comon Councill of this Citty to the best of your power and skill, in Councill or out, for the good of this City from time to time dureing all the time that you shall continue one of the Comon Councill of this City.
3. You shall not consent to elect into the Number of the one and thirty Chief Cittizens or Comon Councille of this same city, any person or persons other than such as at this time of his or their election shall be Resiant inhabitant and dwelling with his or their ffamily within the said City or Citties thereof and as shall then have been

Resiant and inhabitant continually within this City paying Scott and Lott with Watch and Ward by the space of three years at the least next before the time of his or their election.
4. You shall not consent to grant any of the lands tenements or hereditaments belonging to the Chamber or Corporation of this City for any longer term or termes than for one and twenty years or three lives nor for less Rent than at the time of such grant any Lease thereof or of any part thereof in Reversion upon any Term or Termes above three years at the time of such Lease then to come or surrender of the old Lease.
5. Item, That you, or any of you, shall not disclose or discover the secrette, speeches or communication touching any Election of the Comon Councill of this City at this Event or any Officer within the same now to be made or hereafter to be made other than to such as be of the said Comon Councill and number of the one and thirty Chiefe Cittizens, So help you God and by the holy Contents of this Booke.

The Oath of the ffreemen or Guild Merchant.

First, You shall sweare to be true to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majestie that now is and to his heirs and lawfull successors.
Secondly, That you shall defend and keep the Laws and Customs of this City of Hereford notified unto you by the Mayor and you shall from time to time preserve and maintain the Liberties of this City of Hereford to the utmost of your power.
Thirdly, That you shall not discover to any Man but to your ffelow Citizens the secrett things touching the estate of the said City, when they be by them made knowne and opened unto you.
Ffourthly, That you shall be obedient in all things to the Mayor of the said City and touching the Cities estate to the Mayor and Comons of the said City.
Lastly, You shall be ready at all times as occasion shall require to do and perform all such duties as shall be requisite and befitting a ffreeman of the said City.

Soe help you God.

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Population Movements in 19th Century Herefordshire

By JOAN E. GRUNDY

THE objectives of the present study are to gain a broad understanding of the main characteristics of 19th-century population movements in Herefordshire and to place them in the context of rural to urban migration and rural depopulation in 19th-century Britain. The study is also intended as a preparation for further analysis of migration in 19th-century Herefordshire and to establish a framework within which detailed local studies may be fitted.

DEFINITION OF THE STUDY AREA

In 1851, the six Registration Districts (RDs) of the Registration County of Herefordshire contained only 80% of the area of the ancient county, together with 86% of the population. The remainder of the ancient county was enumerated under RDs in Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Monmouthshire, Breconshire and Radnorshire. Not only were parts of the ancient county outside the Registration County, but parts of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire were within it.

This anomaly was not eased when, in 1871, a seventh Herefordshire RD was created which lay partly in Herefordshire and partly in Radnorshire. There were further changes in the area of RDs in the far north and west of the county later in the century.

As population movements (assessed by birthplace and residence) were the main focus of interest, it was necessary to choose an area which included as many residents of the county as possible, yet excluded the greatest number of non-Herefordshire residents.

Since the boundaries of Registration Sub-districts (SDs) remained virtually unchanged throughout the period of study (FIGS. 1 and 2, and TABLE 1), it was decided to include all SDs where, in 1851, more than half the population resided in the ancient county of Herefordshire. The term 'Lesser Herefordshire' will be used to distinguish the study area of 23 Sub-districts from the ancient and the Registration counties.

TABLE 1. *Registration Sub-districts which include land outside the ancient county of Herefordshire*

RD	SD		% within ancient county: area	1851 population
A	1	Ledbury	87.8	90.4
B	4	Ross	90.5	86.0
C	11	Kentchurch	71.8	76.7
E	16	Bishops Frome	93.1	95.1
E	17	Brockhampton	89.8	91.5
G	21	Brilley	75.7	85.3

Source: *Census of GB,* Printed Reports, 1851.

Lesser Herefordshire includes 90% of the area of the ancient county and contains 95% of the 1851 population. The index of population change in Lesser Herefordshire in the 19th century correlates very closely with that of the ancient county (TABLE 2), thus validating the principles upon which the study area was chosen.

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

TABLE 2 shows that the population of Herefordshire increased at a slower rate than that of England and Wales in the 19th century. Herefordshire's population, which peaked in 1871, actually declined in the last quarter of the 19th century and by 1901 there were fewer inhabitants than in 1851.

TABLE 2. *Index of population change, 1801-1901.* 1800 = 100

	population in 1801 ('000s)	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Eng. & Wales	8893	114	135	156	179	202	226	255	292	326	366
Herefordshire (ancient co.)	88	106	116	125	128	131	140	142	137	131	129*
Lesser Hfds. (23 SDs)	83	105	117	125	129	131	142	144	139	134	134*

* boundary changes

Sources: England & Wales: Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. (1962).
Herefordshire: *Census of Eng. & Wales,* Printed Reports, 1851-1901.

If the same figures are re-worked to give percentage change per decade (TABLE 3), it is easier to identify decades of unusual change and thus work towards identifying causal relationships. Herefordshire's population growth rate until 1831 was only about half that of the country as a whole; therefore, despite recovery in 1851-61, it dropped to a negative value by the end of the century. It is evident that the county's population characteristics differed from the national pattern.

TABLE 3. *Percentage population change per decade, 1801-1901.*

from:	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
to:	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
England & Wales	14.3	18.1	15.8	14.5	12.6	11.9	13.2	14.4	11.7	12.2
Lesser Hfds.	5.0	11.1	7.3	2.8	2.2	7.7	1.5	-3.1	-3.9	-1.2*

* boundary changes

Source: as TABLE 2.

Total population change within a district has two components:

i natural change—the balance between births and deaths, and
ii migrational change—the balance between those moving into the area and those leaving it.

Thus, in a closed population, total change would be equal to natural change.

Using the Registrar General's data, migrational change can be calculated for the period 1841-50 and for subsequent decades. (It is accepted that unrecorded births and deaths will influence the accuracy of the result, and that under-registration of births occurred from the start of civil registration until the mid 1860s.[1]) TABLE 4 shows that, although the rate of natural change in Herefordshire was lower than that of England and Wales, the county's low or negative growth rates were due to continuing and heavy migrational loss.

TABLE 4. *Natural and migrational change, 1841-1900.*

(% change per decade)

	England & Wales		Lesser Herefordshire	
	natural	migrational	natural	migrational
1841-50	10.8	-0.5	7.3	-5.2
1851-60	12.6	-1.7	9.1	-1.3
1861-70	13.5	-1.0	10.8	-9.3
1871-80	15.0	-0.7	10.3	-13.4
1881-90	14.0	-2.3	9.5	-13.5
1891-1900	12.3	-0.2	8.4	-9.6*

* boundary changes

Sources: England & Wales: natural - calculated from Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. (1962); migrational - Carrier, N. et al (1953) table 2.

Lesser Hfds: *Census of Eng. & Wales; Annual Reports* of Registrar General.

It has been suggested[2] that 8% per decade is the critical level of migrational loss which, if continued for more than two decades, has marked effects on rural society and economy. In Herefordshire, this critical level was maintained throughout the last four decades of the 19th century, and in the last three decades losses due to outmigration exceeded gains by natural change.

Reliable data on natural change are not available for the early 19th century. The Parish Register Abstracts (published with the Census Reports up to 1841) were considered, both at the time and by recent workers, to be inaccurate.[3] In Herefordshire, for example, 7.2% of parishes (which contained 5% of the population) were omitted from the 1801 parish returns.[4]

Migrational change in the ancient county, calculated from this admittedly defective material, is given in the last column of TABLE 5. Another way of approaching the problem

is to assume that natural change in Lesser Herefordshire between 1801 and 1840 lay within the range 7.3% to 10.8% displayed in TABLE 4; this gives a possible range for migrational change which, though imprecise, is not very different from the previous estimates. Together, these two sets of data suggest that there was relatively little outmigration prior to the 1830s but thereafter (TABLE 4) steady losses were reduced but not reversed in the 1850s and continued at a higher rate until the end of the century.

TABLE 5. *Estimates of migrational change, 1801-1840.*

(% change per decade)

	Lesser Herefordshire		Ancient County
	total	migrational*	migrational
1801-10	5.0	—2.3 to —4.8	—5.4
1811-20	11.1	+3.8 to —0.3	—2.3
1821-30	7.3	0.0 to —3.5	—3.3
1831-40	2.8	—4.5 to —8.0	—3.9

* when natural change is within 1841-1900 range.

Source: TABLES 3 and 4. Ancient county calculated from Rickman's data on natural change published in *Census of Eng. & Wales,* Printed Reports, 1831 and 1841.

Note 1: Rickman gives % natural change per decade as: 1801-10 11.9; 1811-20 12.0; 1821-30 11.0; 1831-40 6.3.

Note 2: Deane, P. and Cole, W. A. (1962), applying corrections to Rickman's data, give the following estimates for the period 1801-30 (per 1000 per annum): natural change 13.8; migrational change -7.1[5]

In Lesser Herefordshire therefore, we can tentatively identify four phases of population change.

a) population growth 1801-30;
b) increased outmigration 1831-50;
c) recovery 1851-60;
d) renewed and heavier outmigration 1861-1900.

These phases are now examined in greater detail, first looking at the county as a whole before focusing on the individual Sub-districts which together build up the broader pattern.

1. *Lesser Herefordshire.*

a) *1801-30.*

After the Napoleonic Wars a depression in agriculture, together with the effects of demobilisation on an already glutted labour market, combined to increase rural poverty and unemployment. The population of the 14 'agricultural' counties of England increased

by 50% between 1801 and 1831 but agriculture employment failed to rise at a comparable rate, nor did non-agricultural occupations develop sufficiently in the farming counties to absorb this increase. The essential migration outlets, which in the 18th century had siphoned off practically all the natural population increase of the agricultural counties, were by 1831 taking only 29%.[6]

Nationally, Poor Law expenditure peaked betwen 1815 and 1820 but was reduced thereafter by increasingly harsh administration, thereby fuelling discontent.[7] Although Herefordshire was only marginally affected by the 'Swing' riots of 1830-32, contemporaries considered that disturbances within the county were due to low wages and unemployment.[8]

Lesser Herefordshire experienced steady yet unspectacular population growth, though it is probable that around a quarter of the natural increase left the county during this period (see TABLE 5 and f.n.). It is therefore likely that Herefordshire in 1801-30 experienced, in common with other agricultural counties, increasing population pressure, poverty, and lack of employment, a combination which led to widespread discontent among rural workers.

b) *1831-50.*

Changes in the countryside took place within the context of a rapidly industrialising national economy. The Industrial Revolution, which initiated a broad spectrum of social, economic and technological change, had unequal temporal and regional impact. By the end of the 18th century, exports of farm produce from Herefordshire were being increasingly reoriented towards the growing markets of the industrial regions.[9] In agricultural regions, distance from growth points often had more influence than soil fertility or farming type,[10] particularly after steam transport became reliable.

However, the relatively late provision of rail links, and the lack of convenient urban markets placed Herefordshire at a temporary disadvantage relative to some other regions of Britain and overseas. For example, after 1828 Aberdeenshire farmers could export fat cattle by steamship to London, and by 1833 Irish-killed meat was being sold in Liverpool shops.[11] Additionally, corn prices remained low, at post-Napoleonic War levels. Thus arable and livestock sectors both faced a difficult marketing situation with a demoralised and disorganised labour force. In Herefordshire, these problems were combined with a depression due to tariff removal in the county's only important handicraft, glovemaking.[12] These conditions generated an accelerating outflow of population which, apart from a brief check in 1851-61, continued unabated until the end of the century.

c) *1851-1860.*

There was a short-lived recovery in 1851-60, the 'Railway Decade', due to belated linking with an improved national transport network and thus with a booming national economy. However, migrational gains were limited to those Sub-districts within which lay Hereford and its suburbs, and the market towns of Leominster and Ledbury. As will be seen in the next section, local factors were extremely important in determining the effects of railway construction on population change.

d) *1861-1900.*

Although the economy of Herefordshire did receive a boost in the Railway Decade, this was both localised and short-lived, being followed by renewed outmigration which for forty years exceeded the critical level of 8% per decade (TABLE 4). Lesser Herefordshire lost more than 53,000 people by net outmigration during this period.

By aiding integration into the national economy, the railway network reduced both isolation and self-sufficiency in rural areas, thus reducing rural employment opportunities. Industry became centralised in urban areas and factory-made articles flooded the market, displacing rural crafts (TABLE 6). The urban demand for food tended to be met by increased mechanisation (and later by imports) rather than by more intensive use of labour, exacerbating the decline of employment opportunities in the countryside.

TABLE 6. *Craft employment (per 1000) in Herefordshire 1851-1901.*

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Blacksmiths	7.35	7.00	6.57	6.17	5.96	5.45
Saddlers	0.87	0.82	0.80	0.75	0.74	0.77
Straw, thatch, basket	1.78	1.48	0.90	0.80	0.49	0.43
Woodworkers	5.28	4.59	4.44	3.77	3.27	2.97
Carpenters	11.80	12.60	11.18	10.20	8.49	9.09
Footwear	13.12	11.03	8.65	7.00	5.56	4.11

Source: Chartres, J. A. & Turnbull, G. L. (1981) table 23.2, based on censuses 1851-1901.[13]

The railway did, however, facilitate personal mobility by providing the increased population with the means of escape from the declining rural areas.

2. *The Sub-districts of Lesser Herefordshire.*

The situation in Lesser Herefordshire as a whole masks population movements at local level.

a) *1801-30.*

Again, estimation of migrational change before 1841 is imprecise, but FIG. 2 gives some indication of its probable pattern. Only those Sub-districts containing the market towns of Hereford, Leominster or Kington had growth rates higher than the estimated rates of natural change;[14] Hereford at 16.9% was considerably more. It could be claimed that all market towns and their hinterlands showed relative stability (Leintwardine being in the hinterland of Ludlow) while more remote districts failed to maintain their estimated natural increase, Madley being the worst with a total change of 2.1%. Thus even in a period of relatively low net outmigration it can be suggested that there was considerable population movement within the county. It should also be noted that natural increase was more than 14% per decade in several Sub-districts later in the 19th century. Had this been

the case earlier, migrational loss would have been heavier than suggested and only Hereford city would show migrational gain in these decades.

b) *1831-50.*

Turning to the first period of outmigration, the availability of vital statistics by registration Sub-districts for 1841-50 allows more accurate calculation of migrational change, therefore only this decade is represented in FIG. 3. Outmigration, though general, was uneven over the county with little discernible pattern. Migrational gains were minimal (see APPENDIX). Hereford city gained only 3.2% in the decade, while Leominster's gain of 0.7% (of a total gain of 5.9%) did not offset the previous decade's total change of -6.4%, which was attributed 'mainly to a depression in the glove trade.'[15] It may be, therefore, that the lack of pattern is partly due to the characteristics of, and events in, individual districts. These factors may be elucidate only by detailed local enquiries.

c) *1851-60.*

FIG. 4 illustrates general losses, sometimes heavy, but with recovery in most towns. In particular, Hereford and its suburbs of Tupsley (in Fownhope SD) and Holmer (in Burghill SD) gained by inmigration. Hereford's population growth (total 26.1%) in 1851-60 was attributed at the time to the boost in the city's economy which resulted from linkage with the national railway network.[16] Routes opened in this period were:

1853 Shrewsbury to Leominster and Hereford
1854 Newport to Hereford
1855 Gloucester to Ross and Hereford
1857 Leominster to Kington.

Under construction and opened in 1861 was the line from Worcester to Ledbury and Hereford.

FIG. 4 can be interpreted, therefore, as showing the towns with rail links attracting population from their immediate hinterlands. Bromyard, which had no railway, lost heavily. The large increase in Ledbury SD, however, was stated at the time to be temporary, being caused by the presence of labourers working on railway construction.[17]

Although outmigration from Lesser Herefordshire was checked during this decade, movements within the county from countryside to town became more pronounced. The market towns grew at the expense of the rural districts. In the early years of the century, only a quarter of the county's population lived in the towns, but by 1861 the proportion had climbed to 30% and remained above this level until the end of the century.

Analysis of data for the six market towns allows for further refinement and highlights the importance of local factors (TABLE 7). The coming of the railway boosted Hereford's population growth between 1851 and 1861, but by 1881 the city (which was identical with Hereford City SD) was already losing population by outmigration. Migrational loss cannot be calculated for the other towns from the present data, but it is doubtful whether either Leominster or Ross were able to retain their natural increase, suggesting that better links with Hereford benefited the county town rather than its satellites.

TABLE 7. *Herefordshire market towns: % total population change per decade, 1841-1901.*

	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
Hereford city	2.1	26.1	13.2	6.8	1.1	5.5*
Leominster (parish)	6.1	8.5	8.5	3.1	-6.1	2.7
Ross	6.5	8.2	5.6	4.3	2.3	0.2
Kington	-8.6	7.1	1.1	-5.1	-2.2	-7.6
Ledbury	0.7	21.1	-20.1	-4.4	2.4*	3.6
Bromyard	5.7	-3.2	-0.6	0.7	-4.8*	3.0*

* boundary changes

Source: *Census of Eng. & Wales,* 1851-1901, Printed Reports.

By 1861, therefore, in contrast with the earlier years of the century when each market town appeared to have its own hinterland,[18] the city of Hereford came increasingly to dominate the whole county.[19] This is probably due to the effects of the rail network, which made the city accessible from all corners of the county except the far north-west. Tangential routes by road were now relatively slow and impractical.

Bromyard, Ledbury and Kington form an interesting comparison. All three towns were remote from the main north-south route which linked Leominster, Hereford and Ross. Kington gained a rail link in 1857 which brought a brief resurgence compared to its pre-railway era losses, only to be followed by continuing decline. The railway navvies who had boosted Ledbury's population during the years of construction apparently left as suddenly as they had arrived, once the railway opened in 1861.

Bromyard, whose rail links were delayed, actually lost population during the Railway Decade and scarcely responded to the opening of the line to Worcester in 1877. Bromyard now had easier links with locations outside Herefordshire than with places inside the county, and population loss between 1881 and 1891 suggests that the railway offered a means of escape rather than an economic boost. It is likely that the eventual connection with Leominster in 1897 came too late to counterbalance Bromyard's closer links with Worcester.

d) *1861-1900.*

In the last four decades of the century, the experience of Lesser Herefordshire as a whole—accelerating outmigration—was common to every district within it. Between 1891 and 1901, major boundary changes took place. FIG. 5 consequently relates only to the three decades 1861-90. The highest decadal rate of migrational loss was 28.2% in Clodock in 1871-80, while the highest rate for the thirty year period was 20.9% per decade in St. Weonards. Clearly, the less fertile uplands suffered most severely, but even Hereford and Burghill experienced migrational loss after 1871.

CONCLUSION

The enquiry has elucidated two patterns of population movement:

i) a fairly local movement within the county, and
ii) a longer-distance net outflow.

The first type may have been a continuing tradition which by the mid-19th century had been largely disrupted by the increasing dominance of Hereford city in the economy of the county.

In the 19th century, the second type differed from any traditional antecedents both in direction (towards the new manufacturing districts) and in scale (outflows exceeding natural increase continuing for two, three or four decades). Precise answers to the questions 'why?' and 'where?' must be sought at local level, but the published Census Notes, in which registrars were asked to explain abnormal fluctuations in their districts, provide useful general pointers. (The influence of railway construction in temporarily boosting population has already been noted.)

Population decrease is noted in many rural parishes in 1861 and 1871 and is most frequently attributed to the migration of labourers (sometimes specifically farm labourers) and their families to districts of higher wages. These are rarely specified; some Notes refer to 'towns', others to 'manufacturing districts'. Only in Llangarron and Kington are the 'iron districts of S. Wales' named. In the north of the county around Leominster, absorption of smallholdings into larger farms is coupled with the migration of *young* people to towns.

Emigration, as opposed to migration, is mentioned only twice: in 1841 and 1871, suggesting that movement within England and Wales was of much greater importance than abroad. Certainly, as regards emigration of farm workers from the U.K., the period 1861-1871 was relatively slack, with heavier outflows in the following two decades.[20]

Removal was considered the best solution to rural poverty and unemployment, both by farm workers' leaders and others. The Oxford district of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union preferred emigration abroad to migration within Britain, since the latter was only a temporary solution.[21] Gentlemen sympathisers thought labourers' unions should promote migration and emigration while one, Canon Girdlestone, personally organised the removal of Devon labourers to Lancashire and Yorkshire.[22] Union funds promoted assisted passages and many union officers themselves emigrated, while others acted as emigration agents.[23]

The North Herefordshire and South Shropshire Agricultural Labourers' Improvement Society, founded in 1871, had the slogan 'Emigration, migration but not strikes.' Men earning nine or ten shillings a week in Herefordshire were sent to Yorkshire, Lancashire and Staffordshire where wages averaged sixteen or seventeen shillings. Others were assisted to emigrate to America.[24] The presence at nearly every union meeting of a representative of the British and Foreign Colonial Emigration Society generated a strong outflow to the Canadian provinces, especially Ontario.[25]

As late as the 1920s, the anonymous benefactor of the Godson Charity left funds to assist those wishing to emigrate from the parishes of Pudleston, Pencombe and Middleton on the Hill.[26]

In conclusion, the following factors have been identified as contributing to demographic change in 19th century Herefordshire. In common with other agricultural districts of England, the county had a surplus of rural population, many of whom were dissatisfied with their long term prospects. Industrialisation provided new opportunities in towns both within and outside the county, and the new rail network made them accessable.

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APPENDIX.

Percentage migrational change per decade in the registration Sub-districts of Lesser Herefordshire.

No	Sub-district	1841-50	1851-60	1861-1890
1	Ledbury	-6.2	8.9)	-14.0
* 2	Yarkhill	-12.9	-9.6)	
* 3	Sollershope)		-3.8	-14.9
* 4	Ross)	-5.9	-3.8	-9.3
* 5	St. Weonards)		-9.7	-20.9
* 6	Dewchurch	-12.0	-8.1	-13.9
* 7	Fownhope	-2.0	0.1	-11.4
* 8	Burghill	-4.2	1.6	-3.5
* 9	Hereford City	3.2	22.0	-0.8
10	Madley	-5.0	-8.0	-15.7
*11	Kentchurch	-2.9	-4.5	-14.7
12	Clodoch	-8.7	-3.5	-18.6
*13	Weobley	-2.8	-2.6	-15.2
*14	Dilwyn	-2.1	-9.7	-18.5
*15	Bromyard	-3.7	-12.4	-13.0
*16	Bishops Frome	-7.3	-6.7	-15.1
*17	Brockhampton	-10.4	-10.3	-16.8
*18	Leominster	0.7	2.3	-10.5
*19	Bodenham	-4.1	-10.4	-13.8
20	Kingsland	-6.7	-11.5	-14.1
21	Brilley	-11.9	-10.7	-16.9
22	Kington	-8.5	-1.0	-13.8
23	Leintwardine	-12.8	2.3	-17.1

* Boundary changes 1882-7 affected the population of 16 Sub-districts. In no case did the change exceed 2.7% of the 1881 population; only nos. 2, 3, 7 and 15 exceeded 1.6%.

Lesser Herefordshire - key to Registration districts and Sub-districts.

A Ledbury
1 Ledbury
2 Yarkhill

B Ross
3 Sollershope
4 Ross
5 St. Weonards

C Hereford
6 Dewchurch
7 Fownhope
8 Burghill
9 Hereford City
10 Madley
11 Kentchurch
12 Clodoch

D Weobley
13 Weobley
14 Dilwyn

E Bromyard
15 Bromyard
16 Bishop's Frome
17 Brockhampton

F Leominster
18 Leominster
19 Bodenham
20 Kingsland

G (Presteigne (Radnors) until 1871. (Kington (Hfds.) 1871 and later.
21 Brilley
22 Kington

H Ludlow (Shropshire)
23 Leintwardine

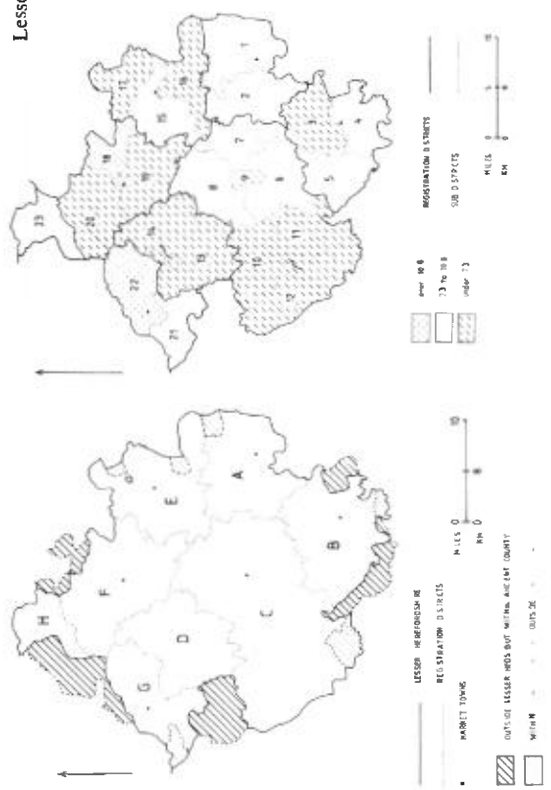

FIGURE 1.

FIGURE 2.

FIG. 1. Lesser Herefordshire, 1801 to 1891.
FIG. 2. Total population change, Lesser Herefordshire, by Sub-districts, 1801-30, % per decade. Lesser Herefordshire = 8.4%.

FIGURE 5.

FIGURE 4.

FIGURE 3.

Migrational change in Lesser Herefordshire, % per decade.

FIG. 3. 1841-50. Lesser Herefordshire -5.2%.
FIG. 4. 1851-60. Lesser Herefordshire -1.3%.
FIG. 5. 1861-90. Lesser Herefordshire -12.0%

Two Celtic Heads

By JEAN O'DONNELL

THESE two stone heads were ploughed up in a field planted with rape and turned over to the sub-soil. The site is near the river Frome with its tributary streams which are liable to flood. The nearby road is known as Watery Lane. Roman finds were located in this parish when the canal was constructed in the 19th century. A Roman road to Kenchester runs east west and crosses one going to Gloucester half a mile away at Stretton Grandison. There is an early Roman fort site and settlement one mile east at Canon Frome, where pottery, tiles and coins have been found.

The two figures were found on separate occasions in 1983 and 1984 when the field was ploughed. The first one is a female form in sandstone, in reasonable condition and evidently carved from a single block and meant to stand upright in the ground. In height it is 48 cms. and 16 cms. in depth. The second figure is of masculine appearance and corresponds in dimensions and material to the first as if they were designed as a pair. This stone is newly damaged on the right-hand side of the face and the body. The dimensions are the same as the female.

The carving is executed in a different manner. The first one found represents an oval female face, in relief, with chiselled oblong eyes, a long nose and well-defined lips. (PLS. XLVII-XLIX). The hair appears to lie in a fringe across the forehead and square cut above the ears which are not present. The shoulders are shaped and the figure tapers but is not finished off at the bottom. The sides and back are squared.

The male figure (PLS. L-LII) is carved with a strong head and neck and a markedly protruding long nose and cheeks whereas the female is merely in relief on a flat background. The male is more realistically, although crudely, carved. The brow is crowned by coarsely carved hair which is carried over the top of the head by straight incised lines. This figure also tapers and is squared to the sides and rear.

The location of these stones in such a riverside setting suggests that they may have been connected with a Celtic shrine or water cult. No other finds have been found in the same field.

Location: New House Farm, Stretton Grandison. OS625429.

My thanks go to Dr. M. G. Fulford, University of Reading, for his advice and comments.

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Further Addenda to Lepidoptera in Hereford City (1973-82)[1]

By B. E. MILES

1984	*Rheumaptera*	*undulata*	Scalloped shell
1985	*Paraswammerdamia*	*lutarea*	
	Gelechia	*rhombella*	
	Aethes	*beatricella*	
	Neosphaleroptera	*nubilana*	
	Aleimma	*loeflingiana*	
	Eudemis	*profundana*	
	Ancylis	*achatana*	
	Agriphila	*straminella*	
	Pyrausta	*aurata*	
	Cerastis	*leucographa*	White-marked
	Acronicta	*megacephala*	Poplar grey
	Amphipyra	*pyramidea*)	Copper underwing
		berbera)	previously amalgamated
	Cosmia	*affinis*	Lesser-spotted pinion
	Lymantria	*monacha*	Black arches
	Discestra	*trifolii*	Nutmeg
1986	*Tinea*	*semifulvella*	
	Ypsolopha	*scabrella*	
	Acleris	*cristana*	
	Apotomis	*capreana*	
	Epiblema	*trimaculana*	
	Eucosoma	*campoliliana*	
	Aglossa	*pinguinalis*	Large tabby
	Homoeosoma	*sinuella*	
	Platiptylia	*pallidactyla*	
	Scotopteryx	*luridata*	July belle
1987	*Nemapogon*	*cloacella*	
	Zeuzera	*pyrina*	Leopard
	Zygaena	*trifolii*	Five-spot Burnet
	Caloptilia	*elongella*	
		stigmatella	
		syringella	
	Ptycholoma	*lecheana*	
	Epinotia	*abbreviana*	
	Scoparia	*pyralella*	
	Eupithecia	*tantillaria*	Dwarf pug
	Anaplectoides	*prasina*	Green arches

This brings my Grand Total to 507. There are, of course, many more species here either unrecognised or Microlepidoptera (mainly) not attracted by mercury-vapour light. The Leopard Moth has been present most years in smaller numbers. I had not previously noticed the omission.

Dr. Michael Harper has, as usual, identified the difficult ones. Not included but 'probable' was *Cochylis atricapitana.*

Notable acquisitions have been the White Satin moth *Leucoma salicis,* only 3 (1973-82) but 211 (1983-6), perhaps the result of immigration. Its increase was not confined to Herefordshire. Then, the arrival of the Small Elephant Hawk-moth *Deiliphila porcellus* (1982-5) and the Small Skipper butterfly *Thymelicus sylvestris.*

Notable losses have occurred, however, presumably as a result of the unusually adverse weather, so that among others I appear to have lost three of my resident butterflies, the Common Blue *Polyommatus icarus* and the Smaller Copper *Lycaena phlaeas,* both scarce elsewhere, and my recent acquisition the Small Skipper *Thymelicus sylvestris,* all perhaps never to return though the relevant larval food plants still remain.

REFERENCE

[1] This included addenda for 1983 and 1984 (see vol. XLIV, Part II, pp. 165-80).

Reports of Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 1986

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

DURING 1986 the archaeology unit has been involved in a wider variety of projects than ever before. The M.S.C. team, set up to deal with excavations resulting from the creation of the Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance, has been busy on a variety of sites throughout the year. Unit staff have continued with post-excavation projects and reports on Burwarton Old Church in Shropshire and on Urishay Chapel near Peterchurch have now been completed. The latter will be published in the *Transactions*. Survey work has continued at Goodrich Castle and new projects of a similar nature have been undertaken at Brampton Bryan Castle and at the semi-ruined church at Llanrothal. Within the city the Unit has been responsible for surveying several timber-framed buildings. As a result of this work there have been additions to the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest including 26 High Town and 25 Commercial Street. The latter contains elements of a late 15th-century building—one of the oldest timber-framed buildings in the city.

The total number of Operations Notices served on the Unit under the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act now totals 77 and six excavations notices have been issued. The accompanying plan (FIG. 1) shows the full extent of the Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance. Besides the area within the medieval walls, several suburbs are included which ensures that Blackfriars, Greyfriars and St. Guthlac's monastic sites and their surroundings are given the same measure of protection as the rest of the city. Hereford is one of only five Areas of Archaeological Importance in the country—the others are the historic centres of Canterbury, Chester, Exeter and York.

THE CITY EXCAVATIONS

The Maylord Orchards Development

The excavation of an area on the southern side of Maylord Street, at the rear of Wilson's Chambers in Commercial Street, took place between June and August 1984. Early in 1985 the development took another step forward with the bulk excavation for the large underground car park which will straddle the line of Maylord Street. The commencement of construction work allowed the M.S.C. archaeology team to gain further insights into the life of the population of this part of the medieval city. As heavy machines excavated foundations an extensive area of medieval rubbish dumping was discovered.

Rubbish pits and post holes penetrating the sub-soil were identified in the foundation trenches as dark, U-shaped stains. These were rapidly cleaned, measured, drawn and photographed and then, where possible, excavated. The systematic collection of finds has enabled the contents of many of the pits to be accurately dated and their location on a

detailed plan allows archaeologists to build up a picture of the spread of human activity in the area. Several 18th-century cooking pots survived virtually complete, protected by rapid burial in ash pits. Other finds of the same date include bone dice and a bone comb. Samples from the pit fills have produced many small fish and bird bones together with seeds, eggshells and insect remains, all of which provide valuable evidence of environmental conditions and dietary habits in the medieval city.

Throughout the area examined there was no indication of any stone buildings before perhaps the 16th century, and no trace of the supposed Jewish settlement. However, the areas where archaeological levels have been completely destroyed by more recent features were substantial and it is possible that the documented stone buildings of the medieval Jewry were in these areas or to the east of the car-park excavation.

The Wye Street Site

Proposals for the redevelopment of Nash's sack warehouse and the adjoining car park on the southern bank of the Wye close to the Old Bridge allowed an opportunity to examine this important area. The car park, bounded on the north by the riverside path and on the south by Wye Street, was the most suitable area for excavation. On the opposite side of Wye Street is the site of St. Martin's parish church. Built shortly after the Conquest, this church was damaged during the Civil War in 1645 and demolished shortly afterwards.

Documentary sources refer to a 'bridge mill' immediately below the bridge. There was also a 'Blewhouse' belonging to a succession of dyers who were active during the 16th and 17th centuries. The River Wye Navigation Act of 1695 led to this site becoming more important and a Coal Wharf was probably built in the last years of the 17th century. In the 1850s the warehouses were shared between William Stead, a timber and slate merchant, and Richard Rudge, a coal merchant. By 1897 they were used by the Pomona Cider Company and eventually became Nash's sack warehouse.

During the excavation more than twenty flint flakes, of late Neolithic and Bronze Age date, have been found on the site. This is proportionally more than has been found elsewhere in the city.

A sharp break in slope running across the northern part of the site apparently represented the river-bank during the earlier periods of the city's history. It was overlain by a thick layer of silt containing sherds of 12th to 15th-century pottery. The few post holes of this period were not substantial enough to have held structural timbers, either for a building or for a waterfront.

The edge of a large stone and clay-lined pit was found near the centre of the excavation. It contained a quantity of domestic refuse dating to the late 17th or early 18th century. A similar pit further south contained a fine assemblage of glazed tankards and slipware platters of similar date. Leading from the central pit and sloping in the direction of the river were a series of curved gullies. The sides of these gullies were almost vertical, suggesting that they had been timber-lined drains perhaps removing waste liquids from the pits. It is possible that these features were associated with the dyer's blewhouse. A

courtyard area, close to Wye Street, was strewn with domestic refuse including a quantity of sandstone roof-tiles suggesting the presence of a nearby building.

A massively-constructed stone wall, partly robbed during the 17th century, protruded from the southern edge of the excavation. Its purpose and construction date are not known, but its position may indicate that the line or width of Wye Street has been changed.

In the late 17th century the gently sloping riverbank was made up to a level surface which was held in place by a riverside revetment wall through which flights of steps led down to the river. A cobble surface set in yellow clay, became the new 'Coal Wharf'. It was associated with a substantial early 18th-century house, fronting on to Wye Street. The front wall was outside the excavated area, close to or underneath Wye Street, and the west wall still survives as part of the Sack Warehouse. The building was partly cellared and had a cobbled yard at the rear in which was a stone-lined well.

The house was demolished to make way for a terrace of three cottages in the mid-19th century. They had gardens to the rear and a thick layer of soil sealed the remainder of the wharf surface. The cottages were demolished in the 1950s.

This excavation has been the first formal archaeological work within the city on the southern side of the Wye. Previous work had been restricted to trial excavations and a watching brief in the vicinity of Drybridge House, both of which suggested the presence of pre-Conquest occupation in the area. The Wye Street site has shown a lack of early features although several sherds of pre-Conquest pottery have been found. However, the excavation has demonstrated that the riverbank was originally much closer to Wye Street and if this street is a relatively recent foundation, then early buildings may have been set further back from the river-bank. Thus the enigmatic traces of the substantial stone building, apparently under the line of Wye Street, may be of considerable significance.

Navigation on the Wye was of great importance to the City as it allowed the importation of relatively cheap coal from the Forest of Dean. Although this site was not used as a wharf until the closing years of the 17th century, other sites on the opposite bank may well have been used at an earlier date. The presence of the bridge mill may have precluded such a use for this site during its period of operation.

The Bishop's Palace Gardens

A new watermain was needed for the Bishop's Palace which involved a trench some 12 m. long, 0.7 to 0.9 m. deep and about 0.6 m. wide. The work took place during September and October 1985. The trench entered the Palace grounds through the gateway fronting on to Palace Yard and ran alongside the courtyard adjacent to the stable block. It then entered the garden area via a sloping path and curved to the east to follow a terraced path to the Palace.

Between the Palace Yard and the gatehouse, the lowest level consisted of clean pink gravel which was assumed to be the 'natural' of the site although it could have been redeposited. Above this, and continuing south to the stable block, was a layer of charcoal and ash containing burnt bone, pottery and glass of 17th/18th-century date. To the south

the layer changed to a yellow mortar. The lack of early levels suggesting either a systematic lowering of the ground surface or a raising of the level using clean redeposited gravel. The rapid fall in Gwynne Street, just to the west, may indicate that the latter is most probable.

From the stable block the trench followed the break in slope which linked the courtyard to the garden terrace. The upper part had little modern disturbance and displayed the beginnings of a well-stratified sequence of deposits. Within this the lowest level consisted of densely-packed sandstone rubble with a definite edge corresponding to the break in slope. The rubble possibly represents 17th-century demolition debris from buildings on the southern side of the courtyard. To the south of the rubble was a layer of shattered window and bottle glass and many butchered animal bones.

On the garden terrace blocks of sandstone rubble, which sealed 15th to 17th-century pottery, originated from the postulated east-west range of buildings above the terrace. To the east of the rubble a large 17th-century stone-built drain would have drained water from the courtyard. A similar but smaller drain was found some 9 m. to the east. Close to the corner of the Palace the trench cut across a 16th-century rubbish pit, and further east several tufa blocks were encountered. Tufa was used as a building material until the 13th century.

It would seem likely that there were buildings on the southern side of the courtyard up to the 17th century, and that substantial remains survive under the ground. The tufa blocks could have come from the Palace—the riverside elevation has changed considerably in the past few centuries. The evidence from the trenches has indicated a substantial amount of 17th and 18th-century landscaping which may have sealed earlier occupation levels. The Bishop's Palace Gardens remain one of the more important and relatively untouched areas of archaeological interest within the city.

The 'Bus Station Site

Older people, who have lived in the city for the whole of their lives, may well remember the County Gaol which stood here and had its grim aspect and high walls fronting on to Commercial Street. But it is not because of the Gaol buildings—even though they were designed by John Nash, the famous Regency architect—that archaeologists are interested in this site. Long before the gaol was built in the 1790s the whole area was within the precincts of St. Guthlac's Priory.

St Guthlac's the largest monastic establishment in Hereford, was originally on Castle Green. It was rebuilt in the suburbs in 1144 after the wars between Stephen and Matilda. The new site had 'buildings with large and great stately chambers' and a 'large melancholy chapel which being built with many descents into it from the ground and then of great height in the roofs struck the enterers with a kind of religious awe.' It is these ancient buildings which archaeologists are anxious to find.

In the summer of 1986, two trenches were excavated in locations close to the building lines of the goal, but falling mainly within the courtyards. The north-eastern trench established the position of the original rear perimeter wall of the gaol built on top of

massive stone foundations. Below the adjoining gaol courtyard levels, fragments of stone and monastic tiles indicated a possible demolition layer. Unfortunately most of the archaeological levels in this trench had been destroyed when mains drainage was installed in the gaol. The south-western trench, close to the gaol kitchen block, contained a large 19th-century culvert which again had destroyed most of the archaeological levels below the courtyard.

It must be assumed that such remains as still exist of the substantial buildings of the monastery lie outside the areas examined. It is, of course, quite possible that both the trenches were within the cloistral area and that substantial foundations may be found in close proximity. It is very unlikely that little or nothing should survive—foundations for the church and other two-storey monastic buildings would need to be of great strength and built well into the natural gravel of the site.

The Bewell Street Site

Bewell Street is in the north-western sector of the city, outside the Saxon defensive line but within the medieval ramparts and walls. It runs parallel and close to Eign Gate Street, the main street leading into the city from the west gate (Eign Gate). The narrow shops between Eign Gate Street and Bewell Street have the appearance of market colonisation. It is therefore assumed that the properties on the northern side of Bewell Street originally fronted on to a wide road which led into the main market-place from the west. In the centre of this road would have been All Saints Church, directly outside the northern gate of the original Saxon defences (at the northern end of Broad Street).

Bewell Street in the 18th and 19th centuries was an area of mixed development. Leading off it, to the north, were several courts each containing small half-timbered houses. The street contained many shops and no less than five inns. Previous excavations in the area include the Bewell House site and the Tesco site, both to the north of the street but close to its western end.

The 1986 excavations took place between August and October 1986 and were in advance of a small mews development close to the eastern end of Bewell Street. The site was within a courtyard at the rear of Symonds and Co., of 5/7 Widemarsh Street. However the eventual covered precinct will be approached from Bewell Street, being to the rear of nos. 43A and 44.

Two trenches were excavated on the site, the positions being chosen to correspond with bases for the new development. The western trench was rather disappointing, being totally disturbed by post-medieval pits. However the eastern trench revealed a long and complex occupation history dating back to the 12th century.

The latest building phase consisted of wall foundations of a 17th or 18th-century east-west building. The foundations consisted of stone blocks set on top of stone and brick relieving arches. The building associated with these foundations was originally a malthouse but was later converted for use as a warehouse. A stone-lined cesspit, containing 17th-century pottery, was stratigraphically earlier than the building. Below the building a well-laid cobble surface, which may have been roofed, covered the eastern part

of the excavated area. Adjoining it were the stone foundations of the north and west walls of a building which probably had a flagged floor, although this had been removed for re-use at the time of demolition. The building and yard were probably constructed in the 16th century and continued in use for perhaps a hundred years.

Underneath were the foundations of two walls which enclosed a metalled surface. Built into the northern wall and apparently part of the building were the remains of an oven with an external flue and an internal stoke-hole. There was much charcoal on top of the metalled surface which may well include charred grain. Samples have been kept and will soon be processed. The levels within the building also produced a wide range of pottery, most of which can be dated to the 15th century. It is known that a bakery business was in operation in this area for many generations, and it is possible that the oven belonged to such an establishment.

The earliest levels found in the excavation consisted of a series of very large and deep pits which contained normal domestic refuse such as animal bones and pottery fragments, although other objects such as arrowheads, a spur and a bone comb were also found. The finds indicate that this area was extensively used as a rubbish dump during the 12th and 13th centuries. Unfortunately, the disturbance caused by these pits was so extensive that no traces of any earlier layers or features survived. As a result it was not possible to establish the earliest occupation in this area and the excavation must be considered as inconclusive as far as this problem is concerned. This is unfortunate as the earlier excavations at the western end of Bewell Street had demonstrated several occupation periods dated before the Norman Conquest.

The use of the site during the 15th to 19th centuries, as a series of courtyards and small buildings with a variety of industrial uses, agrees well with documentary sources and with the appearance of the area on the earlier maps of the city.

The Blueschool Street Site

The Development Brief for the Maylord Orchards area required that there should be no development requiring substantial foundations within 40 ft. of the remains of the city wall to ensure that remains of the pre-wall ramparts were preserved. However, facilities such as service roads and 'bus lay-bys '*not requiring deep foundation works*' were permitted. During September 1986 the Archaeological Unit discovered that much of this area had been cleared down to the natural gravel, as it had been determined that the 'protected' levels were not of sufficient load-bearing capacity for the proposed 'bus lay-by. The three-week emergency excavation of part of the remainder had to take place under extremely difficult circumstances, and meant that the results were only a small fraction of what could have been achieved had the work taken place before the development started.

Underneath the make-up levels was a brick surface, the footings of several associated walls, and a brick-lined well dating to the middle of the 19th century. The remains of a small building were also found associated with Victorian pottery, glass bottle fragments and clay pipes, all of early 19th-century date. Of similar date was a stone and brick-lined well, some 4 m. deep and a stone-lined drain. An early 18th-century stone-lined cess-pit,

possibly constructed from material derived from the city wall, contained several complete glass wine and medicine bottles.

The medieval city rampart consisted of redeposited pink gravel only evident in parts of the north section. The remainder of the rampart had presumably been removed during later construction works. Underneath the rampart was a mixed grey soil which overlay an undisturbed soil layer resting on the natural gravel of the site. The emergency excavation demonstrated the presence of the rampart within the area examined and established that the levels beneath were probably in occupation before the end of the 12th century although no details could be obtained. Within the area available most of the rampart had been removed, probably as a result of late 17th or early 18th-century development along the line of Bell Passage.

In presenting these reports I must acknowledge the contributions of D. A. Thomas, Supervisor of the M.S.C. Team who conducted several of the excavations.

THE CITY BUILDING SURVEYS

The Essex Arms, Widemarsh Street

This small 17th-century inn has been empty for many years and now presents a very dilapidated appearance to the street. At one time it was part of a thriving suburb just within the turnpike gate but almost all the surrounding buildings have been demolished and the inn now stands in isolation in the forecourt of a timber yard. The building is single-storied with attics, the main part being half-timbered with extensions of stone and brick. It has a tiled roof. An application has been approved to demolish the building and to re-erect the half-timbered part on a new site in Brewers Passage adjacent to the new Maylord Orchard development. The Archaeological Unit arranged for a full survey of the building which included plans and detailed elevations demonstrating the various alterations which have taken place throughout the building's life.

The Sack Warehouse, Wye Street

This building is an important landmark in the city. A full survey has been undertaken in an attempt to reconstruct a coherent sequence for the development and history of this building in relation to the nearby excavation. On Taylor's 1757 map of Hereford the warehouse is shown as part of a 'Coal Wharf'. The existing range of buildings is the western element of a U-shaped complex which previously enclosed a courtyard.

Internal evidence suggests that the orginal building on the site was a barn-like, timber-framed structure facing on to Wye Street. Of this only fragments now survive, its roof trusses and rear wall having been retained during an extensive rebuilding in the late 17th century. In this reconstruction, the front and west frames of the timber building were replaced by the present walls of irregular clamp-fired brick—forming almost certainly the earliest industrial brick structure in Hereford. At the same time the building was extended to the stone gable of the house which stood on the excavation site to the east. The roof line was raised on the Wye Street frontage and the flattened pitch resulting was roofed in Welsh slate instead of the earlier tiles.

The early 18th century saw the construction of the building at right angles to the river and parallel to the adjacent Saracen's Head Inn. It was originally of two stories and divided into two parts by a wattle-and-daub partition. Access to the upper-floor areas was by means of an external staircase on the riverside gable end, with goods being moved in and out via a dormered sack hoist placed centrally and facing the enclosed courtyard. After the reconstruction of the riverside gable in the late 18th century, the stair access was transferred into the courtyard and the still extant oval window pierced above the line of the former door. Some time before the mid-19th century, the whole complex was divided into two parts, with the now-vanished eastern range and house separated from the remaining buildings by a stone wall. The western range remained externally unaltered until the remaining part of the courtyard area was roofed in the 1920s, but its varied use as a timber and slate yard, cider works and sack factory led to internal restructuring, most notably the removal of half of the upper floor area to allow vehicle access. The warehouse remains, however, the most complete example of early industrial architecture in Hereford, and one of the few surviving relics of the city's involvement with commercial traffic on the river Wye.

The Timber-Framed Elements of 26 & 27 High Town

The timber-framed portions of 26 and 27 High Town lie on the southern side of the market-place originally founded by William FitzOsbern directly after the Norman Conquest. Before 1066 this area was outside the northern defences of the city. The ditch associated with these defences ran parallel to High Town and West Street and was about midway between the two. When the market-place was created, the defences were abandoned and enough land was left between the ditch and the new market to accommodate a row of shops or houses. There must therefore have been several buildings on this site before any of the present ones were erected. Fragments of medieval origin have been found in the cellar of 27 and may reflect these early buildings.

The history of the upstanding buildings on the site starts about the middle of the 16th century when a three-storey, timber-framed building was erected on the High Town frontage of no. 27. Although it occupied the whole frontage of the plot it was only some 4.9 m. deep. A passage led through the ground floor of the building on the eastern side to a rear courtyard. Within this courtyard, and extending over the filled Saxon ditch, a two-storey, timber-framed cottage was built with a stone chimney to the north. This cottage, about 11 m. long by 5.5 m. wide and probably built about the same time as the front house, was demoished in 1937.

During the second half of the 16th century the adjoining property, no. 26, was also redeveloped. The new building was three storeys high and three bays deep. The rear extension (now demolished) was contemporary with the main block and contained the stairs and the kitchen/service wing.

At some time during the first half of the 17th century further building work took place in no. 27. Rather than demolish and re-build, it was decided to put an extra storey on the cottage and infill the gap between it and the house with a new three-storey building. As the passage on the east was still needed, the second storey of the cottage and both

upper stories of the infill development were jettied to the east. By the middle of the 17th century all the timber-framed buildings, which occupy the site at present, had been built. The history of the site during the next 300 years is concerned with alterations, improvements and partial demolitions.

27 High Town. In the late 18th or early 19th century the front building was almost totally rebuilt, only the rear timber-frame surviving of the 16th-century house. During the rebuilding the roof level was raised to include an extra storey. The new side walls, built of a mixture of timber and brick, included a brick chimney-stack on the east. The north wall, apart from the 20th-century shop front, has changed little since it was built. The ceiling of the first-floor room, with its decorated cornices, is a part of this reconstruction as are the windows and frames. During this reconstruction various important fittings were retained. Foremost amongst them is 16th and 17th-century panelling which was re-used although sometimes laid sideways and even upside down.

Little survives throughout the ground floor of the whole building, but above this level much of the timber work of the 17th-century infill development has been retained. The west wall and parts of three trusses survive. The eastern, jettied wall suffered alteration when the passage was incorporated into the building. The early 17th-century wall paintings exposed on the first floor are rare in Hereford.

26 High Town. The main timber structure of no. 26 is the oldest known reasonably complete building in High Town and an excellent example of a rich merchant's house of the 16th century. 17th-century improvements increased the richness of the building without losing the original features. The upper floors are a period piece as are most of the fixtures and fittings. The door-frames, doors, and even the door-furniture are all of importance. The partitioning is of significance in the development of the building; the panelling on the second floor is re-used; the ceilings and floors are integral and important features. Insertion of attic bedrooms in the 18th century is typical of this type of establishment. The first floor and all the levels above have been abandoned since the beginning of the present century.

As with almost all the half-timbered buildings in High Town, no. 26 was 'modernised' by inserting a brick face. Unlike no. 27, this face has had several alterations. The ground floor now has a modern shop front and the first floor is completely blocked off. The second floor is unaltered, but much of the third floor and the parapet have been rebuilt. Although the ground floor of this building has been almost completely lost, the main parts of the 16th and 17th-century building are still in a reasonable state of preservation.

25-27 St. Owen St.

The group of buildings at 25-27 St. Owen Street reflects, in its present form, the complex series of changes, extensions and alterations that it has undergone during its 200-year history. Enough evidence remains to reconstruct something of this chequered career and to postulate a developmental sequence for the group.

The main structure is a town house built in the mid-18th century. The building was largely symmetrical, with the main house being flanked by two wings, each set back from the street behind a small courtyard. These courtyards were enclosed by brick walls joined to the main house on the street frontage. Only the western courtyard now survives.

The main house originally presented much the same appearance to the street as it does today, with the imposing front door offset to the western side. Above the line of the portico, the rendered coping of the courtyard walls is continued as a string-course across the facade. Above this, a second, narrower string-course runs around the front of the building at the height of the first-floor window-sills. The sashes would have originally been glazed with small square panes, but are now filled with single sheets. The second-floor windows are smaller, but with the same detailing, and close above them a dentilled eaves course runs around the main structure beneath a high, steeply-pitched roof. This slopes up to a central flat rectangle from all four sides.

The surviving western wing is a two-storey rectangular building originally comprising only two rooms, one on each floor. The kitchen occupied the ground floor, as is evidenced by the surviving large hearth and the bread oven incorporated in the chimney side. This building was originally mirrored in the now extended eastern wing. Vestiges of the lost frontage of this wing were found during the current alterations, in particular one of the first-floor windows. To the east of the eastern wall of this wing a passage connected the courtyard with the rear of the property. At this stage, the house extended back only as far as the current rear wall of the western ground-floor front room. This gave a tall, shallow property, and the first reconstruction took place fairly soon after the initial building, at some time in the late 18th century.

The rebuilding extended both wings by approximately 2.9 m. and the central house by approximately 5 m. rearwards. At the same time, the extended main room of the house and ground-floor room of the eastern wing were refurbished to a high standard, with detailed plaster friezes and quality moulded woodwork. The western wing gained a scullery, whilst retaining direct passage access from the kitchen to the rear of the property. The rear facade then assumed approximately its current appearance. The cellars were also extended rearwards under the main house and linked to those under the adjoining property to the east by a tunnel.

The next substantive change was the extension of the eastern wing over the courtyard area some time in the mid-19th century. This took place in two stages; the ground floor being extended first, and for an indeterminate period a single-storey building with a flat roof occupied the eastern third of the frontage. The sandstone plinth of the former courtyard wall was re-set beneath the new front wall. This new room extended over the whole width of the courtyard, blocking the course of the boundary passage into which it opened via a doorway at the rear.

In the late 19th century the first floor was constructed and the street frontage assumed its present aspect. This second extension was a consequence of the division of the property into two dwellings, for access to the new first-floor room appears to have been possible only from the rear eastern corner—from the range of property now fronting the

mews development to the east. This latter seems to be a fairly typical late Victorian four-room house, and originally fronted a small court behind the larger properties on St. Owen Street.

The roof and attic spaces of the property provide much evidence of the complex constructural changes outlined above. The current roof is built on top of the original ridge beams in the main and western attics and in the central attic of the eastern side. The remaining roof structures are the product of the various phases of expansion detailed above.

The property thus reflects the development and adaptation of the 18th-century gentry house in the town environment. It contains excellent examples of joinery and interior design which combine to make several of the rooms classics of their type. For these reasons it is of considerable interest to the architectural historian; and in the complex organic growth of its use and re-use, to the city of Hereford as a whole.

In presenting these papers I must acknowledge the contributions of R. Hook, Excavation Planner of the M.S.C. Team, who conducted several of the surveys.

SITES IN THE COUNTY

Castlefield Roman Fort, Garway

A previously unrecorded Roman fort in Garway parish has been examined by members of the Monmouth Archaeological Society. The limited excavation in 1986 comprised a section through the large external ditch, the much eroded rampart and part of the interior. In the latter area sleeper-beam trenches and post holes provided evidence for two early phases of occupation. Finds included a quantity of pottery and coins of Gaius Vibius, Vespasian and Nero.

The discovery of this fort fills an important gap in the Welsh border area and it is hoped an additional season of excavation will help to provide the answers to some of the problems involved in the Roman military advance into Wales towards the end of the first century. The recent discovery of another first-century fort near Churchstoke in Shropshire will doubtless also provide additional information.

Brampton Bryan Castle

A long-term programme of consolidation works at Brampton Bryan Castle ruins entered a new phase in 1986 and the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was asked to carry out a limited amount of survey work as part of the S.M.C. procedure. A photographic survey of the affected areas was printed at a scale of 1:20. A series of measured elevations, plans and cross-sections were then produced. These photographs and drawings could then be used to record the proposed work and the actual consolidation work as it was completed, thus forming a permanent archive.

The remains of Brampton Bryan Castle are in the grounds of the present mansion. They comprise the 14th and 16th-century gatehouse and a fragment of the south wall of the hall, the latter including an added 16th-century staircase bay. The remainder of the castle was destroyed during the Civil War in 1644.

It is apparent that there are several phases in the construction of the gatehouse, and in particular in the parts which were surveyed. However, the restricted nature of the survey was such that little can be added to the comments already published, apart from noting the use of brick for repair work in the arch in the ground floor of the western tower and in the chimney-stack.

Goodrich Castle

The City of Hereford Archaeology Unit has continued during 1986 with survey work at this important Welsh border castle. Full stone-by-stone elevation drawings have now been completed for all the walls in the entrance tower (including the chapel), the south-west tower and the south-east tower. These drawings complement the photogrammetric survey of the main walls which was organised some years ago. The Unit is now engaged in preparing a series of levelled plans of the whole complex at each separate level. Using the plans and elevations it will be possible to map all the main and subsidiary constructional periods and eventually present a complete picture of the development of the castle.

Llanrothal Church

The church of St. John the Baptist at Llanrothal is in a remote situation on the southern border of Herefordshire, some four miles north-west of Monmouth. It was recently vested in the Redundant Churches Fund. The whole building was de-roofed and the chancel arch demolished in 1948 leaving the remains totally neglected and in a ruinous state. In 1957-8 the chancel arch was rebuilt and the chancel restored, the north chapel being converted to become a porch. The Redundant Churches Fund now propose to restore the nave.

Early in 1986 the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee organised a survey of the north wall of the nave as part of this restoration project. Later in the year the archaeological unit was again called to the site to examine and remove several overgrown mounds adjoining the building.

The mound to the west of the porch was about one metre high, obscuring the remains of the west wall of the porch. It contained rubble, plaster, pieces of glass and drainpipe and several large fragments of roof-tile of the type used on the chancel. It was doubtless deposited during the 1955 restoration. The mound to the east of the porch, which concealed the eastern porch wall and the remains of a table-tomb, contained fragments of old roofing stone and only a little plaster. The mound was probably deposited during the 1948 demolition works. The opportunity was taken to fully expose, clean and photograph the remains of the porch which, it is hoped, may be consolidated.

A fragment of 13th-century gravestone was found on top of a second mound dating to 1955 to the west of the church. This, and a second fragment found during the clearance works, had probably been used in the now demolished bellcote. A fragment of a cross-head was found during the clearance to the east of the porch. This is of a very simple form

and is unlikely to have been from a gravestone. It is more probable that it was a part of the original churchyard cross.

Two large pieces of tufa, found to the north of the church by the contractors, are both from the chancel arch. One stone, slightly curved and over 0.46 m. long, has a simple cross-section which agrees with the photographic evidence. A series of dressed stones found in the nave are from the two side arches which are apparent on the west face of the chancel arch in the pre-1948 photographs.

It is apparent that there has been a general increase in the ground level around most of the nave due to the demolition and reconstruction works. This build-up may include much of the missing stonework from the chancel arch but, as examples have now been found, there would seem to be little purpose in further clearance work at present.

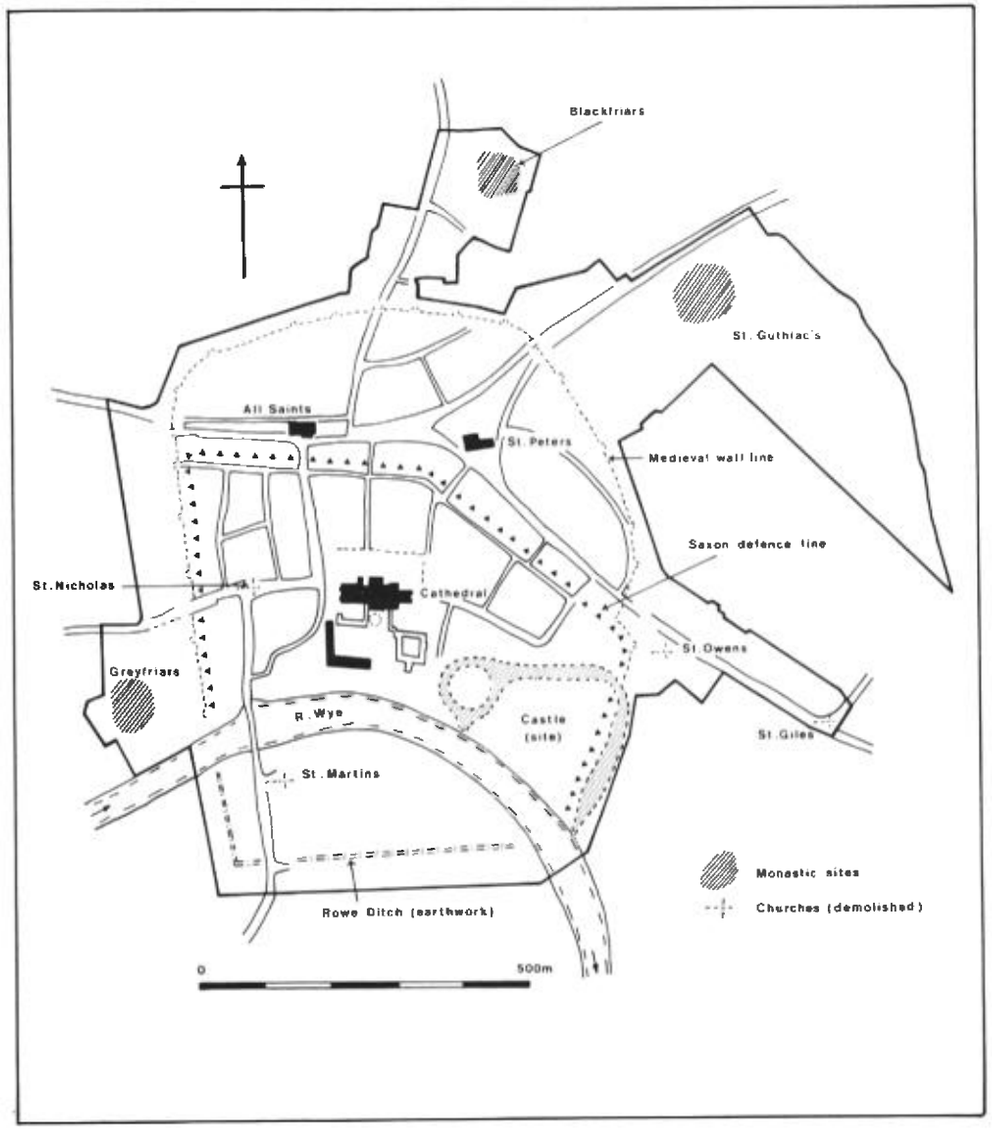


FIG. 1
The Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance

Botany, 1986

By P. THOMSON

using Herefordshire Botanical Society Records

THIS report is submitted by the Herefordshire Botanical Society which is affiliated to the Woolhope Club. The Society was formed in 1951 for the purpose of recording plants in the county. During the 1950s it collected records on a 10 km. square basis as its contribution to the production of the Atlas of the British Flora (F. H. Perring & S. M. Walters, B.S.B.I./Nelson 1962) published by the Botanical Society of the British Isles. This was the first national plant atlas of its kind. After its publication attention was turned to checking county records for Mrs. L. E. Whitehead's *Plants of Herefordshire* which came out in 1976.

Since then, following the lead of many other counties, the mapping of species on a much finer grid has been undertaken and the Society is now recording plants in tetrads (2 km. x 2 km. squares) of which there are about five hundred in the county.

Mapping schemes of this kind have three important functions:

1) To provide a data base from which changes of flora may be monitored.

2) To provide a distribution pattern of plants on a fairly fine scale. This is specially interesting for plants which are nationally rare, such as large-leaved lime, *Tilia platyphyllos,* or meadow saffron, *Colchicum autumnale;* or those near the edge of their range in the county, such as dwarf thistle, *Cirsium acaule,* wood spurge, *Euphorbia amygdaloides* or the fern, green spleenwort, *Asplenium viride.*

3) To provide data on the status of plants which may be of use to conservation bodies.

In 1987 and 1988 we shall be engaged in a resurvey of one in nine of the 10 km. squares as part of the B.S.B.I. scheme for monitoring change since the 1950s. In addition we will be recording habitats in a few small areas as part of a national sample study.

It would be helpful if members of the Club could let us know of any plants they may find which interest them and particularly of any habitats they know of which appear to be relatively undisturbed. Almost any marshland or wetland site is likely to be valuable and places where orchids grow frequently also support other plants worthy of note. Road verges are rapidly becoming the sole relics of the vanished meadow flora, so details of any floriferous stretches of these would be most welcome. The local authority is normally very co-operative about the management for conservation of these areas.

This year we have had no records submitted by Woolhope Club members but during the work of recording by members of the Botanical Society a number of interesting plants have turned up of which the following are the most notable:

Mousetail, *Myosurus minimus.* This is a small annual herb belonging to the buttercup family. It is a very local plant and virtually confined to S.E. England. It was indeed a red-letter day to see a carpet of it extending into an arable field for at least 100 yards from a nice bare-mud gateway. Purchas and Ley note three localities (1889) but more recently it had not been seen for many years and was thought to be extinct in the county.

Sharp-leaved fluellen, *Kickxia elatine.* An annual plant of the cornfields and now very much rarer than it used to be. We have had two records from opposite sides of the county.

Stag's-horn clubmoss, *Lycopodium clavatum.* A very rare plant with us as it has a more northerly and westerly distribution, but it hangs on by a thread on the E. face of the Black Mountains.

Lime, *Tilia sp.* This year, most unusually, lime seeds were germinating quite freely in various localities and we would be particularly interested to know if any of the seedlings manage to survive.

Full records of all plants found in the county are held by the Botanical Society as part of the county Biological Records and a much fuller account of the year's work will be found in the Recorder's report to the Society.

Buildings, 1986

By J. W. TONKIN

THIS year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked again in the Radlow Hundred. As in the past we are again indebted to the University of Birmingham for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based at Kington.

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.

HEREFORD

27 High Town. SO 510460 (R.C.H.M. 26)

The front part of the cellar of this building was once vaulted and the corbels for this still remain as does a niche in which a light could be placed. The stairway above this leading up to the 18th-century first and second floors has turned balusters in the lower part.

The panelling is quite interesting, the earliest being eight panels of reused linenfold which dates from the early 16th century in a back room on the second floor where there is also an early battened door. In the front part of the second floor is some 17th-century panelling with a typical Renaissance frieze and this same type of panelling occurs in the attics. The other panelling is 18th century.

The roof of this part seems to have been rebuilt *c.* 1900 with two side-purlins.

25 Commerical Street. SO 512401

A passageway leads through to three gables facing south-west. Inside there are moulded beams of *c.* 1500 and some ovolo-moulded beams of about a century later which also appears to be the date of a window inside the present building with an ogee moulding in conjunction with an ovolo.

22 Barton Road. SO 505397

This house is on Taylor's Map of 1757 when this area appears to have been part of the lands of Barton Farm and there is some evidence of early-18th-century work in the two western rooms where there are carpenters' assembly marks about 2½ ins. long. The fact that the cellar is under the eastern part probably means that there was part of the earlier house on that side, but the whole seems to have been rebuilt early in the 19th century, probably between 1820 and 1840.

EARDISLEY

Bank House. SO 312494

A quite surprising find in that this apparently brick house, pebble-dashed in the early 1970s is basically a late medieval timber-framed house with one tier of good cinquefoiled

wind-braces through the two bays of the roof which are accessible one in each half-bay. These are not smoke blackened and give the feeling that these two bays were perhaps a great chamber and parlour at first-floor level and that there was never an open hearth. The only fireplace is in the third, northern, bay with a four-centred wooden lintel about two feet deep. It seems that this house is probably an example of the change from medieval to Renaissance building and a date *c.* 1500 would be appropriate.

HOLME LACY

Holme Lacy. SO 555349 (R.C.H.M. 2)

In this great house of the 1670s with its added balustrades and porch of the 1828-31 alterations it was interesting to find that the local tradition of a through, trenched-purlin roof was used rather than an eastern England or Home Counties type.

KINGTON

5 Bridge Street. SO 298566 (R.C.H.M. 31)

The main block of this house runs parallel to the street at right angles to the plots in High Street which are in normal town fashion end-on to the street. The timber is very heavy with 10½ inch stud and tie-beams 1 ft. 6 ins. deep at the centre. There is no ridge-purlin in the original part of the house and the added entry has the typical 17th-century Wern Hir stops.

17 Bridge Street. SO 299565 (R.C.H.M. 33)

The stairwell of this house is added. The fireplace across the corner in the back room is probably an insertion of *c.* 1700, and the top of the post in the room above is moulded. The wattle has an unusually pronounced taper.

LEDBURY

Upper Hall. SO 713378 (R.C.H.M. 5)

Additions were made to this building *c.* 1730 and again in 1766, but there is still some evidence of the medieval house of one of the portioners of Ledbury. Built into the wall of the earlier of these blocks is an ogee-headed window probably of 15th-century date. The 1766 additions include a fine Venetian window with some good contemporary decoration inside and also a keystone in the cellar bearing the initials I S, John Skyppe. There were further additions in the 19th century and bay windows as late as 1926.

LEOMINSTER

The Lion, Broad Street. SO 496592

Behind the street facade and the shop is a courtyard along the southern side of which runs a store with an assembly room above. The whole appears to be Regency in date and the room was presumably used by one of the two great political parties and as the Royal Oak in High Street sounds as though it was probably Tory, The Lion was presumably

Whig. The room has been used as a workshop and more recently as a store, but still retains many traces of its former glory, especially the ceiling and the fine carpentry of the windows. The fine doors, now at the Royal Oak came from here.

26 Church Street. SO 498592

From the street this looks like another typical house of this street of fine houses. The plat band, the tall, narrow windows, the corner chimney and the twin-gabled roof with a gully between are all usual features of the late 17th century, but the long carpenters' assembly marks on the ground floor of the service-wing must be *c.* 1600 or even a little earlier.

The fine glazing-bars of the windows of the main block appear to be early 19th century and beams and fireplaces also could well date from this period.

The queen-post roof has the rafters pegged to the ridge and short, punched carpenters' assembly marks of the late 17th century or a little later. Thus this house in its plan and construction seems to date from *c.* 1700 or a little earlier, but was extensively restored rather over a century later and incorporates in an extension what was probably a service block dating from *c.* 1600.

LETTON

Hurstley Farm. SO 349490 (R.C.H.M. 14)

The carpenters' assembly marks seem to confirm an early 17th-century date, but there seem to have been alterations in the wing later in the same century for the marks on the ground-floor timbers are short and the stops on the beams plain, perhaps indicating some Puritan influence.

Little Hurstley. SO 349488 (R.C.H.M. 12)

The carpenters' assembly marks are about 1½ ins. long and these with the plain chamfers and stops on the beams look as though they date from the mid-17th century, quite probably in the Commonwealth period. The southern stone end appears to have been added or much altered late in the same century.

LITTLE BIRCH

New Mills Farm. SO 525301 (R.C.H.M. 2)

The beams have 3 inch chamfers with ogee stops probably dating from early in the 17th century. In a wing is a granary with upper crucks and short, deep carpenters' assembly marks, probably added at the end of the same century.

The barn is probably contemporary with the house.

MORDIFORD

Old Sufton. SO 575384 (R.C.H.M. 3)

Now acting as a wall-plate in the second bay on the east side is a cambered tie-beam probably from a 15th-century house. The other interesting find were murals in a red on

blue overall pattern on the first floor at the western end of the north wall of the cross-wing. They are probably later 16th-century in date and may well mean that this was the master's great chamber.

WALFORD, LETTON & NEWTON

1 and 2 Thatched Cottage, Birtley. SO 363696

Now two cottages this house seems to have been built as one and is on what is virtually a no-man's land at the junction of three civil parishes, Brampton Bryan, Lingen and Walford, Letton and Newton. The beams have a quite narrow chamfer and run-off stops. The three doors leading to stairs, pantry and inner room are a late variation of the post and panel type found along the Marches. The various features point to a date *c.* 1700.

EASTHAM, WORCESTERSHIRE

Puddleford Farm. SO 684680

This farmhouse probably dates from *c.* 1600 and has close-set vertical framing on the ground-floor of the main block with mainly square framing above. The porch has a jettied first floor and the main door opens on to a big stack with diagonally-set chimneys. The house was extended towards the west late in the 17th century with a criss-cross gable and later still towards the north where there is a pair of square hop-kilns.

POWICK, WORCESTERSHIRE

Kings End House. SO825518

Apparently a house of the earlier 19th century this turned out to be a square, double-pile main block on a four-room plan of early 18th-century date with one part which seems a little earlier. The whole was remodelled in the mid-19th century, perhaps *c.* 1840 or a few years later. The roof of the earliest part is of the late, straight, upper-base-cruck construction with through, trenched side-purlins and a ridge-purlin. The original kitchens were in the cellars.

KNIGHTON, POWYS

The Old Barn Chapel SO 289723

This building probably dates from the first half of the 18th century. The front, north-facing wall is of coursed rubble up to first-floor level and timber-framed plastered above that with a big central feature with a pedimented top in which is a lunette window. In the stone wall are four windows, more or less symmetrically placed. The back and west end are both weather-boarded and the east gable has double, barn-type doors with weather-boarding above.

The present Baptist Church was built in 1865 and this is no doubt the date when this building became a barn.

NEWCHURCH, POWYS

DOLBEDWIN. SO 209491

A fine stone house with a low hall, lateral fireplace and cross-passage with farm buildings forming a wing. The stairway goes up by the parlour, gable fireplace and there is a good post and panel screen, both typical Marcher features. One interesting detail is the sunk chamfered window mullions. The beams have ogee stops.

During the year 38 planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations, improvements and additions. Notifications are normally received from the local district councils and in all cases from the Council for British Archaeology.

One query was raised by the Club and this was on the proposal to demolish the early brick wall of the garden of Dutton House, Leominster. It is an interesting and good piece of brickwork and it was hoped that one of the Leominster District's plans to preserve it could be used.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people especially those members of the Club and others who have drawn my attention to buildings and those owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander round them.

Geology, 1986

By P. CROSS

CURRENT RESEARCH ON THE SILURIAN ROCKS OF THE LUDLOW ANTICLINE

THE denuded dome in Silurian rocks known as the Ludlow Anticline stretches from Ludlow to the Wigmore area and its rocks have been extensively studied since the time of Murchison.

A few years ago at the eastern end of the Anticline cores were taken on Whitcliffe near Ludlow for preliminary engineering tests on the sub-surface of a proposed Ludlow by-pass. This route over Whitcliffe was opposed by environmentalists who succeeded in having the road re-routed to its present course east of the town.

The cores from Whitcliffe have been in store awaiting detailed examination by a geologist. This is now currently being undertaken at Ludlow Museum by Mr. M. G. Snape who has kindly given me the following information:-

'Core retrieval from the sub-surface is of value to the geologist because (1) Core rock is fresh (unweathered) having been taken from the bed rock below the surface. (2) The core is 7 cms. in diameter, can be cut into manageable pieces and is therefore very easy to handle. (3) A core gives more or less a complete vertical sequence through the stratigraphy in relatively untectonised regions. Complete stratigraphic successions rarely outcrop naturally and even exposure from man's intervention, from road cuttings, quarrying, etc. is prone to being buried by soil formation and vegetation.

The study intends to investigate the palaeoenvironments represented by the core sequence. Environmental interpretation will be done by detailed examination of the nature of sediment and macro and micro faunas therein. Precise dating of the sediment will be possible from the palaeontological work to be undertaken. The study is in its preliminary stages but the core has already revealed some very interesting features which augurs well for the future.'

PLEISTOCENE GEOLOGY

The discovery of the remains of an ice-age mammoth and two baby mammoths in the A.R.C. gravel quarry at Norton Farm near Condover in September 1986 has caused great interest and was extensively reported in the press and on radio and television. The find though in the adjoining county of Shropshire has implications for the study of deposits of a comparable age (Late Glacial) in Herefordshire.

The skeleton is thought to be the youngest and most complete ever found in Britain. Associated faunal remains from the matrix indicate the cold harsh environment in which the mammoths lived.

It is hoped the remains recovered will be sufficient to enable the skeleton to be rearticulated on a frame and to be put on display somewhere in the borderlands.

Dr. G. R. Coope of the Department of Geological Sciences, University of Birmingham has been appointed to supervise the scientific work and details of this are expected to be published in due course.

Industrial Archaeology, 1986

By C. H. I. HOMES

HOP TOKENS or CHEQUES or TALLYS

THE earliest method of measuring the amount of hops picked was using a tally or notched stick.

Brass tokens came in about 1800.

The smallest token was handed out for each bushel of hops picked.

The numbered tokens represented shillings. The number of bushels to be picked for a shilling was agreed with the farmer. At the end of the day the bushel tokens were exchanged for shilling tokens. At the settlement day the shilling tokens were exchanged for money.

Each hop farmer had his own tokens stamped with his name and farm.

At the end of the 1914-8 War when people were more educated written records started to be used with each picker having a card on which the number of bushels he picked in the morning and the afternoon were recorded and the owner had a master record.

The use of brass tokens had ceased by the beginning of the Second World War.

Zinc tokens were sometimes used for the bushel token but because of the risk of forgery brass was used for the shilling tokens.

A bushel of hops was a measure using a wicker basket.

The hops were hand picked into a "crib", a container made of hessian stretched on a frame. In Kent these where known as "bins".

The bushel was filled from the crib so that leaves and rubbish were revealed and the measurement was seen to be fair.

Mammals, 1986

By W. D. H. WINCE

MS. Sue Holland and members of the Hereford Bat Group have identified the following species in the county during the past year.

Greater Horseshoe Bat	(*Rhinolophus ferrum equinum*)
Lesser Horseshoe Bat	(*Rhinolophus hipposideros*)
Whiskered Bat	(*Myotis mystacinus*)
Natterer's Bat	(*Myotis nattereri*)
Daubentons Bat	(*Myotis daubentoni*)
Noctule	(*Nyctalus noctula*)
Pipistrelle	(*Pipistrellus pipistrellus*)
Brown Long-Eared Bat	(*Plecotus auristis*)

The impression is that there were far fewer bats about than in 1985, the most likely cause was the cold wet spring with far fewer insects. Particular concern is felt for the Greater Horseshoe Bat whose numbers were already at a low level.

The use of nest boxes by Dormice is being studied both locally and nationally. Special boxes suitable for small mammals have been positioned in one known dormant site in the county; success could lead to a more general use.

The sighting of a Muntjac walking along a road on Westhope Hill at midday on 1 July 1986 was reported by Mrs. J. Smith. This was a buck with tiny antlers.

Badgers, Polecats, Deer and Hedgehogs continue to become casualties on roads. The environment for mammals continues to deteriorate with the loss of hedges, ponds and deciduous woods, farming monoculture and the polution of rivers.

Ornithology, 1986

By BERYL HARDING

IN addition to the normally expected cold weather of winter, February 1986 brought little rain (0.6 cm.) combined with a long period of piercingly cold N. and N.E. winds which made it very difficult for birds to survive. Few berries or apples were left and without the extra help of people providing food and water many more small birds would not have survived. Records kept of bird feeding in gardens throughout the U.K. show that the visiting numbers for the winter 1985-6 were exceptional. Some of the more unusual visitors included a hen harrier and an oyster-catcher!

No longer needing to be territorial to feed their young, bird behaviour changes in winter and they are prepared to almost 'rub shoulders' in garden feeding area, even two or three previously quarrelsome robins will feed together if need be and the shyest birds may appear. At night sheltered roosts are at premium. Many roost singly in thick cover and others roost communally in evergreen shrubs and thickets, some on the roofs of uninsulated houses. Nesting boxes and old house martin nests are often shared by several wrens and pied wagtails choose areas of artificial heating, such as greenhouses and the cooling towers of power stations. Some like starlings move en masse to the 'warm dormitories' of town at night returning to the open country for feeding by day.

Other birds come together in flocks in winter, separating again in spring to breed. Such conspicuous behaviour increases our chances of bird recognition and enjoyment of a glorious sight. Flocking behaviour improves their chances of finding food in open country, gives protection against predators and greater warmth when roosting. Some flocks may be almost single species such as crows, siskins, skylarks, starlings or lapwings. Others may be mixed families of bramblings, chaffinches, gold and greenfinches or the winter thrushes of fieldfares and redwing.

The winter of 1985-6 showed an increase in the numbers of siskins in Britain, normally they arrive in autumn from Russia, Central Europe and Scandinavia but east coast observatories reported large numbers arriving in July 1985. Many of these were juveniles who had managed the journey, plus the N. Sea crossing, when only a few weeks old. Herefordshire provided a home for an enormous number. This unusual behaviour was probably caused by food shortages in their breeding areas. Increased conifer planting in Scotland and Wales has increased the number breeding here but the majority seen in winter are immigrants.

The sides and tops of the Herefordshire Stanks, or flood prevention banks, gave good feeding grounds in the cold of February and March. The untreated tops and banks provide weed and grass seeds and grit, resembling the lost old meadows. Flocks of the many siskins went there to feed for a change of diet. Very large flocks of a hundred or more chaffinches with tree sparrows and bramblings were seen feeding, many of the chaffinches were of one sex, showing them to be continental migrants. Many fieldfares and redwings used the southfacing banks as shelter from the N.E. winds as well as thawed out feeding grounds.

The B.T.O. (British Trust for Ornithology) has produced *The Atlas of Wintering Birds in Britain and Ireland* with information on 200 species. 10,000 birdwatchers took part in the recording with 94% of the 3,862 10 km. squares which make up Britain and Ireland visited for six hours or more and the remaining 6% for one hour or more. The survey shows how bird distribution in winter undergoes a variety of changes according to weather and food availability and many new aspects of bird movement and behaviour have been recorded.

Those migrants that winter in the Sahel region of Africa, to the south of the Sahara, have had difficulties due to overgrazing and drought during the past few years. Their habitat is so altered that many have suffered a serious decline. The whitethroat was the commonest warbler in this county fifty years ago and is now rare. The yellow wagtail becomes scarcer each year. The spotted flycatcher winters in S. Africa but uses the Sahel as a feeding and 'refuelling' stop. The B.T.O. estimates that their numbers are down by 25% or more. The sand martin's reduction is even more drastic, now a mere 5% of the mid-sixties level. Reports indicate that conditions were better than in the winter of 1985-6 so perhaps the situation may be reversible for these birds.

Birds of Prey

With a poor summer the population of small mammals declined in turn affecting tawny owls and hen harriers. Wales's red kites managed to produce a record total of 29 young this year. Of its 48 pairs, 39 eventually laid eggs but only 24 pairs managed to raise these successfully. Some failures were due to natural causes but seven were robbed by egg collectors. The R.S.P.B. now has two prosecutions in progress. It still seems that those birds that do not have the 'good sense' to nest in reserves need protection and the Nature Trust has tried to do this in the Black Mountains.

The peregrine falcon population suffered a serious decline in the sixties, down by 80%, due to the build up of pesticides within its foodchain. Since the ban on the more toxic of these some resurgence has occurred. Most peregrine sites are ancient ones, so too is that in the Black Mountains. In 1980 nesting occurred and three young were raised, also in 1981. In 1983 and '84 breeding was a failure. A guard was mounted in '85 to ensure theft was not the cause, again the site failed. This year, however, one young female was raised under the surveillance of 30 or more watchers who contributed more than 2,000 hours. By the end of July the young female was flying strongly and should, hopefully, occupy new territory near to her birthplace.

Nest Box Scheme of the H. & R. Nature Trust

Unfortunately, these figures are not returned in time for the current year. A full report for 1985 is in the September 1986 copy of *The Flycatcher.* Some statistics show.

Recording took place on 42 sites, 3 more than the previous year.

	1985	*1984*	*1983*
Total number of boxes erected	1194	1191	1044

Total number of boxes used	805	721	681
Percentage of boxes used	67.42	60.62	65.20

Clutch sizes from Herefordshire sites only for 3 species.

	1985	*1984*	*1983*
Pied Flycatcher	5.97	6.20	6.20
Blue Tit	8.76	8.70	10.80
Great Tit	7.67	7.86	8.08

This has been the best year since the scheme started and other statistics show that more next boxes were used and more fledglings produced. Dormice have availed themselves of boxes on three sites.

Llanwarne Notes.

After the hazards of winter, spring was slow in coming with snow showers on high ground and frosts in late April and even mid-May so migrants were late also. Followed by a cool summer it was surprising that birds recovered as well as they seemed to. Curlews were first heard calling over flooded meadows on 2 March and again from mid-March. Many winter flocks broke up late. Some siskins were still garden-feeding by the end of April. The first house martins arrived by 26 April and swallows by 2 May. There was a report of fishermen near Ross seeing two sand martins and a swallow by 8 April. Was this a fisherman's tale?

However, curlew and lapwing bred. Pheasants and red-legged partridge raised young. As well as the blue and great tits, the coal and long-tailed tits were seen with juveniles (the latter looking like acorns with long tails), also warblers, tree creepers, flycatchers and bullfinches, as well as three young wrens. Twelve of the rare yellow wagtails were sighted and a spotted flycatcher dive-bombing a magpie. Why do these opportunist crows not have an adequte predator?

The barn owls have returned to their nearby oak for the fourth year and by 20 May one youngster was surveying the world from the nesthole. By 8 June it was fully fledged and expected to soon start coping with life. The little owls raised at least one young. A pair of sparrow-hawks made use of late bird-table feeding for prey and nested nearby, one juvenile was later seen trying to catch a garden bird. The bonus of the year has been the sightings of up to five buzzards making use of local ridges and their thermals. Three are juveniles and the nesting site is believed to be near St. Weonards.

A pair of little grebe and the usual pair of Canada geese nested successfully raising one young each at Broomy Pool, and the Gamber Brook is clear enough still for a kingfisher and two herons to feed.

The sunshine of September and early October delayed the departure of some birds with the last house martin migrant seen on 11 October. Two nearby large fields have been left as stubble rather than ploughed for immediate planting so providing good pickings for many flocks of skylarks, collared doves and crows. Flocks of fieldfares are largely ignoring the apples still.

The pre-Christmas mildness of winter so far caused butterflies to still appear in November and the year ended with complete floral confusion as campanulas, marigolds, polyanthus, honeysuckle and hebe were in bloom with winter jasmine and witch hazel.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1986

By JOE HILLABY

THIS has been an exciting year. Visits have revealed major timber-framed structures on three sites within the medieval town. In each case they were hidden behind brick facades and shop fronts of the 19th and 20th centuries. 26 High Town was erected in the second half of the 16th century as the home of a wealthy merchant. Evidence was found at 27 High Town of three timber-framed buildings of different periods. At 27 Commercial Street there are six different units on the one burgage plot, including elements of a building of the late 15th century. Quite clearly, much lies yet to be discovered behind deceptive 18th, 19th and 20th-century facades of the principal streets. During an inspection of 2, 4, 6 and 8 Widemarsh Street, a fine late-17th or early-18th-century brick town house was discovered to the rear of 4/5 High Town.

This year has also shown that many important interior details exist unrecorded within the city. Recent discoveries include a corbel from a medieval cellar, splendid linen-fold panelling of the early 16th century, panelling of the 17th and 18th centuries, wall paintings of the 17th century, as well as doors, doorcases and fireplaces of considerable interest. It is to be hoped that we have now passed out of the era when facades alone were thought worthy of preservation and that due regard will be paid to interiors as well.

49 Broad Street. H/28260/W/L/B. 11 February.

This application was to rebuild the northern end of the facade, to counteract serious debonding and bowing. 49, formerly the White Hart Inn, and 48 Broad Street are of one build—a half-timbered structure which appears to have had jetties at first and second-floor level. It is described in R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire,* 1, 135, no. 37, where the plaster ceilings of rooms at first and second-floor level, with fleur-de-lys, grape and vine leaf decoration, were considered to be of such a quality as to merit illustration (PLS. 30c and d). In the early 19th century the building was given a new front, prettily plastered. This was now peeling away from the half-timbered structure behind.

The committee approved the restoration proposals. It recommended that, before work commenced, photographs be taken of the plaster ceilings in the rooms above ground-floor level to facilitate any restoration that might be required and advised that a careful record should be kept of details of the original building as they came to light.

27 High Town. H/P/28270-1/E/L/B. 11 February.

Application was made to demolish all the existing buildings and to construct a new retail unit on the site, retaining and restoring only the brick facade onto High Town. Members of the committee made a site visit on 25 February to the premises which had been occupied by Wakefield Knight, the drapers, for about a century. This note is based

upon that visit and the report prepared for the Cannon Lincoln Group by the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee in September after preliminary clearance work.

Evidence was found of three separate structures on the burgage plot stretching between High Town and the line of the Saxon defences. On the north structure 1, a three storey timber-framed building, had been erected in the 16th century. Most of this structure had been removed when the existing brick facade was built but the southern, rear, frame remains. An additional, fourth, storey was added late in the 18th or early in the 19th century. Behind is structure 2, a three storey timber-framed building of 17th-century date. This had a double jetty facing the alley on the east which divides 27 from 26 High Town. Its subsequent building history, which is complex, is fully explored in the Archaeology Committee's report. Much of the timber frames B, C and D were removed in later modifications. Most of the lateral frame E, adjacent to 28 High Town, remains and there is still an interesting section of the other later frame F which faces the alley way to the east, that is the jettied first and second floor sections between frames C and D. The building has a very marked tilt to the east (PL. LIII). Re-used 16th and 17th-century timber wall panelling is found in a number of the upper rooms of 27 High Town, including some very fine linen-fold panelling of the early 16th century (PL. LIV). Of great interest are remnants of 17th-century wall painting on the first floor (PL. LV). These were found on what had been the exterior of the western wall of 26 High Town. This became the eastern, interior wall of 27 High Town when its jetty was modified in a botch-up to arrest the tilting (PL. LIII). Underneath is a cellar constructed partly of stone with a corbel, apparently of medieval date.

Structure 3 was demolished in 1937. A description by George Marshall will be found in the Club's *Transactions* (1937), 96. The committee recommended that the application be refused.

26 High Town was surveyed in the same report.

This is not so complex in its building history. Constructed in the second half of the 16th century, evidently as the home of a wealthy merchant, it was three storeys in height and three bays in depth, with grand rooms on the first and second floors. Behind was a wing containing staircases, kitchen and other services with a small yard to the east which was demolished early this century. 26 High Town has not been subjected to the degree of modification suffered by its neighbour. Internal improvements were carried out in the late 17th century, including the addition of decorated plaster ceilings to first and second floor rooms (PL. LVI). As the rooms above ground floor level have not been used for many decades, they retain such earlier features unaltered. When the present brick facade was built the roof level was raised but most of the original timber framing was retained *in situ* and is in reasonable condition. It is, therefore, the earliest significant half-timbered building of which we yet have knowledge in High Town.

Trinity Almshouse site. H/P/28311/E of 11 March, H/P/28514/E of 15 July.

The committee considered that the proposals, as first put forward, did not recreate the feeling of the former Commercial Square, did not match the strength of the Kerry

Arms building, and did not provide an adequate end-stop when viewed from Commercial Road. Refusal was recommended. Amended proposals were examined on 15 July. These were ultimately accepted, with modifications, by the planning committee, on condition that the railings and gate of the former almshouses be renovated and replaced.

1 High Town, 2, 4, 6 and 8 Widemarsh Street. H/28361/E/L/B of 8 April, H/28390/E/L/B of 6 May.

Application was made for 'the removal, amendment and restoration' of parts of these four listed buildings. A site visit established that 1 High Town was originally a timber-framed structure of considerable interest. Its ridged roof can still be seen from the southern edge of High Town. The building was subsequently extended on the High Town side and at the same time both High Town and Widemarsh Street elevations were given Georgian brick facades. Here and in 2-8 Widemarsh Street are many elegant Georgian details—door and window casings, panelling and plaster work. These, the committee believed, should be retained.

Members concluded that, if the applications were accepted in their present form, the interiors would be stripped of all such details, regardless of their intrinsic or historic value, and the character of the buildings would be entirely lost. In addition the plans indicated that the basement below three of the properties and the rooms above second-floor level were to be sealed off. The applications did not seem to consider the use of the upper floors as residential units, which would certainly provide a commercial return. Refusal was recommended. The interiors were subsequently photographed by the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee.

33/35 Bridge Street. H/P/28460-3/W/LB. 17 June.

The application included a proposal to convert the coach entrance of this property into additional office accommodation. The committee recommended that this should be achieved by building to the rear, thus retaining an important element of the original plan.

Elmhurst, Venns Lane. H/P/28534/E. 29 July.

The committee opposed this application, to build two dwellings on the open parkland fronting the County Council's premises at Elmhurst, as unsocially intrusive for the residents of Elmhurst and for the general public. The planning committee refused the application.

Butter Market. HC 028563-5 QZ. 12 August.

An internally illuminated coat of arms and lettering 'Butter Market' was proposed for the Maylord Street elevation. The committee considered that the use of transparent material on such a building was cheap and inappropriate. It was suggested that the coat of arms should be cast in aluminium and stove enamelled, and that the lettering be of bronze. Illumination should be external. The proposal to convert the public toilets to shops and to provide improved facilities in the western entrance was welcomed.

36, 37 and 38 Church Street. HCO 28614-5 PF/LA. 9 September.

The commmittee was enthusiastic about this application to convert the first and second floors into six flats.

25/27 St. Owen Street. HC 028644 GZ. 21 October.

A site visit was made to consider proposals for internal alterations. This revealed several brick buildings of different periods, in places brought together somewhat uneasily. Finely rubbed brickwork of early Georgian window lintels was observed in breaches in an internal wall at first floor level, showing that the rooms now looking onto St. Owen's Street were a later addition. The saloon on the ground floor has two long windows giving access to the garden at the rear. A curious feature of these windows is that when the lower sashes, of 3x3 panes, are lifted the top three panes have to be housed in a cavity in the wall above, for the upper sashes are only of 2x3 panes. The room has a fine continuous frieze above cornice level and an area at the end opposite the windows marked off by two free-standing classical columns (PL. LVII). The committee was opposed to the partitioning of this room on the line of the columns and recommended that the 17th-century panelling and a large ironbound safe be retained.

25 Commercial Street. HC 860025/6 PF and LE. 18 November.

An application was made for the demolition of what were described as 'sub-standard parts of existing premises and rebuilding, including extensions'. After an initial site visit, and on the recommendation of the Department of the Environment, the owners asked the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee to carry out a survey of the rear of the complex of six buildings which line the eastern side of Preece's Passage. The following description is based on the Committee's *Interim Report* of December 1986.

Six buildings are situated on one of the plots of the northern series of burgages fronting the great wedge-shaped market place laid out by earl William fitz Osbern's surveyors immediately after the Norman Conquest. They are all of timber-framed construction but of widely different age. Such intensive use of burgage plots along a lateral alley is characteristic of the development of towns during periods of rapid population growth. The first structure, facing Commercial Street, is of 17th-century date, was considerably modified in later years, and has a modern shop front. The third structure was built to front Preece's Passage, possibly in the late 16th century. Inside are heavily moulded ceiling beams forming sixteen panels, 4x4. The second structure is late-17th-century infilling between the earlier buildings to the front and rear.

Structures four and six were examined in great detail to throw light on the history of the fifth where elements of a late-15th-century building were discovered. The most important of these is the western gable wall, which is virtually intact. It is close-studded and retains its original ground-floor window-frame, upper tie-beam and gable. Part of the south wall of the westernmost bay and one beam of the northern wall are also *in situ*. This four-bay building, with its ridge running east-west, was drastically modified in the 16th century when unit four was erected immediately to the south. It lost three-quarters of its

southern wall in modifications which enabled it to become an integral part of the new structure. The fourth structure, like the third, retains its heavily-moulded ceiling beams over the ground-floor. In this case they form fifteen panels, 3x5. Further modifications to the fifth structure took place in the 18th century with the construction of the sixth which thus forms the northern end of this complex of buildings.

On 24 October the whole complex was listed as a grade II building. The planning application was withdrawn and it is anticipated that new proposals will be presented in the near future.

Matters arising from earlier reports.

1983-4. Romanesque tympanum, St. Giles' Hospital, St. Owen Street.

It is now more than three years since the condition of this monument of national importance was drawn to the attention of its owners, the Hereford and Municipal Charities, and of the Department of the Environment. Nothing has been achieved. The cathedral authorities indicated their willingness to give the tympanum a new home, both under cover and where it would be easily accessible to visitors, close to other similar romanesque sculpture and where an adequate interpretive background could be provided. This offer was declined unanimously at a meeting of the Trustees this year. The Trustees still await the Department of the Environment's advice on the expensive option of preservation *in situ*.

1985. The Essex Arms, Lower Widemarsh Street.

An impasse seems to have been arrived at in relation to the Essex Arms. Late in the year the City Council gave its approval for its re-erection at the northern end of Brewer's Passage, subject to certain conditions relating to record-keeping, etc. This has apparently proved unacceptable and an alternative proposal was put forward, to re-erect it, with a barn from the centre of Ewyas Harold, as a county 'Visitor Centre' at Queens Wood, Dinmore. The Department of the Environment has indicated that it does not favour the removal of the building from its urban context. The committee was unanimous in sharing the view that the Essex Arms should be rebuilt within the city of Hereford.

4 St. John Street.

Dismay was expressed at the treatment of the interior of this listed building—panelling and other details had been removed; new and quite inappropriate fittings had been introduced. The committee was assured that, although work had been carried out which had not been covered by the original application, many joinery elements—architraves, skirtings, door casings—will be restored off site and returned, and the modern sash windows will be replaced by new sashes built to the correct detail.

Other Matters.

The Black Lion, Bridge Street.

A letter was received from the Hereford Civic Trust drawing attention to the steady deterioration of the mid-to-late-17th-century wall paintings in the middle room of the first floor, known as the Commandments Room, of the Black Lion Inn. Their discovery in 1932 went unrecorded in the Club's *Transactions.* A description and photographs can only be found hidden away in the 'Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume 1' in R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire,* 3 (1934), 227 and pls. 186 and 187. Six panels remain. The scenes depict the breaking of the commandments with black letter inscriptions above. 1-3, presumably on the west wall, are now lost. On the north wall are: 4. "they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day ... and the Lord said unto Moses, 'the man shall be surely put to death': all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp". (Numbers, XV, 32-7); 5. Absalom hanging in an oak by his hair, being speared by Joab (II, Samuel XVIII, 9-14); 6. "Joab took Amasa by the beard to kiss him but Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab's hand; so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib and shed out his bowels to the ground." (II, Samuel, XX, 4-9); 7. "Now Eli was very old and heard ... how (his sons) lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle." (I, Samuel, II, 22). This is the finest of the paintings. 8 is lost. On the south wall are: 9. the trial of Susanna, falsely accused by two Elders, from the Book of Susanna in the Apocrypha; 10. David and the death of Uriah the Hittite? (II, Samuel, XI, 17). Both are damaged at the base. Soon after their discovery the paintings were restored by 'strengthening' the outlines.

The committee was most anxious that this remarkable sequence of wall paintings should be suitably preserved. Letters were sent to the Chief Executive of Messrs. Whitbread, the owners, and to the Department of the Environment, which upgraded the listing of the Black Lion from II to II* in June 1986. In March 1987 Messrs. Whitbread put in hand a careful programme of restoration—stabilising the structure and cleaning the paintings. It is to be hoped that when this is completed the room will be open to the public, with a prohibition on smoking.

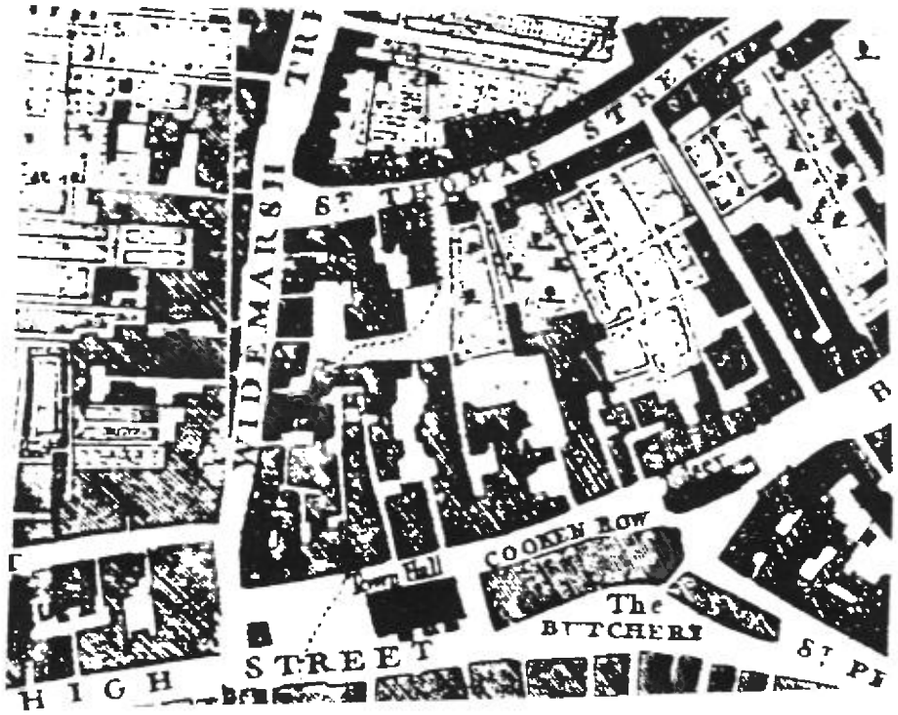
Brick town house of late-17th or early-18th-century date behind 4 High Town.

The site visit to 2, 4, 6 and 8 Widemarsh Street revealed a fine late-17th or early-18th-century brick town house behind 4 High Town. It is shown on Taylor's *Plan* of 1757 (Plan 1). The 50" O.S. Plan of 1888 (Plan 2) shows an extension of 5 High Town attached to the south. From the top of Lloyds Bank, 6-8 High Town, it can be seen that when this structure was taken down the whole of the south wall was replaced in modern stock bricks. Thus only on the north, the principal facade, and on the west can the original work be seen. It is of three storeys with a tiled roof. The brickwork is of English bond with alternating headers and stretchers. There are horizontal bands of two courses of bricks at first and second-floor level. These are continued around the north side. The four-light mullioned and transomed casement windows on the principal facade are of timber (PL. LVIII). Some have been blocked and at least one, on the first floor, was subsequently replaced by a sash window (PL. LIX). Similar windows are to be found on the west side (PL. LX).

Only after three months of correspondence and telephone calls has it been possible to pursuade the British Shoe Corporation that they own this building. It is to be hoped that access to the interior will now be made available. The house is not described amongst the Listed Buildings of the City.

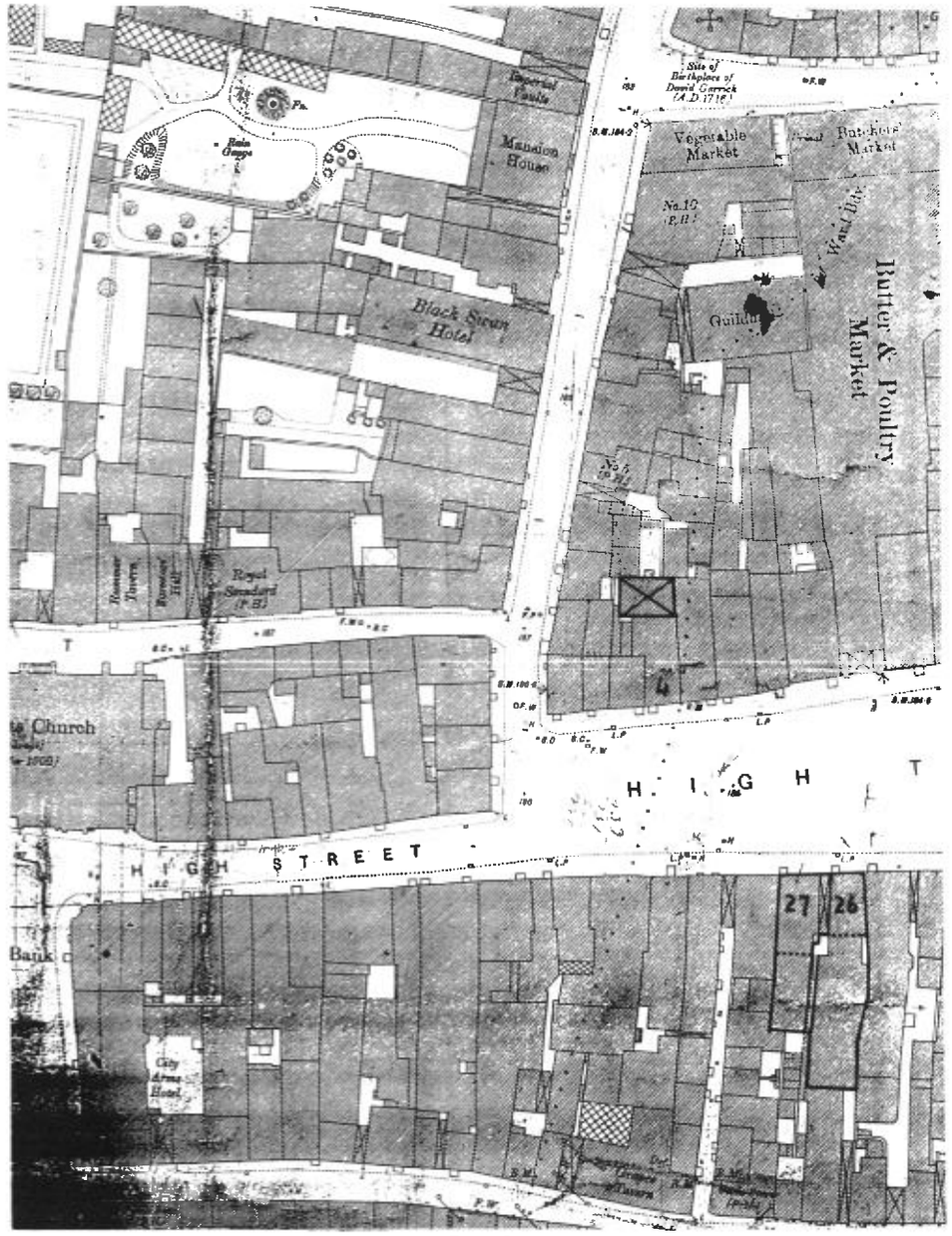
35 Church Street. 12 August.

It was reported that unauthorised work had been carried out to the interior without listed building consent. Action was being taken.



PLAN 1

Part of Isaac Taylor's 1757 *Plan of the City of Hereford,* showing the building behind 4 High Town.



PLAN 2

Part of 50 in. O.S. Plan of Hereford, 1888, showing 26 and 27 High Town and building behind 4 High Town. Dotted line represents rear of 26 and 27 High Town as they are now, after demolition earlier in this century of structures to the rear.

Archaeological Research Section, 1986

By M. T. HEMMING

MEMBERSHIP of the section stands at fifty-seven this year. Six field meetings were organised and two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been produced, one in April and one in October. In September members and friends enjoyed a barbecue at the home of Mary Thomas. A brief summary follows of places and sites visited.

January: The site of Wormsley Priory was visited, with a walk to the Butthouse. In the afternoon a visit was made to Canon Pyon Church and its environs. A short history and site description of Wormsley Priory appears in *Herefordshire Archaeological News* No. 40.

April: Looking at the Llan Dâv charter boundaries of Llancillo. During the afternoon members were shown round Llangua Church by Mr. P. Downey.

May: A visit was made to one of the supposed sites of the earlier Wigmore Abbey. Nothing was found to give any suggestion that this may have been the site.

June: Members visited Ewyas Harold Castle and surrounding area. In the afternoon a joint meeting was held with the Natural History Section, when Mr. G. Charnock led a walk on Ewyas Harold Common.

July: A small group visited Castell Dinas, Brecs. During the afternnon a visit was made to Tretower Court, where we were entertained with a display by the 'White Company'.

October: With the guidance of Mr. B. Walters members carried out a field survey at the site of *Ariconium*. Twelve grids each 25 metres square were examined and all finds recorded. The area revealed large quantities of slag and pottery sherds.

Natural History Section, 1986

By BERYL HARDING

MEMBERSHIP is eighty-one this year, showing a steady increase in numbers. One indoor meeting was held with ten field meetings. Attendance at these averaged eight to ten people. We continue to be grateful to the leaders of these field-trips who generously give us their time and knowledge.

March 20. The Annual General Meeting took place and concluded with a talk by David Lovelace on woodland types and distribution in Herefordshire, as seen from aerial survey.

April 7. Following a general visit by the main club to Hall Wood, Much Marcle, a more detailed half-day visit was planned to this ancient woodland to trace and map boundary earthworks and to see the spring flora—especially the daffodils. However, the weather had been very cold and snow had fallen on the Malverns the night before so all daffodils were still tightly-closed buds. With such retarded flower development more time was given to mapping the boundary lines. Unexpectedly, a rectangular earthwork was found in the north-east corner, some 20 m. by 41 m. containing a circular island at one end. It appeared to be of the level moat type of site but seemed too small for the normal residential moated site. No previous indication of the earthwork appears on various estate maps, nor in the Woodland Survey of Herefordshire.

Driven home by the cold a further meeting was arranged in May for 'bluebell time' when more work could be done identifying spring flora and to continue boundary measurements.

May 12. In warmer, but still wet and uninviting, weather further survey was made of the southern boundary banks and ditches of Hall Wood. Other banks were visible in Middle Field with heavy sedge growth between. Were these old fishponds? There is no record of them on the 1741 estate map. Lower Hall Wood showed a blue haze of bluebells. The trees here are all the same height and girth, perhaps the result of clear-felling during or after the last war. The boundary bank has several enormous coppiced small-leaved lime stools of more than 2.5 m. diameter, stools of this size indicate the enormous age of such trees, never really reaching old age when subject to repeated coppicing. Little Hall Wood is sheep-grazed each year giving a good variety of ground flora with patches of daffodils, bluebells and large areas of wood anemones and wood sorrel—unlike the dense tangle of bramble choking many young saplings in Hall Wood itself. 21 species of trees and 22 species of spring ground flora were identified.

May 18. A geological field-trip was led by Dr. Chris Fletcher to some of the classic Palaeozoic sedimentary sequences of S. Shropshire and N. Herefordshire. Starting at Long Mynd Gorge the most ancient rocks seen that day, which occur in only a few parts of the British Isles, were the Pre-Cambrian sediments of grits and shales, crushed and changed by subsequent earth movements and volcanic activity over the millenia.

Sites were then visited in the Onny Valley where angular unconformities showed that the area had been above sea-level throughout the Cambrian and Ordovician periods before being sea-covered again. Along the faulted Plowden Gorge other sites visited

showed fossils, worm-burrow disturbances in the sediments plus the swirling of sands when they were deposited in the Ordovician period, 400-450 million years ago. Wenlock Edge provided Silurian deposits of limestone with large nodular coral reefs laid down when the B. Isles was 20° S. of the Equator.

The afternoon continued with visits to younger exposures. At Mortimer Forest the Silurian beds are thinner than those further west due to faulting, blue nodular limestones were seen with reddish tiny fossil sea-mats (Bryozoa) embedded in the rock. Still working our way up the stratigraphical column other exposures were visited, including the Downton Gorge, and the reddish-brown rocks revealed the gradual approach of the desert conditions prevailing when the Devonian sandstones were deposited above, as the B. Isles moved further north from the Equator.

The final stop at Fiddler's Elbow provided the most spectacular site of the day. Where the Aymestry limestones series were deposited, beds were seen as they had slipped from the edge of the Silurian continental shelf into the ocean basin below, perhaps triggered off by earth tremors. Where these sediments had slumped and swirled into the limestones below the slumping patterns were visible and also the submarine canyons formed through which flowed currents leaving the tell-tale cross-bedding marks.

May 31. Mr. Harry Williamson kindly invited members to visit his private garden. The site had a lot of debris and no garden to speak of six years ago when they moved in. Utilising the slope at one side a cascading water and rock garden was made with a wide variety of differing foliage tints and seed-heads to give a delightful and restful picture near the house.

Beyond the shrub-edged lawn, the wild garden with trees, shrubs and longer grass provides a haven for a wide range of nesting birds. A second pond, without goldfish, also provides a safe niche for pond insects and amphibians. Altogether, the planning of the garden, of less than one acre, showed what can be done to combine a garden of sound and colour without being too formal.

June 22. A joint expedition was made with the Archaeology Section to Ewyas Harold. The historical sites of the village were seen and discussed in the morning. This was led by Mr. Graham Sprackling. The afternoon was spent on the Common to study its history and natural history, this was led by Mr. G. Charnock. Twenty-four adults attended.

The present common of scrub-invaded grassland is half the size of the original waste of the manor. It has parish boundaries on most sides, Dulas Brook was probably its western edge, but to the south the boundaries are flanked by ancient sunken lanes with relic woodland hedges. The common was originally called Lord's Wood. Circa 1150 the priory was given the right to assart eastward from Dulas Brook, perhaps reducing the Lord's Wood to its present size. The common no doubt lost its trees by the usual process of assarting giving way to wood pasture and subsequent grazing would lead to further tree loss. Present field-names indicate their woodland origin. Assarting finally allowed 16th and 17th century smallholdings with 3-4 acre enclosures to spring up peripherally. Tenure of these gave customary rights of grazing etc. The sheltered eastern side was used for orchards.

Rent-rolls and leases indicate slight settlement by the 17th century. Encroachment was not by squatters but by local people trying to better themselves and their conditions. The lord of the manor granted leases of three lives so giving reasonable security. Some holders were local labourers, others were craftsmen e.g. Weaver's Place. Thus the common was part of the parish not a place apart. By 1851 1 in 4 parishioners lived there.

Today grazing is minimal so scrub and bracken invasion is increasing. Meadow Saffron grows in abundance.

July 12. We were invited to join the Botanical Society on their visit to the Cotswold Commons and Beechwoods National Nature Reserve which provided a chance to see many lime-loving plants.

July 27. A field and woodland walk was led by Mrs. Jackson-Dooley from Mordiford, this visit had been 'rained off' last autumn. The walk was along the Pentaloe Valley to the lower slopes of Haugh Wood, Kidley Coppice, through the orchards of Lower Little Hope Farm and back via Mordiford Mill. Woodland and riverside flora were identified. The afternoon was warm and muggy so the butterflies were well warmed up and flying swiftly. With the blackberry in abundant bloom many species of butterfly were identified, including white admirals.

August 5. As part of the National Bat Year an evening visit was made to Titley Pool Reserve led by Miss Sue Holland of the Nature Trust. Some members arrived early to make use of the hide and to identify the many species of water birds there. Large flocks of Canada geese with teal and tufted duck came to rest for the night on the lake.

The Noctule or Great Bat comes out at dusk, taking over the feeding range of the swifts. Being our largest bat, with a wing span of 37 cms. and body length of 11.5 cms., at first sight it resembles the swifts, apart from its fluttering flight. They eat one quarter of their body weight in insects per night and were prepared to swoop among us while feeding. Hunting is over grassland rather than over water. Their ultra-sonic signals were picked up at the low frequency end of the bat detector. This gave a rather musical chirruping compared with the high-pitched clicking of the pipistrelles flying among the trees and registered at the high frequency end of the detector's range.

After dusk members moved to the lakeside and used lights to pick out the silhouettes of the Daubenton or Water Bat. No ultra-sonic calls were registered on our detector but their acrobatic twisting flight just above water-level while catching insects was enthralling. Their wing span is 26 cms. About 20-30 were seen, their pale ventral surface showing well in the lights. All this activity on our part caused the noisy and irate departure of many geese. Return to the cars needed careful negotiation in the dark as many young toads were moving from the lake to start life on land.

September 6. A barbecue was held in combination with a moth light-trap evening at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Wagner, by their kind invitation. After dusk, and food, mercury vapour lamps were lit and both moth traps and white sheets were used to catch moths for identification. A moonless night had carefully been selected, nevertheless, the number of flying moths did not build up until after 10.30 p.m. with large numbers flying by mid-

night! Many species remained unidentified, of those that were the Large Yellow Underwing was the most spectacular.

October 18. A fungus foray was held at Queen's Wood, Dinmore, led by Mr. & Mrs. P. Thomson. Although a mild and moist afternoon the previous six weeks had been dry with less than 3 cms. of rain, so many fungi had not thrived and the 'stem' of the fruiting body was often broken, lacking sufficient moisture to keep it erect. Despite initial pessimism 32 species were identified only 10 of which were among the 48 species identified in our 1984 visit.

November 6. A microscopy course was started at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Wagner for those members interested in learning, or improving their techniques. It is a pilot scheme at the moment, especially for beginners, and it is hoped to make this course more widely available.

Two or three members of the Natural History Section have started a Pond Survey of the county, it is hoped ultimately to obtain comparative results for different types of ponds and to discover, if possible, how many old ponds have been lost and new ones made.

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