

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XLVI 1990
PART III

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Proceedings, 1990

SPRING MEETING

FIRST MEETING: 13 January: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Entomology, Geology, Herefordshire Field-names, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals, Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and Natural History Section gave their reports for 1990 which are printed on pp. 517-49.

SECOND MEETING: 10 February: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

Mrs. Jean O'Donnell, B.A. gave an illustrated talk on the 'Revd. John Venn,' who was vicar of St. Peter and St. Owen 1833-70 and in 1890 was buried in the St. Peter's burial ground in Commercial Road having lived at Beechwood, Venns Lane, Hereford. Through his concern for the poor the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious was formed. A full account is printed on pp. 498-516.

THIRD MEETING: 10 March: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

This was the twenty-seventh Annual F. C. Morgan lecture and was held at the St. Martin's Parish Centre. Dr. P. J. Reynolds, Director of the Butser Farm Project, explained that the Butser Ancient Farm Research Project was set up in 1969 to explore theories and ideas suggested by the findings of archaeologists. The site of Little Butser on the northern spur of Butser Hill was chosen because this area of Wessex is noted for its prehistory. It was decided to create an Iron-Age farm of the type found about 300 B.C. consisting of houses with barns and byres as a nucleus, surrounded by a ditch and bank with a palisade fence, and a number of fields beyond. The various experiments have all been based on archaeological excavations and documentary evidence.

The project actually commenced in 1972 as an open-air research laboratory to explore all aspects of a farm including its buildings, cultivation and animal husbandry. Round, straw-thatched houses of about 1,600 square feet have been constructed, with a suggested life of 200 years. Soay sheep from St. Kilda Island and long-legged Dexter cattle have been introduced. The identification of seeds from carbonised organic material from excavations indicated which plants to grow. Thus bearded wheats, emmer and spelt are being cultivated. Other food plants being grown are Celtic bean and common vetch and flax for food and linen. These experiments have been carried out on the middle chalk but are to be dismantled and repeated on the top chalk.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 31 March: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 835 members.

Mr. Ward referred to the winter and summer activities of the club during the year and gave his address 'Churchyard Memorials of South-east Herefordshire' which is printed on pp. 380-90.

Dr. F. W. Pexton was installed as president for 1990-1.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 28 April: HERGEST CROFT AND RIDGEBOURNE

At Hergest Croft Gardens members were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Banks. The visit was a follow-up to the lecture to the club by Mr. R. A. Banks on 3 December 1988 on 'The Trees of Hergest.' In 1814 the Banks family came from Kent as partner to James Davies, the local lawyer, who started the Kington and Radnorshire Bank. In a tour of the gardens various features, plants, shrubs and trees were pointed out. The fifty-acre garden contains trees, shrubs and plants from all over the temperate world. At Ridgebourne a number of items from the family archives were on display and the Revd. Fenn and Mr. Sinclair gave a short history of the Davies family and Mr. Crummer. In 1989 during restoration work at Ridgebourne it was discovered that an early 17th-century house had been encased in the period 1810-20. The Banks family have been connected with the club since 1855 when Mr. R. W. Banks became a member.

SECOND MEETING: 19 May: WORCESTER AND EASTNOR

The first visit in the morning was to the Guildhall in Worcester. It replaced a timber-framed building. The architect was Thomas White, a native of Worcester. The main block of nine bays of brick was complete by 1724, the north wing by 1725 and the south wing in 1727, each of three bays. The assembly room was re-designed in 1791 by George Byfield and again in 1878-80 by Sir Gilbert Scott and the city architect, Henry Rowe, when the coved and painted Italian-style ceiling replaced Byfield's simpler mouldings. Next visited was the Commandery which was originally the Hospital of St. Wulstan founded in 1085 and is called the Commandery because from the late 13th century the masters of the hospital called themselves commanders. The present timber-framed building dates from c. 1500 and in 1545 became the home of the Wylde family. The great hall has a good hammerbeam roof and a minstrels gallery. The fine Elizabethan staircase leads upstairs to a room with a Jacobean overmantel and another with early 16th-century wall paintings. It was Charles II's headquarters in 1651 during the battle of Worcester and today houses a museum depicting the Civil War and the trades of Worcester.

The afternoon was spent at Eastnor Castle which was designed by Sir Robert Smirke and begun in 1812 for the first earl Somers. This castle replaced Castleditch which was pulled down and where Richard Cocks had moved from Bishops Cleeve about 1600. It is an example of Norman and Gothic revival and is the home of the Hervey-Bathurst family who are direct descendants of the Somers. The great hall, 60 feet high, 60 feet long and 30 feet wide was designed by George Gilbert Scott, the drawing room in 1849 by Pugin and the library in the Italian Renaissance style by G. E. Fox.

THIRD MEETING: 14 June: GREGYNOG AND NEWTOWN AREA

The first visit was to Kerry Church which is dedicated to St. Michael and stands in a circular churchyard. In 1849 it was transferred from St. David's to the St. Asaph diocese. The church in 1881-3 was restored by Street and Blomfield using Llanymynech stone but retains a number of earlier features such as three circular piers of c. 1176 in the nave and the 14th-century chancel arcade. The roofs, although heavily restored, have three tiers of quatre-foiled wind-braces and an arcaded wall-plate.

Next visited was Tregynon Church dedicated to St. Cynon which was rebuilt in 1787 and again in 1892. It has a 15th-century roof with cusped wind-braces and the belfry has timber which could date from the 17th century. The east window was brought from Yorkshire in the 1880s. Memorials in wood and marble dating from about 1700 to 1795 to the Blayney family were of interest because of the afternoon visit to Gregynog. From the middle of the 15th century to 1795 this was the home of the Blayney family. After the death of Arthur Blayney it passed to the Hanbury-Tracys of Toddington in Gloucestershire and Hampton Court in Herefordshire. In the 1830s and 1840s Hanbury-Tracy extensively rebuilt the house keeping the central portion, and adding a storey and a wing in brick. Probably 1860-70 it was encased in concrete and moulded and painted to look like a timber-framed building. From 1894-1914 it was owned by Lord Joicey, a Northumberland coal owner. The house with 750 acres was bought by the Misses Gwendoline and Margaret Davies who intended making it an arts and crafts centre for Wales. Between 1923 and 1940 the Gregynog Press produced forty-two limited editions. The sisters collected paintings and turned the billiard room into a music room. In 1960 the house was given to the university of Wales and since 1964 has been used as a conference centre, and the majority of the paintings of international importance were bequeathed to the National Museum of Wales. The gardens which were improved by William Emes (1730-1803) contain many established trees, and in 1900 a large planting programme of rhododendron hybrids took place.

FOURTH MEETING: 12 July: NYMPFIELD AND FROCESTER AREA

This meeting was the president's choice. The first visit was to Woodchester Park Mansion which was commenced in 1854 but never finished. In 1845 William Leigh bought the estate from the Ducie family. Augustus Pugin produced drawings for a house which were too expensive but appear to have been used by Benjamin Bucknall for the present house. About 1868 all work stopped leaving behind all the scaffolding and even a wooden ladder. Members were shown the very fine Victorian craftsmanship. In 1987 Stroud District Council bought the house and twenty-three acres of pasture land, and in 1989 the Woodchester Mansion Trust was formed and it is hoped to restore the fabric and adapt part of it as a centre for the training of stonemasons.

After a picnic lunch at Coaley Park members walked to Nympsfield chambered long barrow which is ninety feet long consisting of three chambers where at least seventeen burials, flint artefacts and several pottery vessels have been found. A further walk took members to Hetty Pegler's Tump named after Hester, the wife of Henry Pegler who died in 1695. This chambered long barrow of the Neolithic period is 120 feet long, 85 feet wide and 10 feet high. In 1821 and 1854 during excavations a number of human skeletons were found. Despite the

heat most of the party walked around Uleybury hillfort which is rectangular enclosing about thirty-two acres and has three lines of defences, an inner bank and an upper and lower terrace. In 1976 during rescue excavations radiocarbon dating showed that the upper terrace dates from about 300 B.C. The final visit was to Frocester Court tithe barn constructed of oolitic limestone. It is one of the largest and best preserved in the country and was built during the time of John de Gamages, abbot of Gloucester, 1284-1306. The barn of thirteen bays is 186 feet long, 30 feet wide and 36 feet to the ridge. Radiocarbon dating suggests that many of the timbers were renewed in the 15th century. The trusses are raised base-crucks and there are two tiers of wind-braces.

FIFTH MEETING: 16 August: DUMBLETON AND CHASTLETON AREA

At Dumbleton Church dedicated to St. Peter the party was welcomed by the vicar. The north and south walls of the nave, the south arcade and the north door with a tympanum are Norman and the clerestory is Perpendicular. Also of interest were the south porch, pulpit and pews of 1905, a stone tablet c. 1938 by Eric Gill and the glass in the north chancel window of 1947. Memorials to the Cocks family dating from 1654-1767 showed the connections of the family with Eastnor Castle.

The afternoon was spent at Chastleton House which was built in the early 1600s by Walter Jones, a Witney wool merchant. It is symmetrical with five gables and a tower at each end containing the two main staircases. It is almost unaltered and still has its original furnishings including tapestries, good panelling, plaster friezes and ceilings with pendants, stone fireplaces and family portraits. The long gallery, seventy-two feet long extends right across the back of the house and has a rich, coved plasterwork ceiling with a frieze of acorns. The nearby church dedicated to St. Mary has a Norman door on the north side and three Norman piers on the south. It was enlarged in the 14th century and has a 17th-century tower.

SIXTH MEETING: 8 September: TENBURY AREA

A visit was made to Bockleton Church to see the Norman south and north doorways with Norman windows on either side of them and a Norman nave. The chancel dates from the mid-13th century, the Barneby Chapel 1560 and the tower c. 1700. The east window is by Woodyer in 1862 with glass by Kemp dated 1905. Burford House Gardens were next visited. The house which was built in 1728 was purchased by the Treasure family in 1954. Since then four acres of gardens and lawns containing many rare plants from various countries have been created providing an interest for each season.

After lunch a visit was made to Rochford Church to see the Norman north doorway with a double row of zigzag work and a tympanum depicting the Tree of Life and a border of rosettes. This is the only example in Worcestershire with this motif. The chancel arch dating probably from c. 1150 has this zigzag motif. The organ is late 18th century and there is early glass by William Morris, 1863, in the east window. Another church with Norman work was seen at Eastham. It is built of tufa with a south doorway like the one at Bockleton visited earlier in the day. The north door with a keeled roll dates from c. 1200 and the brick tower is c. 1825.

The final visit was to the ruinous Witley Court which since 1972 has been in the hands of the Department of the Environment, now English Heritage. A programme of restoration of the building and grounds is under way. Thomas Foley bought the Court in 1655 and improved the large Jacobean house, and by the 1750s had created a Georgian mansion with a church attached in the Renaissance style. In 1837 the Foleys sold the estate to the Dudleys who transformed it into one of the most palatial private houses in Europe. In 1920 the estate was auctioned and the Court and 800 acres of parkland were bought by Sir Herbert Smith, in 1937 during his absence a fire destroyed part of the house, and in 1938 the estate was sold in lots after which Witley Court fell into ruin and decay.

CANNINGTON VISIT: 18-25 July

Forty-two members spent a week based at Cannington College near Bridgwater. En route a stop was made at the Great Western Dock, Bristol, to see the great strides of restoration work on the S.S. Great Britain since the club visited it in June 1974 when she was just a hulk. It is intended to restore enough of the ship to visualise what life on the Victorian liner was like. This will include six masts, funnel and deck fittings, first-class public rooms and six cabins. The Great Britain was the first propeller driven ocean going iron steamship. She was designed by Brunel, the keel was laid in July 1839 and launched in July 1843 by Prince Albert. Her maiden voyage was to the U.S.A. in July 1845 and to Australia in August 1852 which took eighty-two days. In 1882 she was sold and converted to sail and took coal to San Francisco and brought back wheat. In 1886 off Cape Horn her cargo shifted and she put back to the Falkland Islands where it was considered too expensive to repair her. She was used for storage of coal and wood and in 1937 deliberately sunk. In 1970 she was refloated onto a platform and towed back to Avonmouth and reached her original dock on 19 July 1970.

In the afternoon a visit was made to Fyne Court Nature Reserve, the headquarters of the Somerset Trust for Nature Conservation where the countryside information centre and gardens were seen. At Broomfield Church members saw an early 14th-century chancel, the waggon roofs of the nave and aisle with forty-seven carved wooden angels and bench-ends which are the most complete set in Somerset. After the evening meal Mr. Ward outlined the week's programme.

The greater part of Thursday morning was spent in Muchelney where three visits were made to the church, abbey and priest's house. There is only a distance of three feet between the church and the abbey. The church with chancel, nave and west tower is mainly 15th century. The nave has a painted waggon roof of the 17th century and the tower is fan-vaulted. The abbey has been in the care of the nation since 1927 and is the second oldest religious foundation in Somerset. It was a Benedictine abbey refounded about 950. The church and monastic buildings have largely disappeared but the south cloister walk, the north wall of the refectory and most of the abbot's house survive. The priest's house has been maintained by the National Trust since 1911. It dates from c. 1400 with an open hall and parlour and kitchen on either side and is thatched.

At East Lambrook Manor which dates from c. 1470 the garden has been created since 1938 by Margery Fisk as a cottage-style garden containing unusual and interesting plants.

After lunch members visited Montacute House, an Elizabethan house built by William Arnold in the 1590s for Sir Edward Phelips whose family remained in possession until 1931 when it was sold and handed to the National Trust. In 1785-7 the house was added to by building between the two wings to which was attached the porch and ornamental stonework from Clifton Maybank. Furniture from Brockhampton was seen in the drawing room and library and two needlework panels from Stoke Edith in the hall chamber. The last visit was to Tintinhull to see the church, house and garden. The church dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch dates mainly from the 13th century but has good bench-ends of 1511 and a Jacobean pulpit with a tester. The house was built about 1630 for the Napper family and early in the 18th century the west front of Ham stone was added. The garden was laid out by Mrs. Reiss from 1933 until her death in 1961. It was given to the National Trust in 1954. After the evening meal Mr. B. G. Thames gave an interesting talk on the 'Gardens of Somerset.'

The first visit on Friday morning was to the Shoe museum at Street which is housed in the oldest part of the shoe factory which was erected by the Quaker Clark family in 1829. The museum shows footwear, hand tools and shoe machinery from Roman times to the present day. With a break for lunch at the Swan Hotel, a number of visits were made in Wells. The cathedral is largely 13th and 14th century with three towers and a west front with 293 pieces of medieval sculpture. The nave is completely Gothic. In the north transept is an astronomical clock dating back to c. 1390. The chapter house is one of the best in England and from there members walked to the Vicars Close which is a street, 456 feet long, dated from 1348 with gardens established 1410-20. The bishop's palace is the moated residence of the bishops of Bath and Wells and dates from the 13th century and was much altered in 1846. Last visited was Glastonbury Abbey to see the remains of one of the greatest monasteries of medieval England. It was rebuilt after the Conquest and damaged by fire in 1184 and again rebuilt and then stripped after the Reformation.

Part of Saturday morning was spent in Martock. The first visit was to the Treasurer's House which is so named because the rector of Martock was the treasurer of Wells Cathedral. The house has a hall of c. 1330 with two-light windows and a later 13th-century wing and a 15th-century kitchen. The roof is arch-braced to the collar and has four tiers of wind-braces. The church dedicated to All Saints is a large one in the Perpendicular style. The nave roof of six bays was completed in 1513 and has sixty-seven angels in wood and stone and was restored in 1975-6. Most members walked up the steep ascent to Cadbury Castle which is an Iron Age camp of eighteen acres. It is the largest in Somerset and one of the largest in Britain. It is three-sided with four banks and ditches.

The next visit was to Lytes Cary, the home of the Lyte family from the 13th to the 18th century. Its oldest feature is the chapel of c. 1343. The great hall is of four bays of c. 1453 and in 1533 the house was reconstructed. Sir Walter Jenner bought the neglected house in 1907 and added a fourth side to the courtyard and laid out a topiary garden in the Elizabethan style. On his death in 1948 he left the property to the National Trust. Finally a visit was made to Huish Episcopi Church which is constructed of blue lias with Ham Hill stone dressings. The south doorway is Norman of two orders and the nave, chancel and transepts are 14th century. The east window of the south chapel is 1899 by Burne Jones.

As usual Sunday morning was free when some went to church services and others went walking. The afternoon was spent in Glastonbury. The tribunal was the courtroom and lodg-

ing for the justices where the abbot of Glastonbury administered justice. The house dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, today in the care of English Heritage, is now a museum depicting a Glastonbury Lake Village. Another visit was to the Somerset Rural Life Museum at the Abbey Farm which has been repaired and equipped to display the fine collections illustrating the way of life in rural Somerset. The farmhouse was built in 1896 and the barn has a two-tier cruck roof of the 14th century and recent research by dendrochronology suggests a date in the 1340s.

The greater part of Monday morning was spent in Taunton. First visited was the church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene which has a typical Somerset tower, the tallest in the county, 163 feet. It was rebuilt in its original 15th-century style by Ferrey and G. G. Scott in 1862. The foundations of the piers of the transepts, columns supporting the chancel arch, the columns of the north aisle and the piers of the transepts are 13th century. In the 15th century the church was enlarged giving it five aisles and a clerestory. The rich and elaborate Tudor roof is one of the best examples in Somerset. At the Castle, now the county museum, members saw collections of archaeology, geology, natural history, pottery, costume and dolls. The castle dating from the 13th century was altered in the 17th and 18th centuries.

After lunch the party walked around Barrington Court Gardens. The derelict estate was left to the National Trust in 1907. Since 1919 the Lyle family has created a model estate. They restored the Court dating from the 16th century, converted the 17th-century, brick, Strode stable block into a house and employed Gertrude Jekyll to lay out the gardens. Next visited was the Willow and Wetlands Visitor Centre at Meare Green Court, Stoke St. Gregory, where a demonstration and tour of the willow industry for basket ware was given by a member of the Coate family who founded the business in 1819. The exhibition of the basket ware emphasised the need for skilled craftsmen. At Hatch Court the party was welcomed by Commander and Mrs. Barry Nation. The house of Bath stone in the Palladian style was designed in 1750 by Thomas Prowse for John Collins of Ilminster. It is square, of two storeys with four square towers and an arcaded piazza to the south front. The curved wings were added between 1785 and 1829. The deer park which dates from 1755 is probably one of the smallest in the country. The nearby parish church has some good carved bench-ends and a pinnacled tower. After the evening meal Mr. W. Horne gave an illustrated talk on the 'Somerset Levels.'

The first visit on Tuesday was to Cothelstone Church which was approached by walking close to the red sandstone manor-house with its 16th-century gatehouse. The church also built of red sandstone is largely Perpendicular in style but contains 14th century and later monuments to the Stawell family as well as a Jacobean pulpit, good carved bench-ends and an east window by Comper. Carhampton Church, also of red sandstone in the Perpendicular style, was visited to see the very fine 15th-century painted rood-screen. Next visited were the remains of Cleeve Abbey, now in the care of English Heritage, and founded as a Cistercian abbey in 1198. The foundations and low walls of the church remain but the east and south ranges of the claustral buildings are remarkably complete. The east range is mainly 13th century with the dormitory surviving on the first floor. The south range, remodelled in the mid-15th century, contains a first-floor refectory with a magnificent timber roof. Wall paintings of the 13th and 15th century were seen in the dormitory and refectory ranges and 13th-century heraldic tiles.

After lunch some time was spent at Combe Sydenham Hall where a forty-year restoration of the estate is under way. The woodlands have been replanted, forest trails laid out, a trout farm established in the valley ponds and the house is being restored. It was extensively rebuilt in 1580 by Sir George Sydenham whose daughter Elizabeth had married Sir Francis Drake. In complete contrast Hestercombe Gardens were visited. The house was built in 1875 and in 1904 Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll were employed to design and lay out the terraced gardens. Since the death of Mrs. Portman in 1951 the house has been the headquarters of the Somerset Fire Brigade and the neglected gardens have been restored using Miss Jekyll's original planting plans as a guide.

Before leaving for home of Wednesday members were taken around the gardens at Cannington by one of the gardeners who described the objects of the Institute and the various trees, shrubs and plants. About 1138 a Benedictine nunnery had been founded in the village of Cannington and after the Reformation it was the home of the Rogers and Clifford families. Since 1919 it has been a Farm Institute and the buildings have been adapted for student accommodation and modern additions built.

On the return journey a stop was made at Westonzoyland Church dating from a rebuild of the late 15th and early 16th centuries to see the roof which is one of the best in Somerset and a rood-screen by Caröe 1933-9. Most of the party then walked to the site of the battle of Sedgemoor of 6 May 1685. A visit was made to Clevedon Court dating from the 14th, 16th, 18th and 19th centuries. In 1709 it was bought by Abraham Elton whose family had come from the Hazel near Ledbury. The late 19th-century pottery of Sir Edmund Elton was seen in the museum which is housed in the old kitchen. The house has been in the hands of the National Trust since 1951.

Tea was taken at Almondsbury. The president, Dr. Pexon thanked Mr. and Mrs. Ward for arranging and leading the visit, Keith for his safe driving and Mr. Tonkin for providing the historical background.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 6 October: Dr. F. W. Pexon, president, in the chair.

Dr. R. K. French gave an illustrated talk on 'Vintage Cider treated as a Sparkling Wine.' He said that cider will keep ten to fifteen years but varies from year to year. Cider apples contain three elements, sugar, tannin and acid which produces the alcohol, roughness and taste respectively. The Redstreak variety which was used in the 17th and 18th centuries seems to have disappeared. He urged cider-makers to produce a cider as near as possible to those days and suggested that the bittersweets such as Dabinett, White Beech and Brown Snout are good balanced varieties to use. A revival of traditional cider-making had been taking place in the Basque country during the last thirty years.

SECOND MEETING: 27 October: Dr. F. W. Pexon, president, in the chair.

Mr. G. W. Kemp, M.I.Mech.E., gave an illustrated talk on 'Bridge Chapels of England.' He referred to the murals depicting St. Christopher in the church at Breage in Cornwall and in

the chapel at Haddon Hall showing people being carried across rivers. By 1200 there was a greater need for bridges to replace fords due to the increase in travel on pilgrimages and to fairs and markets. From 1250 onwards more stone bridges were constructed and the earlier wooden ones replaced in stone. In 1381 one third of the national income went to the church and there were wayside chapels supported by the monasteries and chantries and guilds, but these had no burial grounds. There are seventy-six chapels on bridges known and seven bridges had a chapel at each end; and about twelve near to bridges. Mr. Kemp gave documentary evidence and the historical background to many of the chapels on the bridges. After the Reformation the chapels decayed but some were kept and used for various purposes such as lock-ups and during epidemics.

THIRD MEETING: 17 November: Dr. F. W. Pexon, president, in the chair.

This was the twenty-eighth Annual F. G. Morgan lecture and was held at the St. Martin's Parish Centre. Dr. Charles Watkins, lecturer in Rural Studies at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, gave an illustrated talk on 'An Introduction to Ancient Woodlands.' He said that the primeval woodland was cleared 3,000 to 4,000 B.C. for agriculture and grazing but had been managed from early times by coppicing and pollarding. Planting took place from the mid-18th century onwards and some 300,000 acres of natural woodland still remains. Pollarding was necessary to reinvigorate old trees. In the 19th and 20th centuries woodlands were mapped for military and taxation purposes. Estate maps were of high quality but one should not rely on aerial photography. Since the 1939-45 war estates have been broken up and the woods are under new ownership. Indicators for ancient woodland are service-tree, lime, ash and dog's mercury but one must be careful regarding bluebell, red campion, foxglove, mullein and campanula as some of these can be found anywhere. Dr. Watkins said that damage by storms, fire and disease had been useful for natural conservation. Elm in the Ledbury area which had been badly affected by disease in 1969 is growing again. He warned against woods being felled for leisure pursuits.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 8 December:

This meeting was cancelled due to snow and the business of the Winter Annual Meeting was adjourned until the next meeting on 12 January 1991.

On 6 October 1990 the raising of the annual subscription as from January 1991 was passed without any objection. The rates will be as follows:

Member £10.00 Member and Spouse £12.00 Overseas Member £12.00

Junior Member £2.00 Each additional member of a family £2.00

During the year Mr. Perry made a microphone and loudspeakers which he fitted in the Woolhope Room. They came into use in October 1990 and have been much appreciated by members.

It is with regret that one records the deaths of Mr. H. J. Powell, F.R.I.B.A., who was the club's president in 1965 and 1971 and of Mrs. M. M. Voss, B.A., who was president in 1981.

EDITOR'S NOTE

With reference to Vol. XLVI (1989) pp. 169-176 'Salvage Excavation of a Beaker Burial from Aymestrey (HWCM 7060)' it has been drawn to my attention that the actual finder of the cist was Mr. Blatchford. Had he not been alert and observant his bulldozer would have destroyed it completely and instantaneously. He then showed intelligence and public spirit in promptly reporting the find to the manager. It is primarily thanks to him that this precious relic of the past is now safely in the Leominster Museum.

WOOLHOPE NATURALIST'S FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31 December 1989

£	£	£	£	£	£
Receipts		Payments			
Interest on Investments			50		155.00
3½% War Loan		32.64	215		150.11
Hereford and Worcester County Council Loan			7,287		5,440.12
Nat. Savings Investment	1,752	126.05	55		
Bank Deposit Interest	195	2,226.52	932		237.92
General Subscriptions	2,066	204.68	113		106.00
Sale of Publications	4,192	4,185.17	330		330.00
Grants and Donations	331	485.00	46		49.66
Income Tax Refund	3,283		318		224.76
Natural History Section	569	106.82	1,653		1,353.09
Archaeological Research	196	310.93			
Field Names Survey	1,833	1,624.08			
Field Meetings (Net)	1,173	326.50			
	11,682			10,999	8,046.66
Bank Balances 1st January		7,038.50			
Current Accounts					
General	290	245.53	246		540.07
Subscription	65	322.19	322		157.36
Natural History Section	25	70.00	78		55.84
Archaeological Research Sec.	265	78.24	539		49.48
Field Names Survey		539.08	21		262.38
Field Meetings	264	20.80			115.38
Deposit Accounts					
National Savings Investments	18,726	20,477.43			22,703.95
Subscriptions	4,830	4,395.71			2,859.67
G. Marshall Fund	677	687.02			707.74
Natural History Section	294	307.19			378.51
Archaeological Research Sec.	117	19.01			19.89
Field Names Survey (B/S)		15.62			2,266.56
Archaeological Res. Sec. (B/S)	204	97.91			
Field Meetings	799	2,034.64			
Cash in Hand	26,556	29,310.37			
	14	8.74			
	<u>40,318</u>	<u>40,318</u>			
				29,310	
			9		
					30,900.84
					<u>38,947.50</u>

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.

S. Haigh

(Signed) D. HAIGH
31st May, 1990

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

OBITUARIES

HERBERT J. POWELL, F.R.I.B.A., 1911 - 1990

Being a chorister in Hereford Cathedral under Sir Percy Hull gave Herbert Powell a life-long love of choir and organ music. On leaving the Upper School he was articled to the Hereford architects Nicholson and Clarke, and eventually formed the firm of Scriven, Powell and James.

His particular interest was the care of churches. He joined the Woolhope Club in 1943, served on the central committee for many years, and on retirement, was made an honorary member. He was President of the Club in 1965 and again in 1971, choosing as his Presidential addresses 'Medieval Hereford and its place in the 20th Century' and 'Herefordshire Churches of the Gothic Revival.'

His architectural knowledge was a great asset as will be seen from the following papers in the *Transactions*:

1952 'Church Architecture in Herefordshire'

1955 '4 and 5 King Street'

1970 'The Eleventh Century Norman Work in Hereford Cathedral'

1975 'Renaissance Churches in Herefordshire'

1976 'Victorian Church Architecture in the Diocese of Hereford'

1978 'Organ Cases in the Diocese of Hereford'

1981 'The Perpendicular Style in Herefordshire'

His historical and architectural talks with slides were enjoyed by numerous societies in the county.

He was a staunch supporter of the Hereford Cathedral School Old Boys' Club, being honorary treasurer for many years, and was the School architect during the years of its growth.

It was a fitting tribute to his work for the Cathedral and the School that his funeral was held in the Lady Chapel, attended by the Dean and members of the Chapter, the Headmaster and many dignitaries, the full boys choir, with Dr. Roy Massey playing the organ.

He was a true Herefordian.

B.B.

MARJORIE M. VOSS, B.A.

Mrs. Marjorie Voss and her husband, Bernard, became members of the Club in November 1970. At that time they were spending their holidays in the county at a cottage they had bought at Westhope as a retreat from their work in London where Marjorie was a journalist.

When they retired here a few years later they took an active part in the Club and became its joint field secretaries in 1978. This task they continued to do until the end of the summer of 1984, planning the out-of-county visits based on Keswick, Ripon, Winchester, Loughborough and Twickenham. None of us who were on the last of these based on the college at Strawberry Hill will forget their detailed knowledge of the London area.

She was President of the Club in 1981 when her Presidential Address was 'An Architect and his Clients', a review of the building of the church at Richards Castle by Norman Shaw. This reflected her interest in the 19th-century architects and the work especially of William Morris and his school and of Philip Webb later in the century. The same interest was reflected in the field visits mentioned above when the Club visited forty-three different great houses in seven years in addition to those on the out-of-county visits.

After her four years as vice-president Mrs. Voss was elected on to the committee from 1986-9 when, in her late seventies, she asked not to be considered for re-election.

She was a great believer in adult education both through the Extramural classes of Birmingham University and the W.E.A. and was a member of classes run by both organisations.

She died in November 1990, her death and that of another past president, H. J. Powell, occurring within a few days of each other and being announced to the Club at the same meeting.

Her work for local history in the county, especially in the encouragement of the annual Local History Day Schools has been recognised by the proposal to inaugurate a Marjorie Voss Memorial Lecture.

J.W.T.

Presidential Address

Churchyard Memorials of South-east Herefordshire

By E. H. WARD

INTRODUCTION

A study of the memorials in Herefordshire churches which include effigies was made in the 1930s by George Marshall, whose paper 'Monumental Effigies of Herefordshire Churches,' with photographs by F. C. Morgan, formed the basis of his address to the Woolhope Club in March 1930. The work was not published but the manuscript may be seen in the Woolhope Club library. I have found no record of studies by members of the Woolhope Club of other memorials either inside churches or in churchyards.

This study of churchyard memorials is based on visits to seventy-eight Anglican churchyards in the Hundreds of Greytree, Radlow and Wormelow, and is concentrated on the following aspects:

- 1 HISTORY
- 2 SHAPE
- 3 ORNAMENTATION
- 4 LETTERING
- 5 EPITAPHS

I have not concerned myself with funeral customs, development of churchyards, materials used for memorials or the genealogical implications of inscriptions. Another limitation is that the memorial must be sufficiently well preserved to be legible and suitable for photography. A few floor slabs inside churches have been used to illustrate particular points.

1 HISTORY

In pre-Reformation times some form of marker might be erected over a grave, both to reduce disturbance and to facilitate the saying of prayers for the dead. Common forms were a cross, a headstone and smaller footstone, a flat or shaped stone the length of the grave, or some combination of these elements, but they were rarely inscribed. Such markers were often of wood so they have not survived, as have very few examples of the form known as a dead-board, a memorial made of planks placed on edge parallel with the grave and supported at each end on a post, which was popular for many centuries.

Churchyard memorials are subject to natural decay. The stones may split or crumble, and even when this does not occur they tend eventually to fall and disappear beneath an accumulation of plant growth and humus. There were also three main periods of destruction by man. The first was the fifty or so years following the Reformation, when many memorials were destroyed as symbols of idolatry, which led Queen Elizabeth I in 1561 to issue the following decree:

'The Queenes Maiestie understanding that by the meanes of Sundrie people, partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous, there hath been of late yeares spoiled and broken...ancient Monuments, some of metall, some of stone. Her Maiestie chargeth and commandth all manner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parte of any Monument, or Tombe, or Grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased...'¹

The second period of destruction was the Civil War, when graves were robbed of brass from inscriptions and lead from coffins for use as war materials, and a common result was the destruction of the memorial. The third period of destruction is the present century when much has been done to tidy churchyards, and memorials have been destroyed, sold, used as paving or set up around the perimeter of the churchyard. This latter procedure may however facilitate the study and photographing of memorials, e.g. Bridstow and Yarkhill. Perhaps the saddest fate for headstones is to be seen at Stretton Grandison where they have been used to surround the rubbish heap and bonfire.

It is hardly surprising that few churchyard memorials survive from before 1700 and a number of these have been saved by removal to the church porch or interior, e.g. Whitchurch (PLS. XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI). The time span of this study therefore begins at about 1650, and it ends at about 1850 after which local craftsmanship is less evident and widespread use begins of mass-production, the employment of imported materials either from other parts of the United Kingdom, such as granite, or from abroad, in particular Italian marble. At the same time there is a general deterioration in artistic design, which tends to pass from craftsman to architect. This change is reminiscent of the contrast between vernacular building, locally designed using local materials and seeming to have grown out of the landscape, and polite architecture, designed on the drawing-board using any materials which take the designer's fancy and equally at home, or out of place, anywhere in the kingdom.

2 SHAPE OF MEMORIALS

(i) *Headstone*. By far the most common shape. The earliest seen in this study are small and square. Whitchurch 1685 Giinn (PL. XXXIV). Cradley 1695 Perkins. Both have been preserved in the church porch. During the next fifty years headstones became taller and the shape at the top was often a development of the ornamentation.

Hope Mansell 1741 Lluwellen (PL. XXXIX).

Linton 1725 Voice. Foy 1748 Box.

From the middle of the 18th century until about the middle of the 19th the most common shape for the top of the headstone was the plain segmental curve, i.e. a curve of less than a semi-circle.

Bridstow 1786 Price (PL. XLI).

Bridstow 1831 Cooke (PL. XLVII).

Welsh Newton 1834 Neat (PL. LIII).

Upton Bishop 1838 (PL. L).

Peterstow 1838 Mannings (PL. LI).

A pleasant development of this form is the segmental curve with stepped corners.

Llanrothal 1845 Barnes (PL. LIV).

Occasionally a more fanciful development of the curve is found.

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell (PL. XLVI).

The semi-circular curve, or Norman arch, in which the curve is tangential to the sides of the headstone, and the two-centred or Gothic arch, are late developments, rare before 1850.

(ii) *Ledger*. A flat slab placed on the ground over the grave.

(iii) *Coped Stone*. A development of the ledger in which the upper surface is formed into four sloping surfaces in the shape of a shallow hipped roof.

Upton Bishop 1839 (PL. XLIX).

(iv) *Body Stone*. An approximate representation of a shrouded body, laid horizontally, often between a headstone and a footstone.

(v) *Coffin Stone*. Similar to a body stone but in the shape of a coffin.

Coped stone, body stone and coffin stone though mediaeval in origin regained popularity in the 19th century, when ingenious masons contrived to combine the coffin shape with that of a horizontal cross.

(vi) *Chest Tomb*. An elongated box shape. The earliest examples have flat tops. The inscription is usually on the side but occasionally on the top.

Upton Bishop 1800 (PL. XLIV).

A rare related form is the table tomb in which the slab is supported on four or more stone or brick pillars, but none were found in this study.

From about the beginning of the 19th century a form of chest tomb appears with a shallow hipped top, as if a coped stone had been placed on the top of a flat-topped chest tomb.

Much Birch 1845 Edwards (PL. LII).

(vii) *Altar Tomb*. Similar to a chest tomb but with the sides and ends of brick, normally rendered, with the inscription on the top. The rendering has usually fallen away.

St. Weonards (PL. XLV).

The brick sides often became unsafe and were demolished, leaving the slab lying on the ground, where it can easily be mistaken for a ledger. This could also happen with a table tomb or flat-topped chest tomb. However, the genuine ledger can usually be distinguished by its plain edges while the other forms tend to have moulded edges.

(viii) *Sarcophagus*. A revival of the shape of the container for the remains used in classical times, similar to a chest tomb but resting on four, six or more feet often made to resemble those of a lion or other animal.

Hope Mansell c.1800 Miles (PL. XLIII).

(ix) *Pedestal Tomb*. Basically an upright chest tomb, usually square in plan but occasionally to other plans such as triangular, Upton Bishop, hexagonal, Woolhope, circular or more complex. The top is often highly developed, and is sometimes surmounted by an urn.

St. Weonards 1771 Phillpots (PL. XXXII).

3 ORNAMENTATION

Although some commentators have attempted to classify churchyard memorial ornamentation into historical phases such as *The Age of Symbolism* and *The Age of Decoration*, this procedure has been complicated by the fact that these periods overlap considerably and there is much local variation. Also it can be argued that even in an example where the ornamentation of a memorial is regarded as entirely decorative it is usually possible to read symbolism into at least some of the elements. However, a few main trends in the subjects of the symbolism are easily recognised.

Symbols of Mortality. Up to about 1715. The most frequently found symbol is the skull. A variation of the skull is the angel of death, a skull equipped with wings. Another common symbol is the hourglass.

Whitchurch 1700 Betham skull (PL. XXXVI).

Llanrothal 1715 Barry (floor slab) skull, hourglass, angel of death.

Upton Bishop c.1800 (PL. XLIV) skull, hourglass, serpent ring. (Symbol of eternity).

Symbols of Resurrection. From about 1715.

Lea 1742 Yearsley (PL. XL). Strangely clad angels with books and trumpets. The books are unidentifiable. This is possibly one of the most photographed memorials in Herefordshire churchyards, and one of the most difficult to photograph. A similar memorial in a very poor state is found at Llangarron.

Upton Bishop 1838 (PL. L). The sun beams down upon a sarcophagus between two angels.

The Cherub. Very common. Examples were found from 1729 to 1791. The significance of the cherub is disputed. Is it a soul flying up to heaven or a derivative of the angel of death noted earlier?

Bridstow 1786 Price (PL. XLI).

Means of Salvation. A theme common in England but comparatively few examples were found in this study, ranging from 1750 to 1847. The most frequent symbol is the cross, which reappears on churchyard memorials early in the 19th century having been out of favour as a Papist device since the Reformation. Some are thought to mark the graves of Catholics in Anglican churchyards.

Castle Frome 1802 Bethel.

Ledbury 1847 Cook.

Mordiford 1847.

Goodrich 1823 Cutter. The only crucifix found.

The Book. If unscribed it has been interpreted variously as the Bible, the Prayer Book, the Book of Knowledge or of Life, or of Memory, or as the Register of the Elect.

Lea 1742 Yearsley (PL. XL).

Garway 1831 Goode (PL. XLVIII). The well known text from *Revelation XIV 13* can be seen on the book, but this is superimposed upon a beautifully inscribed musical score of *The Trumpet shall Sound* from Handel's *Messiah*.

Llanrothal 1845 Barnes (PL. LIV).

Occasionally a more fanciful development of the curve is found.

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell (PL. XLVI).

The semi-circular curve, or Norman arch, in which the curve is tangential to the sides of the headstone, and the two-centred or Gothic arch, are late developments, rare before 1850.

(ii) *Ledger*. A flat slab placed on the ground over the grave.

(iii) *Coped Stone*. A development of the ledger in which the upper surface is formed into four sloping surfaces in the shape of a shallow hipped roof.

Upton Bishop 1839 (PL. XLIX).

(iv) *Body Stone*. An approximate representation of a shrouded body, laid horizontally, often between a headstone and a footstone.

(v) *Coffin Stone*. Similar to a body stone but in the shape of a coffin.

Coped stone, body stone and coffin stone though mediaeval in origin regained popularity in the 19th century, when ingenious masons contrived to combine the coffin shape with that of a horizontal cross.

(vi) *Chest Tomb*. An elongated box shape. The earliest examples have flat tops. The inscription is usually on the side but occasionally on the top.

Upton Bishop 1800 (PL. XLIV).

A rare related form is the table tomb in which the slab is supported on four or more stone or brick pillars, but none were found in this study.

From about the beginning of the 19th century a form of chest tomb appears with a shallow hipped top, as if a coped stone had been placed on the top of a flat-topped chest tomb.

Much Birch 1845 Edwards (PL. LII).

(vii) *Altar Tomb*. Similar to a chest tomb but with the sides and ends of brick, normally rendered, with the inscription on the top. The rendering has usually fallen away.

St. Weonards (PL. XLV).

The brick sides often became unsafe and were demolished, leaving the slab lying on the ground, where it can easily be mistaken for a ledger. This could also happen with a table tomb or flat-topped chest tomb. However, the genuine ledger can usually be distinguished by its plain edges while the other forms tend to have moulded edges.

(viii) *Sarcophagus*. A revival of the shape of the container for the remains used in classical times, similar to a chest tomb but resting on four, six or more feet often made to resemble those of a lion or other animal.

Hope Mansell c. 1800 Miles (PL. XLIII).

(ix) *Pedestal Tomb*. Basically an upright chest tomb, usually square in plan but occasionally to other plans such as triangular, Upton Bishop, hexagonal, Woolhope, circular or more complex. The top is often highly developed, and is sometimes surmounted by an urn.

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The revived interest in classical design which reached England in the late 17th and early 18th centuries appears in memorials from about 1770.

The Urn. Originally a container for the ashes of the dead in classical times, the urn becomes a common motif on headstones in the 18th and 19th centuries. The earliest example in this study is 1782 and the latest 1838. The urn is often shown draped.

Welsh Newton 1834 Neat (PL. LIII). Note the rings to support the drapes.

Some local craftsmen seem to have mistaken the urn for a lamp and added a flame, which in turn might become a fruit.

Llanrothal 1845 Barnes (PL. LIV).

The urn also appears in three-dimensional form on pedestal tombs.

Upton Bishop 1842 Hardwick.

The Sarcophagus. This appears as a motif on headstones in the first half of the 19th century.

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell (PL. XLVI). This example shows the usual lion's feet. The surface of the sarcophagus provides a convenient panel for a text. It also has other uses and one was seen bearing the words 'Yates, Hereford'.

Other Ornaments, some of which may be Symbols.

Plants, trees, flowers, leaves and fruit, usually stylized but occasionally naturalistic.

Peterstow 1704 Copewas: fleur-de-lys. Significance unknown.

Welsh Newton 1771 Phillpots: Acanthus (PL. XXXII).

Upton Bishop 1838: flowers. (PL. L).

Bridstow 1786 Price: swags. (PL. XLI).

Hope Mansel 1741 Lluwellen: flowers and foliage. (PL. XXXIX).

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell: swags. (PL. XLVI).

Garway 1831 Goode: flowers, foliage and swags. (PL. XLVIII).

Whitchurch 1685 Glinn: the ornamentation appears to be based on corn ears. (PL. XXXIV).

A headstone at Goodrich which appears to be 19th century shows a basket of fruit, flowers and vegetables.

Bridstow 1831 Cooke: pineapple. (PL. XLVII). The shape of the pineapple, first brought to England in the reign of Charles II, often modified that of the fir-cone, an ancient fertility emblem. It is common on gateposts but rare on headstones.

Classical abstract ornamentation

Much Birch 1845 Edwards (PL. LII).

Calligraphic ornamentation. This was frequently used to decorate the word SACRED.

Peterstow 1838 Mannings (PL. LI).

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell (PL. XLVI).

Garway 1831 Goode (PL. XLVIII).

4 LETTERING

Introduction

The 20th century has produced applied lettering, in which factory-made letters of metal or plastic are fixed to the surface of the memorial with nibs or adhesive. If well executed this method of lettering can be effective and reasonably long-lasting, as shown in many public monuments, but the poorest examples on churchyard memorials may last less than twenty years.

The traditional use of incised lettering carried out with hammer and chisel is as permanent as the stone into which the inscription is cut and the craftsman has an unlimited range of scripts and letter sizes from which to choose. The Romans were the masters of memorial inscription and their work has formed the basis of much of the lettering of churchyard and other memorials for many centuries. The other main source is the range of calligraphic scripts developed from the Roman alphabet over two millennia, and during the last 150 years use has been made of scripts developed from the type faces used in printing.

The alphabets which developed in Europe and the Near East consisted of combinations of straight and curved lines, which were scratched on stone or a softer surface or written with a stick dipped in a coloured liquid, but both methods produced very crude lettering. Artistic progress was possible when two more sophisticated techniques were introduced. In the first, a hard sharp instrument or stylus was used to cut into a soft surface such as clay or wax, and in the second a flexible instrument, a brush or reed pen, was used to lay colour onto a hard or slightly flexible surface. Both methods produce a thickening of the end of letters which develops into the serif. This is particularly marked in the cuneiform of the Assyrians, in which a stylus was used on clay tablets.

The brush and reed pen have another characteristic, in that being flexible they can produce a thick/thin effect by variation of pressure. A similar effect with an even greater contrast between thick and thin can be obtained from a flat brush or pen by varying the direction in which it is used. While the brush can rarely lay down as thin a line as the pen, it has great versatility and can produce lines tapering from full thickness down to a point, as seen in Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese and many other Asiatic scripts.

Greek and early Roman inscriptions in stone tend to lack thickened ends and thick/thin. Later it was found that the chisel could successfully imitate the thick/thin and serifs of pen or stylus writing and later Roman inscriptions show both characteristics. Brushes may have been used to mark the positions of the letters. The most famous example of such work is Emperor Trajan's column in Rome, dating from 114 A.D., to which scribes and designers have returned again and again for guidance. A similar example, an inscription in honour of Trajan of 100 A.D., was found at Caerleon in 1928.

The Roman script used in the first two centuries A.D. is the ancestor of all subsequent styles of lettering using the Roman alphabet. Trajan's column of 114 A.D. lacks the letters J, K, U, W, Y and Z which were not used in Latin, and H although used in Latin does not occur in the inscription. These letters had to be constructed by scribes according to the principles displayed in the other letters.

Roman inscriptions and originally all manuscripts were in capital letters, but Roman scribes developed a cursive or quickly written hand which was to give rise to the many small

letter or lower case scripts which evolved in various parts of Europe, mostly in monasteries. One of these is the compressed angular Gothic or Black Letter script which also developed highly complex capital letter forms and was the script adopted by Gutenberg for printing in Germany where a version of it remained in use until the middle of the 20th century. In England it was popular in the middle ages for inscriptions on memorials and tombs inside churches. As most of these were in Latin the illegibility of the script was of little importance. The Renaissance brought new scripts from Italy to replace the Gothic, which disappears from memorials except for minor revivals in the 19th century.

The earliest inscriptions on English churchyard memorials usually lack both serifs and thick/thin. They appear to have been executed without preliminary marking, with the result of divided words and poor layout, or the stone was marked with charcoal or lead or merely scratched. Occasionally construction lines may still be visible scored on the stone. At first only capital letters were used, as in Roman inscriptions.

Ashperton 1652 Lord (PL. XXXI). Set in the wall inside the church. Roman capitals. Slight serif or thickening of the ends of letters but no thick/thin. Note joined HE (= H E) and Roman V for U. Poorly planned.

Welsh Newton 1623 Donn (PL. XXXIII). Capitals and lower case. Serifs but no thick/thin. Note old form of s in August, easily confused with the letter f. The general rule was to use the modern s at the end of a word and the archaic form in other positions.

Whitchurch 1685 Glinn (PL. XXXIV) in the church porch. Capitals and lower case. Serifs but no thick/thin. The division of the words *departed* and *January* suggest that the layout was not marked out in advance. Presumably the lines were laid out by eye, in which case the craftsman did quite well, for they are almost parallel. The position of the i in *life* when compared with *lieth* in line 1 suggests the accidental omission of a letter. V is still used for U and it is a capital V where it should be lower case. An attempt has been made at an ornamental J. Note two versions of lower case y.

Whitchurch 1700 Betham (PL. XXXV) in the church porch. Entirely in capitals but very carefully laid out. Very different from Glinn (PL. XXXIV) of only fifteen years earlier which stands next to it at Whitchurch. A superior memorial suited to the daughter of a knight and wife of a rector. However, the symbolic ornamentation of the memorial (PL. XXXVI) is crude in comparison with the inscription.

Much Dewchurch 1727 and 1733 Chamberlayne (PL. XXXVIII). Floor slab. The second inscription has lower case as well as capitals and shows the first example noted of thick/thin.

Welsh Newton 1723 Don (PL. XXXVII). Capitals and lower case with pronounced serifs. Note the attempt to compensate for lack of planning by filling the ends of lines 2 and 3 with decoration.

Hope Mansell 1741 Lluwellen (PL. XXXIX). Capitals and lower case with serifs and some suggestion of thick/thin. Very well laid out with some guide lines still visible. Note I for J in *Ioan*. The Romans had no J, but there was a custom after the Roman era to use J for I when used consonantly, e.g. IULIUS was written as JULIUS. Some local craftsmen seem to have become confused so that sometimes J reverted to I as on this memorial. Note the lower case ll to begin Lluwellen, a usage still occasionally seen today.

Llanrothal 1789 Barry (PL. XLII). Slate floor-slab. Pronounced thick/thin with serifs and calligraphic flourishes. New form of letter s in *August*.

Peterstow 1838 Mannings (PL. LI). Roman and italic scripts with highly developed thick/thin and calligraphic decoration.

5 EPITAPHS

The subjects of epitaphs mirror to some extent the symbolism found in the ornamentation of memorials, but the chronology is far less marked. Mortality and salvation occur frequently, and other common themes are the personal, the professional and the biblical quotation. Most of the epitaphs are in verse, and although the rhyme is at times faulty the metre is usually accurate. Almost all are written in iambic metre, i.e. a succession of short-long syllables, and the preference is for four feet to the line. Perhaps it is fortunate that there is insufficient space on most churchyard memorials for the extended eulogies to be found on some wall memorials found inside churches.

Upton Bishop 1777 Bamford. Mortality.

'A time of Death there is you know full well
But when or How no Mortal Man can tell
Be it at Night Noon, Now or Then
Death is most certain, yet uncertain When.'

Welsh Newton 1788 Richard Ball. The personal is combined with mortality.

'A loving Husband, a father dear
A faithfull friend he's buried here
My days are past, my glass is run
My children dear prepare to come.'

Welsh Newton 1794 Eleanor Ball. Wife of Richard Ball above.

'Death did part us for a time
But now in heaven we are joined.'

Pencoyd 1815 Mary Cutter, aged ninety-three years. A curious epitaph for someone of this age.

'Beloved by All, by All carres'd
Too good to live and dear lies blest.'

Yarkhill 1829 Pennell. (PL. XLVI). Mortality.

'Since all certainly to death must resign
Why should we think it dreadful or repine
From death we rose to life its but the same
To pass through life to death from whence we came.'

Ledbury 1829 Phillips. A farrier. One of the few professional epitaphs found.

'One gentle sigh his fetter broke
We scarce could say he's gone
Before his willing spirit took
It's station near the throne.'

Westhide 1839 Duppa Hill. Mortality combined with the personal.

'Here lies in dust his cold remains
Once kindled by a generous heart
In feeling others wants and pains
He bore a manly Christian part.'

His daughter Elizabeth who died in 1830 aged twenty-five shares his headstone to which the following is added:

'Behold my friends and cast an eye
Then go thy way, prepare to die,
Repent with speed, make no delay,
I in my prime was called away.'

Bosbury 1844 Gardiner. Psalm LIII.

'Verily there is a reward for the Righteous,
Verily he is a God that judgeth the earth.'

Woolhope 1848 Henry Burcher and his two wives.

Jane Burcher 1824-1848
Henry Burcher 1822-1900
Elizabeth Burcher 1821-1903

Jane's epitaph reads:

'Farewell dear husband I am gone
And left two daughters and a son
And as for me no sorrow take
But love my children for my sake.'

Kilpeck 1816 Llewelin. Salvation.

'My life in sickness here has been
And much affliction have I seen
But Christ by death hath set me free
To live with him eternally.'

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¹ Queen Elizabeth's decree is quoted from H. Leslie White, *Monuments and their Inscriptions* (1978).

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APPENDIX

Churchyards visited for the study

<i>Greytree Hundred</i>	<i>Radlow Hundred</i>	Tarrington	King's Caple
Aston Ingham	Ashperton	Wellington Heath	Llandinabo
Brampton Abbotts	Aylton	Westhide	Llangarron
Brockhampton by Ross	Bartestree	Weston Beggard	Llanrothal
Dormington	Bishop's Frome	Yarkhill	Llanwarne
Fownhope	Bosbury	<i>Wormelow Hundred</i>	Marstow
Foy	Canon Frome	Aconbury	Michaelchurch
Hope Mansell	Castle Frome	Ballingham	Orcop
How Caple	Coddington	Birch, Little	Pencoyd
Linton	Colwall	Birch, Much	Peterstow
Mordiford	Cradley	Bolstone	St. Weonards
Much Marcle	Donnington	Bridstow	Sellack
Putley	Eastnor	Dewchurch, Little	Tretire
Ross-on-Wye	Evesbatch	Dewchurch, Much	Welsh Bicknor
Sollers Hope	Ledbury	Dewsall	Welsh Newton
Upton Bishop	Lugwardine	Ganarew	Whitchurch
Walford-on-Wye	Moreton Jeffries	Garway	<i>Formerly outside Here-</i>
Weston-under-Penyard	Munsley	Goodrich	<i>fordshire</i>
Woolhope	Pixley	Hentland	Acton Beauchamp
Yatton	Stoke Edith	Hoarwithy	Mathon
	Stretton Grandison	Kilpeck	Lea

The Romano-British Settlement At Blackwardine (HWCM 737)

By D. L. BROWN

Summary

This report summarizes the results of salvage recording on the Roman site of Blackwardine, and makes an assessment of the character of Roman settlement, based on all available information. In addition the assemblage of pottery forms recovered from the site is published, as indicative of Roman economy and pottery production in the region as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

This post-excavation project was undertaken as a dissertation for an M.A. in Archaeological Practice at Birmingham University, under the direction of Hereford and Worcester County Archaeology Section, to prepare fieldwork undertaken in 1980 by J. Sawle for archive and publication.

Blackwardine is situated 2 miles (3.2 km.) S.E. of Leominster at SO 534 567. It lies on a plateau slightly raised above the level of the Humber Brook, which bounds the settlement area to the E. and overlooking the Lugg Valley to the W. (FIG. 1). One mile to the S. of the Humber Brook lies Risbury Camp, a multivallate Iron Age hillfort, one of several within a short distance of the site.

The soil profile is of the Escrick 1 Association of deep well-drained coarse loamy soils developed in reddish till and Head deposits (Ragg *et al.*, 1984, 184-8). The till is often calcareous at depth and is composed of local Devonian and Silurian rocks with a few far-travelled Welsh erratics. It is immediately adjacent to the similar Bromyard series of well drained reddish fine silty soils over silty shales and soft siltstones to the E. (Ragg *et al.*, 1984, 124-7). This area is one of high agricultural value, especially within the river valley. Much of the land has been devoted to mixed pasture and arable, with a number of hopyards and orchards, and in the past, vineyards in more sheltered places.

The archaeological site is first recorded as being a Roman settlement in the *Leominster Guide* of the Rev. Jonathan Williams in 1808, who reports the tradition of there having been a 'populous and flourishing town.' He reported the discovery of numerous Roman artefacts, including coins and pottery, and the existence of a Roman road. He also suggested the derivation of the names as 'Black-Caer-dun;' the latter part of this suggestion is clever, but unfortunately wrong. It is however worth quoting his explanation of the term 'Black': 'its soil is of a much darker hue than that of which the adjacent fields are composed.' The element '-wardine,' derived from Anglo-Saxon *worthign*, means an enclosure or homestead, although its precise meaning in this context is obscure (M. Gelling pers. comm.).

The excavation of a cutting for the Leominster and Bromyard Railway in 1882 was the first substantial disturbance of the site. Unfortunately the remains affected were only witnessed by the workmen involved, whose descriptions of their discoveries are not entirely

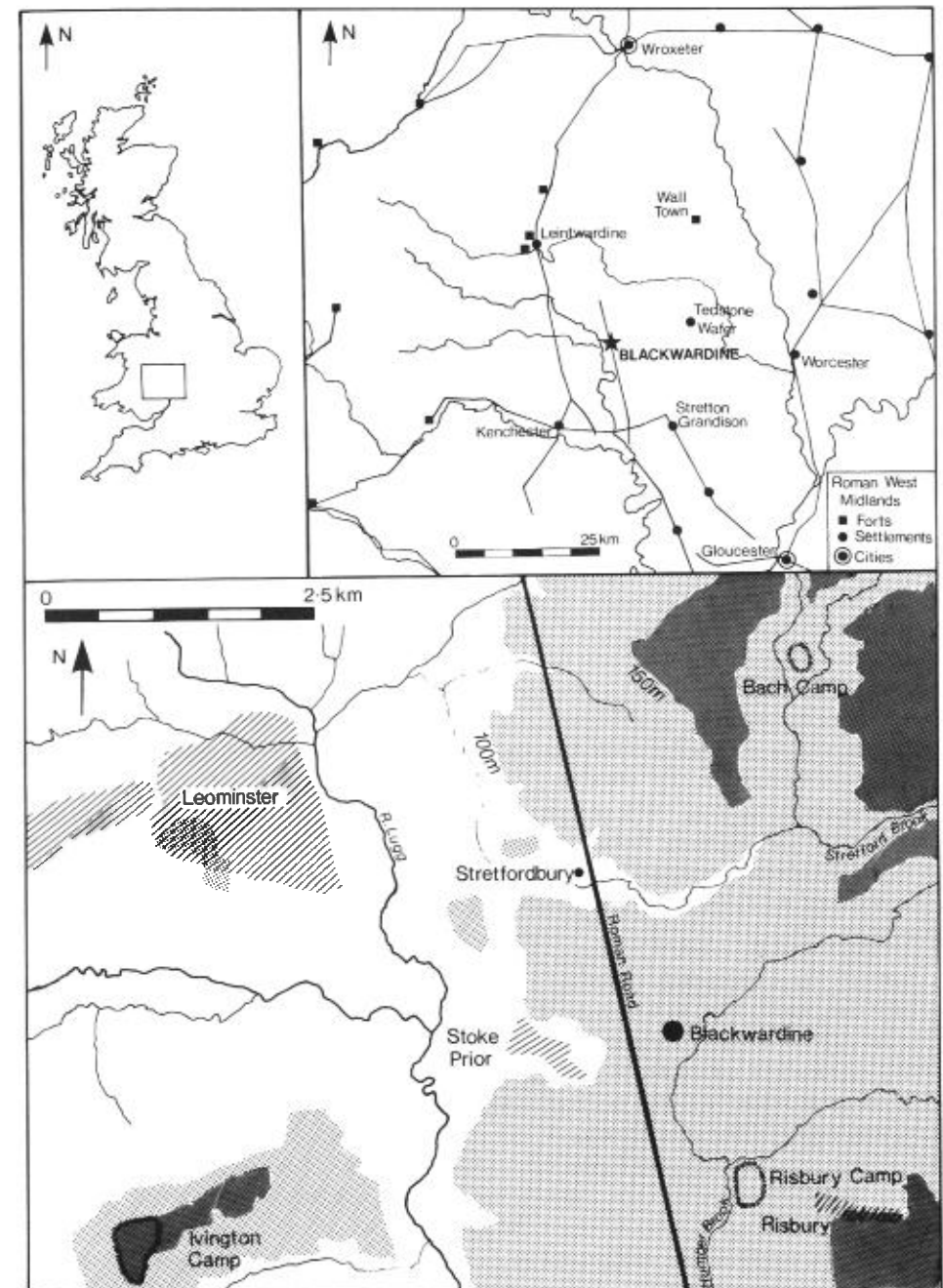


Fig 1
The Location of Blackwardine Roman Settlement.

clear. Structural remains included 'about 30 ovens, full of ashes, built of worked stones,' while graves were also discovered (Davies-Burlton 1885). Some coins were examined by British Museum staff, but other finds had been reburied, appropriated or sold by the workmen.

The Woolhope Club showed considerable interest in this site, visiting more than once, and coming close to excavation when G. H. Jack urged such a course either here or at Kenchester in 1910 (Pilley 1910, 179-84). In 1912 excavations began at Kenchester. In September 1921 on a day trip to Stoke Prior some members of the Woolhope Club undertook two hours of excavation in an area which had been productive of finds (Jack 1921, 54-7). Nothing further was added to the documentary record until the 1960s when surface finds again began to be reported from the vicinity.

No concerted campaign of aerial photography has taken place over this site, although some features showed up in 1957 (Arnold Baker composites 1957 SO 5356/2-8: HWCM 3706, 3986), and again in 1974 (J. Pickering pers. comm.; see FIG. 2). More recent work has indicated further features around the periphery of the site (Woodiwiss 1986/6/1-4, RCHME Acc No 3936, HWCM 6006). These are difficult to interpret since their relationship to the known archaeology is not clear.

In 1975 W.F. Attwell, an antiques dealer and researcher into Romano-British antiquities, persuaded the landowners to allow him to excavate. A site was chosen which had produced Roman finds and several large slabs of masonry during ploughing. Attwell was allowed several months leeway in this field before a potato crop was to be planted in spring. The excavator's enthusiasm led to the site being featured on the front page of the *Hereford Times* for 10 October 1975. Unfortunately excavation and recording techniques were considered to be too destructive of the archaeological heritage, so with regard for its importance, the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate recommended that the site should be scheduled (County Monument, Hereford and Worcester 222; HWCM 737; Shoesmith 1975-6). Attwell continued to work around Blackwardine until 1979 or 1980 (Shoesmith 1983, 244-5). However, the not inconsiderable results of his work remain unpublished in any satisfactory form (cf. Attwell 1976 and 1989). Evidence presented here concerning his work has been derived from correspondence, some of the finds on display at Leominster Museum, and others in possession of the landowners.

Attwell has subsequently undertaken trial excavations about one mile to the N. at Stretfordbury (see FIG. 1) near to where the Roman road had previously been located (Shoesmith 1971, 282). Here he discovered considerable remains of a late-3rd to 4th-century building, possibly elements of a bath house (Attwell 1983), which he considered to be evidence for a fort in the near vicinity. It was not until 1980 that any requirement for rescue archaeology arose from a specific threat to the site.

FIELDWORK

In 1980 a proposal to use the railway cutting for the disposal of refuse was approved despite the misgivings of archaeologists. In consequence work commenced in November 1980, and was monitored at various stages by staff of the County Museum Archaeology Section, and others.

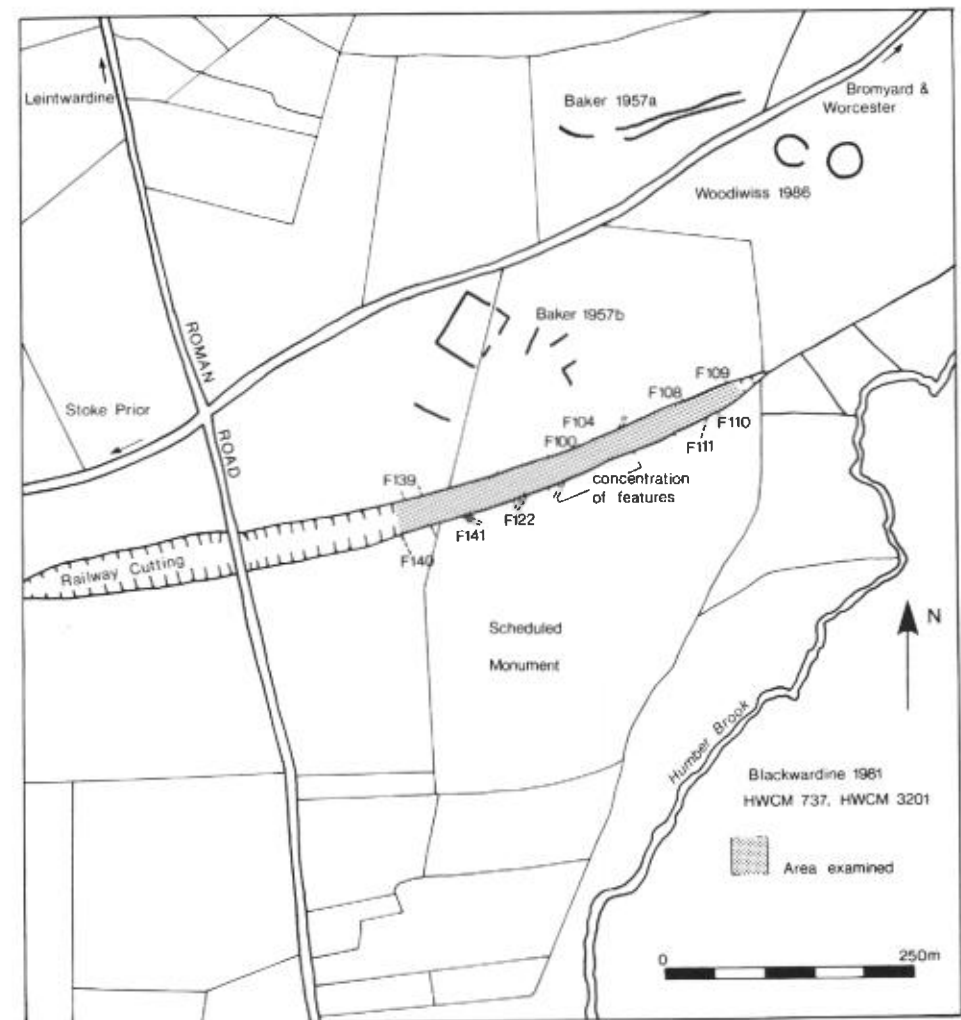


Fig 2
Aerial photographs and located features.

The landfill scheme involved removing 3 m. of the base of the railway cutting to produce a more vertical face. This produced a long section about 4 m. high cutting right through the archaeological site along the N. edge of the scheduled area. Excavation in advance of machining was impractical, so a recording exercise was decided upon to be undertaken by J. Sawle (then the excavations officer for Hereford and Worcester County Museum), to draw, photograph or otherwise record all significant features visible in this section.

Work was started late in January 1981, by which time several features at the E. end of the cutting had already been obscured by backfill, or had already been excavated by local enthusiasts, notably A. Haines. These included F108, a pit containing samian ware of the 1st

century A.D. recovered by Dr. G. Webster on an early visit to the site, and F100, a well, excavated by a machine driver and Haines. This contained a 'poppy head' pot, samian and a coin of Hadrian, reported in the *Hereford Evening News* (23 January 1981).

Recording techniques were restricted, partly due to the lack of a readily available benchmark, but a system of spatial location was employed by measuring along the fenceline from the road bridge across the cutting. Cleaning and close inspection of the section was carried out using a ladder. This was difficult due to the aridity and hardness of the cutting faces, particularly the N. section. Discerning archaeology in either section was not easy due to the extent of disturbance, so only quite substantial features were identified. In many cases it was not possible to recognise which features were cut obliquely by the excavation. Relatively few finds were recovered due to the small quantities of earth moved.

ANALYSIS

Forty-one features were identified in the cutting face. However few were recorded with sufficient precision to add much information about the site. Some information can be gleaned from the best recorded features and the observation of patterns within the group (see FIG. 2).

Feature F108 is likely to have represented the earliest phase excavated on site. The isolation of this feature and the lack of information as to its size, shape and function preclude any detailed discussion of it here, but the appearance of early Flavian material makes it notable.

The well, F100, was the first feature to be recorded by Sawle. It measured c. 3.6 m. in diameter, and was reported to have been over 5 m. deep. A section was drawn, but this could not be completed to the bottom, nor a plan of the feature produced, since excavation below the level recorded had been backfilled by machine, and quantities of other debris had been spread over the area.

The majority of the features identified were either pits or substantial post-holes, few of which provided any more information than an idea of profile and size. Only one pit, F104, was examined relatively closely, partly due to the occurrence of significant quantities of finds associated with it. It was a steep sided, flat bottomed pit 1 m. across and 1.2 m. deep, but its plan was not recoverable. Finds of Severn Valley ware, Black-burnished ware (BB1) and wheel-made Malvernian ware suggested a date in the later 3rd or 4th century A.D. for the use and backfill of this feature.

Twelve ditches were recorded, the alignments for which could be ascertained in only six cases (FIG. 2), and only the largest three (F122, F139 and F140) produced assemblages of finds. Of the remaining six, identification as a ditch rested purely on shape and the lie of the fill, so may be erroneous.

Of the three ditches producing finds, the smallest was F122, U-shaped, 4 m. wide and 3 m. deep from the surface, but cut obliquely, so the true width could only be estimated. The pottery assemblage recovered is datable to the late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D.

The other two ditches, F139 and F140 formed the W. limit of the area in which features were identified. The former, in the N. section, was 9 m. wide by 2 m. deep, with quite gently sloping sides, cut approximately at right angles by the railway cutting. It contained material suggesting an assemblage accumulating between the 2nd and the 4th century A.D.

The largest ditch, F140, was 30 m. wide and nearly 5 m. deep from the surface, with gently sloping sides, but was at an oblique angle to the cutting. It could be seen as a slight dip running broadly S.E. into the next field. Recording was difficult, since the base of the section at this point protruded 3 m. forward of the top. However four main layers were identified, the lowest of which was silt 0.3 m. deep, containing occasional groups of finds mostly of later 2nd century date. Above this layer was a fill 0.4 m. deep containing substantial quantities of miscellaneous debris including pottery and other finds of 2nd to 4th century date. Above this was a homogenous and densely packed layer of soil 0.5 m. thick from which no finds were recovered. The topmost layer was looser, and similar in quality to the topsoil.

Dating evidence from the earliest silty fill suggested an origin in the later 2nd century, but this is very uncertain, and could well be revised by further fieldwork. The character of the debris in the layer above suggests that the ditch was deliberately being used for domestic rubbish in the later Roman period. The next layer indicated a deliberate backfilling with clean material, while the uppermost layer represented sinkage into the remaining hollow over a considerable period of time.

Three further linear features contained quantities of sandstone rubble or layers of mortar and stone. These were interpreted as stone foundations, either of dry stone, or as more substantial set stone foundations (F109-F111).

Approximately in the centre of the area examined was a concentration of more than two thirds of the features recorded. This consisted primarily of pits (eighteen out of twenty-two recorded), and all of the ditches for which no alignment could be ascertained. The well (F100), and the pit producing finds (F104) were both in this group (FIG. 2).

FINDS

The assemblage of finds from the railway cutting is quite small, but the pottery assemblage, being the first to be fully published from Blackwardine is nevertheless important, not only for an understanding of this settlement, but also for Roman settlement and economy in the region as a whole. In consequence a relatively complete form catalogue is presented.

COINS

Both coins recovered from the site were found in the large ditch (F140), the first in the lowest fill.

Domitian	As	A.D. 87	.RIC 355
Constantine I	<i>follis</i>	A.D. 322-3	.RIC VII Trier 368

SAMIAN WARE identified by G. Dannell

A total of forty-eight sherds of samian were recovered from the main site, and thirteen sherds from F108. Most of the seventeen sherds of S. Gaulish samian from La Graufesenque were recovered from F108 (forms 15/17, 18, 29, 30, 36, 37); two of the remainder coming from F139 (form 18), and the last two being unstratified (forms 18R, 35/36). Nine of the sherds of Central Gaulish samian derived from the potteries at Les Martres de Veyre (forms 18 or 18/31, 27, 18/31R, Curle 15), the remainder being from Lezoux (forms 18/31, 27, 31, 31R, 35, 36, 37, 38? 45). Four sherds of E. Gaulish samian were recovered (forms 31, 31R, 45), probably from potteries at Rheinzeiben, of which one was stratified in F139. No sherd merited illustration.

Decorated samian

1 Form 29, S. Gaulish. Similar designs occur in the work of CELADUS (Knorr 1952, Taf 15B) and NIGER who uses the leaf. *c.A.D.* 55-70; F108.

2 Form 29, S. Gaulish. The bud was used by a number of Flavian potters (Knorr 1919, Tb 12.5) including VITALIS who uses the rosette. *c.A.D.* 70-85; F108.

3 Form 30, S. Gaulish. This may be the work of PASSIENUS who uses all of the motifs: the trifid leaf is on a bowl from London (Knorr 1952, Taf 49F), the lanceolate leaf is common (Knorr 1919 Taf 62.66) and the triangular leaf is on a Form 29 from Moulins. The ovolo is double bordered with a straight tongue to the left, ending in a small rosette. It is similar to the one on a Form 30 ascribed to Passienus from Fishbourne (Dannell 1971, Fig 128.20) except that there the tongue appeared to be centrally placed. *c.A.D.* 70-85; F108.

4 Form 37, Central Gaulish. CINNAMUS style. His ovolo (Stanfield and Simpson 1958, Fig. 47.3) with a sea-leopard (Oswald 1937, 52) in a swag design (for a similar treatment see Stanfield and Simpson 1958, Plate 158.22). *c.A.D.* 150-170; unstratified.

Stamped samian

5 Form 18/31 or 31, Central Gaulish. SOLIN[of Solinus. Hadrianic or Antonine; F139.

6 Form 31, Central Gaulish. MA[CRINI. of Macrinus. Antonine; unstratified.

COARSE POTTERY by H. Rees

A total of 714 sherds were recovered from the site, presenting a remarkably wide range of forms. Most pottery forms are illustrated here, while others are referenced to standard published sources. Fabrics are numbered according to the Hereford and Worcester pottery fabric series.

Coarse pottery catalogue (FIGS. 3-4)

- 1 Severn Valley ware beaker (mid-1st-early 2nd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 2 Severn Valley ware beaker (mid-1st-early 2nd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 3 Severn Valley ware jar (1st-4th century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 4 Severn Valley ware jar (2nd-3rd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 5 Severn Valley ware jar. Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 6 Organically tempered Severn Valley ware storage jar (1st-2nd century). Fabric 12.2, unstratified.
- 7 Organically tempered Severn Valley ware storage jar (1st-2nd century). Fabric 12.2, unstratified.
- 8 Severn Valley ware storage jar tempered with clay pellets and sandstone (1st-2nd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 9 Severn Valley ware jar or bowl. Fabric 12, F140.
- 10 Severn Valley ware jar or bowl. Fabric 12, F140.
- 11 Severn Valley ware jar. Fabric 12, F122.
- 12 Severn Valley ware jar (mid-2nd-late 3rd century). Fabric 12, F140.
- 13 Severn Valley ware jar (late 2nd-late 3rd century). Fabric 12, F104.
- 14 Severn Valley ware bowl. Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 15 Severn Valley ware bowl. Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 16 Red slipped Severn Valley ware bowl (2nd century). Fabric 12, F122.

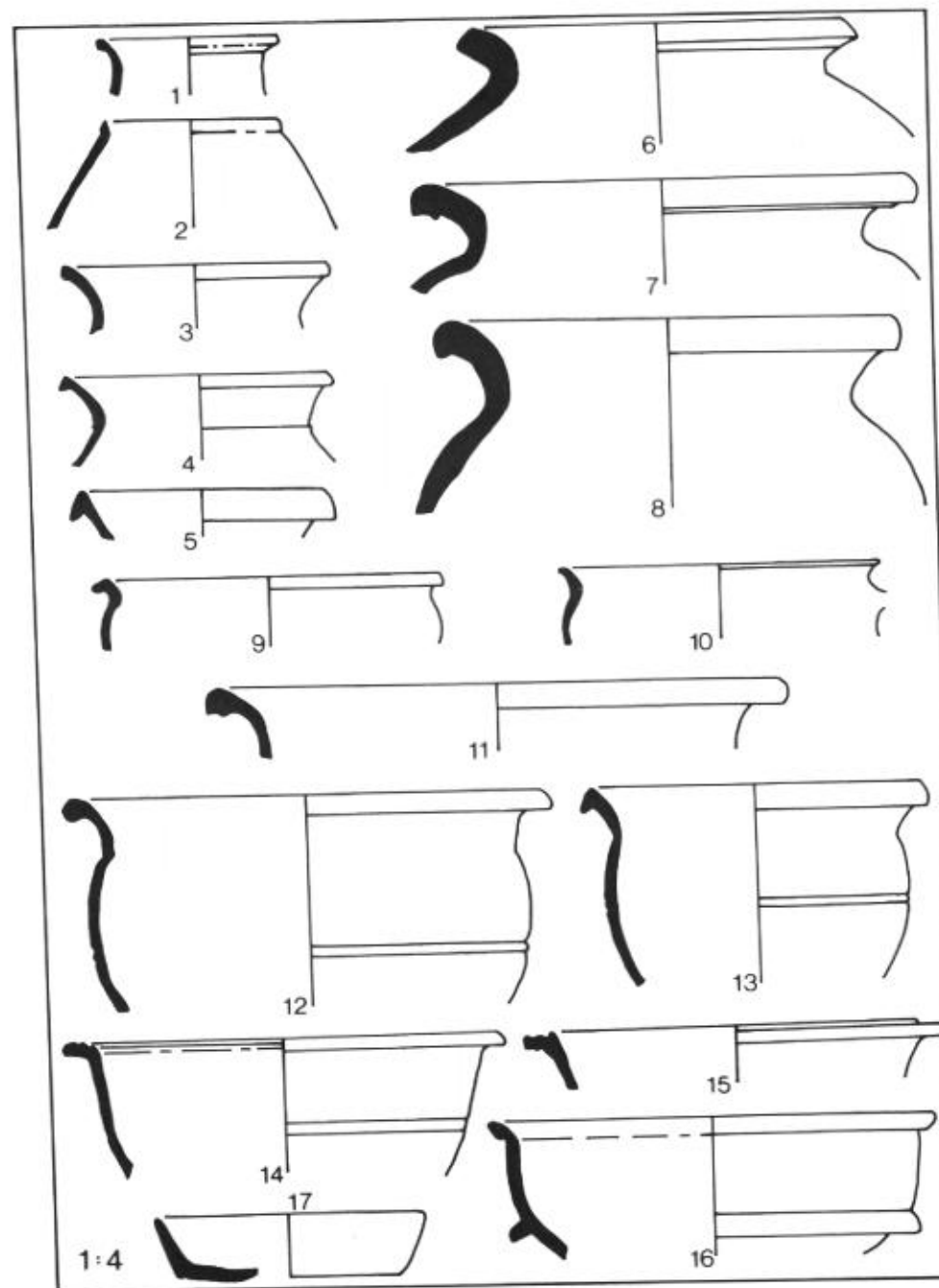


Fig 3
Roman Pottery: Severn Valley Ware.

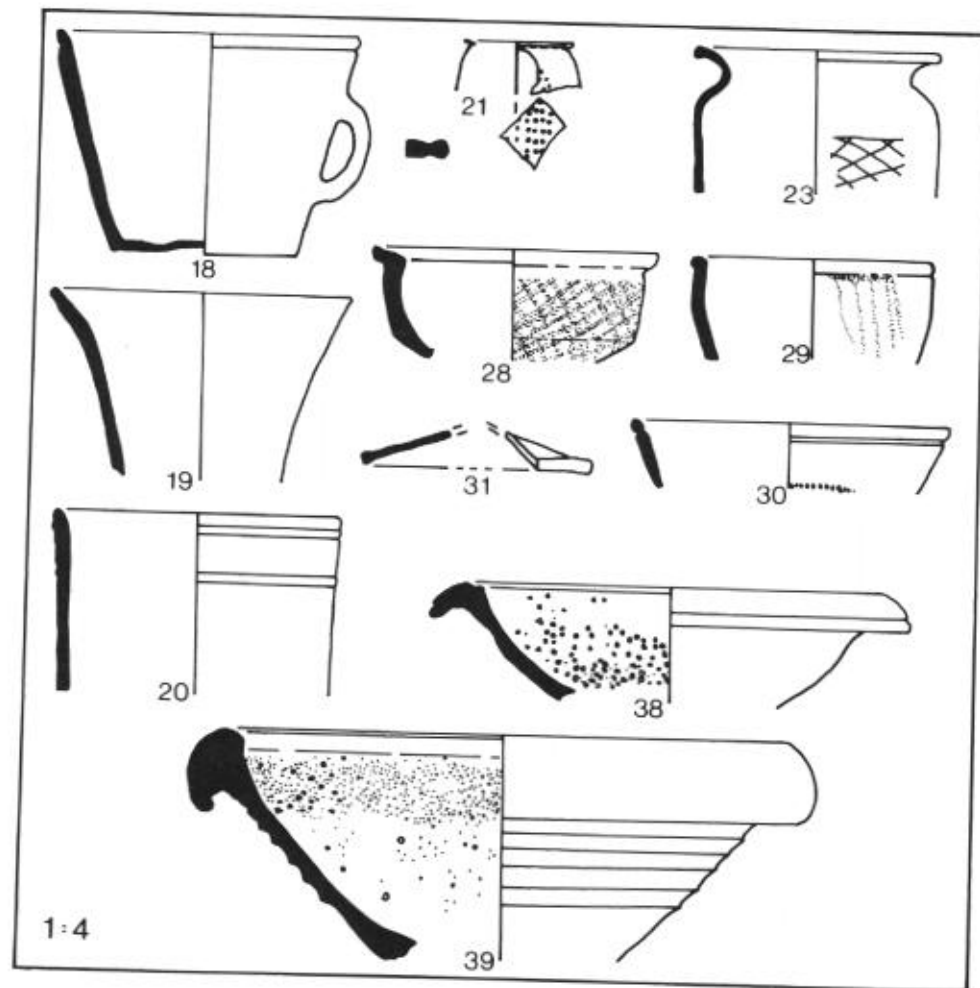


Fig 4
Roman Pottery: Severn Valley Ware (18-20) and other fabrics.

- 17 Severn Valley ware dish. Fabric 12, F122.
- 18 Severn Valley ware tankard (2nd-3rd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 19 Severn Valley ware tankard (mid-3rd-4th century). Fabric 12, F140.
- 20 Severn Valley ware tankard (mid-1st-early 2nd century). Fabric 12, unstratified.
- 21 Central Gaulish lead glazed ware beaker (Greene 1978, fig 2.2 12-14; before c. A.D. 75). Fabric 102, F108.
- 22 Central Gaulish Rhenish ware dimpled pedestal beakers (Greene 1978, fig 2.3, 5-6: c.A.D. 150-200; not illustrated). Fabric 44, at least three vessels, unstratified.
- 23 Black-burnished ware jar/cooking pot. Fabric 22, unstratified.
- 24 Black-burnished ware cooking pot (Gillam 1970, no 145-6, c.A.D. 230-350; not illustrated). Fabric 22, F122.
- 25 Black-burnished ware bowl (Gillam 1970, no 226-7, c.A.D. 200-240; not illustrated). Fabric 22, F104.
- 26 Black-burnished ware flanged bowl (Gillam 1970m no 228, c.A.D. 290-370+; not illustrated). Fabric 22, F140.
- 27 Black-burnished ware dish (Gillam 1970, no 329, c.A.D. 190-340; not illustrated). Fabric 22, unstratified.
- 28 Handmade Malvernian ware bowl. Fabric 3 (Peacock 1967), F122.
- 29 Handmade Malvernian ware cooking pot. Fabric 3 (Peacock 1967), F139.
- 30 Grey ware bowl. Fabric 14, unstratified.
- 31 Grey ware lid. Fabric 14, unstratified.
- 32 Oxfordshire red-brown colour coated flanged bowl (Young 1977, C51, c.A.D. 240-400+; not illustrated). Fabric 29, F140.
- 33 Oxfordshire red-brown colour-coated mortarium (Young 1977, C97, c.A.D. 240-400+; not illustrated). Fabric 29, F140.
- 34 Southwestern brown-slipped ware bag-shaped and pedestal beakers and ? bowl (Anderson 1979, 11-12, early 2nd century; not illustrated). Fabric 31, F140.

Mortaria identified by K. F. Hartley

- 35 Oxfordshire White mortarium (Young 1977, M21, c.A.D. 240-300; not illustrated). Fabric 33, unstratified.
- 36 Oxfordshire White mortarium (Young 1977, M22, c.A.D. 240-400+; not illustrated). Fabric 33, F140.
- 37 Continental mortarium (Bushe-Fox 1913, type 26-30; Gillam 1970, 238: c.A.D. 50-150; not illustrated). Fabric 36, unstratified.
- 38 Wroxeter Raetian mortarium (Robertson 1975, 241-4: c.A.D. 138-200). Fabric 103, F122.
- 39 German or Rhenish mortarium (Hartley 1977; Gillam 1970, no 272: c.A.D. 150-250). Fabric 104, unstratified.

The two major suppliers of pottery to the site in the Roman period were the industries of the Severn Valley (fabric 12: 450 sherds, 63%) and Dorset Black-burnished ware (Williams 1977, fabric 22: 119 sherds, 16%).

In the earlier Roman period (up to the end of the 2nd century A.D.) the Severn Valley ware assemblage consisted not only of the inclusionless all-purpose variety, but also of function adapted fabrics: a clay-pellet fabric and a carbonaceous fabric were used in the manufacture of heavy storage jars, and tableware included a red-slipped variety, similar to some produced in the Gloucester area in the 2nd century A.D. (C. Ireland pers. comm.). Apart from Black-burnished ware, Severn Valley fabrics dominated the coarse ware assemblage to the almost total exclusion of grey wares (fabric 14 and 15; seventeen sherds, 3%). Contact of some sort with Wiltshire is represented by a single sherd of Savernake ware (J.

Richardson pers. comm.; fabric 16.1), but the sources of the other grey sherds are unknown. Some competition for Black-burnished ware is represented by the local hand-made Malvernian cooking pots (fabric 3, five sherds). A single sherd of grog-tempered ware (fabric 16) is also represented.

Apart from the Severn Valley tableware, samian (fabric 43: 48 sherds, 6%), was supplemented from the continent by beakers of Central Gaulish lead glazed ware (fabric 102: two sherds) in the pre-Flavian or early Flavian period and Rhenish ware in the later 2nd century A.D. (fabric 44: thirteen sherds, 2%). The former is important, since it is a quite rare find this far W. in Britain (Greene 1979), partly due to a date range normally considered to end around c.A.D. 70. Rhenish ware is more common, but this is an unusually large group for an assemblage of this size, representing three or more beakers. Brown-slipped vessels were also imported from less far afield, probably N. Wiltshire (fabric 31: five sherds, J. Richardson pers. comm.). Mortaria were imported from Germany (fabric 104: seven sherds), Gaul (fabric 36: one sherd), and the Wroxeter potteries (fabric 103: one sherd).

In the later Roman period, much less variety in the Severn Valley fabrics is observable, although this is no reason why its functional diversity should not have continued, at least to some extent. Mortaria and tableware were now imported from Oxfordshire (fabric 33: three sherds; fabric 29: two sherds), while the single sherd of sandy oxidised ware (fabric 13), is here represented with a red slip on the exterior surface. Again Black-burnished ware is supplemented by the local Malvernian fabric, now wheel-made (fabric 19: four sherds).

The absence of certain common 3rd- and 4th-century fabrics, such as Nene Valley ware (fabric 28), and Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria (fabric 32) may be due to the size of the assemblage. Both these fabrics appear in the assemblage from Attwell's excavation, as does a calcite-gritted fabric (fabric 23). Forms represented for this latter fabric include jars and a bowl, some with rilling on the neck. This fabric is normally thought to date from the late 3rd century into the 5th century A.D. and may be imported from the E. Midlands.

OTHER OBJECTS (FIG. 5)

- 1 Iron socket for shafted implement (J. Darlington pers. comm.).
- 2 Iron wallhook (J. Darlington pers. comm.).
- 3 Three iron fragments of hinge- or handle-straps (J. Darlington pers. comm.; not illustrated).
- 4 Iron handle fitting (J. Darlington pers. comm.).
- 5 Fifteen assorted iron nails (not illustrated).
- 6 Three lumps of burnt clay, one lump of burnt daub (not illustrated).
- 7 Fragment upper quernstone (370mm. diameter, max. 53mm. max. thick; not illustrated).
- 8 Flint flake (late Neolithic or early Bronze Age; not illustrated).
- 9 Small fragment vessel glass, no distinguishing features, greenish, probably 1st-2nd century (D.C. Shelley pers. comm.; not illustrated).
- 10 Three canine teeth of juvenile male pig.
- 11 Two pieces oyster shell.

Other finds from Blackwardine include *fibulae* (Jack 1908, pl. 12), an inscribed pewter plate (Shoemsmith 1983), a shale bowl (see Hurst, Appendix 1), and a Byzantine coin (Appendix 2). The assemblage of items on display at Leominster Museum include bronze furniture fittings, glass beads and a pipe-clay horse figurine. The assemblage in the possession of the landowners includes painted wall plaster, iron styli, 'combed' flue tiles, and some rather fragmentary vessel glass.

DISCUSSION

Ditches F139 and F140 are of sufficient magnitude to indicate a defensive function. The former is significantly narrower and shallower than the latter, but this might be attributable to

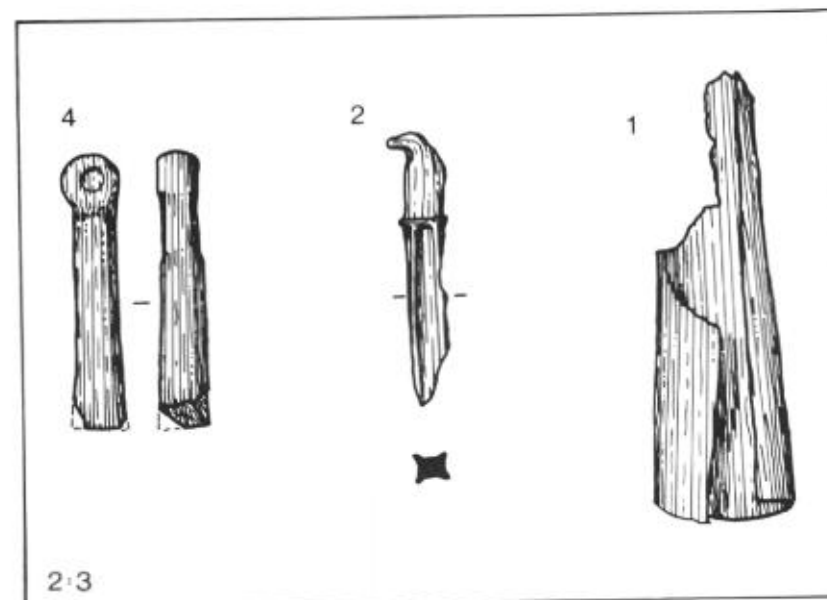


Fig 5
Roman Ironwork

the difficulties of recording the S. facing section. It is also possible that this might be cut near a corner, or entrance, the layout of which is not understood. The hollow running broadly N.W. to S.E. back from F140 towards the area of the scheduled monument (HWCM 737) might suggest that it is nearly parallel with the Roman road (Margary 613), but at a distance of 170 m. from it. Indications from the early fill layers and the finds suggest that any infilling took place from the E., indicating that occupation is likely to have been separated from the road by this ditch and an intervening stretch of open ground.

Further defensive ditches may be represented by one group of features plotted from aerial photographs (Fig 2: Baker 1957a, HWCM 3986). All other features which may be readily associated with the settlement appear to be enclosed by this feature and F140. However such evidence as this can not be taken as proof, since the date, function and continuation of the ditches cannot be proven by aerial photography alone.

Attwell reported having discovered a defensive ditch towards the E. end of the cutting at the time of his fieldwork in 1976, perhaps outside the area recorded by Sawle, while his W. ditch broadly corresponds in size to ditch F140. If this were a contemporary defence incorporating ditch F140 then an idea of the proportions of the enclosed area could be obtained. Dating is difficult due to the small quantity of information available, but both ditches (F139 and F140) were accumulating debris from the Antonine period, possibly indicating a 2nd century defensive circuit.

A fort of the 1st century A.D. has been postulated at Blackwardine more than once (Attwell 1989; Webster 1981). However no direct proof for its existence has yet come to light. The defensive ditches identified are dated far too late to represent any part of such a fort,

despite the limited and residual nature of the evidence. However the siting of Blackwardine, strategically placed in relation to a group of hillforts, close to a road, but on a slight prominence protected on one side by a watercourse, is typical of early fort-sites. So is its location, one day's march from neighbouring defended Roman sites (Bull 1885). The earliest dating evidence from the site, possibly from the *vicus*, also agrees with dating evidence from other *vici* at Kenchester and Leintwardine (Crickmore 1984). The lack of direct evidence for the existence of the fort may be due purely to the nature of the fieldwork undertaken.

The arrangement of the boundaries of the occupation area, at some distance from the road is quite unusual (Smith 1987). Most smaller Roman settlements developed in relation to the available system of communications, so an explanation for this arrangement must be sought. One suggestion might be that the *vicus* grew up next to, and eventually moved into a fort when the army left. Another, perhaps more appropriate suggestion, is the possibility of an E.-W. road running from, or across the known road. This could have lead E. towards the fortlet or settlement at Tedstone Wafer, and Worcester, where it is suspected there was a crossing of the river Severn. A similar plan can be seen at Kenchester, where the Roman town developed, off-set from a cross-roads.

Many of the more minor ditches are likely to represent property or field boundaries. However, since so few of the potential ditches have a clear alignment, and even fewer can be assigned a phase it is very difficult to assess the layout of the settlement with any precision. However a tentative suggestion can be made that F122 and F141 represent two sides of a near rectangular enclosure, and that the line of F122 is so closely mirrored by other features (F107, F111, F129, and Baker 1957b, HWC 3706) that this may indicate the overall linear orientation of the settlement.

The buildings recovered by Attwell in 1975-6 were towards the S. edge of HWC 737. Further evidence for structural remains were present at the E. extremity of the railway cutting (F109-111), while ditch F141 contained stone and burnt clay which may be building debris. This evidence supported by that for property boundaries indicates a spread of settlement suggesting a nucleated settlement, rather than a villa estate or a more formalised town. Attwell's building plan indicates a winged corridor building, which can be reconciled with a nucleated community by comparison with high status buildings at Camerton, Catsgore or Bourton-on-the-Water (Hanley 1988). Other features associated with a settled community abound, with numerous pits, large post-holes, gulleys and a well.

Dating of features rested on a very limited number of finds, but pit F108 is of Flavian date, ditch F122 is likely to be Antonine or early Severan, while pit F104 is of the later 3rd or 4th century A.D. Evidence from Attwell's pottery (T. Copeland *corres.*) suggested mainly 3rd or 4th century occupation in this area of the site. The first appearance of Central Gaulish Glazed ware (fabric 102, Greene 1979) suggests a pre-Flavian origin, but the bulk of the datable pottery indicates the early Flavian period is more likely. From available evidence there is no reason to see any specific break in occupation before the mid-to late-4th century. A.D. It is even possible that occupation continued into the 5th century A.D. on the evidence of the Calcite Gritted ware (fabric 23) from Attwell's site, known to have been in production in the late 4th century, when adequate means of dating cease to exist (V. G. Swan 1988, 35-6).

CONCLUSIONS

As has been indicated by a survey of Roman urban settlements in the region (Crickmore 1984), comparatively little is known about the Roman settlement at Blackwardine. However some attempt can be made at reconstructing the history of the site from available evidence.

It has been suggested (Webster 1981) that Blackwardine may have been the site of a Roman base at the time of the Roman advance into the W. under Ostorius Scapula (A.D. 48-9). The proximity of the site to a tight group of hillforts, and the probability of an E. to W. route passing fairly close to the site might indicate a requirement for a Roman military presence here. However available dating evidence suggests a later date for the foundation of the settlement, possibly in the late 60s or early 70s A.D. is more likely. This may be related to a military occupation here, strengthening the more fluid control exerted in the W. before the Boudiccan revolt of c.A.D. 60-1. It also follows the trend at other known or suspected fort sites and their *vici* in Herefordshire, such as Jay Lane/Leintwardine, Stretton Grandison, Kenchester and Weston-under-Penyard (Davies 1980).

The site itself appears to have been a village-type settlement, perhaps a string development along an unlocated E. to W. road, joining or crossing the acknowledged N. to S. Roman road adjacent to Blackwardine. The picture of the settlement provided by known fieldwork is very unsatisfactory, and perhaps misleading, being mainly based on a single structure, and sections of a swathe cut at an angle through the site. A similar picture can perhaps be reconstructed by imagining a wide slice through the middle of a well-known Roman village such as Catsgore in Somerset (Leach 1982, Elliot 1985). It is likely that similar features would be picked up in section, while most of the details provided by the excavated plan of Catsgore are absent at Blackwardine. Unfortunately there is still very little idea of the location of the cemetery partially recovered by workmen in 1881.

The demise of the settlement at Blackwardine is shrouded in darkness, as with many another Roman-British settlement. The 'dark earth' present covering many Roman towns may be indicated by the dark soil colouration noted by Williams (1808, 337). This distinction has now disappeared, perhaps as a result of arable farming. The name of the settlement suggests that it was recognized as a farmed estate when the Mercians started ascribing names to places.

Although comparatively little of the layout and extent of Blackwardine has been indicated by the available evidence, a broad picture of the history and development of the site can be constructed. The variety and quality of some of the finds suggest that this was a small but prosperous community, and have also indicated an outline of the dating of the site. This article has drawn together all available information, and it is hoped, will act as the basis for future research concerning Blackwardine.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Number prefixed with HWCN are the primary reference numbers used by the Hereford and Worcester County Sites and Monuments Record.

APPENDIX 1: A SHALE VESSEL FROM BLACKWARDINE, HEREFORDSHIRE (HWCN 737)

By J. D. HURST

Excavations at Blackwardine in 1976 produced a fragment of shale (FIG. 6) vessel which is now in the collection of the Hereford and Worcester County Museum. Unfortunately there are no further details of provenance, and no other finds were associated with it.

The vessel is lathe-turned, and exhibits three fine decorative grooves. However no rim or base portion of the vessel survived. The vessel form is a platter or bowl comparable to examples from Silchester (Lawson 1976, 257, no. 69) which are typical of the simpler vessel forms produced by the Dorset shale industry in the Roman period. Lawson (1976, 260) has suggested that such vessels may be dated from the first to the late third century A.D.

Objects of shale are not uncommon on later prehistoric and Roman sites in the county. Jewellery, most commonly bracelets, are the most common artefact type, as at Beckford and Leintwardine, though in the Roman period a greater diversity of production occurred, which included the manufacture of elaborate shale furniture. However, simpler objects, such as the Blackwardine bowl, comprised the main output of the industry.

APPENDIX 2: A BYZANTINE COIN FROM BLACKWARDINE

By D. L. BROWN

On examination of the assemblage of Roman material recovered from Blackwardine, currently in the keeping of Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Thomas, one of the group of coins proved to be of Byzantine origin.

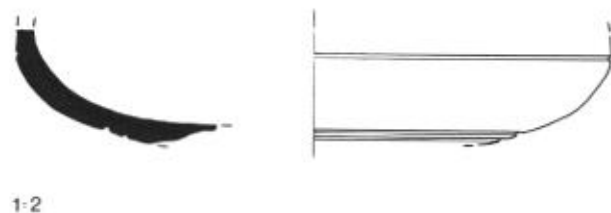


Fig 6
Shale bowl (See Appendix 1).

Ae follis of the Anonymous Emperors (A.D. 976-1026)

Grierson 983, Class A2, var 47, medium (Grierson 1982, 205-8)

Obverse - bust of Christ, facing, nimbate, holding book

Reverse - *IHSUS/[X]PISTUS/[B]ASILEU/BASILE*

Weight 12.42 g., diameter 29 mm., well worn on both sides.

This coin is one of a class probably first issued in A.D. 976 by Basil II, and continuing to be issued by his successor Constantine VII, until c. A.D. 1026. Both emperors were of the Macedonian Dynasty, which succeeded in maintaining a fairly stable currency, based on gold, which was widely accepted around Europe (Runciman 1979). This class of coin, the *follis*, represented slightly less than one ten thousandth (0.01%) of a pound of gold. How it came to be with an assemblage of Roman finds from Blackwardine is unknown.

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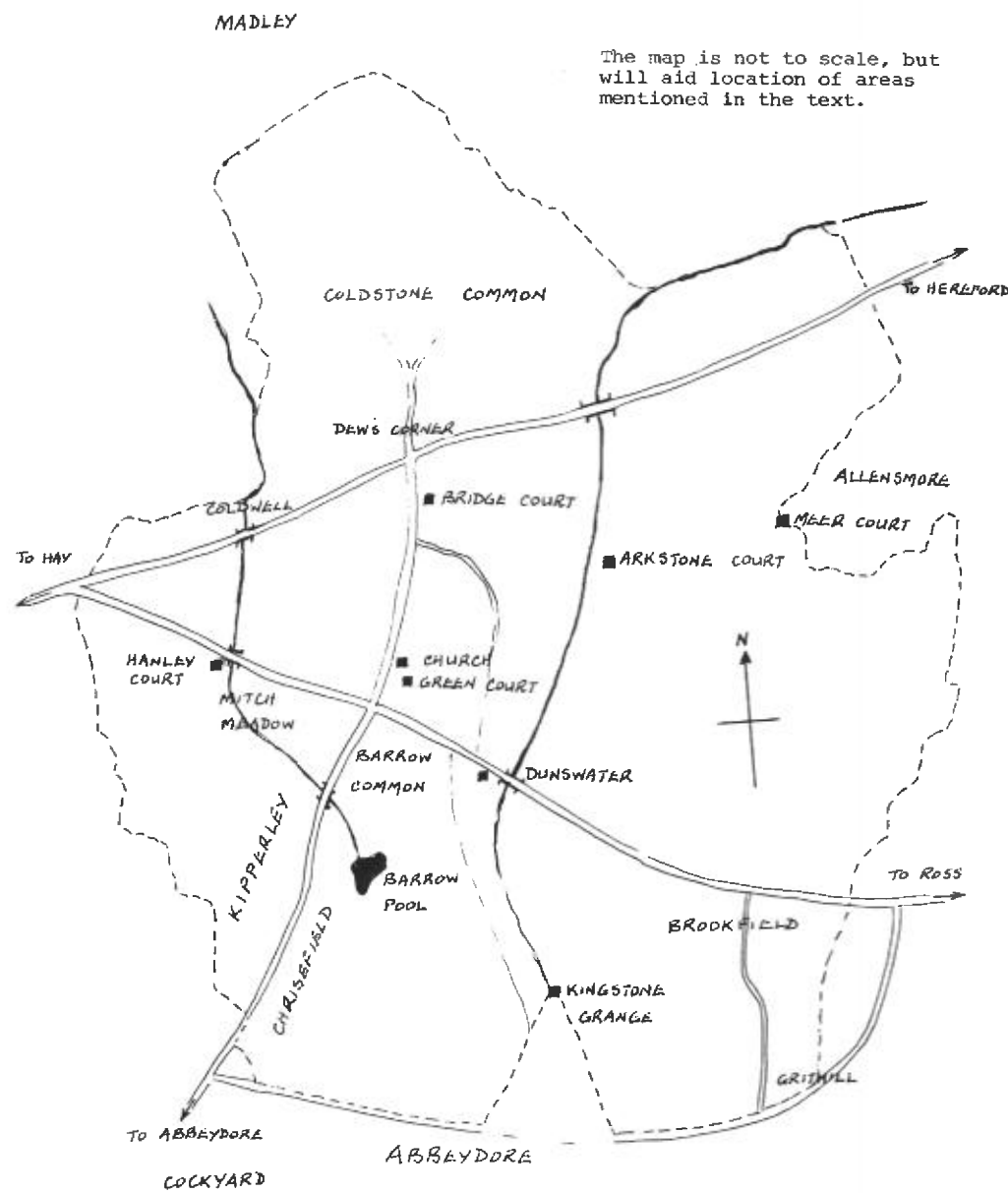
Kingstone, the Manor, its open fields and way of life

By DELPHINE J. COLEMAN

The Domesday entry for Kingstone records that the manor was owned by the King, and before him by Edward the Confessor, making it 'ancient demesne,' and a royal manor. The tithes of the manor were held by St. Mary's of Cormeilles indicating that after the Norman Conquest the land was administered by William fitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, on behalf of William the Conqueror, in recognition of his support and work as earl palatine in Hereford. FitzOsbern had founded abbeys at Cormeilles and Lyre in Normandy, and there are many instances of tithes, land and churches being granted to them from the King's possessions in Herefordshire. He and his father before him had been staunch protectors and followers of the Conqueror, and his rule, although short, was noteworthy. The castles of Clifford, Wigmore, Chepstow and Monmouth were built, and the notable families of the Lacys, Cliffords and Mortimers were settled on the frontiers thus ensuring protection from the Welsh raiders. After his death in 1071, fitzOsbern's son rebelled against the king, and forfeited his right to the earldom of Hereford.

By 1086, the date of Domesday, the de Lacy family were extremely prominent in the shire, and on the death of Walter de Lacy in 1085, who fell from scaffolding when superintending the building of the new church of St. Peter in Hereford, his son Roger, is shown to be holding many of the fitzOsbern possessions from the king. He features in the Kingstone entry, from which it would appear that there were two manors in Kingstone, possibly three. Information gained from inventories, draft enclosure acts, manuscripts in the Cathedral Library of Hereford and the National Library of Wales, indicate that there was a manor of Arkstone, and a manor of Meer Court. The latter was a small, but prestigious manor belonging by the 16th century to the Dean and Chapter, much of its land being in the adjoining parish of Allensmore. Its few court rolls are twinned with Allensmore,¹ and at one time in the 17th century it was owned by the Mynde estate of Much Dewchurch. Arkstone Manor is not documented with regard to court rolls, and were it not for obscure references as mentioned above, would not appear to be very important, save that it was a marginal addition in the Herefordshire Domesday,² and noted as being near to Cobhall (again in Allensmore parish). Much research remains to be undertaken in order to gain a clear picture of these two remaining manors.

Kingstone Manor was held at a tenure of £10 per annum, suit of court, homage and knight service, from the great marcher lordship of Brecon.³ Arkstone was held from the honour of Wilton, and Meer Court from the honour of Weobley.⁴ In order to trace the descent of the Kingstone manors, one returns to Roger de Lacy who was 'riding high' in 1086, but by 1095 had been banished by William II, to be succeeded by his brother, Hugh de Lacy. Hugh, therefore, was the overlord of many Herefordshire manors which comprised the honour of Weobley, which he enfeoffed to lesser knights. A great patron of Llantony Prima, the Augustinian abbey built in the Black Mountains in the first decade of the 12th century, he also gave gifts to the church of St. Guthlac in Hereford, amongst which was two parts of the tithe of Arkstone.⁵



Map 1
Kingstone in the past.

The marcher lordship of Brecon was held by Bernard de Neumarche, the Norman conqueror of Brecon, whose daughter Sibyl, inherited it, together with some Herefordshire manors. This was to be her dowry when marrying Miles of Gloucester in 1121. Miles of Gloucester administered the Herefordshire manors in conjunction with Payn fitzJohn who was the son-in-law of Hugh de Lacy. On Hugh's death Payn fitzJohn inherited, and the Lacy connection with the honour of Brecon was further consolidated when Miles' son, later to become Roger, earl of Hereford, married Hugh de Lacy's grand-daughter, (the daughter of Payn fitzJohn). Roger died in 1155, childless, and the Herefordshire manors which included Kingstone, were inherited by his eldest sister, Margaret, who married Humphrey de Bohun. The de Bohun's were earls of Hereford for many generations, and Kingstone Manor was part of their possessions until the death of the last male heir in 1373.⁶

With regard to the honour of Wilton this was a later award being land given by Henry II in 1155 to Hugh de Longchamp who had married Hugh de Lacy the second's daughter who, presumably took as part of her dowry, lands which included Arkstone. It can be seen that the Lacy connection was originally with all the Kingstone manors.⁷

The best documented manor of Kingstone is that referred to as Kingstone Furches or Kingstone Forges, the title originating from the family who were lords of Kingstone for well over a century. The Furches family were to be found in Shropshire and Herefordshire by the 12th century. In Herefordshire the Holme Lacy Charter⁸ lists Herbert de Furches in 1085 as a Lacy follower, and the Domesday entry for Bodenham records that 'Herbert holds from Roger de Lacy.' One of the Bodenham manors was also named Bodenham Furches. Just when the line became involved with Kingstone is difficult to determine, but gifts of land locally were made by them from 1160, and it has been suggested that the manor of Bodenham passed to them through marriage with a de Lacy.⁹ The Furches name was perpetuated for many centuries when Kingstone was known as Kingstone Forges as noted on the cover of the first church register dating from 1659. Since there were other manors in the area, as with Bodenham, it was probably added to avoid confusion. Indeed, there was another Kingstone mentioned in Domesday, near Weston-under-Penyard, whose tithes also went to Corneilles.¹⁰ The Furches were, therefore, tenants of the honour of Brecknock and of the honour of Weobley with regard to Kingstone Furches (Forges) and Bodenham Furches (Forges) respectively.

Whether the family ever lived on the demesne of Kingstone is conjecture, but documents exist which must have been executed locally which they witnessed regarding transfers of Kingstone land. The first half of the 13th century records William de Furches witnessing a 'grant of land in Kingest' made by Walter de Haia to the Church of St. Mary and St. Ethelbert in Hereford (the Cathedral).¹¹ The land was granted in frank almoign of six pence which was the form of tenure by which the clergy would pray for the soul of the donor. It is worth noting that Walter de Haia was a one time prior of Llantony Prima, and that one of the first known clerics at Kingstone presented by a William de Furches was a Master Henry de Llanton, prior to 1281.¹² Llantony Prima was an Augustinian Order (the Austin Canons), and land in Kingstone numbered 50 on the one and only Enclosure Act of 1812 was owned by the cathedral of Hereford, and named 'Austin's field meadow.' Indeed, today the two fields nearby are referred to as 'Great and Little Horston Field' which must surely be an oral corruption of Austin. Llantony Prima was a Lacy foundation, and Hugh de Lacy a devout follower of its fortunes. In later years he transferred much of his interest to the church of St. Guthlac which

was granted to the great Benedictine abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester, which at the Reformation became Gloucester Cathedral. Another grant was from William de Furches himself to the almshouses of St. Ethelbert in Hereford, of 'pasture for seven kine in his pasture in the moor which runs between Kingstun and Madeleia, with a right of way through his land to the said pasture.'¹³ This was witnessed by two of his brothers, yet another William and Robert. The tithe map of 1842 still shows a field of eight acres, number 240, named Lord's Meadow which runs right up to the Madley parish boundary. This was part of the land bought by the Post Office for the Earth Satellite Station, but until 1874 it formed part of the manor lands.

Prior to 1300, William de Furches gave an important concession to the monks of Dore who had established a grange near his own demesne farm of Dunswater. Kingstone Grange grew from land given to the abbey circa 1170,¹⁴ and at some time after that he gave the monks a way on his demesne passing through the garden of their grange, leading to the 'king's way' and allowed them to enclose and ditch it.¹⁵ This ancient way existed for several centuries, and is referred to in the manor rolls of 1594. It runs out of the 'king's way,' the main road past Dunswater the B4348, entering Dunswater 'Old lands,' then proceeds along the 'New house field' through 'Thornfield' into 'Twelve acres' where it meets with the grange lands. These field-names will be found on the tithe map. This way runs parallel to the Kingstone/Abbey Dore road and to this day is marked as a footpath, but in medieval times it was used for wains and carriages, and will be referred to later in the text. It would certainly have been far less taxing for users than the present Cockyard road!

The Furches name is found again in a dispute of 1239 between the abbot of Dore and the rector of Kingstone, William Rufus. The latter demanded tithes from a triangle of land surrounding part of the grange which was, and still is, part of Abbey Dore parish. The monks were excused tithes in any case, but it necessitated the holding of a 'dies amoris' (a love day) or a day of the March, when representatives of the March, including the stewards of the three castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle gathered at Kingstone Grange to settle the dispute.¹⁶

The lord of the manor in those times often had the right of presentation of clergy to the living, and the Cathedral Library of Hereford has a superb document with a remarkable seal recording a dispute regarding this right between Humphrey de Bohun and the Dean of Hereford. It states that Henry de Llanton had been presented to the living by William de Furches who later resigned and released his claim to this right, but unfortunately, no date is given.¹⁷ Since the Dean and Chapter appropriated the church in 1281 thus reserving this right for themselves, and a William de Furches is recorded in 1265 as being one of fifty Herefordshire knights called by the king to defend the city of Hereford, it must have been between these two dates.¹⁸

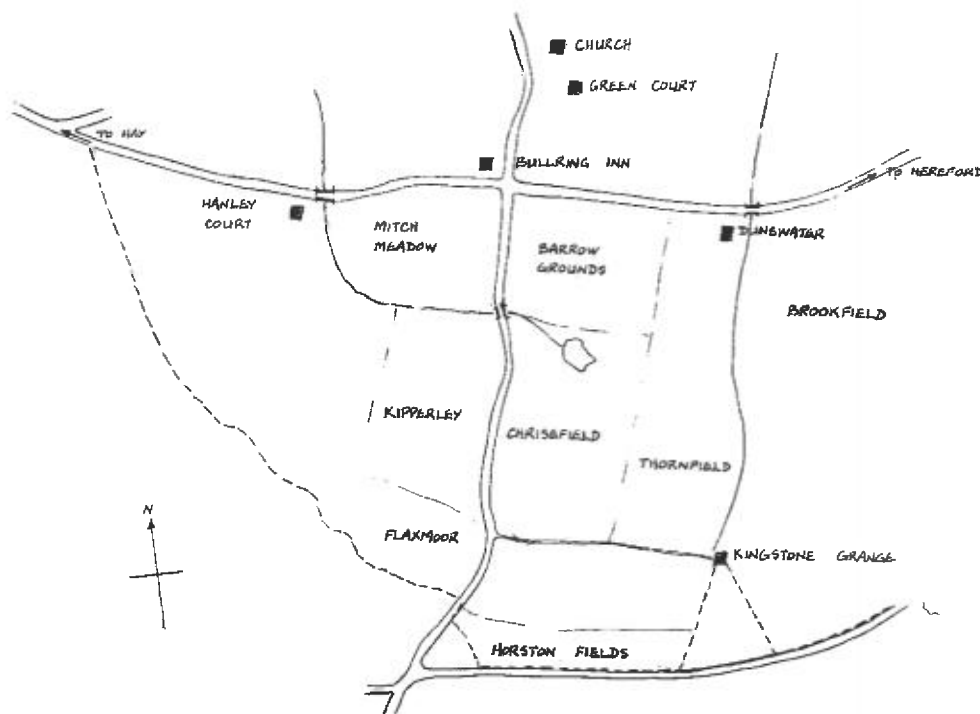
The Furches line with regard to Kingstone appears to have ended with the marriage of the heiress to a son of Sir William Lucy of Charlcoate in Warwickshire. There is a conflict of evidence concerning dates and names. Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire* comments on the differing statements in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* and Duncumb's *Collections...Hereford*, but it would seem that both parties were under age, the sheriff of Hereford being in charge of the de Furches heiress and her lands, and Sir William Lucy, snr. having the authority to set the date. The deed was signed, witnessed by four knights and

others, sealed but not dated, although the sheriff named therein was dead by 1240, and Sir William by 1248.¹⁹

The Lucy family remained lords of the manor until the 1580s when it passed through various hands until being acquired by Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court, Herefordshire, late 16th/early 17th century. The Coningsby connection remained until 1773, when a notice dated 30 December 1773²⁰ advertises the manor, together with the mansion house, estate and farm of Dunswater for sale, and gives the tenant's name as Richard Russell who died in 1778. Land Tax returns show the estate was owned by his heirs until the early 1800s. By 1812 the manor and its lands were part of the large estates held by William Croome, a Cirencester banker. The Croome family remained in possession until 1874 when the Clive family of Whitfield, Allensmore, bought the manor and lands. The Whitfield estate still own the ancient farms of Dunswater, Hanley Court and Kingstone Grange, but the title of lord of the manor, although listed in trade directories of the 1930s as remaining with the Clives, is not acknowledged any more.

The manorial history of Kingstone Furches has also to be thought of in the context of what was called 'The Five Hundreds.' A hundred was an ancient shire division which could cover one manor and village, or more often, several villages and manors, from which juries were elected to dispense justice through the hundred courts which met at frequent intervals. The Five Hundreds comprised, Bodenham, Burghill, Kingstone, Much Cowarne and Stretford, and they descended through the Lacy's to the deBohun's, earls of Hereford, for many generations. Thus, it was to these mighty barons that the humbler lords of Kingstone manors owed their allegiance. The Five Hundreds were held of the King in Chief by service of a barony,²¹ and on the death of the last de Bohun male in 1373 his property was divided between his daughters Eleanor and Mary. Mary married Henry Bolingbroke later to become Henry IV, and Eleanor married Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. The Five Hundreds were part of Eleanor's portion, thereafter being given to the Staffords through marriage. The Staffords, later dukes of Buckingham, all met violent deaths either in battle or for treason, and eventually the Five Hundreds were dispensed by Queen Elizabeth I in exchange for others, and free of any services. By the time Sir Thomas Coningsby acquired the manor and hundred of Kingstone, together with that of Bodenham, the other three hundreds appear to have become part of other estates.

It is probably because of the importance of the Five Hundreds that such detailed court rolls were kept. There are numerous references to them in the Public Record Office indexes relating to the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster. Through these manuscripts it is possible to find out a great deal about the working of the manorial system in Kingstone. The rolls show that the court was usually held twice a year, and all inhabitants of the hundred and manor were summoned to appear by the steward who was in charge of the proceedings. Many tenancies would include the wording that the tenant owed 'suit of court' to his lord which meant his attendance at the court which would deal with grievances, granting of tenancies, regulating the grazing of the waste, dispensing of justice where rules and customs had been flouted, and many other items which were considered essential to the well being of the life of the community. The court would be in session after the swearing in of the Homage or the Great Inquisition consisting of tenants considered to be trustworthy. The proceedings were faithfully recorded, and signed by two or three tenants who had to serve as 'afferatores,' the manorial



Map 2
The main area of the common fields of Kingstone.

officers who assessed the fines or pains as they were often called.²² When working on these rolls one learns how little the topography of the village has altered, and although many field-names have lapsed into obscurity, others can still be traced. In order to assist the reader who is not familiar with the village landscape of Kingstone, it is proposed to divide the village into sections with an accompanying sketch map which can, if wished, be linked to the 1842 tithe map, or the Ordnance Survey maps.

THE COMMON OR OPEN FIELDS

H. L. Gray when writing on this subject in 1915,²³ stated that he thought that Kingstone had a three-field system, and that the fields in question were Brookfield, Christfield and Kipperley. The basis of this supposition was the Enclosure Act of 1812 which showed these fields to be those where most land remained to be enclosed. He commented that whereas two of the fields, Brookfield and Christfield were similar in acreage, the third was smaller since much of it had possibly been enclosed at an earlier date which made his deduction harder to substantiate. Since that time many documents and maps have been surrendered by estates, and eventually found their way into archives. Some of these include glebe terriers and estate maps which show that these three areas right up to the end of the 18th century were still farmed in strips, and on a three-field rotation of two years cropping and one year fallow. Many of the ancient Kingstone enclosures were also farmed in the same way.²⁴ These fields fit into the traditional pattern of the open fields lying on the boundary of the village, in this instance, to the south but it should be borne in mind that there appear to have been other common fields in Kingstone, namely Lower Field to the west and Mill Field to the east which, by the time of the tithe map had been parcelled into many small fields, the names of which are indicative of enclosure from a common field, e.g. Six Acres, Four Acres, Part of Eleven Acres, Twelve Acres, Bridge Court Common Field etc. Toward the furthest northern end of the parish, a map relating to Meer Court recording exchanges of land mid-18th century mentions Smallbrook Common Field which the tithe map records as The Inclosure and Far Inclosure.²⁵

CHRISTFIELD

The name Christfield is unknown today; there have been several corruptions written, namely, Chrisfield, Grisfield, Goosefield, but it was part of the open fields, and bordered on the Kingstone-Abbey Dore road, namely the Cockyard as it is now called. It is recorded by name on the tithe map, numbers 115, 117, 118 etc., and bordered on to the Thornfield which was on the demesne land. The name is of long standing, being recorded in a list of the Dean of Hereford's glebe in 1587.²⁶ The strips in Christfield ran up to the boundary hedge of Thornfield, and the court rolls contain directives that 'every inhabitant against his owne land shall well and sufficiently repair and amend their hedge between Christfield and Thornfield' and also that 'every inhabitant shall well and sufficiently make his hedges about the lent field now sowed.' This indicates the importance of all the villagers carrying out their obligations to ensure that there was no danger of their animals breaking into the arable field sown with the lent grain from their land in the field lying fallow.

Apart from the maintenance of hedges, ditches and watercourses, enclosures were taking place by the 16th century in the village, and there was often a need to remind one's neighbour of the fact! Richard Marshe asked that John Symons 'shall hang two gates in the Thornfield at a place there lately enclosed out of the same before Whitsuntide upon payne of twenty

shillings,' and John Symons wasted no time in passing the message on. He asked for 'a payne to be put upon William Kinge to hang a good and sufficient gate being one of the gates between the Horston field and the Thornefield.' The Horston fields have already been mentioned, and were part of Kingstone Grange. The Thornfield was part of Dunswater demesne lands, and the field adjoining and leading to the Horston field is called the Twelve Acres, suggestive of enclosure.

The ancient way given by the lord of the manor to the monks of Kingstone Grange has already been mentioned, and obviously by 1600 with the dissolution and splitting up of monastic estates, there would have been arguments as to the medieval rights of way granted. The jury of the manor court decided 'that all such persons as have used and accustomed to pass with their wains and carriages from Kingston along the Thorne field to Cocket Field (Cockyard field), that they shall still pass the usual way without interruption.'

KIPPERLEY FIELD

This was the area that Gray was uncertain about, which is understandable when looking at the surrounding area. Kipperley was located on the opposite side of the Kingston-Abbey Dore road from Christfield, and was more adjacent to the Barrow Common area of the village. The name is of very ancient origin, being mentioned in Dugdale's *Monasticon*²⁷ as part of the land given to the abbey of Dore in December 1232 e.g. 'groveland from Kiperlegh.' At the time of the Enclosure Act there remained only about fifteen acres to be allocated, but the Dean and also the Custos and Vicars of the Cathedral held another ten acres between them which were of long standing. Land above Kipperley called the Adder Pits was mentioned in the will of a farmer William Popkin in 1605. He indicated strip tenancies as he wills 'my part of the acres of oates and pease' to be divided between his brother and brother-in-law. It seems that the area around Kipperley as it was at the time of the Enclosure Act of 1812 had long been parcelled into enclosures, and an estate map prepared for Sir George Cornwall in 1795 showing land he had recently purchased, shows strips in several areas bordering and close by to the remaining land known as Kipperley. There are, unfortunately, no details relating to the map or to the field and strip numbers shown thereon, but possibly the map was drawn with enclosure in mind since Sir George presented many such acts in Parliament, and there were two abortive schemes for Kingstone in 1798 and 1801.²⁸

Kipperley is mentioned in the court rolls when Roger Crosse put a pain upon John Tomkins to enclose and make a good hedge 'between Kepperley and the pinfold at the lower end.' The land adjoining is known today as Mitch Meadow; the same Roger put pains on several villagers that 'they should kepe the right path in the meadow called Mich meadow at the times when they shall passe through the same meadow' indicating that although it was planted, there was a footpath or bridle way through it to the common field area of Kipperley. Another entry refers to the 'grete ditch meadow' which gives rise to conjecture as to which name is the corruption. There is certainly a great ditch running through Mitch Meadow, whereas the name of Mitchell which has been given to the wood at the furthest end is unknown in any records.

The area before mentioned runs alongside the medieval area of the village named Barrow Common. This has given rise to the supposition that the name derives from ancient burial

chambers, but this does not appear to be so; however there was a family named Barrow living there in 1605.²⁹ The Common was variously named Barrow Ground and Barrow Meadow in the Enclosure Act, and here again there were strips in 1795. The area around is also described as Old Crisefield which again confirms the view that this was the main area of open fields, and communal farming. Barrow Common at one time had a sizeable pond on it, remembered by some today. It is also shown as a small feature on the Ordnance Survey but in the 16th century it is referred to as 'Barrows Poole' when three worthy locals were told to 'well and sufficiently scoure one ditche from Barrows Poole to the Stonyhe.' This is very interesting since the ditch in question has, even in the 1980s, been a source of trouble to the residents of Barrow Common who have endured severe flooding at times. The pool has disappeared, but the cottage named the Stonyhe was rebuilt in 1986 and still retains its original name.

BROOKFIELD

The Brookfield was the other large area of open field, and this is mentioned many times in court rolls. It still retains its name today, and is signposted as such. It is the boundary between Kingstone and Thruxton, and the Brookfield lane runs southwards from the B4348 to an area called Grithill, known as Great Hill in early manuscripts. This was the largest allotment area in the Enclosure Act, namely 112 acres, which was allocated amongst the lord of the manor, the Dean and Chapter, and the Custos and Vicars of the Cathedral. The Brookfield is mentioned in the will of David Morgan of Arkstone,³⁰ a very wealthy and prominent landowner, who died in 1524, and the Dean possessed seven acres of it in 1587. It was obviously a large area which had to be sufficiently hedged and gated to prevent damage to crops while providing entries for ploughing teams. There are numerous pains put on the inhabitants to 'make and hang a good and sufficient gate into Brocke Field next Druxton.' Apart from the foregoing references to areas adjacent to the village, there were many other presentments made regarding areas which did not appear in the Enclosure Act.

THE AREA AROUND ARKSTONE AND BRIDGE COURT

'A payne is put upon all the inhabitants of this lordship and the lordship of Arxton to repair and amend sufficiently one bridge called Bridge Brook before Midsummer next upon payne of forty shillings.' This is the bridge on the B4349 main Hereford-Hay road which would have been widely used, and is still subject to flooding. The size of the fine set indicates the priority of the task. Note also the reference to the lordship of Arkstone as well as that of Kingstone.

'A Payne is put upon William Greenwich, Clerk, and John Tomkins that they shall well and sufficiently escoure one ditch from the over end (upper) of the Longe Flingyett to the lower end of the Marshe Leasow....' This area is numbered 253, 254 and 249 on the tithe map; the latter land is still named Marsh Leasow.

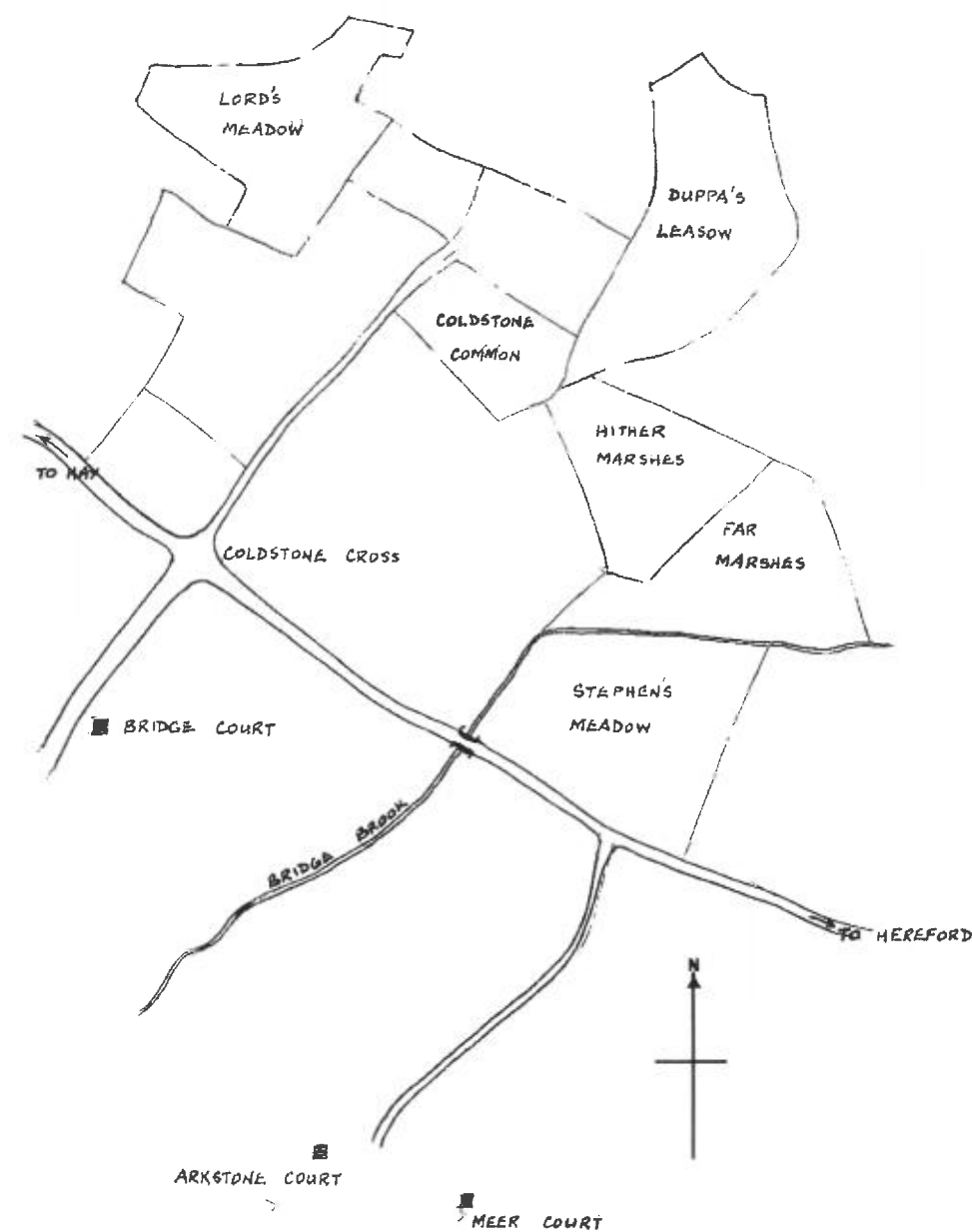
'A Payne is put upon John Tomkins that he shall well and sufficiently scour one ditch between his leasow called the Chaunray Leasow and the Marshe' This refers to Stephen's meadow number 286, which borders on to the Far and Hither marshes numbers 278 and 279, the ditch referred to being the one that passes under the Bridge Brook aforementioned. The reference to the Chaunray Leasow is linked to the will of David Morgan of Arkstone which

directs masses to be sung for the souls of himself and his family at 'the altar of St. Stephen in the chapel of Arxton,' but there is no record of a chantry dedicated to St. Stephen in the records of Kingstone Church, or in the chantry certificates issued at the dissolution of chantries in 1547 although these have not survived in their entirety. The Royal Commissioners of 1552 made no mention of any statutory in their record of the church goods which was quite detailed.³¹ The will further stipulated the provision of a priest, payment for his services together with bread, wine and accommodation, 'and he to have a chamber there.' Many benefactions were made to religious houses, cathedrals and churches where masses were to be sung for his soul, and in every instance where this was to be done it was clearly stated in which church this was to be. It seems possible that the chapel of St. Stephen was at Arkstone itself, but since the original dwelling was re-built at the end of the 18th century it is difficult to investigate further in the absence of any detail of that building. The presence of an ancient stone head which has been inserted into the wall of one of the farm buildings does make one wonder!

To return to the naming of the 'Chantry Leasow,' this is known today by the family farming it as 'The Stevens,' (they never knew why), and in the tithe map as Stephens meadow. The yield from this land was, one presumes, to be devoted to the upkeep of the 'Arxton chapel,' or could it have been the actual site? David Morgan asks in his will that it should be registered in the Dean of Hereford's register, but this period is unfortunately one that is missing from Cathedral archives. He also directed that '3 acres of lande that lyeth in a field called the Brokefield.....and 6 kyne be sett to hire and with the profits and increases thereof to keep reparons and vestments of the said chapell, and to find wax to the service of the said chapell.' This bequest also mentions that he purchased the Brookfield land from Thomas a Cave who can be traced as being from Mathon in Worcestershire, and who had leased the manor of Thruxton as well as other land in Herefordshire.³² The names of his executors include that of Thomas Duppa, and this family is named throughout the 16th century in the court rolls. Its lasting memorial is in the tithe map apportionment, field number 245, Duppa's leasow.

COLDSTONE CROSS, COLDSTONE COMMON

This area of the parish was also part common field, part common and part marsh. There is mention of the need for severe fines of £1. 19s. 11d. to be put upon 'any inhabitant within the hundred and manor who shall turn in or depasture any cattle in a certain common field called Coldstone common after notice given to him by the bailiff.' There was an established path from the common to Kingstone Church, and William Madox was presented and fined in 1767 for 'tinding up and for obstructing a church way leading from Coleston and Bridge Court to Kingstone church.' The marsh area was obviously a source of trouble to those farming adjacent to it since Richard Russell, Thomas Symons, William Dew and Nicholas Tucker were frequently presented for 'not cleansing their ditches and keeping their bridges in repair adjoining the Jack marshes.' Jacks land was land largely unused or unusable in a common field; presumably this referred to similar marshy ground. Today, 200 years after, the name of Dew is still commemorated, the road out of Coldstone Common where it joins with the main Hay-Hereford road is always referred to as Dews Corner. In the late 16th century John Prosser



Map 3
The Coldstone Cross, Bridge Court area of the village.

was told to '...make a good hedge at the end of the lane out of Cowleston to Marshe meadow, and every man that should pass through the said glat (gap) for his necessary use of, or with his cattell must make the same sufficient to save his neighbours harmeless,' an instance of good local dialect.

WELLS, DITCHES, HIGHWAYS ETC.

The maintenance of these was a source of regular presentment; the following provide a representative selection.

'A payne is put upon William Tomkins, Richard Lowe and Harry Marshe that they shall well and sufficiently cleanse and make clear one well in the hiye waye when they fetch water before the Feast of Symon and Jude next.....'

'A payne is put that they shall make a good and sufficient bucket and rope and hang the same in the same well before the Feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle.....'

'A payne is put upon Leonard Thomas to remove all his timber out of the highway before Midsummer next.'

'A payne is put that noe man or person shall water hemp or flax in the brook between Arkston and Kingeston ..' The inference here is that the retting process would foul the water, and block the brook. It is also indicative that the boundary brook divided the village from Kingstone Manor and Arkstone Manor. Part of the Dean's glebe in 1587 consisted of some fifteen acres named Flaxmeare; this can still be traced on the tithe map, as numbers 41 and 42, Flaxmoor.

THE COURT ROLLS

The court rolls in the Coningsby Collection date from circa 1590 to 1767. The earlier ones are recorded on this sheets of paper approximating to foolscap or A4, and are sewn together. They are headed with the names of the essoins (absentees), followed by the names of the grand inquisition or jury, and there are marginal notes denoting to which of the Five Hundreds the business dealt with relates. Their condition is, on the whole, very good, and to the experienced the calligraphy would soon be mastered. However, there are the usual pitfalls for the enthusiastic amateur. Some examples are included here which may be of interest. (See Appendix) It was seldom mentioned where the Courts were held, the wording 'at the usual place' was the normal practice, but the Court held on 19 October 1767 actually mentions 'at the house of James Evans at ye Buldring' so the Bull Ring public house may have become the meeting place by then. The writer has come across one lone reference to 'the meadow court' in a deed of title which relates to the parsonage glebe. On the tithe map it is named Mill Meadow, number 425. By 1767 the rolls were written on parchment, much clearer to read, and were truly rolled.

Attendance at the manor court was expected, and essoins were amerced (fined) according to their station, namely, teamholders six pence each, and labourers one penny each. It was also important that the bailiff made quite sure that those elected to office in the service of the court observed the necessary formalities. Thomas Pritchard was elected to service as petty

constable in 1744, was to be sworn in before the justice of the peace within six days, and if he neglected or refused to do so, the village bailiff himself was liable to be fined. It was corporate responsibility.

Kingstone had a wide range of court presentments which make fascinating reading; the following have been extracted from the late 16th-century court rolls which in many cases suffer the most deterioration at the top edges of pages which bear the vital dates.

Twenty-two inhabitants were fined two pence each in 1594 for 'cloth caps.' Queen Elizabeth I in her endeavour to stimulate the wool trade had an Act passed in 1571 which insisted that woollen caps must be worn on Sundays. Presumably the men presented were stubborn, uninformed or did not possess woollen caps! One cannot help thinking that the old Herefordshire expression of 'plain oghel' covers it all.

Another injunction concerned the need for the inhabitants to 'make their butts (boundaries) before the Feast of the Purification on pain of 3s. 4d.' It was also agreed that warning should be given in church, and a day announced for the making of the butts. The boundaries between strips were, no doubt, very carefully regulated, and while there is no indication how this was done, the building up with turf is probably the most likely.

All court orders were to be completed before the feast day applicable, and this leads one to presume that since most folk were illiterate, the best calendar was that of the holy days of the church. They must have provided colour and excitement from the dreary routine of the everyday world, and were unlikely to be forgotten.

The depasturing of the common land was also clearly laid down by a court of 1767 when the bailiff had to give notice that the land lying fallow should not be grazed by more than three sheep to every one acre owned. It was also practice that pigs should be yoked and ringed within a week of notice being given, and that cattle or horses should not be turned into any of the common roads or lanes before the 24 August or 'such times as the fields are ridd.'

The need to mete out punishment within the parish was also part of the court's prerogative, and circa 1590 a pain was put on all inhabitants to 'devise and make a cucking stoole and set him up in place before the next court upon payne of twenty shillings.' A ducking stool was often used to punish 'scolds' (nagging wives), or those foolish or wily enough to defraud by way of short weight or measure. The manuscript defied all attempts to trace just where 'him should be set up;' there were several pools in the village, maybe the Barrow Pool lying between the church and the common fields of Kipperley and Crisefield was its location. Another delightful instance of local dialect!

The village had a whipping post and stocks, and these were often presented as being in need of repair, together with the pound. The latter was certainly in use in 1736 when one, David Jones de la Coldstone broke it open to regain one of his cows which had done damage on the lands of a village notable, Francis Clark. David had done this against the will of 000Francis, and in open court he asked pardon of the lady of the manor, the Lady Margaret Coningsby, and of Mr. Clark, paying him the sum of five shillings which seemed to be a satisfactory settlement.

The court was against anyone who engaged in illicit games, possibly cards or dice, they did not approve of quarter dancing, or of villagers acting as pedlars. Perhaps this was consid-

ered a form of opposition to existing shop-keepers, and cases of ill neighbourliness referred to as 'an affray and clamour' were also presentable.

Men 'breaking the park' were fined, which gives further food for thought. The land around the old grange of the monks of Dore, the Kingstone Grange of today, was referred to as Baskerville's Park and Kingstone's Park in ancient leases,³³ and a perambulation of the lordship of Abbeydore.³⁴ The Baskerville family were in occupation for some while after the dissolution, and the siting of many beautiful oak trees there has given rise to comment that this was indeed parkland. Alternatively, on the Arkstone Court estate there were fields named Upper, Little and Great Park, but since practically all court presentments deal with the area up to the brook which divides Arkstone Court from Kingstone village, it is most likely that this referred to the grange.

The Manor or Mansion house was Dunswater Farm, and Land Tax records of the 18th century also list a Town House, but few of the older dwellings in the village have any documentation so it has not been possible to trace this property.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The foregoing information has been gained almost entirely from primary sources, namely, the court rolls and documents deposited in the County Record Office at Hereford, and it is due to the patience, courtesy and kindness of those working there that it has been possible to extract so much social history from them. Much help with deciphering of the medieval script was done by Miss S. Hubbard to whom I offer my sincere thanks. It was due to her encouragement that the penmanship of these documents became less of a mystery. My thanks are also due to Miss M. Jancey and the late Miss P. Morgan for the willing advice and assistance accorded to me at the Cathedral Library of Hereford, to Mr. Joe Hillaby for his help with the script and to my husband who prepared the maps so necessary to complement the text.

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- ¹ Heref. Cath. Lib., Kingstone/Allensmore Court Rolls, R.1122/1123.
- ² V. H. Galbraith & J. Tait (eds.), *Herefordshire Domesday Book*, Pipe Roll Society, (1950), 42.
- ³ Heref. Cath. Lib., Cathedral Muniments Book 3, No. 1498. p.1027.
- ⁴ *Book of Fees. (Testa de Neville)* (1920-31), Arkstone p.812. Meer Court p.811, also *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, F. and C. Thorn (eds.), (1983), note 10.23. Browne Willis 'Description of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff' pub. 1718, records the manor of Arkstone together with a messuage and caracute of land being given to the Bishopric of Llandaff by William de Radnor who had been Bishop there (1256-1265). He was to have a yearly income of twenty marks and two chaplains at Llandaff were to sing masses for his soul and that of his brother, Simon de Radnor. *Inq. P. M.* vol. 2, 16 Edw. 1 and 17 Edw. 1. state that the agreement was not carried out, the Bishop pre-deceasing William de Radnor, and that de Radnor's heir was declared the rightful claimant. By 1500 the estate was owned by the Delahay family, the heiress marrying David Morgan of Llandwei Skirrid whose will has been mentioned in this article. The dean of Llandaff has confirmed to me that there is no record of any chapel of Arkstone in Llandaff apart from Browne Willis' book, no doubt the subsequent inheritance problem had never been recorded there. Sir Joseph Bradney 'Arkstone', *Trans. Woolhope Natur.Fld. Club*, XXV, (1924), 72-5 traces the descent of the estate through to early 1800s. The Webtree Mss. (Hereford City Ref. Lib.), has details of the sale of the estate in 1825. The wording in the *Hereford Journal* was '...Manor of Arkstone, Mawfield, and Hungerstone, with Fines Quit Rents, Courts Leet, Baron, Heriots, Immunities etc.' By the time of the Tithe Map 1842, the estate was owned by James Martin, and remained with the family until 1942 when it was bought by Guy's Estate. The wording on the Abstract of Title to Kingstone Mill by 1937 was '...together with the manors or lordships or reputed lordships of Arkstone,

Hungerstone, Mawfield and Meer Court.' These would be *Domesday Book: Herefordshire* (1983), notes 10.20, 1.3, 10.21 and 10.23.

- ⁵ Hereford Cath. Lib., Cathedral Muniments Book 1, No. 2178.
- ⁶ H.C.R.O. *Inquisitions Post Mortem*. 1 March 47, Edw. 111. No. 167.
- ⁷ F. and C. Thorn (eds.), *Domesday Book: Herefordshire* (1983), Folio 1.3, and notes 10.20 and 10.23.
- ⁸ V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land Grant of 1085' *English Hist. Rev.*, (1929).
- ⁹ C. J. Robinson, *A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* (1872).
- ¹⁰ This manor of Kingstone in Bromsash Hundred, (folio 3.1 D.B.H.), was administered for the abbey of Cormeilles by one of its English cells, the priory of Newent. Their possessions are listed in two cartularies, both in the British Library, namely Mss. 15668 Ed. 1 and Ed. 11, and Mss. 18461, Edw. 111. A microfilm of Mss. 18461 is available at Gloucester C.R.O. REF. MF. 208. The writer has deposited notes and translations relating to these possessions with H.C.R.O. and G.C.R.O. They deal with manorial custom, names of tenants, services required, rentals, tolls etc. There are many references to Bolitree in Weston-under-Penyard.
- ¹¹ Heref. Cath. Lib., Muniments Book 3, No. 1269.
- ¹² Heref. Cath. Lib., *op. cit.* in note 3.
- ¹³ Heref. Cath. Lib., Muniments Book 3, No. 2030.
- ¹⁴ David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976), 36.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.
- ¹⁷ Heref. Cath. Lib., *op. cit.* in note 3.
- ¹⁸ F. Noble, 'Herefordshire and Simon de Montfort', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVII (1965), 42-70.
- ¹⁹ R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, V (1854-60), 48-9. Joe Hillaby, 'Hereford Gold Part II', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club*, XLV (1985), Ref. 294, pp. 269-70.
- ²⁰ Pugh's *Hereford Journal*, 30 December 1773.
- ²¹ *Op. Cit.* in note 6.
- ²² H.C.R.O., Coningsby Collection, A/23, 1-19.
- ²³ H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*. (1915).
- ²⁴ H.C.R.O., Glebe Terrar 1775.
- ²⁵ Nat. Lib. of Wales, Mynde Collection, Sch. No. 1266.
- ²⁶ Heref. Cath. Lib., *op. cit.* in note 1. The ecclesiastical history of Kingstone is very complex. The connection with Cormeilles was obviously in being before the death of William fitzOsbern in 1070, and as the Abbots of Lyre and Cormeilles were ex-officio canons of Hereford cathedral with their own respective vicars, this must be the origin of Kingstone's connection with the College of Vicars Choral. It is likely that Kingstone Church started life as a chantry in the cathedral endowed by Cormeilles and served by its vicar, before the present church was built circa 1150. It was appropriated by the Dean of Hereford in 1281, but the connection with the College of Vicars Choral remained as shown in the Enclosure Act when both parties were shown as owning and being allocated land.
- ²⁷ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. (1849 ed.).
- ²⁸ W. K. Parker, 'Opposition to Parliamentary Enclosure in Herefordshire 1793-1815', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1982), 79-90. Map drawn 1795. H.C.R.O.
- ²⁹ S. Smith, 'Herefordshire Catholics and the rites of passage', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLII (1978), 235-43.
- ³⁰ Public Record Office. Probate Dept. Year 1523. 11/21.
- ³¹ Scudamore & Moffatt, *Church Plate of the County of Hereford* (1903).
- ³² Nat. Lib. of Wales. Mynde Collection. Sch. No. 1457.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, Sch. No. 221.
- ³⁴ H.C.R.O., Perambulation of the Parish of Doore 1882. R.70/1.

APPENDIX

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Latin or Old English, listing names of absentees from a court. The text is partially obscured by a vertical line on the left side of the page.

Names of Essoins (absentees) from the Court with a view of Frankpledge held 15 October 36 Elizabeth I (1594).

Roger Hide, Richard Merick, Thomas Baker, Harry Marthe, Owen Maredyth, John Llawellyn, Thomas Best, John Griffit, Leonard Thomas, John Duppa, Howell Jones.

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Latin or Old English, describing a payment for the right to pass carts and wains through a field.

A payne is put that all such persons as have used and accustomed to pass with their wains and carts from Kingston along the Thorne field to Cocket field that they shall still pass the usual way without interruption upon payne of 7s.

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Latin or Old English, describing a payment for watering hemp or flax in a brook.

A payne is put that noe man or person shall water hemp or flax in the brook between Arkston and Kingston upon payne of 3s. 4d.

At this court a payne is put that every inhabitant against his owne land shall well and sufficiently repair and amend their hedge between Christ field and Thorne field before Holy Thursday next upon payne of 10s. every default.

Wigmore Castle - A Resistivity Survey of the Outer Bailey

By NORMAN REDHEAD

THE BACKGROUND

Wigmore Castle (HWCM 179)¹ lies in the northern part of the old county of Herefordshire - grid ref. SO 408693. Situated at the N.W. end of a long spur it dominates the road in the valley below (FIG. 1). The castle earthworks consist of a huge, oval motte with an inner bailey to the S.E., defended by two deep ditches and beyond these lies a large outer bailey. The castle followed a normal architectural development, with the late 11th or 12th-century timber stockade surmounting the motte and bailey rampart, this being gradually replaced by massive stone walls.

The castle was founded between 1067 and 1071 by William fitzOsbern² Together with Ludlow, Ewyas Harold, Clifford, Chepstow and Monmouth Castles it provided protection against Welsh incursions on the western side of fitzOsbern's earldom of Hereford (FIG. 2).³ It is not clear whether this early castle, which was built of earth and timber, was on the site of the present stone ruins or was closer to the church, near to the S.E. end of the natural ridge, where remnants of earthworks survive.

After fitzOsbern's death Wigmore was granted to Ralph de Mortimer who held it at the time of the Domesday survey.⁴ In fact, the castle, was the main residence of the Mortimer family from the late 11th century up to its acquisition by Edward IV in the 15th century.

The Mortimer's rise in fortune and power is reflected in the development of the castle. Most of the surviving masonry dates to the 14th century when the castle was rebuilt on a massive scale, probably at the time when Roger Mortimer, the eighth lord, was enjoying his status as one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, during and immediately succeeding the reign of Edward II.⁵ This reconstruction replaced most of the structures erected by previous lords, however, the rounded east tower of 13th-century origin and the possible 12th-century lower wall of the shell keep on its north side do indicate a continuing improvement of the castle defences in previous centuries.

Despite the ancestral home attaining an almost palatial appearance in the 14th century, it was still confined by its topographical location on a narrow ridge, with the huge earthworks from the earliest Mortimer motte and bailey castle defining the shape of the later, stone fortifications. The strongpoint, or donjon, was the oval mound measuring 28 m. by 15 m. across its top, sited at the extreme N. W. part of the castle complex and defended by a ravine some 30 ms. deep. This oval mound or motte was not cut off from the inner bailey by a ditch but relied on its steeply scarped sides for strength. A double ditch was used, however, to protect the inner bailey from the main approach along the ridge. Such was the importance of the site that a further defended enclosure was felt necessary. This took the shape of a trapezoidal outer bailey probably protected by a rampart and ditch on all three exposed sides, though only the S.E. bank is now visible.

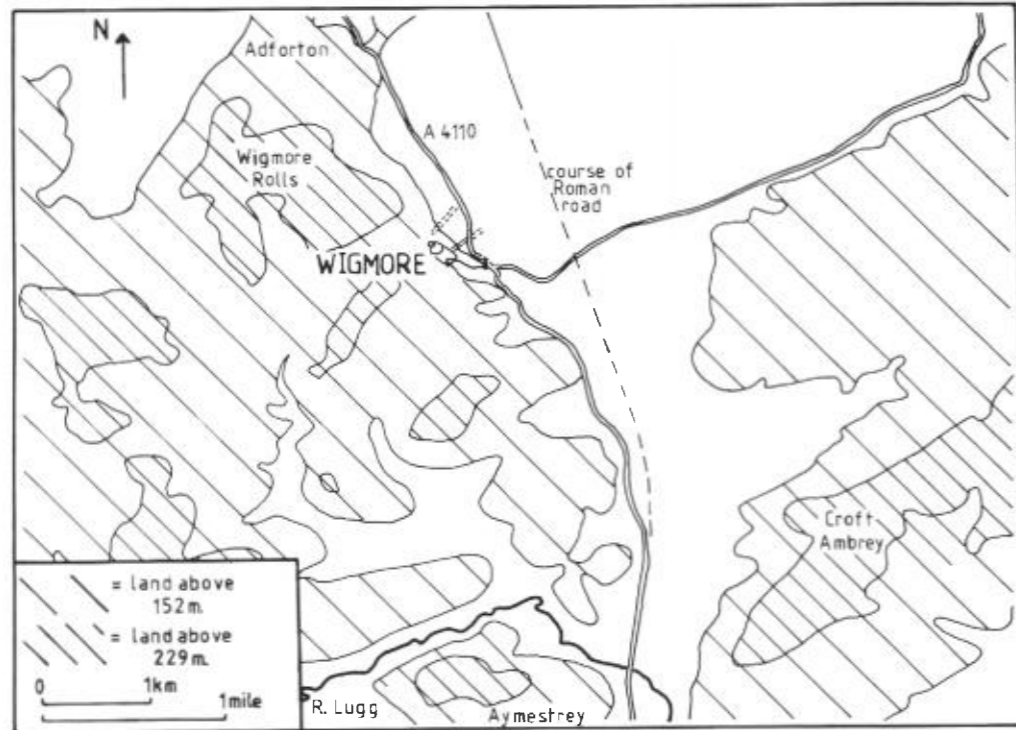


Fig 1
Topographical map of the area around Wigmore Castle.

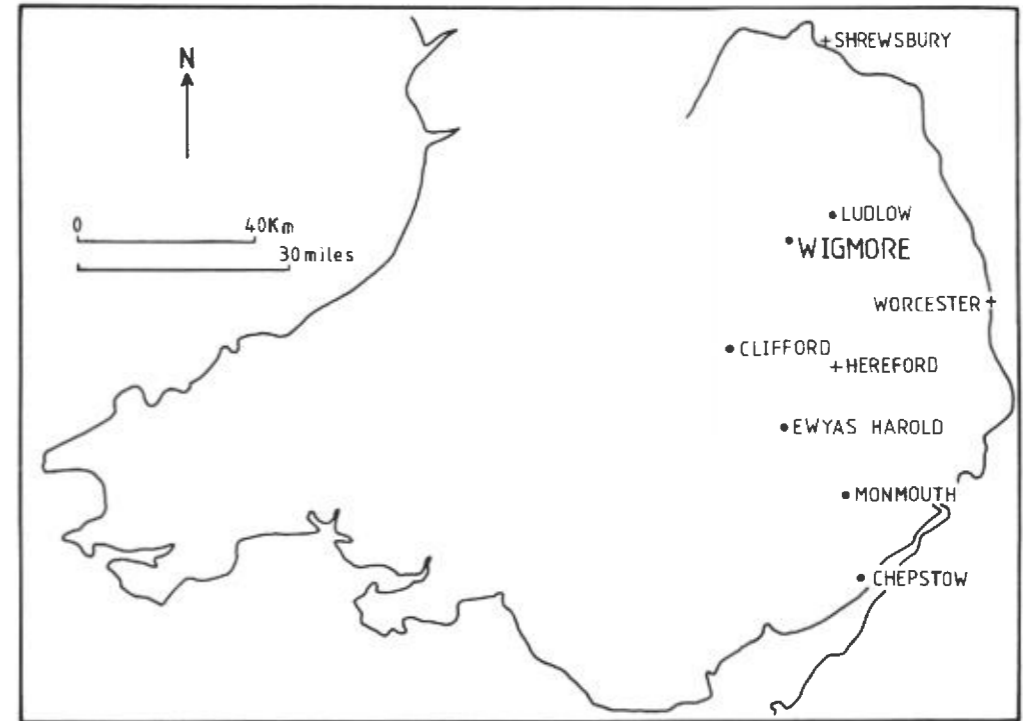


Fig 2
The location of fitzOsbern's castles.

After the War of the Roses Wigmore declined in stature and despite repairs in the 16th century⁶ it was unusable as a defensive structure in the Civil War, the castle being largely dismantled in 1643.⁷ Subsequent centuries of neglect, deliberate destruction and vandalism reduced the castle to the badly ruinous state in which we see it today.

On the motte, within the shell keep that crowns it, and within the inner bailey or ward, a great deal of rubble is evident. This is as much as 2-3 m. deep in places, as can be seen in the half-buried entrance archway into the inner bailey. A resistivity survey of this area would not yield useful results with such a depth of rubble, therefore attention has been focused on the outer bailey. This is divided neatly into two equal parts by a rock-cut hollow-way running N.E. towards the main gate into the inner bailey. The south-west half of the bailey is occupied by a farm and its out-buildings, whereas the N.E. half is under sheep pasture and more easily accessible for survey work.

In general very little is known about the layout of buildings within outer baileys with most excavation work concentrating on the motte or inner bailey/ward. Many castles do not even have an outer bailey. Yet where they do exist their function is enigmatic. Enclosed by earthen ramparts or stone curtain walls, their shape and size vary considerably. Very often the outer bailey covers a larger area than the motte and inner bailey put together. This is the case at Wigmore. Functions may have included one or more of the following:

- 1) Ancillary buildings for which there was no room in the inner bailey, for example additional accommodation space, timber or stone built barracks, workshops, granaries, stables, armouries.
- 2) Refuge for local people and their livestock in times of trouble.
- 3) Camping area for the lord's retinue or army.
- 4) Parade and training ground.
- 5) Secure food producing area; gardens and livestock.

At Wigmore the opportunity has been taken to examine one half of the outer bailey by geophysical prospecting in order to elucidate the building layout (if any). One might expect that a palatial castle like Wigmore in the early 14th century would have been full of buildings and accompanying activity. This seems particularly likely in the light of the large rebuilding programme carried out in the rather cramped inner bailey or ward. As one of the greatest castles in England at that time, analysis of its outer bailey might suggest guidelines for the function of those of other castles of equal or lesser standing.

The survey was carried out in January, April and September of 1988 (pls. LV & LVI). On each occasion the weather was mild but the ground moist. A thick layer of topsoil supported the pasture land and evidently there had been ploughing of the outer bailey site. The bedrock of grey Silurian limestone was close to the surface alongside the hollow-way and this was reflected by high readings. Downslope, towards the N.E., the readings generally got smaller as the plough/topsoil deepened.

An RM 4 resistivity metre was used for the survey.⁸ The bailey was divided into 20 m. squares, sixteen of these were surveyed with readings being taken at one metre intervals (FIG.

3). A ZX 81 Spectrum micro-computer was used to calculate the standard deviation and mean of each square.

NO. OF SQ.	MEAN	STAND. DEV.	NO. OF SQ.	MEAN	STAND. DEV.
1	28.5375	2.4948247	9	28.1975	0.8062965
2	26.2175	2.0919206	10	30.4025	1.3037414
3	26.28	1.9357076	11	30.3575	1.080559
4	28.35	1.9524422	12	32.3525	2.4897273
5	28.97	2.1669891	13	31.8075	1.1975102
6	29.71	1.9012989	14	28.97	0.4792456
7	26.0775	3.8062729	15	30.7725	0.8200121
8	24.0975	1.0298748	16	30.0125	0.5985294

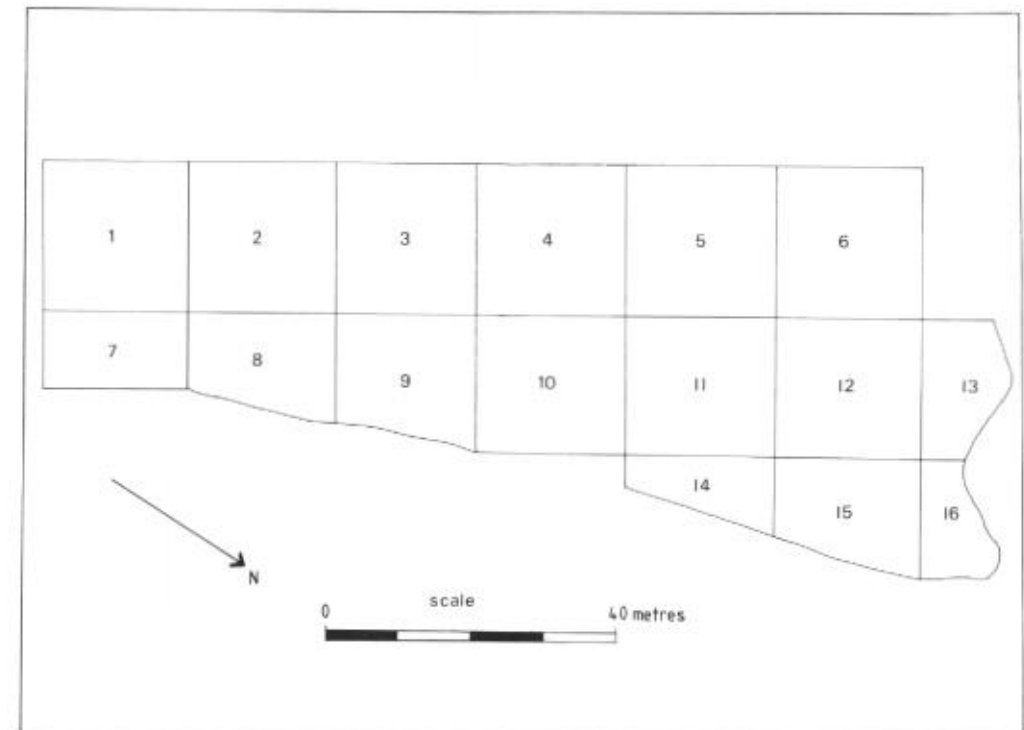


Fig 3
Numbering of survey squares.

The squares with larger standard deviations had the strongest anomalies and provided the most reliable evidence. The average standard deviation (1.625) was calculated and used as the range on either side of the mean. This was then turned into a dot density plot to give a balanced and fair representation of the data (FIG. 4a).

KEY TO INTERPRETATION OF THE DOT DENSITY PLOT (FIG. 4b)

1) Rampart forming the S.E. side of the outer bailey. The physical resistance to the probes and very high anomalies suggests a wall, stones from which have been spread over the field by ploughing. At the N. E. end of this rampart a concentration of particularly high readings indicate the site of a tower. This would be an important aspect of the bailey defences, giving strong protection to the vulnerable corner. Just beyond the S.W. limit of this survey the rampart/wall ends abruptly, with some facing stones appearing in the section, suggesting the existence of a circular tower, probably as part of the gate defences.

2) Low resistance area indicative of a pit or hollow or perhaps a ditch associated with 3 and 4.

3) If 2 and 4 are ditches then 3 could be a causewayed entrance.

4) Linear, low resistance feature 3-4 m. wide, running east to west. It cuts a swathe through a high resistance area. This appears to be a ditch which seems to turn at 90 degrees to run towards 2. There is a projection running north from the linear feature. If 2 is part of an enclosure ditch then the enclosure does not align with the general lay-out of the castle and it is likely that the rock-cut hollow-way cuts this feature, making it pre-date this phase of the castle. However, the interpretation for 2, 3, and 4 should be treated very cautiously. These features may be geological.

5) Very clear, low resistance area which is 2-3 m. in size. One may have expected a well or pit, however this area co-incides with a surface spread of salt cake!

6) Area of low resistance running east to west. There is a pattern of parallel bands of high and low resistance on this axis. Although 6 may be a ditch related to 4 it is most likely that it forms part of the geology of this area, reflecting alternate bands of strata.

7) Irregular band of slightly higher resistance running along the east side of the bailey. Originally there would have been at least an earthen rampart protecting the side of the bailey, for the valley slope is not steep here, unlike the scarp beneath the inner bailey walls. It is likely that ploughing has reduced the rampart and spread out its construction material, giving this higher resistance area.

8) and 9) In the field to the N.E. of the bailey run two parallel banks with ditches. These were surveyed by the R.C.H.M. in 1934.¹⁰ Subsequent ploughing means they are now only visible in favourable conditions as crop marks. One of them runs right up to the outer bailey in a N.E. to S.W. direction. The higher resistance areas 8 and 9 are in line with the bank and ditch and may represent the continuation of this earthwork beyond the outer bailey rampart. If this is the case then these rather enigmatic features may well pre-date the castle. Alternatively 8 and 9 may just be showing the ploughed out remains of the outer bailey rampart.

10) Possible site of building approximately 5.5 by 7.5 m. with an internal low resistance area.

11) Linear, narrow band of higher resistance about 1 m. by 30 m. indicative of a wall. It appears to run through or abut the S.W. side of 12.

12) This well defined high resistance area seems to show a complex stone building. Its dimensions are 15 m. by 7 m. It appears to be divided into two equal parts, with the S.E. half having higher resistance readings than the N.W. Both seem to have projections to the N.E., and a possible one to the S.W. from the S.E. side of the structure. Variations in resistance levels may indicate internal features, possibly multi-phased.



Fig 4

- a) reduced version of computerised plot of the data - dot density representation.
 b) key to interpretation of resistivity data.

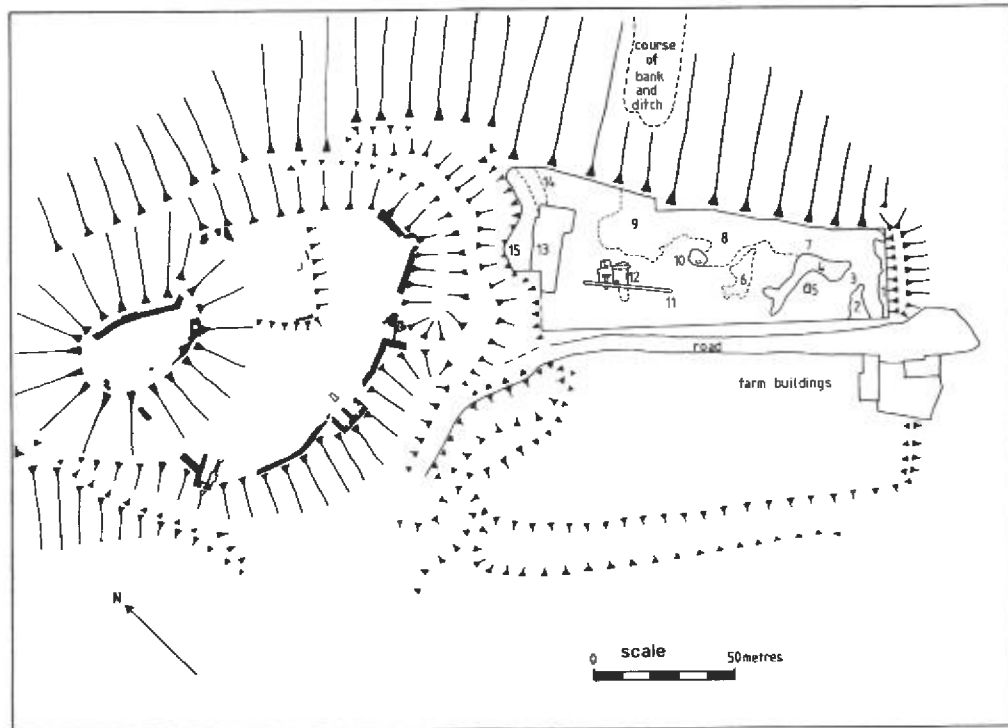


Fig 5

Plot of possible archaeological features in relation to the outer bailey. (Plan of castle based on R.C.H.M.'s Herefordshire, III, (1934))

13) Against the edge of the outer ditch separating the inner bailey from the outer was a very clearly defined linear area of high resistance. Apart from the still extant rampart/wall at the S.E. end, this is the most positive anomaly in the outer bailey. It almost certainly represents a stone building approximately 34 m. long by 11 m. wide. At its N.E. end it appears to be wider. This would be a likely location for a stable block. However, any interpretation of both this structure and that of 12 can only be very tenuous until careful excavation yields a detailed layout.

14) Linear band of high resistance running north from the north corner of 12. Probable location of wall or counterscarp bank.

15) To the N.W. of 12 the resistance was low, as one would expect near the edge of a deep ditch. The higher resistance readings evident are due to the presence of trees beside the ditch.

The plan, FIG. 5, shows the interpreted features mentioned above in relationship to the rest of the castle. The findings of this resistivity survey imply that the outer bailey, or at least its northern half, was not full of substantial structures. Although there appear to be only two certain buildings (12 and 13 above), it is important to recognise the limitations of this form of survey. Shallow-founded timber structures would not show up in the data, especially those of sill-beam construction. Evidence may well have been lost through truncation by ploughing or it may be hidden by slighted rampart overburden or strong geological features. The resistivity survey at Wigmore has been most informative in establishing that buildings were present in the bailey, in the form of at least two, probably stone founded, rectangular structures. Only careful archaeological excavation could show whether or not these were contemporary with the medieval occupation of the castle and if indeed there were other buildings within the outer bailey defences.

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The Hereford Jewry, 1179-1290 (third and final part)

Aaron le Blund and the last decades of the Hereford Jewry, 1253-90

By JOE HILLABY

1990 is a particularly appropriate occasion to bring to a close the story of Hereford's medieval Jewry. 700 years ago, on 18 July 1290, Edward I informed the sheriffs that all Jews were to quit the realm, on pain of death, by the feast of All Saints, 1 November, but they were to ensure that the departing Jews suffered no injury or harassment.³¹⁷

The years 1179-1253 have already been described. Until the death of John in 1216 the evidence is but meagre. During the reigns of Henry III and Edward I the administrative structure of local chests painstakingly co-ordinated by the clerks of the Exchequer of the Jews at Westminster produced a mass of records. From these documents, the Jewish tallage lists on the Receipt Rolls and the multifarious transactions found on the Patent, Close, Fine, Liberate and other rolls, the lives and tribulations of the Hereford and other Jewries can be traced in more detail than for any other social group of the time, with the exception of some members of the higher ranks of the clergy and feudal nobility. Between 1218 and 1253 the Hereford community was dominated by the activities of one extraordinarily wealthy man, Hamo of Hereford, and his sons and successors, Ursell and Moses, but the death of the latter saw the impoverishment of the family and left their community leaderless.³¹⁸ But not for long. In just over a decade a new leader appeared, the Londoner Aaron le Blund.

THE INTERREGNUM, 1253-65

The tallage returns provide firm evidence of the changes which had overtaken the community since Hamo's heyday. In 1223 it had ranked fifth amongst the sixteen English Jewries tallaged that year. In 1255, two years after Moses' death, of the 21 communities tallaged only Nottingham and Warwick paid less (Part 1, Table 6).³¹⁹ Confirmation of the changes is to be found in a list of Jewish debts 'given to the king' from the Hereford chest in 1262.³²⁰ These bonds were taken from the Hereford chest by the sheriff for failure to meet tallage and other levies by the crown.

They represent 45 loans with a face value of £104-19-8, plus three small payments in kind (Table 1). The largest was for £20 but more than half were of £1 or less. This is in marked contrast to the 46 debts outstanding to Hamo's family in 1244 (Part 1, Table 8). There the total value was £2,597-13-0, the largest loan was £600 and, apart from two sets of small repayments in kind, only four were of £1 or under.³²¹ The difference is not merely in the size

of the loans. In 1262 there was no longer one family dominant in the community. Of the bonds taken, two belonging to Meyr, son of Solomon, had a face value of £20-7-0, a fifth of the total value; but overall the average loan was small, for the 46 bonds recorded debts to 36 people. The majority were doubtless members of the Hereford Jewry, such as Meyr who in 1245 had had to give the crown the gold girdle, mazer goblet, a gold clasp and two rings found amongst the chattels of Hamo's son, Moses; and the Hereford Jew with the unusual name of Bertin or Beytin who had been lending money to Gilbert Mynors and Joseph de Meusington (Massington, Ledbury) in the 1230s.³²² Isaac of Ludlow, probably with his brother, Aaron, will have used that town as a base of operations but would have been obliged to register his bonds at the Hereford chest. Others were outsiders; Meyr of Stamford, for example, figures prominently in the Stamford list on the same roll and represented that community at the Worcester 'parliament'.³²³

Table 1: 'Debts given by the Jews to the King' from the Hereford Chest, 1262

	£	s	d	£	s	d
Meyr son of Solomon	20	0	0			
		17	0	20	17	0
Joye daughter of Dorabelle				10	0	0
Elias son of Abraham				10	0	0
Vives son of Abraham	2	13	4			
	5	6	8	8	0	0
Blanche, the Jewess	1	9	0			
	4	13	4			
			16	6	18	4
Isaac son of Benedict				5	6	8
Peter de Kayly, <i>medicus</i>				5	0	0
Abraham son-in-law of Manasser				3	6	8
Bonefei son of Elias & Manasser son of Benedict				3	6	8
Meyr of Stamford	1	0	0			
	1	0	0			
	1	6	0	3	6	0
Bertin the Jew				3	0	0
Abraham son of Sampson	1	13	4			
			18			
			1 seam grain	2	11	4
Manasser			13			
	1	6	8	2	0	0
Aaron son-in-law of Abraham				2	0	0
Contessa (wife) of Josce				1	16	8
Sampson son of Leo	1	0	0			
			13	1	13	4
Moses of York				1	10	0
Reina sister of Isaac le Fraunceys				1	6	8

Josce Ahill	1	6	8
Bonefei of Bristol	1	4	0
Belassez le Blund	1	2	8
Aaron brother of Isaac of Ludlow	1	0	0
Sampson son of Aaron	1	0	0
Isaac le (Galenlyn)	1	0	0
Aaron son-in-law of Bonamy		17	0
Aaron son of Elias		13	4
Josce son-in-law of Bonamy		13	4
Isaac of Ludlow		13	4
Belia daughter of Aaron		12	0
Leo Episcopus		12	0
Jacob of Oxford		10	0
Judah		10	0
Jacob		10	0
Benjamin son-in-law of Aaron		6	8
Abraham son-in-law of Elias	2 loads corn		
	3 loads oats		
Total:		104	10 4

PRO E101/249/10

Relations between the leading Jewish provincial families and those of the capital were characterised by co-operation as well as competition for they were linked by compelling forces, a profound sense of religious and cultural identity as well as by their vulnerability in an alien and often hostile society. Under new pressures the leading Hereford and Worcester families were drawn closer together. In 1253 Hamo's son, Moses, and Isaac of Worcester, known familiarly as Hak, stood jointly as guarantors for Licoricia of Winchester, widow of the magnate David of Oxford, in a suit against Thomas, son of Thomas de Charlecote.³²⁴ It was at about this time that the marriage was arranged between Moses' daughter, Contessa, and Josce, one of Hak's younger sons (FIG. 4). From the family property in the town she was given, as part of her *ketuba*, dowry, 'a house, stable, garden and curtilage in the highway called *Bishopstret* (now Commercial Street) in Hereford.' In all likelihood their house would have been on the west side, backing onto the Jewry in Maylord Street³²⁵

The death of Hamo's last son, Moses, in 1253 offered the Worcester family an opportunity to extend their activities beyond Worcestershire. From the house in *Bishopstret* Josce sought to promote the family's interests in Herefordshire and its hinterland. An examination of Hak's assets in March 1255 included the Hereford as well as the Worcester and Warwick chests and enquiries were also made throughout the counties of Shropshire and Staffordshire where there were no *archae*. A witness to this trade is a bond for £2 lent to Robert Blundell, knight of Shropshire, due for repayment on the Monday before St. Laurence, 1262, which was in the Hereford chest when it was closed in 1276.³²⁶ Further evidence of Josce's activity was revealed by an inquest carried out on the death of Hak in 1268. Seven of his bonds were found

in the Hereford chest, details of which are given in Table 2. The latest is dated 1263, the year Josce died.³²⁷ From the 1265 Close Rolls we learn that Contessa's husband had been 'killed at Worcester during the time of the late disturbances in the realm,' that is when the baronial forces under the earl of Derby sacked the city and plundered its Jewry. Whilst Henry III was at Hereford in June 1265 Contessa petitioned him in person for the return of her dowry from Josce's family. This he granted 'without delay according to the laws and customs of the Jewry.'³²⁸

Table 2 Bonds of Hak of Worcester in Hereford Chest, 1268

Creditor	Sum			Loads of Grain	Date	Repayment
	£	s	d			
Robert son of Nicholas de Fourches	3	6	8		Sun before Epiphany 1261	All Sts next 1 Nov
Walter de Ebroicis (Devereux)	15	0	0		Morrow of Sun after Easter 1262	Fair of St Ethelbert next 20 May
Hugh de Turberville	20	0	0	3 of wheat	Thurs after Peter & Paul 1262	Oct of Mich next
Hugh son of William de Bles		13	4	1 of wheat	St Marg 20 July 1262	to be paid annually at St Denis 9 Oct & Purif 2 Feb
Walter de la Mere of Eggleton	1	0	0		St Laurence 10 Aug 1262	Purif (2 Feb) next
Walter de la Mere of Eggleton	2	0	0	½ of oats	Mon before Purif 1263	All Sts next 1 Nov
?	1	0	0		?	?
Various (collected by sons)	6	13	4			
Total:	49	13	4			

Cal Ancient Deeds, III (PRO, 1900), D275, D19, D8, D6, D29, D32; Selden Soc, 49 (1932), 95.

Aaron le Blund: the early years, London, Gloucester and Civil War

Aaron le Blund, who dominated the Hereford Jewry for the last 25 years, was the son of the London magnate, Elias le Blund. This was made clear by the royal clerks in the Close and Patent Rolls. In 1266 he is called 'Aaron le Blund, Jew of Hereford, son of Elias, Jew of London' and the same description is used the following year.³²⁹ Such precision was essential to distinguish between the various members of the Blund clan with first names in common. This duplication arose from the custom popular amongst English Jews of naming their children after grandparents, particularly in the case of an eldest son.³³⁰ Aaron was the second of four sons for in 1267 and 1272 reference is made to 'Leo, Aaron, Josce and Moses, sons and heirs of Elias le Blund of London'³³¹ and in the tallage roll of 1221 their paternal grandfather is referred to as 'Leo Blund of London' (FIG. 1).

Aaron's father, Elias, was one of two sons of this Leo le Blund. The Receipt Rolls of the early 1220s and 1240s show that, wealthy as Elias was, his position within the London community was overshadowed by that of his elder brother, Aaron, the wealthiest of all the London Jews. The latter will be referred to as Aaron I whilst his nephew, who settled in Hereford in the 1260s, will be called Aaron II. During the period 1221-42 Aaron I paid more in tallage than any other London Jew. In the 1220s his payments amounted to about one fifth of the

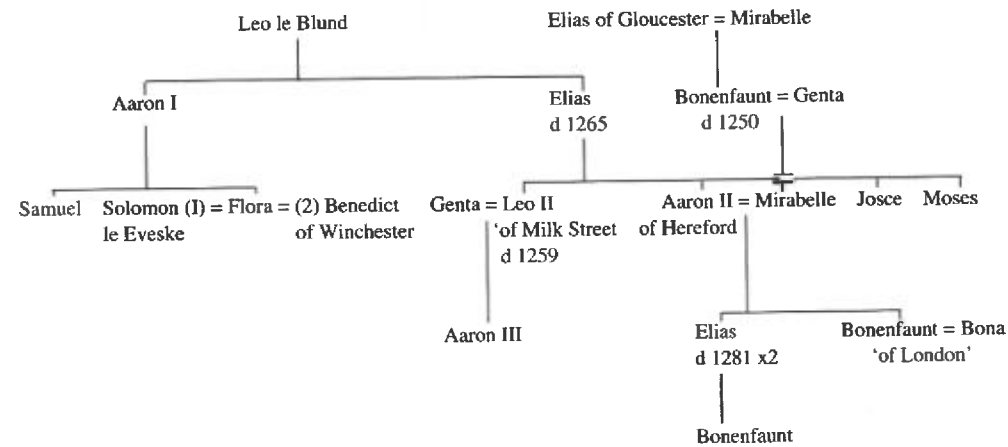


Fig 1: The family of Aaron le Blund of Hereford: a suggested pedigree

London total; by the 1240s this had risen to almost a third. Elias's contributions in 1221 and 1223 were 10% of the total and he ranked fourth and third respectively. By the 1240s his position had slipped to sixth, paying 3.3% in 1241 and 4.6% in 1242.³³²

The brothers lived in the parish of St. Olave's (FIG. 2b, 11) in the Old Jewry, or Colechurch Street (FIGS. 2a & b, 1) as it is sometimes called from the small parish church of St. Mary Colechurch (FIGS. 2a & b, 2) which stood at the south-west corner of the street.³³³ The house in which Aaron II grew up is described in a document of 1268 as lying between 'the church of St. Olave and the birthplace of St. Thomas (Becket),' which became the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre in the 13th century and after 1542 the hall of the Mercers' Company (FIGS. 2a & b, 3). This is confirmed by a writ of complaint issued by Elias in 1253 against his neighbour, Master Thomas de Aswy, in that 'he pulls down Elias' wall besides St. Olave's in Colechurch Street to the detriment of his free tenement and to his damage (of) half a mark.' However, the neighbours got together and effected a compromise whereby Elias quitclaimed the wall to Thomas who in turn quitclaimed to Elias 'the moiety of a covered wall that is between his and Elias' land.' Aaron II's childhood home can thus be pinpointed. St. Olave's is halfway along the west side of Old Jewry whilst the birthplace of St. Thomas fronted Cheapside (FIGS. 2a & b, 4), close to the Great Conduit (FIGS. 2a & b, 5), where it forks into Poultry (FIGS. 2a & b, 6) and Bucklersbury (FIGS. 2a & b, 7).³³⁴

The sons of the two magnates - Samuel, son of Aaron I, and Leo, eldest son of Elias - entered the London money market in the 1230s. The latter had to be distinguished from his grandfather. In 1236 he was called 'Leo, nephew of Aaron le Blund;' subsequently he was almost always 'Leo le Blund of Milk Street' (FIGS. 2a & b, 8). The two young men rose rapidly in the hierarchy and by 1241 they were required to make substantial tallage contributions. In 1241 and 1242 Leo of Milk Street ranked eighth with his cousin, Samuel, one place behind him at ninth.³³⁵

As early as 1234 Elias' second son had set up in business on his own account. In that year an extent was made of Nicholas de Hadham's lands in Thorley and Hadham, Herts to establish reasonable terms for the repayment of money to Aaron (I) le Blund and his associates, and to Aaron the Jew, 'nephew of the said Aaron.' It is noteworthy that in this, our first record of Aaron II, he is distinguished, like Leo of Milk Street, by reference not to his father but to his uncle.³³⁶

Aaron did not establish himself in the capital on a permanent basis. Instead he appears to have had a roving commission representing the family's interests outside London and by 1255 was firmly settled at Gloucester.³³⁷ During his sojourn there Aaron married Mirabelle, the daughter of the local magnate, Bonenfaunt. Links between the families of Bonenfaunt of Gloucester and the Blunds of London go back at least as far as 1226, when the former, with his mother, Mirabelle, widow of Elias of Gloucester, formed a consortium with Aaron I of London and others to fund the debts of Roger de Leyburn, father of that Roger who was to play a major role in the events of the 1260s.³³⁸ In the subsequent years Bonenfaunt grew considerably in stature within the *Communitas Iudeorum Anglie*. This was confirmed at the so-called Worcester parliament of 1241 when he was elected, by 103 representatives of the 21 Jewish communities there assembled, one of six *mediocres* to treat with the six plutocrats concerning the latter's portion of the community's tallage burden.³³⁹

Evidence of the marriage is indirect but conclusive. Following Jewish custom, Bonenfaunt's daughter was called Mirabelle after her grandmother; in the same way three of Hamo's sons called their daughters Contessa after their paternal grandmother (Part 1, FIG. 3). The name Mirabelle is not to be found outside this Gloucester context. It does not occur in any of the Jewish entries in the 13th-century Close and Patent Rolls and in the published records of the Exchequer of the Jews only once, early in the lists of Jews incarcerated in the Tower from January 1275.³⁴⁰ Given the occasion this may well refer to Aaron's wife. The names Aaron gave his sons confirm this family tie: the eldest Elias after his paternal; the second Bonenfaunt after his maternal grandfather (FIG. 1).

By 1259 yet another Aaron le Blund was operating in the London money market. In that year the Patent Rolls carry ratification of a fine made by 'Aaron, son of Leo le Blund, Jew of London, for having the houses, rents and chattels in London late of his father.' The relationship is confirmed by the grant of a house in Milk Street, made prior to 1259, by Leo, with the concurrence of 'Genta his wife and Aaron their son,' to Aaron, son of Vives. This Aaron, 'son of Leo le Blund, Jew of London,' as he appears in the records, will be distinguished as Aaron III.³⁴¹

Aaron II's father, Elias le Blund, died in 1265. The size of Aaron's business in Hereford suggests that he inherited a considerable part of Elias' fortune, his elder brother, Leo, having died six years earlier (FIG. 1). Given Aaron's metropolitan upbringing and connections, one would anticipate that this would have been the occasion for his return to the capital. Why then did he select Hereford as the base for his operations? He may have been influenced by the entrenched positions established by his cousins, Aaron I's children, Samuel le Blund and Flora, who had married into the powerful Eveske family, and by his nephew, Aaron III, who had now succeeded to the trading interests of Leo of Milk Street.³⁴²

But there were other, far more compelling reasons. In London the conflict between Henry III and the barons under Simon de Montfort's leadership led in 1263 to 'demonstration

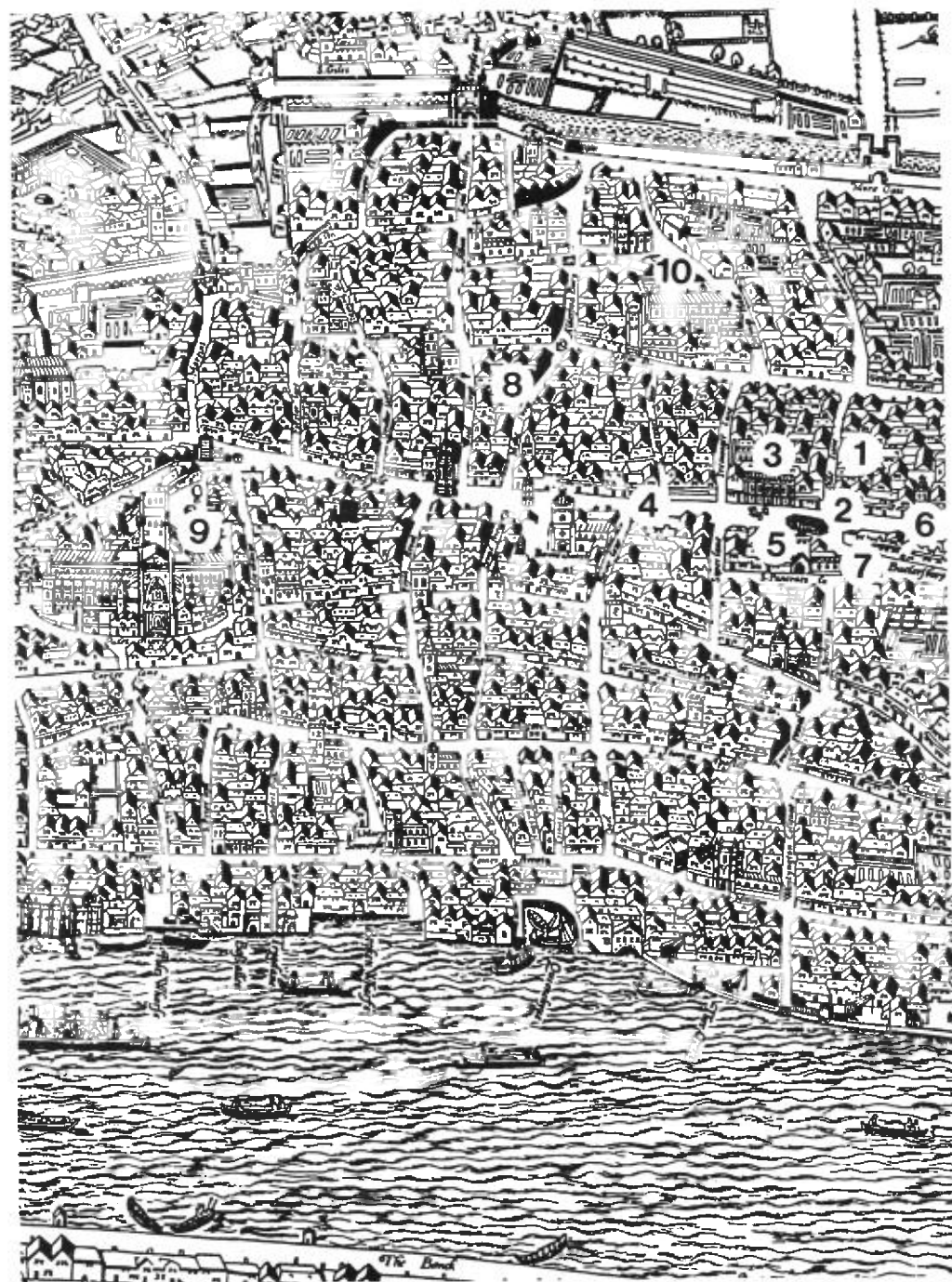


Fig. 2: The London Jewry

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a) (opposite) The *Woodcut Map* attributed to Agas but more probably the work of Gyles Godhead or Godet of about 1562-3.

b) (above) The *Copperplate Map* engraved by Francis Hogenburg from drawings by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde, apparently the original from which 2a was derived. Note, for example, the church of St. Olave appears on this but not the later *Woodcut Map*.

Nos. 1-8 referred to in text, no. 9 Old St. Paul's, no. 10 The Guildhall, no. 11 (only in b) the church of St. Olave, Old Jewry, the pre-Fire tower showing clearly at the west end.

after demonstration ... until revolt grew to revolution and government was driven from the streets.³⁴³ The impact on the Jewry was profound. The previous year 'at Martinmas, about vespers,' a certain Jew having stabbed a Christian with an anelace in Colechurch Street, Old Jewry 'many Christians, indeed a countless multitude, ran in pursuit and broke into many Jewish houses; not content with which, at nightfall they carried off all the goods of the said Jews and would have broken into many more houses for the same purpose had not the mayor and sheriff repaired to the spot and driven them off by force of arms.'³⁴⁴

Two years later, after the defeat of the young Simon de Montfort at Northampton on 5 April, the London mob, roused to even greater fury by the rumour that the Jews planned to burn down the city with Greek fire and were preparing false keys to betray the gates, rose once again. On the eve of Palm Sunday, led by one of de Montfort's most pitiless supporters, John fitz John, they assailed the Jewry. 'Forgetful of human piety ... concerned only to relieve their poverty with the money of others all Jews upon whom they could lay their hands were murdered unless they paid large ransoms or allowed themselves to be baptised.' Cok, son of Abraham, 'the most famous Jew in the city and the richest in London,' was run through by fitz John himself. Mayor and justiciar fought hard to re-establish control. Survivors, together with the London chest of debts, they secured in the Tower. Aaron's father, Elias le Blund, was amongst those who fled to the Tower but once there he died, in all probability of wounds inflicted by the mob. According to one chronicler, 400 Jews, without regard to sex or age, were killed. Other estimates ranged from 500 to 700.³⁴⁵

That was not the end. A month later the royalist draper, Richard de Ware, attempted to burn down Cheapside. Many houses, 'of both timber and stone,' were destroyed in Bread Street and the predominantly Jewish Milk Street, Aaron's childhood home, before he could be restrained. After his victory at Lewes de Montfort sought to re-establish the London Jewry. The administration was slow to respond, for the seal of the Exchequer of the Jews had itself been 'stolen during the (late) broils.'³⁴⁶ Much more important, whether authority lay in the hands of the barons or king, confidence returned but slowly.

In the light of these events of 1262-5, it is hardly surprising that Aaron should have sought to distance himself from London. The situation at Gloucester was never as catastrophic as in London. Nevertheless, these years of civil strife must have been extremely fearful for Aaron and the Jewish community. As the city commanded the lowest bridging point on the Severn it was of great strategic importance to any military operations in the southern march and its powerful royal castle had been much favoured by Henry III. In the early years of his reign the king had visited it three or four times a year. Both sides thus sought control of city and castle. The vernacular chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, has left us a detailed account of these years but makes no mention of an attack on the Jewry such as those suffered at Worcester, Bristol, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford and Canterbury.³⁴⁷ Possibly this was because it was now small, both in wealth and numbers.

Conflict began early with the appointment of a royal sheriff and baronial counter-sheriff. In 1263 John Giffard of Brimpsfield and Roger de Clifford attacked the castle to remove the king's sheriff, Matthew Bezill. Clifford then changed sides and in February 1264 was ordered to destroy all the Severn bridges except Gloucester which he was to fortify and hold. Significantly it was John de Balun of Much Marcle, one of the longest-standing clients of the Hereford Jewry and later a client of Aaron himself, who with John Giffard gained access to the

city by stratagem. Robert of Gloucester provides a graphic account. Wearing Welsh cloaks they appeared at the city gates riding upon woolpacks in the guise of merchants. Once the gates were open they drew hidden weapons and forced the porters, 'Hobbekin of Ludlow and his fellows,' to hand over the keys, but the castle held out until prince Edward arrived. When a strong baronial force appeared Edward persuaded them to accept a truce whereby both sides would withdraw. This the prince did not honour and, after his opponents had gone, he had the porters executed. The foremost citizens he imprisoned until they paid a heavy ransom. He then 'let hom go alive' but 'destrued al then town.'

Their woes were not yet over. At the end of April 1265 de Montfort arrived in person and spent about a week in the city before leaving for Hereford. It was there that prince Edward made his spectacular escape from the baronial forces to join the marchers under Roger de Mortimer and in early June he was back at Gloucester. In two days he had taken the town, but Grimbald Pauncefoot withdrew to the castle where he was besieged for three weeks before negotiating mutually advantageous terms with the prince. His rewards included an immediate knighthood. It is indicative of the devastation caused by these years of civil war that St. Bartholomew's Hospital by the bridge was still impoverished in 1270. Is it coincidence that two chirographers, one Jewish and the other Christian, died in 1265?³⁴⁸

By comparison Hereford, occupied by the baronial forces in 1263 and whose citizens espoused their cause, got off lightly. On 10-11 November 1264 it was besieged unsuccessfully by Roger de Mortimer, who had now changed sides, his son, Ralph, Roger de Clifford of Tenbury, Hugh de Mortimer of Richards Castle, Brian de Brompton and their marchers, together with 'many of the liberty of the prior of Leominster' but the city did not suffer that total breakdown of law and order consequent upon a successful siege. Its only impact on the Jewry would appear to have been the grant of 'all those tenements which the dwellings of the Jews, lying between lands belonging to Gilbert Saym and land of Richard Cachepoll in Bishops-gate' to Thomas, son of William Suard of Hereford, in recompense for the losses sustained 'by the removal of his house without the gate of Ighne, thrown down by our command.' A later reference indicates there was but one house on this site, that of the Hereford Jew, Manasser.³⁴⁹

Hereford: the early years

The arrival of Aaron le Blund transformed the Hereford Jewry. The earliest unambiguous evidence of his activity in the city is in 1265.³⁵⁰ The Wednesday before Easter, 28 March, he lent 'William de Bliss, knight' £20 (Appendix I, no. 38). His son, Hugh, was already borrowing from Hak of Worcester (Table 2). On 9 October, during the city's great three-day autumn fair held on the eve, feast and morrow of St. Denis, William de Shalle (Showle Court, Yarkhill), in return for an undisclosed sum, contracted to pay Aaron £6-13-4 (ten marks) and three *trugges*³⁵¹ (in Herefordshire and Radnorshire two thirds of a bushel) of peas on the morrow of the feast of the purification of the Virgin, 2 February, next following (Appendix I, 2). On the Thursday before St. Lucy the Virgin, 10 December, he returned for another loan for which he engaged to pay a further ten marks and one seam, or quarter, of wheat on the morrow of the close of Easter, 1266 (Appendix I, 3). William was to become one of Aaron's most important clients (Appendix I, 2, 3, 4a, 5a, 7, 8, 9a).³⁵²

From the Receipt Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, the Patent, Close, Fine and Liberate Rolls we can establish the circumstances under which Aaron le Blund had to operate in Hereford in these early years. In 1261 a refinement had been added to the regular scrutiny of the chests. In that year Master Richard of Hereford, clerk of the Exchequer, had been required, in addition to enrolling all the charters in the Hereford, Worcester and Warwick chests, 'to enquire by such means as shall be expedient touching all the goods of the said Jews, movable and immovable, without the said chests, to wit how much each has in gold and silver, pledges, jewels, lands, rent and other things, and whether any have received such goods without the Jews' houses, or have the same in deposit and in whose hands or keeping they are as well in cities, boroughs, towns or religious houses, as in all other places.' To assist him in this task Richard was furnished with a writ of aid directed to 'all sheriffs, constables of castles, mayors, bailiffs, chirographers and all the king's ministers.'³⁵³

On the outbreak of civil war the tallage system collapsed. Only in May 1269 was it possible to scrutinise such chests as had not been destroyed or carried off and thus to establish tallage liability for Henry III's demand for £1,000.³⁵⁴ John de Weston, Walter de le Croche and William de Middleton were to examine the Hereford and other chests, 'view and inspect the charters and chirographs and certify the king of the debts contained therein.' The king undertook to raise no further money for three years unless he or his son should go on crusade. In 1271 Edward, standing in for his father, took the cross and another tallage, of 6,500 marks, was levied. Henry III, not satisfied with the old procedures, now insisted that the chests with their bonds should be transported for inspection to London. Transport charges were considerable: taking the Worcester chest to London, for example, cost £1. Only 4,000 marks were received and the shortfall was met by the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall. Once again he was given the Jewry as security, but now he valued it at a mere one third of the sum he had paid in 1255.³⁵⁵

At Easter, 1272 a further tallage of 5,000 marks was imposed. All Jews who could not provide security for payment were to be thrown into the Tower. This was no unusual occurrence. The whole Hereford community had been lodged there when it had failed to meet its small contribution to the 500-mark tallage of Michaelmas, 1259. In June the Exchequer announced that half the sum had to be remitted by midsummer and the remainder by the feast of St. James (25 July). If payment was not forthcoming then 'the bodies of the mainperners (guarantors) with their chattels and debts shall be at the king's will.' Aaron had been assessed at £60 of which he paid the first instalment and the sheriff was ordered to release him and his bonds (without which he could not raise the amount still outstanding). The following year, by way of explanation for his failure to remit the remainder of the tallage, the sheriff reported that Aaron le Blund was 'in prison in London and the chattels (debts) of the other Hereford Jews are taken into the hands of our lord the king by whose command the chirograph chest is closed under seal.'³⁵⁶

For community leaders such incarceration in their local royal castle, or the Tower, must have been regarded as an occupational hazard. Indeed, it was something of a cat and mouse game, as is shown by the speed with which some Jews paid their tallage when their bonds were taken in lieu from the chest.³⁵⁷ Certainly, when in 1274 Edward I levied the so-called great tallage of 12,500 marks or tax of one third on Jewish chattels, Aaron paid £33-8-8 promptly, by January 1275. The rolls of this tallage provide the most detailed indication of the

distribution of wealth between the various members of the Hereford community in the second half of the century (Table 3). Isaac of Campden, Gloucestershire and Aaron, son of Bonamy the priest of Hereford, had established themselves at Bridgnorth. As there was no chest at Shrewsbury they were treated as Hereford tallage payers but cannot be regarded as full members of that community. They are thus not included in Table 3.³⁵⁸

Table 3: The Great Tallage or Tax of One Third on Jewish Chattels on the Hereford Jews, 1275-6

Name	£	s	d	%	Rank
Aaron son of Elias le Blund (a)	33	8	8	49.4	1
Elias son of Aaron (h)	11	13	5	17.3	2
Jacob son of Jacob	5	11	1	8.2	3
Benedict le Eveske	3	6	8	4.9	4
Elias de Ardre (son of Isaac? e)	2	8	4c	3.6	5
Benedict son of Elias (i)	2	7	3c	3.5	6
Jacob le Prestre (son of Sadekyn? q)	1	13	4	2.5	7
Moses son of Isaac	1	8	3	2.1	8
Bellasez daughter of Leon (the widow)	1	0	0	1.5	9
Hagin son of Jacob (of Gloucester? s)	17	9		1.3	10
Belia daughter of Jacob	13	4		1.0	11
Bona the widow	12	11c		0.9	12
Contessa daughter of Moses (o)	11	6c		0.8	13
Belia the widow	10	0c		0.7	14
Blanche of Hereford (the widow)	9	8c		0.7	15
Isaac son of Bonenfaunt	6	8		0.5	16
Contessa (daughter of Benedict? w)	5	0c		0.4	17
Belia daughter of Aaron (p)	4	8		0.3	18
Aaron son of Benjamin	2	8		0.2	19
Cresse son of Genta	2	4		0.2	20
Total:	67	13	6		

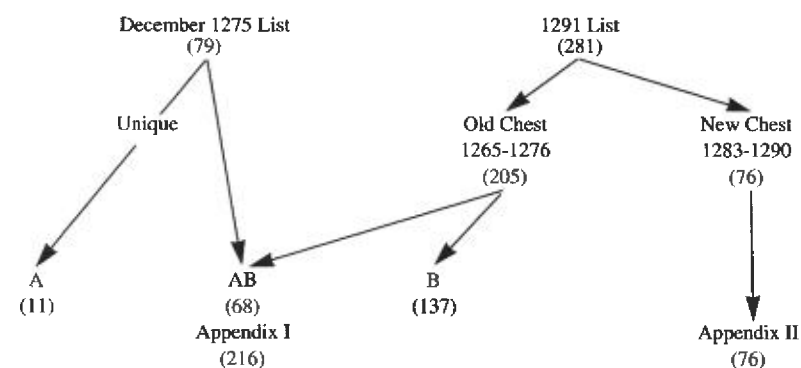
Letters in brackets refer to Table 5: Jews with Bonds in the Old Chest

l Belia the widow = Belia daughter of Jacob or daughter of Aaron?

c total includes 'chattels', that is debts taken by the sheriff from the chest

PRO E101/249/18: 249/19; E401/1568; E401/1659

The records of the trading activity of the Hereford Jewry in the period 1262-90 are virtually unrivalled. There are two long lists of bonds found in the Hereford chest. The first was the result of a scrutiny made in December, 1275 which provided details of 79 bonds with a face value of £391-6-4. In addition a small number of payments were to be made in kind (see Appendix I, bonds A and AB). As all but two of the 79 bonds record loans made by Aaron or his sons, Elias and Bonenfaunt, the scrutiny may have been related to some evaluation of his holding, the two other bonds being collected up in error.



Figures in brackets = number of bonds

Fig 3: The December, 1275 and the 1291 lists of debts of the Hereford Jewry

The second list was drawn up after the expulsion. In November 1275 a Statute of the Jewry placed an absolute prohibition on usury by either Jew or Christian. All chests of Jewish debts were to be sealed forthwith. In 1283, however, a New Chest was opened at Hereford. Bonds relating to transactions completed before the sealing of the chest were described as belonging to the 'Old Chest'; those relating to the period 1283-90 as belonging to the 'New Chest'. In 1291 one Christian chirographer took the Old Chest with its contents, and the other the New Chest, from Hereford to Westminster. From these the exchequer clerks itemised all outstanding obligations and charters of the Hereford Jewry (FIG. 3). Realising the outstanding importance of this lengthy list of Hereford bonds, Lionel Abrahams transcribed and published the text almost a century ago in the *Jewish Historical Society Transactions*.³⁵⁹

The details of the 205 bonds in the Old and 76 in the New Chest with others listed in Tables 2 and 4 are a rich source for the historian of medieval Herefordshire. They throw light on a range of subjects well beyond the financial activities of the Hereford Jewry, such as family, manorial and tenurial history, and are of particular interest for what they can tell us of those members of society who figure but lightly in national sources. In Appendices I and II an attempt has been made, with assistance from Bruce Coplestone-Crow's recent book, to tease out a few of the place-name implications but these merit more detailed study. Three examples must suffice.

It has been suggested that the place-name, Eccles Green, in the parish of Norton Canon, is the Old English term for a Celtic Christian centre, *Eccles*, borrowed from the Celtic *Egles*. This is based on a single, late record, from the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* of 1392. Yet the charters of the Old Chest, more than a century earlier, provide further examples. There are four bonds of David of Ekeleah or Hockel (I, 87, 88, 89a, 90a). Two of these loans he held jointly, with a Robert son of Ralph of Norton (89b, 90b), confirming an attribution to Norton Canon.³⁶⁰ William le Waleys, who borrowed £10 from Hagin, son of Hagin, is carefully described as 'living at St. Keyne,' that is Kentchurch, where St. Cain, Ceinwen or Keyne, daughter of Brychan, was the original patron of the church now dedicated to the Virgin. We are further told that he was the son of John le Waleys of Great Brompton, which provides a further form of the *Michelebrompton*, Madley, of the 1327 *de Banco* Rolls.³⁶¹ In the case of

Linceter in Whitbourne the Old English origin, *'ceaster*, "walled Roman site", does not seem likely, even in the less precise usage found in western counties. Names in *-sete* are usually ascribed to the Old English *geset*, "dwelling, camp, place for animals", and those in *Lin-* to the Old English *lin*, "flax". Other spellings are needed.' Bonds in the Old Chest provide two more, of 1275 and 1276. In the first, of Aaron le Blund (I, 73), it is 'Lyncestr'; in the other, not surprisingly of Hak of Worcester's son, Aaron (I, 74), 'Linecestr'.³⁶²

The full form of the bonds in the two chests indicates when they were contracted. Although of considerable interest, such additional detail could not be included in Appendices I and II but examples are given in Table 2. The Jews were masters of the Christian calendar for all but four of the 205 bonds in the Old Chest were dated by festivals of the church. Of these Easter (15), St. John's day (9), that is midsummer's day when gaiety and frolic were often the excuse for unbridled licence, and Michaelmas (14) dominate. The Jewish moneylenders frequented the principal fairs of the district for it was here that they could most readily obtain the custom of rural clients. The saints' days on which the charters were sealed give us some hint as to these fairs. Hereford city's autumn fair, on the feast of St. Denis (14), rivalled even Michaelmas. However the bishop's spring fair of St. Ethelbert, 20 May, was but poorly represented, as was the Leominster fair held at the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, 29 June, (4 each). Much more popular were St. Laurence, 10 August, and St. Martin, 11 November (8 each). Of especial interest are two debts registered on the anniversary of 'the dedication of the church (cathedral) of Hereford.' One date at least must have warmed the hearts of the Hereford community. In 1274 Aaron lent two marks to Geoffrey of Bromfield and Belia, daughter of Aaron, nine marks to John Lannare of Staunton. With what satisfaction must they have sealed them, 'on the day on which "Rejoice Jerusalem" is sung.' This, the introit for the proper of the fourth Sunday in Lent, Refreshment Sunday, continues 'and be glad with her, all ye that love her; rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her.'³⁶³ What could be more moving for Hereford's Jews, so far removed from the temple of Solomon?

THE ERA OF THE OLD CHEST, 1265-76

From the Old Chest the royal clerks noted details of 205 bonds with a face value of £1,114-12-0. As in the 1275 list, a number of payments were in kind. For each bond the names of the parties and the value and date of registration were listed. The earliest was dated 11th February 1259 (I, 206). All but one other (I, 80 of 1262) record transactions during the years 1265-76. The Old Chest continued in operation for virtually a year after the issue of the Statute, for the last six loans were sealed at Hereford's St. Denis fair in October 1276.

As there is considerable overlap between the December, 1275 list and that of the Old Chest, compiled in 1291, details of the two have been brought together as Appendix I (see also FIG. 3). Eleven of the 79 charters of the first list (A in Appendix I), all Aaron's, were not included in the second. These, it must be assumed, represent loans repaid between December 1275 and October 1276. The other sixty-eight charters did appear in the second list and are identified by the letters AB in Appendix I. The remaining 137 charters (B in Appendix I) were unique to the Old Chest. Thus we have 216 Hereford debts of which all but two were contracted between 1265 and 1276. To give an overall picture of the Jewry's clientele in those years, details of all 216 loans with a value of £1,172-12-0 have been re-arranged according to

the total outstanding from each client. A complicating feature is that on 29 occasions loans were granted to more than one person. In these cases the parties are indicated by the addition of the letters a, b or c to the bond identification number and liability has been distributed equally.

Table 5 shows the total sum owed to each of the 30 creditors with charters in the Old Chest who are coded by letters for cross-reference to Appendix I. The table illustrates the profound change which had taken place within the Hereford Jewry since the arrival of Aaron le Blund. By 1275 his position was even more dominant than that of Hamo's family in the first half of the century. 119 of the 205 bonds belonged to his family (a, b, h and n), with a face value, excluding payments in kind, of £850-0-4, 76% of the total. It might be argued that, as they represent bad debts, these are not necessarily typical. However, the rolls for the Great Tallage of 1275 vindicate this evidence. Of the £67-13-6 levied on the Jews of Hereford, Aaron and his eldest son, Elias, contributed £45-2-1, that is some 67% (Table 3). Even Jacob, son of Jacob, who paid the third highest tallage, was not in the same league. This is confirmed by the list of Jacob's bonds returned to the Hereford chest in 1275, probably after assessment of the relief or death duty due from his heirs (Table 4).

Table 4: Bonds of Jacob, son of Jacob, returned to Hereford chest, Hilary 1275

Debtor	£	s	d	Dated
1 ---- de la Halle of Woodbury*	1	6	8	22 Dec 1271
2 Thomas Paris de Ynyene*	1	10	0	11 Aug 1273
3 Walter Pouke de Moramton		10	0	28 Sept 1272
4 Richard de Fuches of Semley	1	4	0	15 Feb 1272
5 Nicholas, son of Reginald de la Felde	1	0	0	20 Oct 1271
6 John Lamare de Sutinton*	1	0	0	5 June 1273
7 John Lamare de Sutinton*	2	0	0	30 Sept 1272
8 John Lamare de Sutinton*	2	0	0	1 Feb 1272
9 ---- son of Ralph of Ringshall	1	6	8	12 Nov 1272
10 Robert Simon and Walter the Chaplain	2	13	4	5 Dec 1269
11 David of Merton	2	0	0	8 Oct 1272
Total:	16	10	8	

* See Appendix I: 1, 210; 2, 159, 160; 6-8, 60, 61.
EJ, IV, 68-9

Nevertheless there had been a severe contraction of capital between 1244 and 1276. The value of the le Blund charters in the Old Chest is merely a third of the sum outstanding to Hamo's family 32 years earlier. Just as significant is the difference in the size of loans. Apart from £60 to Henry, son of Henry de Pembridge, £45 to John de Balun, lord of Much Marcle and to Richard Rumel, £40 to William Mael, citizen of Hereford, £30 to Richard Pauncefot and £25-6-8 to Richard, son of Hugh de Kinnersley, Aaron's individual loans in the Old Chest were low in value. There were four of £20; the remainder ranged between £18-13-4 and 10s. (Appendix 1). Aaron was lending money to quite different stratas of society.

Table 5: Jews with Bonds in the Hereford Old Chest

C	Jewish Creditor	Total value			%	No
		£	s	d		
1 a	Aaron son of Elias le Blund	743	3	8	66.7	103
2 b	Bonenfaunt son of Aaron le Blund	79	6	8	7.1	10
3 c	Hagin son of Elias	35	19	4	3.2	12
4 d	Sampson, son of Hak of Worcester	25	16	0	2.3	9
6 f	Sarah daughter of Elias	20	6	8	1.8	6
7 g	Aaron, son of Hak of Worcester	19	4	8	1.7	5
8 h	Elias son of Aaron le Blund	18	10	0	1.7	4
9 i	Benedict son of Elias	18	7	4	1.6	8
5 e	Elias son of Isaac	18	6	8	1.6	6
10 j	Mirabelle daughter of Isaac	18	6	8	1.6	1
11 k	Manasser son of Josce	16	13	4	1.5	3
12 l	Bona daughter of Elias	15	2	0	1.4	4
13 m	Josce son of Manasser	13	0	0	1.2	5
14 n	Josce, son of Elias le Blund	9	0	0	0.8	2
15 o	Contessa daughter of Moses	8	6	8	0.7	5
16 p	Belia daughter of Aaron	7	4	0	0.6	2
17 q	Jacob son of Saudekyn	6	0	0	0.5	3
18 r	Hak son of Hagin	5	6	8	0.5	1
19 s	Hagin, son of Jacob of Gloucester	5	6	8	0.5	1
20 t	Henna daughter of Elias le Evesk	4	13	4	0.4	2
21 u	Elias son of Benedict	4	6	8	0.4	2
22 v	Joya daughter of Isaac	3	6	8	0.3	1
23 w	Contessa daughter of Benedict	3	6	8	0.3	1
24 x	Moses son of Abraham	3	5	0	0.3	2
25 y	Josce, son of Aaron of Caerleon	2	13	4	0.2	1
26 z	Cok son of Manasser	2	13	4	0.2	2
27 a	Hak of Worcester	2	0	0	0.2	1
28 b	Genta daughter of Hagin	2	0	0	0.2	1
29 c	Moses son of Isaac	2	0	0?	0.2	1
30 d	Elias son of Jacob	1	0	0	0.1	1
Total:		1,114	12	0	100	205

C Letter code used to identify Jewish creditors in Appendix I
PRO E101/250/5

Hamo's family had lent money to a small number of local barons. The de Lacys, de Cliffords and the Monmouth and Marshal families account for more than 80% of the loans in the 1244 list (Part 1, Tables 10 & 11). Aaron, on the other hand, was meeting the needs of a wide range of other social groups. Some were townsmen and clerics, such as William Mael and Reginald Russell of Hereford, William the fuller of Leominster (the 1281 *de Banco* rolls show his wife, Margery, bringing a plea against William Dyke for one third of certain rents in

Leominster), Richard son of Roger the mercer, and John le Amblur, chaplain of Hanley; but predominantly his clients were drawn from the knighthood and peasantry. Indeed, the bonds of the Hereford Jewry found in the Old Chest constitute a spectacular roll of the knightly families of the shire, including members of a number of local families that held the shrievalty, such as Kinnersley (1249), Pembridge (1257-8), Solers (1291-3), Pichard (1299-1305), Hakluyt (1307-11, 1316) and Chaundos (1311-5).³⁶⁴ Although space does not permit a close examination of this group, a number of examples must be considered.

The financial affairs of some of these knights provide valuable insights into the difficulties which Aaron had to overcome if his business was to succeed. In 1265 'for a fine paid into the wardrobe,' Henry III granted that he would 'not cause any extent, prorogation of terms, pardon, quittance or gift to be made of any debts due to Aaron le Blund by Richard Pauncevaunt, Roger Tyrel, William de Sul or others his debtors for five years.' Such grants to Jews were not uncommon in the 1260s for the king had to sustain the profitability of his Jewry. Naturally Aaron ensured that his chief clients were named in this writ. The records of the Old Chest show that Pauncefot had borrowed £30 and 'William de Sul' is doubtless the William of Showle Court who figures so prominently in both lists, getting further and further into debt.³⁶⁵

Roger Tyrel was a member of the family which held one of the two manors of Little Marcle from the de Solers. The Patent Rolls explain why his name does not appear in either list. In 1267 it transpired that Edward, the king's son, had pardoned Roger his debt to Aaron when the Jewry was in his hands five years earlier but 'on occasion of the disturbances' the pardon was never enrolled. The king therefore granted that 'Roger be quit of the said debt for ever, and that his charters in the chirographer's chest shall be drawn out and delivered to him.' Aaron was to be recompensed out of tallage arrears 'due to the said Edward for the time when the Jewry was in his hands.' No doubt Edward's pardon had been to buy Roger's support in the time of troubles.³⁶⁶

Aaron continued to suffer from the crown's fondness for rewarding faithful service by pardoning Jews' debts. William Mael, citizen of Hereford, was another important client. He borrowed £8 from Aaron in November 1268, £5 at the St. Ethelbert's fair in 1271, £2-13-4 and finally £40 in June and July 1273, making a total of £55-13-4. Obligation for the debt passed to 'Walter Hackelutel,' one of the Hackluyts of Eaton by Leominster, who in 1285 received a pardon 'in consideration of his grateful service to the king and of his costs and expenses in newly erecting a house in the Welsh marches and afterwards crenellating it by the king's licence for the security of those parts.' This was on lands granted to him by Edmund Mortimer in Elfael. Aaron was again the loser. As he would 'lately have sold the debt to Walter for £20,' he was to have that amount in recompense - 'from the king's old debts as the Justices of the Jews shall ordain.' Not only was Aaron obliged to let his bonds go at discount, but even then all he received in exchange were debts regarded by the Exchequer as old, that is beyond reasonable redemption.³⁶⁷

It has been vigorously argued that the 13th century was a time of crisis for the knightly class. This was due to a number of factors - inflation in the early years, the ever-increasing sophistication and thus expense of military equipment and castles, as well as the temptation associated with the more general availability of luxury goods.³⁶⁸ Many knights turned to the Jews for money, but loans had to be secured on their one realisable asset, their lands. Default meant loss of the gage, that is the land, in which case there were three possibilities. The Jew

could sell his title to a third party who would thus gain control of the estate; or the debt could be sold to someone interested in it as an investment; on the other hand the debtor could grant his interest in the land to someone who would pay off his debt. At a time when land was at an ever-increasing premium, this offered great temptations and not only to members of the royal family.³⁶⁹ In these ways the activities of the Jewry stimulated a rapid growth in the land market at the same time as a growing population was increasing pressure on the limited supply.

However, the Jew could achieve nothing without the support of the royal courts. Only there could the bond be enforced. Further, distraint of land, when it came, was the duty of the king's representative in the county, the sheriff, and the knights who lost their lands by this process knew only too well 'what good reason the king had to be thus tender of the Jews.' It was 'from the absolute property he had in them,' that is because, in Bracton's words, 'the Jew can have nothing of his own. Whatever he acquires, he acquires not for himself but for the king.'³⁷⁰ Through the imposition of tallages, fines, reliefs etc. the Jews were in effect the royal sponge. By 1255 the king had become a direct rather than indirect partner, for the sheriffs were now ordered 'if any Jew fails to pay go to the chest and cause the amount to be taken out from his clearer and better debts in order that we (the crown) may distraint the Christian debtors.'³⁷¹

As the 'clearer and better debts' were those of the knights, it is not surprising that many threw in their lot with Simon de Montfort and the barons against the king in 1258. Some, like Grimbauld Pauncefot at Gloucester in 1265, deftly changed sides³⁷² but for the great majority who had adhered to the baronial cause defeat at Evesham brought disinheritance. 'Within a few weeks more than a thousand estates had been seized or looted by loyalists in an orgy of vengeance.' Confiscation was legitimised by parliament in September when lands of more than 250 of the vanquished were granted to some 133 loyalists. By the Dictum of Kenilworth, October 1267, the disinherited were able to recover their estates - on payment of up to seven times the annual value. For many this led to a further turn in the spiral of indebtedness.³⁷³

The petition of the barons, May 1258, shows that the king did not represent the only threat. 'Jews ... (transfer) their debts and the lands pledged to them to magnates and other persons powerful in the kingdom, who on this pretext enter the land of lesser men or smaller landowners (*minores*), and although those who owe the debt are ready to pay it, with the interest, the magnates put off the matter, in order that by hook or by crook the lands and holdings shall remain in their hands, saying that without the Jews to whom the debt was owed they cannot do anything, and that they know nothing, and thus they continually put off the repayment of the borrowed money so that, by the intervention of death or of some other mischance, evident peril and manifest disherison plainly threaten those to whom the holdings belonged.'³⁷⁴ The struggle for Jewish bonds represented a struggle for that most important of all commodities in the medieval world, land.

This implies a degree of co-operation between local magnates, Christian and Jewish. It could be seen at work in Worcestershire prior to 1275 where the sheriff, William III de Beauchamp, had learned at an early stage how useful Hak and other Worcester Jews could be in his campaign to tighten the family's hold on the Severn and Avon valleys. The Beauchamp cartulary presents a picture of 'steady encroachment by William III on the lands and rights of his weaker neighbours,' even the knightly members of his own household, such as the Barclives of Bicklehampton and the fitz Warins of Wick by Pershore, suffered.³⁷⁵ If for this reason alone, the Worcester Jewry enjoyed his protection and support in pursuit of their claims.

For Aaron le Blund success at Hereford thus meant tacit agreement with the Mortimers of Wigmore and Richards Castle, now dominant in Herefordshire, south Shropshire and Worcestershire west of the Severn. Roger de Mortimer had engineered prince Edward's escape from de Montfort at Hereford in 1265 and he more than anyone else could claim credit for the royalist victory at Evesham after which he had sent de Montfort's head as a trophy to his wife, Maud, at Wigmore. By Easter, 1266 he combined shrievalty of the county with constableness of Hereford castle.³⁷⁶ It is now that we find him active in the land market, eagerly seeking estates encumbered by debt. John de Balun, William de Bliss and Henry de Pembridge were but three who suffered in this way at Roger's hands.

The de Baluns of Much Marcle

The history of the Baluns' Marcle lands in the 13th century illustrates well the complexity and varied nature of the forces at work in some of these transfers of encumbered estates and shows how Jewish financiers such as Aaron le Blund and Hamo's sons, Ursell and Moses, were but pawns manipulated by others in a much larger game.

A certain Hamelin, from Ballon near Le Mans, had been granted the lordship of Abergavenny in William Rufus' reign. When Abergavenny was lost in the mid 12th century Marcle became the caput of the family's much reduced barony.³⁷⁷ John's grandfather, Reginald de Balun, died in 1203 and his father, John I, had to pay the baronial relief of £100 to obtain possession. He paid nothing into the exchequer that year but the debt to the crown had been met in full by 1208. It would have been difficult to raise such a sum from his estates at Marcle and at Great Peverell in Wiltshire, for they were assessed at only one knight's fee each. Some at least of the money he would have had to borrow, but this was not his only problem.³⁷⁸

In 1218 John I was sued by Simon of Oxford for payment of £80 due under the terms of a bond negotiated many years earlier by his father, with Isaac and Benjamin, and registered in the Gloucester chest. After the general imprisonment of the Jewry by king John in 1210, many Jews had fled the country and many others died. It was only in 1218, after Henry III's council of regency took measures to re-establish the Jewry, that Simon was able to press for payment of Isaac and Benjamin's bond which had passed into his hands. Despite this salutary experience, John I stood as guarantor for Roger de Leyburn senior when the latter borrowed 100 marks from Hamo of Hereford in 1229.³⁷⁹

When John II succeeded his father in 1235 he too had to find £100 for the baronial relief. He turned to a consortium of Hamo's son, Ursell, David of Oxford and Samar of Winchester. Nine years later he still owed Ursell's brother, Moses, £70 and this despite a pardon of £16-13-8 the preceding year. Under such circumstances it is no surprise to find him one of de Montfort's leading adherents in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. It was Balun, wearing his 'Welsh cloak and riding upon his woolpack' who, with John Giffard, gained control of Gloucester for the baronial forces in 1264 and it was he, with William Devereux and Roger de Chaundos, who was appointed a commissioner to assess the damage caused when Mortimer and other marchers had laid siege to Hereford, loyal to de Montfort, in November.³⁸⁰

Balun, whose estates straddled the two counties, apparently now joined the group around the young Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who had abandoned de Montfort in 1265. After Simon's defeat and death at Evesham Balun received a royal pardon for his earlier transgressions. His lands were returned but strings must have been attached for he had to raise £547 from the London Jew, Hak, son of Master Moses, on the security of the Marcle estate.

This bond Roger de Mortimer bought from Hak in 1267, thus obtaining possession. But John, with the help of others, forcibly ejected Mortimer's men. Mortimer resorted to the courts to bring an action against Balun, Gregory de Caldwell and William the forester of Marcle. In the Curia Regis Rolls there is a significant addition to this list - of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester. Relations between de Clare and Mortimer had already become tense as a result of the royal command that Roger hand over the castles of Hay and Huntingdon to Gilbert. Anxious to curb any extension of Mortimer power in southeast Herefordshire, the youthful Red Earl espoused Balun's cause. In November Walter de Helyun was dispatched from Westminster 'to hear that appeal which some men of the county of Hereford are making against some men, in the service of the earl of Gloucester, of robberies and other trespasses and to do thereon what the king by his council enjoined upon him.' The outcome is unknown but the lesson which Mortimer had learned from the Beauchamps and prince Edward was not lost on de Clare who later had a great traffic in estates encumbered by Jewish debt.³⁸¹

In 1270 the Justices of the Jews ordered the sheriff to call a jury, who 'by no affinity touch either Roger de Mortimer or John de Balun,' to make an extent, that is a full and detailed evaluation, of the manor of Marcle. This was not a task that many relished. Richard Syfrewast, Hugh de Knyft, John de Overton, John de Wolbach and John de Suthegge turned up but Walter de Baskerville of Bredwardine, Hector of Bredwardine, Roger Devereux, William lord of Fenn, Robert de Brokhamton, William son of Geoffrey of Merston, Roger de la More, Robert Rivel, John Baker of Ross and Hugh le Newe preferred to absent themselves.³⁸² When they were called again for the morrow of St. John, only Balun and Mortimer were present. In desperation the Justices adjourned the inquest 'until such time as Walter Helyun and Richard de Hereford (of the exchequer court itself) shall come into those parts when it shall be taken by one or both of them.' The outcome of these proceedings is not known but in all probability some compromise was patched up for the time being. Certainly, the records of the Old Chest show Balun contracting further debt. In February, 1275 he was borrowing from Aaron le Blund, with promise to pay 'a robe and suitable hood' at Michaelmas and £50 the following February.

Mortimer was galvanised into further action by John II's death that year. He brought a new suit against John's brother and heir, Walter de Balun, for settlement of a debt of £269-8-8. Eventually Walter was obliged to grant Marcle to his brother-in-law, Edmund Mortimer, on a favourable lease. When Walter died Reginald, his brother and heir, regained possession in 1294 by claiming that the lease was no longer valid. Behind this there apparently lay complex financial transactions which it is difficult to unravel. Edmund received £500 and Reginald sold the manor to the great Shrewsbury wool merchant and builder of Stokesay, Laurence of Ludlow, whose son, William, held it of the king on his death in 1319. Nevertheless, the Mortimers retained a considerable interest in Marcle. In 1304 Edmund was holding the manor of the de Ludlows, two thirds of the manor came to be 'Purparty Mortimer' and the castle site still bears their name.³⁸³

If the records can be trusted, Aaron never received his £50, for the unredeemed bond lay in the Hereford Old Chest when it was taken to London in 1291. But if this were the case it is difficult to understand why both Aaron and his son, Bonenfaunt, agreed to two further and separate advances in 1285, one to John, son of Walter Balun, and Stephen Cocus of Marcle, secured against the delivery of 20 seams of grain, and the other to John with Henry of Hereford, knight (of Sufton), and William Baysham of Hereford, clerk (II, 16b, 25).

The de Bliss family

With another of Aaron's knightly clients, William de Bliss, the Mortimers did not have so much difficulty. The family's declining fortunes can be traced for over half a century. They held Stoke Bliss, as half a knight's fee of the Mortimer honour of Radnor, as well as the neighbouring manor of Kyre Parva. A series of quitclaims of land, tenants and tithes in the Leominster Priory cartulary shows that the family was in financial difficulties early in the century. In 1262, by a charter registered at the Hereford chest on the feast of St. Margaret the virgin (20 July), 'Hugh, son of William de Blez' granted Hak of Worcester a rent charge on his lands by which, in return for an unspecified sum, he undertook to pay Hak, for the rest of his life, one mark and a load of wheat each year. Such payments were to be made at Hereford to Hak's son, Josce, in two parts - on the feasts of St. Denis and the Purification (Table 2).³⁸⁴

Three years later, the Wednesday before Easter, Hugh's father, 'William de Bliss, knight,' borrowed £20 from Aaron (I, 38). In January, 1266 Henry III gave Hak of Worcester and his sons, Aaron and Sampson, an undertaking that he would make no extent, prorogation of terms, quittances or pardons of any debts wherein 'Hugh de Ble' and other named debtors were bound to them. In November Hugh had to turn to Hagin, son of Elias, and to Henna, daughter of Elias le Eveske, for further loans, of five marks each (I, 82 & 83). That same year he sold certain rents and a messuage in Stoke Bliss to Catherine, daughter of Walter III de Lacy, Hamo of Hereford's patron. These, with lands in Corfham, Salop, she gave to the nunnery at Aconbury, founded by her mother in 1216.³⁸⁵

The final chapter in the story is to be found in the 1270 Jewish Exchequer Roll. William de Bliss had subsequently borrowed a further £10 from an Aaron, son of Josce, probably the Worcester Jew of that name. This debt, with another owed by Nicholas de Fourches, the king had taken into his own hands, no doubt as compensation for the Jew's failure to meet tallage or other sums due to the crown. Henry III had then used it 'to make up the 50 marks' he had given William le Dune out of the Treasury who, in his turn, assigned it to Robert Waller to clear a debt. The sheriff was ordered to distrain William de Bles but sent word this could not be done. Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, he said, holds William de Bles' lands and the nuns of Aconbury also hold part of the tenement but 'they were both enfeoffed thereof before the said William owed aught on the Jewish account.' Although the Justices were not inclined to believe this statement, in so far as it related to Mortimer's claims, they were not prepared to contest the matter with the man who had contributed so signally to the royalist victory at Evesham. In 1316 the half knight's fee at Stoke Bliss was in the hands of Margaret, the widow of Roger de Mortimer's son, Edmund. The nuns retained their rents in Stoke Bliss until the dissolution in 1539, when their annual value was £1-5-8½.³⁸⁶

Henry, son of Henry de Pembridge

The largest single loan in the Old Chest, of £60, was made by Aaron to Henry de Pembridge. Henry, his father, was a leading member of the baronial cause in the county and had held the shrievalty from April 1257 to May 1259 and probably represented the county, with William Devereux, at de Montfort's parliament. After Evesham Maud and Roger Mortimer seized Pembridge and his lands at Dymock, close by those of John de Balun at Marcle, went to their eldest son, Ralph. Henry de Pembridge junior was admitted to the king's peace in 1267, having given guarantees that he would behave faithfully and stand to the Dictum of Kenilworth. His guarantors were Fulk fitz Warin of Shropshire and Robert de Pendock of

Worcestershire. However, retrieval of the family lands cost the de Pembridges dear. Money had been raised from Gamaliel and Elias, sons of Aaron of Oxford, and from Aaron, Sampson and Ursell, sons of Hak of Worcester. This we know because they all sold rent charges 'wherein Henry de Pembridge is bound to them' to Henry III's chancellor, Walter Giffard, archbishop of York and brother of the bishop of Worcester. Henry junior succeeded to the family lands on his father's death in 1272. Shortly afterwards he persuaded Aaron to lend him £60 (I, 1) but was unsuccessful in his attempt to recover Pembridge from the Mortimers in 1274.³⁸⁷

The full nature of the indebtedness of the disinherited knights is difficult to establish, as many raised loans on the London, Oxford and other money markets. Most indicative is the case of William Devereux whose father, lord of Lyonshall, died with Montfort at Evesham. A document of 1273 amongst the records of the Exchequer of the Jews shows that Devereux had borrowed £800 from Aaron, son of Vives, the 'personal' Jew of Edmund, earl of Lancaster and brother of the king. Aaron was now insisting on recovery in full, principal and interest - unless William was able to regain possession of Lyonshall from William Dure-dent.³⁸⁸ The Jew was evidently being used as a cat's-paw by Edmund in an attempt to obtain Lyonshall with its strategically sited castle for himself.

Deportations from Worcester and Gloucester, 1275

On his marriage to Eleanor, the 12-year-old daughter of the count of Provence in 1236, Henry III gave her 'by way of dower the cities of Worcester and Bath, the borough and castle of Gloucester, the boroughs of Cambridge and Huntingdon,' together with certain other towns.³⁸⁹ Unlike her daughter-in-law and namesake, Edward I's queen who was an avid purchaser of Jewish debts, the queen mother turned more and more after her husband's death to the consolation of religion, eventually taking the veil at Amesbury in 1275. On 16 January Edward I issued a writ 'to our dearest mother, Eleanor queen of England, that no Jew dwell or abide in any of the towns which she has for her dower ... we have provided that the Jews of Marlborough be deported to our town of Devizes, the Jews of Gloucester to ... Bristol, the Jews of Worcester to ... Hereford and the Jews of Cambridge to ... Norwich, with their chirograph chests and all their goods and that they thenceforth dwell and abide in the said towns and city among our other Jews of those places.' The sheriffs were to supervise the deportation 'doing no injury, either to their persons or goods.'³⁹⁰

Actual departure was later, in the summer, and in November Bartholomew de Suthley, keeper of the rolls of the Jews, made a final scrutiny of the Worcester chest. All new debts were to be registered at Hereford but the old chest remained in its home town until the general expulsion of 1290, for business relating to debts contracted prior to that date continued to be conducted at Worcester.³⁹¹

Hak of Worcester had died in 1268 and control of the family business was inherited by the eldest of his sons, Aaron (FIG. 4).³⁹² The family had had personal and business links with Hereford for over 15 years, ever since Aaron's brother Josce had married Hamo's granddaughter Contessa in 1253. Unredeemed bonds in the Hereford Old Chest show Aaron lending money there, on behalf of himself and another brother, Sampson, who was working as an attorney in London and elsewhere, from late July 1275 (Table 5, nos. 6 & 4).³⁹³ In the Hilary term of that year John la Ware, sheriff of Herefordshire, was informed that 'as the Jews of Worcester are to be transferred to Hereford where there is but one Jewish chirographer and

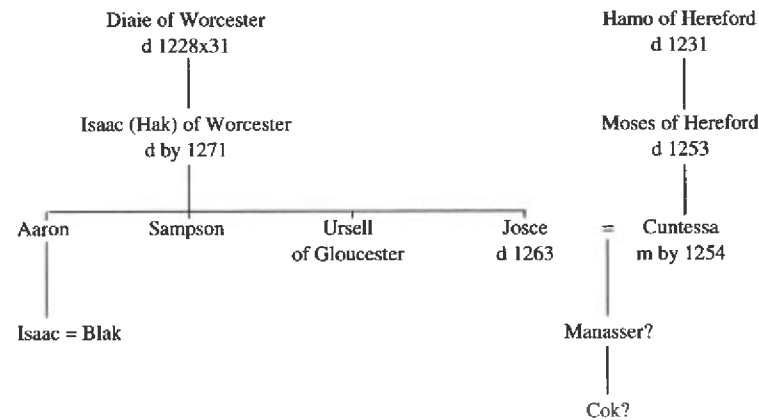


Fig 4: The family of Diaie of Worcester: a suggested pedigree

Aaron of Worcester, who is fit for that office ... made oath and found pledges to wit Jacob Crespin and Sampson, son of Hak (his brother) he should 'admit Aaron to the said office.'³⁹⁴ This Aaron hoped would give him the status he required to establish himself in the city. Nevertheless his efforts to rebuild the family's fortunes, in Hereford, were a failure because the vacuum caused by the collapse of the house of Hamo had now been filled by Aaron le Blund. None of either Aaron's or Sampson's bonds was found in the New Chest. Sampson had become a barrister and by 1283 Aaron had left Hereford for Oxford. There he was accused of 'spurring his horse upon Julia, daughter of Agnes de Blakham, in the Oxford Jewry as a result of which she died two days later' and, with his son, Isaac, and daughter-in-law, Blak, of killing Robert, gatekeeper of the castle (Fig. 4).³⁹⁵

The names of other Worcester Jews who moved to Hereford are known. At an enquiry in 1276 evidence was sought from 'six lawful Jews of Hereford of those who themselves (formerly) abode at Worcester' but only Hagin, son of Elias, and Leo of Worcester appeared. The others, Aaron and Manasser, sons of Josce, Urselin, son of Manasser, and Leo, son of Elias, together with their guarantors, Elias, son of Josce, Deulecresse, son of Moses, Aaron, son of Jacob, Elias son of Samuel, Josce and Moses, sons of Abraham, and Abraham and Hagin, sons of Elias, were in mercy and ordered to appear on Michaelmas three weeks.³⁹⁶ Three bonds of Manasser, son of Josce, worth £16-13-4 were found in the Hereford Old Chest as were two other bonds of his son, Cok (Table 5, nos. 11 & 26). At least one Worcester Jew settled elsewhere. Moses, son of Bonefei, paid four gold bezants (8s) for a royal licence to live in Oxford where he was quickly integrated into his new community.³⁹⁷

At the time of the deportations a commission was established in an attempt to eradicate coin-clipping. Simultaneous house-to-house searches were made of all the Jewries. Many were arrested and the chroniclers reported that almost 300 Jews were hanged. Richardson did not believe these reports, but Dr. Rokeah has found evidence that 269 Jews and 28 Christians were indeed executed in London for coinage offences.³⁹⁸ At Worcester accusations of falsification and clipping were made against six Jews, including Manasser, son of Josce, and his

wife.³⁹⁹ He at least survived. Some of his bonds were in the Hereford Old Chest; in 1282 he appeared before the Worcester county court to renounce claims to a debt of £7-10-0 against the heirs of Richard, son of Jocelin de Wychwo; and two years later 'Manser of Worcester' was a member of a jury of 'six lawful Jews of the city of Hereford.'⁴⁰⁰

The Gloucester Jews showed no enthusiasm for residence in their designated Jewry at Bristol, for there, early in June, 'William Giffard and others came by night with force and arms ... attacked the Jews, broke their houses, entered the same and took and carried away the kings's goods that were there in the keeping of the said Jews, against the peace, to his damage £1,000.'⁴⁰¹ In consequence some Gloucester Jews joined the Worcester community at Hereford, whilst others went to Oxford. A number made a success of business in their new town, for their bonds were in both the Old and New Chests (Tables 5 & 6). Hak of Worcester's youngest son, Ursell, had taken up residence at Gloucester as a business associate of Belia, widow of Jacob Couperon. For a fine of six gold bezants (12s.) they were permitted to remain at Gloucester, but had to live outside the walls, in *Brokstrete*.⁴⁰² For how long is not known; but bonds in the New Chest shows Ursell at Hereford by 1286 (Table 6, no. 5).

The Statute of the Jewry, 1275

Hard on the deportations from the dower towns came an even greater blow for the English community. The Statute of the Jewry of November, 1275 enacted that 'from now on no Jew shall lend anything at usury, either on land or rent or anything else and (on existing loans) usury shall not continue beyond the feast of St. Edward last (18 March)' but 'agreements made before that shall be kept save that the usuries shall cease.'⁴⁰³ To ensure its effectiveness, the Jews could no longer enforce the terms of new bonds in the royal courts and any Jew found negotiating such bonds would be punished. A royal clerk was to visit Hereford and Gloucester to scrutinise the charters and debts in the two chests, enrol them and send the details under seal to the king. The chests were then to be sealed and left as they had been found.⁴⁰⁴

As with the expulsions, so with the Statute. Neither was implemented immediately to the letter. At Exeter and Devizes the chests were closed in 1275 but the Hereford Old Chest continued in use for a further year, for nineteen of the charters were negotiated between 10 August and the morrow of St. Denis, 10 October 1276. Ten belonged to Aaron, one each to his son, Bonenfaunt, and to Jacob, son of Saudekyn; six to members of the Worcester community - Hak's sons, Aaron and Sampson (2), Manasser, son of Josce (2), and his son, Cok; and one to Sarah, daughter of Elias of Gloucester (I, 119, 146, 55, 185, 15, 173, 147, 48, 41, 17; 122; 177; 74; 104, 175; 162, 68; 179; 93). If we take into account loans that were redeemed, the total for 1276 will have been well in excess of 19.⁴⁰⁵

It is difficult to explain this phenomenon. Certainly the Hereford Jewry appears to have operated under circumstances far more favourable than most others. When the anti-Semitism associated with wide-ranging charges of coin-clipping swept the English Jewries between Easter 1276 and May 1279 the evidence suggests that Hereford was but little affected. Indeed the Chancellor's roll for the following year shows that the sheriff brought only two prisoners accused of coinage offences to London. In the survey of property drawn up after the expulsion (Table 9) reference is made to a Crespin who was 'hanged for felony.' On the other hand

these may have been two of those six Worcester Jews against whom charges had been levied at the Worcester hundredal court. If this is correct the Hereford community was extremely fortunate for out of a possible total of some 2,000 to 3,000 almost 300 English Jews were hanged on coin-clipping charges.⁴⁰⁶

The Era of the New Chest, 1283-90

How did the Hereford Jewry react to the dramatic changes introduced by the 1275 Statute? The answer is to be found in the details of the charters in the New Chest. As these are all unredeemed bonds (when a loan was repaid the counterpart chirograph was taken out of the chest and handed to the debtor as a release from his bond), they represent only a fraction of the business that passed through the chest. Further, as the earliest charter is dated 1283, we have no direct evidence for the six intervening years.

Although the social composition of the clientele in the 1280s remained much the same as in the years 1265-76, the transactions of the New Chest differ markedly from those in the Old Chest. Emphasis is now on payment in kind. All charters in the Old Chest were for money lent at interest. Occasionally there were small, additional payments in kind of which the great majority were grain, some geese, once a cart load of hay (I, 30) and from John de Balun, for Aaron, 'a robe and suitable hood' (I, 14). Given the price of grain mentioned, 6s. 8d. per seam or quarter, the value of these payments is but a fraction of the total. It is reasonable to suppose that they were for the personal use of the creditor and his family.

There were 76 bonds in the New Chest, with a value of £1,017-6-0, of which 34 record payments in grain; 34 in money; five in grain and money; and three in sacks of wool. In addition reference is made on one occasion to 24 cheeses and four wagonloads of hay, for Aaron; and on another to a cloak for his son, Bonenfaunt (Appendix II). For the more prosperous Hereford Jews bonds in grain, for Bonenfaunt in wool, were much more important than cash bonds; Josce, son of Manasser, was the only exception. Even amongst those with small accounts only Hagin son of Hagin, Abraham the chaplain and Bonamy, son of Aaron, failed to adapt to the new forms arising out of the 1275 Statute. Thus, money bonds represented only just over a third of the total value (Table 6).

In 1894 Lionel Abrahams speculated whether this represented a shift from lending at interest to genuine trading transactions, paying in advance for specified quantities of grain or wool to be delivered out of the yield of a future harvest. But he concluded that the intention of both parties was that repayment should not be made in kind, that it was merely a means of lending money at interest in defiance of the 1275 legislation.⁴⁰⁷ His judgement, that these bonds represent 'camouflaged money-lending contracts,' was accepted by Peter Elman and Vivian Lipman but has recently been challenged by Dr. Robert Mundill. Having studied the bonds of the post-Statute period in detail, he suggests that after 1275 some Jews began to act as credit agents, making advance sale credits and recognizances, dealing in commodities rather than money. Further he considers that 'throughout the 1280s there is little difference between Jewish financial transactions and those of Christian merchants.'⁴⁰⁸

Certain facts stand out as far as the Hereford *archa* is concerned. Firstly, as Abrahams noted, 'the price of corn, whenever it is mentioned in the list, is half a mark (6s. 8d.) per quar-

Table 6: Hereford Jews with bonds in the New Chest, 1283-90

C	Jewish Creditor	Cash		Grain Seams	Wool Sacks	Total		%	Bonds
		£	s d			£	s d		
1	a	Aaron son of Elias le Blund	136	6 8	811	-	406 13 4	40.0	22
2	b	Bonenfaunt son of Aaron le Blund	43	17 4	182	16 +c	264 10 8	26.0	12
3	c	Josce son of Manasser	73	6 8	97	-	105 13 4	10.4	19j
4	d	Hagin of Weobley of Hereford	27	5 4	70	-	50 12 0	5.0	7
5	e	Ursell of Gloucester	1	10 0	100	1	42 16 8	4.2	5
6	f	Bonenfaunt son of Elias (le Blund)	30	0 0	-	-	30 0 0	2.9	1j
7	g	Isaac son of Josce	30	0 0	-	-	30 0 0	2.9	1j
8	h	Benedict le Eveske	-	-	75	-	25 0 0	2.5	3j
9	i	Isaac son of Hagin of Weobley	3	6 8	60	-	23 6 8	2.3	2
10	j	David son of Assel	-	-	30	-	10 0 0	1.0	1
11	k	Hagin son of Hagin	10	0 0	-	-	10 0 0	1.0	1
12	l	Abraham the Chaplain	5	6 8	-	-	5 6 8	0.5	1
13	m	Bonamy son of Aaron	5	0 0	-	-	5 0 0	0.5	1
14	n	Hagin son of Belia of Gloucester	-	-	15	-	5 0 0	0.5	1
15	o	Sarah of Hereford	-	-	10	-	3 6 8	0.3	1
		Totals:			1450	17			76
		Value in £ s d	365	19 4	483 6 8	168	1017 6 0		
		% of total:	36%		47.5%	16.5%	100%		

C Letter code used to identify Jewish creditors in Appendix II

c cloak

j Bonenfaunt son of Elias and Isaac son of Josce held a bond jointly for £60

Josce son of Manasser and Benedict le Eveske held a bond jointly for 30 seams of corn

Wool: 1 at £10 per sack; 2 at £8 per sack; 3 at £6-13-4 per sack

Also in chest: Isaac le Eveske of London

8 53 6 8

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ter.' This refers to the penalty price for non-delivery. The process is explained by a bond amongst the Phillipps' papers in the Herefordshire County Record Office⁴⁰⁹ which, it should be noted, was drawn up prior to the Statute of November 1275, when the Hereford chest was still operating under the old regime. For an undisclosed sum John de la Hethe of Laysters bound himself to deliver 60 seams of good, dry, winnowed corn to the house of Josce, son of Manasser, in Hereford, or that of his attorney by Michaelmas, 1275. Failure to fulfil the contract involved distraint of property at the same rate as that which appears in the bonds of the Old Chest, 1283-90, - 6s. 8d. per seam. Such a standard penalty clause is in total conflict with the basic concept of the futures market which, for both vendor and purchaser, was characterised by a high degree of volatility. This was dependant for the most part on the quality of the previous harvest and this varied widely as the wheat prices for the period show (Table 7).⁴¹⁰

Table 7: Wheat Prices, 1283-90

Year	s	d
1283	6	10¼
1284	4	10¼
1285	5	11¼
1286	4	7¼
1287	2	10½
1288	2	11¼
1289	4	8¼
1290	6	0
Average	4	8½

D.L. Farmers, 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2S, 10 (1957), 212.

Further details of the process are to be found in a contract of Hilary term, 1276 between Aaron, son of Vives, of London and Anselm de Guise, knight of Bedfordshire.⁴¹¹ Here the sum received by the client is disclosed. For £15 'paid into my hand' Anselm was to deliver to the house of Aaron or his attorney 75 quarters of 'corn, good, dry and clean so that better is not found at this time in the city of London, besides 2d in the quarter.' Anselm further granted that if 'either in whole or in any part I fail in respect of the term mentioned (the Octave of Pentecost) then all sheriffs in whose counties I may have lands, goods or chattels may ... without any plea, claim or contradiction distraint me ... until full satisfaction is made to the same Aaron.' Anselm was thus receiving a futures price of a mere 3s. 10d. a quarter, and he had access to the metropolitan market.

In the case of Herefordshire, there was no such easy access to that market. Herefordshire has always been a grain county. In 1586 William Camden referred to its predominantly corn-animal husbandry as 'a Country both for feeding of Cattel and produce of Corn, everywhere of an excellent soil ... for the three Ws - Wheat, Wooll and Water - it yieldeth to no Shire of England.' Yet transportation problems have always been the bane of the Herefordshire farmer. This was expressed cogently by petitioners in 1695 for the Wye navigation. 'For want of cheap carriage ... many useful commodities are mere drugs.' 'By reason of the deepness of the roads our commodities are scarcely worth propagating.' Well into modern times Monmouth and Upton had to serve as the ports for Hereford.⁴¹² Only with the coming of the railways was the problem fully solved. In consequence grain prices in Hereford must always have been low. Thus, if Hereford Jews were engaged merely in grain trading, they would have to pay futures prices well below those obtaining elsewhere.

Transport was not the only problem they would have had to face. In response to the 1275 Statute the 'community of the Jews' petitioned king and council on their plight and drew attention to four especial issues. In the last they pointed out that 'they would be compelled, if they were to trade at all, to buy dearer than a Christian and sell dearer for Christian merchants sell their merchandise on credit and if the Jew sold on credit he would never be paid a single penny. And Christian merchants can carry their merchandise far and near ... but if the Jew carried his (thus) he would be robbed.'⁴¹³

In at least ten cases those who were apparently selling grain in the New Chest had already borrowed at interest in the Old Chest.⁴¹⁴ John de la Hethe himself had borrowed from Jacob, son of Saudekyn (I, 177). The case of Henry de Hereford, lord of Mordiford and Sufton, is worth considering in some detail for it perhaps indicates the real character of these bonds which were apparently to be repaid in kind. In 1256 Henry's father, Roger, was already in straitened circumstances as he successfully sued for respite of knighthood. In 1270 one of Roger's bonds, for £11 lent to him by Aaron, son of Josce, was seized by the Exchequer on the latter's default. This, with another of Aaron's bonds, of Robert de Fourches for £9, was 'assigned to Samuel de Lohun out of the king's treasury' for services rendered. Samuel naturally pressed through the court for payment. As Henry de Hereford could only raise two marks and Robert de Fourches 7s., the sheriff was ordered to levy the amount outstanding from their chattels. It is noteworthy that the incidence, by month, of the registration of bonds differs little between the Old and New Chests (FIG. 5).

Subsequently Henry became a client of Bonenfaunt for two of his unredeemed bonds were in the New Chest in 1291. The first, made jointly with John, son of Walter de Balun, and William de Baysham, clerk, in 1285 refers to 40 seams of grain (II, 16a, b & c). In that year Henry regained possession of his lands in Munderfield Hagurner which had been seized for default on debt, but financial problems continued to dog him, for the second bond, dated 21 March, 1290 and registered in his name alone, was no longer under the mask of grain dealing. It was a straight cash loan of 40 marks (II, 15). Six months later Bonenfaunt had gone and the family survived their difficulties. Henry's grandson, another Henry, was knighted in the Scots campaign of 1336 and elected one of the knights to represent the shire at Westminster in 1352.⁴¹⁵

The implication seems to be that the 1275 Statute was felt most severely not so much by the Hereford Jewry as by their clients, now apparently obliged to raise funds on grain at greatly discounted rates, with the added danger of a ruinous penalty clause rather than, as previously, at standard interest. If the contract was not fulfilled their lands and chattels would be forfeit at the contractual rate of 6s. 8d. for each seam not delivered. Only if the vendors were in desperate need would they have risked such draconian penalty clauses. Is this what Edward I was referring to when he accused the Jews of 'deliberating amongst themselves and changing the kind of usury into a worse, which they called "courtesy" (*curialitatem*), and depressing the king's people under colour of such by an error double that of the previous one'? Indeed, in the 1280s Edward I even considered, in the so-called *Articles concerning the Jewry*, *Chapitre Tuchaunz le Gyuerie*, permitting the re-introduction of usury - at a controlled rate of interest.⁴¹⁶

Two members of the community had bonds where payment was to be made in wool. In 1286 Nicholas le Archer contracted to supply sixteen sacks of wool to Bonenfaunt, son of Aaron, at £10 per sack (II, 2, 3) and one sack to Ursell, son of Hak of Worcester, at £8 (II, 4). The standard English sack weighed 364 pounds, that is 28 London stones at thirteen pounds to the stone. However, it is not possible to comment on these prices without knowing more about the quality. English monastic wools, for example, were normally priced in three grades: good, medium and locks (short wool from the legs and belly). According to the Douai schedule of c. 1270 Abbey Dore was being paid some £12 per sack for 104 sacks of premier grade.⁴¹⁷

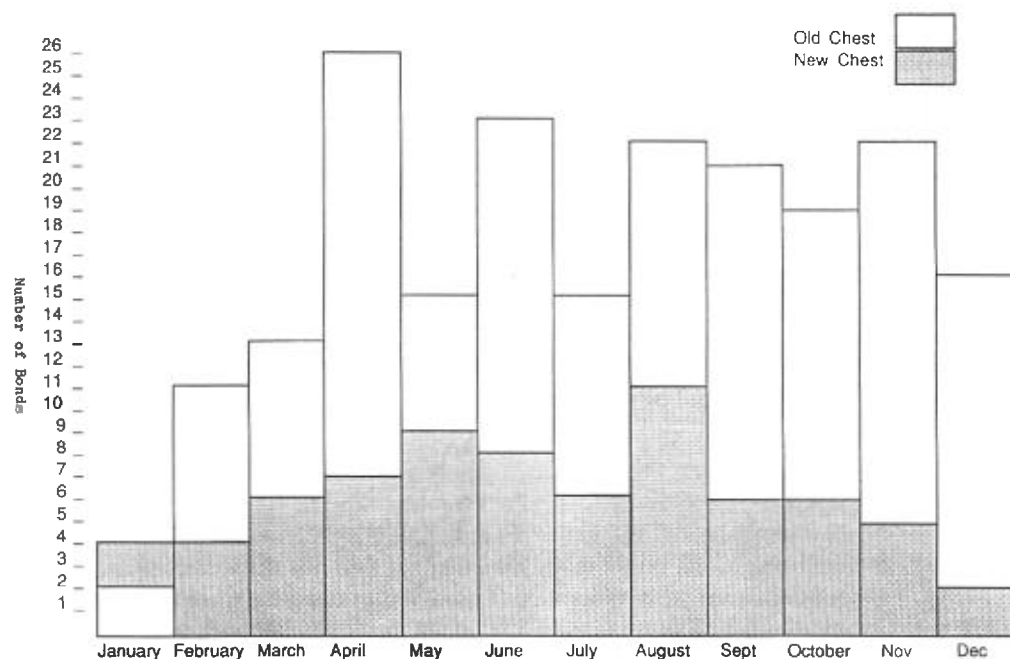
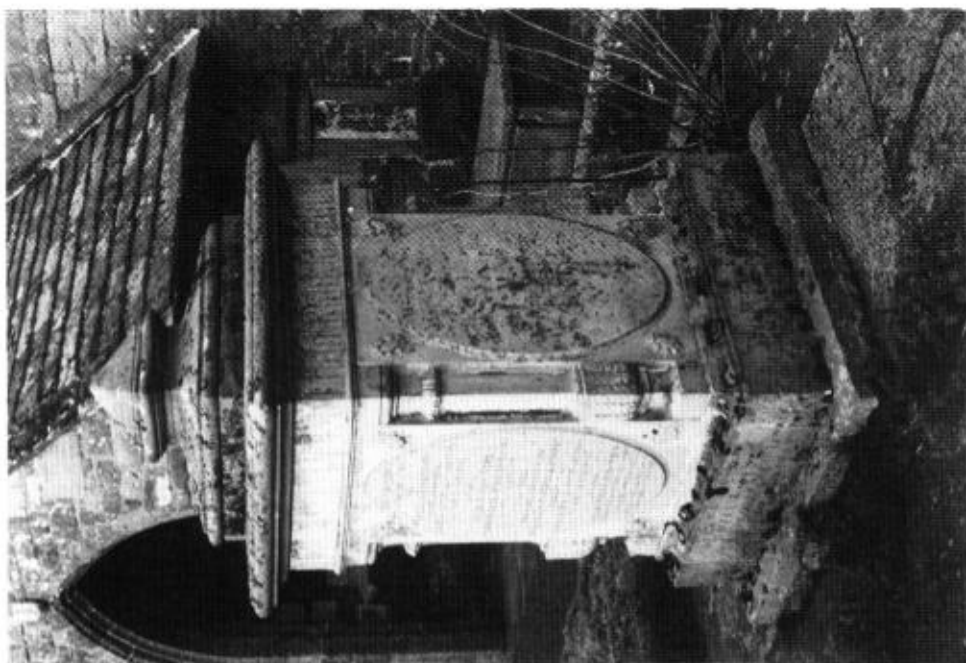


Fig. 5: Incidence, by month, of loan registration at Hereford Old and New Chests. Thus whilst only 2 bonds were registered in the Old Chest in the month of January four were registered in the New Chest.

One further case has to be considered. The Moniwords of Hereford are amongst the best documented wool merchants of the late 13th and early 14th century and the family held the bailiffship of the city eleven times in the 46 years between 1274 and 1320. There were two sides to their trade. First, from the merchants of Cahors and Lucca they received advance payments on promise to deliver specified numbers of sacks of *collecta* to the great fairs at St. Ives and Winchester. The Moniwords were therefore dealing in wool from the smaller, non-monastic producers with whom it was not profitable for the foreign merchants to deal directly. The money thus obtained provided capital for the second aspect of their operations, the purchase at those fairs of Flemish and other cloth for sale retail at Hereford and elsewhere. Such a traffic in wool and cloth did not suffer from the problems of trade in grain for the value to weight ratio was much more favourable.

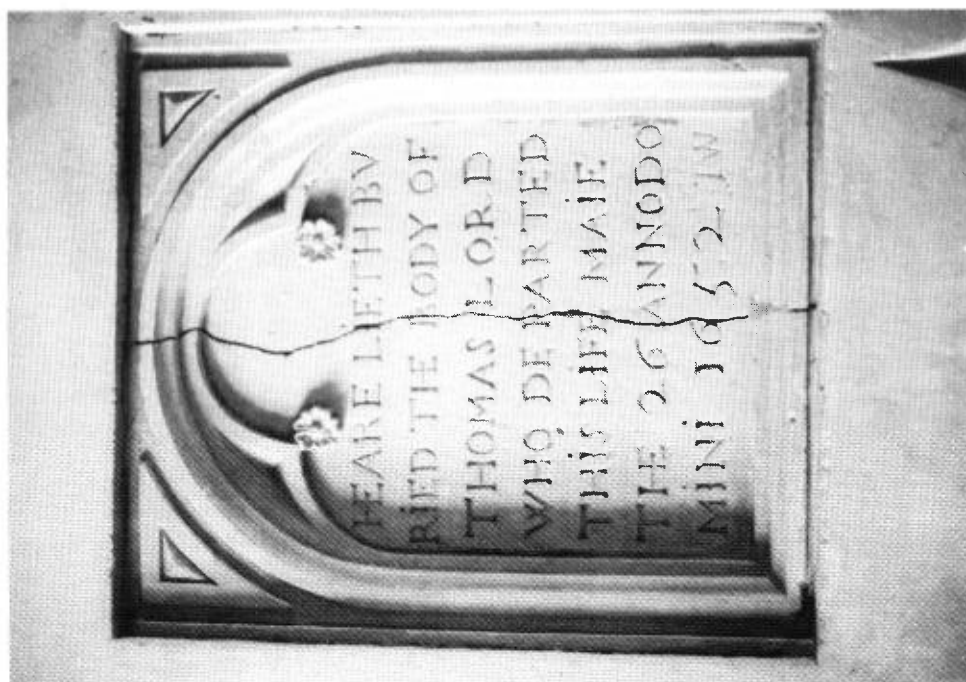
At Winchester's St. Giles fair in September 1285 Richard and Hugh entered into a contract with William de Dunstable for cloth on credit. Payment was to be made in three equal parts of £30-4-8, the first at Christmas in Winchester and the final part at the Hereford St. Ethelbert's fair in May. When they failed to meet this last instalment the sheriff was ordered to seize their goods. The records show that this was part of a greater cash-flow crisis. At this very time, the St. Denis fair of 1286, Hugh sealed a bond with Ursell, son of Hak of Worcester, which specified payment of '60 quarters of corn' which at 6s. 8d. a quarter would repre-



XXXII - St. Weonards, Phillipots, 1771. Pedestal tomb.



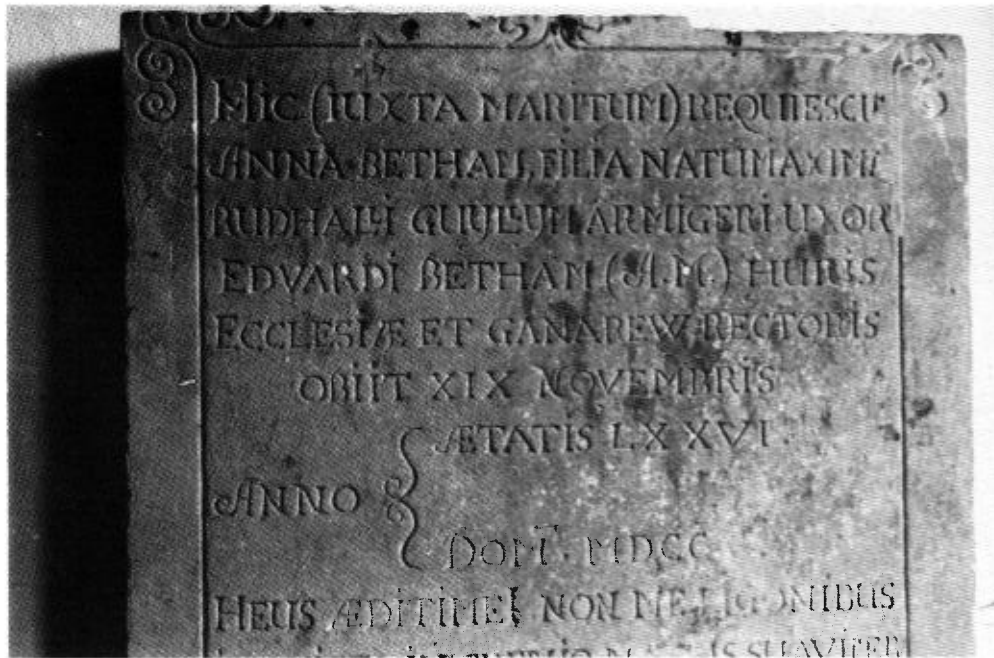
XXXIII - Welsh Newton, Donn, 1623. Chest tomb.



XXXI - Ashperton, Lord, 1652. Wall tablet.



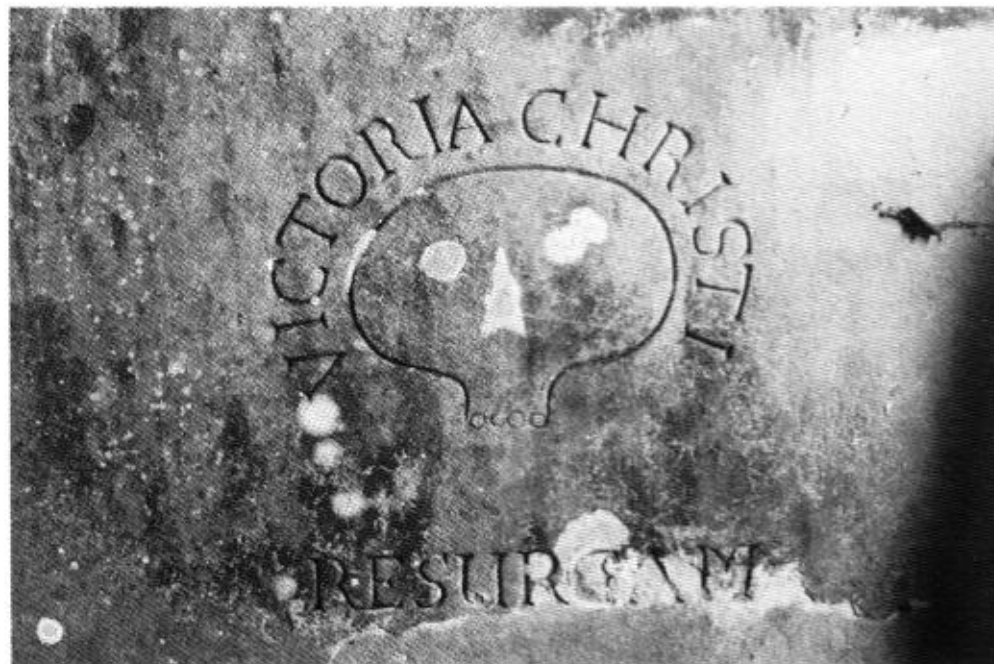
XXXIV - Whitechurch, Glinn, 1685.



XXXV - Whitchurch, Betham, 1700.



XXXVII - Welsh Newton, Don, 1723.



XXXVI - Whitchurch, Betham, 1700. Lower half of headstone shown in PL.XXXV.



XXXVIII - Much Dewchurch, Chamberlayne, 1727/1733. Floor slab.



XXXIX - Hope Mansell, Lluwellen, 1741.



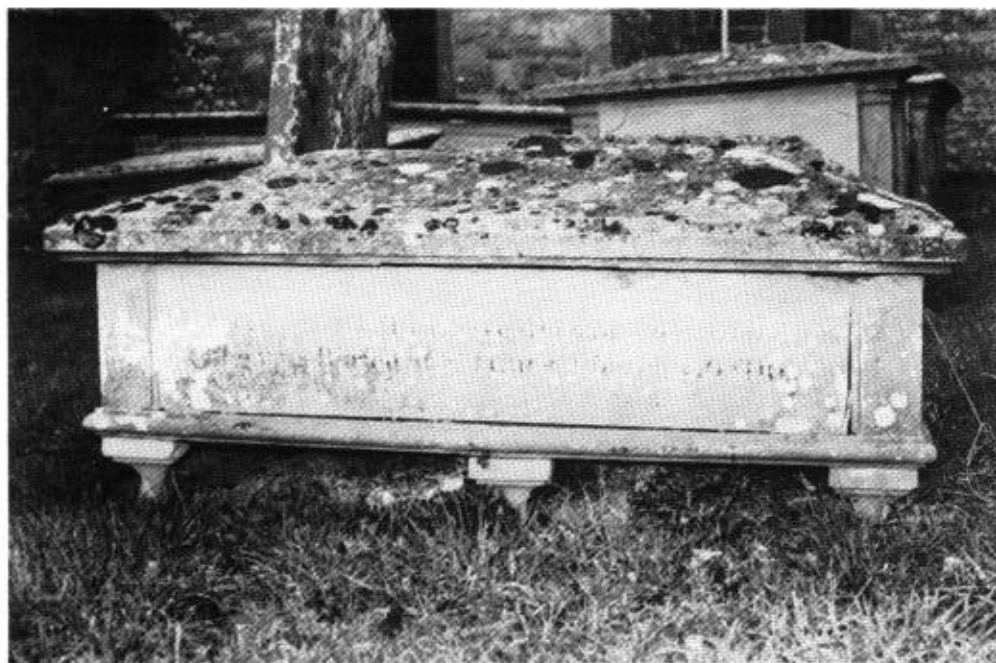
XLI - Bridstow, Price, 1786.



XL - Lea, Yearsley, 1742. Chest tomb.



XLII - Llanrothal, Barry, 1789. Floor slab.



XLIII - Hope Mansell, Miles, c. 1800. Sarcophagus.



XLV - St. Weonards, undated. Altar tombs.



XLIV - Upton Bishop, c. 1800. Chest tomb.



XLVI - Yarkhill, Pennell, 1829.



XLVII - Bridstow, Cooke, 1831.



XLIX - Upton Bishop, 1839. Coped stone.



XLVIII - Garway, Goode, 1831.



L - Upton Bishop, 1838?.



L1 - Peterstow, Mannings, 1838.



L1V - Llanrothal, Barnes, 1845.



L1I - Much Birch, Edwards, 1845. Chest tomb.



L1II - Welsh Newton, Neat, 1834.



LV - The survey area looking S.E. towards the surviving rampart of the outer bailey's defences.



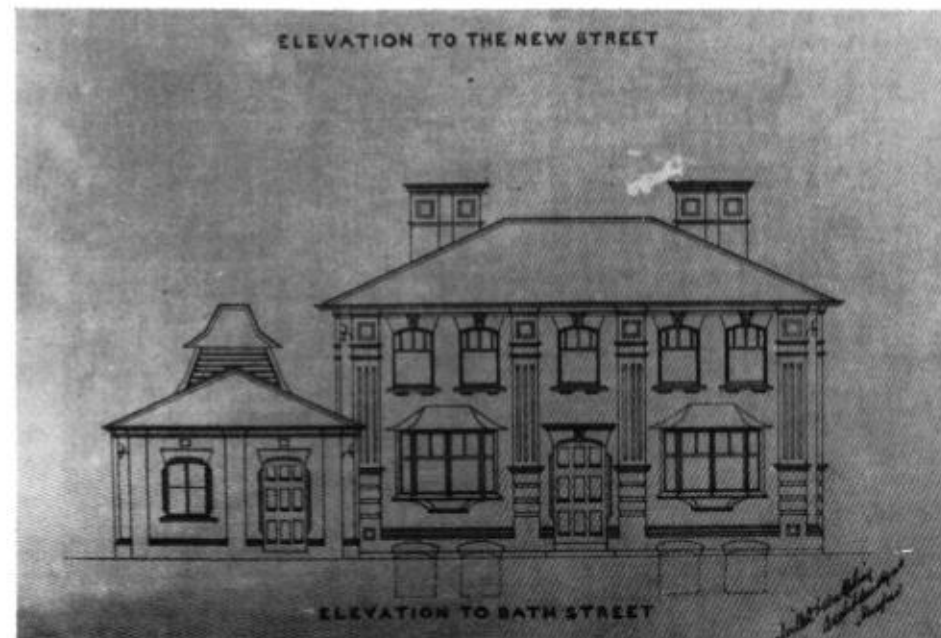
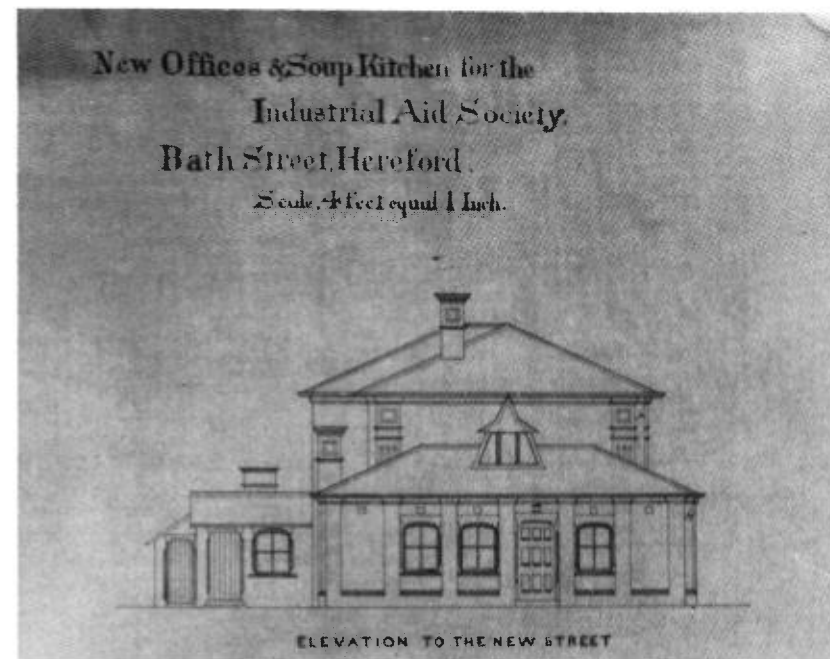
LVI - The RM4 meter in operation with the overgrown ruins of the inner bailey/ward and shell keep in the background.



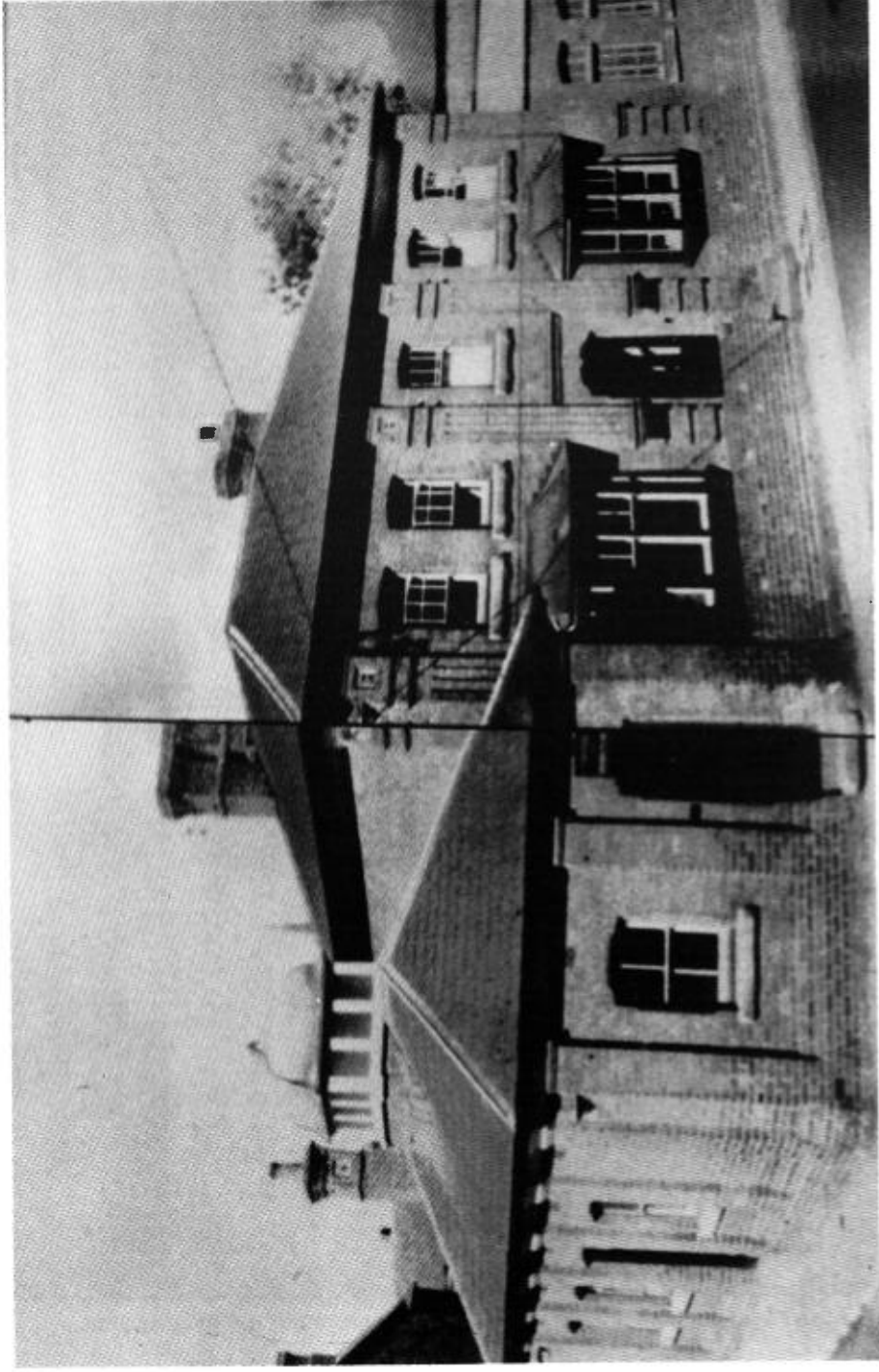
LVII - Rev. John Venn, 1802-90.



LVIII - Hereford Flour Mills
 a) letter heading shows mill before cottages (top).
 b) cottages and workshop corner of Kyrle Street.



LIX - Plans for new offices of H.S.A.I. in Bath Street by Willett and Wakeling, 1882.
 a) side entrance into DeLacy Street (top).
 b) main entrance into Bath Street with soup kitchen on corner.



LX - Offices and soup kitchen of H.S.A.I. opened 1885.

sent a cash value of £20 (II, 21). Yet nowhere in the records is there any evidence of the family either producing or trading in grain.⁴¹⁸

There were 73 bonds in the New Chest of which two were held jointly: one by Elias' son, Bonenfaunt, and Isaac, son of Josce, for £60; the other by Josce, son of Manasser, and Benedict le Eveske, for 30 seams of corn. The total value of these charters was £1,007-6-0 of which the le Blund family held some 70%; Aaron himself held 22 bonds; his son, Bonenfaunt, twelve; and his grandson, Bonenfaunt, son of Elias, the half share mentioned above. They are identified as a, b and f in Table 6/Appendix II. By adapting its business practice to the conditions imposed by the 1275 Statute, the family had sustained its leading position within the community.

The only other Hereford Jew with bonds in the New Chest worth more than £100 was Josce, son of Manasser (Table 6, no. 3), who should not be confused with the Worcester Jew deported to Hereford, Manasser, son of Josce. Josce was evidently the son of that Manasser (Table 5, no. 11) who had lived, not in Jewry Lane, but in one of the principal streets, *Biscopegate*, where his house had stood in good company. On one side was Gilbert Saym, one of the two Christian chirographers, and on the other Robert Cachepol. Josce managed to maintain his father's standing, for the evidence of the Old Chest does not do him full justice. In 1286 Edward I had granted Brian of Brampton, Roger de Mortimer's partner in the 1264 siege of the city, a pardon 'of £80 in which he is bound to Josce, son of Manasser, Jew of Hereford.'⁴¹⁹ He was in all probability the father of the Isaac, son of Josce (Table 6, no. 7), who held a bond for £60 with Elias le Blund's son (II, 5).

There were seven charters of Hagin of Weobley of Hereford with a total value of £50-12-0 in the same chest. These ranged in date from Michaelmas, 1285 to the Tuesday after the feast of St. Nereus and Achilles (12 May) 1290. Five were for cash ranging from £1-12-0 to £10; there were only two grain bonds. The Jewish Plea rolls show that in 1281 he had been assaulted by William of Hale and his mother, Emelina. William had wounded Hagin in the right arm with his dagger whilst his mother beat him on the head with a cudgel, wounding him on the right side of his forehead. Hagin brought a body of witnesses to prove that he had been maltreated and had had 'other outrages committed against him to his damage of £5.'⁴²⁰

The 1275 Statute had re-iterated that 'all Jews shall dwell in the king's own cities and boroughs where the chirograph chests are wont to be.' Hagin's name reflects an apparent compromise. Part of his trade remained in the northern part of the county, at Pembridge and Leominster. Only a few months before the expulsion he lent £10 to Walter, son of Philip the Marshal of Leominster. (The security required for such a sum suggests that Walter was the man named in writs as one of the members representing the borough at the two parliaments held in 1306).⁴²¹ On the other hand the survey of Jewish property in Hereford at the expulsion shows that Hegin had a house in *Malierestrete*, Maylord Street, of the yearly value of 6s. (Table 9).

A Jew described as 'Ursell, son of Hak, of Gloucester' held five bonds (Table 6, no. 5). This was Hak of Worcester's son who, before the deportation, had moved to Gloucester to become the business partner of Belia. The two co-operated with Aaron for in 1275 they had a one-third share in £30 which Aaron had lent to Richard Pauncefot. As all five of Ursell's bonds are dated 1285, he must have quit Gloucester by then, probably after Belia's death, for the ties with Gloucester were hers. With him came her son, Hagin (Table 6, no. 14).⁴²²

As with the Old Chest space does not permit a detailed examination of the clients. Only three are described in their bonds as knights. Henry de Hereford, lord of Sufton and Mordiford, as already noted, was the grandfather of the Henry de Hereford knighted in the Scots campaign of 1336 and one of the knights of the shire in 1352. Henry de Solers of Dorstone was sheriff between May 1291 and November 1293. Roger, son of Stephen de Butterley, had lands at Risbury and Butterley by Bromyard.⁴²³ Others are described as 'lords of ...,' the most important being Nicholas, son of Nicholas Archer, lord of Tarrington, which he held by the service of one sixth of a barony. His father died in 1280 and in 1285-6 Nicholas was still desperately trying to raise money in Hereford. The manor of Silbertoft in Northants had been granted to the earl of Gloucester because of Nicholas senior's support for de Montfort. This the son had retrieved but 20 marks was still owing in 1285. Nicholas' bonds represent almost one quarter of the total value of the charters in the New Chest. To Aaron he owed 200 seams of corn at 6s. 8d. per seam, £66-13-4; to Bonenfaunt sixteen sacks of wool at £10 per sack; and to Ursell one sack of wool at £8, making a total debt of £234-13-4. It is not surprising to find that Nicholas had to enfeoff Walter de la Barre and his wife, Sybil, with the Tarrington estate.⁴²⁴

Roger, son and heir of Richard de Hereford, was in quite a different category. His father is variously described in the records as king's clerk, remembrancer and baron of the exchequer. His primary responsibility was the custody of the exchequer rolls but he was also entrusted with a wide range of other duties. Reference has already been made to his mission to the Hereford, Worcester and Warwick Jewries in 1261. After the defeat of the baronial forces at Evesham it was he who assessed the fine of 20,000 marks levied on the men of London that they might have the king's good will. Three years later he received 825 marks out of the tax of a tenth levied on the diocese of Norwich prior to going beyond the seas on the king's business and in the same year was a witness to the grant of £1,000 made by the queen to the countess of Dorset. In 1271 he drew up a survey of the repairs required at Hereford castle and was to enquire if any of the citizens of London had been 'fined beyond their means' by the city fathers in their efforts to raise the 20,000-mark fine.

Richard received many expressions of the royal favour, such as the mill house with its pond on the town ditch at Hereford, both 'pulled down' by Mortimer's men in November 1264. Three years later, for long service as remembrancer, he, Christiana his wife, and their heirs were granted freedom from tallage levied in the town of Hereford for ever. It was at his instance that the bailiffs and good men of Hereford were granted murage for five years in 1271 but it was only to be applied 'by the council of the said Richard and those he shall depute.' Shortly after he was granted a pension of £16-16-10½ per annum for his long and laudable service. This was not all for we learn, on his resignation in 1289 that Richard had also held a prebend in the cathedral church of Cashel.⁴²⁵ What strange irony led his son to become a client (II, 64) of that community whose 'gold, silver, pledges, jewels, lands, rents and other things' his father had so minutely itemised some three decades earlier?

THE FAMILY OF AARON LE BLUND

Aaron, who lived in a rather grand house valued at 20s. a year at the expulsion, had at least two sons by his marriage to Mirabelle, daughter of the Gloucester magnate, Bonenfaunt (FIG. 1). The eldest, Elias, was named after the grandfather who had died in the London mas-

sacre of 1264. He began to take part in the family business at the latest by 1270 for his four bonds in the Old Chest range in date from Easter 1270 to December 1273 (Table 5, no. 8). By 1275 he was well established in Hereford for in that year he was tallaged at £11-13-5, slightly more than a third of the sum levied on his father (Table 3). In May 1281, with his father, Benedict le Eveske and Bona, daughter of Elias, he was granted a licence to sell a 40-mark debt of Roger de Calnhull (Callow Hill in Dorstone, I, 34-6). He apparently died shortly afterwards, for he was not in the family group ordered in June 1282 to appear at the Exchequer court; nor were any of his bonds found in the New Chest.

The second son was called Bonenfaunt after his maternal grandfather. He is sometimes referred to as Frantinus or Fauntynus and by 1282 he was married to Bona.⁴²⁶ The earliest of his ten bonds in the Old Chest suggests that he started in business only three years after his brother. When that chest was closed in 1276 his ten charters, valued at £79-6-8, were the second largest holding. The charters of the New Chest show him responding with confidence to the conditions imposed by the 1275 Statute. Less than 20%, £43-17-4, of the value of his twelve bonds, £264-10-8, was for loans of cash (Table 6, no. 2). Furthermore his charters refer to wool as well as grain: 182 seams of corn at the standard penalty of 6s. 8d., £60-13-4; and sixteen sacks of wool at £10 per sack, £160. These latter were two deals made with Nicholas Archer of Tarrington in the autumn of 1286 (II, 2, 3).

Bonenfaunt lived in some style for one of his bonds refers to the fact that, in addition to a payment of 24s., Brian of Brampton should provide him with a 'robe made in the manner of a knight' (II, 75). He was apparently following in his father's footsteps for in 1273 Aaron had obliged John de Balun of Much Marcle to provide him with a robe with 'suitable hood' in addition to his cash payment of £50 (I, 14). His last bond, a loan of 40 marks to Henry de Hereford of Sufton, was registered on 21 March 1290 (II, 15). Bonenfaunt is described as 'of London' but, when the commissioners came to survey the property of the Hereford Jewry, he held a house on a four-year lease which he had paid in full and four shops: two with a storey built above of the yearly value of 4s.; the other two, similarly valued, had outgoings of 1s. a year to the civic authorities and to St. Guthlac's Priory (Table 9).

One of the last bonds to be placed in the New Chest was the joint loan for £60 made by Bonenfaunt, son of Elias, and Josce's son, Isaac (II, 5). There can be little doubt that the former was Aaron's grandson, the child of his eldest son, Elias. He must have been the groom in whose honour spectacular Jewish marriage celebrations took place in Hereford in August 1286, for Aaron was the only member of the community who could have afforded an occasion of such splendour. This was the day that all Jewish parents waited for, with as much hope as the peace or turmoil of the times allowed, the day when their sons or daughters reached that crucial moment in their lives, their wedding, for, as the Babylonian Talmud pronounced, 'any man who has no wife is no proper man.' Such occasions were always important and marked by an elaborate procession, music, wit and uproarious merrymaking.⁴²⁷ How much more important was this occasion for the now ageing Aaron, the marriage of the child of his eldest son whom he had lost five years before?

That 'the heart of the bridegroom and bride might be rejoiced' such festivities were marked by incessant musical performances. Christian musicians were employed and Christian guests were entertained.⁴²⁸ News of Aaron's lavish preparations and of his invitations to the notables of the city and county reached the ears of bishop Gilbert Swinfield. For more than a

century the church had sought to isolate the Jews. From his palace at Bosbury Swinfield responded with vigour to such an unbridled challenge to the authority of the Church. He wrote to his chancellor in Hereford explaining 'how great and how full of losses and perils is intercourse between Christians and Jews ... although Christian charity suffers patiently (these Jews) who are by their own fault condemned to perpetual servitude they scruple not to our contempt and insults on Christians. We have learned from sundry reports that on Wednesday after the feast of St. Bartholomew they (Aaron's family) have made preparations for a marriage feast ... to which they have invited - not secretly but quite openly - some of our Christians in order to disparage the Christian faith of which they are the enemies and preach heresies to the simple people thus generating scandal by their intercourse. We therefore bid and enjoin on you ... to make it known in all churches of the diocese that no Christian is to take part in festivities of this kind, under pain of canonical discipline. Lest, God forbid, any should transgress through ignorance have the same published through the villages, restraining by ecclesiastical censure the contumacious or obstinate.'

Swinfield was appalled to hear that Aaron's overt challenge had succeeded, and succeeded handsomely. Despite episcopal prohibition, 'certain sons of iniquity and rebellion had taken part in the impious feasts ... holding intercourse with them, eating and drinking, playing and jesting.' These were to be publicly denounced until they did penance. Those who had done Aaron and his family the honour of attending the nuptial procession on horseback, clothed in silk and gold, and who had enjoyed the minstrelsy, sporting events and stage plays were to be excommunicated unless they made satisfaction in eight days.⁴²⁹

Roth's suggestion that these events may have prompted Honorius IV's bull of November, wherein he called upon the archbishop of Canterbury to enforce the decisions of the Lateran council with adequate severity and in particular to check the familiar intercourse of Christians and Jews which had encouraged the perverse infidelity of the latter and occasioned grave scandals to the faithful, is highly plausible. One can well imagine Swinfield, anxious for Thomas Cantilupe's canonisation, reporting August's events to Rome. The bull was carefully inscribed in his episcopal register.⁴³⁰

Swinfield's letters are of great interest, not for their reflection of the stance of the church so well documented elsewhere, but for the remarkable description of the festivities and even more for their valuable insight into relations between the two communities. For one brief moment the veil of the fiscal records is lifted. Who were those who processed in their finery, in the face of the threat of excommunication? Many of the city oligarchy would have found it difficult to forgo such an opportunity - not merely for display, but as a heaven-sent opportunity to humiliate their bishop.

Jurisdiction within the city was divided between civil and ecclesiastical authority. The previous year there had been a particularly violent clash between the two over arrests made by the city's officers within the liberty of the bishop. A royal writ had forced the bailiff and principal citizens to make a humiliating formal submission to Swinfield at his palace at Bosbury.⁴³¹ In the 13th century townsmen were just as quick to take violent action as those of the countryside. During the Barons' war, a considerable body of Hereford burghers had descended on the neighbouring loyalist borough of Leominster and, according to the prior's accusation, burned the greater part of it down before consuming or carrying off goods of the priory to the tune of £2,000. Many members of the ruling oligarchy would therefore have

welcomed the opportunity to take part in the procession, in particular the two Moniwords, Reginald, bailiff the previous year, whose trade in wool and cloth has already been discussed, and his brother John.⁴³² It was possibly through them that Bonenfaunt marketed his wool. Other members of the group can be identified. In 1282 24 'guardians' of the Hereford Jews had been appointed to ensure that they were not 'molested either in their goods or in their persons.' Evidence from other towns, in particular Winchester, shows that such 'guardians' were the ruling elite.⁴³³ The full list has therefore been published (Table 8).

Table 8: Custodians of the Hereford Jewry, 1282

1	Walter de la Barre ³
2	Hugh la Clere
3	Reginald Moniword ¹
4	Thomas de Aveseye (clerk) ³
5	Thomas Thebaud ³
6	John Lichfot (Lytfot) ²
7	William Brisebon
8	William Kodknave (Godknave) ²
9	John Moniword
10	Thomas le Especer
11	John le Gaunt (er) ¹
12	Roger de Holerton
13	William de la Vinege
14	Gilbert Blod
15	John de Stretton
16	John son of Roger de Brunehop' (clerk) ³
17	Luke de Bergeveny ³
18	Richard le Clere of La Waye
19	Robert de Iteshale
20	Hugh de Wys
21	John Thorgrym
22	Roger le Sopere
23	Walter le Chaplein ³
24	Roger de Bokenhull

PR, 1282, 15

1. Bailiff: 3 Reginald Moniword 1274; Richard Moniword 1275, 1276, 1296, 1303, 1307-10, 1318, 1320.
11 John le Gaunter 1281, 1284, 1287, 1290, 1291.
2. Member of Parliament: 6 John Lichtfot 1295, 1296, 1307
8 William Godknave 1295, 1296
3. Amongst those accused in 1265 by the prior of Leominster of 'devastating by burning a great part of the town of Leominster' and of taking, carrying away and consuming the goods of the priory to the value of £2,000.

Such an alignment against the bishop was not new. Hugh de Mapenor had tried to implement the acts of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which, amongst other things, required all Christians to cease trade with Jews who charged what, in the eyes of the church, was excessive interest. In consequence, in 1218, Henry III's Council of Regency ordered the sheriff to proclaim throughout his bailiwick that the Hereford community had been assured the royal peace. 'No action to the contrary taken by the bishop is of any effect, for our Jews are no concern of his.' It is highly probable that, as at Gloucester, Lincoln, Oxford and Bristol, 24 'guardians' were appointed on that occasion, as they were 64 years later.⁴³⁴

During the episcopate of Henry III's Savoyard favourite, Peter of Aquablanca, 1246-9, relations between townsmen and bishop reached their lowest point. In 1263 Aquablanca was besieged in his own cathedral, 'harlede' out of the church by Thomas Turberville, imprisoned by Roger de Clifford at Eardisley for twelve weeks or more, and his property was seized.⁴³⁵ All this wedded the citizens to the baronial cause. As it was, Aquablanca could hardly levy serious charges against the business dealings of the Jews, for he himself was an accomplished and openly acknowledged practitioner in that popular medieval pastime, the forging of charters. In 1254, for example, he managed to obtain the seals of a number of leading ecclesiastics. These were attached to blank leaves of parchment which he took to Rome and used as bonds to raise some 9,000 marks for Henry III's Gascon expedition from Sienese merchants.⁴³⁶

Thomas Cantilupe, 1275-82, has been described as 'an inveterate enemy of the Jews.' He received Edward I's special permission to preach to them in an attempt at conversion. On another occasion, when it was proposed that a Jewish convert should be appointed one of the commissioners to investigate the charges of coin-clipping, the thought of such a person sitting in judgement on Christians moved Cantilupe to an hysterical outburst in the royal council. With eyes full of tears he threatened immediate resignation, and Edward I capitulated. This incident was later brought forward as a proof of his sanctity. Fortunately for the Hereford community, Cantilupe was not often in his diocese and then he eschewed both city and citizens.⁴³⁷ Swinfield's antagonism to the Jews was based on fear of contamination through intercourse between Christian and Jew, not on usury - for he had at least one debt outstanding, of 300 marks to the Florentine merchant William Dentayo.⁴³⁸ Indeed, as has been noted, both Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, 1268-1302, and his brother, Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, 1266-79, were involved in the traffic of Jewish bonds.⁴³⁹

It is not only misery that acquaints a man with strange bedfellows; it was not merely antipathy to ecclesiastical authority which brought the leaders of Hereford's civic and Jewish communities together. The *archa* or chest had at all times to be served by four chirographers, two Christian, two Jewish. We know the name of but one of the former, Gilbert Saym. A John Saym was bailiff in 1272 and the practice in other towns shows that the Christian chirographers were leading members of the urban oligarchy. Of those known to have held the office from 1263 at Norwich, all but one had been bailiff; at Colchester, of the six who are known, perhaps four. At Worcester it was a similar story. The Justices of the Jews normally sent their mandates to the sheriff, but his writ did not run within the liberty of the city.⁴⁴⁰ They had thus to rely on the Christian chirographers for the execution of their commands.

The form of the writ for the re-election of Saym's successor in 1267 indicates the degree of co-operation which had to exist between the leaders of the two communities for it was the

sheriff, together with the chirographers, Christian and Jewish, who had 'by oath to cause to be chosen a Christian proper to attend to the duties of that office and having received his oath and pledges to institute him in office.' Not surprisingly, in many cases the two developed business interests in common. At Winchester the town's elite was also on close and amicable terms with the leading Jews. There the head of the ruling oligarchy, Simon le Drapir, had a particularly close relationship with Benedict, second husband of Aaron's cousin, Flora le Blund (FIG. 1) and the 'commonalty' even accused Simon and the 24 of admitting Benedict into the ranks of the merchant guild.⁴⁴¹ On the other hand, strict adherence by the Jews to their own customs and ostentatious display may well have antagonised the less affluent.

On 18 June 1290 secret orders were sent to the sheriff to seal the Hereford chest. A month later he was informed that all Jews, with their wives, children and chattels, were, on pain of death, to quit the realm by 1 November, the feast of All Saints. He was to ensure that they suffered no injury, harm, damage or grievance in their departure.⁴⁴² Almost all seem to have left for France. Paris was the goal of the wealthiest, but in February 1291 Philip the Fair expelled all English Jews from his lands except those profitable to the French crown. There is no reference to Aaron in the rolls of the Paris *taille* for 1292 or 1296. Perhaps he and his family settled in one of the towns of the more tolerant Languedoc, like Mosse Anglicus, Abraham Anglicus and Simon de Quigrulada (Cricklade), who appear in the Manosque registers after 1290.⁴⁴³

The penalty for any Jew who remained behind after 1 November was death. Nevertheless there is evidence of Jews in the county after that date. In 1292 a Jewess called Floria Smallpurse was murdered by William, son of William Younghusband and Robert, sergeant of Richard le Taillur. Her chattels were valued at 2s. At Marcle in the same year another Jew

Table 9: Properties of the Jews of Hereford, 1290

No	Name	Description	Value	Street	Successor
1	Aaron le Blund	Tenement with buildings where he lived	20 0	?	William de Pedwardyn
2		Tenement bought of John Whitney	3 0	<i>Malierestrete</i>	Reginald Moniword
3	Bonenfaunt	House which he held for 4 years	?	?	William de Pedwardyn
4		Two shops, paying 1s to the prior of St Guthlac's	4 0	<i>Malierestretelane?</i>	William de Pedwardyn/ Hugh Bade
5		Tenement in a lane with two shops with a storey above	4 0	<i>Malierestretelane?</i>	William de Pedwardyn/ Hugh Bade
6	Elias de Ardre	House next to that of Reginald Moniword	4 0	<i>Malierestrete?</i>	Reginald Moniword
7		House in bad repair, pledged for 30s	2 0	<i>Malierestrete</i>	Nicholas Wyot
8	Contessa daughter of Benedict	Messuage with building and adjacent shop, paying 2d to John the Goldsmith	12 0	<i>Juenstrete</i>	Hugh de la Hale
9	Hagin of Weobley	House	5 0	<i>Malierestrete?</i>	Hugh Bade
10	Cok of Hereford	House with two shops, paying 10s 8d to the chief lords	15 6	<i>Malierestretelane</i>	John de la Felde, chaplain
11	Crespin	House escheated to crown when hanged		<i>Vicus Judeorum</i>	Roger le Yungehosband
12	Community	Synagogue with adjacent shop, in bad repair?	4 0		William de Pedwardyn

*In ownership of Thomas Monmouth (M.P. for Leominster, 1453-4) in 1445, PR, 1445, 362; *History of Parliament, I, 1442-97: Genealogist*, NS XXII, 227.

who is not named was killed by John Clobbe of Lye (Leigh?) in Worcestershire. In this case the chattels were valued at 1s.7d.⁴⁴⁴ The explanation for their presence is probably that they were both converts. However, it was unusual for converts to be left to fend for themselves in this way. Normally they were placed in the custody of a neighbouring monastery.⁴⁴⁵

Some four weeks before the departure of the Jews a writ ordering the valuation of their properties was delivered to the bailiff of Hereford by the hand of the bishop of Bath and Wells. The subsequent survey, by sheriff and bailiff, provides details of houses and shops worth £2-14-6 of which Aaron le Blund's house accounted for one third, 18s. (Table 9).

It was Reginald Moniword and William de Pedwardyn who bought up Aaron's house, the synagogue and most of the other property in Hereford. The cemetery was incorporated into St. Giles' Hospital.⁴⁴⁶ In this way the 110-year-old community, cherished first by Hamo and his family and later by Aaron, came to an end. Once more the Jews of Hereford suffered dispersal, but the remembrance of their community was indeed 'long perpetuated' amongst the heirs of their hosts. For six centuries it survived. It is in our own time that the site of the Jewry has been wittingly destroyed.

The Hereford Community

It would be a gross distortion of the history of Hereford's Jewry to describe the economic relations of the families of Hamo and of Aaron le Blund without saying more about the community within which they lived. This in fact existed at two levels. In the legal sense both the recognised local communities and the *Commune Iudeorum Anglie* were possessed of certain rights described in John's charter of 1201 and had obligations, particularly of a fiscal nature. Within carefully defined limits both had rights of self-government according to the Law and Custom of the Jewry. However, behind the legal *communitas* lay the much more powerful and ancient Jewish concept of social and cultural community, for the English Jewry was but a small part of the dispersed Jewish world beyond.⁴⁴⁷

The site of the Jewry is abundantly recorded for the name remained in common parlance until the 19th century. The first plan of the city, published 220 years after the expulsion by John Speed, shows Jewry Lane clearly. A property called 'the Jew's Chimney' (FIG. 6, no. 6) is well recorded in the city muniments. In 1633 John Drew, a carpenter, 'attempted' Joan Wildman there and a rent charge of 1s. per annum was still being paid to the city chamberlain for the property 40 years later. In 1743 it was rebuilt by the tanner John Phillips. A deed of the previous year refers to 'a Lane or Back Street formerly called Maylords Lane otherwise Jews or Jewry Lane.' The latter is marked on Isaac Taylor's fine plan of 1757, and on E.W. Bayley's *Map of Hereford* (1806). As late as 1808 a building, stable and yard are described as 'in Jewry Lane.'⁴⁴⁸

In contemporary documents it was *Juenstrete* or *vicus Judeorum*. With *Malierestrete* (subsequently unsuccessfully renamed St. Thomas Street, now Maylord Street) to the west it formed the rear access to the series of burgage plots which defined the northern boundary of the great market place, *altus vicus*, now High Town, founded as the centre of the Norman new town of Hereford immediately after the Conquest.⁴⁴⁹ The nomenclature suggests that the earliest, that is the 12th-century, settlement was along the eastern end of the street but by Hamo's time the expanding community had spread into *Malierestrete*.



Fig. 6. Isaac Taylor, *Plan of the City of Hereford, 1757: Jewish Sites.*

- 1 Jewry Lane (*Juenstrete, Vicus Judeorum*).
- 2 Maylord Street (*Malierestrete*) subsequently, unsuccessfully, renamed St. Thomas Street.
- 3 Moses' property 'against All Saints' Church,' 1253.
- 4 'The famous Bewell spring' - the site of the mikveh?
- 5 Approximate site of the house of Manasser and of the house which was the dowry, *ketuba*, of Contessa, granddaughter of Hamo, and wife of Josce, son of Hak of Worcester.
- 6 Bastion known as the Jew's Chimney

Like the other English medieval Jewries, the Hereford *vicus Judeorum* was not a ghetto, a carefully delimited area inhabited only by Jews. Christians lived in the street; Jews lived in *Malierestrete* and beyond. In 1276 William de Fineges gave his daughter, Isabelle, and her husband, Henry de Culeye, 'a messuage in Hereford in the *vico Judeorum*, to hold to them and their issue.'⁴⁵⁰ Conversely, Hamo's son, Moses, gave his daughter Contessa, and her husband, Josce, son of Isaac of Worcester, a house in Bishopstrete as dower and before 1271 the house 'of Mansell (Manasser), Jew of Hereford lay between the land of Gilbert Saym and Robert Cachepol in Biscopegate' (FIG. 6, no. 5). Saym, as we have noted, was one of the chirographers and John Saym was bailiff in 1272. A William Saym represented the city in parlia-

ment in 1305, 1306 and 1311. A John Cachepol was city bailiff in 1280 and the family provided two further bailiffs in the next century; Cachepols served as members of parliament on a dozen occasions in the next century; Henry Cachepol was the second mayor and the person from whom the city acquired the booth hall for its law court.⁴⁵¹

Three sets of documents indicate the property owned or lived in by members of the community. The first, the inventory made on the death of Moses in 1253, describes eleven properties (Part 1, p. 399). These include houses, not only in the Jewry and *Maliereestrete*, but also in *Vydemareysstrete*, Widemarsh Street, and fronting towards *magnum vicum*, as well as all the land late of Philip Roard 'against All Saints' church ... but Cedemon the Scot held in fee part of that land and paid Moses 6s.'⁴⁵² This last block of property can be readily identified. Today it is one of the prime sites in the town, where are to be found the premises of, amongst others, the Midland Bank and Boots the Chemist. It lies to the east of All Saints and is bounded on the south by High Street, on the east by High Town and on the north by Bewell Street (FIG. 6, no. 3).

The second is the survey drawn up at the expulsion and summarised by Abrahams. It shows that the community's property was for the most part restricted to *Juenstrete* and *Maliereestrete*.⁴⁵³ The third is a series of documents in the city, cathedral and national records, including BL Lansdowne MS 826 and the Originalia Rolls, which relate to the subsequent history of that property. As a consequence of the city's purchase from Richard I of the manor of Hereford, including the right to all fines and forfeitures, Jewish property and land within its liberty reverted to the town. This was not achieved without a tussle. In the bailiff's roll an entry was made recording payments for wine, made on the arrival of Master Macolinus 'for deliberations concerning the chattels of the Jews.' Small payments were made to the crown. More than a century and a half after the expulsion the Pipe Rolls refer to the bailiffs of the city owing 9d. to the crown 'from the rents of divers houses which were part of the Jewry.' From such documents Aaron le Blund's and Elias d'Ardre's houses can be traced passing through various hands for more than a century and a half.⁴⁵⁴

Such records give us brief glimpses of key features in the life of the community. An inquisition of 1267 refers to a message that had been sold by Moses' widow, Sarah, and their son, Jacob, with all the buildings, 'stone and timber thereof' - a reference to Hamo's own house, for a man of his stature would have lived in high style.⁴⁵⁵ It was probably not as grand as those of the York magnates Benedict Episcopus and Josce of Kent whose dwellings were so vividly described by William of Newburgh: 'large houses, built at very great expense, like royal palaces.'⁴⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Hamo's home, like the Jew's house and that attributed to Aaron at Lincoln, would have been of the stone 'upper hall' or 'house over warehouse' type, with principal room, fireplace and externally projecting chimney on the first floor and a windowless ground floor serving for storage.⁴⁵⁷

Amongst Moses' property within the Jewry in 1253 was 'the land late of Herbrund with its curtilage and the *schola judeorum*'. It will have been soon after his arrival that Hamo founded his Hereford synagogue. He was following an ancient tradition. From earliest times the provision of a synagogue and its embellishment had been regarded as a duty incumbent upon the wealthy members of each community. Founders' names were recorded in dedicatory inscriptions, usually in the mosaic pavements. Most were in Aramaic, some in Greek and a

few in Hebrew. At the 4th-century synagogue of Hammath Tiberias 'Severus, pupil of the illustrious Patriarchs ... completed (the construction). Praise unto him.'⁴⁵⁸

The practice was brought to western Europe but very few medieval dedicatory inscriptions have been preserved. Of those which survive, the three most important, at Worms, Cordoba and Toledo, no doubt express Hamo's sentiments accurately. At Worms the early 11th-century inscription, on a sandstone tablet, was saved by Dr. Friedrich Illert, curator of the State museum, after the synagogue was burned down on 10 November 1938. 'Jacob son of David and Rahel his wife employed their wealth to the glory of God by building a synagogue and embellishing it with fittings. Thus they earned themselves "a Place and a Name". They should remain in good memory. Whoever reads this should say an Amen.'⁴⁵⁹ The Cordoba inscription reads: 'Sanctuary in miniature and resting-place of the Scroll of the Laws which Ishaq Moheb, son of Efraim, completed the year (50) 75 as a temporary structure. Turn, O God, and hasten to rebuild Jerusalem!' The last sentence is echoed in the (1214?) inscription at Beziers. El Transito synagogue at Toledo, built by Abulafia (Samuel ha-Levi) treasurer to Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1350-69), as an annexe to his own house, bears the inscription, close to the niche containing the Holy Ark: 'Behold this sanctuary dedicated to Israel and the house that Samuel built.' As at Worms, more than three centuries earlier, it refers to the furnishings and fittings: 'in the middle the wooden tribune (the *bima*, called *almenor* in medieval Spain) and the scrolls and their crowns dedicated to Him, its lamps for illumination and its windows similar to those of Ariel. Come, people, and enter its doors and, like Bet-El, seek God, for it is God's house.'⁴⁶⁰ Such observances were carefully maintained by those who came to England in the 12th and early 13th centuries, for they kept close communion with the great religious centres and rabbis of the continent.

Here, as on the continent, the synagogue was more than just a house of prayer. This Greek word, like its Semitic equivalent, *beth kneset*, merely means 'assembly place;' but the early synagogues had two main functions. They were houses of prayer, *beth tefilah*, and of study, *beth midrash*. It is the latter element which is represented by the medieval term, *schola judeorum*. In England it also had an official function. Here, for two or three consecutive sabbaths, announcements were read out in Hebrew and Latin on behalf of the exchequer court, usually enquiries about claims for debt against named individuals. Thus in 1244 proclamation was made in the Hereford *schola* that 'any Jew or Jewess that might have any claims to make upon the heirs of Robert le Berwe must be before the Justices on Monday next before the feast of St. Andrew. No Jew claimed aught save Samson, son of Moses, and Meyr le Petit,' who were ordered 'to come before the Justices on Hilary quindene to account with William de Evreus (Devreux), guardian of Robert's lands.'⁴⁶¹

After the death of the last of Hamo's sons in 1253 the *schola* was taken over by the community, for in the expulsion inventory we find 'the community paid 1s. a year to the ferm of Hereford' for a 'synagogue with shop adjacent of the yearly value of 4s.' This places it in the same category as those at Nottingham (3s. 11d.), Norwich (5s.) and Colchester (7s.) whilst the Canterbury synagogue was valued at 11s. 8d. and that at Oxford 18s. 9d.⁴⁶² In many communities the cost of upkeep was met by a levy on certain houses. Sadly, the precise location of the Hereford *schola* is not evident from the records now available, although the site was remembered for many centuries after the expulsion. As late as 1882 Richard Johnson wrote 'the remembrance of this persecuted race was long perpetuated in the names of their build-

ings, such as Babylon door and Synagogue.⁴⁶³ A careful search of city deeds may yet yield its location.

The building of a synagogue, even in the 1220s, was not an easy matter. In 1222 the Canterbury provincial council sought to prohibit the erection of new synagogues. Given the patronage of Walter de Lacy, Hamo would have had little difficulty in establishing his own *schola*, probably as the successor to a room in a private house. Not to inflame public opinion, such synagogues were frequently erected away from the public gaze, to the rear of the houses, in private courts. Indeed, the Statute of the Jewry, 1253, enacted that Jews must 'in their synagogues, one and all, worship in subdued tones ... so that Christians hear it not.' Nineteen years later the London synagogue was handed over to the neighbouring friars because 'the constant wailing (*ululatum*) of the Jews impeded their rites.'⁴⁶⁴ Not only would there have been wailing but also loud blasts of the *shofar*, the ram's horn. This was blown at dawn and dusk at the end of *yom Kipur*, on *Rosh-ha-shana*, the day of judgement, and during the preceding month of penitence, as part of the 'solemn feasts and offerings which the Lord had commanded for that seventh month' (Numbers, 29).

It was for such reasons that the Canterbury synagogue was "flanking the back wall" of the property at the corner of High Street and Stour Street, behind the house of Jacob, the wealthiest member of the community. At Winchester the *schola* lay within the courtyard, *curia*, of Abraham Pinch. When in 1236 he was hanged, all his lands, except the synagogue, were given to a member of the royal household. At Norwich Lipman indicated a backland site between the houses in Haymarket and Orford Hill. Indeed, a document of 1249 records that Isaac, son of Abraham, was granted by the 'congregation of Norwich' the right to build an upper storey over the gateway leading to the synagogue, subject to free access along the passage for all worshippers and an annual rent of 4d. to the *schola* committee. At Oxford Jacob of Worcester's synagogue also occupied a backland site, off the Great Jewry, now part of the west range of Christ Church College. At Worcester a document of 1266 indicates that 'a certain house' stood 'in front of the *schola judeorum*;' a similar situation applied in Nottingham.⁴⁶⁵ Finally, at London Aaron, son of Vives, gave the community his stone house and courts in Catte, now Gresham, Street after the old synagogue had been confiscated in 1272. In this respect the medieval synagogue was similar to the Nonconformist meeting place of the late 17th and early 18th century, as for example the Baptist chapel down its alleyway at Tewkesbury and the Friends' Meeting Houses at Hereford, Ross and Bromyard.

Of those who served in the Hereford synagogue there is considerable evidence. There has been much debate about the precise meaning of those Jewish surnames which seemingly denote ecclesiastical office and attempt to bridge two cultures: *episcopus* or *eveske*, *prestre* and *capellanus*, and *magister*. Differences are most acute over the surname *episcopus* or *l'eveske*. Stokes, followed for the most part by Lipman, believed that the term was generally used in connection with the Cohen families but Richardson argued that they are not patronymics but 'usually though not invariably signify public office held within the community.' This he supported with a range of evidence: nine bishops are named for major communities in the 'Northampton Donum' of 1194 and bishops are found in eight of the seventeen recognised communities listed in the 1221 'Aid to Marry.' Further, a record of 1241 refers, quite unambiguously, to '*dominus Leo ludeorum Eboraci episcopus*,' Leo, bishop of the York Jews.⁴⁶⁶

The Hereford evidence is not conclusive but tends to support Richardson. The surname is first found in the 1221, 1223 and 1226 tallage lists. There Manasser Episcopus' contribution ranked fourth and fifth (Part 1, Table 4). The alternative name given in the lists, Manasser *gener* Hamonis, shows him to have been Hamo's son-in-law (Fig. 1). This is confirmed by the 1244 list of debts which shows Manasser making loans as a member of the family. With Ursell and Moses, he had been one of the Hereford representatives at the Worcester 'parliament' of 1241. His son, Manasser fitz le Eveske, occurs in the Close Rolls of 1236.⁴⁶⁷ His successor seems to have been Elias le Eveske who died in 1270, when his estate was valued at £10-17-4. After his widow, Sapphira, had paid the relief of one third £3-12-5½, a further bond for a loan of £13-6-8 was found in the Gloucester chest. During his lifetime his daughter, Henne, carried on a business in small loans, for two of her unredeemed charters dated 1266-7, for two and five marks, were found in the Hereford Old Chest at the expulsion. A Benedict Levesque is referred to in the Patent Rolls for 1281. He continued to live in the city until the expulsion, for details of some of his loans, totalling some 75 quarters of corn, contracted in 1285 and 1290, were found in the New Chest.⁴⁶⁸ The office held was probably that of *parnas* or bailiff, titular head of the community. Certainly, both Manasser and Benedict were men of substance.

One at least of the Hereford rabbis has come down to us, for Jacob le Mester was one of the community's representatives at the Worcester 'parliament' of 1241.⁴⁶⁹ On the other hand, several Hereford Jews bore the title *le prestre*. Aaron le Prestre is to be found in the tallage rolls for Easter 1223 and Michaelmas 1226. Simon le Prestre seems to have been filling some communal post in 1244 when he responded to an official enquiry on behalf of the community. In 1274 Aaron, son of Bonamy le Prestre, paid a fine of one bezant 'that he may remove from Hereford and reside at the town of Bruges, ' Bridgnorth. Stokes, followed by Lipman, regarded the title as virtually synonymous with *episcopus*, but Richardson, finding the alternative title *capellanus* substituted for *prestre* in the later 13th century, concluded that both *capellanus* and *prestre* were translations of *hazan*, in our terminology, cantor. As a bilingual deed of the later 13th century translates *hazan* as *capellanus*, we can be quite confident of the status of the Herefordian, Abraham Capellanus, referred to in the 1291 list.⁴⁷⁰ As the cantors were 'for the most part of lowly status ... poorly paid and ill regarded,' the minimal sums paid by Aaron to the 1223 and 1226 tallages (Part 1, Table 4) support Richardson's contention that the term *prestre* was also used to translate *hazan*.

The *curia judeorum* formed a communal complex. Here would be found not only the *schola* but such other essential buildings as the communal oven, for the baking of the passover *mazzot*, the flat, unleavened bread, and the ritual slaughterhouse. This we know was found in English Jewries, for the statute of the pillory, 1267, required borough bailiffs to enquire 'if any do buy flesh of Jews and then sell it to Christians.' The prohibition was evidently ignored, for it had to be repeated in 1281. This proves the existence at Hereford of a *shohet* who, like the *hazan*, was a salaried officer of the community. The city receipt roll for 1285 records that Johanna Bibol was fined 12d. 'for the sale of Jewish meat.'⁴⁷¹ In addition there would have been a community kitchen, with its cauldron used before the passover feast and other ceremonial occasions, a well and bathhouse.

Quite distinct from the well was the *mikveh*, the ritual bath. These were frequently of great depth as they had to be fed by a natural spring. Some six medieval *mikveh* are known in

Germany. At Worms nineteen stone steps give access to the entrance hall and a further eleven to the *mikveh* itself but the most spectacular is at Freidberg. Built in 1260 it is more than 60 feet below ground level.⁴⁷²

For England only one medieval *mikveh* has yet been claimed. The suggested site is at Jacob's Well in Bristol, not far from the cemetery. Some distance from the medieval town,⁴⁷³ this would have presented problems of security and freedom from intrusion. It is possible that the Hereford *mikveh* was located to the north of Bewell Street, only a hundred yards or so from the western end of Maylord Street. There the requisite mixture of rain and added drawn water could have been easily obtained. Even in the 19th century it was famed for the quality and abundance of its drawn water, for the Hereford Brewery and Mineral Water Company was established by the spring on this site in 1834. 'Favoured in possessing an excellent supply of the purest water from the famous Bewell spring,' its products, the company claimed, were 'matchless for exquisite flavour, brilliancy and fine condition.' It was six years later that Rough, Sedge and Summers started bottling their 'Genuine Superior Aerated Waters' at Jacob's Well. Whilst constructing a pump house for a new artesian well in 1907, the builders found a stone in the former garden of Bewell House; it was inscribed '77 ft well, 1724' (Fig. 6, no. 4).⁴⁷⁴

Less speculative is the site of the cemetery. In 1177 the provincial communities were given licence to establish their own cemeteries. No longer had the dead to be taken to London for burial.⁴⁷⁵ The expulsion lists are the principal source for details of these provincial cemeteries. Four are mentioned: at Canterbury, Northampton, Winchester and York. However, the lists are not exhaustive. Land not held in fee would not have been included and the existence of five further provincial cemeteries has been established from other sources. Thus, at Bristol, not only have tomb stones been found but a deed of 1324-5 refers to 'one croft at Clifton against the Jews' cemetery.'⁴⁷⁶

Honeybourne assumed that Hereford Jews were buried at Bristol, but there is every reason to believe that the Hereford community would, like the others, have availed itself of the right to its own garden of life. The provision of a cemetery was one of the most important concerns of the medieval communities, for 'the cemetery was at the very heart of the community.' Often the establishment of a burial ground came before the building of a separate synagogue, since services could be held in private rooms. The limiting factor was financial. Given Hamo's wealth, this can be discounted.⁴⁷⁷

At Hereford there is a strong tradition that the cemetery was situated to the rear of the site of St. Giles' Hospital, now the corner of St. Owen Street and Ledbury Road. The history of the site is confused but certain facts stand out. Firstly, it met the 1177 requirement, that land bought by Jews in which to bury their dead should lie outside the walls of the city. Secondly, Jewish cemeteries were often on land closely associated with the church, e.g. the hospital of St. John at Oxford, the priories of St. Swithin at Winchester and St. Andrew at Northampton. At York land at Barkergate, still known as Jewbury, was bought from the cathedral clergy; at Tours the community paid the archbishop five gold obols for the use of the burial ground; at Cologne it lay within the domain of the oldest church in the city, the abbey of St. Severinus; whilst at Speyer it was bishop Rudiger who granted the land.⁴⁷⁸

St. Giles', founded in the early 12th century, fell on hard times in the 13th century. When it was rebuilt in 1770 an inscription was placed in the central pediment recording 'St.

Giles's Hospital founded in 1290.' This must refer to a refoundation, for in 1265 'the leprous brethren of St. Giles' without' were given simple protection for two years by the crown. Johnson, town clerk from 1832-68 and the city's most distinguished historian, who knew the documentary evidence better than anyone else, was categorical that 'a portion of their (the Jews') confiscated property' was incorporated into St. Giles' Hospital. The repossession of the Jewish cemetery on land to the rear was evidently the occasion for a thorough re-organisation of the ailing institution. This is supported by the discovery of moulded stones and a niche of early 14th-century date when the chapel was taken down in 1927. Further, excavations during road-widening works at that time revealed 'a cobbled track of closely packed kidney-stones two foot underground a little to the north-east of the chancel. It did not seem to go to the chapel but north-west to the hospital gardens and was probably a medieval approach to them.'⁴⁷⁹

The cumulative evidence suggests that this was indeed the site of the Hereford cemetery. It would have been maintained by either an endowment or community levy. Here we should expect to find the laving stone, as at Winchester, where the 'stone on which the Jews washed corpses before burial' was valued at 4s. and, like the Northampton and London cemeteries, surrounded by a stone wall, the former 'worth 30s. for carting away' in 1290.⁴⁸⁰ Here amidst the small collection of headstones with their Hebrew inscriptions, doubtless similar to those still to be seen in the medieval cemetery at Worms,⁴⁸¹ Aaron's predecessors, Hamo and his sons, Ursell and Moses, with the rest of their kin would have been buried. Here also lay the other members of the community of which, for virtually seven decades, these two families had been the leaders.

In a city littered with historic notices, and despite recommendations, there is nothing to honour the memory of this remarkable community. Is the city, one wonders, still beset by a sense of guilt - or is it just indifference?

ABBREVIATIONS as in Part 1 (1984), 415 and Part 2 (1985), 264.

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³¹⁸ J. Hillaby, 'Hereford Gold: Welsh and English Land - The Jewish Community at Hereford and its Clients, 1179-1253', Pt 1, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1984), 358-419 and 'Hereford Gold: Irish, Welsh and English Land. Part 2: The Clients of the Jewish Community at Hereford, 1179-1253. Four Case Studies', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLV (1985), 193-270; J. Hillaby, 'A magnate among the marchers: Hamo of Hereford, his family and clients, 1218-1253', *Jewish Historical Studies (Trans. JHSE)*, 31 (1988-90), 23-82.
³¹⁹ PRO E401/6; PR, 1255, 439-44; Hillaby (1984), Table 6.
³²⁰ PRO E101/249/10.
³²¹ EJ, I, 65-8; Hillaby (1984), Table 8.
³²² CR, 1245, 329; 1234, 362, 441.
³²³ CR, 1241, 354-5; 1232, 57; 1235, 150.
³²⁴ *Select Pleas, Stairs and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-84*, ed. J.M. Rigg, Selden Soc., 15 (1902), 19, 21; EJ, I, 120, 123.
³²⁵ A. T. Bannister, 'A Lost Cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1917), 271 item 28. The cartulary is Bodleian MS Rawlinson B329. EJ, IV, 33.
³²⁶ PRO E101/250/5 published by B. L. Abrahams as 'The Debts and Houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290', *Trans. JHSE*, 1 (1894), 136-59.
³²⁷ *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, III (PRO, 1900), D275, D19, D8, D6, D29, D32; *Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant*, ed. H. Hall, Selden Soc., 49 (1932), 95. For the Worcester community see J. Hillaby, 'The Worcester Jewry, 1158-1290: Portrait of a Lost Community', *Trans. Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 3S 12 (1990), 73-122.

- ³²⁸ 'Annales de Wygornia' in *Annales Monastici*, 4, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 36 (1869), 448-9; *Flores Historiarum*, II, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 95 (1890), 486-7; *CR*, 1265, 66.
- ³²⁹ *CR*, 1266, 201; *PR*, 1267, 109.
- ³³⁰ Occasionally one finds the name of the maternal grandfather used, see p. 437 below. On the custom see *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX (1905), 154.
- ³³¹ *PR*, 1267, 29; 1272, 638.
- ³³² PRO E401/4/4; E401/6/6; E401/48/6; E401/14; E401/15. The two latter are published in R. C. Stacey, 'Royal Taxation and the Social Structure of Medieval Anglo-Jewry: The Tallages of 1239-42', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 56 (1985), 210-49.
- ³³³ E. Ekwall, *Street-Names of the City of London* (1954), 96 following Stow believes it was named after an early owner or incumbent. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 and never rebuilt.
- ³³⁴ *Calendars of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (hereafter *Inq. Misc.*), 1 (PRO, 1916), no 355 of 9 April 1268; *EJ*, I, 118-9. For a diagrammatic reconstruction of the site see D. Keene, *Cheapside before the Great Fire* (1985), 9. For a detailed examination of the London Jewry, 1218-90, see J. Hillaby, 'London: The Thirteenth-Century Jewry Revisited', *Jewish Historical Studies*, XXXII (1993), 89-158.
- ³³⁵ *CR*, 1236, 261, 279; PRO E401/14; E401/15 published in Stacey (1985).
- ³³⁶ *CR*, 1234, 480.
- ³³⁷ *PR*, 1255, 440, 443.
- ³³⁸ *CR*, 1226, 96, 129. On Roger de Leyburn the younger see F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, II (1947), 435-7, 462-3, 467, 502 and M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (1988), 36-8, 41-3, 46-7, 53-5.
- ³³⁹ *CR*, 1241, 355; Stacey (1985), 192, 245-6.
- ³⁴⁰ *EJ*, IV, 149.
- ³⁴¹ *PR*, 1259, 60-1; 1271, 572; 1267, 24. A fourth Aaron le Blund, the son of Isaac le Blund of Cambridge, was a member of the Cambridge community. His father had been an assessor of the 1241 tallage while the son represented the community at the Worcester parliament in that year. Details of four of Isaac's bonds and others of Aaron I of London, found in the Cambridge chest 1239-40, are printed by H. P. Stokes in *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (1913), 264, 272, 276.
- ³⁴² *Inq. Misc.*, I (PRO, 1916), no 355; *PR*, 1259, 61.
- ³⁴³ J. A. Williams, *Medieval London: From Commune to Capital* (1970), 219.
- ³⁴⁴ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Soc. 34 (1846), 50-1; translated by H. T. Riley as *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, 1188-1274* (1863), 54.
- ³⁴⁵ Stapleton (1846), 62; 'Annales de Oseneia et Chronicon Thomae Wykes' in *Annales Monastici*, 4 (1869), 141-3, 145, 147; 'Annales de Dunstaplia' in *Annales Monastici*, 3 (1866), 230; 'Annales Londonienses' in *Chronicles of the Reign of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 76 (1882), 63; *Chronique de London depuis l'an 44 Henry III jusqu'à l'an 17 Edward III*, ed. G. J. Aungier, Camden Soc. 28 (1844), 5; *Inq. Misc.*, I (1916), no 355.
- ³⁴⁶ *The London Eyre of 1276*, ed. M. Weinbaum, London Record Soc. 12 (1976), no 296; Powicke (1947) II, 473; *EJ*, I, 148.
- ³⁴⁷ *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, II, ed. W. A. Wright, RS 86 (1887), 736-46. The events are summarised in T. D. Fosbrooke, *History of Gloucester* (1819), 147-53.
- ³⁴⁸ For Grimbald Pauncefot see J. O'Donnell, 'A Border Knight', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1973), 39-47 and C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, IV, Harleian Soc. 83 (1931), 10-2. *VCH, Gloucestershire*, IV (1988), 19-20; Rigg (1902), 60-1.
- ³⁴⁹ *Inq. Misc.*, I (1916), 100-101; *CR*, 1265, 84; F. Noble, 'Herefordshire and Simon de Montfort: 1265', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII (1965), 111-8. For Manasser see p. 461 below.
- ³⁵⁰ One earlier bond of Aaron, of 1262, was found in the Old Chest. It is difficult to accept that such a singleton, negotiated with the Gloucestershire client, Richard Pauncefot of Hasfeld, is evidence of permanent settlement at Hereford.
- ³⁵¹ The *trugge*, a trough, was a local grain measure of Welsh origin. It was used on the Hereford canonical estates at this time. Although in Herefordshire and Radnor it was the equivalent of two-thirds of a bushel, elsewhere on the march it had a different value. W. Rees, *South Wales and the March, 1284-1415* (1924), 281-2, 295; T. Blount, *Law Dictionary and Glossary*, with additions by W. Nelson (1717); *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in Continuation of Duncumb's History*, III (1882), ed. W. H. Cooke, 180.
- ³⁵² PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 144.
- ³⁵³ *PR*, 1261, 186.
- ³⁵⁴ *PR*, 1269, 382.
- ³⁵⁵ *PR*, 1271, 671; *LR*, 1271, nos. 1505, 1499.
- ³⁵⁶ *PR*, 1272, 660; PRO E401/43; *CR*, 1272, 517; Rigg (1902), 70.
- ³⁵⁷ *EJ*, II, 45, 55.
- ³⁵⁸ PRO E101/249/18-21 & E401/1568-71. In the subsequent tallage of Michaelmas 1276 the Hereford community was charged £63-6-8 but details of individual contributions are not given, PRO E401/1572.

- ³⁵⁹ PRO E101/249/29; E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 144-58.
- ³⁶⁰ B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names* (BAR British Series 214, 1989), 152; A. T. Bannister, *The Place-Names of Herefordshire: Their Origin and Development* (1916), 66; K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place-Names' in *Christianity in Britain, 300-700*, ed. M. W. Barley & R. P. C. Hanson (1968), 87-92.
- ³⁶¹ Coplestone-Crow (1989), 110, 140; Bannister (1916), 103, 24-5; S. Baring Gould & J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints*, I (1907), 310-4 & II (1908), 52-5.
- ³⁶² P. Williams, 'Land Tenure in the bishop's manor of Whitbourne', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XL (1972), 336-7, n7; *Whitbourne: A Bishop's Manor* (1979), 15; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 205.
- ³⁶³ *Isiah*, 66, 10.
- ³⁶⁴ *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales to 1831*, PRO Lists and Indexes, 9 (1898), 59.
- ³⁶⁵ *PR*, 1265, 522.
- ³⁶⁶ *CR*, 1266, 201-2, 205; *PR*, 1267, 109; *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in Continuation of Duncumb's History, Radlow Hundred*, ed. M. G. Watkins (1902), 109; Moor, *Knights*, IV (1931), 257.
- ³⁶⁷ *CR*, 1285, 342; Moor, *Knights*, II (1929), 171-2.
- ³⁶⁸ Hillaby (1984), 400-3, n86-7.
- ³⁶⁹ For the acquisition in this way by prince Edward of the Monmouth family estates as early as 1256 see Hillaby (1985), 244.
- ³⁷⁰ Hillaby (1984), n34.
- ³⁷¹ *CR*, 1254, 6; *PR*, 1255, 441-4.
- ³⁷² W. H. Blaauw sought to identify loyalist and dissident barons and knights in his *The Barons' War, including the Battles of Lewes and Evesham* (2nd ed., 1871). See p. 441 and n 348 above.
- ³⁷³ C. H. Knowles, 'The Resettlement of England after the Barons' War, 1264-67', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5S, 32 (1982), 25-41. For the disinherited see *Roulli Selecti*, ed. J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1834), 247-58 and E. F. Jacob, *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1276* (1925), 153-5 and for the Dictum of Kenilworth, 160-3, 171-8, 184-90.
- ³⁷⁴ *Document of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-67*, selected R. E. Trehearne, ed. I. J. Sanders (1973), 87, 109, 155. For re-interpretation of the term *minores* see M. M. Postan in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, I (2nd ed., 1966), 595 and P. R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 68 (1975), 29, n124.
- ³⁷⁵ *Beauchamp Cartulary Charters, 1100-1268*, ed. E. Mason, Pipe Roll Soc. NS 43 (1980), xxiii, lxxv, nos. 1, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24-7, 30-1, 53, 57, 70, 73, 86, 89, 97, 110-7, 123-8, 135, 144, 148.
- ³⁷⁶ C. Bémont, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 1208-65* trans. E. F. Jacob (1930), 238-44; *List of Sheriffs* (1898), 59.
- ³⁷⁷ H. Round, 'The Family of Ballon and the Conquest of South Wales' in *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1901), 181-215; Duncumb, III (1882), 2-6 should be used with caution.
- ³⁷⁸ *PpR*, 1203, 57; 1204, 18; 1205, 273; 1206, 66; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327* (1960), 66.
- ³⁷⁹ *EJ*, I, 5; *CR*, 1229, 153. For John's taxation of the Jews see H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under the Angevin Kings* (1960), 166-72. C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (2nd ed., 1949), 32-7 provides a general description of the English Jewry during this reign. For the general imprisonment of the Jewry see Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, II, ed. H. G. Hewlett, RS84 (1887), 54-5; *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson, Bannatyne Club 49 (1835), 109; *Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora* II, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57 (1874), 531.
- ³⁸⁰ *CR*, 1236, 276; *EJ*, I, 68; *CR*, 1243, 22; *PR*, 1265, 478.
- ³⁸¹ *CR*, 1265, 129; *Abbreviatio Placitorum* (Record Commission, 1811), 168, 175; PRO KB26/182/5; Knowles (1982), 30-1; see n369 above. The aptly-named Moses de Clare acted as the Red Earl's agent, *CR*, 1268, 458. For Gilbert de Clare see M. Altschuhl, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965).
- ³⁸² *EJ*, I, 237.
- ³⁸³ *EJ*, III, 155; B. L. Lansdowne MS905, f84; *Abbreviatio Placitorum* (1811), 234; *Feudal Aids*, II (PRO, 1900), 380, 396; *IPM*, III, no. 400; VI, no. 52.
- ³⁸⁴ *VCH, Worcestershire*, III (1945), 350; British Library, Cotton Manuscript Domitian AIII, ff40-2, 77v, 88r. On 107v, 108r and 112v the resignation by the de Bliss family of the demesne tithes of Akes was in fact a recognition that Akes was within the ancient *parochia* of Leominster, although they may well have received some undisclosed financial inducement to renounce their claims.
- ³⁸⁵ PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 144; *PR*, 1266, 534; *EJ*, III, 236; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, ed. J. Caley et al (1846), 491.
- ³⁸⁶ *EJ*, I, 236-7.
- ³⁸⁷ *List of Sheriffs* (1898), 59; Hillaby, 'Worcester Jewry' (1990), 110; Moor, *Knights*, IV (1931), 29-30; *PR*, 1268, 272; 1271, 567; *Abbreviatio Placitorum* (1811), 52.

- ³⁸⁸ *EJ*, II, 116, 211; Moor, *Knights*, I (1929), 280-1.
- ³⁸⁹ *ChR*, 1236, 218.
- ³⁹⁰ *PR*, 1275, 75-6.
- ³⁹¹ *PR*, 1275, 127; *CR*, 1279, 41.
- ³⁹² *EJ*, II, 57.
- ³⁹³ See p. 434 and n325 above. Initially Aaron may have left Worcester and joined Ursell for he is described as "of Gloucester" in the accounts of Abraham, son of Deulecresse, of Norwich. If so this was but a temporary measure. *EJ*, III, 67; V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (1967), 171-2.
- ³⁹⁴ *EJ*, II, 240.
- ³⁹⁵ PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 150-5; *PR*, 1286, 221 & 282. This episode is dealt with exhaustively by Z. E. Rokéah, 'Crime and Jews in Late Thirteenth Century England: Some Cases and Comments', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 55 (1984), 143-6. Both *PR*, 1286, 282 and the original, PRO C/66/106/14v, read 'Exon', not 'Oxon' but the circumstances suggest that Zefira Rokéah *ibid.*, 145 n24 is quite right.
- ³⁹⁶ *EJ*, III, 188-9; *Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant*, ed. H. Hall, Selden Soc., 49 (1932) 4.
- ³⁹⁷ *EJ*, II, 277; M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290* (1888, reprinted 1969), 370; Roth (1951), 158, 160-1, 171.
- ³⁹⁸ Richardson (1960), 217-23; Z. E. Rokéah, 'Money and the Hangman in late-13th-century England: Jews, Christians and coinage offences alleged and real (Part 1)', *Jewish Historical Studies (Trans. JHSE)*, 31 (1988-90), 83-110.
- ³⁹⁹ *Hundred Rolls*, II (Record Commission, 1818), 282.
- ⁴⁰⁰ PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 154; Rigg (1902), 4 & 97; *CR*, 1282, 177; Hall (1932), 4.
- ⁴⁰¹ *EJ*, II, 297; *PR*, 1275, 107; *CR*, 1275, 30; M. Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* (1939), 226-8.
- ⁴⁰² *EJ*, II, 278; A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, 2 English Place-Name Soc., 39 (1964), 127; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, IV (1988), 67. PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 156; J. Hillaby, 'The Gloucester Jewry, 1159-1275', *Glevensis* 25 (1991), 39-40.
- ⁴⁰³ *Statutes of the Realm*, I (Record Commission, 1810), 221-3 reprinted in *EHD*, III, 411-2.
- ⁴⁰⁴ *PR*, 1275, 126.
- ⁴⁰⁵ PRO E101/250/2; E101/255.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Rokéah (1990), n35 quoting PRO E352/74; *Hundred Rolls*, II (1818), 282.
- ⁴⁰⁷ Abrahams (1894), 140-1.
- ⁴⁰⁸ P. Elman, 'The Economic Causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 7 (1938), 148 and 'Jewish Trade in 13th-Century England', *Historia Judaica*, 1 (1939), 104; V. D. Lipman, 'The Anatomy of Medieval Anglo-Jewry', *Trans. JHSE*, 21 (1968), 72-3. R. R. Mundill, 'Anglo-Jewry under Edward I: credit agents and their clients', *Jewish Historical Studies (Trans. JHSE)*, 31 (1988-90), 1-21.
- ⁴⁰⁹ HCRO, MS AH 81/34.
- ⁴¹⁰ D. L. Farmer, 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2S, 10 (1957), 207-20.
- ⁴¹¹ *EJ*, III, 104-5.
- ⁴¹² W. Camden, *Britannia* (1586), 574; *Commons Journal*, 11 January 1695/6; W. Matthews, *Bristol Guide* (1794).
- ⁴¹³ *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Edward I*, 3, ed. G. O. Sayles, Selden Soc., 58 (1939), cxiv reprinted in *EHD*, III, 412-3.
- ⁴¹⁴ Walter Ouerse (I, 22, 23; II, 39); Walter Kanne (I, 156; II, 54); Hugh de Baudewyn and Nicholas le Seculer (I, 55; II, 9); John de Sweynestone (I, 37; II, 17-19); William son of Geoffrey of Hatfeld (I, 124; II, 30, 31); David of Burghill and his son John (I, 129; II, 37); Henry son of William de Solers (I, 44; II, 39); William Fremont of Fremington, Marden and Roger his son (I, 172; II, 64a); John ffremant of Stoke Lacy (I, 194; II, 69); John de Balun and his nephew John (I, 14; II, 52a, 16c).
- ⁴¹⁵ *PR*, 1256, 522; *EJ*, I, 257-8; Moor, *Knights*, II (1929), 220.
- ⁴¹⁶ *CR*, 1290, 109; Rigg (1902), liv-lxi. The 'Articles' are discussed by Roth (1949), 80-1, 273.
- ⁴¹⁷ T. H. Lloyd, *Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, supplement 6 (1973); J. H. Munro, 'Wool-Price Schedules and the Qualities of English Wools in the Later Middle Ages c1270-1499', *Textile History* (March, 1978); *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre*, III (Brussels, 1909), ed. G. Espinas & H. Pirenne, 234, no. 288.
- ⁴¹⁸ R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (2nd. ed., 1882), 230; T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (1977), 299; PRO C241/775; E159/37/8; 40/14; 53/16; 60/20.
- ⁴¹⁹ *ChR*, 1271, 162; *EJ*, I, 152; *PR*, 1286, 234.
- ⁴²⁰ Rokéah (1984), 133-4 quoting PRO E9/39/6.
- ⁴²¹ PRO.C219/1/18/28; *Parliamentary Writs*, ed. F. Palgrave I (1827), 170 & 189.
- ⁴²² *EJ*, IV, 70; *PR*, 1275, 169. For Ursell see Hillaby, 'Worcester Jewry' (1990), 111-2.
- ⁴²³ Moor, *Knights*, II (1929), 220; I (1929), 171. In one place reference is made to Butterley as in Salop.
- ⁴²⁴ Sanders (1960), 86-7; Moor, *Knights*, I (1929), 16, 47.
- ⁴²⁵ *PR*, 1266, 126; 1267, 84; 1269, 358, 429; 1271, 584; 1272, 670, 705; 1289, 321; *CR*, 1274, 108.

- ⁴²⁶ *CR*, 1282, 158.
- ⁴²⁷ T. & M. Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1982), 227; *Babylonian Talmud*, Yevamot 63a. For details of Jewish medieval marriage customs see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896), 186-210.
- ⁴²⁸ Abrahams (1896), 196-7.
- ⁴²⁹ *Register of Richard Swinfield*, transcribed & ed. W. W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc./Canterbury & York Soc., 1909), 120-2.
- ⁴³⁰ C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (2nd. ed., 1949), 77 n5. The bull is published in *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers and Papal Letters relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, I, ed. W. H. Bliss (PRO, 1893), 491 & *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 139-40.
- ⁴³¹ *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 94, 95 also 305, 90-1, 429-30, 485; PRO KB26/174. On the rivalry of the boroughs of Hereford and Leominster see J. Hillaby, 'Early Christian and Pre-Conquest Leominster: An Exploration of the Sources', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLV (1987), 563.
- ⁴³² For the Moniwords see p. 460 above.
- ⁴³³ *PR*, 1282, 15; *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, II, ed. D. Keene (1985), 76.
- ⁴³⁴ Hillaby (1984), 368, n40; Hillaby, 'Worcester Jewry' (1990), 83-4; *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XXII, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence, 1767 reprinted Graz, 1961), 1058.
- ⁴³⁵ Hillaby (1985), 246, n260; *Robert of Gloucester II* (1887), 741; *Flores Historiarum*, II, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 95 (1890), 479-80.
- ⁴³⁶ *Annales de Oseneia* (1869), 107-10; W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 266.
- ⁴³⁷ T. F. Tout in *Dictionary of National Biography: Acta Sanctorum: Octobris*, i, ed. J. Bolland (Paris, Rome, 1866), 474-5; *Register of Thomas Cantilupe*, trans. & ed. R. G. Griffiths (Cantilupe Soc./Canterbury & York Soc., 1906), 1xv-1xvi provides details of Cantilupe's itinerary.
- ⁴³⁸ *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 307.
- ⁴³⁹ *EJ*, II, 31, 90, 91, 203.
- ⁴⁴⁰ See p. 461 and n419 above; Johnson (1882), 230; V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (1967), 77-8; D. Stephenson, 'Colchester: A Smaller Medieval Jewry', *Essex Archaeol. & Hist. Jnl.*, 16 (1983-4), 51; Keene, II (1985), 74-8; Hillaby, 'Worcester Jewry' (1990), 81.
- ⁴⁴¹ *EJ*, I, 152; Keene, II (1985), 77-8.
- ⁴⁴² *CR*, 1290, 96; Rymer, *Foedera*, Iii (1816), 736. Richardson (1960), 228, n2 describes the secret instructions.
- ⁴⁴³ R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History* (Baltimore, 1973), 183 quoting *Les Olim ou Registres des Arrêts*, ed. A. Beugnot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1839-48), II, 311; I. Loeb, 'Le rôle des Juifs de Paris en 1296 et 1297', *Revue des Études juives*, 1 (1880), 61-70; *Le Livre de la Taille de Paris l'an 1296*, ed. K. Michaelsson, (Gothenburg, 1958), 264-7; J. Shatzmiller, *Recherches sur la Communauté Juive de Manosque au Moyen Age, 1241-1329* (Paris, 1973), 17 n3.
- ⁴⁴⁴ PRO JUST 1/303/63 & 65 quoted by Rokéah (1984), 130-1.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Hillaby, 'Worcester Jewry' (1990), 85.
- ⁴⁴⁶ B. L. Lansdowne MS 826 ff43-59; *Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio*, I (Record Commission, 1805), 75; Abrahams (1894), 159; A. Watkins, 'St. Giles' Chapel, Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1927), 102-7.
- ⁴⁴⁷ On the two differing concepts of community, one legal, the other cultural, see firstly F. Pollock & F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 1 (1898), 494-5, 564-7, 624-34, 678-85; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (1984) and for its application to the English Jewry Richardson (1960) and Rigg (1902). For the more powerful and ancient Jewish concept of community see S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1942); L. Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1963); J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community* (1938); Davis (1888, 1969); Abrahams (1896); B. Blumenkranz, *Histoire des Juifs en France* (Collectio Franco-Judaica, Toulouse, 1972), ch. 6 'The Jewish Community: A Microcosm'. A splendid study of the operation of such a Jewish community, at a later date, is to be found in J. S. Gerber, *Jewish Society in Fez, 1450-1700: Studies in Communal and Economic Life* (Leiden, 1980). On the communal buildings Metzger (1982).
- ⁴⁴⁸ J. Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1610); Johnson (1882), 100; Herefordshire County Record Office, Hereford City Muniments, (hereafter HCRO, HCM), Deed 2 July, 1742; Minute Book, 1743; Indenture C19 of 15-19 Maylord St & 1-3 Bell Passage.
- ⁴⁴⁹ On the topography of post-Conquest Hereford see J. Hillaby, 'The Norman New town of Hereford: Its Street Pattern and its European Context', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1983), 184-95.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *Ancient Deeds*, VI, C4833.
- ⁴⁵¹ Bannister (1917), 271 item 28; Bodleian MS Rawlinson B329; *ChR*, 1271, 162; *EJ*, I, 152; Johnson (1882), 56, 230-1.
- ⁴⁵² *IPM*, 1253, 62.
- ⁴⁵³ PRO E101/250/5 published by Abrahams (1894), 136-59.

⁴⁵⁴ *Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford Corporations, etc.* (Hist. Manuscripts Commission, 1892) (hereafter *Hereford MSS*), 295; *Rotulorum Originalium*, I (1805), 75; PRO CP40/122/96; PR, 1445, 362; HDCR, no 1162; T. Madox, *Firma Burgi* (1726), 12 nO, 13nQ.

⁴⁵⁵ *IPM*, 1267, 112.

⁴⁵⁶ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicanum*, II, ed. H. C. Hamilton, Eng. Hist. Soc. (1866, reprinted Vaduz 1964), 19.

⁴⁵⁷ M. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1964), 1-6, 14 surveys the evidence relating to 12th-century stone houses claimed to be of Jewish origin. For a discussion of the 'house over warehouse type' see C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton* (1973), 41-3.

⁴⁵⁸ M. Dothan, 'The Synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias' in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L. I. Levine (Jerusalem, 1981), 63-9. J. Naveh, 'Ancient Synagogue Inscriptions' in Levine (1981), 133-9 summarises the author's Hebrew work *On Stone and Mosaic: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Jerusalem, 1978). See also B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues* (Paris, 1967).

⁴⁵⁹ F. Reuter, *Warmaisa: 1000 Jahre Juden in Worms* (Worms, 1984), 18-19, n8 & 9.

⁴⁶⁰ F. Cantera Burgos, *Sinagogas Españolas, con especial estudio de la de Córdoba y la Toledana de el Tránsito* (Madrid, 1984), 21-4, 96-101; G. Nahon, 'L'épigraphie' in *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale*, ed. B. Blumenkranz (Toulouse, 1980), 102, 316-7 & fig 9; C. Roth, 'Las inscripciones historicas de la Sinagoga del Tránsito de Toledo', *Sefarad* 8 (1948), 1-22. For ha Levi see Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I (Philadelphia, 1961), 362-4, 448.

⁴⁶¹ PRO E9/4/5; *EJ*, I, 106.

⁴⁶² The valuation of the various synagogues at the expulsion is given in PRO E159/557/9 published by B. L. Abrahams in 'Condition of the Jews in England in 1290', *Trans. JHSE*, 2 (1896), 76-105 where the text was re-arranged in a more systematic order.

⁴⁶³ Davis (1888, 1969), nos 40-70; Johnson (1882), 100.

⁴⁶⁴ *Councils and Synods*, II, 1205-1265, ed F. M. Powicke & C. R. Cheney (1964), 120; *CR*, 1253, 312-3; 1272, 522.

⁴⁶⁵ W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (1967), 116, 120 & map 2(b)5, Central Area West; *CR*, 1236, 239, 271, 341; Keene, III (1985), 666-7 & fig 73; Lipman (1967), 123-4 & fig. 13; *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, 1, ed. S. R. Wigram, Oxford Historical Society, 28 (1895), nos 278-81; *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College*, ed. H. E. Salter, OHS, 64 (1913), 91-122 and map facing 122; H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, 1, ed. W. A. Pantin, OHS, NS 14 (1960), 230-1 and map SE 1; *CR*, 1266, 235; Davis (1888, 1969), nos 16, 116; *ChR*, 1280, 245; 1281, 253.

⁴⁶⁶ Stokes (1913), 18-22; Lipman (1967), 153-5; Richardson (1960), 123-32.

⁴⁶⁷ PRO E401/4; E401/6; E401/8; E9/2/4; *EJ*, I, 66; *CR*, 1236, 307; 1241, 353-5.

⁴⁶⁸ Rigg (1902), 60-1; *PR*, 1281, 434; PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 152, 158.

⁴⁶⁹ *CR*, 1241, 355.

⁴⁷⁰ PRO E9/4/6; *EJ*, I, 107; PRO E401/6/6; E401/8/4; E9/16/8; *EJ*, II, 145; Stokes (1913) & Richardson (1960); PRO E101/250/5; Abrahams (1894), 158.

⁴⁷¹ Statute 51 Henry III c6; *CR*, 1281, 176; HCRO, HCM, bailiffs' accounts (1287), abstract in *Hereford MSS* (1892), 294.

⁴⁷² On the quantity and quality of water required for the *mikveh* and the implications for its construction see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, XI (Jerusalem, 1971), 1534-44.

⁴⁷³ T. Noble & T. Gardiner, 'Brief History of Jacob's Well', *Bristol Templar* (Spring, 1989), 8-10.

⁴⁷⁴ A. Watkins, 'Hereford Place-Names and Sites', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1930), 122; Jakeman & Carver, *Directory and Gazetteer of Herefordshire* (1890), advertisement on outer cover.

⁴⁷⁵ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs RS 49 (1867), I, 182.

⁴⁷⁶ On the medieval cemetery S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure*, II (Philadelphia, 1942), 146 *et seq.*; M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Pre-Expulsion Cemetery of the Jews in London', *Trans. JHSE*, XX (1959-61), 145-59 discusses the other English cemeteries. The Bristol deed is published in *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 74 (1955), 184.

⁴⁷⁷ Medieval cemeteries and tombstone inscriptions of Germany are discussed in detail by A. Kober, 'Jewish Monuments of the Middle Ages', *Proceedings American Academy for Jewish Research*, 14 (1944), 149-220; 15 (1945), 1-91; those of France by G. Nahon, 'Les cimetières' and 'L'épigraphies' in Blumenkranz (Toulouse, 1980), 73-132.

⁴⁷⁸ *CR*, 1231, 500; PRO E159/559/9; A. J. Collins, 'The Northampton Jewry and its Cemetery in the 13th Century', *Trans. JHSE*, 15 (1939-45), 151-64; Adler (1939), 165-7; D. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (1988), 181; A. Kober (1944), 187; (1945), 14-15.

⁴⁷⁹ J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, I (1804), 429; *PR*, 1265, 427; Watkins (1927), 102-7.

⁴⁸⁰ PRO E159/557/9; B. Abrahams (1896), 102, 98; Honeybourne (1959-61), 146.

⁴⁸¹ A. Kober (1945), 67-71.

Appendix I: Composite list of bonds in
A Hereford Chest, December 1275
B Hereford Old Chest, October 1276

Name	C	Place	Loan		In kind	Total	
			£	s d		£	s d
1 B		Henry son of Henry de Penebr' (ugge)					
2 AB		William de Shalle	6	13 4	3t peas	60	0 0
3 AB		Solle	6	13 4	1s wheat		
4a AB		(Showle Court, Yarkhill)	3	6 8	2 geese		
5a AB			4	8 10	2s wheat		
6 AB			13	6 8			
7 B			13	6 8			
8 B			8	0 0	4s corn		
9a B			2	13 4		58	8 10
10 AB		William Mael	5	0 0			
11 AB			2	13 4			
12 B			8	0 0			
13 B			40	0 0		55	13 4
14 AB		John de Balun			robe & hood	50	0 0
15 AB		John son of Richard Rumel	45	0 0	2s corn		
16 AB		John son of Richard Daniel	13	6 8			
17 AB			5	0 0			
18 B		(Daniel)	20	0 0		38	6 8
19 AB		Adam son of John of Wilton	20	0 0			
20 AB			6	13 4			
21 AB			9	12 8		36	6 0
22 AB		Walter Ouerse	15	4 0	2s wheat		
23 AB			17	6 8	2s wheat	32	10 8
24 AB		John son of Walter of Mawardyn	20	0 0	½s wheat		
25 B		of Mawardyn	12	0 0		32	0 0
26 AB		Robert de Weston of the forest	4	0 0	1s wheat		
27 AB		(Yartleton?)	2	6 8			
28 AB			4	0 0			
29 B			6	13 4			
30 B			10	0 0	1c hay	27	0 0
31 A		Richard son of Hugh de Kinardes'	25	6 8	1½s wheat		
32 B			5	6 8		30	13 4
33 B		Richard Pauncefot				30	0 0
34 AB		Roger de Calwehull (Callowhill)	6	13 4			
35 B		Kallwehull	2	10 0			
36 B		Calwehull	18	6 8		27	10 0
37 AB		John Sweynest' (Swanston, Luntley)			1s wheat	20	0 0
38 B		William de Bles, knight				20	0 0
39 B		Roger Yue				18	13 4
40 AB		John son of Robert of Weston' of the forest	8	0 0			
41 B			9	6 8		17	6 8
42 B		Robert son of Robert of Weston	10	0 0			
43 B			6	13 4		16	13 4
44 AB		Henry son of William de Solers			2s wheat	14	13 4
45 AB		Richard son of Richard de Hurtestle	6	13 4	6s wheat		
46 B		Hurtes' (juvenis)	7	15 4		14	8 8
47 B		William Mauduit				11	6 8
48 B		Hugh Pantif				11	0 0
49 B		Mael	6	0 0			
50 B			5	0 0		11	0 0
51 B		William de Penbrugge	5	0 0			
52 B			5	6 8		10	6 8
53 A		Hugh Baudewyn	3	6 8			
54 B			2	13 4			
55a B			4	6 8	½s corn	10	6 8

56	AB	Reginald Rossel son of Henry Rossel	a	Hereford		10	0	0
57	B	Adam of Brumfeld	e		5 6 8			
58	B		e		2 13 4			
59	B		e		2 0 0	10	0	0
60	B	John Lannare	i	Satenton	3 13 4			
61	B		p	Sutinton	6 0 0	9	13	4
62	B	Richard de Hurtesl', knight	a		4 0 0			
63	B		a		5 0 0	1s corn	9	0 0
64	B	John of Northwis'	h			8 6 8		
65	B	Roger Pychard	b	Staunton		8 0 0		
66	B	William son of John de la Mere	b	Staunton'		8 0 0		
						1/2s corn		
						2 geese		
67	B	John de Sully	d	Newenham		8 0 0		
68	B	John de Mewes	k			8 0 0		
69	AB	John le Aumblur, chaplain	a	Hanle	4 8 0			
4b	AB		a	Hanl'	3 6 8	2 geese	7	14 8
70	AB	Adam Botiller Pauncevot	a		13 4			
71	B	Botyller	m		3 0 0			
72	B		m		4 0 0	7	13	4
73	AB	Alex le Mareschal	a	Lincestre	1 13 4			
74	B	Alex'	g	Lyncestr'	5 6 8	7	0	0
75	B	Richard son of Philip of Brumfeld	c		2 13 4			
76	B		m		2 13 4			
77	B	of Brumfelde	u		1 13 4	7	0	0
78	AB	William son of John le Brun	a	Tatynton	3 6 8	1/2s wheat		
79	B		o	Tatintune	3 6 8	6	13	4
80	AB	Richard son of Roger le Mercer	a			6 13 4		
81	AB	Hugh son of William de Bles	c		3 6 8			
82	B		t		3 6 8	6	13	4
5b	AB	Philip de la Hull'	a		4 8 11	2s wheat		
83	B	Hulle	a	Weston	2 0 0	6	8	11
84	AB	Roger de la Morc	a	Castelfrome	1 13 4			
5c	AB		a	ffrome Castelli	4 8 11	2s wheat	6	2 3
85	B	Thomas son of William of Bolyngheop'	i	Kylpek	2 13 4			
86	B		w		3 6 8	6	0	0
87	B	David of Ekeleah	c	Eccles	1 0 0			
88	B	Espel	c	Norton Canon?	2 19 4			
89a	B	Heckel	c		1 0 0	1t corn		
90a	B	Ockel	m		1 0 0	5	19	4
91	B	Thomas of Wyk	a	Garway		5 6 8		
92	AB	William of Rokeleye	a	Staunton'	2 13 4			
93	B	(the smith)	f		2 13 4	5	6	8
89b	B	Robert son of Ralph of Nortune	c	Norton Canon?	1 0 0	1t corn		
90b	B		m		1 0 0			
94	B		c		3 6 8	1s corn	5	6 8
95	B	William of Pencumbe Mill	i	Pencombe	2 0 0			
96	B	Pencombe Mill	i		3 6 8	5	6	8
97	AB	Robert de Mucegros	a	ffroma Episcopi	15 0			
98	AB		a		3 0 0			
99	B		s	Froma	1 6 8	5	1	8
100	A	William le ffulur	a	Lom(inster)		5 0 0		
101a	AB	Walter of Mainestone	a		1 0 0			
102	AB	le Blake de Mainest'	h		1 10 0			
103	B	le Neyr of Mainstr'	a		2 10 0	5	0	0
104	B	Roger of Burton	d			5 0 0		
105	B	William de Hutes	f			5 0 0		
106	B	Robert son of Thomas	g	Hentonne, Glos		5 0 0		
107	B	Robert of Stottune	n			5 0 0		
108	AB	William of Trumpenton'	a		2 13 4			
109	B	Trumpynton'	a		2 0 0	4	13	4

55b	B	Nicholas son of Nicholas le Seculer	a	Bast'	4 6 8	1/2s corn		
110a	AB	John Catche	a	Henton	1 13 4			
111a	B	Cache	a		2 13 4		4	6 8
110b	AB	Roger Peytevyv	a	Merston	1 13 4			
111b	B		a		2 13 4		4	6 8
112	B	Robert Fraunceys	d	Eton	16 0			
113	B		o	Etone	1 0 0	1t corn		
114	B		o		1 10 0			
115a	B		o		15 0		4	1 0
116	AB	Bartholomew del Park' Marescall	a			1/2s wheat		
						4 geese	4	0 0
117	A	Roger of Eglynton' (Eggleton)	a			1/2s wheat	4	0 0
118a	AB	John of Whyteneve	a			1/2s wheat	4	0 0
118b	AB	Richard Duners	a	Chenest'		1/2s wheat	4	0 0
119	AB	Hugh son of Nicholas Deverewes	a	Chenest'			4	0 0
120	A	William Torel	a	Bruneshop'			4	0 0
121	AB	Nicholas son of Nicholas de Everewes	a		2 0 0			
122	B		b		2 0 0		4	0 0
123	B	William son of Geoffrey of Hatfend	b				4	0 0
124	B	Richard Gernun	c	Sutintone	2 0 0	2t corn		
125a	B		c	Sutintune	1 0 0			
126a	B		c		1 0 0		4	0 0
127	B	Alfred del Brok	n	Brommesberghe			4	0 0
128	AB	David of Burghull	a			1s wheat	3	6 8
129	A	Richard ffraunceys	a	Brokhampton'			3	6 8
130	A	Simon son of Hugh of Bruges	a				3	6 8
131	B	John of Wyk	b	Garewy			3	6 8
132	B	Walter of Stretton, clerk	q				3	6 8
133	B	Richard of Borleghe	v				3	6 8
134	AB	Robert de Chaundos	a	Strongeford			3	0 0
135	AB	Roger of Olreton'	a	Bodenham			3	0 0
136a	AB	John son of Roger Peytevyv	a	Merston			3	0 0
136b	AB	Roger (Peytevyv) his brother	a				3	0 0
137	B	William Manlagh	a	Straddel	1 0 0			
138	B	Manlage	h		2 0 0		3	0 0
139	AB	Henry ythel	a	Clehungr'			2	13 4
140	AB	David Morewych	a		1 6 8			
141	AB		a	Dewewechirch'	1 6 8		2	13 4
142	A	John Haffe	a	Hereford			2	13 4
143a	AB	Richard de la ffield'	a	Bayesham			2	13 4
143b	AB	Ralph of the Hasel	a				2	13 4
144	B	Aubrey del Park	a			2t corn	2	13 4
9b	B	Ralph of Moneslegh	a				2	13 4
9c	B	Roger of Senewell	a	Solle			2	13 4
145	B	Symon son of William de Solers	a	Dorent'			2	13 4
146	B	Peter son of Hugh le New	a	Capel			2	13 4
147	B	William de la Mere	a				2	13 4
148	B	William Bade of Hintune	c	Petschirche			2	13 4
149	B	Roger son of Gilbert Freman	d				2	13 4
150	B	Peter the Vicar	f	Aylmeton			2	13 4
151	B	Hugh son of Alan	f	Staunton			2	13 4
152	B	William of Aventure	i	Staunton			2	13 4
153	B	Ralph de Frene	y	Cowern			2	13 4
154	A	John of Overton	a	Brumpton'			2	10 0
155	AB	Walter Kanne	a	Capel			2	10 0
156	A	Roger Tokolf	a	Hereford			2	10 0
157a	B	William de Cancell	g				2	10 0
157b	B	William Paulyn	g				2	10 0
158	B	William son of William of Waseburne	g				2	8 0

159	AB	Thomas Parys	a	Thethene	1 6 8		
160	B	Paris	e	Theanne	1 0 0	2 6 8	
161a	B	John Rigge	a	Sutinton	1 6 8		
125b	B		c		1 0 0	2 6 8	
162a	B	William Morel	k	Dorsint'		2 4 6	
162b	B	William son of Hugh	k	Dorstone		2 4 5	
162c	B	John of Crassewell	k			2 4 5	
163	AB	Walter of Erdeshop'	a		1 10 0	½s wheat	
164a	B	Herdeshop'	a		13 4	2 3 4	
165	B	Adam son of William Deme	i	Wodeyate	1 10 0		
166a	B		i		12 0	2 2 0	
167	B	David son of Richard of Biresestr'	a			4t corn	2 0 0
168	AB	William a Dames	a			2 0 0	
169	AB	John of Orlowe	a			2 0 0	
170	AB	Nicholas son of Adam of Shiptone	a			2 0 0	
171	A	John of Horsnede (Horsenett, Grendon B.)	a			2 0 0	
172	AB	William ffreman	b	Mawardyn		2 0 0	
173	B	Richard son of Roger of Clehanger	a			2 0 0	
174	B	Walter de la Pirie	c	Sutinton		3t corn	2 0 0
175	B	Roger le Lumyner	d	Kyngeston		2 0 0	
176	B	Aukin of Hulhamton	k	Oele Pychard		2 0	
177	B	John de la Heth'	q	Lastres		2 0 0	
178	B	Walter of Neubur'	x	Brimford		2 0 0	
179	B	John Byket	z	Hereford		2 0 0	
180	B	Robert Blundel, knight	a	Co. Salop		2 0 0	
181	B	John de la Hope	b	Bastno		2 0 0	
182	B	John Patrick	c	Peetsch		2 0 0?	
183a	AB	Walter son of Reyner	a	Straddel	13 4		
184a	AB		a		1 0 0	½ goose	1 13 4
110c	AB	William son of Hugh of Merston	a				1 13 4
185	B	Roger of Vinelegh	a				1 13 4
186	B	Richard de Chaundres	a	Wylmeston			1 10 0
187	B	William the clerk	g	Lincestr'			1 10 0
188a	B	John le Verreor	a			2 geese	1 7 0
188b	B	William de la Burcote	a			2 geese	1 7 0
189a	AB	Arnald of Grimescote	a	Markel'			1 6 8
189b	AB	John le Carter	a	Markel'			1 6 8
189c	AB	William Gerard	a	Markel'			1 6 8
190	AB	Geoffrey of Brumfeld'	a				1 6 8
191	AB	Roger de Waleys	a	Dorsinton'			1 6 8
192	AB	Nicholas Wace	a	de la fferne			1 6 8
193	AB	Walter of Brokehampton'	a				1 6 8
194	AB	John ffreman	a	Stoke Lacy			1 6 8
195	B	John son of Miles of Wormebrig'	a				1 6 8
161b	B	Henry of Sutinton	a				1 6 8
196	B	Hugh son of Roger of Hyneton'	a	Petreschyrch			1 6 8
197	B	Roger Ken	b	Mundrefend			1 6 8
198	B	Nich' of Trillec	d				1 6 8
199a	B	Adam Phelipp	d	Magna Cowern'			1 6 8
199b	B	Robert of Hereford	d	Magna Cowern'			1 6 8
200	B	Robert of Walssenede	f				1 6 8
201	B	Robert Pedayn	m	Snodehull			1 6 8
202	B	Robert le Saler	t	Byscopesirete			1 6 8
203a	B	William son of Odo	u				1 6 8
203b	B	Richard de la Mere, tailor	u				1 6 8
204	B	Symon Godelak	x	Wolinnchop'			1 5 0
205	B	Robert son of Nich' de Fourches	p				1 4 0
206a	AB	Stephen faber	a	atte Wodeyate			1 0 0
206b	AB	Richard fforestarius	a	Monesl'			1 0 0
184b	AB	Richard of Petrescherch'	a			½ goose	1 0 0

101b	AB	Robert de la Birges	a				1 0 0
126b	B	John Gernun	c	Sutintune			1 0 0
207	B	Henry le Mound	o	Esebach			1 0 0
208	B	Henry le Rons'	d	Kylpek			1 0 0
115b	B	Henry Coppe	o	Etone			15 0
183b	AB	Roger son of John of Wirgeb'	a				13 4
164b	B	Walter le Plain	a	Morant'			13 4
209	B	Henry son of Ythel	d	Clehang'			13 4
210	B	William son of Philip of Wordebyr'	e	Woodbury, Moccas?			13 4
211a	B	John le Macun	l	Deweswall			13 4
211b	B	Margery daughter of Stephen	l	Deweswall			13 4
212a	B	Walter Chapel	i				13 4
212b	B	Robert Semen	i				13 4
213	B	John de la Legh	q	Burl'			13 4
214	B	Philip of Ocele	z				13 4
166b	B	Reginald de Furno	i	Evesbach			12 0
215a	AB	Roger le Vyngnur	a	Leden'			10 0
215b	AB	William de la Pole	a	Pykesl'			10 0
216a	B	John le Tighel	l	Wormel'			10 0
216b	B	Margery	l	Wormel'			10 0

Total: £1172 12 0

Bonds unique to December 1275 list (A) £58 0 0

Bonds in Old Chest (AB and B) £1114 12 0

C See Table 5 for letter codes used to identify Jewish creditors

PRO E101/250/5

Appendix II: Clients of the Hereford Jewry
in the New Chest, 1283-90

Debtor	C	Place	Cash	Kind	Total Value
1		Nich' le Archer son and heir of Nicholas le Archer, lord		200	
2	b	Tatnton		10w	
3	b	Co. Hereford		6w	
4	e			1w	234 13 4
5	if/g	Thomas son of John of Upton	60 0 0		60 0 0
6	a	John of Caple son and heir of Walter, lord	45 0 0		45 0 0
7	a	Robert Boter son and heir of William Boter	9 marks		
8	c	Buter	2 0 0		
9	c		10 marks		
10	c		11 marks		
11	c		10 marks		
12	c		8 marks		
13	c		8 marks		39 6 8
14	c	John of Mawardyn	45 marks	28+x	39 6 8
15	b	Henry de Hereford, knight	40 marks		
16a	b			13½	31 2 3
17a	a	John of Sweyneston (Luntley)		33½	
18a	a		11½ marks	10	
19a	d			15	27 4 6

17b	Robert Beausire	a		33%			
18b		a	11½ marks	10			
19b		d		15	27	4	6
20a	Isabel formerly wife of Simon of Homma	a	Clehangr'	64	21	6	8
20b	Richard son and heir of Simon (of Homme)	a		64	21	6	8
21	Hugh son of Reginald Moniword	e	Hereford	60	20	0	0
22	Thomas of Strongefird	i	Penbrugg	60	20	0	0
23	Roger son and heir of Adam Tocey	h	Lulleham	30			
24		j	Lilham	30	20	0	0
16b	William de Baysham, clerk	b		13%			
25	Baysam	b		20 marks	17	15	7
18c	Robert Ouerse	a		11½ marks	10		
19c	Ourse	d			15	16	2 2
26a	Richard of Crowenhull	a			12		
27a		a	Sutton	1 12 6			
28a		b		13%			
29a		h		15	15	1	5
30	William de Hatfend	c	Ledebyr	12			
31		c	Ledebyr	30	14	0	0
26b	Stephen le Paum'	a	Sutton	12			
28b		b		13%			
29b	Paumer	h		15	13	8	11
32	Richard son of John de Morton	d		4 marks			
33		d		10 0 0	12	13	4
34a	Philip son of John Storel	b	Co Hereford	30			
35		d	Penbrugg'	1 12 0			
17c	Walter Ouersee	a		33%	11	2	2
36	Roger de Butterley, knight	c		16 marks	10	13	4
37	John son of David of Burghull	a		16 marks	10	13	4
38	Walter son of Philip le Marescall	d	Leomenstr'	10 0 0	10	0	0
39	Henry de Solers, lord of Dorsinton	b		30	10	0	0
40	William de la More	a	Staundon	30	10	0	0
41j	Philip of Wurmle son of Hugh of Wurmle	c/h	Wormhill, Maddel	30	10	0	0
34b	Richard son of Adam David	b	Steventon, Salop	30	10	0	0
42a	Walter Kanne, clerk	a	Fahlee	20			
43	Canoe	o	ffaliley	10	10	0	0
44	William le Waleys son of John le Waleys of Great Brompton	k	StamKeynam	10 0 0	10	0	0
45a	Hugh Godard	b		6			
46		b		2 3 4(t)			
47a		c		15	9	3	4
48	Nich' of Sparweton (Sparrington)	a	Pencumb	20			
49a		a		6%	8	17	10
50a	Andrew de Chaundos	a		25	8	6	8
50b	Walter de Monem' son of Roger de Monem	a		25	8	6	8
51	Walter Hakelutel son and heir of Walter Hakelutel, lord	c		12 marks	8	0	0
52a	John son of Walter de Balun	a		10			
16c		b		13%	7	15	6
53	Miles Pichard son and heir of Roger Pichard, lord of	a	Staundon	10			
54		c		4 0 0	7	6	8
55	Hugh de Patynton	c	(Shropshire)	2 0 0			
56		c		5 0 0	7	0	0
57	John Wyberd son and heir of William Wyberd	e		20	6	13	4
58	William de la Forde	e	Heytherley	20	6	13	4
42b	Roger de Capele	a	Upton	20	6	13	4
52b	Stephen Cocus	a	Markeleg	10			
59		c	Magna Markeley	10	6	13	4
27b	Walter de Frene	a	Sutton	1 12 6			
28c		b		13%	6	1	4
26c	William son of John the Clerk	a	Sutton	12			

27c		a		1 12 6			5 12 6
60	William Owen	l	Lodelawe	8 marks			5 6 8
47b	Hugh Hakuétel	c	Eton		15		5 0 0
61	Henry of Gloucester	m	Hue Capel	5 0 0			5 0 0
19d	John Ourse	d			15		5 0 0
62	Roger le Waleys	a	Dorsynton	6 marks	2		4 13 4
63a	William of Westinton	a			13%		4 8 11
63b	William, bailiff of Pnytynton (Pridleton, Humber)	a			13%		4 8 11
63c	John of Boclonde	a	Buckland		13%		4 8 10
64	Roger de Hereford son and heir of Richard de Hereford, formerly clerk of the exchequer	c		6 marks			4 0 0
26d	Stephen Trewelone	a			12		4 0 0
26e	William de Gardini	a			12		4 0 0
65	Adam son of John de Wilton	d	Dymok		10		3 6 8
66	William Pele	i	Codeleye	5 marks			3 6 8
67a	Roger son of William Fremon	a	Fremanton		10		3 6 8
67b	Nich' of Schypton	a			10		3 6 8
67c	Andrew son of Ivo of Marden	a			10		3 6 8
68	John Caldecote	d	HammeLacy	3 0 0			3 0 0
69a	Richard son of Adam, lord of	e	Elmerug'	2 10 0			2 10 0
69b	John Warde	c		2 10 0			2 10 0
70a	Stephen of Bodenham, clerk	n			7½		2 10 0
70b	Nicholas de la Ferne, tailor	n			7½		2 10 0
49b	Laurence de Hounaldewode	a			6%		2 4 5
49c	Wrenac de Markeley	a			6%		2 4 5
45b	Stephen of Neweton	b			6		2 0 0
71a	Hugh Baudewyn	a	Buford	2½ marks	½		1 16 8
71b	Nich' son of Nich' le Seculer	a		2½ marks	½		1 16 8
72	John Fremon	a	Stoke Lacy	1 0 0	2		1 13 4
27d	John de la Lone	a		1 12 6			1 12 6
27e	Robert Jurdan	a		1 12 6			1 12 6
27f	William Balle	a		1 12 6			1 12 6
27g	John Hereberd	a		1 12 6			1 12 6
27h	Walter son of Hugh	a		1 12 6			1 12 6
73	Philip son of Simon of Maddesdon	e		1 10 0(t)			1 10 0
74	Roger son of Roger of Lugone	c		2 marks			1 6 8
75	Brian son of Brontun'	b	(Brampton)	1 4 0	1c		1 4 0
76	<i>Nomen Christiani ignoratur</i>	b		10 0(t)			10 0
				Total:			£1017 6 0

C See Table 6 for letter codes used to identify Jewish creditors

c cloak; t tally; w sacks of wool; x 24 cheeses and 4 waggon loads of hay

Also in chest

Peter de Grenham, knight Devonshire 8w 53 6 8

PRO E101/250/5

Traders, Turncoats and Tearaways, The Ace Family of Medieval Ludlow

By M. A. FARADAY

Few Ludlow families are reasonably well-documented for as much as a century; this may be due to their rapid rise and fall as much as to the paucity of records. To appear in the records for a century required four generations of a family to have been prominent in the town; one of the few was the Ace family who lived there from the late 13th century to the late 14th century. The careers of some members of this family provide an interesting insight into provincial middle-class life at the time.

There is no evidence that the Aces were in Ludlow before about 1270, although, since shortly after that time there were clearly several of the name dwelling there, they must have arrived not later than the middle of the century, perhaps only one household, that of a common ancestor.

Colin Platt, in his *Medieval Southampton*, has shown that an Ace family was certainly there as early as 1250.¹ Although he suggests neither that the Southampton Aces came from Ludlow nor that they came to Ludlow, there were connexions between one of the Ludlow Aces and Southampton in the 1320s.² Otherwise nothing is known of the origins of the Ludlow Aces, except that the surname was probably derived from the personal name Azo or Adzo and that its alternative spellings of *As*, *Asce*, *Aas*, *Ahs* and *Ase* demonstrate that it was pronounced 'Ahss'.

It was not until the late 13th century that official and private records began to increase in numbers and, more importantly, to be kept as archives. The absence of earlier references to the Aces in Ludlow might be put down to the lack of surviving records, but the evidence from deeds of title and rentals suggests that the family's acquisitions of property in Ludlow did not take place on a significant scale until the last part of the century. This is of course far from proven.

The first property-owner was Richard Ace, whose descendants were to be prominent in the town for some decades, but there were other contemporary Aces there. Both Richard and Thomas Ace were present during Richard Momele's time as bailiff of the town - around the year 1272.³

Partly because the Aces had common first names, it is impossible to reconstruct Richard's relationships with his brothers and cousins, although it is reasonable to assume that the other Aces were his close kin. About 1272, although by no means a certain date, William and Richard, the sons of Richard Ace, got into a brawl with the abbot of Wigmore's hayward and William was killed - the first case of homicide affecting the Aces. Their melodramatic entry onto the scene was to be characteristic of their future way of life, as we shall see. We can only guess whether Richard the property-owner discussed above was the father or the brother of the dead William.³

Richard Ace was successfully sued in 1275 by Nicholas Orm for disseisin of a messuage in Ludlow.⁴ In 1280 a Richard Ace, along with Henry Ace, was prosecuted by John Butterleye

for theft and assault.⁵ In 1279 Thomas Ace brought a suit of *mort d'ancestor*, that is, a claim that he had been wrongfully deprived of his inheritance, probably from his father, against Denise, John and Hugh Ace. We may infer that Thomas's father was a property-owner in the town, but we do not know if Thomas was the brother of Richard. We can assume that Denise was Thomas's mother and John and Hugh his brothers.⁶

In 1285 Richard Ace and his brother William acted as sureties for Philip Finsnel in a legal action, so they were of sufficient substance to be accepted as such by the court.⁷ In 1287 a suit of *mort d'ancestor* was brought against William, the son of Thomas Ace and Isabel, by John Milisent, who claimed to be the heir of his brother, William, and his nephew, Richard; a jury found that William Milisent had left the tenement to his wife with remainder to Thomas Ace and his wife, Isabel, implying a marriage-settlement, Isabel therefore being William Milisent's daughter. *Mort d'ancestor* did not run in Ludlow and William Ace therefore won.⁸ John Milisent plainly did not leave things at that end, in 1295, brought an action for trespass against Thomas Ace, Isabel, William their son and also Richard Ace. Yet again we can see an unstated but, doubtless, real relationship between a Thomas and a Richard.⁹

Richard Ace was, by 1291, one of the leading citizens of the town; in that year he was appointed to an inquisition to examine Henry Pigyn's proposed transfer of property to the church. Two years later he acted as surety for Maud de Caunville.¹⁰ In 1292 there was an echo of the 1275 Orm case when Richard's daughter, Alice, sued William Ledewych, the successor of Orm, and another Richard Ace for what may have been the same property; she won her case and recovered damages. She had property in the Narrow Lane (now called Upper Raven Lane) and in Dinham but we do not know which was involved in these actions.¹¹

That Alice had property by inheritance seems odd when we know that Richard Ace had at least one son, John, who also inherited his property. It was not usual for daughters to inherit unless there were no sons; she may have had a life-interest in part of her father's estate; she may even have been his daughter by a different marriage and came by her inheritance in fulfilment of a marriage-settlement. By 1336 the Narrow Lane tenements may have been in the hands of John, son of Thomas Ace, and William Ace, who could respectively have been her nephew and great-nephew.

In 1292 John and Thomas Ace were prosecuted, with several other people, for selling cloth against the assize. This is the first evidence we have for the family being engaged in the cloth-trade, like most of the town's leading citizens.¹²

The 14th century opened with William, son of Hugh Ace, killing Lawrence, the son of Richard Harpour, in Ludlow.¹³ There is nothing more known about William, but he was not the last William Ace to kill a member of the Harpour family; it happened again in 1360.¹⁴ Hugh Ace, a merchant, had a second son, John, who was granted a royal protection in 1324 for reasons unknown.¹⁵

Richard Ace, the man of property, was certainly dead by 1312, perhaps some years before, and thereafter the leading member of the family in Ludlow was his son, John. He owned tenements in Brand Lane, Galdeford, High Street and Corve Street, some by inheritance, some by purchase. He may well have been born about 1260, to judge by the legal actions already referred to, and by his appearance over a long period as a witness to deeds. He died in 1321 and his will shows him to have been a man of some means, well-connected in

Ludlow (particularly to the Orletone and Routone families), conventionally pious - to judge by his gifts to the church - and considerate of the needs of his wife, sons and daughters.¹⁶

Just before this, a Brother John Ace, an Austin canon of Wigmore, was sent from Wigmore to St. Augustine's, Bristol, for penitential discipline after misconduct at Wigmore. It is likely that he was one of the same family, but it is hard to determine whose son he was. As this happened in 1319, it is unlikely that he was the son of the John Ace who died in 1321 (who did not mention him in his will).¹⁷ Brother John Ace was the first known to have been a cleric or a religious. The other John did have a son, Nicholas, who was a clergyman, but nothing more is known about him. There were to be two others in the next generation. It was common in well-off families for younger sons to be put into the Church for reasons of ambition or, occasionally, piety.

The eldest son of John Ace was Thomas, perhaps the most interesting member of the family, about whom rather more is known and even more supposed. From the pattern of references to him in the sources we conclude that he was born about 1280. He comes to notice in 1308 (a year after Roger Mortimer of Wigmore married Joan de Genevile, heiress to half of Ludlow) when he was appointed by Walter Thornbury and Walter Shekenhurst, who were off with Mortimer to Ireland, to act as their attorney in England while they were away. In 1307 a Thomas As was a juror in Kilmanagh, Ireland, who may have been the same man.¹⁸ In the next year there is confirmation that he was in Roger Mortimer's service, when Mortimer charged Roger Foliot and William Sparchford, the former, at least, a Ludlow man, with assaulting Thomas Ace, his clerk, at Church Stretton and stealing from him Mortimer's charters and deeds.¹⁹ In 1310 Thomas was appointed attorney in England for William Clebury and William Atfretone, both Ludlow men, who were off to Ireland with Mortimer.²⁰ For some years we hear little of him, except that, between 1317 and 1320, he and his son, John, were twice sued by Roger Wyggeley for debt and possession of property.²¹

There was a curious episode in 1320 involving the murder of Henry Salt at Stafford for using insulting language. His killers, Stephen and Roger Swynnerton, respectively parson and lord of Swynnerton, were accompanied by Thomas Ace. There is no proof that this was Thomas Ace of Ludlow, but no other possibility has come to light.²² What, therefore, was Thomas Ace doing there? There were slight connexions with Newport nearby; his brother, William, is known to have had trading connexions there. Perhaps of significance is the fact that Thomas's master, Roger Mortimer, was an ally of Nicholas Audley, lord of Newport, and was later to obtain custody of the Audley heir and his estates. Thomas Ace may have been there looking after Mortimer interests.

At about this time he was present when Mortimer attacked the FitzAlan castle at Clun, which may have been the start of the feud between Mortimer and Arundel which indirectly led to the deaths of both those magnates. This was later held against Ace, as was his accompanying Mortimer on the ineffective expedition to Kingston against Edward II, which ended in Mortimer's surrender. In 1324 Ace's conduct was enquired into and his lands in Ludlow were forfeited.²³ By this time Thomas Ace was deeply involved in the politics of his day, an involvement which offered great opportunities and high risks.

The next period seems to have been a critical one in his career. Some while before 18 June 1326, he was granted by royal commission the farm (or lease) of the manor of Tilsop, in

Burford, which had come into the king's hands in the upheavals.²⁴ Thomas Ace had therefore returned to favour while his old master, Roger Mortimer, was still in exile and plotting in France. It is true that later Ace was required to give up Tilsop, not so much as a reflexion on his loyalty, as a consequence of the return to royal favour of the chief lord of Tilsop, Richard Talbot of Richard's Castle, or at least as a gesture towards the needs of Agnes, the wife of the former lord of Tilsop. All this gives a hint that Thomas Ace had found a new patron.

Had he changed sides? If so, he had not burned his bridges for, after Mortimer's return to power, there is evidence that he regarded Thomas Ace as his 'valett', his servant, at the time he was seeking the return of the Audley inheritance in early February 1327.²⁵

We do not know who was Ace's patron during Mortimer's exile, but in 1328 a Thomas Ace, king's yeoman, was granted the town of Nevyn in north Wales for life at the request of Edmund, earl of Kent. It seems likely that this was indeed Thomas Ace of Ludlow. At around this time - and the grant of Nevyn was connected - he was appointed sheriff of Caernarvonshire. Various dates are given for this, Easter 1327, 17 September 1329, among them. It was not without opposition, because he was displaced for a year in 1331-2. There were two more grants and a final one in 1335, this time promising that he should not hereafter be disturbed in the office. Nothing was so uncertain as a royal promise.²⁶

If Kent were the new patron, Ace survived his fall and execution in 1329, although it is possible that some of the trouble Ace experienced over his tenure of the shrievalty may have been connected. In 1328 he was appointed to enquire into the value of the estates of the earl of Arundel and the Despencers, a commission which would have been quite compatible with reconciliation with Mortimer, since these had been his long-standing enemies.²⁷ Even so, Ace survived Mortimer's second and final fall in 1330 and, along with William Brome, was given a wide commission to seize on behalf of the king all Mortimer's castles and estates in south Wales and the Marches. It was to these two that Mortimer's widow, Joan, had to look in 1331 for restitution of part of her own inheritance for her maintenance. This general responsibility seems to have been particularised into individual offices, for Ace was keeper of Cleobury, a Mortimer estate, in 1332, and in 1333 he had the task of overseeing the maintenance and repair of Cleobury and the castle at Wigmore.²⁸

This was the high-point of Ace's public career. In 1337 he was in dispute with the king's government 'for certain causes set for a process between the king and Thomas Ace in Chancery' and while this was in train he was replaced in the office of sheriff by Stephen Pulstone. This was a fall from grace whose cause is unknown.²⁹

If it is correct to identify Thomas Ace, the official, with Thomas Ace, the Ludlow property-owner, and it seems a reasonable hypothesis, these events do not seem to have quelled him in his private concerns. As early as 1323 he had fallen out with his younger brother, William, suing him in the Common Pleas for large sums. There were at least five Common Pleas actions between them. In 1335 he and his wife, Agnes, sued Sir Walter Huggefurd over property and in 1338 the prior of St. Guthlac's, Hereford, sued him. In 1339 he sued a good many people in west-central Shropshire for trespass (*transgressiones* - not merely straying off the footpath but serious offences and infringements of rights).³⁰ It was however in 1339 that there took place the event whose consequences rumbled on for the rest of his life; this was the murder at the Sheet of Richard Goldsmith, a leading Ludlow burgess, of which Thomas Ace and his son, John, along with Simon Bigin of Whitton, were accused by Richard's wife, Eva.³¹

At first Thomas and John failed to come to court and were outlawed. When they did attend they were lodged in the Marshalsea prison, where they seemed to have remained for some years until in 1353 they both escaped. This was the last time Thomas Ace appeared in the records; as he must have been about seventy and had endured prison, he may not have survived much longer.

His son, John, had a less public, but no less dramatic, career. Normally described in Ludlow as 'John, son of Thomas Ace,' perhaps because his father's absences left him in charge of his interests, it is he, rather than his father, who normally appears in deeds of title. His father did not transfer all of his property to him; in 1327 he transferred tenements in Galdeford and Drapers' Row inherited from his own father to his brother, William. Subsequent property-disputes between Thomas and William may have represented Thomas's change of mind or possibly the original transfers were intended by Thomas, if not William, as temporary for the duration of Thomas's absences in pursuit of his career. Nevertheless, in 1336 John, son of Thomas Ace, owned a house in Narrow Lane; this may have been the house once held by Alice, daughter of Richard.

Unless this account is confusing two or more John Aces (always a possibility where names are common and records sparse) it seems that John may have been born around the turn of the century. In 1318 he and his father were sued by Roger Wyggeley for dispossession.³³ Thereafter we look in vain for a reference to him in Ludlow before 1331. The reason may be that he was in Southampton. At Christmas, 1327, a John of Lodelawe and others were accused of having stolen the goods of Thomas Bynedon, a wealthy Southampton merchant, from his houses and ships. So wide-ranging a charge suggests that John of Ludlow may have been exercising, perhaps abusing, an authority to search and seize, but we do not know. Two days later a protection with *volumus* was granted to John Ace of Ludlow of Southampton, evidently the same person.³⁴ During 1329 he was, at the request of Geoffrey, son of Roger Mortimer, granted the office of king's bailiff itinerant in Hampshire, an office he still held in 1331, for an enquiry at Winchester found that he, still described as 'of Ludlow,' had no lands in Hampshire with which to satisfy complaints.³⁵

All this time there was an Ace family living in Southampton, but, apart from the remarkable coincidence of a Ludlow Ace operating in the town, there is no proven connexion between them and the Ludlow family. It seems therefore possible that when we next find John Ace in Ludlow it is the same one, having returned from Southampton. He is next found preparing himself to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostela in Spain, a pious, if fashionable, thing to do.³⁶ It does not, however, seem to have affected a permanent improvement in his character, for the next appearance, other than property-owning, is on the accusation of murdering Richard Goldsmith.³⁷ At this point the sequence of events becomes unclear; the accusation in 1339 was followed by outlawry and gaol, but when is not apparent, for in 1343 a John Ace of Ludlow was allowed the large sum of £91 19s. 10d. for the appropriation by the king of his wool exported to Durdrecht in the Netherlands.³⁸ On the other hand, in 1346 Agnes, his wife, was suing Sir John Huggefurd for dispossession, an echo of Thomas Ace's action against Sir Walter Huggefurd eleven years earlier. That Agnes, rather than her husband, sued may indicate that he was not at liberty.³⁹ In 1346 however he received a pardon for all murders and felonies committed by him, so it is odd that in the King's Bench in 1353 it was reported that he had escaped from prison, particularly as in 1352 he had been

called to answer Sir Edmund Cornewale in court over a dispute about rent in Worthen. The escape may have taken place long before.⁴⁰

The next may be the last of him to be recorded. In 1349 a John Ace of Ludlow was murdered at Lyde in Herefordshire, by Richard Wymund of Eyton, allegedly with the help of Henry Shiptone, archdeacon of Salop. Shiptone accused John Evesham, rector of Ludlow, of packing the coroner's jury which implicated him. Later Shiptone found someone to swear to his innocence and he was released; this does not however throw any light on the truth. Wymund was pardoned at the request of Roger Mortimer, second earl of March, in consideration of his services on a naval expedition to Spain. So now the Aces, once the clients of the Mortimers, were in a sense their victims. Again we do not know whether this was John Ace, son of Thomas, or John the son of Hugh. He could hardly have escaped from prison after his death, but the report of the escape was conceivably a very late one, such delays being quite common.⁴¹

Whatever happened in the wider world, in Ludlow it was Thomas Ace's younger brother, William Ace, who carried most weight. By 1340 he had added all or most of his family's property in the town to his own purchases; he held tenements in most streets and lived at a house on the site of what is now 45, Bull Ring - Boots the Chemists. His early disputes with his brother have already been touched upon. In 1327 he was assessed to the Subsidy at a moderate 2s., which, given his property and standing in the town, must have been an undercharge, possibly achieved by that very influence.⁴² He was a frequent witness to deeds from 1328 until the end of his life, which indicates not only his position but also the extent of his property. Although a senior member of the Palmers' Guild of Ludlow from 1330 until his death, he seems not to have become warden. He was a member of the Twelve (or *Duodena*), that is, one of the aldermen, in 1339-40 and perhaps for much longer, but these records are very sparse for this period.⁴³ In 1332 he was one of the representatives of Ludlow sent to one of the parliaments held that year for ordaining a wool-staple (*pro ordinandis stapulis*) - a device for raising revenue for the king in return for putting a form of monopoly of the export-trade into the hands of a small number of rich merchants. There is some doubt as to the precise status of such representatives, that is, whether they can properly be regarded as members of Parliament; the doubt centres on the constitutional status of the assemblies they attended. We do not know which assembly William Ace attended, but we know its function; to raise taxation. It was therefore a sort of parliament and William Ace was a sort of member of Parliament, the first known in Ludlow, and perhaps the last until 1472. To insist rigidly on the relevance of the title 'member of Parliament' for William Ace is however to engage in a pointless and anachronistic exercise.⁴⁴

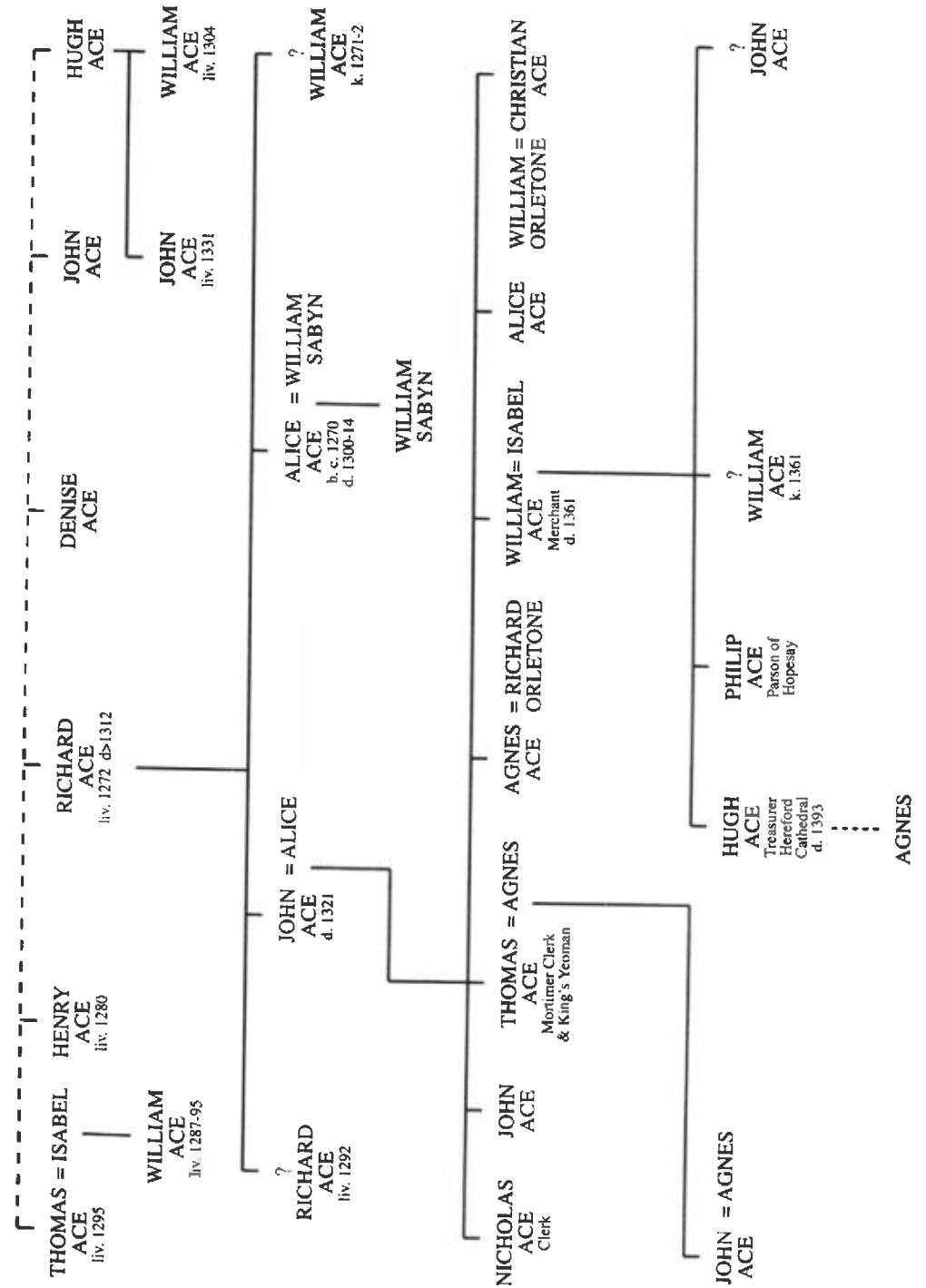
William found time for prosecutions and litigation with persons other than his own relations. In 1339 he was sued by Richard Gogh of Newport, Shropshire, and in 1340 by John Egemundone, in 1352 by John Shrewsbury, and in 1359 by Hugh Bromdone. In 1353 he was charged with buying wool and cloth at Newport (yet another connexion between the Aces and that town) back in 1337 and not paying for it. What the truth was we cannot know, as with any legal dispute of the time, but it demonstrates that he gathered up his trading stock from a wide area of the March of Wales before exporting it. He received £7. 3s. 5½d. in 1344 for his wool taken by the king at Durdrecht. Like all the other merchants he was paid in what have been called 'Durdrecht bonds' - charges on the Customs which rarely turned out to be worth face-value.⁴⁶

It would have been charitable to him to assume that the William Ace who murdered William Harpour of Ludlow in 1360 was not him, but his son, but unfortunately William, his son, was himself murdered in 1350 by Philip White, who procured a pardon by the intervention of Roger Mortimer, it seems. So we are left with only one candidate as the latest Ace to kill a Harpour (perhaps a long-standing feud) and that has to be the now elderly William Ace, one of Ludlow's leading citizens. He himself died in 1361, leaving his property to his two surviving sons, Hugh and Philip, other sons having died *in vitae patris*.⁴⁷

Philip Ace may have been born before 1320, for he acted as a surety for his father in 1340. It is not known what he did with himself between then and 1351, but in that year, when he must have been over forty, he was presented to the living of Hopesay by Richard, earl of Arundel. Given that Philip's uncle, about thirty years earlier, had been a follower of the earl's father's bitter enemy, this was a striking reversal. As soon as presented, Philip, at this time in every respect a layman, obtained three years' leave of absence for study on condition that within a year he get himself ordained subdeacon. This he did. It was not until 1358 that he rose to deacon and there is no record that he ever reached the priesthood. None of this argues a strong attachment to the clerical life. In 1366 he was provided by the Pope to the prebend of Bullinghope in Hereford Cathedral, but the presentation was disputed, both the bishop and the king appointing their own candidates. This led Thomas Arundel, probably grandson of Ace's earlier patron, to petition the king to allow him to pursue his case; this was granted. We do not know Ace's subsequent history, but in the diocese of Hereford his career looks like that of a professional administrator rather than a pastor.⁴⁸

The other brother, Hugh (c. 1330-93), was a more interesting man. He, too, went into the Church, being ordained acolyte in 1352; he did not reach the priesthood until 1363. For some time nothing is known about his life except that he was sued for 60s. by Walter Huwet in 1383. Presented by Philip Whitton, he became vicar of Sidbury in 1369 but his spiritual responsibilities (or perhaps even feelings of gratitude) did not weigh too heavily with him, for in 1373 Richard of Arundel had to procure for him a pardon for the murder of John Whitton. Ten years later the bishop admonished him for absenteeism; perhaps as a response he exchanged his living with Philip Kentles, who gave up St. Katherine's Chapel, Hereford, for him. Hugh Ace kept this until his death in 1391. He inherited a great deal of the Ace property in Ludlow and showed himself more attentive to his rights as a landlord than to his duties as a priest, suing John Rokhulle in 1375 for taking his trees, Henry Kyngeslone in 1385 for wasting three houses he had leased and Henry Stevens for possession of a toft. He also found time to sue the cathedral treasurer for rent and was himself sued by a fellow-cleric for 60s. He died in 1393, leaving property to his (presumably illegitimate) daughter and to the Palmers' Guild. Even so worldly a cleric paid great attention to ensuring that suitable obits were arranged for his family. With his death passed the last connexion between Ludlow and the Ace family.⁴⁹

The Aces may have been typical of their class; a well-to-do provincial merchant family which made careers for its members in trade, administration and the Church, depending on a series of patrons and taking the risk that, unless they were nimble, they might fall with those patrons. Their history shows how dependent they were upon patronage and personal wealth, which, in their case, were never translated into landed position, despite the amount of property they acquired. In the end the family died out through want of male heirs. No trace was left of their 150 years in Ludlow other than endowments for prayers for their dead.⁵⁰ Their history demonstrates that those prayers were needed.⁵¹



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- ¹⁴ PRO: Just. 3/105, m.3f.
- ¹⁵ CPR 1324.
- ¹⁶ Shropshire County Record Office (hereafter SCRO): 356/520.
- ¹⁷ *Registrum Ade de Orleton* (Canterbury and York Society).
- ¹⁸ CPR 1308. A Thomas Ace was presented by Wigmore Abbey to 'Bourton' in 1303; in 1307 he was parson of Middleton: *Reg. Swinfield*, 584-5 (Canterbury and York Society); PRO: KB 27/188, m. 22v.
- ¹⁹ CPR 1309.
- ²⁰ CPR 1310.
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- ⁴¹ KB27/385, Rex 11a; *Registrum Johannis de Trillek* (Canterbury and York Society).
- ⁴² 'Shropshire Lay Subsidy Roll, 1327', *Trans. Shropsh. Arch. Soc.* 2 S. iv, 288; inf. from Mr. D. J. Lloyd.
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- ⁴⁴ SCRO: 356/419.
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- ⁴⁶ PRO: CP40/317, m. 188r; 321, m.205r; 375, m.149v; CCR 1344.
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- ⁴⁸ PRO: CP40/321, m.205r; *Reg. Trillek; Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*.
- ⁴⁹ *Reg. Trillek; Registrum Thome de Charlton* (Canterbury and York Society); PRO: CP40/415, m.91v; 460, m.231r; 499, m.80r; SCRO: 356 Will of Hugh Ace; CPR 1373.
- ⁵⁰ The obits of Hugh and Philip Ace were still being performed in 1472-3 (SCRO: 356/325 Stewards' Acc.)
- ⁵¹ The background to the Ace family's history may be read in: M. A. Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (1991).

John Venn and the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious

By JEAN O'DONNELL

In 1841 the Hereford poor were in a wretched state:

'Every inhabitant of this City must have perceived and mourned over the sad state of our poor. There are many who entirely depend upon what they can get by importunate begging, and a display of wretchedness; whilst numbers of a far more respectable character are suffering in patient silence, the greatest distress. It is obvious that a great deal of charity is continually being given away, by bequests and by private individuals, and occasionally, also by public contributions but yet the sad state of the things described above is far from improving. The persons depending upon charity are becoming more numerous and more importunate; whilst the industrious, discouraged by their sufferings, and observing the success of clamorous appeals to the pity of the charitable, are in danger of losing their own spirit of independence, the rich themselves are also beginning very generally to feel that the whole system is radically bad, and to wish for a better to be introduced in its place.'

These words of John Venn's were spoken on 24 February 1841 at a public meeting in the Guildhall of the most influential men in the city. The Mayor F. L. Bodenham was in the Chair and next to him were the Bishop and the Dean.¹

The New Poor Law was not relieving distress in Hereford. No mention of it is made in this speech which is puzzling. Only dissatisfaction with the system is suggested.

In 1832 a Royal Commission on the existing poor laws produced a report from which the Act of Parliament was produced. Known as the New Poor Law it was passed in 1834. This set up three Poor Law Commissioners with Edwin Chadwick as Secretary. The parishes were combined into convenient sizes using one workhouse instead of the former system of supplementing low wages or giving relief to those in distress with bread and money from the local parish poor rates. This became a burden and the intention was to abolish outdoor relief and to only help those who entered the workhouse. In each Union the ratepayers were to elect a Board of Guardians to administer the workhouses as directed by the commissions. Conditions were to be harsh to stop idleness and improvidence, and the standard of living was to be worse than that of the poorest labourer in work.

From the passing of the New Poor Law the amount expended on the poor dropped dramatically in Herefordshire. In 1834/5 the rates were assessed at £59,596 but only £49,257 was spent; by 1838/9 the assessment had dropped to £50,400 and only £41,100 was used in spite of a growing population.² Total expenditure since the new act was reduced by £20,365 in five years but it had not solved the problem of poverty and now concerned local people had called a meeting.

The reduction in the rates did not compensate for the widespread misery to be seen in the streets of Hereford. The poor preferred to starve rather than enter the new workhouse. This had opened in 1838 in Kennel Lane, now known as Union Walk. It replaced three smaller houses which catered for the infirm and elderly, the destitute and orphans, the total number of which was about seventy. Other paupers were helped at home. The new workhouse could

accommodate 250. The relieving officers drew up classified lists of those who were to enter the workhouse. This included unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, able-bodied men and their families, young single women and widows with children (except those of good character) and the needy from outside the area. The workhouse test sorted out those still eligible for outdoor relief. They had to prove they were over sixty years old, or had no property or family to maintain them, or that bad-health was preventing them from working. Many were forced to enter the workhouse for help. Once inside they were to be strictly segregated according to age, sex and class. Wives and husbands were parted and children over seven years removed from their mothers. Work was part of the regime. Men were given hard manual labour such as breaking up ten hundredweight of granite small enough to pass through a fine grating. Women did scrubbing and cleaning, and all the washing. They also made all the clothes which were uniform.

Several times the Board of Guardians asked the Poor Law Commissioners for permission to grant outdoor-relief to large families rather than bring them into the workhouse and split them up. It was always refused except in cases of proven sickness. Only when there was a crisis such as the potato harvest in 1846 was there any moderation and some able-bodied men did receive help. In general, low earning, irregular employment, large families, sickness, widowhood and old age rather than intemperance or idleness were the root causes of poverty in the 19th century.

Regulations in the workhouse were strictly enforced so that the regime was unappealing and would discourage people from applying for help. Paupers were expected to get up when told and to keep themselves clean. They 'were not to make a noise when silence is ordered.' Bad behaviour and language to the union officers or to other inmates were severely frowned upon and was punished. Refusing to work or feigning sickness were serious offences. Punishments were laid down by the Poor Law Commissioners and were applied by the Guardians. Mostly it resulted in the withdrawal of food; particularly butter, cheese, meat, tea, sugar and soup for up to forty-eight hours. Worse offences like bringing in alcohol or absconding could mean appearing before a magistrate. Boys were disciplined with a cane but children were not allowed to have foods banned. A dozen stripes was ordered by the visiting committee in 1840 for misbehaviour in church.³

Accusations against the Union Workhouses soon began to be made after their introduction:

'A poor old man, named Thomas Williams, said to have been eighty-five years of age, wilfully hanged himself with a halter on the 25th, ult., in a millhouse near where he lodged at Pencoyd, from a dread of being removed into the Ross Union Workhouse. At the inquest on the body the jury returned a verdict, that he did wilfully hang and murder himself in consequence of the horror and dread which he had of going into the Ross Union Workhouse!'⁴

In Sussex the *Annual Register* recorded:

'On the third day after the setting-in of snow in December 1836, no fewer than 149 applications for relief were made to the Board of Guardians for the Union of Cuckfield, in Sussex; to a few of these, as cases of urgent necessity, a trifling relief was given in flour; but the workhouse was offered to 118, of whom 6 only accepted it.'

There were reports of people starving to death rather than enter the workhouse and questions were asked in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Other committed crimes so that they could be sent to prison instead. The food was often better.

In *The Times* the following case was reported in 1841:

'On Saturday, Ann Weeks and Sarah Hart, two young women, were charged with wilfully breaking the windows of the London Union Workhouse. The Poor-Law officer said the prisoners were admitted into the casual ward of the workhouse and, disliking the fare, they broke the windows for the purpose of being sent to gaol. The females said, that they had gone into the workhouse in a famishing condition, and, after sleeping the house all night, they received a small piece of dry bread, and on the following morning had nothing to eat. They sighed for the living of the prison, and broke the windows in the hopes of being committed to gaol.'

They went to the Bridewell for two months.⁵

The Anti-Poor Law campaign was joined by the voice of George Wythen Baxter of Hereford who presented a petition to Parliament opposing the continuation of the New Poor Laws and using cases from Hereford as well as those from elsewhere to prove his points. Most of them were taken from local newspapers or nationals like *The Times*. He begins by stating:

'That your petitioner regards, with exceeding alarm and regret, not unmingled with feelings of indignation and astonishment, that after the enormous official and establishment expenses, - the many horrors, - paupers' deaths, - and public discontent and revolutionary insubordination, which the new Poor Law has entailed, and is entailing, upon the country - a bill should have been proposed to continue for ten years, and to considerably increase the already arbitrary and dangerous powers of its numerous commissioners.' He goes on to forecast revolution; a fear which permeated the thirties and forties.⁶

The Chartists were the organised voice of dissent and the recent uprising in Merthyr and subsequent trial of John Frost in Monmouth had increased fears. Baxter, himself, was a friend of Richard Oastler, an evangelical and radical Tory who sought to protect the working-classes against the tyranny of rapid industrialisation. He was a descendant of Richard Baxter the Non-conformist preacher. His writing suggests he was not a Chartist but a Tory like Oastler. One of the subscribers to the book in which he published all his evidence against the New Poor Law - *The Book of the Bastilles* was B.D'Israeli. There were sixteen other M.P.s. who also subscribed, a duke and an earl, hardly revolutionary material.

The response was immediate. The Board of Guardians of Hereford workhouse met on 6 March 1841 and heard an extract from the *Parliamentary Reports* which stated that Mr. Thomas Duncumb had presented a petition from Mr. G. K. N. Baxter of Hereford saying that he had watched the operation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, and that the cruelty entailed by it was beyond endurance and that the rates in Hereford had been raised from 4s. 6d. to 9s. 6d. and praying that the bill may not be renewed. The committee then sent an answering petition countering these charges. It was signed by the Chairman on behalf of the Board and forwarded to Mr. Clive M.P. for presentation to the House of Commons. This repudiated all the charges made by George Baxter. They stated that:

'Your petitioners have devoted their best efforts towards rendering the Workhouse available to the comforts, welfare and moral improvement of the inmates, and a more frequent and strict supervision takes place on the part of the guardians than in any other workhouse known to them.'

They add that unlike the rest of the country there have been no disturbances in Hereford - and no Chartist meetings.⁷

Nevertheless, it was almost on the same day that it was reported to the Board, 'Divers complaints having been made to the Board respecting the general harsh conduct of some of the Relieving Officers in the Discharge of their duties, it was resolved that the several Relieving Officers be called in and cautioned by the Chairman as to their future conduct.'⁸

Baxter printed both petitions in his book and accused the Guardians of falsehood. There had been Chartist meetings under the market-hall in 1839 when Vincent and Burns made speeches. In the previous year fear of an attack on the new workhouse by farm labourers had resulted in the swearing in of additional constables and trouble was averted. He called Hereford the 'City of Snobs' and made a violent attack on the Ledbury Guardians for supporting the Hereford Board, calling them 'bearded billy-goats' and much worse.

His book consists of the petitions to the House of Commons and a collection of evidence against the new system from all over the country but with an emphasis on Hereford Union.

The New Poor Law had been seen as a final solution to pauperism which would engender moral fibre in the workingman. This it could not do, merely bringing fear and further insecurity to the poor. Attitudes towards poverty although compassionate included an acceptance of its inevitability. It was a necessary part of society for only by feeling the pinch could the labouring poor be motivated to work. Poverty itself was not the problem but destitution and pauperism. The Old Poor Law was regarded as undermining the workingman by subsidising his wages in the same way as family supplement today, and it did have an effect on wages in rural areas by keeping them depressed. 'Less eligibility' the maxim of the new laws, was intended to make the poor fend for themselves. Self-help and independence were virtues to be encouraged throughout the 19th century; the respectable artisans of the working-classes shared this view; it was not confined to the wealthier classes.

By 1841, it was obvious that unemployment was attacking the deserving poor who were unable to help themselves by working. Civil unrest had occurred in some northern industrial cities and fanned the flame of Chartism. It was clear from opposition to the workhouses or 'bastilles' that men were unwilling to condemn their families to such severe conditions and to leave their homes, however humble.

In Hereford, the severe winters of 1838, '39 and '41 had been particularly bad for the poor. In January 1838 the *Hereford Journal* reported that for thirteen consecutive days there had been temperatures of 27 degrees below freezing. It seemed surprising that expenditure on poor relief by the Unions was lower than in any other year as charitable relief had to be increased and a meeting was held at St. Peter's Vestry-room to consider the best means of helping the poor of St. Peter's and St. Owen's parishes. Committees were formed to collect subscriptions and for superintending the distribution of soup to distressed persons and their families. The widow of the former Vicar, Mrs. Gipps had donated £5 for poor relief and this was given for soup. It was then distributed four times a week. By February 240 quarts were going to St. Owen's parish where 941 people, consisting of 260 families, were supplied with soup.

In January 1841, coal and bread were being distributed to the destitute of the City. In St. Owen's 'the admirable method of setting able-bodied persons to work and paying them for their labour, was adopted.' About sixty-five men availed themselves of the opportunity. Their vicar was John Venn. He was concerned that the needy of St. Martin's were disadvantaged by

being in a poorer district where less subscriptions could be collected so he gave £5 exclusively for that parish.

The random application of relief according to funds, and the charge that the poor had to pay inflated prices for coal because they bought small amounts as they needed it plus another about adulterated food which appeared in the *Hereford Journal* in January 1841, prompted the move by John Venn to organise the relief more constructively. At this time the petition against the operation of the New Poor Law by George Wythen Baxter had been published in the *Hereford Times*. The public meeting was called during the week of 24 February when the number of paupers admitted to the Workhouse peaked at 207. Times were desperate and it was obvious the system was failing. In January there had been a political move to start a Mechanics' Institute and a public meeting had been held at the Guildhall. The Dean was the moving force and no doubt he was surprised to receive a letter from the Rev. John Venn opposing the idea on the grounds that it would rival the existing St. Peter's Literary Institute. At the meeting John Venn's idea that political motives lay behind the move were proved accurate when the local M.P. E. R. Clive suggested that John Venn required his members to be Anglican. This was denied by a Rev. Barker who said the question was never asked. Another clergyman made a 'neat' speech in which he stated that 'it was gratifying that the higher classes did sympathise with the poorer, and if the day should come when the poor were universally set in opposition to the rich, a dissolution of the social fabric must take place, and the heaviest calamities to the nation must be the result.'¹⁰

The warning must have seemed a timely one for the trial and execution of the Chartist leaders at Newport appeared on the next page of the *Hereford Journal*. Alarm and fear were two of the underlying emotions which contributed to the great support shown to John Venn at the public meeting on 24 February 1841. The Mayor opened the proceedings by stating that :

'he had called a meeting at the request of several gentlemen, who were about to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a society to be called The Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious.' He added,

'that he was of the opinion that indiscriminate and casual charity was ill-adapted to the purpose for which it was intended and he was convinced that any association which would make a broad distinction between those who were destitute from misfortune, and those who became so through their own idleness and misconduct, must be productive of great benefit to the community.'¹¹

The Society was formed in accordance with the prospectus that John Venn outlined to the prestigious gathering in the guildhall in February and in *The Hereford Journal* on 10 March 1841 the Mayor reported that:

'We have taken an office at the dispensary, in Bye Street, and engaged the services of proper agents, in order that our plans may be efficiently carried out; and we shall ourselves meet together from time to time to consult as to the best methods of promoting their success.'

The loan office was to be open on Mondays 12-2 p.m. and on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 6-8 p.m. This was the beginning of the great business of welfare in Hereford.

John Venn had arrived in Hereford eight years earlier, in 1833, at the age of thirty-one (PL. LVII). The living of St. Peter's with the combined parish of St. Owen's had been acquired by Charles Simeon, his tutor at Cambridge and a family friend. The course of his career had changed. After an unsettled boyhood where he had frequently changed schools;

going from Bewdley, Harrow, Charterhouse and finally to Haileybury where 'Old Pop' Malthus was tutor. At the age of eighteen he went to Bengal as a civil servant with the East India Company. Frequent bouts of illness forced him to return to England where he went up to Queens' College, Cambridge where his brother Henry was a Fellow. He was ordained deacon in 1828 and priest the following year like his father and grandfather who had been well-known evangelical preachers.

His father had a successful ministry at Clapham where his congregation and close friends included William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton. They were the central figures in what became known as The Clapham Sect. Their greatest labours centred on the Anti-slavery campaign, and they also formed the Church Missionary Society which sent missions overseas to Africa, the East and Botany Bay. In England, education for the working-classes was also their concern, and Henry Thornton was a supporter of Sunday Schools and Ragged Schools. Their primary objective was to teach the illiterate masses to read so that they could study God's word. John Venn, the elder, was one of the first clergymen to introduce parish schools. He boasted before his death in 1813, that 'every child in Clapham parish could be taught to read gratuitously.' There were six schools for poor children.

It was said in the House of Commons in 1807 'that the education of the labouring classes...would teach them to despise their lot in life.' It was not thought by all that common education was a good thing. Twelve years later William Wilberforce said in the House about the education of the poor,

'that if people were destined to be free, they must be made fit to enjoy their freedom.'

With such a radical and evangelical upbringing it was natural that John Venn should have been ready for reform and innovation in his ministry in Hereford. When he arrived he found the City in a rural decline in a remote part of England, cut off by poor communications. The day he had travelled here he was forced to complete his long journey of thirty-three hours by arriving in a local conveyance known as the 'fish-cart.' It was a contrast to the prosperous village of Pinner, in Middlesex, where had had been vicar for three years.

His first enterprise was the formation of St. Peter's Literary Institute in Bye Street. Like the Mechanics' Institutes this catered for the intelligent working-man. It had a lending-library and a reading-room. Adult education was carried on by means of evening lectures. John Venn lectured himself; in 1840 it was on 'The Wonders of Geology' - a fascinating new science. At this time it had 250 subscribers and only ceased to exist when the Free Library opened in Broad Street in 1874.

He formed the Hereford Friendly Society which was the first of its kind in the county and which encouraged people to save and gave them help in time of illness and death.

The Hereford Church Missionary Society was started in 1838 and the Hereford Mission in 1856 which worked among the poor and sick. He saw to the establishment of St. Peter's Schools and their maintenance, and later he initiated the building of St. James District Church which served St. Owen's parish. St. Peter's had served a population of 4,276 in 1841; the largest in the city.¹²

All these enterprises pale before the bold initiatives taken by the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious, the organisation he founded in 1841 and of which he remained joint Secretary throughout the rest of his life.

At the end of its first year the Society published its Annual Report. At this time the Bishop was President, the Dean and Mayor were Vice-Presidents together with the two M.Ps., E. B. Clive and R. Pulsford. The honorary secretaries were Rev. John Venn and Mr. R. T. Barra. There was a paid assistant, Mr. Thomas Day and an agent, Mr. Henry Yapp.¹³

The Committee had obtained about twenty-eight acres of land of which twenty-one acres had been let in allotments of one eighth acre each and brought under spade cultivation. The remaining seven acres were at Clehonger and only part of it had been let. The Society undertook to manure the land, pay tithes and rates, maintain the hedged and gates and generally manage the land. The rent at this time was 15 shillings a year. Applications for the land within the City had been numerous, 172 tenants were accommodated whilst numbers were disappointed because they were too late. The committee felt that it had conferred great benefit upon the families.

'Not only is employment given to many whole families, and that for the most part at times when they want employment, but the returns of their labour amply compensate them, and form a most material addition to their comforts.'

The committee was looking for more land to extend the scheme. 'The comfort and independence, and.... the moral welfare of the working classes would be promoted.'¹⁴

The Loan Department had started operations three months after the formation of the Society, in June 1841. Loans were given for a sum between £1 and £10 with a small interest payment of 10d. in the pound. After three weeks the sum had to be repaid in weekly instalments. At this time 131 sums had been lent amounting to £538. The report added that no one farthing had been lost and £22. 8s. 4d. had accrued from interest. An appeal was made for extra funds to be lent for this purpose.

The small amounts deposited in the Provident Bank had amounted to £159. 4s. 2d. in 3,057 different sums from 526 individuals. £141. 6s. 7d. had been removed. Most amounts were too small for the ordinary savings bank.

Coal was more expensive in the winter so that the purchase of large amounts by the Society during the summer months for resale in the winter was of great benefit. £8 a year was paid for a large yard where 395 tons of coal was stored. Of this quantity 347 tons were sold in 4,727 deliveries to the door of those who had prepaid, at the cost of 11d. a cwt. The Society had lost about £25 but the working-classes had benefited. The committee hoped that they would learn to budget in advance for their expenditure on coal and those who had paid in advance would get small discounts to encourage them.

There was no special department for direct payments to distressed persons but the Society did undertake to administer payments on behalf of donors who sent recipients. There were sixty enquiries and forty were sent away as 'utterly undeserving' but £24. 4s. 5d. had been given in relief. The committee considered that this method of charity by application to the society had checked the amount of begging and benefited 'the industrious and deserving.'

It had been hoped to facilitate employment by keeping a book of vacancies in the office but although there were many willing to work employers had not taken advantage of it.

A general statement had been made about the evils of paying wages on Saturday evenings instead of Fridays or Saturday mornings when they were less likely to be spent on drink.

The statement of accounts shows that substantial loans of £635 were made to the Society in addition to subscriptions of £117. 9s. 6d. John Venn lent £40 interest free and his sister, £50. These paid for the setting up of the office and the coal-yard. Salaries amounted to £60. The Report concluded that whereas nearly £400 had been raised for charitable relief in previous years, the annual expenses of the Society now could be expected to amount to £120. If double the sum were to be used the work would be carried out with more than double efficiency.

The report ended by reiterating the two great principles on which the Society was founded:

'1) That the truest charity is that which enables the working man to maintain himself and his family in comfort and independence by his own prudence and industry.

2) That the upper classes are bound by all considerations of benevolence, of morality, and, above all, of religion, to try to place every working man in a situation which will enable him to do this.'

The work in the first year shows that an attempt was being made in a practical way to alleviate the problem of poverty especially by an example of thrift and providence which could tide people over bad periods of unemployment or illness. The New Poor Law was to become a last resort when all else failed. By the time of the 1847 report unemployment had coincided with a series of bad harvests and the failure of the potato crop. It had become the 'Hungry Forties'.

The number of tons of coal sold during the severe and protracted winter of 1846 rose to 1,047; more than double the previous year. Much of it was sold at 6d. a cwt. Soup was distributed from 1844 and in 1846 33,239 quarts of 'good, wholesome and nutritious soup' was made. John Venn told the annual meeting that the 'Committee bore testimony to the patience and resignation with which the working classes had borne their severe privations and sufferings.' A special appeal was made in January 1847 which was acknowledged in the *Hereford Times*.¹⁵ They were serving over 100 gallons of soup a day at 1d. per quart. More furnaces had to be installed to cope with the demand of more than double the quantity. Contributions in kind as well as money were requested especially pease, rice or vegetables. Rice was advocated instead of the scarce potato. The increased soup sales were running at a loss of £10 a week. Hundreds had to be turned away each day as demand exceeded supply. The cheaper coal was also in great demand and 'crowds of applicants beset the Society offices.' Once again the severe winter weather added to the misery of the people. The *Hereford Times* reported:

'In the month of January just ended the temperature was 9.25 deg. lower than the corresponding month in 1846.'

The work of the Soup Committee of the H.S.A.I. had begun on December 12 1844 and it met every week. The chairman was a doctor, Edward Morris. They bought a Pappin's Digester, scales, weights, block, cleaver and all other necessary equipment. Their intentions were to be published in the local papers and tenders from local butchers requested. The distribution was to be by means of printed tickets on stiff paper - each ticket of 1d. entitled the bearer to a quart of soup. Mrs. Phillips was engaged at 2s. 6d. a day to make the soup in a room behind the office in Bye Street.

The recipe for making the soup is of interest. It is dated 28 February 1845:

'Receipts for making Soup, 80 gallons

80 lbs. of Gravy Beef
 1 Head
 1 skin
 3 pecks of good peas
 1½ pecks of good flour
 5 good turnips
 4lbs. onions
 10lbs. carrots
 10lbs. parsnips
 12lbs. leeks
 4 good heads of celery
 6 oz. black pepper
 6 oz. mustard
 3oz. Ginger
 ½oz. Chillies
 Salt to your taste

Bundle of sweet herbs such as thyme, winter savory-mint, notted margorum a portion of each boiled in a muslin bag.'

The method is quite daunting in terms of labour and time:

'Commence previous day about 3 o'clock. Put the peas to soak in a tub till morning. Clean the vegetables and cut up in small diamonds. Fill the furnace with the proper quantities of cold water (say about 60 gals for 80 gals soup). Cut the meat into small pieces, thoroughly crack and break the bones, then put meat and bones with pepper, salt, chillies, vegetables, & sweet herbs (in muslin bag), on to boil for 3 or 4 hours or till every bit of meat leaves the bones. It is then left for the night, the fire being made up and covered with ashes so as to keep the soup simmering till 1 or 2 o'clock.

Next morning (about 5) make up the fire, skim the refuse off the peas & adding some fat skim-mings from the meat to the peas boil the peas in about 20 gals of water till quite soft which they will be in 2 hours if they are good peas. At the same time (5 o'clock) put the rice into the large furnace. In the time the peas are boiled have all the bones taken out from the bottom of the furnace, then add the peas and liquor, boil all together till 9 or 10 o'clock. The flour should then be mixed smoothly with cold water & added gradually to the mass, being careful that the soup boils briskly & is kept stirred while thickening is added. Afterwards smother up the fire with ashes to prevent burning and keep stirring till served at 11 o'clock am.

When the bones are taken out, it is usual to place them in a 4 gallon digester with water & the sweet herbs, and in due time four gallons more of excellent soup will be ready to add to the next making.'

The comment is added that the greatest care and cleanliness are required.¹⁶

The soup distribution continued three days a week from 11 a.m. until 1 p.m. until March 1st. Sales recommenced on 20 December. It was in January 1847 that there was a crisis and soup making was increased to daily production and increased subscriptions were sought from the wealthy. This pattern of beginning distribution in December continued for many years, occasionally it was delayed for a week or two because the weather was mild. In 1851 St. Peter's Church House was used for making the soup, with the permission of the Bishop. Two

years later the society was requested to remove the furnaces from Church House soup kitchen, and they were taken back to the room behind the office in Commercial Street; the entrance is still along the passageway into Union Street. Mr. Johnson, builder, was asked to erect a temporary shed near the soup house. The recipes stayed much the same over the years but there was a decline in the amount of meat. At one point tinned meat was used, and the amount made at one time was reduced to sixty gallons. From 1875 there is a gap in the minutes until 1882 when soup was once more being made and sold everyday except Sundays. By this time the Society had grown into a large organisation with property and business interests that could finance the work. It was the lean years of the forties that gave the impetus to the Mill project which was to prove such a success.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 meant that cheaper corn was now available. The poor had always been able to glean from the fields after harvesting but they had to pay dearly to have their corn ground. John Venn thought a mill should be set up for them in the City. He put his idea to the Society and a special committee met to consider the idea. A report was prepared by John Venn to present to the General Committee. On 16 July 1847 it was resolved to purchase a piece of land at Brookside for £200.¹⁷ In August an appeal for loans was inserted in the two local papers. They had resolved to build a very modern steam mill at a cost of £3,000. The Society had had offers of help with the supply of machinery and the erection of buildings on very favourable terms but the money had to be raised by subscriptions and loans. The *Hereford Journal* applauded the idea.

'Other places were building steam mills for the benefit of shareholders but Hereford would be almost exclusively the only town in which there is a mill of this kind established on a principle of pure benevolence.'¹⁸

By 5 August a draft agreement for the engine and machinery had been drawn up by Messrs. Robinson and laid before the committee. It was resolved that a brick chimney be substituted for an iron one. Two weeks later a contract to build was offered by a local builder, Mr. Johnson, for £655 plus another £85 for the brick chimney.

In November an engineer was needed and Mr. Prout of Gloucester was suggested but he declined the post. Messrs. Robinson who had installed the machinery were asked to find an engine driver 'at a salary of not more than 18 shillings a week.' A letter was written to a William James to enquire about his terms for being a miller and to ask for testimonials. At the same meeting it was proposed that the sum of £2,000 be raised in shares of £25 each at 4 per cent payable half-yearly. The miller who was finally appointed was John Knowles and he was engaged for a year as a stone dresser and miller. His agreement stated that...

'He shall do the work of the mill without an assistant miller and shall consider his whole time from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening at the service of the said Society in any way in which they shall reasonably require. He shall conduct himself with sobriety and civility and keep and render such accounts as he may be required of the wheat and other grain received in and stock in hand of wheat, flour, meal, bran, etc., and of the flour meal.'¹⁹

It was decided in February 1848, to engage an assistant to help dress the three mill stones and that a botting machine should be erected. A grindstone was purchased for twelve shillings and then samples of sacks were requested from a firm in Abingdon.

Other accessories included a beam and scales, a weighing machine, three sack barrows, one flour scoop, one wooden shovel, three mill brooms, two oil cans, one bushel measure, bran and flour sacks, and hooks and lines for the machine. It was decided to draw up regulations for the working of the mill and committee members Messrs. James, Vale and Brunsdon were asked to do this.²⁰

These included the stipulation:

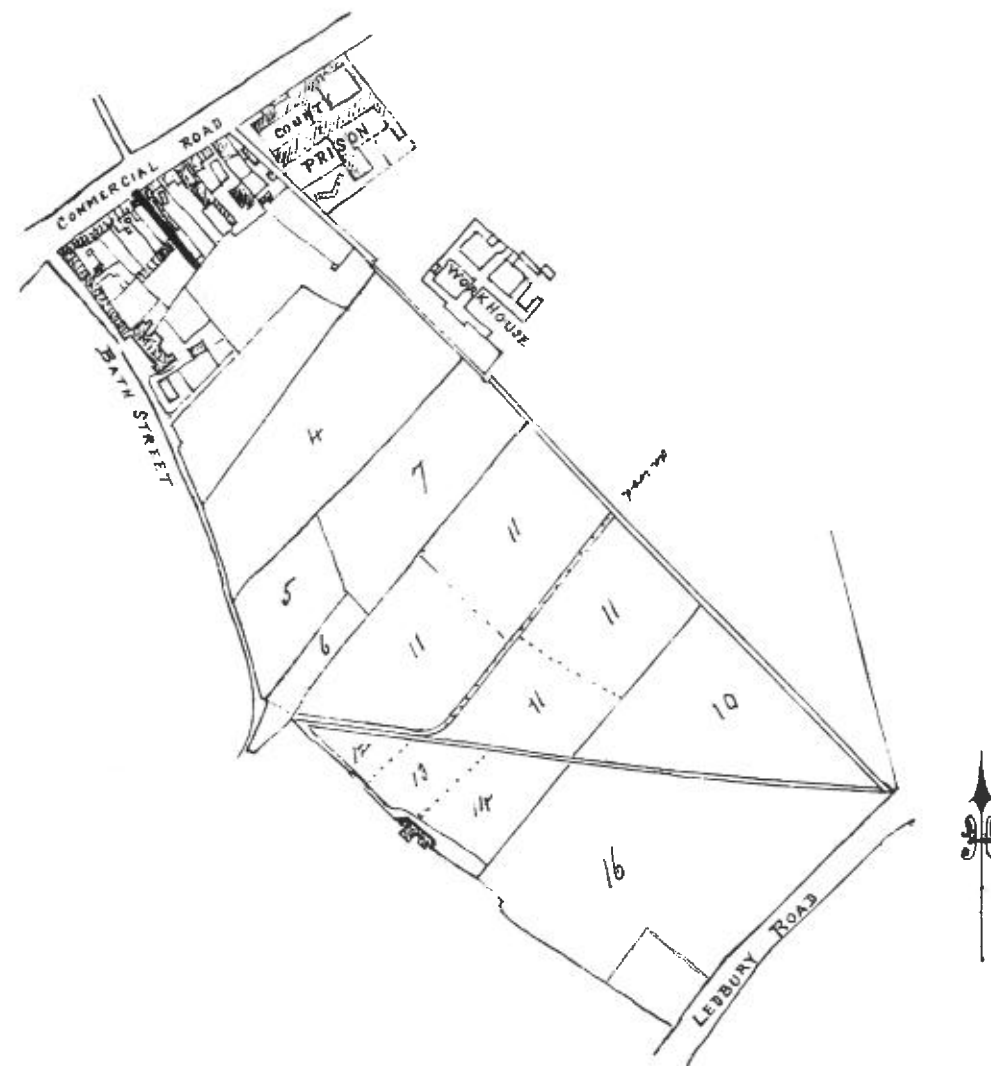
'that wheat or meal shall be sold to the working classes at cost price with an addition at the rate of 8d. per bushel for grinding and dressing, 56lbs. of seconds flour shall be sold at 6d. per bushel less than the cost price of 80lbs. of wheat. The public is to be supplied at the market price while bran and gurgeons are to be sold at market price to all classes. The working classes if in attendance at the mill, are always to have the preference in their grists being attended to. An immediate and courteous attention is expected to be given to every person coming to the mill by all engaged therein.'²¹

By March the committee was anxious to get the mill into operation. Raising cash had proved difficult but John Venn and his sister Emilia stepped in when necessary with sums of £400 and £75. A request was made that the elevators be forwarded as soon as possible while the erector was still in Hereford, and Mr. Johnson, builder, was asked to finish quickly so that the mill could commence operations. Finally, the whole mill had to be insured for £2,000 with the Guardian fire Office. A stoker, Richard Jones, was engaged to look after the boiler of the steam engine. By April the efficacy of the machinery had been demonstrated to the delight of the gentlemen of the committee. each pair of stones had ground six and half bushels within the hour and all had worked admirably. They were now in business.

By November 1848 the miller, John Knowles, was requesting 6d. per hour for overtime. He must have been kept busy for the future rate was fixed at 5d. Unfortunately he was dismissed with a week's wages in the following February. New regulations were drawn up for employees and William James was appointed in his place. A gratuity of three pounds was given to him in September as he had conducted himself to the satisfaction of the committee. Working hours were changed to 5 a.m. until 9 p.m. with the mill working for the whole of this period. There were two millers and a foreman. The latter was expected to clean and maintain the machinery when the mill was closed. It had to be oiled every morning at 9 a.m. and the driving gear greased twice a week. There was a miller's assistant who was expected to do most of the running around. The mill had its own well water with which to fill the boiler and the stoker was expected to get up steam at the appointed time and to work to the miller's instructions. He was not allowed to leave the premises when the engine was running and he was expected to lock the well at night and secure the gates.

Adjustments had to be made to The Mill; three larger stones and machinery to turn them were installed in September 1849. In October a clock was purchased and a gutta percha speaking-tube. A gratuity of two pounds was given to the engineer 'for his contrivance for burning the smoke of the boiler.'²² An early appreciation of the nuisance to the surrounding area which is surprising.

By 1850 plans were being requested for the use of the waste steam to heat water for supplying baths and wash-houses. In the following year tenders were invited for the erection of a



PLAN

Area of Allotments on the Portfields purchased 1864-9 before Venn Road (now Kyrle Street) was constructed. Figures are from the Tithe Map for St. Owen's parish.

new boiler house and boiler. One of £573. 4s. 0d. was accepted from William Bowers, who also did most of the later building work for the Society. The business was becoming profitable and expanding. By 1855, seven years after opening, the year's profit was £1,914. 14s. 10d. on a turnover of £72,364. 13s. 5d.²³ The Secretary was still Thomas Day. He was given a pay rise and his salary was increased from £140 per annum to £200 because of his responsible duties and 'his exertions on the Society's behalf.' One tenth of the mill's profits was divided between the staff and on this occasion the Secretary was given £120, the biggest proportion of the £191.

The mortgage on the mill premises, which by now included the adjacent cottages and the baths, was finally paid off on 17 July 1862; just fourteen years later (PL.LVIII). The premises were insured for £3,181 and the Venns had received their loans back in full. From this time the Society began to buy up nearby pieces of land in the Portfields. In 1864 eight acres was purchased for £1,050 and the freehold was bought from the Church Commissioner for over £1,100 in the following year. Additional land and cottages adjacent to the mill were acquired for £1,800 in 1868.

A tenth of the mill profits continued to be divided among the workers and Mr. Day had a handsome payment of one hundred guineas in recognition of the extra work caused to him by the enlargement of the mill in 1865. Sadly, the diligent and faithful servant of the Society died in December 1869. Expressions of great dismay and regret were recorded in the minutes and £300 was given to Mrs. Day in lieu of salary with a request that the Society should supply the tombstone at their own expense. This death precipitated a review of the work of the mill and the profits from the business from its establishment in 1847 to 1st September 1869 amounted to a total of £20,124 and the assets of the Society then exceeded its liabilities by £18,645. 6s. 7d.²⁴ The work of welfare for the working classes had to proceed and a complete reorganisation of the administration took place.

William Lewis was promoted to Assistant Secretary and was to manage the business as Thomas Day had done. Mr. Bruton was appointed to the Loan Allotments and Comforts for the Sick department; Mr. Hollings to the Accounts department and Mr. Gollins to the Baths and Soup departments. All were subject to Mr. Lewis's supervision. Thomas Day junior was appointed as clerk. Mr. Gollins was to move into the house next to the baths after the tenant was given notice to quit.²⁵

The baths which gave Bath Street its name had been opened by the Society in 1851 and used the surplus steam from the boiler to heat the water. They were for washing but also provided medicated sulphur baths in the current fashion. Prices in 1854 were 2d. to 1s. 0d. 'according to the accommodation afforded.'²⁵ They were open every day except Sunday from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. 'The hours 10 am. to 1 p.m. are devoted exclusively to females.'²⁶

The Society made an annual loss of about £60 on this operation but it was a great aid to personal cleanliness. In 1870 John Venn suggested that the Society was very successful and could afford several new schemes to help the working classes.²⁷ The first of these was to build a swimming baths. This was agreed and tenders were requested. In January 1871 one of £1,280 from a Mr. Gough was accepted. The bath used 40,000 gallons of water and it was decided to use soft water from the Town reservoir. All the supply pipes were found to be defective and had to be replaced and there were complaints when the washing-baths had to be shut for a time.²⁸ The swimming bath was cleared out twice a week in the summer but there

was a complaint to the *Hereford Times* that the water was unclean which produced an indignant response from Mr. Lewis, secretary of the Society, who called the 'Season Ticket Holder' who wrote, 'fussy and self-important.' During the cold winter months the baths were closed. From 1870 both the baths and the mill were lit by gas.

When the old boilers were replaced with electric motors for the mill in 1913, Hereford Corporation was due to take over the baths but the First World War delayed this and they subsidised the running costs instead. The Society continued to run them until 1927 when they were closed and presented to the Hereford Corporation for sale. A new swimming bath was opened in Edgar Street in 1930; today it is a theatre. During the fifty years that the Society's baths were open many thousands of Hereford children learned to swim. The old building is today a masonic hall but the white-tiled swimming pool lies concealed under the floor in Kyrle Street.

In 1870 when John Venn retired as vicar of St. Peter's the population of Hereford had grown to 18,000. He now put all his energies into new projects to help the working classes. He attended most of the committee meetings as honorary secretary and sometimes took the Chair and so it became a period of innovation and expansion for the Society. Besides suggesting the new swimming bath he also proposed that two trained nurses be employed to visit the sick poor. The Society had been supplying blankets, beds and other comforts for some years but this was a more costly scheme. The District Nurse started two months later and by September 1871 she had sixty-four patients in her care and 1168 home visits had been made. The medical men on the committee, including Dr. H. G. Bull, supervised the work.

John Venn was always ready to find the money for new schemes and the Society was constantly in debt to him. Since the mill had been paid for and was making good profits the Society continued to invest money in land and property. As part of the Society's work was to provide allotments to let to working men they were often sitting tenants when land came up for sale and gradually the Portfields were bought up right to Ledbury Road. This meant that the Society was in a position to develop schemes of their own. A small piece of the land was sold after a request in 1874 from the managers of the Working Boys' Home to allow them to buy half an acre of ground in the Portfields on which to build a new home. A plot of three-quarters of an acre fronting on to Bath Street was selected for sale at £335. Here the Boys' Home was opened in 1877 at a cost of £2,500. It is now the County Council Offices.

In 1871 they bought the Society's premises, two houses and a rear cottage at 50 Commercial Street from the Day family for £1,280; John Venn once more putting up the money. The following year the architect, Mr. Nicholson, was asked to draw up plans for a new soup kitchen 'on the most approved principles with a room in which the poor may partake of the soup.' The provision of soup continued throughout these years starting in December or January until March. The new building was behind the houses in Commercial Street which were to have new kitchens, a laboratory and water closet for the Society's officers.

The laboratory was concerned with the 'Dry Earth Closet' patented by a Mr. Moule. The Society had obtained an example of one with an explanatory leaflet which was on display in the office.

The other scheme put forward by John Venn in 1870 was that the Society should build ten model cottages on their land in the Portfields with every convenience and 'utilizing waste

and refuse matter of the house.' There was to be an establishment with one acre of ground for making the dry earth and receiving back the soil for manure. Fortunately the mill had made a profit of over £2,366 in that year and so a tender was accepted for £2,300 from a Mr. Pritchard for the ten cottages and a manure establishment. He was also to erect piggeries and poultry sheds according to the architect's designs for another £364. When they were built each stood in a sixth of an acre of ground which was stocked with fruit trees as well as the pigsty and henfold. There was an underground system of irrigation whereby the slops of the house could be used. There were strict regulations for tenants and supervision of the gardens was arranged. Manure was not to be sold and the used dry earth had to be exchanged at the manure shop. The vision of John Venn and his profound belief in the worth of the working man was written in his own words in the minute book.

'Any industrious man of ordinary intelligence, who is placed in favourable circumstances can live, with God's blessing, in comparative comfort, & find for himself & his wife and children healthy and interesting and profitable employment for all their leisure hours at almost all seasons of the year, and at the same time pay a remunerative rent to his landlord. It is hoped therefore that the tenants will constantly bear in mind the immense importance of the success of this undertaking to the welfare of the working classes throughout the Kingdom; and of the great obligation²⁹ therefore which rest upon them to do their best to make it succeed.'

To encourage tenants, generous prizes were offered for upkeep, produce and the best-written accounts of their methods of cultivation.

Tenants were carefully selected and the monthly rents were fixed as follows:-four-bedroomed houses to be £1. 8s. Od., three-bedroomed at £1. 4s. Od., two-bedroomed for £1.. 0s. Od. A rent which would never cover the costs in a normal tenancy.

The experimental garden which the Society wanted to develop according to modern manuring principles, was stocked with fruit trees and a gardener was employed to cultivate it and live in the house. He was also to attend to the shop, manage the manure department, and to supply prepared earth for the dry earth closets and collect used earth. Mr. With, a master at the Bluecoat School, was employed on a part-time basis to conduct experiments on the best manure using the dry earth principle. Later he left the school and worked full-time as chemist and secretary for the Society with a small model cottage and £150 p.a. Several schools were persuaded to install the Dry Earth Closet; a method that Mr. With had patented in Bristol. Holmer ran into difficulties and was recommended to study Tupsley School. Finally the system was abandoned and water closets substituted with compensation towards them from the Society as Dry Earth manufacture ceased.³⁰

As the enterprise took shape John Venn suggested even more ambitious schemes to the committee. Although he was now seventy years and retired he seemed to have renewed creative energy. Always interest in science and agriculture he now suggested a farm on the Portfield land. Why not have a herd of cows supplying daily fresh milk to the working classes? He suggested stalls for thirty-two cows with two ranges of poultry houses, a house for the bailiff with a bakery and storerooms attached to it and American nest beehives were to be lent to tenants until they could make a profit from the honey.

The annual accounts were in good shape when they were presented in September 1871; assets exceeded liabilities by £20,168. but a note of caution crept into the record of the meeting:

'Although from the profits of the last three years a considerable sum has been appropriated for gratuities for agents, interest on money borrowed, the support of a nurse for the poor expenses of management of other departments, soup fund, rescue fund etc. The income available for promoting the welfare of the working classes about £700 a year.'³¹

The farm scheme was to prove costly and even though cows were not purchased the chickens and pigs were. When the chosen breeds of chickens arrived they were in a poor state from being too closely packed and too long on the road. The second consignment was also unsatisfactory. The supply was halted and there was also a delay in the completion of the buildings. There was a loss in that year of £215 on the model garden, earth closet department, manure and poultry departments. By the following year it had increased to nearly £600. Fortunately profits from the mill had increased and offset the loss.³² By 1876 the annual loss on the whole estate had risen to £1,316 and the poultry and pigs were sold off in the following year. Surplus land was once more let as allotments.

Money was also required for the Commercial Street premises for a temperance refreshment bar was opened in the ground floor of the house. It cost £188 to fit it out and repair the roof. That winter soup was made and sold there so the usual arrangements were suspended. After trying to cut costs the premises were let for independent management to some ladies but it reverted back to the Ladies Committee after a few years. In January 1884 arrangements were resumed in readiness to provide soup if the weather became colder and Mr. Harding, in his new ironmongery premises next door, was requested to have his passage-way covered over to shelter the waiting queues.

These premises were put up for auction in July 1884 at the Kerry Arms Hotel at a reserve price which was not reached of £2,150, two years after it had been resolved to move the Society offices nearer to the mill for better supervision. Land opposite the mill was bought and the architect, Mr. Willett, drew up plans at an estimated cost of £550-£590 (PL. LIX). In the same month of August 1882 a radical change was proposed at a special meeting. The Society was to be dissolved and a new society formed called The Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious with similar objects. The new society was to be incorporated and was to apply to the Board of Trade for a licence under section 23 of the Companies Act of 1867. John Venn's signature is one of the ten committee members who agreed to this proposal. The new offices were now an important component of these plans and a tender of £659 from Mr. Pritchard was accepted for the building work. The premises included a kitchen and dining-room for the supply of soup.³³ By June 1885 the new buildings were ready and a brass plate was ordered to be placed on the gates. On 5 August at an extraordinary meeting, the old Society was dissolved and in October the new incorporated society was formed at a special meeting.

John Venn was now eighty-two years and this was the last meeting he attended. Changes had to be made which would have saddened him. The policy of the new body was far more stringent and when the finance committee got to work it recommended the closure of the model garden. John Venn fought for Mr. With to continue making manure and he offered to make good any losses for the next four years. His offer was accepted for two years. He saw to

it that Mr. With received a small pension as he would have done had he remained a teacher at the Bluecoat School. The garden was then let to John Wilson of 43 Commercial Street who developed his nursery there.³⁴

The old office building was sold at a lower price of £2,000. The tenant of the model farm site, Mr. Tranter, was to have been evicted for non-payment of rent but was reprieved when no one else would take it. The Penny Bank was closed because the Post Office Savings Bank was now in existence. Allotment rents were increased by two shillings a year. Land in Bath Street was marked out to be sold as building land and Venn Road was made into a public thoroughfare.³⁵ Property acquired at Leominster in Broad Street was put up for sale. Applications for donations and the cheap use of the swimming baths were turned down but the Society did increase the salary of their secretary, Mr. Lewis to £600 p.a. but then he had been working for them for forty years. Within five years, after the introduction of a new roller system in 1884, the mill was again showing a healthy profit of over £2,744 and the Society was on course again.³⁶

In April 1887, the Rev. John Venn, the Rev. J. H. Barker and Thomas Turner Esq., were put off the committee because they had not attended four meetings but it was resolved 'that the Rev. John Venn be re-elected a Member of the Committee.'³⁷ Three years later the minutes record his death on the morning of 12 May 1890 at 3 o'clock.

'The committee unanimously desire to place on record their deep sense of the loss sustained by the Society by his death. He was its sole founder and for this purpose incurred personally very heavy pecuniary responsibilities. For many years he took the warmest interest in all its operations which the committee believe have conferred and will in the future bestow great benefit on the industrious classes of the City, whose spiritual and temporal interests Mr. Venn always had most earnestly at heart.'³⁸

A copy of this entry was sent to his niece Mrs. Russell Gurney. At the following meeting a £100 donation was made to his memorial fund.³⁹ Another niece, Henrietta Venn, presented the Society with an oil painting which she hoped would be hung in the offices. It was placed in the committee room and it still hangs in the present one. Six months later the name of Venn Road was changed to Kyrle Street presumably because the road where his house, Beechwood, stood was rechristened Venn's Lane. It was a house which he extended over the years to accommodate his visiting nephews and nieces and which had a spectacular view over the city he loved. Today it has been replaced by sheltered housing. He was buried in St. Peter's burial ground next to his aunt Jane and sister Emilia who helped in all his work. Here a memorial gateway was erected in Commercial Road opposite to Union Walk which led to the workhouse and abandoned hopes; a testament to a man of vision who was a true friend of the poor.

POSTSCRIPT

John Venn was the founder of the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious in 1841 and he remained its guiding force throughout the rest of his active life. The development of Bath Street from a lane outside the City walls to a thriving commercial and social community was a direct result of his advanced ideas. The use of profit to pay for welfare is not new but its direct application to so many schemes must have enhanced many working people's lives and kept them from their near neighbour, the workhouse.

The mill played a useful part in the 1939-45 war effort and then was sold in the 1950s for the production of the *Hereford Times*. The Society offices and Soup kitchen disappeared with the construction of the new ring road in 1965. Some of the Portfields was sold in 1924 for City Council housing and in 1938, the Venn Memorial Homes were constructed by the Society and opened by the Bishop. The model cottages were all sold by 1916 but remain in Kyrle Street. The Working Boys' Home became the offices of the County Council, housing education and social services today. St. Owen's School was the first elementary school in the City in 1905, built on Society land, and is today used by Social Services as a centre. Ironically, even the unemployed sign on in a modern building in Bath Street. Although the soup-kitchen, coal yard and allotments have all gone the character of Bath Street remains for those prepared to look for the little Utopia John Venn once created for his industrious poor.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious for allowing me to use their Minute Books and other papers over a long period. Thanks are due to Derek Foxton for some of his photographic archives of Bath street and for his interest.

ABBREVIATIONS

H.T. = *Hereford Times*

H.J. = *Hereford Journal*

H.U.B.G. = Hereford Union Board of Guardians Minute Book

H.S.A.I. = Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious

G.M.B. = General Minute Book

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- ⁴ G. W. Baxter, *A Book of the Bastilles* (1841).
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ *The Times*, 12 March 1841.
- ⁷ H.U.B.G. 6 March 1841.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1841.
- ⁹ *H.T.*, 3 February 1838.
- ¹⁰ *Hereford Journal*, 15 Jan. 1840.
- ¹¹ *Loc. cit.* in note 1.
- ¹² J. Venn, *Venn Family Annals*.
- ¹³ Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious, *Annual Report* (1841).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *H.T.*, 27 Jan. 1847.
- ¹⁶ H.S.A.I. Soup Committee Minute Book 28 Feb. 1845.
- ¹⁷ H.S.A.I. Steam Corn Mill Minute Book 16 July 1847.
- ¹⁸ *H.J.*, 14 July 1847.
- ¹⁹ H.S.A.I. *op. cit.* in 17. 28 Jan. 1848.
- ²⁰ H.S.A.I. *Ibid.*
- ²¹ H.S.A.I. *Ibid.*
- ²² H.S.A.I. Steam Corn Mill Minute Book Oct. 1849.
- ²³ City Library Pilley Coll. letter from W. Vale 1855.
- ²⁴ H.S.A.I. General Minute Book 28 Dec. 1869.
- ²⁵ H.S.A.I. *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Hereford Handbook* (1856), 92.

²⁷ H.S.A.I.G.M.B. 17 Oct. 1870.

²⁸ *H.T.*, 5 Dec. 1871.

²⁹ H.S.A.I.G.M.B. 5 Feb. 1872.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, June 1872.

³² *Ibid.*, 3 Nov. 1874.

³³ *Ibid.*, 4 Aug. 1884.

³⁴ J. Wilson letter 10 Dec. 1886.

³⁵ H.S.A.I.G.M.B. 4 Oct. 1886.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1886.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 18 April 1887.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 May 1890.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1990

By R. SHOESMITH

CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

There have once again been few large scale excavations within Hereford itself and most of the Unit's work has been connected with the long-running post-excavation programme - as well as with planning matters connected with the AAI.

A small evaluation excavation at 14 Greyfriars Avenue encountered rubble debris and the possible remains of a robbed out wall which could be the north wall of the nave of the church of the Greyfriars (or Franciscan) Friary established in this area in 1228. Fragments of medieval encaustic floor tiles and one small piece of moulded masonry, possibly from a tomb, were recovered. A second evaluation excavation took place in the vicinity of another of the City's friaries, the Blackfriars, but no significant archaeological features were encountered.

An evaluation excavation was carried out to the south of 77 East Street in which Saxon deposits were encountered. The exact nature and significance of these deposits was difficult to determine because of the limited nature of the excavation, but the presence of some furnace lining material and slag suggests an industrial complex of some kind in the vicinity.

To the north and east of the main portion of 20 Church Street, further evaluation excavations demonstrated that sensitive medieval levels survived quite close to the present ground surface. These included the possible traces of a robber trench to the east of the medieval hall, and a mysterious burnt layer to the north-east of it associated with a clay surface. A large, brick-lined cess-pit was also encountered, probably of c. 1800 date.

Further afield, the Unit carried out shallow excavations near the gatehouse of Bronsil Castle. These were associated with the shoring of the remaining portions of the gatehouse tower following its dramatic collapse into the moat in February. No significant levels were encountered. The Unit also recorded the surviving upstanding masonry in advance of consolidation work.

Excavations to the south of the former King's Head tavern at Urishay demonstrated that the original cruck-framed building extended two bays further in that direction. The stone footings of the walls and an end stack were exposed, and the building probably consisted of a hall, parlour and cross-passage. There was no evidence to suggest that it would have been anything but domestic.

Other building survey work in the county included a re-appraisal and partial re-survey of 20 Church Street after it had been stripped out further by the developers. This work exposed further traces of the medieval frame, including a large ogee-headed first-floor doorway to match a slightly smaller one found previously. The style of these doors, and that of the four-light first-floor window, coupled with the structural design of the building, seem to point to a building date in the mid-14th century, slightly earlier than previously thought.

An outline survey of 50A St. Owen's Street, demonstrated that behind the disparate facades of several shops, there were the substantial remains of a very large timber-framed building that once had at least one multi-light first-floor window with an elaborately moulded head, and possibly a central oriel or stair tower on the rear elevation. The building, which would have been just inside St. Owen's Gate, probably dates to the second half of the 16th century.

The long-term survey work at Goodrich Castle produced two interim reports, one on a portion of the keep and another on the great hall. A limited survey of the ruined old church at Brockhampton-by-Ross, following the partial collapse of part of the north wall of the nave, proved that nave and chancel are not, in fact, of the same build but that the chancel is of a later date. The church had been dated by the surviving early 15th-century windows in the nave, but the northern one of these is clearly inserted and this would infer that the nave is earlier.

Botany, 1990

By PETER THOMSON

using Herefordshire Botanical Society Records

1990 is reported to be the hottest year since meteorological records began to be taken in 1659 and the past decade has had six of the seven hottest years on record. Globally 1990 was only 0.05% hotter on average than 1988, the previous record year. These changes could lie within the normal range of climatic variability but the pattern does indicate a trend to global warming which, if it continues, may have many consequences including effects on our local flora.

The year could be described as a 'Mediterranean' year in Herefordshire. Floods were widespread in the early part of the year in all lowland areas and long bouts of heavy rain carried unknown tons of top soil away from sloping ploughed fields. Gales took their toll during the winter especially those of 25 January which brought down or damaged many trees throughout the area. The first three months were relatively mild so that by the beginning of April many spring flowers were already going over after flowering early. Bluebells, *Hyacinthoides non-scripta*, were beginning to come out along with early purple orchids, *Orchis mascula*, almost a month ahead of schedule.

The most severe frosts did not arrive until the first week of April devastating fruit crops brought on early by the mild weather, but by the end of the month heat wave temperatures prevailed and continued, with a respite of cooler, moister weather in June, until early September. Little rain of note fell until 29 September.

By late May herbs of the woodland floor were suffering from drought. Dog's mercury, *Mercurialis perennis*, in particular was flagging badly and by late August trees, scorched by temperatures of up to 30° C, were beginning to drop their leaves.

The autumn fungus crop too was affected by the weather. After a hot summer the fungi are stimulated to produce their fruiting bodies by the first penetrating rain of the autumn. The grassland species such as the field mushroom, *Agaricus campestris*, and shaggy ink cap, *Coprinus comatus*, were quickly activated into prolific production by the first prolonged rain. Their woodland relatives were much slower to respond as the rain failed to do more than moisten the surface of the soil. By December primroses, *Primula vulgaris*, were already reported to be flowering in the Malvern area. Presumably they mistook the summer drought for their winter rest!

If the weather pattern of recent years continues we can expect a decrease in the number of moisture-loving plants and those averse to high temperatures along with an increase in those which thrive on summer heat and winter rain, such as some of the legumes and bulbous plants.

A visit by about seventeen members of the Botanical Society of the British Isles from 7-9 June provided the opportunity to look more carefully at several botanical sites. On Little Mountain Common over a hundred flowering plants and ferns were recorded the most notable of which were growing on the bed of the dried out pools. Here pillwort, *Pilularia globulifera*,

a grass-like fern of the muddy fringes of a few upland pools, was prolific but was producing few of its pill-like fruits. Shoreweed, *Lillorella uniflora*, slender parsley-piert, *Aphanes microcarpa*, creeping forget-me-not, *Myosotis secunda*, pill sedge, *Carex pilulifera*, and marshwort, *Apium inundatum*, were some of the more interesting plants found.

The Black Darens produce Herefordshire's nearest approach to mountain flora and here mossy saxifrage, *Saxifraga hypnoides*, and the Welsh poppy, *Mecanopsis cambrica*, were in full flower. In addition about a dozen species of fern were recorded including a small fragment of green spleenwort, *Asplenium viride*, which hangs on by a thread in cool, shady north-facing niches with a limy soil.

Dulas churchyard was just right for its display of orchids. There were hundreds of flowering spikes of spotted orchids, *Dactylorhiza maculate* group, along with the rich meadow flora for which this churchyard is well known. On the Great Doward we were able to confirm the healthy state of the three rare sedges which grow there. Dwarf sedge, *Carex humilis*, with its tufts of very fine leaves, grows in thin soil on the limestone and flowers as early as March; fingered sedge, *C. digitata*, often grows from crevices in the limestone cliffs which the more plentiful soft-leaves sedge, *C. montana*, prefers the shallow woodland soils on the limestone and when not fruiting may be confused with the wood sedge, *C. sylvatica*.

In early July an exciting report from David Thompson of Weston-under-Penyard took us to a strawberry field near Ross to see a specimen of Venus' looking-glass, *Legousia hybrida*. This rare weed of cultivated ground had not been recorded in the Ross area since the last century and it was uncommon even then. Our only other record came from near Mordiford in 1944. With it was fool's parsley, *Aethusa cynapium*, field woundwort, *Stachys arvensis*, and bugloss, *Anchusa arvensis*, all of which are now much less common than formerly. Another plant which has been recorded in 1990 has been the horned pondweed *Zannichellia palustris*. The previous dearth of records of this plant may be because it is a very fine-leaved, submerged water plant which is easily overlooked.

Full records of plants found in the county are held by the Botanical Society of the British Isles County Recorder for Herefordshire (Vice-county 36) at present Stephanie Thomson. I would be grateful to Woolhope Club members for any records of Wild plants, including precise locations, which have interested them. I would also be interested in any changes in plant life which may be attributable to our present run of extraordinary weather.

Buildings, 1990

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in Bromyard. As in the past we are indebted to the University of Birmingham for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based at Weobley and Pembridge.

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though in some cases the two need to be read together.

BODENHAM

BROADFIELD COURT. S0 545531 (R.C.H.M. 3) Tithe No. 95

Barn to north of house.

A five-bay barn with stone gables and timber-framed sides which appears to be a rebuild c. 1600 re-using some timber from an earlier building. It had a good sandstone-tiled roof. The threshing bay is the western one and poses the problem as to whether the barn was once longer.

BRILLEY

CWMMMA. S0 277512 (R.C.H.M. 3) Tithe No. 872

See also *Transactions* XL (1972), p. 396.

There is here a fine group of farm buildings dating mainly from the mid or late 18th century. It seems to have been one continuous building programme. They are arranged around three sides of a quadrangle to the N.W. of the house facing it across the drive which leads in across the fields. Some timber from earlier buildings is incorporated in them. They include two cattle shelters, one new wing as a stable, three barns, a cowshed, a granary and a cartshed.

FERNHALL. S0 278515 (R.C.H.M. 4) Tithe No. 916

This two-bay cruck hall with cross-wings has a set of 18th-century farm buildings comprising two barns, a cowshed and a cattle shelter.

KINGTON

61 BRIDGE STREET. S0 298566

This house does not appear in the R.C.H.M. Inventory, but seems to come into the period pre-1715 with which it deals. The beams have 2¼ inch chamfers and the roof has two trenched, through purlins on either side. At the rear on the ground floor is a window with horizontal sliding sashes, probably an 18th-century insertion. What appears to have been an external kitchen on the plot at the back of the house has lost its fireplace.

CASTLE HOTEL. S0 295567 Tithe No. 370

There is some evidence in the roof of an earlier building, probably early in the 17th century. This appears to have been modernised about the turn of the 17th/18th centuries and then again in the second quarter of the 19th century from which period survives the assembly room at the rear. There are already two good assembly rooms in Kington, at the Burton and the Oxford, but this one, up the hill away from the main streets was apparently used by the Radnorshire farmers.

CRABTREE. S0 296565 Tithe No. 412

This is part of the Burton Hotel now being converted into staff quarters. It appears to have been a cottage and stables built early in the 18th century. Was this the property which was built at Crabtree on the Pig Market in 1735? It could well be.

HERGEST CROFT. S0 284566

A typical turn of the 19th/20th-century gentleman's house, tile-hung and gabled designed by Kempson in 1898 who was responsible for the market hall and its tower at the bottom of the hill. He added to the house in 1906.

LYONSHALL

YADON FARM. S0 316565

This house does not appear in the R.C.H.M. Inventory, but the carpenters' assembly marks c, cc, etc. seem to be late 17th century. It is now a farmhouse and looks as though it was built as such, on a four-bay, three-part plan, but for a long time was divided into four cottages.

PEMBRIDGE

LEEN FARM. S0 383591 (R.C.H.M. 53) Tithe No. 370

In one of the barns about 90 feet by 20 feet the southernmost truss is a re-used cruck, probably from an older building in the same complex. The carpenters' assembly marks are differenced on each truss, i.e. the same numbers but with a symbol on each to show that the timbers belong to a particular truss.

The whole farm complex is an excellent example of the way a Herefordshire farm has developed from the 16th to the 20th centuries.

ROSS-ON-WYE

22-24 BROOKEND STREET. S0 601244 (R.C.H.M. 37)

See also *Transactions* XLI (1973), p. 127.

Further removal of plaster and a linking-up of the two houses revealed a vertical-framed jettied house and more of the painted beams.

YARPOLE

PLAINSBROOK. S0 466654 Tithe No. 232 and 233

A four-part plan house of brick and stone with a timber-framed outbuilding to the north-west which has heavy late carpenters' assembly marks, probably c. 1700. The western end of the back, southern wall, of the house is of stone, but only about 20 inches thick. The eastern end is of modern brick, stretcher bond. The front of the house is built in Flemish bond and the eastern end of English Garden Wall. The stairs are at the end of a central passage opposite the front door and there are two stacks one on each of the two internal walls dividing the rooms, with two small rooms behind these two central rooms.

In the 1841, 1851 and 1861 censuses this was two cottages just as it was at the time of the Tithe survey, but in the 1871 and 1881 censuses it is shown as one dwelling only. This original semi-detached layout would account for the position of the chimneys. The Flemish bond brickwork and the stone at the back probably indicate a building date in the middle part of the 18th century with the later brick bondings showing subsequent alterations.

The barn to the south-east up the hill seems to be of late timber-framing, perhaps even early 19th century and has a 'poverty' slate roof.

During the year forty-four planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations, additions or improvements. One of these involved demolition, the stables at Stoke Edith, and it was suggested these should be preserved. Another, at Hamnish, was for the conversion of existing farm buildings into cottages, and the erection of a new farm-yard only if permission was given for the conversion. A similar comment was made about this type of conversion as last year, viz. that whilst it is good to see these barns being saved in this way in some cases the request is for too many houses, especially where a farm-yard opens on to a narrow, twisting road. One proposal this year was to reroof a barn with pantiles, but it was pointed out to the planning authorities that this is not the normal type of Herefordshire barn roof. Another proposal for demolition was hop-kilns at Stoke Bliss and whilst these were in a bad state and no objection was made it was pointed out that they had a steady development over some three hundred years and some examples of all types should be preserved.

As in the past my thanks are due to all those who have drawn my attention to buildings and obtained permission for me to visit them and to the owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander around their property and homes.

Geology, 1990

By P. CROSS

Fossil Land Animals in the Silurian Rocks at Ludlow

The 1988 Geology Report in this *Transactions* mentions the world famous bone bed site on the corner opposite the Youth Hostel at Ludlow and its clean up in readiness for 'Murchison Year' (see also 1989 Report). The collection and subsequent investigation of fossils in the loose rock removed from the site during the clean up has been proceeding in the universities of Manchester and Wales. The results of this work have just been published in the journal *Science*.¹

Fossil remains found from just above the well-known Ludlow Bone Bed at its type locality at Ludford Lane, Ludlow (SO 5116 7413) include parts of at least two centipedes and a tiny primitive spider. Many lines of evidence indicate that this fauna constitutes the earliest direct record of land animals on earth. Modern centipedes are entirely terrestrial and the fossil centipede limbs discovered are entirely suited to rapid movement on land but not to walking in water.

The discovery of these fossils suggest that the animal invasion of land occurred earlier than was previously thought. The rocks in which the fossils were found have been dated at 414 million years. Previously it had been thought that the transition of animal life from sea to land took place about 400 million years ago.

REFERENCE

¹ Jeram A. J., Selden, P. A., Edwards D., *Science*, vol. 25, 2 November 1990, 658-61.

Herefordshire Field-Names, 1990

By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

The survey is progressing very satisfactorily with a total of 162 parish lists now published. We wish to thank all those people who have contributed in whatever way to the work of the project. The field-name survey has already proved to be extremely useful for a variety of purposes. We would welcome any contributions to Part 1 of the survey and also Part 2 involving older pre-tithe map field-names.

Part 1: Published Parishes

Minor corrections are available at Hereford Record Office for these further parishes.

ALMELEY, BRIDSTOW, CALLOW, EARDISLEY, EASTNOR, MIDDLETON, STRETTON SUGWAS, WELLINGTON, WIGMORE.

PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name: RICHARDS CASTLE

Contributed by Pat Cross

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
152, 153 (part)	Arnold's Acre	1713	JS
618, 619, 531 (part)	The Asps	1681	05
	Ye Alpes	1707	MC
Township	Bachecote	1499	56
	Bascott	1740	05
	Bachcott	1754	05
528, 529 (part)	Bean Acre	1562	83
	Bean Acre	1713	JS
754 (part)	Bearcroft	1586	LS
	Bearcroft	1562	83
	Bearcroft	1647	05
	Bearcroft	1707	MC
	Bearcroft	1713	JS
	Bearcroft	1734	W1
226	Berwardismylne	.1382	PM
	Bernards Myll	1556	W1
631, 621 (part)	Bezands Ridge	1713	JS
	Beazon's Ridge and Beazon's	1743	HJ
616	Biddys Lie	1562	83
	Biddesley	1639	33
	Biddesley and Birds Eye	1713	JS
705, 710 (part)	Billibury	1305	PR

	"	1311	PR
	Billbury	1330	BR
	Billeburi	1344	PG
	Bulbery	1556	W1
	Bylbery	1556	PR
	Bylberry	1589	23
	Bilberry Hill	1707	MC
	Bilbury Hill	1743	HJ
648 - 65-	Blethlowe	1221	SS
	Blythelowe	1340	PM
	Bledelowe	1365	PM
	Blithelowe	1376	56
	Blechelowe	1397	PR
	Blythelowe	1502	20
	Blithelowe	1535	56
	Bleathlowe Close	1609	W1
	Blethelowe	1610,	
	"	1616, 17	
	"	1674	56
	Bleathlow	1624,	
		1633	56
	Blythlow	1713	JS
	Blethlow alias Eldridge's Farm	1809	PD
420, 425 (part)	Bowacre	1713	JS
787, 784, 763a,	Brightall's Field	1644-48	05
783, 761a, 481,	Brightal (Brittalls Field)	1707	MC
759a, 762 or 757,	Brightalls Field	1713	JS
482.	Brighthill Field	1743	HJ
	Brittal Field	1749	83
	Britain's Orchard	1743	HJ
754 (part)			
(see also 758-9)			
763, 764, 782	The Brootches (in Lynedons eye)	1586	LS
	Bruches	1743	HJ
683	Bury	1531	23
	Bury Hynton	1624	33
	Bury Hynton	1638	W1
	The Berry	1650	33
	The Bury House and lands known as the farm of Bury Hinton.	1713	JS
754 (part)	Cams Land	1743	HJ
152, 153 (included)	Carter's Field	1604	W1
	"	1610	05
	"	1713	JS
721 (part)	Castle Wicket Plock	1743	HJ
333, 334 (included)	Clayhill Field	1382	PM
662	The Long Furlong	1680	BM
334, 662	Clay Hill	1713	JS
478 (or near)	Cockshutthill	1640	33
	Cockshutthill	1642	05

	Cockshoot Hill	1713	JS
501	Cokes ditch	1562	83
	Cooksditch	1604	33
510, 512-14,	Cristins Mynde	1562	83
483, 760a.	Cristynge Mynd and	1604	W1
	Crystyns Leasowe		
	Cristens field	1652	05
	The Crifteens	1713	JS
	Crifton Field & two Crofts	1743	HJ
740, 742 (or near)	Cully (South of Linehales Eye)	1743	HJ
552	Furlong Meadow	1743	HJ
781, 789 (included),	the Goggining	1681	05
261 (plus bridge)	Goseford	1349	PG
	Gossard	1684	W1
	Gossard	1689	05
	Gossard	1726	W1
573	Hackluits Close	1713	JS
	Hackluitts Close	1726	W1
109	Hadmore Leasow (in tithe-Admiral?)	1663	W1
	Hadmore Croft & Hadmore Leasow	1686	30
110	Hadmore Meadow	1724-5	30
553	Hale	1713	JS
	Hail Meadow	1743	HJ
	The Little hale	1749	83
349	Hamonds land	1556	W1
	Hamonds meadow	1643	05
435, 440 (part)	Hanweyes Mynde	1604	W1
	Hanwayes Mynd	1652	23
805-826	Hay grounds	1713	JS
459-61	Hoppe Close	1600	33
	Hope Ground	1610	W1
	The Hope	1662	33
350, or 402 (part)	Howe Meddow	1623	W1
	Howe Meadow	1643	05
	Hoe meadow	1652	05
	How medowe	1586	LS
	How meadow	1713	JS
	How meadow	1749	83
755	Hokes Close	1562	83
	Hucks Close	1743	HJ
879	Hucks Barn	1729	22
	Hucks Barn Field	1740	22
	Ux Barn Meadow	1792	W1
	Hooks otherwise Hucks Barn	1806	41
645 (part)	Hunts Close (in Blethlow)	1586	LS
	Hunts Close	1707	MC
	Hunts Close	1749	83
527	King's Acre	1586	LS
	King's Acre	1707	MC

	Kings Acre	1749	83
523, 524	Ladywall Meadow	1610	05
	Ladywall Plock	1713	JS
	Ladywall and Ladywall Plock	1743	HJ
724 (included)	Lake Meadow and Lake	1743	HJ
129, 161, 162	The Lyes	-	RP
	Lies	1743	HJ
558	Lords Close	1610	05
	Lords Close	1657	05
	The Lords Close	1713	JS
686, 688	Ludlow Road	1713	JS
	Ullinghall Field	1680	BM
730 (included)	Lynedones Eye	1586	LS
	Lynons Eye	1611	33
	Lynons Eye	1672	05
	Lyndalls Eye	1707	MC
	Lynons Eye	1713	JS
	Linehales Eye	1743	HJ
	Lyonells Eye	1749	83
644-5 (included)	Lythols	1743	HJ
637, 639	Lytholls	1836	41
721-3, 735-6,	Meerfield	1568	LS
718, 720.	Mearfield	1598	23
	The Meare field	1604	W1
	The Meare field	1647/8	05
	Meerfield	1707	MC
	Meerfield	1713	JS
	Merefield	1743	HJ
	Mearfield	1749	83
664, 666	Middle Field	1680	BM
	Middle Field	1713	JS
578	Mill Pound	1726	W1
570	Moor Close	1743	HJ
570	Moores House	1657	05
1	The More	1571	W1
414, 415	Mullwally acre	1604	33
	Mulla Hill	1713	JS
432-4, 425, 420	Myndefield	1604	33
	The Mynde field	1622	23
	Myndefield	1652	33
	Mindfield	1707	MC
	Mine Field	1713	JS
	Mine Field	1743	HJ
	little mind Field	1749	83
805, 819 (part)	Narbuck	1301	MG
	Norbach	1600	33
	Mowbatch	1613	33
	Mowbatch	1629	33
	Mowbatch	1636	05

	Ruffe Norbatch	1652	33
	Norbach	1662	33
	Norbath	1713	JS
	Mowbatch hall	1774	41
485, 480a (included)	Oate Acres (part of the Park)	1644	05
	Oatacres	1681	05
	Oatacres	1701	05
530, 728,	Orley ground and	1749	83
743	Owley place		
	Orlly	1743	HJ
678	Older Meadow	1713	JS
689, 690	Upper Ox Leasow	1713	JS
	Lower Ox Leasow		
	Horse Plock		
680	Upper Cow Leasow and	1713	JS
	Lower Cow Leasow		
	Cow Leasow	1680	BM
	Ox Leasow		
550	Palmers Close	1707	MC
	Palmers Close	1713	JS
	Palmers Hedge	1749	83
328, 329	Park Meadow	1552	33
	Park Meadow	1556	23
	Pitt Leasowe	1713	JS
101 or 102	Pill Leasowe	1644	83
(probably)	Pitt Leasowe	1640	83
	Pytt Leasowe	1592	W1
92 ?	Pike close	1546	33
	The Pike	1604	W1
	The Pyke	1694	W1
668	The Quarters	1637	23
	The Quarters	1638	23
	The Quarters	1660	33
403-6 (part)	The Quick	1713	JS
760	Rycroft	1743	HJ
142 (included)	Sheepcottes Field	1592	W1
	Sheepcoates Field	1686	30
	Sheepcote field	1713	JS
	Sheepcote Croft	1743	HJ
691	Shull Meadow	1301	33
	Shelmeadowe	1552	23
	Shilde Meadow	?	33
	Shil Meadowe	1589	23
	Shield Meadow	1671	05
	Shield Meadow	1681	05
	Shield alias Shull Meadow	1713	JS
546	Seech	1743	HJ
547, 551	Smallmor field	1652	05
598-9,	Smallmor	1668	05

607, 609-611, 614-15, 643 (all included)	Smallemorsfield	1671	05
	Smallemorsfield	1681	05
	Smalldorn	1646	33
	Smannydales field	1586	LS
	Smalidall field	1598	23
	Smaleydales field	1604	W1
	Smalingdooles field	1652	05
	Smallinder field	1652	33
	Smalidales field	1707	MC
	Smallenders Meadow and field	1713	JS
	Smallinder field	1749	83
	Smalledells field meadow & furlong	1562	83
353	Souters Stile	1622	23
	Souter Stile	1756	PD
	Souters Stile	1759	PD
	Sowter Style	1775	PD
	Souters Style	1785	PD
	Souters Close (in Sidmore's field)	1713	JS
	Sowter's Style	1749	83
620	Synder Meadow	1586	LS
	Synder Meadow	1592	W1
	Sinder Meadow	1707	MC
	Cynder Meadow	1743	HJ
	Syndar Meadow	1749	83
612, 622	Timber Plock	1743	HJ
	Timber Plock	1749	83
798, 799	Tynckheld	1615	05
	Tinckheld	1615	33
	Tinkheld	1713	JS
308	Tolshoppe Green	1564	33
	Tolshoppgreen	1589	23
	Towlshoppegreene	1633	33
533	Tritte furlong & Tritt fyeld	1592	W1
	Trott furlonge	1598	23
	Trott furlong	1832	AB
544	Tumpy plock	1743	HJ
274, 277	Turford	1227	RH
	Turford	1255	RH
	Turford	1349	PG
	Turford	1677	TB
	Turford Hill	1726	W1
692, 698	Ullingall	1680	BM
(part)	Upper Ullingall Croft	1713	JS
(part)	Old Ullingall	"	"
(part)	Ullingall Meadow	"	"
(part)	Ullingall Plocks	"	"
669, (included) 670-73.	Long Acre, Middle Acre & Short Acre	1713	JS
420	Upper Myndfield	1586	LS

	Upper Mindfield	1610	05
425	Myndfield	1702	05
73	Vaughan's Quick	1713	JS
91, 93	Vestall Meadow & Vestall Leasow	1713	JS
602	Westhead	1743	HJ
54	The Weet	1677	05
	Weet Common	1713	JS
403-6, 356-7, (included)	Whitebroc (land in)	1221	SS
(This is open field).	Whitebrook	1256	RH
	Wythebrok	1272	AS
	Whytebroke (hamlet of)	1303	PM
	Whitbrooke	1586	LS
	Whitbrokes	1598	23
	Whitbrookes	1600	33
	White Brooke Field	1749	83
Township	Wolfertone	pre 1275	PG
	Wolfertone	1349	PG
	Wolfertone	1349	W1
	Wolfartone	1556	33
	Wooferton	1689	05
	Woferton	1713	JS
<i>Addenda</i>			
721 (part)	Castle Wicket	1598	23
767 (part)	Broomy Leasow	1707	MC
261	Gosford	1832	AB
573	Hakleites Close	1531	23
	Hackelites Close	1604	33
	Hackleutes Close	1637	05
553	Hall Meadow	1703	MC
753	Higgins Orchard	1743	HJ
755	Hucks Close	1647	05
<i>The open fields of Overton in the parish of Richards Castle.</i>			
870, 881-83 (included)	Caldywall	1586	LS
888, 928, 935 (included)	Dustleyes	1586	LS
851, 853, 905-7	Heroner	1586	LS
905-907 (part)	Kyrmishall	1586	LS
<i>Unidentified</i>			
	Calldywall, Caldewals (Open Field in Overton, Salop)	1586	LS
	Donsteleye, Donsterley	1308	PG
	Donsterleye	1349	PG
	Donsteleye	1356	PG
	Donseleyefeld	1425	PG
	Donstey Field	1522	PG
	Dustleyes Field (Open Field in Overton, Salop)	1586	LS

	Fystoe Medowe	1586	LS
	Hepcotts Field (in Batchcott)		
	The Langett	1598	23
	The Langett	1471	05
	Lebright Field	1566	33
	Lebridghill	1604	W1
	Lebright Hill	1622	23
	Lilbrick Hill	1677	05
	Lybrick Hill Top	1713	JS
	Lebricke Field	1727	83
	Little Cornwall Meadow	1673	W1
	Longhouse close alias Little House Close	1546	33
	Lyndon Bache	1615	05
	Lynenams Batch	1647	83
	New Tynings or Clystings	1629	33
	(part of the Park + Mill & Pooles)		
	Salley Furlong	1592	W1
	Salleys Furlong	1640	83
	Sidmans, Sydman's field (Open Field)	1627	23
	Sidmoore's field (Open Field)	1686	LS
	Sydmore's field	1598	23
	Sydmore's field	1604	W1
	Sidmore's field	1610	05
	Sydmore's field	1614	41
	Sydmore's	1622	23
	Sidmore's field	1644	83
	Sidmore's field	1652	05
	Sydmore's field	1663	W1
	Sydmore's field	1668	05
	Sidmore's field	1686	30
	Seigemoore's field	1699	53
	Sidmore's field	1707	MC
	Sidmore's field	1713	JS
	Syd or Sigmore's field	1749	83
	Smoke Meadowe	1604	W1
	Tylers Croft (In Overton, Salop)	1633	22
	Fennall	1575	SA
	Fennalls	1601	SA
	Vinnalls	1604	SA
	Vynnalls	1662	33
	Vinnalls	1674	W1
	Ward Croft	1713	JS
	The Warrants	1624	W1
	Wickstich Leasow	1668	05
	Woods Eaves (in Batchcott)	1830	41

Note. Because of the position of Richards Castle straddling the border of two counties the following distinction in title nos. should be noted; Herefordshire title nos. 464 - 826 (incl.), Salop. 1 - 463 and 827 - 968.

KEY TO SOURCES

BM	SRO	1680 Map of the Bury.
HJ	HRO	1743 Henry Jordan Estate Map.
AB	HRO	1832 A. Bryant's Map Co. Hereford.
83	SRO	783 box 70 Morgan Collection.
23	SRO	1623 Meade Collection.
05	SRO	1005/47/ bet. 100 & 200 Salwey Collection.
56	SRO	356/MT/ 1352, '57, & '58.
41	SRO	1141 box 97 & 98 Clarke & Major Phillips Collections.
22	SRO	2 II & 2 III.
20	SRO	20/12/16.
30	SRO	2030/2/399 & 407 Salwey & Richards Collections.
33	HRO	Box 33 11, 743.
PD		Private deeds.
SA		<i>Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.</i> vol. III pt. 2.
AS		Assizes 56 Hen. III memb. 3.
SS		Seldon Society 1940, 1073.
PG	PRO	Palmers Guild Ludlow MT.
MG	PRO WRO HRO	Lord Mortimer's Grant.
BR		Bishop's Registers (Hereford).
RH		<i>Rotuli Hundredorum & The Great Roll of the Pipe.</i>
PR		<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</i>
PM		<i>Inquisition Post Mortem.</i>
RP	HRO	Register of Papists.
TB	HRO	Thomas Blount.
W1	HRO	Wills AA/20.
LS	SRO	Ludlow Corporation Survey 1586.
MC	SRO	Ludlow Corporation Lease to Mary Cam.
JS	WRO	BA 2636/52 Bishop of Worcester's Lease to John Salwey.

Industrial Archaeology, 1990

By JOHN van LAUN

This recorder pointed out in his report for 1988 that his subject area often overlaps archaeology and buildings (p. 107). However, the following items came to his notice this year which are the legitimate study of the industrial archaeologist.

1. The Hereford Town Hall has been clad in scaffolding for repairs to the cupola and finials of this fine Edwardian Baroque building. At the time of this report work is nearing completion.

2. Bus shelter St. Peter's Church, Hereford. Made of cast iron consisting of a central pedimental bay with two flanking bays the corners consisting of acroteria with self-draining columns the capitals forming the rainwater goods. This unlisted building dating from the 1930s is undergoing repair.

3. Numbers 4 to 8 Union Street, Hereford. These artisans' dwellings dated from c. 1870 are falling rapidly into dereliction. Consisting of three storeys with a parapet with garlands set between the lights of the third storey this fine row is worthy of listing and is receiving attention from Hereford City Council.

4. Road side furniture is a threatened species particularly enamelled signs which now have a commercial value. A round black and yellow A.A. type that was common in many towns and villages has disappeared from Ewyas Harold (SO 387287). It was enamelled as follows

AUTOMOBILE [old AA logo] ASSOCIATION
ABERGAVENTNY 12
EWYAS HAROLD
HAY 17
London 135
SAFETY FIRST

Further items of interest to the industrial archaeologist are petrol pumps. Three 1920s dolly types disappeared some years ago from Wellington (SO 501478) but more recent types are at least worthy of recording.

An item that is now almost extinct is the multiple ceramic telegraph post being replaced by single encased wires.

Mammals, 1990

By W. H. D. WINCE

WATER SHREW (*Neomys fodiens*)

The first recording of this species in Herefordshire was not as indicated in the 1988 note. The recorder has to thank Dr. B. E. Miles for pointing out that it was Dr. J. H. Wood in the last century who recorded its presence in his diary.

BATS

Miss S. Holland recorded that a Barbastelle Bat (*Barbastella barbastella*) was found in a roost in a building at Pembridge. This brings to nine the number of species identified in Herefordshire.

Noctule bats have been seen, usually singly, flying high over woodland or open country before darkness.

MICE

Several new sites for Dormice (*Muscardinus avellanarius*) have been found by Miss Eilis Kirby working on a conservation programme for the Herefordshire Nature Trust.

Country-wide predation by Yellow-necked mice (*Apodemus flavicollis*) and Wood mice (*A. sylvaticus*) on nests of tits - pied flycatchers in the Birds Nest Box Scheme has been reported.

BADGER (*Meles meles*)

Reports of many badger road deaths from various parts of the county have been received; they are worst in the spring. The Herefordshire Badger Group has rescued and cared for some wounded animals. The Group has pointed out that there have been three cases of badger dumping; one was witnessed by a member. It would appear that badgers killed during a session of illegal badger baiting are deposited on the roadside. Careful inspection of the carcass seems to confirm this view.

The Herefordshire Badger Group has been recording setts on the proposed route of the Hereford by-pass; recommendations will be made for the siting of underpasses in an attempt to lessen casualties on what is likely to be a very busy road.

The recorder would like to thank Miss Hazel Nock of Peterstow for information on the activities of the Herefordshire Badger Group.

OTTER (*Lutra lutra*)

A dog otter was killed on the road near Aymestrey on 28 October 1990. There is a report that two otter cubs were seen swimming on the river Arrow at the end of August.

Ornithology, 1990

By BERYL HARDING

Another mild winter was experienced with January wet and with only four frosts. On the 4th a blackbird was singing in Hereford and in full song by February. A song thrush was singing in Llanwarne on 13 January and a nuthatch and goldcrests were calling. A solitary chiffchaff was seen in an oak tree two days later. It seems that several decided to overwinter in the county. By the 25th there were gales and more than 200 mm. of rain gave very wet meadows. One hundred lapwing were seen at Wilton, c. 100 wigeon at Castleton and eleven snipe at Tretire in early January. Twenty-one Bewick swan were seen at Bredwardine later and twenty-eight mute swan on the flooded Hampton Bishop meadows in February. Flocks of up to 400 fieldfares and more than 200 redwing were seen in Holme Marsh during January and February. Daytime counts gave over thirty-six cormorants on Carey Island during both months.

February continued mild but stormy with one one night of frost. 19 February was the mildest February night on record. March was also springlike and sunny with only seven frosts and plants were four to six weeks ahead, with the fruit in blossom by 20 March. Partridges and long-tailed tits were pairing in Llanwarne and curlews and chiffchaffs calling by the 7th. On 10 March the rooks at Lyston decided to change their rookery site to the other side of the trees, away from the lake. This was completed by the next day with most of the nesting material removed and re-arranged.

1990 was the driest spring since 1893 and April was warm and sunny but nine nights of heavy frosts created havoc with the blossom over a wide area. Nevertheless, cuckoos were heard locally and elsewhere by the 25th. Swifts and house martins had returned by the 28th, followed by blackcaps and whitethroats, both singing by 3 May and the swallows had returned by 10 May. Would the number of insects surviving the mild winter and the early returns of migrants result in abundant young being reared?

The summer continued with average temperatures in May and June but very hot in July and August with less than 60 mm. of rain. A warm, dry summer can prove a disaster for birds. The top soil becomes impenetrable so that even the strongest beaks have difficulty reaching the invertebrates which have burrowed deeper. Seed-eaters fail to find sufficient food as the succession to ripe seeds slows. The aerial-insect feeders do better than most but as succulent plants die out so do many insects. As food becomes scarce many birds stop breeding earlier anticipating lack of food for their young. Thrushes, swallows and martins find insufficient damp mud for building nests. All these difficulties offset the expected increase in young being reared this year.

Few hear the distinctive call of the corncrake any more. At the last count for Britain and Ireland the total population was less than 1,500 calling males. In Ireland their prospects have been better but as farming techniques change to the use of large machines the outlook has become bleaker. Silage cutting in June is followed by hay cutting a month later so nests, chicks and mothers are lost. Cutting patterns could be changed to allow the escape of corncrakes and other birds and mammals trapped in the centre of a field. A corncrake, however,

was heard in Kinnersley on 30 July and on previous occasions in June. It was not located, nor is it known whether it found a mate. In August one was caught in a rabbit cage and released unharmed in Madley.

One of the few species not breeding in June is the crossbill. The birds nest in late winter when the cones have matured. There was an excellent cone crop in 1989 in N. Europe, therefore the crop is likely to fail this winter, so that many family groups start searching for new areas. Such movements can involve huge numbers and long distances. This June and July saw a massive invasion of crossbills from Scandinavia into Scotland. By mid-July they had spread throughout Britain and by late September to October were moving into coniferous forests prior to breeding. Flocks were seen in Pedwardine, Wigmore and Mordiford in July and August, and on Bircher Common in October. Their apparent wasteful scattering of cones when feeding serves a purpose. The fallen cones remain damp on the woodland floor preventing further opening of the scales so allowing the seeds to remain within as a food reserve for later in the winter.

People used to regard magpies as the farmer's friend - a devourer of grain pests. However, game-keeping interests changed attitudes in Victorian times and magpies became feathered vermin. Their population plunged drastically by the turn of the century. With less game-keeping their population has increased again so that many regard them with loathing for their 'wanton destruction' of small birds and their nests. However, for the past fifteen years a study has been carried out on their behaviour and population and B.T.O. records confirm that their numbers have increased in the last twenty years at more than 4% p.a. in farmland and woodland, and more than 8% p.a. in suburban habitats. The total population in Britain and Ireland is reckoned to be between 250,000 and 500,000 pairs, not accounting for unattached juveniles. Despite this huge increase no evidence has been found that magpies reduce songbird numbers. The nesting success of the thirteen targetted songbirds has not declined during this time and the nesting successes of the song thrush, green finch and yellow hammer has markedly increased. Songbird populations have increased most in the regions and habitats where magpies are common. It would appear therefore that the worst anti-magpie propaganda is unfounded.

1990 has been recognised officially as the worst breeding season on record for arctic terns in Shetland. Only a handful attempted to nest compared with more than 32,000 pairs ten years ago. One known chick was fledged, making this the seventh disastrous season. The young of puffins, kittiwakes and razorbills have also starved. This has been attributed to the licenced over-fishing of sand-eels so that now the Shetland Bird Club (S.B.C.) has appealed to the European Environment Commissioner for action. According to the S.B.C., Britain has breached the 1979 Directive on the Conservation of Wild Birds by not giving adequate protection to breeding and feeding of arctic terns in an area where 90% of the E.C. breeding population gathers. This must be of concern to us all in Britain and Europe.

The success of the expansion of the red kites in Wales can still be affected by the increasing number of nest robberies. Food shortages affect clutch size but as kites spread into lower areas of more productive land their reproduction rates have improved confirming that living in the bleaker Welsh uplands was due to persecution rather than preference for that environment. It is hoped that plans by the R.S.P.B. and N.C.C. will re-establish them through-

out their former range, including this county, wherever good habitat occurs or can be re-created.

The peregrines at the H.N. Trust site at Cymyoy failed again to breed successfully. No young were hatched for the second year running. It is hoped that this may be due to young parents and inexperience. Those at the R.S.P.B. site at Symonds Yat raised a brood of four with success.

The H.N. Trust Nest Box results for 1990 are not yet available. Those for 1989 show that twenty-one sites had 736 boxes recorded with 499 used, fewer than in 1988. However, the number of fledglings raised per nest had risen generally and especially with coal, great and marsh tit. At some sites woodpecker predation and damage to the boxes has increased. At one of the sites recorded by us this year at Welsh Newton, three out of a total of seven blue tit nests with twenty-six chicks were lost by woodpeckers entering the base of the box, not by enlarging the entry hole. Wire netting will be needed around all these next year. At the other site on a Doward reserve this year, two dormouse boxes were used by blue tits, despite having a very narrow back entrance. Blue tit fledgling success was again 67.5% compared with the number of eggs laid, great tit fledgling success had risen to 66.6%, pied flycatcher success had fallen from 100% to 66.6% but the nuthatches maintained their 100% success rate per nest. All the young nuthatches and pied flycatchers were ringed plus those mothers still unringed.

In Llanwarne two pairs of kingfishers have been seen frequently. A yellow wagtail, first calling in mid-April, at last found a mate by the end of May and raised three young. As well as the usual garden birds, young were raised by wrens, blue, great, coal and long-tailed tits, goldcrests, whitethroat and lesser whitethroat, blackcaps, greenfinches, bullfinches, spotted flycatchers, green woodpecker, buzzard, heron, mute swans and Canada geese. The last of the second broods of house martin left on 3 October.

By autumn goldfinches were feeding in the thistles and noisy flocks of peewits and jackdaws were in the potato haulm. It has been a bonanza year for beechmast - the best for eight years. Huge flocks of chaffinches and bramblings should be seen this winter. [Ten years ago some two-million bramblings spent the winter in Britain.] Flocks of fieldfares and redwing have been abundant and some sixty mute swan have been in the pool in the Lugg Meadows during December. Flocks of 200 pied wagtails were roosting in the comparative warmth of High Town amid the trees by mid-December.

Temperatures for November have been average and December has been cold with north winds and rain, up to 40 mm. on Christmas morning. The year has blown itself out with gales and rain. Many berries have been eaten already but there may be enough for the next month or so if it is not too wintry.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1990.

By JOE HILLABY

The David Garrick Public House, 8 St. Peter's Street. HC890740. 16 January.

The committee advised the refusal of the application by Bass Development for the provision of a new shop front as it believed the Victorian facade was an important and attractive part of the street scene at the east end of High Town.

77 East Street. HC890741/LE/E. 30 January.

The Cathedral School wished to demolish this house to erect a Technology Centre. For some members the proposed new building presented a hard and unfriendly elevation onto East Street. The Club's representative pointed out that the application was to demolish an unspoiled mid-Georgian townhouse, not 'a cottage' as stated in the application, and this is one of the few buildings of character left in East Street. It is interesting to recall that the same apparently opprobrious term was used 20 years ago by the Post Office in its campaign to destroy the Mayor's Parlour in Church Street.

The Fosse, Castle Green. HC900046. 13 February.

Change of use from full to part residential with four rooms as temporary classrooms was opposed for this would inevitably lead to unsympathetic alterations to an important building to conform with the Fire Officer's requirements.

The City Waterworks, Broomy Hill. HC900227/P0/W. 5 June.

Welsh Water Land applied to build eleven detached houses on the site of the filter beds - drained by its own authority some years ago. Refusal was recommended. The committee was particularly concerned about the deleterious impact such development would have on the markedly individual character of this part of the conservation area. The city constructed the waterworks under powers conferred by the Improvement Act of 1854 (*Transactions*, 1986, 356-68). In 1856 a pumping station was opened at a cost of £35,000. Twenty years later the water tower was added in a campanile style with steps leading to a viewing platform at the top. The grounds were embellished with shrubs and exotic trees, including the cedar and sequoia so beloved of the Victorians. Park benches and fountains completed this adventurous piece of municipal improvement which - until civic enterprise was replaced by nationalisation - provided a welcome public amenity for this part of the town. The application by *Welsh Water Land* is surely just as characteristic of our own era: to sell off a public facility for its own privatised profitability. In a true spirit of enterprise culture *Welsh Water Land*, which has nothing to lose but its lawyers' fees, has taken the Council's refusal to appeal

Cox's Cottage, 42 Venns Lane. HC900267 & 900268. 3 July.

A sensitively designed extension has already been added to the rear of the thatched cottage in which the artist David Cox lived between his departure from George Cottage, near Baynton Wood on Aylestone Hill, in 1815 and the completion six and a half years later of Ash Tree House (later Berbice Villa). The architect, Ted Wade, who has spent much time studying the Picturesque, now proposed to attempt to reinstate *rus in urbs* by restoring the thatched verandah and seat at the front of the cottage. Ironically members thought that the use of tree trunks as supports gave 'a twee appearance' and suggested they be replaced by 'properly designed' oak supports on paving. Although the Club's representative pointed out that such gnarled trunks were to be found on the original and were highly characteristic of the Picturesque, members will note that the planning authority was only prepared to go a limited way towards such 'licentious deviation of whim and caprice.'

However, 1990 has been above all a Sir Edward Elgar year. One is bound to wonder how that composer would now view what he once described as 'that sweet borderland I have made my home.'

20 Church Street. HC900130/LA. 27 March. HC900330. 14 August.

The significance of this building is threefold:

- i) as a splendid timber-framed three-bay hall with crown-post roof and undercroft constructed c. 1400 (*Transactions*, 1987, 772-3);
- ii) as a fine example of the type of canonical residence which surrounded the Close to the north and east and possibly the west;
- iii) for its very important Elgar associations. Indeed it is hard to imagine any other building still standing - apart from Plas Gwyn - which can claim such significant links (*Transactions*, 1988, 125).

It was the Club's view that any proposals for this building should take full cognisance of all three of these aspects of its history. It was therefore difficult to understand the reply sent by Nicholas Molyneux, an English Heritage inspector, to Jacob O'Callaghan who sought assurances that the room in which Elgar wrote *The Apostles*, and so much else, would be carefully preserved in any alterations. 'While the references you give are interesting and amusing - particularly regarding the notices Elgar placed in the door - I do not believe the associations with this room are strong enough to justify its retention in the overall scheme to preserve this important historic building. The approach ... has been that the over-riding importance lies in the 14th-century structure. This does not mean that the later elements of the building's history have been overlooked, but that they are seen as of slightly lesser importance... Two walls of the room will be retained... In conclusion,' Molyneux opined, 'the association of Elgar with this building is clearly recorded, but is not sufficient in itself to justify the retention of the room in question. However,' he added, 'I am sure the developers would be willing to recognise the association with Elgar by means of a display in this area.'

This letter raises two issues. Firstly, English Heritage is required, in assessing the importance of a building, to pay attention 'not only to its architectural merit but also to its historical interest.' Just what musicological criteria, one must ask, did Molyneux, whose interest is in

timbered buildings, or his colleagues in English Heritage apply? These are not stated. One is bound, therefore, to ask if *The Apostles* is not adequate justification for the retention of that room, then just what would be? Even more puzzling, this intimate little room, with its fireplace and panelling was situated on the ground floor of 20 Church Street. There was, therefore, no conflict between its retention in the undercroft and the restoration of the first floor hall above. What possible justification can there have been, then, for English Heritage's agreement to its destruction - apart from the developer's (Elgar Estates) apparent need for open-plan accommodation?

The City Council, as planning authority, seems to have been faced with a *fait accompli* in this matter. The first application, in March, referred to the removal of plaster and the opening up of fireplaces for archaeological investigation. At the time this seemed to CAAC to be quite innocuous. However, after examining the plan submitted in August, which indicated the disappearance of the Apostles room, the committee made a site visit. Members were aghast to find that it had already gone - apart from a small number of wall-studs. Only the fireplace and some panelling, on an external wall, remained. The ground floor had been virtually gutted.

It is now proposed that the floor in the Apostles room remain boarded as at present and at the existing level. The external wall (sic), with panelling and fireplace, will remain and probably at least two studs of the other walls will be retained!

Even in relation to the conservation of the late medieval hall, the application seems derisory. As the Club wrote to the DoE, 'both text and plan are presented in a highly generalised way:

- no elevation or section of the timber-framed building forms part of the application;
- no rafter plans of ground floor, first floor or roof are provided;
- no indication is given as to how the many important medieval features are to be dealt with, nor the remedial treatment to be applied in such matters as the incomplete crown posts, broken tie beam, broken collar, the vestigial northern brace at ground floor level between the western and central bays and so forth;
- no details have been provided of how the four-light window and doorhead at first floor level on the southern side are to be treated, or how the recently discovered beautifully carved medieval head on the north wall will be restored.

Indeed, the plan seems to suggest that the southern doorhead is doomed to disappear. For a building of this calibre the public has a right to know precisely how all this work will be undertaken. Private negotiation with English Heritage's local representative is no substitute. Such matters must be left firmly in the public domain.'

Despite requests by the Club and many other organisations, including the CAAC, the DoE did not want to call in the Listed Building consent application but were careful to point out that this 'carried no implicit approval by the Department' of the application.

Other matters

Plas Gwyn.

Plas Gwyn was Elgar's home from 1904 to 1911, that is during his period of 'most sustained creative energy' before the 'disillusioning influence of the war years, 1914-18.' Indeed,

it has long been on record that Sir Edward himself said on arrival at Plas Gwyn 'I think that *great* music can be written here.' In 1978, after a decade of neglect, an application, later withdrawn, was made to demolish. At that time a very strong, many would say watertight, case for its immediate listing was made by David Whitehead on behalf of the Hereford Civic Trust. This was ignored. Instead the building was converted into flats and much of the interest of the interior was lost. More than a decade has now passed and, thanks to further hard work on the part of Jacob O'Callaghan, it has, at last, been placed on the list. Again one has to ask, how long is it before Mr. Molyneux and his colleagues realise that England's heritage is not merely architectural?

The affair has prompted the following comment from the Secretary of the Ancient Monuments Society in his winter 1990-1 *Newsletter*. 'Haworth Parsonage is listed Grade I. It has taken an incredibly, indeed unforgiveably, long time to get Sir Edward Elgar's home for eight years at Hereford onto the statutory lists in any grade. We have lamented the lack of protection on at least two occasions and the second effort reinforced by further observations from Elgar enthusiasts and from SAVE has resulted in listing at Grade II*, the second highest category. But how scandalous that the "land without music" should have earned that reputation for so long by neglecting the principal home of the man who till the advent of Britten and Walton was its most gifted musical son.'

Archaeological Research Section, 1990

By M. T. HEMMING

Membership of the section stands at eighty-eight this year. Seven field meetings were organised with an additional two meetings held in Llanwarne village hall. In August about twenty-five members and guests enjoyed a garden party at the home of John and Beryl Harding. On the tenth of November the section hosted the second annual 'Shovellers' Shindig' and mini conference at the Larruperz Centre, Ross-on-Wye. The A.G.M. and annual dinner was held in December at the Golden River Restaurant in Hereford. Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been produced, one in January and one in September.

Would all members of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club please inform the Archaeological Research Section of any sites or finds made which they do not think have been reported. If in doubt please report it, it is better to have information twice than not at all. Please report them to P. R. Halliwell, Burnt House, Castle Street, Wigmore, Leominster, HR6 9UA. Tel. Wigmore 434.

We are pleased to be able to report that the 'rescue' of the old Brockhampton Church (SO 598316) is well under way. Ron Shoesmith of the Hereford Conservation Committee has organised the rescue and consolidation of the 15th-century Holy Trinity church ruins as a result of our visit of the fourth of March 1990.

In January members met at Llanwarne village hall where an illustrated lecture was given by Mr. James Dinn of the County Archaeology Section. The lecture covered the work done so far in the 'Herefordshire Valleys Survey,' which in the main covers the valleys of the Wye and the Lugg. Mr. Dinn first outlined the work of the SMC at Warndon and emphasised the importance of recording accurately all archaeological sites and artifacts discovered. Slides were shown of the Roman site at Wellington which will eventually be destroyed by gravel extraction.

In February members again met at Llanwarne village hall where Mr. Howard Dudley of the Hereford Sixth Form College showed us slides of some of the photographs he had taken from the air with special reference to archaeology. His wide interests were reflected in his talk which accompanied the excellent choice of slides.

For the March meeting members met at Fownhope on a bright sunny morning. Leaving the village on the lane running from the church to Capler members were asked to notice the earthworks at Tump Farm. These appear not to have been recorded. After parking the cars at the summit of the road near Capler Lodge we made our way along the public footpath through the wood to the south ramparts of Capler hill fort. The next visit was to the old church at Brockhampton, which when the new church was built in about 1906 was left to become a roofless ruin. We then visited the shrunken village site nearly opposite the drive and lodge of Brockhampton Court. Following lunch we made our way to Oldbury hill fort, a univallate fort covering an estimated 17.5 acres. The next visit was to Caerswall Farm, the name of which is interesting. The following is quoted from the article in *H.A.N.* written by Elizabeth Taylor, 'It is doubtful if the 'Caer' element in the name refers to Oldbury, which is almost a mile to the

S.S.W. The 'wall' element could refer to a wall or a well (spring). My hypothesis being that farms and fields containing the element 'Caer' which are not obviously related to a hill fort may indicate the court and hall of one of the leading men of the pre-conquest society.' The final visit of the day was to Much Marcle where we searched for the unidentified earthworks mentioned in the R.C.H.M. entry for Much Marcle.

The aim of the April meeting was to look for supposed chapel sites in the Middlewood area. The first visit was to Middlewood House to see if the 'tower' there was any connection with the chapel of ease mentioned in the 1889 *Transactions*. It was felt that in no way was it the converted remains of a chapel. A visit was made to the supposed site of St. Oswalds chapel across the road from the Castlefields Inn. We next went to Newton Tump to look at the well-preserved motte and bailey castle site. We also looked for a possible enclosure to the west of the castle and possible chapel site to the north-east of the motte.

May found members in the Forest of Dean. The object of the meeting was to visit some of the larger furnace sites where iron ore was smelted. The first stop was Parkend furnace. There have been furnaces here since the early 17th century. There remains little indication of the tin-plate works and three blast furnaces which produced iron and steel in the last century. A visit was made to the Darkhill iron works which have been excavated. This was built in 1818 by David Mushet. We then continued to Whitcliff furnace which is currently being excavated. The day concluded with a visit to the inclined plane at Redbrook. This carried the tramway from the railway to the tin-plate works at Lower Redbrook.

The theme of the June meeting was 'South Radnorshire Castles.' Meeting at New Radnor the remains of the castle and town defences were examined in heavy rain. Quick stops were made to view the bank and ditch which crosses the Summerhill Brook Valley about one mile west of New Radnor, and also Tomen Castle. During the morning the following sites were also visited Castell Crugerydd, Cefnlllys No. 2 and Old Castle Mount. Following lunch at Penybont a visit was made to Cefnlllys, where we examined the possible remains of the hill fort and the two castle sites. Visits were then made to the moated grange of Abbey Cwmhir at Mynachdy, Castell Foel Allt at Pilleth where we also examined the church, and the castle mound at Bleddfa. The final visit of the day was to Presteigne where we viewed from the road the site of the castle.

In July we were joined by members of the South Worcestershire Archaeological Group when we visited sites of interest in the Golden Valley. The day began with a guided tour of Dore Abbey founded by the Cistercian order in 1147. Following lunch we continued our way up the Golden Valley to Peterchurch. The line of the ancient track, which may be of Roman origin was noted in several places. At Trenant we examined a portion of Rowland Vaughans' 16th-century irrigation system and the overgrown remains of Trenant Mill.

Meetings in September and October were given over to field walking. The September venue being the Brampton Abbots area and October the Checkley and Woolhope area. Full reports of these meetings will appear in the next edition of *Herefordshire Archaeological News*.

Natural History Section, 1990

By BERYL HARDING

Membership has decreased to eighty-seven during the year. Six field meetings were planned with one indoor meeting. Leadership of the outdoor sessions is much appreciated by members.

4 April: The Annual General Meeting. This was held in the Queen's Buildings followed by 'Nature in Miniature,' in which members of the Microscopy Group and others brought material or prepared slides to compare under different types of microscope and magnification. Rock slides were also shown. The evening concluded with refreshments.

23 April: A Return Visit to Crow Wood Reserve. This was to re-monitor the stream life and to see conservation schemes on the reserve. Four years ago the streams were full of life and with crayfish. Prior to purchase by the Nature Trust one had been polluted and only fungal smuts remained. In 1988 we recorded that species were re-establishing themselves. This visit was to see if further improvement had occurred.

The number of molluscs, freshwater shrimp (*Gammarus*) and mayfly larvae had increased and there was a marked increase in the numbers of caddis fly larvae. The numbers of leeches, water beetles and midgefly larvae were approximately the same with fewer stonefly larvae. The recovery of the streams continues therefore but at a slow rate.

Since hazel coppicing last autumn and with the increased light available in Crow Wood as a result, the numbers of orchids in flower and other woodland flora had increased. Adders-tongue (*Ophioglossum*) was found in several places. Badger setts showed signs of new workings and scattered bedding.

Two experimental patches had been set up in the grassland. One with topsoil containing early purple orchids was just beginning to take hold. The other had been rotovated and half planted with seed from Dulas churchyard; the other half had been covered with flower-meadow hay containing seeds from Whitfield. It will be interesting to follow the development within these swards.

14th May: A Visit to Westhope Common. Led by Anthea Brian.

This visit had been 'rained off' the previous year. Members first visited the pond on the farmland flanking the Common and were shown how a pond survey is made. We used the format followed in a county pond survey that is being made by some of us. The pond is surrounded by bank largely formed by the dredging that occurred eight years ago. Eleven species of marsh and water plant were identified within areas of clear zonation. When last visited, soon after dredging, the bogbean with its attractive fringed petals had not recovered but is now returning. Seven species of aquatic invertebrates were identified with adult dragon and mayflies.

The pond is making a gradual recovery but before dredging three species of newt occurred. None were found this time. With arable land all round, plus frequent ploughing, spraying etc. dispersal after leaving the water may be too difficult. As the field comes to the water's edge there are no thickets or clusters of stones where newts could over-winter without disturbance.

After lunch members moved on to see a small quarry that had been used as a tip and subsequently converted into a nature reserve by the residents of Westhope Common.

14 June: A visit to White Rocks Quarry. This was to re-assess plant establishment and growth rates on the reclaimed quarry site but had to be cancelled.

24 July: A Moth Evening on Ewyas Harold Common. Led by Dr. Michael Harper.

Members, plus guests from the newly-formed Ewyas Harold Nature Trust Group, gathered at 8.0 p.m. at the northern end of the Common where the land slopes southward. Blackberry and rosebay willowherb were in bloom in sheltered areas of gorse, bracken and small trees with smaller, low-lying flowers amid the undergrowth. A clear, windless evening followed yet another very hot day so conditions were favourable.

Dr. Harper gave an introductory talk about the taxonomy of the Lepidoptera emphasising that there is no real scientific division between moths and butterflies. There are about 25,000 species of butterflies and 120,000 species of moth, with moths differing as much from each other as from butterflies. There are approximately 2,500 moth species in Britain and 50-60 butterfly species. Of these 1,200-1,300 moth species can be found in Herefordshire, with few visitors, all favouring quite different habitats.

The Micro-moths are the most primitive types, as well as being the smallest, with mouthparts resembling the basic insect pattern rather than having formed a sucking tube. The maxillae are used to collect pollen and the mandibles to chew it - nectar is not part of the diet. The Clothes Moths are also micro-moths, small and dark-orientated breeding in birds nests, owl pellets, fungi and webs where the larvae live and feed. As a substitute many have changed to feeding in clothes and carpets, especially in dark corners. The advent of man-made fibres and central heating has offset their ravages to some extent as they prefer damp conditions. The Miners are also small, primitive micro-moths with their larvae hatching on leaves then burrowing by feeding and depositing waste in the resultant tunnels. Various species are identified by their tunnel shape.

The following moths were identified:-

OECOPHORIDAE Micro-moths.

Batia unitella (Hubn) Larva in dead wood and branches of deciduous trees.
Borkhausenia fuscescens (Haw.) The smallest micro-moth seen in association with decaying vegetation.

Carcina quercina (Fabr.) Pink moth with long antennae.

TINEIDAE Micro-moths

Tinea trinotella (Thumb.) Larvae usually in open bird's nests.

YPONOMEUTIDAE Micro-moths

Argyresthia goedartella (L.) Attractive silver and gold pattern and common on isolated birch trees.

GELECHIDAE Micro-moths

Paltodora cytisella (Curt.) Larvae in bracken, a stem borer causing a small gall and withering of the side branches but never producing serious damage.

Brachmia blandella (Fabr.) Associated with gorse.

TORTRICIDAE A large group with 260 species in the U.K. They are economically important as their larvae are pest to many crops and fruits e.g. the Codling Moth and Pea Moth.

Cnephasia asseclana (D. & S.) (= *interjectana* Haw.) Larvae on polyphagus.

Croesia forsskaeana (L.) Larvae on sycamore and maple.

Epiblema uddmanniana (L.) Larvae on bramble.

Cydia succedana (D. & S.) Larvae on broom seed pods.

COCHYLIDAE A family closely related to above with different wing venation.

Agapeta hamana (L.)

Aethes cnicana (Westw.) Larvae of both on thistles.

PYRALIDAE A very large family whose members have narrower forewings.

Eurrhpara hortulata (L.) Small magpie moth.

Pleuroprya ruralis (Scop.) Mother of pearl moth.

Catoptria falsellus (D. & S.) Uncommon. Larvae in moss, often on old cottage roofs and stone walls.

Agriphila straminella (D. & S.) Small grass moth.

A. tristella (D. & S.) Large grass moth.

Acentria ephemerella (D. & S.) (= *nivea*) Aquatic species feeding below water on plants.

Euzophera pinguis (Haw.) Larvae feeds below ash tree bark, often bark damaged on old pollarded trees.

PTEROPHORIDAE Closely related to the above family but with forewings split into 2 feathery plumes and hind wings into 3 plumes.

Platyptilia monodactyla (L.) Plume moth.

LASIOCAMPIDAE Heavy bodied moths with sombre colours. Larvae stout and have hairs with irritating qualities.

Philudoria potatoria Drinker moth.

NOTODONTIDAE Moths also stout and hairy. Larvae rest often with front and rear ends raised.

Euproctis similis Yellow tail moth.

THYATRIDAE

Habrosyne pyritoides Buff arches moth. Tends to hide in bramble foliage.

DREPANIDAE Most have tips of the forewings pointed and curved down to form a hook.

Drepana binaria Oak hooktip moth.

ARCHIDAE Stoutly built, brightly coloured tiger and ermine moths with very hairy larvae. Also contains the slender-bodied footmen.

Phragmatobia fuliginosa Ruby tiger moth.

Eilema lurideola Common footman. Rests with wings flat and partly rolled around the body

E. complana Scarce footman.

GEOMETRIDAE A very large family with slender bodies and relatively large wings usually held flat and triangularly at rest. Larvae move by looping.

Epirrhoea alternata Common carpet moth

Abraxas grossularia Magpie moth.

Selenia dentaria Early thorn.

Opisthograptis luteolata Brimstone.

Gymoscelis rufasciata (Haw.) Double-stripe pug. Larva on gorse on this site.

Peribatodes rhomboidaria Willow Beauty.

Idaea biselata (Hufn.) Small Fan-footed Wave.

I. aversata (L.) Riband Wave. (Larger species).

Euphyia unangulata (Haw.) Sharp-angled Carpet Moth. Local and uncommon.

Ecliptopera silaceata (D. & S.) Small Phoenix. Larva on rosebay willow herb.

NOCTUIDAE A very large family of stoutly-built moths with sombre and cryptically coloured forewings but hind wings may be bright. Larvae usually plump with little hair.

Agrotis puta Shuttle-shaped dart.

<i>A. exclamatoris</i>	Heart & Dart.
<i>Noctua pronuba</i>	Large yellow underwing.
<i>N. interjecta</i>	Least yellow underwing. (Uncommon but occurs on old commons and downland).
<i>N. comes</i>	Lesser yellow underwing.
<i>Lacanobia oleracea</i>	Bright-line Brown Eye.
<i>Cerapteryx graminis</i>	Antler Moth.
<i>Thalophila matura</i>	Straw Underwing.
<i>Mythimna impura</i>	Smoky Wainscot.
<i>Cosmia trapezina</i>	Dunbar.
<i>Apamea secalis</i>	Common Rustic.
<i>A. monoglypha</i>	Dark Arches.
<i>Herminia tarsipennalis</i>	Fanfoot.
<i>Xestia triangulum</i>	Double Square-spot.
<i>X. ditrapezium</i> (D. & S.)	Triple Spotted Clay. Local.

All night vigils show that moths tend to come out at different periods during the night. Many prefer dawn when it is calm and windless, although dewy. Their preferred time-zone is not only species-specific but also sex-specific with the females emerging a little later for egg-laying. We were not prepared for an all-night vigil but after a dusk walk shaking vegetation, or using nets, we settled until after midnight around a large mercury vapour lamp to identify the species landing on the white sheet below. A smaller, similar light was set up 200 metres away. The ultra-violet light emitted is even more attractive to moths than ordinary light but full colour variations of those caught (then released) were better appreciated when torch light was played on them. The Ruby Moth looked brown in U.V. light but really has a rich ruby tinge. Different species were certainly more abundant at different times. Some tried to hide among the egg boxes placed for shelter, whereas others like the Magpie moths relied upon their distastefulness and warning markings to predators and did not hide. A caddis-fly adult and water boatmen were attracted to the light. No very large or dramatic moths appeared but many smaller and less easily identified species came in increasing numbers. Bats also joined the throng attracted by the easy feeding.

Ewyas Harold Common is comparatively rich ecologically with many species of wild flowers recorded as well as insects. Unfortunately, with the modern lack of grazing, bracken is becoming too dominant and choking out more delicate plants. Some of the Commoners, warned of our activities, came to see for themselves and agreed that more intensive management is something that they should try to undertake in the future.

15 August: *Continuing the Survey of Churchyards as areas of possible future Conservation Sites.*

Wigmore, Burrington and Leintwardine churchyards were visited, mapped and plant counts were taken, not including grasses.

20 trees & shrubs and 34 other plant species were recorded for Wigmore.

17 " " " 26 " " " " " " Burrington.

16 " " " 36 " " " " " " Leintwardine.

22nd September: *A Geological Field Trip led by Peter Thomson.*

This had been planned for the Staple Edge N.C.C. Geological Trail but a change of plan was necessary so other parts of the Forest of Dean were visited. Members walked from Staunton to Near Harkening Rock and the Suckstone where the formation of the Old Red Sandstone and the quartz conglomerate could be observed.

The earlier Old Red sandstones were derived from river-borne sediments from the Caledonian mountains and deposited in a flood plain of muds, later compressed into shales. They contain garnet fragments occurring only in Scottish schists, thus showing their source. Quartz pebbles were river-borne later from metalliferous quartzes in the area of the rising Welsh uplands. As 'Wales' continued uplifting river speeds increased carrying larger quartz pebbles into the forming sandstones. The rounded shape of these pebbles shows that they were laid down in deltaic conditions. The quartz conglomerate is resistant to erosion and so forms scarp edges before dipping below the saucer of the Forest of Dean, thus bolstering part of the Wye valley.

At Near Harkening Rock layers of current bedding can be seen showing the different water flow rates within the forming delta. The quartz pebbles size and angle of deposition indicate the speed of water flow in the successive deposits. The Suckstone below, believed to be the largest fallen block in Britain at an estimated 30,000 tons probably fell some 10-15,000 years ago as a result of post-glacial thawing action, allowing the penetration of water into the few joints.

Symonds Yat Rock was visited as a good vantage point to see the outcrops of the different sandstones, limestones, shales and the conglomerate and their resulting landforms, as well as the incised meanders of the Wye. The meanders across a plain commenced when the sea was 600 ft. above its present level two million years ago. Sea level has fallen since Pliocene times causing the river speed and its down-cutting to increase thus incising the meanders into the present valley and leaving the original plain as hilltops. Meanders are also incised in the limestone above Redbrook and below Tintern. Between these two the Wye is straighter with abandoned meanders left higher as the river cut a straighter path through the shales, or when edged by quartz conglomerate.

After lunch the Scowles area near Bream was visited. These dramatic caves, clefts and roofless passages are the result of iron extraction since Roman times, hacked out by hand. They occur predominantly in the Crease Limestone, which is more open textured than other Carboniferous limestones, and can be detected today by the sinuous lines of woodland following the outcrops. The iron ore was haematite, with 60% iron content and formed by downward percolation of acidic solutions from the stagnant, un-aerated pools of the coastal coal-forming lagoons. This percolation widened the joints in the limestone into fissures, passages and caves which were later lined with further leaching and percolating iron deposits either from the Carboniferous beds above, or the even later Triassic beds.

Weather Statistics, 1990

Month	Max. temp. shade °C	Min. temp. shade °C	Nights air frost	Rainfall mm.	Max. rainfall in one day mm.	Days with rainfall
January	14.0	-1.0	2	116.8	23.3	17
February	18.0	-1.5	1	122.9	22.2	17
March	20.5	-1.5	2	12.1	6.3	4
April	26.0	-4.0	3	30.9	7.7	11
May	31.5	3.5	0	14.7	9.0	5
June	27.5	7.0	0	46.4	12.1	11
July	36.5	7.0	0	13.7	5.6	5
August	37.0	9.5	0	24.5	5.6	8
September	25.0	6.5	0	26.2	12.0	4
October	22.5	1.5	0	38.5	11.1	12
November	17.0	0	0	64.9	12.6	12
December	11.0	-3.0	4	64.2	12.0	13

Highest temperature 11 August: 37.0° Total rainfall for year 575.8 mm.
 Lowest temperature 8 April: -4.0° Days with rainfall 119

Recorded at Leadington, Ledbury by E. H. Ward.

RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

(HEREFORDSHIRE)

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

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

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

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

IV — That the members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V. — That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £10.00, payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. the subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be

reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of £1 a meeting in respect of each visitor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

1851	Club formed in the winter months	1911	PHILLIPS, Mr. E. Cambridge
1852	LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.	1912	STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F.S., M.A.
1853	LEWIS, Rev. T. T.	1913	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1854	SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.	1914	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1855	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1915	WOOD, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
1856	WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt	1916	JACK, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
1857	LINGEN, Mr. Charles	1917	GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
1858	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1918	BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A.T., M.A.
1859	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1919	WATKINS, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
1860	BANKS, Mr. R. W.	1920	HUMFRYS, Mr. W. J.
1861	LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert	1921	JAMES, Mr. Francis R.
1862	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1922	MARSHALL, Mr. George, F.S.A.
1863	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1923	BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph, A., C.B., M.A., D. LITT.
1864	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1924	DURHAM, Herbert E., D.Sc., M.B., B.CH., F.R.C.S. (ENG.)
1865	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1925	MACKEY, Mr. J. C.
1866	BULL, H. G., M.D.	1926	SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
1867	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1927	DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D.D., F.S.A.
1868	McCULLOGH, D. M., M.D.	1928	SYMONDS, Mr. Powell Biddulph
1869	RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.	1929	SMITH, The Right Rev. Martin Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
1870	COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.	1930	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1871	CAM, Mr. Thomas	1931	SYMONDS-TAYLOR, Lt.-Col. R. H.
1872	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1932	SWAYNE, Lt.-Col. O. R., D.S.O.
1873	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1933	HAMILTON, Brig. General W. G., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.
1874	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1934	WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
1875	ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.	1935	ELLISON, Captain F.B.
1876	CHAPMAN, T.A., M.D.	1936	ROBINSON, Mr. R. S. Gavin
1877	MORRIS, Mr. J. Griffiths	1937	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.
1878	PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.	1938	BETTINGTON, Mr. E. J., F.R.S.A.
1879	ARMITAGE, Mr. Arthur	1939	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1880	KNIGHT, Mr. J. H.	1940	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1881	LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.	1941	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1882	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.	1942	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1883	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1943	WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R., D.D., Dean of Hereford
1884	BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.	1944	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1885	MARTIN, Mr. C. G.	1945	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1886	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1946	RICHARDSON, Mr. L., F.R.S.E., P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.
1887	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1947	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
1888	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1948	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1889	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1949	WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.
1890	CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.A.	1950	CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.
1891	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H. Bart., M.A.	1951	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A., M.A.
1892	BARNEBY, Mr. William Henry	1952	SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.
1893	LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.	1953	COHEN, Mr. L., M.I.MECH.E.
1894	DAVIES, Mr. James	1954	JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.
1895	WATKINS, Rev. M. G., M.A.	1955	MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.
1896	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil	1956	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable A. J., M.A.
1897	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil	1957	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1898	MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.	1958	LANGFORD, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
1899	BEDDOE, Mr. H. C.	1959	LEEDS, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.
1900	LEIGH, The very Revd. The Hon. J. W., D.D., Dean of Hereford	1960	MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch, M.A.
1901	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.	1961	STANFORD, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.
1902	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart., M.A.	1962	ZIMMERMAN, Mr. A. U.
1903	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1963	COLEMAN, Mr. V.H.
1904	HUTCHINSON, Mr. T.		
1905	BAYLIS, Mr. Philip, M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.		
1906	WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.		
1907	RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.		
1908	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil and RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.		
1909	WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.		
1910	FARN, Mr. A. B.		

1964	NOBLE, Mr. F., B.A.	1978	PAGE, Mr. R.A.
1965	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1979	GARNETT, Mr. A. T. G., L.D.S. R.C.S.(Eng.).
1966	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1980	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1967	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.	1981	VOSS, Mrs. Marjorie M., B.A.
1968	CURRIE, Mrs. D. McD.	1982	BRIAN, Mrs. Anthea, D., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1969	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.	1983	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
1970	O'DONNELL, Mrs. Jean E.	1984	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A., F.S.A.
1971	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1985	ATTFIELD, Mr. C. E., F.I.E.H.
1972	HOMES, Mr. C. H. I.	1986	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
1973	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.	1987	CHARNOCK, Mr. G.
1974	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J. P.	1988	PERRY, Mr. R. C.
1975	PERRY, Mr. R. C.	1989	WARD, Mr. E. H.
1976	HAYNES, Rev. W. B., B.A.	1990	PEXTON, F. W., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1977	WINCE, Dr. W. H. D., M.B., B.S., M.I.Biol.		

LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1990

HONORARY MEMBERS

WEBSTER, Dr. G., F.S.A., The Old School House, Chesterton, Harbury CV33 9LF.
WHITEHOUSE, B. J., City Library, Broad Street, Hereford.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

ABERYSTWYTH: The Library, Hugh Owen Building, Penglais, SY23 3DZ.
BANGOR: Serials Acquisitions, The Library, University College of North Wales, College Road, Gwynedd LL57 2UN
BIRMINGHAM: Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place, B3 3HQ.
BIRMINGHAM: The Library, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, B15 2TT.
BOSTON: British Library, Document Supply Centre, Boston Spa, Wetherby, West Yorkshire LS23 7BQ.
BROMYARD: Bromyard & District Local History Society
CARDIFF: Periodicals Acqui Dept. (Art), Arts & Social Studies Library, University of Wales College, Cardiff, P.O. Box 430, CF1 3XT.
EXETER: Periodicals Dept., University Library, Prince of Wales Road, EX4 4PT.
GLOUCESTER: City Museum & Art Gallery, Brunswick Road.
HEREFORD: Headmaster, The Bishop of Hereford Bluecoats School, Tupsley HR1 1UU.
HEREFORD: Botanical Society, c/o Mrs. J. M. Walker, 1 Ash Close, Marden HR1 3EQ.
HEREFORD: Museum of Cider, 21 Ryelands Street, HR4 0LW.
HEREFORD: The Librarian, Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.
HEREFORD: Friends of the Record Office.
HEREFORD: The Library, Hereford Education Centre, Blackfriars Street, HR4 9HS.
HEREFORD: Ornithological Club, c/o I. B. Evans, 12 Brockington Drive, HR1 1TA.
HEREFORD: Sixth Form College, Folly Lane.
HEREFORD: Librarian, Technical College, Folly Lane.
HEREFORD: Headmaster, Whitecross School, Baggallay Street.
HEREFORD-WORCESTER: County Libraries, Central Services, Sherwood Lane, Lower Wick, WR2 4NU.
KINGTON: Kington History Society.
LEDBURY: Ledbury Naturalists' Field Club.
LEICESTER: Periodicals Dept., The University Library, University Road, LE1 7RH.
LEOMINSTER: Leominster Historical Society.
LIVERPOOL: The Sydney Jones Library, P.O. Box 123, L69 3DA.
LLANDRINDOD WELLS: County Library Headquarters, Cefnylls Road, LD1 5LD.
LONDON: British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, SW7 5BD.
LONDON: London Library, 14 St. James Square, SW1Y 4LJ.
LONDON: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, WC2A 1LR.
LONDON: Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, W1V 0HS.
LONDON: The Library, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, WC1E 7HU.
MEMPHIS: Acquisitions Dept. Gifts, Memphis State University Libraries, Tennessee 38152.
MONTREAL: Sir George Williams University Library, Acquisitions Dept., 1445 De Maisonneuve Blvd., W.
NEWPORT: Central Public Library, John Frost Square, NPT 1PA.
NEW YORK: Serials Dept., 110 Olin Library, Cornell University Library, Ithaca 14853.
NOTTINGHAM: The Library (Serials), British Geological Survey, Nicker Hill, Keyworth NG12 5GG.
PRINCETON: Serials Division, Princeton University Library, New Jersey 08540.
SHREWSBURY: Shropshire County Library Headquarters, Column House, 7 London Road, SY8 6NW.
SOUTHAMPTON: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Green Lane, Maybush, SO1 9FP.

SYDNEY: Serials Dept., 100507, Fisher Library, University of Sydney, NSW 2006.

WALSALL: Library & Learning Resources, West Midlands College, Gorway, WS1 3RD.

WIGMORE: Headmaster, The High School.

WISCONSIN: Serials Dept., Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin, 728 State Street, Madison 53706.

WOLVERHAMPTON: Reference Library, Central Library, Snow Hill, West Midlands, WV1 3AX.

WORCESTER: Archaeology Department, Cranham School, Tetbury Drive, Warndon.

WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.

YORK: The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, YO1 2PW.

Members' names and addresses redacted.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

Birmingham Archaeological Society
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
British Mycological Society
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society
Cardiff Naturalists' Society
Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland
Essex Archaeological Society
Essex Field Club Hertfordshire Natural History Society
Kent Archaeological Society
Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society
North Staffordshire Field Club
Oxoniensia
Radnorshire Society
Shropshire Archaeological Society
Somerset Archaeological Society
Surrey Archaeological Society
Worcestershire Archaeological Society
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

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

