TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLVIII 1995

PART II

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Proceedings, 1995

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 14 January: Mr. D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Geology, Herefordshire Field-names, Industrial Archaeology and Ornithology gave their reports which are printed on pp. 346-85.

SECOND MEETING: 28 January: Dr. J. C. Eisel, senior vice-president, in the chair.

The minutes of the out-of-county visit 6-13 July, 1994, based at Galashiels, were read and slides taken by members were shown.

THIRD MEETING: 11 February: Mr. D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.

Dr. D. G. Boddington gave an illustrated talk on 'The Pied Flycatcher.' He explained that he had been studying the pied flycatcher since 1968 and referred also to the spotted and collared flycatcher. All three winter in central Africa. Sites studied in Herefordshire are at Moccas, Kington, Mowley, Titley, Shobdon and Wigmore and at Presteigne in Radnorshire. The male bird arrives in late April about a week ahead of the female. The nest of oak leaves and honeysuckle and stripped bark takes 4-7 days to build. Then follow seven days laying the eggs, thirteen days incubating and 13-15 days before leaving the nest. They prefer to use nest boxes and need the larvae of the winter moth to feed on. The first brood produces up to ten eggs and the later brood at most three due to the tannic acid in the oak leaves. Only 10% survive the first year but can live six to eight years. DNA testing on young and parents and ringing of the birds have provided useful information. It is much more difficult to catch the male bird.

Dr. Boddington said that the distribution of the pied flycatcher in Herefordshire has increased from the W. eastwards and they are found in a S.W./N.E. line from Dorset through Herefordshire W. of the Severn, up to the N. of Scotland and on to northern Scandinavia, almost on the same line as the sessile oak. They migrate on a 210° bearing. The talk reflected many years of painstaking study.

FOURTH MEETING: 4 March: Mr. D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.

Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian gave an illustrated talk on 'The Lugg Meadows and other Lammas Meadows.' She explained that a Lammas Meadow is one from which only one crop of hay is allowed to be cut and then grazed. The Upper and Lower Lugg and Hampton Meadows are bounded by the river Lugg and a ditch and cover some 400 acres. From 2 February, Candlemas Day, to 1 August, Lammas Day, no grazing is allowed, the common rights end and the landowners cut their one crop of hay at different times. From 1 August to 2 February the commoners, about thirty of them on the Upper Meadows and fewer on the Lower Meadows take over and graze their cattle. This area lying in the

parishes of Holmer, Lugwardine and Hampton Bishop is very flat, often floods in the winter but drains well because of the underlying gravel.

During the hay growing season the flora is of special interest for the fritillaries, narrow-leaved water dropwort and several varieties of grass. The meadows are divided into strips or doles which can be traced on the tithe maps and on the ground are marked out by boundary stones or dole stones, some of which have the date and initials on them; over ninety have been found. Of over a million acres of common land in the country only 2,000 acres of Lammas meadow remain. Of the fifteen Lammas meadows which are left the Lugg Meadow totals about one fifth. In addition there are thirteen other meadows which are managed as Lammas meadows but these have no commoners' rights. Documentary sources are valuable in identifying these meadows.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 25 March: Mr. D. A. Whitehead, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the Club now had 802 members.

Mr. Whitehead, M.A. reported on the club's activities during the year and referred to the wide variety of subjects of the winter lectures, and the balance of subjects and high standard of the *Transactions.* The highlight of the year was the winning of the Graham Webster Award for the Herefordshire Field-name Survey and the civic reception given by the Hereford City Council. He thanked various members for their work during the year and it is hoped that the Woolhope Room will become a Reading Room for members. He was pursuing the re-establishment of the Victoria County History for Herefordshire. He gave his address 'Some Connected Thoughts on the Parks and Gardens of Herefordshire before the Age of Landscape Gardening' which is printed on pp. 193-223.

Mrs. M. Tonkin, J.P., was installed as president for 1995/6.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 6 May: ALMELEY

The whole afternoon was spent in Almeley and first visited was Almeley Church of which the oldest part is the two lower stages of the tower dating from *c.*1200. The chancel and vestry are late 13th century, the porch, nave and aisles 1320-30. The chancel roof is 14th century and that of the nave early 16th century of seven bays with scissor trusses. In the tower four corner-posts support a structure on which the bell-frame rests.

By kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas the next visit was to the manor-house, a timber-framed two storey building with a stone roof. The porch and E. wing date from *c.*1500. Downstairs there are moulded beams forming a ceiling of sixteen panels and there is some 16th-century panelling. Upstairs there is a blocked doorway of *c.*1500 and a re-set carved head on either side under the lintel of the fireplace. The W. end was altered in the 17th century.

After tea members visited Rainbow Cottage by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Wilkins. It is a timber-framed late-16th-century house modernised in the late 17th century. Of note are the deep sandstone plinth, the fireplace of *c.*1700 in the western room, the unusual carpenters' assembly marks on the stairs and the longitudinal beams with ogee stops.

The final visit was to Almeley Meeting House, a timber-framed building dating from *c.*1672. It was restored in 1957 and is still in use. In the burial ground were seen simple gravestones to many Quaker families.

SECOND MEETING: 27 May: BRECON AREA

Members had coffee at the Gliffaes Country House Hotel which is a house in the Italianate style of local stone and brick built in 1883-5 by the Revd. West. The gardens, lawns, woodland and parkland contain rare trees and shrubs as well as rhododendrons and azaleas and cover twenty-nine acres.

A picnic lunch was eaten on Mynydd Illtyd and there was time for members to walk to the ruined church of Llangynidr which was burnt out in 1928.

Next visited was Brecon Cathedral which has just celebrated its 900th anniversary. The central tower has recently been repaired. It was created a cathedral in 1923, but in the early 12th century was a Benedictine priory with a prior and eight monks. The building is cruciform in shape dating mainly from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The font *c.*1130-50 can be compared with the one at Eardisley. The reredos was designed in 1937 by Caroe. Also of note was the largest recorded cresset stone and the tools of the corvizors in the guild chapel in the N. aisle. Outside were seen the 19th-century Deanery with 17th-century windows and the Canonry probably dating from the 16th century. The early conventual buildings and cloisters have disappeared.

The rest of the afternoon was spent at Penpont by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Hogg. This house was last visited by the club on 3 May, 1969, when 160 members attended. The original house was constructed about 1666 by Daniel Williams. It was refronted in Bath stone about 1804 and a seven-bay portico was added in the early 1830s. Inside, the dining and drawing rooms have been remodelled with twin Ionic columns of scagliola, but the late-17th-century plaster ceilings remain. One room upstairs still has its late-17th-century panelling and tapestries. Despite heavy showers members viewed the Dower House of *c.*1686 with semi-circular end walls and a pediment with the Boleyn arms; the seven-bay stables with two storey pavilions at the ends; the coach house with a pediment and lantern; the square dovecote on piers with timber-framed walls and a lantern on a pyramidal roof and the laundry on the river bank. Over the bridge dating from 1666 are the walled and rose gardens in need of restoration having been neglected during the last 100 years. The church was rebuilt in 1864 by Sir George Gilbert Scott.

On the return journey a visit was made to Llandefalle Church situated in a circular churchyard on high ground with yew trees 800 years old. The tower, S. porch, parts of the N. wall of the nave and the font are of the 13th century. The nave, chancel and S. aisle date from 1480-1500 when the church was enlarged. The rood-screen with its fine craftsmanship dates from *c.*1500. Up to 1904 the westernmost bay was used as a school.

THIRD MEETING: 15 June: STOURBRIDGE AND AMBLECOTE AREA

Members took coffee at the Whittington Inn near Kinver which was the manor-house of Dick Whittington's grandfather. The present timber-framed building dates from the 16th and 17th centuries.

At the Royal Doulton Crystal factory at Amblecote members were shown the whole process of glass-making from the mixing of the materials to the glass-blowing and then cutting the crystal.

A picnic lunch was eaten in the park of Himley Hall, formerly the home of the earl of Dudley, but now owned by the Metropolitan Borough of Dudley. The mansion dates from *c.*1740 and was re-modelled by William Atkinson in 1824. The grounds were landscaped by Capability Brown.

The first visit in the afternoon was to Broadfield House Glass Museum at Kingswinford where members saw a collection of glass of all types displayed on all three floors of the late Georgian house. The history of glass-making in the area over the last 400 years was seen in videos and explanatory material. There are plans to eventually move the collection to Himley Hall.

Tea was taken at the Old Beam at Arley Kings now a public house but adapted from a timber-framed farm-house of *c.*1600. The last visit was to Shelsley Walsh Church. It is built of tufa and the nave and font date from the 12th century. The chancel is 13th century and the richly carved rood-screen and the chantry chapel date from the 15th century. The oak pulpit of 1908 was designed by Ninian Comper. The roof timbers of the chancel and nave are very fine.

FOURTH MEETING: 12 July: HEREFORD

This meeting was arranged to see the interiors of historic buildings in the city not normally open to the public.

At the Black Lion in Bridge Street were seen the late-16th-century wall paintings in the Commandment Room. No. 20 Church Street was visited by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Moore to see the recently restored 14th-century hall. Also in Church Street, by kind permission of Mrs. Bulmer, members saw the 17th-century plasterwork in the building which had been used by the Mayor. At the Conservative Club in East Street which was once the town house of the Geers family of Garnons was seen the restored 17th-century plaster ceiling. Members had tea in the Booth Hall, in the heavily restored 14th-century civic hall of the city. Finally a visit was made down into the 15th-century stone cellars in Widemarsh Street.

FIFTH MEETING: 12 August: KINLET AND CLAVERLEY AREA

The morning was spent in the parish of Kinlet. First visited was the church dating from Norman times with a three-bay, late-12th-century N. aisle. The S. arcade, S. porch and doorway are early 13th century. The chancel was rebuilt and the transepts added about 1310-20. The two lower stages of the tower are Early English and the top stage is Perpendicular. The church is well lit by the Victorian timber-framed clerestory. The history of the parish and manor are depicted in the fine monuments and in the coats of arms in the E. window. From 1176 to at least the 19th century the manor had been held by six notable families all of which had failed in the male line: they are Brompton, Cornewall, Blount, Lacon, Childe and Baldwin. Also in the E. window which dates from 1814 are the arms of the see of Hereford, a prior of Wigmore Abbey and Mortimer denoting the diocese in which the church is situated and the religious house to which it was appropriated when founded by Hugh de Mortimer. Of interest were the memorials, those in alabaster to Isabell Cornewall 1415-20; Sir Humphrey Blount and his wife 1477; Sir John Blount 1531 and Sir George Blount 1581.

From the church the party was escorted by Mr. Francis Engleheart to view the exterior of Kinlet Hall, now a school. The mansion was commissioned by William Lacon Childe who in 1720 had married Catherine the daughter of Samuel Pytts of Kyre Park, and in 1727-9 it was completed by Francis Smith of Warwick. It is built of red brick with stone dressings, seven bays of two storeys with four-bay wings of one and a half storeys. The earlier mansion stood near the church, and on the 1840 tithe map for Kinlet, the field-names are Shrubbery, Garden and Lawn and Shrubbery Piece.

At Rays Farm Country Matters where members had a picnic lunch were seen a collection of animals and birds including red and fallow deer, pigs, goats and sheep as well as owls, ducks, rabbits and a llama.

The first visit in the afternoon was to Daniel's Mill at Eardington near Bridgnorth. A mill has stood on the site since Domesday but the present one dating from the 17th century has been much altered and rebuilt.

It ceased grinding in 1957 and has been owned by the same family for 200 years. It has been carefully restored. The water wheel is thirty-eight ft. in diameter and was made in 1855 at Coalbrookdale. Mr. George explained how the mill worked and put it to work to see how the flour was ground. Also seen was a collection of country tools and bygones.

Next visited was Claverley Church dating from the 11th to the 17th centuries. Of particular interest are the murals above the Norman arcade of the N. wall dating from *c.*1200 and among the most important in England. They are fifty ft. long and four ft. eight ins. in depth. The chancel roof is dated 1601. The lower part of the tower is Norman and the upper part just after 1494. The font is Norman, the pulpit Jacobean and the communion rails, Arts and Crafts *c.*1912. In the S. chapel is a fine alabaster tomb to Sir Robert Broke who died in 1558 and also of his two wives. On the wall are two slabs to Francis Gatacre 1599 and Sir William Gatacre 1577.

SIXTH MEETING: 9 September: CAERPHILLY CASTLE AND CASTLE COCH

After coffee at the Court House, originally a 14th-century long-house, the rest of the morning was spent at Caerphilly Castle which was built between 1268 and 1271 by Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, because of the threat of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the last native Prince of Wales. On the death of the last male de Clare at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 the castle passed by marriage to Hugh de Despenser who re-modelled the great hall about 1326. The castle deteriorated until interest in it was taken by John Stuart who had married into the Pembroke family. He became the first marquess of Bute but it was the

third Marquess who in 1868 re-roofed the great hall and had the ruins fully measured. His son the fourth Marquess continued the restoration work 1928-9 and when it was handed to the State in 1950, only the re-flooding of the lake and the glazing of the hall windows were necessary.

The afternoon was spent at Castle Coch, a pseudo-medieval stronghold, built on the foundations of a ruined 13th-century castle, on a steep hillside among beech woods. The third marquess of Bute, at that time said to be the richest man in the world, employed the architect William Burgess to re-build the castle. It was started in 1875 and completed in 1891 but never really lived in. The murals are based on Aesop's Fables. This was a complete contrast to Caerphilly Castle.

CHESHIRE VISIT: 19-26 July

Twenty-two members spent a week based at Reaseheath College, Nantwich. Having stopped for coffee at The Sun Inn, Corfton, the party proceeded to the Aerospace Museum at Cosford which it was felt was appropriate to visit, this year being the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Here were seen planes such as the Spitfire, Mosquito, Dakota, Liberator and a Junkers dive-bomber as well as the development of the jet from Meteor to the Boeing 707, the 'V' bombers and Javelin. Also on display were interiors of cockpits and crew equipment. Flying boats, sea planes and helicopters were also on show.

Next visited was Audlem Church, a fine late-14th-century Perpendicular church much altered in the early 16th century when the north arcade was moved two ft. northwards, the lofty clerestory was built and the panelled Tudor ceiling inserted. The south doorway is late 13th century and the south aisle windows are by Kempe in 1882 and also one by him in the north aisle, 1893. An open market hall with Tuscan columns probably dating from 1733 stands to the S.W. of the church.

The college was reached about 6.00 p.m. and after settling in and the evening meal Mr. Tonkin gave an introductory talk on the week's programme.

The first stop on Thursday morning was at Lower Peover Church, a very important late-13th-century timber-framed building. During the 1852 restoration by Salvin one roof which covered the nave and aisles was taken down and replaced by three roofs. The posts and heavy scantling with cambered tie-beams on big braces still remain. The stone west tower was built in 1582. To the S.W. stands the brick school of 1710.

Next visited was Quarry Bank Mill and village at Styal. The guided tour explained how this was one of the late 18th-century pioneer mills for textiles where there was a source of water power all the year round. The mill was begun in 1784 and the Apprentice House for the juvenile workers in 1790. As labour had to be imported Samuel Greg built houses for his workers in the 1820s. Oak Cottages were quite advanced and each had its own privy and back yard. The school and the Northcliffe Chapel were built at the same time. The first minister was a Baptist but since 1833 it has been Unitarian. During the walk around the village two cruck houses dating from the 15th century indicated the earlier settlement area.

The afternoon was spent at Tatton Park. The house was designed for the Egerton family by the architect Samuel Wyatt and after his death by his nephew Lewis Wyatt. It dates from 1780-91 and 1808-13 replacing a late 17th-century house which had been remodelled in 1716. There are many good plaster ceilings and over 100 pieces of furniture by Gillow especially designed for the house. Of Herefordshire interest, in the Silk Bedroom is a painting of Wilbraham Egerton by Henry Tanworth Wells, R.A. (1828-1903) who was the husband of a niece of Elizabeth wife of Robert Thomas of Ashford Bowdler, she being a daughter of Matthias Price of Orleton. The gardens cover fifty acres and the orangery was built in 1818.

After the evening meal Professor Dr. R. W. Brunskill gave an illustrated talk on the 'Buildings of South-east Cheshire.'

Friday morning was spent in Chester referred to as 'the English medieval city par excellence.' The medieval walls overlying Roman foundations surround the city for some two miles. A short walk was taken along them to King Charles Tower and on to the cathedral where after a brief stop for coffee there was a guided tour. Until 1540 this was a Benedictine Abbey church and Henry VIII raised it to cathedral status. The present red sandstone building dates from Norman times up to *c.*1400. The Chapter House, Lady Chapel and Choir are mid-13th century, the north transept still has a little Norman work whilst the south transept is 14th century as is the central crossing tower, with the nave a little later, *c.*1360. One of the joys of the cathedral is the late 14th-century woodwork of the choir stalls and their canopies and misericords.

Members then walked down Northgate, Eastgate and Bridge Street to the Hotel Romano, a Georgian building of 1715, for lunch. The party then retraced their steps to Bishop Lloyd's House in Watergate Street which is one of the best timber-framed houses in the city dating from the early 17th century. Good ceilings, fireplaces and panelling were seen. Members walked around the famous Rows which are houses built with covered galleries over basements so that one is walking along streets at what would normally be ground-floor ceiling level.

The next visit in the afternoon was to Ness Gardens, the Botanic Garden of Liverpool University. In 1898 Mr. A. K. Bulley, a Liverpool cotton merchant, built the house and planted shelter belts of Lombardy poplar, Scots pine and holm oak. Today there are extensive collections of rhododendrons, azaleas and camellias as well as cherries, heathers and primulas.

The final visit was to Plemstall Church almost entirely of the 15th century with a fine hammer-beam roof and a Georgian tower of 1826. There is some 16th-century woodwork but much is by the Rev. Toogood who was the incumbent from 1907-46.

After the evening meal, Mr. Chris Bishop, Director of Resources, gave an illustrated talk on 'Reaseheath College and Cheshire Farming.'

First visited on Saturday morning was Nantwich Church referred to as 'the Cathedral of South Cheshire.' It is a fine, red sandstone, 14th-century building largely in the Decorated style. The south porch is later, in the Perpendicular style and two storied with lierne vaulting inside. The chancel has fine lierne vaulting and the nave a clerestory of

eight windows which is probably 15th century. The choir stalls have twenty well-carved misericords and a canopy above. The stone pulpit at the crossing has all sides panelled and the other in the nave is dated 1601. There is some medieval glass in one of the chancel windows and the west window of the north transept dated 1876 is one of Kempe's best.

In 1583 a fire destroyed the High Street to the west of the church but today it has some good timber-framed buildings erected soon afterwards, the Crown Hotel being one of the most impressive. Coffee was taken at Churche's Mansion which is dated 1577 and was one of the few houses to escape the fire. It has a hall block and two cross-wings with decorated framing on the first floor and in the gables. Inside is some excellent panelling, a good Renaissance overmantel in the Long Drawing Room, and a good frieze in the Hall. Members were allowed upstairs to see the rooms which have not yet been restored.

After lunch in the coach or grounds Bramhall Hall was visited. It is now a museum, but according to Pevsner is one of the four best timber-framed houses in England. The framing is mainly vertical, but there is much decorative framing with concave-sided lozenges, cross shapes and diagonal framing especially on the first floor. The windows have moulded mullions and cusped ogee-heads, and there is a good oriel in the courtyard. Inside, the woodwork and decoration of the late 16th century are seen in the great hall, the banqueting room and the chapel. The ceiling and overmantel in the withdrawing room are good examples of 16th-century plasterwork.

The afternoon was spent in Macclesfield, a town famous for the silk industry, the first mill being built by Charles Roe in 1743. The first visit was to the Silk Museum housed in the Sunday School for mill children built in 1813 and now the Heritage Centre. After tea members walked to Paradise Mill which was a working mill until 1981. The guide taking us around the mill explained the various processes and the Jacquard handlooms were still there.

As usual Sunday morning was free and some went into Nantwich to church services whilst others remained around the college. After lunch two members of the college staff took members on an agricultural tour. Education has been carried on here since 1919 and today the grounds cover 192 hectares. This includes Hall Farm, Old Hall, a herd of 180 dairy cows, a calf house, pens for beef cattle, three flocks of sheep each of about 100, and 120 pigs. Various cereals, sugar beet, potatoes and hay are planted, reaped and processed by modern machinery. The tour commenced with the rare breeds, big and small, and then to the pigs, calves and to see the dairy cows being milked. Much explanation, information and discussion took place. A cup of tea was very welcome at the end of the tour.

Monday morning was spent at the Boat Museum at Ellesmere Port. It has the world's largest floating collection of traditional canal craft and in the Georgian and Victorian buildings were exhibitions depicting life on the waterways. Dock workers' cottages have been restored and in the pump house and power hall various types of engines have also been restored. The Manchester Ship Canal passes alongside. The cruise on the lock system was slightly changed due to restoration work taking place in the lower basin.

The afternoon was spent at Port Sunlight Village starting at the Heritage Centre where a talk was given and a video was seen. Most of the party walked through the village

to the Lady Lever Art Gallery whilst others went by coach straight to the Art Gallery. At Port Sunlight the soap factory was built by William Hesketh Lever in 1888/9 with twenty-eight houses designed by William Owen (1846-1910) constructed in 1889/90. Larger houses, more cottages, a shop and Gladstone Hall followed in 1891/2 and even more cottages, shops and public buildings were added in 1893/7. The cottages of 1891/2 were designed by Grayson and Ould. The church was built in 1902-4 and in it were seen two modern stained glass windows by Bossangi in 1951. On the walk through the village a variety of building designs were seen as well as the granite War Memorial and the Leverhulme Memorial.

The Lady Lever Art Gallery building in the Greek style was designed by Segar Owen, the son of William Owen, 1913-22, to house the works of art which Lever transferred from his own private collection. It includes paintings of the 18th century British and Pre-Raphaelites, 18th-century British furniture, Wedgewood pottery, 17th and 18th-century porcelain and Classic sculpture.

An unscheduled stop was made at Snugberry's for ice cream.

The first stop on Tuesday morning was at Marton Church dating from 1343 and probably it and Lower Peover previously visited are the earliest longitudinal timber-framed churches in Europe. The nave is of three bays with octagonal piers and arch-braces longitudinally as well as transversely. The tower has an aisle on three sides with lean-to roofs, sturdy posts and scissor-bracing carrying a shingled turret. There are traces of murals on the west wall.

This was followed by a visit to Jodrell Bank where in one of the exhibition halls were seen fragments of the Moon brought back by the Apollo astronauts. This display was only here for a short time. The telescope was built in 1952-7 as the radio-astronomy laboratory of the University of Manchester. 'Telescope' in this case means a huge dish to receive radiowaves replacing the lenses in normal telescopes to receive light-waves. The main telescope is as big as the dome of St. Paul's and is the second largest in the world. A stars programme in the Planetarium was seen. Some managed to visit the 35-acre arboretum with over 2,500 varieties of trees.

The first visit after lunch was to Nether Alderley Mill which was working until 1939 and has now been restored to full working order. The present 16th-century building has an impressive stone roof estimated to weigh 200 tons. There are two overshot waterwheels each 12 ft. in diameter working in tandem and all the mill machinery is Victorian. Nearby was seen the Eagle and Child Cottage with intricate patterns on its lead guttering.

The final visit of the day was to Gawsworth Hall originally the home of the Fitton family and later of the earls of Harrington. In 1962 the Richards family acquired the house and has sympathetically restored it. The hall is one of Cheshire's large timber-framed houses with work dating from *c.*1480 to the early 18th century. The entrance front has close-set vertical framing, on the south front is a frieze of patterned timber work and on the south range a three-storey bay window. There are fine chimney-pieces of *c.*1580 in the library and drawing room and good timber-framing can be seen in the gallery, solar and billiard room.

Wednesday we set off for home first stopping at Bunbury village where a walk around took us to view the timber-framed Chantry Priest's House dated 1527. The north side of the village was largely destroyed by a landmine in 1940. After coffee at the Yew Tree Inn the incumbent welcomed members at the church. The Norman church was almost completely replaced after the establishment of a collegiate church in 1386. The north and south walls are almost walls of glass. The south chancel chapel was built *c.*1527 and some original paint and a linenfold panelled door remain. The chancel screen is by F. H. Crossley, 1921. There are some good monuments including that of Sir George Beeston who commanded the Dreadnought against the Armada in 1588.

A picnic lunch was eaten at Beeston Castle and members viewed the exhibition and walked around the ruins. It was a stiff climb up to the outer gatehouse and castle wall, 1.75 m. thick, which were begun in 1225. There are four D-shaped towers on the wall on the south side and another on the east. On the west and north sides there is a sheer cliff so no need for towers. The castle was deliberately slighted during the Civil War, but the entrance building dates from 1846 when it was first opened to the public.

The final visit of the week was to Peckforton Castle built by Salvin in 1844-50 for Lord Tollemache whose family were also owners of Beeston at a cost of £60,000. Peckforton has all the features of a medieval castle combined with an Elizabethan great house given a Victorian slightly romantic atmosphere. Here there was a Herefordshire connection, Catherine, daughter of Lionel Tollemache, earl of Dysart, married the son of James Bridges of Dewsall and Wilton, duke of Chandos, whose Herefordshire lands were acquired by Guy's Hospital in the early 18th century.

Tea was taken at The Pound Inn, Leebotwood. The President, Mrs. Tonkin, thanked Keith for his safe driving and helpfulness and Dr. Pexton thanked Mr. and Mrs. Tonkin for arranging the visit and including a variety of subjects. Despite the weather getting warmer and warmer and bodies beginning to flag it was an enjoyable and happy week. One must record the fact that on one night those in Old Hall had to turn out on to the tarmac whilst two fire engines arrived to check the building as the fire alarms had gone off. Apparently it was insects which had triggered off the alarm.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 7 October: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Dr. Mrs. A. D. Brian gave an illustrated talk on 'The History and Natural History of the River Lugg.' She explained that the river Lugg was almost sixty miles in length and before the Ice Age was a tributary of the river Teme. Its source is above Llangunllo and it joins the Wye at Mordiford. It is one of the few rivers to have been declared an SSSI. Throughout its course there are fast and slow-flowing stretches which give rise to a variety of plants and animals. Leominster is the most important area where nitrates and phosphates drain into it. Water mosses, nymph of stone fly and trout are found where the river flows over rock. River limpet, caddis fly, bullhead, crayfish, water crowfoot, loosestrife, yellow water lily, bulrush, willows and alders, snails of many types, mussels, dragon fly, moorhen, kingfisher and otter are some of the fauna and flora to be seen.

Dr. Brian also referred to a document purchased by the Public Record Office in 1856 which is a Survey of the rivers Wye and Lugg of 1697 by Daniel Denell. This survey was to note the obstructions, weirs, bridges, fords and mills and establish what could be done to improve the navigation. Using the survey she decided to follow the river from Mordiford to Leominster and evaluate it.

SECOND MEETING: 21 October: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

This was the thirty-third F. C. Morgan lecture which was held at the St. Martin's Parish Centre. Dr. W. J. Blair, F.S.A., from Queen's College, Oxford, gave an illustrated talk on 'Bishops' palaces and domestic planning in 12th and 13th-century England.' He said he wished to set the bishop's palace at Hereford in the context of the developments of the time. The great buildings of the 12th century had their origins in earlier palaces and houses based on either a courtyard plan or the domestic aisled hall. He mentioned the planned buildings of the 9th-10th century which were slightly bow-sided as at Cheddar in Somerset and Goltho in Lincolnshire. The former was added to in the late 10th century. From these developed a hall with a detached chamber in line with it as at Westminster, Clarendon, Cheddar, Leicester and Writtle.

One of the great bishops of the time was Roger of Salisbury whose palace at Sherborne was a hall with an undercroft on one side of a courtyard. Other examples of planning around a courtyard are to be found at Portchester, Minster Court on the Isle of Thanet, Wolvesey, Winchester, and at Jacobstow in Cornwall. These date from the mid-12th century, 1140s-70s, and were followed by the great aisled halls at Hereford, Wells, Canterbury, Farnham and Old Sarum later in the century. These last five were all bishops' palaces and are contemporary with the aisled halls at Oakham and Leicester Castle and the aisled monastic infirmary at Ely. All the bishops' palaces mentioned above had a chamber and a chapel in close proximity to the hall, but not actually a part of the same building. Boothby Pagnell in Lincolnshire of about the same date had a detached chamber block. The next generation in the 13th century included the four-bay hall at Lincoln, additions to Penhallan at Jacobstow, the courtyard at Wingfield and the gloriette at Corfe Castle.

THIRD MEETING: 18 November: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Dr. Joan Lane, M.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'Moccas and its Farriers in the eighteenth century.' She said that Moccas had been a possession of St. Guthlac and that the old house had been replaced by the present one for the Cornewall family, designed by Adam and built by Keck. Catherine the heiress of Sir Velters Cornewall married George Amyand who had to take the name Cornewall. He was a typical provincial 18th-century gentleman e.g. he subscribed to a number of local societies and in 1778 gave £100 towards the restoration of the west front of Hereford Cathedral. In 1774 he became steward of Hereford races and even in 1744 one of the family's horses won the Hunter's Plate at Ludlow. The three small account books covering the period 1773-91 give a good picture of all the activities at Moccas.

Dr. Lane then referred especially to the farriers and explained that a farrier had a special trade in that he was a blacksmith and a 'horse doctor' i.e. before the days of a veterinary surgeon. There was no veterinary training until 1792. There was a seven-year apprenticeship which cost between £50 and £100 and as a journeyman would earn 12s. to 15s. per week, the same as a gunsmith, but a labourer would only be getting 9s. a week. Farriers tended to be found in large county towns e.g. there were three in Gloucester, three in Worcester and two in Hereford. At Moccas Joseph Powell was the chief farrier and Watkins the second one. In 1784 the accounts show that the farrier was paid £31 3s. out of a total of £454 4s. 3d. spent on the stables. The accounts also show that Sir George Cornewall was keen on horse breeding and horse-racing e.g. in June 1792 a stallion cost thirty guineas: also fifty guineas was paid for a horse bought of Foley and eighty guineas for one from Scudamore. At the same time coach horses were costing thirty to forty guineas and a cart-horse fifteen guineas.

He also had an artistic taste as was shown in the music room and his commissioning of family portraits by Romney and Reynolds. Thus he was a typical unknown 18th-century gentleman.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 9 December: Mrs. M. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1996 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December, 1994, were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 191.

The chairpersons of the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports which are printed on pp. 374-85.

In June Mr. B. Whitehouse who had been the Club's honorary librarian for twenty-one years retired from the Hereford Library. He was thanked for his service to the Club and all the help he had given with the Club's library and in other ways during that period 1974-1995.

The sterling work on the Club's library was continued during the year and three bays of shelving have been fitted with mahogany frame doors and glass to match the original bookcases of 1874.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31 December 1994

1993 £	£	RECEIPTS	1994 £ p	£ p
		Receipts from investments		
		Interest on investments		
32.64		3½% War Loan	32.64	
58.57		Hereford & Worcester CC Loan	46.20	
1,743.45		National Savings Investment	1,751.82	
139.54	1,974.20	Bank & Building Society Interest	109.10	1,939.76
		Other receipts		
6,685.47		General Subscriptions ...	5,920.20	
96.75		Sale of Publications ...	83.90	
750.00		Grants, Donations, Legacies	0.00	
0.00		Tax Repayments	1,344.73	
45.00		Refund of subscription ...	0.00	
600.00		Transfer from other sections	450.00	
4.34		Miscellaneous	28.00	
46.18		Natural History Section ...	57.48	
862.49		Archaeological Research Section	563.94	
2,567.24		Field Names Survey ...	1,899.78	
561.71	12,219.18	Field Meetings (Net) ...	12,566.88	22,914.91
		Bank Balances at 1.1.1994		
		Current Accounts		
177.56		General Account	1,108.71	
323.16		Subscription Account ...	1,188.63	
61.27		Natural History Section ...	308.09	
		Archaeological Research		
188.07		Section	236.08	
757.12		Field Names Survey ...	1,029.15	
629.90		Field Meetings	1,014.40	
		Business Reserve Accounts		
7,096.84		Subscription Account ...	727.90	
696.87		George Marshall Fund ...	710.35	
251.26		Natural History Section ...	0.00	
2,064.35		Field Meetings	2,241.56	
		Building Society Accounts		
769.36		Field Names Survey ...	1,616.45	
292.06		Archaeological Research		
	13,307.82	Section	307.21	10,488.53
	9.18	Cash in Hand		68.66
	27,453.65	National Savings Investment		29,197.10
	54,964.03			64,608.96

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

(*Signed*) D. HAIGH
Honorary Auditor
16 May 1995

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

Obituary

RICHARD KAY

The recent death of Richard Kay cannot be allowed to pass without some appreciation of his archaeological achievements. I feel his loss keenly, not only as a friend and mentor, but also for the wider field of archaeology. Coming to archaeology with only a theoretical knowledge, it was through Richard that I acquired the necessary practical experience in the field.

Richard was everything an amateur archaeologist should be, blessed with the ability of sketching he was able to record both in drawings and words the results of his investigations spanning the period from 1938 to 1995. He had a remarkable ability to reduce a complex archaeological site to understandable simplicity. His over fifty field note books constitute a unique record, not only for Herefordshire, but south-east Wales and parts of the West Country. These form a valuable record of what was visible at the time of his visit.

He was a leading light in the old Archenfield Archaeological Group, serving as chairman at one period. As well as being an indefatigable worker for the Archaeological Research Section, he organised the archaeological side of the main club for many years, leading and arranging meetings. He was on the Woolhope Club committee for a number of years, but always, due to his deep humility, avoided the Club's highest office, though he did serve as archaeological assistant editor of the *Transactions*. Richard, though always shunning the limelight, was ever ready to help members to a greater understanding of archaeology.

The Archaeological Research Section, in particular, will always remember him for his meticulously prepared field meetings, and the Churchillian style of English of his reports. His meetings were always looked forward to with keen anticipation.

He worked for many years assisting with the recording of the castles of Glamorgan for the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales, in many cases his note books were the only record available of now vanished castle sites.

In addition to frequent articles in the *Transactions* and the *Herefordshire Archaeological News*, he also contributed to many other archaeological periodicals.

He typified all that was best in the amateur archaeologist, having a wider breadth of interest instead of a narrow archaeological view. He took in the whole landscape in all its diversity.

Richard will be sadly missed, not only by me, but also by all members of the Woolhope Club and the wider world of archaeology.

P.R.H.

Presidential Address

Some Connected Thoughts on the Parks and Gardens of Herefordshire before the Age of Landscape Gardening

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

There has always been a subject called garden history, occupying a small niche between mainstream history, art and literature. The earliest garden histories were a product of the Arts and Crafts movement which took delight in the intricate and formal gardens of ancient manor-houses which existed in a world before Capability Brown, W.A. Nesfield and William Robinson. Alicia Amherst produced the first coherent history of English gardening in 1895 and naturally two thirds of her *History of Gardening in England* is devoted to the period before the landscape movement of the 18th century. There was a trickle of other garden histories in the early 20th century. Deserving particular attention are: Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, *The Story of the Garden* (1932) and of special interest for Herefordshire, Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque* (1927).

In mid-century the subject began to display some diversity. Dorothy Stroud broke new ground with her biographies of *Capability Brown* (1950) and *Humphry Repton* (1962) whilst Miles Hadfield, a resident of Herefordshire and member of the Woolhope Club, published *Gardening in Britain* (1960) which produced a new synthesis with proper emphasis placed upon gardening in the 18th and 19th centuries. Hadfield was also one of the founder members of the Garden History Society established in 1965. In a sense this marked the coming of age of garden history as an academic discipline and the bi-annual journal of the society - *Garden History* - is essential reading for all serious students of the subject.

The conservation movement of the 1960s and 70s which drew attention to the rapid changes taking place in the town and countryside, stimulated a new sensitivity towards historic garden landscapes. The exhibition on the Destruction of the Country House in 1974 by implication highlighted the fate of the many relic parks and gardens which existed close to demolished houses and thus, the garden trust movement was born, to defend and celebrate this aspect of the national heritage. The Hampshire Garden Trust, for example, persuaded their county council to carry out a pioneering survey of the parks and gardens of its county in 1983. In the same year the National Heritage Act required the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission to draw up a non-statutory list of parks and gardens of special historic interest in England. The list for Hereford and Worcester was issued in 1986 and contains twenty-one grade II and II* landscapes in the old county of Herefordshire.[1] In the 1970s and 80s historic gardens were noticed by archaeologists and several volumes of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, notably Dorset (1971-2) and Northampton (1979-82), under the direction of Christopher Taylor, began to

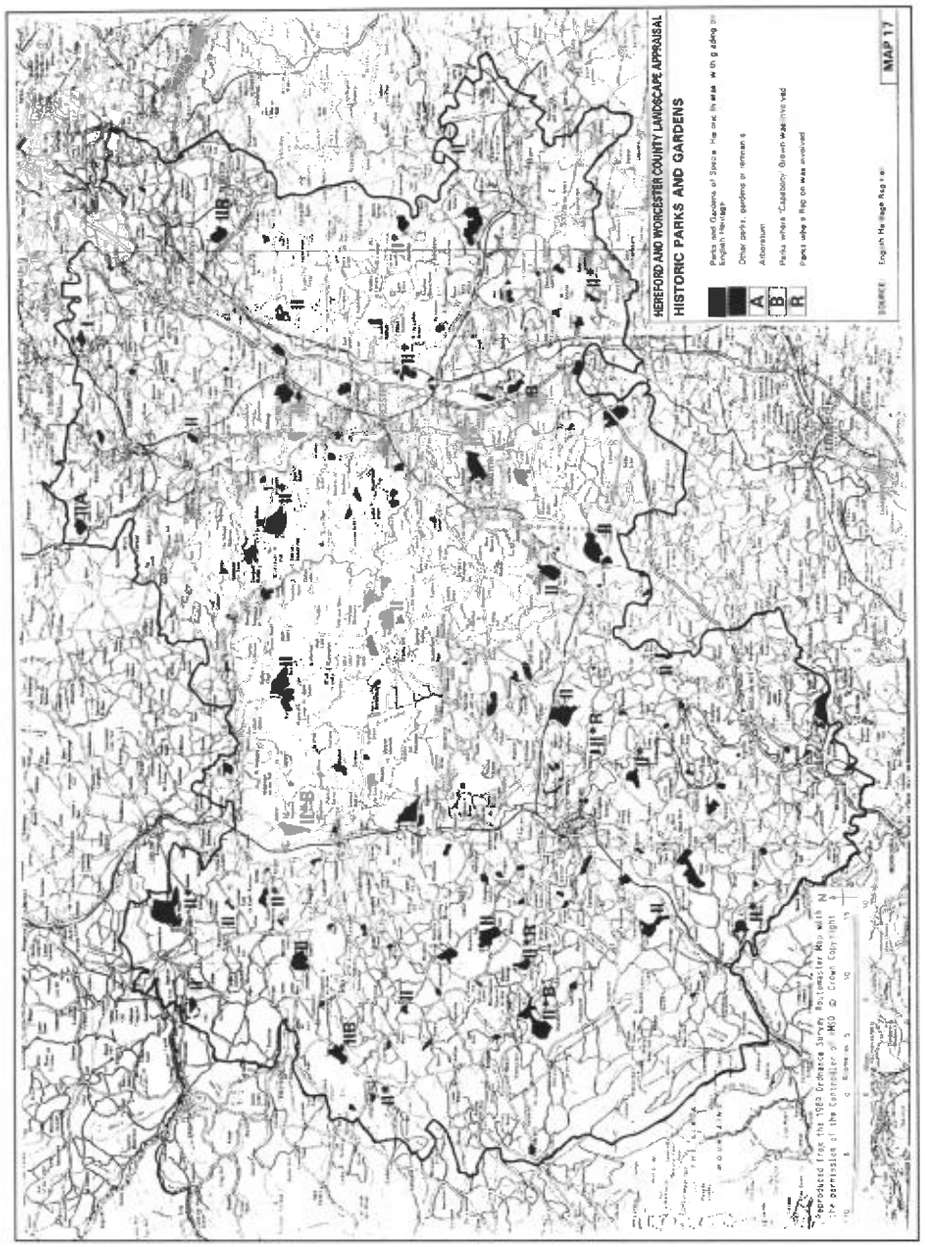

FIG. 1
The historic parks and gardens of Hereford and Worcester from *The Landscape* (1990). The report was draft and does not represent the policy of the County Council.

record garden sites and distinguish them from deserted medieval villages. The Council for British Archaeology held a conference on garden archaeology in 1988 and the proceedings were published in *Research Report* 78 (1991).

The importance of parks and gardens in the landscape has gradually begun to impinge upon local planning authorities. The Hereford and Worcester County Council produced a map, marking the key garden sites of the county, in its consultative document *The Landscape* (1990) and in it urged the District Councils to take a more active role in the conservation of parks and gardens, suggesting that they should be designated as Conservation Areas or Areas of Local Landscape Value (FIG. 1). As Local Plans are being revised, the District Councils are being pressed by the Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust to recognise the importance of the historic parks and gardens in the areas under their responsibility. The Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust was founded in 1993 to celebrate and protect the garden landscapes of the county and now has nearly 400 members.

Parks and gardens are transitory works of art but like buildings they reflect the innermost thoughts and feelings of their creators. Again, like buildings, they often combine utility with sensibility. A deer park is both a place to enjoy the chase as well as a larder for fresh meat whilst a medieval herbary may stimulate aesthetic pleasure for its creators as well as providing medicinal plants. Gardens like buildings have style; they change through time and are especially sensitive to fashion and perhaps, more immediately than architecture, reflect cultural exchange. As objects of conspicuous expenditure among the elite in all ages they have made a firm impression upon both financial records and upon the landscape. Moreover, when ever man reflects upon his position in creation and ponders upon his relationship with Nature and the environment, and tries to express these primary thoughts in literature and art, the image of the garden figures prominently. But the image changes according to the historical setting providing further essential source material for the garden historian. Paradise in western society is found in the garden of Eden which in modern language means a managed landscape set aside from the countryside, providing nourishment for the body and stimulus for the soul.

As the landscape garden in Herefordshire has recently been the subject of an exhibition, celebrating the publication of Richard Payne Knight's poem *The Landscape* (1794) and Uvedale Price's first *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), which was accompanied by a useful catalogue, this essay will concentrate upon the garden history of Herefordshire before the 18th century.[2]

BEGINNINGS

The garden history of Herefordshire must begin with the earliest prehistoric farmers who became conscious for the first time of the contrast between the man-made landscape and the wildwood. Although the density of occupation recorded within those Herefordshire hill forts which have been excavated, precludes much space for a garden plot, we cannot doubt that the occupants were thrilled by the ash and oak woods which filled the Herefordshire countryside. That the Iron Age inhabitants of the county managed their woodlands is no longer in doubt; that in the deepest groves they found an aesthetic or reli-

gious experience is more speculative but Pliny the Elder states that cutting the mistletoe - such a common parasite in Herefordshire - was a sacred duty of the priests.[3]

The Roman contribution to gardening - in terms of new plants such as box, the opium poppy, sweet cherries, grapes and the sweet chestnut - is equally well known and the discovery of formal gardens at Fishbourne Palace in West Sussex has stimulated the search for further gardens in the proximity of Roman villas.[4] Enclosed courtyards are especially suitable for ornamental treatment and at Barnsley Park, in Gloucestershire, for instance, the excavators concluded that some at least of the walled closes behind the villa were gardens.[5] Two candidates come to mind in Herefordshire: Huntsham villa with its series of unexplored enclosures, and the recently discovered crop mark above Longworth at Bartestree which seems to be a Roman site and also has a complex series of enclosures.[6] Similarly, the villa/religious site at New Weir, terraced into the hillside above the Wye, proclaims its affinity with the tiered gardens of Italy and it would be difficult to deny that the landscape advantages, not least among which are a series of mineral rich springs, which make the Georgian gardens so attractive, worked the same magic upon the Romans.[7] Equally suggestive, and within a mile of New Weir are the ambiguous earthworks and lagoons to the S.-W. of the Roman town of Kenchester, which may prove to be allotment closes, worked as horticultural holdings by the inhabitants of the town.[8]

Whereas the evidence of gardening for pleasure and refinement is fairly plentiful on the continent in the Dark Ages, in Britain the period is portrayed as a continuous struggle for survival, providing little time for laymen, at least, to enjoy reflection in the flowery arbour. For monks, however, it was rather different. In Wales and the west celtic saints colonised the 'festering marsh', drove out wild boars and reptiles and established their oratories defined by a *vallum monasterii.* With their roots in the Mediterranean, they would have understood the value of the *hortus* and *herbarium* to provide fresh vegetables and life enhancing herbs. The aesthetic dimension was also not forgotten. St. Illtud's estate at Llantwit Major was, so his biographer tells us, 'flowing with honey and fragrant with flowers' and more fertile than Italy.[9] Within the many *llans* of S.-W. Herefordshire we might expect to find similar garden enclosures, but the Book of Llandaff is silent on this matter. However, at Leominster, are we to imagine the great enclosure - 150,000 square yards - which surrounded the early christian minster was entirely taken up with oratories and accommodation for the monks? Surely, within this precinct, like the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, there would be specialist gardens, including perhaps an orchard which served as an earthly paradise for the departed brethren.[10] There is perhaps a hint of something similar in the place name Bromyard. The Old English *yerd* is frequently associated with early monastic enclosures but is also used to describe types of gardens e.g. apple yard, hop yard and, indeed, is the original root of the word garden. The garden within the enclosure surrounding the early christian minster at Bromyard had, perhaps, become overgrown with broom when the place was given its name in the pre-conquest period.[11]

For monks woodlands were places inhabited by 'unclean spirits....roving about in every night with dreadful outcries, and filling it with horrid howlings.'[12] Only the most intrepid anchorite could cope with this but the woods were made even more unattractive by the presence of aristocratic laymen who came there to hunt. An important feature to be found in the woodlands of Herefordshire before the Conquest was the *haia* or *haga* - a game enclosure surrounded by a strong fence. In the adjoining county of Worcestershire the survival of many pre-conquest charters with their detailed boundary clauses, has provided evidence for fourteen *haga* - nearly all in the woodlands W. of the river Severn.[13] One of these clauses in the charter of Leigh (972 A.D.) refers to the *Hagen Geate* (the gate of the haga) which led into the bishop of Hereford's game enclosure at Birchwood and which is referred to again in the Domesday entry for Cradley in 1086.[14]

Haiae are the predecessors of the post-conquest deer parks and are found in Domesday Book in those parts of Herefordshire where later documentary and environmental evidence suggests the existence of extensive woodlands. Eighteen are mentioned in the county, the majority are in the N.-W. but four lay along the Malverns and three were at Walford near Ross-on-Wye.[15] Not all *haiae* were permanent, for Domesday also mentions that certain citizens of Hereford had to prepare 'hays' for taking deer. This, no doubt, took place in Haywood to the W. of the City which took its name from these temporary enclosures made for the king.[16]

Haga also occur in many major pre-conquest towns e.g. Worcester and Warwick and are usually regarded as a 'fenced tenements.'[17] Such a *haga* is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon charter for Staunton on Arrow and is said to be located in the *burh* of Hereford.[18] Archaeologists and historians have not yet decided upon the exact nature of these urban holdings which seem to vary considerably in size. It is at least possible that some of them remained undeveloped garden grounds, ready to be utilised to receive refugees from the countryside in times of crisis, caused, say, by a Viking raid.[19] The south-eastern extension of the *burh* of Hereford i.e. the Castle Street component of the town, which was ditched and walled in the early 10th century, remained relatively undeveloped so that a plot of land in the later Middle Ages adjoining St. John Street which was originally *Milklone* was large enough to be used by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral as their dairy.[20] Thus, the space used as a refuge for the rural folk of the shire in times of insecurity may have been garden ground in more peaceful times.

THE MIDDLE AGES

Who can doubt that the refined culture which produced the architecture of Hereford Cathedral was also capable of creating delightful gardens? Medieval gardens remained both functional and beautiful but where there was conspicuous wealth the latter was likely to eclipse the former. The king and his immediate entourage were unlikely to deny themselves this fashionable pleasure and when written records become more frequent in the 13th century, virtually every royal residence had its 'plesaunce' either within the palace complex or slightly detached from it.[21]

At Hereford in 1256 Henry III ordered that his 'herber' - a flower garden with useful herbs - should be enclosed.[22] The exact location of this feature is rather problematic but clearly it was outside the castle. Four years before, at Gloucester, the king had asked for a bridge to be built across a ditch beyond the bailey of the castle which enabled Queen Eleanor to walk in the gardens of Llanthony Priory.[23] Perhaps the Queen required similar facilities at Hereford. Several later references to 'the King's orchard by (or next to) the

Castle' suggest, perhaps, that it was situated beyond the castle mill, on the high ground now occupied by the General Hospital.[24] Such a position would certainly have great potential as an enclosed privy garden, elevated above the surrounding countryside, with ravishing views up and down the river and across into Haywood Forest. Its picturesque relationship with the towers of the castle would surely create a bower fit for a queen.

An earlier late 12th-century document suggests that the occupants of the castle may also have enjoyed another larger garden across the Wye. In *c.*1180 Henry II granted to the chapel of St. Martin within the castle (not the parish church of the same dedication across the Wye) a tithe of the garden (*gardini*) of Hugh de Lacy 'beyond the Wye' (*ultra Waiam*).[25] We cannot be certain, but this would appear to be the area in the Bishop's Meadows enclosed by Row Ditch. This ambiguous earthwork seems to date from the 12th century and, although it has been postulated that it is a stretch of trans-riparian defences, defining the limits of the Wyebridge suburb of the city, it may also have served the more mundane purpose of enclosing the garden of the castle.[26] A later reference in 1436 to the *Kingsorchard* beyond the Wye, in the parish of St. Martin which was said to be ten acres in extent and was in the possession of St. Guthlac's Priory, seems to clinch the location.[27] Again Gloucester provides a parallel. Here the meadows across the Severn were also annexed to the castle at this date and there is documentary evidence for a bridge connecting the castle with its 'flowery mead.'[28] No evidence for a similar bridge has been discovered at Hereford but the low-lying meadows, directly in view of the castle, with a water source nearby, would provide an ideal situation for a 'plesaunce' - a moated water garden such as existed at a later date at Raglan, Kenilworth and Clun.[29] Water was readily available and there are slight earthworks adjoining Row Ditch which could reflect the low embankments of such a garden, It could have been used as a place of entertainment, perhaps, with a banqueting house set in a water garden, slightly detached from the castle but convenient for the king's chase in Haywood. (FIG. 2)

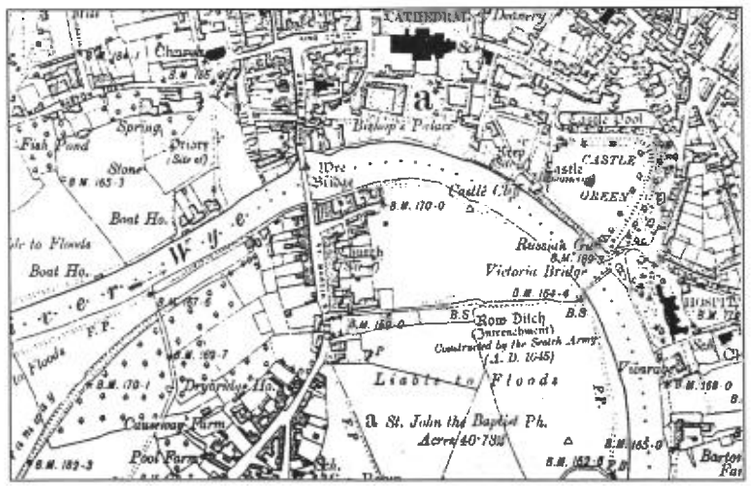

FIG. 2
Part of the 1904 6 in. plan of the city of Hereford showing Row Ditch enclosing the *Kingsorchard* beyond the Wye.

In the light of the *Kingsorchard* and herber at Hereford, and similar examples cited in other adjoining counties, local archaeologists should be seeking the sites of gardens adjoining the other great castles of the county especially those with extended baileys and straggling ambiguous earthworks like Wigmore and Snodhill, for example. If a castle has all the other accoutrements of a major caput - stone building, a chapel, a park and an urban settlement - and was regularly visited by its noble owner; a *herbarium, vergier, viridarium, hortus* or *gardinum* is to be expected.[30] Once again it is necessary to approach castles as the country houses of the medieval elite; homes of sensitive men and women who in churches, monasteries and colleges were patrons of fine architecture and sculpture. It means sweeping away conceptions of castles as grim fortresses, occupied by sullen and brutal barons whose only concern was the strength of their walls and the depth of their ditches - a viewpoint inherited from the romantic movement. Castles should be viewed in the same spirit with which you visit a cathedral. There is beauty to be found as well as strength.[31]

Bredwardine is such a site. The Baskerville castle, referred to in a deposition of 1199 as the *capet castellum,* is superbly situated on a platform above the Wye and the Old English place name *bred-worthign* 'plank enclosure' suggests that this site was recognised before the Conquest for its heavy wooden palisade.[32] A small stream breaks out of the lower slopes of Dorstone Hill and provides delicious opportunities for fishpools and water gardens - or if you prefer, moats and water defences. The broken dams below the castle are still visible and downstream a larger dam has recently been repaired to create a substantial mere. A late 12th-century charter of a grant to Brecon Priory by Ralph de Baskerville suggests that our arcadian imaginings can be firmly supported by documentary evidence. There seems to have been three gardens here - a *pomero* (orchard), a *hortus* (kitchen garden) and a simple *gardino* all looked after by Semert the *horolani* - a gardener who we may assume from his name was an expert in propagating seeds (*semino* 'to sow'). The fishponds are mentioned and close to a path leading down to the ford over the river, there was Ralph's vineyard and, a little further away, a park.[33] These copious details provide a picture of a congenial seigneurial landscape, a veritable garden of Eden which Ralph, rather suitably, shared with an anchoress who lived adjacent to the orchard.

In the late Middle Ages the romantic qualities of the site were further enhanced by various members of the Vaughan family who adapted the castle, converting it into a multi-gabled house which was given the exotic title of the castle of Gronw.[34] Go today, and walk across the Castle Place, past the empty fishponds and along the winding path above the Wye where there is a viewing mount; down over the dam of the great pool (PL. XXII) to another 12th-century building on an adjoining hill - discovered in 1970 - and appreciate this man-made landscape, laid out for pleasure and enchantment.

Kilpeck Castle is also sited with an evident appreciation of the visual potential of the surrounding landscape. Enjoyed by King John when he hunted in Haywood Forest - perhaps when the chase had taken him too far from the royal facilities at Hereford - the de Kilpecks developed the western slopes of the castle with an aesthetic eye. Immediately below the shell keep the ground is enclosed by banks to form an orchard enclosure - still containing a few hoary fruit trees - which gradually slopes down towards the dried out margins of a substantial lake, formed by damming the Worm Brook. The dam is in fact

the continuation of the northern enclosure bank along which, we can perhaps imagine, ran an elevated walk which crossed the dam. (FIG. 3) The gardens and the fishpools are referred to in a survey taken on the death of Robert de Walerand in 1273 and later in 1298 when Alan de Plugenet died. The views from the keep over the enclosed private garden towards the lake would have had a 'wonderful beauty' as Robinson recognised in 1869 with a background provided by the Black Mountains and the varied shapes of the Sugar Loaf and Skerrid Hills. Can we assume that this was not appreciated by the owners of Kilpeck whose exquisite taste is reflected in one of the most famous Romanesque churches in the country? Significantly, albeit the castle was abandoned in the 14th century, the park continued to be valued and was referred to in the mid-17th century.[35]

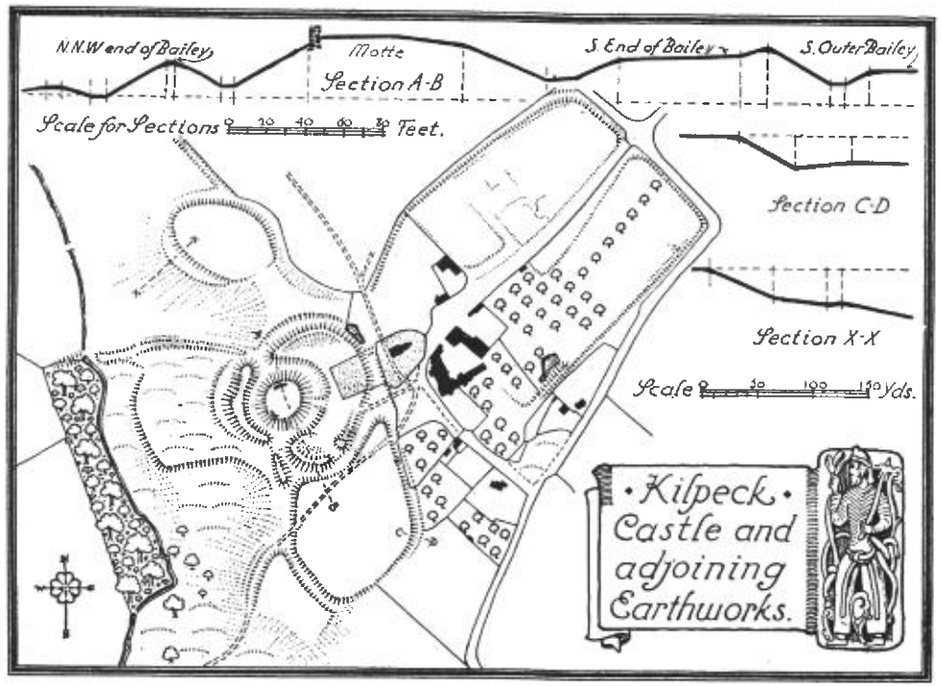

FIG. 3
Plan from the *R.C.H.M.*, I (1931), 159 showing the garden enclosure and the adjoining lake below and to the west of the castle mound at Kilpeck.

The association of a castle with a park, as at Bredwardine or with a royal forest, as in the case of Kilpeck, is a sure indication that the place gave some pleasure to its owner and thus, a garden enclosure is to be anticipated. Of the thirty-five medieval parks identified in Herefordshire, at least fourteen are associated with castles. They would be the logical place to begin searching for the fleeting earthworks which represent medieval gardens and arbours.[36]

Moccas Park with its ancient trees and well preserved pale breathes antiquity and yet there is no firm evidence for its existence until the 17th century and even its decrepit and

twisted sweet chestnuts are now assumed to have been planted in the late 17th century.[37] However, the raison d'etre of the park lies with the battlemented manor-house which Hugh de Fresne was licensed to build in 1294, the remains of which, can still be seen as a much overgrown earthwork on the eastern edge of the park. We know the fortified house was built because Hugh was summoned to appear before the sheriff for embarking upon the work before the crenellation license had been granted.[38] No mention is made of the park in these transactions - which is not unusual - but the siting of the earthwork reflects a classic relationship between castle and pleasure ground commented upon by O. G. S. Crawford many years ago and found throughout Britain.[39]

The de Fresnes were an improving family and gave their name to their manor-house - Freen's Court - at Sutton St. Michael on the Lugg, near Hereford. The association of Moccas and Sutton Frene went back before Domesday when the property belonged to the minster of St. Guthlac in Hereford. Nigel the Physician obtained both properties after 1066 and they subsequently came to Walter de Fresne in the mid-12th century.[40] Sutton in the Middle Ages was an intensively cultivated arable estate and thus, there was little opportunity for the de Fresnes to establish a park there although the water garden which developed in the 17th century (see below p. 214) presumably had its origins - as many water gardens do - in the moats which surrounded the medieval manor-house.[41] Moccas, on the other hand, with its steep hill slopes and wooded landscape provided a perfect setting. A stone house, enhanced with battlemented walls conveyed by an honourific license from the king, set in a private game reserve, imparted prestige upon its owner and was a symbol of Hugh's aspirations for his rising family. He collected other tokens of arrivalism - a grant of free warren and the right to establish a market - and we may suspect that the special qualities which make Moccas Park today a National Nature Reserve and attracted artists in the 18th century to draw its venerable trees, was more than just a twinkle in his eyes - he knew he was creating a landscape of delight. (PL. XXIII)

In the late Middle Ages - notwithstanding the popular view that the Wars of the Roses created civil turmoil and disrupted stable life - the aristocracy were far enough removed from the age of feudalism to develop a certain nostalgia for the atmosphere of the early Middle Ages. A fantasy world developed - much like the gothic revival in the 18th century - which perpetuated the glossy trappings of chivalry long after they had ceased to serve any military purpose.[42] Embattled houses like Bodiam, Hurstmonceux and Oxburgh Hall were no longer fortresses but simply stage sets in a play of manners. In this artificial world fair maidens wandered wistfully through the green arbours of the castle plesaunce, to be courted with refinement by knights who fought mock tournaments in setting of picturesque beauty. Pictorial representations of such scenes are rare in England but common on the continent but the literature of the era suggests that they certainly existed and should, therefore, be revealed in the archaeological record.[43]

In 1460 Richard de Beauchamp was granted permission to empark 1,300 acres of land on the western slopes of the Malverns above Eastnor. He was allowed to make deer leaps and enjoy free warren but the centrepiece of his new pleasure ground was, what one architectural historian has recently described as, 'a castellated pavilion' - Bronsil Castle.[44] Richard was a member of the privileged coterie associated with the Yorkist ascendency of Edward IV which stimulated a precocious Renaissance of chivalric culture, borrowed

principally from Burgandy. Richard's status demanded a flamboyant structure and he was granted the full complement of knightly symbols - 'a tower in the said park of stone and mortar, and to crenellate, embattle and provide with turrels and machicolations the said tower'.[45] Richard added a gunport for good measure, being the ultimate up-to-the-minute conceit in mural decoration.

Eighteenth-century views and plans show that the many towered courtyard castle was surrounded by a double moat and a larger stretch of water to the east.[46] (FIG. 4) Between the moats there was a continuous flat terrace which was presumably laid out as garden with walks, its plan and layout designed to be appreciated from the walls and towers of the castle. Similar gardens can be observed in contemporary Burgundian illustrations and the plan is remarkably similar to the 'plesaunce' at Kenilworth.[47] Opposite the twin-towered gate of the castle, now occupied by a Regency cottage, there is a broad oval space - a cour de'honeur - which could have been used as a tournament space - like the Turf Close at Brampton Castle in Oxfordshire - for which the gate towers would have provided a grandstand.[48] Seen from the slopes of the surrounding hills, Bronsil would have created an irresistible Claudean scene. did Richard de Beauchamp have a favourite view of his creation? A place to bring visitors for their first impression of the castle? A viewing platform or belvedere like the one recently identified upon the crest of a high ridge to the north of Bodiam Castle in Sussex.[49]

Like Bronsil, the park at Brampton Bryan (FIG. 5) may well have been the product of the Yorkist ascendency. The arguments for the close association of park and castle put forward at Bronsil and Moccas would appear to apply to Brampton Bryan. But when the castle makes its first appearance in 1294 in an inquisition of Bryan de Brampton who is said to possess a tower (*turris*), there is no mention of a park adjoining the castle.[50] Instead, we learn from three further inquisitions that the de Bramptons had two parks on either side of Brampton Bryan at Stanage and Buckton and the site of the present deer park appears to have been an extensive common shared by the surrounding communities.[51] Below Brian de Brampton's tower, however, there was a garden with fishponds (*vivaria*) - presumably the site of the present walled garden which had formal canals in the early 18th century.[52]

The first reference to Brampton Park occurs in the late 16th century but it seems very likely that it was created in the 15th century when the Harleys, staunch supporters of the Yorkists, benefited from the events which brought a Mortimer to the throne as Edward IV in 1461. Brampton Bryan Park replaced Buckton, leaving a few field-names and Buckton Park Farm to mark its existence, and compensated the Harleys for the temporary loss of Stanage which during the later Middle Ages belonged to the Cornwalls of Stapleton Castle. By the early 16th century Brampton Bryan, like Bronsil, fulfilled all the aspirations of its owners - a multi-towered castle stood reflected in its water garden, set against the rising lands of a wooded deer park. (PL. XXIV) A chivalric dream had been created.

The Harleys and Beauchamps were not alone in enjoying the amenities of park and garden close to their residences. It is possible that several of the moated homesteads in the county were associated with garden enclosures. Adjoining the famous moated house at Lower Brockhampton there is a separate and smaller moated island. Too small for a

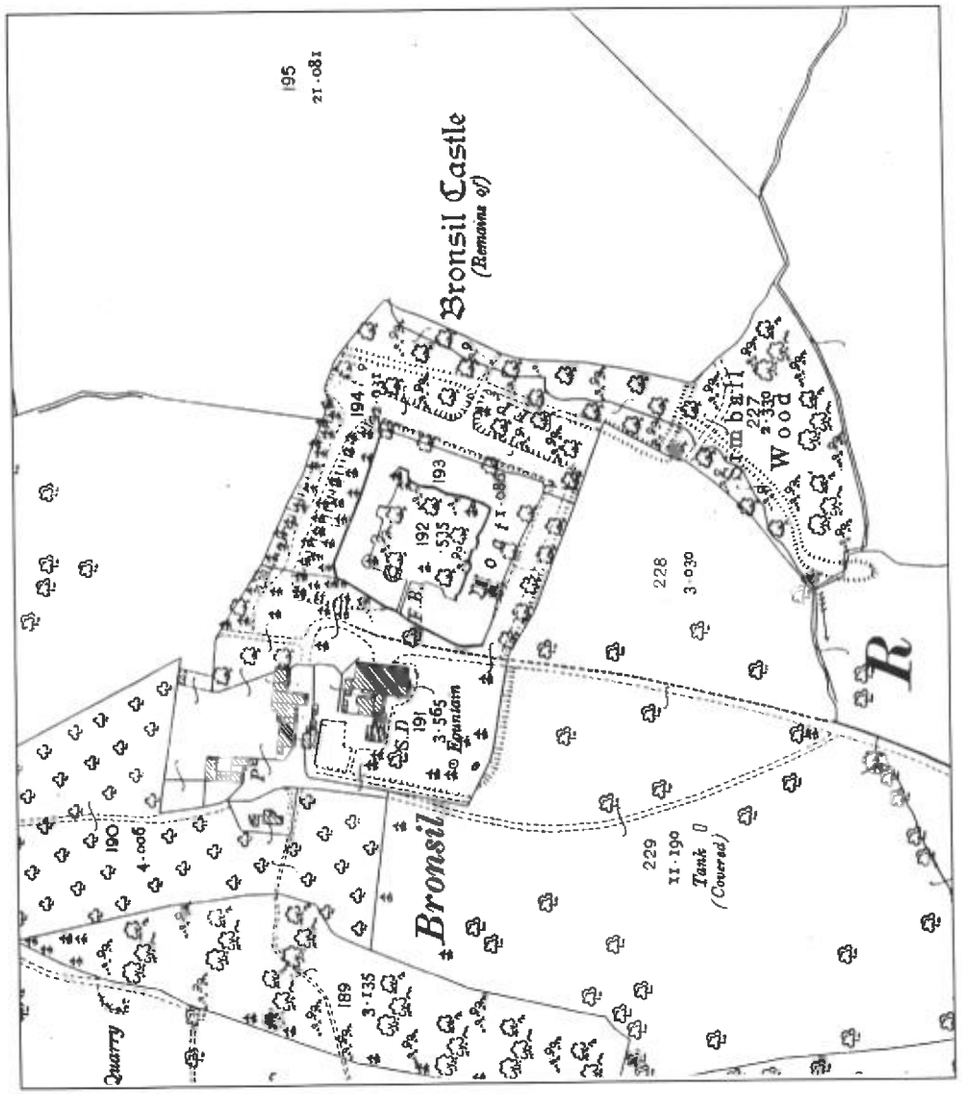

FIG. 4
Bronsil Castle depicted in 1904 on the 6 in. O.S. plan showing the raised walks to the North and East of the moat, the remains of a water garden in Simball Wood and a possible tournament close, now occupied by outbuildings, to the West.

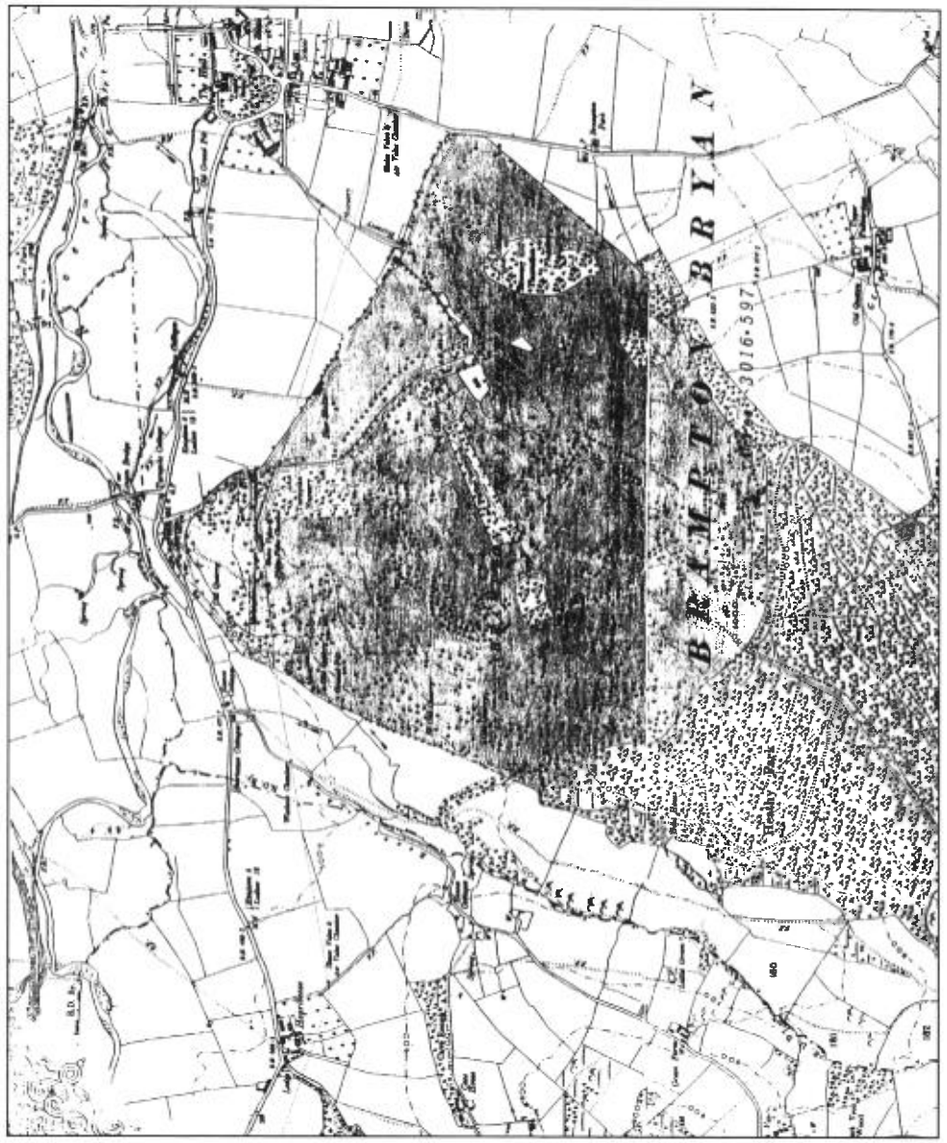

FIG. 5
Plan of Brampton Bryan Park from 1904 6 in. O.S. map.

garden it may have enclosed a dovecote or a summer-house and formed part of a garden complex adjoining the manor-house. (FIG. 6) (PL. XXV) A similar but larger moated enclosure existed until recently a few hundred yards to the S. of Brinsop Court. It was associated with a group of fishponds which have now been enlarged, flooding the island of the moat. Similar garden moats have been found elsewhere in England[53] and it has recently been suggested that the complex of moats at the Court of Noke may also have included a garden enclosure.[54]

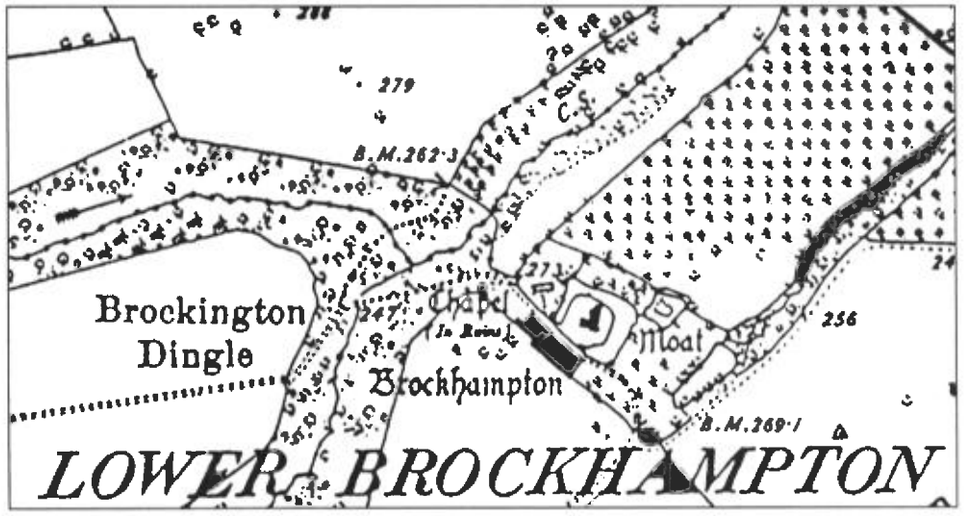

FIG. 6
Plan of Lower Brockhampton from the 1885 6 in. O.S. map showing the small garden moat adjoining the larger homestead moat.

The Red Book of the Bishop of Hereford of *c.*1290 refers in a few laconic phrases to the presence of parks and gardens close to the bishop's favourite palaces. At Hampton Bishop, presumably adjoining Field Farm which has traditionally been regarded as the site of the palace, there was a fruit garden with pasture valued at 6s. 8d. Other gardens of varying value are mentioned at Whitbourne, Bishop's Frome and Cradley where it is said to be two acres in extent. At Ledbury the garden is worth 4s. 6d. in contrast to the vineyard which is valued at 100s. The men of Cradley and Colwall had to do labour services there. Colwall had a very valuable garden worth 39s. 4d. and a park let for pasture at 30s.[55] It was still let for pasture in a survey of 1404 when it was said to be worth 6s. 8d. and its pannage 2s. which indicates there were still oak trees in it.[56] The orchard at Ross with its pasture was worth 2s. in 1290 but there was also a dovecote worth 5s. In Swinfield's household accounts a 'great pond' is mentioned, stocked with bream and pike. Orchard and dovecote, but presumably not the pond, were probably close to the palace at Ross adjoining the church on the river cliff. The garden at Ross was not very productive when the Bishop stopped there in March 1289, for he ate salt vegetables and a servant was sent to Hereford to buy greens for the Bishop's pottage. Two months later there was a surfeit

of peas and beans waiting for the Bishop at Bosbury and Whitbourne. Swinfield seems to have appreciated the visual qualities of his cliff top residence at Ross and on his visit he censured the vicar for disfiguring the churchyard by cutting down certain trees. Churchmen seem to have enjoyed orchards for in 1233 the vicar of Holme Lacy made an agreement with the prior of Craswell to have a tithe of the apples and pears in the orchard there. A fishpond is also mentioned.[57]

Apart from the king's herber and orchard at the Castle, we hear of several other gardens in medieval Hereford. In the early 15th century the priory of St. Guthlac owned a string of gardens in Grope Lane (Gaol Street) adjoining the city wall, leased to Nicholas Chippenham, a leading citizen. The College of Vicars Choral also rented a garden from St. Guthlac's in Barton Street 'cum rakis' - perhaps with racks for drying cloth.[58] In 1378 there were *arbores* in Widemarsh Street and according to Duncumb the nuns of Aconbury grew saffron (autumn crocus) in a garden at Blackmarston, across Wye Bridge.[59] When Henry VIII's commissioners surveyed the Blackfriars at the Dissolution in 1537, they included in their valuation an apple mill and 'all the fruit and saffern'.[60] The friars Minor also had a garden, referred to in 1305 in Barton Street, and a garden dedicated to St. Anthony - a place suitable for an anchorite - is regularly noted next to St. Martin's Church in the Wyebridge suburb. In 1538 Margery Karver is in trouble with her neighbours for breaking the hedge which surrounded it.[61] As we have noticed at Leominster, there was a tradition that monastic graveyards should be embellished with fruit trees. Hence the Bishop's cloister at Hereford Cathedral has long been referred to as the Lady Arbour or more anciently Our Lady's Herbary and was a place especially favoured for burial by lay benefactors of the Cathedral.[62] The plants of the City were observed by a local schoolmaster, John Lelamoure who in 1373 translated a latin herbal into English adding further information from personal observation.[63]

It is to be expected that the religious houses of the county would develop gardens within their precincts. The monks of St. Guthlac's in the Bye Street suburb of Hereford had a garden referred to in 1436 next to the priory gate and there too, the brother's cemetery was set in an orchard called the Sexten's Close.[64] At Aconbury the Augustinian nuns developed their monastery within an irregular precinct wall - part of which survives today - overlooking a sequence of fishponds, divided by dams on the Tar Brook. The striking setting of the priory, set in a matrix of woodlands and elevated above its ponds suggest that the site was chosen for its beauty as well as its convenience. Aconbury was gentrified after the Dissolution and the N.-E. corner of the precinct was used as a walled garden - a role it may well have served earlier for the nuns.[65] A herbary is mentioned at Wigmore Abbey in 1296. It was next to the chamber of the popular abbot Adam who was granted it for his pleasure during his retirement.[66] The herbary at Leominster was also highly prized by the community, for the gardener in 1408 received a gift of 1s. at Easter, twice as much as the miller and four times as much as the boy who washed the monk's vestments but only half as much as the groom of the wardrobe.[67]

THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

During these centuries the parks and gardens of Herefordshire continue to have more in common with their predecessors in the Middle Ages than with the 'Renaissance

gardens' of southern Europe. Gardens remain inward looking and enclosed, distinct from the park which remained detached from the house as at Rotherwas (FIG. 7) and Brampton Bryan. In general terms, late medieval mansions occupied valley sites - low, hidden and discrete - with an adjoining garden enclosure. Treago and Hampton Court are good examples albeit little is known about their gardens until the 18th century. Gradually, however, influenced by continental models and the rising status of the gentry, gardens began to look outwards, towards the park and the surrounding countryside.[68]

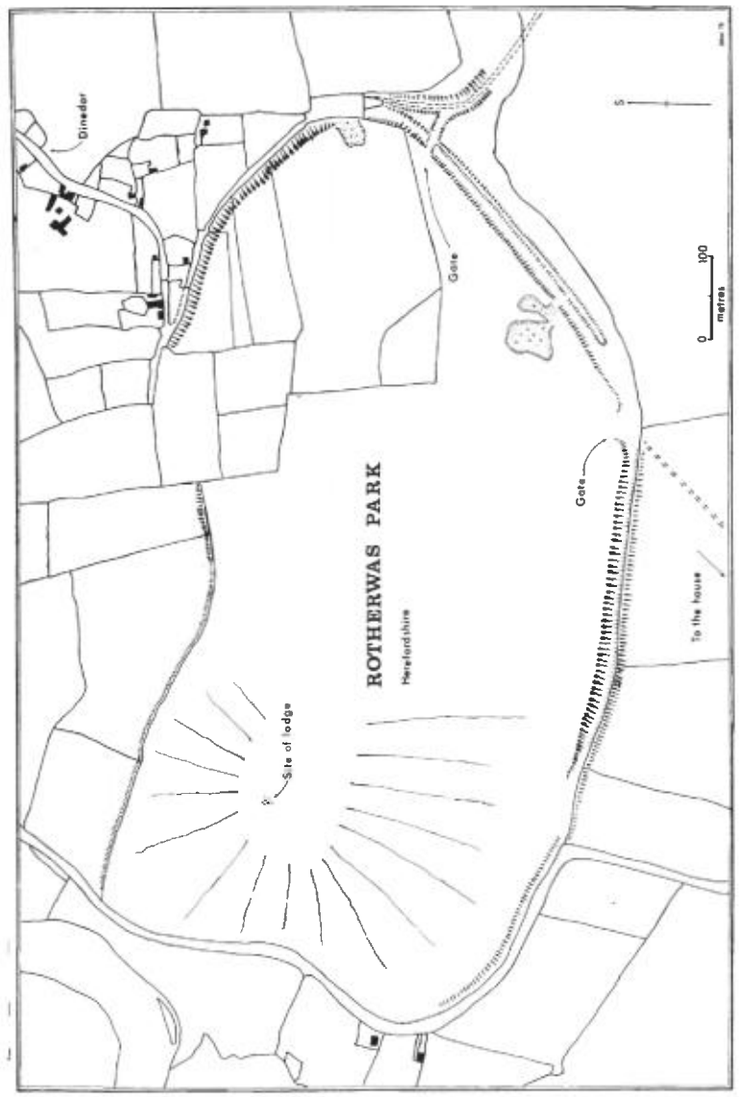

FIG. 7
Rotherwas Park on Dinedor Hill, near Hereford. A sketch plan by the author in 1980.

The orchard was the first step in this direction and Herefordshire landowners in this period began to be very self-conscious about this amenity. In virtually all the documentary sources cited below, the planting of an orchard seems to have been a priority in their landscaping activities. Great care was taken with the siting, planting and selection of grafts. In mundane terms the object of all this care was simply to fill a pie dish and larger vessels with cider and perry. As John Gerard recounted at Rotherwas: 'I have seen in the pastures and hedgerows about the grounds of a worshipful gentleman's dwell-house about 2 miles from Hereford, Roger Bodenham Esq., so many apple trees of all sorts that the servants drank for the most part no other drinke but that which is made of apples.'[69] We can also be certain that the orchard was admired for more spiritual reasons for such fecundity in an age which so often suffered from want, was indeed, a gift from God, as John Beale reminds us. Beale was also conscious of the aesthetic bonus: 'We do commonly devise a shadowy Walk from our gardens through our Orchards (which is the richest, sweetest and most embellish'd Grove) into our Coppice Woods or Timber Woods. Thus we approach the resemblance of Paradice.'[70] In the poetry of Andrew Marvell, the orchard frequently provides an antithesis for the cultivated and sophisticated, a controlled wilderness set beside the formality of the house and its surrounding terraces, a place of solace:

'Annihilating all that made
To a green thought in a green shade.'[71]

By the end of the 17th century many Herefordshire houses like Hampton Court, Stoke Edith and Croft Castle were the focus of radiating avenues which had exploded into the surrounding countryside. Around these houses elaborate parterres, canals and terraces had almost ousted the utilitarian enclosures of potherbs and fruit trees; artificiality and ostentation had for the moment banished good sense - at least around the great houses. For the minor gentry and yeoman farmer, however, the changes were less perceptible. There is certainly a greater interest in decorations around the house; knots, embroideries and topiary were all in fashion and there were many more plants available to display - perhaps as many as 4,000 compared with *c.*1,000 in 1600.[72] There were also many new gardening books, herbals and 'calendars' to provide advice. Leonard Meager, *The English Gardner* (1675) was offered for sale by a Hereford bookseller in 1695 and Sir Edward Harley of Brampton Bryan bought Ralph Austen, *A Treatise on Fruit Trees* (1653) from a Worcester bookseller, Mr. Rea, in 1657. Like Sir Edward, Austen was a puritan and connected gardening with godliness: 'God when he would make the life of man Pleasant unto him, he put him into an Orchard or Garden of delights, that he might labour therein with pleasure of mind.'[73] Thus, in the minor gardens the emphasis remained firmly in favour of the useful and any signs of Italianate influence was restricted to garden pavilions, entrances and ornaments. Even the symmetry of garden plans owed as much to the medieval courtyard tradition as to any conscious imitation of Italian or French models.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

The dissolution of the monasteries provided the Herefordshire gentry with opportunities to convert conventual buildings into country house. The cloister often remained the focus of a new courtyard house as church, refectory or dorter were converted for domestic

use.[74] In such cases the cloister became a busy yard at the heart of the house and was unlikely to be appreciated as a garden. At Wigmore Abbey, however, John Bradshaw developed a private house in the abbot's lodgings with a service wing on the site of the western range of the cloister. Thus, the cloister itself could be developed as a garden - as it is today - leaving the S. wall of the church as part of the enclosure. A similar and better recorded example of a cloister becoming the privy garden of a country house occurred at Witham in Somerset amidst the remains of a Carthusian monastery.[75]

An additional attraction of a monastic site was the presence of fishponds which at Wigmore are also close at hand, visible to the S.E. from the raised cloister terrace. At a later date a summer-house was constructed out of medieval fragments on the S. wall of the cloister to enjoy the view across the ponds. (PL. XXVI) A string of fishponds was clearly regarded one of the assets of the site of the Augustinian house at Wormsley where a house was developed in the remains of the priory, illustrated in 1718, with 'stone mullioned windows and the lofty archway which formed the chief entrance of the house.'[76] A new house built with stones brought from the ruins of the priory was erected on a slightly more elevated site to the N.-W. in *c.*1740 which was purchased by Thomas Knight. (PL. XXVII) His son Richard Payne Knight was so taken by the site - the fishponds in the 'gloomy valley,' the foundations of the priory and its ghost - that when he 'determined to erect a mansion for himself.....he was for some time undecided as to the spot on which to erect it - being divided in choice between Wormsley Grange and Downton.'[77] Such picturesque considerations may also have appealed to the Tudor and Stuart occupiers of the site, but history records nothing of their sensibilities, only their presence.

At Dinmore - a preceptory of the Knights of St. John - the spacious enclosure between the chapel and the monastic accommodation was retained in the gentry house developed by John Wolryche early in the reign of Elizabeth. A sketch by James Wathen in 1796 shows that the entrance to the house was on the N.-E. thus allowing the great courtyard to be retained as a garden enclosure which was laid out as the present 'cloister garden' in the 1930s.[78] The nunnery at Aconbury has already been considered above but here the cloister was retained as a service courtyard within the post-dissolution house but a garden within the precinct bank was developed to the S.-E. of the church. Once again house and garden enjoyed delightful views across the fishpond valley and this elevated position must have satisfied any Italianate aspirations felt by members of the Pearl and Bridges families in the 16th and 17th centuries. (FIG. 8)

Sir John Scudamore's successors resisted any temptation to gentrify the remains of the abbey of Dore and indeed, as is well known, a sensitive conscience prompted the first Viscount Scudamore to restore the church for public worship in 1634. A new rectory was also built adjoining the monastery with 'extraordinary good out-houses...and assigned Glebe viz., the scite of the Abbey, Gardens and Orchards, containing five Acres or thereabouts.'[79] A walled garden, now an orchard, was established on the site of the cloister utilising, as at Wigmore, the N. wall of the abbey church. In the context of Scudamore's piety, the retention of the cloister as a garden may well have been a deferential gesture towards the remains of the monks and lay brothers who would probably have been buried here in the Middle Ages.

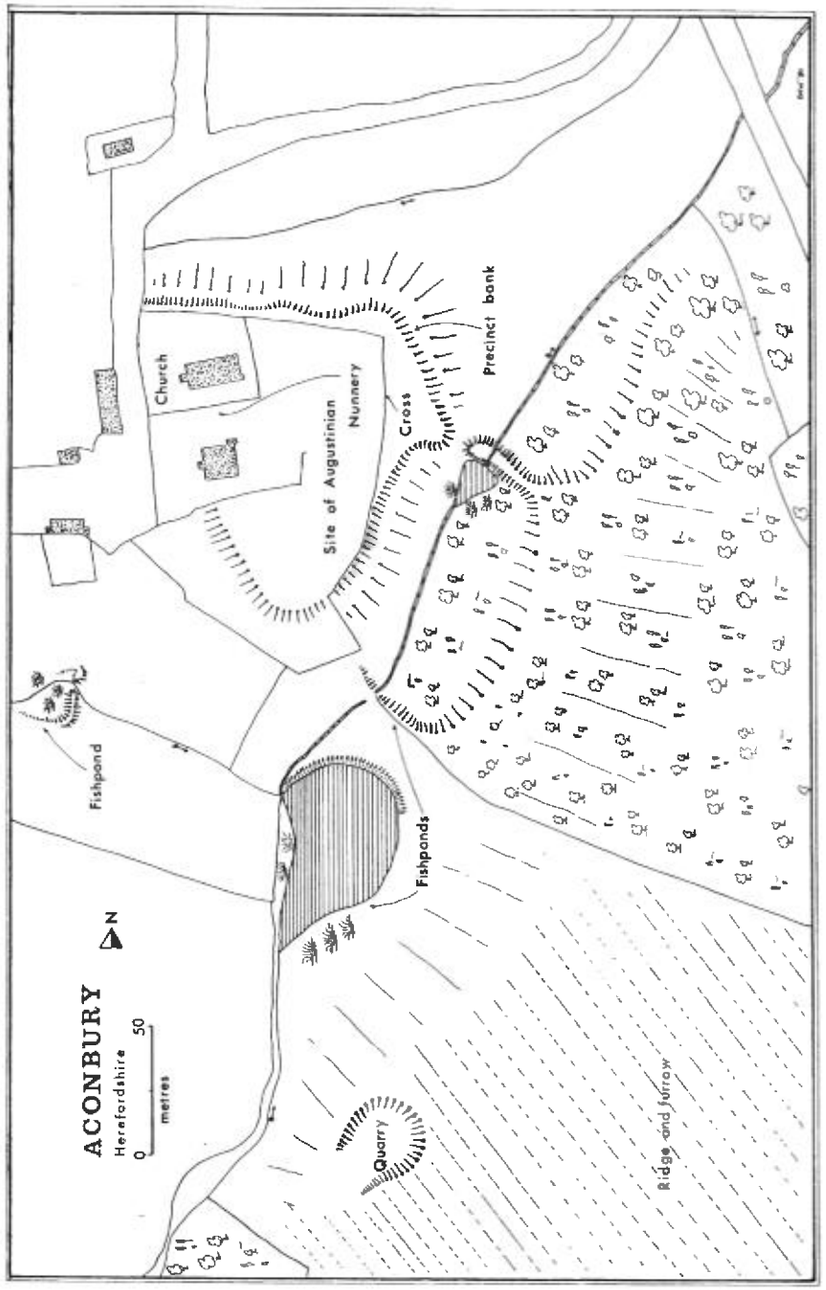

FIG. 8
A sketch plan of the precincts of Aconbury Priory drawn by the author in 1980.

The three urban monasteries in the city of Hereford were also developed as gentry town house. Little is know of the post-dissolutuion history of the Grey Friars which was situated close to the river to the W. of Wye Bridge, just outside the town wall of Hereford. In a survey of 1536 there was a garden next to a hall called the Hostrye and an orchard under the wall of the city with a house nearby called Gardener's. The place was eventually granted to the Boyle family. However, at St. Guthlac's Priory in the Bye Street suburb of the city a rental shows that the Sexten's Close, next to the cemetery of the priory in 1436, had become an orchard in the hands of Sir John Price soon after the Dissolution. An 18th-century account of the original grant to Price refers to the 'spacious gardens and orchards, fine walls' which he received in 1541 and a deed of 1693 suggests that the property had a small park of seventeen acres on the lower slopes of Aylestone Hill.[80] Buck's *North East Prospect of the City of Hereford* (1732) shows Price's high gabled house separated from Bye Street by a bosky garden and in the foreground, what may have been his park. Taylor's plan of Hereford of 1757 provides further clues and indicates that Buck's shrubberies were contained in a long formal garden - perhaps separated into three compartments - flanking the drive approaching the house. (FIG. 9) This in turn appears to have been interrupted by a series of formal gates, the piers of which are marked as dots on either side of the drive. Somewhere in this garden in the mid-16th century there was also a bowling green for Gregory ap Rees Esq., the son and heir of John Price, was presented to the mayor's court for playing 'boules' in 1552 and 1557.[81]

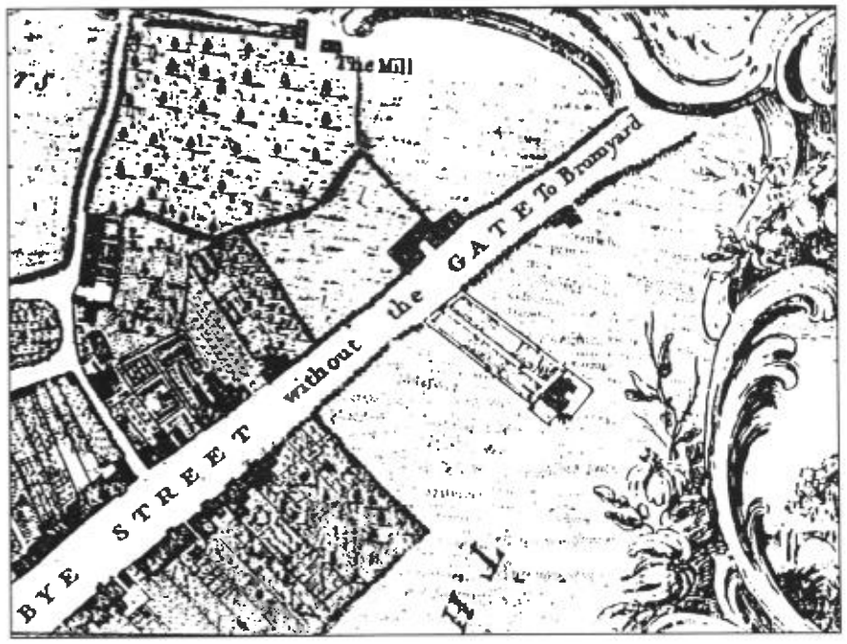

FIG. 9
An extract from Taylor's plan of Hereford in 1757 showing the Priory with its long garden on the East side of the Bye Street suburb.

Also depicted by Buck and Taylor is the monastic precinct of the Black Friars in the Widemarsh suburb of the city which was turned into a town house by Sir Thomas Coningsby in the late 16th century. Coningsby's house with its prominent round staircase tower appears to be already ruinous in 1732 (FIG. 10) but a closer view by Dingley from the same perspective in 1684 shows a garden court occupying the site of the cloister. Once again the buildings are shown in decay but there are vestigial signs of a formal garden which could be appreciated from a wall walk, accessed from a door in the staircase tower.[82] From the evidence of Coningsby's quirky architecture at the Black Friars and his association with men of refined taste at Elizabeth's court, an accomplished garden behind his house in Hereford is to be suspected.[83]

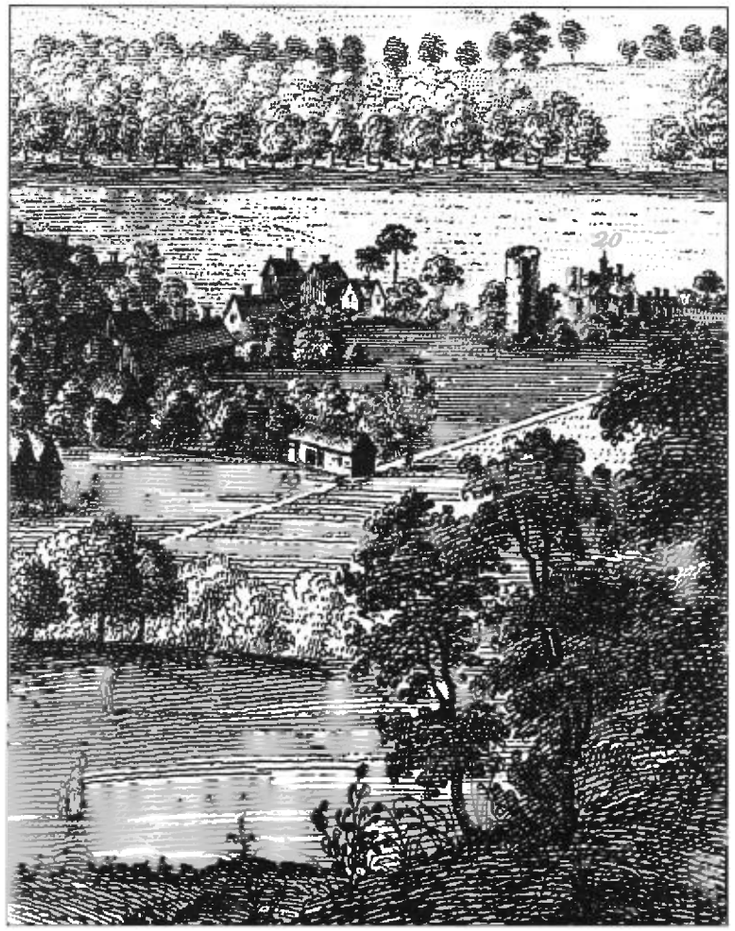

FIG. 10
Sir Thomas Coningsby's town house and hospital (20) on Buck's *North East Prospect of the City of Hereford* (1732). Nature appears to have colonised the cloister garden.

SOME GENTRY GARDENS

It was at Hampton Court that Sir Thomas Coningsby was able to achieve in full his chivalric dreams but sadly, any sign of his garden has been erased by the great landscaping endeavours of his successor Thomas Lord Coningsby and his metropolitan landscaper, George London, in the late 17th century.[84] There were, however, fine gardens here in the early 17th century for when Thomas Coningsby invited John Hoskins to Hampton Court in July 1618 to discuss the 'affaires at the Assises,' he added: 'If you will bringe Mrs. Hoskins to take the aire in our gardens I will bid her welcome.'[85] Sergeant Hoskins was no stranger to gardening and John Aubrey records that at Morehampton, in the Golden Valley, he painted in the garden 'the picture of the Gardiner, on the wall of the Howse, with his Rake, Spade and water-pott in his left hand.' Beneath there was a verse:

'Pascitur et pascit locus his, ornatur et ornat:
Istud opus nondum lapsus amaret Adam.'[86]

Aubrey adds: 'Under severall venerable and shady Oakes in the Parke, he had seates made; and where was a fine purling Spring, he did curb it with stone.' These precocious steps towards extensive gardening no doubt took place in the paled park depicted on the maps of Saxton and Speed.[87]

Hoskins purchased Morehampton from Stephen Parry in 1621 but he also owned Berneithen in the parish of Llangarron which he re-built between 1615-8. Several letters to his wife Benedicta and his daughter Elizabeth, provide some basic information about the setting of the house. Quick hedges were planted in 1617, together with a new coppice of elm, chestnuts, walnuts, beech, ash and oak. These were all planted from seed and the inclusion of chestnut (presumably sweet chestnut - *castanea sativa*), walnut and beech implies that this was no ordinary Herefordshire coppice but an amenity wood designed to give its owner diverse fruit and timber but also, we may assume, joy. Close to Berneithen a pond had been made by damming up a small stream but the head was weak and Hoskins feared it would 'breake at every great fludde.' In October 1618, Benedicta, who had moved to the new house earlier in the year, was instructed to buy fruit trees, ready grafted with 'fine fruits' to be set in the ground called the Conigree to the E. of the house. Thomas Hoskins, the Serjeant's brother, had identified the site and eventually he purchased the 'younge stocks ready graft for 2d or 3d apiece' from a supplier called Lirrigo. Pears were also bought at Dymock and the trees were to be 'sett a fair distance asundr that they may not shadow the ground.' Ultimately, animals were to be pastured in the orchard but Hoskins instructed that the 'Beasts be kept out for four years.'[88]

Directly opposite the Hoskins' property at Morehampton, across the river Dore, lay New Court, the house of Rowland Vaughan. Hoskins' copy of Vaughan's book published in 1610 *Most Approved, and Long Experienced VVater VVorkes. Containing, The manner of Winter and Summer-drowning of Medow and Pasture, by the aduantage of the least, River, Brooke, Fount, or Water-prill adiacent,* contained the following inscription:

My little ROWLAND you may look that I
(all things considered) MUCH should say of you:
Then this your WORKE (to say that MVCH in few)

Shall Worke the Workers endless Praise: and why?
A worldly WITT, with Heau'nly Helpes indow'd,
Getts Ground, and glory of the Multitude.[89]

Much has been written about Vaughan's irrigation schemes in the Golden Valley and recent fieldwork suggests that the Trench Royal was certainly created running parallel to the Dore on the W. side of the valley.[90] For garden historians, however, Vaughan's landscaping activities around the settlement of his 'commonwealth' - designed to house two thousand 'mechanicals' - is more interesting. A sketch published with the 1897 edition of the book shows the site with a large formal garden laid out below the 'Tenementes of the Artificiers.' (PL. XXVIII) The garden appears to be close to the Trench Royal and is laid out as a series of plots, each with an individual design - rather like a complex of modern allotments but more ornamental. The north-western side of the garden is enclosed by a wall with an ornamental balustrade and nearby there are orchards, ponds(?) and two large pots. The presence of two streams to the W. of the garden, lined with mills, suggests that the site of this complex is not at New Court but adjoining the Slough Brook, below White House, above Turnastone, about a mile up the Dore. Vaughan informs us in his book that: 'I espied divers water-falls on my neighbours ground' convenient for his mills and thus, he moved his project to this more convenient spot where the mill sites are still visible as earthworks beside the brook.[91] (PL. XXIX) But the evidence for the 'Tenementes' and the garden is not apparent today and since it is unlikely that such a substantial undertaking would disappear without trace, it has been assumed that Vaughan never completed his 'commonwealth.'

There were certainly formal gardens at New Court, for in 1801 a visitor described seeing 'the remains of the terraced gardens, with its ruined summer-house' standing below the 'dreary ruinous' farmhouse which had once been the old court.[92] It is sad that although Vaughan regarded the Golden Valley as the '*Lombardy of Herefordshire*...the *Garden* of the *old Gallants* of the backside of the Principallite,' he has nothing to say about horticulture. Only incidentally does he mention that the silt produced by clearing his Trench Royal could be carried by boat for distribution to neighbouring gardens where it would be ideal for growing onions, cabbage, carrots and other roots.[93]

Moated sites were often transformed in the 17th century into more formal water or canal gardens. Freen's Court in the parish of Sutton St. Michael developed as a gentry establishment in the hands of the Lingens. Ralph or John created a fine house in the late 15th century, set within a spacious, and probably earlier, moat. the site is carefully drawn on Lord Coningsby's estate map for the manor of Marden, soon after the Lingen's lost it in the late 17th century. The moat has been extended into a T-shaped canal to provide a spacious courtyard for the house whilst adjoining the house to the S.-W. there are six sub-rectangular ponds, thickly planted with fruit trees, called The Moats. (PL. XXX) This was undoubtedly an ornamental feature and was probably part of the twenty acres of Red-streak apple orchard reputed to have been planted by the famous royalist, Sir Harry Lingen, who died in 1662. The site has now been ploughed but during recent dry summers, the gravel paths separating the pools have been clearly visible and in the winter, when the river Lugg floods, something like the configuration of the original ponds is re-created.

(PL. XXXI) The Coningsby map also shows that Sir Harry or one of his predecessors planted an avenue along the N. bank of the Lugg close to the Court.[94]

Onion seeds were bought in London in January 1615 for Sir John Coke (1563-1644) of Hall Court, Much Marcle, by his friend William Vyner.[95] Coke, who was a friend of Sir Fulke Greville and Commissioner for the Navy during the reign of Charles I, bought Hall Court and re-built it in 1608. He was an enthusiastic gardener and like his Herefordshire contemporaries, took a particular interest in the kitchen garden and the orchard. During the twenty years he was domiciled at Hall Court he used his wide connections to introduce a number of exotic plants into Herefordshire.[96] He obtained artichokes from his brother Francis in April 1610 which could have been the globe artichoke (*Cynara scolymus*) which became popular in the late 16th century or more significantly, the Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosa*) which was a very recent introduction from America.[97] Francis wrote: 'It is now full time for your artichokes, I have also sent you five more for that I cannot furnish you as I would for it' which suggests that this was a rather rare vegetable. April would be about the right time to plant the tubers and given Coke's extensive naval contacts, the early appearance of this exotic vegetable in Herefordshire is, perhaps, not altogether unexpected. Among Coke's other acquisitions in 1610, this time from Vyner, were bay berries and although the bay is probably a Roman introduction, it may not have been common in 17th-century Herefordshire.[98] New grafts for the orchard arrive regularly at Hall Court. A 'box of grafts of pears' in March 1617 from another brother Thomas and the 'best peramon grafts and harvies this country can afford' from Edward Whitgreave of Trinity College, Cambridge, also in March 1615. Coke who was a busy official of the Stuart state relied upon his wife Mary and father-in-law, John Powell, to look after his small property at Much Marcle, but in 1618 his brother Thomas wrote from Brussels that he was trying to 'seduce' a kitchen gardener to accompany him on his return to England to enter the service of Coke, presumably at Hall Court. We hear no more of this but no doubt the gardener had been trained in one of the famous gardens of that city.[99] John Coke sold Hall Court in 1623.

SOME TOWN GARDENS

Many of the Herefordshire gentry in the 16th and 17th centuries owned property in Hereford. Sergeant Hoskins possessed a house in the Widemarsh suburb of the City. This too had a garden and when Hoskins left his wife to go to London in *c.*1601 he left detailed instructions for the servants including the injunction 'to see the garden drest up' and its surrounding walls repaired.[100] This garden was probably close to that of Joyce Jeffries where she grew 'salitts' (salads?) which refreshed her steward when he came to rescue the glass from the windows of her house, subsequent to its demolition on the eve of the Scottish siege of Hereford in 1645.[101] There were many other gardens, especially in the suburbs of the city, which receive brief references in the legal and administrative documents of this period. There was 'a great garden above Eign' which belonged to St. Giles Hospital in 1566 and nearby, in the modern Whitecross Road, John Wootton leased a garden and orchard in 1573-6 from the City Council.[102] Across the river, James Rodd Esq., of Blackmarston in 1637 had a garden and orchard enclosed with a stone wall whilst his neigh-

bour, Thomas Rogers whose orchard was 'upon Wye bank' had it enclosed with pales which encroached upon the public thoroughfare.[103]

Slightly more detail about the arrangement of a town garden is provided in the accounts of St. Katherine's Hospital in Ledbury, kept by the Master, Edward Cooper in the late 16th century. The hospital was substantially re-built during this time and, as was frequently the case, there was an incentive for re-planting the surroundings. In the winter of 1585 rails and pales were cut in the neighbouring Dingwood Park to enclose a new garden. Meanwhile, fruit stocks were dug up in Grove Field and grafting took place. This provided two days work for Robert Crowse who was paid 16d. In April of the following year (1586) the grafted stocks were set in the orchard near the Hospital.[104] The process was repeated in following years and in 1590 the orchard and garden were enclosed with 1,200 quicks. More hedging arrived in 1592-3 and a key and lock was made for the garden gate. We also learn that within the garden there was a pigeon house and a pond filled from the gutter of the Hospital and the town conduit.[105] Nothing is recorded about plants and we must presume that they were begged and borrowed from the inhabitants of Ledbury and thus, would not appear in the Master's account book.

GARDENING AT HOLME LACY 1635-43

Long before John Evelyn penned his famous description of the county - 'all Herefordshire is become, in a manner, but one entire orchard' - it had become the aspiration of every gentleman of means to plant an orchard.[106] But, it was the First Viscount Scudamore of Holme Lacy who gained much of the credit for the popularity of orcharding in the county and, in particular, the introduction of the celebrated Redstreak cider apple.[107] The surviving Household Account Books of 1635-43 reveal something of the process of creating new orchards at Holme Lacy.[108] In January 1641 several labourers are paid to gather stocks which are subsequently set in a field called Church Ryes. The stocks are presumably taken from wild crabs and in the following month 'Gennet-moyle slips' are gathered and grafted onto them. Some of the slips come from one Howels of Dinedor who is paid 1s. 8d. and the several labourers involved in this work receive 6d. per day. The fame of the Hereford apple trees is indicated by the reference to four men who spent two days gathering further 'graffs' which were subsequently sent to London via Oxford. In October apples are collected from the orchards at 6d. per day, and the estate carpenter Thackway is employed 'hooping and setling vessels for ye cider,' some of which in November is also carried to London.

Home Lacy is the one house in 17th century Herefordshire where a garden reflecting the influence of the continental Renaissance might be anticipated. Scudamore was well connected with the Stuart court and had been Charles I's ambassador in Paris.[109] His house, placed on rising ground, confronted the surrounding countryside and provided ample opportunities for the terraces and tree-lined walks of an Italianate villa. Moreover, below the house there were fishponds which could easily be canalised.[110] In fact, as we might expect for an aristocrat whose career epitomised the muted royalism of the Herefordshire gentry, the gardens of Holme Lacy in the early 17th century were decidedly traditional and inward looking, perhaps deliberately eschewing the Italianate taste of the court.[111]

The house matched the garden and was the very embodiment of Ben Jonson's *Penshurst* - not a proud ambitious heap but a building reared in country stone, an ancient pile, not 'built to envious show.'[112] Indeed, it seems to have been a double courtyard house entered by a Great Gate with a wicket and an adjoining porter's lodge. Around the outer or Paved Court there were services - a kitchen, barns and stables. The buildings were at least partly built in brick for 30,000 bricks were made for repairs in November 1640 but elsewhere walls were being buttressed and underpinned with stone. From the outer court the 'middle gate' appears to have given access to the inner court where the traditional accommodation could be found - a Great and Little Hall, a Lower Parlour and Great Parlour. In addition references are made to 'my lord's chamber', 'Skelton's chamber,' the 'presse chamber,' 'the lord's studie' - which was lined with shelves - and a Great gallery and a Lower gallery. The house was thus, fairly extensive but there is never a mention through several years accounts of any special decorative treatment; no sign of any foreign or specialist craftsmen or indication of classical embellishment. Only a brief note concerning the Hereford painter George Atkins who 'paints my lady's chamber' in 1642, breaks the monotony of the copious details concerned with the small scale endeavours of estate craftsmen.[113]

The gardens (FIG. 11) appear to have been laid out around the house in a series of walled courts; their brick walls called for constant attention. Lime and sand were bought every year for re-pointing; buttresses were built at weak points and occasionally whole stretches are re-constructed - twenty perches in June 1637 by Joseph the mason who worked for several days at 1s. 2d. per day. In February 1642 an elm fell and damaged the garden wall. In all there seem to have been three garden enclosures - the Great Garden, 'my Lady's Garden' and the Kitchen Garden. Each was entered by a door which was constantly in need of repair and for which new keys were regularly required. The gardens had walks - some were constructed in 'pounded' brick, most were grass or gravel but a special 'paved walk' was laid in 1642. The stone was dug on the estate and laid by a specialist pavior, Mr. Horns, who received £5. 5s.

Fruit trees and vines were trained against the walls. The 'pitions,' nails and leather thongs - made of horse hide for holding the trees in place - are mentioned in virtually every account. In December 1640 the gardener, whose name was Brake, spent six days at 7d. per day 'pruning ye vines and trees.' During April of the same year he was busy 'paling, drawing, making stakes for ye garden' and 'staking the high hedges.' It is possible that these were the existing great yew hedges which are such a feature of the gardens of Holme Lacy today although they are usually thought to have been planted in the late 17th century.[114] There were also hawthorn hedges, for in 1642-3 four hundred 'long quick,' seven hundred 'short quick' and one hundred and fifty 'great quick' are planted in the garden. All these hedges required 'shearing' which began in June and for which Brake was paid 8d. per day together with two assistants. Naturally, the shears were in constant need of sharpening which cost 4d. per time. During the summer of 1640 four men were paid 3d. per day for weeding - they were equipped with hoes, rakes and wheelbarrows. Equally, arduous was the routine of mowing the 'allys' which continued without stopping until September. Other activities included repairing banks and draining the walks. It is frustrating to find so little information about the plants in the garden and only once in May 1642 was Brake allowed 10d. for some unspecified seeds.

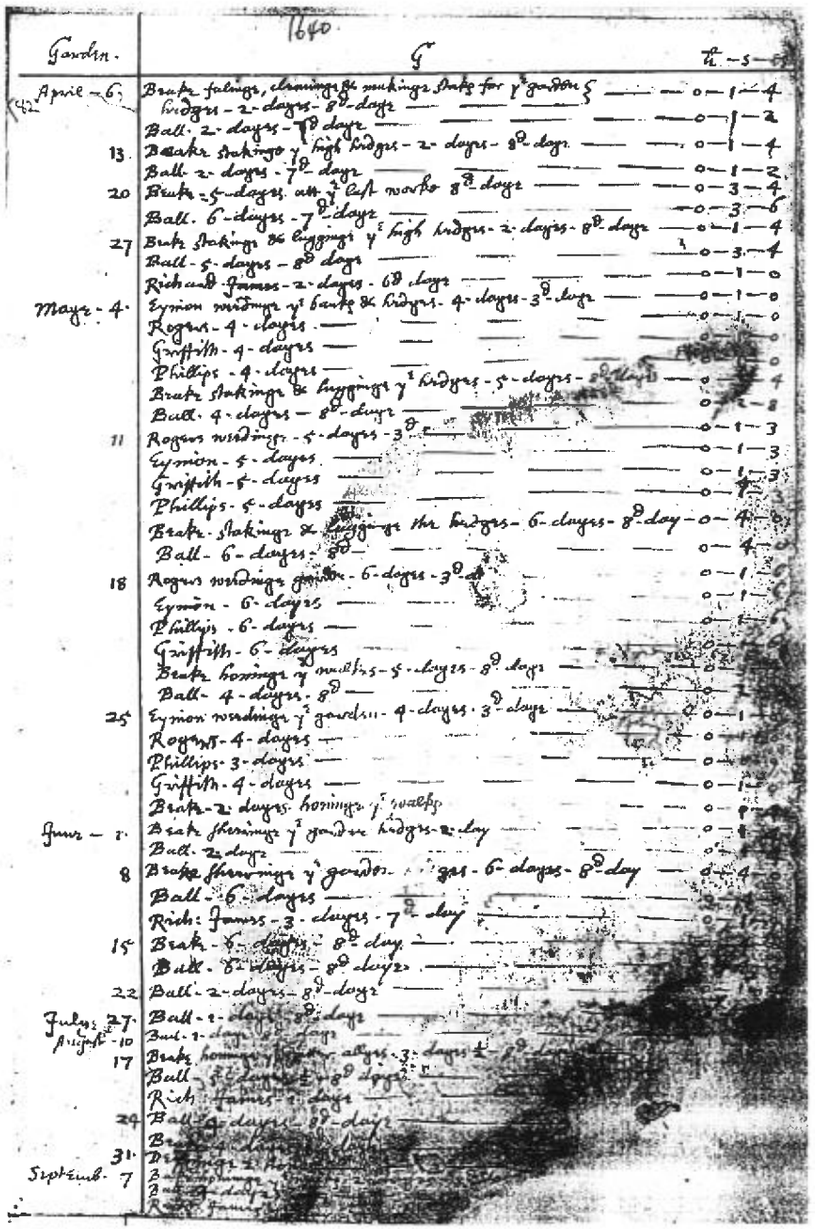

FIG. 11
A page of the garden accounts for Holme Lacy (1640).

Several garden features and buildings are referred to: a banqueting house is in need of repair in 1637 and some garden seats are made by Roger Simons in August 1642.[115] The bowling green needed paling by Simons in April 1640 which took two and a half days at 1s. per day. Cutting the bowling green hedges took three days in May 1637 and the gate was out of repair in March 1644. In September 1641 we learn that the walk from 'ye bowling green to ye Wye' was repaired by a group of men who took several days filling in the 'howes' (hollows). This interesting piece of topographical evidence suggests that even before the Civil War, there were certain elements of the Holme Lacy pleasure grounds which were outward looking and that the Wye, which was at least a half a mile from the house, was an objective for those who enjoyed the walks. In 1642-3 the total amount spent on the bowling green was £5 0s. 2d. Brake the gardener's wages for that year were £5.

Today below the terraces at Holme Lacy (PL. XXXII) there are two pools, separated by a dam. In the past these may have been more formal, for Alexander Pope writing in 1725 referred to Lord Bathurst's 'improvements' at Holme Lacy where he suggested the lakes were about to be transformed into the 'water of Riskins' - Lord Bathurst's estate in Buckinghamshire where there was a formal canal garden.[116] Several pools are named in the 17th-century accounts but their identification with the existing ponds is uncertain. The gardener Brake was employed in March 1641 cutting the hedges and setting quick and willows by the Duck Pool and the Upper Pool. The 'pool head' occasionally needed attention and was fitted with a new 'grate' - presumably an overflow - in 1641. One of the pools supplied the house with water which was pumped up by a complex system of cisterns and pipes. They were a constant source of trouble and were the responsibility of the 'waterworks keeper' who was paid £6 13s. 4d. per year for his services. There is no sign in the garden accounts of the great events which were preoccupying the nation - and especially Lord Scudamore - during these years until in October 1642 Holme Lacy was visited by the Earl of Stamford who had recently taken possession of Hereford for Parliament. The waterworks keeper, Ball is found 'drawing ye pool for carpes for the Earl of Stamforde - 8d.' He presumably used the 'great boat' which was repaired with pitch the following year.

There were other pools more remote from the house. The pool in the 'Redde Deere Park' makes frequent appearances. Again, it was the pool head which required regular attention. The park at Holme Lacy - 280 acres in the late 19th century when it contained a herd of fallow deer - was kept enclosed and work upon the pales by the estate carpenters is referred to regularly. Between January and March a section was hedged at £5 2s. 3d. Various gates are mentioned giving access to the park - the 'back door,' 'ye Ganew,' Hollington, Kitchen Hill and 'ye conigree gate.' The last feature - a rabbit warren - was close to a stream crossed by a bridge newly made in July 1643. This was the moment when the absent Viscount complained that Sir William Waller - who had captured Hereford for Parliament in April 1643 - had allowed the woodlands at Holme Lacy to be wasted. Lady Scudamore also subsequently petitioned Waller who replied that: 'I find some trees have been felled and have given order, there shall be no more touched; but I am assured nothing about the house hath been defaced, only to tower of an old chapel adjoining thereunto was pulled down, in regard itt might have been some annoyance to the workes.' The reference to the 'workes' suggests that Waller had garrisoned Home Lacy for the defence of Hereford. Any earthworks thrown up around the house would naturally have

destroyed the garden and significantly at this point the garden accounts cease. In London the contents of Lord Scudamore's house in Petty France were inventoried subject to sequestration for his delinquency and among his possessions was a watering pot and a stone roller for the garden.[117]

CONCLUSION

The 'intestine broils' of the Civil War form something of a watershed in the political and social history of England. In garden history it is not so much that in the late 17th century garden design and aesthetics are marked by innovation - there is plenty of continuity especially among the minor gentry who persist in laying out their simple terraced gardens and orchards in the same way - but that a new aristocratic age dawned. Much of the restraint upon conspicuous display - evidenced by Viscount Scudamore's modest house and gardens at Holme Lacy - disappeared. Throughout England country houses were rebuilt and new landscapes laid out on an unprecedented scale. Stoke Edith, Holme Lacy, Croft Castle, Brampton Bryan and Hampton Court are the most obvious examples in Herefordshire of this new fashion for extensive gardening but there are many other less conspicuous efforts. Moreover, the trauma of civil war and the threat of republican radicalism created an ambivalent attitude towards Nature. On the one hand it needed to be restrained - just like the levelling instincts of the lower classes - and thus, French and Italian formality around many country houses held the countryside in a firm grip. The humble cottager living close to one of the great avenues at Hampton Court in 1690 clearly knew where the epicentre of his world lay. On the other hand, a few sensitive souls mostly among the intelligentsia whose optimism had not been destroyed by the mid-century experiences, felt that man and Nature had much in common and the best of both could be revealed by as little interference as possible. In a sense the liberty of the free-born Englishman could be represented in the modest patchwork of the English countryside. Here was a different school of thought and John Beale, among others, believed in the 1650s that John Evelyn's *Elysium Britannicum* could be found in the countryside around Backbury Hill in Herefordshire. Thus, the county's unique contribution to landscape aesthetics - the picturesque movement - was born in the heady days of the puritan revolution and at this point the story of Herefordshire's parks and gardens moves in a new direction.[118]

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[83] Coningsby was associated with Sir Philip Sydney and Ben Jonson. *Country Life,* 33 February 1973, 451. J. Webb, 'Some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War' in *Archaeologia* XXXVIII (1856), 192.
[84] *Country Life,* 1 March 1973, 519-20.
[85] Louise Brown Osborn, *The Life, Letters and Writings of Sir John Hoskyns* 1566-1638 (1973), 256.
[86] *Ibid.*, 56, 213, 294.
[87] Oliver Lawson Dick (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (1962), 247.
[88] Osborn, *Hoskyns,* 75-84.
[89] *Ibid.*, 196, 287.
[90] R. E. Kay, 'Some Notes on R. Vaughan's "Waterworks" in the Golden Valley' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XLI (1974), 253-5.

[91] R. Vaughan, *His Booke* (1897), 84.
[92] *Ibid.*, XXX - seen by Mrs. Burton, the wife of the vicar of Atcham in Shropshire. She was descended from the Parrys.
[93] *Ibid.*, 36, 126.
[94] Hereford Record Office (HRO), J94/1 Map of the manor of Marden, *c.*1720. G. Marshall, 'A Short Account of Freen's Court and its Former Owners' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXII (1917), 211-4.
[95] *Hist. Mss. Comm., 12th Report, Mss. of the Earl Cowper* I (1888), 87.
[96] The Coke letters are discussed in general by H. Reade, 'Hall Court and Sir John Coke, Knt.' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXIV (1922), 127-41.
[97] *Cowper I,* 70. D. Stuart, *The Kitchen Garden* (1984), 66-8, 140-1.
[98] *Cowper,* I, 71.
[99] *Ibid.*, 88, 94, 98-9.
[100] Osborn, *Hoskyns,* 66.
[101] Webb, Some passages, 215.
[102] HRO., HA75/17. F. C. Morgan, Transcripts of the City Records 1573-6, f. 148.
[103] *Ibid.*, 15-9, f. 299, 370.
[104] F. C. Morgan (ed.), 'The Accounts of St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury 1584-95' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXIV (1953), 93.
[105] *Ibid.*, 93, 114, 119-20, 126.
[106] J. Evelyn, *Pomona* (1664), 2.
[107] R. Ward, 'Lord of the Cider Apples' in *The Garden* 117 (1992), 512-3.
[108] HCL., Scudamore Household Accounts MSS Collection 647.1. Each year a section of the accounts is devoted to the garden but references to the house, park, lake and orchards occur in many different parts of the accounts. Some of the volumes have pagination, others not. Thus, no detailed references were possible for this section of the address.
[109] *DNB.*, Compact Edition, 1880-1.
[110] Taigel & Williamson, *Parks & Gardens,* 36 - provides a useful description of a typical Renaissance garden.
[111] R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort* (1982), 13, 53.
[112] I. Donaldson (ed.), *Ben Jonson Poems* (1975), 87-91.
[113] In the loft of the present house there is a carved 16th-century overmantel which was seen by the author during restoration work in 1993. It seems to be in situ and presumably warmed a high chamber. Its position suggests that the Tudor and Stuart house had a much more vertical emphasis. George Atkins is recorded working at All Saints Church, Hereford in 1657 when he 'adorned' a sword rest. In 1661 he renewed the King's arms in the same church - HRO., All Saints Parish Records. William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, refers to a 'Tottering wall' at Holme Lacy in 1622 and in a letter to Scudamore he reminds his friend 'that a wall that totters is not strong enough to be made a study wall' - H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud* (1962), 439.
[114] S. Shaw, 'A Tour to the West of England in 1788' in J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the World* II (1803), 216-8.
[115] Various members of the Sim(m)ons family worked at Holme Lacy and also at Abbey Dore - H. Colvin note in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXI (1946), 236.
[116] G. Sherburn (ed.), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope* III (1956), 314-5.
[117] J. Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War as it affected Herefordshire* I (1879), 265, 267.
[118] P. H. Goodchild, '"No Phantasticall Utopia but a real place", John Evelyn, John Beale and Backbury Hill, Herefordshire' in *Garden History* 19 (1991), 105-27. T. Mowl & B. Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings* (1995), 205-23.

Report on the Excavation of Huntsham Romano British Villa and Iron Age Enclosure 1959-1970

By ELIZABETH TAYLOR

SUMMARY

The intention of the excavation was to reveal the existing remains of buildings suggested by the quantity of pottery found on the surface of the fields. The excavation achieved its aims and because of the careful recording of all that was found it also produced fragmentary information about the villa in its earlier phases.

Aerial photographs and Enclosure A show that Huntsham was occupied, at least for farming, in the late Iron Age. Some of the abundant evidence for early iron smelting was found in association with native pottery of the middle-1st century but the absence of Romano British pottery earlier than the mid-2nd century raises questions about Huntsham's role during the late-1st to mid-2nd century which cannot be answered.

Little is known about the function of the villa in the mid-2nd century but a marked change in activity and prosperity in the late-2nd century was accompanied by much of the building work which still exists. Following a decline, another increase in activity began in the late-3rd century which may have been connected with the installation of what appears to have been a brewery in the aisled barn. Huntsham was ideally situated for the transport of heavy goods by boat. At no stage in its development did the Huntsham villa produce evidence for more than a very modest degree of luxury in the living style of the occupants of the two houses. Its true social status in its local context can be better judged when more work has been done on other villas in the vicinity.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1959 and early 1970 one of the largest archaeological excavations ever undertaken in Herefordshire took place at Huntsham. Three Romano-British buildings were excavated: an aisled barn, a five-room and corridor house, the main nine-roomed building and one side of the enclosing wall with its gateway and associated buildings. An exploratory trench was also dug across the ditch of a large Iron Age enclosure.

The work was done by members of the Archenfield Archaeological Group led by the late N. P. Bridgewater. All the Group members were amateurs who worked in their spare time, without funding.

Apart from a First Report on the excavation of the aisled barn (WNFC, XXXVII (1962), 179-91) and plans and notes of the three major buildings published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* in the consecutive years 1962-5, no report was ever published or written. The lack of information on the largest villa site so far found in Herefordshire has been a serious loss to our knowledge of the period.

THE SITE

GEOLOGY. The site lies on the level ground of the First Terrace Gravel just above the flood plain centred around SO 564176. Huntsham is almost encircled by a loop of the river Wye, its narrow neck, less than 500 yds. across, rises 330 ft. above the river which can be seen on each side from the famous viewpoint of Symonds Yat Rock.

Between Yat Rock and the villa site, Huntsham Hill rises to 450 ft. and this was the source of most of the non-ceramic building materials: Upper and Lower Old Red Sandstone, red and green clays from the tintern Sandstone group and quartz conglomerate. Limestone came from the Yat, or just across the river to the S.W., from the Doward, and the river provided pebbles and gravels. Iron ore and coal may have come from the Doward or from the Forest of Dean to the S. of the Yat Rock. The 1841 Tithe Apportionment names the field to the N. of the villa 'Coal Pit Field' and there may have been an outcrop here. A very local source might explain its frequent presence in small quantities on the site.

COMMUNICATIONS. The river was probably an important factor in the economic life of the villa. The Wye is thought to have been used for transport upstream at least as far as *Magnis* (Kenchester), (Wilmott and Rahtz 1985, 41), but Huntsham provides no evidence for trade links with any centres to the N.; the evidence all points E. to Gloucester and down the river to the Lower Severn. The villa is only half a mile S.E. of Margary's route 612 linking the large iron-making settlement of *Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard) with *Blestium* (Monmouth).

CONTEXT. The easily worked level land in the Huntsham loop may have been farmed well before the Iron Age. Quantities of worked flints, flint flakes and small amounts of bronze slag have been found on the arable land on the summit of Huntsham Hill suggesting the presence of a major Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement (Walters 1992). Down below, near the northern tip of the loop is the well known standing stone known as the Queen Stone. Less than a mile from the villa site, Symonds Yat hillfort (SO 563160) which encloses six acres, is the nearest of the hillforts. Just over a mile and a half to the N.E. is Goodrich Castle which aerial photographs (Pickering 1990) show to be built on what appears to be another hillfort. Little Doward (SO 538160) two miles to the S.W. and Chase Wood (SO 602224) less than four miles to the N.E., each enclosing twenty-two acres, are the major hillforts in the vicinity.

Huntsham should also be seen in the context of other villas and settlements in the area. Recent work by the Monmouth Archaeological Society shows that there was an early Roman military presence in Monmouth from about 50 A.D. (Clarke and Jackson, 1992). *Ariconium* (centred around SO 645240) was also under early Roman military control of the same date (Walters, 1988). The nearest villas were at Hadnock (SO 534152) and a presumed one, now lost, somewhere near Sellarsbrook (SO 531168) where a tessellated pavement was said to have been found in the 19th century. Both are just over two miles away. The Hadnock villa had at least two large stone buildings and probably another where ploughing had ripped out a stone door sill. Tesserae and painted wall plaster; pottery ranging from the early 2nd to the 4th century; an iron furnace and in one area a spread of iron slag 2½ ft. thick were found (M.A.S. 1973-5). Romano-British pottery has

been found in Symonds Yat hillfort (Walters, 1992) and by the Archenfield Group at Daff y nant (SO 544171) and in Whitchurch village. A homestead enclosed by a rock-cut ditch and double bank was partly excavated and pottery from the early-2nd to late-3rd century was found. This was two miles away on the S. side of the Great Doward (SO 553146) (Sockett, 1960).

SOURCE MATERIAL

Log Book: Excavation record. Grid plans for locating boxes to the ground plans.
Finds Book: listing finds from each excavation under grid-box and layer numbers.
Survey plan of the site giving measurements and datum lines.
Incomplete site plan.
Ground plans for the four main excavations.
Section drawings for the Aisled Barn and Enclosure A.
File containing correspondence, specialist reports on some of the finds, photographs and a brief dating summary of the whole site dated 1974.

The archive and all the finds are in the keeping of Hereford Museum.

METHODOLOGY

All the excavations took place during the autumn and winter as it had been agreed that they should not interfere with the farm cultivations. Back-filling took place at the end of each season. The whole site was surveyed. Individual buildings were located from surface finds. Following evaluation by probing and trial trenches a grid was pegged out with 12 ft. (3.66 m.) centres. Ten ft. (3.5 m.) boxes with 2 ft. (0.61 m.) baulks were excavated. Boxes were numbered in the order of excavation and each box was recorded in numbered layers. Layer numbers do not always progress vertically but this is always made clear in the Log Book. As one box might include parts of four different rooms a great deal of patient piecing together of the recorded information has been necessary and many questions remain unanswered. Little interest was taken in traces of earlier buildings or in the floors of small buildings which had no stone walls. But what was found was recorded faithfully enabling us to gain at least a hint of the villa in its earlier phases.

Stonework as shown in the Plans should not be taken as an accurate stone by stone record. Where it has been possible to check plans with photographs it has sometimes been found to be representational.

Words and phrases in inverted commas are quoted from the Log or Finds Books.

ENCLOSURE A. Shown on Site Plan (FIG. 1) and Section A (FIG. 2)

In all the aerial photographs of Huntsham this quadrangular ditched enclosure is the dominant feature (PLs. XXXIII & XXXIV). The Archenfield Group cut a 20 ft. long (7 m.) trench across the N. side before any work began on the villa. The line of the ditch had been noticed as a crop mark in sugar beet in 1959. An aerial photograph taken by Mark

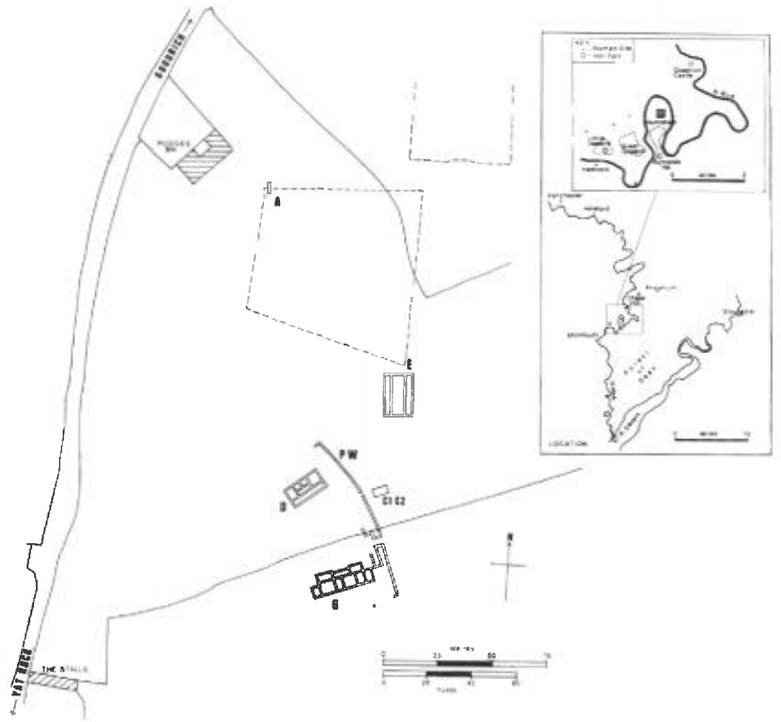

FIG. 1
Location and Site Plan of the excavated buildings showing the two enclosures seen as cropmarks in PLxxxiv.

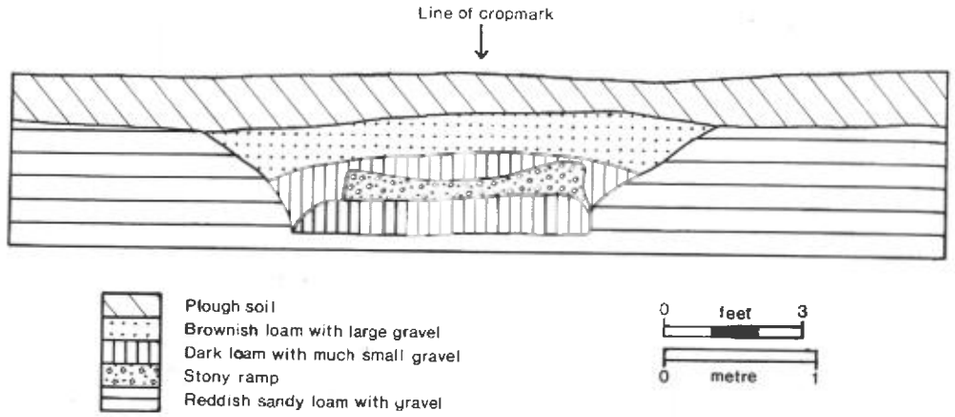

FIG. 2
Section of Enclosure A trench. (N.P. Bridgewater)

Walters in the dry summer of 1989 enables an estimate to be made of its size from the 18 m. wide tramlines in the corn. These show the E. side to be about 266 ft. (81 m.) long and the W. site 177 ft. (54 m.). There are central openings on the E. and W. sides.

The 5 ft. wide (1.52 m.) trench was cut through a ditch 11 ft. wide (3.35 m.) tapering to 6½ ft. wide (1.98 m.) at the bottom and 2½ ft. deep (0.76 m.). Above about 9 ins. (0.23 m.) of dark soil fill, a 6-9 inch thick (0.15 to 0.23 m.) layer of compacted small stones covered the width of the trench but was only 5 ft. wide (1.52m.) and did not cover the width of the ditch. Pottery, charcoal, cattle and sheep teeth were found on and in the stony layer. The top fill of brown soil contained a little iron slag and one squared stone.

DATING. Bridgewater noted that no Roman pottery was found. All the pottery was described as 'vesicular black ware.' Two rim sherds were kept, (Cat. nos. 1-2) and are dated middle-1st century. As the pottery post-dates the ditch it seems safe to call this an Iron Age enclosure.

DISCUSSION. This was a small excavation but a valuable one. Aerial photographs show that similar large rectilinear single-ditched enclosures are far from uncommon in Herefordshire. I think this is the only record of the sectioning of such a ditch in the area.

In his First Report (WNFC 1962 p. 180) Bridgewater says: 'One arm of this enclosure has been sectioned, giving the footings of a robbed precinct wall.' The 'footings' are the 'Stony ramp' shown in the section (FIG. 3). Photographs of both faces of the trench show no stone rubble in the sections and very little stone on the spoil heap apart from the one stone block. It seems justifiable to question Bridgewater's interpretation because there is really no evidence for a 'robbed precinct wall.' The ditch was clearly not defensive, it seems likely that it was a cattle barrier. The stony area with its domestic rubbish would appear to be part of a floor, perhaps of a herdsman's hut built in the shelter of the ditch and presumed former bank.

The aerial photograph by Mark Walters (PL. XXXIV) shows a similar but smaller ditched enclosure in the adjacent field to the N.E., also with openings on the E. and W. sides.

MAIN BUILDING. Area G. (FIG. 3)

Length 98 ft. (29.93 m.). *Width* 37 ft. (11.28 m.)

Plans and Drawings. Only the overall plan of the building has been found. There are no section drawings and only a few small drawings of details in the Log Book.

Excavation of Rooms 1, 2 and 3 began on 23-9-1962. This season turned into one of the worst winters on record with heavy snow, the river covered in ice and the ground frozen to a considerable depth for many weeks. Despite this, a photograph shows two of the indomitable diggers shovelling snow from the excavation and work was under way again some time in March and completed in April. The remainder of the building was excavated in the season starting on 11-9-1965.

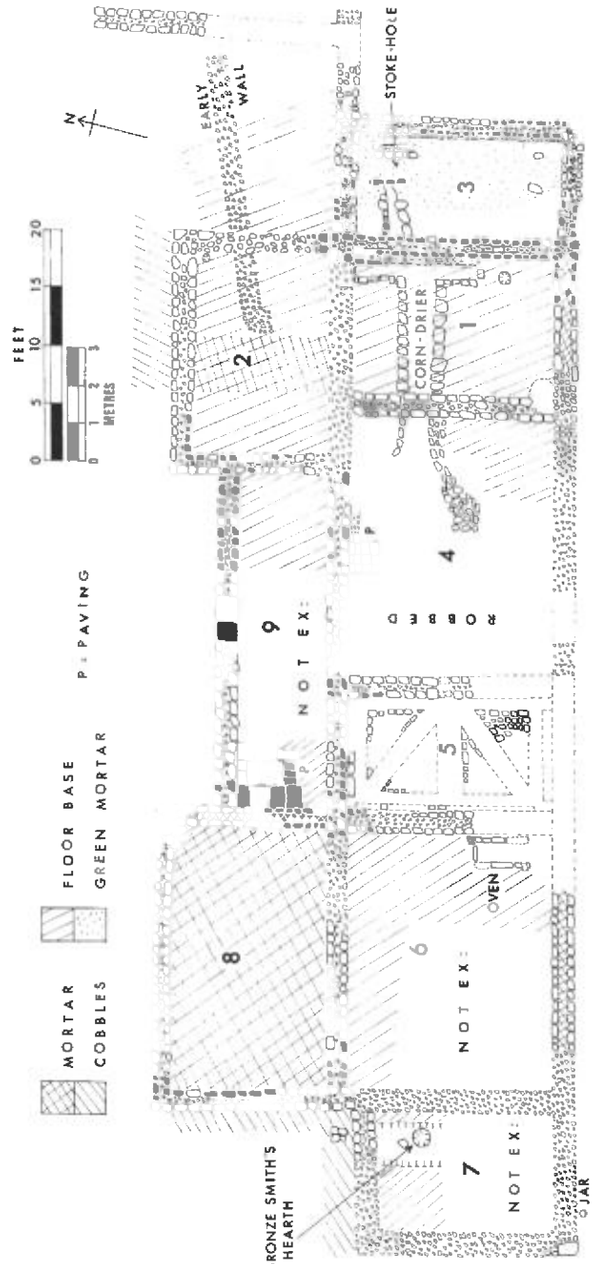

FIG. 3
Plan of Main Building G. (N. P. Bridgewater)

EXCAVATION

Walls, Roofs and Building Materials

In general the walls were trench built on stone foundations. The depth of the footings was not recorded but we can assume that they were not exceptional. The coursed stone was roughly faced, unmortared except where noted below, rubble filled and 2 ft. wide (0.61 m.). Some of the walls had two courses in position with a few stones of a third course in the wall between Rooms 1 and 3. The depth of the coursed stone below the modern surface was only recorded for Rooms 1, 2 and 3. Here it varied between 14 to 20 ins. (0.35-0.51 m.). Sandstone was the main material with some conglomerate and a few limestone blocks.

Tegulae and imbrices were found in all areas. In Room 9 stone roof tiles were found in quantities, in some places with alternating layers of charred wood and nails suggesting that a fire had destroyed this part of the roof in the latest phase. Room 9 appears to have been the only area with a stone tiled roof.

Floors and Features

ROOM 8 had a concrete floor 5 ins. thick (12.5 cm.) with a rough, irregular surface. On each side of the room this was laid on a base consisting of pebbles, while the large central area had been made up with compacted iron slag.

In ROOMS 6, 9 and 2 'pinkish sandstone lumps' had been used for the floor make-up.

ROOM 2 had the patchy remains of a concrete floor. The fill of the 12 inch (30.5 cm.) diameter 'pit' or posthole in the N.E. corner of the room contained some pieces with a flat surface. the surface has a thin coating coloured dusty-pink, the colour coming from finely crushed particles of brick or tile.

In ROOM 9 the make-up base had been levelled with soil and pebbles and stackings of thin, flat sandstone as a foundation for the flagstone floor. Some of the remaining flags measured 19 by 20 ins. (48 x 51 cm.). Two complete and part of a third 2 ft. square (61 cm.) column bases were found amongst the destruction in Room 4. Bridgewater thought that they had probably been positioned on the N. wall and that Room 9 had been a colonnaded entrance. [There may have been four columns. See Dating below.]

In ROOM 6 the pinkish sandstone lump base had been levelled with a layer of 'sandy clay' but no trace of the floor remained. In the vicinity of the feature shown on the plan as an 'oven,' the levelling layer was covered with charcoal. Extensive robbing in this corner had removed part of this feature. Inside the three remaining stone-built sides, a plan in the Log Book (p. 100) shows a floor of unsquared flat stones covered by a charcoal and clay layer '6 inches below the bottom stone of oven wall' with a layer of burnt soil over. More burnt clay overlay the stone at the N. end.

ROOM 5 and the W. part of ROOM 4 had the same make-up base of pinkish sandstone lumps in a narrow strip against the N. wall. The rest of this area had a 10 inch thick (25.5 cm.) 'make-up layer of dark brown clayey loam' containing pottery including native ware, slag, charcoal, bones, 'mortar/plaster' and various other objects. This was recorded as

Layer 7. The stones of the channelled hypocaust were laid on this layer; the wall dividing Rooms 5 and 4 was cut into it and the small remaining area of thin sandstone paving slabs shown on the plan in Room 4 was also laid partly on Layer 7 and partly on soil levelling the pink sandstone lump strip next to the N. wall of the room. Layer 7 was not recorded E. of the existing paved area nor was the pink sandstone lump strip, but this end of Room 4, together with Rooms 1 and 3 had been excavated three years earlier; the method of recording was less clear and the apparent change at this point in the type of floor layers may be due more to the different terminology used rather than to actual differences.

E. part of ROOM 4. As shown on the plan, the 'short length of wall joined by a curved line of stones to the flue entry' [stokehole] is rather misleading. A photograph (Arch. 65.11) - unfortunately too poor for reproduction - shows that the 'wall' was diagonal to the room and partly overlay the stone edge of the stokehole. The soil fill amongst and below the stones of the 'short length of wall' contained lumps of green clay and was covered with a 'thick black' layer, presumably from the stokehole. Its possible use is discussed below. Below the floor make-up laid after the drier/kiln had gone out of use, an earlier floor was found in the undisturbed S.E. corner of the room. This is recorded in the Log Book as 'stony layer - cobbled floor' which underlay a dark occupation layer containing charcoal and pottery.

ROOM 1. The cross flue of the single T corndrier/kiln measured 10 by 1 ft. (3.05 x 0.3 m.). From the back of the cross flue to the stokehole, the flue measured 13 by 2 ft. (3.96 x 0.6 m.), the stokehole being just to the W. of the later wall. Beneath the wall a burnt area covered with stone slabs 1¼ ins. thick must be the location of the fire and the mouth of the flue or flue arch. A fairly complete tankard was found here, dated late-2nd to 3rd-century. (Cat. No. 40). This was sealed by the rubble and soil fill of the flue and by the wall and floor base laid over it. The wall built over the drier/kiln was of two well mortared courses of sandstone blocks laid on pitched footings over the flue space. A short length of the third course remained, slightly inset from the two lower courses. The second course was 20 ins. (51 cm.) below the modern ground surface. The 'stony layer - cobbled floor' of the E. part of Room 4 continued in Room 1 under the post-drier/kiln stony floor base which had patches of mortar remaining on its surface. In the photograph (PL. XXXVI) a 'pit, 12 ins. diameter at the top, conical shape' can be seen just beyond the cross flue. The level from which it was cut is not recorded but its fill of brown soil contained no finds. The diameter is the same as the 'pit' or post-hole in the N.E. corner of Room 2.

ROOM 3. (PL. XXXVI) Most of the room was covered by a bed of 'green mortar' laid on the 'subsoil.' Sections cut through the N. and E. walls showed that they had been cut through the green mortar although it did not seem to extend beyond the walls. The green mortar is shown as the stippled area. Between it and the W. wall was a floor which was said to be the same layer as the 'stony layer - cobbled floor' of Room 1 and the E. part of room 4. Bridgewater thought that the W. wall adjoining Room 1 had been rebuilt. The stone courses were mortared and were not quite in line with the footings so that they overhung slightly into Room 3. there was a change in the type of footings of the S. wall which occurred at its junction with the wall between Rooms 1 and 3 and mortar had been used at this point. The top course of the E. wall was set well back, leaving a pronounced offset

into the room. There was no trace of a later floor, the destruction lay directly on both the 'green mortar' area and the early cobbled floor. It included a 'very large concentration of flue tiles, tegulae and imbrices, and red bricks' as well as pottery, nails, coins, mortar, 'red and yellow ochreous lumps,' bones and three fragments of painted wall plaster - the only wall plaster found at Huntsham. The feature shown on the plan as a 'stokehole' was referred to in the Log Book as a 'channel.' it had two lines of well-faced stones set in the green mortar but no signs of burning, ash or charcoal were found and the Log Book entry (p. 48) says: 'A thin coating of light brown clayey loam over the green mortar in the channel.' In the S. of the room, two large blocks of stone were set in the green mortar and Bridgewater notes the presence of pits in the mortar 'due to digging out?'

The feature between the 'stokehole' and the W. wall is recorded as a 'Hearth' and a small, detailed plan of it was drawn in the Log Book (p. 47). In the published plan it is shown in the N.W. corner of the room where it looks very neat but in the detailed drawing the stones of the hearth appear to have been roughly positioned and piled three and four high, rather than built. The green mortar in the centre of the hearth was covered with 'soot' which was also present in the space between the hearth and the 'stokehole' or channel.

ROOM 7. A stony layer covered the excavated part of the room W. of the hearth pit and continued down its western slope. It was entirely covered by a spread of charcoal. The bronzesmith's hearth pit was cut down into the subsoil, the bottom being filled with charcoal and burnt clay. Pieces of crucible, bronze scrap and bronze slag and various iron objects including a hook and a broken knife blade were found in the pit together with some coal and pottery. It was thought that the pit had extended further S. but lack of time prevented further excavation. A large stone with a worn upper surface found just to the N. of the pit was thought possibly to have been used as an anvil.

AREA 10 AND EARLY WALL

When Bridgewater published his plan of the Main Building in the *J. Roman Stud.* (1966 p. 205), he described the building as having ten rooms and thought of it as the S. wing of a much larger building. Later, when he excavated what he expected to be the E. wing and found instead the gateway buildings of the precinct wall, he realised that he had been mistaken. In the Log Book he changed 'Room 10' to 'Courtyard' and on his large-scale plan, blanked off the return shown in the published plan at the N. end of the E. wall of 'Room 10.'

The early wall was 20 ins. wide (51 cm.). Only the footings remained inside Room 2 where it must have been demolished before the room was built and the floor was laid. The E. end is drawn in detail in the Log Book: the footings appear to be pitched stones set in alignment with the wall, but at a point 17 ins. (43 cm.) short of the line of the gateway building - here robbed out, the footings change direction, meeting the gateway building at right angles, with the pitched stones set N.-S. instead of N.E.-S.W. as in the wall to the W. To the N. of this junction, the bottom of the gateway building wall trench 'suddenly increases to 37 ins. (94 cm.) below ground level while just S. of the junction with the early wall it is only 29 ins.' (74 cm.). What he had earlier thought to be the return wall of 'Room 10,' Bridgewater now found to be part of a 'ghost trench' running N. It was picked up again W. of the gateway and W. of the N. gateway building, right on the field boundary. These sightings of the 'ghost trench' align with the E. end of the Early Wall in Area 10 which would give a 46 ft. (14.02 m.) long wall on a roughly N.-S. alignment. An earlier footings trench aligned E.-W. ran below the N. room of the gateway building. This may have also belonged to the Early Wall building, if that is what it was.

Only the footings remained of the short wall connecting Room 3 to the gateway building. To the N. of this piece of wall a 'compacted, stony, pebbly floor' was recorded in the excavated area. Further W., outside Room 3 was a 'crude stone and sand floor.' To the N. of the Early Wall, outside Room 2, the familiar 'pinkish sandstone lumps' were found with odd stones, re-used flagstones, iron ore and pottery of the 2nd century. This layer was level with the top course of the Early Wall and came up to it. Other areas of stony cobbling are shown on the plan exterior to the walls on the N. side of the building. These may represent a paved area or perhaps just a hard walkway but their full extents were not looked for.

DISCUSSION

The original house had been a simple rectangular building, probably of two rooms, occupying the area of the later Rooms 5, 4, 1 and the western edge of Room 3. It was represented by the thick occupation Layer 7 in Room 5 and the W. half of Room 4 which contained pottery dating to the middle of the 1st century (Cat. no. 3) and to the later-2nd century together with bones, slag and charcoal. Only one sherd was retained from the small amount of pottery found in the occupation material on the 'stony layer - cobbled floor' under the E. part of Room 4, Room 1 and the edge of Room 3. This was a Samian sherd of the mid-to late-2nd century (Cat. no. i) G17. 8). The original house was probably timber built as no wall foundations were recorded. Its internal dimensions would have been 51 x 17 ft. (15.5 x 6.18 m.).

In the late 2nd century the house was re-built in stone with its N. wall moved a little to the N. and its E. end slightly shortened. Rooms 6, 8, 2 and the colonnaded entrance Room 9 were added. All the added rooms except Room 8 had the same pinkish sandstone lump make-up for the floors; this was also used to fill the gap between the old occupation floor and the new central wall. The symmetrical outline of the building strongly suggests that Room 8 was built at the same time despite its different floor make-up. The make-up for the floors of the new rooms, except 2, was laid on undisturbed ground. The few sherds of pottery found in this material and a piece of amphora found under it in Room 6 were all of the mid- to late-2nd century. The date agrees with the latest pottery found in Layer 7, implying that there was no real break in the continuity of occupation.

The early wall in Room 2 and Area 10 clearly pre-dated the re-building but there is no evidence for its date and nothing can be added to the details already given.

In the note accompanying his published plan (*J. Roman Stud.* 1996. p. 206) Norman Bridgewater wrote:

> '(a) The house was erected *c.*AD.200 on the site of an earlier structure. At this stage Rooms 1, 4 and 5 together made a single room, with a wooden floor. (b) The hypocaust in Room 5 and the paving in

Rooms 4 and 9 are of the late third century. (c) The hypocaust was abolished and a corn-drier built *c.*345, which was in turn filled in after *c.*AD.360.'

Because this has for so long been the only published information about the main building of the Huntsham villa, it does seem necessary to both explain and to question these statements. A brief loose-leaf summary (File 25) makes it fairly clear that these dates were derived from coin finds although all the nineteen coins found in this building came from unstratified destruction levels. (a) The 'single room with a wooden floor' was derived from the strip of pinkish sandstone lumps alongside the N. wall of these rooms which Bridgewater interpreted as an offset to carry a wooden floor (Log Book p. 106). Bridgewater explains his sequence (b and c) in a note (Log Book p. 104). He thought that Layer 7 had been 'brought in' and laid after the 'wooden floor' period and before the hypocaust and the wall between Rooms 5 and 4 were built and the paving was laid 'in the third century' for the purpose of 'raising the floor level.' But this is not convincing.

The wall joint for the N. end of the wall between Rooms 5 and 4 is not recorded and the S. end had been robbed but we know that the wall post-dated Layer 7 because it was cut into but not through it. Assuming that the occupation Layer 7 was already in place, there is no reason to regard the wall as a later addition - it and the hypocaust could have been contemporary with the late 2nd century re-building. It is not safe to use the stonework drawn on the plan as an accurate record for wall joints; it was probably only intended as a notional representation. For example: the E. wall of Room 3 is drawn as having 25 stones in the offset course but a photograph (Arch.no.60.2) shows only 17 or possibly 18 stones.

There is no evidence to date the construction of the drier/kiln; it could have been contemporary with the re-building or later, or it may have already been in use with the earlier, smaller house. The late-2nd to 3rd-century Severn Valley Ware tankard found sealed at the fire end of the flue beneath the later floor base gives a rough date for the end of the drier/kiln's use and the building of the wall between Rooms 4 and 1. Bridgewater's date 'after 360 A.D.' derived from a coin now dated to 330+ (Coin no. 26) found in the N. end of the cross flue, but study of the record shows that it probably got there during the robbing of the adjacent wall as it was found together with mortar and a native ware rim sherd of the middle-1st century.

The recorded account of Bridgewater's 'short length of wall' next to the stokehole is too vague for any certainty but it raises the possibility that this structure was connected with the use of the kiln/drier and may have had a similar purpose to that of Structure 0 and the tank installation in the aisled barn. (See later). Green clay was used for sealing the sunken water tank in the barn and the lumps of green clay found here, in and under the structure may be significant. Green clay is not recorded for anywhere else in the excavations.

Room 7 would appear to be an addition to the building although there is no recorded evidence either way. A report on the bronze crucibles is included in the Finds Report. A large lump of slag at the edge of the hearth pit suggests that iron smithing may also have taken place here.

Room 3 is a problem. The change in the type of footings and the fact that it is out of alignment with the rest of the building suggests that it was a later addition. It was apparently re-built at some stage. The pronounced offset of the lower course of the E. wall was not only not matched, but the lower course of the W. wall was slightly overhung. (PL. XXXVI). The presence of quantities of box tiles implies a hypocaust. Perhaps the well-built channel and the two large stones at the S. end of the room were all that remained of a robbed hypocaust. This might explain Bridgewater's note of 'pits in the mortar, due to digging out?' The absence of any floor or signs of occupation between the destruction material and the 'green mortar' suggests that a tiled floor may have been supported by another stone built hypocaust.

As Room 3 could only be entered via Room 1 it must have been built after the drier/kiln had been filled in and covered over. The destruction material contained pottery ranging in date from the 2nd to the 4th century and two coins dated 271-4 and 335-7 (Coin nos. 5 and 27).

(The 'green mortar' has now been tested with dilute hydrochloric acid for the presence of lime with a negative result. See Finds Report - Building Materials, showing that the 'green mortar' was not mortar but sandy clay.)

The carelessly piled stones of the hearth in the N.W. corner of the room are unlike anything else found in the villa buildings; it would appear to have been used in the post-Roman period, after the presumed tiled floor had been removed. No finds were associated with it.

DATING

Period 1. Mid- to late-2nd Century

A rectangular house, probably of two rooms occupied the area later covered by Rooms 5, 4, 1 and the edge of 3. Probably timber built. The early wall under Room 2 and Area 10 is presumed to belong to this period.

Period 2. Late-2nd Century

The early house was shortened at the E. end, widened slightly and re-built in stone. Rooms 6, 8, 9 and 2 were added. The hypocaust in Room 5 and the wall dividing it from Room 4 were almost certainly built at the same time. Rooms 4 and 1 were one room.

The corndrier/kiln could have been in use in Period 1 or installed at this time or a little later. It ceased to be used, was filled in and covered over by the late-2nd to 3rd century. The wall dividing Rooms 4 and 1 was then built.

Period 3. Date unknown

Addition of Rooms 7 and 3. Room 3 was built after the drier/kiln had been covered over and was re-built at some stage.

Period 4. Late-4th Century

The presence of pottery possibly of the late-4th century (Pottery Report, Calcite Gritted Ware, p. 254) and the histogram (p. 256) indicates that activity in the main building as reflected by pottery breakage, showed no sign of decline at the end of the dating period.

Period 5. Post-Roman

The post-hole in Room 2 was cut through the pink-coloured concrete floor and the similar post-hole in Room 4 may also belong to this period.

The crudely-built hearth in Room 3 appears to represent post-Roman activity.

The so-called 'Domestic oven' in Room 6 may also belong to this period. It is difficult to see how a 'large area' of levelling material for the floor could have been 'covered with charcoal in vicinity of oven' until after the floor had been removed.

The stone tiled roof of Room 9 was destroyed by fire.

A few 13th-century sherds were found in some of the robbed areas.

Three square limestone column bases were found amongst the destruction but there had probably been four columns. The villa site belongs to Huntsham Court, the earliest part of which was built in the early-17th century, including the porch. The porch is an architectural curiosity, the gabled roof perched rather incongruously on four round columns. Their one-piece shafts, 53 ins. long (1.35 m.) and circular capitals have a strongly Roman appearance and probably came originally, together with much of the building stone, from the villa.

THE SMALLER HOUSE. Area D. (FIG. 4)

Length 59 ft. (17.98 m.). *Width* 30 ft. (9.14 m.)

Alignment. Shown on the original ground plan as E.-W. but on the Site Plan as N.E.-S.W. These details are written as if the alignment was E.-W.

Plans and Drawings. Only the general ground plan has been found. The Log Book includes drawings of most of the pit and hollow features.

Excavation. This building was excavated in one season, between 15-9-1964 and 30-1-1965. Remembering that most of the diggers were only free to work in the evenings and at weekends and taking dark evenings, wet weekends, Christmas and other difficulties into consideration, this was a remarkable achievement.

EXCAVATION

Walls and Roof. Exterior walls 2 ft. wide (61 cm.) on 27-30 inch wide (68-76 cm.) stone footings. Mainly roughly faced, unmortared sandstone with rubble filling. Some conglomerate was used and occasionally limestone. The footings of the wall between Rooms 2 and 3 were bonded but the coursed stones were butted. The corridor walls were butted against the building. Where coursed stone was found only one, or in a few places, two courses remained. At the N.W. corner the top of the second course was only 9-10 ins. (23-25 cm.) below the modern surface and the footings were at 19 ins. (48 cm.). This was the maximum depth; over most of the eastern half of the house the footings were only 12 ins. (30.5 cm.) below the modern surface.

Both broken tegulae and stone roof tiles are recorded, the latter in and outside the W. end of the house but unspecified 'tiles' are recorded in various places and it is not certain that stone tiles were confined to the W. end.

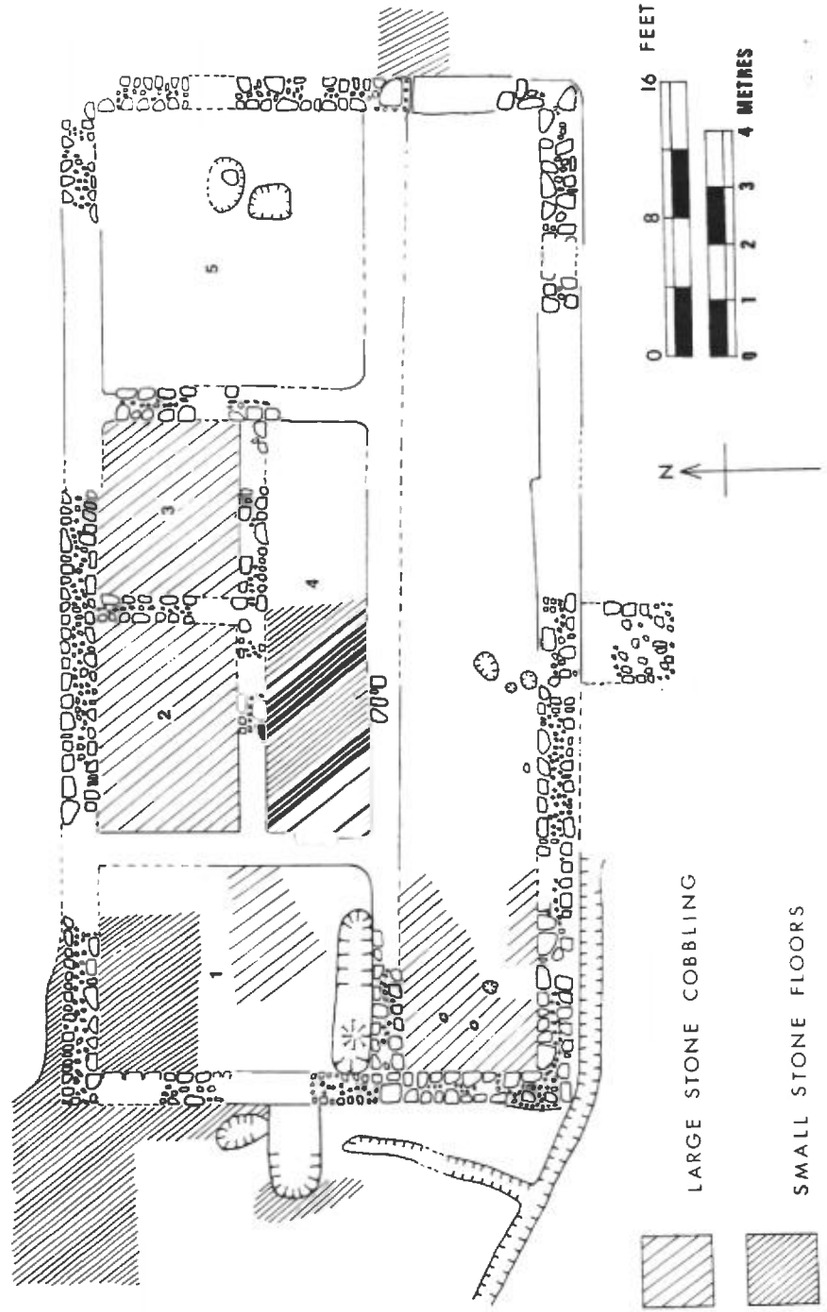

FIG. 4
Plan of Smaller House D. (N. P. Bridgewater)

Floors. Areas shown on the plan as 'Large Stone Cobbling' are the remaining make-up bases for floors. The areas shown as 'Small Stone Floors' are of two different types. Those shown in part of Rooms 1 and 4 are also make-up bases and the N.W. corner of Room 1 a little mortar remained on the floor base at 13 ins. (33 cm.) below the modern surface. This was the only trace of a floor to have survived. In Room 4 the stones were bedded on soil containing mid- to late-2nd-century pottery considered diagnostic by Bridgewater. (Cat. nos. 81-3)

The other type of 'Small Stone Floor' are the areas shown exterior to the building. The small area E. of the E. wall was next to a dark occupation layer which was cut by the footings. This contained coal, charcoal and small fragments of tile. [The tile fragments were shown elsewhere to be intrusive, carried down by worm action. (Log Book p. 22)] The floor outside the N.W. corner of the house overlay a patch of flat stones which appeared to be burnt and underlay a soil layer containing the sherds of the white flagon (Cat. no. 106) which is the only possibly 1st-century Roman pottery found at Huntsham. It was found together with a piece of 2nd-century Samian and other sherds which were not kept.

Below the 'Large Stone Cobbling' shown in the corridor was an earlier floor of compacted pebbles and stones covering about 13 ft. (3.91 m.) of the W. end and extending under the S. wall and S. of the gully which had been cut through it. Bridgewater thought this may have been the 'aggregate for a mortar floor.' It was covered by a 2-3 inch layer of dark soil containing pottery, tesserae and other objects including a coin minted 330+ (Coin no. 22). This layer divided the earlier floor from the make-up base of the corridor. Tesserae 'lumps and chips' in a 'consolidated strip' lay adjacent to the wall of room 1 under the corridor. Scattered tesserae were found in Rooms 1, 2, 4 and 5. Room 2 also had 'a strip of orange ochreous lumps' below the floor base alongside the exterior wall. The Finds Book lists red and yellow ochreous lumps in Room 3 of the main building but unfortunately no samples were kept.

The hatched areas outside the house are shown with the limits of the excavation, their true extents are not known.

FEATURES

Pits in Room 5. These were below levels disturbed by ploughing. No depths are recorded. The round pit was filled with dark earth and large stones. A large broken slab lay over the other which was said to be shallow and contained native ware of the middle-1st century (Cat. no. 80) and iron ore (limonite). Only one sherd was kept but in the Finds Book (p. 35) two types are described: 'smooth black exterior surface and thick, coarse, poorly fired matrix' and 'vesicular.' The descriptions would fit late Iron Age pottery found in the area.

Small 'Pits' beneath the corridor. Cut into the 'pre building top soil.' These appear to be post-holes. Measured on the large scale plan, the seven holes have diameters between 5 and 15 ins. (13 and 38 cm.). The depths are not recorded. Close to the centre group lay a patch of flat stones, some of them burnt on both sides.

Pit in Room 1. Post-dated the walls. The top fill contained destruction material, stones, mortar, broken tegulae etc. Charcoal was found at the bottom and the dark fill contained pottery, bones and other items including a small knife blade. Only one 4th-century sherd was kept. (Cat. no. 88).

Large Pit exterior to W. wall. No depth recorded. Bridgewater was not clear whether the pit pre- or post-dated the building but it appears to have been used as a rubbish pit and contained a high proportion of the total number of finds. These included pottery from the mid-2nd to the mid-4th century, coins and objects ranging from bone pins to iron ore. Some flat stones were found at one edge at a lower level, dividing the large pit from another one, not shown on the plan. (Finds marked D12, D12A). A complete quern stone and an amphora sherd were found nearby.

Gully. The main gully was 18 ins. wide by 6-7 deep (46 by 15-8 cm.), running down to the W. The side gully was 15 ins. by 7-8 deep (38 x 18-20 cm.). Bridgewater thought they were intended to carry away eaves drip.

DISCUSSION

This building was very close to the modern surface and over much of the area even the make-up for the floors and the destruction had been ploughed away. Some of the few sherds found in the E. part of the house were recorded as abraded and must have been rumbling around in the plough soil. This disturbance probably accounts for broken hypocaust tiles being found everywhere except in Room 2 and tesserae in small numbers everywhere except in Room 3. All the coins, most of the pottery and other small finds came from the W. end of the excavation where they were just below the reach of the plough, the majority from outside of the walls. The ploughing away of the floors must also have removed a high proportion of the total number of objects which would otherwise have been found. When we look at this more closely, even with the depleted total, this house produced 16 Roman coins compared with 19 from the main building; most of the window glass and all the tesserae with one doubtful exception. If we compare the finer table wares listed in the pottery report, we find more Samian and far more fine colour coated pottery here than in the main building. Most of the jewellery and other purely ornamental items came from this house although none of Huntsham's luxury items were very impressive. Bridgewater's rather disparaging term 'cottage house,' which he visualised as the dwelling of 'the bailiff' (File 25), does not accord with this evidence. Taken alone, the plan of the building gives no hint that a hypocaust and a mosaic floor must have existed. Unlike the main building, this one seems to have been used solely as a dwelling house and its occupants must have been at least of equal status with those in the main building.

The evidence of an earlier floor under the W. end of the corridor and extending beyond the gully suggests that as with the main building, there had been an earlier house on the site. Bridgewater's diagnostic pottery dating from the early to mid-and mid- to late-2nd century under the W. end of Room 4 might belong to the earlier house.

The pits and post-holes revealed by this excavation are of interest despite their rather brief mention in the record. They appear to be giving a quick glimpse of the pre-villa ground surface.

DATING

Norman Bridgewater provided the following details with the published plan (*J. Roman Stud.* 1965 p. 208):

> 'A 'cottage-house,' apparently of the first half of the fourth century, exhibited two periods: the original five roomed building, 60 by 20 ft., was enlarged by the addition of a front corridor, 10 ft. wide.'

Nothing in the record explains the 4th-century attribution. The pottery and the record allow the following dating:

Period 1. Middle-1st century

Native ware, flints, iron ore and 'much slag' around the pit and post-hole areas under Room 5 and the corridor, point to use if not occupation.

Period 2. Mid- to late-2nd century?

Tentative dating for the fragmentary remains of floors of a presumed earlier building.

Period 3. Late-2nd century?

Again only a tentative date can be given for the building of the house as shown in FIG. 5. Lack of stratification makes it impossible to separate the pottery belonging to the earlier and later houses. There is no break in the dating sequence.

Period 4. Mid-4th century

The coin already mentioned with a mint date of 330+ shows that the corridor was added after that date.

Period 5. Post Roman

The only suggestion of later use is the pit in Room 1.

An unworn coin of Cnut 1016-35 was found in the robbed W. wall near the large pit, probably dating one of the robbing periods.

AISLED BARN. Area E. (FIG. 5)

Length 65 ft. (19.8 m.). *Width* 44 ft. (13.41 m.).

Plans and Drawings. Norman Bridgewater published his own First Report on this excavation. (WFNC XXXVII (1962), 179-91). Larger scale plans and drawings of sections are held in the archive. Section X-X is published here for the first time. (FIG. 6 p. 243)

Excavation of the W. tank and drain area took place in the autumn of 1959. The excavation was completed in the following season 1960-1. The plan shows the limits of the excavation and how little of the floor area was uncovered.

EXCAVATION

Walls varied in width between 2-3 ft. (0.61-0.91 m.). Two courses of roughly faced, unmortared sandstone were used with rubble filling. All wall junctions were bonded. 'Mortar, in places was on top of the remaining walls but not in the joints. There was no mortar adjacent to the walls.' (Log Book p. 41).

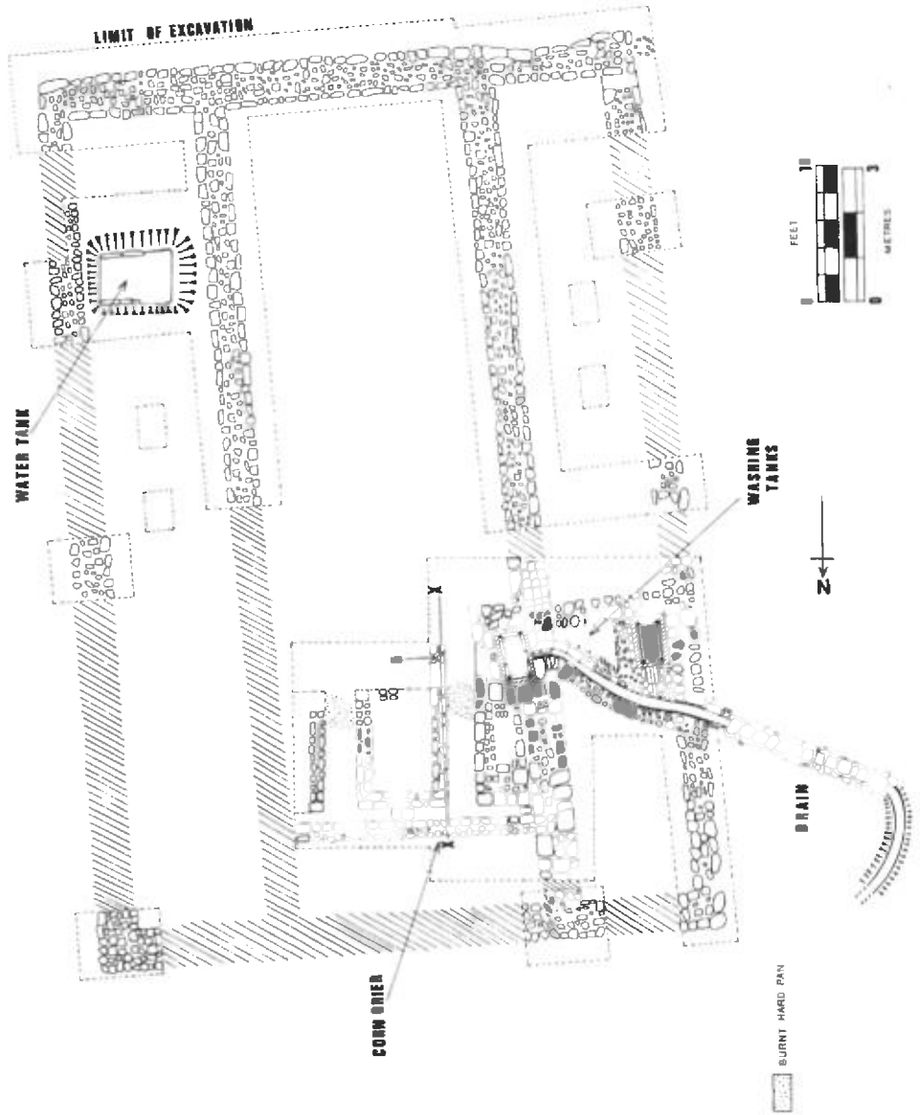

FIG. 5
Plan of Aisled Barn E. (N. P. Bridgewater)

Footings. Excavation exposed the full depth of the footings at the junction of the aisle walls with the S. wall, where they were found to be 5 ft. deep (1.52 m.). The alternate layers of stones pitched at an angle of about 25° divided by horizontal layers can be seen in a photograph (PL. XXXVII). In section they were found to taper from 2½ ft. wide)0.76 m.) at the top down to 1¼ ft. (0.53 m.). These deep footings were confirmed in various other places in both the aisle and external walls. An exception was found in the W. aisle wall 5 ft. (1.52 m.) S. of the tank. Here, the wall was totally different, 'the top course consists of pitched green sandstone' and the wall, including footings was only 14 ins. high (0.36 m.).

Roof. Three different types of broken sandstone tiles were found in three different levels of fill in the sunken water storage tank in the E. aisle.

Floors. The small area excavated suggested that only the ground surface had been used.

FEATURES

Double T Corndrier/Kiln. This was a later addition to the building. The flues were well built with sandstone blocks; the faces squared. The cross flue was not completely excavated but the western half measure 9 ft. (2.75 m.) to the centre point and was 1 ft. (0.31 m.) wide, or 8 ft. (2.44 m.) to the blocking stones. The blocking probably meant that the flues could be used independently. The main flues measured from the back of the cross flue to the front of the drier/kiln platform were 9½ ft. (2.90 m.) by 2½ ft. wide (0.76 m.), the W. flue being only 2 ft. wide. The stippled areas on the plan mark the position of the fires, described in the Log Book (p. 20) as 'a brittle, burnt hard pan. In this region the walls [of the flue] are fire blackened.' The depth of ash in the E. flue was 3 ins. on the E. side but only 1 in. on the W. side; in the W. flue it was 8 ins. (0.20 m.) deep. The ash contained 'charred sticks and a little coal.'

The plan shows what appear to be the remains of an extension of the E. side of the W. flue, opposite to the tank (marked 0 on the plan). But the section drawing X-X (FIG. 6 p. 243) shows that this feature was not joined to the kiln platform and that the gap was filled with flue ash. The section also shows that the stokehole extended back about 7 ft. (2.13 m.) from the area of the fire.

A fine hunting spear was found below the ash at the back of the W. flue. (FIG. 14 no. 1)

The Small Tanks. The E. tank was made of opus signinum with quarter round fillets sealing the base and corners. The sides were 2½ ins. thick (0.06 m.), backed with sandstone and conglomerate blocks and on the W. side 'a mass of broken tegulae had been utilised.' Where the tank overlay the aisle wall, the level had been raised with bricks. The platforms for both tanks were recorded as higher than both of the walls. The platform for the W. tank was of sandstone blocks. This tank had a single sandstone slab base with opus signinum sides and fillets as above and a single outlet discharging through a 2½ in. (0.06 m.) diameter lead pipe into the drain. In the E. tank the base fillet was bevelled for the outlets on both sides. On the E. side the diameter was 6 ins. (0.15 m.); on the W. side it was 4 ins.

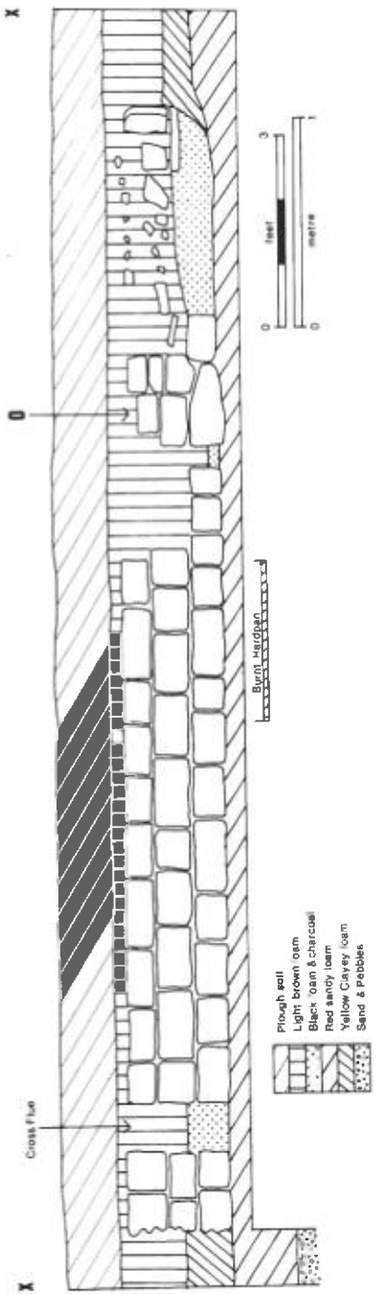

FIG. 6
Section X-X of flue in the Aisled Barn. (N. P. Bridgewater)

(0.10 m.) with a 2½ ins. diameter lead pipe discharging into the drain. The E. tank measured 44 x 24 ins. (1.12 x 0.61 m.) internally, and the W. tank 36 x 23 ins. (0.95 x 0.59 m.). As found, parts of the sides were up to 12 ins. (0.30 m.) but the original depth is unknown.

The Drain. Inside the building the drain had opus signinum sides on a base of stone slabs set in clay. One tegula used as a cover was still in position. Outside the building the sides and covers were all of sandstone with no base. Beyond this the drain curved to the N. and deteriorated into a V-shaped gully cut into the subsoil.

Water Storage Tank. At the S. end of the E. aisle. This also had a single sandstone slab base but this tank was built in a pit, the bottom and sides lined with green clay which sealed the sandstone side slabs, some of which were in position. The capacity of the tank was estimated as either 140 or 170 gallons depending on whether a notch in one of the side slabs was an overflow or accidental damage.

The plan shows a narrow opening in the W. walls at the S.W. corner of the building. This was thought to be for drainage but no drainage channel was recorded outside the building. (PL. XXXVII)

DISCUSSION

The wall foundations of the barn are of the utmost importance in understanding not only the superstructure but the function of the kiln and tank installation. Bridgewater thought the deep foundations were for the purpose of bearing the weight of high stone walls plus the weight of a stone tiled roof. As the drain and both of the small tanks are on platforms built partly *over* the walls, he concluded that the barn walls must have been 'cut away' before the tanks were built and therefore that they were used after the corndrier had been abandoned. (Log Book p. 20, 22). In his First Report Bridgewater accounts for the lack of destruction material by 'a complete and rapid dismantling of the barn soon after abandonment' but even this would have left behind quantities of rubble.

Although robbing had taken place at the N. end of the barn, S. of the kiln the photographs show the walls to be reasonably intact and the almost total absence of stony destruction or rubble on the visible spoil heaps suggests that they had been built as they were found, with only two fairly narrow courses. The barn must have been timber built with its sill beams resting on low sill walls which apparently had been sealed and levelled with mortar. As Herefordshire's timber-framed houses with heavy stone roofs manage to stand up without deep foundations, another explanation was needed. I am grateful to Margaret Jones for supplying the answer. The deep tapering foundations with their alternating pitched and horizontal layers served as a rudimentary damp course, the many voids reducing rising damp. (PL. XXXVII) This method of constructing foundations to carry timber sills has been in use for centuries and was known and used in the Romano-British period, e.g. at Stanton Low, Bucks. (M. U. Jones, 1989).

The bottom layer of broken stone roof tiles must have fallen into the sunken water storage tank while it was still in use or very shortly after. There was nothing between them and the stone base except a little clear silt. They were covered by the green clay which had slumped from the sides after some of the side slabs had been removed. These were polygonal tiles said to be thicker than those higher up. Above the clay slump, a dark fill contained more broken stone roof tiles and nails. The lower tiles in the fill were roughly hexagonal and 1½ ins. thick, while those at the top were 1¼ ins. thick with four straight sides and a slightly curved top. No stone tiles were found elsewhere in the barn, implying that the tiles had been removed before a final stage collapse of the roof. The roof might have been thatched in the final period.

The fill in the sunken tank also contained late-3rd to late-4th century pottery, bones, coal, charcoal and a coin minted in 322 (Coin no. 18). This would appear to be domestic rubbish indicating that there may have been some domestic occupation in the later life of the barn.

Because so little of the floor area of the barn was excavated we know nothing about its use prior to the building of the corndrier.

Although the well known term 'corndrier' has been used it is now widely accepted that they were more likely to have been malt kilns. Experimental work carried out by Peter Reynolds (*Archaeol. J.* Vol. 136) with a reconstructed drier showed that though it was extremely inefficient as a corn drier, it was ideally suited to the function of a malt kiln, both for controlling the germination of the grain on the gently heated floor and then by increasing the heat, for arresting germination at the required stage for malt.

The two tanks and their platforms could have been installed at the same time as the Double T Kiln or added later; there is no recorded evidence either way but it seems reasonable to think that the tanks and their drain were positioned where they were for a specific purpose. (PLs. XXXVIII & XXXIX) The E. tank appears to have been placed as near to the fire area as possible and to have been set at an angle in order to avoid interference with the kiln floor and flue entry. The tank's outlet on the stokehole side must be important in considering its use. Another part of this installation is the small stone structure marked 0 on the plan (FIG. 5) and on Section X-X (FIG. 6). It appears to have been partly robbed or damaged but the gap filled with flue ash between it and the kiln platform is shown clearly.

If this combination of structures is looked at in terms of brewing, it fits the requirements very well. A mashing vessel is needed in which the malt can be soaked in hot water for about two hours with as little heat loss as possible, (about 180-160°F. or 82-77°C.). After the wort is drawn off, the remaining malt is extracted by adding more hot water to the grains and stirring hard; then both lots of wort together have to be reduced by boiling vigorously. The position of the eastern tank and its outlet on the stokehole side would be convenient for this operation. All that seems to be needed is a large cauldron with a fire under it, like the copper in the wash-houses of the pre-washing-machine era. Structure 0 with the flue ash below, may be the remains of the cauldron supporting structure. When brewing ceased to be carried out, this would have been broken up in order to remove the valuable cauldron.

Probably relevant was the finding of iron bars lying on the burnt hard pan in the eastern flue. These were not kept but were recorded as 'iron bars (probably fire bars)' with 'fire bars' later crossed out. (Log Book p. 28).

The W. tank could have been used as a fermenting vessel, its smaller size would be right for the same brewing when the additional space needed for the grains in the mashing tank is taken into account. Peter Reynolds suggests that the tanks may also have been used for soaking the grain before it was spread on the kiln floor to germinate. (Pers. com.)

This installation would seem to be unique in villas. When Pat Morris's report on *Agricultural Buildings in Roman Britain* was published in 1979, Huntsham was one of only four places known to have tanks in the same building as a corndrier/kiln and only one other had its tank near to the kiln. This was at Whitton, S. Glamorgan, interpreted by the excavator as a corn bin. (Morris, p. 17). For Huntsham, Morris had only the misleading published information: 'two washing tanks were inserted ... partly overlying the corn-drier,' and was under the impression that the tanks could not have been made until after the kiln had gone out of use; therefore the significance of the complete installation was missed.

There is a possibility that this installation had a predecessor in the main building although the remains were very fragmentary. If this were so and there had been an earlier model to improve upon, it might explain the very competent equipment installed in the barn.

Part of a millstone was found in the barn and part of another one 4 ins. thick (10 cm.) and 31 ins. (84 cm.) in diameter was found in the main building; the only one for which measurements were recorded. A millstone of this size would have to be turned mechanically, either by animal or water power and this probably means that milling was being done on a commercial scale. During the Roman period milling was not confined to flour, amongst other things malt was also milled. (D. G. Buckley, Finds Report, see below).

[The possibility that a water-mill site on the river Wye at Huntsham may belong to this period is discussed in the appended note. (p. 280)]

British beer was one of the known exports from Roman Britain. It was highly thought of and fetched twice the price of Egyptian beer when Diocletian's edict of 301 fixed its maximum price at 4 denarii a 'pint.' For comparison: six pints of British beer cost the same as one pint of the best quality wine. It was not only a popular drink but according to Pliny, the froth was also used as a cosmetic. The 'pint' is thought to be the 26 fluid ounce measure still used in today's wine bottles (75 cl.). The two almost complete tankards (Cat. no. 40) found near the kiln/drier in the main building have a capacity of 26 fluid ounces.

Huntsham's position on a navigable river giving access to the Lower Severn would be convenient for the transport of heavy barrels of beer. Wooden barrels are known to have been in use at the time. Hops may have been used to assist the keeping quality of he beer; they are a native plant (Godwin, 1975) and wild hops grew in profusion in the area around Huntsham.

DATING

In his First Report, Norman Bridgewater gave three functional periods with approximate dates. The dates were again based on coins found in unstratified contexts. The pottery and coin in the sunken water tank only give a *terminus post quem* for the end of the tank's use. (Coin no. 18 *c.*322). There is nothing to date the construction of the barn or the installation of the kiln and tanks. The five coins found have a narrow date range of 269 to 322. The Pottery Report extends the range from the mid- to late-2nd century to the late-4th century suggesting that the barn spanned the whole life of the villa. The histogram shows that the general increase in activity of the late-3rd century took place slightly earlier in the barn.

PRECINCT WALL AND ASSOCIATED BUILDINGS. Areas PW and C. (FIG. 7) and Site plan (FIG. 1)

Length of E. side. 260 ft. (79.24 m.)

Excavation took place at three different times between 1959 and January 1970. Between the main features, short stretches of the wall were uncovered at 10 ft. (3.05 m.) intervals to verify the line.

Plans and Drawings. The whole E. wall was shown on the Site Plan. The Main Gateway area was included on the large scale plan of the Main Building. Small box plans were made of the C1 and 2 building and its location was marked on the Survey plan. It has now been added to the Site Plan (FIG. 1 p. 227).

EXCAVATION

THE WALL was faced with unmortared, roughly squared sandstone blocks and filled with stone rubble. It was built on the ground surface without footings, the width varying between 30 and 39 ins. (0.76 and 0.99 m.). In the rubble of the robbed N.E. corner, slag with adhering furnace lining was found, together with some mid- to late-2nd-century sherds and one of the late-3rd to 4th-century. At a short distance from the corner the wall was located running westwards. There were slight indications of a ditch near the corner, running to the N.

AREA C3. Fourteen ft. (4.27 m.) N. of the small gateway three courses of the wall remained in position. Inside the enclosure at this point was a pit 10 ft. long by 5 ft. wide (3.05 by 1.53 m.) with a bowl shaped base 4 ft. (1.22 m.) below the modern surface. The fill contained domestic rubbish consisting of a large quantity of pottery and animal bones. The pottery dates covered the period from mid-2nd to mid-4th century. Many tegulae fragments were found here and nearer to the gateway.

THE SMALL GATEWAY. About 90 ft. (27.5 m.) S. of the corner was a small gateway only 63 ins. (1.6 m.) wide. The wall was well faced on both sides of the opening. No trackway was discovered.

AREA C1 AND C2. About 20 ft. (6.10 m.) to the E. of the small gateway a small area 24 by 12 ft. (7.5 x 3.65 m.) had been located by surface finds and excavated before any other work was done on the villa. The excavation found what was said to be two layers, separated by soil, of 'crude lumpy stones,' the top only 10 ins. (0.25 m.) below the modern ground surface. At 23 ins. (0.59 m.) much of the area was covered by a pebble floor the

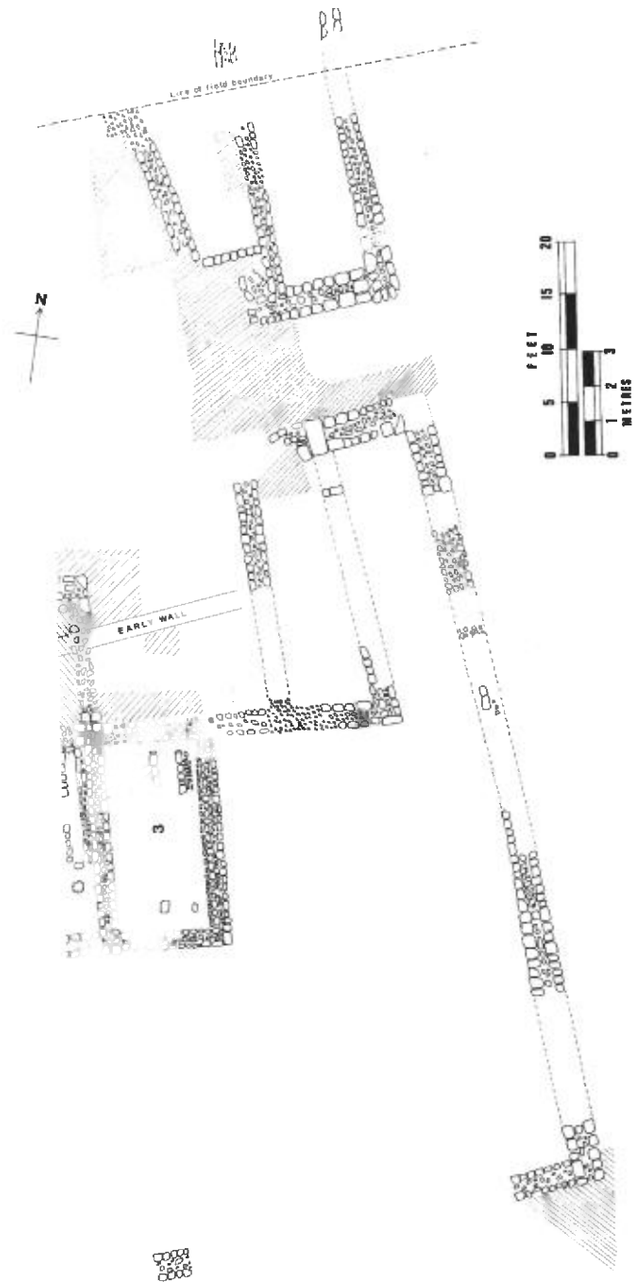

FIG. 7
Plan of Gateway Buildings showing connection with Room 3 of the Main Buildings. (N. P. Bridgewater)

edge of which was defined in one place with a stone 'kerb,' edging a clay and charcoal area with a patch of 'unburnt and burnt clay varying in colour from green-grey-yellow-red.' [This must be describing furnace clay. Bridgewater would not be familiar with it in 1959 but when he excavated the main gateway area in 1969 he had gained the experience of excavating several iron furnaces at *Ariconium.*] Slag and charcoal were found under the clay area, and the pebble floor contained small pieces of slag.

There are no finds from this area in the existing collection but the Finds Book (p. 2-4) lists, as well as slag at all levels, two Samian sherds, a piece of 'thick red amphora,' three sherds of mortaria, other pottery, bones, nails, charcoal, pieces of tegulae and a flint flake. No attempt was made to define the extent of what seems to have been in its later phase some kind of domestic building over an earlier one associated with iron making. The small gateway would seem to have been for access to this building.

THE MAIN GATEWAY (FIG. 7). The 9 ft. (2.75 m.) wide entrance way had a surface of large pebbles with a gully on the N. side. The flanking walls ran straight for 12 ft. (3.66 m.) before curving back at the opening into the enclosure. The unrobbed part of the S. flanking wall had two courses in position including a large stone measuring 31 x 19 ins. (79 x 48 cm.) with another of the same size and shape fallen behind it. A hollow behind the E. end of this wall contained 'nodules of earth and decomposed iron,' small slag, furnace slag and furnace wall plus charcoal, pottery, glass, bones and a flint. Several flints and flint flakes were recovered from this area.

On each side of the gateway was a narrow building. The one to the S. measured 22 by 7 ft. (6.7 x 2.13 m.) maximum, tapering to less than 6 ft. at the gateway end. This left a space of 7 ft. (2.13 m.) between it and the precinct wall which may have been roofed over or left as open ground; no end wall was found. The same layout was found N. of the gateway but the N. building was crossed by the field boundary and the excavation in the next field had to be abandoned on instruction by the farmer. Beyond verifying that the walls of the building and the precinct wall continued northwards, the extent of the building could not be determined.

The hatched areas shown on the plan are 'pebble floors' but Bridgewater was not able to distinguish what belonged to the early building and its 'ghost trench' [see Area 10 under Main Building] from what may have related to the gateway building. A return wall heading W. on the field boundary was shown on the plan but no return was found to the E. and it is possible and perhaps more likely, that the return also belonged to the 'ghost trench' of the earlier building.

Pieces of tegulae, imbrices and stone roof tiles were found in and near the buildings on both sides of the gateway. More iron ore, slag and pieces of furnace clay were found in the N. building and in the general destruction near the gateway as well as domestic rubbish.

PRECINCT WALL - S. END. Small excavations were made at 10 ft. (3.05 m.) intervals and the S.E. corner was reached 78 ft. (23.77 m.) S. of the main gateway. The line of the wall was confirmed at 40 ft. (12.19 m.) to the W. and located again by probing 87 ft. (26.51 m.) W. of the corner.

The final entry of the Log Book records: 'Pebble floor, about 15 inches below ground level. Outside precinct wall.' the floor is shown on the plan as 12 by 17 ft. (3.66 x 5.18 m.) but this may only be the extent of excavation. Because the corner of the precinct wall cuts into what was probably a rectangle, the floor presumably represents an earlier building. The floor was covered by an area of black soil containing slag, coal, a large lump of cinder, charcoal and a lump of tap-slag from a tuyere hole, part of a quern, nails, glass, iron and bronze objects and pottery dating from the 2nd to the late-4th century.

DATING AND DISCUSSION

The wall footings of what seems to be an earlier building and the floor of what may have been a timber building below the S.E. corner show that the precinct wall and gateway were not built during the early life of the villa. The pottery found in and around the gateway buildings has a date range from the mid- to late-2nd century to the late-4th but disturbance and lack of stratification make it impossible to separate the pottery belonging to the gateway from what may be residual from an earlier building. The evidence for iron making is likely to be residual from the pre-villa period.

Aerial photographs of the site are of no help in determining the extent of the enclosed area or for the existence of other gateways. This would appear to be the main gateway of the villa but we cannot be certain.

CONCLUSION

The aerial photograph (PL. XXXIII) shows something of the complex of ditches; rectilinear, linear and curvilinear and the even greater complexity of pits, including a nearly parallel double alignment. This is one of a series of eight photographs taken by Arnold Baker on the same day from different angles; each one revealing and concealing some different ditches and pits. Although in this series crop marks were only visible in one of the fields, even these show that Huntsham is a very complex site indeed. Neither in this series nor in any other photographs I have seen, do the cropmarks correspond with the Romano-British buildings revealed by the excavations, with the sole exception of the deep foundations of the aisled barn which can be seen as four parallel lines just to the right of the top right corner of the large Enclosure A. The barn can be seen to overlie another straight alignment of pits and also cuts into what appears to be a double semicircle of pits. The latter feature has also been cut across by the Iron Age Enclosure A and must pre-date it. It has been suggested by Jim Pickering that similar pit alignments are Neolithic (Pickering, 1992). Perhaps in the future this may prove to be the case at Huntsham but it does show that the site had been in use long before the Roman period.

The excavation provided abundant evidence for iron making on the site. Iron ore was found below both houses; it was found in combination with burnt furnace clay under Room 2 of the main building; under the gateway buildings; at the N.W. corner of the precinct wall and under the C1 C2 building outside the small gateway. In the excavated area, iron making had certainly ceased before the major re-building of the villa in the late-2nd century. As residual iron ore, slag and burnt clay were also found in the earlier small

mid-2nd century house are of the main building it seems likely that iron making pre-dated the villa, at least in the area excavated.

Although only two sherds were kept, sherds of native wares were recorded from eight different places in the villa buildings. Apart from the gully area outside the aisled barn where only one find of slag was recorded, the native ware sherds were found close to the slag and ore finds, suggesting that some iron making may have taken place in the mid-1st century.

The Huntsham excavations provided no information about any activities or occupation between the mid-1st and mid-2nd century. The villa seems to have come into being in the mid-2nd century and the same date was suggested by the trial excavation at Hadnock. Unlike Hadnock, Huntsham appears to have had no connection with the iron industry during the villa period and its economy would seem to have been based on agriculture which later developed into the specialised industry of brewing. If the water-mill site on the Wye can be accepted as dating from this period, (See note appended p. 280) the mill and brewing installation in the barn would represent a considerable investment and raises the possibility that Huntsham may have been a collecting, processing and exporting centre for a larger area. The wealth which this might be expected to produce was certainly not reflected by the very modest lifestyle of the occupants of the two houses and this may have something to say about the wider social organisation of the area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. Peter Webster whose report on the pottery adds so much to the information gained from the excavation. My grateful thanks are also due to the other contributors of specialist reports; to Dr. Edward Besley, the late George Boon, David Buckley, B. R. Hartley, Kay Hartley, Felicity Taylor and Janet Webster, whose name only appears last because of her position in the alphabet.

I also received much helpful information from David Buckley on the subject of millstones and Dr. Peter Reynolds gave his valuable opinion on the kiln and tanks installation and on its probable relation to brewing. My thanks are also due to Arnold Baker and Mark Walters for allowing publication of their aerial photographs and to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for permission to reproduce the drawing of the hunting spear by Mrs. M. E. Cox published in *J. Roman Stud.* 51 (1961), 172; and to Ann Sandford of the Hereford Museum for her help in making the Huntsham deposit available.

I am greatly indebted to Lyn Harper for drawing the pottery and other finds and to Geoff Gwatkin for his work in completing the site plan and preparing the other plans for publication.

My thanks are also due to Margaret U. Jones for her help, guidance and advice and to Ruth Richardson and Peter Halliwell for their helpful criticism and to Richard Vaughan of Huntsham Court for allowing access to the site and to see the probably Roman columns and other building stone at the house and farm buildings.

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WNFC, Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

The Club is much indebted to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the publication of this report.

EDITOR'S NOTE

It is with great regret that I have to add that Elizabeth Taylor died in March, 1998, before she had even seen the proofs of this paper.

THE FINDS

The Huntsham Finds are marked as follows:

Enclosure A	= A3
Main Building	= G1 to G36
Smaller House	= D numbers
Aisled Barn	= E numbers
Precinct Wall	= P/W and C numbers
Gateway Buildings	= G42 to G52 and G5

THE POTTERY BY PETER WEBSTER (1991)

INTRODUCTION

The Huntsham Roman pottery was examined in 1991. The material available probably only represents a proportion of that recovered. Except among the samian and fineware, rims and bases predominate, suggesting that the pottery was sorted before removal from the site (as was customary at the time of excavation). One would assume that most or all rims recovered have survived but the restricted range of sources represented makes even this far from a certainty. It will thus be clear that the nature of the collection imposes certain limits on the questions that can be asked of it.

Relatively little of the material recovered was from securely stratified contexts, most being from disturbed upper levels. Stratified early pieces will be separately identified in the catalogue but the main aim must be to show the range of material in terms of both source and date. this has been done by publishing, within the catalogue a type series of vessels from each of the main areas excavated. A full list of all pottery examined will be placed in the archive. This forms the basis of comments, tables and histograms below. The published catalogue is more selective.

a) Sources and fabrics.

It is easiest to summarise information in tabular form before discussing it:

TABLE: SOURCES AND FABRICS

Form	Main Bldg	Precinct Wall	Small House	Area E	Total	%age of all vessels
Samian CG	8	11	8	1	28	13
EG	-	1	3	1	5	2
Colour Coats:						
Moselle	2	3	8	-	13	6
Lezoux	-	-	1	-	1	-
Koln/Nene V.	-	-	1	-	1	-
Nene Valley	1	-	1	-	2	1
New Forest	-	1	1	1	3	1
Oxford	10	3	8	6	27	13
Oxford mort.	4	-	-	-	4	2
Oxford white mortarium	2	1	1	1	5	2
Parchment	-	-	1	-	1	-
Black Burnished	24	7	20	15	66	31
Early Calc. Grit	1	-	-	-	1*	-*
Late Calc. Grit	6	-	-	-	6	3
Severn V. Ware	14	9	2	9	34	16
Miscellaneous	9	2	4	3	18	8
Totals	81	38	59	37	215	98

*The two early vessels from Enclosure A (nos. 1-2 below) have not been included.

i) Samian

All the samian examined was from Central or East Gaul. The lack of South Gaulish samian is in accord with the essentially 2nd-4th-century character of the collection as a whole. As with other finewares, the proportion is probably exaggerated by the fact that all sherds were retained.

ii) Finewares. It is clear that even small sherds of fineware were retained so that we can be reasonably certain that what survives represents all that was found (and that the percentage present has, therefore been exaggerated in the table above). The variety of fineware sources as represented would be in accord with a site occupied from the middle 2nd century. The relative dearth of all but Oxfordshire wares from Barn E might suggest that it was not receiving residential rubbish in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The following sources are represented:

a) Cologne and/or the Nene Valley. Colour coated white-wares from these two sources are not easily distinguished macroscopically. At Huntsham, these sources are represented by only 3 vessels. Given the date range of

the site and its location this is unusual. It may be a product of the relatively low social status in the 2nd century and perhaps a comment on the dominance of the Oxfordshire potters among later colour-coated ware producers supplying the area.

b) Moselle Valley. Greene has suggested that the so-called 'Rhenish' wares with a 'sandwich' fabric of alternating oxidised and reduced colours are derived from the Trier region of the Moselle (Greene 1978 and Greene in Cleere & du Plat Taylor 1978). A maximum of 13 vessels from this source are represented in the collection (see nos. 45, 57-9, 84-5, 87), all beakers.

c) Central Gaul. One or possibly two vessels (no. 86) in Central Gaulish 'Rhenish' ware has been identified. Again this seems low for a site occupied in the later 2nd century.

d) New Forest. Huntsham must be on the very edge of the distribution area for New Forest colour-coated wares (cf. Fulford 1975, 118-26) so it is not surprising that only a few sherds were recovered, all probably from no more than two vessels (cf. nos. 60, 88/107).

e) Oxfordshire. The Oxfordshire kilns clearly supplied the bulk of 3rd-4th-century finewares found at Huntsham (at least 31 vessels, 15% of all found). Tablewares are represented by a number of beakers (nos. 7, 92, 108-9) and bowls (nos. 8-14, 61-3, 94). In addition to this, there are a number of colour-coated mortaria, also from Oxfordshire (nos. 17-9 together with a probable 4 more which cannot at present be located).

iii) Other Oxford products consisted of 5 Oxfordshire mortaria and a single bowl in Parchment Ware. With no other mortarium source represented there seems a general dearth of these vessels.

iv) Black-burnished ware made up the bulk of the cooking ware recovered from the site (using the term, not as an alternative to kitchenware, but as an indicator of vessels actually placed on or over a fire for cooking). The ware is of the so-called BB1 type the main source of which is Dorset. Sixty-six vessels were identified (31% of all found). The range is much as one would expect (cf. Gillam 1976) for a site with activity from the 2nd to the 4th century.

v) Calcite Gritted ware. Two sources of calcite gritted pottery can be identified in the collection. The anomalous Enclosure A produced examples of a fabric in the tradition of the local Iron Age (cf. Spencer 1983) which can be dated to the middle 1st century (nos. 1-2 below). The other calcite gritted fabric belongs to an entirely different source and horizon. It is in a tradition belonging to the East Midlands and presumably derives from that area. It appears in Wales mainly in the 4th century and principally in the later half of that century (cf. Webster in Casey & Davies forthcoming and Usk forthcoming). The types present at Huntsham certainly belong to this period and could well extend into the last quarter of the century (cf. nos. 34-7). The fabric appears only to have been found in the main building at Huntsham, suggesting that this was the last area to be receiving domestic rubbish.

vi) Severn Valley Ware forms a significant part of the collection (34 vessels representing 16% of the total surviving pottery from Huntsham (cf. nos. 38-49, 70-7, 104-5, 118-23). Jars and wide-mouthed jars predominate with a small number of tankards (including the near complete nos. 41-2). Dating of the ware is not precise, but does allow us to see that Huntsham was receiving the ware across most of its occupation. The closeness of the site to the Lower Severn Basin means that Severn Valley Ware can be regarded almost as a local product but its significant presence is of interest nevertheless, particularly as one only has to move a few miles westwards, into the Usk Valley, to find Severn Valley Ware appearing in quantity only in the earliest phases of sites such as Usk and Abergavenny.

vii) Amphorae form a very small proportion of the Huntsham collection. In part, this may be a result of the lack of earlier occupation but there is sufficient 2nd-century pottery to make it likely that more amphorae were originally present and that they have been discarded (as was common at the time of excavation). All that can be said is that the few fragments surviving all belong to Dressel 20 amphorae (cf. no. 56), the globular containers for south Spanish olive oil, which are the commonest type of amphora found in Britain. Amphorae have not been included in the tables and histograms in this section.

viii) Other sources (terms 'Miscellaneous' in the table above) are noticeable by their absence. It is possible, given the nature of the collection, that pieces which were not recognised were discarded, but, if this was not so, then it would seem that Huntsham had no local pottery industry on which to call for its pottery. A few pieces from South-East Wales (e.g. nos. 50, 124) are present and some for which no likely source can be offered but the overall amount is small for such a site.

General. The most notable feature of the pottery is the high number of imports from outside the immediate area of the site. It may also be noted that there is a dearth of items from South-East Wales, suggesting that importation was from the East and perhaps overland, rather than via the Wye Valley.

b) Chronology

Despite the dearth of stratigraphy, the Huntsham pottery still contains indications of a fairly lengthy occupation on or near the site excavated.

The mid-1st century material from Enclosure A (nos. 1-2) is anomalous but, nevertheless important. It is in fairly good condition for such soft pottery and is unlikely to have suffered the abrasive effects of agriculture, such as is likely had the pottery been discarded onto a midden and then spread upon the fields. There is every possibility, therefore, that it was used close to its findspot and forms evidence for a conquest period farmstead nearby.

There is, however, a near total absence of other 1st-century material and, indeed, relatively little which is certainly early 2nd century. From the mid-2nd century, however, there is a reasonably continuous series into the 4th century. Quantification of a collection which is not complete carries obvious hazards. Here this is attempted in two ways. The first is a histogram of all vessels represented (omitting sherds likely to be from vessels already counted and the anomalous mid-1st-century material):

The dates used for the second histogram are largely those suggested by Gillam in his 1976 article (qv.) although types dated by him into the mid-4th century have had their likely lifespan extended where appropriate. Fuller arguments for this are advanced in the report on the Usk coarse pottery (forthcoming) but are based on the clear survival of the ware on late-4th-century sites such as Lydney. Both histograms have been achieved by ascribing a date range to each vessel, by treating each vessel as a single unit and dividing each unit across the decades of its date-span. Thus a vessel dated mid-to-late 3rd century would be ascribed a date *c.*A.D. 240-300 and appear as 0.17 in each of the decades indicated by the range. The end result should be an approximate indicator of vessel loss (and thus intensity of occupation) across the period of occupation.

It is clear from the histogram that the highest vessel loss is in the mid-2nd and the 4th century. The intensity of the 2nd-century activity varies on the two histograms and may well be distorted by the fineware. However, both histograms agree in indicating significant mid-to-late 2nd century and late 3rd to 4th-century activity with a marked slackening of activity in the early to mid-3rd century. It may also be noted that there is little sign of post Roman activity (a coin of Cnut notwithstanding) so that the latest Roman pottery from the destruction of the complex has had little chance to be removed from the site except by agricultural erosion and (presumably) late robbing of the walls. This could have increased the proportion of later pieces present.

The general histogram attempts to divide the pottery by area. It is interesting to note that the chronological pattern seems to be remarkably uniform although a greater proportion of late-3rd and 4th-century pieces may be noted in the main building. The presence of late Calcite gritted jars (nos. 34-7) only in this area may well indicate that it was the last structure on the site to be occupied and thus account for the great number of later pieces.

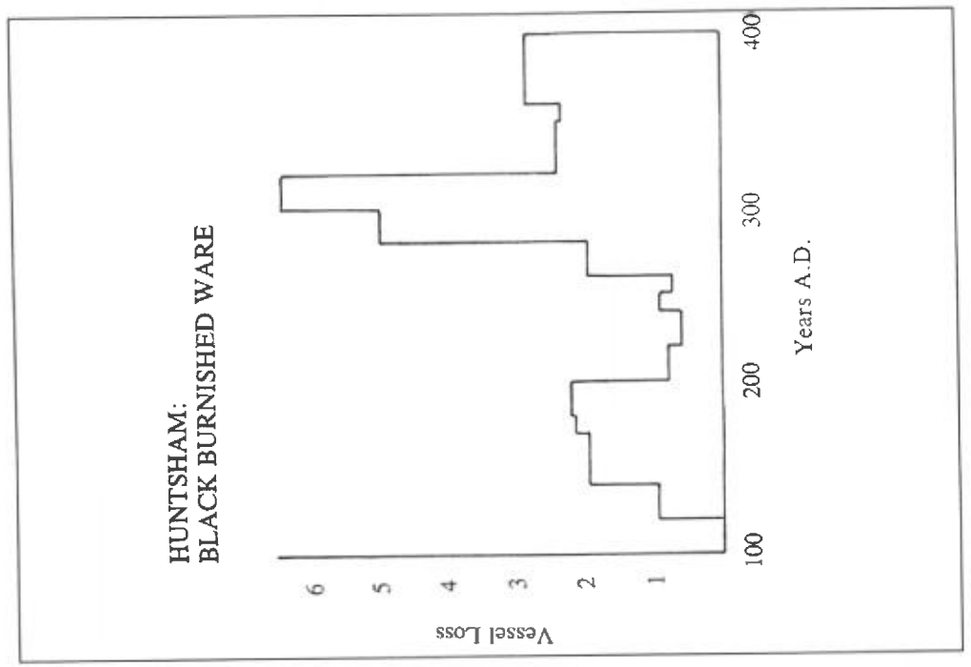
The question needs now to be asked as to how long the site was occupied. The histogram shows occupation into the late-4th century but this is, in part, the result of generalised date ranges, including a number of Oxfordshire wares dated broadly *c.*A.D. 240-400. Some later pieces are present. The Calcite gritted vessels nos. 34-7 have already been noted. They are among the latest types in their series. In addition nos. 8, 13-4, 32 and possibly 52 (all from the main building) should belong to the second half of the 4th century. The latest coin is of Valentinian II (Coin no. 36 below) dated A.D. 375-8 and with some wear. This suggests activity into, but not necessarily far into the fourth quarter of the 4th century and this is a picture which could well fit the pottery pattern also.

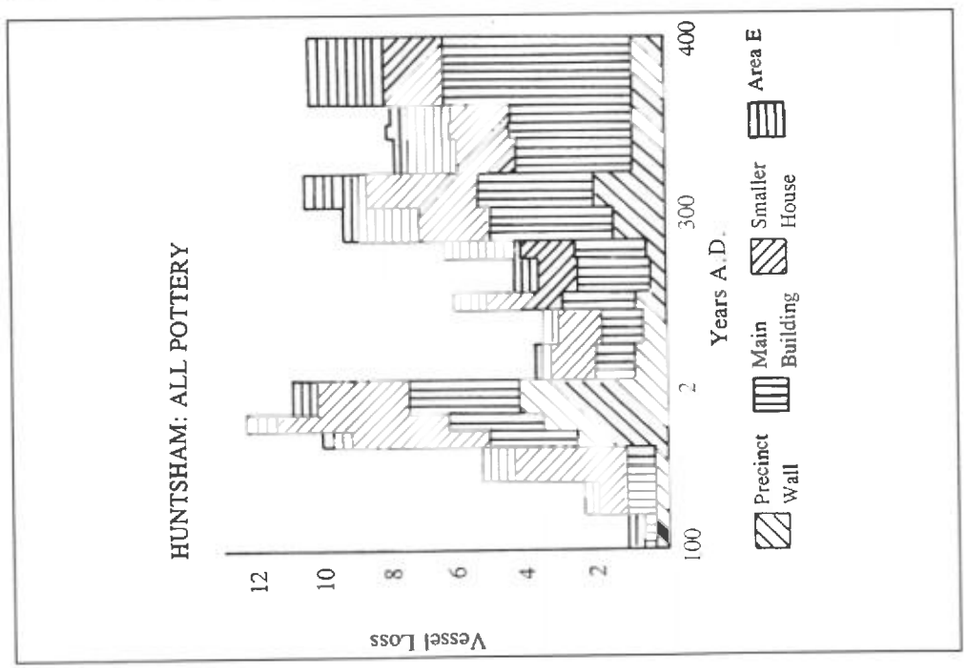
c) Social and Economic implications

We may divide the Huntsham assemblage by both source and vessel class as follows:

CLASSES OF VESSEL REPRESENTED

Class	Main Bldg	Precinct Wall	Smaller House	Barn	Total	%age of all vessels
Flagon	-	-	3	-	3	1
Cup	1	2	-	-	3	1
Beaker	4	6	21	7	38	18
Tankard	4	1	-	-	5	2
Jar	23	7	8	13	51	24
Wide Jar	8	5	1	5	19	9





Bowl	27	14	20	9	70	33
Colander	1	-	-	-	1	-
Dish	7	2	5	2	16	7
Mortarium	6	1	1	1	9	4
Total	81	38	59	37	215	99

Once again the anomalous early calcite gritted jars have been omitted. The chart sheds only limited light on the function and status of Huntsham. The high number of beakers is of note. It is clear, however, that many of these come from just one area, the small house and strongly suggest a primary residential function. The small number of flagons and mortaria (even allowing for four vessels which at present cannot be located) may be noted. No specialist vessels (e.g. cheese presses) were found and might suggest a farm concentrating on arable rather than pastural activities.

The overall breakdown of vessels, (21% drinking vessels, 33% jars, 7% dishes, 33% bowls and 4% mortaria) coupled with the breakdown of sources above does not suggest a site of very high social status. Nevertheless it does show a site in the mainstream of Roman ceramic trade. A working farm of modest pretensions would perhaps suit the evidence.

CATALOGUE

The pottery will be detailed area by area. Within each area, pieces from early phases will be given first. The remainder, from upper, destruction and disturbed contexts will be described by fabric type. After each entry a sequence of letters and numbers refer to the context of each piece as marked on the pottery; 'AN' numbers refer to archive number which appear in the Archive report.

1. ENCLOSURE A.

The two vessels identified from this enclosure suggest that it is earlier than most other features on the site:

1. Jar in dark grey calcite gritted fabric; cf. Webster (Usk forthcoming), 'Native' series 3.3. A date in the middle of the 1st century would be appropriate. A3. [AN.105].

2. Jar in similar fabric to no. 1. above; cf. Webster (Usk forthcoming), 'Native' series 2.1. A similar date to no. 1. seems likely. A3. [AN.106].

2. MAIN BUILDING Area G

a) Early contexts:

3. (Not illustrated). Two fragments of jar in black calcite gritted fabric, probably from the early series as nos. 1-2 above. G22.7. [AN.71].

b) Later contexts:

i) Samian (None illustrated).

With a single exception all samian was Central Gaulish and forms a mid-to late-2nd-century collection as follows: Form 18/31 or 31 (2 examples, from G13.5 and joining pieces with a rivet hole from G10.2 & G17.2); Form 31, an example with rivet hole from G.18.7, a further example from G22.6 and an early to mid-3rd-century Rheinzabern base with fragmentary stamp from G2.2 (a report on the stamp appears on p. 270); bowl, probably form 31 (G17.8); Form 33 (G29.3a); Curle form 23 (G22.2).

ii) Moselle and Nene Valley finewares.

4. Beaker in a grey and orange 'sandwich' fabric with a dark brown metallic slip. A product of the Moselle area; cf. Greene 1978, fig. 2.3, no. 10 & pp. 18-9. Late 2nd - mid-3rd century. G23.4. [AN.66].

5. (Not illustrated). Beaker fragment in a similar fabric to no. 4 above. From a vessel such as Greene 1978, fig. 2.3, no. 4. Late 2nd - mid-3rd century. G22.2. [AN.67].

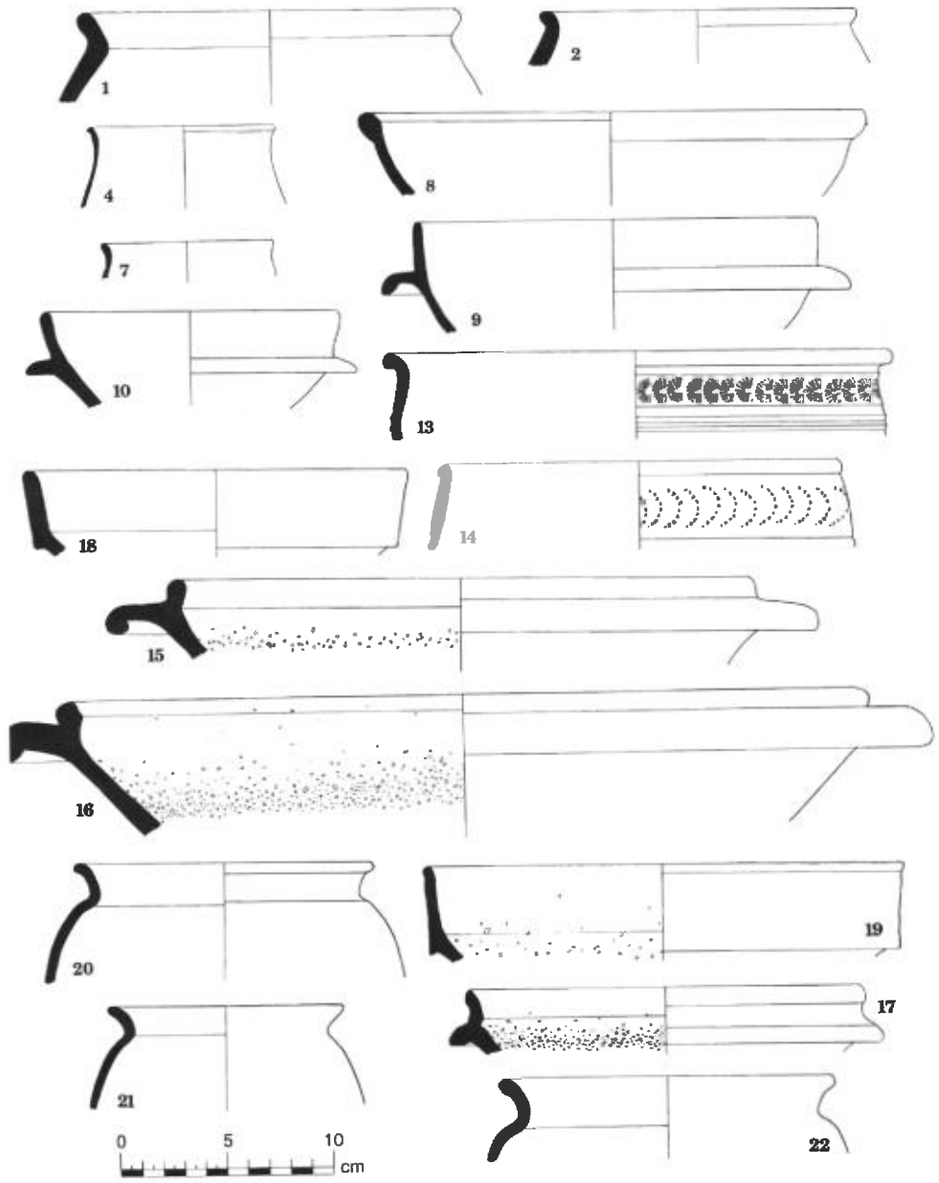


FIG. 8
ENCLOSURE A: 1-2 'Native' series. MAIN BUILDING: 4 Moselle; 7-19 Oxfordshire; 20-2 Black Burnished.

6. (Not illustrated). Beaker fragment in pinkish-white Nene Valley fabric with a dark grey colour coat externally and a red one internally. G13.2. [AN.68].

iii) Oxfordshire Wares.

Two Oxfordshire fabrics are represented in this building: the red colour coated fabric and a white granular mortarium fabric.

7. Beaker rim in light orange with a grey core and red colour coat. Mid-3rd to late-4th century. G22.6. [AN.33].

8. Bowl in light red fabric with a grey core and red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C46, Mid-late 4th century. G28.2. [AN.18].

9. Bowl in orange fabric with a grey core and red colour coat; burnt and abraded. Cf. Young 1977, C51 (*c.*A.D.240-400+). G22.4. [AN.21].

10. Bowl in light red fabric with a grey core and red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C51.6 (*c.*A.D.240-400+). G22.4. [An.22]. One of at least three examples of the general type from G.

11. (Not illustrated). Bowl in light orange fabric with a brown colour coat and rouletted decoration. Probably from a bowl such as Young 1977, C81 (4th century). Joining sherds from G22.4 and G23.2a. [AN.69].

12. (Not illustrated). Bowl in orange-buff fabric with a brown colour coat and scale decoration. The technique appears only rarely in Oxfordshire ware; cf. Young 1977, C28 (*c.*A.D.270-400); see also no. 10 below. G22.4. [AN.70].

13. Bowl in light red fabric with a grey core, red colour coat and stamped decoration. Perhaps from a vessel as Young 1977, C85 (*c.*A.D.350-400). G27.2. [AN.31].

14. Bowl in light orange fabric with a grey core and stamped decoration. Originally with a red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C84 (*c.*A.D.350-400). Two sherds. G13.2. [AN.38].

15. Mortarium in light buff fabric; cf. Young 1977, M18.1. Young dates his type M18 *c.*A.D.240-300. G22.2. [An.11].

16. Mortarium in off-white fabric; probably Young 1977, M22 (*c.*A.D.240-400). G22.4. [AN.12].

17. Mortarium in light orange fabric with traces of a red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C100.1 (4th century). G14.2. [AN.44].

18. Wall-sided mortarium in orange-buff fabric with a dark red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C97 (*c.*A.D.240-400). G2.2. [AN.49].

19. Wall-sided mortarium in light red fabric with a red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C97 (*c.*A.D.240-400). G.22.4. [AN.23].

iv) Black-burnished ware

20. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, nos. 5 & 7 (late-2nd - mid-3rd century). G3.4. [AN.58].

21. Small jar; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 9 (mid-late 3rd century), G29.2. [AN.26].

22. Jar, possibly as Gillam 1976, no. 10 (late-3rd century). G16.2. [AN.59].

23. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976 no. 11 (late-3rd - early 4th century) G22.4 [AN.1] (one of two examples) with a similar jar from G36.2 and 3 jars of Gillam 1976, 10-2 also from area G.

24. Jar; the very flared rim suggests a 4th-century date as Gillam 1976, nos. 12-4. G22.4. [AN.2].

25. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 13 (early-mid-4th century but see introduction p. 254 above). 22.4. [AN.5].

26. Jar. G18.2. [AN.36].

27. Flanged bowl; the looped decoration suggests a later 2nd-century date. G16.2 with a joining fragment from G16.TT.2. [AN.57]. Other examples of 2nd-century flanged bowls come from G1.2 and G19.2.

28. (Not illustrated). Flanged and beaded bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 46 (late-3rd - early-4th century). G22.4. [AN.8].

29. Flanged and beaded bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 48 (early-mid-4th century, but see introduction p. 254 above). G22.4. [AN.7].

30. Flanged and beaded bowl. 4th century. G18.2. [AN.39].

31. Flanged and beaded bowl. Late -3rd or 4th century. G22.2. [AN.27].

32. Straight sided dish, burnt grey to orange; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 84 (late-4th century). G22.4. [AN.9].

33. (Not illustrated). Handle of a dish, probably as Gillam 1976, no. 85 (late-3rd - late-4th century). G24.2. [AN.28]. There were fragments of at least 3 other straight-sided dishes from Area G.

v) Calcite Gritted ware

This fabric contains, or contained, plentiful calcitic grits, apparently crushed shell. The fabric appears frequently in the East Midlands and is probably derived from that area. It is characteristic of later periods in the W. and is to be distinguished from earlier local calcite gritted fabrics derived from local Iron Age traditions (cf. nos. 1-2 above).

34. Jar; cf. Corder 1951, Fig. 8, 20. Late-4th century. G22.2. [AN.10].

35. Jar in dark grey calcite gritted fabric with a fawn surface; cf. Corder 1951, fig. 9, 20. Late-4th century. G28.2. [AN.19].

36. Bowl in dark grey fabric; cf. Corder 1951, Fig. 9, no. 33. Late-4th century. G13.2. [AN.40].

37. Bowl in dark grey fabric; presumably related to bowls as our no. 36 above and of similar date. G13.2 [AN.41].

vi) Severn Valley Ware

38. Tankard in orange-buff with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, no. 43. Late-2nd - 3rd century. G22.4. [AN.14].

39. Tankard in orange-buff with a grey core. There is an unusual pink accretion. Cf. Webster 1976, No. 44 (4th century). G22.2. [AN.15].

40. Tankard in light orange; cf. Webster 1976, No. 43 (late-2nd-3rd century). The capacity of the tankard is 26 fluid ounces. G17.2. [AN.62]. A closely similar vessel, also near complete comes from G17.4b.

41. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange to grey fabric, possibly burnt Severn Valley Ware. G14.2. [AN.42].

42. (Not illustrated). Wide-mouthed jar in orange-buff with a grey core; probably as Webster 1976, nos. 24-5 (late-2nd-3rd century). G.19.2. [AN.56].

43. Jar in light orange with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, No. 9 (3rd-4th century). Joining fragments from G2.1 & G2.2. [AN.47].

44. (Not illustrated). Jar in light orange; cf. Webster 1976, No. 9 (3rd-4th century). G23.4. [AN.24].

45. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, No. 28 (late-3rd-4th century). G26.2. [AN.32].

46. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange; cf. Webster 1976, No. 33 (4th century). G2.2. [AN.48].

47. Wide-mouthed jar in orange-buff with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, No. 32 (early-mid-4th century). G4.2. [AN.53].

48. Colander in light orange with a grey core. Colanders are rare in this fabric. Known examples seem to have been made by producing pierced rounded bases on existing bowl forms; cf. Webster 1976, no. 58. G11.2. [52].

49. Flanged bowl with an internal lip in light orange. For the general form cf. Webster 1976, nos. 50-1 (late-2nd-3rd century). G3.2. [AN.54].

vii) Miscellaneous fabrics

50. Jar in light grey sandy fabric probably with a handle. An origin in S.E. Wales is possible and vessels of this general type occur at the Llanedeyrn kilns; cf. Vyner & Evans 1978, nos. 8-9. A later-3rd or 4th-century date would suit our vessel. G14.2. [AN.43].

51. Jar in grey fabric with a burnished grey-brown surface. G22.4. [AN.6].

52. Jar in light grey fabric burnished externally and over the rim. The shape may be intended to echo that of calcite gritted jars of the late-4th century. G23.4. [AN.25].

53. (Not illustrated). Jar in micaceous grey fabric with a darker surface. The form is reminiscent of Black-burnished ware jars of the 4th century and this may be of similar date. G36.2. [AN.3].

54. Flanged bowl in light orange/red. G16.TT.2. [AN.60].

55. Dish in granular grey fabric with a dark grey micaceous surface. Probably intended to be reminiscent of 4th-century dishes in Black-burnished ware and of similar date. G27.humus. [AN.29].

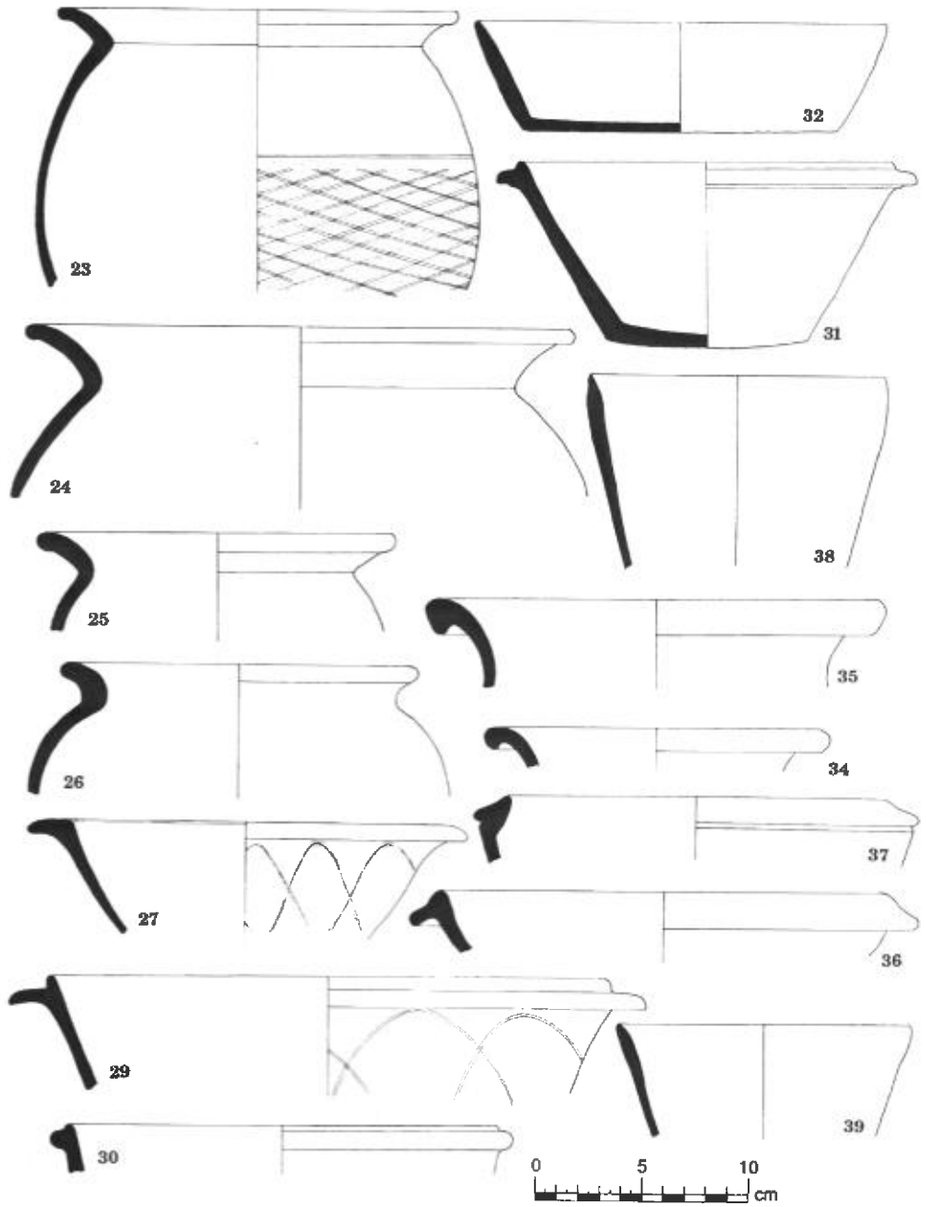


FIG. 9
MAIN BUILDING: 23-32 Black Burnished; 34-7 Calcite Gritted; 38-9 Severn Valley.

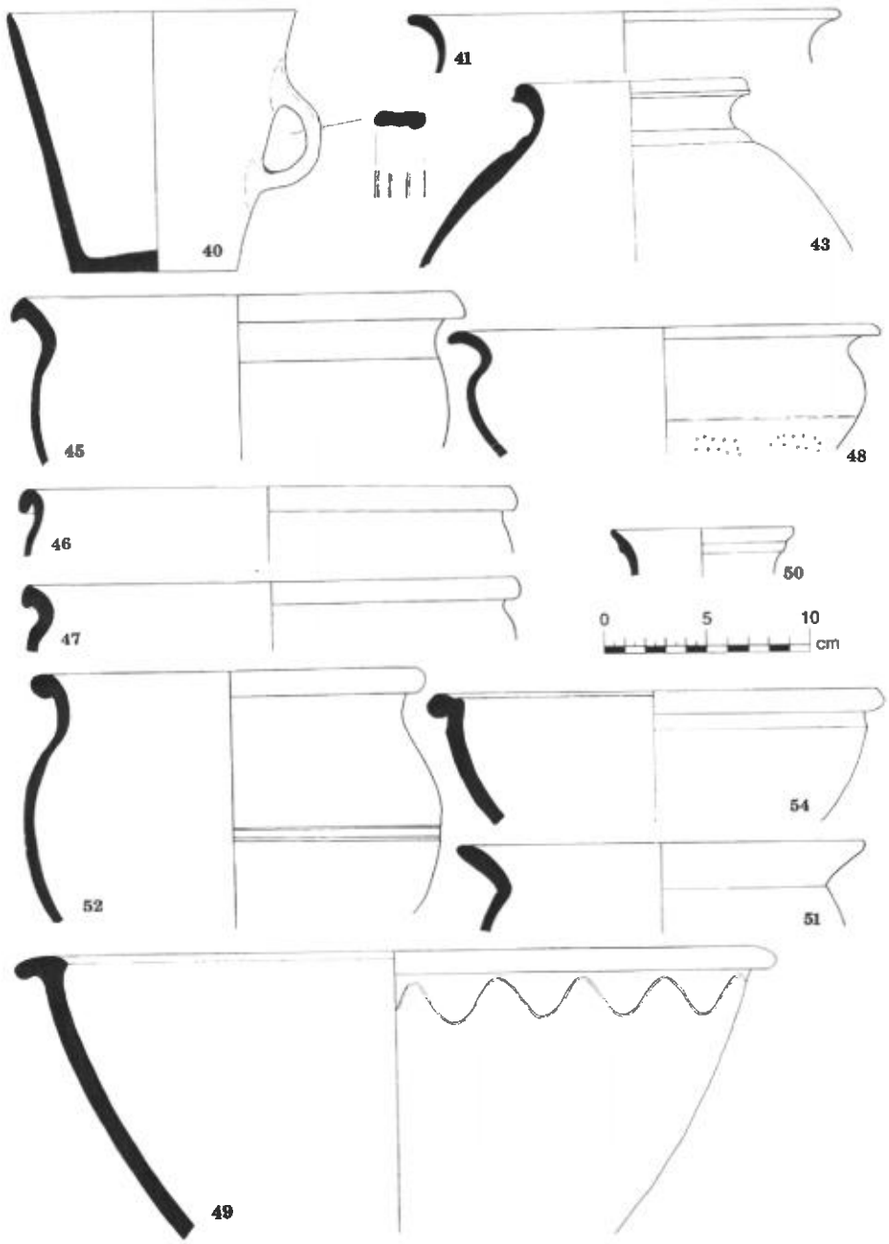


FIG. 10
MAIN BUILDING: 40-9 Severn Valley; 50-4 Miscellaneous fabrics.

viii) Amphorae

Few amphorae sherds appear in the collection. Probably they were not kept. Along with body sherds from G24.2 and G.28.7 was:

56. Dressel 20 amphora; Martin-kilcher type 36 (mid-2nd - early-3rd century), cf. Peacock & Williams 1986, p. 138. Unmarked, probably area G. [AN.64].

Dressel 20 is a globular amphora used primarily for the importation of olive oil from southern Spain.

3. PRECINCT WALL and GATEWAY BUILDINGS

Later contexts:

i) Samian (none illustrated)

The following Central Gaulish pieces were recovered: Form 31, (3 examples from PW 10/11.1, C13.1 and G51.1a; Form 31 or 31R (C3.5); Form 31R (C3.6); Form 38, (3 examples from PW 10.1, PW 11/12.1 and G44.1); a beaker rim, possibly form 54 (PW 11/12.1); Ludowici type Tg (C13.1); a bowl with a stamp from C14.1 (for a report see below p. 270).

An East Gaulish form 33 came from G52.1.

ii) Moselle and New Forest finewares

57. Moselle beaker in a similar fabric to nos. 4-5 above. Late-2nd - mid-3rd century. PW11/12.1. [AN.72].

58. (Not illustrated). Moselle beaker in similar fabric to nos. 4-5 above but with white decoration in the form of circular blobs. For an ornate example with blobs see Greene 1978, fig. 2.3, No. 10. late-2nd - mid-3rd century. Three fragments. G44.1. [AN.73].

59. (Not illustrated). Fragment of Moselle beaker in a similar fabric to nos. 4-5 above. The complete vessel was an indented beaker. PW 10.1. [AN.74].

60. (Not illustrated). Small fragment of a beaker in granular grey fabric with a dark grey colour coat and white stripes. Possibly from the New Forest and probably 4th century in date. PW 10/11.1. [AN.78].

iii) Oxfordshire Wares

61. Bowl in light orange fabric with a red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C45 (*c.*A.D.270-400). G.SF. [AN.92].

62. (Not illustrated). Dish in light grey fabric which is probably burnt and abraded Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware; cf. Young 1977, C48 (*c.*A.D.240-400+). G44.1. [AN.100].

63. (Not illustrated). Bowl in light red fabric; abraded Oxfordshire red colour coated ware. Cf. Young 1977, C70 (*c.*A.D.325-400). G46.1. [AN.101].

64. Mortarium in off-white fabric; cf. Young 1977, M18, dated by Young *c.*A.D.240-300. SF(C). [AN.76].

iv) Black-burnished ware

65. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 5 (late-2nd - early-3rd century). TT.2. [AN.104].

66. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, nos. 10 & 12 (late-3rd - early-4th century). C3.6. [AN.96]. Two other examples of Gillam 10-12 jars come from the area.

67. Flanged and beaded bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 47 (early-4th century). PW 11/12.1. [AN.85].

68. Flanged and beaded bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 48 (early to mid-4th century but see introduction above). C3.1. [AN.98].

69. Dish; PW 11/12.1. [AN.86].

v) Severn Valley Ware

70. Tankard in light brown with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, no. 42. 2nd-3rd century. PW 17/18.1. [AN.83].

71. Large jar in light orange-buff with a grey core. PW 10.1. [AN.84].

72. Large jar in orange-buff with a grey core; buff inclusions may be ground clay. SF. [AN.91].

73. Jar in light orange with a grey core. There are four burnished lines on the neck. C.14.1. [AN.93].

74. Wide-mouthed jar in grey fabric with an orange surface; cf. Webster 1976, no. 29. Late-3rd - 4th century. C12.1. [AN.94].

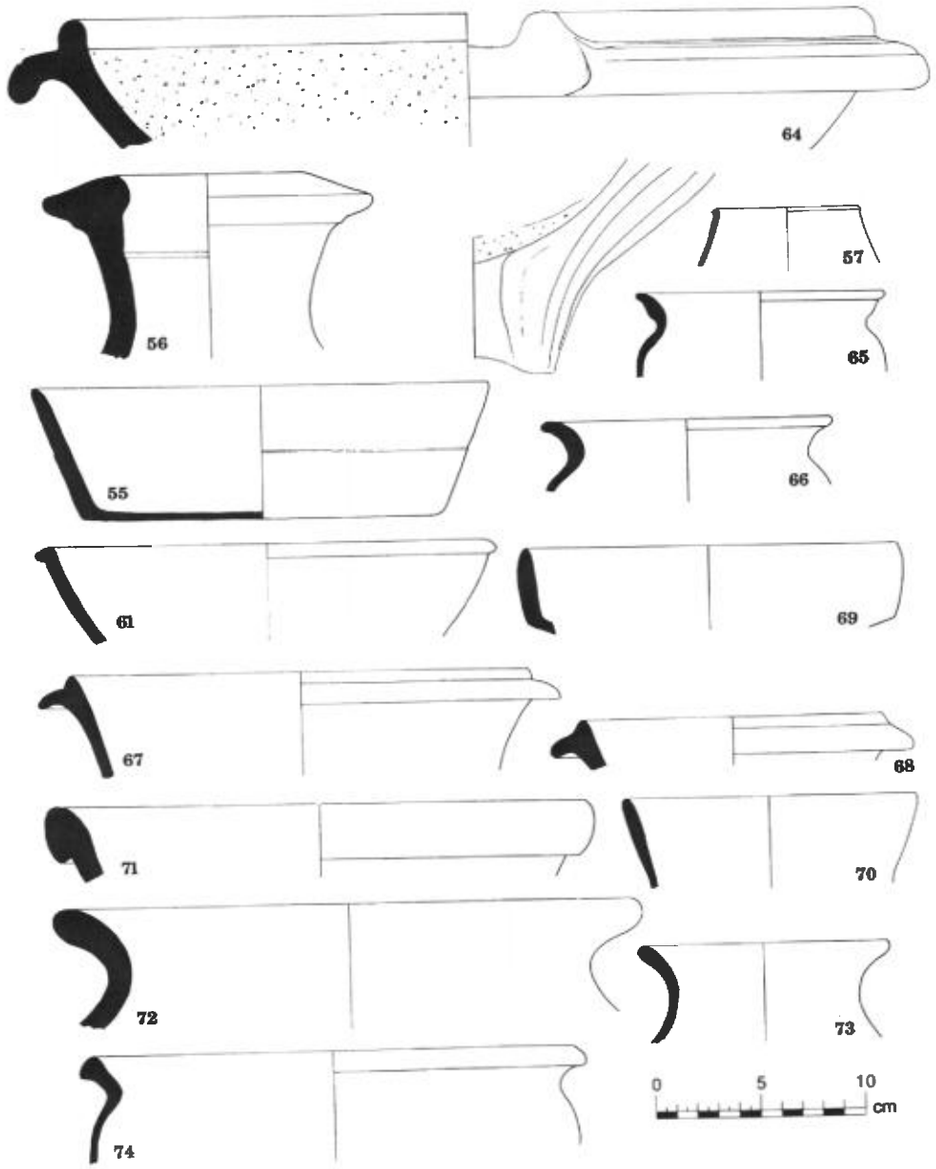


FIG.11
MAIN BUILDING: 55 Miscellaneous; 56 Amphora. PRECINCT WALL: 57 Moselle; 61-4 Oxfordshire; 65-9 Black burnished; 70-4 Severn Valley.

75. Wide-mouthed jar in orange. C11.1. [AN.95].

76. Wide-mouthed jar in orange-buff with a grey core. G46.F1. [AN.102].

77. Wide-mouthed jar in orange-buff; cf. Webster 1976, nos. 32-3. 4th century. G46.1. [AN.103].

vi) Miscellaneous fabrics

78. Beaker in light red fabric with a grey micaceous surface. Probably of a similar date to the handled beakers in Black-burnished ware, Gillam 1976, nos. 25-9. 2nd century. C4.2. [AN.89].

79. Flanged bowl in grey fabric, reminiscent of the 2nd-century Black-burnished ware series and probably of a similar date. C3.1. [AN.97].

4. THE SMALLER HOUSE Area D

a) Early contexts:

80. (Not illustrated). Similar fabric to no. 1. Enclosure A. Mid-1st century. D7.4. [AN.160].

81. Jar in Black-burnished ware, burnt orange in places; Gillam 1976, no. 3 (mid-late-2nd century). D10.4. [AN.156].

82. Flanged bowl in Black-burnished ware. One of the 2nd-century series (Gillam 1976, nos. 34-41) and probably early to mid-2nd century. D10.4. [AN.157].

83. Flanged bowl in Black-burnished ware. One of the 2nd-century series as no. 79 above. The more open lattice could be slightly later. Possibly mid-late-2nd century. D10.4. [AN.158].

b) Later contexts;

i) Samian (none illustrated)

The following Central Gaulish pieces were recovered: Form 31 or 31R (D12.1.); Form 31R (D4.5); Form 32 (D12.1a); Form 37, three examples from D6.1, one with decoration is probably later 2nd century; Form 37 rim (D12.1); Beaker, probably Form 72.

The following are probably East Gaulish: Form 31 (D3.1); form 38 (D12/1); a nozzle (D4.8), possibly from a plain flagon, although a vessel such as O&P PL. LXXXIII, 1 is not impossible. Probably later-2nd century.

All samian appears to belong to the second half of the 2nd century.

ii) Moselle, Central Gaulish, Nene Valley, New Forest and other finewares (excluding Oxfordshire).

84. Beaker in light orange fabric with grey edges and a dark grey metallic colour coat; probably a Moselle product, cf. Green 1978, Fig.2.3, 4 and Gose 1976, no. 193. Late-2nd to mid-3rd century. 5 fragments. Unlabelled but probably Area D. [AN.122]. Fragments of similar beakers come from: D18.1 and D12.1a (3 fragments).

85. (Not illustrated). Indented beaker in similar fabric to no. 81 above; cf. Greene 1978, Fig.2.3, no. 5 and Gose 1976, nos. 206-7. Late-2nd to mid-3rd century. D12.1a. [AN.123]. Fragments of similar vessels come from: D17.2, D12.1 (rim) and D12.1a (4 fragments).

86. (Not illustrated). Beaker in light red fabric with a dark grey-brown colour coat. A Central Gaulish (probably Lezoux) product, but the form will have resembled no. 81 above and a similar date range is probable. D6.1 with a further fragment possibly from a similar vessel from the same context. [AN.124].

87. (Not illustrated). A small fragment of rouletted Moselle beaker in a similar fabric to no. 81 above but with traces of white painted decoration over the colour coat. Late-2nd to mid-3rd century. D12.1a. [AN.125].

88. (Not illustrated). Fragment of New Forest beaker in fawn with a dark grey surface with an incised arc and traces of white painted decoration. Fulford (1975) shows a range of beakers with incised decoration but our piece is too incomplete to ascribe to any single type. 4th century. D11 (Pit). [AN.128). For further fragments, possibly of this vessel see no. 103 below.

89. Beaker in off-white fabric with a dark grey colour coat. From Cologne or the Nene Valley; cf. Anderson 1981, Fig.19.1, 6, Howe, Perrin & Mackreth 1980, nos. 26-30. 2nd century. D4.8. [AN.129].

90. Beaker in buff fabric with a light brown colour coat; probably from the Nene Valley and as Howe, Perrin & Mackreth 1980, no. 52. Probably 4th century. D17.1. [AN.113].

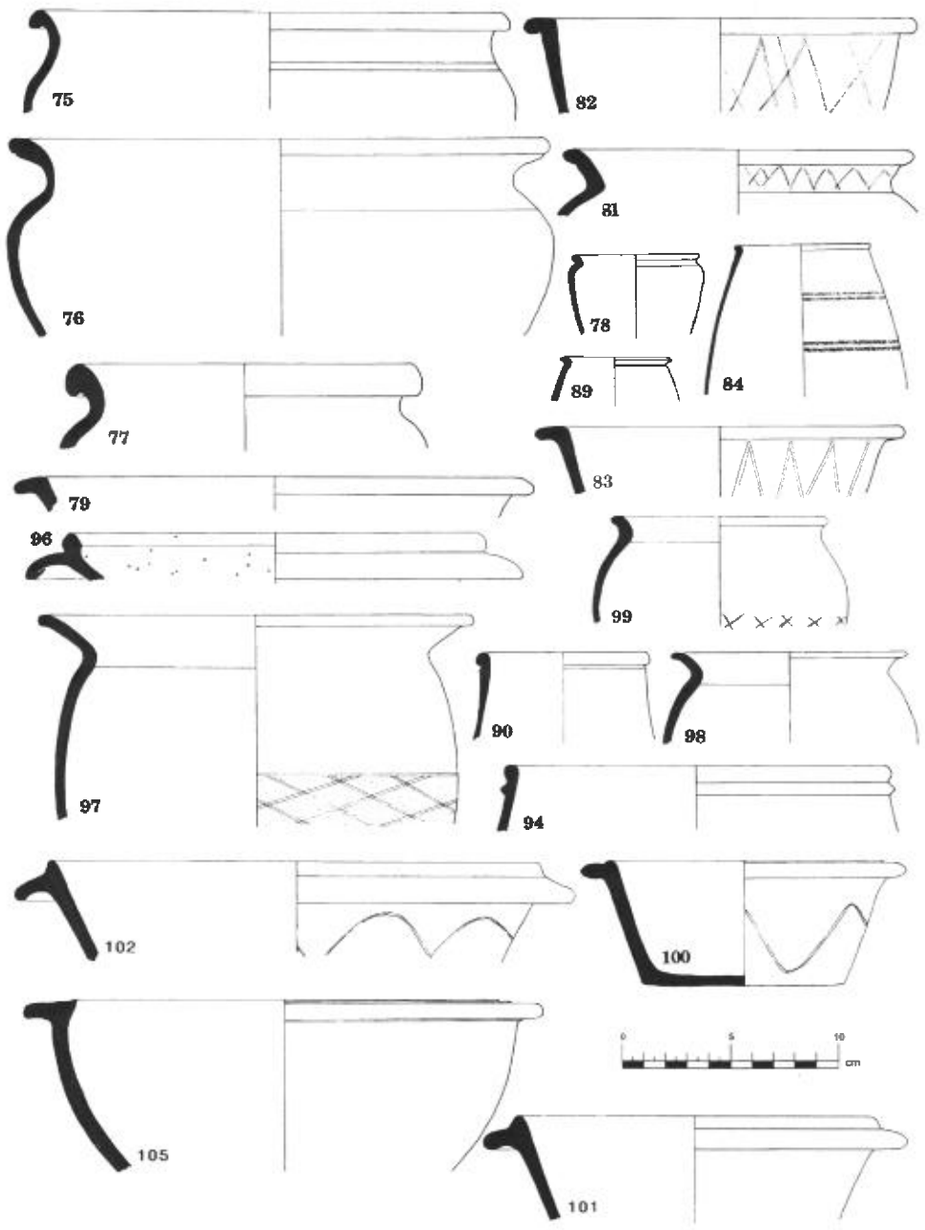


FIG. 12
PRECINCT WALL: 75-7 Severn Valley; 78-9 Miscellaneous. SMALLER HOUSE: 81-3 Black Burnished; 84-90 Finewares; 94-6 Oxfordshire; 97-102 Black Burnished; 105 Severn Valley.

91. (Not illustrated). Beaker fragments in a grey to orange fabric with a dark grey colour coat (source unidentified). D4.8 (4 fragments). [AN.130]. Other fragments in the same fabric come from D2.1 and D12.1a.

iii) Oxfordshire Ware

92. (Not illustrated). Rim in fawn fabric, probably an abraded Oxfordshire colour coated beaker. cf. Young 1977, (*c.*A.D.240-400). D4.1. [AN.133]. Other fragments of Oxfordshire colour coated beaker come from D4.1, D4.8 and D12.4.

93. (Not illustrated). Flagon neck flange in light red fabric with a light red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C8 (*c.*A.D.240-400). D6.1. [AN.110].

94. Bowl in light orange fabric with a red colour coat; cf. Young 1977, C72-3 (4th century). D4.8. [AN.115]. There is also a fragment of bowl. Young 1977, C45 or similar (*c.*A.D.240-400) from D12.1a.

95. (Not illustrated). A fragment of Oxfordshire 'Parchment' ware with a red painted stripe. Cf. Young 1977, pp. 80-91; the ware is principally mid-3rd- 4th century in date. D12.1a. [AN.127].

96. Mortarium in pink fabric with a buff surface; cf. Young 1977, M18 (dated by Young *c.*A.D.240-300). An impression on the rim may be grass. D.4.8. [AN.116].

iv Black-burnished ware

97. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, nos. 12 & 14. (early-mid-4th century but see introduction). D12.1a. [AN.118].

98. Jar; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 13 (dates as 94 above). D6.1. [AN.107].

99. The area also included the following jar forms: Gillam 1976, 1, but without the wavy-line decoration (early-mid-2nd century). D13.1. [AN.112]; Gillam 1976, 32, (mid-late-2nd century) D4.8; *ibid* 11, (late-3rd-early-4th century) D8.1; *ibid.* 12, (early-4th century), 2 examples, D7.4 & D8.1.

100. Flanged and grooved bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 44 (mid-late-3rd century). D12.1a. [AN.120].

101. Flanged and beaded bowl. cf. Gillam 1976, no. 48 (early to mid-4th century but see introduction). [AN.108]. D6.1. with a further example from CB.1.

102. Flanged and beaded bowl; cf. Gillam 1976, no. 49 (date as no. 97 above). D12.1a. [AN.121]. There was also an example of Gillam 1976 (late-3rd - early-4th century) from D4.8.

103. Dish. D12.1a. [AN.199]. There were other plain dishes from D4.8. (2 examples) and CB.1. and bead rim dishes (possibly Gillam 1976, 70, mid-late-2nd century) from G49.1. and CB.1.

v) Severn Valley Ware

104. Wide-mouthed jar in orange-buff with a grey core; cf. Webster 1976, nos. 28-9. Late 3rd - 4th century. TB.7.1. [AN.109].

105. Flanged bowl in light red with a grey core. D12.1a. [AN.177].

vi) Miscellaneous fabrics

106. (Not illustrated). Numerous fragments of a flagon in white fabric; probably from the Verulamium region; possibly 1st-2nd century. D19.2. [AN.114].

5. AISLED BARN. Area E

Later contexts:

i) Samian (none illustrated)

Sherds of Central Gaulish Form 31 (E2.1) and East Gaulish Form 38 (E.SF) are both probably mid-to-late-2nd century in date.

ii) New Forest finewares

107. (Not illustrated). Two fragments, possibly from the same vessel as no. 85 above. 4th century. E6.1 & E6.3. [AN.155].

iii) Oxfordshire Wares

108. (Not illustrated). Beaker shoulder in light orange fabric with traces of a red colour coat: cf. Young 1977, C28.1 (*c.*A.D.270-400+). [AN.153]. There is a further fragment, possibly from the same vessel from D12.1a. See also no. 12 above.

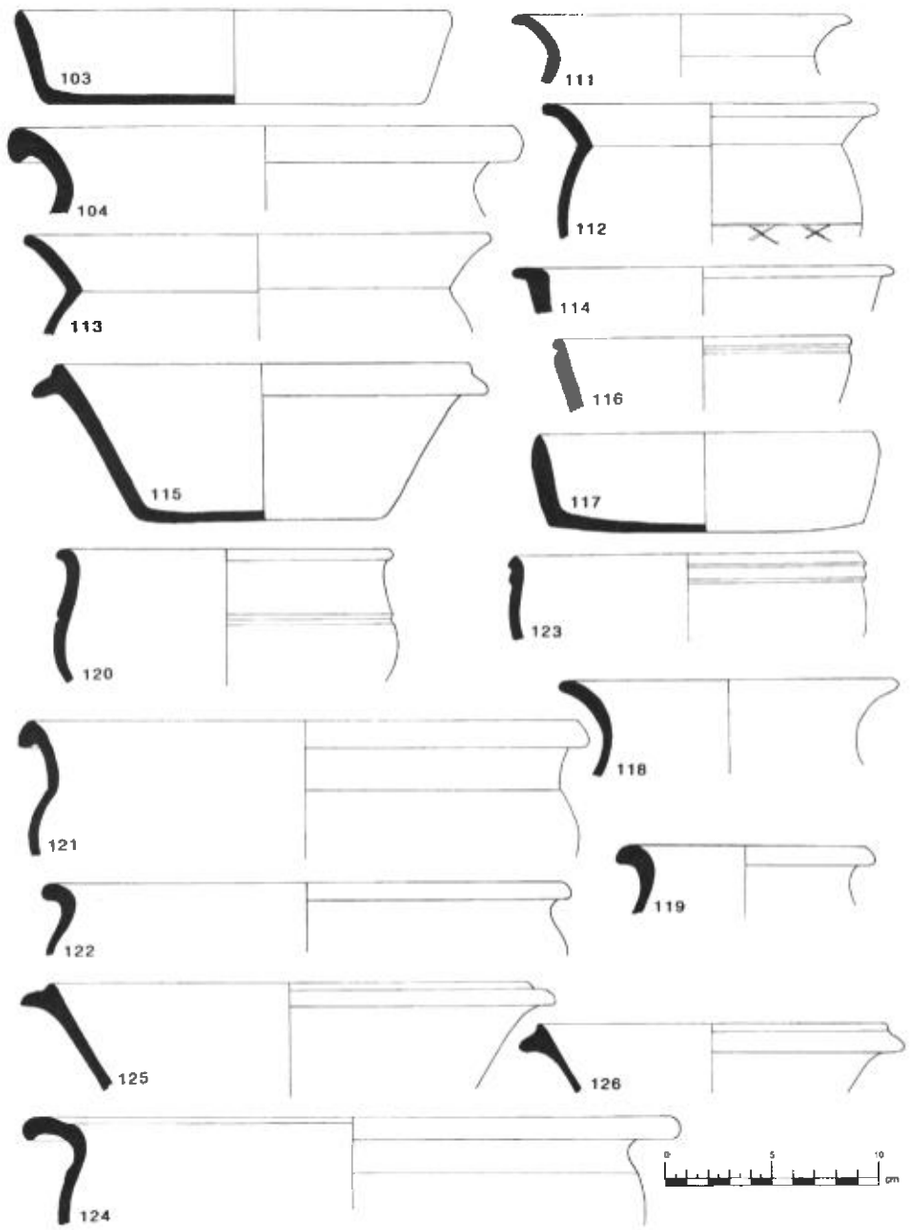


FIG. 13
SMALLER HOUSE: 103 Black Burnished; 104 Severn Valley; AISLED BARN: 111-7 Black Burnished; 118-23 Severn Valley; 124-6 Miscellaneous.

109. (Not illustrated). Base of a colour coated beaker in light pink fabric with traces of dark colour coat. E6.1. [AN.154]. Other Oxford colour coated beaker fragments come from: E6.1 (rouletted), E6.1 and E6.3 (2 fragments).

110. (Not illustrated). Mortarium in light buff fabric; cf. Young 1077, M18 (mid-late-3rd century). E4.SF. [AN.152].

iv) Black-burnished ware

111. Jar; Gillam 1976, no. 11 (late-3rd - 4th century). E15.1. [AN.136].

112. Jar; Gillam 1976, no. 10 (late-3rd century). [AN.137]. E6.3 with 2 similar vessels from E1.1 & E19.3.

113. Jar; Gillam 1976, no. 11 (late-3rd to early-4th century). E7.1. [AN.138]. Area E also contained the following jars: Gillam 1976, 7 (early-mid-3rd century) from E7.1; *ibid.*, 12-4 (4th century), 2 examples from E19.1 & E7.1.; *ibid.* 13 (early-mid-4th century) from E7.1.

114. Flanged bowl; one of the 2nd century series. A hole in the wall is presumably for a rivet. E19.3. [AN.139].

115. Flanged and beaded bowl; Gillam 1976, no. 48 (early - mid-4th century, but see introduction). E7.1. [AN.140]. There is a further flanged and beaded bowl from area E.

116. Beaded bowl; Gillam 1976, no. 52 (mid-late-2nd century). E19.3. [AN.143].

117. Straight-sided dish. E6.3. [AN.144]. There is also a further dish (possibly Gillam 1976, 84, late-4th century) from E6.1.

vi) Severn Valley Ware

118. Jar in light orange-buff with a grey core. The simple rim form was probably made throughout the manufacturing period so is of little use for dating purposes. E19.3. [AN.145].

119. Jar in orange-buff; cf. Webster 1976, no. 4 (2nd-4th century). E1.1. [AN.146]. There are at least 2 further Severn Valley Ware jars from area E (both from E19.1).

120. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange-buff fabric, possibly Severn Valley Ware. E19.3. [AN.147].

121. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange; cf. Webster 1976; nos. 27-8 (late-3rd-4th century). E6.3. [AN.148].

122. Wide-mouthed jar in light orange; cf. Webster 1976, no. 32 (4th century). E6.3. [AN.149].

123. Bowl in buff fabric, possibly Severn Valley Ware; cf. Webster 1976, no. 72 (certainly 4th century and possibly earlier). E6.3. [AN.151].

vii) Miscellaneous fabrics

124. Wide-mouthed jar in grey fabric. There are similar vessels from the Caldicott Kilns; cf. Barnett et al. 1990, no. 39 (probably late-3rd - early-4th century). E4.2. [AN.150].

125. Flanged bowl in a fabric which is allied to Black-burnished ware. Presumably late-3rd - 4th century. E6.3. [AN.141].

126. Flanged bowl in dark grey fabric. Presumably of a similar date to the closely similar forms in the late-3rd-4th century Black-burnished ware series. E6.3. [AN.142].

BRICK AND TILE

The excavator, as was common at the time of excavation, seems not to have retained more than a few samples of brick and tile. The few surviving fragments are as follows:

i) Brick. A few fragments of what may be brick, 3-5 cms. thick. Their context is unknown.

ii) Tegulae. A single tegula was retained by the excavator. It shows the semi-circular markings on the upper surface termed a 'signature' by Brodribb (1987). Semi-circular 'signatures' are by far the most common found (*ibid.* pp. 99-100). Those from Huntsham show quadruple semi-circles (not always fully impressed) and were noted as common by Bridgewater. The context of the surviving fragment is unknown.

iii) Box-tile. Fragments of box-tile survive from the following contexts: G2.2, G49.1.
One example from G2.2 appears to have been overfired and appears grey. All have combing achieved with a 7-toothed comb.

In addition there is from G2.2. a fragment of box-tile apparently cut along a considerable part of the long edge. Probably this is what Brodribb has termed a 'half-box' (1987, 65-7) probably used for damp-proofing or as an alternative to box-tile flues. Our example may have resembled Brodribb's type c (1987, Fig. 27). The tile has combing on one side produced with an 11-tooth comb (i.e. different from the other box-tiles noted).

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ADDITIONAL SAMIAN WARE AND STAMPS by B. R. HARTLEY (1992)

6. Form 37 in Rheinzabern ware. The ovolo is an uncommon one and does not seem to be represented in Ricken-Fischer 1963. First half of the 3rd century. D6.1

7. Form 38, East Gaulish, probably from Rheinzabern and 3rd century. D18.1

8. Form 30, two fragments from below the decoration. Central Gaulish, Antonine, and probably after A.D.170. DTB.7

9. Red colour-coated ware in the Oxfordshire tradition. Presumably after A.D.260. D3.1

10. Form 31 rim in East Gaulish, probably Rheinzabern fabric. Late-2nd or 3rd century. D12.1

11. Form 31 rim, Central Gaulish. Mid- or late-Antonine. D12.1

12. Rim in red colour-coated ware imitating form 31. Late-3rd or 4th century. D12.1A

13. Flagon neck, approximating to Ludowici Kc (Oswald & Pryce 1920, PL. LXXXII, 2), and perhaps from Rheinzabern. Probably 3rd century. D4.8

14. Form 32 (rather than form 38 with a plain lip) in Trier fabric. 3rd century. D12.1A

15. Form 31, with proportions similar to dishes in the Pudding Pan Rock cargo, Central Gaulish. Probably *c.*A.D.180-200. C3.5

16. Form 38 or 44 with a fragmentary stamp restorable as [CELSIAN]IF, from Die 8a of Celsianus of Lezoux. The forms associated with this die (including 31R 79 and 80), and the sites at which it is represented, both suggest activity late in the 2nd century. This is confirmed by the evidence at Lezoux, where some of Celsianus's stamps were associated with a late 2nd century workshop at the Audouart site at Ligonne. *c.*A.D.170-200. C14.1

17. Form 31(R?), probably in Trier fabric. 3rd century. C13.1

18. Form Ludowici Tg rim, Central Gaulish. Mid- or late-Antonine. C13.1

19. Form 31R, East Gaulish (Rheinzabern?). Late-2nd or 3rd century. C3.6

20. Form 31 rim, Central Gaulish. Mid- or late-Antonine. D4.5

21. Form 31 in Rheinzabern fabric. The kick is very high in proportion to the diameter of the footring and the base at the kick is 1.2 cm. thick. Typologically this is one of the latest examples of the form, and it must be 3rd century, and probably not early in the century.

Only the edge of the potter's stamp has been impressed and, though there are traces of letters, identification is impossible. G2.2 [AN.51]

Comments

The samian ware obviously all belongs to the late-2nd century and the 3rd century. It would, theoretically, be possible for all of it to have been in use in the 3rd century, with the Central Gaulish pots being survivals in use. On the whole, however, it seems more likely that the site was first occupied late in the 2nd century.

Rheinzabern was obviously the main supplier of the site in the 3rd century, and that is a normal phenomenon in the South-West. The presence of a Trier dish and another probable one is less usual in the area.

In addition, the Finds Book records a report made by B. R. Hartley at the time of the excavation:

2 and 5. Imitations of Samian form 45 with grit characteristic of the Thames Valley potteries near Oxford. Late-3rd and 4th century. G22.4

1, 3 and 4. Imitations of Samian form 38, probably also from Thames Valley. Late-3rd and 4th century. G.22.4

6. Form 33 in Central Gaulish fabric, probably from Lezoux. Certainly Antonine and probably late-Antonine to judge by the relative coarseness of the fabric and the proportions of the cup. G29.3A

[The numbering corresponds with marks on the pieces.]

MORTARIA by KAY HARTLEY (1993)

[These were sent to Kay Hartley at the time of the excavation and were mislaid for many years.]

1. D12.1. Dr. 26 cm. Young 1977, type M22. A.D.240-400.

2 D4.8. Dr. 29 cm. Young 1977, type M17. A.D.240-300.

3. D4.F1. Dr. 24 cm. Young 1977, type M18. A.D.240-300.

4. D TB.B1. Incomplete rim section; too fragmentary to type but marginally more likely to be Young 1977, type M17/18 than M22.

5. C3.1. Flange fragment. *c.*Dr. 47 cm. This could well be from a large bowl or dish rather than a mortarium. If it is a mortarium it would only fit a date *c.*A.D.100-40. The fabric is not typical for that period and diameter is unlikely.

2. PW11/12.1. Dr. 42 cm. Young 1977, type M18. A.D.240-300.

All of the fragments are from different vessels and all were made in the Oxford potteries (Young 1977).

Young 1977: Christopher J., *The Roman Pottery Industry of the Oxford Region.* B.A.R. 43, Oxford, 1977.

THE COINS by EDWARD BESLY. National Museum of Wales (1991)

Third Century issues

1. VICTORINUS, A.D.269-71. 'Radiate', reverse INVICTVS. Elmer 683; worn. find 4. E.1 (2).
2. TETRICUS I, A.D.271-74. 'Radiate', reverse SPES PVBLICA. E.764; some wear. Find 34.D.12 (1A).
3. ditto, SALVS AVGG. E.779; worn? Find 29. D.6 (2).
4. ditto, LAETITIA AVG[N/G]. E.786/7; corroded. Find 23. D.6 (1).
5. ditto, HILARITAS AVGG. E.789; slightly worn? Find 11. G.1 (2).

6. ?TETRICUS II, *c.*273-4. Uncertain reverse; corroded. D.6 (1).
7. 'Radiate', counterfeit, diameter 20 mm., 2.70g. ..]C P A V VICTORINVS P[.../PAX AVG, V - * in field, cf. E.682. *c.*A.D.270+; corroded but unworn? Find 38. D.19 (1).
8. 'Radiate', counterfeit, 14 mm., 0.93g. 'Tetricus II' / Pax Aug, V - * type. *c.*A.D.273+; very slightly worn. Find 21. D.TB. 8 (1).
9. 'Radiate', counterfeit of irregular shape, max. 15 mm. *c.*275-85; corroded. Find 35. D.12 (1A).
10. 'Radiate', counterfeit, 13 mm. 1.01g. *c.*275-85; unworn. Find 30. D.12 (1).
11. (Probable) 'radiate', counterfeit, 12 mm., irregular shape. *c.*275-85; corroded. Find 31. D.4 (8).
12. CARAUSIUS, A.D.286/7-293, in Britain. 'Radiate', PAX AVG, --//-. RIC 880; corroded but unworn? Find 7 (or 3). E.1 (2).
13. ditto, London mint, PA[X AVG] (double-struck), --// ML. [RIC 101]; unworn. Find 17. G.1 (2).
14. ditto, London mint, PAX AVG, B E // MLXXI. RIC 101; corroded. Find 3 (or 7). E.1 (2).
15. ditto, PAX AVG, holding vertical sceptre, ? // ?. Corroded, but unworn? Find 33. D.4 (8).
16. ALLECTUS, A.D.293-295/6, in Britain. 'Quinarius', VIRTVS AVG, galley, // QL?. as RIC 55; corroded. Find 20. G.18.

Fourth Century issues

17. CONSTANTINE I / BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, --// S[TR?]; cf. RIC VII, Trier 303 (*c.*A.D.321); very slightly worn. Find 36. D.17 (1).
18. CRISPUS / BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. --// STRú; RIC VII Trier 347 (*c.*322); slightly worn. Find 10. E.6 (3).
19. CONSTANTINE II, Caesar / GLORIA EXERCITVS - 2 standards type, wreath // TRS; RIC VII Trier 550 (330-5); very slightly worn. Find 42. G.23 (2).
20. ditto, but mint-mark illegible (330-5); corroded (burnt?). Find 18. G.17 (2).
21. ditto, --//T..; counterfeit, 15 mm. (330+); corroded. Find 14. G.17 (1).
22. Constantine II, Caesar? / Gloria Exercitus - 2 std., --//...; counterfeit, 12.5 mm. (330+); slightly worn? Find 25. D.4 (8).
23. URBS ROMA / Wolf and twins, // RFQ; RIC VII Rome 331 (330-5); corroded, slightly worn? Find 15. G.17 (2).
24. ditto, three pellets//SMNE; RIC VII Nicomedia 195 (330-5); corroded, little worn/ Find 40. G.21.
25. CONSTANTINOPOLIS / Victory on prow, //TRP*; RIC VII Trier 548 (330-5); very slightly worn? Find 43. G.22 (4).
26. ditto, // PLC; counterfeit, 16 mm. (330+); very slight worn? Find 19. G.1 (9).
27. CONSTANTINE II, Caesar / GLORIA EXERCITVS - 1 std., //crescentSLC; RIC VII Lyon 276 (335-7), perhaps counterfeit, 14 mm. worn. Find 12. G.1 (2).
28. CONSTANTIUS II, Augustus / GLORIA EXCERCITVS - 1 std., //[]TRP[]; cf. RIC VIII Trier 58 (337-40); unworn. Find 44. G.22 (6).
29. ditto, M//[TRPcrescent]; RIC VIII Trier 108 (340-1); corroded, unworn? Find 32. D.12 (1).
30. CONSTANS, Augustus / GLORIA EXERCITVS - 1 std., M//[TRPcrescent]; RIC VIII Trier 111 (340-1); unworn? Find 16. G.10 (3).
31. CONSTANS or CONSTANTIUS II / GLORIA EXERCITVS - 1 std., G // [ ]; Arles/Trier (*c*340-1); worn. Find 39. G.20 (2).
32. Constantius II / Fel Temp Reparatio - galley/phoenix type, // SLC; maiorina, counterfeit, 26 mm., 4.17 g.; type as RIC VIII Lyon 69 (*c.*348-50); very slightly worn. Find 22. D.10 (1).
33. Magnentius / [Sa] LVSDDN[NAug et Caes] - Christogram, // AM[ ]; counterfeit, 26 mm., 8.42 g.; type as RIC VIII Amiens 34 (*c.*351-3); unworn. Find 24. D.16 (1).
34. VALENS / GLORIA ROMANORVM, OF III // CONST; RIC IX Arles 7d / LRBC ii, 480 (364-7); worn. Find 13. G.11 (2).
35. VALENTINIAN I / SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, OF ?//?; (364-75); unworn. Find unnumbered. G.49 (1).
36. VALENTINIAN II / SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, V A //[]CON; RIC IX ARLES 19C / LRBC ii, 544 (375-8); some wear. Find 26. D.6 (1).

Uncertain

37. 'Decomposed coin': fragmentary, copper-alloy; ?late-3rd or early-mid 4th century. Find unnumbered. D.4 (8).

Anglo-Saxon

38. CNUT, AD 1016-1035; silver penny, Pointed Helmet type, *c.*1024-30; large fragment, 0.60 grams. [+C] NV - TRECXA[:] / +ÑV[RV]LFÊO[NS]TAN: (Thurulf, Stamford); North 787; unworn. Find unnumbered. D.12 (1).

For this moneyer in this type see also BMC 539 [-STAN] and SCBI 15 (Copenhagen IIIc), nos. 3669-72 - nos. 367ff. from same obverse die, and probably the same reverse die as the Huntsham specimen. At this time Stamford was an important Midlands mint. Thurulf's career spanned the reigns of Cnut, Harold I and Harthacnut, ending with the first (Pacx) type of Edward the Confessor.

THE GLASS by PETER WEBSTER (1992)

As would be expected from a site with a comparatively shallow stratigraphy which had been subjected to ploughing, the glass recovered was neither plentiful nor in large fragments. The following categories can, however, be distinguished:

a) Window Glass

Fragments from window panes in heavy blue-green glass were recovered from the following contexts:

D4.8 Twelve fragments and three further fragments possibly from this class of glass.
G22.4 Six fragments.
G23.4 One fragment.
E.1.2 One fragment.
In addition there were fragments which are probably window glass from D3.1, D12.1 and G39.2.

b) Large Blue-green Glass Bottles

The large 'square' glass bottle is usually a common find on Roman sites. At Huntsham it is comparatively scarce. Fragments were noted from only three contexts:

D3.1 Two fragments probably from the same vessel.
D19.1 One fragment.
G49.1 One fragment

c) Vessel Glass

There were fragments of approximately eleven vessels which could be classed as table ware. These have been divided by colour.

i) Blue-green Glass

There were fragments from two handles (from different vessels). These were of the so-called 'eyelet' type, formed by depositing a large blob of glass on the vessel and then pulling out a short stem of glass which is bent over and joined back to the blob to form a small handle. Huntsham examples come from G4.8 and G22.4. Both appear to be from the shoulders of bottles/flasks. The most likely reconstruction of each is at the shoulder/neck junction of a flask of 'beer-bottle' shape, Isings (1957) Form 100. A complete example from 4th-century Trier is illustrated in Cuppers et al. 1984, p. 274, no. 140. See also Charlesworth in Frere 1984, p. 169, nos. 275-7 (Fig. 68, 128-130). No other fragments of these vessels appear to have been recovered and one wonders if they had been saved for their scrap value or for some other purpose (perhaps as weights).

ii) Clear Glass

Plain slightly beaded rims from beakers come from the following contexts:

D.12.2 Two different vessels, both apparently conical in form.
D13.1 One vessel with slightly flaring walls.
D19.1 One vessel which was apparently conical but with slightly convex walls.
G23.4 The wall of a wide, slightly conical beaker.

Without further and joining wall fragments it is difficult to offer any firm reconstruction from such small pieces. However, all are totally devoid of decoration and seem most likely to fit within the wide range of late plain conical beakers. See Cuppers et al. 1984, pp. 271-2, types 52-3 and Goethert-Polaschek 1980, Abb. 17 for the range of such vessels from 4th-century Trier.

From G22.4 come two fragments of the basal section of a thin-walled, straight sided cylindrical vessel, decorated with bands of thinly incised lines (Fig...no. 2). The form of the complete vessel is not clear. A bottle as Isings (1957) form 100 is possible, as would be the late flask type illustrated by Harden (1969, PL. XII, C, left)

but the vessel thickness seems too thin for either. More likely it is a cylindrical beaker, either a tall cylinder as Cuppers et al. 1984, p. 172, no. 43, or more probably one of the range of beakers discussed by Harden and Price in the context of Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, 345-9, nos. 55-60) and dated to the 2nd and early-3rd century. A fragment from the same or a similar vessel comes from C3.6.

There are also fragments probably from two clear glass vessels from D12.1.

iii) Coloured Glass

The only fragment of coloured vessel glass noted is a small piece of amber glass from D12.1. The piece comes from a circular vessel at a point of curvature and might be the wall/base junction from an item such as a conical flask (see, for example, Bushe-Fox 1949, PL. LXVII, 367-8 for examples from Richborough).

A very decayed fragment of green glass from G28.2 is probably post-Roman.

GENERAL COMMENTS

With such a small collection, comments must, of necessity be brief. It is of interest to note the presence of glazed windows on the site and also the fact that glass does not generally seem to have been used as a material for storage vessels. The quantity of table vessels represented seems high in comparison to other glass finds but any thoughts of attributing a high social status to the site on this basis are tempered by the fact that all or most seem to be from the simpler (and presumably cheaper) end of the market.

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THE HUNTSHAM SPEAR by M. V. TAYLOR of the Ashmolean Museum, (7-6-1961). (FIG. 14.no.1)

The Huntsham spear appears to be a thrusting spear and probably, because of its weight (now 1lb.5½ozs.) used from horseback. The spurs on each side are to prevent it going in too far, so that it can be more easily withdrawn. The rivet on the inside of the broken side, 2 ins. below the spur, has no counterpart on the other side. Probably they were inserted, irregularly, to hold the metal to the wooden handle. There is no sign at the bottom of a rivet-hole for a terminal, and the extra width there is difficult to explain; it might be part of a band or ornament. The spear is very like one in Mainz Museum. see Lindenschmidt, Das roemisch-germanische Central-Museum (Mainz 1899), Taf.XIII, 14 or 23; Coussin. Les armes Romaines (1926), p. 482f., fig. 180-181, reproducing Lindenscmidt, he calls them 'throwing spears' and thought that they were used in the Late Roman army, and refers to Vegetius who calls them "Vericulum nunc verutum dicitur" (Vericulum now called javelin), and thought that they were used by the Germans originally. In the Huntsham context it appears that it was really used for hunting, not for fighting. [From the drawing, the spear measures 21 ins. (168 mm.) long overall.]

The drawing shown on Fig.14. was by Mrs. M. E. Cox and reproduced from *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961), 172 (published by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies).

THE ROMAN BRONZE SMALL-FINDS by JANET WEBSTER (1992)

INTRODUCTION

The bronze small-finds from the Roman farm at Huntsham are a small assemblage and can provide little insight into the nature and duration of the occupation.

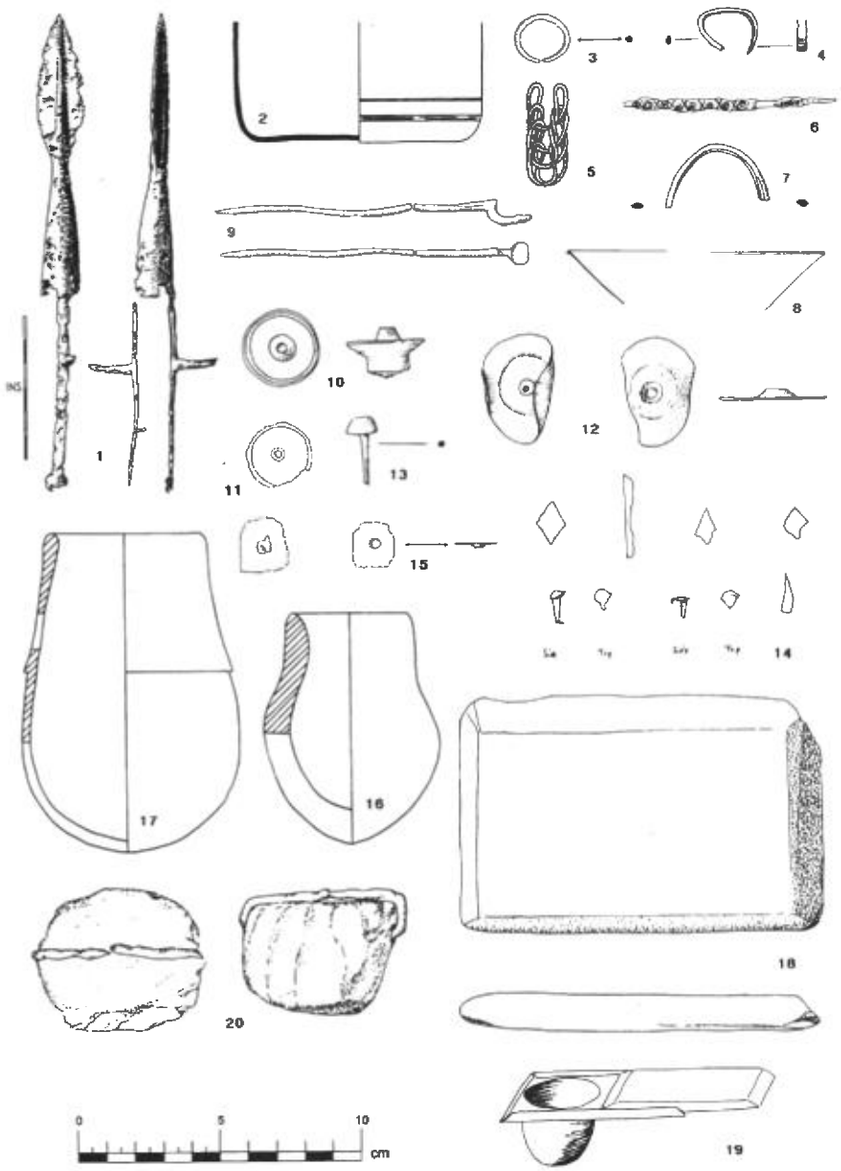

FIG. 14
SMALL FINDS. no. 1. Hunting spear, (p. 274), drawing by Mrs. M. E. Cox reproduced from *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961); no. 2. Cylindrical clear glass vessel, (p. 273); nos. 3-15. Bronze small-finds, (p. 276); nos. 16-17, Bronze-smith's crucibles, (p. 278); no.18. Apothecary's palette, (p. 278); no.19. Sketch by G. C. Boon of the palette and container. (not to scale), (p. 278); no. 20. Lead weight ? (p. 278).

The range of items is limited with, comparatively, a perhaps surprizing number of pieces of jewellery, a few domestic items and a modest number of functional studs. The absence of brooches (with the possible exception of the uncertain fragment, no. 1 (3), below) is noteworthy: it may reflect the poverty of the site at least in the first two centuries or so of the Roman era, when brooch production in Britain was intense; it may reflect the general paucity of bronze small-finds from the site; it may, indeed in part, at least, it probably does reflect the general limited availability of brooches in later Roman Britain when Huntsham enjoyed its floruit. Consistent with that floruit is the bracelet with ring-and-dot decoration, no. 4 below.

The short length of delicate chain, no. 3 below, presumably from a costly necklace, suggests a surprizing element of luxury among such a modest general assemblage but that it saw use on the site rather than formed part of a collection of scrap may be supported by the incidence of the other items of jewellery from the site. But the fragments of an inlaid box, if that is, indeed, what the items catalogued as no. 15 below, formed part of, probably represent not an extravagant luxury but scrap metal for use by the bronze-smith whose working area is evidenced at Huntsham. The high incidence of scrap metal among this assemblage is noteworthy. It may represent waste from the bronze-smith's activities but is more likely to have been re-cyclable material.

The 'bell-shaped' stud with its iron shaft, no. 9 below, is noteworthy since it is of a type mainly known from military sites. But there is nothing else among this assemblage that is of an exclusively military nature, though several other studs would not be inappropriate in either a civilian or a military context. The 'bell-shaped' stud must, therefore, remain anomalous on present evidence.

JEWELLERY

Ear-rings

1. D12.1 A small ring, approximately 1.9 cms. in diameter. The ring is broken or incomplete and, in view of the apparent tapering of one end and of the overall shape of the piece, which is rather more a double crescent than a circle, the ring may have been a simple ear-ring of Allason-Jones' Type 1 (Allason-Jones 1989 p. 2, 3, fig. 1). The ring is of rounded square cross-section. (FIG. 14. no. 3)
From the same context other items of bronze were recovered as follows:
(1) a lace tag,
(2) a small, torn strip of sheet bronze with the fragment of a border with repouss, beading,
(3) a small wedge-shaped fragment of bronze with one pronounced ribbed edge; this might be the lower part of the bow of a Roman brooch of 1st or 2nd-century date but insufficient remains for positive identification.
(4) a small, triangular fragment of sheet bronze with a tinned or silvered appearance.

2. G.35.2 A small, broken ring, now bent out of shape, of thin oval cross-section. Close to one end are a series of incised transverse lines. Perhaps an ear-ring of Allason-Jones' Type 2b (Allason-Jones 1989 p. 3, fig. 1) of which she notes a concentration in the area of the Bristol Channel. The tapered terminals are here lost, perhaps through the damage which the ring has suffered. Alternatively, the piece may, originally, have been complete and served as a finger-ring. (FIG. 14. no. 4)

Chain

3. G.21.6 A short length of double loop-in-loop chain, made of very fine bronze wire. 21 mm. long, 3 mm. wide. For the technique of construction see Higgins in Strong and Brown 1976 p. 56 and figs. 60, 61. [See FIG. 14 no. 5 for an illustration of the technique.]*

Bracelets

4. G49.1 Narrow, flat strip of bronze, of narrow rectangular cross-section, tapering to a point at one end and with none of its original edges intact.Over much of its extant length the piece is decorated with a series of ring-and-dot motifs, each set in a hexagonal panel defined by impressed intersecting lines. The decoration ends at a cross-moulding beyond which it is now partially lost, through abrasion of the surface, before resuming as an irregular line of smaller ring-and-dot motifs running towards the point. the piece is the remnant of a bronze bracelet, originally with a hook-and-eye fastening. Strip bracelets of this type were popular in late Roman Britain and a late-3rd or 4th-century date may be suggested. (FIG. 14 no. 6)

5. D8.1 A small bracelet, perhaps for a child. The piece is plain and of ovoid cross-section with a slight median arris on the outer face: it tapers towards one end, now broken, where the cross-section becomes sharply angled at the arris. (FIG. 14 no. 7)

Vessel

6. D8.1 Fragments, possibly from a thin-walled bronze vessel with a slightly thicker rim. There is little curvature to the rim and a simple 'saucepan' type vessel might be implied. (FIG. 14 no. 8)

Spoons

7. D6.1 The handle of a spoon of the type with an oval bowl and a stepped junction (see Crummy 1983 p. 69-70 no. 2014 fig. 73). The plain, somewhat curved handle, of circular cross-section, tapers to a point. Spoons with oval bowls and stepped handles are known from the 1st century A.D. (Strong 1966 p. 155 fig. 32c). (FIG. 14. no. 9)
From the same context the following items were also recovered:-
(1) a narrow, flat strip of bronze, now tapered at one end,
(2) a crescent-shaped piece of bronze, of lozenge-shaped cross-section, tapering towards the slightly everted ends.

8. G49.1 The end of a spoon handle, apparently with some spiral twist ornament. The fragment has the same characteristic curve as the last example.

Studs and Nails

9. D4.8 A 'bell-shaped' stud, of Allaon-Jones' Type 1 which is characterised by having an iron shaft (Allason-Jones 1985 p. 95-105). Allason-Jones notes that 'bell-shaped' studs can be found throughout the Roman period and that those of Type 1 served a variety of purposes and have a mainly military distribution. (FIG. 14 no. 10)

10. D4.8 The ornamental head of a circular bronze stud. Of sheet bronze with concentric ribbed mouldings at the outer edge, separated by a groove, and pierced centrally, originally by a nail or rivet. (FIG. 14. no. 11)

11. D5.F3 The head of a large, circular stud with the edges now bent back. The centre of the stud takes the form of a cone, hollowed at the back, with a flat top with a small, circular pit near the centre, perhaps designed to be pierced by a nail as there is no trace of a shaft at the rear. (FIG. 14. no. 12)

12. D4.F1 Fragments of a small, domed stud with a shank of rolled sheet bronze. Although domed studs frequently appear on Roman military sites (see Oldenstein 1976 p. 166-7 taf. 46 nos. 451-468 and Usk forth. nos. 130-133), their use is by no means confined to the military (cf. those from Gadebridge Park Roman villa, for example, Neal 1974 p. 131-2 nos. 58-61, fig. 57).

13. G13.2 A domed stud or nail with the head still retaining its ?lead packing and with a slightly bent, tapering bronze shaft of circular cross-section. (FIG. 14. no. 13)

14. D12.1A A small nail with a thick, flat head of roughly oval shape.

Miscellaneous

15. G36 Small fragments of sheet bronze, several lozenge-shaped or partially so, one with a square corner, and several in the form of narrow strips each with one straight edge and three flat-headed nails, each with its shank formed from a rolled cone of sheet bronze and with its head folded over. Possibly decorative inlay from a small box. (FIG. 14. no. 14)

16. PW10/11.1 Two small, squared pieces of heavy sheet bronze, each pierced by a rivet or nail hole, one retaining the remnant of an iron nail. (FIG. 14. no. 15)

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CRUCIBLES by R. F. TYLECOTE (28.1.1967)

G36.6 Rim of spherical crucible used for melting copper-base alloy. Wall thickness 8 mm., Diameter at rim 44 mm., length 83 mm. (FIG. 14. no. 17)

G36.3 Glazed thin-walled crucible sherds, 4mm. thick. Two pieces have a moulded flange most unlike a crucible. Good quality fabric. Unique type. Diameter at rim 54 mm., at widest girth 76mm., length 110mm. (FIG. 14. no. 16)

The nearest parallel to the crucibles represented by the two lots of sherds is that from Wakefield, described at type C 1 in Fig. 31, p. 132 (R. F. Tylecote, Metallurgy in Archaeology, (London 1962). This is a Roman type.

[The crucibles came from the bronzesmith's hearth pit in Room 7 of the Main Building.]

APOTHECARY'S PALETTE by G. C. BOON. (FIG. 14. no. 18)

Apothecary's palette, 127 x 83 12 mm., somewhat larger and less well-made than many; for an incomplete list of British finds cf. M. G. Jarrett, *Trans. Durham & Northd. Archit. & Archaeol. Soc.* xi (1958), 121-3. This example, and others, is in a micaceous green sandstone which may be of local (Old Red Sandstone) origin; others are in a variety of hard stones such as Purbeck Marble, black and red porphyry, or campan vert marble from the Pyrenees as in the case of a specimen from the Vineyards Farm Roman building on the outskirts of Cheltenham (*Trans. Bristol & Glos. Archaeol. Soc.* 109 (1991), 70 and frontispiece), a site of very similar status to Huntsham. The exotic examples are, however, most probably made from fragments of wall or furniture incrustation in many cases. The bevelled edge indicates that the palette served as a lid to a metal container (as in the sketch (FIG. 14. no. 19) from *Bonner Jahrbucher* 111/112, 401) in which pills rolled on the surface might be kept, or sticks of eye-salve (*collyria*) ready to be mixed with the appropriate medium - egg, honey, wine, milk, etc. - for application. The incidence of eye-troubles in antiquity is quite remarkable, and with special reference to Britain the subject is covered in the introduction to the appropriate section of *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* ii.4. (1992), 43-4, with references including *Britannia* 14 (1983) 1-12, 21 (1990), 275-83, and *J. Roman. Stud.* 81 (1991), 69. That the Huntsham piece may have been used to mix eye-ointments in sticky or drying media is suggested by an area in the middle of the face, where adherent matter has evidently been scraped off to the detriment of the polished surface around. G24.2.
[FIG. 14. no. 18 shows the palette and no. 19 the container as sketched by G. C. Boon.]

MISCELLANEOUS SMALL FINDS

Kimmeridge Shale. Base of bowl. Diameter 95 mm. D4.8.
Jet bead. Plano-convex, 2 holes, 15 mm. long. D5.4.
Three Bone Pins. Two with round flat heads, 7 mm. and 4 mm. diam., both 77 mm. long. One with globular head, 7 mm. diam., 71 mm. long. All from D12.1A.
Lead Objects. Spindle whorl. Flattened bell shape, 22 mm. diam. Hole 9 mm. D4.8.
Piece of lead pipe. 35-40 mm. long. 20 mm. diam., 10-2 mm. internal diam. D4.8.
Lead weight? Cast with an iron loop. 50-5 mm. diam., 32-40 mm. depth. Weight 730 grammes. G24.2. (FIG. 14. no. 20)
Small lead hook, rivet and small strip. D1A.2.

QUERNS and MILLSTONES

None were kept or drawn but 2 and 7 are shown in excavation photographs and the size of 2 can be estimated from a ranging pole. The measurements of 7 were recorded in the Log Book. The terms may have been used interchangeably, e.g. 7, which by its size must have been a millstone. Seven millstones were found at the Kenchester villa site just outside the town of *Magnis* where there was evidence that a water-mill may have been used. The possibility that a water-mill on the river Wye at Huntsham may have dated from this period is discussed in the appended Note (p. 280).

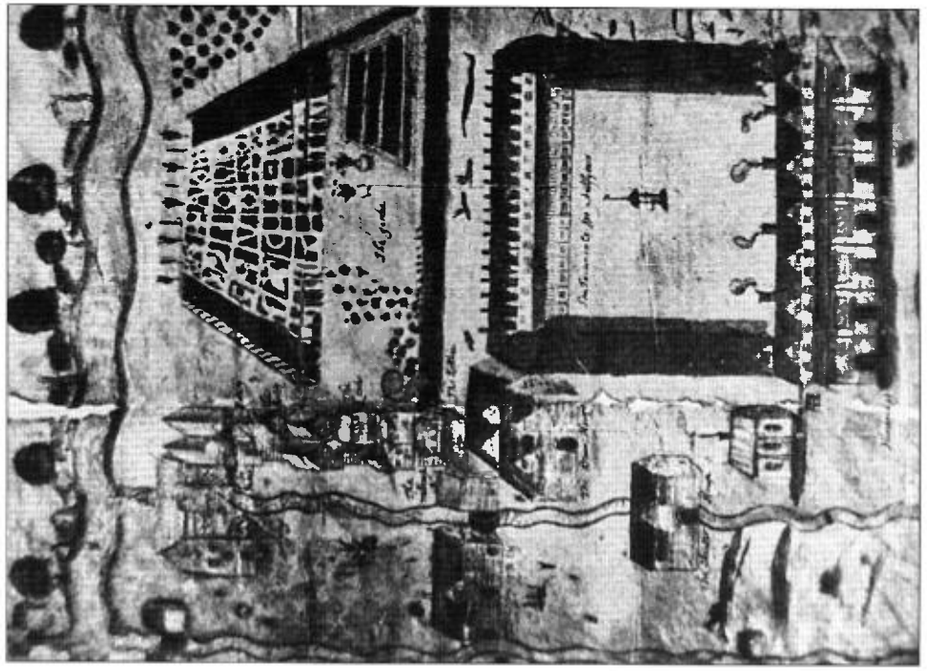
1. Aisled Barn. 'Part of a grooved sandstone millstone'. E2.1.
2. Smaller House. A complete thin, flat quern stone *c.*38 cm. diam. Outside the W. wall. D12.2.
3. 'A piece of quern' used in the footings of the corridor. D5.3.
4. Main Building. 'Portions of quern'. Room 4 or 9. G13.2.
5. 'Part of a millstone' described as of millstone grit. Near the stokehole in Room 4. G18.2.

XXII — A view taken *c.*1980 looking across the great pool which separates the two medieval sites at Bredwardine.

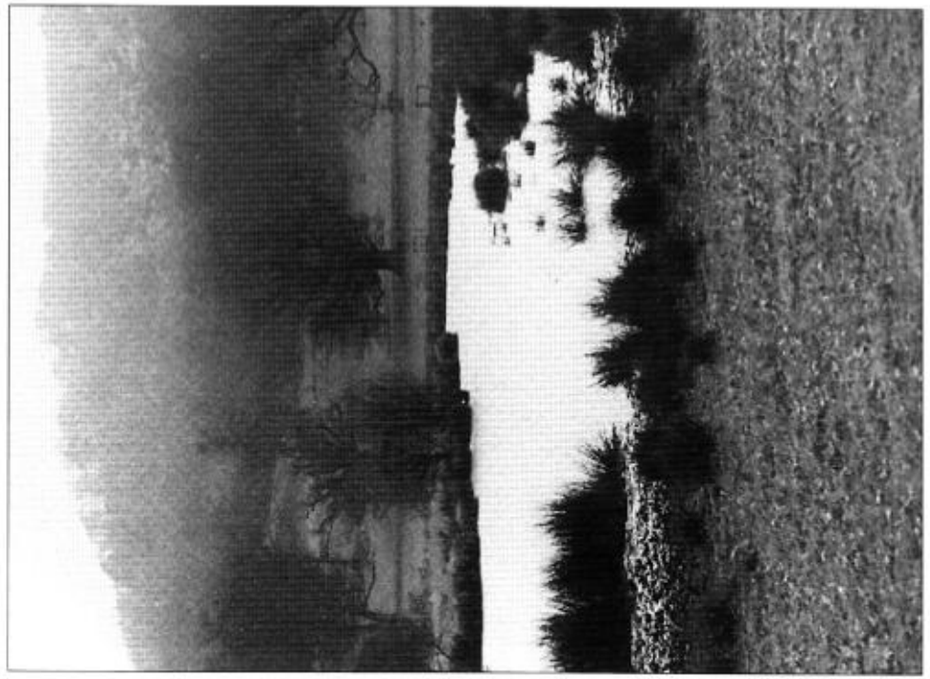
XXIV — Brampton Bryan Park in September 1995 looking north west across the lawns towards the upper park.

XXV — **The garden moat** at Lower Brockhampton. Photographed in 1990 from the south west.

XXVI — Summer house built of medieval fragments standing on the south wall of the cloister at Wigmore Abbey, photographed in *c.*1975.



XXVIII — Rowland Vaughan's 'commonwealth' in the Golden Valley, Herefordshire from the frontispiece of the 1897 edition of *His Booke*.



XXIII — Moccas Park looking across the frozen Lawn Pool in November 1993 towards the upper park.

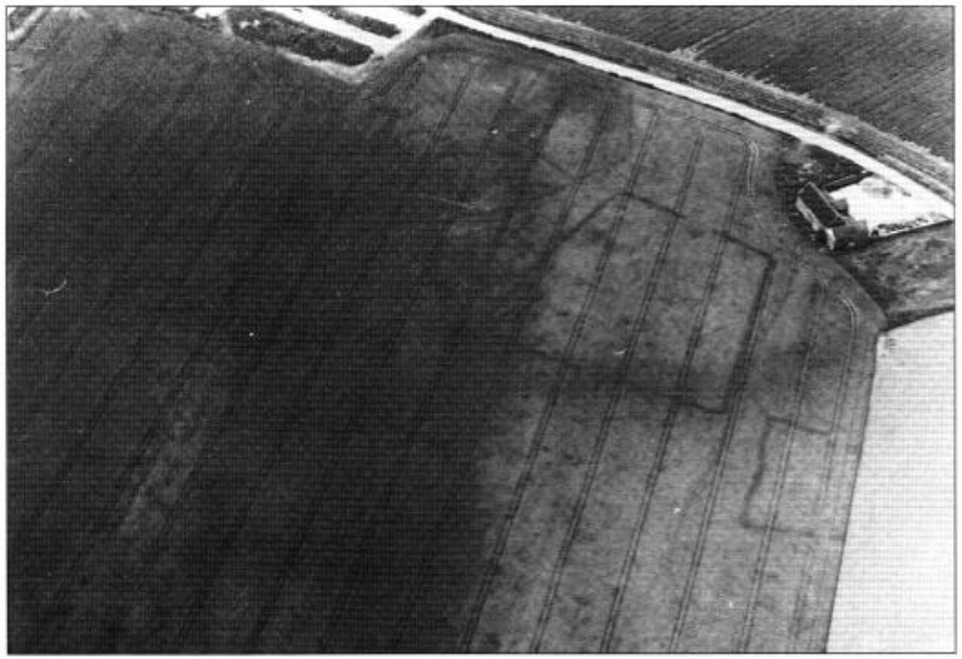
XXVII — The new house at Wormsley Grange hidden by trees on the left with the site of the monastery and fishponds below the cedar on the right. Photograph taken from the south west *c.*1974.

XXIX — Earthworks adjoining the Slough Brook below the White House, photographed in *c.*1976

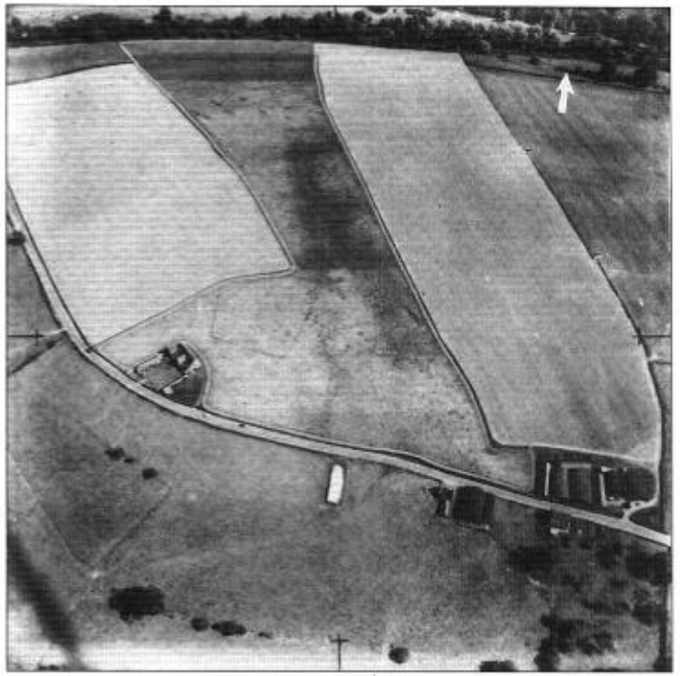
XXX — Freen's Court and its water garden depicted on Lord Coningsby's map of the manor of Marden in *c.*1720.

XXXI — Winter flood water from the river Lugg filling the remaining ponds at Freen's Court in *c.*1980.

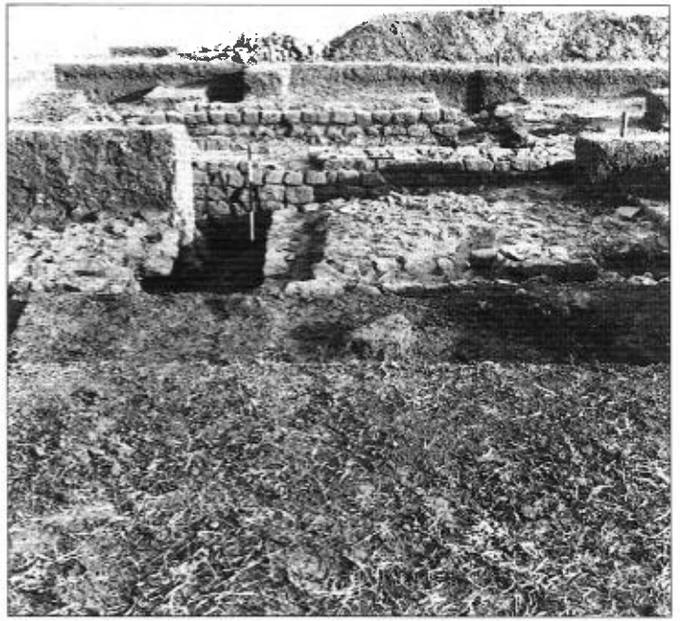
XXXII — A water-colour of *c.*1800 showing the remains of the late 17th-century formal gardens at Holme Lacy and the fishpond, after the early 18th-century improvements. (*With kind permission of the Lord Bishop of Hereford*).



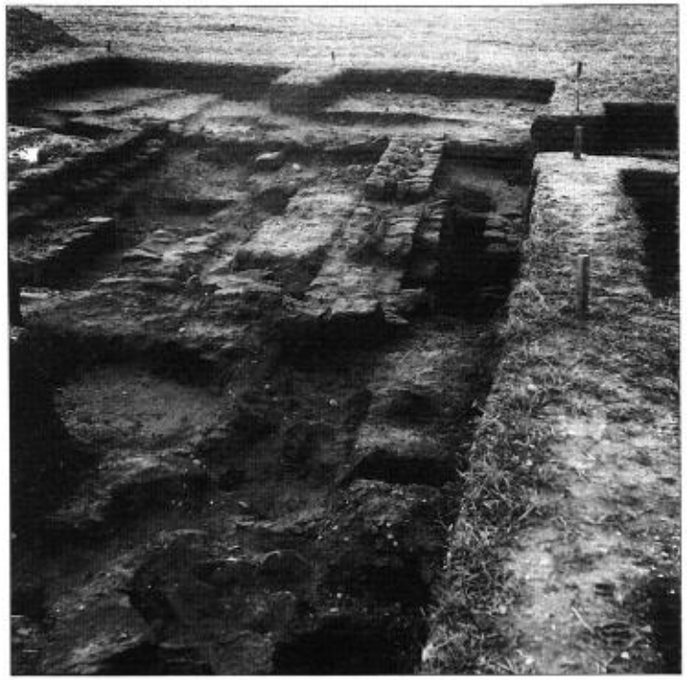
XXXIV — Huntsham showing Iron Age enclosures 1989 (Mark Walters). The hedges have gone and none of the villa buildings can be seen.



XXXIII — Huntsham villa site 1956 (W. A. Baker). The four parallel lines of the barn foundation ditches can just be seen near the top right of the large Enclosure A. The river Wye crosses the top of the photograph and the arrow shows the mill leat marked by a line of trees and bushes.



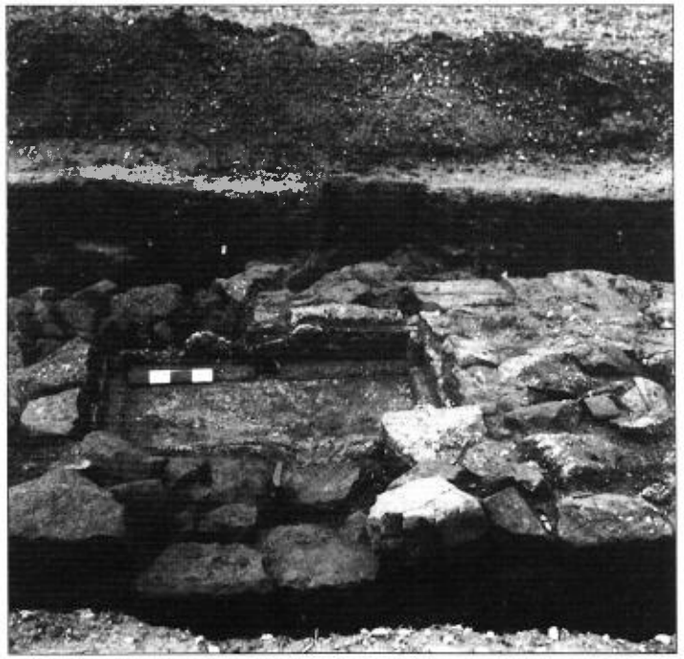
XXXV — Huntsham. Main Building from the west. The ranging rod marks the cross flue of the kiln in Room 1 with Room 3 behind it.



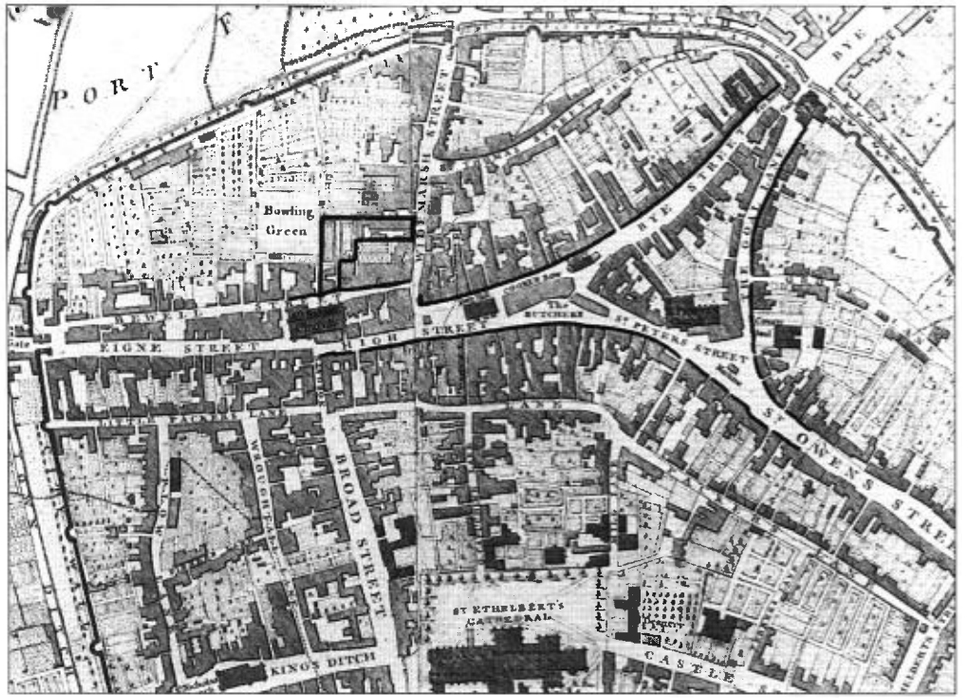
XXXVI — Huntsham. Main Building looking south. Room 3 is left of the centre wall. Note one post-hole beyond the cross flue in Room 1 and another in Room 2 just showing in the centre foreground.

XXXVII — Huntsham Aisled Barn. Looking east from south west corner showing pitched stones in deep foundations.

XXXVIII — Huntsham Aisled Barn looking south down the west kiln flue. Note east tank in the centre.

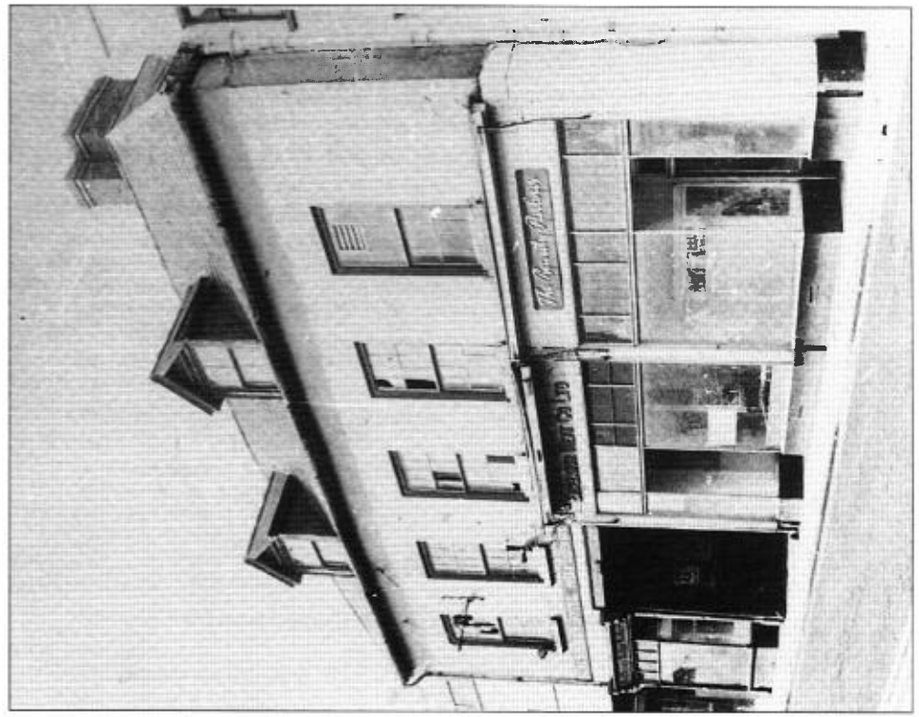


XXXIX — Huntsham Aisled barn looking west. The east tank showing outlet and drain beyond. Kiln flue in foreground.

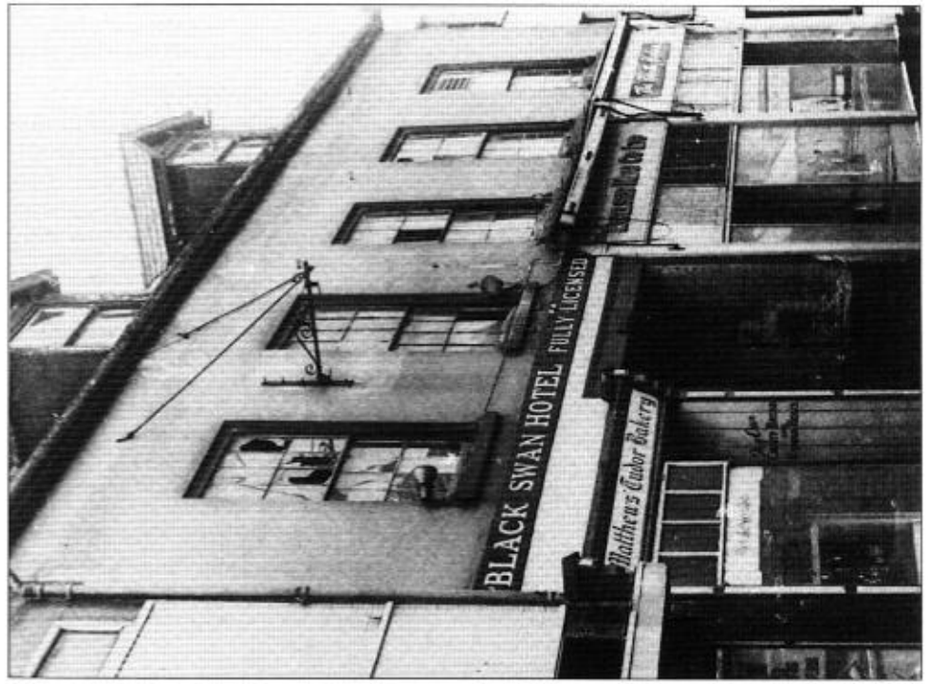


XL — Location of the site and extent of the market, superimposed on Taylor's map of 1757.

XLIII — The rear galleried range of the Black Swan Inn.



XLII — The 18th-century façade of the Black Swan Inn.



XLI — The 18th-century façade of the Black Swan Inn.

6. 'The complete upper half of a millstone'. Room 9. G14.2.
7. 'A very large quern portion' recorded as 31 ins. (84 cm.) diam. and 4 ins. (10 cm.) thick. Room 5. G22.2.

Note provided by D. G. BUCKLEY, Essex Archaeology Department.

Although it is generally assumed that querns and millstones were used for milling flour there are various other products which were probably milled as well. These include malted grain, pulses, beans, mustard etc.

An increasing number of sites have produced a small number of stone pieces which have large diameters and are very thick. These can only be described as millstones, turned mechanically by man, animal or water. In South East England many of these are of Millstone Grit almost certainly deriving from the north of England, whilst those from the South West are in a range of sandstone types. Millstones probably reflect a more commercial level of milling activity.

The following sites in the South Wales-Severn estuary region have produced large pieces of stone described as millstones:

Chedworth, Kingscote, Frocester, Woolaston - Glos.
McWhirr, A., *Roman Gloucestershire.* (1981).

Caerleon, Caerwent, Usk, Whitton - Gwent and Glamorgan.
(Welfare, A., in 'The Milling Stone,' in Jarrett, M. G. and Wrathmell, S., *Whitton, an Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan,* (1981).

IRON FINDS

These have deteriorated too badly since excavation for any report to be made.

IRON ORE and SLAG

Samples of Goethite were kept from D13.1, D7.1F2 and G19.2.
Slag from a tuyere hole was kept from P/W 11/12.

BONES. Identified by FELICITY TAYLOR

The assemblage of animal bones retained is far too small to be considered representative. Nothing useful can be said except that they were from cattle, sheep/goat, pig, horse (small), deer and hare.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Green clay and Green 'Mortar': Three samples were sent to the Petrographical department of the Geological Survey and Museum, London in 1963. The report is used here.

'SAMPLE A: Lining of underground water tank, Building E. [The Barn] This is a pale grey-green clay. The colour is probably due to the presence of finely disseminated chlorite. Green clays of this sort are found in the Tintern Sandstone Group of the Upper Old Red Sandstone. This group of rocks outcrop on the south side of Huntsham Hill.'

'SAMPLE B: from bowl shaped pit in Building G.' [Feature next to Stokehole in Room 4 of Main building.] 'The sample appears to be an iron-stained mixture of sand and clay similar to Sample A. The iron staining is probably due to percolating water which may have occurred after the site was abandoned, as it seems to follow tubes running through the matrix. These are almost certainly moulds of plant rootlets'.

'SAMPLE C: Mortar from trough in Building G. [Green mortar in Room 3.] Again the green colouration is due to chlorite. The chlorite occurs in easily recognisable flakes, which may be observed with a hand lens.'

Concrete: Lime with gravel aggregate up to 1.2 cm. showing the floor-surface coloured pink with crushed particles of brick or tile. Main Building, Room 2 pit. G16.2.
From the same pit, concrete with gravel aggregate up to 3 cm.
From Room 8, with gravel aggregate up to 1.5 cm. G27.4.

Mortar: Samples were retained from the wall between Rooms 1 and 3, Main Building.

Wall Plaster. Two fragments which together cover less than a square inch. Pink. Room 3. G2.2. Main Building. One other piece, unmarked.

Four Limestone Columns now at Huntsham Court. (Only one was measured but they appear to match.) Shaft 135 cm., Capital 38 cm. deep, Pedestal 30.5 cm. deep, Circumference above pedestal 140.5 cm., below capital 114.5 cm.

APPENDED NOTE. A POSSIBLE ROMAN WATER MILL. by Elizabeth Taylor

In the summer of 1992 the site of a weir and mill leat on the river Wye at Huntsham was visited by Dr. A. Brian and myself. Water mills and weirs on the rivers Wye and Lugg were ordered by Act of Parliament to be destroyed in 1698 in order to make the rivers navigable. In 1697 a detailed survey was made by Daniel Dennell, an experienced water engineer, who noted all the obstructions. These included: 'Old-Wear. Here is little or no appearance of a wear. There is a considerable depth of water, the stream is here divided in two parts, and with little difficulty may be reduced into one body...'[1]

The site of Old Wear was located at SO 568171 by the field names, Old Weare and Byfield shown on a Courtfield Estate map of 1830. Originally the leat had cut straight across an outward curve of the land thus creating an island, but following the survey the river had been 'reduced into one body' by blocking off the leat which can still be clearly seen. (PL. XXXIII shows part of the leat marked by bushes and trees beyond the hedge at the top of the right hand field.)

From the upstream end of the leat the diagonal line of the weir could be seen as a riffle in the river caused by the stones which had also been carried downstream for a considerable way. In the shallow edge of the river some of the larger stones showed above the water and were seen to be roughly dressed in the same way as the foundation courses of the villa buildings. More of these dressed stones could be felt by hand below the water well out into the river. Stone is so readily available close to the river on the E. bank that it would seem unlikely that these would have been robbed stones brought all the way from the villa. The 1697 survey noted that a weir at Hereford was 'built of stone laid by masons, and is the first wear from the mouth of the river that is soe built.'

As there was 'little or no appearance of a wear' in 1697 the mill for which the weir and leat were made must have originated a very long time before. A search of deeds, leases, court rolls and inquisitions post mortem on the lands of the lords of Goodrich has found no mention of a mill at Huntsham between the late 17th century and 1296. The manor had only one mill, sited on the tributary river Garren. Positive evidence for the non-existence of a mill at Huntsham comes in the time of Henry II when a mill at castle Godric was given to the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester 'with suit and milling of the whole vill of castle Godrici except the milling of the castle itself and with suit and milling of the whole vill of Hondsum [Huntsham]...'[2] On the Wye, weirs were built for the purpose of making fisheries and fisheries with weirs are included in the early extents of the manor. A fishery but no mill is recorded in the Domesday Book entry for Goodrich.[3]

Fishery weirs were used on the Wye long before the Norman conquest; the Llandaff charters mention weirs at Dixton in 735 A.D., at Chepstow in 722 and no fewer than 4 at Llandogo in 698. In about 575, one of the earliest charters includes a 'iaculum' across Wye in the grant of the mainaur [estate] of garth benni.[4] *Cassells New Latin Dictionary* gives two meanings: (1) a javelin, (2) a casting net. The *Medieval Latin Word-List* (OUP) gives

jaculum - ferry as a 12th century Welsh usage but adds that it is of doubtful meaning or form. The combination of the casting net connection with fishing from classical Latin and the 12th-century connection with something going across a river, might, in the 6th century, have meant a weir used for a fishery. The mainaur of Garth Benni was identified with Welsh Bicknor in 1893[4] but modern thinking prefers an identification with Huntsham.[5]

The possibility that a weir was in use as a fishery in 575 at Huntsham makes a strong case for the weir with its dressed stones being of the Roman period and that it was built to serve a mill on the leat which seems to have had no use since that period.

REFERENCES

[1] Dennell, D., *A Survey of the Rivers of Wye and Lugg*. Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 21567.
[2] Hart, W. H. (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petre, Gloucestriae*. 1, p. 316 CCLXXXVII (RS 33, 1863).
[3] Thorn, F. & Thorn, C., *Domesday Book* 'Hulla', 1.60, (1983).
[4] Evans, J. G., *The Book of Llan Dav* (1983), 72.
[5] Davies, Prof. Wendy, Pers. Comm. 1978. and Rollason, Lynda, Boundaries of the Herefordshire Charters of the Book of Llandaff, (Univ. Birm. Dissertation, 1975) pp. 10-25.

Two Herefordshire Minsters

By J. W. KING

The objects of this paper are:

1. To endeavour to identify the bounds of the *parochia* (or parish) of each of the minsters of Ledbury and Stoke Edith.

2. To contrast the later development of each minster and its *parochia* (or indeed its disintegration). Dr. John Blair comments that 'by the 12th century one old minster might be a great abbey ..., another a mere parish church.'[1] While Ledbury and Stoke Edith are both now only parish churches, the contrast between Ledbury's impressive church and Stoke Edith's small church is striking.

Ledbury and Stoke Edith churches are each recognised as having originally been founded as minsters.[2] Indeed, it has been suggested that in some cases the termination 'bury' to place-names belonging to the sites of known minsters, such as Ledbury and Bosbury, is not used in the sense of its primary meaning of 'an enclosed place,' but with a secondary meaning of 'minster' because old enclosures were considered to be natural and normal sites of minsters.[3]

It is generally accepted that, before the 10th and 11th centuries, pastoral care of the people of Anglo-Saxon England, below diocesan level, was provided by a network of minsters.[4] The expression 'mynster' and its Latin form '*monasterium*' could originally be used for any religious establishment with a church; in the 10th century, however, a firm line was drawn between regular monasteries on the one hand, and, on the other, houses of secular clerics not living according to a monastic rule but living as a community; these are sometimes called 'mother churches' or, as a form of shorthand, 'minsters.'[5] For clarity, it is the accepted usage to call the area served by a minster and its community, its '*parochia,*' to distinguish it from the parishes of manorial churches into which its *parochia* was subsequently divided.[6] Minsters were the bases from which the clergy set out on their pastoral tour of the *parochiae* for various purposes, including pastoral care.[7]

Blair gives six criteria by which minsters may be identified in *Domesday Book*[8] and these also serve to identify the original *parochia* of a minster. *Domesday Book* records that there were two priests at Stoke Edith in 1087;[9] and at Ledbury, while only one priest is recorded, he held the large estate of 2½ hides;[10] the Domesday Commissioners were more concerned with land holdings than landholders and the 'one priest' might in fact have been the dean of the college of priests at Ledbury.[11] Both churches are subsequently recorded as having portionary rectors.[12] The history of the portioners of Ledbury has been traced by Archdeacon A. J. Winnington-Ingram.[13]

Two factors are important in identifying the boundaries of a minster's *parochia:*

1. Minsters founded in the middle Saxon period tended to have extensive and topographically coherent *parochiae* in contrast to the smaller fragmented parishes possessed by later manorial churches. They were often coterminous with middle Saxon land units and the

landscape of the Anglo-Saxon church if known to have largely mirrored that of secular society.[14]

2. Ancient boundaries, particularly those of rural parishes, tended to be stable over a very long period; it is only in the past 150 years that there have been substantial boundary changes. Consequently, it is safe to assume that parish boundaries shown in the tithe maps of about 1840 are very ancient and that they record boundaries existing in the 12th century and earlier.[15]

While minsters were not founded only by kings and bishops, the evidence examined below points to the conclusion that Stoke Edith minster was founded on a royal Mercian estate and that the bounds of its *parochia* were coterminous with the bounds of that estate. Likewise Ledbury minster was founded on one of the estates of the bishop of Hereford; it will be contended that the original bounds of the *parochia* of Ledbury minster were coterminous with those of one of the bishop's estates. It is suggested that one can ignore the fact that, in 1087, part of what was in Ledbury parochia was in Winstree hundred and part in Radlow hundred; according to Blair 'it is clear that 10th-century hundreds were refashioned from older territories. But refashioned they were: alongside ancient features they show marks of rationalisation and division.'[16]

LEDBURY PAROCHIA

The original extent of Ledbury *parochia*, as proposed on the plan so entitled, can be partially reconstructed from indications (other than topographical) that Ledbury Church was the mother-church of various churches in its vicinity, thus:

1. In *Valor Ecclesiasticus* Aylton, Pixley and Park are all listed in 1528 as chapels annexed to the parish of Ledbury.[17]

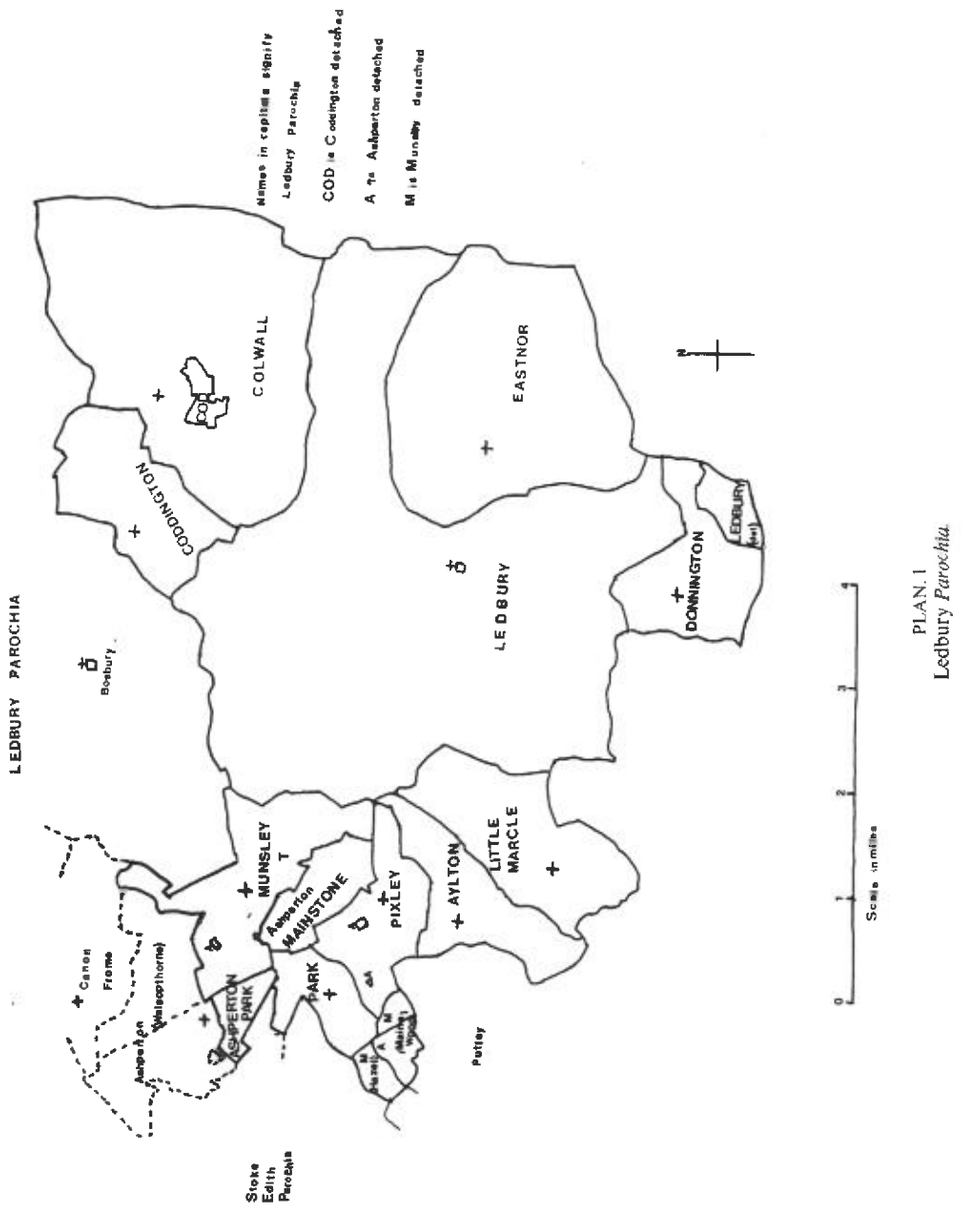
2. Parishioners of the same three parishes and also of Donnington and Little Marcle (whose priest in 1528 was called 'a curate') had to be buried at Ledbury until about 1735. All ancient minsters were very insistent (when they were able) in retaining this right in order that they might continue to have the right to be paid the mortuary payable to the minster before a body was buried.[18]

3. The presentation of a priest to the churches of Aylton, Donnington and Park was either by or with the approval of the portioners of Ledbury.[19]

4. The parishes of Aylton, Donnington, Pixley and Park made annual payments at Martinmas in the form of a load of grain normally charged per taxable hide, to the vicar of Ledbury; these payments are identifiable as church scot (or first fruits).[20]

5. On consecration of the church of Coddington between 1148 and 1163, Bishop Gilbert Foliot ordered that a pension of two shillings yearly should be paid by Coddington to the rectors of portioners of Ledbury.[21]

6. Two thirds of the great tithes of Aylton and Eastnor were payable to the portioners of Ledbury.[22] In the late Anglo-Saxon period, under a law of King Edgar, all tithes from the *parochia* of a minster were payable to the minster, except that where a manorial church had its own graveyard, one third of the tithes of its parish could be paid to the priest of



PLAN 1
Ledbury *Parochia*

that church, the other two thirds still being paid to the minster.[23] It seems, therefore, that when Eastnor Church was established, this principle was followed; but it is not clear why at Aylton one third of the tithes were paid to the priest of Aylton when, until 1735, no burials were allowed there, nor why the minster took no tithes from the other parishes outside Ledbury parish, unless this was by the specific order of the bishop, in defining the mutual rights and obligations of minster and parish church as mentioned below.

Subsequent to the conquest, the process, which probably had already started, of breaking up the *parochia* of Ledbury between manorial churches and chapels, continued. As has been shown above, the parishes or chapelries of Aylton, Coddington, Donnington, Eastnor, Park and Pixley were all formed out of the *parochia* of their mother-church of Ledbury, certainly by the time of Bishop Thomas of Cantelupe (1278-1282) as is shown by institutions recorded in his register.

It seems that by 1135, on the establishment of a new manorial church, the bishop insisted on an exact definition of the rights of the old minster and of the new church.[24] From the differences of the rights which Ledbury portioners or their vicar had over the various churches in their *parochia,* it seems that there was no single formula and these rights and obligations can only be deduced from the rights subsequently recorded, particularly in tithe awards; the only actual record of such a definition in Ledbury *parochia* is that ordered by Bishop Gilbert Foliot (1148-63) upon the consecration of Coddington Church.[25] And it seems that, in some cases, a manorial church was entirely freed from dependence on the minster without any recompense to the minster, perhaps because the bishop felt benevolently to his new church (e.g. Colwall discussed below) or perhaps the lord who had established the new church was too powerful (perhaps Munsley also discussed below).

In addition to the parishes already mentioned, topographical considerations suggest that both Colwall and Munsley were also originally daughter churches of Ledbury and in its *parochia,* but no documentary evidence for this proposition has been found, except that both parishes used to attend at Ledbury Church on the occasion of the bishop's visitations[26] which argues for an ancient connection with Ledbury. Colwall (which is not recorded in *Domesday Book* as having a priest) is hemmed in on the N. and E. by Worcester diocese and on the S. and W. by other parts of Ledbury *parochia;* furthermore, the tithe maps of Colwall and Coddington show part of Coddington forming an 'island' within Colwall, suggesting that both parishes formed part of one estate and *parochia* originally.

Therefore, from what has been said above, the eastern and southern boundaries of Ledbury *parochia* were clearly the eastern boundaries of Colwall, Ledbury and Eastnor parishes and the southern boundaries of Eastnor, Ledbury (detached-Haffield), Donnington and Little Marcle parishes.

Apart from the argument derived from the bishop's visitations, Munsley (which also is not recorded in *Domesday Book* as having a priest but whose priest in 1528 is called 'a curate') and the westerly boundary of Ledbury *parochia* are more of a problem, until considered in conjunction with Park chapelry and the numerous 'islands' (shown in the tithe map as belonging to Ashperton) in or adjoining Pixley and Munsley. In *Domesday Book*

both Park and Mainstone (the latter shown as part of Ashperton in the tithe map) appear as part of Munsley;[27] Mainswood, which in 1840 was split between Munsley and Ashperton, from its name must be the wood of Mainstone and therefore included in the *Domesday Book* entry for Mainstone, that is in Munsley. Reference to the plan of Ledbury *parochia* shows that Munsley, Mainstone, Mainswood and Hazel (in Munsley) naturally form a coherent block of property. But, apart from the medieval evidence in the bishop's registers which places Park chapelry in Ledbury *parochia,* a patent roll of 1550 described Park as being in Ledbury parish, as do deeds of 1562 and 1563;[28] if then Park was in Munsley but also in Ledbury, then the whole of Munsley must have been in Ledbury *parochia* and was presumably once part of the bishop's Ledbury estate.

There is evidence of the bishop's proprietary interest in the parishes and manors of Aylton and Pixley. In 1278 Bishop Thomas de Cantelupe collated a priest to the living of Pixley;[29] he could only have this right from an original proprietory interest. As to Aylton, although *Domesday Book* does not record this manor as one of the bishop's manors, an Inquisition *post mortem* in 1456 records that Aylton was held of the see by socage.[30] Yet neither of these parishes appear in *Domesday Book* as in the hundred of Winstree (as do Ledbury, Bosbury and other of the bishop's manors) but in Radlow hundred. How much of Radlow hundred was formerly part of the bishop's estate and not restored after the conquest, as were Coddington, Colwall and Hazel in Ledbury? Could there have been more extensive usurpations of the bishop's estate by Harold Godwinson (later King Harold II) than is recorded in *Domesday Book*?[31] It may be that because Bishop Aethelstan (1012-1055) was blind from about 1042 that he was unable to look after the estates of the see properly but that Bishop Walter of Lorraine (1060-1079), not being a Saxon, was more successful and even succeeded in recovering part of the lost estates.

As to the two small 'islands' within Pixley and one within Munsley which the tithe map places in Ashperton, these look very much like small parcels of land which, before the original estate and *parochia* was broken up, either belonged to Mainstone or to another tenant whose main estate lay near Ashperton Chapel. The lord of Monmouth, who in 1087 held both Mainstone and Ashperton, would have insisted on his tenants worshipping in Ashperton Chapel; this would account for the fact that after 1087 Mainstone was treated as part of Ashperton.

The contiguity of Park and the area of woodland known, since at least the early 17th century as 'Ashperton Park,'[32] now in Ashperton chapelry, suggests by their names that originally Ashperton Park was, with Park, part of Munsley and therefore part of the Ledbury estate and *parochia.* Park itself may originally have been woodland, cleared at a late date but retaining the 'Park' name. Indeed, the prevalence of woodland names in this vicinity (Hazel, Mainswood, Eastwood, Ashperton, Prides Wood and Woodend) suggests that between the Ledbury and Stoke Edith estates and *parochiae,* there was a band of woodland which established a natural boundary between the two.

Hence, the westerly boundary of Ledbury *parochia* (and of the bishop's original estate) was the westerly boundary of Aylton, Pixley, Mainswood and Hazel (in Munsley), Park and Ashperton Park, turning along the northern boundary of Ashperton Park and Munsley and the southern boundary of Bosbury. (Bosbury was almost certainly a minster

with its own *parochia,* for *Domesday Book* shows that the priest of Bosbury held the substantial estate of one hide.)[33] It is not clear whether Walsopthorne should be included in Ledbury, Bosbury or some other *parochia.*

What has been proposed above substantially diminishes the extent of Ashperton as an estate; it will be suggested below that the residue of Ashperton (excluding Walsopthorne) was originally part of Stoke Edith *parochia* (and Yarkhill estate): that Ashperton was rather a locality originally, than an estate, put together as an estate by a powerful thegn or lord. The evidence that, before the conquest, parts of the bishop's estate had been usurped has been referred to above. It could well be that the usurpations were more extensive and that the compilers of *Domesday Book* preferred to ignore those which were not restored to the bishop.

STOKE EDITH PAROCHIA

Stoke Edith minster was founded on what was originally the royal estate of Yarkhill. While the original Herefordshire charter is lost, a Kentish charter of 811 records an exchange between Kenwulf, king of Mercia (796-821), and Wilfred, archbishop of Canterbury (805-832), of land in Kent for 10 manentes at Geardcylle (Yarkhill) which Wilfred had purchased of Cynethryth, queen of Offa, king of Mercia (756-796).[34] And *Domesday Book* records that in 1066 Stoke Edith and Westhide were held by Edith (probably Edward the Confessor's queen of that name), while a thegn of Harold II, her brother, held Yarkhill.[35] The names Westhide and Weston Beggard (both in this *parochia*) are significant that they belonged to Yarkhill estate, since the names mean 'west settlement or estate' i.e. they were W. of the *caput* of the estate at Yarkhill.[36] Perhaps the bounds of the royal estate of Yarkhill and the earliest bounds of the hundred of Radlow were the same; the hundred takes its name from a low mound (marked 'R' on the plan of Stoke Edith *parochia*) which was the traditional meeting place of the hundred and whose name is preserved in field names of Tarrington.

According to Blair 'many minsters were founded near royal vills, their *parochia* coterminous with the territories which the vill controlled;' and 'although choices of site were often influenced by political circumstances, the normal relationship between royal minster and royal power centre seems to have been one of proximity rather than absolute contiguity,'[37] so that the fact that the minster was not at Yarkhill but at Stoke Edith (almost certainly at the present parish church), is no objection of Stoke Edith minster being the royal minster to Yarkhill royal estate.

Except that *Valor Ecclesiasticus* records that the rector of Stoke Edith received tithes from Little Tarrington and portions from Westhide,[38] the extent of Stoke Edith *parochia* cannot be deduced in the manner employed to ascertain the extent of that of Ledbury, but can be postulated from the layout, as shown in the tithe maps, of the boundaries of the five parishes shown on the plan of Stoke Edith *parochia* as making up its bounds. This plan shows that, with the exception of Tarrington, no parish has a coherent entity but that, when the bounds of all five parishes are drawn on an amalgamated single plan, on all sides (except the E.) there is a coherent and continuous boundary. The anomalous interior boundaries suggest that first Weston Beggard (it had a priest in 1087), then Tarrington

PLAN. 2
Stoke Edith *Parochia.*

and, last of all, Yarkhill were declared separate parishes, free from the minster, leaving the peripheral rump of Stoke Edith with its chapelry of Westhide. The original parishes were probably established by manorial lords who held, as part of their manors odd, even single, selions or ridges outside the main bounds of their manors, which they claimed as part of the parish of their new church, resulting in the anomalous boundaries still existing in 1840.

Weston Beggard already had a priest in 1087,[39] and hence was probably the first parish to establish its own church who may also have ministered to Yarkhill at first. It is possible that originally this church, having been founded by a local thegn, was served by a priest from the minster who ultimately settled permanently at Weston Beggard.[40] Tarrington and Yarkhill must have followed suit in separating from Stoke Edith minster; the fact that the former royal estate of Yarkhill was, after the conquest, divided between at least three tenants in chief (Stoke Edith with Westhide to Ralph of Tosny, Great Tarrington to Ansfrid of Cormeilles, Yarkhill, Weston Beggard and Little Tarrington to Roger de Lacy)[41] was not conducive of preserving the unity of the *parochia*; besides, as a matter of prestige and to keep his manor in close control, each lord would want his own church and priest, and not have to rely on the priest of another lord's church for pastoral care of himself and his tenants.

It must be more than chance that, in the S.W. of Yarkhill parish, both Stoke Edith and Weston Beggard have 'islands' of land; this must have been because all parishes and manors wanted their own land close to Stoke Mill which stood on the triangular Stoke Edith plot which adjoins both Yarkhill and Tarrington (see plan). Weston Beggard also has an isolated 'island' S.E. of Yarkhill Church. By 1840 this was in the lay ownership of the Foley family, but it immediately adjoins, on two sides, land then held by the dean and chapter of Hereford Cathedral as impropriators of the rectory of Yarkhill on behalf of St. Katherines Hospital, Ledbury, but let by the chapter to the Foley family; this adjoining land is called 'Parsons Leasow' or 'Close' and must have been glebe of Yarkhill included in the grant (mentioned below) of the rectory of Yarkhill to the Hospital. It seems likely, therefore, that the Weston Beggard triangle was originally also glebe and that, before Yarkhill Church was established, this triangle with Parsons Leasow had been allotted out of the minster lands to the church of Weston Beggard, because Yarkhill was more conveniently served from Weston Beggard, both being on the same side of the valley (possibly marshy) of the river Frome which divided the *parochia;* but that, on the establishment of Yarkhill Church, the bishop ordered that all glebe near Yarkhill Church, except this triangle, should be reallotted to Yarkhill.

It remains to deal with the easterly boundary of the *parochia.* The southerly part of this boundary abuts on the westerly boundary of Ledbury *parochia* (being the eastern boundary of Tarrington and of the separated piece of Yarkhill) - but to the N. of Ashperton Park are two islands of Stoke Edith within Ashperton chapelry, probably the virgate held by Brictwold the priest under Ralph of Tosny, lord of Stoke Edith in 1087.[42] (Was Brictwold one of the two priests at Stoke Edith in 1087?) Further N., between Freetown in Stoke Edith and Ashperton is a very broken boundary, as if an artificial line had been drawn, following the bounds of selions in an open field. As Dr. Steven Basset comments, in dealing with parish boundaries in Shrewsbury, when common boundaries of

parishes have a jagged configuration it 'normally testifies to the sub-division of a once unified area.'[43] Hence it is proposed that the eastern boundary of Stoke Edith *parochia* (and of Yarkhill royal estate), S. of the river Frome includes the whole of the rest of Ashperton up to Walsopthorne. North of the river, the eastern boundary of Monkhide in Yarkhill makes a clear boundary for the *parochia,* although one is tempted to place it slightly further E. on Hide Brook to coincide with the eastern boundary of the Monkhide estate, as held by the dean and chapter of Gloucester Cathedral in 1649.[44]

It is therefore suggested that Ashperton chapelry (which in 1087 did not contain either Mainstone or Walsopthorne and was already divided into four estates) is a late creation, being formed by the appropriation of land properly belonging to the Ledbury estate of the bishop of Hereford and the royal estate of Yarkhill (and their respective *parochiae*). It is noteworthy that in 1066 Harold's man Wulfwy held the largest estate (5½ hides) in Ashperton, while Harold's man Thorkell held Stretton Grandison (to whose church Ashperton was subordinate); both these manors with Whitwick were held by the lord of Monmouth in 1087.[45] The implication is that Harold put this estate together and it was taken over as one estate by the lord of Monmouth after the conquest.

THE TWO MINSTERS AFTER THE CONQUEST

From the installation of a strong bishop at Hereford and the recovery of some of the episcopal estates usurped by Harold, until the time of Queen Elizabeth I, there were no further encroachments on the bishop's estates. As a result, Ledbury *parochia* was protected by the bishop as lord of Ledbury and of other estates in Winstree hundred. Ledbury Church, while never attaining the abbey status of some old minsters, retained some of its importance as the church of an ancient borough with one of the bishop's palaces adjoining. The very size of the church shows that it was one of outstanding status.

The college of priests at Ledbury, as such, ceased to exist from before 1200 (when Henry Bannister is recorded as having been a portioner). There were two portioners, sometimes called rectors or prebendaries, denominated the portioners of Upper (or Over) Hall and of Lower (or Nether) Hall respectively and on vacancies occurring, the bishop collated clergy to the vacant portions; Upper Hall and Lower Hall were situate immediately to the N. of Ledbury churchyard where houses still bearing their names still stand. The church was served by a vicar appointed by the portioners. The estate of the former college was divided between the two portioners and the vicar, but the tithe awards and glebe terrier[47] show that this was done in such a way that one must conclude that, on the dissolution of the college, the bishop gave orders for the division of the estate of the college in such manner that the vicar received an income equal to or even more than each portioner; for instance, while the portioners took the great tithes of most of Ledbury and of Eastnor and Aylton, the vicar took both great and small tithes of Ledbury borough and a third of the tithes of grass and hay from the manor of Hazel in Ledbury (the other two thirds going to St. Katherines Hospital); he also had a small glebe and most of the small tithes. The vicar was also entitled to the churchscot payable by Aylton, Donnington and Park and the portioners, out of their tithes, had to pay the vicar yearly sixteen bushels of wheat and sixteen bushels of oats each; it is unlikely that such a liability could have arisen

without an order of the bishop, being a payment similar to churchscot which normally portioners would receive rather than pay; by 1840 this had been commuted into a cash payment.

Ledbury Church continued to be important, where not only did the bishop make his visitations but often ordained priests and lesser grades of clergy.[48] By contrast, Stoke Edith lost all importance and was not even *primus inter pares* with the other churches in its *parochia*; even the rural deanery within which it lay, Weston, took its name from one of its daughter churches. And while in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* Aylton and Pixley are described as chapelries of Ledbury and the priests of Little Marcle and Munsley are only called 'curates,' none of the daughter churches of Stoke Edith (except Westhide) is called a chapelry of Stoke Edith. At Westhide however the ancient connection was retained, the rector of Stoke Edith being also rector of the 12th-century church of St. Bartholomew at Westhide as his chapel.[49]

The college of priests at Stoke Edith, just as at Ledbury, became two portioners, [50] but, with the royal estate divided between three or four Norman lords, there was no one, as at Ledbury, to guard the interests of the minster. As Dr. Brett comments 'as several compilers of cartularies felt it necessary to explain, the Normans conceived themselves free to grant their demesne tithes to whatever church or pious purpose they wished...grants of the tithe of the whole vill are rarer and seem to be found only when the church itself is being granted,'[51] but in Stoke Edith *parochia* this is exactly what happened; Tarrington Church and the chapel of Ashperton were both granted to Monmouth Priory, Weston Beggard and Yarkhill churches to St. Katherines Hospital, Ledbury, each with its great tithes;[52] previously the estate of Monkhide in Yarkhill had been granted by William d'Evreux, and confirmed by his widow Eloise, to Gloucester Abbey which was relieved of all tithes by Bishop Gilbert Foliot in return for an annual payment of 2/- to the rector of Yarkhill.[53] Consequently the great tithes of all three parishes were lost to outside pious purposes.

As to Stoke Edith itself with its chapelry of Westhide, between 1174 and 1186, two thirds of the tithes of Stoke Edith (including Showell) and Westhide (La Hide) were granted to the abbot of Conches in Normandy;[54] in *Taxatio Nicholas* of about 1291 and in Bishops Registers, the abbot of Conches is shown as being a portioner of Stoke Edith. The impression which this grant gives, is that the rector of Stoke Edith, as the other portioner, was left with nothing except the parish priest's share of great tithes, but *Taxatio Nicholas* shows that this was not the case; at Stoke Edith the rector had a living from both Stoke Edith and Westhide of £16 14s. 4d. while '*porcio prioris Kunches in eadem*' was only £2 10s.; clearly something had happened in the meantime so that the entitlement of the abbot was reduced to a pension. By the time of the tithe award of 1840, the memory of the rights of the abbot of Conches was almost forgotten and Stoke Edith was a valuable living, the rector being entitled to all the tithes of Stoke Edith and Westhide as well as half the great tithes of Little Tarrington (it appears that only the great tithes of Great Tarrington passed to Monmouth Priory); the other half of the great tithes of Little Tarrington belonged to the Foley family and this seems to be the only evidence, apart from topographical, that Tarrington was a daughter church of Stoke Edith and part of its *parochia.*

Just what was the history of the portion of the abbot of Conches is obscure. He must have lost it at the commencement of the Hundred Years War, when Edward III took possession of the property of alien priories, including that of Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire, a priory of Conches Abbey. All Herefordshire property of Conches Abbey seems to have been dealt with in association with Wootton Wawen Priory, including the manor of Monkland near Leominster. In 1418 Henry V granted Wootton Wawen Priory to Sir Roland Lenthall, a Herefordshire knight, and others but in 1442 Sir Roland was required to surrender the whole of the 1418 grant, except for the manor of Monkland, in return for an annuity to be paid out of the issues of Herefordshire. Henry VI, who at that time was in course of founding King's College, Cambridge, in December 1442 granted Wootton Wawen Priory to that college. Sir Roland and the bishop of Hereford seem to have been under the impression that the exception of the manor of Monkland also excepted the portion of the tithes of Stoke Edith, but since Sir Roland's surrender was 'of all else specified' in the 1418 grant except the manor of Monkhide of which Stoke Edith was not part, this was clearly wrong and the portion remained in the King's hand.[55] Nothing further is recorded specifically about the Conche Abbey portion. However, in 1453 Richard Neville earl of Warwick granted the manor and advowson of Stoke Edith to feoffees (and it is not clear how he came to be possessed of Stoke Edith which in 1442 belonged to Thomas Walwyn); the feoffees granted the manor and advowson to John Milewater; from him they descended by marriage to the Lingen family.[56] It seems likely that somehow the abbot's portion got into the hands of the earl of Warwick and thereafter was treated as part of the advowson of Stoke Edith. In 1840 Tarrington tithe award shows the great tithes of Little Tarrington divided equally between the Foley family and the rector of Stoke Edith. Speaker Paul Foley acquired the manor and advowson of Stoke Edith (as well as the advowson of Tarrington) from the Lingen family in 1670; in his register he records that he held 'the moiety of the tithes of Little Tarrington the other moiety whereof belongs to the parson of Stoke Edith;'[57] this must be the sole surviving relic of the division of the property of Stoke Edith minster between its two portioners; the Foley family's half share may represent the sum of £2 10s. to which, in 1291, the abbot of Conches was entitled. The fact that the other half share belonged to the rector points to this being part of the portioners' estate.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to explain the fractured outlines and 'islands which existed in 1840 for some of the parishes of S.E. Herefordshire. In particular, it shows the effect which seigneurial influence could have on ecclesiastical boundaries. It also contrasts the later history of the two minsters, Stoke Edith which had no strong protector nor town to give it any more importance than that of a rural parish church; and Ledbury standing on the estate of the bishop who encouraged the growth round the church of a market town which, in turn could support a church as important and impressive as Ledbury Church.

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Mr. A. T. Foley for making his family documents available for inspection and use in this paper.

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A Grant of the Manor of Kingstone in Return for Knight-Service

By B. COPLESTONE-CROW

Mrs. Delphine Coleman's recent paper on the open fields of the manor of Kingstone recalls the fact that the manor was once called Kingstone 'Furches' after the name of one of the families who once held it.[1] As it happens the actual charter by which the manor was granted to the Furches family in return for knight-service has survived among the Dugdale MSS at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[2] It dates from between 1159 and 1165, and the purpose of this paper is to explore the early history of the manor of Kingstone by means of the charter and other sources and to discuss the charter's terms in the light of the history of the knight's fee in 12th-century England.

At the time when *Domesday Book* was written (1086) Kingstone was a royal manor assessed for tax purposes at seven hides.[3] Only two of the seven hides lay in Kingstone, however, two of the other five being at Brampton (now in Madley), two at or by Hungerstone and one at *Wapleford,* a locality that may now be represented by Kingstone Grange. The lands at or by Hungerstone had been acquired since 1066 by Ilbert fitzThorold, who was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1086;[4] and *Wapleford* had been 'placed' in Kingstone by Ralph de Bernay who had been sheriff at the time when William fitzOsbern, steward of Normandy, had been earl of the shire, that is, between 1067 and 1071. This hide of land probably came from the manor of Monnington Stradel in Vowchurch parish, from which Ralph de Bernay had taken one hide 'wrongfully'.[5] The two hides at Kingstone itself were in demesne apart from one virgate (¼ hide) which William fitzOsbern had given to the abbey he had founded at Cormeilles in Normandy. The manor had once had an outlier appurtenant to it at Cusop near Clifford. This had belonged to Kingstone before 1066 and had paid its manorial dues there, but by 1086 it was in the hands of Roger de Lacy, lord of Ewyas Lacy. Kingstone also had the wood or forest of Treville appurtenant to it. This was and always had been a royal forest, the keeper of the royal forests (William fitzNorman of Kilpeck in 1086) rendering a hawk annually for his bailiwick there.[6] The whole of Kingstone was worth just £2 10s. 0d. annually to the king, plus the hawk.

By the time Henry I died in 1135 much of the land in Kingstone had changed hands, probably due to the influence of Payn fitzJohn, who was royal sheriff and justiciar in Herefordshire during the last dozen years or so of Henry's reign. Payn's great friend and colleague in the service of the crown was Miles of Gloucester, sheriff and justiciar in Gloucestershire, so we find that in a list of hides in Herefordshire drawn up in the Exchequer between 1137 and 1139 Miles of Gloucester now has the two demesne hides at Kingstone and Hugh of Kilpeck, son of William fitzNorman and royal forester of the shire, the two at Brampton.[7] Ilbert fitzThorold, who held the two hides at or called Hungerstone in 1086, seems to have forfeited his lands in 1095 for rebellion and they then reverted to the manor of Kingstone. Possibly they were now in the hands of Miles of Gloucester, although there is no certainty in this.

Evidence from the 13th-century feodaries suggest that before 1135 Miles of Gloucester had subinfeudated his part of Kingstone (possibly with the two hides called

Hungerstone) to the Brito family by knight-service.[8] This family were already his subtenants at Weston-under-Penyard, otherwise known as Weston Bret, and Litley (Litley Court) in Hereford. Between 1113 and 1130 a William Brito had given the church of Norton, Gloucestershire, together with 1¼ hides of land, to the abbey of Gloucester and it was probably this same William Brito who in September 1141 witnessed a charter of Miles of Gloucester, now earl of Hereford, to the priory of Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester.[9] It seems to have been William Brito, therefore, that Miles enfeoffed at Kingstone in return for knight-service. In the time of Miles's son Roger, who was earl of Hereford from 1143 until 1155, William Brito gave the manor of Litley to Hereford Cathedral with the consent of his sons Thurstan and Robert in a deed confirmed by earl Roger as his superior lord.[10]

Earl Roger was one of the leaders of the Angevin party in England during the civil war of the reign of king Stephen (1135-54) and his campaigns in Herefordshire on behalf of the empress Maud led to considerable damage being done to the prior of Leominster and its lands. After the war had ended Roger sought to make amends to Leominster for the damage it had suffered at the hands of himself and his men by giving to it the manor of Broadward, which lay a miles to the S. of the priory church. This, however, had belonged to the family of Hugh of Kilpeck since the Norman conquest, so Roger arranged that Hugh should have Kingstone (probably including the two hides at Hungerstone) 'which the earl has released from the claim of Robert Brito' in exchange for the manor of Broadward.[11] Robert Brito was the son of William Brito, whom Miles of Gloucester had enfeoffed with his part of Kingstone, and his tenure there was clearly less secure than that of his father. Hugh of Kilpeck agreed to the exchange of Kingstone for Broadward (Broadward had been extended at 1/2 hide valued at £1 10s. 0d. in 1086,[12] considerably less than Kingstone) and the earl then gave the latter to Leominster Priory.[13]

As a result of the exchange of manors Hugh of Kilpeck now had the two demesne hides in Kingstone that had belonged to the crown in 1086, together with the two hides at Hungerstone and his own manor of Brampton. Within a few years of this, however, Hugh had given up all he had in Kingstone (but not Brampton) to Henry of Hereford, brother and eventual successor to earl Roger of Hereford, possibly in return for other lands in Henry of Hereford's fief. Henry's subsequent grant of the same lands to William de Furches contained a clause to the effect that if he should want those lands in his own hands once more, he would give Furches lands to the same value from elsewhere in his inheritance, and Kilpeck may have held them on the same terms. As a result of this surrender Henry was able, between about December 1159, when he succeeded to the family's inheritance in the place of his brother Walter, who had become a Templar and departed for the Holy Land, and his own death in 1165, to give the whole of Kingstone, probably including the two hides said in 1086 to be at Hungerstone, to William de Furches in return for his service as a knight in the charter which is the main subject of this paper. William was the descendant of a Herbert de Furches who had held the manor of Bodenham Furches (now Bodenham Moor) in Herefordshire and the manors of Patton, Stanton Long, Corfton and Middlehope in Shropshire from Roger de Lacy in 1086.[14] Roger de Lacy forfeited his lands in 1095 for rebellion and was succeeded in the vast Lacy fief in Herefordshire, Shropshire and elsewhere by his brother Hugh, who died in about 1115 leaving as his heir a daughter Sybil who was married to Payn fitzJohn. Payn, therefore,

was possessed of, or had a claim to, the whole Lacy fief by right of his wife, and when he died in 1137 it had already been agreed that his own heiress, Cecily, should marry Roger son of Miles of Gloucester. Meanwhile Gilbert de Lacy, son of the traitorous and exiled Roger of 1086, appeared in England early in the reign of king Stephen ready to pursue his claim to his father's fief. When his claim went unrecognized by both the crown and the current possessors of that fief, Gilbert prepared to take it by force. Some of the warfare that occurred in Herefordshire during Stephen's reign was therefore in the nature of a private war between Gilbert de Lacy and Miles of Gloucester and his son Roger for possession of the Lacy fief, and in this war Gilbert was eventually victorious. One of its consequences, however, seems to have been that the Furches family, previously part of the Lacy *familia* or military household, now identified themselves with the family of Miles of Gloucester. William de Furches, for instance, considered himself part of Henry of Hereford's *familia* in 1161 and he and his brother Robert both witnessed a charter of Henry's to Brecon Priory.[15] The lands at Kingstone that Henry gave to William de Furches by his charter had previously been held by the Brito family by knight-service as noted above, although there is no hint of this in Henry of Hereford's charter to William de Furches, which reads as a new and original gift of land in return for knight-service. Hugh of Kilpeck may also have held Kingstone from Miles of Gloucester's family by knight-service, although the evidence for this is less clear; there is no mention of knight-service in the charter by which Hugh exchanged his manor of Broadward for earl Roger's manor of Kingstone, for instance, and again there is no hint in Henry of Hereford's charter to William de Furches that what is being given was a pre-existing military fief. Despite the wording of the charter, therefore, there is good reason to suspect that what was being given was indeed a pre-existing military fief.

Henry of Hereford's charter to William de Furches runs as follows. For ease of reference I have numbered its clauses from 1 to 6; these do not occur in the original document, of course:-

> Henry of Hereford, constable of the king, to all his men and friends French, English and Welsh, present and future, greeting. [1] Know that I have given and granted to William de Furches in fee and inheritance to him and his heirs to hold of me and my heirs ten librates of land for his service, for the service of half a knight by his body, that it, Kingstone for as much as it will be valued at with [its] lawful stock. [2] And that which is lacking to him in Kingstone out of the ten librates I have allocated to him out of my revenues of Hay until I shall make up his full holding in land. [3] I have also granted to him, to my profit and with the counsel of my men, [that] I shall make up his holding to twenty librates for the service of one knight by his body. [4] And if by chance it should happen that William should give his allegiance elsewhere to recover his right of inheritance in default of another heir [than him], then he will perform to me the service of two knights, unless of my own good will he should [be allowed to] adhere to the said service [of one knight]. [5] And if I should wish to have Kingstone in my own hand again, or if I should not be able to warrant it to him, I shall give him in exchange land to the [same] value from my inheritance, by his agreement and will. [6] Whence I wish and firmly order that the said William and his heirs may have and hold Kingstone with all its appurtenances in wood and plain, in ways and paths, ponds and fishponds, waters and mills, with all liberties pertaining to the said land as earl Miles my father better, more freely and more quietly held in the time of king Henry. As witness Isabel my wife, Oliver de la Mare, Ralph de Baskerville, Roger of Burghill, Hugh of Ashley, Reginald Crozun, etc. This charter was made at Brecon.[16]

In Clause 1 of this charter Henry of Hereford gives Kingstone and its appurtenances to William de Furches for 10 librates of land or 'for as much as it will be valued at with its lawful stock' in return for which he will do the service of half a knight's fee 'by his body.' As Stenton has noted[17] the earlier practice of lords giving their men lands estimated in

terms of hides or carucates in return for knight-service was beginning to die out by the middle years of the 12th century, to be replaced by lands with a certain value, so Henry's charter is well up with this trend. This is in marked contrast to an almost coeval charter concerning Westhide in Herefordshire where no attempt was made to give any estimate of its extent or value, this presumably being understood by the parties concerned. In this charter, which dates from between 1157 and 1162, Arnold of Powys gave to his son William 'my land of Westhide' (*terram meam de La Hide*) which had been given to Arnold by Ralph de Tosny, his overlord, 'for the service of one knight when it ought to be done at Clifford' (*pro servicio unius militis quando debet fieri apud Cliffordiam*).[18] But despite Arnold's evident trust in his overlord's probity in this matter, knights generally had good reason to be wary of accepting unmeasured lands or lands measured in hides or carucates in return for their services, since the value the manor or of the hide or carucate could vary greatly from district to district, depending on the quality of the land. Ten librates of land was counted as sufficient to bring its holder a revenue of £10 annually under normal circumstances, so by accepting enfeoffment on those terms Furches was being guaranteed a certain income with which to maintain himself as a knight. But Furches, it seems, was by no means certain that Kingstone would bring him such an income, so he had his doubts inserted in Henry's charter in the form of an agreement to evaluate the manor, including its stock. He was probably right in his doubts, as the manor, including the hides at Brampton and Hungerstone, but excluding Treville, had been valued at only £2 10s. 0d. annually less than a century before, and it is extremely unlikely that its value would have increased fourfold in that period.[19] Concomitant to this valuation was an obligation by Henry to make up the difference, if there was a shortfall, from his revenues of Hay in Breconshire until he could give him additional lands to replace it (Clause 2).

Just as it was becoming accepted that lands giving a certain guaranteed annual income needed to be given in exchange for an agreed amount of knight-service, so too was the idea that ten librates of land were sufficient only for the performance of half the services expected from a knight holding lands for a full knight's fee. In the latter case a man holding 20 librates of land would be expected to offer his services as a knight to his lord free of charge for an agreed number of days (usually 40) in any one year or in time of war, after which he would be paid by his lord at the going rate for each additional day his services were required. Although the charter does not specify where he was to perform his knight-service this was certainly at Henry's castle of Brecon, since in 1243 the manor of Kingstone was held of the honour of Brecknock (Brycheiniog).[20] What little evidence there now remains of the services performable within this honour indicates that the minimum period of free service expected from a knight with a fully-accoutred horse in return for one whole knight's fee was 40 days in time of war between the king of England and the prince of Wales - not annually as was the case in some honours or baronies - plus an attendance at the lord's honourial court every month. This should lead one to expect that William de Furches's period of free service was 20 days, except that in the late 13th century the free service of ½ fee in this honour was said to be just 15 days.[21]

By the terms of the first two clauses of the charter, therefore, William de Furches was to perform the service of half a knight's fee in return for ten librates of land at Kingstone, and that service was to be 'by his body.' This latter phrase is significant in that it

indicates that Henry expected William to do the service himself and that he would not accept the payment scutage in its place. Such a statement is rare and goes against an observable trend towards the acceptance of scutage in place of personal service. When originally enfeoffed in the years after the Conquest men holding knight's fees normally did their service to their lord in person, but as time went on motives of economy and efficiency, as well as a desire by increasingly-important military subtenants to avoid hazardous duties, encouraged the commutation of personal service to a monetary payment (scutage) sufficient for the lord to pay for the services of a professional or mercenary knight in his place. Henry of Hereford, however, was not prepared to let William pay scutage, perhaps because he and his family had been only too well aware of the variable quality of hired knights as a result of their experiences during the only recently ended civil war of king Stephen's reign, preferring instead to have his personal service as a knight.

Henry's evident desire for William's own prowess as a knight shows up again in Clause 3. Here Henry provides for a potential increase in William's services to one whole knight's fee 'by his body' with the agreement of both parties. Such an increase was clearly to Henry's own advantage, since it would increase still further the knight-service he could command from his whole honour, and thus his standing with his peers, but it was only to be had in return for a further ten librates of land. These extra ten librates of land need not have been at Kingstone but anywhere within Henry's honour, the unity of the fee being feudal and not economic. Their allocation required the consent of the honourial barons and knights (his 'men') of the barony, since this may have altered the services expected from them and because Henry's other knights needed to monitor the amount of land given to William in case he was given favourable treatment.

Clause 4 was an important one for Henry in that it involved his family's contest with the heirs of Gilbert de Lacy for possession of the Lacy fief as it stood at the death of Gilbert's uncle in about 1115. Although Gilbert had gained possession of almost all of that fief in fair fight during the recent civil war, Henry and his successors agitated, even as late as 1198, for its return to their family in the court of the king. As part of this campaign Henry apparently refused to recognize knight-service due to the Lacy honour for lands within that honour held by his own men unless that service was done to himself as the current 'possessor' of that fief. William de Furches, it seems, stood to be his brother Robert's only heir (presumably because he was childless and likely to remain so) and Robert held the Shropshire manors of Patton, Long Stanton, Corfton and Middlehope in the Lacy fief by service of one knight's fee.[22] If William were to put forward his claim to those lands as Robert's heir to secure the fief he would need to perform liege-homage to Hugh (II) de Lacy, son of Gilbert, who, for all the efforts of Henry's family, was the actual possessor of the Lacy fief. Henry, however, was having none of this. Although William must have clearly indicated to him that this was his intention Henry got him to agree that he would then do him the service of two knight's fees, i.e. the additional service of the one knight's fee his brother owed for the Shropshire lands, unless Henry waived his claim to that service 'of [his] own free will.'

By Clause 5 William de Furches sought to obtain the promise of Henry and his heirs that if they should take back Kingstone at any time they would find him lands of the same

value in its place. This must have been a real concern for William, since it seems that Kingstone had been taken back into demesne on at least two occasions in the past, once while the Britos were military subtenants and once while Hugh of Kilpeck was its subtenant. Henry also promised in this clause that if he could not warrant Kingstone to William, that is, maintain his grant against an outside challenge, leading to William losing his tenure there, he would again compensate him for the loss with lands to the same value. This was a point of great consequence for William, since although earl Roger had apparently released Kingstone from the claim of Roger Brito before he gave it to Hugh of Kilpeck, there had been no such release from Kilpeck's claim to it before it was given to William. William, therefore, needed to be prepared for a possible challenge from Hugh of Kilpeck and for the eventuality that the challenge was successful.

In Clause 6 Henry of Hereford confirmed to William the facilities he would have in Kingstone by his grant including, in what is a rather curious passage, 'all liberties pertaining to the said land as earl Miles my father better, more freely and more quietly held in the time of king Henry.' By harking back to the reign of king Henry I in this passage Henry is clearly referring back to a time when peace, justice and the rule of law - three qualities long misplaced in the upheaval and turmoil of Stephen's reign - were deemed to have been present in the kingdom of England, perhaps hoping thereby to impress on those present and future both the legality of his grant to William and its durability.[23] It also, very neatly, confirms to us that it was Miles who enfeoffed William Brito with Kingstone, since Miles had had it in demesne when he first acquired it.

In the charter Henry of Hereford gave to William de Furches, therefore, the needs and requirements of both parties were carefully accounted for. Henry intended to give William ten librates of land at Kingstone in return for the service of half a knight's fee, but only if a valuation showed that there was indeed land of that value at Kingstone; if there was not, Henry would provide the financial shortfall from his revenues at Hay until he could find other lands to match it. In return for the grant Henry wanted William's personal service as a knight, either for the ½-fee already agreed or for 1 whole fee if Henry made up his grant to 20 librates of land, with the agreement of his honorial barons and knights. William, however, with an eye to the past, was concerned for the permanency of this enfeoffment and got Henry to agree to replace his holding at Kingstone with lands of equivalent value if he was disseised of it. He also got Henry to recognize his right to his brother's inheritance in the Lacy fief, which Henry disputed with Hugh (II) de Lacy, but only at the cost of agreeing to perform to Henry the knight-service due from it, in addition to any service Hugh de Lacy may demand from it, unless Henry should forgo that service out of his own good will. Finally, William was to hold Kingstone of Henry's honour of Brecknock as well as Henry's father had held it of the king in the days of Henry I, if that was possible. All told, both parties did well out of the agreement, the amount of detail involved in making it doubtless reflecting the complicated way feudal service had evolved in England since the early days of the Conquest a century before and also the divergent interests of the parties concerned.

Some forty or fifty years after the charter was issued an attempt was made by the current holder of the Brecknock honour to increase the knight-service due from the holder

of Kingstone to one whole fee, but without increasing the amount of land held. This was never accepted by the Furches family, however, and it eventually reverted to its original level. In 1200 William (II), son of William (I) de Furches of the charter, fined 40s. for a recognition of mort d'ancestor concerning ½ knight's fee at Kingstone which his uncle Robert had held on the day he died and which William de Braose had withheld from him.[24] Braose was the son of a sister and heiress of Henry of Hereford who had taken a share of Henry's inheritance, including the honour of Brecknock, of which Kingstone was part, to her husband, also called William de Braose, who died in 1175. Subsequent to this date, therefore, Braose the son had taken Kingstone from William (II) de Furches's uncle, who had outlived William's father and who had been enfeoffed by William (I) with Kingstone for life. As has been shown above William (I) de Furches had been the heir of his brother Robert, so when Robert died William's son was his heir. When Robert died, however, William de Braose his overlord took possession of Kingstone, perhaps under the same conditions that previous holders of the chief lordship of the manor (earl Roger of Hereford and Henry of Hereford) had taken it into demesne. His nephew William's challenge to this was evidently successful, since in 1211 or 1212 he was said to have one knight's fee in the honour of Brecknock.[25] In 1243 William (III) de Furches had one knight's fee at Kingstone, or so it was said, but by 1249 this had reverted to its proper level of ½ knight's fee. [26] The whole fee the family were charged with seems to have been owed on the manor of Kingstone alone, since there is no evidence that they held lands other than at Kingstone from the honour of Brecknock.

The charter issued by Henry of Hereford to William de Furches between 1159 and 1165 concerned only the 2 hides in Kingstone which had belonged to the crown in 1086 and also, probably, the 2 at Hungerstone. The hide at *Wapleford* (?Kingstone Grange) and the two hides at Brampton were not involved in the grant and had separate tenurial histories. In the *Herefordshire Domesday* of 1160-70 *Wapleford* is annotated *terra Laur' in Kingest'*, which shows that this was the location of the lands of Laurence of Kingstone, who gave land in Kingstone to Dore Abbey in about 1165.[27] These lands eventually became part of the abbey's grange of Kingstone. In 1205 Hugh son of Laurence of Kingstone proffered 10 marks for having seisin of lands in Kingstone held by serjeanty.[28] A review of lands in Herefordshire held by serjeanty-tenure undertaken between 1212 and 1217 has a Hugh and Alice of Kingstone and a Henry French (*le Fraunceys*) each having ½ hide in Kingstone from the conquest of England by the tenure of summoning three barons in the county of Hereford and conducting the king's treasure to London at Easter and Michaelmas at the cost of the king.[29] In 1251-2, however, the service of the two half-hides was described as being for carrying the king's letters to Clifford whenever the king came into the county of Hereford, each half-hide doing the service for a full year turn and turn about.[30] Brampton remained in the hands of the lords of Kilpeck, hereditary foresters of Herefordshire. In their day the forest of Treville extended northwards to cover the hills separating Kingstone from the Grey Valley. King John granted the assarts at Batchy Hill (*Baggeshaghe*) to John of Kilpeck, who died in 1204, and in about 1217 John's son Hugh gave all the tithes of his land of Batchy to the cathedral.[31] Close by Batchy was *portam de Stradelle* or 'the gateway of Straddle,' a title which refers to the passage of the Roman road running N.W. from the Golden Valley through the hills E. of Kingstone on its way

to Kenchester.[32] John of Kilpeck, who succeeded his father at Kilpeck in 1183 or 1184, gave to Dore Abbey a grant of tithes from land by *Stonystrete* (i.e. the Roman road) and 'all ancient ways entering and issuing through the middle' of some land called *Stonystrete*.[33] In 1316 Alan de Plugenet of Kilpeck was lord of Brampton.[34]

REFERENCES

[1] *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Field Club,* XLVI (1990), 407-22.
[2] Dugdale MS 17, p22. The charter has been printed in its original Latin by Rev. Dr. David Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201', *Camden Miscellany,* 22 (1964), no. 84.
[3] *(D)omesday (B)ook,* f. 179b.
[4] The manor of two hides held by Ilbert fitzThorold in 1086 is not named in *DB,* but in the so-called 'Herefordshire Domesday' of 1160-70 it is annotated *Hungarestun*': V. H. Galbraith & J. Tait, (eds.), *The Herefordshire Domesday, 1160-70* (Pipe Roll Soc., 1950).
[5] *DB,* f. 186.
[6] *Ibid., loc. cit.* & see also *Pipe Roll 5 Henry II,* 50, etc.
[7] Galbraith & Tait, *Herefordshire Domesday, 1160-70,* 78.
[8] In 1243 the knight-service due from Kingstone was of the 'old' enfoeffment (*de veteri feffamento*), which means that the original enfeoffment had occurred before the death of Henry I in 1135: *Book of Fees,* 812.
[9] W. H. Hart, (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1863-7), i, 103; Walker, *op. cit.* in note 2, no. 3.
[10] W. W. Capes, (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (1908), 9-10; Walker, *op. cit.* in note 2, no. 13.
[11] B. R. Kemp, (ed.), *Reading Abbey Cartularies* (2 vols., Camden Soc ., 1986-7), no. 330.
[12] *DB,* f. 180, where it appears as *Bradeford.*
[13] Kemp, *op. cit.*in note 11, nos. 327, 328.
[14] *DB,* ff. 184, 256b, where he is called just 'Herbert' but in 1085 he witnessed a charter of the bishop of Hereford on behalf of Roger de Lacy as Herbert de Furches: V. H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085,' *Eng. Hist. Rev., 44* (1929), 372. The Norman origins of the family are unknown; French *fourche* ('fork') is a common name for a locality at a fork in the road.
[15] Walker, *op. cit.* in note 2, nos. 78, 82.
[16] I am grateful to Dr. Julia Barrow of the University of Nottingham for her assistance with the translation of this difficult charter.
[17] F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (2nd. ed., 1961), 165-6.
[18] *Ibid.,* Appendix, no. 41.
[19] S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (1942), 160 estimates that between 1086 and 1220 the average English manor increased in value by 60%. Conditions on the border between England and Wales were slightly different, however, in that valuations there in 1086 tended to be depressed because of political events up to and beyond the Norman conquest of England. Some manors in that area may therefore have subsequently increased substantially in value compared with the rest of England, although probably not fourfold.
[20] *Book of Fees,* 812. The fact that the charter was made at Brecon also supports this view.
[21] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* vol. 3, nos. 544, 552.
[22] They were held for one knight's fee in 1242-3 (*Book of Fees,* 964).
[23] Stenton (*op. cit.* in note 17, 219-20) notes that during and after the reign of king Stephen there was a tendency to idealize Henry I and his age.
[24] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus* (Record Commission, 1835), 77-8; *Pipe Roll 3 John,* 267.
[25] H. Hall, (ed.), *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1896), 602.
[26] *Book of Fees,* 812, 1480.
[27] Galbraith and Tait, *op. cit.* in note 7, 6; Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (6 vols. in 8, 1856), v, 555 Charter X.
[28] *Pipe Roll 7 John,* 274; *Book of Fees,* 343.
[29] *Ibid.,* 101-2; Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer,* 451-2.
[30] *Book of Fees,* 1271.
[31] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (2 vols., Record Commission, 1833-4), i, 165; Capes, *op. cit.* in note 10, 46.
[32] See my *Herefordshire Place-Names,* B.A.R. British Series, 214 (1989), 21.
[33] D. H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976), 44, 49.
[34] *Feudal Aids,* vol. 2, 388.

The Mortimers of Wigmore 1282-1330

By CHARLES HOPKINSON

Of the two Mortimers considered in this third article in the *Transactions,*[1] Edmund (I) was heir to a golden inheritance, but for reasons which are not altogether clear he failed to repeat his father's successful career. Edmund's son, Roger (IV), however, won for himself a place - if an unappealing one - in English history, and this account of the Mortimers' climb to power therefore closes with the career of Roger (IV) who for nearly four years enjoyed unrivalled authority over England, Wales and Ireland.

1 EDMUND (I) DE MORTIMER *(d. 1304)*

Edmund, Roger (III)'s second son, was originally destined for the Church. In 1265, shortly after the battle of Evesham in which Roger (III) had played such a prominent part, Henry III honoured a promise made to Edmund as 'clerk' to find him an ecclesiastical office by appointing him Treasurer of York with 'a stall in the choir and a place in the chapter.'[2] On the death in 1273 or 1274 of Edmund's elder brother, Ralph, Edmund became Roger (III)'s heir, but there is no mention of his activities before 1282, the year of his father's death.[3] As a canon of Hereford Cathedral and entitled to the prebend of Hunderton in Herefordshire until his father died, it may well be that he concerned himself, apparently as a clerk in minor orders, mainly with clerical matters; this view is supported by the fact that it was to his younger brother, Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, and not to Edmund, that the king wrote the letter, quoted in an earlier article, exhorting Roger to serve the king in military matters as his father had done.[4]

After Roger (III)'s death, however, Edmund joined his brother in the war against the Welsh. In August 1282 he had been given custody of the castle and hundred of Oswestry during the minority of John Fitzalan's heir, in November he was granted his patrimony, and both he and Roger were in the field at the time of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's death near Builth in December.[5]

The reason for Llywelyn's presence in the district around Builth has been the subject of much speculation and there is confusion as to the circumstances of his death. The prince was said to have been the victim of treachery on the part of the English - namely the Mortimer brothers who were alleged to have decoyed Llywelyn into a trap by feigning disloyalty to the king; and there was also talk of actual disaffection among certain lords of the march.[6]

Whether or not he had been duped, the Welsh prince had, no doubt, come from Gwynedd to the central marches to see if he could profit from the situation and to open up another front against the English. On 11 December 1282 the Welsh were defeated to the W. of the river Irfon, near Builth, and Llywelyn was killed. One chronicler related that Llywelyn met his death when he became separated, with only one retainer, from the mass of the Welsh force. Roger Lestrange informed the king that '...Llywelyn ap Gruffudd is dead, his army broken, and all the flower of his men killed,' and Edmund de Mortimer

was reputed to have identified the corpse and taken its head to the king at Rhuddlan, while the body was buried at the abbey of Cwmhir.[7] The accusation that the Mortimers had enticed Llywelyn into the area has never been proved, but there must remain a strong suspicion that this was so.

David, Llywelyn's brother, carried on the struggle against the English, but early in 1283 King Edward began an offensive, drawing the net ever tighter around the Welsh redoubt of Snowdonia and the hills of Merioneth. The king, anticipating a summer campaign, ordered reinforcements to muster in May, and Edmund was summoned to report at Montgomery.[8] But on 25 April the last centre of Welsh resistance had surrendered - the castle of Bere.[9] The king's army no longer faced an organized opposition and set about hunting down David who had taken to the hills. He was captured in June, handed over, it was said, by his compatriots, and Edmund de Mortimer was one of the barons who were summoned to Shrewsbury for his trial and who condemned him to death.[10] Edward I had at last achieved his aim - the military subjugation of Wales, a project in which his predecessors had all failed.

In June 1287, at the beginning of the revolt in south Wales of Rhys ap Maredudd of Dryslwyn, Edmund de Mortimer was a commissioner of array for Shropshire and Staffordshire, responsible for mobilizing the levies of those counties.[11] As the king was in France the regent, Edmund, earl of Cornwall, summoned Edmund to Gloucester to join the English expedition which advanced through Brecon, and to which Edmund de Mortimer sent 3000 men; later he was responsible with John Giffard for the defence of Radnor and the region of the upper Wye.[12] He and other marcher lords and constables of the royal castles were instructed to remain in their lordships until the revolt was suppressed, and in December Edmund and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, were appointed joint custodians of Carmarthen and of Cardigan to which Rhys had retreated.[13] Rhys was captured and taken to York where he was executed in 1291.

In 1288, during the suppression of the unrest, Edmund had been instructed to ensure that the roads through his lands were cleared of trees on either side so as to leave an unobstructed way a bowshot in width, a bowshot for this purpose being probably about 100 metres. Edmund appears to have neglected his duty, and an indignant king sharply reminded him of the order and the possible consequences to his person and property if he failed to carry it out. He had received similar instructions in 1283; clearly the English lines of communication were very vulnerable to ambush.[14]

With the crushing of the Welsh revolt Edward I had every reason to view the marcher lords' constitutional position as anachronistic. It could be argued that their tasks as English colonisers and as buffers between England and Wales were done; and their 'privileges' - as the king saw them but which the lords of the march considered to be their traditional 'rights' - were disruptive elements with few compensating advantages for the united kingdom of England and Wales which Edward had created by the Statute of Rhuddlan of 1284. Edward, in wisely accepting the status quo, insisted that the Crown's authority ultimately overrode all other considerations, and in 1290 found an opportunity to emphasize this point when he disciplined two of the most powerful lords of the march in a way unheard of since the fall of William de Braose at the hands of King John. The

proceeding was not without danger for the king. He of all people knew from his experience in the Barons' War twenty-five years earlier the threat that an alliance of the marcher lords could offer. But Edward was at the height of his powers, his authority unchallenged; by playing his cards carefully, and in particular by not alienating the baronage as a whole, he calculated that he could safely challenge the marcher lords' zealously guarded privileges.

The crucial constitutional issue was the privilege or right possessed by the lords of the march to make 'private' war. So, when the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, as lords of Glamorgan and Brecon respectively, began to war with each other over the building of a castle at Morlais (near Merthyr Tydfil), Edward intervened. He was determined to demonstrate that the king's authority was superior to the laws and customs of the march. Edmund de Mortimer was not directly involved in the dispute, but the humiliation of the two earls had grave consequences for the constitutional position of all the lords of the march who had exploited their peculiar status to their great advantage for 200 years, more or less unhindered.[15]

In January 1290 the king issued a proclamation enjoining the two earls to refrain from making war. Although they are referred to in this account as the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, it was in their capacity as lords of Glamorgan and Brecon in Wales that they were arraigned. Gilbert de Clare of Gloucester pointedly disregarded the proclamation and Humphrey de Bohun of Hereford, the militarily weaker of the two, appealed to the king. Seizing his opportunity early in 1291, King Edward appointed commissioners to enquire into the facts since his proclamation, taking evidence from a jury drawn from Wales and the march. The marcher lords realised the implications of the proceedings, protesting that the steps being taken by the commissioners were unprecedented; refusing to take the oath, they made what excuses they could for not taking their places on the jury, with Edmund de Mortimer declaring that his lands were too far away for him to bring any of his tenants.[16]

In reply to the lords' argument that matters affecting the march should be settled according to the customs of the march (recalling the clause to that effect in *Magna Carta*), the commissioners observed that the lords of the march in fact held their honours under the Crown, and that on occasion and in the public interest the king was above law and custom. At last a jury was sworn, the facts established, damages assessed and a report made to the king, while the commissioners also forbade, in the king's name, the renewal of hostilities. But the armed bickering continued and Humphrey, hitherto the aggrieved party, now put himself in the wrong by refusing to return some of Gilbert's oxen.

King Edward and the council met at Abergavenny in the autumn of 1291 to consider the case. Humphrey was adjudged guilty of defying the king and of claiming that he was entitled to act in the march in a way in which he would not have done in England, and Gilbert was found guilty of waging war after the king's injunction. Both Gilbert and Humphrey were condemned to imprisonment and forfeiture of their lordships of Glamorgan and Brecon. Edward had succeeded in clipping the marcher lords' wings; but, not wanting to aggravate the situation, he agreed to release the two lords and restore their lands, imposing a heavy fine on each of them which seems never to have been paid. This

affair must have had a traumatic effect on the lords of the march, even if some of them discreetly relished the humiliation of the two earls. A cherished right, a symbol of their status, had been withdrawn by a royal proclamation prohibiting 'private' war. More important, by appealing to the king for justice, Earl Humphrey had opened a Pandora's box of opportunities for the monarch to meddle in the affairs of the march.

In 1292 the lords of the march suffered another setback to their pride by agreeing to a tax on their Welsh lands, as a contribution to the subsidy granted to the king by parliament two years earlier. Although the king promised that this would not constitute a precedent, it was a novel imposition and served to emphasize the new political climate in which the king intended that the marcher lords should hold their honours. In the event, the marcher lordships were to remain outside national taxation until their abolition in the 16th century.

Yet another irritant at this time - but on this occasion to the baronage as a whole - were the writs of *quo warranto*: how can you prove your claim to this right or privilege? Edmund de Mortimer found himself the subject of an investigation into the various rights in Shropshire which his father had appropriated in 1266 and which Edmund continued to exercise.[17] He appears to have defended his claims with some success - if not with the panache of the earl of Surrey, who drew a rusty sword in court crying: 'This is my warrant. My ancestors came with William the Bastard and won their lands by the sword; and by the sword I will defend them.'[18]

Why did Edmund de Mortimer never hold high office under Edward I? The lords of the march had been deeply offended by some of the king's actions, and one can speculate that Edmund may have been more forthright than his fellows, and more imprudent, in protesting to the king. Edmund was far from alone among the lords of the march in incurring the king's displeasure or in suffering from royal interference in his affairs; but perhaps he thought that as the son of King Edward's trusted friend and lieutenant he deserved the royal indulgence that his father had enjoyed. Possibly Edmund was just not ambitious: but if he was, the king appears to have mistrusted him personally or doubted his ability to hold down an important office. Edmund was in no way disgraced - he was, for instance, granted the right to hold markets and fairs, and he was regularly summoned to parliaments and for military service - but his relationship with King Edward seems never to have been a close one.[19]

Causes or symptoms of the coolness between the king and Edmund can be found in several incidents in addition to those already mentioned. In 1290 the king confiscated Edmund's liberty of Wigmore after Edmund had executed a man from the royal lordship of Montgomery. Edward felt this encroachment upon his rights as lord of Montgomery keenly, and Edmund recovered Wigmore only after paying a fine of 100 marks.[20] Five years later, when Edmund refused to serve overseas, the king ordered distraint of his lands for payment of his debts to the Crown; and in 1297, when the men of Maelienydd submitted a list of grievances to him the king appears to have taken their part and pressured Edmund into granting two charters of their liberties - for which they paid £500.[21] Yet another of Edmund's grudges would have been the loss in unrecorded circumstances of his lordship of Cwmwd Deuddwr which the king took from him.[22]

The Welsh revolt of 1294-5 was an altogether more serious challenge to English rule than the local revolt in south Wales of 1287-8. The summer of 1294 found King Edward deeply involved in preparations for his expedition to Gascony and, in June, Edmund de Mortimer and other magnates were summoned to a council which agreed to intervene militarily in the duchy.[23] The feudal host was ordered to assemble at Portsmouth by 1 September, but for some reason Edmund was excused his summons - perhaps there was unrest in his lordships.[24] In September the Welsh revolt broke out and fighting was widespread. Although many English troops had been withdrawn from Wales for service in Gascony, much of the expeditionary force had not sailed for the duchy and within a few weeks three of King Edward's armies were campaigning in Wales. By the summer of 1295 the revolt was over. Edmund had probably been in the marches at, or soon after, the outbreak of hostilities when he and other lords were ordered '...to take into the king's hands all lands and goods of all alien religious of the power of the king of France,' and he served under the earl of Hereford and John Giffard who were responsible for the defence of the middle march from Brecon to Montgomery.[25]

King Edward had political confrontations with barons other than the marcher lords. Resentment at the king's methods of government came to a head in 1297 when the earls of Norfolk and Hereford took the lead in resisting the king's plans for raising armies to campaign in Gascony and Flanders. Edmund supported the two earls, and in March of that year probably attended the conference in Wyre Forest, part of the Mortimer liberty of Cleobury, at which Norfolk and his allies discussed their grievances.[26] Edmund was summoned for service abroad in July and was ordered to send '200 Welshmen from his land in the Welsh marches' to join the expeditionary force; but he remained in England with other magnates who insisted on a number of measures to satisfy their complaints, including the confirmation of *Magna Carta.*[27]

In spite of the delicate political situation the king sailed for Flanders, while a crisis developed as the regency wrestled with the problem of how to avoid a civil war without loss of face. A summons to 220 knights and others to come in arms to join the king's son, Prince Edward, at Rochester included Edmund and other dissidents; Edmund was not a member of the council but he was called to a parliament which was to meet on 30 September.[28]

The crisis was defused by news of the battle of Stirling earlier in the month, when William Wallace defeated the earl of Surrey and invaded northern England. This disaster was the catalyst which brought the factions in England to a reconciliation; a parallel can be found 617 years later with events in Ireland and the outbreak of the First World War. The earls of Norfolk and Hereford were pardoned, steps were taken to defend the north of England, and preparations were made for an offensive against the Scots the next year. Edmund had been firmly identified with the disaffected earls and, along with other dissident barons, was pardoned; but he was never given a major command in the Scottish wars, on a number of occasions being merely summoned for service in Scotland.[29] He was not listed as having been present at the English victory at Falkirk in July 1298, although his brother, Roger of Chirk, was; but the king's army did include 600 foot soldiers from Edmund's lands and 300 from his mother's - indeed most of the infantry in the king's army were Welshmen.[30]

Edmund continued to be called to parliaments.[31] In 1300 Pope Boniface VIII tried to interfere in Edward's plans for Scotland by ordering the king to cease hostilities in what the pope was pleased to call a papal fief. Edmund was one of seven earls and many barons who early the next year signed a letter of remonstrance to Boniface which, it seems, was not actually sent to the pope for fear of aggravating the situation.[32] The same year, 1301, Edmund was granted the lands of his mother who had recently died and he, himself, died in July 1304.[33] He was buried like so many of his forebears and descendants at Wigmore Abbey, and left as his heir his son Roger.[34]

In his marriage to Margaret de Fiennes, Edmund showed none of the acumen displayed by his father and his son in making hugely profitable marriages, for Margaret seems to have brought little to augment the Mortimer fortunes. Margaret survived Edmund by thirty years and aristocratic widows were important pieces on the medieval political chessboard. They were entitled to one third of their husbands' estates and any lands which they had inherited or which they held jointly with their husbands. Margaret held as her dower Knighton, Norton, Presteigne, Gwerthrynion and Radnor throughout the life of her son and husband's heir, Roger (IV).[35] She may always have acted in accordance with Roger's wishes, nevertheless dower significantly reduced his resources. Dower was a problem for the Mortimers which became acute for a few years after Roger's death, when three Mortimer dowagers were alive - his mother, his widow and his heir's widow.[36]

Edmund (I) de Mortimer's somewhat undistinguished career contrasted strongly with that of his father, a far from unknown circumstance for the son of an energetic and successful father. Edmund never achieved great office under the Crown, but whether he was unambitious or inadequate, untrustworthy or just imprudent is not clear. It was his ill-fortune to be head of the house of Mortimer, along with the Corbets and the Braoses the longest-established baronial family of the march, just when the expansion of the Mortimer empire had been temporarily halted by the royal conquest of Wales, and the lords' freedom of action limited by the interventionism of an able and forceful king. These magnates now found that the danger to their interests came not from the Welsh but from royal interference in their affairs. The time had passed when a lord of the march, John Fitzalan, lord of Oswestry and Clun, in 1269 greeted a royal writ with the declaration that 'in the *Parts of the March* where he now resided, he was obliged to do nothing at the king's mandate and nothing would he do.'[37] The 14th and 15th centuries were to demonstrate that the Crown's authority in Wales was only as effective as the king was powerful, but it was during King Edward I's reign, and Edmund (I) de Mortimer's lifetime, that threatening clouds began to gather over the constitutional status of the marcher lords.

2 ROGER (IV) DE MORTIMER *(c. 1287-1330)*

The one member of the Mortimer family who receives more than a cursory mention in general histories of England is Roger (IV) whose career can be conveniently divided into three phases. Until he was about thirty he devoted most of his energy to promoting his interests in Wales and Ireland. After 1318 he played a more prominent part in the state's politics, broke with the king, and in 1323 escaped from imprisonment into exile. The last phase comprised Roger's return to England in 1326, the consolidation of his position as the most powerful man in England, and his downfall and execution in 1330.

1304-1318

Roger was probably born in 1287 and, as he was a minor at the time of his father's death in 1304, Edward I made him a ward of Peter de Gaveston, a close friend of the king's son, Prince Edward; he married Joan de Genevile in 1301 and five years later he obtained the right to his lands by paying off Gaveston.[38] Joan, like the bride of Roger's grandfather, brought great landed wealth to the Mortimers. Through this match the Mortimers were to acquire a moiety - not necessarily a half share - of the lordship of Ludlow together with the castle, the lordship of Ewyas Lacy, manors in Herefordshire and Shropshire and, in Ireland, the lordship of Trim with which went a moiety of Meath.[39]

In the spring of 1306 Edward I began preparations for yet another Scottish campaign, and on Whit Sunday Prince Edward and nearly 300 other young men, among them Roger de Mortimer, were knighted in a splendid ceremony at Westminster staged to mobilize the youth of the country. Here the old king, who had been carried to the ceremony on a litter, publicly swore vengeance on Bruce.[40] Roger served in Scotland and was one of a number of knights, including his uncle, Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, and Peter de Gaveston, who left the army 'without licence before the war was ended, deserting the king and his son in those parts in contempt of the king and to the retarding of the king's business there.'[41] King Edward, ever more irascible with advancing years and ill-health, disciplined the offenders; Roger's lands were confiscated - but soon returned to him together with a pardon.[42] He was subsequently summoned for service against the Scots on a number of occasions, once being required to raise '200 foot soldiers instead of 500 from his lordship of *Mollennyght* [Maelienydd] and his other lordships in Wales.'[43]

In 1307 Roger was called to parliament for the first time, and at Edward II's coronation the following year he was one of the four bearers of the royal robes.[44] Roger was clearly favoured by the new king, most probably through his association with Peter de Gaveston, and at the age of twenty or so he would have felt more at home at the court of the young Edward II than in the service of his redoubtable father.

The Mortimers had held lands in Ireland for over sixty years but seem to have taken little interest in them, and when Roger de Mortimer crossed the Irish Sea in 1308 it was the first recorded visit to the country by a head of the family. The Irish lands in Meath which had come to Roger in the right of his wife, when added to his inheritance in Leix from his grandmother, Maud, made him one of the principal lords of Ireland. He needed to assert his rights in a disturbed country and in the face of hostility from some of the Anglo-Irish magnates.

The remoter regions of Ireland had never been brought under English control, and outside the counties and lordships the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish had always squabbled and fought amongst themselves. By the beginning of the 14th century the government, with its seat in Dublin and under the authority of the justiciar, administered - at least nominally - about three quarters of the country. Although Edward I never visited Ireland, English domination was probably more effective at this time than it had ever been. But this authority was relative; Ireland was a divided country - more peaceful areas, mainly in the east, and areas where warfare and lawlessness were endemic. Absentee landlords like the Mortimers, who were disliked by the resident Anglo-Irish magnates, con-

tributed little to the community, particularly in defending it against the Irish from both the untamed lands in the west, and from scattered pockets of land among the lordships which had never come under effective Anglo-Irish control; and these landlords often preferred to transfer profits from their estates to England. With the justiciar's administration ineffective in many regions and his authority widely flouted, the sword remained the ultimate source of power of the Anglo-Irish in much of the country, and by it they settled disputes among themselves and with the Irish. It was an environment in which a lord of the Welsh march might well find a niche. Roger de Mortimer was for the rest of his life alert to opportunities in Ireland, building up an empire there just as he was to do in Wales.

In December 1307 the justiciar had been ordered to hand over to Roger the lands which constituted his inheritance, and Geoffrey de Genevile was authorised to transfer to Roger and his wife (Geoffrey's granddaughter) the estates which he had been holding for her.[45] Roger was granted a charter in April 1308 to hold a weekly market and annual fair at Ardmulchan in Meath, and the following October he and Joan arrived in Ireland; but in the face of claims by the Lacys and the Verduns, and an invasion by the Scots, it was to be another ten years before the Mortimer titles to their lands - both Roger's and Joan's inheritances - were secure and their status in Ireland assured.[46]

Ireland was not Roger's only concern during this period, but it is convenient to narrate here his progress to authority in Ireland, and turn later to his contemporary activities in England and Wales.

The Irish had been encouraged by the Scottish victory at Bannockburn in 1314 to try to recover their independence and welcomed an offer of support from Robert Bruce and his brother, Edward. In May 1315 a Scottish army under Edward Bruce's command landed in Ulster with the avowed intention of overthrowing the English and restoring the Irish kingdoms. Bruce won a number of victories with the help of the Irish, and advancing into Meath he defeated Roger de Mortimer at Kells early in 1316.[47] Hoping to profit from an attack on the Mortimers, the Lacys who had helped to persuade Bruce to invade Ireland and who had written to the pope in support of Bruce, had joined forces with the Scots and for a time the position of the English in Ireland was desperate.

Abandoning his Irish estates, Roger de Mortimer fled to Dublin and made his way to England; an inquest of 1323 found that Roger's castle of Dunamase had been burned and the manor ruined - very probably part of the havoc wrought by the Scots and Irish in 1316-7.[48] Roger was not blamed for the defeat and in November 1316 he was appointed the king's lieutenant and *custos* in Ireland; Edward II and his council ordered that 'Roger de Mortuo Mari of Wyggemor shall be at Haverford at the above feast (of the Purification, 2 February) with a multitude of men for the purpose of proceeding to Ireland to repel the invasion of that country by Edward de Brus and his accomplices, Scotch rebels.'[49] Roger gathered his army at Haverfordwest and landed at Youghal in Ireland in early April, while the king entered into an indenture with Sir Antoyne Pessaigne, knight of Genoa, who was to provide '5 galleys well found, each equipped with 200 men armed in plate, to be landed in Dublin for the war in Ireland.'[50] Bruce retreated northwards. In June, in a two-day battle, Roger defeated the Lacys who fled westwards into Connaught whilst he confiscated their estates in the name of the king; in due course these lands were

regranted to Roger who now consolidated his position as the general and administrator who had been responsible for the English Crown regaining a measure of control in Ireland.[51]

In 1318 Roger was recalled to England, but the next year returned to Ireland as justiciar, the nominee of the Middle Party now in the ascendancy in England.[52] He energetically restored the administration and sought out Edward Bruce's supporters (Bruce had been killed in battle in 1318), confiscating their lands, rewarding those who had remained loyal to King Edward and granting pardons.[53] Roger held the justiciarship for nearly two years, but in January 1321, as his relations with the king worsened, he was relieved of his office. The previous autumn he had in fact appointed the earl of Kildare as his deputy and had returned to England, presumably to look after his interests there and in Wales as the political situation deteriorated.[54]

Roger had come to Ireland to assert his and his wife's rights. He had found himself defending the Anglo-Irish supremacy against both the Irish and the Scots, he had been appointed to the command of the expeditionary force sent to reimpose English rule and had ended by becoming justiciar. His removal from the justiciarship seems to have been on account of his differences with the king over developments in south Wales and the growing influence at court of the Despensers, rather than any mismanagement of affairs in Ireland. The seeds of Roger's ambition would have grown quickly as a result of his successes in Ireland, and his record there foretold the formidable figure that he would cut in the crisis which was soon to break in England.

Roger's commitments in Ireland did not mean that he neglected his position in Wales which, throughout his career, he recognized as the source of his power and which provided him with military muscle during the crises of Edward II's reign and afterwards. An influential bloc of the peerage had similar interests in Wales. Indeed when Edward II came to the throne seven of the ten English earls were also lords of the march. Edward I had kept the lords on a tight rein, reacting violently to any tendency to individual or group aggrandisement, but under Edward II the political environment was more conducive to private empire-building. A weak king and faction-ridden administration provided conditions under which the marcher lords could flourish; and while Wales no longer offered the opportunity or the threat that it once had done, with lax central government there were still opportunities for the lords of the march to build up their power as individuals and as a group.

In 1309 Roger was granted Cwmwd Deuddwr which his father had been forced to surrender to Edward I, and the following year he was granted custody of Builth Castle.[55] He was soon succeeded at Builth by Philip ap Hywel, but custody of royal castles such as Builth, and Roscommon, Randown and Athlone in Ireland, provided him with scope to exert personal influence and patronage; under weak supervision these bastions of power, nominally the Crown's, could be used for the purposes of their custodian.[56]

A dispute which arose over the lordship of Powys in 1309 offered Roger an opportunity which he was able to exploit.[57] Powys was claimed by both Gruffydd de la Pole and John Charlton; while the former's claim was backed by Thomas, earl of Lancaster and his faction, the latter's claim had the support of the king. Roger had an interest in the matter

in that Powys bordered on his lands and it was his uncle, Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, who, as justiciar of Wales, had been charged with evicting Gruffydd. Armed intervention on the king's order resulted in Charlton establishing himself as lord of Powys, although the dispute dragged on for some years, and Roger was rewarded for his support with a grant of land in Powys and with the marriage of Charlton's son, another John, to his daughter, Maud.[58]

Roger may well have been on the fringe of the baronial opposition when he attended the Dunstable tournament in the spring of 1309; it was here that the great magnates are likely to have discussed the demands for reform which they were to make in parliament.[59] His part in the political infighting in which the Ordainers, with Thomas, earl of Lancaster, at their head, forced through the Ordinances of 1311, is not clear. The Ordinances limited the king's freedom of action and removed Gaveston from the court; although at this period Roger seems unlikely to have overtly supported the Ordainers, he may well have sided with them over one issue. In 1308 he had acknowledged a debt of £80 to Italian bankers, the Frescobaldi, which he may or may not have repaid before the Ordinances were enacted three years later.[60] The Frescobaldi were suspected by the Ordainers of mischief-making, and of wielding undue influence over Edward through his debts to them, as well as providing him with a degree of financial independence. For those barons who were in debt to the Frescobaldi, national and private interest would have been neatly served when the bankers were forced to flee the country leaving the baronage's debts to them unpaid.

In 1313 Roger visited Gascony, 'in the king's service, as enjoined by the king,' with his expenses of £100 being found by the sheriffs of Shropshire and Herefordshire, and by the bailiff of Builth.[61] The mission may well have been in connection with the delicate constitutional position of Edward as duke of Aquitaine vis-à-vis the French king, a bone of contention which the Process of Périgueux of 1311 had failed to settle. By 1313 King Edward had won back some of his independence which he had lost to the Ordainers, and his employment of Roger appears to show that Roger's support of the Crown over the Powys succession, and possibly at the time of the Ordinances and over other matters, had brought him into King Edward's circle of trusted and able servants.

Roger and his uncle were among the marcher lords who in 1315-6, under the command of the earl of Hereford, suppressed the revolt of Llywelyn Bren in Glamorgan.[62] The English administration was still reeling from the defeat of Bannockburn and was also under great pressure in Ireland. There were fears that the revolt in Glamorgan could spill over into the rest of Wales while the nightmare of a Scottish army, victorious in Ireland, crossing the Irish Sea to support the Welsh, haunted the administration. Also in 1316, Roger assisted the earl of Pembroke in putting down a serious rising in Bristol which had probably been sparked off by acute deprivation after a ruined harvest.[63]

1318-1326

It was in 1318, the year that Roger returned to England after his successful campaign in Ireland, that he began to play a more prominent part in politics. Edward II's humiliation at Bannockburn had strengthened the hand of Thomas of Lancaster and the

Ordainers. Thomas was, however, the leader of only a section of the baronage, and the more moderate magnates and churchmen coalesced into the Middle Party around the earl of Pembroke who sought a reconciliation between the king and Thomas. Roger appears to have supported this group which favoured a measure of reform but which was, in fact, close to the Crown and whose leaders thought that they could manage the wayward king. In the summer of 1318 the Treaty of Leake established a *modus vivendi* between the parties with the king getting, perhaps, slightly the better of the bargain. Roger played a part in the negotiations, his opposition to Earl Thomas's more extreme demands hardening as he had just received from the king a grant of the marriage of the three-year-old earl of Warwick to his daughter Catherine, and such patronage might well have been at risk if reform had been allowed to go too far.[64]

The treaty brought Roger into the limelight. He was nominated one of the king's sureties, and appointed one of the seventeen members of the new council with effective control over the king's actions and to a committee which was to consider ways of reforming the king's household.[65] The following year, as we have seen, he became justiciar of Ireland.

For nearly two years the treaty provided a fragile political peace, but in 1320 it was wrecked by the territorial ambitions and growing influence over the king of the two Despensers - Hugh the elder and his son, Hugh the younger. The ensuing civil war between the king and elements of the baronage was to involve the Mortimers of both Wigmore and Chirk. Roger of Chirk had also prospered since the accession of Edward II. Among other favours, he had been appointed justiciar of Wales and granted the lordship of Blaenllyfni; he was active in the earl of Pembroke's party and at the heart of the kingdom's administration.[66] In matters which affected the wellbeing of the Mortimer family, uncle and nephew seem to have seen eye to eye, and together they were to be at the heart of the opposition to Edward II and the Despensers which developed in 1321.

Hugh le Despenser the younger had married a sister and the oldest co-heiress of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who had been killed at Bannockburn in 1314. Not content with his wife's inheritance of Glamorgan, he had claimed other Welsh lands of the Clares and indeed had set his sights on becoming earl of Gloucester. Hugh's high-handed methods and influence over the king were violently resented by much of the baronage, in particular the lords of the march, and matters came to a head when William de Braose let it be known that he was willing to sell his lordship of Gower.

William had been negotiating with a number of barons. Hugh le Despenser the younger, Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore and Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and John de Mowbray, William's son-in-law, all hoped to obtain the lordship.[67] In the confused situation John de Mowbray moved into Gower; William had no son and John de Mowbray regarded himself (through his wife) as William's heir. Hugh le Despenser now persuaded the king that William de Braose's alienation of his lordship had been illegal, as lands held in chief of the Crown could not be transferred without a royal licence. This raised the question of the law and custom of the march, a subject close to the heart of every lord of the march and a delicate one since Edward I's assault on it nearly thirty years earlier. The English law of alienation had never been

accepted by the marcher lords and few decisions by the king could have provoked a more united and fervent opposition from them. Edward I had successfully meddled in the marcher lords' affairs, but at a time and on ground of his own choosing; Edward II had neither the prestige nor the resources to repeat his father's success. Like the succession dispute in Powys a few years earlier, the quarrel over Gower was basically a local issue. It could probably have been settled with a little political finesse or by overwhelming force, but in the absence of either it was allowed to develop into a dangerous political crisis.

Not only at issue were Hugh le Despenser's conduct and influence over the king, but also a royal attack on the law and custom of the march and therefore on the lords of the march themselves. Roger of Wigmore saw in Hugh le Despenser an *arriviste* - a splendid instance of the pot calling the kettle black - who, with the likely support of the king, would threaten the existing administrations in Wales; indeed Hugh had made plain his designs on a number of Roger's castles.[68] Roger of Chirk felt his authority as justiciar of Wales similarly under threat. Both Mortimers feared not only Hugh's ambition but also his threat to take revenge on them for the death of his grandfather who had been killed in the Barons' War of 1264-5.[69]

At this time, and for apparently blatent, political reasons, Roger of Wigmore and other marcher lords concerned themselves with an obscure monastic dispute in East Anglia.[70] By protesting to the king over a minor matter which does not seem to have involved their interests, they were taking the opportunity to emphasize their opposition to the misgovernment of the kingdom.

By early in 1321 Hugh le Despenser was garrisoning his castles and attacking Gower, while an alliance of marcher lords approached Earl Thomas of Lancaster, who was lord of Kidwelly adjacent to Gower, for support. Although Thomas declined to be drawn into the dispute, Humphrey, earl of Hereford, the Mortimers and other lords determined to resist Hugh, and if necessary the king, by force. In March, Humphrey and Roger of Wigmore refused a summons to attend the king at Gloucester, and proceeded to ignore instructions to keep the peace and an order on 1 May not to attack Hugh le Despenser.[71] Three days later they and their allies launched an assault on the Despenser lordships in south Wales. For some five days the barons harried Hugh's lands there before widening the conflict to other estates of the Despensers. In the ensuing sporadic warfare Roger won Clun Castle from Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, whose heir had married, or was soon to marry, Hugh the younger's daughter.[72]

Thomas of Lancaster now assumed a more prominent role in the opposition to the king and the Despensers, and called a conference of his vassals, northern barons and lords of the Welsh march. Roger of Wigmore and Roger of Chirk were among the lords who assembled at the end of June at Sherburn in Elmet, near Thomas's castle of Pontefract, and drew up a list of grievances and an indictment of the Despensers.[73]

The king's inclination had been to support the Despensers militarily, but he was persuaded first to summon a parliament to meet at Westminster in July. As one of the more prominent rebels, Roger of Wigmore would have taken part in the discussions at Sherburn and the decision to march on London. He was one of the army's commanders, and the Wigmore chronicler recorded that his men were dressed in a livery of green with yellow

sleeves (or hands), and that when the army reached the capital early in August, he stayed at the priory of the Knights of St. John in Clerkenwell.[74] After some days of negotiation, on 14 August the king agreed to demands that the Despensers be banished, and Roger and other rebels were formally pardoned.[75]

As soon, however, as the rebels had dispersed King Edward set about recruiting support and regaining the political initiative. He met Hugh the younger at Harwich to plan his revenge and, with the support of a number of magnates who had never wholeheartedly supported the dissident barons, he seized an opportunity in mid-October to take the offensive by isolating one of the principal rebels, Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere. Badlesmere had held high office and had received many favours from Edward, but he had deserted to the rebels and in the parliament of July and August had taken a leading part in attacking the Despensers.

Edward found an excuse to lay siege to Badlesmere's castle of Leeds in Kent, which at the time was held for Badlesmere by his wife. Earl Humphrey and the two Mortimers hurried to Badlesmere's assistance and mustered their forces at Kingston-upon-Thames, preparatory to marching to the relief of Leeds Castle.[76] But before the army, which had been joined by Badlesmere himself, could leave Kingston, Thomas of Lancaster - no friend of Badlesmere - intervened by strongly suggesting that they should proceed no further. Scenting victory, the king refused to listen to the rebels' proposals for a solution to the quarrel and a few days later the castle's garrison surrendered.

The opposition to the king was now in disarray for the Mortimers and other rebels had badly misjudged the situation. And when, after their humiliation at Kingston, Earl Humphrey, the Mortimers and Badlesmere retired to the north to attend another meeting convened by Thomas of Lancaster for the end of November, they must have been disillusioned and suspicious of the earl's political stance.[77] There were a number of defections to the king's cause and Edward maintained pressure on the rebel alliance by forbidding 102 men, including the Mortimers of Wigmore and Chirk, from attending Thomas's assembly at Doncaster.[78] The Despensers' exile was declared illegal and the arrest of the Mortimers and other lords of the march was ordered.[79] Thus, in a rapid change of fortune, Edward II had recovered the initiative. When Thomas of Lancaster and other barons meeting at Doncaster drafted a petition, the king replied in terms which showed that he was determined to deal with the marcher lords once and for all, but that he had no personal quarrel with Lancaster himself. The rebels returned to their estates in early December in the knowledge that the king had ordered his army to assemble at Cirencester in mid-December, and that the royal forces in Wales were being called out against them.

Edward II spent Christmas 1321 at Cirencester, and a few days later marched with his army to Worcester. Earl Humphrey had meanwhile garrisoned Gloucester and with his allies held the vital crossings over the lower and middle Severn. Unable to cross the river at Worcester, the king marched north to Bridgnorth, where he found that the Mortimers and Humphrey had destroyed the bridge before his advance guard could secure it, and then upstream to Shrewsbury.[80] In the meantime Worcester had fallen to the rebels, and when Humphrey returned to Gloucester he left the two Mortimers on the west bank of the Severn to cover the royal army as it made its way up the east bank of the river. The Mor-

timers had by now assembled a sizeable force in an area where 'the barons had their safest refuge, and it was difficult for the king to penetrate it without a strong force,' and they had been reinforced by men sent by Adam de Orleton, the bishop of Hereford; a contemporary noted the ill-discipline of Roger of Wigmore's men and looting by them in Bromyard and Ledbury.[81]

The rebels were presumably unable to destroy the bridge over the Severn at Shrewsbury and the king's army crossed the river there on 14 January. Faced by a superior force, now to the west of the Severn, the rebels' only hope lay in military intervention by Earl Thomas but this did not materialise. A safe-conduct was issued to Roger of Wigmore 'and all those he brings with him or who will come to the king's will, Bartholomew Badlesmere excepted,' so that he could negotiate a surrender to the king; the time limit was extended twice and at last he and his uncle gave themselves up at the end of January.[82] The rebel alliance now fell apart. While the king marched triumphantly through the lands of his enemies, from Shrewsbury to Hereford and on to Gloucester, some rebels followed the Mortimers' example, but Earl Humphrey retreated northwards to join forces with Thomas of Lancaster who now openly defied the king.

By the end of March both earls were dead - Humphrey killed at the battle of Boroughbridge on the 16th and Thomas captured a day later and executed at Pontefract. The two Mortimers were tried by a commission consisting of the treasurer, the mayor of London, two justices and a baron of the exchequer , for 'notorious treasons' which the king recorded against them; condemned to death in July, they were fortunate to be reprieved and began sentences of life imprisonment in the Tower.[83]

The removal from the political scene of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, the two Mortimers and other rebels, had widespread implications for Wales and the march. The king rewarded his supporters with confiscated estates, the parliamentary proceedings against the Despensers were annulled and they resumed their part in government whilst receiving particularly lavish grants.[84] The two Mortimers survived with their lives - although the commons of Wales had petitioned the king not to show mercy to them - but their estates were seized and most appear to have been granted to Edmund, earl of Arundel; an interesting inventory of goods and chattels at Wigmore Castle and Abbey has survived.[85]

King Edward and the Despensers learned little from the crisis of 1321-2. Within three years the barons' animosity towards the Despensers, the ignominious if sensible truce with King Robert the Bruce of Scotland, the escape of Roger de Mortimer from the Tower in 1323, and the desertion of Edward by his queen once again left the king's position seriously weakened.[86]

Although, no doubt, many barons were glad to see Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore behind bars he retained at least one influential supporter - Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford. Orleton had been prominent in the rebellion but the king's attempts to have him removed from his see had been unsuccessful, and it was Orleton who was said to have had a large part in Roger's escape from the Tower in August 1323. Accounts describe how one of the Tower's officers was suborned, the constable and others drugged, a hole cut through the wall into Roger's cell and a rope ladder and a boat provided to take Roger

and his fellow conspirator to the south bank of the Thames. Horses waited for them to ride to the coast where a ship was ready. One can sense the panic caused by Roger's escape from King Edward's numerous writs to his officers enjoining them to do everything they could to recapture 'the king's enemy and rebel.' Edward suspected that Roger would try to make his way to Ireland or France, and it was in fact to Paris that he fled; there he offered his services to Charles IV in his war against Edward II in Gascony and planned his revenge.[87]

Relations between Edward and Queen Isabella became more and more strained and in 1325 Isabella crossed to France, supposedly to mediate between Kings Edward and Charles - her husband and her brother - but very probably in order to escape from Edward's control. She was soon joined by Prince Edward, her son and the heir-apparent, whom the king allowed to go in place of himself to do homage to Charles IV as part of a peace agreement negotiated by his queen. Isabella now refused to return to England with the prince as long as the Despensers were at court, and in her defiance of the king became associated with Roger de Mortimer and other rebels who had fled to France. Her political relationship with Roger soon developed into a personal liaison which gave rise to comment and scandal.[88]

There is little doubt that it was at this time that Isabella became Roger's mistress, but it will never be known whether the affair was based on genuine affection, or on opportunist exploitation by one of the other, or indeed by both of each other, to enhance their political positions. At the pope's instigation, an embarrassed Charles IV demonstrated his disapproval, and Isabella, with Roger and the other English exiles, moved to the Low Countries.[89] There, Count William II of Hainault, who felt himself wronged by King Edward over trade and shipping matters, agreed to support Isabella in a military expedition to England to remove from power the Despensers, and if necessary the king. In exchange he received the betrothal of his daughter, Philippa, to Prince Edward.

1326-1330

Isabella and her small force of some 700 exiles and mercenaries, under the command of Roger de Mortimer and John, the count of Hainault's brother, landed in Suffolk on 24 September 1326; they were unopposed by the English fleet, who were said to have refused to obey the king's orders, and in spite of the king's military precautions on land and the offer of a reward for 'Rogeres heede'.[90] Edward had overestimated his support in the country. The rebels marched on London, meeting little resistance and gathering adherents to their cause along the way. The king with the Despensers and their allies withdrew westwards from the capital and were followed by Isabella and her army. Edward II's best chance of surviving the crisis was to unite his forces from the lordships of the Despensers with those from north and west Wales where, since his investment as prince of Wales in 1301, he had built up a strong bond of loyalty and service which contrasted sharply with the enmity of the Welsh towards the Mortimers of Wigmore and of Chirk.[91] But nothing came of Edward's attempts to built up an army. Time was not on his side for the rebels soon reached the marches; the elder Despenser was captured, tried and executed when Bristol surrendered, and in November a contingent of the queen's army seized the king,

the younger Despenser and a group of their supporters in Neath Abbey. Despenser was tried and executed in Hereford, which Isabella and Roger had made their base after the capture of Bristol, and they ordered that the king was to be held in close custody. After a meeting of parliament, Edward II unwillingly resigned the Crown and the reign of the fourteen-year-old Edward III began on 25 January 1327.

The destruction of the Despensers and the deposition of the king had caused little disruption in the kingdom and had been remarkably quick and bloodless except for violence in London. The Despensers and the earl of Arundel - the one earl to remain loyal to the king and Roger de Mortimer's rival for power in the Welsh marches - were despatched along with some of their supporters, but there were no widespread reprisals against Edward II's men. Indeed the new government appears to have adopted a conciliatory policy towards its erstwhile opponents.

As the most prominent surviving rebel of 1321-2 (Roger de Mortimer of Chirk had died in the Tower in 1326), Roger of Wigmore had clearly played a pivotal role in the rebels' success, bringing energy and ability to the rebellion. His influence over Queen Isabella gave him great power, and his authority naturally increased with the rebellion's success. Those of the baronage who distrusted Roger's ambition, who were acquainted with his avarice and who now feared that one unprincipled regime would be replaced by another, were wise if they kept their fears to themselves in the mood of widespread relief that followed the removal of the Despensers and their patron.

Roger could have followed the honourable political example of William Marshal, when he was regent for Henry III, but the temptations presented to him at the centre of power in England seem to have overwhelmed his conscience and good sense. He appears to have preferred to pull the strings of power from behind the scenes, through his relationship with Isabella, rather than assume a formal position of authority in the new reign. Henry of Lancaster, brother and heir to the earl executed in 1322 and who with other lords had come to the support of Isabella and Roger de Mortimer when they had landed in England, became Edward III's keeper at the head of a regency council. Surprisingly, Roger was not a member of the council though he could surely have had a seat if he had so wished. It is conceivable that he hoped to defuse baronial resentment and suspicion by declining office as part of the regime's conciliatory policy. But from what we know of him, reaction of the baronage to his political advancement would not have unduly concerned him and it is much more likely that he wanted power without overt personal responsibility for the actions of the new administration. Roger's partisans on the council ensured that his views and policies were forcibly represented whilst his influence over the queen gave him a unique standing in the kingdom, largely at the expense of the council's authority. Very soon a breach developed between the coalition of Roger and Isabella and their supporters on the one hand, and Henry of Lancaster's party on the other.[92]

Evidence of Roger's status can be found in references to him as 'the king's kinsman' in some of the grants that he received over the next three years. During the 14th and 15th centuries the Mortimers liked to draw attention to their royal descent from King John, and they also placed great importance on their Welsh descent from Gwladys Ddu and back to Cadwalader and Brutus.[93] Adam of Usk's panegyric of the Mortimers sums up

their claims: 'Besides this noble descent from the kings of Britain, Italy, Troy, England, France and Spain, see how flourished the royal race of the earls of March.'[94]

While visiting London in January 1327, Roger promised to preserve the liberties of its citizens who had so decisively rejected King Edward the previous autumn, and he later witnessed a new charter for the city; for the rest of his time in power Roger was to continue to cultivate his popularity in the capital.[95] He was present at Edward III's coronation on 1 February.[96] Parliament formally pardoned him for breaking out of the Tower and other offences, revoked the sentence of imprisonment on the ground, *inter alia,* that he had not been tried by his peers as decreed in *Magna Carta,* and returned his lands to him.[97]

Now that Roger was in a position to satisfy his cupidity, he displayed little of the sensitivity (or deviousness) that he had shown in veiling his authority as the most powerful man in England. Political power enabled him to acquire estates and offices - anything which would generate income or from which prestige and patronage could be obtained - in an almost compulsive manner. His brazen avarice became as notorious and as resented as the Despensers' had been and it did much to undermine the regime's authority. Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore always remembered that he was a lord of the Welsh march, that it had been in Wales and the borderlands that his family had first won power. Wales was the natural heart of his burgeoning empire and it was there that Roger concentrated his territorial gains. Many of his newly acquired estates had been held by the two Despensers and the earl of Arundel, his former rivals for power in Wales who had been conveniently executed under Roger's auspices in 1326.

From the host of grants and preferments that fell into Roger's hands, the following examples give some indication of the power and wealth which he amassed between 1327 and 1330 (see map). In 1327 he acquired control of the elder Despenser's large and important lordship of Denbigh, temporary custody of the younger Despenser's lordships of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, and also Oswestry, Shrawardine, Clun and other lands in Shropshire and the march which had been forfeited by the earl of Arundel.[98] Roger claimed that he was the heir of his late uncle, Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, and appears to have acquired Roger of Chirk's lordships of Chirk, Blaenllyfni, Narberth and part of St. Clears in what very much looks like a piece of chicanery at the expense of Roger of Chirk's son; Roger graciously allowed his cousin some minor estates, including Tedstone Wafre in Herefordshire, for which he had to pay Roger a token rent.[99] Roger was later granted Church Stretton, Queen Isabella's interest in the hundred of Chirbury with Builth and Montgomery Castles (later Montgomery Castle in fee), and the lordships of Clifford and Glasbury.[100]

As well as land, Roger gained a number of offices. He was appointed justiciar of Wales for life - a key position long held by his uncle - with power in the Crown lands 'to remove constables, bailiffs and other ministers in Wales found incompetent,' and he was made 'chief keeper of the peace' in Herefordshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire.[101] He became justiciar of the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's. [102] In July 1330 one of the last offices to come to him before his downfall was his appointment as chief commissioner of array and captain of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Shropshire.[103] Roger's domination of Wales and the borderlands was complete.

To cap his success, Roger was in October 1328 created *Comes Marchia Walliae* - earl of March - a new honour and the first earldom unrelated to a county to be created in the kingdom. Roger's choice of 'March' served to emphasize his status in the region and the importance he placed on his Welsh power-base. He may also have wanted to mark his wife's descent from the counts of La Marche. In any event it was a title which staggered at least one chronicler, whilst another noted that Roger bore himself so haughtily that it was a wonder to watch.[104]

Roger also obtained other estates and offices in England. Wardships were profitable grants and in 1327, for instance, he was granted the custody of the lands of Thomas, the earl of Warwick, during his minority, and custody of the estates of James, the heir of Nicholas de Audley; Roger's daughters, Catherine and Joan, were to marry respectively Thomas and James.[105] Droitwich was granted to him, together with the custody of Bristol and its castle.[106] He procured charters to hold fairs in Oswestry, Chipping Norton and Ludlow.[107] In 1328, however, and no doubt much to his chagrin, Roger surrendered the custody of Glamorgan and Morgannwg to Hugh le Despenser the younger's widow, Eleanor, who had 'prayed the king to cause her lands, etc., to be restored to her, and the king does not consider it consonant with reason that her lands should be deemed forfeited by Hugh's forfeiture.'[108]

In Ireland, too, Roger was not slow in expanding the Mortimer interests. Trim (East Meath) had been restored to him in August 1327 and this was soon followed by a grant of land in Uriel (Louth).[109] He obtained custody of the estates of the young earl of Kildare, disposal of the earl's marriage, and custody of Athlone Castle.[110] Finally in 1330, to crown his achievement in Ireland where his success as an officer of King Edward II a decade earlier had launched his political career, Roger and his wife procured palatine status in their lands in Meath and Uriel, enabling them to exercise royal jurisdiction in their lands.[111]

Roger de Mortimer who, as a chronicler observed, had taken 'castles, towns, lands and rents, in great harm and loss unto the crown, and of the King's state also, out of measure,' naturally lived in grand style and in 1328 he was permitted the privilege of going armed with his retinue which was largely made up of men drawn from his Welsh lordships.[112] In the same year he held a Round Table at Bedford and a tournament at Hereford, the latter in the presence of King Edward and Isabella to celebrate the marriage of two of his daughters which the royal pair had also attended.[113]

During the 14th century Ludlow replaced Wigmore as the principal seat of the Mortimers, and by 1425 Wigmore Castle was described as 'ruinous and of no nett value.'[114] If, as the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments states, the castle appears to have been largely rebuilt in the first half of the 14th century, this was probably the work of Roger (IV) and, or, his grandson, Roger (V); if Roger (IV) was involved, it would seem to have been between 1326 and 1330, as we learn that is 1322 it 'cannot maintain itself annually' and three years later it 'exists more as an honour than for profit' - hardly likely descriptions of a recent reconstruction.[115] With Roger (IV) at the height of his power between 1326 and 1330, an ostentatious building programme at his ancestral home, which was quite possibly not completed by late 1330, is very plausible. Major work on the defences at Wigmore between 1330 and the mid-1340s, when the Mortimers were politically rehabilitated, appears unlikely. Castles lost much of their military significance in the 14th century, but they retained their administrative function and their prestigious symbolism. The huge expense of maintaining castles was a drain on the finances of even the wealthiest lord and many were abandoned or neglected. By 1425 the Mortimer castles of Radnor, Knucklas, Cefnllys and Builth had all, like Wigmore, fallen into ruin.[116]

Roger's financial difficulties were eased by the many lucrative positions he held and the privileges that were granted to him. Shortly after receiving his earldom he was allowed £10 a year from the dues of Shropshire and Staffordshire; then, in 1330, all his debts to the exchequer - and those of his ancestors - were cancelled and he was granted 500 marks a year from the issues of Wales in addition to his normal fees as justiciar of Wales.[117]

There is scant evidence of any religious benefactions made by Roger, with the exception of St. Peter's Chapel in the outer bailey of Ludlow Castle which the Wigmore chronicler states he founded. Wigmore Abbey was maintained in fitting style for reasons of prestige if nothing else, but Roger probably felt little need to court ecclesiastics when he could rely on the support of the influential Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford until 1327 when he was translated to the diocese of Worcester. Roger did, however, finance two chaplains to say mass in a chapel of Ludlow Castle - presumably St. Peter's - for the king and the queen, his wife, their ancestors and descendants. He also endowed nine chaplains of Leintwardine Church with 100 marks a year to perform the same service; but apparently nine chaplains were not sufficient for this onerous duty and their number was soon increased to ten.[118]

It now remains to recount Roger de Mortimer's role in government and the circumstances of his downfall. With his career for the last three years of his life intimately bound up with the country's history - for it is likely that no major political, diplomatic or military decision was taken without his accedence - his part in public affairs is well documented. Roger's record between 1327 and 1330 was a discreditable one. He showed little enthusiasm for innovative administrative and economic policies, such as those instituted by Hugh le Despenser, and two actions for which he has been held responsible have in particular incurred obloquy - his part in the alleged murder of King Edward II and in the execution, or judicial murder, of Edmund, earl of Kent.

Although the deposition of Edward II had dethroned the monarch, the former king remained a danger to the new regime and, given what had gone before, to the life of Roger. Edward was a figure around which any opposition could rally. That opposition to Roger and Isabella was a far from remote possibility is clear from the plots and rumours of plots to rescue Edward from Kenilworth and Berkeley Castles. In the interests of security Edward was moved in April 1327 from Kenilworth to Berkeley where he was imprisoned in reasonable comfort. A plot to rescue him from Berkeley succeeded and he was freed for a short time in the summer before being recaptured; and then, early in September, details of a further conspiracy became known to Roger de Mortimer. In the circumstances the regime had - as pragmatic governments before and since have had - little choice but to remove the former ruler permanently from the scene. Like others involved in this murky affair, Roger successfully covered most of his tracks, but his countrymen seem to have been in little doubt as to his guilt and at his trial he was accused of encompassing

the king's death. The weight of evidence is that Edward was murdered and did not escape abroad, and that Roger was implicated in his death; but one would like to think that he had no hand in the barbaric method said by Geoffrey le Baker to have been used in effecting it. It is related how Roger received a letter warning him that an attempt was to be made, with the support of certain English lords, to free Edward; Roger and his associates would then be executed or ruined. Roger forwarded this letter to the king's jailers at Berkeley Castle, along with a suggestion of the obvious solution to the danger.[119]

As serious for Roger's reputation was his part in the judicial murder of Edmund, earl of Kent and Edward II's half-brother, for here *raisons d'état* provided no mitigating circumstances. By 1330 opposition to Roger and Isabella had, as will be recounted shortly, manifested itself in a half-hearted and abortive show of armed resistance led by the earl of Lancaster. Amongst Lancaster's supporters had been Earl Edmund of Kent, who had been in Isabella's party when she had landed in England in 1326 and who had served on the regency council.

Although Edmund deserted Lancaster as Roger gained the upper hand during his trial of strength with Lancaster, Roger and Isabella considered Edmund too dangerous an opponent to leave at large, or indeed alive, though he represented no real menace to the regime. It seems that by an unscrupulous intrigue Roger and Isabella's *agents provocateurs* led Edmund not only to believe that the late king was alive but to become privy to an imaginary plot to rescue him. In March 1330, when Edmund had been thoroughly compromised, Roger ordered his arrest; he was sentenced to death and executed. For Roger, however, adverse reaction to Earl Edmund's contrived death far outweighed the advantage he had gained in eliminating the earl. The chroniclers recorded the revulsion which attended the execution - 'allas the tyme!' - and which served only to encourage opposition to the regime.[120]

It was not only Roger's greed and inordinate corruption that provoked opposition. Henry of Lancaster complained that he was being excluded from government, implicitly blaming Roger and Isabella.[121] Meanwhile Roger and Isabella replaced officials who were Lancastrian sympathisers with their own supporters, and tried by various means to win support, in the process quickly disposing of the considerable sum left in Edward II's treasury at the time of he deposition.[122]

One issue in particular was condemned by the chroniclers - the treaty with Scotland of 1328. The Treaty of Northampton was negotiated in ignominious circumstances after the king's (in fact Roger's and Isabella's) ineffective military campaign against the Scots in Co. Durham in the summer of 1327. The treaty appears to have been the personal policy of Roger and Isabella and carried through in opposition to Edward III's wishes.

It was alleged by contemporaries that the negotiations were pursued by Roger and Isabella for their private financial benefit and they certainly managed to lay their hands on substantial sums paid by the Scots in accordance with the treaty's terms. It can be argued that the cessation of hostilities for whatever motive, and it appears that Roger and Isabella were unable to finance a continuation of the war, was in fact in England's interest; both Edward II and Edward III had been unable to extinguish Robert Bruce's claim to be king of an independent Scotland, and the north of England had been devastated by years of Scottish raids. What stuck in the gullets of the English baronage was that the treaty with its concessions to Scotland had been negotiated from weakness and for the apparent benefit of Isabella and Roger de Mortimer. Further, as part of the treaty, a number of lords had been summarily disinherited of their Scottish lands. Roger and Isabella appear to have appreciated the political dangers, particularly the outrage of the disinherited magnates. Tournaments with their opportunities for the baronage to meet and hatch plots were banned. By summoning a parliament Isabella and Roger tried to unload onto it responsibility for the treaty; but many magnates were unwilling to be associated with the treaty's provisions, and the poor attendance at the Northampton parliament which ratified them was later used as justification for denying that the Treaty of Northampton had been properly agreed. 'Accursed be the time when this parliament was ordained at Northampton,' wrote one chronicler, 'for there through false counsel the king was there fraudently disinherited....,' and for this Roger and Isabella were blamed.[123]

Lancaster's break with Roger and Isabella came in the autumn of 1328, some months after the treaty which seemingly he had not dared to oppose overtly when he attended the Northampton parliament. Lancaster and his supporters declined to attend the parliament at Salisbury during which Roger received the earldom of March. Roger appears at first to have turned a blind eye to Lancaster's absence and there were attempts to reconcile the two earls. But when Lancaster, in alliance with the earls of Kent and Norfolk, began to recruit support from elements in London and elsewhere, Roger with an Anglo-Welsh army raided Lancaster's lands in Leicestershire. Lancaster's rebellion was technically against King Edward, although in practice it was a confrontation with Roger de Mortimer, and Edward condemned the rebels as he was neither ready to move against Roger nor had he any wish to replace Roger's patronage with Lancaster's. The earls of Kent and Norfolk deserted Lancaster, and Roger's show of force, together with the escheators' confiscation of the rebels' lands, convinced the earl and his allies of the futility of continued defiance. There was little fighting and by the end of January 1329 the rebels had submitted. Their estates were then restored to them, and Roger and Lancaster arrived at a semblance of a reconciliation.[124]

Roger had acted decisively and effectively, and with Lancaster put firmly in his place, his confidence would have been further bolstered by his deceptive success a year later in having Edmund of Kent executed (as has been described). As for Lancaster, his defeat and the death of the earl of Kent could have left him under few illusions as to his own safety, but he now realised that he needed the support of the king in any new stand against Roger and Isabella.

The eighteen-year-old Edward III seems already to have been considering on his own account how to get rid of Roger when he was faced with Lancaster's rebellion; but he had had to move carefully because of Roger's spies such as John Wyard, one of the king's yeomen who had been associated with Roger de Mortimer since at least 1327.[125] William Montagu of the royal household, and a confidant of Edward, went abroad on the king's business in the autumn and winter of 1329. At Avignon he secretly set out to win over the pope to Edward's plans. John XXII asked for a way of detecting the difference between Edward's personal letters and those under his name but expressing Roger de Mortimer's wishes. By mid-April 1330 Montagu was back in England and it had been arranged that

the words *Pater Sancte* in the king's hand would authenticate any letter as Edward's personal communication. Armed with papal goodwill and support from the king and Lancaster, Montagu and his friends now hatched a plot to arrest Roger de Mortimer.[126]

Roger and Isabella, meanwhile, were aware not only of growing disaffection in the country, but also of the threat presented by a group of exiles on the Continent. Prominent among these was Henry de Beaumont, one of the magnates disinherited by the Treaty of Northampton. In May some of Roger's supporters contracted to supply men-at-arms to protect the court in exchange for grants of land, and in August the government took steps to thwart any landing that Henry de Beaumont and his supporters might attempt.[127] In the deteriorating political situation Roger would have been loath to be out of the country. This was no doubt the reason he received a papal grant of: 'Prorogation for two years, of the term within which he is to fulfill his vow of visiting Santiago (de Compostella).'[128]

Roger's suspicions that more immediate mischief might be afoot were aroused in October whilst he was staying in Nottingham Castle for a meeting of the council or of parliament (it is not clear which). He ordered the gates to be locked and the walls well guarded. But, being arrogant and self-confident, he was probably not unduly worried. Conscious of the power of patronage and in an age when it was the duty of a man in his position to provide for his relatives and dependants, he had built up a powerful political faction by rewarding his family and supporters with offices and perquisites; he had taken care to cultivate the citizens of London and elements among the merchants of Hull, and he maintained a sizeable armed retinue.[129] It would not be easy to dislodge him from power. Roger was now alerted by his agents to the existence of an imminent plot and he accused Montagu of treachery.[130]

Montagu had meanwhile learned from the castle's governor, whom he had persuaded to join the conspiracy, of the existence of an underground passage into the castle, and on the night of 19 October he mounted a coup. When Montagu and his party, which had been joined by the king, emerged from the underground passage into the castle bailey they advanced on Roger's quarters. Breaking into Roger's room the conspirators killed two of Roger's knights in a brief scuffle, while one of Montagu's men was felled by Roger himself. Isabella had heard the commotion and entered the room; but in spite of her entreaty to her son 'to have pity on the gentle Mortimer,' Roger was overpowered, removed from the castle without interference from the garrison, and taken under close guard to London with two of his sons, Edmund and Geoffrey, and two of his knights. One account tells how King Edward at first proposed to execute Roger summarily at Leicester, but with political good sense decided on a trial before parliament.[131]

When parliament met at Westminster on 26 November the major business was the trial of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, for treason - an undefined crime which could be made to fit many circumstances. Roger's 'trial' was in fact something of a misnomer in the modern sense, as he was allowed neither to speak in his defence - a precedent had been set by the trial of the earl of Lancaster in 1322 - nor to confront his judges.[132]

Among the charges in the well-documented proceedings - 'the said things are notorious' - and under the heading 'these are the treasons, felonies and misdeeds made against our lord the king by Roger de Mortimer and others of his coven,' Roger was accused of

appropriating royal power and the realm's government, of procuring the use of the privy seal, of acting as if he were king, and of removing and appointing ministers on his own authority. He had, with his associates, 'traitorously, feloniously and falsely murdered' Edward II. Whilst ordering that no one should come to the parliament at Salisbury in 1328 with an armed force, he had done so himself and had threatened those attending the parliament with violence if they opposed him. He had made the king create him earl of March to the Crown's loss. He had caused the king to take up arms against the earl of Lancaster and his allies, and had exacted unduly severe ransoms contrary to *Magna Carta* and law.[133]

The charges continued: he had deceived the earl of Kent into believing that his brother was still alive and had then brought about his death - in response to this charge Roger is said to have privately admitted Kent's innocence. He had manipulated the king into giving him, his children and associates, castles, towns, manors and franchises at the expense of the Crown. He had appropriated fines and ransomes arising from levies for the war in Gascony, and also taken for himself 20,000 marks paid by the Scots as part of the Treaty of Northampton. He had maliciously provoked dissension between Edward II and Queen Isabella. He had purloined money and jewels from the treasury, leaving the king with nothing with which to maintain himself. He had procured 200 pardons for those who had killed lords and others in Ireland who were loyal to the king, contrary to law and parliament, and when the king would have preferred revenge.[134]

The verdict was a foregone conclusion. Earls, barons and peers, as judges in parliament, unanimously declared that the articles of the indictment were indeed notorious, the gravamen of the charges, which was singled out by the judges as particularly notorious, being Roger's part in Edward II's death. With the king's agreement Roger's judges sentenced him to death as a traitor and enemy of the king and his realm.[135] This time the death sentence was not commuted as it had been eight years earlier, and so on 29 November 1330 Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, who 'was so proud and haughty that he held no lord of the realm his peer,' was drawn to Tyburn where he was hanged like a common criminal.[136] It does not seem that Roger was beheaded and quartered, but his body hung on the gallows for two days and nights before being buried in either London, Coventry or Shrewsbury and probably later reinterred at Wigmore Abbey.[137]

A number of the charges brought against Roger had mentioned his associates. Sir Simon de Bereford, one of Roger's placemen on the council and who had been seized with Roger at Nottingham, was also tried and executed; but there was little other blood-letting and many pardons were granted. Roger's family was not treated harshly, and indeed his heir, Edmund, received remarkable lenity whilst provision was made for his widow, Joan.[138] Isabella retired from public life with an ample financial allowance and Adam de Orleton, Roger's long-standing accomplice, went on to a distinguished diplomatic career.

Roger (IV) de Mortimer has few rivals in English history in terms of the advancement he achieved, the unprincipled methods he used and his final degradation. At least three dramatists have recognized the theatrical potential of his career: Christopher Marlow, Ben Johnson and an anonymous 17th-century playwright in, respectively: *Edward II; Mortimer, his Falle; King Edward III, with the Fall of Mortimer, earl of March.*

In assessing Roger's public life, the dismal record of his last five years speaks for itself, but it is worth noting that his career before 1323 was not unlike that of other magnates and gave rise to little comment from the chroniclers. True, he rebelled against Edward II, as did others; he was ambitious for personal power and was avaricious; so were others; but he also proved to be an energetic and capable officer of the king in Ireland. It was his conduct after 1323 that was so reprehensible and which incurred the criticism of contemporaries and the censure of historians. He had no political vision, self-indulgence was his motivation and he showed little interest in the kingdom's wellbeing. In no way can he be compared with another and greater rebel earl who for a time attained supreme power, Simon de Montfort.

Roger possessed in excess the unattractive ambition, avarice and unscrupulousness which were hallmarks of the Mortimers - and, it must be said, of most successful members of the medieval baronage. But if, as in the case of his grandfather, Roger's abilities and energy had been channelled into the royal service by a strong monarch, his career might have commanded respect instead of condemnation. It was his country's misfortune and the cause of his ruin that he found in the undisciplined reign of one of the most ineffectual kings of England, and in the minority of another, opportunities which he could not resist for unbridled and breathtaking self-aggrandisement.

POSTSCRIPT

The theme of these three articles has been power and how the Mortimers of Wigmore, 'an interesting class of men...who were not of any particular importance in Normandy, but who became so in England,' won it and used it.[139] The history of the Mortimers after the debacle of 1330 is something of an anticlimax in that none of them attained the political power of Roger (IV). In other respects the setback to the family's fortunes did not last long. G. A. Holmes has observed that in the 14th century political crises did not cripple any great estate for ever, and in due course families such as the Despensers and Mortimers recovered much of what they had lost, and in the case of the Mortimers went on, largely through one spectacular marriage, to amass still greater landed wealth.[140] By the time the male line of the Mortimers failed early in the 15th century, the family had for 300 years and more prospered, survived political adversities and prospered again, in a way which few other baronial families had done.[141]

Summarising the fortunes of the Mortimers after 1330, Roger (IV)'s honours were forfeited to the Crown as a result of his attainder and in January 1331 his lands were taken into the king's hands. Later that year, however, the king restored some of the family's core holdings to Roger (IV)'s heir, Edmund (II), styled Lord Mortimer; Edmund soon died, probably in January 1332. For some years the remainder of the family lands were either retained by the king, leased by him to other magnates or held by the Mortimer widows - Edmund (I)'s widow Margaret (*d.* 1334), Edmund (II)'s widow Elizabeth (*d.* 1355), and Roger (IV)'s widow Joan (*d.* 1356).[142]

It was Roger (V) (1328-1360), Edmund (II)'s son, who won back the family inheritance by his loyalty and diligence in the service of Edward III. He fought at the battle of Crécy in 1346 and subsequently was granted livery of his lands in Herefordshire and the

march although he was still under age. Two years later he was one of the founder members of the Order of the Garter and in 1354 the rehabilitation of the Mortimers was completed when the sentence against Roger (IV) was annulled, and Roger (V) was restored to the title of earl of March and received his grandfather's lands.[143]

Roger (V)'s son, Edmund (III) (1352-1381), greatly increased the family's landed fortune in England, Wales and Ireland by his marriage to Philippa, heiress to the duke of Clarence who was Edward III's son. As a result, the Mortimer estates were probably inferior in terms of size and value only to the lands of the prince of Wales and the duke of Lancaster.[144]

Roger (VI) (1374-1398) and Edmund (IV) (1391-1425) were prominent in public affairs and at times skated on thin political ice. But they were careful not to compromise themselves and, perhaps with Roger (IV)'s fate in mind, showed little of their forebear's appetite for supreme power. When Edmund (IV), the fifth earl of March, died in 1425, leaving no surviving children, his heir was Richard, duke of York. Richard was the son of Edmund's sister, Anne, and Richard, earl of Cambridge. With Edmund (IV)'s death the male line of the Mortimer dynasty, the longest established house in the Welsh march, therefore became extinct.[145]

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	*Annales Monastici,* ed. H. R. Luard, vol. IV (Rolls Series 1869).
Baker	*Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke,* ed. E. M. Thompson (1889).
Brut	*The Brut,* ed. F. W. D. Brie, Pt. I (The Early English Text Society 1906).
Chrons	*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II,* ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Series 1882-3).
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls.*
CChR	*Calendar of the Charter Rolls.*
CFR	*Calendar of the Fine Rolls.*
CP	G. E. Cokayne, ed. M. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom,* vol. IX (1936) except where stated.
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls.*
Davies	R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the Marches of Wales 1282-1400* (1978).
Eyton	R. W. Eyton, *The Antiquities of Shropshire,* 12 vols. (1854-60).
Gilbert	J. T. Gilbert, *History of the Viceroys of Ireland* (1865).
Holmes	G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility In Fourteenth-Century England* (1957).
Knighton	*Chronicon Henrici Knighton,* ed. J. R. Lumby, vol. I (Rolls Series 1889).

Maddicott	J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322* (1970).
Murimuth	*Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum,* ed. E. M. Thompson (Rolls Series 1889).
PW	*Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, Edward I and Edward II,* ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols. (Record Commission 1827-34).
RC	Record Commission
RP	*Rotuli Parliamentorum,* ed. J. Strachey and others, vols. I and II (1783).
RS	Rolls Series.
WR	*Welsh Rolls* (in *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls*).

NOTE

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REFERENCES

[1] Charles Hopkinson, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1086-1214,' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XLVI (1989), 177-93, and 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282,' *Trans.,* XLVII (1991), 28-46.
[2] *CPR, 1258-66,* 298, 436, 451.
[3] Ralph was appointed sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire in January 1273 and died before August 1274 *(CP, 281).*
[4] *CPR, 1281-92,* 41, 52; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (1958), II, 1316; F. T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 70. For the king's letter see *op. cit.* in note 1, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282,' 42-3.
[5] *CPR, 1281-92,* 32; *FR,* I, 174.
[6] For analyses of the evidence see: M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (2nd. ed. 1961), 427; *CP,* 282; J. E. Lloyd, 'The Death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd,' *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* V (1929-31), 349-53; L. B. Smith, 'The Death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd: the narratives reconsidered,' *Welsh Hist. Rev.,* 11 (1982), 200-13.
[7] *Loc. cit.,* the Cistercian house at Cwmhir, SO 055711 six miles north of Llandrindod Wells, was founded in 1143 but never completed. By tradition, Llywelyn was buried beneath the altar and the position among the ruins is marked by a modern commemorative stone slab.
[8] *PW,* I, 748.
[9] The ruins of Bere Castle (Castell-y-Bere) are at SH 668085, seven miles south-west of Dolgelley.
[10] *PW,* I, 748. See *CP,* I (1910), xvii-xx, for the summons to Shrewsbury.
[11] *PW,* I, 748; R. A. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd 1287-8,' *Welsh Hist. Rev.,* 3 (1966), 121-43.
[12] *WR,* 308; *op. cit.* in note 11, Griffiths.
[13] *Op. cit.* in note 11, Griffiths; *WR,* 311-2.
[14] *WR,* 274, 318-9.
[15] *WR,* 334-49. See J. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (1901), 220-39, and J. G. Edwards, 'The Normans and the Welsh March,' *Proc. Brit. Acad.,* XLII (1956), 172-4, for accounts of this episode.
[16] *WR,* 337.
[17] Eyton, III, 207-8 and IV, 224.
[18] *Loc. cits.,* judgement in one instance had to await the king's return from France and is not recorded, and in another instance was in favour of Edmund on technical grounds, although the king's right to pursue the matter in another legal form was reserved. *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough,* ed. H. Rothwell, Camden Series LXXXIX (1957), 216.

[19] *CChR,* II, 419; Edmund appears to have become Lord Mortimer in 1295 (*CP,* 282). See *PW,* I, 748-9 for writs affecting Edmund.
[20] Davies, 266. Edmund was also ordered to provide an effigy of the unfortunate man which could be hung on the gallows at Montgomery.
[21] See B. P. Evans, *The Family of Mortimer* (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D. thesis 1934), 192-4, for an account of the Maelienydd dispute and details of the charters.
[22] Davies, 261.
[23] *PW,* I, 748.
[24] *PW,* I, 748.
[25] *CFR,* I, 366; D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (1990), 156.
[26] *Flores Historiarum,* ed. H. R. Luard, III (RS 1890), 101, 294; *op. cit.* in note 15, Morris, 281.
[27] *CCR, 1296-1302,* 44.
[28] *PW,* I, 748. *Op. cit.* in note 15, Morris, gives an account of the crisis.
[29] *PW,* I, 748-9.
[30] *PW,* I, 748; *op. cit.* in note 15, Morris, 286-7.
[31] *PW,* I, 748-9.
[32] J. H. Round, 'The Barons' Letter to the Pope,' *Ancestor,* VI (1903), 185-96; Edmund de Mortimer's seal is reproduced on p. 196 and is described as: 'A shield of the arms of Mortimer, which arms are blazoned in the roll of arms generally called the Parliamentary Rolls as *barre de or e de azure od le chef palee les corners geronne a un escuchon de argent.* S'EDMVNDI. DE. MORTVO.MARI.'
[33] *CFR,* I, 441; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* IV, no. 235.
[34] *AM,* 557.
[35] *CCR, 1302-7,* 175-6.
[36] Davies, 42.
[37] The king was 'surprised and greatly moved' at Fitzalan's bluster and ordered the implementation of the writ to levy £200 on Fitzalan's goods in payment of his debt to the Crown (Eyton, VII, 257).
[38] *CPR, 1301-7,* 244, 462; *CCR, 1302-7,* 377; *CP,* 433; Holmes, 10-11, in which he also lists the principal Mortimer properties (based on the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* IV, No. 235) but makes the point that over half of Roger (IV)'s inheritance was held as dower by his mother (see notes 35 and 36 of this article). The family held the lordships of Wigmore, Maelienydd, Knighton, Norton, Pilleth, Presteigne, Knucklas, Gwerthrynion, Ceri and Cydewain; in Herefordshire the manors of Thornbury, Marcle, Kingsland, Eardisland, Pembridge and Orleton; the manor of Cleobury in Shropshire; in Worcestershire the manors of Bewdley, Bromsgrove, Norton and one eighth of Inkberrow; the manor of Awre in Gloucestershire; in Somerset the manors of Milverton and two thirds of Odcome; in Hampshire the manors of Stratfield, Worthy Mortimer and Stratfield Saye; the manor of Crendon in Buckinghamshire; one third of the borough of Bridgwater in Somerset, lands in Ackhill in Shropshire, and in Eckington and Shrawley in Worcestershire.
[39] The heirs of Walter de Lacy, who died in 1241, were his granddaughters Margery, who married John de Verdun, and Maud who married Geoffrey de Genevile. The Lacy lands were therefore divided into two parts. In 1283 Geoffrey and Maud gave the Lacy estates in England and Wales to their son, Peter, who died in 1292. Peter married Joan, daughter of Hugh, count of La Marche and it was their daughter and heir, Joan, whom Roger (IV) de Mortimer married in 1301. Geoffrey de Genevile transferred the Genevile lands in Ireland to the Mortimers in 1307 before retiring to a Dominican friary in Ireland and dying in 1314 (see note 45). Although Peter de Genevile's widow, Joan, retained an interest in the English and Welsh Genevile properties until her death in 1323, Roger de Mortimer and his wife appear to have acquired rights over them during her lifetime, and an absolute right to a moiety of Ludlow which in obscure circumstances Geoffrey de Genevile granted to Roger. M. A. Faraday estimates that the 'moiety of Ludlow' probably consisted of about one third of Ludlow rents plus the castle and its appurtenances, and a half of the issues of the mills, courts and markets. I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of their origin and descent, 1086-1327* (1963 ed.), 95-6; Holmes, 11-12; M. A. Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (1991), 6-7.
[40] *AM,* 558.
[41] *CFR,* I, 543.
[42] *CFR,* I, 543; *CCR, 1302-7,* 481.
[43] *PW,* II, i, 35, and II, iii, 1202-4.
[44] *PW,* II, iii, 1202; *CP,* 433.
[45] *CCR, 1307-13,* 15; *CPR, 1307-13,* 33.
[46] *CChR,* III, 110; *CCR, 1307-13,* 188; Gilbert, 133. See note 39 for Lacy and Verdun interests.
[47] Gilbert, 136.
[48] Gilbert, 136; Maddicott, 252. For Ireland at this time and for notes 48-54 see A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (1968).

[49] *CPR, 1313-17,* 563; *CCR, 1313-18,* 382, 450-1; *PW* II, iii, 1204.
[50] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland,* III, No. 519.
[51] Gilbert, 142, 531-2.
[52] *CPR, 1317-21,* 196, 317; Gilbert, 143.
[53] Gilbert, 146-8, tells how, according to one account, Bruce's head was brought to England and 'unexpectedly laid, with other heads, on a table before Edward II., while seated at a banquet, with ambassadors from Scotland...The Scotch ambassadors, rising from the table, hurried, horror-stricken from the apartment...the King of England received the head with great delight, and was "right blithe" of the present, glad to be so delivered of "a felon foe."' Roger was made keeper of the castles of Roscommon, Randown and Athlone (*CFR,* II, 393). The pardons granted by Roger were presumably the origin of one of the charges brought against him at his trial in 1330 (*RP,* II, 52-3).
[54] *CPR, 1317-21,* 558; *op. cit.* in note 48, Otway-Ruthven, 240.
[55] *CPR, 1307-13,* 183; *CFR,* II, 58.
[56] See note 53; R. Morgan 'The Barony of Powys 1275-1360,' *Welsh Hist. Rev.,* 10 (1980-1), 21.
[57] *Ibid.,* 12-20.
[58] *Loc. cit.*
[59] Maddicott, 97-101. See *op. cit.* in note 1, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282,' 40-1, for the political implications of tournaments.
[60] *CCR, 1307-13,* 55.
[61] *CCR, 1307-13,* 522.
[62] R. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Llywelyn Bren, 1316,' *Glamorgan Historian,* II (1965), 186-96.
[63] *Chrons,* II, 222.
[64] Maddicott, 224-5. The marriage settled a quarrel between the Mortimers and the Beauchamp earls of Warwick over the lordship of Elfael; Roger de Mortimer probably renounced his claim to Elfael as part of Catherine's marriage portion (Holmes, 13).
[65] *RP,* I, 453-4; H. Cole, *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (RC 1844), 2; Maddicott, 226-9.
[66] *CP,* 252-3.
[67] See J. Conway Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan,' *T.R.H.S.,* 3rd. Series IX (1915), 21-64, for this episode.
[68] *Vita Edwardi Secundi,* ed. N. Denholm-Young (1957), 108.
[69] *Ibid.,* 109.
[70] Maddicott, 263.
[71] *Op. cit.* in note 67, 49-52.
[72] Maddicott, 267.
[73] *Op. cit.* in note 26, 197; Maddicott, 269-79, 289.
[74] *Chrons,* I, 294; *Brut,* 214; W. Dugdale, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 'Fundationis et Fundatorum Historia,' *Monasticon Anglicanum,* VI (1830), 352.
[75] *CPR, 1321-4,* 15.
[76] *Chrons,* I, 299-300; Maddicott, 293-4. Roger of Wigmore's heir, Edmund, had married Badlesmere's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1316. Badlesmere paid £2000 for the marriage and in return Elizabeth received grants of five Mortimer manors and other benefits (Holmes, 43). A late 14th-century transcript of a contract between '...monsieur Roger de Mortimer Seigneur de Wiggemore dune part et monsieur Barthelmeu de Badlesmere dautre part...' is printed in Holmes, 121-2.
[77] For this conference, which some historians have doubted actually took place, and subsequent events see Maddicott, 295-306.
[78] *Loc. cit.*
[79] *Loc. cit.*
[80] *Loc. cit.*
[81] *Loc. cit.; op. cit.* in note 68, 117; *RP,* II, 427.
[82] *CPR, 1321-24,* 51; *Chrons,* I, 301.
[83] *CPR, 1321-4,* 249; *PW,* II, iii, 1204; *Murimuth,* 35. The king and certain royal officers could record an offence; their word, or record, was incontrovertible and conviction more or less automatic (T. F. Plucknett, 'The Origin of Impeachment,' *T.R.H.S.,* 4th. Series XXIV (1942), 56-7, 59).
[84] See R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change, Wales 1063-1415* (1987), map on p. 406, for the Despenser estates in 1322-6.
[85] *CFR,* III, 91; *RP,* I, 400. The inventory ranges from weapons and armour to an ivory chess set and four books of romances, and from a green bedcover with owls woven on it to two broken waggons each worth four shillings (*Archaeol. J.,* XV (1858), 354-62).

[86] For the date of Roger's escape see E. L. G. Stones, 'The Date of Roger Mortimer's Escape from the Tower of London,' *E.H.R.,* LXVI (1951), 97-8.
[87] An account of Roger's escape from the Tower can be pieced together from such sources as *CPR, 1321-24,* 349, 409, 425; *CCR, 1323-27,* 13-4, 132-4, 140; *PW,* II, iii, 1204-5; *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales,* ed. H. T. Riley (RS 1866), 145-6, which gives an incorrect date; *Murimuth,* 40; *Chrons,* I, 305; *op. cit.* in note 26, *Flores,* 217; *Knighton,* 429; *Brut,* 231. See *op. cit.* in note 86 for an alleged plot of 1323, after Roger's escape and fomented by him, to murder his enemies.
[88] *Knighton,* 431.
[89] *Baker,* 20-1.
[90] *CPR, 1324-27,* 325; *CCR, 1323-27,* 650; *Knighton,* 431; *Brut,* 235-6; M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (1959), 83-4.
[91] For Welsh enmity towards the Mortimers see *op. cit.* in note 84, 397.
[92] See T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England,* III (1928), 1-30, for this period.
[93] M. E. Giffin, 'Cadwalader, Arthur, and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript,' *Speculum,* XVI (1941), 109-20; *op. cit.* in note 1, 'The Mortimers of Wigmore 1214-1282,' 31.
[94] *Cronicon Adae de Usk 1377-1421,* ed. and trans. E. M. Thompson (2nd. ed. 1904), 166-7.
[95] *Chrons,* I, 322, 332.
[96] *CCR, 1327-30,* 100; *Murimuth,* 51, and *Baker,* 35.
[97] *CPR, 1327-30,* 14, 141-3.
[98] *CPR, 1327-30,* 125, 328-9; *CChR,* IV, 55. Denbigh, Oswestry and other estates were in settlement of lands worth £1,000 promised to Roger by Prince Edward before he became king.
[99] *CPR, 1327-30,* 141-3; Davies, 47; Holmes, 13. For Narberth and St. Clears also see notes 147 and 148.
[100] *CPR, 1327-30,* 192, 506, 546; *CFR,* IV, 147.
[101] *CPR, 1327-30,* 152, 317, 327.
[102] *CPR, 1327-30,* 311, 327.
[103] *CPR, 1327-30,* 563.
[104] *Chrons,* I, 342-3; *Brut,* 261; *CP,* V (1926), 634.
[105] *CPR, 1327-30,* 108, 311; *CP,* 441.
[106] *CChR,* IV, 172; *CFR,* IV, 187.
[107] *CChR,* IV, 94, 161.
[108] *CCR, 1327-30,* 275.
[109] *CCR, 1327-30,* 159; *CChR,* IV, 175-6.
[110] *CPR, 1327-30,* 484, 515, 527.
[111] *CPR, 1327-30,* 538; *CChR,* IV, 175-7.
[112] *CPR, 1327-30,* 322; *Brut,* 254; Davies, 84.
[113] *Knighton,* 449; *Baker,* 42. The Wigmore Chronicler, *op. cit.* in note 74, *Monasticon,* 352, relates that Roger also entertained Isabella and the king at Wigmore and Ludlow. See also *op. cits.* in note 93.
[114] *Op. cit.* in note 21, 398.
[115] *Loc. cit.;* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire,* III (1934), 205-8; P. E. Curnow, 'Wigmore Castle,' *Archaeol. J.,* 138 (1981), 23-4; N. Redhead, 'Wigmore Castle - A Resistivity Survey of the Outer Bailey,' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XLVI (1990), 423-31.
[116] *Op. cit.* in note 21, 398.
[117] *CPR, 1327-30,* 511, 528, 535; *CChR,* IV, 94.
[118] *CPR, 1327-30,* 343, 494; *Calendar of Papal Letters,* II, 349; *op. cit.* in note 74, *Monasticon,* 352.
[119] See T. F. Tout's analysis of the scanty evidence relating to Edward's death in 'The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon,' *The Collected Papers,* III (1934), 145-90. The evidence is re-examined in G. P. Cuttino and T. W. Lyman, 'Where is Edward II?,' *Speculum,* LIII (1978), 522-43, which contains a speculative version of events with Edward escaping to Ireland and then to the Continent. *Baker,* 33-4, describes Edward's death: '...and having pressed him down and suffocated him with great pillows and a weight heavier than fifteen robust men, with a plumber's iron heated red hot, through a horn applied leading to the privy parts of the bowel, they burned out the respiratory organs past the intestines...' Thomas, Lord Berkeley, married Roger de Mortimer's daughter, Margaret.
[120] *RP,* II, 53, 55; *Knighton,* 452; *Brut,* 263-7; *CP,* VII (1929), 146-7. Roger's son, Geoffrey, was granted many of the lands forfeited by the earl of Kent (*CChR,* IV, 176).
[121] *Knighton,* 447.
[122] *Op. cit.* in note 92, 14-5; A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility 1272-1461* (1985), 96.
[123] R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots* (1965), 15-67; *op. cit.* in note 122, Tuck, 97-8.
[124] For the rebellion see G. A. Holmes, 'The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster 1328-9,' *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.,* XXVIII (1955), 84-9. For Welshmen in Roger's army see *CPR, 1327-30,* 347.

[125] *RP,* II, 52; *CPR, 1327-30,* 192.
[126] For an account of the plot to dislodge Roger see C. G. Crump, 'The Arrest of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabel,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.,* XXVI (1911), 331-2.
[127] *CPR, 1327-30,* 516-7, 529, 530; *op. cit.* in note 123, Nicholson, 63-4.
[128] *Loc. cit.* in note 118, *Papal Letters.*
[129] *Op. cit.* in note 92, 18-9, 22; *op. cit.* in note 21, 237-41 for many of Roger's appointees.
[130] *RP,* II, 53; *Scalacronica,* ed. J. Stevenson (Maitland Club 1836), 157-8.
[131] Roger's arrest is recorded in, for instance: *CPR, 1330-34,* 69; *RP,* II, 56; *Chrons,* I, 352; *Knighton,* 453-4; *Baker,* 46; *Brut,* 268-71; *op. cit.* in note 130, *Scalacronica,* 157-8; *Murimuth,* 61-2.
[132] *Murimuth,* 62. Plucknett, *op. cit.* in note 83, contrasts Roger's trials of 1322 and 1330. In 1330 Roger was tried by the earls, barons and peers of the realm for notorious offences 'known to be true to you and all the people of the realm,' and not as in 1322 by the king's record of his guilt.
[133] *RP,* II, 52-3.
[134] *Loc. cit.*
[135] *Loc. cit.*
[136] *Knighton,* 458; *Murimuth,* 62; *Baker,* 47; *Brut,* 268.
[137] *CP,* 441-2.
[138] *CP,* 442; Holmes, 14.
[139] C. Lloyd, ed. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families* (1951), p. vii.
[140] Holmes, 40.
[141] Davies, 55.
[142] *CP,* 284-5; Holmes, 14: Davies, 42.
[143] *CP,* 443-4; See Holmes, 14-7, for negotiations involved in the return of the Mortimer estates.
[144] Holmes, 17-8.
[145] *CP,* 453; Davies, 48, 53. Anne's grandson was crowned King Edward IV in 1461 and the Mortimer estates passed to the Crown.
[146] Cwmwd Deuddwr had been surrendered to King Edward I by Edmund (I) de Mortimer and was granted to Roger (IV) in 1309.
[147] Narberth and part of St. Clears were held by Roger (III), in the right of his wife, Maud, at his death in 1282 (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* II, no. 446). Lordship, part of Maud's dower, appears to have been conveyed to Roger of Chirk after 1282 and before 31 March 1299, when there is mention of 'Roger de Mortuo Mari's castle of Narberth and his town of St Clear... while he was in Gascony on the king's service.' (*CPR, 1292-1301,* 465). In view of the date it would seem that the Roger in question must have been Roger of Chirk. B. L. Harleian MS 1240 f.21 no. 16 and BL Additional MS 6041 f.23v no. 16 are summaries of an undated charter of Maud de Mortimer referring to such a conveyance to her son, Roger. A summary of a similar undated charter (BL Egerton Roll 8723 m.3v), in which Maud conveys the same lands to her son, *Edmund,* is perplexing. It may be a mistranscription by a careless scribe or may have been superseded by the one to Roger.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] Morgannwg was part of Glamorgan being the Welshry in the northern part of that lordship. Roger (IV) had the custody of Glamorgan for ten months in 1327-8.

MAP

The Mortimers' hold on Wales between 1327 and 1330.

Lands held by Roger (IV) by inheritance and through his marriage, and those held by his mother as her dower (*):

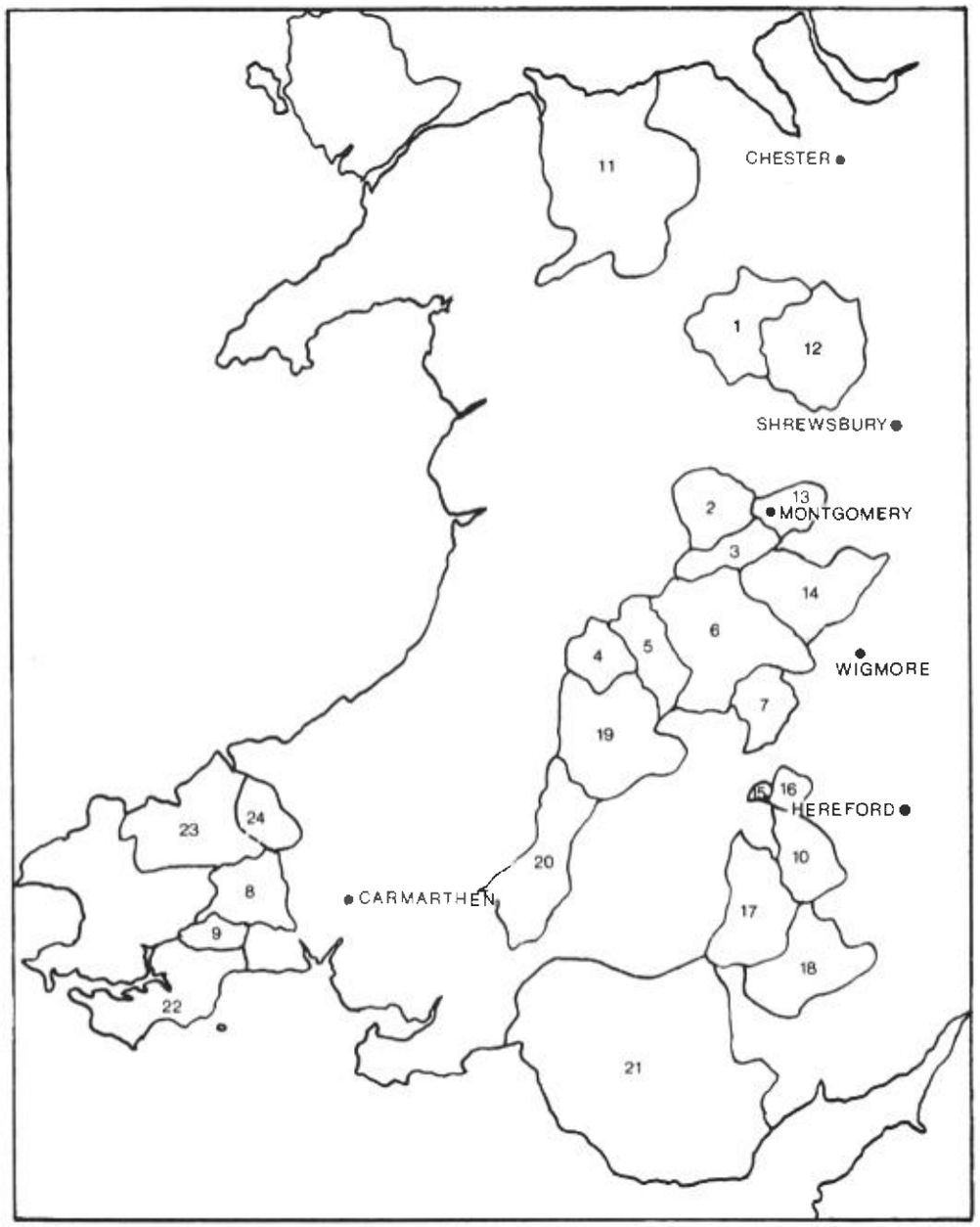
2	Cydewain	3	Ceri
5	Gwerthrynion*	6	Maelienydd
7	Radnor*	10	Ewyas Lacy

Lands gained by Roger (IV) which he held by grant or as custodian:

1	Chirk	4	Cwmwd Deuddrw [146]
8	St. Clears (part of) [147]	9	Narberth [148]
11	Denbigh	12	Oswestry
13	Montgomery	14	Clun
15	Glasbury	16	Clifford
17	Blaenllyfni	18	Abergavenny
19	Builth	20	Cantref Bychan
21	Glamorgan and Morgannwg [149]	22	Pembroke
23	Cemais	24	Cilgerran

As justiciar of Wales, Roger (IV) had authority over the Crown lands in Wales.

Based on R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change, Wales 1063-1415* (1987), map 13, and W. Rees, *South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century,* 4 maps, Ordnance Survey (1932).



MAP
The Mortimers' hold on Wales between 1327 and 1330.

Archaeological and Historical Investigations at 9-19 Widemarsh Street and 41-43 Bewell Street, Hereford

By RICHARD STONE

The importance of preservation of archaeological remains in situ has been emphasised in recent guidance from the Department of the Environment (PPG 16, 1990) the prime aim of which was to associate archaeology more closely with the planning process. The history of the site and the results of the archaeological and architectural investigations are presented, and the mitigation strategy used and the problems encountered in its implementation are discussed in relation to the redevelopment of a site in the northern Norman suburb of Hereford.

BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT

Cooperative Retail Services Limited has recently developed an area adjacent to their existing store to provide a larger sales floor (SO 509 400). The need for archaeological involvement was recognised at an early stage and the archaeological implications of the development were integrated into the project design at all stages, in accordance with the requirements of the Areas of Archaeological Importance legislation (AMAA, 1979) and the Planning Policy Guidance (PPG 16).

Following the initial proposal to develop the site, a desk-top evaluation was produced by the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit (HAS 97). This summarised the historical development of the site, taking into account the results of a borehole survey which had been undertaken previously to assess the engineering implications of the development. This evaluation concluded that significant archaeology was likely to survive, particularly in the N.W. of the site. Accordingly it was recommended that evaluation excavations be undertaken to establish more firmly the nature of these deposits. As a result of the findings of these excavations (HAS 116) the foundation design was altered in order to maximise the preservation *in situ* of the archaeological deposits. A watching brief was carried out on subsequent ground works in order to preserve by record all that was not physically protected (HAS 135).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITE

The site lies to the N. of the Saxon defences, but within the area enclosed by the late-12th-century defences. The site is L-shaped and fronts to the E. on to Widemarsh Street and to the S. on to Bewell Street.

In this area N. of West Street and East Street, and now enclosed by the ring road, which follows the line of the late-12th and 13th-century defences, William fitzOsbern laid out a new development in the late 1060s (PL. XL). The area of High Town and the triangular plot between St. Peter's Street, Union Street and Commercial Street appears to have been a market and the focal point of this development (Hillaby, 1984, 188-9). The site lies

to the W. of this market, with frontages on two of its approach roads. As such the properties are likely to have been much sought after, and consequently of high status (Platt, 1975, 51).

Some distance W. of the site there is evidence for a late Saxon extra-mural settlement (Shoesmith 1982, 61-5; Thomas, forthcoming) but it is unlikely that it extended this far E. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of some occupation of the site in this period. An excavation just to the S.E., in Bewell Square, found that although 13th-century pits had removed all earlier levels, the pits included some thirty-two pot sherds of mid-10th and 11th-century date (Thomas, forthcoming). This suggests that there was some form of occupation in this area, though the pottery may well have been derived from the manuring of fields with household waste, as was common at this period with areas directly outside burhs.

The possibility of a road of Saxon date continuing the line of Broad Street to the N. was postulated but considered unlikely by Shoesmith (1982, 69). Should such a road exist it could be partially within the western area of the site and the opportunity to investigate its existence or otherwise was appreciated.

The date of origin of the adjoining streets is uncertain - the earliest mention of them was in the early 13th century (Tonkin, 1966, 242 and 248). At this period the part of Bewell Street E. of All Saints Church was called Frenchman Street. By the 17th century this stretch, in common with the rest of the street to the W., was known as Bewell Street. The street may have developed in the Saxon period in association with the extra-mural settlement, and in the early Norman period formed the northern side of the wide approach road to the market place, the southern edge of which was formed by Eign Gate. The properties between Eign Gate and Bewell Street are considered to be infilling of this wide approach road. Widemarsh Street has existed under this name from at least the 13th century, and the street itself probably from at least the time of fitzOsbern's development.

Taylor's 1757 plan of the city indicates that the properties of both Widemarsh Street and at least this eastern part of Bewell Street were laid out as burgage plots, those on Bewell Street being slightly wider than those on Widemarsh Street. This development is likely to have occurred directly after the Conquest at part of fitzOsbern's new extra-mural development. The rear of the burgage plots of Widemarsh Street coincides with the turn of the site to the S., while the rear of those of Bewell Street coincides with the northern edge of the site.

Little is known of the use of the site in the medieval period. Cellars are known to have existed on both frontages, but these are of uncertain date. Stone cellars of 14th and 15th-century date survive further S. close to the Widemarsh Street frontage (Bettington, 1939), indicating that the properties of this street were of reasonably high status in the late medieval period, and it is possible that the cellars on the development site were also of this date. The cellars on the Bewell Street part of the site, however, may well be post-medieval.

Speede's map of 1610 gives no information beyond indicating that both frontages were built up at this period. Taylor's map of 1757 is more instructive. This shows that the rear of the properties on Bewell Street were still under cultivation, whereas only the

southern part of the rear of the Widemarsh Street properties was cultivated. To the N. the plot was built up with only a small open area which was uncultivated and probably used as a yard.

This is supported by the documentary evidence. At the N. of the development site was the Black Swan Inn. The earliest known mention of this establishment is in 1663, but this is not a foundation date. From at least the 18th century the Black Swan was a coaching inn (Howse, 1946, 39) which had stabling for eighty horses in the mid-18th century, though this had dropped to forty by 1804. This doubtless explains the use of the built up area to the rear of this plot.

The buildings of the Black Swan were described by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England) as being in good condition (R.C.H.M. I, 1931, 138). They consisted of a main building of timber-framing and brick, roofed in slate and dated to the first half of the 17th century. The front facade was rebuilt in the late 18th century with five bays and two storeys with an attic (PLS. XLI, XLII). On the ground floor the bay divisions were differently disposed, with a shop at the S., then a large gateway giving coach access to the rear. N. of this, below the three northern bays, was a triplet of round-headed windows and a similar round-headed doorway at the N. The ground floor of this front was again renewed this century. Internally, one of the main first-floor rooms had a 17th-century plaster ceiling with elliptical panels, ornamented with birds and other decorative motifs (R.C.H.M., 1927).

To the rear of this building was an early 18th-century addition with a gallery supported on columns to the S. (PL. XLIII). The principal room of this range contained early 17th-century panelling and a fireplace with a moulded shelf of early 18th-century date.

The timber-framing of the northern wall of a back building (behind that described by the R.C.H.M.) survives. The brickwork suggests that the wall is of 18th-century date, but the framing is rescued from a late-16th or early-17th-century building (HAS 116). This was the main stable of the inn, with the upper storey transformed into a dining room in 1909, latterly being used as a skittle alley. Projecting to the S. of the stables, a harness room was later added. To the S. of this was a covered yard used as a trap shed.

The buildings of the Black Swan were demolished in the late 1970s, amid great controversy. No architectural or archaeological record was made (Shoesmith, 1978, 281) and plans to build a job centre on the site were never implemented.

South of the Black Swan was a late-17th or early-18th-century timber-framed building (R.C.H.M., I, 1931, 138), which was demolished to make way for the existing CRS store, to which the current development is an addition.

Less is known about the buildings on Bewell Street. That this was a less important street than Widemarsh Street is beyond doubt, and it is probable that the buildings were of lower status. In the 19th century no. 41 was occupied by C. J. Errington, a painter and decorator while no. 42 was a tavern - The Rummer Tavern - the back yard of which was used by a candle maker. Cellar flaps to both properties are shown on the 1886 O.S. plan but it is assumed that the cellars were of late-18th or 19th-century date. The rear of these properties appears always to have been open. A passage led N. from Bewell Street at the E. of the curtilage of no. 42, and it is possible that this reflects the line of the rear of the

burgage plots which fronted on to Widemarsh Street. The front building of no. 43 is outside the development site, but the rear is within the area, and is known to have been built up during the latter part of the 19th century.

THE EVALUATION EXCAVATIONS

Description

The foundations initially proposed for the new building consisted of a series of bases 1.50 m. and 1.70 m. square, dug to a depth of 3.0 m. These were to be joined by ground beams 0.80 m. wide and 0.60 m. deep.

In order to establish the nature of the archaeological deposits and the extent to which these would be disturbed by such foundations, four trenches (Trenches A-D) were excavated by machine to the top of significant archaeological levels, and further limited hand excavation was undertaken (FIG. 1). The trenches were located in order to test the different deposits suggested by the known history of the site.

At a later date four further trenches (Trenches E-H) were excavated by machine on behalf of the engineer to an average depth of 1.5 m. to determine the nature of the foundations of the adjoining property to the N. of the site. The sections of these were recorded, but no hand excavation was undertaken.

As there was little correlation of deposits between trenches the description which follows is presented not as a chronological survey but by individual trenches.

Trench A

This trench was dug by machine to a depth of 1.8 m., with a further 0.2 m. excavated by hand. The earliest feature was a layer of soil, through which was cut a gully of 18th-century date. A later brick building cut through the southern part of the trench.

Trench B

A soil, containing pottery of 16th-century date, similar to that of Trench A was the earliest feature revealed, at a depth of 1.2 m. A pit and a gully of later-16th or 17th-century date cut this soil layer. A further soil, itself cut by a drain, overlay these features.

Trench C

An E.-W. wall which survived to ground level divided this trench into two parts. To the N. of the wall was a series of layers, of soil and household waste, of 18th century-date. Earlier deposits - more than 0.9 m. deep - were left unexcavated. Above these layers was a brick floor laid on scalpings.

To the S. of the wall was an entirely different series of soils and household waste, of which the earliest was an organic silt again of 18th-century date, which was not excavated. A N.-S. wall butted against the southern side of the E.-W. wall, but its relationship with the soils is unclear as it was obscured by the machine excavation.

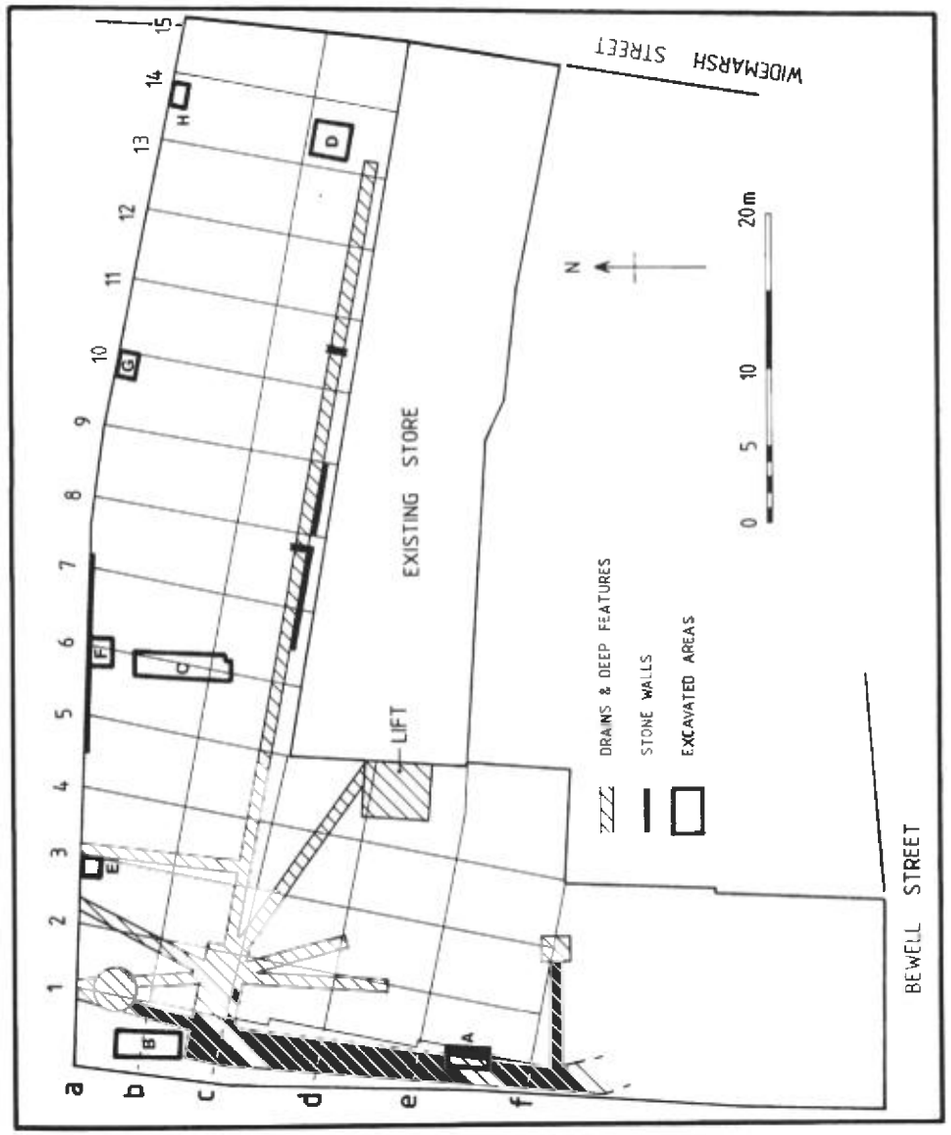


FIG. 1
The location of the excavated trenches, showing the position of the surviving timber-framing, walls revealed in excavation, and the extent of the drainage.

Trench D

A recently infilled cellar of four phases was revealed. Phase 1 consisted of a N. and a S. wall built of coursed sandstone, which had been whitewashed. These walls continued E. and W. beyond the trench edges and it could be seen that the wall survives higher to the E. of the phase 2 work. The bottom of the cellar was not reached (2.0 m. deep) and there was no dating evidence. Phase 2 was the addition of a tunnel vault of brick, also whitewashed. The E. end of this was found, its bricks were of 18th-century type. Phase 3 was the addition of a vault at right angles to the first vault, butted against it and rising from its eastern termination. The bricks of this vault were different but also suggest an 18th-century date; they too were whitewashed (including the area covered by the phase 4 work). Phase 4 was the addition of a brick wall below the junction of the two vaults, this appears to be of 19th-century date, and was not whitewashed, at least on its western side.

Trench E

A series of soil layers was revealed, several of which were cut by the foundation trench for the building of the adjacent property. No dating evidence was found, but the earliest two layers were similar to the earliest two layers of Trench B, and may be of similar date.

Trench F

Successive layers of soil and household waste were recorded in the eastern section. The deposits of the western section consisted of pits. One sherd of 17th-century pottery was recovered from the lower deposits, but it is uncertain whether this was in a primary context. The majority of the layers were cut by the stone foundations of the brick wall - this is the wall which contains the timber-framing - and are therefore of 18th-century date or earlier.

Trench G

The lowest layer produced a single sherd of 13th-century pottery.Above this was a layer of sandstone rubble which may be related to a wall in this position. A further sherd of late-13th or 14th-century pottery was recovered from a later layer, and above this was a charcoal rich layer, perhaps indicating that there was a fire in this area. A fragment of late medieval floor tile of Droitwich ware was found at a higher level. This ceramic sequence suggests that these layers are medieval rather than representing layers containing residual material. However, as the trench was excavated by machine this remains uncertain.

There was no firm evidence of a trench for the stone foundations of the wall of the adjacent property. This stonework is 1.3 m. deep, much deeper than the other stone footings found on the site and it is considered possible that this represents an early wall, on which a brick wall was later built.

Trench H

The N. wall of a recently infilled cellar, built of coursed sandstone and known from documentary evidence, was revealed. The stone had been whitewashed and at present forms the foundation of the frontage building to the N. of the development site.

Discussion of the Evaluation Excavations

The borehole survey had established that the natural gravels were not to be anticipated above a depth of 2.2 m. below present ground level. As none of the excavations reached this depth the natural gravels were not encountered. The dating evidence, though sparse, indicated that the earliest deposits encountered (in Trenches F and G) were of post-Conquest date. None of the trenches partially excavated by hand (A, B, C and D) disturbed levels of medieval date, and it was not possible to make any meaningful interpretation of the use of the site during the medieval period.

At the W. of the site (Trenches A, B and E) the deposits confirm the documentary and cartographic evidence that this area was under cultivation until the 19th century. As early deposits were not encountered, the possibility of a road of Saxon date could not be tested.

At the E. of the site (Trenches D and H) cellarage associated with the buildings fronting onto Widemarsh Street was encountered. The presence of cellarage at the N. of this plot was known, but at the S. its presence was uncertain until these investigations. The absence of cellar flaps in this part of the street frontage on the 1886 O.S. 1:500 plan suggests that the cellars were either disused by this period or were not served from the street, but from within the courtyard.

The central part of the site, that is, the backland of the Widemarsh Street property, had more complex stratigraphy (Trenches C, F and G). In this area the medieval deposits were estimated as being some 1 m. in depth. Only in Trench F was there evidence of late pits cutting the earlier stratigraphy. It was therefore concluded that the deposits in this area were relatively undisturbed and of archaeological importance.

As a consequence of the evaluation excavations it was recommended that the foundation design be altered to enable the deposits to be preserved *in situ,* particularly in the area to the rear of Widemarsh Street.

REVISION OF THE FOUNDATION DESIGN

As a result of this recommendation the foundation design was completely revised. Piles 0.20 m. in diameter were driven through the ground and the dimensions of the beams between them was reduced to 0.50 m. wide and 0.66 m. deep. As a result the potential archaeological damage which would be caused by the foundations was reduced from 91 sq. m. to 7.7 sq. m. The damage caused by the ground beams was considered slight as the deposits above the level disturbed were of 18th-century and later date. Documentary evidence for this period is better than for the earlier post-medieval and medieval periods and it was considered that the evaluation excavations had adequately established the nature of the archaeological deposits.

This change in foundation design ensured the preservation *in situ* of almost all archaeological deposits and minimised the need for further archaeological intervention, which was then established at the level of a watching brief.

The drainage associated with the development consisted of a long trench excavated directly N. of the existing CRS store from near Widemarsh Street to the W. of the site, at

which point it joined a trench leading S. and then S.E. to join an existing run. In addition to these there were seven minor runs joining the two main trenches. A watching brief with provision for salvage recording was agreed.

THE WATCHING BRIEF

It was most disappointing that, despite the complete co-operation of the developer and the architects throughout the project, the main site contractor failed to comply with the archaeological conditions laid down in the project design. The contractor consistently failed to give advance notice of their programme of operations and substantial stretches of the trenches were excavated and backfilled without any archaeological intervention.

The Foundations

Along the Widemarsh Street frontage a number of wall footings of brick, stone and concrete were noted. It is possible that the earliest of these may be of medieval date but no firm dating evidence was found. Three fragments of reused worked sandstone relating originally to a window probably of 16th-century date (one sill and two mullion fragments) were recovered from the spoil.

Towards Bewell Street, at the S. of the new building, a trench was opened as piling failed to give the required stability. A brick and stone lined pit of 19th-century date was revealed, but no earlier features were encountered.

To the W. of the existing store the base for a lift shaft was dug through a large post-medieval pit which continued through the natural gravels; this caused little archaeological damage.

The Drainage

The excavation of these trenches proved to be the most archaeologically damaging feature of the development.

During the excavation of the main E.-W. drainage trench several stone walls or footings were exposed but no building dimensions were revealed. At the E., where the trench was 1.0 m. deep, a sherd of medieval pottery was recovered and a possible buried soil level uncovered. Further W., at this depth, were the stone walls. In this area, where the trench was 1.3 m. deep, a further sherd of medieval pottery was found in an unstratified context. Further W. again were more stone walls, with associated pottery of the 18th and 19th centuries.

At the W. of the site on the line of this trench two inspection chambers were excavated to the natural gravels (1.9 m. deep). Salvage recording of these showed that the earliest archaeological deposit consisted of a soil level, with several subsequent soil levels built up above it. There was no evidence to date these deposits but it is likely that they represent a gradual build-up during the medieval and post-medieval periods. There was no evidence of any extraction or dumping in this area and the latest deposits below the current ground surface were of gravel and rubble of 19th and 20th-century date.

Where the main N.-S. trench was seen it appeared that towards the N. the deposits were similar to those seen in the western inspection chambers of the E.-W. trench. In the southern part of the site the trench cut through backfilled brick cellars.

The deposits seen in the minor trenches were similar to those revealed in the main E.-W. trench. The only feature noted in these trenches was a 2.10 m. by 2.15 m. oval unmortared brick structure 2.90 m. deep, capped with a primary mortared brick dome. This structure was built directly on the natural gravels and a 0.25 m. thick sludge had built up at the base. There was no evidence of any access to this structure at any time. The form suggests that it was used for some form of drainage but the lack of access makes its use obscure.

Discussion

Owing to the limited nature of the watching brief little archaeological information was added to that known from the evaluation. The whole of the rear of 41 and 42 Bewell Street appears to have been open from its occupation to the present day. The walls relating to the known buildings to the rear of no. 43 were not seen.

The existence of several stone walls on the site is of interest. Stone buildings in Hereford are rare, and few of these were built for private individuals. Several excavations in the city have, however, firmly established that stone footings with timber-framing or brick superstructures were often employed in both the medieval and post-medieval periods. As the Widemarsh Street property was doubtless in private ownership it is likely that the reused 16th-century window fragments were brought from elsewhere; however, the possibility that there was a pretentious stone building on the site prior to the Black Swan cannot be ruled out.

At the W. of the site, where the drainage trenches were dug to the natural gravels, there was no evidence to suggest the presence of a N.-S. road of any date. This tends to confirm the hypothesis that there was no road leading N. from Broad Street.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE PROJECT

The main tenet of modern archaeological practice, that damage to the buried historical heritage should be minimised, if possible by preservation *in situ* and, if not, by preservation by record, was fully integrated into the project design by the architects. Consequently, the damage to the stratified archaeology was significantly less than had been envisaged under the original proposals.

However, this has the effect that any investigations of the archaeology give little more than glimpses of the past development of the site - what has been termed key-hole archaeology. In such circumstances it is essential that the recovery of data should be as complete as possible. The lack of co-operation of the main contractor in informing the archaeologists of their programme led to loss of information, highlighting the problems still inherent in such projects, despite the willingness of the developer to conform with the current planning guidance.

Accordingly, little was added to the understanding of the development of the site, although it is clear that the Widemarsh Street property has always been more built up, and that more complex stratigraphy survives in this area than is the case with the Bewell Street properties, and that the archaeological resource of the site has been largely preserved.

THE ARCHIVE

The project archive is lodged with the Hereford City Museum and Art Gallery and consists of:

53 context sheets, numbered 5251-5303
1 site notebook
5 sheets of 1:20 drawings
1 photographic record
2 boxes of finds (boxes 705 & 706)
1 sheet of matrices
2 interim reports (HAS116 and HAS135)
1 ceramic report (A. Vince)
1 bone report (S. Pinter-Bellows)

The site codes are HE 91J and HE 92A.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The City of Hereford Archaeology Unit would like to thank Cooperative Retail Services Ltd. and their architects Leslie Jones for their co-operation at all stages in the project, and for funding this publication. Thanks are also due to Alan Vince (City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit) who identified and analysed the pottery and to Stephanie Pinter-Bellows who studied the bone.

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Reports of the Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 1995

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

The last twelve months have been a very difficult period for the city archaeology unit. Existing projects were completed but new projects, which had been plentiful during 1994, did not materialise in 1995. Eventually, the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee had to take the grim decision to make several members of staff redundant. Richard Morriss, the assistant director left to start Richard K. Morriss & Associates, but he agreed to work for the Unit on a consultancy basis - a system that continues to work well for all involved. Richard Stone and Nic Appleton-Fox have also set themselves up as a private consultancy - Marches Archaeology. Fortunately, there has been sufficient work for the remaining six members of staff and all indications are that this will continue into 1996. The Unit is now centrally based in the city at Hereford House, 3 Offa Street, in premises belonging to the Hereford Herd Book Society.

The Unit is continuing with a comprehensive publication programme. The volume of Excavations in Hereford covering the period 1976-90, delayed a little when Alan Thomas left to work for another Unit, should be published in 1998. A report on the important excavation that took place in Cathedral Close in advance of the construction of the Mappa Mundi building is now with the publisher and should be in the local book shops by May 1996. Richard Morriss is now in the final stages of his work on the timber-framed buildings of Hereford. With historical research undertaken by Dr. Pat Hughes and the drawings by staff illustrator and designer, Brian Byron, this volume, to be published in the English Heritage Research Report Series, will present the results of the many surveys and analyses carried out by Unit staff during the past twelve years. Included, amongst many others, will be such important buildings as 20 Church Street, 41a Bridge Street, 29 Castle Street, 50a Commercial Street, Pool Farm, the Booth Hall, and, of course, the Old House. Dendrochronological dating is being used to provide more accurate construction dates for several of these buildings.

Dates already obtained include

20 Church Street:	1327-70 (probably pre-1349)	
Cathedral Barn:	primary phase:	1253-88
	present roof:	1491 precisely

The volume will have to go through various editorial stages and will probably not be in the book shops until 1999.

The Unit is also continuing its work on a major publication for English Heritage on Goodrich Castle. The volume is to include specially commissioned historical research by Bruce Coplestone-Crow and Pat Hughes which will help to put the many constructional

periods at Goodrich into a historical context. This report will contain copies of the many survey drawings produced by the Unit as restoration work took place and will be profusely illustrated with original engravings, maps and old and modern photographs. This project has at least another year to run and the volume is unlikely to be published until 2000.

Both past and present Unit staff have been responsible for a variety of articles which, it is hoped, will be published in future issues of the *Transactions.* They include work on a variety of sites in Widemarsh Street and on the excavation in advance of the recently-completed extension to Chadds Department store in Commercial Street.

The Unit completed its work at All Saints Church with an archival report on the S. aisle roof (No. 245) that included drawings of all twenty-eight trusses before and after the repair works had taken place. This followed the Unit's survey work on the W. window of the nave, the excavation of the foundations of the tower, and the detailed drawing and assessment of the constructional periods of the spire.

There have been several watching briefs in the city during 1995. Each one is the subject of a separate report in the Hereford Archaeology Series and copies are available in the Broad Street Library. They include: a series of excavations by British Gas replacing mains (Report No. 229); trenches at the rear of 5 St. Peter's Street (No. 240); examinations in advance of an extension at 9 St. Ethelbert Street (No. 253); an examination of engineers trial pits at the old Ravenhill's (Hartford Motors) site in Commercial Road adjoining the St. Guthlac's precinct (No. 251), and a desk-top survey followed by an evaluation excavation on the southern corner of Stonebow Road and Commercial Road in advance of a proposed realignment. The latter exposed a ditch that could be part of the precinct boundary of St. Guthlac's monastery (Nos. 242 & 248).

Unit staff also completed two evaluation excavations in the city that were associated with the defences. In the car park to the N. of the John Venn Building in Bath Street, there were substantial traces of the late 12th-century embankment that preceded the city wall as a defensive feature. Unfortunately the city wall itself had been completely removed, probably when houses were built to face Bath Street in the 18th century (No. 257). The earthen defensive embankment was also a substantial feature in an evaluation trench at the rear of 22-6 St. Martin's Street, S. of the river. This embankment, of which the Rowe Ditch across Bishop's Meadow is a visible part, once enclosed the bridgehead settlement of St. Martin's and was last used during the Civil War. It was probably built in the 12th century although the foundation of the settlement on this side of the Wye is likely to have been a couple of centuries earlier. Also on the S. of the river, the Unit produced a consolidated report on the archaeological investigations associated with the new housing development at Nash's Sack Warehouse (No. 252).

Towards the end of the year the Unit produced a desk-top evaluation of the large site adjoining the Wye Bridge on the N. bank, part of which was until recently occupied by Mead & Tomkinson's garage and the remainder comprising the grounds of Gwynne House. This report included many details about the buildings that were once in this area including the Bell Inn, once the headquarters of the barge men, where Herefordshire steaks and chops were available as early as the 1830s (No. 263).

The Unit has been co-operating with the City Council on three projects recently. In the first case, the Unit organised research into documentary cartographic and illustrative material to establish the various changes that had taken place in the paving of Church Street over the last two hundred years. The results were presented as an illustrated report and as a drawing by Brian Byron showing a possible reconstruction using modern materials (No. 254). The Unit also carried out a watching brief on the demolition of the bandstand and the associated water features at Redcliffe Gardens to ensure that there was no damage to the archaeological resource in this area. A report was produced to satisfy the requirements of the Scheduled Monument Consent for the work (No. 259). In November, in response to a request by the City Council, the Unit made use of its records to provide information about the extent of the recent vandalism at Blackfriars Priory in advance of discussions with English Heritage concerning repairs and the requirement for Scheduled Monument Consent (No. 262).

Co-operation with the City Council will continue in the New Year in the Castle Green area where repairs are due to take place in the 'grotto' area near the suspension bridge. Scheduled Monument Consent has been obtained for this work and the Unit will monitor the work and provide a suitable report.

The latter part of the year was taken up with survey work at Dilwyn Church and Great Witley Court. The former including a record of the three layers of timber work, all of different periods, that covers the roof of the N. chapel and stone-by-stone recording of part of the clerestorey and S. aisle. At Great Witley Court the team has completed a detailed survey of part of the extensive stable yard. Richard Morriss, in his capacity as consultant, provided the analysis. English Heritage intend to reconstruct these buildings to provide accommodation for a custodian, a visitors' centre and a shop. The survey and analysis of the various buildings that survive provides accurate information that enables the architect to design the new building in character with the original. Also at Witley, but earlier in the year, the Unit carried out a detailed survey of the link block between the main building and the church (No. 232) and a detailed survey of all the loose architectural stone around the building (No. 235). Since then the Unit has been commissioned by English Heritage to carry out a detailed archaeological landscape survey of the southern part of the 800 acre park that once surrounded Witley Court. This will complement the report (No. 215) on the northern part of the park that was produced in 1994.

The 1995 season of consolidation work has been completed at Craswall Priory and the drafting team have prepared an overlay to their original survey showing the extent of the work. A short report, including photographs and drawings, is being produced. Early in the year, the Unit completed a survey and analysis of the surviving parts of the Bishop's Palace at Old Court Farm, Bosbury in advance of possible development (No. 231). Also in the county, watching briefs were undertaken at Longtown Castle (No. 234) and Dinedor Hill Fort (No. 249).

From time to time members of the Woolhope Club have expressed their concern about the rapidly deteriorating condition of the historic Mortimer castle at Wigmore. Late in 1995 English Heritage came to an agreement with John Gaunt, the owner, to take the monument into guardianship. During the next two to three years English Heritage intend

to carry out a massive programme of renovation to make the castle safe for people to visit. The project will inevitably involve much detailed recording work and some excavation. The Unit has already provided an initial photographic survey of the whole of the castle for English Heritage and this will shortly be repeated now that the leaves are off the trees. The Unit is also reviewing all the secondary documentary, cartographic and illustrative material available for the Castle.

The Unit continues to receive requests to make use of its specialised building recording techniques and analytical knowledge throughout the region. During 1995 the following out-of-county work was commissioned and report produced:

Harvington Hall, Worcestershire - Survey and watching brief (Nos. 233 & 238)
The Summer House, Blodwel, Shropshire - Survey and analysis (No. 239)
Broughton Castle, Oxon - Analysis following phase ten repair work (No. 241)
Inge Street, Birmingham - Survey and analysis of back-to-back housing (No. 243)
Saltford Brass Mill, Avon - third interim survey report (No. 244)
Stanley Mill, Stroud, Glos. - watching brief (No. 246)
Warmley Industrial Complex, Avon - Survey for management (No. 247)
Queen Elizabeth House, Worcester - Roof survey (No. 250)

There has been a need for some time to make changes to the Constitution of the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee in order to meet modern requirements. Ongoing discussions with the Charity Commission, originally initiated by the Committee, are now nearing completion and agreement has been reached on all major points. A new Charity will be set up which will be a Company Limited by Guarantee and not having a Share Capital. The Charity Commissioners have agreed in principle that the new Charity will be able to take over the property of the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee and that it can have similar objects to the present Committee, but that they will apply to the whole county of Hereford rather than just the city. A second company will be formed to cover the trading aspects of the Unit's work. This will include any contracts that the Unit may undertake outside Herefordshire. This Company will be wholly owned by the Charity and will have Directors who will be responsible for the day-by-day running. The new charity will be called 'The Hereford City and County Archaeological Trust' with the trading company called 'Archaeological Investigations Ltd.' The Trust will reflect the origins of the archaeological organisation in the city and also the re-creation of the historic County of Herefordshire. It is perhaps worth noting that the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was formed in 1974, the year when Herefordshire and Worcestershire were amalgamated, whilst the creation of the new Charity will, we hope, help to celebrate the re-creation of the County of Hereford as a Unitary Authority.

Botany, 1995

By PETER THOMSON

Using records held by the Botanical Society of the British Isles Recorder for Herefordshire

The next four years, until October 2000, will be a very active period for botanists throughout Britain as during that time there is to be a new survey of wild plants culminating in a new Atlas of British Flora. This will give a picture of the present state of plant distribution and allow fairly detailed conclusions to be drawn about the changes which have taken place in the forty years which have elapsed since the original Atlas of British Flora was published. It will also provide up to date information on which policies on plant conservation can be based. Records will be collected from each 10 km. square on the Ordnance Survey maps and will include records of plants present before 1970, between 1970 and 1987 and post 1987. In Herefordshire we are fortunate in that a great deal of recording has been done since 1987 and all information collected in that time will be usable.

Records of plants this year have come in from a number of sources and I am indebted to the following for information which they have supplied:- David Armstrong (DA), E. Blackwell (EB), Dr. Anthea Brian (AB), Miss M. Evershed (ME), Ms Paige Mitchell (PM), Mrs. Stephanie Thomson (SET), Mrs. Jean Wynne-Jones (JW-J) and Mark Lawley (ML).

Equisetum sylvaticum, Wood horsetail, ML Leinthall Earls.

E. telmateia, Great horsetail, ML Leinthall Starkes.

Ranunculus parviflorus, Small-flowered buttercup, ML Tatteridge Hill.

Urtica urens, Small nettle, Aymestrey area.

Diplotaxis tenuifolia, Perennial wall-rocket, ML Tram Inn.

Anagallis tenella, Bog pimpernel, DA May Hill.

Agrimonia procera, Fragrant agrimony, ML near Street Court. This plant is rarely reported and may be overlooked because of its similarity to *Agrimonia eupatoria,* Agrimony. According to the *Atlas of the British Flora,* (1962), it had at that time disappeared from many of its pre-1930 sites in the county.

Mercurialis annua, Annual mercury. Gardens in Harold Street and Ledbury Road, Hereford. This relative of Dog's mercury is dominantly a plant of the S.E. and is near its limit in Herefordshire. This may account for its appearance in several sites during the very hot summer.

Anthriscus cerefolium, Chervil, SET. Reported as very rare in the county in Purchas and Ley's *Flora,* (1889), but 'abundant on Baldwins Rocks, Ross, it has been persistent in this station for thirty years, and shows no sign of decrease.' Following an enquiry as to its well being from Prof. Clive Stace of Leicester it was found to be present in some quantity in the spring of 1995 despite reports of its demise. It originated as a garden escape but has

naturalized well on Baldwins Rocks and must have persisted, with apparently no spread to other sites, since at least 1859.

Smyrnium olusatrum, Alexanders, EB Yarpole. This plant appeared on a bank in the village and was almost certainly a garden escape. It is found most frequently in coastal situations but it penetrates up the Severn Valley and a little way up the Wye. There have been no recent records for this plant and Purchas and Ley mention only one site, at Huntsham Hill, near a derelict cottage.

Pastinaca sativa, Wild parsnip, SET Leominster. This plant becomes rare W. of the river Severn but was recorded by Purchas and Ley as 'showing so great a preference for railway banks that it is not often to be found elsewhere.' The recent find was on disused railway sidings!

Scutellaria minor, Lesser skull-cap, DA May Hill. A plant of acid boggy sites which are rare in the county.

Verbascum virgatum, Twiggy mullein, ML E. of Kingsland.

Verbascum lychnitis, White Mullein, PM Leominster. A rare plant with headquarters in S.E. England. The plants were found on disused railway sidings near Leominster and are the first records for Herefordshire.

Sambucus ebulus, Dwarf elder or Danewort, ME near Lypole Bridge.

Carduus tenuiflorus, Slender thistle. JW-J near Court of Noke. This annual or biennial thistle is rare at inland locations and is rather similar to *Carduus acanthoides,* welted thistle. Care is needed to identify it with confidence.

Serratula tinctoria, Saw-wort, ML Garden House Wood, Lugg Valley.

Potamogeton obtusifolius, Blunt-leaved pondweed, ML Aymestrey. There are several records for this plant from before 1970 so it may well be present but has not been recorded since then until this year.

Spirodela (Lemna) polyrhiza, Greater duckweed, SET Hampton Bishop.

Juncus foliosus, Leafy rush, DA May Hill. Leafy rush is very similar to *J. bufonius,* Toad rush, and may have been overlooked. This record is, however, the first for the county.

Blysmus compressus, Flat sedge, ML Brimfield Common. A relatively rare plant of marshy ground which has decreased as a result of land drainage.

Festuca altissima, Wood fescue, ML Mere Hill Wood. This is a northern species and is here near the southern edge of its range in Britain. It is growing on a steep, rocky, north-facing slope. It also occurs in Downton Gorge where it has persisted for over a hundred years but it has not recently been seen at its former sites on Penyard Hill and near Hope Mansell.

Bromus secalinus, Rye brome, ML Aymestrey area. A rare grass formerly more common as a cornfield weed.

Hordelymus europaeus, Wood barley, ML Leinthall Earls. A rare grass of woods on limy soils.

Neottia nidus-avis, Bird's-nest orchid, ML Mere Hill. A saprophyte of woodlands which may frequently be overlooked. We have no previous record for it from the Mere Hill area.

Spiranthes spiralis, Autumn lady's-tresses, AB Wormelow. A small late-flowering orchid of short grassland on calcareous soils. It is probably more widespread than our records suggest as it often turns up on lawns left uncut in long dry spells.

Schoenus nigricans, Black bog-rush and *Epipactis palustris,* marsh helleborine, were not found on a visit to Red Castle bog near Canon Pyon, where they used to grow. Both are plants of fen-type vegetation and in the case of the *Schoenus* this was its only site in the county.

Buildings, 1995

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Huntington Hundred where it had last worked in 1975.

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

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.

BRAMPTON BRYAN

OIL MILL. SO 368730 Tithe No. 563 on Bucknell Tithe Map

House and Mill

The house part is of regular, square panelling which looks as though it dates from the 17th century and the short, punched carpenters' assembly marks are of this period. The mill building is of brick and stone and roofed with clay and stone tiles. The latter appear to be of sandstone.

The evidence for the mill-leat still shows where it comes out from the N. side of the river Teme and flows back into it farther on. The river widens out into a series of pools along this stretch. Whether they are natural or man-made is difficult to ascertain and to be sure would need further investigation.

The brickwork seems to vary in age from 17th century to later 19th.

BUCKTON AND COXALL

POTLIDS. SO 371743 Tithe No. 541 on Bucknell Tithe Map

This cottage is situated just N. of the Redlake River close to Coxall.

It has a timber-framed front of square panels facing S. with stone gables. There are some carpenters' assembly marks about 3 ins. long which appear to date from the first part of the 17th century, probably *c.*1620-40, though they could be just post-Restoration, 1660-75. The ground floor is of regular square panelling whilst the upper floor is of horizontal panels, a combination not often found in timber-framed buildings. At the W. gable is a projection which looks a little small for a bake-oven and may be a malt kiln.

It appears to have been heavily restored *c.*1800, an unusual time for major work to be undertaken; so perhaps the work is a little later. Further work seems to have been done about a century later.

There is what is almost a lobby entrance and whilst not strictly speaking a long-house it appears to be a derivative from that type of plan and has certain similarities to Lower House at Burrington.

The name could be from the Old English 'pot,' 'pott,' meaning a pool or stream and 'hlid' meaning gate - hence 'gate by the stream.'

Surprisingly this house is not mentioned by the Royal Historic Monuments Commission in its survey of the late 1920s/early 1930s, but it certainly comes in the pre-1715 bracket with which they were dealing.

CLIFFORD

HARDWICK COURT. SO 263442 Tithe No. 860

An 18th-century house incorporating work of the early 17th century and a moulded beam of *c.*1500. The house faces S. with a projecting porch and appears to date from the later 18th century, but the rear wall backing on to the approach lane seems to be 17th century and has a projecting stack with a diagonally-set chimney. Inside, the room with this chimney, now disused and semi-derelict, has a beam of *c.*1500 with the heavy roll moulding of the period *c.*1480 - *c.*1530. Two of the front windows have drip-moulds with hoods which could be mid-19th-century Tudor revival, but taken in connection with the chimney and the beam may be from the late 16th/early 17th century possibly reused.

The barn, stables, lofts and cart sheds lie S.E. of the house in two parallel ranges forming a yard with a threshing bay in the barn and an engine-house (ginny-ring) in the S.E. corner against the barn. They appear to be contemporary with the house.

HARDWICK COTTAGE.. SO 263439 Tithe No. 668

This group of buildings included a blacksmith's workshop and, very unusually for this area, a small watermill with a horizontal wheel reminiscent of the 'clock' mills of the Orkneys. The Cottage, now cottages, has a gable entrance by the fireplace in the long-house tradition and a row of four dormer windows on one side and three on the other with a lean-to against the long wall immediately adjoining the door in the gable.

MILL COTTAGE, HARDWICK.. SO 257443 Tithe No. 463

A timber-framed cottage, on a two-room plan, not mentioned in the R.C.H.M. Inventory but with crescent-shaped carpenters' assembly marks normally late 17th-century in date. The upper storey has close-set framing and on the front is a big, outbuilt chimney with bake-oven. There is a fireplace at the gable end with a circular stone stairway in the corner between it and the wall, a typical W. and S.W. Herefordshire feature.

DILWYN

SWANSTONE COURT. SO 442531 R.C.H.M. 5 Tithe No. 1627

This house was reported on in the report for 1968 (XXXIX (1968), 374). Since then alterations and renovations have been carried out and three further visits have revealed

more. The upper part of the base-cruck was seen in the roof with its 14th-century quarter-round moulding and slots for the ends of the wind-braces above the hall, and the same moulding shows in the roof of the cross-wing. There is a strong similarity between the upper storey of this wing and that at Thinghill Grange in Withington parish.

HAMPTON BISHOP

LOWER HOUSE, TUPSLEY. SO 535404 R.C.H.M. 3 Tithe No. 196

The roof has trenched, through purlins and a ridge-purlin typical of this region. There is evidence of there having been an oriel window in the chamber over the parlour and there are ovolo-moulded beams in the chamber over the kitchen and in the parlour. This would normally place the building into the early 17th century in Herefordshire, a little later than the dating given by the R.C.H.M.

LEINTWARDINE

WHITTON COTTAGES. SO 411739 R.C.H.M. 49(?) Tithe No. 525

This house appears to be of two builds. The eastern portion is three panels high with a big fireplace in the gable with a bake-oven protruding to the N. and a diagonally-set stack over the fireplace against the partition wall in the western room. The western portion is two panels high and has a diagonal brace to the tie-beam where the two sections meet. The beams have a 2½ in. chamfer and the carpenters' assembly marks are about 2 ins. long, both usual mid-17th-century features. The roof covering is now of corrugated iron, but was presumably originally of thatch.

LINGEN

TUDOR COTTAGE. SO 364673 R.C.H.M. 10 Tithe No. 193.
Western part of No. 193 on Lingen Tithe Map of 1840

This house comprises the two western bays of a cruck house probably dating from the early or mid-15th century; thus it is pre-Tudor in date.

The eastern bay is about 12 ft. long and its eastern wall contains the central truss of a cruck hall about 22 ft. wide. The cambered collar has five peg-holes each side in a mortice which are evidence of the arched-braces which rose from the cruck blades to the collar to help carry it and give some decoration to the centre of the hall.

The N. and S. walls have been raised to give head room upstairs when a floor was inserted probably *c.*1700. The two beams carrying this floor run lengthwise in the house and have 1½ in. chamfers with ogee stops. The fireplace on the ground floor is presumably on the site of the central hearth which almost certainly stood underneath the central truss.

The western cruck truss appears never to have been open and seems to have been the end of the open hall. The bay to the W. of it is slightly shorter, about 11 ft., and appears to have been hipped, probably indicating that the roof was originally thatched.

On the cruck trusses are the seatings for through, trenched purlins; there is no certain evidence of wind-braces, but this would have been best seen in the now removed purlins. A house of this size and quality would almost certainly have had them.

The cruck blades, whilst quite impressive, are about 20 ins. at the elbow; so not as big as some in the area.

Unfortunately it is not possible at present to see above the collar of the central truss, but probably there is decoration above it, most likely a central quatrefoil with a trefoil either side.

At the moment access to the next house on the E. is not possible, but I would expect to find a virtual duplication of what is in the western bays, except that the farther bay may show some evidence of having been a parlour.

After the third house from the W. has been examined some more light may be thrown on this, as it seems to have been a cross-wing either to this house or to the eastern house of this range, Forge Cottage, probably the latter.

As this house is not recorded as having crucks it seems possible that the R.C.H.M. Investigator in 1932 did not get upstairs, for he records the downstairs beams, but nothing upstairs.

MORTIMER COTTAGE.. SO 364673 R.C.H.M. 10 Tithe No. 193

Central part of No. 193 on Lingen Tithe Map of 1840

This house has been formed from the cross-wing and one bay of a house which is now one of a range of four. Of this range the western two houses, Tudor Cottage and its eastern neighbour were the earliest house, then came this and then the eastern house, now Forge Cottage. It seems to have developed as one big, quite wealthy house plus a cottage or outbuilding at the E. end, but must have been divided fairly early. It was in one ownership in 1840, but was certainly in four tenements when surveyed for the R.C.H.M. in July, 1932.

The ceiling of the main room with the chequer-board effect of the squares formed by the beams and the joists running at right angles to each other in adjoining squares is typical of those in the main room of the parlour cross-wing in wealthy late-16th and 17th-century houses. It was probably built as a cross-wing to the cruck hall to the W., perhaps, even replacing an earlier wing or an in-line parlour. The fireplace itself is a puzzle, the southern stone jamb having ball-flower ornament of the early 14th century and the northern a plain chamfer with a nick running the full length in the centre, again a 14th-century feature. This fireplace must have been made up of stone brought from somewhere else, presumably not very far away. There is ball-flower work in Brampton Bryan Castle, but it seems quite a distance to have brought it. The nunnery at Limebrook is a possibility but it is almost too big to be from any of their buildings. If the jambs had been identical I would have felt they were from an earlier cross-wing to this house, but they have clearly been brought here. From where? The bake-oven is a standard 18th or 19th-century feature.

The three posts on each side along the E.-W. axis have jowled heads, which are perhaps best seen at either end of the stairway which occupies the middle bay on the N. wall.

The moulding of the beams in the ceiling is typical of the period *c.*1480 - *c.*1540, perhaps a century later than the open hall of Tudor Cottage to the W. The diagonal braces in the room to the W. are normally a 16th-century feature, and are further evidence of a 16th-century date for this part. There is a blocked doorway in the five-panel partition between the main room and that to the W. and there are two more recent doorways by the stairs leading into each of the two western rooms which are divided by an inserted screen.

The roof is a standard local type with collar and tie-beams and raking struts to the purlins above the collar.

At the rear is a prop mark showing that the truss was raised as a complete unit, probably using a shear legs and a rope pulled by a horse.

What seems to be here is the end bay of a hall block and its adjoining parlour cross-wing. The latter is clearly a wealthy construction of the period *c.*1480 - *c.*1540, the moulding of the beams and joists being similar to that in the Bishop's Palace at Bosbury. This would agree with the braces in the S.W. room. The jowled heads have a fairly long run and thus fit in with this dating. Probably when this wing was built the owner had sufficient influence to acquire the jambs of the fireplace, but it is just possible this was a later adaptation of the original. Thus I think an early 16th-century date is probable for this house.

LLANGARRON

TREFASSEY BANK. SO 524189 Tithe No. 55

This house was not recorded by the R.C.H.M. which was working in the area in the 1920s, but from the evidence found inside it should have been, as their terminal date was 1715.

It is a typical two-room plan Herefordshire house, the walls being of thin pieces of sandstone and though now having a slate roof, some sandstone roof tiles with peg-holes in them found close by may well indicate that it was originally roofed with these like many other houses in the S.W. of the county. The E. gable wall shows that the front was raised and moved forward slightly sometime after being built, possibly in the late 18th, more probably in the early 19th century. At each end there is a lean-to also of the local red sandstone, but clearly added to the original house. In the E. wall at first-floor level is a triangular light edged by three pieces of sandstone, a typical feature in the area.

The two rooms down and up are about 12 ft. along the length of the house and slightly wider than this.

On the ground floor the doorway is in the western room on the S. wall. There is a doorway between this room and that on the E. with a window immediately adjoining it in the western room on the S. wall. The walls are about 1 ft. 10 ins. in depth, just about the minimum for a stone wall.

In the eastern room there is a niche to take a light in the gable wall near the northern end of it. Almost immediately adjoining it to the N. on the same wall and along the northern wall is evidence of a fireplace set across the corner of the room, a typical late 17th/early-18th-century feature. There is evidence that there was once a staircase against the northern end of the partition wall between the two rooms. There is a window in the N. wall right by the partition, so presumably the original stairway was not in the position which was occupied by this now gone, later one. To the E. of this room is a lean-to about 10 ft. wide with a doorway at each end against the gable wall of the house.

In the western room a big fireplace juts out into the room from against the western gable wall, with a window immediately adjoining it on the N. wall. There is a second window at the E. end of the S. wall lighting the doorway between the two rooms which immediately adjoins it at right angles. The main entrance was in the centre of the S. wall of this room. Against the western gable is a lean-to room about 8 ft. wide with evidence of a bake-oven against the north end of the gable wall behind the big fireplace inside. This leant-to is lit by a window towards the southern end of the western wall and entered by a doorway in the S. wall against the main gable.

The two rooms upstairs are exactly over those below, and there is evidence that the stairway against the partition wall came up into the eastern room, making it a landing bedroom. There is also evidence in the N.E. corner of the room of there having been a chimney over the fireplace which had been on the ground floor.

The partition between the rooms had two studs which seem to have acted as door jambs and these carry the carpenters' assembly marks 1 and 11 about 2¼ ins. long. The interrupted tie-beam still remains on the northern side from the jamb to the wall-plate and carries the 11 matching the carpenters' mark on the jamb.

The western room has a big platform over the fireplace below and a chimney at the southern side of it. There is a window to the S. of this in the gable wall, another in the S. wall and a narrow light in the N. wall. There are one or two details which point to the house having been built *c.*1500 and much altered rather over a century later.

Two features which point to the earlier date are the fact that the rafters are laid flat on the purlins, the chimney and the wide floor-boards, some about 17 ins. in width.

The early 17th-century features are the carpenters' assembly marks, probably from the period *c.*1620-*c.*1640 which seems to indicate that the house was reroofed at that time and the first floor rebuilt. The front (southern) wall has been rebuilt and the roof raised on that side. This could date from that time, though it is often a feature of *c.*1800 or a later date. On the other hand the N.E. fireplace of *c.*1700 must have meant some considerably work in that part of the house. The roof with a trenched, through purlin on each side and a ridge-purlin is typical of the Marches at any time from the late 15th century to the early 18th. After that the timber was slightly lighter, though the type of construction was the same.

Thus we have here a house built probably *c.*1500 much altered in the early 17th century, pre-Civil War, altered again about the end of that century and probably again in the early 19th.

MADLEY

SHENMORE COURT. SO 395379 Tithe No. 1242

The house and buildings are shown on the Tithe Survey of 1843, but are not included in the Historic Monuments Commission vol. 1 (1929) which gave details of buildings built before *c.*1715. Thus the house should fall into the period 1715-1843 and from the evidence of the photographs I would place it probably in the period 1760-1795.

The main house is of brick laid in Flemish Garden Wall Bond with gable chimneys, a lean-to along part of the back and a wing, apparently timber-framed, but stuccoed, at right angles to this forming almost an L-shaped house. Many mid/late 18th-century farmhouses had a kitchen in this position often built of an 'inferior' material to the main house. The bonding is a typical way of laying bricks at that time, having become popular *c.*1700 and continuing until the Victorian period.

The barn uses the same brick bonding as the house and has the normal arrangement of partially open brick panels for ventilation. There are two threshing bays where the grain would have been threshed using flails, the open space giving a through draught to blow away the chaff. The roof of this part seems to be the normal type found along the Marches of a through purlin trenched into the principals with a tie-beam carrying raking struts from the tie-beam to the principals. There are two through purlins on each side and a ridge-purlin.

The granary uses a type of roof construction which first came over to N.W. England with the Vikings, but did not come S. to this area until the 18th century. It is known as a king-post construction with a single vertical post carried on a tie-beam which goes up to support the ridge-purlin with the principals tenoned into it near the top. The form used here with an enlarged base is quite a late type and again there are two through purlins on each side. The tie-beams are slightly cambered, a fashion found more frequently in the Pennines and northern England.

Unfortunately none of the photographs seems to show any carpenters' assembly marks which would probably have helped to give a clue as to closer dating.

PEMBRIDGE

COURT FARM, LOWER BROXWOOD. SO 366543 R.C.H.M. 94 Tithe No. 1338

Like most earlier dwellings in the greater part of Herefordshire this house is timber-framed with much modification over the centuries; after all 'a house is a machine for living in' and is bound to change with changing-needs.

It is in plan a hall block with two cross-wings, of two storeys with a cellar under the parlour. It seems quite probable that the 'New Chamber' and 'the Lower Chamber under the New Chamber' which show up in the inventory of 1665 may well be the two rooms at the S.W. corner of the house, for this would account for the rather awkward junction where the circular stair is today, and would make the original plan a three-part L-shaped plan with the parlour end in the foot of the L and the hall and service rooms in the leg.

The regular square panelling is typical of 17th-century buildings in Herefordshire, but surprisingly no carpenters' assembly marks could be found. Many of the beams have been cased, but in the S.E. room, which appears to have been the earlier kitchen, the beam has a 3 in. chamfer, a normal depth for the earlier part of the 17th century. The bake-oven in this room is probably an 18th-century insertion. The doorway opens into an entrance hall in the place of the normal screens passage, and the stairway is immediately beyond the doorways into the hall and the parlour. This is a standard lobby entrance frequently found farther N., but normally a later 17th century or 18th century feature in this area. The hall has a transverse fireplace backing on to the kitchen.

The parlour has a cellar below it which is quite normal for it meant that the room had a wooden, and, therefore, warmer floor. The steps down into the cellar are usually from outside, but in this case go down from the room behind it (to the E.) which presumably means this room would not normally have been used as a second parlour, but rather as some form of service room.

Upstairs the room over the hall has been divided to form bathrooms and cupboards at the rear and in front a room the length of the hall with a transverse fireplace over that below. There is a double-ogee moulding all round the room where the walls meet the ceiling, probably a latish 18th-century insertion. On the landing at the top of the stairs there is a window over the front door and either side of this is a stencilled pattern which is reminiscent of one in a house in Eardisland and they appear to be 18th century in subject, a late date for murals. There were also stencilled murals at Upleadon in Bosbury parish.

The rooms upstairs in the S. wing are approached by a metal spiral stairway from what is virtually a service hall between the old and new kitchen. Upstairs there are three timber-framed bays and in the corner of the western bay where the second truss meets the southern wall of the hall is a diagonal brace, a feature usually associated with the 16th century. At the eastern end of the same wall is one curved wind-brace still remaining. The trusses have jowled heads to the posts and in the third truss from the W. are three posts with a blocked shaped head of a blocked doorway adjoining the southern, outside, wall.

The roof of this wing had one side-purlin trenched into each principal and a ridge-purlin with two tiers of wind-braces for which the slots remain. Each truss had a collar and tie-beam with two vertical struts between them and a diagonal strut to each principal from the tie-beam and another strut to each principal from the collar-beam. This roof has been raised. The investigators who did the listing suggest this happened in the 17th century, but from the narrow scantling of the short posts giving the extra height each side and the king-post inserted where the ridge-purlin used to be a date in the later 19th century seems more likely. There are new lesser-scantling wall-plates on those post extensions each carrying a short, narrow stub-tie beam into the original principals.

The beams in the cellar have a 2 in. chamfer and diagonal stops, which normally date from the Puritan period usually during the Commonwealth, 1640-60.

A modern single storey lean-to has been added to the W. of the kitchen and adjoining it at right angles a lean-to porch to a door in the S.W. corner of the hall. The front, E.-facing, windows of the parlour and hall have been altered.

The back and front walls of the hall have been cased in layered stone rubble as has the gable of the S. cross-wing up to tie-beam level while the infill of the W. wall of the N. cross-wing is now brick.

Outside the house are a number of fine barns now converted into dwellings.

Altogether from 1465-1677 nineteen probate records, wills or administrations, some with inventories have been found for Broxwood, not necessarily all for this house, but probably most of them. It included a copy of John Abell's of 1665 in which he mentions the two new rooms.

Thus here we have a house of some standing socially which has kept its traditional English yeoman/lesser gentry house plan over a period of almost four hundred years. In spite of modifications and alterations it is still a typical good house of the 'Great Rebuild' showing the farming prosperity of that time.

WEOBLEY

STAWNE. SO 399519 R.C.H.M. 12 Tithe No.733

Visits to this house in 1991 and again this year have revealed some additional features to those mentioned in the R.C.H.M. Inventory. There was evidence of an oriel window at the gable end facing the road; this has now been restored with moulded mullions based on the shadow found in 1991. Some restoration work this year (1995) revealed some long, typically 16th-century carpenters' assembly marks and also an ash pit or purgatory for collecting the ashes as found e.g. at Orleton Court. Also a low wall forming part of a circle of about 20 ft. radius was found beneath the present floor. It is presumably the wall of a much earlier building, quite probably of the late Iron Age.

WHITNEY

WARDOUR HOUSE. SO 268474

Previously Church House. It was probably built in the 1730s-1740s after the rectory had been washed away in the flood of 1730. It is built of the local red sandstone with a completely symmetrical front typical of early Georgian building with a slightly projecting centre with a pediment. There are plat-bands on the front of the house at first and second-floor levels. There are two sashed windows on either side of the centre projection with one in the projection above the front door and a circular window in the pediment as well as one dormer window to each side of it.

There is a typical tall window at the rear lighting the stairway and a continuous lean-to housing the service rooms and still roofed with local sandstone tiles, whereas the main hipped roof is now slated. The flat lintels each with a keystone have alternate vertical stones hammer-dressed vertically and horizontally.

CLYRO, RADNORSHIRE (POWYS)

CWM BYLFA. SO 227459

This house is now derelict, but does not seem to be listed in Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (1975), probably for this reason. It is of cruck construction with stone walling and forms one side of a farm building complex in the form of a square. It appears to have been a central cruck hall with service and parlour ends in line with it.

During the year thirty-seven planning applications concerning listed buildings were received. As in 1994 all were for comparatively minor alterations or additions, none of which warranted objection or serious comment.

A sign of the times was the demolition of the disused chapel at Knapton in Dilwyn parish.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people, especially those owners and occupiers who have invited me to come and look at and those who have allowed me to wander around their houses and outbuildings.

Geology, 1995

By P. CROSS

GEOLOGICAL RECORDING AND CONSERVATION IN HEREFORDSHIRE

One only has to browse through old *Transactions* of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club, dating from the Club's foundation in the middle of the last century to realise the great value of the observations which have been recorded, not only in geology but in other disciplines.

In geology the recording of ephemeral exposures which may never again come to light is especially important. Many of these occur during the construction of roads and buildings.

A few years ago valuable exposures in glacial deposits were created during excavations for a sewage works in the village of Orleton in the N. of the county. Deposits exposed here made it possible to determine the age of the last glaciation here and the climate and vegetation which existed at that time. Conservation was impossible but fortunately it was possible to record and collect deposits before bulldozers began infilling.

During this century many exposures have been lost as a result of abandoned sites becoming overgrown or used as tipping places for waste materials. The result is that there are fewer and fewer places in which field study can be undertaken. The most important sites are selected and designated as SSSI's by English Nature largely for their research interest. Such designation does not safeguard all sites of interest and fails to secure sites for more general educational use. With this in mind English Nature in conjunction with the Geologists' Association, the Royal Society for Nature Conservation and others have encouraged other interested local groups to identify Regionally Important Geological Sites [RIGS], and also sites of geomorphological significance.

In Herefordshire some of our best sites are recognised and protected, examples being sites on the Mortimer Forest Geological Trail - partly in Shropshire - where the sequence of rocks in the Ludlovian division of the Silurian System is exposed, and in and around the Malvern Hills where a number of sites illustrating the geology are maintained and are accessible. Other good demonstration sites include the exposure along the Cat's Back and the cliff at Ross-on-Wye.

RIGS sites are selected on the basis of one or more of the following categories:- Scientific importance; Educational value; Historic importance; Aesthetic characteristics. Before any designation can be made it would be useful to have a register of exposures in the county from which a reasonable network of accessible and representative sites could be selected.

Reports from Club members of newly-created geological exposures within the county which they consider likely to be of significant importance would be greatly welcomed. Details of existing sites considered worthy of preservation would also be useful.

Acknowledgements:- Thanks to Peter Thomson for a valuable contribution to this report particularly concerning RIGS.

Herefordshire Field-Names, 1995

By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

In this the ninth year of recording older field-names in the *Transactions* since the first contribution in 1987, may I make a renewed plea for anyone who is interested to provide material for future publication.

Locating and identifying these older names by comparing them with those in the published tithe-map lists is a very rewarding and interesting exercise. It is also important to record the unidentified ones as later researchers may have access to information not yet available to us.

PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name: DULAS

Contributed by Graham Sprackling

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
151	Kevenbaugh (Farm)	1662	HRO AE 79/1
23	Cae Cook	1821	HRO W91/1
55	Capel Coach (?) & Bailies Close	1821	HRO W91/1
88	Lodge Field	1910	HRO AG9/71
156	Nobles	1910	HRO AG9/71
71	Plessy	1200	AC

KEY TO SOURCES

HRO	Hereford Record Office
AC	Ancient Charters prior to 1200; ed. J. H. Round. Pipe Roll Society 1888.

Parish Name: KENDERCHURCH

Contributed by Graham Sprackling

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
104	Gwrlod hyre	1609	KP 985
	Gworlod heere	1630	KP 660
25, 26 (part)	Wormbridge Meadow	1796	KP 10081
29	Croft-y-Cantho	1631	KP 680
	Crofte-y-Canddo	1627	KP 660
New Invention			
32	(House & garden on tithe map)	19th Cent.	KP 957
33-38	(includes)	a. r. p.	
	Cow Pasture	1 0 19	
	Cae Porcin	1 0 37	
	Cae Mawr	2 2 16	
	Gallows Bridge	3 2 0	
	In Common Field	1 0 2	
	Langet	1 2 4	

Unidentified	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
	Randere Drawst	1721	HRO M26/21/18
	Randire Drawst	1669	KP 1127
	Middle Ynis	1721	HRO M26/21/18
	Ynnis	1744	HRO M26/4/29
	The Little Ynnys	1744	HRO M26/4/29
	New Season (meadow)	1721	HRO M26/21/18
	The Drigs(?) Moor	1744	HRO M26/4/29
	Croon coyd	1744	HRO M26/4/29
	Yniss Vach	1669	Kp 1127
	Thorns Lands	1699	HRO M26/18/30
	Stonie Forowlong	1661	KP 6609
	Stonie Furowlong	1661	KP 6609
	Coed-y-Bennarth	1669	KP 1127
	Farme	1669	Kp 1127
	Randire Delyn	1669	KP 1127
	Gworlod Newith	1669	KP 1127
	Tre Saison	1421	Kp 1028
	Havode	1421	Kp 1028
	Wurlod Erwolfe	1582	KP 1028
	Werne-genny water-course	1583	KP 792
	The Cockshoot	1607	KP 1882
	Birch fild	1583	KP 792
	The Gales	1607	KP 1882

KEY TO SOURCES

HRO	Hereford Record Office
KP	Kentchurch Court Papers (H.R.O.)

Parish Name: MATHON

Contributed by Valerie Goodbury

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
816	Hill House	1780	HRO B9/6
815, 817 (part)	The Hill House Meadow		
817 (part)	The Hill House Orchard		
848	Court Field		
849	White Field		
850	Long Marl Pits		
851	(includes)		
	Upper Peters Park		
	Lower Peters Park		
	Little Peters Park		
	Lime Stone Acre		
853	The Park Coppice		
854	The Great Field		
855	Harbers Orchard		
856, 857	The Parks		
859	The Homestead		
865	Collins's Meadow		
861, 862, 864	The Upper Grounds		

SOURCE

Taken from an Estate Plan of Edward & Ann Holder *c.*1780 HRO B9/6

Industrial Archaeology, 1995

By JOHN van LAUN

The Hereford and Gloucester Canal reached Hereford in May 1845 but some details were not completed until 1846. These included the cast-iron parapets on the bridges at SO 5115 4080 and 5234 4191. These were cast by Ladmores at their foundry in Widemarsh Street.[1] Those at 5115 4080 are particularly fine castings comprising ten uprights supported by scroll bases. The circular rail, which is of wrought iron, passes through an annular at the tops. The terminals have LADMORE cast in relief. The parapet at 5234 4191 has been destroyed but consisted of a single circular terminal with LADMORE 1846 in relief. the rest of the parapet was of wrought iron set in stone with two circular wrought-iron rails.

Other fine castings by Ladmores defend the Prudential in the Cathedral Close constructed of spear tops with decorative tassels.

Your reporter has received a number of historic photographs from Mr. G. W. Fynn of Sinton which have been deposited in the City Library.

1. Three views of lifting track at Steen's Bridge (SO 543 573). The Leominster and Bromyard Railway was incorporated on 30 July 1874 and opened to Steens Bridge on 1 March 1884 and to Bromyard 1 September 1897. Here it made a junction with the previously constructed Worcester, Bromyard and Leominster Railway. The line left the main Shrewsbury and Hereford line S. of Leominster (L & B Junction SO 507 568). Two of the views are taken from the bridge, one looking S.E. shows the station. That to the N.W. shows a crane stacking fully assembled track onto flat-loading waggons. A third view is a closer shot of a small diesel or petro-mechanical locomotive. All show double track.

The following are of cars built from standard models by C. & J. Jones of Edgar Street early this century:

2. Renault

3. Minerva

4. Rover (three photographs one with chauffeur)

The evolution of Jones's can be traced from contemporary Directories.[2] In 1870 James Jones was a wheelwright on Eign Hill. In 1886 he was a 'Practical Carriage Builder' in Edgar Street having been awarded Prize Medals in 1878 and 1879. By 1905 C. & J. Jones were 'motor car body builders & coach & carriage builders' at the West End carriage works in Edgar Street (now the site of Steels Westgate). In 1926 the firm were motor engineers at the West End Motor Body Works and, apart from a few minor changes in their description, were still in business in 1937 but sold out before 1941 to D. F. Thornett, when the firm was styled West End Garage.

REFERENCES

[1] *Hereford Journal*. 9.12.1835 J. Ladmore Widemarsh Street (I am grateful to Dr. John Eisel for this reference). *Hunt & Co's Commercial Directory* (1847) 'John, Thomas and Wm. Ladmore Ironfounders Widemarsh Street'. Sometime between 1858 and 1862 the foundry closed (*Kelly's* 1858 and 1863).
[2] Post office Directory 1870, *Wells & Manton* 1886, *Jakeman & Carver* 1914, *Kelly's* 1891, 1914, 1917, 1922, 1926, 1929, 1934, 1937, 1941.

Ornithology, 1995

By BERYL HARDING

January opened this unusual year with wet spells and cold blustery winds bringing snow flurries to the N. of the county and on the hills. By the end of the month it had been the wettest for fifty years both here and in western Europe. Half the average rainfall for the month fell in the last few days.

So much rain gave wet water-meadows and feeding for the many flocks of wetland birds. More than seventy mute swans were seen on the Fownhope/Wye and up to 236 in the Marden gravel pits during February - amid them was a Black Swan! Also noted were large flocks of lapwing - 300 in the Grey valley, 700 on the Lugg meadows, with *c.*1,500 at Lugwardine and 2,000 on the Leominster flood-meadows. Golden plover flocks were large ranging from 200 at the Arrow fisheries to 350 on the Upper Lugg meadows. The coastal gales caused more gulls to fly inland to join those already here with up to 1,000 lesser black-backed gulls on the Leominster flats and *c.*1,000 of the misnamed common gull at Holme Lacy. One oyster catcher was seen at Castleton. With the high water-levels kingfishers were fishing in a riverside garden 10-15 ft. from the house at Hunderton-on-Wye.

February was damp with S.W. winds tending to be mild overall so quite a few birds began calling and bats had emerged. The cat brought in one unlucky brown long-eared bat that she had killed. the first chiffchaff was heard on 26 February. March brought a return to reality with snow in the first week, less rain and ten nights of frost. However, sand martins had returned to Bodenham Lake by 15 March and the first cuckoo heard on 31 March, followed by the first swallows on 3 April and house martins on 6 April. The fourth successive mild winter and another early warm spring gave rise to a great deal of early nesting activity across diverse species.

Despite strong objections by the R.S.P.B., other conservation bodies and the general public over the issue of licences by MAFF to shoot Wye cormorants and goosanders last year, fresh licences were given again in January 1995. It is not yet proven that they do 'serious economic damage' to fishing. Reduced fish stocks could be far more probably due to acidification, fertiliser pollution and over-netting at river mouths. These licences could allow up to 45 goosanders to be taken, i.e. 25% of the local wintering population. These otherwise protected birds were not seen on the Wye until 1975. Many can be seen on the Glasbury stretch together with up to 60 curlew and some 2,000 mallard that also overwinter there. One female was seen this year at Bredwardine with eleven immatures - perhaps they have nurseries like the eider?

April was cold again with northerly winds and heavy frosts at the end of the month which caused much blossom damage - even the flowers of the ash were decimated. Those trees that had put out leaf in the earlier mild spell were also affected, so too were the insect populations.

A black tern and yet another rarity was sighted at Bodenham gravel pits in early April - a male garganey, the seventh in county records for 113 years. Bodenham gravel

pits is now known as Bodenham Lake. This site of nearly 100 acres has been bought by the Leominster District Council from Redland Aggregates, who ceased production ten years ago. It is an important wintering home for wetland birds and a stop-off for migrating waders, as well as having seventy breeding species. There is now limited access up to the restrictive fencing - to give birds privacy and protection. It is such an important site that English Nature applied for SSSI status, which has been refused to date; further application will be made.

May started with a heat wave and little rain, then becoming colder with northerly winds and some snow on the uplands. Such fluctuations posed many difficulties. The insect population, relying on fresh tender plant growth, fell drastically and their productive period was reduced before the countryside dried out. This, in turn, limited the breeding chances for many birds. Swallows and house martins had difficulty in finding nesting mud with the lack of puddles. In many species if both parents took turns in brooding their young the chick could starve, if they both searched for food the chicks chilled and died. Extended care seemed necessary, for example, one robin had hatched young by 4 April but was still feeding them in the nest by 7 May, instead of the normal two weeks.

The overall Nature Trust nest box results for 1994 are published in full in *The Flycatcher*. The 26 sites had 860 boxes recorded with 491 used compared with 533 in 1993. The results declined in 1994, particularly for great tit, due to predation and the very cold damp spring and poor early summer. The good later summer weather was beneficial for multi-brooded species but not for the nest box single brooders.

	Blue tits	Great tits	Pied F'catchers	
1992	1276	615	667)	
1993	1479	708	875)	fledglings
1994	1190	443	758)	

At the two sites recorded by us for this year, 1995:

Welsh Newton - 14 boxes, 4 dormouse boxes - 1 used by blue tits. 1 nest box used by dormice.

	Blue tits		Great tits		Pied F'catcher	
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995
Used boxes	6	4	3	7	1	0
Eggs	38	25	19	36	7	0
Fledged	35	23	17	32	5	0

Woodside HNT Reserve - 30 boxes, 10 dormouse boxes - 2 used by blue tits.

	Blue tits		Great tits		Pied F'catcher		Nuthatch	
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995
Used boxes	9	13	4	3	1	2	1	0
Eggs	49	28	24	18	7	9	5	0
Fledged	43	24	16	15	7	0	5	0

The results for Welsh Newton are lower than last year except for the great tits which took up more boxes than the blue. At Woodside results were lower overall with the pied flycatcher laying eggs some of which never hatched and the others did not fledge. All the Doward sites gave the same disastrous results for the pied flycatcher but in parts of the county where the woodland is predominantly oak the success rate was almost 100%. This is probably due to the enormous, wide ranging diversity of insects in oak woods compared with other trees. Their different growth cycles are matched by the breeding periods of the birds and exploited. The earlier frosts would not have affected all insects at the same stage.

In June the beech trees were shaggy with ripening mast, huge quantities can be produced but not usually in consecutive years. 1994 was a good crop year so that of 1995 may well have been related to stress in an attempt to overcome adverse conditions by reproducing copiously. Although a large amount of fruit was set in some places the kernels have been pinched and dry and will be of less use to those birds and mammals that depend upon them in winter. The acorn crop has been abundant also with the quality less affected than in the beech mast.

As well as widespread sightings of buzzard and kestrels and, despite some continued persecution, the peregrine falcon, red kite, merlin, hobby and goshawk are gradually becoming less rare - to the consternation of pigeon rearers, who are calling for the shooting of the raptors. Predation could perhaps be reduced by applying transfers of 'terror eyes' to the upper wings of carrier and racing pigeons.

The tree sparrow numbers have shown a slight increase and the song thrush population seems to be slowly recovering. They came into their own during the dry summer searching out aestivating snails with ease as other food sources were reduced.

The jackdaw numbers are increasing and it is now the tenth most common bird replacing the collared dove. They appreciate warm roofs and eat nuisance-insects rarely taking other eggs or nestlings, although subject themselves to crow predation of their chicks. In fact, of the six eggs laid only two fledglings are reared and one of these die in the first year, so their increase in numbers is unexpected. They mate for life and being extremely sociable they tend to flock all the year round.

Various exotics have been observed in the county - as well as the black swan, two cape teal, a hoopoe and a cattle egret in April and May. They are mostly escapees from collections. Usually such individuals die out but some can become a serious problem. The ruddy duck (*Oxyura jamaicensis*), a native or N. America, was introduced here and the first escaped from Slimbridge in the 1950s, followed by others elsewhere. The British population now numbers 3,500 with 600 breeding pairs increasing at 10% per annum. These present no direct problem in the U.K. but they are migratory and have reached southern Spain where the globally threatened white headed duck (*Oxyura leucocephala*) has its last stronghold in Europe. The ruddy duck is more aggressive and a stronger breeder than the white headed which is a threat, but worse, without the original geographical boundary, it will hybridise with the white headed hastening its extinction. The ruddies are now being shot in Spain and the problem is being investigated in Europe and the U.K. In Herefordshire there have been several pairs seen and various conservation bodies are also trying to find ways to eliminate them or reduce their spread under the auspices of the D.O.E.

The really exceptional dry hot weather started in mid-June with June, July and August the driest months since records began 336 years ago and also the third hottest. There were eleven days in August with no rainfall recorded anywhere in the U.K. and many rivers were reduced to 10% of their normal volume. At first fine conditions helped many game birds, waders, pipits, wagtails and hirudines to rear very large broods. Some farmland passerines, whose populations have declined by 50% over the last twenty-five years, reared early, large, free-flying first broods. These included the linnet, tree sparrow, yellow hammer, corn and curl buntings. They then curtailed, or even brought to a conclusion, any further nesting activities.

When the weather finally broke at the end of August several slow moving depressions gave heavy and prolonged rainfall which could not be absorbed by the hard baked ground and gave rise to extensive flooding. After this, the warmest October on record caused seeds to sprout, daffodils and blossom to appear and fluffy ducklings to be hatched out. Bird migration patterns were delayed with some house martins still trying to get their second brood fledged by early October. They and the younger swallows delayed departure well into October. October 7-8 was World Bird Watch so that this period of maximum migration could be observed and monitored - even making use of Internet! In Britain it was a weekend of strong S.W. gales so many juveniles could be blown off course and it was as well they had delayed. Redwings had returned by late October but the majority of fieldfares were not back until late November.

Over-wintering blackcaps are now a regular feature but some of these may have come from further N. and 'ours' have moved S. Without ringing local population movement cannot be measured with certainty. Nevertheless, it shows that they no longer find our winters too severe. Pied wagtails also found early winter mild enough to delay using town roosts - but those normally found in High Town have not reappeared at all this winter and only a handful are making use of the Bulmer/Sainsburys site.

The year closed with a cold December with north/north easterly winds in the first half of the month then a brief mild spell followed by snow and freezing rain.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee Report for 1995-1996

By JEAN O'DONNELL

During the year I attended 18 committee meetings on behalf of the Woolhope Club.

Apart from the many applications for signs and lighting, most of which were unsatisfactory and which received advice on improvement, there were several redevelopments in the Conservation area which affect the City in a dramatic manner.

The riverside frontage will be affected in three areas:

1. The redevelopment of the end of Gwynne Street where the garage is to be demolished and the Mead and Tomkins premises will also disappear. Permission was given for a temporary car park but it is hoped that this site will be developed as a riverside amenity with a restaurant. It was considered an improvement to this untidy frontage.

2. The Greyfriars (Restaurant) is to be returned to its status as an Edwardian house with the later additions removed and then it will be converted to flats. This was welcomed as it is in a neglected state and needs restoration.

3. The area opposite, which is bounded by the 19th-century tramway and which consists of waste ground and allotments, had been sought by Westbury estates for housing and redevelopment. Protests were made at the erosion of the tramway by the plans. Protection from flooding required the centre of the site to be raised by two metres and this was thought to be undesirable. The new roadworks required a second roundabout at Belmont and it was thought unwise to add additional traffic at this sensitive point. Blocks of four-storey flats at the entrance to the estate were thought to be inappropriate and unsocial. It was recommended that the scheme was refused and that other uses for the site be explored.

The riverside is an important aspect of the City environment and it is a pity if an integrated and thoughtful scheme cannot be planned and implemented for the future.

Another development which will affect the centre of the City is one to replan the Cathedral Close. Part of the school will be relocated in the telephone exchange building thus infringing upon the lower end of Church Street. The Dean and Chapter plan to enclose the grounds with gates and railings as they were early in this century. The cloisters have been cleared and the restaurant is to be in a temporary cabin in the Chapter House garden and is then to be opened in the telephone exchange building which fronts the Close. The committee welcomed the plans to beautify the area, remove some of the eyesores and the efforts to combat vandalism. There were some misgivings about access but it was thought solutions could be found. The attempt to give the cathedral and new Mappa Mundi building an appropriate setting were welcomed.

Buildings which were threatened during the year were:

St. Francis Xavier's R.C. Church which is up for sale.

Former Electricity Offices 79-83 Widemarsh Street which was to be demolished for a housing trust but permission was refused by the H.C.C.

The Soup Kitchen (1871) Union Walk was to have been drastically altered but it is now protected by being scheduled.

City pubs have been affected by a spate of name changes so that the Kerry Arms is now The Firkin and The Wellington has become J.D's. This was deplored as the former names were of historic interest. Unfortunately, renaming does not contravene planning regulations.

A new Hereford City Conservation Area Partnership Scheme with funds from English Heritage and the City Council will fund the enhancement and conservation of certain buildings now in decline. In year one Church Street properties (nos. 35, 19, 26/7 and 14) are to receive attention. In St. Owen Street (nos. 41/3 and 39) and the building in Widemarsh Street (no. 10) was to be developed at the rear where there is a courtyard. This three-year scheme is very welcome and the committee thought it imaginative and useful.

The Conservation Area Advisory Committee award for refurbishment was given to Wargrave House, St. Owen Street for the internal alterations which had enhanced this timber-framed building of late 16th-century date. It was the home of physicians for over 150 years when the Cams lived here. Thomas Cam was President of the Woolhope Club in 1871 and a keen mycologist.

Archaeological Research Section, 1995

By MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Membership of the A.R.S. has increased again this year and now stands at 130. The planned monthly programme of two winter meetings and eight field meetings was augmented by two unscheduled visits to see the work done at King Arthur's Cave by Dr. Nick Barton's team and at Hindwell Farm by Dr. Alex Gibson and the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust. The 7th Annual Shindig was hosted at Cinderford by the Dean Archaeological Group.

Numbers 63 and 64 of the *Herefordshire Archaeological News* (HAN) were published giving full reports of field meetings, work done by individual members, items of archaeological interest and historical research done in connection with sites visited by the Section. Beryl and John Harding again kindly hosted our annual garden party at Llanwarne and the A.G.M. and dinner were held in Hereford at the end of November.

January. Armour.

An evening meeting was held in the Hereford Teaching Centre where Roger Stirling-Brown treated us to an unforgettable lecture and demonstration on armour. Roger is accepted as one of the top three armourers in Europe and he began with a short and very well illustrated talk tracing the development of armour from Babylon through the centuries down to the Civil War. Assisted by his son Andrew, also no mean armourer, and Phillip Allen who has demonstrated armour on TV in one of the Time Team programmes, we were shown the padded or quilted linen hacketon which was worn under the armour and how each piece was put on and fastened. When fully armoured, Phillip gave us a graphic demonstration of the agility and complete freedom of movement possible in well-made armour which gave the lie to the widely held belief that a dismounted knight was a slow and cumbersome object. Roger had brought several helmets and other pieces of different types of armour including mail for us to examine (and try on) and examples of most of the weapons which would have been used by a man in armour and against him.

February. Marches Upland Survey.

At the second winter evening meeting James Dinn of the County Archaeological Service outlined the aims and achievements of the Survey. This had been carried out for English Heritage on land above the 850 ft. contour on the western fringes of Herefordshire and Shropshire. Some sample transects of one kilometre width were walked in 30 m. strips and were also flown over. The resulting information was collated with the information already held on the Sites and Monuments Record. In the transects, the previously known 400 sites have now been increased to nearly 3,000. The various types of geographical features and archaeological sites were illustrated by very well chosen slides which included prehistoric cairns at Craswall, the Bircher Common field systems and enclosures and the Iron Age hillfort at Wapley Hill showing the pillow mounds and ridge and furrow inside the fort. English Heritage and the County Archaeological Service are concerned about the management of the historical landscape and cannot protect sites unless they are known.

FIELD MEETINGS (Fully reported in HAN Nos. 64 & 65).

March. Weobley, Almeley and Little Sarnesfield.

The de Lacy castle at Weobley and what is possibly the site of the earliest Garnstone Castle were investigated. Later in the day an interesting moated site at White Hill in Little Sarnesfield standing in an area of earthworks, including probable fishponds, was viewed from the road which now cuts across it. Almeley Church was visited and then the castle with its fine 21 ft. high motte. The small diameter of the top, combined with other evidence, raises the possibility that the foundations of a round tower keep may be buried in its own debris under the turf covered motte top. This would be similar to the discovery made in the excavation at Richards Castle where the remaining 20 ft. high stump of the octagonal keep had been completely invisible in what was thought to be just a motte without surviving stonework. The outside of the moat round the motte is revetted with stone. Almeley also has its 'lost' castle called Oldcastle Twt which is approached through an overgrown dingle and set on a steep sided spur in the junction of two streams. New information was found here and the possibility that the site had originally been an Iron Age promontory fort was suggested.

April. Foy: Perrystone and Eaton Tregoz Castle.

A small area on the Perrystone estate to the E. of the road to Fownhope has recently been planted with broad-leaved trees. (SO 627 298) These cover one small part of the earthworks now visible and in a few years time it will be difficult to see this feature clearly. Its general appearance suggests that it is likely to be a pillow mound for the rearing of rabbits. It has now been recorded with a description and sketch plan of all the visible earthworks.

Our second object was to look for evidence which might decide between the alternative sites which have been proposed in the past for Eaton Tregoz Castle. Documentary evidence had already been found which disproves the Hill of Eaton identification wrongly given in the Phillimore edition of *Domesday Book* for the site of the Domesday manor. Our visit to Hole in the Wall proved inconclusive but a follow-up visit combined with other research puts the location firmly at Hole in the Wall. The indefensible nature of the site suggests that like Penyard Castle, Eaton Tregoz was a nobleman's residence and had never been a castle in the military sense.

May. Castles in the Erwood - Llyswen area of Powys.

Our out of county field meeting in the Erwood area on the river Wye was devised by Richard Kay although he was unable to be with us. Twyn y Garth had been thought to be a hillfort but in 1967 the suggestion was made by a member of the Radnorshire Society that it was a castle ringwork. With other ringworks in the district it was decided to visit these sites to see if any suggestions could be made as to their purpose, date and builders. Llyswen 'motte' and 'hillfort' and the two castle sites at Crickadarn were also investigated. Later historical research by Paul Remfrey suggests that Crickadarn II and Twyn y Garth may have been constructed during the campaign led by the sheriff of Gloucester against the Welsh between 1208 and 1210. The report (in HAN no. 64) makes the very interesting suggestion that the so-called Llyswen hillfort, which is not built in the hill-top but on a

considerable slope, may be the site of the Dark Age court from which Llyswen (the White Court) takes its name and the castle lower down the hill may be its successor. Another report covers other castle sites in the same area which were reconnoitred before the field meeting: Glasbury; Castle Tump, Llowes; Pipton; Boughrood; Bach Howey Gorge and Llangoed Hall.

June. Walterstone Camp, Oldcastle, Longtown and Pont Hendre Castles.

At Walterstone we were able to explore the near circular hillfort whose enclosed area of 4¼ acres was planted with exotic shrubs early in this century by Colonel James Rankin, son of Sir James Rankin of Bryngwyn, one of the more distinguished former members of the Woolhope Club. Known locally as 'Little Africa' and ablaze with azaleas and other shrubs in full bloom, it was difficult to remember that we were in a hillfort. The hillfort is multivallate and part of the lowest rampart is now outside the modern perimeter fence. This and the absence of the old hedges shown on the tithe map make it difficult to distinguish the exact site of the former chapel of St. Ailworth (Eiliwedd), but eventually we were reasonably confident that the raised earth platform just to the N.W. of the main entrance was probably the site.

The other main site to be visited was Longtown Castle and Richard Kay's full description of the site in 1952 is published in HAN no. 64. Paul Remfry's report of our visit, and of some of the findings made during the 1970s excavations, includes some interesting discussion on the composition of the motte and its age relative to the powerful round tower of the keep. That the keep is still standing suggests that it is significantly younger than the motte which must have been given sufficient time to settle to a hardness allowing the construction of such a heavy tower. Pont Hendre Castle, down the road to the south was also visited. We were able to explore the area around the farm and the now redundant church of Oldcastle in Gwent (SO 325 244) and an unsuccessful search was made at Great Hunthouse Farm for some mounds with conflicting map references.

July. The Roman Town of Caerwent and Caldicot Castle.

We were very fortunate to meet Peter Guest, quite unexpectedly, on the Forum/ Basilica site where the 8th and last season of work on the Caerwent excavations had just begun. Peter is custodian of the Caerleon Roman Legionary Museum and he very kindly showed us round the excavated area and explained all we saw with admirable clarity. This site is to be conserved and left open for the public and it is hoped that the redundant school will become a site museum. The temple, the shops and courtyard house in Pound Lane, the church, the North Gate and the southern half of the city wall and defences were all examined.

There was much to see at Caldicot Castle, a castle on the grand scale where much rebuilding had been done in the 14th century. Of particular interest was the depth which the round tower of the keep is sunk into the motte, showing that the tower was built on solid ground and the motte was piled around it.

July. King Arthur's Cave.

Also in July we again joined the Monmouth Archaeological Society in an evening visit to see what Dr. Nick Barton of Oxford Brookes University and his team had discovered at King Arthur's Cave in the third year of their survey of the rock shelters and caves in the Doward - Symonds Yat area. The object here was to excavate the spoil heap left by the early excavators outside the cave, in the hope of finding dateable material. This has been successful. Bones and teeth of woolly mammoth and rhinoceros which are some 34,000 years old were recovered as well as bones of red deer and some flints of about 12,000 years old. Careful sifting of the old spoil heap produced about 30-40 flints including scrapers and burins. Below the spoil heap was the undisturbed ground surface. This was excavated for the first time and a stratigraphy of humic occupation levels should provide dates and important ecological information.

September. Byford, Bridge Sollers, Arkstone and Thruxton castle sites.

The day was spent investigating possible castle sites found by Richard Kay and suggested as being worthy of inspection. We were all very interested in Byford Church and its wall paintings but the real object of our visit was to see the earthworks adjacent to the churchyard which had been noticed on air photographs in the SMR. Bridge Sollers has a motte in a typical location on a riverside bluff commanding an old river crossing. The motte is damaged and the road runs through one bailey and the other lies under the farm. The suggested sites at Arkstone Court and Thruxton Court were also visited. The report in HAN no. 65 includes an account of the motte and bailey castle at Breinton Camp and a possible motte on Eaton Bishop hillfort.

September. Prehistoric Sites in the Radnor Basin.

A return visit was made to Hindwell Farm just outside the county boundary in Walton where together with members of the Radnorshire Society, Dr. Alex Gibson of the Clwyd/Powys Archaeological Trust showed us some of the exciting work done in their second season of investigations in the Radnor Basin. Most of the sites were discovered as a result of air photography. These included a 600 m. long cursus with a round barrow at one end; a 40 m. square ditched enclosure, apparently Iron Age; the possible entrance structure of another Iron Age enclosure; and a small part of what appears to be a henge of about the size of Avebury. The ditch of the henge contained the remains of oak posts of 50-70 cm. in diameter; these had been charred to reduce rotting and the charcoal should be dateable. The estimated perimeter allows a suggested total of 200 of these trees to complete the circle. The tentative date is Late Neolithic.

October. Visit to Marden and Sutton.

Marden parish church was visited with its remarkable holy well of St. Ethelbert, where legend says his body lay after his murder by order of King Offa. Despite its closeness to the changing levels of the river Lugg the water-level in the well never varies, even during floods. We paid a visit to Sutton Walls Hillfort and walked round the E. part of the enclosed area which had been ploughed and sown. Such has been the disturbance here from waste disposal that we were quite surprised to even find two sherds of RB pottery at the.E. end.

Near Sutton Fresne the significance of the field-name 'Heneage' was pointed out in connection with the adjacent presence of the two great Saxon halls which had been discovered by air photography. In 1247 an earlier form of the name was 'hendre aghes', meaning

old homestead and enclosure. The site has been compared with the Saxon palace site at Yeavering in Northumbria and the legendary connection between Sutton and King Offa is well known. Air photographs show one of the halls to measure 25 x 8 m. with an antechamber of 11 x 4.5 m. and the dimensions of the other are 30 x 10 m. with post-holes showing that it was an aisled building. There are no visible remains to be seen on the ground. We also examined some fields with Chesterns names which seem to suggest a Roman connection but we found nothing of significance and further investigation is needed. A burial ground near Ash Grove reported several times in the Woolhope *Transactions* from 1930 onwards was looked for unsuccessfully.

November. Wellington, Castle Sites.

After three days of heavy rain, the condition of the sites made it necessary to cancel this meeting.

The Herefordshire Field-Name Survey was featured in the November 1995 edition of *Current Archaeology* (no. 145). The story of the work which won the Graham Webster Laurels in the British Archaeological Awards was told, and some examples were published of the subsequent research and analysis using field-names as archaeological indicators. The article was illustrated with maps and plans made by Geoff Gwatkin and a photograph showing the judging taking place in the Woolhope Club room.

Natural History Section, 1995

By BERYL HARDING

March 23. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Friends' Meeting House in Hereford, followed by refreshments and then a talk by Martin Hales on 'The Management of Coppiced Woodlands in Herefordshire.'

April 29. A visit was made to the Lugg Meadows led by Dr. Anthea Brian as a follow on from her talk on Lammas Lands, this was well attended by members of the Club generally, on a very chilly day.

Remaining ungrazed from Candlemas, 2 February, to Lammas, 1 August, the grasses and associated flora are able to grow unhindered until the hay has been cut. Today the 330 acres of the meadows fall within four parishes with some farms still retaining their ancient rights to graze animals in common on the hay meadows during winter. Those of the Lower Lugg Valley were the largest in the country in the time of Domesday and still remain so today. 97% have been lost by enclosure or destruction.

Commoners were re-allocated strips by lot each year with dole stones as boundary markers, ninety remain - the most in the country. Earlier markers are below the silts of repeated winter flooding. The Nature Trust has had resistivity meter and radar readings taken to locate some of these and excavations are being carried out at some sites.

These meadows are still being managed as in medieval times; because of the rare flora and fauna a large part is a SSSI with no artificial fertilisers or pesticides used. Unlike modern ley, the grasses can grow taller and without constant grazing (where plants develop a prostrate or flat rosette growth for protection) the flowering plants also grow taller, flourish and set seed. All of which gives a nutritious, sweet-smelling hay of soft brome, meadow foxtail, red fescue, crested dogtail, sweet vernal grass and others. In June the colourful meadows are full of sorrel, knapweed, bird's foot trefoil, ox-eye daisy, yellow rattle, three types of buttercup and pepper saxifrage. In the damper hollows of old river meander beds ladies smock, marsh marigold and the rare narrow-leaved water dropwort thrive. Adder's Tongue (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*) can also be found which is a rare and tiny fern of old grasslands. Once common in flood meadows the spectacular fritillaries are now confined to a handful of sites. Those of the Lugg meadows are distinctive in having so many white flowers with only a few chequered and some hybrids. This site is fairly N. for their range but they are increasing in number. They do not grow in patches but follow lines of dampness.

The Lugg Valley floor consists of gravels overlain by alluvium and winter floods help to distribute seeds as well as giving calcareous enrichment and warming the soil. Drainage is fairly rapid due to the gravel underlay but the meadows are still wet enough for large flocks of winter birds and waders, including Whooper and Bewick swans.

The river bluffs have dry sandy banks useful for nesting kingfishers and sand martins and the slip-off slopes give gravel shallows ideal for fish fry. A bankside flora of flowering rush, bulrush, purple loosetrife, marsh woundwort and greater meadow rue

grow. Nearby the meadow saffron or Colchicum is found. Flanking the Lugg are large alders and hybrid Italian black poplars. The alders are, unfortunately, showing some black patches on their bark, to a 2 metre level, indicative of a spreading Phytophthera root disease. The hybrid poplars bear many bunches of mistletoe - now becoming rarer due to over picking at Christmas. A survey is being carried out to determine its present national distribution.

These meadows form a fragile area sensitive to interference, for example, with the building of levees upstream the extra force from winter floods could damage the whole habitat.

May 11. A walk in Downton gorge was led by Tom Wall of English Nature also a follow on from his talk during the past year.

Formed by the rapid down cutting of the Teme after overflowing from Lake Wigmore during the last Ice Age, the gorge is still steepsided today. During the 17th-19th centuries it provided more water power than anywhere else in the midlands with eleven power mills. Clee Hill ironstone plus local Aymestry limestone and wood for charcoal provided the basis of a flourishing iron industry. Downton Castle was built with some of this wealth and the picturesque trail which we walked. 120 acres are leased from the Downton estate as a National Nature Reserve with a further 40 acres as SSSI woodlands.

The woods, once coppice and wood pasture, have only recently had grazing excluded and fallow deer numbers are controlled by limited culling. The woodlands are one of the best in the country for small-leaved lime now occurring as maiden trees and pollards, some of which are probably more than 300 years old. In addition to planted hornbeam and beech, both hazel and sessile oak occur plus one of the largest field maples in the county.

Parasitic toothwort was found under both hazel, where expected, and yew making use of the yew's surface roots. Other plants found were wood sorrel, wood anemone, sanicle, wood ruff, wood spurge, moschatel, wood rush and patches of ramsons. Lily of the valley, a native species preferring drier, alkaline woods, was found at a precipice edge and wild service trees grow from the rock clefts. Near the rocky tunnel, built as a picturesque feature to 'draw the eye on', the view today still resembles a painting made 200 years ago.

The Teme here contains brown trout, grayling, bullhead and some salmon - all indicators of a good, clean river. Mallard, kingfishers, dippers and all three types of wagtail were seen. A pair of mandarin ducks have returned for three consecutive years but not yet nested. Goosander, also a tree duck, reared a family in a tree hollow about four years ago which involved a steep, overgrown and hazardous descent of over fifty ft. for offspring. Otter spraint was found.

Above and beyond the tunnel some 300 spruce had been planted in the past and subsequently cleared by the Nature Trust conservation team five years ago. This open area was a mass of bluebells and gorse in flower. The gorse thrives on the acid sandy soils resulting from the conifer leaching effect. Recovery of the understorey is increasing since the exclusion of deer and meadow saffron has reappeared, it still occurs frequently in

Herefordshire but its countrywide incidence has fallen. Bladder and oak ferns were found also black spleenwort and shield fern. Herb Paris, an ancient woodland indicator and alkaline loving, was found with one stand containing five leaves instead of the usual four.

May 18. An extra meeting was held to survey and record plants on Westhope Common at the request of a resident concerned about the diminution of plant species over recent years.

Five sites were walked over in the Upper Hill and Yoke Wood areas and plants seen were recorded. Altogether 115 species were identified. A suggested management plan was drawn up for each site. Generally more grazing was to be recommended rather than cutting to keep scrub at bay. A large patch of Adder's Tongue was found. The quarry site gives sheltered tree and scrub niches for insect and bird life and also makes a valuable island amid farmland. The detailed recommendations have been passed to the Secretary of the Commons Association and appropriate action has been promised.

June 19. A visit was made to Nagshead R.S.P.B. reserve led by the warden Ivor Proctor.

The reserve occupies 300 hectares, or 750 acres, with 176 hectares of the older oak woodland as the principal conservation area. With mild weather in early spring oaks came out prematurely and were badly damaged by the April frosts. However, the new shoot growth of 13 cms. with reddish leaves was conspicuous. Oaks harbour many insects and their larvae which can badly damage the first leaf growth so oaks invariably produce a secondary growth containing more tannin and repellent to insects. This invertebrate abundance provides a rich food source for birds, especially the single brood species. Ring barking by squirrels had destroyed the tops of many young chestnuts. Squirrels pose a serious problem to broad-leaved crops and although shot and trapped they rapidly repopulate cleared areas.

There is now a rich understorey since enclosure against grazing in 1947, but half the Forest must be kept open for grazing at any one time according to ancient rights. The canopy trees are predominantly pedunculate not the native sessile oak and planted after 1814 in the drive initiated by Nelson after his visit in 1802. Planting increased from an inadequate 500 acres to 14,000 acres by 1860. By the end of the 19th century these 'boat oaks' were no longer needed and beginning to be cut for firewood! However, Dean is still one of the largest stands of woodland in Britain but, lacking much of the typical flora, it is not classed as ancient woodland.

Seen and heard that day were garden warblers in the understorey plus goldcrests, nuthatches, pied and spotted flycatchers. The tits and pied flycatcher broods had all fledged successfully by then with just a few redstarts remaining. Nest boxes were first put up in 1942 when the foresters hoped that encouraging birds would decrease insect defoliation. Pied flycatchers appeared - then regarded as a very rare bird really preferring oak woods on Welsh hillsides. This was such an event that their numbers were monitored. By 1974 the R.S.P.B. were invited to have a reserve and continue the work of the previous thirty-two years - there are now 400 boxes.

All boxes are checked by volunteers and the records sent to the B.T.O. The pied flycatchers are ringed and the best year gave 525. They are now the supreme nest box bird with 80% of their 150 boxes taken up on average and 90% in a good year. Their season is short, from mid-April to late June - early July but they remain in the county generally - the M5/M6 acts as a demarcation zone with none further E.

Problems occur with weasel predation and some dormice removing eggs to use the boxes rather than those provided for them. Their population is low as there is little hazel although a lot of bramble - having such a specialised diet can make feeding a problem.

Two pairs of buzzard nest on the reserve and tawny owls, nightjars and barn owls are seen on the perimeter. In winter flocks of goldcrests, all the tits and lesser spotted woodpecker flock together.

Ivy is of great benefit for nesting, winter shelter for birds, nectar, pollen and berries for food and also for Brimstone hibernation sites. White Admirals are common, attracted by the long strands of honeysuckle. It has been a very bad year for dragonflies as they had not hatched in time for the warm spell. Nagshead has recorded twenty-three species out of the U.K. total of forty.

Although the reserve is out of the county it provides a good comparison with similar Herefordshire sites.

July 13. A day spent looking at the natural history of the Wigmore Rolls in Mortimer Forest led by John Voysey.

Mortimer Forest as a whole was more extensive in the past. Part of Wigmore Rolls was enclosed as a deer park with a bank, ditch and paling of 9-10 ft. to keep the deer in but no longer of use. Specific to the Forest are the long-haired fallow deer whose origin is unknown, some roe and muntjac also occur.

The area visited was planted with ash in 1924 as it thrives on the moisture content of heavy clay but oak, much coppiced, is the common tree of the deer forest with some birch. This woodland is now classified as 'ancient semi-natural' as there are no service trees, wych elm or small-leaved lime - these were probably grazed out by deer in the past. The woodland as a whole can be too shady to allow the necessary growth spurt for young trees to reach above grazing level, especially ash which is very light demanding.

A mass of butterfly orchids had appeared where some ash had been felled but were finally shaded out after a few years. Their very rapid colonisation would imply that the root systems had survived as it takes several years before flowering occurs. Such roots could survive due to the action of their mycorrhizal partners.

To the N. and W. of the pale is relatively undisturbed ancient woodland but still modified by deer. Shoots are eaten and trees damaged by browsing and rubbing at a 75 cms. level by roe deer and 100 cm. level by fallow. This rubbing and barking is done to indicate territorial boundaries not to remove antler velvet.

As the day warmed up so more butterflies appeared especially many dark brown Ringlets and then Red Admirals. 176 plant species were recorded in the Rolls and Barnett Wood in the afternoon. Along the more alkaline soils of the roadside twayblade, Herb

Paris and butterfly orchids were seen also wood spurge (with its blue sap). It is abundant in Herefordshire which lies near its N.W. limit. It disappears halfway across Shropshire and where limestone reappears further N. it is climatically out of its range. Among other plants seen were angelica, pink centaury and colchicum leaves but only a few patches of bluebells. Barnett Wood had two strips of oak coppice left after clearance in the 1920s which form the core of the present woodland. A wild service tree has suckered over ten square metres - probably during the last fifty years. It is very slow growing giving dense wood much prized by musical instrument makers in France.

Two roe deer were glimpsed, introduced originally they are increasing and now range 20-30 miles. The muntjac, also introduced, will spread still further. Among the many birds whimbrel have been heard for the third consecutive year on their southward return migration in early July.

August 26. An expedition to examine the geology and plants of the Cat's Back ridge and in the Olchon Valley was led by Peter Thomson.

A group of about eight Woolhope Club members and a similar number of Nature Trust members met.

The party walked along the ridge of the Cat's Back as far as Black Hill and returned via the track down the Olchon Valley. The ridge, once reached, rises in a series of steps most of which correspond with harder bands of sandstone in the almost horizontal Brownstone beds forming the upper part of the Lower Old Red Sandstone. The sandstones are best exposed at the top of the W.-S.-W.-facing ridge and display a variety of sedimentary structures. Many are cross-bedded and some display convoluted bedding where some beds in the succession are vigorously folded in folds with an amplitude of about 40 cms. but the beds above and below are unaffected. In other places there is thin-bedded micaceous sandstone which in the past has been quarried for roofing material. These sedimentary forms are characteristic of floor plains where deposition has taken place rapidly. The convoluted bedding in particular may originate as a very wet sediment which becomes deformed as trapped water escapes upwards.

One of the main steps is made of grey/white weathered cornstone. The lower part of the bed is nodular but the top part is a more continuous limestone. Such cornstone beds probably originated as calcrete horizons formed beneath surface soil in hot semi-desert regions which may have been exposed to soil forming processes over a long period of time. This may have occurred on interfluve areas between stable river channels. These conditions in which this assemblage of rock types formed is often likened to those in the Colorado delta.

The position of the cornstone bands can readily be picked out on the W.-S.-W.-facing slope of the Cat's Back as parallel, horizontal bands of green vegetation cutting across darker heather covered parts of the slope. The heather, *Calluna vulgaris,* will not tolerate lime in the surface soil and is therefore absent over the cornstone beds. On the cornstone, however, stemless thistle, *Cirsium acaule,* here growing near the north-western edge of its range in Britain, and the carline thistle, *Carlina vulgaris,* occur.

The E.-N.-E.-facing slope does not display the effects of the limy bands in its vegetation and at least the upper part of the slope is dominated by bilberry, *Vaccinium myrtilis.* Rocky outcrops are also less in evidence at the top of this slope. A suggested explanation for the difference between the two slopes is that the westerly slope may have been stripped of its surface soil by solifluction in periglacial conditions.

The summit plateau of the Black Mountains is overlain by a mantle of blanket bog possibly accumulated in the Sub-Atlantic climatic period since about 500 B.C. The peat produces an acid surface soil which supports a limited flora a major member of which is heather or ling, *Calluna vulgaris.* The name Calluna is derived from a Greek word meaning to cleanse or to sweep reflecting the former use of the woody stems for brushes. Other acid loving shrubs of the plateau include bilberry, *Vaccinium myrtillus,* and crowberry, *Empetrum nigrum.* Empetrum indicating the plant's preference for rocky places.

(By Peter Thomson)

The Olchon Valley is almost a fossil landscape with small fields and a chequer-board of hedges and trees. Hedgerow dating shows the antiquity and plant variety of these hedges. Some of the patches of woodland have varied bird life in spring with pied flycatchers and redstarts nesting and easily observed. Ring ouzels are found on the plateau above and red grouse nest in the heather - one of the few places in Herefordshire.

It is a dreadful thought that if the proposed windfarm is built then the valley will become the main service route to the windmills within a unique part of the Black Mountains, as well as a sensitive area both biologically and archaeologically. In addition to general public condemnation various conservation bodies, including the Woolhope Club, has made written objection to the scheme.

September 18. A visit was made to the Leominster Sewage Treatment Works.

The Lugg has been selected by English Nature as a SSSI along its sixty-mile length as one of the best examples of a clay river showing a rich diversity of life. Our visit to the works was made therefore to see if extra processing was required as a result. Several main club members joined us and we were shown round by two administrative sewage officers of Welsh Water, whose remit is to both provide and cleanse water.

The population of Leominster is 10-12,000 so the unit is comparatively small. A programme of town sewer improvements plus an investment of £2.6 million at the works in 1993 enables it to treat larger quantities of sewage outflow to a higher standard, leaving by a new outfall pipe of approximately half a mile to the Lugg. This should cope with any population or housing increase into the next century and so preserve the Lugg river quality to the standards required by the National Rivers Authority.

Previously, storm and treated effluent from this site and Baron's Cross were fed into local water-courses and discharged into the Arrow via the town ditch (originally the medieval open sewer but enclosed in the 19th century). Now it is pumped directly into the Lugg. The SSSI status of the river has made little difference as the standards already required by the NRA for effluent quality are very high. No landfill sites exist in Herefordshire at present so Leominster material goes to Gloucester and that from Hereford to Merthyr Tydfil.

After screening, sewage is 99.5% water and passed through various settlement tanks. The sediment is then pumped to sludge tanks and stored for later disposal - either in liquid form to farmers for injection below soil level, or in drier cake form for surface distribution. The supernatant liquid from these tanks is gently pumped into circular biological filter beds, 50-60 metres diameter to then percolate through two metres of Llanwern slag pieces. Side vents allow an oxygen supply to the biomass amid the stones which digest impurities. This biomass consists of scouring invertebrates such as snails, spiders, worms and insect larvae, especially flies. Also the surface of the stones are covered with an active gelatinous film of bacteria, fungi and protozoa. Biomass activity produces organic waste which is removed before final discharge via secondary settlement humus tanks. 95% of detergents are also removed at this stage.

In winter the surface of these beds can sheet freeze at night normally thawing in the day - otherwise the ice layer is broken up manually to prevent a slowing down of biomass activity. The ammonia content of entering liquids is 40 ppm and reduced to 1.0 to 1.5 ppm on exit. (At Kingstone Welsh Water are using reed beds as biological filters but too large a surface area would be required for Leominster.)

With mostly food industries in the area factory waste has limited amounts of heavy metals which require no special treatment. Extra nitrates do not enter the system so any excess in rivers is from farmland run-off. The free chlorine from household waste is 'mopped up' in the biological filters, so too are phenols. Phosphate levels are low from factory waste though high from households but after treatment the outgoing levels are negligible. There is concern about the diminishing amounts of water crowfoot (*Ranunculus fluitans*) in both the Wye and the Lugg in 1994 and 1995. It was expected that the dry summer would give higher levels of nitrates and phosphates, perhaps a causative factor, but in fact tests showed lower levels. The final average discharge shows a dilution of:-

20	parts of river water	to	1 part of effluent	in	dry weather
50	"	"	1 part	"	normally
100	"	"	1 part	"	in winter.

The whole process from entry to river outflow takes ten hours with four in the biological beds. The water used in the town is pumped from Broomy Hill, tests on local borehole water show that this also is from the Wye water table consequently Wye water is returned, via the works, to the Lugg before the Lugg itself joins the Wye.

Birds do not appear in great numbers but many regularly feed on the larger invertebrates in the biological filter beds and on congealed fat residues from household waste on the settlement tanks surface - especially in winter when solidified.

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