

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
WOOLHOPE  
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB  
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XXXIX 1967  
PART I

2380

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OF THE  
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## LIST OF OFFICERS

1966 - 1967

<i>President</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
<i>President-elect</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. H. J. POWELL Mr. F. NOBLE Mr. J. W. TONKIN Mr. A. E. RIMMER
<i>Central Committee</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mrs. D. McD. CURRIE, Mr. R. E. KAY, Mr. J. G. HILLABY, Mr. W. T. JONES ( <i>to retire April, 1967</i> ), Mr. M. H. HADFIELD, Dr. B. MILES, Air-Cdre. L. P. MOORE, Rev. W. PRICE JOHNS ( <i>to retire April, 1968</i> ), Miss R. HICKLING, Mrs. J. O'DONNELL, Mr. J. E. ROSSER, Mr. S. C. STANFORD ( <i>to retire April, 1969</i> ).
<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. V. H. COLEMAN
<i>Hon. Assistant Secretary</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mrs. M. TONKIN
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. N. R. SHUTE
<i>Hon. Assistant Treasurer</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. A. D. DAWSON
<i>Hon. Auditor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. H. S. WIDGERY
<i>Hon. Librarian</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. F. W. SHERWOOD
<i>Hon. Assistant Librarian</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
<i>Hon. Editor</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
<i>Hon. Assistant Editors</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (Natural History) Mr. S. C. STANFORD (Archaeology).

## SECTIONAL RECORDERS

<i>Archaeology</i>	- - -	Mr. R. SHOESMITH
<i>Architecture</i>	- - -	Mr. H. J. POWELL
<i>Botany and Geology</i>	-	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
<i>Dialect and Folklore</i>	-	Mrs. W. LEEDS
<i>Entomology</i>	- - -	Dr. H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH
<i>Industrial Archaeology</i>	-	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
<i>Ornithology and Mammals</i>	-	Dr. C. W. WALKER
<i>Vernacular Buildings</i>	-	Mr. J. W. TONKIN

<i>Address of Hon. Secretary :</i>	<i>Address of Hon. Asst. Secretary :</i>	<i>Address of Hon. General Editor :</i>
Mr. V. H. COLEMAN Broadlands Eardisley Hereford	Mrs. M. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster	Mr. J. W. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster

# Proceedings, 1967

## SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 21st January: The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

It was announced that the Rev. B. B. Clarke, a member now living in Cornwall, had been awarded the William Bolitho Medal by the Royal Cornwall Geological Society for his work on the geomorphology of Mother Ivey's Bay near Padstow, Cornwall.

It was also made known that Mr. L. Richardson of Hanbury Park, Worcester, an honorary member of the club, who had recently died, had bequeathed £100 for the general purposes of the club.

Mr. D. Campbell, district officer for the Hereford Forest, spoke about the work of the Forestry Commission. He explained that due to the fertile soil of Herefordshire oaks as well as conifers were being planted in the county.

SECOND MEETING: 18th February: The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin gave an illustrated talk on the "Cornish House". He explained that basic house types differed little in Herefordshire and Cornwall but that materials and conditions did.

THIRD MEETING: 11th March: The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

Mr. S. C. Stanford gave an illustrated talk on his Croft Ambrey Excavations from 1960 to 1966. An interim report on them is published on page 31.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 8th April: The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

The secretary reported that £500 had been invested in Herefordshire County Council Deposit Loan.

It was announced that Mr. J. B. Griffiths, a member, in 1966 found a stone matrix between Birtley and Knighton. It is circular with a 1½ inch diameter. The legend surrounding a fleur de lys reads S' : ADE : F' : ADE : F' : FAB. The British Museum has identified it as being very rare and the translation is "The seal of Adam; son of Adam, son of the Smith". From references among the deeds of the Hereford Cathedral Library, it is thought that this seal could be of the thirteenth century.

The President gave his address on "The Use of the Natural Materials of the County". This appears on pp. 7-10.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin was installed as President for 1967-8.

## FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 6th May: BATH AND SEVERN BRIDGE.

After leaving Monmouth the party travelled over the ridge way through Trelleck to see the Three Stones. At the Severn Bridge members looked at the huge suspension cables and Mr. Kendrick spoke about the geological exposure of the Aust Cliff, where the Keuper marls were uncomfortably lying on top of the Carboniferous Limestone, and the Rhatic beds and Lower Lias limestones above. In Bath visits were made to the Parade Gardens, the Pump Room and the Roman Baths, the Abbey church with its

fine, fan vaulted ceiling and a tour of the city to look at its eighteenth-century architectural features including the Royal Crescent built about 1775 by John Wood the younger, and Queen Square and the Royal Circus designed by John Wood, his father, and built about 1735 and 1754 respectively. Delightful views of the city were seen from both Beechen Cliff and Prior Park, the house of Ralph Allen who was famous for the development of cross-posts throughout the country in the mid eighteenth century.

#### SECOND MEETING (half-day): 20th May: THE DOWARD AREA.

From the top of the Doward members walked to King Arthur's Cave where Mr. Kendrick explained how the Carboniferous Limestone cliff had been dissolved and denuded to form the cave which had been excavated in 1870 and again in 1940. This area is of great interest botanically as it produces all trees and shrubs native to the British Isles and some 700 species of flora and 270 mosses and liverworts have been recorded here. A delightful walk down through the woods brought members to Wyastone Leys house which was visited by the kind permission of Brigadier R. P. Waller. Mr. Tonkin explained that the house originally built in 1735 was added to in 1795 by Stephen Oakley-Attlay and again in 1861-62 by the architect William Burn for James Bannerman whose arms are over the porch.

#### THIRD MEETING: 15th June: THE GOWER PENINSULA.

After a long journey using the Heads of the Valleys road and passing north of Swansea through Gorseinon and Penclawdd members saw the masses of cockle shells on the marshes near Llanrhydian. The party visited the ruins of Weobley Castle, a fortified manor house. Mr. Tonkin said that this place, once the home of the De La Bere family, was originally a twelfth-century tower keep replaced in the fourteenth century by a great hall, a great chamber, kitchen and chapel. At Cheriton members saw a typical, small Gower church with a nave, a fortified tower, a chancel and a cradle roof. The party walked across the moorland to the late Neolithic cromlech of Arthur's Stone on Cefn Bryn. Mr. Tonkin explained that it was the same type as those found in the Cotswolds and Black Mountains. He also mentioned the cultural links along the western sea routes. At Rhosilli there were delightful and magnificent views of the cliffs and sandy beaches.

#### FOURTH MEETING: 15th July: BEWDLEY AND STOURPORT AREA.

The first visit on the outward journey through Bromyard and Martley was to the ruins of Whitley Court and its church nearby. Mr. Tonkin explained that the house had been built by the Foley family, the great ironmasters in the area, in the first half of the eighteenth century and it was destroyed by fire in 1937. The chapel, completed in 1735, is a magnificent example of eighteenth-century classical architecture. The windows, dated 1719, by Joshua Price and the ceiling, probably by Laguerre, were brought from Canons, Middlesex, in 1747 when that mansion was demolished. Astley Hall, one of the homes of the Baldwin family was seen on the way to Stourport. Here Mr. T. J. S. Bayliss talked about the setting up of the canal basins and the iron industry in the 1770's and the growth of Stourport as opposed to Bewdley. Members walked between the basins and along the towpath to look at the old Baldwin Foundry which is soon to be demolished. At Ribbesford church Prebendary Moir spoke about the Winnington-

Ingram family and its connections with the club and Herefordshire; Mr. Tonkin pointed out the rare timber south arcade, the William Morris west window designed by Burne-Jones and the Norman tympanum. Members looked at the bridge over the Severn at Bewdley built by Telford and visited Dowles Manor, a small early seventeenth-century manor house with good murals in its rooms. At Cleobury Mortimer the thirteenth-century church with its twisted spire and leaning arcades was visited.

#### FIFTH MEETING (half-day): 24th August: MIDSUMMER HILL.

This meeting was planned to suit both walkers and non-walkers. One group visited Ledbury church and the scanty fifteenth-century remains of Bronsil Castle, both of which were described by Mr. Powell. The other group walked from British Camp along the eastern side of the Herefordshire Beacon to Swinyard Hill and around the Gullet to the Iron Age hill-fort of Midsummer Hill. Here Mr. Stanford, who was directing the excavations which had commenced in 1965, explained that three sites were being excavated, one on the hillside terraces where it was hoped to find evidence of dwellings, another in boggy land where it had been hoped some wooden remains may have been preserved, and, thirdly, the gateway.

#### SIXTH FIELD MEETING: 9th September: LLANTWIT MAJOR AREA.

A long drive took members through Monmouth, Raglan, Cærlleon and Cardiff and on to the late Neolithic chambered tomb across two fields to Tinkinswood. Mr. Tonkin said that this site, which had been excavated in 1914, was a fine example of a Severn Cotswold type long barrow. The chambered tomb near St. Lythan's had also been pointed out on the way. At Old Beaupre Castle, Mr. Tonkin explained that this fortified manor house, once the seat of the Basset family, seemed to be the second house on an important site which had originally been a castle. The present building was mainly sixteenth century with Renaissance porches of 1586 and 1600. Nearby stood an early building probably a chapel and a sixteenth-century barn. On the beach at Llantwit Major Mr. Kendrick described the very striking rock formation of the cliffs which consisted of Lias limestone of the Jurassic period resting on the Carboniferous series. The rocks were a mixture of limestone and shales, and the shales were wearing away very badly. Mr. Tonkin pointed out the triple walls and ditches of a twelve acre cliff fort at the top of these cliffs, and also the towers of St. Donat's Castle away in the distance. This castle was now being used as an International Sixth Form College inspired by the work of Kurt Hahn who founded Gordonstoun. Members looked at the town hall and other buildings and visited the church dedicated to St. Illtywd. A monastery had been founded here about 500 A.D. and all that remained of this period were some fine Celtic crosses and shafts. From medieval times remain the western, Norman part which was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the eastern collegiate part which is of the fourteenth century and the extreme western Ragland chantry chapel of the fifteenth century.

#### AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 14th October: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

The President gave the reasons why the executive committee of the club had decided to change the format of the Transactions to quarto size beginning with Volume XXXIX Part I.

Dr. Walker, a past president and the club's longest standing member, gave an illustrated ornithological account of the county. He explained the work of the Nature Trust which was formed six years ago. Herefordshire being well-wooded with a good climate was rich in woodland birds. It had its share of migrants each year and also had many winter visitors. There were also irregular visitors such as the waxwing in 1965-66 and occasional visits are made by such birds as the great northern diver and the golden oriel.

SECOND MEETING: 4th November: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

This was an open meeting and held in the Greenland Hall as it was the fifth annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Mr. Maurice Barley, Reader in Archaeology at Nottingham University and author of "The English Farmhouse and Cottage," spoke on "Vernacular Building: New Discoveries and Current Views". Illustrating his talk with slides he traced various types of smaller houses, the Wealden, the long-house, the central chimney, houses with a front chimney and a room over the hall, crucks and aisled halls. He posed a number of unanswered questions about the distribution of these. Mr. R. C. Perry proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Barley. The president thanked Mr. F. C. Morgan and his daughter for providing the refreshments.

THIRD MEETING: 25th November: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Dialect and Folk Lore, Entomology, Mammals and Vernacular Buildings gave their reports. These are printed on pp. 157-169.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 9th December: Mr. H. J. Powell, Vice-president, in the chair, as the President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, was unable to attend because of heavy snow.

Officers were appointed as given in the list of officers as from April, 1968. The accounts for the year ending 31st December, 1966, were presented and adopted. The areas for six Field Meetings in 1968 were chosen. Mr. G. Davies showed a film on "Herefordshire Wild Flowers".

# WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB — HEREFORDSHIRE

## LEINTWARDINE ACCOUNT for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966 ...	660	2	6	Payments for Site Excavations ...	540	0	4
Unused Cheques ...		4	2	Repayments to Ministry of Works	120	6	4
	660	6	8		660	6	8

## GENERAL RESERVE ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966	1,137	16	9	Transferred to Current Account	200	0	0
Lord Croft ...	60	0	0	Cash at Bank 31st December, 1966	1,271	7	9
C. W. Meredith Kington Railway	100	0	0				
Tax recovered under Deeds of							
Covenant ...	126	0	3				
Bank Interest received ...	47	10	9				
	1,471	7	9		1,471	7	9

## HEREFORDSHIRE FLORA ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966	96	12	6	Cash at Bank 31st December, 1966	100	18	2
Bank Interest received ...	4	5	8				
	100	18	2		100	18	2

## MERRICK BEQUEST FUND

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966	43	3	6	Cash at Bank 31st December, 1966	48	12	5
Interest on 3½% War Stock ...	3	10	0				
Bank Interest received ...	1	18	11				
	48	12	5		48	12	5

## GEORGE MARSHALL FUND

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966	105	7	6	Cash at Bank 31st December, 1966	118	14	3
Interest on 3½% War Stock ...	8	9	8				
Bank Interest received ...	4	17	1				
	118	14	3		118	14	3

## SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Cash at Bank 1st January, 1966...	75	14	9	Transferred to Current Account	70	0	0
Bank Interest received ...	1	16	1	Cash at Bank 31st December, 1966	7	10	10
	77	10	10		77	10	10



## PROCEEDINGS

## WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB — HEREFORDSHIRE

HON. TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances 1st Jan., 1966							Fire Insurance	2	10	0			
Cash at Bank	200	9	8				Printing £712 13 3						
Cash in Hand	9	3	11				Less Sales 62 10 3						
				209	13	7		650	3	0			
Interest on £590/6/6							Stationery	36	2	5			
3½% War Loan							Postage & Telephone	37	9	9			
Stock				20	13	2					726	5	2
Subscriptions				648	0	6	Subscriptions, etc.						
Surplus on Field Meetings							Council for British Archaeology						
Transfer from Deposit Account				7	13	5	Headquarters	3	0	0			
General Reserve	200	0	0				General	2	2	0			
Special Publications	70	0	0				Cambrian Archaeological Assoc.	2	2	0			
				270	0	0	The Prehistoric Society	2	2	0			
Special Grants							The Harleian Society	1	11	6			
Hereford City Council	25	0	0				Bristol & Gloucester Archaeological Society	1	1	0			
Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral	25	0	0				British Mycological Society	2	10	0			
				50	0	0	The Society for Medieval Archaeology (7 yrs. to 31st March, 1965)	14	14	0			
							Journal of Industrial Archaeology	4	4	0			
											33	6	6
							Honoraria to Assistants				40	0	0
							Bank Charges and						
							Cheque Books	3	4	2			
							Lecture Expenses	6	13	0			
							Covenant Scheme						
							Professional Charges	26	5	0			
							Disbursements	7	10	0			
											43	12	2
							Balances 31st Dec., 1966						
							Cash at Bank	353	4	9			
							Cash in Hand	9	12	1			
											362	16	10
											1,206	0	8
											1,206	0	8

## AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have audited the above Honorary Treasurer's Account together with the Leintwardine Account, the General Reserve Account, the Herefordshire Flora Account, the Merrick Bequest Fund and the George Marshall Fund and certify them to be in accordance with the books and vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club.

(Signed) HERBERT T. WIDGERY,  
Honorary Auditor.  
17th July, 1967.

## Presidential Address

## Some Reflections on the Use of the Natural Products in Herefordshire

By F. M. KENDRICK

IN the present time with its great and ever growing tendency towards mass production and standardisation many of the old crafts and skills that flourished in the county are being forgotten. Likewise many of the natural products that were used in these crafts have through economic reasons gone out of use. If one has an interest in botany and geology there is a wide field available for observing the use of the various natural products in different parts of the county. Also their purely local use in some areas is a constant reminder of the former difficulties of communication and transport before macadamised roads and motorised transport.

Herefordshire has always been a heavily wooded county and has a reputation for being able to grow oak trees at a faster rate than the majority of other areas. It would perhaps be appropriate to start by considering the former use of some of the timber trees to be found within the county. Much of our modern work is carried out with imported soft woods and the ever increasing acreage of conifers is a constant reminder of the importance attached to these. It is hoped that we may not entirely lose our mixed woodlands as a sacrifice on the altar of progress.

The Pedunculate Oak thrives on the deep Downtonian marls of the lowland whilst the Sessile as nearly always found on the more shallow silicious soils of the west and the central area of the Woolhope Dome. These trees provided the main woods for the timber-framed houses that are such a feature of the lowlands. An old craftsman describing how his grandfather picked his trees said it was the practice to inspect several trees during the summer months and having found a suitable one would leave it until late autumn before it was felled. The tree was then cleaned up and the branches removed but the main trunk would often be left for two or three years before it was moved to the saw pit. Particular attention was paid to the branches especially the rather gnarled branches of the Pedunculate Oak as cuts made from these were able to cope with difficult angles. Many of the supports for church bells in the county have been fashioned from these branches as they are far stronger than wood which has been steamed and bent into shape. The bark of the tree was a valued by-product and was collected for use in the numerous local tanneries. The wood was used extensively for fittings and furnishing in houses and other buildings. It is interesting here to reflect the considerable difficulties of working in this hard wood especially in the early times before mechanical aids and when the craftsman very often had to make his own tools.

Another familiar tree which has been much used is the Elm, mainly the English Elm (*Ulmus campestris*) in the central lowlands where it forms such a feature of the hedgerows, but the Wych Elm (*Ulmus glabra*) which is a smaller but much more common tree in the western parts of the county has been found useful in those parts.

The wood of the elm is very resistant to damp conditions and was used for work where this type of condition prevailed. Recent excavation of the City Wall in Blue-School street disclosed piles that had been used to support the foundations of the wall on the moat side; on examination these proved to be elm. It seems also to have been the main wood employed for water pipes and pumps, also in mill works. It is probable that a closer examination of some of the old houses might reveal a greater use of elm than was considered probable especially where a long spar was wanted. The demolition of Freen's Court, Sutton St. Nicholas, revealed quite a considerable use of this wood for some of the larger beams. It has been stated that a building at the Upper Cross, Ledbury, has a beam some 90 feet long used in its construction; this sounds suspiciously like elm for few oaks would reach this height.

The Ash is well distributed throughout the county and was formerly much in demand for the spokes of wheels and the shafts of traps and other light wagons. The craft of the wheelwright is rapidly dying out and there are perhaps less than half a dozen craftsmen left in the county who could build a wheel. It is only after talking to one of them that you realise what a complicated process this apparently simple job could be and the number of unfamiliar and often home-made tools used. At one time there was a small industry at Bosbury building ladder-backed armchairs, the frames for these being made from ash.

Other trees though not so plentiful perhaps as the ones mentioned had their uses. Some years ago clog-makers from the industrial north would make annual camps in the county especially in the Sarnesfield area where they cut down the Alder trees that grow alongside the streams in those parts. They would then cut and roughly shape the clog soles to take back with them on return to the north. Hazel shrubs provided the materials for making the wattle panels for the timber-framed houses, whilst the Osier willows were used for basket making. The Hornbeam was much sought after for making the teeth of the mill wheels though in some cases the Crab Apple wood was used instead. Numerous coppices throughout the county provided Sweet Chestnut and Hazel Nut poles for the hop fields which once were more numerous than at the present day. Chestnut was also sometimes used for furniture making and in many cases the finished product is difficult to distinguish from oak.

At one time there were two wood distillation plants in the county, one at Credenhill and one at Pontrilas. Of the former no trace now remains and the latter is only remembered by a row of cottages rejoicing in the name of Chemical Row.

The county being short of favourable stretches of water for the growth of reeds cereal straw was used for thatching the houses in the central area before the use of tiles became plentiful.

Of the five geological systems represented in the county four of them are composed of sedimentary rocks, the largest area being covered by the Devonian rocks represented by the Old Red Sandstone, and the Silurian inliers have second place.

The pre-Cambrian rocks of the Malverns have occasionally been used for house building though difficulty of working tends to restrict the use to random walling with other stones or bricks used for corners. Walls have been built of these stones in an

area extending as far as Ledbury whilst the extensive quarrying that has gone on in the past indicates its usefulness for road material.

Of the Silurian system most used seems to have been made of the Wenlock and Upper Ludlow formations for buildings. A good example of the Wenlock limestone is the St. Katherine's Hospital at Ledbury most of the stone of which, except for the central tower and window framings, seems to have come from what were known as the Commissioners' Quarries in the Worcester Road, Ledbury. These quarries also produced a band of hard limestone which was known as the Ledbury marble. This apparently took a good polish and was used for mantelpieces, one of which was at the Upper Hall, Ledbury, and one in Hereford Shire Hall appears to have had the same origin. The favourite building stones for the Silurian areas seems to have been the flaggy sandstones and limestones from the Upper Ludlow formation. Examples can be seen in the Chancel of Ledbury church, in many buildings in the Woolhope and Fownhope areas and also the Wigmore and Leintwardine areas. No extensive use seems to have been made of the Aymestrey limestone for building, though some of the stones of the bridge over the Lugg at Aymestrey seem to have come from Rock Hall Quarry quite near at hand and the walls and cottages at Burrington near the church are built of Aymestrey limestone complete with its characteristic fossil *Conchidium Knightii*. During the construction of Ledbury tunnel a particularly hard band in this formation was laid aside for coping stones but proved so difficult to work that it was used for ballast.

As might be expected stones from the Old Red Sandstone formation have been used extensively throughout the county especially where the Dittonian rocks are exposed. There is difficulty in tracing the place from which many of the stones came because the formation being of estuarine origin great variations can be found over a small area. A fine example which can be used to illustrate this is a wall built near Fownhope church. Here the stone has obviously come from the great quarry at Caplar which contains many beds, some a hard clean sandstone, others lightly cemented or soft and full of clay particles, and it is interesting to observe the difference in the weathering of these stones. It would seem that the cardinal principle to be observed in the use of the Old Red Sandstone is that they must be laid in the same position that they came from the quarry. If care is taken to do this then many excellent building stones are available such as that used in this manner at the White House, Vowchurch.

At the base of the Old Red system is the Downton Castle sandstone, a buff coloured sandstone containing some beds of excellent building stone. As the name implies Downton Castle was built of this stone but it would appear that parts of Croft Castle and several buildings in the Lucton area also were built of it.

The Downtonian red marls which floor most of lowland Herefordshire contain few beds of stone suitable for building but the marls make excellent material for bricks. Formerly there were quite large brick works at Hereford, Holmer, Grafton, Ledbury, Pontrilas and Leominster but the only one that now survives is at Bromyard. It seems that it was quite a common practice in the central areas for bricks to be made and burnt on the building site. An interesting side light here is that during alterations to the headmaster's house at Ledbury Grammar School bricks were found of twice the normal

size and it was said these had been made at Colwall at the time when there was a tax on bricks.

The Dittonian formation provides many building stones, both flagstones and tile stones, which have been used extensively in the west of the county where suitable timber was not available for the timber-framed houses. The cornstone capped hills in the central lowlands also have houses built from either this formation or the top beds of the Down-tonian. It is in the west of the county with its higher rainfall that the use of the tile stones was so extensive. The production of these now seems a lost art and replacements are made from old buildings that have been pulled down. It seems that the usual practice was to extract a block of stone about the size of four tiles, and as thick as the bedding planes would allow. This was then stood on end at right angles to the bedding of the rock and the frost allowed to act on this block. It then became quite easy to prize off tiles of the required thickness and these were cut into four and holes cut for fixing to roofs. They were fixed with oak pegs as any metal was soon worn away by the very abrasive, gritty sandstone. The best tiles came from quarries at Trelandon and Cusop being a light yellowish colour, but similar beds have been seen in a wood at Brilley.

The brownstones are much more lightly cemented especially in the Ross area and where they have been used it is apparent that they have in most cases weathered badly. It would be interesting to speculate here if the old glass works, of which there were apparently two or three in the Ross area, used sand derived from the Tintern sandstone from the top of the system.

Lime for building and agricultural purposes was derived not only from the Silurian and Carboniferous limestones, the latter forming a small area in the south, but also from the Psammosteus limestones and cornstones where they were found in the Old Red. Some of the kilns where the lime was burnt in the west of the county are still standing but an examination of an old six inch Ordnance Survey map will show how many have now disappeared without trace. It has been stated that a very good hydraulic cement could be obtained from the Aymestrey limestone. Analysis of this limestone shows a calcium carbonate content of below eighty per cent and in parts the impurities seem to consist of clay minerals which gives feasibility to the statement.

The glaciation of the Lugg and Wye valleys has given ample supplies of sand and gravel for building as the many gravel pits both used and disused will show. I strongly suspect also that the material to build much of the walls of Magna Castra came from these glacial deposits and that later they were used in part to construct the Hereford City Walls. A close examination of the stones in the walls now exposed and of material that evidently came from them shows such a heterogeneous mixture of rocks that preclude any local quarry from being the source. There are stones from the quartz conglomerate group, some conglomerate that matches closely that found under the Abdon limestone in the Black Mountains, and even some that look as if they had come from the Builth complex.

The cornstones have provided materials for millstones, cider mills and presses and in some cases church fonts, such as that at Bosbury, have been carved from them.

I am only too well aware of the many items I may have missed in this brief summary but I hope my remarks have served to stimulate interest in items that may soon be lost in this age of so-called progress.

## A Contribution to the geomorphology of the Woolhope Hills

By PETER THOMSON

*"At Woolhope in Herefordshire . . . the denudation of the valleys which lie between the ridges that encircle the central dome has been so complete as to render it the finest known example, within the British Isles, of a valley of clean denudation as well as of elevation. Not only have no extraneous loose materials been translated to it from other tracts, but every fragment derived from the mass of rocks which must have arched over it, has been swept out of the central and encircling hollows; a striking proof of the forcible agency exerted in the denuding operation."*

In these words Murchison in "Siluria" indicates the close relationship between the dome structure and the relief of the Woolhope Hills. In this paper I intend to re-examine some features of the relief and suggest that the "forcible agency" which effected the "denuding operation" was originally a series of streams superimposed on the area, possibly as recently as the Early Pleistocene period.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HILLS

The Woolhope Hills consist essentially of a central dome-shaped area of high ground which includes Haugh Woods and Broadmoor Common. This is geologically the oldest part of the area and it lies at the centre of the dome structure. It consists of a central mass of Llandovery Sandstone surrounded by a fringe of Woolhope Limestone, which frequently appears as a bench such as the one on which the village of Woolhope now stands. More or less concentrically around this central area there is a broad vale underlain by Wenlock Shale and this is followed in turn by two sub-parallel escarpments of Wenlock and Aymestrey Limestone separated by a vale of Lower Ludlow Shale.

#### THE ESCARPMENTS

The highest part of the hills is along the eastern side where there is a continuous high ridge of Aymestrey Limestone dipping to the east. The ridge runs from Seager Hill, which rises to 886 feet at its highest point, through Marcle Hill, 687-633 feet, southwards along Ridge Hill, 757 feet, to Oldbury Camp at 600 feet. Northwards from Seager Hill it curves round the north eastern side of the area to Backbury Hill at 738 feet. The ridge is practically unbroken by gaps except for the one at Woolhope Cockshoot, which corresponds with the Woolhope Cockshoot fault.

The crest of Seager Hill varies little in height as it is above 800 feet and below 887 feet for over two miles and when viewed from a distance has a slightly undulating appearance. Along Marcle Hill the ridge is very narrow and remarkably constant in height at just over 600 feet for a distance of more than a mile. In addition to being a high continuous ridge it is also the main divide separating the streams which flow eastward to the R. Leadon and northward to the R. Frome from the Pentoloe and Sollers Hope streams which drain westward through the hills to the R. Wye. The eastern dip slope is dissected by many sub-parallel streams and dry valleys.

Parallel with this ridge is the scarp of Wenlock Limestone prominent in Little Hill and Canwood Knoll and forming a ridge from near Checkley to Busland Wood south-east of Woolhope village. Unlike the Aymestry Limestone ridge to the east this is broken by gaps at Checkley (600391), between Little Hill and Canwood Knoll (613380), at Harris's Hill (624362) and at Hyde House (624345). All these gaps are occupied by streams which rise at the foot of the Aymestry Limestone scarp. The streams flow eventually to the Wye and cut through the Wenlock scarp in the opposite direction to the dip of the rocks thus appearing obsequent in nature. The gaps are deeply cut well-marked features and form abrupt V-shaped notches in the ridge, the one between Little Hill and Canwood Knoll being cut through the highest part of the whole ridge.

The central dome-shaped area of Haugh Woods and Broadmoor Common rises to a height of just over 600 feet in Haugh Woods. The summit area is relatively flat and falls away gently in all directions. Broadmoor Common is also a large flat area at just over 500 feet. This area is drained by three small streams which radiate from Broadmoor Common more or less at the geological centre of the dome. Two flow to the Pentoloe and Sollers Hope streams whilst the third becomes the headwater of the Fownhope stream. These streams give the impression of being original streams draining from the centre of the dome, they do indeed rise near the geological centre but this area is certainly not a major divide.

The western edge of the hills is again marked by parallel ridges of Wenlock and Aymestry Limestone, this time dipping towards the west. The dip here is steeper than in the east and as a result the ridges are narrower and closer together than their eastern counterparts. These ridges are best marked between Mordiford and Fishpool Hill, east of Fownhope village. For much of its length the Wenlock Limestone ridge is at a height of just over 400 feet and it is well seen at Common Hill (587346). The Aymestry ridge is best seen immediately east of the Mordiford-Fownhope road where it is broken by shallow gaps and terminates in Cherry Hill. The summits of these hills frequently rise to about 500 feet but only in Fishpool Hill do the Silurian hills rise above 550 feet.

South of the Silurian limestone hills and swinging round parallel with them is a ridge of Dittonian sandstone running from Capler Hill, which rises to 597 feet, to Rattle Hill, east of How Caple, which is continuous and almost level at just over 500 feet.

Unlike the ridge on the eastern side of the Woolhopes these western ridges are all broken by a number of wet and dry gaps.

The Pentoloe escapes from the hills by a deep fault-guided gap at Mordiford, the Fownhope stream by another deep gap between Cherry Hill and Common Hill and the Sollers Hope stream and its tributaries break through the Silurian hills near Sollers Hope church and through the Dittonian sandstone ridge in the very wide gap between Capler Hill and Rattle Hill. Three prominent dry gaps are the one on Common Hill where many tracks converge to cross the ridge, a second between Common Hill and Fishpool Hill and a third in the sandstone ridge of Rattle Hill where the road from How Caple to Lyne Down crosses it. All these gaps have well-marked dry valleys on their west or south-west sides and all three appear to have been produced by river capture. Another gap is crossed by the B4224 road south-east of Fownhope. This follows the strike of Downtonian marls and has a dry valley leading down to the Wye on its western side.

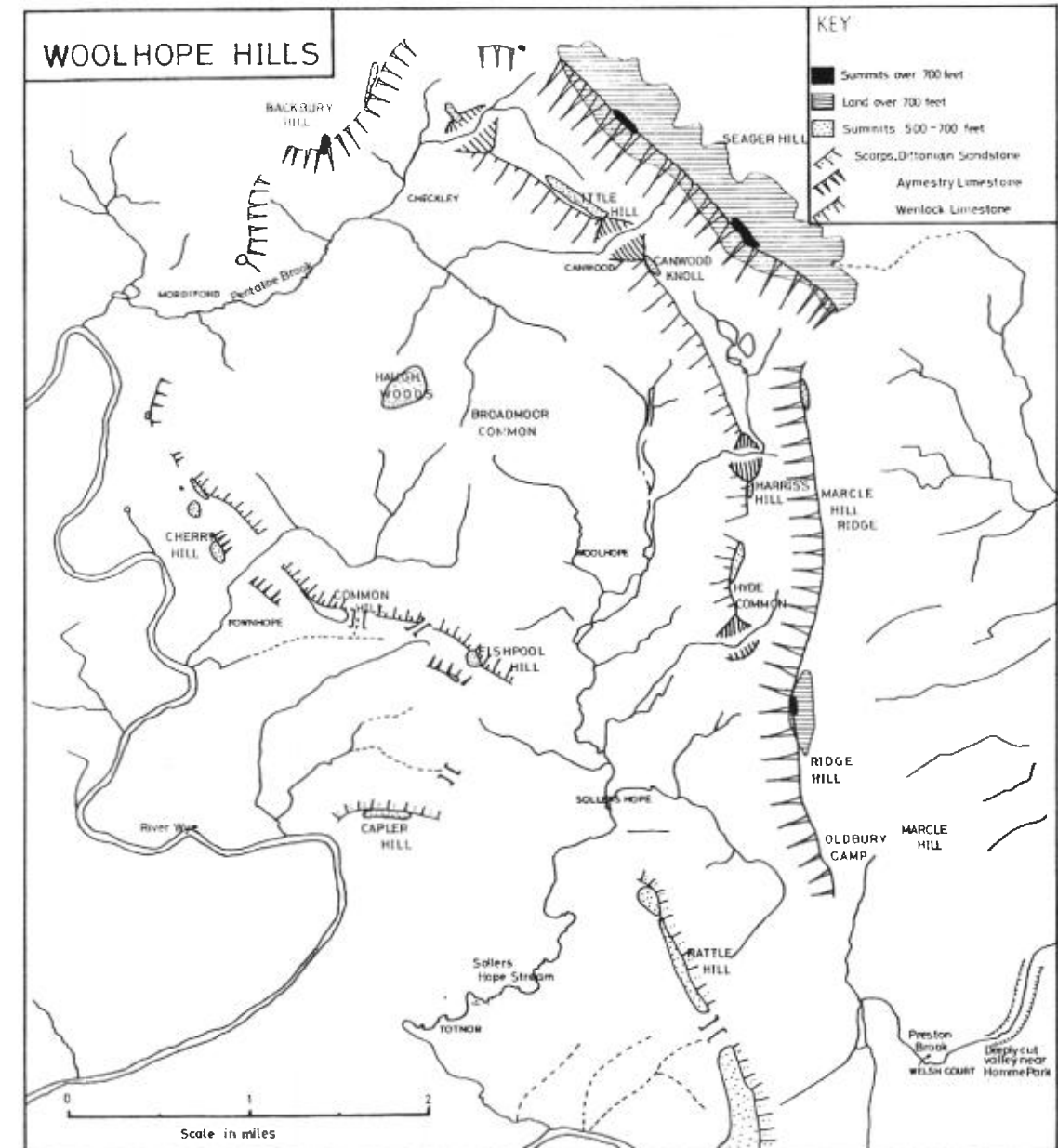


Fig. 1.

These gaps will be discussed further when considering the drainage pattern.

Fig. 1 shows the distribution of features mentioned in this section.



## THE DRAINAGE PATTERN AND ITS EVOLUTION (See Figs. 1 and 2)

The streams draining the hills flow generally westward from the divide running from Seager Hill to Oldbury Camp and all, except the Preston Brook in the extreme south, drain eventually to the Wye.

The Pentaloe at the northern end of the hills will be considered first. The main source of this stream is in the valley of the Lower Ludlow Shale at the foot of Seager Hill. Here it starts as a small stream and flows almost at once through a deeply cut water gap in the Wenlock Limestone ridge near Canwood Farm. Between Canwood and Checkley it flows in a wide strike valley of Wenlock shale. In this section it is joined by two small tributaries from Haugh Woods and at Checkley it swings round to follow more or less along the line of the Pentalo fault to Mordiford. At Checkley it is joined by a tributary from the north-east which also cuts a deep gap through the Wenlock limestone. As it cuts through the northern end of Haugh Woods the valley is very deeply cut and widens on its way through Mordiford village.

The Fownhope stream, although small, exhibits features of river capture very clearly. It rises on the edge of Broadmoor Common and flows directly south-west in a very broad valley heading for the dry gap in Common Hill. Near Rudge End farm it turns abruptly to follow the Wenlock Shale valley for about half a mile before cutting through the Wenlock and Aymestrey Limestone ridges in a deep gorge-like valley below Cherry Hill.

The features of these streams are illustrated on the map (Fig. 1).

It is tempting to regard the drainage of this part of the hills as having developed from a number of streams radiating from the geological centre of the dome. Indeed there are several streams flowing from the Broadmoor Common area in a more or less radial pattern. This idea is, however, precluded because of the absence of gaps in the eastern ridge; the location of the major divide along the eastern Aymestrey Limestone ridge, and the fact that some streams appear to cut obsequently across the Wenlock Limestone ridge near their sources.

The present pattern of drainage could easily have developed as a result of a series of captures from two original streams shown by the two most northerly dotted lines on the map. (Fig. 2.)

If two such streams existed the more northerly would have had a shorter journey across the bands of limestone to the more easily erodable Downtonian beds which surround the dome, whilst the southerly stream would not only have a longer journey to the Downtonian but would also be crossing the hard rocks of the Haugh Woods-Broadmoor Common area. Under these circumstances the northerly stream could be expected to cut its valley more rapidly and its tributaries would be in a position to capture the southern stream. This could have occurred on two occasions and the resultant elbows of capture are marked  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  on the map.

The capture at  $E_1$ , near Canwood Farm, would have been effected by a tributary of the northerly stream cutting back for a relatively short distance along the Wenlock shale outcrop. As a result of this capture the northerly stream would add to its own volume and erosive power whilst depriving the southern stream of its headwaters. The more or less conclusive evidence for this first capture, in the form of a well-marked

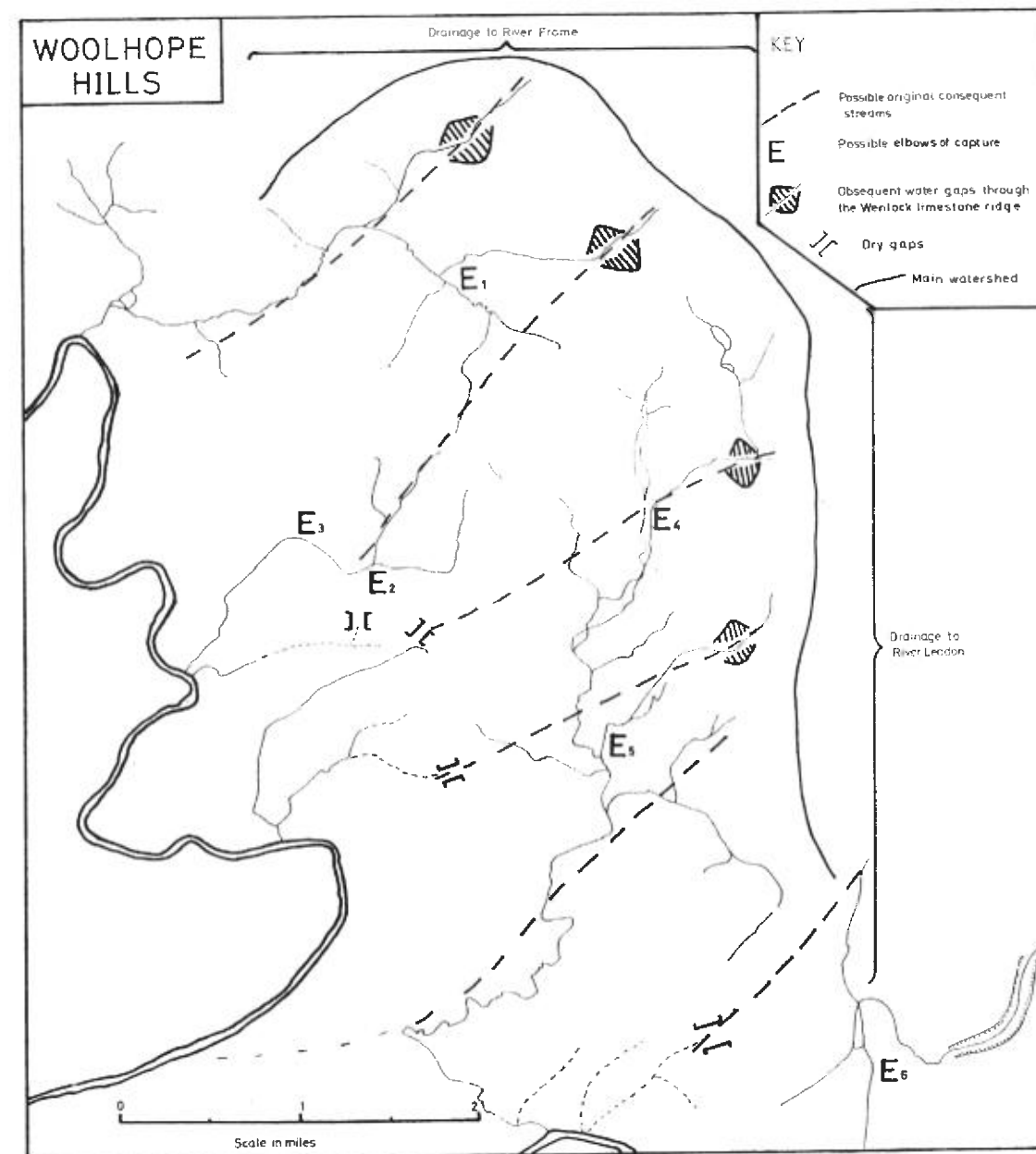


Fig. 2.

dry gap across the Broadmoor Common area, is lacking, but the upper part of the Fownhope stream is very small for the size of the valley it occupies and it could be called a

misfit stream today. There is also a small reverse stream from Broadmoor Common to Canwood.

The second capture, the elbow of which is shown at  $E_2$ , is more problematic although evidence for it is incontrovertible. The capture has been effected by a stream working along the Wenlock Shale outcrop but this stream is unlikely to have been a tributary of the present Fownhope stream as this has no valley in the Haugh Wood area aligned even slightly with its course through the limestone ridges. It therefore seems possible that the capture was effected by a tributary of the northern stream working its way along the Wenlock Shales and leaving a gap in Common Hill at a height of about 350 feet. This stream was then captured at  $E_3$  by the Fownhope stream cutting back along a fault line through the limestone ridges to establish its present course.

If these arguments are correct the drainage pattern of the Pentoloe and Fownhope stream has been derived from two more or less parallel south-west flowing streams which were superimposed on the area. The upper portions of these streams still follow their original courses across the Wenlock Limestone ridge in the gaps at Canwood and Checkley. The original streams would be strongly discordant to the major structure of the dome but during their development they have become closely adapted to some detailed structural features such as shale bands and fault lines. The surface from which the superimposition could have taken place will be discussed later.

The pattern of events in the southern part of the Woolhopes, in the drainage area of the Sollers Hope stream, is not so clear as that in the north but a number of features suggest that a similar series of captures has taken place and that the present pattern of drainage has been derived from a number of west to south-west flowing streams. Perhaps the clearest evidence for capture is found in the headwaters of the Preston Brook and the Rattle Hill area.

The Preston Brook rises between Marcle Hill (638326) and Oldbury Camp, flows southward past Dean's Place and at Welsh Court it turns northward in a deeply entrenched valley to Homme Park. Rattle Hill, with its marked dry gap and dry valley leading down to the Wye near How Caple, lies to the west of the upper part of the stream. This pattern suggests that a stream from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Oldbury Camp originally cut the gap and has since been captured by the headwaters of the Preston Brook. That such a capture should take place is very reasonable as the original south-west flowing stream would have been impeded in its downcutting by the hard sandstone of Rattle Hill, whilst the capturing stream was draining to low ground on Downtonian marls to the east.

The Sollers Hope stream gives the impression of a stream whose pattern has been developed by a series of captures. The main trunk stream flows more or less southward from near Woolhope Cockshoot to its confluence with the Wye near How Caple. Several of its headwaters come from the east and very few feeble streams from the west. Two of the sources rise at the foot of the Aymestry Limestone scarp and almost immediately break through the Wenlock Limestone ridge in well-marked water gaps at Harris's Hill and Hyde House. These gaps are similar in form to the ones cut by the headwaters of the Pentoloe Brook. A third headwater rises near Sapness Farm. At first all these

streams head in a west to south-west direction until they join the main stream flowing southward.

In the western rim of the hills there are appropriate gaps with associated dry valleys on their western sides which must have been cut originally by west to south-west flowing streams.

The first of these is between Common Hill and Fishpool Hill and is crossed by the minor road from Nash Hill to Woolhope. This is at a height of about 480 feet, just below the 500 foot ridge of Common Hill. Further south, between Fishpool Hill and Capler, there is another gap following the strike of the Downtonian marls at a height of just over 350 feet. West of this a dry valley runs down from below Capler Farm towards Rise Farm.

This pattern of streams, gaps and dry valleys could have originated as a result of a series of captures of three original west to south-west flowing streams.

The gaps pair up well with the tributaries of the Sollers Hope stream which cut across the eastern Wenlock limestone ridge. The possible pattern of the original drainage is shown on the map. (Fig. 2.)

The captures have taken place by streams working back chiefly along the Wenlock Shale band. The first, at  $E_1$ , resulted in the capture of the headwaters of the stream which may formerly have flowed through the Fishpool Hill gap. The original stream at this point would have had a long course over the widest part of the hills and its rate of downcutting would be slow through the limestone of the western rim around Fishpool Hill. Similarly the earlier course of the stream beginning near Hyde House could have cut the gap below Capler Hill and have been captured by a tributary of a third stream flowing from the neighbourhood of Sapness Farm across the Dittonian sandstone ridge. A final capture along the Sollers Hope stream is seen near Totnor leaving a shallow gap near Brinkley Hill. This is undoubtedly caused by the rejuvenation and entrenchment of the Wye the capture having taken place across the neck of the Kings Caple-Hoarwithy meander.

All the captures described show that the earlier phases of drainage in the hills was towards the south-west or west and that there has been a continuous adaption of the drainage pattern to the structure. Originally there must have been about six sub-parallel streams spaced about a mile apart and completely discordant to the structure. The original spacing and position of the streams is best preserved near their headwaters where they cut through the eastern Wenlock Limestone ridge. This arrangement of the drainage is consistent with that of streams developed on a surface left by a retreating sea and an examination of the upland surfaces is necessary to see whether such a surface can reasonably be postulated in this area.

#### THE UPLAND SURFACE OF THE WOOLHOPE HILLS

Seen from a distant vantage point, such as the 'Look-out' on Dinmore Hill, the Woolhope Hills appear as a plateau-like area with the high ridge of Seager Hill rising abruptly above it on its eastern side and the summit of Backbury Hill breaking its continuity. The plateau surface skims the summit of Capler Hill, 597 feet, Fishpool Hill, 550 feet, Haugh Woods, 600 feet, the summits on the eastern Wenlock Limestone ridge, 650 feet, and the crest of the Aymestry Limestone ridge along the summit of Marcle

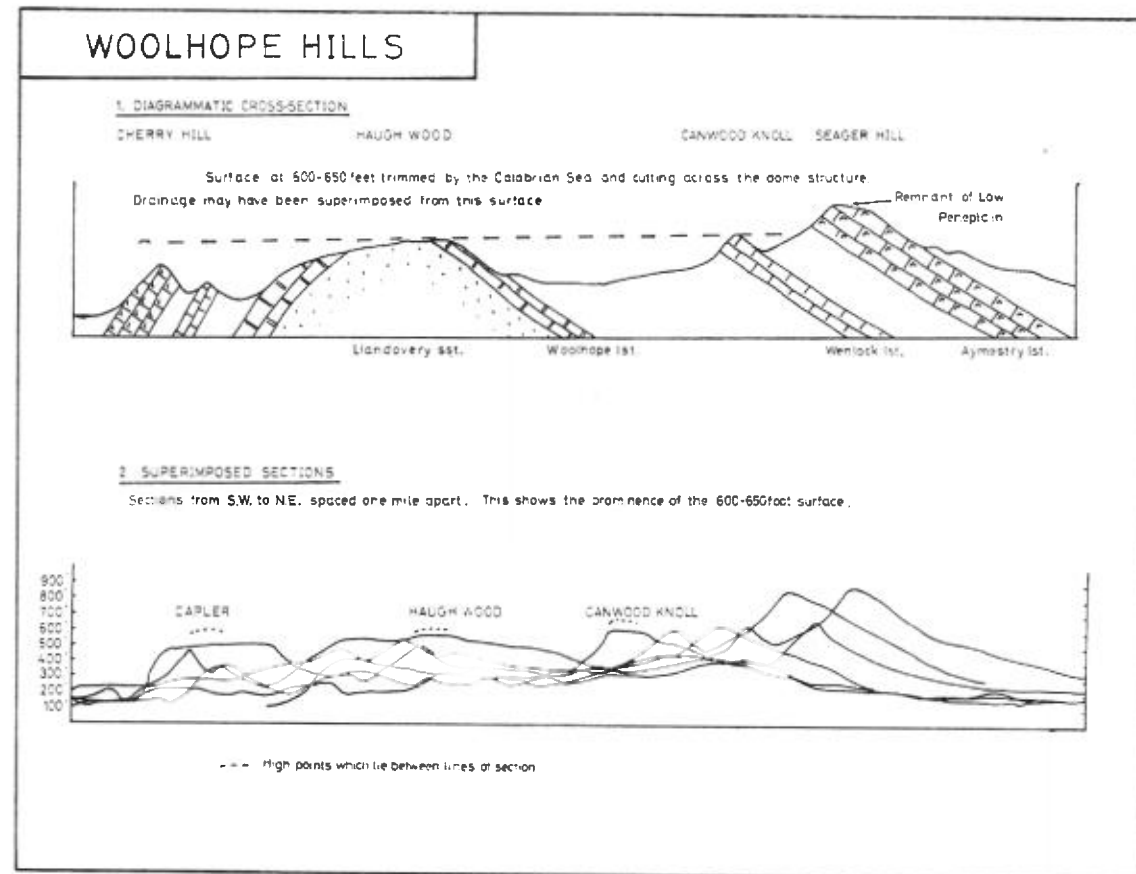


Fig.3.

Hill ridge and Oldbury Camp, 600 feet. As can be seen from these heights the surface is generally at about 600 to 650 feet above sea level.

In Fig. 3 (2) a series of sections have been drawn across the Hills from south-west to north-east and they have been superimposed on one another. This gives ample confirmation of the distant view. Many summits on different geological formations rise to heights of about 600 to 650 feet. In few cases are the tops flattened at this height but the accordance of the summits is perhaps sufficient to suggest that they once formed part of a continuous surface below which the present relief has been cut. The drainage could have originally developed on this surface flowing in a west or south-west direction from the higher areas, such as Seager Hill, which must have risen as an island above the surface. Such drainage would cut indifferently across the geological structures and the streams would be superimposed from it. This evidence from the summits corroborates the conclusions arrived at from an examination of the drainage pattern.

In his study of "The Relief and Drainage of Wales", Professor E. H. Brown includes the summit of Seager Hill in his Low Peneplain. The Low Peneplain he traces as a much dissected surface around the Welsh Massif and it is represented by hills whose summits lie about 750 to 1,000 feet above sea level. Nearly all the hills rising out of the Herefordshire plain are remnants of this surface and within the County hills of this height are found on several different geological formations.

Below the level of the Low Peneplain Professor Brown distinguishes a series of Coastal Plateaux and says of them, "Below 700 feet is a series of wave-cut platforms the highest of which has a median height of 600 feet. . . . Where the 600 foot platform is widest it merges across a low bluff with the Low Peneplain and has the appearance of a surface formed by wave trimming of the outer parts of that peneplain."<sup>2</sup>

This description of the highest platform applies very well to the summit surface just described in the Woolhopes and suggests that it may be an extension of the highest Coastal Plateau of Wales.

Professor Brown traces this plateau as far as the Newport area by means of flattened remnants on spurs with a break of slope representing a degraded cliff line at their landward end, isolated flat topped hills and isolated rounded hills at appropriate heights.

Almost exactly south-west from the Woolhopes is a long narrow corridor running out into the Bristol Channel near Cardiff along which there is no remnant of the Low Peneplain but there are several summits rising to 600 to 650 feet and spurs flattened at this level. Some of the summits form the highest hills in the Usk inlier and flattened spurs are particularly well-marked on the south-east side of Craig Syfyrddin, near Abergavenny. The distribution of these features is shown in Fig. 4, and this indicates that if sea level had been 600-650 feet higher than at present the Woolhope Hills would have been at the head of a long narrow stretch of water with no interruptions to the south-west. There would have been maximum fetch in that direction and hence the Woolhopes could have been trimmed by waves from there leaving the highest portions in the north-east where they still remain. If this is the case the south west facing scarp of Seager Hill is a degraded cliff line but as its base is coincident with an outcrop of Lower Ludlow Shale the break in slope at the foot of the cliff has not been preserved.

Writing of the platform in South Wales Professor Brown says: "The surviving remnants of the platform suggest that its maximum development was in the south-west. This may reflect the direction of maximum fetch from the south-west and the resulting vigour of wave attack."<sup>3</sup> This comment, it would seem, could equally well be applied to the Woolhope Hills.

The alignment of the embayment leading inland at least as far as the Woolhopes is from south-west to north-east and is thus parallel with the Caledonian structures of mid-Wales. It is along a line of uplift which is responsible for bringing the Silurian rocks of the Usk and Woolhope inliers to the surface and for the separation of the coal basins of South Wales and the Forest of Dean by an area of Old Red Sandstone and Silurian rocks. As the relatively easily eroded Downtonian marls are exposed along a good deal of its length, from near Cardiff to the area west of Monmouth, it could have formed a

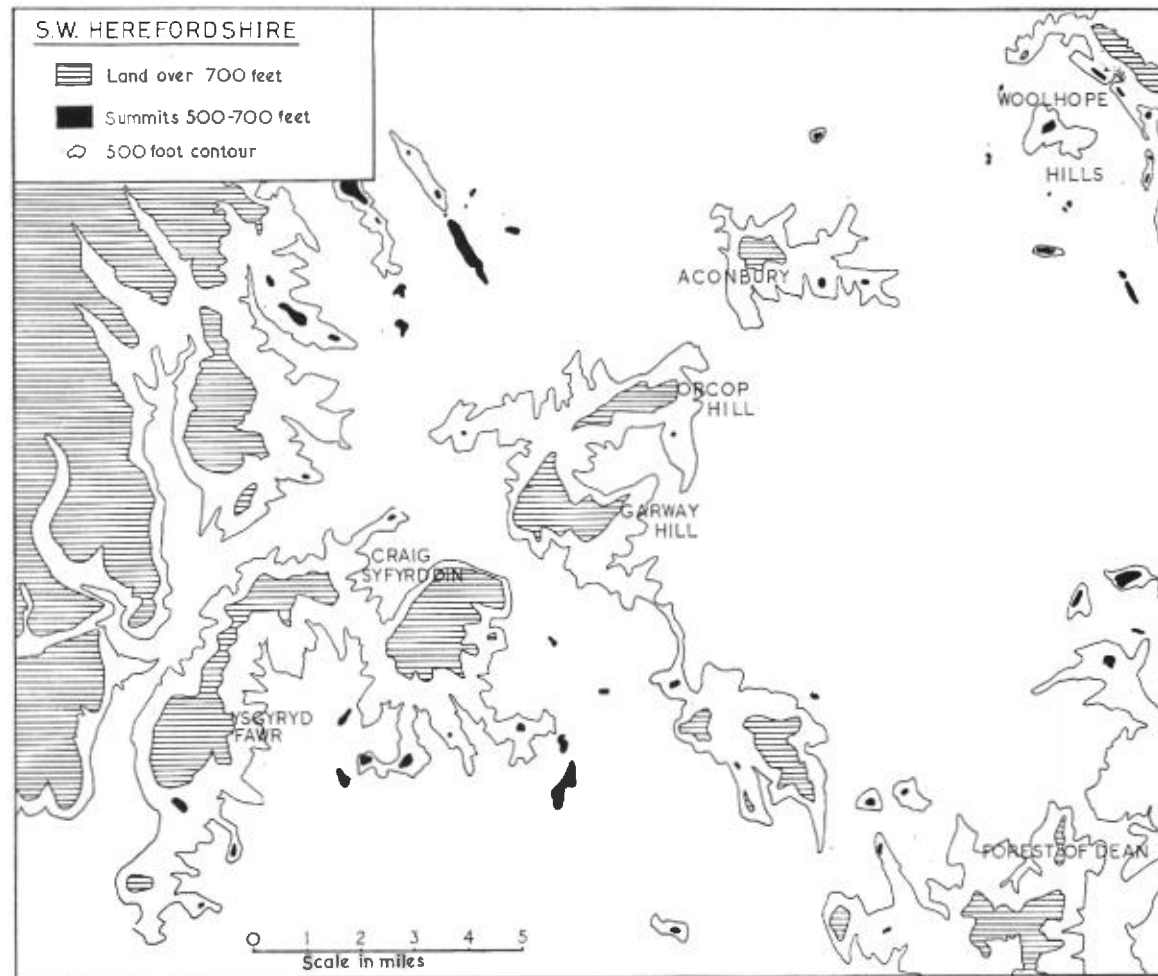


Fig. 4.

lower area in the Low Peneplain and thus allowed for the easy ingress of the 600 foot sea.

Professor Brown correlates the 600 foot platform with the Early Pleistocene or Calabrian sea level which has been widely recognised throughout south and south-east England by Professor Wooldridge, Professor Linton and others.

It has long been recognised that the lowlands of Herefordshire and Shropshire must have had considerably greater relief in the pre-glacial period as both contain glacial drift deposits of variable depths. In Herefordshire, at Breinton and Bredwardine, the Rev. H. E. Grindley describes foraminiferal marine clays<sup>4</sup> which are below the glacial

deposits. Whether these clays are of Early Pleistocene age or not they lend credence to the idea suggested in this paper of a marine incursion into the county before the latest glacial deposits were laid down. The area at that time must have been one of considerable relief with the Downtonian marls worn away to form low ground and the remnants of the Low Peneplain standing up even more prominently than they do at present. The invading Calabrian Sea would thus produce a pattern of islands in Herefordshire with sufficiently deep water around them to allow wave action to trim their surfaces.

#### CONCLUSION

After a consideration of the drainage pattern of the Woolhope Hills it was suggested that the original drainage could have been by a series of sub-parallel, south-west flowing, superimposed streams about a mile or so apart, and that the present pattern could have emerged as a result of a series of captures. The original pattern is that characteristic of streams originating on a newly exposed marine surface.

From an examination of the hill summits it was seen that they could once have been part of a plain at about 600-650 feet above sea level and that this could have been a wave-trimmed platform similar to the one already recognised round the Welsh massif and elsewhere in south and south-east England as having been covered by sea of Early Pleistocene (Calabrian) age.

An examination of other landscape features at this height, lying to the south-west of the Woolhope Hills, revealed a corridor corresponding largely with an outcrop of Downtonian marls along which the sea could have invaded. The presence of foraminiferal clays below glacial deposits in Herefordshire suggest that the area was already one of considerable relief and had been invaded by the sea before the onset of the latest glaciation.

The Woolhope Hills have frequently been spoken of as a "Little Weald" because of the superficial similarity to the Weald of S.E. England. Both areas are folded and they display well marked concentric scarps and, if the arguments in this paper are acceptable, both have had their drainage superimposed from the bed of the retreating Calabrian sea.

The sequence of events so far recognised in the production of the Woolhope landscape can be summarized as follows:—

1. Folding of the rocks in the Armorican orogeny.
2. The formation of the Low Peneplain of which the summit of Seager Hill is the only remnant.
3. Wave trimming of the "Woolhope island" by the Early Pleistocene sea attacking from the south-west.
4. The initiation of the drainage on the bed of the retreating sea.
5. The adaption of the drainage to structure as a result of a series of river captures



and falls of base level, "to render it (the Woolhope Hills) the finest known example in the British Isles of a valley of denudation as well as of elevation."

<sup>1</sup> R. I. Murchison, *Siluria*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Brown, *Relief and Drainage of Wales*, p. 106-107.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. Grindley, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 1905-7.

## Geology of North Herefordshire

By W. J. NORTON

THE Silurian rocks of Herefordshire were laid down in what was once the shelf area of an ancient sea which covered this part of the world just over 400 million years ago. Towards the end of that period, the sea became much shallower owing to the earth movement causing an uplift known as the Caledonian Orogeny. It continued during the early part of the Devonian. In this part of the Welsh Borderland rocks of the Devonian period were formed under brackish, freshwater, and even terrestrial conditions.

The rocks of Herefordshire are folded generally into a saucer shape (basin) owing to Middle Devonian earth movements. The Silurian rocks form the following outcrops: to the north-west in the rough form of a triangle with Leintwardine, Old Richard's Castle and Huntington almost at its angles; along the west side of the Malverns, and at the famous Woolhope area where the Silurian succession is so well displayed in a denuded dome the rocks here having probably bulged up from the pressure. Some of the other Silurian exposures of Herefordshire occur at May Hill only a portion of which is in the County; the Hagley inlier and at Shucknall Hill.

It is the nature of the folded Silurian rocks that provide us with such delightful countryside as, for example, at Bringewood Chase and the Woolhope district, where wooded escarpments of hard limestone alternate with softer rocks which form fertile valleys between the ridges. The limestones, being hard, do not wear away as quickly as the softer shales and mudstones. (The sketch section of the Ludlow Anticline will explain this).

The Devonian rocks which were deposited after the Silurian, cover about four-fifths of Herefordshire, and those of the earlier part give us the familiar red marls providing our rich agriculture.

Rocks earlier than the Silurian are represented by Precambrian of the Malvern Hills (partly in the County), and at Old Radnor, Yat Hills, Stanner, Worsel Wood, and Hanter Hill along the Radnorshire border. Rocks of the Cambrian system are to be found in the South Malvern district and again at Pedwardine, near Brampton Bryan. Rocks later than the Devonian to be found in Herefordshire comprise Carboniferous Limestone forming a small area in the extreme south-east and Triassic sandstones on parts of the Worcestershire border.

The Silurian of the Woolhope area and the Devonian (Old Red Sandstone) have been well dealt with by Dr. H. C. Squirrell and Dr. E. V. Tucker (Q.J.G.S. Vol. 116, pp. 139-185, 1960), Mr. F. M. Kendrick, the Rev B. B. Clarke, and other geologists. I am therefore going to confine the subject of this talk to the Silurian rocks in a portion to the north-west of the County. The special reason for this is that it is in this area that the Ludlovian Succession has been reclassified by Dr. (now Professor) C. H. Holland, Dr. J. D. Lawson, and Dr. V. G. Walmsley. Until their work on this area (their papers appeared in *Nature*, Vol. 184, pp. 1037-9, Oct. 3rd, 1959 and *Bulletin, British Museum (Nat. Hist.)*, Geology, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp 95-171, 1963), the original divisions made by

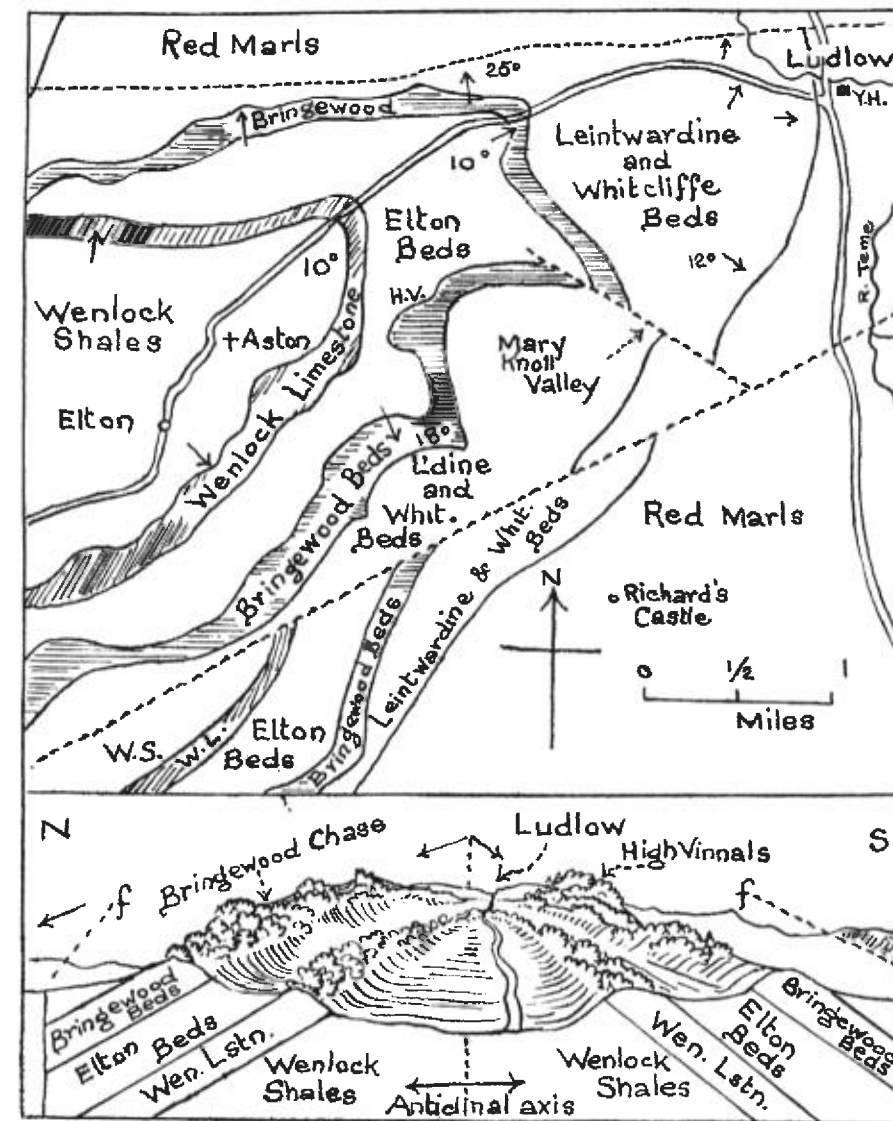
Sir Roderick Murchison, in the first half of the last century, were still in use. The Lower Ludlow Shales have now become the Eltonian stage and this is divided up into Lower, Middle, and Upper Elton Beds. The Aymestry Limestone of Murchison has always been rather a problem as it is diachronous, so the name Aymestry Limestone disappears from the revised classification. However it is still a quite useful general term for a limestone development in the middle of the Ludlovian. The rocks which used to be called Aymestry Limestone now become the Bringewoodian Stage and are divided into Lower and Upper Bringewood Beds.

The Upper Ludlow rocks, always an uncertain quantity, have been split up into two stages, the Leintwardinian (Lower and Upper), and the Whitcliffian (Lower and Upper).

To appreciate the new classification it is necessary to visit exposures in the various beds, and this can make a very pleasant excursion. The map references given are on the 2½" Ordnance Sheets SO 47 and SO 57, and 1" sheet. A good starting point is about four and a half miles from Ludlow along the Wigmore Road to a position (456714) on the Wenlock Shale and affords an excellent view-point of the Ludlow Anticline which plunges north-east below the Devonian at Ludlow. The anticline has been denuded and from the view-point it is easy to make out the double horse-shoe-shaped escarpments of Limestone. The nearest escarpment to the observer is of Wenlock Limestone and the higher one beyond (taking in Bringewood) of Lower Bringewood Beds.

The journey towards Ludlow will take us almost along the anticlinal axis, and the sketch map and section will explain this more clearly. The Wenlock Shale is very poorly exposed in this part. In a roadside quarry (47077302) we have Wenlock Limestone containing the brachiopods *Atrypa reticularis*, *Rhipidomella hybrida*, *Eospirifer* sp., and *Sowerbyella* sp., together with a rather unusual reddened tubular Polyzoan. Some groups I have taken on this excursion have found trilobites, mostly small Calymenids, and *Dalmanites myops*. The Wenlock Limestone here is disappointing to anyone who has previously visited Wenlock Edge, for it is much less fossiliferous and so flaggy and argillaceous that it hardly looks at all like limestone. A few yards up the road, turning into a coppice on the right hand side, is another Wenlock Limestone quarry (47257300) which is a higher development than at the previous exposure. This is a hard nodular limestone, yielding the usual fossils found in Wenlock Limestone, including rugose and tabulate corals, crinoid columnals, the gastropod *Poleumita discors* and numerous brachiopods. In this quarry the sharp junction to the Lower Elton Beds can clearly be seen. It shows that in this area the limestone phase terminated suddenly for the lithology of these Lower Elton Beds is quite different. It also marks the end of the Wenlockian stage and the beginning of the Ludlovian.

Dr. V. G. Walmsley (Proceedings of the Geologists' Association, Vol. 71, Pt 2, 1960) describes these beds as "soft greenish-grey shales speckled with white shell fragments". Fossils are mainly small brachiopods and trilobites. The following brachiopods are not found above these beds, *Resserella* cf. *elegantula*, *Dicoelosia biloba*, *Gypidula galeata*, and *Plectatrypa imbricata*. I have not yet found any graptolites in the Lower Elton Beds. These beds, being much softer than the Wenlock Limestone, form a step or in some places a valley.



Sketch Map and Section of Ludlow Anticline.

The Middle Elton Beds in some parts are very fossiliferous. There is a good exposure at Trippleton Lane, Leintwardine (permission is required from farm to collect here); near Aymestrey; and other places in North Herefordshire. The Middle Elton Beds are light olive-grey, shaly, or thinly-flaggy. They have a conchoidal fracture when tapped with a hammer, and feel soapy when handled, especially those pieces taken from stream beds. The commonest trilobite from these beds is *Dalmanites myops*, but

other species include [*Phacops stokesi*], *Leonaspis coronata*, and other odontopleurids, and *Calymene* spp. These beds have a particularly interesting graptolite fauna: *Monograptus comis*, *M. dubius*, *M. nilssoni*, *M. scanicus*, *M. uncinatus* var. *orbatus*, and *M. varians*, being apparently restricted to the Middle Elton.

The best exposure I know in the Middle Elton Beds is at Upper Millichope (in Shropshire), where during the past five or six years much of the Ludlow Museum's Middle Elton material has been obtained. At some horizons here *Dalmanites myops* swarm, but nearly all are fragmentary specimens. The heads, segments of the thorax, and pygidia are usually separated. This may mean that most of the remains are of current-washed cast-off coats as with trilobites, being arthropods, ecdysis occurred from time to time.

To return to the Ludlow Anticline, and to the next beds above, we call at a roadside and path exposure at Gorsty Farm, which is just within the Herefordshire border. Here a section of the Upper Elton Beds can be seen which consist of flaggy olive-green siltstones crowded with graptolites (mostly *Monograptus tumescens*), small brachiopods, small orthoconic nautiloids, and a few trilobites.

The succeeding rocks are more calcareous and used to be included in the Aymestry Limestone but are now described as Lower Bringewood Beds. There is a roadside exposure (48287377) almost on the borderline between Herefordshire and Shropshire, where brachiopods such as *Leptaena rhomboidalis*, *Brachyprion* sp., and *Lingula* sp. can be collected. The crest of the Ludlovian scarp feature of the High Vinnalls and the eastern summits of Bringewood Chase are formed by Lower Bringewood Beds which also extend in places some way down the dip slope. According to Holland, Lawson and Walmsley (Bull. Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.) 1963, "Silurian Rocks of the Ludlow District"), these beds thicken slightly eastwards from approximately 160 to 200 feet. They remark also on the change from a graptolitic to a shelly facies but state that even in those areas where the equivalents of the Elton Beds have a more benthonic fauna the change is distinct.

The real Aymestry Limestone containing the large brachiopod *Conchidium knighti*, is now classified in this area as Upper Bringewood Beds. Good exposures on the Ludlow Anticline can be found in many places. It is interesting, however, to notice that *Conchidium knighti* occurs in localised bands, and I have not found it, for instance, from the well known landslip exposure (47327382) on Bringewood, just within the Shropshire border, although other fossils there are very common. The Upper Bringewood Beds of this area are described by Holland, Lawson and Walmsley, as being irregularly bedded, flaggy, silty limestones, or irregularly flaggy to nodular crystalline limestones.

At Leintall Earles there is a working quarry in the Upper Bringewood Beds, in parts of which *Conchidium knighti* may be collected, although complete specimens are difficult to obtain owing to their tendency to split through the septal lines. I have not heard of any genuine records of this species in any other beds than the Upper Bringewood, but it would be interesting if anyone can record this brachiopod from the Lower Bringewood Beds. Other common fossils include the tabulate corals *Favosites gothlandicus* forma *forbesi* and *Heliolites interstinctus*, which are not found above these

beds; also many brachiopods can be collected including *Gypidula lata*, *Strophonella euglypha*, etc. The trilobite *Dalmanites myops* does not seem to occur above these beds.

The remainder of the exposures along the Wigmore-Ludlow road are in Shropshire, but satisfactory localities can be found in the same beds on part of the Ludlow Anticline within the Herefordshire border so as this talk is on North Herefordshire we will describe these.

The Lower Leintwardine Beds form the greater part of what was previously described as the Mocktree or *Dayia* Shales. They are here approximately 100 feet thick and there is quite a contrast from the nodular limestones of the Upper Bringewood Beds to the light olive-grey calcareous thinly flaggy and shaly, medium-coarse siltstones, with thinly flaggy shelly limestones which weather to a dusty yellowish grey appearance, with the shelly limestones forming dark yellowish-brown rottenstones (the lithological description is that of Holland, Lawson and Walmsley). The characteristic fossils to be found in the Bringewood Beds have now either become rare or have disappeared altogether, although brachiopods still seem to be the dominant fossils. The attractive brachiopod *Sphaerirhynchia wilsoni* does not seem to occur above these beds; the brachiopod *Salopina lunata* now appears for the first time as does that interesting fossil *Serpulites longissimus*, though no one really seems certain of its true classificatory status. It is usually however, described as being the tube of an annelid worm, and complete specimens may be as much as eighteen inches long or more. Another fossil which first appears in these beds is the ostracod *Beyrichia klædeni* var. *torosa*. The distinct change of emphasis in the fauna from east to west is mentioned by Holland, Lawson and Walmsley, and the fact that towards the west the brachiopods *Dayia navicula* and *Lingula lata* are commoner than in the east, as is the graptolite *Monograptus leintwardinensis*. The brachiopods *Atrypa reticularis* and *Shaleria ornatella* are more plentiful towards the east. There is a good locality at Sunnyhill Quarry (49537255) where about four feet above the floor, the boundary between the Bringewoodian and Leintwardinian stages can clearly be seen. Sunnyhill Quarry is situated in the Maryknoll Valley which is one of the finest beauty spots of North Herefordshire. The best approach is along the track through the wood, the entrance of which is on the Leominster side of Captain R. Salwey's house (almost opposite Moor Park main drive).

The extremely interesting Upper Leintwardine Beds have a maximum thickness of eight feet and towards the west of about five feet only as compared with the 100 feet or so of the Lower Leintwardine Beds. Most of the fossils from the lower division are still to be found, together with interesting numbers of those which are to become plentiful in the succeeding Whitcliffe Beds. The brachiopods *Atrypa reticularis*, *Leptaena rhomboidalis* and *Shaleria ornatella* are common but do not occur above these Upper Leintwardine Beds and it is unusual to find *Isorthis orbicularis* any higher. It is interesting to note that two trilobites are fairly plentiful, *Calymene neointermedia*, and a species of *Encrinurus*. The large ostracod *Neobeyrichia lauensis* is characteristic of the Upper Leintwardine Beds.

Opposite Sunnyhill Quarry and about 200 yards away from it at 49427242 is an exposure on the side of a trackway in these beds which has yielded some good fossils. The Upper Leintwardine Beds have, according to Holland, Lawson and Walmsley,

been downthrown here at least 100 feet on the west side of a fault running through the area.

Taking the trackway to about 200 yards up the hill from Sunnyhill Quarry going east, is a quarry on the hairpin bend in the Lower Whitcliffe Beds. This locality is just in Herefordshire, the track along the top of the quarry being part of the County boundary line. Bivalve molluscs such as *Fuchsella amygdalina* and *Goniophora cymbæformis* have now become plentiful and the commonest brachiopods are *Camarotoechia nucula*, *Protochonetes ludloviensis*, and *Salopina lunata*. Considerable numbers of *Dayia navicula* also occur here together with numerous other fossils.

The Lower Whitcliffe Beds are approximately 80 feet thick and are described as being irregularly bedded, massive or thickly flaggy, more or less micaceous, somewhat calcareous, coarse to medium siltstones, with a large-scale conchoidal or crudely blocky fracture. In colour they vary from medium grey in the fresh more calcareous beds to shades of greenish-grey and light olive-grey. Weathering eventually produces a dusky yellow appearance. There are some shaly partings and some smoothly bedded, thinly flaggy siltstones. Calcareous nodules are present and may reach about 12 inches in size (Holland, Lawson and Walmsley: "The Silurian Rocks of the Ludlow District," 1963.)

In the Ludlow Anticline area, the succeeding Upper Whitcliffe Beds can be examined on Whitcliffe itself, which is in Shropshire, but I have mentioned it as it is so easy to work from here to the succeeding Ludlow Bone-bed which is exposed nearby. There are, however, many good exposures in the Upper Whitcliffe Beds in North Herefordshire, e.g. at Mortimer's Rock and Bircher Common.

At Whitcliffe Quarry (50967414) is the junction from the Lower beds. There are more fossils in the Upper Whitcliffe Beds than in the lower division, and the brachiopod *Salopina lunata* becomes very abundant. Other common fossils are *Camarotoechia nucula*, *Protochonetes ludloviensis*, and *Serpulites longissimus*. The Upper Whitcliffe Beds are approximately 100 feet thick. In this area the lithology does differ somewhat from the lower division, but it is rather difficult to trace a precise boundary. These beds are well bedded, olive flaggy siltstones, often micaceous.

There was a rising of the land towards the end of Silurian times, and immediately above the Upper Whitcliffe Beds is the famous Ludlow Bone-bed which can be seen well at Ludford Lane, Shropshire (51237413). The Ludlow Bone-bed as far as this country is concerned has for some time been considered to mark the base of the Devonian, but there is still some controversy over this. Other places on the Ludlow Anticline where the Bone-bed can be traced are at 44497427 on the south-west side of the main track leading from Downton Castle Bridge in an old quarry, and at 45757406 in a small quarry south of track 400 yards south-west of Deepwood, and also at Ashley Moor (these localities are in Herefordshire).

The Ludlow Bone-bed was first discovered by the Rev. T. T. Lewis and Dr. Lloyd. I believe the former was a founder member of the Woolhope Club, and Murchison described it in his "Silurian System" (1839). The Bone-bed varies in thickness from one place to another; often it is less than one inch thick, but is said in some places to be as much as one foot, though I have never seen it as thick as that. The Bone-bed has been variously described as looking like gingerbread, crushed beetles, linseed-oil-cake,

etc. It is composed almost entirely of organic remains and on closer inspection these are found to be fragments of fishes, mostly small plates forming the skin covering together with spiny fin-supports of Acanthodians which may have been some of the first vertebrates to possess paired fins. The Bone-bed also contains fragments of sea scorpions, etc. A few feet above the Bone-bed larger parts of these sea scorpions may be found, together with bands of molluscs (the gastropod *Platyschisma helicites*, and the bivalve *Modiolopsis complanata*), and crowds of ostracods and occasionally head shields of primitive armour-plated fishes. This early Devonian fauna can well be examined at Ludford and in the Downton Castle area.

The Ludlow Anticline has a corresponding syncline which can be seen in the Leintwardine-Downton area. This is a particularly interesting part of North Herefordshire, and one of great beauty which has been described by Dr. J. H. McD. Whitaker in "The Geology of the Area around Leintwardine, Herefordshire" (Q.J.G.S. Vol. CXVIII. pp. 319-351, Sept. 21st, 1962). Most people interested in geology associate Leintwardine with the famous fossil starfish beds of Church Hill. The old quarry is now for the greater part filled in, but occasional specimens of *Furcaster leptosoma* and *Lapworthura miltoni* may still be obtained when careful search is made. Dr. Whitaker, with very thorough work, has thrown new light on the environment of some of the early echinoderms and certain other animals showing that instead of living in shallow still water as had previously been thought, they occupied some of the deepest water of the area; in fact submarine channels. Dr. Whitaker explains in Q.J.G.S. Vol. 119, Pt. 4, pp. 513-4 that "The echinoids, asteroids, phyllocarids, eurypterids, annelids and xiphosurids (the 'unusual fauna' of the submarine canyon-heads) are found at several different horizons in the upper part of the Lower Leintwardine Beds which fill three of the six channels. The earlier fauna is more likely to have lived only in the channels, the echinoids and asteroids preferring the silty bottom to the more calcareous conditions outside the canyon-heads and the free-swimming animals enjoying the shelter of the canyon walls".

There is not sufficient space to describe the Leintwardine area, but an excellent description can be obtained from Dr. Whitaker's paper which contains a geological map, sections, a reconstruction of a submarine canyon-head, etc. At the Old Quarries in the Lower Bringewood Beds and higher parts of the Lower Leintwardine Beds at Todding, and the Upper Bringewood Beds at Mocktree, splendid fossils can be found.

We have only discussed the solid geology of the district, but the glacial deposits are of particular interest in the Wigmore-Leintwardine area, much excellent work on this having been done recently by Mr. Peter Cross of Richards' Castle. It is probable that owing to the bursting of the banks of the glacial lake at Wigmore, the River Teme has taken its present extremely difficult course through Downton Gorge, the flow having been forced in that direction. It is likely that the normal course would have been towards the River Lugg.

## KEY TO LUDLOW FOSSIL CHARTS

## CHART 1 (Plate XI)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Atrypa reticularis</i> (Linné).     | 4. <i>Gypidula</i> sp.                              |
| 2. <i>Dicelosis biloba</i> (Linné)        | 5. <i>Leptana rhomboidalis</i> (Wilckens). 5A. int. |
| 3. <i>Resserella elegantula</i> (Dalman). | ventral valve.                                      |



## CHART 2 (Plate XII)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 6. <i>Conchidium knighti</i> (J. Sowerby).                              | 25. <i>Fuchsella amygdalina</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).           |
| 7. <i>Strophonella euglypha</i> (Dalman).                               | 26. <i>Pteronitella retroflexa</i> (Wahlenberg).              |
| 8. <i>Sphaerirhynchia wilsoni</i> (J. Sowerby).                         | 27. <i>Goniophora cymbæformis</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).         |
| 9. <i>Camarotoechia nucula</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).                      | 28. <i>Nuculites antiquas</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).             |
| 10. <i>Protochonetes ludloviensis</i> Muir-Wood.                        | 29. <i>Cypricardinia planulata</i> (Conrad).                  |
| 11. <i>Shaleria ornatella</i> (Davidson).                               | 30. <i>Grammysia cingulata</i> (Hisinger).                    |
| 12. <i>Amphistrophia funiculata</i> (McCoy).                            | 31. <i>Cardiola interrupta</i> Broderip.                      |
| 13. <i>Salopina lunata</i> (J. de C. Sowerby),<br>int. dorsal valve.    | 32. <i>Platyschisma helicitis</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).         |
| 14. <i>Dayia navicula</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).                           | 33. <i>Holopella obsoleta</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).             |
| 15. <i>Howellella elegans</i> (Muir-Wood).                              | 34. <i>Pterinea tenuistriata</i> M'Coy.                       |
| 16. <i>Chonetes lepismus</i> (J. de C. Sowerby),<br>int. ventral valve. | 35. <i>Poleumita</i> sp.                                      |
| 17. <i>Skenidioides lewisi</i> (Davidson).                              | 36. <i>Cyclonema corallii</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).             |
| 18. <i>Orbiculoida rugata</i> (J. de C. Sowerby),<br>ventral valve.     | 37. <i>Bembexia lloydi</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).                |
| 19. <i>Leptostrophia filosa</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).                     | 38. <i>Serpulites longissimus</i> J. de C. Sowerby.           |
| 20. <i>Chonetoidea grayi</i> (Davidson).                                | 39. <i>Cornulites serpularius</i> Schlotheim.                 |
| 21. <i>Lingula lewisi</i> J. de C. Sowerby.                             | 40. <i>Michelinoceras imbricatum</i> (Wahlenberg),<br>septum. |
| 22. <i>Schizocrania striata</i> .                                       | 41. <i>Michelinoceras ibex</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).            |
| 23. <i>Isorthis orbicularis</i> (J. de C. Sowerby),<br>ventral valve.   | 42. <i>Cyrtoceras intermedium</i> (M'Coy).                    |
| 24. <i>Plectodonta transversalis</i> (Wahlenberg).                      | 43. <i>Michelinoceras bullatum</i> (J. de C. Sowerby).        |
|   | 44. <i>Kionoceras angulatum</i> (Wahlenberg).                 |
|   | 45. <i>Beyrichia torosa</i> Jones.                            |
|   | 46. <i>Neobeyrichia lauensis</i> Kiesow.                      |
|   | 47. <i>Ptilodictya lanceolata</i> (Goldfuss).                 |
|   | 48. <i>Dalmanites myops</i> (König).                          |

## Croft Ambrey hill-fort—some interim conclusions

By S. C. STANFORD

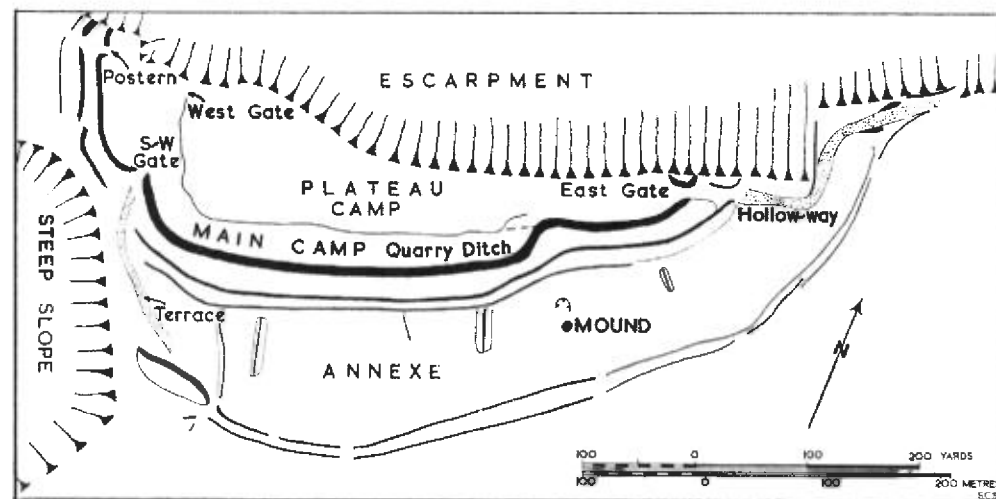
CROFT AMBREY, six miles north-west of Leominster (SO 443667), was under excavation by the Club for seven seasons from 1960 till 1966. Thanks to the generosity of our Patrons and subscribers, and the energy and enthusiasm of scores of volunteer helpers an enormous amount of detailed information has been gained. Further study of this has to be undertaken before the results can be assembled for final publication, but meanwhile it may be useful to summarize the broad aspects of the hill-fort and to look at the implications of these for our understanding of the Iron Age in the Welsh Border.

The excavation had five main objectives: to establish whether the site was permanently occupied; to examine the defences to see if the length of occupation could be determined; to discover the cultural affinities of the inhabitants, and to learn something of their economy. With the Leintwardine Roman forts in mind we also wanted to know how the inhabitants fared at the Conquest. To all these questions some fairly positive answers may now be made.

### OCCUPATION

The earliest rampart enclosed about six acres on the hill-top (fig. 1). Post-holes of timber huts were found immediately behind the rampart in positions that show they are contemporary with the rampart construction. Indeed, it is believed that the defence itself was largely built with spoil from hut terraces. These buildings were repaired two or three times before the old rampart was levelled and the huge bank we know today was put up from a long quarry-ditch cut outside the old circuit. New buildings went up over the rampart debris and old huts up the slope and within the early camp's west gate continued to be rebuilt. Two features of these constructions deserve note:— their frequent renewal, and their persistence on the same sites for long periods. One post-hole was demonstrably of no fewer than seven phases and probably marked the emplacement of a hut on the same patch throughout the Iron Age occupation. In the eastern quarry-ditch a sequence of hearths numbered fifteen while the quarry floor rose by about 4 ft.; and all were within a circle radius 5 ft. In all the areas tested the same intensive and long-continued occupation has shown. There were buildings behind the early rampart and in the later quarry-ditch, buildings on the level areas and on the steepest slope; in 1965 we saw that there were even buildings on the summit of the hill, within the 1000 ft. contour. Beyond any shadow of doubt the site was permanently occupied as a village for some considerable time.

The refusal of these post-holes to fall into circular arrangements caused some concern, for British Iron Age dwellings are mostly circular, whether in stone or timber. But all the buildings found at Croft and in 1962 at Credenhill were rectangular four-posted huts, varying in size from 6 x 6 ft. to 11 x 13 ft. overall. We must imagine that



1 CROFT AMBREY—OUTLINE PLAN

the smaller ones were granaries and the larger ones dwellings. They were arranged back to back fronting narrow unmetalled streets that followed the contours through the settlement. I estimate that there were probably nearly 300 such buildings; if every other one were a dwelling holding an average family of four the population of the hill-fort would be about 600. This is not quite the picture of hill-fort occupation we had in mind when the excavations started, for the general view seemed to be that there should be a scatter of farmsteads within the defences. The closest parallel for house form and density would seem to be the promontory fort of Castel Coz, Brittany, where 113 rectangular hut platforms averaging about 12 ft. x 15 ft. were plotted in the last century over two-thirds of a  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acre site (<sup>1</sup>). This would give a population density of 150 per acre, compared with Croft's conjectured 100 per acre. These densities it should be noted are about six times those estimated by Mr. A. H. A. Hogg for the Cernarvonshire forts of Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri (<sup>2</sup>) densities that Mr. L. Alcock would raise to about 26 per acre. (<sup>3</sup>) There is no present need to reconcile these differing estimates, for Croft is clearly a somewhat different phenomenon.

#### ECONOMY

It will be convenient here to see how these villagers gained their livelihood. It is certain that they were not simply shepherds, for charred wheat from different levels shows that corn was used, and the quantity of this from one burnt building argues for its use as a granary. There was some use of pits, possibly for grain storage, though this is limited to the later years, and may not have been widespread. The corn was ground on saddle querns and harvested with iron sickles.

A preliminary study of the animal bones by Mr. and Mrs. D. Whitehouse shows that sheep (or goat) was the principal source of meat, closely followed by pig and cow (or deer). They have commented on the high proportion of pig compared with other Iron Age sites, and pointed to the significance that this might have in reconstructing the

local ecology. Horse was also eaten, and so too were fresh-water mussels. Most of the animals were adult when slaughtered, suggesting that in contrast to such lowland sites as Barley, Hertfordshire, meat was never plentiful in the region. Their age also shows that the animals were over-wintered and so argues against the practice of autumn-killing, an assumed feature of prehistoric husbandry that has been disproved by the work of Mr. E. S. Higgs, a member of the Club, at Cambridge. (<sup>4</sup>) Meat was butchered with a chopper, and a broken cow vertebra from the higher levels suggests that some at least of the carcasses were hung in halves. About one third of all the long bones had been split to obtain marrow, and evidence for the removal of meat from the bone with a knife was also found.

Spindle-whorls, baked clay loom-weights and bone loom-needles show that wool was spun and woven for garments fastened with safety-pin type brooches. The latter were of the British straight-rod and involuted type seen as insular developments from La Tène Ic brooches. Their comparability with specimens from other parts of southern Britain, notably Cold Kitchen Hill, Wiltshire, would place Croft firmly within the trading area of these southern craftsmen. In the later years objects of shale appear on the site, reinforcing the view that southern contacts increased with time. Even the pottery, previously skilfully fashioned and decorated with chevrons and S stamps, came to be replaced by an inferior brand decorated with poor stamps or linear-tooled ornament that had long been in favour to the south-east. That there was a certain degree of affluence in at least the later years is perhaps reflected in the trinkets lost in the muddy paths of the quarry-ditch and never recovered. Decorated and spiral bronze rings, and two decorated bronze pendants show the site to have its share of La Tène artistic metal-work. There are also two extremely rare pieces—a gold chain such as would have joined a pair of brooches, and a helmet cheek-piece in iron with repoussé decoration. There is an iron sword and iron spearheads to demonstrate the weaponry of the hill-fort defenders.

The picture that emerges argues strongly for a thorough-going and settled Iron Age community. It reveals a strength of Iron Age occupation and culture that had been questioned for the central and northern part of the Welsh border. Even as late as 1953 it had not seemed unreasonable to speak of "residual Bronze Age inhabitants" at Credenhill only 5 miles to the west of the pottery-rich site of Sutton Walls (<sup>5</sup>) and by 1960 this opinion was hardening into accepted dogma. (<sup>6</sup>) The evidence won from Fridd Faldwyn (<sup>7</sup>) by the late Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil was set aside, and his plea of 1942 for at least a couple of centuries for the hill-fort occupation of the Welsh border was overridden in the desire to conform with the tentative dating proposed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler for the B periods of Maiden Castle, Dorset. (<sup>8</sup>) Even by 1960, when the ABC was revised and the Dorset dates had been re-assessed there remained a reluctance to free the border from the chains of the old hypotheses. Despite the depth of occupation deposits at Sutton Walls a date no earlier than the first century B.C. was suggested for the start of stamped pottery hereabouts. (<sup>9</sup>)

#### DEFENCES

It was in this climate that work on the defences aimed at providing a chronology for Croft Ambrey was started in 1960. The last trench to complete this aspect of the

excavation was cut in the spring of 1966. Eventually it has proved possible to reconstruct the detailed alterations of the gateways of a degree not previously recorded. We need not concern ourselves now with the details of ramparts and ditches. Let it suffice for the present that a dump rampart was in use throughout the occupation. The outstanding difference between the early Plateau Camp and the Main Camp defences was in scale. The former had a small trench-like ditch and small rampart. By contrast the Main Camp rampart was 55 ft. wide and still stands 17 ft. high. A long steep outward slope led to the bottom of a rock-cut ditch 34 ft. below the level of the rampart crest.

It is at the gateways that we can find the most sensitive indicators for the passage of time and changes in ideas. As the present state of Croft Ambrey shows a rampart may stand for two thousand years without serious need of repair; but at the gate posts rot and must be replaced, arrangements for sentries vary from time to time and introduce new constructions in their wake. We have underlined the importance we attach to our gateway evidence by using the chief gateway alterations as the criteria for our system of periods on Croft. For the hill-fort they run from I to VII of which the first three belong to the Plateau Camp, the rest to the Main Camp. The relationship of the Annexe to this scheme is not clear; its ditch was filled by the second century A.D.

The gateways of the Plateau Camp have been located at either end against the escarpment. That at the eastern end was overlain by Main Camp construction; and most of our evidence for periods I-III comes from the west gate. The width of the corridor in period I is not known; the gate was 13 ft. back from the rampart front and there appear to have been three successive posts used in this position. In period II there was probably a double entrance formed by three posts across a 19 ft. wide corridor, now 32 ft. long. The corridor was lengthened to 36 ft. in period III, but the width was probably the same as in period II.

Period IV saw the erection of the Main Camp defences, provided with principal gates at the eastern and south-western corners. A limestone revetted corridor about 25 ft. wide formed the approach to double gates hung on three posts at 11 ft. 6 ins. centres. Later post-pits render the detail of the gate difficult to determine but it seems likely that these posts were parallel to an inner set 6 ft. away. Such an arrangement suggests a narrow gatehouse structure with shelter for sentries below and sentry-walk above. There are other differences too between this first Main Camp entrance and the Plateau Camp ones:

- (i) the roadway is now metalled and
- (ii) in the entrances themselves a dark occupation soil with much charcoal and bone was found. At the East Gate part of the old rampart had been cut away as an emplacement for a hearth, which was renewed several times in the course of period IV. This evidence may be seen to reflect the presence of permanent guards, a further indication of the concern for security implied by the construction of the huge rampart of period IV.

After two sets of posts had served their time, the entrances were rebuilt in Period V on a very different plan. The approach corridors were narrowed to 12 ft. and 16 ft., the revetments being founded on sandstone boulders brought up specially from glacial deposits at the foot of the hill. A double-leaved gate was hung from posts providing an

overall clearance of only 8 ft. Within the gate the rampart inturn was prolonged as necessary to accommodate rectangular guard-chambers, about 15 ft. by 8 ft., on either side of the roadway.

It would seem reasonable to see in the provision of permanent quarters for the guards concern for constant vigilance, and it is then easy enough to accept the destruction by fire of the guard-chambers of period Vb as the result of an attack on the camp. After this the entrance was refurbished on the same plan, but when the need for repairs arose again it was considerably modified.

In period VI the guard-chambers were dispensed with and a single gateway, 11 ft. wide, was placed at the inner end of the corridor where the revetments were returned at right angles. About 7 ft. in front of the gate a bridge may have crossed the corridor and posts at the back of the rampart may have anchored a ladder-access to the rampart walk. This same form lasts through the lives of six successive sets of timbers, and the guard arrangements would appear to have reverted to those of period IV, the sentries cooking their meals on open hearths such as were found for this period at the East Gate. The roadway continued to be re-metalled each time post-hole digging broke the old surface, a practice that continued through the following period.

In period VII the corridor revetments were returned on curved alignments and the "ladder" posts were not renewed. It may be that the two changes are related and that there was a reversion to an access-ramp in place of the ladder of period VI. In front of the single gateway, still about 11 ft. wide, a bridge was maintained. In period VII a & b the gate-post pits on one side were revetted, and another technique introduced at this time is the use of post base-plates.

The final posts were dug out probably at the time of the Roman Conquest, and most likely by the forces of Ostorius Scapula either preparatory to or in the course of his campaign against Caratacus in A.D. 50. The destruction of the final huts by fire might be ascribed to the same cause. If this interpretation be accepted we shall have a detailed framework for the local Iron Age reaching back from A.D. 50 through the life span of some 20 successive gate-posts. In calculating from this an absolute chronology I would at present use an average life of 25 years for the 1 ft. diameter posts. This will give us at least some idea of the dates we should have in mind for the arrival of stamped pottery at Croft and for the earliest hill-fort on the site. In round figures the former is somewhere between 250 and 350 B.C., and the latter back to between 300 and 450 B.C.

Whatever the error in the absolute estimates we have fixed certain gateway plans in a closed sequence, and the implications are considerable. For guard-chambers alone it is clear that if the northern Marches, where such chambers are common, gave the idea to Croft they must have been able to do so by the start of period V. If the idea moved from the south northwards it cannot have been passed on to the northern sites later than the end of Croft V. Either way this will imply that the introduction of Dr. Savory's 'Cornovian' guard chambers at Dinorben, the Wrekin, Titterstone Clee and the Roveries will not be later than Croft Vc—on the above reckoning not later than c.200-150 B.C. (10) This example will demonstrate the potential of the Croft sequence for cross-country correlation. We were bound to wonder whether Croft might be unique in

this respect, but already the Malvern Hills Archaeological Committee has had its efforts on Midsummer Camp rewarded with a long series of gateway repairs. By the close of the third season (1968) seventeen gate phases had been recognised, with many phases closely comparable with their equivalents at Croft. It is clear that Croft is not unique and that comparably detailed sequences will be recoverable from many other hill-forts in the border and probably further afield.

#### IRON AGE CULTURES

As work proceeded it became increasingly difficult to use the conventional ABC scheme to describe our cultures in any meaningful way. The stamped pottery of periods IV-VI and some of VII belonged to Western Iron Age Third B, by definition an intrusive culture arriving in an area in which a Western Second B culture was argued to have already been established. At an early stage it was clear that in Herefordshire at least the pottery was the wrong way round—linear-tooled Second B overlay Third B. While the discrepancy could be quietly ignored for the sake of using terms understood by other workers in this field, there accumulated a variety of other features that were not readily accommodated within the framework of the ABC. Crudely fashioned baked clay vases, thought by Mr. Gelling and myself to be small stoves, were paralleled outside "Third B" country and widely over the Welsh Border.<sup>(11)</sup> Did they mark a cultural unity that was not reflected in the distribution of ordinary pottery? That possession of pottery was not the main criterion of a culture was already becoming apparent from our failure to obtain pottery in any quantity from Plateau Camp deposits. There would seem to be an aceramic stage at Croft covering periods I and II at least. Yet the buildings of these times continued to be re-built on the same plan during the subsequent occupation. The building types then pointed in the same direction as the stoves. When the guard-chambers were recognized the unity of Croft with cultures to the north was undeniable, despite the unequivocal demands of the pottery for inclusion with Sutton Walls and Western Third B generally. In this dilemma we considered again the frequency of potsherds rivetted with iron. Why was it that pots should be repaired so commonly at Croft whereas repairs were rare on most other Iron Age sites — unless they were bought from itinerant professional potters? Since this hypothesis was aired in the 5th Interim Report Dr. D. S. Peacock has taken the matter to a positive conclusion, and will shortly publish the petrographical proof that we have to deal with professional potters. The position is such now that the model will not fit. As it stands the ABC scheme can only handle cultures that are definable in terms of pottery or metalwork. An alternative scheme outlined by Dr. F. R. Hodson seems to recognize the right of only the Woodbury farmstead, the restricted Arras chariot burials and the Ayleford cremation cemeteries to separate designation as cultures.<sup>(12)</sup> Hill-forts enter either scheme only marginally, and the problems of western Britain receive little attention. For anyone familiar with the size and complexity of the Border hill-forts this is not enough. In any scheme there must be provision for this great hill-fort province—peopled by Celts with a flair for military engineering and doubtless a love of fighting, whose settlements were, in O'Neil's words, "hill-top towns". These were a proud race of warrior-farmers who reserved their energies for the maintenance of their flocks, the cultivation of their

fields, and raiding. This was a Celtic man's world. It was left to lesser breeds or lower castes to fashion earthenware vessels from dull clay.

In the 5th Interim Report it was suggested that our problem might be resolved by the addition of regional culture titles (or even site names) to the ABC.<sup>(13)</sup> This could be done and still retain the valuable model of successive infusions of ideas from abroad as well as the insular developments upon which Dr. Hodson has laid special stress. For the territory we are here concerned with we would in principle return to the position adopted by our fellow-member Miss L. A. Chitty in 1937 and recognize again the unity of the Welsh Marches hill-forts.<sup>(14)</sup> In Professor C. F. C. Hawkes' terms we should have Western (Marches Hill Fort) A at the Wrekin, Western (MHF) Second A at Dinorben, Western (MHF) Third B for Croft IV-VI, Western (MHF) at Fridd Faldwyn and perhaps Western (MHF) Second B at Midsummer.

But enough of the shorthand. How do we explain the great re-fortification of Croft in Period IV unless some new people were coming in? In his discussion of the Tal-y-Llyn hoard Dr. H. N. Savory linked the third century appearance of fine metalwork in Wales with the stamped sherd found at Merthyr Mawr, Glamorganshire<sup>(15)</sup>, possibly ancestral to the stamped pottery of Western Third B, and bringing something of the central European "Braubach" ceramic tradition across Europe in the wake of a Celtic colonizing expedition. The re-fortification of our hill-forts and the contemporary appearance of stamped pottery accords well with such an invasion, and at that time —(reckoning by gate-posts, not later than c.250 B.C.).

The continuity of house plans from the Plateau Camp to the Main Camp argues against the replacement of the inhabitants by these newcomers. What we may be seeing is the substitution of the old ruling class by a new one. None of these need have resided at Croft Ambrey, but their potters were busy in the district, lacing the quarry-ditch deposits with Third B fossils.

The Ambrey record of course takes us back beyond this invasion. Before the Main Camp was built the ditch of its predecessor had silted almost to the brim, and the origin of the settlement lies five post-lives beyond that. We are looking for a context in which to introduce the rectangular huts, but this time there are no potters to guide us, only V.C.P. The date will be in the fourth if not the fifth century B.C. We are perhaps back to a stage where the culture should be "A" if we had but a pot or brooch to pin to it. As it is, the only item in Herefordshire that could ask for an earlier date would be the broken La Tène I brooch from Sutton Walls.<sup>(16)</sup> This might find a partner in the La Tène IA brooch from Merthyr Mawr<sup>(17)</sup> and may be our slim link with a fourth century entry in the same neighbourhood as in the third century. Was this the invasion that produced the first of our Border hill-forts? There is reason to think not.

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of "fresh adventurers". Is it possible that it marks the start of the Iron Age hill-fort colonization of the border? With Croft Ambrey pushing the Fridd Faldwyn phases that Croft itself lacks back to about 400 the gap is but two centuries. I would have thought that there is sufficient complexity in the Fridd Faldwyn inner entrance to span them with ease. This manoeuvre does of course raise the question why the early Fridd Faldwyn phases were not reflected at Croft. Of relevance here is Mr. P. S. Gelling's discovery of "an unskilful copy of the Hollingbury type of timber-framed rampart" at Caynham eight miles from Croft, and his conclusion that the site was probably occupied by a Secondary Iron Age group.<sup>19</sup> If so the model they copied might have been at Titterstone Clee. But only a mile from Croft, on a knoll in the Aymestrey gap, far below the scarp that is crowned by the Ambrey's defences, sits the hill-fort of Pyon Wood. Could the earliest Iron Age phases for which we have searched so hard at Croft be concealed there?

#### THE MOUND

From this speculation about the origins of the hill-fort dwellers we may turn by way of a postscript to the activities of their successors after the Roman Conquest. A few sherds and beads from within the Main Camp defences indicate that the site was at least visited during the Roman period, though it is reasonably certain that the village as such had been abandoned. An explanation for these visits was unexpectedly provided when the Mound in the annexe proved to be of Roman date, and most probably a religious sanctuary. In the late first century A.D. the site had been prepared by cutting a terrace on the hillside, 23 ft. by 29 ft., defined uphill by a shallow ditch. There were associated fire-pits and stake holes, and the ash from whatever ceremonies took place on the terrace had been swept downhill along with many tiny fragments of burnt bone, numerous potsherds, iron nails and a number of more precious items including brooches. After c.A.D. 150 the terrace was raised two feet and enlarged within a sub-rectangular stone kerb, 36 ft. by 38 ft. It was subsequently converted into an oval based mound, three feet high with a flat top 15 ft. in diameter.

Quite apart from its simplicity and the lack of permanent structures upon it the site is firmly declared to be of native origin by the high proportion of native sherds, of a type with vertical burnishing that is widely spread through the Welsh Border and Wales in the earlier part of the Roman occupation. It is of a form that seems clearly to evolve from the Western Second B Iron Age cooking pots. Thus, although the hill-fort proper was evacuated at the Conquest we have for the first time an indication that the population survived somewhere in the area, and returned to worship outside their ancient stronghold.

<sup>1</sup> R. F. Le Men, *Arch. J.* XXIX (1872), 314-30.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. A. Hogg, Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri, *Arch. J.* CXVII (1960), 22.

<sup>3</sup> L. Alcock, Hill-forts in Wales and the Marches, *Ant.* XXXIX (1965), 194.

<sup>4</sup> E. S. Higgs and J. P. White, Autumn Killing, *Ant.* XXXVII (1963), 282-9.

<sup>5</sup> K. M. Kenyon, Excavations at Sutton Walls, *Arch. J.* CX (1954), 31.

<sup>6</sup> E. M. Clifford, *Bagendon—a Belgic oppidum* (1961), 39.

<sup>7</sup> B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Excavations at Fridd Faldwyn, *A.C.* XCVII (1942), 1-57.

<sup>8</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), 56-7.

<sup>9</sup> S. S. Frere, *Ed. Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, Fig. 3.

<sup>10</sup> W. Gardner and H. N. Savory, *Dinorben* (1964), 87-90.

<sup>11</sup> P. S. Gelling and S. C. Stanford, Dark Age pottery or Iron Age ovens? *Trans. Birmingham A.S.* LXXXII (1965), 77-91.

<sup>12</sup> F. R. Hodson, Cultural grouping within the British pre-Roman Iron Age, *P.P.S.* XXX (1964), 99-110.

<sup>13</sup> S. C. Stanford, *Croft Ambrey, 5th Interim Report* (1965) (duplicated).

<sup>14</sup> L. A. Chitty, How did the hill-fort builders reach the Breiddin? *A.C.* XCII (1937), 129-50.

<sup>15</sup> H. N. Savory, "A new hoard of La Tène metalwork from Wales, *Celticum* XII (1965), 194, and Further Notes on the Tal-y-Llyn (Mer.) hoard of La Tène Metalwork, *B.B.C.S.* XXII (1966), 91-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Arch. J.* CX (1954) fig. 23, 1.

<sup>17</sup> C. Fox, La Tène I brooch from Merthyr Mawr, Glamorgan, *A.C.* LXXXIV (1929), 146-7.

<sup>18</sup> C. Fox & H. A. Hyde, A second cauldron and an iron sword from the Llyn Fawr hoard, *Arch. J.* XIX (1939), 369-404.

<sup>19</sup> P. S. Gelling, Excavations at Caynham Camp, *Trans. Shropshire A.S.* LVII (1962-3), 99-100.



## Three Unrecorded Earthworks from South-west Herefordshire

By R. E. KAY

*From time to time new archaeological sites come to light, others long forgotten are rediscovered and many still remain to be identified upon the ground. Others, visible to all, for no apparent reason seem to have escaped the pen of the recorder.*

*The three sites to be described fall under the latter category. They do not appear on any edition of the Ordnance Survey and they also seem to have been overlooked when Vol. 1, Herefordshire, of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments was compiled.*

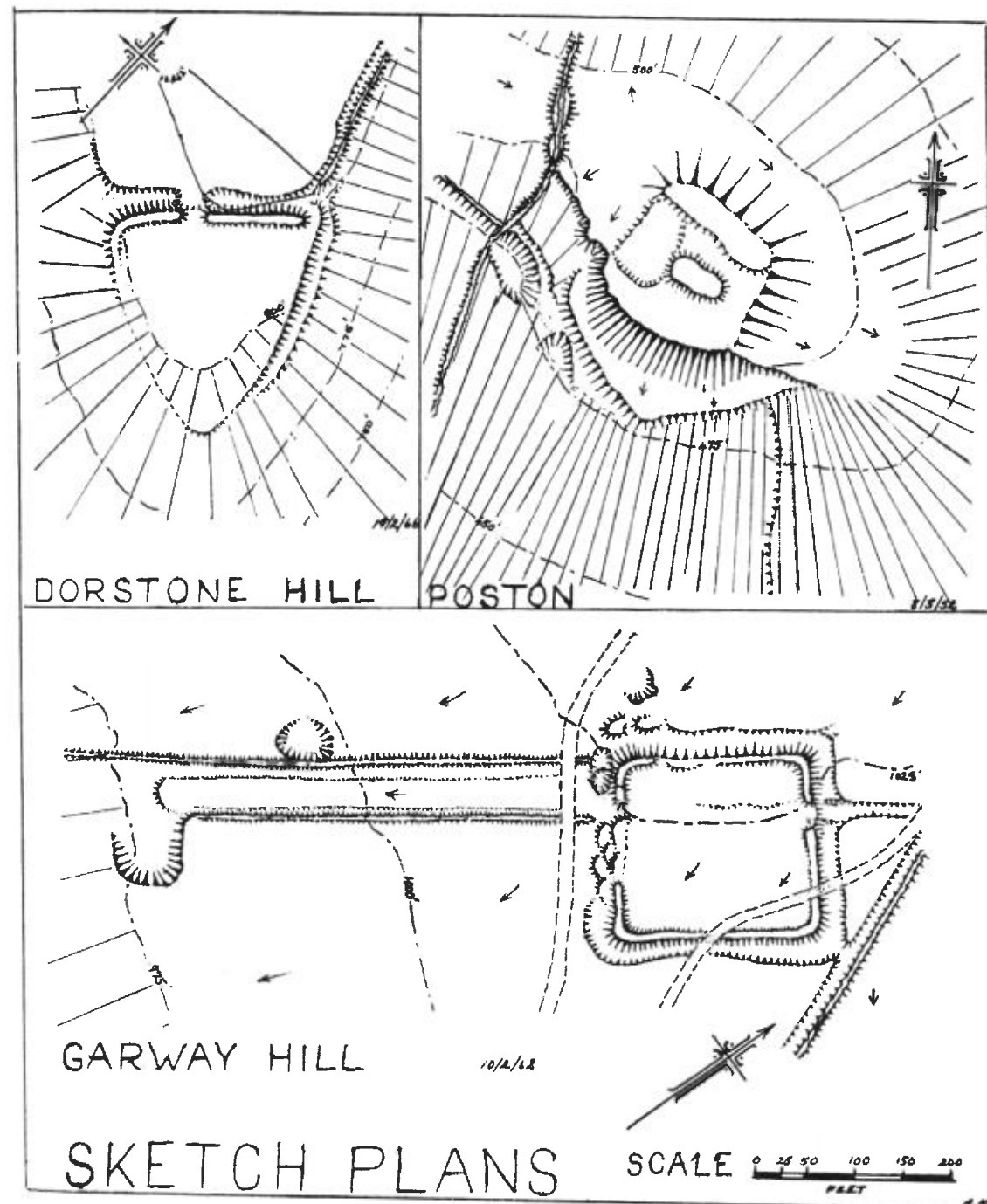
*Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Dr. H. N. Savory for guidance received and to Mr. R. Shoesmith for bringing the Dorstone Hill site to my notice.*

DORSTONE HILL. G.R. 327422

THE summit of Dorstone Hill projects as a steep sided spur into the head of the Golden Valley. The reasonably level plateau-like summit shows evidence of fairly intensive occupation in prehistoric times. A record exists over a period of many years of numerous surface finds of flint implements and pottery sherds.

In the field to the N.W. of the site, tentative excavations made in 1965 and subsequent years, have brought to light a wealth of flint artifacts and pottery of dates from Neolithic to Romano-British times. Further to the N.W. is the celebrated Neolithic chambered tomb of Arthur's Stone and at the foot of the hill to the S.E. are the remains of a second long barrow.

The S.E. tip of the spur forming the highest portion of Dorstone Hill is divided from the remainder of the plateau by a rampart and a ditch constructed in one almost straight length, 180 ft. long. The rampart has a width at its base of approximately 20 ft. and rises to a maximum height of 7 ft. 6 ins. above the present bottom of the ditch and 2 ft. above the area within. There is no trace of any counterscarp bank. The area thus cut off by the defences is triangular in plan, 180 ft. x 250 ft. and is reasonably level but sloping gently down to its apex on the S.E. On the S. side of the enclosure the steep slope was deemed a sufficient defence but strangely, on the N. where the slope is even steeper though shorter, there are traces of scarping with a faint berm below. Beneath the lower apex of the encampment the spine of the spur continues to fall steeply. The rampart on the S curves round to the E. and quickly fades. Its fosse merges into a natural gully. On the N. the rampart comes to an abrupt termination 18 ft. from the edge of the scarp, but it is doubtful whether this can be an original entrance as at this point there is no interruption in the external ditch. Less than one third of the distance along the rampart from its S. end there is a scarcely distinguishable gap and the fosse is here interrupted by a causeway 18 ft. wide. The whole interior is planted with conifers and greatly obscured by undergrowth.



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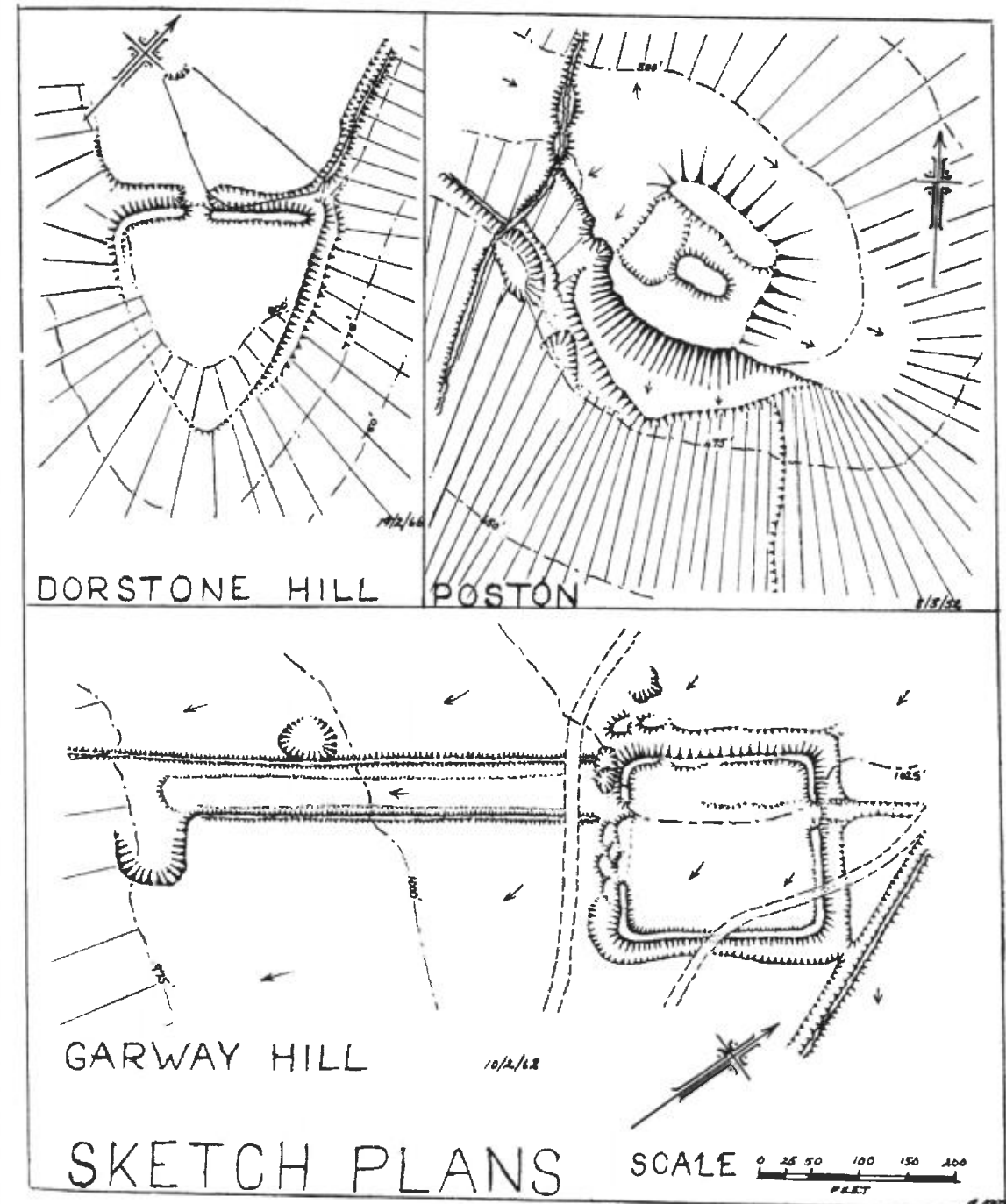
*Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Dr. H. N. Savory for guidance received and to Mr. R. Shoesmith for bringing the Dorstone Hill site to my notice.*

DORSTONE HILL. G.R. 327422

THE summit of Dorstone Hill projects as a steep sided spur into the head of the Golden Valley. The reasonably level plateau-like summit shows evidence of fairly intensive occupation in prehistoric times. A record exists over a period of many years of numerous surface finds of flint implements and pottery sherds.

In the field to the N.W. of the site, tentative excavations made in 1965 and subsequent years, have brought to light a wealth of flint artifacts and pottery of dates from Neolithic to Romano-British times. Further to the N.W. is the celebrated Neolithic chambered tomb of Arthur's Stone and at the foot of the hill to the S.E. are the remains of a second long barrow.

The S.E. tip of the spur forming the highest portion of Dorstone Hill is divided from the remainder of the plateau by a rampart and a ditch constructed in one almost straight length, 180 ft. long. The rampart has a width at its base of approximately 20 ft. and rises to a maximum height of 7 ft. 6 ins. above the present bottom of the ditch and 2 ft. above the area within. There is no trace of any counterscarp bank. The area thus cut off by the defences is triangular in plan, 180 ft. x 250 ft. and is reasonably level but sloping gently down to its apex on the S.E. On the S. side of the enclosure the steep slope was deemed a sufficient defence but strangely, on the N. where the slope is even steeper though shorter, there are traces of scarping with a faint berm below. Beneath the lower apex of the encampment the spine of the spur continues to fall steeply. The rampart on the S curves round to the E. and quickly fades. Its fosse merges into a natural gully. On the N. the rampart comes to an abrupt termination 18 ft. from the edge of the scarp, but it is doubtful whether this can be an original entrance as at this point there is no interruption in the external ditch. Less than one third of the distance along the rampart from its S. end there is a scarcely distinguishable gap and the fosse is here interrupted by a causeway 18 ft. wide. The whole interior is planted with conifers and greatly obscured by undergrowth.



The earthwork would appear to be an outlier of the Brecknock group of small Iron Age sites on spurs. It would be interesting to see how any sherds from here compare with those from Poston Camp.

POSTON. G.R. 358372

Poston (Poscetenetune), at the time of the Domesday Survey was held by William de Scobies. It was a small sub-manor of two hides, waste, and worth 5/-, held out to rent by an absentee owner. It was not a caput or head of a fief. The land lay in what is now the parish of Vowchurch and must have comprised the land in that parish excluding Monnington and Chanstone and possibly with the exception of that strip of land on the right bank of the Dore on which Poston Court stands (which is in the parish, but in the Manor of Peterchurch, otherwise the Honour of Snodhill) (<sup>1</sup>).

There is no evidence of any Norman motte having existed in this sub-manor of Poston, but at the foot of the hill on which the Iron Age hill-fort of Poston stands there are vestiges of a fortified site, probably of 13th C. date. It crowns a low spur above the Hereford to Peterchurch road and its earthworks are still a prominent feature when viewed from the S. There is a steep fall on the S.W. towards the valley. To the S., E. and N.E. the slope is more gradual while to the N.W. a saddle of high ground connects with Poston Hill and the eastern wall of the Golden Valley. The site commands an extensive view up and down the valley. To the S. the sites of the former strongholds of Newcourt and Chanstone are visible. Across the valley on high ground is the motte of Cothill and to the N. Snodhill Castle is clearly in view. Below the site and almost on the banks of the Dore is Poston Court (now a farm), doubtless the successor to the fortified wooden building which must have stood on this site.

The remains consisted of a scarped raised platform with summit dimensions of 120 ft. x 114 ft., roughly rectangular in plan but on the S.W. side considerably bowed towards the field. On the N. and E. sides there was a very wide berm or terrace in the slope of the largely natural contours of the knoll. To the S.W. the berm was very much narrower with a further scarp below and what appeared to be an unfinished ditch. Defences across the saddle of the promontory to the N.W. were extremely vague; a thickening of a then existing hedge bank may have represented the last traces of a rampart. The summit of the platform (it can scarcely be called a motte) had many irregularities on its surface, sinkings and low indeterminate mounds. There was no trace of any stonework. There were slight traces of a ramp leading up to the S.W. corner of the fortified area.

It will be noted that the above paragraph has been printed in the past tense! The site has only recently been ploughed and the field boundaries and many of the features shown on the sketch plan have now been bulldozed and erased.

The earthwork seems to have been of a type associated with early mediæval moated domestic sites of which that existing to the E. of Bowlston Court Wood in Kentchurch parish (G.R. 422271), is the best preserved and most apt local example.

GARWAY HILL. G.R. 440251

Sited on the southern slopes of Garway Hill, not a great distance from its summit, this earthwork is tolerably well preserved and although in summer rather obscured by

a luxuriant growth of fern, it is rather surprising that a site of this importance has remained unnoticed and unrecorded. The earthwork is situated on the lower end of Garway Hill Common above the farm of Lower Castre and immediately to the N.E. of the track leading to the hill top. A second track leading to Belle Vue traverses the earthwork which occupies a site on the southern slope of the hill where it is a little less steep than either to the N. or the S., but without any true natural defensive capabilities.

It is of rectilinear plan, 178 ft. x 183 ft. x 167 ft. x 207 ft., measured along the top of the ramparts. These are continuous and in reasonable preservation except on the S. side where it has mostly collapsed into the external ditch. The corners are more or less right angled and are sharply rounded. The rampart has been much reduced for the greater part of the western side and the northern half of the eastern side of the enclosure. Gaps in the N. rampart, near the N.W. angle and opposite in the S. rampart may indicate original entrances. The rampart now has a maximum height of 10 ft. above the bottom of the surrounding ditch and 4 ft. 6 ins. above the level of the interior of the enclosure. These measurements occur at the S.W. angle. Where the gaps in the rampart appear to be original there are traces of wide causeways across the ditches. On the N. this causeway is continued as a terrace and a slightly sunken way until it is obscured by a modern track. On the S. the causeway crosses the here mutilated ditch and is continued down hill for a considerable distance as a wide raised grassy way between low banks which seem to have been bygone field boundaries. There are faint indications that the W. portion of the reasonably level enclosure is raised slightly above the level of the remainder of the area, but this may be a natural feature. The site commands a very wide view to the S. and over the Monnow valley.

This interesting earthwork, without proper excavation, offers considerable problems regarding dating and purpose. Similar small rectangular earthworks are of a type fairly well scattered throughout the Marches and further westward. They are generally found on or near the summit of a hill. There are examples at Little Mountain, Newchurch, Radnor (<sup>2</sup>); Cær Din Ring, Newcastle on Clun, Salop; Gibbet Hill, Lanfair Cæreinion (<sup>3</sup>); New Pieces, Breidden Hill, Mont. (<sup>4</sup>) and elsewhere. The earthwork at New Pieces, on excavation proved to have contained a farm of Roman date, whilst that on Gibbet Hill, long thought to have been a Roman fortlet, on excavation proved to be negative. Perhaps the dating of this type of earthwork must therefore for the time being remain inconclusive.

There must be many more sites such as those detailed above, still existing in Herefordshire, which so far have escaped detection. In conclusion it can be stated that the importance of making some kind of record cannot be over estimated when the vanishing example of Poston is considered.

<sup>1</sup> Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Transactions, for 1938, pp. 141-158.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments—Radnorshire, pp. 127-128.

<sup>3</sup> Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. LVIII, 1963, pp. 21-26.

<sup>4</sup> Archæologia Cambrensis, Vol. XCII, for 1937, pp. 86-128.

# Hereford City Excavations, 1967

## INTRODUCTION

By F. NOBLE and R. SHOESMITH

### Summary

*The most important result of the year's work was the identification of the Saxon phase of the western defences of Hereford, with Saxo-Norman potsherds (identical to ware which is dated at Chester by a vessel which contained a coin hoard of c.970 A.D.), sealed by a rebuilding of the rampart. The rampart section and the pottery are reported in detail, but it has not been possible to establish their precise relationship to the recorded reconstruction of the city defences in 1055 by Harold Godwinson.*

*The distance of these excavations from the Cathedral centre indicates a Saxon town area of over 40 acres [but minor excavations on the northern defences have proved inconclusive.] A brief reconsideration of the evidence relating to the growth and origin of Hereford as a defended city is given, which suggests that the Saxon town may have been founded as a diocesan and administrative centre at the beginning of the 8th century A.D.*

### ORGANISATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the end of 1966 the general direction of archaeological work for Hereford City Excavations Committee was undertaken by F. Noble. The Committee: Mr. S. L. Beaumont, Chairman; Mr. R. A. Page, Treasurer; Air Cdre. L. P. Moore, Hon. Secretary; Mr. V. H. Coleman, Mr. S. C. Stanford and Mr. M. H. Thomas, proceeded to make representations to try to obtain more favourable consideration from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for grants towards excavation and conservation work on the city defences affected by roadwork schemes. In this they were supported by the joint Presidents: the Lord Lieutenant, the Bishop of Hereford, Lord Croft, and Mr. David Gibson-Watt, M.P.

For the first part of the year excavations had to be arranged at week-ends, starting on January 14th, with a week at Easter, at minimum expense, with voluntary helpers. Grateful acknowledgements are made to the following, who worked on the sites for substantial periods: Miss V. Brown, Mrs. J. O'Donnell, Miss R. Hickling and Miss M. Thomas, Mr. A. H. Berrett, Mr. A. Greenhill, Mr. L. P. Moore, Mr. M. Ray and Mr. G. Wilkins; senior pupils from the High Schools and Cathedral School, including Miss J. Parker and Miss L. Fawkes, N. Lancaster, S. Prendergast, C. Mee, M. Sleaford, S. Bibby and R. Backhouse, and members of a Y.H.A. Archaeology group based on Staunton Hostel, which included Mr. and Mrs. E. Kay, Miss G. Strivens, Miss H. Moodie, Miss B. Spicer, Mr. and Mrs. P. Rose, Mr. P. Brunt and Mr. D. Cole.

Reference should also be made to the continued interest and assistance of the City Surveyor and his staff and to help from the County Surveyor's Department, the Here-

fordshire Water Board, Mr. C. Glover, Mr. G. I. Hales and the Hereford Resurfacing Company (Contractors), and the staff of the City Museum. Miss E. Davies and Mr. B. Skirrow, of the Herefordshire Technical College have given valuable help on the identification of bones from the sites, which will form part of a fuller report.

Representations on behalf of the Committee, combined with the interest of the features revealed by the exploratory excavations, obtained renewal of support from the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry, and their subsequent help and advice is gratefully acknowledged, particularly that of Mr. J. G. Hurst. Mr. H. R. Loyn and Professor M. W. Beresford have also given advice on certain points.

### SITES

1. *The Western Rampart* (SO 507399). The main activity in the voluntary excavations of the first half of the year was concentrated in the yard vacated by Holloway and Webb, Tent Contractors, on Victoria Street, in areas which were accessible before the buildings were demolished. Partial levelling of the city wall and rampart in the 19th century had exposed some features of the earthwork which had never been adequately recorded. Investigation of the west rampart seemed urgent because the surviving remains had not been described by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments and no part of it had been scheduled as an ancient monument. A large area in adjacent premises had recently been levelled without any notice, observation or record, and the yard would be further affected by levelling for road and car-park construction.

Trenches 1-5, shown on the Plan (Fig. 2, Plate XIII) were intended to provide a composite cross-section of the rampart. Particular attention was directed to the area on the berm, in front of the line of the Wall, in the hope of finding dating evidence from the earliest layers of the rampart, but these produced nothing more significant than a few flakes of flint. In trench 4 a part of a long section was already exposed under the walls of adjacent buildings, but the section could not be completed because of the danger that the walls might collapse. Trench 2, in the tail of the rampart area, proved most rewarding, with potsherds, subsequently identified as Saxo-Norman 'Chester ware', securely stratified in deposits which survived to a depth of five feet. The surface of Trench 7 was cleared to show that a substantial thickness of rampart base, with a complex series of layers, comparatively free from modern disturbances, extended across the area.

The importance of the finds showed the necessity for a full section of the rampart adjacent to Trench 2. The Ministry of Public Buildings and Works provided a grant which made it possible to arrange an excavation in October, with paid labour under the direction of Mr. R. Shoesmith. His report on this section, which follows, incorporates the evidence relating to the rampart, which was obtained from the earlier trenches. The evidence relating to the Ditch and the Wall will be dealt with in future reports, when it is hoped that further work may have revealed a clearer picture.

An area excavation, directed by Mr. P. Rahtz, is to take place in June 1968 on part of the site to the north of trenches 2, 7 and 9. It may be possible to include reports on bones, iron objects and slag, etc., which have not been available in time for this interim report, with the consideration of finds from these excavations.

2. *East Street* (SO 51153995). A minor emergency excavation at Easter failed to provide clear evidence about the line of the supposed inner northern defences. This is reported but a fuller discussion of the problems should follow an account of the rampart features observed in the building excavations on the King's Head site (SO 5090 4000) at the end of the year, and other scattered observations which need to be brought together.

3. *Gaol Street* (SO 5135 3993). A machine trench west of Gaol Street, in a garden being surfaced for a car park, produced medieval pottery from pits, but no evidence of rampart or building features. It will be more appropriately dealt with in a further consideration of the northern defences, when other work has been completed.

## Hereford as a Defended City and the Dating of the West Rampart

By F. NOBLE

THE remains of Hereford's defences are being exposed by the new ring road. They were largely obliterated in the 19th century. Up to 1780 its Walls and gates were as complete as those of any town in England. <sup>(1)</sup>

Apart from minor modifications when they were re-furnished in the Civil War, 1642-5, the outline of the defences shown on Taylor's fine plan of the city in 1757, seems to have been the same as that which was fortified in the 13th century. <sup>(2)</sup>

It has been pointed out by Watkins <sup>(3)</sup> and others that the perimeter shows two different methods of wall construction. North of the line of East Street and West Street the Wall has been free-standing, backed by lanes and comparatively level ground. South of that line it has been backed by a massive earth rampart.

S. C. Stanford's Bath Street excavation in 1966 <sup>(4)</sup> showed that the Wall in this part of the northern sector had been preceded by an earth rampart which was probably not constructed before the mid-12th century. This may confirm the theories of Watkins and Marshall <sup>(5)</sup> that the market area of the town was first comprehensively defended by works envisaged in the Borough Charter of 1189.

If so, all this would suggest that the earlier major defensive line ran along the distinctive band of properties between the East Street - West Street line and the streets joining Eign Gate and St. Owen's Gate. Recent observations in building operations along this line <sup>(6)</sup> have gone some way towards confirming the earlier observations, listed by Watkins <sup>(3b)</sup> of a deep filled-in Ditch. It has also been shown that East Street and West Street were jointly known as 'Behind-the-Wall' Street in medieval times. <sup>(7)</sup> From this evidence it seems reasonably certain that the main line of defences before the mid-12th century lay along this line, linking up with the outer bailey defences of the Castle on the east, and the massive rampart which backs the Wall on the west side of the town.

Extensive rebuilding of these defences might have been undertaken in the Anarchy (1135 - 55 A.D.), on the parallel of Wareham <sup>(8)</sup> and other towns, and in view of the military incidents in Hereford in 1138 and 1139 <sup>(9)</sup> and its later importance as a base for Matilda's supporters. So far no direct documentary or archaeological evidence has been found for such work, though it may be represented by the 'second rebuilding' of the west rampart which Mr. Shoesmith distinguishes in his report.

The crucial piece of evidence for the early 12th century comes from William of Malmesbury's eye-witness description of 1125, "*—civitas Hereford non grandis quæ tamen fossatorum præruptorum ruinis ostendat se aliquid magnum fuisse.*" <sup>(10)</sup> The ruins of the steep fosse, showing the former importance of the city, seems adequate evidence that in 1125 the defences appeared to be of considerable age and the town showed no signs of recent growth.



The Domesday account of the city in 1086 and 1066 <sup>(11)</sup> mentions burgesses living 'outside the Wall (murus)'. Presumably these burgages were in the market area, north of the East Street-West Street line. Some burgages seem to have been unoccupied at both dates and it seems probable that they had been destroyed in the devastation of the city by the Welsh in 1055.

The Domesday 'Wall' of 1066 must have been the fortification which Harold Godwinson's army built round the town after that disaster, but this is described as an earthwork "dic" or "*vallo lato et alto*" <sup>(12)</sup>. The use of 'muris' in Domesday may indicate that Harold Godwin did strengthen the rampart with stonework in the subsequent period between 1057 and 1065 when he was Earl of Hereford and was almost certainly using the city as the base for his great campaigns against the Welsh. This would fit in with the evidence for wall building which Mr. Shoesmith has noted in the 'First Rebuilding' phase of the West Rampart.

Fifty years of neglect, perhaps with wall robbing, as at Wareham, may have reduced it again to the 'fosse' which William of Malmesbury described. Royal grants of 'brushwood and thorn palings' for the town defences, as late as 1224 <sup>(13)</sup> indicate that earth ramparts with palisades continued to form part of the defences until well into the 13th century, so there is a substantial period in which subsequent alterations could have been made to the defences which Harold Godwinson erected.

Positive identification of the '1055' phase in the west rampart section would be premature, but it seems clear that the rampart which backs the Wall on the western side of the town, and survives in places to a height of 20 feet, must in part represent the work of Harold Godwin's army in 1055, and thus give to one phase of this rampart construction the most precise date we possess for any late Saxon earthwork.

On the question of earlier defensive lines, it is surprising that there should have been such uncritical acceptance of the notion that this rampart marked a westward extension of the defences in 1055 from an earlier line along the 'King's Ditch', where excavations were carried out by Heys and Norwood in 1958 under difficult conditions <sup>(14)</sup>. The burning and devastation of the city would not be the occasion for extending the area to be defended, and it might have been expected that the rampart of 1055 would be found to overlie earlier defences.

There seems to be no direct reference to the defences of Hereford before 1055. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle shows that it was classed as a 'burh' in 915 <sup>(15)</sup>, when it sent men against a Viking raid into Archenfield, and its omission from the list of fortifications built by Aethelfræda of Mercia after 907 A.D. suggests that its defences had received attention at an earlier date. The neighbouring Cathedral centre at Worcester was fortified about 895 A.D., but the position of Hereford on the Welsh border of Mercia may well have meant that it had possessed substantial defences from a still earlier date. A battle was fought against the Welsh at Hereford early in the reign of Offa, King of Mercia, in 760 A.D. <sup>(16)</sup>. Offa's Dyke shows that he would have been capable of providing the town with substantial earthwork defences.

Earlier assumptions that Hereford must have grown from a much smaller area than the 50 acres enclosed within the line of defences which have been indicated for the 11th and 12th centuries, have to be questioned.

There seems to be no firm evidence for a settlement of any kind at Hereford before 700 A.D. nor early legend or place-name evidence to suggest it. The description of a cross erected in the Cathedral before 740 A.D., on which the last known King and Queen of the Magonsætæ were commemorated together with early Bishops of the Diocese <sup>(17)</sup>, suggests that the town may have been laid out as a new capital and cathedral centre for this Mercian sub-kingdom, occupying almost the entire fifty acres, at the beginning of the 8th Century A.D.

This may provide a remarkable parallel with Wareham, Dorset, where an even larger area seems to have been enclosed and laid out with a rough grid of streets in the 8th or 9th Century <sup>(18)</sup>. Hereford, too, shows a roughly rectangular street pattern inside the early defences. This had been claimed as evidence for a Roman origin for the town. It must be emphasised that the notion of a 'Roman' Hereford is a recent myth and that no stratified Roman finds or features have ever been recorded within the city, nor is there yet any evidence to support the conjecture that such features influenced the choice of the site and the initial plan of the settlement.

The phase of the western rampart which represents the work of 1055 may, therefore, overlie a series of defensive features dating back to the founding of the city around 700 A.D. There is no reason to expect any earlier features at this point. If the defensive sequence extended as far back as this, or even to the time of Offa, it would provide one of the earliest known examples of the defences of one of the 'Cathedral and borough' plantations, which were to play such an important part in the medieval development of Northern Europe beyond the former boundaries of the Roman Empire. It would be remarkable if Hereford proves to be a recognisable 8th Century prototype of these cities.

<sup>1</sup> General acknowledgements should be made to Mrs. M. D. Lobel, Editor of the British Section of the Atlas of Town Plans for Western Europe, and to other members of the working committee which helped to gather information for the Hereford map and text which she is preparing, especially Miss R. Hickling, Mr. I. M. Slocombe and Mr. J. W. Tonkin. Mrs. Lobel favoured the possibility that Saxon Hereford may have occupied the full 98 acres of the later medieval city and considered that any internal ditches and walls may have been merely internal divisions between the King's 'fee' and the Bishop's 'fee'. Even if this were the case it would support the suggestion that the West Rampart excavations may show evidence of all the phases in the construction of the city's defences. It is hoped that fuller consideration of the problems of northern, eastern and southern defences can be undertaken in the near future.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Hilary Turner of Oxford has prepared an account of the various grants and documents relating to the defences of the medieval city, including the Murage grants listed in the Public Record Office *Calendars of Patent Rolls* (1216-1477), which we hope will be published in connection with a description of the Walls.

<sup>3</sup> A. Watkins (a) 'Hereford City Walls' *Transactions Woolhope N.F.C.* (1918-20), 161, 163, (b) 'The King's Ditch of the City of Hereford', *ibid.*, 249 ff.

<sup>4</sup> S. C. Stanford, 'Excavations in Bath Street, Hereford, 1966', *T.W.N.F.C.* (1966), 204-210.

<sup>5</sup> G. Marshall, 'Defences of the City of Hereford', *T.W.N.F.C.* (1939-40), 74.

<sup>6</sup> On the sites of Woolworths (Eign St.), and Littlewoods (High St.), observed by City Museum staff, but not fully recorded or described.

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Tonkin 'Early Street Names of Hereford', *T.W.F.N.C.* (1966) 236-250. The misinterpretation of this name on Speed's map of 1610 as 'Beyond the Wall' has led to some confusion.

<sup>8</sup> R. C. Hist. Mon. 'Wareham West Walls', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. III (1959), 120 ff.

<sup>9</sup> R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (1882), quoting translations from the *Chronicles of Florence of Worcester*, Henry of Huntingdon and Robert de Bec.

<sup>10</sup> *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (1870), 298.

<sup>11</sup> *Domesday Book*, Vol. II, f.179, 181b.



<sup>12</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'C' text, *sub anno*, and Church Historians of England, *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, Vol. II, 127; c.f. in *English Historical Documents*, Vol. I, ed. Whitelocke: "—he (Harold) fortified Hereford with a broad and deep mound and ditch, gates and bars."

<sup>13</sup> Close Rolls: *Rotuli Lit. Claus.* Vol. I, 564a, 613a.

<sup>14</sup> Heys and Norwood, 'Excavations on the supposed line of King's Ditch, Hereford', *T.W.F.N.C.* (1958), 117 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Garmonsway (1960), 98-9.

<sup>16</sup> *Brut y Tywysogyon*, trans. Thomas Jones (1952) s.a.

## The Western Rampart

By R. SHOESMITH

### Summary

*After exploratory excavations, and in order to determine details of the early Western Defences of Hereford, a 60 ft. long trench was cut adjacent to and behind a bastion on the later city wall. Two pre-rampart phases were found, showing possible indications of a timber palisade and a later metalled surface. A rampart made with a gravel core and backed with soil covered the earlier periods and had two rebuilding phases, the first having mortar debris of a possible wall and dated to the latter half of the tenth, or early 11th centuries by Saxo-Norman Chester ware sealed underneath the tail. The second rebuild was of clean gravel and pebbles, but had no evidence for dating. Pits were cut into the tail of the rampart, probably in the 13th or 14th century.*

### INTRODUCTION

THE main excavation (fig. 1, p. 52) was a trench cut in October 1967, behind bastion No. 4, at right angles both to the line of the rampart and the later city wall (N.G.R. SO 507398). This was a 60 ft. long, 5 ft. wide trench with a two foot baulk kept to lessen the possibility of collapse, and shown as trenches 7 and 9 on fig. 2, Plate XIII. Four labourers were employed for a week, and the lower layers were excavated over the next fortnight by volunteers. The weather during the whole period was poor, and heavy rain suspended activities for four days and caused parts of the sections of the two medieval pits to collapse. As a result a fresh face had to be cut for pit. 2. The baulk was eventually removed to complete the section. The exploratory excavations (trenches 1-6, fig. 2) are also described in the following pages where they concern the structure of the rampart. The finds and records will be deposited in Hereford City Museum. I would like to express my appreciation to I. N. Lancaster who helped with the writing of this report and drawing up the pottery as well as helping in the excavation.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

Hereford lies on the River Wye and about four miles from its junction with the Lugg, in an undulating plain developed on the red marls of the Old Red Sandstone. The town was built on the south-eastern edge of a terrace of glacial gravels which rises about 30 ft. above the summer level of the Wye, and at a point where the river could be forded. In the excavated trenches, natural was encountered as a layer of pebbles (up to 3 ins. in diameter) in clean yellow-brown clay, which changed to layers of loose fine gravel after about a foot. It is possible that the Eign brook, which was used as a water source for the external ditch of the city, may originally have had a course outside, and parallel to, the city defences on the western side adjacent to the present excavations.

Although the area was levelled in the nineteenth century, the wall and rampart still stand up to 20 ft. in height to the south of the site. To the north, traces of the wall are visible, but the rampart has been levelled, although it is known from earlier accounts. (3)

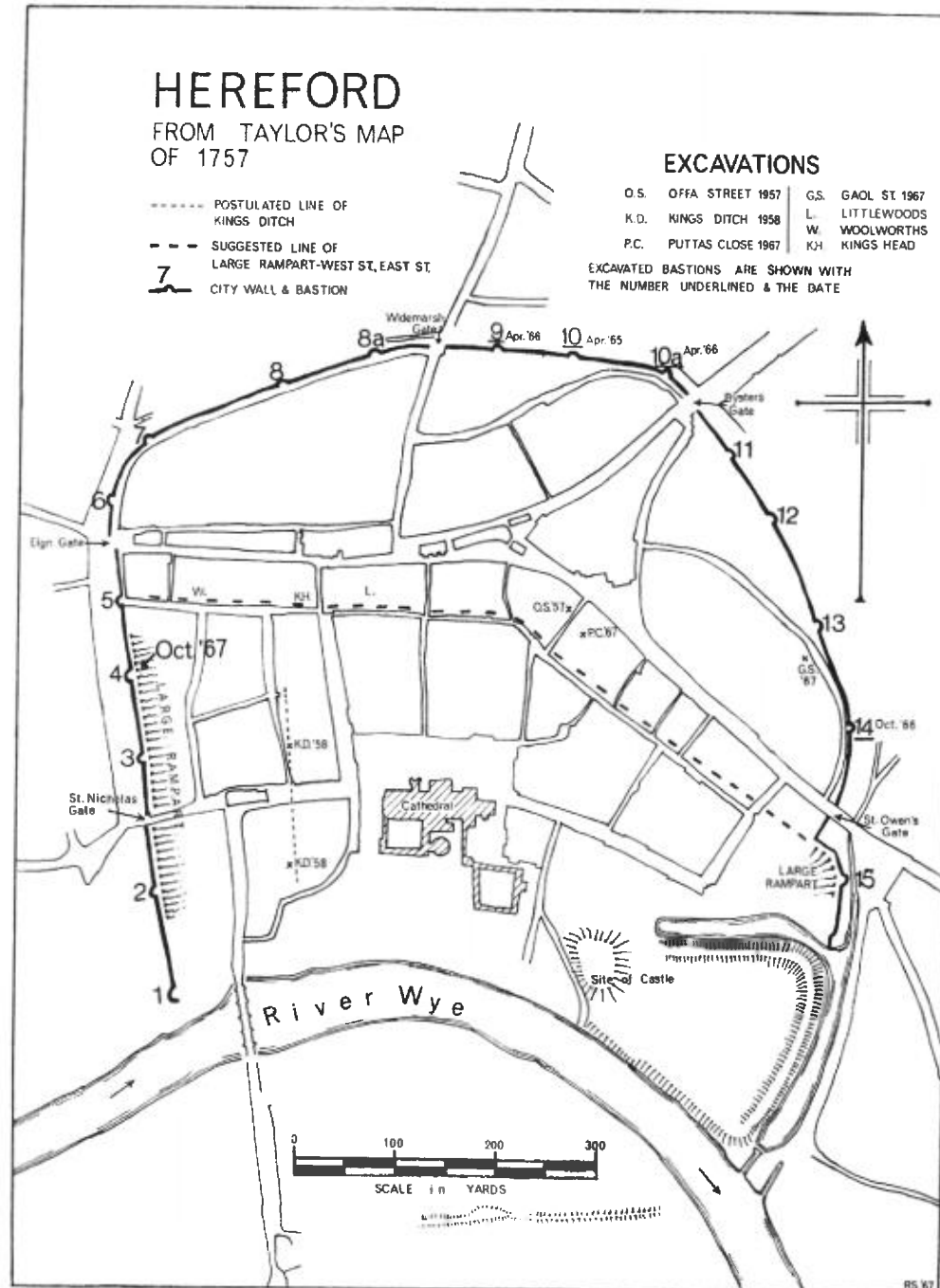


FIG. 1 HEREFORD FROM TAYLOR'S MAP OF 1757  
Showing the defences of Hereford and previous excavations in the city.

It seems that little building disturbance took place on the rampart area after the city walls were built. The town plan of Taylor in 1757 shows the wall standing over the whole western length with gardens behind it for some one hundred feet, and this still holds true in the 1858 plan of Curley, although buildings are now shown backing on to the outside of the city wall. The buildings on the site, prior to the excavation, were offices, stores and warehouses used by a firm of tentage contractors, which have now been demolished.

#### EARLIER EXCAVATIONS AND ARTICLES ON HEREFORD CITY DEFENCES

The references given below are all to the *Transactions of The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*. The sites of the excavations are shown on fig. 1, p. 52.

#### RECENT EXCAVATIONS

- 1966 Bath St.—S. C. Stanford (1966 pp. 204-210). Section through wall and 12th century rampart and investigation of Bastion 14.
- 1966 Blueschool St.—Miss H. Sutermeister (not yet published). Location and investigation of Bastions 9 and 10a and of the ditch face.
- 1965 Blueschool St.—Miss S. M. Crompton and Messrs. F. Noble and W. T. Jones (not yet published). Investigation of wall and Bastion 10 and re-cutting of ditch.

#### EARLIER ARTICLES

- 1958 Kings Ditch—F. G. Heys and J. F. L. Norwood (1958: pp. 117ff.). Investigation of possible ditch line of earlier defence phase. Results rather inconclusive, but a sherd of Chester type found (Called Thetford ware in the article).
- 1940 Hereford City Defences—G. Marshall (1939-40: pp. 67ff.). Little factual evidence; suggests various theories.
- 1920 The Kings Ditch—A. Watkins (1918: p. 249ff.). Suggests various defence lines and gives surface evidence for these.
- 1919 Hereford City Walls—A. Watkins (1918: p. 159ff.). Description of the extent of the walls and the rampart at that time. Photograph of rampart section at the end of West St. in 1890.

#### DESCRIPTION OF RESULTS

The present excavations give a solid basis for defensive structures around the city in the Saxon and early Norman periods, before the city wall superseded the rampart. Indications suggest that the first form of defence on the site may have been a timber palisade (*Period I*). Partly overlying this a metalled surface was laid, sunken through the sub-soil of the area so as to lie on the natural clay and pebbles (*Period II*).

This was covered by a rampart of undetermined width, but a slight spread of mortar debris shows some indication of walling. Some time after completion, a rough pebble surface was laid on the tail, and it was just underneath this that the Saxo-Norman Chester ware was found (*Period III*).

After some time, mortar debris and chips of stone indicated some further wall building (*Period IV*). The rampart was again heightened by a thick layer of pebbles and gravel, but no surface to this layer appeared in the section (*Period V*). The rampart

was eventually cut back to insert the city wall, leaving only the lower layers as a berm. Pits were cut into the rear of the rampart in the thirteenth century (*Period VI*).

#### DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE EXCAVATION

The rampart section (trenches 7 and 9) is described first, followed by notes on the exploratory excavations (trenches 1 to 6) where they give further details of the rampart. The ditch and thirteenth century wall will be included in further reports.

#### TRENCHES 7 & 9 (fig. 2)

##### *Period I—Pre Rampart.*

Several disturbances occurred on the site before the main rampart was built. These disturbances were cut into the natural gravel of the site, and their respective fills suggest they should be considered in three parts.

(i) *Trench 'A'*. This appears to be a shallow trench, about three feet wide and six inches deep into natural, and runs in a north-south direction. It continues into the south side of the trench, but is cut after three feet by the thirteenth century pit 2. The cut and fill of the trench continues through the undisturbed soil surface, and the sides and bottom are covered in a fine grey silt. The main fill was of a wet black soil with several bones and two to three inch pebbles.

(ii) *Trench 'B'*. This disturbance only showed when the clean soil had been stripped off the natural gravel. It is of irregular shape, up to two feet wide and about four feet long, continuing into the section on the north side. It did not run at the same angle as other features on the site, being at about 150° to the north-south line of the defences. It was cut about nine inches deep into the natural, and the fill was partly a fine black soil, but with some brown soil, similar to the undisturbed soil surface. An area shown as 'disturbed natural' on the plan (fig. 2) was associated with trench 'B' and shows on the north section. It was not possible to find precise limits to this area because the only difference was a slight looseness of the pebbles and clay as compared with the surrounding natural in the area.

*Trench 'C'*. The fill of this compared very closely with that of trench 'B'. The cut only showed for about one foot from the north section and thus no direction could be obtained. It is about seven feet from trench 'B', and is slightly deeper, about twelve inches as compared with nine inches. It is cut by post hole 2 of period II.

(iii) *Pit 4*. Slight pitting was found over an area close to trench 'A', but not associated with it. The small areas shown on the plan were only a few inches deep, and pit 4 had a maximum depth of nine inches into natural, but its extent was obscured by the unexcavated area underneath the concrete raft. The fill in all cases was a fine brown soil similar to the natural soil and contained occasional bones.

It is expected that an area excavation will give further details of these, the earliest disturbances on the site. The fact that they are on the line of the later defences suggests that they may have had a defensive purpose and it is suggested that 'B' and 'C' may be connected with a palisade complex. The thick black fill of trench 'A' suggests that it may have had some drainage purpose and it could possibly be associated with period II.

##### *Period II—Metalled Surface and Post Holes.*

For a width of twelve feet the soil surface had been removed to lay a pebble and stone surface onto the natural gravel. It was consistent over the whole width and showed little sign of wear. In the exploratory excavations, this same layer was found in trench 2, that is, between 8 and 18 feet to the north, and so, if continuous, must have been over 23 feet long from north to south. On its surface lay several larger stones, but these may be associated with the rampart construction of period III. Several bones were also found just above the metalled surface, including, in trench 2, parts of a horse and the nearly intact bones of a young foal. Two pieces of worked bone, a comb and a pointed bone (fig. 3) were also lying above this surface.

Close to the north section, two post holes (or large stake holes), nine inches in diameter, were found (P.H.1 and P.H.2 on plan fig. 2). They were cut through the original soil surface into natural and may be associated with the metalling. They were both about 1 ft. 6 ins. deep from the soil surface and filled with a clean brown soil. The westerly one (P.H.2) was slightly angled to the north at the top. They were situated, one to each side of the metalling, and about 15 ins. from it. It is possible that the trench 'A' described under period I is associated with this period.

The metalling appears to run parallel with the line of the defences and could well be a road. Lack of wear would suggest that it was made shortly before the rampart of period III covered it, and was possibly made use of during the construction. The post-holes are more difficult to explain, as their position relative to the metalling would suggest that they were associated. However, there was no sign of the holes continuing into the rampart structure, and they thus do not appear to be tied with the rampart construction. They may be the remains of buildings or fencing demolished prior to the rampart construction. The trench 'A' suggested as a drainage ditch would fit in this context. The bone tools (possibly for weaving) would fit in a context with buildings near the metalling.

##### *Period III—The Rampart.*

(i) *Construction*. The western part of the rampart was also excavated in trench 1, and is further described under that heading. In trench 7, at the extreme west of the north section, the beginnings of a cut into natural gravel appeared, with the soil upcast from it on its eastern lip. Signs of this appeared on the southern section but could not be fully confirmed because of the danger of a wall collapse. The cut, however, was similar in design and fill, and on line with, the cut found in trenches 1, 3 & 5 (fig. 1). Lack of any silt indicates that it must have been open for a very short time and suggests that it was dug as a marker trench. On top of this, and partly filling the cut, were clean pebbles with some pebbles in clay, both similar to the site natural, forming the core of the rampart. A soil layer with a further accumulation of gravel followed. A spread of stones, apparently from the gravel, continued nearly to the edge of the metalling of period II, and was covered with a hard grey clay. The latter, and the following layer of fine soils with many shells, evidently came from the deepening of a clean stream. These layers, taken together, vary from one to two feet in thickness.

Over this, and also covering a thin layer of grey soil on top of the metalled surface, was a thick layer of clean, yellowish, meadow soil, backing and covering the gravel core.

Slight spreads of gravel and pebbles into the yellowish soil indicate that it was built at the same time as the gravel core. Black spreads occurred in the eastern parts of this yellow soil. These showed up well in section, but in plan they were very variable in size and had ill-defined edges and irregular thicknesses. They consisted of a black, highly organic soil with occasional small pieces of twigs and could be the cleanings of a dirty stream or ditch. Stones, lying in the grey soil, on top of the metalling, seem to roughly follow the eastern edge of the yellow soil and could have been roughly placed to indicate the limit during the building. Covering these stones and the rest of the metalling is a thin layer of dirty brown soil, probably trodden down in the construction. The broken edge to the yellow soil at the rampart tail gives the impression that it was roughly dumped in place and trodden into rough steps as the rampart was built higher. Although no explanation can be put forward for the black spread areas at the moment, the irregular edges and thicknesses do not suggest a structural feature.

In the final stage of construction, a charcoal spread covered by a thin layer of mortar debris seals the dirty trample on the metalling. This suggests some minor wall building, although the position remains uncertain.

(ii) *Occupation.* Covering these layers, and also sealing the irregularities of the yellow soil is a layer of brown soil with mixed red and yellow flecks and charcoal, averaging about one foot in thickness, but thinning to the east. This could be the rapid weathering of the unconsolidated surface of the rampart.

Eventually a pebble surface was laid on this weathered surface in a bed of yellow clay. The principal finds of Saxo-Norman Chester ware were in the top of the soil and clay immediately below the pebble surface, although an occasional sherd occurred above. The pebble surface, which was probably used as a rampart walk, showed well at its western extremity, but had disintegrated to the east on the slight slope. Some quantity of bones were found on, and in, this layer.

A layer of cleaner brown soil accumulated on the slope of the rampart and smoothed the contours, although it did not extend onto the pebble layer. This must represent a reasonable length of time when the rampart was undisturbed, and only the pathway was kept clear.

#### *Period IV—The first re-build.*

The whole of period III, including the remains of the path-way, were covered with a layer of brown soil, up to a foot thick at the bottom of the rampart slope, but only about six inches thick on the pebble surface. This contained mortar debris throughout its thickness and occasional small pieces of stone. This spread suggests the improvement of the defences by the construction or rebuilding of a wall. Although levelling has destroyed all direct evidence of this, the spread of the debris would suggest a wall on the crest of the rampart as is the case at Wareham, phase II (\*).

Covering this was a cleaner layer of brown soil, containing occasional small pieces of mortar, which smoothed off all the irregularities of the rampart once more. This contained root remains and appeared to have grown a turf surface, indicating some reasonable period with little disturbance.

#### *Period V—The second re-build.*

The turf surface described above was then sealed with a layer of clean pebbles followed by fine clean gravel, which are both similar to the natural of the area. No surface to this layer could be found due to later disturbances. In trench 2, many bones were found amongst the pebbles, but in the long section only the occasional bone occurred.

The considerable amount of pebbles and gravel required for this enlargement must have involved extensive quarrying into the natural gravel. The most probable reason for this would be the recutting of the ditch on a new line perhaps narrowing the berm.

#### *Period VI—Post-Rampart.*

(i) *Wall and Bastion.* Trench 7 was extended as far west as possible in an attempt to discover how the city wall and bastion were constructed in relation to the rampart. Although the danger of wall collapse prevented complete excavation in this area, it could be seen that the rampart had been cut away to enable the later wall to be inserted. No dating for this could be determined.

(ii) *Pits in the Rampart Tail.* Two pits were cut into the tail of the rampart, and appear in section. Both had very uncertain top edges, perhaps due to later cultivation of the ground.

*Pit 1* at the eastern edge of the rampart is shown in the south section (fig. 2) and was cut through layers of soil and gravel, which contained pottery probably of the thirteenth century, down to the natural surface. The pit itself contained similar pottery and occasional bones. It was at least six feet across and seven feet deep. The fill varied slightly, having a dirty gravel slip on the sides, followed by a reddish gravel slip, before the pit was finally filled with dirty soil and gravel.

*Pit 2* was similar to pit 1 in size and fill, and is shown on the north section. It was cut slightly more square and was about seven feet across near the top and at least eight feet deep. There was a similar reddish gravel slip on the sides before it was filled with dirty soil and gravel, with occasional bones and sherds similar in type to pit 1. The bottom of the pit had a heavy wet grey clay deposit. The pit was about six feet to the west of pit 1, and was cut through the stratified layers of the tail of the rampart.

A small pit, number 3, also contained similar pottery, but could not be examined in detail because of the concrete raft. At the eastern end of trench 9, and surrounding pits 1 and 3, were two layers, both containing similar pottery, and continuing down to the natural gravel. Both were of dirty soil the lower being greyer and containing less gravel than the upper.

The absence of surface levels for the pits, and indeed any layers of a later period, makes it difficult to explain the thickness of these layers. They may represent some levelling of the rampart after the wall was built, or its gradual ploughing down.

The cess pits indicate that the rampart was in complete disuse when they were dug, and presumes that the wall had been completed on this stretch.

*Modern*

Except at the eastern end of the trench, there was little modern disturbance. Here, a concrete raft had been laid for sewers and this prevented the excavation of the layers underneath. Six feet to the east of this, a trench had been cut and filled with rubble and cement as a base for a wall. This had been cut to below natural. The nineteenth-century trench near the middle of the section may have been for drainage purposes or to obtain gravel.

*The Exploratory Excavations (Fig. 2, Plate XIII).*

Three trenches (Numbers 1, 3 and 5) were excavated in front of the wall to determine details of the berm and ditch. This had some success and also showed a further part of the construction of the rampart. Other trenches are mentioned, where they concern the structure of the rampart.

*Trench 1 (Fig 2).*

The only disturbance of pre-rampart date was the cut into natural gravel filled with clean soil and gravel with no signs of silting, which continued in trenches 3 and 5 and possibly in 7. It is suggested that this is a marker trench, used in the construction of the rampart.

On top of this the layers duplicate those of trench 7, period III, and continue to slope upward to the west. This position is some fifty feet forward of the tail, and suggests the presence of a wall or vertical revetting of timber on the front of the rampart (c.f. Wareham, phase I (\*)). This could not be confirmed as a nineteenth-century disturbance had removed the western limits of the trench, although the edge of the slip into a later ditch could be seen as a layer containing mortar debris.

The position of the later city wall with relation to this section is uncertain due to the area being levelled down.

*Trench 2*

The sections of this trench are similar to those of the rampart section (trenches 7 and 9) and therefore are not illustrated. The finds, however, are included in this report. No disturbances were found in the natural surface below the metalling, which covered the whole of the area excavated, except for one four-inch diameter stake hole, which went through the metallised surface. A piece of Chester ware was found in the second rebuild (period V), and this layer also had more bone than in the same area of trench 9, but this may be because more of these layers are preserved in trench 2, due to the absence of the Victorian cut.

*Trench 3*

This confirmed trench 1 and its northern section gave a partial section into the later ditch fill.

*Trench 4*

The upper layers of a rampart section were obtained here, but the completion of the trench had to be postponed due to the danger of wall collapse. The upper layers were generally similar to those of trenches 7 and 9, but the black spread areas of period

III appeared to be in the bottom of the yellow soil, rather than near its surface, and were more extensive than in trench 7. An upstanding part, yet to be fully excavated may contain the surface layers of the second rebuild (period V).

*Trench 5*

This was similar to trench 1 and was cut in an attempt to find further dating evidence.

*Trench 6*

This was a machine section in front of the bastion to check the later ditch line. It will be dealt with in a later report.

## CONCLUSIONS

*Pre-rampart structures (Periods I and II).*

No dating evidence has been obtained at all for the pre-rampart periods. The two bone implements, found above the metallised floor, have no accurate dating. There was no basis for the Roman origin, suggested by several writers, during the excavation. Two small scraps of Roman pottery and a fragment of tile, found during the excavation, could well have been brought from Kenchester. It seems likely that Hereford was founded late in the seventh century or early in the eighth, and the structures associated with the various holes and the metalling must be associated with the earliest history of the city, during the middle Saxon period. The proposed area excavation will provide more information about these early periods.

*The Rampart.*

It has not been possible to determine the dates of the three periods of the rampart build, but the historical references and the Saxo-Norman Chester ware suggest one of two alternatives. These depend on the dating of the Chester ware, which could have been used for a lengthy period. The only available evidence is the Chester Hoard of c.970 A.D. which was found in a vessel of this type. No reason for a change of type of pottery can be suggested before the mid 11th century, so a range from the early tenth to the mid-eleventh century has to be accepted.

If it is assumed that the Main Rampart was built late in the ninth, or early in the tenth century, as an earth and gravel bank, possibly revetted with stone or timber at the front, then the re-building phases fall into order. The first re-build would be associated with the work of Harold Godwin from 1055 onwards, which could have included the wall referred to in the Domesday survey. The second re-build, and re-cutting of the ditch would then be works following the Anarchy or as a result of the Charter of 1189. In this case the rampart would be ruinous about 1125, as described by William of Malmesbury.

The alternative to this is that the main rampart was erected by Harold Godwin in 1055, the Chester ware deposited shortly afterwards, and the wall of period IV, added by Godwin between 1056 and 1065 whilst he used the city as a base. Neglect could again have the rampart in ruins by 1125.

Finds other than the Chester ware from the productive layer in period III, may well resolve these two alternatives. Murage grants start in 1224, but probably some time was taken over the building of the wall and bastions. The cess pits could well follow shortly after the wall building.

It is now established that the West rampart is of greater complexity and age than the one period build of the Bath St. rampart (\*), which is not earlier than the mid twelfth century. The full series of defences of the city may well be represented on this western sector.

#### THE FINDS

##### WORKED BONE (Fig. 3).

1. Bone implement possibly used as a shuttle. It is six inches long with a broken broad end. A hole is bored lengthwise down the bone which has been shaped, probably with a knife. Similar objects are found from the Iron Age onwards. Made from tibia of a sheep or goat.

From trench 2 Period II (late) grey soil on top of the metallated surface.

2. Bone Comb, again possibly used in weaving. Fine work in a piece of bone about 1/12th of an inch thick. Possibly broken at one end. The teeth have a maximum length of half an inch, and the fineness suggests that they might have been cut with a fine-toothed saw blade.

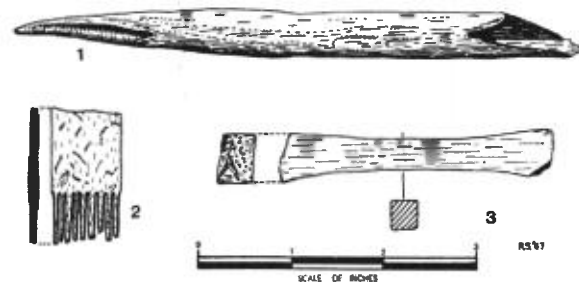


FIG. 3  
Small finds (1/2).

From trench 2 Period II (late) grey soil on top of the metallated surface (Similar position to No. 1 above).

##### STONE (Fig. 3).

3. Whetstone. This is three inches long and slightly broken at one end. The hone is well worn in the middle down all four sides. These are common throughout Saxon and Early Norman periods. See *Excavations at the Jewry Wall site* — K. Kenyon p. 230-2.

From Trench 7 Period IV, Brown soil.

##### POTTERY

Altogether 218 sherds of pottery were found in trenches 7 and 9 and 28 in

trench 2. Of these, 45 (including all from trench 2) are of Saxo-Norman Chester Ware and the rest are probably of the thirteenth century. The rims and significant decorated sherds of Chester Ware are illustrated on fig. 4 (nos. 1 to 9) and the rims and significant glazed ware of the thirteenth century are shown on fig. 5 (nos. 1 to 33). No pottery was found in the layers below those containing the Chester ware (Periods I and II) and, except for one or two isolated sherds of Chester Ware, no pottery was found in the re-building phases of the rampart (Periods IV and V).

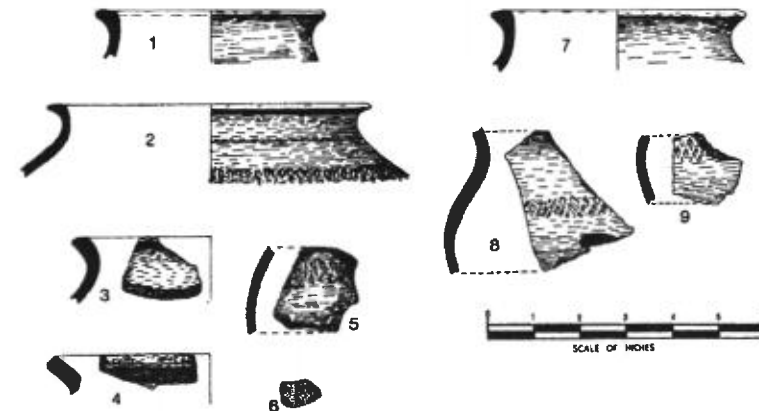


FIG. 4  
SAXO-NORMAN CHESTER WARE (1/4).

##### THE SAXO-NORMAN CHESTER WARE (Fig. 4).

In the excavations on the west defences, Hereford has produced the first series of potsherds of this type which are securely stratified. In trenches 2 and 9, the pottery was found immediately below the pebble surface. The few sherds found in later layers than this may be ascribed to later disturbances of the surface. The pottery is wheel turned, on a fast wheel, and fired very hard. All the sherds found are from small cooking pots and some show a more prominent bulge than is usual in vessels of this category. The rim-forms found are everted, usually with a flattened top and thin outer edge. Below a slightly concave neck, the pot curves out to a strong bulge. Roller-stamped decoration usually occurs on the upper part of the bulge. The fabric varies from a blue-grey to buff in the core, whilst the surface colour varies from buff to a pinkish-orange, although many sherds found are blackened outside from use, often as far up the pot as the decoration and on the outer portions of the rim. The ware is slightly coarse to the touch, and contains small pieces of grit and sand. No bases were found during the excavation. The pottery has certain affinities in manufacture and fabric to Thetford Ware (\*). In size they also agree with the earlier and smaller cooking pots of this type.

##### The Roller-stamped Decoration.

This varies in design and clarity on different pots. Three main types were found and are shown on fig. 4. These are:



1. Clean cut, irregularly shaped diamonds giving a form of trellis. They are slightly indented on the pot, and the band is from  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide (nos. 8 and 9).
2. Roughly cut and poorly impressed triangles and diamonds in a band about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide (nos. 2 and 5).
3. Clearer cut rectangles—only one small sherd was found with this decoration (no. 6).

The decoration would be applied by means of roller stamps, but none of the sherds are large enough to determine their diameter. Similar bands of decoration on the shoulders of cooking pots have occurred on several sites (F.N.).

*Med. Arch* VI-VII, p. 99: North Elmham, Norfolk (S. E. Rigold) Fig. 36, No. 5—Thetford ware, body sherd,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. diamond shaped trellis c.f. type 1 (Late 9th—Early 11th century). Jewry Wall Site, p. 227: (K. M. Kenyon) Fig. 60, No. 1—Grey core, light brown inside, blackened outside. 6 in. diameter cooking pot with  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. oblong stamped decoration above shoulder c.f. type 3. (Unstratified but dated as 12th Century).

These decorations are very similar to those from Hereford.

Previously, this fabric and decoration had only been found at Chester.

#### *The Dating of Chester Ware*

The sherds from Hereford agree very closely in size, form and fabric as well as decoration with the finds from disturbed layers in the Chester Excavations in 1954 in Crypt Court (<sup>2</sup>), and with the cooking pot containing a treasure hoard found in 1950 during road works in Castle Esplanade, Chester (<sup>3</sup>). The hoard in the latter pot was dated by the coins to c. 970 A.D. The excavations in Hereford have not, as yet, given any further evidence, and a range from the early tenth to the mid eleventh has to be accepted. An unstratified sherd with similar decoration has recently been found during excavations on the Saxon Defences of Tamworth, and similar sherds have been found at Ellesmere Port (<sup>4</sup>). It seems worth noting, that, on first examination, this pottery, especially the undecorated sherds, was given dates from the Roman period to the fourteenth century. It is now firmly established as a distinctive ware from the Late Saxon period in the West Midlands and Welsh Border.

#### *Description of the Illustrated Sherds (Fig. 4).*

All are cooking pots of Chester Ware except for No. 4.

1. Part of a rim with diameter 5 ins. Flattened top which slopes slightly inwards. Orange surface with buff core. Some blackening on rim edge (trench 2).
2. Part of rim and shoulder with diameter *circa* 7 ins. Everted rim with slightly flattened top. Light orange surface with grey core. Decoration on shoulder of Type 2 (trench 2).
3. Small part of rim with diameter *circa* 6 ins. Everted, but more rounded than 1 or 2 above, and with less of a flat top. Light orange surface with a grey core (trench 2).
5. Body sherd. Light orange surface with buff core. Blackened on outside lower half. Band of decoration  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide of type 2 (trench 2).
6. Small body sherd. Orange surface with grey core. Decoration of uncertain width of type 3 (trench 2).
7. A quarter of rim, similar to 1 above, but diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Everted rim with flattened top which is angled slightly outwards. Orange surface with blue-grey core. Some blackening on rim edge (trench 9).

8. Body sherd comprising neck and shoulder. Orange surface with light grey core. Decoration on shoulder,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, of type 1 (trench 9).
9. Body sherd. Orange surface and core. Blackened below decoration, which is of type 1 (trench 9).

One other sherd was also found with the Chester ware in trench 2, and is illustrated:—

4. A small part of the rim of a vessel of uncertain shape. Angle of the rim is also uncertain. Diameter *circa* 7 ins. Grey surface with lighter grey core containing small pieces of grit. Some blackening on the outside of the rim. Probably wheel turned. c.f. Fig. 4, No. 6 (<sup>5</sup>).

#### *Location of Sherds in Rampart.*

In trenches 2, 7 and 9, 45 sherds of Chester Ware were found, including rims of five different pots. The other sherds suggest that several more pots are also concerned. 28 sherds came from trench 2 and 17 from trenches 7 and 9.

Except for 3 sherds from the bottom of the mortar flecked layer of period IV, and 2 from the gravel of period V, all the stratified pottery came from the top of the brown soil and under the pebble layer of period III (ii)—a total of 38 sherds. They were all from an area stretching about 15 ft. westwards from pit 2. That is, on the more or less flat area left at the tail of the rampart after some silting had occurred.

#### THE MEDIEVAL WARE (Fig 5).

In the area behind and on top of the tail of the rampart, sherds of medieval pottery were found. Two cess pits, cut through these layers and the tail also produced pottery of the same period. The majority of sherds found were of grey-brown rather gritty ware and mostly came from cooking pots: A small proportion were glazed sherds from pitchers and jugs. No two rims are exactly alike, a fact paralleled at nearby sites such as Breinton (<sup>6</sup>) and Detton (<sup>7</sup>). The pots are of local manufacture and it is doubtful if they were often traded more than perhaps 30 miles from their source. This and their individual characteristics makes comparison with other sites difficult. Most comparisons chosen are from the West Midlands and Lower Severn valley, and dating evidence taken principally from Roushill, Shrewsbury (<sup>13</sup>) and Weoley Castle (<sup>11</sup> and <sup>12</sup>). These suggest a date from early to mid thirteenth century. However, several of these general forms seem to have had a long life, and the layers in which they were found on the site have suffered various disturbances. As a result it is suggested that the group has a range of dates from early in the thirteenth century to, perhaps, early in the fourteenth.

It appeared to be unprofitable, from an examination of the sherds to make any distinction between those found in the two pits and the others surrounding them, and they have thus been arranged in a possible sequence of rim forms.

Nos. 1 to 5 Flattened Rims

Nos. 6 to 9 Rounded Rims

Nos. 20 to 21 Squarer section with furrow on top of rim

Nos. 22 to 23 'Hammer-head' shape

Nos. 24 to 25 Infolded rims

The glazed pottery seems to be comparable in date with the cooking pot ware.

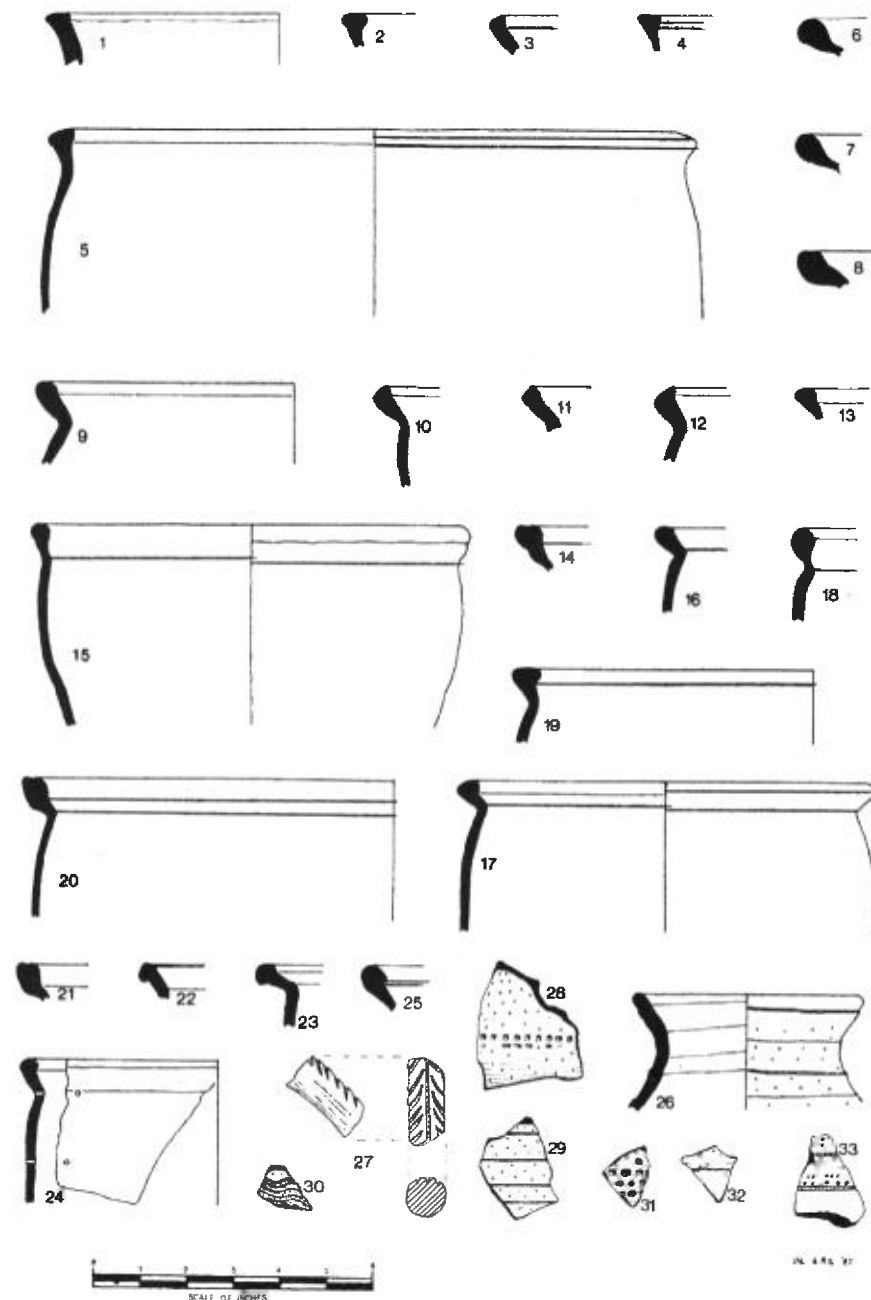


FIG. 5  
MEDIEVAL POTTERY  
From Cess-pits at rear of Rampart (1/4).

*Description of the Illustrated Pottery (Fig. 5).*

The sherds shown in fig. 5 are tabulated in fig. 6, which gives the position where found and the fabric of each illustrated sherd. The following notes supplement this information and include comparisons with other sites and further details of the fabrics.

1. c.f. Ogmore <sup>(6)</sup> No. 38 (Possibly 1130-40).

2. c.f. Detton <sup>(7)</sup> No. 2 for similar rim-form.

The two above seem to be earlier than the following.

3. c.f. Breinton <sup>(8)</sup> No. 12.

4. c.f. Kings Ditch, Hereford <sup>(9)</sup> No. 12.

5. c.f. Breinton <sup>(8)</sup> No. 8, but 14 ins. in diameter against 9 ins. for the Breinton example.

6. & 7. c.f. Breinton <sup>(8)</sup> No. 30; Detton <sup>(7)</sup> Nos. 25 & 26 and Roushill <sup>(18)</sup> No. 5 (the latter dated c. 1230).

9. c.f. Detton <sup>(7)</sup> No. 36.

10. c.f. Bath St., Hereford <sup>(10)</sup> No. 1, but slightly better finish (dated 1154 to 1200): Weoley I <sup>(11)</sup> No. 2 (earlier than 1200).

11. Similar to 10 above.

12. c.f. Weoley I <sup>(11)</sup> No. 9, but with different neck angle (dated to 1200 to 1230).

16. c.f. Breinton <sup>(8)</sup> No. 27.

17. As No. 16 above but much finer sandy fabric.

18. Larger, more angular version of No. 15 above.

19. Buff fabric and skin. Dissimilar to other sherds from the site in this respect, but similar fabric at Hampton Wafer. Rim form similar to 16 and 17 above.

20. c.f. Wareham <sup>(17)</sup> fig. 50, No. 11 (13th rather than 12th century).

21. Similar to 20 above.

23. c.f. Weoley I <sup>(11)</sup> No. 31 (dated 1230 to 1270).

24. c.f. Roushill <sup>(18)</sup> No. 55 (probably early 13th century) Offa St., Hereford <sup>(18)</sup> No. 10.

25. c.f. Detton <sup>(7)</sup> No. 35: Lydney <sup>(14)</sup> No. 6.

26. c.f. Breinton <sup>(8)</sup> No. 15.

27. Similar slashing to Ham Green <sup>(15)</sup> fig. 4, Nos. 12, 14, 15 and 17 (dated 1200-1300).

29. c.f. Roushill <sup>(18)</sup> Nos. 2 and 3 (dated c. 1230).

30. c.f. Ham Green <sup>(15)</sup> fig. 3, No. 31; Upton No. 49 <sup>(15)</sup>.

31. c.f. Weoley II <sup>(12)</sup> No. 27 (dated 1276-80); Ham Green <sup>(15)</sup> fig. 3, No. 26.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Hurst in *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. L, 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> D. F. Petch and F. H. Thompson in *Chester Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 46 (1958), 58-60.

<sup>3</sup> G. Webster in *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XXXIII, 22-32.

<sup>4</sup> Interim Report in C.B.A. group 2, Newsletter 1966.

<sup>5</sup> G. C. Dunning, J. G. Hurst, J. N. L. Myres and F. Tischler in *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. III 'Anglo Saxon Pottery', 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ogmore—B. H. St. J. O'Neil in *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XV (1935), 320-335.

<sup>7</sup> Detton—S. C. Stanford in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. LVIII (1965), 27-47.

<sup>8</sup> Breinton—F. G. Heys in *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club*, Vol. XXXVII (1963), 272-294.

<sup>9</sup> Kings Ditch, Hereford—F. G. Heys and J. F. L. Norwood in *T.W.N.F.C.*, Vol. XXXVI (1958), 117-125.

<sup>10</sup> Bath St., Hereford—S. C. Stanford in *T.W.N.F.C.* (1966), 104-110.

<sup>11</sup> Weobley I—A. Oswald in *Medieval Archaeology*, VI-VII (1962-3), 109-134.

<sup>12</sup> Weobley II—A. Oswald in *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, Vol. 78 (1962), 61-85.

<sup>13</sup> Roushill, Shrewsbury—P. A. Barker in *Medieval Archaeology*, V (1961), 181-210.

<sup>14</sup> Lydney—D. A. Casey in *Antiquaries Journal*, XI (1931), 240-261.

<sup>15</sup> Ham Green, Bristol—K. J. Barton in *Transactions of the Bristol and Glos. Archaeological Society*, LXXXII (1963), 95-126.

<sup>16</sup> Offa St., Hereford—J. F. L. Norwood in *T.W.N.F.C.*, XXXV (1957), 329-337.

<sup>17</sup> Wareham—R.C.H.M. in *Medieval Archaeology*, III (1959), 120-138.

<sup>18</sup> Upton—R. H. Hilton & P. A. Rahtz in *Transactions Bristol & Glos. Archaeological Society*, LXXXV (1966), 70-146.

#### THE FINDS OF BONE

Trenches 2, 7 and 9 had a large number of bones in practically every layer. As only the report for trench 2 is to hand, it is thought best to leave this part of the report until the next issue of the transactions.

FIG. 6  
MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Number from Fig. 5	Pit 1	Find Spot Pit 2	Pit 3	Lower Soil	Upper Soil	Fabric Core Grey Gritty	Sandy Grey-Bwn.	Surface Red- Brown	Glazed
1					x	x		0	
2		x				x			
3					x	x		1,0	
4		x				x			
5	x					x			
6	x					x		0	
7	x					x		1	
8		x				x		1,0	
9				x		x		0	
10					x	x			
11					x	x			
12		x				x			
13	x						x		
14					x	x			
15	x					x			
16	x					x			
17					x		x	1,0	SPOTS
18		x				x			SPOTS
19	x						BUFF GRITTY		
20		x				x			
21					x	x			
22		x				x			
23	x					x		0	
24			x			x			
25					x		x		
26					x		x	0	x
27		x					x		x
28		x					x	0	x
29		x					x	0	x
30					x		x		x
31	x						x	1	x
32	x						x		x
33	x						x	1	x

All fabrics tended to be either of a grey-gritty material, or especially for glazed material, a finer grey-brown or brown sandy material. Most surfaces were the grey or grey-brown of firing, but some had a red-brown skin inside (1) or Outside (0) as shown above. Many sherds were blackened with soot and fire.

All glazes were green, mostly thin and worn, 31 was good quality olive-green and 33 thin brownish-green.

The club is grateful to the Hereford City Excavations Committee for a grant towards the cost of publishing this report.

# A Medieval Cellar off East Street and the Early North Ditch of Hereford

By F. NOBLE, J. W. TONKIN and R. SHOESMITH

## Summary

A small-scale excavation at Easter 1967 opened up a simple stone-vaulted cellar. Excavations in its floor did not give clear evidence of the supposed line of early defences in the area between East St. and St. Peter's Square.

BEFORE a tarmac surface was laid on 'Putta's Close' Mr. S. L. Beaumont offered to meet the cost of mechanical excavation and re-consolidation to allow a week-end investigation of the stone cellar which was known to exist there. As well as investigating the character and age of the cellar it seemed likely to provide an opportunity to check on various conjectures about the line of the early City Ditch, summarized by Watkins in 1920 (1) and by Norwood in 1957 (2).

The excavations were carried out by members of the Hereford Research Group and the Y.H.A. group whose help has been acknowledged previously.

**The Cellar.** The cellar itself was similar to others seen in the city at 3 High Street, in Widemarsh Street and in Eign Street. In length, 13 feet 6 inches and height 7 feet 3 inches, it was almost identical to that formerly in 3 High Street, but the stone used in the vaulting was rather bigger, though just as carefully cut. In the southern end wall there was a blocked space, possibly a recess for a lamp. These are found in most medieval cellars.

In the absence of mouldings or chamferings all that can be said about dating is that the cellar is medieval. In the light of evidence from other buildings it would seem that the building of stone vaulted cellars died out in Hereford by late medieval times, so the mid-fifteenth century would probably be the latest likely date.

One interesting point is its relationship to the early street line. There is still a way across Putta's Close from East Street to St. Owen Street, parallel to Offa Street, which may represent a medieval alleyway. The cellar lies parallel to this line. The cellar at 3 High Street and those known to the writer in High Town, Eign Street and Widemarsh Street are all parallel to their respective streets. In all these other cases the house was at right angles to the street. It seems probable that this cellar marks the site of a medieval house of some substance, fronting on to an alleyway leading from 'Behind-the-Wall' Street, now East Street, to Hungry Street, now St. Owen's Street.

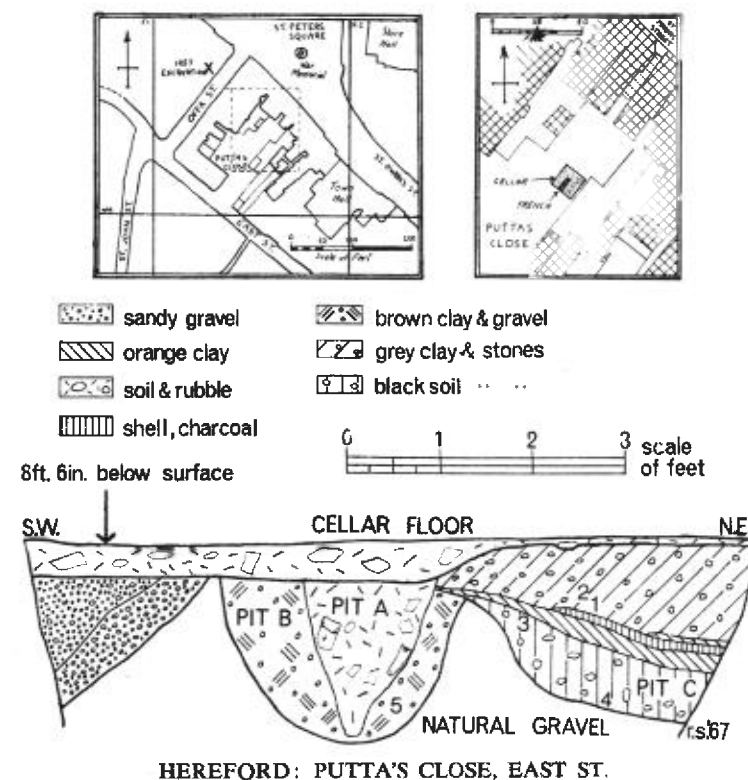
**The Excavations.** The cellar was found to contain a recent filling of loose brick rubble which restricted excavations in the floor of the cellar to a narrow trench, eight feet long.

The section (p. 69) of the north face shows that the cellar floor, of disturbed material, overlay pit 'A', containing 19th century sherds and rubble. This pit cut the

end of a depression, pit 'C' containing sherds of thick green-glazed earthenware, separated by a band of sticky orange clay from a layer containing stone roofing tiles and rubble. Pit 'C' in turn was cut into, and therefore later than, pit 'B' (into which 'A' had been dug) but comparable sherds of coarse black earthenware from both seemed to indicate a similar medieval date.

None of the finds give a basis for accurate dating, but they add to the probability that a cellar had been constructed here before the 14th century.

The underlying 'natural' consists of horizontal bands of hard clean gravel. At the south-western end of the trench disturbed soil, sand and gravel dipped towards the end wall of the cellar at an angle reminiscent of the gravel slip observed in various excavations on the City Ditches, but there was too little of it to provide a firm basis for suggesting that a Ditch ran to the south-west. Watkins thought that the later line of the Ditch was to the north-east and this seemed to be supported by Norwood's observations, but the excavations seem to restrict the space available for a Ditch on these lines. Mr. Beaumont records that there was more evidence of the former existence of a deep Ditch immediately to the west of this excavation, at the back of his Offa Street offices, where subsiding walls have had to be underpinned in deep black mud. He also noted the existence of a deep black deposit, unrecorded by Norwood, at the southern end of the Trustee Savings Bank site.



HEREFORD: PUTTA'S CLOSE, EAST ST.

The cellar on Littlewood's site, formerly No. 3 High Street, mentioned by Mr. Tonkin, was also founded on natural gravel, but lay parallel to the filled-in line of the inner Ditch which was observed to run approximately twenty feet below ground level between the cellar and West Street, in the contractors' excavations. It is interesting to note that most of the early cellars of the city seem to lie outside the suggested line of the early defences, in the market area. Burgesses who were recorded in Domesday Book as living 'outside the Wall' may have established homes here before 1066, but it seems likely that the building of substantial merchant's houses with stone cellars, would have followed the building of strong stone walls round this sector in the 13th century.

The excavation underlines our lack of knowledge of the early defences and of the date at which they were levelled to link up the old defended area with the market area. Much more extensive observation and excavation would be required to provide the archaeological evidence which is needed and the number of sites from which we might hope to obtain this evidence is decreasing rapidly.

#### *The Finds*

None of the sherds of pottery or other items seem to merit illustration. The position of significant sherds is indicated on the section, p. 69. They are:

- 1 & 2. Mottled green-glazed sherds.
3. 9 small sherds of fine red earthenware.
- 4, 5 & 6. Sherds of coarse black pottery.

<sup>1</sup> Watkins, 'The King's Ditch of the City of Hereford', *Tr. Woolhope N.F.C.* (1920), 249 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Norwood, 'Medieval Finds in Offa Street, Hereford', *Tr. W.N.F.C.* (1957), 329 ff.

## The Deserted Medieval Village of Hampton Wafer, Herefordshire

By S. C. STANFORD

*The excavation of earthworks near Hampton Wafer farm showed a number of medieval buildings, interpreted as the remains of a nucleated settlement that was deserted, on pottery evidence, in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.*

IN the course of research into the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Herefordshire the writer was confronted with the problem of whether to regard the largely dispersed settlement pattern as an original feature of the English settlement. In 1956 this seemed to be the commonly accepted explanation. If maintained it would have appeared legitimate to plot all the farms bearing names of early English form (the "—tons", "—hams" and "—leys") and to use them, albeit with caution, as evidence of the progress of the English settlement. The reasoning behind this was that the scatter of those for which there was Domesday Book evidence of an eleventh-century date was too thin and extensive unless supported by outlying farms for which no early medieval references had survived. The alternative explanation would be that the present-day dispersal was the result of diffusion from originally nucleated settlements. This process would have left behind deserted, or greatly shrunken, settlements on the old sites: but Beresford's survey of national records had failed to find much to encourage postulating disrupted settlements in Herefordshire (<sup>1</sup>). The opportunity of putting these contradictions to the test arose through a visit to Hampton Wafer by the Bredenbury W.E.A. Local Research Group at the invitation of Mr. T. Burton. This led to the excavations described below which were made possible by his ready permission and generous hospitality throughout the period 1957-59. With the exception of the coin which has been purchased by the British Museum, the finds have been donated to Hereford City Museum by Mr. Burton.

#### THE POSITION OF HAMPTON WAFER (N.G.R. SO 577570)

The location of Hampton Wafer in the Welsh border is shown on fig. 1. Midway between Leominster and Bromyard on the old London-to-Aberystwyth road (A.44), it stands at the western edge of the north-eastern Herefordshire uplands, a plateau capped by Dittonian sandstone between 700 and 800 feet above sea-level. A complicated drainage history has left the area deeply incised by youthful streams occupying V-shaped dingles and by misfit streams meandering in over-deepened troughs carved out during the Little Welsh glaciation. As a result slopes are steep and settlement and communications keep mainly to the residual ridge-tops or higher shoulders of the spurs. Local pockets of drift, mostly gravel, occur widely over the uplands but the soils from Hampton Wafer eastwards are mostly developed upon the Dittonian and described by Burnham as "reddish brown moderately friable silt loam over compact silty clay loam", Group 4 of his Herefordshire soils (<sup>2</sup>). Westwards from Hampton Wafer drift is predominant and the "stony and sandy loams" of Burnham's Group 4 cover the lower

slopes down to Leominster. Both soils consist of leached brown soils and Burnham's description makes it clear that there is nothing marginal about their suitability for agricultural use (<sup>3</sup>). The area is now given over to mixed farming. Rough grazing is virtually absent and woodland is mostly confined to small spinneys in the uncultivable bottoms of the dingles and the psammoseous limestone escarpment that delimits the uplands towards Bodenham and Ullingswick.

In that part of the area shown on fig. 2 there is not a sizeable village. The nearest approach is made by Pencombe, but for the rest the settlement is indeed dispersed consisting of isolated farm-houses with rarely a cottage between them. Only about Risbury is there a scatter of smaller dwellings indicative of smallholdings.

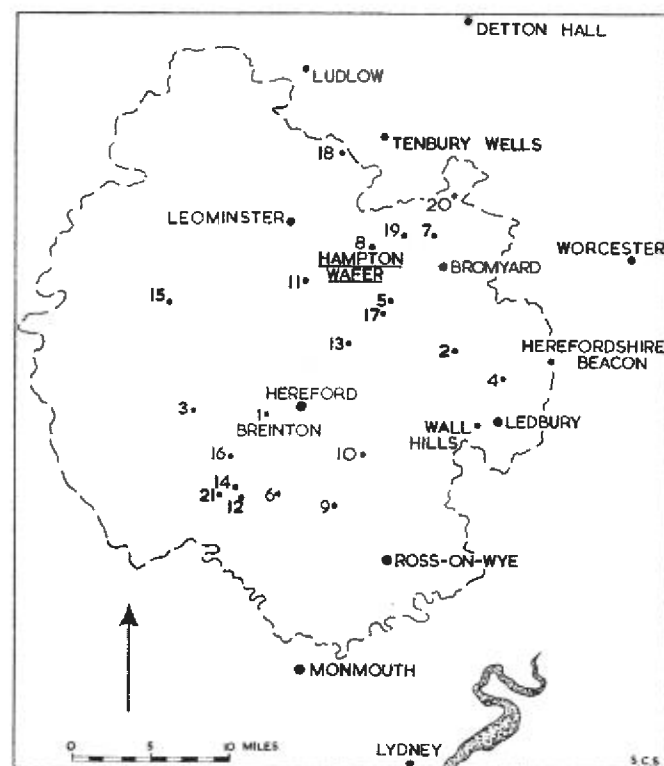


FIG. 1  
HAMPTON WAFER and other Herefordshire medieval settlement sites  
(numbered as in appendix).

Hampton Wafer farm is set upon a south-westward pointing spur on the north side of the Holly Brook valley 714 feet above sea-level (fig. 2). A deep dingle separates it from the neighbouring spur on which some uncertain earthworks are known as Westington Camp, probably an Iron Age promontory fort. The earthworks of the medieval village occupy the remaining top of the spur to the south-west beyond the farm, although a gravel quarry has almost certainly removed part of the settlement. This gravel blankets the tip of the spur but is not present along the rest of the ridge to the farm

where the grey-green Dittonian sandstone is close to the surface. It will be seen from fig. 2 how small Hampton Wafer parish is. Its 333 acres are held as a single farm, and apart from the farm itself the only dwellings are two cottages. Contiguous to it on the north-east is the diminutive New Hampton (148 acres) beyond which is the large parish of Hatfield (1800 acres). To the west lies Docklow (952 acres) with a detached portion lying significantly against the southern boundary of Hampton Wafer. To the east lies Grendon (1698 acres) while the remainder of the southern boundary marches with swollen Pencombe (4,764 acres). The great differences in these areas speaks of an interesting history and we shall see that an important aspect of this is the break-up of nucleated settlements. The evidence for this contention lies in the earthworks of Hampton Wafer to which we now turn.

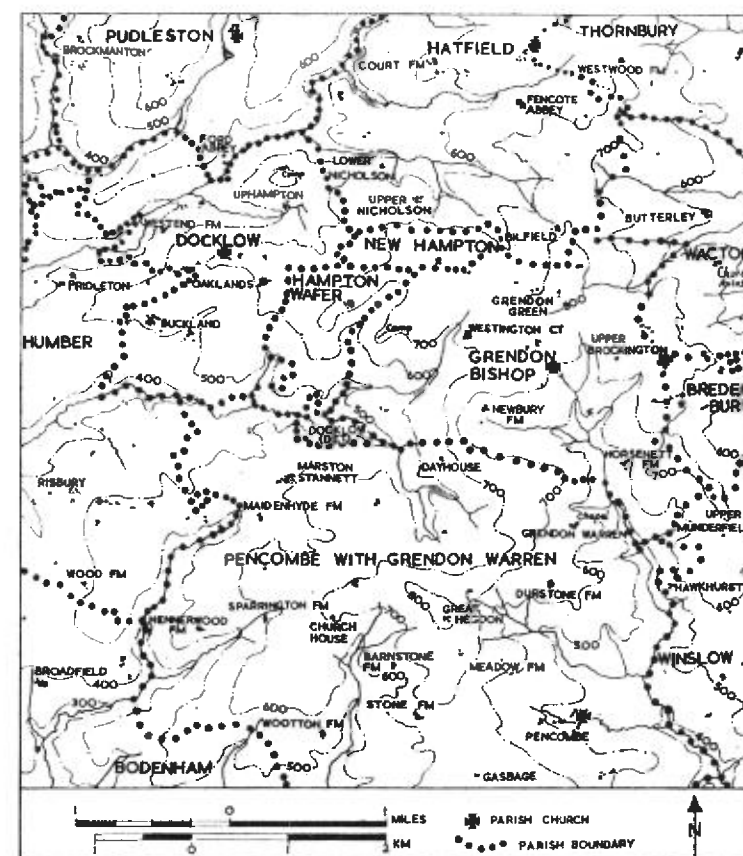


FIG. 2  
HAMPTON WAFER and neighbouring parishes, showing all buildings.  
Contours in feet above sea level. Crown copyright reserved.

#### EARTHWORKS (Fig. 3)

In the pasture fields south-west of the farm earthworks of at least three types are referable to quarrying, cultivation and the medieval settlement.



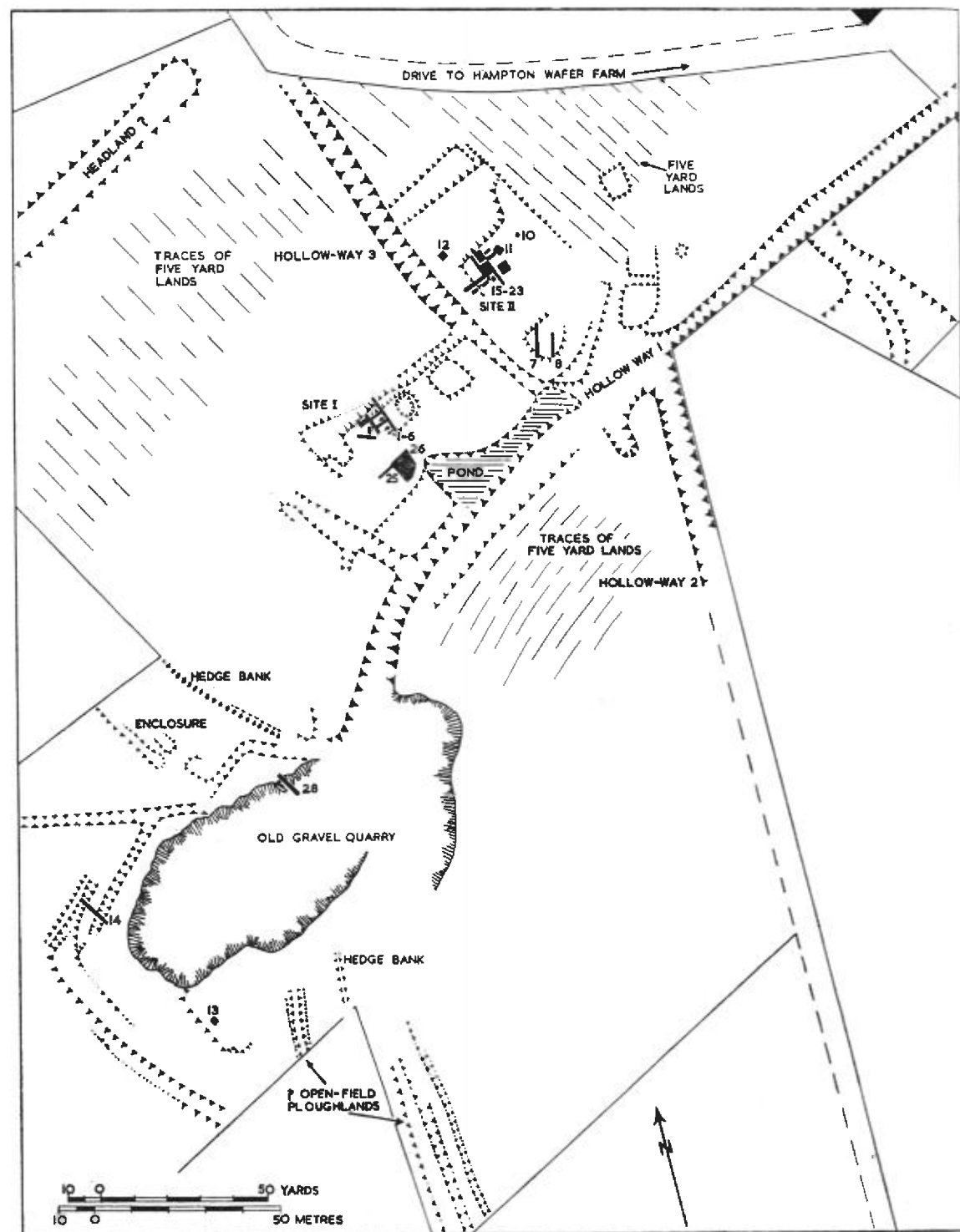


FIG. 3  
HAMPTON WAFER: earthworks and excavations.

*The quarry:* This occupies the south-western tip of the ridge and the ground falls from its sides in all directions. Trench 28 on its northern side produced no artifacts but confirmed that the quarry had exploited glacial sand and gravel. If the settlement extended as far as the quarry it will have been largely destroyed. Reasonably level areas that might have been built upon exist only on the south side of the quarry and to the north-west of trench 28. In the latter area is a small enclosure with traces of platforms in it. A level platform south of the quarry was tested by trench 13 but no structures or occupation deposits were found; the only artifact was a sherd of medieval cooking-pot.

*Cultivation features:* Immediately south of the quarry a narrow north-south bank appears to mark a former northward extension of the present field boundary. To the west a more pronounced bank with marginal hollows is not so easily explained. It runs into the modern hedge and has been ploughed out to the south. It is likely that this and the two similar banks to the south-east are remnants of an earlier system of cultivation. From furrow to furrow they are between five and seven yards wide and could represent ploughlands of a medieval open-field system. If a particular unit is to be discerned it is presumably the perch ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  yds.) and we may note that as late as 1635 the open-fields of Laxton, Nottinghamshire, showed numerous ploughlands a perch in width (\*).

If this explanation is accepted it could imply a similar origin for the "five-yard lands" mapped elsewhere on fig. 3. North-east of the quarry and on the north-western part of the plan surviving traces of such lands are shown schematically; they have been largely ploughed away and their extent as shown has no special significance. In the north-eastern corner, south of the farm drive, the furrows are firmly marked and plotted accurately. They do not survive north of the drive and for the most part fade out southwards about forty-two yards from hollow-way 1. In the north-west field the lands fade out against a broad bank at right-angles to them. If this is correctly identified as a headland the maximum length of these lands between it and the village earthworks of site I will be only about eighty yards. This is admittedly short for open-field strips but again Laxton can show occasional parcels of no greater length.

South-west of the quarry are two slight terraces cut into the hillside. It seems likely that these and the two parallel hollows west of the quarry are also to be explained as former field boundaries or lands. Trench 14 across the two hollows showed natural gravel closely following the surface profile at a depth of six inches. It is certain from this that they were in no way defensive features.

*The medieval settlement:* The dominant features of this are three hollow-ways. What is regarded as the high street (hollow-way 1 on fig. 3) follows the ridge from Hampton Wafer farm through the pond to the quarry. Quarry traffic has probably over-deepened its south-western portion and the discovery of a cobbled floor in the western embayment of the pond shows this to be a subsequent drowning of the hollow-way and adjacent stock-yard. The east-west hollow to the west of the quarry terminates on the quarry edge and so antedates the quarry. It probably marks the western continuation of hollow-way 1 leading downhill from the ridge through the medieval fields in the direction of Docklow and Humber.

Hollow-way 1 is joined near the pond by hollow-ways 2 and 3 which become incised only as they approach the site. Bordering hollow-ways 1 and 3 are a number of low earthworks of roughly rectangular form. Excavation on site I showed that the most pronounced banks can result from stone robbing; where walls are still preserved the building may be marked by no more than a low tump (e.g. the southern part of site II) or may be quite undifferentiated on the surface (as with the building on the southern part of Site I).

#### EXCAVATIONS

The work was necessarily on a very limited scale and was undertaken by the writer and Mrs. Yvonne Stanford with help from members of the Bredenbury W.E.A. Branch between 1957 and 1959 (\*). Apart from the trenches already described near the quarry excavation was confined to sites I and II. Too little work was done to allow any detailed conclusions on the nature of the buildings involved. It has been sufficient only to show that there is a considerable area of buildings of several phases and that no post-medieval structures exist in the areas examined.

*Site I* (Fig. 4). Topographically this is divided into two contrasting zones: one of almost level ground adjacent to the pond, and the other to the north much broken by earthworks. It was towards these earthworks that attention was directed when the investigation began, and these trenches were provisionally described in the 1957 interim report (\*). Some modification of the interpretations then offered are now necessary.

*B1 and B2*: On this northern part wall positions were only recoverable as shallow robber trenches from which the unwanted rubble had been thrown outwards to form pronounced banks, notably at the eastern end where too the picture is further complicated by the emplacement of an electricity supply pole. A possible interpretation of the building B1 is shown on fig. 4, being 30 ft. long and 19 ft. wide. Earthwork suggests a transverse robbed wall dividing the building in half. There is no certainty that this is not part of a larger building extending southwards although the planned extent has support from the distribution of sherds discussed below. Close to B1 on the west another set of robbed walls were located on a different alignment. There is no direct proof that this building, B2, was contemporary with B1, and its extent westwards and southwards is unknown. Roofing was with tilestones of Old Red Sandstone, fragments of which were numerous in the destruction layers of both buildings.

Below the level of the robbed walls of B1 and B2 earlier features were encountered. In section 1-1 is a gully 4 ft. wide containing a quantity of burnt daub; and in section 5-5 post-trenches 1 ft. 6 ins. deep underly the robbed walls. It is of interest that a block of tufa was found in the western of these trenches. Throughout in B1 and B2 this stone was rarely found except in deposits below the final floor levels. Other features pre-dating the stone building B1 are three holes partially exposed south of the gully, averaging 8 ins. deep. Three smaller holes and a shallow slot in the southern part of B2 might also be referred to these earlier constructions.

The only pottery from below the humus was medieval, and is illustrated on fig. 6. A tentative dating of between c. 1100 and c. 1300 is proposed for this below. Although occasional sherds were scattered throughout the destruction and floor levels the greatest

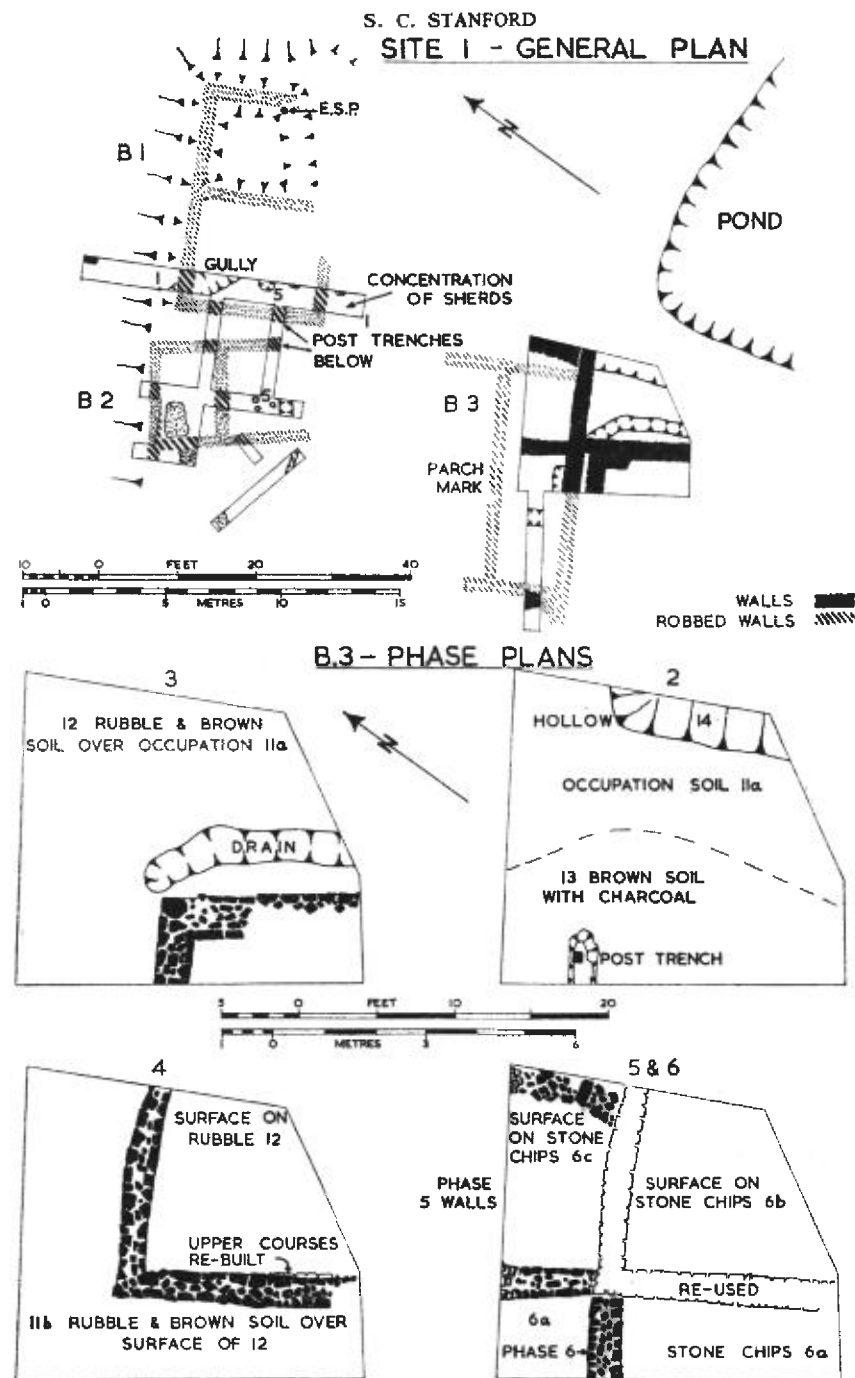
concentration occurred in the occupation soil immediately south of B1 in section 1-1. On site II the disposition of pottery outside the building was particularly noticeable and we might use this observation to support the southern limit of B1 as planned.

*B3* (plan fig. 4). During the dry summer of 1957 parch marks in the pasture south of B2 indicated another building close to the pond. Trial trenching showed that in this area the latest walls had not been severely robbed and that occupation deposits were preserved. An area of approximately 350 sq. ft. was therefore stripped in an attempt to see how many phases of building were involved and to obtain stratified groups of pottery. The general plan of all periods on fig. 4 indicates readily something of the complexity of this part of the site, which is detailed by the separate phase plans of B3. There is firm evidence that all the features are of medieval date; no post-medieval pottery was found below the humus that covered the building remains. Five structural phases are discerned; the first in timber and the remainder in stone. There is also evidence of an earlier phase of occupation for which no structures are recorded.

*Phase 2*: The only features assignable to this are a post-trench packed with red clay and green sandstone chips, and a deep hollow filled with cornstone and tufa. No finds came from the gully, but the post-trench produced a coin of William II to provide a *terminus post quem* of 1092 for the trench. Since this also contained a quantity of charcoal and some small potsherds it would appear to have been dug on the site of some previous occupation. Layer 13, the lowest preserved occupation soil consisted mainly of dark brown earth with charcoal. It is therefore likely that the post-trench had been cut through layer 13. In view of these and typological considerations regarding the pottery, layer 13 is best interpreted as a composite layer including material deposited before the trench was cut as well as material accumulating during the occupation represented by the post-trench. Layer 13 was definable only over the western half of the area, and gave way eastwards to layer 11a. It is relevant to our argument that although several of the rim forms recorded in 13 are also present in 11a there is no showing in the latter deposit of the straight-sided cooking-pots with flattened rims which come from 13 and are held to be early on typological grounds.

*Phase 3*: This introduced a drystone building with an outer corner in the excavated area. The wall, 2½-3 ft. wide, was of pink cornstone. An offset in its construction represents a re-build. From the corner an external drain, 10 ins. deep, may have taken the overflow from a water-butt. The occupation soil 11a with scraps of animal bone and pottery is referable in part to the wall foundation level and was overlain by a destruction level of cornstone rubble (12) abutting the outer face of the wall. Thus although layer 11a appears to contain material of phase 2 as well as 3 it is sealed by layer 12 from any later intrusions.

*Phase 4*: The walls of phase 3 were levelled, producing the rubble layer 12, and the building now erected in part over the old foundations enclosed the south-eastern instead of the south-western part of the area. The rubble surface served as a rough floor inside the building; outside, layer 11b of brown earth and rubble accumulated to a depth of 3 ins. before the new constructions of phase 5 were undertaken. No pottery was found in layer 11b.



*Phase 5:* Two more walls were now added, being laid on the dirt surface of layer 11b. The eastern wall was ragged and poorly preserved. It lay immediately below the humus and may have been disturbed by stone robbers. An interesting feature linking the two new walls is the use of pitched stonework against the northern balk. The wall building and roofing operations left their mark as a trample of cornstone and sandstone chips (layer 6) equally over the whole area between the walls. The absence of any accumulation of soil over this layer (as happened outside the building in phase 3) implies that these are all internal surfaces. Hence, presumably, the paucity of finds of pottery. From the eastern room came the gilt bronze ring (fig. 7, 2).

*Phase 6:* The western part of the building was now divided by a stout drystone wall laid over the lower part of layer 6. It was 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, of red cornstone flags with rubble fill. Builders' stone chips accumulated against this wall and were indistinguishable in excavation from the remainder of layer 6.

Although the rubble layers throughout this trench produced plenty of sandstone no certain tilestone was recovered. The rough stone and dirt floors of B3 contrast with the clay floor of B5 and might indicate that the rooms so far examined were not living quarters. Convenient for this explanation is the proximity of the pond with its cobbled bottom to serve as the stockyard for the farm buildings of B3.

*Site II* (plan fig. 5). The northern part of this site was an almost level platform overlooking a hollowed area about 50 ft. by 75 ft. in which trench 12 located a junction of stone-lined drains. It seems likely that the hollow was the stock-yard for the house B5 excavated on the platform.

The dwelling B5 is so identified by the cornerstone hearth set on a clay floor and central to a room defined by robber-trenches. To the west other robber-trenches parallel to these walls are held to represent an additional smaller room. This lacked the level floor surface cut on the natural clay subsoil in the living room and may therefore represent a stall or store. The method of excavation only allows an interpretation of the final form of the building which appears to have been 37 ft. by 20 ft. overall, the inner dimensions of the living and store rooms being 21 ft. by 17 ft. and 10 ft. by 17 ft. respectively.

In general the walls must have been of drystone. The mortar found internally in two small areas probably represents some repair or special rendering of some particular feature in the wall. The robber-trenches and surviving wall-stones indicate a width of only 1 ft. 6 ins. This is hardly wide enough for high walls of the local cornstone and sandstone rubble. It must be supposed that they represent stone sills to support a timber-framed building. It was roofed with tilestones capped with green and brown glazed earthenware ridge tiles (fig. 8, 20-22 and fig. 7, 17 and 18).

Apart from four sherds (fig. 6, 63, 67, 68 and 69) found in the final destruction layer all the pottery from this site came from the trampled soil layers outside the living room walls. Two such layers were found in the northern extensions of the excavation. In the higher layer, below the tilestone spread, and interpreted as contemporary with the final occupation of the site were found sherds 66, 70 and 71. Coupled with the cleanliness of the clay floor this distribution shows clearly that any rubbish was swept or thrown

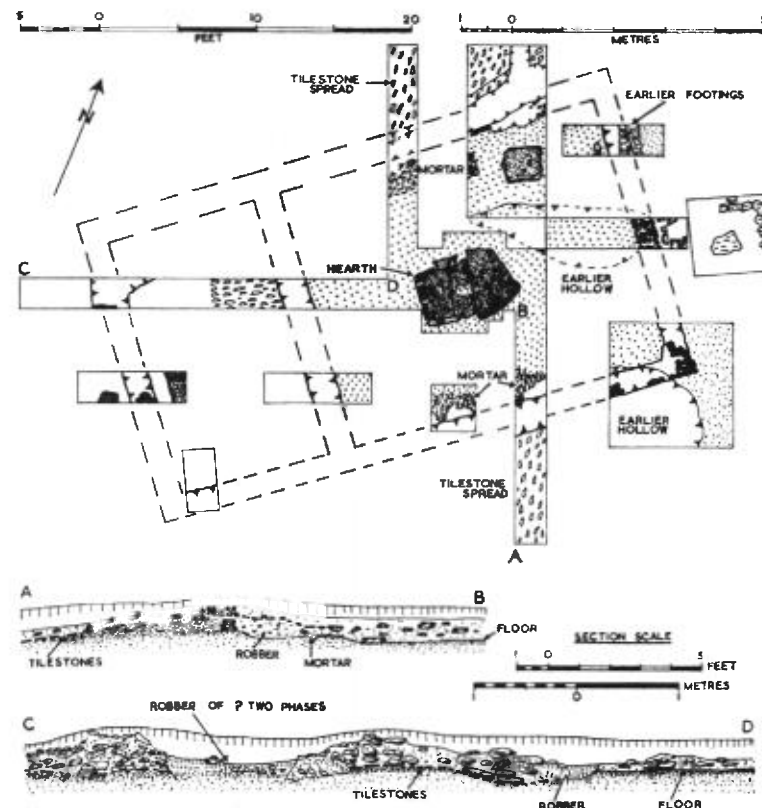


FIG 5  
HAMPTON WAFER: site II, B5.

out of the house to accumulate against the walls. Section AB (fig. 5) illustrates the processes involved. While soil accumulation has proceeded along a strip five feet wide outside the walls preserving some mark of successive building operations, within the house floor cleaning and possibly the cutting of fresh surfaces has not only prevented accumulation but has even lowered the floor below the level of the wall foundations.

Although there is little to discern in the stratigraphy of successive activities on this site there is a fair amount of evidence to show that here, as on site I, we are not dealing with a single phase. The robber trenches of the northern wall are nearly twice as wide as the rest, as though two phases of walling were removed in the final destruction. Earlier footings in the north-east corner, lying below the final robber, and on a different alignment argue again for earlier phases. Demonstrably earlier than any phase of B5 are two hollows a foot deep and filled with brown soil and stone. No finds were recovered from them.

To the south of B5 trenches 7 and 8 across a low mound revealed drystone walls 2 ft. 6 ins. wide and preserved four courses high. In character these are much the same

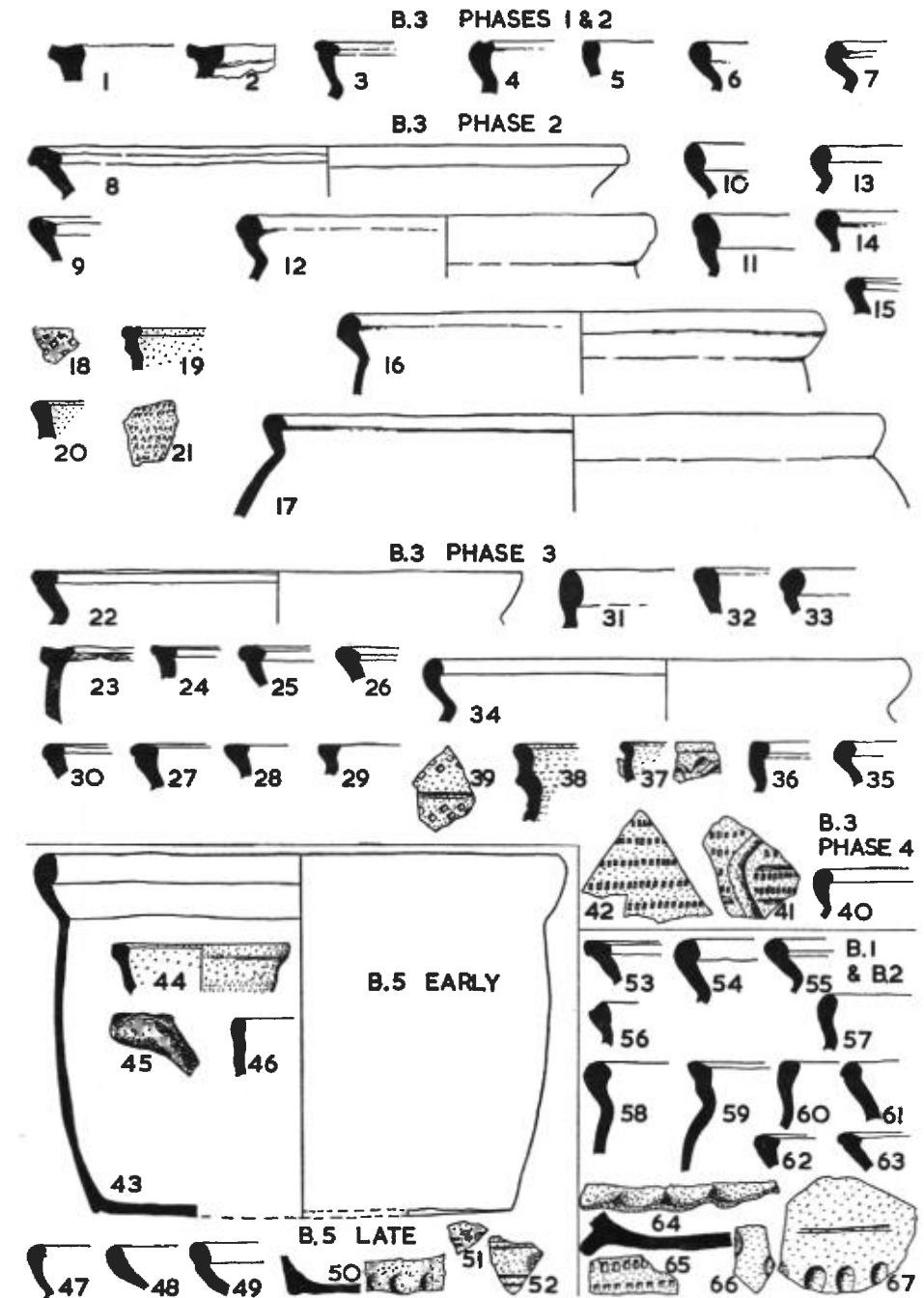


FIG. 6  
HAMPTON WAFER: medieval pottery (x 1/2).

as those of B2 on site I. The only finds were some iron nails and medieval sherds including No. 72.

#### POTTERY (Fig. 6)

From sealed deposits only medieval sherds were recovered. Eighteenth-century slipware, tygs and clay pipes were only found in the modern humus. The medieval sherds belong mainly to cooking-pots although in most trenches and deposits occasional glazed sherds were also found. In fabric and form the cooking pots are generally comparable with those found elsewhere in Herefordshire and south Shropshire.

The most useful collection comes from B3 (Nos. 1-42) although even here the total is so small that it is not practicable to eliminate possible rubbish survivals from the several deposits. On fig. 7 all the finds have been drawn; there is no intention to suggest that the different forms from any single deposit are necessarily contemporary in manufacture. Two further weaknesses of this succession should be borne in mind. The earliest deposit, layer 13, is a composite layer accumulating during phases 1 and 2. It may therefore contain sherds earlier than the post-trench that produced the coin of William II, as well as others that post-date 1092. All subsequent layers, producing sherds 8-42 must have been deposited later than 1092. The second weakness is the absence of finds from phases 5 and 6, for which only internal areas were excavated. This underlines the error of concentrating excavation on the buildings rather than the areas bordering them.

From the earliest deposit, layer 13, came seven cooking-pot rims (1-7) but no glazed fine ware. With the exception of 7 the pots are in a sandy fabric fired to an even mid-grey internally and closely similar to the fabric of Detton Hall group A (<sup>7</sup>). No. 7 is in a softer black fabric with rather less sand. It recalls the softer fabrics of Detton groups B & C (<sup>8</sup>). Already in layer 13 the three varieties of form distinguished at Detton are present at Hampton Wafer. The appearance of variants of these three forms in the B3 layers of phases 2 and 3 supports the impression gained at Detton that they were in large part at least contemporary. Again there is difficulty in allocating some rims to a particular group since hybrid forms occur.

*Group A*: What is thought to be the prototype for this group is represented by Nos. 1 and 2, belonging to almost vertically sided pots with a rim thickened and flattened by squashing. The surplus clay has been worked outwards to form a sharply defined flange necessary for the safe lifting of a pot with vertical sides. A residual sherd of this type in layer 12, No. 23, shows how an internal flange might develop locally and unintentionally. On No. 23 this projection has been left, but on No. 1 it was smoothed down. These flanges served the same purpose as the clubbed rims on straight-sided cooking-pots in the northern Cotswolds, and dated later than 1130 at Ascot Doilly, Oxon. (<sup>9</sup>). Jope has drawn attention to the clubbed rim from the Norman ring-work within the Herefordshire Beacon hill-fort (<sup>10</sup>), and a similar rim was found within Wall Hills Camp, Ledbury (<sup>11</sup>). At Ascot Doilly the form resulted from downward folding of the rim, and could easily have come about by folding rims like our Nos. 1, 2 and 23. This line of reasoning would suggest that pots of the latter type were ancestral to the down-folded clubbed rims. Since there is historical support for an eleventh century

occupation at Hampton Wafer there is no chronological difficulty here. In support of an early date for the type may be noted a thickened upright rim with flattened top from the earliest, though undated, deposit in the Hereford King's Ditch excavations (<sup>12</sup>); the type did not occur at Offa Street further from the city centre (<sup>13</sup>), nor at Hereford Black Friars (<sup>14</sup>) in a thirteenth-century context. A similar rim, though not hollowed on top came from Detton Hall (<sup>15</sup>) and another from the earliest deposit at Breinton (<sup>16</sup>). On this evidence this type of rim seems the most likely candidate for an eleventh-century date in this area, and for phase 1 of B.3.

The question now arises why there are no clubbed rims at Hampton Wafer? It may be suggested that in most of the Welsh border in the twelfth century an outward sloping neck was adopted on which rim-squashing would most naturally lead to an internal rather than external projection. The remaining example of Group A in layer 13, No. 3, illustrates this development. The most shapely development of type A is shown to occur in phase 2;—No. 8 from layer 11a with its broad infolded rim and external projection. A closely comparable sherd from the Hereford City rampart indicates that this stage had been reached by 1189 (<sup>17</sup>). With the change to a sloping neck types B and C could have developed alongside type A. What follows suggests the devolution of the type with the rim becoming simpler and less sharply moulded. No. 9 shows that the process had already begun in phase 2 while the final stages are perhaps marked by the simple flattened rims, Nos. 28 and 29, in the phase 3 deposits.

At Detton Hall the same group has been held by the writer to lead to elaborately moulded rims (Detton Nos. 10-16). The absence of these at Hampton Wafer does not necessarily imply an earlier abandonment of the Herefordshire site, for the Detton type moulded rims are absent too from thirteenth-century deposits at Breinton and fourteenth-century Black Friars, Hereford, where other Hampton Wafer forms occur. It would appear that at the stage marked by No. 8 (i.e. before 1189) there was a divergence in the traditions of the sources supplying south-east Shropshire from those supplying Herefordshire.

*Group B*: Three examples (Nos. 4-6) occur in layer 13 of rims comparable to Detton group B. The type, of which 6 is characteristic, is of oval section, thickened internally and with a smoothly curved outer profile. The fabric is similar to that of Group A. Variants occur in No. 4 with a neatly executed hollow on the top, and in No. 5 which has a flattened top. The form of No. 6 is repeated in phase 2, Nos. 10 and 11, and in phase 3, No. 31.

*Group C*: Also in layer 13 was a single example of a distinctly infolded rim, No. 7, of the type found at Lydney, and there argued to date from the reign of Stephen (1135-54) (<sup>18</sup>). The lap of the fold against the inner wall shows quite clearly and it appears the obvious ancestor for a series in which subsequent examples show careful bonding of fold and wall to the extent that it becomes difficult to distinguish this group from some of group B. They are separated here on the basis that group B are oval in section whereas C are circular. It is group C that proves to be the prevailing one at Hampton Wafer, represented in phase 2 by Nos. 13-17 and in phase 3 by Nos. 34-36. The eventual development of the type might be seen in No. 47 from late deposits in



B5 and No. 58 from B1 in which no trace of the junction between rim and wall survives. At Black Friars, Hereford, the type is common in the pre-Friary deposits whereas there is only a single devolved example of group B<sup>(19)</sup>. This confirms the impression at Hampton Wafer that Group C outlasted B. At Detton an argument was advanced for terminating group C on that site before 1250. In view of the evidence above for the divergence of Hampton Wafer group A from Detton group A this terminal date for Detton group C does not necessarily carry Hampton Wafer with it.

*Glazed wares from B.3*: It may be significant that no fine wares were found in the earliest deposit. Phase 2 can exhibit a green glazed sherd with diamond rouletting, No. 18, a jug neck No. 19, and a sherd with apple-green glaze, No. 21. From phase 3, in addition to No. 39 which is similar to 18, are two rims Nos. 37 and 38 of which the former is the frilled neck of a jug. The two sherds, Nos. 41 and 42 from one vessel, found in phase 4 deposits are coated with a patchy green glaze with oblong rouletting and applied strip decoration.

*Medieval pottery from other trenches* (fig. 6, Nos. 43-67). The coarse wares include no forms not already represented from B.3. Mr. K. J. Barton has kindly examined the fine wares and regards No. 67 as Ham Green (Bristol) ware. The thumbled base No. 64 shows pronounced finger-prints underneath when the angle of the base was pinched between thumb and fingers as in Hurst's group 3<sup>(20)</sup>.

*The Iron Age sherd* (fig. 8, No. 25). From the topsoil in trench 13. The inner surface shows that it was hand-made, and the firing of the sandy fabric was uneven, rendering it light grey in the centre with a light brown internal skin and dark grey external surface. The latter is well preserved and shows no sign of decoration. The form is not at present paralleled in Herefordshire and since it was unstratified it must be viewed with caution before postulating an Iron Age occupation at Hampton Wafer or even on nearby Westington Camp. The only other finds that are likely to be of the same age are the flint scraper and the sandstone disc (fig. 7, 15 and 16).

*Other finds* (fig. 7 except No. 19).

1. Miss Marian M. Archibald (British Museum) has kindly provided the following account:—

Silver penny of William II, Type III, from B3 phase 2 post-trench.

*Obverse*: ILLIIMFHREX

*Reverse*: +B / \ R[PIT ON BRII

*Weight*: 19.9 grains

*Die axis*: Bristol

*Moneyer*: Barcwit

*Mint*:

The obverse legend is somewhat blundered but comparable renderings of the King's name are found on regular coins elsewhere in this coinage and the reverse legend, although rather weakly struck up, is perfectly literate. The weight also although perhaps on the lightish side is still within the normal range. There is no reason therefore to suggest that this coin is other than an official issue. It has been customary to date this issue to the period 1093-6 but Mr. Dolley has recently published his opinion that the date may be pushed back a year to 1092-5. Since it was the practice at that time for coin to be withdrawn and recoinied with different

types at regular intervals (—about every three years—) the life of a particular type in the currency was, in normal circumstances, limited. While the possibility of a late survival cannot be entirely ruled out, especially in an out of the way country district, it would be reasonable to say that this coin was deposited before the year 1100.

Coins of this type would have been out of circulation in quantity before 1100 but the question of a survival arises especially in the case of an isolated find. The hoards which bear upon this are unfortunately few, small and ill-recorded. The Bermondsey hoard (*Inventory* 42) containing coins of William II types II and IV alongside those of Henry I's first type was buried within a year or so of 1100. The Shillington hoard (*Inventory* 330) also associates coins of William II with those of Henry II, type VII (struck c. 1113-16) but it is possible that these coins were not in fact found together. The so-called Milford Haven hoard (*Inventory* 268) with some fifty coins did not have a single coin of William II and closes with type IX of Henry I, struck c. 1119-22. Hoards buried at the close of Henry I's reign all exclude coins of William II. (In the Watford hoard (*Inventory* 373) containing over 1200 coins buried around 1140, William II is again absent and the solitary cut half-penny of William I may be regarded as a quite abnormal survival.) The latest certain association of a coin of William II in hoards is therefore shortly after 1100 and none were included in the hoard from South Wales buried c. 1122. Therefore, bearing in mind the possibility of a late survival, the coin under discussion is unlikely to have been lost later than within a year or so of 1100.

From the numismatic point of view it is interesting since it pushes back the certain beginning of Barcwit's issues to Type III. He had been known already in Types IV and V but not in Type III. It is not surprising to find 'new' coins turning up in this period because there has been a lack of large finds deposited in the last years of the eleventh century and consequently a number of the coins struck then are as yet unrepresented in modern collections.

2. Finger ring from B3 phase 5, layer 6b.

Mr. J. Cherry (British Museum) has kindly provided the following account:—

Bronze finger ring: slender hoop circular in section with traces of gilding visible at the junction with the bezel; oval bezel set with a cabochon ruby. Diameter (external) 2.3 cm. Height of bezel 0.9 cm.

Rings have been found on several deserted medieval village sites recently. Other examples are a silver ring from Hangleton, Sussex<sup>(1)</sup> and bronze rings from Grenstein, Norfolk and Lyveden, Northants.

This ring falls into the class of medieval ornamental or decorative rings. Comparable examples, all in gold, with similar stone settings and joins between the hoop and bezel are in the collections of the British Museum<sup>(2)</sup> and Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>(3)</sup>. It is not possible to date this type of ornamental ring with

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. ci. (1963), 174.

<sup>2</sup> "Catalogue of Finger rings in the British Museum" by O. M. Dalton, Nos. 1770-74.

<sup>3</sup> "Catalogue of Rings in the Victoria and Albert Museum" by C. C. Oman, No. 257.



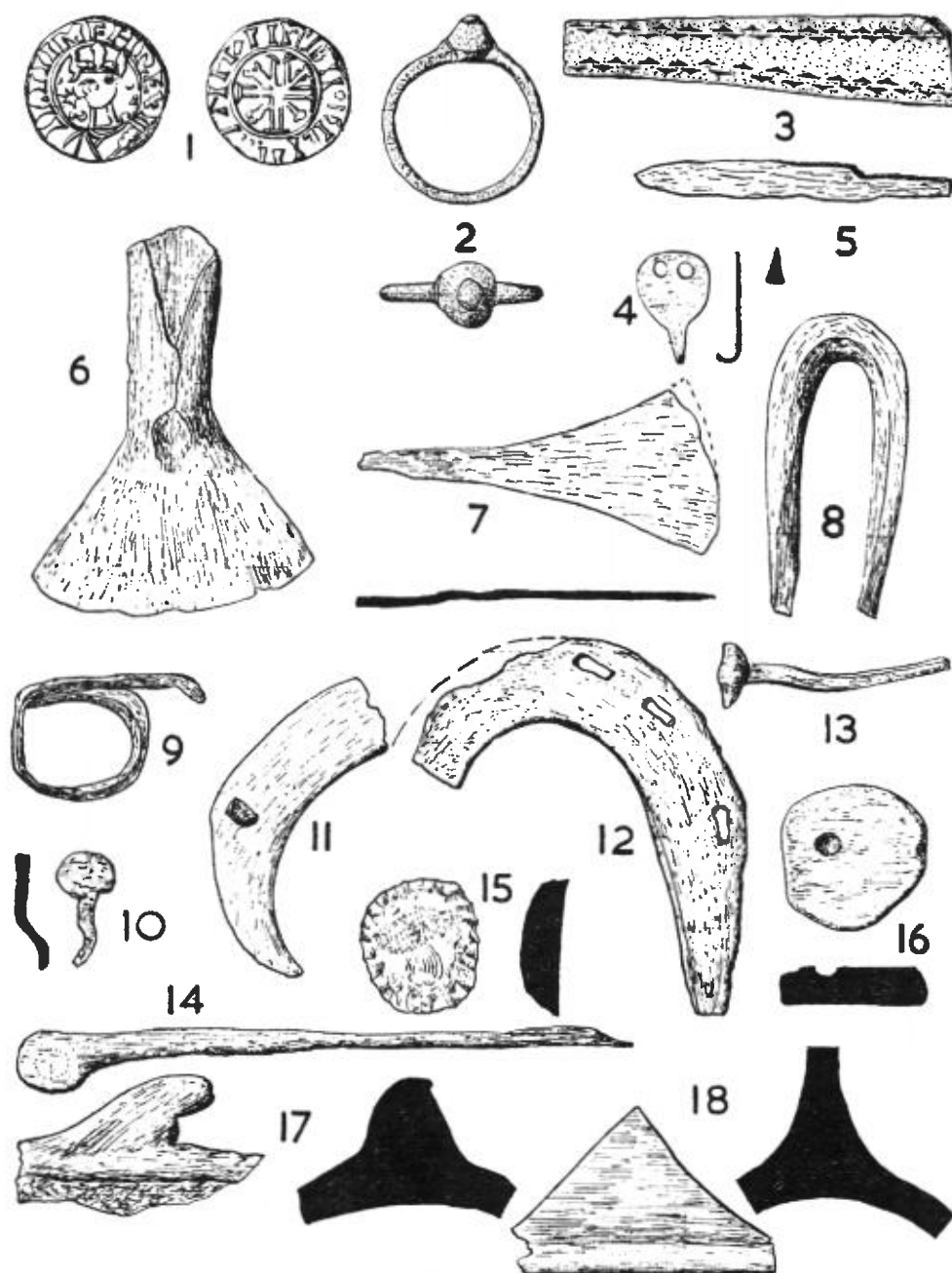


FIG. 7

HAMPTON WAFER: small finds. Nos. 1-4 and 15 x 1/1; remainder x 1/2.

any precision but they are normally ascribed to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is therefore most welcome to have a bronze form of this type of ring in a stratified context before the mid-fourteenth century.

3. Bronze strap end from B3 phase 2 (11a). The rows of stitch marks engraved on one side are merely decorative. The strap must have been of very thin material, perhaps linen.
4. Bronze dress-hook from trench 1 (5).
5. Iron knife or razor from B3 phase 3 (12). The blade is triangular in section and the tang rectangular.
6. Iron hoe also from B3 phase 3 (12). The socket is formed by folding. This type of hoe has remained in local use for thistle-bodging into recent years.
7. Iron object from B3 phase 3 (12).
8. Iron staple from B3 phase 2 (11a).
9. Iron link from B3 phase 2 (11a).
10. One of two iron nails from B3 phase 2 (11a).
11. Part of an iron horse shoe with a nail from B3 phase 5 (10).
12. Part of an iron horse shoe from trench 11.
13. One of three flat-headed iron nails from trench 11.
14. Iron spike from trench 11.
15. Flint thumb scraper from B3 phase 2 (11a). This Bronze Age type persisted into the local Iron Age and is the only kind of flint implement found on Croft Ambrey hill-fort where there is no evidence of occupation before the Iron Age.
16. Worked sandstone disc from B3 phase 2 (11a). Again, comparable discs with shallow cylindrical hollows on one face have been found in Iron Age deposits at Croft Ambrey.
17. Hand-fashioned crest of a green glazed ridge tile from the destruction layer of B5. Cf. Ogmores Castle (<sup>21</sup>) LI. 5.
18. Knife-trimmed crest of green glazed ridge tile from the same layer as No. 17. At Ogmores Castle O'Neil suggested a 14th-15th century date for the start of cutting ridge-tile serrations instead of moulding them by hand as in our No. 17.
19. (fig. 8). Part of the lower stone of a rotary quern in red sandstone. 2½ ins. thick at the centre, thinning to 1½ ins. Unstratified.

In addition five clay pipe bowls were found in the topsoil. The only stamped bases carry the initials "WC" and "RE".

*Building materials: Tilestones* (fig. 8 Nos. 20-23). Recognizable fragments of tilestones of local sandstone were found mainly in the topsoil. Five examples came from B5 (including Nos. 20-22 from the final destruction levels), and three from B2 including No. 23 from the humus. The only complete example, No. 21, measures 6 ins. by 8½ ins., although No. 20 shows that the width could be as much as 8 ins. Even so these are very small compared with the massive tilestones still to be seen commonly in the county today. They do however compare well in size with the mid thirteenth-century slates from Hen Blas, near Flint (<sup>22</sup>). The Hampton Wafer examples range from 9 to 18 mm. thick and are pierced by cylindrical holes 8 to 12 mm. in diameter, with a varying amount

of bursting on one side. Leach suggested that the similar sized holes at Hen Blas were designed for hanging by nails and it may be that flat headed nails like No. 13 were used for this purpose at Hampton Wafer. In view, however, of the small number of nails found at Hampton Wafer, hanging by wooden pegs (as in the fifteenth-century gate-house of Brockhampton Manor, near Bromyard) cannot be discounted.

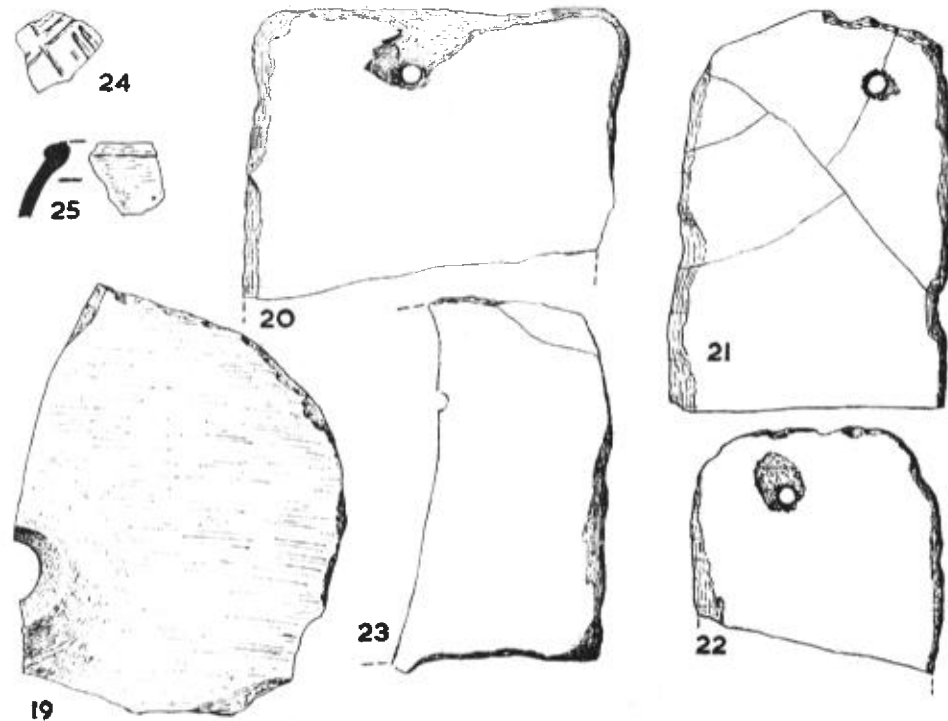


FIG. 8

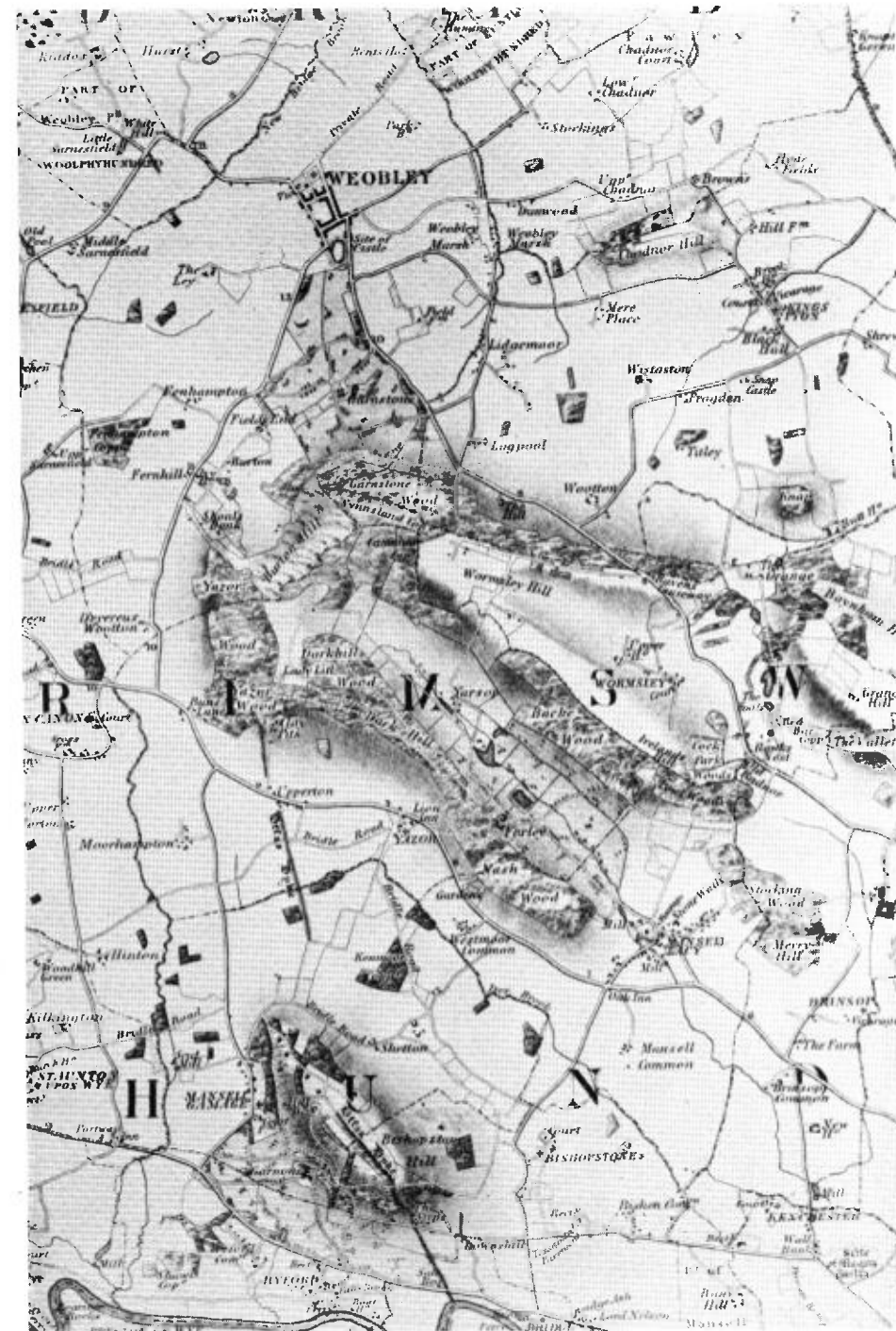
HAMPTON WAFER: rotary quern fragment (19), daub (24), tilestones and Iron Age sherd (25) (x 4).

*Ridge-tiles.* In addition to the crests illustrated on fig. 7, 19 fragments of glazed ridge tiles were found in B5. The glaze was green except for two brown examples.

*Daub.* Several pieces of burnt daub were found in B2 showing the impression of woven half-inch wattling. One piece (fig. 8, No. 24) had been keyed to take plaster.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The excavated evidence is conclusive enough that there was in the Middle Ages a nucleated settlement marked today by the earthworks described above. The broken character of the earthworks is such as to render impossible a confident assessment of the number of dwellings involved. If the settlement was continuous from the modern farm buildings to the quarry its length would have been about 350 yds. Earthwork and topography suggest that the buildings would have been largely confined to the north side of hollow-way 1. At Detton Hall, in comparable terrain, earthworks suggest



I. Bryant's map of Herefordshire, 1835, showing the borough of Weobley in relation to the Garnstone and Foxley estates. Reduced from original.



II. Weobley, Broad Street, looking north to the parish church, 1831. The Market Hall, where the poll was taken, is on the left. It appears to have been similar in construction to that still standing at Ledbury. The large three-storied, jettied building in the middle of the picture is the 'Old Hall'.



III. Weobley, Broad Street, looking north, 1898. Comparison with plate II shows some of the demolition that took place 1844-1845, after the passing of the first Reform Act. The two remaining buildings on the left were destroyed by fire this century. The area, therefore, now has the appearance of a village green.

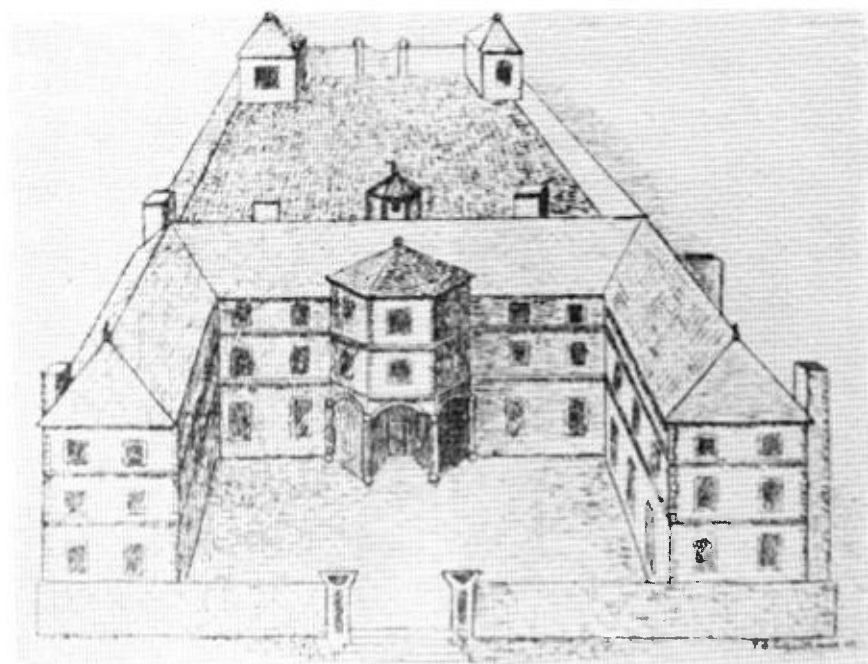


IV. The 'Old Hall', Weobley, a conventionalised drawing showing some interesting detail. Also referred to as the 'Mansion House' here, in the chamber over the hall, thirty three children were born to James Tomkins' two wives.

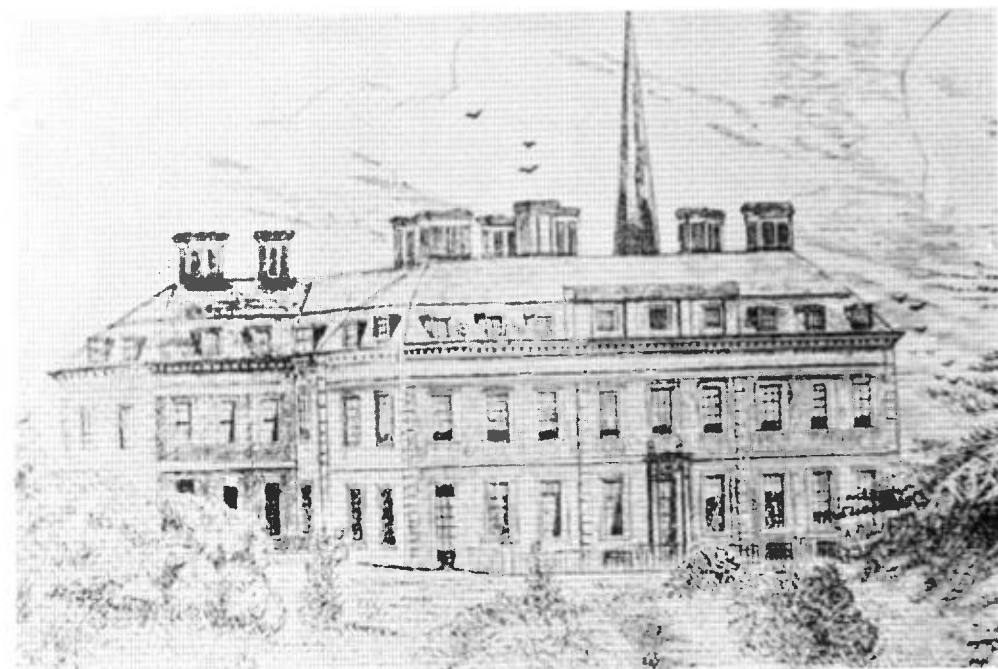


V. Weobley, Portland Street, looking south. The rear of the buildings seen in plate II; on the left the 'Old Hall', at the end of the row the Market Hall.

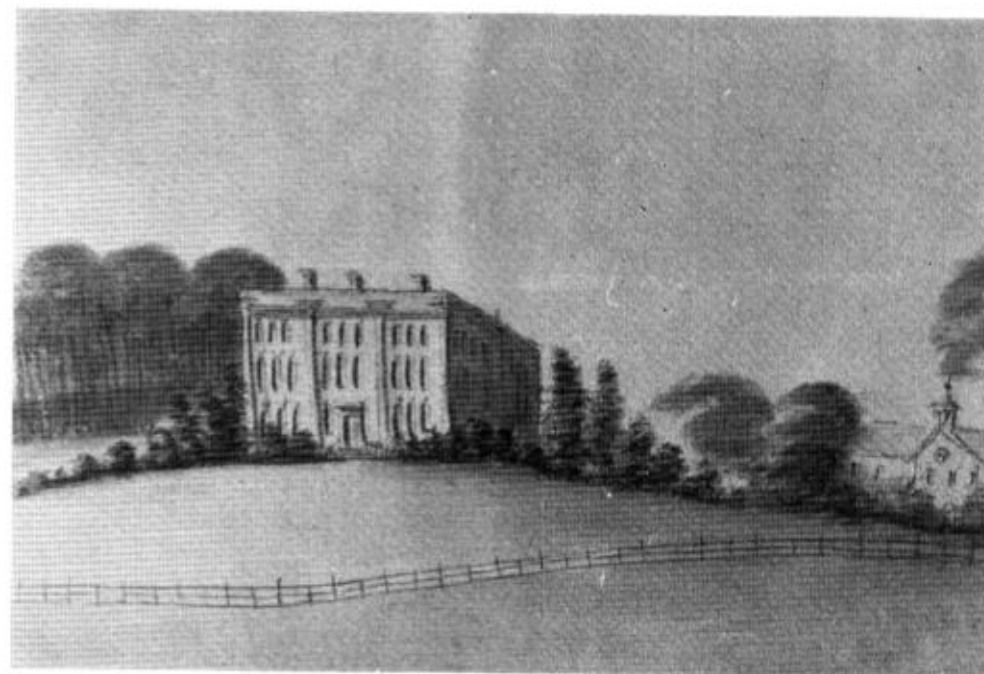




VI. Garnstone, as remodelled by Col. Birch, about 1675.



VII. Stoke Edith as reconstructed by Speaker Paul Foley and his eldest son, Thomas. Celia Fiennes saw the foundations of the new house staked out when she visited Herefordshire in or before 1696.



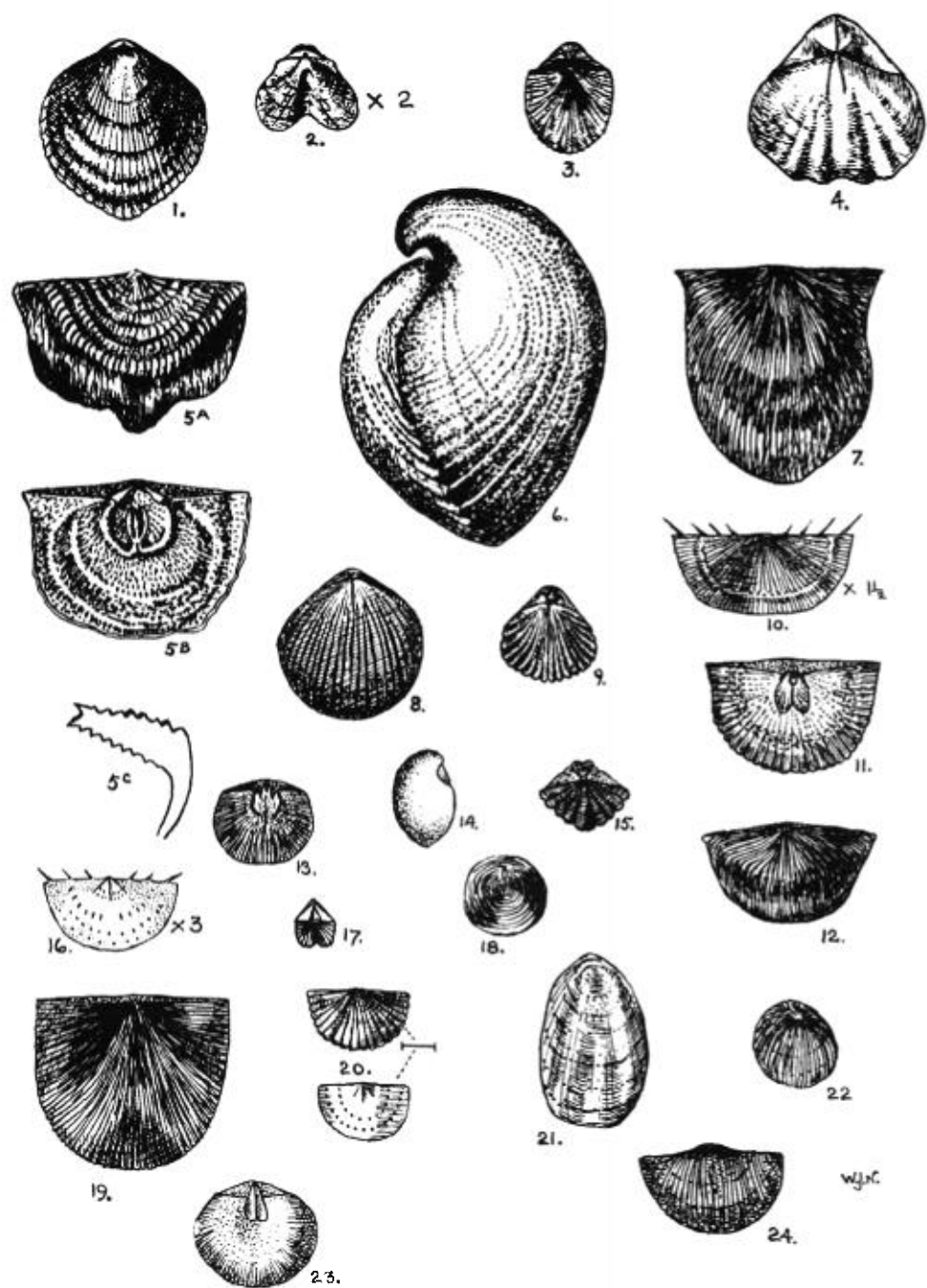
VIII. Foxley as rebuilt by Robert Price; a large square brick house with great pilasters and arched windows.



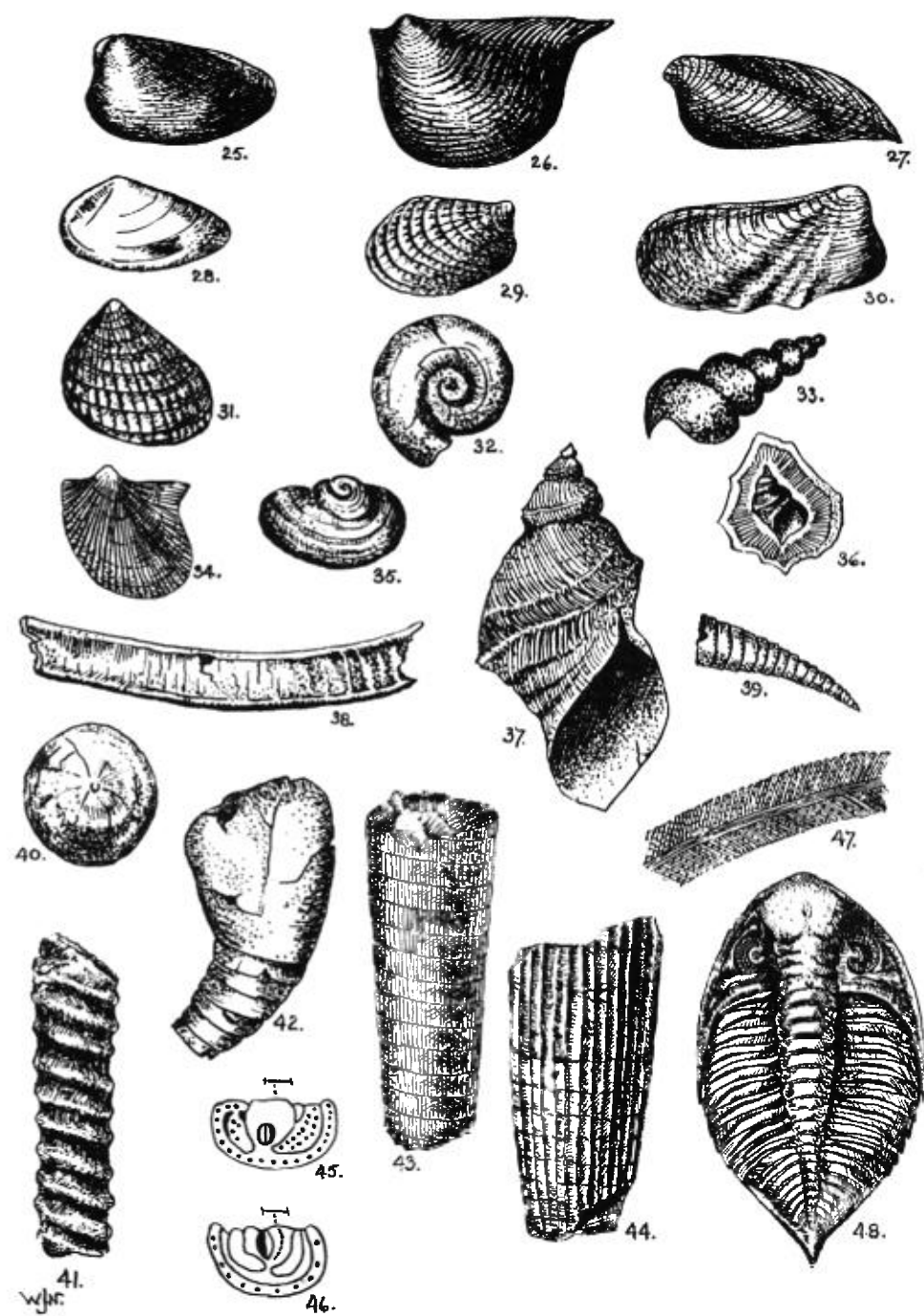
IX. Robert Price, as Exchequer court judge, in 1714.



Roman Relief found at Staunton-on-Arrow.



XI. Ludlovian Fossil Chart 1.



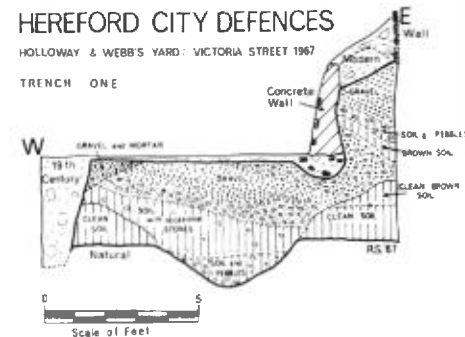
XII. Ludlovian Fossil Chart 2.



# HEREFORD CITY DEFENCES

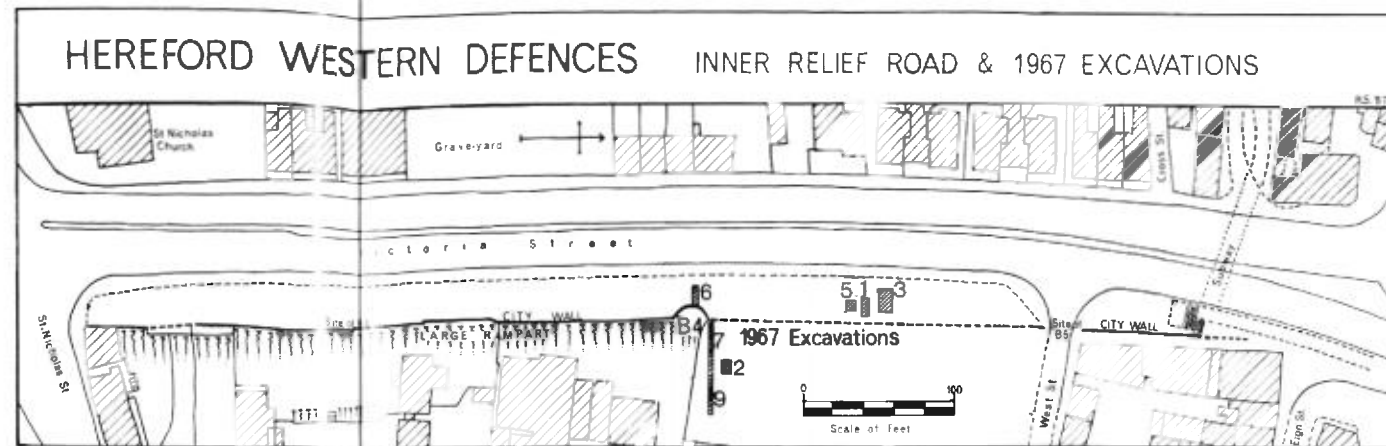
HOLLOWAY & WEBB'S YARD: VICTORIA STREET 1967

TRENCH ONE



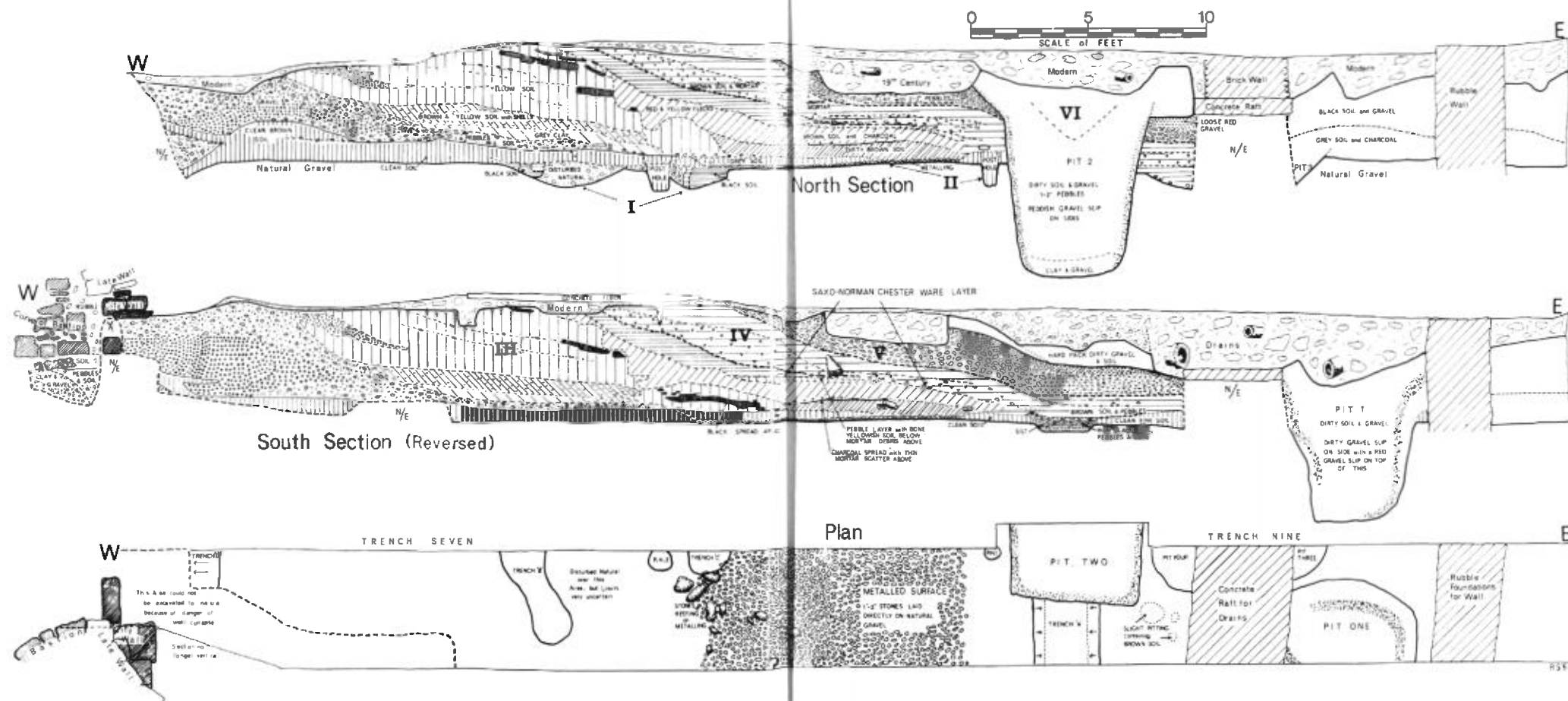
# HEREFORD WESTERN DEFENCES

INNER RELIEF ROAD & 1967 EXCAVATIONS



# HEREFORD CITY DEFENCES

HOLLOWAY & WEBB'S YARD: VICTORIA STREET 1967



XIII. FIG. 2

# HEREFORD WESTERN DEFENCES

Showing the 1967 Excavations in relation to the surviving rampart and the inner relief road, and sections of trenches 1, 7 and 9.

crofts on both sides of a high street that was about 230 yds. long <sup>(23)</sup>. The two sites might well have been roughly comparable in size, with perhaps 13 households at their maximum extent.

In our present knowledge of medieval pottery in this area it is only possible to assert that the occupation of the settlement will centre upon the late twelfth century. The Domesday record is the only medieval reference known to the writer that has any bearing upon the size of the settlement. The manor was then held as half a hide by Roger de Lacy. There was in demesne one plough, and its value which in Edward the Confessor's time had been forty shillings was down to thirty shillings in 1086. It had formerly been held by Bruning <sup>(24)</sup>. The *Herefordshire Domesday* of c. 1160-70 notes that it was then held by Robert Wafre <sup>(25)</sup>. The marriage of Sir Robert Wafre's heir Lucia to Roger Mortimer, Justice of North Wales is recorded *temp.* Edward I (1272-1307) <sup>(26)</sup>, and in 1285 Roger de Mortimer was granted free warren in his demesne lands of Hampton Wafer <sup>(27)</sup>. Miss M. Jancey has pointed out to me that when Roger de Mortimer was attainted in 1330 Hampton Wafer passed into the hands of the Fitz Allens who put most of their energies into the manor of Hampton Court. If the upland manor had not already declined this would provide a likely context for its neglect after 1330.

In 1340/41 the taxation of Hampton Wafer was based on the corn and lambs belonging to the chapel together with the tythes from one ploughed field. The value of the 1/9th tax was given as eight shillings <sup>(28)</sup>. References in the *Bishop's Registers* to the chapel of Hampton Wafer still in the patronage of a Mortimer occur in 1349, 1350 and 1378 <sup>(29)</sup>. In 1527 the patron is given as the Bishop <sup>(30)</sup>, and in 1531 as Sir Humphrey Coningsby <sup>(31)</sup>. In 1536 the annual amount of the benefice of the *Ecclesia Diruta* of Hampton Wafer is recorded as fifteen shillings <sup>(32)</sup>. By this time we must be well past the abandonment of the settlement itself as represented by the pottery from the excavations. Even the chapel is unmarked on the maps of Saxton (1634) and Morden (1694). The lack of historical record of the break-up of the settlement need cause no surprise. The home farm has survived to maintain the identity of the shrunken parish, so that the name itself does not disappear from the records as did the 29 other unidentified Domesday names in Herefordshire <sup>(33)</sup>. The Domesday record and the early medieval pottery are close enough in date to argue for the origins of the settlement on this site to be no later than the reign of Edward the Confessor, and its disruption (on the admittedly inadequate basis of coarse pottery) could not be later than the early fourteenth century. There is no evidence to show why the settlement was disrupted, whether as a result of plague, devastation or enclosure by agreement. It may be noted that in the north-east of Herefordshire there are other signs of depopulation in the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus the churches of Great and Little Collington were united in 1352 on the petition that the plague had depopulated the area and caused land to be left sterile so that the area could scarcely support one priest <sup>(34)</sup>. In 1364 Whyte and Puddleston churches were joined on an identical petition <sup>(35)</sup>. We cannot know whether the plague was the only cause of depopulation in these cases, or just the culminating misfortune of already weakened settlements that needed acceptable reasons for limiting their liabilities. At Hampton Wafer Miss Jancey's

valuable suggestion that the decline of settlements may be closely related to the fortunes and interests of the Lords of the Manor merits careful consideration, for the ceramic evidence is not incompatible with the documentary date of 1330.

The excavations at Hampton Wafer have served to demonstrate that the present settlement pattern cannot be used to postulate anything very certain about the original English pattern in Herefordshire. It shows that small nucleations can have disappeared without showing in the national records, and establishes a *prima facie* case for regarding comparably worn earthworks elsewhere as evidence for former nucleations. If the disruption of other settlements was as early as Hampton Wafer and Detton the extent of the earthworks will be small, and in cases possibly largely masked by the modern buildings of the surviving home farm.

It is clear from the widespread occurrence of the sites listed in the appendix below that the county would repay a systematic survey, using perhaps the numerous isolated churches and anomalous parish sizes as starting points. In October 1968 a University of Birmingham Extramural Research Group led by Miss Rosamund Hickling made a start towards such a survey. It is one that promises in the long term an interesting explanation of the individuality of Herefordshire's pattern of settlement. For the time being we must abandon the former suggestions of extensive dispersal as part of the original English settlement, whether attributed to Celtic survival, broken relief or poor water supplies<sup>(30)</sup>. Before we can discuss the form of the early English settlements we must at least obtain a more realistic view of the nature of the early medieval villages and hamlets. This cannot be done from the modern map; much field work and survey is needed to plot the extent of the medieval earthworks, which would allow various types and sizes of settlement to be recognized. For dates of desertion we must hope for some firm leads in a few cases from detailed local historical research, or perhaps from architectural studies of the outlying farms that came to replace the former nucleations. As the corpus of information grows it will become practicable to consider a programme of selective excavation to establish other desertion dates, and eventually perhaps the large-scale excavation of a favourable site to see whether the original form of the settlement can be established. For the present we can only assume from the lack of historical references to desertion that the disruption of many Herefordshire hamlets and villages occurred between Domesday and the fifteenth century.

#### APPENDIX

##### Preliminary list of medieval settlement earthworks in Herefordshire (Shown on fig. 1)

1. Breinton (SO 473395). Platforms in an orchard west of the church. (Noted in F. G. Heyes, *op. cit.* p. 275).
2. Castle Frome (SO 666458). Prominent earthworks north, south and west of Town Farm.
3. Chilstone (SO 400394). Listed in DMVRG 10th Annual Report (1962) App. A.
4. Coddington (SO 717427). Platforms north of the church.
5. Cowarne, Little (SO 601511). Listed in DMVRG 10th Annual Report (1962) App. A.

6. Dewchurch, Much (SO 486313). Extensive earthworks east of the "castle mound" quarter of a mile ENE of the present village.
7. Edwin Ralph (SO 645575). Earthworks between the church and moat.
8. Hampton Wafer (SO 577570).
9. Hoarwithy (SO 544294). Listed in DMVRG 10th Annual Report (1962) App. A.
10. Holme Lacy (SO 570350). Listed in DMVRG 10th Annual Report (1962) App. A.
11. Hope-under-Dinmore (SO 513529). Platforms in Hampton Court estate north-west of the church.
12. Kilpeck (SO 445305). Extensive, though low, earthworks north of the church and farm. Originally, with Chilstone, listed in M. W. Beresford *Lost Villages of England*.
13. Preston Wynne (SO 559466). A well preserved and extensive site beside the church.
14. St. Devereux (SO 442311). Faint banks south of the Church.
15. Sarnesfield (SO 376509). Platforms east of the road opposite the church (Pointed out by Mr. R. J. Jenkins).
16. Thruxton (SO 438347). Regular well-defined platforms north of the church.
17. Ullingswick (SO 596499). Faint signs of platforms south of the church.
18. Upton, Upper (SO 551663). Miss E. V. G. Brown informs me that there are village earthworks in Town Field  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. north of Upton Court.
19. Wacton (SO 616575). Earthworks near Chapel site and motte. Listed incorrectly as "Walton" in DMVRG 10th Annual Report (1962) App. A.
20. Wolferlow (SO 667617). Only slight earthworks survive of an extensive site west of the church.
21. Wormbridge (SO 426307). Low rectangular earthworks on the north side of the road west of the church.

<sup>1</sup> M. W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (1956).

<sup>2</sup> C. P. Burnham, The soils of Herefordshire, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVIII (1964) 27-35, with map opp. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Map reproduced in C.S. & C.S. Orwin *The Open Fields* (1954).

<sup>5</sup> Special thanks are due to Mr. A. Muir for his help with the survey and Miss E. V. G. Brown for valued regular assistance in 1958 and 1959. Others who helped at various times included Miss A. D. Ewing and Messrs. R. Addyman, M. Brunt, M. Halliday, J. Inglis and R. Perry.

<sup>6</sup> S. C. Stanford, A medieval settlement at Hampton Wafer, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXV (1957) 337-344.

<sup>7</sup> S. C. Stanford, A medieval settlement at Detton Hall, Shropshire, *Trans. Shropshire A.S.* LVIII (1965), 37-8 and fig. 14, 1-13.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 14, 21-26, and 35-42.

<sup>9</sup> E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, The twelfth-century castle at Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire, *Ant. J.* XXXIX (1959), 219-73, e.g. fig. 9, D7.

<sup>10</sup> E. M. Jope, The regional cultures of medieval Britain, in I. LL. Foster and L. Alcock, *Culture and Environment* (1963), 330 (fn).

<sup>11</sup> A. E. Brown, Records of surface finds in Herefordshire, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVII (1961), 91, fig. 5, 96.

<sup>12</sup> F. G. Heyes and J. F. L. Norwood, Excavations on the supposed line of King's Ditch, Hereford 1958, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVI (1958), 148 fig. 3, 2.

<sup>13</sup> J. F. L. Norwood, Medieval finds in Offa Street, Hereford, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXV (1957), 335 fig. II.

<sup>14</sup> L. A. S. Butler, Excavations at Black Friars, Hereford, 1958, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVI (1960), 384-5, figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* fig. 14, 1.

<sup>16</sup> F. G. Heyes, Excavations on a medieval site at Breinton, Herefordshire, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVII (1963), 289, fig. 4, 1.

- <sup>17</sup> S. C. Stanford, Excavations in Bath Street, Hereford, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXVIII (1966), fig. 4, 1.  
<sup>18</sup> D. A. Casey, Lydney Castle, Gloucestershire, *Ant. J.* XI (1931), 240-62.  
<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* fig. 3, 3.  
<sup>20</sup> J. G. Hurst, Jugs with bases thumbled underneath, *Med. Arch.* VI-VII (1962-3), 295-8.  
<sup>21</sup> B. H. St.J. O'Neil, Finds from Coity, Ogmere, Grosmont and White castles, *Ant. J.* XV (1935), 320-335.  
<sup>22</sup> G. B. Leach, Excavations at Hen Blas, Coleshill Fawr, near Flint, *Trans. Flintshire H.S.* XVII (1957), 1-15.  
<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* fig. 16.  
<sup>24</sup> *Domesday*, fol. 180.  
<sup>25</sup> V. H. Galbraith and J. Tate, "Herefordshire Domesday c.1160-70" p. 12 (fol. 76).  
<sup>26</sup> P.R.O. *Charter Rolls* (E), 1286.  
 I am indebted for this and other P.R.O. references to Mr. B. W. Langlands who kindly searched for any Hampton Wafer references.  
<sup>27</sup> P.R.O. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Vol. II, 331 (Ref: C53/74 membrane 4).  
<sup>28</sup> *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, p. 146.  
<sup>29</sup> J. H. Parry, Ed. *The Register of John de Trillek* (1910), 379, 382; and *The Register of John Gilbert* (1913), 115.  
<sup>30</sup> A. T. Bannister, Ed. *The Register of Charles Bothe* (1921), 341.  
<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.  
<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.  
<sup>33</sup> C. W. Atkin in *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, ed. Darby and Terrett (1954).  
<sup>34</sup> J. H. Parry, Ed. *The Register of John de Trillek* (1910), 174.  
<sup>35</sup> J. H. Parry, Ed. *The Register of Lewis de Charlton* (1913), 8.  
<sup>36</sup> Discussed by J. N. Jackson, *Trans. Woolhope N.F.C.* XXXIV (1954), 178, 194.

## Onneslo's Charity School, Aymestrey, 1516-1965

By MURIEL TONKIN

THE school at Aymestrey was in existence for almost four hundred and fifty years. The village is situated some sixteen miles north-west of Hereford, on the banks of the river Lugg where it is crossed by the main road north from Hereford to Wigmore and thence to Shrewsbury. The present school and school-house have been sold and will probably be converted into one house.

### FOUNDATION

The school was founded by William Onneslo of the parish of Aymestrey who in 7 Henry VIII (1516) gave a piece of land to four trustees, John Bayly, John Borcard, John Tyler and Richard Gould. This piece of land was then described as follows "one messuage or tenement edifice barn garden and orchard with the appurtenances to the said messuage" "adjoining situate lying and being in Aymestrey aforesaid" "lands then of Thomas Harris of the north part and lands of William Wigmore Esq. of the south part and extends itself from the King's way of the east part unto lands of Richard Sheppard of the west part". This indicates that its site then was the same as to-day. The tenement was demised "for the use benefitt and towards the maintenance of a Sexton of the parish Church of Aymestrey aforesaid for the time being who in consideration thereof and as he was Sexton was to Keepe a School in the Tenement aforesaid to teach informe and instruct in learning the young children of the poore and meaner sort of the Inhabitants within the said parish of Aymestrey." The above wishes of the grantor seem to have been fulfilled for most of the school's life.

### TRUSTEES

It would seem that trusteeship often passed from father to son and an indenture would be drawn up to appoint new trustees when there was only one surviving trustee. The documentary evidence for the continuity of the trusteeship and the interest shown by the local people is fascinating. It is worthwhile noting who the trustees were.

On 28th January, 1595, they were Edmund Weaver, gent, Richard Browne, John Younge and Richard Phillipps. On 31st December, 1627, they were Thomas Weaver of Yetton (Yatton Court), gent, John Tyler of Nether Lye, yeoman, Richard Sheppard of Yetton (Yatton), yeoman, and William Phillipps of Lower Lye, yeoman (he was the son of the above Richard Phillipps). On 20th May, 1710, there was only one surviving trustee, Robert Weaver of Yetton, the grandson of Thomas Weaver mentioned in 1627, and he enfeoffed the land to new trustees, Solomon Tyler of Shobdon, D.D., Thomas Dunne of Gatley Park, gent, Robert Wollaston of Bishop's Castle, gent, John Morris of Covenhope, gent, and William Tailor of Yetton, gent. On 11th October, 1771, the trustees were Martin Dunne of Gatley Park, M.D., Rev. Thomas Dunne, his brother, William Greenly of Titley, Esq., and William Taylor of Yatton, gent. By 7th May, 1830, William Greenly was the only surviving trustee, so the Minister and Church-

wardens of Aymestrey ordered that the Onneslo charity lands be vested in new trustees, viz. William Greenly of Titley Court, Dame Elizabeth Brown Coffin Greenly of Titley Court, his daughter, Thomas Dunne of Gatley Park and Bircher, M.D., Rev. James Landon, Vicar of Aymestrey, William Taylor the elder of Yatton, gent, Rev. William Taylor the younger, Vicar of Bishop's Burton, Yorkshire, his son, William Preece of Leominster, gent, and the Rev. Thomas Taylor Lewis, curate of Aymestrey. Thus there were then eight trustees. At a parish meeting held on 2nd June, 1859, the vicar and churchwardens again ordered the following persons to be trustees, the Rev. William Taylor, the younger, the only surviving trustee, Rev. John Rogers, Vicar of Aymestrey, Elizabeth Jane Woodhouse Lewis of Yatton Court, widow of the late curate of Aymestrey (she was a Miss Woodhouse of Yatton Court), Rev. Thomas Woodhouse, and Edwin Lloyd of Leominster, gent. An indenture confirming this was dated 20th June, 1859.

Under the Charitable Trusts Acts 1853-1869 in August, 1876, the then trustees, the Rev. John Rogers, Rev. Thomas Woodhouse and Edwin Lloyd, Esq., voluntarily asked to be discharged from being trustees and it was proposed that the present Vicar and churchwardens of the parish of Aymestrey, the Rt. Hon. William Bateman of Shobdon Court, John George Rodney Ward of Yatton Court and Thomas Dunne of Bircher and Gatley should take their place. These took office, 21st September, 1876.

Under the Charity Commissioners Act of 1899 and orders in council 1900 and 1902 the charity commissioners agreed that endowments for educational purposes should be transferred to the Board of Education. Hence on the 4th February, 1904, under the Education Act of 1902 an application was made to appoint Foundation Managers in place of trustees for the Aymestrey school. These foundation managers were to consist of (i) the minister of the parish of Aymestrey as an ex-officio manager, (ii) a qualified person to be appointed for three years by the then owner of Gatley Park who was acting as nominator for the trustees, and to be known as the Nominated Manager (to be a qualified person one had to be a member of the Church of England, to reside in or near and to hold property in the parish), and (iii) two persons to be elected for three years by the Aymestrey parish meeting and these to be known as Representative Managers. From this time onwards the school continued under the auspices of the Herefordshire County Council with a managerial body until its closure in March, 1965. One can see that for the whole of its existence the welfare of the school was in the hands of "two, three, four, five or more honest men of the parish of Aymestrey aforesaid and their heirs" as was originally laid down. One can see too that the occupiers and owners of Gatley Park and Yatton Court have been trustees for most of the time.

#### LANDS

William Onneslo endowed a tenement and lands for the school and trustees have through the centuries administered these lands and the rents which "have time out of minde beene disposed of and employed to and for the like use and benefitt of the Sexton". What do we know about these lands and where were they situated? The description given in the deed of feoffment of 20th May, 1710, describes the lands in addition to the tenement as follows "all that close of meadow or pasture ground with

the appurtenances lying and being in Aymestrey containing by estimacon one acre or thereabouts called by the name of the Sexton's acre All that parcell of arable or pasture land lying neere Mortimer Crosse containing by estimacon halfe an acre or thereabouts now in the possession of John Eales All that halfe acre of arable land lying in a little croft neere to the lower field halfe an acre of pasture land lying in the Sheepcott leasow One acre and a halfe lying in a field called the Heath. Two severall-acres and two severall-halfe acres lying in Wastley Field One acre lying in a leasow called the Heath leasow Two acres in Burtley field in the bottom of Lining and all that one acre lying in a leasow called Blackthorn with all and every the appurtenances". This is eleven acres of scattered meadow or pasture and arable land indicating an open field system of agriculture in Aymestrey parish at that time, the land being cultivated in strips as evidenced by the four separate holdings in Wastley Field. From the rents and profits of these lands the Sexton or schoolmaster had to teach the children "gratis and without any other recompense or pay from such Inhabitants".

By the time of the Charity Commissioners' Report of 1837 all the original plots of land had been exchanged for other lands for the benefit of the charity. The Tithe Map and apportionment dated 13th September, 1842, give in detail the lands then held by the Onneslo charity. The plots of land were no longer so scattered in the parish but to a large extent consolidated and situated near the school. The total acreage at that time was over thirteen acres. How had this come about? In 1756 it was agreed to exchange Sexton's acre for "all that messuage or tenement in the village of Aymestrey aforesaid with the garden orchard land and appurtenances thereto belonging situate lying and being on the west side of the common high road" but the conveyance was not executed until 11th October, 1771. On 23rd October, 1783, the vestry suggested that the trustees should treat with Lord Bateman for the exchange of lands of equal value in Aymestrey parish. Also it was considered desirable that Lord Bateman should exchange a piece of land with James Dunne. It was not until 8th and 9th August, 1806, that the eleven acres mentioned in the indenture dated 11th October, 1771, were conveyed to William Hanbury and his two sons of Shobdon Court in exchange for "a parcel of land situate lying and being in the parish of Aymestrey aforesaid called Way Acre containing together with a piece of land lately added thereto by estimation seven acres". In the meantime on 12th and 13th May, 1803, James Dunne of the parish of Aymestrey bought for £76/10/- the fee simple of a piece or parcel of meadow or pasture ground, 1 acre 2 roods in Leinthall Earles parish "commonly called or known by the name of the Little Meadow" and by deed of exchange 5th April, 1806, he exchanged this meadow with the trustees of the Onneslo charity for "a parcel of meadow or pasture land situate in the village of Aymestrey aforesaid on the West side of the road leading from Mortimer's Cross towards Wigmore which piece or parcel of land is now planted with fruit trees and fir trees and some part thereof pasture and whereon a messuage or tenement formerly stood which some years since burnt down which said parcel of land contains by estimation one acre". Thus when on 7th May, 1830, new trustees were appointed the lands then held by the charity were as follows, a tenement in the village of Aymestrey on the west side of the road, Little Meadow in Leinthall Earles parish, Way Acre, estimated seven acres now divided into five fields, and an allotment



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of 2 roods 9 perches (and any other lands, if any, vested in trust) which was added to the charity under the Shobdon, Aymestrey, Lingen Inclosure Act of 1809.

It appears that the local landowners were not only concerned with consolidating the lands for the charity but also their own. The original eleven scattered acres of the Onneslo charity had now become part of the lands of the large Aymestrey Court Farm whereas Way Acre which the charity now possessed was a block of about seven acres rented by Richard Thomas who lived on a small farm nearby.

#### INCOME

Having considered where the lands owned by the charity were situated what, if anything, do we know about the profits and rents from them? Very little indeed can be found for the early years. A statement issued 13th January, 1831, on behalf of the Onneslo Charity School says that the profits from the land were inadequate to support a master and mistress. The 1837 Report of the Charity Commission states that the rents provided an income of £13/15/0. An undated schedule, probably of the mid-nineteenth century, says that the sexton enjoys the whole proceeds of about £20 per year. A statement of accounts for the year ending 31st December, 1882, shows a gross income from the Real Estate as being £23/5/0. The accounts for the year 1911/12 show receipts for rents of lands £13, the rent of the teacher's house £9, all together a total of £23/6/2. From these few items it is clear that the income was insufficient to cover the running costs of the school. As the school never really went out of existence until its closure in 1965, how was it maintained and who kept it going?

Little is known about the first two hundred years. From the deed of 1710 it is learned that all was well until "about four yeares last past there happened in the night time a sudeiane fire neere unto the said messuage or tenement which burnt it downe to the ground and by reason of the burning of the said tenement the keeping of the said schoole hath altogether been neglected and discontinued". It can be said then that the school during the eighteenth century just managed to keep going, and would probably have lapsed but for the continuity of appointing trustees of the charity. These were resident landowners and only mildly interested in education otherwise more would have been done after the fire in 1706. During this period there appear to have been only four sexton/schoolmasters. Each of them remained in office probably until death. Aymestrey parish slumbered, the vicars also rarely changed and remained in office until they died.

As a result of the exchange of lands about 1756 a house was made available for the then sexton, Richard Castle, to live in and carry on the school. The Rev. Landon who became vicar of Aymestrey in 1796 looked after the boys and Mrs. Landon the girls. They employed an usher for the boys and a Dame for the girls at a salary of £5 each per year. At their own expense they provided cards for spelling, spelling books, testaments, sand trays and slates and "found it absolutely necessary to clothe most of the children. They could not otherwise attend, distances two or three miles without being starved". The only person who was giving any monetary assistance at this time was Mr. William Taylor whose father was churchwarden.

By the year 1831 the sexton's cottage was in a dilapidated state and inconvenient for use as a school. The trustees proposed to build by public subscription, a school-room

20 feet by 30 feet with a cottage attached as a residence for a master and mistress. By this time the Rev. James Landon was no longer resident in Aymestrey, he had moved to Yorkshire, as incumbent of a parish there and was employing the Rev. Thomas Taylor Lewis who had married Miss Elizabeth Jane Woodhouse of Yatton Court, as a curate at Aymestrey. It seems probable that the work being done by the Landons had ceased or was being neglected. Even so, as already mentioned, steps had been taken and estimates drawn up for rebuilding the school. Of the £200 which was needed, donations were given as follows: £20 by Bishop Huntingdon, £30 by the National Society, William Greenly and Lady Coffin Greenly £25, the Hon. Mrs. Ferguson £10, Yatton Court Estate £30, Thomas Dunne, Esq., £10, William Preece, Esq., £10, the Rev. James Landon £10, and the Rev. Thomas T. Lewis £20. These names are to a large extent the names of the trustees; so one can say that the trustees were making a real effort to get the school going again.

In the 1830's reform was in the air and various enactments helped the charity schools. As a result of the investigations into the state of the charities and especially those with educational endowments, the school and school-house at Aymestrey were eventually rebuilt. Correspondence at this time gives a good description of the state of the parish and what was happening in it. The school was being held in the church on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays as there was no school-room. It was being run according to Dr. Bell's Madras mode of instruction. It is very interesting to see the monitorial system of teaching being used by the then parson of Aymestrey in the village school not so many years after its introduction by Dr. Bell. It became the standard method in the National Schools which were being set up all over the country after about 1812.

The then sexton was superannuated and had to be supported from the income of the lands, so it was then only possible to employ a mistress under the direction of the vicar. The day school was conducted on the National plan, having boys and girls separately on alternate days and a Sunday school on the Sunday. The salary of the master and mistress was paid out of public subscriptions. The trustees felt there was a desire "among the poor themselves for instruction" and "convinced that Christian instruction is the best ground-work for improving their condition, and making them good servants and subjects". A very interesting abstract of estimates for building the school, and another for the cottage, both dated 21st March, 1831, survive. (See Appendix I.)

From letters still in existence it would seem that the school was built first and the school-house later. A letter dated 8th March, 1838, says that Mrs. Ferguson had given a cottage rent free for the master and mistress. It was not until 31st August, 1841, that the trustees gave authority to take down the dilapidated cottage adjoining the school-room and "to build with stone, a neat, convenient, substantial cottage for the use of the school-master, being allowed the use of the old materials".

Letters also survive from this period regarding the appointments of sexton/schoolmasters and their salaries. It seems that the school in 1840 was to be conducted on the lines of the National Society subject to their inspection. James Wall, the schoolmaster, was to receive a salary of £2/10/0 each quarter. To help the funds to maintain the

master and school a scheme of payments was drawn up by the trustees as follows: "all children of labourers occupying cottages and lands within the parish rated in the poor rate under the value of three pounds to be instructed in Reading gratis. For each of the children of such labourers if taught to Read Write and Arithmetic 2d. a week. For each of the children of persons rated to the poor rate above £3 and under £10, for instruction in Reading 2d. Reading Writing and Arithmetic 4d. For each of the children of persons rated to the poor rate above £10 and under £20 for instruction in Reading 3d. Reading Writing and Arithmetic 6d. From each of the children of persons rated to the poor rate above £20 and under £50 for instruction in Reading 4d., in Reading Writing and Arithmetic 8d. The children to pay for their Writing Books, slates, pens and inks".

The master was allowed to admit children from other parishes so long as no child from Aymestrey was refused and the number of children in the school did not exceed eighty. The children had to attend school regularly and on the mornings and evenings of Sundays as well as weekdays. After the appointment of the new trust in 1876, the Vicar of Aymestrey and the schoolmaster drew up a new scale of weekly payments, viz. a minimum charge of the 2d. per week and not more than 6d. for any one family and more to be paid by the "better class, not being of the labouring class", as much as 6d. per day in some cases.

From this time until the Education Act of 1902 enough material survives to show what was happening in the school and how it was being maintained and by whom. Two cash books for the years 1875-1882 and 1882-1899 tell us that the average cost of running the school from 1875-82 was £85 per year but this had risen to £140 a year by 1899. For the years 1875-1882 the annual income was made up approximately as follows:—£10 in weekly payments from the children, £25 in the form of voluntary subscriptions from the local landowners, rents from the endowed lands and school-house rent paid by the teacher £23, and the remainder in a grant from the Education Department. During this period the main expenditure was on the salaries of the teachers. The schoolmaster's salary had risen from £10 a year in 1840 to £40 a year in 1875 being paid to Mr. Lowe and £5 a year to his wife as schoolmistress. In 1877 Mr. Cuthbert was receiving £60 a year and Miss Lowe £15 a year. On 1st January, 1882, in order to save money a change was made. It was decided to employ a mistress instead of a master at a salary of £40 a year plus half the annual grant from the Education Department and she was to live in the school-house and have the use of the garden. In 1893 Miss Batten was receiving £52 a year and a monitress £5 a year. Very little money was left to cover the cost of books and stationery, fuel and light, and repairs, let alone improvements to the building.

All the way through the annual reports from the Inspectors stress the need for more and improved accommodation. In August, 1875, an inspector wrote that "there was the need for a new classroom" "and a place for hats and caps, confusion their being kept in the principal room", also "a need for new desks, maps and books". In January, 1878, the Education Department was asking for an enlargement of the school to accommodate 115 children instead of the 75 for which it was built. In 1888 a new roof was put on the building, a ceiling and a wooden dado put in the classroom. The

chimney had been rebuilt in 1883 at a cost of £3/10/4. In August, 1893, the Inspector reported that the walls needed re-colouring and another window was necessary at one end of the room. Also there was insufficient cloakroom accommodation and no proper urinal. The Managers were warned that they might lose their grant under Art. 85 (a) of the Code if these items were not seen to. In August, 1898, and again in October, 1900, the Inspector urged the Managers to appeal for subscriptions and to prepare plans for the erection of a new classroom. The Rev. Sidebotham, the vicar of Aymestrey and probably the correspondent Manager, in a letter dated 22nd June, 1900, throws a social and economic light on the situation by saying that there was no room to build on the north, and on the east or south it would involve the rebuilding of the greater part of the premises, and if they decided to build on the west it would mean the removal of and the rebuilding of a cloakroom which was built "by your request in 1893 at a cost of £80 the greater part I paid myself". At that time he had been assured that there would be no heavy outlay for the next ten years. He also says that the population of the parish was decreasing, it was an extremely poor parish, that the landowners had lost heavily in rents from their tenants who were farming under difficulties and that the clergy's incomes had been cut by 50%. Again in 1901 and 1902 the Inspector reported that a room was needed for the infants, the walls needed re-colouring and the building needed repairing. During the previous few years the voluntary subscriptions had dropped to less than half, so it was becoming increasingly more difficult to keep the school going.

However plans were drawn up in November, 1904, to enlarge it; to lengthen the building and so make two rooms and add new offices. Appeals for money were made to the local residents and to landowners living outside the parish but nothing seems to have been done because in the 1912/13 report the Inspector suggested the erection of a screen to divide the classroom into two parts. However, a glass screen was put up in 1926 to divide the seniors from the juniors, as 58 children were using one room. Some minor improvements and the replacement of the heating system were also done at this time. A covered playshed was erected in 1927 and the boys and girls lavatories were repaired in 1952. After the passing of the Education Act in 1902 help in many ways was given by the local education authority but one has to bear in mind that this parish school was only one of many which was needing assistance.

#### PUPILS AND CURRICULUM

The Report of the Charity Commissioners printed in 1837 says that until the school-room was built in 1831, Francis Wall, sexton, then aged 82 years and who had held the office since he was aged 25, kept the school in the church. There was an average attendance of 15 children of both sexes whom he taught reading and the catechism.

From an undated and unsigned letter, probably written by the Rev. Landon in the early nineteenth century when referring to the school of about 100 children which was then being held in the Church he says it "began with about 20 boys who could read badly and no notion of spelling and now only 9 who cannot read, the rest read and spell well and all say catechism in part if not wholly".

There is nothing to tell us what the sextons had been teaching the previous generations for some three hundred years. Neither is anything known about the work

of the sexton after the re-building of the school and school-house until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A series of annual reports exist for the years 1875-1902 and these tell us quite a lot. Obviously very much depended upon the ability of the teachers and often they could get very little done as the attendance of the children was so poor. This was particularly true for the years 1876-1884 when attendance was very bad and there was also a constant change of teachers. In 1877 the teacher was reported as "inefficient" and his certificate was deferred each year for three years. In 1879 there were 81 children on the register of whom only 25 had attended regularly and the report says "discipline is the only merit in the school". In 1880 the children "read better than in former years" but "Arithmetic defective throughout". By 1884 things had changed and a mistress had taken over instead of a master. There were now 60 children attending the school and the report say "Instead of the children being dull, cowed and ignorant as they have hitherto been, and especially so at the last Examination . . . The foundation has been well laid and the future of this school looks brighter than it has done for years, if only the Managers can work up attendance". It must be noted that all through this period the yearly Examinations and Inspections were telling a story too. The teachers themselves, almost always unqualified, were being carefully watched and if the examination results were neither good nor improving, a teacher did not receive his or her certificate and consequently a smaller salary. Another important point was that the school managers could not claim a grant to help to maintain the school unless the Inspectors recommended it on the results of the school's examinations.

The reports for 1893 and 1897 are enlightening, the former says "Spelling good but Handwriting cramped. Arithmetic of Standards V and VI poor. Infants handled by inexperienced Monitress. Higher grant for English recommended with hesitation as Analysis not understood in lower Standards". The latter states there were 88 children including 35 infants attending the school and reported "Good work being done. Writing should be better. Recitation too hurried. Geography substituted for Grammar in Standard III and upwards. Creditable beginning with Drill. Singing rough". By this time Drawing was being taught from 2.0 p.m. to 2.45 p.m. by Kate Round. The 1902 report says there were 76 children attending the school with 23 in the infants class taken by the monitress Beatrice Spooner. The others were divided up as follows, 14 in Standard I, 13 in Standard II, taken by Miss Gertrude Jones, 9 in Standard III, 10 in Standard IV, 5 in Standard V and 2 in Standard VI all taken by Miss Mary Batten, the head mistress. From this time onwards the number of children attending the school decreased, the average for the years 1913-1916 was 44, in 1951 there were 40 from 5 to 15 years old and in 1962 only 20. From these reports it can be seen that as the years went by Reading and Spelling were not the only subjects being taught, English, Grammar, Arithmetic, Needlework, Drawing, Geography, Drill and Singing had been introduced by 1900. These subjects undoubtedly were added to during this century and it must also be remembered that the Vicar of Aymestrey right up to the closure of the school in 1965 paid a weekly visit and taught the children Religious Education.

Much of the daily goings on of the school during its four hundred and fifty years will never be known. A few snippets among the papers and correspondence do throw

some light on them. In 1877 a harmonium was being hired but at the request of the school-master a new one was bought in 1882 for six guineas and this was replaced by another new one in 1916. Seven new desks were bought for the infants in 1913. Measles and scarlet fever at various times affected the attendance of the children even to the extent of having to close the school. In 1887 measles broke out at the end of July and the school was shut for two weeks. In 1881 there was scarlet fever in the teacher's house so the school was closed for a month by order of the medical authority. There was an epidemic of measles in 1896 and cases of scarlet fever in 1911. An amusing but interesting point is recorded on 2nd August, 1875, when a circular was issued stating "children to be cautioned against throwing stones at telegraph lines". These were new and demanding attention. Another snippet shows a completely different light on the times. In October, 1880, a new schoolmaster, Mr. Sarson, had been appointed, but the school-house was unfit for him to occupy, so the children were paid three shillings to clean it for him. To indicate even another side of things, in August 1916, that is during the First World War, the "scholars picked, packed and weighed and sent 48 lbs. of fresh fox-glove leaves to Hereford to be dried".

One of my regrets is that I have not been able to find the will of William Onneslo either in the Bishop of Hereford's Court Books or at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, or anything else about the man himself. The above account of the Aymestrey school has been compiled from three sources of material, two of which are original documents and the third a printed one. They are (i) the Tithe Map and Apportionment of 1842; (ii) various Aymestrey parish records; and (iii) the Report of the Charity Commissioners printed in 1837. The first two classes of documents have been deposited at the Hereford County Record Office to whose staff I am very grateful.

## APPENDIX I

*Abstract of Estimate for Building a School at Aymestrey :*

Sinking foundations and moving ground	...	...	...	...	...	13	10
Rubble range stonework grouted, south-east and north elevations, 123 yards	...	...	...	...	...	12	4 0
Rubble stonework grouted in foundations of west elevation, 106 yards	...	...	...	...	...	7	19 0
Endel stone sills, munnions, jambs, etc., to windows	...	...	...	...	...	13	18 4
Endel stone sills underneath and crest of bay window	...	...	...	...	...	2	13 4
Tooled stone chimney stack	...	...	...	...	...	1	6 8
Tooled stone chimney piece	...	...	...	...	...	1	1 0
Brickwork to chimney breast and flue	...	...	...	...	...	1	14 0
Tooling jointing and laying flag floor	...	...	...	...	...	11	8 1
Framing roof with oak wall-plates and all other scantling of red deal and covering with Cusop stone tiles on 1½" x 1" red deal lathes	...	...	...	...	...	59	2 0
Smoothed oak fascia and barge boards	...	...	...	...	...	4	16 9
Oak door and frame with strong iron hinges and best lock	...	...	...	...	...	3	19 10
Oak lintels and bond timber	...	...	...	...	...	3	6 2
Lead gutter flashing and boarding to chimney stack	...	...	...	...	...	18	0

Iron hookstraps to wall-plates screw-pins to principals and arch bar to fire-place ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	6	0
Iron casements to swing and saddle bars to windows ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
Iron cramps plugs and lead to stonework of windows ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...		18	0
Quarry glazing with crown glass ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	18	6
Large store grate and fixing ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	0
Beam filling pointing walls inside and whitening 2 coats ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	6
For use scaffolding poles, planks, barrows, etc. ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
							£148	1	0

If the roof is covered with Winsley stone tiles on heart lathes with oak pins then the whole may be done for the sum of £142/6/0; or if covered with Dutchess slate and suitable deal scantling with red deal swing sashed for the sum of £133/0/0.

21 March 1831.

E. Blakeway Smith.

#### APPENDIX II

##### SEXTON/SCHOOLMASTERS AND SCHOOLMISTRESSES

It has not been possible to compile a complete list but the following are known and approximate dates are given.

1675-1706	Thomas Eales
1756-1762	Richard Castle
1762-	John Cotton
1774-1838	Francis Wall (From c. 1796 the Vicar and then his Curate looked after the school)
1836-1838	Mr. and Mrs. Bowlker employed as Francis Wall was superannuated
1840-1842	James Wall, grandson of above Francis Wall
1842-1875	William and Ellen Lowe, and their son during the latter years of this period
1876-	Miss Lowe, sister of 'young' Lowe who died February, 1876
1877-1880	Reynold Andrew Cuthbert
1881-	Mr. Sarson
1883-	Mrs. Edwards
1884-1887	Miss Aust
1887-	Mrs. Mayo
1889-1891	Miss Kate Round
1892-	Miss Capewell
1894-1909	Miss Mary A. Batten
1909-1914	Miss Alice E. Greenwood
1914-1917	Mrs. Helena Anderson
1922-1926	Mrs. Magdalene Davies
1948-1965	Miss Dorothy Harrison

Also many other mistresses were employed to teach the infants and scholars, and monitresses including such names as Anne Knill, Mary Smith and Beatrice Spooner for the years 1884, 1900 and 1901 respectively.

# The Parliamentary Borough of Weobley, 1628—1708

By JOSEPH HILLABY

## INTRODUCTION

SIR ROBERT HARLEY once described Herefordshire as "the most clownish county of England".<sup>(1)</sup> He was using the word in the sense of rustic or rural. Certainly men of the county have rarely come to the forefront in English political history. The most marked exception was during the period of 1685-1715. This may explain why so very little has yet been published about the parliamentary history of Herefordshire. Apart from the references to the county and its members in the three volumes of the history of Parliament dealing with the House of Commons, 1754-1790,<sup>(2)</sup> neither an adequate survey of the electoral history of the county as a whole nor a full description of the electoral history of any of the individual Herefordshire parliamentary constituencies is yet available. Only one major work has been written on the subject and that has some serious limitations. In 1895 William R. Williams published a parliamentary history of Wales.<sup>(3)</sup> This was followed by a number of companion volumes for adjacent English counties. One of these volumes was devoted to Herefordshire.<sup>(4)</sup> Williams' books are not so much histories as biographical dictionaries giving details of all the known members arranged chronologically and by constituencies.

A general study of Herefordshire politics in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would be of value for the light it would throw on the background of those members for the county who played an important role not only in the issues of the day but also in the formative stages of the development of our party system. Any general survey of the county's electoral history will be based upon the detailed examination of the individual parliamentary constituencies of which there were four at this time. The county freeholders elected two members of parliament, and three boroughs, Hereford, Leominster and Weobley, elected two members each.

Weobley is the most satisfactory starting point for a general survey for two reasons. First, the total span of its electoral history is short. Apart from a few years during the reign of Edward I, Weobley returned members to Westminster for just over two centuries, that is between re-enfranchisement by resolution of the House of Commons in 1628 and the first Reform Act of 1832 when the franchise was withdrawn. Indeed, the period of study can be further limited. By 1754 Weobley had become a closed or pocket borough as a result of the purchase of a majority of the burgages or vote houses by the lord of the manor, Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth, later to become the first Marquess of Bath.<sup>(5)</sup> As a result from 1754 until 1832 Weobley returned only the nominees of its proprietors, the Thynne family of Longleat. The effective electoral history of the borough, therefore, spans only the years 1628-1754.

Secondly, a suitable body of primary material is readily available for a study of Weobley elections. The most important single source of information is the Harley

Papers, amongst the Duke of Portland's manuscripts, now on loan to the British Museum.<sup>(6)</sup> Some of these letters to and from the Harleys of Brampton Bryan are generally available as they have been calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but the calendars in themselves are not adequate. Quite frequently one must resort to the originals. Further information can be found in the Commons' Journals for the period where the reports of the hearings of election petitions held before the House's Committee of Privileges and Elections are printed.<sup>(7)</sup> Most of these reports on contested elections are brief. Fortunately, the report of the Weobley election petition of 1698 is particularly detailed.<sup>(8)</sup> Supplied from the Committee's original report, it takes up almost two pages of the Journal and affords a very clear account of the way in which elections were conducted within the borough at this time. The Calendars of State Papers supply some valuable biographical details.<sup>(9)</sup>

From these sources, then, we can sketch a fairly clear picture of the intricate network of family and local connections extending through the three counties of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Radnorshire which was the basis of the politics of Weobley and, to a lesser extent, of the other Herefordshire constituencies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The interplay of interests and the rivalries of six families—the Tomkins, the Birches, the Prices, the Cornwalls, the Foleys and the Thynnes, gave Weobley politics their particular character. Five of these families were eventually competing for the two seats at Westminster and this gave rise to a series of hotly contested elections. Family history is of considerable importance in understanding the changing pattern because the death of a member of one of the competing families even if he was not directly involved could either lead to the temporary withdrawal of or place a serious handicap on the family concerned.<sup>(10)</sup> Nevertheless the families were remarkably resilient and until the 1730s no withdrawal was ever more than temporary. As we have seen, it was the Thynnes who, in 1754, succeeded in reducing Weobley to the status of a pocket borough and finally excluded all rivals. But the Thynnes were the last of the families to establish their interest within the borough. Despite the advantages of great wealth and their position as lords of the manor they had to put up a hard struggle for thirteen years before one of the family was elected to parliament as member for Weobley in 1708. The period under study has, therefore, a unity of its own.

## RE-ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE BOROUGH

Herefordshire boroughs first sent representatives to Parliament in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>(11)</sup> Hereford and Leominster were represented fairly regularly from that time but Weobley was only represented in Parliament between 1295 and 1306.<sup>(12)</sup> No further election returns can be found for Weobley after that date until 13 May, 1628. On 1 May of that year the House of Commons had accepted a resolution that the borough of Weobley in Herefordshire was an ancient borough, had sent burgesses to Parliament, and ought now to be restored to that right.<sup>(13)</sup> The electors of Weobley were not dilatory in the exercise of their new rights. William Walter and William Tomkins were returned as members for the re-enfranchised borough on 13 May, 1628.



The re-enfranchisement of Weobley was not an isolated incident. Milborne Port in Somerset was restored at the same time as Weobley. In 1621, Pontefract and Ilchester had been restored, and, in 1624, Hertford, Amersham, Wendover and Marlow. Later, in the first session of the Long Parliament in 1642, seven other boroughs were to be restored.

The nature of this process, by which a number of boroughs were re-enfranchised, where the right to send burgesses had long fallen into disuse, is of considerable interest. The Commons' ability to re-enfranchise has been described by Lady de Villiers as one of the unlooked-for results of their victory in the Buckinghamshire Election case of 1604. <sup>(14)</sup> This victory gave them control over their own election returns because petitions concerning elections to the House were now to be examined by a Commons' Committee of Privileges and Elections. The petitioners, originally concerned with the conduct of current elections, eventually began to question the defunct franchise of various boroughs formerly represented in Parliament. The Committee adopted the following procedure in hearing petitions for re-enfranchisement; the case for re-enfranchisement was opened by an inquiry as to why the sheriff's precept, the written order to hold an election, had been withheld from the borough. Then the right to receive the precept had to be established. This could be done by proving the existence of earlier writs of summons, the formal request to those elected to attend Parliament. Once this proof had been given the borough could be re-enfranchised. In this way the Commons developed a means of increasing their numbers at a time when the Crown was attempting to prevent such an increase in membership by refusing to create new parliamentary boroughs by the exercise of the royal prerogative. <sup>(15)</sup>

The report of the Committee of Privileges and Elections which examined the case for the re-enfranchisement of Weobley and Milborne Port, in 1628, was presented by William Hakewill, the chairman. <sup>(16)</sup> Hakewill had already played a prominent part in the movement for borough re-enfranchisement. In 1624 he had acted as counsel for Hertford, Amersham, Wendover and Marlow and it was he who had found a number of late thirteenth and early fourteenth century parliamentary returns, including writs of summons, in the Tower. It has already been shown that these documents were vital to the case for restoration of parliamentary franchise.

The arguments in favour of the restoration of the franchise of Weobley and Milborne Port are clearly outlined in the committee's report. These can be considered under three separate heads.

The committee's first concern was the question of writs of summons. Copies of the writs for these two boroughs for 1298 and 1300, found amongst the records in the Tower, were produced as evidence that they had sent burgesses to Parliament at that time. However, no subsequent writs were brought forward. The absence of later writs was explained in this way in Hakewill's report. "In answer of the long discontinuance from 28 Edward I (1300) till this time it was said by the counsel for Weobley and Milborne Port that the records whereby they should make it appear are perished from 28 Edward I (1300) till 3 Richard II (1380)" and that "though they are not to be found in any of those bundles which are remaining from 3 Richard II (1380) yet it may well be that (Weobley and Milborne Port) returned (members) all or most of those times

in which the records are missing." The counsel for the two boroughs went on to add that "divers poor boroughs did forbear to send, on occasions, for reasons of expense, or ignorance of their rights, or the negligence of the sheriff in not sending a precept".

Nevertheless the two boroughs considered it necessary to fortify their case by evidence of a different nature. The committee's second concern was, therefore, to determine whether Weobley and Milborne Port were 'ancient boroughs' for, it was maintained, "if they be ancient boroughs then it followeth of consequence that they must have sent burgesses". Ancient boroughs were known by three marks. "As cities have their suburbs, so ancient boroughs have their foreigners, a certain circuit without the borough adjoining to it. So have both these boroughs as appeareth to us. Ancient boroughs have in them ancient burgage tenements that pay small rents. Both these boroughs have ancient burgage tenements. Ancient boroughs pay tenths not fifteenths. All ancient boroughs that pay tenths ought to send burgesses to the Parliament or else they may be amerced." <sup>(17)</sup> Divers records of the Exchequer were shown whereby it was evident that Weobley paid tenths not fifteenths.

The apparent absence of writs of summons since 1300 still gave rise to doubts for the committee's third concern was to discuss in general terms the possibility of extinction of parliamentary franchise. It was agreed that "though a franchise might be lost by non-use yet, because this was not so much a franchise as a service to the commonweal for the maintaining of two men to be of the Great Counsel of Parliament, this could not be lost by one and so by all, and if by boroughs then by cities (for) so the commonweal might be unserved. And therefore it was dangerous to admit it might be lost by any boroughs, that could be proved to have sent at any time but never so long since."

The committee concluded by submitting that Ilchester, in 1621, and Amersham, Wendover and Marlow, in 1624, were "restored upon like evidence". The acceptance by the Commons of these arguments was the basis for the restoration of Weobley's franchise in 1628.

It has been suggested that a fuller knowledge of family and social connections would doubtless strengthen the impression that this movement for the restoration of borough franchises in the early seventeenth century was the work of a relatively narrow circle. In the case of Milborne Port and Weobley these close personal ties were worked out in some detail. The two members returned for Weobley in 1628 were William Tomkins and William Walter. A link between the two boroughs was put forward as a consequence of the marriage of William Tomkins to Mary, the daughter of Sir George Morton, "of Milborne Port". <sup>(18)</sup> This was a borough, in the county of Somerset, two miles north east of Sherborne and ten miles south east of Ilchester. <sup>(19)</sup> However, Sir George Morton had inherited from his father not Milborne Port in Somerset but amongst others the manors of Milborne St. Andrew, Milborne Churcheston and Milborne Deverel, all in Dorset, for which county he had been elected knight of the shire in 1626. <sup>(20)</sup> The family which benefited from the re-enfranchisement of Milborne Port was not the Morton family but the Digby family of the adjacent Sherborne Castle. <sup>(21)</sup> Further links have been put forward to connect the Tomkins family with the work of restoration in other boroughs, especially with a small group who were amongst the



personal entourage of Charles I whilst he was still Prince of Wales. The first link suggested was a certain Nathaniel Tomkins, who had represented the newly enfranchised borough of Ilchester in 1624, had been in the service of Prince Charles and was subsequently appointed clerk of Queen Henrietta Maria's council, but this man was not a member of the Herefordshire family of that name of Garnstone and Monnington-on-Wye. <sup>(22)</sup> The second member elected for Weobley in 1628 William Walter, was the son of Sir John Walter, who had been Attorney-General to Prince Charles in 1613, and through him another link with the court has been indicated. However, it is just as probable that the contacts between the Tomkins and Walter families were not quite so august for the Walters were a local family belonging to the south Marches although by 1628 they were settled in Oxfordshire. Sir John's father, Edmund Walter, had been a judge of the Brecon circuit, a member of the Council in the Marches of Wales, and Recorder of Ludlow. On his death he was buried in St. Lawrence's church at Ludlow. <sup>(23)</sup>

If firm evidence is lacking that the Tomkins family were members of a narrow circle, or pressure group, working at a national level for borough re-enfranchisement, was there any connection between Milborne Port and Weobley or was it mere coincidence that these two boroughs were singled out for re-enfranchisement at that time? Such a connection does exist but it is historical rather than personal.

Fifty-nine boroughs which had returned members to Parliament during the reign of Edward I failed to continue to do so under his successor. <sup>(24)</sup> Of these fifty-nine boroughs we now believe that only twenty-three had returned members to more than one of Edward I's Parliaments, and, of these, only three returned members at all regularly. They were Weobley, Milborne Port and Calne. Evidence available in the nineteenth century showed that Weobley was represented in Parliament in 1295, 1298, 1301, 1302, 1305 and 1306, but, as we have already seen, Hakewill had examined the records from the Tower and he believed that no writs for any boroughs survived from 1300 to 1380 and that "there are but thirty-three bundles of returns to be found" from 1380 to 1542. From this it was argued that boroughs that returned members regularly for the period when the evidence was fairly plentiful, that is before 1300, must have continued to do so for much of the later period, after 1300, for which, it was believed, evidence no longer existed. <sup>(25)</sup> According to the existing records only three boroughs, Weobley, Milborne Port and Calne, had returned members fairly regularly during the reign of Edward I but were not to be found among the subsequent returns. Yet Calne was still sending members. If Calne was still sending members and some evidence existed that Weobley and Milborne Port had done so the two latter should send members to the Commons once more. This seems to be implicit in Hakewill's reasoning.

One can appreciate that James Tomkins, who, in 1628, was the sitting member for the adjacent parliamentary borough of Leominster and had been its representative in the three preceding Parliaments, would not be slow to realise the considerable advantage that his family could derive from Hakewill's discovery in the Tower of those early writs of summons for Weobley. Leominster was a relatively populous town and was some ten miles from the family estate at Garnstone. He could not be absolutely confident of his position within that borough. Weobley had decayed to village status and was only a

mile from Garnstone. Few would be able successfully to challenge the position of the family there. The advantages that the family hoped to derive from membership of the Commons will be discussed below.

The initiative, therefore, in the re-establishment of the parliamentary borough of Weobley seems clearly to have been local not central and of an individual rather than a closely organised pressure group. What we have seen of the role of the Digby family at Milborne Port tends to confirm this. In both cases the families which derived the initial benefit from restoration lived virtually on the doorstep.

The pressure of the gentry, excluded from the county seats by the greater county families, on the parliamentary boroughs during Elizabeth's reign has been fully described. <sup>(26)</sup> As a result of this pressure 31 parliamentary boroughs were created or restored before 1586 when Elizabeth finally held out against any further creation or restoration. James I and Charles I tried to maintain this policy but the Buckinghamshire Election Case and Hakewill's discoveries amongst the Tower records enabled certain members, already at Westminster, to achieve further borough restoration in their own interests and despite the Crown. The work of the Tomkins family at Weobley was of this category.

#### FAMILIES AND FORTUNES

*General Considerations.* Until the general election of 1754, when Weobley finally became a pocket borough of the Thynne family, much of the interest of its electoral history lies in the political fortunes of six families. Each of these families either controlled, or made a bold effort to share control of the representation for the borough: the Tomkins, 1628 to 1674; the Birches, 1661 to 1735; the Prices, 1685 to 1732; the Cornewalls, 1685 to 1741; the Foleys, 1689 to 1732; the Thynnes, 1695 to 1832, when the first Reform Act was passed and Weobley lost its two members of parliament. <sup>(27)</sup>

The borough attracted attention from increasingly distant areas until finally control passed to a family living outside the county. We have already noted the part played by the Tomkins family in the restoration of the franchise to the decayed town, now a village in all but name, conveniently situated at the very gates of their Garnstone estate. Their successors at Garnstone, the Birches, were just as well-placed to dominate the borough from that estate only a mile away. The Prices, who lived at Foxley, just over the other side of Wormsley Hill from Garnstone, were almost as well situated. The Cornewalls, both the Moccas and Berrington branches of the family, lived farther away from Weobley but they were one of the old-established county families with a considerable interest throughout Herefordshire. The Foleys of Stoke Edith lived no further away than the Cornewalls and were able to use their proximity to the borough to advantage in their conflicts with the Thynnes who were not of the county, but who lived at Longleat, Wiltshire.

Furthermore, the interested families can be seen to be of increasingly higher social stature. In this respect there seems to be a three stage development, the intervention of first minor or recently established families, secondly of major county families and finally of an ennobled family of national standing. The Tomkins were an old established but minor Herefordshire family. The Birches and the Prices were not of Herefordshire

origin but established themselves in the county after the political disturbances of the years 1642 to 1660. The Cornewalls had always been one of the great county families and were therefore of significantly higher social standing than the Prices and Birches. The Foleys had established themselves in Herefordshire after 1660 and became the political heirs of the Lingen family, the impoverished Royalists, whose estates they had purchased in the years after the Restoration, 1660. They quickly became one of the major county dynasties and had wide political interests outside the county especially in Worcestershire and Staffordshire. The Thynnes, Viscounts Weymouth, were not only 'foreigners' but one of the great families of the realm. With the intervention of the Foleys and the Thynnes the politics of Weobley are embodied in electoral interests which go beyond county boundaries and one can anticipate the eventual loss of all local initiative.

The interplay of family interests was heightened by forces acting within the borough. A number of people at Weobley gradually realized that a contested election was to their advantage. <sup>(28)</sup> With three or more candidates there would be more and more material inducements to vote for one or the other of opposing parties. Uncontested elections seem to have been the rule until 1660. At that time not only was one of the Tomkins, Thomas, opposed during the election but there was also the first electoral petition to the Common's Committee of Privileges and Elections. <sup>(29)</sup> Later contested elections became more numerous and by the end of the seventeenth century elections were so hotly contested that a petition became almost a matter of course. These petitions were concerned with two matters, firstly, who had the right to vote and, secondly, the use of bribery, corruption and even intimidation by candidates in order to secure their election. Clearly by the end of the seventeenth century elections had become a source of considerable profit for the bailiffs and burgesses of the borough. In order to ensure contested elections Weobley men solicited prospective candidates to contest the seat, <sup>(30)</sup> for an electoral fight might mean, at the least, a guinea or a pair of shoes <sup>(31)</sup> or, at the best, a visit to London to give evidence before the committee of the House. <sup>(32)</sup> This interest was fully recognised by the Foleys when they tried to break into the borough in the 1680s. Conversely the attempt to close the borough by the Thynne family in the eighteenth century was stoutly opposed by a powerful group of 'aggrieved parishioners', <sup>(33)</sup> who vigorously counter-attacked and managed to delay closure, but ultimately they were unable to prevent what has been described as the natural process of development from rotten to pocket borough.

There would have been less ground for electoral controversy and perhaps bribery and corruption if there had been a clear-cut ruling as to who had the right to vote in elections. The franchise seems to have been accepted as a combination of burgage and scot and lot. <sup>(34)</sup> A burgage has been defined as "one undivided and indivisible tenement, neither created nor capable of being created within time of memory, which has immemorially given a right of voting". <sup>(35)</sup> This principle of indivisibility does not seem to have been fully appreciated at Weobley, for we read of burgage houses which had been divided and at election times the inhabitants of each of these parts attempted to vote. <sup>(36)</sup> This burgage right was coupled with contribution to church and poor, and, in the late seventeenth century petitions, if it could be demonstrated that

one's name appeared in the Lewn book as a contributor to the poor rates this went a long way to substantiate a claim to the franchise, but even here numerous complications seem to have arisen and led to a series of claims and counter claims to the right to vote. These will be described more fully below. Eventually, on 3 March 1736, the franchise was more clearly defined, when the Commons accepted a resolution that "the right of election is in the inhabitants of the ancient vote-houses of twenty shillings per annum and upwards, residing in the said houses forty days before the day of election and paying scot and lot, who shall be resident in such houses at the time of election". <sup>(37)</sup> The purchase of the majority of the burgage houses by the Marquess of Bath ruled out the possibility of any further controversy. After the first Reform Act, 1832, was passed the vote houses, or burgages, many of which had been allowed to fall into serious disrepair, were no longer of interest to the Thynne family and a considerable number were subsequently pulled down. They had outlived their usefulness both residential and electoral. One or two of the numbers attached to the vote houses could still be seen in 1869. <sup>(38)</sup> The Market House, the centre of electoral activity, was pulled down about 1848.

#### THE GARNSTONE INTEREST

Only a mile from Weobley lies the Garnstone estate. This estate was used as the centre from which the Tomkins family, and subsequently the Birch family, were able to establish their interest within the borough.

#### (a) The Tomkins Family: 1628-1674

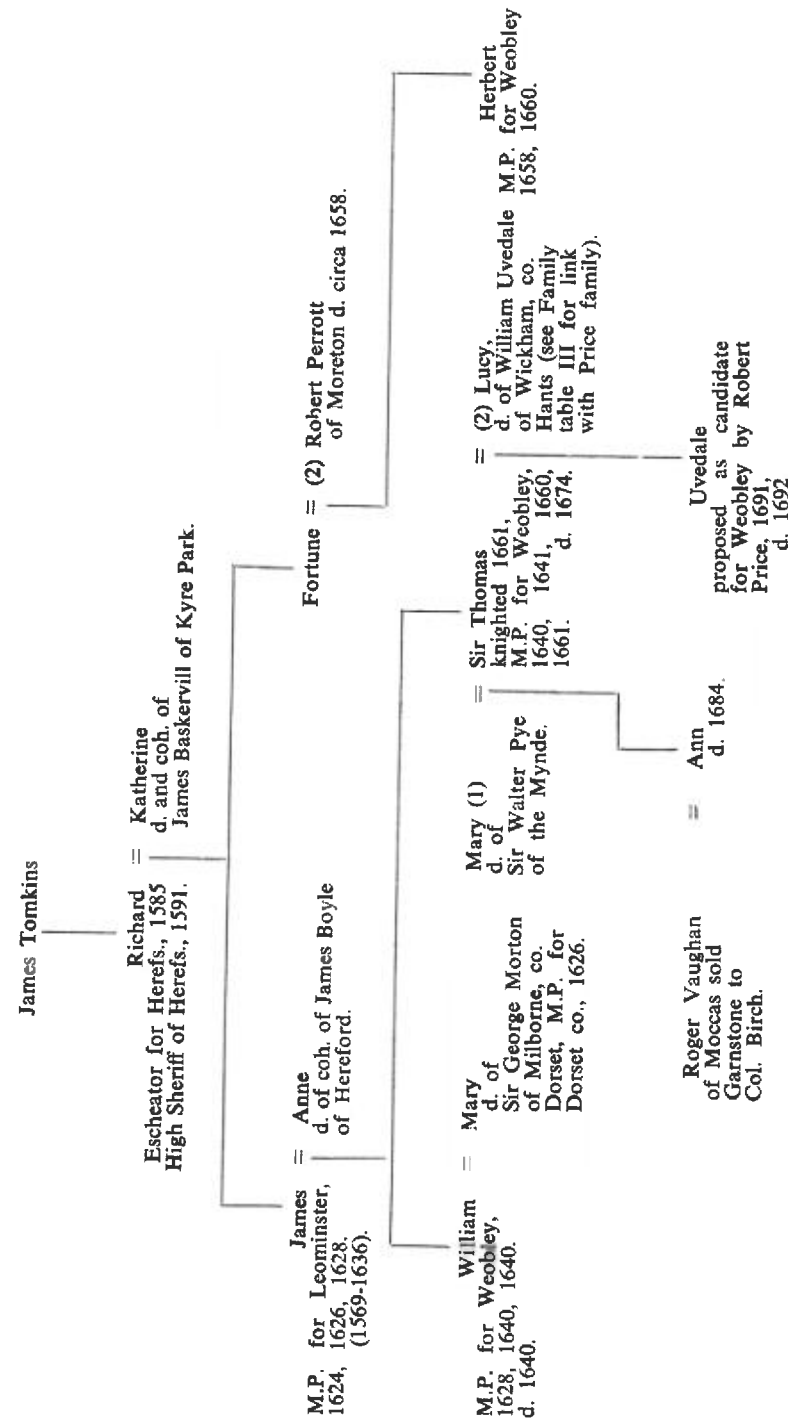
The Tomkins family dominated the borough for much of the time from 1628 to 1674, but as they had supported the King in the Civil War they were obliged to withdraw from politics from 1644-1660. The family had been established on the Garnstone estate since the middle of the sixteenth century. <sup>(39)</sup> They also owned lands and the Court at Monnington-on-Wye. The family was one of authority within the county. Richard Tomkins, the father of James, who was member for Leominster in 1628 and was the person responsible for the re-enfranchisement of Weobley, had been Escheator for Herefordshire in 1585 and High Sheriff in 1591 but the local reputation of the family was considerably enhanced by what was regarded at the time as a much more remarkable achievement—even by sixteenth-century standards. An earlier James Tomkins, in all probability the father of Richard mentioned above, had sired thirty-three children by his two wives. All had been born in the chamber above the hall of the Mansion House, adjoining the Market Hall, in Weobley. These thirty-three children, to give the words of a later jingle,

All lived to dandle up and down the Room  
All lived like loving sisters and kind brothers,  
All married (only one which took her tomb);  
The males proved fathers, all the females mothers.  
And always may this memorable story  
Be an Enconium of this Chambers' Glory. <sup>(40)</sup>

The part played by James Tomkins (1569-1636), whilst he was Member of Parliament for Leominster, in the re-enfranchisement of Weobley has already been noted.

FAMILY TABLE I

## TOMKINS OF GARNSTONE AND MONNINGTON-ON-WYE



What were his reasons for seeking to re-establish a parliamentary borough from which his sons could enter the Commons? The attraction to the gentry of membership of the House of Commons in the late sixteenth century has been graphically described. "If we ask why the Elizabethan gentry were so desirous of a seat in Parliament, we might answer, as we should answer for more recent times—ambition, dignity, curiosity and desire to be at the centre of things, or even business reasons. Many a gentleman who fane would have sat for his county found solace in a borough seat instead. As the gentry swarmed into borough seats, mere emulation increased the demand, and the keener the competition, the more attractive and interesting an assembly the House of Commons became. . . . A matchless attraction it was to be in London at this time to be 'of the Parliament'; to move on the fringe of the court, marvelling at its fashions and splendours; to see and hear the Queen; perchance to kiss her hand; to be at the heart of politics and listen to famous men speaking in the House; to gather news from all quarters of the kingdom and the world. Such a one stood on tiptoe among his neighbours on his return home." (41) There is no evidence to suggest that the attractions of membership of the Commons were any the less in Charles I's reign than they were in Elizabeth's. Indeed when the creation of new constituencies was no longer welcomed membership would be that much more attractive. However, neither James nor his son William, who had been returned as one of Weobley's first Members of Parliament on 13 May, 1628, was able to enjoy life at Westminster for long; within a few months Charles I had dissolved Parliament. It was not recalled for another eleven years.

The fortunes of the Tomkins family between 1640 and 1660 must have been typical of the fortunes of many of the lesser gentry of the Welsh Marches. James Tomkins died in 1636. When Charles I summoned the Short Parliament in February 1640, his eldest son and heir William decided to stand again for Weobley rather than for his father's seat at Leominster. As a result Leominster was allowed to pass from the family. This is perhaps strange as his fellow member for Weobley was his younger brother Thomas and one would have anticipated that either William or Thomas would have attempted to retain one of the seats at Leominster. When the Long Parliament was called later in 1640, William Tomkins was again returned as member for Weobley but Thomas's place was taken by the Honourable Arthur Jones. (42) Thomas was, however, only out of the Commons a few months for his elder brother died without heirs late in 1640 and Thomas was elected in his place at the ensuing by-election in January, 1641. He had inherited not only the family estates of five manors, worth at least £1,000 or more a year, but what can now be considered as the family parliamentary borough at Weobley. During the Civil War, Thomas ultimately joined the King but, like many other members, he had worked with the reform party in the Commons whilst it followed moderate policies. He was a member of the committee appointed to look into the jurisdiction of the Council of the Welsh Marches, and was one of the gentry who signed the petition for the abolition of the Court of that Council, and as late as June 1642 he promised two horses for the Parliamentary cause. When the issue was fairly joined and moderation was abandoned, he left Westminster to join the King and sat in the King's Oxford Parliament. As a result, in June 1644, he was disabled from sitting at Westminster by the Commons and, in November 1645, we find him

begging to compound for his delinquency in deserting the House. He said he had never been in arms against Parliament and that he had only contributed to the King's side "by reason of force". He promised to take the National Covenant and Negative Oath. He was brought before the Commons and, upon his knees at their bar, he received a severe rebuke from the Speaker and was committed to a common prison, the Compter in Southwark. In 1649 he had to compound to Parliament for his support for the King at one third of the value of his estates, that is at £2,110, but two years later this fine was reduced to £1,433/6/8d. The fine, though heavy, does not seem to have been crippling for the family was able to maintain something of its stature within the county and to re-establish its electoral position at Weobley after the Restoration in 1660.

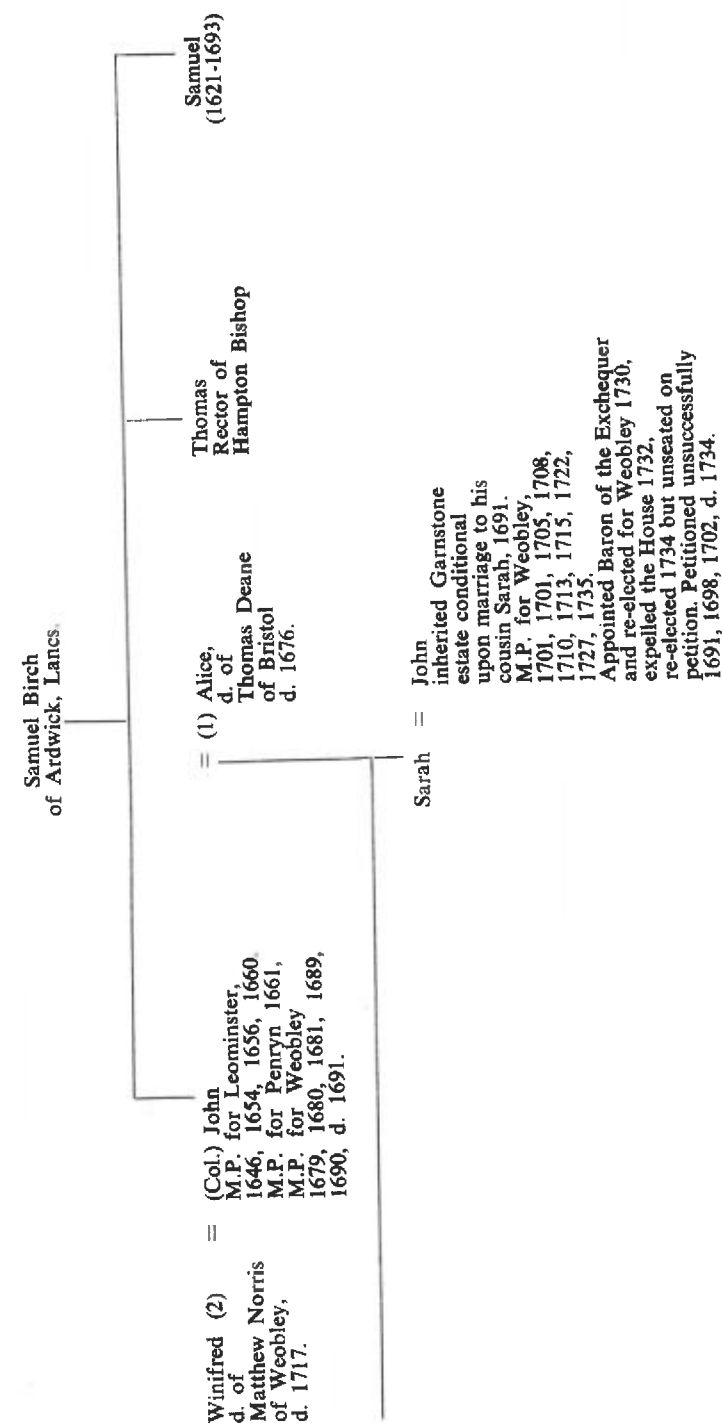
The Tomkins, however, were not able to re-establish their position at Weobley without a struggle. Similar difficulties seem to have been experienced by Royalists in other parts of the country. At the elections for the Convention in 1660, the borough witnessed its first electoral conflict. The bailiff made a return of James Pytts and Richard Weston but the Commons' Committee of Privileges and Elections, under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Turner, reported to the House that the sheriff had not sent any precept nor had he given due notice of the time of the poll and, when a poll was demanded, he had refused it. (43) As a result, on 16 July, the House declared the election void and on 2 August Thomas Tomkins was returned, with his cousin, Herbert Perrott, as member for Weobley. He was returned again, for the Cavalier Parliament, in April 1661, this time with his neighbour, John Barneby of Canon Pyon, and sat for Weobley until his death in 1674.

Although he was firmly in the royal favour immediately after the Restoration, his support for the Crown was not unquestioning. He was to have been one of the knights of the proposed Order of the Royal Oak, he was granted a pension of £300 per annum by the King in 1661, and was knighted in 1662. By 1666 he had become one of the leaders of the 'country' party in the Commons and a violent critic of Clarendon. In this capacity he worked actively with Col. Birch, at this time member for Penryn, and Edward Boscawen, despite their Presbyterianism. It is not surprising, therefore, on 25 July 1667, to find him moving a resolution in the Commons that the King be asked to disband the forces newly raised for the Dutch War as soon as peace was made. (44)

Sir Thomas's death marked the end of the Tomkins' domination of the borough of Weobley. His first marriage had produced one son who died before him, and three daughters. The youngest of these, Ann, married Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine who was Member for Hereford City in 1662. The Garnstone estate was part of her marriage portion. She and her husband sold it to Colonel Birch in 1661. Sir Thomas's only surviving son, by his second marriage, Uvedale Tomkins, must have been about 25 at the time of his father's death. He inherited only the Monnington-on-Wye estate and he and his wife were responsible for the interesting reconstruction of Monnington Church completed in 1679, but he took little direct interest in parliamentary affairs. The Garnstone estate was now in other hands but he does appear to have retained influence, though ill-defined, in the borough as late as 1691, when Robert Price seems to have toyed with the idea of setting him up as a candidate. (45)

FAMILY TABLE II

## BIRCH OF GARNSTONE



## (b) The Birch Family: 1661-1735

Colonel John Birch purchased the Garnstone estate from Thomas Tomkins' daughter in 1661 but there was a considerable lapse in time before the change of ownership was reflected in the parliamentary representation of the borough. Colonel Birch sat in the Cavalier Parliament for the Cornish borough of Penryn from 1661. As this Parliament was not dissolved until 1678, he had no occasion to seek election elsewhere until 1679. We have seen that Thomas Tomkins continued to represent Weobley until 1674. The period from 1674 to 1678 therefore represents something of an interregnum in the borough's electoral history.

Some indication of the forces at work in the by-election caused by the death of Sir Thomas Tomkins in 1674 is to be found in a number of the Harley papers. <sup>(46)</sup> The writ for the by-election was not issued, due to the prorogation of Parliament, until 13 April, 1675. Nine days later Sir Thomas Williams was returned as the new member. He was Chemical Physician to Charles II and had received a number of marks of the royal favour, including a baronetcy in 1674, "for attending our person . . . and his singular skill in compounding medicines". <sup>(47)</sup> He is somewhat less favourably described in an opposition pamphlet of 1677 as "once a quack chemist, now the King's Chemist, he has got at least £4,000 by making provocatives and yet at this time all his land is under extent, and his (parliamentary) protection alone keeps him out of prison". <sup>(48)</sup> This gives some indication why Sir Thomas Williams was anxious to enter Parliament. Not long after Sir Thomas Tomkins' death, Williams wrote to Sir Edward Harley that "His Majesty desired that he should stand in Tomkins' place and that he himself had an ambition to be a Parliament man". What measures were best to be taken, therefore, in this affair? Later he informed Harley that he felt himself secure in the election for he had received encouragement from Colonel Birch and Mr. Foley had declined to stand for the borough. He was anxious, however, that Harley should ask William Gregory, a Herefordshire lawyer and staunch Whig, to assist him with his interest in Weobley even though he might not be prepared to declare it openly, as yet. Here we have the first mention of three families which were to play a major part in Weobley politics in the next two and a half decades. The Birches and the Foleys will be described in detail below. The Harleys of Brampton Bryan, from whose correspondence much of our knowledge of Weobley elections is derived, assumed from this time an increasingly important role as mediators and intermediaries, but never as principals, in Weobley politics. Their political position in Radnorshire and Herefordshire and their links through the Foley family with Worcestershire and Staffordshire left them open to pressure from a number of sides. On occasions this led to an embarrassing conflict of loyalties which they could only hope to resolve by trying as far as possible to act as honest brokers. At the by-election in Weobley in 1675 Sir Thomas Williams tried to re-enforce family and local ties, as their kinsman and neighbour, by hints of the royal displeasure if the Harleys did not give their support to his candidature.

The premonitory note was dominant in Williams' letter to Harley, but, as we shall see, the Herefordshire Whigs, especially Gregory, Foley and Harley were not to be deterred quite so easily. Williams' membership of the Commons and his parliamentary protection from his creditors was shortlived, for in February 1678, the Commons

rejected the recommendation of the Committee of Privileges and Elections that Sir Thomas Williams was duly elected burgess for the borough of Weobley. Instead the House ordered that a new writ be issued and, on 7 March 1678, William Gregory was returned as member in his stead. <sup>(49)</sup>

By the end of that year the Cavalier Parliament had at last run its course. With the new Parliament of 1679 there came a new temper. The members for Weobley were Colonel John Birch and William Gregory. Colonel Birch had been noted for the boldness of his speech in the Cavalier Parliament; he was to take a prominent part in the political history of the next dozen years.

Much has been written about Birch's early career. <sup>(50)</sup> Reputedly a carrier in Lancashire in early life, he had risen quickly to the rank of Colonel in the Parliamentary forces. He had taken Hereford by stratagem from the Royalists and was appointed governor of the city in December 1645. He had captured Bridgewater and the castles at Ludlow and Goodrich. At the end of the war he sought to establish himself as a landed gentleman by the purchase of lands of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford. Hence, perhaps, Edmund Ludlow's remark, "a very nimble gentleman and one who neglected no opportunity of providing for himself". He was an unswerving Presbyterian and this, taken with the fact that he was seen with Charles II just before the battle of Worcester, 1651, made him suspect to Cromwell's government. When the local governor, Colonel Wroth Rogers, feared a Royalist rising in 1655 Birch was removed from his manor house, formerly belonging to the Bishop of Hereford, at Whitbourne, which was described as "moated and very strong, with drawbridge and well provided", and was imprisoned at Hereford. He was released by Major-General Berry late in the year 1655, who reported to Secretary Thurloe, "it is true the man is popular in these parts and loves to be so. He is taken for a great wit and guilty of some honesty, and upon that account able to do hurt if he have a mind to it, but he professeth much desire of peace and settlement". <sup>(51)</sup> Despite his Presbyterianism the authorities respected his business acumen for they accepted his appointment as Assessment Commissioner for the county in 1656. He had been elected member for Leominster in 1646, and was re-elected in 1654 and 1656, but he was not permitted to take his seat on either occasion. He served for Leominster in Richard Cromwell's Parliament and was returned to Westminster with the other secluded Presbyterian members of the Long Parliament on the collapse of Richard Cromwell's government in 1659. <sup>(52)</sup> He was appointed one of the members of the new Council of State and in the short period before the dissolution of Parliament he served on sixteen committees, including the important committee of the Army. He represented Leominster in the Convention of 1660 and played an important part in the negotiations for the restoration of Charles II after which he was appointed one of the six commissioners for disbanding the army and the navy.

His nimbleness, to which Edmund Ludlow, the regicide, referred, enabled him to weather the restoration of the monarchy. Charles II was indebted to Birch not only for the part he had played in the negotiations leading to his recovery of the throne but also, in all probability, for assistance, if only in the form of counsel, before the battle of Worcester during the second civil war. Nevertheless Birch's position in Herefordshire, which he had been carefully fostering since 1646, suffered a setback



albeit a temporary one. He had invested heavily in ecclesiastical lands assuming, from the example of the dissolution of the monasteries, that this was the way to secure his material interests against change. In 1660 these estates had to be returned to the original owners but Birch eventually secured a lease on most of these estates from Bishop Croft, who appears to have been under some pressure from the King in this matter. It is significant, therefore, that he was elected to the Cavalier Parliament in 1661 no longer for Leominster but for the small Cornish borough of Penryn. As Clarendon put it "at the Restoration he was found to be useful in managing the Excise and he was put in a good place".

Birch lost no time in re-establishing his position within the county. He not only secured a lease on the estates which he had held before 1660<sup>(55)</sup> but he also purchased, in 1661, the Garnstone estate. This must have attracted Birch because it carried with it entry to the parliamentary borough at Weobley, which would afford him not merely the social stature which the Tomkins family seems to have coveted but something far more valuable to a man of Birch's fiery temperament, a man who was described by Bishop Burnet as "the roughest and boldest speaker in the House". It offered him political independence at Westminster.

Birch's victory at Weobley in 1679 was in part due to the strong tactical position he had purchased at Garnstone and in part to the strategic campaign of the anti-Court party within the county. The opponents of the Court have been variously described. To their Herefordshire opponents they were "the close designing party". Now 'the first Whigs' seems to be the most acceptable description.<sup>(56)</sup> They had worked long for the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament and for the election of a new House of Commons. In 1678 Charles at last agreed to a dissolution. At a national level "there are few signs of systematic electoral organisation on either side", and Shaftesbury "expected that elections would favour his cause and associates, not because of any elaborate organisation for elections, but because of favourable circumstances".<sup>(57)</sup> In Herefordshire the first Whigs were preparing for a dissolution in 1675. Their activities were described, by a local member of the Court party, as "a private fire so cunningly hidden and stifled all this while and which is now broken out into an open flame". In fact, they were so assured of their success that they had already cantoned out the employment of the Members for the county in the next Parliament.<sup>(58)</sup> Their list of proposed members gives a clear indication of party affiliations at this time. It included Mr. Foley and Mr. Gregory, who were to sit as members for Hereford City, and Colonel Birch and Mr. Baskerville of Eardisley, who were to sit for Weobley. In the event, however, it was Birch and Gregory that put up for Weobley. Those whom they wished to exclude from the next Parliament included Sir John Barneby and Sir Thomas Williams both of whom, it was anticipated, would stand for Weobley. The Weobley election results for 1679 give some measure of the success of this "close designing party" within the county, for both Birch and Gregory were returned.<sup>(59)</sup>

From Garnstone Colonel Birch secured a firm hold on Weobley after 1679. Only once after that date did he fail to secure his own return for the borough — on the occasion of James II's Parliament of 1685. The circumstances of that election are discussed more fully below. In 1680 and at the Oxford Parliament of 1681 he

represented Weobley with John Booth.<sup>(60)</sup> He sat in the Convention of 1689 with James Morgan,<sup>(61)</sup> and in 1690 his fellow member was Robert Price.<sup>(62)</sup> Colonel Birch died in 1691 and bequeathed Garnstone to his youngest daughter upon the condition that she marry her cousin John, the son of the Colonel's younger brother, Thomas, rector of Hampton Bishop.<sup>(63)</sup> This John Birch, the heir to the Garnstone interest, had great difficulty in maintaining his position in the borough. As we shall see, despite financial embarrassment when he came into his inheritance, he spent much time and money trying to keep first the Foleys and then the Thynnes out of Weobley.<sup>(64)</sup> His efforts were not in vain. He was excluded from his uncle's electoral legacy for ten years but in 1701, despite the intervention of two members of the Cornewall family, he was returned to Westminster as one of the members for Weobley.<sup>(65)</sup> He then represented the borough, with three short breaks, until his death in October, 1734. He petitioned, unsuccessfully, in 1702. He was out of the House from February to June 1715, when his petition against the election of Paul Foley of Prestwood was accepted by the Commons.<sup>(66)</sup> In 1732 he was expelled from the House for peculation, "a notorious breach of trust", but was re-elected by the burgesses of Weobley at the following general election, two years later in April 1734.<sup>(67)</sup>

#### 1685: THE ADVENT OF THE KING'S MEN

When Charles II dissolved the Oxford Parliament, in 1681, Shaftesbury and his supporters, 'the first Whigs', found themselves in an impasse. Without Parliament they were unable to make their voices heard at a national level. Shaftesbury advised every man to make haste to his own home and there to acquaint all his poor countrymen with the sad condition of public affairs. He was sure that there would be something to do in England before another Parliament sat and that his Herefordshire supporters, even though Parliament was dissolved, should take on themselves the peace and government of their county.<sup>(68)</sup> His advice shows clearly the predicament in which the first Whigs found themselves as a result of Charles II's adroit manoeuvre. There were only two courses of action left open to them: either open revolt or sullen acquiescence. Colonel Birch might rail against King and government in private but without a parliamentary platform there was little, if anything, that he and his friends could do and no further Parliament was called before Charles II's death in 1685.

The King's supporters, the Court party, within the county wasted no time in securing their interests among their countrymen. They quickly ensured their own control of the local administration. Sir Edward Harley described the position colourfully when he declared that he believed that there was not one Lord Lieutenant or militia officer in England but was a damned Papist. The list of Deputy Lieutenants for Herefordshire in 1685 gives the names of the leaders of the Court party in the county. It included the Marquess of Worcester, Lord Chandos, Sir Henry Croft, Sir John Barneby, Herbert Aubrey and Humphrey Cornewall of Berrington.<sup>(69)</sup>

When James II decided to summon Parliament in 1685 the greatest care was taken by the Ministers and the Lord Lieutenants throughout the country to ensure the return of members who, if they would not fully support, at least would not oppose the royal plans. Members of the 'close designing party' were to be rigorously excluded. In Worcestershire one candidate maintained that the Lord Lieutenant of the county had

sent him a message that if he offered himself for election to the next Parliament he would impeach him for high treason. It is not surprising that the King's men should have swept the county of Herefordshire and its three boroughs in the 1685 election. Only one member was returned who had any association with the anti-Court party: Thomas Coningesby, who managed to retain his seat at Leominster. At Weobley even the redoubtable Colonel Birch had to give way to others. The borough was represented in James II's Parliament by Robert Price of Foxley and Henry Cornewall of Bredwardine. <sup>(68)</sup>

The success of Price and Cornewall in 1685 is of more than passing interest for both families managed to establish an interest within the borough which endured well into the eighteenth century. the Price family until 1734, and the Cornewall family until 1741. It is the intervention of these families, as well as the intervention of the Foleys and the Thynne families slightly later, that explains why Weobley's electoral history was so contentious for the next sixty years. Instead of one family holding undisputed sway within the borough we now have three families contending for the two seats. Later we find there are five families each trying to gain one of the two seats.

#### (c) The Price Family: 1685-1734

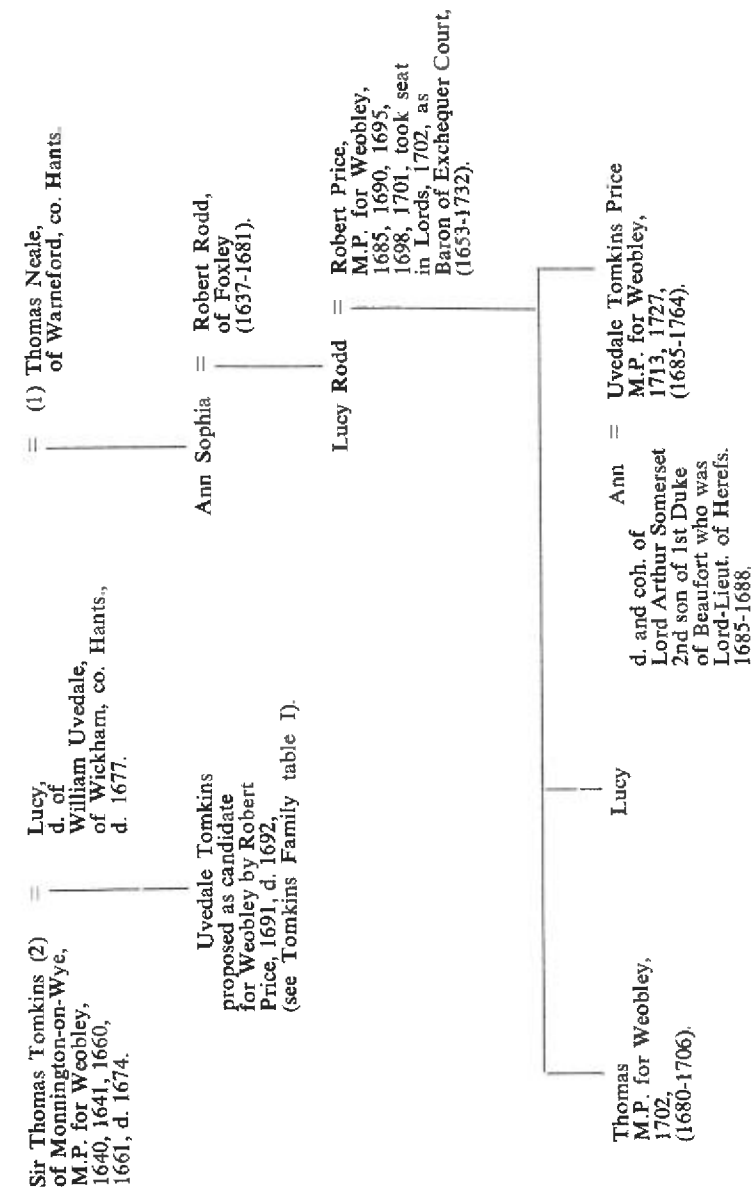
Robert Price came into Weobley as a King's man but he did not maintain this position throughout his career. A lawyer, he had married Lucy, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Robert Rodd of Foxley who died in 1681. His wife brought the Yazor estate, with Foxley, to the Price family. From his house at Foxley and his estates at Yazor, Price was well placed to enter Weobley politics for the borough lay only a few miles to the north over Wormsley hill. He seems gradually to have established a strong position in Weobley for his wife, Lucy Rodd, brought with her a family link with the Tomkins of Monnington-on-Wye, as well as Foxley. <sup>(69)</sup>

He was Attorney-General for South Wales, 1682-1688; King's Counsel in the Court of the Welsh Marches at Ludlow, 1685-1688 and Town Clerk of Gloucester and Steward of Shrewsbury. He was, therefore, a man in whom James II's Ministers had full confidence. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, his career temporarily lost momentum but his opposition to William III, especially to the favours the King bestowed on his Dutch adviser, Bentinck, earned him the title 'Patriot' and the respect of the Country party opposition to William III. In 1702 his career reached its climax with his appointment as an Exchequer Court judge, when he became Baron Price of Foxley. He sought to mark this successful conclusion to his career by reconstructing Foxley as a large square brick-built house with great pilasters and arched windows. <sup>(70)</sup>

Robert Harley had a healthy respect for Robert Price, for Harley tried hard to prevent a clash between Price and his own close political allies, the Foleys, at the Weobley by-election of 1691 and the general election of 1695. <sup>(71)</sup> Harley's respect for Price stemmed from the influence Price had in Radnorshire. When Robert Harley first stood for that constituency, in the general election of 1690 Price wrote to Robert Harley "As for the burgesship of New Radnor the contest being between you and my cousin Williams, I cannot fairly appear on either side. If my independence may be of use to you, of that you may be secure by my absence and silence". <sup>(72)</sup> Despite the fact that they took different sides during the crisis of 1685-1688 Price and Harley had strong reasons

FAMILY TABLE III

## PRICE OF FOXLEY



for respecting each other's electoral interests and, with Harley's subsequent change of political position from Whig to Tory, the two were able to come even closer. After his first election in 1690 which was hotly contested, Robert Harley never lost Radnorshire boroughs until he was elevated to the Lords and Robert Price rode out almost all the storms at Weobley until he was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer Court. Price did not stand for the Convention of 1688 nor did he stand for Parliament in 1701 but in the cross-fire of petitions of the 1690s his return was never "in any way controverted" by the petitioners.

When he took his seat in the Lords in 1702, he retained his political position at Weobley for the benefit of his sons; he was succeeded as member for Weobley by his eldest son Thomas. In 1706 the latter, whilst on the Grand Tour, was found in bed "shot into the head with two slugs". In 1713 and 1727 his only surviving son Uvedale Tomkins Price represented the borough.

(d) The Cornwall Family: 1685-1741

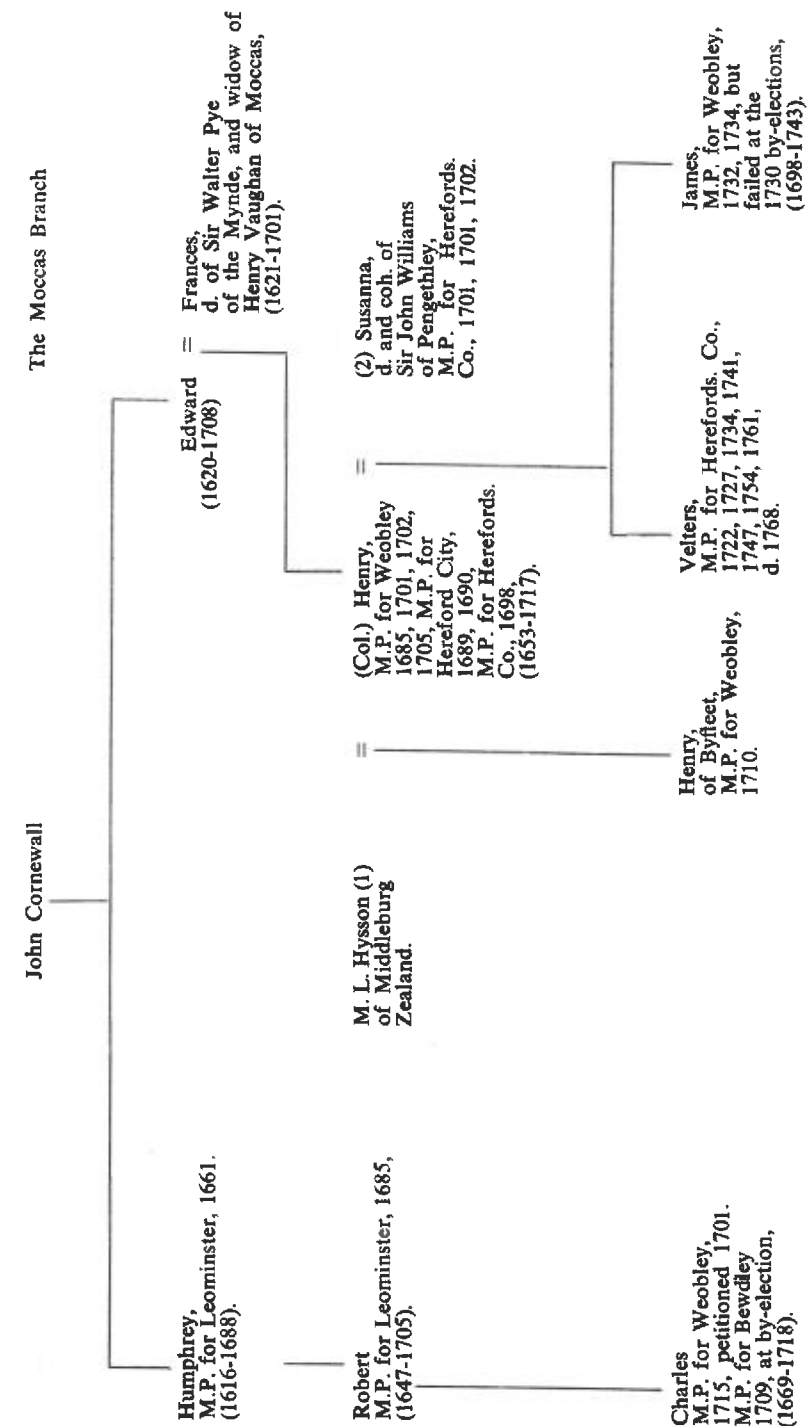
There were two branches of the Cornwall family in Herefordshire in the late seventeenth century, one at Berrington and the other at Moccas. The Cornwalls of Berrington, near Leominster, were the senior branch. The Moccas branch was founded by Edward Cornwall (1620-1708), a younger son of John Cornwall of Berrington. He had inherited Moccas Court, in the west of the county, from his wife Frances, the daughter of Sir Walter Pye of the Mynde and widow of Henry Vaughan of Moccas.

It was the Moccas branch which first entered Weobley politics. Colonel Henry Cornwall was member for the borough with Robert Price in 1685. His uncle Humphrey Cornwall of Berrington had ousted Col. Birch from the Leominster seat in 1661, was one of the leaders of the Court party in the County in 1685. His cousin replaced the anti-Court John Dutton Colt at Leominster in 1685. The two branches of the family had broadly the same political outlook even if there was a personal rivalry. It is reasonable therefore to suggest that Henry Cornwall came in for Weobley with the active support of James II's national and local administration. He was the son of the Edward Cornwall of Moccas mentioned above. Through his mother, he was the half-brother of that Roger Vaughan who had married into the Tomkins family and had sold Garnstone to Colonel Birch in 1661. He had been a Page of Honour to James II when he was Duke of York and had served for some years as a Captain in the Royal Horse Guards. On the outbreak of Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685 he remained loyal to James, raising a regiment of infantry of which he was appointed Colonel. At the time of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, when William, Prince of Orange, landed in England, he found himself in an ambiguous position through conflict of loyalties and interests. He had been a supporter of James but was also Master of Horse to James' sister, Mary, Princess of Orange, and he also had considerable estates in the Netherlands as a result of his first marriage to a Dutch woman in 1683. He resolved his conflict by withdrawal from the army. His embarrassment was only shortlived for he took a seat in the Commons the next year as Member for the city of Hereford. <sup>(73)</sup>

Having represented Weobley in 1685, Cornwall established an interest within the borough which he called upon to advantage from 1700 onwards. This is commented on in a letter of advice on Weobley politics from Robert Harley to Lord Weymouth in

FAMILY TABLE IV

## CORNEWALL OF BERRINGTON AND MOCCAS



November 1700: "there is also this in the case—Colonel Cornewall has some kind of interest there. What it is, Mr. Price can inform you. Some did suppose that he had it as a reserve for himself or such kinsmen as the Colonel would impose upon the county." <sup>(74)</sup> Harley's supposition was correct, as will appear. Cornewall came in for Hereford City in 1689 at the by-election caused by Sir William Gregory's appointment as a judge of the Common Pleas and he seems to have used strong measures to secure his election. According to the petition of Cornewall's opponent in the election not only were his voters and friends threatened and discouraged by the Mayor and Town Clerk who terrified them by saying that "they would ruin them and make the town too hot for them," but also several swords were drawn upon him by Cornewall's men. <sup>(75)</sup> Cornewall was elected again for Hereford City in 1690. He failed to gain that seat in 1695 but came in for the county in 1698. His apprenticeship in Hereford City was to stand him in good stead in the rough and tumble of Weobley elections for in 1701 he decided not to stand for the county and he stood, successfully, for Weobley instead. <sup>(76)</sup>

In the first years of the eighteenth century the electoral situation at Weobley became more confused. In 1701 Thomas Foley, who had held that borough for the three previous Parliaments, decided, on his father's death, to take over his seat at Hereford. He thus vacated Weobley. This, together with the decision of his father-in-law, Sir John Williams of Pengethley, to stand for the county, explains Cornewall's decision to contest Weobley that year. In 1701 his young kinsman, Captain Charles Cornewall of the Berrington branch, decided to enter politics and boldly attempted to gain nomination for the county. He was eventually persuaded by pressure from a number of county magnates to withdraw in order to leave the field clear for Sir John Williams. <sup>(77)</sup> Finding himself barred from the county, Captain Charles then turned to Weobley. He also hoped to fill the vacancy caused by Thomas Foley's decision to stand for Hereford City.

The result, on the occasion of the first of the general elections held in 1701, was an interesting four-cornered contest at Weobley between John Birch, Colonel Henry Cornewall of the Moccas branch, Captain Charles Cornewall of the Berrington branch and Henry Thynne, the son of Lord Weymouth. Henry Cornewall and John Birch were returned and Charles Cornewall petitioned the House. <sup>(78)</sup>

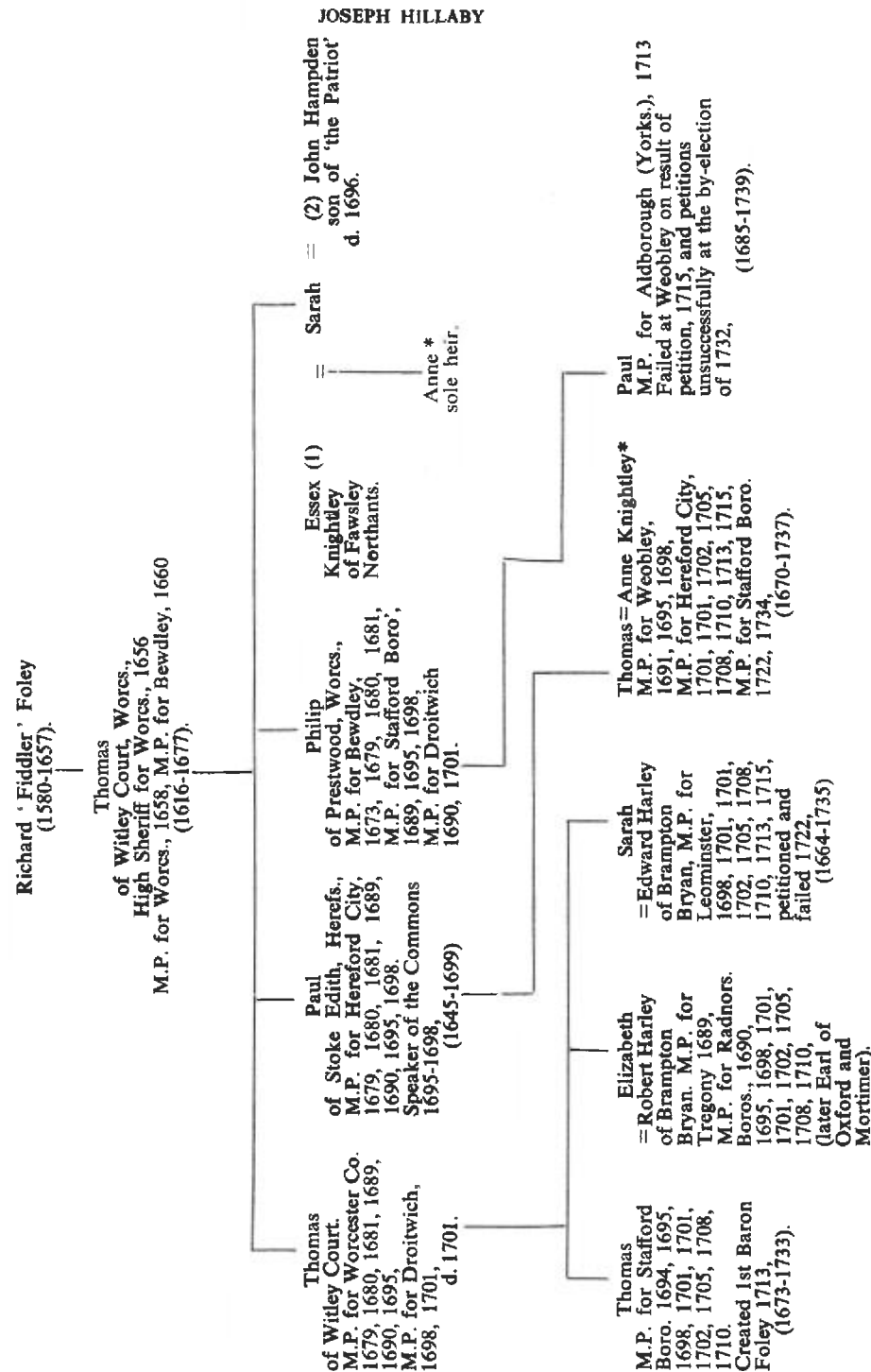
If one is to give any credence to the petitions, the Captain seems to have been naive and the Colonel was almost as forceful as he had been when he had taken Hereford City in 1689. Captain Charles Cornewall petitioned the House that Mr. Thynne, Mr. Birch and Colonel Henry Cornewall by bribes, entertainments and other undue means procured the said Colonel Cornewall and Mr. Birch to be elected and returned in prejudice to the petitioner who was duly chosen without any such practices. Another petition, of "the unbribed Burgesses", set forth that "(Colonel) Henry Cornewall, by himself and agents, before and since the issue of the writ, made public entertainments for the burgesses of the said Borough and to some gave money, promises, gratuities, threats and even confinement for their votes, by which and other illegal proceedings, the said Mr. Cornewall hath procured himself returned as the petitioners' representative in violation of their rights and the freedom of election".

Despite, or possibly because of, such practices Colonel Henry Cornewall represented Weobley from 1701 to 1708 with only one break, between November 1701 and July 1702. On that occasion he petitioned unsuccessfully against the result. His son by his first wife, Henry, represented Weobley 1710-1713 and one of his sons by his second wife, James, represented Weobley in 1730 and 1734-1740. <sup>(79)</sup> As to Captain Charles Cornewall, his attempt to break into the borough failed at this time. He did sit for Bewdley in Worcestershire, 1709-1710, but it was only for the last three years of his life, 1715-1718, that he represented Weobley.

#### MAGNATES AND MONEY

Weobley politics ceased to be merely county politics from 1691. Until that time all the direct participants in the borough's elections had been the families whose sphere of immediate political activity was limited to the county. Some of them, such as Colonel Birch and Robert Price, may not have been of Herefordshire origin but they had acquired local estates on which they resided and, eventually, they did come to regard themselves and were accepted as being 'of the county'. During the period before 1691 Weobley politics were Herefordshire politics; its affairs were decided within the county. It might be argued that this was not the case in 1679 when the anti-Court party, the first Whigs, cantoned out the employment of members, including those for Weobley, to sit for the new Parliament but, as we have seen, <sup>(80)</sup> the group that took the effective decisions at that time was a county group and the members were from the county. In 1685, at the elections for James II's Parliament, much of the impetus came from outside the county but the agents were local.

From 1691 we can trace the development of a process which eventually, by 1754, took control of the borough out of the county and led to its incorporation into one of the national political connections—that of the Thynnes of Longleat. This process began with the arrival of the Foleys and they were followed by the Thynnes. Both of these families had electoral interests which extended well beyond the boundaries of Herefordshire and both families had very considerable financial resources with which to support these interests. The Foleys of Stoke Edith were only one of the branches of that family. Other branches at Great Witley, in Worcestershire, and at Prestwood, in Staffordshire, also took an active part in politics. <sup>(81)</sup> To understand fully the political activities of any one member of the family they have to be set against the background of the electoral ambitions of other members of the family and the exigencies of their political and electoral alliances in a number of other constituencies, for example Hereford City, Worcestershire County, and the boroughs of Droitwich, Bewdley and Stafford. <sup>(82)</sup> To the Thynnes, Weobley was one outpost of a wide connection based on Wiltshire. The decision to stand at Weobley was the result of an assessment of the outcome of the poll at the other boroughs in which the family had a substantial interest (Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which returned four members, and Tamworth, close to the family estate at Drayton Bassett) and an adjustment of obligations to the electoral necessities of ambitious relations, such as the Finches. <sup>(83)</sup>



## (e) The Foley Family: 1689-1732

The Foleys were newcomers to the county. Richard 'Fiddler' Foley and Thomas, his eldest son, had amassed a fortune as ironmongers in the Midlands, at Dudley and at Stourbridge. Even before the family fortune had been fully established, Richard Baxter, the divine, described Thomas Foley as one "who from almost nothing did get about £5000 per annum or more by ironworks." <sup>(54)</sup> The fortune from ironmongering was considerably augmented by financially advantageous marriages. About 1660 Thomas Foley bought Great Witley from the Cookseys and, having provided in this way for his eldest son, was then concerned to provide for his other sons. Shortly afterwards Paul Foley, the second son of Thomas, acquired Stoke Edith from the widow of Sir Henry Lingen, the Royalist leader in the county during the Civil War. Paul Foley was elected one of the Members for Hereford City in 1679 and served for the city in all of the subsequent Parliaments called before his death in 1699, except that of 1685. <sup>(55)</sup> He became the political ally of Sir Edward Harley of Brampton Bryan and one of the leaders of the anti-Court party in Herefordshire. He was Speaker of the House of Commons and, like Sir Edward Harley's son, Robert, eventually became a Tory. To cement the alliance with the Harleys, the marriage was arranged between Elizabeth Foley, daughter of the second Thomas Foley of Great Witley, and Robert Harley. Robert's younger brother Edward married Elizabeth's sister, Sarah Foley. <sup>(56)</sup>

As one of the great politicians of the time Paul Foley was obviously concerned to find a seat in the Commons for his eldest son Thomas when he came of age. Prior to his election for Hereford City in 1679, Paul Foley had considered standing for Weobley at the by-election of 1675 caused by the death of Sir Thomas Tomkins but ultimately declined the seat. <sup>(57)</sup> It is not unnatural, therefore, that he should have looked to Weobley when he wanted to find a seat for his son Thomas Foley. Of the four Herefordshire constituencies it alone seemed to offer any chance of success. <sup>(58)</sup> In February 1690 Thomas Foley discussed with his cousin Robert Harley the possibility of his own election as member for Weobley. <sup>(59)</sup> He indicated that Captain Booth, who had sat for the borough with Colonel Birch in 1680 and 1681 and had been ousted by the Court party in 1685, had decided against standing for re-election there. In consequence the two seats were likely to go to Colonel Birch, their political ally, and Robert Price, the Court candidate of 1685, without opposition. Thomas Foley said that Colonel Birch had promised his father that he would propose him for the town. Birch was not the sort of man who would be averse to revenge for his own displacement and Price's victory at Weobley in 1685. Furthermore, a number of the burgesses had come to Paul Foley's house, Stoke Edith, to desire Thomas to stand, yet "they were persons so mean that he could not think it any encouragement to stand," but the real source of discouragement was the fact that of the total of about 100 electors only 30 to 35 were not now committed either to Birch or to Price. Even when Colonel Birch informed him that he had enquired of the electors more thoroughly and had discovered that 48 were still uncommitted, his father advised him that, as this was to be his first public action, he should not venture upon an uncertainty. He should only stand if Robert Price could be persuaded to decline the seat. As a result, Thomas Foley wrote to Brampton Bryan to ask if Sir Edward Harley and his son Robert would prevail upon Robert Price to give



way. In view of Robert Harley's need for the benevolent neutrality of Robert Price at the Radnorshire boroughs election, <sup>(90)</sup> this seems to have been a request that the Harleys felt unable to fulfil. Robert Harley's candidature at Radnorshire boroughs was his first public action and he was no more anxious than the Foleys to venture upon an uncertainty. As it was, Robert Harley's election in Radnorshire was hotly contested and he was only able to take his seat in the Commons on 15 November, 1690, after a protracted petition. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Thomas Foley writing again on 1 March 1690 to say that, "his father and he had decided to press the matter no further".

The death of Colonel Birch in 1691 provided Thomas Foley with a second chance to come in for Weobley and set the stage for a trial of strength between the Foleys and the Birches. Colonel Birch and Paul Foley had been leading members of the triumphant anti-Court Party in the county from 1679-1681 and, in the dark years from 1682-1688, when both had been excluded from Parliament, they had worked together. Colonel Birch had suggested Thomas Foley's candidature for Weobley in 1690. But the Foleys did not let these things prevent them from doing all that they could to oust his heir, John Birch, from the Weobley seat. In the short run, by the sheer weight of their attack and their vastly superior financial resources, they were successful for, in 1691, after an election petition, Thomas Foley was elected. John Birch was not easily over-awed and eventually, in 1700, achieved a political revival.

John Birch contested both the 1691 by-election and its result vigorously. A series of letters in the Harley papers enable us to follow this trial of strength between Thomas Foley and John Birch from the opening of the by-election contest in May to the final resolution of the House on the petition, in Foley's favour, in November 1691. <sup>(91)</sup> The struggle opened with a meeting of the parties at Brampton Bryan, the home of the Harleys, when Sir Edward Harley took the chair. Thomas Foley told John Birch that if he had known of his standing he would not have come out of town but that his reputation was now engaged and he could not, therefore, withdraw. If Birch would join his interest now he would support Birch at Weobley another time. Birch replied that "he would much rather see Mr. Foley chosen than himself and he was greatly perplexed to be constrained to appear against one more likely to do service for the public than himself but there was a cogency in the necessity of his affairs which obliged him to stand now".

By their rather incautious tactics the Foleys aroused the suspicion of the remaining member for Weobley, Robert Price, who feared lest his own position at Weobley be jeopardised at the next general election. After the meeting at Brampton Bryan John Birch returned to Weobley and discussed Foley's candidature fully with Robert Price. It was as a consequence of the discussion that Price wrote to his friend Robert Harley voicing his suspicion of Thomas Foley. "Two days before the last election," Price said, "Foley had sent to him to know if he would withdraw from the election." This alone did not render him lukewarm to Foley's cause but, and here we see the real cause for Price's concern, he was afraid that Foley might persuade Birch to withdraw this time in return for support at the next general election. This Price took to mean a Foley proposal of a Birch-Foley alliance to gain both of Weobley's seats at the next general

election, to his own exclusion, "upon a pretence that I had refused him (Foley) my interest". It is not surprising to find that Peter Booth, who was acting for Thomas Foley at Weobley, believed that Robert Price had now gone so far as to consider putting up Uvedale Tomkins for the forthcoming election. No wonder Sir Edward Harley said that Weobley would prove troublesome to Thomas Foley and might prove fatal to John Birch—and the election had not yet been held. The Harleys were greatly troubled by the contest for the Colonel's seat. In London Thomas Foley's action "was stigmatized as intrusion". The Harleys were concerned that in the county it would become "a handle for reproach" against both their families. They were not happy about Robert Price's position at the next general election. If, as a result of an accommodation between Thomas Foley and John Birch, Price's position were threatened, it would make Robert Harley's task of retaining the Radnorshire boroughs constituency much more difficult. Their policy, therefore, was to try to bring about a reconciliation between Thomas Foley, Robert Price and John Birch. This was difficult as someone would have to give way.

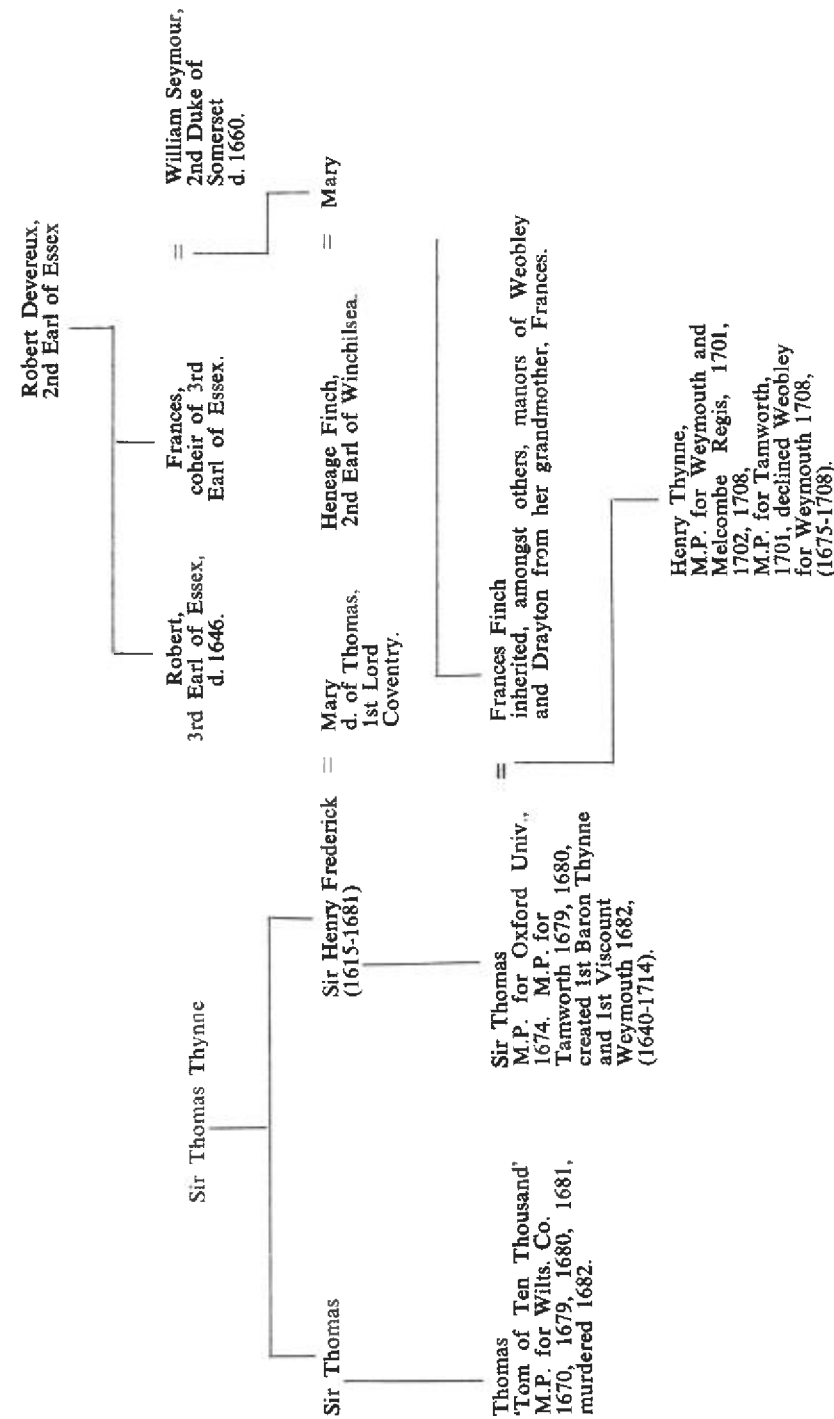
At this 1691 by-election which was held in June, when both John Birch and Thomas Foley stood, there was a double return. <sup>(92)</sup> Thomas Mayrick, one of the Constables of Weobley, returned Thomas Foley, claiming for him "a majority of the qualified voices" but a number of the other burgesses returned Birch. Both candidates petitioned the House. John Birch went to London greatly complaining of Foley's usage and said that he was "resolved not to desist from disputing the election result either now or hereafter". He even went so far as to suggest that Thomas Foley had brought men from Hereford to lay with the wives of some of the burgesses who then prevailed upon their husbands to oppose him. Surely this charge is unique in English electoral history? All that Robert Harley could counter to this was that he "doubted not that there was much wickedness on both sides which helps to increase the guilt of a sinful nation and to entail a curse upon Parliament when the greatest part of the members are so elected". Despite the adamant position that he said he would maintain, John Birch eventually accepted the accommodation for which the Harleys had worked so hard. On 23 October 1691 Robert Harley signed an agreement with John Birch "whereby he hath promised to withdraw his petition and make no defence in the cause of Weobley election . . . on consideration . . . that all possible means shall be used to procure the said John Birch to be elected member of the House of Commons during the present session of Parliament and in case the said endeavour shall not succeed the sum of £260 shall be paid to the said John Birch". The agreement was to be a great secret. Thomas Foley was again opposed by Birch at the general election of 1695 and in 1698 Birch carried his opposition to Foley as far as another petition to the House after a double return. <sup>(93)</sup> Having broken into Weobley in this manner, Thomas Foley managed to retain the seat until 1700 when he succeeded to Hereford City on his father's death, but he himself had to withstand pressures at Weobley at the hands of Lord Weymouth similar to those he had brought to bear on John Birch.

(f) The Thynne Family: 1695-1832

The Thynne family, like the Foley family, were possessed of great wealth. <sup>(94)</sup> Thomas Thynne (1648-1682) was popularly known as 'Tom of Ten Thousand' because

FAMILY TABLE VI

## THYNNE OF LONGLEAT, WILTSHIRE



of his personal income. Longleat was one of the great houses of the kingdom. The wealth of the Thynnes and the Foleys, and their willingness to use it, undoubtedly quickened the tempo and in part changed the character of Weobley politics. Both Thomas Foley and Viscount Weymouth complained bitterly of the rapacity of the electors upon whom they could place no reliance and also the methods employed within the borough to secure election but they themselves were the chief agents of change, in this respect. But the Thynnes were to learn that it was not wealth alone that brought success. Of itself wealth could not counterbalance those distinct advantages held by the 'locals'—experience, personal proximity and perseverance. If it were otherwise it would be difficult to explain the continued success at Weobley of the Birch and Price families as late as the 1730s. To them Weobley was the only means of entry into the Commons; to the Thynnes and Foleys it was only one of a number of options.

The Thynnes were drawn into the politics of Weobley as a result of their inheritance of the lordship of the manor. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the manor of Weobley had been held by the Devereux family. Robert, third Earl of Essex, was the last male representative of this line. When he died in 1646 his estates were divided between his sisters. Weobley went to his sister Frances, who had married William Seymour, second Duke of Somerset. On Frances' death, in 1674, she left the manor of Weobley to Sir Thomas Thynne (1640-1714), later first Viscount Weymouth, who was the husband of her granddaughter, Lady Frances Finch. <sup>(95)</sup>

Under the later Stuarts the Thynnes were concerned to play an active role in the country's affairs. Thomas Thynne, 'Tom of Ten Thousand', succeeded to the Longleat estates in 1670 and sat in the Commons as one of the county members for Wiltshire from that date until 1681. <sup>(96)</sup> He had joined the personal following of James, Duke of York, but, as the result of a personal quarrel, Thynne transferred his loyalty to Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, and became one of the group of noble plutocrats that espoused the Whig cause. Such political pretensions as he had, however, were cut short in 1682, when he was murdered by the retainers of his young wife's disappointed suitor, Count Königsmarck, whilst driving down Pall Mall in his coach. His wealth and the manner of his death were his only real claim to fame. The Longleat estate passed to his cousin, Sir Thomas Thynne, of Kempsford in Gloucestershire.

The new lord of Longleat, who had inherited the manor of Weobley some eight years previously, belonged to different political circles. In 1674 he was elected to represent the University of Oxford in the Commons. <sup>(97)</sup> In the Parliaments of 1679 and 1680 he worked hard to support the Crown in its efforts to defeat the Whig efforts to exclude James, Duke of York, from the succession to the throne. In December 1682 Charles II rewarded him by elevation to the peerage as Baron Thynne and first Viscount Weymouth.

Sir Thomas Thynne evinced an interest in borough mongering early in his political career. In 1679 using his position at Drayton Bassett, a Devereux manor which he had inherited with Weobley in 1674, he came in as member for Tamworth. <sup>(98)</sup> He represented that borough in 1680 and 1681 and the Thynne family retained a strong interest there well into the eighteenth century <sup>(99)</sup> At the general election of 1680 his cousin, Daniel Finch, son of Heneage Finch who was the Lord Chancellor and later first Earl

of Nottingham, wrote to Thynne to say that he relied wholly on Thynne's friendship for his election to the coming Parliament. It was as a result of Thynne's intervention with the City magistrates that Finch was elected, in 1680, as member for Lichfield.<sup>(100)</sup> Bearing in mind Thynne's relation with the Court and its Ministers and his use of the other Devereux manor at Drayton to secure his position at Tamworth, a couple of miles to the north, it would be strange indeed if he had not exerted some efforts on behalf of James II's Court candidates at Weobley in the crucial general election of 1685 but evidence of this is, as yet, lacking.

It is ten years later that we have our first evidence of the intervention of Thynne, now first Viscount Weymouth, in Weobley politics. Serious electioneering for the general election of 1695 began, at Weobley, in June.<sup>(101)</sup> For some time it looked as if there would be a four-cornered contest, between Robert Price, Thomas Foley, John Birch and Henry Thynne, Weymouth's eldest son, with the possibility of the intervention of a fifth party—Colonel Henry Cornewall. John Birch had neither forgotten nor forgiven Thomas Foley for his defeat at the by-election of 1691, occasioned by his uncle's death. Both Birch and Foley were anxious to maintain good relations with Robert Price whose return to Westminster was never seriously in jeopardy. Weymouth seems to have viewed the contest as being something of a trial run for his son. Thomas Foley had not yet been down to Weobley but on the advice of Mr. Mayo, who was supervising his candidature, he had spoken to as many of the burgesses as he could meet at Hereford Fair. In the town itself Bennett and Thomas White, who had been the chief managers for Birch in 1691, had assured him of their support. Alban Thomas, who had given considerable help to Foley in 1691 and was to do so again in 1698, was now working with Henry Jones to build up the Thynne interest, and had "quite gone off" Foley. Nevertheless by the end of July Foley was of the opinion that Henry Thynne had gained little ground and believed that he never would—except by dint of expense. By mid-October Viscount Weymouth had decided that his son was not to contest Weobley that year. One explanation of Henry Thynne's withdrawal was put forward in a rather haughty letter from Weymouth to Thomas Foley's father Speaker Foley. "You must allow me to tell you that you are under a mistake in thinking your son's standing for Weobley hinders my son from doing it, for could I prevail with him (without interposing my authority) to be of the Parliament I assure you that reason would be far from discouraging me." Getting closer to the heart of the matter he continues, "such methods are used to force an Interest as may very well make your son's election uneasy". This is almost an echo of Harley's misgivings as to Foley's methods in 1691 which, he feared, might become a handle for reproach against both of their families. Nevertheless Weymouth finished his letter by promising that he would direct his officers not to oppose Thomas Foley's election, which he supposed is what Paul Foley meant when he asked him to make Thomas' election easy, because Thomas "hath voted so well in this present Parliament . . . and in hopes of his perseverance". Weymouth does not seem to have kept his word because a few days later Thomas Foley complained to Robert Harley that all Weymouth's interest was turned over to John Birch.

The withdrawal of Henry Thynne led to the second trial of strength between Foley and Birch. In many respects it was similar to that of 1691 but on this occasion Birch

did not carry it so far as to petition the House. At the end of July Foley believed that Birch had entirely lost his interest, that not one third of those that were for him in 1691 would now give him their vote. By the middle of October Foley had promises from 54 of the voters, which was more than enough to give him a majority if he could retain their support, but Foley had sufficient experience of Weobley not to take the outcome for granted. He believed they were secure "unless somebody else spends more money upon them" for if amongst common accidents one included "men breaking their word" no number will be sufficient. "They are such inconstant men," he wrote, "I doubt there is no certain dependance on them," but Birch's straitened financial circumstances do not seem yet to have permitted such a contest with "so rich a neighbour". Price and Foley were returned without a petition on October 23, 1695.<sup>(102)</sup> In the next general election, in 1698, Henry Thynne took no active part but there was a further struggle between Birch and Foley. There was a double return: both petitioned but Foley was finally declared elected by order of the House, January 13, 1699.<sup>(103)</sup>

The Thynnes returned to contest Weobley in 1701. In that year there were two general elections, one in January and the other in November. Henry Thynne was a candidate at the January election but, as the result of a rather unfortunate experience with his local agent, he did not stand at the second election. Paul Foley was now dead. His son Thomas decided to stand for the seat which his father had held for virtually twenty years at Hereford City.<sup>(104)</sup> The contenders for the vacancy thus created at Weobley included not only Henry Thynne but also Col. Henry Cornewall of Moccas, Capt. Charles Cornewall of the Berrington branch and John Birch. The part which the Cornewalls played in the January election has been described already.<sup>(105)</sup>

Weymouth and his son seem to have learned some lessons from their failure at Weobley in 1695 but even now they were by no means a match for the opponents with whom they had to contend.<sup>(106)</sup> Their second failure was, however, due not merely to lack of experience and finesse but also to a lack of perseverance, for Weobley was only one of a number of constituencies that was available to Henry Thynne. In September 1700 Weymouth had decided to write to his bailiff at Weobley "to provide for futurities" even though he could see no possible circumstances that could precipitate a new Parliament. He had begun to realise the need for careful preparation well ahead of the election if he was to have any success over his local rivals. By the beginning of November events began to catch up with him for "the general voice now gives us a new Parliament". On November 5th Robert Harley wrote a long letter to Weymouth. "As to Weobley," he said, "I should be very sorry that your Lordship's desires should not be complied with which made me desirous that affairs should have been sounded to the bottom this summer." He went on to offer Weymouth advice but carefully avoided any offer of direct assistance. As in the violent by-election of 1691 Harley's chief concern was to achieve some sort of accommodation between conflicting interests.

Having been taken by surprise as to the election the Thynnes had to act with speed. Alban Thomas was their bailiff at Weobley and managed their affairs, as in 1695. On November 30th Weymouth wrote that the struggle at Weobley was running high and that the charge must be accounted in hundreds. "There never was such a mercenary generation," he complained, "nor more animosity expressed on one side, but Rubicon

is passed and I will not recede." Three days later he was thoroughly despondent. "By the mismanagement of my agent our cake is dough at Weobley, who did not distinguish between giving drink and money, but following the example of the other candidates hath given money to all the electors when they asked their votes and promised more upon condition they would vote for my son. This, I think, has made him incapable of sitting, if returned, and even the other (candidates) also, for if he carry it one of them will certainly petition and set forth his bribery. For this reason I think to stop my hand as to more expense, but yet keep up the canvas and possibly a small time before the election set up another freeman, who with ten votes will have a majority when the others are voted incapable." When Weymouth told Robert Price, of Foxley, that he had put an embargo upon his purse because Sir Edward Seymour had told him that giving money was bribery and would void the election Price informed him that "since he was clipt he must not sink" or he would for ever after have to "renounce all pretensions to the borough". Price described the state of affairs at the end of the second week in December. "Weymouth has ordered a pair of new shoes to each voter. I doubt their votes will be of 'running leather'. The Colonel's guinea men do desert. They say that Winny has produced a £500 bag and that she will distribute it in her life time. If so guineas and shoes are all cast away." (Winny, the second wife of Colonel Birch, did not die until 1717.) Price was only partly right. At the election in January John Birch and Col. Henry Cornwall were returned as members for Weobley. Even if Weymouth's shoes had been cast away the Colonel's guineas had not. Capt. Charles Cornwall petitioned unsuccessfully. Henry Thynne found consolation elsewhere. He came into the House as one of the four members for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, where Sir Christopher Wren had turned over his interest to him. (107)

Henry Thynne's experiences at Weobley seem to have unnerved him. At the second election of 1701 he stood at Milborne Port and at Tamworth and being successful at both boroughs he relinquished the former to represent the latter. (108) In 1702 he again put up, successfully, in two boroughs, at Tamworth and at Weymouth. On this occasion he elected to serve for Weymouth and he represented that borough again from 1705-1708. (109) Finally in 1708, he decided to try his fortune once more at Weobley. The Thynnes now had thirteen years' experience behind them in the borough and had had four years to follow Robert Harley's advice to "sound matters to the bottom." John Birch had firmly established himself but Price was now in the Lords and his eldest son, Thomas, who had taken his father's Weobley seat in the Commons 1702-1705, was dead. Henry Cornwall had withdrawn. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that in 1708 Henry Thynne was elected, with John Birch, as member for Weobley. What is surprising is that after spending so much time and trouble breaking into the borough that he should then have decided once more to serve for Weymouth. In the event it was not a decision of great importance for he died in the same year. (110)

#### WEOBLEY MEN AND WEOBLEY METHODS

In the correspondence of the period reference is made on a number of occasions to the 'methods' employed at Weobley elections. (111) It is, therefore, fortunate that detailed accounts of two of these elections are available. The first is "*The case of the*

*election at Weobley*". (112) It describes the by-election held in 1691 which was the occasion of the first electoral struggle between Thomas Foley and John Birch. The document was drawn up by somebody acting in Foley's interest, either in preparation for the hearing of the impending petition before the House's Committee of Privileges and Elections or, more probably, for the benefit of Robert Harley in his efforts to achieve an accommodation between Birch and Foley. The second account is a summary of the report of the Committee of Privileges and Elections on the double return of Birch and Foley in 1698. This was published in the Commons' Journal at quite unusual length, extending over three pages. (113) From these two accounts details can be obtained not only about methods prevalent in Weobley elections but also about the voters for quite a number of them are mentioned by name. Attached to '*The case of the election of Weobley*' is "a list of those who polled" with one column for those who voted for Foley and another for those who voted for Birch. (114)

*The By-election of 1691.* The Foleys always maintained that they contested Weobley at the invitation of the electors. This is shown clearly in the account of the 1691 election. The year before a number of burgesses had visited Stoke Edith to invite Thomas Foley to stand but this he had declined because they were "so mean that he could not think it any encouragement". (115) Possibly he was also influenced by other factors on that occasion. Both Col. Birch and Robert Price were seeking re-election and as he had not yet attained his majority he would therefore have lost any petition of the grounds of ineligibility. The same forces were at work a year later but this time he had the support of some of the more substantial elements of Weobley society. He "received an invitation from the town to stand" on May 11. Subsequently there were a series of meetings to try to resolve the conflict of interests. One of these was held at the house of Mr. Henry Jones when Robert Price, Uvedale Tomkins, John Birch, Thomas Foley and Capt. Booth all dined together. Price had at one stage suggested that he might put up his brother Wardour for the vacancy but now decided to abandon the scheme and announced that he would maintain a neutral position between the rival claims of Birch and Foley. When Capt. Booth, who had represented the borough in 1680 and 1681, announced that he would support Birch's claim "the town was very shy" and "most of them denied their promises to Foley upon which he told them if they would give him no more probability of carrying it he would not trouble himself any further. If they would choose him he would serve them faithfully if not they might with all his heart be tied continuously to two families, never to choose anybody else". He knew that he had played his trump card and to give weight to his words he paid off all scores and left the village. It was then that Dr. Sinnock and William Hozier went about the village and told the electors that "if they rejected Foley no other gentleman would ever spend any money amongst them and Price and Birch would always be chosen without any charge". They did their work to such effect that thirty nine of the electors confirmed their former promises and went in a body to the place where Birch and Booth were and holloed "Foley and freedom".

Some of the 'meaner' sort turned the situation very deftly to their own advantage. Thomas Wall, Evan Preece and Richard Hill were all amongst the group that shouted for "Foley and freedom", but eventually they voted for Birch. They were all

indebted to Birch, or his chief supporters, and managed by the suggestion that they might not vote for him to gain some release. Birch promised to cancel Thomas Wall's debt of six pounds, if he had his vote. Evan Preece said he had to vote for Birch because he owed Henry Jones twenty pounds so Birch promised him a tanhouse. Richard Hill dared not vote for Foley because he owed Samuel Hobson, one of Birch's chief agents and one of his objectors at the poll, thirty pounds.

The incident before the by-election of 1691 shows clearly that it was necessary for any candidate to have the active support of at least a section of a small group of highly influential members of the village community. Robert Price realised this clearly. At the first election of 1701 he wrote to Robert Harley, "I cannot prevail with Alban Thomas to secure two considerable voters, Will Hozier, a tanner and John Rees, who are rich, active men and of the first rank in the borough. They vote for me gratis, but begged of me their liberty that since I desisted they might make their markets. Cornwall offered each fifteen guineas." <sup>(116)</sup> Price was most anxious to retain the services of "such men, who will be very active and will out-do A. Thomas in the game," because they could make all the difference between success and defeat. Alban Thomas and William Hozier were Thomas Foley's chief agents in the elections of 1691 and 1698. They were the chief witnesses for Foley at the hearing of the 1698 petition and it was on this occasion that Hozier said that "he was frequently with Mr. Foley when he applied himself to the electors". Alban Thomas also acted as agent for Weymouth in 1695 and 1701 and it was on the latter occasion that Weymouth complained that "by the mismanagement of my agent our cake is dough". <sup>(117)</sup> Other members of this small group were Thomas Owen, Dr. Sinnock, Henry Mayo, William Badham, and Samuel Hobson. Not all of them appear in the list of voters in the 1691 election.

The significance of the role of the constables, who were the returning officers, was appreciated by all the candidates at Weobley elections. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries there is no evidence of interference with the normal process of their election by the village community at the court leet. In the 1740s the Thynnes, as lords of the manor, were able to close the borough through their control of the parish officers who refused to rate many of the villagers and thus deprived them of their legal title to the vote-contribution to church and poor. At this time, however, the constables used their position as returning officers to their own advantage. On a number of occasions, as we have seen, there were double returns when the two constables returned different candidates as being duly elected. They had no fear of being thought partisan. Foley's supporters alleged that at the 1691 election Watkins, the constable that returned Birch, broke William Succour's head as he came forward to poll for Foley! Birch had sent Watkins 25 stones of beef on the very morning of the poll.

Disputed elections and the attendant material advantages for the electorate were the result of a number of factors, of which the uncertainties of the franchise were one. <sup>(118)</sup> On the night before the 1691 election Birch sent a messenger to Foley "to desire that they might agree on a method of polling". As a result the two met and accepted that no one was to be polled that did not pay to church and poor rates, that is to scot and lot.

On election day, just before polling was to begin, Foley asked for the "church and poors' Lewn or rate book to be brought forward, being the rule agreed upon," but Birch and his objectors refused to allow it rest upon the table. When John Blunt came forward to vote Foley asked Birch to prove, by the entry in the Lewn, that Blunt paid church and poor, either himself or indirectly through Birch, who was his landlord. This Birch also refused and when Foley and his objectors refused to accept Blunt's vote, Birch would not carry on with the election. Foley waited for an hour and a half before Birch could be persuaded to return, "their being a great confusion". Eventually both candidates managed to persuade their objectors to come back to the Market House and Birch waived Blunt's vote. When Foley called Simon Gough's vote his opponent objected to it but Birch eventually had to accept it for Foley, not being able to use the Lewn, brought forward the officer to whom Gough had paid his rates. Foley then asked if his opponent would call any other electors or if any more would offer themselves. As Birch's objectors said that they would not, Thomas Meyrick one of the constables, announced "Mr. Foley has the majority and I declare him duly elected." Whereupon Watkins, the other constable, said "I declare Mr. Birch elected." Even though Foley had a majority of three votes, according to our source, both candidates were "carried in the chair". On Birch's return to the polling place in the chair Mr. Bache, a Leominster attorney, adjourned the poll to Harrington's house where Birch "had bespoke his dinner". The double return went forward to Westminster but, as indicated above, Birch was eventually prevailed upon to withdraw his petition.

*The general election of 1698.* Many of the circumstances of the general election of 1698 were similar to the by-election of 1691. The principal purpose of the poll was to decide whether Foley or Birch was to be returned as second member, Price's return was hardly contested by either of the other candidates. Again there was a double return, but on this occasion Birch could not be prevailed upon to withdraw his petition. Nevertheless he was unsuccessful in his attempt to unseat Foley.

Uncertainties as to who was entitled to vote provided the two constables with an excuse to make different returns. One of the constables, Simon Gough, returned Thomas Foley, the other constable, called Jones, returned Birch. Both candidates agreed that the right of election was "in the inhabitants of Houses of 20s. per ann. rent and also paying scot and lot," but this did not remove all uncertainty. In 1698, as in 1691, the Lewn was not available at the polling place so there was the usual squabbling about the credentials of the voices that were raised for first one and then the other candidate. Mr. Badham, who took the poll by appointment of the constables, gave the poll as:—

"For Mr. Price .....	55
Mr. Foley .....	40
Mr. Birch .....	35 "

and added that there were eight others whose votes were not allowed. Four of them were for Foley—John Barns, Stephen Lewis, clerk, Edward Sinnock and John Davis. The other four would have voted for Birch. They were Richard Wolfe, Richard Hyat, Thomas Griffith, and John Symonds. Christopher Taylor, who took the poll for Foley, had forty four votes for him. This was because Simon Gough had allowed the votes



of Barns, Lewis, Sinnock and Davis for they had all voted in an earlier election. Thomas Harris, who took the poll for Birch, had also put down four extra votes for his candidate because "they were in great confusion to the end of the poll" and he believed that the names of these four "were not heard" by Simon Gough, who was "at some distance", but afterwards they were removed from the list because Gough would not allow them.

The witnesses for the two petitioners gave their own account of the eligibility, or otherwise, of those who had offered their votes. Birch's supporters maintained that Morgan Evans was not a parishioner because he had received notice from the churchwardens a year before the election to find security or be gone and this he had not found until after the election. Alban Thomas and William Hozier, called by Foley's counsel, answered that Morgan Evans paid 40s. a year rent, to Birch, and paid to church and poor. Furthermore, if he would have voted for Birch he would not have been asked to find security. Birch then went on to question the parson's right to vote for he was not taxed to church and poor and his predecessors had never voted. On this occasion Alban Thomas and William Hozier replied that Lewis' glebe was worth about £30 a year and that his predecessors had paid to church and poor, and compounded to find bread and wine, which Lewis then did and when on an earlier occasion he had voted for Birch it had been allowed.

The most fertile causes of contention were always house rent and the payment of church and poor rates, scot and lot. Edward Sinnock, it was said, had a house in the town of 40s. a year but it was set out to two maids who pay to church and poor whilst he lived in a place like a barn and was not charged in the rate. Edward Maunder lived as a bailiff with Mr. Brydges at Tyberton but came on occasions to Weobley, to one of the women inhabitants, "reputed to be his wife", who paid the poor rate although his name was in the book. John Philpot lived at the end of a house that belonged to Adams, and Haycock lived in the principal part but they gave separate votes. Later, when Foley's witnesses suggested that Richard Hyat was of another parish and came two or three days before the election and went away again seven or nine days after it, John Price tried to justify Hyat's vote by saying that he came "a fortnight or three weeks before the election, and was charged to church and poor". How many, in 1698, would have recognised this portent of the closure of the borough half a century later?

Bribery and corruption were almost as widespread in 1698 as they were in the succeeding elections, when the Cornwall and Thynne families began to take an active part, but it was more selective for the candidates were concerned to win the support of the more influential members of the village hierarchy, in particular the constables and the men of substance referred to above. As we have seen, the crucial position of the constables, as returning officers, was fully exploited by the candidates. This was not the only way in which the constables gave assistance. At the hearing of the 1698 election petition one of Foley's witnesses told the committee how, before the election, he was drinking with Mr. Jones, the constable, who said that if Birch had but ten votes he would return him and then went on to say that if he had but three votes he would return him. After the election the same witness saw Jones at Birch's windmill and when the grist had been put into his bag he asked him how it was that he did not have to

pay toll. The constable replied that "he would not have to pay toll so long as Mr. Birch's windmill stood there". On election day, the same constable acted as cheerleader. When Birch's voices grew very low Jones shouted "Hollow, Boys! No Voice!" if anyone offered for Foley. On the other hand if any voted for Birch and they were objected to he would cry "A voice, Hollow, Boys!" Simon Gough, the constable that supported and returned Foley, continued to play an important role in subsequent elections. A butcher by trade he maintained his loyalty to the family over a considerable number of years. He had voted for Thomas Foley in 1691, and in 1715 he petitioned with John Moore, on Paul Foley's behalf, against the return of Charles Cornwall. However he went too far, for the House of Commons resolved on 29 March in that year "that Simon Gough is guilty of distributing money in order to procure Paul Foley elected as burgess for this borough and that he be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms for his said offence".<sup>(119)</sup>

Yet it was not only the more influential members of the community that derived benefit from the election. Richard Hyat, whose vote for Birch had not been allowed, gave evidence that Foley had asked his brother for his vote at the previous election and had promised him a place. As he had not kept his promise Richard Hyat reminded him of it in 1698 whereupon Foley gave him twenty shillings and promised him a further twenty shillings "upon condition to have his voice"; nevertheless Hyat voted for Price and Birch. Theophilus Meyrick described the visit that he had made to Stoke Edith to collect some money that Foley owed him "since the election for last Parliament". Foley told him, he said, that Parliament was dissolved so he could give him no money at present but if he would trust him until a fortnight after the election he should have his money. In the meantime he would give him a letter to Mr. Williams from whom he could get forty shillings on bond. Two days before the election, however, Hozier, one of Foley's agents, told him that if he did not vote for Foley he should not have a penny of what was due to him. Meyrick finished by saying that he also decided to vote for Price and Birch. One of Foley's witnesses, Peter Booth, replied to these charges by saying that he was at Stoke at the time of Meyrick's visit. When he announced Meyrick's arrival to Thomas Foley the latter replied that he was sorry to hear of it as he was a great rogue, and he would not speak to him alone. Booth's version of the story was that Foley did not offer Meyrick money because none was due but a note was made out to Mr. Williams to lend him forty shillings on bond "because he complained he was poor!" Furthermore, Booth added, all his took place before Parliament was dissolved.<sup>(120)</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

What were the keys to electoral success at Weobley during this period? Did the local candidates with their specialised knowledge of the borough have a marked advantage? Were rank, social prestige and wealth or family and party connections the dominant factors? These questions are of interest because there is much discussion, at the present time, of the nature and rôle of party in English political history in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>(121)</sup>

Party only intruded forcefully into Weobley politics at times of extreme national crisis. As one would anticipate, the most outstanding occasions were the general

elections of 1679, 1685 and 1689. What is significant here is that, on these occasions when the borough felt the effects of the rage of party, it was brought in from outside. No evidence is available to support the belief that the changes in the representation of Weobley in those years reflected the changing attitude of the borough electors to the great issues of the day. When change in representation came it was the result of pressure from highly organised sections of the political élite within the county, "the gentlemen of our country". At Weobley, politics, in the true sense of the word, came from without. The organisation and plans of the Herefordshire Whigs in the period immediately prior to the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament have been described<sup>(122)</sup> and their success at Weobley, in 1678 and 1679, has been noted.<sup>(123)</sup> When James II called Parliament in 1685 even the redoubtable Col. Birch decided that it would be better not to stand for election for the borough.<sup>(124)</sup> As a result Robert Price and Henry Cornewall were returned unopposed. Three years later, when the elections for the 1689 Convention were held, Robert Price did not venture to oppose the return of the two Whigs, Col. Birch and James Morgan. This initiative which was taken from outside the ranks of the electorate was the result of pressures which were similar in nature, if not in degree, to those which operated in county elections. As great prestige attached to the two county seats at Westminster and because no single magnate dominated county society it was necessary to accommodate the ambitions, feuds and rivalries of a number of families that aspired to the distinction of county membership. This was achieved peacefully by readjustment, compromise and balance of interests without electoral conflict. It was a constant process. At Weobley this peaceful readjustment only took place at times of crisis, at other occasions conflict of interest was resolved by head on collision and trial of strength, as in 1691 and the January election of 1701. In the former case one or more of the interested parties would deem it expedient to hold back until the storm had passed. Robert Price had withdrawn in 1689 but a year later we find him sharing the borough representation with Col. Birch, the Whig he had replaced in 1685. Although contested elections were numerous at Weobley during the period 1660-1708 they do not, therefore, occur during periods of extreme tension in the country as a whole. Despite the small size of the electorate the interested families did not feel sufficiently confident to attempt to withstand those influences at work in the county, and the country, at large.

The only occasion on which a candidate attempted to gain support by reference to what might be regarded as a party issue was in 1695. In that year John Birch announced his intention of nailing up the Meeting House doors as his opponent, Thomas Foley, regularly attended service there. Furthermore he hoped that the electors would not vote "for one so much against the church".<sup>(125)</sup> The seed fell on stoney ground. It is possible that the electors were not merely influenced by Foley's evident wealth but were also amused by what the shade of John Birch's uncle, the Presbyterian Civil War veteran, would make of this accusation. The parson, Stephen Lewis, exercised his vote in Birch's favour, but the electorate as a whole preferred Foley. Even Stephen Lewis voted for Foley at the next general election, in 1698.<sup>(126)</sup>

There were sound reasons for Weobley's political indifference. The size of the electorate was small, it was geographically remote; these factors, together with its village

character, are adequate explanation. The total number of electors was a little over seventy.<sup>(127)</sup> Men of substance in this community, such as William Hozier, tanner, and Simon Gough, butcher, were of humble origin and of equally humble political pretensions.

It would be wrong to argue from this that financial considerations were the major factor contributing to success within the borough, but under these circumstances, of a small electorate and poor community, strong financial resources could be of considerable value to a candidate. Furthermore a considerable fortune could not fail to carry weight in a county which has never known great wealth for most of the local families that aspired to represent the borough were of modest means. This was clearly illustrated in the 1691 by-election; the occasion of the first struggle between John Birch and Thomas Foley. The Foley fortune was a by-word in the county and the family did not hesitate to press this advantage mercilessly home to force Birch to withdraw his petition to the House. He was advised to consider the great charge of a petition<sup>(128)</sup> "as well as the uncertainty of the determination there, though the right be ever so clear".<sup>(129)</sup> This was not all. The best that Birch could hope from his petition, it was suggested, was another election. This would be only the beginnings of his troubles for "a stiffness in you at this time will entail upon you, when you ever stand again, perpetual charge, which ought well to be considered as likewise the uneasiness and disturbance (to give it the softest terms) a feud with so rich a neighbour exposes you to". In truth the Foleys were not relying only upon their vastly superior financial resources to cow the young heir to the Garnstone interest into submission. They had another powerful weapon in their armoury; "a great interest fixed in the House". Robert Harley summarised the situation aptly when he said that Thomas Foley relied "for the present upon his father's interest in the House and for the future upon his purse". In the last resort Paul Foley believed that he could secure the rejection of Birch's petition by the Commons, but it is interesting that he should have taken great pains to avoid this course. He clearly realised that such public action at Westminster against Col. Birch's heir would have a markedly detrimental effect upon his own reputation, for his son's conduct at Weobley was already being stigmatised as intrusion. John Birch was a determined man, as his subsequent career showed, and he knew that he had certain trumps in his hand for he said that he relied upon the justice of his cause and his interest in the town, nevertheless he eventually withdrew his petition.

It has been argued that the rising cost of contested elections, taken together with the rapid succession of general elections that characterised the period from 1688 to 1715, might have entailed expenditure which was well beyond the means of many small landowners.<sup>(130)</sup> Certainly the cost of elections rose sharply at Weobley in this period. In 1700 we read about Col. Henry Cornewall's "ginny men" but only a year or two later bribes of five guineas, "to the major part of the electors are mentioned,<sup>(131)</sup> and this is not an isolated incident as the same figure is mentioned again in 1715.<sup>(132)</sup> With a total electorate of over seventy the cost was clearly in hundreds for direct bribery was not the only form of expense to which the candidates were put. In 1700 Weymouth spoke of the total charge as being "accounted in hundreds". In 1717 Thomas Foley had to meet a total charge of £700—and he failed to secure election.<sup>(133)</sup> Nevertheless the

election results clearly show that the effects of the rising costs at Weobley did not lead to the hegemony of the families with the strongest financial resources. The Thynnes took thirteen years to break into the borough. The Foleys were unable to re-establish themselves after their withdrawal from the borough in 1700. <sup>(134)</sup> Even in the 1691 by-election, when John Birch withdrew his petition, it is highly probable that this was due not so much to Foley wealth as to his own extraordinarily straitened circumstances at that time. <sup>(135)</sup>

Two factors explain the continued success of families of modest means such as the Birches and the Prices in the face of strong competition from families with far greater financial resources. Living locally they were intimately acquainted with conditions within the borough. This knowledge would save them from the wrong choice of agents or precipitate action. This would ensure that their cake was not dough and that their limited resources were not squandered. Living locally they were able to establish obligations upon a considerable number of electors, such as those held against John Birch at the hearing of the 1698 petition. They were in an excellent position to gain control of vacant burgages as they became available. When strong pressure was brought to bear they might have to give way. This course of action was forced upon John Birch between 1691 and 1700 but after that date he represented the borough in nine out of the ten subsequent Parliaments.

The second reason for the continued success of men of moderate resources in an era of rising election costs was one of personality and determination. Unlike their opponents with extensive acres and extensive interests their only hope of a seat in the Commons was the local borough. The Thynne and the Foley families had the option on a number of boroughs. If pressed hard enough they would usually move elsewhere.

A detailed study of Weobley politics underlines clearly the importance of family and local ties. Its politics cannot be thoroughly understood without full reference to these factors. Party allegiances and national issues at this date were felt within the county and the borough. At times of crisis they were dominant. A study of the interaction of party and local and family ties within the county at this time would throw light on one of the great problems of the period—the origins of the so-called New Country party. The party which was based predominantly on the Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Radnorshire connections of the Foley and Harley families.

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Egerton MSS. 2714 f. 363.

<sup>2</sup> *The history of Parliament, the House of Commons, 1754-1790*, ed. Sir Lewis Namier and J. Brooke, 3 vols. (London, 1964).

<sup>3</sup> W. R. Williams, *The parliamentary history of the principality of Wales, 1541-1895* (Brecon, 1895).

<sup>4</sup> W. R. Williams, *The parliamentary history of the county of Hereford, 1213-1896* (Brecon, 1896). Referred to below as *Williams*.

<sup>5</sup> T. H. B. Oldfield, *Representative history of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1816), IV, 17-22, and H. W. Phillott, 'Notes on Weobley, Herefordshire', *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1869), 3S, XV, 51-55, referred to below as *Phillott*.

<sup>6</sup> The Harley papers were deposited in two batches. The papers first deposited were calendared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Portland MSS*, III and IV cover the period under study. The papers of the second deposit have not been calendared, but they are available as B.M. Loan 29. They are only loosely indexed under author and recipient. The Calendars are referred to below as *H.M.C., Portland*, III and IV.

<sup>7</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons, 1-XXII*. Referred to below as *C.J.*

<sup>8</sup> *C.J.*, XII, 404-406.

<sup>9</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1628-1687*. Referred to below as *C.S.P.D.*

<sup>10</sup> C. J. Robinson, *History of the mansions and manors of Herefordshire* (Hereford, 1873), and C. J. Robinson, *History of the castles of Herefordshire and their lords* (Hereford, 1869), are the most useful sources for Herefordshire family history, but are not without error. The former is referred to below as *Robinson*.

<sup>11</sup> *Return of the names of every member returned to serve in each parliament*, Parts 1 & 2, Parliamentary Papers (1878 & 1887), referred to below as *Return of members*, gives the details.

<sup>12</sup> *Return of members*, 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 24 gives the names of Herefordshire members for this period.

<sup>13</sup> *C.J.*, I, 891.

<sup>14</sup> E. de Villiers, 'The parliamentary boroughs restored by the House of Commons, 1621-1641', *English Historical Review* (1952), LXVII, 175-202. Referred to below as *de Villiers*.

<sup>15</sup> J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (London, 1949), 133-139, describes and discusses the growth in membership of the House of Commons under the Tudors and early Stuarts and explains why the monarch began "to cry Hold!" Referred to below as *Neale*.

<sup>16</sup> B.M. Add. MSS 8980, f.22-23. Hakewill, *Proceedings in Parliament. A report of a case where two towns that discontinued long sending of any burgesses, and yet were allowed*. Shorter accounts of the report can be found in B.M. Harley MSS 4771, f.127, *A diary of proceedings in Parliament, 1627* and *C.J.*, I, 891.

<sup>17</sup> However see M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary representation of the English boroughs in the Middle Ages* (London, 1932), 77. "Whatever may have been the test by which a community was reckoned as a borough for the purposes of taxation it was certainly not that of representation in Parliament. For purposes of taxation, the term 'borough' seems to have been interpreted in the widest possible sense, and many small towns which seldom or never returned members to Parliament paid at the rate of a tenth."

<sup>18</sup> Villiers possibly following Robinson, 293.

<sup>19</sup> J. Collinson, *History of Somersetshire* (Bath, 1791), II, 352-355.

<sup>20</sup> J. Hutchins, *History and antiquities of the county of Dorset* (3rd ed., London, 1861-70), II, 594-598. See also *Calendars of proceedings of the committee for compounding, 1643-1660* (London 1889-1890), 3272.

<sup>21</sup> *Return of members*, I, 488, 493. In 1628 Philip Digby was one of the two members elected for Milborne Port and in the general election for the Long Parliament, in 1640, George, Lord Digby of Sherborne Castle was one of those elected. He declined the seat, however, and one John Digby was elected in his place. Lord Digby sat instead for Dorset county.

<sup>22</sup> M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-1641 a biographical study of its members* (Philadelphia, 1954), 362. Williams, 126, suggests this connection, incorrectly.

<sup>23</sup> For the local connections of the Walter family see *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, 704-705; Penry Williams, *The Council in the marches of Wales under Elizabeth* (Cardiff, 1958), especially 143; W. R. Williams, *The history of the Great Sessions in Wales, 1542-1830* (Brecon, 1899), 128; R.H.C., *Documents connected with the history of Ludlow and the Lords Marchers* (London, 1841), 248, 276, 353.

<sup>24</sup> M. McKisack, *Parliamentary representation*, 26.

<sup>25</sup> In fact we now know that Weobley sent members to Westminster in 1301, 1302, 1305 and 1306 but did not send any subsequently. Williams, 155, 156, and *Return of members*, I, 4, et. seq.

<sup>26</sup> Neale, 24, 25, 140, 141.

<sup>27</sup> These dates are only to be taken as an approximate indication of political activity within the borough.

<sup>28</sup> B. M. Harley MSS 6846/290. *The case of the election at Weobley* and see below [86-88].

<sup>29</sup> *C.J.*, VIII, 90, and see below [31].

<sup>30</sup> See below [63, 64] for an account of the deputation of burgesses to invite Thomas Foley of Stoke Edith to stand in the general election of 1690.

<sup>31</sup> See below [82, 83]. In 1701 Col. Henry Cornwall distributed the money to his 'guinea men' and Weymouth ordered his agent to supply a new pair of shoes to each voter. In this election the total cost was to be accounted in "hundreds". Later the individual financial inducements had to be raised to the sum of five guineas. *C.J.*, XIV, 13 and XVIII, 29, 30.

<sup>32</sup> J. H. Plumb, *The growth of political stability in England, 1675-1725* (London, 1967), 86, 87 describes the expenses involved in transporting petitioners to London, providing hospitality and reimbursing them for absence from home.

<sup>33</sup> Oldfield, *Representative history*, IV, 21.

<sup>34</sup> *C.J.*, XII, 404 "the right of election was agreed to be in the inhabitants of houses of 20s. per ann. rent: and also paying Scot and Lot." January 1699.

<sup>35</sup> Namier and Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, I, 30 quoting Bateson, *Parliamentary Register*.

<sup>36</sup> *C.J.*, XII, 405 and see below [97].

<sup>37</sup> *C.J.*, XXII, 796.

<sup>38</sup> Phillott, 55.

<sup>39</sup> For the Tomkins family see Robinson, 211, 212, 291-293; Williams, 126, 156; Keeler, 362, 363; Phillott, 53; 271-272; *Calendars of proceedings of the committee for compounding*, II, 1035, 1036.

<sup>40</sup> Phillott, 50 quoting MS then (1869) in Phillips collection at Belmont Abbey, near Hereford.

<sup>41</sup> Neale, 141, 143.

<sup>42</sup> Keeler, 238, 239, Williams, 157.

<sup>43</sup> C.J., VIII, 90.

<sup>44</sup> For Tomkins' activities in the Cavalier Parliament see D. T. Witcombe, *Charles II and the Cavalier House of Commons, 1663-1674* (Manchester, 1966).

<sup>45</sup> See [68] below. The relationship between the Tomkins and the Price family is reflected in the name that Robert Price gave to his second son, Uvedale Tomkins Price. The nature of the link is shown in the family tables I and III.

<sup>46</sup> B.M. Loan 29/49 Sir Thomas Williams to Sir Edward Harley, January 5 and February 25, 1675.

<sup>47</sup> For further marks of the royal favour see Williams, 159, 160.

<sup>48</sup> A seasonable argument to persuade all the grand juries in England to petition for a new Parliament (Amsterdam, 1677).

<sup>49</sup> C.J., IX, 315, 444. Another indenture, dated 22 April, 1675, by which Sir Thomas Williams Bart. was returned (still preserved amongst the returns) was declared void by order of the House, 23 February, 1678.

<sup>50</sup> For Col. Birch's early career see especially D.N.B., II, 524-526; *Memorials of the civil war between King Charles I and Parliament as it affected Herefordshire and the adjacent counties*, ed. J. & T. Webb, 2 vols. (London, 1879); *Military Memoirs of Colonel John Birch*, ed. T. W. Webb, Camden Society (1873), N.S., VII; *Diary of Henry Newcome*, ed. T. Heywood, Chetham Society (1849), O.S., XVIII.

<sup>51</sup> Sir James Berry & S. G. Lee, *A Cromwellian Major General, the career of Colonel James Berry* (Oxford, 1938), 129-132 quoting Berry to Thurloe, 24 November, 1655 (Bodleian Rawlinson MSS A xxxii, f. 793).

<sup>52</sup> Williams, 128, 129; and *Return of Members*, I, 489, 500, 508, 514.

<sup>53</sup> This was not the end of the matter as a controversy over these estates grumbled on for a number of years after the Restoration. Sir Edward Harley was called in as mediator and there are about 36 documents and letters in the Harley papers which testify to Harley's efforts to reach an accommodation. In this he was, eventually, successful. On one occasion Bishop Croft must have felt particularly hard pressed for he wrote to Harley of the "claws of the greedy harpy who, notwithstanding all that I have given him, would yet scratch my eyes out could he find the least piece of gold under them." B.M. Loan 29/49.

<sup>54</sup> See J. R. Jones, *The first Whigs, the politics of the Exclusion crisis* (London, 1961) for the most recent account of those who worked for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession. Referred to below as Jones.

<sup>55</sup> Jones, 36, 40.

<sup>56</sup> C.S.P.D., 1675-1676 H(erbert) A(ubrey) to Herbert Westphaling December, 26, 1675.

<sup>57</sup> *Return of members*, I, 535. In fact the decision of the House to reject the resolution of their Committee of Privileges and Elections, that "Sir Thomas Williams is duly elected Burgess to serve in the present Parliament for the borough of Weobley," C.J., IX, 444, gave the anti-Court party in the county the chance to bring William Gregory in as a member for Weobley in the by-election that followed in March. Hence their change of plan when Gregory came in for Weobley, and not Hereford City as had originally been planned, in the general election of 1679. He was, however, elected member for Hereford City with Paul Foley in 1689. For a brief account of Gregory see Williams, 94, 95.

<sup>58</sup> *Return of members*, I, 542, 547.

<sup>59</sup> *Return of members*, I, 559.

<sup>60</sup> *Return of members*, I, 566.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, 161, 162, Robinson, 291 has Serjeant John Birch dying in 1702. The probable source of his mistake is the family pedigree in J. Booker, *History of the ancient chapel of Birch*, Chetham Society (1859), XLVII, 90.

<sup>62</sup> See below [65-71].

<sup>63</sup> It was in that year that John Birch's aunt, Col. Birch's second wife, a Weobley woman, born Winnifred Norris, decided that the time had come for firm action if the family was to win back one of the Weobley seats. She apparently produced a bag containing £500 which she promised to distribute within the village before her death—if her nephew was elected. It is difficult to decide whether this dramatic action or John Birch's careful spadework over the previous ten years explains his almost continuous series of election victories from that year, 1701, to his death in 1734. H.M.C., Portland, III, Robert Price to Robert Harley, December 12, 1700.

<sup>64</sup> C.J., XIV, 13 and XVIII, 29, 30, 181.

<sup>65</sup> C.J., XXI, 873; XXII, 351, 498, 724, 770; Williams, 162-165.

<sup>66</sup> C.S.P.D., 1682, *Information on oath of Michael Brown of Wisbech*, July 12, 1682.

<sup>67</sup> C.S.P.D., 1685, *Deputy-Lieutenants for Herefordshire*, Entry Book, 164.

<sup>68</sup> Williams, 56, 57, 94, 136, 161.

<sup>69</sup> See Price and Tomkins family pedigrees.

<sup>70</sup> For the Price family see Robinson, 242, 317, 318 and Williams, 161-164. For Price, 'the Patriot,' see *Somers Tracts*, ed. W. Scott (London, 1809), II, 387, 'Gloria Cambria: or speech of a bold Briton against a Dutch Prince of Wales'.

<sup>71</sup> See below [64, 67-69].

<sup>72</sup> H.M.C., Portland, III, Robert Price to Robert Harley, February 20, 1690. See also Robert Price to Robert Harley, March 16, 1690, wherein he describes the electors of New Radnor and the rights of the outboroughs to give their voices.

<sup>73</sup> For the Cornwall family see Compton Reade & Earl of Liverpool, *The house of Cornwall* (London, 1908); Robinson, 116-119.

<sup>74</sup> H.M.C., Portland, III, Robert Harley to Viscount Weymouth, November 5, 1700. In this case the original should be consulted for the full import of the letter.

<sup>75</sup> Williams, 95.

<sup>76</sup> *Return of members*, 588.

<sup>77</sup> H.M.C., Portland, III, Charles Cornwall to Robert Harley, November 12, 1700; Chandos to Robert Harley, December 23, 1700; Charles Cornwall to Robert Harley, December 29, 1700; also Sir John Williams to Robert Harley, August, 1700, and Robert Harley 'copy to Sir John Williams', September 24, 1700, both B.M. Loan 29/160.

<sup>78</sup> C.J., XIII, 353, 355, 358.

<sup>79</sup> Williams, 162-165.

<sup>80</sup> See above [41-43].

<sup>81</sup> T. S. Nash, *Collections for the history of Worcestershire* (London, 1782), II, 465.

<sup>82</sup> W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary history of the county of Worcester* (Hereford, 1897); J. C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire parliamentary history*, II, William Salt Archaeological Society, Staffordshire Historical Collections, 1920-1922.

<sup>83</sup> See below [74-75].

<sup>84</sup> For Thomas Foley of Witley Court and Paul Foley of Stoke Edith, see D.N.B., VII, 354-356. For early history of the family see H. S. Grazebrook, 'The Foley family', *Notes and Queries*, 5S, II, 262-3; H. S. Grazebrook 'The origins of Foley family', *Genealogist* (1882), VI, 117-118; H. E. Palfrey, 'The Foleys of Stourbridge', *Worcestershire Archaeological Society Transactions* (1944), N.S., XXI.

<sup>85</sup> Williams, 93-95.

<sup>86</sup> Nash, *Worcestershire*, II, 465.

<sup>87</sup> B.M. Loan 29/49. Sir Thomas Williams to Sir Edward Harley, February 25, 1675. Referring to the impending Weobley by-election he says, "I think myself secured in that election since Mr. (Paul) Foley has declined."

<sup>88</sup> Membership for the county was out of the question, his father was one of the members for Hereford City, and Thomas Coningsby and John Dutton Colt were firm at Leominster.

<sup>89</sup> H.M.C., Portland, III, Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, February 26 and March 1, 1690. Originals should be consulted.

<sup>90</sup> See above [50-51].

<sup>91</sup> H.M.C., Portland, III, Sir Edward Harley to Robert Harley, May 22, 1691; Robert Price to Robert Harley, May 22, 1691; Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, May 28, 1691; Edward Harley to Sir Edward Harley, June 27, 1691; Edward Harley to Sir Edward Harley, July 2, 1691; Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, August 25, 1691; Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, September 8, 1691; *Memorandum of notes made by Paul Foley of the arguments to be used to induce Mr. Birch to retire from the representation of Weobley*; Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, September 19, 1691; Robert Harley to John Birch, September 19, 1691; Sir Edward Harley to Robert Harley, October 13, 1691; October 23, 1691, 'Agreement between Thomas Foley and John Birch. The latter to withdraw his petition and make no defence in the cause of Weobley'; Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, October 24, 1691. This lengthy correspondence is a vivid indication of the respect which the Harleys had for Robert Price's Radnorshire connections. They negotiated with Birch but their chief concern was to reconcile their political alliance with the Foleys with their sensitivity to Price's political neutrality.

<sup>92</sup> *Return of members*, I, 566; C.J., X, 550, 551.

<sup>93</sup> *Return of members*, I, 581; C.J., XII, 353.

<sup>94</sup> For the Thynne family see D.N.B., XIX, 845-849; Beriah Botfield, *Stemmata Botevilliana, memorials of the families of de Boteville, Thynne and Botfield* (London, 1853); G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, ed. Hon. V. Gibbs (London, 1959), XII, 585.

<sup>95</sup> Phillott, 53.

<sup>96</sup> *Return of members*, I, 530, 538, 544, 550.

<sup>97</sup> *Return of members*, I, 526.

<sup>98</sup> *Complete Peerage*, XII, 585.

<sup>99</sup> *Return of members*, I, 538, 544; Namier & Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, I, 376 following D. Stuart, 'The parliamentary history of Tamworth, 1661-1837', Unpublished London University M.A. thesis.

<sup>100</sup> *H.M.C., Finch MSS.*, II, 55.

<sup>101</sup> B.M. Loan 29/136. Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, June 21, 1695; Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, July 31, 1695; *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Paul Foley to Robert Harley, enclosing copy of correspondence between Paul Foley and Viscount Weymouth, October 15, 1695; Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, October 15, 1695; Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, October 16, 1695.

<sup>102</sup> *Return of members*, I, 574.

<sup>103</sup> *Return of members*, I, 581; *C.J.*, XII, 353, 404-406.

<sup>104</sup> *Williams*, 96, 97.

<sup>105</sup> See above [56-57].

<sup>106</sup> For details of the part played by Viscount Weymouth and his son in the January general election of 1701 see *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Viscount Weymouth to Robert Harley, November 2, 1700; Weymouth to Robert Harley, November 15, 1700; Weymouth to Robert Harley, November 30, 1700; Weymouth to Robert Harley, December 3, 1700; Weymouth to Robert Harley, December 7, 1700; Robert Price to Robert Harley, December 12, 1700; T. Bateman to Robert Harley, December 19, 1700; T. Bateman to Robert Harley, December 29, 1700.

<sup>107</sup> *Return of members*, I, 587. Sir Edward Seymour was referring to the statute 7 & 8 W III c.iv. *An act for preventing charge and expense in election of members to serve in Parliament*. This enacted that candidates giving or promising any present or reward, after the issue of the writ, to a person having a vote would be incapable of serving in Parliament.

<sup>108</sup> *Return of members*, I, 596, 597.

<sup>109</sup> *Return of members*, I, 601, 604, 605.

<sup>110</sup> *Williams*, 163.

<sup>111</sup> See particularly *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Paul Foley to Robert Harley, 15 October, 1695, and Weymouth to Robert Harley, November 2, 1700.

<sup>112</sup> B.M. Harley MSS 6846/290. 'The case of the election at Weobley'. Details of the 1691 by-election given below are derived from this document.

<sup>113</sup> *C.J.*, XXII, 404-406. Details of 1698 general election given below are derived from this report.

<sup>114</sup> A copy of this list is printed as an appendix.

<sup>115</sup> See above [63, 64].

<sup>116</sup> *H.M.C., Portland*, IV, Robert Price to Robert Harley, January 3, 1701.

<sup>117</sup> See above [62, 66].

<sup>118</sup> See above [22, 23].

<sup>119</sup> *C.J.* XVIII, 29, 30, 181.

<sup>120</sup> See note 107 above.

<sup>121</sup> This stems from Robert Walcott's, *English politics in the early eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1956), wherein he applied the techniques which Sir Lewis Namier used so successfully to analyse *The structure of English politics at the accession of George III*. The result was his thesis of a multi-party framework, that "the more one studies the party structure under William and Anne, the less it resembles the two-party system described by Trevelyan . . . and the more it seems to have in common with the structure of politics in the Age of Newcastle as explained to us by Namier." Walcott's interpretation has been subjected to scrutiny in a number of quarters. It has been said that "nearly all his generalisations on the period before 1688 need considerable modification," Jones, 2 and that he "all too frequently mistook genealogy for political history, and creates factions out of family relationships without even considering the political actions, ideas or attitudes of the men in question; his case-histories are badly chosen, and at times untypical. His failure to consider his analysis in the total structure of politics is little less than disastrous. Also, his narrow chronological limits bred myopia," Plumb, *The growth of political stability in England*. The subject is also discussed in H. Horwitz, 'Parties, connections and parliamentary politics, 1689-1714', *Journal of British Studies* (May, 1962), VI, 45-69. Walcott restated his position in 'The idea of party in later Stuart history', *Journal of British Studies* (May, 1962), 54-61. Although Walcott fell into serious error the technique is nevertheless of value if carefully applied at local level with Plumb's comments as to political actions, ideas or attitudes borne in mind.

<sup>122</sup> See above [42].

<sup>123</sup> See above [37 and 41].

<sup>124</sup> See above [47-48].

<sup>125</sup> *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Thomas Foley to Robert Harley, October 15, 1695.

<sup>126</sup> See above [96].

<sup>127</sup> *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Robert Harley to Weymouth, November 5, 1700. "The votes are about 70. Mr. Price hath the undoubted majority. Mr. B. hath about 30 firm to him; so that three standing he that would carry it must be sure of more than 40 votes." In 1698 the poll was:

Robert Price	55
Thomas Foley	40
John Birch	35

130 votes

In 1722 the total poll, according to the old constables, was 176. In subsequent elections the total of votes varied between 128 and 182. W. W. Bean, 'Polls at Parliamentary elections before 1832', *Notes and Queries* (June 17, 1893), 8S, III.

<sup>128</sup> See above [23].

<sup>129</sup> *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Copy, Robert Harley to John Birch, September 19, 1691. The original should be consulted.

<sup>130</sup> Plumb, *The growth of political stability in England*, 85-92.

<sup>131</sup> *C.J.*, XIV, 13.

<sup>132</sup> *C.J.*, XVIII, 29.

<sup>133</sup> B.M. Add. MSS 34518, f.57.

<sup>134</sup> See above [71, 75-84].

<sup>135</sup> *H.M.C., Portland*, III, Sir Edward Harley to Robert Harley, May 22, 1691. "Mr. Birch . . . said that the necessity of his affairs obliged him to stand now and were it not for a cogency in that he would much rather desire cousin Foley should be chosen." Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, June 27, 1691. "Mr. John Birch has occasion for £500 he offers 5%, the estate being entailed he cannot give anything but personal security."



TABLE OF MEMBERS, BY-ELECTIONS AND PETITIONS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH OF WEOBLEY, 1628-1741

<i>Parliaments</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>By elections</i>	<i>Petitions</i>
1628	William Walter William Tomkins William Tomkins		
1640	Thomas Tomkins	William Tomkins d. Dec. 1640.	
(Short)	Hon. Arthur Jones	Thomas Tomkins elected in his	
1640	William Tomkins	place, 15th January 1641.	
(Long)	Robert Andrews		
1659	Herbert Perrott		
(Richard			
Cromwell's)			
1660	Thomas Tomkins		
(Convention)	Herbert Perrott		
1661	Thomas Tomkins	Thomas Tomkins d. Dec. 1674.	On petition of Thomas Tomkins the election of James
(Pension or	John Barneby	Sir Thomas Williams elected in	Pytts and Richard Weston declared void because the
Cavalier)		his place, 22 April 1675 and	Sheriff did not send the precept, did not give due
		William Gregory elected, 7 March	notice of the poll, and refused the poll when it was
		1678.	demand, 16 February, 1660. <i>C.J.</i> , VIII, 90.
1679	William Gregory		House reverses resolution of its Committee of Elec-
1st Exclusion	John Birch (Col.)		tions and Privileges, that Sir Thomas Williams was
1680	John Birch (Col.)		elected, some debate arising "whether the Sheriff had
2nd Exclusion	John Booth		duly issued his precept," 23 February 1678. <i>C.J.</i> , IX,
1681	John Birch (Col.)		315 and 444.
(Oxford)	John Booth		
1685	Henry Cornewall		
(James II)	Robert Price		
1689	John Birch (Col.)		
(Convention)	James Morgan		
1690	John Birch (Col.)		
	Robert Price		
	Robert Price	Col. John Birch d. May 1691.	Double return of Thomas Foley and John Birch at
	Thomas Foley	Thomas Foley declared elected	by-election 5 June 1691. Both petitioned the House but
		in his place, 12 November 1691.	at hearing Mr. Birch's counsel "did allow Mr. Foley
			to be duly returned as being returned by the Constable
			and that Mr. Birch was not duly returned being
			returned by the burgesses only and that Mr. Foley
			had the majority of qualified voices." Thomas Foley
			declared elected by order of the House, 12 November
			1691. <i>C.J.</i> , X, 550-551.

JOSEPH HILLABY

TABLE OF MEMBERS, BY-ELECTIONS AND PETITIONS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH OF WEOBLEY, 1628-1741

PART II

<i>Parliaments</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>By-elections</i>	<i>Petitions</i>
1698	Robert Price Thomas Foley		Double return of Thomas Foley and John Birch, each being returned by one of the two Constables. Mr. Price's return, by both of the Constables, was in no way controverted by either of the parties. Thomas Foley declared elected by order of the House, 13 January, 1699. <i>C.J.</i> , XII, 353, 404-406.
1701	Henry Cornewall		Charles Cornewall unsuccessfully petitioned the House, 25-27 February 1701. <i>C.J.</i> , XIII, 353, 355, 358.
January	John Birch		Henry Cornewall unsuccessfully petitioned against John Birch on the grounds of bribery, etc., 15 January 1702. <i>C.J.</i> , XIII, 681.
1701	Robert Price		
November	John Birch		John Birch unsuccessfully petitioned against Henry Cornewall and
1702	Henry Cornewall		Thomas Price on the grounds of bribery and threats, 4 November
	Thomas Price		1702. <i>C.J.</i> , XIV, 13.
1705	Henry Cornewall		
	John Birch		
1708	John Birch	Hon. Henry Thynne	Unsuccessful petition against the undue return, at the by-election, of Henry Gorges by means of bribery and large promises held out to William Badham, Under-Sheriff of the County, to be heard "on 5 May next" but no report appears, 10 January 1709. <i>C.J.</i> , XVI, 55.
	Hon. Henry Thynne	Hon. Henry Thynne	
		electd to serve as member for Weymouth, Henry Gorges electd in his place 13 December, 1708.	
1710	John Birch		
	Henry Cornewall		
1713	John Birch		
	Uvedale Tomkins		
	Price		
1715	John Birch	Vice-Admiral Charles	Petition of John Birch, against Paul Foley of Prestwood, Staffs., for use of bribery, etc. Petition of Simon Gough and John Moore on Paul Foley's behalf, against Charles Cornewall. The House resolved, that Paul Foley is not duly elected, and "that it appears to this House that Simon Gough is guilty of distributing money (£5 5s. apiece) in order to procure Paul Foley of Prestwood to be elected" . . . and that "he be taken into custody of the sergeant-at-arms for his said offence" 29 March, 1715. <i>C.J.</i> , XVIII, 29, 30, 181.
	Charles Cornewall	Cornewall died 7 November 1717. Thomas Foley, petitioned unsuccessfully against return of Nicholas Philpott at the by-election November 1717. <i>C.J.</i> , XIX, 19, 31, 48.	Two polls taken in 1722. The first poll, giving the majority to Philpott and Birch, was taken by the old and legally constituted constables; the second poll, giving a majority to Hughes and Carpenter, by two new constables. Hughes and Carpenter petitioned, unsuccessfully, 25 October 1722 and 21 January 1723. <i>C.J.</i> , XX, 44.
1722	Nicholas Philpott		
	John Birch		

THE PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH OF WEOBLEY—1628-1708

1727

Uvedale Tomkins  
Price  
John Birch

On Birch's appointment as  
Cursitor Baron by-election  
held, Birch re-elected,  
January 1730 but expelled  
the House April 1732,  
when James Cornewall  
gained the seat in a three  
cornered fight. *C.J.*, XXI,  
399, 873.

At by-election of January 1730 the second candidate, James Cornewall, unsuccessfully petitioned the House, 17 February, 1730, *C.J.*, XXI, 444. At second by-election, April 1732, Paul Foley and John Birch both unsuccessfully petitioned against the return of James Cornewall. This was the last occasion that a Foley stood for Weobley. *C.J.*, XXII, 147.

1734

Sir John Buckworth  
Capt. James Cornewall

Capt. James Cornewall successfully petitioned against the return of John Birch. The latter's name was erased from the return by order of the House, 3 March 1737. *C.J.*, XXII, 351, 498, 724, 770.

1741

Viscount Palmerston  
Lord Carpenter

## APPENDIX

A list of those who poled (1691).<sup>1</sup>

*Foley*

Alban Thomas  
Roger Davis  
John Sheppard Jun.  
Simon Cope  
Walter Wellington  
Richard Philips  
Edward Synock  
William Hosier  
James Hosier  
George Jenkins  
John Succour  
Thomas Baskerville  
Richard Eckley  
Joseph Godsall  
Samuel Green  
John Griffin  
Thomas Greg  
James Hill  
Thomas Harpur  
John Jones Weaver  
John Jones Joyner  
William Powel  
Evan Preece  
William Rosse  
Simon Gough

*Birch*

John Price  
Thomas Farrington  
Thomas Ross  
John Lainer  
William Faulkes  
Francis Gibbs  
James Barnes  
William Gough  
John Barnes  
David Morrice  
Richard Moore  
Thomas Wall  
Samuel Hobson  
James Parker  
James Taylor  
John Barnes Snr.  
Henry Jones  
John Alford  
Francis Synock  
John Sheppard Snr.  
John Sayre  
Thomas Howells  
Thomas Davys who had sold his  
estate to Evan Preece and  
Evan Preece had for some  
time paid taxes.

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Harley MSS 6846/290. *The case of the election of Weobley.*

# A Roman Stone Relief from Staunton-on-Arrow

By K. S. PAINTER

In 1967 a small oolitic limestone relief (pl. X) came to light at Staunton-on-Arrow in north-west Herefordshire. It was found lying in a pile of stones intended for a rockery; but it almost certainly came from the local churchyard. On discovering the relief the owner, Major T. Douglas Ross, took it to the staff of Hereford Museum, who examined it in consultation with the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum.<sup>(1)</sup>

The stone is 25.3 cms. (9.8 ins.) high and 12.8 cms. (5.1 ins.) wide at its centre. On the front a standing figure, 21.5 ins. high, has been carved in relief, leaving an inscribed band approximately 4 cms. high across the bottom. The base of the stone is approximately 13 cms. (5.15 ins.) wide and 6 cms. (2.5 ins.) from front to back at its centre. The uppermost portion of the back is curved, the sides are well finished, and the base has been smoothed; but the surface of the back of the stone has been left comparatively rough and undressed. Geologically, the stone is an oolitic limestone with some shell fragments, certainly of Jurassic age — probably one of the Cotswold freestones (Inferior Oolite or possibly Great Oolite series), almost certainly from the eastern part of Gloucestershire or south Worcestershire.

The attributes of the figure—the *caduceus* in the right hand and the wings on the head—and the inscription DEO.ME (rcurio) identify the figure clearly as Mercury. There is no sign remaining of a cap distinct from the hair, and the wings may therefore have sprung directly from the head; but classical pieces show him with or without the cap. The object in his right hand is clearly the snake staff, and the left hand, though now lost, is most likely to have held a purse.

The shape of the sculpture, with its curved sides and dressed back, suggests that it was made to place in a niche, though whether the niche was in a private house, a temple precinct or a country shrine cannot be known. Nevertheless the sculpture is new evidence for the cult of Mercury, who was a particularly popular god because he was guide of souls in the underworld, protector of herds and flocks, and god of traders and their wares.<sup>(2)</sup> In the western provinces Mercury's popularity was further increased by identification with some aspect of Celtic divinity.<sup>(3)</sup> It has been shown in Gaul and elsewhere that a Mercury identified with a Celtic god can very often be distinguished by the addition of a Celtic name or the word *deus* to the inscription,<sup>(4)</sup> by representation as a bearded old man, by the dressing of the figure in a heavy overgarment, or by the accompaniment of the goddess Rosmerta.<sup>(5)</sup> The classical Hermes-Mercury, by contrast, is simply 'Mercury' on dedications, is young and unbearded, and is naked or merely wearing a light cape on his shoulders. The Staunton-on-Arrow figure wears a heavy overgarment and is referred to as *deus*. He is therefore clearly to be regarded as a native version of Mercury, rather than classical.

How is the relief related to the cults of the Severn-Cotswold region? Dr. Ross has recently demonstrated that there was in the Cotswolds a cult comparable to that of the Gaulish stag-god Cernunnos, who often appears as Mars or Mercury in Roman

times.<sup>(6)</sup> The evidence is two reliefs of a horned god from Cirencester and a well-attested cult of Mars, in both classical and native forms, in Gloucestershire, north Somerset and Wiltshire.<sup>(7)</sup> Her argument for a horned-god cult in the area can now be developed by pointing out that the worship of Mercury is also well attested,<sup>(8)</sup> and that the name of the tribe to the north, *Cornovii*, can be interpreted as 'worshippers of the horned god'<sup>(9)</sup> If this theory is correct, the Staunton-on-Arrow relief may be seen as part of the Roman-period development, as worship of Mars and Mercury, of a cult of the horned god which extended over the whole of the Severn region. The relief's particular importance is that it extends the horned-god area to the west bank of the Severn, an area particularly lacking till now of evidence in the form of inscriptions or representations.<sup>(10)</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Co-operation, help and advice must be gratefully acknowledged from the owner, Major T. Douglas Ross; the City Librarian and Curator of Hereford City Library and Museum, Mr. J. F. W. Sherwood; the Assistant Curator, Miss M. A. Naldrett; Mr. M. Taylor of the British Museum; Mr. S. E. Ellis of the British Museum (Natural History), to whom I am indebted for the geological report; and the British Museum Research Laboratory. The inscription will be briefly published by Mr. R. P. Wright in *Journal of Roman Studies* LVIII (1968). For a brief notice see also Sotheby's Sale Catalogue for Monday, 29th January, 1968, p. 22 and facing plate.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (1958), p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> There was no clear-cut functional distinction between the Celtic divinities, so that no rigid god-for-god equation was possible with the Greco-Roman pantheon, and Mars and Mercury, amongst others, could be identified with most of the Celtic divinities. An alternative view is that the many diverse attributes of a single great god of the Celts were principally shared in the classical pantheon between Mars and Mercury. Single great god: P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'Etude des Divinités Celtiques* (Brugge, 1942), pp. 121ff., esp. p. 149. Absence of clear-cut functional distinction: O. Brogan, *Roman Gaul* (London, 1953), pp. 185-186.

<sup>4</sup> Gaul and Germany: Lambrechts, *o.c.*, pp. 121ff. Switzerland: F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit* (Basel, 1948), p. 535.

<sup>5</sup> Lambrechts, *o.c.*, pp. 135ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (1967), pp. 139ff.

<sup>7</sup> See particularly E. M. Clifford, 'Roman Altars in Gloucestershire', in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* LX for 1938 (1939), pp. 297ff.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, figures and figurines listed in J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 70-73.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the *Cornavii* of Caithness: C. Thomas, 'The Interpretation of the Pictish Symbols' in *Archaeol. J.* CXX (1963), p. 40. For interpretation of *Cornovii* as 'Promontory People' see I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford, 'The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography' in *Archaeologia* XCIII (1949), p. 44 s.v. 'Purocoronavis'; and I. A. Richmond, 'The Cornovii' in I. Ll. Foster and L. Alcock (edd.), *Culture and Environment* (1963), p. 251.

<sup>10</sup> The relief was purchased at Sotheby's sale on 29th January, 1968, for £400.

## Note on Roman Relief from Staunton-on-Arrow

By LORD RENNELL OF RODD

**M**R. K. PAINTER'S paper <sup>(1)</sup> on a Roman stone relief from Staunton-on-Arrow calls for some comment and, here and there, amplification. Major D. Ross in whose garden the stone effigy was found lives virtually opposite the Church of Staunton-on-Arrow with a road between. The Church and surrounding land including the graveyard adjoin a motte which is surrounded by the usual moat. The flat ground of the Church and precincts look like and probably were, or became, the bailey associated with the motte. This flat ground continues over the road and includes the garden and house now occupied by Major Ross. The ground on the north eastern edge of this land falls rapidly away to the drained, and formerly irrigated, water-meadows of the Arrow Valley which hereabouts run as far N.E. as Milton Cross. His garden overlooks the ford over the Arrow River which is now crossed by a bridge at the Court of Noke. Major Ross' note to me on the effigy reads:—

"At some time during 1966 I demolished a rockery in the garden, keeping the stones for use in building a wall at a later date.

Whilst building the wall in summer 1967 I had a little difficulty in fitting a particular stone, and seeing that there was quite a lot of earth adhering to it, I washed it in a bucket of water. I then saw on one side a relief carving of what I took to be a Saxon figure.

I have today heard from a Mrs. Lawson-Perry that when she lived here, several years ago, she built the rockery, and placed the stone carving on it. She got the stone from the stable loft, and said it was one found by Preb. Cornish Watkins."

Prebendary (of Colwall in the Diocese of Hereford) S. Cornish Watkins was the incumbent of Staunton-on-Arrow, 1903-1931, and lived in the Vicarage which is now Major Ross' house. He was a member of the Woolhope Club of which he was President in 1914, when he contributed several papers to the Club transactions. He is described as having been a collector of antiquities, the fate of which is not known except for the Romano-British effigy of Mercury. I do not know the evidence for Mr. Painter's statement that "it almost certainly came from the local churchyard": nor is there any evidence that the sculpture was not bought from elsewhere though in what follows there is a *prima facie* circumstantial case to be made for the effigy having been used locally. The stone itself is not local. A somewhat similar effigy exists in the London Museum, also of Oolite, but found in Smithfield, London. A photograph of this piece and its description are available at the London Museum. The problem of the Roman Roads in London, including the City of London and neighbouring areas is fully covered by Ivan Margary <sup>(2)</sup> as is the area traversed by Watling Street West <sup>(3)</sup> to which we will come in due course.

Unfortunately Prebendary Cornish Watkins' contributions to the Woolhope Club do not bear on his collection of antiquities. His only contribution <sup>(4)</sup> of moment about Staunton-on-Arrow is a fanciful sketch of Edric the Savage who in Domesday held the manor of Staunton-on-Arrow T.R.E. in which the Prebendary apologises for presenting to the Club a "very unscientific paper on a some-time lord of Staunton-on-Arrow". <sup>(5)</sup>

The most interesting aspect of the discovery of the Romano-British Mercury Relief is that it was found at Staunton-on-Arrow even if there is no evidence whatever about how or when it got there. In the Centenary volume of the Woolhope Club D. R. Dudley examined the "Herefordshire Area in the Roman Period" <sup>(6)</sup> and on his map covering the Roman occupation of the area, he marks a conjectural road running from Mortimer's Cross to the Wye Valley at Clyro (near Hay on Wye). While Dudley states that this road's course is uncertain, I have been engaged in identifying it and am quite satisfied of its trace. It is, moreover, a road of military importance between the first-century A.D. Roman posts at Brecon and those in the Wye valley including the great camp at Boatside Farm near Clyro with its fords over the Wye, and the then Legionary bases, first at Gloucester and Wroxeter and later at Cærlleon and Chester, by cutting off a long circuitous route via Hereford. The trace of this Roman Road which at certain points has clear indication of its Roman origins runs from near Mortimer's Cross on Watling Street West: (Antonine Iter XII) via Shobdon - Staunton-on-Arrow - Lyonshall-Brilley Mountain to a point where one branch descends from the high ground of the left side of the Wye Valley to Clyro Gær (Boatside Farm camp) while the other branch goes on to the Roman "Signal Station" (outpost fort) on Little Mountain <sup>(7)</sup> with a well defined agger in parts. The general direction of the Road is very straight. The sectors of the road which can be traced in existing roads, lanes, etc., show minimal deviation from the general direction. I have surveyed the whole of this road and collected a good deal of other evidence but the paper is too long to print at this juncture and in this context. Now, this road the western part of which keeps to high ground, crosses only one watercourse in its whole length, namely the Arrow, below the motte and bailey of Staunton-on-Arrow. The association of Mercury with travellers and merchants in classical tradition is well known: the fact that he was also (dis-) credited with being the patron of thieves (silicet-Highway robbers) is less material! But what is significant is that the Staunton-on-Arrow effigy was found at he only river crossing on this important military and provincial road, perhaps in a small wayside shrine overlooking the ford over the Arrow. While this is no proof whatsoever of the local association of the effigy, it does at least lend attractive colour to the hypothesis that it is precisely here that there might have been a wayside shrine containing the Staunton-on-Arrow relief <sup>(8)</sup> for travellers over what was and still is the rather wild country to the west.

<sup>1</sup> Page No. 152 in this volume of the Woolhope Transactions.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Margary second edition Vol. I pp. 28-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I p. 118 and Vol. II 50, 51 s.q. Also Vol. II for the local identification of the Antonine Iter XII and XIII at p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Woolhope Transactions 1914 pp. 242-245.

<sup>5</sup> Other references to the Romano-British and Saxon history of Staunton-on-Arrow are contained in Lord Rennell's papers in the Woolhope Transactions 1960 XXXVI Part III, in Finberg's *Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester University Press) 1961 at pp. 141-142, and in *Culture and Environment, Essays in honour of Sir Cyril Fox* (Routledge 1963) pp. 315, 316, 323, which have some reference to the conversion of the area to Christianity.

<sup>6</sup> "Herefordshire" published by The British Publishing Company of Gloucester for the Club: Dudley's paper and map at p. 120, Chapter X.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 121: c.f. also D. R. Dudley and Graham Webster's "The Roman Conquest of Britain, A.D. 43-57". Batsford 1965.

<sup>8</sup> The fact that both the Staunton-on-Arrow relief and the one in the London Museum, apart from other examples cited in Mr. Painter's paper are made of Cotswold oolite, means no more than that such effigies were made in Cotswold stone which is a soft stone to cut and carve. In Herefordshire, apart from some, but now very little, Red Devonian, there is no good stone for dressing and none in the immediate surroundings of Staunton-on-Arrow.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE ON HEREFORD POOR

By F. C. MORGAN

ANOTHER cathedral charity was founded by Richard Lane *alias* Tomson in 1619. He left money for the purchase of land worth £20 annually to provide twelve poor persons who attended the cathedral with one penny loaf each on Saturdays at evening prayer, and sixpence on the vigils of feasts. Also a payment of 40/- yearly was to a deacon for his weekly bread and 40/- annually to another to prick\* fairly into books, songs and church services. The residue each year in turn was to be spent on clothing for the poor on impotent and on fatherless children; in delivering debtors out of prison; and in binding a child as chorister or to some trade.

The Act Book of the dean and chapter records many of these payments. On the 25th June, 1684 "Item decreed That Tenn pounds payable on Maundy thursday next be disposed of to discharge Richard Wall and John Rogers out of the Citty goale (*sic*) being prisoners therein for debt (*vizt*) Eight pounds tenn shillings for Wall, and Thirty shillings for Rogers."

On 2nd December, 1687, "Item decreed That Mr. Thompsons guift for the Release of a prisoner be this yeare employed for the discharge of Gyles Holder a prisoner in Bysters gate upon execucon."

\* To write music by 'pricks' or notes.

#### NOTE ON QUEEN STONE AT HUNTSHAM

MR. N. P. BRIDGEWATER has pointed out the error in last year's transactions, p. 255, where it was stated that the Queen Stone at Huntsham had been removed. Mr. Bridgewater assures us that the stone is still standing in its usual position.

## Reports of Sectional Recorders

### Archaeology, 1967

By R. SHOESMITH

#### Excavations

##### NEOLITHIC

*Dorstone Hill* (SO 326 423). Exploratory excavation continued at this site under the direction of C. H. Houlder and W. H. Pye. A further trench was excavated during several weekends.

Below the plough soil, a two inch thick layer containing flint, and including two leaf-shaped arrowheads and a single piece of pottery of the Western Neolithic type, sealed a pit.

This pit, of the storage type, was approximately 3 ft. 6 ins. wide, 3 ft. 2 ins. deep from the surface (that is, approximately 2 ft. 6 ins. deep from its contemporary surface), and its excavated length was approximately 6 feet. Indications suggest that its actual length would be about ten feet. It contained four pieces of Western Neolithic Type Pottery, a scraper, one polished flint fragment, and various unworked flints and some charcoal.

This must be one of the very few pits in association with Western Neolithic pottery north of the Jurassic Ridge in England.

W. R. Pye.

##### IRON AGE

*Midsummer Hill Camp* (SO 760 375). In the southern entrance it has been possible to demonstrate a long succession of gateway repairs comparable to the record obtained at Croft Ambrey. The excavation is still not completed, but already there is evidence of some eighteen successive gates. The same remarkable parallelism of gate development at Croft and Midsummer that was established last year to the tenth gate down has been shown again, with both sites having their last double entrance fourteen gates from the top. At present it appears that the whole local Iron Age hill-fort sequence is present at Midsummer's southern entrance, the earliest gates probably belonging to a timber revetted rampart of which some evidence began to emerge in the last two days of the excavation.

Inside the rampart an extensive excavation of the swampy area showed how stone-lined sumps had been used to collect water from a shallow Iron Age pool, and revealed the two major rampart building episodes that are now suggested by the gateway evidence. On the steep hillside above the gateway a 1 in 3 slope had been terraced for timber buildings. It must be reasonably certain that Midsummer was closely built over, as were Croft Ambrey and Credenhill. Again the buildings are small rectangular ones, many times rebuilt. On one site four phases of such building were recorded overlying earlier terraces. On the higher of the two sites the earliest buildings were about 15 ft.



by 12 ft. and raised on sleeper beams set in slots neatly chiselled in the Malvernian rock. Such construction is extremely rare in the British Iron Age record (it was used on the Heathrow temple site), and its recognition here at Midsummer is of immense interest. Finds from the house sites were plentiful and included two complete iron knives, a bronze spindle, a padlock key and various beads and rings.

The excavation was directed by Mr. S. C. Stanford, University of Birmingham Department of Extra Mural Studies, on behalf of the Malvern Hills Archaeological Committee.

#### ROMAN

*Leintwardine* (SO 403 742). The excavation of the fort bath-house south of Mill Lane has been completed. The recent work has produced additional evidence of the enlargement of the bath-house contemporaneously with the construction of the massive fort defences in the late second century. At this time a timber-laced rampart was built to protect the annexe in which the bath-house stood; its structure is similar to that of the main fort rampart built at this time to enclose 12 acres. The additional room recently excavated was crossed by a deep, stone-floored, masonry drain. The area between the bath-house and annexe rampart had been used as an ash and rubbish tip, from which a quantity of pottery and some metalwork was recovered.

The excavation was directed by Mr. S. C. Stanford, on behalf of the Woolhope Club and the Ministry of Public Building and Works.

*Weston-under-Penyard (Ariconium)*. Mr. P. Garrod has reported trial excavations at SO 647238, immediately below the 400 ft. contour, which showed that only the 1st century deposits remained undisturbed. A quantity of native ware, having affinities with pottery from Bagendon, was found associated with a denarius of Mark Antony and two early Roman brooches.

At SO 645241 a rescue excavation in an area where quantities of tesserae had been observed in the plough soil revealed wall footings but no floor levels. The footings cut through the remains of five bowl furnaces.

#### MEDIEVAL

*Hereford*. The various excavations are described on pp. 44-70 in this volume.

#### Other Finds

*Palaeolithic*—An Acheullian hand-axe of the Lower Palaeolithic period was found by Mr. Stevens of Sarnesfield whilst digging a hole for a gate-post (SO 380 500). He also found a slender blade, with slight battering, of a type used during the Upper Palaeolithic period in one of his fields (SO 382 498).

*Mesolithic*—Flints of this period have been found at Snodhill (a non-geometric point) (SO 309 403), and Vowchurch Common (a blade) (SO 369 374).

*Neolithic*—The find spots continue to increase with the inclusion of Staunton-on-Arrow (SO 365 605), Lyonshall (SO 320 570), Hope-under-Dinmore (SO 498 553) and Letton (SO 346 462). At the latter a large fragment of polished stone axe was found along with a large number of flint flakes and a leaf-shaped arrowhead.

*Bronze Age*—A barbed and tanged arrow-head was found at Snodhill (SO 303 394).  
R. Pye.

*Roman*—A Roman relief, discovered by Major Ross at Staunton-on-Arrow, is described on page 152.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SECTION

Membership of the group continues to increase, and is now well over 50. Interest in the activities of the group has been so widespread that a suggestion has been made to the Woolhope Club to allow junior members. This has been favourably received by the Club committee, and a scheme is to be put to members at the next A.G.M.

The News-sheet maintains its position as a general and up-to-date resumé of events in the archaeological field in the county. Five issues were made in 1967, the later ones with stencilled plans and illustrations.

A series of outdoor meetings were arranged during the summer, and field surveys were made of the new site of Bredwardine Castle, Bullingham Old Church and the possible Long Barrow at Lower Lyde. A survey was also made of possible Roman roads in the Abbey Dore area, especially that leading south from Kenchester.

The monthly meetings continued through the winter with talks and discussions, and have included Hereford Excavations, Roman Roads and Deserted Medieval Villages.

The A.G.M. in June was well attended, and the following officers were elected:

Chairman: J. G. Calderbank. Secretary: R. Shoesmith.

Meetings Secretary: Miss M. Thomas. Treasurer: L. Skelton.

Committee Members: Miss R. E. Hickling, F. Noble.

## Botany, 1967

By F. M. KENDRICK

THE most exciting find of the year was the Lady Orchid (*Orchis purpurea*) one of our finest native orchids, of large size, having a deep purple hood and a delicate white or pink lip spotted crimson. The most remarkable thing is that this specimen was found so far from its known habitats, as of recent years it has only been recorded from Kent and as far as I can determine has never been found beyond the borders of that county, being recorded but rarely from Surrey and Sussex. It is normally an inhabitant of scrub or rarely disturbed woodland, of open character; it also demands soils rich in lime. It is difficult to reconcile the latter fact with the position in which it was found at Whitfield until one remembers that Silurian rocks have been found in that area amongst glacial material and the cornstones occur in the vicinity.

*Orchis purpurea*—Wood Whitfield. Confirmed by the British Museum. Found by Lady Emma Tennant.

Other finds of interest are as follows:

*Juncus tenuis*—Cart tracks, Doward. Found by Mrs. L. E. Whitehead and Miss A. Powell.

This rush is a naturalised plant absent from most of the Midlands and only once recorded in the county from Colwall Green. It is considered that the seeds are dispersed by cart wheels, etc.

*Tegsalia nudicaulis* (Shepherd's Cress). Wych Cutting. This plant is still in existence at its only habitat in the county, one spot near the Wych Cutting.

*Melilotus alba* (White Melilot).—Quarries on Sutton Hill. Found by F. M. Kendrick. Again this is a naturalised plant which favours waste ground. It appeared in quantity. The only previous record I can trace is from the Llangarren district by Mr. B. M. Watkins (*Transactions W.N.F.C.* 1871-73 p. 10) and noted in the Flora as a footnote under *Melilotus officinalis*.

*Ranunculus lingua* (Great Spearwort)—Blakemere Pools. This is not a common plant in the county and is confined mainly to western regions. The nearest record to this was from Moccas.

*Rhamnus catharticus* (Purging Buckthorn)—Common Hill, Fownhope.

*Silybum mariana* (Milk Thistle)—Common Hill, Fownhope. A casual, and generally an escape from cultivation.

*Arum italicum*—Main road near Ledbury. Found by Mrs. Hadfield. This plant was threatened by road alterations but the workmen removed it and re-planted it nearby.

## Dialect, 1967

By MRS. W. LEEDS

MOST of the new dialect words and expressions which have come in during the year emanate from the north and north-west of the county. One such is an account of the use of the word middlin(g) in reply to an enquiry as to health. "How bista?" The meaning depends entirely on the tone of the voice. "Pretty middling" said very brightly=very well, but if said in a dull tone=not very well. If the reply is "only middling" and said in a depressed tone=not at all well, and if the expression is "very middling; only very middling"=very ill.

The words "dying" or "dead" seem to be taboo, and the following euphemisms are preferred:

He's going down-hill fast.	He won't last long.
He won't be long with us.	He's going home.
He has passed away.	He has passed on.

### SAYINGS

Rhymes and gibes connected with various place-names are for example:

COWARNE	Dirty Cowarne, wooden steeple, Cracked bell, wicked people.
HEREFORD	Hereford born, Hereford bred, Strong in the arm, weak in the head.
or	Hereford white-faced uns.
LUSTON	Luston short and Luston long, At every home a tump o' dung.
WEOBLEY	Poor Weobley, proud people, Low church, high steeple.
WOOLHOPE	Lusty Tarrington, lively Stoke, Beggars at Weston, thieves at Woolhope.

Two lists of 'waggoners' calls' have been received from two correspondents in the Leominster and Ledbury areas. These two lists differ somewhat, and as waggoners are a dying race, and likewise stone-masons and carpenters, I would be very grateful to receive any words of 'occupational significance'.

## Entomology, 1967

By H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH

Very few hibernating butterflies appeared and then late in April.

Wood Whites and Pearl Bordered Fritillaries did not appear in Haugh Wood until June 10th.

Orange Tips appeared on April 27th.

I had Levana butterflies again this year in my garden. The first appeared on May 1st but none survived long.

Silver-washed Fritillaries were very scarce this year; so were Purple and White Letter Hairstreaks.

Comma butterflies seem to be holding their own.

Painted Ladies and Red Admirals were very scarce.

Moths were even scarcer than butterflies. I saw no Humming-bird Hawk-moths and even gamma moths were not plentiful but a Death's-head Hawk-moth was seen in the Fownhope area.

## Mammals, 1967

By C. W. WALKER

THE polecat, reported in Herefordshire from time to time appears to be increasing in numbers: it would be difficult to find any other explanation for the increased number of records of this species in the last few years. We have received a total of 33 reports of polecats—trapped, run over on roads, shot, or seen alive by reliable observers in Herefordshire—for the three year period 1965-66-67. On the map these occurrences are seen to cluster along the river valleys of Wye and Lugg, and there is little doubt that these have been the chief lines followed in the extension of the range of this animal eastward from its central focus in Cardigan and Merioneth through Radnorshire into our county. Most of the reports come from N.W. Herefordshire, but the species appears to be established as far east as the Woolhope district, and one record comes from Skenfrith in the south. Mr. K. C. Walton of Aberystwyth, who has worked out the distribution of the polecat, has found evidence of a recent extension of its range in a southward direction, i.e., into Carmarthen and Pembroke: our experience suggests a similar tendency to expansion in an easterly direction.

Note: Fresh polecat specimens (run over, trapped, etc.), are required by Mr. Walton for research. Members are asked to assist by reporting any such immediately to the recorder (Hereford 2622).

## Vernacular Buildings, 1967

By J. W. TONKIN

**A**GAIN the work of recording smaller threatened old buildings has gone on steadily and quietly. The Old Buildings Recording Group has had its regular meetings and a lot of work has been done, not only by the group as a whole but by members working individually and in pairs. As in the past we feel we owe a great debt to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work. We are always glad to have new members for this is an increasing task.

During the past year six medieval buildings have been examined, two of them being cellars and two having cruck trusses. Two long houses were recorded, one of them being one of the cruck buildings mentioned above. Five seventeenth-century farm houses, four town houses and a sixteenth/seventeenth-century group in Leominster were recorded, some of them not previously thought of as being of interest. A very interesting group of five small later houses in the south-west of the county was included this year. This type of house, often of the late eighteenth-century, is often disregarded as being small and of no particular architectural merit, but it marks an interesting period in agricultural and social history and these houses are well worth recording. Finally, there was an early nineteenth-century game larder, a most unusual building, and again of considerable social interest.

### HEREFORD

BUILDING at rear of 41 BRIDGE STREET, SO 508397 (R.C.H.M. 49)

The R.C.H.M. account makes no mention of the stone cellar, which may have been completely hidden, for the present owner has done a considerable amount of work. This cellar has a fine stone doorway and window. The broad chamfer with a quirk and the square headed doorway could be medieval and a fifteenth-century date would seem to fit the cusped braces of the house rather than the seventeenth-century as suggested by R.C.H.M. The roof, however, is probably of the latter date.

BUILDING at rear of 54 BROAD STREET, SO 509399 (R.C.H.M. 39)

The demolition of a building enabled the gable of the hall to be seen and examined for a brief period. The cusped braces in all the first-floor panels confirmed the evidence of the roof (See *Transactions W.N.F.C.* (1938) p. 168), that this was a fifteenth-century hall of some importance. The hall had not been discovered when the R.C.H.M. survey was made.

DRYBRIDGE HOUSE, SO 508394

As this house is in danger of demolition permission was obtained to survey it. It is a good example of an early eighteenth-century house, but has been badly altered and added to over the years. To-day the facade is the only worthwhile part of it.

The smaller southern part seems to have been an earlier timber-framed house, later encased in brick. There seems to have been a gap between this and the eighteenth-century house for a time and then they were joined rather awkwardly. There is still some good early eighteenth-century panelling.

There is a strong tradition in the Bird family that the house was built in 1734, though it looks rather earlier than this. A date-stone in the north wall has the initials BJB and the date 1742. The family owned the house until 1926.

MANSION HOUSE, SO 509401 (R.C.H.M. 74)

This very fine house of 1697 is likely to be altered or demolished under the redevelopment scheme. It still possesses most of its original panelling, ceilings and staircase and it is hoped that a more detailed account of it will be published at a later date.

CELLAR at PUTTA'S CLOSE behind 2 OFFA STREET, SO 512399

During clearance work a medieval cellar was discovered in the yard and permission was obtained to examine it before it was covered by a car park. A detailed account and plan appear on p. 68.

14 ST. OWEN STREET, SO 513399 (R.C.H.M. 97)

This house was being radically altered and permission was obtained to record it. It is basically a timber-framed house of the early seventeenth century built around a central chimney, but with a nineteenth-century front. Since the R.C.H.M. survey was made three more paintings of the Muses have been found, making six in all. The remaining three presumably graced the fire-place wall of the great chamber but there is no trace to-day.

### CRASWALL

WHITE HAYWOOD, SO 293341 (R.C.H.M. 12)

As this house, which had been empty, was undergoing modernisation it was decided to record it. As the R.C.H.M. suggests the wing is almost certainly earlier than 1635, the date on the screen, and it would seem that this part was a typical long-house with the fire-place backing on to the through passage and the cattle using this same passage and living in the lower part of the house.

### KINGSLAND

HARBOUR HOUSE, SO 441613 (R.C.H.M. 56)

This house has been empty for some time, was getting into a poor condition and was likely to be demolished. It is a typical seventeenth-century timber-framed house with low hall and wings, and late in the same century was encased in brick and given Dutch curvilinear gables, a very unusual feature in this area. One of the tie-beams is a re-used cruck.

## SOUTH-EAST corner of CORN SQUARE, SO 497590

This L-shaped group of buildings most recently consisted of three cottages, but once stripped of their later accretions proved to have had an interesting history.

There had originally been a late sixteenth-century building of two bays along Grange Walk to which was added a parlour block at some time in the mid-seventeenth century. This was "modernised" and had more rooms added fairly early in the eighteenth-century and still later had sash windows inserted. These eighteenth-century additions were in brick.

Later still a small cottage was wedged between this and what is now the R.D.C. offices. In this last cottage is still preserved the finely moulded bressumer and framing of whatever building stood at the corner before the present offices were erected.

This fascinating group has now been saved and is being carefully restored. It should add considerably to the visual and historical interest of the square. It is hoped to publish a more detailed account of these buildings later.

## 48 ETNAM STREET, SO 499589 (R.C.H.M. 140)

Once the Baptist Church, having been bought for this purpose in 1696 and used as such for seventy-five years, this house was under threat of demolition. It is now being saved and moved to another site. It is a typical, small early seventeenth-century house with good ceiling beams and some interesting detail, such as a cupboard with buckle hinges on the eastern stairs.

## LETTON

## BULL FARM, SO 335466 (R.C.H.M. 3)

This and Bridge Farm, Staunton (See below) have both been empty for some time and may not be re-occupied because of the danger of flooding. These two houses and Harbour Farm, Kingsland, are all of the same type: a well-off seventeenth-century yeoman's house with two rooms in a central block, one of them a low hall with an entrance doorway, and in the Letton and Staunton cases the stairs also, and two cross-wings, one a service wing and the other a parlour wing. In all three cases the front has been faced with brick. At Bull Farm it seems possible that the central block may be earlier than the wings and has been re-modelled.

## LLANVEYNOE

## BLACK DAREN, SO 296303 (R.C.H.M. II)

This farm-house in the Olchon Valley is no longer lived in and is used as a barn. It was a similar house to the earlier part of White Haywood, i.e. a long-house with people and cattle under the same roof separated only by the cross passage. It is a stone building with four cruck trusses and the evidence still of the doorways into two smaller rooms beyond the hall.

## BLAEN, SO 278333 and THE PLACE, SO 275335

These houses are very similar. Both were probably built in the eighteenth-century or late seventeenth and are derived from the long-house tradition, the room lay-out being similar to the earlier type but with the cattle part removed. The entry is from the gable by a big fireplace just as from the passage in a long-house. Both are now empty and likely to become derelict, though The Place is being used as a barn.

Blaen has a lean-to running the full length of the house at the back containing a dairy and wash-house. This is a typical late seventeenth-century feature, and Blaen could be the earlier of the two houses. There are traces of a projecting stairwell at the northern end, and the truss in the main bedroom is a stub-tie beam type. Both houses are of local rubble carefully coursed and have roofs of local stone.

## BOX TREE COTTAGE, SO 302295

This derelict farm-house is of similar date to the last two, but instead of being built on a platform running into the hill it is built along the hill.

The entrance is through the wash-house into the living room. The cattle were under the same roof but completely cut off from the family, though there appears to have been a bedroom above them. The roof trusses are of a queen-post type.

## MORDIFORD

## OLD SUFTON, SO 575384 (R.C.H.M. 3)

This house was empty and undergoing some alterations. When built, probably about 1600, it was a typical timber-framed cross-passage house with cross-wing. The latter has short curved braces on the main trusses and on the intermediate truss over what was presumably the great chamber. Some time in the eighteenth-century probably in the first half, the main block was widened and a stairway inserted in the passage-way. A room with a bay window was added on the east. The whole of the rear of the wing was rebuilt at perhaps the same time or earlier. These alterations necessitated a new roof on the main block, which was largely encased in stone. From outside one would get no idea that this was an interesting timber-framed house. It was replaced at the end of the eighteenth century by the present Sufton house.

## LONGTOWN

## CUCKOOS NEST, SO 354299

This small four room cottage has been damaged by fire and is roofless. It is of a type common at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth-century and is often found on land that was enclosed or squatted on at that period. It has a fire-place in one room only and an outbuilt chimney, the stairway immediately opposite the front door forming the division between the rooms. It is of uncoursed rubble construction.



## PEMBRIDGE

BRIDGE COTTAGE, SO 390584 (R.C.H.M. 47)

Major alterations and modernisation enabled a more thorough examination to be made of this house than the R.C.H.M. investigators were able to make. A third cruck truss became visible and also the remains of a spere truss. The original house consisted of a service bay with chamber above the screens passage, spere truss, 1½ bay open hall about 18 feet by 21 feet and cross-wing. The latter looks as though it is probably contemporary with the house, but was altered in the seventeenth century. An apparently original doorway from the hall into the wing was found under the modern wallpaper and plaster.

## SHOBDON

GAME LARDER at SHOBDON COURT, SO 395621

An unusual little building, it is likely to be pulled down when the present alterations to the nearby gamekeeper's house are finished. It is dated 1803 on the window jamb and is octagonal with a north-facing doorway and hooks of various sizes in four rows round the walls. In the centre are pulleys, presumably for hoisting deer. It is hoped to write a detailed note of this interesting building for publication at a later date.

## STAUNTON-ON-WYE

BRIDGE FARM, SO 338464 (R.C.H.M. 19)

See under Bull Farm, Letton. In this house the central block has only one room, but has attics above the two full storeys throughout. The north-east wing has a re-used cruck in its central truss. There is a low additional wing to the north-west which appears to be a portion of a sixteenth-century building incorporated in the later house. The brick front has plat-banding.

## VOWCHURCH

BRYNN FARM, SO 367370

Originally this house, which is now being modernised, was very similar to Cuckoo's Nest above. It probably dates from the enclosure of Vowchurch Common. There is a lean-to at the unheated end and fairly soon after building two extra rooms were added at the back with a big outbuilt lateral chimney in one of them. Above these were a third bedroom and a loft with outside access used as an apple store.

## WALFORD

COUGHTON COTTAGE, SO 590213

This house had recently changed hands and was undergoing an extensive restoration. It seems to have been built c 1600 as a two bay timber-framed house with gable chimney and a lean-to at the back. Some fifty or sixty years later a stone wing was

added with a lower roof line. This wing was extended c 1800 and the roof raised to a uniform level. The first extension is in shlar, the second in rubble. The external kitchen still stands a few feet from the door and was in use until 1966.

## WEOBLEY

AROHA, KINGTON ROAD (late MEADOW STREET), SO 400518 (R.C.H.M. 16)

Thanks to recent alterations we were able to see more of this house than the R.C.H.M. investigators thirty-five years ago. It was a fifteenth-century one bay open hall with a central arch as an intermediate truss. The cusped wind braces still remain, as does also much of the screen between the hall and service end. The parlour or solar wing or bay has disappeared.

Of the buildings mentioned above eleven were recorded by the group as a whole, the Broad Street building by the writer and Mr. J. G. Keely and the others by the writer and his wife, Mrs. M. Tonkin.

Many of the above buildings have been recorded photographically by the Misses G. and J. Davies; Messrs. R. Garfitt and J. G. Keely have again done a great deal of spotting during the year, and valuable work is being done by Mr. and Mrs. and Martin Perry, Miss J. Bickerton, Mrs. J. O'Donnell and Mr. V. H. Coleman.

Mr. I. Homes still continues his work on upper crucks. So far he has found between 25 and 30 examples of these mainly in granaries and hop rooms of eighteenth and nineteenth-century date.

# Library Report

By J. G. HILLABY

The following report was submitted to the Central Committee of the Club.

A NUMBER of questions have been raised recently concerning the Club's Library, especially about the exchange of transactions with other societies. It would seem to be advisable for the Committee to discuss future policy for the Library as a whole rather than deal with each point in isolation as it arises. The following notes are intended to help to clarify the issues.

The number of books published annually on those subjects within the Club's spheres of interest is very large and is increasing each year. Our financial resources do not permit us to keep abreast of these new publications—not even in a very limited area within our own range of activity. Furthermore most of these books are, or will be, available at the two public libraries within the county.

The Club Library has an enviable collection of the journals of other archaeological and natural history societies, both national and local. The collection includes a number of complete sets. Many sets go back a great number of years and some for more than a century, e.g. *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1846), *Archæologia Cantiana* (1858), Powysland Club's Montgomeryshire Collection (1867/68), Cardiff Naturalist Society Transactions (1867/68), Birmingham and Midland Archaeological Society Transactions (1870), Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions (1876), Essex Naturalist Journal (1887), Essex Archaeological Society, New Series (1889). Most of this periodical literature has been acquired by the exchange of transactions. As this type of material is not available on such a scale anywhere else in the county this would suggest that the Club's Library would best serve the interests of members by now concentrating exclusively on the regular and systematic collection of local and to a lesser extent national, periodicals of archaeology and natural and local history.

Therefore, the future policy should be:

1. The continuation and extension of the present policy of the exchange of journals.
2. Where possible to close the gaps in existing sets by exchange or when that is not possible by purchase.
3. Commence a programme of uniform binding of the more valuable and the more popular stock. The life of the more popular journals will be limited if they remain in their present paper covers.

2 and 3 can only be achieved within the resources available. Some money is already earmarked for this purpose—the Marshall Bequest, but it will have to be augmented if the programme is to be completed within the foreseeable future.

The most recent list of societies with which journals are exchanged was published in the Club's Transactions Vol. XXXV Pt. iii (1957). A careful revision of this list will have to be undertaken. When this is completed the following procedure is suggested. The revised list of societies should be printed in the current issue of the Transactions.

The list should be reprinted at regular intervals, at the end of the third part of each volume, to keep members informed of stock and to provide for regular revision. Addressograph plates should be made for all the societies on the revised list. Those societies should be notified that exchange journals should be sent to the Assistant Secretary who will keep an 'Exchange Register'. The Club will then have a full record of despatch and receipt. After incoming journals have been recorded in the register they should be handed to the Assistant Librarian for processing prior to being placed on the Club's Library shelves.

It would be helpful if a small sub-committee were formed to superintend and guide the working of the Club's Library.

The report and the recommendations were adopted by the Committee and a Library sub-committee was established. The list of societies with which journals are exchanged has been revised and a provisional list was published in the Transactions Vol. XXXVIII Pt. iii (1966). A further revision will be published in the last part of the present volume.

At the meeting of the Central Committee held on Thursday, 16th February, 1967, Mr. Tonkin, on behalf of Mr. Hillaby who was unable to be present, gave a full report on what had been done so far in regard to the Library. He stated that several members of the Club had spent two whole days sorting, dusting and counting the Club's publications and journals received from other societies. He reported that there were no complete sets of the Club's publications in their own library, there being no copy left of the Centenary Volume. He suggested that the one set which was complete, apart from this volume, should in future be reserved for reference use only. A graph had been made showing the Club's stock of its own Transactions. From this stock it was possible to make up two sets for loan to members and four or five near sets for sale. It was discussed and agreed that an appeal should be made to Club members to return any Transactions which they no longer required. This would enable more near sets to be made available for sale.

Mr. Tonkin also reported that a list has been made of the stock of all special publications and off-prints held by the Club. Mr. Sherwood said that little binding had been done in recent years but that the money from the Marshall Bequest had been used for binding the quarterly journal of the Geological Society. He felt that the more books that could be bound the less loss there would be.

The task of reorganising the Club's periodical literature has now been completed as the result of a number of days hard work in the Club Library by the following members: Mr. R. P. Hastings, Miss R. Hickling, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Keely, Mrs. D. H. O'Donnell, Mr. R. Shoesmith, Mr. L. Skelton, and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Tonkin. The Assistant Librarian would like to offer, on behalf of the Club, his sincere thanks to these members for devoting a number of Saturdays to this task. Members who have used the Library will appreciate fully what has been achieved for they will know just how dusty and dangerously remote some of the volumes were. All the periodicals have been thoroughly dusted, checked and re-arranged. The re-arrangement may well seem somewhat arbitrary. They have, however, been so organised as to place the most

popular series on the lower shelves and those series consulted least on the upper shelves. A typed list of the contents will be found on the glass pane at the bottom of each of the bookcases. It is hoped that an outline guide to the complete periodical collection will be available in the near future.

## Archaeological Report from Hereford City Museum

ACCESSIONS 1964-66

By P. J. LEACH

- 8166 Sandstone rotary quern (lower half), probably Roman period. From the foundations of Woolworths, Eign St., Hereford.
- 8183/1 Antoninianus of Licinius (307-324 A.D.). Found near the Roman road at Aymestrey.
- 8243 Scraper of black cherty flint from Dorstone Hill. Two Neolithic leaf shaped arrowheads. 8267 Pale grey flint, point broken. 8277 Finely worked whitish flint flaked very thin. N.G.R. 326423.
- 8294 Pottery and small finds of largely 12th to 14th century date, from Chave and Jacksons, Broad St., Hereford.
- 8296 Surface finds from Backbury Camp, Dormington, N.G.R. 577386. Flint flakes and pottery of mainly Roman and Medieval date.
- 8303/1-2 A broken flint blade tool, identified as being in the Gravettian tradition. For a similar find see *W.C.T.* 1964, p. 348. Also a probable Mesolithic chert blade. Both from Arrow Court, Kington. N.G.R. 283547.
- 8304/1 Finely worked Neolithic leaf-shaped flint arrowhead.
- 8304/2 Polished stone axe fragment of a fine acid welded tuff. (Group VIII.)
- 8304/3 Polished stone axe fragment as above, but probably from a different axe.
- 8305 A 'petit-tranchet' Neolithic flint arrowhead, of a type rare in the Marches and Wales.  
All four finds above from Welshwood Farm, Woodseaves. N.G.R. 287492.
- 8327 Sherd of coarse red Romano-British ware? from the south rampart of Ivington Camp, Leominster. N.G.R. 485545.
- 8349 Pottery and small finds from excavations on a Romano-British site at Huntsham N.G.R. 565175. *W.C.T.* 1962, p. 179.
- 8360 A Roman coin hoard found at Stretton Sugwas (purchased).
- 8395 Excavated pottery and small finds, largely Medieval, from the city wall Blueschool St., Hereford. April, 1965.
- 8437 Roman bronze penannular brooch found in the river bank at Lower Bullingham. N.G.R. 518384.
- 8468 A. E. Brown's collection of recorded surface finds from Herefordshire. *W.C.T.* 1961.
- 8478 Four medieval sherds from an excavation in the north enclosure at Longtown castle. November 1965.
- 8539 Billon Antoninianus of Carausius (287-293 A.D.). Found at 3 Elm Road, Hereford.

- 8540 Dupondius of Caracalla (211-217 A.D.). Found on the Dorstone road, Ewyas Harold.
- 8545 A collection of 41 Neolithic and early Bronze Age flint implements found in the Knill area.
- Flint implements found on Dorstone Hill. N.G.R. 326423.
- 8547 'Petit-tranchet' derivative flint arrowhead. J. D. G. Clark, *Arch. Journal* 1934 p. 50 'Petit-Tranchet' Class D.
- 8548 Plano-convex flint knife scraper.
- 8549 Neolithic flint blade knife.
- 8550 Neolithic polished stone axe ploughed up at Priors Court, Dormington. N.G.R. 582395.

## Archaeological Report from Hereford City Museum 1967

### ACCESSIONS

By P. J. LEACH

- 8633/1-2 Two Roman surface finds from Kenchester: 1. A damaged amulet or pendant of jet, roughly triangular in shape with a simple notched decoration; 2. Perforated fragment of a bone comb.
- 8630 Finds of 13th and 14th century pottery, tiles, etc., and foundations of a building found during an excavation on the castle mound at Much Dewchurch.
- 8680 Excavated Medieval and post Medieval pottery and finds from the city wall and ditch in Blueschool St. Spring 1966.
- 8686 Pottery and small finds from excavations at *Ariconium* in 1963 by Mr. N. P. Bridgewater. *W.C.T.* 1965, pp. 124-135.
- 8694 Broken flint knife, Neolithic-Early Bronze Age, found at Keep Hill, Bromyard. N.G.R. 636543. Numerous finds of flint flakes and tools, along with some Romano-British sherds, have been made in this area by Mrs. Waller of Keep Hill.
- 8718 A socketed bronze spearhead (M.B.A. II) slightly damaged but otherwise in good condition, found in Hereford. This now appears to have originated from Norfolk, having come to Hereford among vegetables.
- 8756 Excavated finds from excavations at Croft Ambrey 1965-6. On permanent loan from the National Trust.
- 8757 Medieval finds from Bath St. car park excavation made by Hereford Excavation Committee, October 1966.
- 8758-9 Saxon and Medieval pottery and small finds from excavations of the city defences in Victoria St., 1967 (Report pp. 51 ff. above).
- 8760 2nd and 3rd century Romano-British pottery and a 2nd century coin (ANTONINUS PIUS?) found at Rudhall. N.G.R. 628429. Finds made in the foundations of a modern bungalow probably represent the site of a building close to or beneath the modern house. Fragments of iron slag and charcoal with a scatter of ploughed up sherds from the surrounding fields.

### RECORDED SITES

- N.G.R. 529244  
Romano-British potsherds from a field north of the Tretire-St. Owens Cross Road.
- N.G.R. 499267  
Roman and Medieval pottery with traces of earthworks in a field at Lower Monkton, Llanwarne.

N.G.R. 661355, 665356, 667356 & 663349

Four fields on Laddin Farm in which have been found many flint flakes and artifacts including a fine Neolithic leaf-shaped arrowhead. Also at the farm a choked well containing medieval and Roman? pottery.

#### NOTE ON CONTRIBUTORS

MR. K. S. PAINTER is an Assistant Keeper in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum. He read classics at Oxford and is now particularly responsible for the collection of Roman Antiquities from Britain. He has taken part in excavations in Britain and in Italy and is in charge of the excavation of the Roman villa at Hinton St. Mary in Dorset. He wrote the book *The Archaeology of the Severn Basin*, and is part-author of *Masterpieces of Glass* (British Museum, 1968).

### An Invitation

The Club needs from its members active participation in its task of recording "all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the districts immediately adjacent". (Rule 1). The Editorial Committee warmly invites such contributions which can be included in the Sectional Reports, or take the form of a separate short note or longer paper. It is specially requested that all members who give papers at meetings, or act as guides or speakers at field meetings, send to the Editor either the manuscript or a precis of their paper, or a concise, factual account of places visited, with appropriate acknowledgements.

#### DIRECTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

The annual *Transactions* cover the activities of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club during the calendar year January 1st to December 31st, and are published as soon as possible afterwards. Contributors are asked to submit papers to be considered for publication as early as possible during the year in hand and no later than October 1st. Those writing Sectional Reports, and papers given at autumn meetings, are asked to keep strictly to the deadline of December 31st. Material, however, likely to qualify for a grant in aid of publication by the Council for British Archaeology must reach the Editor at least two months before the meeting of the Council—at present held in March.

#### PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

1. Contributions should preferably be typed, double-spaced, and written on one side of the paper only with a wide margin on the left. They should carry clear title headings, and the author's name and style. Continuation sheets should be headed with an abbreviated title to be printed at the top of the published pages. The full name and address of the author should be provided in a covering note.

2. Illustrations should be submitted with the text. Line drawings (both in the text and on separate pages) and half tones (on art paper) are used. In both cases originals should be at least twice the published size, which should normally not exceed seven inches long by five inches wide. Any illustration likely to exceed this should be discussed with the Editor before submitting the paper.

*Line Drawings.* Each drawing (in black ink on white or tracing paper or linen) should be on a separate sheet, and where appropriate should be contained within a



frame. Archaeological drawings should follow current conventions, e.g. pottery drawn full scale for reduction to one quarter; objects drawn to a scale which can be stated fractionally in the caption, such as  $1/1$ ,  $2/3$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Half Tones.* Photographs should show good contrast and be on glossy paper. Where appropriate the photograph should include a scale.

*Captions.* Each illustration should carry, lightly written in pencil, the author's name, brief title of paper, and figure or plate number. In addition full captions should be typed on separate sheets, e.g. Figure number (for a line drawing), or Plate number (for a half tone). Caption including scale. Name of photographer. In brackets, the author's name and brief title of paper.

3. Footnotes and references. These should be indicated in the text by a serial number in round brackets, e.g. (6); and the series should be typed on a separate sheet. References should be given as follows: R. F. Tylecote, 'The Roman Anvil from Sutton Walls', *Transactions W.N.F.C.*, vol. xxxvii (1961), pp. 56-61. Underlining of a word in a manuscript is a request to the printer to use italics; thus the name of an author is not underlined, nor is the title of an article, which should be given between single inverted commas. The title of a book, periodical or other collective publication is underlined; and the number of a periodical is given in small Roman numerals. The publication date and page reference should be given, and underlined twice. Where abbreviations are used they follow accepted practice.

4. A brief summary suitable for printing beneath the title should be given at the beginning of a paper.

5. *Proofs.* Contributors will be sent galley proofs which should be corrected for printers' errors. Those who are not accustomed to proof reading should refer to *The Writers' and Artists' Year Book*, or to *Rules for compositors and readers at the University Press, Oxford*, by Horace Hart. Proof state is too late for major alterations to the text. If the author finds he has to make any drastic revision at this stage, he may be called upon to bear the full cost of the alterations. Corrected proofs should be returned to the Editor without delay.

6. *Offprints.* Contributors receive 15 free copies, and may order further copies, at cost price. Such orders *must* be placed with the Editor when the corrected proofs are returned.

The Editor is not responsible for loss of, or damage to, manuscripts and illustrations, nor for errors and inaccuracies in an author's work. The views expressed by authors are their own.

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