

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XXXIX 1969
PART III

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Proceedings, 1969

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 18th January: The President, Mrs. D. C. D. Currie, in the chair.

Mr. P. Cross gave an illustrated lecture on "Glacial Lakes and River Diversion in North Herefordshire". The substance of this is printed in these *Transactions* (1968) pp. 198-221.

The club decided to donate £10 to the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust and to subscribe annually to it.

SECOND MEETING: 15th February: The President, Mrs. D. C. D. Currie, in the chair.

Mr. P. Thomson spoke on "Some Aspects of Herefordshire Flora" with special reference to non-flowering plants such as lichens, mosses, club-mosses, ferns and fungi.

THIRD MEETING: 8th March: The President, Mrs. D. C. D. Currie, in the chair.

Mr. Philip Rahtz and Mrs. Margaret Grey spoke about their 1968 excavations on the Hereford city defences which were sponsored by the Ministry of Works. Mr. Rahtz explained that in his excavation in the Victoria Street area six phases had been discovered establishing a sequence from the post-Roman period to the Middle Ages. Radio-carbon dating of finds will establish a more precise dating.

Mrs. Margaret Grey said that a similar sequence was found in her excavation north of the junction of Eign Street and Edgar Street. Remains of metal working were discovered here but for what purpose it is not known.

A keen watch is needed during the redevelopment of the city because Hereford is now in the forefront of current research on Anglo-Saxon town defences.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 12th April: The President, Mrs. D. C. D. Currie, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 640 members.

The President gave her address "Improvement in Hereford". This appears on pp. 389-401.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby was installed as President for 1969-70.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 3rd May: BRECON AND UPPER USK VALLEY

The large party travelled through Clyro, Talgarth and Brecon to visit Penpont by kind permission of Mrs. J. M. Murray. On route members saw Bronllys Castle

which has as a keep and bailey of c. 1200 and which was owned by the de Braose and later the Vaughan families. Penpont has a Tudor wing at the rear on to which was built a house in 1666 by Daniel Williams. It has a staircase, good panelling and ceilings of this period. In 1815 the house was refronted and given a verandah and Doric colonnade. The dovecote, stables and granary are 17th century. The Lodge was built in 1688 as a dower house but never used as such. Abercwmllais was visited by kind permission of Capt. N. G. Garnons-Williams, the Lord Lieut. of Breconshire, and Mrs. Garnons-Williams. This house was built about 1571 by Thomas Williams, was enlarged in the early 18th century and was remodelled about 1780. Mr. Tonkin explained that these two houses along with many other farmhouses, churches, buildings and some 1800 acres of agricultural land would disappear if the Usk River Authority carry out their projected scheme for two dams across the Usk Valley about two miles above Brecon.

Mr. Kay at Brecon Gaer said this was the largest Roman fort of its kind in Wales. It was founded by 75 A.D. and was originally of timber and earth. The gateways, guard-houses and defences which are visible today date from the first decade of the 2nd century when the fort was reconstructed.

At Brynich members walked along the towpath of the Brecon-Monmouthshire Canal to see the aqueduct of the canal over the Usk. At Llanfilo church which is probably dedicated to St. Breilo Mr. Tonkin explained that the church has a Saxon font, Norman nave, 15th-century cradle roof, a rood-loft of c. 1500, a pulpit, altar rails and some pews of the early 17th century and an early 18th-century chancel.

SECOND MEETING: 7th June: PERSHORE AND MORETON-IN-THE-MARSH

The first visit after travelling through Upton-upon-Severn and Pershore was to Elmley Castle. At the church Mr. Hillaby spoke about its architecture and the two fine monuments; one to the Savage family and the other to Lord Coventry. En route members glimpsed Broadway and Chipping Campden and then wandered round the Hidcote Manor Gardens. At Chastleton Mr. Tonkin said that this house with its carved oak screen and panelling in the great hall, the long gallery with Jacobean plasterwork, and the great chamber with carved panelling was still basically medieval in layout, but showed Renaissance symmetry in its exterior appearance. It was built in the early 17th century by Walter Jones.

THIRD MEETING: 21st June: BROMYARD

In the parish church of St. Peter, Mr. Hillaby reviewed the documentary and archaeological evidence for its early foundation and subsequent importance in Anglo-Saxon times. He also indicated the post-conquest evolution of the ground plan and the relationship of the early ecclesiastical settlement to the post-conquest borough. Members visited the Friends Meeting House built c. 1723 and now in a sadly decayed condition and the Grammar School by kind permission of Mr. D. O'Donnell. Mr. Hillaby spoke about the history of the school and indicated how

evidence from the Red Book, a survey of the estates of the bishopric of Hereford in the second half of the 13th century, can be used to illustrate the development of the street plan of the borough, a process virtually complete by 1300.

FOURTH MEETING: 10th July: MID WALES

The long drive took members through Kington, Rhayader, Llangurig, and, following the valley of the Wye, to Aberystwyth. Here at the National Library of Wales Mr. Daniel Huws spoke about the library and its work. Members saw an exhibition of documents relating to such Herefordshire families as the Clives of the Mynde, Cornwalls of Moccas, Scudamores of Kentchurch and the Vaughans of Courtfield.

At the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida members saw the remains of the fine western doorway and the tombs of abbots and princes buried at this former centre of Welsh influence and culture. Members passed by the great Tregarn bog and visited the church at Llanddewi Breifi.

The club gave £5 to the Ironbridge Gorge Museum.

FIFTH MEETING: 28th August: STOURPORT AND DROITWICH

At the church of St. Andrew, Stockton-on-Teme, Mr. Hillaby in describing the church referred to the Walsh tomb, the tombstone of Radulphus and the Parker brass. Hartlebury Castle, a moated residence of the Bishop of Worcester, is part residence, part staterooms and part museum. The staterooms and museum were visited. Harvington Hall, another moated residence, was visited. It is mainly Elizabethan with supposed priests' holes. At Avoncroft College members visited the Avoncroft Museum of Buildings where the 15th-century timber-framed merchant's house from Bromsgrove has already been erected.

SIXTH MEETING: 20th September: MUCH MARCLE

At Hall End farm Mr. Philip Powell explained how the hops after being picked were brought to the shed and were fed through a machine which stripped the bine of its hops which were then carefully dried and sacked. Messrs. Weston's Cider Works put on an exhibition of its products and its cider-making process at the Village Hall. Mr. Howes, the chemist at Westons, gave a brief history of the firm. The Rev. Holly welcomed members to the church and displayed the church plate and registers. Cmdr. Hale spoke about the architecture of the church and its early monuments. By kind permission of Mr. J. Walter members visited Hellens, largely a Jacobean brick house, the earliest complete building in brick in the county.

WINCHESTER AREA: July 11th-13th.

27 members went on this first week-end visit to another county. King Alfred's College, Winchester provided the accommodation. The first visit was to Fishbourne,

the largest Roman residence yet found in Britain. It was probably built by Cogidubrus, the local king when the Romans arrived. It is square in shape with gardens in the centre. The north wing has been excavated and roofed over. Chichester cathedral, Holy Trinity church, Bosham, where King Canute's daughter is buried, Winchester College, Winchester cathedral and the St. Cross almshouses were also visited.

On the way back members stopped at Old Sarum to see the fortifications of the inner bailey of the castle and outside these the foundations of the former cathedral. The next stop was at South Cadbury where members were shown around the excavations which were in progress and where Mr. Leslie Alcock gave a short talk and showed some of the artefacts discovered. It seems that no definite association with King Arthur and Camelot has as yet been established. The last stop was at Wells cathedral. This first extended visit out of the county was considered a great success.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 18th October: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

The Rev. J. C. Dickinson spoke on "The Wigmore Abbey Chronicle". The text with a translation and commentary appears on pp. 413-445.

SECOND MEETING: 8th November: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

This was an open meeting held in the Town Hall as the sixth annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Professor Charles Thomas, Professor of Archaeology at Leicester University, gave an illustrated lecture on "The Cult of Relics in the Early British Church". He spoke about the special types of chambers found in several parts of the British Isles which enabled the relics of saints to be touched to obtain cures. He traced this type of construction from the Mediterranean to the most distant parts of the British Isles. He suggested that members should keep their eyes open for slotted corner-posts and flat slabs of these relic chambers which may be lying around in some of the older churchyards. Mr. Tonkin thanked Professor Thomas for sharing with the club his enthusiasm for the treasures which he had found. The President thanked Mr. Morgan and his daughter for providing the refreshments.

THIRD MEETING: 29th November: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Deserted Medieval Villages, Entomology, Geology, Mammals and Ornithology gave their reports. These are printed on pp. 475-491.

Dr. Walker urged members to report to him where various mammals are seen in the county so that a correct distribution map can be compiled.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 13th December: The President, Mr. J. G. Hillaby in the chair.

Officers for 1970 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31st December, 1968, were presented and adopted. The areas and dates for the Field Meetings in 1970 were chosen. Mr. H. J. Powell gave a talk on "The Eleventh-century Norman Work in Hereford Cathedral."

WOOLHOPE CLUB ROOM

During the year various statements appeared in the press about the possible future of the Club's room in the City Library building. The Club's Committee made a careful study of the agreement between the Woolhope Club and the Hereford City Corporation and decided that the Club did not wish to move from the present club room. The committee felt that all members should know the exact position and the document is printed in full below. The original is deposited with the Club's Bank.

AN AGREEMENT made the eleventh day of October one thousand nine hundred and fifty BETWEEN THE MAYOR ALDERMEN AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF HEREFORD (hereinafter called "the Corporation") by Thomas Bruce Feltham Town Clerk and Agent duly authorised by the Corporation in this behalf of the one part and THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE) (hereinafter called "the Woolhope Club") by Benjamin Blanchard Clarke of Byford Rectory Hereford and Frederick Charles Morgan respectively the President and the Honorary Secretary of the Woolhope Club of the other part

WHEREAS

1. The Woolhope Club was established in the year One thousand eight hundred and fifty one for the purposes of the practical study in all branches of the Natural History Archaeology and History of Herefordshire and the districts immediately adjacent
2. The Corporation having adopted the Public Libraries Act 1855 a Public Library and Museum was by the generosity and at the cost of Sir James Rankin Baronet ex President of the Woolhope Club erected in One thousand eight hundred and seventy one in Broad Street in the City of Hereford (hereinafter called "the premises") which premises have from time to time been extended and are vested in and maintained by the Corporation by virtue of the Public Libraries Acts 1892 to 1919 and in which premises are collections of Roman antiquities British coins and archaeological and geological objects and objects of natural history most of which have been given to the Corporation by the Woolhope Club and by the members thereof

3. It having been the expressed intention of Sir James Rankin to provide special accommodation in the premises for the Woolhope Club the premises include a room known as the Woolhope Club Room (hereinafter called "the Room") which for many years has been used by the Woolhope Club as its library and for the purpose of meetings and by the Corporation for other purposes

4. Doubts having arisen between the parties as to the use of the Room, it is desirable that the terms and conditions of the user thereof be settled as between the parties

NOW THEREFORE IT HAS BEEN AGREED and declared by and between the parties hereto as follows:—

(1) The Corporation shall have the right to use the Room for the purposes of the Corporation to hold meetings therein and the right to let the Room for such purposes and to such bodies and on such terms as they may think fit without accounting in any way to the Woolhope Club for any rentals received

(2) The Woolhope Club shall have the right to keep in the Room at their own risk the bookcases books and other articles belonging to the Woolhope Club including the glass fronted bookcases occupying the two ends of the room the Corporation using reasonable care in the custody of such articles but not being responsible for any loss or damage howsoever caused thereto except when such books or other articles are removed from the room by an official or officials agent or agents of the Corporation PROVIDED ALWAYS that such books shall not be taken from the premises it being understood that the public may have the use of the books on the premises under the supervision of the City Librarian and that the City Librarian shall from time to time prepare and keep a catalogue of the books belonging to the Woolhope Club

(3) The Woolhope Club shall (subject as aforesaid) have the right to use the Room for the purposes of meetings of the Woolhope Club either alone or in conjunction with other Archaeological Historical Scientific or Literary Clubs or Societies (but not to let the room to outside persons or bodies) and members of the Woolhope Club shall have the right during such time as the Library is open for public use, to use the Room for the purposes of study

(4) The Woolhope Club shall so far as practicable give to the City Librarian periodically a list of the dates and times the Room will be required by the Woolhope Club under the terms of this agreement over the succeeding period In the event of further use of the Room being required during these periods the Woolhope Club shall give to the City Librarian at least three days prior notice of the day and time of the meeting

(5) The Corporation shall keep the Room cleansed heated and lighted free of charge to the Woolhope Club

(6) Arrangements with respect to the use of the Room shall be made between the Honorary Secretary or other duly authorised officer of the Woolhope Club and the City Librarian

(7) It is intended that this agreement shall remain in force so long as the Corporation are the Library Authority for the City of Hereford and as such owners of the Public Library in Broad Street aforesaid but in the event of any breach in the terms or conditions of this agreement the same may be determined by mutual arrangement between the parties or failing agreement by such reasonable notice as may be settled by arbitration pursuant to the provisions of Clause 9 hereof The Corporation shall be released from this agreement if it cease to be the Library Authority for the said City or if the said Public Library in Broad Street ceases to be vested in the Corporation Any notice by the Woolhope Club under this clause shall be signed by the Honorary Secretary and sent by registered post to the Town Clerk Town Hall Hereford and any such notice by the Corporation shall be under the hand of the Town Clerk of Hereford and sent by registered post to the Secretary of the Woolhope Club at his last known place of abode A notice sent by registered post shall be deemed to be delivered upon the day upon which it would be delivered in the normal course of post

(8) Nothing in this agreement contained shall operate to create any tenancy of the Room as between the Corporation and the Woolhope Club or to vest in the Woolhope Club any control over the staff of the Corporation employed in the premises

(9) If any dispute difference or question shall at any time arise between the parties hereto touching or arising out or in respect of this agreement or the subject matter thereof the same shall be referred to arbitration under the provisions of the Arbitration Act 1950 or any statutory modification or re-enactment thereof for the time being in force

AS WITNESS the hands of the said Thomas Bruce Feltham on behalf of the Corporation and of the said Benjamin Blanchard Clarke and Frederick Charles Morgan on behalf of the Woolhope Club.

had lost the right to poor relief in the parishes to which they once belonged. The magistrates tried to be merciful and moved the pathetic vagrants on with a loaf of bread. In 1830 they hired a house, in Quaker's Lane, a place of dubious reputation, where an Inspector was established to give shelter, food, and the valedictory loaf to pauper strangers.

Serious cases of theft and assault were brought to the Assizes with grim results. After being sentenced to death it was usual for the convicted man to be transported. This cost a lot both in the prison, and in transport charges. In Hereford there was one execution in 1819 and the next in 1830 but transportations were the sequel to every Assize and hardly merited more than a short reference in the newspaper.

The poverty was so extreme in the winters from 1829-1832 that Cathedral dignitaries, Church committees, and the leading citizens started a soup kitchen. After urgent sermons in each parish church the collection went to the organizers to buy meat, bones, and vegetables. A bakehouse in Packers Lane cooked the brew in 1829 and the operation was moved to Mrs. Green's house in Berrington Street the following winter. The consumers paid a penny a quart.

The city overseers had to raise money for the destitute by monthly and even fortnightly demands on the property owners. In Herefordshire a dispute between the parishes of Madley and Allensmore led to the confirmation of an order of removal of a pauper mother, but quashed the order for that of her 2 children.

The fury of machine-smashing in industrial areas was reflected when Mr. Thomas Preece offered £5 reward for information about damage to a threshing machine at Dorstone. He owned a thriving agricultural engineering business at Portway, Staunton-on-Wye.

The Militia was reorganized in 1831 to act as a police force, and the Herefordshires trained for 28 days every May until 1834, and defaulters who sent no substitute were fined or imprisoned.

This was the dark background to life in Hereford in the early 1830's, but a vivid social life provided balls and concerts at the Shirehall every winter, there were plays at the theatre, especially at Assize time. Circuses came to the Moorfields or Widemarsh Common, and in summer there were 3 or 4 wonderful fruit and flower shows. The grandest social events were those organised by the Herefordshire Bowmen when one after the other the great houses opened to an archery contest with a band playing on the lawn, and when the prizes had been bestowed by the hostess there was a romantic ball in the evening. '... and after the ball was over...' to say nothing of the sore hearts of those whose station in the social ladder had proved a rung or two short.

In the *Journal* for October 20th, 1830, is a comment that sounds again today. 'Much has been said of the wasting away of respect for Parliament'. Ordinary people who could remember when times were not so cruel, were immensely involved in the clamour for Reform. A splendid grey cart stallion called "Reform" tramped the lanes and the newest brig to be launched at Chepstow was also named the

"Reform". The venerated great Duke of Wellington, although he had removed the political disabilities of the Dissenters and Roman Catholics, refused to consider any change in the way members of parliament were elected and the country was in an uproar.

When George IV died in 1830 and the Whigs, under Lord Grey, were returned pledged to the reform, Hereford's members, Lord Eastnor and Mr. E. B. Clive, voted opposite ways. The *Hereford Journal* covered all the events (and incidentally world news) very thoroughly.

At last, in June 1832—writes the *Hereford Journal*—"the gratifying intelligence of the Reform Bill having passed the House of Lords arrived in this City on Tuesday night. Bells rang merry peals, and a band of music paraded the streets. On Wednesday, a large concourse and Band met the London Mail at St. Owen's Gate, and took the horses out and drew it and the passengers in triumph to the City amid continued huzzas, bell-ringing and other demonstrations of satisfaction".

"The Mayor", W. Bennett, "fixed Friday next for a general illumination of the City". On that Friday "at an early hour the streets were full of respectable persons inspecting the tasteful decorations". Bells rang again, a procession paraded the streets preceded by the Band and Flags, one of which said "Reform and No Revolution". The procession halted opposite the Mayor—everyone sang God save the King and gave Three Hearty Cheers.

We read that "At 10 p.m., the mansions of the rich and the humble dwellings of the poor all lit up. There were rockets soaring, fireworks dazzling and bonfires made outside the City Gates. The weather was most propitious".

The splendid decorations were of "Transparencies" of "Stars, Wreathes and Oak Boughs". The clients of The Grapes Inn had sent a petition for the reform on their own and now triumphantly raised a full length portrait of Earl Grey decorated with laurel. The *Hereford Journal* did pages describing it all. A great day. Mr. F. C. Morgan describes a transparency as a portrait painted on thin material exactly fitting a window which at night was illuminated from inside.

When the new register of voters had been published and corrected by a visiting commissioner, it turned out that there were 899 people entitled to vote. The previous total (at a contested election in 1826) was 960, and of these 888 votes were cast. Actually, there were fewer voters to canvas under the £10 qualification in Hereford. There were three candidates for the new parliament, one of the two previous M.P.s, Mr. E. B. Clive, and Mr. Biddulph and Mr. Blakemore, so the city had a contested election. After some very unpleasant accusations about how the election-lists had been compiled, Mr. Blakemore's agent was accused of dishonestly holding on to objections, and a general letter-writing-to-the-Press went on for some weeks.

When election day came on December 12th., the Establishment felt confident and, calling for a show of cards, the Mayor declared Mr. Clive and Mr. Biddulph duly elected. Not a bit, there was more unpleasantness and Mr. Blakemore made the Mayor have booths put up in the Town Hall and in front of St. Peter's Church.

They were only just completed in time for the Saturday's voting. Mr. Blakemore did well to get 245 votes out of a possible 898 (one voter had died), but Mr. Clive and Mr. Biddulph were duly elected.

During this period (when some industrial areas were exploding in mob riots), the population of Hereford City seems to have stayed fairly docile. There were plenty of cases of thieving, picking pockets and house-breaking, and one of body snatching—with a daily haul of drunk-and-disorderlies for the magistrates—but no political commotions. The City was policed by four of the freemen acting as paid Sergeants at Mace. They wore liveried hats to distinguish them as Municipal Officers and were led by Mr. Howells,² the Swordbearer, supported by the four porters-at-Gate and the Beadle, Mr. Garstone. Their doings are recorded in the *Journal* as those of "our active Police Officers".

Unfortunately, the hats did not always overawe the wicked and sometimes the wearers did not try very hard.³ Two Informers laid an information against the pawnbroker for an error in his name-board. The magistrates dealt with the case at the Tolsey, but then a gang of roughs stepped in and bedaubed the Informers with soot, grease and sheep's entrails, so that they did not wait to collect the reward. Such violence and brawling were pretty usual.

In April, 1831, Walter Carwardine came on business to the Assizes and, shortly afterwards, his body was found in the pool of the river at the end of Quaker's Lane (now Friar Street), where he had visited a house of ill-repute. The Judge, at a second trial, commented at length on the unpoliced state of the city, saying that the crime had happened because of the non-interference of the authorities in a drunken row at the Red Lion.

Three men were convicted of the murder in 1832. Mr. Thomas Preece gave one of his workmen leave to attend the hanging. The ratepayers organised a petition to the Mayor to establish a more efficient policing system, like that of the new London Metropolitan Police. It took some time and the estimated cost seemed very severe—about £400—£500 per annum, but not perhaps as expensive as two murder trials. The city council came up with the plan of getting down Mr. Thomas (an Inspector of Police from London) to organise a force of an Inspector and eight constables. They paid him £20 for his expenses and fee. It worked . . .

By January, 1854,⁴ a whole fortnight passed without a single committal to gaol "in spite of the cold" and, in the 1860s, the Police Superannuation Fund was allotted regular sums from the fines for assaults on the Police⁵—an expensive sport frequently mentioned at the Guildhall. In all the changes, the Sergeants at Mace were still elected—their hats were renewed in 1863 and cost £8.6s.0d.; I think they had given up arresting anyone.

Quaker's Lane, blushing at murder, changed its name to Friar Street and, in 1834, a foundry was built here by a retired sea-captain, William Radford. He was a great man for throwing a party, so his enterprise started with a procession led by a band from the Bowling Green Inn to the site of the new works where, after

prayers, they delivered the plans to the builder and returned to the Bowling Green for a jovial evening. He cast the ironwork verandah over the Mitre porch (now the District Bank) and, in an advertisement proposing a Joint Stock Company in 1838, the foundry had "two large moulding shops with Pits, cranes and Drying stores, Three Cupola Blasts and every Capability of carrying on as a most extensive Foundry". The foreman was once fined 5/- for boxing the ears of a boy who brought the men forbidden cider, just when they were working on a difficult casting.

In April, 1834, the *Journal* reports the launch of a steam vessel, the "Water Witch" to peals from the bells of St. Nicholas and the cheers of the crowds of spectators, the day ending, of course, with a party. This was the only such vessel built there. Watkins Flour Mills now engulf the original buildings. The foundry chimney was 100 feet high, and there is a very charming drawing of it in the office, but it had to be dropped in 1930, because it had become unsafe.

THE REFORM OF THE CITY

The Reformed Parliaments passed three Acts in the succeeding years which affect the development of the city.

- 1834. The Poor Law Amendment Act.
- 1835. The Municipal Corporations Act.
- 1848. The Public Health Act.

These conceal, in their crop of legal verbiage, that the Central Government had power to compel the cities to conform to the new standards if it became necessary.

THE POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT

The Poor Law Amendment Act made a new body — the Poor Law Commissioners — overall responsible for poor relief. The parishes were grouped into Unions round various towns.

The Hereford Union had 49 Parishes and the Workhouse was built rather appropriately on the site of St. Guthlac's Priory.⁶ The contract of £3,742 was taken up by Messrs. Johnson & Trehearne to the plans of Mr. Plowden of Oxford. It was paid for by a loan from The Royal Exchange Assurance. Guardians were elected from each parish on a £30 franchise and the board sat weekly — under the overall guidance of Sir Edmund Head, the Assistant Commissioner for the area, who often came himself to the meetings.⁷ The Guardians administered relief in all the 49 Parishes. They appointed four relieving officers, who gave bread and relief to people in their homes. The weekly allowance of bread for this work was about 3,400 lbs., while the supply to the Workhouse varied between 350 lbs. and 700 lbs. for a population between 112 in June and 189 in February; so perhaps six or seven times as many people received out-relief. In the Workhouse, the Master had to report if he punished anyone — 4 hours in the Refractory Ward for cheek from a 15 year old and 48 hours for a man who would not work. The 40-50 chil-

dren were pretty wild; they fought, swore, lied, bit, threw stones and went to sleep in chapel. The Master suggested "Discipline". The Board said they were to go out walking 1½ hours instead of 1 hour in summer and ordered two parti-coloured dresses to be put on by way of punishment, and 4 dozen tartan caps for the boys. The old Vagrant House in Friar Street was closed and two rooms built onto the Workhouse, but quite separate from it, where, after working on the mill, or oakum, the vagrants could feed and sleep. The order for 1 dozen straw mattresses and 1 dozen pairs of coarse sheets and blankets gives some idea of the numbers who might have to be housed. The Voice of Whitehall speaks gently now and then through Sir Edmund Head. The Overseers still worry about correct settlements, men desert their families, fail to pay bastardy awards, are ordered to support their indigent parents.⁸ In 1853, at a farewell dinner given to the Workhouse inmates by the retiring Master, the number had not varied much—it was 150.

It was something of a shock when the parish of St. Peters demanded rates from the Workhouse, and the case ended in the Queen's Bench with the decision that Workhouses do pay rates. The Board of Guardians ordered a hearse—costing £14 and a £1.10s.0d. pall; after some discussion, they agreed to 1/- a mile for hiring a horse to draw the hearse to take home paupers for burial in their final places of settlement.

THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT

Before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 was passed, Parliament made a very thorough survey of the existing local government and the reports were printed.⁹ The Hereford Report shows the city ambling along under its Common Council, rather given to aimless legal squabbles among the citizens. The Liberties in the Report are "as shown on Mr. Price's map of 1802". The stones marking the Hunderton Limits were arranged for by Mayor Anthony in 1853, and two exist on the right bank of the Wye opposite the waterworks intake. The 14 City Companies have faded out, the report says that the last effort to enforce privilege was by the Glovers about 1781.

There were 465 Freemen living in the City, 215 in the County and 430 outside. The total population was about 11,000, so they were a small proportion of the whole, recruited by inheritance, by primogeniture, purchase, apprenticeship, election, and occasionally by gift. After the Reform Act, the Freedom no longer gave a Parliamentary Vote and therefore we see the purchase price falling from £30 to 1819 to £15 in 1835. The posts of Mayor, Aldermen and Council went entirely by seniority "without consideration of fitness of individuals". Legal advice came from the Deputy Steward, a barrister, elected for life and paid 10 guineas a year. The Town Clerk, a solicitor, was also elected for life and got £150. The Report gives a list of the Almshouses and then comments that the appointment of places went to those freemen and their widows who followed the party line of the Common Council in

Parliamentary elections. Out of 26 in a recent election, 20 followed the Line, 5 abstained and one voted against Common Council's choice.

The Report says that the accommodation at the Gaol was quite insufficient. City paving and lighting was good. The May or Bishop's—nine days fair "a subject of general complaint"—exactly the same complaints as we get nowadays—wasting the young people's money, stopping traffic and reducing normal traders' takings.

Sources of income for the Council were land, leases, and market tolls. Its chief expenditure was on salaries, the gaol and assizes, and the transportation of criminals, with an item of £195 for gifts, donations and Days of Rejoicing. There was little trade, glove making was declining, and the ancient Grammar School had fallen into disrepute.

Finally, the appearance of Hereford: it is described as built entirely of brick, neat and cheerful.

Two years after the survey, the new system of Municipal Government began to work. There had been no change in the areas controlled by the former city governments, but in Hereford there were now three wards—Ledbury, Leominster and Monmouth; the voting by the newly agreed £10 electorate took place in the Town Hall, Guildhall and the Great Room of the Saracen's Head, which at that time was owned by the City. Since there was no secret ballot, everyone knew how you voted.

Only four of the old members of the Council were re-elected. There were 13 new men, all reformers.¹⁰ At their first meeting, on the 31st December, 1835, they elected a Watch Committee to start off the new Police Force on its duties and they appointed a new Inspector of Weights and Measures. The police got busy at once on the old-time job of rounding up the Saturday night rowdies. At the first full meeting, Mr. Gough was elected Mayor: he was a solicitor.

The Council had plenty of work checking up the under-valued leases of city property. There were some loans and bonds outstanding from the finances of the old Council. They had to consider the claims of the old corporation officers who had to be discharged, to places in the charities. A fire in the Cross Street brought attention to the condition of the parish fire engines. St. John's was functioning, but the All Saints hose acted more as a showerbath to the bystanders. The ad hoc Committee of the Council recommended the sale and the re-investment of a large part of the old Corporation's property, which was valued at £18,000 to £19,000, though the income was only £500.

The councillors visited the City Gaol, where the conditions were so bad that they discussed the question of a new gaol in an entirely new site, but the estimated cost of £2,000 staggered them and the matter lay "on the table", while the gaol inmates continued to suffer for some years.

The other immediate problem was the question of the City Charities and the Council petitioned for the appointment of new Trustees to the Charities—especially the Lord Scudamore Charity.

The new Police had the duty of treating all offenders alike, and the outcome of

Mr. Parkinson's birthday party shows that they did so.⁽¹¹⁾ The two Parkinsons, "Esquires", and Lieutenant Lechmere had celebrated very thoroughly and noisily through the Cathedral Precincts and down Quay Street. There they were found resting by P.C. Llewelyn, and with P.C. Veryard's help, he got them, struggling, to the Police Station, where Sergeant Adams locked them up for a few hours to recover. The Bench took some time over this problem—"6 or 7 hours"—but decided on the usual 5/- 'drunk and disorderly' and in addition to order them to appear at Quarter Sessions on a charge of assaulting the police. The following week, the Parkinsons came up with a counter-charge of assault and false imprisonment against the Police. The Watch Committee responded by awarding 2/6 to P.C. Llewelyn for meritorious conduct.

The new Town Council examined the old Corporations' minutes and found that the previous December, Mr. R. Parkinson had been allowed to buy a small area of land for £20. The Municipal Corporations Act covered any such accommodating kindnesses by the outgoing councils, in a special clause allowing for a re-valuation. So a jury was empanelled, who decided in favour of the valuer's price (the same that had been suggested ten years before) and Mr. Parkinson had to pay another £55.

EDUCATION

Besides the Grammar School—where parents paid—and the Blue Coat School, which was free, there was a Boys National School in Bewell Street and a Girls National School in Bye Street. These were financed from a C. of E. Society.

Each parish had a school supported by its congregation after an Annual Sermon. For those who feared that "evil communications corrupt good manners", there were about twenty private enterprises, clerical, commercial, mathematical and for Young Ladies.

When Mr. Venn arrived in St. Peters in 1833, he found the parish school buildings inadequate and, with a grant from the Government, built the new St. Peters, leasing part to the National Society for their boys. He soon had £500 in hand for another school at St. Owen's Gate. He wrote a pamphlet in 1841 surveying the schools in an effort to get the Scudamore Charity to use its funds and, ultimately, 1850, this was achieved. His pamphlet tells us that, at St. Martin's Parochial School, the boys had a master, and the girls "are kindly taught on Sundays by a committee of Ladies". St. Owen's could have 150 infants "but not half can be induced to attend." In 1851, a muted voice in the *Hereford Times* suggested "perhaps a Ragged School for the Impertinent horde at St. Owen's Gate—where they would not be ashamed to go?" The Catholics had a small school in St. Owen's in 1835, which afterwards moved to Berrington Street. Mr. Venn was soon the accepted expert on education and, in June 1838, he "examined" the pupils at the Misses Preece Academy at the Gate House in Widemarsh Street. Everyone was delighted at the competence of the pupils. The Misses Preece seem to have carried on the school until it was reorganised in 1860 as the Hereford Ladies College, a joint stock company

with a board of six ladies elected by the shareholders.

A hundred and fifty years after Lord Scudamore, Mr. Venn also found that the children of Hereford often had no local work or trade to go to when they left school. He therefore started the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious, and the Steam Mills to grind the citizens' grain for which service he found the four city mills had been too expensive for their clients. In 1851 he organized Public Baths where for 2d the waste steam from the Mill was used to supply a bath, and a towel. The Baths gave their name to Bath Street, where Berrows Printing works now occupy the Steam Mill, and the Masonic Buildings have absorbed the Baths behind it.

RAILWAYS

In 1830 the *Hereford Journal* published a letter looking forward to the day when Hereford would have a railway service. Twenty-six years later, on the same day in 1846 the Royal Assent was given for the Newport Abergavenny and Hereford Railway, and the Shrewsbury and Hereford Railway, but because of a financial slump it was 1851 before the work started. While Thomas Brassey's remarkable gangs of navvies worked on the Dinmore tunnel most of the active men of Marden and Wellington were sworn in as Special Constables. Barton railway station was ceremonially opened on January 2nd, 1854. The next year the Hereford Ross and Gloucester railway, promoted by the G.W.R., pushed into the town at Barr's Court, and for a while passengers between the two systems travelled across the city by horse omnibus.

Any spate of takeovers today can hardly rival the cut-throat goings-on of the railway companies' directors a hundred years ago. The Hereford and Worcester line, a necessary link with the midland industries was financed by the established lines, but in the end was taken over by the more powerful G.W.R.

In June, 1861, the superb Ledbury Viaduct was to be opened by a lady, Mrs. Richards. Unfortunately the officials on the special train from Hereford left her behind. Half an hour later another special was rushed along from Hereford and with the band playing 'See the Conquering Hero' she laid the last brick. Then everyone adjourned to the Feathers for the feast. (The *Hereford Times* rather unkindly suggested she could use the silver trowel as a fish-slice.)

With the arrival of railways Hereford's oldest difficulty was relieved, the railways fanned out in five directions and made it a thriving agricultural centre, and more recently an industrial one. The empty houses filled up, and more houses than ever before were being built in the liberties with the help of the Freehold Land Society. Employment was easier and to deal with the developments under the Improvements Act 1854 workmen came in from other areas. By 1861 the population had increased to 14,000 and the Freehold Land Society bought a block of 30 acres at "Above Eign"—where new roads were laid out and sites allotted by a draw. The dates on the houses round White Horse Street give a good picture of prospering citizens moving out into the fields.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT

Hereford luckily escaped infection in the cholera epidemic of 1830-33. The *Hereford Journal* reported the outbreak from its start in South Russia, across Europe, through Poland, North Germany and by sea to Sunderland. Gloucester, Worcester and South Wales—all nearby—were infected. Cholera became endemic in Britain and there was another bad period in 1853, when the Council ordered a thorough clean-up of streets and sewers, hoping to reduce the danger of it reaching Hereford.

The Public Health Commissioners had power to enforce action if the death rate was over 23 per 1,000. Hereford distinguished itself with 27 per 1000; so the Town Council arranged for their Surveyor, Mr. Curley, to make a report. Mr. Curley's horrifying little pamphlet awaits the curious in Box 20 in the City Library. We learn that there is plenty of water under the gravel on which the town is built and there are many public and private wells, and also a great many adjoining cess-pits. Mr. Victor still has a well and pump in the cellar of 31 Castle Street. Seven of the public wells were kept closed to be used only for fires and the dust carts. The well in Church Street was the deepest at 20 feet, with 4 feet of water. River water, sold for $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a bucket, was used for brewing beer.

Some houses kept going on stored rain-water, and even used it for primitive closets. In the back streets, the many slaughter-houses, and soap and candle works, smelt appalling in hot weather. To this account the extras added by the medical officer, Dr. Bull, are pretty nauseating. He also took the opportunity to remind Herefordians that, if you pump up cider from the cellar in lead pipes, you (or your servants if they have the first drink of the day) will get lead colic. There were no really functioning sewers, and the drainage from St. Owens fed the pool above the Mill at the river end of Castle Ditch. In some parts there were no privies. St. Owens and the Gaol were the worst areas.

THE HEREFORD IMPROVEMENT ACT

The Hereford Improvement Act received the Royal Assent in June, 1854, Mayor Charles Anthony, owner of the *Hereford Times* and leader in reform of all sorts, was the driving force in achieving this.

It gave the Council power to:

1. Provide new Cattle Markets.
2. Construct Sewers, Sewerage and Drainage Works.
3. Construct Waterworks and lay Mains.
4. Construct a Public Cemetery.
5. Purchase the Gas Works.

Promoting this bill cost the city £2,000 (¹²) and this was felt to be an expensive orgy but a leading article in the *Hereford Times* gave encouragement. The Cattle Markets and Waterworks should be self-financing and the Cemetery and Gasworks

produce an income. The members of the Council who also must pay rates, are not inclined to ruin themselves.

The cattle had always been sold in the central areas and the first necessity in the clean-up was to get them off the streets. Before the Act was through Parliament the Mayor had begun to negotiate for a field behind Widemarsh Street, where was a house and buildings and three acres, and three roods of land, and as it was accessible from Eign Gate, Widemarsh Gate, and from the new railways the area was ideal for the Cattle Markets. Mr. Heather the owner agreed on a price of £2,500 and the money was loaned by local trustees at 4%.

A lot of road making was needed and led to the construction of Newmarket Street, Edgar Street, and Blackfriars Street. While the Council were thinking of suitable names for them a lot of other streets got new ones too, Bowsey Lane of evil repute became Wall Street. Later on Miss Bulmer's five acre meadow was added to the Market. She wanted £5,000 and was prepared to wait for ever—so she got it. The iron cattle pens were moved in and repainted, and the new Markets opened with proper ceremony in 1856.

Now it was possible to dig up the streets and lay sewers and water mains. The money for the Waterworks was found by selling some of the Corporation's Estates, and the £13,248 almost exactly covered the cost. The pumphouse on the river level, had a beam-type engine supplied by Simpson and Co. of Pimlico which had been dismantled from the Great Exhibition of 1851, and as it was still at work when the then City Surveyor, Mr. Parker, wrote in 1896 it must be judged a most judicious purchase.

For the sewage works and sewers £7,000 odd was borrowed to be paid for by the rates. An item of £72 was compensation for the diversion of water (if one can call it that) from the Castle Mill.

New wickednesses appear in the Guildhall Courts. On a Monday morning in 1860 the landlady of the Saracen's Head was run in for wasting water. A few brief years before she had only to sling a bucket over the wharf side to get it free. The waterless stole from the taps of the righteous who had paid to have it, and frozen pipes make their debut. On test the old leather fire-hoses collapsed from the pressure and were replaced by linen ones.

Barely had all this been accomplished than the Council got a letter from the Government Burial Grounds Inspector asking nicely how their Cemetery project was going. He proposed using his powers to close the All Saints burial-ground at once and the rest very shortly. The Friends burial-ground seems to have escaped his veto; there are stones dated 1865 in the tiny walled-in court. Originally the City Burial Ground had been in the area round the Cathedral. By 1791, all the parishes had arranged new grounds outside the city walls. With increasing numbers, pressure built up and bodies were disturbed every time a new grave was dug. St. Owen's purchased an additional area in 1851, but the relief was minimal.

The Cemetery Committee started work in 1856. An area on Broomy Hill had

been chosen. Then Bishop Hampden offered to give 8 acres between Breinton Road and White Horse Lane, with reservations as to the Rights of Parishes. It meant that the Dissenting Churches would not get part for their own exclusive use. The Committee felt trouble might be brewing and offered to buy the land at 30 years' purchase, but they were sharply reminded that they had already borrowed up to the legal limit. The Bishop gave one acre to each parish in succession and his gifts were sanctioned. Later the area became the United Parishes Burial Ground with a Committee of Management. A further 5½ acres was bought in 1906.

The Hereford Improvements Committee then tackled the disordered area of small produce marketed round about the old Town Hall, which was so sadly demolished. They purchased an extra area leading into Maylord Street and contracts were fixed for the Butter Market—one of which went to William Bowers. Workmen came in from other places and reported that the normal day elsewhere was 10 hours not 10½ as in Hereford and, in June, 1860, the astonished contractors were faced by a strike led by William Ledger, a mason working for Mr. Bowers. The men held out for 3 weeks until members of the City Council arranged a settlement in their favour and an announcement in the *Hereford Times* bears four signatures—including the names of William Ledger and James Bowers. The agreement is for 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. daily—5 p.m. on Saturdays. Total 59½ hours a week, less normal meal breaks. The employers were left rather short of men, so many had left the town. The following Saturday night there was a final meeting of the builders' men at the Market Tavern where they gave Mr. Ledger "a purse of money and a very nice pocket book". The Markets were opened at Christmas by the Mayor, and Lady Emily Foley came with her brother to admire the orderly stalls of produce. Now Hereford was linked with its markets there were buyers even from the Midland towns.

SAVINGS

The Herefordshire Savings Bank in the buildings on the corner of St. John Street and East Street plodded on with a useful job:—

In 1841, there were 3358 Accounts holding £95,000 Capital.

In 1851, there were 4656 Accounts holding £117,414 Capital.

In 1861, there were 7095 Accounts holding £166,730 Capital. The lesser folk were thriving a little. (13)

GAS WORKS

The Gas Works proved rather difficult to get under Item 5 of the Hereford Improvement Act, since compulsory purchase had not yet been invented. (14) The Gas Company had lighted the City after an Act in 1824 when the Council had decided it should leave the actual running to private enterprise and pay for what lights it used. In 1853 the Company's lessee, Mr. Andrew Thompson, had ten years of a fourteen year lease still to run, and among the shareholders no one wanted to sell. The Company was doing well, and the price they charged to private users had

dropped from 15/- to 6/- per 1000 cu. ft. The Kerry Arms was experimenting with a gas cooker and the Hereford Times had a gas fire in the office. An offer of £6,000 was not the slightest temptation. The nominal capital was £5,300 in the £50 shares issued thirty years before. It was not until 1871 that the bargain was struck at £53,225. The administration of the Gas Works was allotted to a Water-and-Gas committee of the council. (15) With its two hats the committee worked conscientiously, Water complained to Gas that coke at 10/- a ton was too dear and got a reduction to 6/-; Gas complained to Water about frogs in the mains. As the city grew the site by the canal terminus and the old soil yard became too cramped and the works were moved to Mortimer Road in 1880. The old site and buildings were sold to Mr. Welsh and are now part of the Aeroparts factory (plate II); Herrons, Hide and Fell-mongers, were too late with a last bid but soon afterwards moved from the Eign Mill site to the Monk Mill area, near the railway. They closed their works there a few years ago; for hundreds of years the Eign brook had been used by tanneries, and the city's mills, now it runs free of industrial uses.

By 1861 the elected City Council and the private citizens had achieved great things for Hereford:—

The Indigent and helpless were cared for by the Board of Guardians; the Streets were paved, bitumened, and lighted and free of cattle; while May fair had been reduced to three days (and is still a subject of general complaint); the Markets were busy and growing; Water runs out of taps and into drains; Education was available if not yet compulsory; The Industrious Aid Society encouraged everyone able to work; The Freehold Land Society was housing its thrifty members; Almshouses were allotted to others besides the Freeman and their widows; the Wicked troubled only their victims and the Police.

Hereford was built (mostly) of brick, neat and cheerful.

I thank most gratefully the staff of the City Library and the County Archivist, Miss Jancey, for their patient help and many suggestions for research; the Hon. Secretary for his unfailing support, and the Editor for technical guidance; and my husband and daughter Jean for reading to clear doubtful points, and actively assisting with the construction of this article. Lastly I ask you to remember the journalists of a century and more ago, who vividly recorded their City's life.

H.J.—*Hereford Journal*. H.T.—*Hereford Times*.

¹ H.J. 19.11.1832.

² Parliamentary report issued before the Municipal Corporations Act.

³ H.J. 8.12.1830.

⁴ H.T. 14.1.1854.

⁵ City Council's accounts.

⁶ H.T. 17.8.1836.

⁷ 2nd Minute book of the Hereford Guardians.

⁸ H.J. 12.10.53.

⁹ Parliamentary report.

¹⁰ H.T. 26.12.1835 and 2.1.1836.

¹¹ H.T. June, 1836.

¹² City Council's minute books.

¹³ H.J. and H.T. annual summaries of the Saving's Bank accounts.

¹⁴ Report to Parliament before the Hereford Improvement Act.

¹⁵ Minutes of the City Council's Gas and Water Committee.

William fitz Osbern and the Norman settlement in Herefordshire

By DAVID WALKER

WILLIAM ⁽¹⁾ FITZ OSBERN dominates the history of Herefordshire and the neighbouring shires in the first five years of reign of William the Conqueror. He was a Norman magnate of the first rank, for both his parents were descended from the Norman ducal house. ⁽²⁾ His father was Osbern, one of the stewards who served the duke of Normandy, a guardian of the young William during his turbulent minority. He had only a small patrimony, but he inherited considerable estates from his mother, Emma, daughter of Count Rodulf, the half-brother of Richard I, duke of Normandy, who brought to her husband and their descendants the honours of Pacy and Breteuil. Osbern was murdered before Duke William grew to manhood, but in his son William was to find an able and trusted supporter. From about 1050 to 1066 William fitz Osbern was a leading figure at the ducal court. He was wealthy, he was powerful in central Normandy, and he was loyal. During the 1050s a ducal stronghold was built at Breteuil and entrusted to him. His influence must be guessed rather than established, but he was believed to have affected two major decisions. He was said to have been responsible for reconciling Duke William with Lanfranc of Bec, then a monk at Herluin's newly founded monastery, who was temporarily opposed to the duke, but who later became a firm friend and supporter, and was to be archbishop of Canterbury after the Conquest of England. It was also thought that he had won over the waverers among the Norman barons when the expedition to England was being canvassed in 1066. In England he ranked as one of the ten or eleven greatest secular landholders, and he was entrusted with authority at crucial points. In 1067 he received the Isle of Wight, and, later in the same year, he was established at Hereford on the southern marches of England and Wales, with the title and authority of earl. York, perhaps the most vulnerable city in England during the Conqueror's reign, was another scene of his activities. He shared with Odo of Bayeux the task of ruling England in the king's absence when William returned to Normandy in 1067. This, as Sir Frank Stenton has observed, 'can have amounted to little more than the military government of a half-conquered land'. ⁽³⁾ Neither of the regents had much flair for administration, and they earned the condemnation of the twelfth-century writer, Ordericus Vitalis ⁽⁴⁾

Puffed up with pride, they gave no heed to the reasonable complaints of his English subjects and disdained to weigh them in the balance of equity. They shielded their men-at-arms who most outrageously robbed the people and ravished the women, and those only incurred their wrath who were driven by these grievous affronts to be loud in their remonstrances.

Fitz Osbern is not a man to romanticise.

His career in England was very short. He was attracted by the prospect of new

adventures in another part of Europe. Baldwin VI, count of Flanders, died in 1070, leaving two young sons, Arnulf and Baldwin, who were to share their father's inheritance, Arnulf taking Flanders and Baldwin the county of Hainault. He placed his sons under the protection of the king of France and of William fitz Osbern, but the defence of their claims in Flanders and Hainault fell to their mother, Richildis. Meanwhile, there was a rival claimant to Flanders in the person of the boys' uncle, Robert 'le Frison'. Fitz Osbern set out to defend the young count of Flanders, attracted by the prospect of marriage with Richildis. But in February, 1071, at Bavinchore, near Cassel, he was killed in battle. The loss to England, to Normandy, and even to Flanders, was great.

William fitz Osbern was, first and foremost, a soldier, and Herefordshire was only one centre of his activities. For barely five years the border claimed part of his attention. He was earl of Hereford and Herefordshire was the centre of his power, but his authority extended over Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. It is difficult to be precise and to define the nature of his authority over these shires. Like Chester and Shrewsbury, Hereford was an earldom which requires some special description, and the term 'palatine' has been used for this purpose. The unusual powers which the term implies were certainly exercised over Herefordshire, and a good case has been made that they were exercised also over Gloucestershire. ⁽⁵⁾ Worcestershire was not, as it would seem, so closely under his control, though it still lay within his sphere of influence. He held land in Oxfordshire, and in Domesday Book this holding was still identified under a separate rubric as the lands held by Earl William, though he had been dead for fifteen years. Whether he had any authority over that shire also is a question which may be asked but not answered. I would prefer to regard his authority as a personal matter, and one which was probably not defined with any clarity during his lifetime. The king needed a strong man on the border, and gave him wide powers over a group of shires. There is a strong case to argue that Gloucestershire and Herefordshire together formed an area vulnerable to attack and in need of defence. Beyond that, fitz Osbern cast a wide and dark shadow! Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that his career in England was so short. Five years, at a time of conquest, was scarcely enough to take the bold measures necessary to hold down such an uncertain area as these frontier territories were. We cannot begin to think in terms of consolidation. Part of the difficulty lies in the tendency, once strong among British medievalists, to look for constitutional powers and to define institutions, where the Normans merely made use of men.

Great changes occurred after his death. His Norman lands passed to his eldest son, William of Breteuil, while his English earldom and estates passed to his younger son, Roger, a surly and disaffected man, who, within five years, was in revolt against the king. He resented especially the activities of the royal sheriffs in the shires where his father had been virtually master of the royal officials. A chance reference in a letter written to Earl Roger by Archbishop Lanfranc makes this much clear. The king was not prepared to hand over to the new earl the same wide trust which he had given to William fitz Osbern. I take this to mean that, after the death

of Earl William, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire were no longer regarded as being part of the sphere of influence of one trusted man. Evidence relating to the activities of the sheriffs of these two shires is very meagre for the whole of the Conqueror's reign, and certainly does not enable us to be precise within, say, five years, but the death of fitz Osbern seems to be a major landmark in the balance of power in the western midlands.

Earl Roger, with his brother-in-law, Ralph Guader, earl of East Anglia, and with the connivance of a leading member of the old English aristocracy, Earl Waltheof, were involved in the rebellion of 1075, but they were no match for the king's representatives, and the revolt was put down. Earl Roger lost his honours and lands, and was imprisoned, with no hope of release. It was the complete eclipse of a great family, for his sons were not allowed to claim any part of his inheritance, and in the reign of Henry I they were believed to be impecunious suitors at the royal court, hoping to regain some mark of royal favour. However obscure they were, they did not forget their ancestry. One of them called himself Reginald son of the earl, a proud and perhaps defiant style to adopt. John Horace Round, that cantankerous scholar who was such a brilliant genealogist, unravelled the history of these unfortunate successors of Roger of Breteuil, and showed that Reginald married the heiress of another family which had interests in Herefordshire, the family of Ballon, and that their descendants held a modest endowment, very much of the second rank, in the medieval lordship of Much Marcle.⁽⁶⁾ But the lands and earldom of William fitz Osbern were never to be theirs. The estates of the house passed to those who had been the earl's followers and tenants, for they became, through forfeiture, the tenants-in-chief of the crown. The earldom of Hereford—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say *an* earldom in Hereford—was not revived until the reign of Stephen. Then, in the course of the civil war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, a prominent Angevin supporter, Miles of Gloucester, was made earl of Hereford in 1141.⁽⁷⁾

The Norman branch of the family of fitz Osbern also had a chequered history. William of Breteuil held the family's Norman lands until his death in 1103.⁽⁸⁾ He left no legitimate child to succeed, but his bastard son Eustace laid claim to the lordship of Breteuil. His claims were challenged successfully by yet another of William fitz Osbern's descendants. His daughter, Emma, had married Ralph Guader, who was earl of East Anglia until 1075, and who was also a leading magnate in Brittany. Their son, Ralph le Breton, sought to obtain the Norman lands of fitz Osbern, and, due to royal favour, he succeeded, for Henry I declared that Eustace had forfeited these estates and he granted them to Ralph. This was not a disinterested act on Henry I's part. He intended Ralph's daughter, Amicia, to be the wife of his own bastard son, Richard, and the inheritance of Breteuil was to be her dowry. But the plan failed, for Richard was drowned in the tragedy of the White Ship in 1121, when, on the dangerous channel crossing between Normandy and England, the young heir to the throne and a number of other leading Norman barons were drowned. Richard perished in the disaster. Amicia was married instead to a

member of the powerful family of the Beaumonts, Robert le Bossu, who was already earl of Leicester. He took over the claims to the fitz Osbern inheritance and with the king's approval he secured Amicia's Norman lands. During the reign of Stephen, the earl of Leicester made a determined attempt to add to these the English inheritance of fitz Osbern. From Stephen he obtained a grant of the borough and shire of Hereford, with the exception of the estates of a number of tenants-in-chief. All he had to do was to win for himself what the king had given him, for Stephen had no control over Herefordshire, a county firmly held by his enemies. But the Beaumonts could not oust Miles of Gloucester, now holding the title of earl of Hereford, and they came to an agreement with him. How they settled their differences is not known, for we have only a passing reference to their 'treaty' and know nothing about its contents.⁽⁹⁾ William fitz Osbern's tenure of lands and honours in Normandy and in England left a tangle of claims which remained as issues of major importance in the politics of the duchy and the kingdom until the middle decades of the twelfth century.

But let us confine ourselves to a narrower vista, and focus attention upon Herefordshire in the reign of William the Conqueror. Fitz Osbern made Hereford the centre of his power, for he diverted to Hereford itself the revenues of a number of manors in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. He made conditions of settlement attractive to French knights in Herefordshire, while to French colonists at Hereford he granted the favourable customs of Breteuil. Hereford was an odd choice to make, though in one sense it was a logical one. In the twelfth century Herefordshire was an outpost of England. Men spoke of 'Hereford in Wales', rather as today we speak of 'Wales and Monmouthshire'. It was a marchland, border territory, of which the boundaries could not easily be drawn. Before the Norman Conquest the shire had been exposed and vulnerable, and two Welsh princes, Gruffydd ap Rhydderch and Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, made a series of attacks on the weakly defended southern marches of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. Gloucester was an important military centre, well sited and strongly defended, and before the Conquest, as after, it was used as a base for campaigns against the Welsh. Hereford, by contrast, was an advanced camp, an outpost, and although the crossing of the Wye was important, it seems not to have been valued for strategic reasons. The great problem was to hold back the Welsh. The sack of Hereford, with the destruction of the newly built minster church in 1055, is one illustration of this danger, and the passing of Archenfield from English to Welsh control is another. In this border area before the Conquest, defence was a matter of temporary expediency. In one attempt to deal with the problem Edward the Confessor placed his nephew Ralph, with the status of an earl, at Hereford. He commanded a mobile force of mounted men, based on a castle built at Hereford itself. This was the application of continental tactics to the problems of border defence, but it failed, for when the test came in 1055, Ralph and his men were not able to repulse the Welsh. Hereford fell, Ralph was discredited, and the experiment was abandoned.⁽¹⁰⁾

The bishop who had his seat at Hereford could be useful as an administrator

organising the resources of the shire, or in an emergency, as a military leader. He could not hope to act without relying heavily on one great family, that of Godwine, earl of Wessex, which dominated the shire. In the latter part of the Confessor's reign, the leading member of the dynasty was Earl Harold, who held many estates in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, and was personally responsible for both shires. In 1056, Leofgar, a priest in Harold's entourage, was appointed bishop of Hereford. He was unmistakably a militant bishop who had previously given great offence by his secular attitude, for he had continued to wear his moustaches, even as a priest, and the monastic chroniclers who recorded his death could not forgive that. Leofgar grasped the important fact that a supine defence was ineffective, and that to wait for yet another Welsh attack was useless. He attempted a bold stroke by marching into Wales to surprise Gruffydd ap Llewelyn. ⁽¹¹⁾ We have no means of knowing whether the campaign was well organised, nor whether Leofgar had any real ability as a soldier, but it was a promising idea. Alas, he did not carry it through successfully, for he and his fighters were routed with heavy loss, and he himself was killed. The uneasy peace of the borders was broken and it required a major effort by the leading men of the kingdom to patch up friendship once more between English and Welsh. Another expedient which was adopted was to give the diocese of Hereford into the control of Aldred, bishop of Worcester. In effect this created a single command for the southern border, but it seems not to have been successful, either from a military or an ecclesiastical standpoint, and it was quickly abandoned.

Despite his failure, Leofgar had the right approach to the Welsh problem. In 1063 the struggle was once more carried into Wales, but this time under the very capable command of Earl Harold. By another bold stroke, he sent a force in the depth of winter, to surprise the Welsh prince in his northern stronghold at Rhuddlan. It almost succeeded. The hall at Rhuddlan was destroyed, but Gruffydd escaped by sea. In the summer a combined sea and land force attacked North Wales and Gruffydd was driven in flight into the mountain strongholds of central Wales. There he was killed, and with his death the immediate threat to England disappeared. There might be border skirmishes, but there was no real threat after 1063. There is no means of discovering whether contemporaries realised this, or whether they regarded the campaign of 1063 merely as a temporary success. For at least a decade Hereford had been a threatened frontier town, which, like the shire as a whole, presented a difficult problem of defence. The solution was seen to be bold aggressive action in Wales. ⁽¹²⁾

When the Normans came to England, this was the problem which faced them on the Welsh border. Recent history demonstrated only too clearly the weakness of the frontier and the recurrent danger of Welsh attacks. The remedy was simple: they must continue to provide strong defences along the marchlands of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, ⁽¹³⁾ and within a matter of months, William the Conqueror had done this by entrusting the southern march to his powerful friend, William fitz Osbern. But the situation had in fact been radically altered by the campaign of 1063. The Normans were poised in strength to meet an enemy who was no longer a

real threat. It seems that fitz Osbern was not slow to recognise this, and to strike hard.

The points of advance lay chiefly along the river Wye, and from the two castles which he established at Chepstow and Monmouth, the attack was launched. The route from Gloucester to Chepstow lay in his hands, for he held a line of estates along the Severn valley, Purton in Awre, Lydney and Tidenham. The Gloucestershire Domesday has much to tell us about the castellary of Striguil, or Chepstow, which was to remain one of the key strongholds of the Welsh marches for centuries to come. ⁽¹⁴⁾ The Herefordshire Domesday tells us something of the castellaries which he established in Herefordshire, including that at Monmouth, which, by 1086, had come into the possession of William son of Baderon.

Westward expansion from Herefordshire itself—that is to say, excluding the parts of Monmouthshire which were surveyed in the Domesday shire of Hereford—was, perhaps, less spectacular. The line of demarcation between English and Welsh was not constant, but subject to the fortunes of conquest and reconquest. As Round put it so vividly many years ago, "We must not think of the Herefordshire of Domesday as co-extensive with the present county, or even as a district limited by any established boundaries. What Harold had recovered with his light infantry, what William fitz Osbern and his mailed horsemen could hold at the lance's point, that, at the moment of the great Survey, was all part of Herefordshire—no more, and no less". ⁽¹⁵⁾ The shire was protected by a ring of strong castles. Richard's Castle, Wigmore, Clifford Castle and Ewyas Harold. The southern castles of Monmouth, and, to a lesser extent, Chepstow, completed the great arc of fortifications on the western frontier. Ewyas Harold and Richard's Castle existed before the Conquest. There is a sharp contrast between those areas which had been assigned to a hundred, or assessed in hides on the English pattern, and those which lay outside hundreds and paid renders in kind on the Welsh pattern. There is also a contrast between those areas which belonged to the diocese of Hereford and those which belonged to Llandaff. If we must draw a clear line between England and Wales in the Conqueror's reign, these will help us to determine where that line runs. Even at the time of William fitz Osbern, almost coterminous with the foundation of his castles, it is possible to see small-scale penetration into Wales. Round thought that, at Ewyas Harold, fitz Osbern 'was endeavouring to push his frontier to the Black Mountain range and hold down the local Welsh.' ⁽¹⁶⁾ Certainly, by 1086, Hereford, though still a frontier town, was not as exposed as it had been in the days of the Confessor. As the Norman expansion into Wales continued, especially in the twelfth century, Hereford became increasingly secure.

The Norman infiltration into Wales was not a continuous process. While fitz Osbern lived the Norman pressure was maintained, but with his death, or at the latest, with the forfeiture of his son—there came a change. From about 1078 until 1093 an able Welsh prince, Rhys ap Tewdwr, ruled South Wales, overcoming his Welsh enemies at home, and winning the support of William the Conqueror. The combination of his own strength and the powerful patronage which he enjoyed kept

the border territories of his kingdom reasonably safe. It was not until the late 1080s and early 1090s that signs of renewed attacks on South Wales may be discerned. Then, Bernard of Neufmarché, moving from Herefordshire along the Hay-Glasbury line, began his advance into Brycheiniog. Perhaps at the same time—though here we are in the realm of guess-work—Robert fitz Hamo was making a tentative start in the advance towards Morgannwg, and the conquest of the Anglo-Norman lordship of Glamorgan. ⁽¹⁷⁾ By 1093 the threat to Brycheiniog was so great that Rhys ap Tewdwr was called in to help. At Brecon he met the Normans who were, as it is said, already living in Brycheiniog, and he was defeated and killed. Then the flood-gates were opened, and the south was overrun. But that forms a later chapter in the story, one which marks the continuation of invasion and settlement in South Wales inaugurated by William fitz Osbern and interrupted by the collapse of his dynasty. For good or evil, Wales, like Herefordshire, must acknowledge that he played a major role in shaping its future.

The account of Herefordshire in Domesday Book proclaims the fact that he did much to establish Norman families along the border. ⁽¹⁸⁾ The *Terra Regis*, the land which the king held in 1086, bears many marks of fitz Osbern's activities. We read that the sheriff added Wapleford to Kingstune in the time of Earl William. The earl gave part of Marden to a certain burgess of Hereford. He gave an estate in Kings Pyon to Walter de Lacy, and from him, too, the Lacy family received part of Westwood-in-Llanwarne. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Another Domesday tenant-in-chief, Hugh the Ass, claimed Radnor, which, as he said, Earl William gave him when he gave him the land of Turchil, his Anglo-Saxon *antecessor*. The sheriff of Gloucestershire removed two-and-a-half hides into his own shire in the time of Earl William. The abbey which fitz Osbern founded at Cormeilles received many gifts from him, and had tithes or possessions in Linton, Lugwardine, Kingstune, Kingsland, Marcle and Stanford Regis. His other foundation at Lire had tithes in Dewsall and land in Marcle. Perhaps the most curious survival of all, however, is the fact that the lands in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire which he had made accountable to Hereford, were duly listed as part of the king's land in Herefordshire fifteen years after the earl's death. Elsewhere his influence is noted, but is less obvious. One small estate of the bishop of Hereford, at Eaton Bishop, was handed to him by William fitz Osbern in exchange 'for land on which the market (presumably of Hereford itself) now stands'. There was a dispute about the ownership of a small estate in Sutton. ⁽²⁰⁾ Nigel the Physician entered it as one of his estates, but Hugh the Ass claimed that he had held it in the time of William. It needs little imagination to add the 'earl' which the Domesday scribe omitted. The earl had given Downton to Thurstan the Fleming, Street and Kings Pyon to Ewen the Briton, Wolferlow to Walter de Lacy, and land in Kinnersley to Gilbert, son of Tuold. In Kenchester, Hugh the Ass had transferred an estate to Earl William, who had in turn given it to Maredudd the Welsh king, whose son, Gruffydd, held it in 1086. ⁽²¹⁾ Above all, we can see William fitz Osbern establishing castles at critical points, and entrusting them to his men: Clifford Castle, held in 1086 by his brother-in-law, Ralph de Tosny; Wigmore, held

by Ralph de Mortimer; Ewyas Harold, held by Alfred of Marlborough. ⁽²²⁾ All this information was remembered and recorded at least fifteen years after the earl was dead. It is remarkable that so much evidence of his activities should have survived. Not without cause can Dr. Wightman say, 'Royal estates, the estates of Earls Aelfgar and Harold, those of Edwi Cilt and of numerous lesser freemen, as well as those which that had belonged to Queen Edith and the unfortunate Archbishop Stigand, were all reshuffled into the pattern that suited the new earl'. ⁽²³⁾

By contrast, there is much less direct evidence of the king's intervention in Herefordshire, though here, as elsewhere, exceptional circumstances would show the king to have been actively involved. The most striking instance is to be found in the account of Alfred of Marlborough's castle at Ewyas Harold. ⁽²⁴⁾

Alfred of Marlborough holds the castle of Ewias [Ewyas (Harold)] of King William, for the same king granted to him the lands which had been given him by Earl William who had refortified this castle.

The king had also given him a small parcel of land which Ralph de Bernai, once sheriff of Herefordshire, had held, and which belonged to this castle. This entry in Domesday Book states plainly what so much of the Herefordshire account implies, that with the forfeiture of Roger of Breteuil, which removed one of the great land-holding dynasties of the west midlands, many of his tenants became tenants-in-chief, holding directly of the crown. The richest gift ascribed personally to the king was made to the bishop of Hereford and the canons of his church. They had suffered heavily from the depredations of Earl Harold during the Confessor's reign. Holme Lacy, Hazle in Ledbury, Colwall, Coddington, Hampton Bishop, Sugwas, and Collington had all been held unjustly by Earl Harold, but William the Conqueror restored them to the bishop and canons of Hereford. ⁽²⁵⁾ It must have been a crippling loss for a poor see, and this restoration was, no doubt, a welcome sign of royal favour. There are lesser grants to be noted. At Kings Pyon, Earl William had given an estate to Ewen the Briton—the Welshman—but King William gave it to Walter de Lacy. On another Lacy estate, at Wolferlow, Earl William had given Walter de Lacy four and a half hides of land, and the king increased this estate by giving to Roger de Lacy another hide and a half. ⁽²⁶⁾ Gifts to the church were made with the king's approval at Leadon and at Ocle Pychard. The equivalent of a tax rebate went to Alfred of Marlborough. His estate at Much Cowarne was assessed at fifteen hides, but King William allowed six hides to be quit of geld. ⁽²⁷⁾ He made the same gesture for two Welshmen holding land in Herefordshire. Maredudd the Welsh king had been given land by William fitz Osbern, and his estates were held in 1086 by his son, Gruffydd. The king remitted the geld due from their estate at Ley, first to Maredudd, and later, to his son. ⁽²⁸⁾ A small estate was given to Roger de Pitres by King William. ⁽²⁹⁾ Gifts like this, or like the increment of land granted to the Lacys at Wolferlow, are especially important, for they enable us to see how men who rose to power through the patronage of fitz Osbern and then gave their loyalty to the crown, could reap the benefit of that loyalty as the reign advanced.

Herefordshire before the Conquest was dominated by Earl Harold who held many estates in the shire. Some forty-four manors in the Herefordshire Domesday

in 1086 had been carved out of land held by Harold or by his thegns. His sister, Edith, the Confessor's queen, held Stanford Regis, Leominster, Leintball, and Castle Frome. The fact that the house of Godwine was so powerfully entrenched in Herefordshire made one of Edward the Confessor's experiments particularly humiliating. He established his nephew Ralph, as earl in Herefordshire. ⁽³⁰⁾ He was one of a number of Frenchmen who settled in and near Herefordshire in the Confessor's reign: Richard Scrob, of Richard's Castle, whose son, Osbern, still held part of his father's lands in 1086, is the best known of them. ⁽³¹⁾ Another Osbern, uncle of Alfred of Marlborough, was said to have held Burghill and Brinsop 'when Godwin and Harold had been exiled', ⁽³²⁾ so he evidently shared the spoils in 1051, when the Confessor managed to oust Godwine and send him into temporary exile. Alfred of Marlborough himself held one Herefordshire manor, Pencombe, in the Confessor's reign. ⁽³³⁾ This may, perhaps, account for the careful statement that he had been given Ewyas Harold by Earl William, and later by the Conqueror. It was not easy for the Normans to deal with those Frenchmen who had come to England before 1066. The 'laws of King William', an unofficial and fragmentary compilation, suggest that they were subject to the law of the Confessor, and should be treated as if they were Englishmen. ⁽³⁴⁾ So, with Alfred of Marlborough, and perhaps with others who appear as tenants-in-chief in Domesday Book, it may have been politic to emphasise that they had identified themselves with the Conqueror, held their lands through his bounty, and shared the privileges of his Norman followers.

Conquest brought destruction and grief. The old English aristocracy was robbed, overthrown, and largely replaced. Men of some substance before the Conquest might survive as tenants of their new Norman masters. Herefordshire can produce its quota of such victims, and in each case a brief, laconic entry in Domesday Book may disguise hardship, and tragedy. Costelin held land in Much or Little Birch in the time of King Edward, but after the Conquest Roger de Lacy acquired the manor, and in 1086, Costelin's son was Roger's undertenant. So also at Butterley, Whyle, and Marston Chapel, the Lacy family held lands, while representatives of the families they had dispossessed were now their tenants. ⁽³⁵⁾ The Lacys were no more exacting than others of their contemporaries, nor were their tenants less fortunate than other English survivors of the Conquest. Life in Herefordshire can never have been peaceful or pleasant, nor can Anglo-Saxon magnates like Godwine's sons, Sweyn and Harold, have been gentle or easy masters. Sweyn abducted an abbess of Leominster, while Harold made free with the estates of the bishop of Hereford. There cannot have been much to choose between them and the Lacys or the Mortimers, though after the Conquest, defeat and racial hatred were new factors to be taken into account.

There are surprisingly few of the greatest names of Norman England in the list of tenants-in-chiefs in Herefordshire. Ralph de Tosny was the representative of a powerful Norman dynasty; so, too, was Henry de Ferrers, though his estate in the shire was very small. Nigel the Physician and Hugh the Ass, prominent enough in Herefordshire, were not men of the first rank. Lacy and Mortimer are, to modern

ears, obviously names of distinction, but both families sprang from small beginnings and acquired power and influence in England. A few minutes with the Domesday map of Herefordshire will show that four landholders dominated the shire: the king, the bishop of Hereford, Lacy and Mortimer. They controlled rather more than half of the estates listed in Domesday. The Lacy and Mortimer estates were the nuclei of the two great feudal honours centred on Herefordshire, the honours of Weobley, and Wigmore.

What is more surprising is to see the number of Domesday holdings in Herefordshire which passed into the hands of other families after 1086, and emerged as distinctive feudal honours. Great names disappeared and lesser men, making good use of their opportunities took their place. The bulk of Alfred of Marlborough's estates passed to Bernard of Neufmarché soon after the Domesday Survey was made, and were later to be part of the honour of Brecknock. The lands of the Domesday tenant-in-chief Ralph de Tosny came into the hands of an heiress who, before 1138, had married and taken her estates to Walter, the son of another Domesday tenant-in-chief, Richard fitz Pons. These estates went to form the honour of Clifford. In a slightly different way, part of the Lacy estates passed through marriage to the family of Longchamps, and became part of the honour of Wilton. Perhaps the most interesting example is provided by the Domesday holdings of Alfred d'Epaignes and Hugh the Ass. By marriage, as it is thought, with the daughter of Alfred d'Epaignes, Roger de Chandos acquired his estates, and a generation later, by about 1127, the estates of Hugh the Ass had also passed to the Chandos family, presumably through another marriage with an heiress. Not until 1127 was this honour associated with the Golden Valley, and with the castle of Snodhill which was to be Roger's principal stronghold, and from which his honour took its name. The Domesday tenant, William fitz Norman, had charge of the king's forests in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. Serving the king as hereditary foresters, his successors continued to hold their estates. Their landed endowment was always modest, but like the local family of Mucegros, they did well out of local administration and they acquired prestige and some influence as the lords of Kilpeck. Another local official, Durand of Gloucester, hereditary sheriff of Gloucestershire, held eight estates in Herefordshire. His brother had been Roger de Pitres, a man who rose to power in the service of William fitz Osbern and then of the king. There was nothing to suggest in 1086 that their dynasty would rise by service under the crown, and would prosper, especially by advantageous marriages, until, in 1141, it would produce an earl of Hereford. ⁽³⁶⁾ William fitz Osbern's name is writ large over the Herefordshire Domesday, but he was dead, his work was done, his day was over. Roger of Pitres and Durand of Gloucester were little men at the first stage in the long story of their dynasty's rise to wealth and power. The future lay with them.

¹ This paper was given, as a general survey, for a W.E.A. school at Hereford in April, 1967.

² For William fitz Osbern's background, see especially, D. C. Douglas, 'The Ancestors of William fitz Osbern', *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]*, LIX (1944), pp. 62-79.

³ *Anglo Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (1943), p. 601.

⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. A. le Prévost and L. Delisle (1838-55), Vol. ii, p. 168. There is a useful translation of this source from which this quotation is taken. T. Forester, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1853), Vol. ii, p. 9.

⁵ W. E. Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitz Osbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire (1066-1071)', *E.H.R.*, LXXVII (1962), pp. 6-17.

⁶ 'The Family of Ballon and the Conquest of South Wales', *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 181-215.

⁷ David Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 77, pp. 66-84; R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen* (1967), p. 141.

⁸ For a useful summary see *Complete Peerage*, new ed., vi, p. 449; L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas, Harleian Society, 103 (1951), p. 43.

⁹ David Walker, *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 77, p. 80; R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen* (1967), pp. 113, 141; for the king's charter to Earl Robert, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, III, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (1968), no. 437.

¹⁰ See below, p. 410.

¹¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, version C, s.a. 1055; *English Historical Documents*, II, 1042-1189, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, pp. 133-4.

¹² For these events see, David Walker, 'A Note on Gruffydd ap Llewelyn (1039-63)', *Welsh History Review (Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru)*, I, pp. 83-94.

¹³ The defence of the southern marchland was, of course, part of the larger problem of the defence of the whole Anglo-Welsh frontier. Here, only the local factors which were operative in the south are in question.

¹⁴ *D[omesday] B[ook]*, Vol. i, f. 162.

¹⁵ *V[ictoria] C[ounty] H[istory] Heref[ordshire]*, Vol. i, p. 263.

¹⁶ *ib.*, p. 266.

¹⁷ General reference may be made to Lynn H. Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171*, a book which is not sufficiently critical or comprehensive to make it authoritative.

¹⁸ The information in the paragraphs which follow may most conveniently be checked in *V.C.H. Heref.*, where the evidence may be read in conjunction with Round's views on the history of the shire in the eleventh century. The Domesday Text for the shire occurs in *Domesday Book*, volume i, f. 179b ff. *The Herefordshire Domesday*, ed. J. Tait and V. H. Galbraith, *Pipe Roll Society*, New Series, 25, is a valuable ancillary text profusely annotated. For the following paragraph see, *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, pp. 312, 313, 317, 319, 320.

¹⁹ For the Lacy holding in Herefordshire, see, W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (1966), particularly pp. 117-194. For Westwood-in-Llanwarne see David Walker, 'The Descent of Westwood-in-Llanwarne', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld Club*, XXXVI, pp. 191-5.

²⁰ *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, p. 326.

²¹ *ib.*, pp. 327, 331, 332, 341, 342.

²² *ib.*, pp. 326, 327, 337.

²³ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194*, p. 120.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, p. 337.

²⁵ *ib.*, pp. 321-3.

²⁶ *ib.*, pp. 331, 332; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 120, 123, n., 124.

²⁷ *V.C.H. Heref.*, pp. 329, 331, 338.

²⁸ *ib.*, p. 343.

²⁹ *ib.*, p. 339.

³⁰ See above, p. 405.

³¹ See J. H. Round, 'Normans under Edward the Confessor', *Feudal England*, pp. 317-331.

³² *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, p. 337.

³³ *ib.*, pp. 303, 337.

³⁴ *English Historical Documents*, ii, p. 399.

³⁵ *V.C.H. Heref.*, i, pp. 318, 330, 332, 334. For Birch, see *The Herefordshire Domesday*, pp. 20, 88.

³⁶ David Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 77, pp. 66-9; 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century', *ib.*, 79, pt. ii, pp. 174-211, and, particularly, pp. 174-9.

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The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey

By J. C. DICKINSON and P. T. RICKETTS

Historical Introduction

THE attractive remains of the abbey of Wigmore stand on a gentle slope two miles northwest of the village of the same name, with the line of Watling Street running nearby and the lordly castle of Ludlow seven miles to the northeast. The situation of the monastery in a remote and poorish area inevitably made most of its history unspectacular, and the almost total loss of its archives (1) leaves certain aspects of it largely blank.

Yet in two respects it is worthy of much more than average attention. In the first place Wigmore abbey has close and interesting relations with the illustrious Parisian abbey of St. Victor which Abelard's tutor William of Champeaux had founded in 1113 on the south side of the Seine some half mile southeast of the cathedral of Notre Dame. (2) At this time, the newly-fledged university of Paris was rising rapidly to its place as the major centre of learning north of the Alps, and with it the abbey of St. Victor was intimately connected, its walls sheltering not a few men of learning, of whom Hugh of St. Victor was the most celebrated. The abbey also soon became the head of an independent order of Austin Canons. Of the six English houses which owed it allegiance (3) Wigmore was the first, as well as being the mother house of St. Augustine's Bristol which became the chief Victorine house in this country and was destined to be taken over as a cathedral in the troubled days of the Reformation. Secondly the origins of Wigmore and its early relations with St. Victor are known in remarkable detail thanks to the exceptionally large amount of literary material about it which has survived. This consists of three main items which may conveniently be termed the *History*, the *Annals* and the *Chronicle*.

(i) *The History* belongs to the same manuscript as the *Chronicle* here printed and was long ago published in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (4) where it is termed *Fundationis et Fundatorum Historia*. Written in Latin, it is almost wholly concerned with the doings of the famous Mortimer family who made Wigmore castle their chief residence and very early acquired the patronage of the abbey, within whose church no few of them were buried. Unhappily the *History* is far from reliable ("so full of inaccuracies that it has not been used as an authority" notes *The Complete Peerage*, (5) where it seems to be confused with the *Chronicle*), and says very little about Wigmore abbey. However it does yield a few mentions of it which are useful.

(ii) The *Annals* are the *Annales Wigmorienses*, preserved in a manuscript now in the John Rylands Library Manchester. (6) To their value for political history Sir

Maurice Powicke long ago drew attention; their entries which concern the abbey are brief but invaluable.

(iii) Incomparably the most detailed and valuable source for the early history of Wigmore abbey in the *Chronicle* printed here. ⁽⁷⁾ It is a first class example of a type of medieval monastic literature which is an invaluable as it is rare, enabling us to reconstruct the origins of the religious house which it concerns with a high degree of fullness not remotely feasible where, as is mostly the case, the sole available sources are charters or brief annalistic notes. It is quite certain that the foundation of a monastery in post-Conquest England was not infrequently a very protracted process ⁽⁸⁾ and it is only in the rare cases where the house in question has bequeathed us a *Chronicle* of the type here published that this process can be adequately re-constructed.

The *Wigmore Chronicle* is of very respectable length. The first three-quarters of it is concerned with the troubled history of the house before its definitive establishment on a permanent site in the later years of Hugh de Mortimer II who died in 1185 after having laid the first foundation stone of the abbey in 1172. The rest of it, which may well be a later addition, is largely concerned with the protracted process whereby Hugh's heir Ralph de Mortimer was reconciled to his father's expensive benefactions to the abbey.

The *Chronicle* has two defects. Firstly its complete refusal to assign a date to any of the complex series of events which it describes, not even that of the original foundation of the monastery at Shobdon being recorded. Secondly its failure to make any distinction between the acts of Hugh de Mortimer I who died c. 1149 and his younger son Hugh de Mortimer II. This suggests that the narrative did not take its present form until some considerable time after the death of the latter (1185) though we have nothing to show at all precisely the exact date of composition. Nor do we know at what stage occurred that translation of the *Chronicle* (or possibly part of it) from Latin into French recorded in its preface which there is good reason to accept.

However the value of such narratives depends on the reliability of its contents not the date of the text of it that has happened to survive. Judged by this test the *Wigmore Chronicle* triumphs. If it gives us no dates, the numerous ones which can be supplied with the aid of other sources show that the story is both coherent and accurate. Again and again such dates fit into the whole with the perfection of the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. Further, especially in the early part, we are given a series of incidental details which are always perfectly convincing and which are often of a trivial type which a chronicler writing long after the event who would be very unlikely either to have known or to have thought worthy of record.

Repeatedly, and especially in the first part, we feel the presence of an eye witness, and can therefore accept the statement by the anonymous author of the Preface to the *Chronicle* that "we saw Oliver (the founder of the house) living and dead and buried in the said abbey", and that his son Simon (1175) "recounted to others . . . the things which he heard from his father and which he himself saw

afterwards". However it is almost certain that the *Chronicle* is not all of the same date. The first three-quarters of it which take the story down to the last years of Hugh de Mortimer II may very well be largely or wholly drawn from contemporary witness. The concluding pages are, however, clearly of later date, being concerned largely with abbey's relations with Roger de Mortimer (who died in 1214 or late in the previous year), but mention incidentally the foundation of a hospital at Lechlade by his wife Isabella, which probably occurred about 1246, as well as her death which probably took place early in 1252. ⁽⁹⁾ If this later part lacks some of the fascinating circumstantial detail found in the narrative which precedes it, it is devoid of that unhelpful verbosity so often characterising writing much later than the events it describes, and none of its details are palpably false or unconvincing.

The establishment of the abbey of Wigmore

As the foundation of Wigmore was a long and involved process whose details can easily be misunderstood owing to the often cryptic and technical language of the *Chronicle*, it is desirable to elucidate briefly its course.

That Wigmore was a place of local importance before the Norman Conquest is likely enough. Certainly *Domesday Book* shows us that a castle had been built there on "some waste ground called Merestune" by William fitz Osbern Earl of Hereford (1067-71) and that in 1086 the vill of Wigmore was assessed at the then not inconsiderable sum of £7. ⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1100, as the *History* notes Ralph de Mortimer established three prebends in the parish church of Wigmore ⁽¹¹⁾ (thus in effect making it a small collegiate church) and it is not impossible that he rebuilt it about the same time for in 1105, according to the *Annals*, bishop Reinhelm of Hereford dedicated the church of Wigmore. ⁽¹²⁾ But the major place which it occupied in the medieval history of the Welsh border is principally due to the fact that Wigmore became the *caput* or main residence of the great family of Mortimer. ⁽¹³⁾ The first of these was Ralph de Mortimer (whose family took its name from Mortemer-sur-Eaulne, some twenty miles south east of Dieppe, near Neufchatel en Brai), who had fought for the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings. *Domesday Book* shows that by 1086 he had been succeeded by his son Ralph II, who held a great collection of lands notably in Herefordshire and Shropshire, including Wigmore and Cleobury whose castles were military key-points. At an unknown date in the period 1104-28 Ralph was succeeded by his son Hugh I, a vigorous supporter of King Stephen. Much mentioned in the *Chronicle*, he died in 1148-50 to be followed first by his shortlived heir Roger who was succeeded by his younger brother Hugh II, under whom Wigmore abbey was permanently established.

The primary inspiration for the foundation of the monastery had come, however, from one Oliver de Merlimond, ^(14a) steward to Hugh de Mortimer I, who had inherited Ledicot and was given Shobdon ^(14b) by his lord and master. At the latter place there probably already existed the castle whose later remains are still visible, as well as the chapel dedicated to St. Juliana mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

Oliver decided to replace this chapel, which was of wood, by a stone church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist and to acquire for it the status of a parish church. This last he was able to do by an arrangement of the now customary type which allowed the change in return for a provision whereby an annual pension was to be paid to the mother church of Aymestrey. These two moves would have been obvious preliminaries, if Oliver had already decided to establish a monastery at Shobdon at a time when a large number of his contemporaries were taking such a step (more monasteries were founded in England during Stephen's reign than in the previous hundred years). But it may be that, as the *Chronicle* suggests, at this time Oliver had no such intention.

He now went off on pilgrimage to the celebrated shrine of St. James of Compostella in Northern Spain. During his return journey he came to Paris where by a chance meeting with one of the canons he made the acquaintance of the abbey of St. Victor there. Soon after his return his new church of Shobdon was dedicated. Of this time has benevolently preserved for us fascinating relics which rank amongst the most interesting sculptures of twelfth century England. ⁽¹⁵⁾

These consist of: —

- (i) The massive font still preserved in the parish church.
- (ii) A large arch, two smaller ones and two tympanums erected as a group on the hill-side north of the church.

Professor Zernecki has recently dated all these to about 1135 ⁽¹⁶⁾ and suggests that the very evident foreign influence which they exhibit is that of Western France. It would thus seem that the canon of St. Victor who led Oliver to visit his abbey was not the only valuable stray acquaintance which the latter made during his journey home. (That the sculptures do not pre-date Oliver's return is suggested by the *Chronicle's* witness that the church was completed after it).

What is quite certain is that in the face of various difficulties on which the *Chronicle* dwells at length, Oliver now proceeded to establish at Shobdon a small community of regular canons of St. Victor to which he gave the church there and property at nearby Letton and Ledicot, together with the advowson of the church of Birley which he obtained from the bishop of Hereford.

It is unfortunate that we cannot date precisely these proceedings. The *Chronicle* remarks not very helpfully that the monastery originated in the reign of King Stephen (1135-54) a period which is narrowed appreciably by its mention of the help of bishop Robert of Hereford who died in 1148. Further aid comes from the reference to the community of at Shobdon early suffering through the quarrel between the bishop and Miles Count of Hereford ^(17a) which probably occurred not long before Milo acquired this title in July 1141. From this we may conclude that the first canons of St. Victor to reach Shobdon probably arrived in or near the year 1140.

The long series of woes which now beset the brethren need not be here considered, though we may note in passing that they derived mainly from three causes—the unsettled state of the Welsh border, the uncertain temper of Hugh de

Mortimer I (whom a contemporary chronicler terms “a most arrogant and presumptuous man”) and the difficulty in obtaining a suitable site for the new monastery.

At an early stage Hugh de Mortimer thought of moving the community to Chelmarsh to “a lasting habitation far removed from Wales”. This did not materialise, but the brethren were soon transferred to Eye. Building began here but, following more trouble, the community was shifted to the parish church of Wigmore. Such a step was just defensible as a stop-gap measure but would be out of the question as a permanent solution as the brethren quickly and rightly pointed out. The *History* complains hereon of “the lack of water, the perversity of the inhabitants and the crampedness of the site” ^(17b) and the *Chronicle* writes of the place as “too narrow and too squalid to make a dwelling place for them (the canons) and above all it was very short of water and the climb to the church was very hard for them; there were unkind, derogatory words from those who lived near them”. ⁽¹⁸⁾

Understandably, therefore, the canons sought a new and much more suitable site for their habitation. Such was presently spotted by one of their number a couple of miles north of Wigmore village and Hugh de Mortimer II who apparently grew more pious with advancing years gave them the site. It is unfortunate that the *Chronicle's* references to all these comings and goings are imprecise and are not appreciably aided by archaeological evidence. It is however certain that the foundation stones of the conventional church were laid in the year 1172 and that it was dedicated in 1179. ⁽¹⁹⁾ At the exact dates of the previous transfers to Eye and Wigmore village we can only guess. It must not be assumed that the dedication of the abbey church necessarily implies that the whole building was by then complete. Existing remains of it, especially those of the nave (which would be completed last) are not adequate to elucidate this point, even if it were possible to date them very closely. ⁽²⁰⁾ However it seems certain that at least much of the whole church was laid out in the twelfth century, as was much of the cloister range. The eastern limb of the church was rebuilt and enlarged in the fourteenth century and the extant remains of the eastern range belong to the thirteenth century, presumably because of the fire which broke out here at this time to which the *History* makes reference. ⁽²¹⁾ Byland abbey is the only English Cistercian house which changed its site three times before securing a permanent home, and Wigmore is apparently the sole English house of Austin canons which shared this curious distinction. But in both orders there are plenty of examples of less complex migrations; some fourteen English houses of Austin canons, for example, are known where they left the original site of their monastery to settle elsewhere. ⁽²²⁾

A final comment on the history of the foundation of Wigmore is of general interest. Had the *Chronicle* not survived and, as could easily have come to pass, the *Annals* been left as our sole source of knowledge of the origins of Wigmore it would have been very natural to hold that the beginnings of the house should be dated to about the time of the foundation stone ceremony in 1172. Yet in the light of the rich evidence on the point contained in the *Chronicle*, it is quite certain that

the community had, in fact, come into existence thirty years before this time. We must therefore be wary of accepting too readily the unsupported testimony brief annalistic references to the date of medieval monastic foundations in England, but be prepared to admit that in various cases (at the number of which it is impossible to make a reasonable guess), the original community had existed for some time before a final site was founded and a permanent church begun.

¹ No cartulary of the abbey is known to have survived. The text of some deeds concerning it is preserved in cartularies of the Mortimer family now in the British Museum (G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (1958), nos. 1292, 1293, 1292. But a late *inspeximus* including a not very informative charter of Hugh de Mortimer II survives.

² On the history of the abbey see F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre . . . de St. Victor de Paris*, 2 vols. Paris 1907.

³ The expansion of the Victorine order in England is considered in J. C. Dickinson "The English regular canons and the Continent in the twelfth century", *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser. i (1951), 71-89. Its houses here were Wigmore, St. Augustine's Bristol, Keynsham, Woodspring, Stavordale, Wormsley.

⁴ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel (1830), VI (i) 348-55.

⁵ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, ix 271 n.

⁶ MS. 215 ff 1-8. It covers, very unevenly, the period 1095-1308.

⁷ On the manuscript containing it see below p. 419.

⁸ below n. 22.

⁹ *Complete Peerage* ix 273.

¹⁰ Domesday Book i 183b.

¹¹ Dugdale *op. cit.* VI (i) 349a.

¹² flv.

¹³ On the Mortimer family see G.E.C. *Complete Peerage* ix 266 ff.

^{14a} His patronymic probably derives from Merlimont in the commune of the Pas de Calais, some 19 miles south of Boulogne but Dom J. Becquet has drawn my attention to similar place-names at Dominois (Somme), Groffliers (Pas de Calais), Bucquoy (Pas de Calais), whilst a Merlimont in the hamlet of Warluis (Oise) is mentioned in 1142. He also informs me that a reference to "the priory of Wigmore" in the Archives of Arras was destroyed in 1915. We are much indebted to Mr. F. W. Oliver for help in locating these place-names.

^{14b} Domesday Book (i 183b) provides interesting details regarding Shobdon which show that it was then by no means insignificant.

¹⁵ Elaborate drawings of these Romanesque remains are given in G. R. Lewis, *The ancient church of Shobdon* (1852). The tympana have suffered greatly from exposure; an excellent early cast of one was destroyed in World War II.

¹⁶ Letter to the writer.

^{17a} A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (1924), 33.

^{17b} Dugdale *op. cit.* VI (i) 349a.

¹⁸ Below p. 431.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 445, n. 34.

²⁰ On the architectural remains see the account and plan of H. Brakspear "Wigmore Abbey", *Archaeological Journal*, XC (1934), 26-51 though the historical references are not uniformly reliable and some of his dating of the structure, notable that assigning part of it to c. 1140 is highly unlikely.

²¹ Dugdale *op. cit.* 350.

²² On these houses and the principal reasons for change of monastic sites at this time see J. C. Dickinson "Les constructions des premiers chanoines réguliers en Angleterre", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale (Poitiers)* x (1967), 179-98.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The chronicle of the foundation of Wigmore Abbey is preserved in a single manuscript, now in the University of Chicago Library, No. 224, and fills the preliminary quire, folios 1v to 5r. The text is written in a court hand of the fourteenth century, and appears in one column of some 35 to 45 lines to the page. A full description of the manuscript is to be found in the article of Mary E. Giffin, "A Wigmore Manuscript at the University of Chicago," *National Library of Wales Journal* VII (1951-2), pp. 316-25.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

The printed version of the chronicle preserves as accurately as possible the text of the manuscript. On the whole, the abbreviations make for no difficulties. In all cases, they have been resolved on the basis of the full form most frequently employed. The scribe makes frequent use of a final flourish, which generally indicates either *y*, *er* or simply *e*, as often found in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, e.g. *Cleybur*' (Cleybury). In other cases, the abbreviation replaces two letters, e.g. *gnt* = grant.

The punctuation, word-division and use of capitals have been rationalised, and distinction is made between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*. The acute accent is used to distinguish between close *e* and atonic *e* (e.g. *assigné*). The divisions of the manuscript have been respected, but occasionally a particularly long section has been divided into two parts.

In the critical apparatus, the reading from the printed text is given, followed by] and the rejected manuscript reading.

(1v) *Icy comence le prologe sur un brief tretiz, translaté en fraunceis, coment l'abbeye de Wygmore fut adeprimes foundé, et en quele temps, et coment, et par ki les chanoines vyndrent en Engleterre de Parys, sicome est pleinement contenu en auciens livres de meime l'abbey.*

Pur ceo qe negligence de escoter et en memoire retenier les eovres notables et profitables de antiquité est marastre dé vertues et destrueresse, et la prise de eux en memoire planté del sage ovesqe la siwte de lor ensample est mere et norice de bons moeurs, issi qe par ensample de eus ben entendue et sovent as autres en temps conté pussent eus meymes profiter et les queors des escotantz exciter, et profite fere, vus fesoms remembraunce en esriture brevement de la premereyne fundacion del abbeye de Wygmore, que gentz qe ore sount et apres pused aver recours a ceste esriture de la verroie conussance, quant mestre y soit si le verroys recorde pleinement ne lur soveygne de la fundacion siusdite. Dont necessarie chose est adeprimes pur saver quaut et en temps de quel roy et par ky et coment et en quele manere la dite abbeye aveyt neesance, et coment enapres de poy en poy par la grace de Jhesu Crist et cydé de bones gentz en Crist. Et ensement de saver les nouns de ceus par qeus avoms entenduz le proces de la certeine verité de la busoygne, par unt nus le pussums plus seurement a tote gentz avaunt mettre qe nus ne seiuns mescrens; des qeus le premereyn fut Oliver de Merlymond, ⁽¹⁾ le premer auctor de cet eovre, le quel les choses qu'yl meymes fist, as autres nonsavantz apertement conta. Le quele Olyver veymes nus chanoine vif et mort et enterree en la dite abbeye. Apres ly fut Symond, ⁽²⁾ sun fitz, chanoine, le quele les choses qu'il oyt de sun pere, et il meymes vist enapres, as autres fist entendre, chanoynes et seculers. Apres ceux furent autres plusurs norriz d'enfance en la dite abbeye jeskes a lor derrain age, les quels soleyent comunement conter as autres les choses que eus virent, et de certains gentz oyrent.

Ici finist le prologe et comence le tretys.

En le temps del roy Estevene, fitz al counte de Bloys, qui regna en Engleterre par force apres le roy Henry, fitz a Willam Bastard, esteit un tres noble bachiler en Engleterre, pruz, vaillant et hardyz, mon sire Hugh de Mortemer a noun, ^(3a) noble de nature [et] de sanc, de beale estatute, vaillant en armes, renable en parler, parfond de consail et tres riche de terriens facultez et le plus glorious chevaler renomé et doté devant totez que adonque furent en Engleterre vivantz, de quy nus n'eissums en exrit toutz les pruesces, les quels il fist chevalerousement en Engleterre, en Gwales et par ailors, si amonterent il a un grant volum. Et estre ceo, fut il le plus franc et liberal de divers dons de tuz ceux que om conusseient en son temps nule part: le noble conte de Hereford, Roger, riche et vaillant et de graunt retenance des gentz, et feers et orgoilous, tant fort demena sovent que a force ly covient en refut demorer en ses chastels demeyne, pur doute de ly; ensement le roy Henri proschein apres le roy Estevene sovent . . . * od tot soun host travailla come est pleinement desouz escrit.

Coment le tres noble seynour mon sire Hugh de Mortemer fist Oliver de Merlemond son chief seneschal, et ly dona la vile de Schobbedon pur ly leulement servir, et coment l'eglise de Schobbedon fut fete.

* text obliterated.

Here begins the prologue to a short account, translated into French, telling how Wigmore Abbey was first founded, at what time, and how and through whom the canons came to England from Paris, as is fully contained in ancient books of this same abbey.

Since we should not neglect to heed and remember the noteworthy and beneficial works of antiquity, because to do so is harmful and destructive of virtues, we ought to commit to memory what the wise tell us as well as follow their example. Such practice is the mother and nurse of high principles, therefore, with these well known examples in mind, which, as often in the past, may now benefit and stir the hearts of the audience, and be of help to them, we briefly record for your benefit this short account of the foundation of Wigmore Abbey, so that people now living and those to come after may have recourse to this record, written from first hand, should it happen that the official document does not give them full details of the above foundation. It is therefore necessary first of all to know when and in whose reign and by whom and how and in what way the said abbey had its origin, and how thereafter it [grew] little by little by the grace of Jesus Christ and aided by good people in Christ. And equally to know the names of those through whom we heard the account of the absolute truth of the affair, so we can with all the more assurance put ourselves forward to every man as worthy of belief. The very first of these was Oliver de Merlimont, ⁽¹⁾ the initiator of the undertaking, who clearly recounted the things he himself did to others unacquainted with them. We saw this Oliver as a canon alive and dead, and buried in the said abbey. After him, there was Simon, ⁽²⁾ his son, a canon, who recounted to others, both canons and seculars, the things which he heard from his father, and which he himself saw afterwards. After these, several others were brought up from childhood in the said abbey and lived there until their old age, who would tell others of the things they saw and heard from certain people.

Here the prologue ends and the account begins.

In the time of King Stephen [1135-54], son of the count of Blois, who reigned in England by force after King Henry, son of William Bastard, there was a very noble knight in England, worthy, brave and bold, Sir Hugh de Mortimer [II] by name, noble by nature and blood, of fine bearing, courageous in arms, judicious in speech, wise of counsel, and well endowed with human powers, and the most glorious knight, renowned and feared above all those who were living in England at that time. Were we to commit to writing all the acts of prowess which he accomplished in England, Wales and elsewhere, they would amount to a great quantity. Apart from this, he was the most generous and liberal in his gifts of all those known anywhere in his lifetime. The noble earl of Hereford, Roger, powerful and worthy and with a great many retainers, but proud and overweening, made so much trouble that he was obliged to remain behind closed doors in his own castles for fear of him; similarly King Henry, who came after King Stephen, often . . . acted with his army as is fully recounted below.

How the very noble lord Sir Hugh de Mortimer made Oliver de Merlimont his chief seneschal, and gave him the vill of Shobdon for his loyal service to him, and how the church of Shobdon was built.

Ceti tres noble seynur et honorable, veillant entendre franchement a ses delites et a ses dedutz sanz soy carker ou entremettre d'autres chosez, elust un sage home coynte et averty qe out noun Olyver de Merlymond, e ly fist chief seneschal de tote sa terre et mestre de tote sa possession. Cesti Olyver aveit la terre de Ledecote par descente de heritage, ^(5b) et son seynour, mon sire Hugh de Mortemer, ly dona a ceo tote la ville de Schobbedon pur ly plus lealment servir et plus peniblement. Et a Eode, fitz a dit Olyver, dona il la personage del eglise de Aylmondestres. ⁽¹⁾ Adonke n'esteit en Schobbedon nule eglise, mes tant seulement une chapel de seincte Juliane, ⁽²⁾ et cele fut de fust, et sogette al eglise de Aylmondestres. Dount Olyver esteit mout pensifs de fere lever une novele eglise en Schobbedon, et en honour de quel seinct voleyt qe ele fut dedye quauant ele fut parfete. Au derrein, si elust il seinct Johan l'Evangelist, le quel Jhesu Crist elust devaunt tutz sez autres disciples, pur estre patron de l'eglise. Apres ceo fist il apeler Eode, sun fiz, persone de Aylmondestres, et entreconselerent coment sa eglise de Schobbedon pust estre hors de subjection del eglise de Aylmondestres par un empensiun annuele rendant de . ii . sols. ⁽⁶⁾ Quant cete chose fut affermé, se entremist le dit Olyver del overayne del eglise de Schobbedon. Deentre ceo si aveyt meymes cely Olyver devociun et talent de prendre le vyage al seinct Jakes ⁽⁷⁾ en pelrimage, et baila a un chevalier, Bernard, tote la cure del overayne od espenses necessaries, et emprist le pelrimage el noun Deu, et vynt a seinct Jakes seyn et heyté. Quant il out fet ileoke ceo qe fere dust, se retorna tot dis pensif del overayne de Schobbedon. Et quant il aprochea a la cité de Paris, un chanoine del abbeye de seinct Victor ⁽⁸⁾ ly atteint, et molt devoutement le pria de sun hostel prendre en l'abbeye; et il a grant peyne ly otreia et od ly en l'abbeye entra; et fut bel et cortisement receu a grant honour. Tantcome il fut leinz, si regarda il et ententivement avisa totes choses qu'il vist en l'osterye, en l'encloystre, en le queor, et nomement le service qe om fist entour l'auter, et mut ly vynt al queor de devociun la honesté q'il vist par entre eus en tutz lieux. Dont il prist congé del abbé et des autres freres de leynz, si retourna a sun propre pais. Et quant sa eglise fut tote parfete, si requist il mut humblement sire Robert de Betun, eveske de Hereford, de quy don nus avoms le eglise de Lydebury North, qu'il deignast sa eglise de (2 r) Schobbedon dedyer. Et il ly graunta et jour de la dediciun ly assigna. A cel jour assigné, vynt l'eveske et totes les grantz seynours du pays, chevaliers, clers et autres sanz nombre pur estre a la sollempneté. Devaunt queux toutz fut lewe la composicion fete par entre Oliver et Eode, sun fiz, et de l'eveske fut confermé, et de tote la peole tesmonyé. Et quant l'eglise fut dedye, si fust la mangerie mut sollempnement apparellé pur l'eveske et pur autres apelez et pur ceus qe vindrent de gré.

Tost apres, si oyt Olyver qe la persone del eglise de Buyrley qu'out noun Wolward par sez desertz fut déposé, si pria l'eveske Robert que il ly vousit grantier la doneyson de cel eglise, et il ly granta pur ceo qe nul n'osa vyer a ly chose qu'il desira, car il esteit le secund apres sire Hugh de Mortemer. Et quant Olyver aveit

This most noble, honourable lord, wishing to concentrate freely on his pleasures and amusements without burdening or occupying himself with other things, chose a wise, prudent and conscientious man named Oliver de Merlimont, and made him chief seneschal of all his land and manager of all his property. This Oliver held the land of Ledicote by inheritance, and his lord, Sir Hugh de Mortimer, gave him also all the vill of Shobdon for his loyal and tireless service to him. He presented Odo, son of the said Oliver, to the benefice of the church of Aymestrey. ⁽¹⁾ At that time, there was no church in Shobdon, but only a chapel of Saint Juliana, ⁽²⁾ made of wood, subject to the church of Aymestrey. Oliver was therefore most concerned to have erected a new church in Shobdon, and to determine to which saint it should be dedicated when it was completed. Finally, he chose St John the Evangelist, whom Christ chose before all his other disciples, as patron of the church. After this he summoned his son Odo, the incumbent of Aymestrey, and they discussed how his church at Shobdon might be placed outside the jurisdiction of the church of Aymestrey by means of an annual pension of two shillings. ⁽⁶⁾ When this had been decided, the said Oliver undertook the construction of the church of Shobdon. During this time, Oliver had the great wish to undertake a pilgrimage to St James [of Compostella], ⁽⁷⁾ and entrusted to a knight, Bernard, all the responsibility for the work with the necessary funds, and undertook the pilgrimage in the name of God, and reached St James safe and sound. When he had carried out his obligations there, he returned, always mindful of the enterprise at Shobdon. And when he approached the city of Paris, a canon of the abbey of St Victor ⁽⁸⁾ caught up with him and begged him to take up his lodging in the abbey; and he reluctantly agreed and went with him into the abbey, where he was received courteously and with great honour. Whilst he was there he took careful note of all the things he saw in the guest-house, in the cloisters and in the choir, and especially of the service performed around the altar; and his heart was filled with piety at the decorum which he saw among them in all places. Then he took leave of the abbot and of the other brothers of that place, and returned to his own country. And when his church was quite complete, he most humbly begged lord Robert of Bethune [1131-48], bishop of Hereford, by whose gift we have the church of Lydbury North, to deign to consecrate his church at Shobdon. And he agreed and assigned a date for the consecration. On the appointed day, there came the bishop, all the great lords of the region, knights, clergy and countless others to the ceremony. Before all these people was read the agreement drawn up between Oliver and Odo, his son, and it was confirmed by the bishop, and witnessed by all the people. And when the church had been consecrated, there was the banquet, very elaborately prepared for the bishop and for other guests and for those who wanted to come.

Soon afterwards, Oliver heard that the incumbent of the church of Birley, whose name was Wolward, had been deposed for his ill-conduct, and he asked the bishop Robert to grant him the advowson of this church, and he granted it to him, since no one dared to refuse him anything he wanted, for he was second in importance after Sir Hugh de Mortimer. And when Oliver had the churches of Shobdon

l'eglise de Schobbedon et de Buyrley, et sa terre de Ledecote et de Lanton ⁽⁸⁾ en sa mayn, si out en purpos de les doner a gentz de religion, et se remembra del honesteté qu'il vist autre feez entre les chanoynes de seinct Victor de Parys, et manda par sez lettres par un, de quy il affia, qu'out a noun Roger le Blanc, al honorable abbé et vels qui out noun Gilwyn de seinct Victor, ⁽¹⁰⁾ em priaunt qu'il vousit maunder a ly . ii . ou . iii . de sez chanoines as queles, quant eus venissent, il lor trovereit tot ceo que mestier lor serroit et foyson. A quel messenger ne as lettres ne dona l'abbé foy pur ceo que par sa autorité demeyne furent enseelés et non pas par seel autentike, ⁽¹¹⁾ et issi retorna le messenger adonke desespleite. Et quant Olyver avoit ententu par son messenger k'en fut fet, si ala a l'avant dit eveske de Hereford, et mostra a ly tut son purpos pleinement. De quel purpos et devociun si fust l'eveske mut rejoy, et fist fere ses lettres enseelés de sun sel et del sel Olyver joyntement, et les manda par Roger Knoth, un de ses privez, a meyme l'abbé de seinct Victor em priant la request quel il avoyt avaunt prié. Dont l'abbé, par conseil de tot lor chapitre, elust . ii ., cet a saver Roger et Ernys, des queus Roger fut fet apres abbé de Owense, ⁽¹²⁾ et Ernys abbé de seinct Victor. ⁽¹³⁾ Ceus . ii . si manda l'abbé a Olyver a quels il baila totes les choses qu'il aveit promis endementres pur lor sustinaunce, cet a saver l'eglise de Burley [et] l'eglise de Schobbedon, ou il les fist habiter en un mesun assez honeste pres de l'eglise. Il lor dona ensemment sa terre de Ledecote oveske les granges pleines de bleez et beofs, berbiz e porcz a grant plenté oveske . ii . carriez de terre.

En ycel temps sourdy un contek par entre Robert, eveske de Hereford, et Myles, conte de Hereford, en tant qe l'eveske exkumega l'avaunt dit conte adonc present oveske tote la cité de Hereford, et fist estoper les huys de l'eglise des espynes, et les croiz abatre tot a la terre, et vynt a Schobbedon par la request de Olyver, et vesquit entre les chanoines a ses costages demeyne jeskes a tant qe le conte fut acordé a ly et as sonz, et tote la cité avant dite. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Puy apres esteyent les chanoines mut dolentz pur departir del eveske de lor compaynie, et ensemment trop mournes pur ceo que eus furent mut loyns de lor abbey, si manderent al abbé Gildwyn de seinct Victor em priantz qu'il vousist mander autres en lor lyu* qui sussent parler et entendre langage d'Engleterre, et qui sussent la maner des Englez, et ke eus pussent retourner a lor abbey; et ensemment manderent que le lyu qu'ils avoyent fut bon et avenaunt, et assez des benz pur trover lor necessities. Et l'abbé graunta lor request, et manda illeokes . iii . freres neez et norriz en Engleterre. Et quant eus vindrent a Schobbedon, si furent mut honestement reccus et ileoke plantez, et les autres s'en departirent d'ileoke a lor abbey.

Et bien tost apres, sourdy un descord trop grant et hidous par entre moun sire Hugh de Mortemer et l'avant dit Olyver, issi que Olyver s'en departi de ly, et ala a sire Miles, conte de Hereford, que esteit adunke sun amy enter. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Et quant sire Hugh ceo apareceust, le fist apeler trois feez en sa courte pur respondre as queeles les queles il aveit vers ly. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Et pur ceo que Olyver dota la malice et la cruelté de sun seignour, n'osa apparence fere en sa courte, mes se tynt en pees endementres. Et quant sire Hugh vist ben qu'il ne voleit venir, ne autre en son lyu maunder, prist

*[lyu] luy

and Birley, and his land of Ledicote and Letton ⁽⁹⁾ in his possession, he determined to give them to a monastic community, and remembered the decorousness which he saw formerly among the canons of St Victor of Paris, and sent a letter by one Roger le Blanc, whom he trusted, to the honourable old abbot, whose name was Gilduin of St Victor [1113-55], ⁽¹⁰⁾ begging him to send him two or three canons, for whom, on their arrival, he would find everything they needed and more. The abbot did not trust either the messenger or the letter, since it was sealed unofficially by Oliver's own authority, and not by proper seal, ⁽¹¹⁾ and so the messenger returned, his mission uncompleted. And when Oliver had heard from his messenger what had happened, he went to the aforesaid bishop of Hereford, and gave a complete explanation of his intention. This intention and piety delighted the bishop greatly, and he had his letter made and sealed with his own seal and that of Oliver jointly, and sent it by Roger Knoth, one of his personal staff, to the abbot of St. Victor, seeking the favour he had formerly asked. Thereupon the abbot, on the advice of the whole chapter, chose two, that is Roger and Ernys, of whom Roger was after made abbot of Eu [1148-61], ⁽¹²⁾ and Ernys abbot of St Victor [1162-72], ⁽¹³⁾. The abbot sent these two to Oliver who granted them all that he promised during that time with regard to their maintenance, that is the church of Birley and the church of Shobdon, where he had them installed in a very fine house near the church. He also gave them his land of Ledicote with the barns full of corn and plenty of oxen, sheep and pigs, along with two carucates of land.

At that time, a quarrel arose between Robert, bishop of Hereford, and Miles, earl of Hereford [1141-3], in that the bishop excommunicated the aforesaid earl then present along with all the city of Hereford, and had the doors of the church blocked by thorn-bushes, and the crosses thrown down, and he came to Shobdon at the request of Oliver, and lived with the canons at his own expense, until the count and all the aforementioned city were reconciled with him and his people. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Afterwards the canons were very sad at the departure of the bishop from among them, and equally very depressed because they were very far from their abbey, and they sent to the abbot Gilduin of St Victor, begging him to send in their place others who could speak and understand English and who understood the English character, and to allow them to return to their abbey; and at the same time they sent word that the place they had was good and pleasant with enough resources to fulfil their needs. And the abbot granted their request, and sent there three brothers born and bred in England. And when they reached Shobdon, they were very well received and installed, and the others left and returned to their abbey.

And very soon after, a very great and violent quarrel broke out between Sir Hugh de Mortimer and the aforesaid Oliver, so that Oliver left him, and went to lord Miles, earl of Hereford, who, at that time, was his close friend. ⁽¹⁵⁾ And when Sir Hugh realized this, he had him summoned three times in his court to answer for the accusations he had against him. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Because Oliver feared the malice and cruelty of his lord, he dared not make an appearance in his court, but rather lay low during that time. And when Sir Hugh saw that he was unwilling to come, nor send another in his place,

en sa main totes les choses que furent a Olyver oveske les beens des chanoines. Nepurquant, il ne voleit fere as chanoines nule duresce sanz jugement, si lor dona respit jeskes a un an ensiwant de fere demeore, et apres l'an alassent d'ileoke la ou beal lor fut, sicome ceus que furent entreez en sa terre sanz sun congé, et ameneez ileoke par sun adversarie. Et les chanoines ne voloyent ne ne poyent estre en la contré; se apparilerent de sey mettre en fuyte privement, car socours ne aveyent ne eyde de nuly.

Cete chose vist sire Gilbert de Lacy, ⁽¹⁷⁾ et voleit plesir a sire Hugh de Mortemer. Vint a Lanton, et totes les choses que furent as chanoines si prist il par seignourie, et lor blez fist amporter, que amonta a grant somme d'argent. Et pur ceo que par la ou terrien eide default, Deus i met socours, avient q'il y aveit une grant congregacion assemblé a Leommestre pur hautes busoynges; a quel assemblé esteit l'eveske de Hereford od les seons, et sire Hugh de Mortemer od les seons, et Robert, le priour de Schobbedon, et autres plusours chevalers, clerks et lays assemblez de tote partz. Et quant les bosoynges furent termineez, pur quels eus vindrent, fut menciun fete ileoke de les chanoines de Schobbedon, (2 v) por quels l'eveske et les chevalers qe ileoke esteient prirent a sire Hugh de Mortemer qu'il ust mercy de eus. Et quant il out consilé od les seons, au darrain dist en haute voiz: "Si jeo usse," dist il, "un abbé, tuz les biens que Olyver lor dona, lor granteray et plus a ceo lor dorray." ⁽¹⁸⁾ A cestes paroles, prist l'eveske le priour par la main, et dist: "Veez, sire, ici vous bail un abbé; fetes ceo que vous avez promis;" le quel il reçust meintenaunt, et oveske l'eveske et autres grantes seyngnours le menerent al auter chantantz en haut voyz: "Te Deum laudamus."

Et ileoke granta il a eus totes les chosez que Oliver lor avoit doné quitement, ensemblement od un provendre en l'eglise de Wygemore, que fut adonke vacante, et totes les autres provendres en meimes l'eglise lor granta, quant eus fussent vacantz. Al seignour de Huggeley, que adonc fut ileoke present, pria il que il ly vousist doner sa eglise de Huggeley, et il ly granta; la quel eglise meintenaunt si dona il devant tote le people al elit de Schobbedon et a les chanoines, la quel eglise fut adonke vacante. Ileoke promist a eus la ville de Cheilmers, ou il aveit empensé de fere a eus perpetuele habitaciun tot loynz remewez dé Galoys. Et quant le elit fut retourné a sa mesun, si aveit bone esperance de vivre en pees et en quitee, mes en brief temps apres, sire Hugh de Mortemer lor tolit la ville de Schobbedon et la ville de Cheilmers, la quel il lor promist, unkes ne lor dona.

Avient apres ceo que l'avant dit eveske de Hereford passa la mer, et vint en France a un concyl, et morut ileoke et fut mené en un quyr de boef jeskes a Hereford, et ileoke enterré. Ceo vyt le elyt de Schobbedon, qu'il fut privee del consail l'eveske et de sun eyde a totes jurs, et despoilé, et de la presence Olyver, qui lor apela en Engleterre, et ostenz de lor terre de Schobbedon et de Lanton, de queles terres eus aveyent lor sustinaunce, et qe plus ly greva qu'il fut sovent ledengé et avily par sire Hugh de Mortemer et les soens, lessa totes les choses qu'il aveit par desus ses mains sanz gardein come home simple et sanz malice, si retorna a sa abbey.

he seized everything belonging to Oliver, along with the canons' possessions. Nevertheless, he did not wish to do the canons any harm without judgment, and gave them respite to dwell there a year, and after the year they were to go where they saw fit, as people who had come onto his land without his leave, brought there by his enemy. And the canons would not and could not remain in the region; they prepared themselves for a secret escape, for they had no one to help or succour them.

Sir Gilbert de Lacy ⁽¹⁷⁾ saw this, and he wished to please Sir Hugh de Mortimer, so he came to Letton, and took away all the canons' effects by virtue of overlordship, and had their corn taken away, which was worth a great deal. And since God gives help where human aid is lacking, it happened that there was a large meeting assembled at Leominster for important matters. At this assembly was the bishop of Hereford with his household, and Sir Hugh de Mortimer with his, and Robert, prior of Shobdon, and several other knights, clergy and laymen brought there from all around. And when the business for which they had come was completed, mention was made of the canons of Shobdon, on whose behalf the bishop and knights who were there begged Sir Hugh de Mortimer to have mercy on them. And when he had taken counsel with his advisers, he said finally in a loud voice: "If I can have an abbot, I will grant them all the possessions which Oliver gave them, and I will give them more in addition. ⁽¹⁸⁾ At these words, the bishop took the prior by the hand, and said: "Here, Sir, I give you an abbot; do what you have promised." And he accepted him straightway, and with the bishop and other great lords led him to the altar singing with raised voices: "Te Deum laudamus." And there he granted them everything that Oliver had given them, free from restrictions, along with a prebend of Wigmore church, which was then vacant, and he granted them all the other prebends of the church when they fell vacant. He begged the lord of Hughley, who was present there, to give him his church of Hughley, and he granted him this; he gave this church which was then vacant before all the people to the abbot-elect of Shobdon and to the canons. At that time he promised them the town of Chelmarsh, where he had considered giving them a permanent dwelling, far removed from the Welsh. And when the abbot-elect had returned to his house, he had the firm hope of living in peace and quiet, but a short time after, Sir Hugh de Mortimer took away from them the vill of Shobdon, and he never gave them the vill of Chelmarsh which he had promised them.

It came about afterwards that the said bishop of Hereford went over to France to a council, and died there [April 16, 1148], and was brought back in an ox-skin to Hereford, where he was buried. The abbot-elect of Shobdon realized that he had been deprived of the bishop's advice and aid for ever, and of the support of Oliver, who had summoned them to England, and that he was removed from their land at Shobdon and Letton, which was the source of their substance. What grieved him more was that he was often maligned and reviled by Sir Hugh de Mortimer (II) and his followers. Like the simple, gentle man that he was, he left all that he had in his charge without a guardian, and returned to his abbey.

Enapres vynt un chanoine en Engleterre, qu'ot nun frere Richard de Warrewyk, qi fut apres abbé de Bristoll, ⁽¹⁹⁾ pur visiter ses amisez en temps de ast, et vynt a Schobbedon, et quyly les blees, et les mist en taas, et les lessa en la garde de sergantz, et tantost s'en departi. Apres ly vint un chanoine de seinct Victor, qu'out nun frere Henry, home de bon consail et de seyn, et vailant encoure, qu'esteit ben acoynté de Gilebert Folyoth, adunke eveske de Hereford, et parent a sire Hugh de Mortemer, le quel fut receu de eus mut honorablement, et prist garde des choses que furent a Schobbedon lesseez. ⁽²⁰⁾ Ceti, quaurt il out entendu dé seons queles choses sire Hugh de Mortemer avoit doné a[s] chanoines, et queles il out promis, et queles il out tolet, approcha a ly em priant que il, pur l'amour de Dieu et en remedye de sa alme et de ses tres honorables progenitours, vousist restorer arere les chosez qu'il aveit sostret, et la promesse qu'il fist a peremplier. Et il le promist fere, mes tutz jurs le mist en delay par blandisantes paroles a beales promesses, mes Henry ly siwy par plusurs lyus, et au darrein lor granta la ville de Schobbedon.

Quant frere Henry out la vile de Schobbedon pesiblement, avisa que le lyu fut mut loyns del ewe de quele eus aveient tres grant defaute; se purposa de remuer d'ileoke jeskes a Aylmondestres en une place que om apele Eye, ⁽²¹⁾ tot pres de la ryvere de Lugg, le quel ly fust avys covenable a eus pur demorer. Et donke remuerent totes lor choses qu'ils aveient a Schobbedon jeske la par consail et orde de sire Hugh de Mortemer, et mistrent le fundement de l'eglise come gentz que aveient empensé de fere ileoke perpetuel habitacion pur eus et pur lor successours. Endementres, morut Pers le Kauf, chanoine de Lantoney, a quy l'eveske Robert Betun aveit doné l'eglise de Lydebury North oveske le ercedekne de Salopsire. ⁽²²⁾ Et quant le priour Henry oyt ceo, manda ileoke . iii . de ses chanoines et le deen de Penbrugge, le quel lor mist en possessiun meintenaunt de meimes l'eglise de Lydebury.

Apres ceo, si receust le priour Henry a sa religiun plius de chanoines et quidout ben de vivre en grant quieté apres sun travail, mes autrement fut. Car il surdy en cel temps tres grant gere par entre sire Hugh de Mortemer et Joce de Dynant, adonke seynour de Loddelawe, ⁽²³⁾ en tant que meimez cely Joce ne poeyt franchement ne baudement entrer ne issir sun chastel de Loddelawe por doute de sire Hugh, tant forte le demena il. Et pur ceo que Joce ren ne poet fere contre sire Hugh par force, si mist espyes par les chemins par ou il entendy que sire Hugh passereit sengle, si le prist et le tint en sun chastel en prison jeskes il ust fet sa ranzon de . iii . mil marcz d'argent, forspris tote sa vessele et ses chevaus et ses oyseles. Et pur plus tost haster cel ranzon, si pria il eide de tote partz de ses amys. Et al priour Henry si pria il qu'il vousist granter pur mettre un agistement d'argent sur sa gent de Schobbedon en eyde de cel ranzon. Et le priour, en quant il poet, le vya et contrestut, et dist qe chose une feez donee a (3r) Deu et a seincte eglise franchement, ne deit pas autre feez estre tailé ne mis en servage pur nul busoygne seculer, ne la coustume de sun pays ne le soffry mie. Et quant le priour en nule maner ne ly voleit sa request graunter, si lessa totes le chosez qu'il avoit en la garde des chanoines, les queus il out receu, et retorna a sa abbey de seinct Victor dunt il vynt.

After, there came to England a canon named Richard of Warwick, who after became abbot of Bristol, ⁽¹⁹⁾ to visit his friends in the month of August, and he came to Shobdon, and harvested the corn, and put it in stacks, and left it in the care of bailiffs, and then went away. After him came a canon of St Victor, named brother Henry, a man of good counsel and common sense, and, what is more, brave, who was a close friend of Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of Hereford [1148-63], and a relative of Sir Hugh de Mortimer. He was very favourably received by them, and he looked after the things which had been left at Shobdon. ⁽²⁰⁾ When he heard from his community what Sir Hugh had given the canons, and what he had promised and what he had taken away, he approached Sir Hugh and begged him, for the love of God and for the good of his soul and those of his noble forebears, to restore what he had taken away, and fulfil the promise he made. And he promised to do so, but continually delayed it by fair words and fine promises, but Henry followed him to several places, so that finally he granted them the vill of Shobdon.

When brother Henry had peaceful possession of the vill of Shobdon, he determined that the place was very far from the water that they sorely lacked; he proposed that they move to Aymestrey, to a place called Eye, ⁽²¹⁾ near the river Lugg, which he considered a suitable site for them. And so they moved all their possessions which they had had in Shobdon right to there by the advice and help of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, and laid the foundations of the church as people who had thought of making it a permanent dwelling for themselves and their successors. In the meantime, Peter le Kauf, the canon of Llantony, died, to whom bishop Robert of Bethune had given the church of Lydbury North with the archdeaconry of Shropshire. ⁽²²⁾ And when prior Henry heard this, he sent there three of his canons and the dean of Pembridge, who gave over to them straightway the church of Lydbury North.

Afterwards, prior Henry received into his community more canons, and he thought he could live in peace after his efforts, but it turned out differently. For there broke out at that time a very serious war between Sir Hugh de Mortimer and Joce de Dynant, then lord of Ludlow, ⁽²³⁾ in that Joce could not enter or leave his castle at Ludlow freely or without hindrance for fear of Sir Hugh, so grievously did he press him. And since Joce could do nothing against Sir Hugh by means of force, he positioned spies on the roads along which he learned that Sir Hugh would come unaccompanied, and he captured him, and held him in prison in his castle until he had provided a ransom of three thousand silver marks, as well as his plate, his horses and his birds. And in order to hasten payment of the ransom, Sir Hugh called on the help of all his friends. He requested prior Henry to impose a money payment on his tenants at Shobdon in aid of this ransom. The prior, to the utmost of his power, refused, and said that once a thing had been given to God and to Holy Church in frank almon, it should never again be taxed nor constrained because of any secular requirement, and that the custom of his country did not tolerate it. And when the prior absolutely refused to countenance his request, he left all his possessions in the custody of the canons, which he had received [from them], and returned to his abbey of St Victor whence he had come.

Après cely, vynt un autre qu'out nun frere Robert de Cheresborh, ⁽²⁴⁾ et demora oveske les chanoynes, ne mye pryor, mes pur ceo qu'il vynt de outremer fut en lyu de prior, pur ceo qu'ils voleient aver un abbé sur eus. Et a cele chose fere, si fut sire Hugh mut desirus et durement entalenté. Tant come eus furent en tel purpos, si oyrent parler de mestre Andrew ⁽²⁵⁾ que fut adonke prior de seinct Victor de Parys, mestre de divinité, et de nobles vertues et plusurs et sobre, si manderent a luy em priantz qu'il deignast a eus venir et prendre la cure de abbé, et estre gouvernour sur eus, et lor choses ordyner com prelat; le quel Andrew vynt a eus, et fut receu a graunt reverence et abbé benet de l'eveske.

Tost apres, virent les amis sire Hugh de Mortemer, et nomeement sire Hugh de Lacy l'eglise la quele les chanoines avoyent fet fere a Aylmondestres, si vindrent a sire Hugh de Mortemer amonestantz ly et conseilantz qu'il ne scoffresist pas cel overaine ileoke estre parfet en l'entré de sa terre que ses enemies par cas ne venissent en entré de sa terre, et ileoke ussent refut et recet en despit de ly et al damage de tote la pais, car il avoit adonke de tote partz mutz des enemyes et adversité grant. Et il overy apres lor consaill, si fist les chanoines remuer jeskes a la vile de Wygemore, ⁽²⁶⁾ et porter lor choses oveske eus, et com[en]cer ileoke mansiuns, come dussent a tutz jurs demorer ileoke.

Donke virent l'abbé et ses chanoines que la place ou eus habiter deveyent fut trop estreit et hidous pur habitaciun fere pur eus, ⁽²⁷⁾ et trop grant defaute, nomement, de ewe, et le monter sus vers l'eglise mut lor greva: ceo furent vileines paroies et deshonestes de ceus qui habiterent pres de eus, et se entreplainerent sovent, et se purpenserent a quel lyu ils pussent remewer d'ileoke, pur ceo que ne poient ne ne voleient ileoke demorrer en nule maner pur l'enchesuns siusditz. Et quant sire Hugh de Mortemer ceo aparceut, mut ly vint a gré, et les comanda qu'ils feysent enquerer par tut sun pais plus avena[n]te place et plus eisé pur eus a demorir a totz jurs, et ly fescient a saver.

Endementres, sourdy un destance par entre l'abbé Andreu et ses chanoines, par unt l'abbé s'en departi de eus, et lor lessa tot a lor volonté, et retorna a sa mesun de seinct Victor. ⁽²⁸⁾ Et pur ceo que eus ne voleient my estre santz abbé, elustrent de eus meimes un chanoine qu'out a nun Roger, qui fust novice en l'ordre, mes sage a gouverner lors temperaltes, le quel eus presenterent al eveske, et fut benet de ly, et fet prelat des autres chanoines.

En ycel temps, si manda le roy Henry, adonke novel roy, a sire Hugh de Mortemer de venir a ly. Et il par grant orgoil et hautesce de queor, enenflee, a ly venir dedeigna, et ses chastels de totz partz contre ly garnissa pur contreester le roy a force. De quel chose le roy fut mout coroucé et durement vers ly enmewe, et ly assegy en sun chastel de Briigenorth long temps, ⁽²⁹⁾ et ses autres chastels fist il assegy partut par sez gents. Et quant Gilebert Folioth ceo vist, qui esteit adonke eveske de Hereford, que le roy fust durement enmew et coroucé vers sire Hugh de Mortemer, et que sire Hugh fut de tote partz avironé de sez enemyes, ala al roy em playnaunt que sire Hugh tient a force sa vile de Lydebury, et la dedeigna rendre.

After him came another named brother Robert de Cherbourg, ⁽²⁴⁾ and he remained with the canons, not as prior however, but, since he came from abroad, he took the place of the prior, because they wanted to have an abbot over them. Sir Hugh was very eager and impatient to do this. Whilst they were so disposed, they heard of a Master Andrew ⁽²⁵⁾ who was then prior of St Victor in Paris, master of divinity, abounding in noble virtues and wise, and they sent asking him to come and assume the abbot's duties, and to govern them and run their affairs as their superior. So Andrew joined them, and was received with great respect, and was blessed as abbot by the bishop.

Soon after, the friends of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, and especially Sir Hugh de Lacy, saw the church which the canons had had built at Aymestery, and they came to Sir Hugh de Mortimer, exhorting and counselling him not to tolerate the completion of this enterprise at the entrance to his land in case his enemies should make inroads into his territory, and find there a refuge and stronghold in spite of him to the detriment of the whole region, for at that time he had many enemies on all sides and there was much hostility towards him. And he acted on their advice, and made the canons move to the vill of Wigmore ⁽²⁶⁾ and take their possessions with them, and begin to erect dwellings there with a view to permanent residence.

Then the abbot and the canons saw that the place where they were to live was too narrow and too squalid to make a dwelling-place for them, ⁽²⁷⁾ and above all was very short of water, while the climb to the church was very hard for them; there were unkind, derogatory words from those who lived near them, and they complained of this to each other, and considered to what place they might move from there, because they could and would not remain there under any circumstances for the reason just given. And when Sir Hugh de Mortimer realized this, he was very pleased, and order them to seek throughout his lands for a more suitable place which would be more convenient as a permanent residence for them, and to let him know.

Meanwhile, there was a breach between abbot Andrew and his canons, because of which the abbot went away, and left them to their own devices, and returned to his house at St Victor [c. 1149]. ⁽²⁸⁾ And since they did not wish to be without an abbot, they themselves elected a canon named Roger, who was a novice in the order, but experienced in looking after their temporal affairs, whom they presented to the bishop, who blessed him, and he was made superior of the other canons.

At that time, King Henry [1154-89], newly crowned, sent for Sir Hugh de Mortimer [c. 1153-c. 1185]. But he, through his great pride and haughtiness, puffed up with anger, did not deign to come, and garrisoned his castles against him to resist the king by force. The king was very angered by this and infuriated by him, and besieged him in his castle at Bridgnorth for a long period [1155], ⁽²⁹⁾ and he had his followers lay siege to all his other castles. When Gilbert Foliot, who was then bishop of Hereford [1148-63], saw that the king was greatly enraged and furious with Sir Hugh de Mortimer, and that Sir Hugh was surrounded by his enemies, he went to the king, complaining that Sir Hugh was forcibly holding his town Lydebury North, and did not deign to return it.

Le roy, ausitost come il avoyt ceo oy, par grant ire et rancor comanda al eveske qu'il alast et prist arere sa vile od tutes les aportenaunces. Et quant les chanoines ceo oyrent, enveierent ileoke . ii . chanoines, cet a saver Symond, le fitz Olyver Merlymond, et Richard de Blakemere pur garder lor eglise de Lidebury ensemblement od autres choses que ileoke aveient. Et quant l'eveske ceo aparceust, manda a eus sez minestres, les queus adeprimes les amonesterent par blandisantz paroles et d'enapres par manaces; au darrain mistrent mains sur eus, et les sakerent, en comandantz qu'ils venissent tost parler al eveske.

Les chanoines ja pur lours beles paroles ne furent venkuz, ne pur lors manacez abayz en nul poynt, mes se tindrent fermement dedenz l'eglise sanz remewer hors de leyns pur nule violence que lor fut fete come bonez gentz de religiun, amantz le profit de lor mesun. Et ausi tost come l'abbé Roger ceo oy de sez freres, appela a la courte de Roume dé damages, huntages et violences que furent fetez a ly et a sez freres et a sa eglise de Lidebury, et signa totes sez chosez desuz la protecciun l'apostoil, (3v) et meintenaunt se apparala prendre le chemin vers la courte de Roume en propre persone. Et quant ceo oyrent, les amis de un part et d'autre si entremistrent de fere acorder par entre eus, et refourmerent la pes enterement, issi que l'eveske granta a eus la dite eglise de aver a tut temps en pees, et la conferma par sa lettre enselee de sun sel.

[E]nkore esteient les chanoines trop malement encombrez et enueyz de jur en jur pur lor demeore a Wygemore, come est avant dit, si s'en alerent par le pais en chescun part pur quere et avyser place la ou pussent mansiun honeste et large fere pur eus et pur autres a tutz jurs. Avient par un jour en ast que un des chanoines, frere Water Agaymeth a nun, sist sur le chaump de Beodun, ⁽³⁰⁾ entre les syours, et regarda tot le pays aviron, et avisa ententivement, et vist la place ou l'abbeye est ore assise, et nota le lyu, et retorna a mesun, et conta al abbé et as freres ceo qu'il out veu; les quels aleyent oveske ly, et aviserent la place de totz partz, et virent ben que le lyu fut assez bon et large et avenant pur fere ileoke lor abbeye, si furent mut joyous et lez a demesure, et aleyent a sire Hugh de Mortemer, et firent a saver a ly ceo qu'ils aveient trovez, et que lor plust ben la place pur perpetuele mansiun fere par eide de ly. Et il lor granta ausi tost bonement et a grant joye, et lor promist que il les eidereit, et comanda ausi tost que eus remewasent totes choses que eus aveient al Wygemore jeske la. Et quant eus aveient comandement de ceo fere, ne targerent geres del mettre en fet, et se fesityent endementres petites habitaciuns de fust par cyde et conseil de sire Hugh.

Endementres, morut la persone de Meolesbracy, la quel eglise dona sire Hugh as chanoines ausi tost en perpetuele almoigne. Et apres ceo, tost morust l'abbé Roger, et fust religieusement enterree. Et tantost se entreparlerent de un abbé aver. Et manderent par . iii . de lor freres qui furent les plus sagez a seinct Victor pur

The king, as soon as he heard this, in great anger and fury ordered the bishop to take back his town with all its appurtenances. And when the canons heard this, they sent two canons, namely Simon, son of Oliver de Merlimont, and Richard de Blakemere to take care of their church of Lydbury North along with all the other possessions they had there. And when the bishop realized this, he sent his servants to them who first tried to persuade them with smooth words and then by threats; finally, they laid hands on them, and expelled them, ordering them to appear immediately before the bishop.

The canons were not confounded by their fine words nor disheartened by their threats in any way, but remained steadfastly in the church without moving from there in spite of any violence committed against them, like the good men of the church they were, having regard to the benefit of their house. As soon as the abbot Roger learned this from his brothers, he appealed to the court of Rome concerning the acts of damage, insults and violence which had been committed against himself and his brothers and his church of Lydbury North, and assigned all his possessions to papal protection, and then he made himself ready for a journey to the court of Rome in person. When all the friends heard this, they made efforts to bring them to an agreement, and re-established peace completely, so that the bishop granted them permanent possession of the said church, and confirmed it by a personal letter sealed with his own seal.

The canons were still very sorely burdened and continually distressed by their residence at Wigmore, as was said before, and they went off into the region to seek out a site where they might establish a suitable, good-sized, permanent dwelling for themselves and for others. It happened, one day in August, that one of the canons, named brother Walter Agaymeth, sat down in the field at Bethun, ⁽³⁰⁾ among the reapers, and looked at the countryside around, and scanned it carefully, and saw the place where the abbey is now situated, and took note of the spot, and went home, and told the abbot and the brothers what he had seen. They went with him, and examined the site on all sides, and indeed saw that the place was sufficiently good and wide and pleasant enough to construct their abbey there, and they were very joyful and their happiness knew no bounds. They went to Sir Hugh de Mortimer, and announced what they had found, and that this was their choice for the construction of a permanent dwelling-place with his help. And he generously and joyfully granted them their request, and promised to help them, and bade them immediately transport there all the possessions they had at Wigmore. When they had received the order, they lost no time in carrying it out, and constructed in the meantime small wooden dwellings with the help and advice of Sir Hugh.

Meanwhile, the incumbent of Meole Brace died, and Sir Hugh straightway gave his church to the canons in perpetual alms. And soon after the abbot Roger died [c. 1161], and was buried solemnly. They soon considered finding another abbot, and they sent word by three of their brothers, who were the most discerning,

prier a mestre Andrew, qui fut lor abbé par devant, de venir et estre lor sovereygn et lor abbé come avaunt, le quele a grant peine lor granta et vint oveske eus, ⁽³¹⁾ et fut receu a grant joye, et demorra abbé en la maner qu'il esteit. En meimes cel temps Andreu de Staunton, seynour de Bokenhull, fut accusé vers le roy Henry grevouement issi qu'il ne poet demorer en Engleterre apertement, si vynt en le chapitre des chanoines, et en la presence de Water Folyoth, ⁽³²⁾ ercediakne de Salopsire, lor dona l'eglise de Bokenhull en pure et perpetuel aumoygne. A qy tant come il demora issi en Engleterre en tapeisauns, si troverent a ly totes ses necessaries honestement, et quant il ne pout plus longes demorer, si passa il en Escoce, et demora ileoke seurement, jeskes a tant que sa pees fut fete al roy, et donke retorna il a sa terre demeine. Et tant come il fut absent, si troverent eus a sa femme Mahaud de Portz ceo que mestier ly fust.

Après ceo, vynt sire Hugh de Mortemer de outremer, et demorra a Cleybury. Adonke morut Achelard, persone de Kayham, la quele eglise les chanoines receustrent en propres huyes del don sire Hugh. Et ne mie longe temps après, vynt sire Hugh pur visiter les chanoines et lor lyu, et ileoke, par request dé seons et nomement de Brian de Brompton et de Johan, sun fitz, manda pur un moyn de Wyrcestre, ⁽³³⁾ le quel, quant il out signé la place del eglise, fist fower et mettre le fundament. A quel fundament, ⁽³⁴⁾ sire Hugh de Mortemer cocha la primere pere, et lor promist dys marcz en eyde; mes enapres il l'achevy a ses costages demeine. Brian de Brompton cocha le secunde pere, et promist cent souz, mes ren ne dona d'argent; mes il lor granta totes eisementz en sa terre en boys et en champs par tot, les queles eysementz ⁽³⁵⁾ eiderent grantment a lor overaine. Johan, le fitz al dit Brian, cocha le terce pere, et ren ne dona ne promist, mes ceo qu'il ne fist mye adonke en promesse, il le parfourmy ben enapres en coure, kar par ly fut l'eglise de Kynleth doné al abbeye.

(4r) Enapres, les chanoines s'entremistrent durement et vigrousement del overayne de lur eglise. Endementres si morust mestre Andreu, ⁽³⁶⁾ lor abbé, et fut enterré a grant honour. Après ceo, si elurent eus Symond lor priour, fiz a Olyver de Merlymond, pur estre lor abbé, le quel morust avant ceo qu'il fut benet del eveske. ⁽³⁷⁾ Après la mort Symond, si elurent eus frere Randolph lor segresteyn, home humble et deu-dotant. En temps de quel abbé, sire Hugh dona al abbeye le maner de Kayham oveske totes les apportenaunces ensemblement od sun corps ⁽³⁸⁾ en pure et perpetuel aumoygne. Mes une dame tynt unkore la vile de Snyttton en noun dowery. Après ceo, escheerent a eus les eglises et chapeles dé suzdités, par doun sire Hugh de Mortemer, en bref temps, cet a saver: l'eglise de Leyntwardyn, l'eglise de Aylmondestre, l'eglise de Cheilmers, la chapele de Dounton, Boriton, Eleton et Leynthale et l'eglise de Kynleth et le molyn de Leyntwardyn, et vint soude de terre, la quel sire Hugh de Mortemer akata de Hereberte du Chastel, et la terre desuz Wygemore et la terre de la Newton, ⁽³⁹⁾ et la rente del molyn de Boryton, et la rente de Eleton et de Brunshop.



Above: Plate I—
J. Davies' Store



Left: Plate II—
Old Gasworks



Plate III—Tretire—View from South.



Plate V—Tretire—Section S3.



Plate IV—Tretire—Building area B.



Plate VI—13th Century Carving from
Bishop's Palace, Sugwas



Plate VII.—Gold aureus of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) (a) obverse; (b) reverse. 1/1½. P. J. Leach

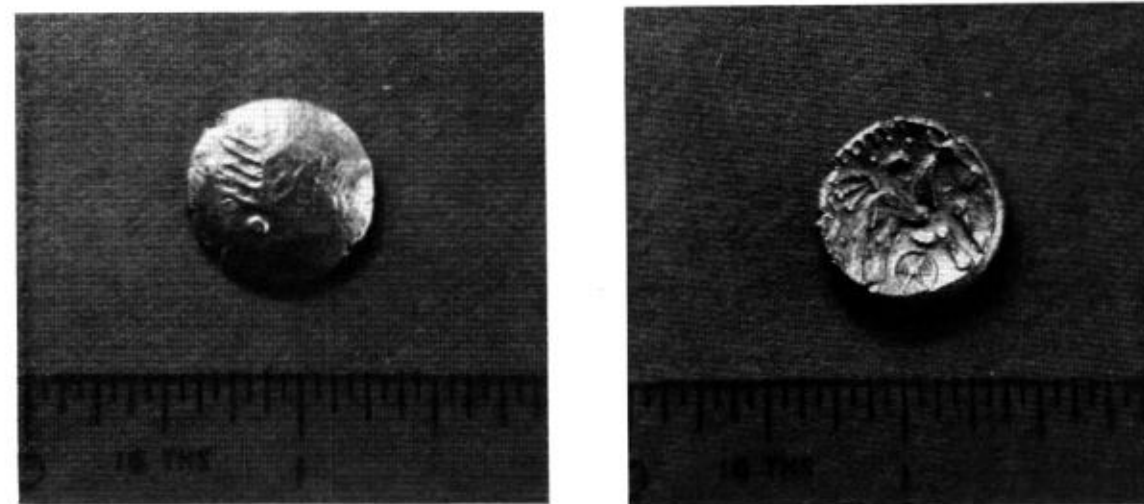


Plate VIII.—Dobunnic gold stater inscribed CORIO. (a) obverse; (b) reverse. 1/1½. P. J. Leach

to St Victor to beg master Andrew, who had been their abbot formerly, to take up his previous situation as their superior and abbot. After much thought he agreed and came to them [c. 1162], ⁽³¹⁾ and was received with great joy, and remained abbot as he had been before. At that time Andrew of Staunton, the lord of Buckenhill, was under serious charges from King Henry so that he could no longer dwell openly in England, and he came to the canons' chapter, and in the presence of Walter Foliot [c. 1150-c. 1178], ⁽³²⁾ archdeacon of Shropshire, gave them the church of Buckenhill in pure and perpetual alms. As long as he remained in England secretly, they willingly supplied all his needs, and when he could no longer remain, he went to Scotland, where he remained in safety until he had made his peace with the king, when he returned to his own land. During the whole of his absence, they gave his wife, Mahaud de Portz, such help as she needed.

Afterwards, Sir Hugh de Mortimer arrived from overseas, and settled at Cleobury. Then Achelard, the incumbent of Caynham, died, and the canons received the church of the free gift of Sir Hugh. Not very long after, Sir Hugh came to visit the canons and their site, and there, at the request of his followers, and especially Brian of Brompton and John, his son, he sent for a monk from Worcester, ⁽³³⁾ who, when he had designated the site of the church, had the base course dug out and laid. At the foundation ceremony [1172], ⁽³⁴⁾ Sir Hugh laid the first stone, and pledged ten marks as a contribution; but later he completed it at his own expense. Brian of Brompton laid the second stone, and pledged one hundred shillings, but gave no money; however, he gave them full easements ⁽³⁵⁾ to the woods and fields on his land, which greatly assisted them in their task. John, the son of the said Brian, laid the third stone, and gave nor pledged nothing, but he made up for his lack of pledge afterwards, for it was by him that the church of Kinlet was given to the abbey.

Afterwards, the canons undertook with great vigour and effort the construction of their church. In the meantime, master Andrew, their abbot, died [19 October, 1175], ⁽³⁶⁾ and was buried with great honour. Thereafter, they elected Simon their prior, son of Oliver de Merlimont, to be their abbot, but he died before he had received episcopal benediction. ⁽³⁷⁾ After the death of Simon, they elected brother Randolph, their sacristan, a humble God-fearing man. During his term of office, Sir Hugh gave the abbey the manor of Caynham with all its appurtenances, along with his body ⁽³⁸⁾ in pure and perpetual alms. But a lady still had possession of the vill of Snitton in dower. After, they received in a short space of time from the gift of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, the following churches and chapels: the church of Leintwardine, the church of Aymestrey, the church of Chelmarsh, the chapels of Downton on the Rock, Boraston, Elton and Leinthall Earls, and the church of Kinlet and the mill of Leintwardine, and land of the yearly value of twenty shillings, which Sir Hugh de Mortimer bought from Herbert du Chastel, and the land above Wigmore and the land of Newton, ⁽³⁹⁾ and rent from the mill at Bourton, and the rents from Elton and Brinsop.

D'entre cestes chosez si fut sire Hugh de Mortemer mut curious et penible entour l'overeine de lor eglise, la quele il fist tost parfere a ses costages, et quant ele* fut tote parfete, si la fist dedyer ⁽⁴⁰⁾ par la mayn sire Robert Folyoth, adonke eveske de Hereford, en le honur de seinct Jakes l'apostle. Et quant l'eglise fut dedyé, si fist sire Hugh de Mortemer renoverer et confermer toutz les dounz k'il avoit fet as chanoines pardevant, et a l'eglise, et nomement le maner de Kayham od les aportenances, le quel maner dona il a les chanoines devant tote la peole que illeoke fut assemblé, et le conferma par sa chartre. Apres ceo, dona il al eglise un chaliz d'or fyn et une coupe d'or pur mettre dedeinz eukariste, ⁽⁴¹⁾ et . ii . chaundelers d'argent dorrez; et fist l'eveske et l'abbé od tut le covent et od tutz les prestrez, qui presentz furent, excumenger tutz ceus quy nul des ceus jewens aloynassent de la mesun, for taunt solement pur feym et arsun. Et il dona adonke al eveske une juste d'argent pleine de pyement, ⁽⁴²⁾ la quele il receust pur graunt doun. Et l'eveske dona a meimes l'eglise une chape de queor pourpre assez honeste et richement aourné des orfreys.

Et quaut cetes choses furent ben ordinez chescun a son avenaunt, morust sire Hugh de Mortemer a Cleybury en bone veleste ⁽⁴³⁾ et plein des bones eovres, et chanoine profes en la presence de l'abbé Randulph, le quel ly baila l'abit de chanoine od aukuns de ses freres devant sa mort. D'ileoke fut le corps porté jeskes a sa abbeie de Wygemore et honourablement enterré pardevant le haut auter; l'alme de quey sycome nus creums repose od elitz de Dieu en joye pardurable. Amen. Por l'alme de quel Hugh sy est chaunté chescun jour une messe par chanoine, et chescune symaigne le office dé mortz, cet a dire: Placebo et Dirige, une feez de neof lessons en covent oveske la messe matinale lendemain, et chescun symaigne pain et cervoyse ove altres vyaundes partiez as povres par la main del aumonier, estre autres partisones que om fet par my l'an as poveres et as estranges. Et en le jour de sun anniversarie si sunt cent poveres puys soffysamaunt, et chescun avera une miche et . ii . harankes et potage, pur ceo qe sun anniversarie cheet en quareme. Les autres aumoynes que om fet pur luy chescun jour as estas et as estranges en le ostelerye et par ailours, et les bienfeez espirituels que sunt fet par chanoynes pur ly et serrunt fetz aremenaunt, nombrer ne poet nul home, mes a Jhesu Crist sunt pleinement conews.

Et pur ceo que Roger, ⁽⁴⁴⁾ sun fiz et heir, fut tenuz en la garde le roy pur la mort de un Cadwalan a noun, le quel lé seons tuerent, les minestres le roy tyndrent le chastel de Wyggemore od les appartenaunces, en quel temps tresze homes galeys furent pris en bataille, et furent tenuz en prisone en le chastel de Wyggemore fermement fyrgez. Les quels par une nuyt tant come lor gardeins dormirent, eschaperent jeskes a la dit abbeye, et furent devoutement receuz et reheitez de manger et beivre, et lor firges descheierent dunt eus furent lyez par miracle, les queus firges furent penduz overtement en l'eglise, et les Galeys demorerent ileoke en pes jeskes a tant que urent grace de aler a lor pais sanz destourber. Plusurs autres cases semblables sunt avenuz a meime cele abbey, les queus ne sunt mye escritz en livre, mes sunt par negligence lesseez.

* ele] ale.

In the meantime, Sir Hugh was tirelessly concerned with regard to the construction of their church, which he had completed at his own expense, and when it was complete, he had it dedicated [1179] ⁽⁴⁰⁾ by the bishop of Hereford, lord Robert Foliot, in honour of St James the Apostle. And when it had been dedicated, Sir Hugh de Mortimer renewed and confirmed all the gifts he had made up till then to the canons and to the church, and especially the manor of Caynham with its appurtenances, which he gave to the canons before the assembled people, and confirmed it by his charter. After, he gave the church a chalice in fine gold and a gold cup to hold the eucharist, ⁽⁴¹⁾ and two candlesticks of silver gilt. The bishop and the abbot with the whole monastery and all the priests who were present, pronounced sentence of excommunication on all those who should remove any of these precious objects from the house, except through hunger and fire. Then he gave the bishop a silver vase filled with piment, ⁽⁴²⁾ which he accepted as a great gift. The bishop gave the church a purple choir-cope, extremely beautiful and richly trimmed with orphreys.

When these matters were well regulated to the satisfaction of all, Sir Hugh de Mortimer died at Cleobury at a ripe old age ⁽⁴³⁾ and full of good works, and as a canon professed in the presence of the abbot Randolph, who invested him with the canon's habit along with some of his brothers before his death. From Cleobury the body was borne to the abbey at Wigmore and buried with great honour before the high altar. His soul, as we believe, dwells with the chosen of God in perpetual joy. Amen. For the soul of Sir Hugh, there is sung each day a mass by a canon, and each week the office for the dead, that is: *Placebo* and *Dirige*, an office of nine lessons in the monastery with the morning mass the following day, and each week bread and beer and other provisions distributed to the poor from the hand of the almoner, apart from other distributions to the poor and to strangers during the year. And on the anniversary of his death, a hundred poor are plentifully fed, and each will have a loaf of bread and two herrings and soup since his anniversary falls during Lent. The other alms which are dispensed on his behalf each day to the inhabitants and to strangers in the guest-house and elsewhere, and the spiritual benefits which are carried out by the canons on his behalf and will be to all time, cannot be enumerated by any man, but they are fully known to Jesus Christ.

And since Roger, ⁽⁴⁴⁾ his son and heir, was being held prisoner by the king for the death of one Cadwalan [Sep 1179] who had killed his men, the ministers of the king took possession of the castle of Wigmore with its appurtenances; at this time thirteen Welshmen were captured in battle, and were held prisoner, firmly fettered, in the castle of Wigmore. As their warders were sleeping one night, they made their escape as far as the abbey, where they were kindly received and refreshed with food and drink, and the irons with which they were fettered fell off them by miracle, and these irons were displayed in the church, and the Welshmen remained there in peace until they had leave to go back to their own country without hindrance. Several other cases occurred at this abbey, which are not written down, and as a result of this neglect have been forgotten.

Et quant sire Roger de Mortemer fut lessé hors de la garde du roy franchement, sy vynt al abbey, et fut receu del abbé et del covent a grant joye, et mené par l'abbé et le priour en l'eglise jeske devant le haut auter, et quant il seo avoit aoré a l'auter, si beisa tote le covent en promettant seurté et bone pees, mes aussi tost com la messe fut fynie, a sun issir hors de l'eglise, si comensea de lor chalenger durement pur lor maner de Kayham, et comanda que eus le rendissent a ly; et dist que eus a tort le tindrent. Et l'abbé et le covent mistrent lor esperance en Deu, et ne soffrirent pas que lor fut tolet un plein pee del maner. De ceo fut sire Roger mut coroucé a demesure, et les porsiw tant par ly et par les seons, que contre le jour de Nowel covendreit al abbé et le covent d'aler jeskes a Schobbedon forspris (4v) poys de chanoines qui demorerent pur garder l'eglise. Et illeoke demorerent jeskes apres Nowel que par comandement le roy Henry retournerent a lor abbey, car le roy comanda a sire Roger qu'il ne feist mal ne damage as chanoines, mes les lessast en pees desuz la protectiun de Deu et la sowe pur Deu servir en quieté. Dunke desirerent les chanoynes mut de aver amour et benvoilaunce de sire Roger et acord, le prierent devoutement par lors amises qu'il vousist estre lor ami pur l'amour de Deu, et si aveient grant esperance de s'amisté aver. Mes tost apres morut cele dame qe avoit la vile de Snitton (43) en dowery, la quel vile granta sire Roger devant a eus de la franchement aver vers eus, mes en bref temps fut il broché par mauveys consilers pur la prendre de eus vers ly, et ensi fut fet, car eus diseyent que cel lyu fut mut privé et eisé pur sun recet aver par entre Wygemore et Cleybury. Et qaunt les chanoines virent ceo, si tindrent en pees come gentz que hairont mut conteker od lur avowe, et mistrent lor droit a l'ordinaunce de Deu. Avient enapres que *dame Isabelle de Ferrers, (46) la femme a sire Roger de Mortemer, fut enceynte et passa par Snynton, et illeoke herbige, et devient malade, et en sa maladye fut delivre de un enfant madle, le quel, si tost come fut baptizé, morust et fut enterré en l'eglise de Cleibury. Dont la dite Isabelle par procurement des sagez gentz pria a sun seynour humblement et devotement, en lermant, qu'il vousist rendre arere as chanoines lor vile de Snitton, la quel il tynt a tort; et dist que par enchesun de ceo, si aveit grant torment en enfantant, et aveit esperaunce de aver en grant soloz de la vye de sun fiz, si aveit ele graunt tristur de sa mort. A la request de quy, commanda tost rendre a eus la vile franchement oveske le maner de Kayham de aver aremenaunt.

Cele dame Isabele de Ferrers fut de bone vye et de nette, la quele, apres la morte de sun seynour, fist fere une bone mesun de gentz de religiun a Lechelade (47) pur l'alme sun seynour et la sowe, et la feffa plentivousement de beles terres et de rentes aremenant, et ileoke est ele enterré.

L'avaunt dit Roger de Mortemer, fiz al foundur, esteit solum la demaunde de sun age jolyf, juvencel et mult volages de queor et aukes voluntrif adeprimes, et aveit pres de ly plusurs de leger consail que ly consilerent sovent a sun pleisir, et non pas a sun profit, come la manere est de plusurs losengers qui portent oyl sus pur plere a lor seynour qe lor chet sovent a damage. Meimes cely Roger de Mortemer en icel temps par mauveys consilers et par sa voluté demeine fist trop grantz duresces et grevances diversementz al abbé et sovent a lor gentz contre la franchise

*dame] de dame

And when Sir Roger de Mortimer was released from the king's custody, he came to the abbey, and was received by the abbot and the community with great joy, and was conducted by the abbot and the prior into the church to the high altar, and when he had prayed at the altar, he kissed the whole community, promising them safety and peace. But as soon as the mass was over, he left the church, and began to press them strongly concerning their manor at Caynham, and ordered them to give it back to him, saying that they held it wrongfully. And the abbot and the community put their trust in God, and would not suffer a single foot of the manor to be taken away from them. Sir Roger was most angered by this, and he and his men persecuted them so much that, towards Christmas Day, the abbot and the order were obliged to move to Shobdon except for a few canons who remained to guard the church. There they remained until after Christmas when they returned to their abbey by command of King Henry, for the king ordered Sir Roger not to do any harm to the canons, but to leave them in peace in God's care and his own so that they might serve God in peace. The canons then were anxious to have Sir Roger's love, good-will and co-operation, and they sincerely begged him, on account of their misfortunes, to be their friend for the love of God, and that they lived in hope of his friendship. But soon after, the lady who held the vill of Snitton (43) in dower, died, and Sir Roger granted them free possession of the vill, but soon after he was urged by evil advisers to take it away from them for himself, and so it was done, for they said that the place was most suitably placed between Wigmore and Cleobury to have as a stopping place. When the canons realized this, they remained silent as people who much detest to quarrel with their lord, and left their claim to the ordinance of God. It happened after, that lady Isabelle de Ferrers, (46) the wife of Sir Roger de Mortimer, was pregnant, and she came through Snitton and lodged there, and fell ill, and during her illness she gave birth to a male child, which, as soon as it was baptized, died, and was buried in Cleobury church. So the said Isabelle, at the behest of good people, begged her lord humbly and devoutly, weeping, to give back their vill of Snitton to them, which he wrongfully held. She said that by reason of that, she had been in great torment during her labour, and that she had had the hope that the life of her son would bring her great solace, but instead she was in great sorrow at his death. At her request, Sir Roger immediately ordered the vill to be given back to them without conditions along with the manor of Caynham henceforth in permanent possession.

Lady Isabelle de Ferrers led a good simple life, and after the death of her lord, she had built a religious house at Lechlade (47) for the soul of her lord and her own, and endowed it generously with fine lands and rents for ever, and there she is buried.

The afore-mentioned Roger de Mortimer, son the founder, was, as befitted his years, gay, full of youth and inconstant of heart, and especially somewhat headstrong, and he had round him several flippant counsellors who often advised him so as to satisfy his whims, but not to his advantage, as is the manner of certain flatterers who always say "yes" to please their lord, which is often disastrous for them. The same Roger de Mortimer, through evil advisers, satisfying his whims, committed acts of very great harshness and wrong against both the abbot and his

de lur eglise. Dunke les bonez gentz se sentirent de tutes partz dur demené, et nul esteit qui eider lor pust ne osast; si mistrent tote lor esperance en Deu totpussant, nuyt et jour humblement et devoutement em priantz qu'il pur sa pité deignast mettre hastif amendement al errour de lor avowe, issi qu'il ne demorast longes en peril d'alme par enchesun de eus, et que eus aver pussent, en pees et en quieté, les choses que a eus furent donez et a totes jurs en aumoynez.

Endementers, tant come cete persecuciun dura, avint par l'ordinance de Dieu ke sire Roger de Mortemer fut cheminant par un matin vers son deduyt oveske sa meyné le jour del anniversaire de sun pere de quel ly ne sovynt pas adonke. Et come il chevauchout par entre la mesun dé malades et la vile de Stanweye, ⁽⁴⁸⁾ si regarda les champs d'ambepartz, les queus sun pere out doné a l'abbeye, et vist les bleez de une part ben creuz et vertz et assez espes solum la sesun; si apela aukuns dé seons, en disant anguissousement: "Veez, beals seygnours, coment mun pere se tresoblia, et may de tut mist en obliance quy fu son fitz eygné et heir, et moylere a qui par totes resuns dust aver vouché sauf tot sun heritage sanz demembrer; ces champs que yci vous veez oveske autres terres et tenementz en desheritaunce de moy si ad il doné a ceus vileyns del abbeye." ⁽⁴⁹⁾ Et tele chose regretta sovent. Et tant com il si anguissous de queor chevaucha, si sonerent totes les cloches del abbeye en manere de glaas. Et quaut il ce oyt, si apela un chanoine de meymes l'abbeye qu'esteyt adunke sun chape-(5r) leyn, et ly demaunda pur quei les cloches sonerent tant fort. Et il ly respoundy et dist: "Sire, hui* a tanz des anz morut vostre pere, fundour de nostre mesun, et huy est sun obit, pur qui om fet grant sollempnitee pur s'alme especialment, et a tutz jurs fra, et a resun."

Dunt demaunda sire Roger a ly queuz furent les benfeez que om fist pur ly a la jorneye. Et il ly counta de chef en chef totz les benfeez que furent fetez pur s'alme en la dite abbeye come est pardevant escript. Et quant il avoit tot a grant leisir paroyee, fut visitee par le Seincte Espirist, et dist a tote sa meyné: "Alums nus en le nun de Deu a l'abbeye, et avisum nus le serviz et la sollempnité que om fra ileoke pur l'alme mun pere." Et chevauchoyent jeskes a l'abbeye. Et quant l'abbé fut aparceu de sa venue, si amena tot le covent oveske ly, et aloyent contre ly en la maner de procession, car il n'entra mye la mesun, grant peté pardevaunt, et le reçustrent honorablement, et a grant joye, en esperance de s'amur aver et sa benveillance. Atant l'abbé chanta la messe, et le covent a haute voyz et a grant devocion chantent le office que apent; de quele office sire Roger prist tres bone garde en totez pointz, et coment les centz povres furent servez, sy fut amerveylé, ben payé et mut repentant de sun errur. Et quant la messe fut tut parchanté, et tote le office parfet, si apela il l'abbé et le covent en lor chapitre, et les pria pardun mut de humble coer de les grevaunces queus il a eus aveyt fet, et promist par l'eide de Deu amendement, et fut acordé a eus et assouz de sun trespas, et entrebeysez ly et le covent a grant leesté d'ambepartiez. Aprez ceo fist il lire tutz les munimentz qe

*hui] hieu

brothers and also often against their tenants, infringing the rights of their church. The good people felt themselves to very ill-treated, and there was no one who could or dared help them. They therefore put their trust in Almighty God, humbly and devoutly praying him night and day out of his compassion to deign to quickly correct the error of their lord, so that his soul might not any longer remain in peril because of them, and that they might have, in peace and tranquillity, the things which had been given to them in perpetual alms.

Meanwhile, during the period of the persecution, it happened by the ordinance of God that Sir Roger de Mortimer was one day out riding for pleasure with his entourage, on the day of his father's anniversary, which he did not at that time remember. And as he rode between the infirmary and Stanway, ⁽⁴⁸⁾ he looked at the fields on both sides, which his father had given to the abbey, and saw the corn on the one side growing quite tall and green and full for the season; and he called some of his followers to him, and said angrily: "See, fine lords, how my father was completely forgetful, and worst of all neglected the one who was his eldest son and heir, and his wife, to whom he should have rightfully assigned all his heritage without dividing it up; these fields that you see here with other lands and tenements, disinheriting me, he gave them to those wretches at the abbey." ⁽⁴⁹⁾ And he went on bemoaning this state of affairs. And as he rode, his heart so filled with anger, all the bells of the abbey began to toll. And when he heard this, he called to his side a canon of the abbey who at that time was his chaplain, and asked him why the bells were ringing so loudly. And the chaplain answered: "Sir, on this day, many years ago, your father died, who was founder of our house, and today is the anniversary of his death; for him, we celebrate special acts of worship for his soul, and always shall, as is right."

Then Sir Roger asked what good works were carried out on his behalf daily. And he recounted from beginning to end the good works carried out for his soul in the said abbey, as is described earlier. And when he had listened carefully, he was visited by the Holy Spirit, and said to his followers: "Let us go to the abbey in the name of God, and watch the service and the solemn mass being celebrated for the soul of my father." And they rode to the abbey. When the abbot noticed their approach, he gathered all the community to his side, and they went in a procession to meet Sir Roger, for he had not before entered the house in any pious spirit, and they received him honourably and with great joy, in the hope of receiving his love, and his good will. Then the abbot sang the mass, and the community sang with raised voices the office belonging to it very devoutly. Sir Roger took great notice of the office on all points, how the hundred poor were served, and he was amazed and satisfied and very repentant of his error. And when the mass had been sung and the office completed, he called the abbot and the order to their chapter-house, and humbly begged their forgiveness for the injustices he had committed against them, and promised to make amends through the help of God, and he was reconciled with them, and given absolution for his sin, and he and the community joyously exchanged the kiss of peace. Afterwards, he had read to him

sun pere aveit fet a eus de teres, tenementz, rentes, boiz, preez, pastures, comunes, mores et des autres fraunchises, et ensemment des eglisez les queles il lor dona, et des autres les quels il procura estre doné a eus de ses gentz demeyne. Et quant les chartres furent totes perlewes, si agrea quantke sun pere ad fet, et conferma par sa chartre, enselé de sun sel, tot le fet de sun pere oveske plusurs eysementz et fraunchisez, les queus il lor dona adonke, et apres par ses chartres asseelés.

Apres ceo, prist il beneyson et congé del abbé et du covent, si retorna joyowsement a sun chastel de Wyggemore. Tost fut la novele espendewe par mi le pays coment il oust esté a l'abbeye, et quele chose il out ileoke fet; dunt les bonez gentz en aveyent grant joye, et les mauveys tres grant enuye. Entre queus enuyous si esteit un sun seneschal trop coroucé a demesure, si dist a sun seynur: "Sire, avez vous esté al abbeye et confirmé tote la fet de votre pere a les chanoines et plus de vostre terre a eus anoyté, issy que ne remeint ore endreit pres de eus terre, pree, pasture ne mores que eus ne unt del dun de vostre pere et de vostre, forspris le tresor de Mortemer?" Et dist en moskeis: "Ore est bon ke vus doignez cele terre a eus ke ren ne remeyne a vus ne a vos heirs du vostre pres de eus." Celes paroles dist il en sa entente qu'il ne voleit mie qu'il donast cele terre a eus, mes qu'il la retenesist vers ly meimes. Et quant sire Roger aveit escoté ses paroles, demanda des autres quele fut cele place que om apela le tresor de Mortemer. Et ly fut dist que ceo fut une croufte joynant a l'abbeye, assez bone terre et large, et a merveile ben fructifiante. Et qant il aveit ceo oye des autres, si dist a l'avant dit seneschal: "Par mun chef, beals amys, ben m'avez* dit et consilé, et apres vostre conseil veil jeo overyr, et pur ceo ke cele place ad a noun le tresor de Mortemer, jeo le boudrai a tel tresorer por garder a mun eops, qui le mettra en tele tresorie ou nul larun l'emblera, ne artesun le mangera ne des bestes defolé serra, mes a m'alme fructifiera." Et ausi tost prist il oveske ly gentz qui conusseyent la place, et la demustrerent a ly, et quant out fet la vewe, entra en l'abbeye, et la dona en pure et en perpetuele aumoygne a la mesun, a tutz jours, pur s'alme et ses auncestres et ses successurs, et la conferma par sa propre chartre enselé de sun seel devant tote le people.

*avez] aveit

all the charters that his father had made for their benefit: lands, tenements, rents, woods, fields, pastures, commons, moors, and other franchises, and also the churches which he gave them, and others which he arranged to be given to them by his dependants. And when all the charters had been read, he approved all that his father had done, and confirmed by his charter, sealed with his own seal, all the benefactions of his father along with several other easements and franchises, which he then gave them and after confirmed by his sealed charters.

After, he received the blessing and leave from the abbot and the community, and returned joyfully to his castle at Wigmore. The news soon spread around the region of how he had been to the abbey, and what he had done there, because of which the good people were most happy, and the bad very discomfitted. Among these troublesome people, there was a seneschal who was extremely angry. He said to his lord: "Sir, have you been to the abbey, and approved the bequest of all the benefactions of your father to the canons, and further given them more of your land, so that around them there remains no land, field or pasture which they have not received by gift from your father, except for Mortimer's Treasure?" And he said derisively: "It is good at present that you give them this land so that nothing remains of your property around them for you and your heirs." He said this with the idea in mind that he did not want Sir Roger to give this land to them, but that he should keep it for himself. When Sir Roger had listened to his words, he asked the others what the place was that they called Mortimer's Treasure. They told him it was a croft adjoining the abbey, a very good, broad piece of land, and extremely fertile. When he had heard this, he said to the aforesaid seneschal: "My friend, you have indeed given me very good advice, on which I intend to act, and since this place is called Mortimer's Treasure, I will give it to keep for me to a treasurer who will put it in a treasury from which no robber may steal it, where no moth will eat it, and where it will not be stripped bare by beasts, but it will bear fruit for my soul." And he immediately took with him people who knew the place, and they showed it to him, and when he had inspected it, he entered the abbey, and gave it in pure and perpetual alms to the house for ever, for the good of his soul and those of his ancestors and descendants, and confirmed it by his own charter sealed with his own seal before all the people.

- ¹ The chronology of Oliver's life is most obscure and the date of his death unknown.
- ² Simon, there prior, was made abbot in 1175 but died before receiving benediction (which would normally follow very soon after election). MDCC/XXV—Obiit Andreas abbas de Wygem. Successit Simon eiusdem loci prior, sed antequam benediceretur defunctus est; cui successit Ranulphus eiusdem loci sacrista". *Annals* f2v.
- ³ Ledicot is a hamlet one mile east of Shobdon.
- ⁴ Aymestrey was at this time the centre of a large parish, presumably through it having been the mother church of the area.
- ⁵ A somewhat rare dedication. The existence of a chapel at Shobdon at this early date is perhaps due to the establishment of the Norman castle here, whose motte yet remains, but cf. p. 415 above.
- ⁶ This liberation from the mother church would allow baptisms and burials to take place at Shobdon. It would be natural at this stage to rebuild the place of worship on a grander scale.
- ⁷ At this time the Shrine of Santiago of Compostella in Northern Spain was the major place of pilgrimage in Western Europe north of the Alps.
- ⁸ The abbey of St. Victor stood near one of the gates of the city.
- ⁹ Despite the form of the name in the French text, this place is almost without doubt Letton one and a half miles south east of Brampton Brian and five miles north of Shobdon. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 shows that the abbey had valuable property here and twelfth century stones still remain at a farm there; it seems to have been the home-farm of the abbey.
- ¹⁰ This is a good example of the accuracy of the *Chronicle* over minor details. The small number of brethren requested shows the slight endowment it now possessed.
- ¹¹ At this date private seals were still largely a monopoly of those top ranks of society to which Oliver did not belong.
- ¹² *Gallia Christiana* xi 295. I am indebted to Dom. J. Becquet for this reference.
- ¹³ Bonnard *op. cit.*, i 471.
- ¹⁴ This implies the end of a local interdict.
- ¹⁵ We have no indication of the cause of this quarrel or of the date at which Oliver became a canon at the monastery he had founded.
- ¹⁶ This triple summons was current legal practise, non-appearance of the summoinee being liable to be followed by forfeiture. It was perhaps at this juncture that the Mortimer family effectively acquired the patronage of the monastery.
- ¹⁷ Of Gilbert de Lacy little is known; he is mentioned in 1153 and died after 1163.
- ¹⁸ Sir Hugh's reply was probably due to a genuine wish to have the house ruled by an abbot, this being a piece of snobbery not unknown in these circumstances at this time. Normally, though not always, abbots of Austin canons were a good deal better endowed than the priory of Shobdon was at this time. See J. C. Dickinson *The Origins of the Austin Canons* (1950) pp. 80-1, 156-6.
- ¹⁹ The origins of the priory of St. Augustine's Bristol is a complex problem in process of investigation by Canon Dickinson. Probably it belongs to the final years of Stephen's reign (perhaps about 1153) though it may not have been an abbey at this stage. Richard's dates are very uncertain.
- ²⁰ Shobdon seems at this time still to have been little more than a cell of a type common in the order of Austin canons with no permanent head and few brethren.
- ²¹ Eye is some 6 miles east of Shobdon, and rather less from Aymestrey in whose parish it was. Its flat fertile land crossed by the river Lugg would have offered a convenient site for the monastery. But cf addenda (b) below.
- ²² Bishop Robert had been a canon of Llanthony in Monmouthshire and had recently aided the foundation, the priory of Llanthony-by-Gloucester (1136) so that his appointment of an Austin canon to an archdeaconry is much less surprising than it would otherwise have been. On Peter see A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (1965) 268.
- ²³ This strife cannot be dated at all precisely.
- ²⁴ Cherbourg.
- ²⁵ On his career see B. Smalley "Andrew of St. Victor, Abbot of Wigmore". *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* x (1938), 358-73.
- ²⁶ Though this removal may have been urged through malice, the construction at Eye of permanent monastic buildings which invaders could adapt for use as a fortress lends respectability to the complaint.
- ²⁷ On the extreme unsuitability of this site see above p. 417.

- ²⁸ Andrew's return to Paris occurred "soon after 1148" Smalley *op. cit.*
- ²⁹ The long siege ended with the King's capture of Bridgnorth castle in July 1155. The chronicler fails to note that the Sir Hugh de Mortimer here mentioned was the second of that name. As already noted he was preceded by (i) His father and name-sake Hugh I who died about 1149 and (ii) his elder brother Roger who died in 1153.
- ³⁰ This place has not been identified.
- ³¹ Andrew's return occurred between Mar. 1161 and Apr. 1163, Smalley, *op. cit.*
- ³² Z. N. and C. N. L. Brooke "Hereford Cathedral dignitaries in the twelfth century" *Cambridge Hist. Journal* VIII (1944), 17.
- ³³ The cathedral of Worcester belonged to the Benedictine order whose architecture at this time did not differ significantly from that of the Austin canons.
- ³⁴ The *Annals* note under 1172—"Hoc anno primo fundata est abbatia de Wygem. a nobili viro domino Hugone de Mortimer, qui primum lapidem posuit et eam postmodum propriis sumptibus confirmavit" and under 1179 Dedicata est est (sic) ecclesia de Wygem. a Roberto Folioth Heref. episcopo."
- ³⁵ The terms implies primarily rights of access across.
- ³⁶ Smalley *op. cit.*
- ³⁷ Above p. 444 n. 2.
- ³⁸ i.e. a promise to be buried in the monastery, which entailed certain pecuniary advantages for the monastery.
- ³⁹
- ⁴⁰ It would seem highly unusual at this time for a sizeable monastic church to be completed in so short a time as seven years, though given the resources of the Mortimer perhaps put it not entirely out of the question.
- ⁴¹ i.e. for Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament not for use as a chalice.
- ⁴² A spiced drink.
- ⁴³ The *Annals* notes under the year 1186 *Obiit Hugo de Mortuomare fundator abbathie de Wygem.* but some Worcester *Annals* assign his death to 1185 and the Pipe Rolls show that Hugh's estates passed in Eyton, to his son Roger II in 1180-1, perhaps by resignation not death.
- ⁴⁴ *Antiquities of Shropshire*, iv, 205-6.
- ⁴⁵ A hamlet which may have had the dower house of the Mortimer family.
- ⁴⁶ Isabella evidently died early in 1252. *Complete Peerage*, ix, 273.
- ⁴⁷ The date of foundation of this house is unclear. An early charter in the *Black Book of Wigmore* (B. M. Harl. MS 1240 f44v) terms it "the hospital of St. John" and records the endowment there by Isabel of a chantry priest in the episcopate of bishop Walter Cantelupe (1237-66). VCH Gloucs. assigns its origins to 1246, RM Clay to 1228 in *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (1909) 292 but cites no authority for this.
- ⁴⁸ Stanway—derives its name from "the stone road" i.e. Watling Street. The infirmary mentioned is probably one of buildings in the outer court of the monastery which perhaps adjoined the road that bounds the western side of the abbey precinct.
- ⁴⁹ This unwillingness of a son to accept his father's ultimatum of much family property to endow a monastery has a number of contemporary parallels, e.g. at Barnwell and Nostell priories.

ADDENDA

- (a) According to some Wigmore material in B.M. MS Lansdowne 447 f65v Hugh "the first founder of the abbey of Wigmore" died and was buried in the said abbey on 21st February 1185. The writer's error here, if such it be, suggests that, as other evidence suggests, the present version of the text of the *Chronicle* is comparatively late.
- (b) The editor makes the interesting suggestion that Eye (which is certainly the reading in the text) is an error for Lye. By a curious coincidence both these places are very near to the river Lugg but the considerable distance of Eye from Aymestrey hardly fits the text unless, which seems unlikely, it was within the ancient parish of Aymestrey.

THE WILL OF JOHN SMART — LAST ABBOT OF WIGMORE

Among the Hereford Diocese Probate Records at the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth, the editor and his wife found the following will of John Smart who was the abbot of Wigmore at the time of the Reformation. He thus appears to have lived as a respectable citizen in the neighbourhood of the abbey for twelve years. It was felt that the will of the last abbot would perhaps make a fitting postscript to the Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey.

In the name of God amen the xxvjth day of July in the yere of our lord god a thousand fyve hundreth fyfthye and one I John Smart, clerke beyng of whole mynde and perfecte memory do make and ordeyne this my testament and last will in manner and forme folowyng Fyrst I comend my soule into thands of almyghty god my body to be buried within the parishe churche of Wygmore in the chapell called Harroldes chapell and touching the dysposycon of my goods fyrst I bequeth to Richard Gryffth my best gowne Itm I bequeth to Harry Smart my seconde gowne my cloke my bots and spurrs and my sadle and brydle Itm I bequeth to Elsabeth Gryffyth the robe without sleeves Itm I bequeth to Jone Gryffyth my black gowne Itm I bequeth to John Gorke a nyght cappe of velvet and a prysts cappe Itm I bequeth to Thomas Mynd my boke of cronycles called cronyca cronycarum And all the resydue of my goods with suche detts as ys owyng unto me I wyll and bequeth to be employed and bestowed uppon my funeralles and for the payment of my detts and my detts and funeralles beyng therewith dyscharged then I wyll that all the resydue of my goods amountyng above the chardge of the detts and funeralles shalbe equally devyded between Harry Smart and Rychard Gryffyth And of thys my testament and last wyll I make the said Rychard Gryffyth sole executor and Harry Smart overseer to see my detts payd and the legacs performed, These beyng wyttnes Thomas Mynd Rychard Gryffys Harry Smart with others.

Dettys that i do owe

Imprimis to Mrs. Bradshaw	xxvli
It. Mr. Pymock	xli
It. Wyllyam Stych off Lemst.	xls
It. John Down	xxs
It. Thomas Colryck	xvs
It. Wyllyam Bocher	vjs
It. Phelyp Woseley	vjs viiij
It. Thomas Mynd	vjs
Sum tot xxxixli xiijs viiij	

The Manor of Tretire

By N. P. BRIDGEWATER

An emergency excavation was undertaken in 1965, ⁽¹⁾ upon an earthwork near Tretire church (fig. 1), reputed to have been a castle mound (N.G.R. SO 521239). This was in fact identified with the medieval manor of Rythir, for which documentation exists. Three structural periods were demonstrated, commencing with a timber phase in the early 13th century, followed by the construction of a moated mound supporting stone structures. Occupation continued until the 16th century, when there was a dismantling of stonework. Further occupation on the mound until the mid-17th century was followed by levelling of the mound surface, the latest building being laid above this. The site yielded a good selection of pottery vessels, but very few other finds. ⁽²⁾

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE (fig. 2).

The mound (plate III) lies near an ancient trackway, in the vicinity of the Gamber brook, and is about 200 feet above Ordnance datum. Apparently the brook formerly flowed nearer the mound than it now does ⁽³⁾ and the area used to be very marshy until the present stream bed was cut. The original course of the stream could therefore have supplied the moat, which is now dry. The bedrock here is the Old Red Sandstone which is covered by a yellow sandy subsoil. Behind the nearby vicarage there used to be a Tythe barn, and the field adjoining the mound was farmed by the rector. The tennis court on the mound is probably about 50 years old.

Only a partial excavation could be undertaken owing to the intention, subsequently carried out, of levelling the site for agricultural purposes.

THE HISTORY

The earliest etymological reference to Tretire is that of RYTHIR and this form could have two derivations. The most popular is *Rhyd-hir*, meaning "the long ford", with reference to a crossing of the Gamber brook. A more practical interpretation, however, would be *Rhudd-dir*, ⁽⁴⁾ meaning "red soil"; this would suggest iron smelting activities in the district. A Romano-British occupation here is strongly indicated by four pieces of evidence. 1 Reports of a wide spread of black soil, with much bloomery slag and Romano-British pottery in a field near Tretire, ⁽⁵⁾ and confirmed by the writer as being a probable smelting site. 2 The finding of large slag deposits containing a Roman coin in the 19th century. ⁽⁶⁾ 3 The discovery of an altar (now used as a font at Michaelchurch) with a Roman inscription. 4 The finding of a coin of Constantine during the present excavation.

Documentary evidence exists which shows that there was a manor at Tretire. The first reference is in A.D. 1211, when Walter de Muchegros held *Rhythir* in Irchenefeld, of the King in chief, at the rent of 60s. a year. ⁽⁷⁾ In 1264, when de

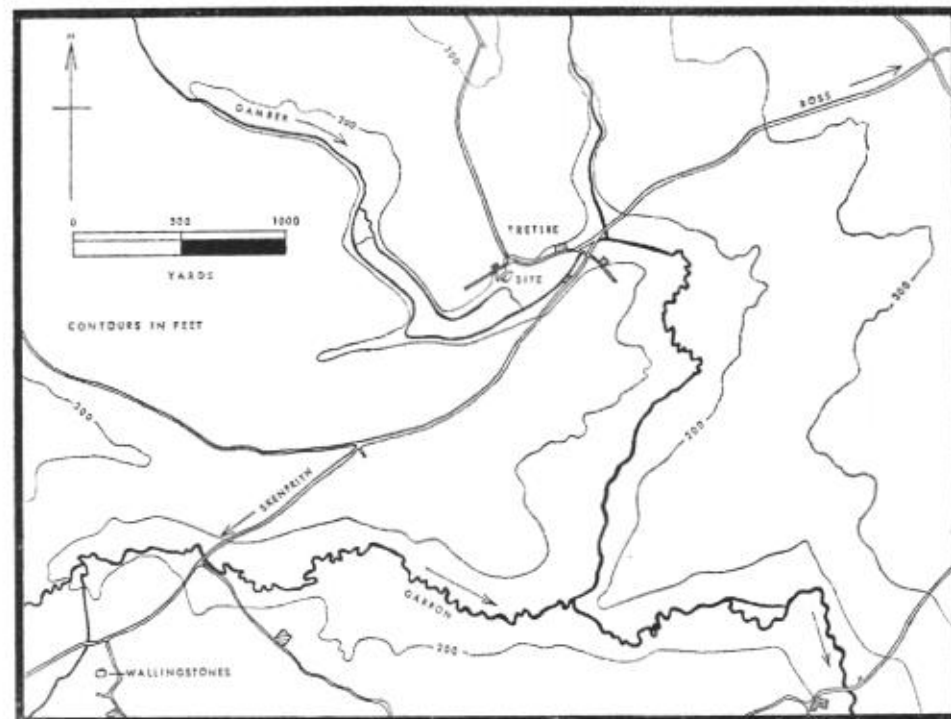


FIG. 1. District Map.

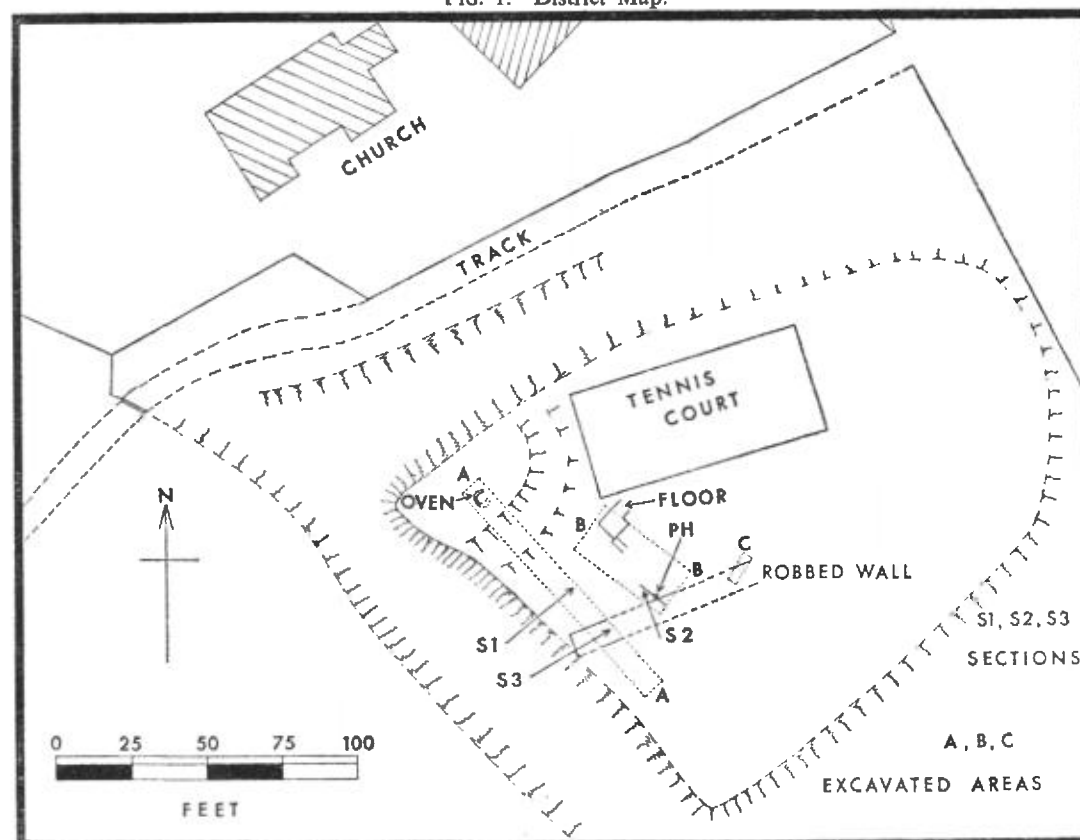


FIG. 2. Site Map.

Muchegros was dead, there is a reference to "*Rythyr* manor, held of the king in chief by service of finding three footmen in the king's army for 15 days at his own cost. (⁸) In 1291, the church of *Rittyr* was worth less than 3 l. a year. (⁹) In 1292, an Inquisition taken at Birches St. Thomas on Friday before St. Andrew speaks of "Cayrcradok in Irchenfield. The manor (extent given) held by the lord of *Ryctir*, who held of the king in chief, by service of 15s. yearly". (¹⁰) For the same year we see that a suit (¹¹) was entered against John Tregoz disputing his succession to the manor of Tretire which had belonged to Fulk Fitzwarine, an eminent feudal baron (whose daughter married Tregoz). In 1305, the manor was held by Sir Richard le Brut, and in an Inquisition of 1308 the manor (now called *Rettyre*) comprised the sub-manor of Keri Craddok in Sellack. The Valor Ecclesiasticus, in 1535, gives 6 l. as the yearly value of the rectory of Tretire. During the first half of the 16th century the manor (now called *Reedhyre*) belonged to the Baskerville family, and in the second half the Scudamore family of Ballingham owned it. It was annexed to the Holme Lacy estate in 1704. In 1869 no masonry remained, but foundation walls could still be traced. (¹²)

THE EXCAVATIONS (figs. 3 and 4)

PERIOD SUMMARY

Period	Layer Nos.	Phase	Approx. Date
I	5 in Areas A & B Oven in Area A Post-hole in Area B (later)	Occupation. Timber buildings	13th century
II	2 in Area A 4 in Areas A & B 8 & 9 in Area A 3 in Areas A & B	Moat upcast	Late 13th century
	7 in Area A	Occupation associated with a stone building Digging wall trench and laying stone wall	Late 13th century
III	6 in Area A 2 in Area B 1 in Areas A & B Building floor in Area B	Wall robbing Destruction and backfilling Moat upcast	16th century mid-17th century After 17th century

PERIOD I

The first occupation period is represented by soft dark-brown sandy loam containing charcoal (layers 5, section S2, fig. 4) in which were found 13th-century cooking-pot rims and sherds. This rested upon red sandy loam which appeared to be a sterile layer overlying the yellow sandy subsoil. There was no stonework which could be associated with this phase, but a post-hole which cuts layer 5 is suggestive of a timber phase; it contained some unrecognizable iron fragments together with two small glazed sherds of 13th-century ware. Period I is also represented by the remains of a clay oven, and an adjacent area of charcoal (layer 5, section S1, fig. 3, and plan, fig. 4), both resting upon the subsoil. Underneath the clay wall of the oven were a few burnt stones. The charcoal layer contained much charred

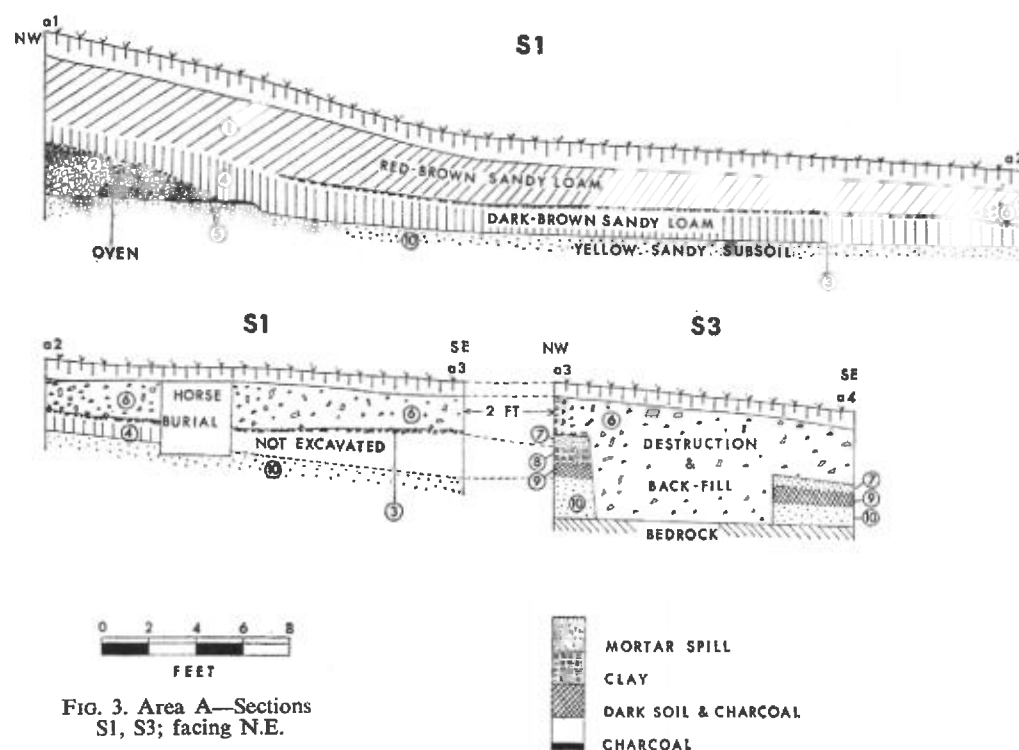


FIG. 3. Area A—Sections S1, S3; facing N.E.

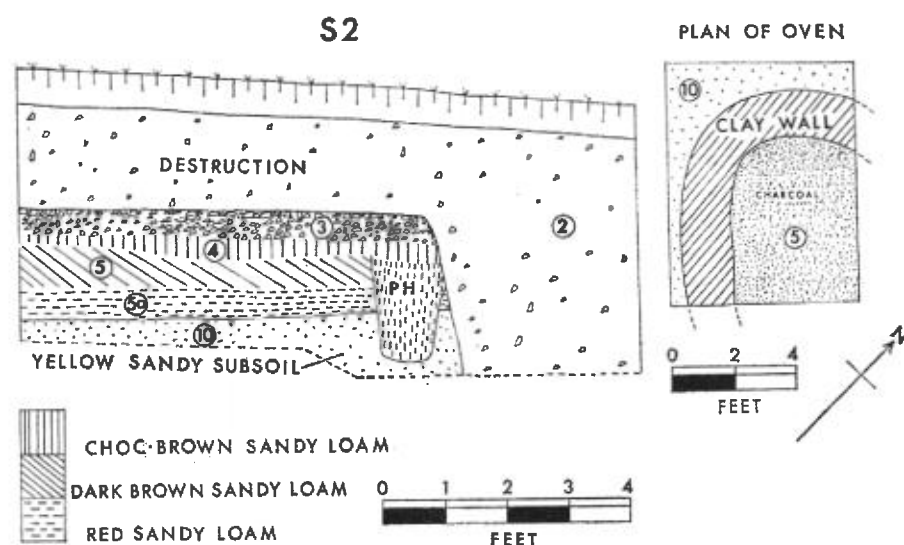


FIG. 4. Area B—Section S2 facing N.E. Area A—Plan of oven.

grain, identified as oats (*Avena sativa*), and fragments of carbonized hazel twig (*Corylus avellana*).⁽¹³⁾

PERIOD II

Above the occupation layer of period I was a general spread of dark-brown sandy loam containing some charcoal (layer 4) which is regarded as upcast from digging the moat, and probably this upcast included the layer of stones in section S1 (layer 2). The upcast also covered the post-hole in section S2, suggesting that the timber buildings were now obsolete in any case. Possibly layers 8 and 9 were also upcast. Finds from the upcast include 13th-century cooking-pot fragments, iron bloomery slag, a few nails and some ox bones, and these are probably domestic rubbish scattered around during period I.

In areas A and B, a thin stony layer (No. 3, sections S1 and S2) covers the upcast and suggests the former existence of stone buildings although these were not discovered. One 13th-century cooking-pot rim was found in this layer.

The massive trench, about 8 feet wide, which was found in three sections, stretching over 70 feet, appears to be a robbed wall trench, but is nevertheless a puzzling feature. The original wall could have been 3-4 feet in width and this has been completely robbed, there being no squared stones in the destruction layer or backfill. Layer 7 (Section S3) is undoubtedly mortar spill, to be associated with the building of a wall, and the lower level of this to the south of the trench suggests that the interior of the building lay on this side, this being confirmed by the appearance of the western end of the wall trench which suggested a southward turn.

PERIOD III

A thick stony destruction layer north and south of the robbed wall trench (layers 6 and 2 in areas A and B), together with the backfill in the trench (plate V), denotes thorough demolition of a stone building on this part of the site. A fairly large proportion of pottery was found in this layer; this contained forms of the 16th century, and also included some residual pottery of the late 13th century. A rowel spur (fig. 6) was found here. (The only other finds were a few nails and remains of pig and sheep/goat.) A residual coin of Constantine I was also present. An intrusive horse burial of recent date, with a lead bullet amongst the skeleton was found in area A.

A red-brown sandy loam layer with some charcoal (No. 1 in section S1) present in area A and in parts of area B appears to have been a levelling layer. This must have been derived from a further cutting of the moat sides, and probably accounts for the incurved western side of the mound where it also comes close to the end of the robbed wall trench. This layer contained the largest proportion of pottery, particularly of the 13th century cooking-pots. The latest finds were a sherd of Bellarmine ware and a fragment of clay tobacco pipe, dating this layer to the mid-17th century. Small finds were few, but the remains of an iron knife and a portion of bronze buckle were obtained, with a few nails. Bones of ox, horse, pig and sheep/

goat were discovered. The remaining feature (fig 2 and plate IV) was a stone floor with traces of walls in area B, lying on the levelling layer. This was only a few inches below the humus and is a comparatively late structure. Its function and precise date could not be ascertained.

THE POTTERY FINDS (fig. 5)

COARSE POTTERY. This consists of cooking-pots, the fabrics of which are nearly all identical, that is they are hard, grey and buff in colour and contain quartz grits. The rim forms may be described as everted, outcurved, and rolled-over. These forms and fabrics are found in the castles of South Wales and the Monmouthshire border country and also at Wallingstones nearby. (¹⁴)

PERIOD I (Deposited 13th century).

1. Rounded rim, with bevel, outcurved.

PERIOD II (Deposited late 13th century).

2. Everted rim.
3. Everted and rounded rim.
4. Slightly outcurved, rounded rim.
7. Outcurved, rounded rim.

PERIOD III (Deposited 16th century).

11. Slightly outcurved, rounded rim.
(Deposited mid-17th century).
5. Outcurved, rounded rim.
6. Rolled-over rim, with external bevel.
8. Heavy outcurved rim, with external bevel.
9. 10. Slightly outcurved, rounded rim.

GLAZED POTTERY

PERIOD III (Deposited 16th century).

12. Cup foot and side. Red, hard, fine-textured core with purple-black glaze applied externally and internally. 16th century.
13. Chafing dish base and portions of side. Red, hard surface and core, with a few grits. Mottled dark green and brown glaze, external and internal. Late 15th-early 16th century.
14. Thin sherd with red-brown sandy surface. External band of rouletted chevron decoration. Externally applied olive-green glaze. Late 13th-early 14th century.
15. Wide-flanged rim of bowl. Red-brown, hard surface and core.
16. Parrot-beak spout of jug. Red-brown surface and core. Thumbbed neck band and external olive-green glaze. Late 13th-early 14th century. As *Joze, Med. Arch. III* 1959, 160.
17. Flanged bowl rim and wall. Dark-brown, hard surface and core. Black glaze applied internally and on upper rim surface. Decorated rim.
(Deposited mid-17th century).

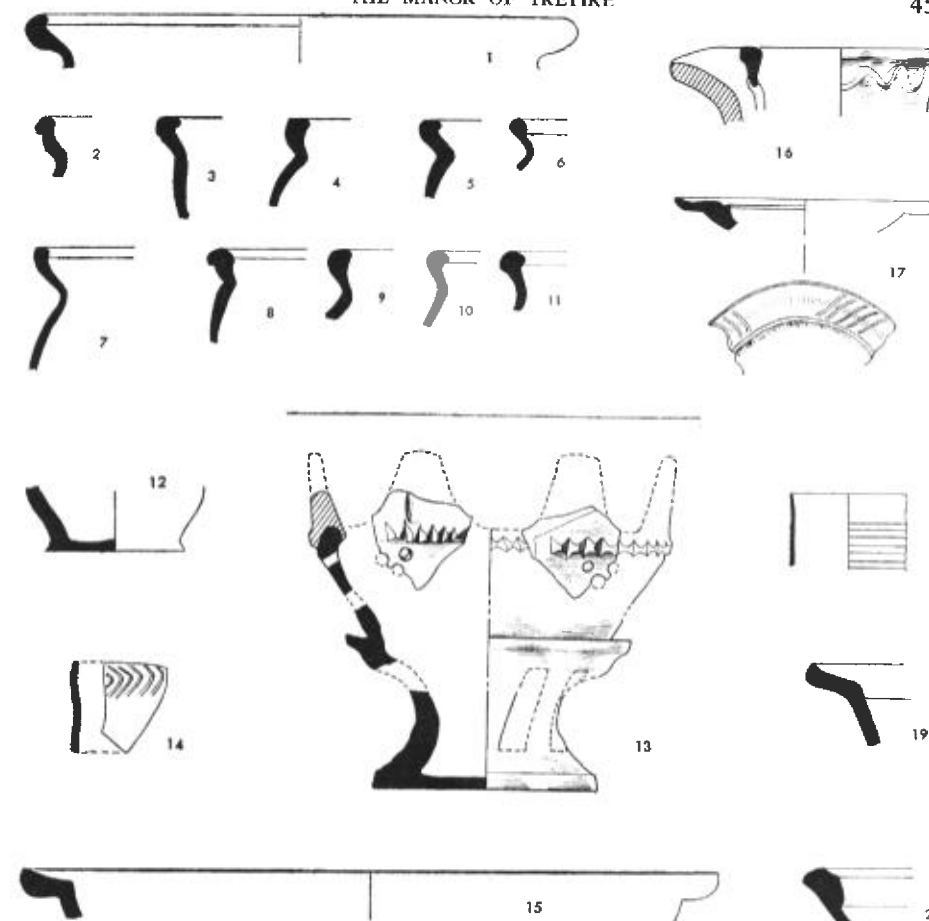


FIG. 5. Pottery (1/2).

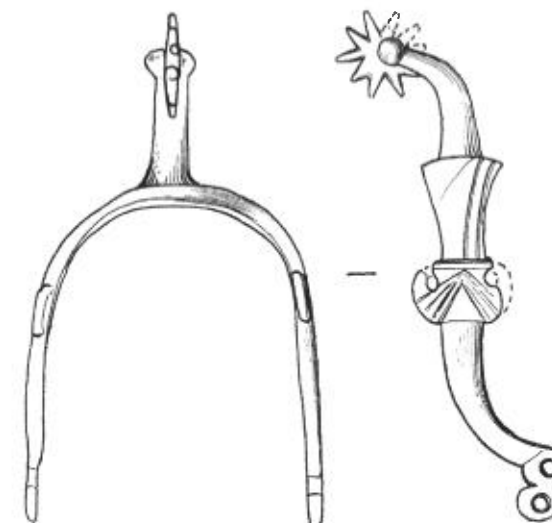


FIG. 6. Rowel Spur (1/2).

18. Wall of cup. Red-brown, thin-walled, sandy core. External ribbing, with heavy black glaze applied externally and internally. 17th century.
19. Wide-flanged bowl rim and side. Red-brown, hard surface and core. Traces of internal brown glaze.
20. Inturned bevelled bowl rim. Brown sandy surface and core.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS (fig. 6)

Iron rowel spur with double terminals and ten rowels. No similar specimens are to be found in the *Medieval Catalogue* (London Museum), so that the date could be any time between the first half of the 13th and the late 15th century. This was deposited in Period III—16th century, and is therefore residual material.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In spite of the limited nature of the excavation, it is reasonably certain that the first occupational period was one consisting of timber structures as at the lowest level there is no indication of demolished stone buildings. To this period belong the clay oven and the post hole, and it is dated by the 13th century pottery found in the period I layers. This phase, therefore, may be equated with the historical reference to ownership by Walter de Muchegros in A.D. 1211. An early timber phase has been found on other moated sites. ⁽¹⁵⁾

During period II the moat was dug, the upcast soil thus covering the period I occupational remains, and then stone buildings were erected. The suggested dating of the late 13th century for period II is consistent with the now accepted late date for the construction of moats. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Whilst the robbed wall trench presents problems of interpretation, the most consistent explanation is one involving a large stone building lying to the south of this trench, the wall of which represented the northern side of the building. Layer 3 seems to have been a crude stone floor lying outside the building. The dating of this phase is shown by the 13th-16th century pottery found in the later destruction material (period III) and the 13th century sherd in layer 3 itself. Thus the stone building phase may be envisaged as commencing in the late 13th century and continuing for over two centuries. The successor to Walter de Muchegros is not named in the reference dated 1264, but the stone building phase may well commence at this time. The lengthy occupation of the manor from now until the 16th century is certainly consistent with the archaeological evidence of a substantial stone building in this phase and here again the digging of moats which bury earlier structures has parallels on other sites. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The thorough destruction shown in period III, datable to the 16th century on pottery evidence, confirms the extensive nature of the stone structures of the previous phase. Additionally it may be noted that the rectory, built in the 16th century, ⁽¹⁷⁾ contains re-used stones.

After a lapse of about a century, a levelling of the site was undertaken, this being represented by layer 1, involving further cutting of the moat and the western side of the mound. It is in this layer that the largest number of finds were obtained,

thus confirming the previous lengthy occupation. The latest datable finds were of the mid-17th century. It is not clear, however, why layer 1 was spread over the northern elevated end of the mound, producing a small tump which has no doubt misled many antiquarians into naming the site a "Castle".

This levelling of the area may have been a preparation for the construction of the small building represented by the floor in area B. It may have been only a cattle shed, and its life could not be ascertained.

¹ The excavation was carried out by the Archenfield Archaeological Group on behalf of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, with the kind permission of the owner of the Guy's Estate, Mr. Charles Clore, and of the tenant farmer, Mr. Pursey. The specialist advice of J. G. Hurst, F.S.A., is gratefully acknowledged.

² The finds will be offered to the Hereford City Museum.

³ Information from local inhabitants.

⁴ Suggested by Mr. R. M. Humphreys.

⁵ Grid Reference SO 529244.

⁶ T. Wright, *Wanderings of an Antiquary* (1854), p. 16.

⁷ *Liber Ruber Scaccarii* (Rolls Series, Vol. ii, 602).

⁸ I.P.M. Vol. I, Hy. III, 606.

⁹ The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV.

¹⁰ I.P.M. Vol. III, Ed. I, 34.

¹¹ The suit was entered among the *Placita de Quo Warranto* of 20 Ed. I, ro. 34.

¹² Robinson's *Castles of Herefordshire*, p. 128.

¹³ Kindly identified by the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

¹⁴ Report forthcoming.

¹⁵ D. G. Hurst and J. G. Hurst, "Excavation of two moated sites. Milton, Hampshire, and Ashwell, Hertfordshire". *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* XXX (1967), 83.

¹⁶ *op. cit.* note 15.

¹⁷ The Revd. W. D. Barber, "Notes on Tretyre church and parish". *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1910), 138.

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Robert Harley and the Weobley By-Election of 1691 *

By R. G. SCHAFER

IN the seventeenth century the parliamentary borough of Weobley was, except at elections, a quiet place whose forty to seventy voters could generally be expected to elect to the House of Commons the two men pre-selected for them by the neighbouring larger landowners. Traditionally these patrons, no one of whom could claim predominance in the borough, had had relatively little difficulty in agreeing among themselves on whom to present to the electors. Once their nominations were made and the usual round of treating had taken place, the Weobley voters would normally proceed to ratify the selection offered them and then return to their usual quiescent state.

In 1691 however the established pattern was disrupted following the death on May 12 of Colonel John Birch, one of the borough's incumbent members, and one of Herefordshire's most distinguished residents. Before Birch's heir, who was also his nephew as well as his namesake and son-in-law, could secure the seat for himself, Paul Foley stepped forward to create an unwonted turmoil in place of the prevailing spirit of consensus. In thus disturbing the peace of Weobley Foley intended only to benefit his son, which he accomplished. In the doing, however, and more significantly, he created an opportunity for his nephew-in-law, Robert Harley, to establish himself as a vital force in county affairs.

Paul Foley of Stoke Edith, the disruptive outsider and unintentional benefactor of the young Harley, was one of Herefordshire's richer men who had been a member of parliament for Hereford from 1679 to 1685, and again since 1689, and who was anxious to bring his son Thomas into parliament with him. Having at the last general election been frustrated in his hopes of having his heir elected for Tregony when Robert Harley was selected for the place, Paul Foley, immediately upon hearing of the Weobley vacancy, declared his intention to support his son for it. Apparently he designed to forestall, among others, another Harley: either Robert's father, the venerable Sir Edward, or Robert's younger brother, Edward. However, Foley's unexpected initiative compounded the difficulties he would have met in any case in seeking to extend his influence into a territory long since claimed by the nearby gentry as their own jealously guarded sphere of influence.

In his haste then Foley precipitated a bitter struggle which, since the borough's already established patrons were strong enough to hold on, created a deadlock. Before this could be broken Foley found himself obliged to turn for help to the very people he had in fact sought to frustrate, the Harleys. But appealing to them must have been terribly difficult for him since, although he had a few years earlier established a kind of informal political alliance with Sir Edward, more recently this asso-

ciation had been put to considerable strain with Foley imputing to the elder Harley responsibility for his own recent disappointment at Tregony. ⁽¹⁾

However, when it became clear that Foley would need assistance in the Weobley election, he swallowed his pride and approached Robert Harley, like himself in London in the spring of 1691. Although Harley responded favourably to Foley's request for help, privately he complained to his father that "My opinion was asked after it was resolved on". He also pointed up the dilemma Foley's request put him in: "it will be very hard matter to give the young Gentleman advice that wil not displease the Father, mother, himself, or probably al three, yet not to doe it wil disoblige as bad". ⁽²⁾ Despite his resentment at having been thus belatedly called in only to help pull Foley's chestnuts out of the fire, Robert Harley rose to the challenge, even enlisting his father in the cause. Further, when in early June the election gave an unexpected majority to Birch, he set to work and by deft management through the summer and autumn of 1691 managed to bring about a compromise which, through the action of the Commons' Committee on Elections and Privileges, reversed the verdict of the polls, thus brilliantly salvaging Foley's position.

The importance of this incident is however greater than its being simply a case of Harley helping Foley to have his way. For by intervening in the affair Robert Harley gained invaluable experience in the art of political management; at the same time he was able to use the occasion to make himself the key figure in the now consolidated Foley-Harley connection. This latter he accomplished through having won the undying gratitude of the young Thomas Foley, and the reluctant admiration of his impetuous father. He further demonstrated to the interested, and watchful, magnates of Hereford his capacity as a "manager"—that is, as one who had the ability to reconcile competing factions in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of an apparently unresolvable conflict. Finally, he won the gratitude of the gentry who had remained neutral in the struggle, and whose chief desire was to have the county's peace maintained, an outcome which was perhaps the chief result of Harley's manoeuvring.

It was then on these factors: his own demonstrated capacity, his astute leadership of the Harley interest, the gratitude of the Foleys, and the approbation of many of the leading men of the county: that Robert Harley was hereafter to develop his increasingly important role in local affairs. More importantly, it was in some degree on the base of his mounting predominance in county politics that he was in the coming decade to build his peculiarly strong position on the national scene. Thus the local squabble at Weobley turns out to have marked a major stage in the series of developments by which the future Lord Treasurer was to launch himself on his spectacular path to greatness.

But in 1691 no one could foresee such an outcome. All that interested contemporaries could know was that the awkward situation at Weobley into which Foley had precipitated himself was complicated by a remarkable electoral arrangement. Basically, this was a scot and lot borough in which the right to vote was vested in

inhabitants of the ancient vote-houses of 20s *per annum value* and upwards, residing in the said houses forty days before the days of election, and paying scot and lot; and also in the owners of such ancient vote-houses, paying scot and lot, who shall be resident in such houses at the time of election. ⁽³⁾

Another complicating factor in Weobley's electoral process was the provision that the right of return was vested in two constables, ⁽⁴⁾ which had the awkward consequence that should these two fail to agree on who had won the election through differently evaluating the qualifications of the electors, each might certify his own return, leaving it to the House of Commons to determine the matter (as was to happen in this case, and again in 1699).

Thus for Foley's move into the borough to succeed he would need to buy the votes of a sufficient number of owners, or occupiers, of vote-houses to gain a majority, and he would also need to gain the support of at least one of the constables so as to have his candidate's name entered on a return. He set about the former task by consulting those gentlemen who already had an interest in the place, for example, J. D. Colt, and his father-in-law Captain Philip Booth; Robert Price of Foxley, the surviving incumbent; the former Sheriff, William Gregory; another citizen of the borough named Avenant. Since these were men who seemed likely to stir either to support Birch, or to put forward another candidate, his object was to try to win them over before they could commit themselves otherwise.

At this game of enlisting support young Thomas Foley, who had gone down to Herefordshire to handle matters at that end, proved maladroit. He succeeded not only in roiling his adversary, John Birch, but also in antagonizing the sitting member, Robert Price, offending both by his proposal that if Birch should desist in the present election, Foley would aid Birch next time, the object being for the two of them to unseat Price. ⁽⁵⁾ Since Birch refused this offer, and Price learned of it, it had the effect of sharpening the contention among the several factions.

Fortunately, not much time was given for these quarrels to develop, for the writ to hold the election within ten days was sent down on 28 May. Thereupon the rivals started their "treating", which lasted until the day of the election. On 5 June the votes were cast in an acrimonious atmosphere, with the two candidates dominating the polling booth where each bullied the other's supporters. When the day ended, it appeared that Birch had received a majority of the votes cast, claiming some 54 to Foley's 35. However, Foley had no intention of yielding, in his turn claiming that Birch had done a great deal of bribing (and denying that he had done any), and asserting that Birch had broken an agreement about the rules for ascertaining the qualifications of voters, thus allowing some non-qualified persons to be polled. ⁽⁶⁾ More importantly, Paul Foley's money had won over one of the constables, who proceeded to eliminate enough of Birch's voters (on the ground of lack of qualification) to leave Foley with the majority. On this basis Constable Mayrick submitted to the Sheriff a return certifying the election of Thomas Foley. Not to be outdone, Birch's supporters sent in their own return certifying the election of their candidate. When the Sheriff forwarded both returns to London the issue moved away from

the polling booth to be determined by the House of Commons, failing a private resolution resulting in the withdrawal of one of the two returns.

Although the Harleys had been involved in the matter almost from the start, they had not succeeded in their efforts to bring about a reconciliation before the election could take place. Heretofore their activities had mainly been directed by Sir Edward in Herefordshire, but henceforth they were to be managed by Robert Harley from London. The obvious strategy was to persuade Birch that he had little to gain in persisting, and much to lose, and thus to cause him to be the one to withdraw his petition. When this tack was tried on him, Birch proved to be stubborn. On June 20 he arrived in London, determined "not to desist from disputing it both now and hereafter". ⁽⁷⁾ A week later Harley was still "endeavoring a reconciliation" but his proposals were still being rejected, and he was lamenting that his "paines taken for many days prove fruitless". ⁽⁸⁾ The obduracy of the two contenders rested, in the case of Birch as he himself said, "upon ye Justness of his Cause and his Interest in ye Town", and in the case of Foley, as young Ned Harley wrote, "for ye present, upon his Father's Interest in the House, and for ye future upon his purs". ⁽⁹⁾

The issue dragged along through July and August, with rumours spreading that the Foleys had offered £100 to the Sheriff not to have forwarded the return with Birch's name, and when this move failed they were reported to have tried bringing pressure on the Speaker of the House himself. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Late in August Paul Foley, driven by rising concern over this damaging gossip and anxious to reach a settlement before the parliament should meet, made the decision to give the Harleys full power to act in his behalf in dealing with Birch. In reporting this to his father, Robert Harley warned of the need to be discreet, lest, in case of failure, they should have provided Birch with further material to strengthen his case before the Committee on Elections and Privileges. He also gave his opinion that "It is a very nice matter to handle, yet of great concerne to our poor country and ye public" and, he warned, Birch was likely to suffer should he persist in being stubborn. ⁽¹¹⁾

Having notified his father of what was to be done, Harley next composed a memorandum to guide Sir Edward in dealing with Birch. This took the form of a list of topics to be taken up verbally by Sir Edward, the memorandum serving as a kind of brief for him to follow in seeking to persuade Birch to desist. Presumably the product of Robert Harley's most considered judgment, it illustrates the breadth of matters he saw to be contained in the issue. It is dated "Sept. 8 1691", is headed "Memdm." and is as follows:

To send for Mr. B. [Birch] to Bramton
represent to him

The loss to ye public by want of a vote this Sessions.
because there are

Many other causes to be determined and the urgency of public affairs in
Parlmt wil hardly pmit.

The loss of a vote is more to be considered at this time when possibly things relating to ye being of ye nation may be debated.

Great charges of a parlmnt contest ought also to be considered, as wel as the uncertainty of determination there, tho the right be ever so clear.

Great advantage given by a division of those pretend to be of ye same side.

Al can hopd for on Mr. B. [Birch] side can amount at best to avoid election wch produces a new election, & new expence, & widening the Breach.

These are argumts proper to be urged to M. B. [Birch].

He may further consider the consequence of a breach, wth such a neighbor, wch wil have no visible end to ye feud.

If Mr. B. [Birch] hath it determined agst him in Pmt. he looses it for ever.

If for him he perpetuates charge, whereas qitting it this time in ye issue he may find it.

his best way to fix an interest there by a compliance this time.

Should Mr. F. [Foley] not prevail now that party for him wil set up some one yt wil divide Mr. B. [Birch] party. Capt. B. [Booth] could not forbear expressing his dislike of Both tho he appeared for Mr. B. [Birch]. Therefore on a new election wil be glad of a third man to turn them both out. Such an one had now been set up had not Mr. ff. [Foley] prevented it. Therefore Mr. B. ——— should not have stood to support that interest.

It can be advantage to him to secure his concernes if as he reports, he hath compounded it, if not his needing such an help wil be a prejudice to him in his cause. ⁽¹²⁾

On September 19 Robert Harley wrote both his father and Birch, to the former expressing his concern over Weobley, "a sore stumbling stone to both parties, if it cannot be compos'd". He then candidly told his father the gist of his message to Birch, which was a veiled threat followed by a vague promise. He had written to Birch, he reported, of "a matter (without an object) wch wil greatly concerne him, his lease hath a remarkable flaw—but I had rather make a blot than express the rest. There are some other trobles I foresee may affect him; there will be a vacancy where he may be brought in this sessions". ⁽¹³⁾

In his letter to Birch Harley was much more diffuse, and more disingenuous. He also certainly managed to convey a desire to establish a character for disinterestedness, for example denying that he had been authorized by Foley to intervene. He also alluded to having written to his father, delicately remarking that in that letter he had "mentioned some particulars or rather only hinted ym which I did suppose would incline you to relax yourself". However, since this had not happened, Harley now felt constrained to move directly to

assure you it was my own Motion and Intention to have served you both . . . I put my Self in your Case wth examination of all ye Circumstances on both Sides and doe seriously profess I think it is your Interest and may be made clear so to be before indifferent persons, to receive termes of accomodation and

this further may be observed ye Argumts you use in your paper, are equally strong for your Antagonist, pray will you seriously consider, it is now before you to make your future Life easy, and avoid those troubles. I doe with concerne for you forsee, I doe with all friendship speak plainly, your Case in yt burrough is different from other places, every one sees mony is ye only motive there, and I am verry fully persuaded a Stiffness in you at this time; will entail upon you when you ever stand again perpetual Charge wch ought well to be Considered as likewise ye Uneasiness and disturbance (to give it ye Softest termes a feud with so rich a Neighbour exposes to. do not Sir Immagine this to be only Bugbears, to frighten you into anything you are unwilling to doe, should you reject my Cordial and friendly advice. It is, next to a demonstration you will quickly be sensible of some inconveniences too great to be ballanced with any advantage you can have in view, I doe not Now speak at Random the blot is too plain not to be seen & hit. Mr. P. [Paul] ff [Foley] is fully I find persuaded of ye Justness of ye Cause and thereby fixdly resolved to uphold my Cosen and stand by him in this Affair; reflect a little upon ye hazard of a hearing in ye parliamt ye Charge of it yt. you are to Contest with a great Interest fix'd in ye. House and you without Doors. the best you can hope for't is to drink dear Ale another time after an expensive tryal heer . . . I am willing to think what I writt hath Weight in it because it makes impression upon My self. This further I will offer, you may I doubt not, by such a Compliance (or cal it what you please) as I can contrive, entitled your self to a beneficial and lasting friendship to a securer and Cheaper Interest at Weobly, to many other advantages sufficient to over ballance the Damages suggested by you, all these over and above ye inconveniencies I have truly represented to you, on ye other hand I will mention one think you need not despair Coming into ye House next Sessions upon these Considerations which in ye other Method is verry remote from probabillity . . . ⁽¹⁴⁾

It took another month, but Harley's odd mixture of persuasiveness, firmness, and hortatory fervour eventually carried the day. By a formal agreement dated 23 October, 1691, Robert Harley, on behalf of Thomas Foley, and in consideration of John Birch's withdrawing his petition and pursuing the Weobley cause no further, "Promise and engage that al possible means shal be used to procure the said Mr. Birch to be elected a member for the House of Comons during this present Session of parlmnt and in case the said endeavor shal not succeed the sum of two hundred & Sixty pounds shal be paid to the said Mr. Birch". ⁽¹⁵⁾

The next day Harley wrote his father "I have through mercy, wth much pains, composd the difference between Mr. Birch & Mr. Foley. I think both will have reason to be contented. I humbly beg your blessing . . ." On the back of the letter, as a postscript, is the terse warning "The agreemt with Mr. Birch is to be a great Secret". ⁽¹⁶⁾ Birch performed his part of the bargain, for on November 12 his counsel concurred with the Committee on Elections and Privileges in its determination that Foley was duly elected, whereupon the House of Commons proceeded to seat

Foley. (17) Whether Birch ever got his money is not shown in the Harley papers, but he does not seem to have been elected to parliament in this session. However, for everyone else the issue had a happy ending, for Paul Foley had his way, being enabled to bring his son into parliament; the peace of the county was secured; and Robert Harley, now typed as a successful manager, was well and truly started on what was to become one of the great political careers of the time.

*This account is mainly drawn from the Harley Papers in the Duke of Portland's collection, formerly at Welbeck Abbey but now on deposit in the British Museum. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Duke of Portland and to the Trustees and Staff of the British Museum for their grant of access to the papers, and to Mr. Michael Washo for his labour in verifying my quotations and checking my references against the originals in London.

¹ British Museum Loan Collection (the Duke of Portland's Papers from Welbeck Abbey, hereafter cited as B.M. Loan), 29/185, fol. 72, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 12 May, 1691. A comparison of these letters with the extracts printed in the Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report on the Papers of the Duke of Portland* shows that the H.M.C. transcripts are not always accurate and they certainly are not complete. This passage, for example, is not contained in the *Report*.

² *Ibid.*, fols. 72 and 81, same to same, 19 May, 1691, not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

³ Oldfield, T. H. B., *Complete History . . . of the Boroughs of Great Britain . . .* London (1805), VI, p. 308.

⁴ Carew, Thomas, *An Historical Account of the Rights of Elections . . .*, London, John Nourse (1755), pp. 219-20.

⁵ B.M. Loan, 29/185, fol. 85, Robert Price to Robert Harley, 22 May, 1691, not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

⁶ B.M. Loan 29/136, unbound letter from Thomas Foley to Sir Edward Harley, 9 June, 1691, not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

⁷ B.M. Loan 29/185, fol. 107, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 20 June, 1691, not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 112, same to same, 27 June, 1691.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 114, Edward Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 27 June, 1691; paraphrased in H.M.C. *Portland*, Vol. 3, p. 469.

¹⁰ B.M. Loan, 29/185, fol. 121, same to same, 2 July, 1691.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 176, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 8 September, 1691, in part reproduced in H.M.C. *Portland*, Vol. 3, p. 474.

¹² B.M. Loan, 29/185, fol. 178, Sept. 8, 1691; no signature, but presumably the enclosure referred to in a letter of 8 September from Robert Harley to his father; not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 186, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 19 September, 1691. Part of this letter is in the H.M.C. *Report*, Vol. 3, but with no indication that this section has been omitted.

¹⁴ B.M. Loan, 29/185, fol. 187, copy of the letter from Robert Harley to John Birch, 19 September, 1691, not in H.M.C. *Portland*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 220; p. 478 in H.M.C. *Portland*, Vol. 3; signed Robert Harley.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 224, Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, 24 October, 1691; p. 478 in H.M.C. *Portland*, Vol. 3.

¹⁷ *Journal of the House of Commons*, V. 10, p. 550.

Some Lichens from the Olchon Valley, Herefordshire

By R. H. BAILEY

HEREFORDSHIRE has received but slight attention in the revival of lichenological activity that followed the foundation of the British Lichen Society in 1958. Consequently the county's lichen flora is relatively little known and still presents a challenge to the field worker.

This paper lists some of the more interesting plants collected on two visits to the Olchon Valley in 1967 and 1968 as part of a larger study of Herefordshire lichens. The Olchon Valley lies on the county's border with Breconshire and Monmouthshire; the area studied extends approximately half a mile on each side of the Olchon Brook from national grid map reference SO 264351 in a direction roughly south-south-east to map reference SO 289316. In altitude the area ranges from 2,000 ft. to 800 ft. Within this area there is a wide range of vegetation types including strips of mixed woodland along the Olchon Brook and lesser streams; wet moorlands on the hill tops at both sides of the valley; both arable and grazing land and steep hill slopes usually dominated by bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*). All these plant communities provide habitats for lichens although the shade cast by bracken in the last reduces the lichen flora very much. Throughout the area boulders and outcrops of native rock are to be found—beds of the Lower Old Red Sandstone, Middle Devonian and Ditton Series (Eastwood, 1964). Fragments of the rock investigated in the laboratory suggest a neutral to slightly acid reaction. All unclosed areas in the valley and the surrounding hills are grazed by sheep which will have both direct and indirect effects upon the lichen vegetation.

A number of records from various habitats around Longtown Castle (map reference SO 320291) are also included.

Throughout the list and notes that follow nomenclature follows that of James (1965). An asterisk (*) indicates that a species or variety was not recorded for Herefordshire (Vice County 36) by Watson (1953) and that no subsequent published record has been traced. However, it is unlikely that some, even most, of these plants have not been collected in the county before although remaining unrecorded in the literature.

Numbers in parentheses are accession numbers of specimens retained in the author's herbarium.

**Cladonia chlorophaea* (Flörke ex Sommerf.) Spreng. Amongst mosses over sandstone (251) chiefly in damp hollows and beside ditches. This is one of the commonest "pixie cup" lichens, it was formerly considered a variety of *C. pyxidata* and probably many specimens lie in herbaria under that name.

**C. coccifera* (L.) Willd. On dry peaty soil below heather (269) infrequent on the hilltops.

**C. coniocraea* (Flörke) Spreng. Amongst moss around boulders and tree boles (250). Most common in strips of moist woodland.

**C. floerkeana* (Fr.) Sommerf. On peaty soil in open patches (268) usually associated with *Lecidea granulosa* (267).

**C. impexa* Harm. On peaty soil below heather (265), common in drier parts of the moorland.

**C. polydactyla* (Flörke) Spreng. On peaty soil (264) especially in damper places.

Lecanora conizaeoides Nyl. ex. Cromb. On decorticate wood (246), abundant; and occasional on hazel (300) and other trees, usually fertile. While a reasonably common plant in the area its relatively poor development, when compared with eastern parts of the county, would seem to indicate an absence of atmospheric pollution. This species is notable amongst lichens for its tolerance of polluted conditions. In the highlands of Scotland it is to be found only in areas with localized pollution e.g. the railway shunting yards at Aviemore (Laundon, 1958) and the centre of Inverness (in herb. Bailey No. 701).

**L. polytrapa* (Hoffm.) Rabenh. On sandstone (518) one plant only was found, growing with *Caloplaca ferruginea* (517).

**L. subcircinata* Nyl. On sandstone at 1,250 ft. (294) one plant only amongst *Parmelia* spp., *Candelariella vitellina* (297) and *Ochrolechia parella* (296).

**Lecidea albocaerulescens* (Wulf.) Ach. On sandstone boulders (526) not uncommon.

**Lepraria candelaris* (L.) Fr. In crevices of bark of ash (298); on one tree only and there very scarce.

**L. incana* (L.) Ach. In shaded crevices of bark on ash (242) and many other tree species, also on soil in cracks of walls. This plant was also found at Llanthony, V.C. 35 (Monmouth). It was not recorded for that vice county by Watson.

**Normandina pulchella* (Borr.) Nyl. Amongst bryophytes on ash (247), very scarce.

**Ochrolechia yasudae* Vain. On ash bole at roadside (515) with *Physcia* spp. This plant has only recently been recognized as a British species (Laundon, 1963) although first recorded for Britain by Laundon, 1958, as *O. subviridis*. It is proving to be a widely distributed plant usually found, as in the present instance, in nitrogen rich communities on tree boles.

**Parmelia subaurifera* Nyl. On bark of ash (244) not common and easily mistaken for *P. glabratula* which is abundant throughout the area in similar habitats (254).

P. sulcata T. Tayl. This very common lichen is seldom found fertile except in relatively unpolluted districts, it is therefore of interest to note a fertile specimen on elm (271) in the valley.

**P. tubulosa* (Schaer.) Bitt. On hazel (243) and alder (524). Generally common, probably overlooked in the past as a form of *P. physodes* of which it was formerly considered a variety.

**Pertusaria albescentis* var. *corallina* (Zahlbr.) Laund. On moss over sandstone (270). One small plant only was discovered. This plant is more usually found on bark and it seems most unlikely that it is absent from the valley in this habitat.

**Pertusaria amara* var. *flotowiana* (Flörke) Erichs. On sandstone at 1,250 feet (295). Much less common than the var. *amara* which is commonly dominant on the trunks of ash in the area (245).

**Physcia adscendens* (Th. Fr.) Oliv. em. Bitt. Amongst bryophytes on elm (259) abundant. A species not listed by Watson although records of *P. tenella* or *P. hispidula* could well have included *P. adscendens* in many instances. Wade (1960) does not, however, record this plant from V.C.36.

**Rhizocarpon obscuratum* var. *reductum* (Th. Fr.) Eitner. On sandstone boulders (527).

**Stenocybe septata* (Leight.) Massal. On old hollies (277). Easily overlooked growing amongst *Pertusaria amara*, *Graphis elegans* and *Thelotrema lepadinum*.

**Thelotrema lepadinum* (Ach.) Ach. On old hollies (255) abundant.

**Xanthoria aureola* (Ach.) Erichs. On nitrogen rich walls in sunny situations.

The following species of interest were noted around Longtown Castle:

Lecanora conizaeoides Nyl. ex Cromb. In far greater profusion than in the Olchon Valley, on wood and bark.

Lepraria incana (L.) Ach. On bole of ash.

Parmelia aspera Massal. On twigs of ash (257), previously recorded for V.C.36 but not a common plant.

Xanthoria aureola (Ach.) Erichs. On sandstone (248) with *Physcia tribacia* (258) and *Opegrapha saxicola* (262).

**Xanthoria polycarpa* (Hoffm.) Oliv. On twigs of ash (249).

In all sixty-three species were recorded from the sites visited, and the list is obviously not exhaustive*. Of these twenty-three are thought to be new vice county records.

The lichen flora of the Olchon Valley is shown to be varied and extremely rich in species. That air pollution is relatively slight is shown by the relatively poor development of *Lecanora conizaeoides* as well as by the presence of *Parmelia caperata*, *Normandina pulchella* and a rich variety of well developed foliose (leaf-like) and fruticose (shrubby) lichens which are normally amongst the first to be killed or retarded by atmospheric pollutants.

It is hoped that the publication of this note will stimulate further work upon the lichens of the county, where, so obviously, there is such considerable scope. The present author would be most grateful for reliable field records or specimens of Herefordshire lichens to aid in the compilation of the county's lichen flora. These should be accompanied by a note of the habitat, a six figure map reference and the name of the collector.

I would like to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Mr. A. E. Wade (Cardiff) and Mr. J. R. Laundon (British Museum) for determining or confirming several of the species listed.

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 *Nov., 1970. This figure has now been increased to over ninety.

The Flour Mills, Bath Street, Hereford and the work of John Venn, Vicar of St. Peter's

By F. C. MORGAN

Now (1968) that the appearance of Bath Street has been so radically changed it may be interesting to record the history of the flour mills therein that were once so important in charitable work in Hereford. Built largely through the instrumentality of John Venn, vicar of St. Peter's from 1832 to 1870, and a great philanthropist, the mill began work on 11th April, 1848. The engine and machinery drove three pairs of stones and were set in motion by Mr. Robinson, the principal of the firm who made them. The cost was raised by donations and mortgage, Mr. Venn himself advancing a considerable sum. The main object of the mill was to help the poor, wheat and meal being sold to them at cost price while the general public paid the market price. A charge of 8d. per bushel was made for grinding the corn the poor gleaned. The custom of gleanng was very important in providing food for cottagers until the very end of the nineteenth century. The writer well remembers villagers and their children walking to a corn field led by a boy blowing a small trumpet to tell others that they could take part in the work so much enjoyed. He had watched the field until the last sheaf had been gathered and then set off to spread the news that the field was open for gleanng. Did the harvesters manage to leave enough corn behind by accident to make the task worth-while? The women came back to the village laden and with perambulators full of spoil.

In 1851 the waste steam from the mill engine was used for heating water in the public baths (hence the name Bath Street) adjoining, and by 1856 the Society for aiding the industrious, founded in 1841, to whom the mill belonged, reported that the mortgage of £1,000 had been paid off and £500 given for a new boiler. By 1876 the mill made a profit of £1,000 annually—for charity.

The property was bought by the Hereford Flour Mills, Ltd., in 1948, and continued until 1959 under the management of Mr. J. R. Swales, who then retired. He began work at the mill in 1921, and became manager in 1936. During the last war the mill worked night and day for seven days a week to provide flour for half the county.

The property was next bought by Berrows Newspapers, Ltd., who largely rebuilt the premises and had an extensive printing business there. In 1966 the company bought the *Hereford Times* printing department and moved the headquarters of the jobbing department from Maylord Street to Worcester, but printed the paper in Bath Street. The loss of some large printing contracts has made it probable that the directors may decide to print the newspaper also at Worcester. (1)

The foundation of the flour mills was only one of many charities due to the influence of John Venn; the principal being the Society for Aiding the Industrious

already mentioned. Until 1967 a row of pig styes existed in Kyrle street (now the site of a car park) which were built for keeping cottagers' pigs. Contributions in money were also made to existing charities, and coal was sold at cost price all the year round. A soup kitchen in winter supplied soup at one penny a quart, allotments were founded and invalid chairs were on hire at a cheap rate. Venn was also responsible for the building of St. Peter's school, St. James' church, and other worthwhile enterprises.

John Venn had a great following of young and older people. There is an amusing account of a Hereford young man's tea party in *Marianne Thornton*, 1807-1887, by E. M. Forster (pp. 159-160). The Thorntons of Clapham were great friends of the Venns and Marianne came on a visit and went to the party. She describes the preparations and the vast quantity of decorations sent by the townsfolk, and said how "very frightful it was to see the number of young men's legs, dangling also amongst the beams, nailing them up." The decorations included two ships whirling up in the air, but these and others were "a nothing compared to a device of Prout, the schoolmaster, who had been labouring for months . . . on a scenic representation of a shipwreck, which Yapp⁽²⁾ didn't seem entirely to approve of, as being worldly, and I think savouring of stage plays, till I suggested calling it a missionary enterprise." The ship was made to roll to the sound of a fiddle and was then wrecked. When finished a little plaisterer exclaimed "Well if this is so beautiful, what can 'eaven be—that must be so much more beautiful—and what must that crown of glory be that Mr. Venn talks to us about so nicely!"

It was the custom for the Venns to keep away until tea time, and when at last John arrived he looked excessively happy and unconcerned. Altogether the tea must have been very enjoyable especially at a time when wireless and television were unknown.

The work of Venn is still carried on and in recent years two lots of almshouses have been built from money raised by the charity he founded. Those in Venn's Close in Bath Street and others in Friars Street bear witness to his benevolence.

John Venn was buried in St. Peter's churchyard, in the street now mis-called Commercial street (it was originally *Bye street without the gate*) and after some years of neglect and damage, the railings around his grave have been repaired and painted, thus commemorating a man who had great influence for good in Hereford.

¹ Since the above was written the *Hereford Times* has been printed at Hylton Road, Worcester.

² Yapp was probably Samuel Yapp, Clerk at St Peter's, Depot for the Society of Christian Knowledge, Bye Street.

Note on certain pre-Domesday estates East of Leominster

By LORD RENNELL OF RODD

MR. STANFORD in his very interesting and important investigation of a deserted medieval village at Hampton Wafer (or Wafre) states⁽¹⁾ that the only reference known to him for the period prior to the Norman Conquest is in the Domesday record.⁽²⁾ But in a paper under the title "The Land of Lene", written for and published in the Festschrift presented to Sir Cyril Fox, I sought to disentangle the early manorial topography of the area in which Hampton Wafer lies together with other Hamptons to which the reader is referred.⁽³⁾ While the whole of the arguments and identifications presented in that paper cannot be gone into here, there are a few points which seem to be worth bringing out in the context of what Mr. Stanford has written.

Round about 660 Merewald, the ruler of the Magonsaetan, founded the religious houses of Leominster and Much Wenlock for both monks and nuns, and endowed them with considerable lands. The Magonsaetan land can be identified with Magana, a name which survives as Maund at several places in the area south of Leominster and north-east of Hereford. Merewald's domains extended north to include the territory of the Hwiccae as far as Corve Dale and Wenlock. Merewald has been described as a son of Penda, which Stenton doubts, but accepts that he made his sister, St. Milburga, Abbess of the combined religious houses of Wenlock as well as appointing an Abbess to the similar joint Leominster foundation. Penda and his sons and Merewald seem to have been on friendly terms with the Welsh to the west of the Lugg valley which is a natural boundary between the high land up to 800 ft. quite near the river, and the fertile but wet land along and west of the river itself. A little east of the Lugg river valley ran a Roman road from south of Stretton Grandison to just east of Leominster directed towards Ludlow.⁽⁴⁾ The high ground to the east and a Roman road on that high ground above the swamps of the Lugg constitute an effective natural defensible frontier with good north-south communications. The choice of Leominster for so important a religious foundation as to have houses for monks and nuns, its geographical situation and its religious associations makes reasonable the conjecture that this was the seat of government of the 'principality' of Magana of Merewald within the Mercian confederation even if he was not a direct descendant of Penda, King of Mercia, 632-654. In spite of the great endowments of the Leominster foundation, Merewald and his descendants remained the titular holders of a large number of estates in the area of the Leominster settlement when it was later consolidated into Mercia.

Penda's and Merewald's reasonably amicable relations with the Welsh did not continue long and raiding from the west began on a considerable scale in the latter part of the 7th Century and notably during the reign of Coelred, 709-716. Never-

theless during the quiescent period it is probable that there had began an infiltration of Mercians from east of the Leominster line into what became known as the Land of Lene, or the 'lands of the rivers', as far west as Lyonshall and as described in my paper. ⁽²⁾ The lower lands (250-300 ft.) of Lene must have had obvious attractions for the inhabitants of settlements at 700-800 ft. like Hampton Wafer and no doubt several other similar 'tuns' in that area.

With respect to the authority quoted by Mr. Stanford ⁽³⁾ on the quality of the land east of Leominster, there is a great deal of marginal land in and around the high 'tuns' of the parishes surrounding Hampton Wafer—marginal because of both the steep slopes and heavy soil. An authority known to me and with whom I, as a farmer, agree said briefly that in addition to the fact that this land on account of elevation is fully a week later agriculturally than the Land of Lene, that is of the Arrow and Lugg plains west of Leominster, there is no sort of comparison in agricultural quality of the former with the latter.

It is to such a movement that can be ascribed the building of the 'cross valley' dyke north and south of Staunton on Arrow which I have shown elsewhere ⁽⁴⁾ was a defensive work facing *east* to protect the country in the west from incursions up the Arrow Valley. It is then to this period, until Offa made his arrangements with the Welsh and consolidated his Mercian boundary by his Dyke, that a decline in importance of 'tuns' like the Hampton Wafer village could be ascribed. Be it also noted that Offa managed to extend the western boundary of Mercian lands well west of the Lugg line as far as Lyonshall. ⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless even after Offa's settlement raiding by the Welsh resumed culminating in Swein Goodwin's counter raid of 1046 when he incidentally destroyed the Wenlock Foundation and carried off the Abbess. It seems also in this year that the nuns' house at Leominster was dissolved. ⁽⁶⁾ The Herefordshire and Shropshire border in the words of Dr. Finberg was evidently "no place for nuns". ⁽⁷⁾ What befell the Abbess of Wenlock does not concern the subject of this note but what happened to the Abbess of Leominster is material.

The Domesday survey records, as Mr. Stanford quotes, that Roger de Laci held a 'Hantone' adequately identified as Hampton Wafer and adds just below that he also held another 'Hantone', and Gilbert (of Bakinton) of him, which has been identified as Hampton Court in the parish of Hope under Dinmore where he also held Newton, again near Hope under Dinmore. In an entry next above the Hantone = Hampton Wafer, the survey states that "the Abbess" of Leominster holds Fencote and held it TRE whereas Hampton Wafer and Newton were held TRE by one Bruning evidently a Saxon. But Roger de Laci in contrast with the Abbess was a post Conquest grantee. There is authority for the dissolution of the nuns' convent at Leominster in 1046 which may well also be the date of the grant of Fencote to the Abbess, and indeed the time when the vast holdings of the Leominster foundation underwent considerable changes of tenure. Both Fencote and Hampton Wafer figure in the Domesday list of 'terrae' which "jacebant ad Leofminstre" TRE. Certain other manors not in this catalogue are further described as "et consuetudinam

reddebant" to Leominster thus distinguishing them from the long list of manors held otherwise by Queen Edith as one of the largest landed estates in England. ⁽¹¹⁾ Her manorial holding in due course became forfeit to King William. While we do not know when Queen Edith became seized of her holdings, nor do we know when those manors which "jacebant ad" and "consuetudinam reddebant" to the Leominster foundation became detached but still associated with the holdings of Queen Edith, a probable date is, again, 1046. What, however, is of interest is that whereas Fencote was held "free by the Abbess" in Domesday and had so been held by her TRE, Hampton Wafer which had been held by the Saxon Bruning was granted to Roger de Laci. It looks as if between 1066 and 1086 the Abbess' holding at Fencote was left in her hands as a quasi religious grant, or compensation for the loss of her cure.

The topography of the area is interesting but also complicated by the number of Hampton place names:—

Hampton Wafer — parish

New Hampton — parish

Hampton Charles — parish

Uphampton 'Camp' and Farm in Docklow parish

Hampton Court in Hope under Dinmore parish

Topographically the derivation of these Hampton place names, except Hampton Court, in the Domesday variant of 'Hantone', which seems most appropriate is Ekwalls No. 3 etymology, that is from O.E. Hēa-tūn (dative Hēa-tūne=High tun) ⁽¹²⁾ as exemplified in Hampton Wafer. All, except Hampton Court, lie roughly on the high land within a right-angle triangle which includes the parishes of Grendon Bishop, Docklow, and Hatfield of $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 5$ miles. The two last named parishes derive from O.E. "hill where docks grow", and the "field (or heath) of open land". These place names are entirely appropriate to this area. The boundaries of the two small Hampton parishes with Hatfield to the north of them and Docklow and Puddlestone to the west are intensely tortuous and interlocked. ⁽¹³⁾ A lot of the land today is what would be described in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries returns as "grazing or rough grazing" and not suitable for arable production. The whole picture suggests that there was once an original manor of Hatfield, perhaps including also Grendon Bishop in the south east corner of the triangle from which the various high tuns were split off and gave their names to the later manors and present parishes.

Two matters remain to be discussed as having a bearing on the history of this area. The first is the problem of Fencote which was a manor TRE and TRW but has not survived as a parish today. The "Fencote Abbey" on the O.S. maps is a large farm steading just within the parish of Hatfield and near the parish of Hampton Charles. There are no obvious remains of great antiquity at the steading. The second matter is that less than two miles west by south of Fencote is a site, shown on the O.S. maps as "Ford Abbey". It lies north and north west of "Uphampton Farm" and "Uphampton Camp"; all these names are written in Gothic script to

denote antiquity. The last two lie just in Docklow parish. The "Ford Abbey" site is recorded in R.C.H.M. as "Ford Abbey House", c. 1500.⁽¹⁴⁾ The house and farm buildings are old with re-used stone but show no clear evidence of ecclesiastical use. I have been unable to trace any reference to a Ford 'Abbey' in any source available to me, whether hereabouts or at Fencote.⁽¹⁵⁾ It is difficult to justify the use of the description 'Abbey' at Fencote otherwise than that it may represent a corruption of some name like "Fencote (of the) Abbess" on the analogy of such other local place names like Stoke Prior and Stoke Canon, King's Pyon and Canon Pyon, etc., and thus to conclude that the Abbess' church was more likely to be found in Puddlestone hamlet about 1 mile north of Ford Abbey House: the possible Anglo-Saxon date of the west end tower of Puddlestone Church is anyway significant as an early ecclesiastical entity in the area.

The extreme complexity of the present day parish boundaries could well have been caused immediately by the disappearance of a Fencote manor and the absorption of some of its lands into neighbouring estates. I can in this area generally trace no topographical justification for the existing complex parish boundaries except as a result of the break-up of a major land division, as it might be Hatfield, coupled with the disappearance of the Fencote manor. Such a break-up and fragmentation could thus well have led to the creation of the small local manor holdings like Hampton Wafer, Hampton Charles, New Hampton and the detached part of Docklow parish, etc., and related to local 'tun' settlements. But all this, it must be emphasised, is pure conjecture for which there is no direct recorded evidence. The existence of the medieval settlement at Hampton Wafer and the other Hampton names do suggest one area of numerous other local tuns which it would be interesting to find and investigate. The only exception to this general conjecture is Hampton Court in Hope-under-Dinmore which is not on high land but associated with the tenure of Newton and that of Hantone by Bruning and Roger de Laci both of whom also held high lying manors of Hampton. When the breakdown of the larger land divisions like Hatfield took place they were so reduced in size and importance that by comparison Hampton 'Court' as it was later known bulked relatively much larger in people's minds and took over priority as a centre of manorial importance as shown in the later history of Hampton Court and as adequately described by Mr. Stanford: and may I here add that I find myself in cordial agreement with Miss Jancey's suggestion, which he quotes, that the fate of these settlements may be closely related to the fortunes and interests of the Lords of the Manors.⁽¹⁶⁾

The dating of the decline of such 'tuns' as Hampton Wafer is in my view to be ascribed as beginning in the reign of Penda and his successors including Merewald in Magana, say during the second half of the 7th Century. The growth of Mercian influence in the Land of Lene is attested by the siting of Offa's Dyke as far west hereabouts as Lyonshall and the bare survival by Domesday of the Lene place name (of Welsh origin) in the solitary reference to a 'hundred' of Lene containing one manor called Lene. In fact this solitary mention of a hundred, so called, seems to have been a slip of the surveyors because no hundred of Lene appears in the terri-

torial organisation of North-West Herefordshire thereafter. The decline of 'tuns' as high sited medieval villages no doubt continued gradually for some time both as a consequence of the manorial importance of the Norman grantees further west and associated with the decline of the fortunes of Leominster itself after the troublesome sequence of disasters which overtook the great religious foundations of Merewald coupled with the growth and importance of Hereford City both militarily and ecclesiastically. I do not think that the chronological sequences in recorded history of the land immediately east of Leominster and the lower Lugg valley can, much after the 7th century, be considered without reference to the development of the Land of Lene, the fertile lower land of the two rivers Arrow and Lugg.⁽¹⁷⁾

¹ S. C. Stanford, 'The Deserted Medieval Village of Hampton Wafer', *Transactions Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club. Vol. XXXIX* (1967), p. 89.

² cf Balliol text of the Herefordshire survey *Publications of Pipe Roll Soc., Vol. XXV* (New Series) (1947/8).

³ *Culture and Environment* (1965).

⁴ I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads, Vol. II* Routes 610 and 613.

⁵ These holdings are discussed in detail in Lord Rennell, 'Land of Lene', *Culture and Environment* (1965).

⁶ S. C. Stanford, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁷ *Rad. Soc. Trans., Vol. XXX* (1960), p. 31.

⁸ cf Lord Rennell, *Valley on the March* (1958), Chaps. II and III and 'Land of Lene', *op. cit.*

⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales*, p. 69.

¹⁰ Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands* (1961).

¹¹ Examined in some detail in 'Land of Lene', *op. cit.*

¹² Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1946), and Bannister, *Place-Names of Herefordshire* (1916).

¹³ An adequate parish boundary map is given by Stanford, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁴ R.C.H.M. *Herefordshire, Vol. III* (1934), pp. 169-170.

¹⁵ There is another "Ford", a small parish 2 miles south by east of Leominster. It contained a chapelry dependent on Leominster Priory. cf R.C.H.M. *Herefordshire, Vol. III* (1934), p. 63.

¹⁶ S. C. Stanford, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁷ The reader is particularly referred to the R. W. D. Fenn, 'Early Christianity in Radnorshire', *Rad. Soc. Trans. Vols. XXXVII* (1967) and XXXVIII (1968) for contact between Mercia and the Celtic West.

Note on the Bishop's Palace at Sugwas

By F. C. MORGAN

LATE VI shows what is probably the only known remains of the palace of the Bishops of Hereford built at Sugwas in the 13th century. This was demolished at the end of the 18th century, but Mr. Thomas Hawkins of Sugwas Court about 1840 saved this carving and took it with him when he moved. It eventually passed to Mrs. Norah Hawkins (now about 90) who has just given it to her niece Mrs. Morgan Jones of Sugwas Farm, Swainshill, as she thought it should be returned to Herefordshire.

There is little doubt that the carving came from the chapel in the palace at Sugwas and was one of a series of stops attached to the ends of the timbers of the roof. A description of the chapel printed from Blount's MS. is in Duncumb's *History of Herefordshire*—Grimsworth Hundred, p. 164.

Mr. Marshall's article in the *Woolhope Transactions* for 1921-23, p. 118, on 'Notes on the Manor of Sugwas' also refers to Blount's description and mentions a drawing in the MS. Unfortunately the whereabouts of this MS. is unknown as it was sold by auction a few years ago.

The carving measures 17 inches in height and is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. It has a hollowed out back and is in an excellent state of preservation.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1969

By R. SHOESMITH

Excavations

NEOLITHIC

Dorstone Hill (SO 326423). Excavations have continued on the northern edge of the field and last year's trench has been extended. It is now possible to postulate 5 periods of occupation on the site. Above slight signs of a ditch and bank there are two fires and two occupational layers in the area excavated, with a further occupational surface after the bank had been removed. A series of 120 stake holes and 3 post holes make it likely that there are two huts on the same area. Some 70-100 pieces of flint have been found, but only a few of these were worked.

W. R. Pye.

BRONZE AGE

Cothill Mound, Turnastone (SO 338364). Two days' work on this site by members of the Archaeological Research Section, after reports of damage, has suggested that this is a burial mound of the Middle Bronze Age. An outer ditch surrounds a mound some 12 feet high. There is a central flat depression some 3 feet below the highest point and two large stones (one 10 feet by 4 feet) are visible on the lower part of the outer northern slope.

IRON AGE

Midsummer Hill Camp (SO 760375). Further work on the southern gateway indicates that there were two phases of stone guard-rooms, very badly robbed, following the use of timber guard-rooms. The interpretation of a temporary closure before the latter has now been dropped so that there would seem at least to be seventeen phases of gate construction. An extensive excavation on the eastern hill of the camp indicates that even the gentle slopes were terraced for buildings and present indications are that these were rectangular and of both post and sleeper beam construction. This part of the excavation remains to be completed next season but it is quite clear already that there was intensive and continuous use of all the available land so that Midsummer camp may be seen to fall quite clearly into the Herefordshire pattern established at sites like Croft Ambrey and Credenhill.

The excavation was directed by Mr. S. C. Stanford, University of Birmingham, on behalf of the Malvern Hills Archaeological Committee.

ROMAN

Huntsham (SO 565175). In 1965, the southern wing of the main villa was completed. This consisted of nine rooms, and the evidence from coins and pottery

suggest five periods ranging from the late second to the late fourth centuries. The work this season has been to examine the eastern end of the villa, and it is fairly certain that this is leading to a northern wing, which should yield the true courtyard type of villa. At the time of writing, only half the season's work has been completed.

This year also, has seen the investigation of the precinct wall, one side of which is about 200 feet long, which obviously surrounds both the main villa and the 3rd to 4th century cottage house, excavated in 1964. This wall is a free-standing one and contains a gateway in the length examined.

The excavation was directed by Mr. N. P. Bridgewater for the Archenfield Excavation Group.

MEDIEVAL

Hereford Castle (SO 512397). Excavations were carried out on the approximate site of the junction of the keep ditch and the bailey. The earliest period found consisted of a massive, drystone, masonry foundation at the edge of the ditch, with coarse cooking pot and glazed Ham Green type ware. This could possibly be foundations for the abutment of a bridge some time after 1250.

A later wall, incorporating some building mouldings of the fourteenth century, overlay the earliest period and would seem to be seventeenth century. After some robbing of this wall, the whole area was filled quite rapidly with an accumulation of soil and rubble which seems to tie well with the final destruction of the castle in 1661. Above this level were some two feet of post seventeenth century accumulations.

The excavation was directed by Mr. P. Leach for Hereford City Excavations Committee.

Bredwardine (SO 336440). Recent examination suggested a substantial probably medieval site in addition to the two scheduled areas ('Bredwardine Castle', SO 335444 and 'Old Court Mound', SO 336448). It was decided to investigate this larger area in an effort to discover its function and date, and its relation to the scheduled areas. A contour survey was made of the site and a small exploratory area opened. Three main periods of occupation were found, the earliest consisting of the completely robbed foundation trench of an early stone and mortar building. The main period of occupation, which was presumably a farm complex of the 14th century, provided a reasonable collection of sandy red wares with varieties of green glazing, strap handles and thumb bases. Many fragments of ridge tile were found with both moulded and cut crests. After some period of disuse, a large shallow pit was cut through the debris. The usage was uncertain, but within the part excavated were the remains of two fires and a pile of crushed limestone or tufa.

R. Shoesmith.

Other Reports

ROMAN ROADS

Kings Caple Area (SO 562289). Work has been concentrated on the deep salient formed by the loop in the River Wye around Kings Caple. The straight road alignment from the cross roads at Kings Caple across the Red Rail Ford to the Llanfrother-Kynaston Road was examined and sectioned on the Kings Caple side. This revealed a tightly-compacted, 20 feet wide, slightly cambered road of river boulders. At one point slabs of dressed limestone were used as a northern curb. Finds suggested that this road and presumably the ford, continued in use until the present Hoarwithy bridge was built.

L. P. Moore & M. B. Hale.

Archaeological Research Section Report for 1969

THE group now has a membership of over 60 and has a comprehensive series of lectures and field meetings each year. The group Newsletter continues to be issued regularly, and now has contributions from both the Old Buildings Recording Group and the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group. Together with reports on recent excavations in the County, and research carried out at field meetings, we now ensure that our members receive news of topical items as soon as possible.

Last winter, indoor meetings included reports from the sectional correspondents, work on the 6 inch maps of the county and a talk by the secretary on his visit to the Persian Gulf.

The Annual Meeting was held in June, when it was agreed that, in future, the subscription year would conform with the calendar year so as to follow the same system operated by the parent body. The following officers were thus elected for an eighteen month period:

Chairman: Mrs. J. O'Donnell

Secretary: Mr. R. Shoesmith

Treasurer: Mr. L. Skelton

Joint Meetings Secretaries: Mr. J. G. Calderbank and Mr. W. R. Pye

Committee Members: Mr. A. R. Greenhill, Mr. P. Leach and Miss R. Hickling. The meeting was followed by an interesting, illustrated lecture by Mr. Jeremy Knight on 'The Archaeological Aspects of the Saxon Church'.

Field Meetings were reasonably well attended during the year, and the group has continued its policy of ensuring that these meetings involve some research or recording on the part of its members. During Easter 1969, Cothill Mound at Turnastone, which had suffered some recent damage, was examined and planned, and two meetings were arranged during the summer to examine and plan the surviving remains of Rowland Vaughan's Waterworks in the same area. Later in the year the group started a survey of the aqueducts, tunnels and works of the disused canal which ran from Leominster towards Stourport.

'Hereford City Museum' 'Archaeological Report, 1969'

By P. J. LEACH

ACCESSIONS

- 9019/1 Gold earring from a 2nd century A.D. Roman tomb near Limassol, Cyprus. (1)
- 9019/2 Roman gold finger ring, 1st century A.D. from a tomb on Cape Gaze, Limassol, Cyprus. (2)
- 9089 Weathered sherds of coarse, quartz-gritted, black and orange pottery. Found in an area of tree clearance outside the hillfort on Chase Hill, Ross-on-Wye. N.G.R. 601222. (See RECORDED FINDS below.)
- 9152 Thumb scraper of Neolithic type, found with other flint flakes on Common Hill Fownhope.
- 9196 Polished Neolithic stone axe head with the butt snapped off. Composed of a fine, pale grey volcanic tuff with a blue-grey core. Ploughed up near Abbeydore. N.G.R. 392318.
- 9197 Part of an iron horseshoe found on the Roman road near Abbeydore. Identified by the British Museum as being probably 4th-6th century A.D.
- 9261 Flint implements including arrowheads, scrapers, blades and burins, found with numerous flakes. The majority are of Neolithic type but a handful of blades have Mesolithic characteristics. From ploughed fields near Gamage Farm, Much Marcle. N.G.R. 649311 and 649308.
- 9263 Silver penny of William I (1066-87). Minted at Hereford by the moneyer IEGELPINE. Originally from the Beauworth Hoard, deposited c. 1087. Seaby no. 708.

RECORDED FINDS

- 1 Roman gold aureus of the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.). Plate VII a & b.
obverse TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AUG. F. AUGUSTUS. Bust right.
reverse PONTIF. MAXIM. Livia seated right.
 Minted at Rome, weight 7.5 gms.
 Found at Thinghill; Withington NGR. 555451. The Museum has an electrotype of this coin, the original remaining in the finder's possession.
- 2 Once again Iron Age Dobunnian coinage has come to light in the county (3)
 The first coin is a gold stater in good condition, weight 5.5 gms. Plate VIII a & b.
Obverse Branched emblem resembling a degraded ear of corn.
reverse Disjointed triple tailed horse to the right with a wheel below;

CORIO inscribed above, preceded by a crescent, pellets and small crosses in the field.

This new CORIO stater is very similar to that found in 1968 at Stretford Bridge. This latest discovery was made in a field adjoining the Roman road at Whitestones, Withington. N.G.R. 567420. It may be of some significance that both gold staters and other recent coin finds all have Roman associations. No native coinage is at present known from the Herefordshire hill-forts, and the appearance of this currency in the Marches is likely to be a post conquest development, if not following the later occupation of this region. The continued use of native coinage is attested up to the early 2nd century A.D. The second coin is an uninscribed silvered copper Dobunnian issue, of a fairly well known type.

obverse Face to the right, with a pupil, raised crescents representing the hair and pellets marking the forehead.

reverse Three petalled flower and stem beneath a horse prancing left.

In fair condition, this coin is from Ariconium, where a number of similar types have been found. The museum have an electrotype copy, the original being in the finder's possession.

- 3 Recent tree clearance and ploughing on Chase Hill, Ross-on-Wye has brought to light archaeological material. From the ploughed fields within the hillfort has come a considerable flint industry. The finished implements are Neolithic in character and include scrapers, blades, burins and a lozenge shaped arrowhead. A microlith battered back blade of Mesolithic type is also recorded.

From the cleared woodland immediately to the west of the hillfort ramparts has come a fair quantity of coarse pottery sherds (ACCESSIONS no. 9089). Sherds of this type occur over an acre or more outside the hillfort and as a thinner scatter, including finer ware, within the ploughed interior. The pottery is apparently Iron Age, possibly representing some pre-hillfort occupation. Also from the woodland has come a blue glass bead similar to examples from Croft Ambrey. A later find is a worn Roman bronze coin of 3rd or 4th century date.

- 4 Romano-British pottery, plaster and tile fragments are reported from a field to the north of Old Sufton, Mordiford. N.G.R. 577386.

¹ *British Museum Jewellery Catalogue* LIII, No. 2509, and *Birmingham Museum Jewellery Catalogue*, No. 80.

² *British Museum Catalogue of Rings*, No. 966, and *Birmingham Museum Jewellery Catalogue*, No. 150.

³ 'Museum Report 1968' *Transactions Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XV (1968), p. 189.

Buildings, 1969

By J. W. TONKIN

ONCE again the Old Buildings Research Group has had a fruitful year and owes much to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. We are always glad to welcome new members. During the year copies of 36 plans and elevations have been deposited at the National Buildings Record of the R.C.H.M. and at the County Record Office. Thanks are due to all members of the group and to all those householders who have so kindly allowed us to roam their houses during the year.

HEREFORD

CANON'S HOUSE, ST. JOHN'S STREET. SO 511398 (R.C.H.M. 102)

In alterations carried out earlier this year a doorway with a four-centred head bearing quatrefoil and stylised leaf ornaments was found. This was situated at the end of the hall against the cross-wing and must have been the entrance to the original cross-passage of the 15th-century house.

BRILLEY

WERN. SO 242487 (R.C.H.M. 28)

An examination of this house before re-roofing revealed a very interesting building indeed. The four-bay cruck house recorded in R.C.H.M. appears to have been a two-bay hall with a two-storey bay at each end. In the hall were three tiers of cusped wind-braces and there was quatrefoil and trefoil ornament.

The "cross-wing" recorded in R.C.H.M. is a puzzle. It has a fine medieval roof of entirely different construction from the main house and quite possibly earlier. It is hoped to do a detailed study of this house in 1970.

BRIMFIELD

CROFT FARM. SO 519677 (R.C.H.M. 10)

Opposite the house is a jettied barn. There is no evidence of it ever having been a house and it is of similar workmanship to the central part of the house across the yard. The latter's jettying at the southern end has been lost in an addition probably of the late 17th-century. At the southern end of the barn is an added room for a cider-press and mill.

LOWER DRAYTON. SO 533674

This fine stone house now empty and used as a store has 15th, 17th and 18th-century work. It seems to have been a two-bay cruck-hall with a two-storey bay at one end and a cross-wing at the other. The latter was raised and extended at

the end of the 17th century while at the other end an extension was made which at some time has been used for hop kilns. Part of the wing extensions is in brick.

There is a square brick dovecote of c. 1700.

POWIS CASTLE. SO 529669

A small two-room plan, 17th-century, timber-framed cottage later fronted in brick, probably about the turn of the 18th century. The rooms are about 11 ft. square and 11 ft. x 6 ft. It is now being restored.

BROMYARD

A day with the Bromyard Historical Society, a Woolhope club field meeting and a visit with Mr. and Mrs. Perry have proved very fruitful in this town during the year. A more detailed survey needs doing, but a few of the more important features are mentioned below.

HIGH STREET: WILLIAMS' SHOP. SO 655546 (R.C.H.M. 9)

The front room of this is an addition at a lower level and presumably marks the old street line. It would seem that the side walls of the shop are of stone the gables being timber-framed.

MARKET SQUARE: HOUSE WEST OF COUNTY LIBRARY. SO 656546

This building is interesting in having its front rooms parallel to the street, at right-angles to the remainder of the house giving a great chamber on the first-floor, a typical town-house plan. In its present form it seems to date from the early 17th century.

MARKET SQUARE: COUNTY LIBRARY. SO 656546

A double-fronted, jettied house with ogee mouldings and small, curved braces in the panels of the timber-framing which has been recently exposed. It is probably early 17th century.

MARKET SQUARE: No. 4. SO 656546 (R.C.H.M. 18)

This house also has its front roof parallel to the street and at right-angles to the back.

CHURCH STREET: HOUSE NEXT TO POST OFFICE. SO 657547

In spite of its 19th-century front this temporary 'bus-shelter' (1969) has ovolo-moulded beams and is probably mid-17th century.

Other houses along the street also appear to be timber-framed encased in brick at a later date.

CHURCH STREET: OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL. S.O. 657548.

No positive evidence of the medieval building remains. The roof of collar and tie-beam type with queen-posts and through-purlins is probably late 17th century or even 18th century.

SHEEP STREET: WHITE HORSE INN. SO 653548

Early 18th-century brick building which is no doubt that mentioned in the will of Christopher Capper in 1713.

PUMP STREET: ORWELL HOUSE. SO 655545

Appears to be a two-room-plan stone house of c. 1700 of two storeys and attics. The attics at the south end are floored and appear to have had some industrial function. The trusses are of post and pad type. Later a wing was added at the south end to make the house L-shaped. This wing has a loading-bay on the first-floor.

PUMP STREET: NUNWELL PRIORY. SO 655546

At first sight this appears to be an early 19th-century house, but an examination of the side and back revealed a timber-framed, L-shaped structure with floor-levels altered later. The attic now closed off appears to have been very well lit and may have had some industrial use like the big attics of the Yorkshire weavers. At some date, probably when the appearance of the house was changed in the 19th century the walls were lowered and this attic was shut off.

TOWER HILL: TOWER HILL HOUSE. SO 655544

Probably dates from the early 18th century but still has hall, passage, cross-wing plan. Fireplaces in the wing are set across the corners of the rooms, that in the hall is lateral. (This house should not be confused with Tower House.)

TOWER HILL: THE MOUNT. SO 655544

Interesting as being a long-house derivative with a gable-entrance by the stack with 17th-century diagonally-set chimney.

SHERFORD STREET: BRIDGE HOUSE. SO 657544 (R.C.H.M. 34)

This complex, now four cottages and a coal-store seems to have been two houses each of hall and cross-wing with a later cottage added. The western part has a date 1577 which seems quite genuine and comprises the coal-store and cottage to the east. The exposed timber-framed gable next to this is the cross-wing of an early 17th-century house. The hall block of this was converted into a cottage, probably in the early 19th century and finally a fourth cottage built on at the east end about the same date.

QUAKERS' MEETING HOUSE. SO 656545

This little brick building of c. 1720 has a hammer-beam roof entirely supported on wooden posts independent of the walls as though the builder still lacked confidence in the new material.

BYFORD

LOWER FARM. SO 397427 (R.C.H.M. 4)

This house has been written up in detail in the Archaeological Section Newsletter. It seems to have had a lobby entrance. The parlour wing was of two builds, the extension being the great parlour about the same size as the hall.

CRADLEY

BARROW. SO 716497 (R.C.H.M. 44)

The existing building of two storeys, attics and cellar is peculiar in having no trace of an original stairs. It seems likely that this building may once have been linked to the smaller house to the south-west which though encased in stone is a timber-framed building. The big detached block seems to have had hall and parlour on ground-floor with a plaster ceiling in the former and two chambers on the first-floor and in the attics.

ELTON

ELTON HALL. SO 458710 (R.C.H.M. 2)

The "large curved timbers" reported in the R.C.H.M. turned out to be a pair of full crucks used at attic level and pegged for a collar-beam.

KINGS PYON

COTTAGE AT NEW HOUSE, BUSH BANK. SO 450517

A two-room-plan 17th-century house with big gable stack and gable entrance in the long-house tradition. The walls were raised in the 18th century. It is now derelict. A full report was published in the Archaeological Section Newsletter.

KINGSLAND

ANGEL HOUSE. SO 447613 (R.C.H.M. 19)

This house was empty for a time and the opportunity was taken of examining it. The fireplace at the end of the hall has the cross-passage beyond it outside the hall-space in the long-house tradition. The truss below the passage is original and presumably the later timber-framing beyond it replaced some earlier work.

KINGTON

HILLSIDE VIEW. SO 291568 (R.C.H.M. 4)

During re-decoration a series of murals was found on the first-floor. Some panels were quartered with crude drawings of a stag and a vase of flowers, others were of a leaf pattern some with stars, some without. The colours used were black and a dull red and in all cases the workmanship was rather crude.

LAYSTERS

WOONTON. SO 548623 (R.C.H.M. 5). See also Report for 1966

This building is still empty and in use as a store. A thorough examination revealed that there was originally a timber-framed open-hall and cross-wing perhaps of the first-half of the 16th century which was later encased in stone, altered and added to perhaps c. 1680 with perhaps further alterations c. 1800. It has been reported fully in an Archaeological Section Newsletter.

LEINTWARDINE

HARBORNE HOUSE. SO 404741

During recent alterations it was possible to inspect this house which appears from the street to be of 19th-century build. Most of it is timber-framed, some of it close-set and apparently of a late 16th-century date. There is a timber-framed stairwell perhaps late 17th century and some early 18th-century timber-framed additions. The south front is apparently timber-bonded and it is possible was medieval.

Certainly a large part of it has been rebuilt.

LEOMINSTER

EATON HALL. SO 509580 (R.C.H.M. 5)

Certainly one of the most important medieval buildings in the county. The main truss is of base-cruck type, the western truss of the hall is of an aisled-type of construction and the main purlin is set square in the form of an arcade-plate. The lower part of the west wing could well be the undercroft of a still earlier hall, perhaps of the 13th century. The base-cruck and its roof are certainly 14th century and could well be as early as c. 1350.

LLANROTHAL

UPPER SKENCHILL. SO 482182

An unusual house, much altered in the 19th century and now undergoing considerable renovation. There would seem to have been a late-medieval house here built on two sides of a small courtyard. This was added to and altered in the late 17th or early 18th-century. There were further alterations and additions early in the 19th century. Unfortunately the great hall window was removed to Pembridge Castle some years ago.

South-west of the house at the top of a steep slope is a small building with a niche in one wall and a drain very much like the Celtic holy-wells. Documentary research may throw more light on this. It could even be an early 19th-century folly.

MUCH MARCLE

HELLENS. SO 662332 (R.C.H.M. 5)

Recently the roof of the main block has been repaired and an opportunity was given to examine the roof-timbers. This revealed that the principal rafters were only about 6 feet apart and that there had been a row of dormers apparently on both sides. If these were of the curvilinear type like the one surviving on the north front it must have been an impressive sight, rather like Blickling Hall in Norfolk which was built in the early 1620's about the same time as work was going on at Hellellens. Perhaps they were part of a long gallery.

PENCOMBE

GRENDON COURT. SO 599547

The house, completely encased in brick, is in a dangerous state and access to

the interior was not granted. However, it has a cluster of four diagonally-set, 17th-century chimneys and seems to be a three-room-plan house of that period. There is a cellar under the parlour.

GRENDON CHAPEL (R.C.H.M. 2)

In the hedge opposite lies a triangular piscina with a ribbed bowl recently taken out of the chapel.

MAIDENHYDE. SO 568548 (R.C.H.M. 13)

A further visit to this house and a more detailed examination of the roof showed that this had been a cruck-hall and one of the trusses was re-used in the 17th century. Probably part of the wing dates from the cruck period.

PETERCHURCH

WELLBROOK MANOR. SO 351385 (R.C.H.M. 8)

Another base-cruck house similar to Eaton Hall. Again one end truss is of an aisled-type and the main purlin is set square in the manner of an arcade-plate.

WELLINGTON

BRIDGE FARM. SO 498482 (R.C.H.M. 2)

Although apparently a 17th-century house this turned out to be basically a big medieval house with hall and two cross-wings. The base of a big arched-brace still remains in the lounge and the wings still have their cambered-collar and tie-beams and curved wind-braces. It is hoped to make a fuller report on this house later.

THE OLD PARSONAGE. SO 497482 (R.C.H.M. 5)

The name and the fact that the Old Vicarage further up the road is dated 1636 made one wonder if this was an earlier house than the 17th century assigned by the R.C.H.M. A thorough examination revealed that the main part of the house had a number of timbers which bore a quarter-round moulding and probably date from the 14th century. The lower southern part and the stairwell appear to be early 17th century and the northern addition early 18th.

WEOBLEY

HOUSE AND SHOP IN BROAD STREET. SO 403517 (R.C.H.M. 23)

This house has a spere-truss almost completely preserved at the south end of the hall.

WHITBOURNE

HUNTLANDS. SO 718558 (R.C.H.M. 36)

A previously unrecorded cruck-house which apparently had a two-bay, open-

hall with a two-storey bay at one end and a cross-wing at the other. The original house was thatched. The cross-wing was much enlarged and fronted in brick in the 18th century.

UPPER POSWICK. SO 709573 (R.C.H.M. 28)

A very interesting house. The original building is a previously unrecorded cruck-hall one end of which was converted into a cross-wing with a jointed-cruck probably in the 16th century. This was incorporated into a bigger cross-wing in the 17th century and in turn this was enlarged and given a new front in the 18th century.

WIGMORE

OLD POST OFFICE. SO 414690

During some work behind the parlour end of the house of c. 1600 a paved floor and traces of walls and a fireplace were found beneath the level of the existing house. It presumably dates from an earlier house in the old borough, but an accurate dating was impossible.

Deserted Medieval Villages

By R. E. HICKLING

THE existing pattern of settlement in Herefordshire raises many questions as to its origin and evolution. In 1968 under the auspices of the Extra-mural Department of Birmingham University a research group began to study the field and documentary evidence for medieval settlements in the county.

The first aim of the group was to locate and record any minor earthworks which might be related to medieval settlements, because this evidence is most likely to be destroyed by agricultural improvements at the present time. The study is based on the medieval tax documents listed below, which establish the existence of the settlements named at the date of the document in which they are mentioned. The physical evidence on the ground may indicate the size, form and location of these settlements, information which is often not available from any other source.

In the first year a few settlements in each Hundred were visited and those where there were signs of minor earthworks are listed below. The following abbreviations after the name and National Grid Reference of the site indicate the documents in which the settlement is mentioned. Where the Hundred of today differs from the Hundred of 1334, the name of the Hundred of 1334 is given in brackets.

DS Domesday Survey 1086 A.D.

NV Nomina Villarum 1316 A.D.

LS Lay Subsidy Rolls 1334 A.D.

PT Poll Tax 1377 A.D. The numbers refer to the number of people paying the tax.

This work is being continued.

BROXASH HUNDRED

COLLINGTON (MAGNA). SO 657598 DS NV LS PT30

Slight earthworks in the orchard north of Church House Farm and the site of All Saints church. The church was not taxed in 1428 because there were less than ten inhabitants in the parish.

HOPTON SOLLERS. SO 636496 DS NV LS PT20

Very slight earthworks on the west side of the farm buildings. The evidence is chiefly documentary including a statement by S. Taylor, "Hopton is the town on the hill in the parish of Avenbury".

MARSTON STANNETT. SO 570552 DS LS PT shared 15 with Grendon Warren.

Sunken way and slight earthworks in orchard south and west of the ruined chapel.

TEDSTONE DELAMARE. SO 696585 DS NV LS PT42

Sunken way south of the church and house platforms east of the church.

GREYTREE HUNDRED

BROCKHAMPTON. SO 598316. Not identified in Domesday nor in subsequent tax lists.

The ruined church is a 14th-century building. There is a clearly marked sunken way and several house platforms in the deep valley west of the church and in the field adjacent to the road south of the church are some vague earthworks.

GRIMSWORTH HUNDRED

BISHOPSTONE. SO 415439 DS NV LS PT48

Clearly marked house platforms east and south of the church. Mentioned by Rev. R. H. Wilmot in *Transactions Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1912), p. 103.

BRINSOP COURT, NEAR. SO 443464

The Rev. C. H. Stoker recorded the existence of this site in a field called "Old Town Pasture" in *Transactions Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1926), p. 171. The earthworks are slight now probably due to ploughing in the intervening period and lie on the west side of the road approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north-west of Brinsop Court, a 14th-century moated dwelling with two fishponds.

BRINSOP CHURCH. SO 443448

Earthworks north and west of the church which contains 12th-century work, a moated site and a dam north-east of the church.

The tax lists do not distinguish between these two sites but Brinsop is mentioned in DS, NV, LS, PT48. Further detailed study of other documents might produce a solution.

KENCHESTER. SO 434433 DS LS PT30

Clearly marked house platforms on either side of the road east of the church.

RADLOW HUNDRED

DONNINGTON. SO 708343 DS NV LS PT30

Rectangular moated site, two sunken ways and other earthworks south of the church. Also earthworks north of the church. I am indebted to Mr. M. G. I. Ray for drawing my attention to this site.

MORETON JEFFREYS. SO 603485 DS LS

Clearly marked sunken way with house platforms on either side in the orchard south of the church. The sunken way leads down to three small fishponds now dry. Between the sunken way and the church are substantial irregular earthworks, while eastwards the sunken way fades out into vague banks. "Moreton Common Field" appears on an estate plan of the adjoining settlement of Hillhampton dated 1791. See Local Collection at City Library, Hereford.

STRETFORD HUNDRED

NEWCHURCH. SO 353507 NV (LEOMINSTER)

Sunken way south of the farm and vague earthworks in the field west of the farm.

WEBTREE HUNDRED

DINEDOR. SO 534367 DS NV LS PT51

Clearly defined croft boundaries and sunken ways in the field south-west of the church.

HOWTON. SO 415293 LS

Several sunken ways and a motte in the field east of the farm and north of the railway.

KENDERCHURCH. SO 403284

Faintly marked sunken way in ploughed field south-east of the church and railway line.

TURNASTONE. SO 357365 NV LS

Vague earthworks east, north-west and south-west of the church.

WIGMORE HUNDRED

PEDWARDINE. SO 368704 DS

Very clearly marked house platforms and sunken ways between Lower and Upper Pedwardine. Motte and bailey site at Lower Pedwardine with a silted up fishpond in the valley to the north.

WORMELOW HUNDRED

CORRAS. SO 420249

Several house platforms and a well in the field west of Great Corras Farm. There are early medieval references to Corras in the Kentchurch Estate Papers.

Entomology, 1969

By H. G. LANGDALE-SMITH

Very few hibernating butterflies appeared in early spring.

Orange-tips and Peacocks were up in April.

In May Large White and Wood Argus were up.

In June Wood White and Pearl-bordered Fritillary were up in Haugh Wood.

No White Letter Hairstreaks were seen at their usual location.

In July there were fair numbers of Small Skipper, Small Heath, Tortoiseshell, Wood Argus and Ringlet and Gate-keeper.

In Haugh Wood Silver Washed Fritillary and Gate-keeper and second Wood White.

In August Painted Ladies, Holly Blue, Peacock, Red Admiral and Comma on buddleia.

RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
(HEREFORDSHIRE)

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

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

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

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

IV.—That the members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall

also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XII.—That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or altera-

tion at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.

XIII.—That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting, or has been approved by the central committee.

XIV.—That these rules be published in each volume of the *Transactions*.

- 1851 Club formed in the winter months.
- 1852 Lingwood, Mr. R. M.
- 1853 Lewis, Rev. T. T.
- 1854 Symonds, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.
- 1855 Crouch, Rev. J. F., B.D.
- 1856 Wheatley, Mr. Hewitt
- 1857 Lingen, Mr. Charles
- 1858 Bevan, G. P., M.D.
- 1859 Bevan, G. P., M.D.
- 1860 Banks, Mr. R. W.
- 1861 Lightbody, Mr. Robert
- 1862 Hoskyns, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1863 Hoskyns, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1864 Crouch, Rev. J. F., B.D.
- 1865 Steele, Mr. Elmes Y.
- 1866 Bull, H. G., M.D.
- 1867 Hoskyns, Mr. Chandos Wren
- 1868 McCullough, D. M., M.D.
- 1869 Rankin, Mr. James, M.A.
- 1870 Cooper-Key, Rev. H., M.A.
- 1871 Cam, Mr. Thomas
- 1872 Steele, Mr. Elmes Y.
- 1873 Davies, Rev. James, M.A.
- 1874 Davies, Rev. James, M.A.
- 1875 Robinson, Rev. C. J., M.A.
- 1876 Chapman, T. A., M.D.
- 1877 Morris, J. Griffiths
- 1878 Phillott, Rev. H. W., M.A.
- 1879 Armitage, Mr. Arthur
- 1880 Knight, Mr. J. H.
- 1881 Ley, Rev. Augustin, M.A.
- 1882 Blashill, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.
- 1883 Piper, Mr. George H., F.G.S.
- 1884 Burrough, Rev. Charles, M.A.
- 1885 Martin, Mr. C. G.
- 1886 Piper, Mr. George H., F.G.S.
- 1887 Elliott, Rev. William, M.A.
- 1888 Elliott, Rev. William, M.A.
- 1889 Southall, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.
- 1890 Croft, Sir Herbert, Bart, M.A.
- 1891 Cornwall, Rev. Sir George H., Bart, M.A.
- 1892 Barneby, Mr. William Henry
- 1893 Lambert, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.
- 1894 Davies, Mr. James
- 1895 Watkins, Rev. M. G., M.A.
- 1896 Moore, Mr. H. Cecil
- 1897 Moore, Mr. H. Cecil
- 1898 Marshall, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.
- 1899 Beddoe, Mr. H. C.
- 1900 Leigh, The Very Rev. The Hon. J. W., D.D., Dean of Hereford
- 1901 Blashill, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.
- 1902 Cornwall, Rev. Sir George H., Bart, M.A.
- 1903 Southall, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.
- 1904 Hutchinson, Mr. T.
- 1905 Baylis, Mr. Phillip, M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.
- 1906 Warner, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.
- 1907 Rankin, Sir James, Bart, M.A.
- 1908 Moore, Mr. H. Cecil, and Rankin, Sir James, Bart, M.A.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

- 1909 Williamson, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.
- 1910 Farn, Mr. A. B.
- 1911 Phillips, Mr. E. Cambridge
- 1912 Stooke-Vaughan, Rev. F. S., M.A.
- 1913 Watkins, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
- 1914 Watkins, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
- 1915 Wood, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
- 1916 Jack, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
- 1917 Grindley, Rev. H. E., M.A.
- 1918 Bannister, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A.
- 1919 Watkins, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
- 1920 Humfrys, Mr. W. J.
- 1921 James, Mr. Francis R.
- 1922 Marshall, Mr. George, F.S.A.
- 1923 Bradney, Colonel Sir Joseph A., C.B., M.A., LLITT.
- 1924 Durham, Herbert E., D.SC., M.B., B.CH., F.R.C.S.(ENG.).
- 1925 Mackay, Mr. J. C.
- 1926 Scobie, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
- 1927 Day, Rev. E. Hermitage, D.D., F.S.A.
- 1928 Symonds, Mr. Powell Biddulph
- 1929 Smith, The Right Rev. Martin Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
- 1930 Gilbert, Captain H. A.
- 1931 Symonds-Taylor, Lt.-Colonel R. H.
- 1932 Swayne, Lt.-Colonel O. R., D.S.O.
- 1933 Hamilton, Brig. General W. G., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.
- 1934 Walker, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
- 1935 Ellison, Captain F. B.
- 1936 Robinson, Mr. R. S. Gavin
- 1937 Morgan, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.
- 1938 Bettington, Mr. E. J., F.R.S.A.
- 1939 Benn, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
- 1940 Benn, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
- 1941 Martin, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
- 1942 Martin, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
- 1943 Waterfield, The Very Rev. R., D.D., Dean of Hereford
- 1944 Templer, Mr. P. J. T.
- 1945 Templer, Mr. P. J. T.
- 1946 Richardson, Mr. L., F.R.S.E., P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.
- 1947 Winnington-Ingram, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
- 1948 Gilbert, Captain H. A.
- 1949 Wallis, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.
- 1950 Clarke, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.SC.
- 1951 Morgan, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A., M.A.
- 1952 Salt, Major A. E. W., M.A.
- 1953 Cohen, Mr. I., M.I.MECH.E.
- 1954 Johnson, Colonel T. W. M.
- 1955 Moir, Rev. Preb A. L., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.
- 1956 Winnington-Ingram, The Venerable A. J., M.A.
- 1957 Kendrick, Mr. F. M.

1958	Langford, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	1963	Coleman, Mr. V. H.
1959	Leeds, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.	1964	Noble, Mr. F., B.A.
1960	Maclean, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch. M.A.	1965	Powell, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.
1961	Stanford, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.	1966	Kendrick, Mr. F. M.
1962	Zimmerman, Mr. A. U.	1967	Tonkin, Major J. W., B.A.
		1968	Currie, Mrs. D. McD.
		1969	Hillaby, Mr. J. G., B.A.

LIST OF MEMBERS as at 31st DECEMBER 1969

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHITTY, Miss L., F.S.A., Ingleside, Pontesbury, Salop.
 COHEN, Mrs. H., 7 Angela Close, Hampton Park, Hereford.
 THE EDITOR, The Hereford Times, Berrow House, Bath Street, Hereford.
 KENYON, Dr. K. M., F.S.A., Old Brands Lodge, Terriers, High Wycombe, Bucks.
 MARTIN, Mrs. C. H., 203 Hinton Road, Hereford.
 MORGAN, F. C., F.S.A., 1a The Cloisters, Hereford.
 SHERWOOD, J. F. W., City Library, Hereford.
 WEBSTER, Dr. G., F.S.A., 30 Portland Street, Leamington Spa.

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 BIRMINGHAM: Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place, I.
 BIRMINGHAM: University Library, Edgbaston, 15.
 BRECON: County Library, High Street.
 BRISTOL: City Library.
 BROMYARD: Bromyard and District Local History Society.
 GLOUCESTER: City Museum and Art Gallery, Brunswick Road.
 HEREFORD: Botanical Society, Orchard Gate, Winforton.
 HEREFORD: City Library, Broad Street.
 HEREFORD: College of Education, College Road.
 HEREFORD: County Library, Widemarsh Street.
 HEREFORD: Ornithological Society.
 HEREFORD: Teachers Centre, Uplands, Folly Lane.
 ILLINOIS: Serials Department, University of Illinois Library, Urbana.
 LEDBURY: Ledbury Naturalist and Field Club.
 LEICESTER: The University Library.
 LIVERPOOL: The University Library, 3.
 LONDON: British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
 LONDON: Geological Survey and Museum, Exhibition Road, S.W.7.
 LONDON: Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
 LONDON: Society of Genealogists, 37 Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.
 LONDON: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
 LONDON: University of London, The Library, Senate House, W.C.1.
 NEWPORT: Public Library, Dock Street.
 PRINCETON: Serials Division, Princeton University Library, New Jersey.
 SALT LAKE CITY: Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,
 107 South Main Street.
 SOUTHAMPTON: Archaeology Division Library, Ordnance Survey, Romsey Road, Maybush.
 SWANSEA: The Library, University College of Swansea, Singleton Park.
 SYDNEY: University Library.
 WIGMORE: County Secondary School.
 WISCONSIN: The General Library, University of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, 6.
 WOLVERHAMPTON: Public Library.
 WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.
 WORCESTER: County Library, Love's Grove, Castle Street.

Members' names and addresses have been redacted

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Birmingham Archaeological Society
 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
 British Mycological Society
 Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society
 Cardiff Naturalists' Society
 Essex Archaeological Society
 Essex Field Club
 Geological Society of London
 Hertfordshire Natural History Society
 Kent Archaeological Society
 Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society
 North Staffordshire Field Club
 Offa's Dyke Association
 Oxoniensia
 Powysland Club
 Radnorshire Society
 Somerset Archaeological Society
 Surrey Archaeological Society
 Worcestershire Archaeological Society
 Worcestershire Naturalists' Field Club

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

Antiquaries Journal
 Archaeologia
 British Association for the Advancement of Science
 Cambrian Archaeological Society
 Harleian Society
 Journal of Industrial Archaeology
 Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology
 Mammal Society
 Prehistoric Society

GENERAL INDEX OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

1967 — 1969

Compiled by Miss V. E. Coleman, A.L.A.

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