



TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB,

Herefordshire

[ESTABLISHED 1851]

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"HOPE ON"



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Hereford.

TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEARS 1958-1959-1960

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ERRATA

Page 53, line 4: for principle read principal. Page 131, line 13: for varg read var.

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RULES

OF THE

Woolhope Paturalists' 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 archæology of Herefordshire and the districts 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.

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

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

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

Woolhope Naturalists' field Club

(Herefordshire)

PROCEEDINGS, 1958

SPRING LECTURES, ETC.

THURSDAY, 30TH JANUARY. The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

It was reported that Allensmore Court had been sold for demolition.

Mr. Gibson-Watt, M.P., wrote enclosing a letter from Mr. Nugent, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, saying that the question of the preservation of the Roman road at Abbey Dore had been referred to Sir Brian Robertson. The County Council regretted that at present they could not allocate any funds to the project.

A green glazed tile from Freen's Court, the property of Mr. C. Bishop, having the initials and royal arms of Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth, was on exhibition. See "Transactions", 1957. pp. 345-6.

Dr. A. W. Langford read a paper on "Some Hereford medical history." (See pp. 56-66.)

Wednesday, 19th February. The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

A letter from Sir Brian Robertson stated that arrangements for the disposal of Abbey Dore station were being prepared and that the Club would be advised when they were completed.

Miss C. M. Prevost, Mr. and Mrs. T. G. Lloyd, Mr. Philip G. Jones, Mr. D. G. Bayliss, Miss Estelle Davies, and Dame Hilda Rose were declared elected members of the Club.

Mr. I. Cohen gave his annual report on archæology, and Mr. Kendrick his on botany. The Rev. R. B. Sisson's report on entomology was read in his absence. (See pp. 345-357 in Transactions" for 1957.)

THURSDAY, 6TH MARCH. The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary said he had received confirmation that the tax concession under the Covenant scheme would not apply to the Club members.

Mr. W. T. Jones was declared elected a member of the Club. The Rev. D. A. L. Maclean, of Dochgarroch, gave a lecture on "The Family of St. Thomas Cantilupe." (See pp. 5-21.)

THURSDAY, 27TH MARCH. The President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary stated that the Hereford City Council

had given £20 towards the cost of the Transactions.

Col. and Mrs. Wood, Mr. Llewellyn Davies, Mr. and Mrs. Hastain, and Mrs. E. Lorina were declared elected members of the Club.

The President gave his presidential address on "Notes on the botany of Dinmore Hill". (See pp. 1-5.)

THURSDAY, 10TH APRIL. ANNUAL SPRING MEETING. The retiring President, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary announced that a donation of £50 had

been promised by the Wye Guild.

The President reviewed the meetings held in 1957 and then installed Dr. A. W. Langford as President for 1958-59. Dr. Langford, on behalf of the members, thanked Mr. Kendrick for his services.

Mr. F. C. Morgan having announced his retirement from the post of Hon. Secretary as from 30th June, 1958, Mr. Kendrick was elected unanimously to succeed him. The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram on behalf of the Club thanked Mr. Morgan for his services.

The Assistant Secretary, Mr. V. H. Coleman, gave his report for 1957. Membership on 31st December, 1957, was 458. New members during 1957 were:—Ladies 10, Gentlemen 21, Library 1; total 32. Losses:—died 8, resigned 23, struck off for non-payment of subscriptions 1; total 32. The membership remained unaltered.

The Hon. Librarian reported that 69 books were borrowed

during the year, a great increase on previous years.

Mr. V. H. Coleman announced his wish to cease representing the Club at the Council for British Archæology meetings in Birmingham. Mr. J. F. Norwood was appointed in his place.

FIELD MEETINGS

THURSDAY, 15TH MAY. (Half day).

At Ullingswick church Prebendary S. H. Martin gave a history of the building. At Wall Hills, Thornbury, Mr. C. S. Stanford described the Iron Age camp and gave his theory on the defence of these camps in general. At a meeting held afterwards the following were declared elected members of the Club:—Mr. A. E. Brown, Mr. R. E. Blackith, Miss E. J. Pugh, Dr. V. S. Shuttleworth, Rev. T. Wigley.

The party divided, some walking, and others going by coach to Netherwood manor, where the dovecot and manor house were seen and described by permission of Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Abel Smith. Later, at Hampton Wafer, Mr. Stanford described the excavations at the deserted village site. (See vol. XXXV, pp. 337-344.)

SATURDAY, 7TH JUNE.

After a journey via Gloucester, Birdlip, etc., into Wiltshire, some of the members present climbed Silbury Hill, and after Mr. V. H. Coleman had described the stones of Avebury the museum and manor house were visited. After tea at Cirencester, a meeting was held. The following were declared elected members of the Club:—Mr. W. Birchley, Mrs. E. Ball, Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Tebb.

Mr. Coleman reported that he had attended a meeting at Abbey Dore convened by Mr. Gibson-Watt, M.P., at which the Chairman and Clerk of the County Council, Mr. Cole, of the Dore and Bredwardine Rural District Council, and two representatives of the British Transport Commission were present. The Transport Commissioners stated that it would not be possible to sell the two sections of the Roman road separately from the remainder of the yard. It was agreed that a further section nearer the main road be excavated, and if the Roman road still existed there it would be sold at a nominal price. The County Council would not spend money on fencing or maintenance, but would accept ownership.

SATURDAY, 21st June. (Half day).

Mr. F. C. Morgan described the church and its monuments at Upton Bishop. At Rudhall, visited by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Felton, Dr. Langford gave a talk on the history of the house, and then the rockeries and water fowl were inspected. (See "Transactions" for 1936 for a description of the restoration of the building by the late E. J. Bettington.) Later, Checkley Cockshoot was reached, where Mr. Kendrick pointed out the interesting plants and geology of the district, and a meeting was held in the coaches owing to the rain. The following were declared elected members of the Club:—Mrs. Henshall Witchell, Mrs. R. C. Morris, Mr. Farrow, Miss Daniels, Hon, Mrs. Talbot Rice.

SATURDAY, 12TH JULY.

At Abergavenny Canon E. J. Davies and Mr. F. C. Morgan described the many interesting monuments in the church. After lunch at Tretower the Court and castle were described by the custodian, and later, at Brecon Gaer, Mr. Coleman described the

Roman fort, the largest in Wales, which was excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1924/5.

At Brecon the members visited the museum and at the Wellington Hotel a meeting was held. It was reported that an album of paintings of birds by the late Mrs. Armitage had been given by her daughter, Miss E. Armitage.

THURSDAY, 31ST JULY.

At the Star Hotel, Upton-on-Severn, after coffee, a meeting was held. Mr. F. C. Morgan spoke appreciatively of the great work for the Club by the late Mr. R. S. Gavin Robinson, who had died a few days before. (See p. vii for an obituary notice.)

The following were declared elected members: -Mrs. Loder-

Symonds, The Rt. Hon. Lord Croft, Miss J. Snewin.

At Mid Littleton, Worcestershire, a large tithe barn, formerly the property of the abbots of Evesham, was described by Mr. F. C. Morgan. At Ragley Hall, near Alcester, the recently opened Hall with its treasures was visited, and at Alcester the church, market hall and some timber houses were described by local residents.

Tea was provided at Coughton Court, the home of the Throckmorton family, and which had connections with the Gunpowder Plot. Afterwards the house with many treasures

was visited.

THURSDAY, 4TH SEPTEMBER.

At Mortimer's Cross a talk on the battle there was given by Mr. J. C. Price, and this was supplemented by Brigadier Croft. At the gravel pit at Aymestrey Mr. Kendrick spoke on the glaciation of the area and described how this had altered the river system. Floods were encountered on the road to Downton, and the intended walk through the gorge had to be abandoned. At Downton Castle Major W. M. P. Kincaid-Lennox kindly showed the house and the important collection of paintings. Prebendary A. L. Moir gave an account of the brothers Richard and Thomas Andrew Knight. The former (1750-1824) inherited the Downton estate from his grandfather, an ironmaster of Coalbrookdale, and built the present mansion. Thomas Andrew (1759-1838) was President of the Royal Horticultural Society, published "Pomona Herefordensis" in 1804, and was the first man who began to breed plants. He befriended Henry Hill Hickman, a pioneer in the use of anæsthetics by inhalation.

After lunch Mr. I. Cohen read notes on Bringewood Forge. Later, Brampton Bryan church, the remains of the castle, and Brampton Bryan Hall were described by Mrs. Williams, by whose

permission the Hall was visited.

AUTUMN LECTURES, ETC.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH OCTOBER. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

The following were declared elected members of the Club:—Mr. R. J. Bell, Mr. L. G. Berrington, Mr. T. G. Wall, Mr. C. H. Clough, the Hon. Mrs. Fred Ulhman, Mr. H. W. Pain,

Dr. W. H. J. Baker exhibited a number of human bones discovered during the digging for a drain at the County Hospital.

Mr. H. Williamson gave a talk on "Roses," illustrated by coloured slides.

THURSDAY, 30TH OCTOBER. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

The following were declared elected members of the Club:-

Mrs. V. Higham, Mrs. P. Hoddell, Mr. H. N. Scott.

A letter from Air-Commodore D. Iron stated that he could not continue excavations at Clifford Castle until the vegetation had been cut down, and asked for assistance. Miss Biddulph and Mrs. E. Davies agreed to assist.

Mr. Coleman reported that he and Mr. Jenkins had exposed the Roman paving at Abbey Dore in two places, much nearer the public road. Unfortunately, it was not in good condition. Excavation had been difficult because of the large quantities of stone tipped on the site during the war.

Mr. M. P. Watkins wrote to offer a collection of bees, moths and butterflies collected by the late Mr. Cornish Watkins. It was agreed that these be accepted with thanks, provided that room

for them could be found.

It was decided to send a representative to a public inquiry at Ledbury on 28th November concerning an application of the company owning the Gullet quarry, on the Malvern Hills. The application to be opposed.

Mr. E. A. Walters gave a lecture on "The Mineral Deficiencies of Plants." He also mentioned the use of isotopes in detecting

deficiencies.

THURSDAY, 13TH NOVEMBER. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair. It was agreed that Mr. S. C. Stanford represent the Club at the inquiry concerning the Gullet quarry.

Prebendary S. H. Martin read a paper on "Science in Hereford during the Middle Ages." (See pp. 21-28.) Dr. D. S. Spence followed and gave illustrations by models and slides of the relative positions of the sun, moon and earth.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH NOVEMBER. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. J. Cook gave a paper on "The Romans in Scotland," illustrated with slides and photographs.

THURSDAY, 5TH DECEMBER. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. R. Pye was declared elected a member of the Club.

Professor W. Wilson read a paper on "The Universe," describing its form and immensity, and speaking of famous astronomers.

THURSDAY, 11TH DECEMBER. THE ANNUAL AUTUMN MEETING. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

On behalf of the members, the President presented a cheque to Mr. F. C. Morgan in recognition of his services to the Club for many years. Mr. Morgan suitably replied.

Dr. C. W. Walker gave his reports upon ornithology and

mammals for 1958. (See pp. 133-134.)

Mr. P. A. B. Elkin, Hon. Treasurer, presented the annual Statement of Accounts for 1957. On 31st December, 1957, the balance on the General Account was £270 5s. 1d., compared with £228 1s. 7d. the previous year. The balance of the General Reserve Account was £61 4s. 11d., compared with £59 2s. 5d.; of the Flora Account, £50 7s. 6d., compared with £50 0s. 0d.; the Merrick Bequest Fund, £50 1s. 0d., compared with £44 18s. 6d.; and Marshall Fund, £28 8s. 9d., compared with £26 3s. 7d. These accounts were adopted. The Hon. Treasurer stated that nearly 100 subscriptions were outstanding.

The Officers for 1959-60 were elected as follows:—

President: Mrs. Leeds. Vice-Presidents: Mr. I. Cohen, The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram, Preb. A. L. Moir, Dr. A. W. Langford.

Central Committee: Mr. V. Higham, Miss Biddulph, Mr. C. J. Price, and Miss F. Pritchard for three years. Mr. R. J. Jenkins and Mr. W. Pile for two years. The last two replaced Mrs. T. H. Parker, who resigned, and Mr. R. S. Gavin Robinson, who had died.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. M. Kendrick. Hon. Librarian: Mr. F. C. Morgan. Hon. Auditor: Mr. H. S. Widgery. Hon. Lanternist: Mr. W. T. Jones. Editorial Committee: Mr. F. C. Morgan, chairman; Mr. I. Cohen, Mr. W. H. Howse, The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram, Mr. S. C. Stanford, and Prebendary A. L. Moir.

Obituary

RALPH SPENCER GAVIN ROBINSON

On 22nd July, 1958, the Woolhope Club suffered a serious loss by the sudden death of Mr. R. S. Gavin Robinson at the age of 70. From 1910 until 1931, he had been in Ceylon as a tea and rubber planter, except during the war of 1914–18, when he served in the Gloucester Regiment as lieutenant.

In 1931, Mr. Robinson came to live at Poston, Vowchurch, which his family had inherited by marriage from the Boughton family about 1824. His father, Mr. Edward L. Gavin Robinson, who married Henrietta Elizabeth Harrison, had greatly enlarged the "round house", a summer shooting box which had been built for the Boughtons by Sir William Chambers, and here Mr. Robinson

lived for the remainder of his life.

In 1932, Mr. Robinson joined the Club, and soon became an enthusiastic member, devoting his energies to the study of the pre-historic archæology of Herefordshire, particularly of the southern half, where he knew every site that was likely to have remains of early man. Soon he made important discoveries and his collection of flint and other implements grew to a considerable size and importance. His interest had been aroused by the discovery of a Bronze age cist, in the Olchon valley in 1932, for which he sent his 10-wheeled lorry for transport to the Hereford Museum. But his most important work was the excavation of the Iron-age camp adjoining his home at Poston. Here he was untiring in helping in the work for which he gave every facility and contributed to the cost. Important finds were made as a result, largely carried out under the supervision of Mr. George Marshall in the years 1932–35, and in 1937, when Mr. C. Green was director of operations. The result of their combined efforts was not published until 1958. when the Council for British Archæology made a grant of £100 towards a full and illustrated report written by Dr. I. E. Anthony,

Mr. Robinson was elected President of the Club in 1936, and he contributed a chapter on "Pre-Historic Man in Herefordshire" to the *Centenary Volume* written by a number of experts on various local subjects to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Club in 1851. He also delivered some few papers to the *Transactions* marked by research and learning, and was

indefatigable in promoting the Club's welfare.

Mr. Robinson farmed at Poston on his return to England in 1931, and also took up forestry as a profession. He had the management of several estates and was secretary to the Home Grown Timber Marketing Association. In 1910, he married at Colombo, Winifred Mary Dodgson, whom he leaves a widow, and had one son and two daughters. His large collection of stone implements, pottery and bronze articles found at Poston and elsewhere on the surrounding hills were bequeathed to the Woolhope Club for display in the Hereford Museum.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)

HONORARY TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1958

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AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.

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

HERBERT S. WIDGERY, F.C.A.,
HORGINY Audilor,

16th April, 1959.

GENERAL RESERVE ACCOUNT YEAR TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1958

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GEORGE MARSHALL FUND YEAR TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1958

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

(Herefordshire)

PROCEEDINGS, 1959

THE FIRST MEETING, 7TH JANUARY. The President, Dr.

A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. Lewis H. Biggs, B.A., contributed a paper on the Moravian church in Leominster and north Herefordshire—its history and influence from the fifteenth century to its introduction into England, mainly from the Leominster Moravian diaries.

THE SECOND MEETING, 4TH FEBRUARY. The President, Dr. A.

W. Langford, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary had received a letter saying that a garage was being built near Kilpeck church, but as planning permission had been given, nothing could be done. The lease is for five years only, therefore objection could be raised when renewal became due.

The following were declared elected members of the Club: Mr. M. K. Prendergast, Miss M. Thomas, Dr. T. Stuart-Black

Kelly, Mr. K. J. Addyman, Mr. Alwyn H. L. Francis.

Mr. N. P. Bridgewater gave papers on "Ancient buried roads in South Herefordshire" and "The Whitchurch Vagas" (see pp. 218-233).

THE THIRD MEETING, 12th February. The President, Dr. A.

W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. F. C. Morgan gave a paper entitled "The Chantries of the Hereford diocese". He was able to throw light on the local history of the Reformation as recorded in the surveys of 1546 and 1547. He also gave a list of the pensions of displaced religious in Herefordshire. The original certificates relating to these are in the cathedral archives.

Declared elected members of the Club were: Mrs. M. J. Medlicott, Mrs. S. C. Stanford, Miss E. V. G. Brown, Mr. E. L. Crooks. Rejoining were: Col. C. W. Dann, Mr. N. H. Thomas.

THE FOURTH MEETING, 26TH FEBRUARY. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

The following were declared elected members of the Club: Mr. G. T. Gurney, Mrs. M. M. Scudder, the Misses Rawlinson, Miss M. Jancey.

Brig.-Gen. W. D. Croft had written saying that it was proposed

to excavate Croft Ambrey and had asked for volunteers.

A portion of the city wall had collapsed at Dr. Chamberlain's surgery in Grey Friars, and a portion in Aubrey Street, which used to be in a fine state, was now in poor condition. This had been reported to the Ministry of Works and a representative would be sent to inspect.

Mrs. F. Leeds read a paper "The Earlier history of the Herefordshire postal services" in which she dealt mainly with the methods of sending correspondence before a state postal service

was introduced (see pp. 160-167).

THE FIFTH MEETING, 4TH MARCH. The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram, Vice-President, in the chair.

Mrs. Chisholm and Mr. F. A. Leeds were declared elected

members of the Club.

On exhibition was a giant puff ball from Wessington Court

sent by Dr. Malkin.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick read a paper entitled "The Ferns: with special reference to Herefordshire specimens". A film strip, illustrating the life cycle of ferns, and actual pressed specimens were shown.

SIXTH MEETING, 19TH MARCH. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. R. H. Bulmer was declared elected a member of the Club. Mr. I. Cohen gave his report on archæology for 1958 (see bb. 126-128).

Mr. J. L. F. Norwood gave further details on the King's Ditch

(see pp. 117-125).

 \hat{M}_r . F. M. Kendrick gave his report on botany for 1958 (see pp. 130-132).

THE SEVENTH MEETING, 26TH MARCH. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Mr. I. Cohen delivered his paper on "The Hereford—Ledbury

and Gloucester Canal" (see pp. 167-179).

Mr. Morgan stated that the grant of £50, generously given by the Council for British Archæology recently, was for the publication of the reports on excavations at Kenchester and Leintwardine. In addition a grant of £100 for excavations at Leintwardine was being made by the Wye Guild.

THE EIGHTH MEETING, 2ND APRIL. The President, Dr. A. W. Langford, in the chair.

Dr. A. W. Langford gave his presidential address entitled

"The Herefordshire General Hospital" (see pp. 149-160).

Spring Annual Meeting, 16th April. The President, Dr. A.

W. Langford, in the chair.

The retiring President reported on his year of office. He said that on almost all the field days the weather had been wet and that there had been a record number of winter meetings.

The Hon. Treasurer gave a statement of accounts for 1958

(see pp. viii-x).

The Assistant Secretary reported that the membership at the end of 1957 was 458. During 1958, there were 43 new members (20 ladies and 23 gentlemen) and two re-joining members. Loss was 12—10 died and two resigned. Membership at the end of 1958 was 491.

The report of the ad hoc committee formed on 1st August, 1958, to consider new ideas put forward by Mr. V. Higham, was then considered. This report, consisting of 22 suggestions covering two sheets of foolscap had been considered by the Central Committee and was summarised by the President. The Assistant Secretary gave figures showing the increase of membership during the last five years. The point then arose as to whether the suggestions should be voted on at that meeting as Mr. I. Cohen considered that insufficient notice had been given. Mr. Franklin opposed this view and Mr. A. Shaw Wright and Mr. S. C. Stanford urged that to avoid delay voting should take place. On the matter being put to the vote it was decided to vote at that meeting.

Mr. Shaw Wright proposed and Mr. I. Cohen seconded that the annual subscription be increased. This was carried. It was proposed by Mr. F. T. Hocking, seconded by Mr. V. Higham that the increase be ten shillings. An amendment by Mr. H. Parker, seconded by Mr. V. H. Coleman that the increase be five shillings was defeated. In the case of "family" membership it was proposed by Mrs. Heath, seconded by Mr. J. D. Worsey that the subscription be increased to 15/-. This was defeated and the recommendation of the Central Committee that it remain at 10/- was agreed to. It was agreed that members elected prior to 1940 should have the

option of continuing to pay one pound.

The suggestions that a booklet giving the aims of the Club be published and that a press officer be appointed were agreed to. The suggestion that various sections, to study particular subjects be set up, was left to the Central Committee. The suggestion that members be invited to speak on items of interest for not longer than five minutes at any meeting was agreed to and another, that more information be given about places passed *en route* on field meetings, was not agreed to. It was agreed to leave to the Central

Committee the suggestion that more "outside" lecturers be invited

to speak to the Club.

Mrs. F. Leeds was then installed as President. She said that it was a great honour to be the first woman president and considered it a compliment to the lady members elected during the past five years. She thanked Dr. Langford for his services to the Club and said that he had done a great deal of research for his presidential address.

Wolverhampton Public Library was declared elected a member

of the Club.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST FIELD MEETING, 30TH APRIL.

At Evesham, near to the Abbey tower, Mr. F. C. Morgan spoke of the abbey and of Simon de Montfort. Wickhamford church with its interesting monuments to the Sandys and Washington family associations, Buckland church and the Manor House gardens, and Sudeley castle, were visited in turn. At Winchcombe a business meeting was held. An Inspector of the Ministry of Works had visited portions of the city wall and was satisfied with the standard of repair but he did not consider the attitude of the City Council very helpful. The City Library committee's donation of £25 to the Club's funds was reported.

SECOND FIELD MEETING, 23RD MAY (Half-day).

The church at Kilpeck was the first place visited and explained and later at Compston Hill the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Kendrick, described the glaciation and its effects on river diversion. At a business meeting held at New Llanthony, Mrs. H. L. D. O. Duckworth and Mr., Mrs. and Miss Barrett were declared elected members of the Club. The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram gave a history of the foundation of New Llanthony by Father Ignatius, and later at Llanthony Abbey the ruins were described and a short account of Walter Savage Landor, who once lived and owned the estate, was given by Mr. Morgan.

THIRD FIELD MEETING, 20TH JUNE.

Old Gwernyfed, Velindre, was visited by permission of Mrs. Hore-Ruthven and at Porthamel the old gate tower and barns were examined. At Llangesty Talyllyn Miss B. Hone, Mr. J. R. Peebles, Miss D. M. Murphy and Mrs. J. H. Langston were declared elected members. At Llangorse Lake the botany and geology of the district were described by Mr. F. M. Kendrick, and at Brecon, the cathedral was described by the Dean of Brecon.

FOURTH FIELD MEETING, 23RD JULY (Half-day).

Hereford city wall was described in the garden of the County Health office in Bridge Street where the best remaining portion may be seen, and then part of the wall was followed as far as the Farmers' Club. At Coningsby Hospital, the history of the building was given by Mr. H. J. Harris; the Booth Hall was described by Mr. H. J. Powell (see pp. 206-209), and Dr. and Mrs. A. W. Langford entertained the members to tea on the lawn of their residence. Afterwards the Vicars' Cloisters were visited and a short history of the buildings, etc., was given by Mr. Morgan. At a business meeting the Rt. Hon. Lord Cilcennin, Col., Mrs. and Miss Heyes and Miss Hurst were declared elected.

FIFTH FIELD MEETING, 27TH AUGUST.

Berrington Hall, now the property of the National Trust was visited, and Lady Cawley kindly gave light refreshments. At Putnel the tunnel of the derelict canal was seen and described by Mr. I. Cohen (see pp. 267–285), and at Shobdon the arches of the old church and the architecture of the new one were examined. Mr. Kendrick described the geology of the Aymestrey limestone in the large quarry there, and at Leintwardine the excavations of Roman defences were described by Mr. S. C. Stanford. At a business meeting Lady Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Dodd, Miss M. Prosser, Dr. and Mrs. J. G. Hunt and Mr. A. L. Feaster were declared elected members. At Stanton Lacy the Saxon church was visited.

SIXTH FIELD MEETING, 12TH SEPTEMBER.

Great Witley church was visited first, and at Chaddesley Corbett the church was described by the President, Mrs. F. Leeds. arvington Hall was then seen and at a business meeting at Hartlebury Common, Miss E. M. M. Dunlop, the Rev. S. R. and Mrs. Palmer were declared elected members. Mr. F. M. Kendrick gave an account of the local botany.

FIRST AUTUMN MEETING, 29TH OCTOBER.

The President, Mrs. F. Leeds, in the chair, for a business meeting when attention was called to the unauthorised excavation at King Arthur's cave, which had been brought to the notice of the Ministry of Works. The chair was then taken by the Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram for a "Brains Trust" the panel consisting of Mr. F. M. Kendrick, Mr. F. C. Morgan, Mr. S. C. Stanford, and Dr. C. W. Walker, when many questions on local subjects were answered.

SECOND AUTUMN MEETING, 7TH NOVEMBER.

The President, Mrs. F. Leeds in the chair. Mr. A. Rees Davie Miss Okell, Mrs. Field, Wing Commander R. D. I. Scott, Mr. an Mrs. W. J. Cottle, Mr. and Mrs. F. R. C. Hermon and Mr. A. W Lewis were declared elected members. Dr. E. Moir gave a lectur on "Local history" outlining the sources of material for the stud of this subject.

THIRD AUTUMN MEETING, 19TH NOVEMBER.

The President, Mrs. F. Leeds, in the chair. A lantern lecture on some of the valuable collection of seals in the cathedral library was given by Mr. F. C. Morgan, followed by a talk by Miss Jancey on the Herefordshire county records.

FOURTH AUTUMN MEETING, 17TH DECEMBER.

The President, Mrs. F. Leeds, in the chair. Mr. and Mr. Page, Mr. and Mrs. R. P. L. Britton were declared elected member Owing to the absence through illness of Mr. I. Cohen, Mr. F. Kendrick described a fine series of coloured slides taken by Mr. Cohen, illustrating the course of the Wye from its source to mouth with notes on the geological features.

Annual Autumn Meeting, 3rd December.

The President, Mrs. F. Leeds, in the chair. The result of the questionnaire concerning suggested activities of the club was reby the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. M. Kendrick.

The following officers for 1960 were elected:

President: The Rev. D. A. L. Maclean; Vice-President Mrs. F. Leeds, Dr. A. W. Langford, Prebendary A. L. Moir, S. C. Stanford; Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. M. Kendrick; H. Treasurer: Mr. P. A. B. Elkin; Hon. Librarian: Mr. F. C. Morg Central Committee: Miss M. Jancey, Mr. H. E. Pile, the Venera A. J. Winnington-Ingram, Dr. David Smyth; Editorial Comittee: Mr. I. Cohen, Mr. W. H. Howse, Prebendary A. L. M. the Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram, Mr. S. C. Stanford, F. C. Morgan; Sectional Editors: Archæology: Mr. S. C. Stanford, F. C. Morgan; Sectional Editors: Archæology: Mr. S. C. Stanford, Botany and Geology: Mr. F. M. Kendrick; Lepidoptera: Rev. R. B. Sisson; Mammals and Ornithology: Dr. C. W. Walkeress Representatives: Mrs. M. U. Jones, Mr. H. E. Mr. Kendrick.

Mr. S. C. Stanford reported on the work of the Commiconcerning proposed excavations at Croft Ambrey, and on excations at Buckton Roman fort (see pp. 210-218).

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

(Herefordshire)

PROCEEDINGS, 1960

The First Meeting was held on 9th January. The President, Mrs. Leeds, in the chair.

The following were declared elected members of the Club: Miss Morling, Clairville House, Ross-on-Wye, Miss Hancock, Cleeve Lane, Ross-on-Wye.

The Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., gave a talk on Landscape Gardening. He traced the history of landscape gardens and referred particularly to those of the 18th century. Many old prints were on exhibition.

The President spoke of the death of Mr. I. Cohen, and members stood in silence. Mr. F. C. Morgan paid a tribute to him (see obituary,

p. 252).

The Second Meeting was on 21st January. The President, Mrs. Leeds, in the chair.

Declared elected members of the Club were: Miss I. M. Tattershall and Miss M. Hodgson, both of Forest Gate, Callow, Mrs. C. J. Price, The Garth, Kingsland, Miss U. Palairet, Yew Tree Cottage, Westhill, Ledbury.

Mr. J. F. L. Norwood gave a short paper entitled "Reconstructing the Past", referring particularly to repairing artifacts

and displaying them.

Mr. F. G. Heys, M.A., read an interim report on the excavations on the medieval moated site at Breinton Camp, and a paper on "The Newent Coalfield" was read by Mr. F. M. Kendrick. The coalfield was abandoned owing to the poor quality of the coal and the large quantities of water encountered.

THE THIRD MEETING was cancelled owing to Dr. Kathleen Kenyon not being able to attend.

The Fourth Meeting was held on 25th February. The President, Mrs. Leeds, in the chair.

Miss G. Hamilton, Hillston, Bank Crescent, Ledbury, and Mr. Miles Hadfield, 39 Hamstead Hill, Birmingham, were declared elected members of the Club.

¹ See note on p. 238.

Mr. S. C. Stanford paid tribute to the late Mr. I. Cohen and then gave a report on Archæology for 1959 (see pp. 242-244).

Mr. F. M. Kendrick reported on Botany and Geology for the

same period (see pp. 247–248).

Dr. C. W. Walker reported on Mammals, Reptiles and Orni-

thology for 1959 (see pp. 249-250).

Mr. J. F. L. Norwood exhibited spiders taken from bunches of bananas. He stated that a builder's excavation on the site of the old Residence Hotel confirmed the line of the King's Ditch.

THE FIFTH MEETING WAS HELD ON 5TH MARCH. Mr. V. Higham, in the chair owing to the absence of the President through illness.

Mr. S. C. Standord, B.A., read a paper entitled "The Leintwardine Excavations", which he claimed, had the whole concept of the state of the March of Wales during the Roman occupation. (See pp. 87–99.)

THE SIXTH MEETING WAS HELD ON 30TH MARCH. The Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir, in the chair owing to the absence of the President through bereavement.

Members stood in silence in memory of Mr. F. Leeds.

The following were declared elected members of the Club: Mrs. A. M. B. Swanston, Hillstow, Bank Crescent, Ledbury, Mr. and Mrs. C. Sandford, Eye Manor, Miss Dorothy Harrison, The School House, Aymestrey, Mr. W. Hadyn Thomas, Hightree, Leintwardine, Mrs. E. F. Pugh, Hawkersland House, Marden, Mr. and Mrs. Wibberley, Midland Bank, Hereford, Miss J. Yorke and Mis. G. Yorke, Llanryton, Cawdor, Ross-on-Wye.

Mr. Nicholas Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., described the "Excavations at Dane's Camp Hill Fort, Bredon Hill, 1958-59", illustrated by slides of air and ground photographs and plans. He gave a graphic account of life in this fortified Iron Age village as revealed

by excavation.

Spring Annual Meeting was held on 21st April. The President, Mrs. Leeds, took the chair.

Mrs. M. U. Jones gave a short interim report on Castle Green excavations. The wall foundations of the church and several burials had been found, but floor levels had been destroyed.

The following were declared elected members of the Club: Miss Winefred Guest and Miss Nancy Guest, Hilltop, Dilwyn,

Rev. H. P. Absalom, Lucton Vicarage, Leominster.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. M. Kendrick, reported on the Field Meetings of 1959, which had been favoured with exceptionally fine weather.

The Hon. Treasurer in place of his usual report, sent a note saying that the balance on hand on 31st December, 1959, was

approximately £600.

The Asst. Secretary reported that the membership at the end of 1958 stood at 491. New members in 1959 totalled 56 of which 30 were ladies, 25 gentlemen, one library and one member rejoined. The loss in membership in the same period was 25. Six members died, 13 resigned, three were struck off and three left the district. Membership at the end of 1959 was therefore 523.

The Hon. Librarian, Mr. F. C. Morgan, reported that 79 books had been borrowed in 1959. Some had been kept out too long. He proposed making a re-arrangement when time permitted.

Mrs. Leeds gave her Presidential Address, the subject of which was the further history of the postal services (see pp. 271–279). The Rev. D. A. L. Maclean of Dochgarroch, was then installed as President, who said that his first duty was to compliment Mrs. Leeds on the way she, as first lady President, had carried out her duties during her year of office. Mrs. Leeds thanked all who had assisted her during that time.

On exhibition was a small tombstone from Clodock church, the inscription on which had been translated by Mr. Ralegh

Radford (see pp. 239).

For the second half-day field meeting it was decided to visit

the Ross Spur motorway on 16th July.

To fill the vacancy on the Central Committee, Mr. W. T. Jones was appointed.

FIELD MEETINGS

Additional Half-Day Field Meeting held on 30th April. Stoke Edith church was visited and was described by The Venerable A. J. Winnington-Ingram, who also gave an account of the Foley family, with which he is connected. The Rev. D. A. L. Maclean explained how the history of the family was shown on the coats of arms in the church. Miss Jancey spoke of a volume of plans of cottages and other buildings on the estate made by Wilkins in 1792. This volume, the handsome church plate of 1743, and the registers were on view. The site of the demolished mansion was visited, by permission of Mrs. Foley and Mr. A. T. Foley.

Declared elected members of the Club were: Miss Elizabeth Alison, Glannant, Clodock, Mr. and Mrs. J. Stephens, Flat 4, 14 Aylestone Hill, Hereford, Mr., Mrs. & Miss Hone, National Provincial Bank, Ledbury, and Mr. W. H. Bishop, Parks Super-

intendant, Harrogate.

FIRST FIELD MEETING WAS HELD ON 14TH MAY.

The church of North Cerney was first visited, the manticores on the outside being seen. It was described by the rector, the Rev. Arthur J. Turner. Chedworth Roman villa was next visited and then the Corinium museum in Cirencester. At the business meeting the following were declared elected members of the Club: Mrs. King-King, Deerfold House, Lingen, Mr. and Mrs. Yelloly, Silia, Presteigne, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Davies, Stansbatch House, Stauntonon-Arrow. Mr. V. Higham said that John Buchan used Chedworth villa as the scene of one of his novels.

Second Field Meeting (Half-Day) was held on $2\mathrm{N}\mathrm{D}$ June.

En route to Garway, a stop was made at Cole's Tump to admire extensive views. At Garway, the Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir described the church, which had at one time belonged to the Knights Templar. The dovecote also was seen. Pembridge Castle was next visited by permission of the owner, Mr. Cook. The President spoke on its history and members were able to see the careful restoration carried out by Dr. Hedley Bartlett, the previous owner, who was a bishop of the Greek church, a barrister and medical doctor and whose ashes and those of his wife are buried in the chapel.

At the business meeting the following were declared elected members of the Club: Miss Catterns, 20 Lichfield Avenue, Hereford, Rev. J. Victor, Well Cottage, Quay Street, Hereford, Miss D. V. Dunk, 132 Three Elms Road, Hereford.

Third Field Meeting (President's Day) was held on $30^{\rm TH}$ June, 1960.

The first stop was at a Bunter sandstone exposure near Bromsberrow, where Mr. F. M. Kendrick spoke on the geology of the region. After crossing the temporary Bailey bridge at Haw Bridge over the Severn, the party reached Deerhurst. The Saxon church of St. Mary the Virgin was visited and was described by the Rev. Hugh Maclean, the President's brother. Odda's Chapel was also visited. The next stop was at the moated Birtsmorton Court. At Tewkesbury Abbey, the vicar gave its history and the President pointed out various coats of arms. Declared elected member of the Club was Capt. W. Ashby, Sellarsbrook House, Ganarew.

Fourth Field Meeting (Half-Day) was held on 16^{TH} July.

At the office of the Resident Engineer of the Ross Spur motorway at Over Ross, a model of the Bridstow bridge was seen and

then the bridge itself, which was under construction was visited. After travelling along the motorway, a stop was made near Linton, where Mr. F. M. Kendrick pointed out the colourful and almost vertical strata. After a deviation around the uncompleted middle portion, the motorway was rejoined and the impressive Queenhill viaduct, also under construction, was inspected. At the business meeting the following were declared elected members of the Club: Mr. B. E. and Master E. N. Balfour, 27 St. Pauls Road, Tupsley, Mr. A. E. Pitts, c/o Lloyd's Bank Chambers, Hereford, and Mrs. Feaster, 1 Vineyard Road, Hereford. The President urged members to record the inscriptions on their local tombstones before they became indecipherable.

FIFTH FIELD MEETING WAS HELD ON 4TH AUGUST.

At Mortimer's Cross the party divided; one section going to Birtley where the large and interesting collection of local pottery of Mr. J. W. B. Griffiths was seen. A stop was made at the remains of Limebrook nunnery, where the Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir spoke on its history. At Upper Lye, Mr. F. M. Kendrick spoke on the the geology of the upper Lugg valley. The other section went to Croft Castle and from there walked to Croft Ambrey, where the excavations sponsored by the Club were seen and were described by Mr. S. C. Stanford, who had organised and was directing them. Both sections joined up again at Croft Castle and the castle and church were visited, Mrs. Uhlman and Lord Croft acting as guides. A buffet tea generously provided by Lord Croft in a marquee on the lawn was then eaten. At the business meeting which followed, the following were declared elected members of the Club: The Rev. B. E. Phillips, Inverlea, Cantilupe Road, Ross-on-Wye, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Mess, Pullen Farm, Ullingswick, Major & Mrs. S. G. Blake, The Castle, Munsley, Mr. G. Newton-Sealey, 28 Hampton Park Road, Hereford, and Dr. Basil Miles, The Clyst, Hampton Park, Hereford.

SIXTH FIELD MEETING WAS HELD ON 15TH SEPTEMBER.

Llandaff Cathedral was visited and was described and its history given by the Rev. Robert Evans. The large aluminium figure of Christ by Epstein was seen. St. Fagan's Folk museum was the next stop. Here Mr. Jenkins gave an introductory talk; members then visited various features of the museum. At the business meeting the following were declared elected members of the Club; Mr. A. T. W. Colley, The Cottage, Park Way, Ledbury, Major and Mrs. F. M. Symonds, Llandinabo Court, Hereford, and Allan Maclean, The Rectory, Pixley.

AN ADDITIONAL FIELD MEETING WAS HELD ON 1ST OCTOBER in conjunction with the Herefordshire Botanical Society.

Led by Mr. V. H. Coleman, who spoke on the history of the Kington tramway, some of the party followed its course from Kington station to Lyonshall. A number of the original stone sleepers were seen. The remainder of the party held a fungus foray in Lyonshall Park woods. The Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir spoke on the history of Lyonshall castle. The following were declared elected members of the Club: Mrs. K. M. Wright, Ambrey Cottage, Croft Castle, Mrs. E. M. Bryan, Stocton, Swainshill, and Dr. Margaret Armistead, Newlands Croft, Newlands, Leominster.

First Autumn Meeting was held on 20th October.

The President, the Rev. D. A. L. Maclean, in the chair. Mr. T. C. Gwynne reported that he had a family of hedgehogs in his garden. Mr. Gilbert Yorke, Llanryton, Cawdor, Ross-on-Wye was declared elected, and Mr. Charles Evans declared re-elected, members of the Club. Mr. C. A. Ralegh Radford, M.A., F.S.A., gave a paper entitled "Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey, 1951-59" which was illustrated by slides.

THE SECOND AUTUMN MEETING WAS HELD ON 17TH NOVEMBER. The President, the Rev. D. A. L. Maclean in the chair.

Mrs. Redcliffe, 35, Mount Crescent, Tupsley, was declared elected member of the Club.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick gave a talk on "An Introduction to Geo ology".

Mr. V. Higham spoke on "A Beginner and his Cacti", and exhibited numerous specimens.

Annual Winter Meeting was held on 10th December.

The President, the Rev. D. A. L. Maclean in the chair.

The following were declared elected members of the Club Mr. Allen Rooke, Mayfield House, 47, St. Martin Street, Hereford, Miss M. E. Crowe, Maple Dene, Stockenhill Road, Leominster, Mr. W. Kay, 28, Belmont Avenue, Hereford, and Mr. K. J. Clarke, 4, Farr Close, Hereford.

The officers elected for 1961 were as follows:

President, Mr. S. C. Stanford, B.A., F.S.A.; Vice-Presidents, Rev. D. A. L. Maclean, Mrs. Leeds, Dr. A. W. Langford and the Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir; the four members of the Central Committee due to retire, Mrs. M. U. Jones, Mr. W. T. Jones, Mr. A. Shaw Wright, and Mr. A. U. Zimmerman, were re-elected; Hon. Treasurer, owing to Mr. F. W. Weedon being unable to take up his

duties through illness, Mrs. H. S. Widgery was appointed; Hon. Librarian, Mr. J. F. Sherwood; Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. M. Kendrick; Hon. Auditor, Mr. H. S. Widgery; Sectional Editors, Archæology—Mr. S. C. Stanford; Botany and Geology—Mr. F. M. Kendrick; Ornithology and Mammals—Dr. C. W. Walker; Entomology—Rev. R. B. Sisson (should he agree to continue); Hon. Lanternist, Mr. W. T. Jones; Editorial Committee, Mr. F. C. Morgan, who wished to serve only until the next Transactions appear, Mrs. M. U. Jones, Miss Jancey, the Rev. D. A. L. Maclean, the Rev. Preb. A. L. Moir, and Mr. S. C. Stanford.

It was agreed to hold the first two field meetings at Burford and in the Clee Hill district, and at Pontesbury, and the first half-day meeting at Kempley and Dymock. It was resolved that "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 the privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of five shillings for a full day's meeting and two shillings and sixpence for a half-day one in respect of each visitor". As this will require amendment to Rule 5, notice was given that this matter will be brought up for confirmation at the Annual Spring Meeting.

Mr. F. G. Heys, M.A., gave a full account of the excavations carried out during the summer on the Castle Green which revealed the foundations of a church (see pp. 343–357).

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SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

Birmingham Archæological Society British Association Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society
Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club.
Cardiff Naturalists' Society.
Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.
Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club. Essex Archæological Society. Essex Field Club. Geological Society of London. Hertfordshire Natural History Society. Kent Archæological Society. Llandudno and District Field Club. North Staffordshire Field Club. Oxoniensia. Powysland Club. Radnorshire Society. Somerset Archæological Society. Surrey Archeological Society. Swansea Field Club. Worcester Archæological Society.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE FOLLOWING SOCIETIES ARE PURCHASED

British Archæological Association, British Mycological Society. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. Harleian Society.

PUBLICATIONS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES AVAILABLE IN THE CITY REFERENCE SOCIETY

Antiquity. Brecknock Society: Brycheiniog. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society: Transactions. British Numismatics Society: Journal.
British Records Association: Reports and Archives. Cambrian Archæological Association: Archæologia Cambrensis. Chepstow Society: Occasional papers, Transactions. Dugdale Society: Publications. Harleian Society: Publications. Historical Society of the Church in Wales: Journal. Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: Transactions. Institute of Historical Research: Bulletin. Journal of Roman Studies. National Trust: Reports. Notes and Queries. Pipe Roll Society: Publications. Shropshire Archæological Society: Transactions. Shropshire Parish Register Society: Parish registers. South Wales and Monmouth Record Society: Publications. Worcestershire Historical Society. Worcestershire Parish Register Society: Parish registers.



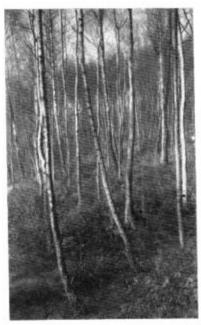
WATERFALLS IN BURGHOPE WOOD CAUSED BY LIMESTONES.



LOOKING NORTH INTO THE BURGHOPE VALLEY. THE STREAM FLOWS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SLOPE ON THE LEFT.



LOOKING NORTH FROM "LOOK OUT" SHOWING CLEARED AREA TO RIGHT AND NATURAL WOODLAND ON THE LEFT.



LOOKING INTO BURGHOPE WOOD FROM OUEEN'S WOOD.

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

PAPERS, 1958

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS By F. M. Kendrick

SOME NOTES ON THE BOTANY OF DINMORE HILL

Limestones have always been the chief delight of the botanists because they provide many of our rarer and beautiful flowers. This interest is manifest in the *Transactions* of the Club, for they contain many records of plants to be found on such stations as the Doward and the Woolhope Dome. However, these limestone areas are not typical of the larger part of Herefordshire as this is covered by the Old Red rocks and, as far as I can ascertain, no detailed botanical survey has been made of any particular area of the formation.

It must not be concluded from this that the Devonian rocks have nothing of interest for the botanist, because as A. G. Tansley has pointed out, the Herefordshire plain is very fertile, especially where the limestone and cornstone bands are located. Early records, both in the *Flora* and the Club's *Transactions*, give many records of calcicoles and state that their distribution is not confined to the limestone areas in the county. Whilst acknowledging that the marls derived from the Old Red rocks have in some cases a very high lime content, I strongly suspect that most of the recorded stations for calcicoles are located on or near the Psammosteus limestone or cornstone bands.

There has been no detailed geological mapping of the cornstone and limestone bands for the county as a whole, but fortunately the Rev. B. B. Clarke has described the exact position of these in his paper on "The Geology of Dinmore Hill". As this area is quite typical of much of Herefordshire, it was considered that a survey of its flora may be of interest. The Queen's Wood-Burghope Wood area was chosen as perhaps the best area in which to make the survey because of the physical features.

Howe Wood has been excluded from the survey in spite of the fact that mention has been made of the rapid change in the nature of its flora, due to the influence of limestone bands. This has been done purposely because the geological survey has revealed

¹ The British Isles and their Vegetation, A.G.T. (Cambridge).
² The Geology of Dinmore Hill, by Rev. B. B. Clarke (Woolhope Club Transactions, 1952).

Downes and denes, by Sir Edward Salisbury (Bell & Sons, p. 146).

that the limestone and cornstone bands are horizontal and not vertical as was once supposed; also the bed of the stream has such a deposit of calcareous tufa that even geological survey was almost impossible in the area. It was therefore considered advisable to examine an area from the crest of the hill and to include the re-entrant valley to the north of Burghope Court. As the general dip of the rocks is to the south-east, the limestones will not, at least on the east side of the valley, be masked by drainage-this is rather important as the upper limestone band is very soluble, and it helps to avoid such masking of the effects as has taken place to the north-west of Dinmore station.

The area included in this survey was the whole of Burghope wood, the re-entrant valley between Burghope and Queen's wood, bounded on the south by the old road, and Oueen's wood from the road joining the main road to the old road on the west of the wood. The area covered is a large one, but so many totally different habitats were found within the area that it was considered of more interest to include a broad general survey rather than a detailed ecological survey of small selected spots. The large area covered, has the disadvantage that it makes it impossible to give anything like a complete flora in the short space of

one year over which the survey has been made.

In view of the difficulties mentioned in the preceding paragraph, these notes should be regarded merely as an introduction to the flora of these woods with an emphasis on the distribution of various calcicole and calcifuge plants which were found there in 1957-8. It is hoped to complete a florula for this district on the lines of that produced for the Dowards by Mr. Burton M.

Watkins1 and others.

Dinmore Hill has also the advantage that the woods were clear felled during the 1914-18 War, and were allowed to regenerate naturally. 10-day most of the lower southern slopes of Oueen's wood are still in the natural state though a large area of the other portions are now thinned, or in process of being thinned. These areas should provide an interesting study in the regeneration of shrub and other layers due to the increased light provided by the

reduction of the canopy.

A convenient place to start the survey of this area should one arrive by 'bus or car, is the car park at the top of the hill on the main road from Hereford to Leominster. Here two factors operate: the first is that a large area has been very much thinned and cleared of all undergrowth and, as the wood belongs to the County Council and is maintained as an open space, regeneration of the natural woodland is prevented by annual cutting of the grasses, ferns and brambles. Secondly, the whole area is floored by the Dittonian sandstones and the soil layer is quite thin. Here the natural wood consists of oak (mainly hybrid O. robur x O. betræa) with a scatter of silver birch. Practically all the shrub laver has been cleared, though a corner in the south-west portion of the wood is not, and here the shrub layer consists of very scattered and weak-looking blackberry plants.

Illustration No. 1 gives a typical view of the cleared area. looking north from near the "Look out". The shrub layer here has been cleared, and the typical ground flora consists of coarse grasses, and in the old quarry workings (difficult to clear by machine) are low-growing brambles. Primroses, bluebells (Scilla nonscripta) are common in the spring, though the latter has a peculiar distribution, being confined mainly to the ground that falls away to the south-east. As the "Look out" is approached. large quantities of Luzula sylvatica can be seen, whilst on the banks of the ride branching away to the left, wood sorrel (Oxalis acetosella) of a deep purple hue may be found. The small scabious. herb robert, herb bennet and the wild strawberry are everywhere in evidence. The ferns are mainly bracken, in the more moist spots the male fern is locally abundant, whilst the hard fern (Blechnum spicant) occurs in isolated patches. Near the "Look out" itself, especially in an area recently felled, the golden rod (Solidago virgaurea) is very abundant, whilst on the under slopes may be found an occasional plant of tutsan (Hypericum androsæmum). The mosses are mainly species of polytrichums, bryums, mniums and funaria, and foliose liverworts are to be found on the shady banks. During the autumn, the larger fungi in many varieties are much in evidence.

Proceeding westwards along the path that runs below the "Look out", one passes through typical scrub type oak mainly a cross $(Q.robur \times Q.peduncula)$, the sides of the ride being lined with small scabious, woodsage and sanicle, whilst occasional patches of ling occur where the ride is more open. The ferns include the lady fern and common polypody in addition to those to be found higher up in the woods. As one reaches the fence that divides Queen's wood from Burghope wood, the scene changes, and we are confronted with that shown in illustration No. 2, for we have now rounded the spur of the hill and the small stream coming in from the right-hand side is charged with lime, and this has had a marked effect on the vegetation. Ash has replaced oak as the dominant tree and, with the decrease in the canopy shade, the shrub and herb layers have become denser and varied. On the stream are to be found the water figwort (Scrophularia aquatica), brook-lime (Veronica beccabunga) rushes (mainly J. commuis and J. effusa) whilst during the early summer a belt of the wood vetch (vicia sylvatica) about fifteen feet wide follows the stream in such profusion as to almost obscure the plentiful brambles over which it climbs.

The ride here follows the contours of the hill, and as we proceed along it one can find daffodils, cowslips, spotted, early

¹ Florula of the Doward Hills, by B. M. Watkins (Woolhope Club Transactions, 1881, p. 53).

purple and greater butterfly orchids, with an occasional birdsnest orchid (*Neottia nidus-avis*). The ground flora has profuse admixtures of creeping jenny (*Lysimachia hummularia*) and *Lysimachia nemorum*. The mosses are dominated by the mniums, whilst the leafy liverworts of the species plagiochila and hophocolea are common.

On reaching the old coach road, cross it and follow the ride westwards on the opposite side. This ride, still following the contours, enters at the top of the Burghope valley. Ash is still dominant, and the flora much the same as that on the other side of the coach road, but soon large clumps of teasel (Dipsacus sylvestris) are to be seen; dog's mercury becomes plentiful and clumps of columbine (Aquilegia vulgaris), autumn crocus (Colchicum autumnale) and herb paris (Paris quadrifolia) can be seen as the drainage from the top of the hill seeps out at various places.

At the centre point of the valley, two small streams meet and, flowing under the ride, proceed in a southerly direction downwards. A path follows the stream, and by following this one can arrive at the floor of the valley. As the stream flows down, it crosses the Psammosteus limestone bands and the cornstones, and these create waterfalls as can be seen in illustration No. 3. A little below the falls, seepage from the west causes calcareus tufa to be deposited on the mosses. On the way down, are to be seen hard, prickly-shield, harts tongue and common polypody ferns. The whole area has been recently felled, and the main ground flora on the west side is dominated by dog's mercury. It should be a most interesting area in a year or so.

At the floor of the valley, we leave the stream to follow its course through alders, willow and growth of meadow sweet and codlings and cream (Epilobium hirsutum) and take the left-hand fork where the moist ground is covered with golden saxifrage (Chrysobplenium oppositifolium) and where you can generally find clumps of the lawyer's wig (Coprinus comatus). This path leads along the eastern edge of the valley, just below the limestone and cornstone bands, and it is here that perhaps the best example of their effect on the flora is to be found. As can be seen from illustration 4 (taken looking north) there is a steep bank on the east of the path and patches of cornstone are visible in the bank.

Above the bank, especially at its north-east end, can be seen typical sandstone flora, though the marls to be found in the Downtonian rocks give a slightly alkaline, rather than true acid, sandstone. Below, the effect of the lime is to be seen in such plants as spurge laurel (Daphne laureola), yellow wort (Blackstonia perfoliata), tustan (Hypericum androsæmum), foetid iris (Iris foetidissima), nettle leaved bell flower (Campanula trachelium), old man's beard (Clematis vitalba) and dogwood (Cornus sanguinea). Perhaps the most marked change can be seen at the quarry, near the entrance to the wood where, at the top, is typical acid oak

wood, whilst on the floor of the quarry can be found many of the specimens mentioned.

The return journey can be made by the old coach road to the top of the hill, or one may proceed to Hope-under-Dinmore where the bands are marked at the side of the road by yellow wort (Chlora perfoliata) and eyebright (Euphrasia agg), and at the bottom of the hill can be found the shining crane's-bill (G. lucidium) and the meadow crane's-bill (G. pratense).

I am only too conscious of the numerous plants which I have omitted to mention, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to rouse more than a passing interest in the area, and to illustrate the possibilities for future study.

In conclusion, may I place on record my thanks to Sir Richard Cotterell, Bart., and Mr. Oliver, of Burghope Court, who so freely gave permission for this work to be undertaken in woods belonging to them.

THE CANTELUPE FAMILY

By D. A. L. MACLEAN OF DOCHGARROCH

The family of Cantelupe is of interest for the prominent part which it played in the history of this country during the 13th and 14th centuries because its greatest member was St. Thomas of Hereford, one of the last Englishmen to be canonized before the Reformation. In addition to St. Thomas, nine Cantelupes are noticed in the D.N.B. and seven of these were related to the saint.

In this paper are collected notes from various sources on the members of the family connected with St. Thomas. It is incomplete, as all family records must be after the lapse of so long a period. There were many other Cantelupes, some of whom probably were related to the saint, but their places in the pedigree are uncertain.

The family came from Normandy and is named from one or other of several places there called Canteleu. De Canteleu and de Canteleup were rendered de Cantilupo in Latin documents: in English they became Cantlow and Cantley. The versions Cantilupe and Cantelupe are said by Oswald Barron to be an anglicanization of a latinization. Here the "De" and the "Of" are omitted, except when as "D" it has become part of the accepted surname, e.g., Darches for d'Arches, and when it has become the usual way by which a man is known, e.g., Simon de Montfort.

Robert Cantelupe is mentioned in the record of an agreement (1070-81), made at Bayeux as bound to assist Hugh of Bretteville if the latter has to serve in England.¹ Roger Cantelupe gave benefactions to the Abbey of St. George of Boscherville, confirmed by Henry I in 1114.¹* Alexander Cantelupe was granted the hundred

^{*} Figures refer to sources on p. 21; letters with figures refer to the pedigree facing p. 20.

of Brewton in Somerset. In 1146 he gave lands to Bruton Priory —with his son and heir Ranulf.⁸ Gilbert Cantelupe was witness to a charter by William Roumare, earl of Lincoln, in 1150. He was the seneschal of Robert FitzGerald and witnessed a charter by him. In 1155 Henry II confirmed to the priory of Longueville in Normandy grants by Gilbert Cantelupe of land, by Walter Cantelupe of a tithe of his fee and by William Cantelupe of a tenant.8 William Cantelupe witnessed charters of Henry Doilly to Oseney abbey, Oxford, between 1154 and 1163. He is said to have been the father of Euphemia (who died 1153-54) wife of Aubrev de Vere. 1st earl of Oxford. Simon Cantelupe, who was probably related to William, held two fees in Higham in Suffolk in 1168. Simon. Ralph and Robert Cantelupe all witnessed charters of Aubrey. earl of Oxford, to Colne priory.5 Walter Cantelupe held four knights' fees in Essex and Lincolnshire in 1166.6

Walter Cantelupe (A1) who was living in 1204.7 is said to have been the father of William (B1)8. He may have been a son of Walter or William who made grants to Longueville as stated. There seems to be no reason for relating him to any of the Cantelupes

already in England.

William Cantelupe (B1), the founder of the family in England, played a prominent part in history in the reigns of John and Henry III. He was steward of the household of John and is mentioned by Wendover as one of the King's evil counsellors. John succeeded to the throne on the 6th April, 1199, when he was in Normandy and William is found witnessing the King's charter to the citizens of Rouen at Dieppe on the 21st May, 1199. Matthew Paris says that William was a Norman by birth which suggests that he did not belong to one of the several Cantelupes already established in this country. He was probably a son of Walter (A1).8 From 1199 he was in constant attendance on the King, witnessed his charters and was in charge of arrangements in the royal household. He was sheriff of the counties of Warwick and Leicester from 1201 to 1204. He was governor of Hereford castle in 1204 and of Wilton castle, Bridstow, after the death of Henry Longchamp, who is said to have married William's sister Maud. He was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1204 and on 28th October he was the leading justice who tried the case between Petronil Ewias and the abbey of Gloucester concerning the advowson of Foy, when it was agreed that Lady Ewias should renounce her claim to the advowson and that the abbey should pay her four silver marks. In the same year he was granted the wardship of Hugh, son and heir of John Kilpeck. In 1205 the King granted him the manor of Aston Cantlow in Warwickshire, which was valued at £40 a year and became his principal seat. In the same year the King granted him the manor of Eaton Bray in Bedfordshire in exchange for 300 marks and the manor of Cockswell which the King had previously given him. 69 The King also granted him the manors of Market Harborough and Bowden, 10 and he held two knights' fees in Barby, Northants, as

part of the inheritance of Catherine, daughter and heir of Hugh Lisle, whose wardship he had been granted with the custody of her lands. 11 Between 1211 and 1221, he held the wardship of Roger, son and heir of Robert Chandos of Fownhope and Snodhill castle for Walter Clifford. From 1210 to 1216, he was again sheriff of the counties of Warwick and Leicester. In 1213, the King licensed him to take timber from Aconbury wood for fortifying and repairing Hereford castle.7 In 1214, he was supporting the King in his struggle against the rebellious barons and accompanied him to Poitou. In 1215, he was appointed governor of the royal castle of Kenilworth, which post he held for eight years. On the 19th May, 1216, he was granted the custody of the heir and lands of

Ralph Pembruge.

In the closing months of the reign of John, William appears to have changed sides and joined the barons in rebellion, but on the King's death in October, 1216, he turned to support the young Henry III, who was nine years of age, against the barons. He was still steward of the household and became a leader of the royal army. He was at the siege of Mountsorrel castle in 1217, and was given the custody of the castle when it was taken. He was also at the relief of Lincoln. From 1217 to 1223, he was again sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and in 1217, he paid a fine of 200 marks for leave to marry his ward Catherine Lisle to one of his younger sons. 18 In 1218, he was justice itinerant in Bedfordshire. On the 9th May, 1221, he bought Broad Hempston, Devon, for 40 marks from Robert Borchard. On the 9th November, in that year the King renewed and confirmed the grant of the wardship of the heir and lands of Ralph Pembruge, with the governorship of Pembridge castle. On the 27th November, 1222, he bought the superiority of Coleshill, Warwickshire, for 100 marks from William Briwere with the wardship of the heir of Osbert de Clinton. In 1223, he was granted the wardship of Margery, daughter and heir of William Cumin of Snitterfield, Warwickshire, and of Fonthill Gifford, Wiltshire¹⁸: he later married her to his son John.¹¹ In 1224, he was with the King at the siege of Bedford castle. In 1227, the King confirmed the grant of Aston Cantlow with licence for a market and fair there. In the same year he confirmed the grant of Eaton Bray. In 1231 the grant of Aston Cantlow was again confirmed, and about the same time William held lands in Wolverton, Warwickshire, and was patron of Studley priory in the same county, to which he gave land at Shotteswell and built at the gate a hospital for the relief and entertainment of poor impotent people. 14 In 1234, he held five knights' fees in Shropshire including Castle Holgate and Pulverbatch.²⁵ In 1235, he held a knight's fee in Snitterfield of the earl of Warwick and the next year he signed the confirmation of Magna Carta.

William Cantelupe died at Reading in April, 1239,16 and was buried at Studley priory. 16 His wife was Masceline, daughter of Adulf Braci who was living in 1209¹⁷ 18. She appears to have been

living in 1220,10 and was probably a granddaughter of Adulf Braci who held Eaton Brav in 1170 and 1176.8

Fulk Cantelupe (B2), a brother of William (B1), also is mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors. He witnessed after his brother William, John's charter granting the manor of Chesterfield to William Briwere at Marlborough on the 6th August. 1215. He was sent to Canterbury by the King to make the monks obedient to the royal wishes in their election of an archbishop. 20 21 In the Testa de Nevill it is recorded that he had held £10 lands in Barton, Lincolnshire, of the escheat of the Lord King of the lands which had been held by Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, and that these lands were now held by his nephew William (C1). Either he or another Fulk is recorded in the Testa de Nevill as holding the manor of Burton, Northants, in the fee of Dodo Bardolf, and the manor of Burn' in the Rape of Pevensey, Sussex, and as having held "before the war" Shopland in the hundred of Rochford in Essex.

Maud Cantelupe (B3), a sister of William (B1), is said to have been the wife of Henry Longchamp of Wilton castle, Bridstow. Henry or his father of the same name, was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1191 and 1194, and was living at Wilton in 1200. After his

death William became governor of the castle.22

William Cantelupe (C1), was the son and heir of William (B1). Like his father, he is mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors, but he was still young in that reign. In 1217, he was with his father in the royal army at the relief of Lincoln. He married by that year the countess Millicent, daughter of Hugh de Gournay and widow of Amaury de Montfort, count of Evreux, who died in 1213.7 28 84 In 1238, he was for a short time entrusted with the Great Seal of the kingdom after the dismissal of Ralph Nevill the chancellor. In 1239, he succeeded to his father's estates and to his office of steward of the King's household. He was heir to his uncle Fulk's lands at Barton in Lincolnshire and he gave a moiety of Barton to Robert Barat who in turn gave it to Bardenay abbey. 25 On the 1st March, 1241, he witnessed Henry III's confirmation of John's charter to the bishopric of Hereford, and on 4th September of the same year, he witnessed the royal charter granting free warren to the bishop of Hereford in all the manors of the see. In 1242, he was appointed one of the guardians of the kingdom during the King's absence in Gascony. Three years later he was one of the delegation sent to the Council of Lyons to complain of the exactions of the church of Rome. In 1247, he was one of the Justices Itinerary at Oxford. He died on the 22nd February. 1251.16

His widow, Maud, was one of the guardians of Margaret. daughter of Henry III, who at the age of eleven was married on 26th December, 1251, to Alexander III, king of Scots, aged ten, She was in Edinburgh castle in 1255, when the young queen Margaret was ill, and she was accused of lese majeste by the English physician, Mr. Reginald Baa, who had been sent to Edinburgh by queen Eleanor of England to report on the health of her daughter. Mr. Baa was apparently murdered by the Scots.26 Matthew Paris in telling this story appears to imply from his description of her that the ladv was the countess Millicent, and it has been suggested that she may have had both names, Millicent and Maud.8 The Oseney annals. however, call her Maud when recording her death in 1260,27 and the countess Millicent is stated to have died when her son Thomas

was still young.

Walter Cantelupe (C2), a son of William (B1), was ordained deacon by the pope at Viterbo on 4th April, 1237, priested on the 18th April, and consecrated bishop of Worcester on 3rd Mav. He was a great defender of English liberties during his episcopate of over 28 years and a firm adherent of Simon de Montfort's party. At the Church council in St. Paul's in November, 1237, he withstood the cardinal legate Otto, and at the Church council in London, in October, 1255, he said to the legate Rustard, who demanded an enormous subsidy from the English clergy, nominally for the Holy Land, but in fact for the Pope and for the King, that he would rather be hanged on a gibbett than consent to such an extortion. On the morning of the battle of Lewes on the 14th May. 1264, he celebrated mass for the army of the barons and absolved the whole army, bidding them fight boldly with as much certainty of salvation as though they were fighting on a crusade in the Holy Land. After the battle of Evesham on the 4th August, 1265, which ended the rule of the barons, he was suspended by the papal legate Ottoboni and summoned to Rome. He was excommunicated by the Pope, but obtained reconciliation and absolution on his death bed, died at his manor of Blocklewe on the 12th February, 1266, and was buried in his cathedral of Worcester. His executors were his nephews masters Hugh and Thomas Cantelupe, archdeacons of Gloucester and Stafford. Thomas Wykes, the royal chronicler, says that he merited canonization had it not been for his adherence to Simon de Montfort. The D.N.B. says that after his friend, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, he was the greatest bishop of his day. 16

Eustace Cantelupe (C3), was a son of William (B1), who paid a fine of 200 marks in 1217 for leave to marry his ward Katherine. daughter and heir of Hugh Lisle of Barby, to one of his younger sons. There can be no doubt that this younger son was Eustace, who in 1241, held two fees in Barby, Northants, the inheritance of Catherine. 25 There appear to have been no heirs of the marriage

as Barby eventually came to the la Zouches.28

John Cantelupe (C4), was a son of William (B1), who in 1223, acquired the wardship and lands of Margery, daughter and heir of William Cumin of Snitterfield, Warwickshire, and Fonthill Giffard, Wiltshire. 13 John married Margery and founded the Snitterfield branch of the Cantelupe family. In addition to Snitterfield, he also held Bearley and part of Wolverton in Warwickshire and Broad Hempston in Devon. He had licence for a market and fair at Snitterfield in 1257.14 It seems probable that he was the John Cantelupe who had protection on going to Scotland with Margery Cantelupe on the 27th January, 1272.²⁹ He held Broad Hempston in 1276,⁷ and was survived by his wife who in her widowhood gave lands in Snitterfield and Bearley to Bordesley abbey.

Sybil Cantelupe (C5), a daughter of William (B1), was the wife of Geoffrey Pauncefote. 30 He is said to have married her in

1209-10.81

Isabel Cantelupe (C6), probably a daughter of William (B1). married first Stephen Devereux of Lyonshall. On their marriage they were granted the manor of Frome Herbert by Walter Lacy. the grant being confirmed by letters patent from John, on the 26th July, 1205. Stephen supported the king against the barons and accompanied him to Poitou in 1214. He was the chief founder of the priory of Pyon at Wormsley. Isabel was doubtless a child at the time of the marriage as their son William Devereux, was not born until 1219. After Stephen's death in 1228, Isabel was married to Ralph Pembruge of Pembridge castle at Welsh Newton. Ralph was under age and a ward of William Cantelupe (B1), on the 9th November, 1221. Ralph and Isabel had a son, Henry Pembruge and a daughter who married Sir Odo Hodenet. 32 Ralph was dead in 1245, when Isabel held the manor of Frome Herbert in dower, where she granted land to the Hospital of St. Ethelbert in Hereford. 22 83

William Cantelupe (D1), the son and heir of William (C1).* and the countess Millicent, 16 some time between 1238 and 1244, married Eve, daughter and co-heir of William Braose, lord of Abergavenny, who had been hanged by Llewelyn on 2nd May, 1230. With Eve he got Abergavenny castle, the borough of Bridgewater in Somerset and the honour of Totnes in Devon. On 15th May, 1244, William and Eve exacted in the Exeter Court the customary dues and services from one of their tenants.³⁴ On 22nd February, 1251, William succeeded to his father's estates, but not to the stewardship of the King's household. The king is said to have treated him with harshness. He was with the king in Gascony in 1253, and died at his manor of Calston in Wiltshire on 25th September, 1254.8 Simon de Montfort attended his funeral at Studley priory on the 30th September. William's age at his death cannot have been more than thirty-nine. He had founded a chapel of St. Edmund, king and martyr, on the bridge at Totnes for his soul, the souls of William his father, Millicent the countess his mother. Eve his wife and her parents. His widow is stated to have died in July, 1255, 35 but c. 1262, she gave the advowson of the church of Lodeswell in Devon with land there to the value of £5 a year to Studley priory³⁶ and c. 1265, she gave the remainder of the manor of Lodeswell at £3 a year to Ralph Knoyle. She is said

to be buried at Abergavenny, where there is an effigy 4 ft. 3 in. long in woman's dress covered with a shield of the Cantelupe arms.

Thomas Cantelupe (D2), a son of William (C1) and Millicent, was born c. 1218, at Hambledon, Bucks., a manor then belonging to his father. The name Thomas was unusual at this period and doubtless implied a devotion to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

He came early under the influence of his uncle Walter, the bishop of Worcester. In 1237, he went up to Oxford in the year of the fights between the students and the servants of the unpopular cardinal legate Otto. Soon afterwards he went to Paris university together with his brother Hugh where they resided in considerable state with a resident chaplain and tutor. Two poor students were maintained at their expense and a number of poor people were fed regularly from what remained after they had eaten. Louis IX (St. Louis) paid them a personal visit. In 1245, the brothers accompanied their father to the council of Lyons. Here they were made chaplains to pope Innocent IV, and Thomas obtained a papal dispensation to hold benefices in plurality. The brothers parted, Hugh remained in Paris and Thomas went to Orleans to study civil law. Thomas later returned to Paris where he completed his course in canon law and received his licentiate, and then went back to Oxford to lecture on this subject. In 1262, he was elected chancellor of the university and was successful in preventing fights between the undergraduates of the north and south. He also took up politics and like his uncle Walter, he sided with Simon de Montfort and the barons against the king. In 1263, he was one of the commissioners sent to Amiens to plead the cause of the barons before Louis IX who had undertaken to arbitrate between the factions. The arbitration terms, given on 23rd January, 1264, were not accepted and civil war ensued. After the battle of Lewes the barons obtained the government and on the 21st February, 1265, Thomas was appointed chancellor of England by de Montfort. He held office for five months until the battle of Evesham, when the rule of the barons ended.

Thomas was also at this time archdeacon of Stafford and rector of several benefices. He gave up politics and retired to Paris, but in the following year he was reconciled to the king. He stayed for some years in Paris, and lectured on the Epistles and the Apocalypse. Henry III died on the 16th November, 1272, and about this time Thomas was back in Oxford, where in 1273, he became a regent in divinity. Robert Kilwardby, the archbishopelect of Canterbury, came up to Oxford to confer the degree and in his public oration declared that Thomas lived without any taint of mortal sin. The new king, Edward I, appointed him a member of his Council. In 1274, he was called as papal chaplain by Gregory X to attend the second council of Lyons from the 7th May to the 17th June, to bring about the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, and to further ecclesiastical reforms. As a result of this council, Christendom was nominally united for three years.

^{*} The abbot of Prémontré in 1252 appointed William (D1) as patron of their house of Tychefeld in recognition of the bounty shown by him and his father towards it. (Hereford Cathedral Archives, No. 744).

In the following year, Thomas was elected bishop by the chapter of Hereford, three days after the death of John le Breton, on the 12th May. The royal assent followed five days later, soon followed by the archbishop's confirmation. Two days after that the temporalities of the see were restored, and Thomas was consecrated by archbishop Kilwardby at Canterbury, on the 8th September, 1275. The seven years of his episcopate have been dealt with fully by W. W. Capes³⁷, T. F. Towt³⁸ and Thurstan and Attwater.³⁹

Archbishop John Peckham, who succeeded Kilwardby at Canterbury in 1279, was a man of domineering and irritable temper and fond of invectives. There was soon disagreement between Thomas and the archbishop, so to avoid the threat of excommunication, Thomas withdrew to Normandy in the summer of 1280, with the avowed intention of appealing to Rome. He did not go, however, but stayed in Normandy until he returned to this country in the autumn of 1281. Shortly afterwards another case of disagreement with Peckham arose and Thomas was excommunicated on the 7th February, 1282. He appealed to Rome and privately (Peckham said secretly) he left England at the end of March to make his appeal to the Pope. Pope Martin IV received him kindly at Orvieto in spite of Peckham's fulminations. While his case was being considered, Thomas withdrew to Montefiascone where he died on 25th August, 1282.* His body was cooked to separate the flesh from the bones.

St. Thomas is said to have been fair but ruddy of face, with a large nose and red hair, streaked with grey in his later years. His image in 14th century glass can be seen at Credenhill church in the south window of the chancel, and at Ross-on-Wye church in the east window, and in stone, much restored, in the Lady chapel of Hereford cathedral over the tomb of his great great nephew, Sir Peter Grandison, who died in 1350.

Hugh Cantelupe (D3), was a son of William (C1) and Millicent. He was doubtless named after his grandfather Hugh de Gournay. About 1238, he went with his brother Thomas to study at Paris university and with him he was appointed a chaplain to the Pope at the council of Lyons in 1245. As Master Hugh Cantelupe he was installed archdeacon of Gloucester by the prior of Worcester on Easter Day, 1256, in Worcester cathedral⁴¹. He appears also to have been precentor of York Minster, on the 30th April, 1265. He and his brother Thomas were executors to the will of their uncle bishop Walter, who died on 12th February, 1266. In 1268, he was given dispensation of absence for three years to study theology.³² He was alive in May, 1270, when he was still engaged

in the business of bishop Walter's will,³² but it appears that he was dead by May, 1273, when the living of Down Ampney in Gloucestershire, which he had held, was vacant and the patronage had lapsed to the bishop of Worcester through the negligence of the knights hospitallers, the patrons.³² He was certainly dead before the 6th July, 1279, when his executors lent money to his brother Thomas.²⁷

John Cantelupe (D4), was a son of William (C1). On the 8th May, 1262, with his brother Nicholas and their uncle bishop Walter, he witnessed the confirmation of the charter by which his sister-in-law, Lady Eve Cantelupe, in her widowhood granted the advowson of the church of Lodeswelle to Studley priory. He may have been the John Cantelupe who, between 1267 and the 27th January, 1272, married Margery, daughter and co-heir of William Harcourt, lord of Ayleston in Leicestershire, by Alice, sister of Alan la Zouche. If so, both he and Margery were dead by the 26th January, 1280 without issue of the marriage.

Nicholas Cantelupe (D5), was a son of William (C1). He founded the Gresley branch of the Cantelupe family by his marriage with Eustache, daughter and heir of Ralph FitzHugh, son and apparent heir of Hugh FitzRalph of Gresley in Nottinghamshire and Ilkeston in Derbyshire. As already mentioned, he witnessed in 1262, the confirmation of his sister-in-law Eve's grant to Studley priory. In 1265, he and Eustache held the knight's fee in Gresley of the king. He was, however, dead by the 24th September, 1266. His widow, Eustache, married before the 1st June, 1274, William Ros of Ingmanthorp. William and Eustache were both living on the 25th October, 1308, but they were dead by 1310.

Julian Cantelupe (D6), was a daughter of William (C1), and the countess Millicent. She was the wife of Robert Tregoz of Ewias Harold, in Herefordshire and of Lydiard Tregoz in Wiltshire. Robert was killed with Simon de Montfort at the battle of Evesham. Julian was the member of the family who was held in most affection by her brother bishop Thomas. In 1282, she received from his executors the proceeds of Thomas's manor of Earley, which he had left to her by will.²⁷ Robert and Julian's son, John Tregoz, was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1297 and 1299, and died on the 21st August, 1300.

Agnes Cantelupe (D7), a daughter of William (C1), is said to have married Robert St. John of Basing, Hants.³⁷ Robert died in March, 1267, leaving a widow, Agnes, whose marriage was given to William Belet, on the 3rd February, 1270, and who married before the 4th June, 1271, John Turville. John and Agnes were both living in 1279.⁴

Another daughter (D8) of William (C1), is said to have been

betrothed, if not married, to Baron Robert Gregonet.⁸⁷

John Cantelupe (D9), was the son and heir of John (C4) and Margery. In addition to Snitterfield, Bearley and Wolverton in

^{*}For full accounts of Thomas' shrine see *Transactions* for 1930, pp. 34-50, where there is an article by G. Marshall; for the miracles see the *Transactions* for 1904, pp. 377-383, which has a paper by A. T. Bannister; for the brass on his tomb, see *Transactions* for 1949, pp. 68-76, described by E. G. Benson.

Warwickshire, and Broad Hempston in Devon, he held Weston-on-Avon in Gloucestershire. He is mentioned in public records between 1284 and 1316. He was summoned to serve against the Scots in 1297, 1298 and (as a baron) in 1299. On the 16th October, 1302, he was owed the large sum of £200 in Gloucestershire and Berkshire. On the 26th November, 1302, a commission of enquiry was held regarding an assault on him at Stratford-on-Avon. He was on the king's service in Scotland in 1303, a justice in Warwickshire in 1308, and a Justice of Appeal there in 1311. He sealed in 1315, the but was dead on the 15th January, 1317, when his heirs held 23 knights' fees at Avon Dasset, Warwickshire.

George Cantelupe (E1), son and heir of William (D1) and Eve, was born at Abergavenny on Good Friday, the 29th March, 1252. George was a very unusual name in the 13th century. He was only 2½ years old when his father died, but in that year, 1254, he was betrothed to Margaret, infant daughter of Edmund Lacy, earl of Lincoln. At the age of 20 he was knighted on the 13th October, 1272. He had livery of his father's lands on the 25th April, 1273, and died on the 18th October of that year, aged 21. His large estates were divided between his sister Millicent, wife of Eudo la Zouche, and his nephew John Hastings.⁴⁷

Joan Cantelupe (E2), a daughter of William (D1) and Eve, was married to Henry Hastings of Ashill in Norfolk, whose wardship her father acquired in 1251. Henry, who was knighted by Simon de Montfort, fought against the king at Lewes and at Evesham, where he was captured. He died shortly before the 4th March, 1269, and was buried in the Greyfriars church at Coventry. Joan was living on the 18th June, 1266, but was dead before 1273: she may have died before her husband. She also was buried in the Greyfriars at Coventry.

Their son and heir, John Hastings, born on the 6th May, 1263, succeeded to half the possessions of his uncle George, including Abergavenny castle and Aston Cantlow. He was one of the competitors for the throne of Scotland in 1290, was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1295, was seneschal of Aquitaine in 1309 and died in 1313, leaving issue.

Millicent Cantelupe (E3), a daughter of William (D1) and Eve, was given in marriage to John Montalt with rents in the manor of Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire, before the 25th September, 1254, when her father died. She later married Eudo la Zouche and with him she had livery of half the possessions of her brother George, on the 1st March, 1274. These included Eaton Bray, Harringworth in Northants, Bridgwater in Somerset, Calston and Calne in Wiltshire, and Totnes in Devon. Eudo died in 1279. Millicent in her widowhood used the name of her first husband and was known as Dame Millicent Montalt. She was living on the 15th February, 1296, but was dead by the 7th January, 1299. She left no issue by her first husband, but by her second she had a son, William Zouche, aged 21 or 22 on the 18th March, 1299, who succeeded to her

estates. William was summoned to Parliament as a baron, 1308-1348, and died on 12th March, 1352, leaving issue.

William Cantelupe (E4), is said to have been a son of John Cantelupe (D4).³⁷ He cannot, however, have been a son of Margery (Harcourt). He may have been illegitimate. He was in the service of bishop Thomas, his uncle, and was his proctor, on the 1st July, 1281,³⁷ and gave evidence to the commission held in 1307 to consider the question of the canonization of Thomas.

William Cantelupe (E5), the son and heir of Nicholas (D5) and Eustache, was born at Lenton, Notts., on the 2nd April, 1262, and was baptized at Lenton abbey on Palm Sunday, and was only three or four years old when his father died. He became a ward of his uncle, Thomas Cantelupe, on the 15th May, 1275. the day of Thomas' election to the bishopric and was found to be of full age at an inquest at Nottingham, on the 20th July, 1283.29 Before 1285, he married Maud, daughter and heir of Osbert Darches of Aston and Kereby in Yorkshire. William and Maud granted property in Bridlington to the support of a chantry in the priory church. Maud, however, died without issue and on the 5th February, 1292, William had a licence to marry Eve, daughter and co-heir of Adam Boltby of Boltby in Feliskirk parish and of Ravensthorpe, both in Yorkshire,29 as her third husband. Her first husband was Alan Walkingham of Walkingham, near Knaresborough, who died shortly before the 24th December, 1283. In 1284, she obtained, for a fine of £80, a royal licence to marry whom she would, and married Richard Knut from Kepwich, near Feliskirk. They paid the final instalment of the £80 fine in 12907; Knut died the following year.

William Cantelupe fought at Falkirk in 1298, was made a knight banneret, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron from the 29th December, 1299, until the time of his death. He was at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300, and in the following year he was one of the signatories of the barons' letter to the pope asserting the superiority of the English crown over Scotland. In this letter he was styled Lord of Ravensthorpe. 18 He died in 1308, before the 6th July, the date of the Nottinghamshire inquest. The Yorkshire inquest followed on the 29th August. His widow Eve was living in 1316.4

In the church of Feliskirk there is a fine effigy of a knight in chain mail with a surcoat and plain knee-caps. The shield is plain: and the face apparently has been recarved. The effigy of a lady is of rather later date. In a window of the same period are shields with the arms of Walkingham, Cantelupe and Ros of Ingmanthorpe. The effigies probably commemorate William Cantelupe and his lady Eve.⁴⁸

Joan Cantelupe (E6), was a sister of William (E5), and was

living on 23rd January, 1301.⁴⁷
John Cantelupe (E7), apparently the son and heir of John (D9), succeeded to Snitterfield and Broad Hempston shortly before

the 15th January, 1317. On the 25th November, 1318, he settled the manor of Snitterfield on himself and his wife Maud for life, with remainder to his son John. In 1319, he gave the lands of Greswold, in Snitterfield, which he had previously made over to his daughter Katherine for life, to his brother Walter. In 1324, five weeks after Easter, he entailed the manor of Snitterfield on his daughter Eleanor and her husband Thomas West.

In Burke's Extinct Peerage, John Cantelupe is stated to have died in the 17th Edward II. If this is so, he must have died between five weeks after Easter and the 7th July, 1324. It is also stated there that his wife was Margaret, daughter of John, lord Mohun

of Dunster, but her name was certainly Maud.

Walter Cantelupe (E8), a brother of John (E7), was rector of Snitterfield in Warwickshire, where he was inducted on the 1st June, 1288, but was not instituted because he was not in holy orders. He was, however, ordained subdeacon on the 18th December following and instituted to the cure of souls on the presentation of Sir John Cantelupe (D9), who was doubtless his father,32 On the 12th May, 1311, he claimed that goods of his to the value of 100/- had been stolen from Snitterfield by Richard Packwood. parson of St. Peter's, Warwick. On the 3rd February, 1319, his brother John (E7), gave him the lands of Greswold and he had a life tenancy of the lands of Avon Dasset in 1320. In 1324, he gave the advowson of Snitterfield with eight acres of land to the bishop of Exeter. In October of the same year, together with Thomas Beton, parson of Avon Dasset, he was plaintiff in a suit concerning the life tenancy of lands with remainder to his niece Eleanor and her husband, Thomas West. 49 In the following year he was defendand in another action. In 1332, he held Avon Dasset, value 10/-, and Whitchurch, value 3/-, in Warwickshire.50

In the 1619 visitation of Warwickshire, it is stated that Roger Bushell of Broad Marston, Gloucestershire, who lived in the reign of Edward I, married Idonia (E9), daughter of John Cantelupe, knight. If this was so, and there seems no reason to doubt it.

Idonia was a daughter of John (D9), of Snitterfield.

William Cantelupe (F1), the son and heir of William (E5) and Eve, was sixteen when he succeeded his father in 1308, and eighteen when he succeeded his grandmother Eustache in 1310. On the 2nd November, 1320, he had leave to enfeoff his brother Nicholas in the manors of Middle Claydon and Gresley. He died without issue.

Nicholas Cantelupe (F2), was the younger son of William (E5) and Eve, and the brother and heir of William (F1). He was in Scotland with Edward II in 1320, and in 1326 he was knighted by the king. In the following year at the beginning of the reign of Edward III he was again in Scotland. He was a cousin of Alice (Lacy), countess of Lincoln, but how he was related to her is not apparent.⁵¹ In 1331, there was an agreement between him and Nicholas Lestrange that the castles of Clifford and Glasbury,

which the countess Alice held for her life, should be held by him for his life with remainder to Lestrange and his heirs. In 1336, he was Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron from the 23rd April, 1337, to the 13th March, 1354. On the 25th June, 1337, the countess Alice granted to him all her goods and chattels. In 1339, he was in Scotland and was in Flanders later in the same year. In 1340, he had permission to fortify Gresley. The following year he was again in Scotland at the relief of Stirling castle, and was one of the ambassadors to treat for peace with France in 1343. On the 9th December, 1343, he founded the Carthusian house of Beauvale in his park at Gresley. In 1345, he was summoned to attend the king in the campaign which ended at Crecy, and on the death of the countess Alice, on the 2nd October, 1348, he obtained Edgware in Middlesex.

In 1352, Nicholas was a commissioner for the defence of Lincolnshire against the threat of a French invasion. He founded a college of priests in Lincoln cathedral close to say mass at the altar of St. Nicholas, known as Cantelupe College. He died on the 31st July, 1355. 416 His first wife was named Tiphany, which suggests that she was born or baptised on the feast of the Epiphany. His second wife was Joan, widow of Sir William Kyme of Kyme in Lincolnshire. She died without issue on the 16th October, 1362, having founded a college or chantry of five priests in honour of St. Peter at Lincoln on the site of the house of the Friars de Sacco.

Before his death, Nicholas Cantelupe made a settlement of his estates disinheriting his son William (G1). He settled Gresley (Notts.), Ilkeston (Derbyshire), Middle Claydon and Ellesborough (Bucks) and Lavington, Kingthorp and Withcall (Lincs.) on his wife for life with remainder to his grandson Nicholas (H1) and the heirs of his body, with remainder to his own right heirs. He settled Ravensthorpe, Boltby, Thirlby, Stainley, Farneby, Azerlawe, Braythwaite, all in Yorks., by a fine on himself and Joan his wife, with remainder to William (H2), his younger grandson and the heirs of his body, with remainder to Nicholas (H1) his elder grandson and the heirs of his body, with remainder to his own right heirs.⁴⁹

John Cantelupe (F3), was the son and apparent heir of John (E7). On the 25th November, 1318, he was named as heir in remainder in his father's settlement of the manor of Snitterfield. He was living in 1321, but was dead without issue, five weeks after Easter in 1324, when his father made another settlement.¹⁴

Katherine Cantelupe (F4), was a daughter of John (E7). She was granted the lands of Greswold in Snitterfield for her life by her father, but was dead in 1319, when John granted the lands to his brother Walter. 14

Eleanor Cantelupe (F5), was the daughter and heir of John (E7). In 1324 (five weeks after Easter), her father entailed the manor of Snitterfield on her and her husband, Thomas West. 14

Thomas was knighted on the 19th April, 1326, and died in 1344. Thomas and Eleanor also inherited Broad Hempston in Devon and the other lands of the Snitterfield branch of the Cantelupe family. Their heir male today is earl De La Warr and viscount Cantelupe.

William Cantelupe (G1), the son of Nicholas (F2) and Tiphany, did not inherit the estates of the family until after the tragic death of his younger son, William (H2), in 1375, but he was dead in 1377 without surviving issue. His wife was Joan, daughter of Sir Adam Well of Well in Lincolnshire. An Inquest held at Malton on the 19th September, 1377, found that he died siezed of the manor of Ravensthorpe (with its members Thirlby and Boltby) and lands in Azerlawe, Braythwayte, Staynley, Farnham by Knaresborough and Redmire in Richmondshire.

Nicholas Cantelupe (H1), the elder son of William (G1), and the grandson and heir of entail of Nicholas (F2), was aged thirteen at the death of his grandfather in 1355. Under his grandfather's settlement he inherited Gresley and other lands in 1362. In 1366, he complained that Sir Ralph Paynel and others had broken into his castle at Gresley, ravished his wife Katherine, and carried her off, together with his goods and chattels. He died at Avignon on the 21st or 22nd February, 1371, without issue. His widow Katherine soon afterwards married Sir John Auncell and was dead before the 6th July, 1375.54

William Cantelupe (H2), the younger son of William (G1), under the settlement of his grandfather, Nicholas (F2), inherited Ravensthorpe and the other Yorkshire estates in 1362, and Gresley (with the estates that went with it) on the death of his brother Nicholas, without issue in 1371. He was then aged 26. He married Maud, daughter and heir of Sir Philip Nevil of Scotton, Melmeton and Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire. Sir William was murdered on the night of Friday, the 23rd or 30th March, 1375, in his bedroom at Scotton, Lincolnshire. Twelve members of his household were involved, including his wife, her maid, his esquire, his steward, his chamberlain and his butler.

The details of the crime are supplied by the juries who made their presentments before the court of the King's Bench. William was killed while sitting on his bed in his room at night, being in the peace of God and the King. The murderers bathed his mortal wounds with water, doubtless to close them up and stop the flow of blood. They put his body naked in a sack and carried it on horseback to Grayingham, some four miles away, where they threw it out into a field, clothed it in fine garments with spurs and belt and left it there, so that people passing that way and finding it would not suspect them, but would believe the crime to have been committed by unknown men.

The case was one of petty treason, which had been defined in 1352, as one when a servant slayeth his master or a wife her husband or when a man secular or religious slayeth his prelate to whom he oweth faith and obedience. The presenting juries described the murder as treasonable, false and seditious, and of sedition aforethought—treason (treachery to a man's lord) being to the medieval mind the most heinous of crimes. Richard Gyse (the esquire) and Robert Cooke (the butler) were condemned to be drawn and hanged. Maud Cantelupe was released under mainprise, one of her main pernors being Sir Thomas Kydale, whom later she married. She was eventually acquitted of murder and of aiding and abetting. Agatha Lovel or Frere (the maid) escaped from Lincoln gaol, where she was imprisoned because she had been appealed of the murder and was notoriously suspect of the same. Robert Cletham, the steward, was acquitted of murder and of aiding and abetting. The rest were outlawed.

Sir Ralph Paynel was indicted of harbouring Maud, Gyse and Agatha in his house at Caythorpe, knowing them to be guilty of murder or of complicity in it. After being dismissed under mainprise, he was finally acquitted by a jury at Nisi Prius.⁵⁴

Maud, his widow, married Sir Thomas Kydale of South Ferriby in Lincolnshire and, as her third husband, Sir John Bushby of Honingham in the same county.

This murder virtually brought to an end the family of Cantelupe. On the death without issue of the murdered man, his estates came, under the settlement, to his father, Sir William. On Sir William's death without surviving issue two years later in 1377, the story ends. Gresley, for want of a nearer heir, went to the Zouches. 49

The name of Cantelupe or Cantlow survived in several lesser families in different parts of the country and perhaps still survives—but it does not appear possible to link them with the family of St. Thomas of Hereford.

THE HERALDRY OF THE CANTELUPES

William Cantelupe (B1), early in the reign of Henry III, bore three fleurs de lis on his seal. The arms of William Cantelupe (C1), are blazoned in the Glover Roll as De goules a trois fleurs delices d'or. The arms of George Cantelupe (E1), appear in the Camden, St. George, and Charles Rolls as Gules three fleurs de lis or, but in the Herald's Roll the fleurs de lis have leopard's heads reversed. One seal of Thomas Cantelupe, bishop of Hereford, has the fleurs de lis plain and one has them with leopard's heads also. Evidently the leopard's heads were an addition to plain fleurs de lis. They were probably added to distinguish the Cantelupes from other families who bore Gules three fleurs de lis, e.g., Disney and Norton. There seems little doubt that they had their origin in decorating the knops of the fleurs de lis.

The Snitterfield and Gresley branches of the family give interesting examples of early differencing. John Cantelupe (D9), of Snitterfield, combined his paternal coat with that of his mother's family of Cumin (Azure three garbs or), and bore Azure three fleur de lis or (Camden Roll). At Falkirk in 1298, his arms are given as

D'azure ou deux (mistake for trois) floures de lys d'or cressauns hors de la teste du leopard d'or, and in the Parliamentary Roll as De azure a iii flures de or od testes de lupars issuans. In the Guillim Roll there are no leopard's heads, but in the Dering Roll and on his seal 1315. the leopard's heads are reversed.

Nicholas Cantelupe (D5), who founded the Gresley branch by his marriage with Eustache the granddaughter of Hugh Fitz Ralph of Gresley, sealed with three fleurs de lis out of reversed leopard's heads between three crosslets. Their son, William Cantelupe (E5), combined the Cantelupe arms with those of FitzRalph (Gules a fess vair), and bore Gules a fess vair between three fleurs de lis (Guillim Roll and 1301 seal). At Falkirk in 1298, he bore De gules ou la feez de vaire ou iii flours d'or crescauns de la test du leopard. At the seige of Carlaverock in 1300, he is thus described:

E Guillemes de Cantelo Ke ie par ceste raison lo K'en honneur a tout tens vescu Fesse vaire ot el rouge escu De trois floures de lis or espars Naissans de testes de lupars.

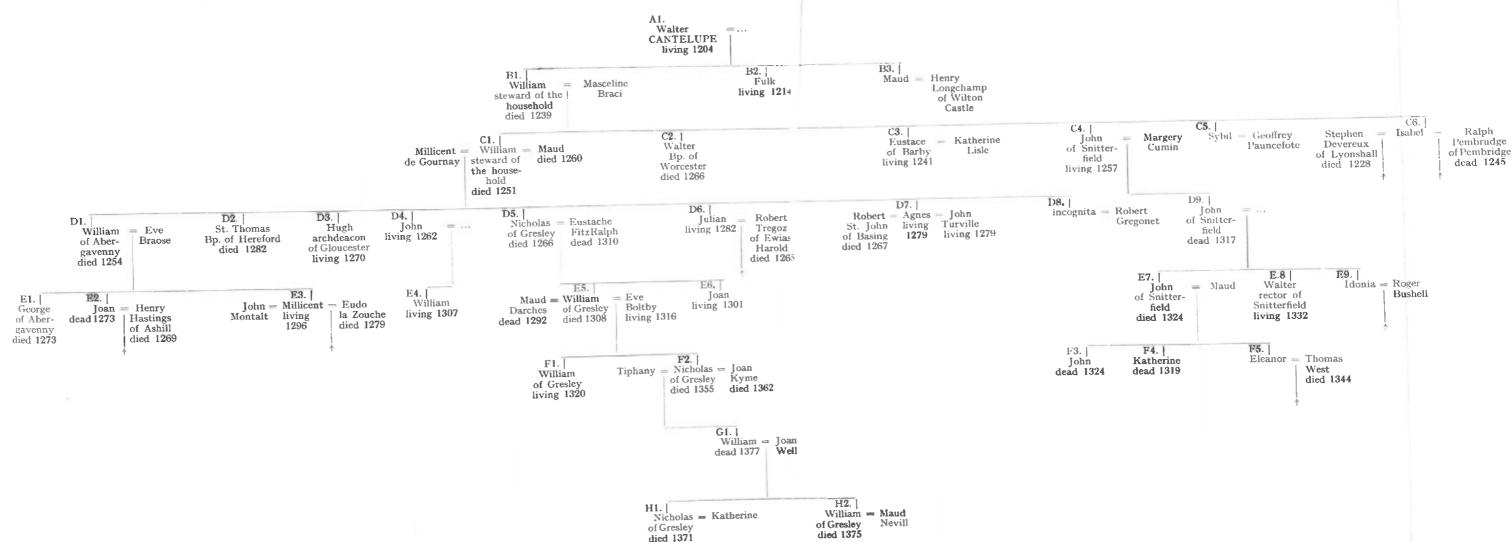
And William of Cantelo
Whom for this reason I admire
Since he in honour always bore
His scarlet shield with fess of vair
Three fleurs de lis of brightest gold
Springing from golden leopard's

In the Parliamentary Roll he bore De goules a une fesse de vear a iii testes de lups (? lupars) de or.

The see of Hereford in honour of St. Thomas Cantelupe adopted his arms as those of the see. The statement that the leopard's heads were reversed in the arms of the see to difference them from the arms of Cantelupe has no basis in fact. The leopard's heads were reversed before the see adopted the arms and continued to be borne reversed by Cantelupes afterwards.

From the descriptions of the seals and shields in Rolls of Arms it appears that whenever the fleurs de lis have leopard's heads these are reversed; but the Rolls which only give the blazons of shields do not mention that they are reversed. This suggests that the leopard's heads were always reversed and it was therefore unnessary to say so in the blazon. In the copy of a 15th century Roll, given in the volumes of The Ancestor, where there are drawings of the original shields and the blazons are supplied as they would have been given in the style of the period, the arms of the see (Sainct Thomas of Herforde: De Canthilupo) have the leopard's heads reversed but the blazon is Gules three fleurs de lis out of leobard's heads gold. This implies that to The Ancestor whether the leopards heads are reversed or not is of no importance or that leopard's heads at that time were always reversed when decorating fleurs de lis. In the 17th century, a distinction is made by Guillim between a leopard's head reversed swallowing a fleur de lis and a leopard's head jessant a fleur de lis. He blazons the arms of the see of Hereford as Gules 3 leopard's heads reversed swallowing as many fleurs de lis or, and in his illustration the fleurs de lis as well

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as the leopards' heads are drawn reversed. He says that when the leopards' heads are reversed the fleurs de lis are said to be swallowed, when they are not reversed the fleurs de lis are said to be born (jessant). Edmondson in 1780, says that "Some Heralds in former days when drawing a leopard's head jessant de lis reversed the head; which is wrong". He blazons the arms of the see as Gules 3 leopards heads issuant de lis or, and in his illustration the heads are not reversed.

In more recent times the arms are blazoned Gules 3 leopard's heads reversed jessant de lis or. It would be more proper to emphasize the fleurs de lis rather than their decoration and, if it is considered necessary to mention the reversion of the leopard's heads, to blazon them Gules 3 fleurs de lis out of reversed leopards heads or.

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SCIENCE IN HEREFORD DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

By S. H. MARTIN, M.A.

There is no doubt that there was much learning in England during the Middles Ages. Hereford certainly had its scholars, who were drawn together round the Cathedral by their common interest in the arts. Such were Giraldus Cambrensis, the prolific historian, Walter Map, the satirist, the poet, Simon de Fresne, and Robert Grosseteste the great scientist.

Grosseteste, however, can only have lived in Hereford for a very short time. He was introduced to Bishop William de Vere by Walter de Map and Giraldus Cambrensis as "a man skilful in determining causes and maintaining bodily health". This was in or about 1198 and Bishop William de Vere died at the end of that year. Grosseteste's fame was achieved later at Oxford and Lincoln.¹

Of the other scientists, however, we hear little, though, as we know, there was in the country as a whole a great desire to enquire into the mysteries of the universe. The astronomers, the mathematicians, the astrologers and the so-called magicians of the period, the naturalists and the medical students were often prodigies of omniscience. Every kind of fact was gathered into their net; the virtues of plants, the healing properties to be obtained from the bodies of dogs, snakes, lions and every known animal, and especially the observations and calculations that can be made from the study of the sun, moon and stars, and the influence, good or bad, which they exercise on human affairs.

The naturalists, through their interest in stones, became pioneers in the sciences of geology and mineralogy. Even the alchemists, obsessed as they were by their desire to transmute metal into gold and to find the secret of prolonging human life, nevertheless laid the foundation of modern chemistry.

This paper is concerned with three Hereford scientists, Master Roger, Master Alfred and an anonymous astronomer of the four-teenth century who described the eclipse of the moon at Hereford on 21st August, 1309.

ROGER OF HEREFORD

In an article on Hereford and Arabic Science in England (Isis, No. 52, vol. 18) Mr. J. C. Russell of North Carolina has collected all that can be known about Master Roger, a teacher and writer on astronomical subjects, who in the year 1179 adapted astronomical tables of Arabic origin to the use of Hereford. There were many Rogers in Hereford, and more than one Master Roger, mentioned in charters of the period, so that it is difficult to identify him. He certainly wrote some astronomical tables in 1176 with a preface entitled Magistri Rogeri Infantis in compotum. It could be inferred from this that he was a young man at the time, were it not that the same 'Master Roger Infans' appears as a witness in a Hereford charter of 1195, nineteen years later. As he could hardly have been young then, Mr. Russell suggests that 'Infans' is a surname, and that he was called Roger Child. These dates, however, make it quite clear that he spent much of his life in Hereford. He says in his preface that he had been a teacher, so it is likely that he wrote his books for the school, or for the lecture-room. These were:—

1. Liber de quattuor partibus judiciorum astronomiae, a book about the four parts of the judgments of astronomy. Only fragments survive.

- 2. A book about the divisions of astronomy into four parts. (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, MS. 10271) as follows:
 - Part I: General remarks about people, events, changes of weather, famine and mortality.
 - Part II: The fates of individuals from birth to life's close.
 - Part III: Interrogations, i.e., Questions and their answers.
 - Part IV: Elections, i.e., Favourable hours for every act of life. In entering upon great undertakings it is rashness, not freedom of the will, to despise election of the hour.

MASTER ALFRED

Another astronomer who dedicated a book to Master Roger of Hereford was Alfred Anglicus or Alfred of Sarechel. He visited Spain to learn from the Arab teachers who lived there, and he may also have translated Arabic writings and brought them to England. Mr. Russell writes, "A Master Aldredus appears in Hereford as a witness, c. 1153-5 and c. 1175. A Master Aldredus was chaplain of Dean Geoffrey of Hereford". Three Hereford books once belonged to "Master Alvaredus". A Master Alfred was canon of St. Peter of Exeter, c. 1205. Senatus Bravonius of Worcester, who died c. 1207, dedicated a book to Master Alfred. These items may all belong to the same career, that of Alfredus Anglicus, the translator. The dedication of his book to Master Roger of Hereford makes this highly probable.

THE UNKNOWN OBSERVER OF THE HEREFORD ECLIPSE OF 1309

The other writer to whom Hereford can lay some claim is the man who recorded the eclipse of the moon at Hereford in August, 1309, and who made a note of it at the end of a treatise, the first part of which is entitled Theorica Planetarum. The manuscript, Digby MS. 193, written in Latin in fourteenth century English book-hand, was given to the Bodleian Library in 1632 by Sir Kenelm Digby, whose adventurous career is found in the Dictionary of National Biography. A friend of Prince Charles and Buckingham, he was welcome at the Court when the prince succeeded to the throne, but the Long Parliament drove him into exile in 1641. In Paris he fought a duel in defence of the king, and also pursued his studies in philosophy and other subjects. Returning home at the Restoration, he spent much time in research, and became one of the first Fellows of the Royal Society, finding a place in scientific history as the discoverer of the importance of oxygen in the life of plants.

The MS. was among the books bequeathed to him by his friend Thomas Allen, a distinguished mathematician and one of the first Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford. It came to Digby in a

¹ See William Grosseteste by A. C. Crombie, p. 44, and Bannister, History of the Cathedral, pp. 42, 44.

¹ See also Haskins, History of mediaeval science, Harvard, 1927 and Thorndike, History of magic and experimental science, vol. 2, Macmillan, 1923.

mutilated condition, with the words "Vindica tibi, Kenelm". (Claim it for yourself Kenelm), on the front page, probably in Allen's writing. Kenelm "claimed" it by putting it into a leather binding inscribed with his monogram. Allen probably found the book among the remnants of the library of Merton College, which was dispersed and largely destroyed at the Visitation in the reign of Edward VI. This college was founded in 1227 for the education of secular clergy who were needed to fill the various secular posts for which at that time such men were wanted. They were freed from monastic vows, and were to spend their time in study. It quickly rose to fame and soon produced bishops and scientists.

CONTENTS OF DIGBY MS, 193

It is a text-book of useful information for students. Both the beginning and the ending are lost, but a summary of its contents was published by the Clarendon Press in 1883.

It begins with a theory of the planets and rules about the movements of the heavenly bodies. There follows a chapter on the magnet, copied, with differences, from the first great book on the subject by Peter Peregrinus de Maricourt, a very popular work, written in the 13th century and running into twenty-two MSS. and 11 printed editions, translated by S. P. Thompson in 1907.

After a discussion of the good and bad hours on every day of the week, it goes on to quote verbatim *Tractatus de Sphaera*, written by John de Sacro Bosco, Professor of mathematics in Paris about 1250. His book on the sphere was just as popular as that of Peregrinus, running into five or six printed editions in the 17th and 18th centuries.

According to him the world is a flat disc, immovable, but still a disc. He argues that if the earth were not a circle, e.g., if it were trilateral, the stars would appear irregularly. He accepts the traditional view that these discs or spheres stand one above the other, and on the top is the sevenfold heaven. The foundation of his theory is that these spheres are superior and that the earth lies at the bottom of them. It follows that we are dominated by them, as indeed we are. They dictate the coming of day and night, of summer and winter, of heat and cold. The scientists of the Middle Ages were not conceited men!

Sacro Bosco bases his attempt to find out whether the sun is larger or smaller than the earth on his theory of the three shadows, which was taken from a Greek astronomer, Cleomedes, 150 A.D. These shadows are conical, cylindrical and "basket-shaped", because the Greek basket ends in a point and looks like an inverted cone. If the sun and the earth were of equal size, the shadow cast past the earth would be on parallel lines. Because the earth and the moon are smaller than the sun, the shadow as it passes from the earth terminates in a point. Because the shadow cast in an eclipse is cone-shaped, it follows that the sun is larger than the earth and the moon.

The next chapter, taken from the same author, entitled Algorismus, mentions two arithmetical problems—the dividing of loaves between 12 soldiers and girls, and how to find out how much money your friend has in his pocket!

It goes on to deal with the whole art of numeration. This was called algorismus, and laid down the rules of simple arithmetic, which was evidently a new thing in the Middle Ages. It originated from the discovery of Arabic numerals by Abou Abdulla Muhammad ibn Musa Alkwharizm. His birthplace was Kwharizm, the modern Khiva. His system naturally took a long time to penetrate into Europe, till finally it came to England, perhaps through the

Mohammedan schools at Toledo.

In another chapter there is a selection from the work of Marbodius, bishop of Rennes, 1035–1125. His Latin poem describing 60 stones had 14 printed editions. The stones had occult virtues, chiefly medical, and had to be worn as amulets, but he does not fail to add, "My fate is in the Word of the Supreme Father". Next is a fragment concerning the harmony between the planets and the members of the human body, and the question whether men and animals derive their virtues and faults from the planets or from their parents.

The nineteenth section refers to the movements of the moon and includes a note on the eclipse seen at Hereford on 21st August, 1309. It occurs in a description of the dragon's head and tail.

The MS. concludes with a sermon based on the saying of an ancient philosopher, name unknown, that the sun is in the hand of the Creator, just as the axe is in the hand of a carpenter.

To sum up, it represents what some student of science thought in England about 1350.

THE ECLIPSE OF 1309

The following is a translation of the relevant part of our treatise.

The dragon's head moves in the same direction as the world, i.e., in the opposite direction to the signs of the Zodiac. The dragon's head is at the intersection of the orbit of the moon with the ecliptic; it is at two opposite points of the ecliptic, which are called the head and the tail. As the moon withdraws from the head it makes for the north; as it leaves the tail it goes southwards. It is at these points, or near them, that eclipses occur. The head always denotes good and the tail evil; but when a planet is at the head or at the tail, the significance is weakened, because it is without latitude. The dragon's head moves in the opposite direction to the signs, i.e., from Aries to Pisces, from Pisces to Aquarius.

A.D. 1309, 21st August, eclipse seen at Hereford; 4. 26. 10. 23. The eclipse began when the moon was eight degrees in altitude, Mars 2.6a, its vertex II 26, the sun 425. 26. 17; the ascendant midway from Aries ten degrees, the vertex of Jupiter

9. 25.

When you want to know the position of the dragon, find the middle course, as in other cases, and subtract twelve times from it. What remains is the vertex. Or calculate the mean from the beginning of Aries towards Pisces, and both, i.e., the vertex and the mean, will end at the same point. The head is the form when it is in conjunction with a planet within 5. 6a., and it does nothing in the way of casting aspects. The tail is a hindrance to those with whom it is associated, and it does not cast an aspect, because it is not a star. I saw this eclipse myself; it was very beautiful. Halfway through the eclipse, something like the round contours of the moon was visible on the edge of the part eclipsed, i.e., the west side, as sometimes happens on the east side when there is a new moon.

At the end of the eclipse, the whole moon was of a dark red colour; yet it was not directly in the light but, as it were, in reflected light.

THE DRAGON'S HEAD AND TAIL

These are the old names for the moon's ascending and descending nodes, where the plane of the moon's orbit intercepts the plane of the ecliptic. For an eclipse of the moon it is necessary that the moon should be at or close to the node which is on the opposite side of the earth from the sun. There was a world-wide superstition that in an eclipse a monster attacked the moon and tried to put out its light. It is found in Peru, South America, Mongolia, China, India, Greece and Rome, and it appears in Magyar, Irish, Welsh and Anglo-Saxon folklore. The black monster, which represents the power of darkness, is sometimes a dog or a lion, but more often a dragon, such as the dragon who sweeps the stars with his tail in the Book of Revelation, XII, 4. It is noticeable that in every instance people make a noise, howling, beating kettles, pans and drums, to drive the dragon away, as if it were a wild animal likely to be scared by that sort of thing.

The terror induced by the belief in the power of the dragon at an eclipse was very great, and has had a serious effect on human affairs. In 414 B.C., Nikias the Athenian general was led by an eclipse of the moon to defer his plan to break out of the harbour of Syracuse. By thus losing his opportunity he involved Athens in the greatest catastrophe of her history (*Thucydides*, book VII. chapter V).

The scientists, generally speaking, were not too forward to popularise their knowledge, though there was an occasion when the church forbade its members to pray for the victory of the moon in its struggles with the power of darkness. They attempted to rationalize and explain the superstition by inserting pictures of the dragon in their calendars to indicate eclipses. For example, there is in the old Ashmolean museum at Oxford an astronomical, or rather an astrological, clock, made by John Leonhardt Dommell of Nuremberg in the seventeenth century, in which a blue steel

index arm in the form of a dragon indicates the nodes of the moon.

The belief that the dragon's head signified good and the tail evil expressed another common superstition. The dragon could do good because it was strong. Its blood had a strengthening quality. Plants that sprouted from its blood, and animals that had the dragon nature, such as the dragon fish, had medicinal qualities. Therefore the head of the dragon was indicated by the sign Omega. The dragon, however, was also very dangerous. To be born under the dragon's tail was a bad omen. Its appearance portended war and its blood was poisonous. So the tail was marked in the calendar

by the sign of Omega in reverse.1

Records of lunar eclipses from the 14th century onwards were kept by well-known astronomers. For example, Walter of Elvedene wrote tables of lunar eclipses from 1327–1386, but he does not mention our eclipse, which however, is recorded by the Austrian astronomer, Oppolzer, writing in 1887. We cannot be sure that Herford is Hereford. It has been suggested that the word is Erfurt in Germany, or even Hertford in England. Hereford, however, is often misspelt in mediaeval charters, e.g., in the MS. of the book on the divisions of astronomy, cited above, Roger of Hereford is called Rogerius Herfort. This view is supported by the fact that the MS. is written in an English hand and that the book originally came from an English library.

It is possible that it was written by someone in Hereford, more likely by someone who had access to a library, e.g., the library at Merton College, and who saw the eclipse when he was on a visit to Hereford. The author says that he himself "saw this very beautiful eclipse and that in the middle of it there appeared a faint circle of the moon's outlines as it is sometimes seen at New Moon". This refers to the dark red colour of the moon which was

observed towards the end of the eclipse.

In 1309, many visitors were attracted to Hereford by the miracles which took place at the tomb of St. Thomas Cantilupe. At that time, or thereabouts, the Mappa Mundi was first displayed in the Cathedral by Richard de Bello. It is not at all improbable that the unknown compiler of our treatise was one of these visitors; he would have the necessary knowledge and the instruments for measuring the eclipse.

For an illustration of the general interest in astronomy and kindred subjects we can turn to the poet Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, a translation of a Latin work which he wrote in 1391 for the benefit of his son Lewis, aged 10, when he sent him to Oxford to study under the care of Master Nicholas Strode. He writes,* "Little Lewis my son, I have perceived well by certain evidences

¹ See Taylor, Primitive Culture, vol. 1, p. 322 ff. Lily, Introduction to Astrology, first published in 1647. Handbook of German superstitions, vol. 2, p. 380, Berlin, 1929.

² These extracts are given in modern spelling.

thine ability to learn sciences touching numbers and proportions; and as well consider I thy busy prayer in special to learn the treatise of the astrolabe. Therefore I have given thee a sufficient astrolabe as for our horizon, upon which by mediation of this little treatise purpose to teach thee a certain number of conclusions appertaining to the same instrument. This will I show thee under full light rules and naked words in English; for latin 'ne canstow yet but smal, my lyte Sone'. And Lewis, if so be that I show thee in my light English as true conclusions touching this matter as been showed in Latin in any common treatise of the astrolabe, con me the more thank; and pray God save the King, that is lord of this language, and all thee him faith beareth and obeyeth ever each in his degree. the more and the less."

SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE HEREFORDSHIRE ENVIRONMENT THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

By J. N. JACKSON, B.A.

Topographers, writers and historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have all stressed that the economy of Herefordshire was associated almost entirely with basic agricultural pursuits. The regional scene was firmly established by Camden in his introductory remarks when he stated that, "this country besides that it is most pleasant, is for yeelding of corne. and feeding of cattaile, in all places most fruitefull . . . for three W.W.W. of wheat, woll, and water it yeeldeth to no shire of England ".1 Leland, a century earlier, had been no less specific and commented upon the good corn growing land around Leominster, Hereford and in Archenfield. Beale later established the fact that the local grown wheat excelled in quality that produced from the Vale of Evesham, and described the predominance of rye over the Dittonian sandstones of Archenfield and on the glacial sands to the south of the river Wve about Clehonger. A history of the county in 1700 again extolled the excellence of the corn, the fine quality of the wool and the abundance of cider fruits.* The typical valley cross-section probably varied but little over the county and, as in the Golden Valley. consisted of woodland, enclosed arable fields and meadow grassland from hill slope to valley bottom. "The hills that compasse it in, on both sides are clad with woods; under the woods lie corn

¹ Camden, Britannia, translated 1694, p. 617.

fields on either side, and under those fields most gay and gallant meadowes".1 Sheep and cattle, fruit trees and hop-yards, enclosed fields of wheat and rve, wooded hills and meadow floodland provided the principal rural products and epitomised the economic wealth of an unspoiled agricultural environment. Collectively and individually they have exerted a strong formative influence upon the characteristic village type and upon the

pertinent local form of the individual groupings.

Focussing our attention more closely upon these several components, it may be observed that, though each item has contributed its own individual mark to the settlement characteristics of a region, the combined results have been to perpetuate both the dispersed pattern of settlement and the small size of the villages. The pastoral economy of the county provides an excellent illustrative example. "Herefordshire cattle," it was written in 1805, " are regarded by the best informed judges as the most superior breed in this island", and of the Ryeland sheep the same author recorded, "in symmetry of shape and flavour of their meat, they are wholly unrivalled ".2 Sheep and cattle had been mentioned previously by Camden. Sheep farming was especially prevalent in the upland regions and over the "Ryelands" of the Ross lowlands; beef cattle were fattened on the lush meadow grasses along the alluvial river flood plains. Both pursuits necessitated the housing of the stockman in close proximity to his daily work on or near the farm, rather than within any nucleations of settlement that may have existed. The pastoral economy itself may be largely attributed to the cultural influence of Highland Britain, for the fertility of the river lowlands has never attracted extensive arable cultivation as within the English Midlands to the east of the county. Documents invariably suggest that pasture and meadow were valued more highly than arable possibly because, during the formative period of border strife, stock were more easily removed from the path of the invader than standing crops.

Herefordshire was a noted cider country by at least the early eighteenth century; it was generally reputed to be "The Orchard of England," and the ubiquitous prevalence of orchards has suggested the considerable effect exerted by this feature upon the human environment and upon the pattern of rural settlement. John Beale in his epistolatory address observed that, "from the greatest person to the poorest cottager all habitations are encompassed with orchards and gardens", and that, "one reason why fruit do so abound in this Country is that no Man hath of late years built himself a house, but with special regard to the proximity of some ground fit for an Orchard . . . and many times

³ J. Beale, op. cit.

Ighn Beale, Herefordshire orchards—a pattern for all England, 1724. ² T. Cox, A Topographical, ecclesiastical and natural history, 1700.

Camden, Ibid, p. 617, referring to the "Golden valley" of the river Dore. * F. W. Brayley and J. Britton, A Topographical and historical description of the county of Hereford, 1805, p. 409.

Servants, when they betake to marriage, seek out an acre or two of Ground, which they find fit for Orchards . . . and thereon they build an orchard, which is all the wealth they have for themselves, and their posterity".1 Such developments undoubtedly influenced the format of village structure, and extended the preexisting pattern of dispersed settlement.

The typical effects of orcharding may still be deduced from a study of the dispersed agricultural settlements within the county. A close residential grouping proved impossible when the normal house curtilage with garden and orchard passed back for 400 feet away from the village street. The most natural location for any new residential building was at one or other of the outermost ends, thus further enlarging the village pattern. Away from these loosely grouped centres of population, the eighteenth century cottage often occupied a long narrow strip of land parallel with the road, and contained a garden plot close to the main building with at least one orchard at the far end. Again, perforce, any settlement expansion would have to be at this distance from the original cottage. Examples of orchards prove numerous from all the physiographic regions of the county—a distribution which received specific mention by Beale.8 "About Bromvard. a cold Air and a shallow barren soil, yet there are a store of Orchards. . . . About Rosse and Weobley, and towards the Hay . . . and all over Ichenfield, and also about Lemster, both towards Keinton and towards Fayremile, in all these barren provincies, as good a store of undeceiving orchards, as in the richest Vale in the County, even by Frome Banks ".3

Deciduous woodlands remained an integral feature of the geographical landscape. There are many extant documentary references to the timber trade, to the economic linkage between the oaks of Herefordshire and the requirements of naval shipbuilding, to the destructive woodland clearing for fuel to feed the voracious iron furnaces of the north-west uplands and the Forest of Dean, to the sale of seasoned timber from the large estates and to the transhipment of the bulky product down the river Wye to Chepstow and Bristol. Thus 2,300 mature oak trees were sold from the Whitehouse estate in St. Margaret's and Turnastone parishes in 1812 for naval shipbuilding, an agreement dated 1637 for the supply of wood and charcoal to ironworks at Bringewood⁵ mentioned, "3,000 cords of wood to be delivered in the first seven years—each cord to measure $8' \times 4' \times 4'$ ": a court document of 1616 referring to pottery kilns at Lingen mentioned that the defendant over a period of seven years had, "felled and

carried away for his own use 500 great oaks and saplings ".1 The map accompanying the Camden volume of 1694 depicted forest country to the south of Hereford between the river Wye and the Aconbury-Dinedor hills at Haywood, over the Forest of Dean fringe, and within the north-west Uplands at Deerfold forest. Mocktree forest and on Bringewood Chase to the south of the Teme gorge at Downton, A comparative analogy which has indicated that the late survival and slow clearance of woodland tends to result in a scattered regional settlement may be culled from the lower Avon valley where the evidence of Saxon placenames and the Domesday survey indicated woodland over the Forest of Arden and open country in the Feldon to the south of the river—a distinction which has survived in the contrast between the dispersed habitations of the right bank and the

clustered villages of the Feldon.

The early incidence of enclosure proved an item of considerable interest to Leland, and received specific mention on four occasions in his itinerary.2 He journeyed northwards from Hereford to Dinmore hill by "enclosyd grownde", and further enclosures were observed between this "well woodyd" eminence and the borough of Leominster. Northwards again and en route for Richards Castle he passed, "goodly corne grownd, partly enclosyd and havynge praty wood". Archenfield was visited on his Welsh itinerary and described as, "full of enclosures and very full of corne and wood ". Whether or not the Midland two- or three-fold system was ever truly applicable to Herefordshire has remained in severe doubt, though the persistence of a three-field system near Kingsland has been noted.3 Dr. and Mrs. Orwin4 considered that but little evidence had survived either in the northeast or the south-west, and that elsewhere the available information has suggested irregular field systems since the Medieval period. Thus for Brierley in 1608 it was concluded that, "only a small proportion of the holdings admit of three-field interpretation"; for Stoke Edith in 1597 Professor Gray observed that, "the parcels of land are small, numerous, and indifferent to a three-field grouping". The majority of early surveys have suggested the multiplicity of small fields, the break-up of old tenements and the dispersion of their parcels among new tenants. Professor Gray described an example from Marden in the second half of the sixteenth century in which one Richard Grene acquired ten and one-half acres through ten separate grants by copy.5

Gray, ibid, p. 94.

¹ J. Beale, ibid, pp. 5-6. ¹ J. Beale, ibid, p. 19.

J. Beale, op. cit. A. S. Wood, "Sale of navy timber on the Whitehouse estate in the years 1812-1813", Transactions Woolhope Club, 1936, pp. 33-4.

⁵ F. C. Morgan, "Archæological Notes", Transactions Woolhope Club, 1946-8, p. 57.

A. E. W. Salt, "Pottery Kilns at Lingen", Woolhope Club Transactions, 1946-8, pp. 169-171.

² John Leland, The Itinerary of John Leland, 1535-1543, and The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland, 1536-1539, ed. by L. Toulmin Smith, 1906. ^a J. S. Price, Transactions Woolhope Club, 1950, pp. xlix, I and liii.

⁴C. S. and C. S. Orwin, The Open Fields, 1938, p. 65. H. L. Gray, in English field systems, 1915, p. 15 remarked that, "the three-field testimony

Piecemeal enclosure and the gradual encroachment upon common land possibly resulted from the pastoral economy¹ and the small population size of the many hamlets which facilitated local agreement but, in its turn, they strongly influenced the siting of many dispersed cottages for many tenants established their dwelling on one of their newly acquired plots. Thus at Marden above where, "the traditional tenements had been broken up, and their parcels dispersed among new tenants in a state of chaotic confusion, utterly unlike the order and symmetry of Midland two- or three-field holdings".

Within the framework of this basic agricultural environment, such industries and rural manufactures as did exist were concerned primarily either with the processing of local products or with the production of service goods for the rural markets of the immediate vicinity. Cheese was made around Bromyard and was sent to the Hereford market; Leominster bread and Weobley ale from local wheat and barley were of sufficient importance to warrant their dubbing as proverbial expressions by Camden; the brewing of home-made cider provided the principal drink to such an extent that, "few cottagers, yea very few of our wealthiest veomen, do tast any other drink in the Family, except at some special Festivals, twice or thrice in the year ".2 In 1700, gloves were described as the principal manufacture of Hereford, and also formed a trade of some importance at Weobley, Kington and Leominster; clothiers derived a good trade from narrow cloths in Kington and Ledbury; wool formed the staple industry of Leominster, and smiths carried on their trade at Ross.³ Elizabethan glassmaking by Huguenots has been confirmed at St. Weonards, and in the same reign, to encourage the development of local industries, the queen insisted that her subjects wore English made caps from a factory in Hereford.

Not unnaturally in a county so abundantly supplied with surface water and rejuvenated streams, corn and fulling mills proved plentiful. (See Woolhope Transactions, 1956.) A comprehensive record of mills in existence at 1690 on the rivers Wye and Lugg, embodied in the opposition by mill owners to the removal of weirs in order to make these rivers navigable, listed 25 mills on the river Wye between Monnington and Wilton (including nine at Hereford; three at Sugwas and Foy; two at Carey, Wilton, Bridge Sollars and Monnington; and one at Fownhope), and a further 16 on the river Lugg between Hampton Bishop and Leominster.⁴

The siting of iron-works was encouraged by the abundant supplies of woodland at Deerfold, Mocktree and Bringewood in the north-west Uplands, and by copious water power at Bishopswood and New Weir; the former locality utilised ore from the Clee Hills whereas, on the latter sites iron and timber from the Forest of Dean were readily accessible. Manuscript evidence has indicated that the blast furnaces at St. Weonards, Bringewood and Bishopswood produced 300, 450 and 600 tons annually, and that the forges at New Weir, Bringewood and Strangworth (near Titley) produced 220, 340 and 150 tons respectively in 1717.1 Forges also existed at Peterchurch, Whitchurch (Old Forge), Llancillo, Pontrilas and Carey (near Ballingham) but, with the mechanical replacement of water power by the steam engine and of wood charcoal by coal or coke few survived beyond the eighteenth century. "The tremendous sounds of the vast hammers at New Weir" and "the powerful engines for stamping the ancient scoriae" in Bishopswood in 1805 were exceptional in this respect.

Industrial activities associated with the market towns are suggested by the frequency of trade guilds, and may be verified from the writings of the itinerant topographers. Leland stated that, "the towne of Leonminster by reason of theyr principall wolle usyd great drapinge of clothe and thereby it florished".4 Stukeley in 1720 remarked that, "Leominster is a town of brisk trade in manufactures of their admirable wool, in hat making, leather and many others".5 Trade guilds within this town by the early seventeenth century included fullers, dyers, glovers, shoemakers and tanners: at Hereford the craft guilds enumerated by Collins included corvisors (i.e. cobblers and other leather workers), clothworkers, tanners, weavers, goldsmiths and glovers. Ross, according to Defoe, was famous for good cider and had a great manufacture of iron-ware; 8 beltmakers and glovers were mentioned in the early church registers of Weobley: all towns. of course, had their quota of butchers, mercers, drapers and bakers.

Though the complete list of industries, trades and guilds appears somewhat lengthy and imposing, the economic prosperity

¹ The three-field system originated in response to the needs of arable cultivation.

^{*} Beale, op. cit. p. 4. Defoe, on his tour through England and Wales in 1725, confirmed the prevalence of this drink. "And as for syder, here it was, that several times for 20 miles together, we could get no beer or ale in their publick houses, only cyder, and that so very good, so fine, and so cheap, that we never found fault with the exchange". (Vol. II, p. 49).

³ Cox, op. cit., p. 928. ⁴ John Lloyd (ed.), Papers relating to the history of navigation on the river Wye.

¹ H. G. Baker, "Early iron manufacture", Transactions Woolhope Club,

^a R. Jenkins, "Industries of Herefordshire in bygone times", *Transactions* Woolhope Club, 1937, pp. 70-75. The Carey forge was founded c. 1610 by Lord Scudamore, was definitely working in 1631 and was probably destroyed during the Civil War. I. Cohen, "Hist. of iron-working in and near the Forest of Dean," *Transactions*, Woolhope Club, 1952, pp. 161-177.

^{*} E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, op. cit., p. 511.

^{*} Leland, op. cit. Part V, p. 73.

* J. Price, An historical and topographical account of Leominster and its vicinity, 1795.

G. F. Townsend, The Town and Borough of Leominster.

W. Collins, A Short history of Hereford, 1912, p. 33.
 Daniel Defoe, A Tour through England and Wales, ed. by G. D. H. Cole.
 Vol. II, p. 50. Herefordshire was visited in 1725.

⁹ Camden, op. cit., p. 620.

of the county never seems to have attained a high level. That the wool trade of Leominster and vicinity was held in the highest national regard was apparent from the effusive lines of the poet Drayton in his "Description of England", 1613:—

"Where lives man so dull, on Britain's farthest shore
To whom did never sound the name of Lemster ore?
That with the silk worm's thread for fineness doth compare,
Wherein the winder shows his workmanship so rare".

Camden was equally as full of unstinted praise: "The greatest name and fame that (Leominster) hath at this day is of the wool in the territories round about it . . . which setting aside that of Apulia and Tarentum all Europe counteth to bee the verie best ".1 Without doubt the wool trade profoundly affected the urban growth and regional influence of Leominster, yet the industry never attained the national significance that it did in the Cotswolds and would appear to have suffered from marked fluctuations in prosperity. It certainly proved insufficient to sustain a flourishing town during a period of adversity. Leland recorded that, "the towne is meetly large and hath good buyldinge of tymber", * but later commented upon the recent decay of the town with the enforced change of market day from Saturday to Friday. Cox, in 1700, seemed to imply a certain amount of disparagement when stating that, "the buildings as they cannot be called magnificent, so neither may they be counted mean". By the end of the eighteenth century hardly any wool manufacturers were still extant; the raw product was exported from the county to mills in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire or Yorkshire, and not even the tempting offer by Lord Scudamore (1688) of an interest free loan of \$\int 400\text{ could induce anyone to promote a woollen manufactory} in the county town. Perhaps the explanation lies between the small size of the local market, the difficulties of communication to the ports, and the remoteness of the county from the main centres of population.

Poverty was never far from the doorsteps of the other market towns. Defoe, in 1725, described Hereford as the chief city of the county and of all counties to the west of the river Severn yet remarked, "it is truly an old, mean built, and very dirty city, lying low, and on the banks of the Wye". In this description, he was supported by Cox who in 1700 wrote, "the buildings are mean and old, and but thinly inhabited, there not being any staple trade to enrich it, or invite people to go and settle in it.... Gloves were the most important manufacture but that is too poor a trade to make a place to flourish". Bromyard never formed more than a small marketing centre on the Worcester-Leominster (London-Aberystwyth) road. Only the borough of Ross was provided with an external impetus to growth as an incipient tourist

resort for boat excursions downstream through the river gorge at Symonds Yat.

Likewise the rural areas, despite the innate soil fertility of the river lowlands, do not appear to have supported a prosperous rural community. Beale terminated his treatise on orchards by praying that the proverb, "Bona Terra, Mala Gens", might not remain applicable to Herefordshire, and bemoaned the distressing prevalence of indigence and poverty.1 "And all Doors and Highways are oppressed with idle and sturdy vagabonds. . . . And it is more easy for an honest Judiciary to do the work of Hercules in cleaning the Augæan stables, than to remedy such a customary and prevailing Evil". The yield of wheat, the principal product of the county and one of Camden's three W's for which Herefordshire was famous, did not "correspond to what ought to be grown . . . in situations so favourable. This is generally attributed to bad management ". Duncumb quoted from a revealing letter of 1636, "for so small a circuit of ground as this shire contains, there are not in the kingdom a greater number of poor people, having no commodity amongst us for the raising of money, but some small quantities of fine wools which is now decayed for divers years past ". Rowland Vaughan, writing in 1610 of the Dore Valley, observed that there was not one parish which could afford to maintain a priest; he described the Golden Valley, "for want of imployment the plentifullest place of poore in the kingdome . . . the number so increasing (idlenesse having gotten the upper hand) if Trades bee not raised, beggery will carry such reputation".4 The incidence of poverty was not localised within the upland regions of less favoured physical environment. but widespread over many localities.

Notwithstanding the fact that Vaughan's account referred to but one estate within the Golden Valley, its contents may fittingly be utilised as an epitome of those geographical features applicable to the whole county area. The importance of woodland, the dependence of trade and industry upon local produce, the principal cultivated products, the subsistence character of the agricultural economy, the self-sufficient nature of the rural communities, the all-prevailing poverty—all are faithfully portrayed amid the rambling technical accounts of his complex irrigation systems. §

¹ Camden, op. cit., p. 620.
² Leland, op. cit. Part V, p. 73.

¹ Beale, op. cit., p. 23 ff.

² E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, op. cit., p. 427 ff. ³ J. Duncumb, *History of Herefordshire*, 1804, p. 103.

Rowland Vaughan, his booke, 1610, re-published by E. B. Wood, 1897,

The complete title of Vaughan's pioneer works on agricultural improvement is the Most approved and long experienced water workes. Containing the manner of winter and summer-drowning of medow and pasture, by the advantage of the least river, brooke, fount, or water-prill adjacent; there-by to make those grounds (especially if they be dreye) more fertile ten for one. The venue of this project was at New Court in Bacton parish on the right bank of the river Dore opposite Moorhampton.

Partly to relieve the dire poverty of the five hundred poor inhabitants within a one and a half mile radius of his house. Vaughan established a "commonwealth" or independent community of tradesmen, who lived wholly upon products cultivated or obtained from within the precincts of the estate. Thus the sheep and kine employed the glovers and weavers; the tanners obtained their oak bark from the woodlands; all food requirements were grown on the arable fields and prepared for the table in the numerous outbuildings. Water power provided the motive force for both the mill and its machinery. A large number of operatives were housed on the premises and, by 1604, two thousand "mechanicals" had joined Vaughan's self-sufficient community a number which, incidentally, was higher than the total number of insured employees in any factory within the county at 1951. There were twenty broad looms for the production of the finest cloth; ten narrow looms for coarser wool, flax and hemp; ten fustian looms and, "such silk looms as necessity shall require". These machines employed walkers, diers, cottoners, sher-men, spinners, carders, sorters of wool, pickers and quill-minders. The total range of talent within the commonwealth included one master of each of the undermentioned trades, together with his apprentices and assistants:-

Miller, Loder, Chandler, Butcher, Malt-maker, Baker, Brewer, Tanner, Cobler, Shoe-maker, Glover, Currier, Nayler, Smith, Scythe and Sickle-maker, Joiner, Cooper, Carpenter, Mercer, Stocking-knitter, Cutler, Barber, Hosier, Fletcher, Lantern-maker, Bowyer, Tailor, Sempster, Launderer, Card-maker for spinners, Wheeler, Hatter, Point-maker, Shepherd, Noise of

Musicians, Dairy-people, Swineherds, Vitaller.

The premises are presumed to have been destroyed during the Civil Wars, though the survival of such a unique enterprise, dependent as it was upon the organising genius of one man, would in itself be unusual. Its rapid emergence and unqualified initial success do, however, illustrate the existence of a deep-rooted demand for alternative forms of employment to agriculture within a self-sufficient rural area devoid of manufacturing industry.

The proximity of Highland Britain, the centuries of internecine border conflict and the amalgam of diverse cultures within the confines of Herefordshire had exerted a powerful influence upon the medieval distributions of settlement within the county. Though the open warfare had ceased by the sixteenth century, close contact with Welsh peoples remained fully operative and is thought to have resulted in certain widespread inhibitions towards the people of Herefordshire. Of these, a suggestive inkling is provided from the pages of the Vaughan document. The author frequently alluded to Herefordshire as Wales and, once, "thought to borrow a hundred pound, but the gentleman that owned the

money would not traffick with me because I dwelt beyond Severn ".1 Duncumb has recorded that the reaping of the grain harvest was generally performed by bands of Welshmen from Cardiganshire and other parts of South Wales and that the county was supplied from Central Wales with butter in tubs. 4 Hereford and Leominster, themselves the focal centre for the whole county except the most eastern districts which fell within the influence of Worcester and Gloucester, continued to attract Welsh vendors to their respective (and rival) markets. Cromwell's officers commented upon the frequency of the Welsh language in the county town and, in 1568, one David ap Jenn of Monmouthshire purchased sugar candy, pepper, red thread, pins, girdles, scissors and knives from the fair at Hereford.3 Politically the administration of the county was subject to the Council in the Marches of Wales, and remained under their influence and plenary jurisdiction until the late seventeenth century.

Though the Welsh influx and cultural intermixture may in part account for the survival of the highland type of dispersed settlement and the retention of Welsh place-names, Welsh associations cannot be convincingly utilised as a universal answer to account for either the incidence of rural poverty or the relative sparseness of commercial wealth. The geological structure, and in particular the absence of mineral wealth, might largely explain the agricultural bias with its concomitant trades, but the remoteness of the county and its limited external communications also exerted a considerable retarding influence upon village develop-

ment

One of the results of the Industrial Revolution was to direct industrial development away from its former location in woodland regions or where water-power had proved abundant, to a new venue on or near the surface outcrops of exposed coal-bearing formations. How was Herefordshire situated to meet this national change of emphasis? Could the inexpensive new fuels be transported cheaply to the small market centres and enrich their existing nucleus of light industry? Or was the regional location of the county to prove detrimental to its economic prestige during a national period of industrial expansion? The Carboniferous formations outcropped over less than 1% of the county's surface area. Composed principally of the Drybrook sandstone and massive limestones interleaved with limestone shales, the more valuable coal bearing seams lay beyond the county boundary in the Forest of Dean. Alternative potential sources of coal occurred within ten miles of Herefordshire to the north of the Teme valley in the Forest of Wyre, around Mamble and in the Titterstone Clee district of south Shropshire and, to the south-west of the county, near Abergavenny.

¹ Wheat, rye, barley, peas, oats, orchards, hop-yards, crab-trees, onions, cabbage and carrots received specific mention.

¹ Vaughan, ibid, p. 7. ² Duncumb, op. cit., p. 160 and p. 177. ³ F. C. Morgan, "Trade in Hereford in the XVI Century", Transactions Woolhope Club, 1936, p. 17.

The river Wye formed the obvious transit route from the Forest of Dean coalfield to Hereford, but presented many natural difficulties in its course before uninterrupted navigation was possible. From the Wye bridge, Hereford, to Wilton bridge, Ross, the direct route measured eleven miles whereas, by river meander, the distance increased to twenty-eight miles; from Ross downstream to Monmouth the comparable figures were nine and nineteen miles respectively. Frequent sharp river bends, with the deepest channel and most rapid flow under the outer bank, made haulage impossible from the inner bank and necessitated a continual changing of the towpath from bank to bank.1 Rapids and shoals, of which the most difficult to negotiate were at Symonds Yat and Monnington, provided further difficulties which had to be overcome by the installation of winches and pulleys. The most serious hindrances to navigation, however, were the speed of the current, and the rapid variations in volume and depth of water. The fall in the bed of the river between Hereford and Symonds Yat or Monnington and Ross was a hundred feet, whereas the height of the Severn above sea-level at Worcester was less than fifty feet. At the Hereford waterworks an estimate has suggested an approximate flow of seven million gallons per hour at summer level, falling to one million gallons with a one-foot fall and rising to thirty-nine million gallons at two feet above this level; a fifteen-foot flood is said to have a current velocity of ten miles per hour.*

These tremendous fluctuations, resulting from the impervious character of much of the Wye catchment area and the rapid runoff into its many streams and brooks, provided an insuperable obstacle to regular navigation, and were reinforced by man-made difficulties. Vaughan, who had utilised this "trench-royall" to convey farm-produce from the White House, Turnastone, to New Court and therefore had some personal and first-hand experience of the benefits accruing from a cheap water transport system, incorporated a tirade against the presence of weirs on the river Wye in his book and asserted that, "their overthrowe would make the River Navigeable, Portable and Sammonable". In this he received strong support a century later from Beale, who implored that, "our River Wye may be made navigeable for transportation". It must also be admitted that the traditional

³ Vaughan, op. cit., p. 52 ff.

conservatism of an agricultural stronghold provided an additional stumbling block against which the most laudable of improvement schemes might come to naught. Scepticism and mistrust of new ideas, local prejudices against betterment, silent opposition, perverse criticism and long established custom proved difficult to overcome and evoked from Beale the heart-felt comment, "our fresh expectation is that some worthy Patriot will break through the difficulties of an obstructive People, and force open a way for Trade and Commerce ".1 In a like manner, the works of Rowland Vaughan led to many legal proceedings and adverse commissions of investigation; some of his dams were constructed purposely on insecure foundations to prevent their successful usage; at the commencement of his irrigation works the inhabitants, "summoned a consultation against me, and my man John the levellour ... saying our wittes were in our hands, and not in our heads".2

Despite these human and physical obstacles, the river Wye was partially tamed and made navigable for shallow-draught barges carrying up to thirty tons. An Act of Parliament dated 1661 presented a scheme engineered by Sandys, who had previously achieved success with the river Avon between Tewkesbury and Coventry and with the river Salwarpe upstream from the Severn to Droitwich, by which the Wye was to be canalised; the intention was to create a series of flat stretches separated by locks by cutting new channels and removing impediments, but the scheme failed owing to the velocity and volume of water. Another attempt in 1668, initiated by the noblemen and gentry of the county, aimed to remove all mill weirs and to deepen the shallow stretches with money raised from a general county levy. Despite strong opposition to the scheme from the mill-owners and from those nonriparian county inhabitants who were expected to bear an equal share of the expenses, parliamentary sanction was granted in 1695, and several weirs were bought out and dismantled. By these and similar Acts of Parliament the man-made hindrances to navigation were overcome, though no feats of engineering could control either the changes in volume or the rapid fluctuation of depth. Coal was transported upstream from Lydbrook to Hereford after flood and the returning barges carried away downstream surplus agricultural products such as wheat, hops, bark, cider, flour and timber. The bells of Leominster Priory were sent by river to Chepstow for re-casting in 1750, " with various mishaps and in the face of many difficulties"; bars of iron were borne downstream along the rivers Wye and Lugg to Tidnor forge. A contemporary account at Hereford in 1809 has stated that, "the quay walls at Hereford were thronged with loading and unloading barges," and that the boats passed upstream as far as Whitney bridge.

¹ The Towing Path Act of 1809 made provision for a towing path for horses along the banks of the Wye from Hereford to Lydbrook, and contained the clause, that, "nothing herein contained shall be construed to hinder or prevent vessels on the said river from being hawled by men only, in like manner as heretofore has been accustomed". Perhaps the necessity for reliance upon this human labour originated in the easier transfer of men than animals from bank to bank. To pull a laden barge of 30 tons against the current represented an Herculean task, which would otherwise have been more efficiently performed by horses.

L. Richardson, Wells and springs of Herefordshire, 1935, p. 19.

¹ Beale, ibid, p. 23. ¹ Vaughan, op. cit., p. 87. ² Vide John Lloyd (Ed.), op. cit., and I. Cohen, "The non-tidal Wye and its Navigation". *Transactions* Woolhope Club, 1956, pp. 83-101,

But regularity of trade and guarantees of delivery remained inconstant and so dependent upon the condition of the river that, in 1790, it was resolved to connect Hereford with Gloucester and the Forest of Dean collieries by canal. Authorised by Act of Parliament in 1791 and designed to transport 20,000 tons of coal a year, by 1796 the canal extended from Newent through the Oxenhall tunnel in 1796 and northwards up the Leadon valley to Ledbury in 1798 to decrease the price of coal in that town by 44% from 24/- to 13/6 a ton. In the same year a canal was opened from the Mamble coalfield to Leominster along the Teme valley and thence southwards from Woofferton to the town wharf; again the immediate consequence was a pronounced reduction in the price of coal from 30/- to 15/- a ton. The Hereford-Ledbury section of the Gloucester canal was not constructed until the mid-nineteenth century, and the extension of the Leominster canal to Kington was never completed, though preliminary digging was undertaken near Kingsland.

The construction of horse-drawn tramways between Abergavenny—Hereford and Hay—Kington, the promotion of railways and the development of rapid inter-regional movement belong to the nineteenth century and beyond the immediate scope of this article. By the end of our period the county still formed a selfcontained provincial unit sheltered from the economic and social changes of the Industrial Revolution behind its encircling upland perimeter. Internal transportation depended largely upon the pack horse, and proved both slow and costly. Some of the difficulties may be gauged from the sale of navy timber from the Whitehouse Estate (1812-15)2—the felled product was first laboriously dragged to Canon Bridge and there lashed into a raft for floating down river; a single tree required on the South Wales coast at Tenby was hauled thither by a team of twelve horses. The roads in 1805, "have long been distinguished as proverbially bad: they are such as one might expect to meet in the marshes of Holland, or among the mountains of Switzerland ". They were described as narrow, sunken below the surface and impassable in bad weather—a condition which may well have resulted from the impervious character of the Downtonian marl and the lack of good roadstone within these O.R.S. deposits. "Even the chief turnpike roads very strongly partake of the same general character".

Containing no large urban markets to create a demand for her produce, and hindered by the restrictive handicaps of inaccessibility and remoteness, Herefordshire lacked the economic incentive to expand and develop her natural resources or to utilise fully her latent agricultural potential. Beale has provided three examples. He bemoaned the failure to cultivate nuts, so greatly in demand at the best tables in France and growing so abundantly in the county; he bewailed that, "for gardens we have little encouragement to design more than is for the necessary use of our own Families"; he mourned that, "by defect of transportation, our Store of Cyder is become a snare to many". To the casual visitor, then as now, conditions appeared more favourable, for Defoe a year later wrote that cider was sent to London, "even by land carriage tho' so very remote". The remoteness of the county, however, provided a pertinent subject for comment and, in 1793, the journey from Hereford to Worcester took six hours; that from London to Hereford a minimum time of 36 hours. A weekly coach which plied from Kington to Hereford (via Eardisley and Letton) took five hours and cost six shillings.

The importance of regional position had been completely reversed over the preceding three hundred years. From the Norman and Angevin periods through to the Tudor dynasty, Herefordshire had functioned constantly as an active outpost of royal authority within the narrow zone of cultural conflict between Highland and Lowland Britain. Apart from the short destructive interlude of the Civil Wars the subsequent centuries proved peaceful and Herefordshire, the Orchard of England, became renowned for its agricultural products and, in particular, its wheat, wool, cider and wood. With the national growth of commerce and the expansion of trade, the remoteness and inaccessibility of Herefordshire from the sea-ports and large clusters of urban population proved deleterious to her potential agricultural prosperity and, as the provision of a cheap reliable mode of transport was never satisfactorily established, the gradual change of emphasis toward the coalfield regions in no way lessened the economic difficulties or increased the county's material prosperity. Herefordshire continued to be dependent upon its basic agricultural industry and, with the supplementary veneer of ancillary trades and service manufactures in the market towns, remained largely a self-sufficient and isolated regional community at the time of the first population census in 1801.

¹ See Cohen, I., "The Leominster-Stourport Canal", Transactions Woolhope Club, 1957, pp. 267-286.

^{*} Wood, op. cit., pp. 33-4.

^{*} E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, op. cit., pp. 434/5.

⁴ Beale, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

¹ Defoe, op. cit., p. 49.

³ W. H. Howse, "The coaching era at Hereford", Transactions Woolhope Club, 1946-8, p. 38.

THE LORDSHIP OF WIGMORE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By D. G. BAYLISS, M.A.

Wigmore village is today a quiet place in the extreme north of Herefordshire. Its castle ruin overlooks a small vale and is a reminder of more vital times in its history, when the Mortimer barons controlled a strategic point where the Lugg and Teme valleys opened from Wales. The vale of Wigmore is shaped like an hour-glass. It is floored with fertile (glaci-fluvial) soils derived from gravels, sands and clays, a contrast to the steep wooded hills around. From prehistoric times there is continuous evidence of men's interest in the district. In historic times early Saxon settlement provided the basis of almost all the present villages and hamlets.

Its administration at the time of Domesday was divided between three hundreds. There was no political cohesion and the manors had been held by many Saxons. The Normans continued this administration but the manors all eventually fell to Ralf de Mortimer. Many of the formerly divided manors were unified under single tenants. This nucleation was in order to develop a strong block under the castle of Wigmore for purposes of military geography, to guard the Teme and Lugg valley openings mentioned above. For further efficient control the block was withdrawn from the realm in 1292 by Edmund de Mortimer and became the lordship of Wigmore. The lordship formed with its neighbours, a defence-in-depth existing independently of both English and Welsh, and an embarrassment to both.

Political independence outside the realm was synonymous with military security, and considered in this respect the situation in the vale of Wigmore was ideal. Here was a secluded fertile basin entered by narrow gaps which could be easily defended by small castles, and where Wigmore Castle controlled a high level entrance along a Welsh ridgeway. The basin had strong natural defences on all sides except on the north-west, but here were situated the strong affiliated mesne-lordships of Brampton Bryan and, farther south, Lingen, each with castles. In this form Wigmore existed independently for two and a half centuries, and its influence extended into Wales far more than that of its neighbours, which may be a record of its more favourable geography.

BOUNDARIES

The following account shows how clearly the bounds of the lordship¹ were adapted to the relief of the land. Beginning in the

north-east by the river Teme near Bromfield (Fig. 1), the bounds climbed straight up the side¹ of Bringewood Chase (1187 feet) in a manner coincident with the present county boundary.³ They then turned eastwards along the ridge of the Chase towards Ludlow, but as the ridge stops short of that place and turns south-west, so did the boundary. Passing south-west, the perimeter passed Hanway Head where there was a junction of ridgeway routes controlled by Richard's Castle. Five miles farther on along the crest, the hill fort called Croft Ambrey was passed and the bounds then dropped down to the Lugg at Aymestrey.

The Lugg valley was followed towards Lingen, and turning north the bounds climbed Harley's Mountain, and then followed a small stream to Brampton Bryan. The bounds crossed the Teme by the "overbridge" at Bucknell and then they passed some meadows, which still bear today the names of Saxon ownership, after which the bounds passed "above the mill through the two windows of the olde house" at the Jay. They followed the Clun to Marlow ford and turned first eastwards across the limestone escarpment, and then southwards to the Teme at Bringewood forge.

The lordship was thus an area of clear geographic definition, the ridge in the east having the merit of providing political definition, defence and privacy, and also an area of woodland and game, so vital to the mediaeval economy.

EDWARDIAN WIGMORE

A remarkable picture of the lordship is given in two extents of the fourteenth century, which cover the years 1324 and 1325 (17 and 18 Edward II). These do not concern the whole lordship area but deal with what was called the Honour, otherwise the Patria, Intrinsecus or Englishry. This was the part which followed English custom and was distinct from the Welshry or Walcheria of Wigmore. It may seem strange that part of this early-settled Saxon area should be considered Welsh in the fourteenth century, but it was so, and for example there are no details of Buckton, Coxall or Adley Moor which were in the Welshry in the northwest. There are no details of Lingen or Brampton Bryan for they were separate units and assessed individually for their possessors. In brief, the survey concerns the Vale of Wigmore, and Leintwardine.

¹ Document 5887, Hereford Public Library. This Tudor document is of the sixteenth century. It is assumed the boundaries had not changed much by that date.

¹ Crossing a former pack-horse road from Leintwardine to Ludlow which was closed through Downton Gorge by the creation of the Downton estate in the eighteenth century.

The bounds have not changed since the sixteenth century for the present boundary between England and Wales was taken from that of the Lordship. See Rees, W., The Union of England and Wales, Cardiff, 1948, p. 65

⁸ Gwinney's and Alsey's meadows in Bucknell. Gunward and Alsi held manors in this part T.R.E.

⁴ P.R.O. *Rentals and Surveys* 8/18. I am indebted to Professor C. R. Cheney (Cambridge) for a summary translation, which is unpublished.

LAND-USE: WOODS, GAME AND PIGS

The most important feature of the survey is its emphasis on the part played by the woodlands in the mediæval economy. Already the concept of the "parc" had arisen (see Fig. 1), and the castle park in question was forested Wigmore Rolls, still an extensive area of woodland occupying steep hills between Wigmore and Lingen. There were two hundred acres of woodland here in 1324. and within it there were a hundred wild beasts, presumably deer, and it was also valued for pasture, though surprisingly not for pannage though the trees are recorded as being little oaks. The figure given for the acreage was amended in the survey of 1325 to three hundred acres. Another wood was Gatley wood by Leinthall Earls, and this had two hundred and fifty acres of wood and a hundred wild beasts in the first survey, but as in the case of Wigmore Rolls, the acreage was increased in the second survey, and the woods were also noted as being useful for pannage in 1325, though much was scrub land. There was more pasture, pannage and scrub in a sixty-acre wood outside Gatley wood (a hundred acres in the next survey). Bringewood contained only fifty acres in 1324 and two hundred in 1325. It was said to be largely waste, but nevertheless valued for common pasture, brushwood, big trees and pannage. Mocktree wood, by Leintwardine, contained three hundred acres of big trees with little common and much brushwood with a little pannage. Deerfold was similar in nature but doubled in size over the period to two hundred acres.

These facts and figures, apparently at variance from one year to another are not contemporary corrections of mediaeval estimates. They are the most important record of a policy of afforestation in the borderland, necessary after the use of much wood in the past centuries in castle building and the equipping of armies. This policy of insight at an early period is of the same calibre as that which saw the vale of Wigmore as a regional entity, and is interesting in view of modern afforestation after the subsequent destruction

of these Edwardian forests in Tudor and later times.

PONDS

These were also important in the mediaeval economy as the survey makes clear. One, "below the vill at Wigmore" was "sold for seven years at a time and worth 40 shillings". Another, at Burrington, was a large pool worth 100s., and like the one at Wigmore is now dry but was in existence on the first editions of the O.S. map. It was half a mile long and its massive dam is a feature of the landscape at Burrington to-day. There were two long ditches "below the Castle" worth twelve pence a year. These descended sharply down the steep side of the limestone spur on which the castle stands, and fade out in the moor of "Lake Wigmore". They could not have held water and their use is puzzling and the surveys do not explain it. The importance of ponds at this period is a contrast to their later neglect as a source of food supply.

FARMING

The period was witnessing the commutation of service into rents, and thus most of the details are fiscal. The majority of the works were already commuted into the rents of the villeins but there was a substantial body of free men doing one-day work with eighteen ploughs. Another work was that the burgesses of the borough of Wigmore "ought annually to lift the hay from Northmead". The burgesses possessed strips of meadow on the edge of alluvial "Lake Wigmore" called the Moor Burgages which are still to be seen. This illustrates the importance of hay in the mediaeval economy.

The demesnes of Wigmore consisted of 410 acres of arable worth 3d. an acre, and 122 acres of meadow worth 12d. an acre. There was therefore one quarter as much meadow as arable but it was worth four times as much per acre. Details for the other vills of the Honour confirm that the arable was of the same value as at Wigmore, and their meadow varied in value between 9d. and 12d., presumably with the degree of improvement. Pasture was worth twice as much as the arable, and one must wonder at the toil which went into the arable fields yet they were not worth as much as natural pasture.

MILLS

Three water-mills were in existence, one at Lye on the Lugg, one at Burrington, and one in Downton gorge. During the period in question they increased in value from £6 to £16.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

(a). Numbers

Three sources in the documents yield an indication of numbers of people.

- (i). There is a reference to twenty-one customary tenants (those liable to plough the lord's demesne) who "ought to find to plough twenty-one ploughs for one day". This number of customary tenants seems remarkably low for a feudal system.
- (ii). The number of burgesses in the borough of Wigmore can be accurately ascertained from the following: "All burgages due to lift hay of Newmead for space of one day. ½d. a man. Total 6s.". "The said burgesses ought to reap one day in autumn with one man. Work per day of one man ½d. Total 18s."—there were therefore 144 burgesses in Wigmore, though this number seems arbitrary and perhaps was fiscal.
- (iii). The relative proportions of villein rent to free rent may yield some impression of numbers—if the rents were the same per capita. The rents of the villeins amounted to £48 10s. $6\frac{1}{2}$ d., whereas the free rents were only £15 3s. 1d., which would mean that there were nearly three times as many villeins as free men if the above premiss be correct.

(b). Social Elements

The feudal concept of demesnes worked by villeins was only true of the larger vills. The details are tabulated as follows:

					Free			Villein		
Vill		Demesne Acres				Rents		Rents		
	Arable Meadow Pasture				€.	s.	d.	£	S,	d.
Elton			_	100	1	18	3	8	16	11
Burrington	***				4	14	9	16	15	3
L. Earls		45	2			13	3	11	-0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Yatton	***	-	-			17	4	-		$\overline{}$
L. Starkes		154	50	3	4	18	8	4	7	6
Leintwardine		99	15	9	1	12	6	7	10	6
Morcote		****	-			8	4	-	-	$\overline{}$

If the rents bore a standard relation to numbers the vills were composed of varying social elements. Elton had more than four times as many villeins as free men, Leinthall Earls fifteen times as many, and Burrington nearly four times as many. Leinthall Starkes had slightly more freemen than villeins, and Morcote and Yatton only free men. Burrington was the largest village, and the rest in order of size were Leinthall Earls (half as big), Elton, Leintwardine (today the most important), Leinthall Starkes, Yatton and Morcote.

(c). Village Morphology

Only three vills are shown as possessing demesnes. It may be that the others either did not work a feudal system, or that their demesnes belonged to Wigmore, and were worked for the benefit of that place. We know that Burrington's demesnes were linked

to Wigmore at a later date.

Three large messuages are mentioned, at Leinthall Starkes, Leinthall Earls and Leintwardine, which are the vills with demesnes in the list. These show no common features however, if rents are any guide. Which was the orthodox feudal village? Was it at Yatton or Morcote—vills without demesnes and possessing no villeins. Or was it at Elton, which possessed demesnes and yet no villeins, an apparent contradiction in terms? Was a feudal system worked at Burrington, if its produce benefited another vill? These places apparently had no manor houses, one of the features of the ideal mediaeval village.

(d). Distribution of Population

The vills mentioned are only those in the Honour (i.e., half of the old Hezetre Hundred and the southern part of Leintwardine Hundred), and the distribution is almost the same as that at Domesday, but there are omissions and one additional feature. The omissions which can be understood are Brampton Bryan, including Pedwardine, and Lingen, which were separate sub-infeudated areas, and the hamlets of Adforton, Kinton, Whitton, Trippleton and Marlow, which would be included in the returns

for Leintwardine. Downton, another exception, was the forester's lodge, and was a sub-infeudated lordship. There is no mention of Aston near Burrington, which was recorded at Domesday, though it was in existence at this time (Fig. 2). There is no further reference to Merestun, the site of Wigmore, recorded as waste in Domesday Book, and there is no reference to Wigmore abbey near Adforton which had been founded in the twelfth century, because it led a separate existence, outside that of the lordship. A feature extra to the Domesday Book record in the list of vills, is Morcote, of which there is no trace now.

There had been little change in the picture of settlement since Norman times, though there had been relative changes in size and importance, and the distribution of population remained

located in the original Saxon centres.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

A lordship of the March was divided into the following units: the castle; the manor or barton (home farm); the Englishry (or honour, or inner baileywick, or intrinsecus); the subinfeudated areas; and the Welshry (or Walcheria or outer baileywick, or forinsecus).¹ The documents show some light on the organization of Wigmore in this direction, but the details occasionally conflict with other (printed) sources. These features are shown on Fig. 2.

- (i). The Englishry. (a). According to the P.R.O. documents, this included the vills of Leintwardine, Burrington, Elton, Leinthall Earls, Leinthall Starkes, Yatton and Morcote (1324/5). It was, as to be expected, the core of the lordship, and was distributed round Wigmore castle.
- (b). Another source² puts Leintwardine and Burrington in the subinfeudated areas in the fourteenth century.
- (c). A third source places Leintwardine in the Welshry of Wigmore in 1332.3

The map shows the nucleus of the lordship, which ruled lands far away in mid-Wales at this time. The Englishry was in the vale of Wigmore rather than the vale of Leintwardine and therefore included those rich manors east of Watling Street, which had not been wasted at the time of the Norman invasion.

(ii). The Welshry. It is surprising to find the old Saxon vills of Buckton and Coxall in the Welshry, and even Leintwardine, which must have been the most easterly Welshry along the March. The Welshries so close to Wigmore indicate a resurgence of the Welsh across the border after Domesday, perhaps originally invited over to repopulate the waste manors, e.g., in the vale of Leintwardine.

Eyton, R. W., Antiquities of Shropshire, London 1854-60, vol. xi, p. 322.

¹ Rees, W., South Wales and the March, 1284-1415, Oxford, 1924, p. 28.

^a Auden, T., Address in *Transactions*, Woolhope Field Club, Hereford, 1890, p. 25.

CONCLUSION

The picture of the lordship in Edwardian times is one of flux. This is to be seen in the landscape, in the changing areas of woodland, which undoubtedly represents an afforestation policy as game and timber had become scarce. The afforestation was a controlled business as can be seen in the changing annual figures of areas and beasts. A time of flux can also be seen in the varying social elements in the vale: villeins paying rents, customary tenure almost ended. and a substantial body of free farms. Some settlements were too small to have ever worked feudal open field and there may have been veomen farmers in such small places as Yatton from their inception. There were no radical differences in population distribution since Domesday, but the erasures in the documents of the fourteenth century show an expanding economy. Wigmore was a large borough with a population of 144 burgesses, partly dependent on a hay economy—an unusual mediaeval feature. The fourteenth century was the optimum for the area, with a greater arable area, and population than it had before or since. When the frontier ceased as a patchwork of small states and became a line on a map in 1536, following the Act of Union, the reasons for the existence of the lordship ceased to exist and it declined.

A HARLEY CASH BOOK OF 1725-27 By W. H. Howse, F.S.A.

Among the many interesting finds in the archives at Brampton Bryan to which Major J. R. H. Harley kindly gave me access was an octavo white vellum-bound cash book, which was used by Edward Harley during the years 1725–27. Edward (born 1700, died 1755), it should be mentioned, was the son of Edward Harley, Auditor of the Imprest, 1702–35, and lived at the mansion of Eywood, near Kington, until 1741, when he succeeded to the title of Earl of Oxford, following the death of his cousin the second Earl, and to the family estate of Brampton Bryan. He was M.P. for Herefordshire, 1725–41, and was a Trustee of the British Museum. He married on 16th March, 1725, Martha Morgan of Tredegar. Of his sons, Edward, born 2nd September, 1726, succeeded him as fourth Earl of Oxford; John, born 29th September, 1728, became successively Dean of Windsor and (for six weeks only) Bishop of Hereford; Thomas, born in 1730, became Lord Mayor of London.

The book was started 14th June, 1725, and ran on to 21st February, 1726, after which date it was maintained only for broken periods, viz., 4th November to 2nd December, 1726, and from 19th April to 9th September, and 10th to 21st November, 1727.

As it is so incomplete, though entered in great detail for the periods mentioned, the book hardly lends itself to quotation in serial form, and I have gone on the principle of selection in my treatment of the entries, arranging them by subject where possible, and saving space (and printing expense) by adopting textual in preference to tabular form.

Some of the most interesting entries concern Harley's journeys between Eywood and London. From the fact that there are few entries concerning any expenditure at Eywood, whereas expenditure in London is recorded in much detail as also the expenditure incurred on each of the journeys, we get the impression that the book was invariably carried and entered up from the moment of leaving Eywood until the return there, and that when at Eywood or elsewhere only spasmodic entries were made.

Seven journeys between Eywood and London are recorded. Five of these were in Harley's own coach, while two were in a coach specially hired for the journey. These would be the usual modes of travel for people of means in those days, when there were few stage coaches, and none in Herefordshire. The alternative for the poorer travellers would be the cumbersome covered stagewagons, carrying goods as well as passengers, and making about 25 miles in a day at an average speed of two miles an hour. (We may presume that the laundry maid who preceded the family coach on one occasion in 1726, and "Alice" on another occasion, who each received one guinea for her journey, were sent by stage-

So far as can be gathered from the items of expenditure in the book, the routes followed on the seven journeys were as follows:

wagon.)

- London to Eywood, own coach, 14th-19th June, 1725;
 Slough, Henley, Abingdon, Faringdon, Bearward's Brook, Birdlip Hill, Gloucester, Lea (entered as "The Lea"), Ross, Hereford.
- (2) Eywood to London, own coach, 3rd-10th January, 1726: Hereford, Ross, Lea, Huntley, Gloucester, Birdlip Hill, Frog Mill (near Shipton), Northleach, Burford, Oxford, Tetsworth, Uxbridge.
- (3) London to Eywood, own coach, 7th-16th November, 1726: Uxbridge, Wycombe, Stokenchurch, Oxford, Witney, Burford, Frog Mill, Gloucester, Lea, Ross, Hereford.
- (4) Eywood to London, own coach, 25th-29th July, 1727: Stretford Bridge, Gloucester, Bearward's Brook, Faringdon, Benson, Henley, Uxbridge, Colnbrook.
- (5) London to Eywood, hired coach, 26th-28th August, 1727: Uxbridge, Wycombe, Oxford, Frog Mill, Gloucester, Hereford.
- (6) Eywood to London, hired coach, 7th-9th September, 1727: Ford, Ross, Lea, Gloucester, Frog Mill, Burford, Oxford, Tetsworth, Wycombe, Uxbridge.
- (7) London to Eywood, own coach, 13th-19th November, 1727: Henley, Benson, Kingston Bagpuze, Lechlade, Bearward's Brook, Gloncester, Lea, Ross, Hereford.

Except for journeys (5) and (6), the times taken cannot be regarded as indicating the normal rate of travel, since on several occasions a stop of more than a day was made at one place. The

¹ Except for certain outbuildings, pulled down in 1955, Auditor Harley, who built the house about 1705, also lived there until his death in 1735.

three days for (5) and (6) were probably normal. Bad conditions were evidently met with on the journey in January, 1726, particularly between Lea and Huntley, for which the following entries occur: brandy for the coachman, 6d; to the servants for drink, 24s.; to a man to guide the coach on Heynham Lane, 6d.; to Harris for his horse drawing the coach out of Heynham Lane, 21s.; to the ostler who went with wine to the servants on Heynham Lane, 2s. Later, on the same journey, 7s. 6d. was paid to the guide

from Frog Mill to Burford.

The "house bill" is given for each place where a stop was made, but since the number of people concerned is not known, nor in some cases whether or not a night's lodging was involved, the figures are not of much value, though it may be mentioned that the amount rarely exceeded £3, and 30s. to £2 would be nearer the average. When Harley travelled alone by hired coach his inn bill, including bed, usually varied from 8s. to 10s. 6d. To hire "a chariot and four" from Oxford to Gloucester cost him £4 5s. He paid 30s. for the six days' hire of a coach horse in London which he required for his journey to Eywood in November, 1727. A horse hired at Gloucester for three days in November, 1726, cost 13s. 6d.

From the tips paid to his coach servants at the end of each journey, it appears that he had two coachmen and two postilions on the first two of his journeys, the postilions reduced to one the third journey, and only one coachman and one postilion on journeys (4) and (7). The usual tip was 10s. or 10s. 6d. for a coachman and 5s. for a postilion. A postilion discharged in January, 1726, and paid his wages for half a year and one month, received £3 10s. 6d.

A coachman was paid at the rate of £12 a year.

An item at each inn was the ostler's bill. This naturally varied considerably. Where a night's lodging was involved, it was rarely less than 10s. and might be 15s. or even more. Where a shorter break was made, the usual amount was 3s. or 4s. There were also tips to be paid to the ostler and the other inn servants, all duly entered in the book. For ostlers the amount rarely exceeded 1s., and this appears to have been the usual amount for other individual servants (thus, "to the maid, 1s."). More often the entry is "To the servants", and the usual amount 2s. or 3s. A payment of 10s. to "Ursula" at Oxford was a notable exception. Tips generally, it may be remarked, rarely exceeded 1s. Several are mentioned among the London expenses. The highest was 2s. for "a fellow that brought a mare"; and also 2s. for the porters "bringing up my books". A man delivering corn received only 6d. Tips given to servants at private houses visited by Harley were a different matter, and were never less than 2s. 6d. and were sometimes 5s.1

Gifts to the poor were a prominent feature on all Harley's journeys. He rarely left an inn without making such a gift, the usual amount being 1s., though at Hereford, where he would have a reputation to keep up, he twice gave 5s., and he once gave 2s. 6d. to the Charity boys at Gloucester. On the road, too, he frequently gave 6d. or 1s. to a poor man or woman, recording even 3d. which he gave to one poor woman. Probably he was subject to most importunity from the poor when he left London in his coach. When starting for home in November, 1727, he recorded 7s. "to the poor at the door", and 5s. to two poor old women (besides a

tip of 2s. 6d. to the watchman).

A piece of extravagance on Harley's first journey home in June, 1725, which was not repeated on other journeys, was to have the bells rung at Hereford and Lyonshall, for which he paid the ringers one guinea at Hereford and half a guinea at Lyonshall. He also paid 5s. to the drummers at Hereford. He probably felt that such display would be required by his position as Member of Parliament for Herefordshire. The book does not record his expenses when he was first elected in 1725, but on 9th September, 1727, the following entries occur on the occasion of his re-election: to the fellows carrying the chair, £2 2s. 0d.; to the "serjant", 5s.; bells £2 2s. 0d.; drummer, 10s.; harper, 2s. 0d.; to a poor man, 1s. An entry of July, 1727, records a gift of a guinea to the "Freeholders". Also connected with his position as M.P. would be the gift of £10 in December, 1725, to the prisoners in Hereford " Jayl".

Edward Harley was evidently a rich man. There is little in the book about his money affairs, but there is a memorandum that Wright's rent roll was £170 18s. 10d. in arrears at Lady Day, 1726, and another that the Monmouthshire rent roll was £802 in arrears at Lady Day, 1727. Since his wife came from Monmouthshire, we may suspect that his marriage was a prudent one as well as happy. He was a careful man too, for the book records various small loans, and their repayment. Curiously a number of them concern his father, Auditor Harley, with whom he was living, even a shilling which the Auditor borrowed 5th April, 1726. The largest loan to his father was seven guineas "to pay for the Spaw [spa] water", borrowed 2nd September, 1726, and repaid 14th September. Among other loans was one of 26 guineas paid to Lady Kinnoull

"by Lord Oxford's order", and duly repaid. The young Harley's enthusiasm for figures led him from time

to time to record the money he had in hand. On 15th January, 1726, after his journey to London and four days there he had £83 18s. 0d. in gold, £16 10s. 6d. in silver, and a Bank bill for £129 15s. On 25th July, 1727, he had 73 guineas, 24 moidores, one half-moidore, three broadpieces, and a bill for £54 3s., making

Aris's Birmingham Gazette of March, 1758, recorded a meeting of "several of the Nobility to consider giving their Servants sufficient Wages, and abolishing the extravagant and unreasonable Custom of giving Tips usually practised by Gentlemen who dine with them ".

¹ There are two charming love letters written by Edward to his wife five years after their marriage in Covumbend's History of Leominster (published 1862).

£167 6s. 6d. On 10th November, 1727, he had 47 guineas, eight moidores, one half-moidore, and 9s. worth of silver, making £61 5s. 6d. in all. A broadpiece, it should be explained was a gold coin worth 23s. issued 1619-62, and withdrawn from currency 1732–3. A moidore was a Portuguese gold coin of the nominal value of 27s., which circulated freely in this country in the 18th century.

As already stated, the entries in the book relating to expenditure at Eywood are of a spasmodic nature. There are several entries concerning money spent on the estate in the years 1726-7. They indicate considerable activity in improvements to the house at this period, and apparently at the younger Harley's expense, but while we are told of materials bought, no indication is given of the quantity. Thus the entries include such items as: carriage of stone for the garden wall, £19 17s. 9d.; to Philip Greenly for raising stone, £30 17s. 6d.; Mr. Pritchard for lead brought from Shrewsbury, £21 15s. Similarly, the total wages paid to stone cutters, masons, plasterers, etc., are stated, but not the period covered. The only entry in the book for an individual employee's wages, apart from the coachman and postilion already mentioned. concerns a maidservant, who received £2 10s, a year (plus board and lodging). No wonder the nobility and others could afford to keep many servants! An interesting entry concerns a contract with a glazier in 1727, for puttying and cleaning the windows at 2s. a window, which, at 2s. a window, amounted for 72 windows to £7 4s.

Only one purchase is recorded for the farm, viz., £31 10s. paid for cattle bought at Rhayader Fair on 16th August, 1725 (the date of the fair of 27th August, before the change in the Calendar in 1752). For "a littel nag", eight guineas was paid in 1725. In the same year, two guineas was paid to a farmer for damage done by rabbits; and Richard, the Fowler, received £2 2s. 6d. In 1727, there is an

entry of f1 10s. 6d. for the molecatcher.

Not many presents are recorded. He gave "Cousin Smith" five guineas once, and an aunt one guinea for a poor clergyman, while a poor clergyman's son received half a guinea. He also spent f2 19s. on pickles which he sent from London to friends in the country; and 3s. 6d. on a box of prunelloes for Cousin Smith. Twice a fiddler who called at Eywood received 5s., a man with the otter hounds had 7s. 6d., and 7s. was given "to a whip for the huntsman". We are left in doubt of the significance of an entry of 26th April, 1725, which runs: "Dan Welling went to Smith's Monday to give parish 7s. per week for the boy "."

"Liquor" is not a prominent feature in the book, but the Eywood entries include the following in 1725: to a Welshman for wine, £22; Jenkin Edwards for 60 gallons of red wine and 57 of white, £24 16s.; carriage of cyder from Hereford, 30s.; "the cowper's bill", £2 17s. 6d.; while £3 15s. was required to discharge the malt tax at Kington. There are no entries for 1726. In 1727, six hogsheads of cyder cost 10 guineas (a hogshead=52½ gallons);

and 50s. was paid for nine gallons of brandy for distilling. In London, 6s. was paid in 1727 for "one dozen of cyder" and 3s.

for two bottles of port wine.

There is little about clothes. The principle entries are: to Rodd of Hereford, 17s. 6d. for gloves in 1726; and, in London, a pair of black silk stockings, £1, and six silk sashes, 1s. 6d., both in 1726, and in 1727, two pairs of stockings, 10s. Other expenditure "on the person" included: a brush and powder flask, 1s. 9d.; "paid the bill for powder, etc." (in London), £1 3s.; a hair portmanteau, 12s.; and, for barbers, 1s. at Henley and 6d. at Lechdale.

Several payments are recorded on account of sickness, etc. For his services in 1725, Dr. Hamel received £9 3s., while "Hawkins the surgeon" received five guineas in 1726. In London in November, 1727, Dr. Mead received one guinea, two guineas was paid to "the little nurse sitting up with the child", and 14s. was paid for asses' milk. "A dozen of Bristol water" for 6s. was an item of

1726, listed among London expenses.

Some interesting prices come to light in Harley's expenditure on his horses and stable in London. Curiously such expenditure is only entered up for the year 1726. He contracted with a farrier to shoe and "farr" his horses at 2s. 6d. per pair per week, and paid the farrier a bill of £3 6d., adding 10s. 6d. as a gift. His bill from Read the coachmaker amounted to £24 3s. A bit and bridle cost him 14s. 6d., and a "sadle cloath", £1 13s. For fodder the charges listed were as follows: one quarter of beans, 27s.; four quarters of oats in January, at 12s. 6d., £2 10s.; eight bushels of oats in November, 14s.; bran, £2 8s.; hay and straw, £6 7s. 6d.; "a corn chandler's bill", £2 2s. 10d. Brooms for the stable cost 12s. 9d.

Naturally we find some expenditure on books, although the list is not long. He mentions in 1726, subscriptions of two guineas for two of Dr. Arbuthnot's books and of 10s. for Mr. Stubbing's book, also of 6s. for Mr. Bullock's sermon. He also paid the same year Pemberton's bill for books, amounting to £8 3s., £10 12s. 6d. for Mr. Bridges' Catalogue of Books, and a bill of £10 15s. to a bookbinder. In 1727, he bought Irish Miscellanies for 10s. and Antiquities of Door for 7s. 6d. There was only one entry (of 4d.) for newspapers. Unusual items in the account book were a silver egg bought for 18s. in February, 1726, and "a perspective glass" bought for 13s.

Harley's other expenditure in London, incurred in the years 1726 and 1727, is a revealing piece of social history. Every time he hired a coach he appears to have recorded the expense. There are 18 such entries, the cost varying from 6d. to 3s. 6d., and averaging just over 2s. There is one item of chair hire, at 2s. On two occasions he paid 10s. 6d. for an opera ticket. Two tickets for Mr. Southern's play cost him 10s. 6d. in February, 1726, and another ticket "to the Play" the same month, 5s. A cake at £1 10s. 6d. was an expensive item in November, 1727. Only two visits to church are recorded: the first in January, 1726, to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, where he gave 5s. to the collection and 5s. to the pew keepers, the second in November, 1726, to St. Anne's, where he again gave 5s. to the collection. He gave a guinea to the clerk of St. Anne's when leaving London in November, 1727, from which we may infer that there were other visits to church not recorded.

Interesting items are two tickets at 2s. 6d. each for visits in January and February, 1726, to the Herefordshire Society. This, established in 1710, had the special object of "forming the minds of the offspring of those Poor Persons of the County resident in London to habits of Industry and Integrity by enabling the Society to apprentice them out to various trades". It would appear that the Society had its own premises. The Society still exists. Old files of the Hereford Journal speak of Annual Dinners in London during the 18th and 19th centuries to mark the anniversary of the Society—dinner on the table at 5 p.m., tickets 15s. each, read a notice of 1818. At a meeting in 1869 it was described as "The Herefordshire Society for Clothing and Apprenticing Poor Children, Natives of the County".

Other entries of a historical nature are, on 1st February, 1726, "For the French news", three guineas; and on 10th February, 1726, "Lord Macclesfield's Tryal", 9s. The latter was a famous case of the time. Lord Macclesfield, a former Lord Chancellor, had been impeached for misappropriation of public funds (to an amount exceeding £80,000) and was fined £30,000, in addition

to being compelled to resign from his office.

In conclusion, we have some interesting entries relating to Harley's house in London. In January, 1726, he agreed on a rental of 44 per week for the house which he took. The whereabouts of this is not stated, but in July, 1727, we find the entry "Came to London and lodged at Mrs. Evans in Leicester Fields, to give £5 5s. per week rent." We do not know what this covered, but it may have been an inclusive charge, to cover the month he spent in London on that occasion. No rental is stated for his next visit to London in September, at the end of which, in November, he gave his wife f45 3s. to pay certain bills, in addition to recording f12 9s. for one week's housekeeping. He also agreed on this visit to pay a man 2s. per week "for lighting the lamps", and paid the "oylman" 22s. for oil supplied during 11 weeks. In November, 1726, he paid a man 15s. for lighting the lamps for seven weeks; he also that month paid bills of £5 19s. for brooms for the house, and of 16s. for 6 lb. of wax candles.

It is unfortunate that we are not told more of the cost of running the London house, and have to end on a note of uncertainty in this respect. Our only information, apart from that given above, comes from entries relating to six weeks during January—February, 1726, when the weekly amount for "the house book" varied from £10 5s. to £12, averaging £11 5s. Possibly such expenditure devolved afterwards on Mrs. Harley from a housekeeping

allowance not entered in the book under review. Or did she meet it from the independent means which she undoubtedly possessed? Five payments "to my wife", totalling over £70, were recorded in January—February, 1726, but only one (of five guineas) in November, 1726, after that period. If our curiosity is aroused by the fact, it is never likely to be satisfied!

NOTE.—Berrington Hall was built by a son of the Edward Harley whose Cash Book is the subject of this paper, viz. Thomas Harley, mentioned in the first paragraph of the paper as once Lord Mayor of London, who died in 1804.

AYLTON CHURCH

The following references to the above church were found among the papers of Major J. R. H. Harley at Brampton Bryan.

An Account of the Yearly Value of the Rectory of Aylton in the County of Hereford, together with an account of tithes that are paid to the Upper and Lower Hall in Ledbury:—

The Yearly Value of the Rectory was delivered in upon oath as thirty-

one pound.

The present Rector receives twenty-one pounds Yearly for the great and small Tithes, and eleven pounds yearly for the Glebe and Parsonage House.

He has also enjoy'd two falls of Tithe Wood, which has amounted to forty pounds or thereabouts.

A third part of the Tithe Sheaf Corn is gathered by the Proprietors of the Upper Hall in Ledbury.

A third part of the Tithe Sheaf Corn is also gathered by the Proprietors

of the Lower Hall in Ledbury.

The Rector receives one tithe sheaf in thirty.

Aylton, being only a Chappel, tho' call'd a Rectory, by reason of the last Incumbent's taking Institution, has no Burial Place, nor Register, neither is it subject to the Archdeacon's Visitation. In Witness whereof the Rector of Aylton has subscribed his name this thirtieth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty four.

(Sgd.) Henry Smyth, Rectr of Aylton.

In the same Bundle as the foregoing Account was a letter dated 24th January, 1655, from "Ben: Mason, London" [no other address] to Sir Robert Harley reporting the death of the incumbent of "Ailton", and suggesting that the livings of Ailton and Pixley might be combined, as they were "singly unable to support a minister". The writer said he had bestowed the living of Pixley on Mr. Langford, and asked Sir Robert, in whose gift Ailton was, to appoint him to that living likewise, as he believed Mr. Langford to be "booth sound and honest, and time and experience will much better him, and make him fitt for the service of the Lord in the Ministrie".

SOME HEREFORDSHIRE MEDICAL HISTORY

By A. W. LANGFORD

I have approached the subject of this paper from three main aspects: individuals, epidemics, and institutions.

The first mention of Herefordshire, from the medical aspect, is almost certainly the entry in Domesday book entitled: "The land of Nigel the Physician (Medicus)". Of the land of St. Guthlac, Nigel the Physician holds Bartestree... There Nigel has in demesne 2 ploughs and 2 serfs and 1 bordar and a radman with land without a plough. It is, and was, worth 40s... The same Nigel holds Bowley... Maund... Thingill... Sutton. 'Spirites the priest held'... Moccas... Cold Green in Bosbury... Avenbury". I have given the modern equivalents to the placenames actually found in Domesday.

About two centuries must be passed over before my next fragment of medical interest. A quaint paragraph of Matthew Paris, the learned Frenchman who left a history of England from 1066 to 1259, and who died in the year 1259, under the heading. "The Bishop of Hereford smitten with polypus", describes how the bishop, a Provençal, had in the matter of the English subsidies to the Pope, made himself obnoxious by his treacherous conduct as the agent of Henry III at the Holy See. Accordingly it was by the justice of God that he was deformed by a most disgraceful disease, to wit, morphae. According to the medical teaching of the time, morphae was an infection confined to the skin, producing a change in its natural colour. The condition, which was curable, caused a patchy discoloration, reddish, yellowish, whitish, dusky, or black, resulting in terribilis aspectus. Reference to Phillott's Diocesan History of Hereford reveals that this bishop of dubious character was Peter of Savoy, known as Aquablanca.

It is not my purpose to touch upon the great epidemic of the fourteenth century, the Black Death, the subject of a previous paper. I should like, however, to mention in passing, a photograph, given to me since that paper, by our member, Mrs. Jones of Preston Wynne. This is the representation of St. Roch on the tomb of Sir Richard Croft in Croft Church. It was during an epidemic, probably the Plague, in the fourteenth century, that St. Roch went from town to town in northern Italy, nursing the sick. Miraculous cures were attributed to him, and in consequence innumerable churches, chapels, and hospitals were dedicated in his honour.

I now pass on to the sixteenth century and to the Hereford city archives in the Town Hall. Here there is an account of an interesting petition to the magistrates by one Richard Bagge, to release from ward, where he was for some misdemeanour, "a Pore youthe". The petitioner stated that he earned his living mostly by "phisik and curiorgiri", and that he made aqua vita,

rosasolus, angelica watur, cardus watur, minta romana watur. It would seem that the "pore youthe" sold these waters for him. Mentha Romana is spearmint, rosasolus is sundew, and cardus the holy thistle (Carduus benedictus). The last is described by Culpepper, who lived not long after the date of the above petition, as being a herb of Mars: "it helps swimmings and giddiness of the head...it is an excellent remedy against the yellow jaundice, and other infirmities of the gall, because Mars governs choler. It strengthens the attractive faculty in man, and clarifies the blood. The continual drinking of the decoction of it helps red faces.... It cures the French pox by antipathy to Venus who governs it. It strengthens the memory and cures deafness by antipathy to Saturn".

The date of the foregoing extract from the city archives was about 1578. A further extract from the same archives, but of less certain date, deals with a squabble over the matter of a harelip. With regard to this dispute several depositions were made before the magistrates, and are detailed at length. Two will suffice, however, to shew that to practice medicine could be a dangerous occupation, and also that the medical practitioner did not always live up to the high standards of conduct with which he has been associated in the public mind. Richard Griffiths. butcher, "upon his oath saieth, that there was a difference upon the pretence of the cutting a child of the hareshaw lip, the doctor, thinking it a poore man's child, agreed for the doeing thereof for six half-crownes, afterwards the doctor saied hee would not doe the same for three or foure times the money, then hee sd afterwards here is a butcher's wife within three doores degraded him & abused his wife & that the sd butcher's wife was a dragletaile & whore & that she was not fitt to carry gutts to a beare". The doctor in question was Thomas Newman, and one of his witnesses stated "that she heard Francis Cooke say that the doctor was a Rogue & that he had ruind his country & that his Mistris had done greater cures than the doctor & that he was a cheate & that the cure did not deserve tenn shillings & that the sd Cooke came with a stick & strikeing at the doctor struck his boy & after struck

severall times at the doctor ".

In the second half of the seventeenth century, there lived in our city a doctor who was a considerable nuisance to his fellow-citizens. He was, to give him his full description, Dr. Bridstock Harford, Dr. in Physick. Though a Justice of the Peace, he caused, over a period of 34 years, a great deal of trouble and litigation. The references to him are found in the records of Hereford presentments in the views of frankpledge.\(^1\) (The first entry is in 1657. "19th Oct. We doe present Doctor Bridstock Harford, Esqr. for stopping or causing to be stopped by his agents or servants the waine way that leadeth from Byshoppsgate streete

^{&#}x27;The word presentment indicates complaint, view meaning meeting, frankpledge the citizens combined to ensure each other's good behaviour.

to St. Owens Streete. And we doe paine him in Twentie poundes if he shall not cause the same to be lavd open and made passable by gates as formerly it was". A few years later, the jury presented him for "inclosing of the Portfield after the sickle and the sithe, which was allwaies Comon to the Inhabitants of St. Owens parish". On this occasion he was "pained" for no less a sum than a hundred pounds. One would gather, however, that the means were lacking to enforce payment. Other offences for which the doctor was presented were "plowing up a Comon way leading from St. Owens Gate to the Priory and also to Bystreet", " with the widdow Davies & the widdow Price for makeing of miskins in Packers Lane", "for plowing up an auncient way Leading from St. Owens Gate to Babilon Doore", "for plowing up an ancient way in the portfield Leading from Scutt mill towards bisters gate", " for not repairing the ould house in grape lane being very daingerous to passengers", for "not cleansing the Towne-ditch between Bysters gate & St. Owens"; in 1685 he is described as Dr. Bridstock Harford, Senior, while in 1686 he is presented in company with Edward Broughton, Dr. in Physick, for not "keeping in repaire the Pitching in the Lane called Packhorse Lane at theire Backdoores, And Likewise for not carrying away the muck or soyle from theire said Backdoores". The last entry is in 1693: "Item Wee present Dr. Bridstock Harford for stopping ve Water of the Towne-ditch from its ancient Course, and turning it into his owne Ground, Whereby some of the Inhabitants of Bystreete Receive much prejudice and doe paine him in £1. 19. 11 for the same And wee unanimously, humbly, request, Mr. Mayor to Collect the sayd Fine". There is one record of Bridstock Harford's son taking up the cudgels on behalf of the law. On 11th Dec., 1657, Bridstock Harford, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, with Thomas Paynard, mayor, ordered that "ye Constables of Wybridge ward ye next Sabbath day to take care to observe & take notice of all such as walke in ye Church or Churchyard during ve sermon tyme & return their names & ye names of such chriden & parents as shall be then walking thereabouts.

In the bishops' archives in the cathedral library is an interesting list of surgeons licensed by the bishop of Hereford, as recorded in the subscription books, 1683-1835. There are one hundred surgeons named, several of them in the city of Hereford, and one recorded as of All Saints', Hereford. In addition to surgeons in towns such as Leominster, Ledbury, Ross, Bromyard, smaller parishes like Lyonshall, Sutton St. Nicholas, Bishop's Froome and Bodenham are mentioned as having surgeons. The complete list is reproduced in our Club *Transactions* for 1953.

The early numbers of the *Hereford Journal* afford occasional interesting glimpses into the medical life and customs of former days. In addition to almost weekly advertisements such as for "Dr. Walker's patent Jesuits' drops", "Dr. Mardon's universal drops for the scurvy", "Cure from the bite of a mad dog", there

occasionally appeared more flamboyant advertisements. For example we may quote that of the 13th February, 1772: "In a short time will arrive in this city, by the requisition of a lady of consequence, in this neighbourhood, afflicted with a cancer in the breast, Celebrious Raynes, M.D. Aurist and Oculist from his house in Panton Square, London. His superior ability in curing of cancers in the breast, or in any other part of the body, without cutting, and his excellence in restoring the blind to their sight and the deaf to their hearing excel all others. The Gentlemen of the Faculty will be admitted to see him perform his operations: and the poor will be cured by him out of Charity. He cures ruptures, commonly called broken bellies, though of ever so long continuance".

Apprenticeship used to be one of the modes of entrance to the medical profession, a practice which has been revived of recent years under the National Health Scheme in the form of the trainee assistant. Here is an advertisement dated May 7th, 1772, also appearing in the *Hereford Journal*: "A Surgeon and Apothecary is desirous of an agreable, well-disposed youth, who has been properly educated as an APPRENTICE; to whom, as he is confessedly capable, it would be his peculiar care to impart his intire knowledge". The apprenticeship was for four years.

Small-pox, though very rarely indeed seen in Britain now, formerly caused a heavy mortality, and much suffering. A landmark in the history of its treatment was the introduction of inoculation into Europe by Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu in 1718. An announcement in the *Hereford Journal* of 7th June, 1773, is therefore of interest:—

INOCULATION

Weobley, Herefordshire, June 7th, 1773.

W. Jones, Surgeon and Apothecary, who inoculated THOUSANDS for the SMALLPOX, sometime since, with the greatest success, hath now resumed the practice. Those who think proper to place themselves under his direction, may depend upon being conducted through the several stages of the disorder with perfect safety.

To show how persistent the disease was, I will quote some extracts from the minutes of Ross Vestry Meetings between 1750 and 1780.

1749. Death of a workhouse child with smallpox.

1750. 2 several cases both of children and adults, with one death.

1753. Several cases of travellers' (tramps) children dying from smallpox.

1757 and 1758. Parish relief given to a number of families with smallpox, several deaths.

1764. The Matron of the Workhouse to be allowed 10/6 for five weeks for nursing and attending the children of the work-house in the measles and small-pox. . . .

1768. Paid for care of Ann H. . . . , sick with the smallpox. Coffin for Ann H. . . . Paid Giles for finding (looking after) a traveller with smallpox.

1769. One case of smallpox.

1775. Several families ill and a number of deaths.

Later, a Walter Scott schoolboy died of the smallpox.

I have some interesting notes of smallpox in Leominster, occurring, as in the cases mentioned in Ross, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. These come from a somewhat unexpected source; there was in Leominster, and still is, a small Moravian church. The pastors kept detailed diaries concerning the affairs of the members of the congregation. In July, 1767, many of the meetings ceased to be held owing to a severe outbreak of smallpox. There were outbreaks in 1775 and 1777, and a very severe outbreak in 1779. The children of the congregation were inoculated against it; this is the first mention of inoculation against smallpox. obviously a new thing in Leominster, because a long meeting was held to decide whether the children of the congregation should be inoculated. The Moravians taught their children that it was desirable to die young, before being tainted by the sins of the world. I may mention here that inoculation carried a mortality of perhaps 2% to 3%, and was therefore a dangerous form of treatment, introducing, as it did, the actual disease into healthy persons. Even this mortality compared favourably, however, with the 50% mortality of severe epidemics. The discovery of vaccination (immunisation by introducing the harmless serum of cow-pox) was a revolution in the treatment of smallpox. As a nineteenth century writer remarked, "The 14th day of May, 1796 . . . is not less worthy of being kept as a national thanksgiving than the day of Waterloo".

Miss Swayne of Tillington, aged 91, has an oil painting of Jenner. This picture belonged to Miss Swayne's uncle, Dr. Henry Swayne, who was a friend of Jenner, and who, the Swayne family claim, collaborated with him in the discovery of vaccination. In the picture, a milkmaid—presumably the one who informed Jenner that having had cow-pox, she could not have smallpox, and so gave him his original idea—is seen in the background, as also are some cows. What I suppose to be Berkeley Castle is also in the picture.

Vaccination was being practised in Hereford as early as 1801, and in a minute of the Governors' Meeting of the General Infirmary we find the following reference to it:—

17th August, 1815. "A Motion was made and seconded That in consequence of the great attention of Mr. Sully, our apothecary, since the last General meeting in August 1814, to the recommendation of the Board on the subject of the Vaccine Inoculation and his great attention to the patients, that a Gratuity of Twenty Pounds be given to him with the thanks of this meeting, and a request that he will continue his useful exertions".

In the Leominster diaries, illnesses are often referred to as fevers, with no other appellation. James Titherington, the minister in 1789, died from one of these; he was taken ill on 11th August, was delirious on 12th August, and died on the 13th at the age of 48. Two other members of the congregation died of this unspecified, though virulent, infection which was supposed to have been brought from London by the carrier.

Brother Jenkins, in the Moravian congregation, was a physician. His mastiff had been bitten by a mad dog; the mastiff itself went mad after having bitten three of the Jenkins children and the maidservant. The whole family thereupon went for sea-bathing to Aberystwyth in December, to avoid any serious consequences, and were all graciously preserved. In the diary, references to sea-bathing at Aberystwyth for health reasons commence in 1799.

The wheel of time turns and the patterns of history, with modifications, repeat themselves. The menace of Russian expansion causing the Crimean war is with us again in the guise of Soviet communism; the principle applies in medical history also. Many of you here suffered in October, 1957, from Asian 'flu; the Hereford Journal of 10th February, 1858, records the following item: "The returns of the quarter ending December 30th, 1857, are, in some respects, unfavourable . . . the Asiatic cholera, however, which was threatening in October, was arrested in its course". Thus, exactly to the month, the menace from Asia returned after a hundred years, and I would further remind you that the Black Death commenced in Central Asia.

Epidemics of cholera were much dreaded in the nineteenth century; there were outbreaks in 1832, 1848, 1853 and 1854. Rather naturally, it found a place in the advertisements of the time; for example, this one from a *Hereford Journal* of February, 1848:—

"Cholera and Bowel Complaints in general, Dicey & Co.'s True Daffy's Elixir."

On 13th September, 1848, there was a long letter written to the *Hereford Journal* on "Cholera, its Prevention and Treatment".

"Exemption of Herefordshire from Cholera"..." with great thankfulness, and not in any spirit of self-security, we mention the fact that the County of Hereford is free from this disease, not even an imported case having occurred. The same was the fact in 1832, when the cholera was prevalent about 30 miles from us. Bridgenorth, where the disease has been raging, although in the diocese of Hereford, is in the County of Salop".

Cholera was discussed in one of the earliest papers read to this Club, by Dr. Rowan, as reported on page 22 of Volume I of our *Transactions*. He said:

"Herefordshire, for instance, has been proverbial for the salubrity of its atmosphere, and the freedom of its inhabitants from those epidemic scourges which have so often depopulated districts resting upon other geological formations; and it is a remarkable fact that, in the two visitations of cholera, not one case occurred in the County".

Dr. Rowan goes on to speculate on the causation of cholera, and the possibility of attributing Hereford's immunity to the Old Red Sandstone. These speculations, of course, proved wide of the mark in the light of Koch's discovery of the organism of cholera a few decades later, in 1883. Dr. Lingen remarked that the exemption of this county was the more notable from the fact that the cholera had never even begun in it. If it had begun, and

had then stopped, it might have seemed that the cessation was connected with chemical action in the soil. Other speakers attributed Herefordshire's immunity from cholera to its height above sea-level. These last were near the truth, as cholera research has shown that it is the purity of the water supply that is the really important factor, so that Hereford's immunity was in fact attributable to its fresh mountain streams, and so indirectly to its height.

A petition to Parliament, signed by 69 physicians, surgeons and apothecaries of our city and county, recently was found in the house of the late Dr. Bull. It concerns "a Bill for the better regulation of Medical practice throughout the United Kingdom"; expressing sentiments which seem to us all too familiar: the petitioners say "they cannot but regard its provisions with

feelings of disappointment and alarm ".

In 1844 Sir James Graham introduced a Medical Bill into Parliament, and meetings had been held at the General Infirmary to discuss this. As a result this petition was sent to Sir James. The date is almost certainly 1845, as the Herefordshire Memorial is mentioned in the Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal for that year. 1 Among the interesting signatures are those of Charles Lingen, President of this Club in 1857. He belonged to an old Herefordshire county family and, the youngest of eleven children. was educated at the Cathedral school. On leaving school, he was apprenticed to John Griffiths, surgeon, of Hereford. I may say in passing that John Griffiths was a somewhat unusual man, as he had on his consulting-room table at Chandos House a model of the Tabernacle, which he used to explain, drawing from it appropriate lessons, to his patients. Following his apprenticeship, Lingen trained in London, Paris and Heidelberg before returning to Hereford in 1836. When he resigned from the Hereford Infirmary in 1864, he was appointed a life Governor and Surgeon extra-ordinary.

Another interesting signatory is Mr. Thomas Cam, a member of a family which had medical connections with Hereford over a period of at least 150 years. A Dr. Cam had been on the staff of the Hereford Infirmary in its earliest years and resigned in 1792. There was a Dr. Sam Cam at the Infirmary in the early years of last century. The Mr. Thomas Cam, about whom we know most, was born in 1816, succeeded to his uncle's practice at Hereford, carrying this on alone until his retirement in 1875. He was surgeon to the Hereford Infirmary, and after retirement surgeon extra-ordinary, chairman of the Board of Management, and a life governor. He was of great service to the city of Hereford in municipal affairs, was twice mayor, and was an alderman for 30 years. I myself knew one of this remarkable family, Dr. Cam of Ross, who died shortly before the second World War. Mr.

Thomas Cam was one of the originators of the Hereford Medical Association, and was chairman in 1859. This association still exists as the Hereford Medical Society, and as it will celebrate its centenary in 1959, I propose to refer to it at some length. It came into being as a result of the Medical Act which eventually followed Sir James Graham's Medical Bill already alluded to. The inaugural meeting was on 28th December, 1858, and took place at the Hereford Infirmary. The first annual report gave the membership as 54, and was said to include nearly all the practitioners in the county.

Up to the time of the death of Dr. Bull, an annual report was printed, and these reports give an epitome of medical political history during the period of their publication—that is, for about 25 years after the formation of the society. They also contain many interesting sidelights of a non-political character. I will

quote from the first report:

"Man of the name of Smith, who was practising in this neighbourhood, has through the exertions of your committee been compelled to leave. In the early part of the year he would have been prosecuted for advertising himself as a Surgeon, had not the passing of the Medical Amendment Act prevented it".

From the second annual report this sentence has a familiar, present-day ring:

"We have all been made aware from the experience of this year, of the great imperfections of the Medical Acts".

About this time the object of the Association is stated:

"To secure the efficient operation of the Laws relating to the Medical Profession; to suppress illegal practice; to maintain the rights of the Profession as well in the relation of its members with each other as for the benefit of the public in general".

As regards the relations of its members to each other, an early statement reads:

"That it is the opinion of this Association that the utmost caution should be used by all Members of the Profession in expressing opinions about each other".

On 15th October, 1859, the Secretary reported that he had communicated with Mr. Griffiths, registrar of births and deaths, who informed him that they (the registrars) had instructions from the Registrar-General that if they could not obtain a certificate of death from a qualified medical man, they were to get one from any other person, and to write non-certified on the certificate, that consequently nearly half the deaths on the register were non-certified, that of illegitimate children's deaths very few medical certificates were received. Mr. Griffiths promised to be more careful in future. On 21st October there occurs the entry:

"That the Secretary should write to the Registrar-General about the loose way in which the causes of death were registered by the local registrars". The following paragraph might have been thought to have been written since the National Health Act of 1948, but was, in fact, a resolution of the Annual Meeting of 8th November, 1865:

¹ For list of signatures see appendix.

"That the system of gratuitous medical advice and assistance has outgrown all necessary and reasonable limits: with all its acknowledged benefit—and may the full extent of its true charity never be lessened—in the excess to which it is now carried, it is largely productive of the serious evil of checking those habits of providence, forethought and independence, which it is always so desirable to encourage among the working classes".

An early report deplored that under the new Public Health Act there had been appointed as sanitary inspectors, under the Board, ten barristers and one ex-lieutenant of artillery!

The Society was much concerned in the early days with the control of unorthodox practice. They complained that:

"Cases of illegal practice . . . had been passed over of necessity from the ineffective state of the Medical Act".

A comment from the 1867 annual report says:

"Quackery is hydra-headed, and no sooner is one form exposed, than another shoots up, and as readily as ever, finds its victims in poor, weak, gullible, human nature".

A resolution was passed in 1862:

"That the committee collect information regarding the irregular proceedings of the Rev. Hugh Reed of Leominster, information having been laid regarding the conduct of the curate of that town in practising medicine to the injury of the public".

Reference was made at the same meeting to "quackery in divers forms". Two years later the annual report stated:

"The committee have observed in the newspapers that the Ecclesiastical Authority has been very properly exercised at Leominster in withdrawing the licence of the Curate for illegally practising medicine".

In another instance a policeman had to be sent to make enquiries about a Mr. Pope of Llangarron, as to whether he was a properly qualified medical man. The policeman was to be paid 7/6 a day, and travelling expenses, viz. 2nd class railway outside coach. It was stated later that the committee simply wanted to obtain sufficient evidence to induce Pope to have his name taken quietly off the Register. A note in 1861 stated:

"We have now, or shortly shall have, the convenience of railways to every part of the County".

On 8th November, 1865:

"It has pleased the *Times* to attack the profession because it cannot cure the Cholera, nor stay the Cattle Plague. As well might it reproach Divinity for the existence of crime, or the Law, that disputes should arise. It is true, that we cannot yet correct the mortality from these diseases, but the secret has been given us to rob smallpox of its victims, and it may be that we may rejoice hereafter in being able to meet other pestilences in an equally successful manner. The *Times* unfortunately neglects no opportunity of attacking the Profession, but as long as its articles display such ignorance of the first principles of Medicine as they have lately done, they certainly can do us but little lasting injury".

I wish to conclude by reference to some of the outstanding medical personalities in our city's records, but before doing so, must note a resolution of 1860 "that no Female Practitioner be placed on the Register"; surely a cloud no larger than a woman's hand was appearing on the horizon! An interesting personality must have been James Price, whose passing was reported in 1863 by the Medical Association. His death was the breaking of a link with a colourful period of British history.

"We have this year to lament the death of one Member of our Association, James Price, Esq., the father of the Profession for this City and County. Mr. Price was a native of Hereford, and was apprenticed here; in his early professional career he saw much active service. He was appointed Surgeon in the Artillery in 1804, he was at Buenos Ayres, under General Whitelock in 1807, and then served for a time in India; he was at Corunna, under Sir John Moore, in 1809, and subsequently in the same year he took part in the ill-fated Walcheren expedition; in 1810 he began practice in this City, and continued doing so till within a few days of his death. For forty-five years he managed the Medical Book Society with a steady attention that calls for our lasting gratitude; he passed a long and useful life amongst us and it is not a little to say, that he has justly left behind him the memory of a kind and genial man ever upholding the interests of the Profession, and never better pleased than when he could promote true social friendship amongst his brethren".

A prominent member of both the Hereford Medical Society and of our own Club was Dr. Henry Cecil Moore. After an Army career he took up medicine and eventually became Medical Officer for Hereford. He was secretary to the Woolhope Club for 20 years and was also a very active member of the Medical Society. He is mentioned at length in Mr. Morgan's article in our centenary volume. A tablet to his memory is in the Cathedral. Another member of the Medical Society who should be mentioned is Mr. Henry Vevers, also commemorated in the cathedral.

My final word is about Dr. Henry Graves Bull, so prominent in the history of this Club, as in the medical sphere, and whose link with the present has only just been finally severed by the death of his last surviving daughter in 1957. Dr. Bull came to Hereford in 1841. He was one of the founders of the Medical Society as of the Woolhope Club, and joined the staff of the Hospital in 1864. The printed reports of the Medical Society bear the hall-mark of his authorship, for instance, in a reference to the medical-political situation in those days, he remarked that the profession must keep "hoping on, hoping ever". As Dr. C. W. Walker deals fully with the life of Dr. Bull on pp. 66-75, it is not necessary for me to say more, except to quote the words of an unknown writer after his death:

"He was a truly great and good man and the people's best friend. Words fail to convey how marvellous was his influence, how sincere his devotion, how beautiful his behaviour, and how . . . sensitive he was to human suffering."

APPENDIX

LIST OF SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION OF 1844

T. Bleeck Lye, M.D., Chairman; P. B. Giles, Byford; Marcus Braithwaite; John Gilliland, Hereford; Robert Archibald, Hereford; Wm. Henryson Denham, Pyon; J. Tucker Price, Hereford; J. Lomas Pitt, Bromyard; Edwd. Seward, Bromyard; Charles Underwood; R. T. Barra; Henry Wyatt Watting, L.A.C., Leominster; Charles Lomax, Leominster; Ebenezer Reese, Hay; Edward James, Kington; John George, Pembridge; W. L. Gilliland, M.D., Hereford; John Tanner, Ledbury; Miles Asturius

Wood, Ledbury; Edmund Jones, Ross; Abraham T. Willmott, Ross; William Blakely, Kington; Henry C. Barnard, Hereford; Thomas Cam; John Brown Shelton, Bromyard; P. T. James, Hereford; Edwd. Watkins, Kington; Wm. Thompson, Kington; Joseph Poysell, Leominster; Lacon Wm. Lambe; Zacharias Powell; Henry Procter, Hay; John James, Madley; Edward Morris, Hereford; F. W. Turnbull, Byford; G. H. Marshall, Kington; Jno. Morris, Hereford; George Woodcock. Eardisley; James Lane, Grosmont; Samuel Willard, Whitchurch; George Roberts Ivery; Charles Cooke, Ledbury; C. E. Thomson, Ross; George Strong, Ross; George Rootes, Ross; W. Symonds Rootes, Ross; John S. Palmer; J. W. P. Lyde, Hay; Wm. H. Morgan, Mordiford; Wm. Mailes, Woolhope; Zacharias Powell; Weobley; Henry Graves Bull, Hereford; Chas. Lingen, Hereford; Samuel Wandby; George Gwillim, Ledbury; Jonas Leake, Hereford; Thos. J. Watling, Leominster; J. Price, Hereford; E. W. Howey, Bromyard; H. Hargreaves, Ross; P. Tully, Hereford; Thos. Burlton, Leominster; Hy. Rudge, Leominster; Robt. V. Morris; John Marshall, Leominster; Jos. Thomas, Hay; Henry J. Jenkins, Madley; Thomas Pritchard, Hereford.

HENRY GRAVES BULL

(Maude Bull Memorial Lecture, 1957, given to members of the Workers' Educational Association, Hereford Branch)

By C. W. Walker, M.C., M.A., M.D., Ch.B.

In 1841 the office of House Physician at the Herefordshire General Infirmary became vacant and, among the applicants was Henry Graves Bull, hailing from Northamptonshire and without any local interest or backing in Hereford. He was short, slight, dark, clean-shaven, quick in thought, speech and movement, and dressed in the contemporary dress of professional men—top hat, black frock coat and light grey, rather full trousers. An applicant in any other costume would have stood little chance of success in securing a medical appointment.

Although the young doctor was only 23 years old when he applied for this post he had already spent seven years in training for his profession. At the age of 16 he had commenced work as a resident-pupil at the Northampton Royal Infirmary under Dr. Robertson. It was possible at that date to have a practical apprenticeship in medicine. Four years later he entered Edinburgh University in the Faculty of Medicine. At that date Edinburgh had a reputation as a medical school unrivalled in the world, and was attracting students from England and further afield. There Henry Bull studied under such famous men as Sir Charles Bell, Sir Robert Christison, and Sir James Y. Simpson of chloroform fame—names which are part of medical history.

Henry Bull—determined to have the best—broke his Edinburgh course by going for a year to Paris to hear the lectures and attend the hospital clinics of the great French physicians. So, early in 1840, he was established at No. 13, Quai St. Michel, on

the south bank of the Seine. His father was ill and, as he was growing weaker, Bull determined to cram a two years' course of study into one year at Paris, and he did carry out this programme, working incessantly and allowing himself only four hours of sleep at night. Here again he was seeing and learning from some of the famous physicians of the day, including the great Trousseau, Rostand, Bouilleaud and Cazenave-and he must have hastened to and fro from hospital to hospital. It is interesting to read these lecture notes of an English youth in the Parisian hospitals of 1840: they illuminate both the character of the writer and also indicate the state of medical knowledge at that time. In the former respect one can recognise at once the determination to learn, to miss nothing, to note everything down; obviously whole paragraphs in the exact words of the lecturer-logical, authoritative, basing all conclusions on experience. As regards the matter in those notebooks, the striking thing to a present-day reader is the limited scope afforded by the then state of medical knowledge. Just as Henry Bull was too early for chloroform at Edinburgh, he was too soon for the discoveries of Pasteur at the very hospitals in Paris in which he worked so hard.

Bull spent his final year of study at Edinburgh, and graduated M.D., as was the custom in those days, winning a gold medal for an essay on cerebral diseases, another gold medal for a paper on the viability of infants, and a prize given for surgery by Sir Charles Bell. No wonder the Hereford Hospital Board were impressed by his qualifications! One cannot help wondering whether the young medical student found time for any recreation or social life either in Paris or Edinburgh.

Dr. Bull got his first glimpse of Hereford when the stage-coach from Worcester, carrying the London mails, topped the rise before dropping down South Bank and crossing the Eign meadows and brook near where the railway station now stands. The streets were not only dark, but smelly, for there was no sewerage system. But even so the young doctor must have been attracted by what he saw.

During the following days he called—as was customary—on the various influential people to whom he had been given introductions, and then went for his interview with the Hospital Board. He did not obtain the appointment, for this had apparently already been promised to someone before his arrival. Several of his interviewers had, however, been greatly struck by his appearance, and by his record as a student. At all events he was so much impressed by the kindness and consideration of his reception that he decided to "stick up his plate", as they say, and work up a practice for himself in Hereford.

Harley House, No. 1 St. John Street, was the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. 1 It was to be let at the time of

¹ It was sold by the Commissioners in 1958.

Dr. Bull's arrival in Hereford, and the young doctor decided to rent it and start in general practice there. It was his home for the rest of his life, and became the home of his widow and daughters after his death: the last, Miss Leila Bull, died in 1958. the lease to the family having stood for 116 years—surely a long lease even for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It is a solid family house, four-square and built of stone. Its date is not known, but it must be old, for it was re-faced in 1739 with sandstone from the demolished cathedral chapter-house. It is entered from St. John street by a small side-door or by an outside door in the garden wall leading to the centre door in the south front which faces the walled garden and the cathedral close and deanery. Here Dr. Bull, with his mother to keep house for him, for his father had recently died, started in practice: it was to this house that he brought his bride some years later; in it his nine children were born, and in it he died.

We are rapidly becoming accustomed to a state of affairs in which every member of the community is entitled to every form of medical assistance from the cradle to the grave. In 1840 no one had any such rights. A young doctor was not a unit in any national scheme: he simply offered his services to anyone who chose to consult him, and as he showed proficiency or otherwise in his dealings with his patients, so his reputation grew or suffered, and with it the extent of his practice. We know that Dr. Bull very quickly achieved a great reputation as a doctor, and soon found himself summoned to attend many most desirable patients—that is to say, solid citizens and gentry who could be depended on to pay their doctor's bills! In early Victorian England the classes of society were sharply marked: the poor were very poor, wages were low, and few of what was then called the working class had money for doctors' fees. It was the duty of the medical profession to attend the sick regardless of the reward, and this they did. We know that Dr. Bull lived up to the ideals of his profession and freely gave his services, setting aside his Saturday mornings for free consultations at his home for all who could not pay, and attending such patients in their own homes at times when summoned to their sick-beds. Almost at once we find him giving his services to the Hereford Dispensary—and this was the first of a long list of public and charitable duties which he undertook in the years that followed.

It is interesting to note how the doctor's interest in the less wealthy inhabitants of Hereford broadened from that of a physician devoted to their bodily health to that of a philanthropist determined to help them in their efforts to attain a more satisfactory social and intellectual life. We find him promoting and taking part in a number of local bodies with such ideals, especially the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious, the two libraries then operating in Hereford, the Hereford Friendly Society, and others. I ought to mention that he was a churchman and a

worshipper in the smallest parish in Hereford—St. John's. At that time the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral was in regular use as St. John's parish church, and Dr. Bull's attendance there is mentioned on his memorial tablet on the pillar facing the doorway of the Cathedral from the college cloister.

I should say that he was a conservative: but we are told that, like most doctors, he took little part in politics, though I believe he was persuaded on one or two occasions to appear on a party platform. If you bear in mind the slanderous virulence with which party war was conducted in those days, you will not find it surprising that Dr. Bull was no ardent politician.

An event occurred in 1851 which was to affect to a remarkable degree the life of this busy practitioner. In that year a society was formed for the study, in all its branches, of the natural history of Herefordshire and the districts immediately adjacent: it was named the Woolhope Club. To a man as sociable and so intensely interested in all around him, such an association provided an ideal form of recreation. There is little doubt that Bull was interested in natural history in its widest sense, and, possibly, especially field botany, before he set foot in Hereford. Such studies were greatly encouraged at Edinburgh University in his day. No doubt Henry Bull found them equally attractive, and continued to pursue these interests as a hobby when he was established in this county and before the formation of the Woolhope Club

It was as a member, and latterly a leading member, of the Woolhope Club that Dr. Bull found an absorbing spare-time interest. Very soon his name begins to appear in the reports of club meetings, first as taking part in botanical discussions, and later as the author of long and exhaustive papers on similar subjects. In the first volume of Woolhope Club Transactions under the date 17th March, 1864, we find a paper on the mistletoe in Herefordshire, in which Dr. Bull discussed the mode of propagation and growth of the mistletoe, the host trees in the county, the recorded instances of its growth on the oak in England, and finally all the literary and historical connections with the plant that the author had been able to marshal out of a very wide and omnivorous reading. He described minutely how a mistletoe seed may be planted and grown—a practical touch very typical of the man. He devoted pages to instancing the host-trees in Herefordshire, where it is so common on the apple, white poplar, hawthorn, crab apple, lime, etc., and so very rare on pear and on oak. "The mistletoe", says Dr. Bull, "is much more common here than in any other county of England "-an observation as true to-day as it was a hundred years ago.

In the third volume of Woolhope Club *Transactions* was an article from his pen on "The Ryeland sheep". Like all his papers, this study is full of literary and historical references, and shows very careful research which must have cost its author much

time and study. One subject after another seems to have arrested his attention, but it is not always that his interest is profoundly stirred. Some months before the lecture on the Ryeland sheep. the vicar of Stretton Sugwas, Mr. Cooper Key, a Woolhopian, read a paper to the club which he confessed had been written by his wife—it was 87 years before the club opened its doors to women members—a paper on field mushrooms. Dr. Bull thanked the lecturer, and his speech of thanks was more than twice as long as the lecture, and packed just as full of facts about these mushrooms as the lecture had been. Dr. Bull claimed that for the last three or four years he had given some attention to funguses, and proceeded to draw attention to the fact that a number of edible toadstools were to be found in the county in addition to the well-known mushroom—" delicious in flavour (so he said), rich and wholesome, sadly neglected!" The report here interpolates the word "laughter" in brackets: but Dr. Bull would not be laughed down, and persisted that "since fungi are so abundant in the county it is the province of the Woolhope Club to study mycology, and clearly show the means of distinguishing which are good and which are bad ". This was the first public mention of his intense interest in fungi, which was to lead to the annual "Fungus Forays"—a term invented by Dr. Bull-which became for 20 years a most important feature of the Woolhopian programme: which, moreover, attracted to Hereford mycologists from all over England: which led to the discovery of many new species: and which eventually promoted the foundation of the British Mycological Society. It became customary to arrange four expeditions on consecutive days in a week of October each year. The places chosen comprised woodlands or other suitable terrain. These damp regions were searched by the ardent mycologists, eager not only to discover rare species, but also seeking edible species which would appear in the form of soup, savoury, or sauces at the evening meal that night. Arranging the outings, inviting the visiting mycologists, cheering everyone on, always talking and discussing everything of interest that was encountered, he was the life and soul of these outings into the autumn woods; and in the evenings at the annual fungus banquet or at the receptions in his own drawing-room where all were invited to drink coffee and listen to papers and discussions on mycological subjects. he was the central figure.

I fear that these descriptions of his activities as a field naturalist may be giving the impression that Dr. Bull was something of a dilettante, an amateur scientist in the Selborne tradition—but little else. Such a judgement might be formed by someone relying only on information to be gleaned from the annual reports of the Woolhope Club. But even in these volumes, though his name is constantly mentioned and his influence everywhere apparent, it may be seen that he could not always attend the expeditions he had himself planned, or he arrived late—sometimes

almost at the eleventh hour, owing to the exigencies of medical practice. From the hospital records we learn that he was unanimously appointed physician to the Hereford Infirmary in 1864, and after that his name is mentioned as being present at the meetings of managers week after week. We know also that his attendance in the wards was constant and his attention to the patients devoted and unremitting. It was Dr. Bull who designed the layout of the hospital grounds and lodge, and took the greatest interest in the execution of his plan for them—another typical instance of how his observant and constructive intelligence never failed to see what was needed and to act effectively on the basis of his observation.

No doubt most of his days were spent in the ordinary routine of a doctor's family and professional life. Family prayers and breakfast over, the brougham would be brought round to the front door, and the doctor would jump in. Journeys were slow in those days, and a doctor's round would often last on into the afternoon. Sometimes one of his daughters would come with him for company, especially if the drive was to a rather distant patient. The four boys attended school and promised well. Henry eventually entered the church and became a Cowley Father; he rose to be head of the order and became a churchman of the greatest eminence. He chose to return to the mission field and ended his life in South Africa. The eldest boy, Ernest, became an actor much against his parents' wish, but he prospered and became a noted theatrical manager. Alexis—the second son—wished to make his way in New Zealand, but the ship in which he sailed never reached its destination and was presumed to have sunk with all hands in an ocean storm. In the same year a further disaster overtook the family. The youngest boy, Herbert, fell when climbing a tree, injuring his head. A fortnight later he died of an abscess on the brain-a grave misfortune for his father, for the boy intended to become a doctor.

These were bitter blows, but such is life. Dr. Bull was equipped with the two strongest shields against the blows of fate: he was a religious man and a hard worker. He was, moreover, constitutionally incapable of moping, for his eyes were turned outwards, and his interest and attention were constantly being aroused and stimulated by some new aspect of nature, or by some object of archæological interest. We have papers by him, preserved in the Woolhope Club Transactions, on the Lollards in Herefordshire, on the Roman (Iron Age) camp at Credenhill, on Caplar, Aconbury and Risbury camps, and on the history of Aconbury priory and church. But in this concentration on archæology he did not forsake his botanical interests. Since his arrival in the county he had been deeply interested in the local varieties of apple, especially of the cider apple. There was considerable confusion as to the proper naming of these varieties, and there was a great lack of any printed and authoritative

literature on the subject. To fill this need Dr. Bull envisaged the publication of a descriptive volume illustrated by full-sized colour plates, with letterpress by an authority on the subject. The Woolhope Club was ready to sponsor this scheme; the obvious man to provide the written descriptions was available—a Dr. Robert Hogg, expert in pomology or apple-lore, and Bull had enlisted the services of a Miss Ellis and his daughter, Edith, both talented artists, to paint the coloured portraits of the varieties of apple. The work was to appear in parts, and the expense was to be defrayed by subscribers before publication. It was begun in 1878 and year after year a fresh part was brought out: the necessary paintings were made in the drawing-room at Harley House; Dr. Hogg wrote the accompanying letterpress; and the whole was organised and co-ordinated by Bull. The resulting work was The Herefordshire Pomona, a work which fulfilled a real need, and which achieved far more than a local reputation.1

During these same years there was hardly a meeting of the Woolhope Club which did not include a short paper read by Dr. Bull on Herefordshire Birds. Even up to our own times, Dr. Bull's name has been remembered and respected for the work he did for our local ornithology. His Birds of Herefordshire was so far complete before his death that his widow had little difficulty in assembling his notes and preparing them for publication. Had he not amassed all these notes, our knowledge of the bird life of our county a century ago would have been meagre indeed. As it is, we can form a very fair idea of its state at that date. Strangely enough I think it is almost certain that Dr. Bull would be greatly surprised if he knew that it was as an ornithologist that he was largely remembered: he would not, I think, have regarded himself as such. He loved birds and certainly noticed those which came his way, such as the pair of lesser spotted woodpeckers which visited his garden at Harley House each spring and bored their nest hole in his Irish Peach apple tree; but he was not what we should now term a bird-watcher, and his expeditions were arranged primarily for botanical purposes. His book on birds is the outcome of years of patient collection of facts bearing on the subject. helped by a natural flair for scientific investigation. He gives full weight to the observations of the Rev. Clement Ley and other expert field ornithologists, and freely mentions his authority for every statement. The title page of the book shows clearly his attitude to the subject-Notes on the Birds of Herefordshire, contributed by Members of the Woolhope Club, collected and arranged by H. C. Bull, etc. In spite of this the book seems to have led to some envious criticism which in turn drew forth an indignant defence in the form of a paper to the Woolhope Club by Henry Wharton, the Oxford ornithologist, in which he stressed the modesty of the title page and the honesty with which Dr. Bull

constantly acknowledged the sources of his statements. He closes his paper with the words: "Our friend Dr. Bull was as honest and straight-forward a naturalist as it has ever been the glory of Great Britain to foster and admire". And that is the verdict which appeals to us now when we look back at this work in the perspective of seventy years. Dr. Bull saw the necessity for the book. He saw clearly that the material for the work existed and that it had to be recorded then, or it would be forgotten and lost to science.

In October 1884 the Herefordshire Pomona had at last come out and one might have thought that its author would have rested on his oars for a space. But Dr. Bull was already determined to find out what relation our Herefordshire so-called Normandy cider apples bore to the apples of Normandy, in France, and had infected others with his enthusiasm, and induced the Woolhope Club to send him and two other members with crates of fruit. samples of foxwhelp cider and, of course, The Herefordshire Pomona, as exhibits to the great Seine-Inferieure Pomological Exhibition in Rouen. Here the Herefordshire exhibits and the personality of Dr. Bull had a great success; medals and diplomas were poured upon them and the doctor, never at a loss, made a long speech—in French—to the pomological delegates after a banquet at the Hotel d'Albion. "Monsieur le président et messieurs—je voudrais m'addresser à vous en anglais, mais je sais bien qu'il y a des personnes dans cetre assemblée si distinguée qui ne comprennent pas notre langue si difficile et si excentrique. C'est bien dommage, parce que, moi-même, je ne parle francais qu'à la mode anglaise . . . " and so on. The sample will serve to show that the doctor had no mean command of the French language.

A formal speech of thanks would no doubt have been thought sufficient, but that wasn't Dr. Bull's way. He treated his audience of French cider-makers and apple-farmers to a historical lecture of some length proving from statements in the ancient Book of Llandaff that the cider-growers of Normandy came there from Wales in the 6th century A.D. as refugees, driven out by Saxon invaders. One wonders what the audience thought of it—at all events they received it with acclamation, and it was after all natural enough that a French assembly should feel attracted to this energetic, clever, eager man who could so well express his ideas in their own language. When one remembers that the date is 25 years before the Entente cordiale, it is interesting to note that Dr. Bull closed his speech with the words (which he assured his audience represented the sentiments of "les anglais en général"): "Dieu bénisse la France".

Back in Hereford a week later we find him taking part in the usual annual fungus foray, and speaking at the banquet which always terminated that remarkable meeting. Here he outlined the various scientific activities which occuped his attention in his

¹ Published in two large folio volumes.

capacity of chairman of the Central Committee of the Woolhope Club; the flora of Herefordshire must be published in the following year, the birds the year after, and finally the fungi of Herefordshire the year after that. He closed this speech by referring to the fungus foray and proposed the toast of the visitors—experts in fungology assembled from various parts of England to join in these famous expeditions. Immediately after the response he was again called to his feet to report the events of the Rouen apple exhibition. So many interests, each pursued with such keen attention, and carried to such definite conclusion! He had practically completed the *Pomona*, the ornithology was well under wav-large sections of it had already been written and read as papers to the Woolhope Club, and he was then envisaging a mvcologv-a work on the Herefordshire fungi. He had himself invented the term "fungus foray", had been the first to start this essentially Woolhopian activity and had given the whole study of mycology in this country a tremendous fillip. I feel sure he was planning in his own mind a handsome book illustrated in colour, for without coloured illustrations a work on fungi would lose half its interest and value. It is impossible to read of his spare-time activities without realising that these were not mere hobbies pursued in carefree manner in his moments of leisure by the busy physician: natural science was of the deepest interest and importance to him. He saw in every branch the order and harmony of outward nature, impressing on his heart—as he himself had said, when President of the Woolhope Club in 1867-"the consciousness of the presence everywhere of the Author of all that beauty, the Promulgator of all those marvellous laws ".

A few days after the end of this fungus foray, the eighteenth successive annual occasion of the kind, Dr. Bull fell ill. He was seen to return on foot from the Infirmary across the Castle Green, as he so often did at the end of his day's work. It was his last walk. Next morning he was unable to rise, and he died three weeks later. And so this energetic useful life came to an abrupt end. Within a month of his triumph among the apple-growers of France and of his beloved fungus foray, he passed away on 31st October, 1884, leaving his family and a great circle of friends and admirers stricken and almost incredulous at the suddenness of their bereavement.

His daughter Maude, commemorated in this lecture, had more than the ordinary regard of a young girl for her father. He had often taken her for company on his round of visits. She had been with him on some of the fungus forays: it had been his custom to reward with a threepenny-bit any one of his children who found an interesting specimen. On one of the forays the little girl Maude found a fungus or toadstool of a kind which had never been described—it was new to science—a triumph for the Hereford botanists—and she duly received her threepenny-bit!

Her father had been her companion and hero, and his sudden death appeared to her like the end of all things. Her health suffered so badly as a result that she was sent abroad to recoverto beautiful Spiez on the Lake of Thun. If you chance to be travelling to Interlaken or over the Lötschberg to the Rhone valley and Italy, perhaps as you pass Spiez you will give a thought to the grief-stricken child who gradually recovered there her interest and keen pleasure in life-characteristics which she ever afterwards so abundantly exemplified and which led her to adopt those interests and causes with the enthusiasm and generosity for which we affectionately bear her life in memory. Her great interest was in education, and for many years she most successfully organized the Oxford University Extension lectures in Hereford. She also was assistant librarian of the cathedral chained library. She died in 1951, and her cremated ashes are buried in the Stanbury Chantry of Hereford cathedral.

SHIP BUILDING ON THE WYE

By I. COHEN, M.I.Mech.E.

When the scenery of the Wye is compared with that of the Mersey, the lower parts of the Tyne and Wear and certain portions of the Clyde it is difficult to realize that there was a period during which ship building formed an appreciable part of the industrial activities associated with this mainly pastoral district. Nevertheless it has been possible to discover records that prove the existence of several ship building yards and some details of some of the vessels, several of a surprisingly large tonnage, constructed and launched during a period dating from 1793 to 1846. No account however has been taken in this record of vessels built near the mouth of the Wye, near Chepstow, as ship construction there has been more or less continuously carried out up to recent times. Except in an odd instance there is no definite record of the building of the smaller type of craft, such as small rowing boats and similar vessels.

The first indication of Wye boat building may be deduced from an advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* of 2nd October, 1793, which reads:—

"Any person willing to contract with the Parish of Kings Caple for building a boat for the use of the Hoarwithy Passage and will officiate as Boatman... should treat with Wm. Morgan and S. Howells of Penhaul in the parish of Kings Caple. The old boat will be given up and a term of years granted to the contractor".

Presumably the boat would be required to carry cattle and vehicles, especially when the river was above normal level.

Nothing else appears until 23rd December, 1818, where there is, in the *Hereford Journal*, a paragraph beginning:

"We understand that a Steam Barge intended to carry Coal, and to navigate the Wye to this City, is now building in Ross, and is nearly completed. The Inventor is the spirited Proprietor of the Lidbrook and Deep Level Colliery. . . . "

Truly a pioneer effort, as steam propulsion was then in its infancy.

This is followed by another extract of 13th February, 1822:

"On Wednesday a sloop of 80 tons burthen and 60 tons register, was launched from nearly opposite the Castle Green. It was built by Mr. Easton, of Hereford, in less than six months. It is 47 feet in the keel, 15 feet 3 inches in the beam, with a depth in the hold of 7 feet 6 inches. It is named the Hereford and is intended for the Bristol trade".

The next reference is dated 5th February, 1823:

"On Wednesday, a brig built in the timber yard almost opposite the Castle Green, was launched into the Wye. . . It was built by Mr. Easton, of the Castle Quay, Hereford, and is the largest vessel built there. It was only six months in the stocks. It is of 170 tons with a keel of 61 feet, a beam of 20 feet, and a depth in the hold of 10 feet 6 inches. She has been taken to Bristol to be rigged".

Later in the same year:

"On 5th November was launched a new brig built by Mr. Easton, of Hereford, from the timber yard almost opposite the Castle Green. Its length is 69 feet 10½ inches, breadth 20 feet 2½ inches, keel 63 feet, of 122 tons, and will carry 180. It is named *Helen*, J. Owen, Master, and will be rigged at Chepstow. Building occupied 7 months, and it is the third vessel built by Mr. Easton". (It was towed down the Wye on 4th December.) "A schooner is now being erected in the same yard".

Several more vessels are mentioned in the *Hereford Journal* of 26th January, 1825:

"On 19th Jan. was launched the brig *The Champion* built by Mr. Easton, of Hereford, to be rigged at Chepstow. This is the fifth vessel by Mr. Easton in Hereford. It is of 124 tons register and was built in five months".

Next:

"In Monmouth on the stocks at Mr. W. Lambert's wharf is the Agincourt of 500 tons, intended for the West Indian trade. On the 21st (Jan., 1825) the keel of a 400 ton brig was laid in the same shipyard, and contracts for three other vessels are entered into by Mr. Lambert".

Back now to Hereford.

"On Monday night (19th Dec., 1825) another new brig, built by Mr. Easton, being the third within a year, was launched from his yard opposite the Castle Green, in this city, and she glided from the stocks into the Wye in fine style. She is named the Mary, Jas. Williams master, and is registered 200 tons and will be taken to Chepstow to be rigged. This is the seventh vessel built by Mr. Easton in this city".

Probably the difficulties attendant on the launching and towing of large vessels on the Wye were causing financial troubles, for after the launching of the *Bolivar* of 400 tons from Mr. Lambert's yard at Monmouth it was announced that, with the exception of one vessel now on the stocks, this was the last to be built at Monmouth, the establishment being about to be moved to Chepstow.

At Brockweir, Mr. Easton had in January, 1827, just launched for the London and Edinborough Co. a 'beautiful vessel' called the *Earl of Hopetown*, of 140 tons burthen.

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In July, 1827, appears a note that:

"The steam boat for navigating the Wye will be completed the next month, and by 1st September should be ready for working the river. The keel is laid in Mr. Easton's yard, opposite the Bishop's Palace".

Progress was not as rapid as expected, for on 10th October it was stated that:

"The steam boat for Wye navigation is nearly complete. The machinery is finished and is now on its way to Hereford".

The boat was probably the *Paul Pry*, launched on 13th November in the presence of over 6,000 persons. It was of 64 tons burthen with engines of 14 horse-power. James Kelley, of Liverpool, was master shipwright. The hull was floated downstream to Wilton Bridge but owing to the flooded state of the river, combined with the depth of the craft, it had to be partly submerged to pass under the arch and the ballast water pumped out before proceeding further. The machinery was to be fixed about 30th November, but again the time estimate was somewhat optimistic, for on 19th December it was announced that:

"The Paul Pry was now being equipped and was available for transport of goods to or from Chepstow to any part of the Wye or Severn."

An exhibition run was made by towing barges through the Wye bridge at Hereford and for some distance upstream.

The Hereford Independent on 22nd December advertised that:

"The Wye Steam Boat Company's vessel Paul Pry—George Pearce, master—will start on Wednesday next, the 26th inst. (weather permitting) from Hereford to Chepstow, calling at Hoarwithy, Ross and Monmouth. . . Tickets from Mr. Lucy, Dry Bridge House, or Mr. G. Pearce, the master. Parcels booked and further information given by application to Mr. Richard Crompton, at the Bell, Pipe Lane. Refreshments to be had on board by application to the steward. Fare—to Ross 4s., Monmouth 6s., Chepstow 10s. 22 Dec., 1827".

On 26th December it started from Crompton's Wharf, below Wye bridge, for Chepstow and reached Ross, 32 miles, in four hours, including a delay of three quarters of an hour at Hoarwithy for manoeuvring tests. It left Chepstow on 16th January, 1828, towing a barge, and reached Monmouth the same day, eventually reaching Hoarwithy on the 20th. Owing to the lack of suitable barges for the coal trade it was sent to Gloucester on the 22nd February, 1828, and was fitted out and sent to Liverpool in July, 1829.

The next launch we meet is lower down the river at Mr. Easton's yard at Brockweir, where the *Liverpool* of 400 tons was launched on 5th March, 1829, and was sent to Chepstow to be fitted out for the port of Liverpool.

A second *Hereford* was launched from Mr. Easton's yard at Brockweir in July, 1829, this being of 400 tons burthen, built

entirely of Herefordshire oak and intended for the Brazils, being fitted out for that purpose at Chepstow. On 2nd November, 1830, this was followed by a larger vessel, of 450 tons, the *Edward Foley*, again at Brockweir, intended to sail for Calcutta direct. Still another vessel was launched at Brockweir on 13th May, 1831, the *Lady Boughton*, "a very handsome and finely constructed vessel".

In June, 1831, an advertisement appeared asking for tenders for two horse ferry boats to a specification available at James Ward, Bishops Wood, Lydbrook, probably to be built at some yard on the Wye, but there is no record of the boats' completion.

The Hereford yard comes into the picture again on 5th March, 1832, when:

"A remarkably fine substantially built schooner, named the Collinoque (Irish for Pretty Lass), of 140 tons burthen was launched from Mr. Easton's yard, to be rigged out at Chepstow. This is the eighth vessel of large dimensions to be built by Mr. Easton in Hereford".

Mr. Easton's next effort was at Brockweir, where on 30th June, 1832, was launched:

"...a very fine constructed ship, the William Lockerley, being purchased by a merchant of that name of Liverpool. It is now being fitted out at Chepstow for the East India Trade".

This was followed by the launching of the James at Brockweir and the building in the same yard of two more ships, one for the East India trade, the Downton Castle. It is possible that Mr. Easton had undertaken more than his finances permitted, for on 11th September, 1833, we hear that a John Easton, a timber merchant, of Hereford, was in financial difficulties. This suspicion is heightened by the news of the launching on 29th October, 1833, from a Brockweir yard, this time owned by Hezekiah Swift, of a brig Lucy, of 300 tons burthen. In the same yard was building another vessel of upwards of 400 tons.

Up to now all the vessels mentioned have been built below the Wye bridge at Hereford, but on 26th April, 1834, a steam vessel, the Water Witch, built by Capt. Radford, was launched with 60 persons on board, being the largest vessel yet built above the bridge. It drew 17 inches of water as launched, and 34 inches when loaded with engines, etc. The length was 80 feet, width 23 feet with a fine figure head of a water witch holding a book. It was to ply on one of the English rivers and to be fitted out at Chepstow. It went down the Wye on 21st July on her way to Liverpool, where it was expected a customer would be found.

A probable item of Wye ship building may be deduced from an advertisement for sale of a new barge, needing rigging, the property of the late James George, of St. Martin's Street, Hereford, in the Hereford Times of 6th May, 1857, the advertisers being his widow and William Burgoyne, a joiner, of Widemarsh Street.

All the vessels previously mentioned were built of timber, but the building of iron vessels, if not actually undertaken, was at least envisaged by statements made in a prospectus of the Hereford Foundry on 29th August, 1838, at the time when the four-year-old firm was being converted into a public company:

"The foundry will compete with any other Establishment in the execution of orders for the Engines and Equipments of Steam Vessels. . . . The demand for wrought iron boats is daily increasing. . . . As an instance, Iron Boats may be profitably employed on the river Wye, whose shoals render it quite unnavigable during a long period of the year; whereas an Iron Boat . . . would navigate the Wye during the year; for such a boat would float with a load of from 6 to 8 tons with only six inches of water and would carry 25 tons with fourteen inches of water".

Wye built boats must have gained a good reputation in Liverpool, for still another ship destined for that place was launched on 1st February, 1842, from Mr. Swift's yard at Brockweir. This was the Jeremiah Garnet (the owner's name) and was to be rigged at Chepstow. At the same time smaller builders were busy: one James Proust, of St. Martin's Street, advertising a new sailing boat as well as several rowing boats for sale in May 1844. But on 1st January, 1846, we approach the launching of much larger vessels, one on that date being the 200 ton schooner the Queen, and another of 1,000 tons, the Constantine, the latter being for the East India trade and to be fitted out at Bristol. Knowing the sinuous course and the tidal range of the Wye, one must admire the courage required to undertake the building of a vessel of such proportions at Brockweir, in Mr. Swift's yard. It would seem however that ship building on the Wye was no longer profitable and no record has yet been found of more recent building.1 Indeed in July, 1853, a steam boat arrived from London for Mr. F. R. Wegg-Prosser, to be used for pleasure purposes on the Wye. It arrived via the Gloucester canal, its paddles having to be removed to allow of its passage, being about 42 ft. 6 ins. long and from 8 to 9 ft. wide. It was then taken by a horsedrawn timber carriage from the canal wharf to Belmont, where a dock had been prepared.

The Hereford Journal for 17th May, 1902, announced the probable launching of a stern wheel steamer, the Wilton Castle, at Ross "next week." It was said to be the first in use in England. It was flat-bottomed and measured 65 ft. long with 10 ft. in beam. It was to carry 100 passengers short journeys at 8 m.p.h. The hull was built by Messrs. Dowell at Ross. Owing to want of passengers it was laid by in about 1912.

¹ On 28th February, 1835, it was announced that John Easton had declined his business of carrying goods by water from Hereford to Bristol in favour of William Bunning, and that the sloop *Hereford* would load every week at Bristol for Hereford and other places.

¹ One would hardly associate boat building with the Widemarsh in Hereford, but in the *Hereford Times* of 15th February, 1868, is a short note stating that "boat building is now to be seen in the timber yard of Mr. Shaw".

REPORT ON PREHISTORIC FINDS IN NORTH-WEST HEREFORDSHIRE

By W. R. PYE

During the past year much has been done towards bringing to light prehistoric routes and encampments in north-west Herefordshire.

Many of the finds have been seen by Miss L. F. Chitty, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., who has given valuable advice and information.1

Due to the number of finds, it has been impossible to report on each individually, as was done last year. However, these have been summarized, and only the reasonably important ones are given in more detail.

MESOLITHIC

During the past year thirteen Mesolithic artifacts have been found. These were all identified at the British Museum.

Two were found in the Arrow valley: one in the parish of Staunton-on-Arrow, just to the north of the Lee wood site; another in Titley, about three miles to the south-west of the previous find.

Although the difficulty in differentiating between Mesolithic cultures and those of the secondary Neolithic cultures is extreme, eleven flints from the main Dorstone hill site have been identified as Mesolithic. This supports the theory of the late Mr. R. S. Gavin Robinson, that this site was of Mesolithic or very early Neolithic origin.

From these finds, although it is disputable, it might be possible to surmize that the Mesolithic peoples advanced up the Wye valley, also following some of the smaller river valleys.

Other Mesolithic finds in Herefordshire have been in the Wye valley, and also in the Golden valley.

NEOLITHIC

As was supposed last year, the Lee wood site has yielded concrete evidence to a part of its date. This came in the form of two arrow-heads, found on consecutive days. One was "leafshaped" and the other was a petit-tranchet derivative, both being indisputably Neolithic.

Other finds from this site, numbering 48 artifacts, included scrapers, blades, and two unusual stones. One of the last named is a smoothed, rectangular stone, with scratches on it. The other is a square stone, 8 in. × ½ in., perforated, and also with scratches.

Just to the north-west of Lee wood a possible rough-out axe was found, approximately 5 in. × 3 in. × 2 in.; it was partially polished. A mile to the north-west of this site was a chip from the side of a polished chert axe, and nearby, at Upper Mowley farm, was a chip from the cutting edge of a polished white flint axe.

Among other implements that came was a rough arrow-head from Gladestry, but due to its being only a fragment it is impossible to tell its date.

It may be possible that some of the flints found in Titley and Kington may be Neolithic, but as concrete evidence in the form of axe or arrow-heads is missing, it must be supposed that these are of the Bronze Age.

The main Dorstone hill site has yielded 11 fragments of arrow-heads, and four fragments of polished stone or flint axe-

heads, which will be dealt with later.

A polished stone axe was found near the Cross-Lodge longbarrow, which Professor Shotten has identified as follows:—

"He 16c. Polished axe, broken and re-chipped at both ends, Llanafon Farm, Dorstone. A fine acid welded tuff with spongy leucoxene patches. Group VIIIA. Origin may be south-west Wales (Pembrokeshire)".

This find may be of importance in proving a route between the Black Mountain group of the Severn-Cotswold long barrows and South Wales.

This, and other sites in Dorstone have yielded a total of 1,380 artifacts: an average of around 125 artifacts per site. Without the main site the average is 10 per site. These must almost certainly be Neolithic. One particular site found between the Dorstone hill site and the "Arthur's Stone" long-barrow has yielded 35 flints. Thus it would seem that the Dorstone site is contemporary with "Arthur's Stone".

Another site of some importance is one in Bredwardine on the opposite side of the road to "Arthur's Stone". Eighteen artifacts have been found here, and an extremely high percentage

are in excellent condition.

This series of finds connects up very well with those of the late R. S. Gavin Robinson to the east, and Mr. T. Davies's to the west of Dorstone. It would seem possible that prehistoric man forded the Wye at Llowes, in approximately the same position as it was forded until quite recently.

BRONZE AGE

Due to inconclusive evidence last year, the Lee wood site was labelled as Bronze Age. In the light of more recent discoveries, however, it must be regarded as a Neolithic and Early Bronze Age site.

Due to a series of small finds up the Arrow and the Hindwell valleys, it seems that the prehistoric peoples had trackways running up both the Arrow valley, and that of the Hindwell. This being so, the fork would have been about two miles to the west

¹ I must thank Messrs. F. Noble, B.A., and J. F. L. Norwood, for much help with identifications, and also to Mr. R. J. Jenkins for encouragement, and help in writing this article.

of Lee wood. This theory must be borne out by the Bronze Age barrow in Titley, overlooking the Hindwell valley, and by the "Four Stones" at Walton, with the two possible barrows on the Walton to New Radnor road. Together with the finding of a Bronze Age axe-hammer in Kington in 1938, this theory becomes credible. Apart from the latter, numerous artifacts have been found along the Arrow at Titley and Rushock.

An implement found at Sarnesfield was identified by the British Museum as "A good example of a plano-convex knife". It was made of a honey-coloured flint, which one generally attributes to Antrim, Northern Ireland. It is the best example of a flint with secondary working that has yet been found in this area.

MAIN NEOLITHIC SITE, DORSTONE HILL

Four fragments of axe-heads were found here. After slicing, two were identified by Professor Shotten as:—

"He 7/cf. Cutting edge of an axe. White and brown mottled flint. He 18/c. Small fragment of a polished axe (stone). Fine andesitic ash with some re-crystallization".

The other fragments were of polished flint, which had been burnt, one being a part of the facet and a part of the blade of an axe: the other being a chip from the side of an axe.

Eleven fragments of arrow-heads were distinguishable as "leaf-shaped arrow-heads". These, together with the axes, give a Neolithic date to the site. Other finds included 12 shale and chert implements, three strike-a-lights, 291 blades and fragments of blades, 456 utilized flakes, and 384 unworked flakes. Including the Mesolithic flints dealt with previously, making a total of 1,290 artifacts from the hill. As all these flints were found on about two acres of ground—the only area ploughed of a 20-acre field—it would seem that this site must have been one of the largest Neolithic settlements in Herefordshire—other sites include Cefn hill and Stockley hill.

I must thank Mr. Breese, Upper Bodcott, Bredwardine, for the great help that he has given us.

ROMAN

A bronze, figure-of-eight shaped object was found on the Lee wood site. It was analogous with a Roman lamp-hook, although not a common type. Its green patina suggests antiquity, and it might well be of such a date, although evidence in the form of pottery seems to be lacking.

The burnt, polished flint axe which was reported in last year's *Transactions* under "Prehistoric Finds in North-West Herefordshire", has been returned to Mr. R. J. Jenkins, who has presented it to Almeley School.

Two microburins from Dorstone Hill have been identified by Mr. C. H. Houlder. All artifacts are in the possession of the writer.

PREHISTORIC FINDS

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

			114	DEA OF	ILLUGI	RATIONS
No.		Parish				Type
1	Titley			***		Non-Geometric Mesolithic point
2	Staunton-			***		Battered-back blade, Mesolithic
3						Fragment of saw
		• • •	***	***	***	Blade with cortex
4	Titley	***	+++	***		
5	Titley		***	***		Late Bronze Age spindle-whorl
6	Titley	4.60000	1010	1000	***	Black shale blade
7	Titley	***	***	***		Chert borer
8	Titley			***	***	Fragment of shale battered-back blade
9	Titley		•••	***		Chert blade
10						Finger-and-thumb scraper
						"Petit-Tranchet" Derivative
11	11 Staunton-on-Arrow				***	arrow-head
12	Staunton-	on-Arro)W	***	111	Leaf-shaped arrow-head
13	Staunton-	on-Arre	wc	2000	190000	Shale blade
14	Gladestry			***		Thumb scraper
15	Gladestry					Thumb scraper (polished)
16			***	***		Plano-convex knife
	Sarnesfield	_	***	***	***	~
17	Bredward			+++		Scraper
18	Bredward	ine		4 4 4	***	Leaf-shaped arrow (fragment)
19	Dorstone			***		Blade
			M	AIN DOI	RSTONE	HILL SITE
1	Dorstone					Shale blade
2		•••	***			
	Dorstone		***	***	1.00	Shale thumb scraper
3	Dorstone	***	***	***	***	Blade
4	Dorstone			***		Blade
5	Dorstone		(00000)	2544	0.000	Blade
6	Dorstone		***	***		Knife
7	Dorstone			***		Blade
8	Dorstone			2000		Blade
9	Dorstone					Blade
10	Dorstone		***	***	***	Blade
11		4 6 4		***	***	
	Dorstone	* * *	***	***	***	Knife?
12	Dorstone		***	***	6+3	Mesolithic battered-back blade
13	Dorstone				***	Mesolithic blade
14	Dorstone				***	Mesolithic blade
15	Dorstone					Mesolithic ?
16	Dorstone	4	***			Mesolithic ?
17	Dorstone					Mesolithic blade
18	Dorstone	• • •		***	***	Mesolithic ?
19			***	***	6368	
	Dorstone	• • •	255	***	***	Leaf-shaped arrow fragment
20	Dorstone		***	***		Birch-leaf arrow fragment
21	Dorstone			***		Fragment of butt of leaf-shaped
						arrow-head
22	Dorstone	***	***	***	***	Blade of polished flint-axe (He 7/cf.)
23	Dorstone	•••	***	***	***	Fragment of side of polished-stone axe (He 18c.)

EXCAVATION AT THE ROMANO-BRITISH SITE AT PUTLEY, 1954

By V. H. COLEMAN.

DISCOVERY AND DESCRIPTION OF SITE

The site, which lies on the lower slopes of the eastern side of the Woolhope Dome, was discovered in 1953 during the digging of a trench for a field drain when Roman pottery was found in two places. The field, No. 224 on the 25-inch sheet No. Hereford XLI. I¹ is to the east of Old Putley rectory (now no longer used as such) and about one-third mile to the south of Putley church, where Roman material was found during alterations to the north wall. The Roman road from Stretton Grandison to Dymock passes the site about one and a half miles to the east. The soil, from its red colour, is that typically associated with the Herefordshire Devonian sandstone with a large content of very sticky marl. At no point was the native rock reached. A few fossils of the Aymestry limestone, well water-worn, were found.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF EXCAVATION

With the ready permission and co-operation of the owner and occupier, Mr. Roberts, the excavation was commenced as an exploratory "dig" at the Easter week-end, 1954. As however nothing conclusive was found then, or indeed has been found since, with the owner's permission digging continued most week-ends, when weather permitted, until September. The excavation was directed by Mr. Graham Webster, M.A., F.S.A., and the work was in the main done by the Hereford Group of the West Midlands Archæological Survey* with valued assistance from others.

Excavation revealed what appeared to be two open drains, about 2 ft. 6 in. wide and varying from 2 ft. 6 in. to 1 ft. deep, running in a north-south direction and roughly 35 ft. apart. The filling consisted of dark silt. The northern end of the western one opened out into an irregular area, the filling of which was highly impregnated with charcoal. The eastern one appeared to do the same, but was not fully excavated. At the southern end the size of the drains became much less, apparently to vanishing point.

In the area explored there was no evidence of the presence of a building, except for flue tiles and daub. However, near the middle of the western drain an area of tightly packed stones in clay about 5 ft. and 1 ft. thick was found. These included burnt stones and fragments of daub. From the general direction of the drains and the slope of the ground, rising from north-east to south-west, it would seem probable that if any building existed on this site it would have been to the south of the area excavated. Unfortunately it was not possible to explore this possibility as there is an orchard on the site.

THE FINDS. (By GRAHAM WEBSTER)

1. Small, light blue, glass bead 3/16 in. diam. (not illustrated).

THE POTTERY1

As so little Romano-British pottery has been published from this area, it has been considered worth while to include drawings of the more complete fragments and compare them with similar vessels elsewhere. In the West Midlands one of the predominant fabrics is the buff burnished ware in bowls, jars and beakers which Mr. Charles Green considers to have originated from Gloucester. and to which he has given the name "Glevum ware".2 Whether this type of ware was actually made in or near Gloucester has yet to be demonstrated, but it is becoming more certain as new sites are found that its distribution is very widespread, from Wroxeter in the north to the Cotswolds in the south. The quality of the ware varies greatly from a well-baked fabric with a fine polished surface to much softer wares with little trace of burnishing. The obvious conclusion is that there are several centres of production and the better types of pottery are perhaps more likely to be found in the urban centres like Gloucester while the poorer wares are rural imitations.3 The more difficult and urgent problem is that of fixing dates to different forms of wares so that the many sites now producing them can be fixed into their right chronological place and thus give some indication of the historical background of the rural economy.

In this particular series from Putley one has, in the complete absence of coins, to rely on the possibility of using other pieces of pottery which have been successfully dated elsewhere. The most significant wares are those imported Samian products. Even on such a rural site one would expect a reasonable proportion of these wares, if it was occupied in the first or second centuries. Its almost complete absence points to a later period, and this is confirmed by one of the few pieces of Samian, Drag. 32 (No. 16). This form is not common in Britain, but occurs frequently on the German

¹ Nat. Grid 32/641371.

¹ Trans. Woolhope Club (1882), p. 258; (1898), p. 103.

Organised by the Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies, the University of Birmingham.

¹ All the pottery has been drawn by members of the group. We are grateful also to Dr. J. X. W. P. Corcoran for his help.

¹ Journal of Roman Studies, XXXIII, p. 15.

[•] There is an exception to this at Bredon, Worcs., where the pottery recovered by Mr. A. Moray-Williams, now in the private museum at Overbury, is of exceptionally good quality. One must also bear in mind the possibility of the deleterious effect of clay soils on pottery and maybe the original vessels varied much less than is now apparent.

limes.1 and in particular at Niederbieber (190-260 A.D.).2 No. 7, a hemispherical bowl with centre flange, is an imitation of Drag. 38, another form which is typical of the late second, but continues into the fourth century. Another vessel which offers dating possibilities is the mortar No. 15. In the primary classification of mortar types by Bushe-Fox it is represented by Nos. 142 and 146,* but not here closely dated. It is a type which in the fourth century developed an angular profile often in imitation Samian fabrice but in this earlier form might well belong to the third century.* The small cooking pot with flared rim, No. 10, can also be dated with reasonable certainty to a late period, usually to the fourth century, as at Leicester.

It seems clear from a short survey of a few of the non-local types that the Putley site was occupied during the third century and possibly part of the fourth, but in the absence of further evidence no close dating can be considered.

Description of the Pottery (See p. 145.)

- 1. Large, wide-mouthed bowl with re-curved rim in light red-buff ware.
- 2. Large, wide-mouthed vessel with triangular rim in light red-buff ware. 3. Bowl with thickened rim and short neck in coarse, grey, gritty ware,
- decorated on the surface with two curving intersecting lines. (cf. Leicester, op. cit. fig. 23, no. 2, from a late second century level).
- 4. Wide-mouthed bowl with bifid rim in light red-buff ware. 5. Jar with slightly re-curved rim and a vestige of shoulder constriction, in
- red-buff ware. 6. Bowl with in-curved rim with small beads on each side in red-buff ware. This is a variation of a fairly common type. (cf. Wroxeter 1923-27
- (1942), fig. 45, B9, dated to c. 130-160 A.D.). 7. Hemispherical bowl with centre flange in buff ware (see above).
- 8. Bowl with flat, re-curved rim in thin, coarse, grey ware.
- Jar in thick, grey, coarse, gritty ware.
- 10. Small cooking pot with flared rim diameter greater than the body. decorated with a zone of obtuse-angled latticing (see above).
- 11. Tankard in thin buff ware.
- 12. Bowl with a bead and flanged rim in grey ware with traces of burnishing. (cf. Lydney Park, fig. 27, no. 43).
- 13. Similar vessel in black, burnished ware.
- 14. Jar with thickened, angular rim in red-buff ware with at least two small holes, one near the base and the other on the shoulder. This is probably a simplified version of a common type with undercut rim and short shoulder (cf. Glevum, no. 36, and Bourton-on-the-Water, Trans. Bristol and Glos. Soc., 56 (1934), fig. 4, no. 1).
- 15. Mortar with predominant flat-topped bead emphasised by an internal groove, and horizontal, undercut flange in buff ware with pink grits (see above).
- 1 Oswald and Pryce, An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata (1920), p. 205.
 - Oelmann, Die Keramik des Kastells Niederbieber, 1914.
 - * Wroxeter (1912), p. 76, fig. 20.
- cf. Richborough I (1926), pl. XXVIII, no. 99; New Forest Pottery Sites (1927), pl. Xa Type B; Sutton Walls, Arch. J., CX (1963), fig. 21, no. 18; to quote only a few examples.
- * Lydney Park (1932), fig. 26, no. 16, p. 98.

 * Leicester, Jewry Wall (1948), fig. 26, no. 22; also Wrozeler 2 (1914), fig. 19, no. 67; Caerwent, Arch. lxii, p. 432, with coins of Allectus.

- 16. Samian Dragendorff, 32 (see above).
- 17. Platter with vertical side in coarse, black ware (not illustrated).
- 18. Similar platter with inclined side in black burnished ware (cf. Lydney Park, no. 45 and 46, etc.).
- 19. Similar platter (not illustrated).
- 20. Small flagon top in red ware with traces of buff coating. This, and 21 and 22, are types which succeed the screw necked flagons of the second century, and are common at Niederbieber in the third century. (cf. Whittington Court, Trans. Bristol and Glos. 71 (1952), fig. 5, no. 2; Kenchester, Trans. Woolhope Club. 1918-19-20 Supplemental Report, ol. 59, fig. 5).
- 21. Wide-mouthed flagon top with beaded, re-curved rim in light red ware (cf. Sutton Walls, op. cit., fig. 21, no. 5).
- Similar flagon top.
- 23. Small jar with roll rim.
- 24. Thick jar with sharply everted rim in coarse, black, gritty ware.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE ROMAN CAMP OF BRAVONIUM (LEINTWARDINE)

By S. C. STANFORD, B.A.

The Roman site at Leintwardine in north-west Herefordshire (G.R. SO. 404742) has been generally accepted as the Bravonium of the Antonine Itinerary and it is so shown on the Ordnance Survey "Map of Roman Britain". The Itinerary does not give the status of Bravonium, and in the absence of excavation its role and history have remained conjectural. The rectangular earthwork enclosing the northern half of the site is well defined, but to the south towards the river Teme the picture is not clear. Dr. H. G. Bull's conjectural line for the southern defences would make the area of Bravonium about 14 acres.1 Its size and the irregularity of the southern conjectural defences have presumably been responsible for the ascription of a purely civil character to the site. Its elongation from south to north-suggesting ribbon development along Watling Street West-and its position almost midway between the towns of Magna (Kenchester) and Viroconium (Wroxeter) lent force to the assumption that it was a postingstation. This year's work has shown how deceptive such appearances are.

Excavations, 1958

A trial trench, 114 ft. long, was cut across the northern defences close to the north-west corner, where the rampart is best preserved and a broad shallow ditch is discernible (Trench 1, Fig. 1). Work on this was carried out by members of Leintwardine W.E.A. branch and other volunteers under the writer's direction on forty days between May and September. During

¹ H. G. Bull, Woolhope Transactions, 1882, plan opp. p. 251,

August the removal of a modern wall behind Chantreyland House exposed a further section of the rampart (Section 2). The importance of this section and the pottery recovered from it by Mr. C. Holmes will be apparent from the conclusions made below.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The military character of the rampart and ditches reveals that Bravonium was an important fort during at least the latter half of the 2nd century. A preliminary field survey suggests that the southern limit of this fort lies approximately along the line of Church street producing a square enclosure of about 7 acres with sides c. 560 ft. over the ramparts. In Trench 1 four periods of work were found:—

- An early ditch, presumably associated with Roman occupation in the late first century A.D.
- 2. A timber-laced clay rampart and associated ditches constructed not earlier than c. A.D. 150.
- 3. A re-cutting of the ditches and repair of the rampart. Not dated.
- Further rampart repairs and replacement of the earlier ditches by a single deep ditch. Not dated.

THE EARLY OCCUPATION

Below the rampart an early ditch (No. 4 in Fig. 2) was cut obliquely by the trench. Its true dimensions are 9 ft. \times 3 ft., and it appears to have had a counterscarp on the north-west side. In Section 2 (Fig. 2) the only pre-rampart feature is a rammed gravel surface. If this is the *intervallum* road of an early fort, it confirms the evidence of Ditch 4 that the defences of that fort are on a different alignment from those of the later Antonine one.

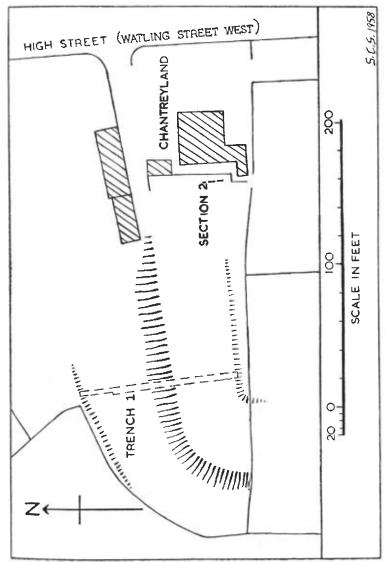
In the absence of sealed deposits it is not possible to date the cutting of Ditch 4. We may however use the earliest material found anywhere on the site as a guide to the foundation date for Bravonium. This is a piece of decorated Samian Form 29 datable c. A.D. 70-80 (Fig. 5, No. 1). Five of the fifteen datable Samian sherds taken from Trench 1 and Section 2 are certainly Flavian, and there are four coarse-ware sherds found in Flavian contexts elsewhere. A 1st century date for the establishment of Bravonium is certain, but only further work can determine how early in that century this need be.

THE ANTONINE DEFENCES

At a date not earlier than c, A.D. 150 the site was levelled and new defences were built.

DITCHES (Nos. 1, 2 and 3 on plan, Fig. 2)

It should be noted that no useful dating material was obtained from any of the ditches. On grounds of comparability in shape and size, 1 and 3 may be accepted as contemporary, and both show evidence of re-cutting and deliberate filling. Their direction shows



Frg. 1

that they do not belong to the early defences, so we may take them as part of the Antonine system. The 41 ft. space between them is unusually wide for Roman defences and it is probable that a third ditch was obliterated when 2 was later enlarged. The shoulder on the north side of this ditch may mark the earlier cut. There were probably, then, three V ditches each dug about 11 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep, spaced 16 ft., 50 ft. and 72 ft. from the rampart. Part of the spoil from these ditches was used to fill Ditch 4, and as the earth, boulder clay and shale that would have come from them does not appear in the rampart at this point it is possible that the rest was used for counterscarp construction beyond 1 and 2.

THE RAMPART

This was made of alternating layers of logs and clay to an original height of 5 ft., and above that of brushwood and clay. At the back a turf ramp gave access to the rampart walk.

Materials.—The logs of the main rampart work usually appeared as shallow hollows containing up to \(\frac{1}{2}\) in. of the dark brown or black dust of decayed wood. Generally these traces improved with depth, the uppermost layer being only fragmentary while in the base layer slow replacement of the wood by clay had preserved the actual shape of some of the logs. They varied from 5 ft. to 12 ft. in length, and from 3 in. to 6 in. in diameter.

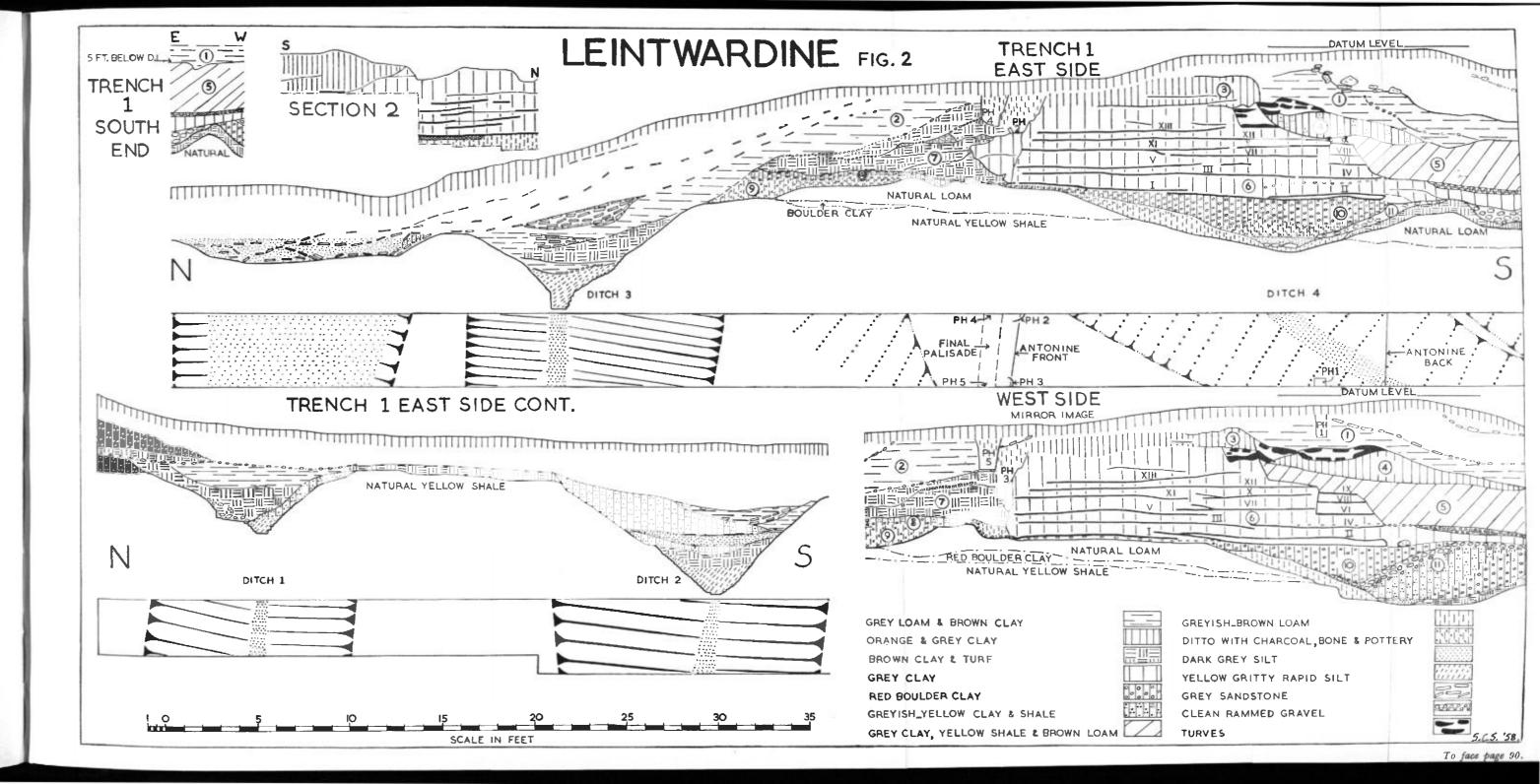
The short logs at the back (Sets VI, VIII, and IX) were represented by very thin black stains, about 5 in. wide and convex in section. The latter characteristic distinguishes them from the main logs and it is thought that they were split. It will be noted in Fig. 3D that set VIII, although clear in section, was not well enough defined to allow it to be separated in excavation from the dark clay above and below it. It has therefore been restored on the plan.

The straightness of the logs is noticeable, and with few exceptions they had been completely trimmed of side branches. The general impression is that such timber might well have come from the sessile oak forests which probably covered the neighbouring limestone hills in Roman times. The smoothness of the rampart clay suggests that it was puddled when laid, and in the only place where lumpy clay was encountered it was related to the absence of firm wood traces in part of set III.

The only turves in the preserved section of the rampart were used for the ramp and were 2 in. to 3 in. thick and up to 2 ft. long.

Construction.—Trench 1 proved to be cut at the very start of the corner and is not quite at right-angles to the rampart.

A rough kerb of stones starting 9 in. within the trench must represent a guide for the inner edge of the rampart base as it widens at the corner (Fig. 3G). In front of this kerb Logs I and II were laid to form a 20 ft. base with Logs I at right-angles to the



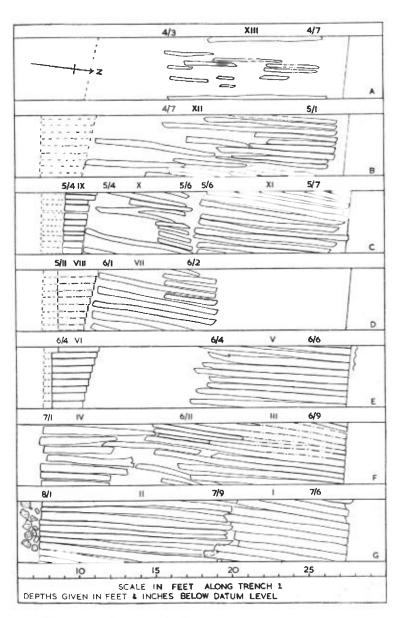


FIG. 3.

rampart front and Logs II at right-angles to the kerb. On this base the lower stage of the rampart was built of four more layers of logs each separated by 5-12 in. of clay. The lower four layers are made of two sets of unequal length arranged long over short to bind the whole structure securely. The vertical front of this stage is preserved on the west side, and it may be assumed that a vertical face was also maintained at the rear. Allowing for the loss in height caused by the rotting of the timbers it is estimated that this part of the rampart was originally 5-ft. high.

An unexpected feature is the distinctive treatment of the rear section. Above the basal logs this is formed of a series of short sets (IV, VI, VIII and IX), at right-angles to the inner edge, and increasing in length towards the corner so that their leading edges lie almost parallel to the rampart front. Since every log layer except B (Fig. 3) has a set of logs at right-angles to the inner edge, it is assumed that a further short set is missing at this level, and it is shown conjecturally in Fig. 3B. The effect of this construction was to create an independently founded platform inside the angle of the fort, 3 ft. above the intervallum level. It seems likely that the independent construction of this section was imposed on the builders by the requirements of some special structure at the corner, possibly a ballista. The short log at the south end of Section 2 may indicate that a similar structure exists there.

Above this lower stage a final log layer (XIII) was set at right-angles to the rampart rear and on it was built an upper stage. only 12 ft. wide, of brushwood and clay. 11 ft. of this is preserved and its existing front is sloping at an angle of 60°-70°. This slope could be the product of later repairs; we must review the evidence for a palisade to keep the upper stage vertical. There is no palisade trench in front of the rampart, but a shallow slot on the west side could have housed a tie-beam between uprights too widely spaced to appear in our 4 ft. section. The boulder clay of the berm (layer 8) is absent at the foot of the rampart, and the loam there contained traces of wood. On the east side the brown clay which later accumulated on the berm was dug into and a large piece of clean grey clay fills the hole thus made. This clay had preserved the semi-circular casts (c. 4 in. dia.) of wood, and must have fallen from the rampart above. It is difficult to dissociate the digging of the hole from the collapse of the rampart. The connection between the two must be an upright post, the removal of which was the purpose of the diggers, and the cause of the rampart collapse. Casts similar to those in the fallen clay were observed on the rampart front itself and are shown in Fig. 3E. It appears that the rampart was faced with split logs held behind horizontal ties to posts at least 5 ft. apart.

There is no evidence for a vertical back to this upper stage, and the lie of the ramp turves suggests a sloping back. If the back were sloped at 45°, either a vertical or 70° front would allow

the rampart to be at least 10 ft. high, and the I in 4 gradient of the ramp would allow it to reach the 10 ft. level 10 ft. west of the trench, before the corner, to judge from the ground evidence (Fig. 1). The ramp was parallel to the rampart and would have been not more than 5 ft. wide if it was to be clear of the structure on the angle platform.

The intervallum roadway starts 2 ft. behind the rampart and is made of 3 in. of clean gravel. A dribble of gravel between Logs II and IV shows that it was put down immediately after the rampart base was laid.

A terminus post quem for the rampart construction is indicated by a sherd of decorated Samian Form 37 (Fig. 4, No. 4) obtained by Mr. C. Holmes from the pre-rampart surface in Section 2, and dated by Mr. B. R. Hartley as c. A.D. 150-180. The other Samian from the pre-rampart and rampart-construction levels, although not so closely datable, confirms this evidence, with six 2nd-century pieces of which two are possibly Antonine. Many of the coarse ware sherds are 2nd century, No. 18 belonging to the latter half of that century.

THE LATER REPAIRS

Only a few residual sherds were found in the subsequent deposits, so it is not possible to insist upon particular relationships between the several features that post-date the Antonine rampart, and the sequence of alterations set forth here is necessarily tentative.

The silting in the original slot of Ditch 1 indicates a period of neglect, ending with the partial filling of that ditch with material from its inner bank. Before the first repairs were effected 2 ft. of soil had accumulated on the berm and the *intervallum* was covered with downwash. The removal of the palisade post inferred above could reflect deliberate dismantling, sapping during a siege, or robbing after evacuation. As the collapsed rampart was not removed from the hole it seems certain that we are not dealing with the replacement of the post in question. The events of A.D. 196 when the British garrison was depleted by the continental campaign of Clodius Albinus would provide the historical context for any of the suggested reasons for the removal of the palisade.

When the fort was re-commissioned, probably with the Severan reorganisation in the first decade of the 3rd century, the rampart was built up with brushwood and clay (layer 3) and the ditches were recut. Little evidence remains of the new rampart facing but Post-holes 2 and 3, and traces of wood on the rampart front above them, suggest a battered palisade. The new capping of the rampart overlapped the old ramp and a new set of turves was laid at the back on a build-up of weathered shale and soil (layer 4) quarried from between Ditches 2 and 3. There is only a 3 in. rise in the base of this turf stack across the trench, so it

would require 48 ft. to reach the top of a 10 ft. rampart. There does not appear to be room for this on the ground plan, and the appreciable widening of these turves towards the corner suggests that they do not form a ramp, but the equivalent in turves of the

timber angle-platform of the earlier rampart.

This reconstruction was followed again by neglect and abandonment. Ditch 1 silted up and was then filled with clay shovelled off the berm and a dump of sandstone; Ditch 3 had its counterscarp thrown down into it. The weak definition of the outside of the palisade post-holes may have resulted from their removal at this time. The mantle of earth that subsequently spilled from the rampart over Ditch 3 as layer 2, and the changed form of defence adopted in the final phase argue for a considerable lapse of time since the? Severan reconstruction. The work now to be described need be no earlier than the 4th century.

A new V ditch (No. 2), 15 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep, was dug 16 ft. beyond the start of the sloping berm, and 44 ft. from the rampart palisade. The two post-holes of the palisade (Post-holes 4 and 5) were poorly defined and only observed in section following a cloudburst ten weeks after being cut; but their alignment parallel to the earlier rampart fronts confirms their function. Occupation material containing a number of mid-2nd century sherds was scraped up from within the fort and added to the rampart at the back (layer 1) which may have had a stone revetment.

When these defences were abandoned the ditch was left open to silt up. Only very much later was the thick charcoal layer formed in it. This looks like the result of burning the undergrowth which would have flourished in such a protected environment, prior to filling the ditch with the remains of its counterscarp.

Conclusions

If future work confirms the military character of the Flavian occupation of Bravonium it will provide an important primary feature of the Roman borderland, and must affect our view of the conquest and control of Wales, as well as the development of the road pattern of Herefordshire. The broad similarity already apparent between Lavobrinta (Forden Gaer)¹ and Bravonium, with Flavian occupation followed by Antonine rebuilding in clay and timber, encourages the expectation that the post-Antonine phases may be equally comparable with military occupation lasting until at least the last quarter of the 4th century. For the present we must restrict our preliminary conclusions to the evidence of the Antonine defences.

Although basal log corduroys are not uncommon below earth ramparts, recorded examples of multiple timber-lacing are rare in Roman Britain, and Leintwardine provides to date the most complete example we have. A detailed discussion of the nature and purpose of such construction will be more appropriate when further work at Leintwardine has elucidated some of the outstanding problems, but a few general observations may be made here.

Multiple lacing occurs at fort corners and their approaches at Coelbren (up to 40 ft. from the corner), 1 Forden Gaer (up to 50 ft.), and Newstead (12 ft.).2 At all of these multiple lacing has been shown to be absent in other sections of the rampart. although the record at Coelbren is confused by the use of a single log corduroy as a foundation for many sections of the rampart. From these sites we might assume that multiple lacing was restricted to the corners, where it would have provided the resilience required by ballistae. The section of Trench 1 at Leintwardine is in harmony with these facts, being only c. 20 ft. from the corner. The multiple lacing in Section 2, however, provides a new problem. Only further sections can determine whether the lacing is continuous between Section 2 and the corner, but we may note now that this section is c. 160 ft. from the corner and so about a quarter of the way along the rampart. If interval ballistae were mounted, such a position midway between gate and corner would be the most likely one. Such an interpretation would underline the elaborate character of Bravonium's defences, and the importance of the site. It will be noted that all the examples quoted above are found on large forts with an area of over 5 acres, and an establishment presumably of not less than one thousand infantry.

Forden Gaer's was hitherto the only unwalled rampart in the west for which an Antonine date of construction had been demonstrated. The equally late date of the Leintwardine rampart indicates that the earth-and-timber auxiliary fort was not so outmoded by this time as the deduction of Trajanic rebuilding in stone at Brecon, Caerhun, Castell Collen, and Gelligaer would

suggest.

We may now consider briefly the regional implications of Bravonium's new status. It has been usual to regard the civil zone of Roman Britain as extending approximately to the Welsh border in the central Marches. The presumed civil settlement at Leintwardine was an important basis for this since it linked the towns at Wroxeter and Kenchester and so presented a tidy frontier to the civil zone. In consequence we have hitherto presumed that any military sites to the east must belong to the conquest period before c. A.D. 75.

¹ F. N. Pryce and T. Davies Price, Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1927, 1929, 1930.

¹ W. Ll. Morgan, Archaeologia Cambrensis, 1907.

³ J. Curle, Roman Frontier Post, etc., 1911; and I. A. Richmond, Proc. Soc. of Ant. of Scotland, 1949-50.

³ R. E. M. Wheeler, Y Cymmrodor, 1926.

⁴ P. K. Baillie Reynolds, Roman Fort of Kanovium.

L. Alcock, Trans. Radnorshire Society, 1955-7.
 V. E. Nash-Williams, Roman Frontier in Wales, pp. 73 ff.

There is no longer that continuity of civil development between Wroxeter and Kenchester; and the other forts east of Watling Street West take on a new look. The Map of Roman Britain shows five of these between Leintwardine and Birmingham. and the only civil settlement shown in that zone is at Droitwich on its south-east margin. The way is open for arguing that in the late 2nd century the army was in control of the 20 miles wide zone between Leintwardine and the Severn, if not beyond. Support for this comes from another Herefordshire fort at Tedstone Wafer about which Mr. Graham Webster wrote in these Transactions for 1954: "The evidence on its face value suggests that the fort was actually constructed and abandoned in the 2nd century ".1

A new appraisal of the individuality of the West Midlands during the Roman period becomes necessary, and it need not be surprising if we find that here, as in the north, town and fort were close neighbours. Military sites like Leintwardine and Tedstone Wafer can provide us with a time-scale for the history of the area and a view of Roman reactions to developments there; but the hill-forts, and the ditched enclosures revealed by Mr. A. Baker's aerial photographs, must hold the evidence for the British way of life during the occupation. The extension of the military zone in the west reminds us again of the paucity of Roman achievement in civilizing the non-Belgicised areas north-west of the Jurassic zone, and we see that this, rather than the Highland front is the major cultural division in Roman, as in Iron Age Britain. Beyond this Wroxeter may have to be regarded as an outlier rather than outpost of Romanized Britain, and its growth is seen to be even more remarkable than before. In Herefordshire the military occupation of the north contrasts with the civil developments in the south. This could explain the restriction to south Herefordshire of the area in which during the Dark Ages Celtic Christianity and economy withstood the shock of the English invaders whose rapid advance through the former military area of the central Marches took them quickly into Radnorshire.

FINDS

The only small finds were a lead weight (from layer 1) and half of a blue melon bead (layer 10). These and the residual coarse pottery from the post Antonine levels will be illustrated in a later report. All the coarse ware described here is from the prerampart and rampart construction levels. The red ware, and particularly the Samian, found in these deposits was in an extremely soft condition, whereas the grey ware had remained hard. I am deeply indebted to Mr. B. R. Hartley for the following report on the Samian ware.

Samian (illustrated in fig. 4):

1. Form 29, South Gaulish. Upper zone with continuous scroll having leaftips in the lower concavities. A precise parallel to the decoration is to be found on a Flavian bowl of PASSENVS in the Guildhall Museum (Knorr, Terra Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts, 1952, Taf. 49F). c. A.D. 70-80. (Layer 4).

2. Form 37, South Gaulish. The fabric and the use of a cable border suggest manufacture in the period c. A.D. 85-105. (Layer 10).

3. Form 37, Central Gaulish. The basal wreath, peliae and foliage all occur commonly on bowls in the style of DONNAVCUS to whom this piece may be assigned. c. A.D. 110-30. (Layer 10).

4. Form 37. Central Gaulish. Panel decoration with demarcation of medium-sized beads below the ovolo and of oblique beads elsewhere. These features as well as the ovolo and the dolphin (Dech. 1050), occur on a stamped bowl of PATERNVS from Carrawburgh (Central Gaulish Potters, Pl. 105, 12), which could well be from the same mould. PATERNVS is an exclusively Antonine potter and this piece may be dated c. A.D. 150-180. (Below logs in section 2).

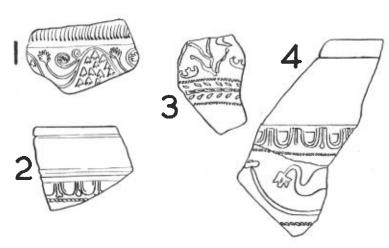


Fig. 4.

Not illustrated:

- 5. Form 67 base. South Gaulish. Flavian (6).
- South Gaulish. Flavian (10). 6. Form 18 rim.
- 7. Form 18 base. South Gaulish. Flavian (10).
- 8. Form 18 rim. South Gaulish. Flavian (4).
- 9. Curle 11. Flavian or early second-century (9).
- 10. Form 37 rim. Central Gaulish. Second-century (6).
- 11. Form 37 rim. Central Gaulish. Second-century (10).
- 12. Form 18 or 18/31 rim. Central Gaulish. First half of the second century
- 13. Form 31 rim. Central Gaulish. Hadrianic or Antonine. (Below logs in Section 2).
- 14. Form 37 (?) rim. Central Gaulish. Second-century, probably Antonine
- 15. Form 33 base. Central Gaulish (?). Probably second-century. (Unstratified).

¹ A bowl similar to no. 18 was found in the ditch filling.

Coarse ware (fig. 5);

 Hand-made jar in native tradition. Gritty black fabric, brown outside with burnished diagonal stripes (6).

Wheel-turned version of 1 in grey ware (10).
 Bowl in grey ware burnished externally (10).

 Hand-made jar in native tradition. Gritty black-brown fabric burnished black externally (9).

5. Iar in sandy buff ware (6).

- Jar in dark grey ware, burnished externally (6). Cf. Caerleon 1927-9.
 No. 46.
- Jar in dark grey ware burnished black externally (10). Cf. Jewry Wall, type B, fig. 27, 15. A.D. 100-120.

 Jar in medium grey ware with matt surface (6). Cf. Gillam, Roman coarse bottery, no. 103. A.D. 80-120.

Jar in light grey ware, burnished dark grey externally (10).
 Cf. Jewry Wall, type A, fig. 27, 8—Flavian to A.D. 120; Forden Gasr, AC 1930, fig. 5, 3—Trajan-mid-Antonine; Caerhun no. 393—A.D. 80-120.

10. Pie dish in grey ware, burnished black, with acute angled lattice (10). Cf.

Caerhun no. 179-c. A.D. 85-110.

 Jar in medium grey ware burnished dark grey externally (10). Cf. Caerhun no. 397—c. A.D. 80-120.

12. Dish in grey ware (10).

Mug in light reddish-brown ware with traces of external burnishing (10).
 Cf. Caerleon 1927-9, no. 448—Trajan-Hadrian; Forden Gaer A.C. 1929, fig. 20, 3. Trajan-mid-Antonine; Sutton Walls, fig. 20, 10.
 Necked jar in red ware (10).

 Necked jar in light brown ware (9). Cf. Sutton Walls, fig. 16, 15—second century; Wrozeler 1923-7, fig. 42, A2—Flavian.

16. Sherd of medium grey ware with incised combed decoration (10).

Sherd of thin dark grey ware with oblique-angled lattice decoration (10).
 Necked bowl in light reddish-brown ware (10). Cf. Sutton Walls, fig. 17, 6—second century; Tedstone Wafer, W.F.C.T. 1954; Wroxeter 1923-7, fig. 45, B5. c. A.D. 150-160. (The earliest appearance of this form at Wroxeter).

19. Storage jar in light red ware (10).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Permission for the excavation was readily given by Mr. and Mrs. C. Holmes, of Chantreyland, and they rendered innumerable kindnesses to us. Without the aid of many willing volunteers the work could not have been done. To all of them many thanks are due, and especially to Mr. H. Buzzard and my wife, who devoted so much of their time and energy to the excavation. Tools were kindly loaned by Mr. R. J. Rees, headmaster of Bedstone School, and I am indebted to him for arranging for his pupils to help.

I have benefitted greatly from discussions about the site with Mr. B. R. Hartley and Professor I. A. Richmond; and Mr. Graham Webster has generously helped in this and many other ways. I wish to thank the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments for permission to undertake the work.

The finds have been donated by Mr. Holmes to Hereford City Museum.

Fig. 5.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE DEFENCES OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH TOWN AT KENCHESTER, 1956-8

By F. G. HEYS, M.A., and M. J. THOMAS

The excavations on the defences of the Romano-British town at Kenchester, begun in April 1956, were completed in July 1958. During the three seasons' work the site on the west side of the town was explored as fully as conditions allowed. Although a complete layout of the defences in the area of the gateway could not be secured, information gained elsewhere throws some light on the nature and sequence of the defensive works of the town.

The results of the first year's excavations have already been published in an interim report.² It was established that, in common with other Romano-British towns, the Kenchester defences included a ditch, wall and earth rampart of a date not earlier than the middle of the second century. A portion of a bastion was revealed at the north-west corner and other evidence suggested that beyond it lay one or more outer ditches.

Excavation Tasks, 1957-8

The immediate object of the 1957 season was to uncover the north-west bastion and determine its relationship to the town wall. The task was a formidable one, bearing in mind the labour available, but it was successfully completed.

In 1958 there were two primary aims:

- 1. To study the features and make-up of the bastion foundation and its relationship to the second century ditch.
- 2. To determine the dimensions, character and date of the outer ditch revealed in the 1956 Kenchester air photograph (Interim Report, pl. 2a).

In addition a small section of road was uncovered on the town side of the west gateway.

THE NORTH-WEST BASTION (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, pls. 1-3b)

The trial trench of 1956 revealed the large stone blocks of one side of the bastion foundation. It had been thought that the bastion might lie beneath the hedge line which forms the northern boundary of the site, but the return southwards of the bastion edge proved that the whole feature lay well within the area of operations. Consequently, complete excavation was possible and an area 28 ft. square was opened up in 1957.

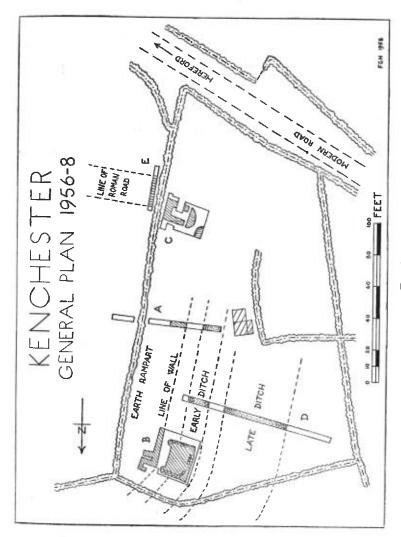


FIG. 1

¹ Transactions Woolhope Club, Vol. XXXV, Pt. ii, 1956.

Of those who gave assistance at various stages during the three years the contribution of the following was noteworthy:—M. Anderson, P. G. S. Baylis, J. G. Betts, M. Burra, V. H. Coleman, C. Eyre, G. Gardner, I. W. Hastings, B. N. Heys, V. Higham, R. J. Jenkins, D. Peters, R. Pye, A. Speer, S. C. Stanford, Y. Stanford, G. H. C. Thomas, G. C. Wood.

Plan and Dimensions.—The bastion foundation (Fig. 1, pl. 1) was semi-octagonal in plan. The external dimensions from north to south were: 11 ft., 9 ft. 9 in., 9 ft. 6 in., 7 ft. 3 in., 11 ft. 9 in. If the town wall, from which the bastion projected, were 8 ft. thick the external dimensions of the bastion above ground would have been approximately 11 ft. 6 in., 9 ft., 9 ft., 6 ft. 6 in., 11 ft. 6 in. Assuming the walls of the bastion to have been 3 ft. thick, the interior width would have been approximately 11 ft. and the interior projection 14 ft. A close parallel, in respect of shape, may be drawn with Caerwent. The north-west bastion was slightly smaller than those of Caerwent but its foundation appeared to be more elaborate. The Caerwent bastions, though varying in size, all had a greater interior width than projection, whereas the reverse is the case in this Kenchester example.

THE RETAINING WALL

Three tiers of stone blocks, carefully laid but not mortared, formed an outer retaining wall within which had been packed a rubble core. The middle and upper tiers were each inset 4-8 in., the north side being more regular in this respect and, in fact, better laid in general than the south side. The blocks were of greenish grey sandstone of local origin. They exhibited some interesting features: their size varied from approximately 3 ft. X 1 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. 6 in. to 1 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. \times 1 ft.; many displayed one or more clamp holes that bore no relation to adjacent stones; lewis holes were also in evidence; some of the stone surfaces were smooth-finished, weathered or worn down at the corners, whilst others were roughly-finished, the chisel marks showing two or three distinct styles of work on different stones. Moreover, the shapes of several blocks bore no relation to their function in the bastion foundation. The first block of the middle tier on the north side (pl. 3a) was an obvious example of this, since its moulded shape and the fact that one edge had been worn down suggested its previous use as a plinth at some busy corner. It was also apparent that the blocks standing in the middle and lower tiers at the north-west extremity of the foundation had been re-shaped at the time of the building of the bastion to produce the necessary angle for the return of the retaining wall. This did not appear to be the case with the block in the lower tier which formed the angle between the western and south-western edge of the foundation. Details of those stone blocks with special features of interest are recorded at Fig. 7.

From the foregoing evidence the conclusion must be drawn that the stone blocks came originally from some large building—perhaps a temple or other public edifice—that had either served

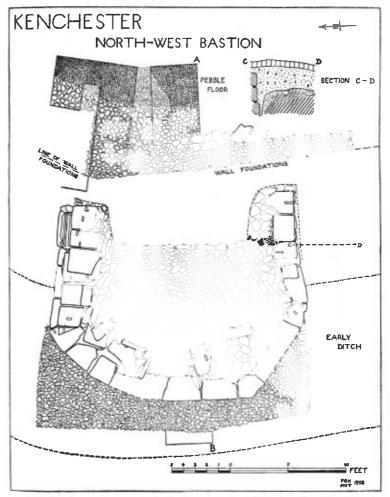


Fig. 2.

its purpose and was due for demolition or was sacrificed to meet the needs of an emergency. It is probable that the blocks were from the town itself since such material was unlikely to be transported from a distance when stone could have been quarried locally. Jack recorded the existence of many blocks of greenish-grey sandstone of comparable size within the town.

¹ Nash-Williams, Archæologia, Vol. 80 (1930), pp. 263-268. No. 2 bastion is, perhaps, most comparable. External dimensions of walls above ground: 11 ft. 3 in.—8 ft. 9 in.—10 ft. 5 in.—10 ft. 5 in.—10 ft. 9 in. Interior width: 16 ft. 9 in. Interior projection: 12 ft.

¹ Jack, The Romano-British Town of Magna (Kenchester), Herefordshire, Vol. ii, 1924-5.

The composition of the bastion foundation, therefore, indirectly sheds a little more light on Kenchester's public buildings.

Possibly no more than four of the lower tier of blocks were missing. Stone robbing had accounted for more than half of the upper tier, the outer part of the middle tier and some of the rubble core. The part of the foundation nearest the wall was most complete. Here the upper tier of blocks and its associated rubble core appeared to mark a definite stage in the bastion's construction. The blocks presented a level upper surface, whereas those of the middle and lower tiers did not. It is reasonable to suppose that the footings of the bastion walls sprang from this upper tier.

THE RUBBLE CORE

The section A-B (Fig. 3) excavated in 1958 through the middle of the bastion disclosed fully the make-up of the rubble core. Large, flattish sandstones, placed at an angle, formed the bulk of the material. Several large blocks, perhaps the residue of those used in the making of the retaining wall, had also been tipped in. Of these, one of particular interest was a column base moulded on three sides. In the upper layer of the rubble core smaller stones of more varied shape predominated. There was no trace of mortar in the core but in many places gaps between the stones had been filled with clean gritty soil. This may have been, in part, a natural infiltration from overlying earth layers during the course of time. Near the top of the core was a more marked layer of gritty clay which seemed to signify a definite levelling-off, since below it the large stones of the lower layers were packed in some semblance of herring-bone construction whilst immediately above it was the comparatively uniform layer of small stones. There were none of the spalls and mortar droppings that might indicate that this top layer was the interior surface level of a hollow bastion. In fact, it is more reasonable to suppose that the rubble core would have been carried up at least to the top of the wall foundations.

THE TOWN WALL

Only meagre traces of the wall foundations were discovered. The stones were generally smaller and less carefully packed than those in the lower levels of the foundations in trench A (see Interim Report). Insufficient remained from which to draw firm conclusions but it is possible that this section of the wall was prepared by a different group of workness or even, though less likely, that it was built at a different time.

THE PEBBLE FLOOR

The back of the wall foundations had broken through an earlier pebble floor $(pl.\ 3b)$ of closely laid smooth pebbles. The floor extended for some feet under the earth rampart but fuller



Photograph by W. T. Jones

Plate 1. Kenchester: The North-West bastion foundation.



Photograph by S. C. Stanford

Plate 2a. Kenchester: The bastion apron and early ditch.



 ${\it Photograph\ by\ M.\ Wight}$ Plate 2b. Kenchester: South side of bastion foundation and early ditch.



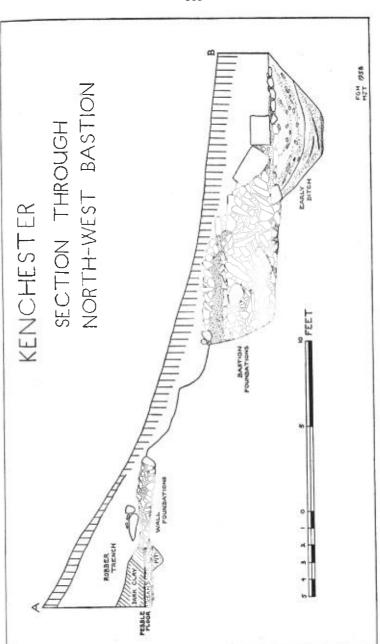
Photograph by M. Wight
Plate 3a. Kenchester: North side of bastion foundation.





Photograph by F. G. Heys

Plate 3b. Kenchester: Pebble floor beneath the rampart at the junction with wall foundations.



information about its purpose and date could not have been ascertained without going beyond the scope of the excavations. Some interesting early pottery was recovered from immediately below the floor.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF WALL AND BASTION

The clean break between pebble floor and wall foundations defined clearly the change in direction of the wall at the north-west corner. The wall turned through an angle of approximately 30° at the point where it was met by the north wall of the bastion. Since the line of the wall along the north side of the town lies by the hedge shown near the top left in the general plan (Fig. 1), it follows that only a few yards from the north-west bastion the wall must have made a further turn through approximately 30°. The existence of this double-angled corner explained the siting of the bastion. In its present position, at right-angles to the west wall, it would have afforded a poor field of fire along the north side of the town if the north-west corner had been a single turn of 60°. On a double-angled corner, however, two bastions would have been required in any case, and it is reasonable to infer that another bastion must have been built only a short distance away in a comparable position against the north wall, thus forming a formidable defensive network in the north-west corner of the town. Perhaps the relationship between the two bastions accounts for the asymmetric shape of the one at present under consideration. That is to say, both were designed to present their broader front to the corner.

So much for the general siting of the bastion. Its immediate relationship to the wall was a more complex problem since extensive stone-robbing had not only destroyed much valuable evidence but had also brought about important changes in ground level. The width of wall foundations remaining was 6 ft. 6 in. at the widest point. They were resting on natural soil 3 ft. above the bastion foundation and 2 ft. 3 in. east of the latter at the nearest point. In the first section through the wall (trench A) the foundations were as much as 5 ft. 6 in. below the rampart, the foundation trench being practically vertical at the back of the wall and at an angle of approximately 30° from the vertical at the front. In reconstructing the relationship between wall and bastion on a comparable pattern of wall foundations the junction of the pebble floor and the back edge of the remaining wall foundations formed a firm starting point. If the foundation trench was more or less vertical at this point it would be possible to allow for a wall 8 ft. thick. The wall, at the most, could not have been much thicker than this since one would not expect the face of the wall to project beyond the extremities of the bastion foundation. The diagrammatic reconstruction of the defences at Fig. 5 gives a general idea of the relative positions of the two features. It will be noted that in Roman times the natural slope of the ground at this point must have been even greater than it is to-day, and Fig. 5 does not necessarily represent a typical profile through rampart, wall and ditch (cf. Fig. 2, Interim Report).

THE INNER DITCH

The bastion foundation was built over the line of the narrow second century ditch (pls. 2a, 2b) first located in trench A. This situation was not unexpected and explained the massive construction of the foundation, so built to ensure that, in time, the bastion would not subside into the looser earth of the filled ditch. The conclusion must be drawn that the bastion post-dates the earliest defences and was a feature added to the system some time after the second century.

The ditch profile differed from that in trench A because of the nature of the ground level at this point. There must have been a steep berm and a barely discernible lip on the East side. The ditch was also rather more flattened at the bottom and not quite so deep. A good layer of silt, hardly distinguishable from the surrounding natural red argillaceous soil and gravel, had formed in the bottom whilst the ditch was open. This was to be expected in view of the ease with which surface material would be washed down the sloping berm. Prior to the construction of the bastion the ditch had been half filled with natural soil and gravel. At the same time, it must be assumed, the area between the ditch and the wall in which the bastion foundations were to be placed was dug out to the corresponding level. A layer of packed stones was then placed over the filled-in ditch to form a firm base for the outer stone blocks of the bastion. This apron of stones projected 2 ft. 6 in. beyond the bastion foundation.

DATING EVIDENCE

The pottery recovered from Area B was disappointing both in quantity and as dating evidence. Nothing was found in the make-up of the bastion itself or the narrow outer construction trench. Datable sherds found in the ditch, under the pebble floor and in the wall foundations added little to the information already recorded. In the circumstances it is not possible to say more than that the bastion was constructed at a date subsequent to the middle of the second century, after the inner ditch had been in use long enough to allow of a good degree of silting.

THE OUTER DITCH (Figs. 1, 4, 5)

The 1956 air photograph indicated the presence of one or more ditches outside the second century ditch. A study of the map in conjunction with the photograph revealed that the ditch system extended over approximately 65 ft. Excavation in 1958 proved that only one ditch lay beyond the inner one, the distance spanned by the two together being, in fact, 64 ft.

Since an extension of the bastion excavation westwards was not practicable because of the hedge line, a trench (D on the general plan) was opened up 20 ft. away at right-angles to the line of the wall. The lips of the inner ditch were easily located but it proved impossible to trace any connecting strata above natural between this ditch and the eastern lip of the outer ditch. The distance between the two was 10 ft. The outer ditch proved to be wide and shallow, the measurements being 41 ft. across and approximately 9 ft. deep. The sides of the ditch were irregular, the eastern one displaying a slight shoulder and the steeper outer slope a more pronounced one. The outer lip was lost in the humus layer. A deposit of clean dark silt and stones covered the bottom, but the pottery associated with this layer included no conclusive dating material.

Subsequently the ditch appeared to have been filled by both natural action and tipping; for example, a number of large stones and black earth had been dumped into the ditch from the western side. This and other layers of the ditch produced some rims and sherds of late fabric. Their presence was of no real significance in determining the date of the ditch, which was probably contemporary with the bastion if the evidence from other Romano-British sites is to be accepted in this case. It would be reasonable to suppose that the outer ditch was dug to take the place of the second century ditch when the latter was rendered inadequate because of the changing strategy that demanded the construction of bastions (see Fig. 5). An examination of the 1956 air photograph reinforces this view, for the inner and outer ditches on the north side appear to diverge in order that the latter may accommodate a bastion site.

Beyond the outer ditch a pebble surface was uncovered. This interesting feature stretched for 26 ft. 6 in. to the limit of excavation. Its eastern edge was ill-defined and it was not possible to extend the trench in other directions to locate its boundaries. The construction was rough, consisting of a single layer of pebbles of varying size and a few larger stones. It lay on natural soil which at this point sloped gently down towards the west. Above it was a band of clean gritty brown earth—a soil variety not commonly met with on the site. Both it and the pebble surface were devoid of pottery or any other signs of occupation. A pit at the western limit of the trench which had cut through both features yielded some pottery, including most of a grey burnished dish of third century date.

On the available evidence it is not possible to do more than guess at the purpose and date of the pebble surface. It dates from a considerably earlier period than the outer ditch since it was already well covered before the ditch was cut or its disturbance by the digging of the pit occurred. The rough, sloping surface does not suggest the floor of a dwelling. It could have been a crude perimeter road (though, in the circumstances, a wide one),

To face page 108.

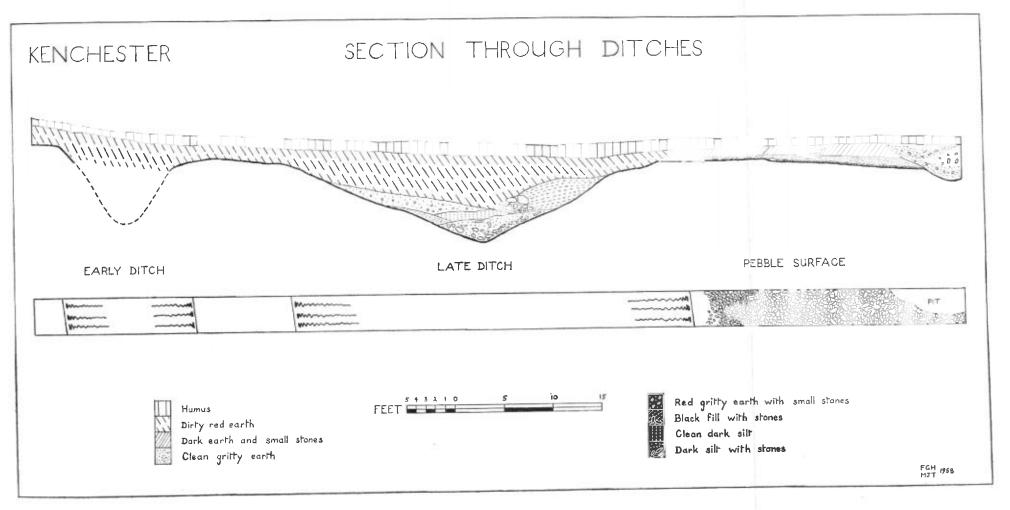


Fig. 4.

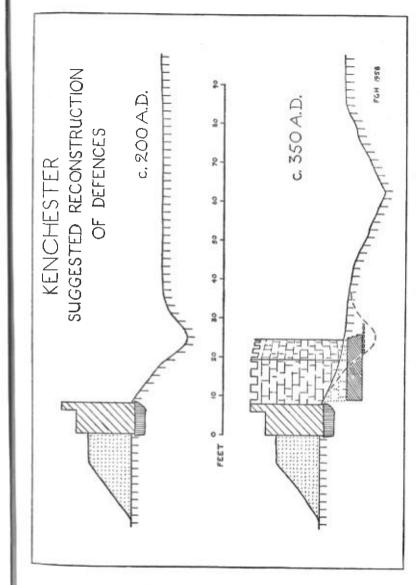


Fig. 5.

or even a yard of some farm and its outbuildings. If the latter, one might suppose that the buildings were abandoned in the interests of strategy when the second century defences were constructed as they would have provided useful cover for an enemy uncomfortably close to the wall.

THE EAST-WEST ROAD (Fig. 1)

A trench (E on general plan) was opened up inside the town in late 1958 to determine the position of the East-West road in relation to the gateway and establish its width at this point. It was found that the road met the wall and gatehouse at a small, but distinct, angle. The width of the road was 19 ft. 6 in., the northern 9 ft. of which must have terminated at the wall of the gatehouse. Consequently, the gateway must have been single-arched, spanning a road approximately 10 ft. 6 in. wide.

There was a well-defined stone kerb on the northern edge of the road. Apart from this the road surface revealed no features of special note.

THE WEST GATEWAY (Fig. 1)

The unresolved problems of construction lie in the southern part of the site, the evidence from trench E being the only fresh information recorded by excavation since the interim report. It was not convenient to the owner, because of a projected building programme, to examine more closely the relationship of the wall to the gatehouse or the nature of the southern half of the gateway. In any event, much of the evidence on the first of these two points may have been removed already by more recent building in the vicinity. Certain deductions, however, may reasonably be made from knowledge gained on the site and a careful study of the surface indications.

The general line of the west wall is now established and it is clear that the gatehouse was set back from it. The wall must have turned to meet the gatehouse about 30 ft. north-west of the latter and at this point there may have been a small bastion. South-east of the gatehouse the hedge line of the town field running down to the road presents an interesting feature. Its angle to the general line of the west wall corresponds closely to the situation at the north-west bastion. That is to say, the hedge appears to be following the line of another double-angled corner. The fall of the ground along the hedge supports this, even to the vague suggestion of the remains of a bastion at the roadside where the hedge turns eastwards to follow the road. If this is the case, the length of this corner wall between the west and south walls must be about 50 ft., a measurement which could apply, within reasonable limits, to the north-west corner also.

In the circumstances, the west gateway would appear to be built on a plan more common to postern gates, where the gateway is not recessed on both sides. It is possible that the west wall ran directly southwards from the archway to the double-angled corner. This short length of wall may have contained another gatehouse similar to that already excavated. The general layout, assuming these deductions to be correct, would have been somewhat like that of the east gate at Petuaria, except that there no gatehouse was located.

CONCLUSIONS

The three seasons of excavation established with some precision the nature of the Kenchester defences. They consisted of an earth rampart, a wall, gatehouses at the town entrances and bastions at suitable points along the wall. The ditch system comprised a narrow, steep-sided inner ditch and a wide but shallow outer ditch.

The problems of sequence and date were not fully resolved because of the absence of satisfactory evidence in all but the rampart and inner ditch. It was clear that not all these features were visible or in use at the same period, the defences being modified as time went on to meet changing needs. There appeared to be at least two periods of construction:—

- 1. Earth rampart and inner ditch of a date not earlier than the middle of the second century. The wall presented some unresolved problems (see interim report). The remains may well have been later than the rampart, but could have replaced a second century wall that had fallen into disrepair. The gatehouse, in all probability, formed part of the same sequence.
- 2. The bastions must be considered as a later addition to the defences since the one excavated lay across the filled second century ditch. The outer ditch was almost certainly associated with this phase of reorganisation since evidence from other Romano-British towns suggests such a defensive pattern evolving about A.D. 350 to meet the requirements of the prevailing situation and to allow for new conceptions of strategy. The Caerwent bastions, which represent the closest parallel in design to this Kenchester example, were dated about A.D. 340. Moreover, two fragments of colour-coated ware from the silt of the outer ditch (see p. 114) are probably fourth century in origin. In the circumstances such a date may be tentatively ascribed to this period of construction.

THE POTTERY (Fig. 6)

The amount of pottery found was small and because so few of the sherds can be dated with confidence it has not been possible

¹ Jack, op. cit. His section across the road nearest to the West gateway showed a width of 18 ft. 6 in.

¹ Corder and Richmond, Petuaria. Journal of British Archaelogical Association, Ser. 3, vii (1942).

to date the excavated features absolutely. The groups drawn and listed below do, however, suggest approximate periods for the construction of the bastion and for the original cutting of the two ditches.

An overall examination of the fabrics of the pottery sherds reveals a distinct preponderance of the powdery red ware so common on western sites and a large number of vessels in hard and soft grey wares. There was a relatively smaller amount of black and dark grey burnished ware and a very few pieces of colour-coated, calcite-gritted, imitation Samian and other wares.

The numbers of the drawn vessels are continued from the interim report and the first four sherds, a residue from the 1956 season, are from trench A.

- 8. (From below rampart). Coarse red storage jar with grey core. Jack suggests that this is a late form, but as this example is from the early pre-rampart levels this obviously cannot be the case.
- 9. (Unstratified.) Black burnished cooking pot (cf. Gillam: Types of Roman Coarse Pottery in Northern Britain, p.57, no. 147. 290-370 A.D.).
- 10. (From below rampart.) Hard red gritty fabric with a rather patchy grey fumed suface.
- 11. (From wall foundations.) Coarse red wide-mouthed jar with grey core. This is a very common local form which is frequently found in the later deposits at Wroxeter (cf. Atkinson: Wroxeter, 1923-27. "Its long life in an unchanged form is shown" by fig. 45 B5, 150-160 A.D. and C5, 165-275 A.D.). See also nos. 17, 26, 27 and 30.

From below the pebble floor under the rampart

- 12. Fragment of small jar with lid seating, in hard grey ware with red core.
- 13. Hard grey ware jar with a band of combed decoration (cf. Ward: *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer, Glamorgan*, 1899-1901, pl. X, no. 4 and pl. XI, no. 4. First century). This sherd has an exact parallel in one found beneath the rampart at Leintwardine, Herefordshire, 1958.

Also found in this deposit, but not drawn, were: one black calcite-gritted sherd in a typically early fabric; one coarse red calcite-gritted sherd with a smooth soapy surface; two fragments of fine red ware, one with a rough buff exterior surface and the other with the same buff surface inside the vessel. All these forms suggest a date not later than the very early second century.

From the charcoal layer near the bottom of the inner ditch

- Shallow black burnished dish with acute-angled latticed pattern.
 - 15. Hard grey bowl or dish with acute-angled latticed pattern.

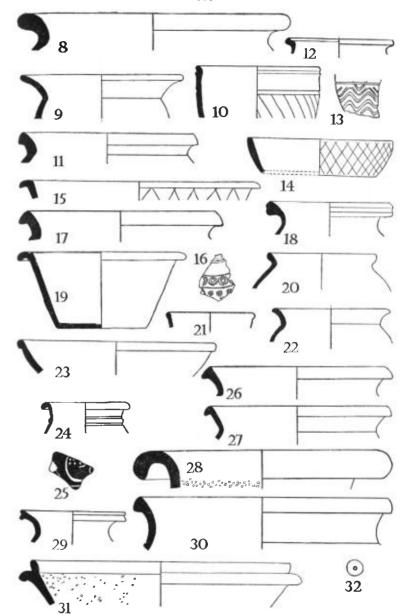


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7

There were two more examples of similar dishes with the same decoration, suggesting a second century origin. Also at this level, but found in the trench through the bastion, was a coarse cream mortarium sherd with variegated grits (cf. Gillam: op. cit., p. 65, no. 246. 120-160 A.D.).

From the wall foundations

16. Drag. form 37. Mr. B. R. Hartley states: "It is by the man usually known as the 'Anchor' potter. His activity in Central Gaul may be put c. A.D. 100-120".

From the silt at the bottom of the outer ditch

17. Wide-mouthed jar in soft red fabric (see no. 11 above).

18. Red jar with a thick grooved rim.

Also found here was a piece of brown colour-coated flanged bowl with a pink core. The dating of this sherd would depend upon the height of the lip. As the rim is missing its date is uncertain but it compares well with examples from Caerwent (Archæologia, vol. 80, 1930, p. 249 C. 28, or with p. 287 C.73. Both of these belong to the fourth century). Two fragments of good quality black burnished ware and a small piece of fine red colour-coated ware with closely packed grits on the interior were also found.

From the pit cut through the pebble surface beyond outer ditch

19. Grey burnished dish with slightly beaded rim (cf. Gillam: op. cit., p. 63, no. 226. 220-270 A.D.).

20. Cooking pot in red ware with grey core. This is a typical local ware with close parallels from Wroxeter (Atkinson: op. cit., fig. 42 A7; "common in the last third of the first century") and Caerwent (Nash-Williams: op. cit., p. 285, fig. 13. A late first century date is suggested).

21. Small red bowl with grey core.

22. Soft grey-ware jar.

There were also several sherds of powdery red ware and a piece of very good quality black burnished ware.

Unstratified pottery lying above the bastion foundation

23. Imitation Samian, form 31 (Kenyon: Sutton Walls. Arch. J., vol. CX, fig. 21, no. 15. Fourth century).

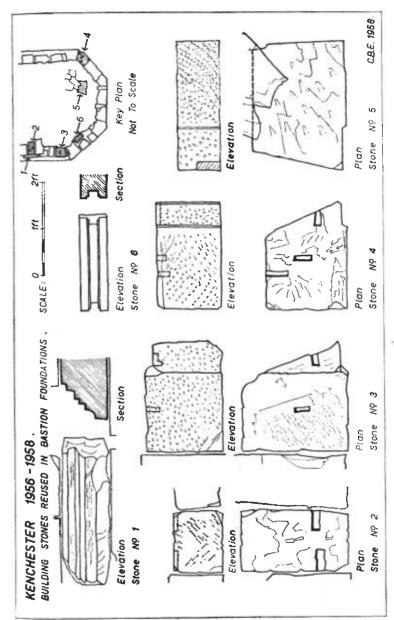
24. Fine hard grey jar.

25. Red ware with black colour-coating and white trailed slip decoration. This type of decoration was commonly found in the fourth century destruction levels of the villa at Great Casterton.

Unstratified pottery from upper levels of outer ditch filling

26. Wide-mouthed jar in red ware with grey core (see no. 11 above).

27. Wide-mouthed jar in powdery red ware (see no. 11 above).



28. Coarse buff mortarium with grey core. The grits had dropped out but clear indentations marked their position.

29. Short-necked jar with collared rim (cf. Kenyon: op. cit., fig. 21, no. 5. Flavian, lasting into the second century).

30. Red-ware jar with grey core (see no. 11 above).

31. Soft buff mortarium (cf. Kenyon: op. cit., fig. 20, no. 3. End of third century).

Unstratified small object from above bastion foundation

32. Bone counter (cf. Walton: Collection of Romano-British Pottery, Glass and Objects from Kenchester. Transactions Woolhope Club, 1949).

THE COINS

All the coins were in very poor condition and were unstratified. Preb. S. H. Martin, who identified the coins, has already recorded nos. 1, 2, 3 and 6 in *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, vol. XXXV, Pt. II (1956), p. 192.

1. CONSTANTIUS II or CONSTANS. VICTORIAE DD AUGG ONN. A.D. 350.

2. Ditto.

3. Ditto but semibarbarous.

4. TETRICUS I or II. Small bronze with radiate head. A.D. 268-73.

5. PAX AUG type. Radiate head. Late third century.

6. CHARLES II. Copper farthing. 1672-1678.

The writers wish to record their appreciation of the valuable help and co-operation of members of the Hereford Archæological Research Group throughout the excavations. They are also greatly indebted to:—Miss M. Wight and Mr. I. Cohen for useful photographic work; Mr. C. Eyre for his drawings of the more interesting stones of the bastion foundation and for his unfailing help in many other ways; Mr. G. Nicholl and the Malvern Archæological Research Group who undertook the preliminary investigation of the north-west bastion in 1956 and whose records of the trial trench proved to be of the greatest value in subsequent operations; Mr. G. Webster, F.S.A. and the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of Birmingham University under whose auspices and with whose encouragement the work was begun.

Finally, the Group must express its gratitude to Mr. Price of Magna Castra Farm for permission to dig within generous limits on the site and for use of a shed for storage purposes.

The members of the Woolhope Club wish to give their sincere thanks to the Council for British Archæology for their grant of £50 towards the publication of the two papers on the excavations at Kenchester and at Leintwardine.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE SUPPOSED LINE OF KING'S DITCH, HEREFORD, 1958

By F. G. HEYS and J. F. L. NORWOOD

Two excavations on the supposed line of King's Ditch were carried out in 1958 under the auspices of Hereford Museum and Art Gallery. The authors' thanks are due to the following for their kind co-operation in various ways: The Ministry of Works and Mr. E. Roberts (postmaster of Hereford), for permission to dig in the G.P.O. car park, Broad street; the trustees of the Methodist church, Bridge street, for permission to dig in land east of the church; The Hereford city Works Department, for loan of tools and equipment; Messrs. G. C. Dunning and J. G. Hurst, Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, for examination of the pottery finds; the following members of the Hereford High School for Boys, for their help with the digging: D. and W. Berisford, J. G. Betts, S. A. Brain, B. C. Davies, R. Davies, J. H. Lewer, D. Radbourne, R. G. Smale, H. S. Taylor, J. C. N. Weston, M. F. Vaughan, K. P. Williams, S. J. Williams, J. C. Wright.

Previous Research

The problem of King's Ditch has, from time to time, attracted the attention of local antiquaries. In the early part of the present century the names most prominently associated with this topic were the late Walter Pilley and Alfred Watkins. They based their conclusions on surface indications supplemented by information gained incidentally by builders and architects in the course of their work. More recently, George Marshall made a contribution to the subject. It is not surprising that, in the absence of any accurately recorded excavations, these local historians and others before them differed considerably in their estimations of the date of King's Ditch. Existing documentary evidence is slight, and although patient research may eventually fill in some of the gaps it is unlikely that the problem of date will be entirely solved by this means.

Watkins was the first to record¹ fully the probable line of the ditch. He believed it enclosed a rectangle in the middle of the present city, running in a northerly direction from the river bank to King street, along the east side of Aubrey street to the north side of West street, thence eastwards parallel to West and East streets as far as Offa street, and then south wards along a less definite course to the river bank. The evidence

¹ Watkins: "The King's Ditch of the City of Hereford". Transactions, Woolhope Club, 1920.

on which he based these deductions may be summarised briefly as follows:—

(1) Documentary evidence

- (a) The Domesday Book reference to the city as a King's borough lends support to the name King's Ditch as an early boundary.
- (b) Taylor's map of 1757 marks "King's Ditch" in King street and shows a double line of trees, suggesting a ditch between at one time, where the western ditch line would have met the river.
- (c) Both Taylor's and Speed's maps mark the top of Broad street, opposite All Saints' church, as "Northgate".
- (d) The city records of Henry VIII's reign refer to "Kynges Dyche", but without details of its position.

(2) Visual evidence

- (a) Variations in ground level, e.g. the depressions in King street and West street.
- (b) Cracks in walls caused by the settlement of buildings into the softer filling of the ditch.
- (c) Reports of "black earth" and "soft black mud" during building operations across the ditch line.

Watkins could only speculate on the purpose and date of the ditch. He shrewdly noted that the cathedral occupied a dominant position within the enclosure and that no civic public building was established in this area until 1857. For these reasons he suggested that King's Ditch was, in fact, the boundary of the Bishop's fee and might well have been constructed as part of the work done by Offa (757-796) for the cathedral.

Marshall, in a paper on the development of the defences of Hereford, had little to add about the general line of the ditch. He considered, however, that the feature was Romano-British in origin and that the Saxons, coming upon the derelict defences at the end of the sixth century, repaired them for their own use. This theory was based upon an unreliable process of deduction with no supporting material evidence and must be regarded with caution. Nevertheless, Marshall traced convincingly three stages in the growth of the city defences, ending with the construction of the medieval walls at the end of the 13th century. It is almost certain that King's Ditch must date from an earlier period than this.

AIM OF THE EXCAVATIONS

Since the western limb of King's Ditch seemed to be most clearly defined by the evidence available it was decided that a section in the Aubrey street area might prove the most fruitful in results. Accordingly, a trench was opened up on the supposed line of the ditch in the G.P.O. car park, Broad Street, in April, 1958, with the following aims in view:—

- To establish the existence of King's Ditch and examine its nature and dimensions.
- To determine, if possible, the date of construction of the ditch.

The information acquired in this excavation was sufficiently encouraging for a second excavation to be undertaken in August, 1958, on a small piece of land immediately east of the Bridge street Methodist church, with the object of confirming or otherwise the tentative conclusions already reached.

THE G.P.O. CAR PARK SITE

A trench 35 ft. long was excavated in the north-west corner of the car park, close to Aubrey street, to a depth of 12 ft. 3 in. at its maximum point. The resulting section (Fig. 1, p. 146) was an interesting example of the complicated building phases so often associated with work on town sites where occupation has continued over a long period. In the upper levels there was a considerable build-up of bricks and brick rubble, and the substantial remains of a relatively modern brick wall. This, and a massive concrete base, or raft, were presumably part of a printing works that used to exist upon this site. Immediately below the brick wall was found, in fact, a block heading of the Hereford Journal in Gothic lettering.

The concrete base, which was at least 4 ft. thick in parts, proved to be a serious obstacle to the excavation, and because of the limited time and resources available it was not possible to remove it. In the circumstances a complete profile of the ditch was not obtained, nor could a clear relationship between the western and eastern ends of the trench be established. As the section at Fig. 1 shows, the two halves were very different in character. The eastern end was practically featureless and yielded only a small quantity of pottery, the sherds ranging from medieval to modern in date. It had the appearance of made-up ground and yet it was noted that the natural gravel seemed to be undisturbed, the level here corresponding very closely to that under the wall in the western part of the trench.

In the stratified layers of the western half three rough stone walls of different periods and two brick floors were uncovered. One of the latter, a well-made floor in good condition, was associated with a narrow stone wall, partly laid on a sleeper beam, which crossed the trench in a north-south direction. This feature

¹ Marshall: "Defences of the City of Hereford". Transactions, Woolhope Club, 1940.

was probably not much more than two hundred years old since it overlay 17th and 18th century material, and 1 ft. 9 in. directly below it were the slight remains of a stone wall in the construction trench of which pottery of approximately 16th century date was found. This earlier wall also crossed the trench almost at right-angles (shown in plan in Fig. 1, p. 146). The second, and earlier, brick floor was fragmentary and seemed to include a primitive hearth. The considerable layers of ash and charcoal surrounding it yielded no firm dating material. All these upper layers were evidence of the continuous and changing nature of occupation on the site over a considerable period, the critical features, however, bearing in mind the aims of the excavation, lying beneath.

It was noted as the excavation continued that the strata immediately west of the concrete base were dipping from west to east and contained a considerable amount of sherds, pipe stems, scraps of iron and other fragments of rubbish. These proved to be the upper layers of the ditch filling and the ample finds supported the documentary evidence that there was still a ditch of some sort as late as the end of the 17th century. The profile of the western half of the ditch was successfully recovered but the remainder lay beneath the concrete base. The ditch was steepsided with a flat bottom of some width, the measurements being: 5 ft.deep, approximately 10-12ft, wide from lip to lip, and perhaps 5 ft. wide at the bottom. The western lip of the ditch was about 5ft, above the present river bank level at the point where the King's Ditch is supposed to have met the river. The earliest material in the ditch, found in the yellowish clay of the lower layers, was a quantity of sherds of a grey 12th century cooking pot and a stray flint blade. Succeeding layers produced later medieval pottery. Although the excavation was carried out at a period of exceptionally dry climatic conditions, the seepage of water into the lower levels of the ditch made digging difficult and under normal conditions it must have been waterlogged to a considerable degree. The silt was extremely acid and the smell sufficiently unpleasant to establish a keen sympathy with those past citizens who are recorded as having complained from time to time of the foul nature of the ditch.

Immediately west of the ditch the remains of a wall 4 ft. 6 in. wide were uncovered. This interesting feature was constructed above and into a band of clean gritty clay in which was found a sherd of Saxo-Norman "Thetford" ware (10th-12th century). It appeared to be a free-standing wall with its most important, or outward, face on the western side. Here, small roughly-shaped sandstones with footings just in natural gravel, below the gritty clay band, formed a carefully constructed piece of dry-stone walling. The eastern side of the wall was composed of unshaped sandstones of varying sizes, but mostly larger than those on the west, and rested on top of the gritty clay band. The intervening 1 ft. 6 in. of the wall had been filled in with black earth and stones.

The relationship between this wall and the ditch presented one of the major problems of the excavation. The slight evidence available, combined with reasonable assumptions as to the likely sequence of events, would suggest that the wall was a later feature than the ditch. Even so, whatever the sequence, it is difficult to believe that those responsible were blind to the inevitable results of a wall and ditch existing in such proximity. In time, as was only to be expected, the wall began to sag towards the ditch. which had already silted up to a considerable degree, and perhaps now served no useful purpose. Consequently in the 13th century, or a little later, the wall was buttressed by the addition of stones packed in stiff clay, the buttress having its footing in the silt of the ditch. It was carefully composed of medium-sized stones placed against the wall and small flat stones laid horizontally down the outer edge. A number of glazed roof tiles in good condition of 13th century date were found in the packing.

To the west of the wall there was a marked dip in the level of the natural gravel. The gravel surface was heavily stained and compacted, showing it to be a line of drainage from under the west face of the wall. Whether the soil on this side of the wall had been removed at some time with this purpose in view, or whether it was merely an accidental result of work carried out for some other reason is not clear. It is probable, however, that this disturbance or alteration took place at some time after the building of the wall, resulting in the removal, on this side of the wall, of the gritty clay band in which the wall footings had been placed. Sherds of 12th or early 13th century pottery were found in the layer immediately above the natural gravel in this area. Some distinct occupation levels were also evident in succeeding strata: in particular, a layer of rich brown humus containing much fibrous material, a layer of clean yellow clay and a compact level of stones (shown in plan in Fig. 1) which covered the whole of this part of the trench and may well have been part of the first rough road surface of Aubrey street (formerly called Wroughtale lane). This stone surface was put down in the 13th or, possibly, early 14th century.

THE BRIDGE STREET METHODIST CHURCH SITE

In August, 1958, a trench 22 ft. long was excavated on a small piece of land behind the Methodist church in Bridge street. It was hoped to prove the line of the ditch once again and, having done so, solve some of the problems raised in the G.P.O. car park excavation. This site was the only one that appeared to be immediately available for excavation but it was not ideal since there was the possibility that the ditch might be just to the east of the excavated area.

In marked contrast to the April excavation, the stratigraphy of the trench was straightforward (Fig. 2, p. 147. Only 4 ft. of the east end of the section shown) and, except for the remains of a garden path there was a complete absence of significant features down to a depth of 8 ft. At this point a thin layer of roughly packed small stones was reached. Below it was a layer of dark silt and then another spread of stones. From this point onwards the strata showed increasingly the existence of marshlike conditions. The layers of black silt were in a water-logged condition and seepage of water into the excavation made work in the west end of the trench impossible at a depth of 12 ft. At the east end, however, the lower levels, rich in organic material, demonstrated the high preservative qualities of such boggy soils. The base and roots of a hewn oak tree were found perfectly preserved in situ, as were twigs of hazel and silver birch—all types of tree normally associated with such physical conditions. In addition, the remains of a round wooden stake, also in situ, portions of some shaped wooden object and a piece of leather in good flexible condition were recovered. At a depth of 15 ft. where the dark organic silt had given way to semi-natural gravel, conditions were sufficiently difficult to bring about a termination of the work. Only a small quantity of pottery was recovered from the stratified layers. The few dateable sherds were all of approximately 13th century origin.

Conclusions

Both excavations, whilst achieving a certain measure of success, raised more problems than were solved. This was inevitable in view of the fact that the April "dig" was the first controlled excavation to be undertaken in the city, all previous archæological knowledge being the result of haphazard observation or "rescue" work in difficult circumstances. Consequently, there exist no clearly stratified groups of pottery and until this defect is remedied by further organised excavation the dating of archæological features in the city must remain inconclusive and subject to amendment.

The ditch located in the car park excavation must be assumed to be the King's Ditch until further investigation puts the matter beyond doubt one way or the other. It appears to date from some time before the 12th century. There is no evidence yet to show a Saxon origin and, in any case, one could not expect confidently to ascribe a date to a feature of this nature without several confirmatory sections. Its purpose must also remain a matter for speculation. Its dimensions do not suggest it would have been of great effect as a defensive obstacle; nor is there any evidence of an earth rampart to the east of it. Consequently, it may have served as a boundary ditch either for the early town or, as Watkins surmised, to delineate the area held by the cathedral. In any event, its original purpose seems to have lapsed by the 13th century when the buttress of the wall was built into it, and thereafter its only use appears to have been as a dumping ground for rubbish. Perhaps the wall, which was probably built in or before the 12th century, was intended to supersede the ditch;

although, if such were the case, it would be reasonable to expect to find it on the inner side of the ditch. The problem of the wall and its related strata can only be solved by further excavations in the vicinity. Only then will it be possible to establish whether it is truly related to King's Ditch or merely a chance intrusion at this point.

The excavation at the Bridge street Methodist church site raised some additional interesting questions, in consideration of which it must be borne in mind that King's Ditch may lie to the east of the excavated area and that another suitably sited trench might produce positive results. As the following observations indicate, however, there are grounds for believing that the ditch may not exist at all in any recognisable form at this distance from the river bank.

Although the soil material of the lower strata on this site had the appearance, texture and smell of the filling of a water-logged ditch, the layers were virtually horizontal along the whole length of the trench. That is to say, there was no indication of a typical ditch profile unless, in this instance, the ditch was one of exceptionally great width across the bottom. It seems likely, therefore, that during much of the medieval period, this area was marshy, perhaps subject to frequent or prolonged innundations whenever the river Wye was high. The river bank is 104 yds. away from the site and approximately 12 ft. lower than ground level at the excavation (i.e. at about the level from which the base of the alder tree was recovered). Eventually, successful operations must have been carried out to improve the condition of the ground and make it fit for use by spreading stones over the area after successive layers of silt had raised the general level and made it less susceptible to flooding. This may have taken place in the medieval period and, in any event, to judge by the pottery, not later than Tudor times.

It may be that this marshy area was nothing more than a wide gully running down to the river, since on the east side the cathedral would seem to be built on a spur of higher ground and on the west, natural gravel was observed only 8 ft. down in a hole dug in the middle of Bridge street (57 yds. away), opposite the Methodist church. In view of the foregoing evidence it is tentatively suggested that King's Ditch did not exist as an artificial feature in this area. It is possible that at some point, perhaps near King street, it was linked to a marsh or natural water-filled gully and there was no need, nor, indeed, would it have been a practical proposition, to take the ditch further.

THE FINDS

The two excavations did not yield large quantities of finds, but, other considerations apart, served a useful purpose in adding a number of items to the growing corpus of local medieval and postmedieval pottery. In general, the pottery is similar to that turned up in Offa street, Hereford 1 —gritty grey wares, sometimes fired black, and the characteristic local red wares of the 17th-18th century with thick brown glazes. Little glazed medieval pottery was found. The early pottery seems to confirm the impression that in Hereford we have representatives of a type of ware found in the area north-west of the Severn; the closest parallels remain those from White castle and Grosmont, while the folded rim (Fig. 3, 3) resembles those from Lydney castle, a type very confined in distribution. Nos. 2, 3 and 13 have close parallels in finds from Offa street. The post-medieval pottery is similar to that found in Herefordshire kiln sites at Whitney-on-Wye, Grove Head farm, Lingen, and Upton Bishop.

Illustrated, Fig. 3, p. 148. From G.P.O. CAR PARK SITE

- Cooking pot. Coarse, evenly-fired light grey ware, with sagging base. From yellowish clay at bottom of ditch. 12th-early 13th century.
- 2, 3, 4. Cooking pot rims. Grey ware, fired black. From brown earth layer west and below wall. 12th-early 13th century.
- 5. Household jar. Buff ware, fired light red, with brown glazed interior and two handles. From top of yellowish clay in ditch. Local manufacture, 17th-18th century.
- 6. Pie dish. Coarse, evenly-fired light red ware, with traces of orange-yellow glaze both sides. From top of yellowish clay in ditch. Local manufacture, 17th-18th century.
- Jug. Red ware, fired light brown, with brown glazed interior. Handle missing. From top of yellowish clay in ditch. Local manufacture, 17th-18th century.
- 8. Jar. Light red ware, fired light brown, with dark brown glazed interior. From top of yellowish clay in ditch. Local manufacture, 17th-18th century.
- 9. Jar. Light red ware, fired light brown, with brown glazed interior. From top of yellowish clay in ditch. Local manufacture, 17th-18th century.

FROM METHODIST CHURCH SITE

- Bowl. Rim sherd of hard light red ware, both sides having orange-olive green mottled glaze. From layer of dark earth with pebbles. 16th century.
- Cooking pot rim. Gritty grey ware. From layer of dark earth with pebbles. 13th century.

- 12. Bowl rim. Gritty light grey ware fired black. From layer of dark earth with pebbles. 13th century.
- Cooking pot rim. Coarse gritty grey ware fired brown. Associated with organic remains near bottom of section.
 13th century.
- 14. Cooking pot rim. Coarse gritty grey ware fired brown, surface smooth to the touch. Associated with organic remains near bottom of section. 13th century.

Not illustrated. From G.P.O. CAR PARK SITE

- Flint blade, length 07.6 cms. Pale brown flint, with slight traces of working on one edge. From yellowish clay at bottom of ditch.
- Plaster. Fragments of white plaster with traces of red colouring were found near the top of the yellowish clay layer west of the wall.
- 17. Glass. One complete early 17th century bottle and necks of several others, together with fragments of bowls, the base of a hexagonal bottle and the neck and handle of a ? Venetian bottle came from the dark brown earth layer above the ditch.
- Sherd. Reddish brown ware, fired hard and black on outside. Surface uneven. From clean gritty clay beneath wall. Late 10th-12th century.

FROM METHODIST CHURCH SITE

19. Bone implement, length 010.4 cms. A sliver of bone cut to a point (broken) and much polished. Perhaps an awl. From layer of dark earth with pebbles.

¹ Transactions, Woolhope Club, 1957, pp. 329-337.

Antiquaries' Journal, Vol. XV, pp. 326-335.

Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 235-257.

^{*} Transactions, Woolhope Club, 1917, pp. 280-281.

[•] Ibid., 1924, pp. 76-78.

Ibid., 1928, pp. 144-146 and 1929, pp. 207-208.

REPORTS OF SECTIONAL EDITORS

ARCHÆOLOGY, 1958

By I. COHEN, M.I.Mech.E.

PREHISTORIC

A report of prehistoric flints, etc., found in Herefordshire by Mr. W. R. Pye is printed on pp. 80-83.

EXCAVATIONS

Excavations were carried out under the auspices of the Hereford Museum, on the supposed line of the King's Ditch, Hereford. Its course was struck between Aubrey street and Broad street, producing useful dating evidence. See report by Messrs. F. G. Heys and J. F. L. Norwood (pp. 117-125).

At Abbeydore another section of the Roman road was uncovered nearer the entrance from the modern road, in the hope that it could be preserved at less cost than was feasible for the section exposed last year. It was, however, in much poorer condition owing to comparatively recent disturbance, so that s far this hope has not materialized.

Leintwardine. Mr. S. C. Stanford's report on excavations at Leintwardine is printed on pp. 87-99). "A trial trench across the defences of the Roman site shows it to have been a camp. There appear to be at least four periods of occupation, the first in the late first century, followed by a rebuilding of the defences some time after c. A.D. 150, and two subsequent repairs that have not yet been dated. Further work is planned for 1959".

Hampton Wafer. Again Mr. Stanford reports:—"Work on the deserted village site started in 1957 by the Bredenbury W.E.A. branch has been continued and has produced evidence of the 14th century date of abandonment. On Site II (Transactions, 1957, Plan I), a rectangular building divided by a wall into a living room, 21 ft. by 17 ft. internally with central stone hearth, and a 'cow-house', 14 ft. by 9 ft., was extensively trenched, but the complete removal of the walls soon after the evacuation makes the recovery of further details unlikely. Trial trenches in the 'Old Quarry' confirmed the 1957 interpretation of this feature; and testing of the parch-marked Building 3 revealed standing walls and sufficiently well stratified conditions to warrant more extensive excavation in 1959".

In the south of the county Mr. N. P. Bridgwater has made many interesting discoveries that will be the subject of a separate paper which may be printed later. Kenchester. Further work was carried out in 1958 and a full report by Mr. F. G. Heys and Miss M. J. Thomas is published on pp. 100-116.

DEMOLITIONS

The Moor, near Hay, was in process of demolition in May.

Eyewood Hall, near Kington, was suffering a similar fate at the same time. Allensmore Court was demolished in the same month. Heath House was a victim in June. Garnons underwent part demolition and reconstruction during 1958, and the work is still in progress. Croft Castle is in process of alterations preparatory to the admission of a paying public at stated times, Berrington Hall is in much the same position, and Staick House, Eardisland, and Eye Manor are now open to the public on payment of a charge on certain days.

Scheduled as Ancient Monuments

- 20. Longtown Castle. The defences consisted of a rectangular enclosure of about three acres with a motte at the northwest angle on which stood a circular keep. The outworks lie to the north of the enclosure. The ground slopes away on all sides except the north, where it rises slightly. Of the west half, the northern part formed the inner bailey, the south the outer bailey. The keep and the remains of the curtain walls of the inner bailey, together with the remains of the south gateway, are all of the late 12th or early 13th century.
- 58. Castle mound at Castle Frome, an ancient earthwork on a prominent site. This is a motte and bailey castle with a broad oval motte about 12 ft. high with a central depression, which may have carried the main buildings, of stone in the motte, with possible stone walls and a rubble erectment. There are two ill-preserved baileys, one to the north, the other to the south.
- 82. Earthworks south-east of Lower Aston farm, in Eye, Morton and Aston parish, opposite the fourth milestone from Leominster. It was threatened by a proposed road diversion. The earthworks consist of an irregular platform with two mounds, and about 10 ft. above the surrounding ground. One mound is about 35 yds. square with an average height of 3½ ft. The other is 15 yds. diameter and 3½ to 4 ft. high. There are traces of a small ditch and bank. The circular mound is the base of a small round tower. The site was the seat of the Cornwell family, to whom there are monuments in the nearby church. The works are probably medieval.
- 151. The Old Court at Bredwardine, some 15 ft. above lowlying ground, qualifies it as a quadrilateral motte, roughly square (about 100 ft., with rounded angles), deeply ditched on one side. There are no traces of a bailey and it is probably a predecessor of

the present Old Court House, which contains a 14th century truss. rather than of the Castle.

CHURCH MONUMENT

In Clehonger church a drawing in colour of the important effigy of a 15th century knight has been painted by Miss Matley Moore, of Worcester, and hangs on the side of the monument to show its original appearance.

COINS BROUGHT IN DURING 1958

By S. H. MARTIN, M.A.

ROMAN EMPIRE

1. Small coin of the emperor Constance A.D. 337-350.

Oby. Head of Constance. D.N. Constance p.p. Aug.

Rev. Soldier holding the Christian standard (labarum). At his feet sit two Persian captives. Mint mark of Alexandria. ALEG gamma. Gamma is the third office of the Roman mint.

Inscription FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. (The restoration of prosperity. This coin must have been minted after the death of Constans; its discovery at Almeley shows that probably it was in circulation between A.D. 350 and 450

It was brought in by Mr. R. J. Jenkins, of West View. Almeley, and was found under the sink in the house of Mrs. S. Purnell, 19, West View Estate. Probably an import of recent date.

- 2. Small coin of Constantinus II. 337-361. Obv. Head of Emperor. Rev. Gloria Exercitus, one standard with the letter " M ".
- 3. The following coin of Marcus Aurelius discovered in 1948. has now been presented to the Museum (6872), by Mr. M. O. Gibbon, Glynteg, Presteigne.

Obv. M. Aurelius Antonius Armenicus R.M.

Rev. Victory holding Trophy with an Armenian sitting at her feet.

Vict. Aug. TR. P. XVIII IMP. II Cos. III. S.C.

A.D. 161-180. Found at Stapleton College. R.I.C. 890.

4. Also presented by Miss B. Jones of Bodenham. A coin found in Wellington School, in 1957. D.N. Valentinianus. Gloria Romanorum. Mint of Lyons.

MEDIAEVAL

1. Henry I. A.D. 1068-1135.

365-8.

Obv. head of Henry crowned, diademed, sceptre in hand. Rev. EDRICUS ON HERE. Minted in Hereford. (7071).

- Henry II. A.D. 1135-1189. DRIU. Minted in Hereford. (7072).
- **Edward I.** A.D. 1299–1307. (7070).

Obv. EDWAR. . . . D.N.S. HYB.

Rev. Civitas London.

Found in Green Lane, Whitecross, by Mr. Crump, 8, Stanberrow Road.

4. Edward II, 1307-1327.

Obv. EDWAR- R. ANGL. DNS HYB. (6978).

Rev. Long cross with pellets. CIVITAS LONDON.

Found by Mr. P. Evans, 2, Council Houses, Woolhope. in Round Wood Farm, Sollers Hope.

The above four coins have now been acquired by the Museum.

These have also been received:

1. A French Counter, probably from Tournai, with a Lis-headed

Found in the garden of Mr. J. V. Wood, 37, Mount Crescent, Tupsley.

AVE MARIA, STELLA DEI MATRIS, 15th century.

2. A French Jetton of the 16th century.

AVE MARIA, GRATIA PLENA.

Found by Mr. H. Powell Todd, Upper House, Ashperton.

Note.—So far as is known, the Hereford Mint was opened by king Æthelstan, A.D. 925–939, and continued working till well into the reign of Henry III. It was probably closed during the late issues of the long cross coinage, 1242–1273, perhaps about 1260–5.

Numbers in parentheses refer to Hereford Museum accessions.

HENRY II COIN MINTED IN HEREFORD

Notes by Dr. Anthony Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum

The Henry II penny from the Lockett collection is one of his first coinage (1154-1180), usually known as the Tealby issue because so many were found at Tealby in Lincolnshire, in 1807. This coin was struck about 1162 and 1168. The reading on the obverse is HENRI. R.A. Like all Tealby pennies the reverse is difficult to read, but should be DRIV ON HER(EFOR). The moneyer's name seems to be misprinted in the Lockett catalogue, though possibly it may be an odd spelling of the name DREU.

Coins of the Hereford mint are somewhat rare and I cannot find any

listed among coin finds of Henry II's reign.

Although this coin is roughly struck, its condition is about average, and its weight, 22 grains, is quite good. The style is very poor, but the reverse design is interesting. The cross with the crosslets in its angles had been used some time in the 1130's by Henry, Earl of Northumberland (son of David I of Scotland) for his border issues at Carlisle and elsewhere; it is always said that the cross and crosslets reversed was entirely original, but this does not seem to be the case. Another interesting point is that it anticipated the arms of the Crusading Kings of Jerusalem.

The first coinage of Henry II is important because it was an experiment in standardisation of types in order to get rid of all the irregular varieties which had been circulating during the civil wars under Stephen. This standardisation was carried a stage further with the succeeding issue known as the short cross coinage.

BOTANY, 1958

By F. M. KENDRICK

As in 1957, the weather from a botanical point of view was discouraging. During the earlier part of the year there was a cold dry spell which had a marked effect on the vegetation. This was especially noticeable on the bulb-producing flowers, e.g., daffodils, in which the flowering season was short; there were fewer blossoms than usual and the stems were so weak they could hardly hold up the flowers. Towards the end of April rain set in and persisted throughout most of the year, each month showing record amounts of rainfall.

During Whitsun, we entertained the South Western Naturalists' Union. The weather fortunately cleared for a few days and excursions were made to various parts of the county with the result that many members of the Union were able to add several new plants to their records.

Ullingswick was visited on the first half-day field meeting of the year, and here in the churchyard Mr. H. E. Pile drew attention to the many plants of the double flowered lady's smock (Cardamine paternsis) to be found there. On the second half-day field meeting, opportunity was taken to make a stop at Checkley Cockshoot where various plants and ferns to be found on the limestone were shown to members.

The wet weather caused the walk through Downton Gorge to be cancelled. This was unfortunate because on the exploratory walk the unusual variety of the common cow-wheat (Melampyrum pratense) with narrow leaves and flowers of a uniform full yellow discovered by W. H. Purchase was again found in quantity. Also found was the fern Cystopteris fragilis, this being its only known station in the north of the county.

The Botanical Society managed to complete its programme and finish the National Mapping Scheme for the county. With the exception of one or two squares, each one has at least 250 flowering plants recorded and one has 700 varieties. The recorder's lists of county flowering plants now contains over 1,000 different species. The season finished off with a highly successful fungus foray in the Ledbury area where over 90 different specimens were identified and recorded, and quite a few more were discovered but, in the absence of satisfactory identification, were not recorded.

It is encouraging to find that more records are coming in from Club members. Miss Laird has reported purple sandwort (Spergularia rubra) at Canon Pyon, and Tutsan and the Broad-leaved helleborine (Epipactis latifolia) from Birley. Mr. M. P. Watkins has reported that the white helloborine (Cephalanthera grandiflora) is increasing on the Doward as also is the bee orchid. A few fungi have been discovered; Mr. M. P. Watkins reports Peziza Cerea from the Doward and Peziza aurantia and Helvella crispa have been discovered in Burghope woods. Mrs. Williams reported the stinkhorn (Phallus impudicus) from Brampton Bryan where it was growing in considerable numbers on a patch about 15 yards square.

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It is pleasing to record that a small bog in Haugh Wood has been saved from being drained. This bog amongst other plants has produced Epipactis palustris, Gymnadenia conopsea (varg. Densiflora), Blysmus compressus, Anagallis tenella, Aquilegia vulgaris and various carex. Our thanks are due to the head forester for his co-operation over this matter, and also for his expressed willingness to assist over any similar problem that may arise in future.

The more important records not mentioned above, received during the year by the recorder of the Botanical Society (Mrs. Whitehead) or myself are as follows:

- (a) Not previously reported:
 - 1. GARUM VERTICILLATUM. L. Kock. Whorled caraway 13. Above Vowchurch. 32/33. (K. Johnston.)
 - CAREX DIDICK. L. (Dioecious sedge). Near Wormbridge. 32/43. (M. Porter.)
- (b) Reported in records other than Flora of Herefordshire ;

 - 1. Further Additions, 1957: Sisymbrium altissium. (Tall rocket).
 - 7. Near Burghill. 32/44. (L. E. Whitehead.)
 - Recorder's Report, 1957:
 - LACTUCA SERRIOLA, L. (Prickly lettuce.) Roadside, Madley. (L. E. Whitehead.)
- (c) Reported in the Flora:
 - 1. New Stations
 - 108. Moenchia erecta. L. (Gaertn.)
 - 9. Burcher Common. (E. Froode.) 113. STELLARIA NEMORUM. L.
 - 13. Near Bredwardine Bridge. (W. L. Scott.)
 - 115. GERANIUM PUSILLUM, (Burn.) 7. Wellington. (L. E. Whitehead.); Bath Street, Hereford (Kendrick.)
 - 317. SAXIFRAGA GRANULATA. L.
 - 2. Ross-below Pencraig. (G. Wise.)
 - 352. SCANDIX PECTEN-VENERIS. L.
 - 7. Cornfield—Bobblestock. (M. Vincent.) (Given in the Flora as common—now very rare in the
 - 480. MONOTROPA HYPOPITHYS. L.
 - 3. Buckenhill, Fownhope. (M. Marklove.)
 - 504. Antirrhinum orontium. L. Aymestrey. (Kendrick.)
 - 625. DAPHNE LAURIOLA. L.
 - 11. Woods, Lyonshall. (Mrs. Edwards.)

- 708. OPHRYS APIFERA. (Herds.)
- 3. Buckenhill, Fownhope. (M. Marklove.)
- 753. BLYSMUS COMPRESSUS. L. (Link.) 13. Wormbridge. (M. Porter.)
- 756. ELEOCHARUS QUINQUEFLORA. (Schwarz.)
- 13. Wormbridge. (M. Porter.)
- 2. Old Stations—interesting plants refound
 - 197. HIPPOCREPIS COMOSA. L. Great Doward. (G. Wise.)
 - 216. FILIPENDULA VULGARIS. Great Doward. (G. Wise.)
 - SCABIOSA COLUMBARIA.
 - Great Doward. (G. Wise.) 763. ERIOPHORUM ANGUSTIFOLIUM.
 - Great Doward. (G. Wise.) 779. CAREX DIGITATA.

 - Great Doward. (G. Wise, L. Whitehead, F. M. Day.)
 - 780. CAREX HUMILIS. Great Doward. (L. E. Whitehead.)
 - 781. CAREX MONTANA. Great Doward. (G. Wise, L. Whitehead, F. M. Dav.)

The list of fungi found has not been published as there are no new records for the county; however, should any member be interested, Mr. Kendrick has the list and will be pleased to supply any information on request.

ENTOMOLOGY

By the Rev. R. B. Sisson

Many people will remember 1958 as the wettest and most sunless year for a very long time and, as far as my own experience was concerned, the decline both in numbers and varieties of butterflies and moths was very marked.

There was a bumper crop of catkins on the sallow in my garden but, unfortunately, bitterly cold nights, clear skies and a full moon completely wrecked all hopes of a good haul. Over the whole period only about 400 moths were trapped and these were all of the commonest species (mainly small quakers, quakers and a few hebrew characters). Poor catches persisted until I went away for a few days at the end of May and, whilst in Somerset I took a bordered straw (H. peltigera). This is usually a somewhat rare insect, but an invasion in strength took place early in June and spread as far north as Westmorland. Upon my return home I hoped to find it at Moccas, but the quest proved unsuccessful. Catches still remained small and only the commoner species were in evidence. In the autumn the silver Y (P. gamma) appeared in greater numbers than usual, but no varieties were found amongst those examined. The dark sword grass (A. ipsilon) was also frequent.

In 1956 I reported the capture of a female northern egger (L. quercus v callunae). I obtained some eggs from her and eventually had 18 pupæ. Only three perfect imagines emerged. which was unfortunate, because they were rather beautiful varieties of this moth—the outer portions of the forewings and the hind wings being transluscent. Two or three more emerged, but they were hopelessly crippled. Upon opening up the cocoons I found that several moths had broken out of their pupæ, but had been unable to escape from their cocoons: indeed, in one instance a female had laid her eggs in, what proved to be, her coffin.

Butterflies were very seldom seen throughout the season, and I might add that I saw very few honey bees. One cannot help but wonder what toll insecticides are taking, not only of noxious insects but also those that are harmless, useful or beautiful.

ORNITHOLOGY, 1958

By C. W. WALKER, M.C., M.A., M.D.

The tiny firecrest, close relative of the commoner goldcrest, very rarely visits the county. One was seen on 16th February, at Lyepole, by G. C. Lambourne, and by R. H. Baillie who saw it there on several occasions until as late as 5th April. The only previous certain record of this bird for Herefordshire is of a pair seen by the Rev. Clement Lev. at Sellack, in 1864.

Another rare visitor in 1958 was the avocet. Mr. W. J. Layton reported the presence of a pair of these birds at Parton Farm, Eardisley, where they frequented the edges of two shallow ponds for five days between 27th March and 1st April. The only previous report of avocet in the county is of one which was watched from close at hand as it fed on a sandy spit in the Wye below Wilton by Col. Wienholt—the date being about 1931. The species is unmistakable, black and white, shaped like a curlew, and with long slender up-turned bill.

The year saw an "irruption" of crossbills. Flocks of these birds were reported from several woods in the county, especially in the Kington area, from 16th July, when they were first reported by Mr. R. H. Baillie, until the end of the year.

A hen-harrier was reported by A. H. Lewis. It was seen flying low over bracken on Bradnor Hill, on 4th May. This was a cockbird, pale grey and white with black-tipped wings. It was seen in the district on other dates in April and May by several different observers.

Interesting wanderers to Radnorshire during 1958 were a flock of snow buntings at Great Rhos on 15th March, a white wagtail at Llyn Hilyn on 25th April, and a black tern at the Rhiw pool on 20th July.

Fuller ornithological details may be obtained by those interested in the Ornithological Club's Annual Report edited by Mr. R. H. Baillie, Wyche House, Kington.

MAMMALS, 1958

By C. W. WALKER, M.C., M.A., M.D.

There have been a number of reports of polecats seen or killed in the county recently. Mr. F. C. Morgan showed me the body of one run over near Hampton Court early in September. Mr. J. S. Harper knew of polecats at Mathon in 1945, and of one trapped at Stoke Edith in 1956. Mr. H. Weaver caught two polecats in rattraps in his poultry yard at Pontrilas. Mr. A. J. Haimes trapped a fine female at Garnons in May, 1957, and has heard of several being killed in the Brobury area of recent years. Mr. W. D. Harrison had a very good view of a polecat in his car headlights at about five yards range at Hatfield near Bromyard, on 6th December, 1958. It would appear from these records that the polecat is less rare in central and east Herefordshire than has been supposed.

On 30th March, 1958, I watched a Daubenton's bat at close quarters as it flew slowly and low over the water's surface at Shobdon decoy pool. It is a light sandy-brown bat with grey wings, and has this habit of hunting low over water with slow and hesitant flight, sometimes actually touching the surface. It passed below me several times within a few feet and in broad daylight. It has only once previously been recorded in the county, though one would expect the species to be common here.

BRIDSTOCK HARFORD

(Winnington-Ingram, J. A.: Monumental Brasses in Hereford Cathedral, 1956. Published as a separate pamphlet by the Woolhope Club.)

There is a book in the library of Kentchurch Court which gives a pedigree of the Harford family. They lived at Bosbury, and two fine monuments to John Harford and Richard Harford are in the chancel of Bosbury Church.

Bridstock (or Bradstock) Harford was a son of Henry (a prebendary of Hereford and the fourth son of John Harford by his second wife Alice Bradstock). He was born in 1607, and became a Dr. of Physics in the city of Hereford, and was married twice, not three times as stated in the pamphlet on monumental brasses. His first wife was Elizabeth Hereford of Sutton, in the parish of Mordiford. She died 23rd February, 1669. His second wife Joyce, daughter of Henry Bright of Worcester and widow of John Brydges of Prior's Court, Hereford, who died in 1669, died 19th January, 1680. The marriage licence is dated 19th October, 1677. The third Harford brass in Hereford Cathedral refers to the wife of Bridstock Harford, Jun., the old doctor's son. She was Catherine Read of Shipton, Oxford, and died 5th March, 1665. Her brass is therefore the earliest, and the others are modelled on it. Bridstock Harford, M.D., died in 1695, aged 88. There is also an account of the family of Harford, by Alice Harford, in Archæologia Cambrensis. Series 6, Vol. 9, pp. 283-301.

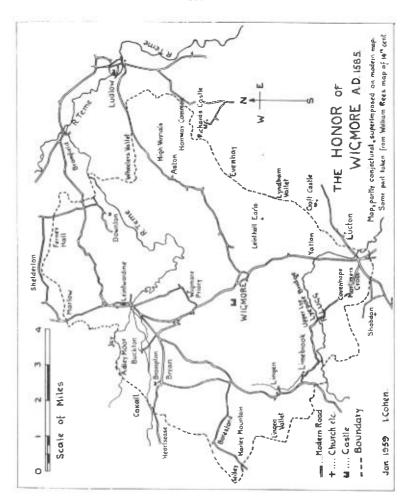
THOMAS THORNTON

(Woolhope Club Transactions, Vol. XXXV, 1957, p. 208.)

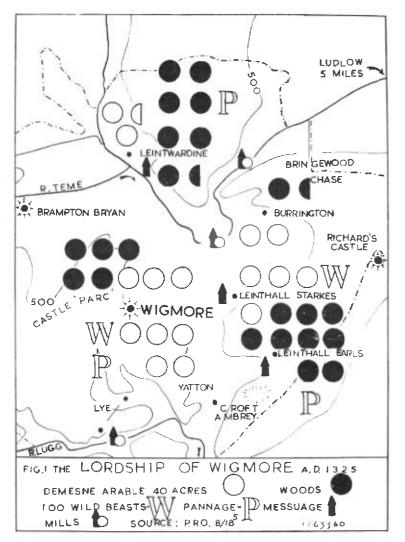
There is a pedigree of the ancestry of Thomas Thornton, D.D., printed by the Harleion Society Publications, Vol. 65, 1914, pp. 1-2, Series. Middlesex Pedigrees. From it we find that his father was Thomas Thornton of Greenford, Middlesex and his mother Agnes daughter of Richard Page of Harrow-on-the-Hill (where our Thomas was born). The family is traced back to a John Thornton, also at Greenford, though formerly of Cheshire, who was servant to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII. From this beginning it would seem that the family progressed to a fair level of prosperity, and the Joane Ward mentioned in Thomas Thornton's will is described in the pedigree as being married to Edward Ward of London, "Conffectioner". No grant of arms was made to any Thornton until 1595, when a Thomas Thornton was granted the arms described on the Ledbury Memorial, and Thomas Thornton, D.D., was granted the same arms "with a martlett on the crest and arms", a martlett being the mark of cadency for the fourth son, which from the pedigree he appears to have been.

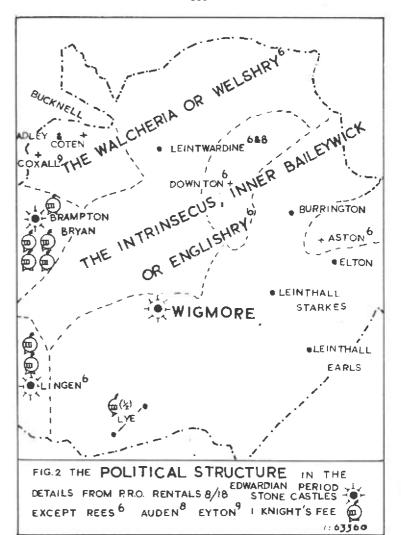
ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

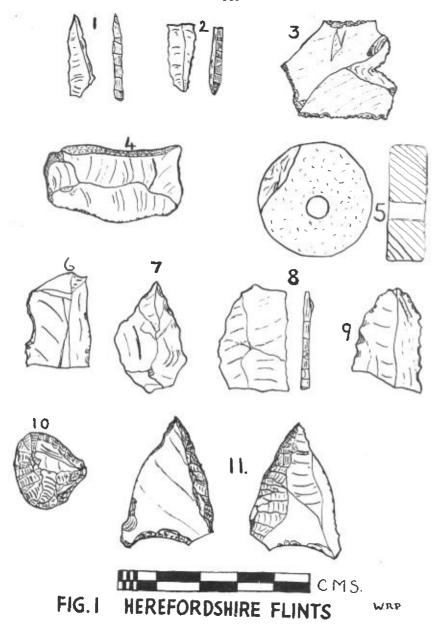
	ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY
506	Directory of natural history and other societies; ed. by A. Lysaght. 1959.
571	Prehistoric Society. Proceedings 1935, 1949, 1951, 1952-4; plts., illus. 4to.
571.7	Grimes (W. F.). The Prehistory of Wales. 1951; illus. 8vo.
571.2	Clark (J. G. D.) The Mesolithic Age in Britain. 1932. Map. illus. 4to.
623.4	Beith (John Hay): "Ian Hay". R.O.F.; the story of the Royal Ordnance Factories, 1939-1948. 1949. 104 pp., illus. 8vo.
1 -	The Hereford explosion on pp. 76-81.
571.7	Parkyn (Ernest A.). An Introduction to the study of pre-historic
-0	art. 1915. illus. 8vo.
595.76	Wilson (W. A.). The Coleoptera of Somerset. 1958.
598.2	Armitage (Isabel Jane). Original water-colour drawings of British birds. c. 1856-c. 1900. fol.
598.2	Yarrell (William). A History of British birds. 1843. illus. 3 vols. 8vo.
728.81	Radford (C. A. Ralegh). Goodrich castle, Herefordshire. 1958.
	14 pp. illus., plan. 8vo. Pamphlet.
913.429	
	Wales and Monmouthshire. Vol. III.
	Radnorshire. 1913. maps., illus. fol.
920	(Dee (John)). Extract from a diary of a visit to Hereford in 1574.
	Photostat of part of Harleian MS. No. 473.
942.44	Rodd (Francis James Rennell). 2nd Baron Rodd. Valley on the March; a history of a group of manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales. 1958. plts., illus., maps, pedigrees. 8vo. Marshall Bequest.



See pp. 42-48.







See pp. 80-83.

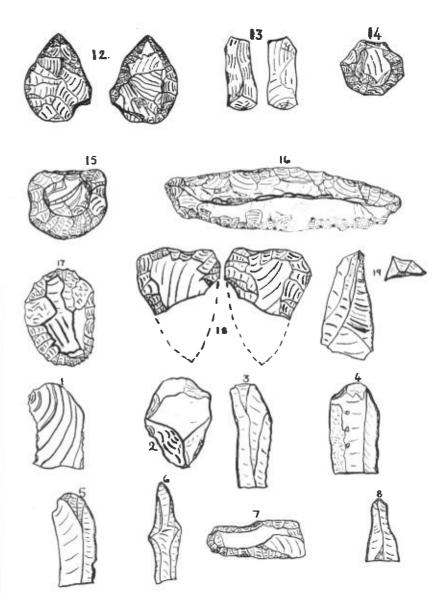


FIG. 2 HEREFORDSHIRE FLINTS

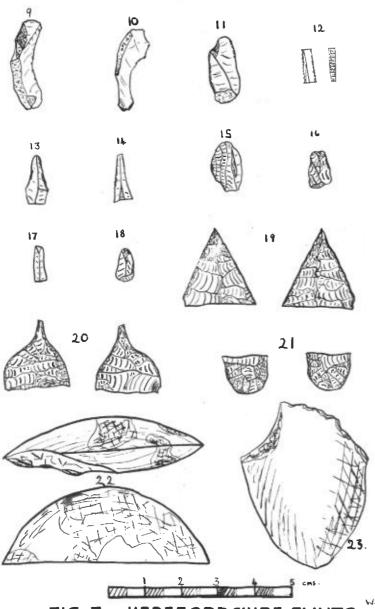
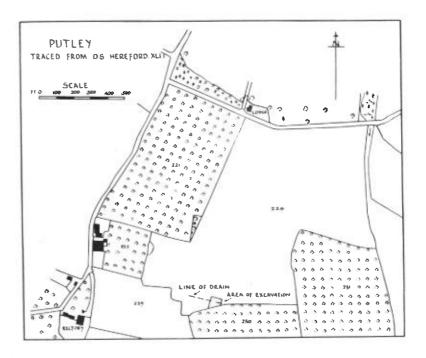
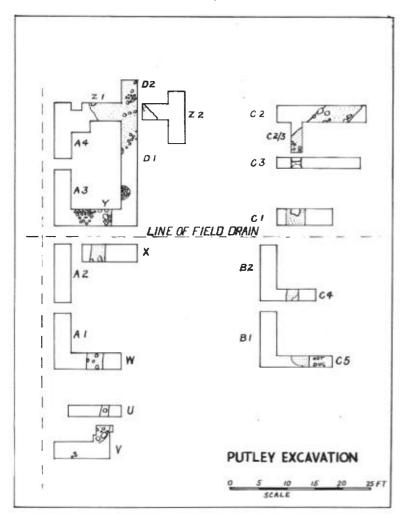
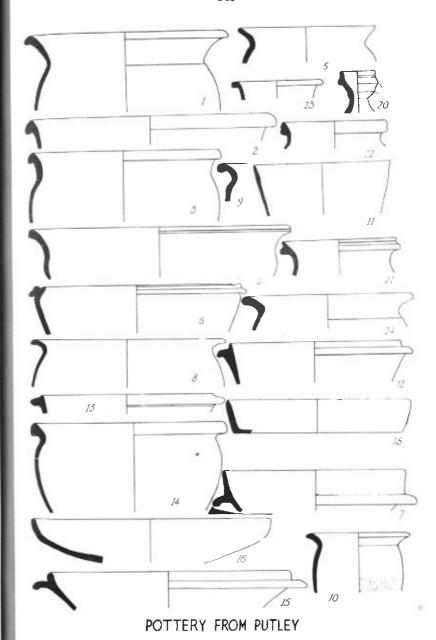


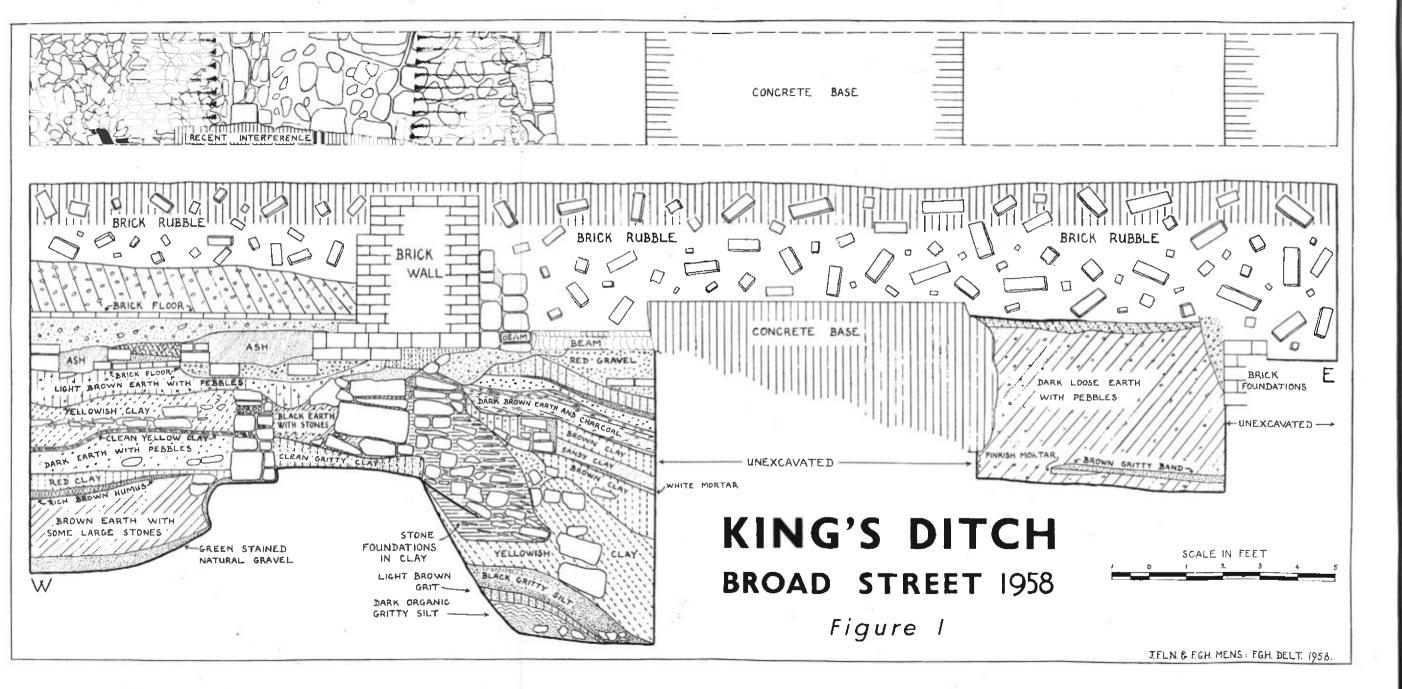
FIG. 3 HEREFORDSHIRE FLINTS

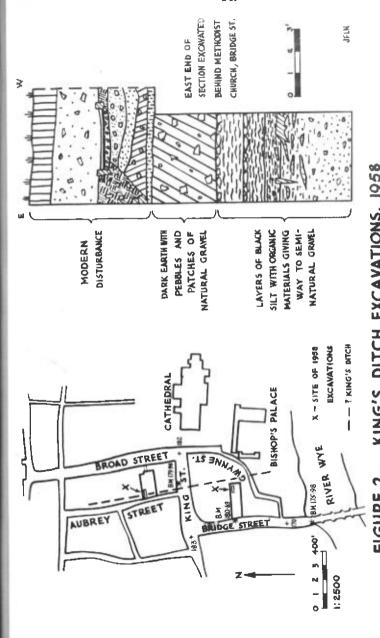


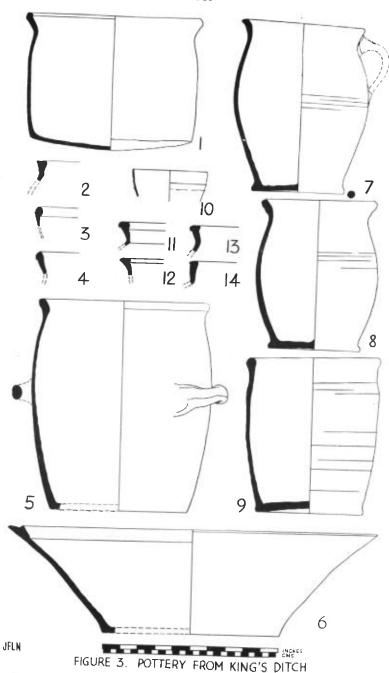
See pp. 84-87.











Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

PAPERS, 1959

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By A. W. Langford, m.d., b.ch.(cantab.), m.r.c.s., l.r.c.p.

THE HISTORY OF HEREFORD GENERAL HOSPITAL

The year 1948 marked the end of an epoch in the history of Hereford General Hospital, for it was then that it lost its independence and became, in the economy of the National Health Service, one of a group of hospitals under the Birmingham Regional Board. It is fitting therefore, that the history of this, the older and original hospital of our county, should now be a subject for review. For the voluntary hospital tradition in Europe was peculiar to England, such healing establishments on the Continent having always been supplied from the public purse.

The very first hospitals in England were those founded by medieval piety—they were numerous and largely connected with the provision for leprosy, the 'infirmarium' being an accepted part of the monastic institution. Of these medieval foundations the best example and the oldest still existing, is the Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew, founded by the monk Rahere in 1123, under

a charter of Henry I.

The eighteenth century saw a new impetus given to hospital building, doctors and enterprising laymen working together for the foundation of hospitals where the sick poor could be cared for. The first voluntary hospital founded by the munificence of a single individual was Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge, John Addenbrooke, M.D., of Saint Catherine's College, having left the major part of his fortune for its foundation. It was under the influence of this fillip to hospital building that our own General Infirmary. as it was first called, came into being. Among the many hospitals founded in the eighteenth century prior to our own were Bristol Royal Infirmary (1736), the Royal Salop Infirmary, Shrewsbury (1745), Worcester Royal Infirmary (1746), Gloucester Royal Infirmary (1755), Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford (1770), while the Birmingham General Hospital, the precursor of the present Birmingham Hospital, was founded in 1779, three years later than our own infirmary. At the time of the founding of our hospital, there was not one in Wales. Denbigh was the first hospital there, founded in 1807, and was followed by Swansea in 1817. Hereford was therefore the western outpost of the hospital system at the time of its foundation. It is interesting to note that voices were raised in all seriousness to question the value of these various hospitals. Was not mortality, it was argued, greater among the inmates than among those outside? This contention was not without some pertinence, since in those days, medical and surgical cases were not separated, and highly infectious diseases, even cholera, were introduced into the hospital wards. Fortunately, however, the opposition was overcome with the aid of prominent local people, and not least the clergy.

The founder of the Hereford General Infirmary was the Rev. Thomas Talbot, as recorded in the paper by Prebendary C. H. Martin in 1957, where his life and efforts, with a portrait, are given.

In Dr. Talbot's third and last appeal, he asserts that the only plausible objection to erecting the infirmary would be that Herefordshire is less extensive, less populous, and less affluent than some of the neighbouring counties, and therefore cannot so well bear the expense of the proposed institution. He says, "The answer is obvious. Erect or hire a building proportionable to your number and circumstances; and make a fair trial of the event."

It was a few weeks after this appeal that Dr. Talbot himself contributed five hundred pounds towards the project. A committee was appointed, the *Hereford Journal* of 30th March, 1775, reporting:

"Yesterday a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the design of establishing a Public Infirmary in this City, was held at the Swan and Falcon, and several resolutions were unanimously agreed to for the advancement of that useful and charitable undertaking."

The resolutions included:

"That a committee be appointed to consider on the most effectual means of introducing a Public Infirmary in or near the City of Hereford, for the relief of sick and diseased persons."

The committee was to consist of physicians, surgeons, benefactors and subscribers and any others whom the committee thought fit to appoint. The committee were to meet at the New Tolsey. The clergy were to be asked to promote its interest in their various parishes. The committee were to consider a convenient situation for the intended infirmary, and were to formulate regulations for its government. A resolution was further passed:

"That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. Dr. Talbot for his exemplary liberality and unwearied labour in this public cause."

A similar resolution was that:

"The thanks of this Meeting be given to the physicians and surgeons of the City of Hereford for their humane and cheerful concurrence with the wishes of the public."

A subscription list² had been opened. In the *Hereford Journal* of 6th April, 1775, there was a notice: "Hereford Infirmary... by desire of the General Meeting, subscriptions continue to be

¹ See Transactions, Vol. XXXV, pp. 295-298.

taken in by the Rev. Dr. Talbot of Ullingswick, and Mr. Perrin in Castle Street, Hereford. Such as cannot conveniently subscribe in person may be pleased to signify their intentions by letter. The present state of the subscription is as follows:

Benefactions... ... 3,352 13 6
Annual Subscriptions ... 630 10 6

A list of subscriptions followed. Such names as "Mr. Crowther, Surgeon, London" on the list show that the project was getting some support other than local. The committee met from time to time in the succeeding months, a note of their meetings, with a list of subscribers, being published at fairly regular intervals in the *Hereford Journal*. From these lists one gathers that the response from a financial point of view was slow and not very large in amount. From the first, difficulty was experienced in getting in subscriptions, as shown by this report:

"The Committee appointed for inquiring into the arrears of the annual subscriptions, etc., having carefully examined the Treasurer's books, have discharged them of all such as appeared to have become desperate, or extremely dubious, through the death, removal, misfortunes, or change of mind, of any of the subscribers..."

The arrears of annual subscriptions at Lady Day, 1783, were

£409 10s. 0d.

In November, 1775, the Earl of Oxford, after whom the present Oxford Ward is named, gave to the Mayor and Corporation in trust. certain land within the liberties of the city of Hereford, described as a most ample site, on the river bank, for the infirmary to be built. He also gave land surrounding the site. His gift was described as for "the sick, lame and diseased persons by whatsoever name or names called or known." In 1776, the land was surveyed for the purposes of building. Meanwhile a temporary building was brought into use and opened on 26th March, 1776, for the treatment of patients. This date then may be looked upon as the foundation day of our hospital. Our knowledge of this derives from a speech made by Alderman Cam at the laying of the foundation stone of the Victoria Ward over a hundred years later. In his speech he said that he could tell them what very few perhaps were aware of, that that institution first began as a cottage hospital, in the second house that side of the railway bridge, at Eign, No. 42 of the present Eign Street. It is still No. 42. It was for fractures from accident and for patients admitted by recommendation that the temporary building was opened on that first day.

The old infirmary in the temporary premises was in use for seven and a half years, and then was let, as is proved by an item in the accounts, "One Year's Rent for Part of Old Infirmary £6." It was eventually sold. A minute of the Board Meeting of 29th June, 1809, reads:

"Resolved that it is proper the Old Inf. should be sold by Auction and that it be advertised in the next Hereford Journal, to be sold on Friday 7th day of July at the Red Lyon in this City."

² See *Transactions*, 1957, pp. 297-8, for full list as published in Duncumb, Vol. I, p. 433.

A year later (23rd August, 1810,) it was

"Ordered that an advertisement be inserted in the Hereford Journal requesting a special General Meeting to be held at the Infirmary on Friday, the 21st day of September next, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, in order to give directions for the conveyance of the Old Infirmary which has been sold."

The purchaser of the old infirmary was a Mr. Hawkins and the

price about £300.

Three years after the opening of the temporary building the construction of a permanent building was again considered. On 16th September, 1779, a general meeting proposed to resume consideration of erecting a new building (for the use of the infirmary). The permanent building is said to have been designed by William Parker, but I have not been able to verify this fact. The actual building was commenced exactly five years after the opening of the temporary hospital. It is recorded in an extract from the Hereford Journal, framed and hanging in the hospital:

"On Tuesday last was laid, in a most healthy and airy situation (the ground presented by the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford) the first stone of our new Infirmary, in the presence of the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation, who attended in their formalities, and many other respectable friends to the charity, surrounded by a vast crowd of joyful spectators. By desire of the Society, the ceremony was performed by the Rev. Dr. Talbot, Rector of Ullingswick, who by the devout and fervent manner in which he besought the blessing of Heaven on this benevolent institution, sufficiently manifested how sincerely he has at heart the completion of the good work, which was originally undertaken by his earnest persuasion, and greatly advanced by his indefatigable zeal and munificent contribution of £500."

A copy of the prayer used on the occasion follows in the printed extract. The infirmary was dedicated to the service of humanity and the glory of God, and the prayer included the words:

"From age to age, let the streams of health and ease flow from this fountain."

The ceremony, however, was not entirely on the spiritual level as we see from a resolution passed previously, that:

"The Governors be desired to accompany the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation of Hereford and other friends of the Charity to the Infirmary Ground, in order to lay the first stone of the New Building in a public and solemn manner; that as many of the Company may wish to dine together on so joyful an occasion, an ordinary be provided at the New Inn, at 2s. 6d. each person."

From the laying of the foundation stone to the admission of the first patient was almost exactly two and a half years. On the agenda of the governing body for 23rd April, 1783, was this item for consideration: "The opening of New Infirmary—embankment of ground." In the *Hereford Journal* later that year was this notice:

"Hereford Infirmary. August 15th, 1783. The New Building is now open for the reception of patients to the great honour and satisfaction of its generous founders..."

This important event, the opening for admission of patients of our present hospital building, does not seem to have been officially marked, or if it were I have been unable to find an account of the occasion.

Relative to the embankment of ground just mentioned, in 1781 the chairman and the treasurer were requested by the governing body to wait upon the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Hereford with the board's most respectful thanks for his Lordship's most beneficent gift of stone for the purpose of embanking the infirmary grounds against the river Wye. One is left wondering what dark act of episcopal vandalism lay behind this bishop's generosity!

Prior to the admission of the first patients in 1776, rules and regulations had been formulated. They were based upon similar rules for other hospitals already in existence. The early archives contain some interesting and often amusing items, for instance,

19th September, 1793:

"Resolved that in the future only one dog be kept at the Infirmary, as an alarm to the family by night."

Again on 1st May, 1798:

"That in future the quantity of beer brewed be after the rate of five bushells to one hundred gallons, and one way beer be only brewed."

The limitation of the beer to this modest quantity followed upon a mishap recorded in the minutes of 24th November, 1797, when:

"Several in-patients were seized with a particular disorder and at the same time... The Apothecary... gives his opinion that it was in consequence of the patients' drinking beer for a few days that was staler than usual."

In the early years of the infirmary patients who died were buried in the cathedral close. This ceased in 1791, when at a meeting of governors it was:

"Resolved that whereas the patients dying in the Infirmary who amount upon an average to no more than seven annually cannot be admitted as heretofore to graves in the Cathedral churchyard."

It seems that the Castle Green belonged to the infirmary, for in the accounts of 1797, is the entry, "Rent of the Green, £77s. 0d."

Hereford public baths apparently can be looked upon as having originated from the beginnings of the infirmary, for in the rules of 1775, it was laid down:

"That every person not a patient, desiring the use of the cold-bath, shall, before he uses it, pay into the hands of the Apothecary one shilling for each time; and for the hot-bath, or sweating chair; two shillings and sixpence each time... but that the patients of the Infirmary be never prevented from bathing or sweating... by any person whatsoever."

The rules of 1775 laid down that an annual sermon was to be preached. It was eventually held on the third day of the races each year. The sermon was preached in the cathedral and included an appropriate anthem by the vicars choral. By 1836, however, support had dwindled; in this year the sermon was postponed, as only 14 ladies and eight gentlemen were present. Announcing this, the Dean expressed his wish that the use of the cathedral for this sermon should not be applied for on either day of the races. It will interest members of our club to know that the twenty-first anniversary sermon at the coming-of-age of the infirmary, was

preached by John Duncumb, on 3rd August, 1797. Touching on the story of the Good Samaritan he remarked:

"To a similar spirit, and to principles congenial with these, is to be ascribed the establishment of that benevolent institution, in the support of which we are now assembled."

He proceeded:

"The important advantages of it are satisfactorily proved by the experience of twenty-one years, and the relief administered within that period to many thousands of sick poor. In the common course of nature the charity has been deprived of many of its best benefactors; the general pressure of the times, unparalleled in the history of the nation, has also very considerably tended to the reduction of its income; without special and extraordinary aid".

"An institution of the most approved and extensive utility will be necessitated to abridge, if not wholly to discontinue, its valuable assistance to that wretched class, who suffer the complicated evils of poverty and disease."

"Shall the apathy of the Stoic supersede the benevolence of the Christian? Shall cold indifference destroy that fabric which was reared by Sensibility and dedicated by Virtue?"

From the earliest days there was a chaplain, and one of the early ones was the Rev. Dr. Garbett; maybe he was an ancestor of the late Archbishop of York, who had Herefordshire interests. The well-known John Venn was chaplain in the 1860's.

Brief mention should be made at this point of the lunatic asylum, commenced about the year 1798, as part of the infirmary, though it was in a separate building, on the site I understand, where St. James' Church now stands. After a few years it ceased to be run by the governing body of the hospital, being rented to the doctors who administered it.

The status of nurses may be gathered from this extract from the rules of 1775, which read:

"That all the nurses shall dine together at a stated time with the other common servants."

It was ordered:

"That the nurses . . . behave themselves with tenderness to the patients, and with civility and respect to all."

There was frequent staff trouble. On 7th November, 1793, it was ordered:

"That Eliz. Davies and Mary Evans, the two nurses be discharged for mishaviour."

On the 21st May, 1795, we find this entry:

"It is the opinion of this Board that many of the accusations brought against Mrs. Moore the Matron of the Hereford Infirmary by Mr. Cotes are well founded and that on her asking pardon and making proper submission she be continued in her place."

Sad to relate, her "submission" was not lasting; further charges were brought against her and on the 11th April, 1797, it was:

"Ordered unanimously that she be removed."

An indication of the scale of salaries in those days is found in a resolution of 13th August, 1794:

"That upon application of the Matron to have her salary augmented ordered, that £5 per annum be added to her former salary of £10 per annum." It is instructive to note that about a hundred years later the salary had increased eight-fold, for in 1889 the governing board increased the matron's salary from £70 to £80. That the money was well earned was appreciated by Mr. Biddulph, M.P., who remarked, referring to the matron in 1900:

"A woman who could keep 40 other women in order was a person of very great merit."

Nurses are renowned for the amount of tea which they are in the habit of consuming at all times of the day and night, and we find that on 24th March, 1807, the board resolved:

"That the Matron be allowed the sum of three guineas a year for tea instead of two guineas hitherto allowed her."

22nd March, 1808:

" Ordered that the Matron be allowed the sum of four guineas a year for tea in future . . . " $\,$

In the middle of the last century head nurses were paid in the region of £16 per year. Strangely enough they were paid a pound extra if they were nursing in a male ward, women evidently being considered less difficult than men. As late as 1918, only £16 per year was paid to third-year nurses, second year nurses being paid £12, and first year £8. For comparison may I quote from the British Medical Journal of 28th March, 1959, the present rates of pay: student nurses, £275 per year; staff nurses, £446; matrons, £1,055. A matron's salary, therefore, has risen from £10 per annum in 1794 to £1,055 per annum in 1959.

In the early years of the infirmary, the medical staff consisted of two visiting surgeons and two physicians. There was to be a house-apothecary according to the rules of 1775. He combined the functions of the house-surgeon, house-physician and dispenser of the present day. He was not to leave the infirmary at any time for more than two hours together but, the rule said, during the continuance of the temporary infirmary, his living in the house was to be dispensed with altogether. He was supervised by a visiting apothecary, whose duty was to visit the dispensary, to see that the house-apothecary did his duty. In the early years, the apothecary was also secretary, as shown by Hereford Journal advertisements of 16th December, 1783, where two applicants advertise for support. I quote the first:

"The offices of Apothecary and Secretary to your Infirmary being now vacant... I beg to offer myself as candidate; and solicit the favour of your votes. (Signed) Richard Hull."

By 1831, the two offices were separated and the secretary had his salary raised: a minute of 16th September, 1831, reads:

"Resolved: That the salary of the Secretary be in future twenty guineas."

Hereford now has no medical school for training students, but with the Hereford Technical College already in existence, and with the possibility of a University College, it is interesting to note that there was, in those early days, a nucleus of pupils. In the original rules, each physician was allowed:

"To take two pupils, and only two at one time, being members of an University, and to receive a satisfactory gratuity from them for their instruction in attending the Infirmary; but that no such pupil shall be permitted to prescribe in any case."

The same rule applied to the surgeons, with the variation that:

"No pupil or apprentice shall perform any operation, but shall have liberty to dress a patient under the direction of his master."

The pupils began at quite an early age; for instance, in December, 1837, the Rev. Rawlins of Bishop's Hull, near Taunton, applied for his son James, aged 15, to commence on 1st March, as an in-door pupil. In December, 1824, the general board decided that the house-surgeon and apothecary (these two appointments had evidently been separated by now) should not be allowed to take pupils on their own account. Pupils were never many, I think, at any one time, for I discovered in a list for the years 1866 to 1885, there was either only one new pupil, or even none. In 1885, there were two new ones, and in 1879, three. In 1880, there was a pupil whom some of you may remember as a practitioner in Castle Street, Dr. Du Buisson. I found these terms of payment for pupils in 1892:

"Out-door fees are

Thirty guineas for one year.

Forty guineas for two years, out of which ten guineas are paid to the House-Surgeon and five guineas to the Dispenser.

Pupils articled to the House-Surgeon were permitted to have meals at the Infirmary upon payment of

Ten guineas per annum for Lunch.
Twenty ,, ,, ,, ,, Dinner."

Special reductions were made for the sons of gentlemen, who were or who had been connected with the infirmary.

The doctors of the hospital were very jealous of their privileges. In 1832, the proposition:

"That all post-mortem examinations be considered open to such medical gentlemen as are annual subscribers to the Infirmary of two guineas or upwards."

having been moved by H. A. Beavan, was put to the vote and negatived.

It was the practice in those early days for the whole staff to be consulted before any operation was performed; there was a rule in fact that the apothecary give notice to all physicians and surgeons that a general consultation should be held, except in cases of accident.

In 1838, the number of honorary surgeons was increased to three. Although this paper inevitably contains many facts and figures, it does not reflect the pulsating tension of some of the events of those days. The election of honorary members of the staff

produced the attendance of otherwise unwonted numbers of governors, and many of the results were very close. Sometimes would-be voters were objected to on various grounds, such as too short residential qualifications in the city. Sometimes the objections were upheld, sometimes not. Of interest to our club, since he was our President in 1857, was the election as surgeon, in 1838, of Charles Lingen, M.D., F.R.C.S. He obtained 60 votes to 44 cast for Mr. Francis Braithwaite. Lingen had obtained part of his training

at Heidelberg University.

My paper so far has dealt with facts, dates and events, but its history is bound up with many intensely interesting personalities, of whom Lingen was one of the most colourful. He was a member of an old county family and was the youngest of eleven children. He had been educated at Hereford Cathedral School. He was surgeon to the infirmary from 1838 to 1860, and his photograph is in the Fellows' album of the Royal College of Surgeons. Another who resigned from the hospital staff in 1864, the same year as Lingen, was Dr. Bleek Lye. He had been a physician on the infirmary staff for 43 years, and had exercised a prominent part in the hospital's management and history. Two years later, 1866, Dr. Gilliland resigned after 28 years as hospital physician. Gilliland had been elected by 53 votes to 45 for Dr. Strong, at one of the closely contested elections which I have just mentioned. We may imagine the intense interest and feelings which such an election would arouse. A less close election was that of Mr. Thomas Cam, who had become surgeon to the hospital by 48 votes to 32 in 1840, and who was a surgeon on the staff for no less than 47 years. His election in 1840 followed the death after an accident on horse-back of his uncle, Mr. Samuel Cam. His grandfather and great-grandfather had also been on the staff, the latter resigning as early as 1792. Thomas Cam's own father was a surgeon in Bath. Thomas Cam was twice mayor of Hereford. Lingen and Cam were both Presidents of the Woolhope Club. After the Fungus Forays, Cam was in the habit of entertaining the leading mycologists in his house in St. Owen street. I will not do more than mention Mr. Henry Vevers, for thirty years surgeon to the hospital, and Thomas Turner, who occupied that position from 1864 to 1907. Apart from the medical personalities, there were others who played their part in the hospital's story, such as Capt. James Pendergrass,1 whose portrait

¹ Captain James Pendergrass [or Prendergrast] died on Saturday, 22nd February, 1851, and a record in the minute book of the hospital pays tribute to his services. A rare volume in the Pilley collection in the City Library, A Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812 to Madras and China... in the H.C.S. the Hope, Capt. James Pendergrass, 1814, has 24 coloured plates from water colour drawings by the author, James Wathen, and five other original drawings by him. Wathen was a glover in Hereford, and an amateur artist who recorded many local features which have now disappeared. He saw the fall of the west front of the cathedral in 1786, and published prints from his drawings of the appearance of the building afterwards. On the frame of Pendergrass' portrait, painted in 1848, he is described as R.N., and he is wearing the Navy General Service medal.

was presented to the infirmary in recognition of his prolonged services on the board, over which he frequently presided. (See illustration, p. 253.)

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Some fifty years or so after the founding of the infirmary, it was decided to commemorate Dr. Talbot's pioneering work. At the anniversary meeting on 20th August, 1830, the following resolution was passed:

"That a monument to the memory of the late Dr. Talbot, the founder of the Hereford Infirmary be erected in the Cathedral, under the superintendence of the Revd. William Cooke, at an expense not exceeding thirty pounds."

Shortly after this came the first big extension of the hospital. This followed a legacy of ten thousand pounds bequeathed in 1831, by Mr. John Morris of Kington. The work was not commenced till two years later. A resolution of 4th April, 1833, reads:

"That the number of beds for patients be increased to sixty."

Two new wings were added to the infirmary; this is one of the two major extensions in the nineteenth century. The work was completed by 28th August, 1834, when the building committee reported that Leonard Johnson had finished his contract and the new wards had been occupied.

The hospital was further improved, especially from an æsthetic point of view, through the instrumentality of our late well-known member, Dr. H. G. Bull. He secured in the year 1865, the piece of waste land owned by the Corporation of the city, on which waste land formerly had stood an old mill next to the Castle Green. On the newly acquired land, a lodge was erected and Dr. Bull seized the opportunity of laying out the grounds which he beautified and fully remodelled.

In 1868, one of the inspectors appointed by the Privy Council five years previously to visit the hospitals throughout the country, came to Hereford. He was Dr. Bristow, described as of St. Thomas' hospitals. Following his recommendations, a large sum of money was spent on improvements. A staircase was built at the south end; two male medical wards were thrown into one, as were also two male surgical wards. Existing abuses were done away with, and the whole of the building was effectively lighted, ventilated and drained.

As the year 1876 approached, the matter of holding a centenary celebration came under consideration by the governing body. It was fully discussed at several meetings in 1875 and 1876, the question at issue being whether the centenary should date from the opening of the temporary cottage hospital in Eign Street or from the laying of the foundation stone of the present building. The latter view prevailed and the secretary was asked to bring the matter forward again in 1881. This he did with the surprising result that it was:

"Resolved, on the proposition of Mr. Cam...that the question of celebrating the Centenary of the Hereford General Infirmary be not further entertained."

What a pity, from the point of view of the historian, for had we an historical review recorded then by such an one as Mr. Cam, how much of interest which has now been lost, in all probability would have been rendered available for posterity!

The second great building era of the century came a few years later, in the year of the Queen's Jubilee, when the Victoria Ward was added. At a board meeting of 10th November, 1887, it was:

"Unanimously resolved that Mrs. Cam be asked to kindly lay the Foundation Stone of the new Children's ward when the stone is ready for the purpose."

The opening took place on Wednesday, 23rd November, 1887, and the ward was opened as a memorial of the Queen's Jubilee year:

"Thanks to the munificence of the Hutchinson family."

A note adds:

"What this means to the dear children, and their anxious parents, we cannot tell."

A special service was conducted by the bishop and the cathedral choristers sang. A photograph of the company present was taken by Mr. Bustin, but his successors have not been able to discover the negative. It was in his speech on this occasion that Alderman Cam told, as I have already mentioned, about the original temporary hospital in Eign Street. About this time too, Mrs. Cam persuaded 18 people each to donate a fully equipped cot, and in this same year the "Bull Convalescent Fund" was established as a memorial for the doctor's 44 years' service.

With my many references to the general infirmary, some of you may be wondering when it was that the name was changed to that by which it is at present known. The date eluded me for a long time, but I eventually discovered it among the hospital records to be the year 1900. Prior to the change there was considerable discussion, and I will quote as advocates of the new and old names, two well-known Herefordians. Mr. M. Biddulph, M.P., in a speech said:

"There was another question and that was the name of the hospital. They all knew that it was the Hereford Infirmary, but that did not convey to the public outside the real importance and significance of what it really was. They might possibly think that it was a sort of adjunct to a lunatic asylum or something of that sort. They were all called Infirmaries, but it had a different meaning in this respect, and if they gave it the proper name of hospital instead of infirmary they would be only doing justice to the establishment and also enlighten the people as to what it really was. It was the principal Hospital in the County of Hereford."

On the other hand, Mr. J. R. Symonds said:

"As a townsman he would like to say that he fancied there was a feeling in favour of retaining the name with which the institution had been associated for a century and a quarter, and the present crisis hardly seemed to justify such a rupture of old associations. The word hospital had rather another significance in the City of Hereford. So many so-called hospitals were really almshouses... The name Hereford General Infirmary was very well understood, not only in Hereford, but also throughout the county."

Had I completed my paper before choosing its title, I would have called it the "History of the Hereford General Infirmary", for I do not propose to elaborate its history since 1900. To me at all events, recent history fails to capture the imagination. Suffice it to say that there was a further large extension, costing £50,000, around the year 1929, a modern operating theatre and accommodation for nurses being the main additions. Finally came Mr. Aneurin Bevan, and the hospital lost its independence, but happily I am glad to say, not that charitable use which was the aim and object of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Talbot, its founder.

EARLY POSTAL HISTORY OF HEREFORDSHIRE By Winifred Leeds, f.r.p.s.l.

We are so accustomed to have regular daily delivery of our letters to our very doors, and so sure, too, that any letters we may send will reach their destination—however far away that may be—that we are inclined to take our excellent postal services for granted. This is the more surprising in that a Government service for private letters is comparatively modern, dating only from the 17th century, whereas royal or official posts have been known for some hundreds of years before the Christian era, reaching their zenith in the highly organised postal system of the Romans. Much of their success was due to their wonderful military roads, provided at stated intervals with "stations" or "posts", where the imperial or military messengers could obtain refreshment, change of horse or needed rest.

Such, undoubtedly, would be the first experience of a postal service through what is now Herefordshire, linking to the north and south the great Roman fortresses of Chester and Caerleon. The couriers were official ones, and any private letters would have been entrusted to merchants making their leisurely way through Britain, or to soldiers going on leave.

With the departure of the Romans and the coming of the Dark Ages, this efficient organisation was lost and a thousand years were to elapse before an English king (Edward IV) ordered messengers to be provided for a Royal Post, and in the following century King Henry VIII appointed the first "Master of the King's Posts"—Sir Brian Tuke. One of his duties was to "lay" postal routes where and when needed for the king's business, but Herefordshire was too isolated to benefit much in that way.

Throughout the Middle Ages not only the king but the bishops, great ecclesiastics and nobles, all kept messengers on their staffs. The Bishop of Hereford in 1291 had three couriers. The time of one was entirely devoted to carrying despatches between the bishop and his advisers and Rome; another's work lay wholly in the diocese and when he fell ill his work was carried on by one of the

bishop's squires—Foliot—a member of the noble family which provided Herefordshire with three bishops. It is evident therefore, that the post of messenger was no servile one but one of trust and importance, not lightly obtained. Before the new messenger, Roger de Clehonger, was engaged in 1291, he had first to find two substantial sureties for his honesty and good behaviour, and to swear an oath of loyalty to the bishop.

An extract from the Household Roll (1291) of the Countess of Pembroke of Goodrich castle, shows that her messenger stood high on the list of her staff. The poor man must have been rarely at home, for much of his time was spent in carrying letters to France and to the many estates throughout England owned by members of the Valence family. On one occasion he took a present of half a salmon (valued at 3/-) which shows that Wye salmon were valued fish seven hundred years ago.

Until well into the 17th century letters continued to be carried either by one's men-servants or by friends, or, still more frequently they were sent by carriers in their lumbering stage-waggons. On cross-country journeys one carrier would pass the letter on to another. Taylor, the London "Water Poet", writing in the reign of Charles I, says: "What a man sends to Hereford may from thence be posted to St. David's in Wales", and, "The Worcester carriers can convey anything as far as Carmarthen", but in the following century the Carmarthen coach had its starting place at Hereford.

Taylor also tells us that "The carriers of Hereford doe lodge at the King's Head in the Old Change. They doe come on Fridaies and go on Saturdaies". The journey took about a week, but the charges were moderate; so too was the cost of sending a letter from England abroad to Paris or Antwerp. When Lord Scudamore of Holme Lacy was the English ambassador in Paris in the 1630's, a letter from England cost him 4d. During the Civil War, Viscount Scudamore was held under house-arrest in London, and letters and parcels reached him from his Herefordshire home via the Leominster carrier, who charged 8d. a letter. The cost of taking the 40 lb. homemade pie is not stated.

The voluminous correspondence carried on between John—later Sir John—Coke and his wife at Hall Court, Much Marcle, was brought by the Evesham, Tewkesbury or Ross carriers. It took Dobbs, the Ross carrier, from Saturday to Thursday to make the journey from London—a fortnight to bring an answer.

Sir John, as Secretary of State to Charles I, was instrumental in bringing about the first State postal service for the conveyance of *private* letters in England and Scotland. This was in 1635. Charges were based on mileage: Up to 80 miles, 2d. per letter; up to 140 miles, 4d. per letter; over 140 miles, 6d. per letter.

Certain postal roads (six in all) were to be established radiating from London, and a postmaster (usually an inn-keeper) appointed for each post town to supply the post-riders with horses. The

postmasters received a few shillings a day as a retaining fee, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile for the hire of their horses to the government messengers. They also had the privilege of hiring horses to other riders if one was at liberty, and should an extra one be wanted in an official emergency, the postmasters might commandeer one. Such an act was unpopular, for the owner could not be sure that his horse would be returned in good condition, or even at all. This would explain the entry in the State Papers, Domestic:

"Hereford, 1639. Apl. 2.

Depositions taken upon a petition of Christopher Dewe, postmaster of Hereford relative to the breaking open of the stable-door of John Rogers, who refused to show what horses were in the stable."

In 1635, there was already a well established post route from London to Dover, and Witherings, the newly appointed postmaster, was to organise five others—the last of which was to be from Oxford to the West. Unfortunately, before he could arrange this western one, he was removed from his post and Civil War broke out. It was not until the 1680's, more than 40 years later, that Hereford-

shire got a regular postal system.

The growing disorganisation of the posts during the Civil War is seen by the difficulties experienced by Lady Brilliana Harley of Brampton Brian, in sending letters to her husband in London and to her son at Oxford. Some had to be written in haste so that they could be taken on by a passing friend, others by a servant who could ill be spared from the small garrison at the castle, but the majority went by carrier from Hereford, Leominster or Ludlow—as long as these carriers could make the journey. Lady Brilliana was very anxious too, lest any of these letters should fall into Royalist hands, and she begs her son to be careful what he writes. Names were often written with a letter and asterisks—but not in full.

Old letters can be most interesting—not only for the information they give on life and events of the times, but also on the changing fashion of letter-writing. Here are some examples from letters of the Bridges family of Herefordshire in the 1640s and '50s.

Mrs. Bridges in 1640, addresses her letter:

For my very lovinge Husband Mr. Bridges These.

She starts her letter "Dear Husband" and ends "In ever loyell afection; from the bowels of a true and sincer harte, of a real loving wife, who may never prove other while shee lives that will love honor and serve you".

The daughter addresses her letter:

For my Deare Father Mr.
William Bridges these
with my sarvice
and humly. present

The sons are most respectful and their letters are addressed:

For my Much Honerd

ffather Mr. Bridges presente these.

01

For my worthy and lovinge ffather, Mr. Bridges.

Young Marshall Bridges sends this letter in 1646:

Honored Father.

My continual prayers shall be your happiness; and good success, in and upon all acations: in your proceding and undertakinges; hoping that God will give a blessing unto mee; that I may; one day be able; to ease you of some parte of your care; in the meanetime I shall crave your blessinge—humbly presentinge my everlastinge; duty unto yourself; bee seeching you to present my sirvice unto my unckel and my cossin, with my respective thankes unto my unkle for his token.

I obediently rest, Sir
Your obedient sone
to serve you.
Marshall Bridges.

All these letters are sent by carrier or by hand, which may account for the style of the address. A letter from a married sister in 1653 says it is "sent by my man with 6d. in his purse"—not an undue amount for his own and his horses' refreshment on the way!

At the Restoration (1660), a new Act of Parliament was passed concerning the running of the Post Office, and a new post master, Henry Bishop, was appointed as its head. One of his reforms was to institute a date stamp—our first postmark—to be stamped on London letters. It consisted of a small circle with the name of the month in two letters and the day in figures. New post towns were being established, but none yet in Herefordshire, and correspondence was still brought by the carriers and left at shops to be collected. Letters in 1665 to Mr. Marshall Bridges of Tiberton, near Hereford, were addressed thus: "My lovinge Brother Mr. Marshall Bridges at Mr. John Smith's, Armourer in Hereford", or "at his house in Hereford", or, "at Mr. John Smith, his shop in Hereford".

By the Post Office Act of 1677, the Bristol road, i.e., London to Bristol, with an extension via Maidenhead and Gloucester into Wales, was empowered to make a further extension from Gloucester to Hay via Hereford, but Hereford ranked merely as a stage on the route, and the county was still without a post office. The first list to include Hereford appeared in 1682. "Herreford—Postmaster, Mr. Andrews, Salary £36". Mr. Andrews was, of course, an innkeeper, but I have not yet been successful in discovering the name

or position of his inn—Hereford's first post office. There were now three weekly despatches of letters to and from London, and many were addressed "To be left at the Post Office in Hereford". There they waited to be collected, for there was no delivery. A letter of 1733 is addressed, "To be left at the Sun Tavern in Hereford". This inn had a good position on the south side of the High Town, almost opposite the Old House, and may well have become the post office by the 1730's. Towards the end of the century the post office was in Milk Lane, off Offa Street.

It was not until about the 1720's that it became usual for a post town to have a name-stamp for its letters. I have one of Hereford in 1713—an unusually early date for a small town. Throughout the century the name was usually impressed in two lines, "Here / ford" (in large or small lettering) and stamped with a wooden stamp, but by the 1790's a metal one was in use and the

name is in one line.

The postage costs (which were paid by the recipient of the letter and not the sender) were based on two factors: (1) The number of sheets of paper in the letter, and (2) the mileage covered. Two sheets—however small or thin—would have to pay double postage; three sheets, treble, and so on, whereas a single sheet the size of a small cloth would be charged single postage. As the rates of postage had advanced considerably during the 18th century the number of sheets was kept to a minimum and outer covers were rarely used.

When the town of despatch and that of receipt did not lie on the same postal road—as for example Hereford and Bath—the letter had to go up to London by one road and then down by another—in this case up by the Hereford-Worcester-London road and down on the London-Chippenham-Bath-Bristol road, thus

adding greatly to the mileage and cost.

With the establishment of Cross Posts by Ralph Allen, post-master of Bath (1712-64) mileage and costs were much reduced. These Cross Posts connected towns lying on different routes, and all the writer had to do was to add to the address "By the X post", or "Turn at ——". Thus the Hereford-Bath letter would have the words "Turn at Gloucester".

Towards the end of the 18th century, in order to help the clerks in assessing the amount of postage, the mileage number was added to the name-stamp (133 Hereford), but this did not continue very long as the length of the mile was not uniform throughout the country, and a new measurement of the roads from London was ordered. The corrected mileage stamps appeared in

1801 (Hereford 141).

From the time of the Commonwealth, some letters went free, i.e., those written or received by Members of Parliament during the time that Parliament was in session and for so many days before and after; episcopal letters; and those of certain state officials such as the Postmaster-General. Three of the P.M.G.'s

who were in office during the 17th century had been M.P.'s for Herefordshire—two for Weobley and one, Baron Foley, for Hereford.

The "free" letters had to be franked by the M.P. or bishop, in his own writing. At first, just the name was enough, e.g., "Bridges Frank", but later, in order to curb the great abuse of this privilege, the name of the franker, the town from which the letter was sent and the exact date had to be added, and after 1665 a red Free

stamp was affixed to free letters from London.

Throughout the 18th century progress was being made in the work of the post office, but not nearly enough to satisfy the public, who complained bitterly of the dilatoriness of the post boys. Efforts were made to check times taken, and punishment was threatened for loitering. A way bill of the 1790's for the post boy on the Hereford-Ledbury-Worcester road ends with:

"This mail must be conveyed at the rate of six miles in the Hour at least and the waybill truly and exactly dated at each stage. Every Deputy or Contractor will be responsible (at their Peril) for the regular Performance of their Riding Duty and if any Post Boy or Rider, carrying this mail is found loitering on that Road, he will be committed to the House of Correction and confined to Hard Labour for one month.

Return each Way Bill (by the first Post) to S. Woodcock, Surveyor, Gloucester."

Other complaints were of the number of "Missent" letters, which caused great delay in delivery, and that many letters were not delivered at all. Some of the postmasters were evidently not above suspicion of opening letters, for one 18th century writer considers that the postmaster of Hereford was not to be trusted, and warns his friend to be careful what he wrote.

It was to try and remedy these and other abuses that surveyors were appointed by the middle of the century—each to be responsible for a certain district. Herefordshire formed part of the Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Shropshire district, and the surveyor for the last quarter of the century was Samuel Woodcock, postmaster of Gloucester. His map of the postal services in his district in 1789, is most interesting and instructive, for it shows among many other

things the earliest mail coach route in Herefordshire.

Until 1784, all transport of mails had been done on foot or by riding posts or by carriers' carts. With the introduction of Palmer's first mail coach from Bristol to London a new era began in the history of our posts. In 1786 or 7 a mail coach was advertised to run from London to Hereford and on to Milford Haven, but I very much doubt if it started as early as that. It was not until the 1790's that Hereford was on a mail coach route, as shown on Cary's road map of 1792.

Woodcock's map of 1789 shows two routes. One ran for a few miles through the extreme north of Herefordshire on the Worcester to Ludlow route, but had no stopping stage in the county. The second lay in the extreme south on the Gloucester-Monmouth-South Wales route, passing through Ross, which made Ross a more important post town than Hereford, the county town. The latter was now connected by horse post with Ross on "Mail Coach Nights" but the "Bye Night" letters went by the old route via Ledbury to join the Worcester mail.

Kington, not being a post town, had to send its letters to Presteigne in Radnorshire, which was connected with Leominster and Hereford by riding post. Letters to Weobley came by foot-post from Leominster; and those to Goodrich and Whitchurch in the same way from Ross—in spite of the fact that both villages lay on

the mail coach route.

Bromyard was connected with Worcester, and Hay with Hereford by horse-post. Leominster letters also went via Worcester and no other place names are mentioned on Mr. Woodcock's map. Letters from villages would have to be taken to the nearest town to be posted.

As the century drew to its close, more villages were being incorporated into the postal network and the 1792 road map shows a new mail-cart route linking Hereford with Ludlow and Bristol,

via Usk and the New Passage over the Severn estuary.

Much more might be said about the extension of the mail coach system and the establishment of penny posts, but their growth

belongs more particularly to the following century.

What I have called the "Early History" of our Herefordshire posts is now at an end. We stand on the brink of a new era bringing advances and many changes to our postal services.

Mr. W. H. Howse has kindly sent the following additional

notes.

The Sun tavern was described as opposite the Town Hall (i.e., the old market hall), in an advertisement of the 5th November, 1792. It and the King's Head, a noted coaching inn, on the site of the present King's Head, were the principal taverns in the time

of William and Mary.

Mr. Howse has a letter from Presteigne dated 31st January, 1707, bearing on the outside, impressed by a wooden stamp, Prestin, and a circle with the letters F.G. above a line and the figure 4 below it. The latter may have been added in London. It is addressed "For Thomas Harley Esq., Member of Parliament These Present". In another hand is "In Essex Court In the Middle Temple, London".

An advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* for 14th December, 1796, gives the charges for letters as:

"Not exceeding 15 miles, 3d.; over 15—30, 4d.; over 30—60, 5d.; over 60 up to 100 miles, 6d.; over 100—150, 7d.; over 150 miles, 8d."

Letter sheets seen were usually about $7\frac{1}{2}$ or eight inches across and 12 or $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

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THE HEREFORDSHIRE AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE CANAL

By I. Cohen, m.i.mech.e.

In some respects the history of the Herefordshire and Gloucestershire canal bears many resemblances to that of the Leominster to Stourport canal (see Woolhope Transactions, vol. XXXV), as will become evident as the tale unfolds. In the British Chronicle of 29th December, 1774, appeared a letter, the main part of which read as follows: "Navigation. A Navigable Canal. From the borough of Ledbury...to join with the Severn having been for many years much wished for by people of every degree; and the practicability and great advantages which must necessarily arise therefrom to the County of Hereford in general, and the trade and commerce thereof...many who are desirous of promoting such an undertaking, and others that wish to forward the scheme would meet at the Plume of Feathers Inn, in Ledbury on Friday the 20th January next, at 11 a.m., that a subscription may be entered. Letters to Mr. Church, Attorney at Law."

In 1777, Robert Whitworth, in addition to suggesting a canal from Hereford via Leominster and Pensax to Stourport, proposed one from Hereford via Ledbury to Gloucester, but nothing practical

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In 1777, Robert Whitworth, in addition to suggesting a canal from Hereford via Leominster and Pensax to Stourport, proposed one from Hereford via Ledbury to Gloucester, but nothing practical ensued. Later, in the *British Chronicle* of 9th September, 1789, appeared a notice of application for a Bill for making a navigable cut or canal from the Pound meadow, Ledbury, through the parishes of Ledbury and Donnington, Dymock and Bromsberrow; Berrow, Eldersfield, Redmarley-Dabitot, Staunton and Pendock; Foothampton, Chaseley, Corfe and Turley, to communicate with the Severn at or near Haw in the parish of Turley. This was followed by a meeting when several plans and estimates were considered on 30th December, 1789; the total cost of a canal from Hereford to Gloucester being estimated at £72,500 and the tonnage to and from Hereford alone at 1½d. per ton per mile would give a return of seven per cent on the outlay.

Another meeting on the 18th March, 1790, decided to open a share subscription in £100 shares, to appoint Josiah Clowes¹ as engineering adviser, to apply for a Parliamentary Bill and to appoint solicitors and treasurers. In April, 1790, Clowes proposed a canal taking boats 70 ft. long by 8 ft. wide to carry 35 tons, and to draw 3 ft. 6 in. About the same time a committee reported that river navigation improvement on the Wye was impracticable and recommended a canal from Hereford to Gloucester, the probable tonnage

being made up as follows:

Imports to Hereford from Gloucester (excluding coal from Newent and cheese from Ledbury). Coal, cheese, ironmongery, Birmingham and Sheffield wares, Manchester goods, tea, London Bristol and Worcester goods, salt, pottery, hemp, glass, tiles, deals, mahogany, wines, spices, etc., 15,703 tons at 3d. per mile, £4,654 12s. 11d.

Exports from Hereford. Wool, corn, meal, cyder, timber, bark (excluding 16,000 tons of timber and bark sent down the Wye), 20 tons wool, 11,500 tons at 1d. per ton, except hops at 3d.,

£1,918 15s. 0d.

Imports and exports to and from Ledbury. Coal as from Newent, other goods as from Gloucester to Ledbury or vice versa, coal, timber, cyder, black poles, groceries, etc., 10,000 tons, £2,175.

Imports and exports to and from Newent and Gloucester. Coals, timber, corn, cyder, etc., 6,000 tons, £833 6s. 8d. The total

trade would thus amount to £9,591 14s. 7d.2

The course of the canal was to be from Hereford through Tupsley, the parishes of Hampton Bishop, Lugwardine, Weston Beggard, Yarkhill, Ashperton, Canon Frome, Munsley and Bosbury to Ledbury. It was also decided that if a good colliery could be found near Newent, the canal from Hereford to Gloucester via Ledbury, with a collateral branch to Newent, would be of great benefit. On 24th January, 1791, it was announced that additional veins of coal had been discovered at Newent, and it was decided to apply for a Bill to construct the canal. The Act was passed in April, 1791, and in June, £50,000 had been subscribed. One or

two features about the Act may be mentioned. A dividend of five per cent. was to be paid until the canal was finished. Goods passing between Hereford and Ledbury were to pay tonnage for half a mile less than the actual distance travelled (probably due to slight deviations from the proposed original route). Boats under 15 tons were only allowed to pass locks by special permission, presumably to conserve water supplies. Posts were to be erected at every half mile.

The next step was to advertise for a clerk and for contractors to make bricks in the neighbourhood of Hereford and Gloucester, in October. The line of the canal itself was to be surveyed by Whitworth and Clowes and work commenced in the summer of 1792. In the meantime calls were made on the subscribers and interest paid on the amounts already subscribed. That work was actually in progress is borne out by advertisements for making bricks and wheelbarrows near Ledbury and Canon Frome and for digging and forming the canal and towing path through parts of the parishes of Lassington and Rudford, three miles from Gloucester.

Probably some difficulties were encountered or anticipated for in January, 1793,¹ application was made to vary the line of canal from Titley's Green, near Dymock, to Barber's bridge in the parish of Rudford and that the line so varied should pass through part of the parish of Dymock, and the parishes of Oxenhall and Newent, Upleadon, Tibberton and Rudford. Also to vary the line from Shelwick's Lane in the parish of Holmer to near Sutton's Lower Field. Also for extending the canal from Widemarsh to or near Bysters gate in Hereford. The Bill containing the application was passed in the following June. From June, 1793 to July, 1796, almost the only news of the canal was a series of calls and applications for payment of calls so that work might continue, except that in early November the canal was announced open from Gloucester to Oxenhall, two barges having arrived at Gloucester laden with coal from Newent.

Another application for a Bill to alter the line of the canal to pass through the parishes of Munsley, Bosbury and Ledbury, and to amend two earlier Acts was made in September, 1796. This was followed by a meeting in December to determine means for raising further money to complete the canal, and once again to

authorize application for another Bill to raise the money.

The complete length of the canal from Gloucester to Ledbury was opened on 29th March, 1798, with the customary rejoicings. A vessel laden with several committee members and merchandize was followed by three barges laden with coal. They passed through the Oxenhall tunnel, 2,192 yards long, in 52 minutes and were met at the extremity and entertained with a cold collation at the Boyce, belonging to Mr. Moggeridge, a proprietor of recently opened coal mines at Oxenhall. On arrival at Ledbury, about nine miles

¹ See plan p. 254.

* Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.

¹ Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.

further, in about four hours they were met by a crowd of 2,000 persons, and proceeded to a dinner at the George Inn. The price of coal at Ledbury was now reduced from 24/- per ton to 13/6.

As in the case of the Leominster canal, calculations regarding water supply had been optimistic. Thirteen locks in sixteen miles require a large reserve of water and the canal was only usable for a few months in the year. Actually in the four months at the beginning of 1800, the total gross receipts amounted to only £500 and so far the canal had cost over £100,000. Meetings had been called from time to time, but practically always adjourned, one on 1st December, 1803, having been called to investigate the accounts and inspect the state of the canal itself. Eventually at a meeting in November, 1812, it appeared that the canal had been managed by a superintendent and an assistant, that there was a credit of £1,200 and that a lock-keeper had applied for some payment for his services for the last 13 years. He was given £20. The proceeds had increased from £453 in 1804 to £1,061 in 1812.

As a result of advice by Mr. Walker, a small addition was made to the water supply, the storage of the upper pound was increased and a wharf and wharf house built about a mile south of

Ledbury.

Another 15 years passed by and in spite of notices of meetings being accompanied by the threat of penalties for non-attendance, no action seems to have taken place until, at a meeting called for 27th September, 1827, it was decided to appoint a new clerk, Stephen Ballard, in place of Wm. Maysey, who was retiring. Several more fruitless attempts to furnish a quorum at meetings were made, but one called for 24th September, 1829, seems to have borne fruit. It was to discuss the best means of completing the canal to Hereford. Ballard reported that this would cost £52,959 13s. 4d. and would produce extra receipts of £4,750 3s. 4d. He suggested the adoption of deep cuttings at Walsopthorne and Aylestone Hill instead of tunnels.

However, money was short and in March, 1834, a meeting was held to consider the best way of raising it and carrying on the canal. Neither this meeting nor another in November, 1834, came to any decision, but Ballard had surveyed another line more advantageous than that marked out by the Act. However, it was objected to by Mr. E. T. Foley, through whose property it passed. There was thus no alternative but to apply for a new Act. (A map prepared by Ballard, dated May, 1835, shows a deviation commencing between Stretton Grandison and Ashperton, whereby the canal passes through Yarkhill, Weston Beggard and Longworth, joining the Wye near Rotherwas, as shown by the long dotted line on the map on p. 254.)

According to the *Hereford Journal* of 29th April, 1835, a special meeting was to be held in Ledbury on the 14th of May, to consider

applying for an Act to raise 750 shares of £100 each, making £75,000, this being £21,339 more than the estimated cost of completing the canal. Amongst other rules was one that five per cent of all profits of the completed canal was to be paid to the new shareholders before the old shareholders received any dividend. A prospectus was issued in August, 1835, in which were included some details of the expected revenues:—

HEREFORD: Imports and exports of timber, poles, etc., at 2d. per ton mile £3,138 2s. 6d; Half goods at present carried by stage wagons, at above rates £554 13s. 4d.

Places between LEDBURY AND HEREFORD: Loading as above, but including coal, 9,726 tons at 2d. per ton mile £1,945 4s. 0d.

Income of present finished part: £1,500 0s. 0d.

For the next three years there were schemes afoot for making one or more railways between Hereford and Gloucester, none of which, however, came to completion. Thus Ballard was encouraged to proceed with another survey of a canal route from Cross Keys, Withington, to the Wye at Rotherwas, possibly to avoid the cost of the Aylestone hill tunnel. His report was published in June, 1838.1 Soon after, at a meeting on 5th October, the completion of the canal to Hereford was considered, the estimated income being £8,542. James Walker submitted his report on the following lines. The Ledbury to Gloucester section was generally in good condition and improving, including the basins and wharves at Newent and Ledbury, the towing paths and fences, but there was insufficient water for locking purposes. The country between Ledbury and Hereford was favourable for canal construction. The original line of 1791 had been selected by Clowes and Hall with great care. Ballard has suggested numerous slight improvements by straightening certain portions. The Leominster Canal Proprietors have given

I propose a weir at Eign to raise the water five feet to make it level with the pound above Wye Bridge and by a lock at this weir to continue navigation to the wharves and quays at Hereford, and to the railroad at Monmouth Cap."

Ballard also suggested the desirability of connecting the Leominster Canal with the Hereford and Gloucester Canal. (Pilley Collection, Hereford City Library.)

¹ Hadfield. Herefordshire and Gloucestershire Canal Committee Minutes, 26th November, 1812.

¹ Proposal to avoid Aylestone Hill Tunnel and deviation near Cross Keys Inn, Withington. The fall from here to the Wye near Rotherwas is 31 ft. 6 in. This I have divided into four locks, the first near Cross Keys with 10 feet fall. The second in the flat lands of the Lugg valley with 5 ft. 6 in. fall, bringing the level to that of Lugg Bridge Mill pound, with which it communicates near Shelwick ford; from this the Lugg channel may be used to near Lugg Bridge, 51 chains. I propose to leave the river channel here and make a cut on the right bank, crossing the turnpike road and several river bends below Lugg Bridge, where I propose to cut the river straight. The third lock, about quarter mile below the turnpike road, brings the canal to a level extending to the Wye at Rotherwas, crossing the Ledbury to Hereford road at the bottom of Tupsley Pitch, and communicates with the Wye by a lock at Rotherwas.

every encouragement to a project for making the Lugg navigable to Leominster."

Another report by James Walker, this time in collaboration with Mr. Ballard, was issued in November, 1838, in which it was stated that the worst feature of the proposed route from Ledbury to Hereford would be a tunnel of two thirds of a mile. Owing to a depth of only 35 feet a cutting was recommended. Another tunnel through Aylestone hill of 477 yards might be shortened. Ballard had proposed leaving the Parliamentary line of 1791 at Cross Keys, near Withington, dropping into the river Lugg about five eighths of a mile above the Lugg mill, and by two locks into the Wye at Rotherwas, where by a weir and lock the water would be kept at the same level as above the Wye bridge in Hereford. This was followed by an application for a Bill to alter two earlier Acts (31 and 33 Geo. III) and also to alter certain rates.

A circular advocating the extension to Hereford was received in early 1839 by the Staffordshire and Worcester Canal Co., but they replied that they were not at present aware of the decided benefit the extension would be to them. By mid-February, only £50,000 had been raised for the Hereford extension, and, as the whole amount had to be raised before calls could be made, it was feared that delay would ensue before the application for a Bill could be pursued. However, the Act was passed in May enabling the raising of £95,000 to complete the canal, it being recommended to raise £45,000 in preference shares of £20 each, to give $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum in preference to previous £20 shares. By the end of October, 1839, all these shares had been taken up and a first call

of £2 per share was made.

Excavation began in December, 1839, Stephen Ballard acting as engineer and by April, 1840, about 500 men were employed in construction, work being confined to the first seven miles from Ledbury as water would be supplied from it not only for the new part, but for the original length of 16 miles from Ledbury to Gloucester. One difficulty was overcome in August by obtaining the permission of the Commissioners of Paving and Lighting for the canal to pass over their property at Widemarsh. A few weeks later it was expected that the canal would be navigable by the canal company's punt boats early in the next spring from Ledbury to the Moorend at Ashperton. It is interesting to note that during excavations near Bosbury there were discovered bones of an extinct type of elephant, elk and deer. Also near Stretton Grandison some Roman remains were uncovered. These last are in Hereford museum.

In October, 1840, tenders were invited for a loan of £35,000 on mortgage of the canal. A year later Ballard reported that the Ashperton tunnel was half completed, that little more than nine miles were still unfinished and that most of the land between Canon Frome and Hereford had been purchased. The canal traffic kept

close behind the constructors as soon as each section was complete. It had been arranged that the Hereford terminus was to be at the back of the Red Coat hospital gardens. The canal would probably be open as far as Canon Frome in the summer, 1842, when a constant supply of water would be available, whereas at present the Gloucester section could only be used for two thirds of the year. Actually the feeder for supplying water to the canal at Canon Frome was put into operation in mid-August, 1842, but it would be a fortnight before the whole stream would be run in.

In October of the same year, it was advertised that the company was authorised to borrow the sum of £50,000 to complete the canal and that as £18,000 had been received proposals were invited for the loan of £32,000 on mortgage debentures at the rate of five per cent. per annum. By then the extension was open to Canon Frome at a cost of £65,738 and the tunnel at Walsopthorne had been shortened to 400 yards by long approach cuttings. January 4th, 1843, practically signalled the approaching end of the river Wye as a navigation for the conveyance of foreign produce, for on that day the carriers, Bunning and Gibson, had their first load of goods to Canon Frome wharf. Matters seem to have taken a satisfactory turn, a meeting at the end of September, 1843, being informed "that the undertaking is in a very prosperous state and rapidly improving". In December the main sill of the last lock required to be built on the line above the canal was laid. Early in January, 1844, the embankment of the Croome valley and turning of the Hyde stream into the canal was completed, celebrated by a dinner and ball.

The canal was opened as far as Withington on 26th February, 1844, with a complimentary dinner to Mr. Ballard. There was a procession of five boats from Ledbury, followed later in the day by another 27 boats. By October there was a twice weekly service of boats from Birmingham via Droitwich, Worcester, Gloucester and Ledbury to Canon Frome and Crews pitch, and in December the quarter mile tunnel through Aylestone hill was in progress, a towing path being provided on one side. On May 28th, 1845, it was announced that the canal was open to Hereford, water having been admitted through the tunnel at Holmer, a basin and warehouses

being provided at Monkmoor.

Outside the Birmingham area this was the last main line canal built in Britain (the much later Manchester Ship Canal excepted), but it is significant that on 10th May, only a few days before its opening, the committee asked some of its members "to enter into such measures as might seem desirable with any railway company that might see the eligibility of treating with this company for the purchase of the canal". An offer by the Welsh Midland Railway Co. for £130,000 was accepted, the company proposing to turn the canal into a railway. However the company neither paid its deposit nor obtained its Act.

¹ Charles Hadfield, Staffs. & Worcs. Canal Committee Minutes, 30th January, 1839.

¹ Hadfield, H. & G. Minutes, 10th May, 1845. The Hereford Journal for 5th November, 1845, gives £140,000 and details of the agreement.

Early in October, 1845, the Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, South Wales and Worcester Railway Co. announced its intention of converting the canal into a railway with a branch through Ledbury to Worcester. This seems premature for on the 15th October, only a fortnight later, a Robert Smallwood advertised a boat service three times a week from Worcester Wharf, Birmingham, to Canal Wharf, Hereford. (Presumably using the full length of the canal.) Nevertheless a special meeting was held in Ledbury on 4th November, to consider an application for a Bill to authorise a company to construct a railway between Gloucester and Hereford and to transfer the canal to such company. Another meeting was called for 13th May, 1847, with the same object in view. However, the preamble of the Bill was not proved on 1st June and the Bill was lost. An advertisement by local carriers showed that Withington and Hereford wharves were in regular use in July, 1851, whilst in August, a 130 ton cargo of "T" rails, about 16 ft. long, was unloaded at a temporary wharf near the Racehorse Inn, Widemarsh, Hereford, for use on the Shrewsbury to Hereford railway.

Reliable news of the actual working of the canal is scarce, but it is reported that about the 16th March, 1853, the canal was rendered unnavigable from Shelwick to Withington owing to winter floods and the bursting of the banks near the Shelwick aqueduct. It was to be re-opened in a fortnight, being repaired by a kind of trough made at Gloucester. Another mishap was the bursting of the banks near Dymock on 8th July, 1853, owing to unprecedented rainfall, a barge being trapped in the Oxenhall

tunnel.

More direct evidence of use is shown by entries in a *Directory* of *Herefordshire* of 1858 (Edward Casset and Co., Preston).

"Hereford and Gloucester Canal Office. Widemarsh Street, Hereford. Manager, Phillip Ballard; Clerk, Henry Harbour.

Mouseley and Co. (late Crowley and Co.). Boats to all parts of the kingdom; Offices, Canal Wharf, Hereford.

Water conveyance from Ledbury.

Birmingham, Robert Smallwood (by canal), Wharf.

London and all parts (by canal, etc.).

Pickford and Co. (Joseph Holloway, agent).
Danks, Venn and Sanders (Joseph Fawke, agent).
Moursell and Co. (Banker Venick).

Mounsell and Co. (Reuben Kemish, agent)."

In an appendix to a report of a select committee on railway amalgamation, August, 1872, the following figures are given concerning the canal.

Year	Gross tonnage conveyed			Revenue				
						£.	s.	đ.
1828			6,410			640	19	8
1838			16.030			1.603	10	5
1848			43.080	• • •	2000	5.166		3
1858		•••	47.560			4.647	7	4
1868		•••	28,060			2.384	10	9

No dividends were paid in the above years.

The interest on debentures and other debts paid were:-

			£	s.	d.
1828	114		nil		
1838		***	nil		
1848			3,753		0
1858		,	3,753		0
1868			835	10	0^{1}

During the construction of the Worcester and Hereford railway a certain degree of prosperity was attained by carrying material for its building, the total amounts from tolls in 1860 being £7,061, the highest in the history of the canal, but this was only temporary for negotiations were opened with both the Great Western and the West Midland Railways, and on 17th January, 1862, an agreement was signed with both companies (later to be maintained by the G.W.R. alone), for the lease of the canal for £5,000 a year, the management to be by a joint committee until an act was obtained. The proposed Act was opposed in March, 1870, by the Severn Navigation Commissioners on the ground that it was the intention of the G.W.R. to discontinue the use of the canal and to convert it into a railway. This was denied by the G.W.R. and in June, 1870, the Act passed through the committee stage, and eventually was given the Royal assent (33 and 34 Vic. clxxxiii).

A few items are worthy of mention showing some difficulties encountered in nagivation. At Over, the Severn forms two branches. At Maisemore navigation was possible at all times, irrespective of tide. In August, 1870, the Severn Navigation Co. stopped this branch for flushing the other branch and carrying away an accumulation of mud. The boats from Hereford "must use this other branch which is only navigable at high tide", so had to wait for many

days.

In mid-October, 1870, owing to drought there was very little water in the "ten mile pound" between Withington and Ledbury: only very light loads could be carried. In December of the same year there were complaints of weed growth owing to neglect by the G.W.R. In early January, 1871, the canal was frozen over so thickly that ice boats could not be used for two weeks, after which ice boats with six horses were used to re-open it. On 30th January of the same year, a horse, one of two drawing a barge laden with coal was drowned near Canon Frome. A few weeks later on 17th March, two donkeys attached to one of Danks and Sanders fly boats fell into the canal tunnel under Aylestone hill, Hereford.

The Act of 1870 having been passed, the preference shares of the canal company rose in value from the original £20 to £30, a dividend of 7½ per cent. being paid in 1871 on the preference shares. This dividend was repeated in 1872. But in July, 1873, the committee considering the Ross and Ledbury Railway Bill were unanimously of the opinion that the canal was useless. The aim of

¹ Extract from Appendix "X" to Report of Select Committee on Railway Companies Amalgamation, 2nd August, 1872.

part of the bill was to utilise parts of the canal when making the railway. In this connection a few figures may be useful.1

Authorized Share Capital, £150,000. Share Capital now remaining, £148,830.

Debenfures and other debts authorized to be created by Acts, £50,000.

Debentures and debts now owing, £34,580.

The 1873 Act was probably the result of an inspired petition to the G.W.R. to the effect that the canal should be converted into a railway and thus open a new communication between Ledbury, Gloucester and Ross. Powers were to be granted to divert or stop up canals, etc., between Ledbury and Gloucester, amongst other named places, also to enable the railway company to purchase the Hereford and Gloucester canal and convert it if necessary into a railway.

In November, 1874, the G.W.R. had second thoughts about the payment of rent for use of the canal, for it advertised its intention of applying for a Bill (amongst other items), to "authorise the company to create and issue rent-charge, guaranteed, or preference stock of the company for or in lieu of or in exchange for the canal rent-charge now paid to the Herefordshire and Gloucestershire

Canal Company ".

That the canal was approaching the end of its useful life is shown in a discussion in March, 1877, regarding the use of Barrs Court as a common railway station, in place of the two then in existence. "As to the canal wharves at Barrs Court becoming useless, that is a mistaken point to urge, as they will be as useful as heretofore, Barrs Court being intended to be the future goods station for Hereford. The passenger traffic by the canal has never, we believe, been sufficient to have had any probable influence on the directors' decision in the matter."2

Little remains to be said about the final stages of the canal. In the early April, 1881, it was announced that the contract had been let for making the railway from Ledbury to Dymock, though work had not as yet actually commenced. The canal was to be drained and utilised except where the bends rendered it impracticable. This was followed by a notice from the G.W.R. to close the canal between Ledbury and the Severn on and after 30th June. All persons were required to remove barges, boats and other craft by that date. However, the contractors made use of the canal to convey materials for nearly nine months later when constructing the railway.

A later Act of 1882 permitted the G.W.R. to sell other parts of the canal and adjoining land, three lengths in Sutton, Withington and Westhide being sold to Henry Higgins of Thinghill for £50. A portion at Sutton was conveyed to Joseph Tovey, of Shelwick, in March, 1891.

The railway between Ledbury and Over Junction, Gloucester, was opened to traffic on 27th July, 1885, but a point worth mentioning is that the £5,000 per annum was paid by the G.W.R. to the shareholders of the canal right up to the time of railway nationalisation at the end of 1947. After then the property was vested in the British Transport Commission under section 12 of the Transport Act. 1947, and the Company was directed by section 24 of the Act to wind itself up forthwith.

WHAT REMAINS OF THE CANAL?

Owing to the numerous changes along the course of the canal since abandonment it is not too easy to follow it throughout its total length. Starting in Hereford along Canal street one is tempted to conclude that a pool of water on the right and a longish stretch of water on the left must be parts of the canal. This is not so as the pool is a mill pond and the canal-like stretch is the Tan Brook, parallel with which is the Widemarsh brook, the latter at one time having a sluice connection with the actual canal. A map of 1859 (now on the wall of Hereford Town Hall) shows the presence of three discharging wharves just west of the present Barrs Court railway station; a later map of 1886, however, shows the easternmost dock filled in. Since then all traces of the wharves have vanished, but a depression alongside the private road beside the railway shows the track of the canal, not only where it passes under a road bridge, but also parallel to Burcott road beside a saw mill.¹ Here it turns to the right and has been filled in and built over by a constructional steel works. The approach to the Aylestone hill tunnel has been fenced off and can only be approached by special permission. The tunnel still exists and, being straight, daylight can be seen at the opposite end, which again is now fenced off at the entrance to a tile works.

Some water still remains in a deep cutting passing under the Roman road whereafter the canal disappears until after the Shelwick railway bridge. An embankment then shows the canal course until where it crossed the river Lugg, but only fragmentary portions of the aqueduct piers remain, the aqueduct having been removed to lessen the risk of flooding of the Lugg. A straight length of a mile brings it under a now demolished bridge by the Bridge Inn at Sutton Marsh and thence in rapid succession under two more roads, the last being the main Hereford-Bromyard road at Withington Marsh, a short distance north of Cross Keys. Here are several relics of the canal, which itself contains some water in wet weather. Beside an adjacent smithy is an orchard, on the site of the filled in basin. Near the road is the old weighing house, the weighing machine itself being still in use at Thinghill Court (half a mile away). A cottage bears on each end wall the words "William Bird, Wharfinger" and about 100 yards from the road is another cottage, on

¹ Extract from Appendix "X" to Report of Select Committee on Railway Companies Amalgamation, 2nd August, 1872. ² Hereford Journal, 31st March, 1877.

¹ At the time of reading this paper this latter portion is being filled in-See also plan on p. 255.

the end wall of which is painted the word "SALT". Both these cottages are on the bank of the canal. About half a mile north of Withington church is a bridge bearing the date 1843 on the parapet, and immediately adjacent are traces of a lock, now filled in, after which the canal disappears until between Westhide and Ocle Pychard where a bridge has been replaced by a culvert. Here, at the Kymin, were locks, a wharf and warehouse, all of which have disappeared except faint traces of the lock, Mr. Chapman, the present tenant of Wharf House (formerly Canal House) having removed many thousands of bricks when demolishing the wharf. His wife's mother used to mention a steamer that passed along the canal, probably about the late 1870's.

On the east side of the Kymin the much overgrown track of the canal can be followed until it crosses under the Hereford-Worcester road about 71 miles from Hereford. Near Monkhide there are two bridges over the canal, one of which gives a picturesque view of a straight portion still filled with water as far as Monksbury Court. For the next mile or so filling in is almost complete until. after crossing the Yarkhill-Stretton Grandison road, it reappears on an embankment converging on the Stretton Grandison-Trumpet road, at the Wharf House, opposite the road to Canon Frome. Here are several relics. The original hump backed main road bridge has been replaced by a flatter one, near which is a small warehouse bearing the word "SALT" on the end facing the road. The original wharf has been demolished, providing paving material for local road improvements and much local ground has been filled in, raising its level to the first floor of a former warehouse, the upper part of which has been replaced by a wooden shed. Adjoining this is the bottom floor portion of another stone warehouse, strongly buttressed to withstand the thrust of the canal, which here is on the embankment mentioned above. The arched doorways of both warehouses still exist and near them are scanty remains of stables. On the opposite, or north eastern bank, is a partly buried milestone (24 miles), and a few yards away is a partly hidden sluice gate, permitting the draining of the canal.

Near the gates forming the entrance to what is now the Canon Frome Herefordshire Secondary School the canal, now overgrown, passes beneath a bridge. Close by is a subterranean culvert leading from the river Frome via a former monastic mill pond near the school buildings. At one time the water was controlled by two men at a sluice gate, a second sluice gate returning surplus water to the Frome. From this vicinity several lots of timber were floated down the canal without the use of barges. Mr. Hopkins of the Wharf House, Canon Frome, tells me that about 1880, a Primrose League party arrived there by boat from Ledbury on a pleasure outing.

After a level, weed covered stretch from the school gates, the canal enters a deep cutting near Walsopthorne, then dives into a tunnel, the line of which is shown by a corresponding interrupted

embankment formed by the excavated material. The other end of the tunnel emerges by an old canal cottage; then the canal continues in a deep tree-bordered cutting to a road bridge at Moorend farm and after a bend turns north-eastward to near Upleadon Court, and again eastwards to the Ledbury-Bromyard road near Staplow.

This is close to the third milestone on the Ledbury to Bromvard road, where the line of the canal is shown by a row of trees on the west side and a deep cutting on the east. A right and left bend brings the canal course near to Priors Court, where it reappears after crossing under the road, the bridge having disappeared. The canal continues southwards, though much overgrown, to and under a bridge on the lane from the Bromyard road to Uplands. Later there are indications where it crosses for a second time the main Ledbury to Bromyard road near the first milestone from Ledbury. again continuing south to pass under the railway and road from Ledbury to Hereford. Thereafter it practically coincides with the railway slightly to the west of Ledbury so that little trace is visible. However, at the first milestone on the Ledbury to Ross road a much overgrown part of the canal may be seen from the railway bridge together with the remains of a wharf and warehouses. In a little over two miles southwards, though the railway is laid on the track of the canal, there are still remains of a slight embankment which originally formed the canal banks. This is at Greenway halt, whence the track curves somewhat, and at Tillers Green canal and railway separate, the former having been built on an embankment crossing the road (Trumpet to Dymock) about a mile north-west of Dymock, but again meeting the railway near Dymock station. Canal and rail tracks again separate until Oxenhall is reached, but in between there is the Oxenhall tunnel, the south end of which can be approached from Holder's farm by a private footpath.

About a quarter mile beyond Holder's farm there is a secondary road which in about a hundred yards crosses the canal course. Here there is a sign leading to "Lock Cottage" which latter stands by the side of a series of four locks, remains of which are still evident.

At The Furnace, near Newent, rail and canal again coincide, though slight deviations can be seen from a by-road a mile east of Newent. Similar conditions prevail for the next three miles, though near Barbers bridge there is a distinct deviation, after which coincidence begins again until quite close to the hospital at Over, near Gloucester, where there appear to be no remains of the means of access from the western branch of the Severn. From the road to Maisemore, however, can be seen where the canal passed beneath, the original bridge having been strengthened considerably after the canal was abandoned. Though partly levelled off for a short distance the canal course may be seen again curving alongside a slight hill, crossing under the main road between the two Gloucester river bridges, curving again and disappearing in the vicinity of the comparatively recent power station.

¹ Known nowadays as Ashperton Tunnel.

THE DE BRAOSE FAMILY AND THE SEES OF HEREFORD AND LLANDAFF

By the Rev. L. C. Perfect, M.A.(OXON.)

Of the two Marcher families who were prominent in the Middle March during the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, the one, the Mortimers of Wigmore steadily advanced from the position of tenant-baron to the steps of the throne of England, the other, their kinsmen by marriage—the De Braose family of Brecknock and Builth—appeared for a period on the local and national mise en scène and then disappeared into the limbo of forgotten things

and peoples.

Both these families originated in Normandy—the former at Morte-mer en Brai, the latter at Briouze. The De Braose family appear in Sussex first, and then on the Welsh borderland and towards the end of the eleventh century. It is only, however, in connection with their church relationships in the Marches area that this paper is now concerned, and in particular with the sees of Llandaff and Hereford, for which bishoprics this family provided Giles as bishop of Hereford (1200–1215 A.D.) and William as bishop of Llandaff (1262–1287 A.D.) together with Hugh de Braose as dean of Hereford and Robert de Braose as archdeacon of Llandaff.

Giles was the second son of the famous (or infamous) William De Braose, Lord of Builth, the boon companion of King John. William's advancement of the fortunes of his house had begun with Richard Coeur de Lion, and then rapidly increased as soon as prince John ascended to the throne. He received many grants of land in England, Wales, Ireland and Brittany and when bishop William de Vere of Hereford died 14th December, 1198, Giles was appointed as the new bishop. This was in spite of the nominee of the cathedral chapter, their fellow canon, Walter Map.

Certain of the Hereford chapter crossed the seas to Normandy to press the claims of Map upon the king but, unfortunately for Map's hopes, the fact that he was also a canon of Lincoln, raised against him king Richard's prejudice, since the Lincoln chapter had resisted his request for subsidy towards the cost of his French war.

The king set aside Map's nomination, but he later became archdeacon of Oxford and was put forward as an alternative to

Gerald the Welshman, as bishop of St. Davids.

The news of De Vere's death reached the king at Chaluz, and with him, at the time, was Wiliam De Braose. Before the Hereford canons could get through—they were still at Angers on 26th March—the king, as one of the last acts before he died on 6th April, 1199, appointed Giles.

Details of the career of Giles prior to his nomination to the episcopate are not known. By whom, and where, he was ordained acolyte, deacon and priest, and his position at the king's court

before his elevation, are unrecorded. Nor have I discovered the reason for his appointment. Was it connected with the disputed claim to Archenfield between Llandaff and Hereford dioceses? This dispute went back to the decision of Edgar in 959-60 in favour of Morgan Hen, ruler of Morgannuc, and it occupied much of the episcopate of bishop Urban of Llandaff (1107-1133); or, was the background to the appointment the retention by bishop Richard of Hereford of Ergin, Istratin, Cynbir, Ceteymeli and Cantref Bychan, covering part of the De Braose Lordship, which places, the Pope had ordered to be returned to Llandaff, in fulfilment of the decision of the Council of Rheims in October, 1119?

Whatever the reason behind the royal choice, Facti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. I, records the consecration of Giles on the 24th September, 1200, in the chapel of St. Catherine at Westminster. He was consecrated at the same time as John of Norwich.

At Hereford, a prebendary of the cathedral was his relative. Hugh De Braose; and it was no doubt at Hugh's suggestion that to appease the chapter, Giles confirmed immediately the rights of the canons to their several possessions.1 In this same year also, Giles confirmed the grant of lands in the manor of Prestbury, made by previous bishops, to the Portarius, William. The witnesses to this were dean Henry, Hugh De Braose, Masters Philip, Hugo De Mara, Albino, Serlo, Robert De Furches, William le Buteiller and the chaplain of Kilpec, William, etc. In 1200, also, the bishop, together with Walter de Baskerville, Richard De Signes and the Viscount of Hereford, witnessed the sale of land at Breinton to the Chapter, by Richard Dirun, for 100/- together with three bezants for his wife. He, and the dean, had previously witnessed the sale to the chapter by Roger fitzMaurice of his interest in land at Breinton. On 22nd November, 1200 A.D., Giles was present when the king of Scotland paid homage to king John.

To the Hereford Chapter, bishop Giles himself, granted tenths of the proceeds from his mills, in return for their promise to distribute annually, on the anniversary of his consecration, bread, "among Christ's poor," from seven bushels of corn provided out of the canons' own granary "for the souls of the bishop and of his parents, and all faithful departed". Among the witnesses to this grant is Philip Map, a relative of Walter. The bishop's grant, given in full in Hereford Cathedral Registers, page 4, under date, approx-

imately 1200, is as follows:

By the mercy of God, we preside over the church committed to us, in order that among other works of charity which by virtue of our office, to which we are especially called, we may enrich the beauty of God's house by providing lamps and other things needful for its adornment. In order therefore, that the Lord may be the more worthily served in our church of Hereford—in addition to the lamps which by the benefactions of others have been, or shall be placed there—and that provision be made for three perpetual lights, we have given and assigned to our beloved sons in Christ, the Dean

¹ See Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral, transcribed and edited by W. W. Capes, 1908, pp. 39-40. Cathedral Archive No. 1384.

and Chapter, the tenths of all our mills, which have been or shall be constructed by us, or our predecessors or successors, whether they be derived from money or the fruits of the earth—although they were not aforetime granted therefrom—and it were better to give them to our cathedral church than to any other.

Like Agag, bishop Giles trod warily in his dealings with his Chapter, knowing that he was suspect as a crown nominee. By diplomatic treatment, however, he won them over, when their fear that their rights and privileges might be diminished, proved groundless. Then the bishop confirmed his predecessors—bishops Robert Foliot and William De Vere—appropriation of the church of Upton Bishop to the Chapter, and instituted their nominee Walter¹ to the vicarage thereat. He also confirmed bishop De Vere's grant to the Chapter, of Madley church, together with the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene by the palace, for the augmentation of their Common Fund. Further, he continued De Vere's beautifying of the cathedral—he had built the retro choir and Lady chapel—by setting in motion the building of the central tower.

King John continued to favour both father and son. To William the father, he granted in 1203, the whole of Gower in South Wales, whilst to bishop Giles, in addition to consenting to the acquisition to the See of certain districts belonging to the Honour of Montgomery (granted to the bishop by the son of Robert De Bollers), the king granted a royal charter of liberties to his cathedral. It is dated 21st June, 1203. The following is an English translation:

Know ye, that of my regard for God and for my safety and that of all my predecessors and successors, I have given, and by this charter confirm, to God and the Church of SS Mary and Ethelbert at Hereford, and to Bishop Giles and his successors, that they hold and have all their lands, possessions and tenements, for ever, in soc and sac, and toll and team, and infangenetheof and atfangenetheof, in wood and on ground, in fields and pastures, waters and millponds, fishponds and fisheries, roads and paths, and that the (bishop's) men of the said tenements, be free and quit of geld and danegeld, hydegeld and plough service, and from shires and hundreds (courts) and suits of courts, tallages, villenages, aids, escheats and all other services, etc.*

"And after my decease, I will and appoint, that all the brethren of the said Hospital, shall assemble, and after prayers . . . elect one of their number without acceptance of persons, as their warden, etc. . . Let the masters and brethren only admit and shave (?tonsure) brethren and others into their (con)fraternity, receive the poor and infirm, and do and dispose all other

¹ When instituting Walter to Upton Bishop vicarage, bishop Giles determined the income he was to receive. He granted to Walter all the tenths and obvenciones and all other ecclesiastical rights with the exception of the decimis garbarum and he further ordered Walter to pay to the Hereford chapter annually, 20 solidos, half to be paid at the feast of St. Peter and Paul and half at Michaelmas.

² Soc signifies lordship; sac, the privilege of holding a court; toll and team also imply lordship; infangenetheof is the right of jurisdiction over thieves captured on a man's land; atfangenetheof is the right of jurisdiction over thieves caught outside the manor; danegeld and hydegeld are taxes on each hide of land; shires-payment for exemption from attending a shire court.

These terms cover the full jurisdiction of the lord of the manor over his tenants and feudatories, and over trespassers on or against his person or property.

things, the same as other religious, as shall seem good for their hospital and themselves¹... And inasmuch as I wish all these matters to remain ratified and confirmed for ever, I have affixed my seal, to that of the Hospital, in the presence of Sir Walter de Lacy,² Sir John of Monmouth, Payne of Ludford, Payne of Carbonell, Philip Colevill, Wimund of Ludlow and many others."³

These lands were seized in the king's name c. 1224, as being part of the original honour of Montgomery. Hugh Foliot appealed against this action and succeeded in getting them returned to his see. In 1261-4, they were again seized, on the same grounds, by the Constable of Montgomery.

King John's charter to his see, marked the height of the bishop's popularity with his sovereign. Although in touch with events in the world at large—the French war and the subsequent loss of Normandy in 1204—the bishop does not seem ever to have been a "career-bishop" concerned only with his own ambitions and rights, as was his notorious successor in the see, Peter De Rievaulx.

Hugh De Braose, the precentor, succeeded Henry as dean, c. 1201, and together, bishop and dean co-operated in the furthering of the welfare of the diocese. The introduction (p. xvii) to bishop Cantilupe's Register, points out that the records shed no light on dean Hugh's political sympathies and affiliations, or on the later tragic fortunes of the De Braose house in the latter part of the reign; namely the exile of William; the tragic death by starvation of Giles' mother-Maud De St. Valery-" mulier mulierum perpaucarum", of Giraldus, and of William Gam (Squinting Will) his elder brother in Corfe castle; and of Giles' own exile in France for five years. With regard to this, the fact that the bishop was absent, is only revealed by his signature not being appended to the deed. when the abbot and convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, conferred Foy church on Berard de Pinkinni. He was to hold it, as had William De Kilpec, the Precentor of Hereford before him. The abbey reserved the portion due to the church of Ewyas.

The bishop's relations with his neighbouring Welsh bishops were amicable. Not again do we hear the querulous complaint of the bishop of Llandaff that the officials of the bishop of Hereford rob his diocese of clergy and tithes. (Cf. letter in the *Liber Landavensis*, 26th December, 1115 (or 1119), written by Pope Caliztus II from Soissons to Archbishop Ralph d'Escures of Canterbury, quoting bishop Urban's letter to him. There are 48 such letters of complaint extant, though not all concern Hereford. Some are connected with the encroachments of the see of St. Davids.)

¹ Extracts from the Cathedral Registers: translated by E. N. Dew, pp. 4 and 5.

² Walter De Lacy, who founded Craswell priory, married bishop Giles' sister Margery. She founded Aconbury priory.

⁸ See Charters and Records, p. 43. The witnesses were: Hugh De Mapenore, the then dean of Hereford; Henry De St. Valery, a relative of the bishop through his mother and on his household staff; and Canon William de Bergavenny, and others.

Nor do we find bishop Giles intervening in the disputed election in the see of St. Davids, which followed the death of Peter de Leia in June, 1198, a dispute which lasted until 1203. And this, despite the fact that other Marcher lords, e.g., the Mortimers, gave active support to the candidature of Abbot Adam of Dore as against the St. David's chapter's own nominee, Gerald De Barri, archdeacon of Brecon. This may have been due, however, to the fact that Gerald was also a prebendary of Hereford cathedral. Although the bishop, supported by the Chapter, went so far as to deprive Gerald of his prebend (cf. Gerald's letter of complaint of 9th October, 1202, to bishop Eustace of Ely), it does not seem as though he incurred the fiery archdeacon's enmity and his name does not appear in Giraldus' "rogues' gallery" in his celebrated passage in De Iure, vol. 3, p. 346, dated 1204-5. The passage in question for sustained invective and vituperation of phraseology, anticipates the waspish dean Swift. Commenting on the rewarding of the four "archpirates of the church of St. Davids, upon whom the archbishop of Canterbury had relied in his cause against Master Gerald De Barri, by their bishop, i.e., bishop Geoffrey of St. Davids, he writes:

On the unworthy and immature son of Martin (i.e., Nicholas), he conferred a canonry not collated canonically, but by agreement. To faithless Foliot, he granted the church of Landestephan (Llanstephan); to the Goitre of Keirmerthin (Carmarthen) (i.e., Osbert), the episcopal privy, the manor of Landewi in Goer (Gower), collated to him and his successors for ever; and confirmed to the potbellied monster of Landu (i.e., John), against the hope of all as he was most unworthy in all things, the prebend of St. Davids. Afterwards, to the more violent wonder and stupor of all, he raised him to the dignity of Archlevite. Cf. Welsh Episcopal Acts (p. 333).

The detailed management of his episcopal estates was bishop Giles' primary concern, as for example, it is by him, and not by his bailiff or steward, that lands and brushwood are granted to Walter De Gosebrook, the warden of his wood at Ross (p. 231). To this grant was added one virgate of land with pertinencies at Arleton in this same manor.

The bishop was a zealous defender of the rights of holy church against the encroachments of the civil authority. When John came into conflict with the papacy, Giles, as a loyal son, supported Innocent III against his king. Nevertheless, he permitted no ecclesiastical encroachments on his rights either, and stood firm against his archbishop's attempt to intervene in his see.

In 1205, he signed the petition, sent to the Pope, that the suffragan bishops of Canterbury should be joined with the monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in any future election of an archbishop. And when archbishop Hubert died in 1205, he supported

the request sent to Rome immediately, that the Canterbury monks should not be allowed to act alone to the prejudice of the suffragans. Fellow-signees of this petition or request were William the bishop of London; Gilbert of Rochester; Henry of Exeter; and the bishops of Salisbury, Llandaff, Ely, Coventry, Worcester, Norwich, Lincoln, St. Davids and Chichester. (Note.—Prior Geoffrey De Henlaw of Llantoni had been consecrated as bishop of St. David's on 7th December, 1203.)

But, whilst his father and mother were still being accepted at the king's court, bishop Giles remained loyal to John. He appended his seal to the letter which the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester and Ely (plus the bishop-designate of Bath) had written to the Pope, imploring the papacy to safeguard and preserve the dignity of the king and realm.

Together with the bishop of London and the Welsh bishops, Robert of Bangor, Henry of Llandaff, and Geoffrey of St. David's, he signed the certificate to the Pope referring to the canonical election of Master Jocelin, canon of Wells to the vacant bishopric of Bath. Bishop Savaric had died that year (1206).

The dean and chapter of Wells had combined with the prior and convent of Bath in nominating Jocelin as their new bishop and this letter is in support of his candidature.

Dean Hugh De Braose and the bishop together witnessed with the bishops of Llandaff and St. David's and archdeacon Gerald De Barri of Brecon, archdeacon Osbert of Carmarthen, dean Richard of Brecon, etc., the grant and confirmation by the parents of Giles in 1207–8, to the church of St. John, Brecon, in free and perpetual alms, of the churches of Hay, St. Egion, Talgarth and Mara, together with their chapels, tithes, woods and villeins "for the remission of their sins and for their souls' sake and that of their successors".

Then in March, 1208, the threatened storm broke.

On Passion Sunday (23rd March) the Pope placed England under an interdict. The petition from the bishops had been unavailing. The interdict was complete, "praeter baptisma parvulorum et poenitentias morientium". The Annals of Margam (p. 29) name the executors of the interdict as William, bishop of London, Eustace of Ely, Mauger of Worcester and adds "exulavit etiam Egidius Herefordensis episcopus".

There had been no escape for Giles. The die was cast and loyalty to his church took precedence over loyalty to his king.

John, ever since the thwarting of his scheme for the invasion of France in support of his adherents in Poitou and Guienne in 1205 by the earl Marshal and archbishop of Canterbury, had sought to circumvent both baronage and clergy. The death of Hubert Walter shortly afterwards, had relieved the ecclesiastical opposition, as John had hoped, and it had enabled him to replace the archbishop with his own nominee, John De Grey, bishop of Norwich.

¹ In his presence at Hereford, on 11th May, 1204, agreement was reached between the bishop of Llandaff and the abbot and convent of Gloucester concerning "the manifold disturbances in the church of Newport". He presided, under the authority of papal letters and attests his seal to the agreement. (Hist and Cart. Mon. Glouc., vol. ii, D. XIX and XX, pp. 57-8.)

Through pressure on the monks of Canterbury, he had forced them to disown their own choice, their sub-prior Reginald, and he had further succeeded in getting the bishops, including Giles, to support his nominee in a letter to the Pope.

Both candidates for the archbishopric hastened to Rome, but there, Innocent III, resolving to free the Church in England from the royal tyranny, squashed both elections, and commanded the representatives of the St. Augustine's monks, who had accompanied the contestants to Rome to elect in his presence, Stephen Langton, an Englishman famous already for his learning and holiness of life.

King John replied to the threat of papal Interdict with a defiance. He let it be known that if the Pope's threat of interdict. if Langton was not allowed to take up his position in England, was carried out, he would at once banish all clergy from his kingdom and would mutilate every Italian he could lay his hands on. However, when the Interdict actually fell, the king found that he could not carry out his threats. All worship at once automatically ceased. together with all administration of the sacraments-with the exceptions already referred to. The dead lay unburied and the people began soon to murmur against the Crown.

John replied by seizing all the lands of the clergy who obeyed the Interdict, and subjected all he could, despite their privilege, to the judgment of his secular courts. The bishops, charged with the execution of the Interdict had to flee for their lives, and Giles, compromised twice over, through his father's opposition to the king, was one of the first to leave. He joined the archbishopdesignate at the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny "where pious exercises and literary works occupied his (the archbishop's) leisure time".1 In the following year, they were joined by the bishopdesignate of Lincoln (i.e., Hugh of Wells), bishop Jocelin of Bath (Hugh's brother), the former had escaped from England by pretending that he was going to Normandy but instead he went on to France and was consecrated by Langton at Melun on 20th December, 1209, and by the four other bishops mentioned in the Interdict.

Giles was present at the consecration of the bishop of Lincoln at Melun. It is probable that the seven exiled bishops occupied themselves during their exile in lecturing or attending lectures in the schools at Paris, retiring occasionally to Pontigny for rest and meditation from the hurly burly of life in that city known at that time as "the town of letters" or "Cariathsepher".

If Langton accompanied them himself is uncertain, for some authorities credit him with the foundation at Paris of the college of Bernardines, but the author of the article on him in the Histoire Litteraire de la France rejects this. He believes it to be a confusion with Etienne de Lexington, abbot of Savigny in 1229, and of Clairvaux in 1242, who died in 1257 (cf. tome 18, p. 55).

It would, however, have been a very natural thing for the other bishops to renew what for some was a former knowledge of the Parisian schools. Many Englishmen had migrated to Paris during the previous 100 years, and indeed a college had been established there to accommodate them. This was set up either by clerics accompanying Thomas a Becket or by others escaping the taxation of Richard I. To this college, no doubt, came the expelled prior Geoffrey of Canterbury and his monks.

The bishops, if not lecturing there, certainly would have found welcome in the schools at Chinon sur Vienne, founded by archbishop Hugh d'Etampes in 1142, or the school at Guelders founded

by the Devonshire-born Joseph d'Isca in c. 1180.

For bishop Giles, however, the natural refuge would be Paris, to which his father later fled and where he was buried by archbishop Langton in the abbey church of St. Victor in 1211. Two of Giles' predecessors in the see of Hereford had been lecturers in Paris, one, Robert de Melun, a former professor of dialectic there, and the other Gilbert Foliot, who had been both student and lecturer at Paris at the same time as John of Salisbury. The schools taught the seven liberal arts.

In 1210, the Pope proceeded to the further sentence of excommunication against John. The king was now formally placed outside the pale of the church. But the new sentence was defied like the old, and an archdeacon of Norwich, who withdrew from the king's service was crushed to death under a cope of lead. This drastic measure affrighted others who might have followed his

example.

Only one weapon now remained in the Pope's hands. An excommunicate king had ceased to be a Christian. His subjects could be released from obedience to him and the Pope, as spiritual head of Christendom, claimed the right to remove him from the throne. And it was this right that the Pope asserted, when he proclaimed a crusade against the king of England, and ordered the king of France, Philip Augustus, to execute the deposition.

This was the reply of the Pope to the petition of the exiled bishops in 1211, urging him to redress the evils that affected England

and her church.

The bull of deposition was read before John by the papal representative Pandulf, at Northampton. John insolently rejected it and gathered together a large army on Barham Down. He further sent the English fleet to Normandy which succeeded in capturing some of the French king's ships and burning Dieppe. His triumph was short-lived. The baronage of England, roused to fury by the outrages heaped upon them, the illegal seizure of their castles,

¹ Cf. Chronica Henriquez Phoenix reviviscens. Seu Scriptures Ord. Cisterciesnis. Anglia et Hibernie, pub Bruxelles 1626, vol. 4, p. 114.

Annales Cisterciensis, auctore Angelo Manrique, Lugduni Anisson, 1642-53. in four volumes.

Annal Cistercien Manrique ann 1207, cii n 1-6, pages 302, 303, 304. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tome 18, p. 55, re. archbishop Langton.

¹ Both Thomas a Becket and Giraldus attended the Paris schools and later became lecturers there.

foreign mercenaries exalted to high places in the state, the seizure of their sons as hostages, and the ravaging of their wives and daughters, formed secret conspiracies against their king, and promised aid to Philip Augustus if he would but cross over. The Pope too, enlisted the help of the king of the Scots and of prince Llewelyn of Wales. King Philip Augustus' own doctor, Jean De Saint-Gilles, was an Englishman.

With many proofs of a general disaffection throughout the kingdom, the legate summoned John to submit and he, anxious to secure the success of the combination he had laboriously built up against Philip on the Continent, and knowing that the Poitevin baronage and the count of Flanders could not openly support an excommunicate king, even if his nephew Otho, claimant to the Empire could have acted on his behalf, resolved on a diplomatic submission. He cynically promised, as the price of absolution, to receive Langton, to compensate the clergy for their losses, and to restore the exiled bishops to their sees.¹

In a letter which Innocent addressed to John in 1213, reference is made to the exiled bishops. Chaney and Semple quote this letter in full, from Migne's Patrologia Latina and give a translation. It charges the king to swear, by the oaths of four of his barons, earl William of Salisbury, earl William De Warenne, earl William Marshal of Pembroke and Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, that he will grant a "genuine peace" to the bishops "and to our beloved sons, the prior and monks of Canterbury, and to Robert fitzWalter and Eustace De Vesci (outlawed in 1212) and to all others, clerical and lay, concerned in this business". The Pope continued with a solemn warning to John, that if further disobedience was encountered from him, he would be deprived for ever of the custody of vacant churches in his kingdom, and the Interdict would remain in force until he (John) was dead. In addition, he was ordered to make a substantial financial compensation to the archbishop and bishops for the indignities they had suffered. They were to be given back all their temporalities, at the same time as they recovered their spiritualities. The compensation that Giles received was £750.

Realising that, at long last, the Pope was the victor in the diplomatic struggle, John gave way, and on 13th May, he submitted. The archbishop, Stephen Langton, and the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln and Bath, crossed over to England, landing at Dover on the 16th July. They journeyed to Winchester where the king met them and prostrated himself before them and solicited their pardon. Langton, now cardinal-archbishop raised him up and in Winchester cathedral on the 20th July, the kiss of peace was given, after John had sworn to preserve the liberties of the church, to establish good laws and to administer justice impartially, under the guidance of Mother Church. Absolution was then given.

The final act of submission was made in St. Paul's cathedral, London, on 3rd October, before the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, the bishops, including Giles, and the chief barons of the realm. At this ceremony, the king surrendered his kingdom to the Pope and did formal homage to his representative, the legate.

As the result of this, Giles regained all his spiritualities and returned to his see. But, despite his oath, the king continued to withhold from him the temporalities and with the connivance of the papal legate, the king paid only two instalments of the indemnity he had promised to the exiled bishops.

In order to regain his temporalities, therefore, Giles was forced to enter into the conspiracy formed by Llewelyn, prince of Wales.

It was now the policy of Innocent, to favour John in return for his surrender of his kingdom, and the legate was authorised to fill up vacancies in benefices at the advice of the king and his ministers rather than that of the bishops. He bestowed parish churches on ill-qualified men, on the king's clerks for instance, without any regard for the rights of patrons or of their suitability for the position. Langton appealed to Rome against these acts, but the legate employed Pandulf to depreciate the archbishop and the bishops to the Pope. He represented them as being greedy and as being too grasping in their demands for restitution and further described the king as the most modest of men. Hence church and state were thrown together in a determined resistance to king and Pope. Archbishop Langton threatened to excommunicate John anew, if he persisted in his illegal acts, and the barons refused to sail with him to Poitou against Philip Augustus.

The crushing defeat of John and his allies at the battle of Bouvines on 27th July, 1214, "broke the spell of terror, and within a few days of the king's landing in October, the barons again met at S. Edmondsbury and swore on the high altar, to demand from him, if needful by force of arms, the observance of Henry's charter and of the Confessor's law". Runnymede and the Great Charter followed, after Robert FitzWalter "the marshal of the army of God and holy Church" had roused the country to arms.

Giles De Braose was one of the signatories to Magna Carta. The next stage in the drama was the annulling of the charter by Innocent, and the suspension, by him, of Langton from the archbishopric. This sent Giles post haste westwards to his See where he at once linked up with Llewelyn. He was with the Welsh prince when Shrewsbury was entered after a siege. From there, he sent his younger brother, Reginald, into Wales, to demand from the Crown Custodians the surrender of their castles of Abergavenny, Pencelli and Grosmont. This they had perforce to do since the king was powerless to send a relieving force, for Louis, Philip Augustus's son, had crossed over and had entered London and was preparing to be crowned king of England.

Following Reginald, bishop Giles recaptured step by step the Welsh possessions of his father, William De Braose. Commencing

¹ There were now only five exiled bishops with the archbishop Langton, since bishop Mauger of Worcester had died at Pontigny on 1st July, 1212 (diocese of Sens).

at Painscastle, he advanced via Builth and Hay to Brecon. At Painscastle, he had magnanimously restored the Vaughan family in their estates in Lower Elvael, of which they had been deprived by the treacherous act of his father. But he had no mercy on the Fitzherberts of Blaenllyfni. For Fitzherbert had received Blaenllyfni, Talgarth and the Wallascherie from John, on the attainder of William, Giles' father. (This Fitzherbert was a favourite of John, and through his mother Lucia,1 a daughter of Milo FitzWalter had a prescriptive claim to these lands.) Giles attacked and captured their castle at the head of Bwlch pass at the source of the river Llyfni, and drove them from Talgarth. Llangorse, Tretower and Crickhowell. He had succeeded thus far in regaining his inheritance. But then news reached him of the Bull of Excommunication issued by the Pope against Llewelyn and his adherents. Dissensions had arisen in the national party and his friend, the archbishop, had left the country under a sentence of suspension issued by the papal commissioners, Pandulf and Peter Des Roches, bishop of Winchester.

Alone, Giles knew resistance was futile. He therefore disowned his Welsh allies and sued for peace. John, anxious now to wean others to his side, granted him a full pardon, and by his own mandate, ordered that the remainder of the De Braose estates should be handed over to Giles. The historian Stowe, recording this says,

Gile de Brawse the sonne of William de Brawse received all his father's inheritance into his custodie, together with his nephew; till the child came of full age.

This nephew was John, nicknamed Tadodie, the son of Gwilym Gam (Squinting Will) Giles' elder brother who had been starved to death by John. This nephew had been secretly brought up in Gower, qui occulte nutritus est apud Gower.

Shortly afterwards, Giles died at Gloucester on 13th November,

1215, not 1219 as Dugdale says.

The chapter of Hereford elected the dean, Hugh De Mapenore to succeed him, but the king refused to accept him and appealed to the Pope. Finally, Hugh Foliot the archdeacon of Salop was elected in 1216–19.

Jones, the historian of Breconshire, unjustly pictures Giles as a prelate who "inherited all the violence and party spirit which marked the character of his detestable father, and upon all occasions stood forward in opposition to the crown". He was buried in Hereford cathedral on the 18th November, five days after his death (*Patent Rolls*, 17 John 12).

The Registrum Thome de Cantilupe (p. 5), records the "obitus Egidii de Breusa qui decimas omnium molendinorum maneriorum suarum Herefordensi ecclesie contulit", Cal. xv.

On 10th August, 1216, three months before John himself died, the receipt from the chapter is acknowledged, of two mitres, a pastoral staff, and a ring, left by Giles "for the use of his successors in office". Tradition identifies Giles with the building of the first tower of his beloved cathedral, rebuilt and then embellished with ball-flower ornament in the 14th century.

A truer picture of Giles than that given by Jones, is contained in the three above statements. They give the right impression of a true man of God, who, in difficult times and under difficulty, ruled

his see with wisdom and devotion.

He was not a saint, like Thomas de Cantilupe, but he was never a time-server like Peter de Rievaulx. He has his place among the honoured names who have served the see of S. Ethelbert. May he remain esteemed in this age of debunking of heroes and white-washing of villains. He served God and his fellow men in his generation, "his memorial is blessed".

APPENDIX

Another De Braose associated with Hereford is the Hugh De Braose who held the Golden Prebend in 1293. He was *Penitentiarius* of the cathedral. On 20th February, 1315, a licence was granted to him to endow in mortmain, a chantry in the cathedral (cf. pages 478 and 499 in the Register of bishop

Richard De Swinfield).

Edward II confirmed, by charter, his grant of lands for this endowment in the following words: "quod ipse unum mesuagium decem et octo acras terre cum pertinenciis in Herefordia, et suburbio ejusdem ville dare possit et assignare cuidam capellano, divina singulis diebus ad altare beate Marie Virginis ex parte australi ecclesis Sancti Ethelberti, Herefordie celebraturo, habendum et tenendum, etc.; et eidem capellano ut ipse mesuagium et terram predictam cum pertinenciis a prefato Hugone recipere possit et tenere sibi et successoribus suis capellanus etc. nolentes quod predictus Hugo aut heredes sui vel predictus capellanus seu successores sui racione statute predicti per nos vel heredes nostros inde occasionetur in aliquo seu graventer. Salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodi illius serviciis inde debitis et consuelis".

In 1321, Hugh's house was granted by bishop Adam to Richard De Vernon. He had permission to annex also to his own house, another canon's

residence then vacant (cf., p. 197).

Note. The references to the Bishops' Registers are to those printed by the Cantilupe Society.

THE DESCENT OF WESTWOOD-IN-LLANWARNE IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

By DAVID WALKER, D.PHIL., F.S.A.

The history of Westwood-in-Llanwarne in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries presents some puzzling features which merit discussion, even though firm conclusions are not possible.

In 1086, four tenements were recorded in Westwood, two of which were identified in the twelfth century by an alternative place-name, while a third was also identified by a phrase which cannot yet be interpreted. One part of Westwood was held by St.

¹Lucia was the younger sister of Bertha, wife of William de Braose 2nd, grandfather of Bishop Giles.

Peter's abbey, Gloucester. According to the Domesday entry it had been granted to St. Peter's by Durand of Gloucester for the soul of his brother Roger de Pîtres. Another part was held by Ralph de Tosny; the church of this portion, with a small piece of land, was held by the abbey of St. Mary of Lire. Yet another parcel of Westwood was held by Roger de Lacy. His manor is not separately identified in Domesday Book, where it is described as part of the lands associated with Durand of Gloucester. But in the twelfth century it was known as Wormington.2 Finally, another part of Westwood, also known as Wormington in the twelfth century. was held by Ralph de Saucei. The twelfth century scribes who tried to identify, in the margins of a copy of the Domesday account of Herefordshire in Balliol MS. 350, the different tenements in Westwood were clearly conscious of confusion there. In one respect they added to it, for they described the lands once held by Durand of Gloucester in Westwood by the enigmatic and so far unexplained marginal note Villa asmacun.3

Domesday tells us that Roger de Lacy received his lands in Westwood (i.e., the later Wormington) from William fitz Osbern (who became earl of Hereford). A similar origin for Durand of Gloucester's tenement there is not expressly stated, but it is reasonable to suppose that Earl William's interest was not confined to the small part of Westwood held by Roger de Lacy. There are two indications that this is a sound assumption. In the first place, the land of Durand, Roger de Lacy, and Ralph de Saucei belonged to one Anglo-Saxon antecessor, King Edward. Only Ralph de Tosny's estates were in the hands of another antecessor, Wulfheah. In the second place, Durand's land is described as the caput of Westwood; that is to say, it was the centre of the manor once held by King Edward. If, as I think, the Gloucester family's holding in Westwood originated in a grant by Earl William, we must assume that the grant was made to Roger de Pîtres, the earliest member of the family to emerge as a royal official and landholder in the western midlands after the Norman Conquest. The only evidence bearing on grants made by fitz Osbern to the Gloucester family relates to lands given to Roger de Pîtres, and there is nothing to suggest that this manor formed an exceptional

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Herefordshire Domesday (see note 1). See pp. 21, 22.

For the later descent of the manor we must turn to the records of St. Peter's Gloucester. In the list of donations made to that house there occurs the entry:1

Anno Domini millesimo centesimo primo, Rogerus de Gloucestria, pro anima patris sui et matris, et pro anima Herberti fratris sui, dedit Westwode in Jerchenfeld ecclesiae Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, et duos rodknyztes, et unam ecclesiam cum una hida terrae, et uno molendino, Willelmo rege juniore confirmante, rege Henrico seniore confirmante, tempore Serlonis

This entry presents some obvious difficulties. If the donor is intended to be Roger de Pîtres the date is hopelessly wrong, since Roger was dead before 1086. But errors of date are frequently found in this list of donations. If Roger son of Durand is intended we meet with a genealogical problem. Roger son of Durand can be shewn to be a son of the Domesday sheriff of Gloucestershire, but he is a shadowy figure who complicates the family tree and the tenurial history of the Gloucester family. If we identify the Roger of this entry with him we should have to claim that the Herbert named here as a brother of the donor was also a son of the Domesday sheriff, and we have then another figure to fit into the family tree.2

In fact, the information in this entry can be traced to a number of charters and it can be shewn to be false. These questions need not arise. When a general charter of confirmation was sought by the monks of Gloucester from Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, a copy of a charter issued by King Stephen was sent to him to serve as a model.3 In this the grant of another manor, Coln St. Andrew (i.e., Coln Rogers, Glouc.) was recorded in very similar

Culnam sancti Andree et duos raccnihctes et unam ecclesiam cum una hida terrae et unum molendinum ex dono Rogerii de Gloucestria.

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A. S. Ellis, in an essay on the Domesday tenants of Gloucestershire, argued from this extract (with some confusion) that Herbert was the son of Roger de Pîtres, and that he was also the Herbert the chamberlain who was founder of the fitz Herbert family. (Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.,

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charter the gifts of Westwood and of Coln Rogers were named separately. In 1127, a dispute between Gilbert de Mineres and the abbot of Gloucester over Coln was settled in the king's presence. Henry I then issued a charter in which it was recorded that Adam de Port and William, son of Odo, had appeared before him and borne witness to the fact that they were present when Roger of Gloucester gave Coln to St. Peter's, and when king Henry himself, at Roger's request, had confirmed the grant to the monks. There can be no doubt that Roger of Gloucester granted Coln to St. Peter's at some date after 1100. If the identification of this donor with the Roger of Gloucester who died in 1106 is correct, this transaction can be dated 1100–1106.

The statements about the grant of Westwood in the list of donations to St. Peter's can be attributed to these clauses in charters held by the abbey, but they have become attached to the wrong manor. The entry in the list of donations, and with it the possibility that the grant of Westwood originated with a Roger of Gloucester may be rejected. The clash between evidence drawn from Domesday Book and the list of donations is an artificial one. There is, however, one feature common to both which suggests that there may be a genuine connection between them. In each case the gift is said to have been made for the soul of a brother: in the list, by Roger for the soul of his brother, Herbert; in Domesday, by Durand for the soul of his brother, Roger. There may be more than one error in the compilation of this particular entry in the list of donations.

In the charters of St. Peter's, Gloucester, the grant of Westwood to the monks is consistently ascribed to Walter of Gloucester. The text of a charter in which Walter granted the manor to St. Peter's, with the assent of his wife and his heir, Miles, has been preserved.³ This grant was confirmed by Stephen, Archbishop Theobald, and Henry II. It is also attributed to Walter of Gloucester in the shorter list of donors which formed, as it were, an index to the list of donations made to the abbey.⁴ The grant is again ascribed to Walter in a charter attributed to William I, but manifestly issued (if, indeed, it is genuine) by William II.⁵

Gloucester Cartulary, vol. i, p. 349, no. 347; vol. ii, p. 125, no. 630.
 Ibid., vol. i, p. 236, no. 143; calendared, W. Farrer, An Outline Itinerary King Henry I, p. 117, no. 542; C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, Regesta

We have to reconcile the Domesday evidence with that charter evidence which is free from suspicion, and we may ignore the entry in the list of donations. The charters consistently ascribe the gift of Westwood to Walter of Gloucester; Domesday ascribed it to Durand. Durand held a large part of his family's lands in 1086, and there is no reason to doubt the Domesday claim that he gave the land to St. Peter's. Walter of Gloucester was his nephew, and his heir in almost all Durand's estates. By granting the monks a charter Walter would have strengthened their title to this manor, though it is an unexpected feature of his charter that it makes no mention of Durand's gift. All the later evidence suggests that Walter's charter was the first written record of the grant to St. Peter's, and, with the entry in the list of donations bungled for some reason, there would be no record in the monastery's archives to link the gift with Durand.

I have called Walter of Gloucester his uncle's heir in almost all his estates. The descent of the Gloucester family's possessions is complicated by the existence of Roger son of Durand, who was alive and who held some of his father's estates at a time when Walter of Gloucester was in possession of the greater part of his family's lands. It is important, in this context, that the Gloucester family's interest in its estate in Westwood passed from Durand to Walter, and it is all the more regrettable that the evidence which might have made absolutely clear the descent of Westwood in

this early period has been corrupted.

There is, then, evidence which suggests very strongly that the Gloucester tenure in Westwood originated in a grant made by William fitz Osbern. The first evidence is found in Domesday Book which recorded the grant of this manor to St. Peter's, Gloucester, by Durand. Walter of Gloucester defended his family's interest in the manor after Durand's death, and he provided written evidence for the monks' title to their land in Westwood. That the evidence for the earliest tenure of this manor by the Gloucester family is indecisive is singularly unfortunate. When Roger de Pîtres died his lands were divided between his son, Walter, and his brother, Durand. The basis on which Durand claimed his share of these lands is not known. Since he alienated this manor. it might have provided a key for the solution of some of these early problems. It would be of especial value to know with certainty that Roger de Pîtres had formerly held the manor, a claim which depends at present on inference. With that knowledge made definite we could show that Durand's title to his brother's lands was complete, and extended to the right to alienate. It would be useful to know what tradition was preserved at Gloucester about the way in which the monks received this land. Then, we might. perhaps, be in a position to interpret Walter of Gloucester's charter. and to account for that silence in it about his uncle's dealings with Westwood.

of King Henry I, p. 117, no. 542; C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol. ii, p. 205, 1485. The original is preserved at Gloucester Cathedral. (Dean and Chapter Library, Original Charters, Deeds and Seals, vol. vii, no. 2.)

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 246, no. 167. ⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 123.

⁵ Ibid., vol. i, p. 334, no. 316. Regesta, vol. i, p. 59, no. 219. The editor of volume i of the Regesta, H. W. C. Davis, considered this charter "suspicious". The editors of volume ii follow G. H. White (Notes and Queries, 12th series, vol. v, p. 261) in regarding the charter as spurious. (Regesta, vol. ii, p. 396.) All the gifts in the charter, save two, can be ascribed to the period 1094-1099, and the charter may be one issued by William II, perhaps with an inflated text.

KINGSLAND—A CAROLINE COURT RECORD, 1640 By E. J. L. Cole, F.S.A.

The late Major J. R. H. Harley of Brampton Bryan generously permitted the publication of a number of his family papers in the pages of these and other *Transactions*, and we have read in recent years what Mr. W. H. Howse has ably produced from his researches among those papers. Among many valuable finds was the long roll containing the bailiffs' accounts for the manor of Kingsland in 1389-90, but there has come to light recently a smaller and later parchment, some 22 in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., being a copy of the view of frankpledge and court baron of the same manor in 1640. A translation of this is appended.

There is little to be found in this "View" that could not be found in a hundred such records, but it is odd to note how "last ditch" efforts were being made to enforce the statute concerning the use of conventional weapons at a time when the country was seething with political unrest and was soon to be torn by civil strife in which powder and shot and the booming of cannon superseded the twang of the long bow.

The suitors of the manor were still neglecting to repair the highways or were encroaching upon them, sometimes leaving animal carcases in inconvenient places. But the signs of the times are chiefly to be noted in the small number of courts (only two in the year) and the large number of defaulters. The old order was indeed changing.

As to the crown representatives, the name of Sir Robert Harley, K.B., is well-known to us, he was born in 1579, died in 1656, sometime M.P. and Master of the Mint, and (one regrets) an iconoclast.² The chief steward was the second son of Robert Rich, first earl of Warwick, by his first wife Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex. Henry Rich was born in 1590. In 1624, he was created earl of Holland and in the following year installed as knight of the garter. An unstable character, he followed his master to the block in 1648-9.

Manor of Kingsland.

Copy of View of Frankpledge with Court Baron of our most renowned lord Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., and of the most serene lady Queen Henrietta Maria, held there 8th April in the 16th year of the reign of our said lord Charles, of England, etc., 1640, in the presence of Robert Harley, Knight of the Noble Order of the Bath, deputy for the noble Henry earl of Holland, Chief Steward there.

The township, of Longford. John Bullock 6d. for default of Court. Thomas Barrar junior 2d. Richard Morgan 2d. John Byrd 12d. for tippling.1 William Poule 12d. Margaret Powell, widow 12d. John Bullock because he placed a certain dead mare in the high 3s. 4d. way leading from Kingsland aforesaid towards Leominster to the damage of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy, etc. Total: 7s. 2d. The township of Westowne. William Troyte because he made unlawful hue-and-cry to the 12d. disturbance of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy. The inhabitants there because they did not practice with bows and arrows after the manner of the statute. Thomas Clarke 4d. William Hill for default of Court. Alexander Deyos 2d. John Tringam William Troyte Total: 5s. 4d. The township of Aston. ... for default of Court. Thomas Barar 4d. William Grismond, junior ... 4d. Total: 8d. Lawton. William Crompton 2d. Ralph Nicholas for default of Court. 2d. Thomas Cowper 2d. Edward Cadwaletr of Erisland because he and his servants drove his stock, to wit his sheep, to depasture in the common pasture called Shurle Heathe. Total: 3s. 10d.

3d. William Mathewes for a fine after surrender made by John Bedford concerning two half acres of arable land lying in a field called Kyndon, annual rent 4d.

3d. Henry Smyth for a fine after a surrender made by the said John Bedford concerning one acre arable land lying in a field called Nakers Caseney, annual rent 4d.

John Lewes for a fine after a surrender made by William Davies concerning a "Worthen" erected in a close adjoining customary land in Longford, annual rent 2s.

Total: 2s. 5d.

6d. Hugh Watkins for agreement with Thomas Taylor of Postreete.

6d. The same Thomas for agreement with the said Hugh.

6d. Jane Harries for two defaults of Court at the suit of Roger Owens.

6d. John Barrar guilty in a plea of trespass at the suit of John Vale and Margery his wife.

6d. William Bub for agreement with Anne Bub spinster.

John Tringham guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of Richard Darke.

Presentment of the homage.

12d. Thomas Taylor because he encroached upon the land of the lord King and Queen at a certain place called Le Greenes in length

King and Queen at a certain place called Le Greenes 60 feet and in breadth 3 feet.

Total: 4s.

Grand total of this Copy: 23s. 5d.

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¹ See Volume XXXV, Part II, 1956.

² The rather scurrilous report, now at the Bodleian Library, on the clergy of Hereford of c. 1641, by a rabid puritan, was sent to Harley. A transcript is in the Hereford Cathedral library.

¹ The original word is "Traunter'. Another possible meaning is selling ale without a licence.

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The suitors of the manor were still neglecting to repair the highways or were encroaching upon them, sometimes leaving animal carcases in inconvenient places. But the signs of the times are chiefly to be noted in the small number of courts (only two in the year) and the large number of defaulters. The old order was indeed changing.

As to the crown representatives, the name of Sir Robert Harley, K.B., is well-known to us, he was born in 1579, died in 1656, sometime M.P. and Master of the Mint, and (one regrets) an iconoclast. The chief steward was the second son of Robert Rich, first earl of Warwick, by his first wife Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex. Henry Rich was born in 1590. In 1624, he was created earl of Holland and in the following year installed as knight of the garter. An unstable character, he followed his master to the block in 1648-9.

Manor of Kingsland.

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The township, of Longford. John Bullock for default of Court. Thomas Barrar junior 2d. Richard Morgan 2d. John Byrd 12d. for tippling.1 William Poule 12d. Margaret Powell, widow 12d. John Bullock because he placed a certain dead mare in the high 3s. 4d. way leading from Kingsland aforesaid towards Leominster to the damage of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy, etc. Total: 7s. 2d. The township of Westowne. William Troyte because he made unlawful hue-and-cry to the 12d. disturbance of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy. The inhabitants there because they did not practice with bows and 3s. 4d. arrows after the manner of the statute. Thomas Clarke William Hill 2d. for default of Court. Alexander Devos 2d. John Tringam 2d. William Troyte 2d. Total: 5s. 4d. The township of Aston. ... for default of Court. Thomas Barar 4d. William Grismond, junior ... 4d. Total: 8d. Lawton. William Crompton 2d. for default of Court. Ralph Nicholas 2d. Thomas Cowper Edward Cadwaletr of Erisland because he and his servants drove his stock, to wit his sheep, to depasture in the common pasture called Shurle Heathe. Total: 3s. 10d. William Mathewes for a fine after surrender made by John Bedford 3d. concerning two half acres of arable land lying in a field called Kyndon, annual rent 4d. Henry Smyth for a fine after a surrender made by the said John Bedford concerning one acre arable land lying in a field called Nakers Caseney, annual rent 4d. John Lewes for a fine after a surrender made by William Davies 234. concerning a "Worthen" erected in a close adjoining customary land in Longford, annual rent 2s. Total: 2s. 5d. Hugh Watkins for agreement with Thomas Taylor of Postreete. 6d. The same Thomas for agreement with the said Hugh. 6d. Jane Harries for two defaults of Court at the suit of Roger Owens. 6d. John Barrar guilty in a plea of trespass at the suit of John Vale 6d. and Margery his wife. William Bub for agreement with Anne Bub spinster. 6d. John Tringham guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of Richard Darke. 6d. Presentment of the homage. Thomas Taylor because he encroached upon the land of the lord

King and Queen at a certain place called Le Greenes in length

Total: 4s.

60 feet and in breadth 3 feet.

12d.

ale without a licence.

D

See Volume XXXV. Part II. 1956.

² The rather scurrilous report, now at the Bodleian Library, on the clergy of Hereford of c. 1641, by a rabid puritan, was sent to Harley. A transcript is in the Hereford Cathedral library.

Grand total of this Copy: 23s. 5d. 1 The original word is "Traunter". Another possible meaning is selling

KINGSLAND—A CAROLINE COURT RECORD, 1640 By E. J. L. Cole, F.S.A.

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	The township, of Longford.
6d. 2d. 2d. 12d. 12d.	John Bullock Thomas Barrar junior Richard Morgan John Byrd William Poule for default of Court. for tippling.1
12d. 3s. 4d.	Margaret Powell, widow John Bullock because he placed a certain dead mare in the high way leading from Kingsland aforesaid towards Leominster to the damage of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy, etc. Total: 7s. 2d.
12d. 3s. 4d.	The township of Westowne. William Troyte because he made unlawful hue-and-cry to the disturbance of the king's subjects. Therefore he is in mercy. The inhabitants there because they did not practice with bows and arrows after the manner of the statute. Thomas Clarke
4d. 2d. 2d. 2d. 2d. 2d.	William Hill Alexander Deyos John Tringam William Troyte Total: 5s. 4d.
	The township of Aston.
4d. 4d.	Thomas Barar for default of Court. William Grismond, junior Total: 8d.
	Lawton.
2d. 2d.	William Crompton Ralph Nicholas for default of Court.
2d. 3s. 4d.	Thomas Cowper Edward Cadwaletr of Erisland because he and his servants drove his stock, to wit his sheep, to depasture in the common pasture called Shurle Heathe. Total: 3s. 10d.
3d.	William Mathewes for a fine after surrender made by John Bedford concerning two half acres of arable land lying in a field called Kyndon, annual rent 4d.
3d.	Henry Smyth for a fine after a surrender made by the said John Bedford concerning one acre arable land lying in a field called
23d.	John Lewes for a fine after a surrender made by Wintain Davies concerning a "Worthen" erected in a close adjoining customary land in Longford, annual rent 2s. Total: 2s. 5d.
6d.	Hugh Watkins for agreement with Thomas Taylor of Postreete.
6d.	The same Thomas for agreement with the Said Hugh.
6d.	Tame Harrise for two detailts of Court at the suit of Roger Owens.
6d.	John Barrar guilty in a plea of trespass at the suit of John Vale and Margery his wife.
6d.	William Rub for agreement with Anne Bub spinster.
6d.	John Tringham guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of Richard Darks. Presentment of the homage.
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¹ The original word is "Traunter". Another possible meaning is selling ale without a licence.

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The township of Westowne.

```
Henry Bub
4d.
4d.
        Thomas Higgin, junior
        William Hill
4d.
        Henry Freeman, Constable
4d.
                                          for default of Court.
2d.
         John Ades
2d.
         Richard Farre
2d.
        Walter Wall
2d.
        William Troyte
```

3s. 4d. The inhabitants there for not practising with bows and arrows according to the form of the statute.

Total: 5s. 4d.

The township of Longford.

```
4d.
        Edward Dyxon
4d.
        Thomas Taylor
4d.
        Thomas Colman, senior
4d.
         John Maund
2d.
        Thomas Barar, junior
                                      for default of Court.
2d.
         John Lewes
2d.
         lohn Bullock
2d.
        Thomas Addys
                             because they did not come to repair the high
12d.
        Richard Morgan
                              way there, as they were bound so to do upon
                             the warning of the Overseers according to
12d.
        David Jones
                              the statute.
12d.
        John Byrd
12d.
        William Poule
                             for peddling.
12d.
        Margaret Powell
12d.
        Anne Smith
        The inhabititants there because they did not practice with bows and
        arrows according to the statute.
6d.
        Thomas Barar
                             for an affray and unlawful hue and-cry
        William Colbach
                             between them against the King's peace.
6d.
        Morgan the servant of William Colman of Westowne because he
        made an assault and drew blood upon the wife of William Palmer
        and his daughter Francis, against the peace.
```

Total: 13s. 10d.

William Baldwin because he turned water out of its proper course

several times in a certain parcel of ground called Old Kvndon, to

The township of Aston

	The township of Aston.
4d.	William Baldwin
4d.	Henry Grismond
4d.	Thomas Grismond for default of Court.
2d.	Richard Club
4s.	The inhabitants there for not practising with bows and arrows after

the damage of the neighbourhood.

the form of the statute.

Total: 5s. 2d.

The township of Lawton.

	120 to				
4d. 4d. 4d. 2d. 2d. 2d.	Thomas Barneby, gent. Richard Newler Thomas Cooper Jane Cheswall, widow Ralph Nicholas William Shepperd	for default of Court.			

2d. William Crompton

The inhabitants there because they did not practice with bows and arrows after the manner of the statute.

Total: 3s. 4d.

6d. Hugh Watkins for one default of Court and for agreement with Isaac Vaughan.

6d. Richard Deswall guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of John Addys, senior.

6d. Thomas Addys for two defaults of Court at the suit of the said John Addys.

6d. Thomas Clerke for two defaults of Court at the suit of William Lugger, junior.

6d. William Heywood because he did not pursue his plea against Thomas Clarke and Margaret his wife.

6d. William Grismond, junior, for agreement with Thomas Mascoll.

8d. John Maund for one default of Court and because he was found guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of John Barow.

Total: 3s. 8d.
Sum total: 31s. 4d.
Grand total of these copies: 54s. 9d.

JOHN NOBLE'S HOUSEHOLD AND FARM ACCOUNTS 1696—1719

By Miss C. Radcliffe-Cooke

John Noble of Hellens, Herefordshire, lived there from 1696 to 1719, when he died and was succeeded by his son, William Noble.

The estate of Hellens was his wife's property, the Wallwyns being an old Herefordshire family, who were Royalists. The estate had been sequestrated during the Commonwealth, but the sequestration was quashed. Nevertheless the family were extremely poor and had to borrow money to pay their way.

John Noble was a Scotsman belonging to an old Dumbarton-shire family. His father and brother were Covenanters and had been fined as such during the time of the penal laws against them. John, the second son, had come to England and as the time of the accounts had been a wholesale silk mercer in Shrewsbury and had then moved to London where he had a wholesale business in all kinds of cotton and woollen goods, etc. His Mercer's Accounts are in existence for three years and have been printed by the Woolhope Field Club.¹ Many of the terms are now quite obsolete.

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The township of Longford.

4d. Edward Dyxon Thomas Taylor 4d. 4d. Thomas Colman, senior 4d. John Maund 2d. Thomas Barar, junior for default of Court. 2d. John Lewes John Bullock 2d. 2d. Thomas Addvs

because they did not come to repair the high 12đ. Richard Morgan way there, as they were bound so to do upon the warning of the Overseers according to 12d. David Jones the statute.

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12d. Anne Smith

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Morgan the servant of William Colman of Westowne because he 6d. made an assault and drew blood upon the wife of William Palmer and his daughter Francis, against the peace.

William Baldwin because he turned water out of its proper course 12d. several times in a certain parcel of ground called Old Kyndon, to the damage of the neighbourhood.

Total: 13s. 10d.

The township of Aston.

William Baldwin 4d. Henry Grismond 4d. Thomas Grismond 4d. 2d. Richard Club

for default of Court.

The inhabitants there for not practising with bows and arrows after the form of the statute.

Total: 5s. 2d.

The township of Lawton.

Thomas Barneby, gent. 4d. Richard Newler 4d. 4d. Thomas Cooper

for default of Court. 2d. Iane Cheswall, widow

2d. Ralph Nicholas William Shepperd 2d.

William Crompton 2d. The inhabitants there because they did not practice with bows and 20d. arrows after the manner of the statute.

Total: 3s. 4d.

Hugh Watkins for one default of Court and for agreement with 6d.

Richard Deswall guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of John Addys, 6d.

Thomas Addys for two defaults of Court at the suit of the said John 6d.

Thomas Clerke for two defaults of Court at the suit of William Lugger, 6d.

William Heywood because he did not pursue his plea against Thomas 6d. Clarke and Margaret his wife.

William Grismond, junior, for agreement with Thomas Mascoll. 6d.

John Maund for one default of Court and because he was found 8d. guilty in a plea of debt at the suit of John Barow.

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Some years before 1696 he had married Margaret Wallwyn and had paid the family debts. In 1696 he settled at Hellens with his family. For a number of years after this he spent a lot of what he calls his "Scotch money" on repairs to farm buildings, new buildings, planting orchards, etc.

John Noble, in spite of somewhat erratic spelling, which was quite usual in those times, was a man of some education. He had a large library and frequently scattered latin among his accounts. His wife is referred to as "wxr" [uxor] and references to his children are sometimes in Latin. He was High Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1702, and reckoned that his expenses therewith amounted to £400, but as a Hanoverian and a Scotsman, he was not at first accepted by the exclusive aristocracy of Herefordshire who had apparently complained that he was not suited to be High Sheriff. He therefore obtained a Patent of gentle birth signed by all the nobility of Dumbartonshire, headed by the Dukes of Argyll and Montrose and after this his name appears as attending Quarter Sessions. He was, of course, a Justice of the Peace for many years.

He kept his household and farming accounts in one of his old Mercer's ledgers and used this book for a number of other purposes such as orders to his wife while he was away in London or elsewhere, for he appears to have continued his business from Herefordshire, 109 miles from London; his daughters are to get up at six o'clock every morning and work in the house; his wife is to organise the coal carriage to the parish from the Forest of Dean; to see that rye is mixed with the wheat for the bread for the household, etc., she is to warn the tenants not to agree at the vestry meeting to anything which involves the parish in expense; all of which is neatly written in the beginning of the book. His wife, has of course, with the help of the bailiff, to manage the farm in her husband's many absences from home.

The book further contains the great tythe accounts and also the modus of the Court of the Exchequer by which they were to be collected. These tythes were payable to the bishop of Hereford, who leased them to a Mr. Whitmore, who sub-leased them to John Noble. This method of tythe collection appears to have been followed in Much Marcle for centuries. It contains the assessment for the river Wye called the "Wye Tax" for the hundred of Greytree and for Much Marcle in particular; and also the land tax for the entire parish of four townships together with the names of the inhabitants and the lands for which they paid tax. The amount at which Marcle was assessed to land tax in 1697, being £2,384 16s. Od., together with the names of the assessors and commissioners.

The manor of Hellens (Marcle Audleys) was his wife's inheritance; John Noble notes at considerable length the titles and privileges of the manor. The manorial system was at this period falling into decay, however, several manorial courts are extant of this period. Noble made several "surveys" of the estate.

Throughout the accounts various sums were paid out in taxes at different times. There were what John Noble calls the "King's Tax", which may have been the land tax which occurs throughout the book; "window lights", household tax, which may have been the poll tax, and which is sometimes called hearth money; Wye money for the development of the river Wye; bridge money for the repair and also the construction of bridges; quarterly, which was for lame soldiers' pensions; the small tythes, also tythes of bark, which until recently was a valuable source of income for those who owned woods and coppices; then there was the poors book, the church book and the constable's book.

Rents and chief rents were paid at different times of the year, but chiefly at Michaelmas. Rents were sometimes paid in kind as a cow and calf, sheep and pigs, also nine bushels of salt, which was fetched from Worcester and bought in large quantities.

Coal from the Forest cost about £3 for the whole year; the birth of a daughter cost £1 2s. 6d.; a wig cost £1 8s. and at that price was probably horsehair; John Noble's wife's shoes cost 2/6; a riding-gown for his daughter 7/6; two sheep cost 4/6; a bullock cost £2 10s. and was sold at Christmas for £6; a charger called a "hugh hors" for when he was sheriff cost £5 7s. 6d.; two coach horses cost £17, which were sold by his widow after his death; schooling the children cost sometime £1 or £1 10s.; salt from Worcester (Droitwich) cost 34/8, large sum. Butter and cheese were bought in large quantities at the beginning of winter at the local fairs, where cattle were bought and sold in the spring and autumn.

"Shugar" and plums and "resons" were bought in October or November; no tea or coffee is mentioned; after John Noble's death, his wife sent for "Bohea" from London at 12/- and 15/- a lb. A little china ware is mentioned in the inventory after his death, but there is a good deal of silver, copper, brass and pewter plate, £66. No pillows are mentioned in the bedroom, but boulsters only; two rugs are mentioned and no carpets; "cutting rushes" are mentioned once in the accounts.

There are two ox-plows and one horse-plow; and one each of horse and ox-harrows. There is one chariot with harness for six horses, a cider mill, a malt mill, etc.

The seeds for sowing that are mentioned in the accounts regularly are: wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, white peas, beans, and clover, once; plants and onions are also mentioned. There is no mention of potatoes, which only came into use in Wales about 50 years later. "Turneps" are mentioned once in special orders to his wife to plant them "in the Nursery" when he is away from home, so in all probability they were a new crop. Clover for seed is mentioned once or twice. Twenty loads of clover are mentioned in the inventory and 32 loads of hay.

COMMENTS UPON THE PAPER ENTITLED "SOME OBSER-VATIONS UPON THE HEREFORDSHIRE ENVIRONMENT OF THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES "1

By A. S. Wood

On page 35 of these Transactions, it is stated that Vaughan's account referred to his estate in the Golden valley, so some information as to his family descent and the extent of the properties he owned, may be recorded here.

Rowland Vaughan, born of an ancient Welsh family in 1559. the younger son of Watkyn Vaughan of Bredwardine (and brother of Henry Vaughan who inherited the Moccas and Bredwardine estates), spent his early days at home and as described in "his booke", lived for three or four years at Queen Elizabeth's court,

followed by a few years service in the Irish wars.

In 1585, he married his cousin, Elizabeth Vaughan, the younger daughter of Rowland Vaughan of Porthamel, Brecon, and his wife Elizabeth Parry co-heiress of Newcourt in the parish of Bacton, Hereford: and he became possessed of the manor of Bacton and of Newcourt in right of his wife's inheritance. They had a son John, a daughter Jane, and other children. Elizabeth died in 1611. By his second wife Anne (maiden name unknown) Rowland had two daughters, Elizabeth and Catherine, who are described in a later marriage settlement, Howorth-Shawe of 1647, as "daughters and heiresses of Rowland Vaughan of Whitehouse".

The sequence of events by which he acquired Whitehouse in the parishes of Vowchurch and St. Margarets (with some land also in Turnastone), two miles higher up the Golden Valley from Newcourt, is unknown. In the middle of the 16th century, this estate, known as Moor, was owned by Symond Parry (younger brother of Myles Parry of Newcourt, and of Blanche Parry, gentlewoman of Oueen Elizabeth's Privy Chamber): he bequeathed it by will, proved in 1573, to Griffith-Joanes of Llowes, Radnor, and his wife Jane: and from this date the original name was altered to the present one.

The earliest documentary evidence of Rowland Vaughan being described as "of Whitehouse" is in a conveyance dated 5th March, 1606/7, of some land being part of the manor of Snodhill: his son John being also a party to the transaction. The next year, in an indenture dated 20th November, 1607, for the purchase of some land from John Parry of Poston, for £310, inclusive of the advowson of the rectory of Turnastone, and the right of patronage

of the parish church, he is described as " of Newcourt".

In "his booke" Newcourt is mentioned twice (pp. 120, 121) Whitehouse not at all, though "a Ring of ground scituate stirropewise" (p. 142), well describes the land around this mansion. Which of these two estates Rowland Vaughan regarded as his headquarters and home, is not clear: they were both typical manor houses of those days, occupied by some 15-20 persons: the water driven overshot mill was half a mile distant from Newcourt and nearby was the river Dore. It may be assumed that Rowland Vaughan's landed property could hardly have been less than 1,500 acres. but his fortunes appear to have steadily declined in his latter years. for it is recorded that Newcourt with its "parke", and the rights of the manor of Bacton, was sold in his lifetime for £3,000. There is no evidence, visual or documentary, that a community of 2,000 "mechanicals" ever existed there, and the greater part of "his booke" can only be regarded as a figment of his imagination.

To ascribe the disappearance of a newly built settlement the size of a small town to the civil war is absurd: certainly the Scottish army beseiging Hereford in 1645 plundered valuables and seized livestock and fodder over a wide area of the county, and also inflicted a levy of cash on many parishes, for instance Bacton paid £40 and Vowchurch £80: but no extensive destruction of houses or property happened in this district. Not infrequently Rowland Vaughan's description in "his booke" of the Commonwealth at Newcourt has been quoted as fact, without investigation of its fundamental accuracy, and can only lead to entirely erroneous conclusions never contemplated by the author; even his references to actual parochial conditions of his time cannot be relied upon, as for instance (p. 65) Turnastone is said to have had only one inhabitant; yet in a tithe tearear (sic) of this parish 1607. Thomas Barnsley is cited as parson and three inhabitants mentioned are Abraham Powell, Humphrey Baker and Hendry Scudermore.

The lasting value of Rowland Vaughan's genius was undoubtedly his experiments and innovations in agricultural irrigation and drainage, whereby he greatly increased the yield, not only of his own lands by the "like advantage of drowning", but also added to the value of other estates in the county where his methods were adopted. In the introduction to the reprint of "his booke", 1897, E. B. Wood (no relation of the present writer) affirms that all trace of the irrigation works have disappeared. In a paper read before the Club on 20th August, 1936 (Transactions. 1936-38, p. 35), the late R. S. G. Robinson rightly refutes this statement and gives a detailed account of many of the principal trenches and other waterworks that can still be clearly discerned. some of which although not actually performing the original purpose they were intended to serve, are still in use as drainage courses.

¹ J. N. Jackson, B.A., and published in the Woolhope N.F. Club Transactions, vol. 36, part i, 1958, with especial references to Rowland Vaughan, " his booke ". 1610.

brook, and the other by a stream from the woodlands above: no remains of a mill building are now traceable, but several of the hillside irrigation courses are clearly visible. In the meadows below Whitehouse exists what is traditionally the dock at which boats for transport of goods to Newcourt were loaded and floated by a deep trench to connect with the straightened Slough brook, and so to the river Dore below Chanstone Court Farm. The "trenchroyall" was fed by the Trenant brook in the parish of Peterchurch and it runs parallel with the Dore on the west side across Poston Court and Turnastone Court farms, terminating on Chanstone Court farm.

Rowland Vaughan died before February, 1629, and was buried (if C. A. Bradford's identification in "An Unknown Elizabethan" is correct), at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. A number of other references to his life and legal involvements occur in Bradford's typescript published in 1937, also in Pitman's "Bredwardine and Brobury Notes" and the Whitehouse deeds. Today Whitehouse still retains much of its Tudor character, but Newcourt, falling into disreapir, was rebuilt at the beginning of the 19th century a very plain farmhouse.

THE LOST CHAPEL OF ST. LEONARD By A. S. Wood

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St. Margarets parish boundary, on the bank of the Slough brook, which divides the two parishes for a length of a mile or more, and it is besides the Vowchurch-Turnastone-Michaelchurch Eskley main road, at a distance of 1½ miles from Turnastone village.

Ouoting from the abstract the terms of the earliest deed, an indenture of lease, dated 1737, it reads: "... made by Edward Harley of Eyewood in the county of Hereford, father of the earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of the one part and the said Thomas Price, decd. of the other part, the said Edward Harley in consideration of £60 to him paid as a fine by the said Thomas Price did demise grant set and to farm let unto the said Thomas Price his heirs and assigns all that messuage or tenement situate near St. Leonard's chapel in the parish of St. Margarets in the said county of Hereford together with the orchard backsides and garden lands arable meadow and pasture and woodlands unto the said messuage belonging or in any way appertaining. All of which were commonly called and known by the name of Combe Slough and reciting that the said premises were of such common recovery had been suffered were subject to an annual rent charge of £1,500 by way of jointure to the said Dowager Countess of Oxford for her life . . . ".

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Included are: The Right Hon. Edward Harley, Auditor of the Imprest of His Majesty's Exchequer, and his son and heir of the same name, Sir Francis Charlton, Sir John Dashwood, The Hon. Thomas Morgan, Thomas, earl of Leicester, The Right Hon. Thomas Hay, Lord Viscount Dublin, Sir John Cust, Bt., The Right Hon. William Fitzwilliam, Earl Fitzwilliam, Viscount Milton, Lord Foley, William Duke of Portland, Lord Holland, Lord Digby, The Right Hon. Charles James Fox, The Right Hon. Thomas Harley of Berrington, and the Hon. and Rev. John Harley, dean of Windsor. In some instances the names of wives and dowagers are bracketed with them.

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The sequence of events by which he acquired Whitehouse in the parishes of Vowchurch and St. Margarets (with some land also in Turnastone), two miles higher up the Golden Valley from Newcourt, is unknown. In the middle of the 16th century, this estate, known as Moor, was owned by Symond Parry (younger brother of Myles Parry of Newcourt, and of Blanche Parry, gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Chamber): he bequeathed it by will, proved in 1573, to Griffith-Joanes of Llowes, Radnor, and his wife Jane: and from this date the original name was altered to the

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In "his booke" Newcourt is mentioned twice (pp. 120, 121) Whitehouse not at all, though "a Ring of ground scituate stirropewise" (p. 142), well describes the land around this mansion. Which of these two estates Rowland Vaughan regarded as his headquarters and home, is not clear: they were both typical manor houses of those days, occupied by some 15-20 persons; the water driven overshot mill was half a mile distant from Newcourt and nearby was the river Dore. It may be assumed that Rowland Vaughan's landed property could hardly have been less than 1,500 acres, but his fortunes appear to have steadily declined in his latter years, for it is recorded that Newcourt with its "parke", and the rights of the manor of Bacton, was sold in his lifetime for £3,000. There is no evidence, visual or documentary, that a community of 2,000 "mechanicals" ever existed there, and the greater part of "his booke" can only be regarded as a figment of his imagination.

To ascribe the disappearance of a newly built settlement the size of a small town to the civil war is absurd: certainly the Scottish army beseiging Hereford in 1645 plundered valuables and seized livestock and fodder over a wide area of the county, and also inflicted a levy of cash on many parishes, for instance Bacton paid 440 and Vowchurch 480: but no extensive destruction of houses or property happened in this district. Not infrequently Rowland Vaughan's description in "his booke" of the Commonwealth at Newcourt has been quoted as fact, without investigation of its fundamental accuracy, and can only lead to entirely erroneous conclusions never contemplated by the author: even his references to actual parochial conditions of his time cannot be relied upon, as for instance (p. 65) Turnastone is said to have had only one inhabitant; yet in a tithe tearear (sic) of this parish 1607, Thomas Barnsley is cited as parson and three inhabitants mentioned are Abraham Powell, Humphrey Baker and Hendry Scudermore.

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brook, and the other by a stream from the woodlands above: no remains of a mill building are now traceable, but several of the hillside irrigation courses are clearly visible. In the meadows below Whitehouse exists what is traditionally the dock at which boats for transport of goods to Newcourt were loaded and floated by a deep trench to connect with the straightened Slough brook, and so to the river Dore below Chanstone Court Farm. The "trenchroyall" was fed by the Trenant brook in the parish of Peterchurch and it runs parallel with the Dore on the west side across Poston Court and Turnastone Court farms, terminating on Chanstone Court farm.

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THE BOOTH HALL

By H. J. POWELL, F.R.I.B.A.

An address at a meeting in the Hall, on 23rd July, 1959

The first record in documents in Hereford Town Hall relating to the Booth Hall is on the 28th September, 1392, and this proves that a hall existed at that time and that this meeting room was used for the Merchants Guild. The word "Booth Hall" clearly denotes a trader's use. On 2nd, February 1393, there is another entry as follows:

Licence from the King to the Mayor and citizens of Hereford, because they have no house, as they say, within the Castle or City of Hereford in which the sessions of the justice of assize of peace, or the pleas of the City, can be held, to acquire in mortmain a messuage worth 60/- annually.

As a tolsey or guild hall was built in High Town in 1490, it is not known whether the city authorities used the Booth Hall for the purpose of justice after they acquired it.

In 1616 is the earliest dated entry in the minute book of the Mercers Company. It makes a levy of 6/8 on the admission of new members towards the reparation of the chamber for the meeting of the said Fellowship, and in 1686, in the minute book of the Company of Mercers, mention is made of the house or place called

" Booth Hall ".

I am also indebted to Mr. F. C. Morgan for the following extracts from the city archives which, as far as I am aware, have not been mentioned in any research in connection with the Booth Hall:

c. 1509-14. 23/- paid for repair of the Booth Hall by the chamberlains.

(Three loose sheets.)

c. 1581. Petition from John Lyngen stating that Margaret Partridge, widow, held the Booth Hall for her life, but it had fallen into ruin and decay. He asks for a lease at the accustomed rent and he would be bound for the reparations. (8b IX.XIV.)1

c. 1581. Petition from Geo. Elyott, freeman, that Margaret Partridge will neither permit nor suffer freemen to have their chambers at the Booth Hall according to the ancient custom, neither doth she repair the chambers. The chamberlains of the City said to be responsible for the repairs. (8b 4.VI.)

Examinations Before Magistrates

1665. Katherine Eyton on oath stated that she came to the Booth Hall and bought there a stone of " woll ". (26,X.XXIV.)

1686. Thomas Parry, painter declared that "Hee was att the Cockpitt att Peter Seabornes house called the Booth Hall seeing a cockfitting".

(30b XX.VI.)
1688. Howell Harris declared that at 12 o'clock he was at Mr. Downers house at the Booth Hall playing on his violin. (31.VI.XIX.)

1690. Elizabeth Thorpe stated that as she was going through the Booth Hall towards her owne dwelling . . . James Stephens as he was standing at ye fore street dore of the common passage of ye afores Booth Hall . . . (31.XXII. V.)

PRESENTMENTS

1689. James Stephens, baker, presented for having "a greate misken of soyle to be at his back doore called the Booth Hali". (31.XV.VIII.)

1694. Francis Richings, baker, living in the Booth Hall "presented" for a chimney there erected not being soe sufficiently high built as to carry of the smoake or fire which God prevent by which the whole Citty may be endangered. (34.XIII. X.)

The following most interesting extract has also come to light through the research of Mr. Morgan and this is as follows:

25th March, 1783. Property sold by the Commissioners of the Paving Act to George Willim for £250 and 15/- annual rent. The "front part of the said premises to be taken down and rebuilt in a substantial, handsome and ornamental manner with brick and sash windows according to the plan bereunto annexed in a line with the said adjacent buildings for the use and ornament of the City." ¹

This, together with the plan reproduced, is most interesting but the building appears to have been altered or rebuilt at a later date. It now forms the left hand side of the frontage of Messrs. A. C. Edwards' premises in High Town, and, although the width of the building and proportions of the sash windows are in keeping with those shown on the drawing, the building as existing is four storeys high as against the three storeys on the drawing.

At this time, the hall extended forward towards High Town but in what form it is not possible to say. The present Booth Hall passage is a tunnel within the hall. This throws some light on its use for traders with entrances from Packers Lane at the back and High Town at the front. In the passageway from the street, there was, until a few years ago, a four-centred timber arch. This marked the end of the driving way from High Town, the width of which, was approximately double the present passage width.

Entries break off for some years but on 3rd December, 1806, the date of the resumption of entries in the Mercers minute book, the heading of the meeting specifies it as held at the Sun Tavern, being as near as may be to the Ancient Guild room of the Fellow-

ship and Company of Mercers.

In 1827, Thomas Winter (Spring) (Champion bruiser of England) advertised in December his farewell dinner at the Booth Hall inn, of which he had been landlord for a time. In the Hereford Museum is an earthenware coffee pot given to Spring on his retirement

It has been said that the hall became derelict about the 18th century which would be about the time of the sale mentioned above but the present inn was founded after 1812. From this time, all trace of the ancient Booth Hall was lost and the hall was supposed to have been demolished, but in May, 1919, the fall of

¹ Numbers in brackets are those of the archives in the Town Hall; the first numbers are those of the sacks, and the others to the files and archives in order.

an internal chimney, bringing down a ceiling and a floor, revealed the fact that the inn had been built inside the ancient hall for some 43 ft. 0 in. of its length, and exposed to view from ground to roof

the interior of the fine old structure.

Three local architects, all members of the Woolhope Club, acted in an honorary capacity to restore the hall and the Woolhope Club took a great interest in the matter. The work was paid for by the Brewery Company known as Messrs. Arnold Perrett & Co. Ltd., who are now absorbed in the Cheltenham & Hereford Breweries Ltd. I was interested to read in the Woolhope Transactions of October, 1921, that one architect reported finding wheat under the floorboards of the hall which he thought was due to the hall at one time being used for storing corn which had trickled between the floorboards in between the joists. I do not know how much wheat was found under the boards but I am much more inclined to think that it had been put there for soundproofing as this was a common practice in mediæval times. The system is still used today but the material used is not wheat.

The present hall is about 43 ft. 6 in. long by 27 ft. 0 in. wide

and is now of six bays.

The hall was completely timber built, the trusses entirely supported on oak posts about 13 in. square coming down to a stone plinth at ground level. The roof is a handsome one, the trusses being alternately of hammer-beam and tie-beam construction and 7 ft. 3 in. apart. An authority at the time of the discovery thought it to be probably about 1380-1400, very local in style, the wind braces being of an earlier pattern, a survival, not uncommon in Wales and the border counties. The Royal Commission on Historic Monuments gives the date of the roof as about 1400, which, if that were the case, could not be the roof on the building mentioned in the first record of 1392. However, the Royal Commission is not infallible, and it is possible that the roof is of an earlier date, bearing in mind that the first hammer-beam roof in England is stated to be in Westminster Hall, which is 1380.

The hammer-beams are moulded and terminate in half carved figures and chamfered beams above, forming two-centred arches under the collars. The tie-beams support panelled king-posts under the collars and there are ranges of open trefoil-headed timber panels between the tie-beams and collars and above the collars. The carved and traceried braces below the tie-beams and hammerbeams are, with one exception, modern and there is much modern work in the rest of the roof. Between the trusses are cusped wind braces forming trefoil-headed arches in the lower range and quatrefoils above. The hall has only about 22 ft. 0 in. length of cellars,

all at the south end.

After I had pointed out that the first hammer-beam roof in England was stated to be Westminster Hall, Mr. Morgan mentioned an interesting reference to that great work which clearly showed the connection between Westminster Hall and Hereford. The following extract is, therefore, of great interest:

The records of the re-roofing of Westminster Hall (completed c. 1397) give the names of persons in charge of various works and show how responsibility was divided. They were collected in the Blue Book reporting the condition of the roof timbers, after a survey by H.M. Office of Works. This book gives detailed references to the documents from which the information was derived. It states:

"In 1394 John Godmeston, Clerk, was appointed to cause the Great Hall in the Palace of Westminster to be repaired, taking the necessary masons, carpenters and labourers, wherever found, except in the fee of the Church, with power to arrest and imprison contrariants until further order, and also to take stone, timber, tiles and other materials and carriage for the same at the King's charges and to sell branches, bark and other remnants of trees . . . accounting for the monies as received and receiving in that office wages and

fees at the discretion of the Treasurer of England.

"John Godmeston had been Vicar of Brampton, Prebend of Moreton Parva in Hereford Cathedral, had a third portion of the church of Bromyard in 1387, was Prebend of Wydyngton Parva in Hereford Cathedral in 1389. In 1387 he was granted the chancellorship of St. Paul's Cathedral, and in 1398 the church of Ross in Hereford diocese. In 1399 he was given the reversion of the first vacant prebend in the college of St. Stephen, at Westminster, a Prebend of Chichester was added to his other preferments and he was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer." [It is evident that he was appointed as a good man of business, and to control expenditure.]

At the same time Hugh Herland, Carpenter, was appointed Controller

to John Godmeston in respect of this work.

"Hugh Herland was one of the King's master carpenters, 'verging on old age '. He advised on the repairs of Winchester Castle 1390. In 1396 as Keeper of the King's Carpentry Works, he was granted a little house in the Palace at Westminster for keeping his tools and for making his models (formæ, formulæ) and moulds for his carpentry work . . . In 1397 he is called King's Esquire, Chief Carpenter, Controller and Surveyor of the Works."1

The works, being chiefly carpenter's works, were placed in charge of the carpenter who designed the new roof.

¹ Taken from A History of the English House, by N. Lloyd, 1949, pp. 24-5.

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THE ROMAN FORT AT BUCKTON, HEREFORDSHIRE-**EXCAVATIONS**, 1959

By S. C. STANFORD, B.A.

In the summer of 1959, Mr. Arnold Baker observed and photographed a new Roman fort and temporary camp at Buckton Park,1 one mile west of Leintwardine, the site of Bravonium, in N.W. Herefordshire.2 In view of the obvious relevance of the site to the problems of Leintwardine itself the discovery was passed to the writer by Mr. Graham Webster, M.A., F.S.A., the University of Birmingham Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Staff Tutor in Archæology. It was clearly desirable to obtain some early information about the new site and the interest and co-operation of the owner, Mr. C. R. Harley, and farmer, Mr. J. C. Manford, made it possible for members of the Club and Leintwardine W.E.A. to excavate a section across the eastern defences of the fort in October.3 Mr. Manford generously left a strip unplanted to enable the section to be completed and undertook the refilling of the trench. The work was directed by the writer assisted by Mr. W. T. Jones, A.R.P.S., who was also responsible for the photographic record.

The sites are on level ground just above the flood-plain of the Teme which lies to the south, and on a hard yellow shale that forms a stiff buff clay subsoil. Their plan is given in Fig. 1, p. 258.

THE AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Plate I shows the sites from the west. In the foreground, beside the modern lane, three sides of a square, ditched enclosure show as a dark line in the ripening crop of oats. The sides of the square are approximately 400 ft. long and enclose an area of about 3.6 acres. A single gateway shows in the centre of the south side where the ditch is brought inwards to form a semicircular clavicula. The enclosure is almost certainly the labour camp constructed when the permanent fort was being built 150 yards to the south-east.

It is the latter which provides the most striking witness of the value of aerial photography for archæological reconnaissance. In the wheat field bounded by the tree-lined modern leat, can be seen the plan of over half of this fort. The dark mark of its western ditch passes into the oat field but is lost as it approaches the hedge, and no marks appear in the central field of grass where, however, another photograph confirms the location of the rest of the fort.

National Grid Reference SO 391733.

² For excavations at Leintwardine see W.F.C.T., Vol. XXXVI (1959),

pp. 87-99.

Plate II reveals the permanent fort in greater detail. The single ditch shows on the western side as a broad dark mark, but after reaching the south-west corner it disappears and is only recovered as a faint intermittent mark along the eastern side. Within the ditch the parched and fast-ripening wheat over the rampart wall shows as a light mark along part of the west side, round the south-west corner and along the southern rampart to the electricity pylon. Although missing at this corner the mark appears where it is crossed by the dark curving line of the old hedgerow, and can be seen clearly at the junction of the wheat and barley fields. Breaking the wall on the east and south sides are two gateways, the paired square stone guardrooms of which are built against the wall. A slight interruption of the dark ditch-mark is the only indication of the west gate's position. On the eastern and southern sides between the wall and the parallel broad light mark of the intervallum roadway, the base of the rampart bank appears as a dark crop-mark resulting from the better retention of moisture by its turf.

Within the fort the southern street plan is discernible. From the south gate a street runs north to fade out approximately opposite the east gate. The non-central position of the south gate shows that this street is the via principalis meeting in the centre of the parched area the east-west via praetoria from the east gate.

The parched mark of the via quintana, a street connecting this to the parallel via principalis, and two interval streets between building areas in the south-east quadrant can also be seen. These allow a reasonably complete plan of the fort to be prepared as

shown in Fig. 1.

Only between the via quintana and via principalis are any parch marks to be seen indicating building foundations. The conclusion must be that only the main administrative and store buildings-principia, praetorium and horrea-which would be placed between these streets, were of stone; the barracks themthemselves being of timber.

The east gate should be in the centre of the east side, and the N—S axis of the fort may therefore be determined as 460 ft. over the rampart walls. The corresponding E—W dimension is approximately 560 ft., so that the area is 5.88 acres. Thus Buckton is one of the larger of the Welsh Border auxiliary forts, about equal in size to Leintwardine and like the latter, large enough to hold a garrison of a thousand troops.

EXCAVATIONS, 1959

The Club's excavations at Leintwardine in 1959, showed that the permanent fort built there soon after A.D. 150 remained the local military establishment until well into the fourth century.

³ Thanks for valuable work on the site are gratefully recorded to Mrs. M. U. Jones, Mrs. Y. Stanford, Misses E. V. G. Brown, G. Gardner, D. Harrison, B. Howard, M. Huntington, A. Speare, and Messrs. H. and N. Buzzard, J. C. Price, W. H. Thomas and J. Turner.

¹ Excavations in 1959 showed that the southern limit of the fort must lie further north than suggested in the 1958 report, and the probable size is 6.0-6.25 acres.

Until further work has been done it is impossible to be certain of the earlier history of the site, but the finds of pottery suggest that it was also occupied in the late first century A.D., and then relinquished for the first half of the second.\(^1\) Mr. Baker's discovery of the Buckton fort suggested that we should have there the missing early second-century fort, and possibly too, its first-century precursor, the recognition of which could obviate further search at Leintwardine. It was therefore decided to test the Buckton site with the following limited immediate objectives in view:

- (i) To establish whether the stone defences were original or inserted into an existing rampart.
- (ii) To obtain some dating evidence for the occupation of the fort.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

A 3 ft. trench was cut across the eastern defences and extended 3 yds. into the building area beyond the *intervallum* road, as shown in fig. 1. This limited excavation has shown that at this point at least the defences are a single-period work, associated with occupation between c. A.D. 120 and c. A.D. 160. The rampart wall and buildings were deliberately dismantled in Roman times presumably c. A.D. 160 when a new fort was built at Leintwardine,

The following features were revealed by the section (fig. 2):

- 1. A ditch, 15 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep.
- The foundations of a stone rampart-retaining wall, 4 ft. 10 in. wide and 1 ft. 6 in.—2 ft. 9 in. deep.
- The base of a clay-and-turf rampart bank 17 ft. wide and 6—10 in. thick.
- 4. A marker slot 1 ft. wide and 9 in. deep.
- 5. A gravel intervallum road 24 ft. wide, and 9 in. thick.
- 6. A drain 3 ft. wide and 1 ft. 6 in. deep.
- 7. The position of the robbed wall of a (?) timber building.

DETAILS OF SECTION

1. The ditch, cut in the hard natural shale, has a steep outer slope and a gentle inner one reaching right up to the wall. This inner slope, if projected, meets the top inner edge of the wall trench, and the difference in depth between the outer and inner sides of this trench indicates that the ditch was originally cut from the line later used as the inner side of the wall trench. On the sloping surface thus presented the latter trench was dug. Trampled into the natural shale and clay subsoil are the masons' chippings scattered when the wall was built. These extend down the inner slope of the ditch and into its bottom, proving conclusively the contemporaneity of the wall and the ditch in its existing form. Had there been an earlier ditch it must have been excessively shallow to have been eclipsed by the cutting of this ditch; and there is no

suggestion of its former existence in the present profile. The only irregularities in this are the small hole and platform on the inner slope. These are probably to be seen as temporary features connected with the scaffolding required when the wall was built; masons' chippings place them too in the same period as wall and ditch. Once the wall was finished these irregularities were levelled with earth so that the inner slope was smooth from wall to ditchbottom. The derivation of part of the ditch fill from the eastern (outer) side shows that a small counterscarp bank on the outer lip of the ditch increased its effective depth by perhaps three feet.

2. As noted above, the wall trench was dug on the inner slope with dumps of mortar and concrete (plate III), p. 262. Although the stone used on the inner side was not dressed it was closely packed, completely filling the trench. At the front, well-mortared squared blocks were used, but it would seem likely that the single course exposed is the base of the dressed section of the wall. With the exception of some water-worn pieces in its core the wall was built of quarried purplish red sandstone. The nearest source for this is Coxall Knoll, an outlier of Old Red Sandstone in a district composed mainly of the flaggy Wenlock Limestone and the massive Aymestrey Limestone with their associated shales. The Old Red provides better building stone than either of the limestones but since Coxall Knoll is in any case the nearest rock outcrop to the site north of the Teme (one mile away), it cannot be argued that it was deliberately sought out by the Romans because of its better quality.

Any estimate of the original height of this wall must be based on the evidence for the bank raised behind it, and this follows below. The wall foundations themselves, with the facing stones removed to Roman ground level as seen in plate IV, show that the stone was removed deliberately for re-use elsewhere. The ditch section shows a thick spill of rubble and earth sliding down from the wall into the ditch (plate IV) and coming to rest on top of only a foot of primary clay silting. In this rubble was hardly any large or dressed stone. This would have been taken away when the wall was demolished; and the low position in the ditch of the residual rubble shows the demolition to have taken place soon after the neglect of the ditch.

3. Behind the wall the turf had been removed from a 17 ft. wide strip, exposing the firm clay subsoil and forming a 6 in. foundation slot in which the rampart bank was built. The base of this shows thin dumps of clay between retaining walls of turf, and so suggests the method of construction used for the full height of the rampart. A 4 ft. front wall of turf would have been built to retain the clay and shale dug from the ditch and foundation trench, and afford a vertical face against which the stone wall might be built. At the rear a sloping turf cover would have served to retain the core of the bank and so maintain a steep slope.

Report forthcoming.

In estimating the original height of this bank and, consequently, its stone revetment the sources of material available need to be considered. There is first the turf and earth upcast from the ditch and wall trench, less sufficient to provide the counterscarp bank 6 ft. wide by 3 ft. high. This would only provide for a relatively small bank; but the absence of an old turf line from most of the section suggests that the turf was stripped from the whole fort site. This would provide sufficient extra material from 6 in. turves to raise the bank 12 ft. above the original ground level, allowing for a 6 ft. rampart walk on the bank itself, plus possibly another 3 ft. from the wall thickness.

This estimate allows the probable height of the wall to be determined as 17 ft. 6 in. externally from ground level to the parapet, 3 ft. 6 in. above the rampart walk. To the merlon top it would have been little under 20 ft. A possible reconstruction of a section of the defences is shown in fig. 3.

A local feature of the bank is the 6 in. slot in the clay foundation layer, 12 ft. behind the wall. It did not extend across the trench and further excavation to the north showed the only persistent feature to be the vertical edge of the clay against the rear turf wall.

- 4. Behind the rampart the turf-stripping had respected a yard of ground in which was set a narrow slot 9 in. deep and 1 ft. wide. This continued across the trench and was followed ten feet to the north. Its whole length was filled with clean, light buff clay derived from the natural subsoil. It is probably a surveyor's mark, cut before turfing started and presumably refilled as soon as the defences and streets had been laid out, and certainly before its sides could deteriorate greatly.
- 5. The intervallum road began close behind the rampart, leaving only 3 ft. for the open space found frequently, but not always, between rampart and roadway. The road was made of 9 in. of rammed clean gravel laid on the bared subsoil. On each side was a shallow gutter filled now with grey silt and gravel. There was no sign in the section of more than a single period of construction.
- 6. Below the western, inner, gutter and overlain by the edge of the road was a V-shaped drain, 3 ft. wide and 1 ft. 6 in. deep, filled with large gravel and grey silt. The careful grading of the road base shows that this drain was intended to take the run-off from under the road as well as that from the buildings to the west. On such an impermeable subsoil surface drainage would have been a major problem. This drain—cut before road-making and building had begun—indicates the thorough planning of the engineers responsible for building the fort.
- 7. The westernmost eight feet of the trench showed the start of the built-up area. Here again no turf line was present and occupation material was embedded in the top three inches of clay

subsoil. This was covered by a 3 in. destruction layer containing roofing tiles, stone slabs (? tilestones), and iron bolts, which spilled into an irregular shallow depression running north-south. The depression would appear to mark the former line of a timber wall but from the section available it is not possible to decide whether a sleeper beam or a stone sill was removed when the building was dismantled.

FINDS

There were no finds of pottery or other objects from below the rampart or road, or in the primary silt of the ditch. The samian sherds are from the deliberate fill of the ditch and in a very soft condition. Although they would be in place in a Hadrianic-Antonine context none is closely datable.

The coarse ware illustrated in fig. 4 was found unstratified in the ditch (no. 5); on top of the rampart base (nos. 1, 3, 8, 9 and 10); on the road surface (nos. 4 and 6); or in the destruction level in the building area (nos. 2 and 7). Sherds similar to nos. 2 and 7 were found in the occupation level in the building area, showing that the limited pottery evidence agrees with the structural indications that the site was occupied for a single, relatively brief, period.

The earliest material here is the rustic ware (nos. 9 and 10). Such ware, common on late first-century sites, appears to last until c. A.D. 130¹ so that the Buckton fort should have been first occcupied not later than this. The black-burnished cooking pot (nos. 2) and bowl (no. 7), represent the early forms in this fabric but should not be earlier than c. A.D. 125, and Gillam's date for the first appearance of the bowl is in fact c. A.D. 140.

The lowest possible date for the abandonment of the site must be that of the construction of the Antonine fort at Leintwardine. Excavations there in 1958, indicated that this was probably soon after A.D. 150 and this was confirmed in 1959. More extensive excavation should allow a closer dating of the Buckton site, but for the present between A.D. 120—160 would appear consistent with the somewhat limited evidence.

SAMIAN (not illustrated):

- 1. Base of Form 37 or 30.
- 2. Rim of Form 35 or 36.
- 3. Fragment of Form 30.

COARSE WARE (fig. 4, p. 260):

- 1. Hard grey ware.
- Black-burnished cooking pot with acute-angled lattice decoration on an unburnished background. Dark grey gritty fabric. The form

¹ For full discussion see F. H. Thompson, Ant. J., Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 15-52.

² Op. cit., p. 93.

- is Gillam's Type 116 (A.D. 125-150).¹ Cf. also Castell Collen, 1954, fig. 5, 5, from the destruction levels of the west gate and associated with samian dated A.D. 120-140.²
- 3. Rim of small jar in gritty grey ware.
- 4. Flanged bowl in smooth cream ware with a soapy feel. An unusual form and possibly therefore an imported vessel.
- 5. Bead-rim bowl in light red ware.
- 6. Bowl with grooved rim in sandy buff ware.
- Bowl in black-burnished ware with acute-angled lattice decoration. Cf. Gillam's Type 221, A.D. 140-180.¹
- 8. Smooth grey ware with incised combed decoration. The fabric is similar to that of the rustic ware and it may well be of the same date. Local examples may be noted from below the Antonine rampart at Leintwardine (op. cit., fig. 5, 16) and below the second-century rampart at Kenchester (ibid., p. 112, fig. 6, 13).
- 9. Grey ware with weak linear rustication.
- 10. Dark grey ware with nodular rustication.

Conclusions

The Buckton fort was occupied by a garrison of 1,000 troops some time between A.D. 120 and A.D. 160. The recent excavations have produced no evidence of an earlier occupation and it must be concluded provisionally that the stone-walled fort was the first on the site. There is no indication of any repairs to the defences before the wall was demolished and the site abandoned, and it has been shown that this was a methodical dismantling occurring soon after the neglect of the ditch, and certainly therefore in Roman times. The occasion for this must have been the transfer of the local garrison to the Leintwardine site on the other side of the river Clun c. A.D. 160.

This raises the first two problems posed by the Buckton evidence: why should the garrison have been moved at all in the middle of the second century A.D., and why should this move have been associated with a change from a stone-faced rampart to a timber-laced one? It is not possible to be certain whether the move was for strategic or geographical reasons, but in view of the reduction of Castell Collen, and the reconstruction of Forden Gaer at about the same time, the move may be seen as part of the same general re-organisation of the frontier in the Central Marches—suggesting that the repercussions of the northern revolt of A.D. 155-8 were felt along the Welsh frontier too. These sites may then show the military response to a situation which had been allowed to get out of control; and it may be noted that the immediate effect of that revolt on the town of Viroconium (Wroxeter) might be seen in the first destruction of its forum c. A.D. 155-165.

With these possibilities in mind it is worth considering the broad differences between the Leintwardine and Buckton sites. Buckton, on the Welsh side of the Clun, may be characterised as a forward, aggressive, confident position, in keeping surely with the whole tenor of the Roman army's activities in Britain under Hadrian. Even its thick stone wall reflects the permanence intended by engineers with confidence in the maintenance of the status quo. The "retreat" to Leintwardine, east of the Clun, c. A.D. 160. obviated the need to control the Clun ford for the safe keeping of north-south communications along Watling Street West, and would have allowed immediate troop movement eastwards without a river crossing. The Leintwardine site is, then, one of greater overall strength, a site for the cautious, defensive army that took on the task of restoring order, and maintaining communications after the troubles of the middle of the second century A.D. This concern with communications—great enough to allow the Buckton fort to be abandoned-lends support to the idea that the forces which had given trouble were in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort; that the descendants of the hillfort communities of Brandon, Coxall Knoll, Croft Ambrey, Wapley and others remained hostile to the conquerors into the late second century A.D. if not right through the occupation.

Final consideration of our second problem—the change in defence from Buckton's stone to Leintwardine's logs and clay—must await completion of work at Leintwardine. It may here be remembered that one of the most interesting features of this frontier re-organisation is the construction of these unusual multiple timber-laced ramparts at Forden Gaer and Leintwardine. At the latter site it can now be seen that this method was actually preferred to the stone revetment of the Buckton fort, itself within sight of Leintwardine. Whatever the ultimate reason the impression is one of a deliberate attempt to find, not simply a substitute for a stone wall, but a new defence that would be without the disadvantage inherent in the stone one—vulnerability to sapping. The Roman army hereabouts was searching for new strength, and experimenting with novel ramparts. Such an interpretation is not discordant with the conclusions drawn from the geographical

distinction between the two sites.

There remains the problem of the first-century fort in this area, the probability being that it was at Leintwardine, although definite evidence of its existence there has not yet been obtained.

The Roman roads of the area offer some interesting problems and possibilities. The re-alignment of roads consequent upon the oscillation of the local garrison between Leintwardine and Buckton raises the possibility of actually dating certain roads fairly closely, and it would be interesting to see whether any significant differences could be found between the roads of the several periods. The Buckton fort is not on any known Roman road, but the projections of the Weo Farm (G.R. SO 413802)—Shelderton (G.R. SO 406777) section

¹ J. P. Gillam, ¹ Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels in North Britain ", A. Aeliana, Vol. XXXV (1957).

² L. Alcock, Trans. Radnor. Soc., Vol. XXV (1955).

 $^{^{3}}$ 1959 excavations at Leintwardine showed that the lacing was not limited to *ballistae* positions.

⁴ Donald Atkinson, Wroxeter, 1923-27, p. 105.

of Watling Street West and the modern Wigmore-Adforton road converge on the site. This should repay investigation as the Hadrianic route, laid out c. A.D. 120 to replace part of the (? first-century) original Watling Street West, and in turn falling into disuse after A.D. 160 when the Watling Street resumed its function as the main north-south route for frontier troop movements and supplies.

The alignment of the Buckton temporary camp on the modern lane suggests a Roman origin for this. If the camp is correctly surmised as contemporary with the construction of the fort, this Roman road would have been in existence in the early second century. From the camp the road alignment is continued westwards by field boundaries towards the narrow terrace between Coxall Knoll and the Teme so providing a starting point for the Teme valley road to the site at Stow (G.R. SO 310734) and thence, presumably, to modern Knighton and the fort at Castell Collen.

With such interesting developments already apparent in the Leintwardine area much more work must be done. The Buckton fort offers unusual opportunities for more extensive excavation. The absence of a complex history would give greater dating value to any material recovered, and from it might be obtained a fully representative sample of Welsh frontier coarse wares contained within a relatively narrow chronological period. Such work should in time provide a closer dating for the site, with necessary implications for the dating of other forts seen to be concerned in the reorganisation of the middle of the second century A.D.

Discussions about the problems of the site with Professor I. A. Richmond and Miss Grace Simpson have been of great value and encouragement; and I am greatly indebted also to my wife for her help at all stages of the excavation and preparation of this report.

ANCIENT BURIED ROADS IN SOUTH HEREFORDSHIRE PART I

By N. P. BRIDGEWATER, B.SC.

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

In the Woolhope Club centenary volume, Professor D. R. Dudley emphasized the need for investigation of Roman sites and roads in Herefordshire. The object of the present work is to ascertain the true course of the Roman road from Ariconium to Monmouth. The study of this specific route, and of associated roads of other ages, has naturally stimulated a general interest in the ancient road systems of south Herefordshire. Accordingly, a summary of possible routes in the district has been compiled, to form a basis for future work.

The discovery of the Roman roads has been made difficult because long stretches are missing, due to robbing of the surfacing materials, and the survey has been rendered more complicated by the discovery of roads of other ages. The major problem in a survey of this kind lies in the correct dating of buried roads and great care is required in drawing conclusions from the evidence of excavation. In passing, it may be mentioned that theories formed concerning possible routes based upon an examination of superficial features, unaided by excavation, can be very misleading. It is important to realise that not all buried roads were necessarily constructed during the Roman period; their date of construction can only be established by their relationship to other associated structures of known age.

Inevitably, this investigation has raised many other problems, and has revealed other routes requiring exploration. In particular it has revealed two sites at which small scale excavations were undertaken, namely, a roadside structure in the Wigg meadows and an iron working establishment at Whitchurch.

METHODS

The survey was mostly carried out during the winter months, when the restricted vegetation gave easier working conditions. The preliminary field work consisted of examining topographical features and testing likely areas by probing. The study of old maps and local literature, aided by the Tithe Awards, sometimes gave useful clues. Place names were also sometimes helpful. In this connection, the Wigg meadow is reflected in the Anglo-Saxon term "Wigg", denoting "a way". The presence of the same term in "Wigpool" also suggests an association between the Roman road and the iron mines on Wigpool common. "Cinderberry", on Howle hill, is another suggestive name, but field work did not reveal any areas of slag residues or buried structures. The supposed connection between old roads and the term "street" has proved to be unhelpful in two instances, where it was found that both Coughton street and Whitchurch street did not mark the line of Roman roads. An examination of prints from the National Air Survey, covering 16 square miles around Ariconium, has failed to show any sign of buried roads.

The final stage of the work was to excavate sections across the probable routes which were suggested by the field surveys.

RESULTS OF SURVEY OF ROUTES AND SITES

On the map, fig. 1, are shown the fifteen excavated sites. (See p. 263.)

FIRST ROUTE-BURY HILL TO GOOMSTOOL

This consists of preliminary work on the route to Gloucester. Commencing at the hamlet of Bury hill, two excavations were made along the supposed Roman road to Gloucester.

The route, which is marked as a Roman road on the 6 in. Ordnance Survey, probably commences at Bury hill on the edge of the supposed site of the town of Ariconium, and leads past the present cottages into a lane on a S.E. course. This portion is now a small hollow-way. After 220 yards with a steady incline, the lane emerges into a field, the north side of which is followed by the route. The first excavation (no. 1) was made three feet outside the angle formed by two field boundaries (SO/645235), 300 yards from Bury hill. This junction is shown on the 1924 edition of the 6 in. Ordnance Survey map. The road surface was 15 in. below ground level, and consisted of iron slag compacted with stones, laid upon the natural marly loam in the form of an agger. It was 4 ft. 9 in. in width and had side pieces each three feet wide consisting of grit and small stones. On one side was a gully 6 in. deep let into the subsoil. On the other side another road was found, joining the first at an angle, and this was in fact a junction of two roads. There were no datable finds. A section across the second road, which lay at an angle of 40 degrees to the first, proved that it was of similar construction, and that its course was in the direction of Eccleswall farm. Probing also showed that the first road continued in the direction of Goomstool. Although the land between Bury hill and Goomstool was thoroughly explored there were no further remains to be found.

The second excavation (no. 2) was made at Goomstool (SO/651228) at a point 170 yards north-west of Goomstool cottages, outside the intersection of two field boundaries. The road surface, which was found one foot below ground level, was much disturbed. It consisted of stones mixed with some slag, and was 10 feet wide. Some large stones of irregular shape were found at one side of the road but there were no datable finds.

Field work between Goomstool and Lea, and in the direction of Mitcheldean, did not reveal any other stretches of buried roads, but a considerable quantity of iron slag was discovered in a ploughed field situated between Green lane and Rock farm, which suggests a possible road here.

SECOND ROUTE—BURY HILL TO ECCLESWALL FARM

At 560 yards W.S.W. of Eccleswall farm a section (no. 3) was cut across the road described above as intersecting route I (SO/648236). The road surface lay one foot below ground level and was nine feet wide, in the form of an agger. It was exceptionally well preserved and consisted of compact iron slag, which contained a clay pipe and two chips of post-mediæval pottery. The surfacing of this road can be no earlier than ca. A.D. 1700 and it was probably constructed to carry iron slag residues from Ariconium to Linton for resmelting. This was done on a large scale in the 18th century and the writer has observed a considerable bed of slag residues and the remains of a mill pond near Burton court.

In all probability the remains discovered along route I represent the traces of a portion of the Roman road from Gloucester to Ariconium, but it must be emphasized that no dating evidence was found to prove this. As noted above, the buried road from Eccleswall which joins route I is of a much later date.

THIRD ROUTE—BURY HILL TO FROGMORE

The route commences at Bury hill on a S.W. alignment passing three mill ponds at the head of a small valley S.W. of Bury hill. These ponds were noted by the Rev. E. R. Holland¹ and were presumably associated with iron working. After joining the present lane, it passes under the railway line, crossing the main Gloucester road, into the Wigg meadows.

The first spot chosen for excavation, Wigg 1 (no. 4), was situated 180 yards from the main road and 16 yards from the hedge (SO/636228). The road surface was very well preserved and very compact, being 3—4 in. thick, consisting of a mixture of iron slag with pebbles from the local quartz conglomerate. The road was 2 ft. 6 in. below present ground level and was 18 feet wide. There was a ridge along each side, composed of cindery material—a mixture of slag, coal and iron residues—which was softer than the road metal. The usual agger was absent, and the ridges may be the remains of a later re-surfacing. Only small chips of pottery were found on this site.

Wigg II, the second site chosen for excavation (no. 5), was situated further along the route (between sites I and III), and consisted of a large area of slag and black earth exposed at the present land surface. Excavation showed that the whole area had been very much disturbed, but there were traces of one side ridge of the buried road.

At Wigg III (no. 6), an extensive area of buried structural material was discovered (SO/634225). An excavation of eight trenches revealed the road with a structure alongside. This is shown in fig. III. The edge of the slag spread lay 22 feet from the hedge and extended nearly 70 feet into the field. The floor of the structure was 15 in. below ground level, with a black occupation and destruction layer above containing an assortment of finds (fig. III, nos. 1-15). These included pottery (see fig. IV), slag, charcoal, nails, red brick fragments, a stone roofing tile pierced by a nail, glass, a fragment of horsehoe, animal bones, and some lead. There was also a whetsone of millstone grit and a large portion of a red flue brick. Several sandstone blocks, one of them being shaped, lay on the floor and in the soil outside, but they did not form a recognisable wall. The trench CD, in fig. III, exposed the edge of the road, which terminated in a ridge of decomposed freestone, which when found, was a heap of sand. Two small portions of red brick and a pottery fragment were found underneath the ridge. The slag road surface appeared to merge into the basic foundation below the structure. The pottery found in both the occupation layer and the slag foundation layer was of second to fourth century date, and indicates that the road and the structure were built and in use during the second century.

The road was next discovered and excavated (no. 7) in the grounds of Frogmore (SO/630220). An area of slag surfacing over 30 feet wide was found here, this excessive quantity being necessary because the land is low lying and marshy. It was also established that, in comparatively modern times, the brook now flowing through the grounds of the house had been diverted from its original straight course into a channel cut through the edge of the road.

FOURTH ROUTE-FROGMORE TO GOODRICH

The link of evidence from Frogmore to Goodrich ford is not yet very strong and requires further investigation. It consists of observations made when the modern lane was opened up for the laying of water pipes in 1958, when layers of slag were revealed near Coleraine farm, and at Bill Mills corner. On the same occasion a feature of much interest was noted, at a section in the lane above the new pumping station.* This consisted of an 8 in. layer of slag overlying 8 in. of charcoal and blackened soil, the whole extending for 80 feet along this route. Probably an ancient iron working site was once in operation here.

The next spot chosen for examination (no. 8) was at Goodrich ford (SO/596204). The lane from Homme green merges into a trackway which finally crosses a field to the river's bank at the ferry crossing. This course is well defined as a causeway, and a section cut across it revealed a road surface 4-6 in, below ground level composed of rounded limestone and igneous pebbles, probably derived from the shallow reaches of the adjacent river. Its width was 19 feet and the edges were steeper than is usual with the Roman agger. The pebble layer contained the base of an 18th century wine bottle and a plain iron washer. As it has been established that the turnpike road across Kerne bridge was not built before 1825, (12) the buried road at Goodrich ford must antedate that. No trace could be found of any earlier road in this field. An old milestone stands by the side of the road near the river's bank, inscribed on two of its faces "3 miles to Ross, 1 mile to Cross Keys"-which must have been erected for the benefit of travellers along this route.†

FIFTH ROUTE—GOODRICH TO WHITCHURCH

The following investigations were made in the fields situated between the ferry and the village of Goodrich. Here the fields

are open and fairly level for the first 440 yards, after which the land rises steeply. In this latter part lies a deep hollow-way following the field boundary on the east, and where it enters the village it passes an old building, once a gaol, known as Y-Crwys.

The first excavation (no. 9), took place in the hollow-way (SO/575196). The pre-turnpike road was first found, 4 in. below ground level at the centre. This was nearly 8 ft. wide, the surface consisting of limestone from Howle hill and containing several pieces of 19th century pottery. Underneath it, at one side only, was a line of large stones, sandstone and conglomerate. Below this lay a ridge of small stones and slag, and where this rested on the clayey loam a pottery rim was discovered. This sherd, fig. IV, no. 12, is of some interest because it may belong to the sub-Roman period, but there is not yet unanimity of opinion on its age. Another section was cut a few feet away, confirming the stratification of the first trench, and also showing that the underlying clayey loam was a levelling layer as it contained odd pieces of slag, charcoal, and a piece of mediæval pottery. These sections were continued down to the bedrock.

The second excavation (no. 10) was made on the side of the ditch which was a continuation of the hollow-way in the level field. It was clear that one edge of the road found here had been cut away by the ditch. The road surfacing consisted of iron slag and contained a large quantity of 13th century pottery, mostly cooking pot rims, which were considerably blackened. Similar pottery was also found above and below the road, some pieces actually resting on the bedrock. It is possible that the road surfacing material had been brought from the spoil heap of a local iron working site, such as the Whitchurch vagas. Probing indicated that the slag surfaced road, as found at B, continued in the field across the ditch, leading towards the castle, but it was not possible to excavate here.

The third excavation (no. 11), was conducted across the preturnpike road, at a point in the level field just below the hollowway. Surface indications showed that this road continued in a straight line to the river's bank, and was quite separate from the slag road in the ditch. The road surface, which was 3—4 in. below ground level, consisted of limestone cobbles, worn smooth by usage and showing two ruts approximately 5 ft. apart. A small quantity of slag and some pieces of 13th century pottery were found in the clayey loam under the road, and a sandy layer was discovered 2½ ft. below it.

SIXTH ROUTE—WHITCHURCH TO MONMOUTH

Whilst searching in the Sellarsbrook valley for the remains of the supposed Roman villa, another slag-surfaced road was exposed. This was excavated at two spots (SO/542172 and SO/540171). In the first section (no. 12), the road surface was found 15 in, below ground level and was simply a raised track on a

^{*} I am indebted to Mr. Buckle, a tourist, for kindly drawing my attention to this feature.

[†] At some time this milestone had been removed from its present position, to which it was restored on the recommendation of Mr. J. E. E. Oakley. Mr. Oakley has also discovered three other milestones along the route to Ross. That a ferry was in operation here until the early 20th century is well known.

slight agger, 9 ft. in width, the side pieces below this being continued in slag. The second section (no. 13), in which the surface was three feet below ground level, revealed a slag surface over a primary foundation of soft grey-black sandstone, the colour having been attained by the leaching of iron salts from the superimposed slag. A deep depression cut into this foundation suggested a wheel rut. No datable finds were obtained in either section.

A third excavation (no. 14) along this stretch of road was made in the natural dip of land rising towards Ganarew cross. Only a portion of the slag surface could be found, and this lay 4 ft. below ground level, this greater depth being due to soil creep from the adjacent heights. It was interesting to find also a band of slag only 20 in. below ground level and this may be the remains of a later road.

After crossing the main road from Ross to Monmouth, probing indicated the presence of a buried road through the Wyastone Leys estate, leading towards the river. The fourth excavation (no. 15) was made in the fields south of the lane leading to Chapel farm (SO/527148). Two road surfaces were found in the same section, at depths 15 in. and 24 in. respectively, these apparently following the line of the present field boundary towards Monmouth. The upper road surface was roughly constructed of large angular stones, and a chip of 19th or 20th century glazed pottery was found in them. The lower road was divided into two strips by a central gully, the total width being 20 ft., and the surface which was well worn and compacted consisted of hard sandstone, quartz and dolerite. A map of 1801 shows a turnpike road from Dixton to Chapel farm, but a 17th century map gives no route at this spot.

Conclusions

In attempting to identify the original route between Ariconium and Blestium the results from the investigation must be compatible with two factors, namely the true sites of these places, and the recorded distance between them. The remains found at Bury hill and Monmouth do suggest that these places were indeed the original Ariconium and Blestium, but it must be remembered that no evidence has yet been found which permits such a firm conclusion to be made.

Iter XIII, of the Antonine Itinerary, as reported by Codrington, gives the distance from Ariconium to Blestium as XI millia passuum, and taking the Roman mile as eleven-twelfths of an English mile this represents 10·1 miles. By an examination of topographical features it can be seen that the shortest possible route (i.e., via Castlebrook valley) is approximately 12 miles. However, it is now generally recognised that the recorded distances in the various itineraries are sometimes 1—2 miles out. The reason usually given is that the Roman mile was based upon pacing, but it is likely that standardised surveying equipment would have been used.

From the present investigation it can reasonably be concluded that the Bury hill to Frogmore route was constructed in Roman times, probably in the 2nd century. The association of the road with the structure at Wigg III, seems to prove this, but does not prove that it was part of Iter XIII, although topographically this is the most probable route. Nevertheless there has been a body of opinion in favour of a route from the iron mines on Wigpool common, via Hope Mansell, to Ariconium. The situation of Street farm along this route has strengthened this possibility, but this view cannot yet be supported by the writer because considerable field work here has failed to reveal any traces of such a route. As already noted, the Castlebrook valley has not yet been proved to be the site of a Roman road.

The whole valley lying between Pontshill and Penyard hill, leading into the Castlebrook valley, is of geological interest. The subsoil of the three Wigg sites is of sand, and a trial excavation made further out in the meadow towards Pontshill showed the point at which the sandy layer petered out. It gave place to clay interspersed with decayed vegetation. Both the sand and clay layers were intersected by a band of shingle and gravel, the whole system being an example of the phenomenon known as "head". It will be observed that the Roman road was laid in a curved course around Penyard hill to avoid the marshy land.

In the Goodrich complex of routes, there was nothing indicative of a Roman road. In the opinion of the writer there was a pre-Roman hollow-way which was later used in late mediæval times as the site for a constructed road to Monmouth, and still later occupied by a pre-turnpike road which was probably constructed in the late 18th century. Clearly, large quantities of soil, containing 13th century pottery, have been brought here for levelling up prior to road building, and it has been suggested that this may have been associated with the period of major re-construction of Goodrich Castle in the early 14th century. This material may have been the motte of Godric's early castle.

The road found in the Sellarsbrook valley, to Ganarew cross, is a possible Roman route, but here no definite conclusion can yet be given. Similarly, no date can be given to the lower of the two roads at Chapel farm. The depth of this road has probably been enhanced by periodic flooding from the Wye. The proximity of this route to the river is not one likely to have been favoured for a Roman road, but it is obvious that there is not much choice of location for a road at this point.

HISTORICAL

We are concerned with roads mainly of the Roman and Mediæval periods. Certainly the turnpike roads are now of respectable antiquity, but their routes are recorded with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The characteristic features of Roman roads have been fully described by Codrington, ² Crawford, ³ and more recently by Margary. ⁴ These are the agger, a gently cambered causeway with its surfacing material, the kerbs, and side ditches for demarcation, but these features are modified in our local roads, as their construction appears to be less complex. Although strongly constructed there are no underlying layers of solid materials. The outstanding feature in this area is the use of iron-ore slag for surfacing, and this material was used in Roman and later roads. It is evident that thousands of tons of slag must have been transported from Ariconium and Whitchurch for local road construction in various periods and this indicates the former scale of activities at these iron working sites in Roman times.

The depth of buried roads is a controversial question, but the opinion is here held that the major cause is sinking of the structure, with some humus coverage, due to change in soil texture. Such changes are caused mainly by earth-worm activity in the upper layers, and also by chemical and microbial action. Where roads lie adjacent to high ground, further coverage is produced by soil-creep. Some interesting examples of this process have been quoted by Cornwall.⁵ Much has been written about the locality, with emphasis on the industrial activity at Ariconium, and the location of this site in relation to Gloucester and Monmouth. These three places were recorded in the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus, which was probably compiled in the third century A.D. These matters are discussed by Fosbroke⁶ and Codrington (op. cit.), and in several papers of the Woolhope Club Transactions.⁷⁻¹¹.

DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY (See Fig. IV, p. 265).

Roman. Nos. 1-9. Found at Wigg site III.

- 1. Necked bowl in buff ware. Late 2nd century (Wrozeter¹⁴, 1923-7. Fig. 45).
 - 2. Samian bowl. Form 31. Mid-late 2nd century.
 - 3. Samian shallow dish. Form 36. Mid-late 2nd century.
- 4. Necked jar of grey-black ware. Early 2nd century. (*Llantwit Major*. ¹⁶ No. 160).
- 5. Necked bowl in buff ware. Thick rolled rim, heavily undercut. Late 2nd to 4th century. (Wroxeter, 14 1923-7. Fig. 45.)
- Necked jar of grey-black ware. 180-250 A.D. (Gilliam.¹⁵ No. 138).
- 7. Flanged pie dish of coarse grey-black ware. Late 3rd—early 4th century. (Gillam. 15 No. 228; Llantwit Major. 16 No. 13.)
 - 8. Necked jar in buff ware. Late 2nd to 4th century.
- 9. Cooking pot with cavetto rim, of black ware with smooth surface. Second century.

Mediæval. Nos. 10, 11. Found at Goodrich site B.

These are 13th century cooking pot rims, of rather coarse gritty fabric. Biscuit coloured.

Sub-Roman. No. 12. Found at Goodrich site A.

Shallow bowl with wall-sided rim. Pale red clay, medium coarse with fragments of micaceous grit. Traces of fine red wash on much abraded surface. The fabric resembles A *ii* wares of Tintagel, but is not identical. (*Dark Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden, p. 62, fig. 14, nos. 10–12.) 5th—8th century. Source: probably Visigothic Gaul.

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THE WHITCHURCH VAGAS By N. P. Bridgewater, B.Sc.

SUMMARY

This is a report on the discovery and historical background of a presumed iron working establishment in the Lower Vagas field at Whitchurch, South Herefordshire. It is shown that a furnace was in operation here in the 16th century, and trial excavations proved the existence of floors at two levels, associated with Roman and mediæval remains. From the size of the site, its configuration, and its historical associations, it is a reasonable assumption that the smelting of iron ore was carried on in this spot, both in Roman and mediæval times.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

The area concerned is shown in fig. I, p. 267. It lies to the southwest of Whitchurch, to the west of the main road from Ross to Monmouth (SO/545171). Two small valleys, bounded by slopes of Old Red Sandstone conglomerate contain the Sellarsbrook and Whitbrook streams, which unite in a marshy spot situated at the head of the water meadows. Indeed, the fields are named "Vagas" (termed "Vagars" in the Tithe Awards of 1844), this being a latinised word for a watery place.* The culvert, shown in fig. I, marks the course of a ditch which is present for the whole length of the meadow, and was the original Whitbrook. The rectangles represent the areas excavated.†

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Extensive probing of the locality was undertaken in an attempt to discover the so-called Roman villa. This was commenced in the fields near the Crockers Ash lane, and was continued through the marsh and on its associated platform, and down the meadow to the main road. The result of this work was negative. It is clear that the site previously allotted to the villa, namely in the marshland, is an improbable one, because this spot was likely to have been just as unsuitable in Roman times.

The earliest reference to the supposed villa was given by Mr. T. Wright in 1854, who says "The district of the Dowards lies in the bend of the river between Whitchurch and Ganarew. On the boundary where the two parishes join, in a meadow on the right hand of the road to Monmouth, where the surface presents considerable inequality, I am informed that traces of a Roman villa have been found, but it has not been explored". A further reference by W. T. Watkins, in 1877, states that a tesselated pavement

* It could also possibly be derived from "Vagars", denoting a wanderer.
† A previous excavation showed that a slag surfaced road existed below the Upper Vagas field, leading towards Ganarew.

and a number of coins have been found, but that the villa had not been explored. From these remarks, two facts emerge; firstly the information obtained was not first-hand knowledge, and secondly, the remains were not seen by the two writers, and are not available for further study.

A record taken in 1903³ describes the site of the villa as lying

a quarter of a mile north-west of Sunnyside.

The final result of probing was the discovery of an extensive area of underground structure, the extent of which is shown by the dotted line in fig. I. Trial trenches were then excavated to obtain information on the nature of this structure. It must be emphasized that the survey was a limited one and was carried out to gain some information before all traces are lost in the forthcoming road widening scheme. The results show that a full scale excavation here would be justified.

THE EXCAVATIONS

A selection of the main trench sections is given in fig. 11, p. 268. The main features are as follows:

- The filled-in ditch, marking the former course of the brook, now containing an old culvert and a modern field drain. The culvert was also exposed in trenches IJ and OP (see fig. I), and on opening the latter portion of the culvert an old stone ink bottle of the late 19th century was found.
- The presence of two floors, composed of slag and stones, which were exposed in trenches CD, WX, ST and OP. These floors lay at depths approximately 2½ × 5½ feet, below ground level. In the surface of the upper floor was found some glazed brick and a fragment of post-medieval pottery.
- 3. A sandy bed, sealed by the upper floor, containing quartz pebbles, medieval pottery, lumps of slag, charcoal, and bones and teeth of ox, pig, horse and deer. This layer also contained two 1 in. cubes of red brick, resembling tesserae, and a whetstone of sandstone of the subgrey-wacke type.

In trench ST, Roman pottery was found in the sandy layer, level with, and below, the lower floor.

- 4. The section, QR, dug in the floor of one of the pits, revealed a thick layer of Victorian builder's rubble and broken pottery, near the surface, lying above a deposit of loamy soil. The comminuted slag and red brick at the bottom of the pit contained Roman pottery.
- The trench AB (see fig. I) revealed a slag floor, reaching to the edge of the bedrock. Probing in the stream near this trench showed that the floor was present under the bed of the stream.

DISCUSSION

The excavations, in conjunction with probing in the bed of the present stream, confirm the evidence of the Tithe Award map, that the Whitbrook has been diverted from its original course through the centre of the field. It is clear that the original brook divided the site into two parts, the floor structure and the pits. The most significant feature is the sandy bed. It will be noted that it is confined to the area lying nearest the hill, and may therefore be geological "head". On the other hand, the sand could have been concentrated in a large channel as the result of heavy flooding. The two floors can be roughly dated, the lower one being medieval, and the upper one 16th or 17th century. It is unfortunate that the excavation could not have been continued below six feet, owing to waterlogging of the trenches. It should be noted that although several large stones were found, some of them roughly shaped, there were no roofing tiles, and it is doubtful whether a roofed building existed here.

The purpose of the large pits could not be ascertained. It is difficult to associate them with the process of smelting, and the stratification of section QR suggests that they were deliberately lined. A likely explanation is that the pits were the site of large accumulations of slag remaining from the smelting in Roman times, which was subsequently removed for re-smelting in later centuries. It is reported that the whole area contains large quantities of slag, and that the main part of the village rests upon a slag layer, and this fact, taken in conjunction with the literary evidence and the results of excavation, points to the large scale of operations here in former times.

HISTORICAL

It has been well established that iron working was formerly carried on at numerous places, including Whitchurch, around the fringe of the Forest of Dean. The special quality of Dean ore, has been noted by Dr. Schubert,⁴ who also traces the evolution of iron working in this locality, from prehistoric times, through the Roman, Saxon, Norman, Medieval and Elizabethan periods.⁵

The use of the name "Scowles", and the distribution of iron currency bars, indicates that iron working was carried on by Iron Age peoples.* The Forest of Dean locality was one of the two major iron working regions in Roman times, and this was carried out during the second to fourth centuries. At the numerous places cited in south Herefordshire, large quantities of slag have been found, often associated with Roman pottery and coins. The Wigpool Common and the Dowards were probably the main sources of the iron ore. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the city of Gloucester supplied a fair amount of iron to the king, and this was probably obtained from ores smelted in the Forest of Dean locality. Iron works were owned by the Norman nobility in this area, and later also by monastic establishments. The period of the medieval renaissance, 1154-1348, was the most active one in the early history of the English iron industry. The wars in France, and the Crusades, demanded large quantities of iron for weapons, and the largest supplies came from Gloucester, and this is acknowledged by 12th century writers.

Regarding the antiquity of Whitchurch, it is marked on a map compiled by H. Reade⁶ as being one of the places, named in Welsh in the Book of Llandaff, thus dating it prior to 1133 A.D. Whitchurch is also marked on Professor Rees' map of the 14th century.⁷ In 1932, Mr. P. B. Symonds,⁸ reported the finding of a silver farthing of Edward III in his garden at Daff-y-nant, which lies within 100 yards of the Vagas site. It has been recorded by the Rev. R. T. A. Money-Kyrle⁸ that, at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536, Flanesford Priory possessed (inter alia) "Whitchurch mill and land". Although this may refer to the corn mill at Whitchurch, the term could also apply to an iron working establishment. It is so used by Straker, ¹⁰ and the Vagas site was described by a local person as "the mill". Whitchurch is listed by Schubert¹¹ as one of the medieval iron working sites.

The next phase is indicated by a change from the "direct" bloomery process to the blast furnace. George, earl of Shrewsbury, owned a furnace and a forge at Whitchurch in 1575. This furnace was one of the earliest in England, outside Sussex. Rhys Jenkins12 mentions that the forge was situated east of Whitchurch and the furnace at the west end of the village, to the east of the road. This probably refers to Bridge House, but from the nature and situation of the present finds it is considered that the true site of the furnace in Roman and Medieval times was in the Vagas field, 150 yards to the west. Both furnaces and forges for the treatment of pig iron had bellows and hammers worked by water power, and this required a greater force of water than in the bloomery process. To obtain this, dams (called "bayes") were constructed to impound the waters. With the new "indirect" process, the furnace and the forge were separated, the forge being placed further downstream in order to derive more water power. It seems that the furnace was situated near the Whitbrook and the forge at Old Forge, near the Garron brook. When both furnace and forge were rebuilt in the early 17th century, the furnace retained its old foundation but the forge was moved downstream to New Weir. Reference is made to the New Mill forge in an inventory of 1633, showing that it belonged to Henry, earl of Kent, and was leased to George Kemble of Pembridge castle.13

In a dispute between Thomas Nurse and Rudhale Gwyllwym, concerning the Whitchurch iron works, certain depositions were made in 1672 before the Commissioners. From these it is evident that the furnace was rebuilt in 1657 upon an ancient foundation, and in 1663, "sinders" were dug up near the water troughs, for re-use in the furnace. It was a practice to add Roman slag to the charge of iron ore in order to improve the quality of the iron produced. In 1669, George Scudamore, who then owned the furnace, had new water troughs made, which passed through the land adjoining Bridge House, these troughs being placed in the same position as the old ones, except at the "sinder pitt", where they were laid 1½ feet higher. The furnace was again rebuilt in 1720 by

^{*} The name "scowles" is thought to have been derived from the Celtic "crowll", meaning a cave, and is applied to the ancient iron mines. Four-fifths of the iron currency bars have been found within 40 miles of the Forest.

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William Price.14 There are further references to the New Mill forge, which stopped working in 1820, but the furnace does not receive further mention.

An examination of the Tithe Award map of 1844 shows the course of the Whitbrook, located in the centre of the Lower Vagas

field, where the disused culvert and ditch now run. The opinion has been expressed that limonite from the Mitcheldean area was used in preference to hæmatite from Wigpool. for smelting at Ariconium in Roman times. This view cannot be supported by the findings of slag in the Wigg meadow road.* which was undoubtedly produced from hæmatite, and pieces of unsmelted hæmatite were also found with the slag. The fact that so much iron ore was brought from the Forest of Dean to several sites in south Herefordshire is worth examining, because it means that the ore was transported to the charcoal burning sites. Surely it would have been easier to carry the charcoal to the ore deposits. It has been stated however, that the transport of masses of charcoal is actually more difficult—it is very bulky and it is actively inflamable by friction. A subsidiary factor is that running water is required for washing the ore.

POTTERY. See fig. III, p. 269.

MEDIEVAL. Nos. 1-7. Rims of cooking pots, of rather coarse gritty fabric. The majority are biscuit coloured, but some are grey. No bases were found. Thirteenth century.

ROMAN. Nos. 8-10 found in trench QR; Nos. 11, 12 found in trench ST. 8. Pie dish with groove. Coarse black fabric with lattice work. A.D. 260-320 (Gillam, No. 227,15 Jewry Wall,16 fig. 19, No. 23).

9. Necked bowl with flaring neck. Soft red fabric. A.D. 200-325 (Jewry Wall,.18 Fig. 24, No. 7).

10. Red colour-coated bowl, with curved wall and bead, imitating Drag. form 31. Fourth century A.D. (Sutton Walls.17 Fig. 21, No. 15).

11. Black burnished cooking pot. Smooth black fabric. A.D. 180-250 (Gillam, No. 138).15

12. Handled mug, of smooth red ware. Small groove below rim. Early third century A.D.

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For considerable help with the excavations and field work I am indebted to Mr. A. Lumsdane, Mr. Keith Cheverton, and members of the Monmouth Antiquarians' Field Club. Thanks are due to Mr. Morris the owner of the land for generously consenting to the work being carried out. I am also greatly obliged to Mr. M. P. Watkins for items of local history, and to Mr. G. R. Nicoll for his opinion on the handled mug.

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PREHISTORIC ACCESSIONS TO HEREFORD MUSEUM, 1958-59

By J. F. L. Norwood

Sincere thanks are tendered to Miss L. F. Chitty, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., who has readily allowed extracts to be published from her very full reports on some of the specimens, and to Professor F. W. Shotton, F.R.S., of the Department of Geology, University of Birmingham, who has examined a number of them petrologically. All the specimens described are Herefordshire finds; the Museum accession number precedes each description:

6761. Polished Stone Axe possibly found in Herefordshire (Fig. 4). Given by Miss M. Wight, 14 Overbury Road, Hereford. Length 82 mm., width 51 mm., thickness 28 mm. The axe came to light during preparations for the sale of Sarnesfield Court, the former home of the Marshall family. Miss Chitty reports:

Of its history, nothing is known except that it was a gift from Mrs. Leather, the writer on Herefordshire folklore, who lived at Weobley and died in 1928. The obvious presumption is that it was found in Herefordshire, somewhere within range of Weobley, but of that there can be no certainty. This is the more regrettable because, when this little axe was "sliced" by Professor Shotton, it proved to be of Graig Lwyd rock (Group VII, He 14/c) and ought to be of great importance in studying the distribution of products from these North Welsh factories. As yet, only one other axe of this stone has been recognized from Herefordshire, a somewhat larger specimen from Mocktree, west of Ludlow, near the Shropshire border (He4/c, in Ludlow Museum).

6961. FLINT ARROWHEAD (Fig. 2), found during excavation of Romano-British site at Putley, Nat. Grid Ref. SO 641371.

¹ Transactions Woolhope Club, 1958, pp. 84-87.

Length 40 mm., width 24 mm., thickness 4 mm. Miss Chitty reports:

It is of elongated lozenge shape, of a type that has been found in Secondary Neolithic contexts in Yorkshire, e.g., Seamer Moor funerary deposit, North Riding, Yorkshire, Duggleby Howe barrow, East Riding, Yorkshire. They are assigned by Professor Stuart Piggott to a northern branch of his Dorchester Culture. The Putley arrowhead is unusual in having the angles asymmetrical and very slightly shouldered. There is fine regular trimming with slight retouching all round the edges, leaving a large smooth highly lustrous area. The colour is reddish-buff on one face, white with red-brown mottling on the other-possibly due to secondary staining? The point is missing; only a narrow band of the original dark flint core shows in the fracture. The deep patination suggests that the arrowhead was imported after it had weathered on a chalk or limestone surface, or possibly that it may have been in contact with the local Woolhope limestone. In addition to a number of leaf-shaped arrowheads from Mr. R. S. G. Robinson's sites in the Golden Valley region, there is one found at Poston' which bears a close resemblance to the Putley lozenge, though its surviving lateral angle is rounded. No other similar specimen is known to me from the West Midlands. Among the fairly numerous flints found on the Woolhope Hills and in east Herefordshire there are a few leaf-shaped arrowheads, and these are well represented in south-west Shropshire, but lozenge forms are scarce and they differ in size and character from the Putley find. A geological opinion is needed on the probable source of the flint and the history of the peculiar patination.

6968. STONE SPINDLEWHORL found at Munstone. Given by Mr. P. Evans, The Cottage, Munstone. Diameter 21 mm., thickness c. 5 mm., perforation 6 mm. at centre. Fine-grained brown stone, probably local; faces slightly convex, edge flattened. Neolithic to Iron Age in date.

6973. FLINT KNIFE found at Vowchurch. Given by Michael Lamb, 3 Masefield Avenue, Hereford. Length 47 mm., width 26 mm. A curved mottled grey blade with cherty inclusion, with secondary working on edges. Neolithic or Bronze Age.

6977. FLINT SCRAPER found at the Rectory, Letton, Nat Grid Ref. SO 336469. Given by M. Norman of that address. Length 15 mm., width 13 mm. Grey translucent flint, of pear-shaped "thumbnail" type, with neat secondary working. Bronze Age.

6981. FLINT SCRAPER (Fig. 1), found at Vowchurch. Given by Michael Barber, The Birches, Vowchurch. Length 55 mm., width 44 mm. Pale grey flint with a large chert inclusion; coreshaped, with reverse secondary working on one curved edge and nose. Probably Neolithic.

6982. FLINT KNIFE (Fig. 3), found in Herefordshire, but of unknown provenance. Old label reads "Hfds. L/S.E. 290". Length

² Ibid., Fig. 15.

³ Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles, (1954), pp. 118, 355-6, etc., Fig. 62, 10.

⁴ Transactions Woolhope Club, 1953, pp. xv and 36. Now Hereford Museum, 7172/475.

48 mm., width 33 mm., thickness 7 mm. A thin blade of bluish-grey flint, with fine secondary working on two edges, which seems originally to have been triangular. A similar specimen is in the Sturge Collection, British Museum, from Icklingham, Suffolk, and is described as a "halbert blade form of unknown use". Probably Neolithic.

7020. STONE SPINDLEWHORL found in the Old Orchard at the Manor House, Breinton, Nat. Grid Ref. SO 472398. Formerly in the collection of the late Mr. George Marshall; given by Mrs. E. Ball, Oldfield, Lyde. Diameter 48 mm., thickness 11 mm., perforation 7 mm. at centre. Fine-grained brown stone, probably local; one side convex, edges rounded. Neolithic to Iron Age.

7069. Perforated Stone? Pick (Fig. 6), found at Lower Farm, Preston-on-Wye, Nat. Grid Ref. about SO 415387. Given by Nicholas Green, 51 Oatlands Drive, Weybridge, Surrey. Length 130 mm., width 75 mm., thickness 42 mm. above perforation, diameter of perforation 13 mm. Miss Chitty reports:

The material is identified by Professor Shotton as porphyritic microdiorite, not of Group VII, but probably a north Welsh rock (He 6/ah). The plan is roughly pear-shaped. One face is gently convex above and flattened below the hole; the other face is boldly convex. The cross-section is bunshaped below the hole, stoutly elliptical above. The butt end narrows and swings over to one side, below which that side has a broad facet worked up into it and notched at the bend, showing that the asymmetry was intentional; the end is considerably worn and flaked down by hard use, presumably as a pick; the section below the butt is almost circular. The opposite end is transverse (at right angles to the bore of the shaft-hole), broad and tapering to a blunt edge; it also is damaged and worn down by use. The longer side is a smooth curve bending over to the butt and nicked in below it. The perforation is approximately central and usually small in proportion to the size of the body; it was bored by rotary action from opposite faces and is hourglass in form and slightly oblique. On the convex face the mouth of the hole is 30 mm. across; battering, apparently secondary, has broken through the thin patination of the surface, which is shown to be thicker within the aperture. The opening on the reverse is smooth and unbroken, 28 mm. in diameter. The interior of the shaft is smooth and polished and the junction of the borings has been ground down. The surface of the stone was well ground and shows traces of polish; the colour is a pale mottled grey. The implement weighs 1 lb. 3 oz. I cannot recollect any close analogy for this peculiar and evidently much-used tool. It is to be placed in the Adziform category.

7101. Perforated Stone Slab found 1 ft. down in bank of the Eign Brook, Ledbury Road, Hereford, Nat. Grid Ref. SO 522396. Length 97 mm., width 58 mm., thickness 18 mm. Thin dark grey slab, one narrow end rounded, broader end broken; surfaces smooth with much fine scratching. At the narrow end is an eccentric hourglass perforation made by two instruments of different sizes. Professor Shotton has identified the rock as a hard mudstone, and hence unsuitable for use as a whetstone.

¹ Reginald A. Smith, "Flint Arrowheads in Britain", Archaelogia, Vol. LXXVI (1926-27), pp. 90-91, Fig. 14.

¹ R. A. Smith, *The Sturge Collection of Flints*, British Museum, 1931, p. 12 and Plate III, Fig. 0.

7146. FLINT SCRAPER found at the donor's address, Nat. Grid Ref. SO 506380. Given by Mr. G. S. G. Richards, 292 Ross Road, Hereford. Length 68 mm., width 45 mm. A mottled grey carinated flake, with slight secondary working on edges, even working on nose. Probably Neolithic.

7172/1-531. The R. S. G. Robinson Collection of flint and stone artifacts, found mostly in the Golden Valley area. Bequeathed by the late Mr. R. S. G. Robinson of Poston, Vowchurch, to the Woolhope Club, and deposited on permanent loan.

7174. POLISHED FLINT AXE (Fig. 5). Found at the Throne farm, Weobley, Nat. Grid Ref. SO 406530 and given by Mr. J. H. Ware (Further details awaited.) Length 123 mm., width 47 mm., thickness 27 mm. Miss Chitty reports:

This axe was originally a fine medium-sized specimen, about 54 inches long, made from a piece of mottled honey-coloured flint deepening in parts to orange-brown, with cherty inclusions, buff and whitish, and a large patch of cortex ground down on one face and side. The polished area is partly covered by a film of incipient white patina; there is a little iron staining near one edge angle. Damage to the butt (recent?) has removed about 1 inch from that end; it was probably thin and rather narrow. The edge is sharp, though considerably broken; the present width is 41 mm., but one angle has been reduced by rough chipping. On one face it shows a band of gloss 3 mm. deep, which may result from working on wood,1 and suggests that the implement was hafted as an adze. The maximum breadth and thickness are somewhat below the centre. The sides are squared off and the section is a truncated oval with a low central peak on the more damaged face. The weight is just over 61 oz. Professor Shotton regards it as made out of a rather crude pebble probably derived from the Irish Sea Drift; it is bad working material and there has been difficulty in shaping it; the patch of cortex near one side is hollow and made symmetry impossible. Six stages can be observed in the manufacture and subsequent deterioration of this interesting implement: (1) The nodule was chipped into shape; (2) The faces were ground down in longitudinal facets, of which part of the demarcating ridges remain; (3) The sides were flattened; they meet the broad facets of the body at a sharp angle, except where they have been further rubbed down; (4) The body of the axe was polished, lightly over the butt end, but brought to a glassy lustre on the edge half; (5) Subsequently, large flakes were removed from much of the surface, breaking through the polished areas, and it suffered from rough treatment; a long shallow flake, due probably to a sharp blow on the edge, fractured the bar of gloss and left a gouge-like hollow up one face of the blade. The original sharp edge is chipped and the angles partly destroyed; the angle of one side above the edge is lightly battered and shows minute flecks of lustre; (6) The butt has been truncated and the removal of one side of it appears to be recent; the lateral rim of the fracture is sharply flaked; the interior reveals an ochreous opaque core with a buff chert inclusion at the end. This is the first flint axe to be recorded from the Weobley district. The questions arises whether it is to be connected with a possible movement from the east that brought a few such axes to the Wye-Lugg basin or (as appears far more probable) with the marked line of diffusion of the flint axes that extends up the east side of Wales, following the Usk valley and crossing the Talgarth pass to the upper Wye, one branch spreading thence up the Ithon to the Teme-Clun area, another crossing to the upper Severn basin, with reflex movements from north to south. Axes of stone and flint and many flint implements have been found in the Clyro

district above the Radnorshire flank of the Wye valley, and others above the Golden valley and on the Black Mountains. A small stone axe, proved to be of Craig Lwyd rock (Group VII, He 14/c, now in Hereford Museum, Accession No. 6761) was in the possession of the late Mrs. Leather of Weobley, but nothing is known of its place of discovery, whether local or otherwise; the new-found flint axe suggests that it may indeed have come from the neighbourhood. An opportunity occurred of showing the Weobley flint axe to Dr. H. N. Savory, Keeper of Archæology in the National Museum of Wales, who tells me that the fine polished axe found near Trefeglwys, on Ystradfælog Hill, in the parish of Llanwnog, Montgomeryshire,1 is of somewhat similar flint, with very dark honey-coloured bands alternating with grey; for this he suggests an origin in Antrim. The site is west of the Carno Gap, along which prehistoric traffic passed between Cardigan Bay and the Welsh Marches, and north-east of Trefeglwys, which lies on another line of diffusion.2 Dr. Savory has seen nodules of similar flint in the Anglesey boulder clays and they doubtless occur also as Irish Drift pebbles on the shores of Cardigan Bay. In its original condition the Weobley axe must have been closely analogous in dimensions and character to the Montgomeryshire specimen. Axes of similar flint are known from the Severn basin eastwards. A fine large polished specimen with squared sides (only half survives) of gold-brown, very mottled cherty flint, probably an erratic from the Irish Sea Drift (F. W. Shotton), was found in the Park House brickyard, west of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1874, 6 ft. from the surface in a bed of clay, together with a chipped humped chisel of pale grey flint, which in its turn resembles one of creamy flint, recognised by the late Professor S. P. O'Riordain as probably north Irish, that was found in Cressage, a parish fronting on the south bank of the Severn in Shropshire west of the Ironbridge gorge; it was probably conveyed by the Dyfi-Carno-Severn route. A chipped and polished axe of red-gold flint, 6 in. long, was ploughed up on Somerwood Farm, Uffington, north-east of Shrewsbury, in 1935, and has been presented to Shrewsbury museum'; it may well derive from the same source of supply. I have no idea how far inland flint nodules sufficiently large for axe making could be found in areas covered by the Irish Sea Drift or in river gravels related to it; smaller and densely weathered pieces of flint reached the north Shropshire plain and such were occasionally used for making rough implements. On the other hand, similarly coloured flints occur also on the east flank of England, whence many of our opaque whitish flint axes almost certainly derive. The problem needs intensive study. But, on the whole, I should surmise that the Weobley flint axe reached Herefordshire from the Welsh coast by way of the Carno-upper Severn-upper Wye route, which stands out so clearly on my distribution maps (unpublished), and this might account also for Mrs. Leather's little axe of Graig Lwyd rock, of which the material certainly originated in north Wales.

Drawings of figures 1 to 5 are on page 270.

¹ Archæologia Cambrensis, 1931, p. 358.

⁴ Shrewsbury Museum, T. R. Horton Collection; noted in *Transactions*, Woolhope Club, 1957, p. 318.

¹ E. Cecil Curwen, Antiquity, Vol. IV (June, 1930), p. 184, Plate 3; Vol. IX (March, 1935), pp. 63, 64-65.

¹ National Museum of Wales, No. 31.352. O'Neil, Archwologia Cambrensis, 1931, pp. 356-358 and figs; Grimes, Prehistory of Wales (1951), No. 92, Fig. 49, 2.

³ R.C.A.M. Montgomeryshire (1911), No. 830, Fig. 45 and refs.; both implements are in the Powysland Museum, Welshpool.

⁶ J. L. Hobbs, Shrewsbury Newsletter, No. 5 (November, 1958), p. 4. ⁶ W. F. Rankine, Archæological News Letter, Vol. IV, No. 10 (August-December, 1952), "Implements of Coloured Flint in Britain; their distribution and the derivation of the raw material", with maps, p. 147. This does not deal with the Drift in western Britain.

MISCELLANEA

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

The large number of seals in Hereford Cathedral Library has now been catalogued and the collection is available for study. It contains some few examples of the sovereigns of England, beginning with William I, many of religious houses and officials in England and abroad, public seals including the earliest of the city of Hereford, and hundreds of personal seals, most of local interest, many dating from the 13th century onwards.

GRANGE COURT, LEOMINSTER

THE OLD TOWN HALL

Mr. Eric L. King of Worcester has been making researches into the history of Grange Court, Leominster's old Town Hall, and has allowed the following extracts to be made from an article he has written. These add to the information by Mr. N. Drinkwater given in the *Transactions* for 1949, pp. 11–12.

The building was 46 ft. long by 25 ft. wide. The first floor consisted of one large room which together with the smaller rooms above, was used as the headquarters of local government. At first the large room was used only as a sessions chamber, but about 1750 it was divided into two parts, one occupied by the Town Council.

In 1792 the decayed oak pillars were replaced by stone, the open spaces between being enclosed by iron railings. An attempt to remove the building early in the 19th century was thwarted by the Duke of Norfolk, but on 30th April, 1855 (not 1853 as previously believed) it was offered for sale by auction, under the provisions of the Leominster Markets and Fairs Act, and was sold to Mr. Francis Davis, a builder, for £95 0. 0. Local opposition to the destruction of the building caused *The Old Town Hall Committee* to be set up and the members proposed to demolish a small stone building known as the corn-market and to re-erect the hall on the site. However in 1856, this was objected to as the site was considered too small and the light of surrounding houses would be restricted.

At this juncture, Mr. John Arkwright came to the rescue and the building was conveyed to him in April, 1856, and shortly afterwards it was re-built with additions by him on the present site, and the name was changed to *Grange House*. It then became a private dwelling until 1939 when it was sold for a price exceeding £3,000 to the Borough Council, having been saved from going to the U.S.A. by a Preservation Order which the Council succeeded in enforcing. It is now the centre of local administration again. Recently a sum exceeding £2,000 has been spent on restoration, much of this on re-roofing with Cotswold tiles. Some of the oak carved corbels are in the Hereford Museum, having been given by the last private owner, Mrs. Baker.

A NINTH CENTURY TOMBSTONE FROM CLODOCK

In about the year 1917, or a little later, during the incumbency of the Rev. F. G. Llewellyn, when the church at Clodock was restored, an inscribed stone was dug up in the nave. No notice appears to have been taken of this until the vicarage was going to be demolished in 1959, when Miss E. Alison discovered it in a cupboard there. At once its extreme interest was realized. Captain R. V. Alison sent a rubbing to the Club which was forwarded to the Society of Antiquaries for examination. The lettering is crude, indistinct, and in bad Latin, but Mr. C. Ralegh Radford and Mr. A. R. Dufty read it as:

HOC TUMULUM RETINE[T]
MEMBRA PUDIC[E] [MUL]IE[RIS]
GUINNDA CAR[AE] CONIU[GIS]
QUAE FUIT IPSA [IB]IDEM

A rough translation is:

This tomb holds the remains of that faithful woman the dear wife of Guinndas who was herself [born?] in this same place.

Mr. Radford dates the inscription, which is on local sandstone, as of the 9th century. It is therefore the earliest inscribed monument in Herefordshire since Roman days, and of great archæological interest.

So far no record of Guinndas is known. Was he an early Saxon Christian? Or, more probably, one of the last Celtic chieftains who still held the faith taught by St. Dyffric and St. David?

At present no other relic of a Christian of the period has been found in the county, though we know that Christianity was here as there is an 8th century Saxon preaching cross at Acton Beauchamp, now used as the lintel of the tower doorway. Another Christian tombstone is the grave slab with a crude crucifixion carved upon it at Llanveynoe of the 11th century.

Captain Alison has mounted the stone on a stand, and has picked out the letters in red so that they are now easily decipherable (see illustration on p. 262) and it is to be preserved in Clodock church.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY RECIPE FOUND IN A BOOK BELONGING TO HEREFORD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY¹

Senna Alexandrino Rabarberij optimo Inficij Anisij		2 oz. iiij drachms	
glycynnerishie	ana	1 oz.	
Cortex gudacij		2 oz.	
Sarsapirilla		2 oz.	

¹ Archive No. 5958.

¹ See illustration on page 257.

let the Rubarbe be slyced and the sarsapirilla scred and Cut smale the Cortex brused and the Aniseed . . . the licor screadd and Cutt put them all in a Boulting Cloth made in a bagge tyed to the spicott : wth a handfull of pepper grossley brused : put all theis in Fyrken of ale newly tuned upon wherin 4 gallones hath beeng boyld skurbograss 3 handfulls Centaury a handfull when the drink is 2 dayes ould you may drink thereof a draught in the morninge and ane other at noone and at night.

Modern spelling of some of the words. Rhubarberij: Cortex guaiaci (gauaiaci bark); ana: add of each; scurveygrass (Cochlearia officinalis). It was probably used as a laxative.

THE KINGTON RAILWAY

Several articles on the local railways have appeared in the Transactions, including one by F. B. Ellison in the volume for 1936, entitled, "The History of the Hay Railway, known in North Herefordshire as 'The Old Tram'". Mr. C. R. Clinker, who contributed to the Transactions a paper on the "Railways of West Herefordshire" in 1957, has found additional information about this project, including the original contract of 1818 between the Kington Railway Company and the contractors, William Hazledine and Morris Sayce. This is believed to be the earliest railway contract in existence, and Mr. Clinker has written fully upon it in Modern Transport, for 4th October, 1958, of which a copy is in the Club's library.

Mr. Clinker has now published a pamphlet giving a complete history of the Hay railway.¹ This is the result of much research and gives details of its construction, traffic and working, finance, tolls, rolling stock, personalia and its purchase by the Hereford, Hay and Brecon Railway in 1860. There are appendices giving, (i) a list of original subscribers and, (ii) the bye laws, orders, and regulations. There are 16 illustrations and a good map. This work is an important addition to the knowledge of transport in Herefordshire and Breconshire, and also of considerable value to the student of railway history.

RUDHALL AND DR. JENNER

The members of the Woolhope Club have visited Rudhall on several occasions, and therefore the following note will be of interest. It was from this house that the public advocacy of vaccination was launched.

Jenner was now satisfied with the sequence of his experiments and believed that his results would convince the world of the advantages of cowpox inoculation. But he could not quite bring himself to launch his discovery without support. As rapidly as he could he put his notes together in the form of a short treatise and showed it to Gardner, whose approval was a foregone

conclusion. He also showed it to Dr. Worthington and Henry Hicks and they advised him to submit it for discussion to a small committee. For this purpose they co-opted Mr. Paytherus, by now a surgeon of some standing, and Thomas Westfaling, Esq., at whose house at Rudhall, near Ross-on-Wye, they met. On their advice Jenner sent his paper to the Royal Society, who rejected it as too revolutionary. In spite of this rebuff the committee was convinced that delay would be criminal, and the book, dedicated to Dr. Parry, was published in June, 1798, with the title An Inquiry Into Cause and Effects of the Variolae Vaccine. The price was seven shillings and sixpence.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- 500 Roberts (Charles). The Naturalists Diary; Note-books kept by Charles Roberts from 1868–1934.
- 625.1 Clinker (C. R.). An Early construction contract; Railway engineering in 1818. From Modern Transport, 4th October, 1958.

 Contract for building the Kington railway from Eardisley where it joined the Hay railway to Kington and Burlinjobb lime works. Pamphlet box.
- 625.1 Clinker (C. R.). The Hay Railway, (1960) plts. A full history of the horse-drawn railway from its inception in 1818 to the sale of the last sale of any part in 1906. Bye laws, list of subscribers, etc., etc.
- 929.06 Elmhirst (Edward Mars). Merchants marks; Ed. by Leslie Dow. Harleian Society, 1959. Illus. Marshall Bequest.

¹ Clinker, C. R., The Hay Railway, Dawlish, D. Charles, 61 pp., illus., 1960. Price 10/-.

¹ Extract from *Dr. Jenner of Berheley*, by Dorothy Fisk, Heinemann, 1959, p. 131.

REPORTS OF SECTIONAL EDITORS

ARCHÆOLOGY, 1959

By S. C. STANFORD, B.A.

When I agreed to Mr. Cohen's suggestion last summer that I allow myself to be nominated as his successor it seemed beyond the realms of all likelihood that I should be compiling this report now in his stead. It was appropriate that we should have been discussing this within the rampart of the Roman fort at Clifton-on-Teme, for he never missed an opportunity of obtaining first-hand knowledge of new discoveries, and a note of new excavations would be sure to bring him soon to the site. His archæological reports during the past seven years will stand as testimony to his great enthusiasm and breadth of interest in this field.

1959 was a particularly interesting year for archæology in Herefordshire. It saw the assumption by the club of the sponsorship of the Leintwardine excavations, and the start of work to implement Lord Croft's generous offer to help finance the excavation of Croft Ambrey. It is many years—33 in fact—since we accepted as a club the full responsibility for a major excavation; and already we have received many enthusiastic comments for our latest project.

Much work has already been done by the Croft Ambrey Excavations Committee towards the summer's operations, and our thanks are due to its chairman and treasurer Mr. J. Cecil Price, and the other members—Mrs. M. U. Jones, Mrs. Y. C. Stanford, Mr. V. Higham and Mr. W. T. Jones, who will assist in the direction of the excavations.

Apart from the club's own excavations at Leintwardine and Buckton, several other sites have been investigated by members and others privately or in association with local groups.

EXCAVATIONS

Palæolithic. Dr. H. J. Taylor has made further excavations at King Arthur's Cave, Whitchurch (G.R. SO 547154).

Roman. The Club's excavations at Leintwardine (SO 404742) were assisted by grants of £100 from the River Wye Guild and £25 from the Haverfield Trust of Oxford University. Our thanks are gratefully recorded for these generous grants. Forty volunteers took part, and another dozen helped with equipment and services of various kinds. It is now clear that the site was occupied (probably as a fort) c. A.D. 75, abandoned during the early part of the second century, re-fortified with an interesting and rare multiple timber-laced rampart, c. A.D. 160, neglected and then again re-garrisoned

in the early third century. The final, fourth century, occupation was also by military forces.

BUCKTON. The most thrilling discovery this year was that of a Roman stone fort and adjacent temporary camp at Buckton Park, a report on which appears on pp. 210-218.

CLIFTON-ON-TEME, Worcestershire. Clifton Camp (SO 703634) on the county boundary with Herefordshire was shown by the Ministry of Works excavations to be a Roman military outpost garrisoned on three separate occasions after c. A.D. 150. The report will appear in the *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archæological Society*.

These three post-conquest military sites in the civil zone of Roman Britain (as we understood its extent in 1957) provide grounds for rejecting much that has been written about the Roman occupation of the West Midlands and Welsh borderland, and it is hoped that there will be opportunities for the club to pursue its work on this problem during the coming season.

Huntsham (SO 565175). An important discovery was made by Mr. N. P. Bridgewater in a trial excavation following a report of finds of Roman pottery and tiles in a ploughed field on the lowest terrace of the Wye within the Huntsham loop. A water disposal system was revealed which must be associated with a substantial building, and second-century pottery and a skillet of later date were found. Aerial photographs by Mr. Arnold Baker and surface photographs show a large enclosure to the north of the building.

Mediæval: Breinton (SO 473396). Mr. F. G. Heys and Miss M. J. Thomas directed the Hereford Archæological Research Group's excavations on the earthwork known as Breinton Camp at Lower Breinton. This site has generally been accepted as a military camp of uncertain age, and it was trenched in 1921 by the late George Marshall (W.F.C.T., 1921-3, pp. lxviii-lxix). The recent excavations have shown it to be of 12th or 13th century origin and domestic in character. Substantial remains of a cellared building were uncovered and this will be examined in greater detail later. Two ditches and boundary walls of different periods were also revealed. Documentary evidence suggests that the buildings were in ruins at the beginning of the 16th century.

Hampton Wafer (SO 577570). The Bredenbury W.E.A. Local Research Group has concluded its investigation of the deserted village site with work on the parch-marked area on site I (W.F.C.T., XXXV (1957), pp. 341-2). This showed four building phases dated tentatively between the early 12th and 14th centuries, but without much more extensive excavation it is not possible to be certain of the nature of the building, other than that it was domestic.

Wallingstones (SO 503222). Mr. N. P. Bridgewater has continued his excavations on this moated mound, 150 ft. by 130 ft.

There appear to be three periods of occupation. The body of the mound contains pottery of 13th century type, and on top is a building with dry-stone walls, probably of 14th century date. At the foot of the mound, under the present marshy area, lies another building probably of late mediæval date.

OTHER FINDS

THE CLEEVE, Ross-on-Wye (SO 587235). A quantity of flints were found by Mr. A. P. Garrod in 1957, on and near the site of the new sewage farm. Some pottery of uncertain age was also found.

In January, 1960, Mr. Evan Jenkins of Newcourt farm, Bacton, reported that while bulldozing a hill-top on his farm a large amount of pottery had been brought to the surface. The site is on the ridge flanking the west side of the Golden valley and lies about half-a-mile north-west of the farm.

An area of 60 yards by 40 yards is densely covered by sherds which appear to date from the 17th or early 18th century. Many are kiln wasters but no building remains are visible on the surface. Any such remains would have been destroyed when the site was levelled.

It is interesting to note that Newcourt farm was the centre of Rowland Vaughan's "Commonwealth" which he describes in his Waterworks (1609), but the pottery appears to be considerably later than this.

COIN FINDS IN 1959

By J. F. L. Norwood

I am indebted to Mrs. Martin for kindly allowing me access to the late Prebendary S. H. Martin's coin records, and to the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for their continued assistance in the matter of identifications.

ROMAN

- Sestertius of Trajan (98-117 A.D.). Orichalcum, much worn.
 Obv. IMP CAES NER TRAJAN OPTIM AVG GER DAC PARTHICO with laureate draped bust to right.
 - Rev. REX PARTHIS DATVS S C. Trajan seated left on platform to right with prefect, Parthamaspates being presented as King to kneeling Parthia.

Minted at Rome 114-117 A.D. Roman Imperial Coinage

Found at "the ditch" (? old canal), Ashperton, and given to the Museum by Mr. W. James, 8 Bailey Brook Road, Hereford. (Accession No. 7124).

- Sestertius of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). Orichalcum.
 Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P and bust.
 - Rev. FORT RED COS III S C with Fortuna seated left, holding rudder on globe and cornucopiæ.

 Minted at Rome between late 125 and early 128 A.D., after Hadrian's return from extensive travels in the empire. Roman Imperial Coinage No. 969.

 Found at Bury Farm, Stoke Prior, and examined for Mr. E. Robinson, The Wharf, Leominster.
- Antoninianus of Trajan Decius (249-251 A.D.). Silver.
 Obv. IMP C M Q TRAJANVS DECIVS AVG with radiate,

draped and cuirassed bust to right.

Rev. VICTORIA AVG with Victory running left, holding wreath and palm.

Mint of Rome. Roman Imperial Coinage No. 29(c).

Found at Normans Farm, Stoke Prior, and examined for David and Peter Pugh of that address.

- Bronze of Constantine I "The Great" (308-337 A.D.).
 Obv. CONSTANTINOPOLIS with helmeted bust of Constantinople to left.
 - Rev. Angel holding spear and shielding standing to left on ship's prow. Mintmark *PLG Lugdunum (Lyons).

 Minted 330-337 A.D., and commemorating Constantine's naval victory near Adrianople in 324 which gave him the supremacy of the Roman world.

 Found "many years ago in the cricket field at Ross-on-Wye", and given to the Museum by Miss E. K. G. Rudd, Whitehall, Goodrich. (Accession No. 7179).
- Follis of Constantine I "The Great" (308-337 A.D.). Bronze.
 Obv. IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG and laureate, draped bust to right.
 - Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. ?Sol standing left, right arm raised, left holding figure. Reverse blundered, no mint mark legible.

 Found at Newton Farm, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mr. R. F. Baker, 4 Carr Lane, Hereford. (Accession No. 7117.)
- Roman sesteritius, bronze. Both obverse and reverse too worn to be legible, but a second century date is probable. (Accession No. 7181.)
- 7. Bronze of Constantine I "The Great" (308-337 A.D.).

 Obv. VRBS ROMA with helmeted bust of Roma to left.

 Rev. Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Mintmark *PLG

 Lugdunum (Lyons).

 Struck at the foundation of Constantinople, 326 A.D.

 (Accession No. 7182.)

8. Bronze of Constantius II (337-361 A.D.).

Obv. D N CONSTANS P F AVG with diademed bust to right.

Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO with phænix on rock to right. No mintmark visible.

Struck in or after 348 A.D. to celebrate 1,100th birthday

of Rome. (Accession No. 7183.)

The above three coins were found at Kenchester, and given to the Museum by Mr. A. Hilton, Slade Villa, Sutton.

MEDIAEVAL AND LATER

9. Penny of Henry III (1216-1272). Silver.

Obv. HENRICVS REX III with full-face portrait holding

Rev. ION ON S'EDMVND with long cross and three pellets in each quarter.

Minted by the moneyer John at Bury St. Edmunds in 1251-53.

Brooke: English Coins, Class 5a, p. 112.

Found at Leominster, and examined for Mr. C. Hobbs, 21 Pump Piece, Leominster.

10. Penny of Henry III (1216-1272). Silver.

Obv. HENRICVS REX with full-face portrait holding sceptre. Rev. ION ON CANTER with long cross and three pellets in

each quarter.

Minted by the moneyer John at Canterbury in 1251-72. Brooke: English Coins, p. 112, group uncertain.

Found near the "Roman camp" (?Oldbury) and examined

for Mr. Rogers, Foxhalls, How Caple.

11. Penny of **Edward IV** (second reign 1471-1473). Silver, much clipped.

Obv. EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANG with full-face portrait, B to left of crown, V at neck and cross each side.

Rev. CIVITAS DUNOLMIE with D in centre of long cross, extra pellet in each quarter, V in one quarter.

Minted in 1473-76 by Bishop Lawrence Booth of Durham Brooke: English Coins, p. 160.

Found at Much Birch, and given to the Museum by Mr. D. James, 149 Queensway, Hereford. (Accession No.

7080.).

12. 12 Deniers of Louis XVI of France (1754-1793). Brass. Obv. LOUIS XVI ROI DES FRANCOIS with bust to left.

Rev. LA NATION, LA LOI, LE ROI 1792 [...4...] DELALIE and fasces with 12 D surrounded by garland.

Found in Hereford, and given to the Museum by Stephen Morgan, 37 Villa Street, Hunderton. (Accession No. 7180.)

13. Brass token.

Obv. RICHARD CLARK MERCER with arm holding falcon. Rev. IN WEBLEY HIS HALF PENY and R C 1667 with

four roses.

Williamson: Trade Tokens, No. 73.

Found at Ye Olde Salutation Inn, Weobley, and examined for Mr. W. Vanston of that address.

ADDENDUM TO THE 1958 REPORT ON COINS

The coin of Constantinus II was found at the new crematorium site, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mr. W. Hill, 97 Green Street, Hereford. (Accession No. 6879.)

BOTANY, 1959

By F. M. KENDRICK

The year was remarkable for the very long spell of hot dry weather that lasted from early April until well into October. This resulted in a profusion of flowers though in most cases the season was short. In the autumn most of the woods were extremely dry causing clay soils to develop large cracks, and on the Doward some of the beech trees were practically leafless before the middle of September. Conditions were not favourable for fungi and no reports have been sent to me.

I have received from the recorder of the Botanical Society a list of the ferns found in the county showing their distribution. An examination of the records discloses some gaps in the distribution of the more common varieties and I am sure that in most cases this is due solely to the fact that records have not been made, and not that the fern is absent from the area. Checks will be made of these records and it can be expected that most of the gaps will be filled very shortly. When complete these records will form part of the first chapter for the new *County Flora*.

During the preliminary survey for the August Field Day in the Aymestrey area a good specimen of *Polystichum aculeatum* var cambricum (S. F. Gray) was found. This fern bears a very close resemblance to the holly fern and very few specimens have been

discovered in the county.

The late hot autumn was responsible for the discovery of a plant new not only to Herefordshire but also to the British Isles Centaurea repens. It is very similar to our own centaurea though less robust in general growth and has a pale mauve flower and grey foliage. It is a native of south Russia and Asia Minor and is widely distributed in Canada where is was introduced with imported alfalfa. Mrs. Whitehead had known that a strange plant had existed near the Barrs Court station, but owing to it having been

cut down each year it had never flowered though it made a secondary growth, but early frosts destroyed the buds. This year the hot autumn helped it to flower and a specimen was sent to Kew for identification.

The more important records received during the year by the recorder of the Botanical Society (Mrs. Whitehead) and myself are shown below. The numbers against the plants are those given in the List of British Vascular Plants which has now replaced the London Catalogue and not as formerly the numbers in the Herefordshire Flora.

- (a) Not previously reported:
 - 130/2. Kohlrauschia saxifraga. L. (Dandy).
 - 3. Garden wall, Tarrington. (L. E. Whitehead.)
 - 544/ CENTAUREA REPENS. L. 7. Barrs Court road, Hereford, within station railings. (L. E. Whitehead; det. Kew.)
 - 435/15 Euphrasia confusa. pugsl. 14. Near top of Black Mountains, Longtown. (L. E. White-
 - head; det. F. Perring.) AMARANTHUS DINTERI, SEYHINZ; var INCLINATUS, THULL.
 7. Sewage works Hereford. (L. E. Whitehead.)
 - A South African species recorded at infrequent intervals as a wool alien-J. P. M. Brennan. PANICUM CAPILLARE. L.
 - 7. Sewage works Hereford. (L. E. Whitehead.) A grass probably brought in with bird seed.
- (b) New Stations and old records refound:
 - STELLARIA NEMORUM. L. Wood stichwort.
 - 12. Gold dingle, Eardisley. Frangula alnus. Alder buckthorn. 180/1
 - 2. Doward in marshy ground. (Miss Wise.)
 - OPHRYS INSECTIFERA. Fly orchid. 670/4 2. Old Quarry, Doward. (Miss Wise and M. P. Watkins.) This orchid seems to be on the increase on the Doward, as reports have been received of several specimens, some

in remote spots that will be free from interference.

- CAMBLINA SATIUS. Gold of pleasure. 3. Fownhope, waste field. (Miss Marklove.)
- CHENOPODIUM GLAUCUM. L. 7. Hereford, exit from City 'bus station .(Miss Marklove.)
- DROSERA ROTUNDIFOLIA. L. Sundew. 245/ 11. Huntington, just within the county boundary. (Miss
 - This is the first report for many years of this plant which now seems to be extinct in all the old stations.
- 275/1SCANDIX PECTEN-VENERIS. L. Shepherd's needle. 8. Byford. (Miss E. Brown.)
- POLYGONUM BISTORTA. L. Bistort snakeshead. 320/6 5. Sapey Brook, Whitbourne. (F. M. Day.) 12. Gold dingle, Eardisley, Lyonshall. (L. E. Whitehead.)
- Polemonium coeruleum. L. Jacob's ladder. 13. Newton St. Margarets. (Mrs. Lloyd.)
- DATURA STRAMONIUM. L. Thorn apple. 415/ 7. Greyfriars avenue, Hereford. (Miss Hatton), Bulmer's works, Whitecross street (L. Ball), Kenchester (D. Hadley.) 5. Bromyard Downs. (D. Hadley.)

- Scutellaria minor. L. Lesser skullcap. 11. Huntington, county boundary. (Mrs. Lloyd.)
- VALERIANELLA LOCUSTA. Lamb's lettuce. 2. Weston-under-Penyard, on railway bank. (L. E. White-
- TRIGLOCHIN PALUSTRE. L. AITOW grass.
- 7. Honeymoor Common, in quantity. 593/1. LILIUM MARTAGON. L.
 - 2. Doward. (M. P. Watkins.)
 - This plant has been known for many years in the lower Wye Valley but this is the first report from the Doward is it spreading northwards into Herefordshire?
- 683/15. Bromus commutatis. schrad.
 - 7. Kilpeck castle. (L. E. Whitehead.)
- 683/20. Bromus unioloides. Sewage works.
- GLYCERIA DECLINATA. BREB.
 - 4. Gardeners common, Colwall. (F. M. Day.)
 - 5. Whitbourne. (F. M. Day.)
 - 7. Honeymoor common. (F. M. Day.)

ORNITHOLOGY, Etc.

By C. W. Walker, M.C., M.D., CH.B.

Three of this year's recorded occurrences are notable in that they constitute first records for the county: these were a grey lag-goose, a little ringed plover and a bee-eater, while an Alpine swift constitutes a first record for Radnorshire.

The grey-lag gander was one of a flock which came down one misty January night and spent it in an orchard at Bucknell (Salop). When they left the next morning this bird elected to remain, and though free-flying over the district was still about in early summer.

The little ring plover was seen along with a white wagtail and some yellow wagtails on the Lugg floods at Sutton on 18th April by Mr. A. J. Smith, who also reports the occurrence of a little gull seen near Ross on 7th, January and several occurrences of the Scandinavian variety (fuscus) of the lesser black-backed gull.

The Alpine swift was watched at close range flying over Clyro on 14th August, by Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Hopton.

The bee-eater, a small bird with curved bill, bright yellow throat, bluish-green colouring and long forked tail, was seen near Aymestrey quarry on 4th June, by Mr. F. Marston.

A pair of ospreys were seen to fly up from the Wye at Rhydspence and soar away over Whitney on 22nd August, by Mr. A. J. P. Scott and his son. They cannot have been members of the famous 1959 Speyside brood, for the latter did not leave Scotland until much later.

A herd of ten Bewick's swans (six juveniles and four adults) were seen on the flooded Lugg meadow at Tidnor on 26th December, by K. A. Mason, and shown by him to others interested.

Quail were again heard calling in the early summer in the Shobdon district, and were reported by Mr. T. R. Ammonds. They were seen at the same place in early autumn, but apparently did not breed. Two males were certainly present but there may have been no female.

A full annual record for the county will be found by those specially interested, in the Herefordshire Ornithological Club Report, 1959, edited by R. H. Baillie, Wyche House, Kington.

MAMMALS

Dr. Geoffrey Vaughan has investigated reports of an animal seen on different occasions at the edge of the Goggin woods, and corresponding to the description of a pine marten. It was "bigger than a cat".

Mr. P. H. Lee reports that a keeper at Crickhowell saw a brown bushy-tailed animal "like a small fox" leaping from branch

to branch in pursuit of a grey squirrel.

Both reports refer to the past year, and in both cases the animal seen appears to have been a pine marten. This, probably the rarest of British mammals, has not previously been reported in these parts in modern times.

Mr. M. P. Watkins reports that fallow deer became a great nuisance in gardens on the Great Doward last year, eating fruit shoots and potato haulms. These deer work along the hills on

both sides of the Wye.

There are still wild fallow deer on Dinmore, but the red deer seen there a few years back appear to have vanished. A partially black vixen has been seen there recently, but the black dog-fox seen two years ago has not been reported as seen recently,

Mr. T. R. Ammonds reports that red squirrels can now be seen

in different parts of the Shobdon forest.

Mr. Capper's keeper caught two dog and two bitch polecats in trapping rabbits at Lower Hope, Ullingswick (see *The Field*, 2nd April, 1959).

Another polecat was trapped in a similar way at Whitney on

11th December, 1959.

In January, 1959, some men working at a rick at Grosmont found a hay nest with two dormice asleep in it (Dr. V. S. Shuttleworth.) It is surprising how seldom the dormouse is reported as seen in the county.

REPTILES

Mr. M. P. Watkins reports that he found a knot of reptiles basking under an asbestos sheet on a compost heap. These were grass-snakes and slow-worms. He later found a 36 in. grass-snake cast there. He sees no adders at the top of the Great Doward, though they are to be found lower down.

DEFEASANCE OF A BOND IN FORTY POUNDS CONCERNING THE WHITTINGTON FAMILY, WITH AN INVENTORY DATED 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1471

This indentur' made the thyrd day of Septembr' the yer' of the regne of kyng Edward the foureth aft' the conquest the xith bytwene Richard Whitvngton' Thomas Whitvngton' and John Langdon clerk on the oon p'tie and Elizabeth Whityngton' late the wyfe of William Whityngton on the other p'tie berith wytnesse that wher the seid Elizabeth by hur obligacon is bound to the seid Richard Thomas and John in xlli payable in the fest of senct michell the archangell next comyng as by the seid obligacon whos date is the day of the making of thes p'sentez more playnely hit appereth nere the lesse the seid Richard Thomas and John woll and g'unt by thes p'sentez yf the seid Elizabeth delyv'e or els do to be delyv'ed to John Whityngton' son and heyr' to the seid Willian Whityngton when he comyth to his full age of xxi ver' or to any other p'sonez or p'sone beyng heyr' to the seid William & of the seid age thes godes & catalles aft'ward exp'ssed or els the very value of the same as p'ncipalles & standertes of the man' of Paunteley which godes & catalles wer' delyv'ed to the seid William by the hondes of the seid Richard Thomas & John executo's of the testament of dame Cecile Whityngton' as by div'se indentur' therof rather made more playnely hit appereth, that is to say First as for the halle a Foldyng borde wt a peyr' of trestels a Costet [= cushion?] I bankerde of rede worstede I peyr' of grete aundyrens ii Chaundelers of vron I Chevere also delvy'ed as for the boterve a standyng cuppe ygilte a borde cloth also for the ketchen' a pot of bras I morter of ston I musterd querne In the bakehous I Furneyse I malte querne In the Chambre I hongyng bedde I standert Cofr For his husbondry a plough wt I fote strynge I Cornewayne I grete ladder I mustemyll I busthell It'm a flatte pece kev'ed & gilde enchased abowt wt sonnes weyvng xix uncez & iii quart's p'ce the unce iiijs It' ij bolles of sylv' wt a kevetle the bordres gylde wevyng xxij uncez & an halfe p'ce the unce ijs xd It' a Flatte pece wt vj spones of sylv' weyyng xij uncez & an halfe p'ce the unce ijs. xd It' ij salte selers wt a Covetle of sylv' weyyng xvj uncez & an halfe p'ce the unce ijs xd It' vi oxen p'ce of iijh viijs vid ob That then the seid obligacon be of noon force and yf she do not delyv' ethe seid godes & catalles or the very value therof in man'e & forme as hit is bifore declared that then the seid obligacon stond in his full strength and effacte In witnesse wherof the p'ties above seid to thes p'sent indentur' entrechangeably have put to their seales yeven the day and ver' above seid.

¹ Hereford Cathedral Archives [No. 1869]. The seals are missing, but archive no. 2692 has a good seal of Robert de Whytynton' impaling Beresford [or Peresford], of A.D. 1391-2.

Obituary

PREBENDARY STEPHEN HENRY MARTIN, M.A.

The Club has lost a valued member through the death of Prebendary Martin on 8th November, 1959. He came into Herefordshire in 1936, when he became rector of Sutton St. Nicholas with Sutton St. Michael, and was elected to the Club in July of that year. He was quickly recognised as a most valuable member, and became President for 1941 and 1942, and continued to serve on the Central Committee up to the time of his death. Prebendary Martin was greatly interested in the local history of his parish of Sutton, and in the excavations at Sutton Walls, but he also contributed many valuable papers on local history in connection with the cathedral. In addition, he was the Club's expert on coins, especially those of Roman date.

A man of considerable learning, but great humility, he was a most lovable person, who will be greatly missed by his many friends.

A.J.W-I.

ISRAEL COHEN

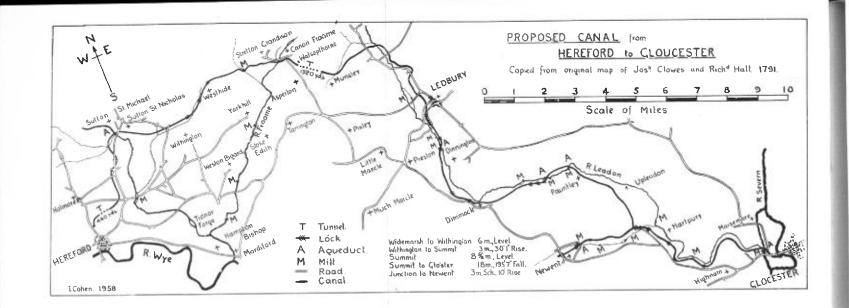
Mr. I. Cohen, M.I.MECH. E., who died on Friday, 1st January, 1960, aged 75, was one of the most enthusiastic and hard working members of the Woolhope Club from 1946 until his death. He came to Hereford during the war of 1939–45, and joined the Club soon after hostilities ceased. As a draughtsman his work upon plans and maps for the *Transactions* were invaluable, and for several years the Field Meetings owe much of their success to him, as the necessary preliminary work of arranging routes to be followed and suitable places for meals, etc., were largely left to him. He knew every road, and lane within many miles. But of greater importance was the time and skill he devoted to the study of local history, especially that of transport, and the papers he contributed to the *Transactions* were of a high order. Mr. Cohen was always ready to assist the Club in many other ways, and was frequently called upon to do so. He was President for the year 1953.

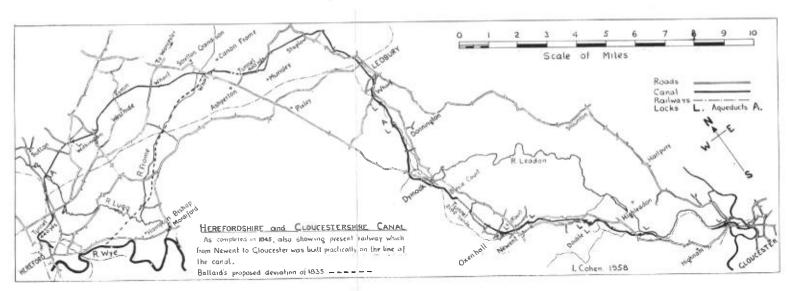
Before coming to Hereford Mr. Cohen had a considerable reputation for his inventions, particularly in connection with aeroplane engines, and earlier with bicycles; he was also a skilled photographer.

Mr. Cohen had expressed a wish that no flowers should be sent for his funeral. A number of his friends, therefore, have made donations of about £9 to be used for the purchase of books for the Club library, in his memory.



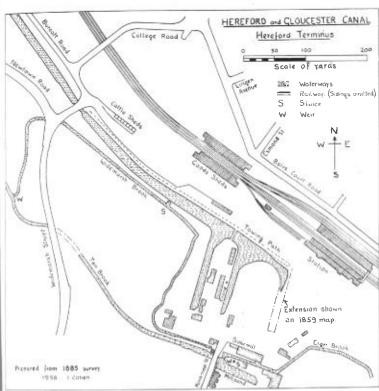
Capt. James Pendergrass, R.N., from portrait in Hereford General Hospital (See p. 157)



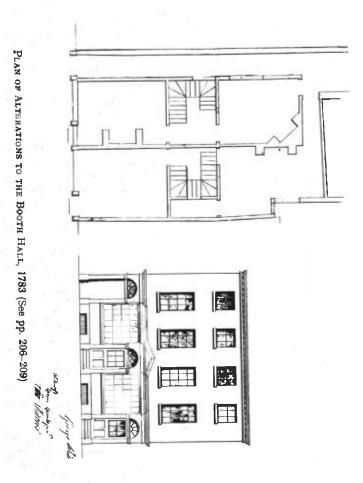


(See pp. 167-179)

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(See pp. 167-179)



TO ADMIRERS OF ANTIQUITY.

TOWN-HALL,
Leominster, Herefordshire

MR. E. RUSSELL

PUBLIC COMPETITION.

ON THE PREMISES.

On Monday, the 30th April, 1855,

AT THELTE OCLOCK AT NOON;

THE TOWN-HALL,

BUT ATE IN THE CENTRE OF THE TOWN

This is one of the few remaining Timber Structures of the 16th (entary; it was received by John their, the most unted trehitert of his time. It is composed of Timber and Planter, and advanced with remions Grotesque Figures, in a good state of preservation, standing on 12 Only Fillure of the Old Ionic Order, now sustained on Stone Pedevists. The upper part of the Building displays a profusion of Carsing, and various Sentences are fascribed upon it.

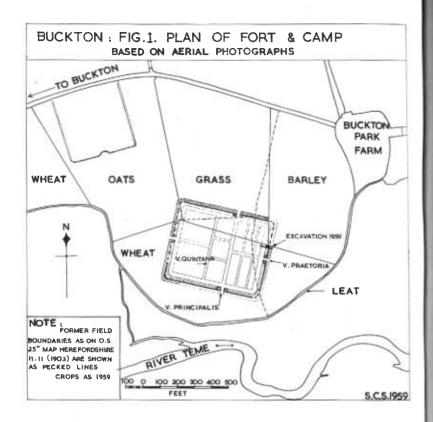
To all Lovers of such enrious antiquated Buildings, an opoortacity of gratifying their tastes non process sixelf, which may deser occur again, and which abould not be lost sight of.

ter Further Particulars may be obtained of Mr. THOMAS SALE, Town Clerk, Leoniuster.

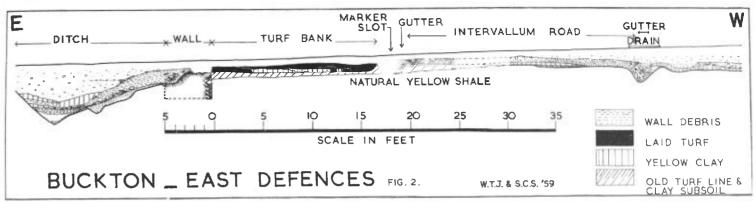
LEOMINSTER TRANSPORTATION, PRINTER, DIGH-STREET

Photograph by E. L. King

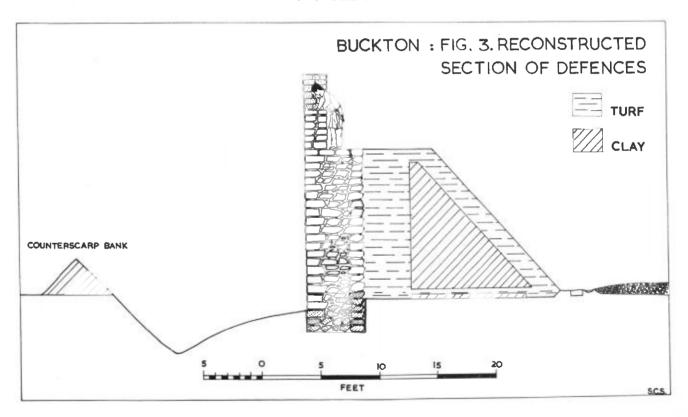
SALE POSTER FOR THE OLD TOWN [MARKET] HALL, LEOMINSTER (See p. 238)



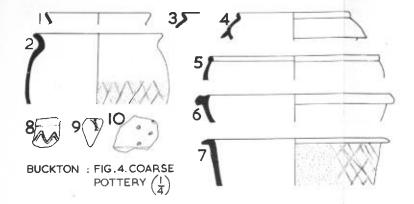
(See pp. 210-218)



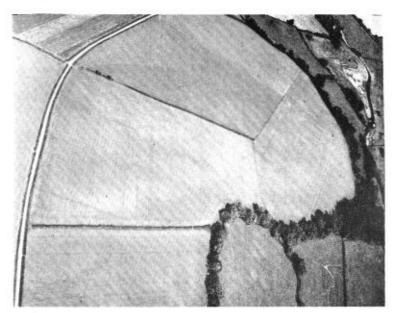
BUCKTON FORT SECTION



(See pp. 210-218)



(See pp. 210-218)



Photographs by Arnold Baker

PLATE I. BUCKTON FORT AND CAMP FROM WEST

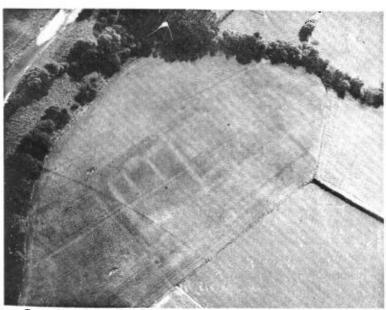


PLATE II. BUCKTON FORT FROM THE NORTH (See pp. 210-218)



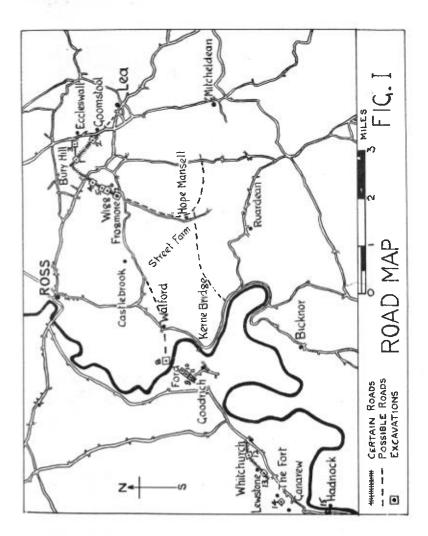
Photographs by W. T. Jones
PLATE III. BUCKTON: FOUNDATIONS OF FORT WALL FROM WEST



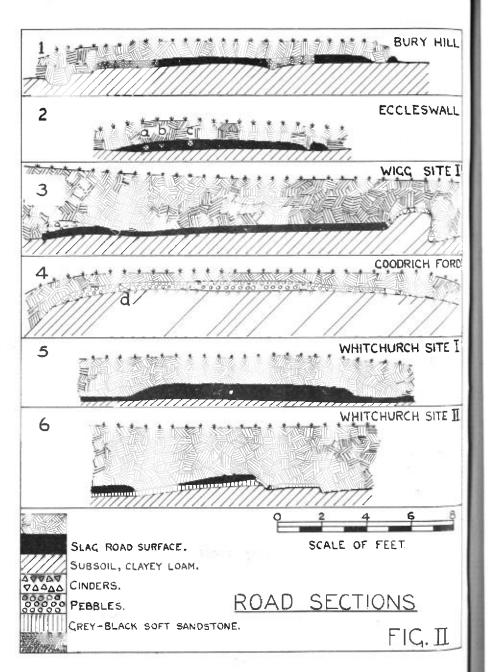
PLATE IV. BUCKTON: FORT WALL FROM WEST, SHOWING TUMBLED STONE ON INNER SLOPE OF DITCH

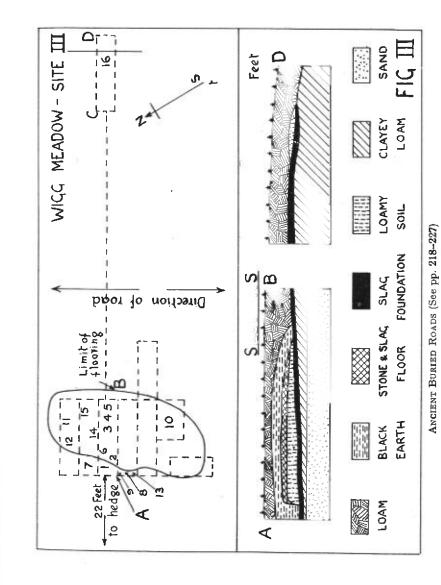


NINTH CENTURY MEMORIAL STONE FROM CLODOCK CHURCH (See p. 239)

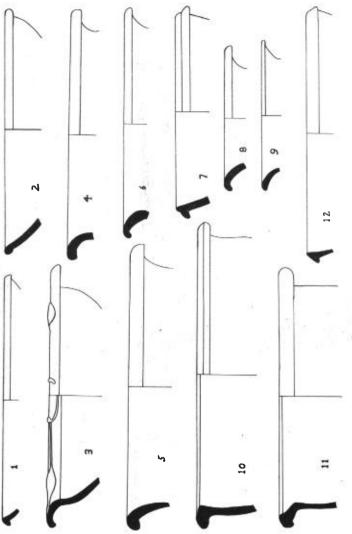


(See pp. 218-227)



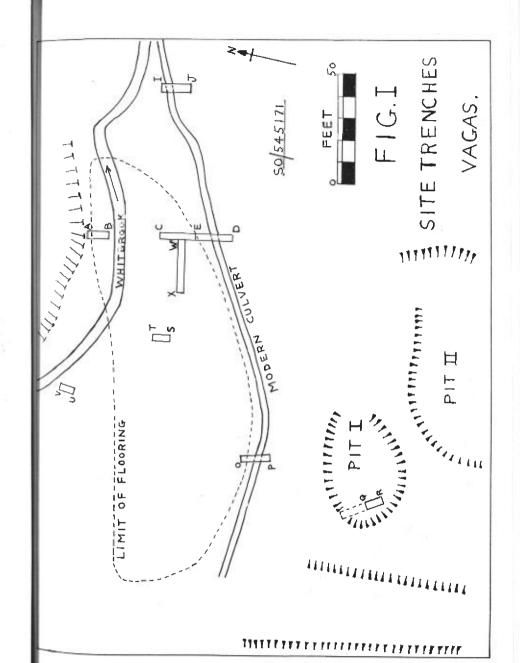


(See pp. 218-227)

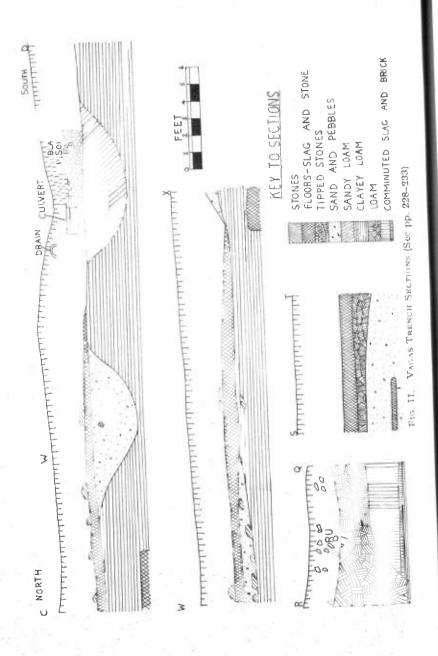


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Fig. IV, Pottery from Ancient Buried Roads (See pp. 218-227)



(See pp. 228-233)



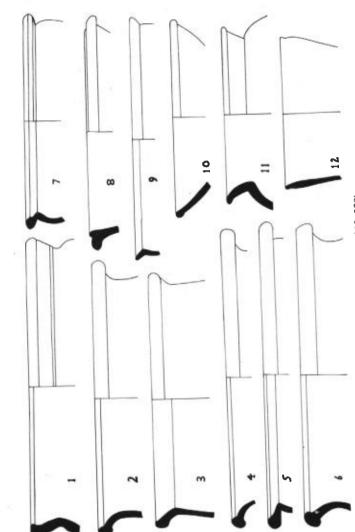
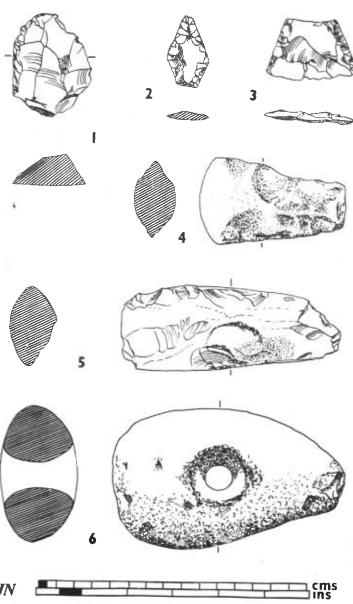


Fig. III. Poitery from the Vagas (See pp. 228-233)



CAPTION

Prehistoric implements from 1. Vowchurch; 2. Putley; 3. Herefordshire; 4. Probably Herefordshire; 5. Weobley; 6. Preston-on-Mye.

PREHISTORIC ACCESSIONS TO HEREFORD MUSEUM (See pp. 233-237)

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

PAPERS, 1960

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By WINIFRED LEEDS, F.R.P.S.L.

HEREFORDSHIRE POSTAL HISTORY 1800 TO THE 1850's.

A former President of the Woolhope Club in giving his views on what a presidential address should be, says: "In modern times it is not expected of the President that he will act as the year's reporter, but rather that he will enlarge upon his particular hobby, enterprise and, if possible, convey some information not hitherto recorded". That is what I shall endeavour to do.

Today's talk is a continuation of one I gave last year on our early postal history, and will cover the years from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1850s. Again I would like to stress that I approach the subject rather as a local historian than as a philatelist.

By the end of the first quarter of the century all the Herefordshire towns, Hereford, Ross, Leominster, Ledbury, Broomyard (Bromyard) and Kington, had become post towns-the first four having the advantage of being on mail coach routes. Bromyard still got its letters by horse-post from Worcester; and Kington in like manner from Presteigne. From the Greenly diaries we learn: May 7, 1820. "An alteration in our post took place, Kington becoming our (i.e., Titley) post town instead of Presteigne". And again, May 10, 1835: "We saw the new Kington Mail come in from Aberystwith—four fine grey horses". Therefore it was not until the railway era had started in England that Kington got a mail-coach service and Herefordshire had to wait many years before it had railways to speed up its mails. By 1852 the county had only one railway line—that from Abergavenny to Hereford, and letters were taken by short distance coaches to catch the trains at Worcester and Gloucester. Letters to Wales still went by mail coach.

Although these coaches were primarily for the conveyance of letters and newspapers—passengers being of a secondary consideration and limited in number—they were not the property of the P.O., but were hired from a London contractor, Mr. Vidler, who was also responsible for their upkeep and repairs, and that to a very high standard.

The coaches, painted in black and maroon, were all of the same design. The door panel bore the royal arms and the name of the route—e.g., London—Carmarthen, while on the outer panels were

the royal monogram and the number of the coach. Four passengers could ride inside and three on top—one by the coachman and two behind him. The driver was an employee of the contractor, but the guard was a servant of the P.O. and was provided with a resplendent red coat with blue facings, and a cockaded black hat with gold ribbon. He sat in isolated splendour at the back and was responsible for the safety of the mails. To that end he had a blunderbuss, a cutlass and a brace of pistols to keep off thieves. He also had a horn, sounded to warn slow-moving vehicles to draw aside, or to give toll-gate keepers plenty of time to have their gates open for the coach to gallop through—for it paid no toll. It was the merry tooting of the horn and the sight of the coach decorated with evergreens, that so quickly spread the news of great victories such as that of Waterloo.

The early 19th century was a time of great improvement to roads and road-surfaces, thanks to the work of Telford and Macadam. The ever-increasing pace at which the coaches travelled necessitated frequent changes of horses and the postmasters (innkeepers) had to keep a good supply of these in perfect condition. Two minutes only were allowed at an ordinary stage for the changing of the horses and the taking in and depositing of the mails. The guard entered on his way-bill the time of arrival and departure, and if time had been lost he had to see that it was made up en route. He also had a time-piece, which, as our time here in the west was about 20 minutes behind London time, required a certain amount of regulation, so as to lose on the down run and gain on the up. Our, westcountry P.O. clocks were, however, kept somewhat fast, as can be seen from a P.O. notice in the Monmouthshire Beacon: Feb. 6th. 1841: "The London time as observed at the Post Office is always faster than the Monmouth time".

Mail coaches passing through Herefordshire in the early 1800s were the London-Worcester-Ludlow coach, which, however, had no Herefordshire post town on its route; the London-Gloucester-Ross-Monmouth-Carmarthen mail; the London-Gloucester-Hereford-Aberystwyth mail. A little later one linked Bristol, via the New Passage over the Severn, with Monmouth, Hereford, Leominster and Shrewsbury; and in the 1830s a mail coach linked Kington with Hereford and Aberystwyth, while another ran from Hereford via Brecon to south west Wales.

At first the mail coaches ran three times weekly each way. Later, when the coach services were run to connect with the railways, a daily one was inaugurated. As much of the travelling was done at night over bad roads and hilly country, it is not surprising that accidents happened. Here are some of the experiences of Mr. Nobbs, who from 1838–1854 was guard on the Cheltenham-Aberystwyth Mail, via Gloucester, Ledbury, Hereford and over Plynlimmon—the journey taking 14 hours.

Leaving Hereford one blustery market day, he blew his horn for the St. Owen's tumpike gate to be opened, but it rebounded on to the horses and caused them to run away. The coachman, unable to control them, threw himself off and was killed, as was a poor old market-woman driving home in her donkey cart, which cart was smashed to bits before the fallen horses could be cut loose.

On another occasion, crossing Plynlimmon on a night of dense fog and a blizzard, they lost their way and the coach fell over a 60 ft. precipice. Mercifully, owing to the depth of the snow into which they fell, the driver and guard were not killed, though two of the horses were, and the two inside passengers suffered severely from cuts from the broken glass. Within two hours they managed to right the coach and after a terrible journey succeeded in reaching Cheltenham, just in time to catch the up London mail.

At the time of the great floods in November, 1852, a bad accident befell this coach. Leaving Gloucester about midnight, travelling via Ledbury, it was crossing the Frome Bridge about 4 miles from Hereford when it was precipitated into the swollen river, the bridge having been washed away. Three horses were drowned, but the fourth, and the guard, driver and one passenger escaped. Not so the unfortunate inside passenger, a Hereford solicitor named Hardwick.

On the following night the floods were so high near Gloucester that the driver of the mail from Aberystwyth refused to go on unless someone went first to sound the depth of water. Nobbs did this, and wading 100 yards with water to his armpits, waved the coach on, but unfortunately it did not stop to pick him up and there he was left on a dark night, surrounded with water and not daring to move. Eventually he did manage to reach Gloucester—nearer dead than alive.

Parcels were not carried by mail coaches. Heavy ones went by stage coach, and later, by vans or 'flying waggons' as they were called. Light packets, game, etc., went by passenger coach. Hereford had a good service of these 'flying waggons'—Troke's and Page's being the best known. Ross, from its geographical position. also had a very good service of coaches and vans, as the Hereford, Monmouth, Abergavenny ones all passed through Ross on their way to Gloucester and London.

To be a post town on a mail coach route was a great advantage to Ross, so one can realise the consternation of the inhabitants when the place was threatened with the withdrawal of the mail coaches, if street improvements were not forthcoming. This threat was made in 1821 after King George IV's coach had been delayed by a stage waggon blocking a narrow turning—the horses having been taken out and the carter not at hand. Had the King been in a better temper at the time, the threat might not have been made. The result, however, was good, for new through roads were later constructed.

Because this is known as the 'Mail Coach Era', I have dealt at some length with the carriage of our mails by this means.

¹ W. Bowen-Hames, Radnorshire in history, topography and romance.

Now let us consider the post offices and their staff. Only a very small room was necessary for the work of the postmaster and his clerk or clerks if he had any. The public did not enter but made any necessary enquiries at the window, and put their letters (which were not prepaid) into a box through the window. There were no stamps to buy nor were there any of the varied services now given by the P.O. The box was closed half an hour or more before the departure of the mail but letters would be accepted on payment of a 'late fee'—otherwise they were delayed until the next day. Those containing money had to be declared and those going through the 'penny posts' of the town had to be prepaid.

Each letter was scrutinised by the light of a candle to discover how many sheets it contained, and an estimate made of the length of the journey it would take. To that end mileage marks added to the town name-stamp were re-introduced in 1801, to show the distance from London—e.g., Hereford 141, Ross 127. To help finance our wars against France postage rates had been increased in 1801 and again in 1812. From that date the lowest charge for a letter consisting of a single sheet and going no more than 15 miles was 6d., with a double and treble charge for two or three sheets. Thus a letter from Hereford, Ledbury or Ross to London would cost 10d., 1/8 or 2/6. No wrapper or envelope was used as that would have counted as an extra sheet.

HEREFORD. The Hereford P.O. at the end of the 18th century had been in Milk [St. John] street, but after the Duke of Norfolk had given up his town house in Broad street, this house had become a fashionable posting inn, the City Arms. The proprietor was James Bennett, who also kept the post office here, and we are told that the window of this office was on the south side. The royal mail to Shrewsbury and Chester started from this inn, as, later, did the Kington-Aberystwyth mail. The Cheltenham-Hereford-Aberystwyth mail started from the Green Dragon and the Hereford-Ross mail from the Mitre—all three posting inns being in Broad street. In the beginning of the 1830s Mr. Bennett (still postmaster) had moved to the Black Swan in Widemarsh street, but by 1835 he had moved the P.O. to King's street, and there after his death it was carried on by his daughter, until in 1851 a brand-new though small building was erected for it on its present site, with Miss Bennett still postmistress. In the same year three branch offices were established—in St. Peter's street, Eign street and St. Martin's street—and two mail carts were brought into use. One ran to Ludlow and the other to Kentchurch and Grosmont.

Ross. The first postmaster as distinct from an innkeeper was a Mr. Dee of High Street, whose shop was opposite the then Swan hotel, the posting house for the London-Milford Haven mail. He was followed by a Mr. Paine and a Mr. Dobles, the latter a printer and stationer. By 1850 the then postmaster, Mr. Evans, had to expand

his premises and take in the next door shop in St. Mary's street. Not, of course, all for P.O. business for Mr. Evans had many other irons in the fire. Besides running the P.O. his advertisement states that he was a

"Basket and Sieve Manufacturer, Pattern and Clog Maker, Dealer in French, Dutch and every kind of fancy baskets all kinds of combs, brushes, cordage, twine, mats, etc. Fishing tackle for hire. Proprietor of the original Wye Pleasure Boats.

Excursions on the Wye to Monmouth, Tintern and Chepstow, and Sole Agent for Lillywhites celebrated cricketing Materials."

Besides these activities Mr. Evans always made it a rule to accompany his rowers when one of his pleasure barges was hired for the Wye tour. He must, too, have been an early riser, for the first of the mails arrived with the letters at 4.30 a.m. Three other mail coaches called here during the day, and there were three town deliveries—the last being an evening one—all carried out by one letter carrier. There were also four rural carriers with rounds to Linton, Lydbrook, Old Gore and St. Weonards.

There is no time to speak of the postal arrangements of the other Herefordshire towns, except to say that at one time the organist at Leominster was also the postmaster. A Mr. Taylor, grocer, was for many years postmaster at Ledbury, with his son as his clerk. When Ledbury became a money-order office in 1838 the son declared that "money orders being so cheap enabled the public to buy goods out of Ledbury, and so spoil trade".

London had had a penny post between places within a radius of 10 miles of the centre since 1680. By the end of the 18th century Manchester, Bristol and Birmingham also had them, but it was not until the 1820s that Herefordshire possessed any. By the end of the 1830s a number had been established, particularly under Ross. As they were really town posts the letters bore the town name, and it was not until the latter half of the 1830s that the village name was substituted. The penny posts established under Hereford were Weobley and Letton, and, later, Peterchurch. Under Leominster was Bodenham. Under Ross were Harewood End and Whitchurch. Later Much Birch seems to have replaced Harewood End, and Whitchurch became Whitchurch-and-Pencraig. Later still Pencraig and Goodrich had their own.

The exorbitantly high rates of postage and the inequalities engendered by some places being under penny posts and others not, brought a great agitation for reform which resulted in the introduction of Rowland Hill's plan of a flat rate of 1d. for a letter not weighting more than ½ oz. irrespective of the number of sheets in the letter or the distance it travelled. The postage was to be prepaid—if not, the rate would be doubled. These ideas of this great postal reformer were embodied in an Act of Parliament passed in 1839, during the ministry of Lord Melbourne. This should be of interest to Herefordians as Lord Melbourne was a descendant of the Sir John Coke of Much Marcle, Secretary of State to King

Charles I, to whom we owe the inauguration of a government post

for private letters.

The uniform 1d. postage rate did not start straight away as it was considered that some little time would be needed to get the scheme under way, and a uniform rate of 4d. was imposed, starting on 5th December, 1839. However, so vociferous was the public's demand for the implementation of the Act that the Government was forced to bring in 1d. postage on 9th January, 1840. The 4d. rate lasted therefore only five weeks. Most examples of the 4d. rate are in manuscript, and examples struck by handstamps are rare. The only Herefordshire town to possess a 4d. handstamp was Leominster.

The sudden change to 1d. postage found the Government unprepared, for neither the adhesive stamps nor the Mulready envelopes were ready, and could not be brought into use until early May. Prepayment therefore had to be made in money, and the clerk stamped "1" in red on the letter. If unpaid a "2" in black was struck.

Some places had more elaborate forms, but the only Herefordshire one I have discovered is a rare "Paid at Ross" in a circle. I have only seen three examples—one to Monmouth and two to

Ludlow, all three sent in the same month.

Rowland Hill thought the Mulready envelopes and wrappers would be more popular than the stamps, but he was wrong. They were too symbolical and fanciful for the public's taste, and easily lent themselves to caricature. The author of the Ingoldsby Legends calls them:

"Those odd-looking envelope things Where Britannia (who seems to be crucified) flings To her right and her left, funny people with wings Amongst Elephants, Quakers and Catabaoo Kings."

It is, however, to these Mulreadys that we owe the vogue of the Pictorial Envelope. Two were given me by Mr. F. C. Morgan bearing red 1d. stamps or 'Queen's Heads' as they were often called. In 1841 the Government issued a new type of plain cover bearing an embossed stamp of our sovereign's head. This type is still in use.

Although the use of adhesive stamps was general in towns, prepayment in money, especially in country districts, continued into the '50s, as did the use of the 'Penny Post' stamps as village name stamps. The obliteration of the postage stamp with a Maltese cross was done at the office of the post town. This type of obliteration was superseded after 1844 by a number allotted to each post town and sub-office.

Those in the Herefordshire lists of 1844 were:

138 Bromyard, 357 Hereford, 358 Eardisley, 419 Kington, 446 Ledbury, 454 Leominster, 455 Pembridge, 456 Shobdon, 481 Leintwardine, 654 Ross.

It can be seen from this list that few Herefordshire villages had post offices, though those under penny posts must have had receiving houses. Weobley, which had been a Parliamentary borough

until the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, still was without a P.O. in 1839, when the inhabitants petitioned for one. Then a sub-office was established there under Hereford, but it was not allotted a P.O. number (003) until the 1850s. Yet the tiny village of Shobdon had had a P.O. some years before that, with the number (456). That, of course, can be accounted for by Shobdon being the home of Lord Bateman, M.P.

Great efforts were made in the 1840's and 50's. to increase postal facilities and deliveries in all rural districts where the number of weekly letters would warrant it. To that end surveys were carried out in 1852 or '53 in parts of Herefordshire and the neighbouring counties by one of the G.P.Os. most famous surveyors—Anthony Trollope. It was he who claimed to have introduced the pillar box into England. One of the first was in Cheltenham and from an illustration of this one can see why the boxes were called 'iron stumps'. In Trollope's novel He Knew He Was Right, a Miss Jemima Stansbury refuses to have any letters of hers put into one of those iron stumps. She evidently had no faith that they would reach their destination! Until the 1850s provincial letter-carriers were not provided with uniform, and even then it was only a hard hat and a coat. The impractical colour (red) of the coat soon led to its being changed to blue, but the red was retained as a piping.

Our name of 'post-man' did not come into use until much later—not until a parcel post was introduced in the '80s. The original name 'letter-carrier' was correct in that he carried the

letters and newspapers for delivery.

Newspapers. Until 1836 every sheet of newsprint had to be officially stamped with a 4d. tax stamp before being printed, but this stamp franked the paper through the post. In this year the tax was reduced to 1d., but each paper had to have its own die stamp, bearing the name of the paper. This stamp also was a frank. When the book post was started in 1848, papers and books weighing not more than 4 oz. could go by the post for 1d. and the newspaper tax was abolished. The franking of letters by M.Ps. and Government officials—a privilege dating from Cromwellian times, and which had led to great losses to the post office funds—came to an end with the introduction in 1840 of the uniform penny post.

Of course things did not always go right. Mistakes were made. Letters were wrongly routed and 'Missent' markings were necessary to explain the delay in delivery. Some were posted too late to catch the mail and were then marked 'Too Late'. Others, unpaid, were stamped 'More to Pay'. Sometimes the clerk had assessed the postage wrongly. The amount had to be changed and often a red crown was stamped on the letter to show the charge was an official one. Sometimes the addressee refused to accept the letter and pay the postage. In that case it was sent back to the sender, who was mulcted of the double postage. The same thing happened when the letter was returned through the dead letter office because the recipient could not be traced.

Until 1840 the rat-tat of the letter-carrier always meant a demand for money and change. Many estate owners and professional people preferred to hire a private box at the P.O. and send their own servants for their letters—paying for them

I have not been able to find a Herefordshire P.O. bill, but a Monmouthshire one is of the usual type. After January, 1840, letters were pre-paid. The postman's knock no longer demanded an answer, so to facilitate delivery it became the fashion to have a slit cut in the front door and a box attached inside to receive the

letters. This was Rowland Hill's suggestion.

While postage rates were based on the number of sheets contained in the letter, some very large sheets were used the writer putting 'single sheet' on the address side. Having turned in the sides, the sheet was then folded into three, the two ends tucked in, and the whole sealed by wax or a wafer.

After January, 1840, postage was charged by weight and not by the number of sheets of paper. Envelopes came into use and indeed it would have been considered most unfashionable not to use them. The early ones were lozenge shaped pieces of paper which could be turned into covers by folding the corners. They were then sealed as before. By the end of the year envelopes as we know them were brought out-except that they had no gum on the flap. This, however, was soon rectified and the covers were provided with a blob of gum on the tip where the wafer would have been. The Government, however, did not provide gum for their official envelopes till 1860. Notepaper and envelopes were rather small, and often of thinnish paper. I have a couple of envelopes of this period, one evidently issued by the Lord's Day Observance Society or a similar association.

At the beginning of the 1800's the rather old-fashioned notepaper having a colourless embossed figure of a post boy was still in use here. Mrs. Gaskell describes it in Cranford: "Some of the sheets were the old original post with the stamp in the corner representing a post-boy, riding for life and twanging his horn". Plain paper was the most usual—the elite having gilt edges to theirs! A very different type is a letter of Mrs. Disraeli's of 1843 on white paper with a very gay red border of what I take to be literary characters and scenes. They remind one of the figures on some of

Southgate's caricatures of the Mulready envelopes.

Now the address. Plain 'Mr.' was used for ordinary folk, the title of Esquire being reserved for 'gentle' folk. The stamp had to be placed on the right hand top-corner of the envelope—care being taken not to fix it sideways or upside down. That was—and still is—considered very ill-bred—indeed, almost a case of lesemajesté.

ILLUSTRATIONS, as follows, were exhibited by Mrs. Leeds.

Herefordshire covers of the early 1800s. Railway Map. Mail coaches. Nobbs, The Last of the Mail Coach Guards. Mail coaches in distress. Floods

and accident to Mail Coach near Hereford. Floods near Gloucester 1852. Stage-coaches and fly-waggons. Advertisement for fly-waggons. Ross in early 1820s. Mileage marks. The City Arms. Broad Street with the Green Dragon. Mr. Evans' advertisement. Various penny posts under Ross, Hereford and Leominster. Home of Sir John Coke, Much Marcle. Leominster Handstruck 4. M.S.S. or Handstruck December 1839. Prepaid 1d. January-May, 1840. Paid at Ross. Mulreadys and Caricatures. MS. pictorial envelopes addressed to Mr. F. C. Morgan's father. Peterchurch Penny Post as a name stamp. 2d. blue, Plate 1. P.O. numbers. Village postmarks. Town sub offices. Anthony Trollope. Cheltenham and London pillar boxes. A letter carrier of 1840. Hereford Times, 4d. Tax, 1d. Tax. Book Post, The Post Magazine. Missents. Too Late. More to Pay. Returned Letter, Dead Letter. Post Master's bill. Envelopes. Mrs. Disraeli's letter.

N.B.—Some are illustrated on pp. 377-8.

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SAXON MANOR OF STAUNTON ON ARROW IN A CHARTER OF KING EDGAR OF 958 A.D.

By Lord Rennell of Rodd

In the summer of 1959, Dr. H. P. R. Finberg of the Department of English Local History at the University of Leicester, asked me to help him trace the boundaries of a Saxon manor in Western Herefordshire which was the subject of a charter of king Edgar of 958 A.D. The text of the charter is recorded in Birch¹ and was translated by Professor D. Whitelock.2 It grants the manor of Stanton of six hides to one Ealhstan for 40 mancuses of fine gold. The charter is, in fact, a deed of sale. The boundary of the manor in translation reads: "And this land is surrounded by these boundaries: First from the Mill-ford along the Arrow then to Washford from Washford along the Arrow round the top of Holneig from the top of Holneig3 to the top of the oak edge then along the top of the oak edge then to the front of the Snaed Way4 from the Snaed Way round Hanley to Accna Bridge up along the brook then to the dyke along the dyke to Tanesbaec from Tanesbaec along the boundary fence then to the boundary of the Community of Lene along the boundary of the Community of Lene then to AEthelwold's hedge from AEthelwold's hedge to Haenoldan from Haenoldan to the boundary thorn along the fence to the swing gate from the swing gate along the paved road to the dyke gate from the dyke gate to the third gate then along the paved road back to Milford."

The actual boundary was examined on the ground myself over a period of several weeks and discussed with Dr. Finberg viva-voce and in lengthy correspondence. The final identification with which

¹ Cart. Sax. 1040.

² In English Historical Documents, Vol. I, p. 514.

³ As per Whitelock: but more correctly as in the text " Holaneige ". 4 Underlined words inserted in original text in a smaller hand by way of a correction or amplification,

I am now reasonably satisfied turns largely on two points on the boundary referred to as "Leonhina gemaeres"—"the boundary of the community of Lene¹", and "Aecna bridge"—presumably "the Oaken bridge". The first point involved a fairly lengthy investigation into the problem of Lene/Leominster, and the manors and priory of Titley. On some circumstantial evidence, added to the evidence of the Staunton-on-Arrow manor boundary itself. Titley must, I think, be accepted as the (or part of the)" Community of Lene" of the 958 charter.

So far as I know there is no other reference to this Staunton-on-Arrow manor, after 958, until we get to Domesday, compiled in 1086, but giving details which go back to 1066 with the names of the pre-Conquest holders. The gap of one hundred years may, in fact, be less if a manor of 1066 was paying geld T.R.E. as an organised agricultural estate. Now there are several Stantons or Stauntons in Herefordshire and bordering counties. Four are mentioned in the Herefordshire Domesday Book² alone.

No.	Name of Holder	Holding	Former Holder T.R.E.	Folio	Page	Notes Page	Hundred
1	Ralph de Mortimer	Stantone	Edrich	20v.	38	_	Hezetre
2	Roger de Lacy	Standune (Standon)	(Leuric(h))	25v.	48	101	Stepleset
3	Roger de Lacy	Standune (Standora)	Eilrich	26	49	102	Stepleset
4	Osbern fitz Richard	Stantone (Stantune)	Saissil	34	65	119	Stepleset

Nos. 2 and 3 are certainly two separate manors (or two holdings) administered as one manor) at Staunton-on-Wve where two holdings were held before Domesday by two different tenants. Nos. 1 and 4, held by Ralph de Mortimer and Osbern fitz Richard respectively, are recorded as of two hides and of four hides. If No. 4 is correctly recorded as in Stepleset Hundred it must also have been at or near Staunton-on-Wye where it was held of Osbern by Drogo fitz Pons. This was the only manor of Osbern fitz Richard in that hundred; the majority of Osbern's holdings were in Hezetre hundred and the Richard's Castle area, in the north-west of the county, where Osbern's father, Richard le Scrob, was well established before the Conquest and built himself a stronghold then called Auretone. Osbern had also only one holding each in Elsedune and Stretford hundreds, the latter being Newton. It is just below this entry that the reference is made to Stantone in Stepleset.

¹ Reference is made below at p. 286 to a study of this subject. ² All references to D.B. are to the text in the Balliol transcript of D.B. for Herefordshire, published in Pipe Roll Soc., No. 25. New Series 19-50 and referred to as B.D.B.

Should this entry have mistakenly been catalogued in Stepleset it could have been a part of or adjoined the Hezetre Stanton manor on the Arrow, which was the boundary between the hundreds of Hezetre and Elsedune. There is, however, no evidence of this and in consequence it is only safe to assume that there were therefore no less than three Domesday holdings at Staunton-on-Wye and only one at Staunton-on-Arrow, which hereabouts means, as is consistent with the description of the boundary in the 10th century that the Arrow was the southern boundary of the district.

Staunton-on-Arrow village contains a castle-mound or motte, and a bailey, which theoretically are of Norman date, but might be pre-Conquest, inasmuch as Richard le Scrob and several other Norman knights were settled in this border land by King Edward in the first half of the 11th century and had begun to build permanent fortresses, including Richard's (le Scrob's) Castle and Ewias,

before 1066.

Next west of Staunton-on-Arrow was an extra-hundredal two hide Domesday manor of Osbern fitz Richard called Wapletone or Wapelith which can be satisfactorily identified on the southern slopes of Wapley Hill. This was a manor which was ut dicit de dono regis and had formerly belonged to the great manor of Leominster. It is among those described in Domesday as jacebant ad Leofminstre et reddebant consuetudinem South of the Arrow were the Domesday manors of Luntley, Weston, Lyonshall and perhaps Marston. There are two eligible sites for Osbern's Wapley manor of two hides along the southern and south-eastern slopes of the hill where is enough land at reasonable level (i.e., not above 600 ft.) which is flat enough to plough. One site is between Stansbatch and Staunton Green; the other site is west of Stansbatch. A manor on either site would lie comfortably between Osbern fitz Richard's land at Titley, where he held one manor in Hezetre hundred, and his manors at Milton and Byton on the Hindwell and Lugg valleys in which most of his land lay. I have little doubt on topographical evidence and the Domesday record that Osbern's Wapletone was in the Stansbatch-Staunton Green area. This places the manor within the boundaries of the Staunton-on-Arrow manor granted by Edgar to Ealhstan in 958. It is important, however. to remember that Wapletone had T.R.E. belonged to the great manor of Leominster which Titley had not. If Osbern's four hide manor of Stantone, catalogued as in Stepleset is a clerical error, these four hides, together with the two hides of Wapletone add up to the six hides of the Edgar charter of 1958. More likely the 958 Staunton manor by Domesday was represented by Ralph de Mortimer's Stantone and Osbern's Wapletone, though why the latter, but not the former, by 1086 " jacebat ad" Leominster, is somewhat puzzling.

I will now try to set out the boundary of the Staunton-on-Arrow manor of 958 in terms of modern place names and features. I

¹ See Ordnance Survey: One Inch: Sheet No. 129. Ludlow.

From the mill ford.

Along the Arrow.

To Washford.

Round the top of Holaneige.

To the top of the oak edge.

Then along the top of the oak edge. Then to the front of the Snaed way.

From the Snaed way. 8_ 9

Around Haenlege. 10. To Aecna bridge.

11. Up the brook.

12. Then to the dyke.

13. Along the dyke to Tanesbaec.

Along the boundary fence to the "Community of Lene boundary " 15.

16. Then to AEthelwold's hedge.

17. From AEthelwold's hedge to Haenoldan.

18. From Haenoldan to the boundary thorn,

Along the fence to the swing gate. Thence along the paved road.

21. To the dyke gate.

From the dyke gate to the third gate.

Then along the paved road back to Milford.

The description starts at Point 1 with "Milford". This is certainly the ford over the Arrow at The Forge crossing, one mile S.E. of Titley church. Why this point? Mainly because, as will be seen, it was a crossing of the Arrow at a topographically important point on an old roadway. There is no Domesday record of a mill here but the area generally had become waste as a result of the Welsh¹ raids. Moreover, the present ruined mill is on the south bank of the Arrow and as such would then go with the manor of Weston. That no mill is mentioned in the 958 charter of Staunton is not evidence of there having been no mill, because the southern boundary of the manor was the river, and the present (and probably earlier) mill is on the south bank. The importance of Forge crossing will appear later in the general comment on topography.2

Point 2 "along the Arrow" speaks for itself. The course is down stream, consistently with the word " along ". The river here was the boundary between the Domesday hundreds of Elsedune and Stretford.

Point 3 "to Washford" which is certainly one of the fords near Staunton-on-Arrow and Court of Noke, either near Noke bridge, or just above Leen farm, probably the latter. The river bed and banks at these points are suitable for washing sheep (and cattle). The "sheepwash" just above the name Staunton on the O.S. map is a modern product of 19th century irrigation work.

Point 4" round the top of Holaneige". "Hol/hole"=? hollow sunken, low-lying: 'ig=island. The area which fits is nine furlongs north-north-east of Staunton motte and half a mile due east of Stocklow manor at The Cot, a farm-steading lying on the edge of a fairly extensive pool, one, but the largest, of many such pools in this moraine country, some 120 ft. above the Arrow river. West of the big pool is a swampy patch which was probably another pool and which included at least some of the low lying Stocklow Haves wood. The Cot from the south-west would look rather like an island. Stocklow Hayes=? the "haia" of Stocklow manor. Why is no intermediate point mentioned between Washford and Holaneige? There are two explanations possible: (a) because the boundary ran along the obviously visible Rowe ditch as far north as the Stockley Cross-Milton Cross roads: or possibly (b) because it ran along the old road from Noke bridge to Milton Cross. The former is the most likely because the road probably started life as an access road between the Staunton manor arable fields.2 though it certainly was used as an old track connecting Shobdon via Noke bridge (ford) with Lyonshall, Elsdon (probably the Elsedune hundred meeting place) and Apostles' Lane and the west.

North of where Rowe ditch ceases on the map the line of the bank can be clearly seen in the fork of the roads west of Milton Cross. There is there a well defined and sited bank and line running northwest to the paddock known as Priest's Croft on the eastern edge of Stocklow manor farm buildings. This, as Rowe ditch itself, is the parish boundary line. But there is also a field marking which looks like a ploughed-out bank continuing north from the Stockley Cross-Milton Cross road to the edge of Vallet covert where a bank forms the field boundary to the pool at the Cot. There is there a heavy bank at the south-east corner of Stocklow Hayes Wood and along the marsh to the south-east of the wood. At the western edge of Stocklow Haves wood we get once more on to the parish boundary which then runs north to Napshaw coppice, a prominent wooded knoll with good oak and other cover. There are two or three good oaks and east-west markings in the field west of the coppice. West by north is a very prominent knoll within a 600 ft. ring contour west of Stockley House farmstead and separated from the Birches Wood by a dip in the land.

Point 4 " round the top of Holaneige" points to the manor boundary following the line of The Cot-Stocklow Haves wood alignment rather than the present parish boundary via Stocklow manor.

¹Cf. the record of Osbern fitz Richard's and the Mortimer holdings at B.D.B., p. 38, and 65.

² See also at Points 21, 22 and 23.

¹ The northern lateral moraine of the Arrow valley glacier. See Rennell, Valley on the March, later referred to as "V.M.". O.U.P. 1958, p. 5.

^{*}The Modern One Inch O.S. Map—and Bryants' Map of Herefordshire (1835), both show the parish boundary as following the Noke-Milton road, not the dyke. Bryant, incidentally, marks the continuation of the dyke in the west angle of the Milton crossroads.

 $Point\ 5$ " to the top of the Oak edge " is obviously along the banks on the south and to the west of Napshaw coppice.

Point 6 "then along the top of the oak edge" means from Napshaw coppice towards the 600 ft. knoll referred to above which is today crowned with some good oaks.

Point 7 "then to the front of the Snaedway" probably means along the front of, i.e. below, a track to Byton Hand (cross roads). If "snaed" means a "detached piece of land" this could refer to the area east of Wapley hill bounded on the north by the steep scarp of Brandhill Wood above Combe and Byton Moors which were and the latter still is, bogland. This could well have been a "detached piece of land" not properly, or formerly not, belonging to Staunton manor (see below).

Points 8 and 9 "from the Snaed Way around Haenlege" that is north and east of the very prominent Hanley (not Hanley's) Banks which are quite a landmark. "Hanley" obviously—Haenlege" (—high leah) in the text. The name may refer to the area where the banks are west of Napshaw coppice or may refer to the whole S.E. slopes of Wapley hill of which a part was "Snaed", unless the cross roads—Combe Moor hamlet was itself the "Snaed",

or part of the "Snaed".

Points 10 and 11. These points are difficult and important. From the eastern slopes of Wapley one could have expected the boundary to follow along the line of the Hanley Banks westward and continue along a fairly well marked line of banks and landmarks around the wooded top of Wapley hill, which from early medieval times was a warren, to Highland farm and Rodd Hurst. But Point 10 takes the boundary to "the Aecna (oak) bridge" and then "up the brook". There is no place on the southern slopes of Wapley hill which could possibly require a bridge of any sort, nor is there any brook to follow up! The only possible explanation is that the bridge and brook refer to a part of the Hindwell stream, north of Wapley hill. This watercourse today divides at Rodd Bridge into a "back brook" and the main stream by means of a weir: the two streams then re-unite a little above Combe and about a mile above the point where the Hindwell flows into the Lugg. Now the country between the confluences of the Hindwell and Lugg, and the Hindwell and its "back brook", is very low lying and liable to flooding, and no bridge here would be reasonable or serviceable. Although the "back brook" now takes off from the Hindwell at Rodd bridge by means of a set of weirs built for land irrigation and farm water to fields, its course under the northern slopes of Wapley is certainly a natural water course carrying the surface run-off from the steep north side of the hill. Since the " aecna bridge " must, therefore, be a bridge over the Hindwell system, the only logical point for such a bridge is near the confluence of the "back brook" and the main-stream. The confluence of the Hindwell and Lugg is an unlikely site because it is really at the western end of Byton bog which has still defied all efforts at drainage and was certainly much more extensive in a westerly direction than it now is. The bridge and modern road over the Hindwell at Combe are still flooded frequently every winter. But at the confluence of the Hindwell and the "back brook" are a large number of very fine oaks, some, indeed, of the best in this area, and the land is a little higher than at Combe bridge.

Point 11 "up the brook" then follows as meaning "up the

back brook of the Hindwell" towards Rodd Hurst.

From the foregoing, therefore, the boundary after going round Hanley, the High Leah, on the eastern slopes of Wapley, followed the track which descends from the 750 ft. contour above the hamlet of Combe Moor and curls around the cwm containing Brandhill Wood, descending slowly by Combe farm (an early post-Domesday manor) and reaches the "Aecna Bridge" over the Hindwell at its confluence with the "Back Brook". A track over this bridge would lead to Broadheath common, known in the Middle Ages as La Hethe.

Point 12. After running "up the brook", probably to the then head of the natural course of the "Back Brook" the boundary crawled up the slope of Wapley probably to the point marked 684 ft. on the O.S. map, where the boundaries of Combe, and Rodd, Nash & Little Brampton parishes meet, "To the Dyke" I take to mean the second alignment of Offa's dyke at the top of Ashley Vallet2 (wood) along the edge of the steep scarp which forms the southern side of the Hindwell valley. This "dvke"-essentially a boundary marking-runs towards Rodd Hurst where a northsouth track cuts through it across the col. The "dyke" towards the west is represented by the earth-works at Rodd Hurst, sunk Green Lane and its northern bank, and the ridgeway, which follows the edge of Little Brampton scar until it joins the old main alignment of Offa's dyke on Rushock hill.3 There are at Rodd Hurst a number of banks and deep ditches almost certainly relating to an enclosure at this pass between the Hindwell and the Arrow valleys.4 I place therefore, the "dyke" of points 12 and 13 between point 684 ft. and the edge of Rodd Hurst.

Point 13. The boundary then follows a little water course called "Tanesbaec" a rivulet which rises very near Rodd Hurst and runs south-east, near the railway line and now partially obliterated thereby, to the hamlet of Stansbatch on the south slope of Wapley, whence it eventually flows into the Arrow. The salient northwards in the manor boundary line looks peculiar but can be explained by the location of an "Aecna bridge" giving access to the plain between the Hindwell and the Lugg, and to the Upper

¹ V.M., p. 58, etc.

See the argument for this in the Radnor Soc. Transactions, Vol. XXX.
 V.M., pp. 20-22.
 See V.M., pp. 21, 95.

Lugg valley with its Domesday manors generally through what is now Presteigne, all of which certainly existed $T.R.E.^1$ The way up from the "Aecna bridge" to Point 684 ft. is along a small cwm which separates the main block of Wapley hill from the eastern end of Ashley Vallet woodland.

We now come to the next difficult point.

Points 14 and 15. "From the Tanesbaec, along the boundary fence (maergeard) then to 'Lionhina gemaeres' (the Community of Lene boundary)". There is a lane from Rodd Hurst which runs up the hill in a S.S.W direction to Green Lane farm which is just in Titley parish. The parish boundary between Titley parish and Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton parish actually takes off from the present (modern) B.4355 road, a little to the south-east near a group of two cottages called The Orls and the farm road to Ashley farm which lies on the west spur of Wapley hill. After running down the top part of the Tanesbaec from Rodd Hurst, I am inclined to think that the manor boundary ran along this parish boundary² to Green Lane farm under the foot of Burcher wood and from Green Lane farm over the high ground at point 858 ft.3 which would be the "Haenoldan" (High Wold) of Point 17. The "Aethelwold's hedge" of Point 16 would then be at or just above Green Lane farm itself.

But for the Tanesbaec point the simpler boundary would have been from the Dyke (*Point* 12) straight from Rodd Hurst to Green Lane farm by the sunk road. It still may be that this was the broad intention and that Tanesbaec was only introduced to indicate that the settlement and enclosure at Rodd Hurst was not included in the manor which the present siting of the Titley parish boundary would tend to confirm.

Acceptance of this boundary (which the slight doubt of a possible variant at Rodd Hurst does not affect) means that "Lionhina gemaeres", the "community of Lene boundary" refers to Titley. Although there is no documentary evidence for this, circumstantial evidence certainly justifies the presumption that there was a "Community of Lene" at Titley. Indeed, there can be no other place for a "Community of Lene" if the rest of the Staunton manor boundary of 958 is at all reasonably identified even in broad lines.

Point 18. "From Haenoldan to the boundary thorn".

Point 19. "Along the fence to the swing gate."

From Haenoldan it would have been tempting to find the boundary following the pathway to Burcher farm. Nevertheless

¹ See V.M., Chap. IV.

² This boundary has been ploughed out except for one thorn tree in field O.S. 149.

³ Trig. Pt. in field O.S. 70, south-west of Green Lane farm.

⁴ The subject of a Lene Community at Titley is developed in detail in a study under the title "The Land of Lene" in a forthcoming book of essays to be published by O.U.P.



although this inherently probable trace is recorded on the accompanying map with query marks, Points 18 and 19½ refer to a "boundary thorn" and then "along the fence". There is a straight run of fence from Haenoldan in an easterly direction towards the milestone ("Kington 4") on the road B.4355 which conceivably could represent the old fence line of the text. Just before reaching the modern road the boundary would then curve south to the road fork where there is today a small dwelling set back from the road and sometimes called Titley Gate or alternatively, Ricket's Castle. The "boundary thorn" has disappeared but may have stood where the parish boundary makes a fairly sharp bend from N-S to N-S-E.

From here the trace is easy. Point 20, "thence along the paved road" is the track to Mowley, whence to the Dyke Gate. Point 21, at the earthworks of the old priory and the Titley court complex, to Point 22, "the third gate", where tracks from Mowley and Titley join just before the paved road descends sharply to the Arrow river at "Mill Ford". The old pack road from north of Mowley (and probably further north still from Rodd Hurst, but now obliterated by the modern road) all the way to Forge crossing is completely cobbled and in certain places paved. Where it descends the steep bank of the Arrow it is well sited and cut into the hillside. Although not used for a long time, the paving and grading have preserved the road from erosion. It represents the direct and easiest way from Presteigne by Rodd Hurst and Titley to the manors of Marston, Weston, Luntley and perhaps even to Lyonshall. It is important to remember that railway and road B.4355 are new creations and have extensively modified the topography. The old Presteigne-Kington turnpike took quite a different route over Little Brampton scar.

Some comment may now seem appropriate on certain points in the topography of the terrain contained within the manor boundary.

The boundary outlined follows, as might be anticipated, very roughly the boundary of Staunton-on-Arrow parish. The ground enclosed is quite considerable, perhaps rather more than might have been anticipated. Nevertheless, the manor was described as of six hides and was sold for 40 mancuses of gold.

Staunton park and house are a late 18th century creation made by a refugee from the Low Countries whose name was either not known to, or could not be pronounced by, the local inhabitants who only knew of him as Mr. Mynhere! He also laid out the extensive irrigation, drainage and mill channels with their weirs in conjunction with the then owners of Stanton Old Court at Staunton-on-Arrow especially to the east and north-east of the village. These works obscure the boundaries of the old manor arable fields both sides of the road between Milton cross and Noke bridge. The road here is certainly the cultivation access track between an early set of arable fields belonging to the manor of Staunton-on-Arrow. A

third field in this series, all of which have the normal local S.W.-N.E. trend could have lain alongside, but east of, the Staunton-Stockley cross road. It is important to reiterate that the Staunton Park complex is a late addition to the landscape which has altered and obscured local topography.

The Domesday manor of Wapley1 could have been either on a destroyed site in the Staunton Park complex, or at "The Farm" (the "Game Farm") north of the western lodge of the park. The arable fields between "The Farm" and Stocklow manor here also trend S.W.-N.E. along the 500 ft. contour but again, somewhat obscured by 18th century alterations. The beech avenue, a former well known feature, leading from the west lodge of Staunton Park to "The Farm" has recently been felled. I prefer now, however, to place the Wapley manor around and probably west of Stansbatch. From recorded variants of the name, the second element in Wapley is probably not "leah" since the name occurs in older forms both as Wapleton(e) and Wapelith. The first element seems to be "Waple" and the second one, later dropped, was "tun". The top of Wapley hill was granted as a warren in the middle ages, the surrounding dry stone boundary and bank probably dates from the times when the rights of warren were granted, but some of the bank on the southern slope of the hill may have had its origin in the defensive system of the hill-fort at the top.2 " Hanley Banks" is a very prominent and readily defensible bank and scarp facing south along the 600 ft. contour. Ekwall has Hanley=Handley= "high leah", a description which fits accurately.

Both Napshaw coppice and the "knoll", crowned with oaks quarter to half a mile to the west by north, are very prominent landmarks, the former having a sharply defined bank along its western and southern edge. Either of these two could well have been the hundred meeting place of the Domesday Hezetre hundred unless the motte site of Staunton on Arrow is considered to fit better the description4 of the Hundred Court meeting place in the 13th century. My preference had been for a site near Stocklow manor, i.e., Napshaw coppice or the knoll: although I have a fairly open

mind on this, I now prefer the "knoll" site.

Highland farm is an old site.5 In the Stapleton subsidy roll of 1293, there figure two names of persons, among others in the neighbourhood, assessed as "de Alta Terra" and also one listed as Jorve de Wapelit—thus making a distinction between Highland and Wapley.6 Highland farm lies at 690 ft. on fairly steep rolling slopes which face west. The slopes are too high and steep to have provided early manor arable.

A dry water course fed by run-off channels between the folds of the western slopes of Wapley hill descends to the present railway,

1 " Wapletone ", B.D.B., p. 12, f. 7v.

collecting water in a somewhat overgrown stream bed, the Tanesbaec, which is crossed by the road and railway at Broadford three furlongs due south of Highland farm and west of Stansbatch. This brook then runs south of Stansbatch containing another ford near the Upper Tan House and a sheepwash above the Lower Tan House before joining the river Arrow between Mowley and Grove Woods. Some 11 miles above this confluence and just upstream of the railway bridge over the river Arrow is "The Forge crossing" Half a mile above Forge crossing is the boundary of Lyonshall parish.

North of Highland farm at the top of the steep scarp of Ashley vallet and Combe wood, overlooking the Hindwell valley, occurs a very peculiar bit of topography. There are three rather prominent high points right on the way which leaves Highland by a deep cut track and heavy bank running north. The track passes by the O.S. Bench Mark and measured altitudes of 731.6, 684 and 646 ft. Near point 684 ft. the boundaries of the parishes of Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton, Combe, and Staunton-on-Arrow meet. The point is near the top of the hill. The Combe parish boundary makes a peculiar salient between the boundaries of the parishes of Staunton on Arrow and Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton. Point 684 ft. is also at the junction of several very well marked tracks. This seems to be the point where the Staunton Saxon manor boundary reached "The Dyke" after leaving "the brook".

Rodd Hurst which is the lowest point on the south bank scarp of the Hindwell valley lies on a col where access is relatively easy between that valley and the Arrow valley. The col lies at B.M. 562 ft. with Wapley rising to over 1,000 ft. to the east and Little Brampton scar to 940 ft. to the west. The road crossing the col from the north is in a deep sunk way. It is the natural track for traffic between the Lugg and Hindwell valleys and the Arrow valley. This track would use the paved and cobbled way from Mowley over the Forge crossing. To the west of the present houses of Rodd Hurst is a series of heavy banks and ditches, probably the remains of an old stockaded settlement provided with good springs on the col itself. It is topographically an obvious place for a settlement.

It has proved to be comparatively simple to trace the northern continuation of Rowe ditch as a boundary demarcation, the direct alignment of which with one or two insignificant gaps runs pretty closely along the parish boundary of Staunton-on-Arrow to just east of the Stocklow manor farmyards. There is, however, the possible alternative line from the point where the dyke crosses the Stockley Cross-Milton Cross road along the west side of Vallet cover, thence west of the large pond at 'The Cot', and thence along the south side of Stocklow Hayes wood, to rejoin the first mentioned and better marked line a little north east of Stocklow manor farmyards. The line then runs to the south side of Napshaw coppice; here, from a roughly north-south alignment, it turns sharply west to the heavy banks known as Hanley Banks south

^{*} Cf. article in the Transactions of the Rad. Soc. Trs. Vol. XXX.

^a Cf. Ekwall, pp. 206-7. 4 Cf. V.M., pp. 44-5. ⁵ Cf. R.C.H.M., III, p. 183. 6 Cf. V.M., p. 128.

and south-west of Stockley house and barn. From here more or less well marked banks on slopes facing steeply south run south of Goden Wood and north of "The Farm" of Staunton Park. From Goden Wood, banks can be traced along the south side of the Wapley Forestry Commission plantations under or just inside the dry stone wall which surrounded the warren of Wapley before it was recently taken over by the Crown, cleared of rabbits and planted with loathsome conifers. This dry stone wall, in parts ruinous and disappearing as a wall, continues round the west side of Wapley plantations as far as a deep gully quarter of a mile south-east of Highland farm. An indication of this gully or ravine is shown by the deep indentations in the 700 ft. and higher contours on the 6 in. O.S. sheet. The bank is again well marked along a hedgerow to Highland farm whence the line is again clearly marked running north to B.M. 731.6 ft. Hereabouts are a number of banks and tracks the most prominent of which is a bank tending north-east along the northern scarp of Wapley hill with its steep slopes down Combe wood to the Hindwell. From B.M. 731.6 ft. this dyke¹ ran along well marked features at the top of Ashley vallet scarp to Rodd Hurst, where it joins the Green lane alignments.

The most unsatisfactory feature of the suggested Staunton manor boundary is the distance without intermediate points between the Washford (say Leen farm) and The Cot, along Rowe ditch. If the latter was, as I think, an important boundary marking and also to the south of the Arrow the obvious western boundary of such manors as Luntley and Pembridge, as well as of Milton north of the river it could be thought that it was not necessary to

specify any intermediate points along this straight line.

I am indebted to Dr. Finberg for introducing into the boundary the Hindwell sector by the suggested location of the "Aecna bridge" and "up the (back) brook" which I have come to the conclusion is quite satisfactory. He also placed the "Haenoldan" around the 848 ft. mark south of Rodd Hurst. Both these suggestions, made in spite of my efforts to draw the boundary south of Wapley Warren to Highland farm, are entirely reasonable. They get over the insuperable objection of having to find an "aecna bridge" and a brook on the dry southern slopes of Wapley hill.

The arguments for the existence of a Community of Lene at Titley are too lengthy to be included in this study of the boundaries of the Staunton-on-Arrow manor of king Edgar's charter of 958. Suffice it to say there were at Titley two medieval religious establishments: the priory and Alien cell of the Abbey of Tiron, and a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed Tylliar or Tirella, the latter being a Celtic shrine and certain the older of the two. While I take this to be the Community of Lene of the Staunton boundary, it is no coincidence that the two place names, Lyonshall and Lynhales,

both containing the "Lene"* place name as an element in their composition, occur three miles south of Titley. They are of course, related to the westward extension of the area known as the Land of Lene and the early history of the secular and ecclesiastical importance of Leominster.

THE BISHOPS' REGISTERS OF THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD, 1275–1539

By DAVID WALKER, D.Phil., F.S.A.

The records of the bishop of Hereford and his archdeacons of Hereford and Ludlow have been surveyed in the Survey of Ecclesiastical Archives, undertaken for the Pilgrim Trust and completed in 1950.1 This is a useful but summary report which makes no attempt to analyse in detail the various types of record to be found in the episcopal archives. What might be possible for Hereford can be seen from the Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow, a model of its kind.2 At Hereford, as elsewhere, the bishops' registers form the core of the episcopal archives. They have long been available in print through the publications of the Cantilupe Society and of the Canterbury and York Society, the editing being largely the work of Canon W. W. Capes, Canon A. T. Bannister and Mr. J. H. Parry. We owe much to Capes, in particular, for his work on the records of Hereford in the twentieth century. He had already retired from an academic career at Oxford and from a long period of service in his parish of Bramshott when, in 1903, he became a canon of Hereford. For the last eleven years of his life he devoted himself to the cathedral records. He was responsible for the foundation of the Cantilupe Society and edited for the society five registers and a useful collection of charters and documents drawn from the archives of the Dean and Chapter. His contemporaries held him in high esteem, but his reputation for accuracy has been challenged in recent years. Some of the most active editors of his generation did not accept standards of fidelity to the text which would have satisfied a Stubbs or a Maitland, and here Capes must be regarded as a casualty. Nevertheless, his work was of lasting value. He began the task of sorting the thousands of charters and rolls still at Hereford, a task which has now been completed.†

For two of the medieval bishops of Hereford no registers have been preserved, Edmund Audley (1492-1502) who became bishop of Salisbury, and Hadrian de Castello (1502-1504) who became

¹ That is the "Dyke" of the Staunton Saxon manor boundary: for the "second alignment of Offa's Dyke" see V.M., p. 2 and Rad. Soc. Trs. Vol. XXX.

^{*} See Ekwall ad loc. cit.

[†] They have also been fully indexed. [Ed.]

bishop of Bath and Wells. With these exceptions registers have been preserved from the time of Thomas de Cantilupe (1275–1282) until, and beyond, the end of the Middle Ages. They appeared in the following editions of the Cantilupe Society and the Canterbury and York Society.

Thomas de Cantilupe, 1275-1282, transcribed by R. G. Griffiths with an introduction by W. W. Capes, 1907. Richard de Swinfield, 1283–1317, W. W. Capes, 1909. Adam de Orleton, 1317-1327, A. T. Bannister, 1908. Thomas de Charlton, 1327-1344, W. W. Capes, 1913. John de Trillek, 1344-1361, J. H. Parry, 1912. Lewis de Charlton, 1361-1370, J. H. Parry, 1914. William de Courtenay, 1370-1375, W. W. Capes, 1914. John Gilbert, 1375–1389, J. H. Parry, 1915. John Trefnant, 1389-1404, W. W. Capes, 1916. Robert Mascall, 1404-1416, J. H. Parry, 1917. Edmund Lacy, 1417-1420, transcribed by J. H. Parry, edited with an introduction by A. T. Bannister, 1918. Thomas Polton, 1420-1422, W. W. Capes, 1918. Thomas Spofford, 1422-1448, A. T. Bannister, 1919. Richard Beauchamp, 1449-1450, A. T. Bannister, 1919. Reginald Boulers, 1451-1453, A. T. Bannister, 1919. John Stanbury, 1453-1474, transcribed by J. H. Parry, edited with an introduction by A. T. Bannister, 1919. Thomas Milling, 1474-1492, A. T. Bannister, 1920. Richard Mayew, 1504-1516, A. T. Bannister, 1921. Charles Booth, 1516-1535, A. T. Bannister, 1921.

When the original registers were bound no logical plan was followed. The registers of Beauchamp, Thomas de Charlton, Courtenay, Polton, and part of Spofford's register were bound in one volume.³ The other, larger, section of Spofford's register is a single volume.⁴ The registers of Lewis de Charlton, Gilbert and Mascall were bound together; ⁵ so also were those of Milling and Stanbury,⁶ and those of Booth, Fox and Bonner.⁷ Those bound as single volumes include Lacy's, ⁸ Mayew's, ⁹ and Boulers.¹⁰

Abstracts printed as an appendix to Booth's

Edward Fox, 1535-1538

Edmund Bonner, 1539

Professor A. Hamilton Thompson considered that the Hereford registers were "not as a whole, first rate examples of such collections", but that they were particularly valuable for the evidence which they afforded of the "steady growth in the influence of the Crown over the choice of spiritual rulers of the church "in England in the fifteenth century. 11 As early as 1354, the visitation rolls of Thomas de Cantilupe were the earliest records which Trillek could cite and were, presumably, the earliest surviving registers. 12 In the sixteenth century, however, bishop Booth claimed to have rescued and restored registers of his predecessors from the time of John le Breton (1269-1275). 13 It may be no more than a loose phrase, or it may be that as late as the sixteenth century an earlier register (or rolls) were still to be found at Hereford. Cantilupe's register occurs some sixty years later than the earliest known examples of this type of record in other English dioceses. The register of Hugh de Wells, bishop of Lincoln (1209-1235) and

Walter de Gray, archbishop of York (1216–1255) are the earliest surviving bishops' registers in England. Both are in the form of rolls, not codices. Hugh's register records transactions as early as 1213–1215, but it is believed that this earliest section was written in about 1217. The archbishop's register does not cover the first ten years of his episcopate. 14

The custody of these archives has not always been settled or secure. While Thomas de Cantilupe was bishop some episcopal records were kept in the chapter house of his own cathedral church; on 23rd February, 1275, a number of charters were deposited in a chest there under the bishop's seal by Richard de Clehonger. Others were kept by the bishop's agents behind the high altar of St. Paul's cathedral, London. William de Faukeburne and John de Clare deposited two tallies there in a little leather bag in a chest standing behind the high altar of that church, in which other things belonging to the bishop were placed. The key of the chest was then held by Faukeburne. The bishop wrote also to the dean of St. Paul's to ask that he and his men would allow John de Clare to enter and leave the church freely to deposit and remove the bishop's possessions there.

In the early fifteenth century the custody of the registers gave rise to confusion and difficulty. In 1416, when Robert Mascall died, his registers passed into the hands of his executors who refused to hand them over to the official responsible for the administration of the diocese during the ensuing vacancy. ¹⁸ Nor did the difficulty end there. In 1418, when Edmund Lacy was ordered by the king to search the registers of his predecessors he was forced to reply that he had not yet received them, although he had by then held the see for a year. ¹⁹ Some twelve months later on a similar occasion he reported that the registers were for the most part old, broken and, in some cases, long since lost. ²⁰

It is to Charles Booth, bishop between 1516 and 1535, that we owe the preservation of the medieval registers as they now are. He found the records from John le Breton to Mascall (covering, that is, the period from 1269 to 1416), preserved unbound in loose folios and quires. He re-arranged them and had them bound into volumes. His labours certainly preserved what has survived from 1275, and he may, perhaps, have preserved one earlier register which has since disappeared.

By chance Booth's own register was nearly lost to the cathedral. It was recovered in 1713 or 1714. A brief note of what had happened was entered into a volume in the Registry about 1750.

And for the said Bp. Boothe's own Register Bk., which is fairly wrote on Vellum and makes a Handsome Volume, containing also Bp. Fox's and Bishop Boner's Reg., we are now obliged to Bp. Biss, who (after it had been missing a long time) casually met with it in Dr. Moor's, then Bishop of Ely's, library, and restored it to the Diocese.

Moore was a great collector of books, as Cambridge University Library has good cause to remember with gratitude. But Booth's register is one acquisition which his lordship of Ely did not pass on to his university.²¹

An episcopal register was not always made up as a single volume. It might consist of a series of rolls (in the earliest period for which such records are known) or quires relating to different aspects of the bishop's work: lists of ordinations and of institutions to benefices, visitation records, papal letters, and sometimes legal business. Such material, whether in loose quires or in separate volumes could easily be misplaced lost or destroyed. It is not so long since a visitation roll of John Trefnant, bishop of Hereford 1389–1404, was discovered among the archives at Hereford.²²

The registers display a variety of rubrics but they give the impression that the rubrics were not written consistently and that they do not occur on any formal plan. Where the years of a bishops' episcopate were noted they were given sporadically, not regularly. The first year of Orleton's consecration is noted; 23 so also was Swinfield's fifth year. 24 and the first and third years of Courtenay's episcopate.²⁵ Mayew's register notes the sixth year of his consecration and, as a rubric, the twelfth year. 26 Mascall's register records most consistently the years of his episcopate, once as a rubric, for his fourth year,27 and at other times as a note of the vear of consecration "of my lord", "of my lord bishop", or "of our lord bishop". This occurs for the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years.28 His register has also an elaborate rubric to mark the second year of his episcopate: Registrum eiusdem venerabilis patris de anno consecracionis sue secundo et de anno domini millesimo CCCC° quinto.29 This elaborate form was not maintained in later years.

Quires of particular types of documents were given separate rubrics in a number of registers. This is, especially, a distinctive feature of Trillek's register which has a quire of collations, institutions, inductions, dispensations, licences for absence; a quire of papal letters; a quire of royal writs; and a quire of letters dimissory. Gilbert's register has a quire of collations, institutions, inductions, dispensations, licences for absence and letters dimissory and various other letters, of which the rubric is so comprehensive that it can have been of little value to a clerk searching the register

for a particular letter.31

In Trillek's register a careful distinction is drawn between his acts passed before and after his consecration. The first part of his register has a rubric defining it as the register of John Trillek, bishop-elect of Hereford, elected on 23rd February, 1343, confirmed by John, archbishop of Canterbury, on 27th March, and instituted with the temporalities of the see on 29th March. There follows at a later stage a second rubric to introduce the register of John Trillek, bishop, after his consecration on 29th August, and enthronement on 24th October, 1344. Swinfield's register has a rubric noting that his is the register of the bishop-elect of Hereford. Acts passed after his consecration occur very early in the register

and no second rubric was added.³³ Bonner's register has a long rubric stating that he was elected and confirmed as bishop of Hereford and translated to London before his consecration.³⁴

In Milling's register a new rubric was placed at the head of a fresh folio by master Reginald Calle who thus recorded his own appointment and the beginning of the registrations for which he was responsible. It reads:

Registrum Thome, Dei gracia Herefordensis episcopi, per manus magistri Calle, juris canonici bacallarii, inchoatum et ad sui execucionem officii per dictum reuerendum episcopum admissi, xv° die mensis Julii, anno domini millesimo CCCC° lxxxi°, et sue consecracionis quasi in fine anni septimi.³⁵

Lewis de Charlton's register has two rubrics, one of which was added after his death to record that his register covered the period

from 25th October, 1361 to 23rd May, 1369.36

The type of subdivision most clearly illustrated at Hereford reflects the complexity of episcopal administration rather than refinements in the arrangement of episcopal archives. Officials and vicars-general acted for the bishop on many occasions and the material which they selected for permanent record was incorporated into the bishop's register. So at times were the records of those who administered the see during a vacancy. These supplementary registers normally have a distinctive rubric and are often separately foliated. Thus with Lewis de Charlton's register there is the register of Roger de Stanford and John Dyphulle the custodians of the spiritualities of Hereford sede vacante, in 1369.37 Mascall's register has also the register of his vicar-general John Cateby, from 29th September, 1404, for the period of his tenure of office. After a document dated 5th November, 1405, a note was added that here ended the acts passed by master John Cateby while he was vicar-general. 38 Edmund Lacy's vicar-general was Edmund Ruvhale whose register is to be found with Lacy's.³⁹ The register of master Richard Rotherham and John Dylewe, his vicars-general. is with Spofford's register.40 John Dylewe also acted as vicargeneral for Bishop Beauchamp and, again, his register is with Beauchamp's.41 With Stanbury's register is that of his vicargeneral master Richard Pede, 42 while Milling's register has with it the registers of John Bayly and Richard Jaquesone, both of whom acted as his vicars-general, Bayly from 1475 and Jaquesone from 1483.43 With Milling's register also is that of master Thomas Morton and master Robert Shurburn, vicarii in spiritualibus, during the vacancy which followed Milling's death.44 Similarly, Mayew's register is made up of his own register, that of John Wardroper and Richard Judde his vicars-general, and that of William Webbe and Henry Martyn who administered the see sede vacante after Mayew's death. 45 Fox's register, short as it is, contains the register of master Hugh Coren, vicar-general and commissary-general sede vacante.46

Such registers were the product of diocesan administration of which they form an official but not a complete record. They

contain some, though not all, of the bishop's acta and some of his correspondence. The selection of what was to be preserved was left to individual members of the bishop's household, usually to his registrar, and there is little uniformity of practice. Thomas de Cantilupe was often away from his diocese and many of his acts and letters were not enrolled. His successor, Richard de Swinfield, was devoted to his memory, and he went so far as to enrol in his own register many of Cantilupe's acta. But Swinfield was something of a collector. He did not confine his attention to Cantilupe's documents but ranged widely over the past. He enrolled a variety of charters and records which included the Domesday account of the manor of Leominster and a series of royal and private charters dating from the first half of the twelfth century. On the other hand in the fifteenth century a number of bishops held the see for short periods of time and their registers are very slight.

Often it is the variety of material which it contains which provides the obvious points of interest in a bishop's register. But the sections which were of permanent value for the administrative officials of the bishop's household and which are still valuable to ecclesiastical historians are those concerned with the routine business which came within the bishop's competence. Some record of ordinations and institutions was essential. Records arising from visitations or from claims to the right to visit were often voluminous. Documents arising from legal disputes abound. Bishops were not often free from litigation; some were scarcely happy without it. Often a bishop was a principal party to suits in progress at the courts of his metropolitan or at Rome. Often he was concerned with the activities of papal judges-delegate. Always, as the Ordinary he was himself a judge within his own see. Medieval litigation is a compound of tenacity and verbosity. It makes heavy reading. But it is from a mass of such records that we must reconstruct the history and development of the ecclesiastical courts of the medieval church and, in part, the history of any particular diocese.

REFERENCES

² Compiled by Miss Kathleen Major, O.U.P., 1953.

3 Reg. Beauchamp, p. ii; Reg. Polton, p. iv.

4 Reg. Spofford, p. xi.

⁵ Reg. Lewis de Charlton, p. i; Reg. Mascall, p. i.

Reg. Stanbury, p. vii; Reg. Myllyng, p. v.

7 Reg. Booth, p. xvi.

- ⁸ Reg. Lacy, p. vii; with the register of his vicar-general. See below p. 297.
 - Reg. Mayew, p. viii.
 Reg. Boulers, p. iii.
- ¹¹ A. H. Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organisation in the later Middle Ages. O.U.P., 1947, p. 31; cf. pp. 31-39. For an indication of omissions in Milling's register, as it is printed, cf. p. 35.

13 Reg. Trillek, i, pp. 222, 237; C. R. Cheney, English Bishops' Chanceries, 1110-1250, M.U.P., 1950, p. 109, no. 3. Professor Cheney's book is immensely valuable for a student of ecclesiastical organisation or of diplomatic.

18 A note to this effect was added to Gilbert's register. See Reg. Gilbert, p. 127; see also Reg. Booth, p. xvii. Charles Johnson, in his introductory note to Mascall's register, believed, wrongly, that this note had been omitted from the printed text of Gilbert's register. (Reg. Mascall, p. i, no. I.)

14 These earliest registers have been published. Register (Rolls) of Hugh Welles, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-35, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore and F. N. Davis (Cant. and York Soc., 3 vols., 1907-1909). Register (Rolls) of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, 1215-55, ed. J. Raine, jun. (Surtees Soc., 1870 [1872]).

See also Cheney, Chanceries, p. 104.

18 Reg. Cantilupe, i, p. 41. This and the following reference are noted in Cheney, Chanceries, p. 135.

16 Reg. Cantilupe, i, p. 182.

17 ib., i, p. 263.

18 Cheney, Chanceries, p. 137, quoting The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43, ed. E. F. Jacob (Cant. and York Soc., 1943-45), vol. iii, p. 430-1.

19 Reg. Lacy, p. 22, and p. vii.

21 Reg. Booth, p. xvii; Reg. Gilbert, p. 127.

22 A. T. Bannister, "Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397", English Historical Review,

Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397", English Historical Review, vol. xliv (1929), pp. 279 and ff. Cheney, Chanceries, p. 137.

28 Reg. Orleton, p. 1. 24 Reg. Swinfield, p. 135. 25 Reg. Courtenay, pp. 4, 91. 26 Reg. Mayew, pp. 93, 216. 27 Reg. Mascall, p. 45. 28 ib., pp. 70, 73, 75, 82, 85, 91. 29 ib., p. 6. 30 Reg. Trillek, pp. 21, 49, 254, 410. 31 Reg. Gilbert, pp. 19. 32 Reg. Trillek, pp. 1, 21; cited, Thompson, English Clergy, pp. 31-32. 33 Reg. Swinfield, p. 1. Acts passed by Swinfield as bishop occur on f. lv, i.e., in the printed text on p. 2. 34 Reg. Booth, p. 383. 35 Reg. Milling, p. 67; and cf. p. vi. The editor noted that this entry occurs after a gap of more than a year in the register (ib., p. 67, no. 1). 36 Reg. Lewis de Charlton, p. 1. 37 ib., p. 57. 38 Reg. Mascall, pp. 39, 45. 39 Reg. Lacy, p. 95. 40 Reg. Spofford, p. 249. Bound in one volume with the larger part of Spofford's register. Cf. above, p. 292. 41 Reg. Beauchamp, p. 1; the bishop's register begins on p. 3. 42 Reg. Stanbury, p. 134. 43 Reg. Myllyng, pp. 137, 141. For Bayly's commission see p. 27, for Jaquesone's, p. 87. 44 ib., p. 144. 45 Reg. Mayew, pp. 53, 230. 46 Reg. Booth, p. 381. 47 For these and other similar documents see Reg. Swinfield, pp. xiv, 38, 47-53, 55-56, 87, 90, 108, 125, 162-5, 231, 303, 305, 313, 317-321, 425-6, 477, 503.

HEREFORD AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE

By A. J. Winnington-Ingram, M.A.

The year 1961 marks the 350th anniversary of the publication of the "Authorised Version" of the Bible in English, issued in 1611. No other version is so well known and loved as this, although there are to-day many editions in modern speech which are valuable for those to whom Elizabethan English is almost as foreign as Latin. It so happens that Hereford has been connected at more than one point in this work of rendering the Bible into English, and in this paper I present these points in their sequence as a contribution to the 1961 anniversary. There will be little that is original but the bringing together of scattered evidence may be of interest to Hereford people.

It would be a mistake to think that no one ever studied the Bible before the Reformation. Our oldest and most precious MS.

¹ This Survey was not published. It exists in typescript and copies have been placed in a number of libraries. The episcopal records at Hereford are now in the Muniment Rooms at the Palace and the Cathedral Library.

volume in the chained library of the cathedral is that known as the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Not that it was written in Anglo-Saxon, but it dates from the 8th or early 9th century, and seems to have been presented to the cathedral by bishop Æthelstan who was bishop from 1012-1056. In the next century Ralph Foliott, archdeacon of Hereford, presented 10 MSS, books to the library (still in existence) and they are all commentaries on books of the Bible. All these MSS, were written in Latin, as this was the language of learning, of law, of theology, and of liturgy. By the use of Latin a learned clerk might travel anywhere in the western world and meet other nations on equal terms. After the Norman Conquest the court, and the nobles and knights, spoke French, and this became the *lingua franca* by which they communicated with their like in other lands. You get an example of this in the Hereford Mappa Mundi drawn about 1290. When Richard de Haldingham gave the names and descriptions of places on his map he wrote in Latin; when he made a personal dedication, and asked our prayers, he wrote in French. The English language was only in its infancy, emerging from the rude Anglo-Saxon of the peasant, the churl and the men-at-arms, though the latter no doubt picked up words and phrases on the continent like the British Tommy of to-day. G. M. Trevelvan in his Shortened History of England wrote:

"The English vocabulary is mainly French in words relating to war, politics, justice, religion, hunting, cooking, and art. Thus improved, our native language re-entered polite and learned society as the English of Chaucer's Tales and Wycliffe's Bible, to be still further enriched into the English of Shakespeare and of Milton".

It was, then, about the middle of the 14th century that the English language began to come into its own. A Statute was passed in 1352, with an order that pleadings and judgements in the law courts should be spoken in the English tongue, though enrolled in Latin, and here and there men began the arduous task of translating some of the best known Latin works into their mother tongue. All books were still written by hand, and progress was slow. It was in Oxford between 1370 and 1382 that the first English version of the Bible was made. The original MS, is in the Bodleian Library, and goes as far as Baruch iii, 20, after which the compiler adds a note Explicit translationem Nicholay de Herford, "Here ends the translation of Nicholas of Hereford". The translation is then continued by another pupil of Wycliffe, who states that he worked with diverse fellows and helpers, as indeed probably was the case with Nicholas Hereford. But here, right at the beginning of the history of the Bible in English, we have our first connection with Hereford. I must now refer you to the Woolhope Club Transactions, 1927, pp. 11-19, where bishop Linton Smith worked out in full the history of this interesting man,* but I will summarise what is known about him. He was born c. 1330, the third son of John Hereford of Sufton in the parish of Mordiford. He married early, although he is described as a clerk, and was therefore probably in minor orders. His wife bore him two sons but then died, and Nicholas seems to have then taken full orders, and gone to Oxford. In 1374, he was a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and became a disciple of John Wycliffe who was Master of Balliol at this time, and a strong force in the university. There is a mandate of Edward III (dated 21st February, 1377) among the cathedral archives* instructing the chapter to induct Nicholas Hereford to the chancellorship, but an enquiry held twelve years later shows that this appointment was disputed. Probably he was already

under suspicion for his Lollard opinions.

For the next five years he was busy at Oxford, translating the Vulgate into English, and taking his degree as D.D. He made himself conspicuous by attacking the abuses of the time, and preached a sermon before the university in 1382, which was received with much applause, but brought down the wrath of the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, a former bishop of Hereford, Nicholas was cited before the Council, suspended, and finally excommunicated. He went to Rome and appealed to the Pope, rather surprisingly, as Wycliffe and his followers were bitter opponents of the papal claims, but Urban VI condemned him, and put him in prison, from which he did not emerge until 1385. He returned to England, and was still for some years active as a Lollard with his pen, but in 1390, on the death of his nephew without heirs, he came into the manor of Sufton. Perhaps this helped him to the conclusion that it was time he settled down, and made his peace with the authorities. He recanted his heresies, and became a canon of Hereford cathedral and treasurer from 13972. In these last years it was said of him that "Since he forsook and revoked all the learning and opinions of the Lollards, he hath had mickle greater favour and more delight to hold against them than ever he had to hold with them ". In 1417, an old, old, man, he retired to the Carthusian monastery at St. Anne's, Coventry, and there died. But nothing can take away from him the distinction of being the first man to attempt to produce the Bible in English, and the idea that the Scriptures ought to be read by the common people in their own tongue was one which grew and prevailed. Nicholas's own rendering was a quite literal translation of the Latin version of St. Jerome, called the Vulgate. It had little influence on any later translation, for William Tyndale in the early 16th century worked from Erasmus's New Testament in Greek. Meanwhile, the fiery teaching of the Lollards had turned the official church against any version of the Bible in English. In this, Hereford was no exception. There is a manuscript version of the Bible in English in the cathedral library, known as the "Cider Bible",

^{*} Smith, Martin Linton, Nicholas Hereford.

^{*} No. 2258.

as the writer used the term cider instead of "strong drink", which is believed to date c. 1420. A note on it states that it was presented by Bishop Bennett (1603-17), and so it has no relevance to the earlier years. The brass of Bishop Stanbury in the north choir aisle contains a reference to his ability in "driving away the wolf from the flock", by which is meant the anti-Lollard zeal of himself and his powerful archdeacon and vicar general, Richard Rudhale.*

By 1534, opinion was so far advanced that the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury petitioned the king that the Bible might be translated by authorised translators, and Miles Coverdale, though he met with many difficulties, was not obliged, like Tyndale, to do his work overseas. Henry's powerful minister, Thomas Cromwell, supported the issue of the Great Bible in 1539, and the following years, which was really a combination of the work of Tyndale and Coverdale, though not called by their names. Bishop Skipp of Hereford is known to be one of those "notable learned men" associated with Cranmer in drawing up the Order of Communion in English in 1540, but it does not appear that the bishops had much to do with the Great Bible. It is of interest that when archbishop Cranmer held a visitation of the diocese of Hereford in 1538 (sede vacante) he included the following in his injunctions to the clergy; (iv) Item. That ye or none of you shall discourage any Layman from the reading of the Bible in English or Latin, but encourage them. 8 In the reign of Elizabeth, however, a further revision was undertaken, by the authority of the bishops themselves, when the archbishop, and the bishops of Exeter, St. David's, Norwich, Chichester, Winchester, Coventry and Lichfield, London, Peterborough, Ely, Lincoln, and Llandaff, were all involved. We look in vain for the name of bishop Scory of Hereford, but alas, no one thought much of bishop Scory on any ground! He had been useful as an Edwardian bishop, ready to take part in the consecration of archbishop Parker, at which he preached the sermon, " not without elegance "(Burnet 8).† He had been appointed to Hereford under a hard bargain by the queen, but there he remained, bewailing his lot, and complaining that the dean and chapter were "dissemblers and rank papists, and so were all the minor canons, and even the deacons and sextons were mortal enemies to this religion". "Upon Thursday last," he writes, "(being the Vigil of the Assumption), there was not one butcher in Hereford that durst open his shop to sell a piece of flesh".3 Nevertheless, there was a boy growing up in Hereford in the early days of bishop Scory who was destined to play an important part in the next stage of the history of the English Bible. Miles Smith was born about 1554. The writer of the article on Miles Smith in the Dictionary of National Biography¹⁰ says that his father was a butcher. It would be tempting

† N.B.—Figures relate to the Bibliography.

to identify him with one of bishop Scory's disgruntled tradesinen, and to picture him living in Butcher's Row, of which the Old House in High Town is the last survivor. But, alas, the writer of the article is in error. Fuller in his Worthies of England, says of him: "Being 70 years of age he died and was buried in his own cathedral, 1624 [Gloucester]". He further writes that Miles was born in the city of Hereford, and adds "so Master Stephen his Secretary informed me"; a good piece of contemporary evidence. His father was a Fletcher, i.e., a maker of bows and arrows, "and a man of no mean estate, that vocation being more in use formerly

than in our own age ".

He has always been claimed as an alumnus of Hereford cathedral school, and though I cannot find any definite statement to this effect, it is hard to see where else he could have got the beginnings of a classical education which launched him on his career. The commissioners of Edward VI had left the school in a pretty impoverished condition, and by 1583 the dean and chapter were petitioning the queen to give it a new start. But some halfstarved usher, or pensioned chantry priest, or even a canon like Edward Cooper,* recently come from Cambridge, must have taken up the boy and given him his chance. For Miles was an infant prodigy; he soaked up learning like a sponge. At the age of about 14 or 15 he went up to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and soon afterwards he transferred to Brasenose. I must quote now from Anthony à Wood, whose Athenae Oxonienses⁵ is the great work on Oxford scholars of this time. After referring to his indefatigable industry he says: "From his youth he constantly applyed himself to the reading of antient Classical authors of the best note, in their own Language; wherewith, as also with Neotericks he was plentifully stored, and lusted after no worldly thing so much as books; of which tho' he had great store, yet there were none scarce to be found in his library, especially of the Ancients, that he had not read over, as hath been observed by those who have perused them since his death. He ran thro' the Greek and Latin Fathers, and judiciously noted them in the margin as he went. The Rabbins also as many as he had, with their Glosses and Commentaries, he read and used in their own idiom of speech. And so conversant he was, and expert in the Chaldaick, Syriack, and Arabick, that he made them as familiar to him, almost, as his own native tongue. Hebrew also he had at his fingers ends, and with all stories of all times: And for his rich and accomplished furniture in that study, he had this Elegy given him by a learned Bishop of this Kingdom, that 'he was a very walking library'." This pale and studious youth had no time or inclination to run riot at the university, but followed the Calvinist and Puritan section in religion. He took his B.A. degree, and was ordained, and soon afterwards became a chaplain, or petty-canon, at Christ Church, where no doubt he

^{*} See the remains of a fine brass to Rudhale in the S.E. transept, and Winnington-Ingram, A. J., The Brasses of Hereford Cathedral, illus.

^{*} See Winnington-Ingram, A. J., Edward Cooper or Cowper, Presidential Address to the Woolhope Club, 1946. In Transactions, pp. xciii-civ.

met our own famous Thomas Thornton.* at that time one of the great tutors at the university. He became M.A. in 1575, B.D. in 1584, and D.D. ten years later. Meanwhile in 1580, he was appointed by bishop Scory as prebendary of Hinton in Hereford cathedral. and was installed on the first day of October. He thus became a member of the Greater Chapter, and in 1585 assisted in the election of Herbert Westphaling as bishop of Hereford. He had become vicar of Bosbury in 1584, but I doubt if he resided there. On the 30th August, 1587, he was admitted with Griffith Lewis as a canon residentiary of Hereford cathedral. From this time onwards until 1612, he certainly lived in Hereford, in one of the canonical houses. His name appears at almost every meeting of the chapter recorded in the Acts⁴ book, and he took his turn as claviger, which meant responsibility for the every day expenditure of maintaining the cathedral. Furthermore he married, his wife being Mary Hawkins of Cardiff. His eldest son Gervase was born in 1594, and Miles a year or so later. Hereford then was his home which he seldom left. though his reputation as a scholar continued to grow, and also his various preferments in the diocese and elsewhere. When, therefore, the British Solomon, king James I, decreed at the Hampton Court conference in 1604, that a new translation of the Bible should be made, and the dean of Westminster and the Regius professors of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge were ordered to suggest the names of the revisers, who more suitable than Miles Smith could be found, so widely known for his studies in oriental languages? He became one of the Oxford committee of seven, who dealt with the four greater Prophets, Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets. From this committee he was chosen to be one of the twelve revisers who met in Stationers Hall, London, and eventually became the final reviser (with bishop Bilson of Winchester, who was not one of the original translators). In the report made to the Synod of Dort on the work of this translation, Miles Smith is described as Vir eximius et ab initio in toto hoc opere versatissimus (outstanding and highly skilled from the beginning in the whole of this work). Finally he was chosen to write the preface "as a comely gate to a glorious city", as Fuller's Worthies puts it, and there is no doubt that the dedication to king James I (still to be found in our Bibles) is from his hand.

This does not mean that he ceased to live and work at Hereford. It seems that his wife had died but he had remarried and a little family was again growing up around him. His daughter Margery was born in 1602, Elizabeth in 1605, Robert in 1609, Edward as late as September, 1611, 11 when Miles was 57 or possibly 59. He tells us in the Preface, in a reference to the tradition that the Septuagint was completed in 72 days, that "the work of the new translation hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seven times seventy-two dayes and more", i.e., close on three years.

A. W. Pollard (in his admirable introduction to the 1911 reprint¹) works this out as follows: "The years 1605, 1606 were allotted to private research, 1607–09 to the work of the six boards, part of 1610 to that of the twelve revisers at Stationers Hall, and the rest of 1610 and part of 1611 to printing". A careful study of the chapter acts bears this out exactly. Miles Smith was in Hereford throughout 1605 and 1606, being claviger part of the time, missed one meeting in 1607 and one in 1609, when he would have been at Oxford, and was away the whole of 1610, when he would have been in London, but back for 1611.⁴

Smith's actual work of scholarship then would have been done in Hereford, and I am inclined to feel that he wrote the Preface here also (though, of course, we cannot prove it), where his books of reference would be near at hand. For the Preface itself is a monumental work. The Dedication occupies a couple of pages at the beginning of our Bibles, but the Preface runs to eleven pages of the smallest print, and is so full of Latin and Greek, and so peppered with quotations from the Bible, classical authors, and

the early fathers, as to be practically unreadable.

Let me quote from it.

"Many mens mouths have been open a good while (and yet are not stopped) with speeches about the Translation so long in hand, or rather perusals of Translation made before: and ask what may be the reason, what the necessitie of the employment. Hath the Church been deceived, say they, all this while? Hath her sweet bread been mingled with leaven, her silver with drosse, her wine with water, her milk with lime? (Lacte gypsum male miscetur saith St. Ireney.) We hoped that we had been in the right way, that we had had the Oracles of God delivered unto us, and that though all the world had cause to be offended and to complain, yet that we had none. Hath the nurse holden out a breast and nothing but winde in it? Hath the bread been delivered by the fathers of the Church, and the same proved to be lapidosus, as Seneca speaketh? What is it to handle the word of God deceitfully, if this be not? Thus certain brethren... Wee will answere them both briefly: and the former being brethren, thus, with St. Hierome, Damnamus veteres? Minime, sed post priorum studia in domo Domini quod possumus laboramus. ... As if he said, being provoked by the example of the learned that lived before my time. I have thought it my duty to assay whether my talent in the knowledge of the tongues, may be profitable in any measure to Gods Church, lest I should seem to have laboured in them in vain, and lest I should be thought to glory in men (although ancient), above that which was in them. Thus St. Hierome may be thought to speake."

I fear Miles Smith was a pedant rather than a poet! How, then, under the providence of God, did such men produce the masterpiece which emerged in 1611? Because they had the supreme gift of letting well alone. They had been charged to base their

^{*} See Winnington-Ingram, A. J., Thomas Thorn(e)ton, Woolhope Club Transactions, 1957, pp. 207-222.

translation on the Bishops' Bible, but to compare it with the versions known as Tyndale's, Matthews', Coverdale's, Whitechurch's, and the Geneva Bible. Sedden in his Table Talk, speaking of the work of the final board of twelve revisers, says, "The translators in king James's time took an excellent way. That part of the bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue, and then they met together, and one read the translation the rest holding in their hands some bible, either of the learned tongues, or of French, Spanish, Italian, etc. If they found any fault they spoke, if not, he read on."

Pollard adds, "whether the wonderful felicity of phrasing should be attributed to the dexterity with which, after meanings had been settled and the important words in each passage chosen, either the board of twelve or the two final revisers put their touches to the work, or whether, as seems more likely, the rhythm first called into being by Tyndale and Coverdale, re-asserted itself after every change, only gathering strength and melody from the increasing richness of the language, none can tell. All that is certain is that the rhythm, and the strength and the melody are there." 1

In 1612, as a reward for his great labours, Miles Smith was made bishop of Gloucester, and leaves the Hereford scene. He remained prebendary of Hinton up to the day of his death, and a residentiary canon, sharing in the cathedral revenues in 1614, 1618 and 1620, if not regularly. He also continued to hold the rectory of Hartlebury, and the vicarage of Upton-on-Severn, in the Worcester diocese. But he resided in Gloucester. He was not a great success as a bishop. Browne-Willis in his notes on Gloucester9 says of him, "He was, as saith Sir Robert Atkins, a stiff Calvinist, and a great favourer of the Puritans, and, was, as Prynn tells us, so offended at the removal of the Communion Table, and placing it where the altar stood, in 1616 [the dean of Gloucester at this time was William Laud], that he never came into his cathedral afterwards: which, as Dr. Heylin remarks, showed him to be a man of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a public scandal to the Church and to the Court to boot." He died on 20th October, 1624, and was buried on 9th November, in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester cathedral¹² under a plain stone with only his arms inpaled with the see of Gloucester on it, and no inscription. Around him lie two daughters and a son, their monuments adorned with the blazons of gentility, which Miles certainly never had in his youth.* His love for Hereford is shown by the fact that he left all his Hebrew and Arabic books to our cathedral library and £20 to buy more. Fuller says of him, "He never sought any preferment he had, and was wont merilly to say of himself Nullius rei praeterquam librorum avarus—Covetous of nothing but books. He wrote all his books with his own hand in that faculty being not short of the professors thereof."

And so it comes about that here in our chained library to-day there remain his Hebrew Bible in five volumes, his Rabbinical texts and commentaries, his Arabic and Hebrew lexicons and grammars, his Talmudic lexicon, and many other signs of his great biblical scholarship. They are an abiding witness to the part played by our humble country diocese in the great achievement of the Authorised Version, which has been the mainstay of English piety ever since. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Within thirty years of Miles Smith's death a remote corner of the Hereford diocese* saw the birth of Thomas Bray, who by his part in the foundation of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., and by his famous libraries throughout England, carried the work of Christian education into another century, and another continent.

Let us never despise the day of small things or the county and diocese to which we belong.

In his will, ¹³ dated 7th March, 1623, Miles Smith left £20 to the poor of Gloucester, £10 to the poor of St. John Baptist Parish, Hereford, and £5 to the poor of Hartlebury and Upton-on-Severn. He left his lands in Herefordshire purchased in fee, to his eldest son Gervase, £500 each to his three other sons, and smaller legacies to his daughters.

Mention must be made here of his brother, Richard Smith. This worthy man had continued to follow the trade of a baker in Hereford, and became in 1617, one of the keepers of the canon's bakehouse. Miles, in his will, left to him, "The lease of my Stable, and little house, near the canon bakehouse in Hereford for the seven of yeares yet to come unexpired".

When Miles left his great bequest of his Hebrew and Arabic books to the cathedral library, with £20 to buy more, Richard added one additional volume at his own expense in memory of his learned and distinguished brother.

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- ¹⁰ D.N.B. Article on Miles Smith.
- 11 Registers of St. John Baptist parish, Hereford.
- 12 Monumental inscriptions in Lady Chapel, Gloucester cathedral.
- 18 Will of Miles Smith—Somerset House.

^{*} The arms granted to him by the College of Heralds in 1617 were: "Or, a chevron cottised sable, between three roses gules, slipped and leaved vert". The Rev. D. A. L. MacLean of Dochgarroch has pointed out to me that these arms were based on those of an earlier bishop, William Smith, bishop of Lichfield 1493-95, and of Lincoln 1495-1514, co-founder of Brasenose College, Oxford. There is no evidence that Miles Smith was any relation, but he would know of the arms which form part of the college shield.

^{*} Marton, Shropshire.

JOHN HOSKYNS, ALMOST MAYOR OF HEREFORD

By BAIRD W. WHITLOCK, Ph.D., Department of Humanities. Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio

In the highly-involved political interplay of the early seventeenth century the city of Hereford was as much of a battlefield as most of the important cities of the realm, but that it was directly involved in King James' attempts to increase his power as monarch over local governments has not before been known so clearly. Now it can be seen that, following his disappointment in the actions of the "Addled Parliament" of 1614, James sought to, and succeeded in bringing his will to bear directly on the elections in Hereford

The reason for his action was the activity of Hereford's largest landholder and chief legal guide, John Hoskyns. Many of Hoskyns' actions and much of his descendants' history have found their way into the Woolhope Club Transactions, but much more should appear there, for recent research has revealed the great influence he had in the activities of the city from about 1600 until his death in 1638.

Born in 1566 but a few miles south of Hereford, on what is now Upper Monkton farm on the Orcop road in the parish of Llanwarne, Hoskyns spent his middle years in almost equal divisions between his manor houses in the Golden Valley, his law offices at the Middle Temple in London, and his home in Hereford. It has always been known that Hoskyns was a three-times member of Parliament for Hereford, but, aside from his participation in the Common Council of the city, his various activities and positions in Hereford have lain unknown in the sheepskin bags in the archive room of the Town Hall until this summer, when, with the permission of Mr. Weston, Town Clerk, and the great help of his assistant, Mr. Bray, I was able to examine them.

Almost immediately after his marriage to Benedicta Bourne in August, 1601, Hoskyns moved into a house belonging to the Clarke family in Widmarshe Street, and by April, 1602, he was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Steward of the city. The Deputy Steward was an appointed officer who assisted the Mayor at the Mayor's Court. His qualifications were that he was to be a "man learned in the law". As the office of steward seems to have been more or less of a sinecure, it appears that Hoskyns was the chief legal advisor of the city. His signature appears with the designation of Deputy Steward from this time until 1609. In December, 1604. he is called a Clerk, and it may be he was City Clerk for a period. On 26th July, 1606, he held his own court as Justice of the Peace on the first day of the General Session, and in 1612, he is listed as Justice of the Peace for two different wards. In 1617 and 1618 he acted as commissioner or steward for land transactions between the city of Hereford and Lord Abergavenny, according to records

in the National Library of Wales. And on 12th July, 1620, when the new charter for the city called for a Common Council of 31 members, Hoskyns was made the second member of that Council, directly after Sir John Scudamore. His record as burgess from Hereford in Parliament from 1604 to 1610 and again in 1614 and 1628, reveal the city's trust in his judgment.

Perhaps the clearest record of Hoskyns' position is the make-up of the yearly election lists. Here one's rank in the city was clearly indicated. From 1609, when Hoskyns purchased the large property on Widmarshe Street, which he had formerly rented from the Clarkes, until 1622, when he made his principal residence at Morehampton, on the road from Vowchurch to Abbey Dore, Hoskyns was always third on that list, immediately following the incumbent mayor and Sir John Scudamore, whose title gave him precedence. One reason for Hoskyns' position is clearly that of his ownership of such large landholdings in the city. An indication of their worth is found in the 1624 assessment for the subsidy voted by Parliament. Here the basic assessments seem to have been either \$1 18s. or £1 4s. The assessors all paid £3 12s. In comparison with these, Hoskyns paid £6. In the assessment for the "first ffifteene" made the same day, Hoskyns paid 6s. 8d., considerably more than anyone else. An indication of this fact is that, in all, 38 citizens paid only £3 13s. 4d. among them.

With all of this evidence of Hoskyns' rank in the city now known, it seems the more surprising that he did not ever serve as mayor of Hereford. Nothing in the city records helps clear up this question, but the Scudamore papers (Mss. Add. 11,053) in the British Museum do. In 1614, Hoskyns had brought upon himself the wrath of King James by publicly attacking the Scottish favourites of the king at the court in Westminster. In a speech in Parliament he had raised the ghost of the Sicilian Vespers as a warning against them. James had promptly clapped Hoskyns, and several others, in the Tower and left them there for a year. It has been generally conceded that he forgave Hoskyns rather quickly, for, in March, 1618, he had ordered the city to give Hoskyns the pay for his Parliamentary service that they had withheld. Then, in 1621 and 1623, he had elevated Hoskyns to the positions of Circuit Judge in Wales and Serjeant-at-Law.

But his forgiveness had not come as quickly as has been thought. On 21st August, 1616, he wrote to the Corporation of Hereford as

follows:

Trusty and welbeloved wee greete you well. We are given to vnderstand that choice is made of John Hoskins (who so notoriously hath fallen into our heavy displeasure, for wch cause he was removed from being yor Recorder, and that worthely,) to be the Mayor of yor Towne, this next yeare. If he had bene chosen by the generall consent of the Corporacion, wee should haue had reason, to haue charged yow, wth want of duty and discretion, but being credibly informed, that he hath obtayned that place, by faction and vnderhand practises, wch he caryed by some few voices; we have thought good to signific vnto yow this our pleasure, that yow admit not the said Hoskins to that office or dignitie, but vpon the receipt of these our letters,

yow proceeds to a new election, and make choice of such a one to represent our person, qualified in all respects, both in point of Religion and in duty and Loyalty to the advancement of or service. Given at or Court at Grafton the 21th of August 1616.

Obviously the citizens of Hereford had chosen Hoskyns as their mayor, and we have no reason to doubt the validity of this election, especially in the light of Hoskyns' long service for the city, which, as this letter indicates, included the position of Recorder as well as those previously mentioned. The king's phraseology concerning voting fraud obviously indicates that he was giving the city fathers a way out from a difficult spot. We can understand the king's attitude towards Hoskyns, although his approach to legal forms of government may have been reprehensible. The question that arises is: who brought the election to the king's attention and put it in such a bad light? The fact that the only record of this letter should appear in the Scudamore papers suggests the most obvious answer, one which makes it apparent that Sir John and Hoskyns were not the closest of friends.

But besides the new light that this letter throws on Hereford history, the new evidence of the Stuarts' involvement in and pressure upon local government gives us further reason to understand the bitter feelings developing in England at the misuse of royal power which was to lead to the civil unrest and warfare of the middle of the century.

Notes by the Editor: Evidence that James I interfered in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters is in the cathedral archives.

In 1604, when Robert Bennett was bishop, the king sent a mandate to the Dean and Chapter instructing them to install Thomas Singleton as prebendary of Episcopi. He was not objected to and was duly installed

On 22nd February, 1614-15, a letter with James' autograph, was sent to the chapter cancelling one sent previously which instructed them to bestow the chancellorship of the diocese upon "Skory", probably Sylvanus Scory, son of the late bishop John Scory (d. 1585). However, Francis Godwin, the bishop, a learned man, who had written "A Catalogue of the Bishops of England", apparently successfully claimed the presentation as his prerogative and the king had to admit this. Hence the following:

TAMES P.

Trusty and welbeloved wee greet you well. Wee have ben humbly besought by lies of the Bisshop of that Churche to release you of any former signification of or pleasure concerning Skory or any Irs patentes formerly graunted to him of the Chancellorship of the diocesse. Concerning Skory wee are very well pleased not to lye you to any thing wee have written in favor of him, having receaved since further informacon. But for his Irs patentes, if you have any wee leave them to the construction of the lawe. And likewise for any other person on whome the Bisshop wold bestowe the

said place of Chancellor, wee doe not move you one way or other, but leave you to your owne libertye to Confirme his graunt or not. Given under or Signett at Newmarkett the twoe and twenteth day of February in the Eleaventh yeare of or reagne of England France and Ireland, and of Scotland the seaven and fortith.

Addressed: To or trusty and welbeloved the Cathedral Churche of Hereford. Endorsed: K. James his letter renouncing his former Intercession for Skory to be Chancellor.³

George Berson was elected by the Chapter on 26th February, 1614.

There was a similar incident in the reign of Charles II.

The Act Book of the chapter (p. 354), records that on 17th May, 1678:

"before the installacon of Mr. Philipp Lewis in the Bishopp's prebend Mr. Thomas Sedden did protest agt the said installacon in the said chapter until the Kings majties mandat were executed, that noe prjudice might happen to the Kings right thereby in relacon to the Canons place now void by the death of Dr. Good."

On 11th June of the same year the mandate from the king, and also a letter revoking it, were recorded in full in the Act Book (p. 355r). The cathedral authorities were persistent in maintaining their rights. Mr. Sedden alias Sydney, had been recommended by Charles on 24th April, when Herbert Croft was bishop.³

The home of John Hoskins at Moorhampton was demolished after his death in 1638. Local tradition states that the main timbers of the hall were used by John Abel to support the roof of Vowchurch church to avoid rebuilding the south wall of the chancel, which was giving way. Here they may still be seem.—F. C. M.

RAINFALL RECORDED AT LADYWELL HOUSE, VOWCHURCH, DURING THE YEARS 1930-1959

By A. S. Wood

Of all the normal natural phenomena, the incidence of rainfall

perhaps, attracts the greatest attention.

Throughout these observations a standard 5 in. diameter N. & Z. gauge has been in use, situated 406 ft. a.s.l. 11½ miles S.W. by W. of Hereford. Nat. Grid position Sheet S.O./33. N.S.35·0 E.W. 36·2. The gauge has been approved by the Meteorological Office (Air Ministry) as efficient; the monthly readings being submitted to the Office, and also accepted for inclusion in the annual report of British Rainfall.

^{1 &}quot; Churche " is cancelled.

^{*} Cathedral archive no. 3980.

² Hereford Cathedral Archives Nos. 4277, 4278, 4279.

It is not overlooked that this station situated on the wetter side of the county, with land on the west rising to an elevation of 900 ft. at 2½ miles distant, and the Black Mountain ridge over 2,000 ft. at 4½ miles, usually yields a heavier fall than almost any other station sending monthly figures for insertion in the Hereford Times and therefore must be regarded as a local example, and not representative of the county as a whole. Compared with Burghill Hospital, near Hereford, for instance, the annual fall at this station amounts to roughly a 25 per cent excess, and at the Meteorological Office Observatory, Ross-on-Wye (where recordings have been made for over 100 years) vary by only a slightly lesser difference. The actual average figures quoted in the British Rainfall Report of 1957, for the standard period 1881–1915 are:

Ladywell House, Vowchurch	444		34 · 9 in.
Burghill Hospital	***	***	26·3 in.
M.O.O. Ross-on-Wye			28·2 in.

The values of the standard period are adjusted if observations have not been maintained over the whole of those years, and the observed annual average of 34.82 in. at this station over the 30 year period 1930-1959, is confirmation of the accuracy with which the statistics in *British Rainfall* have been compiled.

The tabulated records, I, II and III are divided into three 10 year periods, viz.: 1930–39, 1940–49, 1950–59, and show the fall in each month, the number of days on which '01 in. or more fell, and the total number of each respectively. The average per month of the former can be found by moving the decimal point one place to the left.

Attention to especial items of interest which can be deduced from the tables, are that in Table I for the decade 1930–39, the month of January aggregated 46 in., but February and March combined did not reach that amount. Also that January, October, November and December (four months) accounted for nearly half the total for those years. The other eight months averaged approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. per month.

It will be noted that a very similar pattern emerges in Table II, for the 1940-49 decade, and the variations in the spring and summer months February—September, August excepted, were not excessive.

Table III for 1950-59 exhibits a more normal set of figures, but again November and December measure the heaviest monthly falls. A remarkable feature of the year 1959, was the fall of 40·73 in., the greatest in that decade, yet the number of rain days on which ·01 in. or more fell, was actually the lowest in any year over the whole 30 years period. This was accounted for by the exceptionally dry spell 14 August—9 October when rain was measured on only two days, and amounted to no more than ·14 in.

Table IV indicates the aggregate fall in each month in order of wetness, and the corresponding aggregate of rain days.

A study of these figures reflects to a degree the prominent effect of the seasons in certain years upon economic conditions. Thus as regards agriculture: the year 1931 (after less than the normal falls in the early months April to August) had a full or greater average, consequently it was an unfavourable hay and corn harvest. The months of May and June in 1955 were unduly wet for the hay harvest, and much of the crop was spoilt or badly damaged, but the corn crop was secured under good conditions.

Again in 1958 the hay harvest was partially spoilt, mainly due to the number of days on which rain fell, than the quantity measured. Instances of difficult conditions for lifting the potato, sugar beet, and root crops, occurred in 1940, and 1954.

On the reverse side, dry spells in the four months February—May, 1944, when only 3·20 in. was measured, resulted in a light hay crop, and in 1953 similar conditions prevailed, only April showing appreciable excess over the monthly averages in that decade for the whole year. In February—May of 1956 (four months) collectively the rainfall measured 4·07 in., or only a fraction more than 1 in. per month, causing a heavy loss of young forest trees in newly planted woodland areas. This necessitated much replacement of the blanks in the following season, which again was almost as adverse, the fall in March—June amounting to no more than 5·18 in.

The ice storm of January, 1940, was of a nature unprecedented in meteorological annals. Following a severe frost on the 20th, when F. -6° was registered, and two heavy snow falls on the 26th

and 27th, measuring 1.88 in. of rain on the 28th, a fine misty rain, which froze to ice as it fell, occurred in the early morning. Ice adhered to everything, and its weight upon trees, shrubs, telephone wires, and light fencing, caused widespread destruction. Conifer trees, especially evergreens, were snapped off at varying heights, and even uprooted. Hardwoods, including oaks, were partially stripped of extended branches, trees in open spaces were reduced to shattered wrecks, surrounded with a ring of debris upon the ground. Scars on trunks and bent boughs can be seen to this day (1961). A snowstorm on the 28th January (.66 in. rain)

In the Club's *Transactions*, 1939–41, there is a more detailed account of the ice storm, but no mention is made of the effect upon wild bird life. Many birds perished by their claws being frozen to the boughs, others died from starvation, due to the accumulation of ice upon their legs and feathers. Even pheasants were encrusted to the extent of being so weakened that they perished from exhaustion, or fell an easy prey to the fox.

accentuated the damage!

Another visitation which rarely happens in England was the severe weather of the early months of 1947. Snow fell on several days in the later part of January, and continued into February. Intense frosts occurred on February 24th—26th, the lowest reading being F. - 8° or 40° of frost. More snow fell early in March, and on

the 6th undrifted snow lay to a depth of 20 in. Not until the 16th did any marked rise in temperature come about resulting in a rapid thaw of snow, and consequent floods. Road traffic was seriously dislocated for many weeks.

This paper would not be complete without a brief summary of the abnormal weather conditions of the year 1960. Following the fall of 14.38 in. in the last two months of 1959, January and February yielded 10.00 in. of which two heavy snowstorms in the former month contributed a large part, and five lighter snowstorms. a lesser part in the latter month. The winter as a whole was mild in character, with no unduly low temperatures. March to June rainfalls were around the 2 in. to 21 in. level per month. A short fine spell at the end of June was broken early in July, and from thence almost persistent rainfall continued throughout the remainder of the year. On the 7th August, in the early afternoon, a thunderstorm lasting 25 minutes measured 1.17 in. of rain. The figures month by month, with the rain days in parenthesis are: January 5.18 in. (23), February 4.82 in. (17), March 3.19 in. (16), April 2.79 in. (10), May 1.72 in. (10), June 1.87 in. (12), July 2.68 in. (20), August 4.02 in. (20), September 4.34 in. (18), October 8.20 in. (22), November 6.98 in. (29), December 4.63 in. (23), making a total for the year of 50.42 in. (and total of rain days of 220) which is 15.5 in. in excess of the standard average, and considerably more than in any previous year recorded at this station.

Compared with the 1953 rainfall of 25.03 in. (170) it illustrated the very considerable climatic variations that can occur in Hereford-

shire.

Floods in the Wye Valley were not extensive until that of 4th and 5th December which, at Wye Bridge, Hereford, reached a record height of 18.6 in. above summer level. A severe inundation occurred over all low-lying parts of the county, causing serious damage to property, and some loss of livestock. Although the rainfall on 3rd December at this station was 1.82 in., the Golden Valley and surrounding country was less affected.

		T/	TABLE I.		RAINFALL	FOR 10	YEAR	PERIC	YEAR PERIOD 1930-39 IN INCHES	NI 66-	INCHE	S		
Уевг	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total for year	
0001	1 10	1	00 6	14.0	000	36	10.0	00.0	A C	17.	4.00	4.04	40.77	
0661	01.7	100	200		30	3	10.0	200	200	11.	200	* *	. 77	
_	2.43	7.73	. 63	3.61	\$0.C	4.04	3.41	61.0	2+43	-40	8.07	1.39	71.AS	
63	5.68	-21	2.31	4.08	4.89	1.31	2.97	2.65	3-11	91-9	200	2.76	38.13	
(62	2.90	4 - 47	2.95	$1 \cdot 12$	2.08	2.52	1.51	63	1.79	5.50	8	1.20	27.59	
4	3.67	-28	2.63	3.34	1.65	1.26	48	3.03	1.67	1+73	2.31	7.43	29.48	
· M	: :	23	.54	4.61	55	4.30	75	2.17	3.51	3.92	6.92	4.53	35.83	
œ	6.29	35	2.94	2.49	1.42	4.38	5.49	.20	2.62	1.93	2.76	4.34	38.01	
	5.46	4.88	4-15	2.27	2.68	.71	3.06	1.52	1.60	4.79	1.78	2.93	35.83	
·ac	3.65	86	-07	61.	2.23	1.98	3.18	3.84	1.62	3.54	5-26	5-13	31.67	
9 69	7.78	2.39	1.86	3.33	88	1.70	96.9	2.03	.70	3-80	7.24	1-64	40.26	
Total for 10 years	46.00	22.63	22.00	28.55	23.39	23.25	30.42	24.86	24.70	35.99	41.26	35.69	358 - 74	Average 35.87"
														0
Year				Num	ber of	Number of days on which		·01 or	more fell	==				Total for year
1930	22	9	17	18	14	7	18	19	18	20	22	22	203	
	17	19	10	18	17	17	21	17	14	7	22	14	193	
2	16	7	12	24	20	ıo	17	10	18	24	15	8	188	
ෆ	19	17	14	90	14	13	13	6	12	19	10	15	163	
থ	22	4	17	15	6	6	6	17	19	17	14	R	181	
ιń	12	19	6	20	6	23	4	œ	20	ଛ	27	23	193	
9	26	20	17	16	Ξ	14	26	7	17	12	19	17	202	
7	24	23	20	17	15	æ	14	7	13	13	13	16	183	
æ	21	Œ	m	4	16	10	15	24	15	18	21	55	178	
6	78	13	18	17	9	13	23	14	9	20	77	12	198	
Total	100	197	137	157	134	100	160	149	152	170	187	100	1889	Average 188
nor no years	CU2	101	101	101	101	CIT	100	104	404	7.10	101	104	1000	on agentate

												31	4			7									
												Average 33-81"													Average 174
Total for year									35-18			338-13	Total	for year	191	180	161	170	179	180	191	180	183	159	1744
Dec.	2.06	9.30	3 5	17.10	2 12	3	5-32	2.63	2-41	7-14	2 09	34.42			15	15	21	15	23	25	19	14	20	20	187
Nov.	8.79	9.66	3	11.	2.94	5-65	- 79	8-17	3.16	1-92	4 - 45	40.30			20	22	10	17	26	14	22	21	15	22	8
Oct.	4.78	1.79	7/1	2.36	3-62	5.67	6-12	1 - 49	-77	2-18	6-64	35-35			21	12	15	15	21	13	13	90	15	22	, a
Sept.	1.27	1.52	00.1	2.05	2.71	2.72	2.24	4.63	1.41	2.42	2.33	23.31		more fell	6	Φ	16	19	14	50	19	15		6.	141
Aug.	1.2							6.94	-80		1-26	30.24		Ö	60	23	21	16	12	4	21	co	20	12	145
July	2.71	10.0	10.7	1.53	1.26	1.23	2.88	- 33	2.47	. 79	16	18.22		which .01"	15	12	6	12	15	16	6	13	_	œ	311
June	77.	0.01	17.7	8	2.32	-88	3.40	1.92	2.54	2-62	.50	18.04		s on w	ıo	9	4	13	15	17	14	14	61	_	21.
May	3.10	1.00	3	4.47	4.05	.71	9.30	3.63	2.87	3.37	2.05	28.69		Number of days on	13	13	14	12	œ	17	17	16	15	14	261
Apl.	3.68	10	1.13	2-15	1.15	1.36	1.20	2.57	600	3.12	2.37	22.08		Number	91	90	12	10	9	6	9	55	~	12	9:1
Mar.	2.01	000	2.30	3-10	1.04	38	3	12	8.74	.55	1-40	23.26	ŀ		13	12	12	-	00	00	<u>~</u>	92	œ	12	00
Feb.	3.52	2 0	20.0	.37	1.91	.75	9,48	9 6	3.5	-78	1.56	21.78			16	23	10	12	13	12	11	13	15	=	3
Jan.	3.76	000	00.0	3.71	7.72	26.6	08.0	3.5	. E	6.82	1.23	42.44			15	22	12	22	<u> 45</u>	15	2	22	8	10	100
Year	1940	*	-	67	60	4	· v	, c	~	· oc	o	Total for 10 years		Year	1940	-	2	1 67	**	· vc	o ve		oc	6	Total

TABLE III. RAINFALL FOR 10 YEAR PERIOD 1950-59 IN INCHES

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Š	for year
1950	2 2,2	5.80	1.58	1.95	2.20	1.28	3.34	4.36	3.90	1.49	5.46	1.79	
-	2.85	4 29	4.56	2.36	4 14	96	-53	3.09	3.05	1-16	8-05	3.03	
21	3.07	-77	1.86	22	3.62	2-84	1 - 32	6-13	2.70	4.75	3.91	2.97	
က	.77	1 -60	1-75	2.85	1 98	1-74	2.51	2.50	3.37	2.78	1-48	1.70	
4	3.41	2.98	3-07	83	2.06	4-29	1.59	3.88	2.42	3.78	8-73	2.65	
2	4.03	2.08	2.64	-75	5.03	5.00	1 - 24	14	1+23	9.40	4.80	3 6	
9	4.92	32	1-21	2.07	47	2.40	3-82	2.39	4.10	-87	6	4.69	
7	2.07	3.69	2-18	.10	1 - 79	-	2.84	4.45	200	38	9.47	3 6	
æ	3.05	5.86	1-80	9+	2.89	3.21	3.15	2.93	5.47	3.78	2.49	4.12	
6	5.41	-35	3-06	3.94	3.77	2-97	2.19	95	90	3-65	5.41	8.97	40-73
Total for 10 years	30.39	27 - 74	23.71	17.13	27.95	25.80	22.53	31.07	32.10	26.96	43.84	38.55	34.777 Average 34.77"
				;									Total
x ear				Number	er of da	of days on w	which -0	-01" or m	more fell				for year
1950	6	19	10	17	12	6	15	23	24	61	21	2	196
-	61	20	8	14	8	12	00	23	15	7	72	33	216
61	73	11	13	15	15	14	S	90	15	21	12	6	184
က	00	Ξ	7	15	10	17	18	17	18	15	3	36	170
4	14	12	17	9	14	1	15	8	61	21	27	17	201
S	20	15	90	6	19	16	7	9	12	2	15	25	156
9	17	11	6.	9	S	15	15	21	17	16	2	22	9091
7	18	17	16	61	0	7	15	15	20	12	13	161	164
00	20	16	11	7	61	17	18	20	19	14	20	22	203
6	80	9	18	18	6	90	6	9	-	11	20	27	153
Total	100	9	9	9	3	3			1				
ior to years	100	143	135	113	131	124	122	169	160	153	177	218	1811 Average 181

AND AGGREGATES OF RAINFALL EACH MONTH DURING THE THREE 10 YEAR PERIODS, FALL PLACED IN ORDER OF WETNESS.

	316		
ui.	Proportion of heaviest 6 rain months to total over 30 years = 59%	Proportion of lightest 6 rain months to total over 30 years = 41%	
ggregate of rain days in order of number	Dec. 597 Jan. 554 Nov. 553 Oct. 478 Sept. 453 Aug. 446	Feb. 421 May 401 July 398 Mar. 394 April 385 June 357	
Aggregate for 30 years	124.40 118.83 108.66 98.30 96.17 80.11	79-83 72-15 71-17 68-97 67-76 67-09	Average Rainfall over 30 years period 1930–59 = 34.82"
Years 1950–59	43.84 30.39 38.55 26.96 31.07	27.75 27.74 22.53 23.71 17.13 25.80	over 30 years period
Years 1940-49	39 · 30 34 · 42 34 · 42 35 · 35 39 · 32	28.69 23.28 23.28 22.28 18.00 18.00 18.00 18.00 18.00	Average Rainfall over 30 years
Years 1930–39	41:26 46:00 35:69 22:38	23.5 23.5 23.5 23.5 23.5 23.5 23.5 23.5	
Month	Nov. Jan. Dec. Oct.	Sept. May Feb. July Mar. April	June

MISCELLANEA

FACULTY FROM THE COURT RELATING TO A KNEELING IN THE CHURCH OF KINGTON, BELONGING TO BRADNOR, 1762. COST—£1 16s. 0d.

Communicated by W. H. Howse, F.S.A., and printed by permission of the late Major J. R. H. Harley, to whom the original belonged.

IOSEPH BROWNE, Doctor in Divinity, Vicar General and Official Principal of the Right Reverend Father in God James by divine permission Lord Bishop of Hereford lawfully Constituted. To all to whom these presents shall come sendeth Greeting. WHEREAS the Reverend William Willim, Clerk, Master of Arts, our Lawfull Surrogate rightly and duly proceeding in a certain Business of granting and confirming a certain Seat situate on the East Side of the Parish Church of Kington in the County and Diocese of Hereford, containing in Length ten feet six inches and in breadth three feet two inches, having a seat belonging to Mr. David Davies on the East, a seat belonging to Edward Broughton. Esq., on the South, the Middle Isle of the Church on the North, and the Cross Isle on the West sides or parts thereof, lately depending before Us in Judgment Between Walter Rogers Owner and Proprietor of Two Several Messuages or Tenements within the said Parish of Kington, the One called Chickwall now in his own possession and the other in the Occupation of Sybill Hall, Widow, the Party promoting the said Business of the One part, And the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Owner and Proprietor of a certain Messuage or Tenement called the Yewtree at Bradnor in the said Parish of Kington now in the possession of James Lloyd; Samuel Mountfort, Owner and Proprietor of another Messuage, or Tenement called the House in the Lane in Old Kington in the same Parish in the Occupation of Thomas Jones: Elizabeth Scandrett, Owner and Proprietor of a certain Messuage or Tenement called White Anthony in Old Kington aforesaid within the said Parish in the possession of Thomas Jones, and George Williams. Owner and Occupier of a Messuage or Tenement called Allington's at Pembers Oak within the Parish aforesaid, the Parties against whom the said Business was promoted on the other part, Did by his interlocutory Decree, having the fforce of a Definitive Sentence in writing, decree the said Seat before described to be granted and confirmed to the said Walter Rogers, Edward Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Samuel Mountford [sic], Elizabeth Scandrett and George Williams for the Use of the present and all future Occupiers and Inhabitants of their said Several Messuages or Tenements to sit, stand and kneel in to hear divine Service and Sermon read and preached in the said Church jointly and in common, WE THEREFORE

pursuant to the Decree of our said Surrogate do by these Presents grant and confirm the said Seat to the said Parties promovent and promoted respectively and to the future Occupiers of their aforesaid Several Messuages or Tenements To or for the Uses, Intents and Purposes aforesaid Jointly and in common. In Witness whereof we have caused Our Seal of Office to be hereunto affixed. Dated the Second Day of April in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty two.

THOS. CLARKE REGR.

[Comp^d, with the Originall by Geo: Holland N.P.

Attached to Faculty is a receipt on a small torn piece of paper as follows:

5th June, 1762. Reced. then of the Right Honble. Edward, Earl of Oxford, by the payment of Mr. Sherburn, the sum of One Pound and Sixteen Shillings in full for his share of a ffaculty or Confirmation for a seat in the Church of Kington granted to Walter Rogers, Ld. Oxford, and others.

by me

(Signed) Geo: Holland.

KINGSLAND CHURCH

Transcripts of the two surveys of chantries in Herefordshire made by order of Henry VIII in 1546, but not completed, and one of 1547, of the first year of Edward VI, have been made from the originals in the Public Record Office¹ and added to the Cathedral Library. The former gives the dedication of a chantry in Kingsland Church, and may be the origin of the "Volka" chapel on the north side. It records that Edward IV founded the service of "St. Katyne of Charytie to praye for the soulles of all those that were Slayne in Battall att Mortym's Crosse wythyn the Countie of Hereford. As yt ys affirmed by the P'sentors in Wryttynge before the Kynges Maiesties Commissioners". The yearly value of the chantry was: Tenths nil, according to this survey £9 6s. 0d. Deductive rent £1 2s. 0d., leaving clear revenue of £8 4s. 0d. The chantry but not its foundation is in the later survey.

STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS

In 1949, a list of stained-glass windows inserted in Herefordshire churches from 1929 to 1948, was printed in the *Transactions*. The following additions may be noted.²

Bosbury. Single-light window in north wall. 1957. (Carl J. Edwards.) Hereford, All Saints'. Single-light, lady chapel. 1949. Single-light, west window. 1950. (Wm. Morris & Co.)

¹ P.R.O. E.301, Nos. 24, 25, 26.

Hereford, All Saints'. East windows, window over porch and two clerestory windows. 1945-51. (M. E. Aldrich Pope.)

Leominster Priory. Lady chapel window. 1953. (Lawrence Lee.)

Weston-under-Penyard. Two-light window, south wall of nave.

1955. (Joseph Bell & Son.) Yarkhill. Two-light nave window. 1949. (Abbott & Co. (Lancaster)

Ltd.)

COPY OF A LATE 18TH OR EARLY 19TH CENTURY MS. FORMERLY BELONGING TO MISS DEW OF WEOBLEY

Page 1.

The first Rector of ye three Parishes was John Newton, D.D.

who gain'd ye great Tythes in ye year of our Lord 1671. he died in 1678, & was succeeded at Ross by Thos Broom, Master of arts.

Mr. Stedman was presented to ye separate living of Brampton abbotts in ye year 1689. he married Miss Jane Lewis, a young Gentlewoman of Ross, in ye spring of ye same year in which he died. she outliv'd him 34 years, & was buried at Brampton in 1746.

The remarkable John Street, parish Clark three score & sixteen years! died in 1675 aged 86.

Thos. Hyett 20/- Benefactions. pr year to ye poor.

Ed. Stedman 7 penny Loaves weekly.

Dorothy Hunt Spinster £10 lost Robert Furney £10 lost.

Jane Stedman, a silver paten for ye Communion John Addis, a silver Cup & Cover for do. The handsome old Cup & Cover belonging to this church was probably in use in ye time of Dr. Newton.

Page 2.

The family of Dew, may have been of ancient date in ye parish of Brampton, but no entry of ye name appears in ye register prior to ye year 1661.... former transactions may have been omitted, or otherwise, may be worn out of ye register which is but in very indifferent preservation.

Three other inscriptions for new Bells— For a first Bell to be given by ye parish To add three to ye peal—I'm hung on ye first wheel, 1802.

From A Directory of Stained Glass Windows, 1958. Issued by the British Society of Master Glass-Painters.

For a Fifth Bell

I'm ye Gift of my Friend—Thomas Dew, overend, 1802.

For ye great Bell

Thomas Dew of Gatsford he, to St. Michael did give me, 1802. Overend is ye old way of spelling ye name of that place. overend and overton were most likely, ancient boundaries of ye parish of Brampton.

Page 3.

The probable inscription round ye old Bell at Brampton abbotts.

O GLOR-S-MICHAEL-ORA-PRO-NOBIS1

which signifies (in english) "O glorious St. Michael pray for us".

Inscriptions round ye present Bells.

1. Come let us ring, for church & King. W.E. 1764.

2. Wm Evans he, cast us three. 1764.

3. Rich^d Perkins & Walter Dew churchwardens. W.E. 1764

Inscriptions for three new Bells

With ye blessing of peace, our number did increase. 1802. To ye name of Dew, I'm ever true. 1802 My name it is given, St. Michael in Heaven. 1802.

one of ye Bells should always bear ye name of ye Saint to whom ye church is dedicated. in old times, I suppose, this was allotted to ye great Bell, but it is not now attended to.

Page 4.

'Tis probable ye church of St. Michael, Brampton abbotts was superbly fitted up in ye stile of ye times about ye year 1460, or 70, by John Rudhall of Rudhall, Esquire, who lies buried in ye chancel.—he deceased in 1506. Brampton feast is held at Michaelmas on acct of ye church being dedicated to St. Michael.

There never was an abby at Brampton. It is call'd abbotts on account of ye great Tythes belonging heretofore to some abby, & perhaps ye right of presentation to ye Benefice being vested in ye abbott, it might or might not be appendent to Ross before ye reformation, immediately afterwards it certainly was.

The name Battledown being given to certain Lands lying near ye church, has given me to a notion of a battle having been fought there. But, very likely this is without foundation, Battledown being merely a corruption of Brook hill down.

The Benefices Ross, Weston & Brampton, were held in ye time of King Charles ye first by an old fashion'd churchman whose name was Philip Price. 'twas then ye Licences for eating flesh in Lent were granted to ye Rudhall family & others.

DOCUMENTS FROM FREEN'S COURT

When Freen's Court was demolished in 1957, two interesting documents were found hidden in the walls. First, an almost illegible deed, dated 22nd June, 1397, the seventeenth year of Richard II. By this Dame Margery de Lingayn agreed to lease her manor at Kenchester to Thomas Pryll, farmer, for nine years, on condition of his doing some building. The witnesses are Brian Harley, Thomas Grif ..., Vicar of Sylmondestre (Aymestry?), ... Baytley, and Nicholas de la Biche. Appended to the deed is a list of household goods held by Thomas Pryll for Lady Margaret. [This was reported in the Transactions, 1957, p. 316.] Mr. M. Barley comments [on the type of building indicated in the inventory] " I think it would be safe to say that the building consisted of one rectangular block, with a hall open to the roof and alongside it a two-story bay with pantry below and chamber above. The kitchen may have been in the two story end but it is somewhat more likely on the evidence that we have that it was a detached building. I should say that the bailiff occupied the upper chamber as a private bedroom and office. If this seems too simple, it is completely in line with what we know of houses of the period".

The Lingens came originally from Lingen on the borders of the forest of Derefold which belonged to the Mortimers of Wigmore. We learn from an inquisition of 22 Richard II, five years after the date of our deed, that Richard de Lingayne holds seven military fees in Covenhope from Roger de Mortimer, late earl of March.² Before this date the Testa de Nevil (c. 1243) has the words "John de Lingeynde in villa de Kenacestir dimidiam hidam de Lantony in Gloucest' de honore de Snodhill de vet' feoff'". Again, in a parliamentary return of 1316, John of Lingeyne is said to be lord of a vill in the manor of Kenchester. Finally, Leland, writing in 1520, says, "one Mr. Lingen is owner both of Kenchester and Sutton, two hundred and thirty five acres, five of them within the limits of Kenchester Walls". The Lingens held this land till the times of the Commonwealth when Sir Henry Lingen was obliged to sell to pay the heavy fines imposed by the Commonwealth for his loyalty to King Charles.3

The second deed proved to be a Final Concord relating to property at Liss in Hampshire, described as two messuages, three barns, two gardens, three orchards, one hundred and thirty acres of land [arable] twenty two acres of meadow, sixty acres of pasture, with all things pertaining to them. The final concord formed part of the transactions by which Sir Christopher Lewkenor of West Deane, Sussex, acquired the property from the Rev. Thomas Hooke

¹ In a circle of Gothic letters.

^{[1} The word pacietria given there must be paneteria (pantry).]

8 Ms. in the British Museum, copies by J. M. Biscoe.

^a Taken from Duncumb's notes on Wigmore Hundred in the City Library and is confirmed by the many quotations from the wills of the Lingen family in Coningsby, Collections concerning the Manor of Marden.

and Anne his wife, and the Rev. William Cox and Mary his wife. Anne and Mary had inherited it from their father Richard Kingswell.¹ Sir Christopher entered the Middle Temple in 1625, was Recorder of Chichester in 1634, M.P. for Leominster in the Long Parliament and sat in the Parliament at Oxford. He was created D.C.L. at Oxford in 1642, and was later a colonel in the Royalist army. Thomas Hooke, D.D., of Cambridge was the son of Alderman Benjamin Hooke of Chichester, William Cox, D.D., was rector of St. Colomb Major in Cornwall, son of William Cox, Canon of Chichester

The Fine was recorded in the Court of Common Pleas, Warwick, on 21st April, 1642, in the presence of four of the King's justices: Edward Littleton, Francis Crawley, Edmund Reeve and Robert Foster. Sir Edward Littleton was M.P. for Leominster, 1625, and helped to frame the Petition of Right in 1628, he was Chief Justice of Common Pleas, 1640, and created baron in 1641.

Only a portion of this deed has survived, but the "foot" of the fine is among the public records where the deed may be consulted in its entirety. We cannot tell how this deed came to Freen's Court, unless Sir Christopher was a friend of Sir Harry Lingen, both of them being devoted to the Royalist cause.

[These notes on the two documents discovered at Freen's Court during its demolition in 1957, were prepared by the Rev. Preb. S. H. Martin and found among his papers at his death. They amplify and correct the report made in the *Transactions* for 1957 (p. 316). The documents are the property of Mr. C. Bishop of Sutton who kindly made them available for study.]

ARCHITECTS AND HEREFORDSHIRE.

On pp. 176-180 of the *Transactions*, vol. xxxv, there is a list of architects and masons connected with this county. The following addition can be made owing to the researches of Mr. T. M. Crook. The designs of many features of the Fosse House are similar to other work by Smirke, including those in the house he built for himself, namely curious chimneys, a fine staircase, good interior mouldings and wide skirting boards. This seems to be the only neo-Gothic building in Herefordshire.

Hereford: Sir Robert Smirke, architect for The Fosse House, built 1820.

A HEREFORD TANNERY

Compiled by S. C. STANFORD, B.A., F.S.A.

This account of tanning at Messrs. Hatton's tannery at the Barton's, Hereford, has been compiled from a verbal description given by the late George Ridley who was employed there, and supplemented by notes provided by Miss Hatton. The list of "Dealings in leather in Hereford in 1596" printed in the *Transactions* for 1952, shows the former importance of the trade.

The sites of three Hereford tanyards outside three of the city gates—Widemarsh Gate, Eign Gate and Friars Gate—and on the streams feeding the city ditch, were dictated by the unsavoury nature of the raw hides and the need for an abundance of water.

The chief business of the year was done at the May and October fairs when skins were bought in the cattle market and bark from wood owners in the county. At the fair the village shoemakers and cobblers from ten to fifteen miles around would buy in their annual supply of leather and tools, buttons of horn or leather for leggings, cobbler's wax, thread, heel taps, etc. As the making of a piece of leather took "a year and a day" it was the custom with some to bring the raw hides which would be ready as leather at the fair in twelve months time. On fair days customers were provided with free meals of cold beef, or ham and pickles, bread and cheese, and cider drawn from the great oak casks in the cider house. The wooden cider kegs of the yard men were filled as part of their pay which was eight shillings per week in the early and middle nineteenth century. They also kept the meat cut from the raw hides.

The oak bark, brought in from the woods in May, was built into ricks until required. The waggons were unloaded by levering them over sideways with long poles, eight or ten men being needed for the job. The bark was carried on the shoulders in specially made bark baskets up the high ladder to the rick. This was built by a skilled worker and the sides kept perpendicular by continual hammering with a wooden beetle. On Oak Apple Day, 29th May, when the rick would be nearing completion, an oak branch was fixed to the head of the ladder. Before use the bark was ground to small pieces in a bark mill on an upper floor, falling into the shed beneath.

The cattle hides came green from the butchers, and first had the horns and meat around them removed. The horns were sold for the manufacture of cups, combs and buttons, and the hoofs for glue. The hides went then into a pit of weak lime for two or three days to loosen the hair and flesh. This was followed by immersion in a stronger lime and finally in a pit containing three hundredweights of lime. In this they stayed for a week or nine days, being handled two or three times a day to prevent the lime burning the hides. At Messrs. Hatton's the old pits were about three feet deep, the new ones six feet.

¹ [Information about Liss is contained in an Abstract of Deeds at the Hampshire Record Office.]

⁽Note: Words enclosed in square brackets are editorial additions to Mr. Martin's ms.)

⁽Note: An article about the Lingens and Freen's Court by Mr. George Marshall appeared in the Transactions for 1917.)

After handling, the hides were taken to the beam house, and laid over rounded beams of elm. Here they were shorn with an unhairing knife, and any remaining flesh removed with a fleshing knife. The hair was sorted white from brown and sold to plasterers. The next job was to put them into a pit of clean water for two or three hours ready to be rounded, i.e., the bellies and shoulder parts removed, leaving the butts—the centre of the hides. Leather prepared for the curriers was not rounded but kept as whole hides divided from head to tail. All the hides were stamped with a number for the year and the date of placing in the tan pits, the butts on the tail, and the bellies and shoulders on the corners. Surperfluous lime and dirt was removed with a scudding knife. and after a final wash in a pit of clean water they were ready for tanning.

The pits containing tan liquor—ground oak bark and water were from four to six feet deep and held 30 whole hides or 60-70 butts. Most of the old pits were puddled with clay and lined with thick elm planks; but the modern ones were concreted. A drain with a plug in one corner let out the water, although in the top yard of Messrs. Hatton there were no plugs and hand pumps had to be used. When the liquor was being drained away a skimmer was used to push the tan back and prevent it from clogging the pump. It had a triangular iron frame covered with net of four inch mesh at the end of a handle ten feet long. In some pits the skins were laid in piles and moved about with plungers; in others they were held upright by cords threaded through the top corners and passed over notches in the wooden rim of the pit.

The cleaned hides were first placed in a handling pit of weak bark liquor and were thrown up (removed) several times a day. being allowed to drain each time. If left in the weak liquor they would wrinkle. From this pit they were transferred to a stronger liquor and thrown up once a day. After a week or ten days they went into stronger liquor still and were handled about twice a week for three months. They were then put in vats (pits for hides not requiring frequent attention) with even stronger liquor of 22 to 23 degrees, which was tested with a tester. For the next seven to eighteen months they were removed about every three months to be dusted with bark dust. The old methods had taken up to seven years, but by the early nineteenth century a year to eighteen months was the usual time taken for tanning. Also in the yard were pits known as latches holding 22 to 25 barrows of ground oak bark, in which the liquor was prepared. The weak liquor was pumped into spender pits; and used tan was wheeled to a large heap and spread on meadow land when rotten.

After tanning the skins were taken to a second beam house, scoured, scrubbed, rubbed with pumice stone and oiled. They went then to the big drying sheds, the walls of which were movable Venetian shutters (see photographs, 1906, pp. 379–80). The shutters were open in warm weather and closed in cold when the sheds were

heated by hot water pipes. The skins were hung over poles suspended from big wooden racks on either side of the shed with room for free circulation of air, and stretched by hand on a perch. When nearly dry they were placed in piles, heads and tails alternately to have the moisture equally distributed, i.e., they were made beathy (flexible). Wrinkles in the butts were smoothed with a pin, and they were then placed on zinc beds and rolled three times from side to side with 6-9 inch brass rollers of varying weights up to eleven cwt.; machine rollers weighing 17 cwt. were introduced towards the end of the century. After the third roll the skins were polished and rolled again. The whole hides for harness and machinery belts were oiled, hung on poles and stretched with a lignum vitae stretcher. Soft leather was curried—greased and softened—in the currier's shop.

The tanned leather was baled according to weight with ten to twelve butts in each bale, a butt weighing between 14 lb. and 30 lb. The skins were now ready for the shoemaker. Bull hides

were very spongy and almost useless.

Horse hides were treated in the same way as cow hides until they were removed from the lime pits and had been unhaired and fleshed. They were then placed in pits containing warm liquor of alum and salt and handled several times a day for a fortnight. After this they were hung on two hooks and worked on with the crutch and a round knife. This completed the process, the finished hides being known as white leather and used for thongs.

N.B.—A collection of the old tools used in the tanyards is in Hereford City Museum.

COPY OF FARM ACCOUNTS BELONGING TO MR. J. BARNETT, JUNR., OF WALL HILLS, LEDBURY.

These are printed as they throw light on agricultural expenses in the middle 19th century.

Page 1.

23 Perch by the Fawken Lane

7 Perch of Edgeing by the Camp Barn, 62 Perch of Edgeing in the Kites nest Coppice & Two Day work Glating and makeing walling Stiles.

			£	s.	d.
7 Perch at 9d.				5	- 3
62 Do. at 8			2	1	4
2 day Glating		٠ ;		3	4
Settled March 14 th	, 1842		2	9	11
Fawken Lane				17	3

Page 2.							£	S.	đ.
23 Perch of	Edging by the Fawk	en Lan	ie at 9	đ.	***		_	17	
33 Do. by F	foxhill at 9d	• • • •	***		***	***	1	4	
Mending the	id puting 4 yards of t e road by Mrs. Webb	Stone a 3 Day				***		-	-
	at Dog hill One Day			10000	***			5 1	
Do. by the	New Mill One Day	141	***	***	***	***		i	_
Do. by Mrs.	Webb 4 Days	***		2550	***			6	
Page 3.									
	his to Winster Elm 3	Day		9490		***		5	0
Do. Glating		 Do	***		***	***		13	
rianting As	h at the Red hill One	aid		***	***	***		1	8
	S	ettled 1	May 7.				3	17	0
	in at Mr. Badsey com	ie to		644		2000	_	10	9
	Settled up.								
ĝ	s. d. 10 10								
Page 4.									
May 6 Day	Glating at winster El	ms				***		10	0
8 Day Didge	eing and Planting Po		and a			***		13	4
Boy one	ing up at Wallhills	* * *	• • •		***				6
Breaking sto	one at Mr. Badsey 7	vards a	 at 10d.	***	***	***		7 6	6 3
	S	ettled.	ac 10(1.	***	***	+++	2	-	3
	J	une 9tl	1842	:	811	***	1	17	7
							-	_	-
Page 5.									
	ating ware the Trees			:::				3	4
	d a half Chufeing and anding Two Drains at					***		4	2
	yards of stone at Mr.			100	***	***		16	8
	d a half Glating by M			700		***		2	6
	_	ettd.						_	
	J	uly 30,	1842		***	***	1	8	4
Dage C									_
Page 6.									
1842 August 3	Diching at Wineton	Elma 4	Dov					_	
Nover. 23	Diching at Winster Glating by the Fak	con Lai	ne and	Move	ing a	Stile		6	8
	3 Days							5	0
Decm.	Didgeing hole and I		g ash i	n the	Kites	nest			
	Do. Boy 12 Day		***	***	***	***	2	0	0
1843.	Do. Doy 12 Day	•••	111	+++	111	***		3	0
Jan. 21	By the Camp hopya	ıd 3 <u>‡</u> I	Day Gl	ating		***		5	10
							-	-	-
		2.13 4		eth 49			3	0	6
Dage 7	Si	ettled]	ашу. с	, 43.					
Page 7.									
1843. Jan. 9	6 Day Planting Ash	in the	Wike-						
Do.	6 Day Planting Ash 38 Perch of Edging b	uu the l	rxites : Fawker	nest Co	oppice	ner		10	0
· · · · ·	Perch						1	8	6
Feby 6	Didgeing and Planti	ng ash	by the	New 1	Mill 8	Day		13	4
						-			

March 7	21 Day Glating by Mr. Ba Do. Boy 12 Day work at 4		8		•••	2	s. 4 4 19	d. 1 0
1843. March 11 th S	Settled.							
Page 8. 1843. March 18 March 25 March 30 April 8 April 15	Six Days Glating at Walltrive Day at Do Four Day at Do Six Day at Do Six Day at Do	***	086 3	ay 			10 8 6 10 10	0 4 8 0 0
	Settled	15 April	, 1843			4	3	_
£ s. d. 8 15 11								
Page 9. 1843. April 21	Four Day Glating at Wins One Day Cuting Bushis at Five Day Glating by the lone Day Do. at the Fish Boy 8 Day Whit washing the person of the pe	t the Re Falcon la Pool Co _l	d Hill ine opice	***	l at		6 1 8 1	8 8 4 8
	Paid 29					1	1	0
	1843.	ripin				300		
Page 10. 1843. May 10	Two Day at the Red H Cleaning quick Do. Six Day at Flighti Do. Four Day Draining a Paid 27 1843.	iging ho t Mrs. W	 es and		. * * *	1	3 10 6	4 0 8 —
Page 11. 1843. June 5 Do. 12 Do. 19 August 3	Six Day Draining round Wallhills Six Day Do Five Day One Day and a half Glati	***	se at M	1rs. W 	ebb 	1	10 10 8 2	0 0 4 6
Aug. 12 Sepr. 5 Do.	Six Day Draining at Mrs. Four Day Glating by Flu Two Day Helping the Ke	ck Cloth		 rley	***		10 6 3	0 8 4
						1	0	0

£ s. d.

Page 12.							-	а,	u.
Sepr. 16 Do. 18	Brought over Four Day and a Two Day and a	half Cuti half Glat	 ng Thi ing at	 stle at Fox hi	the Re	d hill	1	0 7 4	0 6 2
		Settled 28 Oct.					1	11	8
Page 13. 1943. Novr. 1 Do. 6	Four Days Glati Two Day Do. at Two Day Do. by Two Day and a Two Days Getin	Winster the Falc half Do. 1 g up quic	Elm on Laby the	ne	***			6 3 3 4 3	4 4 2 2
		Paid 27 Nov	1843	3.			1	0	10
Page 14. 1843. Nov ^r - 28 Dec. 7	Digeing hole and Do. Boy 3 Days	l Planting		1 2 Day	s		1	0	0 0
		Paid 9	Decr.				1	1	0
Decr. 19	Digeing Holes as Do. a Boy 10	nd Plantin	ng Ash	12 Da	ys		1	0 3	0 4
		Decr. 2: Settled.					1	3	4
Page 15.									
1843. Dec ^{r.}	Planting Ash 11 Do. A Day ¹ 11	Day 						18 3	4 8
		Settled Jany. 9	th, 44.				1	2	0
Page 20. 1842. March	Mr. Martin Esq. Dr. to Charles Jo Eight Hundred a Two Hundred B Six Hundred of	and a Ha undles of	Bus						
N.B.—	Glating = mending	gaps in	hedges	. Qui	ck= H	awthor	n. ?		

MAPPING THE PAST

By M. U. Jones, B.A.

For nearly two centuries Ordnance Survey maps (which are unique among mapping services anywhere) have shown the sites of antiquities on their maps. As archæological study develops, however, so does the mapping of archæological topography need revision. At the same time, changes in the use of land, especially since the war, large scale building programmes, more intensive agriculture, and new methods of exploiting marginal lands, involve both the destruction of known sites as well as the revelation of new ones. In this country-wide work of recording evidence of the past, the Archæology Division of the Ordnance Survey welcomes information, especially from those who have an intimate knowledge of, and contact with, their own area. There are many members of the Woolhope Club who have useful, even though small, contributions to make to this work, and the task of entering such information on to six inch maps of Herefordshire is entrusted to two of its members.

It is the principal aim of this local work to get accurate knowledge of what has been found and of the place of discovery. The finding of a single sherd of pottery, or of a coin, may be the clue to an important new site. But even where it has no sequel, the mass effect of mapping such small finds is of great value, as is clear in the third edition of the *Map of Roman Britain*.

The Archæology Division is not concerned with prehistoric, Roman and medieval antiquities only, but with any remains dating to within a century ago: abandoned lines of early railways, old canals, and early industrial sites such as that of pottery making, which has recently come to light near Bacton. All these need to be recorded before they recede too far into the past. In recent years there has been, too, much development in the field of archæology of Anglo-Saxon and medieval sites. More is known about fortified sites such as Breinton; and abandoned village sites, as at Preston Wynne, are being recognised. In the historical period it is, of course, often possible to relate documentary evidence with remains on the ground, such as Rowland Vaughan's waterworks in the Golden Valley.

So if any members know of a curious earthwork or have heard of fields where pottery or flints can be seen after ploughing, or have any information, however insignificant it might seem, which might be relevant, they are asked to send it to the local correspondents. Alternatively, if objects are brought into the Museum, Mr. J. F. L. Norwood will pass on the information. The Club possesses three bound volumes of six inch maps of the County which can be consulted.

¹ Should be "boy".

² Written thus—" Bus".

All relevant information is asked for, e.g.:

1. Exact position (if possible quoting the National Grid Reference Number) of find(s), with full description.

2. Name and address of finder and date of discovery.

3. Dimensions—if an earthwork.

4. Background information such as a clue in the name of a field or house, local lore, documentary evidence.

If necessary, the Local Correspondent will visit a site, therefore, the landowner's name should be given.

Local Correspondents: East Herefordshire—Mrs. M. U. Jones, Snowberry Cottage, Preston Wynne, Hereford; West Herefordshire—Mr. V. H. Coleman, Broadlands, Eardisley, Hereford. The dividing line is just east of Hereford.

LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN HEREFORDSHIRE

Additions to the list of Ancient Monuments in Herefordshire have been published in the Archæological Reports of these *Transactions*, but not the complete list. In now making it available, with a key map, the Committee of the Club have in mind their responsibilities concerning the foreword to the list of monuments for the whole country which is published intermittently by the Ministry of Works, the last edition being that of 1955. (H.M.S.O., 6/-):—

"The primary object of these lists is to register the fact that the preservation of these monuments is of national importance, and to enlist the interests of the owners and of others in their protection; further the provisions of subsection (2) of Section 6 of the 1931 Act are designed to minimise the danger of unsuitable treatment, and even in some instances of exploration by unqualified persons... In compiling the lists, the Ministry have to rely to some extent on the voluntary assistance of local archæologists, to whose labours they are greatly indebted."

THE LIST AND MAP¹

Each ancient monument has a serial number which is used on the key map, but to help members locate monuments in which they are interested the National Grid Reference numbers relating to Ordnance Survey maps are given. Herefordshire is entirely within the S.O. area of the Grid.

BURIAL	Mounds	${\tt AND}$	MEGALITHIC	MONUMENTS

M.O	.W.					National	Grid
No.						Ref.	No.
93	Buckton and Coxall, round barrow		h-eas	t of Buck	ton		
	Park Farm						739
94	Combe, round barrow 250 yards, no	rth-ea	st of C	CombeHo	ouse	347	634
149	Dorstone, long barrow west of Lo	dge F	arm		0.00	330	415
+2	Dorstone, Arthur's Stone			35.	***	318	431
104	King's Pyon, round barrow 20	0 yar	ds n	orth-east	of		
	Butthouse					442	489
72	Walford, round barrow 500 yards				arm	386	722
Самі	PS .						
8	Aconbury, Aconbury Camp		***	121		504	330
71	Adforton, Brandon Camp	***	****	***		400	723
76	Aymestrey, Croft Ambrey Camp	199				443	668
90	Aymestrey, Pyon Wood Camp				***	424	664
60	Breinton, camp south-west of the o	church	10.7	0.640		473	396
92	Brilley, Pen Twyn Camp					229	485

¹ See p. 381.

	00.	•				
M.O. No.	W.				N	ational Grid Ref. No.
74	Buckton and Coxall, Coxall Knoll	Сапто				365 734
3	Colwall, Herefordshire Beacon Car			***	0.00	759 399
61	Credenhill, Credenhill Camp			444	***	450 443
12	Dinedor Dinedor Camp		4.5.5		***	524 364
14	Dormington, Ethelbert's Camp	11.2		1000	omec	588 390
95	Downton, camp at Downton-on-tl	he-Roc	k			429 731
10						453 394
4		96.			(*)	759 377
82	Eye, Moreton and Ashton, ear					
02		***	***	115		517 643
11			1000		200	578 352
26	Ganarew, Little Doward Camp					539 160
75	Humber, Risbury Camp			****	***	540 552
101	Kimbolton, Bach Camp					548 602
15	Ledbury Rural, Wall Hills Camp	686				690 380
	Leading Kurai, wan Time Camp					484 548
112	Leominster, Ivington Camp	***		***	2.55	603 224
64	Ross Rural, camp in Chase Wood				***	525 464
68	Sutton, Sutton Walls		111	***	4.4.4	630 598
69	Thornbury, Wall Hills Camp	07	§2. · ·	555	***	
38	Vowchurch, camp in Lower Park	wood		***	***	359 378
66	Walford, Great Howle Camp		• • •			612 202
9	Walterstone, Walterstone Camp		444	***	***	349 251
13	Woolhope, Capler Camp	1.1.0	111	***	4.4.4	593 329
Cave						
143	Whitchurch, King Arthur's Cave			***		546 155
2.10						
Roma	an Remains					
29	Kenchester, site of Romano-Britis	h town	of M	a om a		441 428
28	Leintwardine, rampart and ditch				n of	771 720
20	Bravonium	,,,				403 742
	Diavolium	• • •	•••	***		100 7 12
LINE	ar Earthworks					
			1 000	1	1	
48	Kington Rural, Offa's Dyke: so					007 504 4
	from Rushock Hill to Kennel V	poor	4	4 + 4	* * *	287 594 to
					,	301 595
49	Titley, Offa's Dyke: section 165					005 505
	Berry's Wood					325 587
133	Lower Harpton, Offa's Dyke:	section	230	yards	long	000 000
	south of Riddings Brook			***	. * * *	27 8 262
50	Lyonshall, Offa's Dyke: section	300 ya	irds lo	mg cro	ssing	
	railway west of Titley Junction					324 577
51	Lyonshall Offa's Dyke: section	630 va	ards l	ong we	st of	
	Lyonshall Lyonshall, Offa's Dyke : section					328 560
52	Lyonshall, Offa's Dyke: section	. 85 ya	ards 1	ong ea	st of	
	Garden Wood		***		***	332 554
53	Lyonshall, Offa's Dyke: section	615 y	rards	long ne	orth-	
	west of the railway, Holme Mar					334 552
54	Vazor, Offa's Dyke: section 17	5 varo	ds lor	ig nort	h of	
•	Upperton Farm					395 474
55	Yazor, Offa's Dyke : two sections	195 37	ards l	ong and	1 370	
00						
	wards long south from Unperton	Farm				395 465
56	yards long south from Upperton	Farm				395 465
56	yards long south from Upperton Mansell Gamage, Offa's Dyke:	Farm	 1 23 0	 yards	long	
- •	yards long south from Upperton Mansell Gamage, Offa's Dyke: north and south of the Old Barr	Farm section near	 1 23 0 Kenm	yards oor Co	long ppice	395 465 395 454
56 57	yards long south from Upperton Mansell Gamage, Offa's Dyke: north and south of the Old Barr Byford, Offa's Dyke: section 95	Farm section near l yard	n 230 Kenm s long	yards oor Cop north	long ppice	395 454
57	yards long south from Upperton Mansell Gamage, Offa's Dyke: north and south of the Old Barr Byford, Offa's Dyke: section 95 south of Big Oaks	Farm section near l yard	1 230 Kenm s long	yards oor Cop north	long opice and	395 454 407 4 30
- •	yards long south from Upperton Mansell Gamage, Offa's Dyke: north and south of the Old Barr Byford, Offa's Dyke: section 95 south of Big Oaks	Farm section near l yard	n 230 Kenm s long	yards oor Cop north	long ppice	395 454

M.O. No.					Nati	o nal Grid Kef. No.
Ecci	esiastical Buildings					-
135	Adforton, Wigmore Abbey					409 713
129	Avenbury, Avenbury Church	200				647 515
24	Craswall, Craswall Priory		***			272 377
125	Cradley, Cradley Old School (Pari				1000	736 472
°123						537 383
132	Downton, Church of St. Giles		***	***	***	427 735
128	Edvin Loach, Old Church		***	***	***	662 584
23	Goodrich, Flanesford Priory	***		***	***	579 193
130	Grafton, Bullingham Old Church	C1 1		***	222	510 370
145	Leominster, ruined part of Priory			***	***	499 593
105	Leominster, Forbury Chapel	• • •		***	***	497 592
110 127	Lingen, Limebrook Priory	e Bant	iat	***	***	375 660
131	Llanwarne, Church of St. John th Peterchurch, Chapel at Urishay C			***	***	505 281 323 376
33	Yatton, Chapel at Chapel Farm	astre	• • • •	***	***	626 304
00	ration, chaper at chaper ratin		****	***	***	020 304
Cros	SES					
	Hereford, Blackfriars and Preachi	ng Cros	SS		0.000	512 404
	Hereford, White Cross					493 407
						100 101
SECU	lar Buildings Including Casti	.ES				
78	Almeley, Almeley Castle	Ģ.,		***	***	333 514
77	Almeley, Oldcastle Twt	***				328 521
79	Aston, Aston Tump				***	462 719
89	Brampton Bryan, Brampton Brya		le		***	369 725
41	Bredwardine, Bredwardine Castle				***	335 444
37			***		1.61	590 244
91	Brilley, Mound north of Cwma Fa	rm			***	277 514
73	Buckton and Coxall, Mound at B		* * *	555	200	383 733
58	Castle Frome, Castle Frome Castle	e				672 458
36	Clifford, Clifford Castle	***				244 457
44	Clifford, Motte and Bailey Castle	north	of Old	Castlet	on	284 457
40		200	Table 1	***	5550	294 441
139	Cusop, Cusop Castle Cusop, Mouse Castle	***	***	***	***	241 414
140 138		+++	***	***	***	247 424
97	Dorstone, Dorstone Castle	***		***	***	312 418 418 590
96	Eardisland, Monk's Court Eardisland, Mound north of the C	hurch	***	***	***	421 586
86	Eardisley, Eardisley Castle	anuren		***	***	311 491
62	Eastnor, Bronsil Castle	•••		***	**+	749 372
16	Ewyas Harold, Ewyas Harold Ca			***	***	385 287
+1	Goodrich, Goodrich Castle					577 199
124	Hereford, City Wall and Ditch					0,, 100
98	Huntington, Huntington Castle					249 539
99	Huntington, Turret Castle	***				258 534
100	Huntington, Turret Tump	0.000		***		245 521
17	Kilpeck, Kilpeck Castle	***				444 306
103	Kingsland, Kingsland Castle			***	***	445 612
107	Kington Rural, Castle Twts		***	***	1000	276 555
144	Leominster, Castle Moat	***				499 585
111	Lingen, Lingen Castle	***	***			367 673
45	Llancillo, Mound east of Church		***	***		368 255
20	Longtown, Longtown Castle	***		***		322 291
19	Longtown, Pont-Hendre Castle M	ound	***	***	***	325 281
108	Lyonshall, Lyonshall Castle	***		***	***	330 564
18	Orcop, Orcop Castle	***	***	***	***	473 265
34	Peterchurch, Snodhill Castle	***	***	***		322 403

		~~~						
M.O. No.	<b>W</b> ,					Na	tional ( Kef.	
131	Peterchurch, Urishay Castle.			***	***		323	
116	Richard's Castle, Castle .			5550			483	
126	Ross Rural, Penyard Castle .				***	***	613	
119	Stapleton, Stapleton Castle .					***	324	
120	Staunton-on-Arrow, mound s			f Chur	ch.	***		
141	Vowchurch, Chanston Tump					***	369	
70	Walford, Motte and Bailey C		7.5	•••	***	25.5	366	
42	Walterstone, Motte and Baile	asue m Car	*10 .wa		***	•	392	
35	Welsh Newton, Pembridge C	ontla	(i.k	st or Or	uuren	4.1	340	
122	Weobley, Weobley Castle	astie					489	
5			• • •	***	***	***	404	
0	Wigmore, Wigmore Castle .	••	• • •	***		***	408	692
Отня	ER SECULAR SITES AND BUILD	DINGS						
147	Brinsop, moated site 200 ya	ards s	outh c	f Brin	son Co	urt	445	456
67	Brockhampton, Lower, Chape	l Man	or Hou	se and i	Catebo	nce	688	
137	Dilwyn, Dovecote at Luntley	Cont	Ť	***	CHECOTO	130	395	
25	Garway, Garway Dovecote				Reds .		456	
47	TT 6 . 1 Th TN TN 1			***	***	355		
146	Kilpeck, Ancient Village (site	o of	***			***	515	
102	Kimbolton, Dovecote at Stoo	o ory	D	***	111	4.6.6	447	
6	T - 31 161 - 4 TT		-	***		***	518	
			211	***		***	712	
148	Lucton, Mortimer's Cross W	atern	1111	***	***	***	427	
134	Lugwardine, Moated Site at I	Hemn	111		***	225	551	
	Pembridge, Court House Far			te	***	***	392	
7	Pembridge, Market Hall				***		390	581
115	Richard's Castle, Dovecote at	t Cour	t Hous	se	20130	24.60	493	698
27	Ross, Market Hall		***	***	***		599	241
Brid	GES							
*21	Hereford, Wye Bridge		***	***				
32	Incompading In- Daides					***	547	407
31	Mordiford, Mordiford Bridge		***	• • • •	***	***	547	
*30	Dans William Dallam		***	***	***	***	569	
142			***	•••	***	***	591	
172	Stapleton, Lugg Bridge	[	***		777	122	317	646
Misc	ELLANEOUS							
106		****	**					
	Kington Rural, mound south	of We	oodbro	0k			304	
109	Lingen, Mound 1,200 yards r	orth-	north-	east of	Church	l	372	
121	Titley, Ring Work 450 yards	nortl	ı of Go	orsty D	ole		311	603

+ Monuments wholly or partly in the charge of the Minister under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Acts.

° Crown or Duchy property wholly or partly in the charge of the Minister.

* Crown or Duchy property not in the charge of the Minister.

# EXCAVATIONS AT BLACK FRIARS, HEREFORD, 19581

By L. A. S. BUTLER

The Dominican Friary² at Hereford lay to the north of the mediæval walled town, and the only visible remains are the preaching cross of the late fourteenth century and the ruined west Range, originally of early fourteenth century date but considerably altered in the seventeenth century.

The recent exploration of this site was a Ministry of Works rescue excavation before the erection of a new school dining-hall. During August, 1958, a trench was cut from north to south across the cloister and its position was ascertained. The friary buildings had been placed on made-up ground which contained over 300 sherds of pottery mostly of late thirteenth to early fourteenth century date—the half-century previous to the friary's establishment on this site.

# HISTORICAL NOTE

The fullest account of the surviving buildings is to be found in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments report and the most complete documentary history of the friary is by Palmer.3

Although the Dominicans reached Hereford in the midthirteenth century, there was constant opposition from the bishop. the cathedral chapter and the secular clergy to their first establishment in the east suburb outside St. Owen's Gate. Only with a grant of land (c. 1319-21) from Sir John Daniel (or Deinville) and the patronage of Edward H " pro habitione de novo construenda " did the house flourish on the present site. The bounds of the precinct were enlarged and the property consolidated by 1352. In that year there were in residence the prior, eight friars and three lay brothers. This low number may have been caused by the Black Death since the national average for a Dominican house was 25 members.

Freed from inspection by the bishop, the friary probably reached the height of its prosperity during Richard II's reign when three successive priors occupied the post of Royal Confessor; and first John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1376, and then the Beauchamps of Abergavenny chose to be buried in the friary choir. In 1424, however, more building operations were undertaken since the repair of buildings which had by then been burned down three times was helped by the grant of indulgences

from Pope Martin V to worshippers at the friary church, dedicated to St. David.1

The next hundred years of the house's history are uneventful. Leland records a number of burials and Marshall has reconstructed the probable appearance of the site from the 1538 survey.2 The precinct, which had been acquired with considerable litigation, was leased out in orchards. The domestic buildings would present a similar aspect to the houses of the order at Bristol and Gloucester. though on a less ambitious scale.

After the Dissolution the site was unoccupied and the friary buildings fell into decay. In the early seventeenth century Sir Thomas Coningesby, then owner of the site, rebuilt the adjacent hospital and pulled down the decaying friary, except for its West Range and part of the preaching nave which he converted into his town house. No view of this house is known, but throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the ruin of the mansion was occasionally reroofed and a ramshackle collection of penthouses surrounded it. In 1864 the preaching cross was restored and the west range cleared of its 'picturesque' bushes and dangerous ivy-clad beams. It was surrounded by lawns and gravel paths and assumed the prim air of a Victorian antiquity. Nearly a century later Black Friars is again overgrown and is difficult to approach or appreciate.

#### Introduction

The area plan (Fig. 1) shows the precinct limits: the Tan brook to the north, the present Canal Road to the east and Coningsby Street, formerly Cats Lane, to the south; the western boundary is uncertain since the extent of the Hospital of St. John is not well defined.3

There had been no previous systematic excavation on this site though the writer heard reports of coffins and burials in stonelined graves being uncovered over 20 years ago in the allotments to the east. Coins were found when the playground east of the school was laid. During the cutting of a drainage trench burials were found and two walls, each about three feet wide with coursed facing and a rubble centre, were encountered (Site Plan. Walls 1 and 2). These probably mark the outer walls of the nave. In

¹ For illustrations see pp. 382-386.

² National Grid Reference: SO 512404.

² R.C.H.M. Herefordshire. Vol. 1 (South-west), p. 128. C. F. R. Palmer The Reliquary, Vol. 23 (1882-3), pp. 17-28, see also W. A. Hinnebusch, The Early Friars Preachers, who places the house's history within a national context.

¹ The cult of St. David was established in Archenfield before the Norman Conquest and became extremely popular in mediæval Hereford. See E. G. Bowen, The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales, pp. 61 and 86; also Silas M. Harris, St. David in the Liturgy, esp. pp. 21-4.

^a G. Marshall, Woolhope Club Transactions, Vol. xxiii (1918-20),

pp. 329-337.

^{*} It is not possible to discover the western boundary from the foundation deed of Coningsby's Hospital (Hereford County Record Office A63/3/1). It seems probable that the pre-Dissolution properties of the Hospital and the friary had lost their separate identities by 1617 and Coningsby gave to the refounded hospital such land as he thought sufficient without any regard as to its previous owner.

the same trench a Roman coin was also found. The only record of any finds during the building of the existing dining hall was an orientated burial (Site Plan. Skeleton).¹

Examination of the site was limited by the existing school building and its drainage system, and also by the need to leave undisturbed the area of the new dining hall. In order to discover the character and extent of the cloister buildings a main north to south trench was dug and its evidence supplemented by four small trenches or test holes (Site Plan. 21–24).²

#### STRATIFICATION

The post-mediæval layer in the main trench was 2 ft. deep: a greyish-brown soil containing a small amount of 17th century pottery and clay pipes of local manufacture.

Under this lay a rubble level and in the main trench five walls were isolated. The southermost (Site Plan. Wall 2; Section. (Fig. 2) was 39 in. thick and stood to a height of 2 ft. It had been placed on a rubble foundation and was constructed of blocks of red sandstone with a rubble centre. Re-used in this wall was a portion of window tracery in Decorated style and there were two other worked fragments. Sixteen and a half feet north of this another wall (Site Plan. Wall 3) stood to a similar height but was of rubble walling 23 in. thick. From this had fallen a stone which had formed part of a stringcourse or of a moulded windowhood. Rubble from the eastward continuation of this wall was also found in trench 24.

Thirty-four feet north of this lay a scatter of large rubble in which was centred Wall 4, and a further 11 feet beyond it was another more considerable rubble scatter (Wall 5). Both these walls had been robbed and little but the foundation trenches remained. In trench 21 was found the rubble scatter from the eastward extension of Wall 5, including a stone with a groove for window glass and many floor and roof tiles.

An interval of 36 feet separated Wall 5 from a substantially-built sandstone wall set on a well-packed rubble base. This wall (Site Plan. Wall 6) stood for two courses to a height of 20 in. and was 36 in. wide; it was also found in trench 23 at a distance of 43 ft. to the east. Here the wall was of similar height and width, with the facing stones still retaining much of their original lime mortar. The foundations at this point were set directly onto the natural gravel at a depth of 8 ft. 8 in. below the turf-line. In all these five walls the rubble tumble was thicker to the north of the wall.

Below the rubble layer was a rich dark-brown, slightly stony soil layer, varying in thickness between 12 in. and 31 in. and containing nearly 300 sherds of pottery. Beneath this was a reddish-brown muddy layer between 20 in. and 36 in. thick, producing only

a little pottery and this was similar in character to that in the layer immediately above it. Overlying the natural gravel was a dirty grey silt usually less than 12 in. thick containing no finds of any kind. All these layers increased in thickness towards the Tan Brook.

The natural gravel sloped from 3 ft. 3 in. below the turf-line at the southern end of the main trench to 10 ft. 2 in. at the northern end of this trench. At the point marked on the Site Plan the gravel shelved steeply dipping 36 in. in a space of five feet. Between Walls 2 and 3 a flat-bottomed pit (Section. Fig. 2) had been sunk to a depth of 48 in. into the gravel and it was filled with dark-brown slightly stony soil.

# THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SITE

The considerable overlay of dirty gravel and mud upon the clean natural gravel is suggestive of the waterlogged conditions of the Widemarsh, while the dark brown soil layer containing pottery mostly of the late 13th—early 14th century represents a period of fairly rapid soil accumulation: this may be due to extra-mural cultivation or even settlement.

The evidence of the friary's occupation of the site is mainly structural. The walls appear to be all of one period. The two southernmost (Walls 1 and 2) mark the outer walls of the preaching nave and the approximate internal width of 36 feet may represent a double-aisled plan. Both walls were substantially built and thicker than others on the site. The inclusion of three already worked fragments in so short a section of Wall 2 cannot be satisfactorily explained without more extensive investigation. Wall 3 may either be an aisle wall, if the nave was of a single span, or else be a cloister walk. As a cloister alley it would be twice as wide as most English examples, but the need to avoid the gravel pit might account for this. Walls 5 and 6 can be identified as the outer walls of the North Range. The north cloister walk would be incorporated within the range (the usual Dominican plan) though no internal structural division was visible during the excavation.

Crossing the centre of the cloister, with only a shallow foundation trench and a slight scatter of heavy rubble was Wall 4, and this may have been an earlier boundary wall removed shortly before the friary's construction. Between Walls 2 and 3 was a pit (Fig. 2) presumably dug for gravel and not open for any length of time since its vertical sides were not appreciably silted. It was filled with dark brown, slightly stony soil containing late 13th—early 14th century pottery. A possible explanation is that the friars dug out the gravel when their building operations started and filled it with soil then lying on the surface, perhaps also taking soil from the nave area when that was levelled. Above the filling of the pit

¹ Woolhope Club Transactions, Vol. xxxiv (1952-4), pp. 35, 141, 145.

² The finds are now in Hereford Museum (Accession No. 7240). The site now has the dining hall built upon it and is surrounded by tarmac surfaces.

¹ The boundary between St. Peter's and All Saints' parishes runs across the friary and followed this course at least as early as 1362 (law suit relating to burial rights—Cathedral archives, no. 3210).

was a second pit, shallow and charcoal-filled, and in this were found two coins, one of Richard II, associated with fragments of a 15th century jar.

Although a large number of floor tiles, both plain and decorated, were recovered, no tiling was in position. The floor level of the nave was of compact reddish-brown soil without any trace of paving. north of Wall 5 was a 12 foot wide 'floor' of sand and lime which may represent the north cloister walk. The floor level of the North Range was not plainly visible. The roofing material in general use was 'slate' from the local sandstone, and a number of such slates were found near Walls 2, 3 and 6.

The stony rubble layer represents the gradual decay of the friary buildings, and the disturbed greyish-brown soil above it was the post-mediæval level.

## Conclusion

The excavation supplements the documentary evidence for this house. The cloister was probably oblong rather than square and the North Range was of similar character to the West Range. Until more excavation can be undertaken, particularly to the east of the present site, the extent and arrangement of the friary buildings will be a matter for conjecture. The accumulation of evidence on local mediæval pottery, built up through excavations in and around Hereford in the last five years, is now increased by this characteristic West Midland group from Black Friars.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The excavation was undertaken by the writer for the Ministry of Works. I should like to thank Mr. J. F. L. Norwood for providing information on local mediæval sites, Miss M. Jancey for information on Coningsby's Hospital, Mr. S. E. Rigold for the report on the coins (Appendix C), and Mr. J. G. Hurst for his considerable advice on the dating of the pottery. I am indebted to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for permission to incorporate their plan of the West Range in Fig. 1. The excavation was helped by the co-operative attitude of the County Council's Architect's department.

#### APPENDIX A.

#### POTTERY.

#### (Figs. 3, 4.)

About 300 sherds were found; 60 of these were of coarse ware from cooking-pots, 30 were of fine unglazed wares and nearly all the rest were from jugs with a patchy green or yellow glaze. All the pottery described was, with one exception, from the pre-friary soil layer and is consistent with a late 13th—early 14th century date. The single exception is the pot 35 found in a pit associated with the two coins and this form is more likely to date from the late fourteenth century.

#### Abbreviations.

- Butcombe, Somerset = Proc. Univ. of Bristol Spel. Soc., Vol. 8, no 2 (1958), pp. 89-96.
- Kings Ditch, Hereford = Woolhope Club Transactions, Vol. xxxvi (1958), pp. 117-125.
- Offa Street, Hereford = Woolhope Club Transactions, Vol. xxxv (1955-7), pp. 329-337.

#### A-COARSE WARES.

The coarse wares at Black Friars display the characteristic West Midland fold-over rims (nos. 4-8). This regional variety is well illustrated in the series of cooking-pots from Lydney Castle, Gloucestershire. Typical examples have been found locally at Offa Street and Kings Ditch, Hereford.

- Cooking-pot, rim. Coarse dark grey ware with large grits, unevenly fired. Light red inside. Rough surface.
- Cooking-pot, rim. Light red ware, unevenly fired grey outside. Smooth surface. Diameter 14 in.
- Cooking-pot, rim. Light red ware with fine grits, fire blackened on outside. Diameter 14 in.
- Cooking-pot, folded rim. Light red gritty ware. Smooth surface. Diameter 10 in.
- Cooking-pot, folded rim. Pale grey gritty ware, fire blackened on outside. Smooth surface. Diameter 14 in. cf. Kings Ditch 3.
- Cooking-pot, folded rim. Pale grey ware with large grits. Smooth surface. cf. Offa Street 10.
- 7. Cooking-pot, folded rim. Smooth grey ware, fire blackened.
- Cooking-pot, folded rim. Coarse grey ware with large grits. cf. Kings Ditch 12.
- Cooking-pot, base. Coarse dark grey gritty ware, unevenly fired, sooty and burnt. Diameter 6 in.

#### B-FINE UNGLAZED WARES.

- 10. Cooking-pot, rim. Fine light red fabric. Smooth surface. Diameter
- Cooking-pot, base. Fine light red fabric. Smooth surface. Diameter 5 in.

#### C-GLAZED WARES.

- Pitcher. Grey, slightly gritty ware. Dull green glaze on outer surface. Combed decoration: alternate wavy lines and straight vertical ribs.
- Pitcher? Coarse grey ware, fired reddish-brown inside. Bright green glaze on outer surface. Horizontal band of finger-nail decoration.
- Pot. Fine light red ware. Smooth surface. Dull green glaze on outer surface. Decorated with vertical strips of punched circular stamps.
- Pot. Fine light red ware. Smooth surface. Olive-green glaze on outer surface. Incised decoration: double horizontal row of rectangular notch rouletting.
- 16. Pot. Fine buff ware. Smooth surface. Mottled light greeny-yellow glaze on outer surface. Incised decoration: double row of square notch rouletting on raised horizontal band. cf. Lydney, Ant. J., xi, p. 260, Fig. 9, no. 21.
- Jug, strap handle. Ware and glaze as in 16. Handle decorated with centrally placed row of punched circular holes.
- Pitcher, applied ornament with circular section. Ware and glaze as in 16. Delicate slashed decoration.
- Jug. Dark grey ware, fired buff on inner surface and light red outside.
   Light green glaze on outer surface. Incised decoration of complex roulet-

¹ Antiquaries Journal, xi (1931), pp. 240-261.

ting. Most rouletting on medieval jugs consists either of a simple square (no. 16), rectangular (no. 15) or diamond notched pattern. There seems, however, to be a development of more complex rouletted patterns in the West Midlands. In addition to this example from Hereford similar unpublished material is known from Gloucester and White Castle. The pattern also occurs amongst the remarkable group of pottery from Hartlepool, Co. Durham, but it is not clear from which source this jug came.

Jug. Hard grey ware. Outer surface green, evenly glazed. Decoration: raised ribs vertical and sinuous to make floral pattern.

 Jug, rim. Fine grey ware. Dull green glaze on outer surface; cream slip on inner surface.

 Jug, fragment. Dark grey gritty ware. Dull green glaze on outer surface; buff on inner surface. Applied strip decoration over grooves. This is a typical Western convention.

... Twenty sherds with glazes similar to 21 and 22 occur on fine red wares.

23. Pot, rim. Fine red fabric. Smooth surface. Lightly glazed orangegreen. Diameter 5½ in. Possibly 14th century.

 Cooking-pot, folded rim. Fine red fabric. Smooth surface. Worn orange glaze on rim. Diameter 6½ in. Possibly 14th century.

 Pot, rim. Light red fabric. Smooth surface. Orange-green glaze on outer surface. Diameter 4½ in.

 Pot, rim. Fine red fabric. Smooth surface. Worn orange glaze on outer surface. Diameter 6 in.

 Pot, base. Light red fabric. Smooth surface. Worn orange-green glaze on inner surface. Slightly sagging base. Diameter 7½ in.

 Jug, base. Fine light red ware. Lightly glazed reddish-brown on outside. Diameter 2½ in.

 Bowl, rim. Fine red fabric. Heavy olive-green glaze with darker flecks on both surfaces. Diameter 7 in. Other sherds from this bowl suggest inner glaze is only near rim.

 Pot, rim. Fine red fabric. Unevenly glazed orange-green glaze on outer surface. Diameter 4 in.

31. Jug, finger-pinched base. Smooth grey fabric. Worn green glaze on inner surface of base. Uneven orange-green glaze on outer surface. The finger-pinching on which the base rests increases the jug's stability.

Jug. Smooth grey ware, fired reddish-brown inside. Glazed pale green with darker speckling. Decoration of applied vertical ribs. Similar jug fragments occur with combed vertical lines or with finely raised vertical ribs alternating with finger-nail ornament. Forty fragments of this type, of 30 and of 31 were found.

32. Jug, finger-pressed sagging base. Coarse grey fabric, fired red on outer and inner surfaces. Uneven dark green glaze on outer surface. Diameter 61 in. The finger-pressing on this jug is purely decorative. cf. Offa Street 18.

... In similar fabric and glaze to 32 were found undecorated jug handles, both strap and circular section; and also a bung-hole from a pitcher.

Pitcher, base. Grey fabric, fired red on outer surface. Outside wall
of pot glazed mottled orange-green. Diameter 6 in. cf. Butcombe 5.

34. Jug, with pinched-out lip. Dull red fabric, poorly fired. Uneven orange-brown glaze on inner surface.

.. Pitcher, strap handle. Grey fabric, fired red. Dull green glaze. Deep slashing down centre of handle.

... Jug, fragment. Light red ware. Rough orange glaze with green speckling. Decoration: raised vertical ribs alternating with applied pellets. cf. Offa street 19 (undecorated).

35. Jar, folded rim. Light red fabric. Maroon glaze, unevenly applied at rim and near base on inner surface; base not recovered. Late fourteenth—early fifteenth century. This shows the remarkable continuity of the internal fold in the West Midlands which has already been pointed out for Gloucestershire (Trans. B. & G.A.S., 75 (1956), pp. 5-34;

77 (1958), pp. 43-60). This rim form is found on most sites in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire, showing another regional characteristic which is now becoming more apparent in different areas.

#### APPENDIX B.

#### TILES.

DECORATED FLOOR TILES.

Fragments of nine different patterns of stamped floor tiles were found, none complete. A complete tile would be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 inches square and  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches thick. The description of each tile is given in the following order: size; clay; glaze; inlay; firing; pattern.

 Triangular, side 4½ in.; grey, slightly gritty; pale green, very worn; thin white slip; uniform red surface; Two intersecting vesicas, at interstices fleur-de-lys, in centre seven-petalled rosette. Eighteen tiles make a complete pattern. Fig. 5, A.

 Fragment 3 in. by 2½ in.; smooth red; yellow-green, partly spilt on undersurface; white slip, fired yellow; uneven: red at edges, grey in centre; Within a circle, a cross patonce, at four corners of pattern small circles enclosing seven pellets. Fig. 5, B.

The stamp used was larger than the tile as cut and was not centrally placed

 Fragment 3½ in. by 1½ in.; smooth red; maroon; white slip, fired buff; uniform red surface; Lombardic F—portion of an inscription (not an alphabet tile).

Fragment 13 in. by 11 in.; smooth red; maroony-brown; white slip, fired buff; uniform red surface; Portion of shield with two crosses formy—for Berkeley, as at Abbey Dore.

5. Fragment 1 in. square; smooth red; orangey-red; white slip, fired buff; uneven: red at edges, grey in centre; Portion of scene—stag with hounds?

Parallel: N. Whitcomb, Floor Tiles of Leicestershire, no. 212.
6-9. Four fragments similar in glaze and firing to 2; one is decorated with a cross patonce within a circle, another bears a shield (? Ferrers).

Date of all tile fragments: Late 14th-early 15th century.

#### PLAIN TILES.

Fragments of 40 floor and roof tiles were found with glazes in shades of olive, green, red, maroon, orange and black. Also 30 unglazed tiles of coarser fabric.

#### RIDGE TILES.

 Coarse grey fabric, fired light red on inside. Mottled olive-green glaze. Knife-cut cresting with slashed incisions. Fig. 5, no. 6.

Coarse grey fabric, fired light red. Uneven orange glaze. Knife-cut cresting. cf. Ogmore Castle—fourteenth century. Ant. J., xv, pl. LI, no 5; similar tile from Breinton but with hand pressed cresting. Fig. 5, pp. 5

 Coarse light red fabric. Speckled olive glaze. Decorated with small finger-pinched knob.

Roofing 'slates' in Old Red Sandstone were found pierced with peg holes, in some of which were short iron nails, cf. Coningsby's Hospital.

#### APPENDIX C.

#### SMALL FINDS.

#### Coins.

# By S. E. RIGOLD, M.A. F.R.N.S.

 Richard II, Halfpenny, London. Early style, c. 1385. Some wear ? lost c. 1400—should be obsolete after the reduction of 1412. Jetton, English, semi-official.¹ 19 mm. Early 14th century.
 Obv.: Crowned head, as on penny—fleurs as on issues from 1302 onwards.
 Rev.: LATV. [= latoun (brass)] in angles of cross fleury.

Bone Mount. Length 4 in., breadth  $\frac{1}{10}$  in., thickness  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. with an elliptical indentation and pierced with two holes, diameter  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. Possibly mount from book or box. Fig. 4, no. 36.

#### APPENDIX D.

#### WORKED STONE.

Five fragments of local reddish-grey sandstone were found :

(1) Part of sill of window.

(2) Head of window, traceried in Decorated style.

(3) Part of window jamb, hollow champfered.
All three fragments built into Wall 2.

(4) Dripstone from stringcourse or hood moulding (in Wall 3).

(5) Stone with groove for window glass (in Trench 21).

A few pieces of wall plaster bearing traces of red wash were found near Walls 2 and 5.

# APPENDIX E.

#### METAL OBJECTS.

130 iron objects were found: 62 were definitely nails and 55 were fragments of nails; the majority were short roofing nails. There were 3 hinge-plates, 4 cramps, 3 bolts and 3 blade fragments. In trench 22 was a mass of twisted metal and 8 lumps of iron slag.

#### APPENDIX F.

#### BONE.

Various fragments of leg, knuckle, rib, spine and jaw bones of ox and sheep were found above the friary occupation layer and below it. A roe-deer antier, the base of a cow's horn and a boar's tusk were also found. Most of the bones were in good condition. Only those in the pre-friary soil, maximum depth 8 feet below turf line, were decayed and pulpy. No human bones were found. There were 10 oyster shells.

#### APPENDIX G.

## CLAY PIPES.

(Fig. 5)

- 1. Local type, no stamp, c. 1660-80. cf. Offa Street 35.
- Local type, asterisk stamp, c. 1660-80. cf., Offa Street 36.
   These two were the commonest types.

3. Local type, R stamp, c. 1660-80. cf. Broseley type 6c.

London type, no stamp, c. 1680-1730. cf. Oswald's type 9b³.
 Stems of these four types were 11/32 in. in diameter, but some yellow-glazed stems were found with half this diameter.

# EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE GREEN, 1960 : A LOST HEREFORD CHURCH¹

By F. G. HEYS, M.A.

The excavations, which were sponsored by the Club, were carried out during a week in April, 1960, by the writer with the assistance of Mr. J. F. L. Norwood. The ready permission and support of the Hereford City Council and Herefordshire County Council is gratefully acknowledged. The success of the excavations was ensured by the whole-hearted co-operation of Mr. A. Clarke, Parks Superintendent, and his staff. We are also greatly indebted to: Mr. T. A. Betts for his work on the skeletal remains; 14 boys of Hereford High School for Boys for their labours on the site; Mr. C. A. Ralegh Radford, Miss M. Jancey, Mr. P. Carey, Mrs. M. U. Jones, Mr. H. J. Powell and Dr. A. W. Langford for help, advice and information.

Castle Green (G. R. SO 514396) is the site of the outer bailey of Hereford Castle (Fig. 1). The inner bailey and keep, which have long since disappeared, lay to the west in the area bounded by Quay Street. A detailed history of the castle would be out of place here but the general course of its development must be borne in mind if the current excavation is to be placed in its true per-

spective.

The castle is first mentioned in 1067 but it is almost certainly one of the small group of Herefordshire castles of the motte and bailey type that was established before the Conquest. The date of its foundation probably falls somewhere in the period 1042-55 when Ralph was Earl of Hereford. Since it was a royal castle there are numerous documentary references to its repair and improvement. This is particularly the case in the thirteenth century when Henry III, who spent much time in Hereford and the border country, made several orders for the strengthening of the castle. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, it had become neglected and ruinous. Although troubles with the Welsh were by no means over, Hereford had lost some of its strategic importance. After long years of decline the castle ceased to be royal in 1630 when Charles I sold it to Gilbert North. Then came a brief revival during the sieges of the Civil War. Colonel Birch, having taken the town, repaired and garrisoned the castle. But after the war it went the way of many others and demolition began about 1653. Speed.³ at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was able to show on his town plan a rough representation of the keep, walls and buildings whereas Taylor,4 in 1757, could only record castle green, the moat

¹ Barnard calls them 'Anglo-Gallic', but they certainly emanate from London and the dies were made with the same punches as pennies—see L. A. Lawrence, *Num. Chron.* 5, LXXI (1938), pp. 165ff.

² Non-local types—see A. Oswald, Archaeological Newsletter, Vol. V, no. 12, pp. 246-9.

¹ For Figs. 1–4 see pp. 387–392.

² C. J. Robinson, Castles of Herefordshire, includes a full account of the history of Hereford Castle.

³ J. Speed, True Plot of the Citie of Hereford, on his Herefordshire map.
⁴ I. Tavlor, Plan of the City of Hereford.

and castle hill. Today only the earthworks of the green and the northern part of the moat (Castle pool) remain.¹

# THE SURFACE INDICATIONS

It is not unusual during dry periods in the summer to see substantial areas of parched turf on the green. These denote the presence of stone near the surface but as a rule the indications are too vague to form any readily recognisable shape or plan. In years of severe drought, however, it is possible to trace at least three groups of wall foundations with reasonable accuracy. Two such years were 1933 and 1959. In 1933 Alfred Watkins measured and plotted these groups and considered their probable origin. His paper² on the subject also included other information of a general nature about castle green. Sufficient interest was aroused to secure permission to examine one of these sites, but the excavation never took place.

Å reconsideration of the evidence was possible in 1959 and Watkins' interpretation of the surface indications was substantially confirmed. In the northern half of the green the outline of a square structure was apparent, near the centre, that of a church or chapel and, towards the south-east corner, a building or small group of buildings. These features are shown in Fig. 1.3 Two of them are drawn on Speed's town plan. There is no doubt that what he shows as a square tower can be identified with the foundations in the northern area. The other building on the plan has usually been accepted as representing a church or chapel and its position approximates to the position of the central group of surface indications rather than to those in the south-east corner. It seemed, therefore, before the excavation began, that the feature to be excavated was a church still in existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

## THE CHURCH SITE

The following details of the surface indications were recorded in September, 1959. Most of the brown lines and patches had already been visible for several weeks and, though the green remained under observation until late October, no new features made their appearance. The surface marks of the church site were situated about 50 ft. south of the centre of the green. The north, south and east walls of the nave showed up clearly, each measuring 3–4 ft. in width, the east wall being perhaps a little wider than the other two. The position of the west wall was not so easy to determine since at a distance of 27 ft. from the east wall, the north and south walls of

the nave finished in a large ill-defined brown patch. Watkins estimated the length of the nave as 10 paces. In the circumstances the interior length has been recorded in Fig. 1 as 27 ft. and the west wall drawn in accordingly, but the exact position of this wall must remain to some extent conjectural. The interior width of the nave was approximately 20 ft. The grass was green and featureless within this area. There were slight suggestions of a shallow buttress at the south-east corner of the nave but too much importance must not be attached to this point as it could well be the result of stones dislodged and scattered during the destruction period.

The characteristic nave and chancel shape, and the fact that the building was on a west-east alignment left Watkins in no doubt that the foundations were those of a church or chapel. In 1959, however, additional features were present in the chancel area and it was not possible to support such a conclusion with the same degree of confidence. The supposed chancel wall foundations stood out clearly enough, giving an interior width of approximately 12 ft. and a length of 17 ft., but there was also evidence of stone work on the north side of the chancel and by the northeast corner of the nave that did not fit into any readily understood pattern. It is now apparent that these marks were caused by the stone graves that lie alongside the chancel wall. Much of the chancel area was badly parched and it was impossible to trace the semi-circular apse,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across, which seemed to be visible as a surface mark in 1933.

# THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

There is documentary evidence for a church and two chapels within the bounds of the castle:

- 1. St. Guthlac's Church.
- 2. St. Martin's Chapel.
- 3. Henry III's Chapel.

Of these, the last may be dismissed briefly. Under a Treasury Order of 1233 "a certain faire and decent chapel" was to be constructed below the oriel of the king's chamber. This does not meet the requirements of the present site, the chapel presumably being situated within the inner bailey.

The early history of St. Guthlac's and St. Martin's, as set down in St. Guthlac's cartulary and the Gloucester cartulary, has been recorded by Prebendary S. H. Martin in two papers in the *Transactions*.² These documents take the story to the middle of the twelfth century, beyond which point evidence is scarce and fragmentary.

¹ See Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Herefordshire, Vol. 1, p. 126, for a topographical description.

Alfred Watkins, Foundations of buildings in Hereford Castle, Transactions Woolhope Club, 1933, pp. 36-40.

^a Fig. 1 is based on measurements taken in 1959. Only the well-defined foundations were planned. There were extensive, but vague, brown patches in each of the three areas from which no reliable evidence could be deduced.

¹ Robinson, op. cit., p. 75.

⁸ S. H. Martin, St. Guthlac, Hereford's Forgotten Saint, Transactions Woolhope Club, 1953. St. Guthlac's Priory and the City Churches, Transactions Woolhope Club, 1954.

St. Guthlac's was a foundation of some age and importance, Its lands were scheduled in Domesday Book¹ and it was described in the twelfth century as a "mother church".2 It has been suggested by Prebendary Martin that the church was already established on the site before the castle was built, since c, 1143 it was described as "unsuitably situated within the circuit of the castle ".3 There is, however, no earlier reference to the position or construction of the church building itself. Walter de Lacy established a close connection between St. Guthlac's and his own church of St. Peter and St. Guthlac which was built not later than 1087. Although some of its prebendaries and prebends were taken for the new church the records show that St. Guthlac's was not superseded. Shortly before the middle of the twelfth century St. Guthlac's priory was founded outside the city walls and the endowments of the two churches were transferred to the priory by the bishop in 1143.

The result of this ecclesiastical transaction was a change in status for St. Peter's. It became a parish church and steadily prospered. Of the old church building of St. Guthlac, on the other hand, nothing is known. For 400 years there appears to be no further record of it and one might be forgiven for supposing it to have been abandoned. However, like St. Peter's it must have continued to function although probably now reduced to the status of a chapel, for it was still in existence and in reasonable condition when Leland visited the castle, c. 1535. After a description of the keep, moat and drawbridge he goes on: "There is a faire chapell of St. Cuthebert, the este parte whereof is made opera circulari. There were sometyme prebendaries: but one of the Laceis translatyd them thens onto St. Peter's in Hereford towne, and that coledge was then translated into the este suburbe of Hereford, and a priorie of monkes erected there, and made a cell to Glocester".4 There is no doubt that his description refers to the ancient church of St. Guthlac, in spite of his erroneous dedication. He sheds no light on the status of the church during this long period of silence and it is impossible to say how closely at this point St. Guthlac's was linked with either the castle or the priory.

The history of St. Martin's chapel is equally obscure. It is described as "... capellam sancti Martini que in castello Herefordensi sita est". It was certainly a post-Conquest foundation, for in a charter, c. 1154, Hugh de Lacy refers to it as "the chapel which my ancestors founded". The wording implies a time sufficiently remote as to make an eleventh century date for the foundation a

possibility. It may be that Walter de Lacy, the founder of St. Peter's was also responsible for this chapel.

The evidence of the twelfth century charters regarding the disposal of the chapel is confused but the final outcome seems clear enough. In Henry II's reign royal assent was given to the transference of St. Martin's and its endowments to St. Guthlac's priory.¹ After this transaction there is no further record of St. Martin's in the castle. About 1220 the first reference is made to St. Martin's "across the Wye" and it has been suggested that these were one and the same church. This opinion is partly based on one or two references prior to 1220 in the cathedral charters to St. Martin's as sited ". . . infra ambitum castelli de Herefordia", but bearing in mind that this is a phrase of medieval Latin the meaning of "infra" is probably "within" in this context. Moreover, the frequent description of St. Martin's as "in castello Herefordiae" seems unequivocal and it is difficult to see why roval assent should have been necessary when St. Martin's was made over to the priory were it not so sited. St. Martin's across the Wye must be regarded as a separate and probably later church. It may well have been so designated in 1220 to differentiate it specifically from the chapel in the castle.

The recorded history of St. Martin's and St. Guthlac's has been summarised in some detail in order to show that the documentary evidence alone is not sufficient to establish which church stood upon this site. The excavation was undertaken to determine whether the site was indeed that of a church and, if so, whether any further light could be shed on its history. The conclusions arrived at are discussed after a description of the features revealed by excavation.

#### THE EXCAVATION

One of the conditions of excavation was that it should be on a limited scale so that an unreasonably large area should not be disturbed or denied to public use at one time. It was therefore decided that a section should be cut across the width of the nave near the east wall and that the junction of the east wall of the nave and the north wall of the chancel should be examined.

Substantial remains of the nave and chancel foundations were uncovered in the 30 ft. section and 10 ft. square excavated (I and II respectively in Fig. 1). Lying below these was a graveyard of earlier date. Parts of nine burials were examined and there was evidence of a tenth lying beyond the excavated area. The positions of the burials are recorded in Figs. 2 and 3. Burials 1–5 were situated south of the south wall of the nave; 6 was at the junction of the east and north walls of the nave; 7 and 8 lay north of the north wall of the chancel; 9 and 10 were within the chancel

¹ Victoria County History of Herefordshire, vol. 1, p. 325.

^{*} St. Guthlac's Cartulary, No. 499.

² Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, vol. 1 (1863),

Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales, edited by L. T. Smith (1908),

p. 65. ⁶ W. W. Capes, Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral, p. 13.

¹ St. Guihlac's Cartulary, No. 499. There is no mention of St. Martin's Chapel at all in the Gloucester Cartulary.

² Bannister, Lost Charters, Transactions Woolhope Club, 1914.

area. The lowest burials on the south side and those within the chancel lay in shallow depressions in the natural red gravel at a depth of 5 ft.—5 ft. 6 in. Burials 6, 7 and 8 were 4 ft. below ground level and in the case of the latter two the decision was taken to leave the remains in situ, so the trench was not excavated to the natural gravel in this area.

All the bodies had been buried on a west-east alignment. Only portions of most of the burials were exposed in the trenches. Nevertheless, enough was revealed in each case to show that the bodies were buried at full length with the lower arms resting on the thighs. Certain of the skeletons (2, 4, 6, 7 and 10) were lying on what appeared to be pure charcoal layers, these were the carbonized remains of the undersides of the coffins in which these skeletons were buried. The wooden sides and lids of the coffins, not having been subjected to the same acid processes had rotted and disappeared without trace. Pieces of iron strap (Fig. 4) from the coffin of burial 4 were found lying across the arm bones and backbone of the skeleton. No other evidence of fabrics, burial material

or objects was recovered.

It was not possible to establish a date for the graveyard from examination of the skeletons and their graves only, and no pottery sherds were found in these layers of the excavation. However, burial 6 lay partly below the walls of the nave, and the builders of the church had, in fact, not driven their foundations as deep here as elsewhere in order to avoid disturbing the burial. Parts of burials 8 and 9, similarly, lay immediately below the chancel foundations. Consequently, the graveyard in its origin must be Anglo-Saxon or early post-Conquest. Consideration of the skeletal remains suggests a more precise date still. All the skeletons appear to be male and some (2, 3 and 6, for example) certainly died in the prime of life. This does not rule out the possibility that the remains are those of brethren of the collegiate church of St. Guthlac, but a military context seems more likely. If these are burials from the castle they are, on present evidence, not earlier than the time of Ralph. A date somewhere near the middle of the eleventh century is therefore suggested for these early burials. Fuller details of the skeletal remains are recorded below in the report.

The nave foundations (Pl. I) in trench I included nearly half the width and all the interior length of the east wall and part of the north-east and south-east corners. The average width of each wall foundation was 3 ft. 6 in. The building had been robbed of stone to a point below the original floor level and so no evidence remained of such upper structures as the chancel arch. The depth of the foundations was not uniform throughout. On the south side and along most of the east wall they extended to 5 ft. below present ground level, but at and near the north-east corner the depth was only 3 ft. 6 in. in order to avoid burials in that area.

The foundations were substantial and well made, consisting of a firm base 1 ft. 6 in. thick of closely packed stones with gravel

filling, topped by a layer nearly 2 ft. thick of smaller stones and mortar. The lower stones were unworked and often more than a foot square in size. They had been carefully laid with smaller stones at the bottom and elsewhere as necessary to maintain a proper level. Sufficient headers had been included to bind the foundation firmly. In the upper layer the smaller stones were at first irregular in size but towards the top thin flat stones predominated where the builders levelled up in preparation for the visible superstructure. Mortar of red sandstone composition had been liberally used in this layer. It was still hard and sufficiently compact to be difficult to break up. The appearance of a length of typical wall foundation is illustrated in Fig. 3.

The north wall of the chancel displayed similar characteristics of construction (Pl. II). It was possible to examine the lower part of the foundations in detail here because this area had suffered more from stone-robbing. The junction of the chancel wall and the east wall of the nave just came within the trench, but whereas the east wall was substantially intact only the lowest stones of the chancel foundations remained. Ten feet to the east, at the other limit of the trench, the situation was a little better and here all the lower foundations were present and also a small amount of the upper mortared layer. The chancel wall and the east wall of the nave were of the same build, being well bonded with large stones at all levels. There was no evidence of subsequent alterations or additions to the foundations. This seems to dispose of the suggestion that the church had originally a semi-circular apse which was eventually replaced by a rectangular chancel. There had been at some period considerable disturbance of the upper earth layers within the chancel for a distance of about 6 ft. from the east wall and the loose stone and rubble associated with this might have caused the surface markings observed in 1933.

A large stone block, which had been slightly displaced during the destruction phase, was mortared to the inner side of the chancel wall at a distance of 7 ft. from the east wall of the nave and at a depth of 1 ft. 6 in. (Fig. 2). The block measured 2 ft. 9 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. x 7 in. and along one side of the upper surface was a rebate  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep and 2 in, wide. The block was roughly dressed except for the underside which was unworked and irregular. Two small stones had been placed in the clean clay below the corners furthest from the wall to keep the block level. The position of this stone is important, not only because it gives some idea of the level of the floor foundations, but also because it supplies the only information recovered concerning the interior arrangement of the church. This block must have been one of a line across the chancel, laid with the object of providing a firm base for the altar step, the lower front edge of which originally fitted into the rebate. Thus, the distance from the west end of the chancel to the altar step was 12 ft.

In trench I holes for scaffolding poles showed up clearly within the building, two feet from the north and south walls respectively. The fill of these holes contained a large proportion of mortar and plaster fragments. It was possible to trace the construction trenches for the walls at certain points. At the south-east corner a large flat stone which projected 1 ft. 3 in. from the wall had been incorporated in the foundations. Below it the shape of the construction trench had been preserved where otherwise it might have been obliterated by later burials. Inside the chancel it was possible to trace the construction trench of the east wall of the nave at a low level (shown in Fig. 2 by a broken line). This and the construction trench for the north wall of the chancel had considerably disturbed burial 9 which had not received the respectful treatment given to burial 6 in the nave. Two or three large iron nails were found in each of the construction trenches.

A notable feature of the excavation was the burials associated with the church itself. Besides proving the nature of the site beyond doubt, they were a rewarding study on their own account. Thirteen burials were examined in whole or part and of these all but two were infants. The two exceptions (21 and 22) by virtue of their fragmentary and disturbed state appeared to be intrusive in character rather than genuine burials of this period. The ages of the infants ranged from a few months old to not more than seven years old. Four of them were buried in stone lined graves.

On the south side of the nave were six infant burials: burial 13, a very young baby, was laid in a coffin of stone slabs (Figs. 2 and 3). Stones approximately a foot square and 3 in. thick had been placed on end in characteristic coffin shape and similar rough slabs had been laid on top. The slabs were not mortared together. A corner of another stone coffin (burial 11) was uncovered at the southern limit of the excavation. It appeared to be similar in type and size to the one described above. No burial material was identified in connection with the remaining infant skeletons (burials 12, 14, 15 and 16) though a fragment of bronze was found among the ribs of burial 16.

There were five infant burials by the north side of the chancel wall. One of these (burial 20) was laid in a stone coffin of roughly the same dimensions as that of burial 13 except that in this case the stone slabs had been more carefully selected and were of regular shape. This grave was left in situ and the small portion of the trench below this point was unexcavated. The most elaborate stone lined grave was that of burial 17 where a wall had been constructed of small flat sandstones in the angle between the nave and the chancel using these foundations as two sides of the grave. The internal measurement was 3 ft. 9 in. x 2 ft. Originally, it must be supposed, the grave was covered with stone slabs which have since been robbed away. The grave rested directly on the earlier burials 7 and 8. The three remaining burials were disordered and incomplete. Probably burials 18 and 19 had been disturbed when the stone lined grave described above was constructed. From the infilling of burial 18 a small rim sherd of ? 13th century date was recovered. This was the only piece of pottery found in the graveyard strata. Burial 20A consisted of fragments of a small skull showing beneath burial 20. It appeared to have been crushed by the stone slabs and was not on a west-east alignment. If this was originally an orderly burial it had obviously been treated with scant respect when the stone coffin above it had been constructed,

The archæological evidence was not sufficient to establish a precise date for the church foundations. Only one pottery sherd was found below the destruction layers and no ornamental or worked stone was recovered. Much must therefore depend upon the documentary evidence already outlined and what can be deduced from the character of the foundations and the plan of the building.1 The massive nature of the structure is characteristic of the Norman period. The chancel, for example, had walls approximately 3 ft. 6 in. thick although the area enclosed by them was only about 12 ft. x 17 ft. Both the ground plan and the building techniques employed are typical of the twelfth century. The type of stone, method of construction and liberal use of mortar in the upper parts of the foundations are all closely paralleled in twelfth century foundations at Breinton, Herefordshire.2 In the circumstances a mid-twelfth century date can reasonably be assigned to the existing foundations of the church.

The destruction layers contained a moderate number of pottery sherds covering the period from the twelfth century to recent times. The foundations lie near the surface and disturbance of the upper soil layers has been such that it was not possible to arrive at a destruction date on archæological evidence alone. The documentary evidence for the destruction of the church is discussed below.

The remains of later burials in the destruction levels of the site were recorded. One of these lay within the chancel area. Only part of the skull of burial 23 was showing in the side of the trench but more than half of burial 24 was within the area of excavation. Both were judged to be not more than 200 years old and it is probable that they were burials from the General Hospital which stands adjacent to castle green. Burial in the cathedral close from the Infirmary (as it was then called) ceased in 1791 and records show that castle green was in the hands of the Board of Governors towards the end of the century. Skeleton 24 was an old man, somewhat infirm, and a skull (25) found in the disturbed area of the north west corner of trench II was of an adult suffering from Paget's disease. Both might well have been patients in the Infirmary.

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¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. C. A. Ralegh Radford and Mr. H. J. Powell for opinions on this question,

² A medieval moated site excavated in 1959 by Hereford Archæological Research Group. Report in preparation.

⁸ Dr. A. W. Langford, The History of Hereford General Hospital, Woolhope Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, 1959, p. 153.

#### Conclusions

The excavation established the existence of:-

1. Mid-twelfth century foundations of the nave and chancel of a church or chapel.

2. A graveyard of earlier date than the church foundations which was in use until the nineteenth century.

The excavations proved clearly that the southern part of Castle Green was consecrated ground, a point which does not appear to have been regarded with certainty in the past. Furthermore, the graveyard seems to have extended as far as the south-east part of the green, since in 1933, when a drain was being dug, burials were uncovered a few yards west of the perimeter path. At least one of these was in a stone lined grave. From time to time river erosion of the steep south bank of the Green has revealed human bones, proving that the graveyard extends to the possible limit in this direction. Details of these burials have not been recorded and it is impossible to link them chronologically with those of the present excavation.

Documentary evidence of the destruction of the church, while not conclusive, is sufficient to provide a reasonably limited time period during which this must have happened. On the authority of Speed's town plan it seems that the chapel was still in existence in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1652, after the Civil War, a survey of the condition of the buildings of the castle was carried out by three Commissioners. They made no reference to a chapel even as a ruin, although other buildings were so described.3 Probably, however, traces of the church had not completely disappeared for in 1677 a certain John Silvester produced a scheme for the improvement and development of Castle Green which would have transformed it into a residential square.4 On his rough plan the approximate position of the present site is marked with the letter L and the cryptic comment "if built round for a market granary". This seems to imply that there were foundations or parts of walls still visible which could be utilised for a new purpose. On the evidence, therefore, it would be reasonable to

¹ Watkins: op. cit. It is said that large quantities of bones were removed at one time from the Cathedral Close to Castle Green. This, however, supports what has now been proved, since the remains would certainly be removed to consecrated ground.

^a Transactions Woolhope Club, 1933, p. xxiv, and information from Mr. T. V. Milligan,

3" A Survey of the Scyte of the ruinous castle of Hereford, with the Rights, Members and Appurtenances thereof" made on 14th December, 1652, by Jeremie Baines, John Fiske and Samuel Cotman. The document is printed in Duncumbe's *History of Hereford*, Vol. I, pp. 286-8.

*Transactions Woolhope Club, 1883, p. 162. Another interesting feature of Silvester's plan is the portion marked K in the middle of the west side of Castle Green. This was "for a church". The site seems to have been chosen to suit the symmetry of his plan rather than for any other reason but the remote possibility that this was thought at that time to be the site of one of the old churches ought not to be overlooked.

suppose that the church ceased to exist about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is very likely that it was largely pulled down soon after 1630 when the castle passed out of royal ownership.

Only the question of the church's identity remains. It may be possible to establish this with certainty at some future date. For the present, a reasonable inference may be drawn from the evidence as it now stands. A mid-twelfth century construction date does not seem to fit what is known of the early history of St. Martin's although Hugh de Lacy's charter of c. 1154 refers to the endowment of the chapel and it must not be assumed that the construction of the permanent building necessarily followed immediately upon this event. There are also other important objections to this attribution. In the first place, St. Martin's is described as a chapel and as such would not have had the right of burial unless, existing in a royal castle, it enjoyed a special status in this respect.\(^1\) Secondly, Leland makes no mention of St. Martin's at a time when, as we know from Speed's later map, a church stood on this spot.

These objections do not seem to apply to St. Guthlac's. The church is described and named by Leland who gives the impression that it is one of the prominent features within the castle precincts. Furthermore, its ancient status as a mother church would carry with it the right of burial. The evidence would be conclusively in favour of St. Guthlac's were it not for two difficulties. Firstly. the assumption that St. Guthlac's was well established before the Conquest, a fact which was not evident in the excavations. It could be that the extensive foundations uncovered had entirely obliterated less substantial remains of an earlier structure, at least in this part of the site. The earlier graveyard argues in favour of an earlier church, though the north wall of the nave must have been sited a little differently in view of the disposition of the burials in this area. If there was an earlier church the midtwelfth century is the period in which one might expect rebuilding to take place, in view of the change of ownership and status at this time. Secondly, Leland described the east end as being made opera circulari.2 This was not evident from the surface indications in 1933 or 1959 and only excavation can establish the true situation. Here, therefore, are two specific problems to be solved by future excavation and until a satisfactory answer is obtained it must be tentatively assumed that the church that stood upon this site was the mother church of St. Guthlac.

¹ The right of burial was not readily granted, as witness the bitter dispute between St. Peter's and the Cathedral church over the latter's monopoly of burial within the city.

⁴ An idea of the size of the church may be gained by comparing it with Kilpeck, to take a well-known example. The dimensions of the nave and chancel are practically the same. If this church also had an apsidal east end the analogy might well be complete. The dimensions of Kilpeck, a Norman church built in the third quarter of the twelfth century, are: nave: 31½ ft. x 20½ ft.; chancel: 14 ft. x 17 ft.; apse: 12½ ft. x 13½ ft.

THE FINDS (Fig. 4)

Of the small quantity of pottery recovered none of the medieval sherds was earlier than the twelfth century and only the unglazed rim recorded below was found in the stratified levels. The finds also included the neck of a seventeenth century bottle, a twisted piece of window lead 5 in. long, more than 30 small, worn fragments of roof tile and seven pieces of floor tile. The latter were  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick and of coarse red fabric, some of them showing traces of yellowish brown glaze. The roof tiles were fired red with either green mottled glaze or a golden glaze with dark speckles. Two iron nails were found in the construction trench of the south wall of the nave and four more, flat-sided and approximately  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, came from within the chancel area near the wall of the nave. The only objects associated with the burials were parts of the iron work from the coffin of burial 4 and a tiny fragment of bronze found among the ribs of burial 16.

Red sherd with light brown exterior, blackened on outer edge of rim. A
close textured fabric with a marked concentration of minute mica
particles. In the fill of burial 18. ? 13th century.

Jug. Grey core with red exterior and poor interior green glaze. Unstratified. 14th century.

3. Light grey core with red exterior and buff interior, coarsely made and unevenly fired. Unstratified, 12th century.

4. Portion of iron strap and nail used to secure or strengthen the coffin of burial 4. Some of the wood, in well preserved condition, present on inner surface. The strap illustrated was one of two recovered in the restricted area of this burial excavated. The other portion was of similar length and pattern and also included one nail head. Two other small pieces were also found which may have come from the adjacent side of the coffin, but it was not possible to reconstruct a complete length of strap.

# THE HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS

# By T. A. Betts

An attempt has been made to determine the sex and age of each adult. Where evidence of sex depends upon skull bones the conclusion must be regarded with caution. Sexing from the long bones (only applicable in one case) is most unreliable. Similarly in the determination of age from skull sutures a wide range of error is possible. Where infant skeletons are concerned, on the other hand, sex cannot easily be determined but if the skull is present the assessment of age is fairly accurate.

1. Male. Adult, age uncertain. Fragments of hip bone and metacarpal bone examined. L. femur also present.

2. Male. Aged 16-17. Shafts of tibiæ and femora, both sides; lower femoral epiphyses and upper tibial epiphysis detached; fragments of hip bone with acetabulum fused, indicating post-puberty.

3. Male. Aged under 40. L. radius and ulna; two battered lumbar vertebræ; a few rib fragments; pieces of femur; parietal bone and hip bone.

 Male. Aged over 20. Lower end of humerus and shaft of humerus, left side; rib. Traces of iron staining from iron object in association with the bones.

## SUMMARY OF BURIALS

Period	No.	Sex	Age	Burials Features	Associated Objects	Remarks
	1 2	M ,,	Adult 16–17	Evidence of wood coffin		
I. Earlier than mid- 12th cen- tury	3	,,	40-	wood comin	Disturbed by	
	4	,,	20 +		Iron strap from coffin	12
	5 6	?M M	18 + 25–40			Below N. wa.
	7		20 +	20 20		) Disturbed b
	8 9	"	? 50 20 +			construction of wall found ations
	10	3	Adult			In side of ex cavation
II. Burials associated with the 12th cent. church	11	? Infant		Stone slab	Fragment of bronze ?13th cent. rim	At extremit
	15 16 17	Infant	5-7 1- 4- 2-3 2-3 2-3	Stone lined grave		
	18	22	3-5 1½-2			Disturbed b construction of stone line grave
	20	**	1-		, grave	
	20a	7,				Disturbed b construction of stone coffi
	21	? M	25 +			of 20 Disturbed, fragmentary
	22	M	30-40			remains. Par of burial fi
III. Post- 17th cent. burials	23	? M	40 +			In side of excavation
	24	M	?50-60	Area of head and shoulders packed with stones and clay		
	25	? M	Adult			Skull only. Paget's Dis- ease

5. ? Male. Aged over 18. Pieces of sacrum and iliac crest; upper humerus and ulna, right side.

6. Male. Aged 25-40. Seven vertebræ, mostly lumbar with one or two lower thoracic; one cervical vertebra in fair condition; portion of sacrum, comprising part of the upper two or three sacral vertebræ. Portions of hip bone, including parts of the ala of the ilium and iliac crest; R. acetabulum with portions of the pubic ramus. These bones were thick, large and well-marked with muscle ridges and lines. The ribs showed no deformities. The long bones were well preserved, including radii and ulnæ from both sides, parts of humeri and a portion of R. scapula. They were large and long with good muscle markings. This man was tall and muscular. It is probable that he died in early middle age.

7. Male. Aged over 20. R. hip bone, femur and talus; part of tibia and fibula visible, the remainder obscured by stone wall. The bones were not

lifted for fuller examination.

8. Male. Aged ? 50. Much of the skeleton was present, though disturbed. R. ribs had been forced inwards and up towards the skull to give clearance for the chancel foundations and some of the bones of the right side were either missing or lay below the foundations. The skull was quite thick but the vault had been crushed and was fragmentary. Teeth heavily crown-worn. The bones were not lifted for fuller examination.

9. Male. Aged over 20. Hip bone and most of leg bones; humerus

and shaft of radius.

10. Adult. Portions of ? leg bones visible in the side of the trench. 11. ? Infant. Burial in stone coffin; only partly exposed in corner of

the trench. Unexamined.

12. Infant. Aged 5-7. Skull and some pieces of long bone; lateral pieces of occiput fused to occipital squama and foramen of Huschke closed. Teeth showed an age of 6 years,  $\pm$  9 months.

13. Infant. Not more than a few months old. All cranial bones

separate.

14. Infant. Aged under 4. Pieces of skull showing no fusion of the occipital squama. Fragmentary remains of other bones, including femur.

15. Infant. Aged 2-3. Cranial bones in good condition: bone of the vault sutures closed; three parts of the temporal bone fused but the foramina of Huschke were still patent. All the milk teeth were present; the maxillæ were not fused but the symphysis menti was; the first permanent molars both sides up and down had calcified though they had not come through: the permanent incisors were calcified below the milk teeth; the first lower premolars were slightly calcified. Two clavicles in good condition; ribs and long bones, including femora. There was no evidence of bone deformity or mal-nourishment.

16. Infant. Aged 2-3. Most of the features noted in 15, above. were present. The vertebral arches were not fused to the body in cervical vertebræ. This infant was slightly less developed than the other one, but not significantly so. There was bronze staining on one of the ribs.

17. Infant. Aged 2-3. Pieces of skull; mandible. These and frag-

ments of limb bones had been disturbed and scattered. 18. Infant. Aged 3-5. Fragments of skull, including petrous temporal with patent foramen of Huschke; some long bones. Disturbed.

19. Infant. Aged 11-2. Skull, mandible, rib and pieces of other bones. Too fragmentary to give any useful information.

20. Infant. Not more than a few months old. Symphysis menti not united; no teeth, though sockets present; all cranial bones separate.

20a. Infant. Small portion of cranium showing directly below stone slabs of burial 20. Not lifted for examination.

21. ? Male. Aged over 25. Fragments of maxilla and femur.

22. Male. Aged 30-40. Skull only. Basi-sphenoid fused with basiocciput; external sutures still present but internal sutures starting to close. 23. Male. Aged over 40. Portions of skull only, visible in side of

trench.

24. Male. Aged ? 50-60. All the skeleton from the skull to hip bones was present in good, undisturbed condition: the remainder lay beyond the limits of the trench. The skull exhibited the most interesting features; vault intact; fairly pronounced muscle markings on the mandible and good superciliary ridges; forehead not vertical and parietal and frontal eminences practically non-existent; internally, all the sutures were obliterated; externally, the superior part of the coronal suture only was present. He may have been more than 60 years old since his mandible was senile in shape. He had lost all his lower teeth except the two canines which were probably

present at death. There were slight arthritic changes in the intervertebral joints but this was not significant—many old men have them.

25. ? Male. Age uncertain. Pieces of parietal, occipital and frontal bones of skull. The superciliary ridges were fairly pronounced. The skull bones were thick and uneven and resembled closely the skull changes seen in Paget's disease (Osteitis deformans), first described by Paget in the Medico-Chirurgery Transactions in 1877. Without the long bones diagnosis, though probable, is not certain. Subsequent examination and comparison of Paget type skulls in the B.M.S. Pathology museum helps to confirm this view.

# THE WILL OF THOMAS DE LA BARRE, 1338

The De la Barre family was one of the most important in Herefordshire at least as early as the 14th century. The name is still commemorated by Barr's Court, where a branch of the family had a residence. In Clehonger church there is a fine brass to Sir John Barre who founded the chapel of St. Anne on the north of the nave in 1474. The will of Thomas de la Barre made in 1338 is preserved in the Public Record Office and as it contains several Hereford street names now lost, and other features of interest, including a remedy for sore eyes, it is here printed in full.

Thomas de la Barre witnessed several deeds among the Cathedral archives from 1304/5 to 1336, and a Thomas de la Barre is mentioned in deeds of 1341 onwards until 1402, who may have been the son of the testator. In 1416 Sir Thomas Barre, bt., was appointed seneschal of the manors of Preston, Wolnythope [Woolhope] and Canonpewne [Canon Pyon] by the dean and chapter. (No. 2754.)

#### PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

#### Ancient Deed C6735

Given by copy. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen, I, Thomas de la Barre, citizen of Hereford, make my testament Monday after Epiphany in the year of the Lord 1338.

Firstly I bequeath my soul to the Lord my Redeemer, the most holy Mary, His mother, and all His saints and my body to be buried in the cloister

of St. Ethelbert the King next my father.

I bequeath to the high altar of that Church, 20° and to the work of the church half a mark. To the shrine [feretory] of St. Thomas 1 mark. To the high altar of All Saints, Hereford, I mark & to the works of that Church 40°. To every Chaplain celebrating in the said Church of All Saints the day of my death, 12d. To the two clerks of that Church 12d each. To the Churches of St. Peter, St. Andoern, St. Martin, St. Nicholas, 2ª each church. To the altar of St. John the Baptist in the Church of St. Ethelbert, Hereford, half a mark. To the poor of St. Giles 40ª. To the sick beyond the Wye, the sick upon Yene, the sick of St. John in Wydemersh strete, Hereford, to each house 2ª. To the Friars Minor, Hereford 20ª. To the Friars Minor, Shrewsbury, 10⁸. To the Friars Preacher, Hereford, half a mark. To the Friars Preacher, Shrewsbury, half a mark. To the Augustine Friars, Shrewsbury, half a mark. To the Augustine Friars, Ludlowe, half a mark. To the Friars Minor, London, 20⁸. To the bridges of Waya [Hereford], Lugge, Mordeford, Stokebrugge, half a mark each.

Item, I bequeath for my burial 2011. To buy bread and shoes to be distributed to the poor for [the good of] my sons, 10 marks.

Item, I bequeath 10¹¹ to celebrate 4 anniversaries for my soul & the souls of my ancesters & all other faithful dead in the first year after my decease to wit, in such place or places, where my executors shall think fit.

Item, I bequeath to Richard, my son, 40 marks. To Thomas, my son, 40 marks. To Edmond, my son, 40 marks. To William, my son, 40 marks. To Lawrence, my son, 40 marks. To Roger, my son, 40 marks; if any die, his portion to be divided among the others.

Item, I bequeath to John, my brother, 10¹¹. To Bartholomew, my brother, 5¹¹. To Thomas Wygours 100⁹. To William Dok 5 marks. To each child of John Pride, my brother, a gold ring price 40⁴. To each child of Roger Pryde formerly my brother, a gold ring, price 40⁴. To Lawrence Stephen, Nicholas Stephen, John le Clerk & Alice his wife, 2⁵ each. To Thomas, son of John le Clerk, my godson, 5⁵. To Isabel, formerly the wife of Henry de Anla, half a mark. To Alice, wife of Thomas Thop, a ring price 40⁴. To each of her sons 40⁴. To Christian, wife of William de Frome, a piece of silver, price 20⁹. To Margery, daughter of Philip Worgan, a gold ring, price 40⁴. To each of my servants in the Vill of Hereford, 2⁸. To each of my servants without that Vill, 6⁴. To Richard & Edmond, my sons all my books, so that they do not alienate any outside the family, to the use of such of my sons who may take up study, and make progress in learning according to the condition of his faculties.

Item, I give and bequeath all my lands and tenements in the City of Hereford, & the suburbs of the same, together with all my rents in the same to Isabel, my wife, for her life only, and after her decease, I bequeath to Richard, my son, that tenement wherein I dwell with my rents of assize in the City of Hereford & in the suburbs of the same, to him, his heirs & assigns and I give him a ring of gold with a stone of saphire, which my father was wont to wear for the weakness of his eyes; to Edmond, my son, all that tenement situated next my dwelling house & the tenement of Philip Worgan together with all my land in Wydemarshportefelde with one parrok, which my father & mother bought of John de Gloucester, to have and to hold to him, his heirs & assigns; to William my Son, all my tenement in Wydemershstrete, this side the bridge, called Barre-brugge & the tenement of Isabel Griffyth, with that parrok which I bought of Thomas Wygours to have & to hold to the said William his heirs & assigns; to Roger, my son, that tenement in Sadulwrithstrete situated between the lane [East street ?] leading from Sadulwrithstrete [St. John's street] towards Cabacheslone [Church street] & the land which was Thomas Thope the elder & Master John de Tryllok with a plot of ground which Sir Thomas Hakelut holds of me & with one curtilage which lies in Wydemershestrete & extends from Cattesland [Catherine street] to Frogesland [Monksmoor street], together with all that tenement I have by feoffment of Walter de Glowmorgan lying next Wydemershe, to have & to hold to the said Roger, his heirs & assigns. And if it befalls that Isabel, my wife, marry, I will that every of my sons shall enter upon & take the legacy made to him in this my will. I bequeath all my farms & all my fruits in granges & without & growing on the land & all my stone & all my store, as well as all my goods & chattels, movable, in the city of Hereford & without, wherever they shall be be found & all debts due to me to fulfil my will; all my silver, brass, lead, iron & stone plate, all my horses I bequeath to Isabel my wife & Richard,

my son, as well as all my jewels not before named. I bequeath to Thomas, my son, all my armour. All remaining after my debts paid & my will fulfilled, I bequeath to Isabel my wife, & my sons, Richard, Edmond & Thomas & I appoint them my executors.

Note of probate of the Will before Stephen de Ledebury, dean of Hereford, dated Saturday after the nativity of the blessed Virgin, 1343. The above copy certified to be a correct transcript of the register of John Odiskyn, sub-dean in the presence of John Mey mayor of Hereford, and John Bygot and William Stowe, public notaries. 8 October 1412. [Seal]

[Endorsed: Tho. de la Bar his laste wille wherin he gave his landes in Hereford to his sonnes.]

#### HEREFORDSHIRE MIDWIVES

In the Woolhope Club *Transactions* for 1952–4, pp. 135 to 139, there appeared the names of schoolmasters and surgeons who are recorded in the subscription books of the diocese. Midwives also had to subscribe to the articles of the church, and the following is a list recorded in the same volumes. Among the Cathedral Archives are a few testimonials of others who wished to be licensed by the dean and chapter.

LIST OF MIDWIVES LICENSED BY THE BISHOPS OF HEREFORD AS RECORDED IN THE DIOCESAN SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS, 1684 TO 17991

1684 5 Apl. 1755 15 Apl. 1756 20 Mar. 1757 21 Feb. 26 Mar.	Anna Taylor Margaret Stephens Anne Trumper Hannah Kendrick Ann Hergest	Eardisley Middleton Eardisland Bosbury Clifford Clifford
13 Apl. 1758 10 Oct. 1760 21 Apl. 7 Jul.	Katherine Evans Elizabeth Edwards Mary Concher Ann Preece	Clun Clifton-on-Teme Bitterley
13 Oct. 1761 21 Jan. 2 Mar. 3 Mar.	Ann Adden Esther Owens Eleanor Hicks Dorothy Hold	Clunbury Aymestrey Aymestrey Clunbury
5 May 13 Oct. 1763 30 May	Dorothy Hold Elizabeth Head Ann Bray Catherine Morris	Hawford Pensax Wistanstow
19 Jul. 1764 22 May 6 Aug.	Elizabeth Jones Mary Baylis Hannah Weston	Burrington Brampton Bryan Alberbury
16 Aug. 1765 18 Feb. 19 Feb.	Mary Mayo Mary Owen Mary Robinson	Lugwardine Brampton Bryan Brimfield
1766 28 Jun. 9 Feb. 22 Jun. 23 Jun. 1769 13 Mar. 1770 12 Mar.	Ann Wootten Hannah Medmore Margaret Matthews Catherine Bennett Martha Mary Dowding	Mansell Gamage Orcop Bishops Castle Much Wenlock Cleobury North Lucton

¹ Midwives, as doctors and schoolmasters, could not practise unless they had subscribed to the 49 Articles of the Church of England.

1771 1772 1775 1778 1779 1780 1783 1784 1785 1788 1788 1789 1792	10 Nov. 26 Dec. 16 Jun. 8 Nov. 31 May 17 Mar. 31 Jun. 25 Nov. 29 May 26 Mar. 11 Mar.	Elizabeth Barton Ann Edwards Jane Wyles Elizabeth Lloyd Mary Garrett Mary Taylor Sarah Harris Margaret Seward Mary Davies Mary Goodwin Ann Griffiths Elizabeth Preece Rebecca Tongue Sarah Harley	Kentchurch Much Dewchurch Kington Aston Botterell Wistanstow Cold Weston Little Dewchurch Kingsland Knighton Ledbury Yarkhill Ludlow Leominster Titley Staunton Presteigne Orleton Ludlow Ludlow Ludlow Lighton
1799	11 Mar.		

## HEREFORD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

During 1960 two activities have been carried on in the cathedral library in addition to the usual work. An album of rubbings of all the blind-tooled bindings and a few with gold-tooling in the upper cloister room has been made, with a catalogue describing each. Rubbings of the volumes in the upper transept library will be made shortly it is hoped. Both these albums should be of value to students.

Also an album of photographs of many of the principal seals in the library, dating from that of William I onwards, has been completed.

A catalogue of all the seals is available for reference.

# REPORTS OF SECTIONAL EDITORS

## ARCHÆOLOGY, 1960

By S. C. Stanford, B.A., F.S.A.

The extent and variety of excavations during the year show clearly enough the enthusiasm and interest of an increasing number of our members in practical work on the archæological problems of the county. The Club itself has sponsored three excavations -at Buckton, Castle Green and Croft Ambrey-and the other excavations have all been directed by members of the Club.

Mr. N. P. Bridgewater's work has already shown the wealth of material awaiting investigation in Archenfield, and we welcome the inauguration of the Archenfield Archæological Group with whom we anticipate fruitful liaison and co-operation.

In April many members assisted with the work of the Hereford Conference of the Society for Medieval Archæology; and the British Archæological Association's visit to the county in June afforded another opportunity for members to act as hosts and guides.

#### EXCAVATIONS

Iron Age. CROFT AMBREY (SO 443668). The Club's first season coincided happily with the opening of Croft Castle to the public by the National Trust. The excavation has already received support in one form or another from nearly two hundred people. An average of thirty-five diggers were engaged each day for the month, and expenditure in 1960 amounted to £473. For financial help we are especially indebted to Lord Croft (£100), The River Wye Guild (£100), Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery (£25), and the Midland Centre of the National Trust (£20). The work is being directed by the writer assisted by Mr. W. T. Jones.

The excavation included a section of the main defences of the hillfort and interior exploratory work on areas where magnetic anomalies were revealed by Dr. M. J. Aitken's proton-magnetometer

survey.1 The results may be summarised as follows:

Croft Ambrey was occupied as a fortified village by a community of warrior-farmers using stamped pottery similar to that known from Bredon Hill and Sutton Walls (Professor C. F. C. Hawkes's Western Third B). These people levelled the deferces of an existing hillfort, which had probably been occupied by an Iron A community, and built a new dump rampart 20 ft. high on a 53 ft. base, outside and

¹ Copies of the duplicated interim report will be sent to members on receipt of a stamped addressed foolscap envelope, by Mr. S. C. Stanford, Ashfield Cottage, Luston, Leominster.

down-slope from the demolished defences. The new rampart was subsequently repaired at the back, its accompanying ditch re-cut and an outer ditch added,

The village probably lasted into the early years of the Roman occupation, and there are many finds to indicate its economy. Most important are the food storage pits plotted by Dr. Aitken. Together with a complete saddle quern, fragments of rotary querns, a sickle and grains of corn, they show that the Iron Age corngrowing economy better known from sites south-east of the Cotswolds was also practised in the central Welsh borderland. Bronze was smelted on the site and objects of bronze include a decorated ringed triskele and a spiral ear-ring. Among the iron objects are two small spearheads, a sword, two brooches and a piece with a repoussé scroll design, possibly a helmet cheek-piece. A shale armlet indicates trade with distant parts of Britain.

The excavations will be resumed on 31st July, 1961, and continue until 26th August. Volunteers are invited to contact the writer, and further contributions to the funds will be welcomed and acknowledged by the Excavations Committee treasurer, Mr. J. Cecil Price, The Garth, Kingsland.

Roman. BUCKTON (SO 391733). Two weeks' excavation was conducted on behalf of the Club by the writer assisted by Mr. W. T. Jones. The Haverfield Trustees of Oxford University generously granted £25 towards the work, and the Club contributed £25.

Work on the east gate of this Roman fort showed that the stone gateway had replaced an earlier timber one. There are thus two periods of construction in the fort, contrary to the conclusions stated in the *Transactions* for 1959. The stone gateway is 73 ft. by 20 ft. over the foundations, which alone survive, and has twin guardrooms each 24 ft. by 20 ft. externally. This exceptional size results in part from the unusual provision of an internal stone staircase for each tower. The few finds of pottery allow no confident alteration of the tentative dating suggested in the 1959 report (c.A.D. 120—160), although in view of the recognition of the timber period it would seem reasonable to expect the fort to have been established by c. A.D. 100.

HUNTSHAM (SO 565175). Mr. Bridgewater reports further work by the Archenfield Archæological Group on this site where Mr. Arnold Baker's aerial photographs show buildings and enclosures covering about 20 acres. A late third century double T-shaped corn drying kiln with 9 ft. flues was found within a barn-type building. Across the demolished walls of the building had been built two brick water tanks discharging into a common culvert. Finds from these structures include second and third century pottery, three third century coins, and an iron spearhead, 20 inches long and tentatively identified as a boar hunting spear. A section across one arm of a large enclosure disclosed a robbed precinct wall sealing native-type pottery.

KENCHESTER (SO 438428). Excavations on the western defences of the town have been resumed by the Hereford Archæological Research Group under the direction of Miss M. J. Thomas and Mr. F. G. Heys, who has provided the following account of the season's work.

The foundations of the southern gatehouse at the west gate were uncovered, and proved to be bastion-like in proportions and construction, being more substantial than those of the north gatehouse, excavated in 1956. Part of the semi-circular front had been laid over the edge of the earlier filled-in ditch. The later ditch, with evidence of two re-cuts, and a culvert running through the gateway to it were also uncovered. There is evidence to suggest that the stone gatehouse replaced a timber one that was contemporary with the first build of the town wall. The foundations of the town wall south of the gatehouse cut into a Trajanic hearth.

Work will continue in 1961 when the excavation will be extended to include the road system through the gate and an examination of the south-west corner of the town wall.

Medieval. HENTLAND (SO 543267). Mr. Bridgewater reports that a trial excavation near the church, traditionally the site of an early church of St. Dubricius, has shown the existence of a medieval building. In the same area are several ancient trackways and a simple defensive earthwork.

HEREFORD, CASTLE GREEN. (SO 514396). A report on the Club's excavations which were directed by Mr. F. G. Heys assisted by Mr. J. F. L. Norwood, appears on pp. 343-357.

WALLINGSTONES (SO 503222). Mr. Bridgewater writes that the lower building, possibly the garderobe of a small private castle, has been shown by the Archenfield Group's excavations to antedate the mound. It is of massive construction and forms part only of a larger structure. The upper building was a substantial manor house producing a variety of glazed ridge tiles, good quality bronze objects and part of a decorated ventilation finial. Pottery from the whole site covers the period A.D. 1200—1350 and includes some imported French ware. A rare find is an iron boss of a buckler type of shield.

Post-medieval. GLASSHOUSE FARM, ST. WEONARDS (SO 474230). This glass-making site, considered to have been used by Huguenots or Lorrainers in the late 16th century, has been reexamined by the Archenfield Group. Mr. Bridgewater states that although the furnace has not yet been located a large number of broken refractory crucible pots and glass fragments have been obtained. Chemical analysis of the pots suggests that fireclay from the Stourbridge area was used in their manufacture.

#### COIN FINDS IN 1960

# By J. F. L. NORWOOD, B.A.

The apparently increased number of coin finds in 1960 may be explained by the inclusion in this list of a number of earlier finds only now brought to notice. I am again grateful to those who have allowed me the opportunity of examining their specimens, and to members of the Club who have brought the whereabouts of coins to my attention.

#### Roman

- 1. Silver denarius of Nerva (96-98 A.D.).
  - Obv. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III PP Laureate head right.
  - Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA Libertas standing left holding pileus and sceptre.
  - Roman Imperial Coinage No. 19. Minted 97 A.D.
  - Found at Kenchester and examined for Miss P. Chester, 1 Grinding Tree Cottage, Bodenham.
- 2. Copper as of Trajan (98-117 A.D.).
  - Obv. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM PM Laureate head right.
  - Rev. (FORTVNA AVGVSTI) SC Fortuna standing left holding rudder and cornucopiae.
  - Roman Imperial Coinage No. 440. Minted 101-3 A.D. Found in Kenchester excavations 1960.
- 3. Orichalcum sestertius of Trajan.
  - Obv. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIA) NO AVG GER DAC (P M TR P COS . . . PP). Bust right.
  - Rev. Illegible.
  - Coins reading TRAIANO are placed by Roman Imperial Coinage in Class C of obverse legends, and hence post c. 106 A.D.
  - Found in Kenchester excavations 1960.
- 4. Large bronze of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.).
  - Obv. Illegible. Laureate bust right.
  - Rev. Illegible. SC Female figure standing right.
  - Found at Kenchester and examined for Mr. W. P. Nash, Cranwell, Dinedor.
- 5. Bronze of Gallienus (253-268 A.D.).
  - Obv. ... GAL)LIEN(VS ... Radiate bust right.
  - Rev. Illegible. Pax standing left holding olive branch and sceptre.
  - Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. W. P. Nash.
- Billon antoninianus of Postumus (259–267 A.D.).
   Obv. IMP C POSTVMVS PF AVG Radiate draped bust right.

- Rev. FIDES MILITVM Fides standing left holding two standards.
- Cf. Roman Imperial Coinage No. 59—mint of Lugdunum (Lyons).
- Found in Kenchester excavations 1960.
- 7. Billon antoninianus of Victorinus (265-270 A.D.).
  - Obv. IMP C VICTORINVS PF AVG Radiate draped bust
  - Rev. PIE)TAS AVG Pietas standing left sacrificing at altar and holding box of perfumes.
  - Roman Imperial Coinage No. 57.
  - Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke, Little Home, Kenchester.
- 8. Billon antoninianus of Tetricus I (270-273 A.D.).
  - Obv. 1)MP C TETRICVS(... Radiate draped bust right. Rev. Illegible. Female figure standing right.
  - Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.
- 9. Billon antoninianus of Tetricus I.
  - Obv. IMP C TET)RICVS AVG Radiate bust right.
  - Rev. Illegible. Figure standing left.
  - Found at Kenchester, and given to the Museum by Mr. J. J. Clarke. (Accession No. 7411/1.)
- 10. Billon antoninianus of Tetricus II (270-273 A.D.).
  - Obv. C PIV ESV TETRICVS CAES Radiate draped bust right.

    Rev. PAX AVG Pax standing left, holding olive branch in right hand, sceptre in left.
  - Roman Imperial Coinage No. 248.
  - Found at the Crematorium garden, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mr. W. Hill, 97 Green Street, Hereford. (Accession No. 7250.)
- 11. Bronze of Tetricus II.
  - Obv. TET)RICVS CAES Bare-headed, draped bust right. Rev. Illegible.
  - Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.
- 12. Billon antoninianus of Probus (276-282 A.D.).
  - Obv. IMP C PROBVS PF AVG Radiate cuirassed bust right.

    Rev. ABVNDANTIA AVG Abundantia standing right emptying cornucopiae.
  - Mm. IIII-Lugdunum (Lyons).
  - Roman Imperial Coinage No. 17.
  - Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.
- 13. Billon antoninianus of Diocletian (284-305 A.D.).
  - Obv. IMP CC VAL DIOCLE(TIA)NVS AVG Radiate draped bust right.
  - Rev. CO(NCO)RDIA MILITYM. Emperor standing right holding parazonium or sceptre, receiving Victory from Jupiter standing left holding sceptre.

 $Mm. \frac{\Gamma}{XXI}$ —Cyzicus.

Found at Rock House, Pentelow Brook valley, Mordiford. and examined for Clive Roberts, Rectory Cottage, Mordiford.

14. Billon antoninianus of Carausius (287-293 A.D.).

Obv. INP CARAVSIVS PF A Radiate draped and cuirassed bust to right.

Rev. PAX AVG Pax standing left holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.

Roman Imperial Coinage No. 888.

Found in Kenchester excavations 1960.

Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. IMP C(ARAVSI)VS P AV Radiate draped bust right. Rev. PA)X AVG Pax standing left holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.

Mm.  $\frac{S/C}{2}$ —Camulodunum (Colchester).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown, Church Road, Clehonger.

Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. CARAVSIVS A)VG Helmeted radiate bust left.

Rev. PAX) AVG Pax standing left.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown.

17. Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. IMP C CARAVSIVS P AVG Radiate draped bust right.

Rev. PAX) AVG G G Pax standing left holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.

Mm.  $\frac{3/r}{C}$ —Camulodunum (Colchester).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. IMP C CARAVSIVS AVG Radiate draped bust right.

Rev. PROVID AVG Providentia standing left holding cornucopiae and globe.

Mm.  $\frac{3/C}{C}$ —Camulodunum (Colchester).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG Radiate draped bust right.

Rev. T(V)T(ELA) AVG Tutela standing left by altar, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Mint of Rotomagus (Rouen). Roman Imperial Coinage No. 682.

Found at Kenchester, and given to the Museum by Mr. J. J. Clarke. (Accession No. 7411/4.)

Billon antoninianus of Carausius.

Obv. ...) CARAVSIVS PF AVG Radiate bust right.

Rev. Illegible.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

21. Bronze quinarius of Allectus (293-296 A.D.).

Obv. IMP C ALLECTVS PF AV(G) Radiate cuirassed bust right.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG Galley left.

Mint of either Londinium or Camulodunum.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

Third bronze of Constantius I (as Caesar, 293-305 A.D.).

Obv. ... CONSTANT) IVS NOB CAES Draped bust right. Rev. Illegible. Prince left spearing enemy.

Found at Kenchester, and given to the Museum by Mr. J. J.

Clarke. (Accession No. 7411/3.)

Bronze follis of Constantine I (308-337 A.D.).

Obv. IMP CO(NSTANTINVS AVG Laureate draped bust

Rev. SO(LI IN)VICTO CO(MI)TI Sol standing left.

Mm. PLG—Lugdunum (Lyons).

Found at Kenchester, and given to the Museum by Mr. J. J. Clarke. (Accession No. 7411/2.)

Third bronze of Constantine I.

Obv. CONSTANTINVS AVG Laureate cuirassed bust right holding sceptre.

BEATA TRANXXXQVILLITAS Altar inscribed VOTIS Rev.

Mm. PTR—Treveri (Trèves).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

Third bronze of Constantine I.

Obv. CONSTANTINVS (AVG. Laureate draped bust right with spear.

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS Sun above altar inscribed VOTIS XX

Mm. PTR—Treveri (Trèves).

Found in garden of Lion Hotel, Leintwardine, and examined for Mr. D. Jones, High Street, Leintwardine.

Third bronze of Constantine I.

Obv. CONSTANTINVS PF AVG Laureate draped bust right.

Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol standing left.

T/F Treveri (Trèves).

Found between Credenhill and Kenchester, and examined for F/O G. Greenhough, R.A.F., Hereford.

- Third bronze of Constantine I.
  - Obv. CONSTANTINOPOLIS Helmeted bust of Constantinople to left with spear and shield.

 $\it Rev.$  Victory with spear and shield standing on prow. Minted 330–335 A.D.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown.

28. Bronze quinarius of Helena (mother of Constantine I, d. c. 330 A.D.).

Obv. FL'IVL HELENAE AVG Diademed draped bust right.

Rev. PAX PVBLICA Pax standing left, holding sceptre in left hand and olive branch in right.

Mm. RS and palm leaf.—Rome.

Found near the Cross Keys Inn, Goodrich, and given to the Museum by Martin Davies, Dean Swift Close, Goodrich. (Accession No. 7403.)

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown.

- Fourth bronze of Constans.
   Obv. CONSTANS PF AVG Laureate draped bust right.
   Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers facing standard.
   Minted 337-341 A.D.
   Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown.
- Second bronze of Constantius II (337–361 A.D.).
   Obv. DN CO)NSTANTIVS PF AVG Diademed bust right.
   Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor on horseback spearing enemy.

Mm. CPLG—Lugdunum (Lyons).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. J. J. Clarke.

32. Fourth bronze of ?Constantius II.

Obv. ...) VS AVG Laureate draped bust right.

Rev. GLÓRIA) EXERCITVS Two soldiers facing standard.

Mm. TRSu—Treveri (Trèves).

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown.

33. Bronze of Magnentius (350-353 A.D.).

Obv. DN MAG(NEN)TIVS PF AVG Draped bust right, A behind.

Rev. VICTORIAE DD N(N AVG E)T CAES Two Victories, holding shield inscribed VOT V MVLT X on pillar.
Mm. Illegible.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. W. Cotterell, 1 Ash Avenue, Hereford.

Bronze of Valens (364–378 A.D.).
 Obv. DN VALENS PF AVG Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust right.

Rev. GLORIA ROMANORYM Emperor standing right, left hand holding labarum, right on head of kneeling captive.

Mm. Illegible; star in right of field.

Found in Blackfriars Street, Hereford, and examined for Mr. C. P. Jennings, 1 Highmore Street, Hereford.

Late 4th century bronze, ?Valentinian II (375-392 A.D.).
 Obv. Laureate draped bust right.
 Rev. ? Victory.

Found at Kenchester, and examined for Mr. A. E. Brown. Sundry other illegible Roman coins were found at Kenchester, and one at Leintwardine.

#### MEDIEVAL AND LATER

Silver penny of Stephen (1135-1154).
 Obv. S...FN... Crowned bust right holding sceptre.

Rev. ...IC ... NhE (Edricus on Heref). Cross moline with fleurs.

Brooke, Class I (Watford type). Purchased by the Museum from the Lockett Collection sale (ex Drabble Coll.). (Accession No. 7232.)

Silver penny of Edward I (1272-1307).
 Obv. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB Bust facing.
 Rev. CIVITAS LONDON Three pellets in each quarter.
 Brooke, Class III (1280-81).
 Found in excavations at Wallingstones, Llangarron, and examined for Mr. N. P. Bridgewater, Tre-Evan, Llangarron.

38. Silver penny of Edward I.
Obv. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB Bust facing.
Rev. CIVITAS LONDON Three pellets in each quarter.
Brooke, Class IIIc, minted 1280-81.
Found in the Harewood End—Kings Caple area, and examined for Mr. E. W. Davies, Lyne Down, Much Marcle.

39. Silver penny of Edward III (1327-1377).

Obv. EDWARDVS REX ANGLI Bust facing.

Rev. CIVITAS LONDON Annulet between three pellets in each quarter.

Mm. Square cross.

Brooke, Class C (?1351-52).

Found at 16 Overbury Road, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mrs. L. Parsons of that address. (Accession No. 7407).

40. Silver penny of Edward III.

Obv. EDW(ARDVS) REX ANGLI with annulet stops. Bust facing.

Rev. CIVITAS LON(DON) Annulet between three pellets in each quarter.

Mm. Cross 3.

Brooke, Class G (1356-61). Found at 16 Overbury Road, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mrs. L. Parsons. (Accession No. 7408.)

Silver halfpenny of Richard II (1377-1399).
 Obv. RICARD: REX: ANGL Bust facing.
 Rev. CIVITAS LONDON Three pellets in each quarter.
 Brooke's early type (p. 136).
 Found in Ministry of Works excavations at Blackfriars, 1958, and given by them to the Museum. (Accession No. 7240.)

Silver sixpence of Elizabeth I (1558-1603).
 Obv. ELIZABETH: D: G: ANG: FR: ET: HI: REGINA Bust left with rose behind.
 Rev. POSVI DEV: AD IVTOREM: MEV 1572.
 Found in garden of 28 Stanhope Street, Hereford, and examined for Mr. C. F. Seager of that address.

Silver half-groat of James I (1603-1625).
 Obv. I.D.G.ROSA.SINE.SPINA Crowned rose.
 Rev. TVEATVR.VNITA.DEVS Crowned thistle.
 Third issue, 1619-25.
 Found in the Harewood End—Kings Caple area, and examined for Mr. E. W. Davies, Lyne Down, Much Marcle.

44. Brass jetton, early 14th century. Obv. Crowned head as on contemporary English pence, surrounded with circle of pellets; perforated. Rev. LATV in angles of cross fleury. Found in Ministry of Works excavations at Blackfriars, 1958, and given by them to the Museum. (Accession No. 7240.) Jettons were used in conjunction with chequered boards for accounting purposes, before the introduction of Arabic numerals to Europe in the 15th century.

Brass jetton, probably French, 14th-15th century.
 Obv. NEBOIII repeated three times, surrounding four fleurs-de-lys.

 Rev. Ship with two flags and cross, surrounded by ? same inscription as obverse.
 Found at 16 Overbury Road, Hereford, and given to the Museum by Mrs. L. Parsons. (Accession No. 7406.)

## BOTANY, 1960

# By F. M. KENDRICK

In spite of thunderstorms and rain, which interfered with organised botanical work, 1960 was a fairly successful year although only one new record for the county was made, several interesting plants were discovered, some old records refound and other uncommon plants were recorded in new stations.

The new record for the county was the Cypress spurge (E. cyparissias, L.) which was discovered on the Doward. This plant is considered possibly to be a native of calcaerous grassland or scrub but is more commonly a garden escape or casual. Other interesting finds were as follows:—

RICCIA FLUITANS—The Terrestrial form of this plant was found this year in a pond by the "Butts", Breinton. There are now several records for the floating form, but this is the first record that can be traced for the terrestrial form.

KICKXIA SPURIA (Linaria spuria). This plant was first found at Eye in 1854 but had disappeared completely from this station by the time the Flora of Herefordshire [1899] was written. In 1891 it was found on Wall Hills, Ledbury, and in 1952 near Mordiford. It has proved most elusive and no other records were received until this season when it was reported from three stations in the county. One station was Wall Hills, Ledbury, and it is probable that this was a descendant of the plants reported there in 1891.

CAREX LAEVIGATA (Smooth stalked sedge). This was first recorded by Augustine Ley at Pont-y-spig; formerly a detached part of Herefordshire but now included in the county of Monmouth No records were received for Herefordshire until it was discovered this year during a visit of the Botanical Society to Nash Woods.

ERINUS ALPINUS—A garden escape found some years ago by Dr. Fisher on a bridge over the Arrow. There is no history how it established itself on the bridge and it does not appear on any other bridge. A small amount has been found on Titley Church.

On the 1st October the Club joined forces with the Botanical Society for a fungus foray in Lyonshall Park woods. Unfortunately about a quarter of an hour after the woods had been reached it commenced to rain and this increased in intensity as the afternoon progressed: after about two hours the company retired to the shelter of the 'buses.

The weather had turned cold a week before the foray, therefore the fungi were not so numerous as they had been before the cold spell, nevertheless, 72 different species were found and named.

The more important records received during the year are set out below.

## (a) NOT PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

Euphorbia cyparissias. L. Cypress spurge. 1: Great Doward. 16/55. Mrs. M. P. Watkins.

#### (b) REPORTED IN THE FLORA

#### 1. NEW STATIONS.

Reseda lutea. L. Cut leaved mignonette.

7: Roadside Nunnington. 32/54. L. E. Whitehead.

Viola palustris. L. Marsh violet.

11. Huntington, Kington. 32/25. E. Lloyd.

Kickxia Spuria. (Linaria spuria). Round leaved fluellen.

4: Cornfield, Wall Hills, Ledbury. 32/63. J. Price.

4 : Hayfield, Castle Frome. 32/64. L. E. Whitehead.

4 : Colwall. 32/74. F. M. Day.
Seutellaria minor. L. Lesser shull cap.
11 : Huntington, Kington. 32/25. C. Lloyd.

13: Above Vowchurch. 32/33. K. Johnston.

Senicio vulgaris, var. radiatus. Raved groundsel.

7: Hampton Park, Hereford. 32/54. L. E. Whitehead.

Carex laevigata. Sm. Smooth Stalked sedge.

11 Nash woods. 32/36. W. L. Scott, L. E. Whitehead.

Carex strigosa. Huds. Loose spiked wood sedge.

14: Cusop Dingle. 32/24. W. L. Scott, L. E. Whitehead.

#### OLD RECORDS STILL EXISTING.

Equisetum telmateia. Ehrh. (E. Maximum. L.) Great Horsetail.

14: Cusop Dingle, 32/24. A. Powell.

Sambucus ebulus. L. Danewort-Dwarf elder.

11 11 River Arrow in Titley Station. 22/35. F. M. Day, L. E. Whitehead.

Inula helenium. L. Elecampane,

14 : Cusop Dingle. 32/24. N. Hadfield.

Serratula tinctoria. L. Sawwort.

6: Westhide Wood. 32/54. L. E. Whitehead.

Allium oleraceum. L. Field garlic.

7: Footpath, Belmont. 32/54. L. E. Whitehead.

Ophrys apifera. Huds. Bee orchid.

8: Dinmore. 32/55. Kendrick.

The list of fungi found has not been published but should any member be interested Mr. Kendrick has the list and will be pleased to supply any information required.

N.B.—The numbers preceding the stations are those of the districts in the Flora of Herefordshire: those after the stations are the 1" Ordnance Survey map references.

#### GEOLOGY, 1960

## By F. M. KENDRICK

see 1292 des

Reference has been made on several occasions to the gravels underlying Hereford and in 1866 T. Curley recorded that in Stonebow meadow a deposit of peat occurred overlying the gravels.

This year trenches were cut for the new northern sewer and part of this was across Widemarsh Common and the adjoining meadows near the railway line. The trench across Widemarsh Common disclosed a mixture of earth and gravel which had all the appearance of made ground but on entering the meadow it revealed a different formation. The top foot or so of soil was a fine dark coloured earth and below this lay a layer of peat which averaged up to three feet in thickness. Below the peat was a layer of reddishvellow clay followed by bedded gravels that extended to the bottom of the trench. The gravel appeared to consist of local material from the old red sandstone. I was informed by one of the workmen that the peat-bed and gravels extended to the Whitecross area and that in parts "running sands" were encountered.

The gravels contained abundant water and continuous pumping was necessary both from sump holes and from pipes sunk on each side of the trench at about 6 to 8 feet intervals feeding into a main.

The trench was cut by mechanical excavators so it was not possible to obtain a good section but the photograph on page 393 gives some idea of the exposure. The peat shows as dark areas on the side of the trench but, owing to the slope, gravels had fallen down and obscured it in many places. The peat has the appearance of sedge peat and when dried was used by the workmen for fires.

#### ORNITHOLOGY

By C. W. Walker, M.C., M.D., CH.B.

During 1960 several rare occurrences are worthy of record. An oystercatcher was seen in the flooded Lugg meadows on 31st January by Mr. C. J. Brecknell. I saw a little ring plover by the Lugg near Hereford on 2nd April, and Mr. A. J. Smith saw common ring plovers by the Wye on 28th August. The same observer saw a little stint on the Wye bank at Hereford on 31st August and 19th October. This bird has never before been recorded for Herefordshire. A greater black-backed gull was seen at Thornbury by Dr. D. G. Boddington-a very rare sight in this county. Lesser black-backed gulls were unusually numerous towards the end

¹ Woolhope Club Transactions, 1866, p. 253.

of the year; in December up to between 300 or 400 were counted in the Lugg meadows. On the 20th September a gannet was found in the Arrow near Downfield by Mr. W. Sankey. The bird was liberated in the sea at Aberystwyth a few days later. Four sheld ducks were seen on 19th November at Tidnor.

On 14th December Major C. H. Wickham watched four waxwings feeding on hips on rose bushes in his own garden at Kingsland.

Quail were under observation by Mr. T. R. Ammond in the north of the county during the summer, and it is thought that two pairs bred successfully.

# **Obituary**

# CAPTAIN HUMPHREY ADAM GILBERT, M.B.O.U.

It was with the greatest regret that members of the Woolhope Club learned of the death on 18th February, 1960, at the age of 74 years, and after a long illness, of Captain H. A. Gilbert, for many years an ardent and active member, and president of the Club in 1930 and 1948. His original and many-sided personality made him a notable figure, not only in Herefordshire, but nationally—even internationally—among those devoted to sport, natural history and openair activities. By some he will be remembered as a brilliant cricketer who played for Charterhouse, for Oxford (three seasons), for Worcestershire, Radnorshire, Monmouthshire, the Hereford Gentlemen, and also in the Gentlemen v. Players match in 1909. Others knew him as a brilliant shot and a most experienced and successful salmon-fisherman. His book The Tale of a Wye Fisherman, in 1929, had tremendous success and gives an intimate picture of the Wye as a salmon river. A second edition appeared in 1958.

But it is as an ornithologist that he will be chiefly remembered in the Woolhope Club. In the inter-war period he took charge of this side of the Club's activities, checking the local records and corresponding with those who compile the national records. As a lecturer he was unsurpassed, holding the attention by the forcefulness of his opinions, the range and depth of his knowledge and experience, and by the quiet and humorous eloquence of his style. The same qualities characterise his ornithological writings, of which his books, Secrets of Bird Life, Secrets of the Eagle and other Rare Birds, and Watchings and Wanderings among Birds are the best known. Along with Arthur Brook, the brilliant nature photographer, he made in 1925 the famous "Secrets of the Eagle" film—a pioneering achievement which pointed the way for a whole generation of nature photographers.

His interest in bird migration led him to study the movements of wild duck by ringing them at Orielton decoy in Pembrokeshire, which he reorganised and worked along with Colonel Mackworth-Praed for a number of years. His long and deep knowledge of local bird life formed the basis of the Woolhope Club publication, *Herefordshire Birds*, published in 1941; he again collaborated with the writer when a new and fuller edition was brought out in 1954.

Senior members of the Club will long remember the President's field meeting in 1926 when the Black Mountains were visited under Captain Gilbert's leadership. The nests of dippers, grey wagtails, pied flycatchers, ravens and buzzards were shown; and from the bottom of a sheer cliff club members watched peregrine falcons soaring above them while Captain Gilbert descended the cliff face on a rope to the bird's nesting ledge.

Few in this artificial age have got so near to nature, or loved

this county and its river so well.

We are glad to know that he has realised the wish expressed in *The Tale of a Wye Fisherman*—" Here in these beloved surroundings may I spend my life; and when my call comes and I have to face the Great Architect of the Universe, may I be laid in peace in [Bridge] Sollers Churchyard".

C. W. WALKER.

Perepol Lebrica, Louging 1803 Ridard Kura ly Dears gard

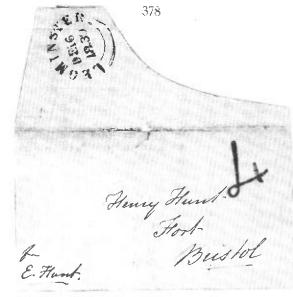
Lady ornewall

Birch, The Abberr

1. Harhins



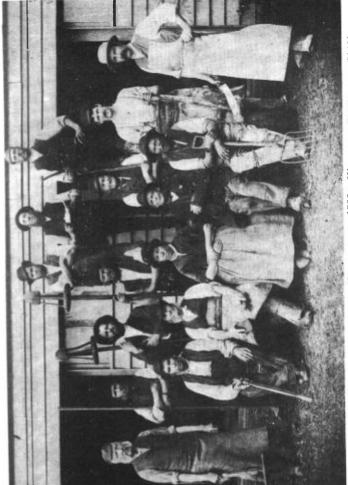
FRANKED AND "PAID" ENVELOPES (see pp. 271-279).





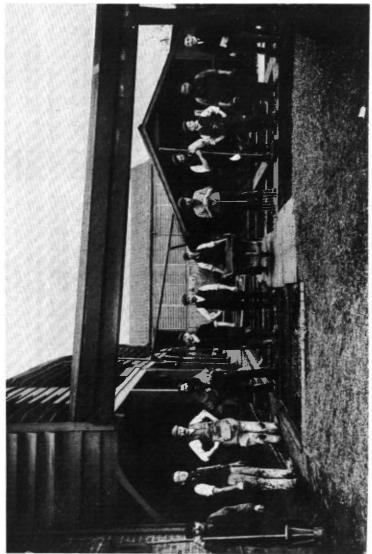


FRANKED, "MULREADY" AND "MISSENT" ENVELOPES (see pp. 271-279).



MESSRS HATTON'S

Row: Thomas Latham, with currier's pin; Richard Latbrush; Mrs. Maile, bark mill feeder; John Maile; Tomhair, etc. (See pp. 323–325).



Thomas Cahill, George Ridley, William Hoare, George Hall, Fred Wood, d. Reginald Williams, Henry Williams, Charles Hatton. is the fourth man how the left The Tanpits, Messrs. Hatton's Tanyard, The Bartons, Hereford, arepsilon. 1906. William Ridley, Ben Thornett, T' Richard Wood, George Ridley,

•120 117••7 •134 •96 05 101 101 145 101 144 LEOMINSTER •137 e122 •54 \$55 •56 ●147 ●61 LEDBURY e24 17eel46 Ancient Monuments of Herefordshire scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts — up to March 1960

(See pp. 329-333),

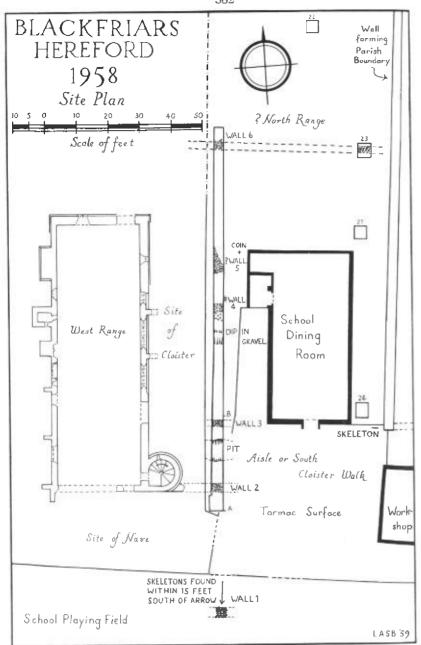


Fig. 1 (see pp. 334-342).

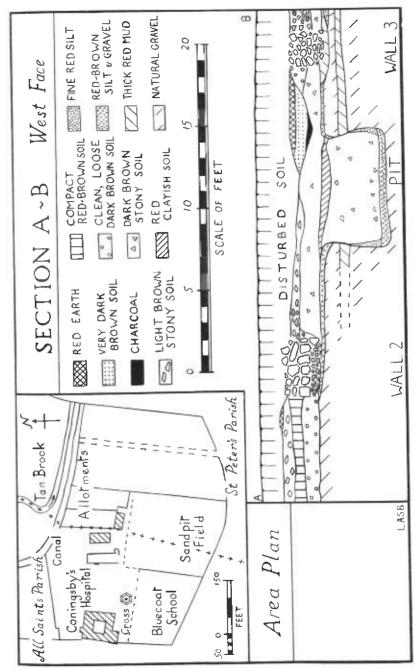
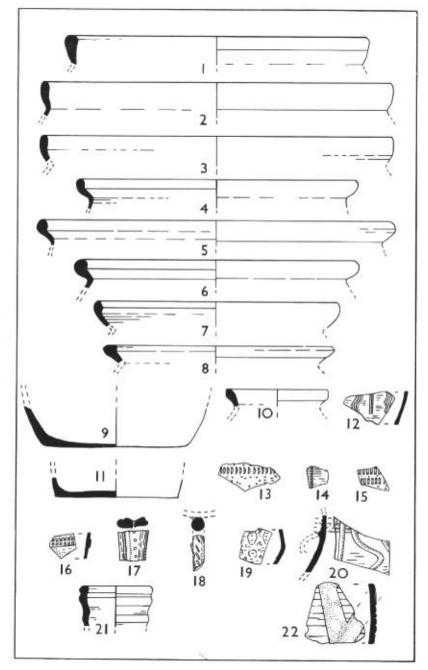


Fig. 2 (see pp. 334-342).



Figs. 3. Blackfriars pottery, etc. (see p. 338.)

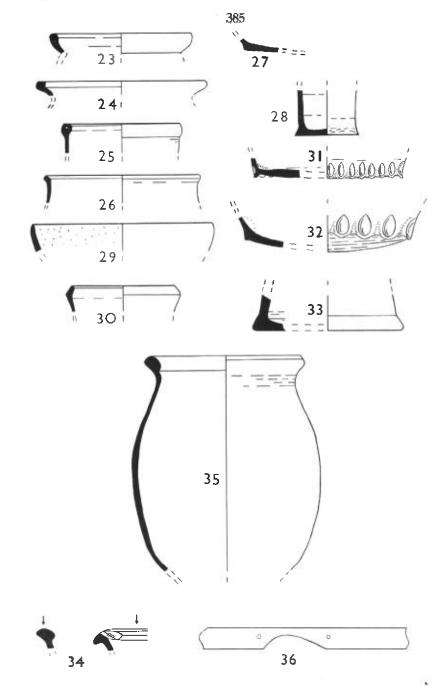


Fig 4. Blackfriars pottery.

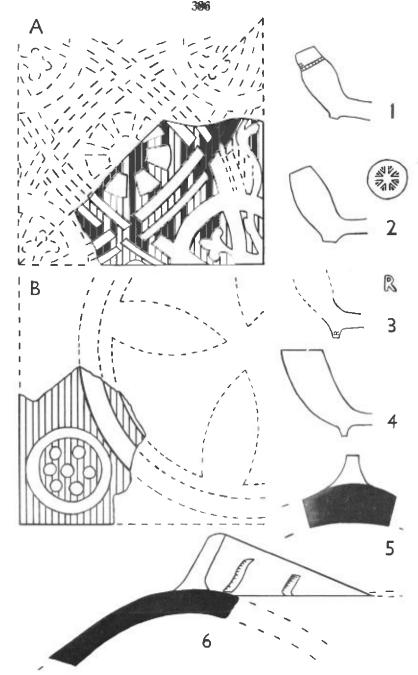
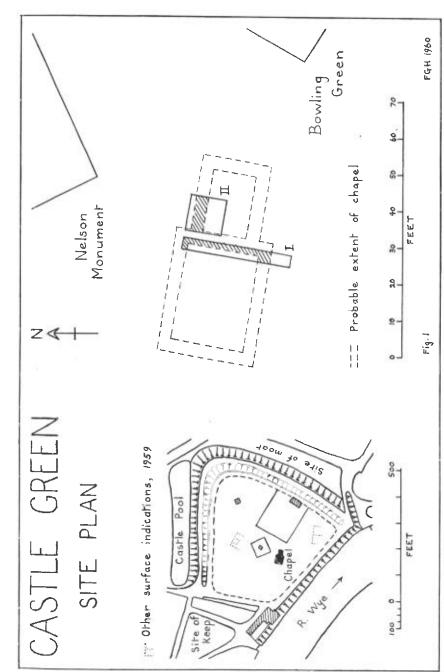
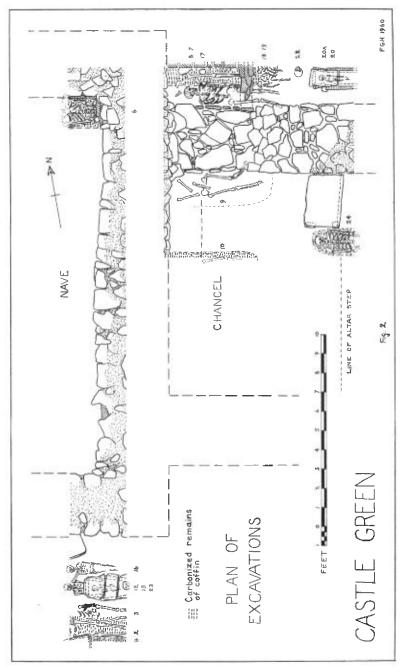


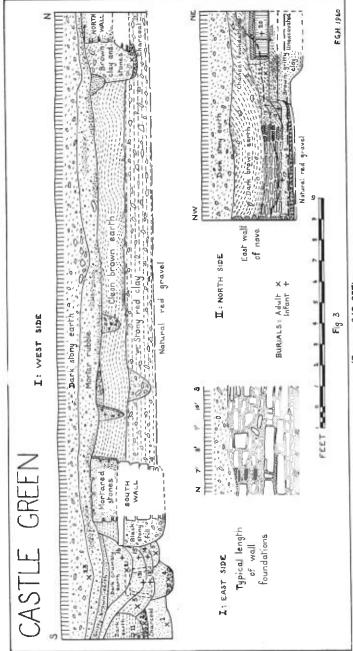
Fig. 5. Blackpriars tiles and pipes (see pp. 341-342).



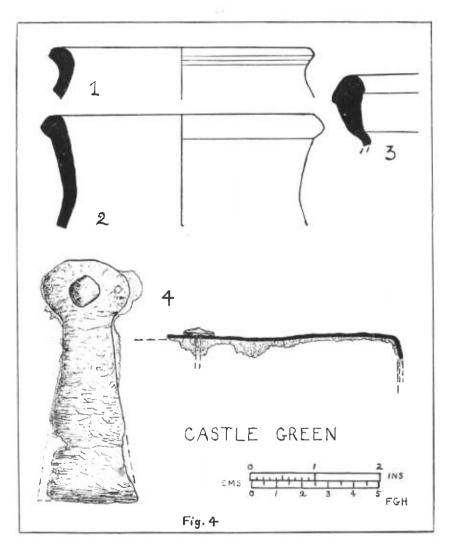
(See pp. 343-357).



(See pp. 343-357)



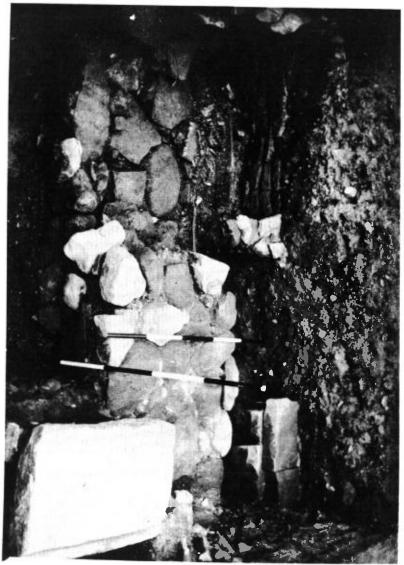
(See pp. 943-357).



(See pp. 343-357).



Plate I. Castle Green: east wall foundations of nave (see pp. 343–357).





Section of trench in Widemarsh Common. The peat is the dark band (see p. 373).

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# Form of Bequest of Legacy

"I give and bequeath to THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB, THE CITY LIBRARY, HEREFORD, the sum of
pounds, for the general purposes of the said Club, for the purposes of archæological excavations, preservation of Herefordshire antiquities and the publication of records relating to the said county. And I direct that the said legacy shall be free from duty, and payable primarily out of my personal estate, and that the receipt of the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary of the Club for the time being be sufficient discharge for the said legacy."
(NOTE.—When a Will has been made already, and it is afterwards desired to benefit the Club, it will be sufficient if the form below is filled up, detached, duly signed and witnessed in like manner as the Will itself, and carefully attached to the existing Will.)
"THIS IS A CODICIL to the last Will and Testament of me
dated
bequeath to THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD
CLUB, THE CITY LIBRARY, HEREFORD, the sum of
to be payable primarily out of my personal Estate and applied for the general purposes of the said Club. In witness whereof
I have hereunto set my hand thisday
of19".
Signed by the said Testator as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament dated
the presence of us both being present at the same time, who in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have here-
unto subscribed our names as witnesses.
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