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HEREFORDSHIRE

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The Grandmontine priory at Craswall, one of only three in England, is the highest monastic site in the country. The site was excavated by C. J. Lilwall in 1904-08 with further work undertaken by Cecil Wright in 1962. Wright drew attention to the unique layout of the site which is of European significance. The Craswall Grandmontine Society was founded in 1983 and conservation work was carried out between 1987 and 1996 as a result of which the Priory was rescheduled.

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Scholars of landscape history have argued that the vestiges of earlier land units comprised of territory under the jurisdiction of an old minster or mother-church are apparent from an analysis of the later Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical administrative structures. This article considers the evidence for six Anglo-Saxon mother-church parishes in eastern Herefordshire.

Pembridge parish church: a survey of masons' banker marks *by Peter Klein*99

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The Lem Knight and South Sea Brine: George Caswall, Alexander Pope, and Herefordshire Politics *by Pat Rogers* 110

George Caswall (1676-1742) is little known nowadays, except to students of economic history as one of the two chief architects of the South Sea Company. A man who got rich quick, he survived impeachment, imprisonment in the Tower of London, and catastrophic financial losses. He might be called one of Herefordshire's unsung villains. This article examines Caswall's role in the South Sea Bubble scandal and Herefordshire politics and explores associations with Alexander Pope's poem, 'Epistle to Bathurst'.

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Proceedings, 2014

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 11 January 2014: Joe Hillaby, president, in the chair.
Kate Andrew of the Earth Heritage Trust (EHT), and a member of the Club, spoke on '1000 years of building with stone'.

Ms Andrew explained the purpose of the EHT—a Lottery funded organisation—created to promote the diverse geology of Hereford and Worcester. One of its more specific aims was to find the quarries used in churches and other traditional buildings, and to establish a data base which would help architects and builders to repair them. It would also provide information for planners, academics and the inquisitive public. Volunteers were being recruited to search out the quarries both on the ground and in documentary sources. For example, Capler quarry had recently been visited where worked stone lay discarded close to the Wye, ready for shipment either up or down the river. Some of this stone was used to build or repair Hereford Cathedral which now used stone from Staffordshire and, as a consequence, did not look quite right.

Particular study areas included the Malvern Hills, where buildings often combined pre-Cambrian rubble stone mixed with limestone from the Cotswolds. The Littletons, near Evesham also used an attractive combination of liatic and oolitic limestone. The grey lias came from shallow quarries, which have been very difficult to locate although Lidar was helpful. Oolite was often burnt in lime kilns for agricultural purposes. An analysis of the use of Old Red Sandstone around Ross has produced some interesting contrasts. Some stone is nearly white or green and is reasonably durable but other quarries produce bright red stone, which is very friable e.g. as seen on the John Venn arch in Commercial Road in Hereford.

In Bromyard the local history society has been very active in identifying Old Red quarries. One on Tower Hill was probably used to provide the stone for the parish church of St Peter and the 18th century cottages near the quarry. Another quarry at Linton, near Bromyard, produced excellent stone in the late 19th century for Manchester Town Hall and was conveniently placed for distribution, near the Bromyard and Worcester Railway. It also produced clay, which eventually eclipsed the stone and was used for hard bricks e.g. the steps used at Kidderminster station. Some places such as Colwall sat at the junction of several different geological periods, so the buildings employ a mixture of stones, which are often rendered to disguise the contrasts. Goodrich Castle is a monument that reflects a diversity of stones; the Norman keep, for instance, is built in a greenish sandstone—close to the white stone, which was often used in high status buildings elsewhere. A narrow band green stone probably existed on the site and has been detected elsewhere in Herefordshire. Significantly, the later castle was constructed in a soft red stone, which is ubiquitous in the area.

Ms Andrew finished by drawing attention to the many events, in the coming year, relating to building stones, throughout the region. A vote of thanks was proposed by Paul Olver.

SECOND MEETING: 1 February 2014: Joe Hillaby, president, in the chair.
Jean O' Donnell MBE, a Club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'Robert Clarke—sculptor and Woolhope antiquarian'.

On a quest to find out about the carvers of the library façade she wrote to Messrs. Clarke

& Co., monumental masons and dealers in church furnishings, who were still trading in Llandaff, to find out what she could about Robert Clarke of Hereford. She was informed that Robert's father, Edward Clarke also a mason, worked for John Pritchard, Diocesan Architect for Llandaff in the late 19th century and was a well-known sculptor having been employed at Ettingham Park and the Oxford museum of Natural Science. His sons, Robert and William, were subsequently employed by Frederick Kempson, Pritchard's partner, who also practised in Herefordshire.

Robert and his brother William both came to Hereford and were used by Kempson to carve the profusion of ornamental stonework on the new library (1872-4) in Broad Street. Previously, the brothers had worked on such notable buildings as the Old College in Aberystwyth. William returned to Llandaff to help his father and Robert settled in Hereford and continued to enjoy the patronage of Kempson, who was a prolific church architect. Jean O'Donnell showed many examples of Clarke's work, much of which were carved in wood, such as the reredos at Ocle Pychard (1886) and All Saints (1885); a full set of furnishings for St Peter's (1885) and best of all, the screen at Ullingswick (1904-5).

Robert had many other talents. He was patronised by the Rev. Francis Havergal, prebendary of the Cathedral and vicar of Upton Bishop, who was author of the *Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (1881) for which Clarke did all the drawings of the notable tombs, together with their heraldry. In 1886 he joined the Woolhope Club and became an all-round antiquary; soon recruited to produce drawings for the *Transactions*, which continued until the advent of photography in the 1890s. Even then, he was a close friend of Alfred Watkins and changed his role to write text for Watkins photographs. His knowledge of church architecture was frequently called upon at field meetings as the club became increasingly interested in ecclesiology. In addition, he produced diagrams of Iron Age hill forts and Roman Kenchester. He became assistant secretary of the Club and was succeeded in this office by his son, W. E. Clarke, an architect who restored the screen at St. Margaret's.

Clarke lived in Elizabeth Place, Portland Street and later at North Villas in Barrs Court Road, close to the Phoenix Works, his studio/showroom in Commercial Road, now on the site of Morrison's car park. Much of his work involved sensitive restoration, at the cathedral, the Old House (1882), St Ethelbert's Well and many other places, where his intervention has gone unnoticed and reflects his Arts and Crafts philosophy. He died in 1915. Rosamund Skelton proposed a vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 1 March 2014: Joe Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Dr Judith Spicksley of the University of York gave an illustrated talk on 'A national treasure? The life and times of Mistress Joyce Jeffries, 1638-48'.

Dr Spicksley praised the Rev. John Webb for his discovery of Joyce Jeffries' account book in the 1850s and subsequently publishing a brief synopsis in *Archaeologia* (1857). It was her Civil War experiences, which made Joyce known to the wider public but otherwise she was seen as a frugal spinster, spending her dreary days pouring over her disbursement. Joyce was rediscovered by Robert Tittler in the 1990s who looked closely at her money lending and estimated that when she died in 1650 she was worth over £5000.

Joyce was born in c.1570 at Ham Castle, Clifton-upon-Teme, but her father died in 1583, so she was brought up in the household of John Coningsby of Neen Sollars, Shropshire and in her teens became a companion of Dame Phillipa, the wife of Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court. By 1623 she was living in Widemarsh Street—possibly at the old Farmers' Club—but later built for herself a substantial house in Widemarsh Street Without, which was

demolished in the Civil War. After some time spent wandering around the countryside, trying to avoid the impact of the War, she then returned to Ham Castle.

Traditionally a spinster's life has been painted as lonely and sad but Joyce lived a full life, surrounded by her servants, her many 'cousins' and a wide network of relatives, who all paid court to her and exchanged expensive gifts. Dr Spicksley pointed out that it was the Georgians who painted spinsterhood in negative terms. Joyce was well-off with an income in the 1630s of something like £680 per annum. As she had spare capital, she became a money lender, which, in this period, was an acceptable activity for a gentlewoman. She was very well disciplined about her lending, choosing her clients carefully and keeping good records.

She was, however, no miser and used her increment for conspicuous expenditure. She was one of the few women in Hereford to own a coach and she dressed her coachman in scarlet livery. This enabled her to be mobile, visiting friends and relations and keeping an eye on her debtors. She bought fashionable clothes from London but also had expensive fabric made up locally. She was conscious of high fashion and had red shoes, made out of Spanish leather. She would spend £12-18 on a gown or coat and had a particular fetish for beaver hats. She would have been a striking figure walking up Widemarsh Street in the 1630s.

Joyce had other pleasures: she smoked tobacco – ostensibly for health, which made it an acceptable habit for 17th-century women. She consumed a lot of sugar but also gave a lot away as gifts. She was conscious of her health and bought books to advise her, including a well-known text by a famous vegetarian. She thought the Herefordshire diet was fattening. She lived to a good old age albeit her sight began to fail and she bought a 'burning glass' to read with. Only in her last year, at 80, did she use a stick to walk with and, having drawn up a long will, she died at Ham in 1650 and is buried among the Coningsbys in Clifton-upon-Teme church. Mr. Whitehead proposed a vote of thanks.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 22 March 2014: Joe Hillaby, the retiring president, installed Jean O'Donnell as president 2014-15 after thanking the officers of the Club for their work during the year.

He gave his address on the foundation and archaeological history of Craswall Priory. His presidential address is printed in full in these *Transactions*.

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 482 ordinary members and 33 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of 2014. A list of members is given at the end of this volume.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 14 May 2014: A visit to Llananno church and Powis Castle and its famous garden, led by Mrs Rosamund Skelton.

It was a fine day and very sunny as we drove up the A483 after coffee and biscuits at the Severn Arms Hotel at Penybont. We then continued our way along the valley to Llananno church on the banks of the River Ithon. Llananno Church has a fine late-medieval rood screen and loft with intricate carving. These include intertwining vines, plants and a two-headed dragon-style creature called an eamphisbana representing Satan trying to devour the vine representing Christ and the Christian church. The alcoves contain large carved figures, some of which have been restored. The church itself was rebuilt in 1876/7 and the screen restored.

Thereafter we continued northwestwards through Newtown to Powis Castle where lunch was taken either outside or in the restaurant. The afternoon was spent wandering through the extensive gardens seeing an 18th-century plunge pool in 'The Wilderness', views out over the valley beyond, as well as the fine terraces and orangery. The interior of the house was also visited with its rich furnishings and historical paintings. Of particular interest were artefacts from the Clive Museum brought back from India, such as Tipu Sultan's painted tent and a gold tiger head finial from his throne. Also displayed was a dress of richly embroidered cloth of gold. Tea was taken prior to departure and a more direct route back to Hereford was taken via Craven Arms and Ludlow.

SECOND MEETING: 12 June 2014: A visit to Caerleon Roman town and Tredegar House and garden, led by the president, Mrs Jean O'Donnell MBE.

On 12 June thirty-five members visited Caerleon. Once within the Roman settlement members stopped for morning coffee and cakes at the Priory Hotel which is adjacent to the medieval walls of the castle. Then it was time to explore the small town.

Established by Frontinus in AD 74/5, *Isca* (Usk) was one of three permanent fortresses in Roman Britain. The fort was home to the Second Augusta Legion of 5,000 men from all over the empire and was intended to subdue the fierce Silures. It was partly demolished and abandoned in AD 296, following which the size of the legion was reduced to c.1000. The site, shaped like a playing-card, covered 50 acres on which the barracks, baths and military sporting amphitheatre required by a large army were provided.

Members visited the baths, which have been imaginatively reconstructed under cover, followed by the small museum which displays many finds from the site. The barrack blocks, a short walk away, gave some idea of the Roman soldiers' lives. The amphitheatre, excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1927, is the finest example in Britain. Many members found it a comfortable spot in the sunshine in which to eat their lunch.

In the afternoon we went to Tredegar House near Newport, managed by the National Trust. This significant late 17th-century house is situated in 90 acres of beautiful gardens and parkland and was home to the Morgan family for 500 years. Club members admired the lavishly furnished rooms, stables and the three formal gardens prior to visiting the craft shops in the old farm buildings. At four o'clock the group enjoyed a friendly tea together before setting off for home after an interesting day.

THIRD MEETING: 12 August 2014: A half-day visit including a walk round Hampton Park suburb, Hereford, meeting the work of the most eminent architects of Victorian Herefordshire, led by Mr David Whitehead.

David Whitehead, the Hon. Secretary, met 26 members of the Club in the rain at St Paul's Church, Tupsley and explained the background to the building of this large suburban church, which remains a chapel of St Andrew's Church at Hampton Bishop. The new church was built in 1864-5 and designed by Frederick Kempson, joint diocesan architect of Llandaff. It was his first major church and, perhaps, one of his best; Mr. Whitehead particularly admired the interior with its polychrome brickwork, which imitated the work of the metropolitan architect, G. E. Street.

As the group assembled at the top of Old Eign Hill to begin their exploration of Hampton Park, the sun came out to greet them. Mr. Whitehead pointed out four examples of Arts and Crafts housing at the cross-roads with Hafod Road, notably Eigne Croft by John Hartree, built

for himself in 1910, which was an essay in the ‘Old Surrey style’ and has some fine reception rooms. Walking south down Vineyard Road, the Hampton Park ‘Estate’ was encountered at St Margaret’s Road. The estate was made possible by the opening of Hampton Park Road in c.1840, thus turning the old road to Gloucester (Old Eign Hill) into a by-way. The land for the new road was provided by James Jay of Litley Court who commissioned Edward Elmslie and George Haddon—of Malvern Station fame—to lay out the house-plots and carry out most of the design work. Building began in Hampton Park Road in c.1850 and continued with St Margaret’s Road into the 1860s. Jay was a major benefactor of St Paul’s Church, which served his new middle class suburb, and expected Elmslie and Haddon to design the new church, but the Bishop of Hereford, Lord Saye and Sele, favoured Kempson.

After strolling down St Margaret’s Road, members made a brief visit to one of Hereford’s best kept secrets, the Eign Quay, opposite the Old Salmon Inn, where, in the 18th and early 19th century, the Wye trows were unloaded when the water in the river was low and the Hereford quays were inaccessible. The high stone wall of the quay is still very evident and, in the low water, the piles of a jetty can be seen. We returned back up the hill, noticing the Whalebone Inn (now the vets’) where the jack-tars slaked their thirst, and admired the Georgian prospect house at The Vineyard. Here Henry Connor popped into his house to find a tiny print, published in the *Polite Repository*, which depicted the house from the river in c.1800. It is possible this was sketched by Humphry Repton who used the opportunities provided by the long journeys he made around England to lay out landscapes, to sketch interesting properties for the popular magazine. Finally Alfred Watkins’s house, The Croft, perhaps designed by Kempson, was also noticed.

Still enjoying the sun we progressed to Glenview on the top of Hafod Road – ‘grand enough...but out of date’ according to the new Pevsner – built in 1885, where we had tea. This was the house built by Charles Anthony II, the proprietor of the *Hereford Times*, for his daughter, Evangeline, a ‘brilliant young English violinist’ who was performing in Bonn in February 1913 when she had appendicitis and died aged 28. More cheerfully, cakes were eaten, the large garden explored and Dr Janet Cooper, vice-president, proposed a vote of thanks.

FOURTH MEETING: 3 September 2014: A visit to Rousham and South Newington, Oxfordshire, led by Dr Janet Cooper.

The main purpose of the meeting was to visit Rousham House and Gardens, both of which were redesigned between 1738 and 1740 by the architect William Kent in an early example of the Romantic style, and which have remained virtually unchanged since.

We stopped for coffee at the market town of Stow-on-the-Wold. It had been hoped that there would be time to have a little look round the town, but delays in setting out meant that there was not time to do more than admire some of the shops in the large market-place.

On arrival at Rousham we went first to the house, to ensure that we did not bring in mud from the garden on our shoes. The house is still in private possession, and very much lived-in. The core of the building is the Jacobean house built for Sir Robert Dormer shortly after he bought the estate in 1635, but only the first-floor Oak Chamber was not remodelled by Kent and retains its original panelling. The original kitchen, transformed into the Painted Parlour, has been described as ‘one of the most exquisite small rooms of the 18th century in England’; it was designed as a showroom for General Dormer’s collection of bronzes. The Great Parlour, one of the rooms added by Kent, was designed as General Dormer’s library but was converted by the wife of his successor, Sir Charles Cottrell, into a gallery for her family portraits.

Kent’s gardens are an early example of the Romantic or Picturesque style which was to be

so important, not least in Herefordshire, later in the 18th century. Kent swept away the straight lines of the existing gardens and substituted winding paths through glades of trees and lawns sloping down to the river Cherwell. In accordance with the views of Alexander Pope, a friend of General Dormer's, Kent provided half-hidden statues, a temple, an arcade, a pyramid and a series of ponds and cascades. He tied the gardens to the surrounding countryside by building a triple-arched eyecatcher on a facing hill, gothicising a mill across the Cherwell, and incorporating into his plan the existing stone bridge over the river. The gardens were always intended to be open to the public, who could enter them from a gate in the wall well away from the house.

Rousham church, entered from the walled gardens of the house, contains two carved late 12th-century capitals in its south arcade, but much of the surviving fabric, apart from the 13th-century tower, is of the 14th century. The kneeling effigies of John Dormer (d. 1581) and his wife were brought from the neighbouring Steeple Barton church in 1851.

From Rousham we drove to South Newington, whose church contains 'some of the most outstanding medieval wall-paintings in the country. 'These are a series of paintings on the north wall of the north aisle, executed c.1330 in oils on plaster, a most unusual method for a country church. The style is related to miniature painting. The largest painting, opposite the south door, is of the martyrdom of Thomas Becket; although the murdering knights have lost their heads, the saint's head is still clearly visible, a sword slicing through it. Beside Becket is the remains of a painting depicting the execution in 1322 of Thomas earl of Lancaster, a leader of the baronial opposition to Edward II who was considered a martyr by his supporters. The juxtaposition of the two scenes is unique, and clearly intended to bolster the earl's reputation as a martyr. Further east in the same aisle, and in the same style, are paintings of the Virgin and Child, St James the Great and St Margaret, with donors whose arms identify them as members of manorial families in the parish. In the nave is a series of 15th-century Passion scenes, inferior in style and technique to the earlier paintings, but still worth seeing.

The last stop was for tea and scones in another market town, Chipping Norton.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 27 September 2014: Mrs Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.

Dr. Keith Ray FSA, a club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'The Neolithic in Herefordshire'.

Dr Keith Ray came to Herefordshire as County Archaeologist and head of the newly created Archaeology Department in 1968, at which time there was a lack of appreciation, outside the county, of Herefordshire's potential valuable contribution to archaeology. Dr Ray's talk showed how this view has altered over the years. He explained that the Neolithic Era is divided into four periods each with characteristic features. These were described briefly for each period (given

below in italics) and were followed by a discussion of significant finds and features in Herefordshire. A map showing the location of finds is published in Robin Jackson & Keith Ray,

'Place, presencing and pits in the Neolithic of the Severn-Wye region' in J. Thomas & H. Anderson-Whymark (2011) (eds), *Regional Perspectives on Neolithic Pit Deposition: Beyond the Mundane*.

(1) 4000-3650 BC *Initial Stage - characterised by finds of early pits, hall-houses, early chambers, pottery and stone axes. Tombs were not mentioned, food was mixed grain with wild resources, with domesticated meat like cattle.*

Neolithic leaf-shaped arrowheads of quartz were recognised in Scotland. In Herefordshire local finds of the early third millennium include a fragment of a Langdale axehead from Cumbria found in 1982 on Huntsham Hill near Symonds Yat. Another axehead was found in Tedstone Delamere and a leaf-shaped arrowhead was found on the keep at Bredwardine Castle.

In 3800-3700 BC the Dorstone Hill Halls were created including a primary burial chamber, while the Wellington and Peterchurch Pits have been dated to 3700-3400 BC. Before excavation English Heritage considered that the slight mounds on Dorstone Hill were part of a hill top enclosure even though the mounds were sited slightly below the top of the hill. In the 2013 excavations evidence for paired posts along a 25m. length of wall were found, dating from 3850 BC, indicating that this was a central aisled hall-lodge. The posts were sticking up through the destruction debris, with bays along the structure. The burnt daub of the structure was made from cattle dung as the clay fraction of the daub was small. These buildings would not burn down easily, so combustible material had to be brought in to help set them on fire. The upright posts were charred, and with debris shovelled over them afterwards, the posts rotted away internally. There was evidence for the structure of the roof from 'elbows' of wood comprising part of a wall plate with a mortice hole. The 'elbows' were arrayed around the end of the building. The buildings were communal and possibly not in use all the time.

In 2014 the final most westerly mound was excavated, confirming that beneath each of the three mounds there were three buildings. Beneath the last mound very wide post holes were found, and when the building was burnt down the remains were encased by stone walls. The primary burial chamber associated with the buildings was oval in form and the posts were pulled out leaving a trough which was lined with stone and provided with a coffin lid.

(2) 3650-3250 BC *Early Stage was associated with enclosures, developed tombs and pits etc.*

In 2006 AD a hill top enclosure in Hill Croft Field at Bodenham was sampled for carbon dating, producing a date of 3550 BC, with reuse of the site 1050 years later. A flint blade was found and three pottery sherds.

(3) 3250-2900 BC *Middle Stage had circular ditched sites, cursus monuments, Peterborough Ware traditions. Lipids became identifiable in pots. People could be identified as growing up in one place and dying in another through analysis of their teeth enamel.*

Throughout the Neolithic, pits were a function of practices. In 2006 AD at Wellington Quarry pit deposits marked Neolithic activity with exciting finds: blades with serrated edges, Langdale polished axes, five Norfolk flint axes, and pottery in five pits.

(4) 2900-2400 BC *Later Stage is identified by massive enclosures, henges and grooved wares.*

The Gas Pipe Line constructed through the Golden Valley in 2006 AD revealed finds of the second millennium. Stapleton near Presteigne has a circular mound with a bank outside the ditch, usually a feature of a henge, and there is a similar ring-ditch 75m. in diameter in Clifford Parish. Walton Basin north of New Radnor has two of the longest cursuses in the country.

Excavations related to the New Road at Rotherwas revealed an early Bronze Age house, two sherds of pottery and Orkney Grooved Ware. A Romano-British ditch was found near stones laid to make a surface 400m long which was dated to 2210-2090 BC.

Rosamund Skelton proposed a vote of thanks.

SECOND MEETING: 11 October 2014: The F. C. Morgan Lecture was held in the Council chamber of the Town Hall: Mrs Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.

Dr John Davis gave an illustrated address on 'What is new in the Old Red Sandstone?' – some new ideas from the Brecon Old Red Sandstone Symposium'.

Dr Davies began by commenting that the Fforest Fawr Geopark in the Brecon Beacons had successfully stimulated research into the Old Red Sandstone, building on the pioneer work of Prof. John Allen in Pembrokeshire, Ross-on-Wye and the Clee Hills. He hoped that the recent Symposium in Brecon attended by many Woolhope Club members would encourage a whole new cadre of young researchers to explore this most challenging rock succession. Within Herefordshire, which was part of the Anglo-Welsh Basin, the dipping strata encourage the study of sections in river valleys and then by contouring a more detailed map can be drawn up. The ill-defined terminology within the rock formations, the lack of easily identified fossil faunas and floras, and the gradual Siluro-Devonian transition from marine to fluvial conditions provided many challenges. Correlation between successions in Newfoundland on the Gaspé Peninsula, East Greenland & Svalbard, and our own south-west Ireland (Dingle) and Orkney-Caithness Basins was already ongoing but further work was needed especially in the Welsh Borders.

New faunas and floras, together with accompanying trace fossils, were now being identified in the Old Red Sandstone fossil record and recent borehole data in Southern England was providing information on the hidden outcrop beneath much of the British Isles. In stratigraphic terms, the identification of the Townsend Tuff as a product of a widespread volcanic eruption (418 million years ago) has allowed the correlation of largely unfossiliferous successions from Pembrokeshire through to the Clee Hills. Just above this important horizon is the prominent calcrete layer, the Bishop's Frome Limestone, representing a major hiatus in sedimentation. Unfortunately, this locally-named horizon is soon to be designated as the Chapel Point Calcrete after a locality in Pembrokeshire.

The succeeding St Maughan's Formation has provided building stone for both Brecon and Hay-on-Wye and can be seen best in the distinctive Hay Bluff Quarry. At its top, the Fynnon Limestone, originally thought to be another calcrete, may be a lacustrine river channel deposit with pebbles cemented by redeposited lime. The Senni Beds continue the succession, well seen in the Brecon Beacons and the Black Mountains, and famous for their early plant remains. These beds represent the first 'greening' of a terrestrial landscape with primitive plants growing close to the meandering water courses.

The Lower Devonian succession is capped by the Brownstones on which Dr Davies had focussed much of his recent research. Largely ignored in the Anglo-Welsh Basin, the outcrops show a 'coarsening upwards' sequence with bands of conglomerate as seen in the river cliffs at Ross-on-Wye below the Royal Hotel. These suggest a rapid uplift along major faults around 410 – 380 Ma in the Welsh Massif as part of the late Caledonian Acadian orogeny. Regional soft-sediment deformation within the succession confirms this tectonic activity.

The Middle Devonian is absent in Herefordshire due to an extensive period of erosion and uplift. The succeeding Upper Devonian, represented by the distinctive Quartz Conglomerate, cuts across and oversteps the Brownstones in Monmouthshire. It is a thin veneer of sediment locally preserved in areas skirting the South Wales Coalfield and into the Forest of Dean and the Clee Hills of Shropshire.

North and east of the South Wales coalfield, the Upper Devonian is represented by the Plateau Beds. They form the summit strata of Pen-y-Fan, the highest point in the Brecon Beacons. Laid down in a meandering river system flowing south, their uppermost units display a stronger marine influence with both lingulid and spiriferid brachiopods being recorded. These marine strata are overlain unconformably by the fluvialite Grey Grits which are lateral equivalents of the familiar Quartz Conglomerate succession of south Herefordshire.

The Old Red Sandstone and the succeeding Carboniferous strata were all involved in the various stages of the end-Carboniferous Variscan Orogeny. The severe folding in the Mendips close to the orogenic front has produced periclines with Brownstones at their core whereas Herefordshire's succession is dominated by gently-dipping strata cut by a series of major river valleys.

Dr Davies concluded his well-illustrated talk by appealing to all those interested in the Old Red Sandstone to join him and his colleagues in the 'Friends of the ORS' research group to take our knowledge forward on this most enigmatic of local formations.

Paul Olver proposed a vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 8 November 2014: Mrs Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.

Mr. Michael Eastham gave an illustrated talk on 'Monument conservation: Blanche Mortimer and other remarkable monuments'.



Between December 2012 and January 2014 Michael Eastham undertook a complex conservation project at Much Marcle parish church, restoring and stabilising the monument of Blanche Grandison nee Mortimer (d.1347). Assisted by the county archaeologists he dismantled the tomb, which was falling forward, excavated its base and began to reconstruct firmer foundations. This was fairly routine work for Mr. Eastham who is a well respected conservator, but the nature of the project changed when he discovered the body of Blanche, enclosed in a lead shroud. Usually, tomb chests are empty as the body is usually buried beneath the floor of the church. The shroud measured 1635mm – so Blanche was just over five feet tall.

The appearance of Blanche caused major complications and required a news blackout, to ensure maximum security, for over a year. After much consultation it was agreed that Blanche should be returned to her cavity. A new shelf was constructed and a specially designed marine-grade stainless steel frame was provided to give the monument extra stability.

Figure 1. Blanche Mortimer's beautiful effigy, taken when the tomb was dismantled. Photo Brian Gittos

Bodies sealed in lead wrappers are rare and the closest parallel is to be found in the 'St Bee's Man', buried at St Bee's Priory in Cumbria – along with his sister, Lady Maud de Lucy – where the shape of the shroud is remarkably similar to that at Much Marcle. Sally Badham has suggested in the *Newsletter of the Church Monuments Society* 29/2 (Spring, 2014), p. 19 that Blanche may have died a long way from Much Marcle and was placed in her lead sheath to transport her body to her chosen resting place. Mr Eastham, noticing that a trickle of dust was falling from a damaged corner of the shroud, added a new lead patch.

Mr Eastham explained in detail, using a number of examples, the nature and extent of his work as a conservator but acknowledged that Much Marcle was the first project he had encountered where he was asked to act as an undertaker. Figure 1 shows the restored monument.

Mr Hillaby proposed a vote of thanks.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 22 November 2014, Mrs Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair. David Lovelace, a member of the Club, gave an illustrated talk on 'Veteran Trees in Herefordshire: their measurement, science and landscape history'.

David began by noting that within Europe the United Kingdom has the highest concentration of trees in the senescent phase, generally referred to as 'veteran' or 'ancient' trees. Within the United Kingdom, Herefordshire is especially well endowed with such trees. Archival references to ancient trees include an Inquisition Post Mortem from 1353 referring to Fownhope Park as having 'no underwood because of the big trees'. The Deerfold forest Swainmote Court Rolls from the 1570s typically refer to its trees as 'stubs', 'shells' and 'burr trees'. This indicates a long history of 'pollarding' whereby grazing animals, unable to reach above a certain 'browse height', allow branch regeneration. This 'wood pasture' system was common as shown on a beautiful map, dating from 1577, of Bringewood Chase (now part of Mortimer Forest). This depicts deer amongst tree pollards. A land agent's survey of trees on the Bidney estate (on the Pembridge/Dilwyn border), dated 1754, showed how important hedgerow and field trees were in the 18th-century farmed landscape of Herefordshire (Plate 1.1). David went on to discuss a number of photographs of veteran trees from around the county including some wonderful lime pollards from Tedstone Delamere (Plate 1.2) and an ancient oak pollard growing at Moor Abbey Farm (Plate 1.3). Small-leaved lime trees are 'ancient woodland indicators' and were often coppiced resulting in some enormous coppice stools that are well over a thousand years old. A huge 'linear' lime coppice stool near Arthur's Stone, Dorstone, may predate it (Plate 1.4).

David explained that as trees age they become important habitats hosting a wide variety of fungi, invertebrates, birds and bats. Indeed many insects are specialist 'dead wood' feeders so remnants of wood pasture systems, such as Moccas Park, are extraordinarily rich ecosystems because of their veteran trees. The large numbers of veteran trees all over the county contribute, even when dead, to Herefordshire's distinctive landscape and biodiversity.

Notable trees begin to be shown on maps in the 19th century. David showed examples of some from the c.1840 tithe maps and 25inch Ordnance Survey maps from the 1880s. When these historic maps are digitised and geo-referenced to the modern grid, individual trees can be accurately identified in the field. For example, an ancient yew tree on the Garway/Kentchurch parish boundary, depicted on the Garway tithe map, can be identified as the old yew pollard in Kentchurch Park with a girth of 7.6 metres (Plates 1.5 and 1.6). Combining geo-referenced historic maps and aerial photos from various years in a Geographic Information System (GIS) allows the reconstruction of landscape history over time. Examples given showed how accurate the first edition 25 inch to the mile maps were in the placement of individual trees which coincide

almost exactly with the same trees on aerial photographs (Plate 1.7). Methodical use of these sources demonstrates how the county's population of ancient trees have fared through the 19th and 20th centuries. It is typical to find striking similarities between the 1946 RAF aerial photographic surveys and the c.1880 25 inch maps. A dramatic example of loss of ancient trees since WWII was demonstrated for part of Stoke Edith estate, where a population of parkland trees had disappeared to create open farmland (Plate 1.8).

Another engine of destruction was forestry. A dramatic example was shown from the Croft Estate where the Forestry Commission had ring-barked all the ancient oaks and chestnut trees in its leasehold to favour conifer plantations. On a more optimistic note, David showed how GIS map sequences are being used by the National Trust in a project to restore the Croft landscape now that a swathe of conifers has been felled. Pinpointing the precise location of trees mapped in the 1880s is informing the planting of new parkland trees.

Estimating the age of veteran trees is currently rather subjective. David explained an experiment he started some two years ago to improve precision by using a spring-loaded permanent steel tape which enables measurement of changes in girth to sub-millimetre accuracy. A tape girded around an 8.5 metre-girth veteran oak has already provided an accurate measurement of the rate of girth increment in real time for this period. The growth rates of oaks in Herefordshire in their early years are fairly well known from ring counts of felled or windblown oak, being in the 20-25mm per year. Mathematical modelling drawing on that information and the new real time measurement can produce a more credible age estimate. Readings over two years from the spring-loaded tape mounted around an 8-metre girth oak (Plates 1.9 – Plates 1.12) gave a growth rate of 12.5mm a year. The graph (Plate 1.13) shows the linear extrapolation giving a calculated age of 678 years. Due to higher growth rates in the pre-senescent phase, this will be an overestimate. Using girth as a proxy for tree age raises is problematic as the way a tree has grown over its life depends on many factors, including soil, local climate, amount of light, management, shape—whether tall or squat—and the area of living crown. For oaks in their pre-senescent phase, up to about 300 years, this is evident from ring counts and girth measurements of fallen trees. Assuming that a veteran oak had a 'typical' growth pattern for the first few 100 years of its life, measuring its current growth rate and crown area allows one to assess data points onto a non-linear mathematical model of tree growth to arrive an improved estimate of age. This remains work in progress, perhaps the subject a possible future publication. The age of this oak measured at Moor Abbey farm is more likely to be in the range 450 to 550 years.

This is the first experiment of its kind in the country and David discussed his plans for further refinement of the method including plans to automate the set up. Progress can be followed online at www.r5r.eu/vt.html.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

Editorial Message

This is the first issue of the *Transactions* produced under my editorship. I assumed responsibility for the task on 1 November 2014 from Rosalind Lowe who served as editor for almost a decade—since June 2005—having taken on the baton from Jim Tonkin. On behalf of the Club I would like to thank Rosalind for all her hard work. The continuing success of the *Transactions* is due in no small measure to her effort and drive for innovation and improvement. In bringing this edition to press I have benefited enormously from her guidance, expertise and patience. I am very grateful to her.

By way of introduction, I was awarded my PhD in Social History from the University of Warwick in 2004. My specialist area of research is the social and cultural history of medicine in Britain since 1750. I have authored one monograph, *English spas and the water cure: 1840-1960* (Manchester University Press, 2015) and have contributed articles and chapters to various publications. I am on the editorial advisory board of *History West Midlands* and teach European history 1400-1989 with the Open University. While I bring some relevant skills and experience to the role of editor I appreciate that I have limited expertise in many areas covered by the *Transactions* and have a lot to learn.

I would like to record my sincere appreciation to the members of the Publications Committee for their sound advice, encouragement and support during my first months in this new role. The *Transactions* provide a fascinating mix of items ranging from original research papers to a record of Club meetings and field trips. I would like to thank everyone—authors, recorders and members of the committee—who have contributed to this volume. Any shortcomings remain my responsibility.

The future success of the *Transactions* will depend on the continuing commitment of Club members as well as those contributing research papers. The editor works closely with the Publications Committee and it is this body which assesses any papers submitted for consideration for publication. The membership of the committee is published elsewhere in these *Transactions*. All correspondence should be directed through the editor at woolhopeeditor@gmail.com. Guidance notes for contributors are available from the editor and on the Club website. I look forward to having the opportunity to work with many of you in the future.

Jane Adams

WOOLHOPE NATURALIST'S FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT			
2013	for the year ended 31st December		2014
RECEIPTS			
20	Interest on investments	Subs Reserve	20
3		GW Smith Reserve	3
3907		Charity Bond	2656
438		National Savings	441
3		Worcs C.C	4
33		War Stock	33
	4404		3157
7284	General Subscriptions		7099
183	Sale of Transactions and other books		259
30	Donations		
987	Gift Aid Tax Reclaim (Net)		985
50	Sundries		52
779	Archaeological Research	Net Surplus	413
	Geology Section	Net Surplus	369
223	Field Meetings	Net Surplus	28
	9536		810
	<u>13940</u>		<u>12362</u>
PAYMENTS			
54	Insurance		27
5343	Stationery, Printing & Binding		4875
100	Meeting Expenses		378
1550	Postage & Telephone		1551
253	Subscriptions & Donations		245
82	Materials		136
200	Honoraria		200
	Digital projector and software		442
98	Website		
2000	Grants for publications (GW Smith Fund)		2350
153	Miscellaneous		38
259	Geology Section	Net Deficit	
	10092		10242
Surplus	<u>3848</u>	Surplus	<u>2120</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER			
2013			2014
ASSETS			
	1040	Herefordshire County Loan	1040
	58846	National Savings Investments	59288
	118047	United Trust Bank Charity Bond	85047
		Bank of Cyprus UK Charity Bond	33000
	773	Bank accounts:	
	1435	General	414
	5904	Subscriptions	2334
	40931	GW Smith Account	1213
	5000	Subscriptions Reserve	40952
	35	GW Smith Reserve	10000
	3740	Natural History Section	35
	1409	Archaeological Research Section	4152
	1905	Field Meetings	1437
	61132	Geology Section	2273
			62810
	<u>239065</u>		<u>241185</u>
Note that the following assets of fluctuation or indeterminate value are not included in this balance sheet: £933 3.5% War Loan current value approximately £932 The contents of the library and stock of publications Photographic and computer equipment etc.			
CAPITAL			
		General Funds	
	235217	Balance brought forward	239065
	3848	Add surplus in year	2120
	239065	Deduct deficit in year	241185
	239065		241185
	<u>239065</u>		<u>241185</u>

Biographical Details of Contributors

Biographical details of John Eisel (2005) and Peter Klein (2012) have appeared in previous issues of the Club's *Transactions* as indicated.

Joe Hillaby has been a member of the Central Committee since 1963 and has served as President 1969, 1986, 2003 and 2014. Local publications include *Bromyard: A Local History* (1970), joint editor with E. Pearson; *Ledbury: A Medieval Borough* (3rd ed. 2005); *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (2000), Chapter 33; *St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury. Volume I: c. 1230-1547* (2003); and, with his wife Caroline, *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough c. 660-1539* (2006). In 1989 he succeeded Dick Vowles as Chairman of the Craswall Grandmontine Society. On retirement from Bristol University 1993 he was elected Honorary Research Fellow. He served as Chairman, Worcestershire Archaeological Society 2000-03. The wealth of evidence relating to the medieval Jewries of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol led to a wider interest in England's medieval Jewries. Joe served as President, Jewish Historical Society of England 2006-8. With Caroline he produced the *Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History* (2013), celebrating the 120th anniversary of JHSE. This includes entries for 46 communities, 36 biographical entries and some 100 general entries.

Pat Rogers is Distinguished University Professor and DeBartolo Chair in the Liberal Arts at the University of South Florida, having previously held posts at Cambridge, London, Wales and Bristol. He has published chiefly on the eighteenth century, including several books on Alexander Pope, as well as the first life of Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court (2011; 2013). Pat has had a home in Somerset since 1976, and has been a regular visitor to Herefordshire whenever possible since a honeymoon trip in 1969.

Sheila Waddington commenced post-graduate studies in 2006 at the University of Birmingham, as one of the first entrants to a newly-established MA in West Midlands History. Following on her distinction-level dissertation into eleventh-century Herefordshire, for which she received the Rodney Hilton Post Graduate Prize in Medieval History, she went on to undertake doctoral research into the origins of Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire. She was awarded her PhD in 2013. In addition to her interest in local historical studies in general, and the medieval period in particular, she has practiced as a solicitor for some thirty years. She divides her time between her family home in Birmingham and her cottage in Goodrich, and continues to pursue research into the early medieval organisation of the diocese of Hereford.

Presidential Address, 2014

Craswall Priory and the de Lacy family: foundation and archaeological history

By JOE HILLABY

A

t some 1,240ft the Grandmontine priory at Craswall is by far the highest, and most austere, monastic site in England. Of the three English Grandmontine foundations, the others being Grosmont in Eskdale and Alberbury in Shropshire, it is the only one where the Grandmontine plan can be examined with confidence. The priory site was excavated by C. J. Lilwall, 1904-8, and in much greater detail in 1962 by Cecil Wright, who drew attention to the fact that the 'south chapel' was a church, as confirmed by its architectural details and the position of the slype. No other example of this arrangement is known amongst the daughter houses of Grandmont in France, England or Navarre. The plan of Craswall Priory is therefore of European significance. In 1983, due to the efforts of Carole Hutchison and Kate Douglas, the Craswall Grandmontine Society was founded and, with the assistance of English Heritage, a programme of conservation of the priory was undertaken between 1987 and 1996, as a result of which the Priory was rescheduled in the latter year. This archaeological history is placed in its Grandmontine context, as provided by French sources.

1. THE TWELFTH-CENTURY MOVEMENT FOR MONASTIC REFORM

The highly individual character of Craswall as a Grandmontine priory must, to be fully appreciated, be placed in the wider context of the 12th-century movement for monastic reform. This found its most trenchant expression in St Bernard of Clairvaux's criticism of the Cluniac and Benedictine orders in his *Apologia* of c.1124, an open attack on the splendours of Cluny. 'Tell me o ye professors of poverty, what does gold do in a holy place? To speak plainly, is it not avarice, the worship of idols...from which you expect worldly benefit, not spiritual fruit?...By the sight of worldly and costly vanities men are prompted to give rather than to pray.'¹

For C. H. Lawrence 'the common theme that runs through the new experiments in monastic life...was a quest for disengagement, solitude, poverty and simplicity'.² 'Disengagement and solitude' were exemplified by life at the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace in North Yorkshire (Fig. 1). Thrice daily the monk pulled down his cowl before leaving his cell to walk across the court to the priory church for the communal services of High Mass at 7am, Vespers at 3pm and Matins after 11pm. The other offices he recited privately in his cell. On Sundays and major festivals Mass was celebrated communally in the priory church.³ However, recent research shows that, though they lived as hermits, they had 'a very good quality of accommodation and life' and drank 'up to eight pints of beer a day'.⁴

For 'poverty and simplicity' of life, we have to look to the *bonshommes* of the French Grandmontine order, the most austere of the new monastic orders. Whilst the Cistercians sought sites far from the habitation of man, they chose areas of high fertility, as at Dore. There they built churches of great beauty, in lush river meadows. At Dore they were responsible for 'one of the greatest architectural achievements of the age', the first polygonal chapter-house where the great stone vault was carried on a single slender shaft.⁵ Although the White Monks had abjured the use of gold and silver to decorate their abbeys, by the death of Aaron of Lincoln in 1186 ten

Cistercian abbots owed him £4,267.⁶ In 1291 expenditure on buildings and land left the Cistercians of Fountains with debts totalling £6,373.⁷ The Augustinian priory of Llanthony stands at some 700ft; the Premonstratensian priory at Shap at 800ft. By contrast Grandmontine Craswall, overlooked by the 2,100ft ridge of the Black Mountains, was at some 1,240ft the highest of all English monastic sites and, as the Ordnance Survey maps reveal, by far the most remote. Grandmont itself stood at over 2,000ft.



Figure 1. Mount Grace Carthusian Priory, North Yorkshire: cell no. 5 of 15 with gardens around cloister garth

Craswall was one of but two Grandmontine foundations in England. Of Grosmont priory, in Eskdale, some 8 miles from Whitby, no vestiges remain above ground. Alberbury Priory in Shropshire was built for the Arrouaisian canons of Lilleshall, and thus has an Augustinian ground plan and architecture.⁸ In England, therefore, Craswall alone has the archaeological evidence to provide a clear picture of the lifestyle of the Grandmontine order.

As early as 1926, however, Alfred Clapham informed the Society of Antiquaries that ‘the general state of the ruins is deplorable; the walls, built of the local shale, are everywhere dislocated by trees and creepers’, and that only because ‘most of the building was buried many feet deep in fallen rubbish and earth’ was so much preserved.⁹ Two years later, it was scheduled as an Ancient Monument. This was amended in 1974 when the county of Hereford and Worcester was created, and revised in 1996, after the comprehensive restoration of the priory ruins by the Craswall Grandmontine Society in 1993. The 1996 Schedule emphasised that ‘Craswall is extremely significant’ and, ‘despite being in a ruinous state, is unique in retaining a rich variety of information about this rare class of monument, illustrating the austere way of life adopted by

this group of hermits'. In addition its remarkable elevation provides 'a unique insight into one unusual aspect of medieval monasticism'.¹⁰ This raises important questions about the economy of the house, yet to be fully answered.

The son of the viscount of Thiers, the founder of the order, renounced his inheritance. Aged 30 and inspired by some Calabrian hermits, St Stephen sought solitude in the 'desert' at Muret, near Limoges, c.1078. The austerity of his life attracted disciples, who built a communal oratory but retained separate cells. After Stephen's death in 1124 the Benedictines claimed the site at Muret and the community, led by his successor Peter of Limoges, moved some 3 miles away to Grandmont in mountainous La Marche, where it flourished.¹¹

As a result of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, Henry II's interest in the Grandmontine order was intense. 'Of the 140 houses founded in France in the twelfth century, two-thirds were situated in [his] dominions'. Of these 22 were in the diocese of Limoges, and 19 in that of Poitiers. To Grandmont itself Henry left £2,000 in his will.¹² His son, King John, rested at Grandmont on 1 and 2 April during his 1214 Poitevin expedition, of which Walter II de Lacy, founder of Craswall, was a member.¹³

Like the Cistercians, the Grandmontines had both *clerics*, choir monks, and *conversi* but, in the early years, the latter were not mere workers in the field. To remove the choir monks from contact with the laity and care for external matters, the temporal care of priories was originally entrusted to the *conversi* alone. As Carole Hutchison explains in *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, this was to lead to 'the Years of Crisis, 1171-1228'.¹⁴ In 1216, when Pope Innocent III ruled 'decisively in favour of the *clerics*', the *conversi* at Grandmont rose in revolt; this led to the administration of each house being transferred from the *conversi* to a cleric, as corrector.

2. THE LACY FAMILY AND THE LAND OF EWYAS

The founder of the Herefordshire branch of the family was Walter I, whose primary responsibility was the defence of the southern March against Welsh attacks.¹⁵ After 1075 he built the first castle on his demesne at Ludlow, blocking any advances down the Teme valley.¹⁶ In Herefordshire, William fitz Osbern built Clifford Castle to serve a similar purpose in relation to the Wye valley.¹⁷ Weobley, the centre of the Lacy lordship, with its clutch of attendant manors, lay halfway between the castles at Clifford and Hereford.

Having been given the county of Hereford by the Conqueror, with Walter I de Lacy fitz Osbern made 'a vigorous attack...upon Maredudd ab Owain of Deheubarth, his brother Rhys ab Owain, and Cadwgan ap Meurig of Morgannwg'.¹⁸ Lloyd explains that 'the whole region of Gwent fell into William's hands. From his two bases at Monmouth and Chepstow [fitz Osbern] pushed as far as Usk'.¹⁹ Walter died in 1085 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Roger. Domesday Book shows that, with Herefordshire tenancies valued at £129, Roger was by far the most important of the county's tenants-in-chief; those of his nearest rival, Alfred of Marlborough, were worth £79.²⁰

Craswall priory was founded in Ewyas, where two entries in Domesday Book describe Roger de Lacy as holding lands. The first refers to the castlery of Ewyas, that is Ewyas Harold. There William fitz Osbern had granted land 'now valued at £1' to Roger's father, Walter I, lord of Ludlow and Weobley. The second relates to *terram Ewias dictam* ('the land called Ewyas') which, Domesday Book explains, 'does not belong either to the castlery or the hundred...[There] Roger administers justice'.²¹ This, the remainder, 'about 90%', of the old Welsh commote of Ewyas, became Ewyas Lacy (Fig. 2).²² Today its bounds are marked on the west by the Offa's Dyke path, which follows the boundary between England and Wales, and on the east by the

lower stretch of the river Dore.



In 1086 the administrative centre of Ewyas Lacy was the motte and bailey of Walterstone, named after Walter I, who had seized the bulk of Ewyas Lacy from the Welsh. The motte is still visible above the Monnow, just north of its confluence with the Honddu. Probably by 1100 the caput was moved to the motte and bailey at Pont Hendre (Fig. 3).²³ This also can still be seen, between Clodock and Longtown, just before crossing the bridge over the Olchon brook.

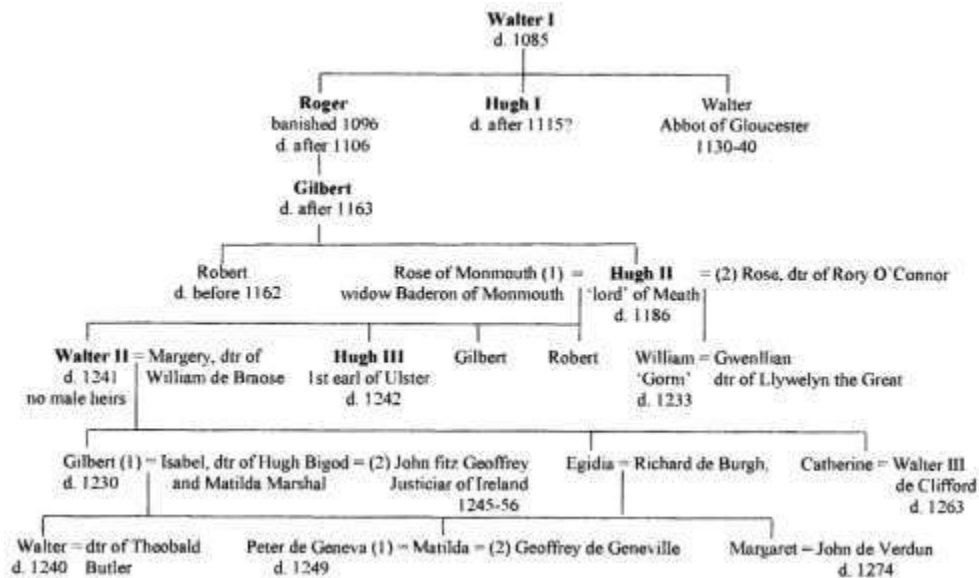
Figure 2. Welsh commote of Ewyas. Ewyas Lacy comprises all but Ewyas Harold²⁴



Figure 3. Pont Hendre

3. THE LACYS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY AT LLANTHONY

Under Hugh I de Lacy (d.1115), who succeeded his elder brother, Roger, banished in 1096, one can detect a shift of interest from the Wye to Ewyas Lacy, the lands watered by the rivers Monnow and Olchon.



Family tree of the de Lacy Family of Weobley, Ludlow and Ewyas, 1066-c.1240

Craswall was not the Lacy family's first monastic foundation in Ewyas and its neighbourhood. In 1103 William Rufus, a knight of Roger's brother, Hugh I de Lacy, established a hermitage at Llanthony in the Honddu valley. He was joined by Ernisius, queen's chaplain. Site and hermitage both delighted the romantic imagination of the age. For Gerald of Wales, who considered the Benedictines 'corrupted by gluttony and indulgence', Llanthony's situation, 'encircled by lofty mountains', was 'truly calculated for religion, and more adapted to canonical discipline than all the monasteries of the British isle'.²⁵ Here in 1108 the bishops of Llandaff and Hereford consecrated a church, 'built after a homely manner'. The fame of the rigours of the hermits' life and the beauty of their vale spread quickly. Henry I's Chancellor, the Bishop of Salisbury, reported: 'The whole treasures of king and kingdom would not be sufficient to build such a cloister'.

The Augustinian rule was adopted at Llanthony 'not earlier than 1117'. The earliest Augustinian canons, like the Cistercian monks, sought vigorously to eschew all that savoured of 'pride and superfluity'. Such an austere lifestyle could not fail to be an inspiration to those who, like the Anglo-Norman lords, sought the succour of their prayers. On Henry I's death in 1135 a Welsh revolt erupted. Most of the canons fled to their former prior, Robert de Bethune, now bishop of Hereford, who founded Llanthony Secunda for them close to Gloucester.²⁶ Ultimately this was to become the wealthiest of all Augustinian monasteries.

In 1172 there was a dramatic shift in the Lacy family's power and fortune. Henry II granted Hugh II de Lacy the former kingdom of Meath, one of the 'Historic Fifths of Ireland', to hold by

the service of 50 knights (Fig. 4).²⁷ Hugh married Rose, daughter of Rory O'Connor, the last of the Irish kings. Royal fear of de Lacy power in Ireland thus became a spectre which returned to haunt Hugh's son, Walter II, and Hugh III, earl of Ulster. Both found it difficult to maintain their Irish lands without falling foul of the English kings. With Irish money, Hugh II funded a new Llanthony Prima, providing a lavish three-bay choir, crossing, transepts and a central tower; Walter II completed the work, constructing an eight-bay nave and 'two very massive [western] towers' (Figs. 5 & 6). For Lovegrove the priory church is 'without a rival in the Principality'.²⁸ The ideals of Llanthony's hermit founders had thus been utterly rejected. The priory is but one example of Hugh and Walter's building works; their castle at Trim in Meath is still 'the largest and grandest of the Irish castles' (Fig. 7).²⁹ Father and son had sound political reasons for rebuilding Llanthony Prima, which represented a westward extension of their Ewyas lordship. The priory remained a predominantly Anglo-Norman house throughout the 14th century.³⁰

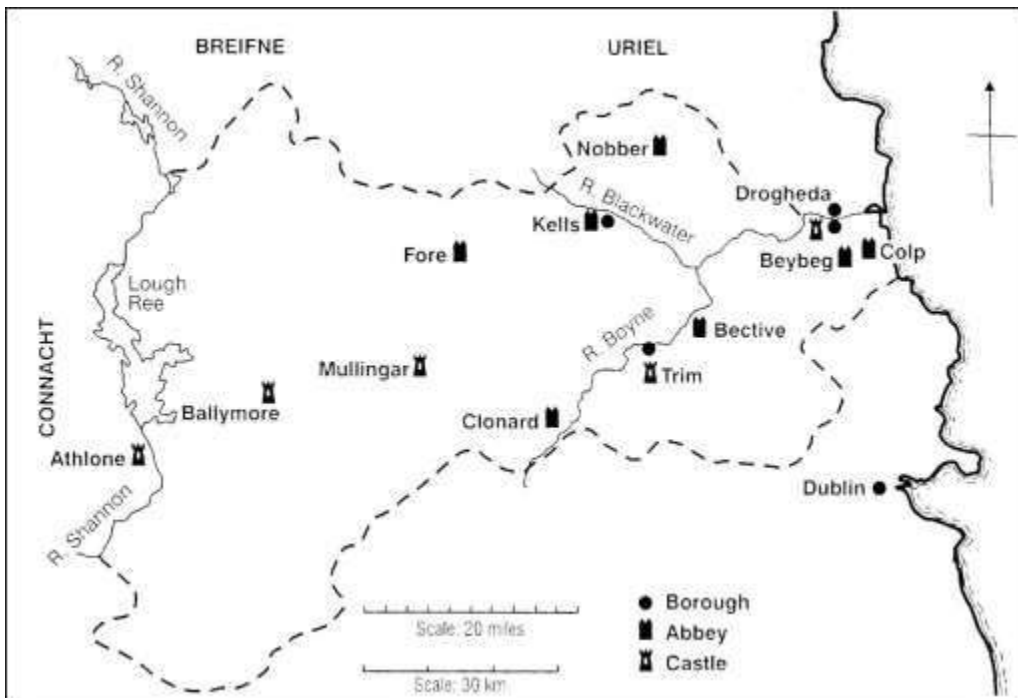


Figure 4. The Lordship of Meath, 1198-1241. J. Hillaby



Figure 5. Llanthony Prima, nave



Figure 6. Llanthony Prima, west towers



Figure 7. Trim Castle across the Boyne, showing the de Lacy keep and perimeter wall with Walter II's remarkable barbican

4. THE GRANDMONTINE ORDER AND THE FOUNDATION OF CRASWALL PRIORY

The contrast between the size and grandeur of the Augustinian priory of Llanthony Prima, some 250ft long, and the extraordinary simplicity of Walter II's later foundation at Craswall, less than half its size, is remarkable. The explanation is that Walter had taken part in John's Poitevin expedition in 1214, when the king visited Grandmont, the mother house of the order. De Lacy was evidently so moved by the austerity of life and the buildings at Grandmont that he determined to found a priory of that order on his own lands in Ewyas.

Later that year Walter was sent to buy horses at Narbonne, one of the most opulent cities of Languedoc, with two affluent and highly cultured Jewries.³¹ There, probably, he met the very wealthy Hamo who, with his sons Ursell and Moses, was persuaded to take up residence in Hereford's Jewry c.1220, during Walter's shrievalty of the county. When royal fines had a dramatic impact on Walter's finances he turned for loans to Hamo, now leader of the Hereford Jewry, and later his sons, to their mutual ruin.³²



Figure 8. Walter II de Lacy's circular keep at Longtown

It was probably before 1220 that Walter constructed his circular keep at Longtown (Fig. 8), based on the round keep at Pembroke, the port of departure for Ireland.³³ Linked to this was the foundation of a borough and market-place at the castle gates. His intention was to provide an outer defence for the county and city of Hereford against further attacks by Llywelyn. Indeed, in

1233 Longtown castle, with those at Hay, Monmouth and Abergavenny, was at the centre of royal operations against Richard Marshal and Llywelyn. On his journey from Hay to Abergavenny in early September that year Henry III stopped at Longtown castle for two nights.³⁴

Given the great interest in Grandmont of King John, his father, and Henry II, his

grandfather, and the proximity of the priory to the highway, it is highly probable that he visited the Craswall monks. Certainly, he was later to offer them considerable support against Walter's Jewish creditors.

Whilst working on the castle at Longtown, Walter must have considered how closely Gérard Ithier's description of Grandmont c.1184 reflected the countryside at the top of the pass leading to Hay. Dominated on the west by the ridge stretching from Hay Bluff, 2,220ft, extending along Crib y Garth, 'the Cat's Back',³⁵ to Black Hill, 2,100ft, (Plate 2.1) Craswall also was:

'stern and very cold, infertile and rocky, misty and exposed to the winds. The water is colder and worse than in other places, for it produces sickness instead of health. The mountain abounds in great stones for building, in streams and sand, but there is scarcely any timber for building. The land around the monastery scarcely ever suffices to provide necessaries, for the soil is so infertile, sterile and barren...The place which was chosen by God is a solitude for penitence and religion, and those who dwell there lead a hard life.'³⁶

The documentary evidence suggests that it was during these golden years, 1219-23, that Walter founded Craswall priory.³⁷ As with Llanthony priory, strategic considerations may have played some part in Walter's decision.

5. LILWALL'S CRASWALL PRIORY EXCAVATIONS, 1904-8

The Grandmontine Customal, which supplemented the Rule, states that 'Since all excess is inappropriate to our religious life, the church and other buildings of our Order should be plain and free from all forms of excess...the vaults of the churches should be plain so as to conform with the simplicity of our Order'.³⁸

The interest of Lilwall's excavations is that they have since enabled us to establish how far Craswall followed the standard Grandmontine plan. As Hutchison points out, the order observed 'a remarkable uniformity as regards both plan and style. Without exception they comprise a single-aisled, tunnel-vaulted nave, lacking transepts and terminating in a semi-circular apse, which is marginally broader than the nave.' This was achieved by 'that curious reveal between the eastern sector of the nave and the sanctuary'. The order, Hutchison explains, 'remained strictly faithful to a nave the [internal] width of which was approximately one quarter of the [total] length'; at Craswall these measurements were 23½ft by 108ft.³⁹

A fundamental feature of the Grandmontine apse was being 'pierced by three, equal sized, round-headed windows with unusually broad embrasures [to let in the maximum amount of light]: the typical grandmontine triplet' (Fig. 9). The only other window, of a similar design, was at the west end of the tunnel-vaulted nave (Fig. 10). At Craswall evidence of such a window was found, by Cecil Wright, in 1962 (section 10 below). The standard plan provided two doorways: the door of the monks from the north cloister walk; and the *porte des fidèles*, close to the western end of the north wall of the church.⁴⁰ Of the latter evidence has yet to be found at Craswall.

The Club's 1904 Visit

On 28 June 'a party mustering sixty in number visited the ruins' to view the excavations being conducted by C. J. Lilwall of Llydyadyway, Cusop, a Club member since 1877, one of the principal landowners of the parish, and an amateur archaeologist.⁴¹ They were warned that on leaving Hay railway station they must be 'prepared for a walk of seven miles including an ascent to an altitude of 1,450 feet, over roads undulating, tortuous and in some places rough'. Their first

impression on arrival was the ‘remarkable seclusion of the situation’. They discovered that, in Lilwall’s own words, ‘very little had been done in the way of excavation’ (Fig. 11), but he addressed them on the priory and manor of Craswall.⁴²



Figure 9. Typical Grandmontine triplet at Chassay-Grammont, Vendée. Photo *Conseil Départemental de la Vendée*



At the Club’s Annual Winter Meeting on 13 December 1904, Lilwall gave an account of ‘Excavations at Craswall Priory’. A letter from George Marshall reported that since the Club’s visit ‘considerable progress has been made. The entire area of the apsidal east end has been cleared, and has disclosed many interesting features’, as well as the original arrangement of the sanctuary.⁴³ Splendid photographs taken in 1904-5 by Alfred Watkins and supplemented by three taken by Robert Clarke, the subject of a recent Club lecture by Jean O’Donnell, provide clear evidence of its layout, and now illustrate how far it conformed to the standard Grandmontine plan as displayed in the better preserved priories in France.

Figure 10. La Haye d’Angers, west window



Figure 11. 1904-08 Excavations: 'very little had been done'. Looking west, showing Grandmontine reveal and aumbry on north. Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 33.

At Craswall the bounds of the sanctuary were clearly defined by two flagged steps leading to the carefully paved area about the altar (Fig. 12 & Plan 2), and by the Grandmontine reveals on the north and south walls. Here the reveals, of some 30cm., are of the simplest of the six types illustrated by Bresson.⁴⁴ The entrance to the north chapel, as yet unexplored, and the aumbry, for books and the sacred vessels, were immediately beyond on the north side. A photo by Watkins shows that both were faced with cut stone and, from the reveals around its edge, that the aumbry originally had a pair of timber doors (Fig. 13). The stone altar, George Marshall reported, 'remains *in situ*, though unfortunately the altar slab had perished or been removed'. Behind it the 'east end was pierced by three narrow deeply-splayed Norman windows' (Fig. 14), later recognised by Clapham as the Grandmontine triplet, of which only the western jambs of both north and south windows could, and can still, be seen (Fig. 15). To the south was a credence, to hold the bread, wine and water for the Eucharist, and the beautiful setting of a piscina and three sedilia, seats for the celebrant, deacon and sub-deacon, described by Marshall as 'a very graceful example of the Early English style of architecture, besides being arranged in an exceptional manner' (Figs. 16 & 17, Plan 3a). Linked to the earth by a drain for the water used at the ceremony, the Grandmontine piscina had two basins, for ablution of the hands of the priest serving at the altar and of chalice and paten. This ensemble of credence, piscina and sedilia was originally protected by an arcade of Early English trefoiled heads decorated with dog-tooth ornament (Fig. 18). As late as 1998 some Etruscan red paint still adhered to the stonework. The plain standard Grandmontine piscina, as seen at la Primaudière, Loire-Atlantique, is shown in Fig. 38. Immediately east of the southern reveal a 'circular-headed doorway' led to what Watkins

called the 'south chapel'. An 'exactly similar doorway on the north side leads to what is apparently a square apartment [later established as the north chapel], the use of which has not at present been determined'.



Figure 12. Interior looking north, showing paved area about the altar, steps and part of aumbry. Photo R. Clarke, *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 36



Figure 13.
Entrance to the north chapel and aumbry. Photo A. Watkins. Courtesy of Monmouth Museum



Figure 14. Chancel interior looking east. Photo R. Clarke, *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 35



Figure 15. South apse window, tufa strengthening of southern side



Figure 16. 1904-8 Excavations, showing credence, piscina and sedilia, door to 'south chapel' and steps leading to altar. Photo R. Clarke, A. Watkins on left? *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 34



Figure 17. Credence, piscina, sedilia and door to south chapel, showing southern reveal.
Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 32

Amongst the finds were ‘ribs of groined roofing [and] a boss for a groined ceiling of nine ribs’ (Fig. 19). The discovery of the boss demonstrates that the sanctuary vault was supported, not by 6 ribs as Clapham’s 1926 plan and the RCHME plan show, but by 9, as at the French Grandmontine priories at Les Bronzeaux, Haute-Vienne, and Primaudière (Plate 2.2). As both arcade and boss subsequently disappeared, Watkins’s photograph is our only evidence.

George Marshall’s letter explained that beneath the pavement, a little to the east of the large aumbry, Lilwall had discovered ‘a small leaden box, originally encased in one of wood, containing the bones of some Saint, relics, no doubt, deposited at the consecration of the altar’ (Plate 2.3). In addition ‘fragments of stained glass, some in the original leading, and decorated plaster have been found’ (Plates 2.4-2.6).

Having learned that in 1181 the Grandmontine order had been given the relics of seven of St Ursula’s 11,000 virgins martyred at Cologne *c.*400 and of some male martyrs, Marshall suggested in 1942 that ‘it seems highly probable’ that Walter II de Lacy had persuaded the abbot of Grandmont to supply such a relic for Craswall.⁴⁵ According to Lilwall, the ‘leaden casket containing a relic of Saints’ bones...was originally placed by the Bishop of the Diocese in a recess in the middle of the altar called the sepulchur [*sic*]. The carved groove for this has also been found.’⁴⁶ In 1966 the lead casket and bones were sent to London University’s Institute of Archaeology. Cleaned and mended, the bones, it was reported, represented ‘a left forearm and most of a hand’. They were cut at the elbow, perhaps with an axe or meat cleaver by at least two blows. From the length of the radius I. W. Cornwall estimated the height of the individual as over 5ft 6ins: if a female, ‘she was tall and large handed, well above the average’; Lilwall refers to the ‘left arm bone of a small man’. Casket and bones can now be seen in Hereford Museum’s Resource & Learning Centre (Plate 2.3).⁴⁷



Figure 18. Altar and the Early English trefoil heads. Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1904), Fig. 30.



Figure 19. Nine-ribbed boss. Photo A. Watkins. Courtesy of Hereford Library

Lilwall was congratulated on the success of his labours and thanked. ‘It was resolved that a subscription be opened without delay for the Protection and Preservation of the Excavations and Finds; and that the surplus, if any, after completion of a fencing around the Excavations, and of a shed for the preservation of the Finds, be used for the extension of the Excavations.’ It was ‘considered advisable’ for George Marshall’s letter to be ‘circulated to each member of the Club’. In his 1910 booklet Lilwall expressed ‘his grateful thanks to the Members of the

Woolhope Society who, in 1904, made it possible, by extra subscriptions, to have these very interesting ruins so extensively excavated'.⁴⁸

Work at the Priory, summer 1905 and 1906

Lilwall records that 'substantial help from the Woolhope Society' enabled him to proceed with the excavations in the summer of 1906. 'All the rubbish in the middle of the nave right up to the apsidal east end had been cleared', the western terminal point being the doorway leading from the north cloister to the nave, so 'the stranger visiting the ruins can at once see what the building was like when entire'.⁴⁹

At the Club's AGM on 11 December 1905 Mr Moore read a letter from Mr Lilwall who explained that 'for a few weeks in the summer he had excavated further west...to give room for erecting a shed'. However, on taking his carpenter and mason's advice, 'we concluded that the best way will be to erect the shed against the south wall of the chancel, so covering the sedilia and piscina, so saving them from the rubbish that continually keeps falling from the wall above'. This was not the only occasion when proposals were made to protect Craswall priory's piscina and sedilia. No sedilia has been found in the French houses but, as will be seen, amongst English houses Craswall was not unique.⁵⁰ In excavating further 'we came upon the base of what looked like an altar tomb, and on lifting the pavement we found a large stone coffin containing human bones'.⁵¹

In his booklet about Craswall priory Lilwall provides further details of this, 'the most interesting discovery up to the present...under the pavement of the church, and at a depth of five feet, in the middle of the Church itself, and in front of the lower step leading up to the high altar. Huge flagstones lay on the coffin, and it required a large amount of labour to remove them. When this was done a perfect skeleton was exposed, which measured six feet two inches in length.

When the coffin was first open the skeleton was entire, but in the course of an hour it had crumbled away...Fragments of the oak coffin in which the remains were at first interred were also found'.⁵² The orientation of the coffin is unclear. Stallybrass, who visited the site in 1913 places it north-south, but Clapham shows it east-west on both his 1926 and 1931 plans, as did Wright in 1962 (Plans 1, 2 and 3a).⁵³ No description being discovered, Lilwall 'surmised that the remains are those of one of the benefactors of the Priory'.

The Club's 1908 Visit to the Excavations

The Club made a further expedition to the Craswall excavations in August 1908.⁵⁴ On this occasion at least 50 members and friends, with Sir Henry Howorth, President of the Archaeological Institute, and two Northumbrians, Mr Selward from Jarrow and the Rev J.Gill from South Shields, 'took the route to Llydyadyway, where they inspected various earlier finds such as stained glass, one piece with the head and face of a monk in good preservation, some lead work from the windows, tiles, coloured plaster, an ancient key belonging to the aumbry...[and], the most interesting of all', the 'leaden casket found buried near the high altar, containing the bones of some Saint', as Lilwall had speculated. The 'head and face of a monk' can be seen in Hereford Museum (Plate 2.7). For Professor Richard Marks this 'fine head looks early 13th century', and smaller fragments include 'cross-hatching and what appear to be trefoil-leaf designs (stiff-leaf) from grisaille glazing' typical of the 13th century.⁵⁵ In 1918 Lilwall sent the casket, 'fragments of stained glass and other objects' for the acceptance of the Club, which gave them to the City Museum.⁵⁶ The smaller pieces of stained glass, together with lead work, coloured plaster and some of the tiles, like the casket and bones, are now in the museum's

Resource & Learning Centre (Plates 1.3-1.7).⁵⁷

A walk of a further 4 miles brought the company to the priory, where Lilwall described his recent work. In the church 70 ft of debris, 20 ft thick and 35 ft wide, had been removed to the west end of the nave. Members were shown where the large stone coffin had been found. (see Plan 2 by Clapham) The remains of the south doorway giving access to the church from the cloister's northern alley were viewed. 'On cutting into the cloisters a number of encaustic tiles have been dug up', providing firm evidence that the cloister walks had been so paved. Evidently not amongst the 'other objects' granted to the Museum in 1918, these cannot now be located. As the Club's *Transactions* reports, since '1462 the house has been an absolute ruin, and one generation of men after another have found in the ruins a convenient quarry for building material...Fortunately for us, the spoilers did not require the carved stonework, that was thrown on one side as useless, and so we can as it were piece the various parts together'.⁵⁸

The Chapter-House

The principal area of interest for members was the recently excavated chapter-house. For Lilwall the entrance doorway and windows on either side are 'very beautiful examples of Early English work. The groined roof...was supported by two pillars, the bases of which still remain, while the springs of the shafts supporting the roof can still be seen. Two [*sic*] windows in the outer wall also lighted this room; some remains of what were seats can still be traced [Figs. 20-23]... Outside the entrance...are the remains of what was once the stairway leading up to the dormitories above' (Fig. 27).⁵⁹

At Craswall the contrast between the indulgence of the Early English work of the chapter-house and the severity of the church, other than the sedilia and piscina, is remarkable. This explains why, as Cecil Wright observed in 1962, 'Lilwall completely cleared this building'. For Hutchison, 'chapter-houses constitute the only area of a Grandmontine monastery where the strict architectural rule of uniformity appears to have been considerably relaxed. A certain amount of artistic embellishment was also permitted with the result that they vary considerably both as regards style and ornament. Some [such as Chassay-Grammont, Vendée]...are simple square chambers, [Fig. 24]. Others...are rectangular'.⁶⁰

The various forms adopted for the chapter-house in French Grandmontine houses were analysed by Grézillier in his classical discussion of 'Grandmontine Architecture'.⁶¹ He draws attention to rectangular forms, some such as Louye (Essonne), with a single free-standing column, others such as Puy Chevrier (Indre), Badeix (Dordogne) and Francour (Tarn & Garonne) with two columns.⁶² Craswall, some 37ft by 21ft, has the same vaulting pattern as the last three. The ribs are carried on a pair of circular columns, dividing the chapter-house into six equal bays. The vaulting is supported by six attached triple corbel shafts: two on the east and west walls, one on north and south. Single corbel shafts are located at the four corners (Figs. 25, 26, Plans 1-3).

The remains of the chapter-house have suffered more seriously than the sanctuary, but here again Watkins's photographs are invaluable, and confirm Hutchison's description of the Craswall chapter-house as 'unusually large and...exceptionally ornate', a comment fully supported by Cecil Wright in his 1962 survey.⁶³ Watkins's photographs explain the layout. Fig. 20 shows the rounded bases for five detached shafts which graced either side of the entrance from the cloister, with the northern window of the façade graced with similar shafts beyond; Fig. 21 shows the entrance and north-west window from within, and reveals the bases of the two free-standing columns which carried the vaulting, with a pile of ribs etc between the two; Fig. 22 is of particular value as it shows clearly the interior of the north-west window, of which virtually

all trace has now disappeared. Fig. 23 provides evidence of the fenestration and seating of the east wall.



Figure 20. Chapter-House. Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1908), facing p. 38



Figure 21. Chapter-House. Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1908), facing p. 39



Figure 22. Chapter-House. Photo A. Watkins, *TWNFC* (1908), courtesy Hereford Library, no. 214



Figure 23. Chapter-House. Photo A. Watkins *TWNFC* (1908), courtesy of Hereford Library, no. 212



Figure 24. Chassey-Grammont chapter-house: 'simple square chamber'



Figure 25. Springer. Photo C. Wright, *TWNFC* (1964), facing p.76.

The Dormitory

Outside the wall of the chapter-house, and impinging on the southern window of its façade, the party was able to see the remains of the stone stairway leading to the dormitory, which was always at first-floor level along the east range. In 1962 Wright recorded 'traces of a dozen or so steps, several marked only by their seating in the wall' (Fig. 27).⁶⁴ Unlike the Benedictines, Cistercians and other monks, the Grandmontines never had a south transept; for the night services they had access only along the eastern cloister. As Hutchison explains, Grandmontine dormitories were 'all partitioned by wainscoting or some other means into separate cubicles each measuring approximately 3.3 by 2.7 metres'.⁶⁵ Each had its own window. Access to the rere-dorter at first-floor level was at the southern end, lit at night by a lantern.

Following the standard Grandmontine plan, one would expect to find the refectory in the southern range of the cloister, with the kitchen to the west, serving both the monks in their refectory and visitors in the guest quarters in the western range. The stream which flows along the valley to the west of the church swung east to supply first the kitchen and then the rere-dorter which, according to Clapham's 1926 plan, extended eastward from the southern end of the first-floor dormitory. The door in the southern end of the chapter-house probably led to an undercroft. The areas left unexplored by Lilwall included the western end of the church, its north and south chapels, and the slype, the passage to the cemetery beyond the south chapel. His booklet notes traces of the monks' fish-pond in the meadow beyond the ruins. Although Lilwall knew that

Craswall was ‘subordinate to the Abbey of Grandmont’, which he mistakenly assumed was in Normandy, he was seemingly unaware of the particular character of Grandmontine architecture.



Figure 26. Triple corbel shaft. Photo C. Wright, *TWNFC* (1964), facing p. 76



Figure 27. Dormitory steps. Photo C. Wright, 1962.

6. THE STALLYBRASS REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS, 1913-14.

Alerted to the condition of the site at Craswall by the Revd H. B. D. Marshall M.A., vicar of Norton Canon since 1877 who served as President of the Club in 1899, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings commissioned the architect Basil Stallybrass to report on the current state of the ruins. Following his visit to the site during a snow storm on 28 December 1913, he made two major recommendations.

The mortar used in the original structure is inferior, owing to the use of loamy sand, frequently the case in this part of the country; and moisture which enters through the top of the walls will rapidly cause their disintegration...they should be covered on top with a bed of Portland cement concrete, mixed with a proportion of heavy oil or ‘Pudlo’ to make it waterproof...The appearance of the walls will be greatly improved if the concrete is subsequently covered with a layer of turf. ⁶⁶

Additionally, he advised that the upper course of the altar should be laid in blue lias lime mortar.

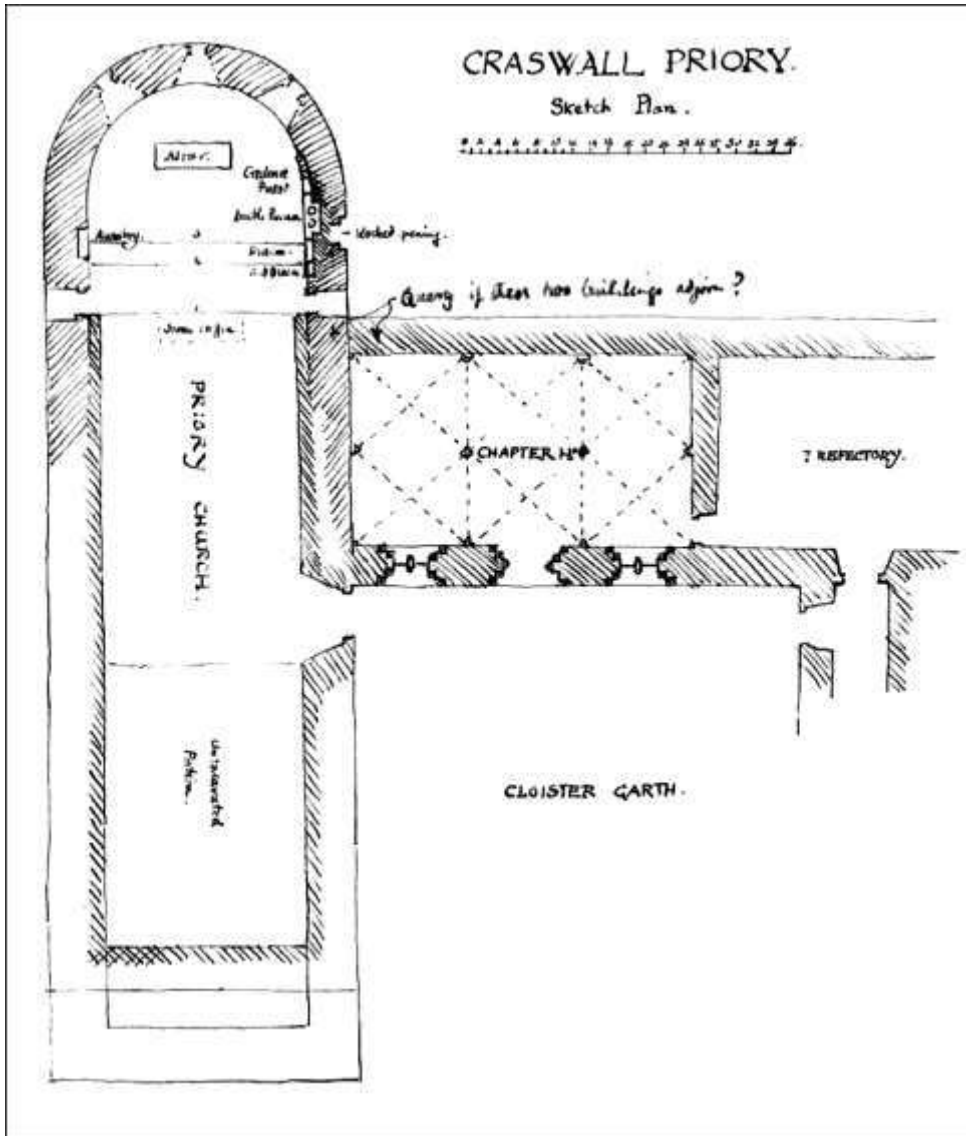
Secondly, as ‘so much of the [Early English] arcading [of the sedilia] remains’, Stallybrass considered ‘it would be legitimate to rebuild as much as can be pieced together without the addition of new stonework, with the possible exception of colonnettes’; and ‘to cover both the arcading and the seats [sedilia] below, a sort of pent roof should be erected above’ (Figs. 16-18).⁶⁷ It is most regrettable that this suggestion was not adopted, for Alfred Clapham, who visited the site 12 years later, made no reference to the arcading.⁶⁸ Evidently it had been removed from the site; we have no knowledge of its whereabouts. It is fortunate indeed that Watkins photographed this Early English arcading in front of the altar in May 1905. Finally, Stallybrass advised that a substantial post-and-rail fence should replace ‘the hardly satisfactory barbed wire’ then in place to keep animals out of the site. He estimated the cost of the work at £80.

Stallybrass also produced the first plan of the structures excavated 1904-8, that is priory church and chapter-house (Plan 1). An architect, not an archaeologist, he omitted the south chapel and slype, which had been left unexcavated by Lilwall, but notes a ‘query if these two buildings [church and chapter-house] adjoin’. He also notes a ‘blocked opening’ behind the piscina, which we now know to be the aumbry of the ‘south chapel’. Nevertheless, the plan is of particular interest in identifying features still visible in late 1913: altar, aumbry, Grandmontine triplet of east windows, piscina, credence and sedilia, which he labels priest, deacon and sub-deacon, and the stone coffin below the steps; but this he places north-south rather than east-west, as seen later by Clapham. Strangely, whilst Stallybrass gives a clear indication of the west wall of the chapter-house, he did not record the three eastern windows on his plan.

Stallybrass’s report was published in 1914. Sadly none of his excellent recommendations was implemented. However, it should be noted that between 1912 and 1913 the Club had been deeply involved in raising subscriptions for the Kenchester Exploration Fund, totalling some £265.⁶⁹ The following year saw the outbreak of World War I.

7. ALFRED CLAPHAM’S 1926 REPORT ON THE ARCHITECTURE AND CONDITION OF CRASWALL PRIORY

It was Rose Graham and Alfred Clapham who, in their remarkable 1926 report to the Society of Antiquaries in *Archaeologia*, placed Craswall and the other two English Grandmontine monasteries in the wider European context of the Order.⁷⁰ This was supplemented by a detailed article on Alberbury, based on excavations in 1925 and its rich archive at All Souls College, Oxford.⁷¹ Clapham had evidently visited Craswall in the early 1920s, for his architectural section contains a valuable description and plan (Plan 2). Only now did the full significance of the Craswall excavations come to light, for he points out that it is ‘at once apparent how very close is [its] resemblance to the churches of the order in France’. Furthermore, Craswall was the only site in England that could provide evidence of the Grandmontine layout, because at Grosmont near Whitby nothing could be seen above ground, and Alberbury Priory in Shropshire, with its rectilinear east end, had been built as an Augustinian house. However, Craswall had a number of interesting deviations from the classic Grandmontine plan which have yet to be fully explained. (See Cecil Wright’s report on his 1962 excavations, Section 10 and n. 93).



Plan 1. Stallybrass plan, December 1913. Courtesy of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

Clapham's 1926 plan provides more detail than his text and plan in the first volume of the RCHME *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* of 1931.⁷² In 1926 he was able to trace the full line of the eastern wall of the east wing and relate it to the rere-dorter; by 1931 almost all that eastern wall and the western end of the rere-dorter wall had gone. However, in both he indicates a six- not nine-ribbed vault in the sanctuary, reflecting the fact that the boss

found by Lilwall and photographed by Watkins (Fig. 19) had gone. In both also he shows the stone tomb, 'now lacking its cover'⁷³, oriented east-west, as one would expect; Stallybrass's 1913 plan shows it north-south.

In 1926 the western splays of the two side windows of the Grandmontine eastern triplet were still visible. In the north chapel Clapham found 'one springer of the stone vault'. The walls of the nave were in several places standing to a considerable height, confirming 'no traces of side windows', as one would anticipate. Clapham comments 'whether there was a doorway in the north...of the nave is not now ascertainable as the western part of the building is still buried 6 or 8ft deep in rubbish'; his plan reflects this ambiguity. 'To the west of the presbytery-steps is a large built [stone] tomb, probably of one of the founder's family and possibly his son Gilbert de Lacy'.⁷⁴

As Wright was later to explain, Lilwall had 'only partially excavated' the structure south of the church, but had 'cleared a trough...from the door to the church ... , exposing an aumbry very similar to that in the north wall of the church apse'.⁷⁵ Assuming a square east end, Clapham labelled this building 'sacristy' on both his plans.

Clapham provided a detailed description of the chapter-house. It 'has been completely cleared and is the most ornate part of the building. It follows the Grandmontine usage in being the same width as the range, and is divided into three bays from north to south and two bays from east to west by two round columns; the northern column has a chamfered base but the base of the southern is moulded. Large quantities of moulded vaulting-ribs were found in the building and the vault sprang, against the walls, from grouped shafts, some of which remain, resting on brackets' (Figs. 24 & 25). The western range, Clapham reported in 1926, 'is represented only by the low foundation mounds of its north end and west side, though a portion of the wall bounding the cloister is still standing' (see plan); by 1931 it was 'only a ruined heap of masonry'. In neither plan does he indicate the bounds of the precinct.

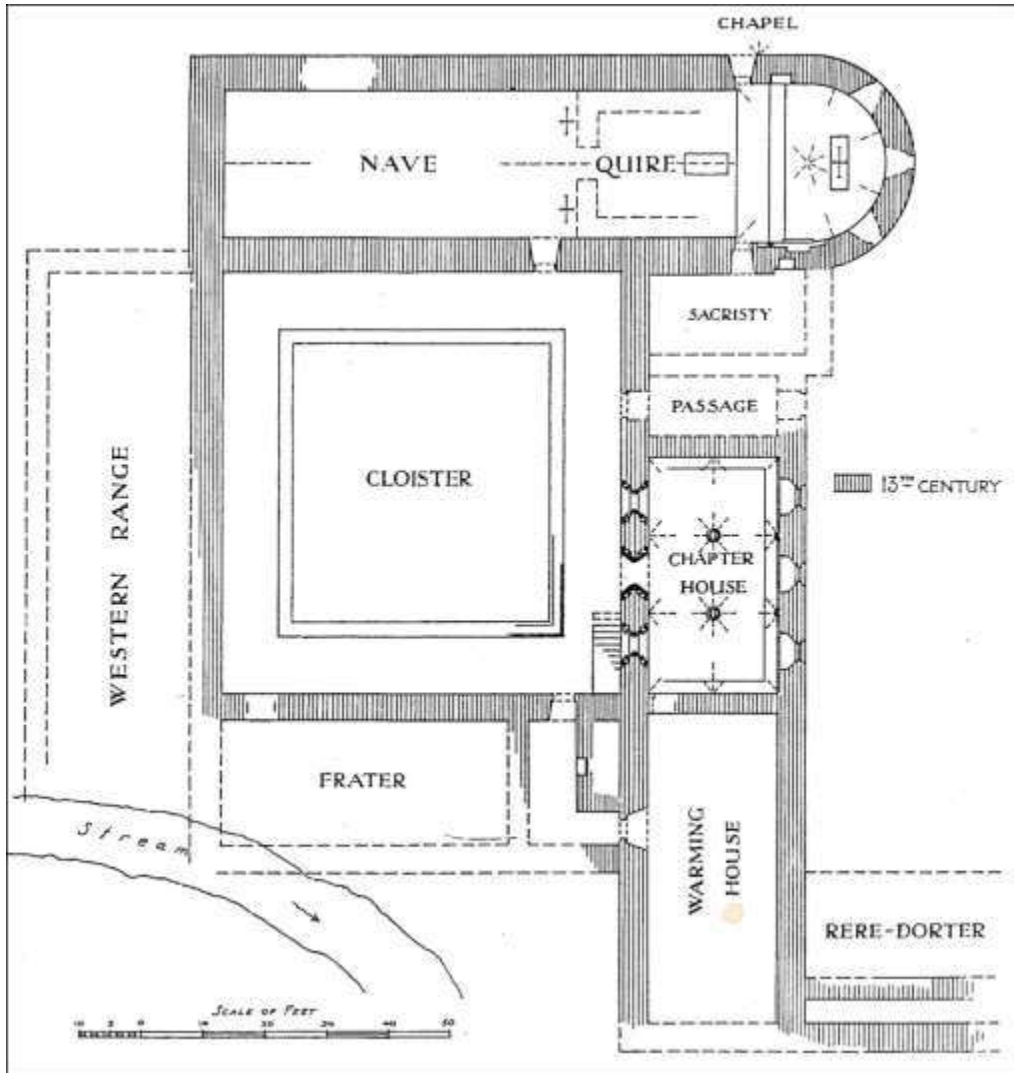
Overall, Clapham's report on the condition of the ruins was forthright. Referring to the Club's 1904-6 excavations, he stressed that: 'The completion of a work of this nature, once abandoned, especially in so remote a situation, is a most unlikely contingency, and unless the building is taken over as a national monument, I see little hope of any further addition to our knowledge of the structure.' It was, no doubt, due to Clapham that Craswall Priory was scheduled as an Ancient Monument on 26 November 1928.

8. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE RELATING TO PATRONAL BURIALS AT THE ENGLISH GRANDMONTINE PRIORIES

Clapham's suggestion that the tomb was that of Gilbert de Lacy can now be supported by documentary evidence. This is a subject of considerable interest in the history of the Order, for the Grandmontine Customal prohibited burial within the precinct of all but monks and benefactors. Henry II had planned to be buried at Grandmont, where one of his sons was interred, but in the event was buried at Fontevault. Apart from excavations at Pinel in Haute Garonne from 1981, Comberoumal in Aveyron, and Rauzet, Charente, there is little evidence relating to patronal or other burials within the precincts of French houses.⁷⁶

The situation in England, based on documentary evidence, is clearer. In 1857, when the rectangular east end of Alberbury priory was demolished, 'five bodies were found in front of the presbytery steps'. As Clapham carefully explains, these five bodies were found 'just to the east of the monks' stalls, in a position exactly analagous to that of an important burial at Craswall'.⁷⁷ Three can be identified from the Alberbury archives, now at All Souls College, Oxford. On the

death of his first wife, Matilda, in 1226 Fulk fitz Warin III, lord of Alberbury, gave the monks 24 acres for her soul and for her body to be buried in the priory church.⁷⁸ Fulk died in 1258, predeceased by his second wife, Clarice d'Auberville, the previous year, when he bequeathed both her body and his own for similar burial in the priory.⁷⁹ The other two bodies found in 1857 were, in all probability, his successors as lord of Alberbury.



Plan 2. Clapham plan, 1926. By permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London

Additionally, Alberbury deeds at All Souls record that at least two lay men were buried in the monastic cemetery. Roger Eyton, who in 1267 ‘undertook all the business of the house’ and ‘to travel anywhere except overseas’, was to be buried ‘as if he had been a professed brother’. Llywelyn ap Tuyscan was admitted as a corrodian, with food, shoes and clothing, and was to be buried ‘in his habit and among the brethren’.⁸⁰

The Peace of Worcester 1218 having left southern Powys in the hands of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great), the interests of Walter II de Lacy and Fulk fitz Warin III were close in terms of their relationship with Wales.⁸¹ Both had castles guarding the frontier against Welsh attack, Walter II not only at Longtown in Ewyas Lacy but also at Ludlow, where it controlled the southern end of the Teme valley. Fulk III had a castle at Alberbury, a mile from where the Severn entered England, and another at Whittington, two miles east of Oswestry. He lost both when Llywelyn invaded in 1223.⁸² In the very year that Matilda was buried in Alberbury priory, Fulk and Walter II were negotiating the marriage of the former’s son to the latter’s niece. Furthermore, Fulk’s brother was to be a witness to Walter’s charter re-establishing his patronage of Craswall in 1231. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Walter should follow Fulk’s lead by burying Gilbert, his only and dearly beloved son, by the presbytery steps at Craswall after his death on royal service in Aquitaine.

Walter had probably transferred authority over his English and Welsh interests to Gilbert about 1226. This gives some indication of the date of Christ’s College Cambridge, God’s House Charter D, in which Gilbert confirmed to the prior of Grandmont and the brothers at Craswall ‘all the land which my father Walter de Lacy has granted me’. In September 1228 Gilbert received a royal command ‘to come with horse and arms to us at Montgomery’.⁸³ Whilst there he witnessed Henry III’s grant of a market charter. On 21 May 1230 he received a further royal command, to serve the Crown overseas, which carried with it cancellation of all usury on his Jewish debts.⁸⁴ On Christmas Day that year the sheriff of Herefordshire was instructed, as Gilbert had died in France, to grant his lands in the county to his father.⁸⁵ Thus in 1231 his father granted a second charter to the Grandmontines of Craswall, recorded in God’s House Charter B, the charter rolls and *Monasticon*.⁸⁶ As Gilbert had been one of the benefactors of Craswall, Walter had full authority to bury him in the priory. This would have been a matter of deepest significance to him, now re-established as patron.⁸⁷

Craswall was not the only Grandmontine house to have had a triple sedilia. In 1294 Peter de Morley III confirmed the mill at Egton to the corrector Roger de Cressewell and the brethren of Grosmont. His grant records that there were to be two *more* chaplains, ‘to say daily masses for the souls of he and his wife [Nicholaa] and their ancestors’.⁸⁸

9. CLUB VISITS TO CRASWALL, 1936 AND 1955

During the presidency of R. S. Gavin Robinson a visit was made to Craswall on 29 August 1936. From the church the party ‘continued on foot to the ruins of Craswall priory. On the way the Honorary Secretary [George Marshall] pointed out a great dam across the valley on the stream below the priory, which had been revetted with stone, sections of which still remained. This earthwork dammed up the stream, nearly as far as the ruins, and thus formed a large lake for preserving fish. An inspection was made of the ruins which were found to be in a very neglected condition, a state of affairs greatly to be deplored as these are the most perfect remains of a priory of the Order...in Great Britain’.⁸⁹

It was another 20 years before the Club revisited the priory, under the presidency of Revd A. L. Moir, who outlined its history and ‘then made suggestions for preserving the ruins. These

were scheduling the remains, further excavation and the preservation of the sculptured stones.⁹⁰ In October Moir reported that ‘on Dr Nash-Williams’ suggestion he had been in touch with the Ministry of Works regarding Craswall priory and that an official...would shortly be inspecting it’. The following year found that action by the Ministry ‘was not possible at present, and he suggested that the Club make a report and possibly carry out an excavation’.⁹¹ In 1965, the year after Cecil Wright’s excavation report was published by the Club (see below), Prebendary Moir again drew members’ attention, in a lecture on ‘The Historical Significance of Craswall Priory’, to the fact that ‘the remains of the priory buildings are now in hazard from...exposure and growth of trees and underwood’. He ‘urged the importance of the site and the need...to prevent its continuing deterioration’.⁹² The original scheduling of November 1928 was not revised until 1996.

10. CECIL WRIGHT’S 1962 EXCAVATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH CHAPEL

In July 1962, supported by ‘a substantial grant from the National Buildings Record’, Cecil Wright, Lecturer in Medieval Architecture at the Liverpool College of Building, School of Architecture, brought 15 of his students to assist him in the examination of parts of the priory so far unexcavated. With this manpower and his own personal expertise, Wright was able to further explore the church, open up the north chapel, Clapham’s ‘sacristy’ which he describes as the ‘south chapel’, and the slype. Chapter-house and dorter stairs were re-examined.

Wright sent copies of his report to the Club, the *Hereford Times*, the *Guardian* and the Courtauld Institute, whence he received a response from George Zarnecki and Professor Peter Kidson. His report was published in the Club’s *Transactions* in 1964; given his sharp eye for architectural detail, it is indeed unfortunate that none of his plans and elevations, and only two of his remarkable photographs, were reproduced (Figs. 25 and 26).⁹³ Wright maintained his interest in the order. Some time later, during a fortnight with Carole Hutchison and Kate Douglas at Rauzet visiting Grandmontine sites, he gave them a copy of his report, plans and photographs. Wright’s report opens with some interesting comments on the church as he found it, more than 50 years after Lilwall’s excavations. In the north window of the apse he records the remnants of a sloping, stepped stone sill, and in the southern window some tufa blocks and another stepped stone sill; tufa, he adds, ‘occurs in various sizes in all parts of the site, usually in jambs or quoins. Inside the west wall of the church another stepped sill and fragments of the south jamb indicated the position’ of the single Grandmontine west window. In the western half of the nave he discovered a section of the original ‘pointed tunnel vault’. However, because of the remaining 8 feet of debris at the western half of the nave, Wright found ‘no evidence of any door through the north wall’, *la porte des fidèles*.

Amongst Wright’s photographs is one of a small fragment of the Early English arcading, which he did not comment upon in his report, but elsewhere describes as a ‘detail of a portion of the sedilia arches now in the garden of Abbey Farm...the profile of the mouldings matches that on the jambs of the sediliae [*sic*]’ (Fig. 28).



Figure 28. Fragment of the trefoiled Early English arching, cf Fig. 18. Photo C. Wright, courtesy of Mrs Alison and Martin Wright



Figure 29. North chapel, doorway to church. Photo C. Wright, courtesy of Mrs Alison and Martin Wright.



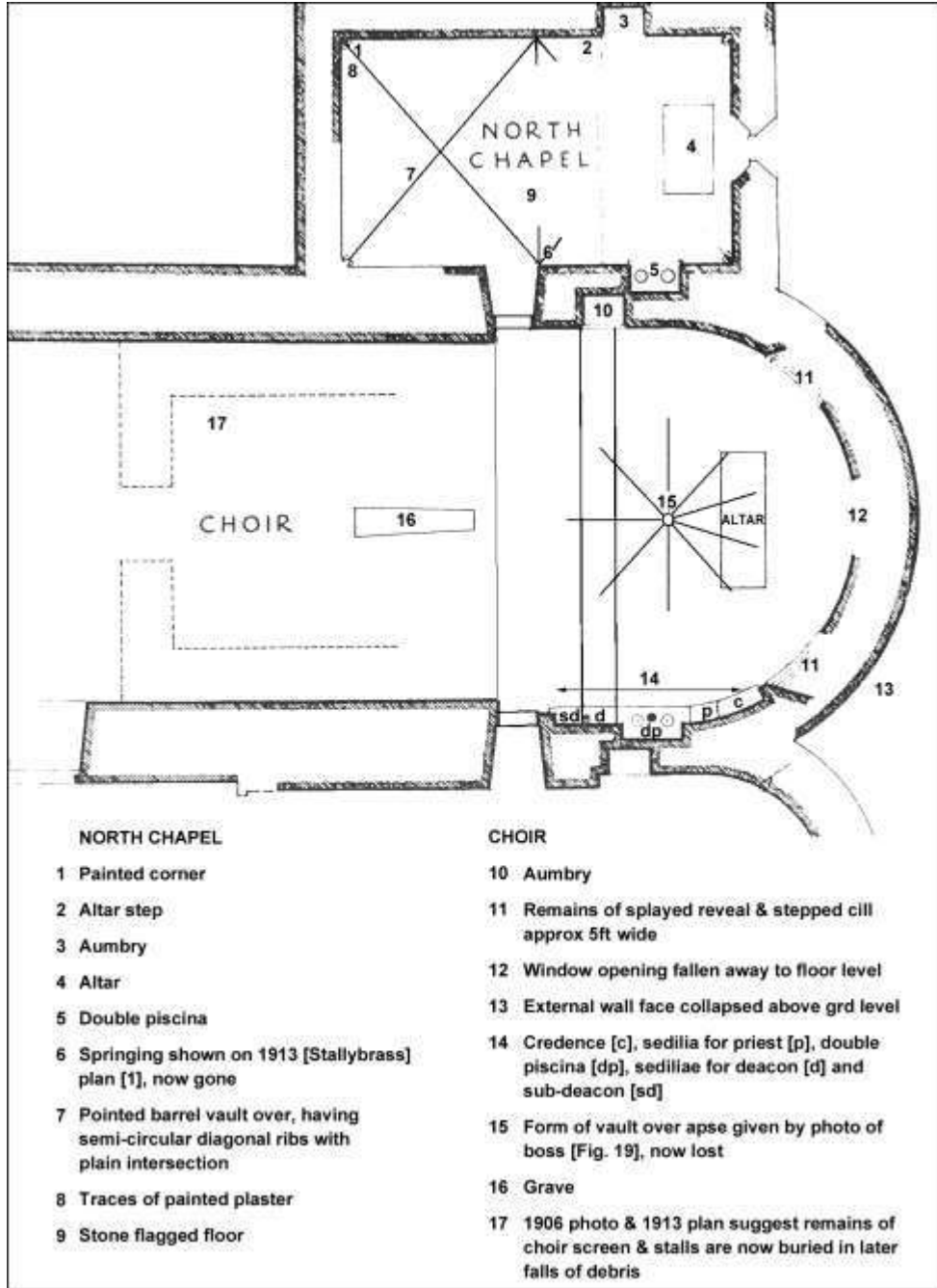
Figure 30. North chapel piscina. Photo C. Wright, courtesy of Mrs Alison and Martin Wright.

The north chapel (Plan 3a)

Excavations revealed that this had been a rectangular building 26ft 5 inches east-west and 15ft 2 inches north-south. It had a stone floor with a raised area for the altar, behind which were traces of an east window. In the north wall the base of an aumbry was found, and in the south wall the Grandmontine double piscina. Numerous voussoirs of vaulting ribs were found with traces of lines in red ochre on a painted white ground, as Lilwall had found (Plate 2.5). In conclusion Wright points out that the chapel 'has features alien to the remainder of the site and may be a rebuilding. This could only be proved by complete excavation and re-examination of the foundations on the east.' Whereas Lodève and La Haye d'Angers had north chapels with west doorways giving access to the laity, at Craswall, Alberbury and Grosmont entry was only from the choir.⁹⁴ Evidence of the north chapel can still be seen in the grass-covered mounds on the north side of the chancel. (Figs. 29-31)



Figure 31. North chapel, heads of piscina and doorway still visible.



Plan 3a. From C. Wright's unpublished plan and manuscript notes, 1962: North chapel and choir. Courtesy of Mrs Alison and Martin Wright

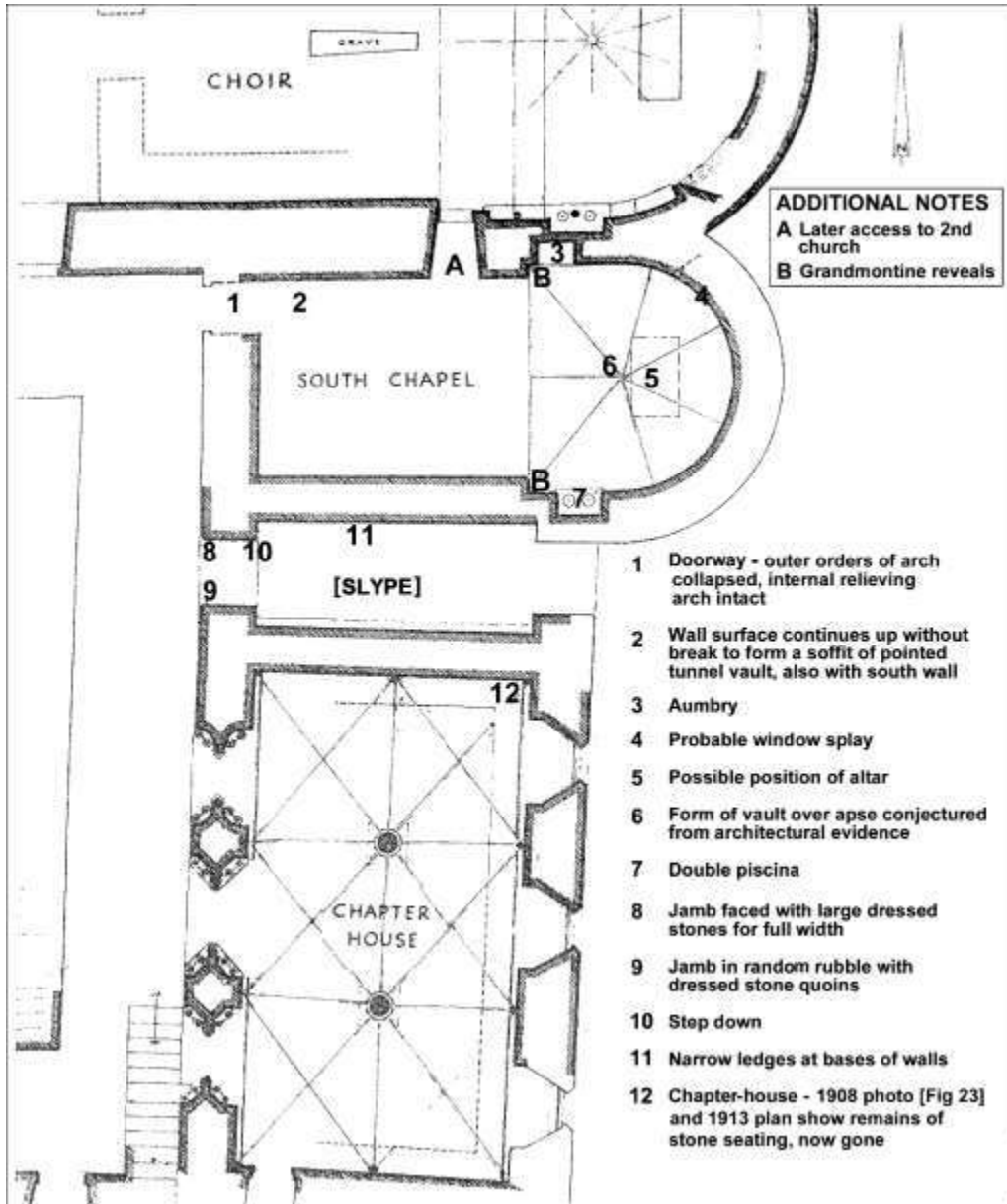


Figure 3b. From C. Wright's unpublished plan and manuscript notes, 1962. South chapel (1-7), slype (8-11) and chapter-house (12). Courtesy of Mrs Alison and Martin Wright.

The 'sacristy' or 'south chapel' (Plan 3b)

In 1926 Alfred Clapham, lacking adequate archaeological evidence and assuming a straight east end, had designated the structure immediately south of the priory as a 'sacristy', a term he also used on his 1931 RCHME plan.⁹⁵ Wright painstakingly investigated what he was to describe as the 'south chapel'. Digging through deep rubble, he found an apsidal east end that 'had almost completely collapsed'; he was able to follow its inner face with a trench. He also located 'vestigial remains of the splayed north jamb of the northern window' (4 on plan) of the Grandmontine eastern triplet. In addition he discovered a round-headed aumbry (3) in the north wall and the Grandmontine double piscina (7) in the south wall. Stallybrass had noted this 'blocked opening' of the aumbry on his December 1913 plan, from which he suggested 'that the piscina and sedilia in the sanctuary [of the church] are a later addition to the building' (Plan 1).⁹⁶

Just to the west a break in both walls, still visible, was evidence of Grandmontine reveals (B), making the sanctuary slightly wider than its nave. (Figs. 32 and 33; Plate 2.8) Here Wright also found 'the only piece of recognisable medieval pottery, a lug or handle from the shoulder of a crock'; this had 'a dark green salt-glaze and the ring of the handle was decorated with fingernail indentations' (Plate 2.9).⁹⁷

Thus Wright's outstanding archaeological achievement was to prove that, with apsidal east end, aumbry, double piscina and Grandmontine reveals, Clapham's 'sacristy'⁹⁸ was a second church. Several of the larger French priories, Hutchison notes, annexed north chapels to their churches; Grandmont and Bois-Rahier-lès-Tours in Indre-et Loire, had south chapels, but all had square east ends. Wright's careful excavations pose the fundamental question, why is there at Craswall, on the south, 'such an unusually large chapel alongside a church which it reproduces in miniature'? In this respect Craswall was unique; it 'has no parallel in any other Grandmontine monastery'.⁹⁹



Figure 32. South chapel looking east showing apse, with aumbry on left and piscina head on right.

The slype or cemetery passage

As the Grandmontine churches had no transepts, the slype was always adjacent to the church on its cloister side. Craswall was the exception, for its slype lay south of the ‘south chapel’. As elsewhere, its floor and threshold were paved with large stone slabs. The purpose of narrow stone ledges running along the bases of both walls was unclear, as ‘they were too low and narrow for seats’, but ‘recessed niches’ in France suggest to Hutchison ‘that it was here that the brethren donned cloaks before filing into the cemetery itself’, to recite the daily Office of the Dead.¹⁰⁰

At the eastern end of the slype solid debris was found to a depth of 8-9ft above chapter-house floor level, suggesting this may have been a two-storey structure. Possibly, as found at all other Grandmontine sites, there had been a barrel-vaulted chamber directly over the slype. Hutchison discusses this chamber in some detail, suggesting it could have been either an infirmary or night-time oratory.¹⁰¹



Figure 33. South chapel showing head of piscina and southern reveal

‘The first little oratory erected by the community’

That the slype, the ‘passage of the dead’, at Craswall lay immediately to the south of the ‘south chapel’ confirms Hutchison’s suggestion that ‘this apsed chapel...was not a chapel at all but the first little oratory erected by the pioneer community’.¹⁰² It was only some 13m long, smaller even than the church at Etricor, 21.7m. One might argue that its small size reflects more visibly the extraordinary physical circumstances in which the monks initially found themselves, at a height

of some 1,200 ft. Why was the much larger church built to its north? At 34m., it was considerably longer than Comberoumal, 30.75m., although no match for Louye near Paris, at 38.3m. the largest surviving Grandmontine church.¹⁰³ A probable explanation put forward by Hutchison is that ‘the monks always intended to replace their first simple oratory with a larger and grander church’.¹⁰⁴ One wonders whether the initiative to construct a second, considerably larger, priory was rather that of their patron, Walter II de Lacy, whose building on a substantial scale at Llanthony and Trim has already been described. His was the inspiration to found Craswall atop the pass between his newly-built castle at Longtown, the heart of his Ewyas Lacy lands, and that at Hay-on-Wye.¹⁰⁵ For Duncumb ‘this extensive parish contains several quarries of excellent stone and tile’, and for Hutchison the ‘stone used for the walls at Craswall almost certainly came from a well-worked quarry just above the site’. Large blocks of travertine were widely used for vaulting etc, for which the closest source was ‘Moccas, about ten miles from the site’. She concludes that the ‘builders must have been faced with an exceptional and costly problem’.¹⁰⁶

Only with financial resources supplied by Walter de Lacy could such a major new church have been built. Walter’s motives have been discussed in Section 8.¹⁰⁷



Figure 34. Corbel photographed by A. Watkins in 1906 and reproduced by C. Wright, *TWNFC* (1964), facing. p. 76

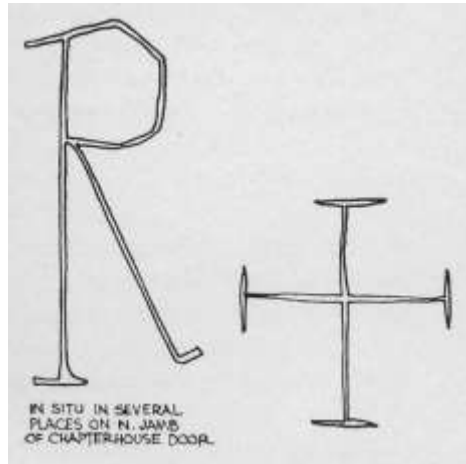


Figure 35. Masons' marks. C. Wright, *TWNFC* (1964), facing. p. 74

The chapter-house

Here Wright found the fabric had ‘suffered extensively from frost damage’, of 1947 in particular. The three windows in the eastern wall had ‘glazing grooves, mullion and transom sockets together with a deep slot in the sill just inside the glazing plane’; the 1996 Schedule notes that the central window, ‘directly above the prior’s seat’, retains its slots.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the openings to the cloister on the west ‘were never intended to have any form of doors or shutters’. For Wright ‘most of the better carving found at the farm or on the site came from the Chapterhouse or from the Sediliae in the church’.¹⁰⁹

In the report on his July 1962 excavation, Wright reproduced Watkin’s photograph, taken

in 1906, of a corbel originally on the inside of the north jamb of the doorway leading into the church from the cloister (Fig. 34). 'Now on Abbey Farm garden wall', it is the 'only piece of carving to show a naturalistic form so far identified on the site'. He also drew attention to masons' marks of "'R" on the north door jamb and..."cross" on a stone probably also from a jamb' (Fig. 35).¹¹⁰ Wright comments that other photographs taken about 1906 'show certain stones in position which are now dispersed'. Sadly, Wright's splendid exploration of the less well-known Grandmontine aspects of Craswall priory, in particular of the so-called south chapel, never received the national recognition it deserved. This is probably explained by the death of Clapham, the one person who would have fully appreciated Wright's achievements, in 1950 and of Rose Graham in 1963. Significantly, the original scheduling of November 1928 was not amended until 1996.

11. JEFF NICHOLLS AT CRASWALL, c.1977-9

In 1973 Pevsner, evidently unaware of Wright's 1962 excavations, reported that 'the ruins are not at all looked after, and trees and undergrowth are gradually destroying them. The plan in the RCHME is certainly much more telling than the site itself.' The 2011 edition provides a more detailed description and plan, but reiterates 'the ruins have not been well looked after'.¹¹¹

Possibly as a result of Pevsner's 1973 comments, Jeff Nicholls was employed by the Department of the Environment to carry out a survey of the archaeological and other evidence relating to Craswall priory, including many pieces of cut and moulded stone. The City of Hereford Archaeology Unit's report of 1993 states that 'there are two sets of [his] records in the English Heritage files' which had been made available to Ron Shoemith, who provides details of their contents, including Nicholl's 115 photographs of stones he 'buried'.¹¹² The original records cannot be traced, but there are photocopies in the Society's records. Amongst the correspondence is a letter Cecil Wright wrote to Nicholls in August 1978, stating that 'since our work at Craswall in 1962 there has been no further interest whatever in the site and I have not been back'. Nicholls' photographs, all numbered and labelled, include named objects from many parts of the priory, some not otherwise recorded. His detailed notes, descriptions and drawings indicate that much of his work was in the south chapel and chapter-house. Nicholls recorded 'in as much detail as...possible and necessary, those pieces of masonry that were significantly moulded'. Half a dozen photographs are 'of shaped pieces in situ. Most of the rest...are now buried [having been] drawn, measured for quantity, and the best examples of the type photographed'.¹¹³ Part of the wooden hut provided by the former Ministry of Works for Nicholls to store his tools etc can still be seen.

12. WATER SUPPLY, DISTRIBUTION AND DRAINAGE

Wright and his 15 students did not have adequate time to explore such matters in the summer of 1962. However, excavations of the monastic complex of the Grandmontine priory at Pinel in Haute Garonne in the 1980s, under the patronage of *l'Association de Recherches Archéologiques de Villaries*, have thrown remarkable light on the Order's methods of supplying water as well as the distribution and drainage patterns.¹¹⁴ Amongst the Grandmontines, as amongst the other monastic orders, this was a matter of primary importance, due to the general insistence on the washing of hands before all meals. For monks cleansing by water was also a representation of the spiritual cleansing they all so ardently desired. Wherever possible, springs on neighbouring hillsides were used for monastic water supply, as was evidently the case at Craswall, given the steep gradient immediately to the west of the priory.

The Pinel excavations revealed an octagonal lavabo in the south-east angle of the cloister garth, close to the frater to its south.¹¹⁵ Octagonal lavabos were used by the Cistercians, as at Much Wenlock, Shropshire, with its fine carved panels.¹¹⁶ At Mellifont in Ireland the elaborately ornamented and arched superstructure can still be admired.¹¹⁷ That at Pinel is surrounded by three circular water storage basins; that to its north supplied the lavabo. At Gloucester Cathedral one finds the usual Benedictine stone trough on the wall of the cloister garth outside the refectory, and within the garth a large, elaborate, stone drain. No evidence is given of such a drain at Pinel, where the second and third water storage basins are shown as feeding the kitchen, in the south-west corner, whence a long drainage pipe, shaded on the plan, passes further south-west to the land beyond. One assumes that the lavabo at Craswall, like that at Pinel, was in the south-east corner of the cloister garth. Of the drainage system there is as yet little evidence.

A member of the Club and its Archaeological Research Section, Richard Kay, assisted RCAHM, Wales in the recording of early Glamorgan castles. To them he left his 39 indexed notebooks, dated between 1930 and 1990, about sites and features in Wales and the borders. Copies of his Herefordshire papers are now available at the Herefordshire County Record Office.¹¹⁸

Kay's contribution to the understanding of the site came with his 2½ inches to 60ft plan of 1960, which informed Ron Shoesmith's 1985 Survey. This sought to show the site of excavated buildings and surrounding earthworks, in particular the line of the rubble stone wall which marked out the bounds of the priory's precinct. The complete circuit of the priory's boundary is described by Ruth Richardson and Chris Musson.¹¹⁹ Their remarkable air photograph shows what can be seen on the ground, whilst their drawing clearly indicates the line of the precinct wall (Plates 2.10 and 2.11).

Kay also had a considerable interest in the drainage pattern of the site. A head water of the Monnow flows as a major watercourse to the west of the priory buildings. Further south it is joined by a second stream, whence they flow into what Kay describes as 'a massive masonry dam'. Following in the tracks of George Marshall's Club visit to the priory and its waterworks in 1936, Kay led an expedition of the Archaeological Research Section to Longtown and Craswall in March 1978, when he drew attention to 'the sites of two of the monastic fish ponds'. There they saw the 'well preserved but breached remains of the mediaeval earth and masonry revetted dam of a larger fishpool, now drained'.¹²⁰ The economic importance of the dam is emphasised by the remains of a large mill, which is included as an architectural element in the July 1996 Schedule.

13. CRASWALL GRANDMONTINE SOCIETY, FOUNDED OCTOBER 1983

The foundation of the Society, and the subsequent implementation of a programme of management and repair of the priory remains, were due to the enthusiasm of Carole Hutchison and Kate Douglas, who sustained the momentum for some 20 years. Having contacted Ron Shoesmith of the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit, they were introduced to Dick Vowles, former mayor of Hereford and deputy at the time, both having valuable knowledge and expertise in procedures relating to the conservation of ancient monuments. The inaugural meeting at Hereford Town Hall on Saturday 29 October 1983 was a remarkable success, with 35 members of the public attending. Dick Vowles was elected Chairman, Carole as Vice-Chairman and Ron as General Secretary. Contact was subsequently made with English Heritage, whose officer Dr Anthony Streeon offered advice and support.

At a Special General Meeting on 7 April 1984 a Constitution was adopted, in which the

objects of the Society were defined as ‘the education and instruction of the public by the furtherance of the study, investigation, description and preservation of the historical and archaeological evidence of the Grandmontine Order in Britain and in particular the Priory at Craswall’. In the same year the society was awarded charitable status, enabling it to apply for funding from charitable foundations and for English Heritage grants.

In March 1985 the Society carried out a survey of trees and shrubs, which was followed in July by clearance of vegetation from the site. The work was entirely funded by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (HBMC) through the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee. A professional forester was employed to remove the large timber but the rest of the work was undertaken by Society members and other volunteers.¹²¹ Dick Vowles reported in the January 1986 newsletter that ‘an average of 15 volunteers turned up daily...and for the first time in years, it became possible to walk easily around site and view the ruins’. He pointed out that this was ‘only the initial stage of a lengthy programme of excavation and consolidation...At least ten years’ work is envisaged’. He thanked Ron Shoesmith for obtaining funding from the HBMC, noting that ‘without the work of Carole Hutchison and Kate Douglas this society would not exist’. Later in the year a new survey of the site was drawn up by Ron Shoesmith and his associates.

In October 1985 Carole gave an illustrated lecture to the Woolhope Club on ‘Grandmontine Sites and Craswall’. This was followed up by a visit to the site the following April, thirty years after the Club’s last visit, when the Revd Moir had deplored the fact that ‘the remains of the priory are now in hazard from exposure and growth of trees and underwood’.¹²² There members viewed the progress made by the Society, and Carole pointed out the areas excavated by Lilwall in 1904 and 1908, and by Cecil Wright in 1962.

The first of many Society newsletters was published in January 1986. Later that year the first of a series of pilgrimages to Craswall priory was organised jointly by the Society and the Abbey Dore Fellowship. These were led by Dr Christopher Armstrong until his departure to Burley-in-Wharfedale in April 2006. The pilgrimage was revived in 2012 by the Revd Nicholas Lowton, vicar of the six parishes that form the Black Mountain Group and now the Society’s Vice-Chairman. It was led in 2014 by Dr Rowan Williams, and is to continue on a biennial basis.

Conservation of the Priory, 1987-96

Action taken at local level finally achieved a national response. Following a formal enquiry from the Society in 1987, English Heritage advised the Society that its preferred objective for the future management of the site was a combination of selective excavation, consolidation and backfilling ‘linked with land management to provide a practical and cost effective means of preserving the monument and displaying some of the more important features’. In particular attention was to be paid to the consolidation and display of ‘those parts with a special significance for the understanding of Grandmontine architecture’, together with appropriate treatment elsewhere ‘to preserve the medieval fabric and associated archaeological deposits’. Next year it was reported that English Heritage would meet the costs of archaeological supervision and recording in full, and 40% of contractors’ costs for consolidation, backfilling, and architectural supervision.

Carole Hutchison widened the context provided by Graham and Clapham in 1924 and Wright in 1962. Her extensive knowledge of the history of the order, its French priories and three English houses provided a sound basis for her book, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, published under the Cistercian imprint in 1989 to coincide with the eighth centenary of the canonisation by

Pope Clement III of the founder of the order, St Stephen of Muret.¹²³ For a professional reviewer, this was ‘an excellent book, scholarly and judicious but at the same time lively and well written...a notable achievement’.¹²⁴ The illustrations are by Kate Douglas. In June that year the Society mounted an exhibition at Hereford Cathedral on ‘the History and Architecture of the Order of Grandmont with photographs, plans and models of Craswall Priory’. Also in 1989 a licence was drawn up between the Society and Mr & Mrs Richards of Abbey Farm for ‘works to be carried out under architectural and archaeological supervision’. In July Dick Vowles resigned as Chairman, and Ron Shoosmith as Secretary, to be replaced by Joe Hillaby and Rosamund Rocyn Jones.

In 1990 Bob Tolley of S. T.Walker & Partners was commissioned to carry out an architectural survey to ‘identify and quantify the structural problems of the priory’. The report recommended urgent repairs to the historic fabric to avoid catastrophic collapse, followed by localised repairs to specific features. Total cost was estimated at some £50,000.¹²⁵ It was reported to the AGM the following February that expenditure over five years would be in the region of £100,000. English Heritage promised 60% for Phase I. It paid 80% of eligible costs for Phase II. Rosamund Rocyn Jones secured grants, gratefully acknowledged, of £3,000 each from the Pilgrim Trust and the Alan Evans Memorial Trust, with a further £500 from South Herefordshire District Council. Mr Marshall gave £500, and other donations followed.



The first stage of the work, the urgent repairs to the historic fabric, began on 22 March 1993 and was completed by 14 May (Plate 2.12). Consolidation took place of the internal face of the south wall of the church, the west wall of the chapter-house and the dorter stairs, north side (Fig. 36). English Heritage paid £22,452, and the Society £5,613.¹²⁶

Figure 36. Consolidation of west wall of chapter-house and dorter stairs, courtesy of Bob Tolley.

A highly successful weekend course, ‘The Whole World a Hermitage: Monks, Canons and Hermits in the Southern March’, was held 1 to 3 May 1992, including visits to Llanthony, Abbey Dore and Craswall. Tutors were Mick Aston, David Robinson, the Chairman and Carole. Later that summer Dick Vowles was able to visit Grandmont as part of a Hereford Civic Trust tour to the Dordogne. He died in 1994. The donations made at his funeral, exceeding £500, his family gave to the Society in recognition of Dick’s commitment to the conservation of Craswall priory. In March 1996 over a hundred people attended a Time Team lecture by Mick Aston in St Peter’s

church, Hereford, which raised £328.

Scheduled Monument Consent was granted in August 1994 for Phase II: consolidation and stabilisation of rubble masonry in the north wall of the nave, the apse, and the north-east corner and east wall of the chapter-house, work to protect the chancel floor, and selected removal of previously backfilled areas adjacent to the above. Phase II was completed in November 1995. The last major work on the site, in 1997, was surgery on the yew tree at the north-west end of the church which cost, in all, £3,600. Total expenditure on the conservation of the priory 1990-99 was £75,000.

Craswall Rescheduled, July 1996

English Heritage has revised the 1928 scheduling of the priory, as National Monument 27520. This refers to squints, the prior's house and the infirmary, but there were, and are, no squints in the walls of the priory church; nor was there any prior's house. The first mention of a free-standing prior's lodging at Craswall comes in Ron Shoesmith's 1985 Site Survey, in which he pointed out 'traces of a substantial building adjoining the precinct wall to the south-west of the cloister' which 'Mr Kay suggests...may have been the guest house or prior's lodging'. The Benedictines at Leominster had not only a prior's house but also a 'pleasaunce' with swans, peacocks and probably herons.¹²⁷ However for the Grandmontines, most austere of the reformed orders, 'the rulings of General Chapters before the close of the thirteenth century continued to uphold the Rule's requirement that even the prior of Grandmont himself sleep in the communal dorter'.¹²⁸ In France, Grandmontine 'prior's houses' are associated only with 'that plague that blighted monastic life', the commendatory system of the 16th and 17th centuries.¹²⁹ Furthermore, French sources make it clear that the medieval Grandmontine plan did not include a free-standing infirmary. As noted above, the chamber over the slype may have been used for this purpose.¹³⁰

Some impression of the range of farm buildings in the precinct can be gained from 16th-century evidence from Grosmont. In 1441 and 1442 Alberbury and Craswall, as 'alien priories', were granted to All Souls College, Oxford, and God's House, Cambridge, now part of Christ's College, respectively.¹³¹ Grosmont, having severed all connection with Grandmont in 1394, retained its identity until the dissolution of the smaller monastic houses in 1536. The Suppression Papers of that year provide a unique survey of its properties, which included a cowhouse 60ft by 16ft, an oxhouse 50ft by 18ft, a cart house, stable, kiln house, swine cote and overshot water mill.¹³² These farm buildings stood in contrast to those at Craswall and Alberbury. Situated within a forest, they were built of timber, not stone. In 1295 Grosmont and Craswall were of similar size, each limited to nine brethren, Alberbury to six.¹³³

The Schedule now includes 'associated building remains, pond bays and hollow ways'. As it explains, the precinct 'was surrounded to north, west and south by a stone rubble wall, which survives as a standing ruin along much of the southern boundary, while elsewhere a low earthen bank marks the line of its buried foundations'. In addition it draws attention to 'the earthwork and buried remains of a gateway' towards the west end of the north wall (see Plates 2.10 and 2.11).

The Schedule also notes that a substantial and roughly triangular pond bay with its dam and sluices some 350 metres south of the precinct was 'created by damming the area between the main stream and a second flowing in from the west'. It goes on to point out that the 'exceptional survival of the dam to the south east of the priory provides an opportunity to examine the construction techniques of...a major part of the economy of the community, not only as part of a fishpond complex but also providing the power source for a substantial mill. Masonry

remains and buried foundations of the latter survive to increase our understanding of its function and design.’ It is interesting to note that the Club’s Secretary, George Marshall, had pointed out this important feature as early as 1936.

Craswall in the Twenty-First Century

Carole and Kate moved during 2002 to Rauzet in Charente, where they spent the next seven years restoring the Grandmontine priory.¹³⁴ Nevertheless they retain their interest in and concern for Craswall, which they visit annually. Rosamund valiantly keeps the wheels turning as Secretary.

It was reported at the AGM in March 2003 that Mr & Mrs Richards of Abbey Farm had entered into a management agreement with English Heritage ‘to maintain the site for the benefit of visitors and the Society’s annual pilgrimage’. In the same year Dr Paul Stamper, who had visited the site with the Chairman the morning before, addressed the Society members at the AGM. He believed that ‘now was probably the right time to do some academic stocktaking’. In his view ‘an adequate site plan (on a 1:50 scale) which included the ponds and all other landscape features in the surrounding area etc was the first essential’ (Plate 2.13). This completed, ‘it would be possible to draw up...Conservation Management Plans’ as ‘had been produced for both Clun and Wigmore, which would set out what the site is, what its significance is, a description of unusual architectural features etc, as well as an exploration of how that significance might be at risk. This...by an acknowledged expert in landscape archaeology’. Dr Stamper also emphasised the importance of producing ‘one comprehensive archive as part of the process and production of the Conservation Plan’.

Sadly for the priory, he was appointed English Heritage’s Head of Designed Landscapes a few months later, before any of his aspirations could be achieved. However, in 2004 ‘urgent pruning of ash saplings’ on top of the south chapel and the treatment of vegetation in the excavated area was completed by the site managers.

Since that time further work has been undertaken at the priory. In March 2007 the Chairman attended what was to be the last of the annual meetings on site to discuss matters with a member of EH staff based at their regional headquarters. On this occasion discussion was with Tony Fleming. The most serious issue was evidence of the beginnings of the break-up of the masonry forming the base of the piscina. Fleming suggested that the solution was ‘to turf it over to provide adequate protection’. As to the turfing of the tops of the nave walls, he suggested that the plastic membrane already in place ‘should be deeper to prevent root penetration’. Fleming took up Dr Stamper’s first essential, an overall survey, not only of the building complex but also the site in relation to the drainage pattern.

The management agreement with the landowners was also raised. The recent cutting-down of tree stumps and brambles had been a success but by March the ash stumps were beginning to sprout. Should they be poisoned to avoid the need for annual treatment? When, due to the efforts of Judith Leigh, English Heritage Field Officer, the south chapel was so treated in April 2007, it greatly enhanced the long-term future of the evidence that this was indeed the first church – and the visitor’s appreciation of the important archaeological features of piscina, aumbry and reveals. The results can be seen in Figs. 32 and 33 and Plate 2.8.



Figure 37. Piscina after conservation work in 2014



Figure 38. The standard Grandmontine piscina as seen at la Primaudière

With the appointment of Imogen Sambrook as Risk Project Officer (West Midlands) in 2013 EH confirmed that it would now be funding conservation works to the piscina ‘to prevent further settlement, cracking and loss of fabric’. The work was carried out early in 2014 (Fig. 37). At the same time saplings growing on the ruins south and west of the cloister were all cut down. Long-standing problems relating to the ancient yew at the north-west end of the nave, which pepper the Society’s files, were to be addressed, but would ‘require expensive consolidation and further assessment, possibly to be addressed with underbuilding and more severe intervention than just propping, which has held up until this point thankfully’. Other outstanding issues include the soft capping on the walls, which EH would seek to address with modern soft capping, proven to protect ruins of this form in a more sustainable way, the earlier application threatening ‘the integrity of the walls it is supposed to protect’.

The 2014 Heritage at Risk Register places Craswall Priory ruins in Category A, ‘Immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric; no solution agreed’; the ‘associated building remains, pond bays and hollow ways’ are described as in a ‘generally unsatisfactory’ condition ‘with major localised problems’, their Principal Vulnerability being ‘Scrub/tree growth’.¹³⁵

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³⁵ A paper by John Lloyd on 'The manor of Craswell' c1695, reproduced from the *Hereford Times* of 26 March 1904, refers to the fact that 'the meares between Craswall Lordshippe and Ewyaslacy did Extend from Monow to Kerrigg Lloyd on and thence to the mear stone called Carregg Wenn and thence to Cryppy Gath', *TWNFC* (1904), pp. 275-9 at p. 277.

³⁶ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 52-3.

³⁷ J. Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta VII: Hereford 1079-1234* (1993) no. 323. A further paper analysing the documentary evidence by John Freeman and Joe Hillaby is planned.

³⁸ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 54, p. 294.

³⁹ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 290-2; *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931) p. 43. For the classic discussion of the characteristics of Grandmontine architecture see A. Grézillier, '*L'architecture grandmontaine*', *Bulletin Monumental* 121 (1963), pp. 331-58 and more recently Zodiaque's *L'art grandmontain* (1988) which includes 15 splendid photographs.

⁴⁰ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 290-1, pp. 295-6, pp. 304-8.

⁴¹ Jakeman & Carver, *Herefordshire Directory* (1914), pp. 192-3.

⁴² 'Ruins of Craswall Priory', *TWNFC* (1904), pp. 267-72; C. J. Lilwall, *Something about Craswall Priory near Hay* (1910), p. 6.

⁴³ Marshall's letter quoted in *TWNFC* (1904), pp. 346-7.

⁴⁴ Bresson (2013), *Monastères de Grandmont*, p. 30.

⁴⁵ G. Marshall, 'Craswall Priory and Bones of St Ursula's 11,000 Virgins of Cologne', *TWNFC* (1942), pp. 18-; D. Farmer *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (2005), pp. 517-18.

⁴⁶ Lilwall (1910), *Something about Craswall Priory*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ I. W. Cornwall, 'A Human Relic from Craswall Priory, Herefordshire' *TWNFC* (1966), pp. 251-4 & plates 1 & 2; Hereford Museum Acc No. 501; Lilwall (1910), *Something about Craswall Priory*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Lilwall (1910), *Something about Craswall Priory*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Lilwall (1910), *Something about Craswall Priory*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 317. See below p. 54 & n. 88.

⁵¹ Lilwall's letter read by Mr Moore, *TWNFC* (1905), p. 234.

⁵² Lilwall (1910), *Something about Craswall Priory*, pp. 6-7.

⁵³ Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont', p. 197; *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931), p. 43; see n. 93 below.

⁵⁴ For details of the 1908 visit, *TWNFC* (1908), pp. 36-40.

⁵⁵ Personal correspondence, 19 November 2013.

⁵⁶ *TWNFC* (1918), p. xxxii.

⁵⁷ Hereford Museum Acc Nos 7229, 9017.

⁵⁸ *TWNFC* (1908), p. 39.

⁵⁹ *TWNFC* (1908), p. 38. Clapham's *Archaeologia* Plan of 1926 (Plan 2) is the first to show three windows.

⁶⁰ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 332-7.

⁶¹ Grézillier (1963), '*L'architecture grandmontaine*', pp. 344-7.

⁶² Bresson (2013), *Monastères de Grandmont* see n. 12, p. 131, p. 80, p. 71, p. 110.

⁶³ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 333.

⁶⁴ C. F. Wright, 'Craswall Priory – Report of a Field Study made in 1962', *TWNFC* (1964), pp. 76-81, p. 81.

⁶⁵ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 93.

⁶⁶ For Revd H. B. D. Marshall see *Jakeman & Carver's Directory and Gazetteer of Herefordshire* (1914), p. 602, *TWNFC* (1899), pp. 83-96 & (1915-17) pp. vii-viii; Stallybrass's 1913 report to SPAB printed in *TWNFC* (1915), pp. 49-52.

⁶⁷ Stallybrass (1915), report to SPAB, p. 52.

⁶⁸ Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont'. Later Wright found a fragment of the arcade, but not the dog tooth ornament.

⁶⁹ *TWNFC* (1912-13), pp. 164-7.

⁷⁰ Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont'.

⁷¹ R. Graham & A. Clapham, 'Alberbury Priory: The History and Architecture', *Trans Shropshire Archaeol Soc.*, 4S XI (1927-8), pp. 257-95, pp. 296-303.

⁷² *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931).

⁷³ Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont', pp. 197-8.

⁷⁴ Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont', pp. 197-8.

⁷⁵ Wright (1964), 'Craswall Priory', p. 78.

⁷⁶ Henry II, believing himself at the point of death, desired that his body be carried to Grandmont for burial at the entrance to the chapter-house, close to the tomb of St Stephen. Eventually, however, he was buried at *l'abbaye royale de Fontevraud*. Although his eldest son, Henry, had plundered Grandmont, his entrails were buried there; and his illegitimate son, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was buried in the cella of the Grandmontine priory of *Notre-Dame du Parc* at Rouen in 1212. E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', *J Med Hist I* (1975), p. 169, p. 171; C. Hutchison, 'Two Grandmontine Priors: Pinel and Craswall', *Current Archaeology* 126 (September/October 1991), pp. 274-9; idem, personal correspondence; *CGS Newsletter* (Jan 1988) pp. 2-5.

⁷⁷ Graham & Clapham (1927-8) 'Alberbury Priory', pp. 260-1, pp. 298-9.

⁷⁸ Graham & Clapham (1927-8) 'Alberbury Priory', p. 260.

⁷⁹ Frederick Suppe, 'Fitzwarine family (per. c.1145-1315)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45482>, accessed 25 April 2015]

⁸⁰ All Souls, Oxford, Alberbury Deeds 47 & 82.

⁸¹ Lloyd (1948), *History of Wales*, pp. 653-5.

⁸² D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (1990), pp. 312-3.

⁸³ *CR* 1228, p. 115.

⁸⁴ *CR* 1230, p. 410.

⁸⁵ *CR* 1230, pp. 464-5.

⁸⁶ *CChR* 1231, p. 139; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel (1846) VI pt 3, 1035, II.

⁸⁷ C. Hutchison, personal communication.

⁸⁸ Vickers (1984), 'Grosmont Priory', p. 46.

⁸⁹ *TWNFC* (1936), p. xviii.

⁹⁰ *TWNFC* (1955), p. iv. Moir was evidently unaware that the priory had been scheduled in 1928.

⁹¹ *TWNFC* (1955), p. vii; (1956), p. xvii.

⁹² *TWNFC* (1965), pp. 103-4.

⁹³ Wright (1964), 'Craswall Priory'.

⁹⁴ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 320-4; Bresson (2013), *Monastères de Grandmont*, p. 77, p. 95;

Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont', p. 197, p. 201, p. 206.

⁹⁵ Clapham in Graham & Clapham (1926), 'Order of Grandmont', pp. 197-8; *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931), p. 43.

⁹⁶ Stallybrass (1915), report to SPAB, p. 50.

⁹⁷ Wright (1964), 'Craswall Priory'.

⁹⁸ *RCHME Herefordshire I* (1931), p. 43, p. 44.

⁹⁹ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 323-4.

¹⁰⁰ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 330.

¹⁰¹ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, pp. 330-1.

¹⁰² Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 324.

¹⁰³ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 290.

¹⁰⁴ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 324.

¹⁰⁵ For further details of Longtown Castle see Hillaby (2006), 'Weobley Castle and Borough', pp. 108-12.

¹⁰⁶ J. Duncumb, Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford III (1812), p. 285; Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 287.

¹⁰⁷ This question will be discussed further in Part II, on the documentary sources; see n. 37.

¹⁰⁸ J. Cooke, 'Craswall Priory. The Central Window in the East Wall of the Chapter House: A further Investigation', (English Heritage, 1998) includes scaled drawings of the internal elevation, and concludes that the central window differed from those on either side, having a square opening. A copy is in the Society's records.

¹⁰⁹ Wright (1964), 'Craswall Priory', p. 81.

¹¹⁰ Wright (1964), 'Craswall Priory', fcg p. 76. It has been suggested that the 'R' is similar to mason's marks at Leominster Priory and Reading Abbey, but these are both inverted. R. K. Morris, 'Mouldings and Other Architecture

Elements' in D. L. Brown & D. Wilson, 'Leominster Old Priory: Recording of Standing Buildings and Excavations, 1979-80' *Archaeol J.*, 151 (1994), pp. 330-3.

¹¹¹ N. Pevsner *Herefordshire* (1973), p. 107; A. Brooks & N. Pevsner *Herefordshire* (2011), p. 185. Note that the plan on p. 186 misplaces the dorter stairs.

¹¹² *Craswall Priory Herefordshire. Archaeological Works 1993* City of Hereford Archaeology Unit Report 194 (1993) Section 18.

¹¹³ Craswall Priory Herefordshire Photographic Records AA 090566/21 CO MON NO 24, one of 3 volumes presented by the Society to Herefordshire Record Office, 2015.

¹¹⁴ Hutchison (1991), 'Two Grandmontine Priors'. For a general discussion on 'Monastic Water Management in Great Britain: A review' see J. Bond, in *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*, eds G. Keevill, M. Aston & T. Hall (2001), pp. 88-136.

¹¹⁵ Hutchison (1991), 'Two Grandmontine Priors'.

¹¹⁶ J. Newman & N. Pevsner, *Shropshire* (2006), p. 423; D. H. S. Cranage, *Archaeologia* XXII (1922), pp. 115-16.

¹¹⁷ R. Stalley, *Cistercian Monuments in Ireland* (1987), p. 171.

¹¹⁸ The originals were deposited at the National Library of Wales by Richard Kay 'with instructions to present a set to the Woolhope Club. The Club obtained Mr Kay's permission to make copies', which were deposited by Jim Tonkin at the Herefordshire Record Office, ref BG17/10, where his Craswall notes are found on pp. 932-48.

¹¹⁹ Ruth Richardson & Chris Musson, *Herefordshire Past and Present: An Aerial View* (2004), p. 67.

¹²⁰ A description of the field meeting is in 'Herefordshire Archaeological News' 35 (1978) 3-7.

¹²¹ Interim Report on the site clearance works, August 1985.

¹²² *TWNFC* (1985), p. 8; (1986), pp. 336-7.

¹²³ Hutchinson (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*.

¹²⁴ C. H. Lawrence, *J Eccles Hist* 42 (1991), pp. 638-9.

¹²⁵ R. Tolley of S. T. Walker Architects, *Craswall Priory: Architect's Report* (June 1990).

¹²⁶ Society Accounts, December 1993.

¹²⁷ J. & C. Hillaby, *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough* (2006), p. 110, pp. 127-8, p. 191.

¹²⁸ Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 330.

¹²⁹ D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (1969), p. 121.

¹³⁰ Bresson (2013), *Monastères de Grandmont*, pp. 28-47; Hutchison (1989), *Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, p. 331.

¹³¹ Graham & Clapham (1927-8), 'Alberbury Priory', pp. 277-8; A. H. Lloyd, *The Early History of Christ's College, Cambridge* (1934), pp. 50-3.

¹³² Vickers (1984), 'Grosmont Priory', pp. 47-8.

¹³³ Graham in Graham & Clapham (1929), 'Order of Grandmont', p. 179.

¹³⁴ <http://grandmont.pagesperso-orange.fr/Rauzet.htm> accessed 14 December 2014.

¹³⁵ <http://risk.englishheritage.org.uk/register.aspx?id=37781&rt=0&pn=1&st=a&ctype=all&crit=craswall+priory> Accessed 7 December 2014.

The Anglo-Saxon mother-churches of eastern Herefordshire

By SHEILA K. WADDINGTON

Scholars of landscape history have consistently argued that the vestiges of an early and organised medieval landscape are apparent from an analysis of the later Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical administrative structures. Many have stressed that the earliest organisation to be detected is ecclesiastical, one which mirrored the shape of large secular estates. These early land-units comprise the territory under the jurisdiction of an old minster or mother-church, which was an Anglo-Saxon establishment founded to deliver pastoral care within a particular district. Such early land-units have been mapped for shires which border Herefordshire, such as Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, but no study has comprehensively mapped Herefordshire's early ecclesiastical organisation. Recent research has identified fourteen land-units from the seventh and eight centuries which, I argue, comprised Herefordshire's Anglo-Saxon mother-church parishes.¹ The purpose of this article is to consider six of them in detail—Ledbury, Bromyard, Ross-on-Wye, Much Cowarne, Lugwardine and Bodenham—and to identify and map the extent of their respective jurisdictions.

INTRODUCTION

The eleventh-century parochial geography of eastern Herefordshire reveals a well-organised ecclesiastical provision, something which shows clear signs of the influence of the Anglo-Saxon control of the area during the preceding three centuries. In particular, this geography closely follows the administrative and secular footprint of the shire's eastern hundreds which were finally marked out in the tenth century. There is a clear correlation, surprising or not depending on your point of view, between the extents of these six land-units and those of the Domesday hundreds of Winstree, Plegelgate, Bromsash, Radlow, Greytree and Thornlaw. I have chosen to discuss them here because the arguments for their existence in the middle Anglo-Saxon period are, with one or two exceptions, relatively straightforward ones, as compared to those of the central, northern and western parts of the shire.² My arguments turn on the acceptance of the 'minster hypothesis', and it is therefore important in the first instance to understand its terms and its methodology.

The hypothesis provides a theoretical model concerning the origins and early development of a system for the administration of ecclesiastical matters in England from the seventh and eighth centuries. It posits the creation of networks of superior churches responsible for the delivery of pastoral care within a particular secular territory seen as co-terminous with it. The territory may have been an ancient royal demesne estate or important central place of some antiquity. According to proponents, following the establishment of episcopal sees in the seventh century very large land-units were organised around the provision of pastoral care from designated old minsters or *monasteria*.³ These were complex ecclesiastical settlements headed by an abbeys, abbot or man in priest's orders founded to promote both a devotional way of life and to perform or supervise pastoral care delivered to the laity.⁴ Scholars have argued that the creation of this network was promoted within each Anglo-Saxon kingdom within a generation of conversion to Christianity in the seventh century, as a result not only of a consciously developed strategy of the Church but also of the co-ordination of this activity within a royal

context for the benefit of the rulers and their families. Furthermore, in circumstances where there was evidence of a co-location of an old minster with a *villa regalis*, or royal demesne estate, such an event might suggest a conscious desire for ecclesiastical and secular institutions to mirror one another as far as possible. The successful implementation of this strategy both concentrated as well as unified secular and ecclesiastical authority within an existing economic unit.⁵

If correct, the model provides a mechanism for studying not only the development of a framework for pastoral care at a very early period but also that of the administrative land-units which subsequently supported the provision of local government upon which a highly efficient Anglo-Saxon state was run. As Blair states: 'The starting point is the undoubted fact that when, after 1100, local sources become abundant, they reveal two tiers of parish: the familiar local ones, but also an obsolete, often near-invisible layer of older and larger parishes preserved only in trace-elements of payments and other recurrent obligations owed by 'daughter-' to 'mother'-churches...current research should focus on the fact that there was a fundamental re-organisation of the parochial system in the tenth century, and that it most probably made use of earlier quasi-parochial structures...'.⁶ These are the structures which I have uncovered for the shire, and my documentary sources are, as Blair has indicated, invariably those dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

At Hereford, archaeological evidence suggests that there was an early minster complex which may be dated to the seventh century on the site which was to become the eleventh-century castle.⁷ Within it two Anglo-Saxon churches were dominant; one the royally-endowed church of St Guthlac and the other the episcopal church of St Mary and St Ethelbert. I argue that these two churches were originally within one foundation which divided at the point of the location of the Anglo-Saxon see at Hereford, something which had occurred before the ninth century. It is worth outlining my conclusions briefly as they provide a context for the arguments about the shire's tenth-century ecclesiastical organisation which follow.⁸

Extraneous charter material supports the view that there was an episcopal minster at Hereford by the early eighth century. It is likely to have been located on the castle site and was probably dedicated to St Mary. Subsequently, it may have been moved to an area within the middle Anglo-Saxon defences at the date of their construction, which might indicate a rebuilding of this church before 750. As with other Mercian episcopal minsters it would have been the subject of continued royal endowment, the chronology and extent of which are conjecture. At some point, perhaps in the early ninth century, this church became dedicated jointly to St Mary and St Ethelbert. Its endowment may be represented, in part, by the area that later comprised the dean's peculiar jurisdiction. In contrast, the church of St Guthlac is likely to have been within the same seventh-century foundation; it was likewise located within Hereford's earliest ecclesiastical centre on the castle site - part of an Anglo-Saxon minster complex. It remained here until it was reformed in the post-Conquest period, and is likely to have been subject to further royal endowment, the motivation for which may have been to achieve a balance of power in the vicinity and, importantly, on the royal demesne estates which surrounded Hereford—the *villae regales* at Burghill, Lugwardine, Much Cowarne and Marden.⁹ Indeed, some argue that it may have links to an earlier British provision in Hereford whose jurisdiction extended into Archenfield.¹⁰ It is likely that when the see was established at Hereford the assets of this minster complex became divided—some being diverted to support the newly-established bishop and his community at the minster cathedral, and the remainder confirmed to the community of St Guthlac's.¹¹

The canons of each of these organisations controlled the provision of pastoral care

throughout the area that became the tenth-century shire from a network of old minsters founded and endowed during the seventh and eighth centuries. St Guthlac's remained the provider on royal demesne estates until the post-Conquest period when its importance was eclipsed by the religious houses founded and supported by in-coming Normans.

In the following six case studies the respective roles of these two establishments are considered (see Plate 3.1). The first three old minsters are the easiest to discern. They were those under the jurisdiction of the cathedral church of St Mary and St Ethelbert and its canons—at Ledbury, Bromyard and Ross-on-Wye. The final three are the more difficult to uncover, being establishments which, I argue, belonged to St Guthlac's. The eleventh- and twelfth-century sources reveal that these institutions—at Much Cowarne, Lugwardine and Bodenham—had had a complex and complicated history obscured by the upheaval of the Conquest and in-coming Norman influences. However, the vestiges of an earlier control by St Guthlac's are discernible, and it is the uncovering of this earlier control which has allowed me to speculate on its possible significance.

THE OLD MINSTERS OF THE CHURCH OF ST MARY AND ST ETHELBERT

1. LEDBURY

The manor of Ledbury had been under control of the canons of the cathedral church of St Mary and St Ethelbert at Hereford from a time earlier than 1066.¹² The community at the cathedral continued to preserve the memory of an alleged grant of a large area west of the Malverns by Mildfrith, said to have been sub-king of the Magonsaete late in the eighth century. Reference is made to this grant in a twelfth-century bull of Pope Innocent II to Bishop Robert de Bethune. Barrow argues that it is likely to have included seven of the church's estates in the eastern part of the shire, along its middle boundary with Worcestershire.¹³ The date of the gift, if accurate, coincides with other events that are likely to have occurred then, notably the royal endowment of the minster that served as the first Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Hereford, including the endowment of lands that may have been within the ecclesiastical control of an earlier British Church.

No church is recorded in the Domesday returns of the manor, but it is possible to deduce the existence of an old minster and the extent of its ancient parish.¹⁴ An antiquarian source notes that Ledbury was the mother-church of a chapel in Aylton, and Youngs identifies the medieval parishes of Little Marcle, Much Marcle, Aylton and the chapel at Pixley as having been dependent on it.¹⁵ The Glebe Terrier of 1607 lists Aylton, Donnington and Pixley as having paid Martinmas offerings, while the parish register reveals the payment of mortuary fees until 1735 from Donnington and Little Marcle. Coddington paid a pension to Ledbury's portioners and Eastnor rendered tithes.¹⁶ King has argued that Munsley was also within its ancient parish.¹⁷ The manors identified with these parishes are all recorded in Domesday Book.¹⁸

There is some circumstantial evidence to support the argument that Ledbury had had an extensive parochial jurisdiction. A late twelfth-century source, a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, a former bishop of Hereford, to his successor, refers to *Lideberi* as an early episcopal see and a place 'where the bodies of holy bishops lie'. This may be a reference to Ledbury, and may reveal its early role, perhaps as an episcopal minster of a British *parochia* located in the eastern part of the later Anglo-Saxon diocese, as well as corroborating a chronology for an eighth-century location of the seat of that diocese at Hereford.¹⁹



Ledbury had an overall value of near £60 in the 1291 Taxation, a high figure in terms of recorded spiritualities, a fact which indicates that the income received for its sacramental duties, which extended over a largely rural population, covered a wide geographic area. Its extent is illustrated in Figure 1.²⁰

Figure 1. Ledbury's *parochia*

2. BROMYARD

As with Ledbury no church was identified on the manor of Bromyard in 1086. However, there is important evidence for the presence of an old minster and a very early role for Bromyard revealed in the Anglo-Saxon charter indexed by Sawyer as S1270, reliably dated to *c.*840.²¹ Significantly, a *monasterium* is named as the reversioner of a mid-ninth-century gift by Cuthwulf, bishop of Hereford, to Aelfstan, *dux*. The gift concerned a lease of four hides by the river Frome, almost certainly carved out of the existing ecclesiastical manor for an unstated purpose.²² It is likely that the control of the *monasterium* exercised by the bishop of Hereford from the cathedral of St Mary and St Ethelbert can be dated to the late eighth century.²³ In 1291 there is no record that this minster held lesser churches. However, Youngs notes a number: Grendon Bishop and Grendon Warren, Stanford Bishop, Wacton, Brockhampton-in-Bromyard and Norton in Brockhampton and his views are supported by information set out in the Glebe Terrier of 1589. Wacton, Stanford Bishop and Grendon Bishop were chapels of ease belonging to Bromyard and the vicar was entitled to their burial fees.²⁴ In addition, the adjacent Domesday manors of Collington and Whitbourne appear within its jurisdiction. In 1066 a priest held Collington,²⁵ and the minster continued to exercise control over its church in the fourteenth century.²⁶ In addition to these some fourteen other parishes are likely to have been within its *parochia*, including three within Worcestershire.²⁷

Avenbury was a six-hide Domesday manor, which had been held by a priest in 1066. Although no church is recorded there are two priests who appear among the plough-holders, making it likely that a church was there.²⁸ It held the outliers of Noakes and Sawbury Hill, both

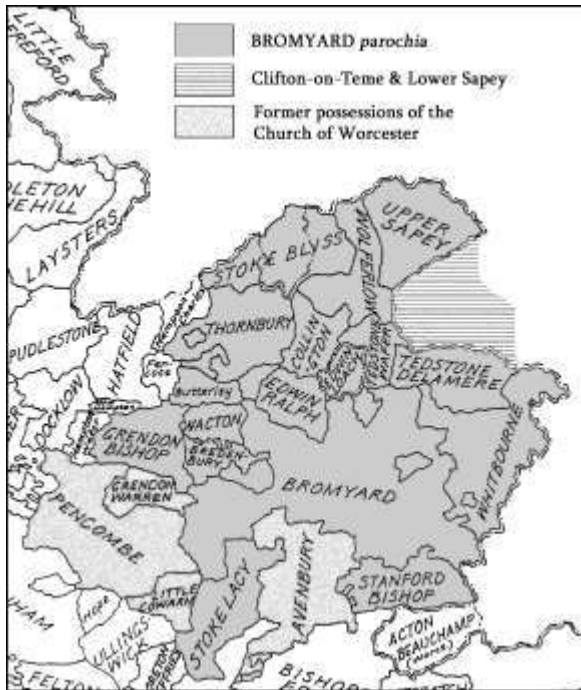
Domesday manors located as islands within Bredenbury but separated from Avenbury by a finger of Bromyard,²⁹ and it is likely to have had a chapel at Little Cowarne.³⁰ Avenbury's relationship to Bromyard is a little obscure. It had a relatively high value of £12 in 1291 but no patron or portion-holders are identified. The *Acta* record it as a possession of the Priory of St Guthlac.³¹ However, a lost charter, indexed by Sawyer as S1838 and identified by Dugdale as dated to the late ninth century, records a grant by Waerfrith, bishop of Worcester, of land at Avenbury—possibly similar to the one revealed at S1270 which, on reversion, benefitted St Peter's, Bromyard.³² On this information it is impossible to identify any link between Avenbury's foundation and that of Bromyard's.

Stoke Lacy was a large Domesday manor held by Roger of Lacy.³³ The *Acta* record its church in the hands of the Priory of St Guthlac, which fact may indicate some residual relationship or a later gift by the Lacy family,³⁴ but in the thirteenth century the portionists at Bromyard argued successfully that they alone held the right to approve the institution of its vicar, a clear indication of control, and an indication that whatever rights the Priory had these did not override the jurisdiction of Bromyard.³⁵ For neighbouring Bredenbury, the 1587 Westfaling Survey notes that its rector was also the curate for Wacton, which was itself a chapel of Bromyard according to the same survey.³⁶ This information, together with the fact that the parish is entirely surrounded by others that are linked to Bromyard, provides evidence that it was within its *parochia*.³⁷

It is safe to include the parishes of Grendon Bishop and Grendon Warren within Bromyard's *parochia* as well. Both seem to have been townships within the manor of Bromyard and the 1589 Glebe Terrier reveals the payment of burial fees from both parishes to Bromyard's vicar, which Humphrey-Smith lists as chapels within Pencombe parish.³⁸ If this is accurate it implies that the parish of Pencombe had also been within Bromyard's jurisdiction. Pencombe's manor was extensive and in 1086 it was rated at fifteen hides, having a priest and a church.³⁹ There is some evidence that it may have been the place *Pencovan* included in an eighth-century grant by Offa to the church of Worcester *c.* 757 x 796 and taken from that church in 1016. It appears to have had some local significance by the eleventh century.⁴⁰ These facts indicate fluidity in ecclesiastical terms: if it was *Pencovan* and had belonged to Worcester diocese, it is possible to conclude that an extensive area including the other former possessions of Worcester—Avenbury and Little Cowarne—had been within the original foundation of Bromyard minster.

So far this indicates a discrete land-unit comprising one hundred and two hides three virgates, which can be linked in some fashion to Bromyard. There are eight remaining parishes that lie in the area north of Bromyard which need to be considered.⁴¹ Edvin Ralph and Edvin Loach both show signs of being outliers of other areas. Edvin Loach had ecclesiastical links to a mother-church at Clifton-on-Teme, Worcestershire, according to the *Acta*, but in 1587 it was recorded as a chapel annexed to Bromyard.⁴² Edvin Ralph was a three-hide royal outlier of Leominster, confirmed as lying within its *parochia* and not Bromyard's in 1123. It is likely to have had a small church before 1066 as it is recorded as sharing priests with a number of other places within the manor of Leominster. But there is some indication that its origins may have been elsewhere, since Bromyard's 1589 glebe terrier records historic payments of Easter dues to Bromyard's vicar, an indication that Leominster's ecclesiastical role may have been a later one.⁴³ The remaining parishes of Stoke Bliss,⁴⁴ Thornbury, Wolferlow, Upper Sapey, Tedstone Wafer and Tedstone Delamere appear to have been within Bromyard's control.⁴⁵ The Glebe Terrier of 1589 which recorded the relationship that Bromyard claimed to have had from ancient times—

the revenue from spiritualities due each Easter from its ‘inferior’ churches—included all these parishes within its jurisdiction.⁴⁶



The ninth-century *monasterium* at Bromyard was clearly an old minster which had an extensive ecclesiastical remit. On current evidence it appears that its *parochia*, shown in Figure 2, was co-terminous with the parishes discussed (including three within the diocese of Worcester). The complexity of its jurisdiction and the numbers of subsequent arrangements with other houses such as those claimed by Leominster, another of the prominent Anglo-Saxon old minsters of the diocese, and St Guthlac's suggest that it may have been among the earliest Anglo-Saxon foundations in Herefordshire, perhaps dating from the first half of the eighth century.

Figure 2. Bromyard's *parochia* Kyre is between Stoke Bliss and its detached portion

3. ROSS-ON-WYE

The Domesday entry for Ross-on-Wye reveals a seven-hide manor, which counted a priest among its plough-holders, providing evidence of a church.⁴⁷ Some chroniclers record that Aethelstan, when bishop of Hereford, received it as a gift from Edmund Ironside and scholars have argued⁴⁸ that the gift included the adjacent seven-hide manors of Walford and Upton Bishop.⁴⁹ There were four adjacent manors in the king's hands before 1066, possibly the remnant of an historic fifty-hide land-unit. These were at Linton, Aston Ingham, Cleeve with Wilton (now Bridstow) and Eaton in Foy. Of these the most significant was Linton, an ancient *villa regalis* which had been held by Edward before 1066. Linton possessed a church and a priest with separate unspecified landholding.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, there is little evidence of its relationship with St Mary's at Ross but Youngs provides evidence that St Mary's held the adjacent lesser churches at Brampton Abbots and Weston-under-Penyard.⁵¹

Furthermore, the *Acta* show a connection with the other royal manor of Cleeve with Wilton, which may give grounds for the presumption that Linton and its dependent estates was likewise within the jurisdiction of St Mary's, Ross-on-Wye. In the mid-twelfth century St Mary's had entered into an arrangement with Lyre Abbey, which at that time held the church at Wilton,⁵² for the burial of bodies from Cleeve. This is the sort of permission required of an old minster in connection with burials within its *parochia*.⁵³ Further evidence of St Mary's status is found in its 1291 valuation and the structure of the benefice and prebend. It was valued at £40 with a vicarage at £13 6s, the highest within the district.⁵⁴ Wilton (Bridstow) likewise appears to have been linked

to Ross, which held a portion, and according to its 1291 record it had a church with a separately valued vicarage. The *Acta* record Bridstow's confirmatory grant to Lyre Abbey,⁵⁵ consistent with the need for the composition that was made subsequently.⁵⁶



There is evidence for the surrounding parishes as well. At Upton Bishop the church was formally granted to the cathedral chapter in the late twelfth century,⁵⁷ and the *Valor* records that it was subject to Ross-on-Wye.⁵⁸ There are similar sets of circumstances for the churches of Hope Mansell, Foy and How Caple, all of relatively low value by 1291. Hope Mansell was valued at less than £4 and Monmouth Priory was a portionholder. Foy had the church of St Foi, a vicarage and portion held by St Peter's, Gloucester. How Caple, valued at £6 13s 4d, had a portion held by the rector at Ross.⁵⁹

Figure 3. Ross-on-Wye: its likely *parochia*

Walford appears to have been a chapel of Ross-on-Wye until 1671, with its own dependent church in Ruardean,⁶⁰ and there are grounds to suggest that all of the churches in the area had been subject to an old minster at Ross-on-Wye. Many of the subsequent medieval parishes were Domesday manors which can be shown to have had some relationship with a royal manor having its centre at Linton. Most were connected with royal grants that can be dated to the early- to mid-eleventh century, at the latest. The evidence for Ross-on-Wye's status, therefore, turns on its geographic location, as well as its control over the many local churches in the vicinity. Figure 3 displays its likely extent.

THE OLD MINSTERS OF THE CHURCH OF ST GUTHLAC

The evidence for the founding of the Anglo-Saxon minster dedicated to St Guthlac is obscure and linked to the cult of an Anglo-Saxon saint, one from early in the eighth century with close connections to the Mercian royal line. The saint is depicted as a close confidante of the Mercian king, Aethelbald, and scholars argue that it was Aethelbald who introduced Guthlac's cult to Hereford and founded a collegiate church dedicated to him on the site of the earliest known ecclesiastical centre.⁶¹ What is clear is that the subsequent rise of the church as a result of royal patronage is revealed by its extensive presence throughout the tenth-century shire, particularly on royal demesne estates. Its subsequent demise as a collegiate church and its refounding by Gloucester Abbey as a Benedictine priory in the twelfth century can be seen in the context of the Norman overlordship and control of the diocese which followed the Conquest. In the studies which follow my aim is to identify what might have constituted St Guthlac's tenth-century

jurisdiction, and much of what I argue is speculative.

4. MUCH COWARNE

There is no record of a church within the Domesday returns for Much Cowarne, but the manor bore the signs of having an old minster with a large jurisdiction, for which there is archaeological and documentary evidence.⁶² Hart records a gift in 1088 by Bernard Neufmarché of its church to Gloucester Abbey,⁶³ which included its lands, tithes and all the rights pertaining to its *parochia*. This implies the existence of a superior minster at Much Cowarne on two counts. The first is Gloucester Abbey's acknowledged reputation for acquiring failing minster churches of the shire,⁶⁴ and the second is the reference to that minster having served a parish in the eleventh century, before the existence of a well-developed medieval parochial structure. By 1291 Much Cowarne was one of thirteen in the area and the highest by value. Two churches show signs of having been its chapels: Evesbatch and Canon Frome.⁶⁵ However, it is possible to make a more comprehensive case for Much Cowarne's significance by considering the manorial topography.



Figure 4. Much Cowarne's *parochia*

In 1086 there were five manors identified as 'Frome' within the three later medieval Frome parishes. Bishop's Frome, a ten-hide manor of the bishop of Hereford in 1086 with a *presbyter villae* and a chaplain, is divided from its large outlier by Much Cowarne, indicating that at some time a much larger land-unit named *Frome* existed which included both. At the church of Castle Frome, identified as a *capella* in the later *Valor*, there was a portion held by the secular college of St Guthlac's and pension income was payable to the vicar of Bishop's Frome—all indications of ecclesiastical links within the 'Frome' manors.⁶⁶ Much Cowarne's significance as an ancient royal demesne estate⁶⁷ provides grounds for the view that its church may have been the old minster at the centre of a *Frome* land-unit.

Although King has suggested this role may have been Stoke Edith's⁶⁸ his argument is based on tithe and charter evidence for the Domesday manor of Yarkhill, not the *Frome* land-unit as such.⁶⁹ Admittedly there are many outliers of Stoke Edith embedded within neighbouring Yarkhill, and vice-versa.⁷⁰ And it is clear that two areas probably formed one unit in the ninth century, but there is no evidence of Stoke Edith's superior position within *Frome*.⁷¹ Furthermore, Much Cowarne's location on a *villa regalis* provides some grounds for the view that it may have been among a network of eighth- or ninth-century royally endowed minsters founded, as Denton has argued, to balance episcopal power with secular interests.⁷² As we have seen, Ledbury, endowed in the mid-eighth century, was held by the episcopal minster community from that time. It is altogether possible that Much Cowarne, whose possible extent is set out in Figure 4, was endowed then—being Ledbury's neighbouring *parochia*.

When considering Hereford's ecclesiastical history I have already argued that in the eighth century, at the same time as the likely designation of an Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster, a royal minster (subsequently dedicated to St Guthlac) was endowed. Such an establishment was more likely to have been the royal option on royal estates. The church of Much Cowarne, some seven miles to the east of Hereford, may well have been a royally endowed foundation. Its post-Conquest grant to Gloucester Abbey bears further significance, when one considers that Gloucester held St Guthlac's and was the mother-house of its refounded priory. Furthermore, the pattern of endowing old minsters on royal estates was a common political scheme within the shire and, more often than not, St Guthlac's appears to have been in possession of them, providing evidence of its significance as a major ecclesiastical player during the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

5. LUGWARDINE

In 1086 Lugwardine was a four-hide royal manor which bore the signs of having been an ancient *villa regalis*.⁷³ Although no church is mentioned one is certainly implied: St Mary's of Cormeilles is recorded here as holding the tithe with one villager and one virgate of land.⁷⁴ The *Acta* record the confirmation of a portion of its tithes and the *capellae* to the Priory of St Peter and St Guthlac, which claimed burial rights, along with neighbouring Mordiford, Dormington and Bartestree;⁷⁵ in 1291 it was valued at £10, with St Guthlac's holding a portion,⁷⁶ by which time there is no record of the Abbey of Cormeilles having any interest.⁷⁷ Both Youngs and the bishop's registers record Lugwardine as holding a somewhat unique ecclesiastical position: its chapels in Hentland, Llangarron, (Little) Dewchurch, St Weonards and Ballingham lay in the Welsh district of Archenfield.⁷⁸ The chronology for such relationships is far from clear; its neighbouring parishes of Fownhope, Mordiford and Dormington show no connection with Lugwardine, apart from the twelfth-century claims which St Guthlac's made to their churches, which might imply that each was within the control of the canons, and part of an extensive *parochia* which they claimed.⁷⁹

Fownhope was a fifteen-hide manor with two priests and a church that held land rated at one-half hide, arguably a small minster in the custody of Lyre Abbey in 1147.⁸⁰ By 1291 it held chapels at Fawley, Strangford and at Snodhill castle,⁸¹ and tithe maps show the large outlier at Fawley, within neighbouring Woolhope. This may indicate that Fownhope's earlier extent included the manor of Woolhope, prior to its eleventh-century grant to the church of Hereford.⁸² However, there appears to have been no eleventh-century ecclesiastical connection. From this information it is likely that there were at least six eleventh-century churches in a relatively confined and convoluted area of the Frome and Lugg valleys: Lugwardine, Fownhope, Mordiford, Bartestree, Larport and Dormington. With the exception of Fownhope, which was held by Lyre Abbey, they were all claimed by St Guthlac's in the twelfth century as having been within its predecessor's ancient *parochia*. The area, shown in Figure 5, does not reveal evidence of any discernible parochial hierarchy, but there is certainly evidence of ecclesiastical activity. This does not allow for any firm conclusions to be advanced, at this stage, about an old minster role for Lugwardine.

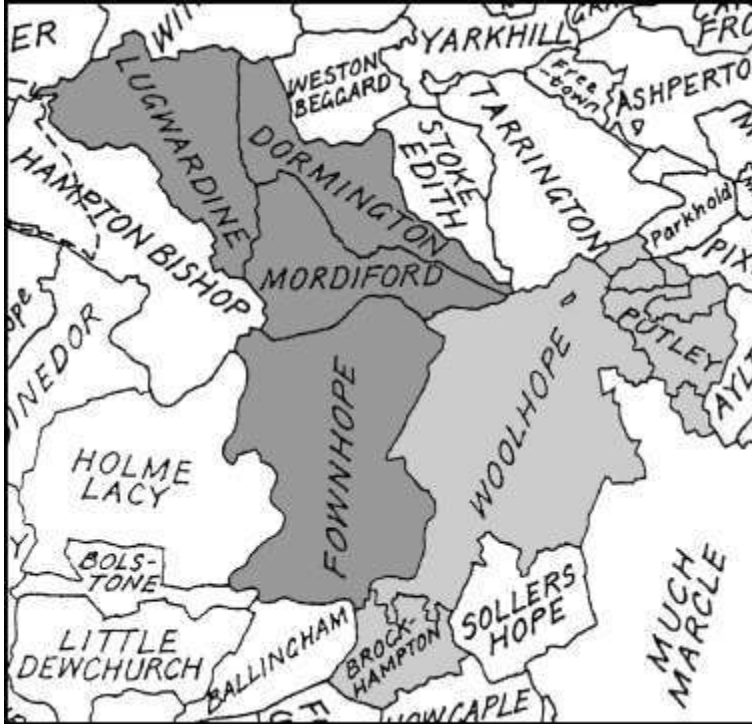


Figure 5. Lugwardine's ecclesiastical relationships. The light grey area is that confirmed to the canons of St Ethelbert's in the eleventh century

A fourteenth-century entry within the bishop's registers refers to a number of distant dependent chapelries of Lugwardine being gifted to the dean and chapter by Johanna de Bohun of the family of the earls of Hereford.⁸³ On this information it is possible that Lugwardine had a wide parochial jurisdiction over several Archenfield churches which may have originated some three hundred years earlier.⁸⁴ Importantly, many of them were early possessions of the British Church, founded by Welsh princes as early as the seventh century. Since Lugwardine was an Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis*, one interpretation is that these parochial relationships arose in consequence of the political drive to annex Archenfield, first by Aethelbald and later by Offa, possibly from as early as the middle of the eighth century.⁸⁵

Davies has dated a charter within *Liber Llandavensis* to c.745; it records the return of eleven British churches from Anglo-Saxon capture to bishop Berthwyn.⁸⁶ This implies that the attempted incorporation of that part of the territory west of the Wye was occurring at a time contemporaneous with the location of an Anglo-Saxon diocese at Hereford. It is interesting to note that one of these eleven churches, the British church at Llangarron, was subsequently stated to be a chapel of Lugwardine. It must be a likely scenario, therefore, that Lugwardine had close connections with the British Church.

The first of its chapels to consider is Hentland, identified with a sixth-century British monastic site of *Henllan*. There is no documentary evidence, such as that contained within the Llan Dâv charters, to support this early dating.⁸⁷ However, a number of local historians have

asserted that it was part of an early monastic complex.⁸⁸ Its first record is in 1291 Taxation and it is valued at £10.⁸⁹ As noted above, the earliest reference for its being within Lugwardine's *parochia* is a fourteenth-century one, post-dating the former by some forty years. There are no portion-holders or patrons identified, and its value is equivalent to that of Lugwardine. Except for toponymic evidence there is nothing to link a sixth-century foundation with a thirteenth-century church, and no indication as to the nature of its historical connection with Lugwardine. It is to be noted, however, that Hentland is a parish in two parts, divided from an outlier by Little Birch, Harewood and King's Caple parishes, clearly suggesting that at one time all were within a much larger land-unit, something considered below. For the parish of (Little) Dewchurch, apart from a reference to it in *Liber Landavensis*, there is no further information.⁹⁰

However, Llangarron appears to be a different matter. We noted earlier its first mention in the eighth-century confirmatory grant which restored to bishop Berthwyn lands and churches captured by Aethelbald.⁹¹ A much later documentary source, dated to 1163, recorded a longstanding dispute between Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine and the prior of Monmouth regarding its possession. The prior argued that it had always been within the *parochia* of St Mary's, Monmouth.⁹² The queen's case was that no royal authority had sanctioned Monmouth's jurisdiction. Although the point does not seem to have been addressed, it may be implied that Llangarron was being claimed as an appurtenance to the manor at Lugwardine, still in royal hands at the time according to the twelfth-century *Herefordshire Domesday*.⁹³ On Youngs's⁹⁴ information and its 1291 value of £13 6s 8d,⁹⁵ it would seem to have had a wide jurisdiction.

The church of St Weonard, like its neighbour Llangarron, served a large rural area. Its value in 1291 Taxation was £13 6s 8d and no patrons or portion-holders are recorded.⁹⁶ Thorn identifies it, tentatively, with the Domesday manor of *Penebecdoc*.⁹⁷ One of the earliest records of the church of 'St Gwennarth' appears to be that mentioned in a mid-twelfth-century gift to Brecon Priory by the Earl of Hereford.⁹⁸ Once again, apart from the evidence of a church recorded here and in 1291, its fourteenth-century link to Lugwardine provides little indication of the historical ecclesiastical relationship.

As previously noted Lugwardine appears to have had pre-Conquest links with the minster of St Guthlac's, suggesting that it may have been a minster which had an earlier association with that secular college.⁹⁹ If the churches of Hentland (with Little Dewchurch), Llangarron and St Weonards were chapels of Lugwardine in the eleventh century, this suggests not only an organised system for the delivery of pastoral care from a royal *tun* located by then within the bounds of the shire, but also the existence of a long-standing ecclesiastical relationship which spanned Anglo-Saxon and British diocesan structures. Since the Anglo-Saxon diocese was likely to have been organised in the seventh century, evidence for relationships involving British churches acknowledged to have been founded before the eighth century would seem to imply the structure's existence as well as its geographic extent.

To complete the picture we now need to consider those medieval parishes which lay between Lugwardine and its detached Archenfield churches, since it would be unusual if these parishes had no connection with the adjacent area to the north and south, particularly if Lugwardine had been the old minster of the district. The first of these is Holme Lacy, a large manor of the canons of Hereford, rated at six hides in 1086. A priest is recorded as one of the plough-holders, revealing the presence of a church which, in 1148, was confirmed as a possession of St Guthlac's, a fact which suggests that it had been within its pre-Conquest *parochia*.¹⁰⁰ Holme Lacy held a large outlier, Llanwarne, which also possessed a church acknowledged by Blair to have had superior ecclesiastical status.¹⁰¹ And it is with Llanwarne that

the position becomes more complex because, once again, there are links to a British establishment dated to the eighth-century.¹⁰² If the churches at Holme Lacy and Llanwarne were both held by St Guthlac's, which may be implied from their tenurial connections, then that would lend support to the view that Lugwardine's ancient parish extended here, as well. Furthermore, later evidence suggests that Lugwardine held Ballingham and Bolstone, the former of which has been identified with a seventh-century British foundation.¹⁰³

Llanwarne, like Llangarron and St Weonards, is some distance away from Holme Lacy and separated from it by the parishes that, scholars argue, formed the Domesday manor of *Mainaure*, identified by both Thorn and Coplestone-Crow as 'Birch', within the modern day parishes of Much and Little Birch. Both argue that it was the eleventh-century remnant of a land-unit which had included Aconbury, Ballingham, Bolstone, Little Dewchurch, the eastern portion of Much Dewchurch, Dewsall, Callow and Hoarwithy.¹⁰⁴ The *Acta* reveal an earlier connection with St Guthlac's—its inclusion in a claim that the extent of its *parochia* included Dewchurch and Much Birch.¹⁰⁵ We have already noted the interest of St Guthlac's in Holme Lacy and its link with Llanwarne, Ballingham and Bolstone. A further connection with Much Dewchurch and Much and Little Birch (with the possibility that it included the entire land-unit identified as comprising *Mainaure*) indicates the possible extent of a large *parochia* south of the Wye where the spiritual needs of the population were served by the canons. With the inclusion of the parishes of Mordiford, Fownhope and Dormington on the north bank of the Wye the area becomes a very large one, of a similar size to the *parochiae* of Ledbury and Bromyard, both of which were old minsters.

There appear to be two possibilities for Lugwardine. The first is the straightforward manorial capture scenario—the manors and churches were seized by the Anglo-Saxons in the eighth century, the churches were returned around 745 and then at some later date they became incorporated and subject to Lugwardine's jurisdiction. Manorial capture might be a plausible explanation had there existed evidence of a tenurial relationship between the Archenfield churches and Lugwardine—but there is no evidence of that. In 1086 no Archenfield manors, although accounted for in *Terra Regis*, showed signs of any dependency on Lugwardine, as was evident for Holme Lacy (within Dinedor hundred) and Llanwarne (within Archenfield). The second possibility is that the relationship between Lugwardine and the Archenfield churches was a purely ecclesiastical one, possibly existing from the dates of their foundations. In this scenario, to have had lesser churches accountable to it, Lugwardine would itself have been an old minster—one which had succeeded a British foundation which had jurisdiction over them. Its extent, incorporating the land-units of Holme Lacy, Llanwarne and *Mainure*—shown hatched—appears in Figure 6.

To conclude, the position revealed for Lugwardine as outlined here is a complex and confusing one, and by no means has a conclusive case been made. Nevertheless the evidence is compelling. Not only was it within a group of eleventh-century churches held by St Guthlac's situated on a *villa regalis* and within a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical provision, but

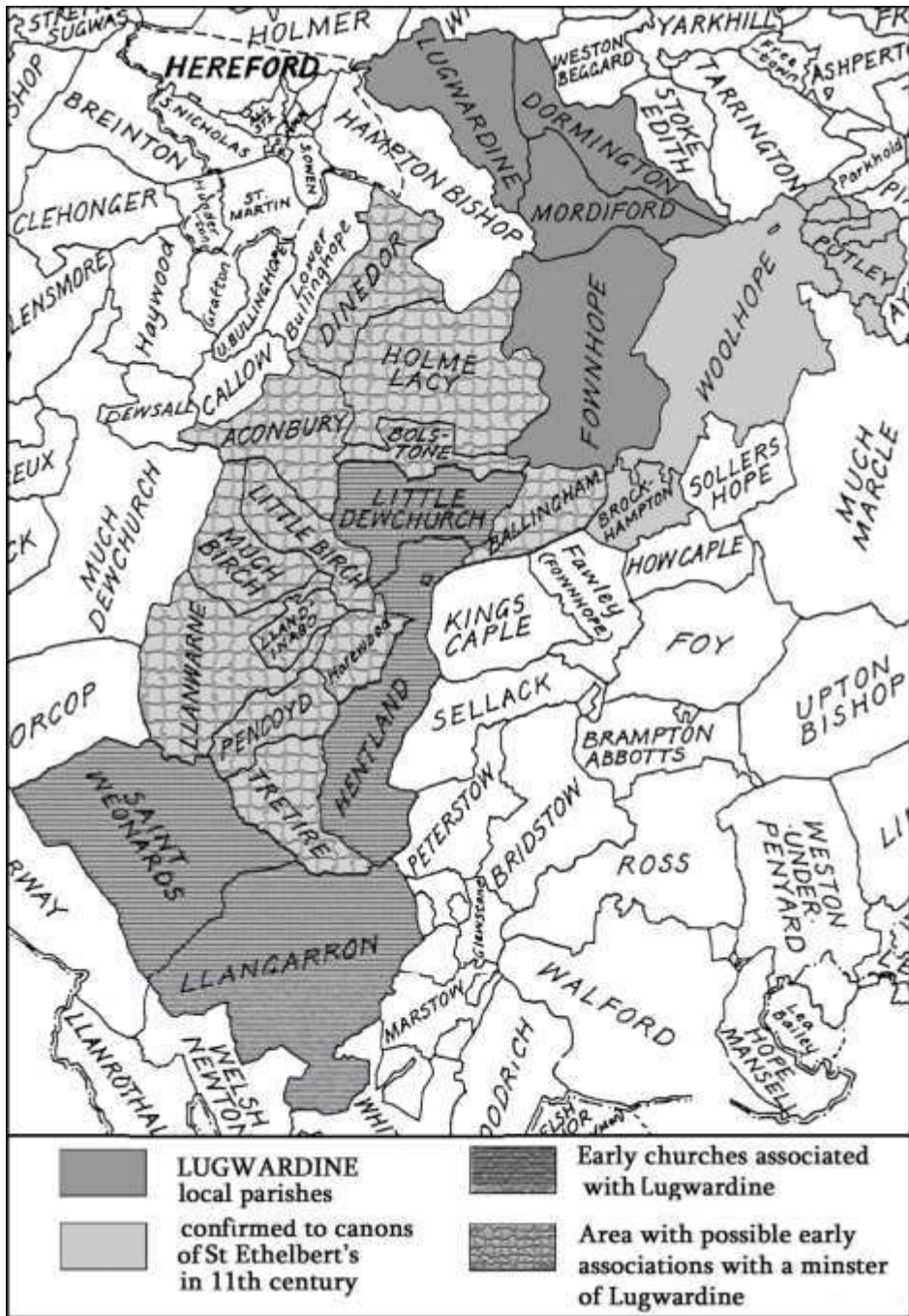


Figure 6. A possible *parochia* for Lugwardine, north and south of the Wye

it appears to have held a number of British churches, four of which may have been founded in the seventh century. As observed above, its Anglo-Saxon mother-church status may have dated from the eighth century, possibly as the successor-church to a British foundation whose jurisdiction spanned the Wye. It may have included two significant British monastic establishments,¹⁰⁶ making it likely that there were British ecclesiastical districts within close proximity to the hinterland of Hereford before the Anglo-Saxon diocese was founded.

6. BODENHAM AND THE MAUND DISTRICT

At Bodenham, a very large medieval parish, there were two manors in 1086,¹⁰⁷ one with a priest recorded among the ploughholders, indicating the presence of a church. This appears to be the same church recorded as a possession of St Guthlac's in 1148 and in 1161, and is identified as the mother-church for the townships of Maund, Rowberry and the Vern, all places within the parish, and Risbury, possibly in Pencombe or Humber.¹⁰⁸ Within Herefordshire there are few other places where a minster is so clearly identified by reference to its control of a burial monopoly. These facts indicate a situation of some antiquity as well as a complex state of affairs.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the Domesday manors of Maund, located within the parish, were in an area believed by many to be the remnants of an ancient region whose name is derived from Primitive Welsh.¹¹⁰ Coplestone-Crow has mapped the district within the modern parishes of Bodenham, Marden, Sutton, Felton, Preston Wynne and Withington,¹¹¹ and the presence of St Guthlac's in the area is noteworthy.

At Felton the canons held a three-hide estate and at Hinton a one-hide manor.¹¹² There is no mention of a church at either, but in 1148 the church at Felton was confirmed to St Guthlac's and in 1291 it was valued at £2 13s 4d.¹¹³ It may be that both were within the *parochia* of Bodenham, given their respective geographic locations and the common estate-ownership: Felton lies due south of it and Hinton is within Felton parish. To the southeast of Felton is the medieval manor and parish of Ocle Pychard. Rated at seven hides, it had been held across six manors in 1066 and two carucates belonged to St Peter's of Hereford by gift of Walter of Lacy.¹¹⁴ It is likely that there was a church here at the time of the Conquest. In 1148 one was confirmed to St Guthlac's¹¹⁵ and in 1291 it was valued at £5 with a vicarage of £4 13s 4d; its patron remained St Guthlac's.¹¹⁶

South of Bodenham is the parish of Marden. This Domesday manor, another important *villa regalis*, had 'many hides...divided among many people'.¹¹⁷ The *Acta* record a church here in 1132,¹¹⁸ again a possession of St Guthlac's. The church appears to have been within Sutton, arguably the south *tun* within *Maghena*, the district which incorporated both Marden and Bodenham. Sutton is said to have been the location of Offa's royal residence and the murder of St Ethelbert.¹¹⁹ It was an island within Marden, and certainly part of it at an earlier date.

The final parish is Withington, with its lesser church of Preston Wynne. In 1086 the manor of Withington was a possession of the canons of Hereford and rated at eight hides.¹²⁰ Three of the clerks were ploughholders and their lands are separately rated, as are the lands held by the nuns of Hereford. It is most likely that, given the presence of the clerks, there was a church here before 1066.¹²¹ In 1291, by then annexed to the deanship of the cathedral, it was within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction and valued at £6 13s 4d.¹²² Within Withington lay the Domesday manor of Thinghill¹²³ held by St Guthlac's and Nigel the Doctor—more evidence of St Guthlac's pre-Conquest presence within the district.¹²⁴ These parishes have been considered as a group because there is considerable toponymic evidence, adduced by Gelling and others and illustrated in Figure 7A, that their area was a discrete land-unit variously described in Domesday Book as

Mage, Magne, Magge and Magga and later known as Maund, which name is believed to be the origin for peoples known as the *Magonsaete*.¹²⁵



Figure 7A. The District of Maund from B. Copplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names* 2nd edn (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2009), p. 20, Map 4, Districts of Lyde and Maund, with additions



Figure 7B. Bodenheim and the Maund district—a possible *parochia*. Ullingswick, in pale grey, has less secure toponymic connections to the district

The significance of this is that *Maghena* may well have been a large land-unit co-terminous with an old minster parish shown in Figure 7B, arguably that of Bodenheim, which was held by St Guthlac's.¹²⁸ We have already discussed a similar position for Much Cowarne and Lugwardine, both of which seem to have been old minsters located on *villae regales* likely to have been the subject of substantial endowments from the Mercian royal family. It is again worth stressing that once Hereford's episcopal minster was designated and endowed, the political drive would have been to support a rival under royal control.¹²⁹

CONCLUSION

These six case studies have demonstrated the antiquity of Herefordshire's ecclesiastical organisation. For some of them the post-Conquest evidence is more compelling; thanks to the bishop's registers, tithe maps and glebe terriers it has been possible to argue conclusive cases for the mother-churches which were under the control of the canons of St Mary's and St Ethelbert's. The old minsters at Ledbury, Bromyard and Ross-on-Wye were certainly among the earliest within the Anglo-Saxon diocese and it is worth noting that their parochial extents map almost exactly onto the later Anglo-Saxon Domesday hundreds of Winstree, Plegelgate and Bromsash, something which ecclesiastical scholars have demonstrated for other shires within Mercia.

The three for which there is less conclusive evidence were those which seem to have been held, in the late Anglo-Saxon period, by the canons of St Guthlac's. This house, certainly of middle Anglo-Saxon foundation, fared less well in retaining its minsters, and attempts were made in the post-Conquest period by its reformed priory to reclaim its earlier possessions. However, its close association with the Mercian royal family and its early foundation provide some grounds for arguing the case for its having held the three churches of Much Cowarne, Lugwardine and Bodenheim. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century material has provided persuasive evidence that, in the areas where St Guthlac's held estates and churches, there was likely to have been an eighth-

By whatever means this name became linked with the diocese of Hereford,¹²⁶ it is clear that the district that bore it included parishes grouped around Bodenheim, identified in later records as a mother-church. It asserted ancient burial rights over areas claimed by Leominster, another of the diocese's important old minsters which lay to the north and west of it,¹²⁷ and many of the parishes within the district were under the control of the Priory of St Guthlac's, the Anglo-Saxon royal minster at Hereford. Although the canons of Hereford were the patrons of Marden by 1291 and had held Withington since before the Conquest, St Guthlac's appears to have had the greater influence in lands, churches and tithes.

century mother-church under its control. This has allowed us to argue the case for Much Cowarne and Bodenham, both of whose *parochiae* bear some similarity with the Domesday hundreds of Radlow and Thornlaw.

However, the complexity of Lugwardine has provided evidence of a British ecclesiastical structure which could be detected as extending beyond the bounds of Archenfield. By no means has its case been conclusively proved, but what evidence there is does suggest Lugwardine's antiquity, as well as links between the Anglo-Saxon foundation of St Guthlac and an earlier British church operating from Hereford, as others have consistently argued.¹³⁰ The significance of this is the support which it gives to the notion that that beneath parts of the shire there exist fossilised remnants of British land-units, possibly from the sub-Roman period, which formed the area's early medieval infrastructure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks go to Geoff Gwatkin for the use of his Herefordshire parish map on which the *parochia* maps are based, Roz Lowe for their production from drawings I had prepared, Bruce Coplestone-Crow who allowed the use of his drawing of the Maund district, and an anonymous reviewer who drew my attention to a published version of the Brecon Cartulary.

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¹ S. K. Waddington, 'The origins of Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire: a study in land-unit antiquity' (University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 2013), hereafter 'Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire'. An electronic copy is available at: <http://theses.bham.ac.uk/4738>; however, for copyright reasons the digital images have been removed. Two bound volumes which contain the research, all images and its conclusions can be consulted at the library of the University of Birmingham.

² In addition to those discussed here, I have argued that the remaining eight include the *parochiae* of Leintwardine, Eye, Leominster (Lene), Pembridge, Madley, Hereford, Clifford and Sellack. The cases for each have varying difficulty and are speculative in consequence, see Waddington, 'Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire'.

³ C. N. L. Brooke, 'Rural ecclesiastical institutions in England: the search for their origins', *Settimane di studio centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, xxviii.2 (1982), pp. 685-711. J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-7, hereafter *Church*.

⁴ Blair, *Church*, p. 3.

⁵ J. Blair, 'Introduction: from minster to parish church' in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, monograph 17 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1-19, hereafter *Minsters*.

⁶ Blair, *Church*, p. 153.

⁷ R. Shoesmith (ed.), Hereford City Excavations. Vol. 1, Excavations at Castle Green (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 36, 1980); idem (ed.), Hereford City Excavations. Vol. 2, Excavations On and Close to the Defences (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 46, 1982); idem (ed.), Hereford City Excavations. Vol. 3, The Finds (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 56, 1985).

⁸ For the full case see Waddington, 'Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire', pp. 78-98.

⁹ For this theory see: J. Denton, 'Royal supremacy in ancient demesne churches', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 289-302, hereafter 'Ancient Demesne Churches'.

¹⁰ A. Thacker, 'Kings saints and monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1-25.

¹¹ There is a parallel case argued by Steven Bassett for the churches of Coventry. S. Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Coventry and its churches* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no. 41), 2001, pp. 9-10.

¹² As with all putative minster churches north of the Wye, there are no surviving foundation charters and thus it is impossible to identify a date for Ledbury. However, S1431 details the proceedings of a synod held in 803 which was attended by Wulfheard, bishop of Hereford. He refers to minsters which were given to the *ecclesia* of Hereford more than thirty years earlier, in the late eighth century, one of which may have been Ledbury.

¹³ W. Capes, *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*, at pp. 6-7. The bull is dated by Holtzmann to 1135, according to Barrow. The seven Herefordshire estates which comprised the grant were Cradley, Bosbury, Coddington, Colwall, Ledbury, Eastnor and Donnington. *Eadem*, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the Church of Hereford 1079-1095' in D. Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XV, 1995), pp. 29-49, hereafter *Medieval Art*, at p. 30 and nn. 11-12.

¹⁴ F. Thorn and C. Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*, 2.26.

¹⁵ J. Duncumb (ed.) and continuators, *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*. Six vols (Hereford: E. G. Wright 1804-1915), V, p. 14, hereafter Duncumb. F. Youngs, *A Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England. Vol. 2: Northern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1991), hereafter *Guide*.

¹⁶ Ledbury Glebe Terrier, 1607, Herefordshire Record Office (hereafter HRO). J. Harnden, *The Parish Registers of Herefordshire* (Hereford: Friends of Herefordshire Record Office, 1988), hereafter *Registers*, p. 53.

¹⁷ J. King, 'Two Herefordshire minsters', *TWNFC* (1995), pp. 282-94, hereafter 'Two Herefordshire minsters', at p. 285 and n. 26.

¹⁸ Much Marcle was a significant manor of the king, rated at seventeen hides, having a priest and a church. Little Marcle was a five-hide manor of Roger of Lacy, Pixley was a one-hide unit held by Ansfred of Corneilles and Humphrey of Bouville, Aylton was a three hide manor held by Thurston son of Rolf and at Munsley there were six hides two virgates, three held by Roger of Lacy, one held by each of William son of Norman and Humphrey of Bouville and one hide two virgates held by William son of Baderon. *DB Herefordshire*: Much Marcle, 1.7 (Winstree Hundred); Little Marcle, 10.32 (Radlow Hundred); Pixley, 28.1 (Radlow Hundred); Aylton, 17.2 (Radlow Hundred). These manors are likely to have comprised the Domesday manor of *Merchelai*. Munsley (Radlow Hundred): 10.31, 16.1, 28.2 and 15.10.

¹⁹ Z. Brooke, A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), hereafter *Letters and Charters*, no. 227, p. 300. But see comments of P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, pp. 90-1, who argues that it is a reference to Lydbury North. For a discussion of the characteristics of the early British church with its propensity for peripatetic bishops serving 'dioceses' the size of later Anglo-Saxon hundreds see H. Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester University Press: Leicester, 1992), pp. 41-62.

²⁰ Our conclusions here are *contra* those of Hillaby, who excludes Much Marcle, although it was in the same Domesday hundred and was recorded by Youngs, *Guide*, p. 123, as dependent upon Ledbury: J. Hillaby, *Ledbury, a Medieval Borough*, 3rd edition (Wootton: Logaston Press, 2005), p. 8, including figure.

²¹ The details are contained within the Electronic Sawyer: S. Kelly (ed.) <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>. The location of this place is not known; however, Capes, in his version of the charter, locates it at Bishop's Frome, but gives no reasons for this view. W. Capes (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*, p. 1.

²² Bassett's recent article identifies similar transactions in respect of the minster at Hanbury, Worcestershire. S. Bassett, 'The landed endowment of the Anglo-Saxon minster at Hanbury (Worcs.)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 38 (2009), pp. 77-100, at p. 77. We are lacking any foundation charter for Bromyard but the evidence in S1270 suggests that, whilst the bishop and the canons already held the minster, they sought consent from the king for its lease: the grant is: '... *cum consensu et licentia Berhtwulfi Merciorum Regis*.'

²³ Which may be implied from the contents of S1431. This chronology certainly ties in with the location of an Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster at Hereford, the founding of a royal minster there and the gift of Ledbury to the cathedral canons. It might also indicate the circumstances for the original purchase by the archbishop of Canterbury of a ten-hide estate at Yarkhill from Offa's wife.

²⁴ Youngs, *Guide*, pp. 124, 128, 133-4, 136. Glebe Terrier, 10 July 1589, Bromyard, HRO. Brockhampton in Bromyard and Norton in Brockhampton were nineteenth-century parishes, previously townships within Bromyard, and the vicar of Bromyard had the great tithes of these places according to Duncumb, II, p. 63 and the 1589 Glebe Terrier. Wacton, first mentioned as a place-name in 1189 according to B. Coplestone-Crow *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 197, may be included within the three and one-half hide Domesday manor of Butterley (held by Roger of Lacy) and a one-hide manor (held by Urse d'Abetot—and possibly a further two hides held by Roger of Lacy). *DB Herefordshire*, 1.13 and 10.70, note. Wacton is mentioned as a chapel of Bromyard in the Westfaling Survey, 14v: F. Morgan (transcribed), 'The Return of Bishop Westfaling to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Survey of the Diocese of Hereford in 1587', hereafter *Westfaling Survey*. A further complicating factor is that Butterley was recorded as having been within the manor of Leominster before 1066: *DB Herefordshire*, 1.13. *Grenden* was a four-hide Domesday manor of Roger of Lacy, (*ibid.*, 10.72) but was held as two two-hide manors before 1066 and identified as Grendon Warren. Both Thorn and Coplestone-Crow

place this manor in Pencombe parish, as does Humphrey-Smith. Thorn views the episcopal holding at Grendon Bishop as contained within the thirty hides of Bromyard. The former is recorded in 1291 as *non valet: Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1. This is likely because of the evidence of the 1589 Glebe Terrier: the vicar of Bromyard had burial fees from the Grendon parishes. Stanford Bishop was a four-hide Plegelgate manor of the king, (*ibid.*, 1.9), and is recorded as having been a manor of Leominster before 1066, (*ibid.*, 1.10 c). It was subject to the curacy of Bromyard, according to Duncumb, II, p. 261, and burial fees were due to Bromyard. A further two ancient parishes, Upper Sapey and Whitbourne, were in the Domesday manor of Bromyard in 1086: Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 178 and 203.

²⁵ *DB Herefordshire* 10.64; in 1066 the canons of Hereford had held three hides.

²⁶ In 1318 the vicar of Bromyard was issued with a mandate to induct the vicar of Collington. A. Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-27* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 5, 1908), p. 385, hereafter *Reg. Orleton*.

²⁷ These are: Clifton-on-Teme, Lower Sapey and Kyre.

²⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 7.9. Barrow argues that it was a small minster: J. Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), hereafter *Acta VII*, p. xxx. Sims-Williams notes that the suffix *-bury* often indicates the existence of a *monasterium*. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 92-3, n.24.

²⁹ The combined hidage, with Wicton, was 5.5, the canons holding two hides and the rest being with laymen. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.3, 33.17, 10.65 and 30.1. The tithe map place both Sawbury Hill (Tithe Awards 16-25) and Noakes (Tithe Awards 37-63) in Avenbury. Tithe Map of Avenbury, 1842. Both were amalgamated with Bredenbury in 1883: The Divided Parish and Poor Law Amendment Act 1882.

³⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 87, p. 64. This is arguably consistent with an earlier association with Worcester diocese. Hemingus, *Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis E Codice MS. penes Richardum Groves de Mickelton in Argo Gloucestriensi*, ed. T Hearnus. Two volumes (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1723), hereafter *Heming's Cartulary*, I, p. 274, records it as being one of the temporal possessions of the Church of Worcester transferred to Herefordshire in the eleventh century. The others were Pencombe, Upleadon and Ocle. However, Westfaling Survey lists Little Cowarne as a chapel of Ullingswick, 13v, apparently as a result of its annexation in 1478. A. Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Thorne Myllyng, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1474-1492* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 26, 1920), hereafter *Reg. Mylling*, at p. 39.

³¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 204, pp. 149-51, '...et ecclesiam de Agneburia... (with three others listed)... cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.' This seems likely to have conveyed or confirmed whatever spiritual functions were exercisable.

³² *Heming's Cartulary*, II, at p.583. Hillaby argues that Avenbury was held by the diocese of Worcester, along with nearby Acton Beauchamp, and may '...represent early attempts by Worcester to establish a minster on the banks of the Frome... (which) were soon eclipsed by Hereford's foundation, Bromyard, as mother-church.' J. Hillaby, 'The early Church in Herefordshire: Columban and Roman' in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, pp. 68-9. Given the evidence of St Guthlac's later involvement in Avenbury, as confirmed by *Acta VII*, no. 204, 149-51, it is difficult to guess what role Worcester diocese may have played. Hillaby seems to suggest that landholding invariably implies ecclesiastical control, which was not always the case where the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford were concerned.

³³ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.63. It was a ten-hide unit.

³⁴ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 204, p. 23 and pp. 149-51.

³⁵ R. G. Griffiths (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1275-82* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 2, 1907), hereafter *Reg. Cantilupe*, at p. 208. The request had been made by St Peter's, Gloucester, the mother-house of St Guthlac's Priory. The 1589 Glebe Terrier records an Easter payment of 6d due from Stoke Lacy to the vicar of Bromyard 'of antient (*sic*) right and custom', as quoted by P. Williams, *Bromyard: Minster Manor and Town* (Leominster: Orphans Press, 1987), p. 26.

³⁶ Westfaling Survey, 13v and 14v.

³⁷ It is possible that the *-bury* suffix likewise indicates a small minster, as in Avenbury, above. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 92-3.

³⁸ The manor is likewise placed in Pencombe: *DB Herefordshire*, 10.72. Coplestone-Crow notes that the date when 'Grendon' was identified as two separate places may have been 1241, as Grendon Bishop remained in the manor of Bromyard. He has Grendon Warren in Pencombe as well. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 94.

³⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.6. It has been tentatively identified as *Pencovan*, a place granted by Offa in 757 x 796 to the church of Worcester. The identification is not secure, however. For the charter, which is now lost, see Sir William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*. Six volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1830), hereafter *Monasticon* I, p. 608. Heming records that, as a possession of the Church of Worcester; it was transferred to Hereford in the early eleventh century: *Heming's Cartulary*, I, p. 274.

⁴⁰ D. Parsons, 'Early churches in Herefordshire: documentary and structural evidence' in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, pp. 60-74. Parsons cites a number of churches not identified in Domesday Book but which contain early fabric, sculpture or other features characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period. One which he highlights is Pencombe.

⁴¹ Wolferlowe, Tedstone de la Mere, Tedstone Wafer, Edwin Loach, Edwin Ralph and Thornbury are all classed by Parsons as early churches likely to have stood during the Anglo-Saxon period. Parsons in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, pp. 60-74.

⁴² Westfaling Survey, 11r, recorded Edwin Loach as a chapel annexed to the church of Bromyard which may indicate Clifton's status as one of Bromyard's lesser churches.

⁴³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10 (c) Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, pp. 12-13. The charter is the earliest record of parishes alleged to have been within the extensive area of Leominster, the old minster immediately west of Bromyard. St Michael at Edwin Ralph was valued at £5 in 1291, with no information as to its patron. For the payment of Easter dues to the vicar of Bromyard as its 'chapelry or inferior church', see Hillaby in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, map, p. 63.

⁴⁴ With its chapel at Little Kyre, which separates it into two parts. *DB Worcestershire*, 3.2; it was a two-hide manor held by the bishop of Hereford. Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, p. 38. Harnden, *Registers*, p. 65.

⁴⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, Tedstone: 2.3, (bishop, 2.5 hides) and 10.68 (Roger of Lacy, 1 hide); Thornbury: 20.1, (Alfred of Spain, 6 hides); Wolferlow: 9.18, (Ralph Mortimer, 2 hides) and 10.66 (Roger of Lacy, six hides); and Stoke Bliss: 31.6, (Gryffydd, 1 hide). The position of Lower Sapey is not beyond doubt, but it seems to have been within the *parochia*. It was a three hide manor held by Osbern, son of Richard, and counted a priest among its ploughholders. *DB Worcestershire*, 19.9. The rector at Clifton-on-Teme held a portion of its church in 1291. 1291 Taxation, p. 165, column 2.

⁴⁶ 'A terrier of July 1589 identifies some of these "inferior churches" in terms of ancient dues accustomed to be paid to the vicar of Bromyard yearly at Easter from the parsons of ... Tedstone Delemere, Upper Sapey... Edwin Ralph, Stoke Bliss (and) Wolferlow.' Hillaby in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, p. 64.

⁴⁷ R. V. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), hereafter *Rural England*, p. 311, notes that it is not clear whether the priest held ploughs with the villeins or independently of them.

⁴⁸ The grant is regarded as a lost one by Finberg and Coplestone-Crow. Barrow is less positive about its efficacy, but does not altogether dismiss it, as she includes it with other grants which 'almost certainly reflect royal endowment' from an early period. Barrow in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, at p. 30 and n. 13. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 420, p. 145. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 193. All cite Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, in the edition of M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 430-1. Finberg interprets the account as a death-bed bequest by Edmund which seems dubious. For the evidence that the grant included Walford and Upton Bishop see Duncumb, III, pp. 178-9, but no source is given there.

⁴⁹ See *DB Herefordshire*, 2.23, 2.24 and 2.25. The priest at Ross does not appear to hold land separately. There is a priest recorded at Upton Bishop who holds ploughs (and by implication, land) with the villagers. There is no priest mentioned at Walford.

⁵⁰ According to Domesday Book, the church was held by St Mary's, Cormeilles. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1, and was likely to have been given it sometime after 1066. (However it is possible that this was an error, and that its holder was Lyre Abbey). There is some evidence of its antiquity, and it may possess Anglo-Saxon fabric. The surrounding area is likely to have been within the control of a British ecclesiastical institution, as toponymic evidence appears to show. Within the parish of Linton lies an *-ecles* place-name, at Eccleswall Court. For further on this topic see: C. Hough, 'Eccles in English and Scottish place-names' in E. Quinon (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, vol. 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, School of English, 2009), pp. 109-24.

⁵¹ Youngs, *Guide*, p. 134.

⁵² Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 127, pp. 85-6. It held the church and tithes from 1066. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.8.

⁵³ This indicates that the grant by William fitzOsbern did not alter the continued exercise of sacramental duties by the mother-church at Ross.

⁵⁴ 1291 Taxation, p. 161, column 1

⁵⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34, pp. 32-3; it is included within the grant of Linton. There is no reference as to what became of the rights which St Mary's, Cormeilles, had in it. This is common of all the estates held by St Mary's, Cormeilles. Barrow speculates that the Domesday scribe may have confused the two abbeys. Lyre, likewise a Benedictine monastery and an earlier foundation of the fitzOsberns, however, seemed to eclipse it. Dugdale includes these possessions under each of the entries: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, pp. 1075-6 and pp. 1092-4.

⁵⁶ The date if the arrangement is either 1163 x 7 or 1174 x 86.

⁵⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 150, pp. 102-3. '...concessimus et dedimus eis ecclesiam manerii nostri de Hupton, in augmentum communitie sue, libere et quiete et honorifice in perpetuum habendam, cum terris, decimis et obventionibus, et omnibus rebus et libertatibus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus...'

⁵⁸ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII auctoritate regia institutes*. Volume 3 (London: Record Commission, Eyre and Strahan, 1817), hereafter *Valor*, p. 24. A pension was payable to the vicar of Ross-on-Wye; this is the same sum (two shillings) as that which was received by it from Brampton Abbots. The tithe map shows a detached portion of Upton Bishop in Brampton Abbots, which church was held by Ross-on-Wye. Upton Bishop Tithe Map, 1842. The income to Upton Bishop and expenditure by Brampton Abbots of the same sum appear to represent what accrued from parcels identified as tithe awards 745-53. This may indicate that, in ecclesiastical terms, the combined area of Ross-on-Wye, Upton Bishop and Brampton Abbots had formerly been one land-unit.

⁵⁹ 1291 Taxation, p. 161, column 1.

⁶⁰ Hamden, *Registers*, p. 80; Youngs, *Guide*, p. 136. 1291 Taxation, p. 161, column 1. Denton's entry for Walford, with regard to Westbury-on-Severn, states that Westbury held £1 unregistered in the parochial chapel at Ruardean: '*precipit ILB. Incensi in capella Ruardin P "C"*', which rather ambiguously seems to imply that Westbury had either a portion in Walford or a portion of another chapel which came within its jurisdiction. Denton's interpretation is the latter: consulted at <http://www.hironline.ac/uk>. There is no record in the *Acta* of a date when Walford became annexed to the precentorship of the cathedral. The bishop's registers record nothing until the fourteenth century. There are two relevant entries, one in 1304 which includes Walford in the list of military fees held by the bishop and the other in 1313 in respect of a chantry to be created at St Mary's, Ross-on-Wye. Bannister and Capes (eds), *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 405 and 478. Walford is referred to in the 1313 *inspeximus* as a *parochia*.

⁶¹ For the significance of Guthlac's relationship to the Mercian royal family see: B. Colgrave (ed.), *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), discussed in A. Meaney, '*Felix's Life of Guthlac: history or hagiography?*' in D. Hill and M. Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 383 (2005), pp. 75-82; N. Higham, '*Guthlac's Vita, Mercia and East Anglia in the first half of the eighth century*' in *ibid.*, pp. 85-90.

⁶² Brook, considering the spread of curvilinear churchyards of likely British origin lying to the east of Offa's Dyke, has concluded that the shape of Much Cowarne's churchyard probably suggests both a British foundation and a failed minster. D. Brook, '*The early Christian church east and west of Offa's Dyke*' in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, Monograph 16, 1992), pp. 77-89, hereafter *Early Church in Wales*, at p. 87.

⁶³ W. Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Longman, 1863), hereafter *Historia*, I, at p. 80. '*Insuper ecclesiam de Covere majori, cum tota decima illius parochiae, et terram ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentem...*' quoted by C. N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), hereafter *Welsh Border*, p. 53 and n. 13. It is to be noted that both sources which Hart used date from the fifteenth century, although Brooke comments that an earlier exemplar must have existed. This grant is also noted in Dugdale, *Monasticon* I, charter 13, p. 547, identified within the entry for Glasbury as *Covere Majori* and dated 1088.

⁶⁴ Barrow *Acta VII*, p. xxx: '*Gloucester abbey was supremely efficient in taking over old minster churches...*'. It is to be noted that the gift of *Covere Majori* was the second listed in the grant. The first was at Glasbury, the large British episcopal minster that had a bishop as late as 1055. The *Acta* record a number of its possessions in the shire, indicating the extent of the Abbey's influence by the middle of the twelfth century.

⁶⁵ 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1. There is either no value recorded, or a value with no benefice details apart from the church, and no patron or portion-holders: Evesbatch (no value), Canon Frome (no value but Llantonny is a portion-holder).

⁶⁶ 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1 and *Valor*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ In 1086 it had the 'third penny' of three hundreds reckoned to it. The reckoning of the 'third penny' was a mark of an ancient royal manor. See: H. Cam, '*Manerium cum hundredo: the hundred and the hundred manor*' in *eadem*, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), pp. 64-90, hereafter 'Hundred Manor', at pp. 77-8. She notes the significance of this for Cowarne, suggesting that the three hundreds of Radlow, Plegelgate and Thornlaw had been annexed to it.

⁶⁸ King, 'Two Herefordshire minsters', pp. 287-91.

⁶⁹ S1264; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*, no. 413, p. 140.

⁷⁰ King, 'Two Herefordshire minsters', map on p. 288.

⁷¹ In fact by 1086 Yarkhill, far from being an important royal demesne estate, was in the hands of Roger of Lacy, and had been held by a thane of Harold before the Conquest. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.28

⁷² J. Denton, 'Royal supremacy in ancient demesne churches', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), pp. 289-302, hereafter 'Ancient Demesne Churches'.

⁷³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.2. The text notes that the manor pays £10 of blanch pence and an ounce of gold but that prior to 1066 it had not been placed in the revenue. For the significance of this sort of payment see: S. Harvey, 'Royal revenue and Domesday terminology', *Economic History Review*, 20 (August 1967), pp. 221-8, hereafter 'Royal Revenue'.

Harvey writes: 'For renders at 20d. in the ora, blanch payments and payments by weight... occur only on royal estates', *ibid.*, p. 226. Coplestone-Crow records its name as being formed on the Old English *-worthign* and meaning 'settlement by the river Lugg', *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 137.

⁷⁴ This was an abbey founded in 1060 by William fitzOsbern, when Earl of Hereford. The grant appears to have been made at some time after 1066: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, pp. 1075-6. However, it is possible that the post-Conquest holder was another of fitzOsbern's foundations - that of Lyre Abbey. Julia Barrow's view is that Lyre Abbey held this, as well as a number of other churches allegedly granted to St Mary's, Cormeilles, and that the Survey's information is erroneous. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34, pp. 32-3.

⁷⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, pp. 23-4, (1143 x 1148). The text refers to the chapels at Ocle Pychard, Lugwardine, Mordiford and Bartestree as always having been in the possession of the church of St Peter and St Guthlac, Hereford.

A. Pearn, 'Origin and Development of Urban Churches and Parishes: a Comparative Study of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester' (University of Cambridge, unpublished PhD thesis, 1988), hereafter 'Origin and Development', p. 127, quoting Balliol MS. 271, fol.16.

⁷⁶ 1291 Taxation, p. 158, column 2.

⁷⁷ As approximately one hundred and fifty years earlier St Guthlac's portion of the tithes was confirmed, there must have been another portion-holder. This may indicate that the grant to St Mary's by William fitzOsbern had preserved some rights which St Guthlac's, as a secular college, anciently held. The elusive nature of the St Mary's, Cormeilles, and what became of its interests is not dealt with in any of the secondary sources and see the comments above in note 74. It is possible that the grant to St Mary's, Cormeilles was like that of Much Cowarne: of an old minster which had been one of many controlled by St Guthlac's handed over during the post-Conquest period to monasteries which had the support of Norman families.

⁷⁸ Youngs, *Guide*, p. 132. Little Dewchurch had been part of a much larger parish of Hentland until it was separated from it in 1863; St Weonards and Llangarron were joined in the middle of the nineteenth century before being separated in 1877. See: D. Seaton, *History of the Deanery of Archenfield* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1903), hereafter *Archenfield Deanery*, at p. 6. He recorded the mother-church status of Lugwardine and its lesser churches (parochial chapels) of Hentland, Little Dewchurch, Llangarron and St Weonards but provided no information about the date when the status may have commenced. Some have speculated that the three churches in Archenfield held by the king (recorded in *DB Herefordshire*, A1), are these very churches belonging to Lugwardine: Hentland, Llangarron and St Weonards. See H. Sherlock and P. Pikes, *The First Millennium Cemetery at Dewesall Court, Herefordshire: An Interim Report* (Fownhope: Archenfield Archaeology, 2002), hereafter *Dewesall Court*, at p. 42. If these places are correctly identified, it would support a tenth-century date for their incorporation by an Anglo-Saxon church, unless the link had been a much earlier one. I am grateful for the views of an anonymous reviewer who supports this interpretation.

⁷⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, pp. 23-4, (1143 x 1148).

⁸⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34 and n. 33, nos. 101, 162, 218, 305, at pp. 32-3, p. 70, pp. 115-16, pp. 161-3, pp. 236-7 and *Acta 35*, no. 102, p. 97. It may have been another example of a failing minster being transferred to an alien priory. Within the *Acta*, the first entry concerns the adjudication of the church at Fownhope to Lyre by Robert de Bethune against the claim of the abbess of Elstow, who alleged to have held it from ancient times. Lyre's claim was that it was given the church at Fownhope by Hugh Donkey. Round traced a confirmatory charter of Robert de Chandos from evidence in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. J. H. Round, 'Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday Book' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume 1* (London: Constable, 1908), pp. 263-307, hereafter 'Introduction', at p. 276 n.80; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, part 2, p. 1093. The grant confirmed: '...ecclesiam de Hopa cum appendiciis suis...'

⁸¹ 1291 Taxation, p. 161, column 1; *Valor*, p. 24. *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20, places Strangford in Sellack, and it paid no tax—an indication that it may have been church land—but the editors query its location, about which there is some speculation. It could be Eaton in Foy. Either place would locate it near Fawley, south of Brockhampton in Woolhope.

⁸² R. Kain and R. Oliver (eds), *Historic Parishes of England and Wales* (Colchester: History Data Service Data Archive, 2001), hereafter *Historic Parishes*, at sheet 142 and parishes 174A and 174B. Harnden, *Registers*, p. 49. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 213-14, regards this as the British land-unit *Caplefore*.

⁸³ W. Capes (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1327-1344* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 9, 1913), hereafter *Reg. Thomas de Charlton*, at pp. vii and 16. 'In the year 1330... the revenues of Lugwardine which, with its dependent chapelries of Llangarron, St Weonards and Hentland had lately passed ... (to) the Dean and Chapter by gift of Johanna de Bohun...(to) be used for a large increase of cathedral staff with a portion reserved to endow the vicar.' The *Acta* give no indication of this relationship: the first mention of Lugwardine is as a *capella* held by St Guthlac's Priory. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, pp. 23-4, 1143 x 1148.

⁸⁴ See note 78, above. I am grateful for the views of an anonymous reviewer who cites a 1203 gift of the churches of Lugwardine and Archenfield by King John to Jocelyn of Wells, which reference (*Rotuli Chartarum*, 17) I have been unable to check.

⁸⁵M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), hereafter *West Midlands*, pp. 115-16. 'The date at which Archenfield came under English control is a matter for conjecture. A sparse framework ... is provided by the few events which are mentioned in surviving records... Davies says the loss (of it) to the English happened in the later ninth century... It may have happened much earlier... but later than 750.'

⁸⁶W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*, at p. 176, LL192 F.

⁸⁷Literally, 'old church'. However, Coplestone-Crow cites a charter c. 1045-1104: *Hennlann dibric et lann teliau in uno cimiterio* ('Old church of St Dyfrig and church of St Teilo in a cemetery') from the Llan Dav collection. His argument is that the monastic site at Llanfrother some two miles away was the original foundation. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 98-100. Although neither of these is commented upon or located by Davies in her 1978 study, Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, p. 40, agrees. 'In AD 500 Dubritius came from Moccas and established a college at Llanfrother... the remains of which were seen by Silas Taylor... [it] is one of the earliest stone churches in the Deanery dating to 1056'.

⁸⁸In addition to Coplestone-Crow, the Herefordshire SMR 6436 records the remains of an early medieval religious house at SO 54 28: www.Herefordshire.gov.uk/SMRsearch. See also: Duncumb, VI, part 2, p. 128. The antiquarian Silas Taylor is quoted there as having viewed the remains of the monastery.

⁸⁹1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 2.

⁹⁰There is no record of this church in 1291 Taxation. Youngs, *Guide*, p. 126, reports that it had been part of the medieval parish of Hentland. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, p. 175, however, tentatively identifies it with the 850 grant of *Cwm Mouric*, LL170 (51) E, which may imply that it had been a chapel of Hentland at an earlier date.

⁹¹Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, p. 176, LL192 F.

⁹²Morey et al (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 149, p. 195. The case was not decided but adjourned. Although reference is made to the church being held by St Mary's, Monmouth in the twelfth century, no charter authenticates the gift. See J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1899), hereafter *Calendar*, consulted at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/france/918-1206/pp.395-420>, under the date of 1148. This entry contains a list of all churches alleged to be held by Monmouth Priory, and for the first time the 'church of Langare with its appurtenances' is included. It is likely that the Queen's claim was as the result of an earlier arrangement concerning Lugwardine's parochial jurisdiction, and if there was a gift to Monmouth, which is by no means certain, it would have preserved the parochial jurisdiction. We have seen a similar occurrence in the cases of Stoke Lacy, which was held by St Guthlac's but subject to Bromyard and Wilton, which was held by Lyre Abbey but subject to Ross-on-Wye.

⁹³V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday, c. 1160-1170* (London: Pipe Roll Society, J. W. Ruddock, 1950), hereafter *Herefordshire Domesday*, p.5.

⁹⁴Youngs, *Guide*, p. 131.

⁹⁵1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 2.

⁹⁶1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 2.

⁹⁷*DB Herefordshire*, 1.59, an unhidated manor in Archenfield held by Roger and having four ploughs.

⁹⁸It is listed there as *ecclesiam Sancti Wenarch de Herchenefeld*. R. W. Banks (ed.), '*Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannis Evang. De Brecon*', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 14 (April, 1883), hereafter *Brecon Cartulary*, p. 143. Once again, as with Llangarron, if the gift to Brecon was legitimate, it is likely that Lugwardine's parochial jurisdiction over it had remained intact.

⁹⁹Its successor, the Priory of St Guthlac, requested confirmation of its control over Lugwardine and its tithes in 1143 and 1148, and claimed burial rights.

¹⁰⁰Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 22, p.23; the Lacy family were benefactors of the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester. The re-founded Priory of St Guthlac was its daughter-house. During the mid-twelfth century there was a concerted drive to restore churches and tithes to many of these re-founded houses, as the only way to secure their financial stability.

¹⁰¹Blair, *Minsters*, pp. 104-42 and map on p. 108: the mark of status, here, being its exemption from geld and the separate payment by the priest. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.12.

¹⁰²Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, p. 177, LL200, dated to 758.

¹⁰³*Valor*, 5. Ballingham appears as a chapel of Lugwardine. It is possible that its origins were much earlier since Davies identifies the seventh-century *Podum Sancti Budgualan* as lying within Ballingham. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, p. 171, LL164, c. 620.

¹⁰⁴*DB Herefordshire*, 1.58. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 33-4. 'Later information makes it almost certain that the DB estate is a remnant of a much larger land-unit... (which formed)... a *maenor wrthir*, or upland *maenor*, of Eryng and that it was centred on the hill fort at Aconbury. A corresponding *maenor fro*, or lowland *maenor*, was probably centred on Hentland'. See: G. R. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales' in H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 281-382, at p.307.

¹⁰⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 155, pp. 107-9. Barrow regards this as spurious the claim is in a fifteenth-century hand, but she does not comment on the fact that it may have included within it a genuine list of pre-Conquest holdings. Dewchurch was one of the churches allegedly captured in the mid-eighth century as a result of Anglo-Saxon raids. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, p. 176, LL192 F.

¹⁰⁶ Hentland and Llanwarne were, along with others, regarded as centres of British monastic and pastoral activity. See above and Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.9, (one hide two virgates), and 24.9, (one hide two virgates).

¹⁰⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 61, at p. 23 and pp. 54-5. Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 290 at pp. 353-4, places Risbury in Bodenham parish.

¹⁰⁹ As an example, the Vern, a small Domesday manor held by William son of Norman, *DB Herefordshire*, 16.4, had a chapel by 1154, as did Rowberry. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 30 and 61, pp. 29-30 and pp. 54-5. Risbury was one of the places claimed for Leominster in 1123, and yet two 1148 grants gave its tithes to St Guthlac's and referred to Bodenham as Risbury's mother-church. (Kain and Oliver, *Historic Parishes*, have it placed in both Humber, OS Sheet 129—parish 99, and Pencombe, OS Sheet 142—parish 146.) It appears to have been a divided vill. The lord of Risbury later claimed a chapel in return for tithes being given to Leominster, possibly to put the matter beyond doubt or because the bishop was concerned with maintaining Leominster's security. In 1186 St Guthlac's continued to hold tithes: Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 11, 22, 61 and 204, at pp. 12-13, p. 23, pp. 54-5 and pp. 149-51. According to Brecon Cartulary, 141, the gift is alleged to have been made by Bernard Newmarch around 1100.

¹¹⁰ In 1086 these were variously recorded as: 'Mage', 'Magne', 'Magge' and 'Magga'. For a full discussion of the etymology of the area, which appears to have given its name to the early Anglo-Saxon province see note 125, below. The inhabitants of this district are *magonsaete* in 1016 according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* '... and the area *Magonsetum* and *Magesaetna* in Saxon charters.' *DB Herefordshire*, 7.5 note. S1798 is the source for a claim that five 'tributarii' of land at *Magana* were given to the nun Mildburg 675 x 690. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 404, p. 138. This grant is connected with a much larger one within the district of *Lydas*, believed to be Lyde within the medieval parish of Pipe, immediately to the south of Marden.

¹¹¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 7.5, 10.6, 10.8 and 14.2. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 13.

¹¹² *DB Herefordshire*, 6.6 and 6.3.

¹¹³ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 87 and 155, at p. 64 and pp. 107-9. St Guthlac's claimed a prebend at Felton according to 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1. Coplestone-Crow notes that 'Hinton' is 'a settlement of a monastic establishment', *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 85, i.e. presumably St Guthlac's.

¹¹⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.5. It may have been a former temporal possession of the Church of Worcester. The editors note: 'Hemming, in his list of former possessions of Worcester Church, records how Edmund Ironside, after dividing England with Cnut (in 1016), awarded Herefordshire to Earl Ranig. He and his soldiers seized from the Church... *Alcea*... It is not possible to decide what parts of the divided villages it had held.' *Ibid.*, note.

¹¹⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, at pp. 23-4. This grant included tithes and everything pertaining, noting that St Peter's and St Guthlac's had always been in possession of Ocle.

¹¹⁶ 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1.

¹¹⁷ 1291 Taxation, p. 160, column 1, 1.4. It paid £9 of blanch pence before 1066. For blanch pence, which occur only on royal estates see: Harvey, 'Royal Revenue', pp. 221-8.

¹¹⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 55 and 87, at pp. 50-1 and p. 64. St Guthlac's held the chapel at Wisteton, *ibid.*, no. 156.

¹¹⁹ *Contra* Blair, *Church*, p. 288, n. 194, who argued that it was the south *tun* in relation to Leominster. It is now contained in two parishes: Sutton St Michael and Sutton St Nicholas. We considered in Waddington, 'Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire', pp. 87-9, the relevant hagiographical sources for the Offa-Ethelbert saga. The one identified as the work of Osbert of Clare contains many references to the area, its topography and its early place names: M. James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert, king and martyr', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917), pp. 214-44, hereafter 'Two Lives', at pp. 218-19. Both Sutton parishes had been confirmed to St Guthlac's in the mid-twelfth century: Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22, 87 and 204, at p. 23, p. 64 and pp. 149-51. By 1185 Sutton St Michael was in the hands of the Knights Hospitallers of Dinmore but St Guthlac's still claimed a pension. *Ibid.*, no. 126, p. 85, n. The tithe map reveals the complexity of the area. In the Marden Tithe Map 1842, tithe award numbers 224, 445, 446 and 447 are within Bodenham, with two strips adjacent to tithe award 460 at Venns Green, likewise in Bodenham. The area of the map around the outliers of Sutton St Michael parish is in a very poor state and difficult to decipher, but it appears that a large parcel lies to the north of tithe award 1098 and adjacent to tithe award 376. For Sutton St Nicholas there are no less than eight outliers within Marden: adjacent to tithe awards 932 (2), 947, 949, 950, 958, 880, 836 and a strip of land running along the line of the road leading to Felton. These arrangements reveal complicated earlier relationships. Sheppard has considered that the district may be contained in the later Thornlaw Hundred and that its *caput* was at Sutton Walls, an Iron Age fort. J. Sheppard, *The origins and evolution of field and settlement patterns in the Herefordshire manor of Marden* (Occasional Papers, 15, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979).

¹²⁰ Youngs, *Guide*, p. 136. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.17.

¹²¹ On place-name evidence the chapel at Preston Wynne may reveal the presence of a church as early as the eighth century, as Pickles has demonstrated. T. Pickles, 'Biscopes-tun, muneca-tun and preosta-tun: dating, significance and distribution' in E. Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham School of English, 2009), pp. 39-107, hereafter '*Preosta-tun*', at pp. 43 and 94, (Table 3) in particular.

¹²² 1291 Taxation, possibly as a duplicated entry: p. 158, column 1 (as *Wymgeton*) and column 2 (as *Wythinton*). The values are the same, and *Wymgeton* has not been identified by Denton at <http://www.hironline.ac.uk/taxatio>. However, later diocesan records reveal the existence of two places: Little Withington and Church Withington, with the former being a prebend.

¹²³ The 'assembly hill', which on toponymic grounds is likely to have been the middle Anglo-Saxon meeting place of the Maund/Bodenham land-unit.

¹²⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.4 and 7.6. Nigel's *antecessor* was Spirites the priest. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', pp. 117-18, has considered the significance of Spirites as a possible canon of St Guthlac's.

¹²⁵ Gelling was among the first to discuss the difficulty of identifying the etymology for the term. M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England*, 3rd edition (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), pp. 101-5. Recently, Freeman has looked at the topic again and, in a comprehensive analysis of the historiography to date, put forward the possibility that the name may be based on a formation of British **magos* or 'plain' with a suffix *-on-*. Several historians had suggested that the meaning was derived from 'plain dwellers', including Ekwall who, Freeman claims, constructed a (false) etymology based on Welsh *maen*, and it was Jackson who argued that the name was not derived from the Romano-British settlement of Magnis (Kenchester), as Ifor Williams had argued: J. Freeman, 'The name of the Magonsaete', in O. Padel and D. Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 101-16.

¹²⁶ The first reference occurs in the ninth century. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p.40 and nn. 125 and 126. ¹²⁷ It was at Broadfield; the full details of the arrangement, concluded around 1131, included the right of Leominster to continue to receive its *scirforn* and Peter's Pence with the men of Broadfield being buried in Bodenham. B. Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*. Two volumes, Camden Miscellany, 31 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), I, no. 326, pp. 262-3.

¹²⁸ It is by no means clear when the parishes of Marden and Withington came within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction, but my view is that it was very much later than the period which we are considering here. It is also noteworthy that the two Sutton manors were never within that jurisdiction, notwithstanding their geographic location as one entirely surrounded by parishes which were. It is worth noting here that, although Marden was itself an important royal manor in the eleventh century, there is no ecclesiastical evidence at all which suggests that its church was the old minster of the *Maund* district.

¹²⁹ Discussed by Denton, 'Ancient Demesne Churches', pp. 289-302. The policy of endowing churches on royal manors in order to diminish episcopal power appears to have been a common practice in Herefordshire. It is an additional indication of the antiquity of many of its early churches, particularly those within *villae regales*.

¹³⁰ D. Whitehead, 'Historical introduction' in R. Shoesmith (ed.), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 1* (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 36, 1980), pp. 1-8.

Pembridge parish church: a survey of masons' banker marks

by PETER KLEIN

The fine largely 14th-century parish church at Pembridge is fortunate in that its interior stonework has been little defaced by 19th-century 'restoration'. Although many of its fittings were stripped out and sold off in 1842, thankfully the surface of the interior was not subjected to an aggressive scrape or retooling such as was the case at Lyonshall. There every vestige of the medieval surface of the masonry of the arcades appears to have been chiselled away in 1873, presumably as a simple expedient to remove the centuries' accumulation of limewash. As a result, Pembridge parish church still has a fine series of medieval masons' banker marks that, somewhat surprisingly, have hitherto scarcely been commented upon in print.¹

THE RE-BUILDING OF PEMBRIDGE CHURCH

Dr Richard K. Morris, in the Club's 1977 *Transactions*, convincingly argued that an intensive period of church rebuilding at Pembridge took place in about 1325-30, when the parish authorities evidently opted for the total demolition of the pre-existing, probably Norman, parochial nave.² The new work, almost certainly completed within a very few years, involved a total rebuild from and including the chancel arch westwards, the north porch alone being added in about 1370 and having its own distinctive mason's mark. The resulting lofty aisled nave was perhaps most influenced by the spacious preaching naves of the friars' churches of the period (Fig. 1). No documented record of the reasons for this rebuilding has survived, but growth in population, local prosperity despite the climatic problems of the period and perhaps the condition or other inadequacy of the old church, may all have had a part to play. The two transept chapels, also clearly built at the same time, were the most likely to have been funded from private money; wealthy patrons and families in the locality will have contributed further window glass, woodwork, and other fittings for the church as an expression of their devotion. Evidence for this was examined by the author in a paper published in a recent volume of the *Transactions*.³ That the north porch was part of the original concept seems unlikely, although it might well have been added rather sooner had it not been for the plague. Inserted into the space between the aisle buttresses flanking to either side of the door, its east wall shares the return in the plinth of the former buttress on that side, clearly apparent from the butted joint between the two different plinth mouldings (Fig. 2).

THE BANKER MARKS

The survey of the Pembridge masons' banker marks was undertaken as an exercise primarily to supplement the 1977 analysis, for it was also the hope of the author that some additional light might be thrown on the campaign of rebuilding, not only by giving a clear idea of the scale of the work force employed, but also to see whether there might have been any clues as to the length of time taken for the construction. With the recording process complete, what immediately became clear was that a total of at least fourteen different masons had been engaged on the construction of the chancel arch, nave, clerestory, aisles, transepts, and rood-loft stairs; and that

the whole appeared to have been undertaken in one campaign of construction, the transept stonework being in bond with the nave and aisles, and sharing banker marks with other parts of the church. In the complete absence of contemporary accounts or other documentary evidence, it was perhaps ambitiously hoped that an analysis of the sequence of these marks might help to understand the order of construction of the building, how many masons might have laboured on the church at any one time, and thereby how long the works took to complete. It might also have helped to indicate whether their work as a group was suggested at any churches elsewhere within the diocese or in Pembridge's near environs.



Figure 1. The lofty aisled nave of Pembridge church c. 1911 by Robert Heyworth of Knighton



Figure 2. Return in the plinth mouldings between the church porch and the stub of a former north aisle buttress. The porch is on the right

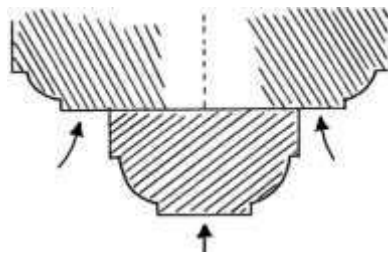


Figure 3. A section through the voussoirs of the nave arcade, chancel arch and flying buttresses, showing the location of masons' marks

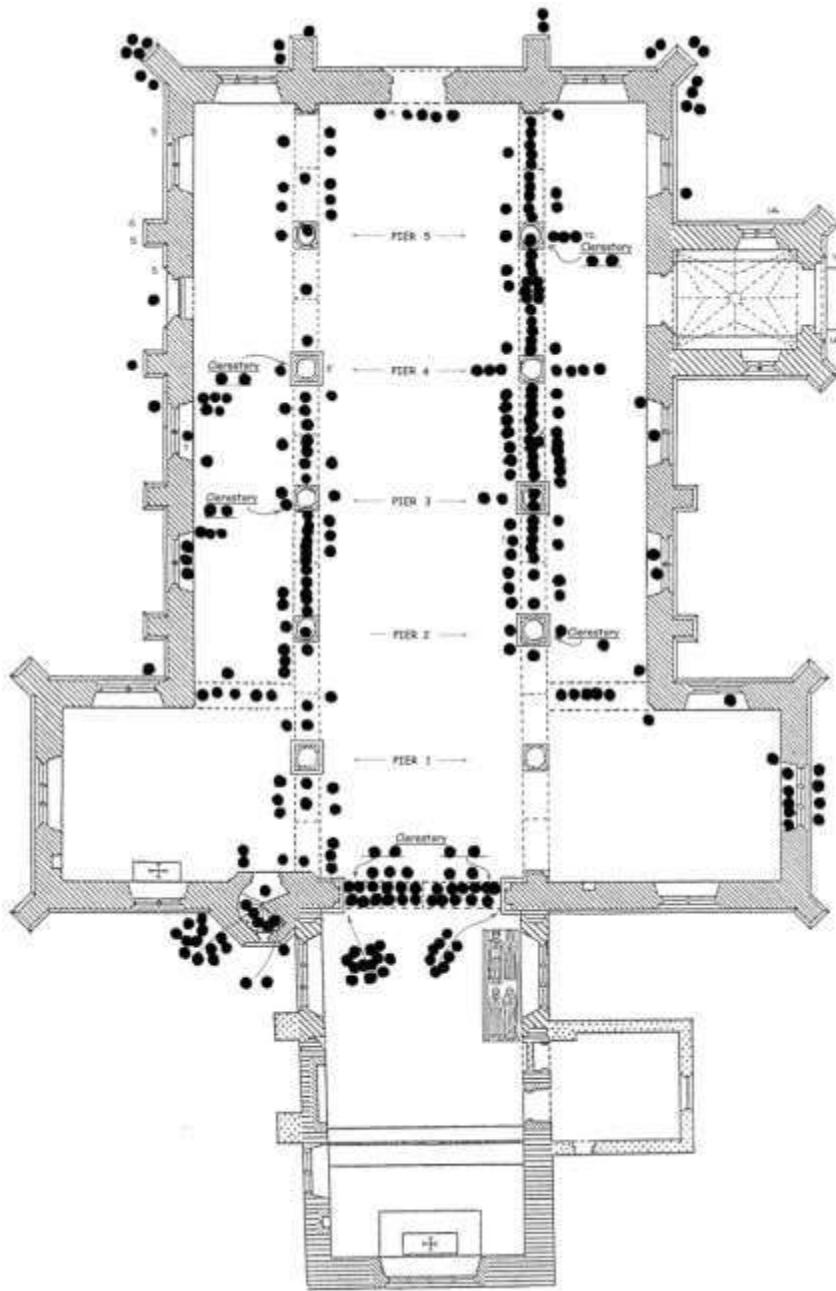


Figure 4. Pembridge church. Plan showing the locations of recorded masons' banker marks

An examination by the author of the stonework both inside and out revealed that several hundred marks were still clearly apparent, and a careful record was taken of the location and pattern of all those visible from ground level, using available daylight, torch, and binoculars (Fig. 4).

Marks in some situations were not easy to see clearly, particularly when occurring on damaged or spalled surfaces, or when filled with lime-wash, and one or two were only clearly visible when lit obliquely from the west at sunset. The resulting list cannot therefore pretend to be exhaustive, particularly on the masonry of the upper levels of the nave arcade and clerestory, but despite the simple methodology some 320 marks have been clearly identified. The presence of a few more was also noted, but these are in need of closer examination in the future when the use of adequate lighting and a safe platform or long ladder might be available. It is also possible that there may be further examples hidden on the upper surfaces of the pier capitals.

The distribution of the marks was plotted on accompanying scaled ground-plans. Some marks are often repeated, up to 20 or 30 times, while two (numbers 1 and 7) each occur over 60 times. Of others only a few examples were noted and one or two appear to be unique, but clear patterns are immediately discernable.

The recording process was started at the chancel arch, the marks being allocated numbers in the order in which they were encountered - their numbering having no other significance, apart from the fact that numbers 2a to 2d are all of an A-shaped form, and possibly therefore belonged to a related team of masons (See Table 2).

The resulting distribution pattern suggests that the marks fall in general into six consistent groups, these groups occurring in multiples of two bays along the nave arcade. (Plate N.1 shows the groups distinguished by colour and Plate N.2 gives the location of all the individual marks as shown in Table 2). Significantly, the pattern is predominantly symmetrical both on the north and south sides. The groups are shown below:

Group	Marks	Locations	
1	2b, 3 & 13	Chancel arch to pier 2	(bays 1 & 2)
2	1, 2a, 2c & 5	Chancel arch to pier 4	(bays 1 to 4)
3	4	Chancel arch to pier 2, and pier 4 to the west wall	(bays 1 & 2, also 5 & 6)
4	6 & 9	Pier 2 to pier 4	(bays 3 & 4)
5	7 & 8	Pier 2 to the west wall	(bays 3 to 6)
6	10 & 11	Pier 4 to the west wall	(bays 5 & 6)

Table 1. Groups of marks

There will always be exceptions, and a single example of mark 9 (group 4) appears on the rere-arch of the great west window; and a possible specimen of mark 3 occurs in bay 3. Mark number 12 was found only once, on pier 5 on the north side; and mark 2d occurs as a unique example in the clerestory, and may merely be a variation of 2a. Mark 13 has so far only been found on the clerestory windows in the gable of the nave's east wall.

Figure 3 shows the location of the marks on the voussoirs of the nave arcade, the chancel arch and the flying buttresses. Elsewhere the marks are sometimes to be found on the north, south, east or west faces of the nave arcade piers (not on the chamfers) and occasionally on the jambs and voussoirs of the window and clerestory openings. They also appear on some of the buttresses at the west end, and once on the south wall of the south aisle.


















1		Chancel arch; rood stair & rood stair door; nave arcades bays 1-4 (S) & bays 3-4 (N); flying buttress (N); aisle windows (N&S); north transept windows (N&W)
2a		Chancel arch; rood stair door; nave arcade bays 1-4 (S); clerestory (S); west window in north transept
2b		Chancel arch; clerestory (NE); west window in south transept
2c		Chancel arch; rood stairs; nave arcade bays 1-3 (S) & piers 3-4 (N); south aisle flying buttress & east window
2d		Clerestory (S), one only. Possible variant of 2a.
3		Chancel arch (N side); rood stair; flying buttress (S); possibly on nave arcade north side bay 3
4		Nave arcade bay 1 (S), & pier 4 - west wall (N&S); flying buttress (S); great west window
5		Rood stairs; nave arcade pier 4 (S)
6		Nave arcade on both sides, piers 2-4
7		Nave arcade both sides piers 2 - west side; aisle windows (N&S); great west window; buttresses exterior west end; on exterior and buttress south wall of south aisle
8		Nave arcades bay 3 - west wall (N) & piers 3-4 (S); aisle window exterior (N)
9		Nave arcade bay 3 & 4 (N), 4 (S); aisle windows (N&S); great west window
10		Nave arcade pier 3 - west end (N)
11		Nave arcade both sides piers 4 - west wall; clerestory (N)
12		Pier 5 (N), once only
13		Clerestory in east wall of nave, both sides
14		Porch entrance and porch west window

Table 2. Pembridge church. Masons' marks found

One interpretation of this distribution might have been that most of the masons were present throughout the building process, and that all parts of the church arose from foundation level simultaneously, with groups of masons being allocated areas or bays of the church to work upon. The foundations may well have been planned, trenched, and laid down in one operation; indeed Dr. Morris suggested in 1977 that this was probably the case, with the foundations of the west wall being dug and put in place at an early stage.⁴ However, the author's impression has been that the structure *above* foundation level was more likely to have been erected starting at one end and working towards the other, and that the chancel arch would have been the first new work to have been completed, if for no other reason than that the chancel would have been required to continue to function as a church throughout the building process. Completing the chancel arch at the outset, even before major demolition took place elsewhere, would have enabled a temporary partition wall, perhaps based on the wooden centering to the arch, to have remained in place until building works in the nave were well advanced. If all this is correct, then the movement of the building process, from east to west, also represents a movement in time.

If the east-to-west progression of the building-works is correct, then the simple conclusion drawn from these patterns is that, apart from their first arrival at and final departure from the site, a number of masons either came or left when work reached either piers 2 or 4. This strongly suggests that the church was progressively extended symmetrically, on a regular and probably seasonal basis, each time by two bays in length.

Marks on the exterior of the building are poorly represented, but are perhaps best seen on the flanks of the clasping buttresses at the western ends of the aisles (mark 7); and the north window of the north transept is also well marked (mark 1). There are also two scratch-dials on the south wall of the south aisle, towards the western end, and another two on a buttress.

RE-EVALUATION OF THE RE-BUILDING PROCESS

Dr Morris, writing in 1977, said of the church that: 'Pembroke was not as long drawn out a building work as implied by some authorities [citing Pevsner]. A tentative work-speed calculation based on the time it would take one skilled mason to cut all the window tracery, and assuming the rest of the masonry kept pace with him, would give a building period definitely no longer than fifteen years.'⁵

This statement was made in reference to previous local orthodoxy which long had it that the building took some forty or so years to complete, and that it was demonstrable that operations came to a halt at the time of the Black Death in 1349. This idea may well have solidified if not originated with George Marshall, Hon. Secretary of the Woolhope Club, who addressed a field meeting in June 1917.⁶ In summary, he held that the original intention in the 14th century was to build an aisled nave without transepts, and that there was an interruption in the building works, suggested by the masonry in the west wall and 'perhaps caused by the Black Death'. He then suggested that a change of mind caused the belated addition of the two new transepts, a bay and half in width, making it necessary for the demi-arches or flying buttresses on either side to abut up to the apexes of the arches of the second bays in the nave arcade. This in turn necessitated the use of an improvised 'spreader' beam, inserted across the nave at wall plate level, to take the thrust of the west walls of the transepts.

He also thought that the rood-loft stair was an addition 'of the late 15th or 16th century', perhaps based in part on the observation that the east wall of the south transept is not generally in bond with the mass of the rood stair masonry, and does look at first sight like an insertion.

Later church guides refer in but two lines to the dating of the rebuilding, while the Royal

Commission on Historical Monuments identified nave, aisles and transepts as all being of the same stylistic period, but evaded commenting directly on the question of the rood stair although, judging from their ground plan, appear to have presumed it to be contemporary.⁷ Church guides printed over the last forty years all repeat the Black Death scenario, probably based on an old coloured and framed printed descriptive text hanging prominently in the nave, and Professor Pevsner would also appear to have derived his comments from this. On the basis of its admittedly rather decorative nature, it would seem that this became to be accorded the status of Holy Writ.

In the light of the masons' mark analysis, George Marshall's assertions now seem untenable. There is certainly a change in the masonry in the west wall from the level of the base of the great west window, the blocks on the exterior being of good quality golden-coloured ashlar above this point. Below this level generally there are much thinner blocks of a softer grey stone which has in places become considerably eroded, particularly above the west door, and it is possible that this was originally covered over with a rendering of lime plaster.

Dr Morris reasonably suggested that the change was probably caused by a variation in the quarry supply, and also dismissed the interruption as unlikely. The idea that this might be evidence of a prolonged hiatus in the works is indeed strongly countered by the fact that three of the masons' marks from the nave arcade also occur repeatedly on the interior of the rere-arch at the top of the great west window, all but one of these marks being of masons working on the two western-most bays.⁸ While it is always possible that the components for the west window could have been prepared long in advance of actual erection, the window tracery and rere-arch certainly could not have been assembled *in situ* without the lateral support of the west wall erected up to full wall-plate height, and in this overall context the whole of this wall is most likely therefore be of one build.

Marshall's belief that the transepts were an afterthought, tacked on when the nave arcade had already been commenced, is effectively countered by the occurrence of four of the marks from the chancel arch and first bay (1, 2c, 3, and 4) being found on the demi-arches supporting the transepts' west walls. As a group they are all marks of the *eastern* end of the nave, and the moulding of the nave arcade and demi-arches is identical, with the marks occurring in the same places. Masons' marks 1, 2a, and 2b also occur on the windows of the transepts both inside and out, further indicating that their construction took place while the first two bays of the arcade were still in building. All in all this strongly suggests, as I believe Marshall in this instance rightly supposed, that the arrangement with the 'spreader' beam, with its cusped braces, is likely to be original to the construction of the transepts and not a later addition (Fig. 5). The builder appears to have anticipated from the outset possible weakness here, where the demi-arches intersected the nave walls at the apex of the arches of the arcades on either side, and the beam is plausibly an original feature inserted to provide additional stability under compression to counter the thrust of the transepts' west walls. A dendrochronological sample from this beam might give us a useful felling date for this timber.



Figure 5. Wall post and cusped brace of the 14th-century spreader beam across the nave, showing the northern end

Figure 7 (right). Small piscina on the exterior surface of the north wall of the chancel, evidence for a former medieval sacristy butted up to the chancel on this site



Figure 6. Return in the plinth moulding underpinning the joint between the east wall of the south transept and the rood loft stair tower



Furthermore, Marshall's comments about the newel stair to the rood loft are disproved by the fact that three masons' marks found on the chancel arch (1, 2c, and 3) also occur repeatedly up the walls of the stairwell and on the steps. The butt joint between the masonry of the stair tower and the east wall of the transept is perhaps explained by the probability that they were not paid for by the same paymaster; but the return in the exterior plinth at the base, one block of stone linking both masses, shows that this arrangement had been anticipated at foundation level (Fig. 6). Furthermore, on closer examination, although the coursing of the stonework in both masses generally does not correspond, another block of stone links them half way up their height, with the joint in the transept wall being packed slightly to receive it. Several further courses are in bond just under the eaves, where the rood stair is roofed.

CONCLUSIONS

We now come to the debatable question as to how long the rebuilding took to complete. Again assuming that the idea of an east-to-west progression of the works is correct, then the groupings of the marks along the nave would suggest that up to nine masons were at work on the structure at any one time.

Chancel arch to pier 2	Masons 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13
Pier 2 to pier 4	Masons 1, 2a, 2c, ?3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Pier 4 to west wall	Masons 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

Bearing in mind the seasonal variation in the work force and a hiatus in exterior works during the cold or wet winter months, the most likely interpretation of the distribution of marks is that the project took three to four years for the stonework, with a movement along the arcade of approximately two bays per season.⁹ Allowing an additional year or so for interior fittings and completion, on this basis it is quite possible that the church was fully operational once again within five years from the start of the works. If this commenced between 1325 and 1330, then it would have been finished almost twenty years before the Black Death. Assuming Dr Morris's maximum of fifteen man-years of labour necessary for the stonework of the window tracery, an average of eight masons at work here during each season should easily have enabled the work to be completed within this period.

Another interesting feature about the new work at Pembridge is that the width of the nave is generous—exactly 24 feet north to south between the centres of the piers of the arcade, while the bays east to west are exactly 14 feet pier-centre to centre. It is also quite clear that the arcades were not inserted into already existing walling. All this might suggest therefore that the new work was laid down *outside* the ground plan of the pre-existing church, the pier positions not being predetermined by the old work, and the builder thus free to set his dimensions in units of whole numbers of feet. If this was so, then reusable rubble and ashlar could be taken from the old walls to build the new as the new walls arose, and the presence of the old foundations inside might be confirmable using ground-penetrating radar. Where arcading was *inserted* into old walling, and constrained in overall length by existing east and west walls, the centre to centre measurement between the piers might most often be expected to be a fraction, such as the 11 feet 8 inches in the related contemporary north arcade inserted into the 12th-century nave at Kinnersley parish church, or the 9 feet 10 inches of the south arcade at Lyonshall.

Dr Morris had identified a group of six other local churches containing contemporary work that show strong links with the Pembridge masonry, suggesting that they were the work of a local workshop of masons using the same or similar templates for mouldings. The further incidence of any groups of marks comparable to those at Pembridge is, however, yet to be thoroughly explored. Out of the 93 found by the author on the well-marked four-bay northern arcade at Kinnersley, marks 5 and 7 predominate, together with just two examples of mark 11; and there is also a single specimen of a mark not represented at Pembridge. J. W. Bloe, in his list of Herefordshire marks published in 1934, recorded all but the last at Kinnersley, numbering them in his list as 2, 23 and 60 respectively.¹⁰ Marks 5 and 8 occur together in the early- to mid-14th-century north arcade at Brinsop (Bloe 2 and 3); and mark 7 is also to be found on the north arcade at Weobley (Bloe 67). Bloe also lists numbers 1, 5, and 13 at Richards Castle (Bloe 35, 2, and 4); and numbers 4 and 13 at Eardisland (Bloe 5 and 4). He did also find mark no. 9 (Bloe 41),

but in work of the latter half of the 15th century. Curiously, Bloe only recorded mark 2a at Pembridge (his number 65), but it frankly defies belief that this is the only one that he will have seen.

Even with the limited comparisons available, what is immediately evident from the masons' marks at Pembridge, marking it out from contemporary works at other nearby churches, is the sheer scale and pace of the operation during the rebuild. At the churches at Kinnersley or Lyonshall, where an aisle and its arcade were in building usually unilaterally, if marks occur they show seldom more than two or three skilled masons to have been working at any one time, with the gradual process of enlargement and improvement being carried out on a piecemeal basis. Even in a larger church, St Peter and St Paul at Weobley, the well-marked north arcade had only four masons at work on it. The scale of this sort of outlay, although cumulative, was relatively modest, and possibly extended over a period of some years.

At Pembridge, on the other hand, a large sum of money was expended in a relatively short time, the number and distribution of marks being a clear indicator of the pace of construction. The difference is clearly one in the cash-flow capabilities of the paymasters, and this would suggest that a wealthy patron, or indeed collaborative effort, maintained a substantial flow of money to keep a sizeable building force at work for at least three years. At Pembridge, the patron at this time, depending upon the exact date of construction, was either Roger de Mortimer, or after late 1330 possibly the Crown, but whether funds came from other sources as well, such as the Borough, will probably never be known. The only contemporary evidence, indicating the identity of the patrons of the north and south transepts, was the heraldry that was formerly to be found in the stained glass—a full description by the author of this recorded medieval heraldic glass is to be found elsewhere.¹¹ This glass still survived in the upper tracery and was recorded during the late 17th century; the north transept's north window bearing the arms of the Grandisons, and in the south transept those of Roger de Mortimer IV and his wife Joan de Geneville. These families were connected by marriage, Sir Piers Grandison having been married at Pembridge to Blanche de Mortimer, Roger's daughter, shortly before 10 June 1330. It might seem more likely therefore that completion of the rebuild was achieved before this marriage, and thus well before the execution of Roger de Mortimer in November of that year, and while he was still at the peak of his wealth and influence. Furthermore there is evidence that Roger de Mortimer himself was at Pembridge during November 1326, when a document was dated from there, and that this might have well occurred while he was inspecting the progress of the works.

REFERENCES

¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (RCHME), *Herefordshire*, III, 1934, pp. 221-3. 'Banker mark' is the preferred term as it describes the mark made by the mason when he was working the stone on the stone bed or bench on which he worked. The 'setters', skilled masons who placed the stones in position, usually made no marks on the stone.

² R. K. Morris, 'Pembridge and Mature Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire', *TWNFC* XLII (1977), pp. 129-153.

³ P. Klein, 'Pembridge parish church: some 17th-century visitors and its medieval heraldry', *TWNFC* 60 (2012), pp. 68-82.

⁴ Morris, 'Pembridge', p. 130.

⁵ Morris, 'Pembridge', p. 147.

⁶ *TWNFC* (1914 - 17), pp. 191-2.

⁷ Mary Langston, *The Story of Pembridge and its Church*, 1931, 3 (edns 1963, 1966, 7); RCHME, *Herefordshire*, III, 1934, pp. 159-161.

⁸ Marks 4, 7 and 9.

⁹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, Oxford (2nd edn 1967), p. 59. The weather during this period in the early 14th century was notoriously bad.

¹⁰ RCHME, *Herefordshire*, III, 1934, pp. 222-3.

¹¹ Klein, 'Pembridge parish church', pp. 71-80.

The Lem Knight and South Sea Brine: George Caswall, Alexander Pope, and Herefordshire Politics

by PAT ROGERS

Sir George Caswall (1676-1742) is little known nowadays, except to students of economic history, as one of the two chief architects of the South Sea Company. He did attain a small speaking role in W. Harrison Ainsworth's novel *The South Sea Bubble: A Tale of the Year 1720* (1871), but has not earned admission to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Yet no history of Border politics in the first half of the eighteenth century can be written without giving him a central role. A man who got rich quick, he survived impeachment, imprisonment in the Tower of London, and catastrophic financial losses. He might be called one of Herefordshire's unsung villains.

This article examines Caswall's role in the South Sea Bubble scandal and Herefordshire politics and explores associations with Alexander Pope's poem, Epistle to Bathurst.

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this article is to provide the fullest account to date of George Caswall's career, and to describe his political activity in the county. More than anyone else, Caswall linked the world of Border politics with South Sea. When the Bubble burst, he represented his native borough with the Auditor, and served as the chief focus of the ire felt by the Harley family of Brampton Bryan concerning the way things were going. He came from an old family in Leominster, and though his financial activities went on in the City of London, he represented the borough in parliament (despite temporary disqualification) for more than twenty years as did his son much more briefly. Both George's father and his brother were bailiffs of the town: two brothers acted as receiver-general of taxes for Monmouthshire and other counties in Wales. Nevertheless, as a younger brother he had started out with little: all that he got as bequests from his father were a broadpress (presumably a cupboard) and a single guinea.

Caswall engaged in a bitter quarrel with his former patrons, the Harleys, and especially Edward 'Auditor' Harley of Eywood. Another longlasting foe in the parliamentary skirmishes of the county was the eccentric Lord Coningsby of Hampton Court, who for much of this period held high office locally. As an Irish peer, Coningsby served as Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, High Steward of the city of Hereford, and lord of the manor of Leominster. For more than twenty years he was also MP for Leominster, a role Caswall took over in 1717. Coningsby accused his rival of being 'one of the principal instruments' of the great financial collapse in 1720—and for once he had good reasons for his intemperate claim.

A secondary aim is to argue that the poet Alexander Pope was well aware of these facts and used them in his *Epistle to Bathurst* (1733), a work that centres on financial corruption in the wake of the South Sea Bubble. If this claim is well founded, it helps to confirm Caswall's reputation as one of the key players in the entire scam. Pope maintained close relations with the Harley family, especially the first and second Earls of Oxford. Both peers are implicitly celebrated in the poem addressed to Lord Bathurst of Cirencester, who was a longtime ally of

these men. Another local dignitary to enjoy the friendship of both Pope and Bathurst was Frances, Lady Scudamore of Holme Lacy. The *Epistle* culminates in the portrait of a crooked financier, who at the very end is impeached by parliament and attacked by Coningsby—something that happened in real life to Caswall. The last portion of the poem displays a marked Herefordshire inflexion, which is seen in the famous passage that pays tribute to John Kyrle, the ‘Man of Ross’ (lines 250-90). The story told here reveals unexplored connections between the county both with the greatest scandal and with the greatest poet of the age.

CASWALL’S CAREER IN OUTLINE

George Caswall was born about 1676.¹ A summary outline of his career will provide materials which we can subsequently apply to the text of Pope’s poem. As regards his background, the brief entry in the *History of Parliament* succinctly provides the key facts:

Caswall, a Baptist, came of a Leominster family, who had been prominent in local politics for several generations, frequently supplying mayors of the borough. Marrying the daughter of an eminent London banker, he became a partner in the firm Turner, Sawbridge and Caswall, bankers, operating under the name and charter of the Sword Blade Company. The Sword Blade Company were the bankers of the South Sea Company, of which Caswall was elected a director in 1711. Returned as a Whig for Leominster in March 1717, he was unseated in May for bribery, but re-elected in June.²

A number of details need to be filled in. The Caswalls were glovers in Leominster. They had first supplied a bailiff in 1658 with Henry Caswell, probably a shoemaker who died *c.*1670. The eminent banker was John Brassey (d. 1737), with whom Caswall, recently freed in the Haberdashers Company, formed a partnership about 1700. The site of their business, no. 71 Lombard Street, lay on the west corner of Exchange Alley and had borne as its sign a representation of the Royal Exchange until the new partners changed this to the Acorn. Some three years later the Sword Blade appointed as its cashier John Blunt, the main projector of the South Sea operation, who receives an oddly sympathetic paragraph in the *Epistle*, where Pope affects to see ‘Much-injur’d Blunt’ as practically a victim of a time when ‘Senates degen’rate, Patriots disagree’ (135, 150). Together with Blunt, Caswall made the original proposal for the new Company in 1710 to Robert Harley, leader of the Tory government (whom he already knew through his father’s political support for the family in Herefordshire), and the two remained at the heart of the South Sea scheme from its foundation until the collapse in 1720.³ The Sword Blade Bank had its offices in Birchin Lane, which lay a stone’s throw from Pope’s birthplace. As for Caswall’s parliamentary career as MP for Leominster, we shall find that it was bound up with members of the Harley family, for whom the poet had lasting feelings of respect and affection.⁴

The upcoming financier gained his greatest honour to date in February 1718.⁵ George I was invited to take over as Governor of the South Sea Company from the Prince of Wales, following a dramatic split between the monarch and his son. The idea apparently sprang from a somewhat motley group:

Last Tuesday Night at a Meeting of the Proprietors of the South-Sea Company, at the Crown Tavern behind the Royal Exchange, it was propos’d by Mr. Craggs, Sen. Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Caswel, and Mr. Sawbridge, to call a General-Court, and draw up an Address to the King, who has purchas’d 10000 *l.* in their Stock, to desire his Majesty to be pleas’d to accept of being Governor of the said Company, in room of the Prince of Wales, which was unanimously agreed to. (*Read’s Weekly Journal*, 1 February 1718)



Figure 1. Apprenticeship indenture of George Caswall to Thomas Tysoe, Haberdasher and Citizen of London, a goldsmith, 1691. Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, COL/CHD/FR/02/0135-0140

This step was meant as a political *démarche* in the battle at court, as well as a boost to the Company's standing. Key names here are James Craggs the elder, one of the chief instruments of the great fraud, and to Caswall's partner Sawbridge. As for 'Mr. Hopkins', this must be John Hopkins (1663-1732), generally known as 'Vulture' on account of his rapacity, and a merchant in Broad Street, 'who made a great fortune by speculation, especially in the South Sea bubble'.⁶ Pope referred to the miserly ways for which Hopkins was notorious at line 87, with a long note regarding his eccentric will, and again at lines 291-2. In the newspaper story, then, we find a real life South Sea link association between Caswall and another of the villains in Pope's piece.

In any case, it was Caswall who found himself the most immediate beneficiary of the new turn of events when the Company court took action:

A considerable Number of the Principal Proprietors of the South Sea Company did, last Saturday, wait on his Majesty at St. James's, and presented the, following Address. They were all admitted to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and his Majesty was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on George Caswall, Esq;

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The General Court of the South-Sea Company, crave Leave to acknowledge, with the greatest Sense of Gratitude, the many Marks of your Royal Favour, which the Company has received ever since Your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown; and in particular, the Honour done them in becoming a Proprietor in their Stock.

They therefore do, in the most Humble and Dutiful Manner, Beseech Your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to grant them the further Honour of using Your Royal Name for their Governor in the ensuing Elections. (*Evening Post*, 4 February 1718)

No surprise that his majesty was graciously pleased, or that in the ensuing elections the king was elected *nemine contradicente*. According to Harley family gossip, it was Caswall himself who brought the address from the directors to the king, 'for which George was dubbed' (the same verb Pope uses of Sir Balaam at line 374). This was the moment when the Hanoverian regime, at the very topmost rung, became inextricably linked with South Sea. This was an association which was to haunt them for the remainder of George I's reign. The elevation of Caswall at the same juncture cemented his position in the corrupt nexus which the *Epistle* locates at the heart of national life, and underlines the importance of Herefordshire in this story.

Yet Caswall lost his position as a director at the subsequent election, when the Walpole-Townshend faction among the dominant Whig party, now closely allied to the Prince of Wales, ousted the king's supporters. As the Harleys understood this event, 'Sir James Bateman and the Prince's Whigs got an entire victory over Caswall and the rest.'⁷ However, the Sword Blade continued to function as the banking arm of the Company. A year later Caswall was heavily involved in the negotiations with the government to expand South Sea by allowing the firm to take over the remaining tranche of the national debt, amounting to some £30,000,000, and greatly increase its stock offering—one of the effective, if not immediate or sufficient, triggers for its ultimate collapse. Then, just as the share price reached its peak in June 1720, Sir George, as a worthy 'citizen and haberdasher', 'very well affected' to the king and the government, was nominated as Sheriff of London at the midsummer elections (*Evening Post*, 21 June). After a poll Caswall and his running mate were elected with a fairly comfortable majority, and duly chosen.

But then came the crash. At a meeting of the general court of the South Sea Company at the end of the year, Sir George could scarcely get a hearing in his own defence, and was shouted down by angry investors. Within a few months a parliamentary committee had reached the conclusion that Caswall and his partners had been engaged in fraud on a massive scale, channelling bribes to MPs in the form of stock 'sold' to unnamed persons—in reality no money had been laid out, and the shares had been surreptitiously made over to the Sword Blade for dispersal. The House of Commons refused to accept some desperate lines of defence mounted by Caswall and his partners. At one point these involved his colleague Jacob Sawbridge seeking out a crucial document, which Caswall thought was in his 'scrutoire', but which could not be found. At the end of the hearing, the House passed a resolution that the member for Leominster had been 'guilty of a corrupt, infamous and dangerous practice'; expelling him from the House; committing him to the Tower; requiring him with his partners to refund £250,000 to the South Sea Company; and ordering that a bill should be introduced to oblige him to do so.⁸

He must have hoped he would win the support of Robert Walpole, now at the head of affairs. However the minister was trying to undo the damage caused by the Bubble with as little fuss as possible, while acting as a screen for the most embarrassingly compromised individuals, from the royal family down.⁹ Caswall could be sacrificed and got no help. On 10 March he was

expelled from the House and ordered to be sent to the Tower. Here he found himself in the unwelcome company of one of his greatest enemies, Lord Coningsby. In his absence a by-election went ahead in Leominster: a local grandee who had married into the Marlborough family easily won in the face of half-hearted opposition from Edward Harley, the future second Earl of Oxford and a close friend of Pope. While in the Tower, Caswall was brought to Westminster to testify before the committee investigating the causes of the financial meltdown. On 21 July, with the prorogation of Parliament, Caswall was set free. It did not take long for him to get back into harness, regaining his seat in Leominster in 1722 when his fellow member, Edward 'Auditor' Harley (brother of Robert) lost his hold on a constituency he had represented for almost a quarter of a century. As well as surviving the scandal unscathed, Caswall had ousted the Harleys from one of their main strongholds.

This was despite one extraordinary allegation made in a pamphlet called *The Naked and Undisguis'd Truth, Plainly and Faithfully told: what was the Unhappy Rise, which were the Fatal Causes, and who the Wicked Authors, of Great Britain's and Ireland's present Dreadful (and before unheard of) Calamities. By a Passionate Lover of his Country* ('1721', for 1722). The wildly excessive rhetoric and the nature of the views strongly indicate that this was the work of Caswall's bitter enemy, Lord Coningsby, as do the writer's claims that he had lived 'above Forty Years in the publick Affairs of this Kingdom,' and been 'forty one Years a Member of Parliament' (Coningsby actually represented Leominster with short breaks from 1679 to 1716, and had been in the Lords since 1716). The work contains a frenzied attack on the financiers who had profited from the growth in the national debt, characterized as 'the devouring Money-Changers,' with special venom reserved for 'the late traitorous Directors' of the South Sea Company. Among those who feel the lash is the Lord Treasurer Robert Harley, 'since the glorious History of this virtuous white Staff [Sidney Godolphin] is to be follow'd by a black Account of his Successors Management of that important Wand.'¹⁰

The author reserves much of his scorn for the part played by the Sword Blade Company in the South Sea fraud, abetted by the Craggs, father and son, and Lord Sunderland. He claims that one of the current sheriffs of London gained so much favour in 1717 that 'a noble Peer lately dead' (Sunderland) 'made him a Knight by the Name of Sir *George Caswall*.' The first lord was also persuaded to bring in bills to prevent guineas passing for more than twenty-one shillings and to stop the melting down of silver. These measures were introduced into parliament in late 1717 and early 1718, though they were later dropped: and Caswall had been the strongest advocate for them in the House. Then comes an astounding charge against the banker:

And in the Progress of the said last Bill through the House of Lords, a full Proof was made by several Witnesses upon Oath, that the Sheriff of *London* aforesaid had soon after the Death of the Queen procured two melting pots to be set up at Mr. *Bracy's* [*recte* *Brassey*], his Father in Law, a Goldsmith in *Lombard-street*; and shortly afterwards four more in the Vault under the Cash-Room of the pretended Sword-Blade Company, each of which last would melt a hundred weight of either Silver, or Gold, at a Time: And as before the Lords in a Committee the whole Cheat of the said fictitious Company was fully discover'd, so were the traitorous Methods made use of to dispose of the said Silver, when melted, by the Sheriff and his two led Porters, fully set forth; (as appears by the Committee Book in the House of Lords) when the said Lord at the Head of the Treasury having receiv'd a Letter from the then great Mr. *Craggs*. the elder, complaining how intolerable a Hardship the Enquiry (so warmly prosecuted by their Lordships) was upon the honest Gentlemen and Partners, *Caswall*, *Sawbridge*, and *Turner* (as he was pleased to term these three Brethren in Iniquity) when they only practiced the Trade of melting complain'd of to help

Circulation, was so heated by the Representation of this Director General of the Plumb-men of the City, that, forgetting all Orders of Parliament, his Lordship was pleased to go to the Committee, and to discharge it of that Enquiry, in a Manner before unknown to that august Assembly.

And there is more in this rash vein: the precedent set by James Craggs senior

was as honestly followed last Session of Parliament by the Son [Craggs junior], by discharging the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to consider of Means to prevent the dreadful Consequences of the numberless Bubbles then used to the utter Destruction of the poor deluded People, from making any Enquiry into the infamous Practices of the Sword-Blade Favourites; they being to be cherish'd and nursed up by that insolent corrupt Captain of the Corrupt, in order to be Distributors of that Flood of Filth, with which that abandon'd Upstart, clothed with Royal-Power, cover'd all over, and enrich'd (as they thought) his dry, hungry, barren Followers.¹¹

It took unbelievable temerity to say these things, even though Sunderland had recently died: the indictment reaches beyond Caswall to government and even the king. Neither contemporaries nor subsequent historians have paid any heed to this accusation against the Sword Blade—people at the time could well have recognised the hand of the demented Coningsby. But Caswall had been in deep enough for a further charge of swindling to be plausible.

In any case, after the reversals of 1720 and 1721, his business career took off once more, in a series of partnerships up to the time of his death in 1742. The Sword Blade Company had been forced to suspend payment on 24 September 1720, but under the leadership of his son John it sprang from its ashes.¹² George even scraped back in after a scrutiny of the votes as a member of the Common Council of London in 1737, when his son headed the poll, the father still represented Langbourn ward, the district around Lombard Street.¹³ The following year he finally lost his place on the council. Caswall remained one of the court of assistants, directors in effect, of the regenerate Sword Blade Company, even up to the time that Pope wrote his *Epistle*. In addition he became a governor of St Thomas's Hospital, and bought the lease of some expensive property in Mayfair (too late for the poem, but it shows his upward drive into the fashionable West End).¹⁴ For Pope in 1733, it must have seemed that the unjust had prospered. A hangman's noose would have been proper for men like Caswall, as Lord Coningsby often suggested. Shortly after his release, an assailant shot at his coach while passing through Mile End, but this seems to have been a gang of footpads rather than a disgruntled investor.¹⁵

Before the Bubble burst, Daniel Defoe wrote a scathing account of the Sword Blade partners, Sawbridge, Turner and Caswall. He begins with the last named, styled 'C---, a Man of Brass':

...sufficient for much more Business than he can be trusted with, is said to manage for three Blew Ribbons [Garter Knights], and for four or five Cash-keepers, who tell more Money than their own: He fetches and carries with such indefatigable Application, that he is said never to fail his Appointments to a Minute, however remote from one-another: Where-ever he appears, he makes an Exchange-Alley in his Person, and a Court in his Audience: He is himself a *Jonathan's Coffee-House* in little; Tho' he be at a Cock-Pit, he realizes *Exchange-Alley* in every Place; and yet he rather is directed than directs, and like a certain great General, famed for more Fire than Flegm, is fitter to drive than to lead.¹⁶

The first thing Defoe says is curiously reminiscent of a comment the *Epistle* makes about

Sir Balaam: 'His word would pass for more than he was worth' (344). Most relevant to the poem, however, are the phrases that follow: Caswall 'makes an Exchange-Alley in his Person,' he is 'himself a *Jonathan's Coffee-House* in little,' and he 'reallizes *Exchange-Alley* in every Place.' In other words, he is an epitome of the stock-jobber as contemporaries saw this new breed of man. Defoe might almost be giving a general character sketch of the entire breed.

POPE'S EPISTLE

The short tale that ends Pope's *Epistle to Bathurst*, describing the corrupt financier 'Sir Balaam', has given rise to much discussion. However, a general consensus exists that Pope created this fictional figure as a composite figure, representative of a class, rather than as the portrait of a historic individual. For example, F. W. Bateson in the standard Twickenham edition refers to only one possible model.¹⁷ This is Thomas Pitt, who acquired a celebrated diamond while Governor of Madras—an incident caricatured in the *Epistle*, lines 361-4. Drafts of the poem shows that Pope actually named 'P—', rhyming with 'bit', in the manuscript versions, and supplied an explanatory note.¹⁸ Bateson wrote, 'I suspect Sir Balaam was modelled on Pitt in the first instance and was later generalized – but not to such a degree that the original lineaments do not occasionally show through.' An influential 'critical reading' of the poem by Earl R. Wasserman also declines to name any possible models, as he sees Balaam as 'the arch-representative of the corrupting power of capitalistic theology and ethics'; 'a typically corrupt Puritan merchant'; and 'a type of the avaricious man who employs dishonest means.' At one point the author concedes that 'only a small part of the London merchant's character is drawn from that of the scriptural Balaam [in Numbers 22-24]; and on the surface it would appear that the scriptural Balaam is only a slight pretext for a wholly original creation.'¹⁹

Balaam is undoubtedly compounded of many elements, in which the scriptural antitype forms a major part. While the career of no single contemporary matches with that of Balaam in every respect, the case to be made here is that the poet had one individual at the centre of his mind, especially in the last few paragraphs of the *Epistle*. This was Sir George Caswall. He fits the immediate needs of the apologue, and fulfils some of the wider aims of the poem, including material that directly involves Herefordshire.

First we need to decide what kinds of attribute would have suited Pope if he had sought out models for his case study in corruption. A central theme of the *Epistle* lies in the ill effects of the financial revolution. These include a greater government dependence on private funding, the excessive power of moneyed men, unregulated growth in credit ('Blest paper-credit! last and best supply! / That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly!', 69-70), the prospect of a general excise tax, the growing gap between rich and poor, the rage for speculation, and of course the myriad consequences of the Bubble ('What made Directors cheat in South-sea year?', 119).

The climactic episode of the poem concerns a financier who ticks most of the boxes, and exemplifies the worst features of the capitalist system as it came almost to implosion in 1720.²⁰ Balaam has quite humble roots, he is based in the City, he gains a seat in parliament, earns a knighthood, and after accusations of bribery he is impeached by the House of Commons, where the half-crazed Whig Lord Coningsby calls for his head. Finally he is hanged and his ill-gotten wealth forfeited to the Crown. As stated, we will not find a perfect match in every detail—no one was hanged for financial misappropriation, even in the severe backlash that followed the great crash. But Caswall comes nearer than anyone else—far closer than Thomas Pitt for example.

SIR BALAAM AND CASWALL

With the main lines of Caswall's life-history established, we can now turn to the text of the poem, to see how it draws on elements of his career. This will enable us to fill in the narrative just given with greater detail. Pope begins the story of Sir Balaam with some famous verses:

Where London's column, pointing at the skies
Like a tall bully, lifts the head, and lyes;
There dwelt a Citizen of sober fame,
A plain good man, and Balaam was his name. (339-42)

These couplets immediately point away from Thomas Pitt. He was not technically a 'citizen' or a member of the livery companies; his base lay outside London, with his principal estates in Cornwall, Dorset and Wiltshire; and he had never enjoyed 'sober fame', as a nabob who had made a large fortune in India.²¹ By contrast, Caswall qualified as a member of the Haberdashers' guild, and made all his money within the square mile. Moreover, as we have seen, he ran his banking business from Lombard Street, at the very entrance to Exchange Alley in fact; and when the Sword Blade got going, they operated from Birchin Lane. This was no more than 150 yards from the Monument erected by Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke in the 1670s. Just as the great column with its tendentious anti-Catholic inscription towered over Pope's earliest years when he shared his father's home and workplace in Plough Court, so the denizens of Birchin Lane went about their business in its shadow—it was the tallest structure in the city after St Paul's. By placing Balaam in proximity to the edifice, Pope clearly wished to establish a setting appropriate to a member of the dissenting mercantile community. By his origins Caswall was among those who qualified; Pitt, of course, wasn't.

The *Epistle* goes on to describe Balaam as 'Religious, punctual, frugal and so forth,' to the extent that the devil was 'piqu'd such saintship to behold,' and resolves to tempt him in the opposite way to Job—by making him rich rather than poor (343-52). It is easy to see that this 'directly identifies Balaam with the Puritans, who...persisted in calling themselves 'the Saints', to the amusement and annoyance of the Anglicans', as Wasserman puts it. Pitt was an Anglican and a Commissioner for the new Queen Anne churches, in which Balaam would have been unlikely to set foot until he became rich and well connected. But there is a more explicit clue here. From his study of exegesis and apologetics, Wasserman identifies Balaam as representative of Calvinism—he actually uses the term *Calvinism/Calvinist* six times.²² If we accept this view, it does a great deal to strengthen the likelihood that Pope had Caswall in mind.

George's roots were in the leather trade, one of the products for which the town was famous, along with wool and bread. Even more to the purpose, his family background in Leominster lay among the Particular Baptists, that is to say the avowedly Calvinist wing of this sect.²³ The town had become known for its fiercely protestant and politically aggressive inhabitants: its nickname was 'Lemsterdam.' In the Civil War it had been a stronghold of puritanism, under the influence of Sir Robert Harley, grandfather of Robert and Edward. George's own brother, James Caswall (d. c.1715), a leading election broker in the borough, managed Baptist interests.²⁴ Following in the footsteps of his father, James the elder (d. 1701), the younger James served three times as bailiff, which meant that he had to attend both church and meeting-house: exactly the hypocritical kind of occasional conformity that Pope, like Swift, despised.²⁵ In a draft of this section of the poem, he had written 'Where Edwyn reard y^e Monum^t so high,' a reference to Sir Humphrey Edwin, famous for having attended both church and an Independent conventicle in full regalia after his election as Lord Mayor in 1697, an incident

twice mentioned by Jonathan Swift.²⁶ At all events, hardly any major figure in London finance at this time came from a more deeply engrained culture of radical dissent. As he progressed in the world, religion seems to have lost importance for George Caswall, although he did present a large bible to Leominster parish church in 1726, after he emerged from scandal.

By this point Balaam has attained a knighthood, once more unlike Thomas Pitt. We recall that Caswall had been elevated to this dignity on the very day that the king gave his seal of approval to the South Sea enterprise by accepting the role of governor. To his opponents, notably the Harley family, he became ‘the Lem knight’, a sobriquet that attributed his success to the corrupt politics of Leominster and the extreme Baptist sectarians who controlled much of local affairs.²⁷ Moreover Pitt would have been an eccentric choice as a model, since his family lost money in the South Sea imbroglio, and in December 1720 led the opposition in parliament to a government bill that would have averted an enquiry into the scandal, moving a resolution that the Commons should immediately summon the directors and ‘their myrmidons’ for questioning.²⁸

After this comes an interlude describing the whirlwinds of speculation buffeting the coast of Cornwall and the stealing of an Indian diamond—the only portion of the text that indicates Thomas Pitt as a model. A shower of stock and subscriptions then descend on Balaam, recalling the myth of Danaë. Pope has the South Sea debacle chiefly in mind, but also the general stockjobbing frenzy that preceded the Company’s collapse. We know that Caswall’s firm took an active part in promoting this mania. For example, in 1717 a British land speculator obtained a grant from the proprietors of Carolina to establish the ‘Margravate of Azilia.’ The plan was for a colony of four townships to be planted in what is now Georgia, between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. Despite a fanciful prospectus issued by the speculator, the project never came to fruition. He described the area as a true Eden, so that ‘*Paradise*, with all her Virgin Beauties, may be modestly suppos’d at most but equal to its Native Excellencies.’ The writer was now warming to his task: ‘It lies in the same Latitude with *Palestine* herself, That promis’d Canaan, which was pointed out by God’s own Choice, to bless the Labours of a favorite People; It abounds with Rivers, Woods and Meadows. Its gentle Hills are full of *Mines, Lead, Copper, Iron*, and even some of *Silver*; ’Tis beautiful with odoriferous Plants, green all the Year.’²⁹ More realistically this district made up a swampy coastal plain, not unlike the region in which Martin Chuzzlewit was asked to invest. The subscription agents were Caswall and his longtime partner Elias Turner, a founder of the Sword Blade.³⁰

As a result of his activity, Balaam has enjoyed a meteoric rise. Like Caswall, he is dubbed a director, though by Satan rather than the king—if, Pope implies, there is a great difference. He has grown accustomed to success, and neglects religion. Eventually he loses the wife who had supported him through his earlier struggles:

There (so the Dev’l ordain’d) one Christmas-tide
My good old Lady catch’d a cold, and dy’d. (383-4)

11 August 1722 667

Appeared Personally S^r George Caswall of the
 parish of S^t. Dunmores the King ^{London} aged forty
 years and upwards and a Widower and alledged
 that he intends to marry with Mary
 Millborne of the parish of S^t. Laurence
 Cheapside London aged Twenty seven years
 and a Spinster

And that he knoweth of no Lawfull Lett or Injunct.
 by reason of any Protract Contanguinity Affinity
 or any other Lawfull Reason which forbiddeth the said
 Intended Marriage of his truth of which he made Oath &
 prayed Licence to solemnize the said Marriage
 in the Parish Church of S^t. Dunmores the King
 aforesaid S^t. Dunmores Cornhill London or in the
 Chappell belonging to ^{askes Almshouse}
 in the parish of S^t. Leonards Shoreditch
 London

George Caswall

per me
 first Licentia

Berny Brantley
 Sur

Figure 2. Marriage allegation for George Caswall and Mary Milborne, 1722.
 Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, City of London,
 DL/A/D/004/MS10091/061

In the real world, Caswall lost his marriage a partner of more than twenty years, the former Mary Brassey, in August 1721.³¹ Then comes a measure of divergence:

A Nymph of Quality admires our Knight: He
 marries, bows at Court, and grows polite:
 Leaves the dull Cits, and joins (to please the fair)
 The well-bred cuckolds in St. James's air. (385-8)

Sir George did remarry within a short space of time, in August 1722: his second bride certainly brought him more money, and she was twenty years his junior, but it is unclear whether she could be described as a nymph of quality.³² Unlike Balaam, Caswall did not buy his eldest son a commission, but set him up in the banking business and bought him the seat at Leominster on his own retirement; while none of his three daughters from the first marriage survived to marry into the peerage (389-92).³³ Nor does there seem to be evidence that Sir George fancied himself as a socialite, although he did come to possess the insignia of a fine gentleman, a coach and a set of fine geldings.³⁴ He did have the opportunity to flaunt some of his wealth when together with his fellow sheriff he entertained the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to a 'noble Feast' at Draper's Hall in Throgmorton Street on his admission to the office.³⁵ This was at a moment when hundreds of wretched investors had fallen into despair, in large part because of the promotional activities of men like Caswall.

One part of the sequence does allow Pope to get in a thrust at another of his *bêtes noires*:

In Britain's Senate he a seat obtains,
 And one more Pensioner St. Stephen gains.
 My Lady falls to play; so bad her chance
 He must repair it; takes a bribe from France. (393-6)

This unmistakably suggests Nicholas Lechmere, attorney-general and one of the most vehement Whigs in the House as MP for Tewkesbury, whom Pope satirized elsewhere. His wife was Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the builder of Castle Howard, the third Earl of Carlisle. She was a notorious gambler: her close friend Lady Mary Wortley Montagu reported in 1725 that Elizabeth had run up heavy debts, including the loss of £700 at a single sitting, and that she had been driven to attempt suicide by poison.³⁶

The single word 'pensioner' carries a sharp barb. MPs had been unpaid since the previous century, and in theory their perquisites were quite small. A traditional view, to which the Tory satirists subscribed, was that politics should not be a career: hence the only right and proper candidate was a member of the landed classes, who did not need to kow-tow to central government. As has been stated, opposition writers 'constantly worked for a Place Bill that would take away seats from the stockjobbers and moneyed upstarts and exclude dependent members of Parliament whose seats would then return to "the old country interest of the best families in the Kingdom".³⁷ Like the Harleys and the Scudamores from Herefordshire, in fact. Twenty years before, just before the South Sea Company came looking for the support of the Sword Blade and Caswall joined its board, Swift had been saying the same thing. He deplored the effect of the fortunes that could now be made entirely in stock and funds, 'so that Power, which, according to the old Maxim, was used to follow *Land*, is now gone over to *Money*.³⁸ Caswall did not hold a government place, but he was among the most prominent of stockjobbers and moneyed upstarts. At the same time, a swarm of investors whose annuities had been converted into South Sea stock had watched their savings eroded. There would be no comfortable pension awaiting them.

CASWALL AND LEOMINSTER POLITICS

Everything else in this closing sequence holds immediate resonance for Caswall's career, and the details often match up in surprisingly exact fashion. His election at the sometimes venal constituency of Leominster would have been enough to raise eyebrows (although it was no worse than others, such as tiny Weobley nearby, whose ninety-odd voters were said to be open to all bidders). In 1717, we are told, 'George Caswall's agent was paying up to 20 guineas a man; in 1721 Edward Harley, then M.P. for the borough, said that it had 'become mercenary, and the best bidder will have the best interest to be served'.³⁹ We can supplement this description in three ways.

First, Edward Harley (1664-1735) was generally known the Auditor, since from 1702 he held the post of joint auditor of the imprest, a profitable office in the Exchequer. His colleague in later years was Thomas Foley of Stoke Edith Court, the member of another influential family in the Border country, and a cousin by marriage of Edward's elder brother, Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford. The Auditor had represented Leominster since 1699. He had served as a founding director of the South Sea Company established by Robert, but was glad to quit in 1715 what he later described as a 'dirty ditch.'⁴⁰ His family had dominated the politics of northern Herefordshire from their home at Brampton Bryan for more than a century. Edward, whose estate at Eywood lay not far away, served as high steward of Leominster from 1692 to 1732. After a disastrous fire severely damaged the parish church in 1699, a restoration fund was set up by townspeople, led by the bailiff in 1700, James Caswall, George's father. Edward gave the second largest donation, £40, outdoing even the Bishop of Hereford, who contributed £30. But by far the biggest donor was Lord Coningsby with £200.⁴¹ The Harleys had formerly enjoyed good relations with Caswall, but these broke down before the two men stood against each other. In 1717, however, Caswall's opponent was another Edward Harley, the Auditor's nephew, who put up a feeble showing in the poll to replace Lord Coningsby as member for Leominster. After the 1715 election his opponents had accused the Auditor Harley of corrupt practices, but even the strongly Whig House of Commons rejected the claims, and he retained his seat. At the same time a nakedly political campaign was launched to impugn the official conduct of Harley and his fellow auditor, Thomas Foley. To the displeasure of Herefordshire Whigs like Caswall, this attempt also failed.

Second, Caswall was unseated for bribery just two months after his first election, but within a further month he was re-elected.⁴² A petition to the Commons was submitted on 6 April 1717, following the elevation of Coningsby to an English peerage, requiring a by-election held on 19 March. On this occasion Caswall's rivals were Henry Gorges, who happened to be the brother-in-law of Lord Coningsby, and his brother Richard, a serving officer. The petition, which may have had some input from Coningsby, claimed that '*George Caswall*, being a Banker in *London*, came down to the said Borough', and not only arranged for a supporter to be elected bailiff and his brother John to be made a JP, but also 'by Bribery, Corruption, and other indirect Practices and Proceedings' contrived to buy his way to victory. The petition was examined at length on 30 May, when it was determined that Caswall had not been duly elected, and a new writ was issued on 5 June. However, the doughty banker again won the repeat election held two weeks later, when Richard Gorges did not stand. In any case Caswall had lodged a complaint with the committee of privileges on 9 May 1717, stating that that neither of the Gorges brothers had proved their own qualifications for election. The Commons agreed and dismissed the claims of George's opponents, so that both brothers failed in their bid for election.⁴³ In the end Henry Gorges withdrew his claims.

At the time of the bye-election in 1717, in a bizarre case of pot and kettle, Caswall claimed that a local official had handed out large bribes on behalf of his opponents. In return Gorges lodged a petition with the Commons on 6 April 1717, alleging that Caswall and his agents 'did...openly and notoriously treat bribe great Numbers of Electors', and used 'Expences, Threats, Menaces by several Persons.' (Henry actually accused the third candidate, his own brother Richard, of having used similar methods.) It also claimed that he lacked the estate worth £300 per annum that qualified him for a borough seat in parliament.⁴⁴ This requirement had been set up as one of the first acts of Harley's new government in early 1711 (9 Anne, c.5), and had enthusiastic support from Tory MPs. As Geoffrey Holmes explains, the Tories looked to this measure

for a future guarantee of protection in their constituencies from the competition of City carpet-baggers...and it was one to which Harley and his colleagues...were able to give official blessing....Some Tories even talked optimistically in 1711 of the disqualification of something like one third of the existing House of Commons at the next General Election, anticipating a rout of many professional placemen, lawyers and army officers, as well as of the City cohort of the Whigs.⁴⁵

Here we have a measure introduced and supported by friends of Pope, designed (unsuccessfully, as it proved) to block the election of 'carpet-baggers' like Caswall. In *Examiner* no. 35 (29 March 1711) Swift called it 'that noble Bill of *Qualification*', aimed at ensuring the choice of landed men and excluding those whose possessions were only '*transient or imaginary*.' We shall not be surprised to find that the young MP Allen Bathurst, shortly to be raised to the peerage, was among a small group of Tory backbenchers charged with preparing the bill.⁴⁶

In May 1718 Caswall himself petitioned the Treasury not to reappoint his relative Edward Bangham as receiver-general of Herefordshire as he was in arrears and had given 'great numbers of bribes' to get votes for Gorges. The commissioners stated that they could not remove Bangham, but 'in regard of Sir George Caswall's services, my Lords will consider his brother [John] some other way.' Almost as soon as he resumed his seat, 'the new Knight' was alleged to have exported and melted down the coinage, as the Auditor's son reported, for which 'tis to be hoped he will be made to pay sauce'. But somehow he contrived to escape unscathed.⁴⁷

Third, having been expelled from the Commons in March 1721, as a result of the South Sea enquiry, Caswall managed to reclaim his seat in the following years, when the electors of Leominster welcomed him with open arms – or open palms, more accurately. In 1722 the Auditor was defeated when he stood again for the borough that he had represented since 1698. It was one more nail in the coffin of the Harleys, who had lost most of their Herefordshire posts since the Hanoverian accession. 'Sir George Caswall procured a Majority by the same Practices that he used the last Election,' a newspaper drily recorded.⁴⁸ According to the Harley grapevine, Caswall had promised to 'spend thousands' to ensure victory, while the Auditor had refused a last minute offer from his opponent to share in 'his Measures and bribery.'⁴⁹ But Harley did not give up.

One key document reveals the nature of Caswall as a political animal, in the way that Pope and his friends saw matters. This dates from April 1725 and comes from the Committee of Privileges and Elections of the House of Commons, reporting on Auditor Harley's petition against Caswall's 'undue' success in 1722. The petitioner's counsel claimed that this election was void owing to bribery, specifying 34 voters in particular (the margin of victory actually ran 208 to 92). Several witnesses named a procession of electors who had been offered bribes. The first was the returning officer, Thomas Nelmes, who stated that the sitting member (Caswall)

had offered him ‘a considerable Gratuity.’ Once in a public place he observed the candidate showing a purse of gold, which he struck with his finger and then said, ‘He knew what would do at *Leominster*; which was like a Farm, where, the good Wife beating the Bottom of the Pail, all the Hogs run to the Wash.’ He also saw Caswall give several voters a guinea apiece on election night. In addition he spoke to eleven individuals to whom Captain Caswall (that is George’s brother John), here named as his agent, had offered the same amount. One man was promised five pounds. So the testimonies went on, with a group of twenty-one electors admitting to approaches. Caleb Powell, a former bailiff, Presbyterian and long-time power broker in the town, gave similar evidence of the largesse on tap, up to twenty guineas in some cases, all offered by Sir George, Captain Caswall or another person named Gabriel Smith.⁵⁰ On the evening before the election, those present at the Green Dragon pub would have four or five guineas each, allegedly surpassed only by the fifty guineas that ‘the managers’ would get. This bribe was less than the ten guineas Caswall had paid at the last election, but he would be ‘generous’ again. In any case, ‘his Word had been taken for Ten thousand Pounds’ (we recall Balaam: ‘His word would pass for more than he was worth’, 344).

Against this torrent of evidence, counsel for Sir George attempted to argue that an agent for Harley had also offered bribes; that Captain Caswall’s *douceurs* had been distributed three or four months prior to the election; and that Michael Stephens (another former bailiff) had been asked by Thomas Nelmes if the evidence he was to give would be on oath. When assured by Stephens that it would not be (Nelmes) said it would be no harm to tell a lie to serve his friend. None of this appeared very convincing, and the committee duly voted in favour of the petition. However, when this resolution was put to the whole House, it was defeated by 163 to 87. So the court loyalists came once more to the defence of their comrade, and Caswall retained his seat.⁵¹

Sir George was up to his old tricks when the next election took place, in August 1727. Caswall and Lord Bateman were returned with a majority of more than 150 votes over Sir Archer Croft. But Croft lodged a petition with the committee of privileges in the following February, as did the late bailiff of Leominster along with several burgesses and citizens. The charges were familiar ones:

That Sir *George Caswell* did in a corrupt Manner procure several Votes, and, when he thought he had gotten a Majority, he did, in a tumultuous and riotous Manner prevent the Bailiff of the said Borough from proceeding any further upon the Poll, but obliged him, without any further Delay, to return the said Sir *George*, although the Petitioner had then several Persons ready to poll for him; but the Tumult was so great, that they would not suffer them to poll, nor permit the Petitioner to a Scrutiny on such Votes.⁵²

In the event Croft was found a convenient borough elsewhere, and so the petitions died. Once more Caswall had ridden roughshod over his accusers. The same routine was played out when Leominster went to the polls again in 1734. The defeated candidate, who styled himself Sir Robert de Cornwall of Berrington Hall, maintained he would have won the election but for the corrupt and illegal practices of his opponents. Indicative of the jungle of competing interests into which borough politics could descend is the identity of the victors: Caswall and Robert Harley—the Auditor’s son—who had succeeded his father as the town’s recorder.

Pope would have known all about these electoral shenanigans. He kept in touch with his old clubmate the first Earl of Oxford, and maintained a close friendship with his son Edward. There is actually a reference to the second Earl within the text of the *Epistle*, when the poet combines his name with that of the dedicatee Lord Bathurst as examples of charitable behaviour

among the aristocracy: ‘Who copies Your’s, or OXFORD’s better part, / To ease th’oppress’d, and raise the sinking heart’ (243-44). A manuscript draft show that Pope had also intended to compliment his friend a few lines earlier (‘And, showing Harley, show the Golden Mean!’), while the couplet just quoted linking the earl with Bathurst had begun in another draft with the words ‘There gracious Oxford, acting God’s own part’, amended in manuscript to ‘There Ch—os and Ox—d’.⁵³ A draft of this passage, if not the whole *Epistle*, was sent to Lord Oxford prior to publication.⁵⁴ However, Pope decided to omit the reference to the Duke of Chandos, in the light of a bothersome controversy which had arisen over the character of Timon in the *Epistle to Burlington*. Chandos had been MP for the city of Hereford before his elevation to the peerage, and replaced the increasingly erratic Coningsby as Lord Lieutenant of the county in November 1721. He had also suffered a major reverse in the Bubble, losing up to £300,000. All these details confirm Pope’s awareness of what was happening politically on Caswall’s home patch.

THE BUBBLE: TRIUMPHS AND DISASTERS

We have now reached the famous concluding couplets of the *Epistle*, which follow directly on from the phrase about the ‘bribe from France’:

The House impeach him; Coningsby harangues;
The Court forsake him, and Sir Balaam hangs:
Wife, son, and daughter, Satan, are thy own,
His wealth, yet dearer, forfeit to the Crown: The
Devil and the King divide the prize,
And sad Sir Balaam curses God and dies. (397-402)

In fact, when parliament investigated the South Sea affair Caswall was the only individual charged with involvement in the specific offence of forgery – in order to give bribes rather than take them. Thomas Harley told his cousin Lord Oxford that the report of the parliamentary committee had laid open the scale of wrongdoing, with one of those implicated ‘Caswall, the sheriff, for negotiating bribery by the Sword Blade Company.’⁵⁵ The bank’s partners were looking at the forfeiture of the huge sum of £250,000. This was the amount which had been funnelled to Charles Stanhope, a Treasury official, through Turner and Caswall’s firm, a transaction discovered even though in their books the name had been partly blotted out and changed to ‘Stangape’, on Caswall’s orders.⁵⁶ In the event Stanhope himself had avoided conviction in the Commons by a bare three votes. Naturally Auditor Harley was delighted by the turn events had taken: ‘The Lem Knight is likely to be pickled in Southsea brine,’ he told his brother.⁵⁷

Around this time, passers-by in Old Broad Street, outside South Sea House, watched in amazement ‘the sight of Sir George Caswall and Sir Harcourt Master setting about each other with their canes.’⁵⁸ Master, or Masters, was a director of the company; the new king had knighted Master and two colleagues in October 1714 when they presented his Majesty with an address from the South Sea Company. Apart from this, he was a fellow member with Caswall of the Haberdashers guild, an ex-sheriff of the City of London, and a money lender, now facing losses owing to a deficiency in his accounts as receiver-general of taxes for London and Middlesex. He later admitted putting £37,000 of money due to the government into the stock market. His estate was subjected to a swingeing fine, even though he was said to have made ‘great discoveries’ to the committee investigating South Sea, while he lost his tax job and his place as a JP. But he remained a bigwig in London civic affairs, even though his role in the Bubble disqualified him

from election as Lord Mayor. He held his aldermanic position up to his death in 1745, and very briefly became ‘father of the City’.⁵⁹ No wonder the pair came to blows: they look like two peas in a pod.



Figure 3. Satirical card warning of the dangers lurking in South Sea waters



Figure 4. Speculators from across the country were tempted by the lure of a quick profit

Either through naïveté or bravado, the accused man remained optimistic about his chances. In truth, he was guilty of no greater crimes than others who gained protection: but if they were culpable, he was expendable. His defence when he spoke to the House on 10 March took the form of injured innocence: ‘I am not conscious of any crime, unless it be the extraordinary zeal and affection I have shown for the present happy settlement, having assisted the Government with vast sums of money at three per cent. which they could get nowhere else.’⁶⁰ That was exactly the problem for critics of the financial revolution, and dislike of such government dependence on private credit underlies the whole of the *Epistle*. The authorities needed a scapegoat, in the light of growing public resentment that obvious culprits were escaping, as appears in a letter to Lord Oxford by his secretary, William Thomas. Without the support of Walpole, Caswall’s chances of beating the accusation were nil. For the moment the minister held his hand, and his supporters sat in the chamber ‘as mute as fishes.’⁶¹ Only three or four members spoke in his defence, and the division went against him by 227 votes to 92.

So the Commons went ahead and voted to expel Caswall on 10 March 1721, an

impeachment in all but name. Yet when the bill imposing penalties on his partners and himself came up for its second reading, he was so confident of a successful outcome that he ‘made a great Entertainment for all his City Friends. And Mrs. A[isla]bie wrote to a Lady in this County [Herefordshire] that They should suffer little Damages besides the confinement.’⁶² In the event, ‘No further progress was made with it before Parliament was prorogued, when it lapsed, never to be revived’.⁶³ Walpole had strung out proceedings and managed to delay a vote, so that the reparations would not have to be made. This contrasts with the harsh financial penalties meted out to Caswall’s former colleagues as directors of South Sea Company. Only one other sitting member was subject to a comparable sanction, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Aislabie, whose ministerial career was certainly crooked but bore little resemblance to that of Sir Balaam. Immediately Caswall and Aislabie were dispatched to the Tower, where they would join Lord Coningsby, recently incarcerated for a largely unrelated misdemeanour. Naturally among those delighted were members of the Harley clan: ‘You will see by the Prints the just Punishment that Insolence and vile Avarice have meet with... It is remarkable that two of the warmest of the last Impeachers are the first Sacrifices to the Rage of their own Party.’⁶⁴ Bonfires were lit in the City, with action finally taken against two of the guilty men.

Public expectations of revenge ran high. We can see this in a sequence of stories that appeared in a newspaper immediately after these events. The first carries a report that Lord Harley had gone down to Leominster to begin his campaign for Caswall’s vacated seat. This turned out to be erroneous. In a letter to his brother, the Auditor had counselled caution: ‘By Mr. [Thomas] Price’s letter I find the town of Leominster is in a great embroil. Had I apprehended this I should have dissuaded Lord Harley to have permitted his name to be made use of.’⁶⁵ In the end it was decided to withdraw from the contest and make some accommodation with William Bateman’s people. The mood seems to have been, anyone but Caswall. Lord Oxford had wanted his son to take his chances in the county seat when the general election was held in the following spring, in order to undo the ‘Civil and Military Oppressions’ that Coningsby had laid on the shire, but the affair was so badly mismanaged that the whole farrago became known as ‘the Herefordshire Mistake,’ leading to a serious loss of influence.⁶⁶

The second story records the death of the secretary of state James Craggs junior, one of the ministers most heavily implicated in the South Sea: Pope would commemorate the passing of his friend with lines used as an epitaph in Westminster Abbey. In 1733 the poet still retained fond memories of the statesman, and part of his difficulty in the *Epistle* stemmed from the need to deflect blame from allies like Craggs and the Harleys. The third newspaper paragraph refers to the bad relations between Caswall and Coningsby, to which we shall return shortly. The fourth reads: ‘It is said some other Persons of Figure having been lately much Indispos’d about their late Management of South-Sea Stock, have some Thoughts of changing the Air in a little Time, and moving into Sir George Caswell’s Neighbourhood’.⁶⁷ This most obviously points at James Craggs senior, Postmaster General as well as father of Pope’s friend, who had actually committed suicide by taking laudanum on the evening before this story appeared. It is significant that Auditor Harley’s son, young and prejudiced but generally well informed, considered that Caswall as much as Blunt lay behind the whole scam, as he told his aunt: ‘The Projector of this Banefull Project was Knighted on being restored to Favour.’⁶⁸ Could Caswall bring down anyone else with him, once he was hauled off to the Tower?

THE ROLE OF LORD CONINGSBY

In modern Leominster, Caswell Road lies only a stone's throw from Coningsby Road. Juxtaposed in this way, the streets dramatize a longlasting confrontation between two redoubtable figures in the history of the town and the nation.

The introduction of Thomas Coningsby at such a climactic moment was a master stroke on the part of Pope. This strange individual, the terror of his neighbours in northern Herefordshire, had long acquired fame as a vehement orator, liable to harangue parliament or any other forum. More particularly, it was he who had proposed to the Commons a resolution to bring in articles of impeachment against the first Earl of Oxford in 1715. Just prior to this Bolingbroke, another friend of Pope, had also been charged with treason. Coningsby began his onslaught with a macabre pun: 'The worthy Chairman of Committee [Walpole] has impeached the *Hand*, but I impeach the *Head*.' Many Whigs openly aspired to a capital sentence (as a peer, Oxford would have been beheaded rather than hanged). The former Lord Treasurer was left to kick his heels in the Tower for two years until the prosecution lost the wind from its sails and it was allowed to lapse. All this time Oxford enjoyed the strong support of men like Pope, Swift, and Bishop Atterbury, the last a special foe of Coningsby, and a man who eight years later would be arraigned before the Lords and banished to France. The episode continued to simmer in the collective memory of Tories, not least Bathurst, and so it was apt for Pope to hint at the earlier impeachment.

However, the implications of the line do not end there. As noted earlier, Coningsby had become a bitter enemy of Caswall, mainly because the Lem Knight had severely disrupted his influence in Leominster, which lay five miles from his own residence. What happened, once the two men found themselves fellow prisoners in the Tower, would have surprised no one who knew anything about the absurd peer. Naturally the earl wished to have nothing to do with his fellow inmates. A press report appeared shortly after Caswall joined him in custody: 'We hear, that so great a Difference is arisen between Earl Coningsby and Sir George Caswall, that they have even forbid their Servants so much to correspond with one another'.⁶⁹ On the same day a rival newspaper embellished the tale: 'They report that a certain noble Person in the Tower, hath ordered all his Servants, who attend him there, to have no manner of Correspondence with those belonging to his Lordship's Old Friend Sir G---e C---el, on Pain of being immediately cashier'd, as Guilty of Stock-Jobbing'.⁷⁰ Everybody who knew the first thing about the earl was aware of his penchant for diatribes before the assembled company, in and out of Westminster. 'Your prisoner, my Lord Coningsby, I believe is not very easy with his confinement,' Elizabeth Lechmere wrote on 7 March to her father, who was Constable of the Tower. 'They say he talks as much there as in the House of Lords, and I believe to as much purpose.'⁷¹

Though his incarceration ruled out any chance to speechify in parliament, Coningsby did something equally characteristic. He lodged a formal complaint to the authorities about the 'low company' he was forced to keep in the Tower. By this he meant of course the glover's son:

This day has furnished Lord Con with a very disagreeable fellow prisoner; he has apprehended it for some days, and was very much out of humour to think so mean a person should be sent thither, a place designed for persons of the highest quality. Though he had made resolution to rot there rather than ask the pardon of that attorney, the Chancellor, yet we are told now he will do even that, rather than keep such company in the Tower.

This news comes from a letter to Lord Oxford by William Thomas, who was following up on an account he had given the previous day regarding Caswall's punishment by the House.

Thomas went on, 'What has facilitated the affair of this day was a report that C-1 had been with the K. last night, and that the money was for the Court that he was concerned in'—i.e. presumably the gift that Caswall channelled to Stanhope would have ended up in royal hands.⁷² Obviously material both in the public prints and in private communications passing among the Harley family would serve to reveal the maniacal hatred that Caswall's rival in Herefordshire felt for him.

Subsequently Coningsby went public with his accusations against Caswall in an open letter to the residents of Leominster, dated 17 March 1722 and printed in a London newspaper a few days later. Here he claims that 'the Person who has found Means to be chosen my Successor' in parliament had now made the borough, 'so fam'd before for Integrity and Vertue' (a roseate view) infamous 'for the most illegal and flagrant Corruption.' As a result, the person who had been elected 'was enabled to become very early...one of the principal Instruments of bringing the Nation into its present dismal Circumstances and horrid State of Corruption.' His lordship contends that for 'opposing the South Sea scheme against the corrupt Person before-mentioned' he suffered imprisonment for twenty-two weeks. In conclusion, he asks the citizens to show 'a just and lawful Resentment' against any of their fellow townsmen who vote for a man 'who was twice expell'd, even by the last Corrupt Parliament, once for bribing of your Borough, and the second time for Forgery...and for owning that he had received for the sole Use of himself and Partners of the Sword-Blade Company, 250,000 *l.* of the Publick Money'.⁷³ If this is not Coningsby fulminating against Sir George as the man behind South Sea corruption, what else can it be?

In the event, Caswall was able to tempt enough of the voters to gain re-election. Coningsby's favoured candidate withdrew, so he chose to recommend instead another local grandee. This was Sir Archer Croft of Croft Castle (1683-1753), a supporter of Walpole. Auditor Harley for the most part stood on the sidelines, but this did not make proceedings any less unsavoury than before:

The poll, which was taken in the area of the Town-hall, being closed, the Bailiff moved to adjourn to the Unicorn inn, to cast-up the books, and make the return. Sir Archer drew his sword, and swore that he would run him through, if he refused to make the return immediately upon the spot. A tumult ensued, much blood was spilled, and the returning officer would have doubtless expiated his partiality by his life, had he not fortunately found means to escape along the tops of the adjacent houses.⁷⁴

No wonder the election was challenged (see above, pp. 122-3). Probably Sir George had many of the burgesses on his side, even if Thomas Nelmes was not. Edward Bangham or Baugham, a close relative, was elected bailiff in the following year,⁷⁵ and two years after that the post went to 'Capt. John Caswall', George's brother (d. 1728), whose part in the election has already emerged from the report on Auditor Harley's petition to the committee of privileges. John's activities are evasively described by a nineteenth-century historian: '[He] was the life and soul of the Corporation at this time. He was the paymaster at all [their] entertainments, and promoted by his own example the hospitalities of the Corporation.'⁷⁶ In other words, he was in charge of municipal graft.⁷⁷

How did Pope get to know of such things? As well as his ongoing friendship with the second Earl of Oxford, which made gossip among the Harleys available to him, he enjoyed a close relation with Lady Scudamore, whose home on the banks of the Wye both Pope and his friend John Gay seem to have visited at least once ('Pleas'd Vaga echoes thro' her winding

bounds', 251).⁷⁸ She belonged to the leading Tory family in Herefordshire, who had long disputed power with the Coningsby clan, and who stood for 'country' values directly opposed to the commercial thrust of men like Caswall. Her first cousin, Robert Digby, who spent much of his time at Holme Lacy, had played an important part in Pope's life up to his death in 1726, which prompted a heartfelt epitaph from his friend. Moreover, she was among the closest allies of Lord Bathurst, dedicatee of the *Epistle*. It has been argued that the latter sections of the poem display a kind of Hereford inflexion, most centrally apparent in the portrait of John Kyrle, the Man of Ross (250-98).⁷⁹ Ross lies just a few miles down the Wye from the Scudamores' seat at Holme Lacy. It hardly seems implausible that the feud between Caswall and Coningsby came to the poet's attention, or that it would have struck him as the model for an apt incident at the culminating moment of Balaam's career.

This brings us to the grand finale. Initially Caswall appeared to have been deserted by the court and government. The monarch, anxious about his own involvement, offered no support to the dutiful and humble servant whom he had knighted three years earlier, while the ministry was engaged in a cover up and were happy to throw Caswall to the wolves – or at last to make a show of this until the charges against him could be quietly forgotten. On the other hand, in spite of his expulsion and his stay in the Tower, he escaped the most serious financial consequences. Of course he did not hang, but that is the point. He survived almost as though nothing had happened: he saw out his term as sheriff of London, carried on his business career and held his seat at Leominster for another two decades.⁸⁰ An early sign of his rehabilitation came when he presented a loyal address to the king from the citizens of Leominster soon after he got back into parliament, striking a determined protestant line against 'the Oppression of a Popish Hierarchy'.⁸¹ Few in the house were more loyal to Walpole throughout that period. The implication in the text is that execution was what *ought* to have been the fate of men of his kind: instead, old corruption regained its sway.

How did Caswall manage to regain financial stability? In 1724 he was hit with huge damages of £34,000 when sued by a disgruntled South Sea speculator, but after a timely trip to Aix la Chapelle (his only recorded trip abroad) he seemingly came to an accommodation with the plaintiff. One explanation might be that he had money salted away in the Low Countries. His partner in crime, John Ward, was accused of secreting £50,000 of Blunt's forfeited estate – as duly reported in Pope's note to line 20. The bill to strip Sir George of his assets never made it through parliament, but he and his partners in the Sword Blade faced many suits in years to come. Significantly, Caswall figures among the twelve 'rogues' listed in the *History of Parliament* who were expelled for financial dishonesty in the era. Aislabie and Sawbridge appear on the list, as does John Ward.⁸² Pope needed no instruction on the villains of the day.

CONCLUSION

Since the episode of Sir Balaam forms the climax of a work that centres on the greed and corruption of the financial world, Pope needed to draw the lineaments of his character with care. Above all the key figure had to be up to his neck in the South Sea affair, which dwarfed every other scandal of the age. Just whom might the poet employ as a partial model for Balaam?

Any individual ought to satisfy a number of requirements. He should be a businessman rooted in the City, preferably functioning close to the Monument and handily placed for Exchange Alley. Indeed, at best, he will fit Defoe's profile of a man who 'realizes *Exchange - Alley* in every Place.' His profession should involve actions relating to the speculative mania Pope has described – selling stocks, for example. Preferably his origins should lie in the

dissenting community, perhaps as a Baptist like Blunt, but even better as a member of an extreme sect like the Particular Baptists. He ought to have intimate ties with Blunt, whose character Pope had already set out at length at the heart of the poem; and to have operated alongside other villains named in the poem, such as Hopkins and Ward. At some point he would have been ‘dubbed’ a director by one of the companies at the center of the scandal. He will appear to many an arriviste, having started out in a modest way of life. He should have been granted a knighthood and received signs of court favour. Having lost his first wife, he should quickly find a woman of wealth to replace her. When he gained a seat in parliament, it would be most appropriate if he represented a corrupt borough and became notorious for rigging elections.⁸³ His name should have been widely associated with bribery. He should have faced parliamentary censure, as a result of financial disgrace, and should have had forfeitures imposed on him.

But it would help the broader themes of the poem, too, if he had a long history of political and electoral opposition to the Harley family, and regularly figured in their gossip. The portrait calls for someone against whom Coningsby would be sure to inveigh. If he had local links in Herefordshire that would make him the polar opposite of the Man of Ross—so much to the good. Just as John Kyrle represented all that was admirable in his class, as a humble and self-denying man of moderate means, so Caswall stood for acquisitiveness, greed and ambition. Above all, the application will work best if the individual escaped virtually scot-free despite his crimes, and unlike Sir Balaam (or his biblical prototype, killed in revenge by the Israelites) he survived to show that corruption has not died out. He would thus serve as an example of indulgence to allies shown by the ‘Screen-Master’, Robert Walpole.

Pope’s editor, F. W. Bateson, considered that the poet’s ‘indignation with wicked capitalists of the City of London is obviously second-hand....In this poem Pope too often gives the impression that he doesn’t know what he is talking about’.⁸⁴ The evidence cited here indicates that Pope knew quite enough about one of the ‘wicked capitalists,’ who had often come into conflict with his own friends like the Harleys. It may be that Pope initially planned a generic study of a contemporary financier; but as he constructed the apologue more and more details came back into his head. So he particularized Sir Balaam’s career by reviving memories of one flagrant case, that of the notorious Lem knight. He could have made no better choice. George Caswall sprang from fairly modest roots in his home town, but as it turned out he took a large and representative part in the great crash which overwhelmed London and the nation in 1720.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The allegation for his first marriage in 1699 describes him as bachelor of 23, already a citizen and haberdasher. See J. J. Howard (ed.) (1880), *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, vol. III, New Series, p. 207. In 1691 he was apprenticed to the goldsmith Thomas Tysoe, a leading worker in silver. Thanks to Roz Lowe for her help in tracking this down.

² Romney Sedgwick (ed.) (1970), *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 2 vols, 1, pp. 333-4 (henceforward *HOC*).

³ Larry Neal (1993), *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason*, p. 51. Caswall’s letter to Harley on 6 October 1710 is in the British Library, Add MS 70296. He may have come to the minister’s attention in 1709 when he helped to provide funds to pay the army in Flanders. The directors of the new Company, chosen by Harley, included many Tories, to counteract the influence of the Whig-dominated Bank of England and East India Company.

⁴ In addition Caswall had a large holding in Bank of England stock, and was a member of the East India Company, for whom his (adopted?) son Timothy became a writer in Bengal.

⁵ Caswall may already have been in good odour, since he had presented the king with a loyal address on behalf of the dignitaries of Leominster in the previous year, which his Majesty received 'very graciously' (*London Gazette*, 2 April 1717).

⁶ *HOC*, 2, p. 149.

⁷ Edward Harley, junior to Abigail Harley, 4 and 13 February 1713, *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (1899), 5, pp. 554-5 (henceforward *Portland Manuscripts*). Bateman was another Herefordshire neighbour, with his estate at Shobdon Court just outside Leominster.

⁸ *HOC*, 1, pp. 333. For the tale about the scrutoire, see *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England: From the Norman Conquest, in 1066 to the Year 1803* (1811), 7, p. 785.

⁹ For Caswall's appeal to Walpole, dated 15 May 1721, see Cambridge University Library, Ch(H) MSS, 1, 855a.

¹⁰ *The Naked and Undisguis'd Truth*, 2nd ed. (1721), pp. 1, 5, 8, 10, 13. The reference to Sunderland (who died on 19 April 1722) shows that it appeared in the following year.

¹¹ *Naked and Undisguis'd Truth*, pp. 24-6. The author also complains about 'the screening of the two *Auditors* of the *Imprest* from a parliamentary Prosecution' (p. 28) – these were of course Edward Harley and Thomas Foley. This screening, along with the decision to drop the impeachment of Lord Oxford, has been 'the sole Occasion of the universal and horrid Corruption which now reigns among us' (p. 29).

¹² The Sword Blade, almost alone among companies badly hit by the Bubble, was able to continue to pay dividends. John did not fare so well as his father: he was declared bankrupt in January 1742, and died shortly after.

¹³ *Old Whig*, 29 December 1737.

¹⁴ He was also a director of the Company of Copper Miners in Wales, along with another of Pope's targets in the *Epistle*, John Ward. The shares were said to have risen when his resignation as governor of the company was made known (*Fog's Weekly Journal*, 19 September 1730).

¹⁵ *London Gazette*, 9 September 1721.

¹⁶ [Daniel Defoe], *An Anatomy of Exchange-Alley* (1719), p. 36.

¹⁷ F. W. Bateson (ed.) (1938-1968), *Epistles to Several Persons*, in *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, 11 vols (1938-1968), 3. ii: 121-3 (henceforward *TE*).

¹⁸ Earl R. Wasserman (1960), *Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading, with an Edition of the Manuscripts*, p. 101.

¹⁹ Wasserman, *Bathurst*, pp. 44-55.

²⁰ A central source here is John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (1960; 2001). Some revisionist historians have suggested that traditional accounts have exaggerated the degree of trauma undergone by the nation as a result of the Bubble, and have accepted uncritically 'myths' regarding the irrationality of investors. But even if this is true it does not affect the main narrative of events related by Carswell or the stance taken by Pope.

²¹ Pitt's father was an Anglican clergyman; his background was comfortable, and his daughter married James Stanhope, soldier and politician, later created an earl.

²² Wasserman, *Bathurst*, pp. 48, 46.

²³ All references to Balaam's religion in the poem are to 'church.' Caswall was married and buried in Anglican churches, and all family christenings (most at St Edward King and Martyr) took place there. He seems to have conformed to the established religion from the time of his arrival in London. His eldest grandson George would matriculate at Oxford in 1738.

²⁴ *HOC* and other sources identify James as George's father; but the will of James Caswall the elder was proved in 1701, and other family testaments make it clear that the individual in question was this man's son James, whose will was proved on 8 April 1715 with the financier George as sole executor and guardian of under-age children (The National Archives (henceforward TNA), PROB 11/545/268).

²⁵ For dual attendance by James, see John Price (1795), *An Historical & Topographical Account of Leominster, and its Vicinity*, p. 130. He had formerly been a supporter of the Harley interest, but he was alone among the Quakers and Particular Baptists in this regard. The family's shift from Whig and Presbyterian sympathies to those of the Tory and Anglican persuasion may have influenced the Caswalls to realign their loyalty.

²⁶ Wasserman, *Bathurst*, p. 129; 'A Tale of a Tub and Other Works' in Marcus Walsh (ed.) (2010) *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, pp. 133, 180.

²⁷ As early as 1701, the Commons had unseated Auditor Harley's opponent (backed by James Caswall), in response to a petition stating that some 90 votes should be disqualified by reason of bribery, threats or the promise of exemption from taxes.

²⁸ *HOC*, 2, p. 352.

²⁹ Sir Robert Montgomery (1717), *A Discourse concerning the Design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina, in the most Delightful Country of the Universe*, p. 6.

³⁰ *Daily Courant*, 31 August 1718. Until the South Sea collapse, Caswall was by most measures the biggest market dealer in Bank stock: in 1720 he made 214 purchases and 240 sales, several of them with a book value of over £10,000. See Ann M. Carlos, Karen Maguire, and Larry Neal, ‘“A knavish people...”: London Jewry and the Stockmarket during the South Sea Bubble’, Working Paper Series, UCD Centre for Economic Research, No. 08/06 (2008), <http://hdl.handle.net/10197/1801>.

³¹ By coincidence Caswall’s second wife died on 21 December 1736, ‘a Pattern of Love, & Virtue to Her Sex,’ according to her monument in St Margaret Pattens church. She was buried ‘after a grand Funeral Cavalcade...among her Ancestors’, *Daily Post*, 29 December 1736.

³² ‘Last Saturday Sir George Caswall, Kt. was marry’d to Mrs. Milbourne, a Gentlewoman of a very considerable Fortune’, *St. James’s Journal*, 16 August 1722. The name is puzzling, since wills indicate that George’s second wife (again Mary) was a sister-in-law of his first, who had previously been married to Mary’s brother Thomas Brassey. But she was certainly the daughter of a prominent family in Monmouthshire, and the sister of a writer named Dorothy Stanley. The marriage allegation in the parish register of St Edward’s describes her as ‘Mary Millborne of the parish of St. Laurence Cheapside London aged Twenty Seven years and a Spinster.’

³³ George and the second Mary started a new family: two sons and a daughter were baptized at St Edward King and Martyr between 1724 and 1728.

³⁴ *British Journal*, 16 January 1731.

³⁵ *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 1 October 1720.

³⁶ Lady Mary to Countess of Mar [1725?], R. Halsband (ed.) (1965-67), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 3 vols, 2: 56-9.

³⁷ Isaac Kramnick (1968; 1992), *Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole*. p. 82.

³⁸ *Examiner*, no. 13, 2 November 1710, in *The Examiners for the Year 1711* (1712), p. 75.

³⁹ *HOC*, 1, p. 334

⁴⁰ Edward ‘Auditor’ Harley to the Earl of Oxford, 2 February 1720, *Portland Manuscripts*, 5, p. 591.

⁴¹ G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster: with Illustrations of its Ancient and Modern History* ([1863]), pp. 237-8: Herefordshire Record Office, AK3/39 (henceforward HRO). Coningsby and Harley gave bonds for £250 to help the local tradesmen defray the costs of building – this seemingly refers to the same donations differently registered. For a petition by the townspeople to an unnamed peer (self-evidently Coningsby), dated 14 January 1702, and containing thanks to his lordship for his help towards the restoration, see HRO, AM 40/1. The signatories are headed by James Caswall as bailiff and include John Caswall, probably his cousin.

⁴² See *Journals of the House of Commons* (1803), 18: 28, 478-80, 522, 525, 529, 543, 572-3, 610, 650, 659 (henceforward *CJ*).

⁴³ *CJ*, 18, p. 543

⁴⁴ *CJ*, 18, pp. 529, 650. On 30 April 1717 the Commons resolved that Caswall had won as a result of bribery and was not duly elected. However, as noted, he again triumphed in the resulting bye-election.

⁴⁵ Geoffrey Holmes (1967;1987), *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, pp. 178-80.

⁴⁶ J. Redington (ed.) (1883) *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1714-1719, p. 378.

⁴⁷ Edward Harley junior to Abigail Harley, 18 February 1718, in S. Taylor and C. Jones (eds) (1998), *Tory and Whig: The Parliamentary Papers of Edward Harley, Third Earl of Oxford, and William Hay, M.P.*, p. 204 (henceforward *Tory and Whig*). ‘Sauce’ misread there as ‘Lauce’.

⁴⁸ *Evening Post*, 3 April 1722.

⁴⁹ Letters between members of the Harley family, in *Tory and Whig*, pp. lxx, 238.

⁵⁰ Powell (d. c.1730), a tanner, had worked with James Caswall senior in support of the Auditor as early as 1701. He remained loyal to the Harleys when George and his brothers seceded to the opposite camp.

⁵¹ *CJ*, 20: 493-4.

⁵² *CJ*, 21: 36.

⁵³ Wasserman, *Bathurst*, pp. 91, 121.

⁵⁴ Pope to Earl of Oxford, 22 September 1732, in G. Sherburn (ed.) (1956), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, 5 vols, 3, p. 315.

⁵⁵ Thomas Harley to Earl of Oxford, 17 February 1721, *Portland Manuscripts*, 5, p. 615. Among those called before the Lords during the parliamentary enquiry was the chief company accountant, Charles Lockyer, with whom Pope and John Gay shortly afterwards had dealings over stock (Gay to Lockyer, 1 May 1721, in Pope, *Correspondence*, 2, p. 75).

⁵⁶ A different explanation for what happened was given by Jacob Sawbridge, a partner in the Sword Blade, director of the South Sea Company, and MP (*Cobbett’s History*, 7, p. 726). He was the hardest hit of those immediately associated with Caswall, and suffered a fine of £72,000 levied, which left him with only £5,000 as his remaining fortune.

⁵⁷ Edward Harley to the Earl of Oxford, 16 Feb 1721, *Portland Manuscripts*, 5, p. 614. Harley wondered how far Walpole would allow his followers to ‘sink under their corruption,’ but thought that Caswall would be sacrificed.

⁵⁸ Carswell, *Bubble*, p. 185.

⁵⁹ Carswell, *Bubble*, p. 227, says that he died in 1721, but this is quite wrong.

⁶⁰ Cobbett's History, 7, p. 753.

⁶¹ Cobbett's History, 7, p. 752.

⁶² Edward Harley to Abigail Harley, 18 June 1721, *Tory and Whig*, p. 235.

⁶³ *HOC*, 1, p. 334.

⁶⁴ Edward Harley junior to Abigail Harley, 12 March 1721, *Tory and Whig*, p. 229. According to some sources, Caswall was nearly torn to pieces by the mob on his way to the examination, but I have not found evidence of this. See for example J. H. Plumb, (1956) *Sir Robert Walpole: The Making of a Statesman*, p. 344. Plumb is correct to say that Caswall 'was disliked more than other Directors.'

⁶⁵ Auditor Harley to Earl of Oxford, 16 March 1721, *Portland Manuscripts*, 5: 615.

⁶⁶ See the full discussion in *Tory and Whig*, pp. lxvii-lxviii.

⁶⁷ *Applebee's Weekly Journal*, 18 March 1733.

⁶⁸ Edward Harley junior to Abigail Harley, 30 May 1721, *Tory and Whig*, pp. 234-5.

⁶⁹ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 18 March 1721.

⁷⁰ *Applebee's Weekly Journal*, 18 March 1721.

⁷¹ *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, Preserved at Castle Howard*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VI (London, 1897), p. 32.

⁷² William Thomas to the Earl of Oxford, 11 March 1721, *Portland Manuscripts*, 5: 618.

⁷³ *Post Boy*, 24 March 1722.

⁷⁴ [J. Williams], *The Leominster Guide: Containing an Historical & Topographical View of the Ancient and Present State of Leominster* (Leominster: F.J. Burlton, [1808]), p. 227.

⁷⁵ George's mother is recorded as '--- Brougham,' probably a misreading of Baugham. The will of his brother James names Edward Baugham as his father-in-law: he married his cousin Anne Baugham at Ludlow in 1697. A cousin John Bau[g]ham is also named. The Baughams were subsequently allies of the Harleys, and Edward's son would become deputy to Harley as Auditor; two generations later, the Auditor's grandson Thomas (Lord Mayor of London, MP for the City of London and Hereford) married Anne, daughter of Edward Baugham junior. However, at the 1701 election Edward Baugham senior, then a magistrate, had been active in support of John Dutton Colt and allegedly threatened Edward Harley's supporters.

⁷⁶ Townsend, *Leominster*, p. 180. In Leominster the justices were the current bailiff, his predecessor, the recorder, the steward, and two aldermen. The recorder at this time was Auditor Harley, but the local men who filled the positions of bailiff and burgesses included many relatives and friends of Caswall.

⁷⁷ John Caswall's will, proved on 1 July 1728, made George one of the co-executors (TNA, PROB 11/623/6). George's own will, proved on 20 September 1742, included a bequest to his niece Mary, daughter of John (TNA, PROB 11/720/429). Lord Coningsby entered a caveat against Caswall's brother being made receiver-general for the county, having heard that 'the new knight, St. George' had claimed that Herefordshire would soon see who had the best interest there (letter to the secretary of the Treasury, 1 April 1718, in J. Redington, (ed.) (1899), *Calendar of Treasury Papers 1715-20*, p. 366). In fact, like his deceased brother James, John had become receiver-general for no fewer than four Welsh counties.

⁷⁸ We may wonder what the second Lord Oxford and Edward Harley felt when they found themselves joined with George, Captain John Caswall and Coningsby among the trustees for the new Rivers Wye and Lugg navigation in 1727 (13 Geo. I, c. 34).

⁷⁹ Pat Rogers, (2011), *The Life and Times of Thomas, Lord Coningsby: The Whig Hangman and his Victims*, 203-26.

⁸⁰ As we have seen, Caswall's election for Leominster was challenged in 1725, but the Commons voted him 'duely elected' by a two-to-one majority (*Newcastle Courant*, 24 April). In 1733 parliament began to debate a bill that ultimately passed in the following year as 'An Act to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing' (7 Geo. II, c. 8), generally known as Sir John Barnard's act. Caswall had enough temerity to oppose the measure, despite its general popularity. In 1741 George passed the seat at Leominster on to his son John, who defeated Robert Harley in a contest marked by 'the foulest and most flagrant Bribery', *Evening Post*, 16 May 1741.

⁸¹ (*Daily Courant*, 26 September 1722).

⁸² *HOC* 1, p. 53. Pope would also have recalled that his own landlord at Twickenham, and a founding director of the South Sea Company, Thomas Vernon, was expelled from the House in 1721 for attempting to extract favours for his brother-in-law, John Aislabie. This was thought of sufficient interest for Neddy Harley to report it to his aunt Abigail (*Portland*, 5: 621).

⁸³ Earlier in the *Epistle*, Pope wrote of how bribery could 'water all the Quorum ten miles around' (42), glossed in *TE* 3.ii: 89 as meaning 'treating away' the local magistrates.

⁸⁴ *TE*, 3.ii: xxxiv.

Jordan's boatyard in Hereford

by JOHN C. EISEL

As the nineteenth century progressed, the commercial use of the river Wye up to Hereford declined, and by the 1850s was virtually defunct. However, the river continued to be used for tourists on the Wye Tour, and also for increasing recreational use by local residents, both in Hereford and in the lower reaches of the river. In this paper the history of the well-known Jordan boatyard in Hereford is explored.

INTRODUCTION

The Jordan's boatyard was located on the south bank of the river Wye in Hereford, to the west of Wye bridge, more or less where the new road bridge crosses the river. On Cole and Roper's map of 1806 this was marked as a coal yard, and there was no doubt a wharf as well, for the coal would have been transported up the river. This area was where the terminus of the tramroad from Abergavenny was built, which was opened to traffic on 21 September 1829, and the boatyard was subsequently developed after the closure of the tramroad. How this came about is the theme of this paper.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

The surname Jordan was not unusual among the rivermen, but at present it has proved impossible to link them all together with any certainty. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were several of that name in Hereford working on, or connected with, the river.

One of these was William Jordan, in whose name the barge *Molly* was registered on 8 October 1831, the Chepstow Port Register stating that he was the owner and master.¹ His wife died on 22 March 1850, and in the 1851 census he was described as a waterman, a widower aged 48, who had been born in 'Lidbrook'.² His son William, aged 16, who had been born in the parish of St. John, Hereford, was living at home and was working as a shoemaker. William the elder died in 1855:

'Aug. 23, after many years of great suffering, aged 52, Mr. William Jordan, late boat-owner, of this city.'³

On 31 January 1827 the *Hereford Journal* reported that Richard Jordan, a barge-man, had been detained on a barge at Chepstow, charged with stealing a quantity of sail-cloth and other articles. It may be that he subsequently prospered, for a Richard Jordan of Hereford bought a barge called the *Betsey*, of which he was the master as well, which was registered in his name on 7 October 1836.⁴ However, a court case held at the Guildhall in Hereford on 24 December 1838 suggests that he may not have lived long enough to have much benefit from his purchase. The case was reported in the *Hereford Journal* on 26 December 1838:

'At our Guildhall on Monday,—Francis Jordan was charged (in conjunction with three other respectable persons) by his brother Richard Jordan, with stealing a barge! It turned out, however, that the alleged thief was the real owner of the vessel, it having been left to him by the will of his father, who had purchased it for 78*l*. The Magistrate, Mr. Alderman Gough, immediately dismissed the case.'⁵

Thus it would appear that Francis was the favoured son, and benefited more from his father's

will than his brother Richard. If this refers to the *Betsey*, the change in ownership was not registered in the Port Books at Chepstow.

It seems likely that this Richard lived in St Martin's Street, Hereford, and was the person of that name who resided in a cottage there, one of three that were offered for sale early in 1840, but he has not yet been traced in the 1841 census.⁶ This may be the person who was referred to in a report in the *Hereford Times* on 17 June 1846, which stated that an order of removal had been made for Richard Jordan and his family from St Martin's parish to St John's. Clearly the family must have been a charge on the parish relief, and were being removed to their place of origin. Nothing further has been traced of this Richard Jordan.

Finally, there was John Felix Jordan, a barge owner from Hereford. He first comes to our attention in a long report in the *Hereford Journal* on 11 March 1818, which detailed at great length much damage done a week before by what was described as a hurricane. The relevant part is given below:

'About four o'clock in the afternoon, as a barge laden with timber was proceeding down the Wye to Chepstow just before she reached the bridge at Monmouth, a sudden gust of wind drove the bow of the vessel against the side of the arch, which gave her a heel, when she filled, and soon after sunk in the channel at the withy bed. The master, John Jordan of this city, and four men, were washed overboard; but, by the exertions of the inhabitants residing near the spot, were all rescued, though not without great peril, from a watery grave.'

If John Jordan had a financial interest in the barge, this would have been a great loss to him. However, he must have got over this, as the report of his marriage that appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 23 March 1825 shows:

'Monday last was married, at the Cathedral, Owner John Felix Jordan, to Harriet Crompton, both of this city.'

'Owner' was the term used to denote the owner of a barge, usually with another person as master.⁷ Harriet Crompton was a member of a well-known river family, and her brother Edmund became a local celebrity.⁸

At the time of the 1841 census Harriet Jordan was living in St. Martin's with her four sons, Richard (14), William (14), John (12) and Thomas (6). John Felix was not at home, and may well have been away on business on the Wye. The eldest son, Richard, whose full name was Richard Rivers Felix Jordan, is the main subject of this paper.

RICHARD 'DICKY' JORDAN

It is understood that in his early years he helped his father on the river, and then served an apprenticeship as a boat builder, but not in Hereford. In view of his age and his later family commitments this would have been in the 1840s. Two later references state that Richard Jordan served his time as an apprentice boat-builder at a boatyard in Oxford, and certainly he had connections with that city.⁹ However, another reference states that he served his time as a boat builder in Eton.¹⁰ Wherever he served his apprenticeship, afterwards he became the captain of a yacht, implying that it was large enough to have other crew under him. His marriage was reported in the *Hereford Journal* on 18 July 1849:

'July 15, at St. Nicholas church, in this city, by the Rev. John Hanbury, Richard River Jordon [*sic*], Captain of the yacht *Eagle*, eldest son of the late Mr. John Felix Jordon, to Miss Sarah Burrup, of this city.'

This report also appeared three days later in the *Hereford Times*, and in the *Bristol Mercury* on 28 July 1849, the latter report possibly indicating that was where the yacht *Eagle* was based. However, his employer cannot currently be identified.

Richard Jordan soon settled in the parish of St Martin's, where he was living with his wife Sarah and a one-week-old son, Henry (Harry) at the time of the 1851 census. He was described as a waterman. At this period he was evidently making his living on the river, and it is clear that he was interested in the competitive side of rowing, an interest probably derived from his residence in Oxford.



Figure 1. Richard 'Dicky' Jordan by Ladmore of Hereford, c.1870 (Pilley Collection, HRL)

The *Hereford Journal* of 8 September 1852 reported on a race that was to be held on that day, between the four-oared boats called *Elizabeth* and *The Queen*. R. Jordan, almost certainly our man, rowed at bow in *The Queen*. The rivalry between these boats was of long standing, dating back at least to 1844.¹¹



Figure 2. View of pleasure craft on the Wye, with Jordan's pontoon in the foreground, taken c. 1890 (Pillely Collection, HRL)

The following report in the *Hereford Times* on 3 November 1855 no doubt refers to ‘our’ Richard Jordan:

‘THE LATE SUDDEN RISE IN THE WYE.—We are sorry to hear that the sudden flooding of the river Wye which took place last Friday evening was not unattended with damage. A valuable pleasure-boat, belonging to R. Jordan, was torn from her moorings just above Wye-bridge, and, dashing against one of the piers, was knocked about to such a degree that several pounds will be required to repair the damage. A subscription has been set on foot to assist Jordan, as the income derived from this boat is one of his chief sources of livelihood during the season for aquatic excursions.’

For Jordan to earn most of his living from this pleasure boat, it must have been one of the larger type which carried a number of passengers and which were used on the Wye Tour. However, he must have soon seen an opportunity to expand his business by building and hiring out smaller pleasure boats.¹² As part of that he continued to encourage rowing as a sport to take place on the river. In 1856 the Hereford waterworks was completed and it was intended to celebrate the opening, scheduled for 8 July 1856, with a regatta on the river on that day.¹³ The opening was delayed, but the regatta went ahead anyway, with five races. The first was for a silver cup, and one of the competitors was the boat *Swallow*, with a crew got together by Richard Jordan, and with him participating. A report of the regatta appeared next day in the second edition of the *Hereford Journal*, with an account of the win by the *Swallow*. The report also mentioned that there was a boat called the *Wasp*, owned by Richard Jordan, in the second race. When the report was prepared for the *Hereford Journal* the proceedings had not been concluded, and the following week the *Hereford Journal* had to report that there had been an objection to the win by the *Swallow*, on the grounds that one of the crew was a professional oarsman from Oxford, and that the race had been for amateurs (a term which included watermen). Consequently, the cup was given to the crew that had been second.

Within a year or two, Richard Jordan had branched out into boat building, advertising his services in the *Hereford Journal* on 5 May 1857, no doubt taking advantage of the demise of the tramroad to acquire his premises. In 1846 the tramroad had been incorporated into the Newport, Abergavenny and Hereford Railway which was constructed on part on the line of the tramroad, which closed on 1 May 1853 in order to allow for the construction of the permanent way.¹⁴ The first train on this railway, which crossed the Wye by the bridge further to the west on its way to Barton Station, arrived in Hereford on 6 December 1853, and the line was opened to traffic the next month. The tramroad company itself owned little in the way of property, apart from the tramroad itself, and even the terminus was rented, detailed in these pages:¹⁵

‘A dwelling house, counting house and cottages, situated at Wye Bridge, Hereford, with weighing machine, tram house, workshop and yard leased to the Co. for 99 years from 25th October, 1829, at a rent of £90 per annum.’

This must have been the dwelling house that was advertised by the company in the *Hereford Times* on 25 June 1842 as being to rent, together with a wharf, warehouse and stabling, which had formerly been in the occupation of Henry Cooke, known to have been a coal merchant. It may be identified with the stone building on the bank of the river which has always been referred to, inaccurately, as the terminus building.¹⁶ When the tramroad closed in 1853 the buildings were redundant, and Richard Jordan took the opportunity to open his business on a site to the east and south of the dwelling house. The first edition of the 25-inch OS map, published in 1888, shows that the dwelling house was included in the boatyard premises, while the area to the east of the

boatyard and behind the St. Martin's Street frontage, was marked as a timber yard. Despite opening his business in 1857, his name does not appear in Cassey's directory of 1858, but does in Slater's directory of 1859, where it was stated that he was a boat builder. Curley's survey of Hereford, published in 1858, does not mark Jordan's boatyard, and so the survey work must have been carried out before the establishment of the boatyard. However, it was marked on the very basic map published in 1858 in the second edition of Joseph Jones's *Handbook*. As part of setting up the boatyard Richard Jordan also increased the number of boats that he had for hire, a part of the business emphasised in his advert quoted above, which stated that '*BOATS of every description BUILT, REPAIRED, and LET ON HIRE.*' The boats he built would have been of the pleasure variety.

It had been hoped that the regatta held in 1856 would be the first of a series of regattas to be held annually, but the next one was not held until 1859. The report that appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 18 June 1859 shows that Richard Jordan took a leading role, acting as judge, and supplying the boats that were used. This regatta was such a success that it gave the impetus to the formation of a Hereford Rowing Club, reported in the *Hereford Times* on 29 June 1860.

'HEREFORD ROWING CLUB.—The spur given to aquatic exercises by the very successful regatta of last year, is shown in the number of boats nightly to be seen on the beautiful sheet of water between the Wye-bridge and Belmont. Notwithstanding the number of boats added to Richard Jordan's "fleet," the supply is quite inadequate to the demand, particularly for that description of boat known as "racing boats." With a view to obviate this, a meeting of the lovers of rowing was held on Wednesday last at the Saracen's Head inn, under the presidency of F. Kempson, Esq., when a club, under the title of the "Hereford Rowing Club," was established, officers elected, a committee formed, and several resolutions passed. About 45 gentlemen have already joined the club, and more are expected.'

Later the same year, on 27 August 1860, the Hereford Amateur Regatta took place, although this was organised by a separate committee and was not a Rowing Club event. The judge was R. M. Lingwood (a name well known in the Woolhope Club!), and the umpire was Mr Stephen Salter, from Oxford, who appeared in the coat and badge of a Thames Waterman. The starter was T. T. Jeffreys, who may have been the pleasure-boat proprietor. Although a detailed report appeared in the *Hereford Times* of 1 September 1860 nothing was reported about the source of the boats that were used for the regatta, and no member of the Jordan family was listed as a member of a crew.

From then on a regatta was held most years, and there was usually a member of the Jordan family involved, young Henry acting as a cox on a number of occasions. The leading part that Richard Jordan played was marked in a notable manner in 1862. On 26 April 1862 the *Hereford Journal* reported the start of the boating season was marked on Monday 24 April by members of the Hereford Rowing Club and other 'jolly young watermen' improvising a procession of boats from Hunderton, preceded by the band of the West Midland Railway Company, to express the appreciation of Richard Jordan's efforts to improve rowing on the Wye, and this was watched by a large number of spectators. Afterwards a scratch race took place between two sister four-oared boats, rowed by members of Hereford Rowing Club. H. 'Jordon' was the cox of the losing boat.

Although regattas continued to be held, if slightly spasmodically, Hereford Rowing Club was not always involved, and seems to have lapsed, to be reformed in 1872, from when the present Rowing Club dates its foundation.

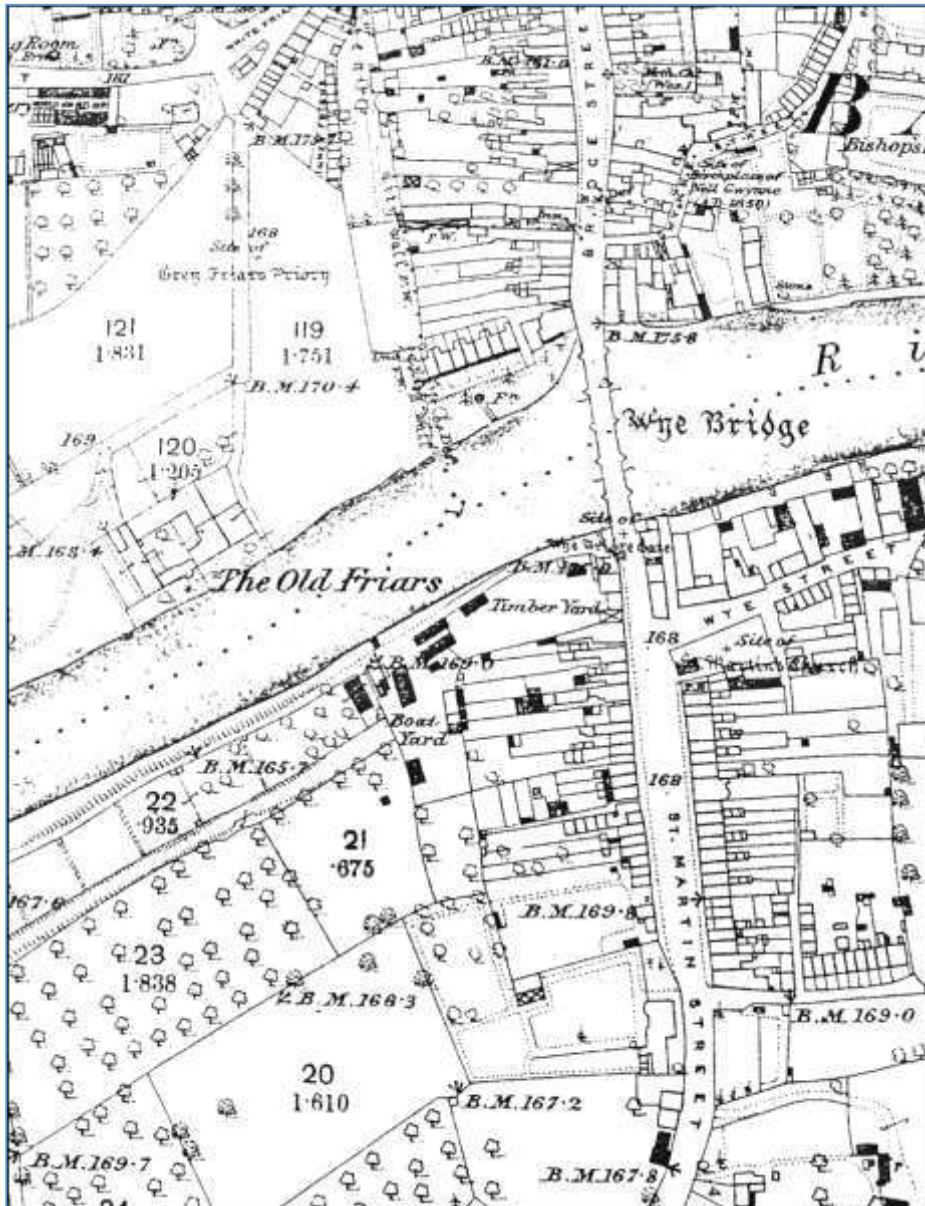


Figure 3. Location of Jordan's Boatyard, recorded on the 1888 25-inch OS map

We are fortunate in having a description of Richard Jordan at this period. In 1909 the Rev. Weston E. Vernon Yonge, who had been at Hereford Cathedral School from 1859 to 1868, published his reminiscences of his time at school in a number of parts in the *Hereford Times*, which make very curious reading. One of his subjects was Richard Jordan, a description of whom

was included in the part which was published on 2 October 1909:

'What Herefordian of those days does not have kindly remembrances of Dick Jordan! A phloto [*sic*] of him, by Ladmore, Hereford, is near me as I write and is a perfect likeness. There is Dick, in pilot coat, with straw hat very much tilted backwards and showing his curly hair beneath. He is taken grasping a canoe paddle in a workmanlike manner. Good old Dick! He was quite a school institution, and even non-rowing boys (of whom I was one) were almost as welcome visitors to his boatshed as were the others.

We used to make that same boatshed a sort of informal "club," and listen to Dick's yarns. One always understood that in his palmy days Dick was prime favourite—especially with the ladies of Hereford. Like Mr. Dibdin's "Jolly young Waterman," it might truly said of Dick that he was "always first oars with the fine city ladies"—and that the "maidens all flocked to his boat readily." Because he was so safe, and such a reliable boatman—and the Wye between Hereford and Ross takes some negotiating. There was a great affection between Dick and the School—for he would serve us in any way could, and no one had warmer welcome for "Old Boys," [*sic*] visits than he. He had many professional acquaintances at Oxford (where I believe he was apprenticed), and he always spent a few days there in the October term. Nor did he forget to call upon all the Old Boys then in residence, and probably he did not leave the "Varsity" without some little pecuniary benefit to himself in the way of fairly substantial "tip," which he thoroughly deserved. He is gone, but one was pleased not long since to renew one's acquaintance with his son Harry, and know that "Jordan Brothers" are still one of Hereford's best known institutions. May the old firm long continue to flourish, and "more power to their elbow."

Richard Jordan's name also occurs in an account of a rowing trip at about this period. In 1873 several Oxford men had a rowing holiday, from Oxford to Hereford, and back again. The party arrived at the canal wharf in Hereford on 20 August 1873 and it was recorded:

'Here leaving our boat we were to see Jordan a boat builder to get our boat carted through the town into the river Wye.'

The party then continued their journey down the Wye.¹⁷

Richard Jordan had a large family. In 1851 there was only little Harry, but by 1861, when he and Sarah were living at 15 Norfolk Terrace, this had increased to five children, and by 1871, when they were living at 16 St Martin's street, this had expanded to 10. There were a further two added subsequently, with a final total of six boys and six girls.

Richard Jordan died on 27 December 1887, and was buried at St. Martin's on 30 December. A long account of his death appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 31 December 1887, which, in giving an account of his life, recorded that over the years he had saved 27 people from drowning, for which, a few years previously, he had been awarded a certificate by the Royal Humane Society.

LATER OWNERS OF THE BUSINESS

After the death of Richard Jordan his widow, Sarah, continued the business and was described in trade directories of the period as 'boat builder and pleasure boat proprietress, River Side.' In this she must have been helped by her son Tom, who was a boatbuilder, other sons having other trades, the business of the pleasure boats being very seasonal. Occasionally the business was still advertised under Richard Jordan's name, and it is at least possible that the son of that name was in charge for a while, but if so, Sarah resumed her direction of the business.¹⁸ She died in 1903, and the business was taken over by John Jordan, her third son in terms of age, and he was

described as the proprietor in subsequent trade directories. He may have been helping with the business previously, but prior to taking over he was a clerk in the Post Office.

The hiring of boats was a major part of the business, and this was badly affected by inclement weather and other factors. Thus, on 13 April 1912, the *Hereford Times* reported:

‘The boating season opened on the Wye at Hereford on Good Friday, but the climatic conditions, the coal strike, and other things conspired to make it one of the most inauspicious openings for many years. It is usually on Good Friday and Easter Monday that Messrs. Jordans look for a harvest from their fleet of boats, but this year they looked in vain. In other years the railways have brought South Wales trippers to Hereford in their thousands, and those who do not go the races spend the afternoon on the river. On this Easter Monday not one excursion train ran into Hereford from South Wales or anywhere else.

Then, to make matters worse, the wind blew almost a gale down-river, with the result that boating for pleasure was out of the question, only a few venturing forth. The handling of frail craft in such gales as those of Good Friday and Easter Monday is a difficult matter, and only those who were known to be proficient in oarsmanship were allowed to take a boat from Jordan’s raft.

A member of the firm said that for the last four years they had experienced very indifferent seasons on the river. Last year the weather was ideal, but the labour troubles in South Wales brought about a considerable reduction in the number of visitors to the city. Then towards the end of the season there were the railway stoppages, which caused the cancellation of a number of down-river trips to Chepstow. Our readers will remember that the previous season was a failure in consequence of the continuous rain. That it is about time for the Wye to experience a successful season everyone will agree.’

The bad weather in 1912 continued, and in August 1912 there was a major flood in the river Wye, which clearly disrupted the pleasure boat business. On 31 August 1912 the *Hereford Times* reported that Jordan’s boatyard was inaccessible. A photograph taken by W. H. Bustin also appeared in the same issue, showing the pontoon which was used in connection with the business floating at the level of the top of the bank, with five of the Jordan brothers (captioned as Tom, Harry, Jack, Dick and W.) lined up on the pontoon, around a blackboard on which was chalked ‘Out of Work’ (Fig. 4). It must have been a difficult year for the business, but it continued, no doubt because the brothers had other occupations.

How the two world wars affected the business is not known, but it survived. Indeed, it seems to have been active, if not flourishing, in the 1930s, and is described in Hereford official guides at the time. The section on boating at Hereford in the 1932 guide began by stating that the Wye was formerly a navigable river, and went on to say:

‘...There was also a certain amount of ship-building in Hereford. There are a few traces of this waterborne traffic to be seen today: Quay Street—leading down to the Quay (just behind the Cathedral School); the Warehouses to the left over the old bridge; and to the right, Jordans. This family of boatbuilders claim to have been on the river for over 200 years.

Hereford possesses a splendid safe stretch of river of 3 miles, and expert boatman can go another 2 miles to Eaton Bishop. Boats can be hired very cheaply, viz., a boat for one or two at 1/6 the first hour and 1/- per hour afterwards. A boat for 3 to 6 persons 3/- the first hour and 1/6 to 2/- per hour afterwards. A boatman to accompany at rate of 1/6 per hour. Mr. John Jordan is the proprietor and is very willing to advise about hiring for long or short

boating trips. A great adventure is to row down to Ross or Chepstow.’¹⁹



Figure 4. ‘Out of Work’. A photograph by W. J. Bustin that appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 31 August 1912

John Jordan died in 1941, and the business was sold in 1946. Various sculls and other racing boats were sold by auction on 27 September 1946, and on 2 October 1946 the following article appeared in the *Hereford Times*:

‘JORDANS LEAVING THE WYE.

Much water has flowed under the Wye Bridge at Hereford since the Jordan family set up in business as barge and boat builders on the spot where stands Wye Terrace. May people in the city will learn the family now ceases its association with the river. The business has been purchased by a local business man, who will continue to operate the boats.

Many older Herefordians will remember “Dick” Jordan, the former proprietor, who died some years ago. Mr. Jordan, after working at the old boathouse site, went to Salter’s of Oxford, the famous boatbuilders, where he was apprenticed, and on his return, established the boathouse on the opposite side to the Hereford Rowing Club, a spot known to thousands of Herefordians and visitors alike.’

It must be doubted whether ‘many’ Herefordians remembered Dick Jordan’s passing almost 60 years previously!

The last of the Jordan brothers was William Halford Jordan, who died in hospital on 2 August 1947, the fifth son of Dick and Sarah Jordan. He had been a cabinet maker, but went into the licensed trade, first at the Angler Inn in Union Street, and then, by 1912, at the Saracen’s Head, from where he retired in 1932. During the 1914-18 war his wife must have carried on, as, despite being over age, he had served in France with the RAF. He also served as a city councillor for three years, from 1930. His passing was recorded with an obituary in the *Hereford Times* on 6 August 1947.

The pleasure-boat business continued to operate, however, and the writer can remember

pleasure craft being still moored here in the 1950s.²⁰ However, from as early as 1939 there was planning blight on the area, for a route for a new bridge, upstream of the old Wye bridge and aligned with a new dual carriageway road along Victoria Street, was agreed in that year. The war intervened, and then the idea was developed in a booklet, entitled *Hereford Walls*, written by George Cadbury, which suggested that, in order to make less impact on the city, the route should be sunken. It is not surprising that the pleasure craft business was run down, and an aerial photograph of the whole area, taken in 1960, shows that while a large building with a corrugated iron roof to the east of the boatyard site was still there, the weather-boarded buildings that fronted onto the tow path had gone, leaving the old dwelling house isolated.²¹ All this went when the bridge was constructed, and the site of the dwelling house is now underneath the dual carriageway. Even the lamp-post, which features in many of the early photographs of Jordan's boatyard, had to be removed, but this was given to one of Dicky Jordan's great-grandchildren, who proudly re-erected it in his garden.²² All that remains are a few modern concrete steps, underneath the new bridge, that lead down into the river.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the research for this article was carried out in Hereford Reference Library (HRL), and thanks are due to Jon Blackhouse and Lauren Price for access to the local collection, and for permission to use material from that collection. Thanks also to Jane Adams for photographing the illustrations for use in this paper.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Graham E. Farr, *Chepstow Ships* (1954), p. 131.

² *Hereford Times* (henceforth *HT*) 30 March 1850, *Hereford Journal* (henceforth *HJ*), 3 April 1850. Census of St Martin's parish, 1851.

³ *HJ* 29 August 1855.

⁴ Farr, *Chepstow Ships*, p. 140.

⁵ In 1852 a barge was offered for sale by Francis Jordan, of Lydbrook, and this may be the barge in question. It was stated to be of 25 tons burden, whereas that registered in 1836 was of 15 tons burden. However, the burden of a barge was not always consistently given, and the balance of probability suggests that this was the same boat. *HT* 30 October 1852.

⁶ *HJ* 29 January 1840, *et seq.*

⁷ No reference to John Felix Jordan can be found in Farr, *Chepstow Ships*, which indicates that the barge was used for the river trade only.

⁸ Edmund Crompton was clearly an excellent swimmer, a skill he used in saving many persons from drowning in the river Wye. On 16 June 1850 he saved a boy from drowning and the report in the *HJ* three days later stated: 'This is not the first instance of this man's humane and gallant conduct, he having, upon many previous occasions, saved the lives of his fellow-creatures.' For this act he was awarded the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society of London, and when he was presented with this, he was also presented with a subscription that had been raised by the citizens of Hereford (*HJ* 7 August 1850). He went on to save others, a letter in *HT* 17 August 1850 stating that he had by then saved 16 persons from drowning.

⁹ *HT* 2 October 1909, *HT* 2 October 1946. The first merely states that he was believed to have been apprenticed in Oxford, the second states definitely that he was apprenticed at the Salters' boatyard there. The latter cannot be correct, as the Salter brothers only took over the boatyard of Isaac King in 1858, at a time when Richard Jordan was heavily involved in Hereford. It must indicate that Jordan was apprenticed to Isaac King, in the business that was later taken over by the Salter brothers. King was a boat builder of some celebrity. In 1828, in partnership with Stephen Davis, he built a clinker-built racing eight, which was used by Oxford in the first-ever Boat-Race in 1829, a boat now in the River and Rowing Museum at Henley-on-Thames. The partnership broke up late in 1837 (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, henceforth *JOJ*, 24 December 1837) and Isaac King advertised in his own right a fortnight later. His boatyard built the boat used by Oxford in the 1854 Boat-Race (*JOJ* 1 April 1854). In September 1858 he gave a dinner for his present and past workmen, during which the health of his successors, H. & J. Salter, was drunk, a toast responded to by Mr. S. Salter (*JOJ* 25 September

1858), and on 30 October and 6 November 1858 he advertised the disposal of his business to Messrs Salter of Wandsworth.

¹⁰ *The Herefordian*, No. V, N.S., February 1888, p.11. At that period there were two boat builders in Eton, Robert Tolladay, whose name appears in trade directories of the period, and William John Goodman, whose name does not, but whose will, dated 3 January 1850, describes him as a boat builder of Eton. The National Archives, PROB 11/2106/209.

¹¹ *HT* 7 September 1844.

¹² There is a suggestion that Richard Jordan worked for, and then took over, an established boatyard when he returned to Hereford: the obituary that appeared in *The Herefordian* in February 1888, stated that, after his return to Hereford, 'he acted as assistant to Jeffries, the Hereford boat-builder, and finally succeeded to the business.' Nothing has so far been found to substantiate this. Thomas Jeffries had a business as the owner of pleasure boats, which he hired out from a wharf at the lower end of Bridge Street, just above the Wye Bridge. At a wharf below the bridge, accessed from Pipe Lane (now Gwynne Street) and hence in close proximity, pleasure boats were hired out by Robert Vaughan. There was clearly friction, and in 1841 Robert Vaughan summoned Thomas Jeffries in the police court, claiming obstruction of the bridge. This seems to have been resolved without the interference of the court. Jeffries is mentioned in an advert that appeared in the *HT* of 27 April 1844 and *HJ* 1 May 1844, publicising rowing boats for sale, of which details could be obtained from T.S. Jeffries, Bridge Street, and James Prout, boat builder, St. Martin's Street. This rather suggests that Jeffries was not a builder of boats himself. Jeffries advertised another pleasure boat for sale in *HT* 17 & 24 January 1846, and was still in business hiring out pleasure craft in 1853. *HJ* 27 April 1853 published a long report of a drowning on the Wye, the pleasure craft involved being hired from Mr. Thomas 'Jeffreys'.

¹³ The waterworks included the pumping station on the river Wye, but not the water tower, such a prominent feature, which was not built until the 1880s.

¹⁴ *HT* 16 April 1853, *HJ* 20 April 1853.

¹⁵ E.H. Morris, 'The Hereford and Abergavenny Tramroad', *TWNFC* (1941), p. 100.

¹⁶ Taylor's map of 1757 does not show any building here, but one appears on Price's survey of 1802, published the next year. Cole and Roper's map of 1806 not only shows the building, but also marks the area to the east as being a coal yard. In 1836 Wood's evidently did not survey this area properly, but his published map roughly indicates two structures in this vicinity, close together. Surprisingly, the track of the tramroad was not indicated. Curley's survey, published in 1858, clearly indicates the line of the tramroad, and details the two structures, that to the east clearly being the house under discussion. Perhaps the other is the range of stables, mentioned when the house and appurtenances were advertised as being to rent in 1842.

¹⁷ A. Farrent, edited by Dr. Edwin Course, *Rowing Holiday by Canal in 1873* (1977), p. 20.

¹⁸ Her name as proprietress is given in *Jakeman and Carver's* directory of 1890. However, the name of Richard Jordan is given in *HT* 19 April 1890, and *Kelly's directory*, 1895. Apart from this, there is nothing to suggest that the younger Richard Jordan took over the business; he had worked, first as an upholsterer, and then as a tax collector. He did, however, help in the business.

¹⁹ *Hereford Guide* (1932) p. 43. Although the Hereford Official Guide, it was put together by Sid Wright, and the imprint states that it was 'Issued under the authority of the HEREFORD CITY COUNCIL and the HEREFORD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, the WOOLHOPE CLUB, and the HEREFORD GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.'

²⁰ D. Foxton, *Hereford Then and Now*, Vol. 3 (1997), p. 79. ²¹

G. Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford* (2002) p. 61. ²²

HT 17 February 2005, p. 29.

Recorders, 2014

Archaeology, 2014

By RON SHOESMITH

As in previous years, I have included a section for each archaeological organisation that responded to my request for information. Their reports continue to provide members with a vivid picture of archaeological work throughout the county.

Once again, the Neolithic site on Dorstone Hill produced important information as did the continuing series of excavations at Wellington Quarry. A cist was stabilised at Craswall and an Iron Age barrow investigated at Bodenham Moor. The Roman period is well represented with excavations at Credenhill and New Weir and investigations at Kenchester and Holmer. There has been relatively little work in the medieval period with a few traces at Coningsby Street, Hereford and clearance of the moat at Lower Brockhampton. Some work took place in the vicinity of Croft Castle but only post-medieval features were encountered. There has also been further work at Brampton Bryan and Haye Park at Richard's Castle.

In every section I have indexed each report by city, town or parish, and site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. Many of the references are to internal unit publications (now called 'grey literature'), some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by the Herefordshire Archaeological Service, others on the internet. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; if it is an event it is prefixed by EHE (Event in Herefordshire) to distinguish it from a site. The Herefordshire Historic Environment Record is shown by HHER and Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed by SAM.

Once again I would like to offer my most grateful thanks on behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club to the staff of all the organizations who have willingly provided the information that has made this report a valuable and up-to-date source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2014. Also my thanks to P. J. Pikes, who has spent much time checking and correcting the text and ensuring that it is in the Woolhope Club format.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, 32 Coningsby Street (SO 513 403)

The Unit was instructed by Sanctuary Housing Association to carry out a watching brief of ground works relating to the construction of ten flats to provide supported accommodation for adults with learning difficulties. The site lies close to the site of the Blackfriars Priory.

Observation of top-soil removal to a depth of some 0.7m. was carried out within the proposed building footprint. The site was previously occupied by industrial buildings, prior to which it had been in use as allotments. The archaeological work took place between 11-17 March 2014.

No deposits of archaeological significance were revealed during the course of the engineering ground works. At the northern end of the site, a sterile pink-brown silty clay, thought

to be a natural deposit, lay beneath a topsoil that appeared to derive from cultivation. This had been cut by a pit containing numerous stoneware jam jars, dating from the end of the 19th or early in the 20th century. A single sherd of pottery dating to between the 14th and 17th centuries was recovered from the subsoil.

To the south, adjoining the frontage, the only deposit present was a mixed demolition layer, of very recent date. It seems likely that any archaeological deposits that may have been present on the street frontage were destroyed during modern construction and demolition.

CROFT, Watching Brief at Croft Castle (SO 450 655)

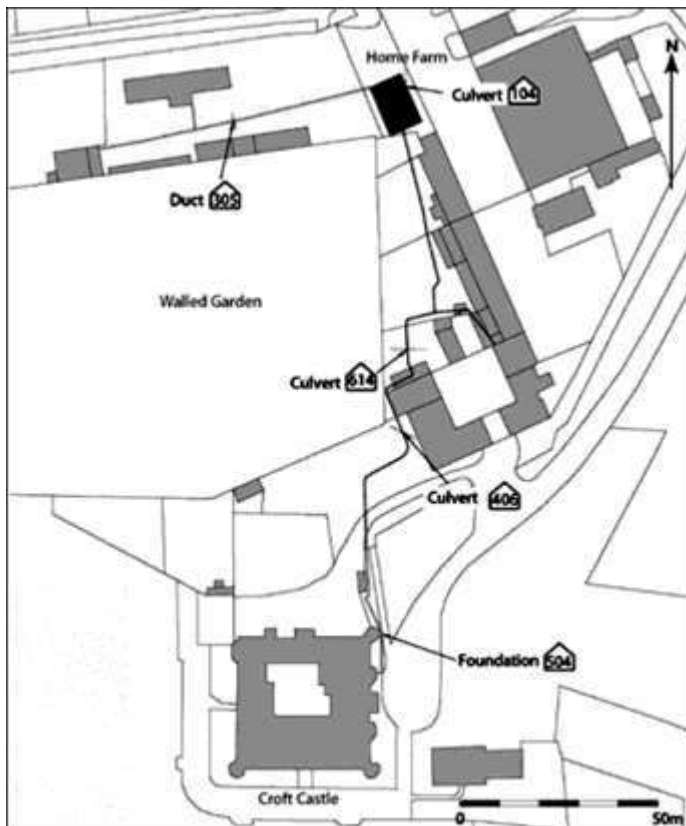


Figure 1. Croft Castle, location of trenches

The Unit was instructed by the Archaeology Consultant to the National Trust to undertake a programme of archaeological observation at Croft Castle during the excavation of foundations and ducting trenches for a biomass converter, intended to provide heating for the Castle and ancillary buildings (Fig. 1). Work took place between 2 June and 29 July 2014. A number of 18th- or 19th-century culverts and the heating duct for the early 20th-century greenhouse (located to the north of the walled gardens) were recorded during the course of this investigation. Ground works also provided evidence for the dating of a number of paths and driveways associated with the building and demonstrated modern disturbance affecting a number of deposits.

No finds were removed from the site; fragments of later medieval or earlier post-medieval

tile recovered close to the building were retained at Croft Castle.

LYONSHALL, Upper House Farm

The Unit was commissioned by Kinsey Hern Esq. to undertake a programme of archaeological trial-trenching on farmland, following completion of a desk-based assessment in November 2014. The Assessment had concluded that the potential for encountering evidence of medieval activity was high, based upon the proximity of the site to a substantial archaeological resource that includes Offa's Dyke and the Deserted Medieval Village of Lyonshall, which was considered almost certain to have been served by an extensive agricultural hinterland of open fields. Work took place between 18 November and 19 December 2014.

The evaluated area comprised three sites (Fig. 2):

Site A to the north, amounting to some 13,000m.², was pasture at the time of the evaluation.

Site B, to the south, comprised two areas, one pasture (6,000m.²) and a larger arable (1,600m.²).

Site C, to the south, adjacent to the A480 road consisted of an area (20,000m.²) of arable land.

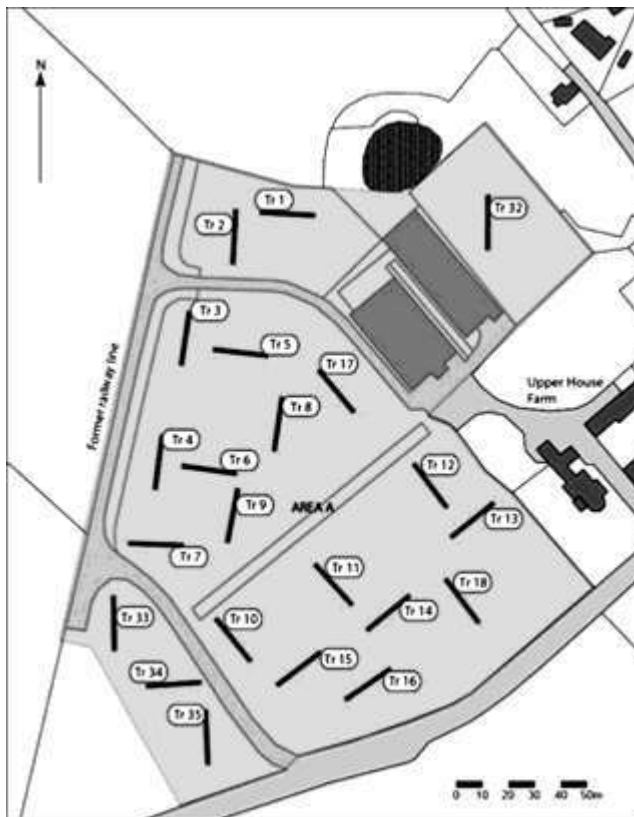


Figure 2. Lyonshall, site location

No evidence for archaeological features or deposits, with the exception of the levelled embankment for the late-19th-century railway and possible post-medieval ridge and furrow, was encountered on the site. Very few finds were recovered, suggesting that the site had been used for agricultural purposes throughout and that no settlement activity had been present.

It seems likely that the northern part of the site may have formed part of the open-field system surrounding the planned town of Lyonshall. Two sherds of pottery of later medieval date found in the northern part of Site A may have been brought to the site from the occupied area with midden material used as fertiliser.

MORETON-ON-LUGG, Upper House Farm (SO 493 458)

The Unit was instructed by Stuart Perkins Esq., of Upper House Farm to undertake a programme of archaeological work comprising field evaluation of land extending over an area of approximately 14,000 sq. m. to the west of an existing range of poultry units, in respect of a proposal to erect a further six units. Fieldwork was carried out between 8-12 May 2014.

Eleven trenches, each measuring 20m. × 2m., were opened within the study area, which comprised the southern extent of an arable field located to the west of the existing farm buildings.

No deposits of archaeological significance were revealed during the course of the work. A single possible flint scraper of unknown date was recovered from the plough-soil.

DW ARCHAEOLOGY

CRASWALL, Dukes Farm: Watching Brief (SO 299 352) [SAM 27498, EHE 80022].

This project involved the stabilisation of a burial cist within a bowl barrow at Dukes Farm. As the land is under Higher Level Stewardship, funding was provided by English Nature. The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument and a brief for the work was provided by English Nature in consultation with English Heritage. Scheduled Monument Consent was granted on the 24 March 2014.



Figure 3. Dukes Farm

The empty and open cist was not only subject to direct weathering, but was also being impacted upon by direct pressure from the surrounding soil acting on the four upright stones that line the interior space, forcing them inwards (Fig. 3). The project involved the backfilling of the cist in order to stabilise the structure and prevent further deterioration. In order to do this the feature was backfilled under archaeological supervision with inert soil from outside the scheduled area. A full photographic survey was carried out, before, during and after the stabilisation work (DWA 14/1).

HUNTINGTON, 1 & 2 Castle Cottages. (SO 250 539) [SAM 944, EHE 80068].

This watching brief was undertaken prior to the construction of an extension to the rear of 1 and 2 Castle Cottages. The site is within the scheduled area of Huntington Castle, and a brief for the works was provided by English Heritage. Scheduled Monument Consent was granted on the 19 June 2014.

As the development was in an area that had previously been occupied by lean-tos, the majority of the area was disturbed ground. Only a limited amount of undisturbed ground remained, and this was shown to consist of entirely natural deposits. No archaeological deposits or finds were encountered during the course of this watching brief. (DWA 14/6)

BRAMPTON BRYAN, The Hall, Watching Brief. (SO 3249 2538), [EHE 80067]

This project was undertaken in advance of the construction of a new driveway and entrance gate at The Hall. The development site was located primarily within the existing garden of The Hall and the watching brief was carried out between 4-18 July 2014.

During the excavation of the driveway footprint it was found that the majority of the site consisted of clean natural garden soils overlying glacial gravels. Five features were identified and investigated; these included two 18th-century garden features, a section of a modern pavement, and the footings of two undated buildings, the structure of which had been totally removed. (DWA 14/5).

PEMBRIDGE, Land off Sandiford Ploc: Field Evaluation. (SO 389 583) [EHE 80117]

Prior to the evaluation, a topographic survey was undertaken and several features were identified, including a substantial north-south aligned bank that extended across the site, and a number of small levelled areas indicative of sub-surface archaeology.

The bank is c.18m. wide, rising to between 0.10m. and 0.15m. above the modern ground surface in the centre of its profile. The reason for this accumulation of material was not immediately obvious, despite archaeological excavation, although it is clear from the soil profiles that the depositional sequences were homogenous. The nature of the soils was such that they did not exhibit any clear structures to suggest an anthropogenic origin for this feature. This could indicate that either sub-soiling to improve the pasture at this location has resulted in the mounding of earth here, perhaps as a result of the presence of a fence or other obstacle that is not longer present, or even that topsoil from the development of Sandiford Ploc was deposited on the site during ground-works. The levelled areas also proved negative for archaeological remains.

A series of five postholes were recorded at the western end of the evaluation area. They were clearly of some interest, but, due to the lack of associated finds, they cannot, at this point, be attributed to any specific chronological period. Within the profile of this trench, there were a number of angular stones which are clearly derived and not of glacio-fluvial or any other, obvious, natural derivation. These angular stones were not identified in the profiles of any of the other trenches, which could suggest that they are linked to the anthropogenic activity associated with the postholes. (DWA 14/8).

PEMBRIDGE, Milton Farm, A Field Evaluation. (SO 394 604), [EHE 80057].

The site is 8 miles west of Leominster and is located between the far western end of Shobdon Airfield and the Kingspan site, on the Torvale Industrial Estate. This area is rich in archaeological sites, ranging in date from the Mesolithic period through to the Second World War, when the

proposed development site was part of a runway for gliders. Of direct relevance to the proposed development was a possible Romano-British settlement, seen as a cropmark in the north of the site. The development footprint was therefore altered to avoid any direct impact.

During the course of the evaluation, seven 50m. long trenches were excavated down to the natural, pre-Holocene deposits which consisted of fluvio-glacial sands and gravels. The presence of plough furrows that cut into the surface of the fluvio-glacial deposits indicated that deep ploughing had impacted on the overlying (Holocene) sequences in this area, into the modern period. No archaeological deposits or finds were found during this evaluation. (DWA 14/4).

HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) LTD

BODENHAM MOOR, Evaluation on land off Chapel Lane (SO 545 504) [EHE 80084]



Figure 4. Bodenham Moor: Prehistoric barrow or outer ditch. (Barrow interior to left of photo)

The Unit undertook a trial trench evaluation on an area of land in Bodenham Moor. Aerial photographs of the site had identified a number of crop marks of possible archaeological origin. The evaluation confirmed the presence of a prehistoric round barrow in the centre of the site measuring 16.4m. in diameter, with an external ditch measuring 2.3m. in width and 1.2m. in depth.

The ring-ditch appeared to represent the remains of a round barrow tentatively dated to the Iron Age on the basis of the pottery recovered (Fig. 4). Deposits of gravel present on the internal edges of the circular outer ditch are likely to represent the remains of a mound that would have

originally occupied the internal area. The stratigraphic sequence of deposits identified within the ditch represents a gradual silting up of the monument rather than a rapid backfilling event. Evidence for the mound itself does not survive, and the abrupt truncation of the gravel deposits at the top of the visible ditch cut is likely to be the result of modern deep ploughing methods.

Crop marks visible on aerial photographs suggest that the round barrow was located on an apparent island, within what appears to be a braided former channel of the River Lugg. The location may suggest that the channel was active or at least visible as a landscape feature when the monument was built. However, it should be noted that this potential palaeochannel was not confirmed during the evaluation and the crop-mark which indicated its presence may have been the result of other activity or geological action. (Hereford Archaeology Series (HAS) 1066)

HEREFORD, Coningsby Street - Watching Brief during installation of cross-city electricity cable, (SO 511 404 to SO 513 403) [EHE 2127]

Headland Archaeology undertook a watching brief during the installation of a new electricity supply to a mixed development on the site of the former cattle market in Hereford. The trench passed through, or close to, the Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance between Blackfriars Street and St. Guthlac Street. The majority of the cable route was heavily disturbed by modern road deposits and services, however, medieval activity was identified on Coningsby Street at a depth of c.0.80m. below the modern road surface.

The features excavated appear to relate to domestic and possible industrial activity between the late 11th and early 15th centuries. The limited excavation width and depth of the electricity trench made interpretation of the function and even the form of the features difficult. The majority occupied the full width (0.60m.) of the trench, and therefore it is not possible to determine whether the features were linear or discrete in form. Although the exact nature of the features is unclear, they suggest domestic occupation of an extra-mural area of the city in the 13th and 14th centuries and possibly dating back to the late 11th century. The position of the features beneath the road make-up of the modern course of Coningsby Street suggests that the road has either changed course or, more likely, been widened from its medieval predecessor. Features that previously related to properties on the northern frontage have now been enveloped by the road itself. Alternatively, the features could indicate a more complex street morphology in this area of the city, with the possibility that the activity identified relates to the as yet undiscovered Frog Lane referred to in documentary sources. (HAS 1020)

PETERCHURCH, Trial Evaluation on land adjacent to Hawthorn Rise (SO 348 385) [EHE 80016]

The Unit undertook a trial trench field evaluation on land adjacent to Hawthorn Rise. The field evaluation identified a small concentration of prehistoric features within the southern part of the proposed development area.

Archaeologically significant deposits were encountered in a single trench. At a depth of 0.7m. below the existing ground level, a group of six circular features containing pottery dated to the broad prehistoric period was identified towards the south-western end of the trench (Fig. 5). All the features within the group contained dark organic fills and measured between 0.1m. and 0.4m. in diameter and between 0.03m. and 0.22m. in depth.

The similarity of the fills of the features and contemporaneous pot sherds recovered from three of the features suggest that all the features belong to the same period and are likely to have been created as part of a single event.

Due to the limited area excavated, it is not possible to say with certainty what the arrangement of features represents, or indeed whether the features represent pits or post holes. It is possible that further features are present outside the confines of the evaluation trench which may resolve the nature of the activity. (HAS 1034)



Figure 5. Peterchurch, the arrangement of the prehistoric pit/post

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

In addition to routine advisory case-work (development management and countryside matters) and continuing HER maintenance and updating duties, staff of the county archaeological service undertook a number of grant-aided projects in 2014. These involved a number of partnerships with organisations including English Heritage, Natural England, The National Trust, and the Military Covenant.

In December the archaeology service, together with the Historic Environment Record and the Herefordshire Biological Records Centre, began to get ready for their move into the specially constructed Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre in Rotherwas, and from January 2015 they will be based there together with the County Records Office (Archives).

2014 has been a difficult year for Herefordshire Archaeology. Continued Council budget cuts and associated re-organisation have led to more staff redundancies, leaving a core staff of two, Julian Cotton (Archaeological Advisor, Planning) and Tim Hoverd (Archaeological Projects Manager). However the receipt of some external funding from partnership projects has

meant that a number of projects, which were still ongoing when project staff were made redundant, have been completed or continue to be worked on.

Field projects undertaken during 2014 included further investigation of the Neolithic site on Dorstone Hill, small scale excavations within the Roman town of Kenchester, excavations on the playing fields in Credenhill, and some small scale work for the National Trust at Croft Castle and Lower Brockhampton. Further excavation work close to Merlin's Cave (Symond's Yat) was undertaken in late 2014, the dating and osteological analysis will not be completed until 2015 so this work will be reported on in the 2015 *Transactions*.

CREDENHILL: 'The Roman Families Project' Roman Park Playing Fields, A Community Excavation. (SO 345 243); [EHE 80121, HER 10165]

The Roman Families Project is aimed to attract families of Herefordshire Armed Forces Community and the local civilian community of Credenhill, and to involve them in the archaeological investigation of Roman Credenhill—in particular a field called the Roman Park Playing Field. The project was made possible by funding from the MOD Armed Forces Community Covenant Grant.

It was the aim of the project to enable families (both adults and children) to work as a team within an entirely different setting, and acquire new skills and experiences through the process of archaeological survey, excavation and event days. The project ran between spring and autumn 2014 with the bulk of the archaeological investigations concentrated within a three week period during the summer (7-27 July 2014). Beside members of the local community, eight primary schools which included pupils from military families were also involved in the project.

The project commenced with a week long archaeological survey (7-11 April) at which the primary schools attended and took part in activities such as geophysical survey, a pottery identification workshop, and learnt about Iron Age and Roman Credenhill. The geophysical survey successfully identified the buried remains of a Roman Farm/Villa Complex. On the basis of this, together with evidence from aerial photographs, a single trench was excavated, by hand, to investigate a series of features / anomalies.

Pupils from five of the original eight schools, together with students from Hereford Sixth Form College, took part in the excavation. An event day was held at HQ Garrison on 12 July as part of their families' day to further attract families of the Armed Forces Community to become involved in the project.

The excavation was a success with pupils, students, civilians, and members of the Armed Forces Community engaging with all aspects of the archaeological excavation. The results of the excavations confirmed the presence of a high status, 3rd- to 4th-century farm / villa complex. A well-preserved pottery kiln, dating to between the 1st and 2nd century, was also excavated (Fig. 6). The kiln itself is the only one so far found within Herefordshire and enhances the understanding of pottery production and distribution within the region.

As part of the project a booklet was produced and distributed to the local community. A circular walk around the village was also produced. Alongside this, an educational pack for schools and youth groups has been created which provides the location, three circular walks in the area of Hereford, and the location from which themed educational materials can be obtained online. (Herefordshire Archaeology Report (HAR 347))

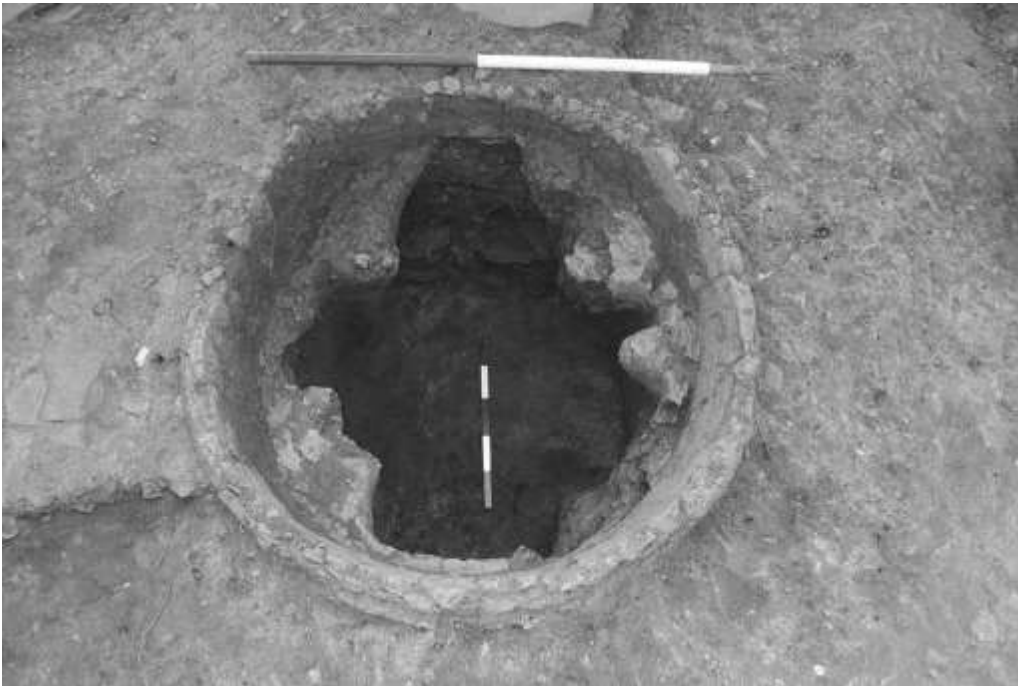


Figure 6. Credenhill. Second century pottery kiln

CROFT: Evaluation Excavation in advance of a pipe trench, Croft Castle (SO 449 655) [EHE 80015]

Two trenches were excavated by hand within the grassed area to the west of the stable block at Croft Castle along the proposed course for a pipe to be laid to provide heat to the property from a biomass boiler.

It was clear that a significant amount of disturbance had occurred within the area studied. The principal disturbance appears to relate to the insertion of a series of drainage runs, the earliest of which dates from the late 19th century as the brickwork of the inspection chamber and the iron pipe suggests a Victorian date. This ran almost directly under the line of a cobbled path. A second service run ran from Stable Cottage on a north-east / south-west axis and had cut through the cobbled path. The path had then been re-instated at this point. A path is clearly marked on this location on the Ordnance Survey First Edition Map of 1887. The sondages excavated within the western terminals of the trenches suggested that a shallow flower bed was apparent along this side of the path, and that it directly overlaid a hard, natural subsoil. The sondage within the eastern terminal of trench 1 appeared to cut through the fill of the north / south pipe trench run, whilst the sondage within the eastern terminal of trench 2 was excavated within the fill of the pipe trench aligned north-east / south-west. The fills of both trenches appeared to comprise re-deposited natural clay subsoil and bedrock indicating that little if any archaeological deposits exist within this area.

Having considered the information revealed by the fieldwork, in conjunction with the constraints imposed by the desired route of the new heat pipe trench, it was agreed between

Herefordshire Archaeology, the Project Manager for the National Trust, and the Archaeological Consultant for the National Trust, that it would be possible, (and desirable) to route the heat pipe trench along the eastern edge of the cobbled path. It was agreed that, due to the disturbed nature of the area and the apparent lack of any significant archaeological deposits, the trench for the heat pipe could be excavated by machine under close archaeological supervision. This would mitigate any damage to the cobbled path which the National Trust could re-use, whilst still achieving the same running length of trenching. (HAR 338)

CROFT: Watching Brief in advance of the installation of a Biomass Boiler, Croft Castle, (SO 449 655) [EHE80064]

Fieldwork took place on 7 May 2014. The ground-works were undertaken using a digger with a toothless ditching bucket. Material was removed from site using a dumper, a tractor and trailer.

The area affected by the operations comprised a rectangle approximately 13m. long (north / south) by 8m. wide (east / west). The agricultural buildings on the site had been demolished to ground level, however, the internal floor level of the building was 0.9m. above the level of the rest of the farm yard to the east. The new building had to fit in with the height of the present farm yard surface and excavation was needed.

The eastern and southern walls of the farm building consisted of a rubble stone wall fronted in concrete whilst the western wall appeared to have been of brick. To the west of the western wall the ground level rises to a height of approximately 1.4m. above the level of the farm yard.

A 2m. wide strip immediately to the west of the building was cut back and battered after the material below the floor was removed. The floor of the current building was mostly cobbled with brick patching which was removed and the material stored so that the cobbles could be re-used. Immediately below the cobbled floor were the foundations of the southern and western wall of a building. The foundations, comprised an L-shaped wall approximately 0.35m. wide, roughly squared stone enclosing an area approximately 3m. wide (east / west) and over 6m. long (north / south). The foundations survived to a depth of two or three courses (dependent on the thickness of the stone), to a maximum depth of 0.3m. No floor levels associated with this structure were encountered; the area either side of the walls was filled with loose, re-deposited bed-rock with occasional broken bricks. The front of the structure (the eastern wall) was on the line of the wall of the present structure and appears to have been a series of cut stone pillars. The thickness of the foundations, their depth, and the presence of one surviving stone pillar, would suggest a relatively lightly-built, open-fronted, single-storey structure—perhaps a cart shed or similar. Below the footings was a 0.3m. thick layer of re-deposited bedrock containing occasional brick fragments and some large fragments of charcoal. A single sherd of mid-19th century pottery was recovered. Bedrock was encountered within the northern third of the site before the desired depth was achieved. No other features or deposits of archaeological significance were present. The open-fronted building is almost certainly all or a part of the long narrow building depicted on the 1887 Ordnance Survey Map.

The only other feature / artefact of interest on the site was a 1.2m. square and 0.45m. thick, roughly squared stone. This was located immediately to the west of the south-western corner of the foundations. It was set vertically and surrounded by brick fragments and late 19th / early 20th century debris. Its use and origins are unknown. (HAR 343)

DORSTONE, Dorstone Hill: Excavations (SO 326 424) [EHE 1969; HSM 1551]

Figure 7. Dorstone Hill excavations showing the complete mound with its stone revetting

Excavations directed by Dr Keith Ray (Nexus Heritage) and Prof. Julian Thomas (Manchester University) at Dorstone Hill, continued during the summer of 2014. The site had originally attracted attention owing to the traces of a substantial bank that runs roughly east-west across the field and, given the recovery of quantities of Neolithic flint work from the area, it had been conjectured that this might represent a prehistoric enclosure. Fieldwork had revealed that the 'bank' is actually composed of three long mounds, arranged end to end, and each quite distinctive in its construction and morphology.

Work in 2014 focused on the western mound, the southern side of which proved to have been heavily damaged by bulldozing during the Second World War. However, the remaining fragments of burnt timber were encapsulated within a mound of turf. In this respect, the western mound was similar to the central mound, investigated in 2011-13. But, while the latter had been revetted by a timber palisade, the western mound was bounded by a dry-stone wall, which survived to several courses on the northern side.

The mound was markedly trapezoidal in plan, and this form had been enhanced by the addition of a series of buttresses attached to the outer side of the bounding wall, which became more extensive toward the proximal (eastern) end (Fig. 7). These buttresses were composed of 'loops' of drystone walling, comparable with the internal bay divisions within Cotswold-Severn tombs. They were set within a cut feature that ran parallel with the wall, similar in conception to

the 'buttress pit' at Penywyrld.¹ Set back from the wall at the distal end were two small cists or chambers. The larger of these had been defined by a series of orthostats, which had clearly been truncated by the bulldozing. In the area where the mound had been entirely removed by the bulldozer, and on either side of the mound (but sealed by mound-wash), numerous postholes were revealed, some of them much larger than those that had been identified beneath the central mound in 2013. A very substantial timber structure apparently pre-dated the mound, occupying a more extensive footprint. However, a proper understanding of this structure will only be possible when the excavation of the mound has been completed.²

KENCHESTER, Archaeological investigation into potential damage at the Romano-British town of Magna, Kenchester (SO 441 428) [EHE 80072, HER 121]

Cultivation works had been undertaken across the field within which the Romano-British town Magna is situated. These works were unauthorised, having been carried out without Scheduled Monument Consent. It was also apparent that the site had been subjected to systematic metal detecting on a number of occasions. Herefordshire Archaeology was contracted to undertake a series of investigations within the Scheduled Ancient Monument which included the excavation of six small trenches, a series of field-walked grids and a sample metal detector survey, in order to define what activities had taken place within the scheduled area and quantify the degree to which this had caused damage to archaeological deposits.

The six trenches targeted different topographic locations in order to provide information regarding both recent and historic cultivation events and their effect upon the underlying archaeology. The trenches were inspected and recorded by an Agricultural Advisor and a Geo-archaeologist. A sequence of unauthorised events was established by the Agricultural Advisor including types of machinery used on the site.

Sample transects were metal-detected in order to establish the survival of metal artefacts. Sample areas of the site were also field-walked in order to retrieve material which could be assessed for evidence of recent damage caused by the unauthorised cultivation.

The archaeological works established that whilst the site had been cultivated on a number of occasions recently, this cultivation had not been as deep as the historic cultivation, causing only limited damage to the site in localised areas. It was concluded that, whilst the recent unauthorised cultivation works were shallow in nature and had not further truncated significant deposits within the Scheduled Monument, the increased cultivation around the field edge had damaged deposits of archaeological significance.

The metal-detecting survey suggested that the site has been subjected to systematic, unauthorised, detecting and that it had been 'selectively' detected with only the larger and higher denomination coinage and other artefacts being removed from the site. The evidence for unauthorised metal detecting strongly suggested that this site had been systematically detected after every ploughing event. Metal detecting is illegal on Scheduled Ancient Monuments.

The field-walking samples indicated a considerable difference in ceramic and building material across the site. It is likely that this is due to at least one of the grids coinciding with spoil from early-20th-century excavations. The condition of the vast majority of ceramic material was consistent with it being subjected to ploughing for a considerable time. (HAR 345).

LOWER BROCKHAMPTON Watching Brief for de-silting works at Lower Brockhampton Manor House (SO 687 559) [EHE 80123 HER 4894]

The moat at Lower Brockhampton required de-silting due to a build-up of material over the last

30 years. This had led to anaerobic conditions within the moat which were adversely affecting wildlife and the visual appreciation of the area. The works, planned in 2014, were undertaken during late January and early February 2015 to an agreed specification and a written scheme of investigation (Fig. 8).



Figure 8. Lower Brockhampton

After a series of initial site visits, progress was monitored every other day, a photographic record made and the site notebook updated with each visit. The watching brief failed to identify any deposits of antiquity, suggesting that the moat had been thoroughly de-silted and possibly deepened during the 1980s. A series of samples was taken and run through a flotation system in order to assess the makeup of the silt from a number of locations within the moat. These were all remarkably similar, the material recovered representing plant material directly comparable to the water plants currently growing within the moat and the vegetation overhanging it.

The 'drop off' recorded during the 2012 assessment of the moat within its eastern arm was confirmed and appears to comprise a channel approximately 3.5m. wide and 0.8m. deep. Whether this formed an earlier, narrow but deeper moat or it represents a channel excavated during the 1980s de-silting in order to add to the volume of the moat is uncertain. However on the balance of probability, and in light of the lack of any discernible stratigraphy within the silting, it is likely that this represents 'over-digging' during the 1980s.

The works had no impact upon any significant archaeological deposits. With the exception of a single clay pipe bowl of late-18th-century date, no artefacts of archaeological or historical significance were recovered. The watching brief provided some useful information, which goes

some way to confirming the extent of walling / revetting around the internal bank of the moat and has suggested that a less structural wall once ran along the top of the outer bank of the western arm of the moat. (HAR 349).

RICHARDS CASTLE: Earthwork survey at Haye Park (SO 492 722) [EHE 80122, HER 6368]

There have been a number of suggestions concerning the age and use of the enclosure within Haye Park Wood. The fact that what is believed to be the medieval Deer Park Pale runs through the enclosure has led to suggestions that the earthworks all relate to the deer park and that the enclosure may represent the site of a medieval hunting lodge. During the winter of 2013 investigations within the Park formed part of a larger project entitled 'The Herefordshire Nature Trust Parklands Project'. This project involved the recording of ecological and archaeological / historical features within parklands across the county. Ecological and archaeological assets were recorded by volunteers under professional supervision in order to enhance and update the data held within the Biological Record Centre and The Historic Environment Record. The investigations within Haye Park comprised the excavation of a section across the external ditch of a large earthwork enclosure

The enclosure appears to represent the earthwork remains of some form of Late Prehistoric and / or Romano-British defended settlement or farmstead. A single sherd of pottery was recovered from the latest, undisturbed deposit filling the ditch. This has been dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD. The location of the sherd of pottery within the soil profile, its unabraded condition and size, strongly suggest that it was *in situ* when excavated, and would therefore provide a date for the latest occupation phase of the monument.

During this fieldwork the form of the earthwork enclosure was found to be more complex than traditionally thought, and it was felt that the production of an earthwork survey was desirable in order to record the form and character of the enclosure in order to better inform archaeologists and historians with regard to its possible construction date and development in more recent times. The survey would also be of use for the continued management of the monument by the Forestry Commission. The survey identified a number of characteristics of the earthwork's form, previously unrecorded. These included the presence of a counterscarp bank, clear evidence that the medieval Deer Park Pale cuts through the enclosure and therefore is later than the enclosure, and the fact that the area within the enclosure is terraced into the hill-slope. (HAR 335)

L – P: ARCHAEOLOGY

SWAINSHILL – THE WEIR GARDENS (SO 436 419) [SAM 1005273]

L – P : Archaeology was commissioned by the National Trust to carry out four trial trenches and an auger transect to gain further understanding of the Roman remains at the Weir Gardens and assist with the future management of the site. The auger transect was carried out by the Landscape Research Centre.

Trench 1 revealed a substantial stone wall running north-east / south-west. On the north-east side was the edge of a black and white mosaic which had been discovered in 1977 (Fig. 10).³ The edge of a plastic sheet laid down at that time was just visible in the corner of the trench. The width of the wall suggests it was load-bearing and therefore possibly the southern external wall of a structure.

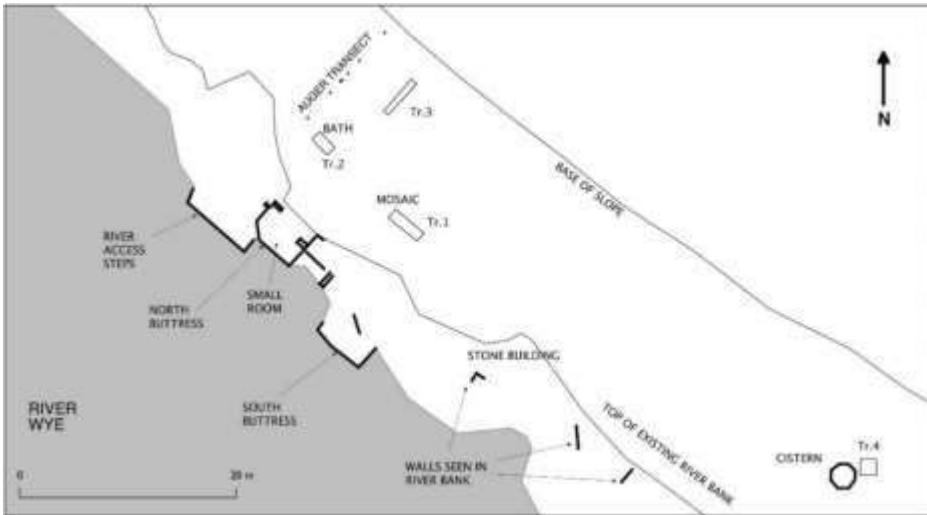


Figure 9. New Weir location



Figure 10. New Weir: mosaic in Trench 1

The remains are the largest upstanding Roman features in Herefordshire and represent a type of riverside building that is unique in this country. The visible remains consist of two large stone 'revetments' that jut out into the River Wye from a large terrace that appears to have been cut into the river bank. At the southern end of the terrace is an octagonal stone cistern. Survey and observations at the site over recent years identified large steps providing river access on the north side of the north revetment, a small room on the top of the north revetment and various walls and building rubble deposits visible in the eroding river bank⁴ (Fig. 9). One km. to the north is the Roman city at Kenchester and the Roman road from Caerleon to Wroxeter passes 100m. to the east.



Trench 2 revealed the south-facing side of a bath which consisted of a substantial stone structure faced with tile and *opus signinum*. The face was over 1m. in height, but unfortunately had been severely damaged by a large diagonal cut. Bricks within the back-fill around the bath suggest the damage occurred in the 19th century (Fig. 11 and Plate 5.1).

Trench 3 was at the base of the slope to the east of the terrace. No archaeological deposits were present and the trench demonstrated that the slope consisted of natural geology and not hill-wash as had been previously suggested. This was confirmed by the auger transect.

Figure 11. New Weir: Trench 2 looking north-west. (2 x 1m. scale)

The final trench was located adjacent to the stone cistern to investigate the potential for any surviving structures or surfaces associated with it. The deposits around the cistern were very

disturbed, no doubt by the workmen who discovered it in *c.* 1890. However, despite the damage, it is clear that the structure is very similar to the *nymphaeum* at Chedworth Roman villa and some interesting comparisons between the two sites can be drawn. Both sites are situated at the base of a slope with spring lines present; both have octagonal, stone-built, stepped cisterns, and both have evidence for a bath-house. At Chedworth the slope had been cut away to locate the spring and divert it into the cistern where it was then channelled to the baths.⁵ There is no evidence for this at The Weir Gardens, however the similarities are so striking that it would not be unreasonable to expect a similar water management system. Pottery has dated the cistern at Chedworth to the 4th century and this concurs with the pottery found in 1977, which was dated to the late 3rd / 4th centuries. However, unlike Chedworth, there is no clear villa associated with the baths at The Weir.

The remains indicate that the building is a late-3rd or early-4th century bath-house with associated *nymphaeum*. The bath-house is unique in Britain in that it appears to have been built on an artificial terrace with substantial stone revetments, and could be accessed from the River Wye. The size of the building and the restricted access suggest that it was a private bath-house, but the location of the parent villa is unknown. Potential candidates are the villa at Bishopstone (HHER7223), 3.2km. north-west of the site, a possible stone building at Canon Bridge (HHER22856) 2.5km. south of the site on the south bank of the River Wye, or the villa recently excavated at Credenhill, 500m. east of Kenchester.⁶

MUSEUM OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY (MOLA)

Bartestree, St Michael's Hospice (SO 357 241)

MOLA maintained a watching brief on the ground reduction and clearance works in advance of the construction of new facilities for the hospice. In addition to the well-known remains of the former 15th-century chapel and 19th-century convent in the vicinity (HER 15273 & 15272), the degraded traces of medieval earthworks have been recorded in the field to the west and ancient field systems are recorded to the east. The extent to which archaeology had been preserved within the proposed development area was not previously known.

During the watching brief an extended area of burnt daub, which may represent the severely truncated remains of a clamp kiln of uncertain date, was identified. Five flints (not in their original context) were also found. No other significant archaeological finds or features were present in the area excavated during the course of the development.

WORCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE

HOLMER, Archaeological evaluation, (SO 501 525)

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken at land to the north of Roman Road and west of the A49, Holmer in advance of a proposed residential development, on behalf of Hunter Page Planning for their client Bloor Homes.

A previous desk-based assessment of the site had identified the potential for the survival of prehistoric or Roman features from a series of crop-marks on an aerial photograph. The potential for survival of Roman features associated with the Roman road to the south of the site was also recognised. A subsequent geophysical survey identified a number of possible archaeological anomalies towards the centre and north of the survey area in the form of small linear and curvilinear anomalies and a concentration of possible pit features.

The evaluation was carried out in two stages between September and November 2014. Forty-seven trenches were excavated in a grid pattern, adapted to take crop-marks and

geophysical anomalies into account. Archaeological remains of two broad periods were uncovered.

In the central to eastern part of the site a complex of shallow ditches, pits and postholes were recorded from which medieval pottery was recovered. To the west of this area, a stone structure thought likely to be a corn-drying oven, was uncovered (Fig. 12), and to the east, close to Holmer Parish Church, a cobbled surface, possibly a track-way, was recorded. Pottery largely comprised of cooking pots and is interpreted as a domestic assemblage. Environmental evidence points to a site engaged in crop processing on a significant scale, and probably crop cultivation on-site.



Figure 12. Holmer: corn-drying oven, view north-east

It is thought that the features in this area might represent either a former farm peripheral to the settlement of Holmer, or a former part of the village itself. The settlement of Holmer now lies largely to the east of the A49, with the church on its western edge, but the remains of medieval settlement uncovered in the evaluation may demonstrate that the village was formerly more balanced with a part of the village to the west of the church.

On the northern edge of the site, a small cluster of round cremation pits, was recorded in one trench (Figure 13). These were not dated but are thought by their form to be prehistoric in date. An adjacent ditch may have formed an enclosing element.

To the south-east of the pits, a palaeochannel was recorded, likely to have formerly linked with the Ayles Brook which rises to the south. Whilst medieval pottery was recorded from the upper fills of this channel, it is thought possible that this was an extant watercourse in the later prehistoric period, which formed a focus of activity. The archaeological deposits recorded did

not, in general, equate with either the crop-marks or geophysical anomalies which are now thought to represent geological features and the remains of a badger sett. (Worcestershire County Council, Report 2162)

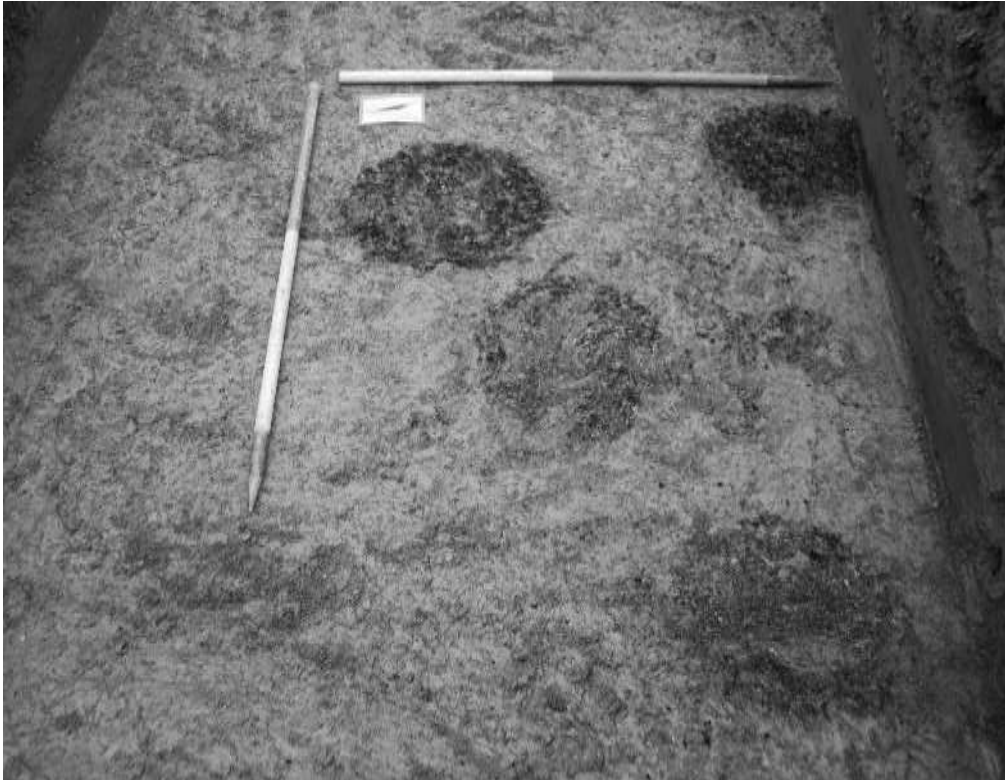


Figure 13. Holmer: cremation pit

WELLINGTON; Wellington Quarry, (SO 503 473)

A programme of archaeological works was undertaken within the Moreton South Extension of Wellington Quarry during the period 2012-2014. The work was completed on behalf of Lafarge Tarmac Limited in advance of the extension of this recently permitted area.

In the north part of the investigated area, a series of Neolithic pits was discovered and occurred both in isolation and in small clusters. Neolithic pottery and flint were recovered in small but significant quantities from many of these features. Further undated, but probably Bronze Age, activity, was represented by several waterholes (Plate 5.3) associated with pits filled with fire-cracked stones. One group was associated with a sub-rectangular feature (possibly a trough) (Plate 5.2), the fill of which included a large volume of fire-cracked stone. These features appear to relate to activities of the type associated with burnt mounds, and although no burnt mound was in association with these pits and waterholes, some distance to the south a mound was located adjacent to a palaeochannel.



Figure 14. Wellington Quarry: palaeochannel

The peat-filled palaeochannel (Fig. 14) had first been identified at evaluation and was recorded running along the west side of the investigated area. This was cut along its length by a drainage ditch of probable late-Roman to early-post-Roman date. Later features comprised a series of ditches and drains associated with a water-meadow system which has previously been mapped through aerial photography and LiDAR. Medieval and later field boundaries and land-drains were also recorded.

The associated alluvial sequence comprised a strong reddish-brown silty clay underlying the modern turf line. This was cut by post-medieval and later features and sealed the palaeochannel along with Roman, Neolithic and Bronze Age features all of which were cut into a yellowish-brown deposit of prehistoric origin. Lastly a strong reddish silty clay horizon directly overlaid natural sand and gravel.

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Botany, 2014

By PETER GARNER

Last year I reported how greatly encouraged I was by the increasing number of people sending records to me: this trend has continued with 22 different recorders in 2014. Two of the most exciting records have come from people with no specialist botanical knowledge, just a general love of the countryside.

Derek Prew is a leader of one of the Herefordshire Wildlife Trust's working-parties. He has recorded Narrow-leaved Helleborine *Cephalanthera longifolia* (sometimes called Sword-leaved Helleborine) from a Wye Valley site in the extreme south of the county. There were 10 plants growing in leaf litter under Beech trees. In recent years Narrow-leaved Helleborine has become extinct in 23 English counties, one of which we thought was Herefordshire, even though in the past the Wye Valley was regarded as a stronghold for this rare orchid.

Equally exciting was the discovery of a completely new site for Spreading Bellflower. Herefordshire, Worcestershire and neighbouring counties have also always been a stronghold for this very attractive scrambling plant of the woodland edge, clearings and hedgerows. As recently as the 1970s there were over 20 sites for this plant in Herefordshire, but by 2013 we knew of just three and in each of these numbers of plants were in single figures. The decline in numbers has been mirrored nationally and such is the concern that the charity Plantlife have appointed an ecologist to concentrate on studying the Spreading Bellflower and try and bring about its recovery, or at least halt any further decline. In this context one can imagine my excitement upon hearing that a previously unknown site had been discovered on Shucknall Hill. Rowland Eustace had observed this 'pretty plant' while walking his dog and mentioned it to his brother, who contacted me. When I visited the site I was thrilled to find over 20 plants scrambling amongst the recently cleared margins of a forestry track. I have re-visited the site with several experts including the ecologist from Plantlife and a researcher from Herefordshire Wildlife Trust, who pointed out to me 18 rosettes which should produce new flowers in 2015 as it is a biannual.

Other interesting records in 2014 were:-

Bird's-foot Clover *Trifolium ornithopodiodes* from near Cutter's Cave at the southern end of British Camp on the Malvern Hills, which is flourishing at almost 1,000ft—the highest known site in Britain! (Peter Garner)

Rough Clover *Trifolium scabrum* on the verge of the main A438 at Hollybush, also on the Malvern Hills. The only known Herefordshire site, and previously only one plant—now 5 plants. (Mark Jannink)

Various-leaved Water-starwort *Callitriche platycarpa* was found in one of the glacial relic ponds at Kenchester. (Sophie Cowling)

Persian Onion *Allium christophii* was found growing in the verge at the northern end of Bromyard Downs. This is a new plant for the county and only the third known site in Britain (Aaron Woods)

Weasel's-snout *Misopates orontium* is a rare arable weed and was found growing in a barley field at Brockhampton.

There were over 100 plants in the main patch with three very much small groups of plants in other parts of the field. Before this there have been just 16 records since 1900, and only one since 2000. (Judith Oakley)

Mudwort *Limosella aquatica* is a small annual normally found growing on drying mud at the edges of pools or ditches. In Herefordshire it has only previously been found beside the River Teme in the north of the county. However, I found a patch of over 50 non-flowering plants beside the River Wye at Backney near Ross. I have never seen this plant in flower! (Peter Garner)

I am always grateful to receive records of any Herefordshire plants, or help with identification if you come across something with which you are not familiar. (01684 564957) petergarner@live.co.uk.

Buildings, 2014

By DUNCAN JAMES

The detailed investigation of buildings in the county continues to throw up surprises. One of the most interesting concerns the 16th-century church houses at Cradley and Colwall where there is strong evidence to suggest that they were built by the same team of craftsmen and were both originally of two storey form. A selection of Colwall buildings was investigated through a small project organised by Rebecca Roseff, again with some interesting findings including the remains of a late-medieval, cruck-framed hall house behind Brockbury Hall.

A brief look at some of the houses in Lingen, organised by Christine Moore, has led to a clearer understanding of a long, timber-framed 15th- and 16th-century range in the village, in particular, Mortimer Cottage.

COLWALL

The Ale House, Flapgate Lane, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.078412,-2.381680



Figure 1. The Ale House, Colwall, was constructed as a two-storey jettied building. The later bay at the far end was added after the jettied upper storey had been removed. The present gable-end doorway is a later insertion.

This building, laid out on a north-south axis, is situated on the eastern edge of the precinct boundary of Colwall's, Church of St James (Fig. 1). It is a three-bay, single storey timber-framed

structure built in about 1531¹. In the 17th century a further bay was added to the north end, which was probably when a chimneystack was inserted and the range converted to cottages. In the late 20th century the chimneystack was removed and the building restored as a village hall, with the main door at the south, gable end. Much of the primary structure survives, particularly on the west side although the roof has clearly been reconstructed at some point in the history of the building.



Figure 2. The Ale House, Colwall. Following the addition of the later, east bay the original doorway is now internal



Figure 3. Plugged mortices formerly housing brackets to support the jetties can be seen at the top of the posts along both sides of the building

At the north end of the three primary bays there is a doorway, now internal, that would have been the original access into the building before the addition of the 17th-century bay (Fig. 2).

On the east and west sides of the building, when built, there were three windows, each with four diamond-section mullions. The windows are flanked by long tension braces rising from the sill beam to meet the tops of the wall posts. One of these braces on the west side of the building has been 'decorated' internally with apotropaic marks in the form of finished and half-finished daisywheels.

At first sight the Ale House appears to have been a simple structure. However, on the exterior, at the top of each bay post there is a long mortice that would once have housed a shaped bracket and these would have supported the jetty for an upper floor (Fig. 3). The jetty ran along both sides of the building but not at the gable ends.

It is not unusual to find a church house arranged in this way, jettied to those outside the precinct and jettied towards the church itself. A similar arrangement can be found at Pembridge where Church House, a three-bay, two-storey timber-framed building of c.1495, has a jetty on the market square side and a jetty (since underbuilt) on the side facing the church.² This symbolises the function of a church house, serving the community and the church.

A similarly jettied church house near to Colwall can be seen at Cradley (Fig. 4). This building has many features in common with Colwall's Ale House. It stands on the edge of the church precinct and the primary structure is of five bays, each bay with long tension braces.³ The building is jettied, with brackets under the jetty, on both long sides and at the west end. Perhaps more significantly, it has been tree-ring dated and this indicates that it was built using timber

felled in 1530-31⁴ – a date that matches that for Colwall’s Ale House. Both Colwall and Cradley were Bishop’s manors⁵ and this raises the distinct possibility that both church houses were built by the same team of carpenters at the behest of the bishop.⁶ It is of interest to note that William Bothe, Master of Arts, was appointed to Cradley in September 1526 and made rector of Cradley on 27 March 1529.⁷



Figure 4. Parish Hall, Cradley. The former church ale house and later a school with its jettied upper storey still in place although the actual floor inside has been removed

Brockbury Hall, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.073872,-2.372143 (Cruck Hall. Lat/long:- 52.073993,-2.373207)

Brockbury Hall is a large, double-pile red brick house of late 17th- and early 18th-century date (Fig. 5).⁸ It is of two storeys, with attic rooms, under a hipped roof with central well. The rectangular plan is laid out on a north-east to south-west alignment.

The front door leads directly into a wide hallway with a room on either side. To the east is a drawing room set with 17th-century panelling and an overmantle decorated with carved lozenge work.

The principal open-well closed-string staircase is in the middle of the rear range and reached by a door in the back of the entrance hall. It is of late 17th-century date, with turned balusters and wide, moulded handrail. The newel posts are square with moulded caps.

The roof of the house is composed almost entirely of reused timbers of various dates including 15th-century components. The ceiling of the cellar also incorporates reused early timber.



Figure 5. Brockbury Hall, Colwall



Figure 6. The much altered and reduced cruck-framed hall house behind Brockbury Hall, Colwall

To the rear of the house is a separate, single-storey range that has been used as a service range to the main house (Fig. 6). It has a large chimneystack and fireplace with a (demolished) copper. Partly now with a flat roof, the east end contains a pair of cruck blades *in situ*. These appear to have formed part of a late-medieval hall laid out on a north-east to south-west axis parallel to the main house, the latter having adopted a similar alignment. The tie beam at head height between the cruck blades has wide mortices on each side for joists, to the east possibly the first floor over a service bay and to the west for joisting above a cross passage. The present doorway may be on the site of the primary doorway. Much of the walling is now brick but there is still some of the original framing on the north side. This is all of 15th-century or of earlier date. It is possible that this is the remains of the principal house on the site and that the main building marks a significant rise in wealth and status in the late 17th century.

Joyces and Hop Pole Cottage, Stowe Lane, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.074273, -2.366420

Hop Pole Cottage is a timber framed 1½ storey range possibly of late 15th- or early 16th-century date laid out on an approximate north-south orientation with a cross wing at the north end. Much of it is now hidden from the front by Joyces, an 18th-century brick addition of two storeys with attic (Fig. 7). There is some smoke blackening of the roof timbers of Hop Pole Cottage, which suggests this may have been an open hall house.



Figure 7. Joyces and Hop Pole Cottage, Stowe Lane, Colwall

The large, 18th-century block has a staircase tower and the *piano nobile* on the first floor where the windows and ceiling are higher than those on the ground floor. Some of the window

openings have been blocked—possibly those in the staircase tower because it was at some time rearranged. In the south-east corner there is a chimney stack with blind arcading in the sides. The attic level has a superb roof—aligned east-west but hipped at the ends so that it almost forms a pyramid. The principal rafters are reinforced by upper cruck blades.⁹ There are two tiers of butt purlins.

The two parts of this building, now in separate ownership, once formed a single dwelling. The extraordinary brick range indicates a rise in status in the 18th century whilst marking also a determination to display that rise to the rest of the community.

Peaty Cottage, Church Road, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.081586,-2.371397



Figure 8. Peaty Cottage, Church Road, Colwall, with its massive external chimney stack

This is now a three-bay, 1½ storey cottage laid out on an approximate east-west alignment, close to and parallel with the road (Fig. 8). The east bay is modern and has an extra bay built on the south side.

The two primary 17th-century bays of the cottage indicate the original size of the building with a stack at the west end and with weathering on the east face of the east end of the primary structure. The large external stone chimneystack at the west end probably included a bread oven but is now much altered. The upper shaft of the stack is of modern brick. The building was damaged in a roof fire before the present owners bought it and the majority of the roof structure has been rebuilt with new timber. The west end truss has been entirely rebuilt. The central and western trusses retain only the cut tie-beams of the primary structure otherwise the rest is new.

Stone Holt, Walwyn Road, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.080698,-2.357503

Stone Holt is a three bay, timber-framed, 1½ storey range laid out on a north-east to south-west alignment with a later, two-bay, two-storey timber-framed crosswing at the northern end (Fig. 9). There is an additional bay, possibly of 19th-century date, on the northern side of the crosswing.

The majority of the timber framing of the main range is visible on the exterior of the building. The front of the crosswing below the tie beam has been replaced in brick and extended slightly on the right-hand side. The gable is much altered.



Figure 9. Stone Holt, Walwyn Road, Colwall, showing the positions of the roof trusses

The main range and the crosswing have one significant feature in common – that of the ceiling beams, which all have wide chamfers and cut stops and are of very similar design such that it suggests they are coeval. This initially leads to the suggestion that the main range and crosswing were also of the same date. However, an investigation of one part of the roof between T1 and T2 revealed that both trusses were heavily smoke blackened, indicating that the main

range was almost certainly a late medieval open hall. It was also apparent that the roof structure of the main range continued north, past T1 in a way that it would not have done had it been constructed at the same time as the crosswing.

In view of the orientation of the main range with one end towards the south-west quadrant;¹⁰ the position of the front and back doors; the site of the main chimneystack and the lengths of the bays, it is most likely that this is a hall house to which a two-bay crosswing has been added at a later date when floors were also inserted in the open hall to form a complete two-storey house.

It is likely that the bay between Tx and T1 formed the primary service bay, T1 to T2, the lower bay of the hall with a cross passage (on the line of the present front door) adjacent to the service bay. The upper bay of the hall was between T2 to T3, and the solar bay from T3 to T4. When the building was upgraded by the insertion of floors and construction of a two-bay crosswing to replace the (small) single-bay service end, part of the main range roof structure was left in place above the crosswing first-floor ceilings.

This also may indicate that the two ground-floor windows in the western side of the main range are on the sites of the primary windows to the hall and solar. It is possible that the crosswing was added to the northern end due to the plot constraints at the southern end.

It is odd that the side of the crosswing adjacent to the front door has been extended sideways (by perhaps 12 inches). This may have been done to enlarge the front bay of the wing and it would have been possible because the primary crosspassage door was almost certainly wider than the present one – perhaps reduced by one foot from 4ft. 6in. to 3ft. 6in.¹¹

A factor that complicates the issue is that the timbers in both the main range and the crosswing are pit-sawn.¹² This suggests that both are later than c.1530-40 and this would be a very late date for the construction of an open hall. It is of course possible that this is a 15th-century hall and that it is an early example of pit sawing. It would require tree-ring dating of both phases of the building to resolve the issue.

Upper House, Evendine Lane, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.069564, -2.352321

This is a timber-framed house with a two-bay, possibly 16th-century, main range (bays 2 and 3) on a north-south alignment (Figs 10 & 11). At the south end is a two bay crosswing (four-bay roof) of 17th-century date, with a large chimneystack on the south side. There is a later addition (bay 1) on the north end of the main range, possibly also 17th century. Attached to the east side of this, on an east-west axis, is an 18th-century stone-walled range of two principal bays but with an elaborate roof structure that appears to be laid out as five bays.

Unfortunately, in the earlier parts of the building most of the timbers inside the house have been heavily disc-sanded which has erased saw marks and assembly marks and left much of the surface rounded and anonymous.

The exterior of the main range is mostly hidden by a later addition on the east side but the framing on the west side is exposed. Here the principal feature is the chevron bracing on the side of bay 2 (Fig. 10). It is not clear whether this is primary structure or a later modification. There have been many alterations to this elevation, which is heavily painted and it would require a detailed study to begin to understand the primary layout.

Inside bays 2 and 3 the floor has possibly been inserted although there is no convincing evidence for this being a former open hall. There is no smoke blackening in the roof, and truss T3, possibly also T2, appear to be pit-sawn timber. T2 has raking struts rising from the tie beam

to meet the principal rafters. T3 has a collar with queen struts below. On the ground floor there is a ceiling beam (at X-X on Figure 11) that has mortices in the soffit as if for a cross-passage screen. This may simply be a reused beam.



Figure 10. Upper House, Evendine Lane, Colwall. West elevation of the main range and crosswing

The cross-wing is of two storeys. The framing is constructed on a high plinth and there is a high ceiling on the ground floor. The partition between the bays, which originally had a doorway adjacent to the north wall, has been removed on the ground floor. The west bay has its original (mutilated) ceiling beams. These are chamfered, with stops, as the surviving girding beam is on the north and west sides. The ceiling beams in the east bay are later additions. A later staircase in this bay rises to the first floor.

On the first floor there is a primary ceiling achieved by making the roof trusses with tie beams T5 and T7 at a higher level than the top of the wall posts. The roof pitch is steeper than normal with an inclusive angle of 75-85 degrees. There is a single tier of purlins and the collars are at purlin level. Originally there was a square-section ridge purlin set on the diagonal. The east and west end trusses, T4 & T8, have king and queen struts below the collar. Truss T4 has a cambered tie beam.

Truss T2 has a weathered 'upper' face towards the north, which indicates that it was formerly the end of the range and that bay 1 is a later addition.

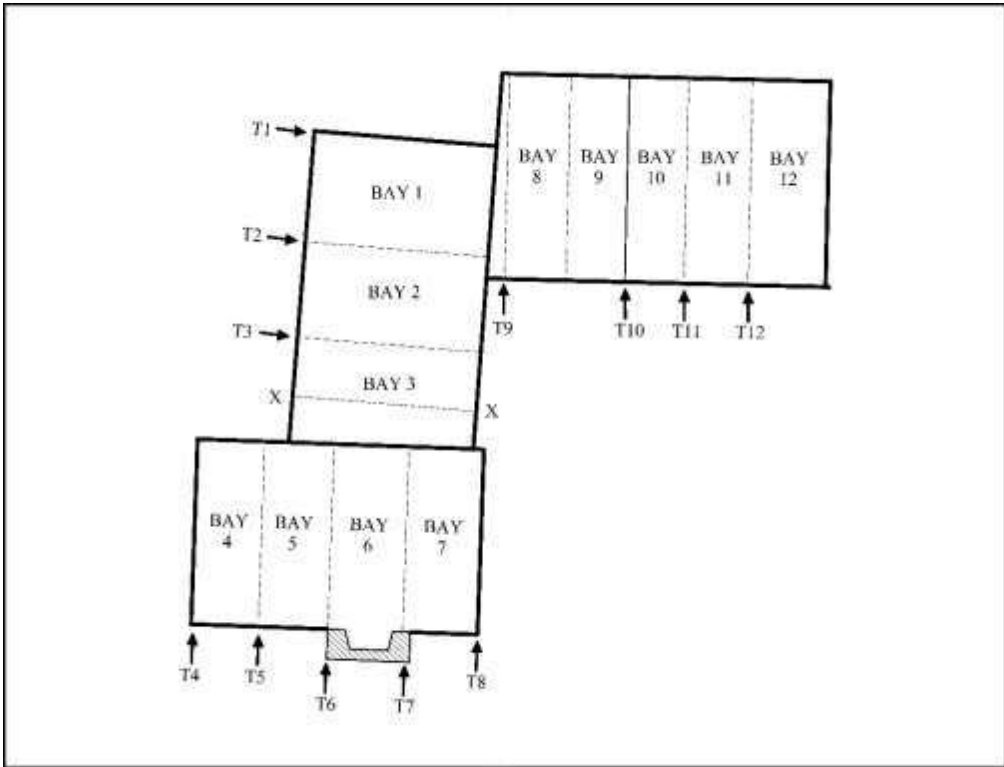


Figure 11. Upper House, sketch layout of the bays and roof trusses



Figure 12. Roof trusses in the former coach house

The 18th-century range (roof bays 8 to 12) is of two principal bays. The main one to the east was a coach house with accommodation above in the roof. Here T11 and T12 are sling-braced trusses with low collars (above head height) with king posts and raking struts rising from the base of the king posts to the principal rafters (Fig. 12).

It is a double purlin roof. Between T9 and T10 there are long purlins and a collar braced across at upper purlin level. The king posts are located in the collars with bare-faced dovetail tenons and key. They also have a single peg. The upper, east room was not originally linked directly to the house and probably was reached by a separate staircase from the coach house below.

Winterslow, Church Road, Colwall

Lat/long:- 52.083344,-2.363058

This is a four-bay, two-storey (in part with attics) timber-framed house of late 16th- or 17th-century date with 18th-century and later additions. It is positioned on the north side of Church Road. The primary structure formed a two-bay, two-storey cottage laid out on a north-south alignment (Fig. 13). A later bay has been added at each end, that to the north being the largest. Under the south bay is a cellar. The timber framing panels have been infilled in brick on the west side.



Figure 13. Winterslow, Church Road, Colwall. The two middle bays forming the primary structure

The two middle bays form the primary range. The wall frames to each bay are four, near-square panels high, and four long. At each end of the sides of the range there are diagonal braces within the top corner panel from wall plate to corner post. At the gable ends of the primary range there are (where they survive internally) similar diagonal braces from the corner posts up to the soffit of the tie beams.

Within the south end of the primary range there is a large chimneystack and fireplace partly constructed using thin (early) bricks.

The south elevation of the south gable-end of the primary range, now internal, is visible from the first floor. It has king and queen struts below the collar and vee struts above. The tie beam is not cambered.

The roof over the primary range has a double tier of trenced purlins.

The two axial ceiling beams in the northern primary bay have wide chamfers and cut stops.

The lower, south face of the north gable of the primary range is visible from the attic room of the south end bay. Here the principal rafters do not extend above collar level and it is likely that the end of the roof originally had a half-hip.

The later, north and south extensions are probably of late-18th- or early-19th-century date. They mark a significant remodelling of the house with the introduction of the panelled front door and a straight-flight open string staircase with stick balusters, two per tread, and decorated tread ends. It has turned newel posts and a moulded handrail, ramped at the head of the staircase.

The roof structure over the later south bay is visible as the room at first floor level is open to the ridge. It has a double tier of purlins with an unusual feature across the centre in the form of a collar that is notched in (under squinted) and pegged at each end to a timber fitted between the purlins. This clearly had some special purpose as it has a series of holes bored through it horizontally as if it supported a particular piece of apparatus or fitting. Later, it has been used to support a lath and plaster ceiling (now removed). The care with which it is installed indicates that it is primary to the bay.

LINGEN

Mortimer Cottage. Lat/long:- 52.299923, -2.933305

Tudor Cottage. Lat/long:- 52.299976, -2.933563

The Cottage. Lat/long:- 52.299948, -2.933443

Mortimer Cottage was the subject of a short report in 1995, by Jim Tonkin¹³ but further detailed work has led to a revised analysis. Mortimer Cottage (Fig. 15) is the middle building of a line of three houses laid out on an east-west axis close to the motte-and-bailey castle site in Lingen and parallel to the road on the south side.

The building to the west of Mortimer Cottage, now forming two dwellings, Tudor Cottage and The Cottage (Fig. 14) is a four bay, cruck-framed axial hall house of 15th-century date, with Tudor Cottage occupying the end and upper bay of the hall, whilst the lower bay of the hall and service bay form The Cottage. Three pairs of cruck blades have survived within the building. It is probably the earliest surviving domestic building in the village. The walls have been raised in height and a floor and chimneystack inserted in the hall. The orientation of the hall with the upper end towards the west is confirmed by the orientation of the central cruck truss, which is faced up to the west.¹⁴



Figure 14. Tudor Cottage and The Cottage, Lingen. These two dwellings, to the west of Mortimer Cottage, incorporate the substantial remains of a 15th-century cruck-framed hall house



Figure 15. Mortimer Cottage, Lingen

Mortimer Cottage itself is a three-bay, 1½-storey, axial range with a massive chimneystack and substantial fireplace on the east side of the middle bay. The south side of this bay has a planted-on jettied addition¹⁵ and gable that offers a marginal increase in floor space and a full two-storey height in the room above, although arguably, the main purpose was one of display.¹⁶ On both sides of this jettied addition there are single storey extensions to form cat-slide roofs.



Figure 16. The massive fireplace in Mortimer Cottage

The fireplace has moulded stone jambs, that on the south side with the addition of (mutilated) ballflower ornament. The oak lintel, made from a massive oak beam, 16inch square in section, had a wide chamfer with cut stops but this has been almost totally lost because the soffit has been hacked back (Fig. 16).

The jambs are certainly reused material, as is the lintel, but where they have come from is a matter for speculation.



Figure 17. Mortimer Cottage, the moulded beams

The most impressive feature of the cottage is the eight panel counterchange ceiling with its superb moulded beams and chamfered joists (Fig. 17). Two of the panels have been cut through to make the present staircase but enough has survived to produce an accurate reconstruction (Fig. 18).

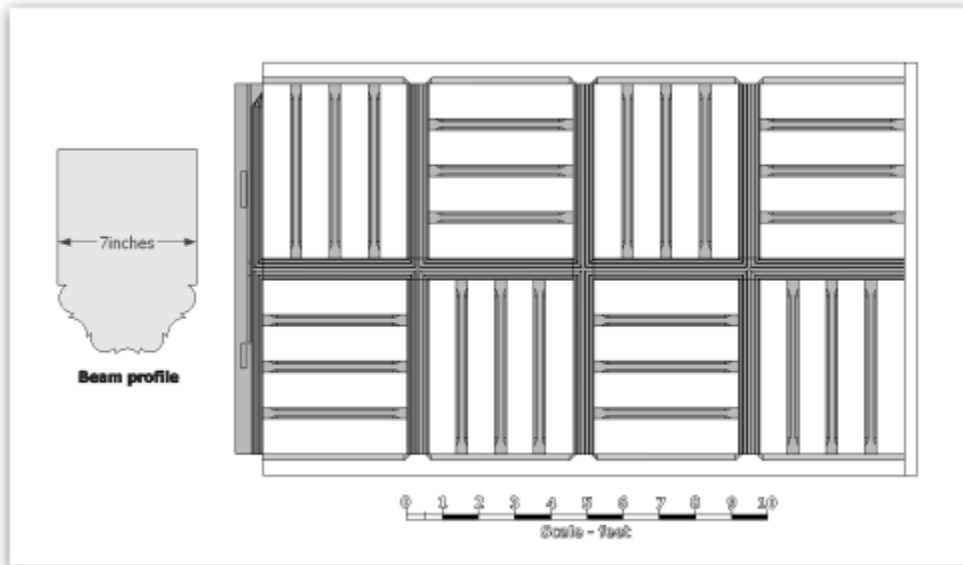


Figure 18. The counterchange ceiling and beam profile in Mortimer Cottage

This is a high status ceiling in a modest building, which suggests that, like the fireplace jambs, it is reused material from elsewhere. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the long beams on each side are chamfered, with cut stops, but there has been no attempt to copy the elaborate moulding of the ceiling beams whereas the beam on the south end (on the left-hand side in Fig. 18) is part of the original ensemble and has mouldings and a tapered stop. In short, the ceiling was incomplete so the carpenter made the best job he could of the long beams on each side.

There are a few other components in the building that are reused material but the upper parts of the structure show no clear evidence of a former life. The jettied gable appears to have been specially made, or adapted for the building at a later, possibly 17th-century date.

This is all a puzzle. The building is mainly of 16th-century date¹⁷ and counterchange ceilings belong to period 1550-1600. It is possible that the building was brought, in its entirety, from elsewhere in the 17th century but needing the addition of a few lost components (such as the beams on each side of the ceiling) and that the jettied gable was added at this time. Thus it may be a 17th-century rebuild incorporating reused fireplace jambs and a lintel from elsewhere. Tree ring dating, combined with a more detailed study of the fabric might help to untangle this fascinating building.

The Forge, Lingen

The house to the east of Mortimer Cottage, The Forge, is of 17th century date (Fig. 19).



Figure 19. The Forge, Lingen, to the east of Mortimer Cottage

REFERENCES

- ¹ Jennifer Hillam, 'Tree-ring analysis of oak timbers from the Church Ale House, Colwall', Hereford & Worcester. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 106/91.
- ² Church House, Pembridge, which has been tree-ring dated, was built from trees felled at some time between 1484 and 1503. *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 35 (2004), p. 89.
- ³ There is some uncertainty concerning the primary length of the building because a single bay wing was added to the back in the 17th century and the present access corridor, forming an additional short bay at the east end of the range, may belong to that phase.
- ⁴ M. J. Worthington, & D. W. H. Miles (2004), 'The Tree-Ring Dating of Cradley Village Hall, Cradley, Herefordshire', Centre for Archaeology Report 10/2004.
- ⁵ I am indebted to Valerie Goodbury for information about Colwall.
- ⁶ Charles Booth (or Bothe) Bishop of Hereford 1516-1535.
- ⁷ A. T. Bannister (ed.) (1921), *Registrum Caroli Bothe*, p. 327 & p. 339.
- ⁸ A. Brooks & N. Pevsner (2012), *Buildings of England – Herefordshire*, Yale University Press, p. 178.
- ⁹ It should be noted that these upper crucks are coeval with the 18th century build and are not re-used early material.
- ¹⁰ The majority of hall houses in the county place the upper end of the range towards the south-west quadrant. See note 14 below.
- ¹¹ A characteristic feature of the medieval crosspassage was its width, typically four to five feet.
- ¹² D. James, 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance.' *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 43 (2012), pp. 7-18.
- ¹³ TWNFC XLVIII (1995) 357-8.

¹⁴ D. James, 'An Investigation of the Orientation of Timber-framed Houses in Herefordshire'. *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 34 (2003), pp. 20-31.

¹⁵ Tonkin refers to this as a crosswing (see note 13) but this is not the case. What appears to be a crosswing is a later, planted-on jetty.

¹⁶ The upper floor is actually jettied on three sides.

¹⁷ The sawmark evidence indicates a date later than 1530/40. See note 12 above.

Geology, 2014

By MOIRA JENKINS

This has again been an interesting year geologically in Herefordshire.

SHORTWOOD FARM LANDSLIP

A landslide occurred on 7 February 2014 on the steep hillside above the village of Ullingswick. Shortwood Farm was closed to the public for a while because the ground below the south side of the driveway collapsed (Fig. 1). This was a reactivation of a landslide which took place in 1947. There was a crack running hundreds of metres across the field below the drive (Plate 6.1). A mature oak tree complete with its root system moved downhill (Plate 6.2).



Figure 1. The landslide at Shortwood Farm. The land below the drive dropped

The road up from Ullingswick was damaged in three places. There are extension cracks with a drop of about a quarter of a metre and a zone where one section of the tarmac was thrust up and over the adjacent section (Figs 2 and 3). The road was closed until August causing great difficulties for local farmers.



Figure 2. Two of the cracks in the Ullingswick to Pencombe Road



Figure 3. Distortion of tarmac surface caused by the landslide

All the rocks in the area are ‘Old Red Sandstone’ but vary greatly in character. These landslips in 2014 and 1947 took place after periods of heavy rain which soaked through pervious sandstones of the St Maughan’s Formation and the Bishop’s Frome Limestone below. Ground water then saturated and lubricated the underlying impervious Raglan Mudstone Formation allowing slippage to take place on the steep slope.

VISIT TO DOWNTON GORGE WITH KINGTON NATURE TRUST GROUP

Downton Gorge forms the present day route for the River Teme which was diverted during the ice age, having formerly been a tributary of the River Lugg. The river first cut a gorge through the Silurian Aymestry Limestone Formation. This rock is not highly fossiliferous but there are layers where the large brachiopod fossils, *Kirkidium knighti* can be found (Plate 6.3).

The river then flows in a further section of gorge with vertical cliffs through the Upper Ludlow Shales which are also highly fossiliferous in some places. Plate 6.4 shows the cliffs. Overlying the Upper Ludlow Shales is the Downton Castle Sandstone, showing the change in deposition conditions from marine to terrestrial. Plate 6.5 shows the Downton Castle Sandstone with a channel cut into the underlying sandstone layer.

KNIGHTON MAPSHEET PROJECT

The British Geological Survey (BGS) mapsheet for Knighton, 180, has hitherto not been mapped, and BGS does not have the funds or a programme allocated to do this in the foreseeable future. The area extends from Clun in the north to Stanner Rocks in the South, and from Brampton Bryan in the east to Penybont in the west. There is a body of academic work, and no doubt other information available to make a partial resurvey relatively straightforward.

A survey team has been assembled under the leadership of Dr Arthur Tingley, and the survey is now under way with the help of nine field assistants recruited from the Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust and the Teme Valley Geological Society. The Geologists Association has provided a little financial support.

Three quarters of the mapsheet has been allocated to ‘lead surveyors’ for each of the twenty-four 1:10 000 sheets, and initial training has been undertaken to ensure that mapping is to the same standard. Field work is now under way.

The objective is to produce a 1:50 000 map suitable for publication to BGS standards within 3 years, with an accompanying mapsheet explanation and perhaps a field guide for the Geologists Association.

If you live in the vicinity, or have particular knowledge of any aspect of the mapsheet area, we would be pleased to hear from you. For more information please contact Arthur Tingley at artur521@btinternet.com.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RECORDING TEMPORARY EXPOSURES

Moira Jenkins would be very grateful to hear about interesting geological sites, especially those where rock is temporarily exposed so that these sites can be recorded before being covered over again. Some examples of findings are given below.

WEST SIDE OF MALVERN HILLS

In June 2014 excavations for building work exposed a band of rock in the Precambrian Malverns Complex on the west side of the Malvern Hills, a few hundred yards north of the Wyche Cutting, which contains minerals which crystallised out at very high temperatures. The rocks contain minerals rich in iron and magnesium including large hornblende and biotite crystals. This area of mafic rock appears to be connected with a similar outcrop seen on the other side of the hills in Earnslaw Quarry. Plate 6. 6 shows the mafic rock with flat crystals of the black mica biotite and possibly some hornblende.

FISSURE ON BACKBURY HILL (report by Elliot Carter)

Backbury Hill Fissure can be found at the western edge of the crags known as Adam's Rocks, which form a natural southern rampart to the fort capping the hill. The site consists of a 2-3m. deep linear fissure in the Silurian Aymestry Limestone bounded by two approximately parallel vertical walls, both trending NNW–SSE. This morphology suggests formation under tension. In addition, the trend of the gash is very nearly perpendicular to the slope of the hill east of the site, suggesting that a large block is slipping downslope in that direction. The occurrence of the site stratigraphically shortly above the transition from Aymestry Limestone into the mudstone-rich Lower Ludlow Shales gives a plausible candidate for the more competent limestone to be slipping on. Plates 6.7 and 6.8 show the fissure.

THE WYE VALLEY PARTNERSHIP PROJECT

This project, funded by Defra through Natural England, continued in 2014 and enabled Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust, as one of the partners, to designate further Local Geological Sites, do clearance work at 2 sites and to carry out site recording at several others. A few examples are given below.

Madawg Rock Shelter

This shelter perches high above the Wye Gorge on the side of Great Doward (Plate 6.9). There is a cliff line in the Carboniferous Gully Oolite, formerly called Crease Limestone, which has been smoothed and undercut by water flowing past, when the river was at a higher level than the present. This shows one of the stages of the erosion of the Wye Gorge which we see today. At the back of the overhang, running parallel to the cliff face is a fissure which can be seen in the roof of a small cave. This fissure, shown in Fig. 4 is filled with limestone rubble. Madawg Rock Shelter has also yielded important archaeological finds.



Figure 4. Fissure at the back of Madawg Rock Shelter filled with limestone rubble

Huntsham Hill landslide

The eastern side of Huntsham Hill contains two landslips separated by a short distance. Neither of these is recorded by the BGS on the Monmouth sheet. Both landslips have occurred where the river on the outside of its meander has undercut the supporting rocks which are dipping down the slope on the east side of the hill. These are Lower Devonian Brownstones Formation for the northern and Upper Devonian Tintern Sandstone for the southern slip. The northern one is a rock slide, where part of the hillside has moved down the slope, largely maintaining its integrity.

The southern slip seems to be a single slump and is bounded to the west by a vertical rock face of Tintern Sandstone and Lower Limestone Shale, (Carboniferous Avon Formation). Below the cliff is a jumble of slipped material. The debris from this landslide has diverted the course of the River Wye slightly. Both landslips show clearly on high resolution LiDAR data.

There were small scale landslips after the heavy rain in 2013 which blocked the track leading to the house and destroyed steps on the Worcestershire Way on the very steep slope in the area below Symonds Yat view point.

Site Clearance

Two geological sites were cleared, one at the Biblins and one on Great Doward, with permission from the Forestry Commission. Plate 6.10 shows the tufa deposits which are accumulating on the Carboniferous limestone cliffs at the Biblins. The path is now cleared so that access can be

gained to this wonderful site. Water flowing down the cliffs from Dropping Well above is gradually depositing calcareous tufa, a process which continues to the present day though at a slower rate than in the past. A site further up the hill, showing Carboniferous Cromhall Sandstone Formation (formerly called Drybrook Sandstone) was also cleared, showing that conditions had changed from the marine Carboniferous in which the limestones were deposited to the terrestrial conditions in which the later Coal Measures were formed.

Desiccation Cracks at Huntsham Hill

The Wye Valley Project funding enabled EHT to ask GeoEd Ltd to produce a cast of the desiccation cracks under an overhang of the Upper Devonian Quartz Conglomerate crag on Huntsham Hill. This location was dangerous to access and the cast will enable these features to be viewed easily and used for educational purposes.



Figure 5. Cast of desiccation cracks from Upper Devonian Quartz Conglomerate, Huntsham Hill

As can be seen in Fig. 5, there is a network of ridges which are the sandstone infillings of cracks in an underlying clay layer. These polygonal shapes enclose areas of smaller features which seem to be traces of burrows. Further research needs to be carried out and this will enable us to recreate the environmental conditions in the area of the south of Herefordshire about 400 million years ago.

Natural History, 2014

Whitman's Hill Quarry and Woods

By JANET PARRY

The natural history of the Whitman's Hill site has been monitored by WNFC since 2006 when the Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) agreed a 10 year lease from Madresfield Estate to develop the quarry as an educational resource for both schools and academic geologists. The site shows an extensive exposure through the Silurian system and is situated at SO 747483 near Storridge. It is now located inside the recently designated Abberley and Malvern Hills Geopark.

As this season will be the 10th year of recording it is hoped to produce a more extensive report next year to summarise the changes seen.

THE QUARRY

It was helpful this year to be allowed to go into the quarry in June when the plants were flowering rather than later in the season as in previous years. This was because the Peregrines did not breed again, having failed to find a suitable nesting ledge to attract the female, though they were still flying around the area. The vegetation in the quarry continues to grow more vigorously rather than to gain in diversity. Only two new species were noted, the grass, Crested Dog's-tail, *Cynosurus cristatus*, and Foxglove, *Digitalis pupurea*, both migrating in from the surrounding land and now finding the quarry suitable for growth as the soil builds up in pockets. The Buddleia, *Buddleia alternifolia*, with both purple and white flowers, Silver Birch, *Betula pendula*, and Traveller's-joy, *Clematis vitalba* are now very prolific. The Ash trees, *Fraxinus excelsior*, at the far end are getting large and adding more organic material to the quarry with every leaf drop. Although the smaller plants are much the same, it is interesting to note that this year the Wild Strawberry, *Fragaria vesca*, was again very fruitful on the bunds and Creeping Cinquefoil, *Potentilla reptans*, was very plentiful. The Common Centaury, *Centaureum erythraea*, had an interesting mixture of both pink and white flowering strains. The other signature plants, Common Gromwell, *Lithospermum officinale*, Ploughman's-spikenard, *Inula conyzae*, and Bristly Oxtongue, *Picris echioides*, continue to flourish. There was less evidence of grazing by Rabbits, *Oryctolagus cuniculus*, which enabled the vegetation to advance further.

The ponds were usually full of clear water and the Broadleaved Pondweed, *Potamogeton natans*, is establishing itself in all the ponds as is the Bulrush, *Typha latifolia* (Plate 7.1). Many Newts were seen, probably Great Crested, *Triturus cristatus*. The surface of the ponds was a great attraction to many invertebrates and it is hoped to do a more formal survey of the ponds next year, now the habitat is settling.

WOODLAND

The trees in the woodland continue to recycle with old wood blown down in the winter and new seedlings, mainly of Ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*, springing up in the gaps. The basic vegetation remains stable with the usual Bluebells, *Hyacinthoides non-scripta*, Woodruff, *Gallium odoratum*, Wood Anemone, *Anemone nemorosa*, and Yellow Archangel, *Lamium galeobdolon*, flowering through the Dog's Mercury, *Mercurialis perennis*. The Herb Paris, *Paris quadrifolia*, had a good year with about 40 spikes in the main patch, and another eight spikes elsewhere (Plate 7.2).



Figure 1. Wood anemones, *Anemone nemorosa*, carpeting the woodland floor in March, typical of ancient woodland

The birds had a poor year probably due to the heavy rain at the start of the nesting season. June was an extremely wet month. Only seven out of eleven birdboxes were occupied and many were abandoned with eggs or part grown chicks in them. Only 1 of the dormice boxes was taken over by a family of Blue tits. One was used by a woodmouse, *Apodemus sylvaticus*, and another was taken over by a colony of bees with a very potent sting!

The Pied Flycatchers, *Ficedula hypoleuca*, did not return this year which was disappointing. No dormice, *Muscardinus avellanarius*, were evident and there was no sign of nest building. It was unfortunate that their favourite box was the one chosen by the bee colony! The boxes are now starting to deteriorate and several have had to be mended and refixed. They may last to the end of the lease.

The total numbers of fledgelings recorded were 20 Blue tits, *Parus caeruleus*, 20 Great tits, *Parus major*, in the bird boxes with 7 more Blue tits raised in 1 dormouse box, so the woodland yielded a grand total of 47 birds this year compared with 58 last year. The bird records have been entered on the Herefordshire Ornithological Club (HOC) database and appear in the *Transactions* as well as the Herefordshire Nature Trust (HNT) journal *Flycatcher*.

CONCLUSION

The wet spring favoured the plants but harmed the birds this year. The prolific growth of the main plants in the quarry poses an on-going problem for the Geology site and the Champions, as the quarry faces are getting obscured in places. The Buddleia is particularly invasive but it does attract many butterflies. The use of the woodland by trail bikes seems to have diminished but there is often rubbish in the quarry, source unknown! The quarry continues to be used as a teaching and research area and is a valuable asset for EHT.

Ornithology, 2014

By BERYL HARDING

2014 began with no break from the wettest weather on record. The *Hereford Times* reported that as much as 64mm. of rain fell in the first six days of January alone with flood warnings for the Wye and flood alerts for some other county rivers. By the end of January the Met. Office confirmed that 172.6 mm. of rain had fallen in Herefordshire.

The gales and storms of the winter were accompanied by widespread reports of dead seabirds, especially around the south and west coasts of the U.K. These were of ringed birds which would only give a partial estimate and not all dead birds would be washed ashore – conservative estimates of the number of dead this winter reached c.40,000. Many were found to be in a poor condition having starved in the harsh conditions at sea.

January had opened with daytime temperatures of 6-9°C but continuing the gales, storm surges and heavy rains of November and December as the jet stream remained fixed flowing to the south of the British Isles. By mid-January it was still comparatively mild but with 70% of the winter rains already received. It became the warmest winter so far since records began with only Scotland experiencing continued heavy snowfall. The average daytime temperature in Herefordshire was 5.6°C. Some plants were still in bloom and a few birds already calling. With all the rain the gulls and waders were having a field day but it was not so good for those relying on dead wood for food and refuge as a lot had been damaged by the extreme conditions.

As usual, the Big Garden Bird Watch took place across the country in mid-January. It has been run by the R.S.P.B. now for thirty-five years and continues to show the decline of many species especially two that had been widespread previously. Starling numbers have fallen by 83% and House Sparrows, once so common, have fallen by 63% and are now Red Listed. Blackbirds continue a downward trend by 29% year on year. Blue, Great and Coal Tits have all increased in numbers – probably due to garden feeding. The Song Thrush is also down by 59% since the start of the scheme. However, Woodpigeons continue to rise in number and the Magpie by 129%!

February became colder and with continuing strong gales, coastal storm surges and widespread inland flooding around the country. With so much rain our aquifers were filled to the brim giving up-rise flooding in low-lying areas. Flocks of Canada Geese found wide-range feeding within the wetlands of the county and up to 650 Golden Plover were noted on Hereford outskirts from the end of January to early February. Also, less welcome to local residents, large murmurations of Starlings built up through January to March in the Widemarsh area – estimated from photographs to number c.20,000 birds

March was marginally warmer and sunnier with less rainfall c.38mm., an average daytime temperature of 7.3°C reaching a maximum of 18°C by the end of the month and with only eight days of frost in the Hereford area. By 22 March the first few Swallows were seen in the county and Sand Martins on the Lugg Meadows. With the mild weather some birds had already started nesting and some Blackbirds were noted with fully fledged young. Mid-April temperatures reached 17.9°C and April closed the second warmest on record with temperatures reaching 22°C in S.E. England and drier than average.

The sightings of the first Swallows always cause some excitement but the bulk do not arrive until mid-April whereas their quieter cousins, the Sand Martins, are the true heralds of

spring. Some can arrive as early as mid-February, when there is even snow still around, but most arrive by mid-March. The smallest of our hirudines, it weighs no more than a Blue Tit, which makes one wonder how they have survived their journey so early in the year. Also, it would seem that insect food would be scarce when it is still cold but over ponds and rivers there are already enough gnats and flies to sustain these aerial feeders.

Soon after arrival they set about re-establishing their colony. Despite having only a weak bill and feet, they can excavate tunnels of up to 3ft. at a rate of 3-4 inches a day. Historically, they nested in riverbanks, sand banks or soft coastal cliffs. Our UK colonies are not large but many now nest in the hearts of towns and cities enticed by artificial nest sites in quarries, road and railway embankments and even in pipes jutting out of banks or other man-made structures. A few years ago H.O.C. (Herefordshire Ornithological Club) tried to make an artificial sand bank at Brockhall Gravel Pits, Stretton Sugwas, after gravel production ceased and the site was landscaped but it did not appeal to the Martins for long. Similarly in 2013, H.O.C. erected raised barrels filled with sand at Bartonsham in an attempt to persuade them to nest in these - with no luck. Again in 2014, the birds ignored them, three or four pairs now preferring to nest in the structure of the nearby railway bridge. However, a family of Great Tits did utilise them. Rather a luxury home in view of the time and expense incurred making these barrels!

The April temperatures augured well for nesting results as May continued with rising temperatures. Tit incubation appeared well under way. Flycatchers had arrived early and were building nests. However, as the month cooled, becoming cloudier and with renewed rainfall (72mm overall), some tits then delayed incubation as did a few Flycatchers and those birds with hatchlings spent more time brooding than foraging. The last week of May, especially around the Bank Holiday, was cool and very wet so many recently fledged young died from cold or starvation, or were abandoned by the adults who gave up the struggle. The improved weather in June came too late for those that had lost young but some late nesters did better, for example one Great Tit at Welsh Newton fledged five young successfully which finally left the nest on 21 June. In another at the same site one chick remained for a further ten days after the others had left – presumably still being fed by the parents! The overall results for 2014 for the Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme are as follows:

Results for last the last nine years:

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006
Sites recorded	23	26	26	26	29	30	29	33	30
Boxes available	731	741	805	820	818	939	961	943	983
Boxes used	414	453	478	521	510	508	519	639	578
% used	56.6	61.1	59.3	63.5	62.3	54.1	54.0	67.8	58.7

One site is no longer recorded being less productive in an orchard rather than oak woodland. Others lack a recorder for the time being. The take-up of the boxes available was lower than last year, despite the fact that the spring was not so cold.

Species Results for 2014 compared with 2013:

Species	Sites 2014/13	Nests 2014/13	Eggs 2014/13	Hatched 2014/13	Fledged 2014/13	% success 2014/13
Pied Flycatcher	10/14	85/135	462/773	376/637	299/563	64.7/72.8
Blue Tit	23/26	194/209	1535/1474	1247/1140	936/1019	60.9/68.0
Great Tit	22/26	140/98	896/719	749/579	639/489	71.3/60.3
Coal Tit	1/1	5/1	5/9	5/9	5/9	100.0 /100.0
Marsh Tit	0/1	0/1	0/5	0/4	0/4	0/62.5
Tit Species	3/0	6/0	49/0	31/0	15/0	30.6/0
Redstart	¾	5/7	26/43	18?/32	14?/31	53.8?/63.0
Nuthatch	5/5	13/11	78/70	66/56	55/30	70.5/81.5
Wren	1	2	9	3	Unclear	Unclear

Most species were off to a fairly good start but were subsequently affected by the weather later in May. Their food was also affected as invertebrate numbers dropped. Despite fewer sites taken up by Great Tits they had a more successful year than most. It was also another poor year for the Nuthatch which usually have 80-100% fledging results.

Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species for past four years.

Species	2014	2013	2012	2011
Pied Flycatcher	64.7%-10 sites	72.8%-14 sites	63.7% - 9 sites	65.2%-11 sites
Blue Tit	60.9%-23 sites	69.1%-26 sites	58.7%- 26 sites	68.0%-26 sites
Great Tit	71.3%-22 sites	68.0%-26 sites	67.3%- 26 sites	60.3%-26 sites
Marsh Tit	No sites	80.0% - 1 site	Failed – 1 site	62.5% - 1 site
Coal Tit	30.6% - 1 site	100% - 1 site	No record	100% - 1 site
Tit species	30.6% - 3 sites	No record	No record	No record
Nuthatch	70.5% - 5 sites	42.8% - 5 sites	56.8% - 9 sites	81.5% - 8 sites
Redstart	53.8% - 3 sites	72.1% - 4 sites	? - 3 sites	? - 3 sites
Wren	? - 1 site	? - 1 site	58.3% - 1 site	No record

Pied Flycatcher

The best sites for Flycatchers are unfortunately not within the reserves but those in more hilly areas such as Mary Knoll, Moccas Park, Shobden Hill, Aymestrey, Yatton Court and Whitney Court. It would be expected that the Doward reserves should provide suitable sites with good results but that has not proved so.

Males were heard calling and several nests started but not taken up which may imply fewer females available.

Pied Flycatcher only Results: [2001 – no recording due to Foot & Mouth restrictions.]

2000	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
2002	14 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
2003	14 sites	109 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
2004	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
2005	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success
2006	16 sites	88 nests	520 eggs	503 fledged	96.6% success
2007	12 sites	107 nests	636 eggs	263 fledged	41.4% success
2008	13 sites	81 nests	582 eggs	367 fledged	63.0% success
2009	13 sites	93 nests	525 eggs	353 fledged	67.2% success
2010	12 sites	82 nests	539 eggs	404 fledged	74.9% success
2011	11 sites	87 nests	543 eggs	354 fledged	65.2% success
2012	9 sites	75 nests	477 eggs	425 fledged	63.7% success
2013	14 sites	135 nests	773 eggs	563 fledged	72.8% success
2014	10 sites	85 nests	462 eggs	299 fledged	64.7% success

Average overall success rate over the 13 years has been 65.8%

As usual, our thanks go to the recorders who visit their rounds regularly during April, May and up to June to obtain results. Again, it was disheartening for them to find many broods eventually failed after a promising start. We also thank the few ringers who keep the detailed records which are fed into the B.T.O. A task requiring careful timing from mid-May onwards to both ring the young before leaving the nest and to check any previous ringed parents. It is always interesting to see how site-faithful many of these birds are and to note how parent partnership can vary slightly within individual sites.

Predation posed another difficulty this year and was repeatedly reported by recorders. With the previous mild winter and a good crop of berries and beech mast the mouse population remained high. At one site, the initial check of boxes in April revealed active mouse nests in several. Despite clearing these, usurpation and predation continued allowing only two successful Flycatcher nests on this part of the estate. The problem of mouse predation also occurred at another with the loss of all six eggs in one Great Tit nest, total egg loss in two Flycatcher nests and again in a Redstart nest. At another, predation occurred in four nests when the hatchlings were near fledging. Human interference with two nest boxes there did not help either. There were no reports of woodpecker damage attack this year.

The usual mouse species found in nest boxes is the Wood Mouse. The Dormouse can be found but normally outside the breeding season so is unlikely to cause any damage. Bird nest material in the boxes can be found turned upside down and re-moulded into a domed nest for the mouse. The bird's eggs get scattered and crushed but not always eaten. The suggestion has been made that the egg damage is coincidental to mouse nest-making rather than being regarded as food. The tit nests are more closely compressed with the moss and hair lining providing a firm felt which is too difficult to re-arrange whereas the loose bark and oak leaves in Flycatcher nests are less resistant so egg damage is greater.

Although the Nuthatch results were not as promising as usual they readily make use of nestboxes. With the use of these and milder winters combined with garden feeding they are

spreading further north in the country and for the first time since 1989 are breeding again in Scotland.

As a matter of interest, both the Herefordshire Nature Trust and its Nest Box Scheme have their roots in the Woolhope Club. In 1962 a Woolhope member, Dr. Charles Walker, with others set up the Trust – at first merged with Radnorshire. The logo adopted was the Pied Flycatcher, as one of the aims was to erect nest boxes in suitable oak woodlands and so encourage their use by tree-hole nesting birds, especially Pied Flycatchers, and so attract them to move eastward from Wales into Herefordshire. Over the years this movement has gradually taken place although some B.T.O. reports consider that it is now reverting.

The following year Dr. Walker supervised the construction of 60 nest boxes made by the pupils of Whitecross School. As this was before the Trust had any reserves of its own the boxes were set up in promising hilly woodlands such as Moccas, Mary Knoll, and Shobden. At first the volunteer recorders were H.O.C. members who had joined the new Trust and had the necessary expertise. Later, as reserves were acquired other volunteers came forward. Therefore, some of those early woodlands have both long-term records and often equally long-term recorders, some of whom have been recording and ringing for 40 years or more and to whom we are very grateful for their dedication.

June had temperatures in the upper 20°C range all month with little cloud or rain. July continued with 21 July the hottest day of the year reaching 29°–31°C in the south and west of the country, which gave rise to many lightning storms. However, our summer ceased in August with lower than average temperatures for the month and registering the coolest since 1993.

It has been calculated that House Martins, which return by April, then take ten days moulding thousands of mud pellets to form and attach a nest to its support and then line it with feathers caught in mid-air. Four to five eggs are laid and incubated for fifteen days after which the young are fed for another twenty or so days prior to leaving the nest. To feed them during that time the adults will have caught some 40,000 insects on the wing. With the later warm and mostly dry summer of 2014, two broods at least were raised in many areas. Despite this calculated knowledge, it is not known why they are declining in numbers. During the last twenty-five years 65% have been lost in England, mostly in the south-east, but faring better in Scotland and Northern Ireland. The B.T.O. is consequently attempting a systematic survey of House Martin numbers here and in their winter habitat during 2015 in an attempt to provide some key information.

All birds have very mobile heads, partly to aid flight, feeding and preening and partly to compensate for the fact that their eyes are fixed in their sockets so they cannot glance around. They have 11-25 neck vertebrae compared with the seven in most mammals. Owls take this flexibility to extremes. They can also rotate their heads through 270 ° and twist them nearly upside down. To prevent such movement bursting blood vessels or cutting off the blood supply to the brain, the arteries in the owl's neck sit inside a tube within the hollow bones and are further cushioned by air sacs. Other arteries at the base of the skull can dilate to store blood so if the flow is interrupted lower down there is still a reserve supply to the brain. This is obviously a great aid to nocturnal hunting when they are twisting their heads to detect the slightest sounds of their prey. On a good night an owl can catch four to five voles, mice or shrews and a breeding pair can make 5,000 kills a year. The richest feeding grounds are habitats of tussocky, unimproved grassland where Barn Owls in particular can be seen hunting by both day and night with their apparently effortless slow wing beats gliding and hovering over the grass. In reality, it is an energetic hunting technique which requires first launching from a perch.

Barn Owl populations especially were at a low ebb after the deluges of 2012 and 2013 combined with the cold winter of 2013. However, with the rise of small mammal numbers last year, reports countrywide indicate that they were able to successfully raise more than one brood and with full 'quotas' of young fledging each time. One B.T.O. observer photographed very unusual behaviour among a brood of six young in Lancashire. This was the second brood and while the parents were off hunting the oldest of the young took flight and returned with a vole which it then offered to its eager siblings! Their more usual behaviour is to pick on, and sometimes kill, their weaker siblings rather than offer aid!

Red Kites are thriving in much of the U.K. They are one of our greatest conservation successes. In 1989 five Red Kite chicks from Sweden were released in the Chilterns in the hope of augmenting the only population still clinging on in a small stagnant population in mid-Wales. There was no prospect of releasing them in suitable habitats elsewhere due to continued egg-collecting and poisoning. Twenty-five years later it is no longer possible to count the Chiltern population of perhaps 1,000 pairs.

No other species of bird is so well adapted to scavenging. It is exceptionally light in weight with long wings and tail enabling it to spend hours at a time airborne on the look out for carrion – it is said that it can locate an earthworm on the ground from 10 metres above! They also keep watch on other kites and are quick to follow any that drop to the ground – they are Britain's vultures.

In the two decades since, ten other release sites were set up across Britain and Northern Ireland. Some of these offspring spilled into Wales giving the native Red Kites a genetic boost and enabling them also to spread. Today there are now about 1,000 pairs in Wales. Numbers have not risen so highly in the hills of Yorkshire, northern England and Ireland or the uplands of Scotland where they are still shot or poisoned to protect game birds. Nevertheless, it is considered that, at the present rate of expansion, Britain's population in twenty years may overtake the declining population of some 20,000 pairs within their world range of the Iberian Peninsula to the Caspian Sea and north to Scandinavia.

Depressingly, the hope that the slaughter of migrant birds crossing the Mediterranean island sites was becoming less can no longer be held. Numbers continue to decline. Cuckoos and Turtle Doves, once common are now becoming rarities, Swifts, Bee Eaters, Marsh and Montague Harriers and Honey Buzzards among many others are caught in mist nests for food, or shot for sport when in flight or roosting. For millennia migrant birds stop at these islands to rest and feed but breaches of the E.U. Birds Directive continue each year. Malta has the worst reputation with the efforts of Bird Life Malta (B.L.M.) having little effect on banning spring hunting as the hunting fraternity have powerful influences. Each year in April up to 800 hunters can legally kill Turtle Doves and Quail within quotas, which still amounts to thousands, at a time when both are in decline across Europe

It is not confined to Malta alone. In the Iberian Peninsula it has been estimated that 1.2 million Turtle Doves are shot legally each autumn. In Cyprus—specifically, the Sovereign Base Area i.e. British soil!—avenues of acacia are planted to hold mist nets to illegally trap small songbirds for Cypriot restaurants. Again, it is estimated that some 500,000 are caught each year. The situation will not improve to allow the return of many migrants northward until the E.U. Birds Directive is taken seriously and enforced. Despite B.L.M. recording numerous breaches of regulations the European Commission (E.C.) have never acted on the findings. In April, 2014, it was reported that a referendum is to be held in Malta in the next twelve months as to whether the bird hunting season should be banned. A petition was organised that required 10% of the

Maltese electorate to request such a referendum – this has been achieved. But the Maltese Government and the E.C. are both unwilling to act so this may go no further!

Autumn migration begins slowly. Swifts, Cuckoos and Nightingales begin moving southward by late July. Then it becomes more apparent as hedgerows and gardens fill up with small insectivorous birds no longer disputing territory but perpetually feeding in preparation for their journey—some doubling their weight. As well as the normal insect food, summer fruits and berries also become part of their diet. Some individuals are migrating only one month after fledging. Although the birds appear to be grouping this not a sign of co-operation they are merely individuals heading in the same direction. As the movement become nationwide, so the unexpected can occur with birds normally found further north and in Scotland now seen busily feeding locally. Early morning is the best time for smaller birds while later in the day is a good time for raptors once thermals become established

The modern tiny tracking devices that can be fitted without causing discomfort have enabled researchers to discover the variation in migrant routes taken by many birds. Some giving unexpected results – as mentioned previously with various Cuckoo journeys. One recent very surprising result was that of the Red-necked Phalarope (admittedly well outside our Herefordshire range!). A tiny wader, similar in size to the Skylark, it is one of the U.K.'s rarest birds, with only 15-45 breeding males in Shetland and the Western Isles. It was believed that the Scottish birds wintered in the Middle East or India with their European cousins. However, the tiny geolocator revealed that instead of heading in that direction the bird had migrated 16,000 miles west across the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean before returning to Fetlar. Its route had been via Iceland, Greenland, south down the eastern seaboard of the U.S. across Mexico and the Caribbean ending up off the coast of Ecuador and Peru. After wintering in the Pacific it returned via the same route!

Such a westward movement into the prevailing weather of autumn and in the opposite direction of most migrants leaving Britain was totally unexpected. It seems that the British Phalaropes are not an offshoot population from Scandinavia but from the N. American population. To add further as to their unusual behaviour, they have role reversal with the dowdier males incubating the eggs and rearing the young with no help from the brighter red-necked female. They are also known for their bizarre spinning feeding action on the surface of the water so creating currents to raise food.

September showed an improvement in the weather with sunshine and temperatures in the lower 20°s. Rainfall was lower than average *c.* 22mm giving one of driest September averages. October continued mild with temperatures in the upper teens and closed at 24°C. November and December were also mild but strong gales began to come in from the north and west triggered by the Gonzalo hurricane in the Caribbean in late October.

The effects of these strong winds in October helped geese from Greenland and Iceland to arrive early but held back European migrants. Redwing only reached the U.K. by late October and also the millions of European starlings. Influxes of Waxwing occur when food, especially fruits, are in short supply. The last sizeable influxes to the U.K. were 2008, 2009 and 2012, early signs show that this winter may also have above average numbers. There were sightings of a few Bewick Swans last December amid flocks of Mutes and Whooper Swans on the Wye at Letton and again in November-December this year, perhaps en route to Slimbridge where several thousand now over-winter. The Bewick is the least common of the three swans with a summer habitat further north-east than the Whooper. The smaller area of yellow on their bill distinguishes them from the larger and longer-necked Whooper. It is a sub-species of the Tundra Swan which

breeds around the Arctic. Only those of the Eurasian breeding population that migrate to westward to Europe for the winter are known as Bewick Swans while the others head for Japan, China and Korea.

In September each Bewick family, led by the adult male, heads along Russia's northern coast then south-west towards fuelling stops in the Gulf of Finland and Estonia's lakes, tracking the southern Baltic shorelines to the Netherlands where many over-winter. Others, especially in severe winters, continue to Britain and a few to Ireland. On migration they can fly up to 1,450 km before stopping to feed. The return migration beginning in February-March is this time led by adult females, broken en route at similar wetlands before reaching the Siberian tundra. The swan parents migrate with their cygnets teaching them the route remaining together through their first winter and often in family groups for some years. They are comparatively long lived – up to 25 years. The more experienced a pair is and the longer they have been partners the more young they are likely to rear.

They are creatures of habit and faithful to their winter locations with up to 90% of the European winter population concentrated at fewer than 15 sites, mostly in the Netherlands and England. As so many have been wintering at Slimbridge since the 1960s, long-term studies have been made of individual life histories and behaviour. To date there have been only two 'divorces' among more than 4,000 pairs observed, probably due to breeding failure.

For the first thirty years numbers grew strongly peaking at 29,000 in the mid 1990s since when the numbers have fallen by one-third with fewer swans returning with their previous year's cygnets, adult survival numbers down and smaller broods. Confirming the cause for this decline is difficult. W.W.T. researchers suspect changes in food supply on the tundra. There are also threats en route through collision with wind turbines and power lines, illegal hunting and lead poisoning from swallowed lead pellets. 36% of Bewicks caught and X-rayed at Slimbridge contained lead shot in their bodies. There is now to be a Europe-wide action plan aiming to minimise the threat to the Bewicks.

Earlier in the year, H.O.C. members reported that what appeared to be a Red-legged Partridge seen in May at Fownhope was not. Photographs showed it to be a Chukar with quite different plumage and not red-legged. A native of Pakistan, some were introduced as game birds between 1970-1992 when the practice became outlawed as it could give genetic pollution to the Red-Legged population in the U.K. The origin of the Fownhope Chukar is unknown, probably deriving from past stock of imported game birds. As it is listed under Schedule 9 of the Wildlife and Countryside Act of 1981 it is an offence to release or allow the escape of the species into the wild. Therefore, any seen need to be reported.

Other sightings recorded by H.O.C. members were of various unusual singles of water birds such as a Black-tailed Godwit, Ruff, Arctic Tern, Little Stint and Purple Heron—all further west than normal. Both the Little Stint and the smaller Purple Heron are rare migrants. Also two Avocets at Brockhall – normally a coastal bird, this is the first sighting for some years. In addition, Red Kite were frequently seen with sporadic sightings of Goshawk, Hobby and Osprey and three reports of Hen Harriers. The latter appear irregularly in winter. The Goshawk looks like a Sparrow Hawk but is much larger with broad wings allowing it to hunt amid extensive woodlands.

Peregrines were regularly seen in the city centre on All Saint's Church or the Cathedral making use of high vantage points. A Black Redstart has been noted regularly at the Cathedral. Unlike the Redstart it will perch in exposed conditions rather than seeking cover. Photos show that there have been two individuals as the 'wear and tear' of feathers on the one distinguishes it

from the other.

One of the most notable sightings was a Bluethroat seen at Wellington Gravel Pits on 12 April. Smaller than other thrushes it is distinguishable, as the name implies, by the marked blue patch on the male. It is a rare passage migrant, again further west than normal and a first for the county.

The year closed with a mild December having an average temperature of 10.9 °C but with the wettest annual winter on record and the first four months warmer than average. The annual total rainfall of 808.1mm. was recorded by the Credenhill weather station with 242 days of rain. Being more central and further from the hills to the west, Credenhill tends to give slightly lower rainfall readings than elsewhere.

Weather Statistics, 2014

By ERIC WARD

<i>Month</i>	<i>Max. temp. shade °C</i>	<i>Min. temp. shade °C</i>	<i>Nights frost air/ground</i>		<i>Rainfall mm.</i>	<i>Max. rainfall in 1 day mm.</i>	<i>Days with rainfall</i>
January	11.0	-5.0	6	5	197	28.0 (1st)	29
February	13.0	-1.0	1	2	154	20.0 (14th)	27
March	18.0	-2.0	1	4	31	10.0 (2nd)	14
April	19.0	3.0	0	4	47	9.0 (25th)	14
May	25.0	1.0			133	22.0 (23rd)	16
June	26.0	11.0			79	32.0 (4th)	8
July	28.0	11.0			44	16.0 (18th)	8
August	25.0	8.0			112	20.0 (9th)	18
September	23.0	6.0			24	19.0 (18th)	7 (est.)
October	20.0	0.0			114	26.0 (13th)	24
November	19.0	-7.0	3	5	119	15.0 (26th)	22
December	14.0	-5.0	11	8	47	15.0 (11th)	12
Total			22	28	1101		200

Highest day temperature: 28.0°C 12th, 22nd, 25th and 26th July
 Lowest night temperature: -7.0°C 23rd, 26th November

Weather Summary 2005 to 2014

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total rainfall year mm.</i>	<i>Wettest day mm</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Days with rain</i>	<i>Highest temp. deg C</i>	<i>Lowest temp.deg.C</i>	<i>Days air frost</i>
2005	656	40	Jul. 24	156	31.0	- 5.5	17
2006	759	30	Aug.17	172	35.0	- 4.0	27
2007	940	103	Jul. 20	184	28.0	-6.0	22
2008	982	50	Mar.15	191	29.5	-6.0	32
2009	870	46	Jan. 5	176	30.0	-6.5	42
2010	670	47	Aug.25	167	29.5	-11.2	63
2011	557	26	Jun. 22	165	30.5	-6.3	20
2012	1142.6	59	Sep. 23	198	28.0	-5.5	33
2013	783	28	Dec. 23	157	29.0	-5.0	55
2014	1101	28	Jan. 1	200	28.0	-7.0	22

Recorded by E.H. Ward at Woodpeckers, Much Marcle.

Book Reviews, 2014

By JANET COOPER, BERYL HARDING, JOE HILLABY,
ROSALIND LOWE, DAVID WHITEHEAD

The Birds of Herefordshire 2007-2012, an atlas of their breeding and wintering distributions, Mervyn Davies, Peter Eldridge, Chris Robinson, Nick Smith and Gerald Wells (eds) (Liverpool University Press, 2014), 480 pp.

This excellent book is certainly not one for the field (weighing in at 2.3kg/4lb) but its pages are packed with information, printed on high gloss A4 paper with a profusion of high quality colour illustrations and charts. It closely follows the format already established by Bird Atlases published elsewhere in the U.K. The book covers 215 bird species and is the first-ever systematic assessment of the breeding, winter distribution and relative abundance of the bird species of the county.

In March 2004, a small steering group was set up within Herefordshire Ornithological Club (H.O.C.) to consider the possibility of creating the first full county Bird Atlas. Past knowledge of the county's bird populations have been largely confined to general papers by Dr. H. G. Bull and Hutchinson's (*Herefordshire Birds, 1899*) in the 19th century which gave an insight into the earlier historical status of the county's species. There were also those of Gilbert & Walker (*Herefordshire Birds, 1954*) and Walker & Smith (*Herefordshire Birds, 1975*) both Woolhope Club productions. In addition, there have been the Annual Reports of H.O.C from 1950 to the present which give more up-to-date information but none give the detailed statistical information produced in this volume.

Observations, to gather all the required data, took place over a five-year period commencing 1 November 2007 until 31 October 2012. To maintain consistency the winter survey period was defined as 1 November–28/29 February and the breeding survey period as 1 April–31 July as in previous bird atlases. Volunteer H.O.C. members were recruited to submit records within specific tetrads—each tetrad is a square area with 2km side length. Recording surveys entailed two visits in the summer and two in the winter every year, each of a two-hour period, and covering as much ground as possible within a specific tetrad. 348 surveyors recorded within the 545 tetrads submitting their results. In addition, other birders also gave general sightings directly into the H.O.C. database. Over 200,000 records were produced and all this material needed verification and consolidation with existing H.O.C. data before publication in 2014. A truly marathon effort.

The first chapter deals with the landscape and habitats of Herefordshire with maps and beautiful aerial photos. The second summarises key weather events year by year from 2007-2012 that may have impacted on birds during the period. The third chapter summarises the survey, mapping methods and data analysis within the 5-year period with the fourth chapter giving an overview of these results; and in relation to decline or scarcity of species as noted in the national 'Birds of Conservation Concern' data, i.e. Red listed or Amber etc. Of the total 215 species recorded there were 193 and 144 species present in the summer and winter respectively. Various tetrads were more species-rich than others with the flooded Wellington and Brockhall Gravel Pits being top – which is not surprising as they include wetland birds in addition to others. Many rarities were found in these two.

These four chapters cover 50 pages leaving around 300 for the individual species results. There is a double-page spread for each major species and a single page for the less common. Each bird has a description of its appearance, habitat, its food, and its relative distribution and population trends within the county. For breeding birds their preferred nest sites and nesting behaviour are also described in full. Each species account concludes with a coloured abundance table in relation to its scarcity or otherwise, and outline maps of the county showing its summer abundance, winter abundance and breeding status. The descriptions are accompanied by beautiful high-quality photographs taken by H.O.C. members, or by charming line-drawings by Gerald Parker—each of which captures the bird's essential essence.

At the top of many pages is an interesting titbit of information, for example for the Red-legged Partridge—'They commonly lay two clutches, each of eleven eggs, one of which is incubated by the male, and the other by the female.' Or for the Lesser Whitethroat—'The species is unique amongst British birds in that it migrates round the eastern side of the Mediterranean, rather than by the more direct route through Gibraltar.'

The species accounts close with details of minor and rare species, escapees and hybrids—followed by 51 pages of appendices many of which give rapid ready-reference to previous status information.

The book is a pleasure to dip into as well as a source of information for so many birds. It will provide the base-line for future population studies and comparisons for years to come. My only reservation is that it does not give the family name of each bird. It is always a slight surprise to find how apparently differing birds are in fact part of the same group.

There is a copy in the Woolhope Library generously donated by the editors.

Beryl Harding

***Dinedor and Rotherwas Explored*, Dinedor Heritage Group (Logaston Press. 2014), 208 pp.**

This book, a collection of articles or papers on aspects of the history of Dinedor parish, is the culmination of the initial phase of the Dinedor Heritage Group's project to learn about their parish, and the fruit of some seven years work. The papers range from a substantial essay by Chris Atkinson on 'Landscape Change in Dinedor' to brief, but well illustrated, notes by Ros Morris on 'The Bishop Family' and by Val Cleland on 'Life at Glebe Farm'. Two of them, Heather Hurley's 'Trade and the River Wye at Dinedor' and Norma Forrest's 'Garden Cottage', have previously been published elsewhere.

It is encouraging to see a local group achieving publication so quickly, but this book bears all the marks of having been produced in too much haste. It also suffers from the lack of a strong editorial hand. Many errors have survived the publication process which should have been picked up when the text was in draft, or at the latest in proof. Most glaringly, the chapter numbering in the end notes is out by one digit from Chapter 10 (wrongly numbered 9) onwards. Other errors include two end notes appearing for Chapter 2 without corresponding numbers in the text. Footnote 30 to Chapter 3 reads *ibid*, but the information on 18th-century agriculture cannot have come from Harnden's transcript of the 1665 Hearth Tax (which is a typescript in Herefordshire Record Office, not a published book as implied by the use of italic type for the title). The page number given for the Dinedor Poll Tax figures is wrong; the 1379 figures come from p. 363, the 1381 figures from pp. 380 and 381. The reference given for the Tithe Award in note 25 is a National Archives one, although there is a microfilm in the Herefordshire Record Office. The

two footnotes to Chapter 10 provide publication details for books but lack page numbers. Unfortunately the list could be extended.

Other chapters are woefully short of references. Chapter 4 on 'Rotherwas House' includes quotes from James I and the antiquary Thomas Blount, as well as several descriptions of the 18th- and 19th-century house, but no source is given for any of the information. There is no indication as to where the paintings discussed in Chapter 9, or the information given about them, are to be found. The long and detailed Chapter 13 on the munitions factory has no end notes at all.

It is a pity, too, that the book was finished during the period of the Hereford Record Office's closure. Chapter 6 on St. Andrew's Church and Chapter 16 on the school, in particular, would have benefited from greater use of documents held in the Record Office. Chapter 6 is heavily dependent on the church guide; it is not possible at the time of writing to check the complete list of parish and diocesan records available in the Record Office, but surely one of them might have identified TEB and JEB of 1929? More information about some of the incumbents might also have been found, both in the Record Office, where there are a series of licences to reside at Mordiford issued to the Revd Charles John Bird between 1816 and 1837, and in Hereford Cathedral Library. For the school, the Record Office has at least one record, a log book for the years 1940 to 1951. The parish records might also provide more information about those commemorated by the early tombstones described in Chapter 7. The Record Office holds extensive papers relating to the Rotherwas estate and the Bodenham family which might have been used for several chapters. The interesting analysis of occupations recorded in the printed trade directories in Chapter 11 would have benefited from a comparison with the detailed material available in the census enumerators' books, available both on microfilm in the Record Office and online through the National Archives website.

Some of the chapters dealing with the period before 1900 would have benefited from some expert advice. Domesday Book is a notoriously difficult source, and it is not surprising that in Chapter 3 there is some confusion between Dinedor Hundred (an administrative unit made up of several manors), and the manor of Dinedor. The king's woodland mentioned on p. 21 was not in Dinedor manor but in another estate in the hundred, Barton, which probably lay across the river in Hereford. The discussion of parliamentary enclosure on p. 29 is irrelevant to Dinedor where, as in many other Herefordshire parishes, there was no major parliamentary enclosure. Early church history is another complex subject. The major period of church building in England seems to have been the 11th and 12th centuries, and the building was done by local landowners, not by the king as suggested on p. 50. The story of the incumbents is complicated by the tendency for two or more livings to be held in plurality by a single priest. That is clearly what happened in Dinedor: Matthew Turner served both Holme Lacy (where he was vicar) and Dinedor (where he was parson or rector); Charles Bird served both Dinedor and Mordiford as rector.

The book is well produced with numerous illustrations, mainly from old photographs, which add greatly to its value. It is most encouraging to see good and comprehensive indexes, something which is all too often lacking in local, and indeed other, history books. Perhaps the most valuable parts of the book are the sections drawing on oral history. Mike Price's article on Dinedor School makes particularly good use of this material. The accounts of The White House, Life in Dinedor in the 1950s, Glebe Farm, Camp Dairy, and Watery Lane Farm also record people's memories of the 20th century. It is important to record these memories before they disappear, and the members of the Dinedor Heritage Group have made a good start on that.

Janet Cooper

A History of Edvin Loach, Allan Wyatt (Bromyard and District Local History Society, 2014), 430 pp. Allan Wyatt's parish history is the 20th volume to be published by the Bromyard and District Local History Society (BDLHS). It is an important book in many respects, and as a model for other parish histories it cannot be bettered. However, it is very long being some 430 pages of main text, devoted to a small parish of 535 acres, which only contained an average of 10-12 resident families. If Mr. Wyatt had chosen the City of Hereford as his subject he would have needed a million or so pages to complete it. Thus, it might be said that in the hands of an aspiring parish historian, this is an intimidating book and a difficult act to follow.

The strength—and length—of the book lies in Mr. Wyatt's compulsive desire to seek out and pursue every loose end in the history of Edvin Loach. Whereas lesser mortals would have accepted the inevitable dead-ends, which come with any historical research, this author has been especially diligent in following up tantalising leads. One of these brought him to shed in Cornwall where he discovered the lost Saltmarshes Castle archive. On another occasion a conversation with a friend, working in the Essex Record Office brought to light a collection of documents relating to the Christ's Hospital estate in Edvin Loach and in a similar manner a bequest in a will of 1669 took him to Wolverhampton to locate another cache of documents relating to the town's Blue Coat School. All this, plus a painstaking search of the metropolitan repositories, considerably enriches this parish history. Moreover, Edvin Loach, until recently was in Worcestershire, which meant that the basic historical groundwork had been covered by the Victoria County History, a long standing county record society and a handful of useful historians like Habington, Treadway Nash and Prattinton. Other members of the BDHS never had it so good—but it also gave Mr. Wyatt another mystery to solve. Why was Edvin Loach in Worcestershire? The answer is in the first 69 pages of the book!

A further strength of the book, which again leads to greater length, is the author's determination to give some context to his hard-won research. Thus, this is not just a monograph on a single parish but is also the first chapters, at least, of the histories of the adjoining parishes. But context is also about meaning and Mr. Wyatt acknowledges at the beginning of the book that the late 20th century was a golden age of adult education and his attendance at a multiplicity of Birmingham University Extra Mural classes sharpened his perception of the general drift of English social and economic history. This is well reflected in his bibliography and comprehensive referencing system. He has read and absorbed many up-to-date and seminal texts giving him the background against which he can set his parish history. It also gives him a framework and agenda, so that a coherent story evolves out of his fragments. He admits this encourages conjecture to fill the gaps.

Mr. Wyatt is definitely a disciple of the Birmingham School of medieval history and consequently, his sympathies lie with the small peasant farmers who flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries but were in painful decline thereafter. The arrival of the great estate in the shape of Saltmarshes Castle in the 19th century, does not herald a golden age of paternalism in this book and in 1851 95% of the adult males of Edvin Loach are agricultural labourers. For the old and infirm members of their families the Bromyard Work House beckoned.

But this is the stuff of real history, which helps the reader with no particular interest in Edvin Loach to get through some of the dense chapters on the descent of the manor, which seems to be a particularly complex issue in this parish. Nevertheless, Mr. Wyatt recognises when his readers are struggling and comes to the rescue with a useful summary of the argument so far. There are excellent maps, plenty of photographs and lavish appendices including one on national

and local population, which should be essential reading for every budding local historian. This is an excellent book to mark an important landmark in the unstoppable progress of the BDLHS. Moreover, the author's frequent references to the work of the other Bromyard authors who had come before will make the other nineteen books better known.

David Whitehead

Goodrich Castle - its history & buildings, Ron Shoesmith and others (Logaston Press, 2014), 240 pp.

In reviewing this book I must declare an interest. Firstly, as I have been researching the history of the manor of Goodrich for a number of years I was asked to check some of the text. Secondly, I live in the house belonging to Richard Tyler, the unfortunate manorial official in charge of Goodrich during the Civil War, who figures in that part of the story. As I have examined his life in some detail it is unsurprising that sometimes I should differ from the authors in their interpretation of the documentary evidence.

Mention is made in the introduction that the first proposal for a book on the castle was made to English Heritage in 1989, but not that much of the survey work was done before 1994 by the City of Hereford Archaeological Unit and that some text had been written before 1998. The original aim seems to have been to publish the results of the detailed survey and an analysis of the surviving fabric. More work was done between 1999 and 2002 but publication was put on hold until 2012, when funding was finally found—but not for the original style. Instead, the academic content was reduced and some more ‘popular’ material introduced.

This decision was a little curious, because in 2005 English Heritage had published an excellent 48-page visitors’ guidebook, with fold-out plans, sectional drawings and many colour illustrations. The history of the castle and the surroundings were also covered. The guidebook would seem to have fulfilled the popular need and a more academic volume would have been welcome.

The new brief caused the omission of some of the detailed previous recording. The necessary late alterations probably meant that little time was available for revisiting the historical research, though more material has become available in the intervening years. In places there is a reliance on printed information which may be of doubtful validity. Having said all this, part publication is better than none.

The book is divided into four parts: **1** The Goodrich area; **2** The historical background; **3** The buildings; **4** The finds and life at the castle.

Part 1 is a short and episodic account of the area from prehistory onwards by different authors, some of which is still contentious. Early post-Norman Goodrich is mentioned with no explanation that in that context it is the large and wealthy manor of *Goderichescastel*, which included the parishes of Whitchurch, Ganarew and parts of Llangarren and Llanrothal. Later ‘Goodrich’ becomes without comment the ecclesiastical parish; potted histories of some (but not all) of the older buildings are given.

Part 2 recounts the history of the ownership of the manor, and of the castle before and after it was taken in guardianship by the Ministry of Works. (In theory, the current lady of the manor still owns it). The effect of major events, particularly in the 17th century, are detailed.

Part 3 is the strongest section, giving a detailed analysis of the various changes to the layout and fabric of the castle. This is original work, which makes it all the more annoying that similar material must have been excised in the interests of popularisation.

Part 4 has two disparate chapters: the first on the medieval household at Goodrich, the second on the ‘detritus of war’, i.e. finds mostly associated with warfare.

There are three pages in the visitors' guidebook on medieval life in Goodrich, and twelve detailed pages in *The Great Household...* by Christopher Woolgar (1999 - not referenced here). Both draw on the accounts of Countess Joan de Valence, as does this book - was this yet another 'popular' inclusion?

The second part, on items found in the excavation of rubble in the castle, is interesting and a useful summary, although more could have been made of historical records of finds, however untrustworthy. In summary, this book must be valued for the publication in Part 3 of the careful recording and analysis of the changes to the fabric of the castle. Interested visitors can walk around with book in hand and understand what they see.

Rosalind Lowe

***The Hidden History of Ewyas Lacy in Herefordshire*, Priscilla Flower-Smith (Logaston Press, 2013), 224 pp.**

This study of the ten parishes of the hundred of Ewyas Lacy is based on probate records for the years 1547 to 1858, now held at the National Library of Wales. Microfilm copies of 721 wills and 719 inventories were obtained by the Longtown and District Historical Society with financial assistance from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This was particularly fortunate, for Ewyas Lacy and Ewyas Harold were part of the diocese of St David's from the 11th century until 1852. The river Dore formed the boundary between the dioceses of Hereford and St David's until 1852. The Ewyas probate records were under the control of the Archdeacon's Court at Brecon until the mid 19th century. As the author points out, 'in Hereford diocese inventories, required from the early 16th century, only survived until 1771'; Ewyas Lacy's 61 transcribed English inventories for the 19th century are 'a unique survival.'

Priscilla Flower-Smith's careful and detached analysis of the probate records enables her to explore a wide range of subject matter between 1547 and 1858—almost 90 years longer than is possible for places in English dioceses. Nevertheless, one hopes that her book will persuade others engaged on parochial studies in this county of the benefits to be obtained from the close examination of wills and inventories.

A chapter on land ownership provides a sound introduction to her discussion of the nature of agriculture in Ewyas Lacy. This commences with a consideration of the relative merits of cattle and sheep production in different eras and different localities in the hundred. Factors affecting grain production were not only the perennial problems of weather but also, as our author explains, external factors. In the years between 1750 and 1850 cereal and livestock production more than doubled, and during the Napoleonic wars the serious decline in wheat imports led to an increasing reliance on potatoes.

Given the presumed dominance of agriculture in the economy of Ewyas Lacy, it is interesting to note the significant role industry played in the period under scrutiny. This was related to the harvesting of the rich resources of water power in the area, that is the river Monnow and its tributaries, the Esley, Olchon and Dulas brooks, and the Dore. For Ewyas Lacy there are two quite different sources for water-mills. Probate records often provide personal details of the miller, his family and a clear indication of the mill types, that is grain, cloth, tuck or fulling, together with location. In *Water Mills of the Monnow and Trothy and their Tributaries* (1978) archaeologists Coates and Tucker describe a wide range of mill sites and buildings. These they categorise as 'site with no remains', 'in ruins', 'much altered', 'intact' and 'with equipment.'

Milling served the principal branches of Ewyas Lacy's agriculture—wool and grain. There is firm evidence of mills here in the early 13th century. Walter II de Lacy's son, Gilbert, founded 'a fulling mill at Ewyas', probably near the castle at Longtown, c.1216. This, together with the, now scheduled, 13th-century mill at Craswall Priory with its 'great lake...formed for providing fish', may well explain both the early development of milling in the hundred and the large numbers and varied types of mills referred to in the probate records. Grist or grain mills are well recorded including those at Llanveynoe, in the Olchon valley, and Clodock mill on the Monnow, 'skilfully renovated to produce flour once again', as our author points out and illustrates. The impact of these water-mills on the economy of what was, for the most part, an upland area must have been profound.

Turning to 'Women, Wives and Widows', as Priscilla Flower-Smith explains, for 'the whole period under discussion...women were immensely disadvantaged...entirely controlled by male members of the family...Legally they seemed little more than slaves.' Only with Ewart Gladstone's Married Women's Property Acts of 1882 and 1893 were wives granted the same rights over every kind of property as unmarried women, and only in 1891 did the Court of Appeal rule that a husband could not legally detain his wife within his house. Ewyas Lacy probate records of widows and spinsters show women playing an active role in their respective communities. Many built up an income from spinning and weaving. However in not a few cases a widow's receipt of the family property and money was dependent on their not remarrying. Wives 'abandoned by their husbands...could be left destitute...[and] end up in the workhouse.'

The final chapters discuss the role of the established church and dissent within the hundred. As one would anticipate, the early Baptist meetings owed much to proximity to Wales. At Olchon there were close links with the Capel y ffin meeting where the small chapel still has a wall plaque commemorating the chapel's foundation by the Prosser brothers in 1737.

Priscilla Flower-Smith's *Hidden History* is a remarkable volume which should be of great interest to all working on the history of their own parish or locality. Congratulations should also go to the Longtown & District History Society for its active role in this research programme by obtaining copies of Ewyas Lacy's probate records from the National Library of Wales, thus greatly facilitating the writing of this book. One is saddened, however, to read that 'after a few happy years at Llanveynoe, illness struck and they were forced to move to Somerset, to be near their two sons.'

Joe Hillaby

The Monks of Saint Pancras: Lewes Priory, England's Premier Cluniac Monastery and its Dependencies 1076-153, Graham Mayhew (Lewes History Press, 2013), 484 pp.

The ruins of England's most important Cluniac monastery lie divided by a railway line, to the south of the town of Lewes in Sussex. A substantial book on Lewes Priory may seem to be of only a passing interest for an antiquarian in Herefordshire unless one knows that Clifford Priory, now a remote farmstead near Hay-on-Wye, was one of the eight dependent monasteries of Lewes. William the Conqueror had hoped that the reformed monastery at Cluny, in the forests of Burgundy, would help revitalise the Old English church but its abbot, Hugh, was reluctant to risk the lives of his monks in a still distracted country. However, in more settled times, during the reign of William's youngest son, Henry I, thirteen Cluniac monasteries were founded including Clifford in 1229. The patron was Simon fitz Richard fitz Ponz, the lord of Clifford Castle.

Graham Mayhew has gathered together many of the stray references to Clifford, which without the survival of a cartulary, is the best that can be expected. Clifford was closely managed from Lewes with many of its monks and priors coming from the mother house. It never seems to have attracted widespread support from the border nobility and the author suggests that Dore Abbey (f. 1147) sucked-up most of the available patronage. Its annual income remained very stable at around £60, mostly from local lands and churches. In the high Middle Ages it was engaged in sheep farming and had contacts—sometimes troublesome—with London wool merchants.

There were generally between 8-11 monks in residence and in the late 13th century it was regarded as an exemplary institution. Even at the Dissolution it still had three monks and a prior. In the late Middle Ages it was regularly ‘despoiled’ by ‘hostile incursions’ (assumed to be Welsh) and successfully secured immunity from clerical aids. There were at least two phases of rebuilding and today the 14th-century prior’s lodgings are embedded in the later farmhouse. Watkins in *Duncumb* (1897) says the priory church survived until 1670.

The majority of this book—nearly 500 pages long and beautifully produced—charts the history of the Cluniac order in England and thus, fills a significant gap in the history of English monasticism.

David Whitehead

***The Singular Stipperstones: Landscape, reminiscence, literature and wildlife*, Tom Wall (published by the author at 18 Kempton, Lydbury North, Shropshire, SY7 0JG, 2014), 288 pp.**

This is a rather different book...it is not a typical piece of local history, nor is it another regional natural history book. The thread that pulls it all together is oral history and creative writing. Tom Wall is an excellent guide to the Stipperstones, having been its first warden on becoming a nature reserve in 1982. He apologises for taking ten years to complete the book but this has been an advantage, allowing him to filter a great deal of information and deploy it in a reflective manner.

The book is well structured and like all good histories progresses towards a crucial moment—the present—at which time the celebrity status of this small piece of countryside means that it attracts around 30,000 visitors a year and is still rising. Geology comes first and a description of the ‘rugged cyclopean ruins’—so named by Sir Roderick Murchison—which dominate the landscape. Mines and miners follow, and here we first encounter some telling reminiscences and oral history all leavened in the author’s hand to make a serious but human story. He also digs deeply into the work of earlier writers, many of them literary ladies, stimulated by the landscape to write romances and *belles-lettres*.

The Stipperstones were made famous in the early 20th century by Mary Webb (1881-1927) who set three of her novels in the still industrial, but undiscovered countryside. The author admires Webb’s knowledge of country matters but laments that the ‘sheer profusion’ of flora and fauna she describes has been lost. He also regrets that the revived popularity of the writer—partly stimulated by Stanley Baldwin in the 1930s and a still popular film, *Gone to Earth*, which have brought tourists, cars and concrete. The visitors have also called forth guide books on an industrial scale, which provide more grist for Mr. Wall’s mill and are analysed and deconstructed in a separate chapter. Even D. H. Lawrence produced a Stipperstones novella after a single visit in 1924.

The last four chapters of the book deal with natural history albeit still very much orientated towards amateur recording, much of it also published in one form or another. There is much that is unusual, such as the self-sown laburnums, producing their yellow blossom all over the hills in June and the veteran hollies on Lordshill, which when associated with rowans in the early winter also make a wonderful sight. The whinberry is also common on the hills (but not whimbrels, which Mary Webb confused with Curlews) and was harvested for sale in time past, as well as much else that was edible.

Finally, via the diaries and reminiscences of some recently deceased residents the erosion of paradise is charted. It is the story of much of rural England in our lifetime—depopulation followed by intensive farming and re-population with people detached from the land. As we well know, the flora and fauna has suffered the most. However, the story ends on a high note with the establishment of the National Nature Reserve with Tom Wall as its first warden, until his retirement in 2010. The book is evidence that his time there was well spent, to say the very least.

David Whitehead

Rules of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, (Herefordshire)

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

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

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

III. — The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said nine officers *ex-officio* and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or reelection 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. — The members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V. — That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £13.00 payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum

to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of £1 a meeting in respect of each visitor.

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

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

VIII. — 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.

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

X. — 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 IX.

XI. — 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.

XII. — 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.

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

List of Presidents

- 1851 Club formed in the winter months
 1852 LINGWOOD, Mr R. M.
 1853 LEWIS, Rev. T. T.
 1854 SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.
 1855 CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.
 1856 WHEATLEY, Mr Hewitt
 1857 LINGEN, Mr Charles
 1858 BEVAN, G. P., M.D.
 1859 BEVAN, G. P., M.D.
 1860 BANKS, Mr R. W.
 1861 LIGHTBODY, Mr Robert
 1862 HOSKYNS, Mr Chandos Wren
 1863 HOSKYNS, Mr Chandos Wren
 1864 CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.
 1865 STEELE, Mr Elmes Y.
 1866 BULL, H. G., M.D.
 1867 HOSKYNS, Mr Chandos Wren
 1868 McCULLOGH, D. M., M.D.
 1869 RANKIN, Mr James, M.A.
 1870 COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.
 1871 CAM, Mr Thomas
 1872 STEELE, Mr Elmes Y.
 1873 DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.
 1874 DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.
 1875 ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.
 1876 CHAPMAN, T. A., M.D.
 1877 MORRIS, Mr J. Griffiths
 1878 PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.
 1879 ARMITAGE, Mr Arthur
 1880 KNIGHT, Mr J. H.
 1881 LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.
 1882 BLASHILL, Mr Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.
 1883 PIPE, Mr George H., F.G.S.
 1884 BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.
 1885 MARTIN, Mr C. G.
 1886 PIPER, Mr George H., F.G.S.
 1887 ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.
 1888 ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.
 1889 SOUTHALL, Mr H., F.R.MET.SOC.
 1890 CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.A.
 1891 CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H.,
 Bart., M.A.
 1892 BARNEBY, Mr William Henry
 1893 LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.
 1894 DAVIES, Mr James
 1895 WATKINS, Rev. M. G., M.A.
 1896 MOORE, Mr H. Cecil
 1897 MOORE, Mr H. Cecil
 1898 MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.
 1899 BEDDOE, Mr H. C.
 1900 LEIGH, The Very Revd. The Hon. J. W.,
 D.D., Dean of Hereford
 1901 BLASHILL, Mr Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.
 1902 CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H.,
 Bart., M.A.
 1903 SOUTHALL, Mr H., F.R.MET.SOC.
 1904 HUTCHINSON, Mr T.
 1905 BAYLIS, Mr Philip, M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.
 1906 WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.
 1907 RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.
 1908 MOORE, Mr H. Cecil and RANKIN,
 Sir James, Bart., M.A.
 1909 WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.
 1910 FARN, Mr A. B.
 1911 PHILLIPS, Mr E. Cambridge
 1912 STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F. S., M.A.
 1913 WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
 1914 WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
 1915 WOOD, Mr J. G., F.S.A.
 1916 JACK, Mr G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
 1917 GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
 1918 BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A.
 1919 WATKINS, Mr Alfred, F.R.P.S.
 1920 HUMFRYS, Mr W. J.
 1921 JAMES, Mr Francis R.
 1922 MARSHALL, Mr George, F.S.A.
 1923 BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph A.,
 C.B., M.A., D.LITT.
 1924 DURHAM, Herbert E., D.Sc., M.B.,
 B.CH., F.R.C.S.(ENG.)
 1925 MACKEY, Mr J. C.
 1926 SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
 1927 DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D. D., F.S.A.
 1928 SYMONDS, Mr Powell Biddulph
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 D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
 1930 GILBERT, Captain H. A.
 1931 SYMONDS-TAYLOR, Lt.-Col. R. H.
 1932 SWAYNE, Lt.-Col. O. R., D.S.O.
 1933 HAMILTON, Brig. General W. G., C.B.,
 C.S.I., D.S.O.
 1934 WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
 1935 ELLISON, Captain F. B.
 1936 ROBINSON, Mr R. S. Gavin
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 1940 BENN, Mr C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
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 1943 WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R.,
 D.D., Dean of Hereford
 1944 TEMPLER, Mr P. J. T.
 1945 TEMPLER, Mr P. J. T.
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 P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.
 1947 WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The
 Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
 1948 GILBERT, Captain H. A.
 1949 WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.

- 1950 CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.
 1951 MORGAN, Mr F. C., M.A., F.S.A., F.L.A.
 1952 SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.
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 1958 LANGFORD, A. W., M.D., B.CHIR.,
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 Dochgarroch, M.A.
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1991)
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1992 PAUL, Miss E.D., 11 Nant Seilo, Penrhyncoch, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, SY23 3HD
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2011 PERCIVAL, Mrs M., Bankside Cottage, Pool Head, Bodenham, Hereford, HR1 3HP
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2011 PHELPS, Mr D., 23 Bute Avenue, Putson, Hereford, HR2 6BU
2000 PHILLIPS, Dr N., 36 Hatherleigh Road, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, NP7 7RG
2006 PHILLIPS, Mr P.A. 20 Lambourne Close, Deer Park, Ledbury, HR8 2HW
1973 PHIPPS, Mrs H.F., 31 Chepstow Villas, London, W11 3DR
2007 PIKES, Mr P.J., 35A Church Street, Hereford, HR1 2LR
1973 PINCHAM, Mr R.J., Babbacombe, Snape Bridge, Saxmundham, Suffolk, IP17 1ST
2006 PINCHES, Dr S.M., 46 Rugby Road, Milverton, Leamington Spa, CV32 6DG
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This 1754 tree survey of Hammonds Meadow (SO417565) distinguishes between pollards and maidens and also provides detail of tree species. The survey was probably drawn *in situ* in a field on the Bidney Estate. Because many woods were coppiced and held 'in hand', hedgerow trees were a major and important source of timber and wood for the general rural economy. Hammonds Meadow remains intact today, its boundary still marked by trees.

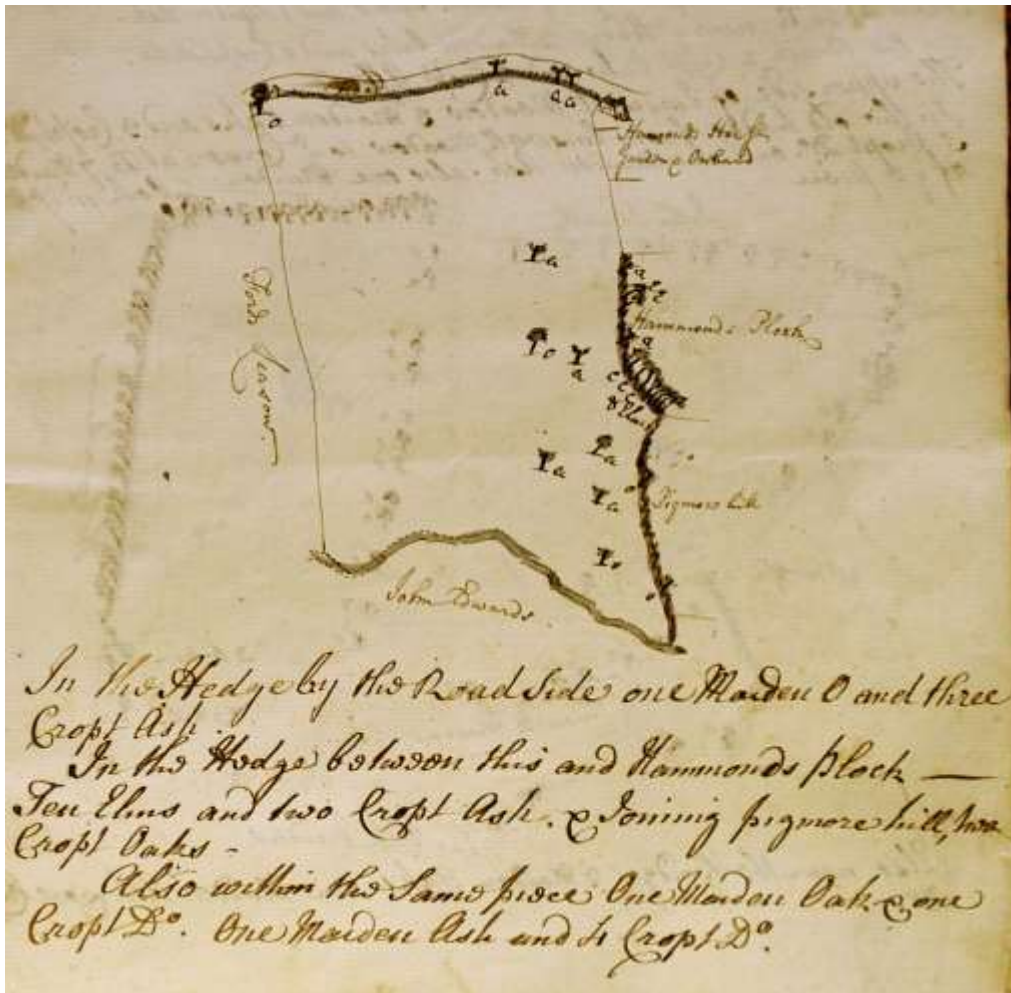


Plate 1.1. 1754 tree survey of Hammonds Meadow

Pollarded trees, common in the historic countryside, were more resistant to wind and less attractive as timber than maiden trees, which helps to explain their better survival rate.



Plate 1.2. Lime pollard, Tedstone Delamere



Plate 1.3. An oak pollard measured at 8.2m girth during the Club's outing to Moor Abbey farm on 16th May 2015

As an ancient woodland indicator, small-leaved lime trees can mark the boundary of long-deceased 'ghost woodland.' This multi-stemmed lime in a hedge in Dorstone may have been part of woodland contemporary with Arthur's Stone, some 300 metres to the south-east.



Plate 1.4. 'Linear' lime coppice near Arthur's Stone, Dorstone

Tithe maps often depict significant trees. The Garway tithe map for 1840 shows the parish boundary in Kentchurch Park marked by oak, yew and crab. Geo-referencing the map on the modern grid reveals the near exact location of trees that still exist. The yew, circled in green, is a wonderfully ancient hollow specimen of 7.6 metres girth.

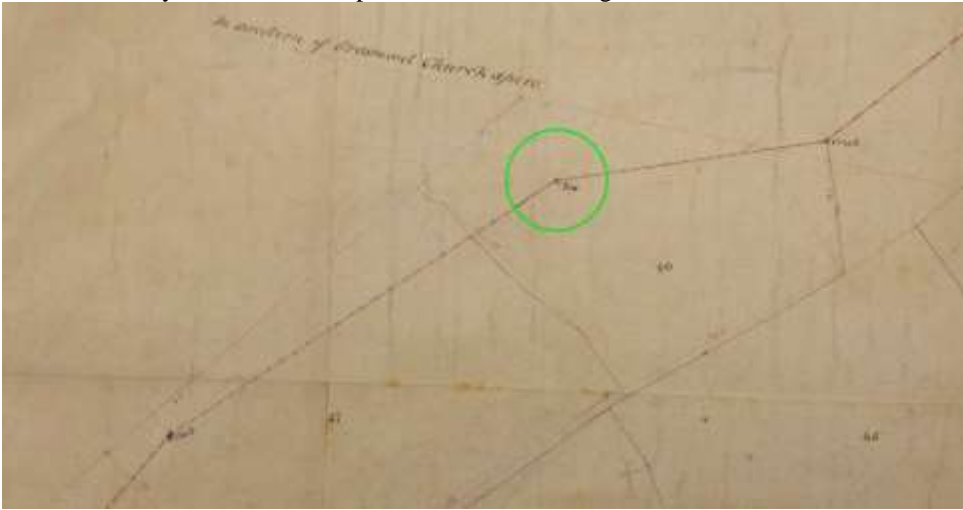


Plate 1.5. Garway tithe map c.1840 showing oak, yew and crab on the parish boundary



Plate 1.6. This ancient yew in Kentchurch Park, can be identified as that circled in green on the tithe map.



Plate 1.7. Moor Abbey Farm, aerial photograph overlaid with 1885 evidence of tree location

Overlaying geo-referenced historic maps over contemporary aerial photographs accurately demonstrates landscape change. The first edition 25 inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps (c.1885) are surprisingly accurate in their tree locations. This overlay shows part of Moor Abbey farm and demonstrates that, despite having good tree cover by present standards, there has been considerable loss since 1885. The current owner is rectifying this.

Plate 1.8. Stoke Edith Estate 1885 and 2000

Many parts of Herefordshire have been subject to dramatic losses of significant trees. The image on the left shows the estate in 1885 (white) overlaid on the 1946 RAF aerial photograph. The figure on the right shows the same area in 2000. The loss of trees is apparent.



Plate 1.9. The oak pollard at Moor Abbey Farm selected for measurement



Plate 1.10. Attaching the supports for the tape to the bark, avoiding living wood. The level ensures the supports are in a horizontal plane



Plate 1.11. Close up of the completed tape mount showing the overlap, the fixed end (top right) and the spring-loaded end (bottom)



Plate 1.12. The measurement tape in place; note that it sits in a horizontal plane. Readings over two years gave a growth rate of 12.5mm a year



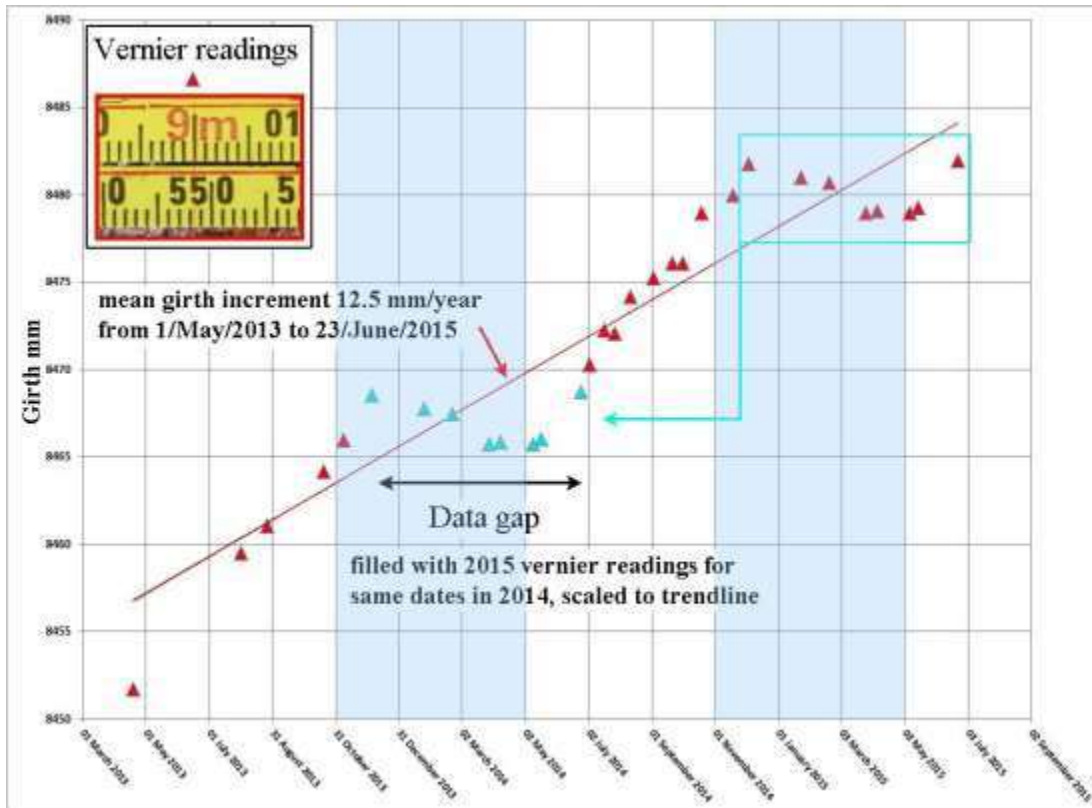


Plate 1.13. Graph of readings of rate of girth increment used to estimate age

The graph in Plate 1.13 shows the data points gathered so far from the the girth increment experiment. Note the apparent contradiction during winter and early spring. The tree was not visited the previous season but the data points estimated are consistent with this year's readings. An automated logging system is being developed to ensure regular collection of data. Fitting a 'least squares' slope to these data points gives a girth increment of 12.5mm per year. A simple backward linear extrapolation of this line gives an estimated age of 678 years. As growth rates are known to be higher in the pre-senescent phase, this will be an overestimate.



Plate 2.1. Hay Bluff, rising to 2,220 ft. To the left Crib y Garth, 'the Cat's Back', and Black Hill, 2,100ft



Plate 2.2. Nine-ribbed boss at la Primaudière



Plate 2.3. Casket and bones, Craswall Priory. Courtesy Hereford Museum Resource & Learning Centre (HMR&LC)



Plate 2.4. Fragments of stained glass, Craswall Priory. Courtesy HMR&LC



Plate 2.7. Stained glass head and face of a monk, Craswall Priory. Courtesy HMR&LC



Plate 2.5. Coloured Plaster, Craswall Priory. Courtesy HMR&LC



Plate 2.6. Leading and nails, Craswall Priory. Courtesy HMR&LC



Plate 2.8. South chapel, showing aumbry, northern reveal and later doorway to church



Plate 2.9. 'The only piece of recognisable medieval pottery. A lug or handle from the shoulder of a pot', Craswall Priory. Courtesy HMR&LC



Plate 2.10. Aerial view of precinct of Craswall Priory from *Herefordshire Past and Present: An Aerial View* (2004), p. 66. Courtesy of Ruth Richardson & Chris Musson

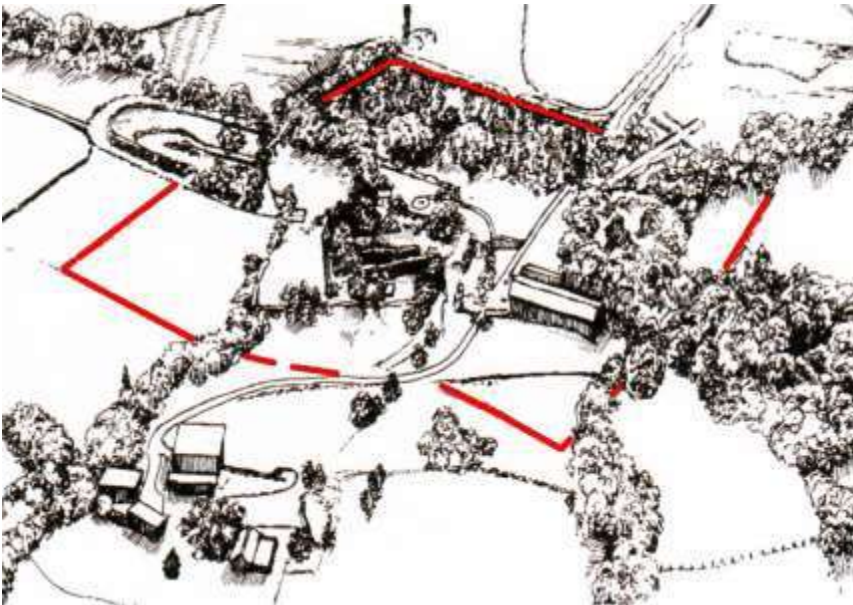


Plate 2.11. Drawing of aerial view of Craswall Priory from *Herefordshire Past and Present: An Aerial View* (2004), p. 66. Courtesy of Ruth Richardson & Chris Musson



Plate 2.12. The chancel, Craswall Priory after the Society's 1985 clearance, prior to the paving being covered with turf for its protection. (Photo: cover, *Craswall Priory Herefordshire Archaeological Works 1993.*)



Plate 2.13. Mill/fish pond, Craswall Priory, now a major feature of the Scheduled Monument

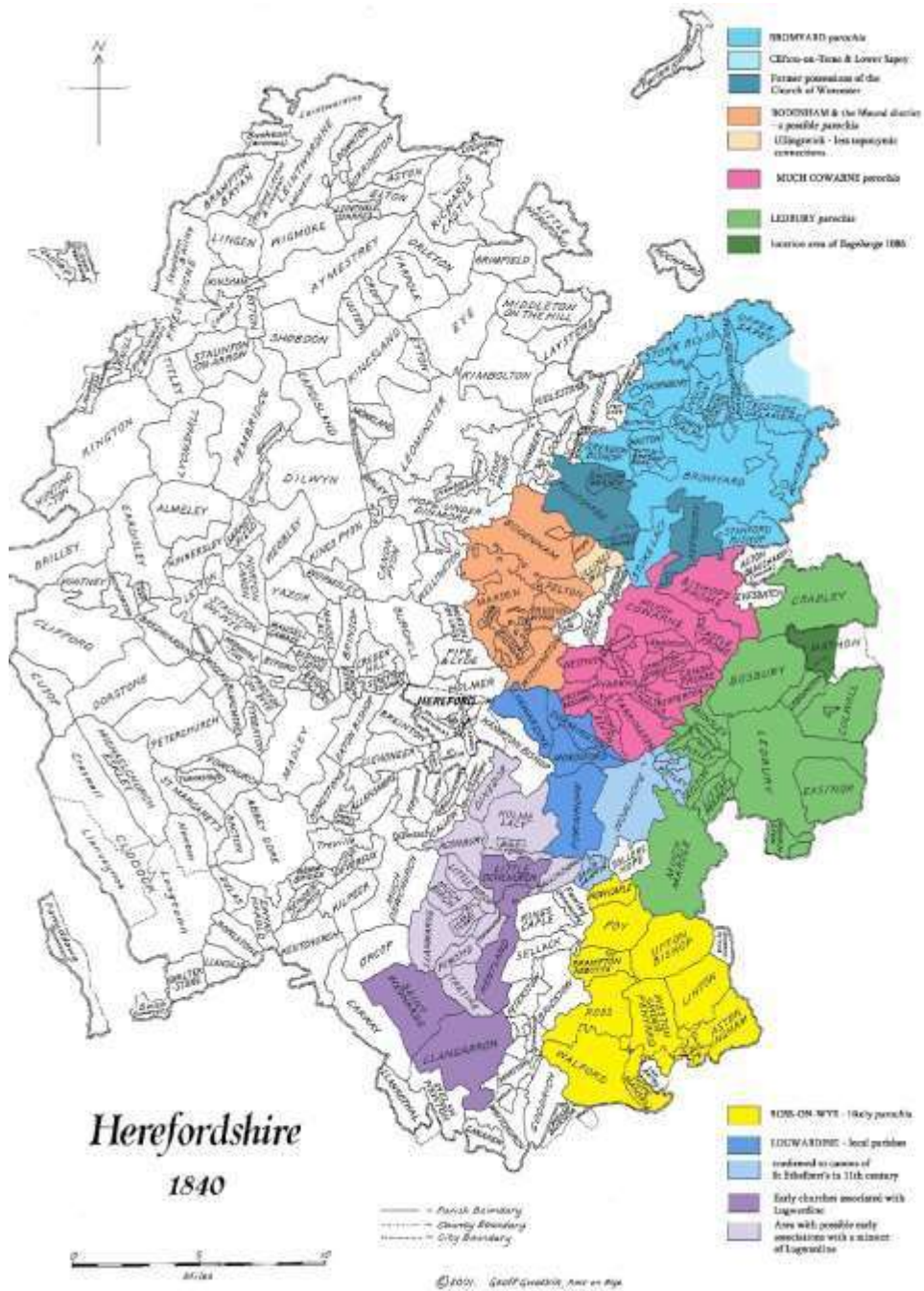


Plate 3.1. Map showing extent of *parochia* associated with Anglo-Saxon mother-churches in eastern Herefordshire

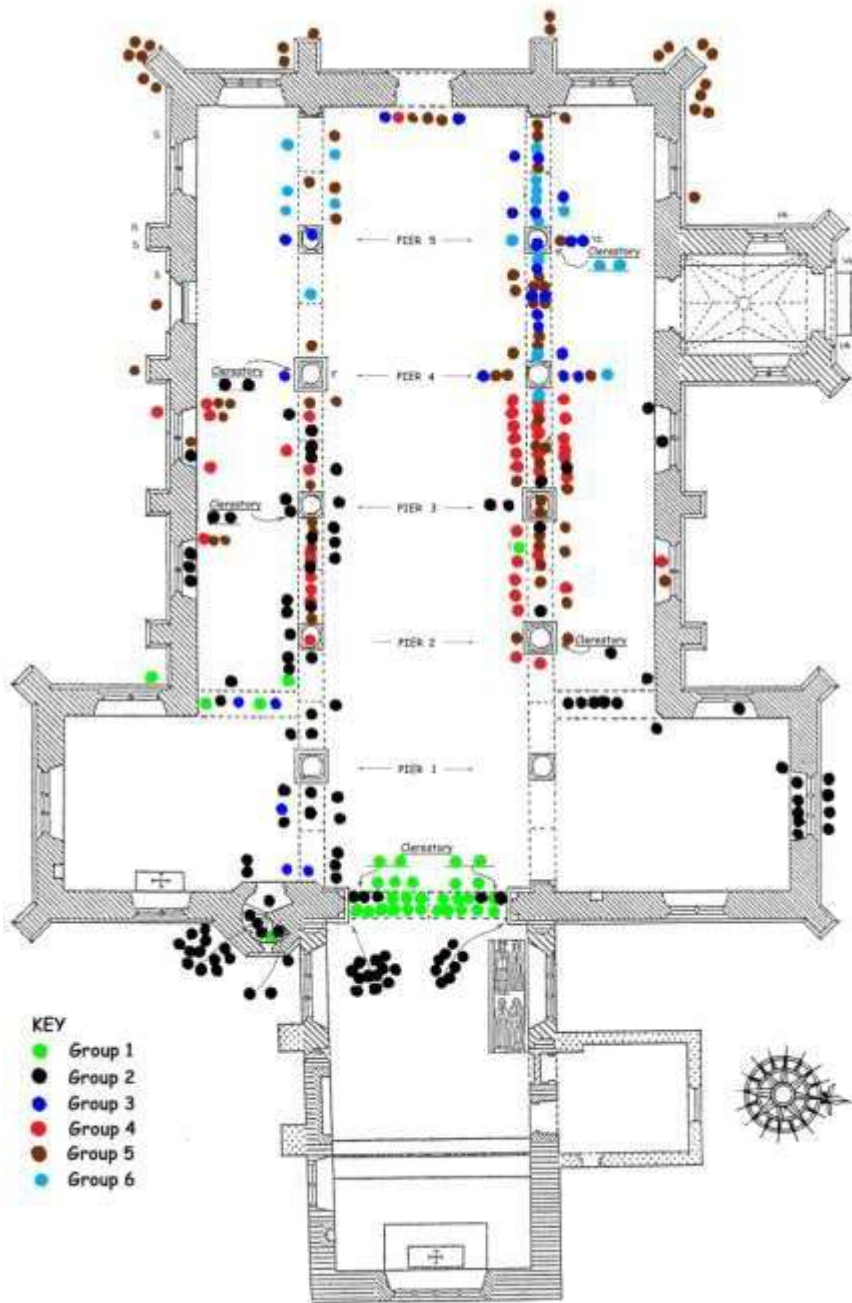


Plate 4.1. Pembridge Church showing groups of masons' marks

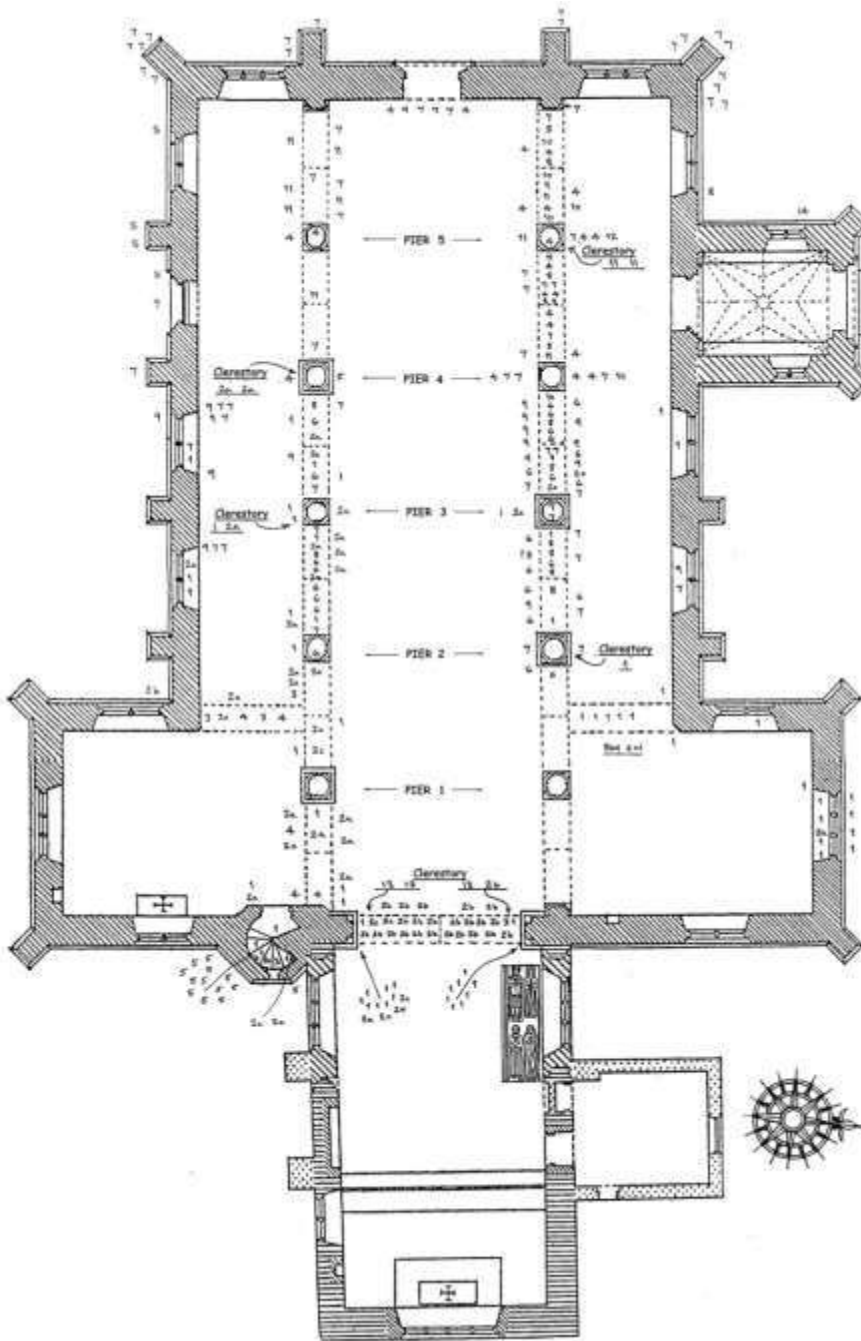


Plate 4.2. Pembridge church showing individual mason's marks



Plate 5.1. New Weir: view south-east across the terrace. Trench 2 in foreground and trench 1 in the background.



Plate 5.2. Wellington: Fire-cracked stone trough



Plate 5. 3. Wellington Quarry: waterhole with wooden post in section



Plate 6.1. The landslip at Ullingswick opened a crack extending hundreds of metres across a field



Plate 6.2. The landslip caused a mature oak tree and its roots to move downhill



Plate 6.3
Specimen of
Kirkidium
knighti
found in
Downton
Gorge



Plate 6.4.
Cliffs on
River Teme
showing
Upper
Ludlow
Shales



Plate 6.5. Infilled river channel in Downton Castle Sandstone, Downton Gorge



Plate 6.6.
Biotite rich
mafic rock,
Precambrian
Malverns
Complex



Plate 6.7. Fissure on Backbury Hill in Aymestry Limestone



Plate 6.8. Fissure on Backbury Hill in Aymestry Limestone



Plate 6.9. Madawg Rock Shelter in Carboniferous Gully Oolite Formation



Plate 6.10. Clearance work carried out on calcareous tufa site at the Biblins



Plate 7.1. Whitman's Hill Quarry, Broadleaved Pondweed, *Potamogeton natans*, colonising pond



Plate 7.2. Herb Paris, *Paris quadrifolia*, an ancient woodland indicator plant, some of over 40 flowering spikes found at Whitman's Hill in 2014