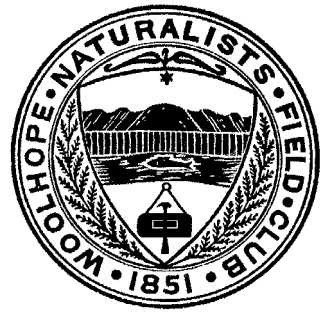
# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# WOOLHOPE

# NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"  "HOPE EVER"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# Proceedings, 2016

SPRING MEETINGS - held in Committee Room 1, the Shire Hall

FIRST MEETING: 9 January 2016: Jaqueline Jonson, president, in the chair.
Robin Thorndyke spoke on 'Brian Hatton: Portraits and Personalities'. Mr. Thorndyke reminded his audience that Brian Hatton died in 1916 serving with the Worcestershire Yeomanry. He was a volunteer soldier and given his life-long love of horses, it was to be expected that he would choose a cavalry regiment.

The speaker indicated that his talk would concentrate upon Hatton's portraits, from which he derived his regular income. He would, no doubt, have preferred to paint horses and rural scenes but from an early age he had been able to capture the essence of his sitter's personality. He developed this talent by painting many studies of members of his family. Mr. Thorndyke examined the technique he used in these early paintings. Chalk and crayon were favourite mediums but he soon learnt to exploit the special qualities of water colours and oils. Some of his most memorable pictures were of Ailsa and Marjorie Hatton, his sisters. He also noticed and imitated the techniques of some of the prominent painters of his age; for example, a double portrait of the girls in white dresses and black stockings was clearly a tribute to Whistler. There are also many Arts and Crafts touches in his paintings, especially in terms of props such as the Japanese porcelain, which must have been part of his mother's collection.

Hatton's studio was in the old stable at Mount Craig in Tower Road, which was close to the countryside at Warham and Breinton where the artist found farm labourers, road menders and gypsies who provided new challenges for his skills. He also painted notable figures in the community, including George Marshall of Breinton Manor, Hon. Secretary of the Woolhope Club and Bishop Percival who shared Hatton's enthusiasm for horses, keeping a number of trusty steeds in the Bishop's Meadows, opposite the Palace. Hatton was also attracted to characterful women such as Brenda Wadsworth and Mrs. Lushington, later Chairwoman of the Herefordshire Federation of Women's Institutes who promoted his work among her friends. Indeed, there were few members of the Edwardian élite of the city who did not find themselves caught in one of Hatton's sketches or major studies. His friend Nicholas Heins, the proprietor of Hereford's largest music shop, who was well known to Elgar and a key figure in the revival of the Three Choirs Festival, was also painted. Eventually, in 1911, Lydia May Bidmead 'Biddy' appears in his sketches and portraits. He was to marry her, just before his enlistment in 1914. Sadly, he never saw his daughter Mary who was a professional dancer in later life.

There were many supplementary questions from the audience and a vote of thanks was moved by Mrs. Jean O' Donnell.

SECOND MEETING: 30 January 2016: Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair.
Janet Cooper, Club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'Writing the history of Bosbury' about the work on Bosbury undertaken by the Trust for the Victoria County History (VCH) of Herefordshire between 2013 and 2016. The parish history will be published later in 2016.

Dr Cooper started with a brief account of the history of VCH parish histories over the last 40 years or so. In that time the VCH has gone from being sufficiently well funded, by local authorities and universities, to be able to employ full-time county staff, to being funded by county

Trusts who raise money mainly from local donors. Under the old arrangements, one professional historian working full-time would cover all aspects of a parish history from the Palaeolithic to the present day. Nowadays parish histories, including Bosbury, often have multiple authors, and much work is done by volunteers. One thing which has not changed is that VCH parish histories are still based on new research in original sources; existing histories are used, of course, but as far as possible the VCH check that the information in them is correct.

For Bosbury, much work was done by the wills group of volunteers, who are now expert at transcribing 16th- and 17th-century wills; other volunteers worked on the 19th-century census enumerators' books. One volunteer has created a website, (bosburyhistoryresource.org.uk) on which he has placed a vast amount of useful material, including early photographs, maps, and newspaper reports of Bosbury events.

For most of its history Bosbury comprised two divisions: Bosbury and Upleadon. They were separate Domesday estates and remained separate manors, Bosbury owned by the bishops of Hereford; Upleadon by the Knights Templar and then the Knights Hospitaller until the Dissolution of the monasteries. Despite what seems to have been a serious attempt by the Hospitallers in the early 16th century to create a separate church for Upleadon, the two divisions remained a single parish for religious and civil purposes.

The bishops of Hereford ceased to visit their Bosbury manor house after *c.*1500; their first tenants, Thomas Morton, archdeacon of Hereford, built the fine Morton chapel onto the parish church. In the years around 1800 the dominant landowner in the parish was the colourful John Stedman who, having made his fortune in North America, bought the freehold estate of Razees, later Bosbury House. The Revd Edward Higgins, JP, DL, a clergyman of independent means and antiquarian interests, who bought the estate from Stedman's heirs, seems to have acted very much as a village squire.

Bosbury's economy has been based on mixed farming: farmers growing wheat, oats, and peas, and keeping sheep and cattle. In 1294 the bishop had peacocks on his manor, a sign of its high status. Hops were introduced in the 17th century, and continue to be cultivated on several farms; apples and pears were grown for cider and perry, some at least of which was consumed in the local inns and ale-houses occasionally accompanied by 'unlawful games' and other 'disturbances'.

Two of the inns, the Bell and the Crown (now a private house) were among the buildings which the VCH team were able to examine with the help of a former colleague and architectural historian, Dr. C.R.J. Currie, who generously gave a few days of his time. Dr Keith Ray directed a small dig which revealed an otherwise unrecorded, high status, medieval house in a field south-east of the village.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 27 February 2016. Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair.

Caroline Hanks, an independent Farm Environment Adviser, spoke on 'Wye Farming Matters: Farm Wildlife Conservation in Herefordshire'.

Until 2010 Mrs Hanks worked for the Herefordshire Farming and Wildlife Advisory Group but had subsequently become an independent adviser. She felt that in general the farmers in the county were doing the right things for the environment, and similarly receiving the right messages from the government. She explained the current payment system, which, she believed, provided

a good deal for up-land farmers and those with permanent grassland. DEFRA and the EU had also introduced several measures aimed at 'greening' areas of monoculture. For example, arable farmers were encouraged to use 50 per cent of their plough-land for cover crops, buffer strips and hedgerows to encourage pollinators. Another scheme rewarded them for removing nutrients from watercourses. More recently, DEFRA had redesigned the old Countryside Stewardship Scheme and there were now a number of options that rewarded recipients who either protected or enhanced the countryside. There had been a slow take-up of the scheme because it was more sensitive and thus, more complex, with a handbook containing 350 pages of instructions. Some farmers were withdrawing from the scheme albeit still interested in keeping valuable habitats. They were being encouraged to keep records of nesting birds, insects etc. to allow professional ecologists to lobby on their behalf for payments.

Of serious concern for the government was the decline in rural water systems and new standards had been set, which needed to be achieved by 2027. This was a special challenge for Herefordshire as many of its rivers were overloaded with nutrients with the Yazor Brook and the River Frome in particular trouble because of high phosphate levels. The Lugg also breaches phosphate levels after leaving Leominster. Most of the phosphate comes from sewage or agriculture. Welsh Water is spending large additional sums on sewage treatment but farmers need to be more conscious of the run-off from their yards and separate it from pure rainwater. Also silt from fields needs to be trapped before it reaches the main rivers. Other measures include different styles of tillage e.g. withdrawing plough-land from river banks, careful sighting of muck heaps and keeping animals away from rivers. New crops that absorbed more nutrients could also be planted, such as, oats, vetches and radish. The explosion of maize growing has been especially detrimental to meadows and rivers. Other EU countries plant maize much less densely than Britain, which enables an under-crop of grass to survive for grazing There is, however, a vigorous campaign in Herefordshire to make soil 'sexy' and several farms are developing forms of 'compost tea' from excess nutrients, which can be sprayed on growing crops.

Finally, Mrs Hanks touched upon the Hereford Meadow Network, which is making good progress encouraging farmers to adopt green-hay, rich in wild flower seeds, to spread on degraded meadows. This is a voluntary scheme has hitherto been unrewarded by the taxpayer, who wishes to see the countryside bright and beautiful.

The president gave the vote of thanks.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 19 March 2016: Jacqueline Jonson, the retiring president, installed Rosalind Lowe as president 2016-17 after thanking the officers of the Club for their work during the year.

Paul Hipkins gave the presidential address on 'A Welsh survival in the land of Pyon'. The presidential address is printed in full in these *Transactions.*

The incoming president proposed a vote of thanks.

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 622 ordinary members and 33 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of 2015. Comparable figures for the end of 2014 were 626 ordinary members and 34 institutional members and affiliated societies.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 11 May 2016: Chillington Hall, Capability Brown park and eighteenth-century model farm, Brewood, Staffordshire, WV8 1RE (Grid ref. SJ 861069), with Joan Grundy.

Thirty-eight members and friends enjoyed a varied and informative day at Chillington Hall. The visit covered a wide range of interests, from the pleasure of enjoying a fine Georgian country house and its surroundings, through architecture, landscape and garden history, to the more practical aspects of agrarian history. The Giffard family has held Chillington since 1178, and is still in residence. The estate is about 4,000 acres, about half of which is farmed in hand, producing arable crops and stocked with beef cattle and sheep and having extensive woodland. The relaxed guidance by knowledgeable staff was in no way regimented, and questions were welcomed at every stage. Our skilful driver coped admirably with narrow, twisting and waterlogged roads, and the narrow gateways around the Hall and estate.

Chillington Hall is listed Grade I. Although the present house is Georgian, the plan of an earlier Tudor hall of 1547 is preserved within the current room layout. There are two main Georgian phases, both of brick with stone dressings. The south wing has rainwater heads dated 1724. In 1723 a contract was drawn up between Peter Giffard and William Smith of Warwick. The mason/architect was well known for his work from 1711 to 1713 on the new St. Alkmund's, Whitchurch, Shropshire with John Barker of Rowsley, Derbyshire. As William died in 1724, it seems probable that his brother Francis Smith undertook the building of Chillington's south wing. (The brick house at Foxley, Herefordshire was built by William and Francis between 1719 and 1730.) The impressive staircase hall in this wing has stucco panels by Italian craftsmen, and the stair itself has turned balusters, three per step, and carved tread-ends.

The east wing of 1786-9 by Sir John Soane has a grand Ionic portico and pediment. In this wing are splendid lofty reception rooms, beautifully presented to suit the family celebrations and corporate events held at Chillington. The fine columned entrance leads to the Saloon with its domed glass lantern and richly carved chimneypiece, considered by Pevsner to be the principal apartment of the house. The adjoining dining room has furniture by Gillow of Lancaster, a firm which later evolved as the furniture retailer Waring and Gillow. The drawing room has a fine plaster ceiling and fittings designed for the room.

We boarded two tractors and trailers to view the Capability Brown landscape with its woodland, mature trees and changing vistas of the lake or Pool. The year 2016 is the tercentenary of Brown's birth, arousing renewed interest in his work. He left few written records, but is estimated to have worked or advised on a staggering 255 sites across the country. His first commission of 1751 was Croome Park, Worcestershire, which involved the re-siting of a village and has views of the Malverns. Brown's final landscape was Herefordshire's Berrington Hall of 1781-2 with a 14-acre lake and the Brecon Beacons in the distance.

He was involved at Chillington Park in 1761, and was paid £200 by Thomas Gifford *[sic]* in 1762. A pastoral landscape with plantations was created, replacing formal gardens and the site of Chillington village. Some mature parkland trees survive from plantings made in the 1760s to fulfil Brown's designs, together with younger trees added from the 1780s. The 66-acre lake is one of his largest; there are listed 18th-century bridges and other eye-catching features associated with it, creating shifting aspects viewed from walkways and carriage drives. Such was the serenity of our surroundings that we were scarcely aware of the proximity of the M54 or of anything outside Chillington's peaceful parkland.

The exceptional and little-known 18th-century model farm is listed Grade II*. It dates from the early- to mid-18th century, and extensive restoration work between 2007 and 2011 was made possible by an agreement with Natural England and the Giffard family. The conservation skills of Horsley Huber Architects Ltd and main contractor Miller Heritage achieved exceptional results. Local tradesmen carried out major repairs to roofs, brickwork and the octagonal dovecote. To welcome school visits, a new education room has been installed in a former hay loft.

The earliest building is the central dovecote of *c.*1730. Around it the brick barns, granaries, cattle sheds and stables form a quadrangle and incorporate a malt oven similar to some Herefordshire hop kilns. The extensive stabling and grooms' quarters show the key role played by all types of horses in the management of a country estate. High quality fittings to some of the loose boxes testify to the owner's enthusiasm for racehorses around the 1830s and later. The latest range is probably mid-19th century, dividing the quadrangle into two yards by linking the earlier dovecote with the pig sties, acorn boiling house and cattle feeding shed. These additions emphasise the increasing importance of livestock during the 19th century.

At the time the quadrangle layout was built, the mechanisation of harvesting and threshing was still a dream. Sheaves were carted into the barns and threshed with flails. They were needed for feeding livestock or for sale, providing valuable winter employment for farm workers. Winnowing—separating the threshed grains from the chaff—was the first job to be mechanised. A hand-operated machine was introduced, reputedly from Holland, in the 1720s, and by 1800 was in common use. Many inventors worked on threshing machines from the 1730s. Andrew Meikle's improved machine of 1786 made threshing by horse or water power a practicable operation. The first stationary threshing machine in Staffordshire was installed at Shugborough between 1797 and 1808 and was water powered. Outside the quadrangle is a Dutch barn with brick piers, probably mid-19th century, and a nearby walled kitchen garden of the 18th century, with early-19th century vineries against the north wall.

A sumptuous afternoon tea greeted us on returning to the hall, served in the impressive surroundings of the Saloon. Throughout our day, Chillington's friendly staff had taken every care to make our visit informative, trouble-free and highly enjoyable.

SECOND MEETING: Tuesday 21 June 2016: Early South Shropshire Churches with Paul Olver. During a summer of indifferent weather, the party was fortunate to experience a sunny day while exploring some of the churches in South Shropshire. The two main themes for the day were the use of local building stones often from the many estate quarries that existed in the 19th century and secondly, the identification of significant Saxon work in their overall fabric.

After picking up at Leominster and at the Ludlow park and ride, our first stop was St. Peter's Church at Stanton Lacy. Now little more than a hamlet, Stanton Lacy was a large pre-conquest parish in which eventually the town and castle of Ludlow were established. The Saxon credentials were clearly displayed in the multiple pilaster steps on the north and west walls of the nave and on the north transept. Made from slightly micaceous, greenish to red, Old Sandstone, these pilasters exhibit the characteristic Saxon style of 'long stones' set with vertical bedding on the front surface and intervening 'short stones' with horizontal bedding. Further Saxon work was identified in the blocked doorway on the north wall of the nave and in the quoins of the western nave and north transept. A later rebuilding of the nave truncated the pilaster work which was never replaced.

Within the church, the party visited the large rebuilt ththchancel dating from the late 13th century and admired the use of Caen stone, a favourite building material of the Normans, in the early-Victorian pulpit, altar and reredos.

After a welcome coffee stop at the Secret Hills Centre in Craven Arms, our next port of call was the village of Acton Scott. With full permission of the Acton estate, we visited one of the former estate quarries, now converted into an extensive rock garden, whose lower level is reached by a series of steps and a short tunnel. The Actons had married into the Payne Knight family of Downton Castle in the 1830s and their promotion of the then fashionable 'picturesque' movement led to the conversion of the quarry. We crossed the small lake in the quarry by a bridge to reach the natural exposures of the Acton Scott Limestone, a fossiliferous sandy limestone of late Ordovician age, which features stongly in the local church dedicated to St Margaret for which this was probably the source quarry in the 12th century.

The Norman contribution to the Church was identified in the north wall of the nave and a western tower was added in the 14th century. Both the chancel and the south wall of the nave had been completely rebuilt in the 19th century. A prominent north aisle was added in 1820 as a family chapel for the then Stackhouses of Acton Scott Hall.

Lunch was taken at the Pound Inn at Leebotwood near Church Stretton. Our next stop was Acton Burnell where both St Mary's Church and the castle, or more accurately, the tower house were built by Robert Burnell in the late 13th century. These were uncertain times in the Welsh Borders with Edward I's defeat of Llewelyn but for Robert Burnell it was the peak of his career. Appointed Chancellor of England and also Bishop of Bath and Wells, the importance of Acton Burnell at that time was evidenced by the Parliamentary meeting held in the nearby Great Barn in 1283 and the drawing up of the Statute of Acton Burnell.

The building stone used in the tower house, completed in 1284, is a local sandstone from the Upper Carboniferous Keele Beds. The walls are characteristically bright red intermixed with grey and some original white rendering patches were also identified. The western end was three storeys high while the eastern end was two storeyed with the Great Hall within its taller upper floor.

The church is also constructed of the local sandstones mainly buff in colour with red reserved for use around the windows. It was all built between 1275 and 1280 and forms one architectural unit with the only major later change being the addition of the small tower in the angle between the chancel and the north transept in 1887-1889. Richard Burnell's status in the Church is reflected in the highly decorated chancel with its Purbeck Marble shafts between the lancet windows. This is in strong contrast to the much plainer nave.

The coach then travelled south eastwards across Shropshire to the area of Wenlock Edge and its Silurian strata. Here at St Peter's, Rushbury, north of the escarpment we saw the juxtaposition of a Norman north doorway with plain tympanum inserted through the late Saxon herringbone masonry. The local limestones, often highly fossiliferous, were best seen in the lower parts of the nave and the western tower which are all of Saxon-Norman construction. Despite extensive but not invasive Victorian restoration work, the church is still an architectural whole and a credit to Norman workmanship at *c.* 1200. After admiring the Norman font, the party retreated to a welcome tea at the Swan at Aston Munslow.

THIRD MEETING: Wednesday 13 July 2016: The Wye Valley Artists.

The president, Rosalind Lowe, led 25 members and one guest around a small area of the Wye Valley between Ross and Symonds Yat, with the object of examining the many artistic

representations of the landscape in the years between 1718 and 1860. She supplied each member with copies of 48 pictures which included some later postcards. Although many of the artists tried to follow Picturesque principles, the topography did not always lend itself to that aim.

Leaving Wilton for Whitchurch as we drove along the A40, she read a description of the view of Goodrich Court and Goodrich castle as seen from the road in the 1840s. This comes from the papers of Thomas King, Rouge Dragon, a friend of Sir Samuel Meyrick, and was found in his papers at the College of Arms. We also passed by Glewston Tenders, a house now between the A40 and the Wye, but formerly an inn alongside the road, as shown in a postcard.

Arriving at the Old Court Hotel in Whitchurch, by special request we were served coffee in the largely unspoilt open hall. The president showed members copies of the RCHME surveyor's notebook and photographs made in 1927. The older part of the Old Court is of the early 16th century, though the surveyor identified some possibly medieval roof timbers in the service end of the building. The two doorways to the screens passage are still visible though not in use, and there is extensive timber-framing. There is a large original fireplace in the hall with a huge stone lintel. The style is unpretentious, however.

The president said that the early 16th century date coincides with the first known occupant, Robert ap Howell or Powell, who was a manorial official, probably explaining the reason for the 'Court' name. He was lieutenant of the important manor of Goodrich, which contained Whitchurch and Ganarew as well as Goodrich itself, standing in for the seneschal. He was related to the Herberts of Raglan, and his descendants also married into that family later. The ownership of the Court can be traced from him *via* the marriage of a Powell heiress to a Gwillym to Elizabeth Posthuma Gwillym, whose husband General Simcoe was the first governor of Ontario. Her diaries, sketches and drawing of Ontario are in the state museum.

The president recounted the story of a farcical plot to oust the Powell heiresses, which led among other incidents to a brawl in Goodrich churchyard. As the Simcoe family settled in Devon, many of the Powell and Gwillym records are in Exeter, and she showed them a many-quartered coat of arms from that collection.

After coffee, members walked down to the church of St Dubricius, where we boarded a boat for a trip towards Symonds Yat, or New Weir as it was in the time of the artists. She read members extracts from the 1803 diary of Joseph Farington, one of the few artists to take a boat from Ross all the way by river to New Weir. He made a number of comments about the difficulty of composing Picturesque views, but enlivened his account with pen sketches made from the boat. It was interesting to compare both the realism and the competence of the different representations of New Weir.

Although the weather had been good, as we returned up river the heavens opened, but we were able to shelter in the church and afterwards inspect in the sunshine the 18th-century Gwillym memorial in the churchyard, intended for more family members than were buried there.

In the afternoon our party travelled to Symonds Yat rock, a long round trip *via* Lower Lydbrook passing Courtfield and Welsh Bicknor church on the other bank of the Wye, the president remarking on our passage through Offa's Dyke at Stowfield. The view from Yat Rock has been portrayed many times; luckily the fine weather enabled members to see a long distance, though the view down to New Weir is now blocked by trees.

The party returned to Goodrich village hall, where they were served tea, rolls and cakes prepared by the president and her husband.

FOURTH MEETING: Wednesday 7 September 2016: Bosbury.
The field trip, led jointly by Sylvia Pinches and Janet Cooper, was a follow-up to the talk Janet gave to the Club in January about the research undertaken for the VCH history of Bosbury (then in the press).
Club members assembled at 2 p.m. in the Bosbury Parish Hall, where Bosbury's resident local historian, Barry Sharples, had prepared an exhibition of old photographs and other documents from his collection for people to see. Janet had set out some examples of source material used by the VCH, including wills, tax assessments, and sale catalogues.

The main part of the visit started with a brief talk on the topography and history of the parish, including the medieval manors of the bishops of Hereford and the Knights Templar and Hospitaller, the 19th-century owners of Bosbury House, and the common fields of the parish. After that Sylvia led most of the group for a walk along the River Leadon to the former Catley Rye meadow with its square fields and accommodation road lined with quickset (hawthorn) hedges, dating from its inclosure in 1854. The party then walked back through farmland to the village, crossing the Leadon by England's Bridge (named for a former land-owner) and passing recently harvested hop fields. Everyone visited the church, with its detached bell tower, the grammar school, and the 13th-century gateway to Old Court, the bishops' manor house.

It was unfortunate that the church was undergoing major repairs, but we were able to see the elaborate, 16th-century Harford tombs in the chancel, that of John Harford (d. 1559) by the Hereford sculptor John Gildon, and also the 15th-century Morton chapel (built by Thomas Morton, archdeacon of Hereford, *c*. 1510) with its rebus of the barrel or 'tun'. At the old grammar school, one wall of which is of 17th-century timber framing, Sylvia talked about the history of the school, which was founded before 1548 and closed in 1968. By kind permission of the farmers, Mr and Mrs Lane, we were able to go inside the 13th-century gateway to Old Court. There Janet pointed out the 13th-century timbers which had supported an inner archway, making an impressive entrance to the bishop's manor house. We were also able to go into the partly medieval room adjoining the gateway which has the remains of an early fireplace.

After an excellent tea provided by the WI, a few people joined Janet and Sylvia for a walk to the field south-east of the village where in 2015 Keith Ray directed a small excavation, partly funded by the Archaeological Research Section. This revealed the foundations of a relatively high status house occupied from the mid 12th to the mid 14th century. The house platforms could be seen clearly, but unfortunately the long grass obscured the surviving ridge and furrow on the rest of the field.

AUTUMN MEETINGS held in Committee Room 1, the Shire Hall.

FIRST MEETING: 24 September 2016: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair.
Mrs Liz Pitman, a Club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'The parish that disappeared - St John's, Hereford', the subject of her recent book.

Mrs Pitman first became interested in the parish of St John's when she was involved in the Cathedral Close project. St John (strictly St John the Baptist) was unusual in that the parish altar was in the cathedral and there appears never to have been a parish church, unless it was destroyed when the cathedral was rebuilt in the 12th century. This meant that normal parish activities for ordinary parishioners had to take place side by side with the rather more elevated cathedral functions, leading on occasion to some acrimonious disputes. The location of the parish altar

within the cathedral is rarely mentioned, and it seems that it was a nuisance to the cathedral authorities particularly when significant influxes of pilgrims coincided with parish processions. It therefore led a somewhat peripatetic existence.

St John's is thought to have been founded in about 1107, though the first documentary evidence of its existence to survive dates from about 1201. Part of the early parish seems to have been linked with the bishop's fee, which lay in close proximity to the cathedral, probably defined by the Anglo-Saxon defences and including the castle. There were substantial outlying parts of the parish in Blackmarston, Hunderton, Newton, Hinton, Widemarsh and Canon Moor, most of which had been in ecclesiastical ownership from the 13th century if not earlier. There is an alternative view that St John's was given left-over portions of land after the other parishes had been set up.

Mrs Pitman illustrated the history of the following centuries with potted biographies of the vicars of the parish, who were normally members of the vicars choral, many of whom were mad or bad. For example, William Crowther who was vicar from 1713 until he died in 1766, spent the whole of his incumbency in the Droitwich lunatic asylum.

The parish registers for St John's only survive from 1604. There are interesting entries; in 1693 one Amos Williams, a black servant of Mr Walwyn, a Barbados merchant, was baptized as an adult. Following the Reformation the nature of the population of the parish changed. The large numbers of ecclesiastics were replaced by tradespeople and a few from the professions. In 1790 the over-crowded burial ground around the cathedral became a problem, unsurprisingly as all the city's burials took place there. From 1791 burials were restricted to those who had actually died in the cathedral precinct and parishes had to find their own burial grounds, that for St John's being at Blackmarston.

Plans for a separate parish church for St John's had been mooted during the 19th century, particularly given the problems caused by the extensive repairs taking place after the west-end of the cathedral collapsed in 1786. These never came to pass but in 1863, some months after the cathedral had re-opened, it was agreed that the Lady Chapel could be used for St John's 'parochial purposes'. In the early 20th century, parts of St John's became absorbed by other parishes and gradually parochial activities declined. Finally, on 17 May 2012 it was agreed that the parish should be dissolved.

Mrs Pitman's book on the parish was published this year. In it she includes stories of several interesting parishioners, concluding with the biography of Gertrude Dziewicki, born of a Polish father and Hereford Quaker mother, who had lived in the parish as a child but had led a very eventful life in Poland and Russia as a governess, returning to spend her last years in Herefordshire.

SECOND MEETING: 8 October 2016 Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair.
The F.C. Morgan Lecture was given by Bill Klemperer, Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Historic England, West Midlands. It was an illustrated address entitled 'Conservation of English Border Castles in Herefordshire'.

Dr Klemperer expressed his delight in being asked to address the Woolhope Club with its long tradition of recording ancient monuments, found in the peerless countryside of Herefordshire. Having explained the present division between English Heritage and Historic England he paid tribute to his former colleague, Anthony Streeten who began the present campaign of recording and preserving the castles of the Welsh Marches. The earlier excavations at Hen Domen and

Stafford demonstrated the complexity and richness, in terms of stratification, of castle sites, of which, there were approximately 249 in total in Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire, of which 24% showed signs of masonry.

It had become clear to HE that certain castles on the Welsh Border were worthy of investment by the state and thus a rolling programme of research and protection was inaugurated in the early 1990s. An early example was Wigmore where the romance created by overgrown vegetation was recognised and a policy of minimal intervention was inaugurated. Here the model of 'soft capping' e.g. preserving existing turf and re-placing it on consolidated walls, was developed. Wigmore also demonstrated that small-scale excavations could produce remarkable results as shown by the excellent report published in 2013 by the Society of Medieval Archaeology.

Rather different was the approach at Wilton Castle, which still had a habitable dwelling and an on-site owner who was prepared to share in the expense of consolidation and negotiate renewal. Useful experience was gained here in matching mortar, creating stabilising piers and erecting period chimneys. Hopton, near Bishop's Castle, was an 'amazing' abandoned keep of *c*.1300, which attracted funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Its extensive earthworks were surveyed and after considerable intervention to the make the walls safe, it was handed over to a local trust and opened to the public. Clun, Stokesay, Whittington are other castles in Shropshire that have benefitted from a 'golden handshake' from the HLF.

It has now become the norm for castles to have 'asset management plans', which provide a programme of running repairs. Work at Kilpeck was a collaborative scheme with the Whitfield Estate, which enabled the slipping masonry on the site to be secured with underground rods. Once again the walls were soft capped and bio-degradable matting was laid to secure the mound from erosion following the removal of vegetation. Something similar is being envisaged at Clifford where the stability of the walls is again a matter of concern. Considerable new evidence about the development of each site is thrown up by the survey work, which precedes each intervention. Elsewhere, both Penyard Castle and Snodhill have recently been cleared of vegetation as a prelude to investigation. Small grants for limited excavation are often used to stimulate local enthusiasm as was the case at Ewyas Harold and Oswestry. Last summer it was the turn of Longtown and Ponthedre. The results so far look promising and the investigations will continue next year with the results informing later restoration schemes.

There was a long session of questions and Rosamund Skelton gave the vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 12 November 2016: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair.

Elizabeth Round, Midland3Cities doctoral student at the University of Leceister gave an illustrated talk on 'Bloody Discontent: the Herefordshire Arm of the Wyatt Rebellion 1554'.

Elizabeth Round came with a mission—to persuade the Club to take more seriously the disparaged and neglected 'antiquarian sources' of a bye-gone age. Instead of turning immediately to the sweets in the local record office, which often prove to be fragmentary and intractable, local historians should have another look at the work of the earlier historians of Herefordshire. In her case she had taken the oft repeated story of the battle of Cursneh Hill 1554, where the valiant burgesses of Leominster had defeated a rebel army marching to depose Queen Mary I. She first encountered the story in Norman Reeves, *The Town in the Marches* (1972). Reeves summarises the versions of the story provided by Price (1795), Williams (1808) and Townsend (1862) which each have contradictory elements. Moreover, their story fails to support the words in the charter granted by Mary in 1554, where the burgesses are apparently rewarded for standing firm against

the duke of Northumberland who had been executed by 1554. The Leominster historians all link the event with Wyatt's rebellion, which did occur in 1554.

Miss Round found collaborative local sources very scarce. The tithe map had the suggestive place-name 'Butcher's Meadow' for the field embracing the putative battle site. She also found where Price, who first prints the story, obtained his information. It came from an early-18th-century manuscript history of Leominster, now in HARC, written by an author called Snell, who seems to have used material belonging to the Coningsby family at Hampton Court, which has since disappeared. He stated that 13,000 men were involved in the battle, there were many casualties and human remains had been found close to the site. All the sources agree that the principal participants in the event were Sir James Croft, Sir Philip Hoby, Richard Wallwyn and the bishop of Hereford, John Harley, but the sides they took is disputed.

Fortunately, there has been a good deal of modern scholarly research on the events surrounding Mary's accession and there is a clear distinction between Northumberland's resistance to Mary's accession (1553) and Wyatt's rebellion the following year. In the national accounts the Herefordshire 'bruit' is also linked with Wyatt's rebellion but it seems to have been a small-scale affair and was quickly aborted. Moreover, the principal local actors seem to have been well away from Herefordshire. This was noticed by Townsend even in 1862. It seems that the local historians had failed to take into account the shift in the calendar that had occurred in 1732-3 when the events of February 1553 (old calendar) were moved to February 1554 (new calendar), thus conflating the granting of the charter with the events surrounding Wyatt's rebellion. Because of the dissolution of Leominster Priory in 1538 a new charter organising the government of the town was long overdue in 1553 and Mary, who made a special appeal to the loyalty of English towns, was simply acknowledging Leominster's acquiescence to her accession.

The following February Wyatt rebelled prematurely, without giving his allies, like James Croft, time to organise their local support. In fact Croft had been arrested on the authority of the Council of the Marches and sent to London. Hoby had also been sent by Mary to Spain to accompany Philip her future husband, to England. It was difficult to imagine a meeting in Herefordshire which involved these two ring-leaders but the speaker had consulted Croft's manuscript autobiography, which supports his involvement in the Wyatt rebellion and believes that he could have squeezed in a meeting with Hoby, which involved a brief confrontation with those in the county loyal to Mary, near Leominster. Hoby, she believes, was playing a double game, apparently loyal to Mary but hedging his bets until it was clear that Wyatt had failed in his attempt to capture London. He let Croft escape from Cushneh. She also believes that Snell's manuscript implies that the Coningsbys were involved. Thus, it appears the antiquarian story, albeit exaggerated and garbled contained the germ of an important event, which could have changed the course of national history: a rare moment for Herefordshire.

There were many supplementary questions from the audience and a vote of thanks was moved by the president.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 26 November 2016: Rosalind Lowe, president, in the chair. Dr Sheila Waddington gave a talk illustrated with maps on the 'Early Church in Hereford'.

Dr Waddington's research at the University of Birmingham was part of a project to discover the origins of the Christian church in the West Midland shires but on this afternoon she confined her talk to the development of the *parochia* of Hereford, generally assumed to have come into existence between 700 and 850 AD. As part of her research she had also studied the smaller

minsters of the shire and found that their *parochiae* provided the framework for the Mercian hundredal system. She also explained that the majority of documents she had consulted were post-Conquest since there were very few Anglo-Saxon charters for Herefordshire. In this she was following John Blair's earlier work on minsters, which exploited Domesday Book and the 1291 taxation of Pope Nicholas.

Throughout England the first minsters were located in earlier secular land units, consequently, we find that St Guthlac's, St Ethelbert and the minster at Leominster were all endowed with royal gifts and were established as secular colleges, not regular monasteries. Their temporalities may have been shared by a number of religious 'portionists', but also with secular landowners. Often the ownership of parish churches indicated in Domesday or the *Taxatio* reflected this earlier relationship. Several earlier scholars, including Stenton, had suggested that the church of St Guthlac on Castle Green was the earliest religious centre in the Hereford region. This has now been confirmed by Ron Shoesmith's excavations and Dr Waddington suggested that the earliest bishops were attached to this church and similarly, the earliest parishes of the city—St Martin, St Peter, All Saints and St Owens—were all under its control. The evidence can be found in post-Conquest documentation. Thus, St Guthlac had parochial authority within the Mercian and later Saxon 'burh'. However, the parish of St John was not under its control because this started life as the parish of a royal demesne chapel which later became the minster of St Mary and St Ethelbert. Attention was drawn to Coventry where the old minster of Holy Trinity was superseded by the later cathedral of St Michael, in similar circumstances.

Dr Waddington believed that St Guthlac's pre-eminence derived from the patronage of King Ethelbald (716-57) of Mercia. Both St Ethebert's and St Guthlac's held extensive property around the city, which was originally in royal hands but after the foundation of the former, subsequent kings diverted property away from St Guthlac's. In fact, a large amount of property held by St Guthlac's, especially in Archenfield, probably came into its hands from British patrons in the sub-Roman period. If the properties of the two minsters after the Conquest are mapped, St Guthlac's has 12 parishes and St Ethelbert, 10. Taken together this totalled 195 hides, which represents a small British territory, which may have been the lost *Fethenleage* referred to in later Welsh antiquarian sources. This is matched by similar small territories around other minsters and it is possible that these units represented sub-kingdoms of a larger territory, which came to be known as *Magonsaete*. Dr Waddington surprised us by suggesting that the story of St Ethelbert was created by English churchmen at Hereford who were looking for an English royal saint to confirm the ascendency of the Mercians in the late 8th century borderland. Both St Guthlac's and St Ethelbert's had parochial functions, which pre-dated their new role as royal demesne churches reflecting Mercian over-lordship.

There were many questions and a vote of thanks was proposed by the president.

# Editorial Message

I would like to thank the members of the Publications Committee, the Club recorders and all our contributors for their help and support in the production of this volume of the *Transactions*.

The variety of talks and visits reported in the Club's proceedings and the reports of the Recorders confirm the wide ranging interests of our members and the ability to attract excellent speakers to address club meetings.

Hereford Library, Museum and Art Gallery in Broad Street remained closed throughout 2016, which also meant there was no access to the Club's library. Despite these restrictions on access to some of the local collections, the research community continues to thrive as demonstrated by the number and selection of papers we are offered for consideration. The original papers in this volume address a variety of topics and present new research and interpretation for our readers.

Jane Adams

# An appreciation of Beryl Harding

In the spring of 2017, Beryl Harding left Herefordshire to live nearer to her family in Leicestershire. The Club committee wishes to record our debt of gratitude to her for all she has done for us.

Beryl and her husband John joined the Club in 1981. Within a few years she started to serve both as an officer and as a contributor to the *Transactions*—and never stopped. In 1984 her name first appeared in the Transactions, when she became Natural History and Ornithology Recorder—a post she held until 2017—and also reported on Mammals. In those balmy days the Natural History section had 70 members and held 7 field meetings a year.

Her name first appeared in the Archaeological Research Section (ARS) journal as a committee member in 1985; John became Treasurer of the section from 1987 until 2004. Beryl was the ARS secretary until her departure and until recently attended all the ARS field meetings. I remember marking OS maps with sites from aerial photos at her house in Lugwardine, fortified by biscuits and coffee and also, as a newish Club member, attending ARS garden parties at her isolated house in Llanwarne.

Beryl joined the main committee of the Club in 1986 and served for 30 years. She was president in 1997, when her Presidential address was on 'Tufa Formation today and in the past', appropriate as Geology is yet another Club section to which she has given sterling service as secretary and treasurer.

From 2001 she was the Club's Field secretary, managing the administration of the Club's summer field visits, taking in members' payments, dealing with bus companies and carrying a stock of cheques to pay our way during the day.

Her energy and efficiency will be missed—a number of people have been required to fulfil her duties in various Herefordshire institutions—and so will her cheery personality.

Rosalind Lowe, President 2016-17

# WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

## RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ended 31st December 2016

| 2015 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **RECEIPTS** | | | |
| 20 | | Interest on investments | Subs Reserve | 18 | |
| 5 | | | GW Smith Reserve | 6 | |
| 2413 | | | Charity Bonds | 2519 | |
| 454 | | | National Savings | 371 | |
| 2 | | Herefordshire County Loan | | | |
| 9 | | War Stock | | | |
| | 2904 | | | | 2914 |
| | | Investment redemption | | | |
| 1040 | | Herefordshire County Loan | | | |
| 933 | 1973 | 3.5% War Stock | | | |
| 7080 | | General Subscriptions | | 7256 | |
| 85 | | Sale of Transactions and other books | | 6 | |
| | | Publishers Licensing Society (Royalties) | | 3344 | |
| | | Local History Day School (Donation) | | 247 | |
| 1092 | | Gift Aid Tax Reclaim | | 1091 | |
| | | Sundries | | 2 | 11945 |
| | | Archaeological Research | Net Surplus | | |
| | | Field Meetings | Net Surplus | 70 | |
| | | Geology Section | Net Surplus | | |
| | 10229 | | | | 70 |
| | 13133 | | | | 14929 |
| | | **PAYMENTS** | | | |
| 27 | | Insurance | | 27 | |
| 5381 | | Stationery, Printing & Binding | | 5816 | |
| 420 | | Meeting Expenses | | 366 | |
| 1419 | | Postage & Telephone | | 1557 | |
| 254 | | Subscriptions & Donations | | 256 | |
| 194 | | Materials | | 135 | |
| 200 | | Honoraria | | 600 | |
| 138 | | Gift Aid to Geology & Archaeology | | 131 | |
| 350 | | Grants for publications (GW Smith Fund) | | 750 | |
| 43 | | Miscellaneous | | 31 | |
| 1040 | 9465 | NSB Investment | | 0 | 9670 |
| 832 | | Archaeological Research | Net Deficit | 433 | |
| 132 | | Field Meetings | Net Deficit | 0 | |
| 148 | 1112 | Geology Section | Net Deficit | 545 | 977 |
| | 10577 | | | | 10648 |
| Surplus | 2556 | | Surplus | | 4281 |

## BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER 2016

| 2015 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **ASSETS** | | |
| 61715 | | National Savings Investments | | 62086 |
| 85047 | | United Trust Bank Charity Bond | | 85047 |
| 33000 | | Bank of Cyprus UK Charity Bond | | 33000 |
| | | Bank accounts: | | |
| 626 | | General | 2862 | |
| 2314 | | Subscriptions | 3102 | |
| 781 | | GW Smith Account | 2556 | |
| 40972 | | Subscriptions Reserve | 40990 | |
| 12500 | | GW Smith Reserve | 12500 | |
| 35 | | Natural History Section | 35 | |
| 3320 | | Archaeological Research Section | 2887 | |
| 1305 | | Field Meetings | 1376 | |
| 2126 | 63979 | Geology Section | 1581 | 67889 |
| 243741 | | | | 248022 |

Note that the following assets of fluctuation or indeterminate value are not included in this balance sheet:

The contents of the library and stock of publications

Photographic and computer equipment etc.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **CAPITAL** | | |
| | | General Funds | | |
| 241185 | | Balance brought forward | 243741 | |
| 2556 | 243741 | Add surplus in year | 4281 | 248022 |
| 243741 | | | | 248022 |

# Biographical Details of Contributors

Biographical details of **John Eisel** can be found in the 2005 *Transactions*. Since then he has completed a fourth term as President (2011-2). Biographical details of **Joe Hillaby** can be found in the 2014 *Transactions*, those of **David Whitehead** in the 2015 *Transactions.*

**John Freeman** is County Editor for Herefordshire of the Survey of English Place-Names and is a member of the Council of the English Place-Name Society and of the Editorial Board of the journal *Nomina*. He has served on the Woolhope Club Committee and has given talks to the Club on Herefordshire place-names. His *Dictionary of Herefordshire Place-Names* is at an advanced stage of preparation.

**Paul Hipkins** was born in Barnsley. He read History and Philosophy at what was then the new University of East Anglia, before spending almost 40 years in the Civil Service. He is now retired and has lived in Herefordshire with his wife Aggie for over 20 years.

**Dr J. Edward Peters** is an architectural historian with a special interest in old farm buildings. He has lived in Malvern since 1971. He read architecture at Manchester University, then followed it with post-graduate work on farm buildings. He continued to study them in his spare time and has published various articles on the subject. Until retirement he was an architect in private practice, specialising in conservation work.

# Errata, *TWNFC,* 63 (2015)

**Geology, 2015**

The reference for Dr Neil Clark's paper on a new crustacean found at Great Doward given on p. 254 was incorrect. The correct reference is given below.

Neil D. L. Clark, Rollo Gillespie, Sam F. Morris & Geoffrey Clayton, 'A new early Carboniferous crustacean from the Forest of Dean, England', *Journal of Systematic Paleontology* (2016), pp. 799-807.

Published online: 03 Dec 2015, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14772019.2015.1096848.

# Presidential Address, 2016
# A Welsh survival in the land of Pyon

*By* PAUL HIPKINS

*Domesday Book for Herefordshire (1086) reveals a county with two distinct cultures; the English 'shire' north of the Wye and Archenfield to the south where Welsh influence remained strong. This address explores the evidence for early Welsh associationsin the land of Pyon, in mid Herefordshire.*

The origins of this address lie in a request I received to write a brief history of the church in King's Pyon. I turned to the Woolhope Club library in 2012 to check what, if anything, had been written about the parish. The then Hon. Librarians, Jackie Jonson and Gwill. Rees could not have been more welcoming or helpful. I was therefore delighted and honoured by Jackie's subsequent invitation to give her Presidential address. It was one particular article by Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Welsh Kings and their lands in Herefordshire', that had started me thinking about the Welsh associations with King's Pyon.[1] I acknowledge my debt to Bruce, and hope he will consider that I have been able to add to his original research.

Domesday Book (1086) shows us two Herefordshires.[2] Firstly, north of the river Wye an English 'shire' that had been under Mercian political control with its own English Bishopric, for over 300 years. A shire where prior to the Norman invasion the landowners' names were all Anglo Saxon, where manors were taxed in hides, and whose English place names are still largely recognisable from a modern map. Secondly, Archenfield (Welsh: Ergyng) south of the river, still a Welsh society in 1086. Politically, it was in 1086 increasingly under Anglo Norman control, and ecclesiastically the see of Hereford was usurping Llandaff's ancient rights.[3] Despite this, in its language, customs and culture Ergyng still remained defiantly Welsh.

The boundary of the Wye, apparently agreed with the Welsh by King Athelstan around 920, had created this division which endures, to some extent, to the present day. Whilst today place names and church dedications in Archenfield suggest the earlier Welsh or Celtic presence, there is very little to remind us that the remainder of Herefordshire, north of the Wye, must once have also been Welsh land.

What is surprising is how completely traces of the Welsh society north of the Wye have disappeared. Margaret Gelling's survey of Herefordshire place names show very few with clear Welsh origins.[4] She comments on the prevalence of 'directional' place names: Sutton, Weston, Norton, Easton. It is almost as if the Mercian administrators had started with a clean slate. Dr Gelling assumes a large if not a majority Welsh population, for centuries after the Mercians took control. Perhaps it is therefore even more surprising that the dialect expert (and former Woolhope Club President) Winifred Leeds, writing half a century ago, found the number of words of Welsh derivation in Herefordshire dialect to be small.[5]

The purpose of this address is to suggest that a detailed study of one particular area, the Pyons in mid Herefordshire, may allow us to glimpse the outlines of this vanished celtic society. It is important here to note that the Pyons are both north of the River Wye and within the area defined as Mercian in the 8th century by Offa's Dyke. The line of the Dyke as accepted by Sir

Cyril Fox in his classic account and confirmed by a recent major study, runs across the flank of Burton Hill, a couple of miles to the west of the King's Pyon parish boundary.[6]

The modern parishes of King's Pyon and Canon Pyon are approximately seven miles north of Hereford. Two separate manors existed well before Domesday; one belonging to King Edward the Confessor at 1066, and the other to the Cathedral canons. The common name (although Domesday spells them 'Pione' and 'Peune'), and their discrete valley setting, suggests a single estate. A map of the complete valley and the features mentioned in the text is included at Plate 1.1.

The valley floor is, in the main, relatively flat with two distinctive wooded 'tumps', Pyon Hill and Butthouse Knap, rising sharply above the farmland. It is enclosed on three sides by steep wooded escarpments. To the north, the valley floor rises to a low ridge which provides a clear boundary with the Leominster plain beyond. The parish boundaries follow the escarpment edges closely and in the case of King's Pyon have been marked with yews. The surveyor's notes of the original Ordnance Survey suggest yews may at one time have formed linear markers for much of the parish boundary.[7] Boundary markers are less obvious in Canon Pyon, but I am told that ancient stones on Westhope Hill were removed by wartime ploughing.

The name 'Pyon' or 'Pione' is thought to be old English; 'Island of gnats' is suggested not only on etymological grounds but also because the original settlement around Canon Pyon church is a low lying wet area, overlooked by the distinctive 'island' of Pyon Hill.[8] Canon Pyon is the larger of two village settlements in the valley, but if this explanation is accepted it seems odd that one minor topographical feature should be adopted as the name of the whole area. I have used the phrase 'the Pyons' to cover, not only the two adjacent modern parishes, but also an area of the adjoining Wormsley parish which may have been part of original single estate. The original estate boundary here may have been diverted into the valley to reflect a later monastic land holding.

There must have been an earlier Welsh or Celtic name, which preceded 'Pione', but if so, it has not survived. A full English Place-Name Society (EPNS) survey of Herefordshire is still awaited, but (to me as a complete layman) there appear to be no place or field names within the Pyons that are obviously of Welsh origin.

The Pyons occupy a valley bisected by the major Roman road running between Caerwent and Chester, via Wroxeter. This road continued to be the main artery of north south communication through the county until the later medieval period, and beyond. The valley corridor adjoining it can never have been simply a rural backwater. Further south the road is called the 'Portway', possibly referring to the Anglo-Saxon trading centre at Hereford.

No significant archaeology has been carried out within the Pyons, but the Historic Environment Record (HER) for Herefordshire indicates an Iron Age Hill fort at Chadnor Hill on the northern boundary of King's Pyon parish, immediately above, what on the Tithe map is still a large south facing open field, 'Sunny Bank'.[9] Nearer to the Roman road, the discovery of a significant quantity of Romano-British pottery and two Roman coins, indicates a settlement of some kind. [10]

Five miles or so to the south of the Pyons, a long running archaeological excavation at Wellington quarry located evidence of 'a settled and farmed landscape' on the Lugg floodplain which continued from the late Iron Age, through the Roman period to the early medieval. Although post-Roman material was scarce the significant find of a watermill dated to the seventh

or eighth centuries did allow the conclusion to be drawn that agriculture on the Lugg flood plain continued from Roman times to medieval. A minor Roman road or track appears to have linked the main arterial road at St Donat's farm, some two miles south of the Pyons, to this Wellington Quarry site.[11]

There are no Domesday references in the Pyons to woodland clearance (assarting) and the place name Wooton 'settlement near a wood' occurs twice at farms currently situated on the periphery of the valley, close to present day woodland. Place names with the ending 'ley' suggesting their origin as a woodland clearing, (Birley, Weobley, Kinnersley, Wormsley etc.) are common around the Pyons, but not within it. Therefore, despite the lack of excavation there seems every reason to believe that farming continued through the post Roman and early medieval period, and that the Pyons may have had roughly the same proportion of its land available for farming, as at the present time.

Any continuation of farming presupposes a population continuing to do the work. There seems no documentary or other evidence for a native population significantly reduced by warfare, or by displacement resulting from significant Mercian migration. The assumption must be therefore, that the native Welsh population remained substantially in place throughout the early medieval period.[12]

South of the river Wye in Archenfield the Llandaff Charters chronicle a number of identifiable Welsh estates linked to the church at Llandaff.[13] Some of these such as Moccas (Welsh *Mochros)*, are relatively close to the Wye. There is no similar documentary source from the early medieval period covering the land between the Wye and the Severn. Sheila Waddington has commented that it seems highly unlikely that a comparable Welsh society did not exist to the north, and has suggested a number of minor Welsh polities possibly linked in the north to the kingdom of Powis.[14] A 'polity' is the word used by Dr Waddington and others for these sub kingdoms; each with its own political and ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is not clear whether the Pyons would have been linked either to the Lugg valley (the area which place name evidence suggests was known as 'Leen') to the north, or to Kenchester or its successor on the Wye to the south at Hereford. The actual extent of any such sub kingdom is unclear, but the topography might suggest that the natural focus, then as now, would be to the south. One source suggests early Welsh connections with the minster of St Guthlac at Hereford on Castle Green, where the archaeology takes Christian origins back beyond the eighth century.[15] In the absence of documentary evidence there can only ever be the informed speculation as to the extent of a Welsh church network which pre-dated, and may have formed a basis for, the later English ecclesiastical parish structure. There are however some clues in the modern Pyons landscape.

Canon Pyon church, situated a mile or so to the west of the major Roman road, has no obvious pre-medieval fabric, but it does have a relatively rare dedication to St Lawrence; a late Roman saint said to be associated with Roman and post-Roman sites. Keith Ray has also noted the remains of a circular enclosure in the valley below the present church, which he suggested could have been the enclosure or 'llan' of an early church.[16]

Margaret Gelling refers to examples of Shropshire medieval churches on sites which display signs of much earlier occupancy. No similar systematic review has been done for Herefordshire but King's Pyon parish church sitting on what one Victorian called its 'elevated tump' does have features which may pre-date its earliest (11th-century) masonry. Enclosed within its 19th-century churchyard wall is a significant curved depression that clearly features

on the 1838 Tithe map and may also be reflected in a pen and ink sketch by a late-seventeenth century visitor.[17] Whilst it is not certain, the site appears to bear a distinct resemblance to the curvilinear ditch with raised banks (in Cornish 'llann') that are a feature of many of the early Christian sites in Cornwall. [18]

Three miles or so to the west, Eccles Green in Norton Canon parish is a place name that could possibly be derived from 'Ecles' the old English name for church. Although this attribution is not without doubt, Coplestone-Crow preferring 'Ecca's wood', the apparent suggestion of Roman masonry in the nearby parish church does add weight to the suggestion of a British church continuing into the Mercian period. [19]

All the above could reasonably be described as speculative. There is little to be said about the Pyons that could not be said about a number of localities in Herefordshire, and with equal lack of explicit detail. There is however a unique manuscript source which sheds light on the remnants of Welsh society surviving in the Pyons for a considerable time after the area had passed into English control.

St Leonard of Pyon was an Augustinian priory founded on a valley site, on what would have been the south west edge of King's Pyon manor in the latter part of the twelfth century.[20] Its name changed later to St Leonard of Wormsley, apparently without any change of site. The priory was suppressed in 1539 and there are now very few physical remains on its Mill Field, Wormsley site. Many visitors think the parish church on the hill above must be the former priory site. Choir stalls with misericords in Canon Pyon church, and a fragment of an alabaster reredos in Hereford museum are probably survivals from the monastic church. The monastic buildings were most likely systematically taken down and the stone used for building the adjacent Wormsley Grange, in the early seventeeth century. The whole site is now on private land, and not available for public access.

What has survived from Wormsley are two separate collections of the priory's charters. One set is included in the work of the severnteenth-century antiquarian Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and the other set in a bound volume of miscellaneous manuscripts from both Battle Abbey in Sussex and Wormsley Priory.[21] The latter volume by an anonymous copyist found its way to the British Museum from the Harley collection, and is now in the British Library.[22] The British Library has no transcription of what are tightly written and indistinct copies (some apparently incomplete) within a binding that appears to date from 1599. I have therefore had to rely on the transcription of three particular documents made by Welsh historian A. J. Roderick in 1950 in his article, *Villa Wallensica* which first drew attention to this source.[23] Not all the documents copied into the two collections can be dated precisely, but as a body they appear to cover over 100 years, starting soon after the founding of the priory in the later twelfth century and running to the later thirteenth century.

Although there are various charters relating to land in King's Pyon in the Dugdale collection, the principal documents of interest are the three Harley manuscripts selected by Roderick. These relate to the following transfers by lay benefactors, of land in King's Pyon to the Priory:

An undated transfer of 20 acres by William Mapp, dated by Roderick to between 1230 and 1252, on the basis of what is known of one of the witnesses to the document, Roger de Poher.

An undated transfer of 56 acres by Walter of Escotot, who is thought to have died before 1243.

A transfer dated November 1271 of 'all my land' by Richard Gerebert.

There are of course no maps included, but the establishment of title to the priory's acquisitions relies on their precise locations being described in each document. In doing so they refer to a number of landscape features in the valley to the north of the priory, many of which can still be identified.

A phrase which recurs in a number of the charters from both sources is: *usque ad rivulum qui vocator Walschebroke qui currit sub Akhull* ('all along the stream that is called Welshbrook which runs below Akhull').[24]

Figure 1. Site of Wormsley Priory 2016, viewed across the Welsh brook stream.

'Welshbrook' is clearly the early name given to the stream forming the modern parish boundary between King's Pyon and Wormsley immediately north of the former priory site at OS 435 492. This stream (unnamed on all modern OS maps) forms the parish boundary as it flows eastwards along the valley; passing below Akhull the isolated hill now known as Butthouse Knap, past Butthouse Farm, on towards Canon Pyon and eventually merging to form Wellington brook.[25] The 'Welshbrook' appears to have been so named in these documents because of the stream's proximity to a Welsh settlement or enclave that existed at the time.

> '*…et decem acre terre arabilis iacent in Edricheshale, et extendunt se a regali semita que villam Wallensen'* ('and 10 acres of arable land in Edricheshall and they extend from the royal/regal path which leads to the Welsh settlement').

This quote is from the transfer from Walter Mapp to St Leonard of Pyon.[26] The location of *Edricheshall* has been lost, but the reference to the path recurs in the other documents. A further quote from the transfer from Walter de Eskotot, Anglo Norman Lord of King's Pyon, clarifies the position further:

> *et extendunt a terra de Worm' per terras predictorum fratrum ultra rivulum qui dicitur Walschebrok ,prout mete docent, usque ad terram quam Hugo de villa Wallensica tenuit. Et sic per rivulum predictam usque ad lydyet de villa Wallensica excepta via quam homines de villa Wallensica debent habere ad font in schyrnhurste iuxta predictam rivulum***.** (…extends from the land of Wormsley through the land of the [Holy?] brothers beyond the stream which is called Welshbrook, or so they tell me, as far as the land of the Welsh settlement which Hugo of Welsh settlement held. And thus past the said stream to the gate/boundary of the Welsh settlement, with the exception of the pathway which the men of the Welsh settlement must have in order to reach the well in the schurnhurst [spinney?] next to the said stream).

The land transferred is then shown by the scribe as extending up to and beyond the gate of the Welsh settlement, along an established path (*salva via*), and up to the field called 'Northfield'. The location name 'Northfield' is itself interesting as it is to the north of the Welsh settlement, but to the south west of the adjacent King's Pyon village.

If we use the 1904 2nd Series 6 inch OS map, supplemented by the 1838 King's Pyon Tithe map, the Wormsley Priory site (not shown on the current OS Explorer map) and the North field in King's Pyon, are still clearly linked by a road or lane which crosses the stream and continues up the valley, due north. This is clearly the 'royal way' or 'established way' referred to in these charters. This lane, known to an older generation of King's Pyon residents as 'Gallopers' Lane', was probably for centuries the main route into King's Pyon from the south.[27]

The King's Pyon Tithe map of 1838 graphically confirms the exact position of the Welsh settlement, with a field named 'Welsh Town' situated mid-way along Gallopers' Lane at OS 435 495. 'Welsh Town' field was an isolated 5 acre field belonging to Mary Tompkins in 1838, but by the time of the 1904 OS map had been amalgamated with adjoining estate land to the east to become the Old Croft field of 21 acres.[28] It is in the former adjoining field that there are still clear signs of earthworks. Dr Ray, then County Archaeologist, (without apparently being aware of the Welsh connection) noted these in 2013, as the 'earthworks of a possible deserted medieval settlement'.[29] The area between the Priory site and King's Pyon village including the royal path and Welshtown field is included in a further map by Geoff Gwatkins; [included at Plate1.2].

I am grateful to Geoff Gwatkins, not only for the maps which accompany this address, but also for pointing out to me that the word 'royal' or its variant 'rail' also appears as fieldnames in Hentland parish (Welsh: *Henllan Dyfrig*) and others in Archenfield. It has been suggested that the apparent incongruity of finding 'royal' paths and 'royal' fields in the rural landscape is a consequence of the general word 'the way' in old Welsh (modern Welsh: *yr heol*) sounding to the English ear like the word 'royal'. In this instance it was then further translated into Latin by the monastic scribe as 'via regale'. Hopefully the correctness of this interpretation will be addressed, along with other place name issues raised in this article, by the ongoing EPNS survey.

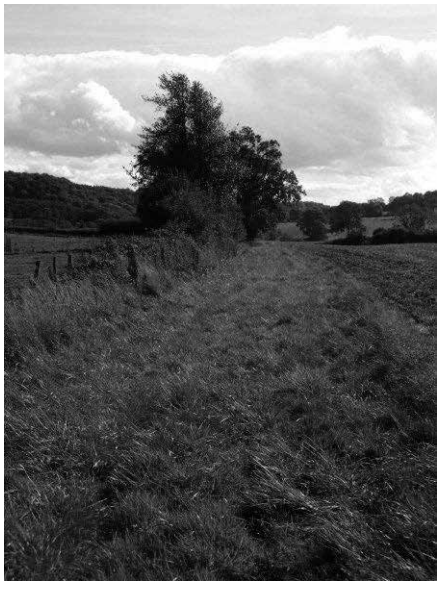

Figure 2. The remains of Gallopers' Lane in 2016 looking south. Blacklands field is on the right, with the Welsh town site to the left.

The Wormsley documents relate to a period of little more than 100 years ending in the later thirteenth century with nothing retained relating to the last 300 years of the priory's existence. What we can say with certainty is that, when finally referred to in the priory's records of the 13th century, a Welsh community had been occupying the site for some considerable time.

Almost 300 years earlier the Domesday Book records one 'Gruffydd' as having a sub tenancy in King's Pyon of half a hide of land, a small part of this former royal manor valued in total at 5 hides. Gruffydd ap Mareddud was a Welsh prince, son of King Mareddud, who is shown in 1086 as owning a number of relatively small estates in Herefordshire.[30] Bruce Coplestone-Crow has traced Gruffydd's dynasty back to King Hywel Dda (died 950). At the time of Domesday, Gruffydd was in exile on his Herefordshire estates, whilst a cousin, Rhys, ruled as King of Deheubarth in south Wales. Coplestone-Crow makes a case for the family's principal estate to be located at Maes Hyfaidd, in what is now Radnorshire.[31]

A precise location is not given in Domesday for the half hide in King's Pyon, but it is generally accepted as being the same site as the one referred to in the Wormsley charters. It is possible that it was gifted to Gruffydd's father, by the Norman Earl William Fitz Osborn before 1071. Fitz Osborn clearly used his palatine powers to transfer land and tithes in King's Pyon to his monastic foundation at Cormeilles and may also have granted the sub tenancy to Gryffydd. Domesday also states that King William gave the manors of '*Mateurdin'* and Lye to King Mareddud. It seems more likely however from their common situation that most if not all of these small sites represented long established Welsh enclaves, or 'welshries'. The apparent gifts to King Mareddud may simply represent the Normans confirming the historic property rights of their trusted allies.

Prince Gruffydd himself was recorded as the only Welsh tenant in chief in Herefordshire in 1086, although merely a sub tenant in King's Pyon. The death in battle of Earl William fitz Osborn in 1071, quickly followed by the disastrous rebellion of his son, Roger of Breteuil, may have precipitated a change of Norman attitudes towards Mareddud and Gruffydd. The tenancy of the manor of King's Pyon had (by 1086) been transferred to the loyal de Lacy family, and when Gruffydd himself was killed in 1091 trying to reassert his Welsh dynastic rights, his various Herefordshire land holdings passed into Anglo-Norman ownership.[32]

We have little reference to King's Pyon, or indeed Gruffydd's other lands prior to Domesday. Coplestone-Crow's conclusion was that Gruffydd's small Domesday holdings were 'the minor and poorer part of larger estates that were left to their native populations as the centres of the estates became anglicized.'[33] We have no documentation to chart any such process of Anglicisation, but clearly it may have been going on for up to 300 years, well before the Domesday Book makes its sparse references to what are by then, residual Welsh lands. With no

specific record of Mercian conquest of this part of Herefordshire, any dispossession of the Welsh population, or any idea of the numbers of incoming Mercian migrants, we can only speculate as to how the obvious change of this part of Herefordshire, from a Welsh cantref to a Mercian hundred, may have happened.

The process of 'Anglicisation' may have started slowly and peacefully in a mixed Mercian sub-kingdom north of Hereford in the early eight century; the name of Bishop Wahlstod (possibly 2nd Bishop of Hereford, died 736), 'the interpreter', is often cited as indicating a mixed English/ Welsh population. The famous Merewahl may have been a Welsh prince who took the people of this area into peaceful alliance with the Mercians.[34] However, relations between English and Welsh must have fluctuated massively over the entire early medieval period. This may have ranged from military cooperation or alliance, such as between Cadwallon of Gwynedd and the Mercian Penda (and Penda's victory, suggested as possibly with British help, at Cirencester in 628), to outright hatred ('the Britons, the implacable enemies of the Saxon race', Felix, *c.*730), even before the two races were separated by Offa's Dyke.[35] Given these fluctuations, even if there were no large-scale expropriations of land, or expulsions of the native population, the Mercian military, cultural, and political ascendency must have meant an inexorable reduction of estates in Welsh ownership over an extended period.

No Mercian law code has survived, but in Wessex the Laws of King Alfred's predecessor Ine, (reigned 688-694) distinguish between his English and Welsh subjects. These include a law relating to payment of wergild, the price to be paid to the relatives of someone who had been killed, to avoid feud. The Welsh referred to in the laws were the native people of the south west, overtaken by the expansion of Wessex earlier in the seventh century; clearly the Welsh remained in these areas, and also remained in some way distinctive from the incomers. Martin Grimmer points out that although the amount of wergild to be levied depended on the status of the individual there was clearly 'a disparity between the value placed on the life of a Briton and that of a Saxon in Ines's code'. Grimmer quotes Thomas Charles Edward in saying that there was a 'parallel hierarchy' with the Saxons in the more favourable position'.[36] Ine's law categorises the Wessex Welsh by reference to their land holding, or lack of it. Therefore, clearly Welshmen continued to hold land, in contrast to the popular myth that they were all slaves! Alex Woolf points out that this leads to the conclusion that Wessex was 'a patchwork of separate *regiones,* some at least of which were dominated by Britons'.[37] The same must hold true in western Mercia.

The possibility that the division of the original 'Pione' estate was originally a racial division, between an Englishry and a Welshry, is intriguing. The division of the single estate must have been at a relatively early date. The boundary which neatly bisects the valley between the two parishes of King's Pyon and Canon Pyon appears to skirt round the site of the Romano-British settlement, suggesting any division was effected well before the famous Godifa and her sister Wulvifa made their gift of what became Canon Pyon, to the cathedral church at Hereford in the early 11th century.[38] Furthermore, the two 'Pione' churches were also in different ecclesiastical deaneries when these were first recorded, in the Papal *Taxatio* of 1291.[39] St Mary's church, King's Pyon, shared Weston Beggard Deanery with a straggling group of churches with Welsh connections. Lugwardine and several others in the Frome valley are included, within the extended area suggested for the original Archenfield.[40] The grouping of the twelve churches of the Weston Deanery would therefore seem to pre-date the six Domesday Hundreds within which

they are situated. Ecclesiastical boundaries as has been observed, are harder to shift than political boundaries and therefore, 'often preserve ancient lines of demarcation'.[41]

The relative inferiority of the Welsh landowners, must surely have lead, over time, to the position where most estates were English controlled, with Welsh nobility, such as King Mareddud and his son, a rarity by 1086. By this late stage Welshman, who did not wish to be part of, or were for some reason excluded from a society that was culturally and linguistically English, must have been forced into ever smaller Welsh areas within larger English estates. In Pyon, the Wormsley Charter documents seem to suggest that the King's Pyon Welsh community may at one time have occupied much more of the surrounding valley. In 1272 the residual Welsh community was apparently still in decline.

The community by the time of Roderick's final example, had clearly become separated from the stream that the English referred to as 'Welshbrook'. The new monastic owners wrote into the land transfer document that the 56 acres excluded 'the pathway that the men of the Welsh settlement must have to reach the well… next to the stream'; (my emphasis). Separation from water would cause profound difficulties for any community and would only be tolerated reluctantly, or under some form of duress. Furthermore, there are a number of place names which may be Welsh, and which appear to be outside the narrow confines of the settlement suggested by the text. These include 'Akhull' (Butthouse Knap) and indeed further down the valley, Butthouse itself. Coplestone-Crow has tentatively suggested this name originated as *Bettws* (Welsh: 'chapel').[42] I would hope that this could be confirmed by the ongoing EPNS survey.

The transfer from Walter Mapp, possibly the earliest of the three documents, includes two further stream names 'Redeford' and 'Kanne', but does not mention the ubiquitous 'Welshbrook'. There are a number of minor branches off the main stream, and these lesser tributaries may be what are being referred to. It is equally possible that 'Kanne' is the original Welsh word for the stream, a name that was lost as the Welsh presence reduced in what had formerly been their valley. A later generation of English speakers may not have been aware of the Welsh name, and simply referred to it as 'the Welsh brook'. Interestingly, this word 'Kanne' may be related to *Canona* the celtic word for a 'reedy river'.[43] A similar process may have been at work in the use of the term the 'established path'—*Salve via*— in the Escotot transfer of 1272. In the two earlier documents the scribe refers to a royal path or way *'regali semita'* and '*regalem viam'*. Had the original Welsh word (see above) again, simply been forgotten?

It is easy to see the community as always an isolated one. King's Pyon with its church and manor house, and the other larger dispersed settlements of Wistaston and Wooton were all a mile or two distant. The Welsh on their hillside kept themselves separate. The transfer charter from Walter de Eskotot uses the Latin word *Lydyet***,** suggesting that the settlement was certainly gated, and possibly also fenced off from the surrounding land occupied by their English neighbours. A. J. Roderick refers to similar separated communities in south Wales, but does not speculate as to whether they 'were kept, or kept themselves separate'. Certainly, the ridge site they occupied below Butthouse Knap offers good visibility (including as far afield as the Malverns) for defence, if this was required.[44]

The isolated position of the Welsh settlement in the modern landscape may in fact be slightly misleading. The first series OS map (published 1832) showing Welsh Town as a cross-roads site should perhaps remind us that it must have been part of a network of similar welshries; more extensive than the possessions of Gruffydd ap Mareddud alone. Several historians including

F. R. Loyn, Bruce Coplestone-Crow and David E. Thornton have drawn attention to the record of a legal dispute over land ownership between Edwin ap Einion and his mother, before the shire court sometime during the reign of King Cnut, one of very few documents to survive from early medieval Herefordshire.[45] Edwin was the great grandfather of Gruffydd and therefore also a member of the same welsh royal line. One parcel of disputed land (*Curdeslege*) cannot be clearly identified, but the other was within the manor of Wellington. Wellington adjoins Canon Pyon estate along its eastern border, and is clearly visible (and walkable) from Butthouse. Although not a property included in the dispute, it was also recorded that the defendant, Edwin's mother, resided at *'Faeligleah'* which Coplestone-Crow identifies as the moated site two miles to the north of King's Pyon, (OS 419 538) near Fields Place on the edge of Dilwyn parish. I presume his identification is based at least partly on the Dilwyn Tithe map naming the fields surrounding this site as 'Fawley'. Both of these sites may well have been 'welshries' within their respective larger estates. The full identification of these and further 'welshries' in Herefordshire, is a subject that would surely repay further research.

The Domesday Book assessment of Gruffydd's King's Pyon land in 1086 was half a hide; nominally perhaps 60 acres, but as a hide is as much a valuation as a unit of land measurement, it could be much more. 'Welsh Town' is on an exposed hillside and (I have it on good authority) is not the best land in the parish, possibly better for grazing than arable. The fields in this area appear from their names and regular shapes to have been formed in the early nineteenth century, out of a single open field— 'Blacklands field'. There were eight fields in 1838 with 'Blacklands' in their names, situated in an 80-acre block of land to the west of the Welsh Town and Old Croft fields. 'Blacklands' is generally thought to have been a name given by the earliest farmers, who noted from the soil's darker appearance that it had been farmed before.[46] The significance here is that a field name survey undertaken by the Woolhope Club which ran through the 1980s located only these eight fields in King's Pyon parish, together with a very limited number of similarly named examples elsewhere in the county. A comprehensive 1638 marriage agreement has survived, which detailed the land and farm assets of what was then the Buttas Manor estate.[47] Whilst many of the fields detailed in this agreement can still be located around Buttas in the 1838 Tithe map, there is no specific reference to any 'Blacklands'. What could be the 'Blacklands field' however, is the 140 acres described in the 1638 marriage agreement as 'whole sheep pasture'. Although no location is given, it seems a reasonable assumption that this 140 acre field includes the 'Blacklands' and is also the basis of the half hide of land leased to the exiled prince Gruffydd ap Mareddud before 1071.

The Welsh remained a presence (albeit a declining one) in King's Pyon. The 1523 Subsidy Tax returns show that of the twenty-four men of the parish who were assessed, only three still chose to use the Welsh patronymic in their names. None did so in the equivalent 1545 return. Michael Faraday (using obvious Welsh Christian names, and the presence of the patronymic 'ap') has calculated that throughout the Stretford Hundred, which included King's Pyon, the 1524/25 assessment included 8% of those assessed were still recognisably Welsh.[48] (The figures were of course much higher south of the Wye, with an equivalent estimate of 80% in Ewyas Hundred). The leading layman of King's Pyon parish in 1525 and presumed owner of the Buttas estate, Thomas Blount de Buttes, has no obvious Welsh connection. Thse figures coincide with the border between England and Wales being finally settled by Henry VIII's so- called Acts of Union, of 1536 and 1543.

The King's Pyon Welsh community, fades from view. There is no apparent mention of it in any later documents; apart from the field name 'Welsh Town', it is consigned to history. Its existence is not even remembered in the extensive Herefordshire folklore collected by Ella Mary Leather of Weobley in the early part of the twentieth century.[49] We must presume that the Welsh on their windswept hillside either died out, or moved away. Possibly they finally lost their need to be separate.

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[4] M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the early Middle Ages* (1992), pp. 69-70.
[5] W. Leeds, *Herefordshire speech. The south west Midland dialect as spoken in Herefordshire and its environs* (1974), p. 13.
[6] Keith Ray and Ian Bapty, *Offa's Dyke: Landscape and hegemony in eighth-century Britain* (Windgather Press, 2016), pp. 286-7.
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[21] Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846), Vol. iv, pp. 399-404.
[22] British Library, Harleian MSS 3586.
[23] A. J. Roderick, 'Villa Wallensica'*, Bulletin of Celtic Studies,* No. 13 (1950), pp. 90-2. I am grateful to The National Library of Wales for providing me with a copy of this article.
[24] All translations from the Latin texts in this article were kindly provided by Mrs Annie Edwards. Some of the words which she, as translator, originally flagged up as 'difficult', have proved to be the most interesting in the wider context of my article.
[25] Leeds, *Herefordshire speech;* the word 'knap' means a steep ascent or pitch.
[26] Walter Mapp may be the famous Canon of Hereford Cathedral. Certainly *TWNFC* (1888), p. 244 (an account of the 4th Field Meeting of the Woolhope Club that visited Wormsley), leaves no doubt that the WM quoted in the charters was the incumbent of Westbury, and friend of King Henry II.
[27] Gallopers' Lane is shown as a lane on the Tithe Map 1838 but has been subsequently reduced at some points to little more than an intermittent field boundary. Last used regularly in the 1960s as a footpath from Wormsley to King's Pyon primary school, it is no longer a public right of way.
[28] Mary, daughter of Benjamin Tompkins of King's Pyon; considered one of the principal early creators of the modern Hereford cattle breed. The isolation of this one field, in 1838 completely surrounded by Garnstone Estate land, is intriguing.
[29] HER 52435
[30] Thorn, *Domesday Book*; section10.50 for King's Pyon: section 31:1-31:7 for Gruffydd.
[31] WNFC: Hereford Archaeological Notes, (HAN 58) Sept 1965 pp 7-10. The dynasty is also set out in detail by David E. Thornton, 'Some Welshmen in Domesday' in N. J. Higham (ed.), *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 157-60.
[32] Thorn, *Domesday Book*; the editorial notes for section 10:50 (King's Pyon) point out that the estate, and other Gruffydd's property is shown in later Herefordshire Domesday, as owned by William de Braosa.
[33] Coplestone-Crow, 'Welsh Kings and their lands in Herefordshire', HAN 58, Sept. 1965, p. 9.
[34] Merewahl is an elusive fellow, but Kate Pretty sets out the case for him as a local British prince with land around Leominster and elsewhere, see Pretty, 'Defining the Magonseate', pp 171-183.
[35] B. Colgrave (ed.), *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.9. Felix's text is thought to have been written between 730-740.
[36] M. Grimmer, 'Britons in Early Wessex', in Higham (ed.) *Britons in Anglo Saxon England*, pp. 103-7.
[37] A. Woolf, 'Apartheid and Economics', in Higham (ed.), *Britons in Anglo Saxon England*, p. 128.
[38] A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford: its history and constitution* (SPCK, 1924), p. 21n records the early-C11th gift that also included the manor of Woolhope. I am grateful to Steve Woods, a local historian, for pointing out to me the link between the likely position of the settlement and a deviation in the course of the parish boundary.
[39] The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV of 1291 is online, thanks to the Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield; www.hri.ac.uk/taxatio.
[40] Coplestone-Crow suggests the probable original extent of Archenfield in his *Herefordshire Place Names*, p. 12. Sheila Waddington accepts the Coplestone-Crow thesis that the original boundaries came north of the Wye, and included Lugwardine, see 'Origins of Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire', p. 407.
[41] Coplestone-Crow, *Ibid*., p. 19.
[42] Coplestone-Crow, *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[43] M. Gelling, Signposts to the past: place-names and the history of England (1997), p. 39.
[44] Roderick, 'Villa Wallensica'.

[45] H. R. Loyn, *The governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500-1087* (1984), pp. 139-40; Thornton, 'Welshmen in Domesday', p 158.
[46] Ruth R. Richardson, 'Field-names with possible Roman connections', *TWNFC* Vol. XLVIII (1994-1996), pp. 453-469, pp. 459-61.
[47] 'The manor of Buttas, King's Pyon 1638' in F. C. Morgan, 'Archaeology Report', *TWNFC* (1946-1948), pp. 242-3.
[48] M. Faraday (ed.), *Herefordshire Taxes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Logaston, 2005), pp. 17-18.
[49] E. M. Leather, *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (Jakeman and Carver, Hereford, 1912), especially pp. 1-3.

# Charters of the de Lacy family in favour of Craswall Priory

*by* JOHN FREEMAN

*This article provides texts and translations of three 13th-century charters at Christ's College, Cambridge, in which Walter de Lacy, the founder of Craswall Priory, and his son Gilbert de Lacy granted to the priory land and privileges in Ewyas Lacy, other places in Herefordshire, Ireland and elsewhere. Other charters of the de Lacy family in favour of Craswall Priory are then summarised and discussed, including two relating to Holme Lacy. Particular attention has been paid to attempting to date the charters and to identify the place-names which occur in them.*

**INTRODUCTION**

In the archives of Christ's College, Cambridge, are three 13th-century charters of the de Lacy family in favour of Craswall Priory—two of Walter II de Lacy (d.1241) and one of his son and heir Gilbert de Lacy, who predeceased him (d.1230). The charters no doubt came into the possession of the college when the Grandmontine priory of Craswall and its estate were granted by Henry VI in 1442 to Godshouse, the recently-established predecessor of Christ's.[1] The college archives preserve other documents relating to Craswall and Ewyas Lacy, but few earlier than 1442.[2] It is not quite clear why there is so little early Craswall material remaining at Christ's, but one might speculate that it is partly due to the difficulties encountered by Godshouse in asserting its rights in the 15th century. In a fragmentary petition to the king in 1448, the Proctor of the college, William Bynghame, speaks of

> 'the priory alieyn[3] of Crassewell in Walles Wher your comyn law hase no cowrs nor your sayd besechers any acoyntance Of [the wi]ch priory som parcels ben ocupied by ryetowse men witowte profeite to yowr sayd College and also bulles Charters dedes and other munymen[ts d]rawn from the sayd priory and withholden as now by a man of lawe calde [blank] . . . .'

Bynghame requested the king to write to Sir Walter Devereux, sheriff of Herefordshire, with a view to 'willyng theyme for to do and to shew fauoure gud wile and assistence' and to ensure 'delyuery to your sayd besechers of the forsayd Charters and munyments'.[4] It may be suspected that not all of these withheld charters eventually reached Cambridge. Other documents presumably passed out of the college's hands when it sold the manor of Craswall in 1561.[5] One can compare and contrast the case of another Grandmontine priory, Alberbury in Shropshire, which was given to All Souls College, Oxford, by Henry VI at about the same time, in 1441. Many more medieval documents relating to Alberbury are preserved at All Souls than those relating to Craswall at Christ's.[6] All Souls too encountered difficulties with its newly-acquired estate, for at Alberbury 'monks from Grandmont attempted to regain possession of the priory in 1473 and had some local support'.[7] The Oxford college, however, unlike Christ's, did not dispose of its former Grandmontine possessions.

In Part 1 the three de Lacy charters at Christ's College are transcribed and translated, with comments, from the manuscripts. There is no documentary evidence for the date of the foundation of Craswall Priory, but it must have been before 29 November 1223.[8] Document 1 (Godshouse C), in which Walter de Lacy gives land in Ewyas around the site of the priory, is no doubt the earliest of the documents, although there is internal evidence that the charter which we now have might not have been the foundation charter. Document 2 (Godshouse D), a confirmatory grant by Gilbert de Lacy, follows closely the wording of his father's grant in Document 1, and originated after Gilbert's assumption of control over de Lacy lands in Ewyas and Herefordshire, perhaps in the mid-1220s. Document 3 (Godshouse B) consists solely of grants in Ireland and must have followed Walter's original grant in Ewyas, although how soon afterwards is difficult to judge; the grant was made before 21 August 1231, but might have followed Gilbert de Lacy's death late in 1230.

In Part 2 I summarise two other grants by Walter II de Lacy to Craswall Priory and one later royal confirmation charter of importance. The two charters of Walter, Documents 4 and 5, granting land in Holme Lacy, may well postdate the death of Gilbert in late 1230. Document 4 predates 21 August 1231 and Document 5 predates 13 January 1234. Document 6 is much later, from 1327, but it includes a royal confirmation dated 21 August 1231 of the grants in Documents 1, 3 and 4, one further grant of Walter in Ireland and many small grants by various people in the century before 1327.

In the transcriptions, abbreviations in the manuscript have been silently expanded except for general abbreviations at the end of names, which are denoted by an apostrophe. Capitalisation of initial letters has been standardised according to modern usage. Letters in square brackets have been supplied by me; [ ] denotes a lacuna or illegible passage in the manuscript. In the translations, my practice with toponymic bynames has been to use, for example, *de Lacy* in the case of foreign toponyms, but *of Clifford* where the toponym is a place in England.

## PART 1
## DOCUMENT 1. CAMBRIDGE, CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MS GODSHOUSE C (PLATE 2.1)

> Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus de Lascy dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui cum assensu Gilberti filii mei Deo et Beate Marie et priori Grandimontensis ordinis et fratribus habitantibus in Cressewell' in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro amore dei et salute anime mee et Margerie uxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum totam terram que continetur inter Lechan et Munuge in latitudine et longitudine sicut mete eorum se proportant, scilicet sexcentas acras cum boschis earumdem ad mensuram magni centum et pasturam ad sua propria omnis generis animalia quot habere poterunt in tota noua foresta et ex alia parte aque uersus partes de Grippesgath per boschum et per montes et per ualles usque ad fines de Talgard, et pastori pecorum eorum quem pro tempore habebunt pasturam communem cum suis ad decem animalia. Et ad equitium eorum proprium communem cum equitio meo pasturam per totas forestas meas de Ewyas. Item concessi eisdem fratribus usuagium in predictis locis et forestis ad edificandum domus suas et ad omnia domui necessaria. Dedi etiam eis et concessi licentiam libere faciendi molendina et uiuaria in Lechan et Munege ex utraque

parte aquarum quantum durat terra eorum ubicumque uoluerint. Dedi etiam et concessi eisdem fratribus nonam garbam frumenti, mixtilionis, siliginis et omnis generis bladi preter auenas per omnia maneria mea in Anglia et Wallia, uidelicet in comitatu Herefordie de Webeleg', de Malueshulle, de Yarchulle et de Hamma; in Salopesir' de Stanton', de Ludelawe et de Akes; in Wiltesir' de Brutford' omnis generis bladi nonam garbam. Si uero contingat quod per me siue per heredes meos aliquod dictorum maneriorum forte uendatur siue excambietur siue inuadietur siue in religione donetur siue aliquo alio modo extra manum ponatur, nichilominus dictas nonas garbas habeant ut predictum est. Idem uero fratres habebunt apud Cressewell' decem fratres presbiteros et tres clericos perpetuo residentes ibidem et diuina celebrantes. Preterea dedi et concessi dictis fratribus decimas omnium coriorum aueriorum que per annum necantur ad lardarium meum in castello de Ewyas, et decimas molendinorum dominicorum meorum de Keneles in Hibernia, scilicet in Midia. Et pro decimo denario redditus mei de Ewyas quem eisdem dederam dedi et concessi dictis fratribus nonam garbam omnis generis bladi de totis dominicis meis de Ewyas, de uilla Walteri, de rubeo castello, de noua uilla. Item dedi eisdem fratribus unum hominem in Ewyas, scilicet Ricardum filium Ache, unum hominem in Webbeleg', scilicet Willelmum Pincon, et unum hominem in Ludeloue, scilicet Stephanum Saponarium, cum terris et tenementis eorum que possidebant die quo dictos homines dictis fratribus dedi, cum heredibus suis et cum omni eorum sequela, ut illos habeant et possideant libere et quiete sicut predictum est, ab omni exactione seculari et demanda nichil penitus in supradictis hominibus mihi uel heredibus meis retinendo. Hec autem omnia dona et concessiones prescriptas dictis priori et fratribus ordinis Grandimontis apud Cressewell' commorantibus ego et heredes mei contra omnes homines guarantizabimus. Quod quia uolo ratum et stabil[e] [im]perpetuum permanere presentem cartam sigilli mei [muni]mine roboraui. Hiis testibus: Gilberto de Lascy fratre meo, Simone de Clifford, Manassero Biseth, Richardo de Fey, Simone de Tileshope, Roberto le Saluage, Geruasio decano de Ewyas, Waltero Caldek', Simone de Mora clerico, Adam et Dauid clericis, et pluribus aliis.

Translation

Know all men, present and future, that I Walter de Lacy, with the assent of my son Gilbert, have given, granted, and by this my present charter confirmed, to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Prior of the Grandmontine order and the brothers dwelling in Craswall, in pure and perpetual alms, for the love of God and the salvation of my soul and of the souls of my wife Margery[9] and of my ancestors and successors, all the land which lies between the Lechan[10] and the Monnow in breadth and length as their bounds extend, namely 600 acres with their woods, measured by the great hundred,[11] and pasture for as many of their own animals of every kind as they may have in the whole of the new forest[12] and on the other side of the water towards the district of Crib-y-Garth[13], through woodland, hills and valleys as far as the borders of Talgarth[14] and, for the shepherd of their flocks, whom they shall employ as occasion requires, pasture in common with theirs for 10 animals, and, for their own herd of horses,[15] common pasture with my herd through all my forests of Ewyas. Likewise I have granted to the same brothers the right to

erect their buildings in the said places and forests and the right to [obtain] all things necessary for their house. And I have given and granted to them licence freely to make mills and fishponds wherever they wish in the Lechan and Monnow on both sides of the waters as far as their land extends. And I have given and granted to the same brothers the ninth sheaf of wheat, maslin, rye and every kind of corn except oats throughout all my manors in England and Wales, namely the ninth sheaf of every kind of corn in Herefordshire from Weobley, Mansell [Lacy], Yarkhill[16] and Holme [Lacy], in Shropshire from Stanton [Lacy], Ludlow and Rock [in Ludlow], and in Wiltshire from Britford. If, however, it should happen that any of the said manors should come to be sold by me or my heirs, or exchanged, or mortgaged, or given for religious uses, or otherwise placed out of our hands, they should nevertheless have the said ninth sheaves as stated. And the same brothers shall have at Craswall ten brother-priests and three clerks[17] perpetually residing there and celebrating divine service. Moreover I have given and granted to the said brothers the tithes of all hides of livestock slaughtered annually for my larder in the castle of Ewyas[18] and the tithes of my demesne mills of Kells in Ireland, that is in Meath. And, for[19] the tenth penny of my rent of Ewyas which I had given to them, I have given and granted to the said brothers the ninth sheaf of every kind of corn from all my demesnes of Ewyas, Walterstone, Red Castle[20] and the new town[21]. I have also given to the same brothers a man in Ewyas,[22] namely Richard son of Ache, a man in Weobley, namely William Pincon, and a man in Ludlow, namely Stephen Saponarius,[23] with their lands and holdings which they possessed on the day on which I gave the said men to the said brothers, with their heirs and with all their brood,[24] that they should have and possess them freely and quietly, as stated, free of any secular exaction and demand, with absolutely no reservation [of rights] in the aforesaid men by me or my heirs. And I and my heirs shall warrant against all men all the aforementioned gifts and grants to the said prior and to the brothers of the Grandmontine order dwelling at Craswall. And because I will that this shall remain forever firm and stable I have strengthened this charter with the confirmation of my seal, these being witnesses: Gilbert de Lacy my brother, Simon of Clifford, Manasser Biset, Richard de Fey, Simon of Tilsop, Robert Savage, Gervase the dean of Ewyas, Walter Caldek[ok], Simon of the Marsh (*de Mora)*, clerk, Adam and David, clerks, and many more.

Comments

No date. With seal. Endorsement (post-medieval): *A guift of Walter de Lascy to the Prior of Grandmont in Creswell of 600 Acres of Land, by Gripsgath, &c.*

The grants concerning places in the diocese of Hereford were confirmed in a charter of Bishop Hugh Foliot copied in a document in Oxford, Bodleian Library.[25] Barrow dates the bishop's confirmation, from the evidence of the witness-list, to between 27 October 1219 and 29 November 1223, and so the grant in Godshouse C must have been made before the latter date. The sentence 'for the tenth penny of my rent of Ewyas which I *had* given to them, I *have* given and granted . . . the ninth sheaf . . . ' appears to imply that this was not Walter's original grant to Craswall but a revised charter.[26] The inclusion of Mansell Lacy among Walter's manors perhaps dates the grant to before 1222, for the manor was given between 1219 and 1221 by Walter de Lacy to Walter of Clifford in marriage with de Lacy's daughter Katherine.[27] The phrase 'with the assent of my son Gilbert' suggests that Gilbert was already being groomed to take charge of the Lacy lands in Ewyas Lacy and Herefordshire while his father was absent in Ireland; compare Document

2, where Gilbert is clearly in full control. A copy of Godshouse C, probably written in the 15th century, is preserved at Cambridge, Christ's College.[28]

**DOCUMENT 2. CAMBRIDGE, CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MS GODSHOUSE D (PLATE 2.2)**

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gilbertus de Lascy dedi concessi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et beate Marie et priori ordinis Grandimontensis et fratribus habitantibus in Cressewell', in puram et perpetuam elimosinam, pro amore Dei et salute anime mee et Yssabelis uxoris mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum, totam illam terram quam dedit eis pater meus Walterus de Lascy, sicut in ipsius carta continetur quam habent, uidelicet illam terram que continetur int[er] Lecam et Munege in latitudine et longitudine sicut mete eorum proportant, scilicet secentas acras cum boscis earundem ad mensuram magni centum et pasturam ad sua propria omnis generis animalia quot habere poterunt in tota noua foresta, et ex alia parte aque uersus partes de Gripegat',[29] per bos[cum] et per montes et totum saltum de Maschawum usque ad fines de Taugard. Item dedi et concessi eis usuagium in predictis locis et forestis ad edificandum d[omus] suas et ad omnia domui nescessaria. Dedi eciam et concessi eis licenciam libere faciendi molendina et uiuaria in Lecam et Munege ubicumque uoluerint. Dedi eciam et concessi fratribus eisdem nonam garbam frumenti, mestalli et siliginis in totis dominicis meis per omnia maneria mea in Anglia [et] Wallia, saluis per omnia decimacionibus per ipsa maneria uiris religiosis datis ac per personas in ecclesiis dictorum maneriorum possessis et possidendis. Si enim contingat me maneria ipsa ad firmam uel aliquo alio modo extra manum ponere, nichilominus decimaciones habeant ut predictum est, scilicet nonam garbam. Idem enim fratres habebunt apud Cressewell' decem fratres presbiteros et tres clericos perpetue residentes ibidem [et diuin]a celebrantes. Idem enim fratres nullos homines nec aliquorum animalia in terra [ipsa] uel foresta receptabunt per que dampnum terre uel foreste uel hominibus meis [uel] heredum meorum eueniat. Item dedi eis decimas coriorum de Ewias et decimas molendinorum dominicorum de Kenles, scilicet in Hibernia. Et pro decimo denar[io] redditus mei de Ewias dedi et concessi dictis fratribus nonam garbam auene et omnis generis bladi de toto dominico meo de Ewias, uidelicet de Ewias et de Uilla Walteri et de Rubio Castello et de noua uilla. Si autem contingat quod dicta quatuor maneria seminentur fabis uel aliq[uo] legumine, similiter nonam habeant garbam. Preteria pro escambio de Malmeshul' dedi eis nonam garbam omnium merementorum meorum de dominico meo de Webbeleia. Item dedi eis unum hominem in Ewias, scilicet Ricardum filium Hache cum heredibus et omnibus pertinenciis suis et unum hominem in Webbeleya, scilicet Willelmum Pinchon' cum heredibus et omnibus pertinenciis suis et unum hominem in Ludlau, scilicet Stephanum Sonaporium cum heredibus et omnibus pertinenciis suis liberos et quietos ab omni seruicio, tallia, consuetudine et omni accione et exaccione seculari, nichil penitus retinens in eisdem. Uolo ut predicti fratres hec omnia predicta li [*sic*][30] libere et quiete, pacifice et integre et bene in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam possideant. Ut autem hoc donum

ratum sit et stabile, g [*sic*][31] sigilli mei impressione presens scriptum confirmaui. Hiis testibus: Gilberto de Lascy, auunculo meo, Stephano de Ebroycis, Simone de Clyfford, Menasse Belet, Bic' de Lay, Simo de Tilleshope, Geruasio decano de Ewias, Simone Longo, Waltero Eldecoc et multis aliis.

Translation

Know all men, present and future, that I Gilbert de Lacy[32] have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Prior of the Grandmontine order and the brothers dwelling in Craswall, in pure and perpetual alms, for the love of God and the salvation of my soul and of the souls of my wife Isabe33 and of my ancestors and successors, all that land which my father Walter de Lacy gave to them, as is contained in his charter which they have, namely the land which lies between the Lecam[34] and the Monnow in breadth and length as their bounds extend, that is, 600 acres with their woods, measured by the great hundred, and pasture for as many of their own animals of every kind as they may have in the whole of the new forest and on the other side of the water towards the district of Crib-y-Garth, through woodland, hills and the whole pasture of *Maschawum*[35] as far as the borders of Talgarth. Likewise I have given and granted to them the right to erect their buildings in the said places and forests and the right to [obtain] all things necessary for their house. And I have given and granted to them licence freely to make mills and fishponds wherever they wish in the Lecam and Monnow. And I have given and granted to the same brothers the ninth sheaf of wheat, maslin and rye in all my demesnes throughout all my manors in England and Wales except always for the tithes given to men of religion in those manors, and those which are or will be possessed by parsons in the churches of the said manors. If, however, it should happen that I let those manors to farm or otherwise place them out of my hands, nevertheless they shall have the tithes as stated, that is the ninth sheaf. And the same brothers shall have at Craswall ten brother-priests and three clerks[36] perpetually residing there for ever and celebrating [divine service]. And the same brothers shall not harbour in that land or forest any men, or the animals of any men, through which damage may occur to the land or forest, or to my men or those of my heirs. Likewise I have given them the tithes of hides from Ewyas and the tithes of the demesne mills of Kells, that is in Ireland. And for the tenth penny of my rent of Ewyas I have given and granted to the said brothers the ninth sheaf of oats and of every kind of corn from the whole of my demesne of Ewyas, namely from Ewyas, Walterstone, Red Castle and the new town. If however it should happen that the said four manors are sown with beans or any pulse, they should similarly have the ninth sheaf. Moreover, in exchange for Mansell [Lacy][37] I have given them the ninth sheaf of all my newly-won land (?)[38] from my demesne of Weobley. And I have given them a man in Ewyas, namely Richard son of Hache, with his heirs and all his appurtenances, and a man in Weobley, namely William Pinchon, with his heirs and all his appurtenances, and a man in Ludlow, namely Stephen Saponarius,[39] with his heirs and all his appurtenances, free and quit of all service, tallage, custom and all secular action and exaction, with with absolutely no reservation [of rights] in those same men. I will that the aforesaid brothers possess all these things freely and quietly, peaceably and wholly and fully, in pure and free and perpetual alms. In order, moreover, that this gift be firm and stable, I have confirmed the present writing with the impression of my seal, these being witnesses: Gilbert de Lacy, my uncle, Stephen Devereux (*de Ebroycis*), Simon of Clifford, Manasser Biset,[40] Richard

de Fey,[41] Simon of Tilsop, Gervase the dean of Ewyas, Simon Long, Walter Caldecoc[42] and many others.

Comments
No date. Endorsement (late- or post-medieval): *Copie euidenciarum de Crassewell'* ['Copies of evidence concerning Craswall']. The charter is printed, with some inaccuracies, in M. Larigauderie-Beijeaud, 'Deux chartes de Grandmont inédites, dans les archives anglaises'.[43] The grant must have been made before 17 March 1228, by which date the witness Stephen Devereux had died.[44] The other witnesses, with the exception of Simon Long, all attest Walter's previous, and similar, grant in Godshouse C (Document 1), which can be dated before November 1223 and probably before 1222, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Gilbert's grant was made not very long afterwards, perhaps by the mid-1220s.[45] The manuscript of Godshouse D, however, is not contemporary with the grant, and indeed the handwriting is of a much later date. Dr Alexander Rumble of Manchester University (personal communication) writes: '[The manuscript of] Godshouse D can be dated to the 14th/15th century. It is written in Gothic cursive anglicana script but the *r* has lost its shoulder (which occurs post *c.*1350) and the *d* has a pointed bowl borrowed from secretary script which is not common before the end of the 14th century. The charter seems thus to be a new copy of the grant'. The circumstances in which this copy was made, and the reason for the apparent disappearance of the original charter, are unknown.[46]

**DOCUMENT 3. CAMBRIDGE, CHRIST'S COLLEGE, MS GODSHOUSE B (PLATE 2.3)**

> Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Walterus de Lascy filius Hugonis de Lascy salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra me diuine caritatis intuitu dedisse et concessisse et hac mea presenti carta confirmasse Deo et domui Beate Marie de Crassewelle et correctori eiusdem domus et decem fratribus capellanis et tribus fratribus clericis ibidem perpetuo residentibus et Deo seruientibus pro salute anime mee et Margarete uxoris mee et pro salute animarum patris et matris mee et pro salute anime Gilberti de Lascy filii mei et antecessorum et successorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam nonam garbam totius dominici mei per omnia maneria mea ubicumque fuerint in Hibernia que ad presens possideo uel que me possunt contingere tam de frumento quam de auena tam de siligine quam de ordeo tam de pisis quam de fabis et de omni genere bladorum. Dedi etiam et concessi dictis fratribus de Crassewelle in puram et perpetuam elemosinam unum burgagium cum predicta nona garba et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in quolibet burgo meo in Hibernia, uidelicet in Trum unum burgagium, in Kenles unum burgagium, in Duuelech unum burgagium, in Fouera unum burgagium, in Loxiuethi unum burgagium, in Adnurchur unum burgagium, in Inchelefer unum burgagium, in Adlech unum burgagium, et in quolibet manerio meo in Hibernia unum mesuagium, uidelicet in Lohleythi unum mesuagium, in Coloc unum mesuagium, in Armolechan unum mesuagium, in Douenachcarni unum mesuagium, in Moygarchan unum mesuagium, in Fachlet unum mesuagium, tenendum et habendum omnia predicta burgagia et mesuagia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et [cu]m predicta nona garba sine aliquo retenemento

de me et heredibus meis dicte domui de Crassewelle in bona pace in puram et perpetuam elemosinam cum omnibus libertatibus libere et quiete plenarie et integre ab omni redditu et seruitio seculari quod ad me uel heredes meos aliquo tempore possit pertinere. Si uero contigerit quod per me siue per heredes meos aliquod dictorum maneriorum forte uendatur siue excambietur siue inuadietur siue in religione donetur siue aliquo alio modo extra manum ponatur, nichilominus dictas nonas garbas cum predictis burgagiis habeant ut predictum est et in perpetuum possideant. Et ego Walterus de Lascy et heredes mei dictas nonas garbas et omnia predicta burgagia et mesuagia dicte domui de Crassewelle et fratribus ibidem Deo seruientibus warantizabimus et defendemus contra omnes homines et feminas. Et quia uolo quod hec mea donatio et concessio perpetue firmitatis fidem et robur optineant, presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione dignum duxi confirmare. Hiis testibus: Domino Willelmo de Stutteuill', Domino Radulpho de Mortuo Mari, Domino Willelmo filio Warini, Domino Symone de Clifford', Domino Hugone de Kilpec, Domino Ada Fayel, Domino Philippo de Alleton', Henrico de Bradeleg' clerico et multis aliis.

Translation

To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Walter de Lacy son of Hugh de Lacy sends greeting. Know you all that, moved by divine charity, I have given, granted, and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the house of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Craswall and the corrector[47] of the same house and ten brother-chaplains and three brother-clerks[48] perpetually residing there and serving God, for the salvation of my soul and the souls of Margaret my wife, my father and mother, my son Gilbert de Lacy and my ancestors and successors, in pure and perpetual alms, the ninth sheaf of the whole of my demesne throughout all my manors in Ireland, wherever they may be, which I now possess or which may belong to me, of wheat and oats, of rye and barley, of peas and beans and of all kinds of corn. And I have given and granted to the said brothers of Craswall, in pure and perpetual alms, a burgage with the aforesaid ninth sheaf and with all its appurtenances in each of my boroughs in Ireland, namely a burgage in Trim[49], a burgage in Kells[49], a burgage in Duleek,[50] a burgage in Fore[51], a burgage in Ballymore Lough Sewdy[51], a burgage in Ardnurcher[51], a burgage in *Inchelefer*[52], a burgage in Ballyleague (Lanesborough)[53], and a messuage in each of my manors in Ireland, namely a messuage in Ballyloughloe[51], a messuage in Coolock[54], a messuage in Ardmulchan[49], a messuage in Donacarney[49], a messuage in *Moygarchan*[55] and a messuage in Faughalstown[51], the said house of Craswall to have and to hold all the said burgages and messuages with all their appurtenances and with the aforesaid ninth sheaf, without any reservation from me or my heirs, in good peace, in pure and perpetual alms, with all liberties, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, and free of all rent and secular service which might pertain to me or my heirs at any time. If however it shall happen that any of the said manors be sold by me or my heirs, or be exchanged or mortgaged or given for religious uses, or otherwise placed out of our hands, nevertheless they shall have as stated the said ninth sheaves with the aforesaid burgages, and possess them in perpetuity. And I, Walter de Lacy, and my heirs shall warrant and defend against all men and women the said ninth sheaves and all the aforesaid burgages and messuages to the said house of Craswall and the brothers serving God there. And because I will that this my gift and grant should have

the trustworthiness and authority to endure forever, I have thought fit to confirm the present charter with the impression of my seal, these being witnesses: Sir William de Stuteville, Sir Ralph Mortimer, Sir William fitz Warin, Sir Simon of Clifford, Sir Hugh of Kilpeck, Sir Adam Fayel, Sir Philip of Alton, Henry of Bradley, clerk, and many others.

Comments
No date. With seal. Endorsements: (1) (medieval): *Iburn'* ['Ireland']; (2) (postmedieval): *The gift of Walter Lalty* [*sic*] *to y^e^ house B: Mariæ de Crallewell* [*sic*] *of certaine landes burgages messuages &c. in Ireland*. The grant also appears, with minor variations in phrasing and in place-name forms, in (A) Hereford Cathedral Archives MS 482, and (B) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 329, *ff*139*v*.-140*r.* (a late-13th-century/early-14th-century cartulary of Hereford Cathedral). (A) is printed, with variants from (B), in C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: the Lacy Family, 1166-1241* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 307-09. (A) is written in a different hand from that of Godshouse B, but both appear to be roughly contemporary with the grant, which was evidently made before 21 August 1231, the date on which it was confirmed by Henry III in Document 6 below.[56] (A) and (B) include two witnesses omitted in Godshouse B, John of Cranford and Simon of Tilsop.

**PART 2**

The documents at Christ's College printed and discussed above are not the only charters of the de Lacy family in favour of Craswall Priory. I now summarise three other documents which supplement these.

**DOCUMENT 4. A GRANT BY WALTER DE LACY OF 204 ACRES IN HIS WOOD OF HOLME LACY**

**Summary:** Walter de Lacy grants to the house of Craswall 204 acres of land in his wood of *Hama* [Holme Lacy],[57] namely all the land which extends in length from *Ferneleg*[58] as far as *le Ebroc*,[59] along the way which is called *Rugeweye*,[60] and in breadth from *Rugeweye* as far as *Hathinehale*,[61] on one side of the land of Peter Undergod, and from the land of the nuns of Aconbury as far as the land of William fitz Warin, as the great way (*magna via*) divides the said lands; and all the land which lies between the land of the said William fitz Warin in length and the swing-gate towards Bolstone, and in breadth from the way which leads towards Aconbury as far as the house of John Strech.

**Printed**: W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (eds) (London, 1817-30), vol. 6, part 2, p. 1035 (Num. 1), 'from the archives of the monastery of Grandmont in France'. The original, a copy of which Dugdale must have seen in preparing his edition of *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-73), is believed to be lost.[62] There is an early copy of the grant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 329, *f*172*v*. (a late-13th-century/early-14th-century cartulary of Hereford Cathedral), which differs little from the document printed in *Monasticon*.

**Date**: No date is given, but the grant was evidently made before 21 August 1231, for the 204 acres in Holme Lacy are mentioned in Henry III's confirmation of that date in Document 6 below. Colvin dates the grant 'soon after 1225', but does not give reasons.[63] It is possible that the *pro anima* clause provides a clue to the date, but the evidence is rather doubtful. The grant is made *pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ Margaretæ, et pro anima Gilberti de Lascy filii*

*mei, et antecessorum et successorum meorum*, 'for the salvation of my soul and the soul of my wife Margaret, and for the soul of Gilbert de Lacy my son and of my ancestors and successors'. It has been argued that 'a distinction in the use of the phrases '*pro salute anime*' of one who was alive, and '*pro anima*' of one who was dead, is certainly often recognized'.[64] If that distinction was being made here—and the change in formulation appears to be deliberate—then the grant would be dated after the death of Gilbert in 1230 and so could be narrowed down to August 1230 x 21 August 1231. However, against this, it has been said that 'the pious aim of a charter can be expressed as ''pro salute anime'' of a donor's family and overlords; or ''pro anima''; no doubt there was a tendency to use the latter formula for the dead, the former for the living. The exceptions were too numerous for this criterion ever to be used'.[65] It might be safer, therefore, to date the grant before 21 August 1231 but after the grant in Document 1 above.

## DOCUMENT 5. A GRANT BY WALTER DE LACY OF DEMESNE LAND IN HIS MANOR OF HOLME LACY

Summary: Walter de Lacy grants to the brothers of Craswall the whole of his demesne in his manor of *Hamma* [Holme Lacy], reserving to himself and his heirs the service of two knights and the homage of Simon of Clifford and of the heirs of Stephen Devereux (*de Ebroicis*), and the service of Hugh Pilate and Walter son of Walter[66] and their heirs, who must make the summons of Walter's knights pertaining to his castle of Weobley. The preamble includes the phrase 'for the salvation of the souls of John, illustrious king of England, of good memory, and of his son Henry, illustrious king of England'. The only witness recorded is Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester.

**Printed:** W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London, 1817-30), vol. 6, part 3, p. 1216 (Num. 7), from 'an old codex in the possession of S[ilas] Taylor, anno 1657', now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 329, *ff*172*v*.-173*r*. (a late-13th-century/early-14th-century cartulary of Hereford Cathedral).

**Date:** Holden has dated the grant to 1228x1236, from the reference to the heir of Stephen Devereux (William), who was a minor between those years.[67] The witness to the charter, Peter des Roches, was far away from England between 1227 and July 1231, and thus the charter must postdate June 1231.[68] A *terminus ante quem* is provided by a confirmation of the grant by Henry III, dated 13 January 1234.[69] Walter's 'demesne [in Holme Lacy] which was given to the Prior of Craswall' is referred to in a document which can probably be dated to between 14 January and 25 March 1233.[70] A date after 21 August 1231 is suggested by the absence of a specific mention of this grant from Henry III's confirmation of that date (Document 6(a) below).

## DOCUMENT 6. AN INSPEXIMUS AND CONFIRMATION BY KING EDWARD III OF VARIOUS GRANTS TO CRASWALL PRIORY

**Summary:** I list fully below the grants confirmed by the king, as they demonstrate the scope and variety of gifts to Craswall Priory, even from lesser men, in the century after its foundation.

**Printed:** W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London, 1817-30), vol. 6, part 2, p. 1035 (Num. 2), from TNA, Patent Rolls 1 Edw III part 3, C66/168, membrane 6. Dugdale's few errors have been corrected from the MS.

**Date:** 25 December 1327, Worcester.

King Edward III confirms:[71]
(a) A confirmation by King Henry III, dated 21 August 1231, of all grants made by Walter de Lacy to the priory.[72] The grants can be identified as those made in Documents 1, 2 and 4 above, but Walter's grant in Document 5 is not mentioned.
(b) A charter by Henry III, dated 28 August 1245, commanding that the brothers of Grandmont and their men shall be quit of tallage, pontage, toll, passage, vinage, fossage, army amercement, and all custom, and of all things and occasions pertaining to the king, without any vexation of the brothers or their men.[73]
(c) a grant by Isabel de Lacy, widow of Gilbert de Lacy, of the fulling-mill of Ewyas, a burgage and 18 acres of land pertaining to the mill. [? *c.*1234x50][74]
(d) A grant by Theobald de Verdon[75], constable of Ireland, of land in *Bleynduweleys*[76] bought from Griffin ap Tewdrig (*Taudrek'*) in the honour of Ewyas Lacy. [1274 x 1316]
(e) A grant by Walter *Knokebroke*[77] of four and a half acres bought from Gwrgeneu (*Gorgenon*) ap Llywelyn. [?Late-13th-century or early-14th-century]
(f) A grant by Wyn, Ithel, Griffin and Gwrgeneu (*Worgenon*) ap Llywelyn ab Einon: nine Welsh acres which they bought of the lord of Ewyas [ ] of the new forest.
(g) A grant by Philip *Vaghan*[78], Ieuan and Ifor, sons of Philip ab Ieuan Goch of all their land which their father once held in *Blaineskeli*.[79]
(h) A grant by Hugh of Kinnersley of one seam[80] of wheat annually, to be received in the manor of Aberllynfi.[81]
(i) A grant by Hugh of Kinnersley of 2s. of annual rent in Aberllynfi.
(j) A grant by Roger of Craswall of one seam of wheat annually, to be received in Winforton.
(k) A grant by Miles of the Hall *(de Aula)* of Welson (*Walston'*) in Eardisley of one pound of wax to be received annually.
(l) A grant by Hugh of Bredwardine, ferryman *(passator)*,[82] son of Stephen Ponc (?)[83], of free passage at Bredwardine.
(m) A grant by Bartholomew Dansey,[84] of Kingstone in Mawfield, of half a seam of wheat to be received annually in the house of Bartholomew of Kingstone. [?Late-13th-century or early-14th-century]
(n) A grant by Roger of Clifford of one seam of wheat annually, to be received in the manor of Bridge [Sollers].
(o) A grant by Robert Tregoze, son of Sibyl of Ewyas, of one seam of wheat annually, to be received in the manor of Ewyas Harold. [*c.*1236 x 4 August 1265]
(p) A grant by Walter Gardiner *(Gardinarius)* of Holme Lacy of one and a half pounds of wax annually, to be received at Craswall.[85] [*c.*1225x50]
(q) A grant by Henry Fewtrer *(Feotrarius)*[86] of Hereford of a messuage and 61 acres of land in Holme Lacy. [?Before 1242]
(r) A grant by Walter de Lacy of one carucate of land called *Thachbohan* with appurtenances in Duleek [Co. Meath, Ireland].[87] [Before 1242]

**POST SCRIPT**

The six charters discussed above are the major surviving sources for the grants of the de Lacy family to Craswall Priory. No copies of documents 4 and 5 appear to have passed to Godshouse, presumably because in 1253 the Craswall lands in Holme Lacy were sold to the Bishop of

Hereford, Peter de Aquablanca, who gave them to Hereford Cathedral Dean and Chapter.[88] Of the 16 smaller grants enumerated in Document 6 (c)-(r), only one, as far as I know, has survived in its original form.[89] From 1253, the year in which the Holme Lacy lands were sold to the Bishop of Hereford, there survives an interesting document mentioning Craswall charters, indicative of the presumed loss of Craswall manuscripts since that time:

> Certificate from P. Grimordi and Brientus de Puteo, brothers of the Grandimontane order, that they have received from bishop Peter nine charters which brother R. once corrector of Cressewelle[90] had given to the bishop for safe custody. Of these, four were sealed with the seal of Walter de Lacy, and contained grants made by him to CressewelIe, and a grant by him to Gervase de Braynford: the fifth was signed and sealed by John, King of England; two others contained privileges, one of Pope Clement, under the seal of A. bishop of St. David's, and one of Pope Honorius, under the seal of G., *Cenomanensis episcopus:* two others were sealed with the seal of B., prior of Llanthony prima. Dated, Sugwas, A.D. 1253.[91]

Of the four charters to Craswall which bore the seal of Walter de Lacy, two may well have been Godshouse C and B (Documents 1 and 2 above). The third and fourth charters of Walter are unidentified, and Gervase de Braynford seems to be otherwise unknown in Herefordshire.[92] Of the other five charters, 'the fifth' may be a similar charter of King John to that preserved at All Souls (see note 73). The charter 'of Pope Clement, under the seal of A. bishop of St. David's', appears to be the one of which there is a later inspeximus of 1300, surviving as Godshouse A.[93] That of 'Pope Honorius, under the seal of G., *Cenomanensis episcopus* [Bishop of Le Mans]' presumably relates to Pope Honorius III (1216-27) and either Bishop Geoffroi de Laval (1231-34) or Bishop Geoffroi de Loudon (1234–55) of Le Mans. The last two charters, 'with the seal of B., prior of Llanthony prima', cannot be dated, since no prior of Llanthony with an initial 'B' has been noted before 1253. It appears, therefore, that only two of these nine charters are preserved today at Christ's College.

**SUMMARY OF SUGGESTED DATES FOR THE GRANTS**

1. Grants in Ewyas Lacy etc. (Walter de Lacy). [Before 29 November 1223, possibly before 1222]
2. Grants in Ewyas Lacy etc. (Gilbert de Lacy). [Before 25 December 1230, perhaps mid-1220s]
3. Grants in Ireland (Walter de Lacy). [Before 21 August 1231]
4. Grant in Holme Lacy: woodland (Walter de Lacy). [Before 21 August 1231, perhaps after December 1230]
5. Grant in Holme Lacy: demesne land (Walter de Lacy). [July 1231 x 13 January 1234, probably 21 August 1231 x 25 March 1233.]
6. Royal confirmation of grants to Craswall Priory. [Various dates before 1328]

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for making my visit to the college library and archives so pleasurable. Archival material from Christ's is reproduced with the permission of The Master, Fellows and Scholars of Christ's College, Cambridge. My thanks are also due to Professor Julia Barrow, who sent me transcripts of documents in Limoges and the Bodleian Library, Oxford; to Dr Aengus Finnegan and Mr John McCullen for valuable help with the Irish names in Godshouse B; to Dr Alexander Rumble for his opinion of the date of Godshouse D and for confirming a couple of readings in it; and to Mr Ian Bass for searching out and photographing Craswall material for me at Herefordshire Archives. Above all, my thanks go to Joe and Caroline Hillaby for unflagging encouragement, advice and hospitality.

ABBREVIATIONS

HARC Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford
HCA Hereford Cathedral Archives
NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
TNA The National Archives, Kew
*TWNFC Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire*

**NOTES AND REFERENCES**

[1] Relations between the college and Craswall before 1505, the year of the refounding of Godshouse as Christ's College, are dealt with in A.H. Lloyd, *The Early History of Christ's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1934).

[2] One other document relating to the Grandmontine order is preserved at Christ's College, MS Godshouse A. It is an inspeximus by David [Martin], Bishop of St David's, dated 29 October 1300, of a letter by A[nselm], Bishop of St David's [bishop 1231-47], notifying of a grant of privileges by Pope Clement [III], dated 5 March 1189, to Prior G[érard Ithier] and the brothers of Grandmont. The pope confirms the exemption of the Grandmontine order from episcopal jurisdiction. The letter of 1231x47 by Bishop Anselm was apparently in the possession of the priory in 1253 (see below), but survives at Christ's only in the inspeximus of 1300.

[3] Alien priories (daughter-houses or cells of foreign monasteries, in this case Grandmont in the Limousin, France) had been temporarily seized by successive English kings since the time of Edward I, and were finally suppressed by Henry IV in 1414, the crown taking the revenues. Several leases of Craswall Priory are recorded between 1414 and 1442, the date of Henry VI's grant to Godshouse.

[4] Lloyd, *Early History of Christ's College*, p. 438, citing Cambridge, Christ's College, MSS Chr. Z 40 and Chr. Z 41.

[5] According to a document of *c.*1695 the college sold the manor to Thomas Havard in 1561 (*TWNFC* 1902-04, p. 276). Thomas Havard (d.1571) had been sheriff, M.P. and four times mayor of Hereford and was 'a considerable figure in the shire' (S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509-1558, II: Members D-M* (London, 1982), p. 319). The manor of Craswall had apparently already been leased to Havard for 30 years from 1529 (draft lease in Christ's College archives, MS Godshouse Additional 14). In his will Thomas bequeathed the manor to his son Nicholas (TNA PROB 11/53/80). It is possible that College Farm in Craswall (SO 272361) preserves a memory of the Godshouse/Christ's period, since it lies within the area of the Craswall Priory estate, but no record of the name earlier than 1876 has so far been found.

[6] C. T. Martin, Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Rooms of All Souls' College (London, 1877), pp. 1-18.

[7] A. T. Gaydon and R. B. Pugh (eds), *A History of the County of Shropshire, vol. 2* (London, 1973), pp. 47-50 and online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/salop/vol2/pp47-50, accessed 15.10.2015. A riot

at Alberbury is mentioned on the back of a document of 1470 in the All Souls archives (Martin, *Catalogue*, p. 16), recalling the 'ryetowse men' who obstructed the representatives of Godshouse.

[8] See Document 1, Comments.

[9] *Margeria*, a variant of the form *Margareta* found in Godshouse B.

[10] *Lechan* was the name of the stream which flows past Craswall Priory and joins the river Monnow south-east of Craswall church. It is probably a Welsh name, now apparently lost, from Old Welsh *lech* 'stone, slab, slate, rock' with a suffix *an*. The form in this document was evidently misread or miscopied and then 'translated' as 'the stream of Leth' by R. Graham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its houses in England', in *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), pp. 209-46, at p. 226. The ghost-form *Leth* has been cited several times since the publication of that article. The name *Lechan* seems to have survived as *brooke called Leghee* in 1605, 1641 and 1718 (HARC, F94/II/213, F94/II/217 and F94/II/228), but in 1577 the brook was referred to simply as *Crassewall broke* (NLW, Penpont MS 2380).

[11] The 'great' or 'long' hundred = 120, making this a grant of *c.*720 standard acres.

[12] 'The new forest' (*noua foresta*) was apparently north of the river Monnow, to the west and north-west of Craswall Priory, and was possibly so named to distinguish it from *Fforest hen* (Welsh 'old forest') 1832 OS 1in. 1st ed., at SO 285351 (*Foresthene c.*1540). Walter's 'new forest' is perhaps commemorated in the settlement called New Forest at SO 247396, now just over the Welsh border in Hay Rural parish, Breconshire.

[13] The ridge called Crib-y-Garth (SO 272348) on OS maps, from Middle Welsh *crib y gath* 'the cat's ridge', likening the shape of the ridge of Black Hill to a cat's back. *Garth* is probably an anglicized spelling of Welsh *gath* from *cath* 'cat'. Early forms have *-gath*, not *-garth*, and so this is not an instance of Welsh *garth* 'mountain-ridge, promontory', although that word too would be appropriate here.

[14] A cantref west of Ewyas, centred on Talgarth, Breconshire (SO 156338).

[15] Cf. Parc y Meirch SO 262374 (Welsh 'open land of the horses', *Parkee marghe* 1577), an area north-west of Craswall Priory which would have formed part of its estate. Pasture for 10 mares and their foals had been granted to the first Grandmontine house in England, Grosmont Priory in Yorkshire, in *c.*1204 (W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London, 1817-30), vol. 6, part 2, p. 1025).

[16] Debts from Weobley, Mansell Lacy and Yarkhill are recorded in the Godshouse accounts in the later 15th century (Lloyd, *Early History of Christ's College*, *passim*). The *nona garba* 'ninth sheaf', by then a money payment, was still exacted in the 16th century. In a lease of 1529 (Cambridge, Christ's College, MS Godshouse Additional 14), part of the appurtenances of the manor of Craswall are the 'teythings' ('offerings') in Mansell Lacy 'called *nona garba* whiche of oolde tyme were appendant and belonged to Crassewall'.

[17] The phrase 'ten brother-priests and three clerks' (*decem fratres presbiteros et tres clericos*) is repeated in Gilbert de Lacy's confirmation charter, Document 2, which closely follows the wording of Document 1. In Documents 3 and 4, which are no doubt later than Documents 1 and 2, the phrase used is 'ten brother-chaplains and three brother-clerks' (*decem fratribus capellanis et tribus fratribus clericis*). The meaning of these terms has been the subject of debate. Desmond Seward, describing the phrasing in Document 4 as 'somewhat obscure', believed that it might have been a copyist's error, for he thought it 'inconceivable that choir monks should have outnumbered the lay brethren' (D. Seward, 'The Grandmontines—a forgotten order', *Downside Review* 83 (1965), pp. 249-64, at p. 252, footnote 6). However, a copyist's error is perhaps unlikely to have been repeated in several independent documents. Carole Hutchison, who also pointed out that in Grandmontine cells lay brothers (*conversi*) usually greatly outnumbered choir-monks (*clerici*), and added that the *conversi* also participated in services, argued too that 'brother-chaplains' (*fratres capellani*) were lay brothers, while 'brother-clerks' (*fratres clerici*) were choir-monks (C. Hutchison, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont* (Kalamazoo, 1989), p. 94, and her comment cited in J. Hillaby, 'Hereford gold: Irish, Welsh and English land. Part 2: The Clients of the Jewish Community at Hereford 1179-1253: Four case studies', *TWNFC* 45 (1985-87), pp. 193-270, at p. 264, n. 115). However, in *Hermit Monks* she incorrectly attributed the phrase 'ten *brother-chaplains* and three brother-clerks' to Document 1 (Godshouse C), which

has 'ten *brother-priests* and three clerks'. Not only is the distinction between 'brother-priests/-chaplains' and '(brother-)clerks' problematical, but so also is the variation of wording between 'brother-priests' and 'brother-chaplains'.

[18] i.e. Longtown.

[19] Latin *pro* 'for' here seems to have the sense 'instead of'.

[20] Red Castle (*rubeum castellum*) is recorded as a manor of Llanthony Priory and is associated with Tre-wyn, Monmouthshire (SO 328228). The name is lost, but the castle was probably on the southern slopes of Hatterrall Hill west of Tre-wyn, possibly at the site called *the Castle* (SO 316235) on the Ordnance Survey 1" map of 1832; see E. Procter, *Llanthony Priory in the Vale of Ewyas: the Landscape Impact of a Medieval Priory in the Welsh Marches* (Dissertation for the MSc in Applied Landscape Archaeology, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 90-92.

[21] 'The new town' (*noua uilla*) is evidently the borough of Longtown, established near Walter's castle.

[22] *Ewyas* presumably refers here to the new borough of Longtown.

[23] For the gift of the man in Ludlow, see M. Faraday, *Ludlow 1085-1660: A Social, Economic and Political History* (Chichester, 1991), pp. 15 and 140. The priory had a burgage and shop in Ludlow in 1255 (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, *Vol. 2* (London, 1818), p. 69).

[24] Latin *sequela* 'brood, litter', the term used of the family and descendants of an unfree tenant. The gift of a man in three of Walter's boroughs recalls remarks on the Grandmontines by two contemporaries, Walter Map and Gerald of Wales: 'they have lately provided for a citizen in each nearby town to obtain clothing and food for them from gifts they have received' (Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1914), p. 55; 'in every chief settlement and manor their patrons and supporters have a man whom they have given with his house and his whole family, and by whom, in case of urgent need, [the brothers] must be lodged, and not turned away to someone else. To this man they are accustomed to entrust their business in those parts, and he is obliged to serve them' (*Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, *Vol. 4: Speculum ecclesiæ*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1873), p. 258). The translations are mine.

[25] MS Rawlinson B 329, *ff*139*v*.-140*r.* (a late-13th-century/early-14th-century cartulary of Hereford Cathedral), printed in J. Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII: Hereford 1079-1234* (London, 1993), no. 323 (pp. 253-54). Craswall and Ewyas Lacy were at that time (and until 1852) in the diocese of St David's, and the parts of Walter's charter granting land and privileges in those areas were not the direct concern of the Bishop of Hereford.

[26] Rose Graham, who also believed that Godshouse C was not Walter's original grant, makes a puzzling remark: 'The charter of confirmation which Walter gave to . . . Craswall is in the Archives of Christ's College, Cambridge. . . [a footnote refers to Godshouse C, Document 1 in this article]. In the original charter he had granted a tenth of the rents of all his manors in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Wiltshire; in the confirmation charter he gave instead the ninth sheaf of corn and oats in all his manors in England and Wales.' (Graham, 'Order of Grandmont' , pp. 226-27.) In fact, in Godshouse C Walter states that what he *had* given was 'the tenth penny of my rent of Ewyas' and that what he gave instead was 'the ninth sheaf of all kinds of corn from all my demesnes of Ewyas'. Earlier in the charter he had indeed granted the ninth sheaf in all his manors in England and Wales (but *except for* oats), and there is no hint there of a previous grant. The confusion can perhaps be explained as a misreading of her notes by Dr. Graham.

[27] B. W. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087-1265* (Oxford, 2008), p. 23, footnote 44, and pp. 56-57, citing Hereford Cathedral Archives MS 3241. That document is undated, and it is unclear why Holden dates it 1219x21. Gilbert de Lacy's confirmation of Walter's grant, again undated, is in HCA MS 3242. Katherine's marriage was later dissolved; in 1243 she alone held the manor (*Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees Commonly called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols (London, 1920-31), p. 802).

[28] MS Misc A 37.

[29] The reading of final *–t'* is uncertain; it may be *–d'*. My thanks are due to Professor Geoffrey Martin for providing me with clear copies of the document.

[20] The scribe evidently started to write *libere*, thought that the two letters *li* were unclear, and began the word again, omitting to mark *li* for deletion.
[31] The scribe appears to have anticipated the *g* of *sigilli* and failed to mark it for deletion.
[32] The son and heir apparent of Walter II de Lacy. He died between August and 25 December 1230.
[33] Isabel, daughter of Hugh Bigod and Maud Marshall, was born probably no earlier than 1210, since she was apparently the fourth child of the marriage, contracted in 1206 or early 1207 (M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 2-3; L. E. Mitchell, 'Maud Marshal and Margaret Marshal: two viragos extraordinaire', in L. E. Mitchell, K. L. French and D. L. Biggs (eds), *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 122-23). The year of Isabel's marriage to Gilbert, which would provide a *terminus post quem* for this charter, is unfortunately unknown. She could have been only in her mid-teens in the mid-1220s, but bore Gilbert three children.
[34] *Lechan* in Document 1.
[35] *Maschawum* is read as *Maschaldum* by Martine Larigauderie-Beijeaud (see Comments below), but the MS certainly has *Maschawum*, with final *m* represented by a sign of abbreviation above *u*. *Mas* probably represents Middle Welsh *maes* 'open land', but *chawum* is not easily explained. It is conceivable that it is a garbled spelling of *Mascoit*, the usual form at this period of the name (Lower and Upper) Maes-coed (SO 3430, SO 3334). Maes-coed today seems to be rather too far to the south-east of the land being described here, which was apparently to the south and west of Craswall ('as far as the borders of Talgarth'), but the bounds of a district of that name possibly once extended further north and west. The phrase *saltum de Maschawum* does not appear in Walter's grant in Document 1.
[36] See note 17.
[37] The manor of Mansell Lacy had been granted by Walter de Lacy to Walter of Clifford in marriage with Walter's daughter Katherine in 1219x21 (see Comments on Document 1), and Gilbert may have substituted this new grant from Weobley to take account of that.
[38] The text has *merementorum*, the genitive plural of a noun *merementum/us*. That could be a variant of *meramentum* 'timber', but the word would be unlikely to occur in the plural, and the phrase 'the ninth sheaf of timber' would make little sense unless *nona garba* were being used loosely to mean simply 'one-ninth'. It may be preferable to take *merementorum* to be a misreading of *incrementorum*, from the noun *incrementum* 'addition', also 'land recently brought under cultivation, newly-won land, intake, assart'.
[39] *Sonaporius* MS, an error for *Saponarius* (an occupational byname, 'soap-maker'), as correctly in Document 1.
[40] *Menasse Belet* MS, an error for the name which appears as *Manassero Biseth* in Document 1.
[41] *Bic' de Lay* MS, an error for the name which appears as *Richardo de Fey* in Document 1.
[42] *Waltero Eldecoc* MS, an error for the name which appears as *Waltero Caldek'* in Document 1.
[43] A M. Larigauderie-Beijeaud, 'Deux chartes de Grandmont inédites, dans les archives anglaises', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 127 (1999), pp. 103-08. Also online at <.https://www.academia.edu/15104006/Deux_chartes_de_Grandmont_in%C3%A9dites_dans_les_archives_anglaises>, accessed 20.10.2015.
[44] Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 100; Fine Roll, TNA C60/27, m. 7, no. 109, online at <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_027.html#it095_007>, accessed 15.12.2016.
[45] Holden cites evidence which, he claims, shows that 'by 1222 it would appear that Walter's son Gilbert . . . was in charge of the family's possessions in Herefordshire and the March', but his argument appears to be based on a misidentification of *Bretword* in the Close Rolls as Bredwardine in Herefordshire (Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 205; *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri londinensi asservati, Vol. 1*, *1204-1224*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1833), p. 495). *Bretword* is in fact Britford in Wiltshire and, as Veach points out, 'there is no evidence of Gilbert being associated with the lordship of the core Lacy lands at this point' (C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: the Lacy Family, 1166-1241* (Manchester, 2014), p. 181).

[46] I have located no other charters by Gilbert in favour of Craswall Priory; for a grant by his widow Isabel, see Document 6(c). Tanner notes a 'charter of Gilbert de Lacy granting one carucate of land in Ewyas Lacy' to the priory, with a reference to 'ms. Macro, 12.ii.23.a' (T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London, 1744), p. 177). This was evidently a manuscript in the possession of the 18th-century antiquary Cox Macro, whose collection was dispersed after his death in 1767. Macro studied at, and retained connections with, Christ's College, and one is tempted to speculate that this (?lost) charter of Gilbert was found by him in the college muniments, although Macro also possessed manuscripts from other possible sources, including the collections of Sir Henry Spelman and of John Covel, Master of Christ's College; on Macro, see S. Brewer, 'Macro, Cox (*bap.* 1683, *d.* 1767)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17742>, accessed 27.10.2015.

[47] The *corrector* was the superior or spiritual director of a Grandmontine cell. The office was introduced in 1216 (C. Hutchison, *Hermit Monks*, p. 85), but the term *prior* is also often used from an early date.

[48] See note 17.

[49] In Co. Meath.

[50] In Co. Meath. Compare Document 6(r) below, in which Walter grants a carucate of land in Duleek to Craswall Priory.

[51] In Co. Westmeath.

[52] Unidentified. Dr. Aengus Finnegan (personal communication) suggests that it was probably in Co. Westmeath or Co. Longford, perhaps the motte and bailey at Portlick, Co. Westmeath, on the shore of Lough Ree. He tentatively derives the name from Irish **Inse Leifir* 'inch/holm of the water-side'.

[53] In Co. Longford.

[54] In Co. Dublin.

[55] Unidentified. In HCA MS 482 (see Comments on this grant), the form is *Moygarthan*. Dr. Aengus Finnegan (personal communication) writes that Moygrehan (Upper and Lower), Co. Westmeath, is a possibility, but that, since historical forms for Moygrehan are at present available only from the 17th century and none of them is particularly similar to *Moygarchan*, the identification should be left open.

[56] Veach, referring to HCA MS 482, states that the grant was 'issued when [Walter] was sheriff of Herefordshire', i.e. between 1216 and 1223, but does not provide evidence for that (Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms*, p. 249); Mac Niocaill dates the grant to 1230×1241. (G. Mac Niocaill, 'Cairt le Walter de Lacy', *Galvia* 11 (1977), pp. 54–56).

[57] The place-name evidence discussed in the following notes shows that this land was in the western uplands of the Holme Lacy estate near the boundary with Aconbury.

[58] In 1236 a final concord was made between Roger of Hampton and *Wrenho de Hamm'* concerning the moiety of the manor of *Fernileg'* (The National Archives (TNA), CP25/1/80/8/127). *Wrenho de Hamm'* is evidently the same person as *Wrennon de Hamâ* (so printed by Dugdale, probably for *Wrennou de Hama*), a witness to this charter. The name *Fernileg'* is apparently lost, and the manor does not appear to have been noted elsewhere, but if, as seems probable, it is the same name as *Ferneleg* it must have been in the west of the Holme Lacy estate (see note 59). *Wrenho/Wrennou* is probably the Welsh personal name *G(o)ronw(y)*; see T. J. Morgan and P. Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 100-101.

[59] *le Ebroc* appears to be Tar's Brook, which forms the western and northern boundary of Holme Lacy parish. *Ebroc*, a fairly common stream-name, from Old English ēa 'river, watercourse' + *brōc* 'brook', possibly survived in the Tithe Award field-names *(In the) How Brooks* (Holme Lacy, 1840) and *(Far and Near) Howbrooks* (Dinedor, 1842), beside Tar's Brook, but earlier spellings are needed to confirm that.

[60] *Rugeweye* 'ridgeway' is probably the road and track running south-east from Caldicott SO 526327 through Newtown SO 530334, then continuing as Green Drive SO 546343, through what was later Holme Lacy Park, to a ferry over the Wye at Shipley.

[61] *Hathinehale* appears as *Haþeghine Hale* in a grant of Walter de Lacy to Aconbury Priory of 30 acres in his 'wood of *Homme*' in the Aconbury Cartulary, TNA E315/55, *f*66. By 1630, in a plan in TNA C115/109/8939, the name had become *Heathen Hall*. This plan appears to show that it is near Caldicott SO 525327, on the

boundary with Aconbury parish; cf. B. S. Smith, *Herefordshire Maps, 1577 to 1800* (Almeley, 2004), p. 97. By an understandable name-change, *Heathen Hall* became *Haven Hall* in the early 18th century (TNA C115/68/6074).

[62] The charter was first printed in Dugdale's *Monastici Anglicani volumen tertium et ultimum: additamenta* . . . (London, 1673), p. 17. An 18th-century copy is to be found in Limoges, Archives départementales de la Haute-Vienne, 5 H 100 (formerly 5 HH 25/16). I am indebted to Professor Julia Barrow for a transcript of this, which, like the copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 329, has only minor variants from the text printed in *Monasticon*. Professor Barrow (personal communication) points out that Dugdale was almost certainly never at Grandmont, and it seems, therefore, that he must have worked from a copy supplied to him. The later, 18th-century Limoges copy is catalogued in R. Chanaud, *Archives de Grandmont (1186-1792): Répertoire numérique détaillée du fonds de l'ordre et de l'abbaye de Grandmont* (Limoges, 2009), p. 60. Chanaud notes that 'these deeds have not come down to us'.

[63] H. M. Colvin, 'Holme Lacy: an episcopal manor and its tenants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 15-40, at p. 24.

[64] W. Farrer and C. T. Clay (eds), *Early Yorkshire Charters, Volume IV: The Honour of Richmond, Part 1* (Cambridge, 1935),p. xxviii.

[65] D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001), p. 10.

[66] Hugh *Pilat* and Walter son of Walter are mentioned together in Holme Lacy in 1226 (TNA CP25/1/80/5/66).

[67] Holden, Lords of the Central Marches, p. 56.

[68] N. Vincent, 'Roches, Peter des (*d.* 1238)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22014>, accessed 12.11.2015.

[69] Henry III's confirmation of Walter's grant to Craswall Priory of demesne land in Holme Lacy and of 'the homage and services of Henry *de Bradele* and his heirs' is found in a translation of that confirmation in HARC AS58/2/33. The original, a document once in the Scudamore family papers (apparently TNA C115/4892), has been lost since 1899. The endorsement included the words 'Chapter of Hereford', but the charter is absent from B. G. Charles and H. D. Emanuel (eds), *A Calendar of the Earlier Hereford Cathedral Muniments* (National Register of Archives typescript, 1955).

[70] 12 acres of meadow were granted by Walter de Lacy to Simon of Clifford between 14 January 1233 and *c.*25 May 1234 (HCA MS 483). The outside dates of this grant are inferred from the dates of office of two of the witnesses: Peter des Rivaux who became treasurer at the earlier date, and Stephen of Seagrave who was dismissed from the justiciarship at around the later date). On 25 March 1233, what was probably the same meadowland was granted by Simon of Clifford to Craswall Priory and Henry of Bradley (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 329, *f*146*v*.); A. T. Bannister, 'A Lost Cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', *TWNFC* 1914-17, pp. 268-77, at p. 272, and Colvin, 'Holme Lacy', p. 25.

[71] Dates in square brackets are estimated years of the grant; none of the grants is dated in the text, but all are of course from the period *c.*1220x1327. Welsh personal names have been normalized in modern Welsh orthography.

[72] Henry III's charter of confirmation, made at Painscastle, is noted in Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 1: Henry III, A.D. 1226-1257 (London, 1903), p. 139.

[73] The grant repeats word for word that of King John of 1203 to the Grandmontine order, preserved as Oxford, All Souls College, Alberbury Charter 109 and printed in M. Larigauderie-Beijeaud, 'Deux chartes', noted above under Document 2.

[74] Isabel had remarried by 1234. The castle and honour of Ewyas Lacy had been assigned to her in dower, but this had been challenged by her father-in-law Walter de Lacy (N. Vincent, Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238 (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 390-91; C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: the Lacy Family, 1166-1241* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 212-13, 215). The lordship was restored to Isabel and

her husband, John fitz Geoffrey, by the king in 1234 (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office ... Henry III. A.D. 1232-1247* (London, 1906), p. 42).

[75] Either Theobald I de Verdon, constable of Ireland 1274-1309, or his son Theobald II de Verdon, constable 1309-16.

[76] A Welsh place-name, 'the headwaters of Dulas (Brook), the uplands of Dulas'. Probably near Blaenau SO 260399 (Cusop); cf. *Blaineskeli* in (g).

[77] In an undated deed, HARC AD30/46, 'Prior Arnaldus of Craswall' granted to Yevan, son of Walter *Knokeboc'*, nine acres of land called *Tyr Ririd* ('Rhirid's land'). No prior of Craswall named Arnald is known, but Arnald Rissa was prior of Alberbury in 1315 and 1338. By the early 14th century Alberbury held supremacy over the three Grandmontine houses in England (Graham, 'Order of Grandmont', pp. 231, 234-36, 243), and it seems possible that Arnald Rissa, perhaps acting as temporary prior of Craswall, was the grantor. If so, Walter *Knokebroke/Knokeboc'* would have lived in the late 13th or early 14th century. He was probably a Welshman, since his son was named Yevan. *Tyr Ririd* was evidently in a Welsh area, no doubt Ewyas; one of the witnesses to the grant was Hugh of *Baketon',* Bacton in the Golden Valley nearby.

[78] Probably 'young Philip' (Middle Welsh *bychan* 'little, young'), to distinguish him from his father.

[79] Dugdale prints *Blameskeli*. A Welsh place-name, 'the headwaters of Escley (Brook), the uplands of Escley'. Probably near Blaenau SO 298373 (Michaelchurch Escley); cf. *Bleynduweleys* in (d).

[80] Latin *summa*, one quarter or eight bushels, originally the amount of a horse-load.

[81] In Breconshire; now also called Three Cocks (SO 173377). Hugh of Kinnersley is perhaps the man of that name who held the castle of Aberllynfi in 1233.

[82] Cf. Philip *le Passour* (Old French 'ferryman') of Bredwardine, who granted to Clifford Priory free passage on his ferry over the Wye in the time of Henry III (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office, Vol. 3* (London, 1900), D.594).

[83] *Ponc* so read by Dugdale; only *Pon[ ]* is now legible in the MS at the edge of the membrane.

[84] MS *Ghanesi*, an error for *de Anesi* or *Danesi*. Bartholomew *de Anesey/Anesee/Anesye/ Aneseye* is recorded in Kingstone between 1292 and 1303. The family-name later became *Dansey*.

[85] What may be the original grant is preserved as Longleat House NMR no. 1426; see *Herefordshire Estate Papers Held at Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire* (unprinted catalogue, October 2001), p. 26. The witness-list appears to date the grant to *c.*1225x50. Two men, Henry of Bradley and Wrenou of Holme Lacy, also witness Document 4, and another two, Hugh Pilate and Walter son of Walter, are mentioned in Document 5.

[86] Henry *Le Feutrer* ('felt-maker') is mentioned in Holme Lacy in 1226 (TNA CP25/1/80/5/66). Walter de Lacy granted to Henry *Feutrarius* 51 acres in Holme Lacy, and Craswall Priory later granted 10 acres of arable and a messuage, which had been Henry's, to Peter Undergod (Colvin, 'Holme Lacy' , p. 27).

[87] Dugdale prints *Duneleth*, but *Duuelech* is a possible, and preferable, reading; compare Walter's grant of a burgage in *Duuelech* in Document 3. Dr Aengus Finnegan (pers. comm.) suggests that *Thachbochan* might be from Irish *Teach Baoithín* 'house of St. Baoithín', comparing the name with that of Taghboyne/Teach Baothín in Co. Westmeath.

[88] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, part 3, p. 1216 (Num. 8).

[89] Here the contrast with Alberbury is marked, for the same kinds of small grant in the 13th century to Alberbury Priory have been preserved at All Souls; see Martin, *Catalogue*, pp. 1-7.

[90] Perhaps Reginald, appointed corrector of Craswall Priory in 1252.

[91] An abstract in Bannister, 'Lost cartulary', p. 273.

[92] A Gervase *de Brainford* is associated with *Brainford* (Brentford, Middlesex) in 1221-22 (W. J. Hardy and W. Page (eds), *A Calendar to the Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex, Vol. 1: Richard I-Richard III* (London, 1892), p. 15).

[93] See note 2.

# Walter II de Lacy and the foundation of Craswall Priory: the historical contexts

*by* JOE HILLABY

*This paper considers the activities of Walter II de Lacy in Herefordshire and Ireland between 1194 and 1231 in order to provide a chronology for Craswall foundation charters, Christ's College, Cambridge, MSS Godshouse C and D.*

**1. CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS GODSHOUSE C**

Of the three Craswall foundation charters the last, Godshouse B, was almost certainly issued in 1231, after the death of Walter's son Gilbert in December 1230 and, as John Freeman shows, before 21 August 1231.[1] Charter C has generally been regarded as Walter's foundation charter but, as John Freeman points out, the sentence which states 'for the tenth penny of my rents of Ewyas which I had given to them, I have given and granted … the ninth sheaf …' appears to imply that this was not Walter's original grant, but a revised charter. Rose Graham 'also believes that Godshouse C was not Walter's original grant' (see Freeman's n26), but a 'confirmation charter'[2]. It is, however, the earliest now available to us.

Rose Graham and Alfred Clapham, in their classic 1926 study of 'The Order of Grandmont and its Houses in England', placing de Lacy's charter C in the context of the threat from Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great) to the English lords of the Welsh march, suggest that 'it was probably about' 1225 that 'Walter de Lacy gave the prior and brethren of Grandmont a site at Craswall'. This was not the case. In 1224 Walter was with the Irish justiciar William Marshall II on the king's service in Ireland, besieging his own magnificent castle at Trim, the principal borough of his province of Meath. In May 1225, the close rolls reveal, Walter had to make 'a fine with the king of 3,000 marks to have seisin of the lands of his knights and free tenants in Ireland [Meath] taken into the king's hand because they went against the king in Hugh [III] de Lacy's war'.[3] In May 1226 he was appointed custodian of his younger brother Hugh's lands in Ulster. This illustrates the importance of placing documentary evidence in its full historical context.

**The de Lacy family's interests: Ireland or England?**

In 1172 there had been a dramatic shift in the basis of de Lacy power, from England and Normandy to Ireland, where King Henry II had granted Walter's father, Hugh II de Lacy, the former kingdom of Meath, one of the 'Historic Fifths' of Ireland, a liberty which extended from Drogheda in the east to Lough Ree in the west (see Fig. 4 in Hillaby 2014).[4] This vast lordship brought his son and heir, Walter, great wealth, but also much trouble and expense. For long periods of his life Walter had to devote most of his energy to the protection of his Irish inheritance, to the neglect of his English estates; this was for two reasons.

Henry II and his successors grew to fear de Lacy power in Ireland, for Walter's father had married Rose, the daughter of Rory O'Connor, the last high king of Ireland, without Henry's licence.[5] For William of Newburgh, Hugh II now became 'formidable not only to his enemies but even to his associates and appeared to affect the kingdom of Ireland for himself ... so much so that (as report states) he provided himself with a royal diadem'.[6] Secondly, even when such fears

were allayed, Walter had to ensure the security of his lands in a country where his fellow Norman lords and their tenants-in-chief frequently indulged in feuding, whether between themselves or with the royal deputy. We are told that the murder in 1186 of Hugh II de Lacy by a young Irishman who, 'with one blow … cut off his head, both head and body rolling into the ditch of [Durmhagh] castle', gave Henry II 'excessive joy'. For the annals of Ulster Hugh was the 'destroyer [and] dissolver of the churches and sanctuaries of Ireland', killed for building a castle on the site of a church dedicated to St Columcille (Columba). For Giraldus Cambrensis, however, he was a man 'of great honesty and good sense [who] made an excellent job of fortifying Leinster and Munster with castles'.[7]

The witness list of Walter's charter, in which he granted his younger brother Hugh III 'all the land of Ratoath and Trevet', shows that Walter came into his Irish inheritance at the latest by 1191, for the signatures include that of Eugenius, bishop of Clonard/Meath, who died in that year. In all probability, Walter inherited his Irish lands at the same time as those in Herefordshire, at Ludlow and in Normandy, 1189-90.[8] Up to that time any agreement had been blocked by Prince John, who in 1185 had been granted the 'lordship' of Ireland by his father, Henry II. The records show that, prior to his flight into exile in 1210, Walter was engaged in an intensive campaign for the economic development of his Meath lordship. In 1194 he granted a borough charter awarding the customs of the small Lacy town of Breteuil in Normandy to the river port of Drogheda 'on the side of Meath', as they had been given to many Welsh and other towns earlier in the century in the Hereford form. By 1199 he had granted the same customs to the ancient ecclesiastical centres of Kells and Trim.[9] At the head of navigation of the Boyne, Trim became the administrative centre of his Lacy lordship.[10]

By 1198 relations between Walter and his feudal lord, Prince John, had reached virtual breaking point. Walter was fined 3,100 marks for 'ravages committed' upon John's Irish lands. On John's accession to the English throne in 1199, Irish affairs and the threat presented by Walter receded into the background, as John had other more pressing priorities—the safeguarding of his continental inheritance—and Walter, with his Norman estates, could not be wholly antagonised.

**Walter, King John and the de Lacy-Braose relationship, 1200-10**

John, however, took no chances. The witness lists of royal charters show that Walter was kept on a tight leash in the royal retinue from autumn 1199 to November 1200, when John arranged Walter's marriage to Margaret, daughter of his favourite, William de Braose, lord of Brecon, Builth and Radnor, with castles at Hay-on-Wye to the north and Abergavenny on the Usk to the south of Walter's lands in Ewyas Lacy. For John, William's vast lordship of Brecon provided shelter for the English lands between Hay and Abergavenny. Not surprisingly, in 1200 John granted William all the Welsh lands he could conquer. In September that year Giles de Braose, one of William's sons, was consecrated bishop of Hereford.[11] Early in 1201 John granted William the honour of Limerick.[12] This provided William with the means of forming a valuable and close relationship with his son-in-law, Walter de Lacy: a mutual guardianship of their English and Irish lands. After the marriage Braose, whose ambitions lay in Wales and the southern march, took charge of Walter's timber motte and bailey at Ewyas Lacy, as well as his major stone castles at Weobley and Ludlow.

These controls in place, Walter was permitted to return to Ireland to supervise their joint Irish interests. In a series of campaigns 1203-4 Walter 'and his men of Meath', supporting Hugh

III, drove John de Courcy and his Manx supporters from Ulster.[13] In 1205, as the annals of Loch Cé report, de Courcy's father-in-law Godred, king of Innsi-Gall (the Kingdom of Mann and the Isles), provided a fleet of ships for de Courcy 'to contest Ulster with the sons of Hugh [II] de Lacy and the foreigners of Meath'[14]; according to one source, the fleet numbered 100 ships. De Courcy's campaign was principally against Hugh III's two stone castles, at Carrickfergus and Dundrum, also known as 'Rath'.[15] At the latter Walter saved the day, bringing a contingent of his men from Meath to his brother's support, dispersing the besieging force provided by the king of Man[16].

Given King John's fear of the de Lacy family's political aspirations, his creation of Walter's younger brother Hugh as earl of Ulster in 1205 may seem strange, but it can be explained by his even greater fear of the sea power of the king of Man and the Isles. As earl, Hugh was to cause Walter very serious problems in his relations with the English administration during the minority of Henry III, 1216-27.[17]

Charter evidence indicates that, as well as participating in the conquest of Ulster, Walter used his time in Ireland to further promote the economic development of his lordship of Meath. In 1204 he persuaded John to grant eight-day fairs at his boroughs of Trim and Kells and at his important seigneurial manor of Ballymore Lough Seudy, between Athlone and Mullingar on the border of West Meath.[18] In 1208, with royal licence, a mill was erected on the Boyne at the bridge of Drogheda, some thirty miles north of Dublin. Drogheda became a highly successful port, with Walter's boats making many trips with agricultural produce, especially grain, to Chester and Gloucester.[19]

As Hayden has pointed out, the reconstruction of Trim castle, by far the grandest in Ireland, was begun 'around 1174/6' by Walter's father, Hugh II de Lacy, who 'completed the first stage … before his death in 1186'. Walter 'completed the second phase of the keep probably before 1194 [and] also built the third phase between 1201 and 1207'. In 1987 R.Stalley 'first identified the unusual design of the keep with its large number of right-angled corners as more an exercise in geometry than in defence'. Cumming and O'Brien 'further developed this idea and have shown that the walls, windows and doorways… were all laid out on a strictly geometric basis'.[20] Additionally, it is clear that 'the keep and curtain walls were very different types of structure … the keep was not built as a primarily defensive structure, but the curtain walls and [five semi-circular] towers clearly were'[21]. (Plates 3.1 & 3.2)

The Reading Abbey annals, now housed at Worcester College, Oxford, describe the attack by some of William de Braose's sons on Leominster borough and priory in 1207. [22] Their castles having been taken by King John, they seized Walter's castle at Weobley as a base to attack them and other places with royal associations. This included the borough of Leominster and its priory, a cell of the royal abbey of Reading since its re-foundation by Henry I in 1121. The Reading Abbey annalist recounts that 'after Michaelmas … The bishop of Hereford, Giles by name, unexpectedly entered the chapter-house of Leominster and attempted to overthrow the whole status and house and to subjugate it to himself.' Other sources include Giles's brothers William and Reginald in the attack, and report that half the town was consumed by fire.[23] 'But having suffered a shameful rebuff [Giles] obtained, with difficulty, a truce to restore peace, for the honour of the king and the realm and the church of Reading … He somewhat offended one of the patron saints of that place, Peter the apostle. For almost all those who gave him their approval lost the inclination and capacity to do harm, or, long wearied by imprisonment or exile,

left their wealth in the hands of other lords. The bishop of Hereford went to Normandy as an exile, where he emptied his purse 'unto blood'. His father [William de Braose], with his wife and children, betook himself to Ireland, destitute'. Giles's successor, Bishop Hugh de Mapenore, and the bishops of St David's and Bangor threatened excommunication to those 'taking away [Leominster] priory's property and disturbing the monks' good'.[24] Whilst in exile in France, Bishop Giles assisted Llywelyn in establishing an alliance with the French royal family. He returned to England later that year.

The final collapse of William de Braose's relationship with John in 1208 was due not only to the unbridled tongue of William's wife Matilda, who unwisely referred publicly to the king's murder of Arthur of Brittany. There was also his ever mounting debt to the Crown.[25] Walter de Lacy's relationship with William, his father-in-law, remained strong because they were dependent on each other for the security of their respective Irish and English lands. Hence this was one of the two major crises Walter had to face during his life; it led to three years of exile. Having fled, with his family, to Ireland in 1208, Braose joined Walter in Meath. John's whirlwind Irish expedition of 1210 forced de Lacy and Braose to flee abroad. Their estates in England and Ireland were taken into royal hands. Not until October 1215 were his father's confiscated lands returned to Bishop Giles de Braose, passing after his death the next month to his brother Reginald.[26] Walter's brother Hugh was expelled from his castle at Carrickfergus; sixteen years were to pass before he regained his earldom of Ulster.[27] Braose's wife Matilda and their son William fled to Scotland, where the authorities handed them over to King John. As Kate Norgate says, 'The story of John's vengeance on the family of de Braose', the death by starvation of Matilda and one or more of their sons in one of John's dungeons, 'appears, in slightly varied forms, in almost every chronicle of the period'.[28] Painter opines that 'the quarrel with William de Briouse and his family was the greatest mistake John made during his reign'.[29]

**The transformation of Walter's relations with King John, 1213-16**

Given the developing relationship between Llywelyn the Great and the baronial opposition, it is hardly surprising that on 1 June 1213 John recalled Walter to England, after three years in exile.[30] On 29 July the sheriff of Herefordshire was commanded to restore all Walter's English lands, with the exception of Ludlow castle, once his son Gilbert and three other hostages had been handed over to the Crown as guarantors for his good behaviour.[31] Next year Walter served on John's Poitevin expedition. On 1-2 April they spent two days at the remote abbey at Grandmont[32], where the king's father, Henry II, had wished to be buried. In the event he was laid to rest at the abbey of Fontevrault, where his tomb can still be seen beside that of his queen, Eleanor of Castile. John evidently shared his father's admiration for the Grandmontine order for, whilst at Rouen in 1203, he 'issued a general notification to archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and others, that the brethren of Grandmont were free of every toll and service due to the crown'.[33]

Walter was profoundly moved by the austere life of the monks, for whom 'all excess [was] inappropriate to our religious life'[34]. At over 2,000ft in the wilderness of La Marche, Grandmont was described by prior Gérard Ithier *c*.1184 as 'stern and very cold, infertile and rocky, misty and exposed to the winds'.[35] It must have reminded Walter of the more northerly reaches of Ewyas. The first Grandmontine house founded in England, Grosmont priory near Whitby, was in a different sort of wilderness, heavily wooded as are many of the French Grandmontine houses.

Grandmontine priories had neither towers, transepts nor aisles, and their churches had a mere four windows, three at the east end, one at the west. According to the Rule, priors were to sleep in the dormitory with the twelve brethren.[36] All this contrasted strongly with the Augustinian priory at Llanthony Prima founded by Walter's father, Hugh II de Lacy, in the woodland wilderness of the Honddu valley and subsequently supported financially by Walter himself from his Irish estates, and with the architectural grandeur of the chapter-house of the Cistercian abbey at nearby Dore.[37] Strategically sited on the south-western bounds of Ewyas Lacy, with its three great towers and lengthy nave, Llanthony was the largest and probably the wealthiest of all Welsh monasteries.[38]

By 1215 John was facing serious problems at home. On 5 July, less than a month after John signed Magna Carta, Walter was able to negotiate for the return of his Irish lands—a fine of 4,000 marks, of which 1,000 were to be paid into the Irish exchequer with immediate effect. Walter's son Gilbert was to remain a hostage with the Crown, along with the three others, until the initial 1,000 marks had been paid.[39] In addition John was to retain the castle of Drogheda, which he regarded as part of the northern defences of the city of Dublin.[40] A charter that year refers, significantly, to the return of 'all Walter de Lacy's ships'. Three years later the Llanthony canons established their own quay adjacent to Drogheda bridge.[41]

It is highly indicative of the importance that Walter attached to the task of stabilising the Welsh frontier that in 1215 he was prepared to appoint his half-brother William 'Gorm' to act as his steward in Meath, whose carefully developed economy brought him an annual income of more than £770.[42] As the annals of Clonmacnoise reveal, Gorm's appointment turned out an unmitigated disaster. After he 'tooke upon him the kingdome of Meath and government thereof … there arose great contention and warrs between the English of the south of Ireland in generall and him, whereby many Damages and losses of preys and spoyles were sustained by either party'.[43]

Taking advantage of the baronial occupation of London in May 1215, Llywelyn seized Shrewsbury and threatened Bridgnorth. 'The key figure' in Llywelyn's alliance with the barons, 'may have been Giles de Briouze, the bishop of Hereford, whose brother, Reginald, was to marry the prince's daughter Gwladus.'[44] Reginald and Bishop Giles also seized control of their father's castles at Brecon, Hay, Radnor and Builth. As the Magna Carta rebels against John had also allied with Llywelyn, the lords of the Welsh March became the king's natural partners. Thus at Michaelmas 1215 John commanded that Walter was 'to have peace touching his 4,000-mark fine … so long as he shall be on the king's service in England and hold the custody of the king's castle at Hereford'.[45]

**Walter de Lacy and the defence of Herefordshire, 1216 to 1220**

Recognising that he needed a strong local man to control this marcher county and having spent the last week of July in Herefordshire, on 18 August 1216 John appointed Walter de Lacy as sheriff of the county of Hereford, and castellan of the city's castle[46], with the farm of the county to support military activities in the defence of the Central Marches against attack by the French or the Welsh. As Holden has pointed out, under-sheriffs performed his tasks and accounted for him at the Exchequer from August 1216 to Michaelmas 1221.[47] Bishop Giles de Braose having died by November 1215, Walter was also granted custody of the vacant diocese.[48] Hereford

cathedral statutes reveal that corn was distributed annually among the poor on the anniversary of Bishop Giles de Braose's death.[49] (Fig. 1)

Figure 1. 'So-called' effigy of Bishop Gilbert de Braose (1200-1215) in Hereford Cathedral choir, see Pevsner Herefordshire (2012), pp. 291-2.

Figure 2. Aconbury Church from west showing magnificent 13th-century lancets.

On his last campaign, in East Anglia, John was laid low by dysentery. Eight days before his death, during the night of 18-19 October 1216, he 'conceded to [Walter's wife] Margaret … three carucates of land [360 acres] to be assarted and cultivated in our Forest of Aconbury to build there … a certain religious house [for prayers to be said] for the souls of William de Braose, her father, Matilda, her mother, and William, her brother and we instruct Walter [as sheriff of Herefordshire] to assign there three carucates … to the same Margaret'[50]. The priory church that Walter's wife was to build on this site is now the property of the Duchy of Cornwall. (Figs 2 and 3.)

Walter, with the bishops of Winchester, Chichester and Worcester and William Marshal II, earl of Pembroke, was an executor of John's will[51], and a member of the group who accompanied John's body to Worcester Cathedral, where his tomb can yet be seen. He was thus amongst those who, ten days later, 'were deeply moved' by the coronation of his nine-year-old son as Henry III at Gloucester Cathedral.[52]

From his shrieval appointment in 1216 to his dismissal in November 1223 Walter de Lacy was, in effect, viceroy of the southern march. In this he could rely on the total support of most of the

Figure 3. Aconbury Church. South face showing cloister string course, nuns' entry left, priests' entry right.

great families of the area: the Marshals, lords of Striguil (Chepstow) and earls of Pembroke, John of Monmouth, Walter II de Clifford and his son, Walter III, Roger de Clifford of Tenbury, and Hugh and Robert de Mortimer. This was because the accord between king and barons at Runnymede in June 1215 had been made only to be broken, and once war was resumed the early alliances, between barons and Welsh on the one hand and thus the Crown and marcher lords on the other, were re-established.

Llywelyn's seizure of Shrewsbury in 1215 was the clarion call to the marcher lords to ensure that Hereford did not suffer the same fate. The Welsh threat yet remained. In 1215-16 its 'castle and tower were fortified against Llywelyn ap Iorwerth'.[53] In September 1217 work was still continuing on the royal castle at Hereford. By March 1218 the fear of Welsh attack had passed. De Lacy was sent to escort 'Llewelyn, prince of north Wales' who, having extracted the peace terms he desired from the Council of Regency, was to meet the young king at Worcester and do homage at Woodstock.[54] None of the marcher lords believed that Llywelyn's ambitions were satisfied, or that in reality this was but a truce. As Brock Holden has pointed out, 'the March, particularly the central and south eastern areas, was a crucial area of confrontation from 1218 to Llywelyn's death in 1240'.[55]

Whilst on the king's Poitevin expedition in 1214 Walter had been sent by John to purchase horses at Narbonne. There he was able to observe for himself the benefits of a harmonious relationship between Christian and Jew. This was to have a profound impact on Walter's finances after his return to England.[56] In 1218 the Council of Regency, of which he was a member, 'informed what great Profit might arise from the Jews if they were kindly dealt with', took immediate measures to secure that end. Jewish privileges were confirmed; and measures taken to safeguard the English

Jewry against popular attack. On 19 June that year the patent rolls confirmed the right of Jews to reside at Hereford and Walter, as sheriff, was particularly commanded to protect them from any violence, 'especially from crusaders'.[57] This included providing refuge in the newly-reconstructed Hereford castle.

Throughout his life Walter faced almost constant demands from the Crown for large sums. A special relationship with Hamo, leader of the Hereford Jewry, was to provide Walter with a remarkable source of credit. In 1223 Hamo was to rank first in the national Jewish tallage, paying £70, his nearest rival, David of Oxford, paying £49 7s 6d. This relationship Walter used to the extreme. A 1244 list of debts showed that he owed Hamo's eldest son £666 13s 4d; his kinsman Gilbert de Lacy of Frome owed a further £600, which enormous sum can only be explained by his acting as local agent when Walter was in Ireland.[58] Not all Walter's debts were due to his problems with the Crown. In his sixties, a four-year battle and a joint visit to Rome concluded in 1237, when Pope Gregory IX ruled in favour of his wife Margaret, empowering her nuns at Aconbury to leave the Hospitallers and live by the Augustinian rule, but cost at least £600.[59] Significantly, the path on the west of the Longtown keep is still known as Jews Lane (Fig. 4). The 1244 list draws attention to the fact that Walter introduced at least two other members of Ireland's Anglo-Norman aristocracy to the facilities available from Hamo of Hereford and his family: William Marshal I's third son, Gilbert, owed £138; his nephew John, keeper of Hugh de Lacy's lordship of Ulster 1223-4 and castellan of Pembroke after 1231, owed £193 6s 8d.[60]

Figure 4. Jews' Lane, Longtown.

**Lacy cylindrical keeps**

**Dundrum, County Down: Predecessor to Longtown**

The annals of Loch Cé for 1205 make it clear that Dundrum keep in Ulster was built by the de Lacy brothers.[61] However, the curtain wall, excavated in 1950 by D. M. Waterman, was earlier. She concluded that 'the existing stone curtain is hardly likely to be later than the end of the 12th century and may most probably be attributed to de Courcy, before his defeat and banishment at the hands of Hugh de Lacy, in 1203'.[62]

The design of the Lacy brothers' circular keeps at Dundrum, Longtown, and probably others in Ireland, was based on that built at Pembroke by the great earl William Marshal I. Some 75ft high and 53ft in diameter, excluding the heavy batter, this was of four storeys, capped by a remarkable dome. (Plates 3.3 and 3.4) 'It seems likely that Pembroke came into the hands of its new earl some time between October 1200 … and May 1201.'[63] Neither Dundrum nor Longtown,

nor the castles which succeeded them, aspired to the grandeur still to be seen at Marshal's keep, which dominated the port for the shortest sea crossing to Ireland. There, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, 'in clear weather the Irish mountains can be seen'. Lacking the Marshal's very considerable resources, the Lacy round keeps were simpler, and of only three stages.

Built on natural rock, Dundrum castle's round keep is some 14m/45ft high, its internal width 46ft (14m), with walls 8.5ft (2.6m) thick. A boldly battered base defended the basement, to which the only access was a spiral staircase from the first floor, also serving the second floor and wall walk. The basement had merely two slits for windows. Excavations revealed a large pit some 23ft deep, which was cut to provide water by seepage. Above were three distinct stages. The principal entry was at first-floor level, which served as the castle's hall. It had a large, originally hooded, fire-place and access by the staircase to the curtain wall, the castle's outer defences; the present ground-floor access is a fifteenth-century modification. The second floor originally housed another grand, but more private room. In the fifteenth century small vaulted sleeping chambers, lit by splayed loops in the exterior wall, were formed in the wall thickness, as well as a garderobe. Above was a parapet wall walk with holes to expel rain water.[64] The relationship between Dundrum and Longtown castles is considered below under Longtown. (Figs 5, 6 and 7).

Figure 5. Dundrum Keep from south, showing first-floor entrance and wall walk.

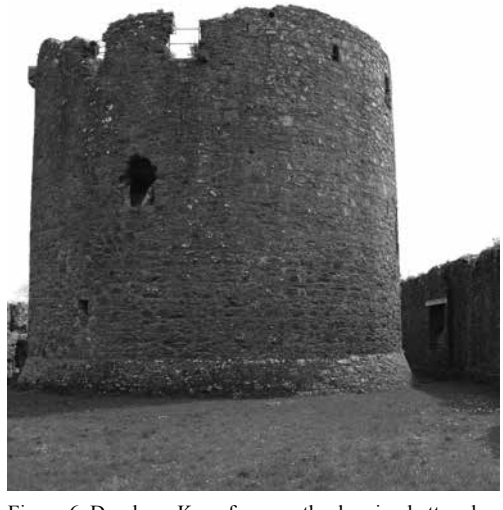

Figure 6. Dundrum Keep from north, showing battered base and, right, latrine in curtain wall.

Waterman concludes that 'it may be that the keep at Pembroke provided the inspiration for that at Dundrum, for not only are they basically similar in design, but both are sited close to the curtain of the inner ward and adjacent to the entrance. Even if these similarities are entirely fortuitous, the Dundrum example can hardly be earlier in date than that at Pembroke … On de Courcy's expulsion in 1203, [the site of] Dundrum Castle passed to his conqueror and remained in [Hugh] de Lacy's hands until besieged and surrendered to King John in 1210'.[65]

Today a prominent notice at the entrance proclaims 'de Lacy's keep'. The fundamental question is not of ownership, but who designed it? That surely must have been Walter, whose

management of the building of phases 2 and 3 at Trim castle (see Plates 3.1and 3.2) provided him with the rich experience to design a suitably modified form of the stone round tower that he had admired at Pembroke, rather than his younger brother, recently arrived in Ireland.[66]

As late as 1553 the castle was described in a report to the lord privy seal as 'overlooking Dundrum bay yt standeth ys one of the strongest holtes that I ever sawe in Irelande, the moost commodious for defence in the hole countrie, both by see and lande'[67]. No borough, however, was attached to the castle at Dundrum. As Plate 3.5 shows, its elevated position made it inappropriate for use as a market-place.

Figure 7. Dundrum Keep: interior showing modern ground-floor entrance, first-floor hall with fireplace and chimney, internal openings to spiral staircase at ground, first and second floor, and wall walk.

**Walter II de Lacy and the reconstruction of Hereford Castle**

During his 1210 Irish expedition John had rested at Walter's castle at Trim from 2 to 4 July.[68] This will have given him ample time to admire its southern curtain wall with its circular Dublin Gate and five semi-circular wall towers, the latter now regarded as the result of Walter's activity, 1201-7.[69] It is not surprising, therefore, that once John had decided on the reconstruction of Hereford Castle he should call on Walter's wide experience in military architecture to provide an appropriate design. As has been noted, Walter had 'the custody of the king's castle at Hereford' from Michaelmas 1215 and from August 1216 was sheriff, castellan and *custos* of the vacant see. Walter, one imagines, would have thoroughly enjoyed this challenge.

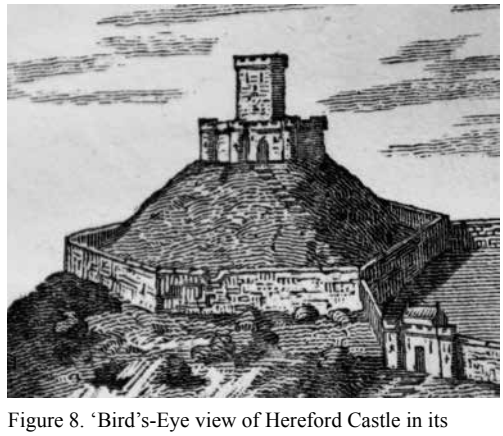

Figure 8. 'Bird's-Eye view of Hereford Castle in its original form. From Speed's Map, Leland's Description, etc.'. J.Duncumb, History of Hereford (1804) fcg p. 229.

For a full description of Walter's rebuilding of Hereford castle we have to turn to John Leland's *Itinerary*, written 1536-9. He reports, 'The waules of it be highe and stronge, and full of great towres, but now the hole castle tendithe toward ruine. It hath bene one of the fairest, largest and strongest castles of England … The dungeon [keep] of the castle is highe and very stronge, havynge the utter waull or warde 10. towres *forma semicirculari*, and one great towre in the inner warde.'[70] The veracity of Leland's verbal description is confirmed by Speed's 1611 plan of

Hereford.[71] The apparent eccentricity of Walter's castle at Hereford stands in marked contrast, apart from the semi-circular towers, to that of his magnificent castle at Trim in Meath. However the design of Hereford's castle achieved, admirably, its principal purpose, to ensure all round vision and thus control of the bridge over the Wye for the city's defence (Fig. 8).

**Longtown motte, bailey and borough**

Work at Hereford castle being virtually complete by 1217, Walter de Lacy, fully conscious of the serious threat to the west of the county from Llywelyn, could now turn his attention to his three projects in Ewyas: the construction of a round stone keep in Longtown, similar to that at Dundrum; the foundation and fortification there of a borough with market-place; and the building of a house for Grandmontine monks in the 'wilderness' of Craswall, some 6 miles to the north. All three are clearly reflected in the text of Christ's College, Cambridge, MS Godshouse C (see below, p. 78). West Herefordshire was still defended only by de Braose's two major stone castles at Hay-on-Wye to the north and at Abergavenny to the south, with Longtown protected merely by his father's timber keep on a motte with its bailey.[72]

Walter's new castle at Longtown belonged to a group of at least three de Lacy cylindrical stone keeps. Some of the most compelling evidence as to the relationship between Longtown and the Lacy keeps at Dundrum (*c*. 1204) and Clogh Oughter (*c*. 1220) in Ireland is provided by T. E.

Figure 9. Longtown Castle showing floor joist support and entrance to garderobe.

Figure 10. Pembroke keep showing joist holes on ground, first and second floors, two fireplaces and interior of domical roof.

McNeill. 'Constructionally, round towers present the builder with one problem, that of flooring the [round] space … At [Dundrum and Clogh Oughter] … holes for the joists are preserved well enough to allow them to be measured and their pattern planned.'[73] At Dundrum the first floor, its hall and social centre, has eight east-west floor joists resting on three south-north, whilst the second floor has merely two, crossed in an X form, bearing four east-west. In contrast, at Longtown the first-floor hall is carried by two timbers spanning the floor of the hall, forming a saltire (Fig 9). McNeill also shows that the second, hall, floor at Longtown and Dundrum attempt to follow the elaborate design of radial beams at Pembroke. As he explains, there is 'a social dimension' to this, based on Pembroke, which is 'both the most elaborate example, and … origin point to the whole discussion' (Fig. 10).[74]

Longtown castle stands in contrast to that at Dundrum in one major respect. Whereas the Dundrum keep was built on a foundation of sheer rock, that at Longtown stands on an earthen motte. The origins of this mound have been the subject of considerable discussion. The first documentary evidence is to be found in the pipe rolls for 1186-7 which refer to '*castelli de Ewias et novi castelli*' whose upkeep cost the Crown £37 that year.[75] It is generally accepted that 'the castle of Ewyas' is a reference to Pont Hendre, the motte and bailey of which was the administrative centre of Ewyas Lacy, whilst 'the new castle' was Hugh II de Lacy's motte and bailey at Longtown[76]. Both castles had come into the hands of the Crown as a result of the murder of Hugh II de Lacy, Walter II's father, in 1186.[77] For C. A. Benn 'it would … appear that the motte of Longtown was new in 1187'.[78] However, in 1177 Hugh de Lacy had been appointed 'procurator general' of Ireland, a post he held together with the lordship of Meath.[79] It is therefore highly unlikely that he would have erected the motte and bailey after 1177.

It can be appreciated that, having mastered the design complexities at Trim, Walter would hardly have found the development of the castle and borough at Longtown a challenge—apart from his father's earthen motte. For Cathcart King in 1988 the conservation work done at Longtown has revealed that Walter's stone keep was built on top of the motte, 'with very shallow foundations indeed', so that 'it would be a good many years before it could carry a strong [masonry] tower.'[80] (Plate 3.6). Walter II evidently began erecting his round stone keep at Longtown on his departure from Hereford, in all probability in late 1217. Knowing that it was some forty years earlier that his father had built the motte and bailey, he played safe and built three handsome semi-circular stone buttresses to secure the new keep. That on the south, which contained a spiral staircase, is now ruinous (Fig. 11). These are quite

Figure 11. Longtown Castle: remnants of southern buttress showing spiral staircase and opening into dog-legged passageway on 2nd floor.

alien to the original concept of the circular keep; there are no such buttresses at Pembroke, despite its extraordinary height, or its derivative at Dundrum, built on rock. A number of authorities suggest Walter was influenced by similar buttresses in Normandy, seen during his period of exile, 1210-13. The trio has no parallel in Britain, but single semi-circular stone buttresses can be seen at Skenfrith and Caldicott, both in Monmouthshire.[81]

Figure 12. Longtown Castle, showing large fireplace of first-floor common hall.

Figure 13. Longtown Castle, showing projecting rectilinear corbelled-out garderobe.

At 44ft, Longtown is merely 1ft lower than Dundrum. The inner structure of the two keeps was also similar. At both the main entry was at first-floor level, with a common hall and large fireplace (see Fig. 12); the sleeping accommodation was on the second floor, with garderobe and access at both to a wall walk. However at Longtown de Lacy's garderobe 'projects from the wall in a corbelled out latrine with a stone roof' (see Fig. 13) [82]. The interior layout of Walter's Longtown keep became virtually the standard design for Brecon, the marches and other parts of Wales. This is significant because, through its relationship to Dundrum, Longtown was linked to William Marshal I's magnificent keep at Pembroke. The major difference between the two castles was the elaborate nature of Longtown's outer defences and market area, whereas Dundrum, well away from any commercial activity on the coast (see Plate 3.5), had merely an outer wall, which archaeologists suggest predates the keep. Dundrum's twin gateway, now rather battered but otherwise not dissimilar to that at Longtown, was a later addition.[83]

**The dating of MS Godshouse C**

Julia Barrow, in *English Episcopal Acta VII: Hereford 1079-1234* no 323, suggests that Walter de Lacy's Craswall foundation charter was issued 'probably in the second decade of the thirteenth century'. For Carole Hutchison, the foundation of St Mary at Craswall 'has not been definitively dated, although the evidence suggests some time between 1217 and 1222 and probably closer to the earlier date'.[84] The Christ's College, Cambridge, MS Godshouse C provides further information which throws light on the probable date of the original foundation charter, for it refers to a grant of 'the tithes of all hides of livestock slaughtered annually for my larder in *the castle of Ewyas*', that is at Longtown (JF n18). In addition, it refers to a further grant of 'the ninth sheaf of every kind of corn from all my demesnes of Ewyas, Walterstone … and *the new town*' (JF n21). This indicates that Craswall was to be funded from the new works at Longtown, in particular its market-place, as in Walter's series of borough foundations in Meath.[85]

As one would anticipate, Walter could only begin to consider the foundation of a Grandmontine priory in the remote and desolate territory beneath the 2,000-foot ridge of Crib-y-Garth (see Freeman, n13) once the north-western area of his lands in Ewyas was firmly defended by his new circular stone castle and its fortified borough. This would suggest that the Craswall foundation charter MS Godshouse C was issued in the last year or so of 'the second decade of the thirteenth century'. Only once the castle and borough of Longtown had been completed would it have been possible for the monks of Craswall to benefit fully from the terms of Walter's charter. This receives confirmation from the fact that Walter felt able to leave Ewyas in August 1220 to undertake a major military campaign in Cavan, Ireland, which continued until 1221.[86]

At Longtown Walter also founded his borough with a market-place, in all probability, as in Ludlow, Weobley and his new towns in Meath, through the agency of the laws of Breteuil.[87] Where should we seek the site of Longtown's borough and market-place? At Ludlow the highly successful borough and market grew up in the rectangle immediately outside the principal entrance to the castle, where the large Victorian brick market hall used to stand. At Weobley it developed in the triangle of land which also was just outside the principal gate to the castle. The three issues referred to in MS Godshouse Charter C—castle, borough with market-place, and the Grandmontine house of thirteen monks at Craswall—are thus closely interrelated. The new round stone keep would provide security for the borough in its capacity as a market-place, just as the Lacy castles did at Ludlow and Weobley, and for the priory. This interrelationship is discussed in some detail by Remfry, whose sketch plan also clearly marks Jews Lane (Fig. 4) which the proud Walter may well have been pleased to show to his friend and financier Hamo of Hereford.[88]

**2. CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS GODSHOUSE D: Walter's formal grant of the patronage of Craswall priory to his son Gilbert.**

In July 1215 King John returned Meath to Walter, who was hard pressed by renewed threats from Llywelyn. The latter, allied with the Magna Carta rebels, had seized Shrewsbury in May. In consequence Walter was obliged to send his half-brother, William 'Gorm' de Lacy, to Ireland to act as steward of his lands in Meath. Son of their father's second marriage, to Rose, daughter of Rory O'Connor, king of Connacht and High King of Ireland, William Gorm's personal ambitions, not surprisingly, lay beyond Meath, in the territory of Breifne to the north and west, today the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. As has been noted, the 'great contention and warrs between

the English of the south of Ireland in generall' and William 'Gorm' led to 'many Damages and losses' on both sides.[89]

**Walter de Lacy's return to Ireland and the Cavan campaign**

Not until August 1220, with his castle and borough at Longtown well underway, did Walter feel able to return to Ireland, after an absence of some ten years. On arrival, according to Otway-Ruthven, he 'embarked on what was clearly a planned expansion in Breifne'. [90] According to the annals of Loch Cé in 1220 he 'came to Erinn, and performed a great hosting to the crannog [stockaded island in a lake] of O'Raighilligh [Clogh Oughter]. He went upon it, and obtained hostages and great power.'[91] For Orpen 'O'Reilly's crannog appears to have been in Lough Oughter in County Cavan, where the ruins of an early castle known as Clogh Oughter still stand'. This is confirmed by Parker, who points out that the O'Reillys were the ruling family of East Breifne.[92] Lough Oughter is the uppermost major lake on the river Erne; hence its name in Irish, Lough Uachtar ('the upper lake').[93]

In 1221 the 'castle at Ath-Liag [now Ballyleague, a western suburb of Lanesborough, County Longford, 'where there was a ford across the Shannon, just above the entry of the river into Lough Ree'[94]] was attempted to be made by Walter de Laci and all the forces of Midhe. When the Connachtmen heard this, however, they came across from the west and … the castle was abandoned to them, through force, and on conditions of peace'. [95] Walter granted the kingdom of Breifne to his vassal, Philip de Nangle, with the provision that William 'Gorm' would build 'three stone castles for the use of de Angulo'.[968] As Conleth Manning suggests, 'even if previously begun by the de Lacys, Clogh Oughter may possibly have been one of these three castles'. [97]

Given Walter's recent construction of Longtown castle, and his work at Dundrum, it is interesting to check what influence, if any, can be seen of its two predecessors. Clogh Oughter (see Plates 3.7 and 3.8) is the subject of a detailed archaeological, historical and architectural study by Manning and a range of specialist contributors, according to which Phase 1 'in the building of the circular tower, which is undoubtedly of early thirteenth-century date, consisted of the ground and first floors and possibly a small attached area enclosed with a curtain wall. The main entrance was at first-floor level and two other doorways may have given access to the wall walk of the curtain wall.'[98]

For Manning in Phase 2 'the height of the tower was doubled [to some 18.5m] and a stair turret attached on the northern side. This also appears to be of thirteenth-century date and probably followed soon after Phase 1 ... The turret rose the full height of the heightened tower and gave access to the parapets through the surviving doorway in the parapet wall.' On the other hand, Phase 3 appears to be 'the historically recorded work carried out between 1610 and 1620, when the castle was adapted to serve as a prison for priests'. [99] It would seem that most of the work was that of locals well-versed in the art of crannog-building with its particular requirements.

In 1224 the O'Reilly chief of Cavan sought military assistance from William Marshal II, the justiciar, in besieging this castle. There the soldiers sent by the Marshal found three women, whom William 'Gorm' de Lacy had placed there for their safety: his wife Gwenllian, daughter of Llywelyn the Great; his mother Rose, daughter of Rory O'Connor; and the wife of his half-brother Thomas Blound.[100] As this was only three years after Walter de Lacy had begun Phase

1 of Clogh Oughter castle, we have here evidence that his half-brother William 'Gorm' was the builder of Phase 2. This pre-seventeenth-century work at the castle is therefore the third of the de Lacy family's round keeps, after Dundrum (1204) and Longtown (*c.*1220).

**Hugh de Lacy's return to Ireland, 1223**

After his expulsion from Ulster by King John in 1210 Hugh fled first to Scotland and then to France. In June 1213 John recalled Walter from exile. Whereas Walter's lands were returned, Hugh's were not. In the period to 1219 he was to be found, with Simon V de Montfort, at the Albigensian crusade against Cathar heretics in southern France.[101] By 1216 he had entered into negotiations with Henry III's regent, William Marshal I, with whom prior to 1210 he and Walter had enjoyed a close relationship in Ireland, for the return of his Ulster lands. The negotiations collapsed with the illness and death of the regent in 1219, and the rise to power of Hubert de Burgh. Having given up any hope of recovering Ulster other than by force of arms, in 1220 Hugh joined Llywelyn the Great in his attack on the lands of William Marshal the Younger. Towards the end of 1222 the king's ministers, conscious of the threat of an invasion of Ulster by Hugh, held further negotiations, but announced that his lands there were to be committed to the custody of Walter and the earls of Chester, Gloucester and Salisbury for five years, and that he might then receive seisin.[102]

In 1223 Hugh de Lacy returned to Ireland 'without the assent of the king of the Saxons'. His lands in Ulster being firmly garrisoned, Hugh joined William 'Gorm' in Meath whose attempts to win Breifne were 'filling Central Ireland with confusion'.[103] Cathal Crovderg O'Connor, king of Connacht and Ardri 1202-24, anxious to stop the pillaging of his kingdom by Hugh and William 'Gorm', who were 'burning the king's land, killing and holding his men to ransom'[104], wrote to Henry III, including a copy of King John's charter relating to Connacht and its rulers.[105] He 'prayed the king to send a force thither to restrain Hugh's insolence'.[106] Walter's inability to control either William 'Gorm', his own deputy in Meath, or more particularly his brother Hugh's attempts to regain Ulster from the royal forces led, late in 1223, to his liberty of Meath being taken into royal hands, after which time Walter could act only 'as king's sheriff in his own land'.[107] In November he was even deprived of his shrievalty of Herefordshire.[108]

In March 1224 the situation in Meath was such that Walter was required to return to Ireland to deal with the transgression of his men of Meath. The Irish justiciar was ordered 'to cause Walter de Lascy to have the hall, houses and chambers in the castle of Trum in which he and his retinue may dwell while he is fighting the enemies of the K. and of himself'.[109] In May William Marshal the Younger was appointed Irish Justiciar.[110] It was fortunate for both that William 'Gorm', described in the annals of Clonmacnoise as 'the chiefest champion in these parts of Europe' and 'the hardest and strongest hand of any Englishman', had been 'hurt in a skirmish [with the O'Reillys] in Breifne, came to his house and there died of wounds'[111]. William Gorm's three ladies, Orpen informs us, 'were taken into custody' for their security by a contingent sent by William Marshal[112]. When Walter and William Marshal arrived at Trim in August, however, they found Walter's magnificent keep was held by some of his brother Hugh's knights and a few locals. They 'shut them up in the castle and besieged it'.[113] Hugh himself was besieging Carrickfergus castle. Walter's failure to control the activities of William 'Gorm' and Hugh in Meath now led, in 1225, to a fine of 3,000 marks 'to have seisin of the lands of his knights and

free tenants in Ireland taken into the king's hand because they went against the king in Hugh de Lacy's war'[114].

Hugh's policy had been to keep William Marshal and Walter fully occupied in regaining control of his brother's castle at Trim, the largest and grandest in Ireland. Posterity must be thankful that the siege of Trim was conducted by a man as patient as William Marshal, who resolved the problem of the threat to the castle by sending a contingent from his Trim forces to lift Hugh's siege of Carrickfergus castle. Thus Trim emerged unscathed when, after a bloodless seven-week siege, Hugh's garrison was starved into submission.[115]

The compromise resolution of the crisis over the return of Hugh's Ulster earldom and lands was primarily the work of William Marshal, although the detailed instructions came from London. On 12 May 1226 Walter de Lacy formally acknowledged the receipt from Henry III of 'the custody of the castles of Carrickfergus, Antrim and Rath [Dundrum] and all the lands of my brother Hugh in Ulster for three years from Eastertide unless in the meantime they had been restored, of the king's grace, to Hugh'. Failing a satisfactory arrangement with Hugh, 'his castle and lands would be returned to the Crown [by Walter] at the end of [the] three years'.[116] Thus Walter faced three years of great uncertainty.

From previous experience, Walter fully appreciated just how stubborn Hugh could be in relation to his Ulster earldom and castles. Not unnaturally, Walter therefore assumed that he would in all probability remain in Ireland for the next three years. This being the case, he had to take measures to ensure the wellbeing of the family's interests in England and Wales. As Brock Holden has pointed out, 'it was customary for young sons of the Marcher lords to assume some degree of responsibility in the March as a way of preparing them for entrance into a violent inheritance'[117]. Walter therefore transferred the family's English and Welsh concerns to the care of his son Gilbert. Christ College Cambridge MS Godshouse D, the charter in which Walter de Lacy transferred the patronage of Craswall priory to Gilbert, can thus be firmly dated to the months between May 1226 and April 1227, when Henry III ordered the 'restoration to Hugh de Lacy of his lands and castles in custody of Walter de Lacy, whom the king orders to deliver them'. A mandate was sent to the justiciar 'to induce Walter to restore Hugh's lands and castles without difficulty', and to Walter 'to give seisin'.[118]

**A COMPARISON OF CHARTERS C AND D**

This provides interesting information on Gilbert's English interests shortly prior to his death in France in 1230. The first sections of charters C and D provide a description of the Craswall demesne. These are the same. However, instead of 'valleys' D specifies 'the whole pasture of *Maschawum'* (see Freeman text, n.44) Thus the lands granted to the monks adjacent to their priory remain the same, except for the additional statement, 'the same brothers shall not harbour in that land or forest any men, or the animals of any men, through which damage may occur to the land or forest, or to my men or those of my heirs'. When it came to income from the lord's demesne, the situation was quite different. Walter gave 'the ninth sheaf of wheat, maslin, rye and every kind of corn except oats throughout all my manors in England and Wales, namely the ninth sheaf of every kind of corn in Herefordshire from Weobley, Mansell [Lacy], Yarkhill and Holme [Lacy], in Shropshire from Stanton [Lacy], Ludlow and Rock [in Ludlow], and in Wiltshire from Britford'. Like his father Gilbert gave 'the tithes of hides from Ewyas and [evidently with his father's agreement] the tithes of the demesne mills of Kells, that is in Ireland. And for the

tenth penny of my rent of Ewyas I have given and granted to the said brothers the ninth sheaf of oats and of every kind of corn from the whole of my demesne of Ewyas, namely from Ewyas, Walterstone, Red Castle and the new town … in exchange for Mansell [Lacy] I have given them the ninth sheaf of all my newly-won land from my demesne of Weobley'[119]. He confirmed his father's original grant to the three men from Ewyas, Weobley and Ludlow. Of Gilbert's nine named witnesses, seven are common to both charters.

There is firm evidence that Gilbert was meeting his English and Welsh responsibilities to the Crown by 1228. In September he was commanded to come 'with horse and arms' to join Henry III at Montgomery (Powys).[120] Here in 1223, to establish a firm bastion against Llywelyn, Henry had founded a castle, with a borough beneath, on which he had spent over £2,000 in five years. In 1228 Henry granted castle and borough to his able but self-seeking justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. Gilbert was named as one of the witnesses to Hubert's grant to his burgesses of a fair, market and guild merchant. In May 1230 Gilbert was commanded to serve the Crown overseas, for which he was relieved of all interest outstanding on his Jewish debts.[121] He obviously made a strong impression on the twenty-three-year-old Henry III, for in August he received Henry's share of the treasure found at Bordeaux.[122]

**Death of Gilbert in France, 1230**

On 25 December 1230 Walter was informed of his son's death in France, and that he was to have full possession of the lands that Gilbert had held 'for his sustenance'[123]. Walter could never have anticipated Gilbert's death on his first active service overseas. In 1926 Alfred Clapham suggested that the tomb found by Lilwall, beneath the steps to the choir at Craswall, was 'probably of one of the founder's family and possibly his son Gilbert de Lacy'[124]. However the Tewkesbury annals record that 'Gilbert de Lacy, son and heir of Walter de Lacy, is buried at Llanthony', one of the most handsome priories in Wales, for which Walter and his father had provided the resources.[125] If the skeleton measuring over six feet found in the stone coffin at Craswall was not that of Gilbert, it must have been of Walter himself, for the Grandmontine Custumal prohibited burial within the precinct of all but monks and benefactors.[126] As noted in 2014, 'the first little oratory erected by the pioneer community' has come to be called the south chapel, the ruins of the much grander church we now know being those of a later build. The original priory was therefore much smaller than that we see today. This indicates the rebuilding of Craswall Priory not, as previously assumed, *c.*1230 but after the death of Walter in 1241. This is reflected in the rich and mature Early English architectural details in the choir of credence, piscina, sedilia with now lost trefoil heads, and in the three-bay chapter-house.[127]

To the annalist of Clonmacnoise, Walter de Lacy was 'the bountifullest Englishman for horses, cloaths, mony and goold that ever came' to Ireland but, as Matthew Paris tells us, he died 'after having lost his sight, and endured many other bodily afflictions … leaving his wasted inheritance to his [grand]daughters', Gilbert's daughters Matilda and Margaret.[128]

Abbreviations:
*AC*: *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ed. Rev D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896)
*ALC*: *Annals of Loch Cé*, Vol I, ed. W.M.Hennessy, (1871)
*AU*: *Annals of Ulster*, Vol. II, ed. B.MacCarthy (Dublin, 1893)
*AM*: *Annales Monastici* ed H.R.Luard, RS 36, I-V (1864-9)

*CDI*: *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office, 1117-1251*, Vol 1. 1171-1251, ed H.S. Sweetman (1875), referenced by number
*PR*: *Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office*,
*Rot Litt Claus*: *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, Volume 1. 1204-1224 (1833), Volume 2. 1224-1227 (1844)

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[90] A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (2nd edn, 1980), pp. 89-90.
[91] *ALC*, pp. 261, 263.
[92] C. Parker, 'Cavan: A Medieval Border Area' in *Cavan: Essays in the History of an Irish County* ed R. Gillespie (Newbridge, Co. Kildare, 1995) pp. 37-9.
[93] Manning (2013), pp. 3-6. For a description of the castle with splendid photographs, pp. 39-63.
[94] Orpen, III, pp. 36-7.
[95] *ALC*, p. 263.
[96] Orpen, III, pp. 34-5.
[97] Manning (2013), p. 5.
[98] Manning (2013), pp. 61-3.
[99] Manning (2013), pp. 61-3. Description of castle pp. 39-63.
[100] Orpen, III, pp.43-4.
[101] P. Duffy, 'The exiled earl and the soon-to-be saint: Hugh de Lacy and the Albigensian Crusade', *History Ireland* (Sept-Oct 2016) pp. 16-19. For more information on Hugh see D. Brown, *Hugh de Lacy, First Earl of Ulster. Rising and Falling in Angevin Ireland* (2016).
[102] Carpenter (1990), p. 306.
[103] *AM* III (1886) p. 85; *ALC*, p. 127 is incorrect in dating the return 1221.
[104] *CDI*, 1180; *PR*, 1216-25, p. 483.
[105] Orpen, III, pp.38-40.
[106] *CDI*, 1174.
[107] Otway-Ruthven (1980), p. 185.
[108] Carpenter (1990), pp.316.
[109] *CDI*, 1176
[110] Otway-Ruthven (1980), p. 91.
[111] *AC*, p. 234; Otway-Ruthven (1980), p. 92; Orpen, III, pp. 43-4.
[112] Orpen, III, pp. 43-4.
[113] *CDI*, 1203.
[114] *Rot Litt Claus* II, p. 39b.
[115] *CDI*, 1203.
[116] *PR*, 1225-32, pp. 31-2.
[117] B. Holden, 'King John, the Braoses, and the celtic fringe, 1207-16' *Albion* 33 (2001) p. 11.
[118] *CDI*, 1498.
[119] See *PR* 1225-32, pp. 289, 305 for references to Gilbert's newly-won land in Weobley.
[120] *CR* 1228, p. 115.
[121] *CR* 1230, p. 410.
[122] *PR* 1225-32, p. 391.
[123] *CR*, 1230, pp. 464-5.
[124] Hillaby (2014), pp. 52-3.
[125] *AM* I (1864), p.78, and see p. 66.
[126] Hillaby (2014), pp. 52-4.
[127] Hillaby (2014), Figs 21-3, 25, 26.
[128] AC, p. 237; *Matthew Paris's English history. From the year 1235 to 1273* trans. J. A. Giles (1889) I, pp. 326, 392.

# Housing cattle in eastern Herefordshire and south-western Worcestershire

*By* J. E. C. PETERS

*This paper describes styles of building for housing cattle in eastern Herefordshire and south western Worcestershire. While there is some documentary evidence of provision of buildings for cattle from the middle ages, the earliest surviving examples date from the seventeenth century with most dating from the nineteenth century. The earliest provision was for housing tied cattle with shelter sheds for loose cattle developing later.*

The following analysis of accommodation for cattle in south western Worcestershire and eastern Herefordshire is based on records of farm buildings built before about 1880, made by the writer over the last 40 years. It also includes a very few farmsteads beyond this area. The area covered includes Staunton and Redmarley d'Abitot parishes which formed part of Worcestershire until 1934; for purposes of analysis Acton Beauchamp and Mathon parishes have been included in Worcestershire, of which county they formed part until 1897. The recording was inevitably affected by what had survived or had not been converted to some other, non-agricultural use, and by availability of permission, which was only rarely refused. It must be noted that none of the buildings mentioned are open to public inspection. (H) & (W) are used to indicate the county when referring to specific examples (Fig. 1).

Provision of housing for cattle, whether tied or loose, seems to have been somewhat thin in both counties before the early 19th century, perhaps more so in Worcestershire. This may have been related to the lack of housing noted by Marshall in the Vale of Gloucester in the early 18th century. Pomeroy, writing in 1794, noted a lack of cow housing and sheds on middling and smaller farms in Worcestershire; as Pitt quoted this in 1813 the situation had probably not improved in the interval. It still to some extent seemed to apply in the 1860s, as Caudle was then advocating good sheds for livestock and noted the saving in the feed produced by improved shelter to yards. The position in Herefordshire is less clear, but there seems also to have been a shortage of buildings there, as Rowlandson, writing in 1853, noted that a lack of buildings or shelter was to a great extent made up by using orchards as foldyards, a situation Joan Grundy noted as being relevant 50 years earlier.[1]

There were some variations between the counties, both in the purpose for which cattle were kept, and the development of their housing. The emphasis in Herefordshire in the late 17th and 18th centuries was on feeding and fattening, but dairy was important around Bromyard.[2] Floating meadows to produce rich pastures was noted in the 18th century, a practice which had dated from the late 16th century in the south west of the county. There was a decline in arable farming in favour of pasture in the first part of the 19th century.[3] Jones noted that clover was grown for winter feed for the livestock where the soil was not suited to turnips, and that artificial grasses were also grown. All these allowed more cattle to be kept. By 1853 Rowlandson considered that cattle breeding was a very prominent feature of farming in the county, supplying stock for Midland graziers. The official agricultural returns which began in 1866 show an increase in the number of cattle in the county of a quarter by 1874, with a further

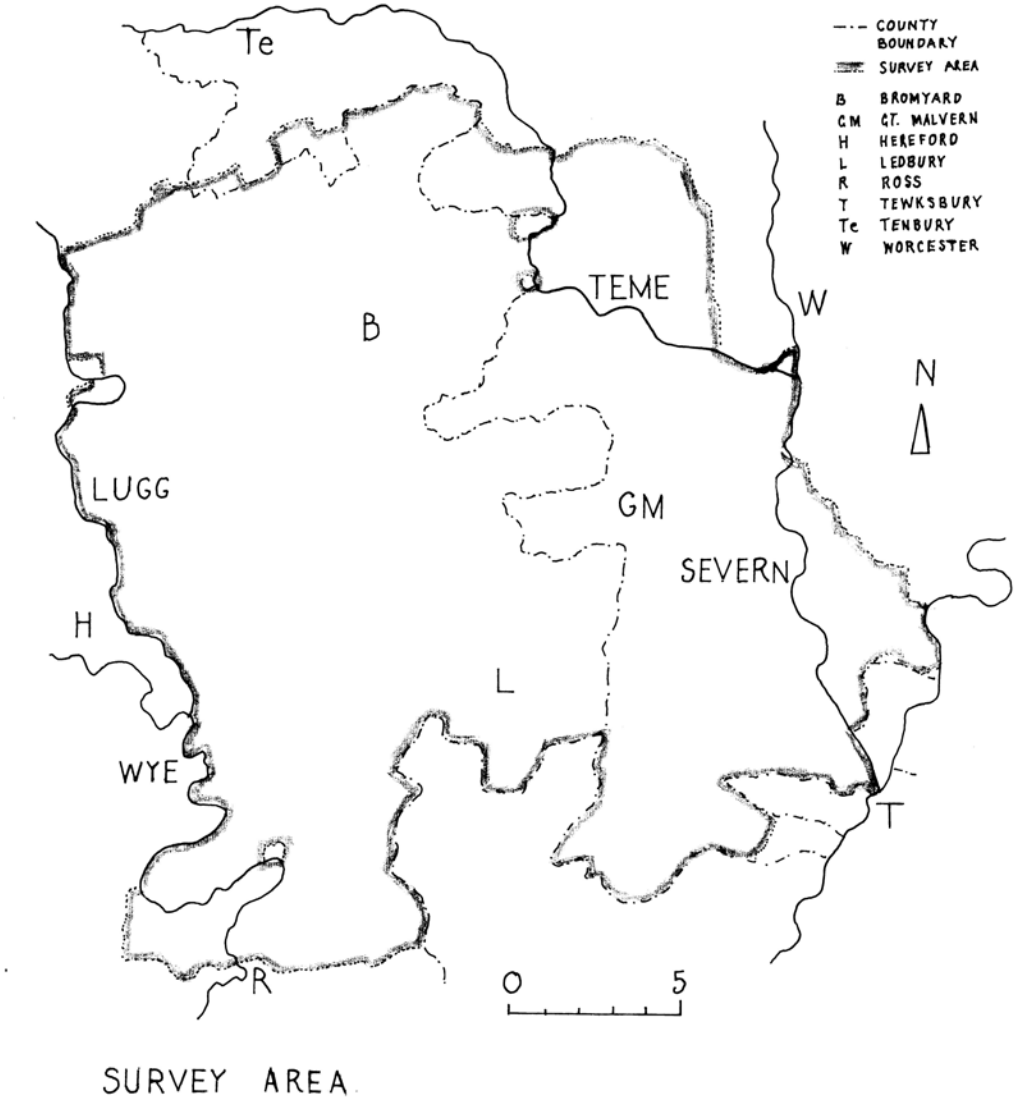


Figure 1. Map of survey area.

increase to the end of the century.[4] Oxen had been kept in Herefordshire for ploughing, Marshall and later Duncumb noting that half the plough teams in the late 18th or early 19th centuries were oxen, and that they were also used for harvest. The draught animals worked for five or six years, and were then sold off for fattening and the butcher. This practice had died out, however, by the mid 19th century.[5]

Worcestershire, in the first half of the 19th century, was a corn and cattle area, with substantial dairying. Pitt, writing in 1813, noted that cattle were bought in from other areas

for fattening, especially in the south and west of the county. Caudle, in 1867, noted that this practice was still followed, cattle being brought in for feeding and dairy, the county not being a breeding area. The agricultural returns noted that the number of cattle in the county went up by a third between 1866 and 1874, but numbers seem, surprisingly, to have remained stable thence to 1895.[6] From surviving inventories oxen had been used for ploughing in the county into the early 17th century. Gaut mentioned some farmers using them in the late 18th to early 19th century, but they may have been isolated examples, or a reintroduction of the practice; certainly Pitt, writing in 1813, did not mention this use.[7]

The buildings provided for cattle fall into two groups. The first is cowhousing, built for housing tied cattle, whether for fattening or dairy, the second shelter sheds, that is open buildings for loose cattle, nearly always related to a yard, the cattle free to come and go at will. The majority of the buildings date from the 19th century, but some from the 18ththth century and a few from the 17th. The proportion dating from the 19th century is larger in Worcestershire than Herefordshire. There is documentary evidence for earlier buildings in both counties, including from the middle ages, but no surviving examples were recorded.

Cowhousing, for tying cattle, is the earlier development. 331 cowhouses were recorded in Herefordshire, 206 in Worcestershire. They fall into two groups: in the earlier, smaller (type 1) the cattle were tied facing along the building, that is parallel to the ridge; in the later and larger group (type 2) they were tied facing across the building. In a few cases there was more than one cowhouse on a farm (Fig. 2).

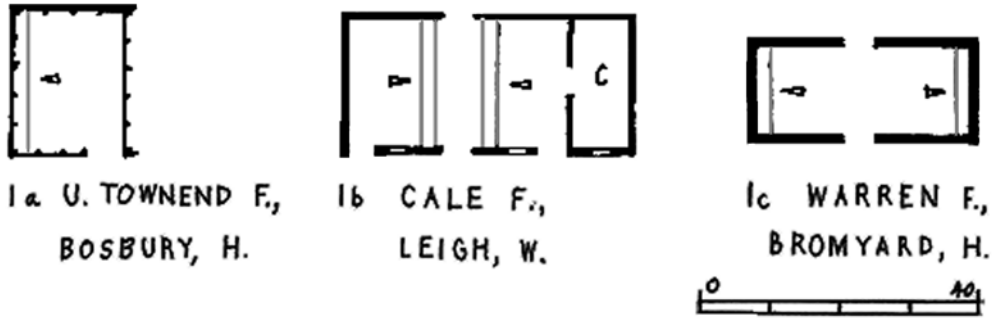


Figure 2. Cowhousing, type 1 plans: type 1a, Upper Townend Farm, Bosbury (H), type 1b, Cale Farm, Leigh, (W), type 1c, Warren Farm, Bromyard, (H).

The simplest form of the first type had only one row of cattle (1a); it was generally the earliest type surviving, dating from the late 17th century to the end of the period in both counties. It was the most economical plan when only five or six animals needed housing, the arrangement dictated the span of the cowhouse, and so the number of cattle which could be housed. Hoskins considered that this number was sufficient for the dairying needs of a farm.[8] Quite a few in both counties were lofted. Surprisingly, slightly over half had a feeding passage in Herefordshire, fewer proportionately in Worcestershire; this of course meant a larger building (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Cowhouse, type 1a, Cwmmau Farm, Brilley, (H).

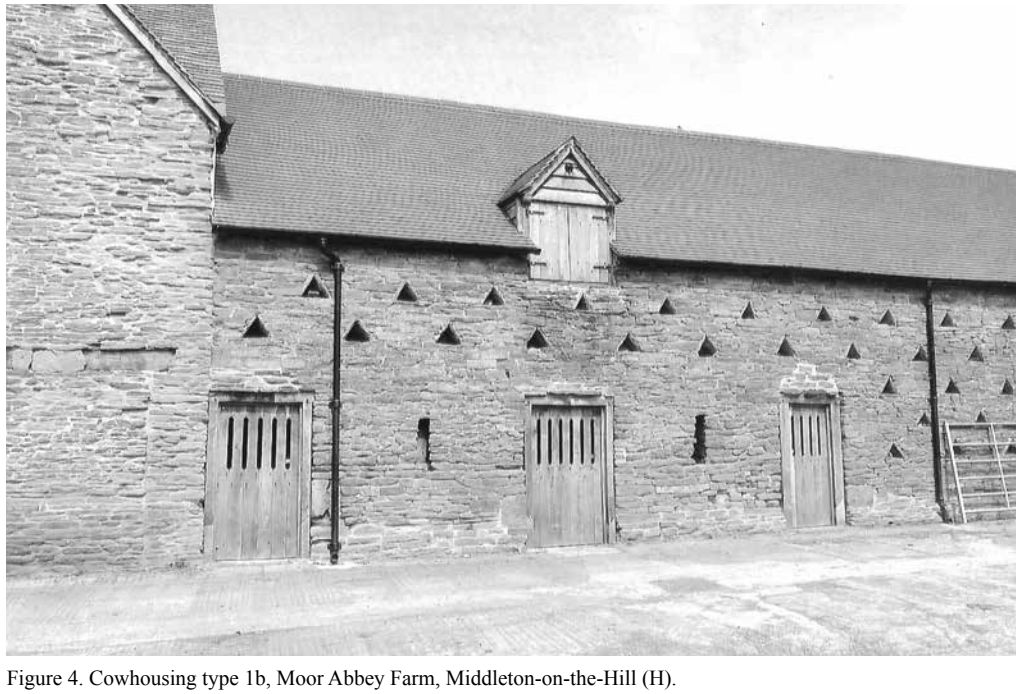

Figure 4. Cowhousing type 1b, Moor Abbey Farm, Middleton-on-the-Hill (H).

When there were more than five or six cattle the plan could be doubled (1b) the cattle tied to face each other across a feeding passage, which ran across the middle of the building. The cowhouse thus had three doors (Fig. 4). Where there were more cattle, two of these might be built adjoining, as at Temple Court, Bosbury (H) or, more usually and economically, the doubling shared a walkway between two rows of cattle, as at Mundersfield Court, Avenbury (H). The short run for feeding was considered an advantage, also that the short rows permitted housing different types of cattle in the same building. There were disadvantages, which writers began to note in the 19th century. Ewart implied that cattle breathing on each other across the feeding passage allowed disease to spread much more readily than if they were in a single row. Cleaning out a single, long row, was considered easier with a barrow than a series of short runs. Whilst Loudon was still advocating plan 1b in the 1830s, Dean was only permissive in 1849, and Denton, writing fifteen years later, whilst noting examples in Cheshire and Shropshire, did not consider they should be imitated. Pitt, in his county reports in the early 19th century only illustrated type 2 cowhouses. [9] That a larger proportion of type 1b survived in Herefordshire, over a fifth of the cowhouses recorded there, suggests that the county was more related to those further north along the Welsh border, than to the counties to the east. In this respect it is interesting to note that the small area of Worcestershire recorded south of Tenbury Wells relates to the Herefordshire pattern, in that it accounts for over half the Worcestershire examples of type 1b, including the earliest in both counties! The difference between the two counties also applies to the date range, the earliest, at Kyre Park, 1618, was part of the great brick barn built there. (Whilst this is in Worcestershire, it is in the part which relates to Herefordshire). The next surviving date probably from the latter half of or late 17th century; the plan continued to be built into the early 20th century, with examples dated 1905 and 1911, both double size. In Worcestershire type 1b accounts for over a twentieth of the cowhouses; ignoring the Tenbury Wells area, the earliest surviving dates from the 1760s, the last probably 100 years later, at Cale Farm, Leigh. This was the only Worcestershire example without a loft. Advantage was not often taken of the plan to allow doors on both sides. A number, however, had doors at the back which gave access to loose boxes, usable as calf pens, as at Poswick Farm, Wolferlow, (H), 1864, or Cowleigh Park, Cradley, (H). In some cases there appears to have been provision for calves or a loose box behind one row of cattle, the door being a little distance from the end wall, but not enough for another row. At Cale Farm this area was separated off with a wall to form a calf pen. The problem with doors on both sides of the cowhouse was a risk of draughts, although probably not if it opened into a loose box.[10] It should be noted that a number have been converted at some stage to type 2a cowhouses, but when this happened is not apparent. They are recognisable by the three doors, and their spacing.

An alternative to type 1b was to have the cattle facing away from each other as in type 1c; only five were built in Herefordshire, one in Worcestershire, all in the mid 19th century. None had feeding passages.

Turning to type 2, the cattle were tied in one row, facing across the building (a very few had two rows, which will be noted later) (Fig. 5). This plan accounts for four fifths of the recorded cowhouses in Worcestershire, but only slightly over half in Herefordshire, reflecting the much larger number of type 1 recorded in the latter county. This plan had a number of advantages over type 1; it could be of any size to suit the number of cattle to be housed, from a very few to a substantial run (Fig. 6). Larger cowhouses could be sub-divided, separately to house dairy

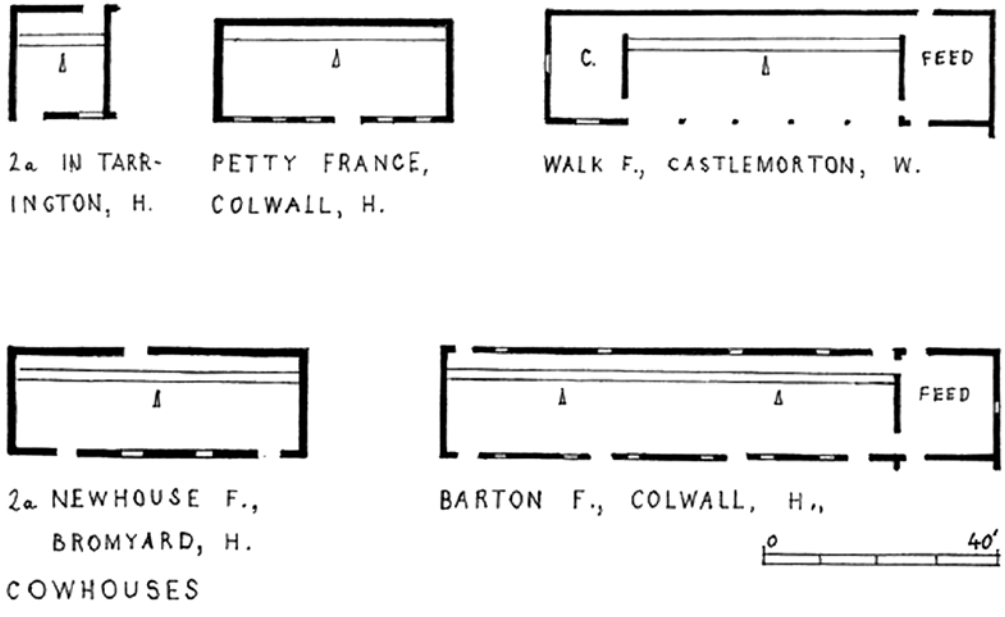


Figure 5. Cowhousing, type 2 plans; type 2a in Tarrington, (H), Petty France, Colwall, (H); Walk Farm, Castlemorton, (W), Newhouse Farm, Bromyard, (H), Barton Farm, Colwall, (H).

Figure 6. Cowhouse type 2, Lower Norton, Bromyard, (H).

and fat stock, or perhaps to reduce the risk of disease spreading. There might in some cases be separate cowhouses, the result of building on more than one occasion. Advantages of the plan over type 1b was that the risk of disease spreading was much reduced, that ventilation

was provided equally to all the animals (in type 1 it was often less in the centre of the rows), and that cleaning out with a barrow was considered simpler with a long run. As noted, the plan was generally approved by later-19th-century writers, in preference to type 1b. Many of the designs included in the 'Communications to the Board of Agriculture, part 1' 1797, were of type 2, and Pitt, in his reports on Worcestershire and Staffordshire in 1813 and 1808 and Duncumb on Herefordshire somewhat earlier only illustrated type 2 cowhouses.[11] The plan had appeared in the two counties by the later 18th century, but only a few examples survived from before the early 19th. The design continued to be used beyond the end of the period being covered.

A variation of type 2a, also found in northern Gloucestershire, was originally built with an open front (Fig. 7). It looked externally like a shed for yard cattle. The design accounted, as far as can be judged, for about a quarter of the Worcestershire examples recorded, but many were later altered by building up the front wall, complicating interpretation. The open front would have ensured plenty of ventilation, but much reduced the shelter in winter. The need for ventilation was noted by many 19th century writers. The design locally may go back to the late 18th century, as two cowhouses Pitt illustrated in his Worcestershire report were of this pattern, as were Crocker's designs, published in 1797.[12] They continued to be built into the third quarter of the 19th century in Worcestershire. A few were also built in Herefordshire, the earliest probably late 18thth century, one dated 1812. The incidence of open fronted sheds may be related to the earlier lack of cowhousing noted in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. The important point was the provision for tying cattle, as is evident in the north Gloucestershire example illustrated.

Figure 7. Cowhouse type 2, with open front, Church Farm, Tywning, Glos.

A variation of type 2 had two rows of cattle along the building, facing each other across a central feeding passage. Only two examples of this were found in each county, dating from the 1850s or later. It provided a large cowhouse, but only half the length of a type 2a; the disadvantage of the cattle breathing on each other was presumably not considered sufficient to prevent the design being used. The writer had found five in his studies in Staffordshire, similarly dating from after 1850. One of the prize designs published by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1850 has this plan; it was later advocated as the most economical one for a large cowhouse. [13]

Provision of a feeding passage at the head of the cattle was strongly recommended by various writers, to speed up feeding, and to avoid the risk of feed being spilt or soiled when being carried past the animals to the trough.[14] In spite of this, only a little over two-thirds of the Worcestershire type 2 cowhouses had them, and a rather smaller proportion in Herefordshire, compared with over 4/5ths in Staffordshire. No evidence is recorded of the use of a tramway to distribute the feed; that at Madresfield Home Farm, Madresfield, (W), was outside the buildings and was for collecting manure. The trough was generally low so that the cattle could feed lying down; a few had a water trough set between pairs of cows, as at South Hyde, Mathon, (W). Generally, there were no racks for hay or straw, this being fed cut up into short lengths, rather confusingly called chaff, and fed in the trough.[15] Some of the cowhouses had a partition between each pair of animals, giving about three feet per cow, as at Leigh Court, Leigh, (W) (Fig. 8). These partitions were relatively short and low, compared with those in the stable. The cows were then tied to a post attached to the side of the partition, the tie free to move up and down depending on whether the cow was lying down or standing. However, quite a proportion appear

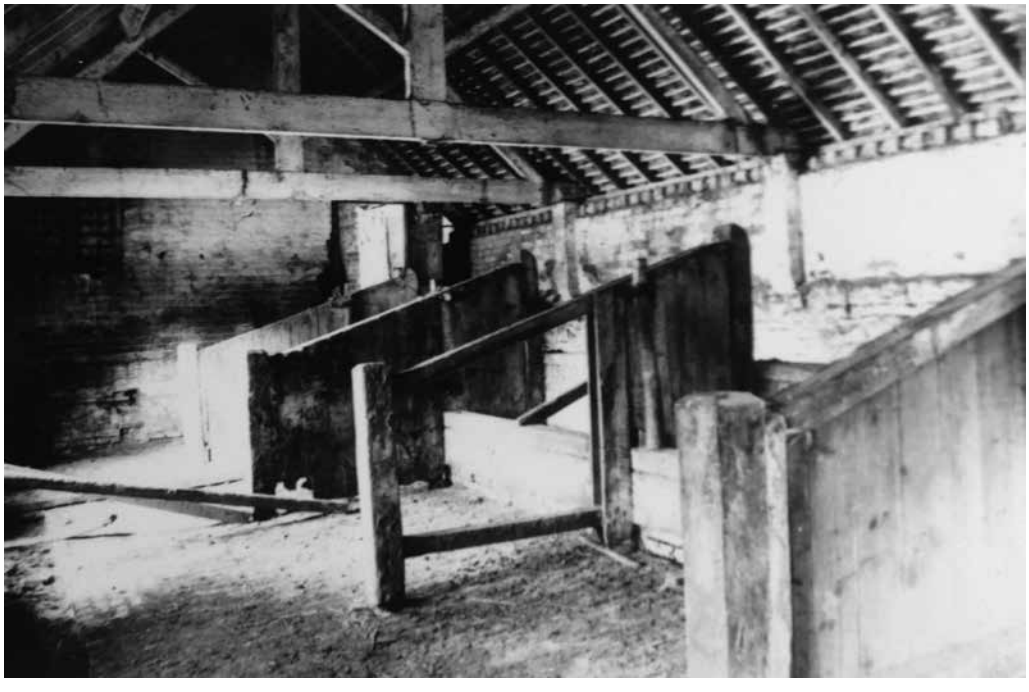

Figure 8. Cowtying, Leigh Court, Leigh, (W).

not to have had partitions, the cattle being tied to posts set at about 3 feet centres, with a rail overhead to support the top, as at Moor Abbey, (H). (Fig. 9). This arrangement was not found in Staffordshire.[16] Replacement of fittings in the 20th century in many cases prevents assessing the date range of these types or their distribution.

Figure 9. Cowtying, Moor Abbey Farm, Middleton-on-the-Hill (H).

Good ventilation was considered important by many 19thth-century writers, even in one case to a minimum cubic footage of air per cow. Some early cowhouses had had low ceilings with lofts above, the lack of air adversely affecting the animals' health. This may have been a contributory factor in the provision of open fronted cowhousing. The best method of ventilation was considered to be through the roof, avoiding the risk of draughts, but also making lofts over undesirable. Well over half the type 1 cowhouses had lofts, however. Perhaps because they date very largely from the 19th century, three-quarters of the Herefordshire type 2 cowhouses were single storey, and rather more in Worcestershire. Very few lofted cowhouses were built in either county after the mid 19thth century. An important factor in this was that cattle were kept housed for the whole winter, so the problem was getting rid of the heat. Waistell had noted that too much warmth led to a risk of disease and helped it to spread. High lofts would reduce the risk of this, Waistell specifying a minimum of eight feet[17].

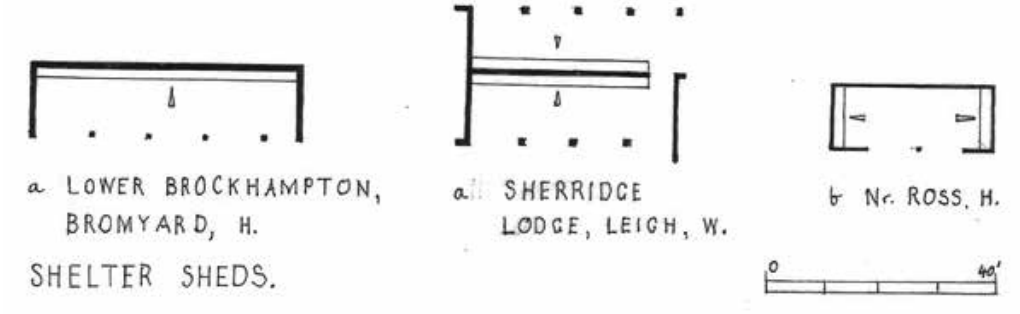


Figure 10. Shelter sheds, plans; a) Lower Brockhampton, Bromyard, (H), Sherridge Lodge, Leigh, (W), b, near Ross-on-Wye (H).

Turning now to the second type of accommodation, shelter sheds for loose cattle, which provided shelter from the weather and for feeding arrangements. Practically all of the sheds were of the same pattern— that is with an open front on the long side, supported by timber or stone or brick pillars, with a trough and rack for feeding along the back wall (Fig. 10). Hay and straw seem to have continued to be fed uncut to loose cattle throughout the period, so needing a rack. The trough was higher than in a cowhouse, as the cattle fed standing. 390 shelter sheds were recorded in Herefordshire, 273 in Worcestershire. The earliest surviving examples date from the late 18thth century; they continued to be provided throughout the period covered. In size they varied from about 2 bays—that is between 20 and 30 feet long—to buildings of quite some length; that at Nuttall Farm, Much Marcle, (H), was 117 feet long (Fig. 11). The longer ones might be sub-divided, serving more than one yard, as at Old Court Farm, Bosbury, (H). A few were L plan, around two sides of a yard, improving the shelter, as at Hillend Court, Castlemorton, (W) (Fig. 12). Some were only part of one side of a yard, this applying also to a few of the L plan ones, as at Buryend Town Farm, Wichenford, (W). In one case the sheds extended around three sides of a yard, and once all four sides! These two were in Hanley Castle parish, (W). Whilst many of the sheds were separate buildings, a few were lean-to to another, often the barn, in which case they might be split either side of the threshing floor, as at Great Hegdon, Grendon Warren, (H). Some farms had more than one shed, serving different yards, perhaps of different dates, either reflecting an increase in the number of cattle kept, or an improvement in the shelter provided. A very few were attached to field barns, that is barns built to serve land at some distance from the farmyard or which was awkward to reach therefrom,

Figure 11. Shelter shed, Nuttall Farm, Much Marcle (H).

Figure 12. Shelter shed, Hill End Court, Castlemorton (W).

as at Hollybed, Castlemorton, (W). The cattle in these cases were to convert threshed straw to manure, and would have been fat stock. A very few, as at Caplar Lane, Fownhope, (H), were sheds with a yard and no other building, the straw or hay presumably supplied from a rick built in an adjoining field. In some cases the yards extended to include part of a pond, across which the fencing was carried.

A variation in a few cases, ten in Herefordshire, five in Worcestershire, was to provide two shelter sheds, back to back, a wide building with a longitudinal wall thus serving two yards; whilst saving the cost of one long wall, (at a probably increased cost in the roof) this meant the yards faced in opposite directions, so did not equally benefit from sun and warmth. The earliest surviving probably date from the late 18th or early 19th century.

Looking at various details, hardly any of the shelter sheds had lofts above, only a few a feeding passage. This last in some cases was an extension of one in the adjoining cowhouse. Various 19th-century writers noted the problem of stronger cattle bullying weaker, and depriving them of their feed. They therefore advocated sub-dividing sheds to give shorter troughs on the back wall or in an extreme and more expensive type, putting the troughs on the cross wall. Examples of the latter variety were found in Staffordshire[18], but none were recorded in the area here discussed, save a single example in Herefordshire which appears to have been built as a decorative feature viewed from the adjoining garden (Fig. 10). In Herefordshire and Worcestershire an alternative practice seems to have been used, providing timbers sloping up from the lip of the trough to the wall behind, so sub-dividing the feeding, as in the shed at Powick, W (Fig. 13).

Figure 13. Feeding trough, Pole Elm, Powick (W).

The final form of accommodation for loose cattle is the covered yard, in effect the ultimate development of shelter sheds and the foldyard. It is to be distinguished from wide span buildings for tied cattle. Nine examples were recorded in Herefordshire, eight in Worcestershire, of which about two fifths were on the Eastnor Estate. The covered yard appeared in the area in about 1851. This was the critical year for the development of this type of building, two of the six farmstead models at the Great Exhibition having covered yards, and the subject being debated that year at a meeting of the London Farmers Club, the debate being reported in the *Farmers' Magazine*. Oakley, the agent to the Eastnor Estate had been at the meeting and was much in favour of the development. Six farmsteads in the area were built to this pattern by the Estate, and a further one just outside, all designed by H. Day, an architect in Worcester. One was published in the 1853 *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*. A further early Worcestershire example was at Wooshill, Strensham, but may have been by a different architect, the design being different. There seems to have been a change of policy on the Eastnor Estate a little later, as when it re-built Brook Farm, Little Marcle, H in 1866 it reverted to the normal, open yard plan. Other examples appeared in Herefordshire, from the later 1870s onwards, two on the Brockleton Estate. The re-appearance of the arrangement may have been an early response to changing farming conditions, with a reduction in arable acreage and increase in the numbers of cattle kept. Covered yards needed less straw than open ones, and there was also a saving on the feed required for the animals.[19]

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# Augustus C. Edwards: 'The Furrier of the west'

*By* JOHN C. EISEL

*Since a fire in 2010 the remains of the group of buildings on the south-east side of High Town, Hereford, have been lying derelict and boarded up, although there are now plans to redevelop the site. For a period of nearly one hundred years these buildings were used by a drapery business founded by Augustus C. Edwards, notable for its emphasis on furs, which was well remembered by an older generation of Herefordians; this paper outlines its history.*

**ORIGINS**

Although the firm claimed to have been founded in 1866, its origins are somewhat earlier. The start of the drapery business was on 26 September 1835, when Messrs Pember and Davies began trading at 22 High Town, in premises that had formerly been occupied by Mr. Bonnor, an ironmonger.[1] This partnership seems to have been for a defined period of 10 years, as an advert in the *Hereford Journal* of 12 March 1845 announced that the term of the partnership was about to expire and that the goods at 22 and 26 High Town would be sold off at a large discount, starting on Saturday 15 March. Another advert on 3 September 1845 announced that the partnership had had been dissolved on 1 September and that the shop was closed on 8 September for the purpose of valuing and arranging the stock. It was requested that debts due to the partnership on 1 January 1845 be paid immediately, at either of the two establishments, 22 or 26 High Town. George Pember decided to carry on in business in Hereford, and on 17 September 1845 he advertised that he was in business at 26 High Town, mentioning the dissolution of the partnership, and soliciting the continuation of public patronage. In April 1846 he went on a buying trip to London, and when he advertised his new and fashionable spring goods in the *Hereford Journal* of 29 April 1846 he stated that his business at 26 High Town was 'George Pember (late Pember and Davies), and that 'A well educated Youth as an Apprentice wanted.'

After the dissolution of the partnership, John Davies advertised in the *Hereford Journal* of 17 September 1845 that he was selling off his stock at 22 High Town at less than half the original cost, for ready money only, and on 22 October the remaining part of his linen and woollen drapery was advertised, when he was stated to be about to leave the neighbourhood. In a further advert of 10 December, John Davies publicised that his shop at 22 High Town had been reopened and that there was a further 25% off the remaining stock. Soon after this it closed for the final time, and on 11 March 1846 Messrs. Badham and Gaunt, drapers, advertised that they had taken the premises at 22 High Town formerly occupied by Pember and Davies, and that these were undergoing extensive alterations. That business opened on 8 April 1846.[2]

**AUGUSTUS EDWARDS COMES ON THE SCENE**

Perhaps it was the use of the name of Pember and Davies by Badham and Gaunt and the fear that it might take away his trade that caused George Pember to use the connection in his advert of 29 April 1846. However, it did not have an adverse effect as he continued in business at 26 High Town until late in 1861, when he moved to 18 High Town, premises which had been rebuilt and adapted for business purposes in 1860.[3] (Fig. 1) In 1866 George Pember decided to

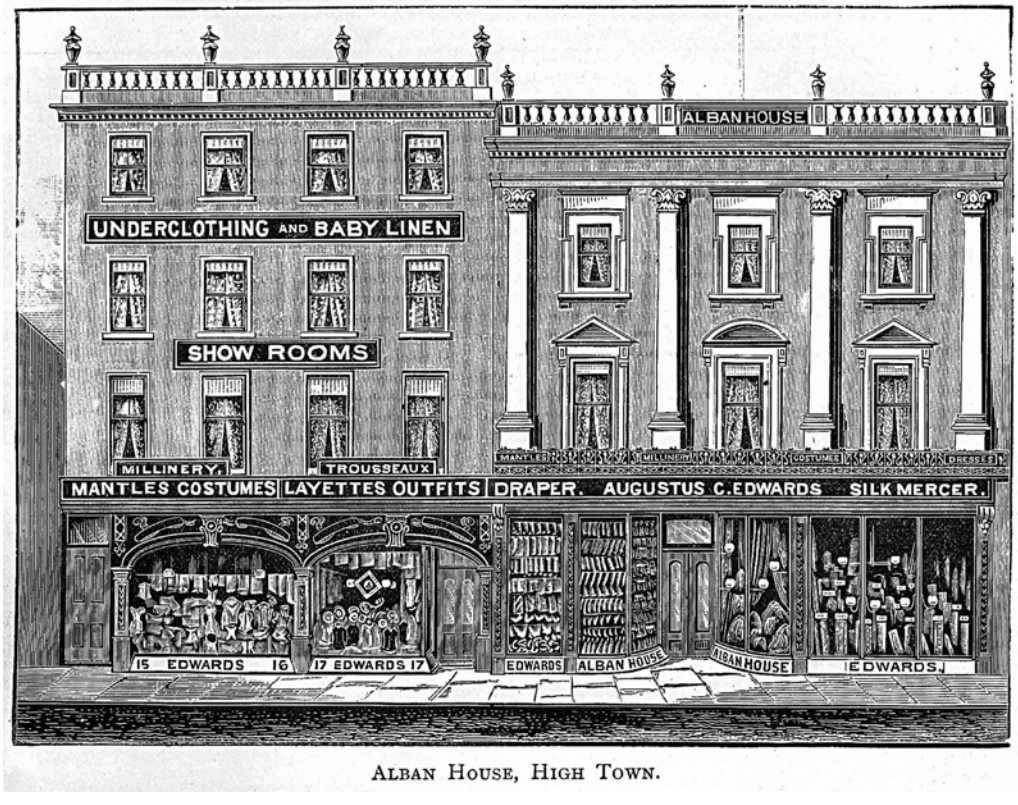
retire from business, and advertised this in the *Hereford Times* of 3 February in that year, giving thanks for support for the previous 30 years, and stating that he had disposed of the business to Messrs. White and Edwards 'who are already connected with one of the largest Establishments in Somerset,…' The new proprietors advertised that they were selling off the remaining stock, starting the following Wednesday, 7 February.


Figure 1. This engraving, dating from the early 1860s when George Pember was trading from 18 High Town, indicates that at that period the shop front was of a plain Georgian style. (Derek Foxton Collection)

The partnership between John Lewis White and Augustus Charles Edwards lasted nine years, and was dissolved by mutual consent as from 31 March 1875.[4] This dissolution was announced in a large advert that appeared in the 19 June 1875 issue of the *Hereford Times*, which also stated that the whole stock, amounting to upwards of £5,000 at marked prices, would be sold off, commencing the following Wednesday (23 June). The establishment would be closed on the Monday and Tuesday before to mark down the stock, and would in future be known as Alban House, and carried on by Augustus C. Edwards. It was not until 11 September 1875 that Augustus C. Edwards advertised that he had cleared out the accumulated goods of the late firm, and that there was a new and extensive stock. The business clearly prospered, and in 1884 no. 18 was refronted, with the name Alban House prominent on the façade.[5]

It is clear that, like his contemporaries, Augustus Edwards was set on expansion, when the opportunity was right. This came in 1885, when he purchased the business and stock of Mrs.

Andrew in the adjoining 17 High Town, which she ran as a milliner, costumier, baby linen and ladies' outfitting warehouse.[6] Augustus Edwards announced that he would be running No. 17 as a separate branch of his own business.[7] By 1890 he had also taken over 16 High Town, which had been run by Mr. Adam Andrew, who was a civil, military & clerical tailor and woollen draper.[8] An engraving published in 1892 shows nos. 16 & 17 with a parapet of the same design as that of no. 18, which, if accurate, must have been built after the adjoining premises had been taken over, to unify the shop front. (Fig. 2)




Alban House, High Town.

Figure 2. Another engraving, taken from *Hereford Illustrated* (1892), illustrates the frontage after Augustus Edwards had taken over nos. 16 & 17 High Town. (Derek Foxton Collection)

**THE FUR TRADE**

In later years Augustus C. Edwards became famous for animal furs, and the first reference I have found to this aspect of his business is in August 1885, when he announced a special sale of valuable furs 'at exceedingly low prices.' Not that he was the only one, and at the same time E.J. Symonds, at 31 High Town, advertised that he had bought £1,200's worth of real fur goods, giving an indication of how much might have been laid out at any one time in the course of business.[9]

However, Augustus Edwards came to specialise in the furrier's trade, and a description of his business that appeared in *Hereford Illustrated*, published in 1892, stated:

> Passing further to the right, the visitor will find the mantle and fur department, the latter one of the special features of the establishment, and one in which the proprietor which has had great experience, the great increase in which has necessitating the annexing of the adjoining premises which are no devoted to these goods. Here will be found a most extensive collection of furs and skins of all kinds: seal, beaver, bear and squirrel, kangaroo, opossum, otter and musquash; while furs from Lapland, Russia, Canada and the Rockies are all included.[10]

In 1913 the extent of the business was listed in Kelly's directory of Herefordshire, which states that the partners in the business were 'silk mercers, family drapers, furriers, milliners, mantle makers, costumiers & funeral furnishers.' With the exaggerated mourning common until this period, the latter would have been an important part of the business, although of declining importance. However, later the firm diversified into funerals and cremations.[11]

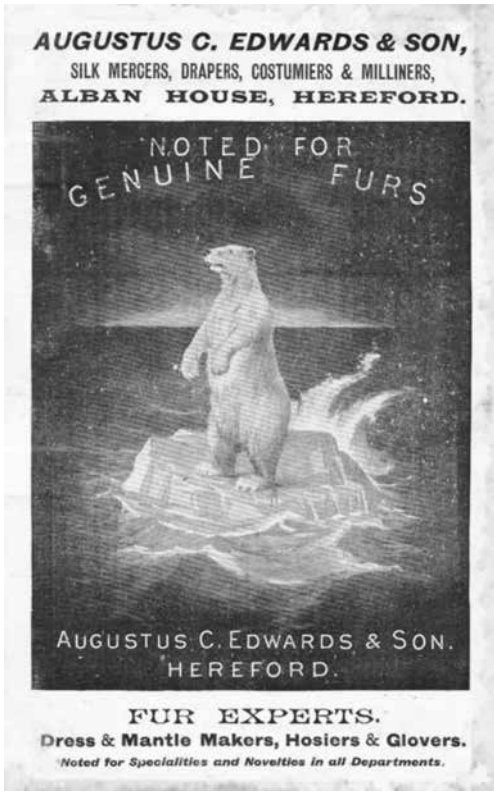



Figure 3. When Jakeman and Carver's trade directory was published in 1902., Edwards had a large advert inside the rear cover, with an illustration of a polar bear. (Author's collection)


Figure 4. An advertising postcard, issued by Augustus Edwards to illustrate his extensive range of furs. (Derek Foxton Collection)

Perhaps the most important part of the business was that of the fur trade. This seems to have expanded in the early years of the twentieth century, and from 1903 the company placed adverts in newspapers across the country, advertising that they wanted to buy 50,000 moleskins. By the early part of 1908 this number had gone up to 150,000 and the following year it had increased to 250,000. While these figures may be exaggerated, what is not in dispute is that the firm was in a large way of business as manufacturing furriers.[12]

Late in 1911 the adverts altered to include the advertising logo 'The Furriers of the West', which continued to be used until the eventual demise of the firm.[13] The adverts for moleskins seem to have ceased in 1913, and were resumed early in 1916.[14] The price paid in 1909 was 2s. per dozen skins, but by 1917 it had risen to 6d. to 8d. each for 'best clear Winter Pelts.'[15] This clearly indicated an increased demand for the furrier's art, but otherwise the business seems to have carried on in much the same way as it did prior to war breaking out. Thus, for instance, the *Hereford Journal* of 22 January 1916 carried an advert for a January sale of furs and drapery, and there was no indication of shortages.

One loss in the last year of the war was Augustus Edwards, founder of the firm, who died on 8 March 1918 at the age of 79. A long statement of his achievements was published in the *Hereford Mercury* on 13 March 1918, special mention being made of the fact that it was due to his persistence that the Victoria Bridge was erected. He had campaigned for this, which was agreed at a public meeting of citizens on 26 March 1897, and was erected by public subscription, being designed by Mr. John Parker, the city surveyor, and completed the following year. Augustus Edwards had a personal interest in that he had gardens on the east side of Castle Green, where the bridge now abuts on the north side of the river.[16]

**AFTER AUGUSTUS EDWARDS sen.**

Somewhere about the year 1892 Augustus C. Edwards had taken his son, Augustus C. Edwards jun. into partnership, and subsequently various other members were also taken into the firm. The title of the firm and the involvement of members of the family are listed below:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *c*.1892 | Augustus C. Edwards & Son | A. C. Edwards; A.C. Edwards jun. (son) |
| 1907 | Augustus C. Edwards & Sons | A.C. Edwards (d.1918); A.C. Edwards jun.; H.H. Edwards (son) |
| 1924 | Augustus C. Edwards & Sons Ltd. | A.C. Edwards; H.H. Edwards ; A.C. Edwards (grandson) |
| 1928 | Augustus C. Edwards & Sons Ltd. | A.C. Edwards (d.1942); H.H. Edwards (d.1950); A.C. Edwards jun.; H.A. Edwards (grandson, d.1955); W.R. Edwards (grandson) |
| 1956 | Augustus C. Edwards & Sons Ltd. | A.C. Edwards; W.R. Edwards; G.T.C. Edwards (great-grandson) |

Augustus Edwards, sen. was 79 at the time of his death, and so not likely to have been involved too much in the business. Certainly little seems to have changed – adverts for moleskins continued to be placed in newspapers all over the country; prices had risen, and at the beginning

of 1920 1s. 6d. was being paid for a good skin.[17] By the late 1920s the advert was widened to include other skins, including rabbit, fox, and badger, but the economics, and probably fashion too, were evidently against the trade, and the adverts ceased in 1931.[18]


Figure 5. Although this photograph is undated, it was taken about the time that the alterations to the premises were begun in 1933. (Derek Foxton Collection)

Clearly the emphasis of the business was changing, and in 1933, despite the poor trading conditions of the time, the firm embarked on a programme of modernisation of the premises, resulting in the presumed loss of part of what was then described as the Freeman's prison, since most of the rear of the premises was demolished.[19] (Fig. 5) As part of the modernisation, and probably the last phase of the project, the shop-front at ground floor level was remodelled. When Queen Mary visited Hereford on 29 July 1937 a fine photograph was taken of her car passing Augustus Edwards's premises, and this shows the shop front half completed, with the left hand side completed and the right hand side still supported on timber needles. (Fig. 6)

Various boards on the front indicate the firms responsible; designs were by Bettington and Son, architects, and the main builders were Wm. Bowers & Co. The electrical installation was by W. Rowberry & Sons, of St. Owen Street, and the new hot water heating installation was provided by J. Hiles, a hot water engineer of Offa Street. The only non-local input was advertised by a notice which stated 'POLLARDS NON-REFLECTING WINDOW is being fitted'.[20] This feature, formed by a curved piece of plate glass, was part of the Art Deco design, which was typical of the period, but not altogether sympathetic to the rest of the façade above, particularly the eighteenth century elevation of nos. 16 & 17.[21] For those who remember the shop front the curved glass was the feature that sticks in the memory. (Fig. 7)


Figure 6. When Queen Mary visited Hereford on 29 July 1937, she was driven through the centre of the city. This fine photograph, taken from an elevated position on the opposite side of High Town, shows the frontage to the 'Furriers of the West' nearing completion. (Derek Foxton Collection)

**THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND LATER**

In December 1941 adverts for moleskins were resumed, but either there was little response or the economics were against it, as these only continued for a couple of weeks.[22] However, the firm managed to survive the difficult times of the second world war, including rationing, and the Hereford directory of 1950-51 carried a large advert for the wide range of goods which were stocked, headed, of course, by furs. Also supplied, but not mentioned, were uniforms for some local schools.

The 90th anniversary of the firm in 1956 was a matter of celebration. A flyer was put out, advertising the Winter Sale on Wednesday 11 January 1856, with a drawing of Pember's shop, another of the front of nos. 16, 17 and 18 High Town (said to be in 1885), and the splendid front of the shop as it was in 1956. It also gave a list of the members of the various members of the Edwards family who had been, and were still, connected with the business, quoted above. As a marketing ploy, there was a give-away, advertised in the following terms.

> TO COMMEMORATE OUR 90th ANNIVERSARY, *we will present to the first ninety applicants who can claim (by letter please) that they were living in Herefordshire when we were established (January 1st, 1866), and who are resident*


Figure 7. This photograph, taken on 13 September 1948 during Battle of Britain week, has the completed front of 16-18 High Town as the backdrop to the Spitfire on display. (Derek Foxton Collection)

> *in Herefordshire now (January 1956). One pair of Horrockses Sheets similar to those stocked by us 90 years ago.*

In the event, over 40 nonagenarians applied, a very creditable number, and this included a family from Tarrington who wrote:'Should you care to call upon us, I would be very pleased to show you a lovely silk skirt made from material bought at your establishment 40 years ago'.

Despite the evidently satisfied customer base, it seems that the economics were against such firms as this, at the top end of the market, and the firm did not survive to celebrate its 100th anniversary. The end of the business came without warning. It was announced in the *Hereford Times* on 24 January 1964 that the premises of Augustus C. Edwards & Son Ltd. had been sold to a property corporation, through Russell, Baldwin, and Bright, that a disposal sale would start on Saturday 1 February, and that vacant possession would be given on 31 March. This would affect about 24 members of staff, whose length of service ranged from 50 years downwards. The demise of the firm was lamented in the *Timesman's Diary* of 7 February 1964, where it was pointed out that, after Augustus C. Edwards had taken over the business on his own account in 1875, there had been no partners or directors apart from himself or his descendants. The expansion of the business was described in the following terms:

> As the business grew, so were the premises extended to take in adjoining accommodation and it became a focal point for the Victorian ladies of Herefordshire.

> The county families used to arrive in their carriages with footmen in attendance in what, in its day, was a fascinating area of the city. Before modernisation and up to 1934 there remained at the back of the shops part of an early Jacobean house, said to be the Freeman's [*sic*] Prison.
> ….
> Now comes an end of a distinctive chapter in the history of Hereford business houses. By 31st March, when vacant possession is due to be given, it will all be over. Gone will be the beautiful shimmering materials, the glossy furs and the delicate laces. What is to follow in its place, no-one yet knows.

However, the furrier's part of the business did not cease at this time, being transferred to premises in the newly-built Franklin House, where it lingered on for a few years, until its final closure, the business having been badly affected by changing fashions. Even in this last phase of the business the logo 'Furriers of the West' continued to be used.[23]

## CONCLUSION

Most of the fabric of the building was destroyed in the devastating fire of 2010, which left just the front façade standing, although the Art Deco front had already been long gone. Fortunately the historic Booth Hall was saved, but subsequently the part of the façade erected by George Gwillim had to be demolished for safety reason, just leaving the part that had been rebuilt in 1884.

Now, however, plans have been agreed to redevelop the site to provide mixed business and residential premises, and so within the not-too-distant future this blot on the landscape of High Town will be no more, with only the 1884 façade to remind us of a once-flourishing landmark business.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dr Derek Foxton has been most helpful in allowing me access to his amazing collection of historic visual material relating to Hereford, and for allowing use of items from it to illustrate this paper, and I express my thanks to him for this courtesy.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Hereford Journal (HJ)*, 23 Sept. 1835.

[2] *HJ,* 8 April 1846. The partnership expired early in 1848 (*Hereford Times (HT),* 22 Jan. 1848) and the business was carried on by James Badham on his own account (*HJ,* 26 April 1848). Subsequently he turned it into a mourning warehouse (*HT,* 21 Oct. 1854). James Badham died at 22 High Town on 3 March 1867, at the age of 57, (*HT* & *HJ,* 9 March 1867), and his widow sold up the business, which was taken on by James Pearce (*HT,* 11 May 1867). During all this time the address was given in adverts as 22 High Town, which indicates that the numbering of the premises in High Town was not affected by the general numbering of premises in the central part of Hereford in 1862. (*HJ,* 21 June 1862)

[3] *HT* 5 May 1860. The work was carried out for J.J. Evans, who sold tea, coffee, and general groceries, the previous occupant having been a tobacconist. Evans was still advertising from this address on 14 Sept. 1861, but by May 1862 he was advertising his wares as a family grocer at 25 High Town (*HT* 24 May 1862), so had moved from 18 High Town. Pember's business moved from 26 to 18 High Town somewhere in that period, but no relevant advert has so far been traced. However, evidence indicates that it was late in

1861, soon after Evans left, as a fire at the house of Mr Donne, draper, High-Town was reported in *HJ* 4 Jan. 1862. In Dec. 1850 Donne had moved his business to 17 High Town (*HT,* 14 Dec. 1850; *HJ,* 18 Dec. 1850), and advertised from there until September 1858, but there was nothing to suggest that he had then moved premises. In *HJ,* 4 Jan. 1862 George Price, clockmaker and watchmaker, was advertising from 17 High Town, so Donne had moved. It is known both from adverts and *Littlebury's directory* of 1867, that at about this time Mr J.S.H. Donne's business was carried on at 26 High Town. Hence if he was trading from 26 High Town by 4 Jan. 1862, George Pember had moved his business to 18 High Town. However, it was not until 26 April 1862 Pember advertised for an assistant, giving his address as 18 High Town, confirming that he had moved.

[4] *London Gazette.* 20 April 1875

[5] This was carried out under the architect W.W. Robinson. Brooks and Pevnser, *The Buildings of England. Herefordshire* (2012), p.334.

[6] *Kelly's directory*, 1885.

[7] *HT,* 3 Oct. 1885, *et seq*.

[8] The exact date when 16 High Town was taken over has not yet been found, and it doesn't seem to have been advertised in the *Hereford Times*. However, Jakeman and Carver's directory, published in 1890, the preface to which is dated September 1890, records Augustus C. Edwards at 16, 17 and 18 High Town.

[9] *HT,* 28 August 1885

[10] *Hereford Illustrated*, 1892, p.39.

[11] *1950-51 Directory of Hereford*, p.70.

[12] *Bucks Herald*, 14 March 1903; Gloucester Journal, 15 Feb. 1908; Northampton Mercury, 5 March 1909 inter alia.

[13] *Lincolnshire Free Press*, 19 Dec. 1911

[14] At the time of writing the latest known in this series is that in the *Western Gazette*, 28 March 1913, and beginning again in *Gloucester Journal*, 22 Jan. 1916.

[15] *Northampton Mercury*, 5 March 1909; *Western Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1917.

[16] Augustus C. Edwards left an estate valued at £15,191 (net personalty £14,747). *HJ*, 3 Aug.1918.

[17] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 2 Jan. 1920

[18] *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 2 Dec. 1927; *Western Gazette*, 2 Jan. 1931.

[19] Alfred Watkins, 'The Freemen's Prison at the Boothall, Hereford,' *TWNFC*, 1934, pp.49-53. At the time all of this building was thought to have been destroyed, but in recent years part was found to have survived, now unhappily lost by the fire in 2010.

[20] On her visit she unveiled memorial stones at the entrance to the King George V Playing Fields, and laid a foundation stone at the County Hospital. *HT* 31 July 1937. The local firm of architects also designed the well-known Franklin, Barnes building, Bridge Street, in 1938, the Art Deco front of which is the only part to be retained in the redevelopment of the site. See John van Laun, 'Franklin, Barnes (the Crystal Rooms) No. 13 Bridge Street, Hereford', *TWNFC,* 54 (2006), pp.43-50. The advertising hoarding identifies the shopfitter as the firm of E. Pollard, St. John Street, London, a well-known firm of the period, noted for these curved glass windows. One such survives at 118 London Wall, London EC2. One such was also installed in 1937 for the firm of T. Fox & Co., umbrella makers and sellers, and for its scarcity is listed Grade 2. In 2015 the premises became Fox's wine bar.

[21] In 1783 George Willim had bought the Booth Hall Inn from the city council on condition that he rebuilt the front onto High Town 'in a handsome and ornamental manner. Shoesmith and Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004), p.48. This relatively plain façade, which was in contrast to the ornate front of Alban House next door, survived until it was found necessary to demolish it for safety reasons after the fire in 2010.

[22] *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 20 Dec. 1940 & 3 Jan. 1941.

[23] A fur stole, with the Franklin House address, and this logo, was advertised for sale on ebay on 19 August 2016.

# Thomas Blashill: architectural work in Herefordshire and Shropshire

*By* DAVID WHITEHEAD

*Until quite recently the work of Victorian architects in restoring medieval churches has been universally condemned. But since the Second World War, through the work of well-known figures as John Betjeman, John Piper and Nikolaus Pevsner, mediated by the Victorian Society, there has been a strong tide of revisionism. Most of the great metropolitan architects such as George Gilbert Scott, George Frederick Bodley and William Burges have received scholarly biographies and now have a devoted group of disciples, who search out every detail of their work in the remotest parish churches. Provincial church restorers of the Victorian age have received much less attention albeit the Victorian Society and the most recent volumes of* ***The Buildings of England*** *have tried hard to flag up their endeavours.Unfortunately, much of this seems to have been missed by those who labour upon church guides and who continue to lambast the first generation of local architects, working inevitably to a tight budget, who tried to pull medieval churches together after centuries of neglect. That they even found time and resources to introduce some fitting embellishment is generally ignored or denigrated. This essay on the work of Thomas Blashill junior, a notable local antiquarian, with a professional life in London, tries to redress the balance and provide a sympathetic and objective view of his church restorations and other minor works in Herefordshire and Shropshire.*[1]

**Yarkhill, the Church of St John the Baptist, 1861-2**

The first firmly documented work by Thomas Blashill junior occurs at Yarkhill, a few miles to the east of Hereford, where, in association with Charles Ainslie, he carried out a full restoration of the parish church of St John the Baptist. The plans and elevations are deposited in the Herefordshire Archives and Record Centre (HARC) and are dated 4 July 1861, with Ainslie's name taking precedence as senior partner, the address being the Old Jewry Chambers, London.[2] There is also a surviving lithograph showing before and after views of the church with interiors and details (Fig.1). The stone-laying ceremony for the church took place in June 1862 and was reported in the *Hereford Journal* where the correspondent notices that the 'the latter gentleman (Blashill) being a relative of the agent of Garnons estate'.[3] The vicar of Yarkhill was the Revd Thomas H. Bird, a descendant of Thomas Bird, an attorney, one of the shakers and movers of early-19th-century-Hereford who paid for a new vestry and whose wife laid the foundation stone for the new church with 'a chaste silver trowel'.[4] The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral were patrons of the church and paid £105 for the new chancel whilst Lady Emily Foley, the largest landowner in the parish, gave £50 to inaugurate the fund for the nave and tower. The *Journal* noticed that Lady Emily had 'on this, as on many, nay, on all occasions, proved a tower of strength, and stimulated the generosity of all the principal inhabitants (of the parish) to assist in the work'. A further contribution of £65 was made by the Incorporated Church Building Society, and the diocesan society; leaving the vestry to raise a loan of £600 from the South Sea Company. In total the restoration cost in the region of £1000.[5]


Figure 1. Yarkhill church (1861-2): a presentation lithograph showing before and after views of the church. (HARC)

Even before the stone-laying at Yarkhill, Blashill's architectural sensibilities had been paraded before the readers of the *Hereford Times*, which during January and February 1862 serialised a paper read to the British Architectural Association, entitled 'A Few Days in Chartres and other French Towns'.[6] In making this journey Blashill was following in the footsteps of many of his fellow professionals, seeking inspiration from the great cathedrals of France—and beyond—to rejuvenate the gothic revival in Britain; as the author put it: 'I went to learn not to criticise'. One of his special areas of interest was vaulting—presented to the AA meeting in a series of drawings—which he hoped would be more generally adopted in English churches 'especially as we can now frame a roof in iron and render fire impossible'. The article also had much to say about the technical issues relating to pillars and shafts, which must have left many local readers cold but no doubt impressed would-be patrons and incumbents of ruinous churches.

Chartres naturally gets a very full description since Blashill thought it reflected a 'most interesting period of gothic architecture….. (when) the pointed style was just coming into vogue'; finding 'magnificence existing in company with the marks of accident, experiment and change'. The article was concluded on 8 February where he ranged more widely, delighting in Parisian street life, all 'neatness and good taste….. cafes splendidly decorated in a light Italian character' and other shops all appropriately ornamented. He admires many other aspects of Parisian building techniques e.g. the fire-proof construction, the use of light joists and rolled girders used above shop fronts and the fine ornamented trussed roof in iron found in recent railway stations. He comments upon ironwork, which was not mass produced, as in Britain, but was worked locally allowing architects to have their designs carried out under their own

inspection. He also noticed how masons' tools were shaped differently than in England and were capable of producing ornamentation in limestone very efficiently. Again this was done *in situ*, under the architect's eye. He had been told, but hesitated to believe anything so monstrous, that the unions in England had forbidden the use of such tools. Finally, he commented on the ease of touring in France, complimenting the guides and custodians of churches and museums who were always very helpful, and keen to suggest the best position for sketching. He was surprised to find so few other English architects sketching abroad.

Whether or not the cognoscenti of Herefordshire were impressed by Blashill's cosmopolitan approach to architecture, is difficult to measure, but at Yarkhill, where the walls were rising, the Revd Mr Bird, Lady Emily Foley and the Dean and Chapter no doubt had their confidence boosted in their young architect. It was perhaps a measure of Blashill's growing celebrity status that both the local newspapers provided long accounts of the opening of the restored church and over 300 people attended the accompanying service.

Notwithstanding the dismal picture painted by the *Hereford Times* that Yarkhill, like many other churches in the district, was a 'mass of crumbling ruins, cold damp and uncomfortable', Blashill's sketch of the existing building shows a solid enough structure, wind and weather proof, albeit one that had been subject to much artisan workmanship since the Middle Ages.[7] Only the tower was recognisably gothic and this had received a £30 overhaul from a local mason, George Green of Hereford as recently as 1853.[8] Blashill retained the tower, simply tidying up the openings—on one of which he noticed mouldings of Italian influence—and strengthening the quoins. The nave and chancel were less satisfactory with only one window visible on the south side of the nave, retaining a gothic profile. The chancel was decidedly utilitarian with square-headed windows reminiscent of a non-conformist chapel. These were replaced with windows 'consistent with the latter half of the 14th century'—simple lancets in the chancel and twinned and triple lancets with quatrefoils above for the nave. Blashill's plan shows that although the south wall had apparently been undermined by graves, he kept most of the medieval fabric round the door, removing rendering and tidying up where necessary. A timber porch was taken down but Blashill recognised medieval work in its roof timbers, so it was repaired and mounted on the new stone porch. The 13th-century doorway, with its detached shafts, was also retained.

Inside the box pews were removed and the seating capacity increased by 30 per cent. Plaster was scraped from the walls and ceiling, revealing a 15th-century roof. The chancel arch retained its 12th-century corbels—still showing traces of ochre—but the arch itself had been rebuilt 'in the Tudor style' i.e. with a low four-centred profile, so this was rebuilt, opening up the chancel to the nave. At the west end the lower storey of the tower was removed to open up the space to the nave. The chancel roof—presumably uninteresting—was boarded-up with old panelling rescued from elsewhere in the church. Several other archaeological features were recovered during the restoration, including coffin slabs, which were assembled under the tower or fixed to the walls and a carved crucifixion which was given pride of place as a key stone over the door. Blashill's summary of the work, which had been given to the press, stresses that the ornamental work was deliberately restrained and restricted to the chamfered openings in the woodwork, corbels and label mouldings carved in stone by Henry Frith of Gloucester. Godwin tiles were used throughout which the *Hereford Journal* thought showed 'artistic appreciation of the principles of church decoration', producing a 'most happy deposition of colours' in the chancel.[9]

Modern commentators might well agree. In this early work Blashill, guided, perhaps, by his senior partner, provided a competent essay in conventional gothic. What sets it aside from the work of some of his contemporaries is the sensitivity to existing fabric and the care taken with authentic relics of the past. There remains in Yarkhill church much to attract the attention of the antiquarian. During Blashill's second stint as President of the Woolhope Club in 1901-2 a field day was arranged at Westhide and Yarkhill, presumably by Blashill. However, in the event Blashill was absent and the incumbent of Yarkhill, the Revd A.G. Jones guided the Club around the church. Whilst agreeing that the architect found the church 'very dilapidated', containing a good deal of what is usually called 'churchwardens' architecture', though most 'soundly and substantially restored, it is to be regretted that more of the old features were not retained and the church not brought back to the original type'. The editor of the *Transactions* obviously brought this criticism to Blashill's attention and a short note in response was appended to the account, reiterating what had been saved from the original fabric and pointing out that the chancel arch was widened so that the chancel 'might be useful for all services'.[10] It seems ironic that the elderly architect, the creator of some of the finest Arts and Crafts public housing in London, should have been taken to task for over-restoring a small church in Herefordshire. This must, however, have been a familiar experience for architects of Blashill's generation, beginning their career at a time when the gothic revival was at full spate but ending it in the age of Voysey, Letherby and Lutyens.

**Oldbury, St Nicholas, near Bridgnorth, 1863**

Blashill and Ainslie's work at Yarkhill brought several other commissions in quick succession, making it seem likely that the partnership might establish a permanent presence in Herefordshire, challenging the dominance of Nicholson, Kempson, Chick and Haddon who all established offices in Hereford. Six months after the opening of Yarkhill Church, the *Hereford Journal* noticed that the Revd John Purton, rector of Oldbury, near Bridgnorth, who was the brother-in-law of the Revd T.H. Bird of Yarkhill, had commissioned Blashill to extend the nave of his parish church, St Nicholas, as a memorial to his recently deceased son and heir. Ainslie had already rebuilt the church in 1858 and now Blashill added a new chancel, employing his favourite window, the triple lancet, in the east end. Also, to dignify the tower-less church he built a bell-cote, raised on four shafts, on the west gable of the nave (Fig. 2). In extending the church the site of a medieval cross was disturbed and the surviving stones were removed to a new site close to the south porch and a new cross 'of the character of those anciently used' was designed by Blashill.[11]

Figure 2. Oldbury near Bridgnorth (1863), Blashill's bell-cote on the west end of the church.

**Westhide School, 1863**

Meanwhile, in Herefordshire the Revd T.H. Bird and Lady Emily Foley were dreaming of some new projects for Blashill and his partner. The first was a new school at Westhide, a parish that adjoined Yarkhill, on the north side of Shucknall Hill, where the Revd Mr Bird had been curate between 1836 and '56 and aided by the indomitable Lady Foley, had established the first Sunday school. The Foleys were major landowners in the parish and the church of St Bartholomew was a chapelry of Stoke Edith, whose rector, the Revd Mr Lambert was persuaded to give part of his glebe-orchard for a new schoolroom and an adjoining house for a resident mistress. The *Hereford Journal* announced the project in April 1863, recording that the buildings was to be constructed in red-bricks, relieved by bands of black bricks. Clearly, this was a novelty.[12]

As far as we know this was Blashill's first use of polychrome brick, which, as the *Hereford Journal* noticed was elsewhere becoming the 'school-like pattern' of building. Today, although altered slightly, the bijou building displays the decorative potential of brick with considerable aplomb. Strings of blue bricks run around the building from basement to eves, providing a lineal framework for the modest square windows, which are dressed in oolitic limestone with cills and quirky shouldered voussoirs above. Most remarkable of all are the high gothic arches, also picked out in limestone, which rise above the windows on the south, west and east fronts, like the ill-proportioned mitres worn by boy-bishops at Hereford Cathedral, close to Christmas (Plate 4.1). This decorative work came very cheaply. Blashill tried to keep the budget to £300 but with drainage, landscaping and fittings it was closer to £400. The school mistress's house, on the north side, had two bedrooms, a parlour, kitchen and scullery. The contractors were Messrs Niblett and King of Gloucester. When the school was opened in October 1863 150 people were in attendance and 48 children sat down to eat plum-cake. As it turned out, the school was superfluous to need and by 1885 the children of the parish were walking to Withington, and Westhide was simply used for Sunday school.[13]

**Yarkhill School, 1866**

The little school at Westhide clearly impressed the Revd Mr Bird and his generous patron, Lady Foley and three years later, in February 1866, Dr Henry Graves Bull wrote to his friend Blashill in London, informing him that the Diocesan Education Board, on which he sat, had agreed to give a grant to a new school at Yarkhill. We learn from the *Hereford Times* that the Revd Mr Bird had provided £500 from his private income for the building, which was to be sited on a large plot of ground granted by Lady Emily Foley, who also offered to pay any solicitor's fees. The site was about ¾ of a mile above Yarkhill Church on the south-facing slopes of Shucknall Hill, adjoining the high road from Hereford to Worcester. The undated plans and perspective drawings are signed by Blashill alone, as Ainslie had died in 1863. The new school was to be larger than Westhide, with a single room to accommodate 75 children with a three-bed-roomed house attached for a headmaster, his wife (who might also be the assistant mistress) and a family.[14]

In its use of red brick with triple string courses in blue/black bricks, it followed Westhide and in Bull's familiar language it was a 'brickifessor's school'. He also felt it owed something to Ruskin in its design and complained that much of the architect's skill had been lavished upon one end. This was a reference to the master's house, which looked westwards, crossing the T-plan of the whole ensemble. The high gables and chimney's of the house, with its crested ridge tiles added considerably to the composition, creating as the *Hereford Times* reporter noticed ' a

picturesque effect' when set against the wide southern views across the Frome Valley, towards Stoke Edith and the Woolhope Hills. The garden front of the house had a centralised rustic porch with flanking windows enhanced with heavy limestone dressings, including foliated columns, centralised for the upper windows and in pairs for the tri-partite windows below. Bull complained that the east end of the school lacked ornamentation and would thus need to be 'tucked closely into Shucknall Hill'. Evidently, he had not seen all the perspectives prepared by Blashill, which show a large tri-partite window with slender sandstone shafts, ornamented with stiff-leaf capitals. On the wide lintel is carved 'SOLI. DEO. GLORIA.' and above that there is a geometrical rose window, under a large gothic relieving arch, borrowed from Westhide School. The rose window retains its painted glass, made by Powell & Sons and designed by Henry Casolani (Plate 4.2). Blashill's drawing shows a well-contrived bell-cote and weather vane above the window, which is now to be found in the middle of the roof. This is explained by Blashill's return visit to Yarkhill in *c.*1874 to extend the classroom, leaving the bell-cote in its original place but removing the ornamental window to its new position.[15]

The school was opened on 3 November 1866, accompanied by an address, given by the Revd Prebendary Poole on the 'Valley of the Frome'. Poole was in the process of reconstructing Hoarwithy Church, where the schoolhouse designed by J.P. Seddon was opened two years later. Lady Foley was too ill to attend the service at Yarkhill but the Revd Mr Bird was lavish in his praise of the 'noble lady who lives opposite' and let it be known that she would pay for the iron palisades on a low wall that enclosed the school and are still *in situ* today. Special reference was made to Blashill—who was also absent—who 'happily mingled the useful with the ornamental', and generously presented a terrestrial globe for the use of the school. Finally, Bird noticed the contractors, Messrs King and Godwin from Gloucester, whose work was much to his satisfaction.[16]

Blashill's friend, Dr Bull was also pleased that he had 'some satisfactory work in hand in this district' hoping that the architect would become more regular in his attendance at the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club meetings, bringing 'a little enthusiasm of the town into our sluggish natures'. Bull was fully aware of Blashill's expertise and tried to advance his career in the county. In 1864 Bull became a member of the Hereford Cottage Society, concerned with the improvement of working class housing in the city. He regretted that this body devoted much of its energy towards improving existing properties and hoped that one day that it would be able to build new cottages. Blashill picked up on this and offered to come and discuss the idea of 'model cottages'. This was a prescient moment for an architect who would eventually spend his last decades building some of the finest working class housing in the metropolis. Nothing came of the idea in Hereford but two years later Bull was involved in planning improvements to Hereford Infirmary and had produced some sketches for a new lodge, which had been workedup by Thomas Nicholson, the architect employed to design the new extensions and the principal indigenous architect in Hereford at this time. Bull had also redesigned the landscape in front of the Infirmary, overlooking the River Wye. Rather tongue in cheek he invited Blashill to come and cast an expert eye over his improvements.[17]

**Westhide Church, St Bartholomew, 1866-7**

We must assume that Blashill found time to make some encouraging judgements about his friend's endeavours at the Infirmary, for between 1866-7, apart from his Woolhope Club appearances,

he was restoring Westhide Church. The first public notice of this commission is found in an account published in the *Hereford Journal* of the proceedings of the Diocesan Church Building Society, which met in January 1866. Among the fifteen churches receiving grants was Westhide, St Bartholomew, which was given £50 towards restoration by Mr. Blashill. Apart from the clergymen on the committee, several notable local architects were present including F.R. Kempson, G.C. Haddon and W. Chick. Thus, it was surprising, perhaps, that Blashill got a look-in, but the list of committee members also included the Revd T.H. Bird. Apparently, Blashill had 'prepared the plans sometime since', perhaps, in 1862-3 when he was busy at Yarkhill Church and Westhide School. We are informed by the paper that the curate of Westhide, the Revd H.F. Denham had been 'forward in advancing the work' but in the background there was also the 'energy and perseverance' of the rector of Stoke Edith, the Revd Mr Lambert and no doubt his patron, Lady Emily Foley.[18]

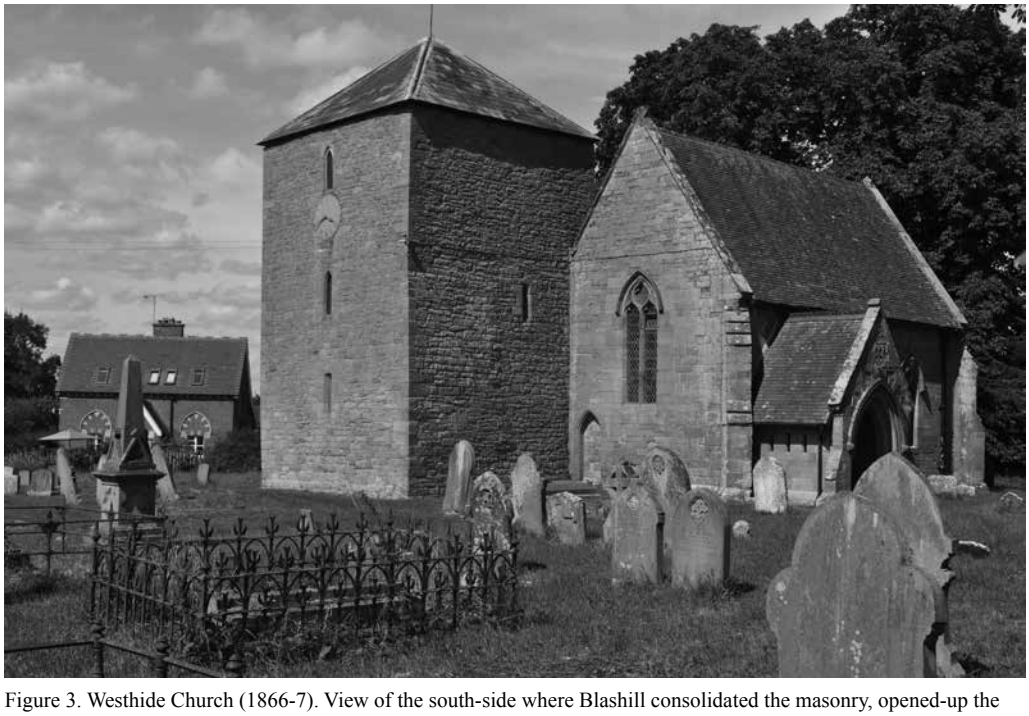


Figure 3. Westhide Church (1866-7). View of the south-side where Blashill consolidated the masonry, opened-up the easternmost window and designed a new porch. The tower was restored in c.1870.

The conventional phrases were used to depict the 'state of dilapidation' of St Bartholomew's but the principle motivation of all the participants—patrons, clergy, vestry and architect—seems to have to 'scrape and clean' the original fabric and remove anything of 'comparatively modern times' i.e. since the Reformation. The tower was most in need of repair; its walls were cracked and 'sinking to a fearful extent' and it was itemised in the Faculty for immediate repair but in the event this was ignored until 1880. Re-capturing the 'beauty and holiness' of the interior of the church was clearly the priority of the clergy and congregation. The latter had been striving for restoration since 1859 when inquiries were made about the liabilities of the serving churchmen,

the proprietor of Westhide Court and the diocese. The immediate trigger was a leaking roof in the nave, which was repaired 'at as small a cost as possible in 1862'. Eventually, in 1865 the vestry established a sub-committee 'to make collections from the parishioners towards the restoration of the parish church'. A faculty was secured in 1866 where it was estimated that £692 would cover the costs.[19]

With such a limited budget restraint became essential and not just a matter of aesthetic judgement. Nevertheless, Blashill probably did less than was listed in the Faculty. He rebuilt the north wall of the nave, added a vestry and two new windows, adorned with the simplest plate tracery. His walling is random, employing re-used stone and is barely distinguishable from the work in the tower. The roof of the nave was repaired, as the Faculty required, and it was pewed with pitch pine seats, 'lightly stained, not varnished'. The chancel walls were rebuilt with rock-faced masonry—rather out of keeping with the rest of the church but retained its original windows. The east wall was to be extended by three feet and was given a larger version of the mid-14th-century windows found in the south aisle. The floor was neatly tiled by Godwin and Sons and a new ambry and piscina were provided. Once again the roof was repaired and the oak trusses re-used where possible. The fine chancel arch, matching the arcade separating the south aisle from the nave, is off-set slightly for the benefit of the congregation in the south aisle. Blashill resisted the temptation to rectify this. Similarly, the late-12th-century tower arch with its scallop capitals, which was apparently dilapidated and sinking into the clay soil, was supported with new masonry but retains its quirky 'Tudor profile'.

Blashill was especially deferential to the fabric of the south aisle, which had once been used as a chapel. The reticulated east window had been filled with masonry, presumably because there had been a reredos in front of it, but this was now removed and the lights re-glazed. Apart from this the surface detail was untouched and some early painting in patterns was preserved above the aisle arches, monuments were left in situ, medieval brackets re-fixed and only the roof was renewed—as the Faculty implied. The *Hereford Times* concluded that the the sensitive approach 'brought out the south aisle in its original beauty'. Only in the new porch did the architect allow himself a little creativity with a well-moulded profile for the entrance arch, foliated bosses as end stops and engaged columns. The contractor for the work was Mr. C. Bufton of Ocle Pychard, an adjoining parish.[20]

The tower remained untouched, but in November 1870 the vestry urged the rector to 'communicate with Mr. Blashill about the church tower' and a subscription for the work was launched. However, it took a decade for the work to commence. Blashill managed the contract from London and contracted William Cullis of Tewkesbury to do the work for £250. Externally a large buttress was built against the north wall and the quoining was re-pointed but otherwise the stonework retains a 12th-century patina. (Fig. 3.) Blashill supervised the re-casting of one of the bells by John Warner & Sons of Cripplegate, London. The *Hereford Times* commented that 'the talented architect has succeeded in preserving the character of the building and obtaining the utmost harmony throughout'. In the church as a whole there remained 'many features of interest, well worthy of the attention of the archaeologist'. Indeed, several new items were discovered during the work and enshrined in suitable places e.g. a 15th-century encaustic tile and a small piece of stained glass. Blashill's antiquarian enthusiasms were increasingly being reflected in his approach to restoration, just as they came to influence his original work.

**Stottesdon Church, St Mary, Shropshire, 1867-8**

A month after the re-consecration of the restored church at Westhide, the *Hereford Journal* announced that St Mary's, Stottesdon, one of the largest and most important churches in South Shropshire was being 'thoroughly restored….. (and) in a great part rebuilt' by Blashill. This commission may well have come via Oldbury, near Bridgnorth, and was thus, a commission inherited from his late partner Ainslie. Alternatively, Blashill's antiquarian interests, which had brought him to Ludlow with the British Archaeological Association in August 1867—where he spoke with feeling on the 'half-timbered houses of Ludlow, and took occasion to criticise the bad taste and ignorance displayed in repair in the repairs and alterations, which many had undergone'—may have raised his profile locally as a sensitive restoration-architect. The chairman of this meeting was the eminent antiquarian Thomas Wright, who was also found in the company of Blashill at Woolhope meetings during this era. His recommendation would have carried a great deal of weight with both the clergy and patrons of churches in South Shropshire. Moreover, Stottesdon had an early-12th-century font, which formed an outlier of the Herefordshire School of Sculpture. Three years later, at the BAA congress at Hereford, Blashill gave a paper on Kilpeck church at which comparisons with the Stottesdon font and the Shobdon arches were drawn.[21]

Thus, Blashill's presence at Stottesdon may have related to his proposal to provide the Romanesque font with a suitable setting at the west end of the south aisle. When Stephen Glynne visited the church in 1846 he commented on the lofty Norman arcade, which apparently supported lathe and plaster arches which spanned the south aisle. Blashill rebuilt all of this, restoring the windows in the south and east wall and reconstructing the arcade. At the west end of the aisle he created extra space for the font by adding a single storey addition to the SW corner of the nave. This required a new arch and the strengthening of the most westerly column of the south arcade. Two new windows were required for the recess and a more inventive ox-eye window high up on the west wall of the south aisle. This plays with foiled mouchettes, which occur in the east window of the chancel. The font sits under the new arch, leaving space behind for family and friends during the christening service (Fig. 4).[22]

This modification to the ritual space of Stottesdon was very well contrived and must have accounted for a substantial portion of the £2000 put aside for the restoration, half of which came from the Duke of Cleveland, a major landowner in the parish. Blashill's brief also included rebuilding the north aisle wall, which was supported by 'heavy buttresses and flying arches' built in 1688, supplemented more recently by 'timber props and shores', which gave 'a curious effect to the fabric'. All these encumbrances were removed but an Early English north doorway was retained. A new roof was provided here and, where required, elsewhere in the church. Cranage in 1900 noticed places where reused timbers were evident but apart from complaining about the placing of the altar rail, which cuts into the sedilia, he makes no adverse comments about the restoration of 1867-8 and finds much of antiquarian interest, filling nine pages of text with his comprehensive evaluation of the fabric.[23]

After Stottesdon there is something of a hiatus in Blashill's local career until 1874. However, he returned regularly to visit his uncle and cousins at Garnons and to visit his good friend and correspondent, Bull, who kept Bashill busy on many errands that relied upon metropolitan services and contacts, which enhanced the quality of Bull's wide-ranging research. In return Bull widely promoted Blashill's antiquarian skills and draughtsmanship and encouraged him

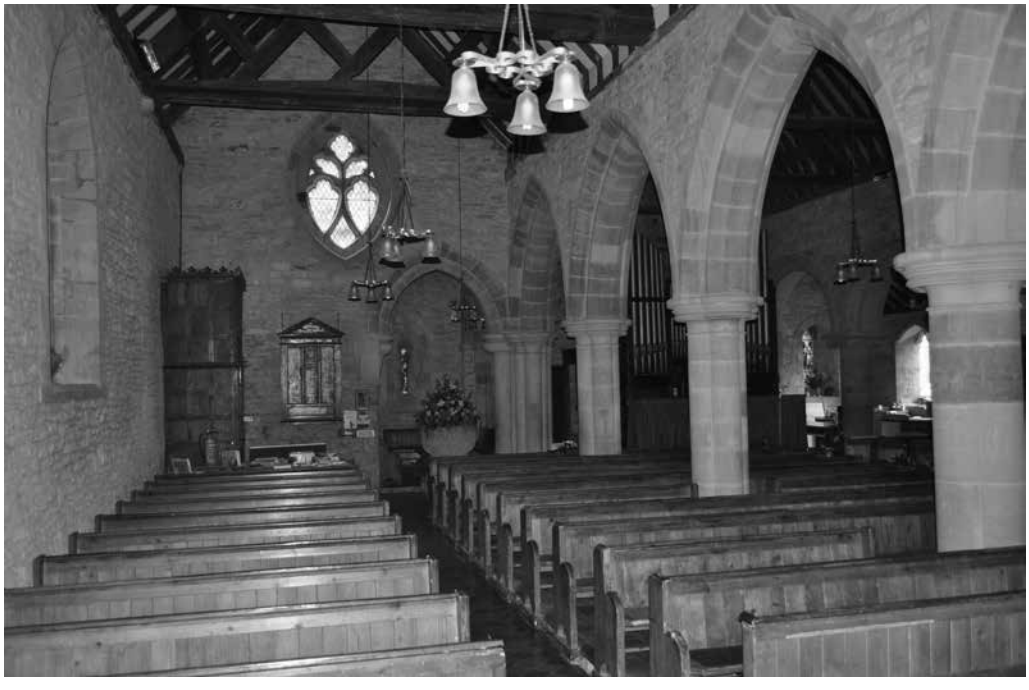


Figure 4. Stottesdon Church (1867-8). The new baptistery designed by Blashill to show-off the font. A new ox-eye window was provided to illuminate the scene.

to publish papers and illustrate articles in the Woolhope *Transactions*.[24] Indeed, the club had initially turned its back on antiquarianism but, as Blashill reflected in his presidential address in 1902 the Club's excursions to sites of scientific interest revealed incidentally 'the ancient remains… in the remote parts of the border country' at a time when 'the popular passion for antiquities was new-born'. Thus, it was not long before these 'remains' were the subject of scientific scrutiny and classification. As Bull realised, an archaeological approach, by one who had recently refreshed his knowledge through several excursions to the continent, was invaluable. Again in 1902 Blashill describes how the churches of the Herefordshire countryside were 'unrepaired and uncleansed…dangerously dilapidated…no other edifice used by human beings was so utterly neglected'. He thought that the turning point in public consciousness came in the 1840s when the great baulks of timber, used by Cottingham, to support the Cathedral tower during its restoration, were rolled out of the church into the close. Similarly, public interest in vernacular buildings came, he thought, a little later in 1861 with the demolition of the Old Market Hall in High Town, Hereford. He notice, that albeit 'mutilated and shapeless' it still had its 'handsome fifteenth century arcades'; and, yet, there was so little local antiquarian interest, they vanished without trace. Although Blashill was wrong about the date or the arcades—they were late-16th-century—his enthusiasm for the vernacular and this monument of the long gothic twilight that pervaded the Tudor century, is in many respects precocious. In his presidential speech of 1902 he regretted the 'mischief wrought with fittings and memorials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' during the first age of church restoration. This new sensitivity was

to be reflected in Blashill's own restorations and appears to have derived from his broadening antiquarian interests, which embraced more than the gothic canon.[25]

**Tarrington and Putley School, the Church and Court, 1874-6**

Remarkably, after a hiatus of five years, Blashill was consulted in 1874 on a series of architectural projects in Herefordshire. Once again it seems to have been his old patroness, Lady Emily Foley who revived his local career, calling upon him to design two new schools for the parishes embraced by the Foley estate (Fig. 5). A school at Putley was established in 1851 by Commander Holbrook, squire of Putley, domiciled at Putley Court, on land adjoining Putley Common. This was a small single-roomed building but in 1859 an anonymous gift of £500 was given to the parish for a new schoolroom. The donor was likely to be Lady Emily Foley as the Stoke Edith estate included Hill Farm, just above the Common, where many of the cottagers probably found employment, working for Lady Foley's tenant farmers. Nothing seems to have been done and Putley Court was advertised for sale and bought in 1872 by John Riley Esq. from Halifax in Yorkshire. Keen to establish his credentials he probably supported Lady Foley's educational aspirations and in 1874 Thomas Blashill added a new two storey wing to the original school. Sadly, since the 1960s the school has been converted into two dwellings and Blashill's block rendered. It seems, however, that it was built of red brick with blue brick dressings; reminiscent of his earlier schools at Yarkhill and Westhide.[26]

Figure 5. Lady Emily Foley (1805-1900), a portrait of 1840. Her patronage sustained Blashill's career in Herefordshire. She was the daughter of James Graham, 3rd duke of Montrose and wife of the Hon. Edward Foley (d. 1846). (Wikipedia).

In the same year Blashill provided another design for a larger school in Tarrington, the parish to the north west of Putley. Today this is the Lady Emily Foley Community Hall and has a large dedication stone, which proclaims the generosity of its founder and states that the school was for 'the benefit of the parishes of Stoke Edith, Tarrington and Dormington'. This, by implication, confirms the suggestion made above that Lady Foley made separate arrangements for the education of the children of Putley, the most southerly parish embraced by the Stoke Edith estate. Blashill's design was self-effacingly Georgian and symmetrical with a central range of classrooms, entered via a sturdy timber porch, flanked at either end by matching two-storey wings, gable-end to the street (Plate 4.3). The plain character of the building was clearly the result of Lady Foley's insistence, perhaps it was on the footprint of a similar building designed by William Wilkins senior in 1792 for the Hon. Edward Foley. Moreover, to the south of the school there is a fine late Georgian residence, The Vine, which persuaded Blashill to be 'good mannered' and design something more in keeping with the streetscape, and keep away from

the ebullient brickwork of Yarkhill and Westhide. At the south end of the building there was a spacious head-teacher's house with high windows on the ground floor and half windows above. Only the clustered chimney stacks, set with a diamond profile, added a touch of flamboyance.[27]

Lady Foley's patronage presumably captured the attention of John Riley Esq., the new owner of Putley Court who saw an opportunity in 1875 to make his mark upon the local community by refurbishing the parish church. This building formed the picturesque middle ground of the eastern view from the Court, seen most pleasantly across a stretch of ornamental water. The church was sketched by the local artist, James Wathen, who published a print in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1795. His accompanying text notes that 'The church of Putley is small and neat, contains no monuments, but with a venerable yew tree and its curious cross, afford altogether a very pleasing and picturesque scene...being situated in a very sequestered spot, nearly embosomed by trees'.[28] On Wathen's sketch the church seems 'neat' enough, with its large timber porch, adjoining the two-light late-13th-century window, under a copious roof of free-stone tiles on the west end of which is a neat pyramidal bell-cote. This is basically the church that exists today. In 1851 the lord of the manor, John Holbrook, added a new gallery and the 'interior was remodelled'. On the north side of the chancel a new vestry was erected in 1856, built by Charles Brookes, a carpenter, and William Thomas, a mason, who were paid £66.4s.5d.[29]

The parish book has no further detail until 5 May 1876 when a long note is inserted, perhaps composed by the rector, the Revd A.F. Denham, outlining the restoration carried out 'from the designs of Mr. Blashill of Old Jewry Chambers, London' (Fig. 6). Denham, of course, had been the curate in charge of Westhide in 1866. John Riley provided £1000 for the work on

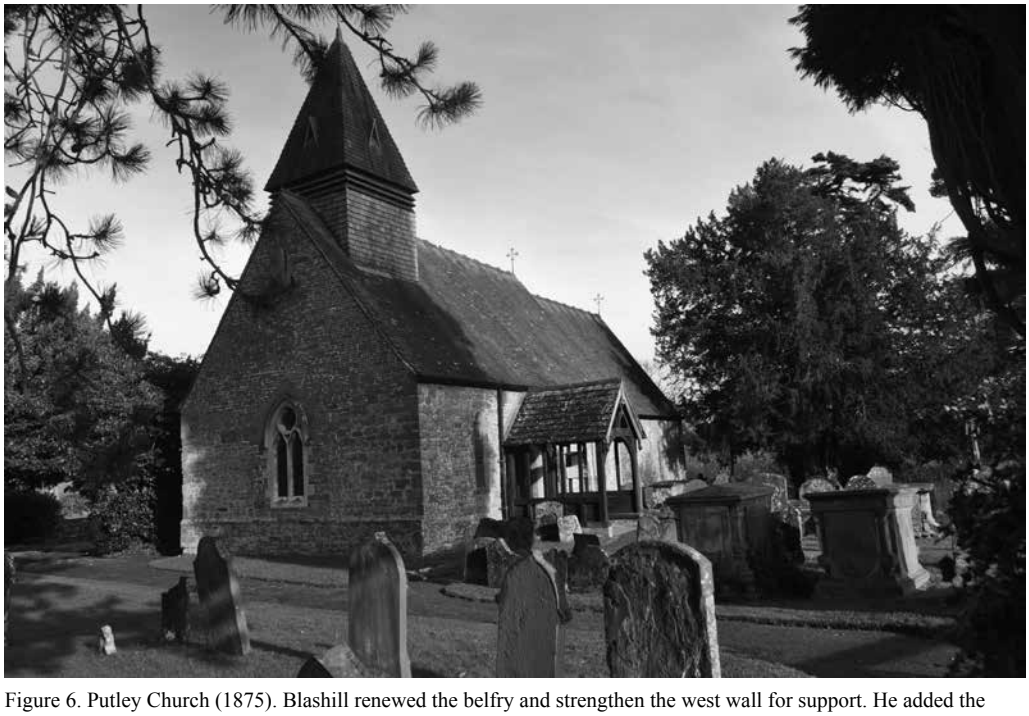


Figure 6. Putley Church (1875). Blashill renewed the belfry and strengthen the west wall for support. He added the west window. The timber porch shown by Wathen was also restored but was replaced in c.1940

the nave, whilst the rector, aided by the Incorporated and Diocesan Church Building Societies found £410 for the chancel. Taken together this was quite a lot more than the funds provided for Yarkhill (£1000) and Westhide (£692) and yet Putley was a smaller church. The contractors were Messrs Collins and Cullis of Tewkesbury, widely used by George Gilbert Scott and probably the most experienced firm of church restorers in the West Midlands.[30]

Blashill's work was fairly extensive but where possible old masonry was preserved or re-laid. Similarly, his archaeological curiosity ensured that earlier fabric with archaic mouldings was also retained and he recognised that the tiles, bricks and pottery recovered from beneath the north wall were Roman and publicised the discovery widely. He left the church externally looking much as it did on Wathen's sketch. The pyramidal belfry, said to have been built in 1799, was renewed in a manner that acknowledged the original but to give it support, part of the west wall of the nave was rebuilt and a new west window, matching the south window in the nave, was inserted to provide light for the bell-chamber and adjoining baptistery. The space below the belfry was defined by four new structural posts. The 16th-century timber porch was also retained, to be replaced with something less substantial in 1940. The north wall of the nave built, as it turned out, upon Roman remains, was reconstructed but the small trefoiled window was reinserted. A blocked entrance was preserved and used to frame the architectural relics found during the restoration. A late-13th-century piscina was repaired and reset in the chancel wall. The vestry built in 1856 was retained, to be extended in 1891. The south wall of the nave and the walls of the chancel were left untouched albeit a new east window was introduced with three lights and three cinquefoils.

Inside the east wall of the nave was rebuilt to take a new chancel arch with clustered columns and stiff leaf capitals—shades of Dore Abbey. Opening up the chancel to the nave was a *de rigeur* requirement by both clergy and laity at this time and generally not a matter left to the discretion of the architect. The nave roof was cleaned and boarded above; the chancel was provided with a new roof and both were covered with Broseley tiles. Local free-stone tiles with their tendency to shatter with frost damage were deemed unsuitable for a 'modern' church about to be fitted with Messrs Musgrave's 'warming equipment'. Blashill presumably took out the new gallery and re-pewed the church in pitched pine 'lightly stained and varnished'. The chancel floor was re-laid in Godwin tiles and the nave with plain tiles and stone, with wood blocks beneath the pews. The 'squire's pew' made of Jacobean oak was dismantled and used for a new pulpit and a low screen to separate the chancel from the nave. This High Anglican touch inaugurated the extensive embellishment of the chancel by members of the Riley family in the late 19th century, which distinguishes Putley church from the other run-of-the-mill churches in the neighbourhood.[31]

It seems evident that John Riley was pleased with Blashill's self-effacing restoration and employed the architect on a number of works to enhance the neighbouring Court. Most conspicuous of all is the stable yard to the north west of the mansion, now converted for domestic use, with a central clock-tower, crowned by a spiret, very reminiscent of the bell-cote on the church. The use of blue brick as voussoirs and strings is reminiscent of the school on Putley Common and the architect's earlier polychrome buildings at Yarkhill and Westhide. Other changes to the court at this time, including new kitchens and a long conservatory, may also reflect the hand of Blashill. Equally, the much extended west lodge, again with blue brick window heads, stone quoins and a pretty gothic timber porch, perhaps shows the architect in a more playful mood.[32]

**Dormington Church, St Peter, 1876-7**

Lady Emily Foley had one more commission for Blashill; namely, to restore the parish church of St Peter at Dormington. As the principal landowner in the parish and the patron of the church, she took her responsibilities for this small parish of 108 people (1881) very seriously. The Parish Book shows that from at least as early as 1853, Dormington Church had a seriously failing roof. An estimate for repairs of £79 10s 0d was secured from a builder called Pritchard in 1858 but a parish meeting called to discuss the raising of a local rate was so badly attended, the scheme was abandoned. In 1862, in desperation, the churchwardens discussed the possibility of selling some parish property to Lady Foley but the permission of the Board of Guardians was required. A decade passed and with temporary repairs still in mind, Lady Foley gave the churchwardens £200 and a rate of 4d in the £1 was levied on all the landowners in the parish. This would, of course, have fallen upon Lady Foley too, but in May 1876 the Parish Book declared that she was exempt having 'magnificently' contributed a further £800 for the full restoration of the church. In total her full contribution came to £1060 and, on the 1 August 1876, plans and specifications prepared by Mr. Blashill were approved and adopted.[33]

As at Yarkhill (and probably at Putley) Blashill produced before and after perspectives of the church, when viewed from the south. Fundamentally, the scale and proportions of the two-


Figure 7. Dormington (1876-7). Blashill's perspective (framed) is still in the church.

Figure 8. Dormington (1876-7). Blashill kept the narrow chancel arch and changed the east window to five lancets. The fine Arts and Crafts glass, depicting the Last Supper, is by Mary Lowndes and Isabel Gloag (1902).

cell building remained constant; the changes were in the detail (Figs 7 & 8). The sketch of the old church, dated September 1875, shows it rendered and with a roof laid with local stone slates, some of which, had certainly slipped. Ivy was spreading its tentacles up the wall and onto the roof. The porch was also whitewashed and similarly slumped and down-at-heel. On the roof, at the west end of the nave there was a low rectangular bell-turret, with a cap and weathervane. The fenestration was limited to a two light window in the nave and something similar but on a smaller scale in the east end of the chancel. Further west, closer to the nave there was a sub-rectangular grilled opening. Something larger formed the outline of the chancel east window. Both spoke loudly of poor Georgian taste. The north side of the church was not illustrated but the remains of chamfered jams suggest that there was a second entrance on this side near the west end of the nave and where the vestry stands today, there was a two-light cinquefoiled window. The west wall of the church remained virtually unchanged.[34]

Blashill clearly thought the nave was unstable and constructed three buttresses on each side; an aesthetically pleasing and traditional solution to the problem. His stonework is a perfect match. Inside, he removed the plaster ceiling, cleaned the 17th-century rafters and trusses, added boards above and re-clad the outside with Broseley tiles. A flamboyant lead-covered broach spire—reminiscent of the spiret on the stable block at Putley—was added to the shingle-covered bell turret. Inside the church the existing braced trusses, supporting the original turret were deemed sufficiently strong to support the new work.

On the north front, in a beefy manner, a new vestry was added to the east end of the chancel, which required the removal of a two light window. This was tidied up and inserted in the south wall of the chancel, where the amorphous Georgian aperture existed. The north door of the nave was now blocked and a new double light window was inserted, to match the late-13th-century original further to the east. On the south side of the nave the original arrangements were retained but a new doorway in the style of the late 13th-century was created with engaged columns of Forest of Dean stone with stiff leaf capitals. This was protected by a large timber porch with gothic lights and leaded panes.

The broad Georgian east window was adapted to take five stepped trefoiled lancets—rather different from Blashill's usual early-14th-century version. This design is especially effective from inside the church when seen through the low chancel arch, which, surprisingly, Blashill did not replace. The low profile, heavy chamfered and prominent imposts adds mystery to the transition from the nave to the chancel where the gorgeous window (1901) is a fitting climax to the ceremonial axis of the church. The view westwards, in reverse, is equally dramatic, through the chancel arch, over Blashill's simple pews, past the tub-font to the Morris/Burne-Jones window high up in the west wall, glowing bright green in the gothic gloom.

Apart from the Georgian altar rails, the furnishings are mostly Blashill's, with few additions. Remaining true to his antiquarian principles, several good classical monuments were retained—two still hanging on the external walls—and three large corbels above the chancel arch, indicating the site of the rood-loft, were preservd, together with the outline of an aumbry in the south wall of the chancel. He also left plasterwork *in situ* on the west wall of the nave, where there was a large panel with an inscription and a figure painting. This was seen by the RCHM in 1932 but was 'scarcely recognisable' in 1963 and now has completely disappeared.

Pevsner (1963) felt that the church was 'all over restored'; Brooks (2012) deferentially moderates this to 'heavily'. This seems rather unfair and within Blashill's *oeuvre* in Herefordshire, this restoration is undoubtedly the most successful. The church looks good from outside with the additional windows, the vestry and porch adding something useful to the overall design. Inside, without artificial light, it has considerable drama, when viewed from the west or east. Unlike Putley, it does not depend upon enrichments imported after the restoration for its impact, albeit the two Edwardian windows are a great asset. The retention of the early roof —nail holes included—the chancel arch and the monuments give character to the interior, which is attractively lit by the new windows. There is also harmony in the parts, mostly relating to a single period, the late 13th century, Blashill's favourite era. Consequently, the architect was enjoying himself and Lady Emily, we might assume, left him to his own devices.[35]

**Much Dewchurch, St David, 1877**

Blashill's refurbishment of Much Dewchurch overlapped with his work at Dormington, which was referred to in complimentary terms in the report in the *Hereford Journal* relating to the reopening of the church on 16 December 1877. This building—as its dedication to St David suggests—was perhaps the most significant church in West Herefordshire and in terms of size, the largest church Blashill worked upon. It was also the church where the preservationist instincts of the architect are particularly evident. As the newspaper reported 'Every feature of the old church has been most carefully preserved with a loving care for antiquity, and nothing new (has) been introduced as mere ornament'.[36]

Blashill was brought in after a long struggle between a succession of improving incumbents, recalcitrant patrons and poorly briefed craftsmen. Fortunately, the saga is well-recorded in the Parish Book, which unusually, seems to have been passed from vicar to vicar, rather than remain a public document in the hands of the vestry. It begins in 1805 with a note by James Williams, vicar, which states that the church had been 'ceiled and seated new, also a gallery erected'. Williams' successor was the Revd Hassall who recorded in 1842 that the south wall was bulging near the reading desk, the coping stones on the same wall had become detached and the quoins on the south-western corner of the tower were displaying serious signs of erosion. Some remedial action followed and the south wall was opened-up and found to be in a 'state of decomposition'. The exterior section of the wall was rebuilt, but this disturbed the most easterly window in the nave, above the Pye tombs, which was taken out, reconstituted and freshly glazed. Hassall describes the window as being 'in a debased style and odious', so he designed a new one to match its western neighbour. The work was presumably carried out by a local mason and no architect is mentioned. The restoration of the church did not progress any further although the *Buildings of England* (2012) refers to William Heather of Hereford who in 1849 put the pyramidal roof on the tower.[37]

In 1850, a new vicar, the Revd Tournay Parsons, arrived and wrote a long memorandum in the Parish Book about the management of pews within the church. The two major estates within the parish—Bryngwyn and The Mynde—had appropriated the north and south side of the nave for their tenant farmers. At the front, the two respective squires, with their families, sat in stately box pews, six feet high; acting as a serious impediment for those sitting behind who wished to follow the service. The chancel was also encumbered with similar boxes: one for the lay rector on the north side and another, which served as a vestry, for the vicar on the south side. The Revd Mr Parsons put down the poor attendance at his services to the presence of the private pews, which were not always occupied by the designated families.[38]

Parsons also laid siege to the Bishop of Gloucester and Mr Symons of The Mynde who shared the rectorial tithes, hoping to get some remedial work done on the chancel. In disgust he describes how Mr Symons sent a craftsman to 'pour whitewash over the decaying green plaster' ignoring the bulging walls. The Bishop of Gloucester was eventually forthcoming and £100 was disbursed upon the restoration of the roof and walls of the chancel. After further debate in 1853 the box pews in the chancel were removed, the floor raised and steps made up from the nave. One can imagine that the low-church tendency at Much Dewchurch was probably appalled by the pretensions of their vicar, determined to make the chancel, with the celebrant, the holy of holies within the church. Hassall had not finished and later in 1853 the vestry was cajoled into raising a parish rate to clear the nave of the offending pews. He seems to have commissioned Messrs George Pearson and Son, artisan architects and builders of Ross, to draw up some plans. This upset Mr Symons who could see a never ending trail of expense, especially when the vicar informed the vestry that he intended to take down the west gallery and re-pew the area at his own expense, if necessary. The vestry refused to allow this but did accept Mr. Pearson's plans and the box pews in the nave were removed. The *Hereford Journal* reported the reopening of the church on 1 August 1854, acknowledging that 'a year ago (St David's) was one of the most neglected and ill-arranged churches in the neighbourhood' but was now 'substantially re-arranged'. On show for the first time was the new east window in the chancel with beautiful Puginesque glass by Messrs Hardman and Co. of Birmingham.[39]

The Revd Mr Parsons wrote a long account of his struggle to make his church 'decent' but fails to inform us how his campaign progressed between 1854 and 1877 when Blashill makes his appearance. During this period The Mynde estate and the troublesome Mr Symons was eclipsed by the emergence of Bryngwyn as the new epicentre of the parish. The mansion was rebuilt for James Rankin M.P., a Liverpool shipping magnate, by F. C. Kempson in 1868. Rankin, we are informed in 1877 was the 'liberal heart' behind the restoration of the church. It is possible he may have had Kempson in mind as architect, as he was also responsible for the new school in 1870—the first tangible sign of Rankin's liberal tendencies. However, Parsons may have had other ideas as in 1862-3 he employed the architect William Chick (1829-92) to add a new wing to the vicarage. Blashill would have been well-known to Rankin via the Woolhope Club, having been president in 1869 and was responsible for providing the Club with a new meeting room in the new City Library he sponsored in Broad Street, Hereford. Parson was not a member of the Club but among the select band of mourners at his funeral in July 1878 was Henry Graves Bull. Moreover, on that sad occasion, the funeral service was conducted by the Revd W.H. Lambert, rector of Stoke Edith, the influential incumbent and protégée of Lady Emily Foley, both of whom had been involved in Blashill's employment at Yarkhill and Westhide, fifteen years earlier.[40]

The *Hereford Journal* reminded its readers, on reporting the reopening of St David's, that the 'able' architect, Mr Blashill, was 'already known for his church restoration work at Putley and Dormington', thus reiterating the Stoke Edith connexion. Blashill's main task was to 'thoroughly repair' and consolidate the walls of the church—a routine job but one that was long overdue. It was also one that in the hands of an insensitive architect could lead to the eradication of centuries of surface detail, especially if the contractor was left unattended. Blashill, however, came with his reliable undertaker, William Cullis of Tewkesbury and a walk around the exterior of the church today displays a medley of stones of different sizes and hues. Even Blashill's new north aisle and vestry reflects a random use of stone and the point is picked up in the *Hereford Journal* where the architect's voice can be heard in the statement that 'The soft rich coloured local stone harmonises well with the original walls, so that no glaring effect is produced'. In his diagnosis of the deteriorating condition of the walls Blashill notices that they were 'built of small stones and courses of sand and gravel' which had encouraged bulging and hollowing. This was rectified by fixing the core of the walls with new mortar, without damaging the surface detail.

It seems certain that Blashill wrote the 'correct architectural description of the work', as the *Journal* quaintly expressed it, and which is 'subjoined' to the general account of the reopening. Succinctly, Blashill deconstructs the architectural history of the church and where necessary provides context. The small splayed Norman windows, evident high up in nave 'are often found in this country'. The high pitched roof on the tower is uncommon in England and 'rather of a continental type'. He notes that the walls of the nave were 'slightly raised' in the 15th century to take a new roof—'very massive and in excellent condition'. This was simply repaired and covered with oak shingles. He identifies a major defect in the tower caused by the 'cutting of a large tower arch and western door' in the 14th century; but he is happy to live with this arrangement, presumably bracing the tower via repaired floors. He also recognises that the western entrance is superfluous, so it is glazed and the space given back to the nave. He may also have been responsible for the removal of the west gallery, which the vestry had defended in 1854.

As was often the case in this era, the removal of box pews and galleries created a shortage of space and made a new aisle a necessity. Moreover, with the destruction of the vicar's pew in the chancel a vestry was also required. These practical considerations also coincided with Tractarian and liturgical issues relating to the purpose of the chancel, the role of the congregation and the desire for decency and order in Anglican services. The squire, James Rankin, was also prepared to finance an organ—an essential element in calming the congregation. Thus, Blashill was able satisfy all these needs with one structure with the organ recess separating the vestry from the aisle. The new double arcade was supported by robust columns, the capitals decorated with bold foliage. Once again Blashill engaged with the Early Decorated style but gave his central pier a particularly massive foliated capital; perhaps a complimentary gesture to the experimental capitals found in the ambulatory at Dore Abbey. New fenestration was required and as at Dormington, Blashill made use of two windows removed from the north side of the original nave. The larger two light window was placed in the west end of the new aisle with a small reused trefoiled lancet placed nearby at the west end of the north wall. The other two double windows have typical revivalist 14th-century plate tracery. The vestry has as a similar trio of trefoiled lancets whilst the priest's door has sharp muscular chamfers like a secular building of the late 13th or early 14th century.

Blashill's furnishing were equally sparse but effective. At the east end of the north aisle he designed a dark oak screen with tracery panels and a carved cornice. For the chancel, albeit restored in 1854, he provided a low screen of veined alabaster surmounted by an even lower

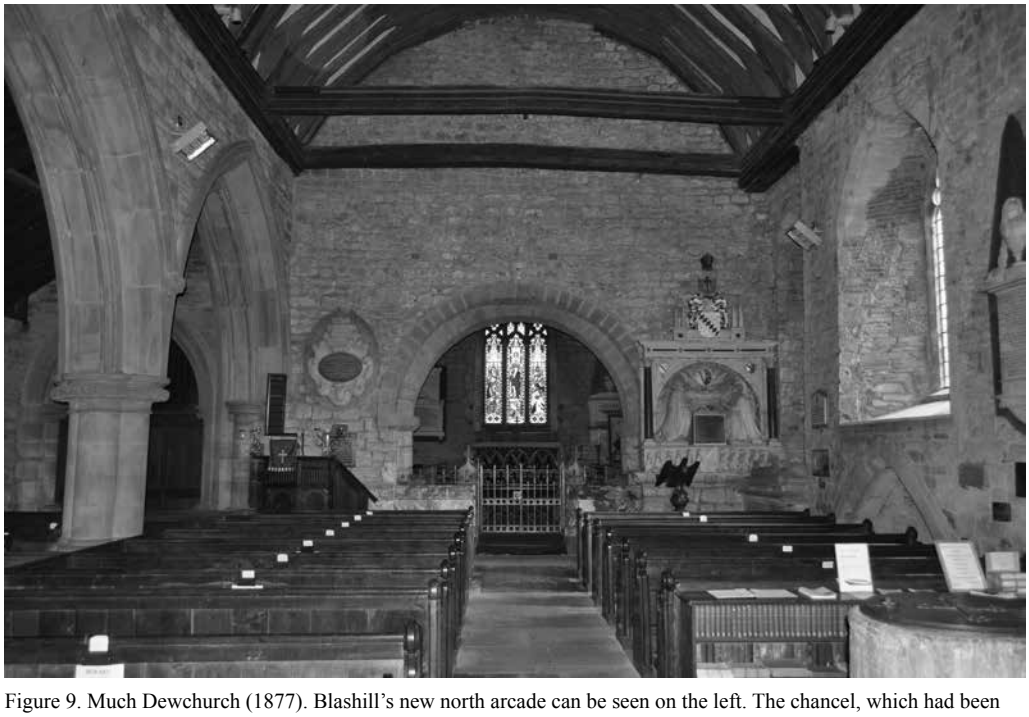


Figure 9. Much Dewchurch (1877). Blashill's new north arcade can be seen on the left. The chancel, which had been improved earlier, was provided with a new iron palisade and gates, Godwin tiles and new oak fittings. The pulpit was 're-fixed' and the roof of the nave revealed and restored.

wrought iron palisade, closed in the middle by some fine iron gates. The holy of holies was now firmly out of bounds for the congregation. The oak fittings of the chancel including poppy-head pews were also provided by Blashill but the altar—of oak and walnut—was carved by the Revd Mr Parsons, apparently 'in his leisure moments'. The 17th-century pulpit was 're-fixed' and since a new Musgrave heating system had been installed, Godwin tiles were laid in the chancel and wood blocks under the pews in the nave for the comfort of the congregation. No mention is made of the roof but since Blashill commented on its 'excellent condition' it was probably cleaned and re-lined. The chancel has a new roof but this may have dated from 1854, although it has been attributed to Blashill (Fig. 9).

Blashill's antiquarian zeal was satisfied by the discovery of the remains of several 'large ancient crosses' with handsome interlaced patterns'. Perhaps, with wishful thinking and one eye on the celtic background of the church, these were compared with 'old Irish crosses'. The fragments were integrated into the building where they could be examined by later scholars who have given them a less exciting 12th-century provenance. Also recovered was a tiny silver coin, taken by Blashill to London to be examined by a 'high numistic judge' who declared it was a Venetian *soldine* of 1501 and of no real value.

After a day of celebrations and two services in the mid-winter of December 1877 the author of the *Hereford Journal* article noticed some parishioners lingering in the church 'looking around again at the old familiar walls, evidently delighted to enjoy once more the privilege of worship in their restored church'. Blashill signed-off his 'correct architectural description' by confidently asserting that the 'whole work is done in a manner to last for future generations'—and so it has.[41]

**Hampton Bishop Church, St Andrew, 1878-9**

As far as we know, Blashill's last commission in Herefordshire was at Hampton Bishop, separated from Dormington by the River Lugg, close to its confluence with the Wye. Here the vestry and churchwardens appear to have taken a piecemeal approach to restoration and resisted, for as long as possible, engaging with a professional architect. The parish book records a period of activity between 1829 and 1831, at which time the 'dilapidated porch' was rebuilt, the tower repaired, the nave white-washed and a new gallery provided for an organ—supplied by the rector, the Revd Henry Huntingford. A more general attack upon the church's defects was commenced in 1843 but again, it was merely a matter of 'patch and mend' with William Harrison, a builder of St Owen Street, in Hereford, responsible for the exterior and John Hatton, a plasterer, renewing the interior decoration. Harrison carried out unspecified work on the tower but a decade latter it was again in need of repairs and £60 was raised from the parishioners of Hampton Bishop and its dependent township of Tupsley, in the suburbs of Hereford. The vestry overspent and the incumbent defrayed the excess. In 1863 the state of the church was interrupting the 'performance of the church services' and another rate was proposed but the inhabitants of Tupsley refused to contribute as they were about to build their own church. However, in March 1866 there was a special vestry meeting which resulted in F.R. Kempson (1838-1923) getting the contract for 'necessary repairs'. Kempson was the architect of St Paul's at Tupsley (1864-5) and very much the choice of the Archdeacon of Hereford, Lord Saye and Sele, who was the patron of both churches. Kempson was assisted by the Hereford builder, William Beavan and worked on the tower, seeking permission in August 1866 to clad the timber upper-storey with Pembrokeshire

slates. Once again, the work was limited by the budget. In April 1867 only £102 had been raised and £24 4s was still owed to Beavan. This was paid out of the pocket of Mrs. Huntingford, the rector's wife. Further work was planned but it seemed inappropriate to levy a new rate.[42]

Another decade passed until in June 1878 a vestry meeting considered an architect's report and a builder's estimate for the restoration of the tower and repairs to the nave. The architect was Blashill and the contractor, Cullis. Further consideration was to be given to the building of a vestry and the 'laying down' of a warming apparatus. Neither the report or the estimate survive and with such a complex building programme occurring in virtually every decade of the 19th century, it is difficult to distinguish Blashill's work. Given Kempson's unfinished work, Blashill's choice as architect was rather surprising. Lady Emily's influence stopped short at the Lugg but no doubt Blashill's excellent work at Dormington reached the ears of the Hampton Bishop vestry. The tower, as we have seen, had been tinkered with for nearly 50 years but now it was given a complete overhaul. It was noted in Kelly's *Directory* (1885) that £1000 had been spent on the tower in 1878 and from the evidence of the coursing of the stonework, the quoins and the pointing it looks as if the principal section of the Norman tower had been reconstructed by Messrs Blashill and Cullis, leaving the small openings. Above this, the 3rd storey had been completely reconstructed with new paired 'Norman' windows on each face to illuminate the bell chamber. Above there was the timber upper stage, presumably left with Kempson's Pembrokeshire slates disguising the timber-framing beneath (Fig. 10). These were removed in 1911, when the pyramidal roof was also reconstructed.[43]

Figure 10. Hampton Bishop (1878-9). The north side of the church, showing the tower, restored by both Kempson (1866) and Blashill (1878). The third storey with its 'Norman' openings was designed by Blashill. He also cleaned and restored the stonework below.

Inside, the nave—mentioned as part of Blashill's brief—appears to be untouched. It is possible that the south and east tower openings were reconstructed, to stabilise the work outside and with it the N. arcade, which the *Buildings of England* states was 'remodelled in 1878-9'. If so, Blashill resisted the temptation of adding new capitals or changing the profile of the arches. Most of the windows may also have been renewed in the 19th century—the three-light window to the west of the porch is an obvious example but again there is little sign of the exacting finish that we would expect from a Victorian architect. The braced and collared roof-timbers of the 14th century have clearly been restored and cleaned in Blashill's manner and the pews and vestry date from the same period, whilst the porch came in 1888. Hampton Bishop was Blashill's last commission in Herefordshire and it says something for his self-effacing approach to restoration

that it is very difficult to detect anything that can be safely attributed to him inside the church. Outside the tower still stands firm and his masonry is as good as it was when he left it in 1879.[44]

**Boundary Street and Millbank: Blashill's Crowning Glory**

When Blashill took up his position as Superintending Architect to the Metropolitan Board of works in 1887, at the age of 56, he probably had little idea of the momentous changes he was about to experience. Within a year his department had been absorbed by the newly established LCC and within two years he was called upon to respond to the Houses of the Working Classes Act and participate in a massive campaign of slum clearance. In the process he persuaded the LCC to establish a permanent architectural department and gathered around himself a group of talented young men who had been trained in design by some of the pioneers of the Arts and Crafts movement; like W. R. Lethaby, the principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Many also shared the utopian vision of social reform promoted by William Morris and early socialists such as Sidney Webb, who was an elected member of the LCC. It was a portentous moment and, as Susan Beattie notices, Blashill played a key role, having 'a remarkable gift for recognising the design abilities of others, while his own remained well concealed behind his official duties'. Blashill fought the public battles with the members of the LCC, combating their inherent parsimony, as well as making sorties into the wider world to defend publically financed housing and good architecture for all classes. The result was superb plans and drawings produced in an atmosphere of high aesthetic endeavour combined with a strong sense of social responsibility. Blashill let many of his protégées sign their designs, thus many modern architectural guide books rarely give Blashill any credit for the work which is now universally admired. Remarkably, his recalcitrant employers, the LCC, acknowledged his crucial role at the time for when, in 1895, he approached compulsory retirement, he found his employment extended for a further three years in the 'interests of public service'.[45]

Two major schemes remain as monuments to Blashill's managerial skills and the enlightenment of his highly skilled department. These are the Boundary Street Estate at Bethnal Green (1890-93) and the Millbank Estate (1897-1902). The former was built on the notorious 'criminal district' called The Nichol, which featured in contemporary fiction and where one in every four children died in childhood. Reformers had been calling for its demolition since the late 18th century. 5719 people were displaced from the original buildings and 4600 were re-housed. The early stages of the development were experimental and less successful, but Blashill's department soon got into their stride, maintaining the principles that the working man should have 'the whole of his house within his own front door' and similarly he should enjoy varied architecture, rather than mass-produced monotony. To avert criticism from the LCC councillors that the scheme was profligate, high densities of occupation were sustained at 359 people per acre, compared with 381 in the old Nichol.

Nineteen tall blocks were built, arranged around a central circus with radiating streets. The centrepiece was a raised mound, built upon the foundations of demolished dwellings and crowned with planting around a bandstand. Every tenant had at least one window that looked towards this green oasis. The total cost was £600,000, which the Prince of Wales, who opened the estate in March 1900, thought was extravagant, but nevertheless he spoke warmly about the benefits for society at large. A month later Blashill gave a paper to the RIBA on the lessons learnt from the project and he praised his staff for achieving such architectural diversity with so

few resources. Modern commentators have continued to admire the development, claiming that it was 'at least as attractive as contemporary mansion-flats in Kensington'. On a warm Sunday afternoon in May 2014 the estate looked splendid—a quiet green enclave detached from the hubbub of Shoreditch High Street. Many inhabitants were enjoying the sun in their courtyards whilst a group of young people played table tennis inside the recently restored bandstand. All around were giant plane trees and the dignified polychrome buildings, their facades relieved by white multi-light sash windows. High above the tall gables tapered into the blue sky (Fig. 11). Blashill would have been pleased with his work, now well over 100 years old.[46]

Figure 11. Boundary Street, Bethnal Green (1890-93). One of the quiet green corners on the estate, surrounded by tall tenements, providing working class housing in a style of architecture which would not be out-of-place in the West End.

As it turned out, Boundary Street was merely a prelude to the Millbank estate, close to Westminster, which 'pushed the standards of design still higher'. Blashill still remained in the background, detached from the design process and because he retired in 1899, three years before the estate was completed, his contribution went unrecognised. Susan Beattie, however, who has studied the documentation in detail, sees this project as the department's 'crowning achievement under Thomas Blashill's leadership'. Laid out around another public garden, the five-storey blocks of all shapes and sizes, were arranged to maximise both private and public space. This gave the residents the opportunity to enjoy wide tree-lined boulevards, more spacious than those enjoyed by the private mansion-block residents a few streets away (Plate 4.4).

Finely fired stock bricks give the blocks an expensive look—blueish bricks at the bottom, red above. White-painted sash windows were grouped in various combinations providing the only decorative motifs, apart from occasional high string courses and chunky white-stone door

cases on the ground floor. Millbank remains the best and most desirable Arts and Crafts estate in London and, in the two decades between the wars, something of the character of these artisan houses was being repeated in both town and country all over Britain. Never again were council houses built to such a high specification. Indeed, on his last visit to Hereford in the summer of 1901 we might imagine Blashill on the London train pulling out of Barrs Court Station and absent-mindedly passing his eyes over the fields where eight years later Messrs Groome and Bettington would erect the first house of the Garden City. In London, Blashill's department were soon onto this new fashion for 'suburban cottages' in Arts and Crafts dress. It was a mere gear-shift away from the elegant blocks of Boundary Street and Millbank.[47]

**The Hereford Town Hall Competition**

After Bull's death in 1885 there was little to bring Blashill to Hereford. Bull mentioned incidentally in 1871 that his uncle and namesake, was dead and he seems to have lost contact with his brother Henry. Having retired from the LCC in 1899, he perhaps had time to finish his research on Viscount's Scudamore's restoration of Dore Abbey, which had been promised as a lecture to the Woolhope Club in 1883. 1901 was the Golden Jubilee on the Club and since Blashill had been a member for 48 years he was an obvious candidate as President. Only W.H. Purchas had seniority over Blashill but he was living in Staffordshire and had broken all connexions with the Club. Having been elected in March 1901, the 'father of the Club' was soon out in the field—at Pembridge in May, Ludlow in June and on 25 July at Dore Abbey, which was Ladies Day. Having viewed the restoration being carried out under the direction of Roland Paul, members and friends were settled in the church and Blashill delivered his paper—'The 17TH century-Restoration of Dore Church'. The speaker had a lot on his mind.[48]

A week before the visit to Dore Abbey Blashill had announced the result of the public competition for the design of the new Hereford Town Hall. This had resulted in a storm of criticism from his fellow architects who questioned his professional ability to act as an assessor. Even if this was overstated, it must have come as a considerable humiliation to someone who, like Blashill, had been a model of professionalism and had so recently taken honourable retirement.

For forty years, after the demolition of the Old Market Hall in High Town, Hereford's City Council had managed without a purpose built town hall. Municipal business had been carried out in the Guildhall Chambers in Widemarsh Street with officers of the Council accommodated in the Mansion House, on the opposite of the street. As central government increased its demands upon municipalities, the need for a purpose-built Council House became urgent. In March 1900 a Town Hall Committee was established and various sites were considered for the new building, including the Mansion House and the rear of the Inland Revenue Office in Commercial Street. Both were disregarded as unsuitable but the news of the Council's search brought a letter from the three daughters of Richard Johnson, the deceased antiquarian and Town Clerk of Hereford. They offered the Council three substantial houses on the west side of St Owen Street, on condition that that the site—1280 square yards—was used to erect a structure 'worthy of the city'. A further property was also purchased and a £25,000 loan was raised with the consent of the Local Government Board.[49]

Rather bravely, the Council decided to hold an open competition. A specification was drawn up and 46 architectural practices submitted their designs by a deadline on the 7 July. As was the usual procedure, an architectural assessor was appointed for a fee of 50 guineas with

expenses. The choice of Blashill was not surprising. He was well known in the City but had never practised there. This distance would allow the architects resident in the City to enter the competition. Moreover, several members of the Town Hall Committee were members of the Woolhope Club and some had held office. His suitability and expertise were not in doubt and he probably regarded it as an honour and, like his presidency of the Club, a swansong for his adopted city.

On 13 July the *Hereford Journal* announced that the plans were to be available for public viewing from Friday 14 to Monday 17 July. This decision seems to have been very popular and the *Journal* reported that the competition had generated a prodigious amount of 'non-expert criticism' and had become the 'chief topic of conversation locally'. Moreover, it seems that some metropolitan architects had also taken the train to Hereford to view the plans, and within a week the architectural press was reporting on the outcome of the competition.[50]

Blashill's job was to select three winners who would each receive a prize of £100. The Council would then choose the outright winner from the shortlist. Blashill's front-runners were:

1. Messrs Macintosh and Newman, High Holborn
2. Mr. H.T. Fowler, Barrow-in-Furness
3. Messrs Stranger and Stranger, Wolverhampton.

It seems likely that Blashill was familiar with the first choice as David Gordon Macintosh was born in Hereford and his partner, Arthur Harrison Newman had been proposed for both his ARIBA (1879) and his FRIBA (1891) by Blashill. H.T. Fowler (1874-1934) had recently set-up independent practice in Barrow but his work goes unnoticed in the local volumes of the *Buildings of England*. Stranger and Stranger are absent from the *RIBA Directory* and do not appear to have designed any notable building in Staffordshire.[51]

Blashill also chose three reserved designs which were:

1. A.H. Cheers (b. 1853) of Twickenham
2. James Brooks and George Godsell of Hereford
3. Messrs W.J. Morely (1847-1930) and Son

Cheers had enjoyed a long career, practising in Liverpool (1872-82) and Twickenham since 1882 and was a regular participant in architectural competitions; between 1883 and 1901 he had won seven out of the thirteen competitions he had entered. This was a very good record. Brooks (1825-1901) and Godsell (1867-1938) had recently combined practices, probably to enable Brooks to enter the Hereford competition, using Godsell's local knowledge. Brooks was a prolific church builder, especially in and around London but he was at the end of his career and died later in 1901. Godsell was the architect of the Meadows Memorial Hall at the Working Boys' Home in Bath Street (1895) and the Imperial Hotel in Widemarsh Street (1901). He also had a thriving country house practice and was the first architect in Hereford to work in an Arts and Crafts style. He emmigrated to Australia and became the President of the Institute of Architects for New South Wales. Morely and Son of the Swan Arcade, Bradford were a well-known family of architects from West Yorkshire, who regularly entered architectural competitions. They had recently entered, and lost, the competition for the Coventry Council House.[52]

According to the *Hereford Journal* the Town Hall Committee spent a week deliberating upon Blashill's shortlist. It was probably anticipated that it would choose one of his premiered designs and only refer to the reserved designs if the chosen candidate withdrew for any reason. In fact, none of the candidates on the first list were called, and instead they selected Henry Arthur

Cheers. William Collins, writing in 1911 could not explain this rebellious behaviour and wrote 'For some reason or other his (Blashill's) 'opinion' *(sic*) was not accepted; a result which created something approaching a sensation in the world of architects. It was a daring precedent, which only strong men with strong convictions would venture to establish'. The deliberations of the Town Hall Committee do not seem to have been minuted and without the plans themselves, it is difficult to explain the committee's decision. It is possible that Blashill was keen to get Macintosh and Newman selected and deliberately grouped them with two weak candidates, Fowler and Stranger, who, as we have seen, appear to have been obscure provincial architects.[53]

From today's perspective, Henry Cheers was clearly the best qualified architect present. Moreover, his work was likely to be known to the Town Hall Committee. This included the Market Hall in Ludlow (1887)—'Ludlow's bad luck'—according to the very biased Nikolaus Pevsner (1958), whose public anathema led to its demolition in 1986. In 1901 this 'fiery brick' building may have appealed to the Hereford Committee. Alternatively, there were the Oswestry Municipal Buildings (1897-3) in the 'mixed Rennaissance style (with) echoes of Cenattrocento Venice, the Loire style of Francis I and English Elizabethan'. This was a building that could not be ignored and, indeed, if one is required, may have served as the model for Hereford's Town Hall, which is slightly more restrained. It looks as if Blashill under-estimated the desire felt by the Town Hall Committee for a landmark building. Collins says that after a week's deliberation 'it was always understood that Councillor James Davies was responsible for the ultimate acceptance of the plans of Mr. H.A. Cheers'. Davies, he informs us, emigrated to America.[54]

The letters in the *Hereford Journal* mainly comment upon practical issues such as cost —Mr. E.F. Bulmer tried to organise a poll of ratepayers—and the nature of the accommodation. The assessor (Blashill) was said to have had little knowledge about the day-to-day requirements expected from municipal buildings. This accusation was unfounded as Blashill's recent experiences as LCC architect had brought many encounters with similar problems. For example, in 1889-90 he had been responsible for enlarging County Hall, which was situated at the north end of Carlton Terrace, and needed to accommodate a growing bureaucracy. Moreover, issues of space and accommodation were at the forefront of his designs for the first stage of Westminster Kingsway College in 1893, situated on the north side of Vincent Square. This was a joint endeavour by Baroness Burdett Coutts and the LCC. Only the year before the Hereford Composition, Blashill was playing the role of assessor for the Hull Town Hall Competition, choosing, it seems, the future City Architect for Hull, J. H. Hirst. Blashill was probably chosen for this role because of his family connections with Holderness, and his antiquarian work for the local archaeological society. A similar set of circumstances had brought him to the assessor's job in Hereford.[55]

The most outspoken professional criticism was voiced in the *British Architect* by James Gibson (1861-1951), a London architect who must have been well-known to Blashill as he was the winner of the LCC's competition for a working men's hostel in Drury Lane. This was in 1891, two years before Blashill took up his post as principal LCC architect. He also entered the competition for the Free Library at Hull (1900-1) but lost. In company with S.B. Russell, Gibson was a compulsive competition participant, but with a fairly poor record for success. When Blashill became LCC Architect he built up an active department with several young and talented architects and consequently, brought many projects, which may otherwise have been contracted out, into his department. Gibson's antagonism towards Blashill may have been deeply rooted in

the metropolitan architectural scene. He complained about the 'puerile design' and its 'vulgarity' as well as the 'ostentatious coarseness of detail' such that 'it would have been hard to find 6 other designs in any competition to match them'. The previous year Gibson had won the Walsall Municipal Buildings competition with florid baroque designs, which he crowned with a monumental tower. Two years later he designed the adjoining Library, which is embellished with terracotta facing. Like Hereford, the Walsall complex dominates a narrow street, making it difficult to view the full scale of the building. He finished his tirade by proclaiming 'men of taste and refinement will always blush to look at it (the chosen design) and deplore the introduction into a fine old city something that outrages ones [sic] sense of the fitness of things'.[56]

It seems that the Town Hall Committee wanted to make a statement and chose a design that might have looked puerile and coarse from a metropolitan perspective but in Hereford would be a civic building to eclipse even the chaste pomposity of the Shire Hall. The architect described his building as being in the 'Renaissance style of architecture; of a municipal type and freely treated. For economy the ornamental features are duplicated (but) the façade will equal that of any public edifice in the country'. Blashill's reaction to the debacle is unrecorded. No doubt the bold decision by the Committee took him by surprise but for a man who had been urging architects to experiment with new styles beyond ecclesiastical gothic since the 1860s, the Renaissance design of the Town Hall would not have come as a surprise. As William Collins commented, albeit the building was 'out of harmony with its surroundings' internally it was 'capacious, well-modelled and adapted to the business of the City' (Plate 4.5). [57]

Blashill presumably went away and prepared his talk on the 17th-century restoration of Dore Abbey. Perhaps he reflected that John Abel's screen at Dore would not have been out of place beneath the minstrel's gallery in the Assembly Room of the New Town Hall. Blashill's long architectural journey from the safe gothic of Yarkhill Church to the Arts and Crafts of the Millbank estate, is perhaps best represented at the end of his career by the building he designed for the south end of the Blackwell Tunnel. This is a red sandstone observation house, which sits above the busy road with steep pavilion-style roofs and angle turrets with a decidedly *Art Nouveau* outline. The *Buildings of England* volume regards it as 'pretty and progressive'. Sadly, its author did not see it beyond the drawing board as it was not erected until a year after his death in 1906.[58]

**NOTES AND REFERENCES**

[1] Blashill's work as an architect and antiquarian in Herefordshire and beyond is discussed in Henry Connor and David Whitehead, 'Thomas Blashill junior (1830-1905): architect, antiquarian and prominent Woolhopeian' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (*TWNFC*), 63 (2015), pp. 140-166.
[2] Hereford Archives and Record Centre (HARC), W77/11-14.
[3] Hereford Journal (HJ), 7 June 1862.
[4] John Eisel, 'Duncumb, Bird and Bird' in *TWNFC*, 55 (2007), pp. 26-35.
[5] *HJ,* 14 Feb. 1863.
[6] *Hereford Times* (*HT*), 5 Jan. 1862, 8 Feb. 1862, 20 November 1862.
[7] HARC, W77/15.
[8] HARC, J30/1 – Yarkhill Parish Book, June 1853.
[9] *HJ,* 14 February 1863, 21 April 1863.
[10] *TWNFC* (1902-4), 'First Field Meeting', pp.109, 120-21.

[11] *HJ,* 22 Aug. 1863; John Newman & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (2006), p. 163 where Blashill's contribution in 1863 is unnoticed.
[12] *HJ,* 11 April 1863.
[13] *HJ,* 24 Oct. 1863.
[14] Hereford City Library (HCL), Woolhope Club Archives, Bull to Blashill letters, 16 Feb. 1866; *HT,* 3 Nov. 1866; HARC, F21/75 – plans.
[15] HCL, Bull letter, 16 Feb. 1866; *HT,* 24 April 1867; *HJ,* 27 April 1867; Alan Brooks & Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (2012), p. 688.
[16] *HJ,* 3 Nov. 1866 – the school is now used as Yarkhill Parish Hall.
[17] HCL, Bull letter, 4 June 1864, 13 Oct. 1864, 13 Jan. 1866; H. Connor, J. Ross & E. Blackwell, 'Henry Graves Bull (1818-85)' in *TWNFC* 58 (2010), pp.74-5.
[18] *HJ,* 6 Jan. 1866; *HT* 27 April 1866.
[19] HARC, A69/15, Westhide Vestry Book, 1839-94.
[20] *HT,* 24 April 1867; *HJ* 27 April 1867; Brooks and Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, pp. 658-9; HARC, AA69/126 – Faculty.
[21] *HJ,* 18 May 1867; *HT* 10 August 1867; *TWNFC* (1887), 138.
[22] *HJ,* 18 May1867.
[23] D. H. S Cranage, *The Churches of Shropshire* 4 (1900), pp. 358-367.
[24] Henry Connor & David Whitehead, 'Thomas Blashill Junior (1830-1905),-Architect, Antiquarian and Prominent Woolhopeian' in *TWNFC* 63 (2015), pp.140-166.
[25] Thomas Blashill, 'Annual Address' in *TWNFC* (1902), pp. 293-7.
[26] Jean Currie, *Three Centuries of a Herefordshire Village: Putley* (2009), pp. 132, 212-13; HARC, AN/74/5, Putley Parish Book, 1848-1928; Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire,* p. 562.
[27] HARC, K14/96; for the Georgian school, see HARC, B30/1.
[28] Illustrated in Currie, *Three Centuries*, 45 and text in David Whitehead & Ron Shoesmith, *James Wathen's Herefordshire, 1770-1820* (1994), unpaginated.
[29] HARC, AN74/5.
[30] Ibid., entered under 5 May 1876 when the church was re-opened.
[31] Ibid; Currie, Three Centuries, 209-11; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (RCHME) Herefordshire II (1932), p. 156; Brooks & Pevsner, Herefordshire, pp. 562-3.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 363;*ex inf.* Michael Speak in a letter to the author dated 22nd Oct. 2013 who also suggests work by Blashill at The Brainge and Hill Farm, both in the parish of Putley, and both owned by John Riley in the 1870s.
[33] HARC, BD74/4, Dormington Parish Book 1820-1926; framed details of the expenditure upon the church between June 1876 and February 1877 can be found on the wall of the church.
[34] Blashill's before and after SE perspectives of the church are also framed and kept in the church.
[35] Ibid., *RCHME Herefordshire* I (1932), pp. 76-7; Brooks and Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, pp. 202-3; Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (1963), p. 115; Kelly, *Herefordshire Directory* (1885), p. 1142.17
[36] *HJ,* 16 Dec. 1877.
[37] HARC, AJ25/12; Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, p. 525.
[38] HARC, AJ25/12.
[39] Ibid., *HJ*, 1 Aug. 1854; for Pearson see Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, index.
[40] For Rankin, Kempson and the Hereford Library, see Jean O' Donnell, 'The Hereford Free Library, 1891-1912' in David Whitehead & John Eisel (eds.), *A Herefordshire Miscellany* (2000), pp. 124-37; Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, p. 526 for Chick, Kempson and Bryngwyn.
[41] *HJ,* 16 Dec. 1877, 23 July 1878, 23 August 1878; HARC, AJ25/12 plus copy of the plan by Blashill on display in the church; *RCHME Herefordshire* I (1931), pp. 48-9; Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, pp.524-6.
[42] HARC, N18/1 Hampton Bishop Vestry Acts and Parish Book.

[43] *Ibid., Kelly's Directory* (1885), p. 1152.
[44] Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, p. 257; HARC, Parish Book, April 1912 - £346 was spent on repairs.
[45] Susan Beattie, *A Revolution in London Housing* (London Housing Architectural Press, 1980), pp. 16-17.
[46] *Ibid*., pp. 17-23; Bridget Cherry & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 5:East* (2005), pp. 586-8.
[47] Susan Beattie, *London Housing*, pp.54-7; Simon Bradley & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6: Westminster* (2003), pp. 709-10.
[48] HCL, Bull Letters, 17 Nov. 1871; *TWNFC* (1902), p. 288.
[49] William Collins, *Modern Hereford* II (1911), pp. 75-77; *HJ* 6 April 1901.
[50] Collins, *Modern Hereford*, p. 178; *HJ* 8 June 1901, 29 June 1901, 13 July 1901.
[51] *HJ,* 20 July 1901; *RIBA, Directory of Architects, 1834-1914* I, p. 679; II, pp. 103, 252.
[52] *Ibid*., pp. 266-7, 36; Roger H. Harper (ed.), *Victorian Architectural Competitions* (1983), pp. 195, 201, 266. For Godsell see Brooks & Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, index of architects also *HJ* 10 August 1901.
[53] *HJ,* 20 July 1901; Collins, *Modern Hereford* II, pp. 178-9.
[54] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (1958), p. 188 –'There is nothing that could be said in favour of its fiery brick or useless Elizabethan detail'. Oswestry Municipal Buildings (p. 224) Pevsner found 'quite picturesque'; Newman & Pevsner, *Shropshire*, p.459; Collins, *Modern Hereford* II, p. 178.
[55] *HJ,* 10 Aug. 1901; Simon Bradley & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6: Westminster* (2005), pp. 443, 692; Harper, *Architectural Compositions*, p. 191; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: York and East Riding* (1972), p. 271.
[56] *HJ,* 20 July 1901; J.S. Gibson, 'Criticism on the premiated designs for Hereford Town Hall' in *The British Architect*, 26 July 1901, pp. 67-8—my thanks to Henry Connor for this reference; Harper, *Architectural Compositions*, p. 224; A Stuart Gray, *Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary* (1985), p. 188.
[57] *HJ,* 20 July 1901; William Collins, *A Short History of Hereford* (1912), p. 107.
[58] Bridget Cherry & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 2: South* (1983), p. 709.

# Reports of Sectional Recorders, 2016
# Archaeology, 2016

*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.*

The sixth season at the prehistoric site on Dorstone Hill once again produced important information, whilst several finds of the prehistoric and Iron Age periods were reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme including a palstave from Leominster, a decorative mount from Eaton Bishop and two gold staters from Sellack. The Roman period was also well represented with a nationally-important decorated trulla (pan-handle) from Adforton. The community excavation, in the corner of Credenhill playing field, exposed at least three distinct phases of Roman occupation; both industrial and residential. There was little from the Saxon period, but the Norman period was well-represented with other community excavations at both Longtown and Ponthendre castles. At Warren Wood on Bromyard Downs, Herefordshire Archaeology led another community project, establishing details of two Auxiliary Unit Operational Bases (underground bunkers).

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 unpublished internal organisation reports (grey literature), some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record Database maintained by the Herefordshire Archaeological Service, others are 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 organisations 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 2016. Also my thanks to Julie Phillips, who has spent much time checking and correcting the text.

## GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

### BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY LIMITED

*STOKE LACY: Land adjacent to Cuckhorn Farm (SO 625 505)*

The Unit was commissioned to undertake a programme of archaeological field evaluation on land adjacent to Cuckhorn Farm in connection with a proposed new-build, part-earth-sheltered dwelling, including a submerged integral garage. The work was in addition to an archaeological assessment carried out by Border Archaeology in January 2016, and aimed to evaluate how the

proposed development would affect the setting of an oval mound listed on the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record (HHER) as a 'possible undocumented medieval motte'. A substantial ditch aligned east-west running along the north side of the earthen mound was encountered in trenches 2 and 3 of the evaluation. Its position and alignment, although running close to the south side of the motte, suggested that it may represent the alignment of a boundary. No finds of an early date were encountered, with the only ceramic material present being 20th-century brick and tile deriving from a recent backfill of the partially silted ditch.

*LINGEN: Limebrook Cottage (SO 373 660)*

The Unit was instructed to undertake archaeological observations during groundworks associated with the erection of an agricultural building. The site lies close to the Scheduled Ancient Monument comprising the remains of the Augustinian nunnery of Limebrook: the aim of the archaeological work being to identify and record any finds or features of medieval date potentially associated with the nunnery. No archaeological remains were identified during the work, which revealed only a turf topsoil and deposits of natural origin.

## CREDENHILL COMMUNITY PROJECT

*ROMAN CREDENHILL: A Community Investigation*

This project was established by Hereford Sixth Form College and is funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, Young Roots Programme. The aim of the project was for archaeology students of the College to spend their summer investigating and promoting the Roman history of Credenhill by means of an archaeological excavation on the Roman Park playing fields at Credenhill.

With advice and training provided by a team of archaeologists from Community Heritage and Archaeology Consultancy, and archaeological finds training provided by Herefordshire Council Museum Service, students put their new-found skills to the test and excavated a little-known Roman farmstead/villa and industrial site first discovered in 2014 as a result of a community project funded by the Armed Forces Community Covenant. The three-week-long excavation, held between the 11th and the 31st of July was also open to the public, who received full training from the students and archaeologists alike.

The excavation identified at least three phases of occupation at the site. As the post-excavation analysis is on-going some details are likely to change.

The earliest phase of activity relates to the industrial use of the ditched enclosure. The industrial activity is marked by a charcoal-rich clay trample or working surface that was present across the entirety of the excavation, sealing the underlying natural gravels. Included within this horizon was a multitude of ceramic materials including Samian wares from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Of particular note were the numerous fragments of fired clay, including fragments bonded with slag, indicating the presence of at least one bloomer furnace within the vicinity together with other probable kiln structures.

Contemporary to this phase was the construction of a south-facing wall of a rectangular building oriented roughly east-west. Only the foundations of this wall remain. The foundations had been constructed in four phases; the linear foundation trench cut the industrial trample horizon and natural gravel subsoil, into which an initial layer of large, sandstone, angular-cut blocks were placed on edge. This was overlain by coarse gravel and then capped by a cemented,

fine-pebble layer. It was onto this foundation that a substantial stone wall would have been constructed, bonded with mortar, of which only the rubble core remains as a dump (Plate 5.1).

The second phase of activity is marked by a continued accumulation of industrial waste materials across the site to a depth of *c.*300mm. during which phase the material had sealed and butted against the south-facing wall of the building. It is into this accumulation of industrial trample that the pottery kiln, first recorded in 2014 and dated by C14 to *c.*140AD was constructed. The construction involved the digging of a circular pit (for the kiln) and a trench stretching *c.*5m. to the south (the flue) into the industrial trample horizons and natural subsoil. The stoke hole to the kiln was constructed of sandstone bonded with clay and capped by a stone lintel. The kiln, along with the supporting pilasters, had been moulded using clay. Due to the small size of the kiln (*c.*0.80m. diameter) no central column was required to support the interior shelf, instead it rested on the protruding pilasters (Fig.1)

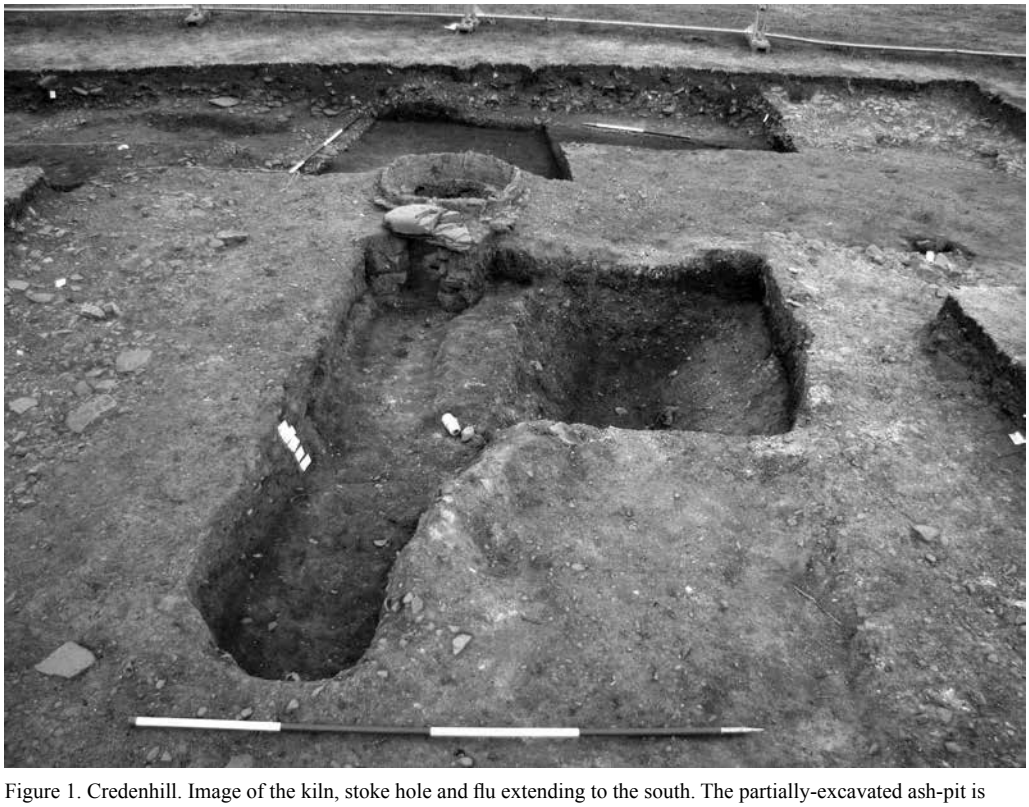


Figure 1. Credenhill. Image of the kiln, stoke hole and flu extending to the south. The partially-excavated ash-pit is visible to the right of the flue. (© Community Heritage & Archaeology Consultancy).

Contemporary with the kiln was a pit to one side of the flue. Although it was initially thought to represent a wasters' pit, it would appear that it was established as an ash pit, providing a location for the ash to be deposited following the firing of the kiln.

Following the final firing (*c.*140AD) the kiln, flue and pit were deliberately closed and sealed using stacked, stone roof tiles. This may indicate an intention to possibly return to the

site and re-use the kiln, or alternatively it may mark a change in use of the site. Either way a great deal of care was taken in sealing the kiln which may indicate pride in their work by the individuals involved.

The final phase relating to the Roman period was the extension of the building first begun in the late 1st to early 2nd century. By the mid 2nd century it would appear that the site had ceased to be industrial in nature and was primarily domestic, either as a high-status farm or small villa. This phase of construction is represented by the large, rectangular, complex enclosing a courtyard that was visible in the geophysical survey produced in 2014 (Plate 5.2). The site appears to have been abandoned during the late 4th century AD.

This is only a brief summary of the results. To keep up-to-date with the project and its results visit: https://romancredenhillblog.wordpress.com/ (C. Atkinson, Project Manager, Community Heritage & Archaeology Consultancy).

**HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) LTD.**

*BROMSASH: Trial trench evaluation of land in Bromsash (SO 649 241) [EHE 80196]*

The Unit was commissioned to undertake an archaeological evaluation on land opposite Laburnum Cottage in Bromsash. The site is situated immediately to the east of the Roman Station of *Ariconium,* the scheduled area of *Ariconium* being located 125m. from the western boundary of the development area. The evaluation revealed a single pit along the southern edge of the area, which measured at least 3m. wide and 1.25m. deep, and contained abraded Roman pottery and industrial slag (I. Bennett, Hereford Archaeology Series (HAS) 1174).

*HEREFORD*: *Trial trenching in High Town (SO 511 400) [EHE 80204]*

Archaeological field evaluation, via trial trenching at 16–18 High Town revealed evidence of a post-medieval path and brick wall foundations relating to a former cellar with associated dumped deposits (Plate 5.3).

An earlier, clay-bonded, stone wall had been incorporated into the cellar walls and is possibly a remnant of a late-medieval or early-post-medieval structure fronting East Street, as shown on the 1886 ordnance survey map. The possible post-medieval path surface may be evidence of a passageway between East Street and High Town, which is also visible on this map (S. Thomson, HAS 1173).

*HEREFORD. The cathedral: excavations in the south aisle (SO 510 398) (EHE 80274)*

The Unit carried out an archaeological mitigation excavation in a small area in the south aisle of Hereford Cathedral prior to the installation of a monument and services. A solid stone structure was encountered in the southern half of the trench, likely to be a revetment wall dating from Wyatt's rebuilding of the west end of the cathedral (1788-1796) following the collapse in 1786 (Plate 5.4) (L. Brekmore, HAS 1207).

*KINGSLAND: Trial trenching at St Mary's Farm (SO 449 614) [EHE 80217]*

A programme of archaeological evaluation was implemented in advance of development on land at St Mary's Farm. The works entailed the excavation of eight evaluation trenches over the area of the development footprint. The remains of a single, undated, small pit were identified in the south-western corner of the site, sealed by a layer of subsoil associated with garden deposits. No

dateable artefacts were recovered from within the feature, but it seems likely that it may have been associated with activities within the back plot or garden of the original farm building (K. Bain, HAS 1186).

**HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY**

Herefordshire Archaeology has continued to provide routine advisory case-work (development management and countryside matters), together with HHER maintenance and updating duties. Liam Delaney joined Herefordshire Archaeology as full-time HER Officer. He has been responsible for the re-design of the website and has also processed the unprecedented number of Historic Environment Farm Environment Record (HEFER) consultations that were a direct result of the Brexit referendum decision.

Herefordshire Archaeology has been involved with a number of community and agency-based projects. A project to find and excavate the World War II 'resistance bunkers' on the Bromyard Downs was undertaken. Herefordshire Archaeology continued to support and work in partnership with Manchester University, undertaking another season at Dorstone Hill. A number of Conservation Management Plans (CMPs) were produced for a wide range of Scheduled Monuments across the county including an updated CMP for Dinedor Hillfort. In addition to new, externally-funded projects, funding was found that could be used to progress a number of major 'legacy' projects. These included the compilation and editing of the volume *The Iron Age and its Hillforts in Herefordshire*, part of an on-going publication of *Herefordshire Studies in Archaeology* by Archaeopress Publishing Ltd. It is anticipated that this will be published during 2017.

*BROMYARD: The excavation of two Auxiliary Unit Operational Bases on Bromyard Downs, (SO 672 551), [EHE 80201; HSM 53748 & 53749]*

In their book *The Mercian Maquis,* Bernard Lowry and Mick Wilks describe two Operational Bases (underground bunkers) built for the local patrol of the GHQ Auxiliary Units in Warren Wood (the planned 'stay-behind resistance' in the event of German invasion). As part of the Lottery Funded, 'Bromyard Downs Project', run by Bromyard Downs Common Association in partnership with Herefordshire Wildlife Trust and the National Trust, Herefordshire Archaeology was contracted to try and locate the sites of these bunkers and assess their survival.

Both bunkers were located within Warren Wood (under National Trust ownership), and a trench was excavated over each in order to assess their state of preservation. It is understood that both bunkers were 'decommissioned' by the military during the late 1960s or very early 1970s.

With the German occupation of France in July 1940, the invasion of Britain appeared inevitable, and the Army's GHQ Home Forces under General Edmund Ironside rapidly implemented a series of measures to counter the threat. This was based on the assumption that an enemy landing on the beaches of southern England could not be prevented. 'Stop Lines', where rivers and other natural barriers were strengthened by hastily-built fortifications, were introduced to protect areas of strategic importance—not only in London, but in the industrial Midlands. The Local Defence Volunteers, later known as the Home Guard, were established in great secret, to the point where their existence is scarcely known even today. A stay-behind resistance movement was created to carry out acts of sabotage, intelligence-gathering and assassination behind German lines. These were the GHQ Auxiliary Units, which were initially an offshoot of

the Home Guard and recruited from their ranks. They consisted of patrols of up to twelve men with an intimate knowledge of the local countryside, selected and briefed by a small number of Intelligence Officers. They were to be well-armed and trained in guerrilla tactics. After a police security check, members signed the Official Secrets Act and undertook their duties, mainly in the hours of darkness, in conditions of total secrecy, a secrecy that was often maintained well into the very recent past.[1]

At first it was intended that Auxiliary Unit patrol members would operate from their homes but in late 1940 and early 1941 hidden underground bunkers, known as Operational Bases (OBs), were built for each unit, always on private property with complicit landowners (often retired army officers), generally on high, wooded ground where construction could proceed unnoticed and movement of personnel could be concealed.

The form of the OBs built in 1940-41 is now well known from many surviving and documented examples. Their design comprised variations on a basic theme of a vertical entrance shaft, main room containing living accommodation for a patrol of about six men, a latrine and storage space, and an escape tunnel. The average size was around 6m x 3m (20ft long by 10ft) wide. Construction materials were usually mainly corrugated iron, often in the form of 'elephant shelter' sections—prefabricated, curved sheets forming something like an underground Nissen hut or large Anderson shelter, with brick-built end walls and entrance arrangements. OBs were usually built on sloping ground to allow for easy drainage and were carefully ventilated, usually by means of ceramic pipes, with a camouflaged opening at ground level. Precautions were taken to make OBs grenade-proof in case of discovery, so vertical entrance shafts were often carried down below floor level and were separated from the main living area by one or more blast walls. The trap doors to the main entrance shaft and escape tunnel were usually heavy and counterweighted and, again, carefully camouflaged.

The site of the first OB was eventually found by metal-detector survey. The description contained within *The Mercian Maquis* is vague to say the least, providing no clues as to its location within Warren Wood, and describing it as 'L-shaped and made of concrete blocks'. A number of pieces of reinforced concrete block were found and, after small-scale excavation by hand, this proved to be the remains of the entrance shaft into the bunker (Plate 5.5). It quickly became apparent that the reports that this bunker had been blown up, in order to make it safe and stop children playing in it once and for all, were accurate.

A trench, measuring 1.5m. east-west and 1.3m. north-south was excavated by hand to a maximum depth of 0.8m. It would appear that in addition to blowing the OB up, the remains were then bulldozed in order to fill in the void and tidy up the site. This has resulted in a lowering of the ground surface. It is understood that in order to access OB1, there was a short, vertical shaft onto a bedrock 'step', before a second drop into the bunker itself. It would appear that it was the base of the shaft that was encountered within this trench.

Little detail can be added to the scant description within *The Mercian Maquis*. The lack of descriptive detail is due to the fact that this OB was too small for the patrol to all fit in and therefore was not used for its intended purpose. After the construction of OB2 (70m. to the south), OB1 was only used as the explosives store. The survey has successfully located the bunker and the excavation has confirmed that it was utterly destroyed during the late 1960s or early 1970s by the military.

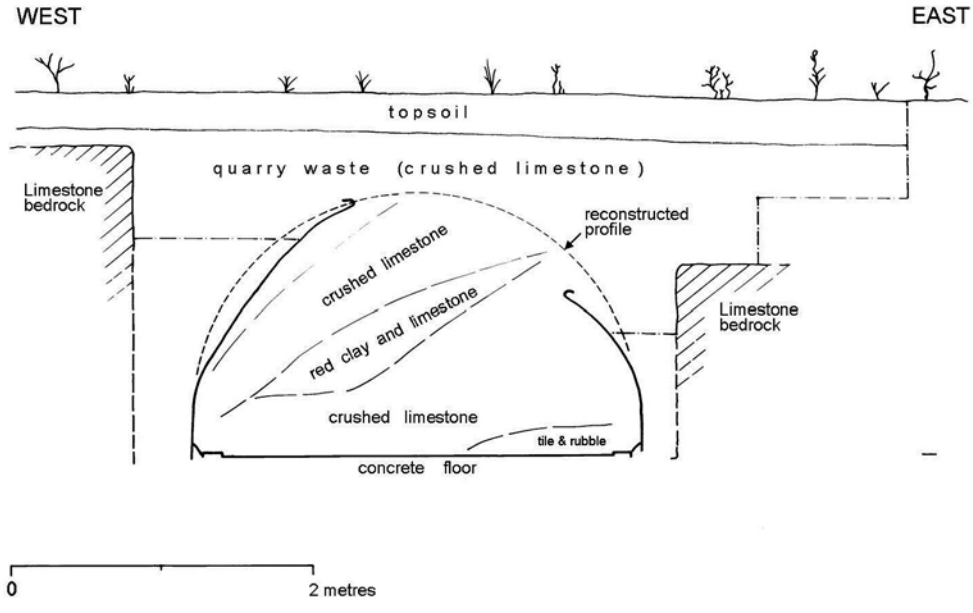



Figure 2. Bromyard Downs. Cross-section through Operational Base 2 looking north. Note how the bedrock was cut to accommodate the structure. (© Herefordshire Archaeology)

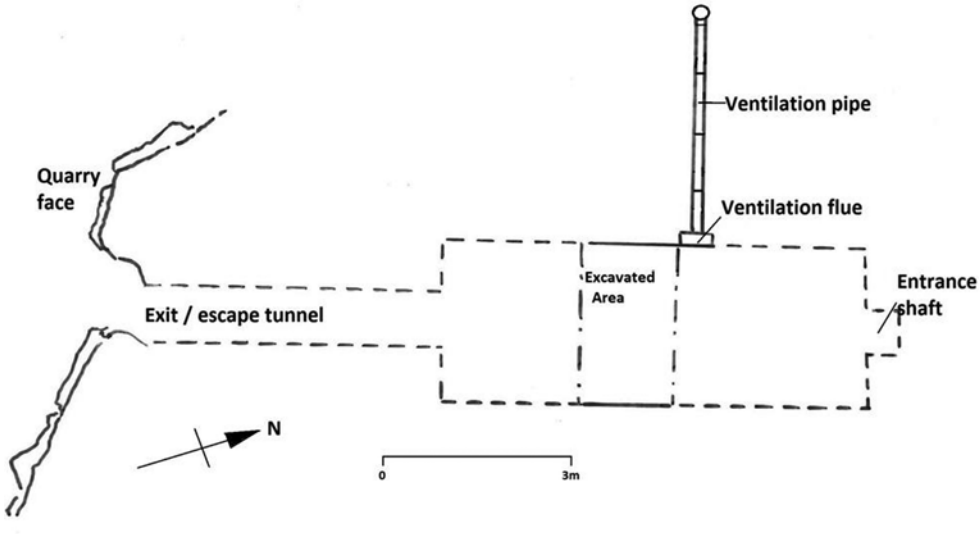



Figure 3. Bromyard Downs. Suggested plan of Operational Base 2, based upon the excavated evidence, location of the quarry face in relation to the excavation and the description contained within Lowry & Wilks, 2002. (© Herefordshire Archaeology)

The site of the second, larger, OB was tentatively identified in a reconnaissance by this report's authors in 2013 on the basis of the account in *The Mercian Maquis*. A shallow, linear depression amongst scrub, opposite the reservoir at the top of the hill and within *c*.20ft of the only quarry face, contained a few visible fragments of mid-20th-century brick and tile.

A trench, which was cut by mini-excavator east-west across the depression, first identified quantities of apparent quarry waste (crushed limestone) under the topsoil either side of the depression with a more mixed fill within it containing occasional ceramic floor tiles and similar rubble. Further excavation then revealed the flat top of solid limestone bedrock on the west side of the depression, terminating at a straight north-south cut edge. This was investigated and pieces of corrugated iron soon came to light and effectively confirmed the initial identification of the site as that of the OB. The sheets, that appeared to be *in situ,* were left in place and were established as a damaged and distorted curved roof with the topmost sheets torn off (Figs 2 and 3). The excavated area was then enlarged horizontally to provide a stepped profile so that the excavation could be safely taken down to the level of the OB floor. This was achieved with the mini-excavator, revealing the concrete floor surface. The backfill under the remaining roof slopes was later excavated by hand to provide an east-west sample section through the structure.

The OB was found to have been built in a vertically-sided north-south cutting, 3.62m. (12ft.) wide, cut to a depth of around 2.5m. (8ft 6ins) below the present ground level, and up to at least 2.1m. (7ft) into solid limestone bedrock (Fig. 4). The surface of the limestone was

Figure 4. Bromyard Downs. Operational Base 2, showing the remains of the corrugated wall and roof and the concrete floor. (© Herefordshire Archaeology)

higher on the west side of the OB than on the east side: the reason for this was not established. The footings of the OB were not explored below floor level but the sheets of the corrugated iron roof and sides were founded apparently outside the floor slab, possibly on some kind of drainage gullies to collect ground-water running down the outside of the roof and condensation running down the inside. The internal width of the OB at floor level was 2.95m. (9ft 10ins). The floor was found to have a raised sill on each side just within each side wall and a cement fillet or skirt had been added along the base of the corrugated iron sheets, sloping at 45° angle, again, it seemed, to control condensation and prevent water running down the roof and onto the floor.

The corrugated iron sheets rose vertically to *c.*200-300mms above the floor before curving inwards, suggesting that the building had a nearly semi-circular profile (rather than at first curving outwards to form the greater part of a circle). If this was indeed the case, its maximum internal floor-ceiling height can be reconstructed to have been about 1.74m. (5ft 8ins) or slightly over, giving a depth of burial of the roof apex of about 0.66m. (2ft 3ins) or slightly less—in approximate terms a 6ft high structure buried with 0.6m (2 ft) of cover over the roof. The corrugations were larger than those found in modern corrugated iron sheeting and the sheets were of heavier gauge; they may be 'elephant shelter' sections of First World War vintage or design. The sheets were riveted together and their underside (inside) face was whitewashed.

The overall length of the OB was not established, though the ventilator brickwork, the full-depth excavation, and the cut into the limestone defined at bedrock surface level, added up to a total length of *c.*10m. which the OB will have exceeded.

About 1.5m. north of the full-depth excavation, an 'H-shaped' brickwork footing was found just within the western cut into the bedrock. The footing was 1.13m. long (north-south), two bricks thick, with short (160mm.) returns projecting into the OB cut and slightly longer returns (250mms.) on the west side. From the centre of this footing a 200mm (4-inch) diameter drainpipe composed of brown, glazed sections led gently upwards over a distance of 4.5m. westwards and terminated with a 90° angled pipe section pointing upwards to the surface. This is interpreted as a ventilator or flue pipe formerly linked via a (missing) connector pipe through the roof of the OB presumably to, or over, the documented paraffin stove.

The project was successful in its basic aims of identifying the sites of the two documented OBs, confirming their original construction methods, assessing their present condition and presenting them, however briefly, to the general public. The latter was perhaps the most satisfying aspect of the project, the excavations having been visited by many local residents including, in a single morning, three grandsons of former members of the Bromyard patrol. On the final day of the excavation a visit was made by 150 pupils and staff of the nearby Brockhampton Academy, which featured strongly in the story of the Auxiliary Unit patrol in the Second World War. This provided a fantastic opportunity for the pupils to see, first hand, the remains of the bunkers and to have the history of the bunkers and their role during WW2 explained. The final day also saw the television regional news, *Midland's Today,* film the site and *Radio Hereford & Worcester* record interviews. The work featured in a half-page article in the *Hereford Times* newspaper (N. Baker & T. Hoverd, Herefordshire Archaeological Reports (HAR) 361).

*DORSTONE: Dorstone Hill (SO 326 424), [HSM 1551]*

A sixth season of investigations of the (mostly) 4th millennium BC Neolithic hilltop site took place from late June to late July 2016. The excavation continued to be directed by Professor

Julian Thomas of Manchester University and Dr Keith Ray, the former County Archaeologist for Herefordshire, in association with Irene Garcia Rovira of Manchester University, Tim Hoverd of Herefordshire Council, and Associate Professor Koji Mizoguchi of Kyushu University, Japan. Dr Nick Overton, also of Manchester University, joined the project in 2016 as Assistant Director. The project was again staffed in 2016 by local volunteers and by students from (mostly) the Universities of Manchester and Cardiff. These excavations continued those of 2014-15 to the west of the 2012-13 trenches (see *TWNFC* 61, 120-2, Plates 5.7 – 5.9; *TWNFC* 62, 157-8; *TWNFC* 63, 220-1, Plate 6.2). Access to the site was once again kindly granted by the owners of the land, the Hughes family.

In 2016, a further 'open area' excavation was undertaken across the eastern end of the 'bank' surveyed by English Heritage in the late 1990s and test-excavated by Roger Pye and members of this Club in the 1960s. This now slight earthwork extends for some 130m. across the narrow neck of the large promontory that overlooks the Golden Valley to the west, and towards the Wye Valley to the east. Lacking a western ditch and containing mounds that are (or were) symmetrical along their long sides, this part of the Dorstone Hill site did not feature an enclosure, but rather the site of an early/mid-4th millennium BC below-ground burial chamber, contemporary with a series of early Neolithic communal halls, and overlain by earthen, stone-capped, long mounds.

The trench measured approximately 20m. north-south by 40m. east-west, and was designed to uncover once again, at the western limit, the below-ground burial chamber exposed and partially examined in 2013 (Plate 5.6). Eastwards it revealed the remains of the elongated mound areas up to the point where, close to the edge of the field concerned, the easternmost long mound had been truncated by quarrying. This trench thereby encompassed the project's first (2011) 2m.-wide trench at the site, that had been sited on a north-east to south-west axis to bisect the mound (at that initial stage thought to be likely to be the bank of a mid-4th millennium 'causewayed enclosure'). Shortly after the whole area had been stripped of topsoil in 2016, the backfilled Trench 1 of the 1962 excavation by Christopher Houlder and Roger Pye was located parallel with and close to the position of the 2011 trench.

The mounds were again found to have been extensively truncated along their southern margins by bulldozing which had been undertaken to prepare the former rough pasture for cultivation during the Second World War. However, unlike the westernmost mound, one short length of the stone capping survived on the south side of the mound, indicating clearly the original width of the mound at that location. In contrast, the collapsed stone capping and walling on the north side was complete, despite its upper levels having at some point subsequently been badly affected by deep ploughing.

Once again, an area of burning indicated the location of the former hall, several post-holes of which were uncovered. The excavation of parts of the infill of the deep burial chamber, left unexcavated in 2013, confirmed that it had been deliberately dismantled, paving stones from the floor of that chamber being found pitched at steep angles within the fill. A curving line of stonework surrounding the chamber on its southern flank, close to the original ground-level, was found to comprise the upper fill of a ditch in the same location. The ditch had seemingly been dug to create a separate, stone-capped, earthen mound over the chamber. It had then partially silted before a rich organic deposit, containing cremated human bone, was inserted along it. Part of the stone-capping to this mound had subsequently slipped to form the upper fill of the ditch.

A separate, easternmost, mound had meanwhile been created in the same manner as for the other former hall sites, from the clay/dung and timber debris of its destruction. Examination of this fired deposit revealed that the fire had occurred when the wind was blowing from the north-west, spreading ash in a south-easterly direction. It also revealed a series of traces of a former broad-plank floor with hints that this had been pegged to the ground underneath it.

Most remarkable, however, was evidence for the subsequent Neolithic 'history' of the site, after the sequence of earth-capping, stone-cladding and northern façade-construction had taken place. A series of five shafts, complementing the one discovered in 2013, cut through the mound over the deep chamber (and found to contain fine flint implements) was found to have been sunk along the 'spine' of the most easterly mound. Only the basal few centimetres of these shafts survived, comprising broad, shallow, bowl-shaped bases made from stones that may have derived from the capping of the mound. They appeared to have deliberately been dug down to the level of the burnt deposit/floor of the former hall. Only two of these shaft-bases survived largely intact. At the centre of one had been placed a deposit of cremated cow bones, in the other a deposit of cremated human bone.

The first results of scientific analyses of samples taken from previous seasons' work at the site were returned in 2016. One of these results included two radiocarbon dates from securely-stratified deposits from the earliest destruction levels of the central and western halls: 3980-3800 BC (SUERC-62311) and 3950-3710 BC (SUERC-62606). This dating significantly antedates what was previously understood to be the earliest Neolithic finds in the Welsh Marches. Another result was from analysis of a thermal magnetism test that indicated that, at the seat of the fire that destroyed one of the halls, temperatures in excess of 600 degrees Celsius were reached. This reinforces the likelihood that the halls were deliberately burned down, since much wood-fuel would be required to achieve and sustain such intensity of firing.

Finally, a full geophysical (magnetometry) survey, of the entire field within which the 2011-2016 excavations have taken place, was carried out by TigerGeo of Harewood End. This produced clear indications of the former existence of a single-circuit Neolithic causewayed enclosure (likely to have been of mid-4th millennium BC date) comprising a series of surviving ditch segments. This enclosure had been carefully sited around the summit of Dorstone Hill towards the southern end of the field, with an entrance facing northwards. The ditch circuit appears to be somewhat 'flattened' in plan on the northern side, the straight section running parallel with the line of (presumably earlier) Neolithic mounds. This circuit also apparently encompasses the mound once thought to define the western limit of a 'promontory fort' located on a sloping spur at the south-eastern extremity of the hill. Inspection of a pencil sketch of this mound made by the surveyor Richard Kay in the early 1960s has enhanced the likelihood that this protected bank (Scheduled Monument) is in fact an intact long mound with a higher, northern end, and closely similar to those located northwards on the neck of the Dorstone Hill spur discussed above. As such, it would be contained just within the eastern limit of the circuit of the enclosure, when the line of this is projected through woodland to meet up with the lengths revealed by the geophysical survey. This again suggests that the mound predates the enclosure (Keith Ray).

*HEREFORD CITY: Watching brief of works associated with the replacement of a water pipe, East Street. (SO 512 397) [EHE 80194] [HSM 23708]*

An archaeological watching brief was undertaken during the excavation of three trenches needed to mole a replacement water pipe within the car park next to Pullings Mews, close to the East Street / St. Ethelbert Street Junction (Fig. 5).

The trenches were excavated by machine under close archaeological supervision. Trench 1 (closest to the southern side of East Street) revealed the foundations for a well-constructed stone wall, which ran along the frontage of East Street. At a depth of 0.85m., the top of well-compacted, clean gravel was encountered which appears to represent the top of the Saxon rampart. Trench 2 was excavated to a depth of 0.95m. through a well-mixed layer of garden soil. No other deposits were noted within this trench. Trench 3 was excavated into a layer of loose rubble and scalpings which had been severely affected by a water leak, and again no archaeological deposits were encountered.

The presence of the stone wall within trench 1 was of interest as this provides an indication of the material used in the construction of features which are apparent on Taylor's map of 1775. The wall is thought to predate the 18th century. The top of the rampart at this location has not been recorded before and the results will provide useful information when taking into account future works within this area (T. Hoverd, HAR 359).


Figure 5. Hereford, East Street. View southwards along the line of the works. (© Herefordshire Archaeology Unit)

*LONGTOWN: Longtown Castles Project, A Community Archaeology Project (Longtown Castle SO 321 291, Ponthendre Castle SO 326 281); [EHE 80252 & EHE 80253]*
Longtown & District Historical Society successfully applied for a Heritage Lottery Grant in order to run a three-year community project researching the historic and archaeological development of Longtown and Ponthendre Castles. Herefordshire Archaeology was contracted to undertake and manage all aspects of the archaeological works which include field survey and two seasons of excavation, with the involvement of the local community, schools and other interested groups.

Both castles were subjected to *Structure through Motion;* 3D scanning by Remotely Piloted Aircraft, in this case a drone. Ponthendre was subjected to additional earthwork survey in order to record profiles of rampart and ditch. Two trenches were excavated within the eastern bailey at Longtown Castle (Plate 5.7). Trench 1 was across the northern terminal of a post-medieval gap in the rampart. This provided a stepped section showing that the base and core of the rampart was constructed of turf stacked directly onto natural bedrock. No artefactual evidence was forthcoming from this turf suggesting that the rampart was constructed prior to any settlement in the environs. The geomorphology and the presence of small quantities of pottery present within the upper rampart deposits suggests that the rampart was added to and heightened during the late 13th or 14th centuries. The second trench provided evidence of a series of working surfaces associated with the construction of at least two phases of building ranging from the early 13th century through to the 14th century. It is suggested that this represents the 'builder's yard' during the construction of the inner bailey wall and gatehouse.

Three trenches were excavated at Ponthendre Castle: a quadrant of the top of the motte, an area inside the bailey, and a trench across the rampart (Plate 5.7). No medieval pottery or any other artefactual evidence or features associated with occupation relating to the medieval period was recovered from any of the trenches. The trench across the rampart showed that the bailey rampart was made of marl and clay which directly overlay a buried turf surface. This overlay a cultivated soil—suggesting a period of arable land use—which, in turn, overlay a thick 'forest soil'.

Interim evidence at Longtown suggests that the square rampart was the first development of the site, but whether this was pre Conquest is at present unclear. Trench 2 has shown two distinct phases of use, one in the 12th to 14th centuries and an earlier one which will be investigated during the 2017 season. Interim evidence at Ponthendre suggests that an earthwork castle was commissioned and constructed but at best only lightly / very occasionally used and in fact may not have been used at all (T. Hoverd, HAR 364) (Plate 5.8).

**HEREFORDSHIRE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES (PAS)**
The past year has been hugely productive with significant numbers of archaeological finds being reported: the high number of Iron Age finds is particularly noteworthy. The artefacts and coins below are a brief description of the most significant.

Sincere thanks are extended to my colleagues, Kurt Adams, Victoria Allnatt, Angie Bolton, Clive Cheesman, Barrie Cook, Alun Crichton, Teresa Gilmore, Martin Henig, Vanessa Oakden and Sally Worrell who have all contributed to this review with their excellent records on the PAS database or expert opinions. Continued thanks are also given to all those who make their finds and discoveries available for recording, thereby, enriching our shared archaeological heritage.

All the records listed here are available via the online database which can be found at www.finds.org.uk.

*ADFORTON: A 2nd-century Roman Trulla (pan handle) (PAS Reference: HESH-6403DC)*
This copper-alloy pan handle is a rare and important find from Herefordshire as well as from a regional and national perspective (Plate 5.9). It is simple in design being formed from a single flat sheet of copper alloy. The long edges taper and expand in parallel from a horizontal break. Each corner between the side and break has a small pierced hole. The apex of these is a terminal with an elegant curve. A pierced cut removal is present near the terminal where a semi-circular D-shaped piece has been cut, the shape of which echoes the external edge. Either side of this removal are two zoomorphic figures; these designs are incised onto the upper face of the handle and may represent water birds (or possibly crocodiles). The rounded heads form the external edge of the handle and each has a lentoid-shaped eye with a circular pupil. Their mouths are represented with an incised line and some of these lines are indented, possibly representing teeth. The reverse face of the handle is plain and undecorated. All surfaces have a mid-green colour with a well-formed, polished, surface patina. Finding parallels for this handle have proved difficult. A good example has been found from an excavation in Liege, Belgium whose context was dated to the 2nd century AD. [2] Further, Prof. Martin Henig (UCL) suggested that the two small holes in the handle seem to suggest that it has a secondary use either as a repaired vessel or, intriguingly, as a votive object.

*DINEDOR: A Scandinavia-style axehead of Neolithic date (PAS Reference: LVPL-8B9CEA)*
An almost-complete, flaked, flint axehead often known as a Scandinavian axe was reported to the PAS in Cheshire. It was originally found before the Second World War by a child playing on Dinedor Hill and retained by the family. This is the first record of it, some 75 years later; given the lapse in time the findspot is remarkably accurate having been found on previously unploughed boggy upland. The axe is very distinctive being knapped from a mid-brown 'toffee-coloured' flint (Plate 5.10). It is also a unique shape having parallel tapering sides and a very rectangular cross-section. The butt is square and complete and the surface of the axe is covered with oval-shaped flake removals.

Scandinavian axe finds in Britain are rare and their histories are often convoluted and difficult to explain archaeologically; many have been identified as modern imports or from antiquarian collections. Walker has studied many of their histories with some very interesting results separating the archaeological wheat from the chaff.[3] Her study leaves a small minority as potential Neolithic or early Bronze Age imports. More importantly, a small number of other rectangular sided axeheads are known from the museum collections and archaeological records in this area (Shropshire / Herefordshire / Mid and South Wales). Finally, the findspot of this example, being in a high place with commanding views over the surrounding countryside, and the potential for it being deposited within a wet or watery context all suggest some form of liminal 'ritual' process.

*EATON BISHOP: A late- Iron Age mount or stud. (PAS Reference: HESH-52BE9F)*
The artefact is incomplete and therefore its function is unknown; it could therefore be best described as a mount, stud, dangler or decorative fitting. It is broadly circular in plan with a

cast and inlaid upper surface. The reverse face is incomplete; projecting from the mid-point is a bifurcated stem which is broken and eroded, its inner surface is a rounded U-shape possibly suggesting it fitted onto a small chord or rod. Each bifurcated arm is D-shaped in cross-section. The design on the upper surface comprises a central raised cast design which is curvilinear in shape, being best described as an inverted S-shape formed of two opposing panels conjoined by a central element. This panel is pierced by three, small, circular cells one of which is filled with a red enamel. Both the upper and lower surfaces of the mount have a black patina whose colouring looks deliberate rather than as a product of corrosion / patina within the soil. The upper surface and external edges are a mid-grey-green with an abraded and corroded patina. A direct parallel for the form of this artefact has not been found; however, the decoration is similar to other artefacts recorded on the PAS database, specifically from Haversham-cum-Little Linford, Northamptonshire (SOM-D3B3D1) which is recorded as part of a Tankard handle, and a further example of a lock plate from Colchester, Essex (ESS-1A0D44). Both these artefacts were dated to the late Iron Age (100BC-AD80). The form of the inverted S-shaped panel is discussed by Jope, and the design on this is similar to that which he illustrates on Plate II 560-564 and which can be seen in decorative interlace on items such as the Desborough Mirror.[4]

*FOY: A deliberately-gilded silver coin of Elizabeth I. (PAS Reference: GLO-521A0E)*
The coin is a deliberately-gilt half-groat (tuppence) of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) struck between 1560 and 1561 at the Tower Mint in London (Plate 5.11). The obverse depicts the crowned bust of the queen facing left with this inscription ELIZAB[ETH D] G AN FR ET H REGINA (Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland), whilst the reverse shows a shield with the royal coat of arms divided by a long cross (not gilded) with the inscription POSUI DEU ADIVTOTEM MEU (I have made God my helper). Importantly the face and hair of the queen on the obverse and the top-left and bottom-right quarter (French coat-of-arms) of the shield and the reverse are not gilded. Dr Barrie J. Cook (Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum) comments: 'Gilded low-denomination silver coins of 15th-century England have been occasionally recorded. However, their purpose has not yet been definitely established. It seems a legitimate presumption that the gilding was applied to these coins to remove them from normal currency and give them a different status and role. This might have been to serve as some sort of offering piece or to convert them into a decorative item of some type, with a particular purpose for which their small size was an advantage.'

*LEOMINSTER: A middle- Bronze Age palstave axehead (PAS Reference: HESH-C785F1)*
A cast, copper-alloy (bronze) early or primary palstave of Group I (shield patterned type) of middle Bronze Age date (1500-1300BC). The palstave is broadly rectangular in plan with relatively straight parallel sides which flare below the stop ridge on the upper blade and expand evenly. The sides expand to form a wide, crescentic, cutting-edge / blade. The upper blade is well preserved and a poorly defined sub-triangular-shaped dish is present on both faces. This depression is interpreted as a form of shield pattern, although the exterior edges are not decorated or defined with raised ribs. The stop ridge is set very low and is partially fused to the flanges; this forms two, raised, elements to haft the axe by. The junction between the septum and stop ridge is crescentic in shape and the base of the septum is slightly hollow, a U-shaped depression, casting

flaw or blow hole. The long edges of the axe have been finished and the remnants of the casting seam have been removed by trimming, filing and hammering.

The palstave is a mid-green-brown colour with a thick, well-formed patina which covers almost all surfaces of the axe. In a number of places the patina has been removed by corrosion. Where this has occurred a roughened, light-green metal is present. Similar examples to this palstave can be seen from North Wales Llanddaniel Fab (Anglesey) and Caernarvonshire.[5] Schmidt and Burgess explore the dating and known distribution of this form of early palstave, which is relatively common in North Wales, the Marches and the Cheshire plain.[6] The palstave axe fits best with the Acton Park II and Taunton metalworking assemblages Period 5.[7] Both assemblages fit within Burgess's Metal Working Stage VIII and IX.

*LONGTOWN: A polished Neolithic stone axehead (PAS Reference: HESH-216050)*

An incomplete and broken, pecked, ground and polished stone axehead of Neolithic date (3500-2100 BC). The axe is worked from a mid-greenish-grey igneous rock with large black, grey and white angular inclusions. There are also a series of prominent black veins which meander across the finished polished surface. The source of the stone is unknown and no specific petrographic testing has been undertaken; however, it most resembles an olavante dolerite. The cutting edge and the butt of the axe are both lost due to old breaks; the breaks are smooth and polished. The two long edges have distinct ground side facets and the mid-point of the axe has the distinctive humped shaped often observed in axes of this form. This axe represents many things—most noteworthy are the black veins and white, black and grey inclusions. All these factors suggest a deliberate aesthetic and artistic choice was made during the collecting of the stone and subsequent knapping and polishing processes. The discovery of this axe close to a distinctive natural feature (a waterfall and deep pool) may also suggest that deliberate decisions were made in placing the broken and worn axe in its final resting place.

*MADLEY: A medieval seal matrix possibly linked with the FitzWarin family (PAS Reference: HESH-24A9AE)*

The seal matrix is made of lead alloy and is incomplete and worn through movement in the plough soil (Plate 5.12). It is formed of a hexagonal pedestal terminating in a series of moulded bands above which extends a trefoil / fleur-de-lis shaped loop which is broken and incomplete. The die face is oval in shape and has a deep and complex design cut onto it. This comprises a central triangular-shaped 'heater' shield, which is enclosed by a tressure of six arches. Within each of the lobed arches are single cut letters, although these are mostly lost due to corrosion and abrasion. What remains reads TE / [V]M /… / VE / … /. The central shield is emblazoned with two zig-zag lines (one horizontal the other vertical) which divide the shield into quarters. In the upper, right-hand corner is a six-pointed star. Heraldically this design is described as being a shield quarterly-indented throughout; in the canton a mullet of six points. The seal is a light greenish-grey colour with a pencil-grey applied (white metal / tin) surface.

From the seal's size, inscription and the image it depicts, it is most likely to represent a private or personal seal; most probably a counter-seal. Although not of the highest calibre of workmanship this complicated design, especially given its size, is well executed. The heraldic design, images and impressions were sent to Dr Clive Cheesman, Richmond Herald at the Royal College of Arms. He commented that the specific family these arms are associated with are

difficult to trace as they do not appear in the *Dictionary of Arms*. However, they are similar to the designs recorded for Richard de Acton (dated to late 13th to 14th centuries) and also William FitzWarin, who was a cadet of the family of Fulk FitzWarin. Dr Cheesman also noted that 'one really shouldn't place too much emphasis on its findspot, however Herefordshire is very close to the power base of the FitzWarins in Shropshire and also Gloucestershire'.

*MONNINGTON-ON-WYE: A late-Iron Age cosmetic mortar (PAS Reference: PUBLIC-FEA7E1)*
A cast, copper-alloy, end-looped, cosmetic mortar (also known as cosmetic grinder or woad grinder) of later-Iron Age to early-Roman period (*c.*100BC – 200AD). The cosmetic mortar is incomplete having eroded and corroded terminals which taper to blunt points. Originally one end would have terminated in a loop which is lost through an old break. On the upper edge of the mortar is the grinding area / surface that is elliptical (sub-oval) in plan. The grinding area has a very shallow, U-shaped, cross-section and shows visible wear. This wear is likely to have occurred during its period of use as a mortar, as there is an even patina covering the surface. The mortar has a mid-dark green polished surface patina which has been heavily eroded revealing a light-green-brown, corroded surface beneath. Similar end-looped, cosmetic mortars can be seen in R. Jackson, *Cosmetic Sets of Late Iron Age and Roman Britain.*[8] A close parallel can be seen from Brandon, Suffolk (p. 81 cat no 84) which comes from an unstratified / unprovenanced context.

*MONNINGTON-ON-WYE: An enamelled plaque from a reliquary of medieval date (PAS Reference: HESH-6F90B0)*
The Limoges-style, enamelled plaque or mount is of high medieval date (AD 1150-1400). It is a lozenge (diamond) shape in plan and is rectangular in cross-section. At the centre of the cross is a small hollow, most likely filled with a red enamel, now lost. The arms of the cross are each lentoid in shape and the pale-blue enamel is enclosed by a thin white enamel border. This central device is enclosed within a field of dark-blue enamel. This surface extends to a neat border that echoes the external shape of the mount. The upper part of the mount is pierced by a fairly large, circular hole (3.1mm.). This hole is most probably from a rivet and would have held the plaque to the surface of a chest or piece of furniture. A recess is present around this hole that is devoid of enamel, suggesting that the rivet would have been decorative and flush with the surface. The edges of the mount show small flecks of gilding suggesting that at least part of the mount was also decorated in this way. The reverse face is poorly preserved with a light, mid-green, abraded and corroded surface; however, small patches of original surface are present suggesting that the original surface was smooth and flat. A direct parallel has not been found for the mount; although the enamelling is similar to that seen upon reliquary chests, mounts and inlays, as well as on high-status harness decoration. A broad medieval date is suggested, however, enamel of this style is most often attributed to the 13th and 14th centuries AD.

*SUTTON: A medieval hooked tag (PAS Reference: HESH-87F63D)*
The tag is near complete being formed on a circular plate from whose edges a triangular point extends. This point is integrally cast and folded back upon itself to form a blunt hook. The circular plate is pierced twice on the opposing edge with small circular holes which allowed the tag to be fixed to a leather strap. The upper surface of the plate is decorated with an incised design of

an equal armed cross; each arm being an irregular triangular wedge in shape conjoined by their apex. From each angle of the cross a double incised line extends dividing the tag diagonally. The overall design emulates that seen on contemporary coinage of the period (AD 850-1000). The tag is a mid-brown colour with an eroded surface patina. The pierced holes are broken due to corrosion and erosion. Whilst not unique in the region, this example bears resemblance to one recorded from Eldersfield, Worcestershire (HESH-15FBA7).

*IRON AGE COINS*

*SELLACK: A small hoard of late-Iron Age staters (PAS Reference: HESH-AEC26C / 2015-T435)*

Two gold staters of the Western Dobunnic Tribe were discovered within 50m. of one another on ploughed agricultural land in late May 2015. Both are very similar in period and condition, although not directly die-linked. The obverse and reverse of each coin are similar: the obverse depicts a 'leaf' or 'tree' formed with a solid, central bar from which emerges a series of paired, diagonal lines forming chevrons, each with a pellet terminal. The reverse has a triple-tailed horse advancing left with a wheel motif both above and below.

Two further Iron Age coins were also reported in the past year; this time discovered separately. The first was found within the parish of Sutton, and is very similar to the Sellack coins being a gold stater of Dobunii.[9] This example is inscribed with what we is thought to be the tribal leaders name EISV who it is believed ruled between AD 20 and 43.

The second coin was discovered in the parish of Wigmore. This example dates from the same period as the Sellack coins, but is formed of silver. Such coins are known as uninscribed units as we do not understand their use or function within the economy of the period. The coin has a debased head facing right on the obverse and a horse advancing left with wheel above on reverse. A direct parallel has not been found, although it shares a number of similarities to examples in the British Museum from Cunetio, Wiltshire[10] Coins such as these are rare finds in Herefordshire and Hereford Museum and Art Gallery have expressed an interest in acquiring the Sellack coins for the county museum.

**WORCESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY**

*HEREFORD: Hampton Dene Road (SO 535 400) [EHE 80239]*

An evaluation was undertaken on behalf of The Environmental Dimension Partnership for their client Barrett, West Midlands at land east of Hampton Dene Road. The 4.7ha. site had been largely agricultural land since the medieval period, although during the 19th-century the northern end of the site was occupied by the landscaped garden of Hampton Dene House, from which limited earthworks still remain. The evaluation revealed two post-medieval field boundary ditches, which may have been maintained for several hundred years, and a possible 19th-century footpath or small trackway (N. O'Hare, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2353).

*ROTHERWAS: Land off the B4399 (SO 533 376) [EHE 80199]*

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken for Archaeology and Planning Solutions on behalf of their client Sol Environment. Of most interest was a small pit of prehistoric date that contained a number of stake holes that are thought to have supported a superstructure. The latter had not survived and the pit had been filled with hot fire debris containing frequent charcoal lumps and fired clay fragments. Although only one pit was identified it suggests that the prehistoric activity

seen at the nearby Rotherwas Futures site (EHE 48812) may extend into the current site (A. Mann, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2322).

*WHITBOURNE, Colbridge Cottage (SO 724 571)*
In 2014–2015 an archaeological excavation was undertaken by the owner of Colbridge Cottage. Three test pits were initially excavated in advance of levelling to produce a flat piece of garden. Following the discovery of archaeological remains, and with advice from Tim Hoverd (Herefordshire Archaeology), a further area of *c.*20m² was also investigated. The investigations revealed residual prehistoric and Roman finds, and medieval structural remains dating from the 13th to 14th centuries. The latter comprised possible remnants of a building with an internal oven for cooking, and an associated metalled surface (D. Hurst & N. O'Hare Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2403l)

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# Botany, 2016

*By* PETER GARNER

As the deadline approaches for plant records to be submitted to The Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland for the next edition of their national atlas, due to be published in 2020, there is increased urgency for plant recording in the county to gather momentum and help to justify my assessment of Herefordshire as one of the least spoilt and most beautiful counties in the country.

Over 10,000 records were collected in 2016 and new sites for many interesting plants were discovered; to select just a few of special interest for this report has been difficult. Furthermore, a balance needs to be struck between native plants that have become rare, often because of changes in the environment and habitat destruction, and adventives—introduced plants growing unaided by direct human intervention. There is a tendency by some botanists to ignore the latter, but to do so denies us the opportunity to monitor changes in our environment. Plants such as **Rosebay Willowherb (*Chamerion angustifolium*)** and **Himalayan (or Indian) Balsam (*Impatiens glandulifera*)** are adventives that are now dominant features of our environment, but have been with us for only a little over one hundred years.

**Adventive plants**

It is quite possible that the very small population of **Pirri-pirri-bur (*Acaena novae-zelandiae*)** at Brockhall Quarry, Stretton Sugwas, which appears to be spreading after existing as one small patch for many years, might be a 'Himalayan Balsam' of the future. It is an introduction from New Zealand and is still relatively uncommon in Britain, but has spread over quite large areas in a few places, especially in Scotland.

I mentioned **Fiddleneck (*Amsinckia micrantha)*** in last year's report; this appears to have now died out, but **Yellow Nonea (*Nonea lutea*)** is well established and spreading along a lane-side bank near the church in Ledbury (Plate 6.1).

Many readers will be aware of **Canadian Fleabane (*Conyza Canadensis*)***;* a native of North America, which is a tall common weed found mainly in urban areas in much of England. However, **Guernsey Fleabane (*Conyza sumatrensis*)** which is very similar in appearance has now also been recorded in Hereford in three places. Guernsey Fleabane is a native of South America and has been common in the London area for some time, but had never before been recorded in Herefordshire. I was recording plants in the Rotherwas area and 'ticked it off" as Canadian Fleabane: luckily Stuart Hedley who is a professional ecologist and an excellent botanist was on hand to observe my mistake and tactfully correct me. I am very grateful to Stuart because I have now found this plant in two other places in Hereford; near the Race Course and near Hereford City football ground.

Continuing the list of non-native plant discoveries, three interesting Mulleins were found in the county in 2016. There was a single plant of **Moth Mullein (*Verbascum blattaria*)** growing in the road verge in Wellington Village. Moth Mullein is usually yellow but this one had white petals. It is native further south in Europe but occurs only rarely in Britain: it has been found in Herefordshire twice previously (Plate 6.2).

Another mullein, however has been found for the first time in the county: about 30 plants of **Orange Mullein (*Verbascum phlomoides*)** were found scattered beside a short stretch of the public footpath which runs across the site of the First World War munitions factory at Rotherwas. These plants were a spectacular sight with several well over two metres tall and branching near the ground to give them a multi-stem appearance. Their large, more yellow than orange flowers, were attracting large numbers of bees and hoverflies (Plate 6.4).

Throughout August a third mullein was also attracting many insects beside the railway sidings at Leominster Station, where there were 40-50 plants of **White Mullein (*Verbascum lichnitis*).** This is a native British mullein, but it is only considered native in the extreme south east of England. Maybe with the warming of the climate it will colonise other places in Herefordshire.

**Native plants**

Thus far, this report has concentrated on adventives; to conclude I will highlight three native plants that quickened my pulse when I found them.

I reported the discovery of a new site (2nd county record) for **Strawberry Clover (*Trifolium fragiferum*)** in the 2012 Botany Report, and in 2016 we found a third Herefordshire site for this rare plant. Several plants of Strawberry Clover were growing on the road-side bank beside the lane which leads from Broadmoor Common to Woolhope Village (Plate 6.3).

In early May the Herefordshire Botanical Society on one of their outings found two patches of **Wood Stichwort (*Stellaria nemorum*)**. This rather inconspicuous plant was growing beside two footpaths in the parish of Ballingham. Wood Stichwort is relatively common in northern England but it is very rare in the West Midlands and absent from the rest of the Midlands and all of southern England. It was last found in north-west Herefordshire and there was concern that it had become extinct in the county, so this was an exciting discovery.

One of our much prized Herefordshire plants that I have highlighted in previous reports is **Spreading Bellflower (*Campanula patula*)**: It has become very scarce nationally and our few sites in Herefordshire are carefully monitored and the envy of many counties that have completely lost this very attractive plant. It was with relief and joy that we received the news that it had been refound by Sue Holland at its Bredwardine site from whence we feared it was lost.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This report is based on information collated by the Herefordshire Wildlife Trust and published in *The Flycatcher,* March 2016.

# Buildings, 2016

*By* DUNCAN JAMES

*A number of interesting buildings have been visited this year, some have been the subject of prolonged investigation resulting in detailed reports, others have been summarised in short notes following a brief assessment. Below are just three examples of those visited.*

*The depth of any report on a building inevitably varies according to the complexity of the structure, the number of phases and, of course, the time available to gather data. Sometimes the preparation of detailed drawings is an essential prelude to producing a satisfactory analysis of a building. Through the production of drawings the recorder is forced to look objectively at a structure and will note subtle but significant details that might otherwise be missed. Drawings will also help to capture something of the beauty of the buildings and reveal the ingenuity of the craftsmen who made them.*

*Many of the buildings in Herefordshire are at risk from inappropriate change and both timber-framed and brick barns continue to be lost to domestic conversion. Early, hidden structures are still being discovered behind later façades, which can mean that they are not protected by statutory listing.*

**The Hop Pole, 40 Bridge Street, Leominster**.
(Lat/Long:- 52.231215, -2.740364)

This building is a recent example of hidden early fabric (Fig. 1). The building was not listed when a planning application (26 Jan. 2017) ref. P170276 was submitted to convert it into flats. There was no indication in the application as to what damage this would have done to the historic fabric.

The primary structure of the building consists of the remains of a timber-framed late-medieval hall house range laid out parallel with Bridge Street but set back on the site. A slightly later timber-framed, two-storey, jettied wing (now underbuilt) abuts the side of the primary range. Later additions have been made to the rear and side and at some time there has been a major revision of the roof structure, which now oversails (and protects) the primary roof components.

Figure 1. The 19th century façade and oversailing roof of the Hop Pole, 40 Bridge Street, Leominster, which encloses a 15th-century timber-framed hall house.

The building was noted by the Royal Commission in the survey of the 1930s and a brief description was published in 1934.[1] The Hereford Sites and Monuments Record (HMR 8802) refers to the building as a 17th-

century house but offers no further information. In 1994 a watching brief during renovation produced information concerning past uses of the site but no investigation of the building itself appears to have been carried out.[2]

The Hop Pole stands on a flood plain in an area of the town that was, until the 1960s, frequently subjected to flooding from a branch of the river Lugg that flowed along Mill Street to the north (Fig. 2). The area was the industrial part of Leominster due to its proximity to the river, which provided power for milling and water for tanneries and related work.

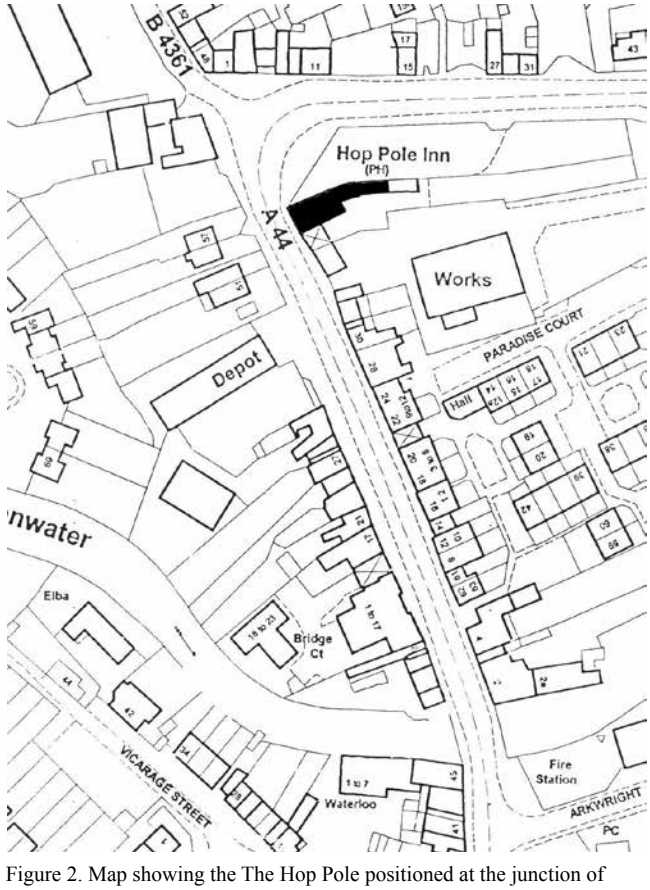


Figure 2. Map showing the The Hop Pole positioned at the junction of Bridge Street and Mill Street, Leominster.

The timber-framed hall range is laid out on a north-south axis, set back from and parallel to Bridge Street. It consists of three bays of what was formerly (probably) a five-bay range, two storeys in height. It is approximately 18ft (5.49m) wide and 26 ft (7.92 m) long with approximate bay lengths (north to south, bays 1 to 3) of 9ft (2.74m); 6 ½ ft (1.98m) and 10 ft (3.05m) repectively.

Three of the roof trusses survive *in situ* but at the south end of the range the truss has been replaced in brick. The roof has a single tier of threaded purlins measuring 8in (20cm) x 4in (10cm) in cross section (Fig. 3). Below these are broad, 12-14 in (30-35cm) wide, slightly curved windbraces mortised into the sides of the principal rafters and lapped into the backs of the purlins using a notched joint held in place with two iron nails.[3] Windbraces survive on the east side of two of the bays.

The roof was not designed to incorporate a ridge purlin as the pairs of common rafters, which are 3 ½ x 3in (8.9 x 7.6cm) in section, have pegged and bridled joints where they meet at the apex. Most of the original common rafters survive, still pegged into the purlins. All the timbers in the roof are trestle sawn rather than pit sawn and parallel snap-offs are visible on the faces of some of the wind braces. [4]

A timber framed two-bay, two-storey wing abuts the west side of the north south range. It is slightly skewed, presumably due to site restrictions when it was built. It is 11½ ft (3.5m) long and about 18ft (5.49m) wide. It is jettied at first-floor level on the west front but is now

underbuilt. The substantial jetty joists are all visible in the ceiling of the ground floor, now the bar of the public house.

In common with the hall range, the roof of the wing has a single tier of threaded purlins, 8 x 5in (20 x 13cm) in cross section. These are now missing. There are windbrace slots near the base of the principal rafters although what form these took is impossible to say. From the roof structure it is clear that two of the bays formed, at first-floor level, a single chamber that was open to the ridge and jettied at the west end. There was an intermediate truss that spanned the middle of the room.

Figure 3. The roof of the cross passage bay of the hall range within The Hop Pole. This view, looking east, shows the wind braces and the threaded purlin with the primary rafters still in situ, all beneath the protection of an oversailing, later roof

The primary range is almost certainly 15th century in date. The evidence for this conclusion lies, broadly speaking, in the following features.

A) The smoke-blackened roof indicates a hall house—a form that was, with one or two exceptions, not being built in Herefordshire after 1500.

B) The truss form, of a collar with king strut below, is typical of the 15th century and dated examples can be found in Weobley.

C) The trestle-sawing of timber is a technique that fell out of use before 1530.[5]

D) Threaded purlins are an earlier form in Herefordshire to be replaced by the later method of "trenching" the purlins.

E) The curved, wide windbraces tend to be straight in later buildings.

The evidence indicates that what survives of the hall range is the service bay, a cross-passage bay and the lower bay of the hall. The hall would have been of average size with little by way of decoration, suggesting a house of modest status. By comparison, Trewen (since lost) and Grafton House both had cusped and chamfered windbraces while 25-29 Bridge Street has cusping in the central trusses of both cross wings although the windbraces are plain.

Although it can be argued that The Hop Pole is an incomplete hall house and therefore may not justify listing, in the context of Leominster, where there are so few buildings of this date, it is important and, therefore, in need of the additional protection that listed building status can offer.

Leominster, in common with other towns in the area has lost a far greater percentage of its early secular buildings than the nearby villages. For instance, the town of Ledbury has three surviving hall houses of the 15th century (The Master's House; Abbot's Lodge; and probably 233/235 The Homend).[6] In the case of Kington, a smaller town, two examples are known; 13 High Street and 31-35 Duke Street.

These are in contrast to villages such as Weobley where twenty-seven hall houses of 15th century date can be found, many of them in remarkably complete condition.[7] In Pembridge at least fifteen are known,[8] while in Eardisley, eleven hall ranges have been identified.[9]

The importance of the building was brought to the attention of Historic England and in April 2017 it was added to the statutory list.

**Bruton Farmhouse, Pembridge**. Lat/Long:- 52.172700, -2.937118
This is a cruck-framed hall house on the southern edge of the parish of Pembridge, a short distance to the north of the small hamlet of Meer. The building was on the brink of dereliction and loss when it was taken on by the present owners to become the subject of a dedicated programme of rescue and refurbishment (Fig. 4).

Figure 4. Bruton Farmhouse. East elevation showing the building in derelict condition, c.2000, prior to repair.

Earlier maps such as the OS edition of *c.*1830 indicate an access path to Bruton that ran through the former farmyard with links to a network of tracks to the north that were extinguished when Broxwood Court was built in the 1860s. The house at that time was named on the map as 'Brooton' although the Tithe Map of 1842 has the house as Brookend Farm. It is numbered 1299 on the map with a land-holding at that time of perhaps 70 acres although there may have been further fields in the neighbouring parish.

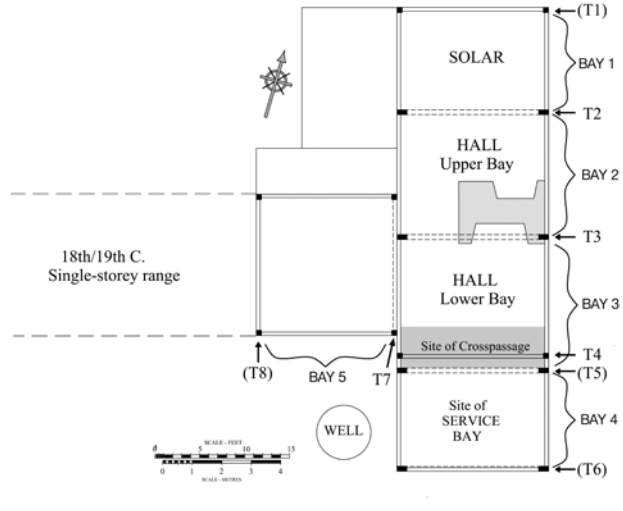


Figure 5. Bruton Farmhouse. Simplified ground plan showing the probable site of the lost service bay, bay 4.

Bruton is a timber-framed house with the principal three-bay range (bays 1, 2 and 3) at the east side aligned on an approximate north-south axis (Fig. 5). This part contains two pairs of cruck blades (T2 & T3) at each end of bay 2 that are probably of 15th century date. Abutting the west side of this range is bay 5, a late-16th/early-17th-century single bay of timber framing which is 1½ storeys high.

A simplified sketch made of the ground plan of the main house includes an interpretation of the structure and it should be noted that the present building does not extend further south than T4. Items shown in brackets indicate the approximate positions of lost component parts of the structure. Door and window positions are not shown. The dimensions of the sketch plan above are based on a drawing made by Dr Bill Gaskins prior to the start of work on the house.

The roof structure is robust with a double tier of purlins and single, passing windbraces at the north end of bay 2 and a similar arrangement at the south end of bay 3. The wall plates are continuous through bays 2 and 3. Elements of the primary wall framing survive in the west sidewalls of bays 2 and 3 and possibly also on the east side.

That this was formerly a late-medieval, two-bay open hall is clear from the fact that the principal cruck blades T3 over the middle of the hall are coated with a layer of carbon from an open hearth that would have been positioned on or near the site of the later chimneystack, which was probably built when the floor was inserted in the hall.

The timbers used in the primary structure of bays 2 and 3 all show diagonal saw-marks and either triangular or parallel snap-offs.[10] This places the date before 1530-40 and, in this case, almost certainly in the 15th century.

The cruck frame at T2 has blades that are a matched pair (cut from a halved tree) showing a triangular snap-off. The west blade has dropped out of position by as much as a foot. The upper (heartwood) face of the blades is towards the south (i.e. into the hall), which indicates that there was a further primary bay to the north, on the site of the present, later Bay 1.

The principal crucks, T3, are not of oak and appear not to be elm. It seems likely that they are Black Poplar (*Populus Nigra*) bearing in mind the examples that have been found in nearby Pembridge (Victoria Place and Fig Tree/Grosmont House)[11] and those on the Cholstrey Barn near Leominster, now at Avoncroft Museum of Buildings.[12]

It is significant to note that the upper face of the principal crucks at T3 is to the north, which suggests that Bay 2 was the 'upper' (high status) bay of the two-bay hall and that therefore Bay 3 was the 'lower bay'. This would make Bay 1 the solar/parlour bay.

With this layout there would have been a further lost bay to the south for service provision, marked on the drawing as bay 4. It may be significant to note that on the suggested site of this lost bay the ground level is higher, forming what appears to be a building platform.

The present end of the range is at T4 where the crossframe is all later in date. There are indications in this frame from the position and angle of the windbraces in the south end of the roof, that bay 3 formerly extended a little further south, as suggested by the position of (T5) on the drawing above.

There are many other examples in the county of this four-bay layout for 15th-century hall houses and it was a remarkably consistent pattern of building until about 1500 when the open hall plan with its central hearth began to fall from favour.

Bruton Farmhouse would also have had a cross-passage, with opposing doors, arranged to pass through the 'lower' end of the hall, adjacent to the service bay. The suggested site of this is shown on the drawing. There is some supporting evidence for the site of this cross-passage in the form of the well. It is understood that this is a stone-lined structure about 6ft in diameter and its position adjacent to the cross-passage and alongside the service bay is exactly where one might expect to find it.

The proposal that the service end of the building was focussed on bay 3 and the lost bay 4, is perhaps supported by the position of the massive inserted chimneystack which has the principal (service) fireplace on the south side within the 'lower' bay of the hall. This suggests a continuity of function that is often seen in early buildings.

Abutting the west side of the hall is bay 5, a 1½-storey structure probably of late-16th or early-17th-century date. It is possible that the first floor is a later insertion. The west end wall of the bay (at (T8)) has been rebuilt in stone and now includes a chimneystack, and fireplaces on both floors.

**Hacton Cruck Cottage, Preston on Wye**.
Lat/Long:- 52.071421, -2.894534

Prior to refurbishment in the 1990s, this was an unlisted two-bay cruck-framed building of (probably) 15th-century date, aligned on a north-south axis. It contained three pairs of cruck blades. At the time it was derelict and it was clear that it had lost at least one bay at the south end. It was added to the statutory list where it is described as a 'Derelict pair of cottages about 160 metres east-north-east of Lower House Farmhouse'.

The repairs that were needed in order to save the building were extensive and involved moving the building 50metres east from its original site at Lat/Long 52.071505, -2.895242 (Fig. 6). Although permission had been granted to dismantle the building it was decided that, in order to retain as much of the original fabric as possible, the two bays would be moved wholesale on a specially constructed metal frame and an additional bay added to the south end.

Figure 6. Hacton Cruck cottage. East elevation of the refurbished building. The middle bay is the hall and on the right is the solar bay. The left-hand bay and chimneystack are modern additions.

The cruck blades at the south end of the building had been exposed to the elements for many years and were in poor condition. The collar had arch bracing beneath it and this suggested that it had been the principal truss over the centre of a two-bay open-hall. However, it had an unusual feature—a heavily weathered tie beam (since replaced)—positioned above head-height that had evidence of a mortice in the soffit for a post which, coupled with a mortice at mid-rail height in the inner edge of the cruck blade, demonstrated that this had been a spere truss positioned at the south end of a single-bay hall. Supporting this reading of the frame was the presence of a long mortice[13] in the south side of the east wall post at an appropriate height to have housed a doorhead to a cross-passage passing through the (lost) service bay[14] (Fig. 7). Further to this, the much damaged (and since replaced) dropped centre to the truss was unusually wide, suggesting that this may have been to accommodate a mortice for the tenon of a central post rising from the tiebeam.

Evidence for arch-bracing under the collar of a spere truss can be seen elsewhere at Llanshay, near Knighton[15] and, with greater elaboration, in Old Corner House, Weobley.[16]

If the arch braced truss had been the central truss it would have shown that this was a four-bay hall house (two-bay hall plus a solar bay and a service bay), but an arch-braced spere truss in this building indicates that there was a single-bay hall and thus a building of three bays in total with the cross-passage passing through the service bay.[17]

As it happens, the present restored building has had a bay added and thus now, fortuitously, has a similar footprint to that of the original structure.

Figure 7. A reconstruction sketch of the spere truss and crosspassage position in Hacton Cruck cottage seen from the south.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

None of the buildings investigated could have been seen without the help of others and I am grateful for valuable discussions with, and help from, Clive Fewins, Barrie Morgan, Nico Baines, John Steer, Dr Bill Gaskins and Jacqueline Demaus.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES**

[1] 'Hop Pole Inn, No 40 [Bridge Street]… has been refronted and otherwise much altered.' *An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire. Volume III – North-West (*HMSO, 1934), p. 119, Monument 32.
[2] See HSM record 21465.
[3] The use of nails for this purpose in 15th-century Herefordshire buildings was common practice.
[4] The saw was the principal tool for the conversion of timber and two major techniques have been identified. In Herefordshire, tree-ring dating evidence indicates that the transition from one method to the other took place during the 16th century. D. James, 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 43 (2012), pp. 7-18.
[5] See note 4.
[6] D. James. 'An Analysis of the Historic Fabric of Late 16th and Early 17th Century Buildings in Ledbury, Herefordshire' (June 2007). Unpublished report for *England's Past for Everyone* project.
[7] D. James. 'An analysis of the historic fabric of medieval and post-medieval buildings in Weobley, Herefordshire' (April 2007). Unpublished report for Weobley & District History Society.
[8] D. James. 'The buildings of Pembridge – an analysis of the medieval and post-medieval timber-framed houses' in *The History and Heritage of Pembridge, Herefordshire*, Pembridge Amenity Trust (March 2005), pp. 3-77.

[9] D. James. 'An analysis of the historic fabric of thirty buildings in Eardisley, Herefordshire' (August, 2005). Unpublished report for Eardisley History Group.
[10] See note 4.
[11] James, 'The buildings of Pembridge'.
[12] Avoncroft Museum of Buildings, *The barn at Cholstrey Court Farm* (Avoncroft, 1980).
[13] Now hidden by the present, later, chimneystack.
[14] A similar arrangement, with a lower tiebeam, can be seen at Cymyrychen (St Harmon), illustrated in Richard Suggett's, *Houses and history in the March of Wales* (RCAHMW, 2005) pp. 94-5.
[15] Note 14, pp. 67-8.
[16] D. James 'Late medieval provision of shops in the borough of Weobley.' *TWNFC***,** Vol. 59 (2011**),** p. 105.
[17] In smaller hall houses it is not unusual to find the cross-passage passing through the service bay.

# Geology, 2016

*By* MOIRA JENKINS

**A THOUSAND YEARS OF BUILDING WITH STONE**

This project, carried out by Herefordshire and Worcestershire Earth Heritage Trust, which has been funded mainly by the Heritage Lottery Fund over the past four years, is now winding down and will end in April 2017. As well as clusters in Worcestershire, information has been obtained for the following areas in Herefordshire—Ludlow anticline, Leominster, Kington, Bromyard, Hereford, Ledbury, Woolhope Dome, Golden Valley, Ross-on-Wye, Goodrich and the Malvern Hills. This is recorded on the Building Stones Database at www.buildingstones.org.uk/map/. It will remain live and on line for at least another 6 years, available to all. At the end of 2016, it held 2106 building records and 260 quarry records in Herefordshire. It is hoped that good use will be made of the information available there. A dot represents a site and the map can be enlarged to show very fine detail at specific sites, each of which has its own unique information, some with images. The records have as much information as the 70+ volunteers have been able to discover, alongside extra information gathered by the Building Stones team and two paid researchers working on the project to fill gaps and train volunteers.

The aims of the project, at conception, were to map stone buildings across the two counties and to discover the quarries which supplied the materials, over the centuries. Although buildings were easy enough to find, the stone types have been more difficult to identify, particularly once they are out of their bed and have been put into a building. Harder yet has been the ability to say, with certainty, which quarry supplied the stone. Sometimes the quarry no longer exists with no trace of its whereabouts and sometimes there are several quarries in the same area with the same name applied to each, because as one ran out another was opened.

That said, the team has had an excellent and extremely interesting time attempting to sort out the conundrums the project has thrown up, using not only visual identification, research and logic but, latterly, undertaking point counts and assessing hand held XRF data to look at the constituent elements of similar stone types to see if they match or differ, at a basic level. Five building stone trail guides will be produced.

Hereford City's records have been almost doubled by a single volunteer recently with extra information being added to existing records as well as taking the project from 55 building records to 92 and also adding 2 quarries. 86 out of the 92 quarries now have photographs from a starting point of 9 and the stone identification has risen from 31 records to the full 92. This is a remarkable achievement for the Hereford cluster, from probably the worst to one of the best.

All this work will continue until such time as the Technical and Community Consultants finish, at the end of April 2017. The Project Manager will then continue for a couple more weeks into May to finish all the paperwork and tidy up loose ends. After that, it is intended that the database will be hosted by the Historic Environment Records within each county (Herefordshire and Worcestershire) as a resource, remaining available to the public for 10 years.

## VOYAGES IN DEEP TIME

Another Earth Heritage Trust project, financed by the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Bransford Trust, is now well underway. Voyages in Deep Time will provide educational smartphone apps to help the user to understand and explore the rocks and landscape at four sites in Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

A junior app, aimed at youngsters aged 10 - 14, but fun for all, is designed as a game of survival in deep time. A senior app, pitched at A-level standard, will set a problem or task at each site and provide prompts and tools to allow the app user to collect data to solve it. The locations for this work are the Lickey Hills, the Teme valley near Martley, the Doward above the Wye Gorge and the Olchon Valley and Black Mountains on the Herefordshire border with Wales.

Development work on the apps is ongoing at present, but they will be launched in summer 2017 with an outreach programme aimed first at schools and teachers, and then youth and adult interest groups in the autumn. The Earth Heritage Trust would be keen to hear from any groups that would like to use the apps later in the year, and individuals who would like to be trained in Spring 2017 to be helpers when groups are taken out. Contact Julie Harrald on DeepTime@JEGH.me.uk

Some examples of the variety of features investigated in 2016 for the project are described below.

### The Wye Gorge

The Wye Gorge, in the area of Great and Little Doward, is eroded into Devonian and Carboniferous rocks and there are excellent exposures which will be described by the smart phone apps. Most of the local names of the rock units have been changed recently by the British Geological Survey to give consistency nationally. In this report the present day name is given first with the former name in brackets.

Little Doward has a wide variety of rocks, the oldest of which is the Lower Devonian Brownstones Formation. There are 3 sets of crags on the hillside The lowest is made up of the Upper Devonian Huntsham Hill Conglomerate (Quartz Conglomerate), overlain by Tintern Sandstone Formation which does not stand out as crags. The next crag is the Black Rock Limestone (Lower Dolomite) and the highest the Gully Oolite (Crease Limestone).

Figure 1. Little Doward. Karst horizon with a rubbly surface overlain by algal limestone.

Black Rock Limestone Formation (Lower Dolomite) has been chemically changed when calcium in the calcium carbonate has been replaced by magnesium. The massive pseudo-bedding in the cliffs is a pressure solution feature and most of the

original sedimentary features and fossils have been destroyed by the dolomitisation process. It is underlain by Avon Group (Lower Limestone Shale), which has much thinner beds, mostly limestone but with some shale layers

On Little Doward, the cliff of massive dolomitic limestone is undercut at the base where it overlies a weaker shale horizon (Plate 7.1). Of interest for the apps being developed for the Deep Time Project, the Gully Oolite (Crease Limestone) also shows a fine example of a limestone pavement. The geomorphological features—the incised meanders of the River Wye—are also classic examples which are studied by students across the UK and further afield.

On Great Doward the Gully Oolite (Crease Limestone) is clearly seen at King Arthur's Cave, which is one of a series of caves cut in a cliff face which was eroded when the River Wye was at a higher level than the present day. Seen from the mouth of the cave is a dry valley, where a river once flowed, which smoothed the base of cliffs and dissolved the limestone rock to form the caves.

Figure 2. Great Doward. Showing a meandering burrow under the thumb.

Llanelly Formation (Whitehead Limestone) overlies the Gully Oolite (Crease Limestone) and is clearly seen in Lord's Wood Quarry, a nature reserve. Gully Oolite was deposited in shallow water and shows some current bedding and a rubbly layer on top. This is a karst surface where the limestone was exposed during the Carboniferous and eroded sub-aerially. There has been some dissolution of the limestone producing crevasses which were later infilled by algal mats of the overlying Llanelly Formation (Fig. 1).

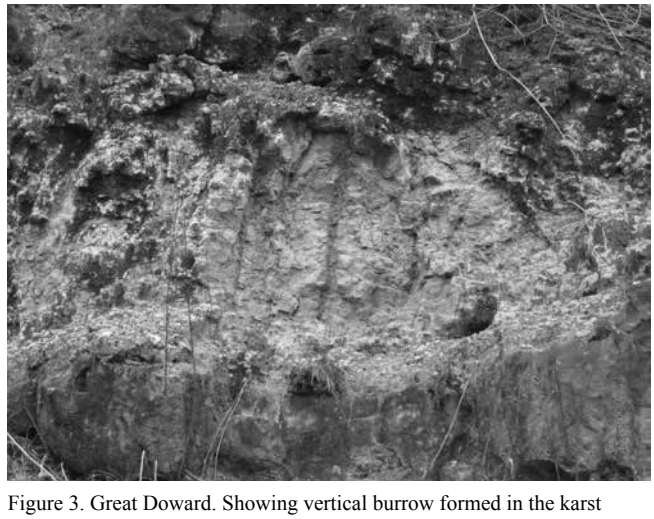

Figure 3. Great Doward. Showing vertical burrow formed in the karst landscape.

The algal mats are made up of stromatolites, layer upon layer of cyanobacteria, single-celled photosynthesizing microbes that live today in a wide range of environments ranging from the shallow shelf to lakes, rivers, and even soils. Layers were produced as calcium carbonate precipitated over the growing mat of bacterial filaments; photosynthesis in the bacteria depleted carbon dioxide

in the surrounding water, initiating the precipitation. They were almost the only thing that grew in the really saline conditions of the time (Plate 7.2).

Animals which lived in the karst landscape burrowed into the sediments. Some meandered across the surface, as seen on a loose block in Fig. 2. Other creatures made vertical burrows into the underlying sediment (Fig. 3).

Great Doward is capped by rock of the Cromhall Sandstone Formation (Drybrook Sandstone) which marks the change from marine to terrestrial conditions at the end of the period when the Carboniferous Limestone was deposited (Plate 7.3). The formation of this rock is followed by that of the Trenchard Formation (Coal Measures) seen today in the Forest of Dean

**Black Mountains**

On the Black Mountains at Black Darren, Red Daren[1] and the Cat's Back, the Lower Devonian Senni Formation is seen overlying the Freshwater West Formation (St Maughans Formation). Plate 7.4 shows an intra-formational conglomerate towards the top of the Freshwater West Formation. This contains a variety of pebbles including sandstone and calcrete, brought by streams into the arid area by a rush of water after a rain storm.

The boundary between the Freshwater West Formation and Senni Formation is marked by a calcrete, the Ffynnon Limestone. Calcretes form in semi-arid conditions during a period of stability when no fresh sediment was carried into the area by rivers and when the amount of evaporation of lime-saturated ground water matches the amount of precipitation leading to accumulation of calcium carbonate as nodules at the base of the soil layer (Plate 7.5).

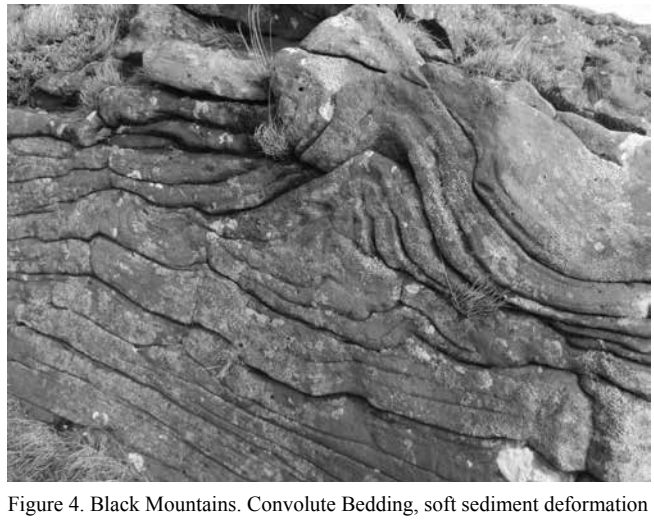

Figure 4. Black Mountains. Convolute Bedding, soft sediment deformation in the Senni Formation.

The Senni Formation shows some interesting sedimentary features and has horizons with skolithos burrows, which are not illustrated here. There is a layer of convolute bedding which was formed by deformation of soft wet sediment probably caused by shaking during an earthquake (Fig. 4).

At the picnic site at Black Darren the hummocky ground is a landslip area (Plate 7.6) Higher up under the cliffs are steep-sided ridges running parallel to the steep slopes. The landslip and these periglacial features (protalus or pronival ramparts) have been described in a paper in a previous edition of *TWNFC*[2] (Figs 5 and 6).

Figure 5. Black Darren. Protalus rampart running parallel to the hillside with steep sides above and below.

Figure 6. Black Darren., showing the huge blocks which make up the protalus rampart.

**SITE CLEARANCE WORK WITHIN MALVERN HILLS AONB**

Site clearance work continued for Malvern Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and Malvern Hills Conservators, carried out by volunteers and organised by the Earth Heritage Trust. This project has given a marvellous opportunity to clean rock faces and clearly expose the interesting and varied geology in the Malvern Hills AONB area. The sites cleared in Herefordshire in 2016 were Wyche Quarry south of the Wyche Cutting, Wild Goose Farm, Hollybush roadside and Chance's Pitch. The sites are now in excellent condition for teaching and research purposes. It

is hoped that field trips will be made by schools and university groups to those sites which have public access.

**Wyche Quarry south**

The site is a west-facing crag about 2m high and 35m long (SO 7688 4365) lying behind the first houses on Jubilee Drive, immediately south-west of the Wyche cutting. It was quarried at least 130 years ago, probably for the construction of local houses or walls. The quarry face shows a variety of rock types: granite, diorite, microdiorite and pegmatite.

Foliated rocks were clearly visible, especially at the northern end of the quarry but did not show the expected consistency in the direction of the foliation. Some evidence of schistose structure was seen in the large northern rock face. An interesting feature is the large number of what appear to be pods of granite. The pink colouration, seen in the protrusions from the quarry wall left undug by the quarrymen, shows this well. These pods may be boudinaged pegmatite intrusions.

**Wildgoose Farm**

The private site at Wildgoose Farm (West) is part of a linear quarry dug where the outcrop of a steeply dipping bed of Much Wenlock Limestone crosses a field. The Storridge area is one where the folding of the Silurian strata is more complex than it is in general to the west and north of the Malverns. All this structure results from the crumpling of the Silurian strata during the thrusting from the east in the Variscan Orogeny at the end of the Carboniferous Period. The thrusting broke and pushed the previously horizontal rock layers so that they now lie tilted to the west with a dip is about 55°. The rocks are a grey, calcite-veined limestone and are rather nodular in appearance with undulating surfaces. Occasional smoother surfaces show brachiopods, particularly *Leptaena*. Crinoid ossicles are widely found throughout.

**Hollybush Roadside**

By the roadside of A438, just west of the point where it crosses the line of the Malvern Hills, is an exposure of Cambrian Hollybush Sandstone. The sandstone is dark green in colour, micaceous and flaggy. It was deposited in shallow marine conditions. The Hollybush Sandstone is cut by Ordovician intrusions of spilitic andesite and dolerite. This exposure had become so overgrown by brambles and gorse that the geology was no longer visible. Some margins of the intrusions are now visible.

**Chances Pitch**

An excellent exposure was created in 1957 when the current main road was built leading down from British Camp to the west of the hills. This opened for examination a continuous section through the Aymestry Limestone, which dips at a fairly constant 20º due north and much of the Upper Ludlow Siltstone. This is now completely overgrown. The present task was to clear sites just to the north of the old (disused) main road at the bottom end of Chances Pitch.

The Aymestry Limestone is about 25m thick is this area and most lies a little to the south of the area cleared. The rock exposures cleared are thus near the base of the Upper Ludlow Shales Formation. The transition between this and the Aymestry Limestone is a gradual change from siltstone with some limestone nodules to nodular limestone with a considerable proportion

of siltstone. The boundary is taken, locally at least, to be a conglomerate of limestone clasts in a shelly matrix.

One interesting feature seen was a crumple zone about 10m in length (east-west) bounded on the east side by a thrust fault, dipping east at about 25º and with drag folding in the footwall. The other end of the crumple zone was hidden under debris. In the crumple zone the strata were tilted to dip at angles between 60º and 80º to the west. This thrust is presumably Variscan and a part of that disturbance which emplaced the rocks of the Herefordshire Beacon on top of Silurian strata.

A large fossil was found here in the Upper Ludlow Shales, a gastropod (Fig. 7 & Plate 7.7). This fossil has not yet been identified. It resembles *Euomphalus* but is much larger, about 12 cms across. It is hoped that further research will yield more information.

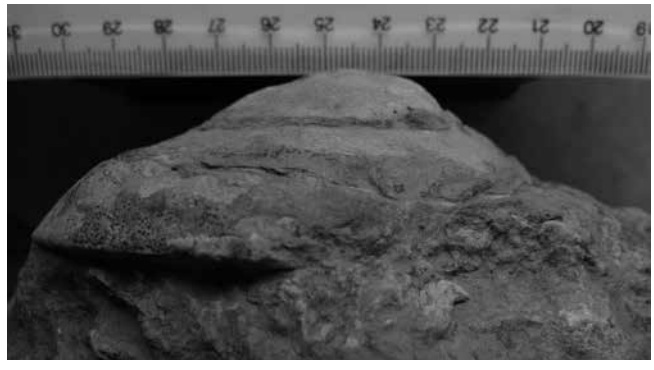

Figure 7. Gastropod found at Chance's Pitch, side view.

**MAPPING THE KNIGHTON SHEET.**

A project which includes a part of northwest Herefordshire has made great progress this year. This is being carried out by a team of volunteers including many members of the Woolhope Club Geology Section, aiming to map an area not yet covered by the British Geological Survey. This is 1:50,000 Sheet 180, the Knighton Sheet, for which the most up-to-date geological map was produced in early Victorian times. Several expeditions have been organised to the Radnor Forest area to look for graptolites, which evolved rapidly and can be used to date the rocks (Fig. 8). The Herefordshire area of the sheet includes Wapley and Shobdon Hills and the Stapleton and Brampton Bryan areas. There is a variety of interesting geology, especially the structures and the glacial history. Some areas are highly fossiliferous. One specimen which has been identified is *Saetograptus leintwardinensis*, which dates the rocks of this particular area of Radnor Forest to the Ludlow Series.

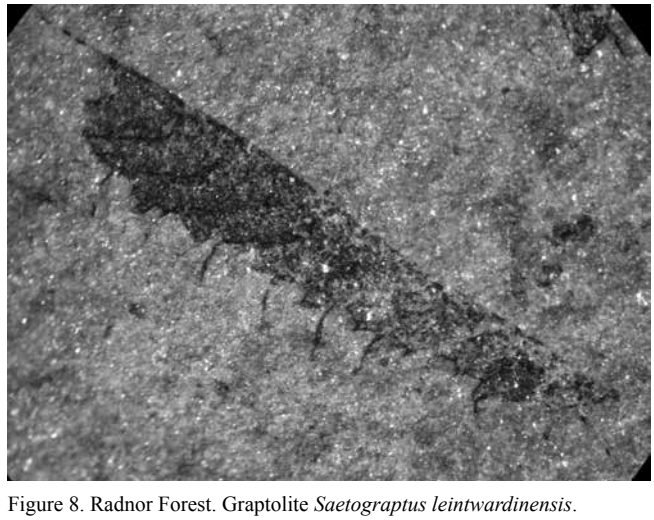

Figure 8. Radnor Forest. Graptolite *Saetograptus leintwardinensis*.

**GEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES VISITING THE AREA**

Groups such as the Open University continue to visit the SSSI at the Gullet Quarry. Unfortunately the lower part of the quarry, with its excellent exposures of many interesting geological features and structure of the Precambrian Malverns Complex, has been made inaccessible for health and safety reasons. Without descending to the lower quarry, it used to be possible to examine the variety of rock types in the wall on the east side of the quarry. However recently a fence with barbed wire has been erected which prevents even close examination of the wall.

**SHORTWOOD FARM LANDSLIP**

The road below Shortwood Farm was closed for a long period after the landslip which was described in the geology report in *TWNFC* 2014.[1] The road surface has now been repaired with gabions supporting the bank in one section. The cleft across the field is still clearly visible. The lobed edge of the front of the landslip to the west of the road has fresh soil showing and appears to be still moving. The road itself has a rippled surface in the area of one of the breaks. The track to Shortwood Farm has been widened by digging into the hillside above. This has exposed layers of sandstone which are dipping down the slope (Fig. 9). In places some of the sandstone beds are separated by layers of impermeable mudstone. When the upper surface of the mudstone becomes lubricated, the overlying rock can move down the steep slope on the slippery surface, as happened in the landslide which took place in 2014.

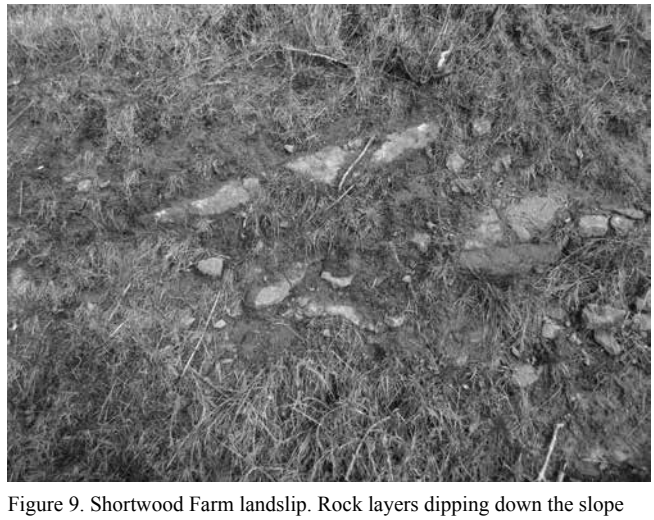

Figure 9. Shortwood Farm landslip. Rock layers dipping down the slope towards the camera.

**THE IMPORTANCE OF RECORDING TEMPORARY EXPOSURES**

Moira Jenkins would be grateful to hear about interesting geological sites, especially those where rock is temporarily exposed. That would give the opportunity for recording the geology before it is again covered over.

**REFERENCES**

[1] This article follows the spelling given by the OS for Black Darren and Red Daren.
[2] R. H. Bryant, 'Rock Slope Failure and glaciation of the Darens, Olchon Valley, Herefordshire', *TWNFC* (2010), pp. 127-40.
[3] M. Jenkins, 'Geology, 2014', *TWNFC* (2014) Vol. 63, pp 186-7.

# Ornithology, 2016

*By* BERYL HARDING

As I am rather unexpectedly leaving the county before the end of March, I am afraid that I have not had time to complete the usual full report for the Transactions but give below the results for the Nest Box Scheme for 2016.

Once again, the results in 2016 year were very disappointing for many sites with poor weather conditions in both April and again in early June. This meant that parents had to spend more time brooding their young rather than searching for food and the food availability was also scarce as much insect life was washed off leaf surfaces. Predation also continued to be a problem at both the egg and fledgling stages of development.

As always, our thanks go to the ringers and especially to the recorders for their perseverance in returning to record the results of the scheme in the face of such disappointments.

**Results for last the last nine years**:

| | **2016** | **2015** | **2014** | **2013** | **2012** | **2011** | **2010** | **2009** | **2008** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sites recorded | 27 | 27 | 23 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 29 | 30 | 29 |
| Boxes available | 871 | 866 | 731 | 741 | 805 | 820 | 818 | 939 | 961 |
| Boxes used | 504 | 451 | 414 | 453 | 478 | 521 | 510 | 508 | 519 |
| % used | **57.8** | **52.1** | **56.6** | **61.1** | **59.3** | **63.5** | **62.3** | **54.1** | **54.0** |

The take up of boxes used was higher than in the previous two years.

**Species Results for 2016 compared with 2015:**

| | **Sites 2016/15** | **Nests 2016/15** | **Eggs 2016/15** | **Hatched 2016/15** | **Fledged 2016/15** | **% success 2016/15** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Species** | | | | | | |
| Pied Flycatcher | 17/16 | 120/114 | 666/744 | 550/594 | 401/436 | **60.2/58.6** |
| Blue Tit | 27/27 | 193/186 | 1464/1540 | 1085/1015 | 709?/782 | **48.4/50.7** |
| Great Tit | 27/27 | 229/163/ | 882/758 | 729/589 | 536/434 | **60.7/57.3** |
| Coal Tit | 2/1 | 2/7 | 14/7 | 13/7 | 13/7 | **92.8/100.0** |
| Redstart | 3/2 | 3/2 | 18/13 | 17/12 | 8/11 | **44.4/84.6** |
| Nuthatch | 8/8 | 10/19 | 56/94 | 46/74 | 30/62 | **53.6/70.2** |
| Wren | 3/3 | 7/3 | 20/7 | 7/7 | 07 | **Failed/100** |

**Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species for the past five years.**

| Species | 2016 | 2015 | 2014 | 2013 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pied Flycatcher | 60.2%-17 sites | 58.6% - 16 sites | 64.7%-10 sites | 72.8%-14 sites | 63.7% - 9 sites |
| Blue Tit | 48.4% -27 sites | 50.7% - 27 sites | 60.9%-23 sites | 69.1%-26 sites | 58.7%- 26 sites |
| Great Tit | 60.7%- 27 sites | 57.3& - 23 sites | 71.3%-22 sites | 68.0%-26 sites | 67.3%- 26 sites |
| Marsh Tit | No sites | No sites | No sites | 80.0% - 1 site | Failed – 1 site |
| Coal Tit | 92.8%- 2 sites | 100% - 1 site | 30.6% - 1 site | 100% - 1 site | No record |
| Nuthatch | 53.6%- 8 sites | 70.5% - 8 sites | 70.5% - 5 sites | 42.8% - 5 sites | 56.8% - 9 sites |
| Redstart | 44.4% - 3 sites | 84.6% - 2 sites | 53.8% - 3 sites | 72.1% - 4 sites | ? - 3 sites |
| Wren | Failed- 3 sites | 100% -3 sites | ? - 1 site | ? - 1 site | 58.3% - 1 site |

**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*** | 11 sites | 86 nests | 473 eggs | 304 fledged | 64.2% success |
| **2015** | 16 sites | 114 nests | 744 eggs | 436 fledged | 58.6% success |
| **2016** | 17 sites | 120 nests | 666 eggs | 401 fledged | 60.2% success |

* The 2014 results have been restated from those reported in that year.

**Average overall success rate over the 16 years has been 64.9%**

**Dippers**

The following notes on Dippers may prove of interest as they are frequently to be seen around the fast-flowing rivers of Herefordshire almost 'advertising' their presence by their continual dipping movements. Why does the Dipper dip? One suggestion has been that both it and the Grey Wagtail, another bird living nearby fast-running water, which continually and erratically wags its tail, are both making these movements to blend in with the turbulence of their environments and so avoid detection. It cannot be a movement related to attracting a mate as they do this all the year round and beyond the breeding season.

Stephanie Tyler, recorder of the Dipper population in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, is an expert having studied them intensively for 40 years. She has watched all five species of this remarkable family, from the Himalayas to the Rocky Mountains and the rivers of South America, says that 'there are many hypotheses but none are really definite'.[1]

This little brown bird with its white throat, about the same size as Blackbird but perhaps a little stouter, is claimed to be 'Britain's only aquatic songbird', and possesses many adaptations for its way of life. Some are invisible, for example, the unusually high haemoglobin levels in its blood enabling the storage of large amounts of oxygen during its under-water dives. A special nostril flap seals its nose from inrushing water, and it has exceptionally well-developed eye muscles that control the shape of its lenses, so helping it to overcome the visual difficulties of refraction in water.

Like other birds, it has a nictitating membrane, or third eyelid which is nearly transparent, giving the eye protection when underwater. With rapid blinks this acts like a windscreen wiper both moistening and cleansing the front of the eye. In the Dipper this membrane has whitish tinge and can be clearly seen when the bird is emerging from a dive—the male also uses it to attract a mate by continually flashing it across the eye when out of water and during their mutual bobbing display. (In humans the third eyelid is reduced to the vestigial pink area seen on the nose-side corner of our eyes.)

Other bodily adaptation are the short but strong flipper-like wings that help to beat the bird down to the bottom against the fast-flowing water and the long toes with powerful claws which act like crampons as it remains underwater walking along the wet and stony river bed.

Most remarkable is its 'wetsuit'. The feathers are very soft and dense having almost one and a half times as many body feathers as a Blackbird and it has an enormous preen gland at the base of its tail for oil secretion. This gland allows the bird's thick, well-oiled plumage to trap thousands of air bubbles underwater giving it a silvery appearance and making it less visible to prey than its brown and brilliant white feathers would suggest. Bobbing up into open air again, it instantly shivers off the pearly water droplets.

Its size is important—if smaller it could be washed away when the river is in spate or if larger it would be unable to squeeze into narrow fissures, or under boulders to find prey. Dippers mostly hunt caddis and mayfly nymphs which are clinging to the underside of rocks to shelter from the currents and grazing on the algae coating the boulders and gravel. The silk webs of the Caddis larvae are easily torn aside and those species with their woven protective coating of leaves and twigs have their cases repeatedly beaten against a stone after the bird surfaces thereby exposing the soft body.

As Tyler says, the nature of Dipper food makes this bird a fantastic indication of the quality of the aquatic environment. Many caddis and mayfly larvae live only in fast-flowing, well-oxygenated rivers. Mayflies are sensitive to changes in water quality, and caddis flies to changes

in sediment, so the appearance or disappearance of Dippers is symptomatic of changes in river quality. In our post-industrial landscape Dippers have been re-colonising the formerly polluted waterways through towns and cities and are now more commonly seen by urban dwellers than in perhaps more than 150 years.

However, a new paradox is now emerging. Birds that recolonised old haunts can now face newer pollutants including micro-plastics that are entering the food chain, particles of which have been found in the bodies of aquatic insect larvae. What this means for Dippers has yet to be ascertained as their life span is rarely more than two or three years so there can be no long-term study. But unfortunately, their present day numbers are falling and figures from the B.T.O. (British Trust for Ornithology) show a 30 % decline in numbers nationwide since 1970, a trend that shows no sign of diminishing.

Pollutant run-off from farms and poultry-houses into rivers cause eutrophication, the depletion of oxygen in the water, so killing aquatic organisms. Unprotected river banks allow more sediment to enter also affecting these organisms. In such degraded environments the reduction of aquatic prey affects the Dipper population, so where a stretch of river may have held four to five territories in the past there may be now only one or two.

Studies in other bird species show that lack of food can affect its quality of song. Dippers sing all the year round and are highly territorial, so a poor singer would be less likely to acquire a mate or be able to defend a territory. By the end of March, Dipper numbers in the lower reaches of rivers will thin out as their winter visitors depart upstream. Freed from encroachment of these intruders, those pairs that are still established will be singing out, sounding rather like high-pitched thrushes and building their nests under waterfalls, on rocky banks or under bridges.

Consequently, the upper reaches of our rivers still remain the most suitable habitat and H.O.C (Herefordshire Ornithological Club) records for 2015 still show its bird status as a 'fairly common resident' with 136 records received, nearly double those of the previous year, mostly around the Monnow valley, Dulas and Bringsty with breeding confirmed at 17 sites in the Monnow catchment area and two from the north of the county.

**REFERENCES**

[1] Stephanie Tyler, *The Dippers* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1994).

# Weather Statistics, 2016

*By* IAN K. PORTER

| *Month* | *Maximum temperature shade ºC* | *Minimum temperature shade ºC* | *Rainfall mm.* | *Maximum rainfall in 1 day mm.* | *Days with rainfall* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 11.1 | -4.4 | 115.6 | 19.6 (3rd) | 18 |
| February | 11.1 | -3.3 | 67.1 | 36.8 (6th) | 5 |
| March | 14.4 | -0.5 | 101.3 | 36.8 (9th) | 8 |
| April | 16.1 | 1.1 | 52.3 | 18.8 (11th) | 14 |
| May | 24.4 | 3.9 | 59.4 | 11.9 (9th) | 11 |
| June | 27.2 | 8.3 | 102.6 | 27.2 (16th) | 15 |
| July | 31.6 | 10.0 | 5.8 | 4.3 (13th) | 3 |
| August | 26.7 | 11.7 | 90.4 | 30.2 (28th) | 9 |
| September | 23.3 | 7.8 | 79.2 | 22.4 (24th) | 11 |
| October | 16.1 | 5.6 | 18.0 | 11.4 (15th) | 5 |
| November | 12.8 | -4.4 | 139.4 | 52.3 (21st) | 7 |
| December | 12.2 | -2.8 | 43.4 | 20.3 (10th) | 6 |
| **Total** | | | **874.8** | | **112** |

Highest day temperature: 31.6ºC 19th July
Lowest night temperature: -4.4ºC 19th January, 29th November

# Weather Summary 2007 to 2016

| *Year* | *Total rainfall year mm.* | *Wettest day mm* | *Date* | *Days with rain* | *Highest temp. deg C* | *Lowest temp. deg.C* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2007 | 903.0 | 92.5 | July 19 | 117 | 27.2 | - 4.4 |
| 2008 | 928.6 | 43.2 | Mar. 15 | 126 | 27.8 | -4.4 |
| 2009 | 713.5 | 26.2 | July 17 | 123 | 29.4 | -5.0 |
| 2010 | 585.7 | 47.0 | Aug. 25 | 102 | 28.3 | -9.4 |
| 2011 | 498.9 | 18.3 | Oct. 27 | 105 | 27.8 | -5.6 |
| 2012 | 1007.4 | 67.3 | Sept. 23 | 141 | 27.2 | -7.8 |
| 2013 | 821.9 | 30.7 | Sept. 21 | 116 | 28.9 | -4.4 |
| 2014 | 1018.3 | 44.2 | Oct. 13 | 152 | 28.3 | -2.8 |
| 2015 | 768.4 | 27.9 | Aug. 14 | 120 | 30.0 | -3.3 |
| 2016 | 874.8 | 52.3 | Nov. 21 | 112 | 31.6 | -4.4 |

Recorded by I. K. Porter at Greening's Acre, Little Birch. Height 152 m. (500ft)

# Book Reviews, 2016

*By* IAN BASS, JANET COOPER,
ROSALIND LOWE, JEAN O'DONNELL, DAVID WHITEHEAD

***Miniature Baptismal Fonts,* Julian Wheeler (Fircone Books, 2016), 48 pp.**

Miniature fonts were usually used when a newborn was too ill to be brought to the church and the incumbent had to perform the ceremony in the child's home, often at short notice. They were made of most materials, from gold to wood, sometimes have special carrying cases and can be small enough to fit into a pocket. In the 19th century the major ceramic manufacturers such as Minton made them, the design often copied from surviving medieval fonts such as that in Hereford cathedral, and may by then have been bought as interesting objects rather than for baptismal use. This slim but beautifully illustrated volume is brought to the notice of members in case they should come across one in their travels—there are some in Herefordshire and one is photographed. Unfortunately they are not always recognized as sacred and quite valuable items; some have been sold or stolen, hence for security reasons a gazetteer has not been provided.

Rosalind Lowe

***Offa's Dyke: Landscape and Hegemony in Eighth Century Britain* by Keith Ray and Ian Bapty (2016, Windgather Press) 464 pp.**

Given the extensive bibliography of material on Offa and his Dyke, any new work must be written with the object of bringing some significant new approach or theory to the table. Keith Ray, as lead author, served for a number of years as Herefordshire's County Archaeologist. He has formulated two new approaches to the subject and this book, written with his colleague Ian Bapty, is the result.

In summary, the first new approach is to consider the detailed topography and construction of the Dyke. How does it fit into the landscape, both physical and psychological? Was there a common approach to construction and navigation around natural obstacles such as river valleys? The second new approach is to consider the reasons for the building of the Dyke in the context of the political position of Offa and Mercia in the wider world. Was it for defence against the Welsh or a statement of political power, designed to impress other rulers in Britain and Europe?

The book is the result of much thought over a number of years and it requires from its reader both concentration and stamina. As a reviewer it was necessary initially to work through it from beginning to end over a relatively short timescale, but this was a mistake. Only on a second reading, working slowly through sections relevant to my own research, did I reap the full benefit. Inevitably a lot of the examples chosen are outside Herefordshire, but the conclusions drawn from them can, in the authors' opinion, be applied to the Dyke in our county. The apparent lack of the earthwork in much of Herefordshire is also considered.

The first section is an exhaustive review of the Dyke's documentary and investigative history from its earliest mention to the present day, plus a short history of Mercia as it relates to the Welsh Marches. While this is useful for those coming new to the subject or wishing to avoid following up numerous references, a considered summary of the important points might have been sufficient for the sections that follow. A number of recent hypotheses are evaluated

and often dismissed. There are factual errors. Sir Samuel Meyrick was neither Welsh nor lived in Monmouthshire, for example.

The second section considers the topographical and practical issues of surveying, designing (both from a physical and psychological point of view), building and then managing the Dyke. The huge length and variable character of the Dyke makes this analysis a mammoth task but also offers the possibility of identifying the common features or, conversely, identifying why the differences are there. I should mention that my main interest is the stretch in English Bicknor which is hardly mentioned, but I found a new avenue for research even so.

The third section examines the political situation in Mercia in some detail when building of the Dyke was presumably set in motion. This contains the 'hegemony' part of the analysis, considering the actual status of Offa, his successors and his alliances. His relationship with Charlemagne is explored; the complex political manoeuvering and dynastic alliances are explained and the surprising amount of respect given to high-born Mercian women is noted. Again, inevitably, the focus is not often on the Marches.

The summary section draws together the ideas of the preceding chapters but perhaps not explicitly enough. The idea that the Dyke has intentionally 'stronger' and 'weaker' sections is powerful; it should inform the search for and the characterisation of the path of the Dyke. It also suggests a quite different scenario for its 'slight' sections. Fox considered that these were forced upon the builders by dense woodland, but we know that this is not true. If merely marking a boundary of some kind, how much was agreed by the parties on either side?

There are, of course, some irritants. One difficulty for the reader is that throughout the book, not just in the middle section, numerous photographs of sections of the Dyke have been used as illustration. These have several sentences of text in the captions not always directly relevant to the surrounding text and thus distracting. A number of the photographs do not add to points being made and are more relevant to the central section anyway. Black and white photographs come as a relief as the eye, and there are simple maps and plans which are well drawn. It would have been much better to have replaced some of the colour photographs with LiDAR images of the parts of the Dyke under discussion. We could then have seen the Dyke builders' solutions to tricky topographical problems, as well as answering some questions about the extent of apparently missing stretches.

While not necessarily agreeing with all the conclusions on the whys and hows of the building of the Dyke, we can now examine on the ground various sections with a more informed eye. Hopefully there may be funding forthcoming for some future archaeological investigation, of which there has been a surprisingly small amount.

Rosalind Lowe

***The Parish that disappeared: a history of St John's, Hereford*, Liz Pitman (Logaston Press, 2016) 114 pp.**

In her introduction Liz Pitman says that this central Hereford parish 'has disappeared with barely a whisper'. Her mission was to bring it to life with an account of the church within a church and the people of the parish. In this she succeeds with a lively account.

The puzzle of just where the church for the parish of St John, that surrounds the cathedral, was situated has intrigued many of us. Many years ago I asked the learned expert Penelope

Morgan who told me, to my surprise, that the church was in the cathedral. It was one of the earliest parishes and related to the origins of the minster.

This book traces the history of the parish and its altar until the 18th century. The parish was dissolved in 2012.The migration of the altar round the cathedral is curious; from the crypt to the north aisle to the choir and nave and explains some of the mystery around its location. The author provides well-researched evidence to show this. At one point it was resolved to build a separate church as the vicar's noise interrupted the cathedral offices but this plan was never carried out.

In the second part of her book the author describes in lively detail the society that resided in the parish. Using documentary evidence from parish registers and census records she discusses parishioners such as the Hoskyns of Harewood Park (who presumably had a town house) and the 'base' born children of Gwynne Street and their dubious backgrounds. There is an analysis of the occupations of residents which shows the decline of some trades, including bakers and butchers, within the area. Biographies of the residents include a Jewish jeweller in Broad Street mentioned in the census in 1841. The lives of two interesting women are discussed. The first is the fascinating Francis Leigh, daughter of Fanny Kemble, who married an American slave owner and is commemorated in a cathedral window. The second is Gertrude Dziewicki, of Polish ancestry who led an adventurous life as a governess.

This is a well-written account of our most important, and now lost, parish. The subject is well researched and the detail illuminating. It is part of the cathedral's history and deserves a place on any bookshelf.

Jean O'Donnell

***The Story of Hereford*, Andy Johnson and Ron Shoesmith (eds) (Logaston Press, 2016)**

Fourteen scholars have contributed to this book, which fills an important gap in the local history of Herefordshire. The 15 chapters cover the history of the city—or its site—from the Mesolithic to the 21st century, providing a full, although inevitably not comprehensive, account of the city.

Keith Ray makes the most of rather limited material to describe 'Prehistoric and Roman Hereford', concluding by making a strong case for a 'modest Romano-British settlement', west of the later cathedral. He is on firmer ground when it comes to 'Anglo-Saxon Hereford', which has been extensively excavated, notably by Ron Shoesmith, and for which there is some documentary evidence. Dr Ray is able to paint a convincing picture of the late Anglo-Saxon town with its walls, its cathedral, and St Guthlac's priory as well as a royal residence.

P. J. Pikes, with Ron Shoesmith, covers 'The First Years of the Norman Conquest', including the foundation of the new French borough, and 'The early Castle, the City Walls and Gates'. Archaeological and documentary evidence, including 18th-century maps and drawings, enables them to give a detailed description of the walls and gates, with some of the structures, including a prison, built against them. The theme of the Castle is continued in David Whitehead's chapter on 'The Castle post Anarchy to the eve of the Civil War', which includes accounts of Hereford's involvement with the rebellions of Simon de Montfort, Roger Mortimer and Owain Glyndŵr.

The chapter on 'The Norman Cathedral, Bishops and Churches', by Ron Shoesmith and P. J. Pikes, covers considerably more than the Norman period, taking the history of the cathedral and some of the bishops up to the 15th and 16th centuries. It concludes with a useful summary of the parish churches, otherwise rather neglected in this book, and the religious houses in the city.

'Hereford as a Centre of Medieval Learning and Art' by Sarah Arrowsmith, Rosemary Firmin and Malcolm Thurlby introduces a new topic and one perhaps more usually associated with later university towns than with Hereford. The Mappa Mundi naturally figures largely, but so does the cathedral library and its treasures including the Hereford Gospels. The latter part of the chapter, by Thurlby, discusses the important early sculpture in the cathedral.

In 'Trade and Commerce in the Middle Ages' David Whitehead draws on a wide range of sources to discuss the economy of the medieval city, including the Jewish community, markets and fairs, and the economic importance of the cult of Thomas Cantilupe. The chapter also covers relations between the rival cathedral and the city authorities, and 'Hereford and the Wars of the Roses'.

Pat Hughes and Ron Shoesmith start with an overview of building in the medieval town, before describing individual buildings including the bishop's palace, the Old House, the Booth Hall, and the Market Hall in their chapter on 'The Medieval Buildings of Hereford'.

In the chapter on the Civil War Ron Shoesmith makes good use of contemporary pamphlets, letters and diaries, including those of the Hereford resident Joyce Jeffries, to give a vivid picture of the attacks on and sieges of the city and their aftermath.

Ken Hylson-Smith and Andy Johnson contribute a competent and readable account of 'Faith and Religion' from the 13th century to the 18th centuries, including brief biographies of some of the bishops. The chapter also covers the cult of St Thomas Cantilupe, the religious houses of the medieval town and its Jewish community, as well as the effects of the Reformation, the Civil War and the Restoration.

'Georgian Hereford' is thoroughly covered by David Whitehead and Heather Hurley in a chapter which includes a short account of city government, as well as fascinating details of the social and economic life of the city in this period of growth and 'Improvement'.

John Eisel draws on his unrivalled knowledge of the local newspapers of the period for his chapters on 'Victorian Hereford' and on 'Literature and the Arts' from *c*. 1800', an age in which the city grew rapidly. As new businesses and industries were established and housing was built, the city developed the infrastructure to serve them. Derek Foxton and Graham Roberts bring the story up to the present day with 'Hereford in the 20th and 21st centuries', another period of change and expansion.

All the chapters have footnotes, although there is tremendous variation in the number and form of those notes. Some sort of brief bibliography to augment the notes might have been helpful to the reader, although providing it would undoubtedly have involved considerable work. The copious illustrations throughout the book, both in black and white and colour, are excellent.

Janet Cooper

***The Tailor of Hereford*, John Harrison (Logaston Press, 2016) 182 pp.**

The story of a Hereford business, which commenced in 1836 and is still thriving is certainly worth telling but may appear to some potential readers as a little self-indulgent and narrow. However, John Harrison's book on the Pritchards of Hereford achieves much more and is a model of its kind. Certainly, there is a good family story here (once you have mastered the relationships) which is full of incident, both fortunate and unfortunate. Given the dramatic backdrop of European and British imperial history in this period, there are few families, even in a backwater like Herefordshire, who did not get touched by the dramatic events of the time.

The story of Percy Pritchard (1896-1996), survivor of Gallipoli, member of the Imperial Camel Corps and subsequently the Royal Flying Corps, is quite exceptional. Here, as elsewhere, John Harrison is a competent commentator on all aspects of 19th and 20th century history. There is always a broader context; social, economic or political, which swept the family in and out of crises and with the author's help we can understand their actions and reactions. Being a small town trader in this period was no easy task but the true story is rarely told.

William Pritchard's time (1827-1913) was set against an unprecedented period of decline—German competition, agricultural depression and deteriorating weather conditions, which affected the landed and farming community—and their tailor. William's large family all expected to be employed or supported by the business. In addition there were the tradesmen—10 in 1861—who worked in the cutting shop and who also lodged with the family in High Town or Broad Street. The solution was growth and diversification; a new shop was opened; haberdashery and hosiery were embraced, and the middle classes were encouraged to shop at Pritchards. The family were not great record keepers—they were too busy for that—but a few ledgers have survived, occasional bills, business letters and the manuals supplied by wholesalers. Mr. Harrison weaves these disparate sources together, exploiting also the staples of family history e.g. newspapers, directories, census data etc to create a coherent story. His grasp of the *minutiae* of early tailoring is exceptional.

For the local historian—apart from providing a model for similar histories set in Leominster, Kington etc.—the sections dealing with the immediate environment are most valuable. The 'shopocracy' of Hereford and their relationship with the Pritchards is fully explored in various periods. All the great names of the bye-gone age such as Greenlands, Wakefield Knight, Gurneys, are here. Naturally there is some competition with other tailors in the town but generally there is a cooperative atmosphere and as new threats appear on the horizon—the Co-operative Society, multi-nationals, mass production etc—there is increased collaboration. Social intercourse and marriage was common and a turning point for the Pritchard family arrived when, late in his life, Walter (1867-1947) took as his second wife, Margaret Gough, a major partner in Wakefield and Knight, a principal competitor of Pritchards in some fields. She died leaving £47,000 but sadly none passed to her adopted family, struggling against external forces.

Perhaps the most revealing source made available to the author was Ledger J (1897-1912), which lists Pritchards' customers, and registers their purchases, credit ratings etc. When combined with the information in commercial directories and the census, most can be identified. We can read here, in detail, the personal preferences and social life of the élite in late Victorian and Edwardian Hereford. The landed gentry, clergy (Anglican and Catholic), army officers and members of the professions all visited Pritchards. Count Lubienski of Rotherwas bought cycling gear; Mr Ecroyd of Credenhill Park spent a lot on his coachman; wives came alone to buy intimate items and even Alfred Watkins bought a suit. Gentleman often purchased suits in London, but Pritchards were happy to carryout repairs. Supplying livery for servants, uniforms for army officers and clerical dress provided a good income for the firm in the decades before the First World War, but would decline dramatically thereafter. The upper classes also engaged in country sports, which required suitable clothes. Most tenant farmers were too poor to have a tailor and were outnumbered by Hereford's growing professional class. The ledgers are often very explicit about credit worthiness and physical characteristics. As Percy admitted, in an interview later in

life, the firm serviced fat people, who with the onset of ready-to-wear, marketed by the multiples, found themselves at Pritchards where their special needs were catered for.

The firm took the two world wars in its stride. Officers in the armed forces usually bought their own uniforms; also, the author suggests the high casualties among the officer class, probably helped the family's cash-flow. Even the women from Rotherwas bought small items from Pritchards and the presence of military bases at Madley and Credenhill brought more officers and other ranks during the 2nd World War. After the war it was time for retrenchment. Many traditional customers disappeared, Burtons and Marks and Spencer's arrived, clothes became more casual, requests for bespoke suits became rarer; so, in 1963 the large High Town store was sold—its extensive cutting room already disused—and the company moved to King Street where Pritchards banners still flutter today. This is altogether a very good story and the author, and his patrons Elizabeth and Edward, are to be congratulated for putting the story of their family—unique but also typical— into the public domain.

David Whitehead

***The Victoria County History of Herefordshire: Bosbury*, Janet Cooper (ed.) (The University of London, 2016), 96 pp.**

This edited volume is the latest edition from the Trust for the Victoria County History of Herefordshire and adds yet another chapter to the eventual Red Book which it will help to form. Janet Cooper and her team of historians bring to life the varied and interesting history of the parish over some 1,200 years: with added mention of Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, although the evidence for Prehistoric activity is lacking. Thus, the efforts of a veritable army of volunteers under the guidance of Cooper's historian-general are condensed into a readable account of a village which saw queens, knights, bishops, antiquarians, and Lord Lieutenants of Herefordshire as residents. All told, the main content of the book is written over 81 pages, with the remainder featuring the staple additions of notes on abbreviations, sources, acknowledgements, figures and illustrations, and a comprehensive glossary and index.

The book is divided into four useful sections, following different strands of the history of the parish. Yet it soon becomes evident there is great overlap between each section, offering an examination of the same history through different angles each time. The sections on Settlement and Population, Economic History, Social History, and Religious History and their respective subsections gives focus to the breadth of knowledge brought to bare. Each section starts at the Middle Ages—although Social History does allow for the narrative to stretch back further still, venturing into the Prehistoric—and works its way through to the modern day. Whilst the sections all overlap, the structured examination of different aspects of Bosbury's history in these microhistories form, in their own right, fascinating independent studies.

Bosbury's heyday appears to have been the Middle Ages, a time during which it was frequented by the peripatetic bishops of Hereford as a favourite manor as well as the Knights Templar and Hospitallers who owned various lands in the parish. Bosbury bore witness to the deaths of bishops of Hereford, Athelstan (d. 1056) and Richard de Swinfield (d. 1317), and the disputes of Bishop Adam de Orleton with Edward II in the 1320s. The titanic figure of William Marshal, the famous earl of Pembroke, makes his presence felt, albeit briefly, as it was due to his influence and granting of land in Upleadon that the Knights Templar founded a preceptory there, which gives name to the surviving Temple Court. Whilst Bosbury has not kept its place

as a central hub of activity and is now categorised as an 'oasis of rural peace' this history shows that the village still retained its place as a hive of activity well into the Early Modern and Modern periods.

The confinement of most *addenda* to the rear of the book is standard, although the list of Abbreviations feels a little out of place at the rear when compared to other editions and, considering the heavily abbreviated forms of reference in the footnotes from the start, perhaps it would have benefited from placement towards the front of the book. Also the omission of a bibliography is notable—replaced instead with 'Notes on Sources' and direction to footnotes—however, this will likely be rectified with the Red Book volume. It is also, perhaps, not a fair observation to make as academic rigour is not the sole purpose of this book. Instead, it is designed, written and illustrated in such a way to facilitate its place on the shelves of interested parishioners who wish to understand more about their village, or interested visitors planning a trip to the verdant countryside of Herefordshire. It is a book that can be picked up and put down as a leisure read, with historical fact informing opinions and highlighting characters such as Edward Higgins (1808–84), Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and noted antiquarian who is portrayed as a character not unlike the villainous George Warleggan from Winston Graham's Poldark novels. In one of the more surreal moments comment was allowed on the unknown fate of 20 peacocks which were resident at the bishop's manor during the 13th century. Unlike the four swans that were cooked, the peacocks' fate was left unrecorded!

The book, therefore, expertly blends readable, accessible history with scholarly underpinnings. Whilst not lavish in its decoration, the inclusion of twenty-two images and three maps, all in black and white, helps to (literally) illustrate the vibrant history of this parish. In place of the bibliography is the welcome 'Note on Sources' which highlights those of particular interest and value to the study which gives interested readers an overview of what went into the research of this book. The book therefore comfortably straddles the divides of readable interest and academic study. The clear signposting combined with comprehensive footnotes leaves both the average reader and the researcher with a clear idea of where they are, and the inclusion of relevant images ensures no one feels overwhelmed. This book will be of great use to local and national historians alike, and will surely find its place on the bookshelves of many Herefordians.

Ian Bass

***Warriors, Warlords and Saints: The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia, John Hunt* (West Midlands History Ltd., 2016), 165pp.**

Dr John Hunt is an honorary research fellow in the Department of History at Birmingham University, with a special interest in the West Midlands pre- and early post-Conquest. As the eye-catching title suggests this slim volume is aimed at the inquisitive general reader with little prior knowledge of the subject. It is certainly well-produced and lavishly illustrated in colour with maps, dynastic tables and many eye-catching portable antiquities. The regular use of two-page vignettes on subjects such as coins, trade, warbands, saints and relics, Repton and the Vikings are stimulating intermissions away from the difficult dynastic history, which may easily lose the newcomer to the period.

Nevertheless, with much of the recent research on Mercia presented in specialist journals, collections of conference papers and expensive monographs, it is refreshing to find

an approachable account of the kingdom as a whole. Whereas Northumbria, Wessex and even East Anglia have their regional histories of the Anglo Saxon era, the Midlands has hitherto been neglected, reflecting perhaps, that, even today, the Severn Valley and the Welsh Border have little in common with Staffordshire and the East Midlands. However, Dr Hunt is evidently conscious that visitors to the touring exhibition of the Staffordshire hoard will probably have only the flimsiest knowledge of 7th century Mercian history. Thus, the early chapters of this book from Penda (*c.*628) to Aethelred (d.704) provide the political context for the famous artefacts. Rather bravely, Hunt suggests that the burial of the hoard might have the marked the crisis, which occurred on Penda's death in 655, or the subsequent Mercian defeat in 674. Alternatively, the moment may have been triggered when the Mercians rebelled and expelled Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians in 658. On each of these occasions the followers of a defeated king would have had a strong motive for quickly burying the trophies of earlier victories.

Naturally, much of the book is devoted to dynastic history, which is dependent upon fragmentary documentary sources. Archaeology, which figures fairly strongly in the book, is also not very helpful here. The climax of Mercian power comes in the 8th century with Aethelbald and Offa. The formers close association with St Guthlac is referred to but no reference is made to the Dark Age cemetery associated with the minster of St Guthlac on Castle Green, Hereford. Nor are Aethelbald's conquests in Archenfield mentioned albeit noted in the *Book of Llandaff*. Indeed, the seminal work of Wendy Davies on the Mercian frontier with Wales is also ignored and Dr Hunt's emphasis is very much on the East and North Midlands with regular sorties towards the Mercian entrepôt of London. Offa's reign calls for a reference to the murder of St Ethelbert. Here contrary to accepted local opinion we learn that Offa was not interested in Empire building but simply seeking to secure Mercia's frontiers, and particularly the trade routes through East Anglia to the Continent. Offa's Dyke is discussed in a two page section where the current interpretations are summarised and Hunt opts for a symbolic purpose. The author, it seems, was unaware of Dr Ray's new book on the Dyke. There is no discussion of the interrupted Dyke below Kington and the puzzling stretch, which shadows the Lower Wye.

With the death of Offa the family history becomes more complex and the focus of the story moves logically towards relations with Wessex and the Vikings. There is a useful section on Alfred's son-in-law, Aethelred of Mercia and Dr Hunt is keen to convince us that Mercia never disintegrated and Alfred's treaty with Guthrum, the Viking leader, preserved the western half of Mercia, which became a self-governing entity under Aethelred and his wife Aethelflaed, Alfred's daughter, and significantly, the 'Lady of the Mercians'. It is not part of Dr Hunt's mission to celebrate the achievements of Athelstan, so his treaty-making with the *Dunsaete*, and its implications for the western border of Mercia are ignored. At the centre of the book are several useful chapters on trade, 'burhs' and art, where the church figures strongly, and rural life and settlement, where archaeology comes into its own. The final chapter takes the story up to the Norman Conquest, discussing Cnut's revival of the earldom of Mercia under Leofric. Some of the dynastic history here is rather difficult to follow.

Thus, for the readers of these *Transactions* there is little that might catch the eye. Indeed, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, albeit integral parts of Mercia from the age of Penda, are almost ignored. The alternative origins of Christian Mercia lie in the British west, in the territory of the *Hwicce* and the *Magonsaete*, yet there is no mention of the early Christian burials that have been found on Castle Green and elsewhere in Herefordshire. The seminal study on the early

history of the region by Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (1990) is ignored, as are Sheila Waddington's recent thoughts on the organisation of the early church in Herefordshire and earlier works, published in these *Transactions*, by Joe Hillaby on the origins of the diocese and Leominster Priory. Ironically, the author consulted Andy Boucher of Headland Archaeology but failed to glean anything about the early development of the Cathedral Close at Hereford. Indeed, local readers may still prefer *Mercia: The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Central Mercia* by Club member, Sarah Zaluckji, originally published in 2001. At 320 pages this is a serious work, and though not expensively produced, nor illustrated in colour, provides many more answers.

Rosalind Lowe and David Whitehead

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Notes. Coloured plate numbers are shown in bold italics. If requesting copies from the *Transactions*, please ensure you ask for the full article.

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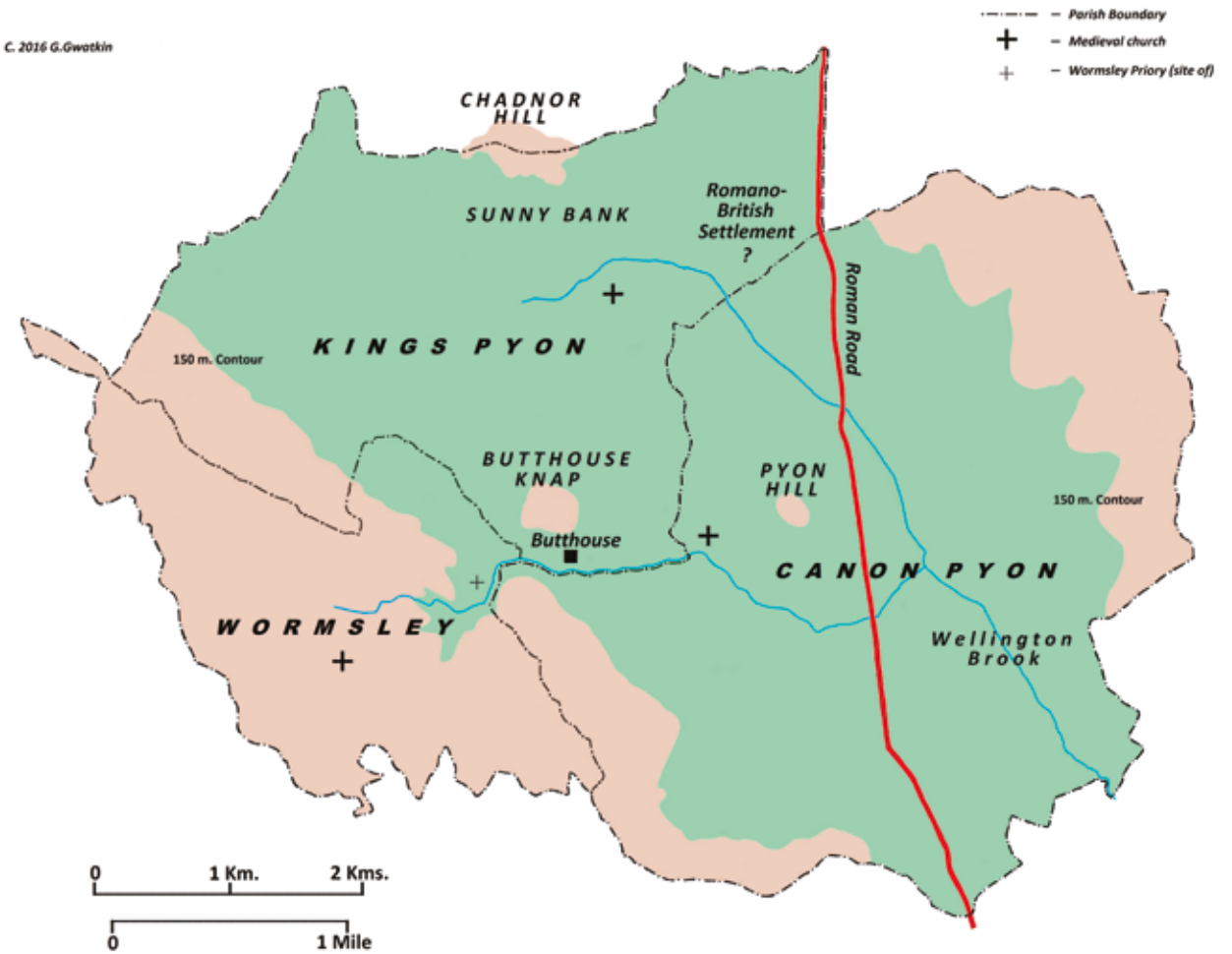


Plate 1.1. Map of King's Pyon and Canon Pyon.

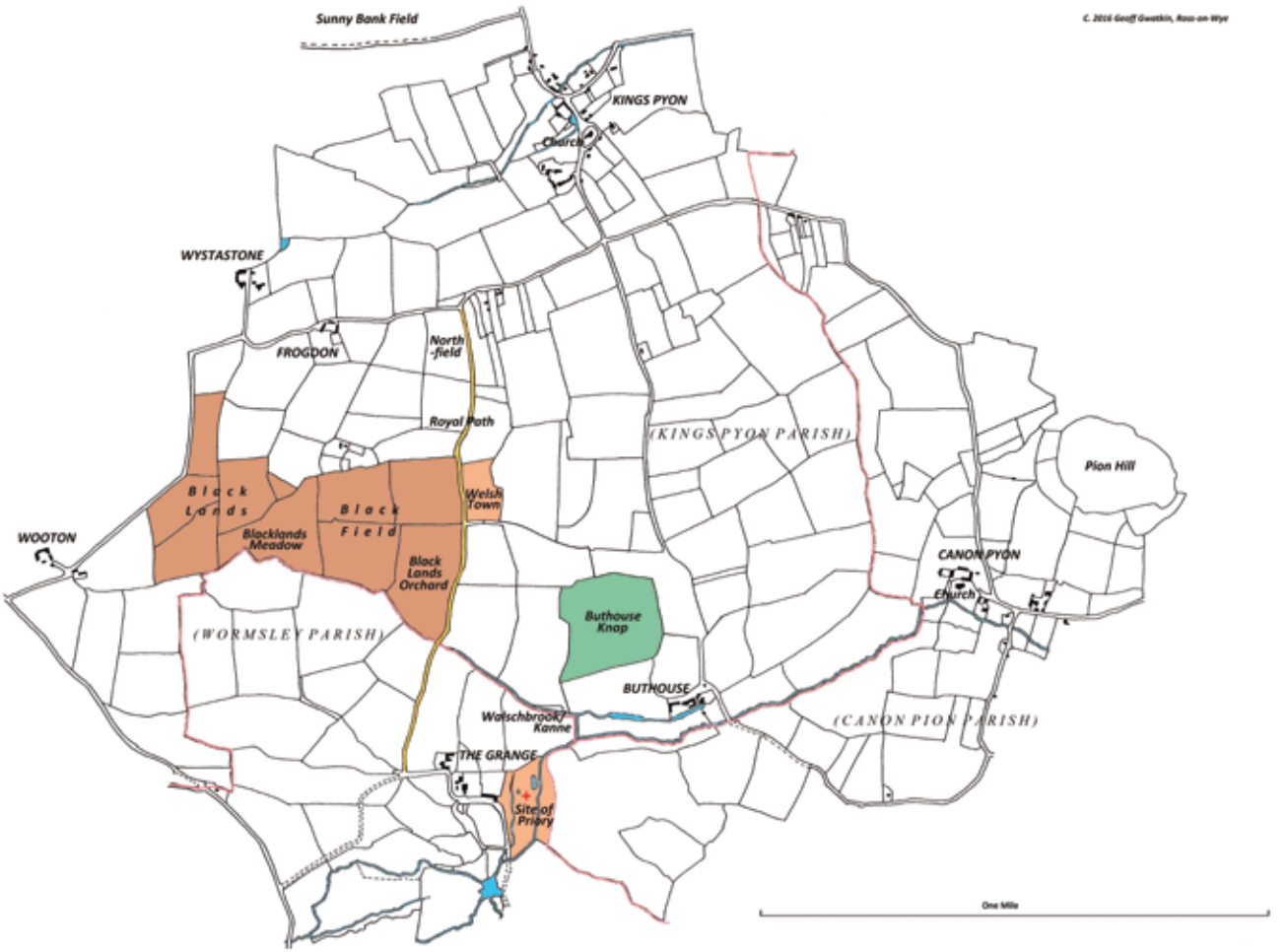


Plate 1.2. Map of area referred to in the Wormsley Charters.

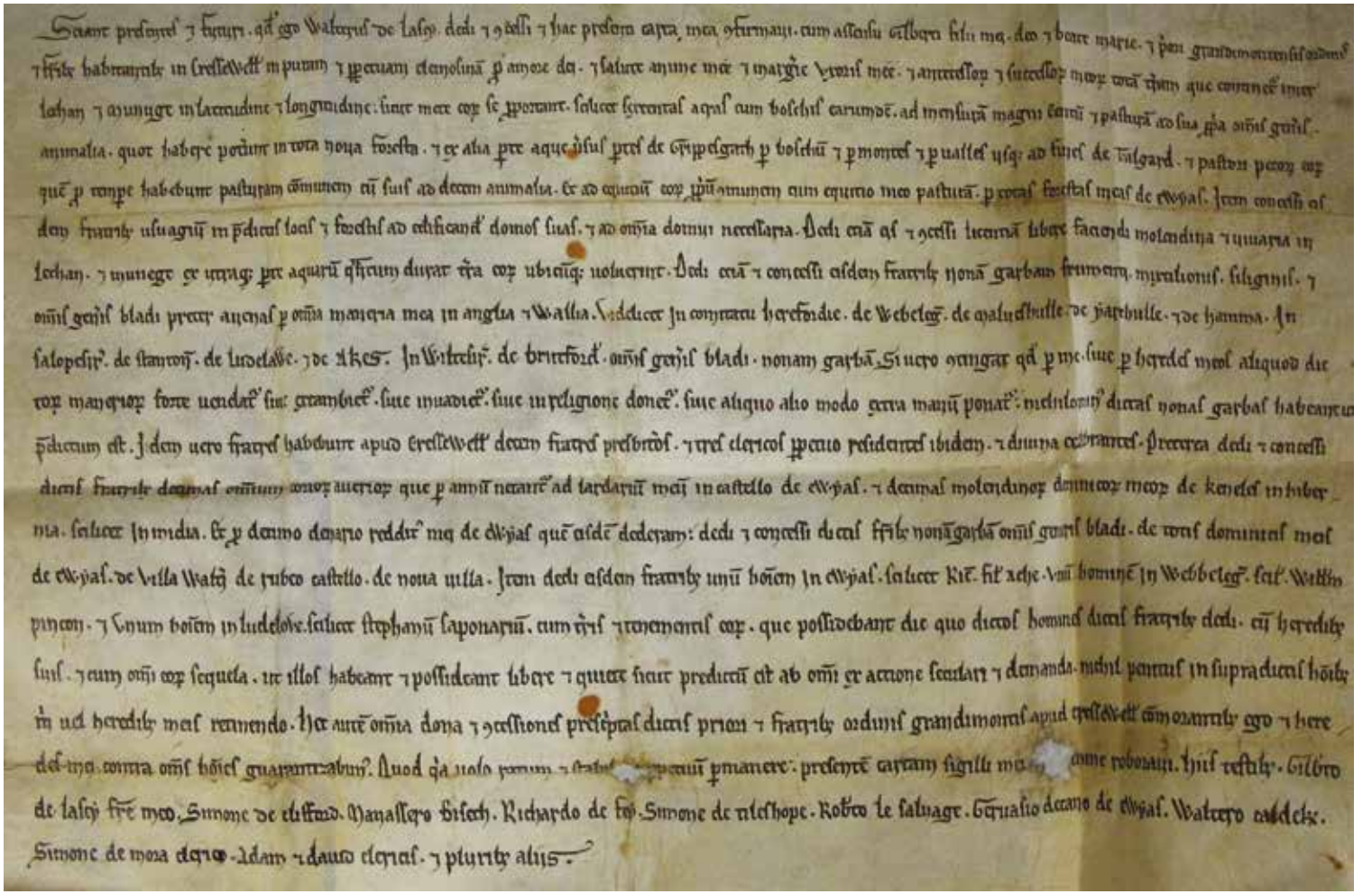

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Plate 2.2. Charter of the de Lacy family in favour of Craswall Priory Cambridge, Christ's College, MS Godshouse D (Courtesy of Christ's College).

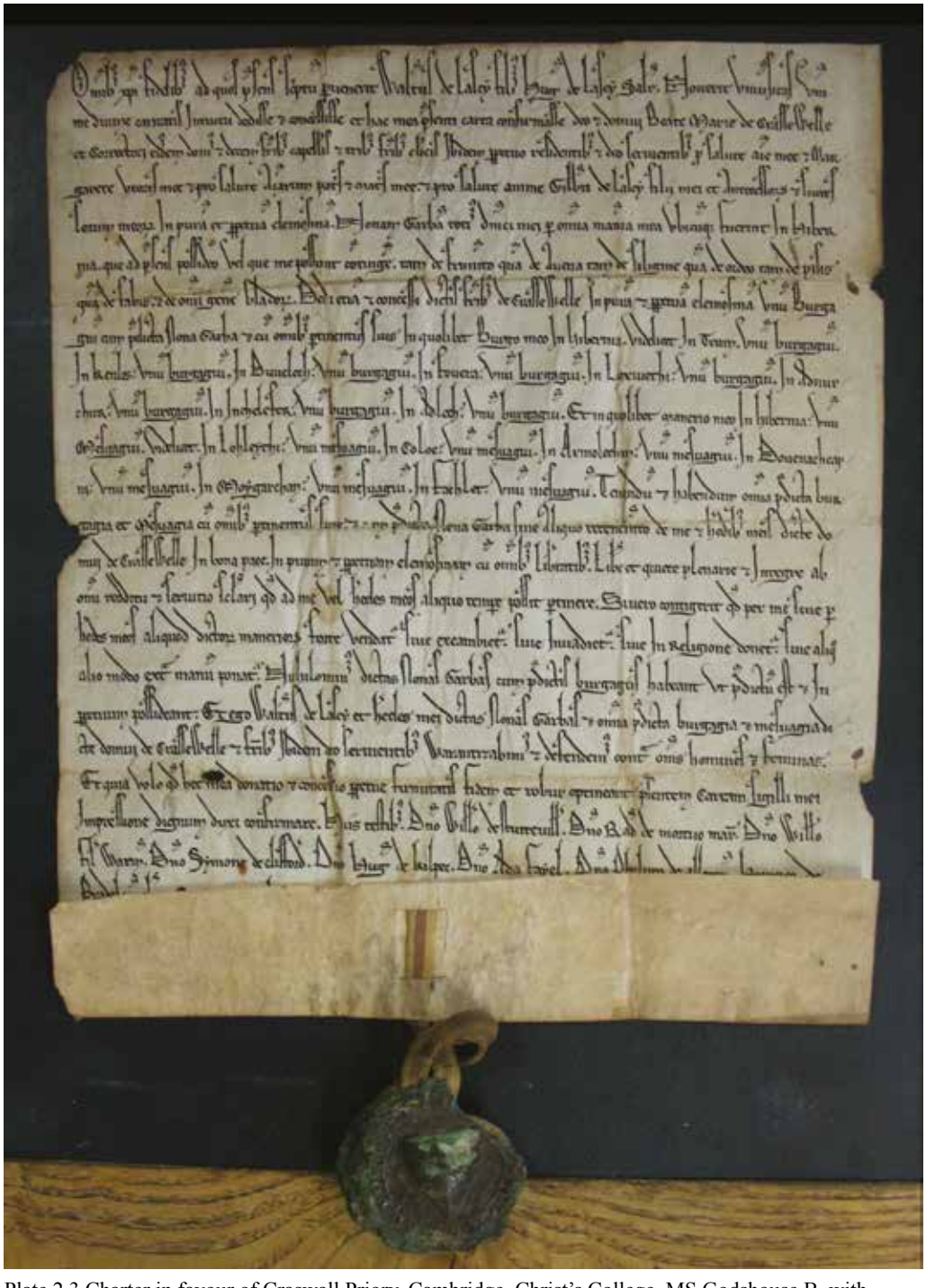

Plate 2.3 Charter in favour of Craswall Priory. Cambridge, Christ's College, MS Godshouse B, with Walter de Lacy's seal (Courtesy of Christ's College).

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Plate 3.2. Walter de Lacy and the triumph of circularity, c. 1220: Trim Castle from the south, showing curtain wall with four of his five circular towers and the Dublin Gate. Note the formidable circular inner structure.

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Plate 4.2. Yarkhill School (1866): Blashill's drawing of the east gable—the rose window contains painted glass by Henry Casolani (courtesy HARC).

Plate 4.3. Tarrington School (1874): No polychrome brickwork here, Lady Emily probably insisted upon something more sober and classical.

Plate 4.4. The Millbank Estate (1897-1902): Blashill's crowning achievement, again expensive architecture set in tree-line boulevards, which could easily be mistaken for nearby Chelsea.

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Plate 5.1. Credenhill. The stages in construction of the south-facing wall (horizon 060 represent the rubble core of the wall whereas 099 represents the industrial trample layer into which the wall was constructed. (© Community Heritage & Archaeology Consultancy)

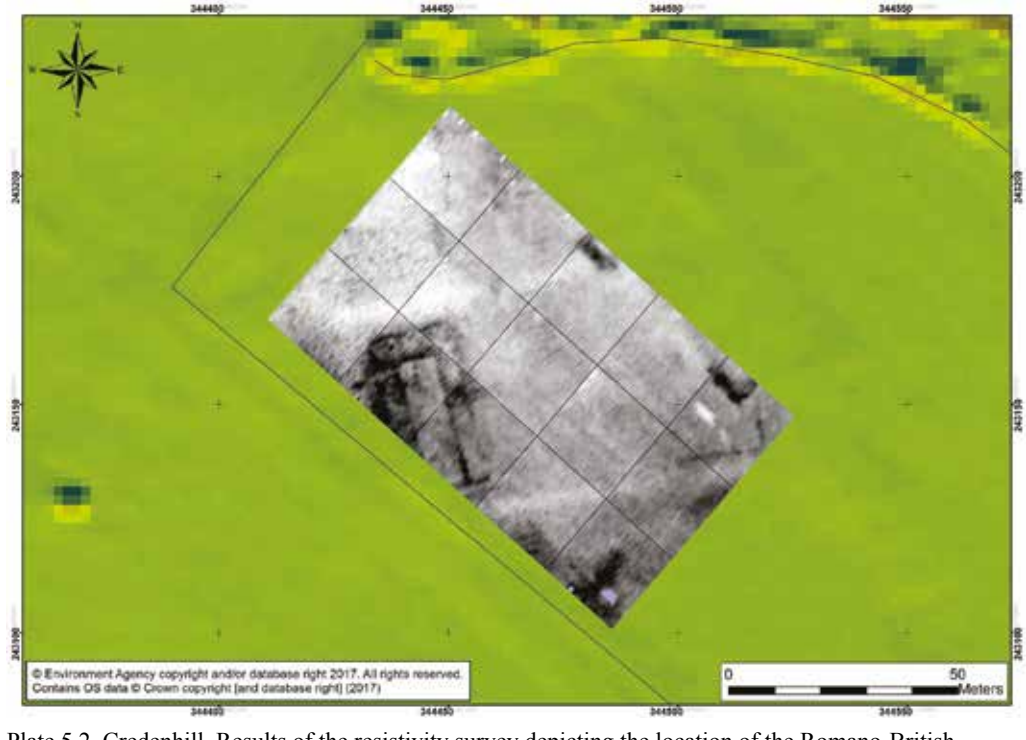


Plate 5.2. Credenhill. Results of the resistivity survey depicting the location of the Romano-British farmstead/villa within the roughly-rectangular, ditched enclosure. (© Community Heritage & Archaeology Consultancy)

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