TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON" "HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLI 1974

PART II

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1973-1974

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Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the *Woolhope Club Transactions* should be submitted to the editor whose address is given under LIST OF OFFICERS. *Notes for Contributors* to the '*Transactions*' will be sent on request.

Proceedings, 1974

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 12 January: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

Dr. D. G. Boddington gave an illustrated talk on 'Some Aspects of Bird Research in Herefordshire'. He said that the species of birds found in the county was controlled by the habitats which were mainly moorland, woodlands, parkland and farmland. He explained various pieces of research which were being carried out in the county as part of national projects. These included a 5-year census on the breeding population, a common bird census, nesting box records, bird ringing to help study the subject of reproduction, and the habitats and life of the pied flycatcher in the county.

SECOND MEETING: 9 February: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

Dr. W. H. D. Wince gave an illustrated talk on 'The Natural History of Deer'. He explained that deer are hoofed animals closely related to antelope, giraffe, sheep and cattle, and were known to exist in Pleistocene times. He described the various species of deer, viz.: red, fallow, roe, Irish elk, reindeer, sika, munjac and Chinese water-deer. Fallow deer were the most common species in England and there were some in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. He also referred to the black, long-haired, fallow deer which are found in the Mortimer Forest and enquired as to how long it has been known there. A rug made as early as 1936 from a black, long-haired, fallow deer is known to exist.

THIRD MEETING: 2 March: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

Mr. C. T. O. Prosser gave an illustrated talk on 'A Voyage from Australia in 1862 on the S.S. Great Britain'. The talk was based on a diary written by a passenger on the S.S. Great Britain on a voyage from Melbourne to Liverpool in 1862. The journey took 68 days via Cape Horn under the seamanship of Captain Gray. On board were between 700 and 800 persons and all the livestock and their fodder as well as the food and fuel needed for the journey. The crew included 4 mates, 1 surgeon and 1 purser. The diary depicted the life and conditions aboard ship. Many details of the daily happenings were recorded such as infants dying, the daily temperature and how the passengers occupied their time by having an amateur theatre, reading, sewing, dancing, mathematical puzzles and the production of a paper. This talk was of great interest because members had recently visited the S.S. Great Britain in the drydock at Bristol where she is being restored having been launched there in 1843.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 30 March: The President, Mr. J. W. Tonkin, in the chair.

The secretary reported that the club now had 791 members, an increase of 76 during the year.

The President said that under the 1972 Local Government Act the Woolhope Room was now under the control of the Museum authority of the Hereford City Council and that the security of tenure which existed under the City of Hereford was being continued by the new authority.

The President reported briefly on the club's activities during the year and said that the club had used its own members for giving lectures, taking part in the field meetings, and had continued the policy of relating field meetings to lectures. The week's visit to Durham in August 1973, had been successful. He thanked the officers, committee and members for their support during his second term as president.

Mr. Tonkin gave his address 'The Nunnery of Limebrook and its property' which is printed on pp. 149-164.

Mrs. Muriel Tonkin was installed as President for 1974-75.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 27 April: KINGSLAND AREA

This meeting was arranged by Mr. Homes as a follow-up to his talk on industrial archaeology last November. The first visit was to Aymestrey mill where Mr. Kendrick speaking about the geology of the area said that this area gave its name to the Aymestry limestone beds. The bridge here was built by Gethyn in 1795. The cornmill with an undershot wheel was completely rebuilt in the 19th century probably on an earlier site. On the way to Shobdon the extensive irrigation system between Aymestrey Court and Mortimer's Cross was pointed out.

At Shobdon Church Mr. Tonkin pointed out the 12th-century font and the 13th or 14th-century tower of an earlier church. The Shobdon lands having past through the hands of the Wigmore and Chaplin families came to the Batemans in 1705 who had built Shobdon Court, which no longer exists, by 1717. In 1753 the old church was pulled down and the present one built by 1756 in the Strawberry Hill Gothic style. It is one of the finest examples of the style and recently has been restored.

Members walked to the Norman arches which were removed to their present position when the earlier church was rebuilt. They are examples of the Herefordshire school of carving of the type to be found at Kilpeck and Rowlstone. The site and buildings of the private gas works which are situated in a quarry were also visited.

At the Day House Farm, Kingsland, Mr. Homes pointed out the two double-floored, late 19th-century hop-kilns, and explained how the wheel at the rear of the out buildings worked a threshing machine and other farm machinery. This was by water brought across the river Lugg by an iron aquaduct, probably unique in the county, from a water-mill on the opposite side of the river. The water continued in irrigation channels to St. Mary's Farm, Kingsland, and finally rejoined the Lugg almost three miles downstream from where it had left it.

SECOND MEETING: 8 June: NEWNHAM-ON-SEVERN AREA

Members travelled via Kerne Bridge and the Forest of Dean to the Little Dean House Hotel for coffee. Here the party was met by Canon Mansfield who acted as guide for the day.

On the banks of the Severn he explained that this had once been an area of intensive boat building, glass making and a transit port. Walking through the town members saw houses with cellars and many of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. At one time one or more rows of houses stood down the centre of the main street. The present church is largely a rebuild of 1881 incorporating a little work of the 14th century. The early 12th-century font is similar to the one in Hereford Cathedral.

A visit was made to the five-acre water-garden at Westbury Court. This was laid out between 1697 and 1705 with yew trees and canals. It has been restored by the National Trust. Westbury Church with its detached belfry was also visited. The Westbury Brook once operated eighteen industrial sites. Up the Flaxley Valley a stop was made at Waldron Farm site where members were able to see the dam. This area was a centre for nail making.

The final visit was down the Soudley Valley to Bullo Pill where members saw the remains of the harbour and tram road.

THIRD MEETING: 4 July: ACTON BEAUCHAMP AREA

This meeting was arranged by Mr. H. J. Powell as a follow-up to his Presidential address. The first stop was at Evesbatch Church which was well restored in 1877. It has a Jacobean font cover and medieval bench ends.

At Acton Beauchamp Church which was completely rebuilt in 1819 in the Georgian style Mr. Powell pointed out the fine piece of Anglo-Saxon sculpture of the 9th century which forms a lintel of the tower doorway.

Cmdr. Hale spoke about and pointed out the supposed Roman road below the church.

The last visit was to St. James Church at Stanford Bishop which has a late Norman doorway, Jacobean pulpit and the controversial chair said to be St. Augustine's chair and used by him at a conference in 603. Mr. Powell read a description of the area and the whereabouts of the chair as written by James Johnson in 1898.

En route members passed the ruined church at Avenbury and also saw the Rumney building which according to Pevsner was a school founded in 1731, rebuilt in 1826 and now used as a farm building.

FOURTH MEETING: 27 July: STIPER STONES AREA

After coffee at the Craven Arms Hotel a visit was made to Hopesay Church where Mr. Tonkin explained that the church was Transitional Norman and he pointed out the fine roof of *c.*1400, the Jacobean choir stalls and the early medieval chest.

After proceeding through the valley of the East Onny to the Stiper Stones Mr. Kendrick explained that the Stiperstone ridge consisted of quartzite, a hard

grey siliceous sandstone. It is the lowest of the Ordovician beds and seems to have been laid down close to a shoreline to the east. It lies on the Cambrian rocks which come right up to it on the east. These were igneous intrusions into the Mytton Flags, the next bed above the quartzite. These gave mineral veins, principally galena from which lead had been mined from very early times. Barytes had been mined in the present century.

Travelling a little distance from the Stiper Stones to the Bog, Mrs. Tonkin, the president, read a short paper on the lead mines of the area, the remains of which would be seen all the way to Pontesbury. The various mines in the Shelve and Stiper Stones areas had employed mining engineers who introduced the Cornish pumping engines to drain the mines when it became necessary to mine deeper for the lead ore. Reference was also made to the smelting works at Snailbeach, the coal field by the Nag's Head at Pontesford and the railway line from Minsterley to the mines.

On the return journey after tea in the Carding Mill Valley a stop was made at the church of St. Laurence at Church Stretton where Mr. Tonkin pointed out the Norman nave and north and south doorways, the Early-English chancel, the 13th-century nave roof, the Jacobean reredos, the early 17th-century east window with pre 1837 stained glass and the copperwork grid-iron, the symbol of St. Laurence, a memorial to three children who died in a hotel fire in Church Stretton in 1971.

FIFTH MEETING: 15 August: MOCCAS AND EASTNOR PARKS

This meeting was arranged by Dr. Wince as a follow-up to his talk on deer. The first visit was to Queen's Wood where members viewed the trees of the arboretum and looked for deer and badger tracks. Deer had escaped from Hampton Park Deer Park to Queen's Wood during the First World War.

En route to Moccas Park Dr. Wince explained that in medieval times there were thirty-five deer parks in Herefordshire; by 1920 there were twelve and today only three, viz.: Moccas, Eastnor and Kentchurch. In Moccas Park members were able to see the old type of deer fencing and a deer leap. Whilst walking in the park three groups of fallow deer were seen. Here the menil type of fallow deer is deliberately being developed. Also a number of fine oak trees were viewed including two with girths of 24 ft. and 26 ft. respectively. The President gave the girths of various oak trees which members had measured when the club visited Moccas Park in 1870, 1891 and 1933.

The next visit was to Eastnor Park where Major Hervey-Bathurst spoke about his herd of red deer, some 300 of them. Members were taken in six vehicles to the park and saw a large number of stags and does being fed.

SIXTH MEETING: 21 September: TENBURY AND BURFORD AREA

En route to Tenbury a halt was made at the Meadows Farm on Oldwood Common where Mr. Homes spoke about the engine house there.

In Tenbury Mr. Tonkin guided members around the town and visited the church. He pointed out the Spa buildings of 1862 by the architect, James Cranston, the market hall of 1811, the bridge with three medieval arches and a

number of 17th-century and Georgian houses. In the church Mr. Tonkin said that the tower is Norman, that the church was rebuilt between 1772-76 after a bad flood in 1770 and there was a major restoration in 1864-65. The 13th-century little crusader, the late 13th-century big crusader and 16th-century monuments to the Acton-Adams family were pointed out.

At Burford Church members were welcomed by the Rev. Thompson. Mr. Tonkin explained that Burford like Bromyard, Ross and Ledbury had three portioners. The chancel has Norman masonry and the nave is 14th century. The present chancel roof, the chandeliers and lamps were all designed by Sir Aston Webb in 1889. The fine monuments and brasses and the late 16th-century triptych are all memorials to the Cornewall family who were barons of Burford from 1304-1727.

Whitton Court was visited by kind permission of Major and Mrs. Rodwell. The house which has a medieval stone hall was refaced in brick probably between 1621 and 1636 under Sir Sebastian Harvey and Robert Charlton. Inside in the hall is a 17th-century panelled screen, a fresco dated 1682 commemorating Francis Charlton and his wife Dorothy and an 18th-century hunting scene over the fireplace. The solar over the hall has plasterwork also said to date from 1682. In the courtyard on the west side is a 17th-century timber-framed range of buildings.

On Clee Hill Mr. Kendrick pointed out the ranges of hills, Black Mountains, Cotswolds, Malverns, Clee and Clent, and said that these varied from the very old Malverns to the comparatively recent Clent Hills. Clee Hill itself stood in an area which once had been part of a sea. Above the Lower and Upper Old Red Sandstone is the Farlow Sandstone identified by the fish in it. Above this is the Carboniferous Limestone like that of the southern Black Mountains and the Forest of Dean. It does not occur on the Brown Clees to the north showing that the shoreline lay between Titterstone and Brown Clee. The coal above this has been worked and today the basalt which overlies this, the dhu stone, is extensively quarried for roadstone.

The final stop of the day was the site of the Putnal Tunnel on the old Stourport to Leominster Canal where Mr. Calderbank gave an account of its history, much of which is in the club's *Transactions* for 1957. He said that the Archaeological Research Group had been recording it and had found that the length of the tunnel was just over 1,300 ft. instead of 900 ft. as shown in the preliminary survey.

SAFFRON WALDEN VISIT: 7-14 September

Forty-two members travelled to Saffron Walden Training College and on the way visited Luton Hoo designed by Robert Adam in 1766-67 and added to by Smirke in 1830. It contains a great art collection.

On Sunday afternoon the party visited Audley End, only about half of which remains, built *c.*1603 for Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. In Thaxted, the church and an old tower-type windmill were visited and the guildhall of the cutlers and a number of timber-framed houses were seen.

Monday morning was spent in Saffron Walden where the party were taken by Mr. W. J. Chambers to see the Battle Ditches, the church of St. Mary, the almshouses and other buildings, and the castle ruins and then to the Town Hall where the Mayor, Mrs. Kitty Wilson and her husband gave members a civic welcome as well as coffee. After lunch the wool towns of Clare, Cavendish, Long Melford and Lavenham were visited. In the evening Mr. D. I. Gordon gave a talk on the 'Windmills of the Eastern Counties'.

The whole of Tuesday was spent in Cambridge when a number of colleges were visited in the morning and lunch was taken in St. Catherine's College. In the afternoon groups visited the University Press printing works, the Botanical Gardens and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Next day Colchester Castle built *c.*1080 largely of Roman material, Bourne Mill built 1591, and Paycocke's, a 17th-century timber-framed cloth merchant's house at Great Coggeshall were visited. In the evening Mr. H. Pearce gave a lecture on the 'Pre-reformation Monastic and Parish Life of Saffron Walden'.

On Thursday the abbey at Bury St. Edmunds and the medieval town were visited as well as Grimes Graves, neolithic flint mines, in the north Brecklands, and Anglesey Abbey, rebuilt in the reign of Elizabeth I.

Next day travelling along the Icknield Way members saw the Brent Ditch, Fleam Dyke and the Devil's Dyke. They visited Swaffham Prior with its twin churches and the Wicken Fen nature reserve and then travelled northwards via Ely to Denver where Mr. Mann of the Great Ouse River Diversion gave an account of how the drainage system operated. Some members had tea at Grantchester.

On the return journey stops were made at Bedford, Stoke Park, Towcester and Coughton Court, the home of the Throckmorton family from 1409 to 1946, which contains Jacobite relics.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 5 October: The President, Mrs. M. Tonkin, in the chair.

Sir Richard Cotterell gave an illustrated talk on 'Trees and Queen's Wood on Dinmore'. He explained that the trees in the Queen's Wood were felled during the Great War and since 1935 it had become a county memorial to the Silver Jubilee of King George V. The old rides were opened up, the scrub cleared, and the 170 acres divided into two areas: an arboretum area which has 300 varieties of trees, and a forest area on the north and south slopes of the hill. He said that the soil and climate dictated which trees could be grown. The Old Red Sandstone of Herefordshire was the best soil for growing trees. Members had visited the Queen's Wood during the summer.

SECOND MEETING: 26 October: The President, Mrs. M. Tonkin, in the chair.

Mr. F. Noble gave a talk on Dr. John Dee's diary of 1574 which is in the British Museum. He was a native of Radnorshire and when he died in 1608 he possessed the largest library in England. He was in touch with the scientists,

mathematicians, map-makers, explorers and writers of his time. In his diary it is recorded that he was at Presteigne and Wigmore on 30 and 31 August 1574, and at Hereford on 1 September. Dee says that Mr. Harley was keeper of the records at Wigmore Castle and that threequarters of the records of Wigmore Abbey were already lost in the old decayed chapel at the castle.

THIRD MEETING: 16 November: The President, Mrs. M. Tonkin, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, the Archaeological Research Section, Botany, Geology, Buildings, Deserted Medieval Villages, Mammals, Ornithology and Industrial Archaeology were given. These are printed on pp. 256-272.

WINTER ANNUAL: 7 December: The President, Mrs. M. Tonkin, in the chair.

The Treasurer presented the accounts for the year-ending 31 December 1973. These were adopted.

The President announced that Mrs. W. Leeds book 'Herefordshire Folklore' had been published and was now on sale.

Officers of the club for 1975-76 were elected and the dates and venues for the 1975 Field Meetings were fixed.

Cmdr. M. B. Hale gave an illustrated talk on 'The Romanesque Architecture on the road to Compostella'. He pointed out that the pilgrimage to Compostella from the 10th to the 15th centuries was a substitute for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There were three routes, one via Tours, Aulney and the Ronceval Pass, another via Le Puis, Conques and Cohors and a third via Toulouse. The carving on the churches on these routes was very similar to the Herefordshire School of carving as at Kilpeck, Shobdon, Rowlstone and other places.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB

Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December 1973

RECEIPTS

1972						
£	£		£	£	£	£
		Balances, 1st January 1973				
		Cash at Bank:				
		Current Accounts—				
	610	General	296.75			
	645	Subscriptions	611.48			
	—	Excavations	130.50			
		Deposit Accounts—				
	3,676	Subscriptions	3,534.74			
	292	George Marshall Fund ...	307.48			
		Excavations Account				
	111	(Ministry)	9.40			
	128	Herefordshire Flora ...	133.20			
		Hereford City				
	448	Excavations	565.97			
	26	Research Group Woolhope	31.81			
		Woolhope—				
	—	Leintwardine Dig ...	156.60			
	5,936		5,777.93			
	2	Less Due to Secretary ...	1.85			
5,934				5,776.08		
	2,600	Grants		4,714.68		
		Interest on Investments				
	33	3½% War Stock ...	32.64			
		Hereford County				
	53	Council Loan ...	76.93			
	206	Bank Deposit Interest ...	392.47			
292				502.04		
		Subscriptions				
	891	General	953.17			
	26	Archaeological Group ...	7.25			
917				960.42		
		Croft Ambrey Excavation				
44		Fund		—		
265		Sales of Offprints etc. (Net)		84.23		
69		Field Meetings (Net) ...		45.08		
52		Royalties		27.35		
18		Donations for Chairs ...		—		
£10,191				£12,109.88	£10,191	

PAYMENTS

1972					
£	£		£	£	£
22		Insurance	26.25		
		Printing and Binding			
1,427		Transactions	494.35		
61		Printing and Stationery ...	65.63		
123		Postage and Telephone ...	79.59		
35		Subscriptions and Donations	64.47		
37		Expenses of Meetings ...	9.60		
2,482		Excavation Expenses ...	3,631.08		
		Archaeological Group			
20		Expenses	17.10		
16		Sundry Expenses	54.19		
75		Honoraria to Assistants ...	75.00		
—		Accountants' Fees ...	33.00		
25		Expenses of Covenant Scheme	—		
92		Chairs	—		
4,415				—	4,550.26
		Balances, 31st December 1973			
		Cash at Bank:			
		Current Accounts—			
297		General	347.04		
611		Subscription	589.94		
131		Excavations	1,007.92		
		Deposit Accounts—			
3,535		Subscription	4,332.70		
307		George Marshall Fund	332.28		
		Excavations Account			
9		(Ministry)	10.22		
133		Herefordshire Flora ...	143.94		
		Hereford City			
566		Excavations ...	606.50		
		Archaeological Research			
32		Group	19.86		
		Woolhope Leintwardine			
157		Dig	169.22		
5,778			7,559.62		
2		*Less* Due to Secretary ...	—		
5,776				—	7,559.62
£10,191					£12,109.88

NOTE: The Club owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and £1,040 Herefordshire County Council Loan Stock.

Auditor's Certificate

I have audited the above Honorary Treasurer's Account and certify it to be in accordance with the books and vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club.

(*Signed*) HERBERT S. WIDGERY,
Chartered Accountant.
Hereford.
15th May 1974.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Nunnery of Limebrook and its Property

By J. W. TONKIN

INTRODUCTION

REALLY this study of Limebrook nunnery began ten years ago in April 1964, with a visit to Upper Limebrook, Wigmore, the home farm of the nuns. It turned out to be a fine open-hall of cruck construction, very well built and clearly of some wealth and importance. Two years later a visit to The Hyde, Stoke Bliss, revealed another fine open-hall, this time of base-cruck construction. There were stories told there about nuns and again a little delving into records proved it to be property of the nunnery of Limebrook. Who were these nuns who had such fine buildings erected for them, and were there more than just these two?

The ensuing search involved visits to the Public Record Office, to the great national papers, *Patent Rolls*, *Inquisitions*, *Coram Rege Rolls*, to the *Bishops' Registers*, to the *Bishops' Court Books* and to many happy miles of wandering in Herefordshire and beyond. It led to a number of very pleasant people who helped and allowed the writer and his wife to explore the secrets of their houses.

As yet is has not been possible to find out when the nunnery was founded. St. Thomas a Becket was murdered in 1170 and canonised in 1173; the nunnery was dedicated to him and although it is not unknown for dedications to be changed it seems probable that Limebrook dates from the last quarter of the 12th century. The date 1189 has been mentioned in some writings but there seems to be no positive evidence at present available to prove this. The nunnery was of the Augustinian order, the black nuns.

It is situated in a beautiful position on the narrow, level floor of the valley of the Lingen Brook with steep hills rising on each side. It is a peaceful site, delightful at any time of year. The stream is the boundary between the parishes of Wigmore and Lingen and above it on the western side is the road from Lingen to Presteigne. The lane leading down to it is a wonderful spot for wild strawberries. It is truly a delightful valley blessed by nature. The nuns knew where to pick their spot.

EARLY HISTORY

The earliest reference found to date is in the *Coram Rege Rolls* for 1227,[1] by which time the nunnery already possessed lands in Bodenham.

Early in 1279 Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe wrote to express his pleasure at the zeal and loving union which he found at his visitation of the convent, though he goes on to remind them what to do and not to do.[2] From then on there are constant references to the nunnery of Limebrook in the *Bishops' Registers*.

In 1287 comes the first of a long series of references in the *Patent Rolls*, almost all of them dealing with the property of the nunnery.[3]

In 1291 with the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV comes the first list of the property of the nunnery.[4] This included land at Limebrook, Eardisland, Upton, Bodenham, Burton and Merton. The last would seem to be a misreading for Marston, for the value, £2 6s. 8d., goes on virtually unchanged to the Reformation.

THE NUNS

There are frequent references in the *Bishops' Registers* to the nuns being excused from various taxes and levies because they were poor, in fact 'pauperes moniales de Lingenbroke' becomes almost a stock phrase. Yet one is left with the impression that they were not so poor. Right through its history the nunnery was gradually acquiring property, much of it in the best farming land in the area. In 1536, when strictly speaking the nunnery should have been dissolved as being under £200 in value, the nuns purchased perpetual continuance by payment of £53 6s. 8d.[5] This hardly seems the act of a body of poor nuns. However, in 1539, along with all the remaining religious houses, Limebrook was dissolved and the nuns were pensioned;[6] their payment had prolonged their existence as a nunnery for only three years.

From the various documents some interesting glimpses of life in the nunnery can be seen. On the whole it seems to have been a peaceful life in that quiet, secluded spot in the lovely valley of the Lingen Brook. No doubt for most of the time Bishop Cantilupe's advice not to go beyond the bounds of the nunnery was followed and fitting use made of chapter house, dormitory, refectory, infirmary and cloister. There was the occasional visitation, rather like a G.O.C's inspection in the army, sometimes by the bishop himself, as by Cantilupe in 1279[7] and Swinfield in 1284,[8] sometimes by his representative as when Bishop Bothe's vicar-general visited in 1519.[9]

The nuns were reminded in 1282, 1317, 1422 and 1435 about their vows and discipline. This seems to indicate that on a few occasions their behaviour was not all that it should have been, indeed in 1322 Bishop Orleton ordered commissioners Richard de Hamenasch and Richard de Vernon to visit the nunnery and correct, punish and reform the excesses[10] and in 1435 Bishop Spofford commissioned Hugh, the prior of the hospital of St. John the Baptist at Ludlow, to visit and correct the priory.[11]

Two unpleasant happenings which must have upset the even tenor of life in the convent are shown in 1282 and 1352. In the former case, William de Wynton, sub-prior of Leominster, was cited to appear before the bishop to answer for alleged incontinence with a nun of Limebrook.[12] He did not appear and was fined and excommunicated. The second case was a pardon to Thomas de Lyngen, chaplain of the king's suit, for the death of Hugh, late porter of Lyngebrok.[13]

In 1289 Roger de Luggonere was ordered to pay 21 marks which he owed the prioress of Lingebrok.[14] How he acquired the debt we are not told, but the due

process of the king's justice caught up with him and if he did not pay he was to forfeit lands and chattels in Herefordshire.

The normal life of the nuns and the daily round of services went on and in October 1451, John Trilley, canon of Wigmore, was commissioned to hear the confessions of the nuns of Limebrook.[15] One wonders how he travelled across Deerfold and, perhaps more important, how often.

On two occasions the nuns were left money in the will of an ecclesiastical dignitary. John de Aquablanca, dean of Hereford, left £5 to the nuns in 1320 to pray for his soul in their church.[16] John Stanbury, bishop of Hereford, 1453-74, left 20s. to the prioress and nuns at Lynebroke in his will dated 25 February 1472 which was proved at Lambeth on 20 October 1474.[17]

It seems as though the nuns were watching the way the national trends were moving in the years preceding the Dissolution for between 1521 and 1539 they leased various parts of their property. These lands included property in Much Cowarne, Nun Upton, the Perry and Lingen among others.[18] Thus the nuns had not only attempted to buy off dissolution, but to let their lands to those who may later befriend them if dissolution did come. They were certainly doing their best to ensure their own future and perhaps that of their nunnery as well.

Over the years it is possible to get some idea of the type of person who was becoming a nun at Limebrook. Some were members of great local families as Joan, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, 1332,[19] the earliest surviving record of the name of a nun at Limebrook. No doubt the ten marks a year which she was receiving helped the funds of the nunnery. Elizabeth Wigmore, member of an important family with much land in the area was consecrated in 1483.[20] Other names which are still to be found in the area are Powes (Powis), Hodnet, Dyer, Dodd and Adams, while local place names are reflected in Lodelaw, Tytley and Whyteney.

In 1429 Matilda Whyteney, a 'venerable and religious lady, prioress of the nuns of Lyngebrok, old and broken by age wants to resign'.[21] Three days later on 16 August a commission was held in the nunnery and the old lady resigned, Agnes Corbury being elected in her place.[22] Joan Brugge (presumably Bridges) who was prioress at least as early as 1479[23] resigned in 1486 and was succeeded by Emma Grey, alias Powys.[24] Two years later the bishop deprived Dame Emma Powes, alias Grey, of her position, but no reasons are given.[25] Juliana Barbour who had been consecrated in 1481[26] was prioress by 1514[27] and was still holding that position at the Dissolution, 58 years after becoming a nun.[28]

Occasionally one of the sisters transferred to another house as did Alice Opie in 1432 to Aconbury.[29] In 1473, Joan Draper, nun of Limebrook, became prioress of Aconbury,[30] while in 1530 Katherine Dodd, desiring a stricter rule was licensed to transfer to the Cisterian nunnery of Llanlurgan in the diocese of St. Asaph.[31]

At the Dissolution the prioress received a pension of £6 and each nun £2 13s. 4d.; they were Katherine Dodd, Margaret Tyttley, Elizabeth Adams and Marie Sturie.[32] In 1554 the last named was still alive living at Plowden in Shropshire and still drawing her pension 'being of honest life and never married'.[33] A complete list

of names of nuns is given in Appendix 1. No doubt further research could add to it.

The nuns sponsored many candidates for ordination during their 300 years, especially during the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th up to the time of the Dissolution. Many of these progressed from sub-deacon to deacon and then to priest, but others did not and presumably did not intend to proceed beyond the lowest orders of clergy. Again a number of local and Welsh names are to be found in these lists. Obvious local ones are: John Voyle of Wylleleye, 1335, John de Lyngebrok, 1357, William de Stepultone, 1363, Clement ap Griffith, 1470, Roger Diere, 1475, John Luntley, 1505, John Morgan, 1515, John ap Rice, 1521, and John Davyes, 1528. Others with a Welsh origin include John ap Jevan, 1513, Thomas ap Rys, 1514, John ap Jenkyn, 1514, David ap Harry, 1515, Hugh ap Howell, 1519, and John ap John, 1521.[34] It certainly seems that most of these candidates were local or comparatively so. There must have been some reason for the great increase in numbers in the last 80 years of the nunnery's existence, but as it is general the cause is presumably national rather than local.

The nuns held the patronage of two livings, Stoke Bliss and Clifton-on-Teme in Worcestershire. Unfortunately it does not seem to be possible to trace the full sequence of vicars of either parish, but at Stoke Bliss there were at times very rapid changes, vicars being appointed and resigning in the same year. On the other hand Clement ap David stayed from 1458[35] to 1479[36] and John Whitford from 1444[37] to 1458[38]. He is probably the same John Whitford who was there from 1434 to 1439[39] when he resigned in favour of Thomas Hanwood. In 1482 ap David's successor Richard Vaghan was deprived of his living for absence from his cure.[40]

At Clifton we have less information even than at Stoke Bliss, but one interesting feature is a series of exchanges in 1406, 1410[41] and 1419.[42]

PROPERTY

The first complete list of property belonging to the nunnery which has so far been traced is that given in the returns for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291. Then the nuns' property was valued as follows:

Two carucates of land at Limebrook		13s.	4d.
A mill		3s.	0d.
One carucate of land at Eardisland		10s.	0d.
Rent at Eardisland		2s.	0d.
Four carucates of pasture land at Upton		1s.	8d.
Rent at Bodenham	£2	0s.	0d.
Five acres of land at Burton and two acres of pasture ...		2s.	0d.
At Merton	£2	6s.	8d.
Pleas and perquisites there		5s.	0d.
	£6	8s.	8d.
Church of Clifton	£6	13s.	4d.

From other sources it is known that they had acquired before 1291 other property not mentioned above. In 1281 they had been granted 24s. of rent in Westbradeleye,[43] which seems never to be mentioned again. This may be West Bradley in Somerset where there is a fine stone barn with upper-base crucks which was the property of Glastonbury Abbey at the Dissolution. It seems just possible that the nuns in some way transferred this, but no record has been found as yet of how or when they disposed of it.

In 1282 they were given by John Croft an acre of meadow in Dyston.[44] This is certainly not listed in 1291, but it may be the Nun Meadow at Aston in Eye listed in 1540. Dyston could be a misreading for Ayston.

A much more important item which was granted very early, *c.* 1250, to the nunnery by Ralph de Mortimer, is Chapel Farm on Deerfold and the lands around it. These have been a puzzle, but the answer was found in the Book of Instance Causes in the bishop of Hereford's Court Book of 1535 where is given a copy of a document of *c.* 1250 in which Roger de Mortimer grants 'to the church of St. Thomas the Martyr at Lingebrok and the nuns in the same place to God and those serving there in free pure and perpetual alms of all that valley in which was founded the church of the Blessed Mary and St. Leonard in Sutelefford which is now called Derefand'. This in turn confirms an earlier grant of *c.* 1200 in which the limits of the land at 'Trukehulle' are defined and the 'lands called Ferlega'. The hill above Chapel Farm is still Trucknell Bank today and in the rental of 1540 under Darvald in the parish of Wigmore Farley's Field and the chapel of St. Leonard are listed. Yet like Dyston (or Aston) they are not mentioned in 1291. Why is not known.

The other puzzle about the 1291 taxation is the entry about five acres of land at Burton and two acres of pasture. This does not appear again. The nearest Burton is in Eardisland and it may be significant that on the tithe map of 1844 is recorded at Burton in that parish a 'Lady Meadow' of about 7½ acres. When the nunnery obtained this and when and how it disposed of it has not yet been traced.

'At Merton' must mean 'at Marston' (in Pembridge parish) for the value hardly changes between 1291 and 1542 and there was also a sum for 'pleas and perquisites' which in 1542 becomes 'perquisites of court'. This and all the other lands mentioned in Pope Nicholas' Taxation were still the property of the nunnery at the Dissolution.

With one exception the grants of the property mentioned in 1291 have not yet been traced. This exception is the rent at Bodenham from lands already in possession of the nuns by 1227.[45] They had been granted by John de Croft, not likely to be the same John de Croft who gave land at Dyston (Ayston?) in 1282, but almost certainly of the same family.

The only full rental so far traced is that of 1539-40 immediately after the Reformation.[46] Again this presents certain problems in that two items given to the nunnery after 1291 are not mentioned. One of these is the rent of land in Adforton which was granted to it in 1336,[47] but is not mentioned again. It is

just possible that this was confused with land at Burrington for the grantor's name is Thomas de Buryngton, but it seems unlikely as the rent was 116s. 6d. in 1336 and only 13s. 4d. in 1540.

The other was a messuage and 80 acres at Draycot granted in 1356 by William de Waldeboef as an obit to pray for his soul and that of his wife. This cost the nuns a fine of 30s. to the king.[48] This is almost certainly Draycot in Newton, a detached part of Croft parish, for we learn from the cathedral muniments that in 1387 Philip de Waldeboef was holding land in Hope-under-Dinmore immediately adjoining.[49] Again there is no further mention of this.

The two major acquisitions of property between 1291 and 1540 were the advowson of Stoke Bliss in 1302 and the manor of Broxwood Power in 1351. The income of the vicarage of the former was obtained from tithes, from several parcels of land, from a house and land and from the 'Pyrie' and land.[50] The last named is the Perry today and the other house was probably the Hyde which is the adjoining farm and was certainly the property of Limebrook in 1540.

Broxwood Power in Pembridge parish was given by Adam Esgar in 1351,[51] but by the 16th century seems to have been known sometimes as Broxwood Birches sometimes as Broxwood Power, and to have been in four parts, one of wood and three as farms.

In the whole of its history only two churches were appropriated to the nunnery. Its income seems to have been from rents of farms; the wealth of the property listed above reflects this. On the whole these were wealthy establishments in good farming areas. Instead of advowsons, the nuns' wealth was in real estate.

EXISTING REMAINS

The full list of property known to have belonged to the nunnery at any time is given in appendix 2. It is of some interest to look at what traces there are today.

AYMESTREY

In Aymestrey parish the whole of the manor and township of Shirley belonged to the nunnery and joined up with the home manor of Limebrook. In 1540 there were four farms, one bigger than the others. By the time of the Aymestrey tithe survey, 1842, there was one big farm, two small-holdings and a cottage. The house at the farm of Shirley still stands. It is a timber-framed hall and parlour cross-wing house with a service-end. The long hall range has had its roof raised, probably in the late 18th or early 19th century, but the remaining wall posts and framing look as though they may be fairly early. The cross-wing is of close-set framing jettied at the front, west, end and the north side. Very unusually for Herefordshire the close-set framing has no rail. Unfortunately the roof is not accessible and the great parlour is ceiled; so that there are no mouldings or decoration which can be used for dating. The shafts on the posts carrying the brackets supporting the jettying and the brackets themselves are chamfered. There has been a dairy added to the east end of the parlour-wing and the jettying has been underbuilt for the eastern half of the north side to make a kitchen,

probably in the 18th century, and at the west end to enlarge the great parlour.

The hall block has a big lateral fireplace and an early 17th-century ceiling apparently inserted into an open-hall. The wall posts in this range have the mortices for braces. Unfortunately much of the framing is now hidden, but enough can be seen to show that it was of square panelling as in the cross-wing wall adjoining this block. Steps lead down to the kitchen and it seems this room may always have been used for its present purpose. Beyond this is another room with a store beneath it down more stairs. This long block about 48 ft., seems with the cross-wing to be the original building. The slope of the land towards the south makes the changes in level inevitable, but it seems possible that the original building may have been of the long-house type, though a lateral fireplace is not common in such houses.

Shirley was a Domesday manor and the house is magnificently situated on a moraine of the Lugg valley. There are two wells just in front of the house and a good set of 17th-century farm buildings around a yard to the north.

The present house is probably late medieval in date, perhaps early 16th century, with considerable alterations and modifications later. It is interesting to note that John Shirley, cofferer to Henry VIII came from here.

BRIMFIELD

In Brimfield parish was a messuage and lands at Nun Upton. The fine timber-framed farmhouse still stands though now almost completely encased in brick. It is a hall with two cross-wings, though it seems possible that the service-end may once have been two additional bays in line with the main block. The east front of the hall still retains its close-set framing with a rail, but everywhere else is brick in English bond except the west side of the hall which appears to have been encased later and is in Monk bond. The surviving timber, internal partitions are not close-set and there is no means of telling what the cased framing is like. It may be that only the east front of the hall was of the close-set type. The house underwent major changes in the late 17th century, but in its original form appears to have been a hall and service block some 46 ft. long with a big parlour cross-wing. The hall block seems always to have been of two storeys and there does not appear to have been an open roof anywhere in the building. It seems likely that the timber-framed house dates from the last years of the nunnery when the idea of a two-storey main block was coming into fashion. Against this must be set the fact that the hall fireplace appears to be an insertion and it is possible this was an open-hall and that the whole building was re-roofed in the late 17th century.

CROFT (Newton)

Draycott is not mentioned after its acquisition in 1356, thus it is probable that the two farmhouses in Newton, one of which could perhaps be on the site of the nunnery's messuage, were not built by it.

EARDISLAND

Barrow, now Luntley Farm in Dilwyn parish, is at first sight a three-part plan house of the 17th century with its roof raised in the 18th or 19th century. However, the panels in the western third of the house are slightly vertical as opposed to square and it seems to be of earlier build. Perhaps this was similar to Grub Court in Pembridge parish which is mentioned later, but not enough remains to be sure.

Nun House in the same parish is a very complicated building partly 18th century and probably 20th century stone and partly timber-framed of *c.* 1600, but in the centre of the main block is a 12 ft. bay of what appears to be an earlier building. It is timber-framed and has a span of 21 ft. It is probably part of the medieval house now almost lost in later additions.

LINGEN

In Lingen parish, Limebrook Cottage is just inside the boundary of the nunnery site. It is a two-part plan, timber-framed house with a through-passage leading to a later lean-to. In the main room the main beam is heavily moulded and every joist is moulded. The four-centred doorway to this room has a moulded door-frame. All of this appears to be late 15th century as do the chamfered and stopped beam and joists in the other room. This may well have been the guest-house of the nunnery or perhaps the prioress' lodging.

A short distance away is Limebrook Mill. The actual mill building and part of the house are of 17th-century timber-framing, but there is an awkward join with the other part of the dwelling and it seems possible that this was the earlier building though whether it dates back to the days of the nunnery it is now almost impossible to tell.

Lingen parish church was heavily restored in 1891, but it retains a set of pews with heavy roll-moulded decoration which according to a long-standing local tradition came from the nunnery church. This could well be the case and they are certainly in keeping with the fine woodwork of Limebrook Cottage and other buildings belonging to the nuns.

PEMBRIDGE

Two of the main areas of property belonging to the nunnery were the manors of Broxwood and Marston in Pembridge parish. The main house of the former appears to have been at Nunsland on a moated site at present occupied by an 18th-century brick farmhouse and a fine set of contemporary timber-framed farm buildings. An earlier timber-famed building was taken down in 1972. Whether or not it was medieval is not now known.

The Birches, in Weobley parish, was part of this manor. This has a hall block and a cross-wing, the latter being of close-set framing with a jettied upper storey along the east front. This wing was extended in brick in the 18th century and there are modern additions to the hall block.

Also part of this manor was Grub Court in Pembridge. This is a two-part plan, timber-framed house of panelling which is vertical rather than square, as at Barrow. The main room has chamfered and stopped joists with a fine, open, lateral fireplace with chamfered lintel. The hood sheltering the entrance is supported on brackets with quatrefoiled and trefoiled pierced ornament. Although quite small, this is a superior house and could be a pre-Dissolution building.

Marston had pleas and perquisites of court and there were eight tenements as well as two parcels of land. The timber-framed houses of the township today could well mark the eight tenements, the biggest of these still preserving the name, Marston Court. It is one of the biggest surviving houses which belonged to the nunnery. The main block of three rooms on two floors is of close-set vertical framing one room being in the west cross-wing. The plan seems to be early 17th century, but there are earlier features including a heavily-moulded beam in the ground-floor room of the northern part of the cross-wing. On the other hand the close-set framing, the plain heavy trusses and the ovolo-moulded posts of the hall block seem to be early 17th century. The eastern cross-wing is built around the hall stack and seems to be of two builds in the 17th century with the still further northern addition of a hop-kiln in the 18th. There is a range of unlit attics over the main block, but not over the wing.

It is a very puzzling house to interpret. The hall block appears to be early 17th century. It would seem that the cross-wing is the original house and that the hall block was added *c.* 1600 with further alterations and additions. The stairs were inserted in the central part of the wing at the same time. This wing could well have been built early in the 16th century, just pre-Reformation as the earliest surviving part today, though it may have replaced something earlier.

The next most important house in the hamlet is Yew Tree Cottage, a three-part plan house, jettied at the gable with an added 17th-century wing on the west. The main block could be pre-Dissolution, but may well be later 16th century.

The Historic Monuments Commission[52] mentions four more houses in the hamlet and there are other timber-framed dwellings in addition to these. Perhaps none of them are the original nunnery property, but a careful inspection of them could well reveal some pre-Dissolution building. The biggest of them is an L-shaped building, each wing being about 33 ft. by 12 ft. with the main block four panels high and the other arm three panels high. The others are simple two-room plan buildings.

STOKE BLISS

The two farms at Stoke Bliss which were connected with the nunnery are very interesting. The Hyde is a most important building, being of base-cruck construction and dating from the early part of the 14th century. It has a fine hall block with a spere-truss, the arch having disappeared, but the posts are still extant as are the mortices into which the arch was tenoned. The base-cruck truss itself is massive with a heavy quarter-round moulding and heavily moulded arch-braces. Above the great collar-beam the upper roof structure has a trefoil pattern cut into

it, again with a quarter-round moulding. The truss against the cross-wing has the unusual and early feature of a double collar-beam supported by deep arch-braces with a quarter-round moulding. This roof has two tiers of deeply cusped wind-braces and intermediate trusses with a high collar on arched-braces with again a quarter-round moulding. There is evidence of a louvre by the main truss where one of the rafters is missing and a heavy peg which probably held part of the superstructure still remains.

The cross-wing roof is of much more delicate construction, but appears to have been altered for there are mortices for a collar and seating for arch-braces in each intermediate truss. The wall-plate is very heavily moulded and there is one tier of cusped wind-braces.

This remarkable building could well date back to the early 14th century and it is very interesting to find the lands in Stoke Bliss being appropriated by the nunnery in 1302; perhaps the house was built soon after. Mention should be made of the stable and loft above with its hammer-beam roof, probably of 16th-century date.

WIGMORE

On the hill above the nunnery ruins is Upper Limebrook Farm in a beautiful situation looking down the valley of the Lingen Brook. It is a fine house of cruck construction and has been well restored in recent years by its present owner. The original two-bay open-hall has an intermediate truss in each bay while the third bay, to the east, has apparently always been a service-bay with two rooms on the ground-floor and a chamber above. As at the Hyde there would have been an impression of wealth as one stood in the hall and looked up into the carved timbers of the roof. Not only are the arched braces of the main truss moulded, but the two tiers of wind-braces are cusped and pierced and there is a moulded screen with pyramid stops at the service-end. Above the collar in the main truss the two raking struts are shaped to form a trefoil opening; so that the eye is carried up from the springing of the arch to the ridge of the roof. As in many cruck buildings the lower purlin is carried on a blocking piece.

To the west of the hall stood a cross-wing with cellar, ground and first floors. Its type of construction was completely different from that of the hall. Instead of the heavy, through, trenched purlins usual in this area and used in the hall it had butt purlins and no ridge purlins. It had two ground-floor rooms and a big room on the first-floor which appears to have been a solar. There was a squint through which could be seen what was happening in the hall. It seems to have been of later construction than the main block, but was nevertheless medieval.

The hall block probably dates from *c.* 1400 and the wing appeared to have been built about a century later. The latter was demolished in 1964, but the writer was able to fully record it.

There is a full and interesting set of outbuildings which the writer hopes to write about later.

The other property in Wigmore parish is the fine building known as Chapel Farm. It is a four-bay building with intermediate trusses in each bay. The eastern three bays formed an open-hall, the western bay being of two storeys. The big panelling rather over five feet square is subdivided into smaller panels with slighter timber and only one peg at each joint. At first it seemed as though these may have been big panels subdivided, but according to Blashill writing in 1869,[53] 'the framing is filled with very thin stone walling'. Without removing paint and paper this statement cannot be verified but it would mean that this house was of the same construction as some on Westhope Common and in the Black Mountains area.

The quality of workmanship in the house is very high indeed. The posts in the hall are moulded with elaborately carved jowls. The tie-beams are simply moulded, but above this level the trusses are completely plain presumably because the craftsmen did not want to spoil the effect of the moulded intermediate arch-brace trusses and the three tiers of wind-braces. The lowest of these is heavy and cusped, the next tier is arranged to form a quatrefoil in each half-bay. These are much slimmer with elaborately worked cusp-points in the form of a leaf, while the third tier is again of slighter timber and with carved cusp-points. All the cusping is open.

The hall has an inserted floor, probably dating from the 16th century. The hearth on the upper floor is of stone and incorporates re-used medieval tiles and cut stonework. The writer has seen a note made by an old Wigmore resident, now deceased, which reads 'In March 1873 an interesting discovery was made. The farmhouse was undergoing considerable repairs. At N.W. corner, 2 feet below surface, some yards of worked sandstone was found used as foundation or plinth stones, but amongst those left were three which evidently formed part of a small Norman window. There were four other stones of similar mouldings, but not quite matching these; others were plainly lined, or had a simple moulding at the corners, but the majority were quite plain'. Perhaps these stones are from the chapel of St. Mary and St. Leonard already mentioned.

Whilst the stones may date back to the 13th century the woodwork of the house itself seems to date back to *c.* 1400 or perhaps just a little later. As at Upper Limebrook and the Hyde there is evidence of considerable wealth in the builder.

CONCLUSION

The question is bound to be asked; who built these houses? Was building organised by the nuns or were they built by the people who were going to live in them or a mixture of both? When the writer started this study he had hoped to find an answer to the question. However, he has not.

The construction techniques used in the houses and farm buildings are those traditional to this area. Certainly all the craftsmen employed would seem to have been local. Thus we find buildings in the cruck tradition, viz. Limebrook,

the much rarer and wealthier base-cruck at the Hyde, and, as would be expected, the more or less standard post-and-truss type of house. There is the local type of box-framed, square panel, but also some close-set framing, and, at Shirley, a more unusual form of close-set work. The fine arch-braced collar roofs and the cusped wind-bracing common in the area are also found in these houses.

The four buildings constructed in close-set framing present something of a problem. The Birches, Nun Upton and Marston all have a rail, but that at Shirley does not. If these houses were built before the Reformation they are an unusual group of examples of this form of building in the western Midlands. It seems too much of a coincidence for the four new owners all to have employed this form of building in an area where it was not really common. The earlier part of the house at Lodge Farm, Wigmore, is also of close-set construction and jettied all round. It is a neighbour of Shirley and close to the nunnery itself. All this could well be coincidence, but it helps to pose the question as to what influences were at work in this area in the earlier part of the 16th century.

Building was going on during much of the life of the nunnery. The Hyde must have been built early in its history, Nun Upton is probably only just pre-Reformation. There must have been a considerable amount of rebuilding during the period, some of it only just before 1539. There was clearly an almost continuing process of refurbishing going on. The wealth of the good farming land owned by the nuns is reflected in these buildings.

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APPENDIX 1

Nuns known to have been at Limebrook. Further research will probably find more.

1332 Joan de Mortimer, daughter of Edmund

1429 Matilda Whyteney—prioress wanted to retire
Alice Conin
Agnes Hodnet
Juliana Dyer
Agnes Corbury
Felicity Bortone
Joan Lodelaw
Joan Brugge

1429 Agnes Corbury became prioress

1432 Alice Opie transferred to Aconbury

1473 Joan Draper, nun of Limebrook became prioress of Aconbury

1479 Joan Brugge was prioress

1481 Juliana Barbour consecrated

1483 Elizabeth Wigmore consecrated

1486 Joan Brugge resigned

1486 Emma Powes instituted as prioress

1488 Dame Emma Powes, alias Grey, deprived of position as prioress by the Bishop

1514 Margaret Tytley and Elizabeth Adams consecrated
Juliana Barbour by this time prioress

1530 Katherine Dodde transferred to Llanlurgan

1539 Pensions to: Juliana Barbour, prioress, £6
Katherine Dodd, Margaret Tyttley, Elizabeth Adams, Mary Sturie — 53s. 4d. each

1554 Mary Sturie living at Plowden and taking up her pension

APPENDIX 2

PARISH at Rental 1540	PLACE	IDENTIFIED AS (Modern Name)	DESCRIPTION	YEAR ACQUIRED	VALUE WHEN ACQUIRED	VALUE 1291	VALUE 1540
Adforton		N.I.	Rent	1336	£5 16s. 6d.	N.M.	N.M.
Aymestrey	Etton	Yatton (Lady Acre?) 437657	Lands				4s. 0d.
			1 acre				8d.
			Lands				4d.
	Shirley	Shirley township 385653	4 tenements lands & pasture				£1 19s. 10d.
Bodenham	Manor	N.I.	Messuage Tenement and 8 parcels of land	1227		£2	£1 8s. 5¼d.
Brimfield	Upton	Nun Upton 543666	4 carucates pasture Messuage & lands			1s. 8d.	£1 6s. 8d.
Burrington	Bringewood	Nun Field Gutters 464730	Pasture				13s. 4d.
Clifton		N.I.	Church of, Tithes	pre 1307		£6 13s. 4d.	£2 13s. 4d.
	Parsonage lands	N.I.	Messuage Lands & tenements				7s. 0d.
							£1 5s. 8d.
Croft	Draycott	Draycott, Newton 4954	Messuage and 80 acres	1356			N.M.
Dilwyn		N.I.	Lands				3s. 6d.
Eardisland		Nun House 417589	1 carucate			10s. 0d.	
		Lumley Farm 384558	Land & tenement			2s. 0d.	£2 0s. 0d.
	Barrow		Rent				11s. 4d.
	Burton	Lady Meadow	Messuage Land and pasture			2s. 0d.	N.M.
Eye	Dyston	Ashton	Lands	1282		N.M.	2s. 8d.
	Morton	Moreton					11s. 0d.
Hereford		N.I.	Rent				3s. 4d.
Leinthall Earles	Pungwall	Pumphill Meadow 431671	Meadow				13s. 4d.
		Nun's Meadow 428678	Lands				2s. 0d.

PARISH at Rental 1540	PLACE	IDENTIFIED AS (Modern Name)	DESCRIPTION	YEAR ACQUIRED	VALUE WHEN ACQUIRED	VALUE 1291	VALUE 1540
Lingen		Limebrook Cottage 374661	Tenement			13s. 4d.	6s. 8d.
		Limebrook Mill 375662	Water Mill			3s. 0d.	10s. 0d.
Much Cowarne	Chapman's Land	Lady Meadow?	Tenement				10s. 0d.
Pembridge	Brokkeswodpower	N.I.	Manor	1351			6s. 8d.
	Broxwood Birches	Nunsland 378538	Pasture				£3 0s. 0d.
		The Birches 375526	Manor				8s. 8d.
		Grub Court 366541	Lands				4s. 4d.
	Marston	Marston 365574	Lands			5s. 0d. £2 6s. 8d.	£2 5s. 0½d.
			Pleas & Perquisites at Merton				
			8 Tenements and 2 parcels of land				
Shobdon		N.I.	Lands				1s. 6d.
Stoke Bliss	Hyde	The Hyde 628619	Tithes	1302		£4 16s. 10d. (less 17s. 6d.)	£1 0s. 0d. £1 10s. 0d.
	Pirie	The Perry 629625	Houses and appurtenances				
			Several parcels of land				
Wigmore	Farley's Field	Upper Limebrook 375665	Pasture and appurtenances	c. 1250			10s. 0d.
	Chapel of St. Leonard Limebrook	Chapel Farm 395685	Chapel and lands				£2 0s. 0d.
		Limebrook 374661	Scit etc.				£5 12s. 11d.
Presteigne (Powys)		N.I.	5 tenements and 2 plots of land				3s. 3¼d.
Ashford (Salop)		N.I.	Lands				12s. 0d.
West Bradley (Somerset)			Rent	1281	£1 4s. 0d.	N.M.	N.M.

N.M.—Not mentioned

N.I.—Not identified

The Authorship of the Hereford Mappa Mundi and the Career of Richard de Bello

By W. NIGEL YATES

THE famous *Mappa Mundi* which now hangs in the north choir aisle of Hereford Cathedral has over the past century been the subject of some debate between scholars, especially in recent years when its previously accepted authorship has been strongly contested. The first major study of the map was published in 1873 by Bevan and Phillott, but it still remains the authoritative work on the subject,[1] and its conclusions on dating and authorship have been confirmed in the more recent statements of Professor G. R. Crone and Prebendary A. L. Moir.[2] The map is said to date from the decade between 1285 and 1295. The author is said to have been one Richard de Bello or Richard de la Battayle,[3] who describes himself in the bottom left-hand corner of the map as 'Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford'; he has been identified with both Richard de Bello, who was known to have held the prebend of Sleaford (Lafford)[4] in the cathedral church of Lincoln in 1277, and Richard de Bello, who was collated to the prebend of Norton in the cathedral church of Hereford in 1305. It has been customary to assume, linking the name on the map with the place of deposit, that the two Richards were the same man and that he held both prebends at different points in his career.

But in 1957 Noel Denholm-Young published an important article,[5] in which he cast serious doubt on the above thesis. He pointed out that Richard de Bello, if he was one man, had had a much longer and more interesting career than had generally been supposed, for the prebendary of Sleaford had been a canon of Lincoln as early as 1264 whereas the prebendary of Norton had not died until 1326. The prebendary of Norton had also held, between 1298 and 1326, an impressive list of appointments in the diocese of Salisbury. He discovered that there was an unfortunate gap in Richard's known career between his tenure of the prebend of Sleaford and his later career, which began with an appearance in the household of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford in 1289-90. Under these circumstances Denholm-Young felt obliged to question the career of Richard de Bello as one man. Thus he writes that Richard's 'consecutive careers are linked only by the identity of name and the presence of a Lincoln map at Hereford', that 'this is a grave complication' and that 'all this reads much like two careers'.[6]

Denholm-Young also comments on the date of the *Mappa Mundi* which may be later than has been thought; for instance, the depiction of Caernarvon and Conway castles and the treatment of France in the map argue for a completion date in 1292 or later;[7] Denholm-Young 'strongly suggests 1289-90 as the earliest possible date for its completion'.[8] But if the map was not completed until this later date,

by which time Richard de Bello was about to embark on a new and more successful ecclesiastical career, why should he call himself by a surname relating to a preferment held a decade earlier and never used to identify him in any other context? Denholm-Young suggests a possible—though in my view not a very convincing—answer:

> 'On the assumption that there were two persons called Richard de Bello, it is possible to believe that the (earlier) had nothing to do with the map; that it was drawn by a young man who wished to make himself twice as large as life, the nephew, in a papal sense, perhaps, of the (earlier), at the outset of his career'.[9]

Whether this clerical bastard is supposed to be identified with the later Richard de Bello or not is never made clear. There is no record of the latter ever having been dispensed from bastardy, as would have been necessary had he wished to hold a benefice. All the theory seems to offer is a clear indication that the author believes there were really two Richard de Bellos, but cannot explain how the elder could have drawn the map.

In the same year that Denholm-Young published his article, a more strongly-worded attack was made on the existence of one Richard de Bello by A. B. Emden.[10] He pointed out that the prebendary of Sleaford had been presented to his first benefice by 1260, that the prebendary of Norton had not been ordained to major orders until 1293-4,[11] and the latter was a *magister* whereas the author of the *Mappa Mundi*—whom he identifies with the former—did not designate himself thus, and that if Richard de Bello was one person 'he must be reckoned to have lived to be over ninety years of age'. All these reasons would 'preclude' the identification of one Richard with the other. The problem of age had also worried Denholm-Young, who tentatively suggested 1242-3 as a possible date of birth for the elder—and perhaps the only—Richard; he also suggested some possible family connections, though these cannot be proved and do not materially affect the argument in any way.

The purpose of this article is to reconsider the whole question of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* and its authorship. Firstly there is no conclusive proof for the generally held assumption that the *Mappa Mundi* was actually drawn by 'Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford'. Secondly, the arguments put forward by Emden and Denholm-Young on the assumed author's impossible career are in part factually incorrect and in general unconvincing. If there is adequate grounds for assuming that Richard drew the map in the first place, there are equally good reasons for accepting the length of his career as one man. I propose to deal with each problem in turn.

The identification of Richard as the maker of the map rests solely on the inscription in the bottom left-hand corner, which reads in full:

> 'Tuz ki cest estoire ont, ou oyront, ou lirront, ou veront,
> prient a Jhesu en deyte de Richard de Haldingham e de
> Lafford eyt pite, ki lat fet e compasse, ki ioie en
> cel li seit done'.

The key words in this inscription are *estoire* and *compasse*, both of which are ambiguous. *Estoire* can refer to the design of a picture or tapestry, as well as meaning story or history. *Compasse* can be used in either a literal or an abstract sense; it can refer equally to the architect of a city or the builder of a machine, it is used of God as creator of the world—hence the well-known cartographical figure of God with a large pair of compasses—or it can simply refer to the abstract carrying out of a plan or idea. The use of the two words together is certainly rare, and may possibly be unique.[12] All this proves nothing one way or the other, but it does suggest that the assumption that Richard actually drew the map rests on very flimsy evidence indeed. It is just as likely that he never actually drew the map, that he was no more than the patron who commissioned it. This would be quite consistent with the importance given to the patron or donor, and the consequent obscuring of the real artist, in other branches of medieval art, especially sculpture. However, whether Richard was the actual maker or merely the patron of the map makes no difference whatsoever to the arguments about his career. The doubts about authorship must be stated but they cannot be resolved on the evidence available.

On the second issue of the arguments put forward by Emden and Denholm-Young there are more positive grounds of objection. Firstly, on the question of the gap between Richard's two careers, it would seem that the problem has been far too simply stated. The later career, beginning with Richard's presentation to the Oxfordshire rectory of Stoke Talmage in 1293, is extremely well documented all the way to his death in 1326. His earlier career is not, indeed it is marked by only three direct references: in 1260 he was granted a papal dispensation to hold one more benefice in addition to those of Kingsworth and Dymchurch, in Kent, which he held already;[13] in 1264, as canon of Lincoln, he witnessed the confirmation of the newly-elected prior of Daventry, Robert de Heliden;[14] and in 1277, as treasurer of Lincoln and prebendary of Sleaford, he presented Henry de Swinderby to the vicarage of his prebendal church.[15] Richard must have resigned his treasurership at Lincoln by 20 August 1278 when a document is witnessed by one Walter, treasurer of Lincoln. He may have resigned his prebend at the same time.[16] Thus there is no real gap in our knowledge of Richard's career; the first thirty years are all equally vague, and although this does not confirm the identification of one man it does remove the objection of silence at a crucial period posed by Denholm-Young.

The problems of date and inscription which provoked Denholm-Young's 'nephew theory' are of great interest, but they could be largely solved if we knew more about the technical aspects of the map which cartographical research might be able to show. Is it for instance possible to determine how the map was drawn and assembled and over what period of time? Hung as it is at the moment the map measures five feet four inches by four feet six inches and would be a major transportation problem. However, a fairly distinct line of rubbing running down the middle of the map vertically would seem to indicate that the map was folded—and possibly the halves rolled—at some time in the past. Other features,

such as labelling Europe as Africa and vice-versa, suggest either a later addition or a preliminary design later rejected. How much these folds and alterations reveal it is impossible to say without an expert re-examination of the map.[17] Is it even possible to say why the map is at Hereford rather than elsewhere? Professor Crone had assumed that the author had died in about 1313 or soon afterwards, having been resident at Hereford as prebendary of Norton, and that he had therefore bequeathed his map to the cathedral.[18] But we now know that Richard de Bello did not die until 1326 and that, though he held the prebend of Norton at Hereford for twenty years, he was never one of the residentiary canons.[19] From 1298 onwards he was an important figure in the diocese of Salisbury where he must have spent most of his time; Norton, one of the poorer Hereford prebends,[20] was a minor piece of preferment. If the map had remained in Richard's possession until 1326 we should expect the map to be now at Salisbury and not at Hereford. However, we do know that Richard was in the vicinity of Hereford in 1289-90, shortly before the map must have been completed; as it now belongs to Hereford, and there is no record of it ever belonging anywhere else, it seems logical to assume that the gift to Hereford was made soon after its completion, before Richard moved to Salisbury. Yet it seems unlikely that the whole map could have been drawn at Hereford, which is very insignificantly indicated on the map in contrast with Lincoln, or even with the neighbouring ecclesiastical centres of Gloucester and Worcester. It is possible that the map was drawn in two stages; that it was begun in the late 1270's, which would account for both the prominence of Lincoln and Richard's unusual surname in the inscription, and that additions or revisions were made in the early 1290's, hence the portrayal of Caernarvon and Conway castles. Even if the first draft was not made until after Richard had resigned his Lincoln prebend, which he had certainly done by 1284,[21] there would still have been adequate reason for him to use the prebendal title as his surname, for there is no record of him holding another benefice until 1293.

The two technical problems of ordination and graduate status raised by Emden can be dealt with more briefly. He claims that Richard's admission to major orders in 1293-4 'precludes' his identification with one whose ecclesiastical career was under way by 1260. In only one of the pre-1293 references is Richard's ecclesiastical status, as opposed to his ecclesiastical preferment, noted; that is in the papal indult of 1260 when he is described as *clericus* (clerk). This was an appallingly ambiguous term in the later middle ages and need only have meant that Richard had taken the first tonsure and theoretically declared his intention of proceeding to ordination; certainly it did not necessarily mean that Richard was in major orders.[22] In all probability, like a good many other benefice holders, Richard was in minor orders. This would have meant that his orders were technically deficient, as the canons of secular cathedrals were expected to be at least in subdeacon's orders and at least twenty-two years of age.[23] But these regulations were not always enforced and indeed were often flouted; at Hereford, for instance, one can quote at least three cases of a prebendary's orders being

deficient in the period between 1282 and 1301. Stephen Swinfield, the bishop's brother and steward of his estates, was collated to the prebend of Inkberrow in 1294, though remaining a layman. Nicholas de Geynville was collated to the prebend of Withington Parva in 1287, though only four years earlier Bishop Swinfield had declined to do this, despite a royal request, on the grounds that Nicholas was then barely ten years old.[24] Edmund Mortimer, a clerk in minor orders, resigned the prebend of Hunderton in 1282 so as to succeed to his father's estate on the death of his elder brother, married in 1285 and later sat in parliament as a knight of the shire.[25] Sometimes clerics whose orders were deficient were forced into resigning their benefices until they had remedied the defect, and possibly this happened in the case of Richard de Bello. It is perhaps interesting that Richard had ceased to hold his treasurership at Lincoln, and possibly also his prebend as well, by 1278, only four years after the Second Council of Lyons had decreed that bishops should, and some did, take action against clerks whose orders were deficient.[26] It is not without significance that the Richard de Bello ordained in 1293-4 received his orders from the bishop of Lincoln and at the same time the rectory of Stoke Talmage in the diocese of Lincoln. But all this is mere speculation.

Emden seems to be on even weaker ground in his query about graduate status; he claims (rightly) that the prebendary of Norton was a *magister*, yet adds that 'the maker of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* does not designate himself *magister*'. This is true; but Emden also clearly identifies the author of the map with the prebendary of Sleaford, who in all three cases given above is invariably given the title of *magister*. It would be possible to argue from this that neither Richard de Bello was either the maker or the patron of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, but that it was somebody about whom we know nothing at all save his name.[27] But if we assume—and it is a big assumption—that such is not the case, the absence of the title *magister* in the inscription on the map need present few problems. There is all the difference in the world between a personal title and an official title as used in public documents, just as nowadays an academic would not normally advertise his professional qualifications in published work, though these would be advertised in his university *Calendar*. Thus for Richard to omit the title *magister* from the inscription may be no more than natural modesty; if he was merely the patron the omission could be put down to scribal ignorance.

We are left with one final problem which worried both Emden and Denholm-Young, namely that of age. Denholm-Young suggested that Richard might have been born in 1242-3, thus making him just over eighty at the time of his death, but he did not take into account the fact that Richard was both a *magister* and a beneficed clerk by 1260. Emden finds it impossible to believe that he was over ninety when he died. The date of birth suggested by Denholm-Young is obviously too late; Richard could not have been born later than about 1240 which would have made him at least eighty-six when he died. Long life, though unusual, was by no means unknown at this time; the careers of a good many 13th and 14th century popes testify to this fact and St. Gilbert of Sempringham was more

than a hundred when he died in 1189. The clergy, indeed, were notoriously long-lived. If the career of Richard de Bello is to be dismissed as impossible, what are we to make of that of John de Aquablanca, dean of Hereford from 1262 until 1320? And there are other examples which could be cited, so that on the whole we need no longer be troubled by the doubts about age which seemed to place a barrier in the way of accepting the long and varied career of Richard de Bello as one man.

For all these reasons I am driven to one of two conclusions: the negative one that the author or patron of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* is an entirely unknown figure or the positive one that the author or patron was Richard de Bello and that he was one man. There are still good reasons for taking the more positive viewpoint, the most convincing being the reference to the presence of Richard de Bello in the household of Bishop Swinfield in 1289-90.[28] It is therefore worthwhile to reconstruct the career of this one Richard de Bello as it might have been. About his date of birth and upbringing we really know nothing, despite Denholm-Young's interesting conjectures. He first appears in 1260 as a *magister* and rector of two parishes in Kent, Kingsworth and Dymchurch. He was a canon of Lincoln by 1264, treasurer of the cathedral and prebendary of Sleaford by 1277. At some later date he resigned his benefices, possibly under pressure because he had not yet taken major orders. He reappears in the household of Bishop Swinfield in 1289-90, by which time he had begun work on his *Mappa Mundi*, which he completed soon afterwards and gave to the cathedral at Hereford. He was ordained subdeacon in 1293 and priest in 1294 by Bishop Sutton. His ecclesiastical advance was then remarkably rapid, possibly a recognition of his previous experience. He had acquired the rectories of Stoke Talmage and Sutton by 1294, Poulshot in 1313 and Compton Abbas in 1315. He acquired prebends at Salisbury in 1298 and Hereford in 1305, but his most important work was done in the former diocese, where he was vicar-general to the bishop in 1299, archdeacon of Berkshire in 1313 and keeper of the bishopric *sede vacante* in 1315. Richard de Bello died in 1326, still holding much of the preferment he had acquired during the last thirty years of his life.[29] I would like to believe that this sketch is not greatly in error; certainly I am convinced that the identification of two Richard de Bellos is an unnecessary complication which resolves few problems, and that Emden and Denholm-Young have introduced, though with the best intentions, a large red herring into the debate about the authorship of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*.

It is however very necessary that a word of caution should be added here. Most of what has been written above is highly speculative, and is very far from being the last and authoritative word on the subject. On the contrary, I hope that what I have written will lead others to pursue this matter much more vigourously than I have been able to do here. The history of the *Mappa Mundi* is still a mysterious one; we cannot even be sure of its whereabouts until the 17th century, since when it has certainly been at Hereford. The first priority would seem to be an expert re-examination of the map, so that this time the problem of authorship can be

fully probed. When that has been done, but not until then, it may be possible to write a more satisfactory history of the map and of the man whose name is connected with it, 'Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford'.[30]

REFERENCES

[1] W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (1873).

[2] G. R. Crone, *The Hereford World Map*, Royal Geographical Society (1948); A. L. Moir, *The World Map in Hereford Cathedral* (1970).

[3] Prebendary Moir suggests that Richard came from Belleau in Lincolnshire; most other authorities have assumed that he came from Battle in Sussex; the latter seems to be the more likely suggestion, especially as Richard's earliest known preferment was two churches just over the border in Kent (see below). Bello is an obvious latinisation of Battle which is found elsewhere, especially in references to monks of Battle Abbey, at about this time.

[4] Holdingham (Haldingham) was a manor belonging to the prebendal church of Sleaford.

[5] N. Denholm-Young, 'The *Mappa Mundi* of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford', in *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 306-314. This has since been republished in *Collected Papers of N. Denholm-Young* (1969).

[6] *Ibid.*, 308.

[7] Caernarvon Castle had been almost completed by 1292, except for the towers, some of which were not finished until 1317.

[8] *Ibid.*, 313.

[9] *Ibid.*, 309.

[10] A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of Oxford University to AD 1500*, 3 vols. (1957-9), i, 556.

[11] Ordained subdeacon 19 April 1293, priest 18 September 1294, both by Bishop Sutton of Lincoln.

[12] I am most grateful to the Revd. John White, who first attracted my attention to the inscription on the map. For the suggestions on the wording of this I am most grateful to Dr. Lynette Muir of Leeds University whose opinions I have adopted here. Dr. Paul Harvey of Southampton University tells me that *facere* or some vernacular equivalent is the most common way of describing the execution of maps in the later middle ages and early modern period, and that one 16th century Portuguese map in the British Museum was for a time given a Moroccan origin because of the inscription *a fez*! Dr. Harvey agrees with me that on the basis of the inscription it would be unreasonable to conclude, without some external evidence, that Richard actually drew the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*.

[13] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i, 370.

[14] *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend*, ed. F. N. Davis, C. W. Foster and A. H. Thompson, Canterbury and York Society, Lincoln Record Society (1925), 104.

[15] *Ibid.*, 72.

[16] *Ibid.*, 163. The editors of the register suggest (p. xxxvi) that Richard was treasurer *c.*1267-79. The latter date is therefore wrong; there is no evidence for the former. No new prebendary of Sleaford is recorded until 1284 (see below).

[17] I am most grateful to Prebendary Moir of Hereford Cathedral for discussing some of these technical matters with me; he assures me that the map has not been folded within living memory, and that when transported for cleaning and reframing in 1948 the map was kept flat; it was previously in another case of some antiquity in which it was also laid flat; if transported from Lincoln to Hereford, as some scholars suggest, it must have been either folded or rolled either during or after its composition. Dr. Paul Harvey suggests that a thorough examination of the inks and hands of the map could well clear up some of the doubts about dating. Also we do not know what is on the dorse. This could even give a clue to its authorship. However, Dr. Harvey points out that we are lucky to have an inscription of any sort on the *Mappa Mundi*; of the twenty-odd English pre-1500 local maps and plans which have so far come to light, not one bears any form of signature and for none can any author's name be guessed. The case for an urgent re-examination of the *Mappa Mundi* is now overwhelming; none of these doubts about dating and authorship had been adequately raised in 1948, and were therefore not taken into account.

[18] G. R. Crone, *op. cit.*, 3.

[19] Though he acted as proctor for Bishop Swinfield in 1313, see *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society (1909), 491. I am fairly convinced that Richard did not die at Hereford. For instance, he is not recorded as visiting Hereford once in the mass-pence roll of 1324-5 (Hereford Cathedral Archives, Roll no. 413). I suspect he died at Salisbury though I cannot prove this; the Salisbury communar's accounts do not survive for any date earlier than 1343, nor the full chapter acts for any date earlier than 1329.

[20] Valued at 18s. 0½d. in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 and £2 3s. 2d. in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535.

[21] *Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, ed. R. M. T. Hill, Lincoln Record Society, 1948—(still in progress) i, 58.

[22] On this see especially P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (1969), 13-15. What he has to say applies just as much to the 13th and 14th as it does to the 15th century.

[23] K. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (1967), 34; but she adds 'yet in practice boys in minor orders were sometimes admitted by special dispensation of the pope; the statutes of Salisbury and Wells make provision for them to sit on the lowest form in choir among the boy choristers'.

[24] *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield*, p. 1; Nicholas was assigned an annual pension of ten marks *per annum* until his collation to Withington Parva in 1287, which prebend he held until 1301; he can only have been thirteen or fourteen years old at his collation.

[25] As a cleric Mortimer had been appointed treasurer of York Minster in 1265, and was later also rector of Chipping Campden; for his career and further references see Emden, *op. cit.*, ii p. 1316.

[26] J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (1945), 225.

[27] Would it be possible for example to advance the candidature of Richard of Sleaford, rector of Normanby-le-Wold in the diocese of Lincoln from 1283 to 1294, that is during the period in which the map was probably made? But there is nothing to connect this Richard with Hereford; for his career see *Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, i, 64, 73, 190.

[28] *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, during part of the years 1289 and 1290*, ed. J. Webb, Camden Society, 2 vols. (1854), i, 20, 151, 158. Richard is mentioned once as receiving a present of venison from the bishop; his servant (*garcio*) received sixpence on two separate occasions. Other links between the alleged two careers of Richard de Bello, which suggest the career of one man, are the fact that both Richard's were *magistri* and that both were connected with the Lincoln diocese; even Richard's first prebend at Salisbury had a Lincolnshire endowment; he held the prebend of Grantham Australis, the endowment of which, together with that of Grantham Borealis, consisted of the rectory of Grantham, briefly in 1298. Prebendary Moir has suggested a personal connection between Richard's preferment at Lincoln and Hereford; he thinks that Richard might have come into contact with Richard Swinfield, the future bishop of Hereford, when the latter was chancellor of Lincoln. This is an attractive suggestion which could account for Richard's otherwise unexplained move from Lincoln to Hereford. Unfortunately, however, it rests on unreliable evidence, the unsubstantiated assertion of Canon Capes (see *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield*, p. i) that Swinfield was once chancellor of Lincoln. No record of Swinfield's alleged chancellorship survives in the Lincoln registers which do not, however, include collations to dignities and prebends in the cathedral; but it is still unlikely that Swinfield held this dignity, unless he did so very briefly in *c.*1280, in which case Richard de Bello may no longer have been holding office at the cathedral.

[29] Fuller details are given in Emden, *op. cit.*, i p. 556, though with the reservations stated above.

[30] The text of this article, with minor modifications and excluding the final paragraph, was read as one of the short papers to the annual summer conference of the Ecclesiastical History Society meeting at University College, Durham, on 13 July 1971. I am also grateful to my wife and to Major Francis Jones, Wales Herald Extraordinary, for their comments since then, and to Miss Belinda Du Val for typing the fair copy from my untidy manuscript.

John Trillek, Bishop of Hereford

By G. W. HANNAH

HEREFORD Cathedral possesses a fine monumental brass to John Trillek, on the north side of the choir. Trillek was Bishop of Hereford from 1344 until his death in 1360 and in name, he is known to many people who visit the cathedral. But there is more to a bishop than his name and dates. What sort of a man was he? How suitable was he for episcopal office? Did he work hard in the diocese or was he first and foremost a government minister? What were the problems confronting him in his see? Did he shy away from them or attempt to solve them? To what extent were his achievements lasting? These are some of the questions which this article seeks to consider in a brief examination of Bishop Trillek's career as a diocesan. Shortage of space precludes discussion of every aspect of episcopal life such as the bishop's relationship with pope, king and metropolitan, or his duties as a feudal landlord although these will be mentioned in passing when relevant to other matters.

Episcopal relations with the dean and chapter and the outbreak of the plague in the diocese and city of Hereford have already been discussed by other writers.[1]

The future bishop was a local man, his family taking its name from Trillek, a village near Monmouth. Trillek was born *c.*1310 and was educated at Paris between 1329 and 1336. He received several licences for study at university, including one for a period of five years in 1341. It seems probable that he was a D.D. and therefore a theologian, unlike Thomas Charlton, his immediate predecessor at Hereford, who as a D.C.L., reflected the widespread tendency for the study of Law among the 14th-century episcopate.[2]

Trillek was a *magister* by 1334 and was ordained priest in September 1338. He soon collected a succession of benefices in plurality in Worcestershire, Oxfordshire and Hampshire.[3] Little else is known about his early career until he became bishop of Hereford.

In theory, bishops were chosen by the cathedral chapter, but in practice, episcopal elections were too important to escape the interference of king or pope as each tried to obtain preferment for his own candidate. However, in 1344, Trillek quietly took over the episcopal duties at Hereford. The *congé d'élire* was granted on 27 January and *in episcopum Herefordensem canonice fuit electus* on 23 February. His uncle, the bishop of Winchester, probably influenced the Hereford Chapter in favour of his nephew and Trillek's rise to the episcopate may not be entirely free from the stain of nepotism. Nevertheless, the election received the royal assent on 5 March and was confirmed by Archbishop John Stratford on 27 March; the temporalities of the see were restored two days later. On 29 August, the new bishop was consecrated at Waverley Abbey being finally enthroned at Hereford on 29 October 1344.[4]

It seems to be agreed among historians that John Trillek was not provided to his see by the pope. One writer has claimed that Trillek's appointment was, 'the last date known (with one extraordinary fifteenth-century group of exceptions) for an election which was not subsequently quashed by a provision'.[5] However, the evidence shows clearly that Trillek was provided to the see by Clement VI on 15 March 1344 and that his election was therefore cancelled. Indeed, the king and the archbishop both received papal letters to this effect.[6] Naturally Edward III was displeased at this papal interference, but was doubtless further enraged on learning that the bishop had assumed the spiritualities and temporalities of the diocese 'on the pretext of certain apostolic bulls.'[7] Trillek was even summoned before the Council to explain his conduct and thus began his career as a bishop somewhat out of royal favour. As many of the difficulties which faced Trillek in 1344 arose from the diocese itself, the area which he had undertaken to serve merits some description.

The boundaries of the diocese of Hereford had been firmly established since the 10th century. The see stretched from Alberbury and Wenlock in the north, to the Severn estuary and from the Welsh border eastwards to the Malvern Hills. Its administrative units consisted of two archdeaconries, fourteen rural deaneries and 446 parishes, just over one third of which were appropriated to ecclesiastical corporations.[8]

Lying on the border, the diocese was exposed constantly to the threat of incursions by the Welsh and the ravages of such hostilities rendered its possessions insecure. The rugged nature of its terrain put many districts virtually beyond the control of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, hence Trillek faced a continual state of lawlessness which increased the difficulties of performing diocesan duties.

There were numerous disturbances among the laity as in February 1354, when the bishop's tenants on his manors of Bosbury, Cradley and Colwall suffered to such an extent from, *quidam malefactores et pacis . . . perturbatores*, that they were unable to cultivate their lands.

A further prominent characteristic of the violence was the general disregard for the sanctity of ecclesiastical property which was common even among the bishop's servants. Walter Moton, warden of Trillek's woods at Ross, used his position for the wholesale plunder of his lord's wood, deer, pheasants, partridges, hares and fish. The clergy themselves were not above breaking the law, for we find the parish priests of Ledbury and Bosbury hunting over the bishop's lands, possibly in order to augment a meagre stipend.[9] More often however, it was the clergy who suffered at the hands of the mob, like the incumbent of Newnham whose rectory was burnt down one night in 1348; on another occasion the parish church of Ullingswick was occupied by a group of persons *manu armata* who thus prevented the celebration of Mass, funeral services, baptisms *et alliis divinis*.[10]

The rural nature of the diocese also made travelling difficult for even in the better areas, roads were mere tracks, dustbowls in summer, mires in winter. This probably explains why Trillek never visited every part of his diocese. Travelling must have been virtually impossible in the remote parts of the see *in Terræ Walliæ*.

Hereford was one of the poorer dioceses of the English church. In 1291, it was worth £5,541 15s. 4¾d. and 155 of the 446 benefices were worth less than ten marks *per annum*.[11]

John Trillek, unlike Thomas Charlton, devoted himself entirely to his diocesan duties never apparently leaving the see after 1344. He even sought to avoid attendance on the king, as in 1351 when he excused himself on the grounds of ill-health. But in this case illness was perhaps only a cover because the bishop did not wish to leave his diocese. As well as being ill, Trillek claimed that he was *detentus ex causis legitimis* which may represent urgent diocesan business. This and other instances when Trillek failed to obey a royal summons suggest a lack of interest in government.[12] Perhaps also there was personal animosity between bishop and king resulting from Trillek's appearance before the Council at the time of his appointment. Whatever the reason, Trillek throughout his episcopate put pastoral duties firmly before royal needs.

The bishop's attitude suggests that he was unambitious because failing to attend on the king when commanded was not the way to preferment. It seems strange that Trillek was not eager to move to a richer diocese; he seemed content to stay at Hereford spending his time labouring in his own chosen corner of the Lord's vineyard.

One of his principal duties was that of ordaining men to the ministry. Trillek worked hard at this task as shown by the large number of candidates who entered the ranks of the clergy with his blessing. The bishop held in all 56 ordination services mostly at his manors throughout the diocese. Only once did he ordain men in the cathedral. The Black Death which swept through the diocese in 1348 did not deter him from his work. At great personal risk, Trillek held eight ordination services between March and December 1349, while in 1350, six services were held at which large numbers of men entered Holy Orders doubtless to replace those who had died during the recent epidemic.[13]

When ordaining candidates, Trillek sometimes turned a blind eye to occasional irregularities. For instance, it seems certain that most of those whom he ordained lacked sufficient title, that is the financial means of supporting themselves and the dignity of their office without becoming a burden on the church. Thus it might be argued that he aggravated the problem of clerical poverty, already acute in the diocese and one which, as we shall see, he tried to remedy. But time did not permit a thorough investigation of each candidate's financial means and the bishop had to be content with a cursory examination of each man's character and morals. It is indeed to Trillek's credit that defective titles were not forgotten, as, on visitation tours, he ordered rectors and vicars to produce *juris sui titulos si quos habeant in beneficiis suis*. Any action taken after a visitation to remove those incumbents with deficient titles was better late than never.[14]

Bishop Trillek was also conscious of his obligation to supervise the spiritual and moral welfare of his clergy and laity. Paramount in this respect was the

duty of visitation when the bishop travelled through his diocese inquiring into the behaviour of the laity, examining church fabrics and checking the discipline and efficiency of the clergy. Trillek travelled many miles around his see braving all the dangers of the highway and his register testifies to his zeal in performing one of his most important duties.

In 1346 he spent a week touring all the churches in the deanery of Frome in order to correct the faults of all 'rectors, vicars, chaplains, clerks and laymen'. After visiting the deanery of the Forest in 1346, Trillek ordered his official to punish the *excessus et delicta* of the parishioners, and all found guilty of any transgressions were to appear in Newent Church to receive *correcionem debitam pro eorum demeritis.*[15]

There is much evidence to suggest that Trillek had the welfare of his clergy at heart and typical of his concern for their well-being was the remedy he took in November 1357 after a visitation of Eardisland parish church. The bishop had found that the vicar lacked any ground in which to grow leeks and herbs and so he assigned to him and his successors parts of the rectoral glebe, threatening to excommunicate any who might infringe the vicar's rights.[16]

Trillek also discharged his duty of visiting non-exempt religious houses and in 1356, he called to inspect Wigmore Abbey, where the Augustinian Canons were noted for their ill-discipline. When unable to visit in person, Trillek delegated his authority as in 1356, when the deans of the Forest and Ross were ordered to visit the churches of Dymock and Much Marcle.[17]

Poverty and illiteracy among the parish clergy were two of the most serious problems facing Trillek, and the bishop persevered energetically at their solution. He occasionally found benefices for poor deserving clerks, but the principal means which he adopted to combat poverty was that of appropriating parish churches to religious houses, ensuring that the vicar had an ample portion. For instance, in October 1351 Trillek sanctioned the appropriation of Awre Parish Church to the Prior and Convent of Llanthony near Gloucester.[18] And the vicar's allowance in this case should certainly have been adequate if the bishop's wishes were carried out, for the portion included a house, arable and pasture land and an orchard. Similar provision was made also for the vicar of Wolversly Church, which was appropriated to Worcester Priory. [19]

There was an urgent need to improve standards of literacy among parish clergy. Trillek realised that they were the key-stones of faith within their localities, and that on their behaviour and abilities the religious life of a parish flourished or foundered. If the clergy were evil, how could the laity be good? The bishop therefore applied himself to the task of raising the standard of clerical education. He allowed some men to leave their parishes to study as in 1346, when the rector of Puddlestone went to Oxford for one year.[20] It is known that Trillek maintained an 'inn' at Oxford, though it is doubtful whether he ever lectured there. Possibly he arranged for students to be lodged at his 'inn' while gathering some crumbs of knowledge from the university.

Despite all his attempts at reform, Trillek achieved little. The universities did not regulate their courses to the training of parish priests and the educational standards in the diocese remained low at the end of the century.[21]

Bishop Trillek's predecessors had welcomed the Mendicant Orders into the diocese largely owing to the poor standards of their own clergy. With the mendicants, for the most part well-trained in theology and preaching, came the hope of improving religious life within the parishes. Thus John Trillek, always keen on any means of fostering religion, allowed the friars to supplement the work of the secular clergy. They were allowed to enlarge their house in Frog Lane, Hereford in 1351 and were licensed to hear confessions in the diocese in 1351, 1352 and 1354.[22]

Inevitably there was tension between the regular and secular clergy as the parish priests resented the interference of outsiders. Disputes became common throughout the early 1350's, and the bishop, although a staunch supporter of the friars, was compelled to revoke all their privileges in 1355 in order to safeguard the rights of his own clergy.[23]

Trillek took every opportunity of ensuring that parishioners should not be deprived of the services and sacraments of the church. When a priest, through old age or infirmity, was unable to perform his duties, coadjutors were supplied as in 1345, when the vicar of Dilwyn was sent to the parish of Wigmore because the priest there was old and blind.[24]

The bishop also encouraged religious tendencies among aristocratic ladies by granting them licences for private chapels so long as these did not interfere with the rights of the parish church. Private chapels were sanctioned at Newent in 1346 and in the same year, Petronella, wife of Sir Richard Pembridge, received the privilege of having Mass celebrated in her manors at Clehonger, Newland and Mornington.[25]

Even when not on formal visitation tours, Trillek was always ready with a punitive mandate for the correction of sin. In 1354 when it came to his notice that certain parishioners and forest officials in the parish of Newland were abusing the practice of brewing ale on behalf of the church by forming drinking clubs, the vicar was directed to excommunicate all those involved. Doubtless it would have been difficult for him to terminate such bacchanalian revelries.[26]

With invectives which have a modern ring, Trillek in 1348 condemned certain plays, on account of their bad language, which he considered to be unsuitable for his parishioners. All people taking part in such productions were to be excommunicated.[27]

In conclusion, what can be said about Bishop Trillek's character?

His continual ministration to clergy and laity during the plague years, gives the impression that the bishop was a courageous man; while the constant round of visitation and ordination tours, indicates that he had a high sense of his episcopal responsibilities. Trillek was also a scholar with a wide outlook on life, an attitude perhaps formed by travel in his youth, fostered by study and manifested in his approach to the mendicants. He was not jealous of his own clergy's rights

to the extent of excluding others from the opportunity of working for the church in his diocese. Episcopal orders condemning immoral plays and drinking clubs emanated from his wish to bring everyone to his own high moral standards—unless he was a hypocrite, which is not suggested by his general conduct.

But even with all these commendable qualities, was Trillek suitable for episcopal office? On most counts the answer must be yes, he was suitable. Scholarship marched hand in hand with conscientious application to duty. However, he lacked any formal pastoral training; but then only because the church provided none.

Owing to the location and lawlessness of the diocese, the king ideally wanted a bishop of Hereford with strong connections among the local nobility, for thus he stood to gain the maximum co-operation in maintaining law and order in a remote part of his realm. This was clearly perceived by Edward II when writing to the pope in 1317 in an ill-fated attempt to secure Thomas Charlton to the see.[28] Charlton was a member of a baronial family, but Trillek, for all his virtues, lacked such connections and thus laboured under a considerable disadvantage. In spite of this, he was a good diocesan. He saw clearly the major problems which faced him and took positive steps to remedy them.

But he was by no means a perfect bishop. He did not examine ordination candidates with the necessary thoroughness and visitation tours, although carried out, were not regular. The triennial ideal was never fulfilled.

Bishop Trefnant's Visitation Returns for 1397 reveal a grim picture of life within the diocese, even allowing for the nature of these documents which emphasise abuse.[29] Seemingly, all Trillek's achievements went with him to the grave and his efforts were in vain. How can this state of affairs be reconciled with what we already know of the bishop's industry? The answer is plain.

Neither Trillek, nor any of his contemporaries, could effect lasting reforms unless there was a concerted effort by the church as a whole. For instance, no improvement in the standards of parish clergy could be expected until the church made provision for their education and training. The efforts of individual bishops were futile.

The mediaeval church might attract great scholars and diplomats to its higher levels, but in the parishes it was a very inefficient organisation even when a man such as Trillek tried to make it work.

But, despite the transience of his influence, Bishop Trillek laboured in his diocese with industry, integrity and devotion.

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[3] Emden, *op. cit.*

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1343-45, 189, January 27 1344; *Ibid.*, 216, March 5 1344; 222, March 29 1344. *Reg. J. Trillek*, ed. J. H. Parry, Canterbury and York Soc., 1912, 1.

[5] J. R. L. Highfield, 'The English Hierarchy in the Reign of Edward III', in *Trans. of the Royal Historical Soc.*, 5th ser., VI (1956), 123.

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[7] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1343-46, 475, November 8 1344.

[8] *Fasti, op. cit.*, 3-7; R. A. R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (1930), 79.

[9] *Reg. J. Trillek*, 207. For the whole case see, *Ibid.*, 207-10; 197-207; 83 and 85.

[10] *Ibid.*, 128; 99.

[11] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291*, ed. S. Ayscough and J. Caley, 177. The sum of the temporalities and spiritualities as given should amount to £5,542 3s. 4½d.

[12] *Reg. J. Trillek*, 168 and 127.

[13] *Ibid.*, 480-511.

[14] *Ibid.*, 30.

[15] *Ibid.*, 31 and 62.

[16] *Ibid.*, 252-3.

[17] *Ibid.*, 240. For the abuses found at an earlier visitation see, *Reg. R. de Swinfield*, 132-3; *Reg. J. Trillek*, 90.

[18] *Ibid.*, 173; 243-4.

[19] *Ibid.*, 182-3.

[20] *Ibid.*, 395.

[21] 'Visitation Returns for the Diocese of Hereford, 1397', ed. A. T. Bannister, in *English Historical Review*, XLIV (1929), 279-289 and 444-453, *passim;* and *loc. cit.*, XIV (1930), 92-101 and 444-463, *passim*.

[22] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-54, 38-39, February 30 1351. For details of the conditions of tenure see, *Ibid.*, 1358-61, 184, March 4 1359. For the granting of licences see, *Reg. J. Trillek*, 20 and 21.

[23] *Ibid.*, 232. There was, however, one exception. Brother Richard Gyne, a Franciscan, retained his privileges see, Calendar of the Dean and Chapter Archives at Hereford Cathedral, MS no. 2453.

[24] *Reg. J. Trillek*, 37-38; 178, 233, 236.

[25] *Ibid.*, 59 and 87.

[26] *Ibid.*, 224.

[27] *Ibid.*, 141.

[28] *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae . . . etc*, ed. T. Rymer, 20 vols, London Edition, 1704-1735, III, p.617. Letter of March 28.

[29] *Vide* note 21 *ut supra.*

The Mason of Madley, Allensmore, and Eaton Bishop

By R. K. MORRIS

THE dominance of the county's architecture by the cathedral workshop and its related centres, Wells and Tewkesbury, virtually obscures any clear traces of minor workshops or individual masons in the early 14th century. Occasionally, their existence may be inferred from the recurrence of certain moulding formations in a specific geographical vicinity, as in the case of Ludlow north aisle and Marden chancel, or of the reticulated work at Pembridge, Weobley, and Dilwyn.[1] But their existence can never be more than a probability, for the mouldings they use are not restricted to their work alone, and the evidence in general lacks any completely distinctive feature of style or execution which could be employed to single out each of these masons or workshops.

In contrast, the evidence for the mason to be described in this article is of a more specific nature, and allows us to be a little more certain of the details of his career. Like the masons mentioned above, the main features of his work are heavily dependent on the cathedral workshop and Tewkesbury, but with the crucial difference that there are definite personal mannerisms about his style of execution which clearly differentiate his hand from that of any other mason in the area. Indeed, in all the author's research in Herefordshire and the surrounding counties, this is the only instance to be unearthed so far of a group of works attributed to one mason primarily on the grounds of distinctive execution.[2]

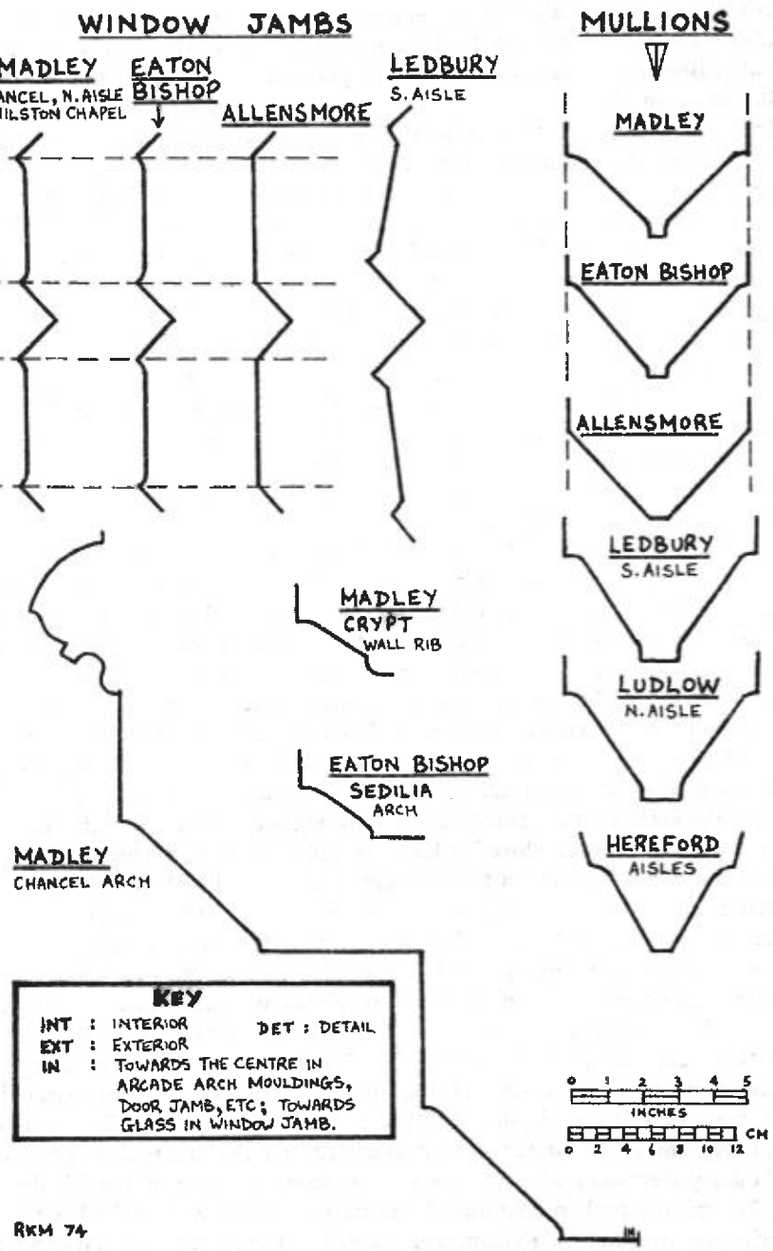
His individual style appears first in the chancel of Madley Church just west of Hereford, and as this was his earliest and most important work, he has been named after it (PL. II). Madley possessed a noted statue of the Virgin which attracted a local pilgrimage, and which seems to be the main explanation for the impressive scale of the building. The crypt, an unusual feature for a parish church, appears to have been built to house some relic associated with the pilgrimage, for it has entrance passages from both aisles, apparently to facilitate the circulation of visitors. The chancel can be fairly accurately dated by a document of 1318, in which the chief parishioners of the village acknowledged before the dean and chapter that offerings made before the statue of the Virgin at Madley were intended 'for the fabric of the new chancel' there.[3] The document also indicates that the dean and chapter, as rector of the parish, were responsible for the upkeep of the chancel, and it is therefore not surprising that we shall find the marked influence of the cathedral workshop in the design of the rebuilding. The Madley Mason's early work consists of the rare polygonal-apsed chancel with the crypt below, to be followed at a later date by a second campaign in which the north aisle was remodelled and the impressive Chilston Chapel erected.

Though he was destined to spend the greater part of his working life at Madley, in between times he managed to fit in the remodelling of parts of the two neighbouring churches of Eaton Bishop and Allensmore. Both works were on a much smaller scale, and mainly involved the insertion of new window tracery; the work at Eaton Bishop is more elaborate, and it appears to have been the more important of the two commissions.

The two crucial features which distinguish the Madley Mason's style of execution are the treatment of window mouldings, and the cusping of window tracery. All the mullions at Madley and Eaton Bishop are made up of sunken chamfer mouldings, linked at the outer edges of the mullions by a fillet only 0.40 ins. wide (FIG. 1). The very delicate, shallow carving of the sunken chamfers and the unusually narrow fillet distinguishes the mullions from others of this design, such as those in the north aisle at Ludlow and the south aisle at Ledbury, where the fillets are 1.10 ins. across (FIG. 1). At Allensmore, which is the simplest of the three churches, the mullions are the same size and have the same narrow fillet, but employ plain chamfers instead (PL. V)—a modification probably determined by the amount of money available: a sunken chamfer involves more cutting than a plain chamfer, and is thus more costly.

The exterior jambs of all the windows at Madley, except those of the crypt (which have slightly different dimensions) consist of pairs of equal sunken chamfers, each 3.65 ins. wide like those of the mullions, separated by a triangular recess made up of a right-angled isosceles triangle with a long side of 2.20 ins. (FIG. 1). The east windows of the chancel and nave clerestory at Eaton Bishop are treated in exactly the same way, and the exterior jambs of the main windows at Allensmore are also the same size and design, but again use plain chamfers (FIG. 1). What differentiates these jambs from other jambs in the area employing a pair of sunken chamfers or plain chamfers is, firstly, their consistent use of the 3.65 ins. dimension, in contrast to the 4.00 ins. and 5.00 ins. dimensions employed at Ledbury and Ludlow. Secondly, the use of the right-angled isosceles triangle throughout their construction differentiates them from the more complicated constructions employed at Ledbury and Ludlow, and from other examples, such as the window jambs in the transept at Bromyard and the ribs that use the sunken chamfer in the ambulatory at Tewkesbury.[4] This leaves only two instances in the area of the cathedral workshop and its related buildings in which 3.65 ins. sunken chamfers are used in conjunction with the right-angled isosceles triangle—the exterior frames of the choir clerestory and transept west windows at Tewkesbury, and the interior jambs of the clerestory windows at Weobley. Yet both these can definitely be distinguished from the Madley examples by the deeper, more angular carving of the sunken chamfers, as demonstrated by a comparison of full size details from these three buildings (FIG. 2). In addition, the dimensions of the outer sunken chamfer and the triangular recess on the Tewkesbury clerestory windows are not the same as those of the Madley group (FIG. 3), and the sunken chamfer of the transept windows is paired with a plain chamfer constructed on a Pythagorean triangle. The dimensions and construction

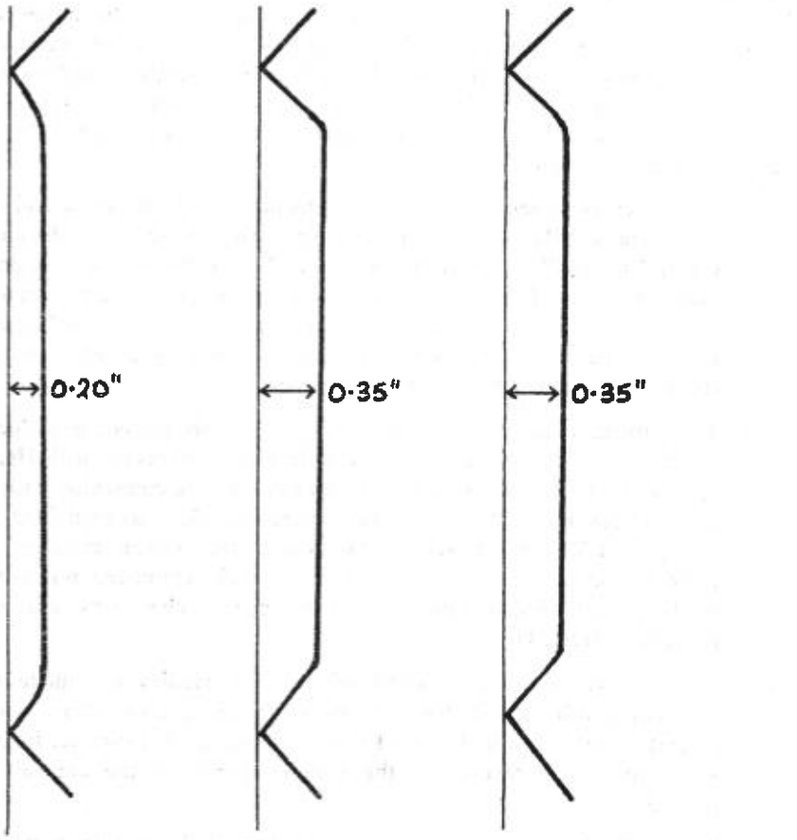
FIGURE 1 : USE OF THE SUNKEN CHAMFER



of the interior jambs at Weobley are the same as the Madley group, however, and they form the closest parallel in design, distinguished only—but significantly—by their execution.[5]

The second distinguishing feature is the treatment of the cusping of all the windows in the Madley group, from the simple lancets in the crypt at Madley to

FIGURE 2 : CARVING OF SUNKEN CHAMFERS (FULL SIZE)



MADLEY
WINDOW JAMB (DET).

WEOBLEY
NAVE CLERESTORY.
WINDOW JAMB (DET).

TEWKESBURY
CHOIR CLERESTORY
WINDOW JAMB (DET)

RKM 74

the elaborate reticulated windows of the 1330s, and including the sedilia at Madley. The cusps are completely flat, with a raised linear moulding around the edge (PLS. III, IV, V), in contrast to the usual treatment found in most Decorated work in this area and in England as a whole, in which the cusps are hollowed out towards the centre and given a more plastic treatment. The resultant effect is rather thin and brittle, and is a feature of early bar tracery windows, such as those of Bishop Aquablanca's transept at the cathedral. In fact, the Madley Mason seems to have derived this treatment from the windows of the cathedral aisles (*c.*1290-1310) which, in turn, had probably taken it over from the Aquablanca transept.

Without these tiny distinguishing features, it would be virtually impossible to tell the Madley Mason's work apart from any of the others in the orbit of the cathedral workshop. For almost all the major stylistic features and mouldings are derived from Hereford, and from the related work centred on Tewkesbury, which seems to have attracted masons from Hereford after about 1318. The main parallels are as follows:

(a) Ballflower ornament, one of the 'trademarks' of the cathedral workshop after *c.*1310, appears in the eaves stringcourse and sedilia of the chancel at Madley, above the sedilia at Eaton Bishop, and around the arcade capitals of the slightly later Chilston Chapel. The restrained use of the ornament, in contrast with its lavish display at the cathedral and certain other churches such as Leominster, may be a reflection of restricted funds for this group of churches.

(b) The sunken chamfer is a rare moulding in this period, and does not occur in the area before *c.*1340 except in works connected with Hereford and Tewkesbury, such as Weobley and Ludlow; the connexion with those in the clerestory of Weobley nave is extremely close, as explained in the previous article in this series. Of course, the sunken chamfer is the basic moulding of the Madley Mason's work, employed not only for mullions and window jambs, but for arcade arches, ribs, and sedilia mouldings (FIG. 1).

(c) The rere-arches of the chancel windows at Madley are made up of alternating rolls and hollows separated by fillets, a favourite moulding formation of the cathedral workshop, employed, for example, in Bishop Swinfield's tomb recess and the window jambs of the central tower (FIG. 3).

(d) A very specific parallel with the remodelling of the eastern parts of the cathedral concerns the exterior jambs of the crypt windows at Madley. They are identical in their dimensions to part of the interior window jambs of the cathedral choir aisles (though the actual mouldings are different), and the outer part of the design is also related dimensionally to the Precentor Swinfield tomb recess, with the same hoodmould (FIG. 3).

(e) The paired sunken chamfers that make up the crypt window jambs at Madley are 5.15 ins. and 3.65 ins. wide respectively, like those found in the exterior frames of the choir clerestory windows at Tewkesbury (FIG. 3): 5.15 ins. sunken chamfers are also employed in such Tewkesbury-oriented works as Ludlow north aisle (west window).

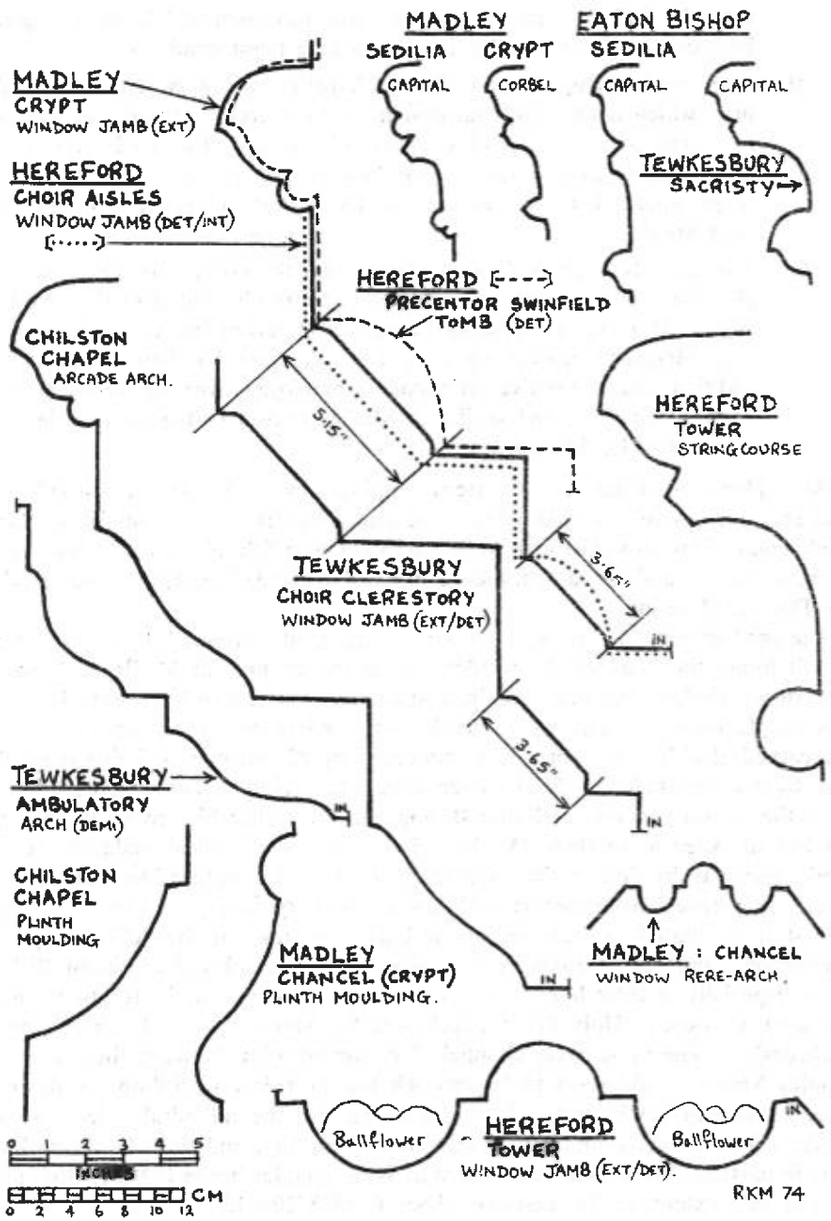
(f) The arcade arches of the Chilston Chapel consist of paired wave mouldings, which is the dominant design used for arch mouldings at Tewkesbury (FIG. 3). The moulding seems to have arrived in the Herefordshire area (Ludlow and Marden) from Tewkesbury during the 1320s, and its major impact is to be seen particularly at Pembridge, the subject of my next article.

(g) The capitals of the sedilia at Madley and the corbels in the crypt, and also the sedilia capitals at Eaton Bishop, are all related to the standard two-scroll stringcourse found throughout Hereford and Tewkesbury work (e.g. Hereford central tower and Tewkesbury sacristy, FIG. 3). In addition, the distinctive stringcourse employed over the chancel arch, chancel windows, and sedilia at Madley occurs in the area again over the door of Ludlow north aisle.

An explanation of the tracery patterns employed by the Madley Mason indicates that they are derived essentially from the same sources as the mouldings. Some likely connexions also exist with Wells and the Court School, both of which seem to have exerted a significant influence in the Hereford/Tewkesbury area during the Decorated period.

The predominant pattern of the group, found in all three churches, is a pointed trefoil filling the head of the window, as in the chancel at Madley, where all the lateral windows but one contain a squat trefoil over two lights (PL. III). In this simple form, the pattern is clearly borrowed from the earlier windows of the cathedral aisles—it is merely a reduced copy of one pair of lights from the four-light aisle windows. In his later work, the trefoil assumes an ogee form, as in the lateral windows at Eaton Bishop and the rather bizarre south transept window at Allensmore (PLS. IV, V). This may be a natural updating of the motif, giving it the flowing lines usually associated with mature Decorated work, and it may reveal a connexion with the Canterbury family of Court masons.[6] The style attributed to them reveals an early fondness for the delicate ogee in decoration,[7] and ogee trefoils very similar to those employed at Eaton Bishop occur especially in their later works, such as the windows attributed to them in the south transept at Holy Trinity, Hull, and St. Anselm's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral.[8] The most likely channel of communication between them and the Madley Mason would seem to be through the cathedral workshop, or through its contacts with Tewkesbury. It can be shown that the cathedral aisles are connected with the Court both historically and stylistically, and that the Canterbury style in particular is present in this area at Wells chapter house (1286-*c.*1306) and, to a certain extent, at Tewkesbury Abbey (*c.*1318/20-*c.*1344).[9] Wells exerted a

FIGURE 3: SOURCES FOR MOULDINGS



strong influence on the remodelling of the cathedral aisles and, through them, on the early Decorated architecture of the county. In this instance, however, Tewkesbury may be the link, because of the striking parallels between the design of Madley chancel and Tewkesbury Lady Chapel (see below), and because Tewkesbury seems to have been the local distributing centre for other Canterbury motifs, as will be shown in my next article.

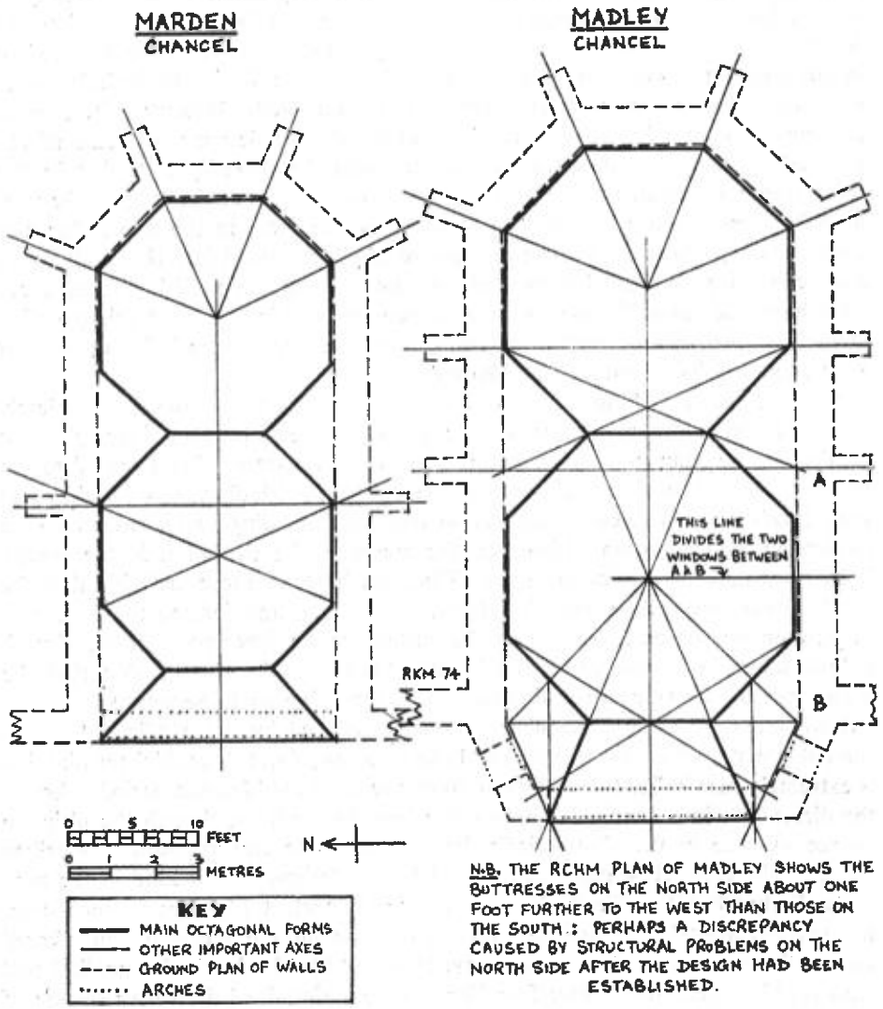
At Eaton Bishop, the large eastern windows of the chancel and the nave clerestory each consist of five stepped lancet lights (PL. IV), and the north transept employs a three-light version of this. The design is not encountered again in the group (unless the east window of Madley chancel was originally of this design), though the cusped Y-tracery in the two-light lateral windows at Allensmore is a related pattern.[10] The five-light design finds its closest precedent in this area in the west window of the bishop's chapel at Wells, particularly in the way the arches of the two outer lights are straight-sided. However, the idea of cusping the spandrels between the lights also links the design with some of the ambulatory chapel windows at Tewkesbury, and the three-light version in the north transept is related to the nave clerestory windows at Tewkesbury. The two-light Y-tracery pattern occurs in a more elaborate form in the two rather uninspired Geometrical windows in the apse of Madley chancel (PL. III), which may also derive from Wells. The two-light windows of the ruined bishop's hall there each have the same Y-frame with a cusped roundel in the head (cinquefoiled at Madley, sexfoiled at Wells), and with impaled figures in the lights (trefoils at Wells, quatrefoils in roundels at Madley).

The later work at Madley, the Chilston Chapel and north aisle, is completely dominated by impressive displays of reticulated tracery, and the four-light east window of the chancel at Allensmore is also of this pattern. With regard to the two three-light reticulated windows in the chancel at Madley, it is possible that their heads were inserted at this period too, thus updating two windows of the earlier chancel campaign. However, the presence of reticulation in the county is by no means inconceivable in the 1320s, and it seems more probable that the windows actually belong with the chancel rebuilding, and formed the source of inspiration for the extensive use of the pattern in the other parts of the church a little later. So consistent is the Madley Mason's style of execution that the mouldings of the respective windows provide no clue as to sequence.[11]

Undoubtedly the most significant feature employed by the Madley Mason is the polygonal apse in the chancel at Madley, for any form of apsidal termination is extremely rare in English church architecture after the Norman period. Again, the direct influence appears to have come fom Tewkesbury, though the ultimate source may lie in the Court circle, like some of the tracery motifs described above. The chancel belongs with the other two designs of this kind in the area —the Lady Chapel at Tewkesbury[12] and the chancel at Marden: in each case, the apse consists of three sides of a regular octagon and the overall design is based essentially on two complete octagons (FIGS. 4 and 5). Marden is the smallest and least sophisticated, and is therefore likely to be a simplified derivative of one of

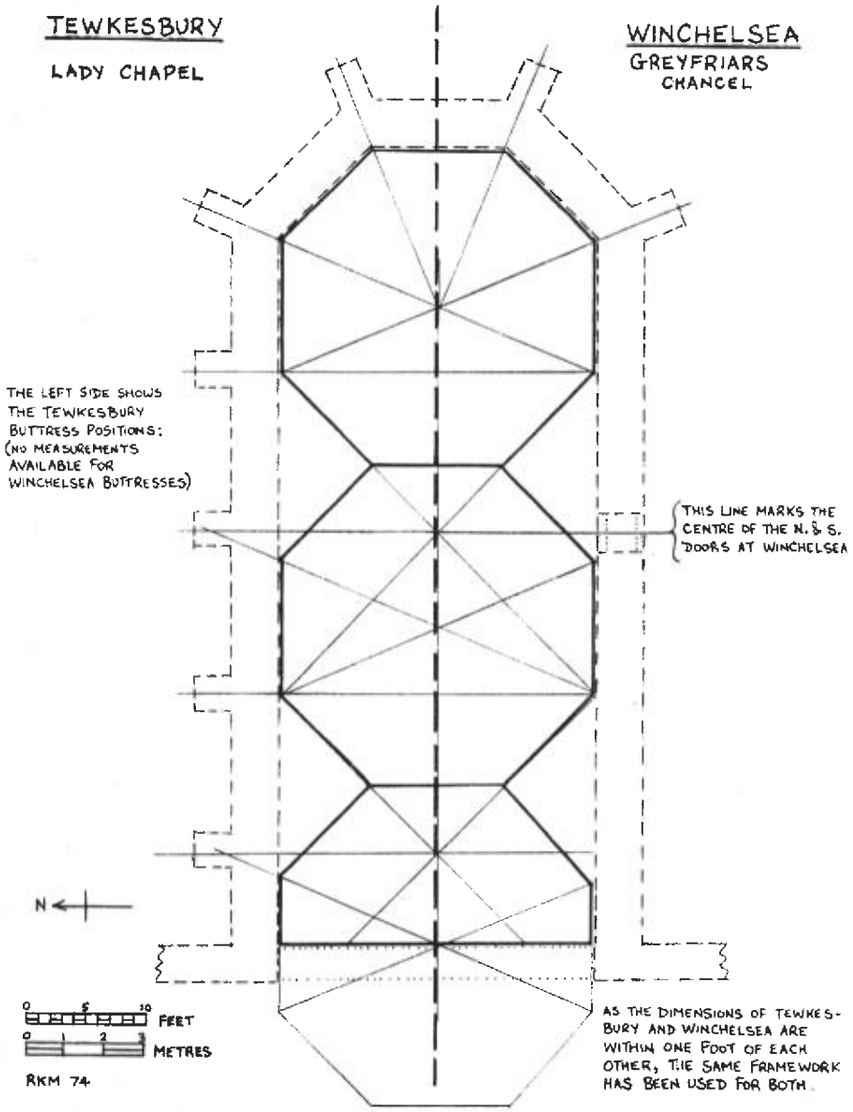
the other two; a date well into the 1320s, as proposed for it in the previous article in this series, would tend to confirm this. On the other hand, Madley and Tewkesbury are much closer in the details of their design, and must be virtually contemporary, with Tewkesbury (designed *c.*1318-20) more likely to be the source because of its much greater historical prestige. This would place the start of work at Madley about 1320, a year or two after the document referring to funds for the new chancel.

FIGURE 4 : POLYGONAL PLANS I



N.B. THE RCHM PLAN OF MADLEY SHOWS THE BUTTRESSES ON THE NORTH SIDE ABOUT ONE FOOT FURTHER TO THE WEST THAN THOSE ON THE SOUTH : PERHAPS A DISCREPANCY CAUSED BY STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS ON THE NORTH SIDE AFTER THE DESIGN HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED.

FIGURE 5 : POLYGONAL PLANS II



In many respects, Madley seems to have been a reduced version of the Tewkesbury Lady Chapel, judging from what little is known of the latter from the excavation plan. It is evident, for example, that both consist essentially of six bays—an apse, four main bays, and an entrance bay.[13] This connexion is not

unexpected, given the close ties between the Hereford and Tewkesbury workshops, and the specific links with Madley cited above. More remarkable, however, is that the most convincing connexion between them is that they are both related to the polgonal-ended chancel of the Franciscan church at Winchelsea in Sussex: Madley through its visual appearance, and Tewkesbury through its dimensions. Like Madley, the chancel at Winchelsea is raised on a high plinth at the east end (though there is no crypt), and its apse is based again on three sides of a regular octagon. Both chancels were wooden-roofed rather than vaulted, an unusual feature used in combination with an apse (contrast the apsidal Lady Chapels at Lichfield and Wells, or the normal Continental usage). There are four windows per side (south side only at Madley), and these, with the south-east and south-west windows of the apse, are of two-lights, whereas the east window in both is of three-lights. There are similarities of detail too, such as the way in which the interior hoodmoulds over the windows form a continuous stringcourse, each hoodmould linked to the next by a horizontal piece at the springing of the window arches.[14]

The similarities of size and design between the ground plans of Winchelsea and Tewkesbury are remarkably precise, considering the fragmentary state of both works. The interior width of Winchelsea chancel is about 26 ft. 6 ins., and the orginal width of the Lady Chapel (allowing for the fact that all that survives are the thicker foundation walls) was also between 26 ft. and 27 ft. (FIG. 5). The interior length of Winchelsea, from the inside of the east wall to the centre point of the chancel arch, is approximately 67 ft. 9 ins. and in the Lady Chapel it is about 68 ft. 6 ins. Furthermore, FIG. 5 demonstrates how both ground plans appear to have been designed around exactly two and a half regular octagons (variants of this procedure are also employed at Marden and Madley).

Exactly how the influence of the earlier design at Winchelsea arrived in this area remains a matter of conjecture.[15] One possible route of transmission may lie through the Franciscan Order. The Marian devotion closely associated with the Preaching Orders finds parallels in the special veneration paid to the Virgin Mary at Madley and in the dedication of the Tewkesbury Chapel. In addition, the forthcoming article on Pembridge will provide further examples of the possible influence of the architecture of the Preaching Orders in the county. For the transmission of precise architectural detail, however, a more likely channel may lie through the Canterbury masons,[16] whose influence on other features at Madley has already been suggested. It is known that Edward I took a close interest in the foundation of the new town of Winchelsea in the 1280s,[17] and it may be that the spread of polygonal-ended chapels is centred on the Court, as is suggested by the historical circumstances surrounding some of the other examples (e.g. Lichfield Lady Chapel).[18] Moreover, the parish church of St. Thomas at Winchelsea contains numerous stylistic features, such as split cusping, which imply an involvement with the Canterbury family or other Court/Kentish masons;[19] though, unfortunately, the Franciscan church is too dilapidated to indicate whether it had some Kentish detail as well (though it was clearly intended to be a less opulent building). There is no documented work by the Canterbury family

in the west, but it is recorded that Master Thomas de la Bataile was working at Caerphilly Castle in 1326 for Hugh le Despenser the younger, the patron of the remodelling at Tewkesbury.[20] De la Bataile is thought by Harvey to have connexions with Kent, and is known to have worked in the royal service in London, being a descendant of a royal mason of Edward I's reign. The possibility exists, therefore, that De la Bataile was responsible for introducing the Court-patronized style of the Canterbury school at Tewkesbury, including features derived from Winchelsea, and that it was disseminated from this centre into Herefordshire.

From all the above data, an outline of the Madley Mason's career may be attempted. He was trained in the cathedral workshop, for the basis of his style clearly lies in the remodelling of the cathedral aisles between *c.*1290 and *c.*1310. His distinctive flat cusping seems to derive from this source, and perhaps also the narrow fillets that characterize his mullions (compare the lesser mullion profile of the cathedral aisles in FIG. 1). In addition, precise parallels have been noted particularly with the eastern parts of the remodelling, *c.*1307-10. As there is no evidence of any independent work by him prior to Madley, presumably he continued to work for the cathedral on the next major project, the two towers, though there is no evidence today of his delicate style on the weathered tower that survives. Perhaps one should not expect it, as the detail of towers generally tends to be heavy and unsubtle, for obvious reasons. Given the relevance of Tewkesbury to his work, it is possible that he may have spent one or more building seasons there at the very beginning of the remodelling, and after most of the skilled cutting work for the cathedral towers was finished.

Around 1320, he was entrusted with the Madley chancel job, the relative importance of the commission presumably being a commentary on the standing he had achieved by that time. The date for the start of the work is based not only on the document of 1318, but also on the significant parallels with Tewkesbury, where the whole scheme seems to have been designed *c.*1318-20. Moreover, certain parallels with the design procedure of the chancel seem to occur in the Lady Chapel at Wells, which was certainly under way by 1319.[21] On the other hand, the chancel can hardly be much later than *c.*1320, because of the rather conservative character of much of the work, and such connexions as that between the mouldings of the crypt window jambs (presumably amongst the first work to be executed) and the cathedral tomb recess attributed to Precentor Swinfield (d.1311).

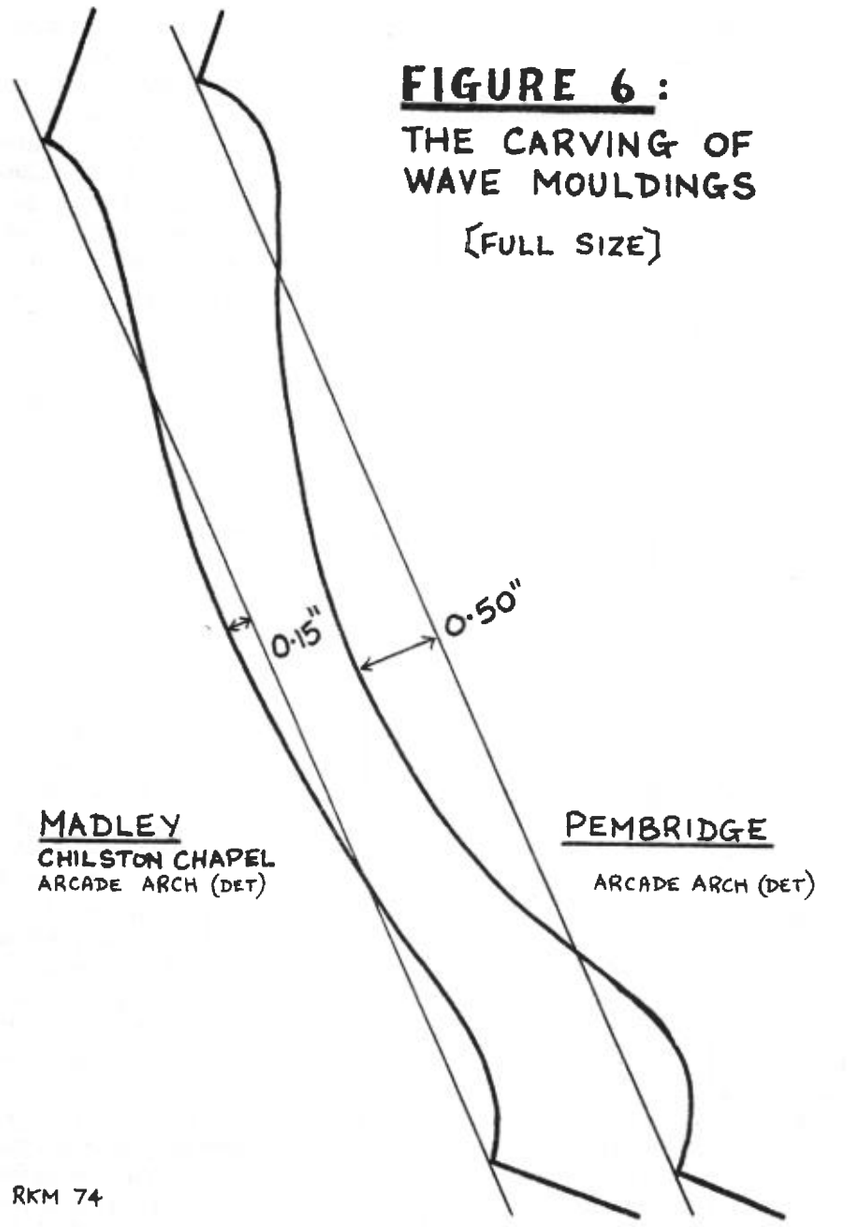
There is less evidence to help determine the completion date of the chancel, but it is likely that the work took up the larger part of the decade. A rough date may be arrived at by trying to estimate the amount of work entailed, given that the Madley Mason was responsible for most of the skilled cutting work because of the very personal style of execution. To carve by hand one of the large four-light windows in the cathedral aisles today would take one mason about a year, even excluding rough cutting at the quarry and the final assembly into position.[22] On this basis (i.e. an approximate average of one light per three months), the twenty-two lights that constitute the chancel windows would probably take roughly three years to carve, given that their scale is less than half that of the

cathedral windows and that the rate of completion would therefore be approximately twice as fast.[23] This does not include the seven small windows in the crypt, which might easily take another year: nor does it include other carved work such as the plinth mouldings, the ribs and corbels in the crypt, the string-courses, chancel arch, the sedilia: nor does it allow for the fact that the scale and unusual plan of the work make it structurally more complicated than an average parish church chancel. In all, it seems unlikely that the Madley Mason went to Eaton Bishop, his next recognizable work, before the late 1320s.

The evidence for dating Eaton Bishop is not substantial, except that the famous stained glass of the east window—assuming that it was made for this church—may be placed with some certainty in the years following 1328.[24] On stylistic grounds, the work at Eaton Bishop is likely to be later than Madley chancel, because of the increased use of ogees throughout the work: the bold ogees of the sedilia and piscina contrast with the non-ogee details of the Madley sedilia, and likewise the ogee trefoils with the trefoils tracery at Madley (PLS. III and IV). In particular, the ogee trefoil was a feature becoming fashionable in the Canterbury's work around 1330, as we have seen.[25] That Eaton Bishop should precede the second campaign at Madley is suggested by the thorough use of reticulated tracery and curvilinear wave mouldings in the latter. Also, the Chilston Chapel at Madley is linked in the scale of its reticulated east window with the east window at Allensmore, where the south 'transept' window seems to be a further—and therefore later—development of the ogee trefoils at Eaton Bishop (see further below). But on such evidence, the placing of Eaton Bishop next in the sequence can obviously be no more than tentative.

One feature at Eaton Bishop that has aroused curiosity is that stepped lancet light designs, generally regarded as a characteristic of *c.*1300,[26] are employed alongside ogee trefoils which are more typical of *c.*1330. Nonetheless, all these windows would seem to belong together. The mouldings are identical throughout, and stepped lancet light patterns continued in use in Herefordshire and adjoining areas well into the 14th century.[27] It also seems to be significant that the two designs, ogee and non-ogee, are juxtaposed in the 'gabled' transept windows at the east end of each aisle. These distinctive, non-projecting transepts, formed by building a gable above the aisle roof (PL. V), seem to occur in the county only after *c.*1330 (Allensmore and Kingsland),[28] and therefore would form valuable additional evidence for the dating, if only their present form could be trusted.[29]

Early in the 1330s, the Madley Mason must have returned to Madley to begin the work that was apparently to occupy him for much of the remainder of his working life, namely the building of the Chilston Chapel and the remodelling of the north aisle. The Chapel was clearly not designed with the chancel because their plinth mouldings differ (FIG. 3);[30] also, the bold ogee arch of the interesting double piscina contrasts with the non-ogee forms of the fittings in the chancel. The plain foundations of the north aisle and the simple lancet surviving in its east window indicate that it was an earlier structure renovated at this period, essentially by the insertion of new lateral windows. The tracery is reticulated



throughout both works, and includes the finest individual example in the county, the great five-light east window of the Chapel (PL. II). This brought Madley

up-to-date with the latest work in the area, as did the introduction of wave mouldings in the arcade arches between the Chapel and the south aisle (FIG. 3)—a feature of such Tewkesbury derivatives as Ludlow north aisle, Marden, and particularly Pembridge. Nonetheless, the distinctive delicacy of the Madley Mason's carving is as evident in this moulding as it was in the sunken chamfer; there is hardly more than a suggestion of the curvilinear nature of the moulding, as the full-size comparison in FIGURE 6 demonstrates. An additional point which indicates the later date of this work, like the ogee tracery and the wave mouldings, is the decoration of the arcade capitals with ballflower of tiny size, a form of this ornament which seems to have come into fashion in the area only around 1330 (e.g. the gallery chapel in the south transept at Gloucester).[31]

Whilst engaged in this lengthy second stage of the remodelling, he managed also to supervise the comparatively simple renovations at nearby Allensmore. The presence of the large reticulated east window in the chancel particularly suggests that the two works are contemporary. The unique tracery in the south transept window is an elaboration of the ogee trefoil design at Eaton Bishop, with ogees now introduced into the lights as well (compare PLS. IV and V), which suggests that Allensmore postdates the latter. The non-projecting form of the 'transept' may also be derived from Eaton Bishop (see note 29). These two main windows were probably executed by the Madley Mason himself, but it is quite possible that the simpler, Y-tracery windows were executed by another mason working under him, because their execution appears somewhat rougher, and because his long involvement at Madley might not allow him too much time for personal work at Allensmore.

The reticulated work at Madley and the two main windows at Allensmore would take over five years to cut, probably rather more, basing the estimate on the modified version of Mr. Jones' work speed for tracery cited above, and assuming that most of them were executed by the Madley Mason himself.[32] Allowing time for such other features as the arcades of the Chilston Chapel, it seems likely that the Madley work lasted into the early 1340s, with Allensmore executed at some time in the 1330s. As there is no evidence of any other work by him after this, presumably he had retired or died, for if he had been trained on the remodelling of the cathedral aisles around the turn of the century, he would have been getting on in years. Alternatively, he might just possibly have been absorbed in the extensive activity on the cathedral chapter house in the 1340s,[33] but there is no evidence of his hand in the surviving fragments. Either way, it is unlikely that he survived the ravages of 1349.

The author is aware that the above outline of the career of a mason, for the existence of whom there is not the slightest shred of documentary evidence, may appear to come dangerously close to fiction. Yet beneath it lies the firm stylistic basis for grouping these churches, the details of which are sufficiently unusual in his own experience with Decorated architecture to suggest the hypothesis laid out above. It should be taken at its face value—as a suggestion, not necessarily as a definitive statement.

REFERENCES

[1] Ludlow and Marden were dealt with in the previous article in this series, and the reticulated group centred on Pembridge will form the subject of the next one.

[2] The rarity of this finding raises a difficult issue. Should one regard it as a reminder of the importance of the minutiae of execution, which may have been lost in most churches through numerous restorations? And therefore as a warning that general stylistic criteria, without the support of the evidence of execution or documents, may be insufficient to determine clearly the works of most medieval masons. Or should one regard the Madley Mason as a rarity even in his own period, in which case the picture would seem to be even less optimistic for distinguishing one mason from another at this distance in time without the aid of categorical documentary evidence (which is seldom available). Certainly it is hard to believe that his distinctive details of execution are the result of consistent 19th-century restoration in all three buildings, tempting an escape route though that may seem. At Eaton Bishop, for example, the head of the eastern lateral window of the south aisle is noticeably different in its cusping, which has the deeply indented treatment typical of mature Decorated windows, instead of the standard flat cusping of the Madley group: also, the tracery pattern is more depressed than the windows of the same pattern in the chancel, and its hoodmould is more undercut than that of the same design in the chancel. This is the only Decorated window in the church that does not fit the Madley Mason's style of execution, and it appears that the head (the jambs seem original) was recarved during a restoration slightly insensitive to masonry details, probably the 'restoration' of the aisle gables around 1882-83 (see further footnote 29). The existence of such a clearly restored window makes it less likely that the bulk of windows in the group are 19th-century fabrications.

[3] W. W. Capes (ed), *The Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (1908), 183-184.

[4] Some of these more varied geometrical constructions were explained and illustrated in the previous article in this series, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1974), fig. 5 and the section on Ludlow.

[5] *Ibid.*, figures 2 (for Weobley) and 5 (Tewkesbury).

[6] For the leading masons of this name—Michael, Thomas, and Walter—see J. H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (1954), 52-54; and *id.*, 'The Origin of the Perpendicular Style', in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History in honour of B. H. St. J. O'Neill* (1961), 161-162.

[7] Early examples occur at Canterbury on the sideshafts of the tomb of Archbishop Peckham (d.1292) and in the tracery of the Great Gate of St. Augustine'c Abbey (*c.*1300-09).

[8] Harvey, 'Origin of Perpendicular', *op. cit.* in note 6, 161-162.

[9] For the connexions of Hereford and Wells with Court, see R. K. Morris, 'The Remodelling of the Hereford Aisles', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1974; and for the Tewkesbury connexions, *id.*, 'Tewkesbury: the Despenser Mausoleum', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 1974.

[10] Two-light windows with Y-tracery are a stock feature in Herefordshire churches of the later 13th and early 14th centuries, and are therefore not very helpful in themselves in distinguishing different masons.

[11] The sources for reticulated tracery in the county will be considered in the next article in this series.

[12] Destroyed in the 16th century, so that only traces of the foundations and parts of the west bay survive: the site was excavated in 1940, and a brief account is to be found in the *Seventh Annual Report of the Friends of Tewkesbury Abbey* for that year. I am most grateful to Mr. Thomas Overbury of Cheltenham for supplying me with information of the excavation.

[13] On the basis of one window per bay on each side: actually, there are only three windows on the north side at Madley, because the stairway leading to the former rood-loft is in the way of a fourth.

[14] For further similarities of detail, see R. K. Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire: Sources, Workshops, Influence* (unpublished doctoral thesis, London University, 1972), 302-303.

[15] The Franciscan church may have been under construction as early as the 1290s, as the house was moved to the new town in 1291, and contributions to the house are recorded in 294-95; A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (1937), 143.

[16] Or through other masons with strong connexions with the Court and south-east England; the Canterburys are only the most successful of several likely south-eastern families of masons employed at Court in this period, such as the Crundales (? from Crundale in Kent) and the De la Batailes, as indicated in the appropriate entries in Harvey's *Dictionary*, *op. cit.* in note 6.

[17] G. Leigh, *The Story of Winchelsea Church* (15th ed.), 3.

[18] Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, 304-305 and 349-353.

[19] *Loc. cit.*, 491-493, footnote (v).

[20] Morris, 'Tewkesbury', *op. cit.* in note 9, towards the end of the article.

[21] In that year, Bishop Bytton I was re-buried in the south chapel of the retrochoir, adjoining the Lady Chapel, an indication that the east end had not only been designed by then, but that work was probably well under way: the Lady Chapel was described as 'newly constructed' in 1326—N. Pevsner, *North Somerset and Bristol* (1958), 279-280. For the design connexions between Wells and Madley, see Morris, *Decorated Architecture, op. cit.* in note 14, 305-308.

[22] I am grateful to Mr. Arthur Jones, the foreman mason at the cathedral in 1968, for this piece of information; though he is in no way responsible for my amateur estimates for Madley.

[23] The cathedral windows are about 12 ft. wide and about 20 ft. high, whereas at Madley they are about 12 ft. high on average and 4 ft. (2 lights) or 6 ft. (3 lights) wide. Thus, using a rather artificial unit based on the average width of each light and the total height of the window, such a unit at the cathedral would be 3 ft. x 20 ft. (or 60 sq. ft.), compared with 2 ft. x 12 ft. (or 24 sq. ft.) at Madley.

[24] For the stylistic evidence for dating the glass, see Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, 311: and for the historical evidence concerning the probable donor, Adam de Murimuth, see G. Marshall, 'The Church of Eaton Bishop', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1922), 101-114. Though the present arrangement of some of the glass is obviously not original, Marshall (in the same article) seems effectively to have dismissed the suggestion that the glass was brought to Eaton Bishop only after the demolition of the Bishop's Chapel at Sugwas in 1752. I am extremely grateful to Georgina Russell of *The Corpus Vitrearum* for her help on this matter, and also for drawing my attention to other aspects of the Victorian restorations at Eaton Bishop.

[25] This assumes that the ogee trefoil is an original feature of Eaton Bishop, which I believe it to be; and not a 19th-century interpolation. Certain 19th-century pencil sketches of the church in Hereford County Library imply that the heads of the chancel lateral windows were quatrefoils (e.g. *Pilley Case: Churches of Herefordshire*, H. fol., vol. 2, 60; and *Herefordshire Drawings*, 1837 *sqq*, by H. B. and G. L. Lewis, vol. I, 51-52): However, the detail of these small sketches is imprecise, and it seems possible that the spandrel between the trefoil and the heads of the two lights has been simplified into an extra foil. In another sketch, dated 1861 (*Collection of Prints, etc., of the Parish Churches of Herefordshire*, formed by W. Pilley, 20), the heads of the windows seem to vary between trefoils and quatrefoils, but again the detail is poor. The very close ties demonstrated in this article between these churches, together with the prominent use of trefoils in the tracery at Madley and Allensmore, make it somewhat improbable that the trefoils are a modern fabrication at Eaton Bishop.

[26] e.g. N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (1963), 33 and 125.

[27] For example, the south aisle of Ledbury parish church, which seems to belong to the 1320s, and some of the tracery in the eastern chapels and nave clerestory at Tewkesbury from about the same period (see Morris, *Decorated Architecture, op. cit.* in note 14, 230).

[28] Kingsland will be considered in the fourth article of this series; the evidence of some of its mouldings and tracery indicate that the church is considerably later than the early 14th-century date generally assigned to it.

[29] All the 19th-century sketches in the Hereford County Library indicate that the gables over the east bays of the north and south aisles did not appear until a restoration, *c.*1882-83; previously, each bay had been covered by a lean-to roof, parallel with the aisle roof, but differentiated from it. However, the restoration leaflet of 31 December 1883 (*Collection of Prints . . .*, formed by W. Pilley, *op. cit.* in note 25, 20) lists amongst its proposals, 'ITEM 8: To *restore* North and South Gables of the Aisles' (my italics); unfortunately, no more details are provided. Whether there was real evidence available then for this 'restoration', or whether the gables are picturesque inventions of the restorer is not clear; certainly, the other 'transepts' of this type at Allensmore and Kingsland are shown to be genuine by further early 19th-century drawings in the Hereford County Library. In addition, the drawings of Eaton Bishop make it clear that the tracery of the transepts has always been differentiated—three lancet lights on the north, and two lights with a figure in the head (probably a trefoil) on the south. I am grateful to the staff of the Reference Department at the Library for making material available to me at very short notice despite difficulties posed by the remodelling of their part of the library building.

[30] Both moulding designs are extracted from the more elaborate plinth moulding type which was fairly common in more lavish Decorated works in the Hereford-Tewkesbury area, such as Tewkesbury itself, Leominster south aisle, and St. Katherine's Chapel at Ledbury—see the previous article in this series, fig. 8.

[31] The east window of the south aisle was probably also inserted at this time; it consists of an ogee quatrefoil over two cusped lights. This may simply be an updating of a motif employed previously by the cathedral workshop, for non-ogee versions are to be seen in the lower windows and blind tracery of the cathedral tower, and in two of the clerestory windows at Weobley. Technically, the Weobley examples are very close to the Madley design because of the distinctive way in which the inner half of the head of each light is continued outward beyond the apex of the light to meet the window frame (the same characteristic may be observed in the outer lights of the large trefoil window at Allensmore, pl. V). In addition, the ogee version of this design may represent another element of Canterbury influence, like the ogee trefoil, in that the motif is found frequently in work attributed to them—in the Hull and St. Anselm's Chapel windows already cited, and in the undercroft windows of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster (now the chapel of the Houses of Parliament).

[32] The total number of lights involved is 41 (at Madley, one five-light window in the Chapel, one two-light in the south aisle, and nine three-lights distributed between the Chapel and the north aisle: at Allensmore, the two main windows, one four-light and one three-light). At an average of eight lights per year, this gives over five years, but the cutting time is likely to have been rather longer than in the earlier windows at Madley because of the greater size and complexity of their heads.

[33] For the chapter house, see Morris, *Decorated Architecture, op. cit.* in note 14, ch. VIII.

The Herefordshire Escheators in the 15th century

By W. E. GRIFFITHS

ONE of the results of my investigations into the Harper family of Wellington, published in recent numbers of the *Transactions*, was the discovery that John Harper was Escheator for Herefordshire in 1464-5. I thought at first that this was Maud Harper's father, but stray references to "John Harper the younger" made me think it might be her brother rather than her father, and this was confirmed when I obtained a photoprint copy of his account for his year of office, from the Public Record Office. I had also imagined that the appointment was for life, or for a term of years, in the manner of a royal grant; but it soon became clear that it was an annual appointment, in precisely the same way as the sheriff. Indeed the two officers were usually appointed within a day or two of each other, normally at or just before Martinmas (11 November).

Escheat was a conception embedded deep in the heart of feudal law, and clearly had a long history. I cannot pretend to understand the complexities of medieval land law, but the theory of escheat seems reasonably clear. All land is held of a lord. If a tenant dies without an heir, the land reverts to the lord. This is escheat proper, or escheat *propter defectum sanguinis*. The land could also revert to the lord if the tenant rebelled against him, or (in the case of crown tenants) was convicted of felony or treason. This secondary form of escheat was known as escheat *propter delictum tenentis*. While these conceptions were theoretically true of all feudal lords, the disappearance of mesne lordships after the Statute of Quia Emptores in 1285 resulted in their becoming confined to the relationship between the king and his tenants-in-chief. They were tenaciously held by the crown because they provided a lucrative source of income not only from the escheated lands but also from the fines and licences necessary for re-entry to the property. When therefore a tenant-in-chief died, a writ of *diem clausit extremum* was directed to the Escheator of each county where the deceased had held land. The Escheator then held an inquisition to determine if there was an heir, if he was of age to succeed to the property (the *probatio aetatis* or proof of age was an integral part of the proceedings), or if for any reason the succession was in dispute. If no legal heir were forthcoming, the land reverted to the king, who appointed a keeper till the heir should come of age. The heir himself was taken into royal wardship, but provision was made for his maintenance and for the maintenance of the former tenant's widow.

Up to the reign of Henry III the revenue from escheated lands was handled by the sheriffs of the various counties, but in 1232 Peter de Rivallis was granted the *custodiam omnium escaetarum et wardarum que ad regem pertinent.* In 1246 the

kingdom was divided into two areas, north and south of the Trent respectively, each with its own Escheator, under whom a sub-escheator operated in each county, that for Herefordshire being Hugh de Croftes. But the office remained unstable and the Escheator's duties were frequently confused or mingled with those of the sheriff. In 1275 the two Escheators were ordered to deliver up all their powers to the sheriffs of the various counties, and in 1282 the sheriff of Herefordshire is specifically stated to be also the Escheator. This is in sharp contrast to later practice; in the 15th century the two offices were kept rigidly distinct and the same man could not hold both posts at the same time. The crystallisation of the Escheator's office into its later form began in 1323, when John de Hampton was appointed Escheator for an area covering Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Salop and the Welsh Marches. In 1342 an attempt was made to appoint Escheators for the separate counties, but after fifteen years this was abandoned and in 1357 Herefordshire was included in the area administered by the Gloucestershire Escheator. It was not until 1395 that the regular appointment of the county Escheator began.

The appointment was always to "Herefordshire and the March of Wales adjacent", in contrast to the sheriff whose writ only ran within the confines of the shire. The Welsh March was no vague term but a distinct geographical entity comprising approximately the modern counties of Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire. Responsibility for this great area was divided among the Escheators for Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. In practice most of the March lands which came under the scrutiny of the Herefordshire Escheator were manors of the Earldom of March, or of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the Presteigne-New Radnor area of east Radnorshire, the Hay-Talgarth-Brecon area of Brecknockshire, the Swansea-Kilvey area of the Lordship of Gower, or the Crown Lordship of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire.

While published lists exist of Herefordshire Sheriffs, M.P.'s, and Mayors of Hereford (not always accurate), I am not aware that anyone has published a list of Escheators. In the following pages I have endeavoured to supply this deficiency at least in part. I have confined myself to the 15th century, partly for reasons of space but mainly because it is difficult enough to compile a list for a period I am only just beginning to understand, without venturing on to completely unfamiliar ground. Of the subsequent history of the office I know little. The last Herefordshire Escheator to be appointed was John Rookes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1641. The office itself disappeared with the abolition of feudal tenures at the Restoration. The legal concept lingered on long afterwards; escheat *propter delictum tenentis* was only abolished in 1870, and *propter defectum sanguinis* not until 1925.

There are one or two gaps in the list, notably the four years from 1475 to 1479, and perhaps also 1492, 1494 and 1497 unless these are accounted for by two-year terms. Indeed the longer gap too may have been filled in this way; a statute of 1421 allowed Escheators to serve for a maximum of four years. In the list, only

those royal writs are cited which give the name of an Escheator on a specific date; there are of course many others which either do not name the Escheator, or which name him but are undated. Where earlier Escheators had been paid civil servants (in 1323 John de Hampton was appointed at an annual salary of £10), by the 15th century the office was always filled by local men. Judging from the names, it was a position of honour and prestige second only to the sheriff, and there was doubtless keen competition for the post. Why this was so is not at all clear; there must have been a good deal of work involved, and it is unlikely that the county squires would willingly accept such burdens without the expectation of reward. One assumes that the perquisites of office were well worth having, though exactly what they were is obscure. What is clear is that the offices of sheriff and Escheator were always filled by the leading men of the shire, and in this respect were quite different from such tasks as the collection of the taxes known as tenths and fifteenths, which everyone avoided and which in the end devolved upon the most obscure individuals.

The sharp distinction between the sheriff and the Escheator is clearly seen in 1402, when Sir Leonard Hakeluyt was appointed sheriff after having been appointed Escheator. He was at once replaced as Escheator by John ap Harry. But during the first half of the century the same men often filled the two posts at different times. After 1450 there was a distinct move away from this policy; there are only two instances of Escheators who also served, at one time or another, as sheriff (Simon Milbourne, 1459-60; and Roger Bodenham, 1484-5). There was no such sharp distinction in the case of Escheators and M.P.'s. John Abrahall filled both positions in 1439-40, probably also John ap Harry in 1410, Thomas Fitz Harry in 1459, and Hugh Shirley in 1474-5. The change in complexion of the list, after 1450, mentioned above, is reflected also in what might be called a progressive democratisation, in contrast to the sheriffs' list which remains uncompromisingly uppercrust. A town burgess first appears as Escheator in 1445-6 (Thomas Buryton). After 1450 the appointment of burgesses becomes steadily more frequent: Otis Cornwall (1457-8), Hugh Shirley (1461-4 and 1474-5), Thomas Breynton (1479-80 and 1485-6), Henry Chippenham (1491-2), and probably others such as Richard Bundy (1473-4) and Hugh Lochard (1486-7 and 1499-1500). The appointment of a Hereford grocer in 1491 was no doubt regarded with horror by the older generation of the county squirearchy. There can be little doubt that this progressive infiltration of the post by members of the urban bourgeoisie was part of that support of the trading classes initiated by Edward IV and continued by Henry VII.

Finally, it may be not without interest to note the places where inquisitions were held, and their frequency. Seven such inquisitions are recorded at Hereford (1401, 1404, 1405, 1419, 1422, 1456 and 1470); three at Ledbury (1404, 1405 and 1473); and one each at Leominster (1403), Weobley (1409) and Pembridge (1465) —the last-named by our old friend John Harper.

A List of the Herefordshire Escheators during the 15th Century

In order to avoid tedious repetition, the references in the list are given the following key letters:

A : *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1402-1405.
B : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1405-1409.
C : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1409-1413.
D : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1419-1422.
E : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1429-1435.
F : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1447-1454.
G : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1454-1461.
H : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1485-1500.
I : *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, XII (1399-1405).
J : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XIII (1405-1413).
K : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XIV (1413-1422).
L : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XV (1422-1430).
M : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XVI (1430-1437).
N : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XVII (1437-1445).
O : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XVIII (1445-1452).
P : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XIX (1452-1461).
Q : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XX (1461-1471).
R : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XXI (1471-1485).
S : ,, ,, ,, ,, , XXII (1485-1509).
T : *Calendar of Hereford Cathedral Muniments*, III (Nat. Lib. Wales, 1955).
U : *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, VII (1399-1422).
V : *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1405-1408.
W : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1416-1422.
X : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1422-1429.
Y : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1429-1436.
Z : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1436-1441.
AA : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1441-1446.
AB : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1452-1461.
AC : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1461-1467.
AD : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1467-1477.
AE : ,, ,, ,, ,, , 1476-1485.
AF : W. H. Cooke, *History and Antiquities of Herefordshire*, III (1882).
AG : *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959).
AH : R. A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, I : South Wales 1277-1536 (1972).
AI : Hereford City Library, *Muniments of Title*.
AJ : Richard Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (2nd ed., 1882).
AK : *Letters of Henry IV* (Rolls Series, 1860), I (1399-1404).

AL : J. H. Matthews, *History of Herefordshire* : Hundred of Wormelow, Upper Division, pt. I (1912).
AM: ,, , pt. II (1913).
AN : Public Record Office, List of Escheators (TS., 21/124).
AQ : ,, ,, ,, , *Lists and Indexes*, XI.
AP : ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, , XVI.
AQ : ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, , XXXV.
AR : *Register of Bishop Thomas Milling* (Canterbury and York Soc., XXVI (1920)).
AS : *Register of Bishop Thomas Spofford* (do., XXIII (1919)).
AT : *Rolls of Parliament*, VI.
AU : J. C. Wedgwood and A. D. Holt, *History of Parliament*, 1439-1509 : I, Biographies (1936).

1400-1. PHILIP HOLGOT. Appointed 24 Nov. 1400 (I, 93). Account (AO, 281). He was M.P. for the shire in 1402. See also 1401-2.

1401-2. LEONARD HAKELUYT of Eaton (Leominster). Appointed 8 Nov. 1401 (I, 144). Account (AO, 281). But it seems doubtful if he ever took up his appointment, because on 24 Dec. 1401 Philip Holgot, the previous Escheator, held an inquisition at Hereford (U, 105); and by 14 Feb. 1402 Hakeluyt had been knighted and appointed sheriff (1, 144). JOHN AP HARRY of Poston (Vowchurch) was then appointed Escheator (I, 145). He had been sheriff in 1399-1400. Account (AO, 281). Royal writ 4 June 1402 (I, 160). He rendered an account for military expenses during the Glyndwr troubles (AQ, 48), including repairs to Clifford Castle (AO, 122). He was M.P. for the shire in 1406-10, and served again as Escheator in 1404-5 and 1409-10. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Waterton, and he was the grandfather of Thomas Fitz Harry, see below 1442-3. He died before 22 Aug. 1420 (T, 1175). See AH, 234 for his biography.

1402-3. WILLIAM WALWYN of Longworth (Lugwardine). Appointed 29 Nov. 1402 (I, 185). Royal writs on 13 Feb. 1403 (A, 35) and 21 Oct. 1403 (A, 230). He married Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Whitney, and was sheriff in 1411-2. He served as Escheator for two years (see below).

1403-4. WILLIAM WALWYN, as above. A re-appointment was evidently not considered necessary since there is no record of one. Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition at Leominster 23 Nov. 1403 (U, 136-7). Royal writ 4 May 1404 (I, 248). Held inquisition at Hereford 10 and 14 July 1404, into the lands of the bishopric of Hereford (U, 149-52). Held inquisition at Ledbury 1 Aug. 1404 (U, 137).

1404-5. JOHN AP HARRY, as above 1402. Appointed 12 Nov 1404 (I, 272). Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition at Hereford 25 Apr. 1405 (U, 156). Commitment of lands to him 8 Sept. 1405 (I, 320). Held inquisition at Ledbury 16 Oct. 1405 (U, 158). He was still being given instructions as

Escheator on 17 Dec. 1405 in spite of the appointment of his successor on 1 Dec. (B, 15). He served again as Escheator in 1409-10.

1405-6. JOHN BODENHAM of Walterstone and Chanstone (Vowchurch). Appointed 1 Dec. 1405 (J, 18). He had been sheriff 1402-4, and served again in that office 1410-1 and 1415-6. Member of a commission to supervise the muster of men-at-arms and archers in S. Wales, 29 Jan. 1406 (V, 156). Also to control the receipt of fines and ransoms from rebels in Wales, 5 Apr. 1406 (V, 165, 169). During his term of office as sheriff he was an outstanding supporter of the king's cause against the Glyndwr rebels, notably on 1 July 1403 when he raised the siege of Brecon Castle and town, killing 240 of the Welsh (AK, 146-8). For this he was rewarded with grants totalling 40 marks annually from the revenues of Ewyas Lacy, Blaenllyfni and Dinas (V, 280-1). He served again as Escheator in 1409 and 1413-4, and died before 3 May 1426 (L, 111).

1406-7. JOHN BRIDGE of Staunton-on-Wye. Appointed 9 Nov. 1406 (J, 53). Account (AO, 281). Royal writs on 3 May 1407 (J, 74) and 5 May 1407 (B, 209). He was sheriff in 1416-7, possibly also in 1409-10 though the account for that year was rendered by John Smert.

1407-8. THOMAS HOLGOT. Appointed 30 Nov. 1407 (J, 96). Account (AO, 281). He served again as Escheator in 1414-5 (and see below 1408-9), as M.P. for the shire in 1406-7 and 1413, and as sheriff in 1418-9.

1408-9. WILLIAM CRIKETOT. Appointed 9 Dec. 1408 (J, 139; 9 Nov. *teste* AN). Account (AO, 281). But it seems doubtful if he ever took up his appointment. THOMAS HOLGOT, the foregoing Escheator, held an inquisition at Weobley on 17 Jan. 1409 (U, 215), and on 27 Feb. 1409 JOHN BODENHAM (as above 1405-6) was appointed Escheator (J, 139). William Criketot or Cricktoft is variously described as of Chilstone, Wotton or Brinsop, and I have sketched his history in my earlier articles. His daughter Katherine married John Harper of Wellington and became the mother of Maud Harper whose beautiful memorial stands in Stretton Sugwas church. He died before 18 May 1449 (O, 97).

1409-10. JOHN AP HARRY, as above 1402 and 1404-5. Appointed 7 Nov. 1409 (J, 167). Account (AO, 281). No appointment is recorded in Nov. 1410, so he may have continued in office till Mar. 1411.

1410-1. JOHN RUSSELL. Appointed 9 Mar. 1411 (J, 202). Royal writs on 6 July 1411 (C, 144) and 8 July 1411 (C, 161). He was long prominent in Herefordshire affairs (though I have failed to discover where he lived), and served as Escheator again in 1415-6, 1419-20 and 1432-3. He was sheriff in 1417-8, M.P. for the shire in 1414 and1434, and was one of the four commissioners who in 1434 took the oaths of all the Herefordshire gentry "not to maintain peace breakers" in accordance with an Act of Parliament (Y, 370, 376). He died some time before 25 Mar. 1437, whereupon his widow Isabel swore a perpetual vow of chastity (AS, 219).

1411-2. JOHN GOMOND of Byford. Appointed 10 Dec. 1411 (J, 229). Account (AO, 281).

1412-3. THOMAS MILLE. Appointed 3 Nov. 1412 (J, 252), and again 21 Mar. 1413, on the accession of Henry V (K, 6). Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition some time between 21 Mar. and 4 June 1413 (K, 20). He served as sheriff in 1435-6 and 1445-6.

1413-4. JOHN BODENHAM, as above 1405-6 and 1409. Appointed 10 Nov. 1413 (K, 41). Account (AO, 281).

1414-5. THOMAS HOLGOT, as above 1407-8. Appointed 12 Nov. 1414 (K, 81). Account (AO, 281).

1415-6. JOHN RUSSELL, as above 1411. Appointed 14 Dec. 1415 (K, 136). Account (AO, 281). He served again as Escheator in 1419-20 and 1432-3.

1416-7. JOHN MERBURY of Weobley. Appointed 8 Dec. 1416 (K, 169). Account (AO, 281). As prominent as John Russell in Herefordshire affairs, he served as sheriff in 1405-6, 1414-5, 1419-21, 1422-3, 1426-7, 1430-1 and 1434-5; and as M.P. in 1419, 1421, 1425 and 1427. His biography is given in AH, 132-4. He married (1) Alice, formerly the wife of Thomas Oldcastle; (2) Agnes, formerly the wife of Sir Walter Devereux. He died 29 Jan. 1438 (N, 2); a tomb with effigies in Weobley church is usually regarded as that of him and his wife.

1417-8. JOHN ABRAHALL of Gillow and Eaton (Vowchurch). Appointed 30 Nov. 1417 (K, 210). Account (AO, 281). He was M.P. for the shire in 1431, 1437, 1439-40 and 1442; and served again as Escheator in 1439-40. He became Receiver of the Lordship of Monmouth, and died 8 Mar. 1443 (AL, 142). His biography is given in AT, 1.

1418-9. THOMAS DE LA HAY. Appointed 4 Nov. 1418 (K, 263). Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition at Hereford 1 Apr. 1419 (U, 339). But on 12 July 1419 he is twice referred to as "late escheator" (W, 219; D, 17), which suggests there is a gap in our list. The name appears frequently in 15th-century records, but as both "Thomas de la Hay the elder" and "Thomas de la Hay the younger" are mentioned, it is not easy to tell which is which. The former was M.P. for the shire in 1413, and sheriff in 1433-4; and served again as Escheator in 1427-8. He died before 30 Jan. 1440 (N, 104); hence the "Thomas de la Hay the elder" who was Escheator in 1448-9 was probably the one previously called "the younger." The latter was sheriff in 1426-7.

1419-20. JOHN RUSSELL, as above 1411 and 1415-6. Appointed 23 Nov. 1419 (K, 308). Account (AO, 281). Mentioned as Escheator 9 Sept. 1420 (L, 64). He served again as Escheator in 1432-3.

1420-1. JOHN MONNINGTON. Appointed 16 Nov. 1420 (K, 340). He appears to have served for three years; his account (AO, 281) covers the years 1420-3.

1421-2. JOHN MONNINGTON, as above. Memorandum of 21 Nov. 1421 (D, 219). Held inquisition at Hereford some time in 1422 (AL, 140).

1422-3. JOHN MONNINGTON, as above. Appointed 1 Oct. 1422 (L, 13). The new appointment was clearly necessary because of the accession of Henry VI.

1423-4. RICHARD DE LA MARE. He had been sheriff in 1421-2 and again since Feb. 1423, but on his appointment as Escheator on 13 Nov. 1423 (L, 54) was succeeded in that office by Sir Rowland Lenthall. Account (AO, 281). He was sheriff again 1428-30. He died in Feb. 1436, and the beautiful memorial brass of himself and his wife Isabella may be seen in the E. aisle of the N. transept of Hereford Cathedral.

1424-5. WILLIAM CROFT of Croft. Appointed 6 Nov. 1424 (L, 85). Account (AO, 281). He was a son of Sir John de Croft and Janet, the daughter of Owain Glyndwr. He married Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Walwyn of Hellens and was the father of the Sir Richard Croft who fought at Mortimer's Cross and Tewkesbury. His history is given in O. G. S. Croft, *The House of Croft of Croft Castle* (1949), ch. XII. He served again as Escheator in 1429-30 (and see below 1425-6).

1425-6. MALCOLM WALWYN of Eastnor and Ledbury was appointed on 24 Jan. 1426 (L, 119), but WILLIAM CROFT was again Escheator on 1 June 1426 (L, 122). Malcolm Walwyn was a son of Thomas Walwyn of Hellens and hence a brother-in-law to Croft. He served again as Escheator in 1428-9, 1450-1 and 1466-7, and was M.P. for the shire in 1453-4 (unless indeed the post-1450 references are to another Malcolm, perhaps a son of the above; see AU, 918).

1426-7. EDMUND MORRIS of Kingsland. Appointed 17 Dec. 1426 (L, 158). Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition 14 June 1427 (Y, 253; E, 218).

1427-8. THOMAS DE LA HAY the elder; see above 1418-9. Appointed 12 Nov. 1427 (L, 195). Account (AO, 281). He served again as Escheator in 1448-9.

1428-9. MALCOLM WALWYN, as above 1425-6. Appointed 4 Nov. 1428 (L, 244). Account (AO, 281). Held inquisition 16 Feb. 1429 (X, 531). Royal writ 29 Sept. 1429 (E, 1).

1429-30. The account for this year (AO, 281) appears under the name of WILLIAM CROFT (see above 1424-5), but he was not appointed till 12 Feb. 1430 (L, 305).

1430-1. SIR ROBERT WHITNEY of Whitney and Pencombe. Appointed 5 Nov. 1430 (M, 17). Account (AO, 281). The Whitneys were an ancient and well-known Herefordshire family, but suffered a crushing blow in 1402 when several of its members were killed at the battle of Pilleth and in the sack of Whitney Court by Glyndwr shortly afterwards. From this catastrophe the family barely recovered for the rest of the century. It will be recalled that Maud Harper's brother William married a Whitney girl, perhaps even a daughter of this Sir Robert. He served as sheriff in 1427-8, 1432-3 and 1436-7, and died 12 Mar. 1443 (N, 233).

1431-2. RALPH LINGEN of Lingen and Sutton. Appointed 26 Nov. 1431 (M, 79). Account (AO, 281). He married Joan, a daughter of John Russell (see above 1411), and died before 22 Jan. 1453 (P, 2), whereupon his widow married Thomas Fitz Harry (see below 1442-3). In Robinson's pedigree he appears as Sir Ralph Lingen, but there is no evidence that he was ever knighted. He was probably the builder of Amberley Court, the beautiful house that in 1553 became the home of the Harpers. He served again as Escheator in 1443-4, and as sheriff in 1444-5.

1432-3. JOHN RUSSELL, as above 1411, 1415-6 and 1419-20. Appointed 5 Nov. 1432 (M, 116). Account (AO, 281).

1433-4. HENRY SLACK. Appointed 5 Nov. 1433 (M, 174). Account (AO, 281). His biography is given in AH, 182. He was constable of Cardiff Castle, and died 25 Mar. 1435.

1434-5. JOHN WALWYN. Appointed 3 Nov. 1434 (M, 222). Account (AO, 281). His wife's name was Ellen, and he died before 27 Aug. 1439 (N, 54). Possibly he was the John Walwyn of Stoke Edith who was a son of Richard Walwyn by his first wife Catherine Bromwich.

1435-6. GUY WHITTINGTON. Appointed 7 Nov. 1435 (M, 253). Account (AO, 281). He was doubtless a member of the Gloucestershire family which had provided the celebrated Lord Mayor of London. A Jane Whittington, it may be remembered, married William Harper, a great-nephew of Maud's. Guy had been sheriff in 1424-6. He died before 11 June 1440 (N, 105).

1436-7. MILES SKULL of Much Cowarne. Appointed 23 Nov. 1436 (M, 305). Originally a Brecknockshire family, the Skulls divided later into a Herefordshire branch and a Worcestershire branch. Miles served again as Escheator in 1449-50. His biography is given in AH, 148-9.

1437-8. JOHN WIGMORE of Lucton. Appointed 23 Nov. 1437 (N, 10). Royal writ 22 Mar. 1438 (N, 31). He served again as Escheator in 1441-2.

1438-9. KYNARD DE LA BERE of Kinnersley. Appointed 6 Nov. 1438 (N, 54). Account (AO, 281). A member of a well-known Herefordshire family, he was M.P. for the shire in 1436. He married Joan, a daughter of Sir Thomas Barre of Clehonger. He was knighted after Apr. 1444 and died before 28 Oct. 1445 (O, 1).

1439-40. JOHN ABRAHALL, as above 1417-8. Appointed 5 Nov. 1439 (N, 130). Account (AO, 281). Inquisition recorded 28 June 1440 (Z, 423).

1440-1. JOHN BASKERVILLE of Eardisley (1408-1455). Appointed 4 Nov. 1440 (N, 177). Account (AO, 281, wrongly given as John's younger brother Ralph). A member of an aristocratic Herefordshire family, he married Elizabeth Touchet, a daughter of Lord Audley, and was knighted before Mar. 1444 (AA, 245).

1441-2. JOHN WIGMORE, as above 1437-8. Appointed 4 Nov. 1441 (N, 206). Account (AO, 282).

1442-3. THOMAS FITZ HARRY of Monnington and Eaton (Vowchurch). Appointed 6 Nov. 1442 (N, 241). Account (AO, 282). A grandson of John ap Harry who was Escheator in 1401-2, 1404-5 and 1409-10, he was a lawyer and a stubborn Lancastrian who survived both Mortimer's Cross and Tewkesbury in spite of being numbered among the dead in both encounters. His biography is given in AU, 331-2, and in AH, 151-2. He married (1) Margaret de la Hay, and (2) Joan, the widow of Ralph Lingen. He was M.P. for the shire in 1449-51, 1459 and probably 1470-1, and served again as Escheator in 1444-5 and probably 1458-9. His lands were forfeited by Edward IV and restored by Henry VII in 1485 (AT, 278-9).

1443-4. RALPH LINGEN, as above 1431-2. Appointed 4 Nov. 1443 (N, 285). Account (AO, 282).

1444-5. THOMAS FITZ HARRY, as above 1442-3. Appointed 6 Nov. 1444 (N, 304). Account (AO, 282). He may have served again as Escheator in 1458-9.

1445-6. THOMAS BURYTON. Appointed 4 Nov. 1445 (O, 10). Account (AO, 282). The Burytons or Berringtons (not to be confused with the Breyntons) were a Hereford family, and a Thomas Buryton, doubtless the same man, was mayor of the city in 1463 (AI, no. 196; perhaps also in 1465, AJ, 232). This is the first time during the 15th century that a Hereford burgess rose to the rank of Escheator, though it was to be repeated later and towards the end of the century became relatively common. Thomas Buryton represented the city in parliament in 1442, 1447, 1449-50 and 1467-8. His biography is given in AU, 138.

1446-7. JOHN CASSE. Appointed 4 Nov. 1446 (O, 58). Account (AO, 282).

1447-8. JAMES BRIDGE. Appointed 4 Nov. 1447 (O, 82). Account (AO, 282). Possibly of The Ley, Weobley, though the family name is widespread in 15th-century Herefordshire and individual members are not easy to identify. He may well have been the "Jacobus Brygges" who fought on the Yorkist side at Mortimer's Cross. On the other hand a "James Brugge" was appointed sheriff, evidently because of his Lancastrian sympathies, on 6 Nov. 1470, on the return of Henry VI to the throne, supplanting the earlier appointee Richard Croft. Croft, however, clung firmly to the sheriff's papers and Bridge was never able to present an account. He was chased ignominiously from the office on 11 Apr. 1471, and Croft, riding the wave of Yorkist triumph, was knighted on the field of Tewkesbury where he is said to have captured Edward Prince of Wales.

1448-9. THOMAS DE LA HAY the elder (probably really "the younger", see 1418-9). Appointed 6 Nov. 1448 (O, 103). But he did not serve out his term. He was still Escheator on 18 May 1449 (P, 201), but was shortly thereafter removed from office, as he had been from the office of coroner in April of the previous year (F, 14). The reason for these

removals is unknown but may have been illness or decrepitude. It is not known if anyone filled his place as Escheator before the next appointment.

1449-50. MILES SKULL, as above 1436-7. Appointed 11 Dec. 1449 (O, 146).

1450-1. MALCOLM WALWYN; see above 1425-6. Appointed 7 Dec. 1450 (O, 187). Account (AO, 282). But he did not serve out his term. He was still Escheator on 8 July 1451 (P, 19), but for reasons unknown was shortly thereafter removed from office. He served again as Escheator in 1466-7.

1451-2. WILLIAM HERBERT AP EVAN. Appointed 29 Nov. 1451 (O, 251). Another incomplete term, of unknown duration (P, 82).

1452-3. WILLIAM SHELWICK (HUGH SHELWICK *teste* AN). Appointed 13 Nov. 1452 (P, 17). William Shelwick is unknown to me. Hugh Shelwick's name appears on several Hereford deeds; he died before 8 July 1466 (Q, 176).

1453-4. EDMUND DE LA MARE of Little Hereford. Appointed 3 Dec. 1453 (P, 75). Account (AO, 282). I do not know his relationship to the Escheator for 1423-4. He was constable of Ludlow Castle during the disturbances there in Oct. 1459 (AB, 587).

1454-5. JOHN MILEWATER of Clifford and Stoke Edith. Appointed 6 Nov. 1454 (6, 102). Account (AO, 282). He was a Lancastrian who in Dec. 1459, after the flight of the Yorkist earls from the Ludlow encounter in the previous October, was appointed Receiver of the Earldom of March, only to see his son John fighting on the Yorkist side at Mortimer's Cross just over a year later. The generation gap evidently existed in the 15th century as in the 20th. It is also interesting to note that the father was joint auditor with John Harper (Maud's father), at Denbigh on 14 Oct. 1458, of the accounts of William Stanley of Hooton, Cheshire, Receiver of the Lordship of Denbigh (AB, 570). Stanley was unable to explain a discrepancy of £278 9s. 1½d., and was clapped in Shrewsbury gaol. He managed to pay off £166, and was then excused the remainder on the interesting ground that according to Welsh law arrears due to a lord from his tenants are no longer recoverable when the lord is removed.

1455-6. RALPH BROMWICH. Appointed 4 Nov. 1455 (P, 145). Account (AO, 282). Held inquisition at Hereford 1456 (AF, 13). The family name appears frequently in the records, and seems mainly to be connected with the Snodhill-Urishay area. But the *Visitation* gives a pedigree of Bromwich of Hereford. Ralph was one of seven men committed to the Marshalsea Prison on 13 May 1457 (G, 223). I do not know if he was the same Ralph Bromwich who married Isabella Monnington at Sarnesfield in Jan. 1475 (AR, 6-7).

1456-7. RICHARD CORNWALL. Appointed 4 Nov. 1456 (P, 176). Account (AO, 282). I have been unable to ascertain his position in the great Cornwall family.

1457-8. OTIS CORNWALL. Appointed 7 Nov. 1457 (P, 197). But the account (AO, 282) is in the name of Thomas Fitz Harry, who was not appointed till Nov. 1458. Otis Cornwall was a burgess of Hereford and was M.P. for the city in 1459. He died before 26 Feb. 1469 (Q, 216). Biography in AU, 225.

1458-9. THOMAS FITZ HARRY the younger. Appointed 7 Nov. 1458 (P, 222). Account (AO, 282). The label "the younger" is a bit of a mystery. It seems most likely that he was the same Thomas Fitz Harry who was Escheator in 1442-3 and 1444-5, in spite of the fact that the *Visitation* pedigree gives the father's name as Richard. His son was certainly named Thomas and would thus appear to merit the title, but since he did not die till 1522 he is unlikely to have been Escheator as early as 1458.

1459-60. SIMON MILBOURNE of Tillington. Appointed 7 Nov. 1459 (P, 252). He married (in 1464) Jane, a daughter of Ralph Baskerville of Eardisley (a brother of the John Baskerville who was Escheator in 1440-1), and became the father of no less than thirteen daughters. From this desperate situation, which in the 15th century was enough to bring him to an early grave, he succeeded in extricating himself with great dexterity by marrying off eleven of them into some of the best families in the county. He served as sheriff in 1463 and 1479.

1460-1. ROGER VAUGHAN of Tretower, Brecknockshire. Appointed 7 Nov. 1460 (P, 292). Re-appointed 6 Mar. 1461 on the accession of Edward IV (Q, 10). His biography is given in AG, 1000, and AH, 219-20. He was a son of Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine by Gwladys, daughter of Dafydd Gam. A staunch Yorkist, he is said to have led Owain Tudor to his execution in the market-place of Hereford after the battle of Mortimer's Cross. For this the Lancastrians never forgave him. He was knighted by Mar. 1465, survived the battles of Banbury and Tewkesbury, but later fell into the hands of Jasper Tudor and was beheaded at Chepstow.

1461-2, 1462-3, 1463-4. HUGH SHIRLEY of Leominster. He was appointed on 8 Nov. 1461 (Q, 49) and seems to have served for a term of three years. Accounts (AO, 282). He was a burgess of Leominster, and represented that borough in parliament in 1450-1, 1460-1 and 1472-5, and again in 1491-2 unless this was another man of the same name, perhaps his son. In July 1461 he was described as a "yeoman of the crown" (AC, 26). His career was not free from upsets, and he was several times granted a royal pardon: in May 1457 (AB, 353); in Dec. 1459 (AB, 539), no doubt because, like the members of the Harper family, he had supported the Yorkist earls at Ludlow; and in Feb. 1477 (AE, 14). His biography is given in AU, 765.

1464-5. JOHN HARPER the younger of Wellington (living 1459-1509). Appointed 5 Nov. 1464 (Q, 129). Held inquisition 10 Mar. 1465 (AD, 191); and another at Pembridge 15 June 1465 (AD, 60). His account

(AO, 282) contains interesting references to the annual yield of £66 8s. 7d., from the castles, manors and lordships of Brecon, Hay and Huntington, from the customary Welsh rent known as *Cowyeld*. John Harper was a brother of Maud Harper; I have traced his history in my earlier articles, where I was under the mistaken impression that it was Maud's *father* who was Escheator.

1465-6. THOMAS BRIDGE of Ross. Appointed 5 Nov. 1465 (Q, 169). Account (AO, 282). Commitment of lands to him 10 Aug. 1466 (AC, 552). He was M.P. for the shire 1472-5.

1466-7. MALCOLM WALWYN, as above 1425-6 and 1450-1. Appointed 5 Nov. 1466 (Q, 192). But the account is in the name of the previous Escheator Thomas Bridge (AO, 282).

1467-8. THOMAS VAUGHAN. Appointed 5 Nov. 1467 (Q, 211). Though it is dangerous to venture an identification for so common a name, he was perhaps the Thomas Vaughan of Hergest (1400-1469), slain at Banbury, whose alabaster tomb may be seen in Kington church.

1468-9. GEOFFREY ROBERT. Appointed 5 Nov. 1468 (Q, 222).

1469-70. RICHARD MONNINGTON of Sarnesfield (?). Appointed 5 Nov. 1469 (Q, 255). Held inquisition at Hereford 22 Jan. 1470 (AM, 53). He was re-appointed for a second term on 9 Oct. 1470 (Q. 269), but was supplanted a month later by Miles ap Harry when Henry VI returned to the throne. His identification is uncertain, but he may have been a brother of the Sir Thomas Monnington who was sheriff in 1461 and 1472 and M.P. for the shire in 1461-5, 1467-8 and 1472-5.

1470-1. MILES AP HARRY of Poston. Appointed 5 Nov. 1470 (Q, 281). Held inquisition at Ross 10 Jan. 1471 (AM, 54). He was distantly related to Thomas Fitz Harry (see above 1442-3), and like him was evidently a Lancastrian—indeed he was among those indicted by the Parliament of 1472-5 of 'grete Offenses, heynous Murdres, Ravisshementz, Robberies, Extortions, and other defautes' (AS, 160a). But his father, Henry ap Griffith, had fought on the Yorkist side at Mortimer's Cross, and Miles himself managed to obtain the royal pardon on 6 June 1473 (AD, 388). He died before 25 Apr. 1488 (S, 71).

1471-2. Here for the first time we have a gap in our list (though see 1418-9). There is no record of an appointment either when Edward IV returned to power in Apr. 1471 or in the following November. It would seem unlikely that Miles ap Harry continued to serve after Edward's return.

1472-3. RICHARD WILLIAMS. Appointed 5 Nov. 1472 (R, 48). Held inquisition at Ledbury 11 Mar. 1473 (H, 123; R, 169).

1473-4. RICHARD BUNDY of Hereford. Appointed 5 Nov. 1473 (R, 63). Richard Bundy and Joan his wife are mentioned in deeds of 1480-3 (AP, 310), and he earned a pardon on 8 Dec. 1482 (AE, 329).

1474-5. According to AU, 765, HUGH SHIRLEY (as above 1461-4) was Escheator in 1474, but no authority is cited.

1475-6.

1476-7. I have not succeeded in tracing the Escheators for these years.

1477-8.

1478-9.

1479-80. THOMAS BREYNTON of Hereford (living 1447-1506). Appointed 5 Nov. 1479 (R, 179). Account (AO, 282). He was a burgess of Hereford who married Maud Harper's sister Joan, and an ancestor of the Breyntons of Stretton Sugwas; I have sketched his history in my earlier articles. He was M.P. for the city of Hereford in 1449-50, and Mayor in 1466 (this is the only certain date, in spite of what I said in the earlier articles). 'Thomas Breynton the elder', presumably the same man, served again as Escheator in 1485-6 and in 1505-6 (S, 41), though by the latter date he must have been about 80 years old.

1480-1. THOMAS MONNINGTON the younger of 'Sarnefield-Waters' (AU, 601n.). Appointed 5 Nov. 1480 (R, 208). Account (AO, 282). As in the case of Richard Monnington (see above 1469-70), there is some doubt about his identity. He may have been the Sir Thomas Monnington there mentioned, who married Elizabeth Milbourne of Tillington, and died 5 Nov. 1491. It seems hardly likely that he was his son, Thomas Monnington of Sarnesfield, who married Anne Tracy, since he did not die till 1551. On the other hand a 'Thomas Monnington of Sarnesfield' married Joan Stockton of Hereford in 1480 (AR, 59-60).

1481-2. JAMES BRIDGE. Appointed 5 Nov. 1481 (R, 222). Account (AO, 282).

1482-3. WALTER BASKERVILLE of Eardisley. Appointed 5 Nov. 1482 (R, 246); re-appointed 21 Apr. 1483 on the accession of Edward V (R, 258); and again 26 June 1483 on the accession of Richard III (R, 268). Account (AO, 282). He was almost certainly the Sir Walter Baskerville who died in 1505, a grandson of the Sir John Baskerville who was Escheator in 1440-1. His second wife was Elizabeth, a daughter of Miles ap Harry who had been Escheator in 1470-1.

1483-4. JOHN EDWARDS. Appointed 6 Nov. 1483 (R, 277).

1484-5. ROGER BODENHAM of Much Dewchurch. Appointed 10 Dec. 1484 (R, 301). Account (AO, 282). It is not clear which of the numerous Roger Bodenhams he was (one of whom appears rather romantically in the pedigrees as 'Roger Bodenham of Seville in Spain'). He was sheriff in 1487-8.

1485-6. THOMAS BREYNTON the elder, very likely the same man who was Escheator in 1479-80. Appointed 5 Nov. 1485 (S, 41); there is no record of any earlier appointment on the accession of Henry VII in Aug. 1485.

1486-7. HUGH LOCHARD of Hereford. Appointed 5 Nov. 1486 (S, 55). A William Lochard had been precentor of the cathedral in the mid-15th century, and in 1441 his brother Richard founded a chantry in the so-called 'Lochard Chapel' there (Z, 549).

1487-8. JOHN BASKERVILLE the younger. Appointed 4 Nov. 1487 (S, 82). He was presumably the John Baskerville of Wootton, Wellington, a son of the Sir John Baskerville who was Escheator in 1440-1. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holgot of Wootton.

1488-9. JOHN THOMAS of Bredwardine. Appointed 6 Nov. 1488 (S, 90). His biography is given in AH, 288. He was constable of Snodhill Castle and steward of Hay, and became a serjeant-at-arms in the royal household of Henry VIII. He served again as Escheator in 1490-1.

1489-90. JOHN ABRAHALL. Appointed 6 Nov. 1489 (S, 133). Probably a grandson of the John Abrahall who was Escheator in 1417-8 and 1439-40, he married Anne Brudenell, and died in 1534.

1490-1. JOHN THOMAS, as above 1488-9. Appointed 5 Nov. 1490 (S, 140).

1491-2. HENRY CHIPPENHAM of Hereford. Appointed 5 Nov. 1491 (S, 156). The Chippenhams were a well-known family of Hereford grocers. They provided the city with several mayors, and a Thomas Chippenham was M.P. in 1495.

1492-3. Escheator not recorded. Probably Henry Chippenham served for two years.

1493-4. JOHN MORRIS. Appointed 5 Nov. 1493 (S, 204).

1494-5. Escheator not recorded. Probably John Morris served a two-year term.

1495-6 THOMAS WYKES of Moreton Jeffries. Appointed 5 Nov. 1495 (S, 226).

1496-7. JOHN PATESHALL of Ford, Pudlestone. Appointed 5 Nov. 1496 (S, 249).

1497-8. Escheator not recorded. Probably John Pateshall served for two years.

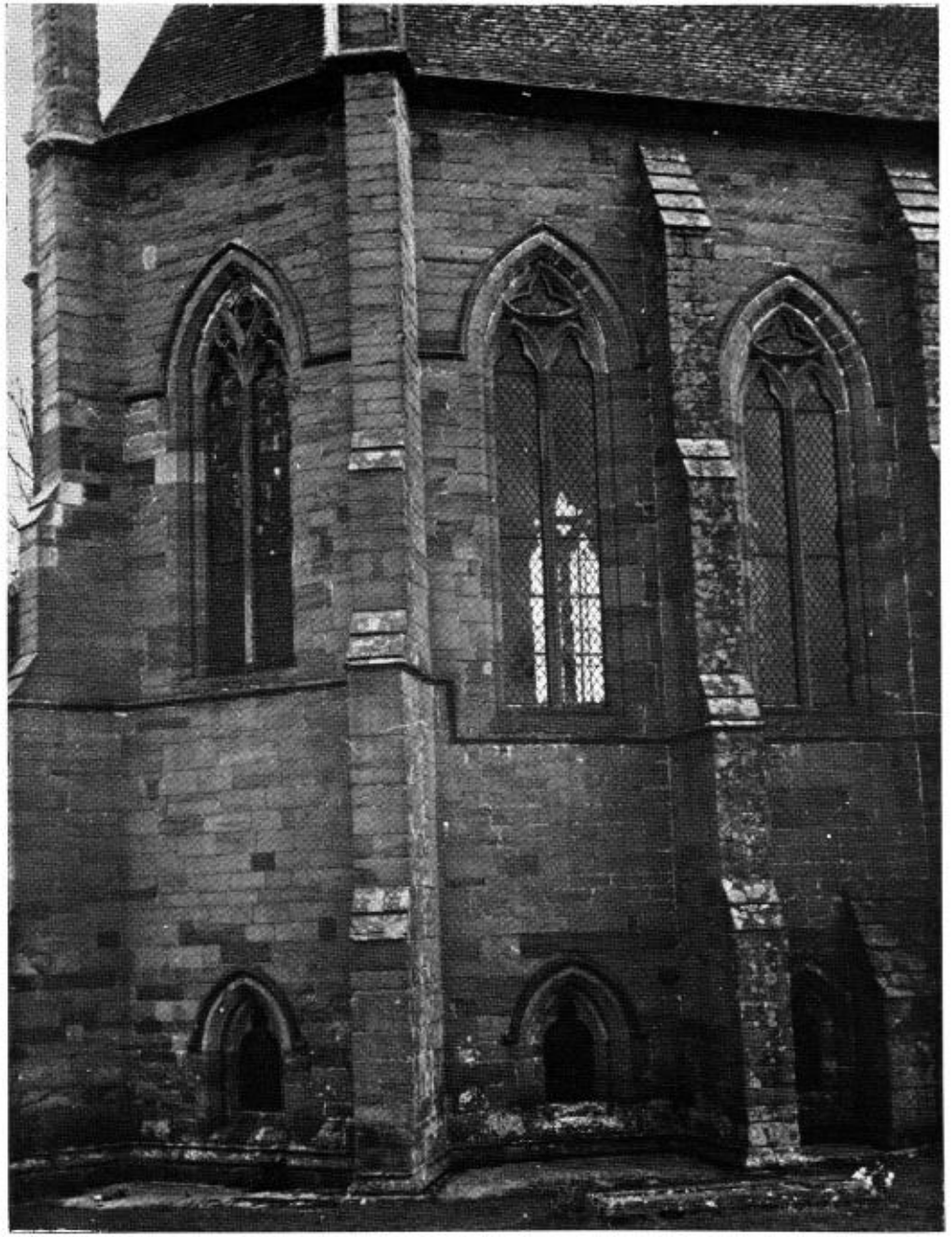
1498-9. RICHARD ASH. Appointed 5 Nov. 1498 (S, 276). The family, somewhat uncertainly connected with Gillow, Ganarew and Hereford, seem to have been stalwart Herefordshire yeomen. A James Ash and his father Hopkin Ash fought at Mortimer's Cross after serving in the French wars.

1499-1500. HUGH LOCHARD, as above 1486-7. Appointed 5 Nov. 1499 (S, 296). On 7 Dec. 1500 WALTER WYKES was appointed Escheator for 1500-1 (S, 314. AN says WALTER MILE, 12 Dec., but this may be confusion with Henry Mile who was sheriff in 1500).

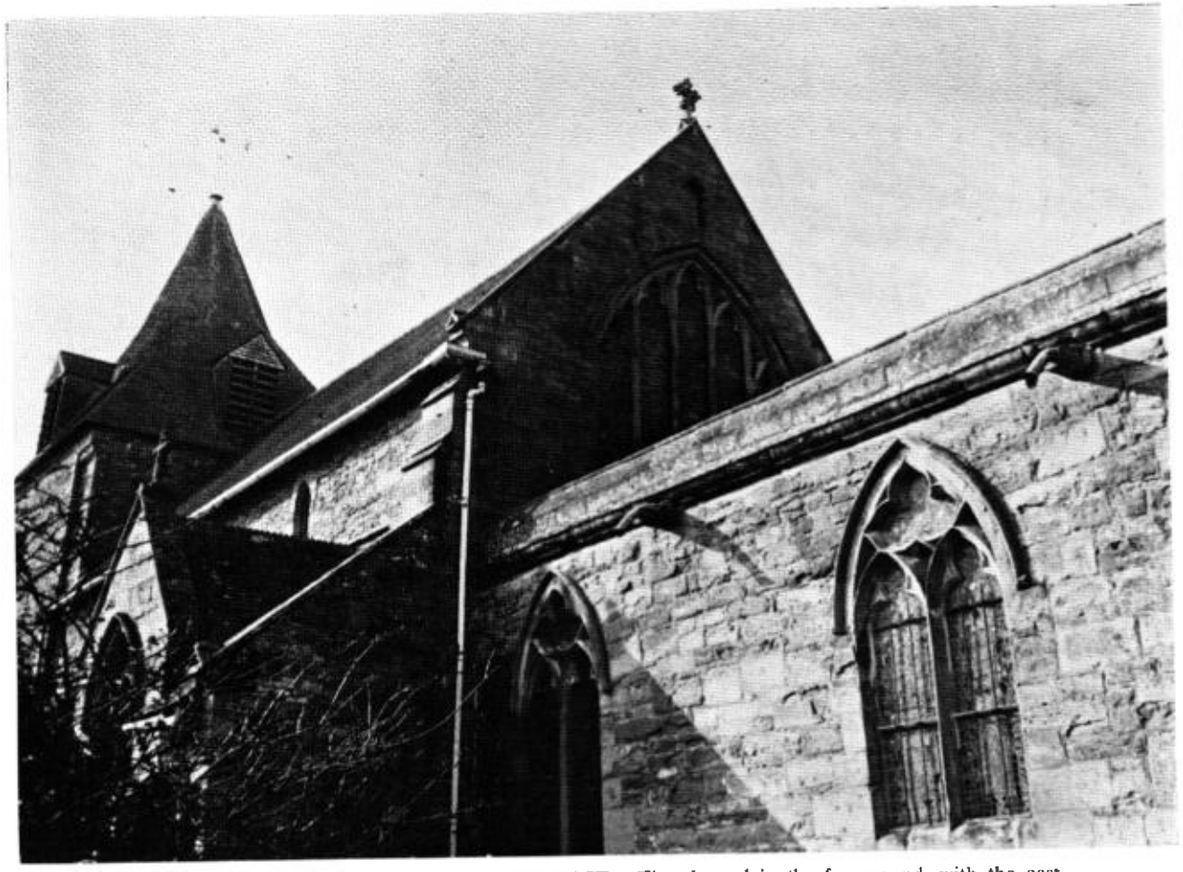
PLATES

I—John Trillek, Bishop of Hereford, 1344-1360
(Reproduced from the author's rubbing of the monumental brass in Hereford Cathedral. Canopy omitted).

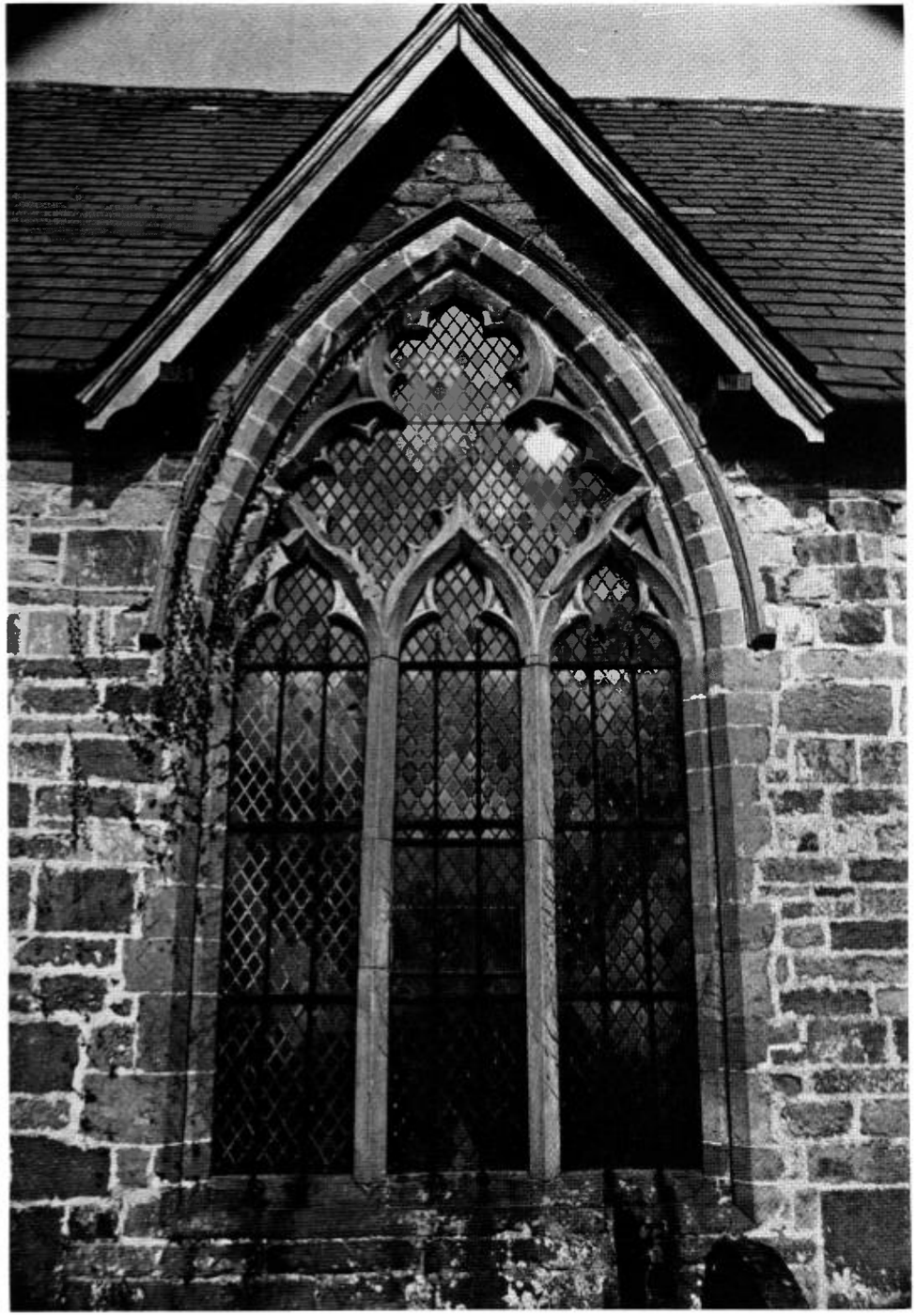
II—MADLEY FROM THE EAST. The chancel apse is in the centre, with the five-light reticulated window of the Chilston Chapel to the left, and the plain lancet window of the north aisle to the right.



III—MADLEY CHANCEL. The north-east wall of the apse and part of the north wall.



IV—EATON BISHOP FROM THE SOUTH-EAST. The chancel in the foreground, with the east clerestory window of the nave above, and the south transept to the left.



V—ALLENSMORE SOUTH TRANSEPT. The three-light trefoil window.

James Bromwich and Hereford Cathedral Audley Chapel

By PENELOPE E. MORGAN

THE restoration of the Audley Chapel in Hereford Cathedral has made it easier to see not only the fine paintings of the saints but also various details of the carvings such as the series of shields along the base of the screen. These are (from left to right):

1. A monogram I.R. or I.B.
2. Arms of Bishop Mayo who died in 1516
3. Arms of Audley
4. Arms of the deanery
5. Arms of the see (modern)
6. Arms of the see (ancient)
7. A butterfly (the badge of the Audleys)

Why the monogram I.R. or I.B. which also appears on a boss in the vaulting? Who was I.R. or I.B.? F.T. Havergal[1] refers to the 'initials I.R. entwined', and George Marshall[2] following him states that 'the initials I.R. appear . . . but whom they stand for is unknown. There seems to have been no ecclesiastic of the time that they could represent. It is not impossible that they record the master mason or the painter'. The Historical Monuments Commission Report for Herefordshire[3] also mentions them as I.R. Thomas Dingley[4] however, gives a drawing of the monogram in the vaulting and seems to interpret it as I.B., but gives no identification. The writer of this article suggests that Dingley is correct, and that the initials are those of James Bromwich, a canon and chancellor of Hereford Cathedral from *c.*1494 to 1524.

The account rolls of the collectors of mass pence in Hereford Cathedral for 1494-5[5] suggest that Bromwich was collated as a chancellor as early as 1494[6], and it is probable that he had previously been appointed to the prebend of Church Withington. He held both offices until his death in 1524. From 1503 he also held many appointments in the Salisbury diocese, including a canonry and successively various prebends in Salisbury Cathedral and finally the archdeaconry of Sarum from 2 March 1524.[7] All these appointments at Hereford and Salisbury would have been made by Bishop Audley who seems to have been a great friend for many years.

A letter, signed by Bishop Audley in a shaky hand is preserved in the archives of Magdalen College, Oxford.[8] It is addressed to the 'Provost' [i.e. President] and Fellows and in it Audley says that he intends to promote 'at this tyme an old Chapelleyne of myne called master James Bromwich' to sum[m]e promocion of my geift', and refers to him as 'a lusty man and Lykely to leve long' Magdalen

has a 'free chapell called Corton within my diocese of your geift and patronage'. If Bromwich were to resign Corton, Audley would like Magdalen to present his chaplain Henry Rawlyns to it. The letter is dated from Remesbury, 16 January, but unfortunately the year is omitted although it is included in the calendar under 152-.

Archives in the cathedral library and particularly the chapter act book *liber primus*[9] throw light on his Hereford appointments and activities, none of which is recorded in Emden.[10] Unfortunately the first 28 folios of the act book covering the period July 1512 to July 1521 have been so badly mutilated that it is impossible to get a complete picture as so many entries are lost, but from what remains it is clear that Bromwich spent considerable time in Hereford and played quite an important part in the cathedral. He was claviger in 1511-12[11] and was elected again in 1514, 1515, 1521 and 1523.[12] During 1518-19 he was collector of the dean and chapter's common rents,[13] and was in receipt of the tithes (probably of Hampton) for at least 1513, 1517, 1518 and 1523[14] indicating that he must have been a residentiary canon. We know that he was present at chapter meetings in September and October, 1512; March and June, 1513; April, June and September, 1517; September, 1519; April, 1520; August, September and October, 1521; November, 1522 and March 1523.[15] He certainly had some leave of absence as in October, 1512 he appointed proctors to act on his behalf,[16] and he resumed residence in January, 1513, September, 1517,[17] and August, 1521,[18] but in April, 1517[19] renounced half of his second year's leave of absence which had been granted.

That Bromwich lived in Hereford is confirmed by a lease from the dean and chapter dated 12 May 1512 to John Wardroper, a canon residentiary, which refers to a house in the city between the dean's place and the house of Master Jamys Bromwiche canon residentiary.[20] On 30 December 1514, Bromwich himself was granted a lease by the chapter for twenty-nine years from the previous Michaelmas, of a property in the city called the Vyneorde, containing 'le loge', a dovecot and free fishing within defined limits (rent 23/4 per annum) and also a meadow and field (rent 22/- per annum). He was not to sublet to any other than a residentiary canon without permission.[21] This was probably the site of the Vineyard, Hampton Park.

1517 was an eventful year—Charles Booth was enthroned as bishop by proxy in the January,[22] and shortly after (but before 6 April) the chapter decided that James Bromwich and another should ride to London, at the advice and instance of the bishop, to see the archbishop *circa controversiam*. They were to draw all their emoluments as if present, since they were going on church business.[23] What was this controversy? So far no indication has been found here or at Lambeth.

In 1518 he appears to have been instituted as rector of Hampton Bishop—a position which he held until his death in 1524.[24]

On the 3 February 1524, the chapter resolved that a residentiary canon of Hereford might not accept a similar appointment in another cathedral upon pain

of forfeiting his Hereford position, but an exception was made in favour of James Bromwich who was then a canon residentiary of Salisbury as well, on account of Edmund Audley, bishop of Salisbury, formerly of Hereford and a benefactor to the cathedral.[25]

The will of James Bromwich was dated 31 August 1523, and was proved on 10 May 1524,[26] but as William Hulle was installed as chancellor on the 30 April 1524[27] having been collated by Bishop Booth on the 16th[28] on the death of Bromwich, he must have died before that date and so did not enjoy many months as archdeacon of Salisbury although he had been described by Audley as 'lusty' and likely to live long shortly before. John Vyall, his fellow prebendary at Hereford was appointed his executor and he desired to be buried in either Salisbury or Hereford Cathedral. To the former he left £15, and to the latter £2 for 'churchwerke'. His land in Hampton Bishop where he was rector from 1518 was to go to the Lady Service there to pray for his mother and father and himself. Silver cups, bowls, spoons, and salts, etc., and 3 gowns were left to friends and relatives. It shows that the Bromwich family were connected with the Bodenhams and Walwyns by marriage.[29]

In view of Bromwich's close connections with bishop Audley for so many years, and his death only a few months before the bishop, what more fitting memorial than his monogram incorporated twice in the design of the chantry of his great friend. Perhaps he acted as local 'liason officer' in connection with the building of the chantry—but this raises another interesting question. When was the chantry built?

Most authorities suggest that the chapel was built while Edmund Audley was bishop of Hereford between 1492 and 1502, and that on his translation to Salisbury he built another there. However, documents seem to indicate that the Hereford chapel is of a much later date than 1502.

The licence to found two perpetual chantries by Audley—one in Salisbury cathedral and one in Hereford—for one chaplain each and the mortmain licence to grant lands to the chaplain of the chantry in Salisbury to the annual value of £14 and to the chaplain in Hereford to the value of £10, are dated 10 December 1516.[30]

On 15 June 1523 permission was given by the dean and chapter of Hereford to Edmund Audley, bishop of Salisbury, to build a chamber for the priest of his chantry and another for the deacons and sub-deacons.[31] Could this refer to the chantry itself? Or could the rooms have been those formerly at the south end of the bishop's east cloister? Or were they never built?

According to the survey of chantries by Henry VIII in 1546[32] however, the chantry of Our Lady in Hereford Cathedral was not founded until 1 May 1524 (after the death of Bromwich), by licence for a chaplain to minister daily, and to pray for the prosperous estate of King Henry VIII and Queen Katherine, the said bishop (Audley), and for their souls and the souls of all Christian people. Value: tenths £6 13s. 4d., according to the survey £10. Deductions: tenths to the King 15/4, fee to the bailiff 6/8, obit yearly £1, bread in alms £1; leaving a clear

revenue of £6 18s. 0d. employed to the finding of a priest. Ornaments were valued at £3 13s. 8d. and there were no other lands or profits.

The survey of 1547 by Edward VI[33] does not give the date of the foundation, but states that it was founded by Edmund Audley for the prosperity and health of Henry VIII and Queen Katherine and the souls of Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth and Edmund Audley and all Christian souls, and to help in the divine service every holy day in the choir of the cathedral. An obit yearly was to be kept. Incumbent was Sir Davy Wattes, aged 47, 'who hath the clear revenues and other promotion £8'. Lands and tenements were valued at £10. Reprises were £1 to the dean and chapter for the obit and £1 for the poor, leaving a net value of £8, The plate weighed 13 ozs. and ornaments were valued at 7/2. A memorandum adds the information that the lands belonging to the chantry lay in the counties of Wiltshire and Oxford and that is to say £8 in Wiltshire[34] and 40/- in Oxfordshire.

Audley died on 23 August 1524, and a manuscript obit list[35] has the following entry for X Kal. August [23rd].

> 'Obitus Domini Edmundi Audeley quondam Sarum Episcopi, qui dedit redditum xx solidorum distribeundorum Canonicis & Clericis in anniversario suo presentibus; Canonicis videlicet x solidos, & Clericis x solidos, quique capellam novam juxta Feretrum Sancti Thome Confessoris e fundo construxit, & in eadem Cantariam perpetuam amortizavit, ac etiam panes xx solidorum die obitus sui, per manus Cantariste ibidem pauperibus distribuendos: Constituit necnon Feretrum argenteum in modum Ecclesie fabricatum, atque alia quam plurima huic Sacre Edi contulit beneficia'.

It may also be of interest to note that in November 1524[36] Thomas Albone, chantry priest in Bishop Audley's chapel was permitted to use the well in the yard of the canons' bakehouse, and on 16 June 1525[37] the dean and chapter gave permission for him and also William Burley of the chapel of St. Mary over the north door, and their successors, to wear the robes of petty canons from the 15 August.

In conclusion—if the chaplains were to pray for Henry VIII and Queen Katherine [of Aragon] the chapel must have been started after 1509 when Henry came to the throne and married—at least seven years after Audley left Hereford. If it was started before 1516 he must have acted without the equivalent of 'a faculty' or 'planning permission'. It is unfortunate that no trace can be found at Hereford or Salisbury of the foundation deed of 1524 referred to in the 1546 chantry survey.

NOTE: Tribute must be paid to the late Mr. P. G. S. Baylis who transcribed the Hereford dean and chapter Act Book, *liber primus* and was preparing an edited version when he died. His original manuscript is now in the cathedral library and the writer has prepared a typescript index of personal and place names and of subjects. Without the transcript it would have been impossible for the writer to extract so much information about James Bromwich.

APPENDIX

WILL OF JAMES BROMWICH[24]

In dei nomine amen I James Bromwych Clerk. First I bequeth my soule to god and to our Lady, my body to be buried in the Cathedrall Churche of Sar' or elles in the Cathedrall Churche of hereford. Also I bequeth to the Churchwerkes of Sar' v^{li} And to the Shryne of Sar' x^{li}. to the Churchwerke of hereford xl^{s}, I bequeth my gilt Cupp' w^{t} a Couer chased to my suster Johane Boddenham my gilte Cup' w^{t} a Couer battild aboute to Dame Cecill Bodenh'm my gilt Cup' with a Couer playne like to a bell to William Walwyn my litill pece gilt playn with a Couer to Thomas Bromwyche of Bromlucy to my executour my best saltes w^{t} one Cou' gilt to maister Viall paying iiij^{li} my playn' saltes gilte of one Couer to Dame Cecill Bodenh'm my saltes gilt with one Couer chased to Kateryn Burowe. my iij bolles of silver one to hugh Marbull, another henry Bromwyche the thirde to Thomas harrys brother my flatt pece Couered to maister Vyall. xij sponyes to henry Bromwiche the best other xij like to a ship to Thomas Walwen of Marbill, there be aboue xij of comyn sorte of the which vj I will that John ap Thomas haue them the other vj to Thomas Lane of hampton to haue them, my skarlet gowne lyned w^{t} Sarsnet to my suster Elizabeth Bromwyche my suster in lawe. my skarlet gown' furred with p'lles to maister Viall. my Crymsyn gowne lyned w^{t} braunched damask to Jane Bodenh'm my lande in hampton which I bought of Thomas Jurdañ after the decesse of the said Jurdañ I will that it goo to our lady seruice in hampton to pray for my fader and my moder and for me. And this I make myn executour maister John Vyall Written w^{t} myn owne hande the last day of August The ixth yere of king henry the viijth.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations:

A. Hereford cathedral dean and chapter archives.
C.A.B. Hereford cathedral dean and chapter act book, *liber primus*.

1 *Monumental inscriptions in the cathedral church of Hereford* (1881), 10.
2 *Hereford cathedral* (1950), 161.
3 Volume 1, 103.
4 *History from marble*, Camden Society (1867), clxi.
5 A. R.531.
6 John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1300-1541. Hereford diocese, compiled by J. M. Horn (1962), 13.
7 A. B. Emden, *A Biographical register of the university of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Vol. 1, 277.
8 Magdalen College, Oxford. MS. 367, fol. 49.
9 Hereford cathedral dean and chapter *Act book, liber primus*, July 1512 to July 1566.
10 *op. cit.*
11 A. R.585.
12 C.A.B. ff.5r, 7v, 30r, 33r and A. R.586.
13 A. R.186.
14 C.A.B. ff. 3r, 10v, 14v, 33r.
15 C.A.B. ff. 1v, 3r, 10v, 11v, 21v, 24r, 29r, 30r, 32v.
16 C.A.B. f. 1v.
17 C.A.B. ff. 2v, 11v.

[18] C.A.B. f. 28v.
[19] C.A.B. f. 10v.
[20] A. 1978.
[21] C.A.B. f. 5v.
[22] C.A.B. f. 9v.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the history . . . of the county of Hereford. Hundred of Grimsworth, pt. 2 by W. H. Cooke* (1892), 89.
[25] C.A.B. f. 34r.
[26] Public Record Office. PROB 11/21. f.22. See Appendix.
[27] C.A.B. f. 35r.
[28] *Register of Charles Bothe*, ed. by A. T. Bannister, Cantilupe Society (1921), 337.
[29] For pedigrees see Harleian Soc. Vol. XXI (1885), 29-30 and *Visitation of Herefordshire, 1569*, ed. by F. W. Weaver (1886), 14-15.
[30] Pat. 8 Henry VIII, p.2, m.2. *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, Vol. II, pt. 1 (1864), No. 2660.
[31] C.A.B. f. 32v.
[32] P.R.O. E.301-24-25. There is a microfilm in the cathedral library.
[33] *ibid.*
[34] The manor of Walcotte in Swyndonhill, Wilts., which belonged to the late chantry called Busshopp Audeley Chauntrey was in the grant for £1,142 5s. 6d., to Richard Roberts of London on 6 January 1550. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, vol. 3, 5.
[35] Bodleian library, Oxford. Rawlinson MSS. B. 328. Microfilm in Hereford cathedral library. See also [Rawlinson's] *History and antiquities of the city and cathedral church of Hereford. 1717. Appendix*, 21.
[36] C.A.B. f. 36r.
[37] *ibid.*

Shipmoney in Herefordshire

By M. A. FARADAY

CHARLES I's attempt to use the royal prerogative to impose Shipmoney as an annual tax on income ultimately failed. It was, despite its failure, the basis of many direct taxes in the 17th and 18th centuries and, therefore, a remote ancestor of the modern income tax. Had the tax succeeded, the subsequent political history of this country might have been very different. It is therefore of interest to examine the methods used to impose the tax and the reasons for their failure in one local community—Herefordshire.

Shipmoney was an innovation, not because it was imposed without parliamentary sanction, but because of the administrative machinery it relied upon and its supersession of the outdated and conventional subsidy valuations with a rating system more like that used for church and poor rates, and, particularly, because of its use of a quota in an attempt to arrest the decline in receipts which characterised direct taxes. Nevertheless, precedents for even these innovating aspects can be found in the various expedients used in the 16th and early 17th centuries to raise money. It was also new, and objectionable, that Charles I intended to develop abnormal expedients into a permanent and main source of revenue. It was intended as, and taken as, the final abandonment of the constitutional principle that the king should live of his own, helped out by taxation only in emergencies.

The allocation of the Shipmoney quotas to particular counties appears to have been fairly rough and ready, being based on a crude assessment of their comparative ability to pay for the building and fitting out of ships of particular sizes. In 1635 Herefordshire was required by Privy Council writ to raise £4,000; this was higher than the assessments on the county for later years when the county's quotas represented smaller proportions of the total charge on England and Wales.[1] In 1637 the sheriff and justices asked the government to reduce the amount of the county's quota, alleging that other counties were comparatively less heavily charged.[2] The petition did not succeed. In 1636, 1637 and 1639 the quota was £3,500 a year, and in 1638 it fell to £1,200. The sheriffs were made responsible for rating their counties, except that the portions of the county quotas allocated to certain boroughs (in Herefordshire these were Hereford City and Leominster) were determined by the Privy Council. These sub-quotas, however, varied from year to year, Leominster starting with £100 in 1635, falling to £44 in 1636, 1637 and 1639, and to £18 in 1638, and Hereford starting with £250 in 1635, falling to £220 in 1636, 1637 and 1639, and to £80 in 1638.

The method laid down by the Privy Council for allocating the charge was that the sheriff charged named boroughs as instructed and divided the rest of the

quota between the hundreds and parishes, the last to be rated as they were accustomed for other common payments.[3] The constables for each hundred were to call together men from every parish to consider how to distribute each hundred charge. The clergy were assessed separately within each hundred.

There is some evidence that the hundred quotas in Herefordshire were based on the quotas used in the county's purveyance composition. A paper bound with purveyance papers for 1622 in the Scudamore Papers[4] entitled 'rates for the King's Provision Money' shows sums against each hundred, excluding Hereford, totalling £110. These are each multiplied by a factor of 34 to give a total of £3,740 and further adjusted to give a total of £3,750; the resulting figures equal exactly the Shipmoney hundred quotas. It appears, therefore, that the purveyance quotas were used to calculate those for Shipmoney. Not much is known about purveyance in Herefordshire. The royal household was generally far away and the county's liability to supply foodstuffs at artificially low prices was small in consequence. In 1607 it had only to find 18 fat oxen for which the king's price was £72 against a market price of £180. The difference, £108, was the amount of the composition,[5] a sum very close to the £110 given in the Scudamore Papers. The calculation in the latter is undated but is subscribed '*pro* Jo: Wilcockes *dep. cler. pacis*'. John Wilcockes was certainly deputy clerk of the peace as late as 1635,[6] but the annotation could merely mean that he was concerned only with the use of the provision money quotas for Shipmoney purposes.

The Shipmoney hundred quotas for two of the years of charge were:

Hundred	1636[7] £	%	1638[8] £	%
Broxash	417 11 10	12.73	142 4 5	12.63
Ewias Lacy	149 3 9	4.55	50 16 2	4.54
Greytree	298 3 1	9.09	101 10 11	9.08
Grimsworth	313 0 2	9.54	106 12 3	9.53
Huntington	178 18 8	5.46	60 18 10	5.44
Radlow	417 11 0	12.73	142 4 5	12.63
Stretford	313 0 8	9.54	106 12 3	9.53
Webtree	268 8 1	8.18	91 8 3	8.17
Wigmore	239 6 3	7.29	81 10 3	7.28
Wolphey	373 16 10	11.40	127 6 5	11.40
Wormilow	268 8 2	8.19	91 8 3	8.17
Leominster	44 0 0	1.34	18 0 0	1.61
	3280 0 0	100.00	1120 0 0	100.00
Hereford City	220 0 0	(6.71)	80 0 0	(6.67)
County	3500 0 0		1200 0 0	

These hundred quotas, with very minor changes (chiefly that later Wormilow's share increased and Grimsworth's decreased), were to remain the quotas, by proportion at least, applied for all direct quota taxes until 1698, when the land tax began to be levied by quotas based on the 1693 valuations. There were also variations later in the quotas allocated to Hereford City and, to a lesser extent, Leominster.[9]

The parish quotas were fairly conventional. In 1636 32% of the parishes were allocated charges equal to the charge placed on at least one other place in the same hundred. In 1638 this proportion had risen to 39%. This was most true of Wigmore hundred; it was here, particularly in the Lugharnes division, that the rapid development of precedents in the allocation of township charges is most evident. In the Wigmore division, similarly, the proportions of the charge allocated to the townships in 1635 by Robert Pitts, the chief constable[10], were followed exactly in 1636 and only slightly varied in 1638 by his successor, Richard Rodd.

Fair assessments were hard to achieve, but the collection of the taxes assessed was an even greater problem. The use of the quota prevented the under-assessment of places, although it did not always stop the under-assessment of the rich, who, under a quota system, evaded charges only at the expense of their poorer neighbours, whose taxes were for obvious reasons harder to collect. Collection was a question of machinery and this was inadequate. Both assessment and collection were made the responsibility of the sheriffs, whose fiscal duties had for many years been largely concerned with minor revenues. For five years the office of sheriff became a vital one in the execution of government policy and, one may imagine, the least popular of which any country gentlemen could find himself the incumbent. Thomas Alderne, for example, found himself in prison on account of Shipmoney during his shrievalty.[11] Previously he had complained that he had been chosen sheriff despite his having insufficient estate to qualify him for the post (he had been a proctor in the Consistory Court).[12] When the honour was outweighed by the trouble, influential men sought to avoid the office; lesser men were appointed and in consequence they were less effective.

The sheriff was chosen for these duties as part of the government's attempt to by-pass the traditional fiscal machinery and because greater pressure could be put on him than could be put on the Bench or on any other commission. His task was to raise the money quickly and, by-passing the Exchequer and its cumbersome accounting, to pay it over to the Treasurer of the Navy. The latter had no powers in the matter and the day to day control of the raising of the tax from places and particular individuals when in arrear rapidly became the chief business of the Privy Council itself.

The attempt failed; the sheriff had to operate with an unreformed administrative infra-structure of unpaid temporary officials, the chief and petty constables, who were appointed by the justices rather than by himself, and whose loyalties were primarily to their own communities. As with the sheriff, the constable's chief motive was to get through his year of office with the least trouble, expense

and loss of his neighbours' regard. The most the sheriff could do was, like Roger Vaughan and Thomas Alderne, to use his own servants[13] and to make life uncomfortable for the constables. In this he had the support of the Privy Council, but, in practice, this support was intermittent, remote and uncomprehending, and certainly no match for concerted recalcitrance. 'I am weary of imprisoning constables', wrote Alderne in September 1640.[14]

Shipmoney assessments deliberately cut across traditional methods of assessing taxes in an attempt to rationalise and accelerate the business of getting the money in. Nevertheless, just as taxing statutes were usually poorly drafted, leaving loopholes to be exploited (and inadequately filled by subsequent legislation), so the Privy Council's instructions to sheriffs left a great deal unsaid. The modern principle that, where two statutes clash, the later one supersedes the earlier (and is usually accompanied by annexed schedules of repealing and amending provisions) was by no means as well accepted in the 17th century when the medieval idea of the declaratory function of legislation still had some force. Clashes in meaning were not easily resolved. Although taxation by executive order was fairly common in one form or another, usually described as a 'loan' or a 'benevolence', and often intended for a specific short-term purpose, such as a naval emergency, a royal wedding or the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was therefore not necessarily more unpopular than parliamentary taxes, the creation of a massive new system of taxation based on executive order rather than on statute exacerbated problems of interpretation.

One problem which took a disproportionate amount of administrative and judicial time was the apparent right of citizens of Hereford owning properties in the Liberties of the city within the parishes of Holmer and Hampton Bishop to pay their subsidy charges in the city. As recently as 1633 the constable of Hampton Bishop, when returning the names of 'subsidy men' and 'all others of good ability' who were required to subscribe towards the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, omitted one Henry Meyrick 'although hee bee of our parish yet he payeth subsidy with the Citizens of Heref: in regard his habitation is within the Liberties of the City'.[15] It seems that rated taxes (e.g. church rates) were paid in the parish. As soon as a quota tax like Shipmoney was in issue, it became important to the inhabitants of these parishes and of the city that as many people as possible contribute to their respective quotas. Holmer alleged that the lands had only recently been bought by Hereford citizens; Hereford pointed to their paying subsidy and doing 'watch and ward' in the city.[16] As early as December 1635 this dispute reached the Privy Council, which first sought advice and then remitted it to the sheriff in the forlorn hope that he could settle it 'with equality and indifferency'.[17] In 1637 the mayor and the sheriff met but failed to agree and both appealed to the Privy Council. It seems that the attempt to delegate to the sheriff the function of arbitrator had failed and that he had become a party to the dispute. The matter went to the assizes and then in December 1637 to the Council of the Marches to settle it 'as you shall finde most agreeable to Justice'.[18] It is not certain how the matter was settled. In January 1638-9

Vaughan told the Privy Council that most of the arrears for which he was responsible were owed by persons owning land in Hampton and Holmer but living in Hereford; he asked whether he should enter the city to recover the arrears or whether he should re-assess the parishes.[19] Clearly the mere existence of this doubt gave people an excuse to pay nothing.

In the 17th century, despite the superficial power of the government, the notion of a hierarchical subordination of authorities and courts was not well-established. Both government and citizen had a choice between a number of judicial agencies, all jealous of their own rights, when either action or delay was sought. Disputes were hard to settle. That between Holmer and Hampton Bishop and Hereford may never have been settled. The Privy Council itself spent a deal of time trying to settle disputes of this kind concerning Shipmoney; given its remoteness and lack of sound information it is doubtful whether its judicial decisions contributed either justice or efficiency to the raising of the tax. It was evidently a waste of its own time. After the Restoration most taxing statutes set up reasonably adequate appellate machinery, the lessons of Shipmoney presumably having been learned.

To oppose government policy as such would have been regarded as coming dangerously close to treason, so the evidence of opposition in principle to Shipmoney is hard to find from the early years. Concerted lack of co-operation did, however, develop quickly. All kinds of practical reasons were given for this; only later did the petitions for relief give way to opinions as to the unlawfulness of the tax. Herefordshire was a conservative county where precedent could make a good many things respectable and there were precedents for extra-parliamentary taxation. In 1602 the county was charged £250 towards the expenses of raising a fleet against the pirates operating from Dunkirk, a continuing menace to Channel trade and the southern ports, but not an obvious danger to Herefordshire.[20] In 1631 a loan of £1,100 was raised in Herefordshire from 44 people (who were by no means of the foremost families) who paid £25 each.[21] This was preceded by at least one other such loan—in 1626.[22] The king promised to repay; it is not clear whether he did or not, but even a temporary deprivation of one's money by the State is taxation. In 1633 Hereford and seven of the hundreds contributed over £216 towards the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, but persons who were assessed to subsidies on lands totalling £200 a year were slow or failed to contribute.[23] Purveyance seems to have been a light burden in Herefordshire. Coat and conduct money, although in one sense a tax, was modest in amount and normally tolerable since it was for expenditure on the county's own trained bands and militia. Not till 1639 did Hereford City protest against 'ympositions of money for coat and conduct', but even this was associated with a grievance against their own trained bands being selected without their consent for service elsewhere.[24] The Scottish War provoked widespread refusals in Herefordshire to pay coat and conduct money for the same reasons.[25]

What was objectionable about Shipmoney was that it was a tax of large amounts which charged large estates more heavily than did the subsidies. That it was

extra-parliamentary, and therefore not open to bargaining and review, became important only because it was objectionable on other grounds.

The imposition of the tax in the years 1635 to 1640 coincided with a period of distress in Herefordshire. Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine wrote to the Privy Council on 1 February 1636-7 giving reasons why Shipmoney was too great a burden. Although this was an *ex parte* statement, and was no doubt discounted as such by the Council (which had no reliable or objective means of obtaining intelligence about taxable capacity and therefore did not normally concern itself with it), it is of some interest. 'I believe for so smale a circuite of ground as this sheire contaynes there are not in this kingdome a greater number of poore people, having noe commoditie amongst us for the raysing of money butt some smale quantitie of fine wooles w^{ch} is now decayed for diverse yeares past by the importation and use (as is conceaved) of Spanish wooles in this kingdom'.[26]

The justices of the peace also petitioned the Privy Council asking for Shipmoney to be forborne. They referred to the 'greevous contagion of the Plague of Pestilence' which had made necessary heavy taxation for the relief of its victims and which had closed the wool market in Worcester. For good measure they added the failure of the Lent corn and the fruit harvest in the county.[27] The petition of the sheriff and the justices in 1637 against the unequal distribution of the charge also referred to the tax of £55 a week to relieve the Ross plague victims and to the fact that plague had broken out in Hereford and elsewhere.[28] Indeed some of the western parishes were rated in 1636 to relieve Presteigne, which was similarly afflicted with plague.[29]

The low prices of corn and cattle were given in February 1639-40 as the reason for slow payment by Thomas Alderne, then sheriff.[30] It is impossible to quantify the general poverty alleged in these petitions, but some evidence exists. Ross town probably had a population of about 1,000; in the winter of 1637-8 it had between 150 and 160 persons receiving parish relief, costing nearly £8 a week; nearly a fifth of these were counted as sick, possibly with plague or its aftermath.[31] Eardisland had a population of a little over 500 at the most; in August 1637 it had 140 persons receiving relief, which was subscribed by only 22 landowners.[32] The late 1630s seem to have been miserable years in Herefordshire.

In April 1637 Vaughan asked the Privy Council to tell the justices not to change the constables until they had paid over their Shipmoney.[33] Either the request or the instruction was ignored, for in 1638 Henry Lingen, then sheriff, implied that organised opposition existed among the constables and justices; the former were detaining collected taxes and mislaying assessment records after their years of office, while the justices were defying him by discharging the constables before they had accounted, 'I think a-purpose to hinder the service . . . Sir Richard Hopton is the ringleader and alters more than all the rest'.[34] It may therefore have been no coincidence that Hopton was one of the signatories to the petition from the justices referred to above. (Wallop Brabazon, John Kyrle, Roger Vaughan, Sir Robert Harley, John Hoskyns, William Tomkyns, William Scudamore, Ambrose Elton, James Kyrle, Thomas Godwyn, William Skynner, Robert

Burghill and Bishop Coke were the others). This may be the petition from the gentlemen of the county which Lingen said had been contrived at the quarter sessions and had made the people 'backward, expecting an answer'.[35]

Not only the leading gentry opposed Shipmoney. The grand jury, consisting of minor gentry, also petitioned against the tax.[36] In April 1639 Sir Robert Whitney, then sheriff, complained that he could not get the constables to levy the charges on individuals, that he had details of the charges for only four of the hundreds and money from none.[37] When called before the Privy Council he feared that his absence would cool the constables' diligence.[38] In the following year Thomas Alderne was more explicit in his condemnations; he said that the inhabitants of most parishes refused to co-operate in making assessments and the constables came to him 'with a mind rather to retard than by their endeavours to further the service . . .'.[39] It was during Alderne's term of office that political opposition became overt. In September 1640 he reported that John Hearing of Holmer, whom he had appointed a hundred collecter, had refused to act on the grounds that Shipmoney was unlawful.[40] In October the mayor of Hereford, who had in his hands the whole of the city's 1639 quota, refused to pay it over until he could see what parliament would do.[41] In the light of this evidence the activities of Hopton and the other justices take on a distinctly political colour.

Already the frequent use of distraint to obtain the tax from those charged and from the constables themselves was adding fuel to the general resentment. In 1637 Vaughan had to use his own servants to assist as bailiffs,[42] as did Whitney in 1639 and Alderne in 1640.[43] The last-named used distraint and imprisonment on a large scale and had some success in bringing in the money, probably in the teeth of enormous opposition.[44]

The Privy Council normally had little sympathy with the sheriff's troubles. 'We have been acquainted with your letter . . . whereby you seeme to excuse your selfe of the delay and neglect used in the Assessments and leavyes for Shipping within that County by laying the fault upon Petty Constables & other your subordinate officers, which as wee cannot but much marvell at, and blame you for, considering that by his Ma^{ties} Writt . . . you are directed to make the said Assessments and leavyes yourselfe . . . we . . . straightly require you . . . not to trouble this Board any more in that kind . . . as you will answer the Contrary att your perill'.[45] This reply indicates how far the government had lost touch with the situation in the provinces and how little grasp they had of the intensity of feeling. This uncompromising remoteness was a considerable factor in the development of the Civil War crisis.

The Privy Council was concerned, not with excuses for delay, but only with the receipt of the money. Only one piece of unstinted praise was given; in 1635 William Scudamore, the sheriff, was told that 'wee doe verie well approve of y^{r} Care and Diligence'.[46] Thereafter, as the arrears got worse, so the complaints increased. When one sheriff objected to receiving a writ addressed to his predecessor, he was reproved for his 'needless doubt'.[47] It was never clearly settled who was responsible for arrears, the sheriff to whom the writ for the year of

assessment was addressed, or the sheriff for the time being. This led to two or three men exercising shrieval authority simultaneously as they tried to clear up their respective arrears, or, if they could, shift their arrears onto the shoulders of their successors in office. This must have had a disturbing effect on the administration of the county.

Scudamore, Wigmore and Vaughan were told by the Privy Council to appear in Chancery to answer their contempt over the 1635 charges.[48] Twice in 1637 mayors of Hereford were ordered to pay the 1635 arrears of £132 or appear before the Council. In 1638 the sheriff, together with certain other sheriffs, was threatened with 'a course to render you more sensible of your duty'.[49] Whitney was summoned and told that he was more negligent than any other sheriff in the kingdom.[50] In 1639 general letters to sheriffs in arrear accused them of 'ill-affections to his Majestie's service' and threatened that 'a round and exemplary proceeding shall be taken against you according to your demerrits for your neglect and contempt'.[51]

In face of this pressure it is little wonder that the sheriffs made as much as possible of their excuses.. Thomas Wigmore blamed the state of the roads.[52] Lingen pleaded sickness, only to be told that he should have employed a deputy and that 'unlesse you redeeme your great neglecte with more than ordinary care and diligence . . . his Majesty is resolved to call you to a strict account'.[53] Alderne tried a more desperate tack. His undersheriff was murdered on duty, which duty Alderne claimed was Shipmoney business. The Council thought otherwise and gaoled Alderne for lying. He soon recanted and was released, but was taken before Star Chamber. Either the Council had spies or Alderne enemies.[54] The county escheator was one of the Council's local informants, but in 1640 he seems to have been sympathetic to Alderne in his reports. The experience however spurred Alderne to greater effort, for his subsequent 'forwardness' earned him great unpopularity and intimidation.[55]

Apart from making the sheriffs miserable there is little evidence that the flow of threats from the Council had much effect. They did not quicken the flow of taxes to the Treasurer of the Navy until 1640 when the Council not only used imprisonment, but encouraged the sheriffs to use it too. The value of the Privy Council's time spent on arrears was not matched by the value of the trifles brought in and was dwarfed by the cost of the goodwill lost. (In 1639, for example, the Council itself wrote to Edward King, a former constable of Hereford, to ask for £5 8s. 8d.).[56] The real justification of so much attention to detail in high places was its deterrent effect, but this effect was not achieved. The Privy Council relied on exhortation and threats; yet it was machinery they lacked. Without machinery, goodwill was both more necessary and more easily lost. In the end the policy of financing government without parliament failed from the inadequacy of the machinery for effecting it.

The tax due on the 1635 writs came in quickly. Within eight months nearly 90% had been paid to the Treasurer of the Navy. Within a further seven months the proportion had been raised to 98%. The history of the 1636 charge was not

significantly worse; within eight months nearly 80% had been paid over. Twelve months later the proportion was 93%. The 1637 charge, on the other hand, was stoutly resisted. In twelve months only 54% had been paid over. Thereafter pressure was strongly exerted by the Privy Council, and this succeeded in bringing in another 21% in the next twelve months. The 1638 and 1639 writs were failures; by the late 1640 only 55% of the former and 6% of the latter had been brought in.

The amount of the assessed quota had no effect on the proportions collected. The largest quota, that for 1635, came in most easily. The smallest, that for 1638, was the second worst failure.

The following table shows the development of the arrears-problem. 1639 would have shown a worse position than 1638 if the 1638 charge had not been smaller than usual.[57]

Arrears at:		1636 August		1637 May		1638 August		1639 August		1640 September		1641 June	
Quota		£	% of years quota	£	% of years quota	£	% of years quota	£	% of years quota	£	% of years quota	£	% of years quota
Year of Writ	£												
1635	4000	435	10.9	84	2.1	84	2.1	75	1.9	75	1.9	75	1.9
1636	3500	—	—	720	20.6	195	5.6	75	2.1	67	1.9	67	1.9
1637	3500	—	—	—	—	2700	77.1	1210	34.6	1070	30.6	1070	30.6
1638	1200	—	—	—	—	—	—	1200	100.0	540	45.0	540	45.0
1639	3500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3300	94.3	2850	81.4
Total Arrears		435	10.9	804	10.7	2979	27.1	2560	21.0	5051	32.2	4601	29.2
Cumulative Charges			4000		7500		11000		12200		15700		15700
Receipts each year			3565		3131		1325		1619		1009		450

It is more difficult to chart the progress of Hereford City's liability, but the available figures suggest that, proportionately, the position was half as bad again as in the county as a whole. The proportion of the cumulative charge in arrear at August 1638, August 1639 and early 1640 was about 31%, 31% and 46% respectively. The arrears of the City cost a great deal in terms of the time of the Privy Council and its officers.

With inadequate tax-raising machinery massive arrears like those described became uncollectable quickly. The Privy Council dimly perceived this and so

exerted continuous irascible pressure in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent arrears accumulating. Its pressure was insufficient because its agents were not its servants. They could not be disciplined by considerations of careers and they valued the good opinions of their neighbours (whom they were taxing) more than they feared threats of generalised penalties for unsubstantiated offences.

The problem was not solved in the 17th century, except, eventually, by the Customs. In the 18th century the problem for direct taxes was evaded rather than solved by freezing the land tax quotas and leaving the local administration of the tax in the hands of the county gentry. The relative success of this course was helped by the greater prosperity of agriculture.

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[43] See footnote 13.
[44] *CSPD*, Apr.-Aug. 1640, 632; 1640-1641, 24, 83.
[45] P.R.O.; PCR, vol. vi, 297.

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Printing in Herefordshire

PART II

By F. C. MORGAN

The article in the *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* for 1941 on Herefordshire printers and booksellers has long been out of print although many off prints were made. Much additional information has now come to light owing to various publications, and so many changes in the printing industry in this county have taken place that a supplement may be of interest to students of local history.

IN 1958, D. F. McKenzie published in *The Library*[1] a chart of all the apprentices recorded in the Stationers' Company registered from 1562-1640, and divided them into counties. Herefordshire sent no less than 85 boys to London to be apprenticed to the bookselling and printing trades. We do not know the proportion to each. Gloucestershire sent 126 and Worcestershire only 53. In 1961 Mr. McKenzie supplemented this article by publishing through the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, U.S.A., *Stationers' Co. apprentices, 1605-1640*, giving the names of masters, boys, parents and places of residence with status or occupations of parents. He also divided the printers from non-printers—530 to the former and 2,303 to the latter. Ten boys from Herefordshire went to London printers, and nearly all served their time and became free of the Stationers' Company. (Thirty-nine went to other trades). Six are described as the sons of yeomen, two of shoemakers, one of a gentleman (Thomas Bowyer of Dilwyn) and one of the bishop of Hereford, Francis Godwin. Paul, his son was apprenticed in 1628 to the important 'King's printer', John Bill, who had printed several of the bishop's works. In 1638 a Paul Godwin translated and published *Histoire des larrons; or the history of theeves*. Probably he was the bishop's son. The apprentices came from all over the county, including some from small isolated villages.

In the register of the Stationers' Company for 1641-1700[2] the names of fifty apprentices, fathers, occupations, and places of abode are given. Twenty-two were sons of gentlemen, eleven of yeomen, four each of husbandmen and clerks (clergy), two of carpenters, one each of a bookseller, a carrier, a cordwainer, an esquire and an inn-holder, and three are not specified. Well-known Herefordshire families sent a son each to London, including a Bodnam (Bodenham) from

Rotherwas, Hoskyns and Walwyn. Philip, the son of John Treherne of Hereford was apprenticed in 1657 to John Streater. Perhaps this Philip was also a nephew of the Philip Treherne who died in 1645 and was twice mayor of Hereford and defended the city against the Scots. He befriended his nephew Thomas, the poet by sending him to Oxford. Streater[3] became an important man who served in Cromwell's army, became a Quartermaster-general of foot in Ireland, but after his return to England was imprisoned several times for publishing pamphlets against the government. He became a printer and bookseller in 1655, but still led an adventurous life, and invented a new kind of 'fire-shot' or hand grenade during the Dutch war.

Thomas Hancox, bookseller of Hereford, who issued his own token, apprenticed his son Richard to Francis Booth in 1696.

Richard Wilde, gent. of Abbey Dore, sent two sons to London, one, Richard, to George Sawbridge[4] in 1679 who was called by Dunton in *Life and errors* 'the greatest bookseller that had been in England for many years'. He was a partner in the King's Printing House, Treasurer of the Stationers' Company, and in 1675 master. He died a wealthy man. The other son, James went to Richard Wilde,[5] printer, etc., of London and Dublin, who also was famous in his time. He published *Grammatica Anglo-Romana* by Samuel Shaw, Michael Johnson of Lichfield sharing it with him. Dunton in the *Dublin scuffle* had a laundatory account of him saying that "he was descended from an ancient family in Herefordshire and brought up in learning". Wilde met with losses but preserved his integrity. Being a great Williamite he was nicknamed 'Protestant Dick'.

Abraham, son of John Ambler of Ledbury was also apprenticed to George Sawbridge in 1659. Isaac Hughes of Bosbury, the son of a yeoman was apprenticed in 1686 to Thomas Sawbridge[6] who, in 1669, published Leybourn's *Art of dialling*, and soon rose to a high position in the trade. With John Dunmore and others he began the publication of a series of classics which rank among the best book productions of the period.

These examples are a few only of important London printers from 1605-1700 who had apprentices from Herefordshire. Printers then had to be educated men, usually with a knowledge of several languages, especially Latin.[7] In the 17th century the publication of books in Greek and Hebrew was increasing with the advance of knowledge. Until 1615 the number of both printers and presses were limited and fourteen masters had two presses each and five one only each.[8] R. Barker the king's printer had all he needed.

In 1615 the Stationers' Company ordered that only 22 printers should exercise the craft in London and in 1637 it decreed that at any vacancy a new one should be appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London with six commissioners.[9] However, there were many more printers at work for in London there were sixty with about 160 apprentices.[10] When in 1695 the Licensing Act lapsed the printers began to spread over the country and by 1724 Samuel Negus[11] listed 28 in the provinces and 75 in London. Shrewsbury had the earliest in the provinces except for York which had been exempted from the 1662 Act.

As stated in my previous paper,[12] Hereford had its first press in 1721 when William Parks published *Pascha*. He had printed the first Ludlow newspaper in 1719.

It would be interesting to know if any of the Hereford apprentices were educated at the cathedral school, as undoubtedly the master printers would choose those with a knowledge of the classics in preference to others. The lists show that the great majority came from the comparatively better off families. It is unfortunate that the names of pupils at the cathedral school before 1800 are now unknown.

BROMYARD

The Hereford Printing Co.

The Hereford Printing Co. began work in 1966 in the Bastion Mews', Union Street, Hereford. This had a bad approach through the yard and inconvenient premises. The owners bought machines from the *Hereford Times*, including two old flat-bed presses and composing equipment, but soon possessed other more up-to-date presses and good type. Here in 1969 they produced the *City of Hereford official guide* in good style. There were seven on the staff including three partners (Messrs. N. W. Hare, L. C. Rivers and V. Watkins). In 1970 Mr. Hare and Mr. Rivers bought a half acre site in the disused railway yard at Bromyard from the council and built a new factory. Soon the business increased in size and they now possess 2 Albert President general cylinder machines, 2 Millar colour presses, a tightened cylinder for covers and guide books, 2 forms of hot metal monotype, an ancillary lino-type, etc., etc. They publish 4 magazines monthly and the staff has increased to 31. Since this was written the firm has ceased to exist.

HEREFORD

Additions

Richard Hunt, 1679. His name appears in a list of booksellers, etc., who also sold quack and other medicines.[13]

Roger Williams, 1695. His stock of books was appraised by Thomas Broade, mercer, and James Wilde, printer and bookseller, in a suit brought against him by John Bevans, writing master.[14]

Hereford Journal, 1788-1818. Five documents relating to the *Hereford Journal* giving information upon its history were given to the City Library.[15]

John Prosser Ellidge, 1827. He applied for a licence for a printing press.[16]

Joseph Head printed sale bills in 1845 and 1867. He was succeeded by Allen.[17]

Messrs. Webb and Head printed in High Town in 1845.[18]

J. Bather of Eign Street printed sale bills in 1848 and 1867.[19]

F. and A. Merrick printed a sale bill in 1854.[20]

James Hull printed a sale bill in 1866.[21]

William Prosser printed two sale bills at the 'Mercury Office', Hereford; one undated, the other in 1868.[22]

Frederick Thomas Hawkins printed a sale bill at the 'Marvel Office', in 1877.[23]

Messrs. Adams & Sons Ltd.

Mr. David A. Lowe, the owner of this press, founded in 1835 by Joseph Jones in Broad Street, died in 1967. The business was managed by his son for a few years before this date and he continues to do so.

In 1960 the printing department was moved from East Street to Burcot Road, and all work is now done there. New presses, including several Heidelberg were installed. The firm now employs 60 men.

Messrs. David A. Lowe & Son Ltd., wholesale paper merchants are a separate firm, but work with the printers, and had premises opposite to and adjoining them. In 1973 they moved to Edgar Street to the old B.R.S. depot.

Adams' East Street premises and some adjoining are now to be pulled down to give space to enlarge their commercial stationery, office furniture and artists' material shop. The old printing works have been turned into offices for the firm.

They have large contracts for printing government publications.

Edward H. Bullar

Mr. E. H. Bullar, son of the collector of rates and taxes in Hereford, worked for a time in his father's office—a task he disliked. After serving in the war of 1939-45 for 6 years in the engineering side of the R.A.F. he began a small printing business in 1949 at 80 St. Owen's Street after buying an old hand press and type. He maintained that what he saw others do he could do also. He therefore taught himself composition and press work and soon began to expand slowly. His second machine was a cropper Charlton. He now has three fully automatic Thompson platens, a double medium Wharfdale semi-automatic (bought at the sale of the Hereford Times machinery), a Thompson offset litho machine with plate-making equipment, camera, etc., a fully automatic crown cylinder Mercedes, linotype machines, guillotines, etc. His staff consists of himself and one workman. Having been an engineer, Mr. Bullar can do his own repairs to machinery. Mr. Bullar was president of the Gloucestershire and Herefordshire Master Printers Association, 1972-74. A real success story.

Hereford Times

After the death in 1960 of George Henry Peacock the editorship of the *Hereford Times* was transferred to his son, Mr. S. P. Peacock. The principal director of the company, Mr. G. K. C. Macaskie died in 1963. To the dismay of many citizens both the newspaper and printing business, founded in 1832 by Mr. Charles Anthony, was sold in 1966 to Berrows Worcester Journal Co., throwing some few craftsmen out of work.[24] A few years before this the proprietors purchased some adjoining property in Maylord Street and added a large rotary press at the cost of £74,000, for the newspaper. This necessitated a building to hold the machine, with a deep pit beneath. In one of their new premises a bookselling branch was organised. As the company had large contracts for printing periodicals, and sent a van to London on most days to deliver them, they hoped to be able to supply new books at short notice—the van to call at the publishers

to collect volumes on order. This scheme came to an end with the new owners, and soon after the whole business was moved to Bath Street, where the old baths, later flour mills, had been reconstructed. The jobbing department was removed to Worcester, and shortly afterwards the newspaper printing followed to Hylton Road in that city. An office for receipt of advertisements and copy, etc., was retained in Bath Street.

The large rotary press was sold to a newspaper in Salisbury and the site of the once prosperous *Hereford Times* building in Maylord Street became a car park.[25]

It has recently (February 1974) been brought to the notice of the writer by Mr. Basil Butcher, that in the newsroom of the *Hereford Times* printing office in Maylord Street there was a cast-iron plaque fixed to the wall. This had been taken from the office in Widemarsh Street, near Widemarsh Gate, when the works moved to Maylord Street in 1858. This plaque (approx. 4 ft. by 3 ft.) recorded what must have been a unique event in the history of printing, but unfortunately it appears to have been destroyed when the building was demolished in 1967. Charles Anthony, the founder of the *Hereford Times* was a great figure in the city of Hereford and was mayor several times. He was a staunch liberal and a supporter of women's liberation.

THIS PRINTING OFFICE
WAS ERECTED BY
A FEW ZEALOUS REFORMERS
OF THE
COUNTY AND CITY OF HEREFORD
AND PRESENTED BY THEM TO
CHARLES ANTHONY
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR OF THE
HEREFORD TIMES NEWSPAPER
AS A TESTIMONIAL OF THEIR CONFIDENCE
IN HIS POLITICAL INTEGRITY
AND AS AN
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HIS ABLE SERVICES
IN THE CAUSE OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
1838

Messrs. Jakeman Ltd.

Messrs. Jakeman Ltd., the last successors of the printing business founded by W. H. Parker in the late 18th century lost its chief proprietor, Mr. E. J. Thurston, by his death in 1966. It was continued by his daughter, Mrs. Willetts, until she sold the premises in 1970 and with some of the craftsmen joined the Maylord Press to form a new company. Thus this early press with a distinguished local history came to an end. It had printed and published books of importance, including Bull's *Pomona*, the continuations of Duncumb's *History of Herefordshire*, and many other works of lesser note, but all in good style, in addition to the commercial jobbing business.[26]

The Maylord-Jakeman Press

When the *Hereford Times* press came to an end in 1967 a few of the craftsmen joined together and founded in Commercial Street, the small Maylord Printing Co. (Named after the street in which the newspaper had flourished for so many years). However, in February 1970 they joined with others from Messrs. Jakeman, moved to Church Street and founded a new company named Messrs. Maylord-Jakeman Ltd. In October of the same year they moved to new large airy premises in the Foley Trading Estate off Foley Street with Mrs. R. Willetts, and Messrs. D. L. Jones, W. A. Kite and D. Hornsby as directors. Here in 1972, they added to their equipment, including a litho-maxima and a larger Johannesburg cylinder press.

Thus we may say that a new Hereford printing firm has arisen, phoenix-like, from the ashes of two others for a life of usefulness.

Reprodux Offset Ltd., Rockfield Road, Hereford

Owned by Mr. G. E. Kent who started in 1968. They do litho-offset and have a small and large Heidelberg press and do general 4-colour work for travel brochures, etc., and commercial work of all kinds. There is a staff of 12.

KINGTON

Addition

Charles Humphreys applied for a licence for his press at Kington in August 1840.[27]

LEDBURY

Additions

Josiah Bagster

In 1841 the imprint of Josiah Bagster, Ledbury, appears on a pamphlet entitled *Articles of association for the prosecution of felons* issued by the Stoke Edith Association.[28]

Hubert Edy

In 1847 Hubert Edy applied for a licence for printing by phonotype in Ledbury.[29]

Thomas Ward

In October 1825, Thomas Ward applied for a licence for printing in Ledbury.[30]

Messrs. Luke Tilley & Son

This flourishing firm of printers, booksellers and stationers was founded in 1870 when Mr. Luke Tilley began the Ledbury Free Press. He had a hand press only in Ledbury, so the paper was printed in Worcester. He quickly became successful and added more equipment and was succeeded in *c.*1915 by his son John, who died in 1923 aged 50. After his death the business was run by Mrs. Tilley with managers until 1945 when Miss L. M. Tilley took over. It is now owned by Miss L. M. Tilley, her sister Mrs. L. S. Maisey and the latter's son, Derek.

The whole business has been considerably enlarged and the bookselling and allied departments are large and good indeed for a small town. The equipment now includes the old Albion press, used for proofs, a double demy cylinder, a

platen and a Heidelberg offset. These are run by electricity and the work is done by two men and an apprentice.

In 1973 the latest and enlarged edition of a long series of guides to Ledbury and district was issued—much of it written by the late Miss Ellen Tilley.

Messrs. J. E. Meredith & Sons

A small printing business was founded in the Homend by Mr. J. E. Meredith in June 1956 and upon his death in November 1958, it was taken over by his son, Mr. E. N. Meredith. In *c.*1967 he moved to Church Lane where a Heidelberg machine does all the letterpress work. Orders for posters are now sent away to be printed. The premises are inconvenient, being at the rear of houses in Church Lane. One man is employed. All work is hand set.

LEOMINSTER

Additions

Nathaniel Smith

A brief discovery of the chief causes . . . of . . . scurvy published in London in 1679 gives the name of Nathaniel Smith as a bookseller and vendor of medicines in Leominster.[31]

The Orphans' Press

Since 1941 the Orphans' Press has ceased to be a charity and become a private firm. It was managed by George and Mary Foster up to *c.*1950 when Mr. A. Allen became the owner manager, being styled 'Proprietors: Arthur Allen Printing Co. Ltd.'. It again changed hands in 1969 having been bought by Mr. H. R. and Mrs. D. M. Lyke. The old office in Church Street was cramped and the entrance poor, so in 1970 the press moved to large airy premises off the Hereford Road, formerly used as a laundry. Some new machinery was added while in Church Street, but the larger premises in Hereford Road enabled the press to again increase their equipment. Recently it added two more linotype machines (making 4 in all), an Heidelberg cylinder and 2 extra electrical stitching machines. The staff has increased to 18 under Mr. A. T. Hicks as manager.

Davis Brothers

Messrs. P. T. and A. R. Davis started printing in 1956 at 11 School Lane, Leominster, under the name of Davis Bros. They do letterpress printing and hand-set their type. They also undertake colour printing. A Heidelberg platen and an automatic cylinder press form part of their equipment.

LUCTON

Addition

Henry Pearson Cooke

In September 1825 Henry Pearson Cooke applied for a licence for a printing press at Mortimer's Cross, Lucton.[32]

ROSS ON WYE

Additions

Benjamin Powle applied for a licence for his press at Ross in November 1825.[33]

Auction posters and other ephemeridae have the following imprints.[34]

Farror 1830-32

B. Powle 1832-40

W. Farror and Son 1836

J. Cowmeadow 1838

Farror and Dobles 1843

George C. Dobles, Post Office 1850

T. Farror 1857

Wm. Hill, printer and stationer 1861

William Hill, Steam printing works, Gazette Office, High Street 1872-82

Richard Powle, Stamp Office, High Street 1876.

John Webb Francis Counsell, of the Market Place printed the outer pages of a newspaper called 'The Man of Ross and Forest of Dean Advertiser', 1 July 1875. Inner pages printed in London.[35]

The Ross Gazette Ltd. The company founded in 1909 issues a weekly newspaper and carries out commercial printing. They use linotype casting machines and letterpress printing machines, and still own a hand-press. They employ seven printing staff. The company also acts as booksellers and stationers.

Alfred Greer & Son Ltd., and **H. Sutherland Ltd.,** 47 Broad Street, Ross-on-Wye. These are associate companies, the latter coming in 1964 from Tewkesbury where they still carry on business. They do general jobbing printing and have letterpress, litho and hot metal press. They employ under 40 staff.

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[6] *ibid*, p. 273.

[7] Plant, 149.

[9] *ibid.* p. 86.
[10] *ibid.* p. 83.
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[12] *ibid.* p. 85.
[13] T.W.N.F.C., 1941, 106-127.
[14] See *The Library*, VII (1952), 20.
[15] See article by author in T.W.N.F.C., 1942, 22-36 which gives list of books with identifications.
[16] For details *see* T.W.N.F.C., 1948, 165.
[17] T.W.N.F.C., 1971, 274.
[17 to 23] T.W.N.F.C., 1948, 234.
[24] How many of the craftsmen dealt with the problem is shown later.
[25] See also T.W.N.F.C., 1969, 467-8.
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[35] T.W.N.F.C., 1948, 234.

Poor Law in Hereford 1836–1851

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THE Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in 1834. For some considerable time, certainly since the middle of the 18th century, the old Elizabethan Poor Law had proved to be inadequate. It had not been designed to deal with large numbers of industrial workers dependent upon the fluctuating demands of trade. The parish as the unit of administration was too small, and previous attempts to overcome this problem by allowing parishes to unite for the purposes of poor relief had been ineffective. Local autonomy had resulted in a variety of systems many of which were inefficient. The poor rate was increasing, the cost of maintaining the poor in 1750 had been less than £7,000 per annum, but by 1818 this figure had reached £8 million per annum.[1]

In 1832 the then new Whig government set up a Royal Commission to investigate the state of poor relief in the country. This report showed that the existing system was deficient in two important respects, it was inefficient and it was being abused. The 1834 Amendment Act therefore was designed to regulate and centralise the administration of poor relief. Parishes were to be combined into unions and each union was to be controlled by a Board of Guardians who in turn would be supervised by three Poor Law Commissioners. In addition, abuses of the system were to be reduced by ensuring that conditions for the able-bodied pauper should be worse, than those of the lowest paid worker. Thus the workhouse was to be a deterrent to idleness, because idleness was seen as a cause of poverty.

This act has been much criticised both for its inhumanity and for its failure to understand the causes of poverty. Some contemporaries described the workhouses which resulted from it as 'bastilles'. This study is therefore a brief attempt to find out what happened in Hereford as a result of the Amendment Act, to see how the local guardians reacted to the Poor Law Commissioners' control and how the poor fared under the new regime.

The New Union

The chairman of the County Sessions did not favour the new act. In a letter addressed to the ratepayers of Herefordshire explaining the new system, Mr. Powell criticised the power given to the three commissioners in London, and to the curtailing of the justices freedom of action to arbitrate between poor relief officials and settled paupers. Under the new law he claimed, a pauper not being relieved adequately could no longer appeal to the magistrates but must submit, 'although starvation to himself and his family must be the inevitable consequence'.[2]

On the other hand the newly appointed assistant commissioner for the area had some harsh criticisms to make of the county's existing state of poor relief.[3] In his report to the Poor Law Commissioners Mr. Head said that local officials were under an illusion when they claimed there was no great problem of poverty in Herefordshire. He then proceeded to outline some of the errors being made. There was the practise of paying labourer's rent, which Mr. Head believed to be prevalent throughout the county and which was more pernicious than giving direct help for two reasons. Some labourers regarded it as a right, and it was possible that landlords and employers could make a profit for themselves out of such a system. In some parishes parish property was being occupied by people not in need. In the parish of All Saints for instance one of several houses left to the poor by Mr. Traherne in 1683, was being occupied by a shop-keeper who had been there for fourteen years.

The report also criticised the practise of paying part of a labourer's wages in cider which allowed the labourer's 'individual gratification' and the employer an opportunity to make use of inferior cider. Mr. Head did not seem to have a very high opinion of the labourers in Herefordshire for they appeared to like this method of payment. Labourer's wives too came in for some criticism for they had a reputation for disliking field work. Another complaint was that the custom of apprenticing all the children of those receiving relief as soon as they reached the age of nine years was unfair on ratepayers. Wealthy people were able to make a cash payment so that the children were then passed on to those who were less able to support them. The effect of this system on parents and children was largely ignored in Mr. Head's report, except in so far as it had an adverse effect on their industry and may have been responsible for the increase in illegitimacy.

This then was the situation when in April 1836 the forty-seven parishes in and around the city of Hereford were notified of their union. Other unions were formed at Bromyard, Dore, Kington, Leominster, Presteigne and Weobley. Prolific and detailed communications were issued by the Poor Law Commissioners to Hereford, explaining the unions duties and responsibilities.[4] The commissioners also outlined their powers over the union, showing that they could prescribe the duties of the guardians; and direct the appointment of paid officers whose qualifications and if need be, dismissals, were to be agreed by them.

Subject to the commissioners the guardians were to be responsible for all poor relief within the union, (which by 1845 contained a population of 25,644) including the provision of a workhouse and its management, but excluding such limited powers as remained to the Justices of the Peace and Overseers.

The first meeting of the new Board of Guardians took place on 9 May 1836 at the Shirehall when fourteen ex-officio guardians and fifty elected guardians were present. The ex-officio guardians were J.Ps. who, by virtue of their office, were entitled to become members of the Board and so were able to retain some influence on the administration of poor relief. The elected guardians represented the various parishes within the union and had to be ratepayers whose property had been valued at a minimum of £30 per annum. All ratepayers in the union

were entitled to vote provided their rates were paid up-to-date, although it was possible to have more than one vote depending on the amount of rate assessed. Mr. J. Phillips who later became sheriff for the county was elected first chairman and Mr. J. Benbow vice-chairman. Several paid officials were selected by the Board at this first meeting. These included a clerk and three medical officers, all engaged at salaries of £80 per annum. It was decided to advertise for five relieving officers at salaries of £50 for the country areas and £60 per annum for the city.

The Board continued to meet once a week hearing applications for relief, examining relieving officers books, notifying overseers of the cost of relieving the poor in each parish and considering reports from the workhouse. From the forming of a visitors committee to inspect and deal with the running of the workhouse the guardians found themselves involved in the formation of numerous committees e.g.: for land acquisition, finance, buildings and so on, and later as attempts were made to improve towns, in nuisance removal and sanitation committees.

Relations between the Board and commissioners remained fairly amicable at least on a personal level, although the Board made no secret of their dislike at having to take advice from the central authority. In 1840 for instance the Board petitioned parliament that 'the services of Assistant Commissioners be dispensed with and the Guardians left to administer their own Union'.[5] There was a change in the relationship between central authority and the local union when, in 1847, the Poor Law Commissioners were replaced by the Poor Law Board. The Board's inspectors frequently visited the union making reports and suggesting improvements which the guardians resented, but which they found themselves less able to resist.

Out-Relief

Out-relief continued under the new system. Moreover attempts were made to make the distribution of it more efficient, and it was partly for this reason that the union was divided into four and later five districts. For a while existing parish officers, churchwardens and overseers continued to administer poor relief, but it was not long before orders went out that those receiving relief in each parish were to be listed and classified as able-bodied, children or infirm.

Towards the end of 1837 the guardians sent out a notice to all paupers within the union informing them that out-relief would cease unless they could fulfil certain conditions. They had to provide satisfactory evidence that their age exceeded sixty years, that they had no property, that they had no relations to maintain them or that their health made them unable to earn. This was the notorious workhouse test intended to sort out the genuine applicant from those who were believed to be merely using the poor rate as a source of unearned income.

For a large number of paupers within the union out-relief ceased from this point, the workhouse being the only alternative form of relief offered. This state of affairs also applied to residents now living outside the union who had

become chargeable. For instance a native of the Hereford Union, then living in Crickhowell, was informed that he would be given one more month's out-relief, after that he would be brought into the workhouse.[6]

Nevertheless for those who were considered to be genuinely in need of relief, some improvements were made under the new regime. Relief was to be paid weekly and relieving officer's books checked regularly to ensure that payments had been made.

Some consideration was given to the arrangements for distributing bread, the most usual form of relief. Initially a room in All Saints' workhouse was given to Mr. Lucy, the newly-appointed relieving officer for the city district, for the purpose of giving away bread to those eligible. In 1841, three years after the opening of the new workhouse, a shed was erected in the workhouse grounds for people to stand inside in wet weather when waiting for their bread. Rooms were rented in country districts for the same purpose, although some recipients must have had to travel quite long distances to get to them. In 1851 the guardians decided to reorganise some bread deliveries in the hope that the bread would be received in a better condition. Up to that time it had been customary to deliver bread, baked at the workhouse in Hereford on Thursdays, to Fownhope, Mordiford and Tupsley the following Monday. Instead, delivery in future was to be on Fridays.

Among the people receiving out-relief, those occupying houses and cottages belonging to the parish, must have felt the impact of the new system most keenly. They soon began to receive notices to quit. Parishes were encouraged to offer for sale suitable property to assist parish poor costs and to contribute towards the building of the new workhouse.

Surprisingly, total yearly out-relief costs did not vary all that much in these fifteen years, although there were times when weekly costs doubled. Weekly totals for bread and cash distributed throughout the union remained normally at about £100. But in most winters out-relief figures showed a sharp increase. 1847 was the worst year, the rise began in February and by the end of March had reached the astronomical figure of over £252. This sudden increase is parelleled by the numbers in the workhouse, which in that February had reached 297, forty-four more than the maximum for which the workhouse was intended. It seems likely that the increased winter figures were due, partly to the seasonal effects of agriculture on labour and partly to the infectious diseases which swept through the union leaving large families temporarily at the mercy of union relief.

Unfortunately none of the relieving officers books are available and so details of relief given to individuals only occur where they presented the officer with a problem which had to be settled by the Board.

On one occasion in 1840 out-relief was refused to a woman living outside the union because the Poor Law Commissioners said that it would be in aid of wages. In April 1850 out-relief was refused to a woman with one child because it was said that she had a husband who was earning nine shillings a week and who had the use of half an acre of land. In October of the same year the vicar of Eaton

Bishop complained that a parishioner, almost blind, was existing on two shillings and 6 lbs. of bread from the union per week. The vicar enumerated the man's expenses thus—house rent 10d., coal 6½d., faggots 1d., washing 4d., leaving only 2½d. per week for food.

During several successive winters the guardians tried to persuade the commissioners to allow them to give out-relief to large families instead of bringing them into the workhouse.[7] Permission was refused except in cases of certified sickness. Eventually it became the custom when relieving large families by out-relief to admit one or more of the children into the workhouse as a condition of relief. In December 1843 for instance a widower with four children aged 12, 7, 5 and 3 years was granted relief on the admission of the third child into the workhouse.

In January 1846 sanction was given by the commissioners to the unions request that they be allowed to give out-relief to the able-bodied in special cases, because of the potato famine. As a result an able-bodied man with five children aged between 10 years and 3 months was relieved with 24 lbs. of bread per week for three weeks. A week later another family was similarly relieved, although on this occasion the commissioners warned that if future relief was to be granted some of the children must be admitted into the workhouse.

Settlement

The 1834 Act had not removed, but only modified existing laws of settlement and much of the correspondence between unions concerned if not actual removal, then acknowledgement by the native parish of responsibility. This aspect of the operation of the Poor Law must have caused considerable anxiety and suffering to the poor. It was the task of union officials to examine any non-resident pauper who had become chargeable and if necessary to make arrangements for his removal. Disputes frequently arose over the expense involved, as happened for instance in 1838 in the case of a Mary Roberts who had fallen ill and was being confined in the workhouse in Hereford. Although Monmouth acknowledged responsibility for her and agreed to repay Hereford the cost of her keep, the fact that the girl tried to escape prolonged the bickering between the two unions until finally Hereford demanded not only her removal but that she be punished for stealing workhouse clothes. In 1839 a man who had returned to St. Owens after being removed to his own parish of Byford was sent to prison for committing an act of vagrancy. In the summer of 1840 a two-year old boy had been removed from Dore Union to Hereford without explanation.[8] Eventually he was found to be the son of a girl in the parish of Allensmore. The overseer at Allensmore however was directed to return the child to Dore in order to 'ascertain his place of birth'. A widow with five children aged between 14 years and 1 month was returned to St. Peters despite the fact that she could have earned 5s. to 6s. a week as a tailor in Worcester where she had been living, and that there was no similar work for her in Hereford.

Another problem connected with settlement was the question of extra-parochial areas. These were areas outside parish boundaries for whom no parish was

responsible. They paid no rates. One such area within the Hereford Union was known as Haywood Forest where, in August 1848 someone had applied to the nearest relieving officer for relief. Although the officer did give immediate temporary relief, the commissioners informed the guardians that payments must be discontinued. The relieving officer was reimbursed from the establishment fund, but there is no account of what happened to the applicant.

Eventually residency was extended to those who had lived in their present parish for five years. It is interesting to note that while trying to establish how many people might be affected by the new Settlement Act, it was discovered that one ninety-year old pauper living in St. Owens had been relieved continuously by Kidderminster for the previous twenty-two years, suggesting that for some, at least, the 1834 Act had made no material difference.

Vagrancy however remained a problem throughout the fifteen years. Initially vagrants were relieved in the old vagrants house in St. Nicholas' parish under the charge of a constable. By May 1838 the Board had appointed a Committee of Guardians to consider the 'expediency of extending a system of relief to mendicant paupers'. They decided that two rooms should be built on to the workhouse for the reception of vagrants who would then be under the care of the master. A ticket was issued to all ratepayers which they could give to anyone begging for help in the city. The ratepayers were at the same time warned of the dangers of helping such people themselves.

In December 1847 the problem of determining what task should be performed by vagrants arose. The Poor Law Board, who had by this time replaced the commissioners, preferred that the tasks to be performed by vagrants in return for board and lodging should be defined in detail and not left to the master's discretion as previously. It was finally agreed that for each day, male vagrants should break stone up to one quarter of a yard, and female vagrants should scour and clean for a period not exceeding two hours.

The Workhouse

One of the principles of the 1834 Act was that no able-bodied person or their dependants should be relieved except in a workhouse. Conditions within the workhouse were to be so regulated that only those genuinely in need of relief would enter.

When the union was formed there were already three workhouses in the city. One in Quakers Lane, now Friars Street was retained temporarily to house vagrants. All Saints' workhouse was found to be capable of accommodating twenty male paupers, mostly in small rooms in the garden. St. Johns' workhouse had room for sixteen double beds plus the matron's quarters.

Meanwhile plans went ahead for the erection of a new purpose-built workhouse to house 250 people. A two acre plot was chosen on the site of the old St. Guthlac's Priory. Advertisements were placed in the press for a loan of £4,000. Mr. Ploughden of Oxford was the architect, Johnson and Treherne's tender of £3,742 for building was accepted, and work began. The guardians gave a great

deal of consideration to the planning and equipping of their new purpose-built workhouse. The heating apparatus for instance had to be capable of providing heat for 300 paupers, the atmosphere of the rooms to be not less than 58° F in the coldest winter months.

The posts of master and mistress, porter, nurse, cook, chaplain, schoolmaster and schoolmistress were advertised in the local press. Shortly before the workhouse became operational in January 1838, instructions were given to relieving officers to prepare lists of those receiving relief by class. There were five classes, each of which was dealt with in turn by the guardians, those eligible being admitted to the workhouse.[9]

Under Class 1, which included all paupers not residing within the union except those over sixty and the sick, 25 women, 15 men, 40 children, 4 married couples and 3 families were ordered into the workhouse.

Under Class 2, 37 mothers and 82 children were ordered to be admitted. This class included all illegitimate children and their mothers except those boys who had been under ten and girls under twelve before the Amendment Act became operative, or mothers who had been married before that date.

On 22 January the inmates of All Saints' and St. Johns' workhouses were transferred to the new workhouse.

Admissions from Class 3 followed. These were all the able-bodied men receiving relief, and their families, except for those who were sick. This class consisted of four families, one man was forty-one and one fifty, both with a wife and five children, the other two men both had six children and were aged thirty and thirty-two respectively.

Class 4 included all able-bodied single women and widows, except 'widows of good character' with children below a certain age or with handicapped children. This category produced only two mothers and three children.

Twelve women, two men and fourteen children were admitted under Class 5 which was intended to cover all those who were feigning the need for relief. It is not clear if all the people offered the workhouse in January accepted. If they had the workhouse would have contained two hundred inmates.

The workhouse rules were quite explicit.[10] Visiting by 'fit and proper persons' was allowed between certain hours, communication between classes was discouraged. Inmates were required to get up at the correct time, not to make a noise when asked to be quiet, not to swear or insult other inmates, not to neglect to work nor to keep clean, not to pretend sickness nor to damage union property, not to waste food or other articles, nor to disobey the officials of the union.

Many of the inmates were probably more adequately if not more becomingly clothed than they had been outside the workhouse. The women and girls appear to have worn suits, flannel petticoats, worsted stockings, day caps and wove slippers. Men and boys wore suits of army cloth and striped cotton shirts, and plaid caps. Inmates seemed to make most of the clothes under the direction of the workhouse tailor.

Most of the work carried out by inmates was concerned with the running of the workhouse, although there are references to stone-breaking, oakum picking, cleaning hair and pounding bones, and a corn mill was purchased but does not seem to have been entirely satisfactory, for eventually flour was purchased in bulk from various millers. Sometimes the workhouse's own garden produce was sold and pigs were purchased for fattening. The purchase of extra land and the appointment of a farm manager in 1850 suggests that this enterprise may have been the most profitable.

There is no record of the number of deaths in the workhouse during these fifteen years. If there was any uncertainty about the cause of death, it was usually attributed to the 'visitation of God'. Individual parishes appear to have been responsible for the cost of pauper burials. On one occasion in 1840 the vicar of All Saints' was accused of having refused to bury a pauper of the parish who had died in the workhouse, without first having the fee of 5s. One pauper burial which caused a lengthy controversy and a great deal of publicity occurred in 1842. It was claimed that the pauper had been buried in unconsecrated ground at Wellington and letters between the bishop, the vicar and the union continued for some time, before the matter was eventually dropped.

Nevertheless the Hereford workhouse appears to have been an efficient establishment. On 23 January 1847 at the first of the frequent inspections of the workhouse made by the inspectors of the Poor Law Board it was noted that 'the stores were well arranged, the provisions good, the health of inmates far above average for such houses, and the discipline exemplary'.

The Workhouse School

Quite a high proportion of the workhouse population consisted of children. This factor can be attributed to the policy of admitting all the dependants of able-bodied men, or in some cases of insisting that out-relief would only be allowed to a family if some of the children went into the workhouse. In 1838 the admission of all orphans became compulsory. It is therefore easy to appreciate how, out of a total inmate population of 177, during one week in 1850, 104 of those inmates could be children.

Education was an important aspect of the guardians' responsibility. Included in the new workhouse buildings was a school. Overall responsibility for the education of the children in the workhouse belonged to the chaplain. He was to 'instruct the children in their religious and moral duties twice or thrice a week'.[11] Qualifications for the schoolmaster was that preferably he should be someone who could instruct the children in some useful trade, and that the schoolmistress should be able to teach the girls to knit. School hours were from 9.00 a.m. to 12 noon and from 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m., Monday to Saturday. Each day the children were taken for a walk, one hour every morning for the boys and one hour every fine evening for the girls, this could be extended to one and a half hours in hot weather. During these walks the children were to avoid the town, keep to their ranks, not commit any act of mischief and to salute such persons as they met.

Some of the children also received training from the workhouse tailor and the shoemaker and later from the agricultural superintendent.

It was not until the Poor Law Board inspectors began to visit the school that official criticisms of it began to appear. On one particular visit in April 1848 the inspector found the instruction given to the children 'defective, especially in comprehension of scripture, in the meaning of words and in arithmetic'.[12] It was pointed out that of the eighty-nine children attending the school, only six boys could cast accounts or add up a bill. The industrial employment being given was creditable but the inspector suggested that there should be a better balance between schoolwork and industrial training. These inspectors repeatedly exhorted the schoolmaster and mistress to improve their own education and in 1849, after examination by the schools inspector, both were awarded probationary teachers certificates, second class. In an attempt to raise the standard of instruction the inspector decided to award prizes to three of the boys who had made most progress during the year in spade husbandry.

This kind of interference by the central authority was greatly resented by the guardians. They refused to consider transferring their children to the district schools which the Poor Law Board advocated. They were still resisting, in 1851, attempts to regulate the standard of teaching by the introduction of parliamentary grants.

As soon as the children were old enough and could be found employment, they were usually apprenticed or put out to service. Occasionally there is a record of an offer being made by a manufacturer to relieve the union of several children, although it is not clear whether any children were actually sent. In 1840 the Great Western Cotton Works of Bristol offered to take able-bodied girls of about thirteen years of age, offering 3s. 6d. per week and lodging during the first six weeks, and afterwards a piece-work rate of 6s. to 8s. a week. A wool manufacturer offered, in 1850, to take any number of orphans or children between nine and fourteen years into his factory upon certain terms.

It was more usual for children to be apprenticed by indenture to individual craftsmen. However the guardians ran into difficulties on one occasion when they tried to apprentice Julia Ashbury to a lady milliner in Church Street. They found that children could not be legally apprenticed to married women, but not to be defeated, they eventually persuaded the milliner's husband to be responsible for Julia.

Workhouse diet

Food played a large part in the policy of less eligibility adopted by the Poor Law Commissioners. The diet of those on relief was not to be better than that of the lowest paid worker in employment. Inside the workhouse this policy was easy to maintain and on out-relief the problem was overcome by giving out at least part of the relief in kind, mainly as we have seen in the form of bread. Between 1837 and 1850 the total weekly amount of bread provided by the Union had risen from 4,522 lbs. to 9,732 lbs.

Food for those inside the workhouse was regulated according to an official diet.[13] Three meals a day were provided. Breakfast consisted of 1½ pints of gruel and 5 ozs. to 6 ozs. of bread. On Sundays and Wednesdays dinner consisted of 5 ozs. cooked meat and 1 lb. potatoes, on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays there was ½ lb. potatoes and 1½ pints soup, and on the remaining two days there was only suet or rice pudding. For supper there was 5 to 6 ozs. bread, and either 1½ ozs. cheese or 1 pint of broth. Old people were allowed some tea, sugar and butter in addition to the normal diet.

Between the ages of five and nine years children were allowed 8 ozs. bread, 4 ozs. meat and 1 oz. cheese per day. From one to five years the bread was reduced by 1 oz. and the meat by 1 oz. Babies under twelve months received 6 ozs. bread and an unspecified amount of milk.

Considering these diets it is easy to see how severe a punishment the withdrawal of food must have been. Nevertheless it is possible that some of the poor outside the workhouse, especially those existing on a few shillings out-relief a week, may not have been able to afford even the equivalent of the workhouse diet.

On very rare occasions the inmates were given a special treat such as that given on Coronation Day 1838, when a dinner of roast beef and plum pudding was provided at the expense of the guardians. Beer was also donated by Messrs. Reynolds for the occasion. An attempt to extend a similar privilege to the Prince of Wales' Christening Day was turned down.

Punishments

Deserting one's family and escaping from the workhouse were two crimes taken very seriously indeed by the guardians. For deserting his family a man was jailed for three months in 1837. For deserting her child a Breinton woman was sentenced to two months imprisonment and hard labour. These punishments were meted out, not by the guardians themselves, but by the magistrates although the guardians spared no expense in apprehending such truants.

Within the workhouse however the guardians exercised considerable power to punish those who broke the rules. For instance one woman who refused to work was ordered to break stones until the following week, although there is no indication of how she was to be forced to work against her will. Some indication of the deterrent atmosphere of the workhouse is shown by the attitude of one twenty-eight year old woman, who, rather than break stones there, preferred to return to prison.

Children's misdemeanours were usually dealt with in the workhouse although on at least one occasion several girls were taken before the magistrate for refractory conduct. One account in the early days of the union describes the punishment of two six year old children who had fallen asleep during the church service on Sunday. They were each given three slaps with a small birch rod on the open hand. More serious was the 'improper behaviour during divine service'[14] of two boys, both of whom were ordered to suffer one dozen stripes, the naughtier of the two without the protection of trousers. Then there was the occasion when eight

boys were accused of kicking the schoolmaster and throwing dirty water in his face. All were flogged.

Often withdrawal of food was used as punishment. This happened to one fourteen year old girl who, for stealing the schoolmistress' gloves, cursing at the other children and taking other paupers' bread, was put in the refractory ward for two hours and the cheese, gruel and soup stopped from her diet. Another method of punishment employed with children was the rather strange practise of making the offender wear a special dress for a certain length of time. In 1838 the master had been authorised to procure two party-coloured dresses, one for girls, one for boys, to be worn as punishment for misbehaviour. One enterprising young lady who had broken out of the workhouse through a bedroom window and had spent the rest of the day until 9.00 p.m. in the town, thus being absent from chapel, was made to wear the punishment dress for three successive meals. One can imagine that perhaps she enjoyed the notoriety that her daring escapade must have brought her.

Eventually it became necessary for members of the Visiting Committee to be present when punishment took place and for all punishments to be recorded. Later a more subtle approach to punishment was adopted by giving this Committee the power to alter the classification of recalcitrant inmates.

Medical Relief

The guardians were instructed by the Poor Law Commissioners to make contracts with licensed medical men to attend all paupers falling sick within the union and to provide medicines where necessary. If required, either by officials of the union or by the paupers themselves, they were to produce a certificate showing time and nature of sickness. They had to keep a record of illnesses and deaths of paupers under their care, and to make a weekly return to the guardians of attendances.

However the guardians frequently found these officials difficult to control. The positions were open to contract and at the first meeting of the union in May 1836 three medical gentlemen were appointed at fees of £80 each per annum. The contracts were for one year, but were usually renewed. If at the end of twelve months service the doctors demanded more money, as they sometimes did, the guardians would threaten to throw the post open again with the result that the same rate was usually accepted.

From 1842 the comprehensive contract rate was replaced by a fixed salary with additional payments for attendance in special cases, and for operations. The guardians tried to prevent the surgeons from taking advantage of this loophole by insisting that no additional fee could be entertained unless the relieving officer had agreed in advance that extra care was necessary. Of course the medical officer could argue, and did, that he alone could make such decisions and that in cases of emergency it was unrealistic to wait for the relieving officer to arrive.

Complaints were made from time to time against the medical officers, sometimes that the officer did not attend when requested by the pauper or his friends,

sometimes he was accused of causing a death by his non-attendance. More macabre was the complaint made by the parents of a child in the workhouse that the surgeons had carried out a post-mortem without their permission. No doubt the surgeons had done so because complaints had earlier been made by relatives that 'the child had starved to death'.[15]

If a patient had to be admitted to hospital the permission of the guardians had to be gained prior to admission, no matter how urgent the case might be. When admissions were made the hospital or asylum sent in their accounts to the Board quarterly for settlement. Once when Dr. Guillebaud at the Hereford asylum tried to increase his charges he met with strong opposition from the union.

Between 1836 and 1851 the guardians became increasingly involved in preventive medicine. As early as 1837 union medical officers were asked to take steps to prevent disease in the city from spreading and a few days later rules were issued for preventing contagious diseases. All workhouse inmates were vaccinated against smallpox and later in 1840 vaccination was extended to the parishes, not only to those receiving relief but to all parishioners. This scheme was not entirely successful. Medical officers were paid 1s. 6d. for each successful case, but since many people did not return to be checked on the seventh day, the officers found themselves doing the work for nothing. Smallpox was again prevalent in the city in November 1850 when the guardians were asked to do something about it by the Registrar.

Smallpox was however by no means the only disease which disturbed Hereford. In 1839 the guardians reported that the infirm ward at the workhouse could no longer contain all the single women inmates suffering from venereal disease. Several days later the admission of a child of fourteen suffering from the disease led the guardians to request the magistrates to do something about a certain house in Bowsey Lane in the city. In the winter of 1847 so many children in the workhouse were ill with measles that it was decided to engage one of the female inmates as a nurse for them at 2s. 6d. per week.

Some concern at the unhygienic state of the city was expressed in the summer of 1849, stimulated no doubt by the cholera epidemic of the previous year. At the same time a letter from the new General Board of Health was received emphasising the precautions necessary to prevent Adriatic cholera and other epidemic diseases. In August of the same year, the Nuisances Committee formed from among the guardians as a result of the Nuisances Removal Act of 1846, asked the Board for money to clear Castle Pool which 'was prejudicial to public health'.[16]

Finance

Except for small parliamentary grants, made available by the Poor Law Board in the late 1840s to those unions who made certain improvements, the total cost of poor relief was borne by local ratepayers. The rateable value of property in each parish was assessed, the amount of rate payable in the pound depending on the contribution demanded by the union. The parish contribution was based on the

cost of relief for a particular parish for the previous half year. The rate therefore varied, and in difficult times might be called in quarterly rather than half yearly. Over the fifteen years some parishes contributions remained the same or were even reduced a little, but the city parishes showed sharp increases. Between 1838 and 1851 All Saints' half-yearly contribution doubled, St. John's went up by a third and so did St. Martin's. Frequently the union account was overdrawn and suppliers had to wait for their money until the rates could be collected. In June 1847, as the result of a very bad winter when the workhouse had been overcrowded and several large families had been allowed out-relief, the account was overdrawn by £840.

Initially parish overseers remained responsible for the collection of rates. If a contribution was not forthcoming after several warnings by the union the overseer could be taken before the magistrate. In some districts paid collectors were gradually introduced to collect the rates for a number of parishes in one area. There is a record of one such collector being paid a commission of 6d. in the pound plus 10% on all sums collected in repayment of relief by relatives on loans up to £20, and 5% on sums exceeding that amount.

Quite often in order to meet costs a parish would sell some of its property and since the inmates of parish cottages should, as we have seen, legally be relieved in the workhouse, selling the cottages was a convenient way of raising money.

The workhouse of course represented the largest expense to the union. In one year, 1851, a total of 415 people in the union received indoor relief, and 2,547 out-relief.[17] Costs for in-maintenance came to £1,279 13s. and out-relief cost the union a total of £5,943. Thus the average cost per person on out-relief was approximately £2 5s., and just over £3 per person in the workhouse. Therefore whatever the deterrent effect of the workhouse might have been, and since there were people who were forced to accept admission this seems doubtful, it was more expensive to keep a pauper inside the workhouse rather than on out-relief.

There is no doubt that the first fifteen years of the Hereford Poor Law Union saw a very determined effort by the guardians to deal with the relief of the poor according to the 1834 Act. Much of the success of these years in terms of administrative efficiency must be attributed to the paid officials of the union.

There was always resentment of any attempts by the central authority to impose control, although on a personal level the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners seemed to cope with the Board of Guardians rather better than did the inspectors of the later Poor Law Board.

Attempts by the guardians to relax the rules regarding out-relief met with repeated refusals except in the very difficult times, when out-relief in kind was allowed to able-bodied men with large families.

Unfortunately the pernicious policy of 'less eligibility' seeped into every aspect of relief and left its mark on the fifteen years which no amount of zeal on the part of guardians and officials can entirely erase.

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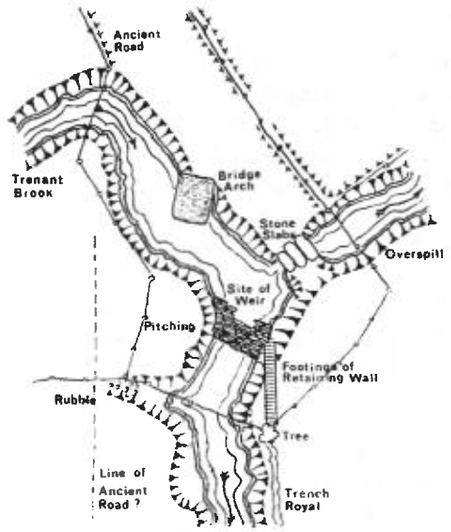
Some Notes on R. Vaughan's 'Waterworks' in the Golden Valley

By R. E. KAY

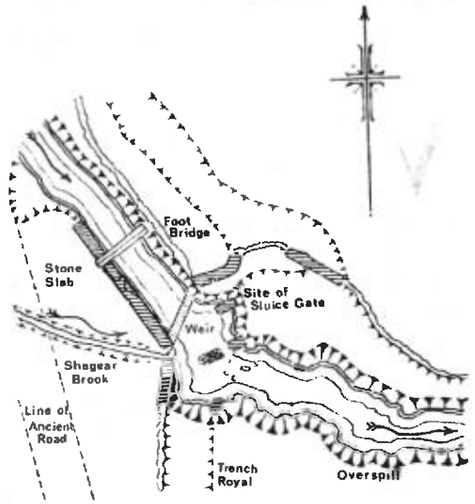
VAUGHAN'S then revolutionary agricultural irrigation scheme of the last decade of the 16th century has left some quite tangible but mutilated remains in that part of the valley lying between Peterchurch and Bacton, mainly on the W. side of the River Dore. Water seems to have been diverted from the western tributaries of the river, commencing at the Trenant Brook in the N. (just S. of Peterchurch), extending southwards to the small streamlets which flow down the W. escarpment of the valley in the neighbourhood of Newcourt Farm, Bacton.

The water, thus diverted by a series of sluice gates and weirs, flowed into a leat of considerable dimensions, the 'Trench Royal' of the 'Waterworks'. This trench is traceable throughout its full length of some miles, and in places is still utilized as a watercourse. Near Turnastone unfavourable land contours necessitate a long cutting of almost canal like proportions which still forms an interesting feature, tolerably well preserved, in spite of hedge boundaries and ploughing encroachments from neighbouring fields. The course of the 'Trench Royal' approximates the line of an ancient valley road or track which lies immediately to the W. of it. It would seem probable that this trackway predates tse 'Trench Royal', and its line N. from Peterchurch is taken up by Fine Street, a minor road on a raised agger heading for the Bache Gap. Southwards the line is taken up by the 'Roman' road running S. through Abbeydore station yard, but it would be a little presumptious to claim the Bacton-Peterchurch portion as having such an antiquity without further and more substantial proof.

The weirs which diverted the Trenant brook into the head of the 'Trench Royal' have been largely ruined by neglect and later alterations. However, the original arrangements seem to be reasonably clear. There would appear to have been here, two weirs and complementary sluice gates, one for controlling water flow into the 'Trench Royal' and the other across the brook itself. The old course of the stream below the latter weir being utilized as an overspill. The latter blocking weir has completely gone but its site is doubtless where three large sandstone slabs span the existing overspill channel. The secondary weir has also disappeared, only a portion of its pitched stone turbulence platform remaining in the bed of the stream which still flows into the 'Trench Royal'. The pitched stone area in the bed of the stream has long been considered as a paved ford (on the course of the Roman Road) but that it is certainly not. (These pitched stone platforms, usually between retaining walls, are a normal feature to be found below weirs, the intention being to minimise the undercutting of the weir foundation and side banks of the channel below, from the turbulence of the water passing over the weir itself). A length of the footings of one of these retaining walls remains embedded in the E, of the pitched stone area, and there are slight indications of a similar wall on the W. side. The line of the 'ancient road' may be indicated by



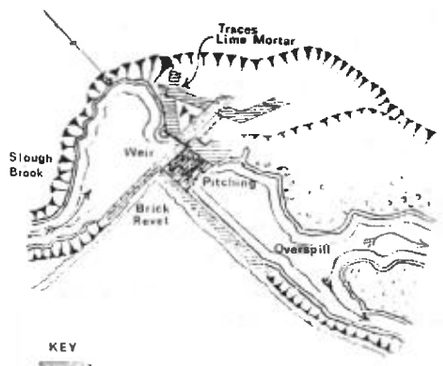
SITE OF WEIR AND SLUICE GATE
S. OF FAIRFIELD GR346-376



WEIR AND SITE OF SLUICE GATE
S. OF POSTON COURT FARM GR354-368

WEIRS AND SLUICE GATES ON THE SLOUGH BROOK

UPPER
GR354-361



LOWER
GR355-358

KEY
ANCIENT
RECENT
PITCHING

SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
FT

R.E. KAY 14-6-69

the presence of rubble in an old watercourse to the W. of the secondary weir. The concrete arched platform is of recent construction and seems to have once formed a bridge over the Trenant brook, which at this point has changed its course slightly, rendering the construction now useless for its original intention.

The weir below Poston Court Farm is rather better preserved, but recent alterations have left some puzzling features. We have here a weir across the 'Trench Royal' which at this point still carries water. The weir itself in its present form is of concrete and must therefore be recent. It does not seem to replace on site an ancient feature. The rubble built retaining wall of laminated sandstone slabs on the W. side of the 'Trench Royal' at this point varies in width from 2 ft. 3 ins. to over 4 ft. 6ins., near the point where it makes an obtuse angle. In places it remains to a height of nearly 5 ft. above the bed of the trench and seems to be of original construction. Below the present weir are vestiges of a kind of basin in the 'Trench Royal' and on the E. side of it are a series of ruinous walls, some represented by broken foundations giving indications of a two, possibly three-channelled sluice at this point. The slot for the timber sluice remains in the wall of the more northerly of the openings. This would have debouched into a channel, traces of which remain, running parallel with the 'Trench Royal'. The southerly sluice controlled the overspill channel from the 'Trench Royal' at this point. The overspill channel today carries away all the water from the utilized portion of the 'Trench Royal'. Southwards from this point it has been abandoned as a watercourse and is quite dry, in places being partly filled in or otherwise mutilated.

The upper weir on the Slough Brook appears to have been constructed to divert that stream and induce it to run in a more southerly course, eventually to feed the 'Trench Royal' near Chanstone Farm. The stream course from the weir to Chanstone Farm seems to be of artificial and not of natural construction. The weir is tolerably well preserved and shows work of many different periods. The retaining wall on the W. is in two lengths, of stone rubble and brick, with a straight joint between the two. On the E, the retaining wall of rubble has been patched and repaired with brick. The weir is of concrete and recent. The pitched turbulence platform below is in good repair. E. of the weir a curious complex of wall foundations overlie each other seemingly without relevance to their immediate predecessors. There are indications of the angle of a small building showing traces of lime mortar. Its situation without any considerable fall of water level would seem to rule out it ever having been a mill.

The lower weir has been almost completely reconstructed in concrete, a little old wall may remain on the W. side. Its purpose is now lost, it seems to effect a transfer in levels of the diverted course of the Slough Brook and possibly was to control a vanished overspill. It now merely serves to form a pool at which cattle can water. The wooden sluice arrangement still existing here, must have been similar to those lost at previously described sites. The nearby arched stone bridge may possibly be of 18th-century date. From this point towards Chanstone there is a considerable fall in elevation of the watercourse.

Reports of Sectional Recorders

Archaeology, 1974

By R. SHOESMITH

City of Hereford Archaeology Committee. Development plans for the northern part of the walled city will need a major archaeological effort over the next few years if unique evidence from the Saxon and medieval periods is not to be lost for ever.

Early this year I prepared a report for the West Midlands Rescue Archaeology Committee which suggested that some fifteen acres within the medieval city walls —one sixth of the total area enclosed—could soon be undergoing development. The report has been printed and is now available. It was recently launched by the Mayor of Hereford, Councillor James Baldwin, who also initiated an appeal for funds. The report, *The City of Hereford—Archaeology and Development* includes a section on the historical background of the City which is followed by a resumé of previous archaeological research. Full details of the possible future development within the city walls is considered, and it is suggested that an archaeological unit is set up to solve the problems of the next few years.

The first result of this report was the formation of the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee with Philip Rahtz as chairman. The committee will initiate and carry out a programme of archaeological investigations in the city and intends to set up a unit as suggested in the report.

Finance for 1974 has been made available by the Department of the Environment, but it is unlikely that government funds alone will be sufficient to carry out a full programme of work.

The committee has taken rapid action, and I am now employed by them on a temporary basis as director of excavations. Starting in November, a large scale trial excavation will be undertaken in the northern part of the National Car Park area of Bewell Street. This excavation will, it is hoped, give a reasonable indication of what may be found in the rest of the north western sector of the city. The area encompasses part of the gravel rampart, provisionally dated to 1055, and should include part of the Saxon extra-mural settlement.

The committee has been offered the use of Bewell House as headquarters and as hostel accommodation for their digging team by Pagebar Investments Ltd., the developers of the site. This generous offer will save the committee a large sum of money and will help to ensure that Hereford will stay at the forefront of archaeological research in the West Midlands.

The committee includes representatives of the Woolhope Club, the Civic Trust, the Department of the Environment and various city and county committees as well as several West Midlands archaeologists.

County of Hereford and Worcester. The amalgamation of the two counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire has had one important result in the archaeological field. Previously only Worcestershire had a county archaeological department which was attached to the county museum at Hartlebury Castle. As a result of the merger, there is now a full-time archaeologist responsible for Herefordshire and full indexes of the historic remains in the county are now being made. Negotiations are being carried out with the Department of the Environment to effect further scheduling of threatened monuments and excavations are being planned to deal with the more urgent problems. The result of this activity must increase our total knowledge of the antiquities of the county and help to ensure their preservation.

HEREFORD CITY EXCAVATIONS

1974 has been a reasonably quiet year in the city and county from the archaeological viewpoint. The opportunity has been taken to do some work in preparation for publication of the first full volume of city excavations, and this is expected to continue along with the proposed excavation programme. The report will include all the excavations which were carried out in advance of the ring road construction and the more recent excavations in Berrington Street and Castle Green. Further work will have to be carried out in Cantilupe Street before the Saxon defences can be fully conserved and made open to the public, but this excavation will also be included in the report.

Berrington Street. (SO 507398). The final phase of the excavations in this area was carried out late in 1973. Continuity was established with the previous areas and the occupation levels were tied in with the various defensive periods.

Occupation levels associated with Chester Ware were again found lying on top of an earlier level without pottery. The outline of a second Saxon timber building was also established. As is normal with this type of site, the whole area was cut by medieval pits of various sizes. One of these produced a nearly complete black cooking pot together with a coin of Henry II which has been dated to the period 1170-1183.

A report on some of the animal bones from the Saxon, medieval and post-medieval levels in Berrington Street has been recently received from Barbara Noddle. The report deals with 5073 fragments from mammalian species and provides some very useful information which has been analysed statistically. The report is, of course, very detailed, and I can only mention a few isolated points of general interest. In all periods cattle bones form at least 50% of the total whilst sheep increases with the passage of time from 15% in the Saxon period to 23% in the post-medieval. Pig increases in the medieval period but falls thereafter. Other bones form less than 10% of the whole and include horse, goat and various species of deer. This indicates that hunted species formed a very low proportion of the meat consumed in Hereford throughout its history, as indicated by this particular site.

Castle Green. (SO 512395). This excavation during Easter and early summer 1973 was reported in the last issue of the *Transactions*, but since then, further details have been established.

Charcoal from under two burials was sent to Harwell for radio-carbon dating and the results give dates of ad 990 + or — 70 and ad 920 + or — 80. We can thus be reasonably confident that the burial ground was in use before the castle was built.

The earlier burials are reasonably elaborate, over 50% being in coffins of which only the nails remain. Later burials had no indication of coffins, and nearly all the latest burials on the site were children or infants.

Further radio-carbon dates are being sought which should establish the period during which the graveyard was in use and the date of its earliest burial.

City Arms. (SO 509399). Reconstruction of this building to provide a new branch for Barclay's Bank provided an opportunity to examine this important area at the northern end of Broad Street. The ground had been extensively disturbed during the post-medieval period but it was possible to examine the Saxon ditch fill in two small trenches cut by the workmen for underpinning. A timber framework had been constructed in the ditch during a late period of its life which included some wattle-work fencing. Analysis of the soil samples from this area may indicate the use of this structure.

Bishops Meadow. (SO 503409). A main drainage trench was dug by machine some 30 metres south of and parallel to Rowe Ditch to provide drainage from the new swimming pool. The trench cut through river silt which gradually merged into the natural silt of the area. No archaeological features could be seen during the work.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH SECTION

REPORT FOR 1973

THE Archaeological Research Section has about fifty subscribing members and has completed a year's programme of monthly field meetings.

Deserted Medieval Villages have formed the subject of two of these visits both being led by Rosamund Hickling. The first of these visits was to a well-defined site at Little Dilwyn together with an investigation of the surrounding neighbourhood. The other investigation was made in the Pencoyd area.

In the field of Industrial Archaeology a survey of a feeder to the Leominster canal was made at Tick Bridge and a survey was also made of remaining features on the Lugg navigation. Both of these surveys were co-ordinated by Mr. J. Calderbank.

The weir with traces of a lock and remains of a mill were inspected at Hampton Court and also at Hampton Court an investigation was made of the remains of extensive water works fed from the Humber Brook. The latter survey was severely hampered by weed growth over the extensive site and a further visit is planned. An initial survey has been made for traces of iron working in the Gorsley Common area, however this has, as yet, been inconclusive.

Members visited the excavation of the moated site whilst it was in progress at Much Marcle and one day was spent in the Brampton Hill and Grey Valley area. A rather wet but enjoyable day was spent on the subject of Offas Dyke in the Weobley area.

The section continues to publish notes periodically in the form of a news sheet and last Christmas a dinner and social evening was held at the Spread Eagle Hotel.

Botany, 1974

By F. M. KENDRICK

WHILST no plants new to the county have been reported this year there have been a few finds of interest of which the following are perhaps the most important.

Geranium endressi. At the entrance to the gravel quarry at Aymestrey. This plant a native of the Western French Pyrenees was introduced into this country as a garden plant and our specimen is probably an escape but seems well established.

Geranium pyrenacium. The mountain cranesbill seems to be spreading in the county whereas it was formerly confined to the Malverns area. It is now flourishing along many of the rides of Haugh Wood and has appeared in quantity in the lane from Moreton to Burghill Portway.

Chaenorhinum minus. The small toadflax has shown a considerable increase in Haugh Wood since it was introduced in railway ballast some years ago.

Linaria repens. The pale toadflax. One plant of this was found on the old railway at Pembridge.

Antirrhinum orontium. The weasel snout or calf snout was found in the Castle Green. This plant widespread but local is a weed of cultivation and with modern methods of agriculture is now becoming scarce. It was found on soil dumped from the river bank and may have come from dormant seed waiting favourable conditions. I have only found it once before in a cornfield at Ledbury many years ago.

Scutellaria galericulata. The skull cap was found on Cwm Bank, Abbeydore. A plant that flourishes in damp situations is now getting scarce due to drainage.

Impatiens parviflora. The small balsam was again found on the river at Pembridge near the station reported in 1956.

Trifolium striatum. The soft clover was found at Phocle Green near Ross.

Mercurialis annua. Annual mercury. Several plants were found on soil removed from the river bank in the Castle Green, Hereford. This casual is rare in the county only one record being dated 1849 appearing in the Flora. I only know of one other station which was at Putley.

Hyoscyamus niger. The henbane was found on a building site at Checkley. It is remarkable how this plant appears on building sites where the soil has been disturbed but no record of its presence has been reported previously. It would seem that the seed has great longevity for one can hardly believe that such a conspicuous plant with its poisonous and narcotic properties would pass unnoticed for long.

Asplenium viride. The green spleenwort was found in its one and only known station at the head of the Olchon Valley. With so much limestone in the county it is remarkable that this fern is confined solely to the western edge of the county.

Buildings, 1974

By J. W. TONKIN

AGAIN the Recording Group has met regularly and is now bigger than ever, with over thirty members. Its principal work has been in the Greytree Hundred. This is not reported below as it is hoped to publish a full account of the work at a later date. Once more we owe a great debt to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work.

A University Extra-mural week-end course with the writer as tutor was based on Ludlow and spent a day in Leominster and at Eye.

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though often the two need to be read together.

HEREFORD

CITY ARMS, BROAD STREET. SO 509399 (R.C.H.M. 33)

The Duke of Norfolk's town house built in 1790 has been demolished except for the facade and is being rebuilt as a bank.

At the rear the three-storey building recorded in R.C.H.M. still has much of its original four-bay roof in situ. It appears to have been a first-floor hall or great chamber with moulded purlins and two arch-braced collar-beam trusses. This was divided into two floors during the 19th century. There was certainly a separate room in the southern bay and the northern bay may have been some sort of entry to the hall or chamber itself.

The ground-floor bays correspond with those above and the mouldings at both levels appear to be either of the late 15th or early 16th century. It would appear to be an important town house of that period.

WIDEMARSH STREET. SO 509401

This building presents three gables to the street. The two northern ones are of the 18th century and almost certainly replaced earlier houses on the site. On the first floor the rooms fronting on to the street have simple ceilings of that period.

The southern part is an almost complete timber-framed town house of *c.* 1600, with two storeys, cellars and attics. It is two rooms deep with a central stack and stairwell between them. In one room on the first floor are traces of a red, black and white mural which was hidden until recently by panelling dating probably from *c.* 1630.

BROMYARD

HOLDITCH LANE. SO 653545

An interesting line of brick and stone cottages with a blacksmith's shop at one end, all at first site of the 19th century. However, there seems to be a 17th-

century core with two beams of that period, while in the actual shop there is a heavy, roll-moulded beam of the 16th century, probably reused.

DORSTONE

TREDOMEN. SO 297397

Basically a three-bay, two-room plan house of the later 18th century. It has a hall-kitchen and parlour on the ground floor and three rooms above. Even as late as this it still has opposing doorways in the hall. It is of local sandstone with well-made king-post trusses. At one end is a wash-house, probably part of the original design and at the other is an added cider-house.

A stone barn and a sheep-cot stood in the yard until recently.

DULAS

DULAS COURT. SO 371296

At first sight a big house of 1866 and 1920 but hidden beneath the additions and alterations is a house of *c.* 1600 which was much altered about a century later. The stone walls of the earlier house and the beams of three rooms still remain as does the four-centred parlour fireplace. The panelled dado of the stairway dates probably from the early 18th century.

EWYAS HAROLD

WALK MILL. SO379295

A three-part plan, timber-framed house with a cross-passage backing on to the stack. It is on the long-house model and appears to date from the early 17th century. There are an added lean-to, a back kitchen and a byre, the last in line with the house.

The threshing barn of three bays has timber-framed walls with stone panels in the lowest part and heavy wattle above and a queen-post roof. There is a three-bay stone addition to it and a stone granary both with king-post roofs.

THE SHOP. SO 387286

A very complicated building which needs a detailed examination. It seems to be a 17th-century house, perhaps originally timber-framed, with early 19th-century additions and a further added wing of 1846. Two date-stones WP 1677 and WJ 1846 probably give the first and last dates of building.

WHITE HOUSE. SO 387299

On Ewyas Harold Common a timber-framed, two-room plan house built as a platform house into the hill with an added stone bay with a corbelled stack. It is probably a late 17th-century house with an early 18th-century addition.

KING STREET. SO 382286

A fine double-pile house of red sandstone from a quarry just up the road. The front is of ashlar with a plat-band and flat-arched lintels, whereas the back and sides are of rubble. It has two floors, attics and a cellar and probably dates from the early 18th century.

ELM GREEN. SO 400290

Apparently a late 18th-century stone house. The front part, one-room deep has one room on either side of a stairway and through passage leading to a lower, but still two-storeyed dairy and kitchen block. There is a long cellar under the front part and this and the ground floor have two bay-windows with fine glazing-bars.

The granary, attached to the house, has an upper base-cruck type of roof.

LOWER HOUSE. SO 389282

A very similar house to Elm Green on the same basic plan with a granary and stable at right-angles to the house. The iron gate dates from 1828, but the house appears to be earlier than this.

MALT HOUSE. SO 387287

Part of this house is almost certainly of the later part of the 18th century, perhaps the same date as the barn, 1757. The front part received its mansard roof *c.* 1900 and this could well mark the line and shape of an upper-base-cruck malt-kiln roof, especially as the remains of a big stack still exist against one corner.

House and barn are of stone.

LOWER PRILL. SO 387286

A three-part plan, stone house probably of the late 18th century. The stack divides it into one-room and two-room ends and it seems as though the original entrance was into the part behind the stack rather in the long-house tradition.

LLANWARNE

LYSTON COURT. SO 495287

Much of this house dates from the mid-19th-century, but in recent alterations to what is now an internal wall were found traces of a stone mullioned window probably of 16th or 17th-century date.

PETERCHURCH

COTTAGE. SO 341376

Small stone cottage of two rooms only. They are divided by a timber-framed screen. The house probably dates from *c.* 1800.

During the year the listed buildings sub-committee looked at 42 buildings, most of which were for minor changes. However, nine of these concerned demolitions and protests were made about the proposed demolition of 48 St. Owen's Street and the rear of the Farmer's Club, both in Hereford, largely on the grounds that what was planned to replace them would be out of proportion with the surroundings. Protests were also made about the proposed demolitions of 37 Etnam Street, Leominster, the Bell Turret at Aconbury and all the listed buildings in the Pagebar and Taylor-Woodrow development schemes in Hereford. It would seem that all these are now safe, at least for the time being. Protests were also made about the demolition of Leominster Town Hall, a plea being made for the retention of the facades, but this has been rejected by the Minister of the Environ-

ment. It was also suggested that if there was hope of saving them in situ the cruck barn at Black Hall, King's Pyon, and the Essex Arms in Widemarsh Street, Hereford, should remain where they are. However, if they are going to be allowed to fall down through neglect no objection would be raised to re-erecting the former at Leintwardine as proposed and the latter on a suitable site in the city.

As far as is known only one listed building has been demolished during the year; that is Castle Cottage, Wigmore, as a result of a Department of the Environment enquiry.

I am very grateful to the many people who have drawn my attention to buildings during the year and to those who have sent me notes on them, especially Mrs. N. Elliott, Mrs. P. Williams and Messrs. C. H. I. Homes and G. Sprackling.

Entomology, 1974

By M. W. PRYCE

APART from a very warm spell in early mid-June, the generally cold, wet summer and autumn this year have been unfavourable for the collection and investigation of the insect population. This followed a mild winter and spring which enabled hibernating insects to survive in large numbers and possibly accounted for larger numbers of wasp (*Vespa* spp) colonies, large swarms of winter gnats (Trichocera hienalis) and, sadly, it also favoured the survival of the bark beetles (*Scolytus* spp) which, by carrying the fungal spores of *Ceratocytsis ulmi*, the cause of Dutch Elm disease, is still spreading and taking its toll of elm trees in the county.

Early in spring (1 May in the Golden Valley) areas of the county's roadside verges were sprayed with a weedkiller. This seemed to be on a greater scale than in previous years and to be particularly strong and somewhat indiscriminate, so that in places the whole of the areas up to the hedges were affected as the spray passed over banks of spring flowers and damage was noted to members of the Primulaceae, Cruciferae, Violaceae, Compositae, Caryophyllacea, Papilionacea, Urticaceae, Labiatae, Polygonaceae and Umbelliferae. Certain butterflies like the Silver-Washed Fritillary, the Dark Green Fritillary, and the Pearl Bordered Fritilleries require species of violet as their food plant. The Duke of Burgundy Fritillary requires cowslips. The larvae of some of our most beautiful butterflies (Red Admirals, Small Tortoiseshells, Peacock butterflies and, sometimes, Comma butterflies) feed on nettles. The Dingy Skipper larvae feed on bird's foot trefoil, and the rare Wood White, found in Herefordshire, requires tufted vetch, and the Orange Tip, so spectacular last year needs *Cardamine pratensis* which was in flower at the time of spraying. Similarly other insects have their particular food plant, and to reduce the rich roadside flora by spraying, not only reduces the insect populations, but affects seed-feeding birds, and indeed whole food chains in which plants and animals interact in their special environment. It has been difficult to assess the effect on the insect population this year because perhaps the cold, damp conditions have been equally responsible for some species being seen in smaller numbers. One must be optimistic that many species have survived, and the District Surveyor, to whom I talked, was sympathetic and said that in fact the spraying was intended to attempt to eradicate dock, and to prevent it seeding and spreading to farmland, as it is an obnoxious plant to cattle. He said that as far as possible he would attempt to see that spraying was confined to areas where this plant was in evidence. Herefordshire, still an unspoilt and rural area, does, in fact, have a rich and varied flora and fauna, and there were large numbers of Small Tortoiseshell, Red Admiral and Peacock butterflies in late summer, and the Comma butterfly still appears to be increasing its

environs, as it was seen for the first time in the last three years in the Golden Valley in quite substantial numbers.

In view of the generally wet conditions it was decided to carry out a limited survey of a number of farm buildings and granaries in different parts of the county. On the whole the findings were remarkably similar., In the main, harmless scavenger and fungus-feeding beetles were present, also Psocoptera, and small moths associated with buildings storing animal-feeding products and grain. Only very few dead grain weevils were found in an old building no longer used to store grain. It was interesting to find three different species of spider beetles (Fam. Ptinidae) during the investigations.

Findings are listed below:

FARM AT ABBEY DORE:

A farm store containing newly-stored rye grass contained large numbers of beetles of the Fam. Staphylinidae, particularly *Philonthus laminatus* and the fungus-feeding *Typhaea stercorea* (Fam. Mycetophagidae). There were large numbers of Psocoptera and the moths *Hofmannophila pseudospretella* and *Endrosis lactella.* Adjacent buildings contained lesser numbers of these moths and *Tinea* spp. Psocoptera were widespread and Coleopterous species included

Fam. Anthicidae	*Anthicus floralis*
Fam. Cryptophagidae	*Cryptophagus* sp
Fam. Lathridiidae	*Enicmus minutus*, *Corticaria pubescens*
Fam. Mycetophagidae	*Typhaea stercorea*

FARM AT LYDE:

In the farm granary and associated buildings, the moths *H. pseudospretella* and *E. lactella* were widespread. A specimen of *Sitotroga cerealella* was found. Coleopterous species included

Fam. Tenebrionidae	*Tenebrio molitor*, adults and larvae
Fam. Anobiidae	*Anobium punctatum* (furniture beetle)
Fam. Mycetophagidae	*Typhaea stercorea*
Fam. Ptinidae	*Tipnus unicolor*
Fam. Cryptophagidae	*Cryptophagus* sp

Psocoptera were numerous.

FARM AT HAMPTON BISHOP:

In the new granary (where grain was being harvested and entering the building) conditions were ideal and only very few Psocoptera, very few *H. pseudospretella* and very few Coleopterous harmless strays, mainly Staphilinidae species (*Exaleochara morion, Cratanaea suturalis*) were found.

Other small stores for bags, boxes and equipment, contained the ubiquitous moths *H. pseudospretella* and *E. lactella* and the following Coleopterous species:

Fam. Staphilinoidea	*Orthopterus atomas*, *Dinaraea angustula*, *Cardiola obscura*
Fam. Anobiidae	*Anobium punctatum*

Fam. Lathridiidae	*Enicmus minutas*, *Coninimus nodifer*
Fam. Anthicidae	*Anthicus floralis*

An old granary containing a winnowing machine, known to be infested with weevil several years ago, and treated with insecticide yielded a few dead specimens of *Calandra* (=*Sitophilus*) *granaria* (grain weevil) and holed grains which had contained larvae. Other Coleopterous species were

Fam. Tenebrionidae	*Tenebrio molitor*, adults and larvae
Fam. Dermestidae	*Attagenus pellio*, adults and larvae
	Anthrenus sp
Fam. Ptinidae	*Ptinus fur*, adults and Ptinid larvae

There were considerable number of *Lepisma saccharina* (silverfish), and though this species is known to be widespread in houses in the county, it is interesting to note that it appears to be equally widespread in outhouses such as woodsheds, stores near houses, and farm buildings, where it is a general scavenger.

HILL FARM AT VOWCHURCH:

The granary and stores contained the following Coleopterous species:

Fam. Cryptophagidae	*Cryptophagus* sp
Fam. Lathridiidae	*Enicmus minutus*
Fam. Anobiidae	*Anobium punctatum*
Fam. Tenebrionidae	*Tenebrio molitor*, adults and larvae
Fam. Staphilinidae	*Exaleochara morion*
Fam. Mycetophagidae	*Typhaea stercorea*
Fam. Ptinidae	*Ptinus pusillus*

I should like to thank Dr. Boddington of Bromyard, who is currently working on the habits, distribution, migration, etc., of the pied flycatcher, for providing the Woolhope Club with information of the flea (Aphaniptera) population in nesting boxes. After nesting, the contents of the nesting boxes are examined, and results for 1973 were as follows:

Seven boxes at Shobdon revealed the following species (numbers present in brackets).

Ceratophyllus gallenae (Schrank)	574 males
	723 females
Dasypsyllus g. gallinulae (Dale)	123 males
	165 females

The contents of nesting boxes for 1974 are being examined but details are not yet available. I am hoping that they will yield Coleoptera and possibly other insect Orders in addition to fleas.

A study of the Orthoptera (cockroaches, crickets and grasshoppers) revealed that, of the Fam. Acridiidae, the common green grasshopper *Omocestus viridus* and the field grasshopper *Chorthippus branneus* (= *C.bicolor*) are widespread. The meadow grasshopper *Chorthippus parallelus* was recorded at Abbey Dore and Vowchurch, and the heath grasshopper *Chorthippus vagas* near Ross-on-Wye. Of the Fam. Tettigoniidae, the dark bush cricket *Pholidoptera griseoptera* has been

noted at Ruckall and Eaton Bishop. The oak bush cricket *Meconema thalassium* occurs in the Wye and Golden Valleys.
The Fam. Tetrigidae (ground hoppers) is represented by *Tetrix undulata* collected at Abbey Dore.

Investigations of several streams in west Herefordshire yielded specimens of the following Orders:

Order Plecoptera (Stone Flies)

Dinocras cephalotes	
Perlodes microcephala	Olchon Brook, Longtown
Brachyptera putata	Pont-y-Weston Brook, Dorstone
Protonemura praecox	(Abbey Dore, Dorstone)
Perla bipunctata	(Dorstone)
Leuctra hippopus	(Dorstone)

Order Ephemeroptera (May Flies)

Ephemera danica	(Dorstone)
Ecdyonurus sp (possibly *E. torrentis*)	(Dorstone)
Baetis spp *B. muticus* etc.	(Dorstone)
Procloeon pseudorufulum	(Dorstone)

Order Odonata (Dragon Flies)

Aeshna larvae	(Dorstone)
No adults seen	

Order Hemiptera

Notonecta (water boatman)	Vowchurch
Sigara dorsalis	Abbey Dore
Gerris (pond skater)	Abbey Dore, Dorstone

Order Megaloptera (Alder Flies)

Sialis lutaria	(Dorstone)

Order Trichoptera (Caddis Flies)

Rhycophila (non-case building)	Dorstone
Silo (short case of stones)	Dorstone

Fam. Sericostomatidae (curved stone case) Dorstone, Abbey Dore.

Adding to last year's records species of the following Orders have been recorded:

Order Coleoptera

Fam. Curculionidae (weevils)

Phyllobius calcaratus	associated with alder near River Dore, at Abbey Dore
Otiorhychus singularis	garden pest in fruit trees and bushes, Dorstone
Curculio nucum	nut weevil, in hazel nuts, Dorstone

Fam. Cantharidae (soldier beetles)

Cantharis rustica	Cusop
C. pallida	widespread
Rhagonycha fulva	fairly common

Fam. Chrysomelidae

Chrysomela geminata	on Hypericum, Dorstone

Fam. Cerambycidae

Callidium violaceum	Longicorn beetle—larvae in rotten silver birch, Abbey Dore

Order Hymenoptera (Ants, bees, wasps)

Rhygogasta viridis	—brilliant green sawfly in wood near Abbey Dore
Torymus sp	Chalcid wasp
Chrysis spp	Ruby tailed wasps

Order Hemiptera (bugs)

Pentatoma rufipes	shield bug, Vowchurch and Abbey Dore
Lygus pratensis	Capsid bug
Phylus coryli	Capsid bug on hazel

Order Diptera

The Diptera have not been studied in detail except to note that the Bee-fly *Bombylius minor* has been fairly widespread on flowers this year in July and August. The larvae are parasitic on solitary bees. The Empid fly, *Empis tesselata* was recorded at Cusop, Vowchurch and Eaton Bishop on umbelliferous flowers.

Pollenia rudis, the cluster fly, was noted to begin its hibernation in houses at the end of a cold, damp August, which is remarkably early compared with other years.

Order Lepidoptera

Details of moth-trapping done by Philip Boddington in Hereford city have just been received. Specimens were recorded between March and September and the species will be listed in next year's report.

Geology, 1974

By F. M. KENDRICK

IT has been observed that excavations have been made in the station yard at Ledbury near to the classic section of the passage beds between the Silurian and Old Red formations. It will probably be worthwhile to keep this under observation as any eastward extension of the work may possibly yield important fossils.

My attention was drawn to a pipe trench at Checkley which revealed a line of shells. Samples were sent to the British Museum but they proved to be gastropods of fairly recent origin probably inhabitants of a former pond.

Industrial Archaeology, 1974

By C. H. I. HOMES

Irrigation

Last year I mentioned the Eardisland irrigation system. This year I have investigated similar systems in the parishes of Aymestrey, Burrington, Buckton and Coxall, Leintwardine, Lingen and Leominster.

Usually only the main leats exist. The water meadows with their distribution systems of ditches and furrows having been obliterated by farming operations. On the Willows Farm, Burrington, a nearly complete water meadow with its furrows and ditches still exists (SO 427713). Faint traces of similar meadows can be seen at Court of Noke, Pembridge (SO 369595) and Covenhope, Aymestrey (SO 400652).

Farm Water Wheels

A further five farm water-wheel sites have been located and examined.

At Ivington Bury (SO 475569), Leominster. Water from the mill pond was carried southwards along west side of road, through a culvert under the road to a low breast wheel driving barn machinery and grindstone. Also used to pump water for farm and hop washing. Leat, culvert and wheel pit still exist.

At Letchmoor Farm (SO 345643), Kinsham. A weir on the River Lugg diverted water into a long leat leading to a low breast wheel at the farm. Traces of the leat and the wheel pit still exist.

At Buckton Park (SO 393735), Buckton and Coxall. The tail race of Buckton Mill instead of rejoining the River Teme followed the contour for threequarters of a mile to a point outside the garden wall of Buckton Park. Here it entered a long culvert and re-appeared in the centre of a long threshing barn where it drove an iron overshot wheel situated under the barn floor. The wheel and its shafting were so positioned that a portable threshing box could be drawn into any of the threshing bays and driven from the shafting. As far as I know the only place where a portable threshing box was driven by a water wheel. Leat, wheel and some shafting still in position. Last used about 25 years ago.

At Twyford (SO 395590), Eardisland. A weir on the River Arrow diverted water into a long leat driving an undershot wheel at Twyford Farm. Last used to drive an electric light plant about 20 years ago. Traces of leat and long tail race still visible.

At Court of Noke (SO 372595), Pembridge. A weir on the River Arrow diverted water through a short leat to ornamental ponds in the garden and then to a low breast wheel at the back of the farm buildings. The weir, leat, wheel, grist mill and chaff cutter are still in position. In later years it was used to drive an electric light plant.

The owners of these wheels all told me that they stopped using them because they were so unreliable; lack of water in the summer; floods in the winter and freezing meant that there were long periods when they could not be used. While the time required to operate the sluices, often a long way from the house, plus the cost of maintaining weirs, leats, sluices and wheel, and also cleaning out the leat and tail race every year or two made them very expensive.

GRANARIES

During the last few years I have noticed a number of unusual farm buildings in various parts of the county and have often wondered what was their original use. They all have a number of common features, i.e. all three storeys high, built of brick, stone or occasionally timber; large, ranging from 30 ft. by 18 ft. to 80 ft. by 20 ft.; access to first floor by external steps with internal stairs on up to top floor; internal walls of first and second floors plastered and fitted with skirting boards; small rectangular windows with inside shutters; windows that seem to be designed for ventilation rather than light; heavy floor timbers with low headroom; always very good construction; often with a facade matching the house; features that cause them to be mistaken for an abandoned house, but low headroom and absence of chimney preclude this; nearly all built in the period 1700-1800; often built as a wing of the house at the service end, otherwise built close to the house; often contain hop-kilns but these are a later insertion and not the original use. The lower or ground floor can sometimes be a cellar or basement. Unlike the upper floors these lower floors vary from building to building and the original use is usually easy to ascertain. Some of these uses are: dairy, back kitchen, cider mill, cellar, root house, stable etc. Use as a stable is indicated by the high head room that one sometimes finds. All the features of the upper floors are ones you would expect to find in grain warehouses. I think these buildings were built as granaries for storing threshed grain. During the 18th century grain prices were high and large acreages of corn were planted. After threshing, this corn would have to be stored in a dry thief-proof place until a suitable market could be found. Good examples of the cross-wing type joined to the house exist at Dewsall Court (SO 486335), Dewsall and Stretford Bury (SO 525580), Leominster. At Dewsall Court the ground floor was a back kitchen and dairy. At Stretford Bury it was probably used for domestic use. Detached examples exist at Upton Court (SO 658282), Upton Bishop, an interesting building with brick front and stone back, stables on ground floor and two low floors above with hipped roof with jointed crucks and hip crucks at each end. Also at The Marsh (SO 475614), Eyton. A late three storey building with back kitchen on ground floor and very high upper-cruck roof has had later pigeon loft inserted in roof and hop-kiln built at end. Also at The Bury (SO 503525), Hope-under-Dinmore. Large stone building of two builds has had cider mill and cellar on ground floor with two floors above. Windows have internal shutters with locking bolts. Pair of later hop-kilns have been inserted in end.

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