TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"Hope On" "Hope Ever"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLII 1976

PART I

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PART I

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF OFFICERS

1976-1977

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President-elect	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE
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Deserted Medieval Villages	Mrs. R. E. SKELTON
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Industrial Archaeology	Mr. C. H. I. HOMES
Mammals	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE
Ornithology	Mr. C. W. SHELDRAKE

Address of Hon. Secretary:	*Address of Hon. Asst. Secretary:*	*Address of Hon. General Editor:*
Mr. F. M. KENDRICK	Mrs. M. TONKIN	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
40 Stanhope Street	Chy an Whyloryon	Chy an Whyloryon
Hereford	Wigmore	Wigmore
	Leominster HR6 9UD	Leominster HR6 9UD

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, 1976

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 17 January: The President, Mr. R. C. Perry, in the chair.

An illustrated talk on 'Renaissance Churches in Herefordshire' was given by Mr. H. J. Powell, F.R.I.B.A. This paper was printed in the *Transactions* for 1975.

SECOND MEETING: 14 February: The President, Mr. R. C. Perry, in the chair.

Col. E. R. F. Gilbert, the son of a former club president, gave an illustrated talk on 'Bird Photography 50 Years Ago'. The black-and-white slides had been made from original photographs taken in 1925 for a magic lantern. The slides showed a great variety of bird life in its surroundings.

THIRD MEETING: 13 March: The President, Mr. R. C. Perry, in the chair.

Dr. P. Cross gave an illustrated talk on 'New Evidence for the Glacial Diversion of the River Teme'. After briefly referring to the Wye glacier blocking the Teme at Aymestrey and diverting it eastwards through the Downton gorge he explained his detailed fieldwork in the Ludlow-Orleton area which has proved the existence of a glacial lake at Woofferton due to the Wye glacier reaching as far north as that and so again diverting the Teme eastwards. At the same time gravels were brought down by the river Onny through the Whitcliffe gorge to the Woofferton area. Investigations of the terraces of the Teme from Brimfield to Newnham and of the Ledwyche and Rea Brooks which are tributaries running into the Teme as it flows eastwards have provided evidence of a former river system which once ran westwards into the Teme when it flowed south towards modern Leominster. After glaciation some ten to eleven thousand years ago this route was taken over by the Teme to run eastwards to eventually join the Severn.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 3 April: The President, Mr. R. C. Perry, in the chair.

The President said that a circular proposing the raising of the annual subscription which had not been raised since 1960, and of raising charges for bringing guests to field meetings, would be circulated to all members.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 885 members.

The President briefly reviewed the year's activities and then gave his address 'An Introduction to the Houses of Pembrokeshire' which is printed on pp. 6–15.

Revd. W. B. Haynes was installed as President for 1976-77. He thanked Mr. Perry for his work for the club during the year and said that he felt honoured to be asked to be the club's President.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 1 May: GLOUCESTER AND CHEDWORTH AREA

During the day visits were made to Prinknash Park to see the pottery and the recently-built crypt chapel constructed of Guiting stone as well as the old, enlarged grange now belonging to the monks of Caldey: the well-preserved Norman church at Elkstone: the Roman villa at Chedworth dating from the 2nd to the 4th century and the scanty remains of Llanthony Secunda.

At the business meeting at the Fleece Hotel, Gloucester, the raising of the annual subscription as from January, 1977, was unanimously agreed. The rates to be: Ordinary members £3.00, Family membership £4.00, Overseas members £4.00, Junior members £1.00. Also it was agreed that guests attending a whole day field meeting pay 50p extra and for a half day 25p extra.

SECOND MEETING: 29 May: GOODRICH AND ROSS AREA

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. Hillaby as a follow-up to his talk to the club in 1975. Members first visited the recently-restored gatehouse to Goodrich Court completed in 1831 and then Ye Hostelrie built in 1832, both designed by Blore. Walking through the village members saw the Working Mens' Club of 1888, the gasworks of 1832, the site of the demolished Goodrich Court and its stable block and coach-house of *c.* 1888.

At The Prospect Mr. Hillaby briefly explained the early history of the ecclesiastical, the market and the industrial areas of the town of Ross. The walk around was particularly to see the romantic architecture which 'improved' the town between 1830-38: a summerhouse in a garden behind Copse Cross Street, the Gaol of 1838 in New Street, and the Royal Hotel dating from 1838 on the site of the bishop of Hereford's palace. The final visit was to the Quaker Meeting House and burial ground at Brook End. The present building dates mainly from 1812 but an earlier one stood here in 1676.

THIRD MEETING: 17 June: CLEVEDON COURT AREA

During the day visits were made to the two fine churches at Congresbury and Yatton and to Clevedon Court with its collection of Elton pottery and Nailsea and Bristol glass. The Elton family had lived at the Hazle near Ledbury.

FOURTH MEETING: 15 July: RENAISSANCE CHURCHES

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. H. J. Powell as a follow-up to his talk on 'Renaissance Churches in Herefordshire'. Visits were made to the following churches, Tyberton built 1719-21; Monnington-on-Wye rebuilt 1679; Shobdon by Viscount Bateman in 1753 in the 'Strawberry Hill' Gothic style and to Stoke Edith rebuilt by the Foleys, 1740-42.

FIFTH MEETING: 14 August: CHEPSTOW AND SLIMBRIDGE AREA

This meeting was the President's choice. The main visit of the day was to the Wildfowl Trust at Slimbridge but stops were also made at the churches at Chepstow and Highnam.

SIXTH MEETING: 18 September: BRAMPTON BRYAN AREA

By kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Harley a visit was made to the ruins of the 14th-century Brampton Bryan Castle and the present Hall dating from 1748 with additions of about 1890. Brampton Bryan Church rebuilt in 1656 for Sir Robert Harley and containing earlier and later work was also visited.

Two special meetings for those interested particularly in natural history were held on 18 May on Dinmore Hill and on 12 June on The Doward.

Another special meeting was held on 3 July when members walked 8½ miles from Kington down the river Arrow to the Court of Noke stopping at various sites of industrial archaeological interest.

DORSET VISIT: 1-8 September

Forty-two members spent a week at the College of Education at Weymouth visiting Montacute House, 1588-1601, on the way there.

A daily schedule had been prepared in advance and visits were made to Weymouth itself, Abbotsbury barn and abbey ruins and the swannery, Portland Bill, Lulworth Cove, Wareham, Corfe Castle and village, Studland Heath National Nature Reserve, Bere Regis Church, Milton Abbey, Blandford Forum, Sherborne Abbey and almshouses, the butterfly farm at Overcompton, Cerne Abbas abbey and church, Athelhampton house and grounds, Wimborne Minster, Compton Acres gardens, Poole and its pottery, Dorchester Museum and the Roman villa in Colliton Park and Maiden Castle.

On the way home Stourhead, built 1721-44, and its gardens were visited.

Lectures were given by Mr. R. N. R. Peers on the 'Archaeology of Dorset' and by Mr. J. Beavis on the 'Development of Settlement Patterns in Dorset'.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 2 October: The President, Revd. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

This was an open meeting held in St. Peter's Hall, as the tenth annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Dr. H. N. Savory, F.S.A., late keeper of the National Museum of Wales gave an illustrated talk on 'The Southern Marches in the Late Bronze Age'. He explained that some of the hill-forts date from *c.* 1000 B.C. and that the people were living on the uplands which were probably more easily

cultivated than the forest and boggy areas on lower ground. In Late Bronze Age times there was a shift to the lower ground and movement along the trade routes. Hoards found in north Wales date from 1500-900 B.C. whereas the Ffynnonau hoard in Breconshire dates from 1200-1000 B.C. and shows a continental and Celtic influence.

SECOND MEETING: 23 October: The President, Revd. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

Mrs. M. Tonkin gave a talk on 'The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas, 1794'. She explained that he was born at the Bury Farm, Wigmore, in 1761, and wrote his journal whilst serving on *H.M.S. Boston.* It recounts the journey from Spithead in March, 1794, to Newfoundland where he remained until November, and then the return journey via Spain and Portugal in February, 1795. The journal was published in 1968 and is the first historical account of Newfoundland. Mrs. Tonkin explained how she had discovered the Thomas family connections with Herefordshire and London.

THIRD MEETING: 13 November: The President, Revd. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Deserted Medieval Villages, Entomology, Geology, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology gave their reports for 1976 which are printed on pp. 97–113.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 4 December: The President, Revd. W. B. Haynes in the chair.

Officers for 1977 were appointed. The accounts for the year-ending 31 December, 1975, were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 5. It was announced that the new subscription rates would take effect from January, 1977. An inaugural meeting to form a Natural History Section had been held on 20 November, 1976.

Cmdr. M. B. Hale gave an illustrated talk on 'Bastides—medieval fortified towns of south-western France'.

During the year three special lectures were given by club members to commemorate the 13th centenary of the Hereford diocese. They were: 'The Origins of the Diocese' by Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A.; 'Victorian Churches of the Diocese' by Mr. H. J. Powell, F.R.I.B.A.; and 'The Palaces of the Bishop of Hereford' by Mr. J. W. Tonkin, B.A., F.S.A. These are printed on pp. 16–71.

During the year £200 including the money which was held on trust in the Flora account was handed over to the Botanical Society towards the publication of the handlist of *Plants of Herefordshire* by Mrs. L. E. Whitehead.

A Guide to Prehistoric and Roman Sites in Herefordshire compiled by the Archaeological Research Section, and *Herefordshire Birds* by C. W. Walker and A. J. Smith have been published by the club and issued free to members.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS FIELD CLUB

Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December, 1975

RECEIPTS

1974 £	£		£ p	£ p
		Balances, 1st January, 1975		
		Cash at Bank:		
		Current Accounts—		
	347	General	665.56	
	590	Subscriptions	163.34	
	1,008	Excavations	—	
		Deposit Accounts—		
	4,333	Subscriptions	5,545.77	
	332	G. Marshall Fund ...	364.54	
		Excavations		
	10	(Ministry)	—	
	144	Herefordshire Flora ...	157.86	
	607	City Excavations ...	768.41	
		Archaeological		
	20	Research Group ...	29.44	
	169	Leintwardine Dig ...	—	
	—	Cash in Hand	1.03	
7,560	——		——	7,695.95
1,005		Grants		—
		Interest on Investments		
	34	3½% War Loan ...	32.64	
		Hereford County		
	118	Council Loan ...	102.22	
	707	Bank Deposit Interest ...	546.28	
859	——		——	681.14
		Subscriptions		
	985	General	1,013.73	
		Archaeological		
	29	Research Group ...	20.35	
1,014	——		——	1.034.08
359		Sales of Offprints, etc. ...		10.90
181		Field Meetings (Net) ...		115.48
5		Royalties		—
—		Income Tax Refunds ...		308.35
£10,983				£9,845.90

PAYMENTS

1974 £	£		£ p	£ p
	26	Insurance	16.25	
		Printing and Binding		
	636	Transactions	—	
	79	Printing and Stationery ...	81.41	
	128	Postage and Telephone ...	129.03	
	50	Subscriptions and Donations	78.27	
	22	Expenses of Meetings ...	30.50	
	871	Excavation Expenses ...	—	
		Archaeological Group		
	4	Expenses	33.97	
	75	Honoraria to Assistants ...	100.00	
	39	Accountants' Fee ...	116.10	
		Hereford and Worcester		
	138	Museums	—	
		City of Hereford		
	1,213	Archaeological Committee	792.68	
	6	Sundry Expenses ...	27.63	
3,287	——		——	1.405.84
		Balances, 31st Dec., 1975		
		Cash at Bank:		
		Current Accounts—		
	666	General	179.03	
	163	Subscription	659.00	
		Deposit Accounts—		
	5,546	Subscription	7,024.71	
	365	G. Marshall Fund ...	391.14	
	158	Herefordshire Flora ...	169.33	
	768	City Excavations ...	—	
		Archaeological		
	29	Research Group ...	16.64	
	1	Cash in Hand	21	
7,696	——		——	8,440.06
£10,983				£9,845.90

NOTE: The Club owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and £1,040 Hereford & Worcester 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.
4th June, 1976.
Hereford.

Presidential Address

An Introduction to the Houses of Pembrokeshire

By R. C. PERRY

BEFORE considering the vernacular house types of any region we should first look briefly at the geography, geology and local history, since these factors have a bearing on the shape and construction of the houses.

Pembrokeshire is primarily a maritime county with a coastline some 170 miles in length, a large part of this coast being open to the Atlantic Ocean and the prevailing south-west winds. These winds are mild, moist and salt bearing and can be of considerable force. The coastguard station at St. Anne's Head records an average of 31 gales per year yet frost is only recorded some three or four nights each year.

One has only to compare the shape and size of trees in a county like Herefordshire with those of Pembrokeshire to appreciate the effect the wind has on the growth of timber. Whilst oak and other building timber is to be found, the trees rarely reach a size sufficient to yield material suitable for the main structure of buildings and timber-framed houses are unknown in the county.

As a result of this lack of good timber we find no tradition of carpentry and where the use of wood is essential, in roof construction for example, the design and jointing is usually of the simplest kind.

The proximity of the sea, however ensures a mild climate in which vegetation continues to grow through the winter and cattle and sheep may be kept out of doors throughout the year. Cattle sheds were therefore rare on the smaller farms and crofts.

The geology of the region is very complex but the predominate factors are the age of the rocks and the great heat and pressures to which they have been subjected. The north of the county, the Fishguard-Presili Mountain district, has some of the oldest rocks including granite and diorite, whilst in the south the younger Old Red Sandstone and limestones predominate. Between these extremes is a variety of rocks. All have been folded and distorted by great earth movements and the heat thus generated has produced a stone which is very hard, does not break into regular shapes and is difficult to work.

Decorative carving for window frames and doorheads is, as a result, rare, but the Pembrokeshire masons, particularly in the south, became expert in the use of rough stone for walls and chimneys, and in the technique of vaulting, even in quite small houses.

HISTORY

Like its geology the history of Pembrokeshire is complex, and invasion by the Vikings and trade and communication with Ireland have left their marks particularly in place-names. Clegyr Boia near St. Davids takes its name from an Irish chieftain for example, whilst names like Hasguard and Hubberston may have their origins in the personal names of Norsemen who settled on the shores of Milford Haven. These early settlers have, however, left no evidence in the form of buildings which we can see today.

The Anglo-Norman movement across Glamorgan and into the fertile lands of south Pembrokeshire late in the 11th century, accelerated with the death of Rhys, ruler of South Wales, in 1093, and by the end of the century we see the familiar English-style manorial settlement with its nucleated villages. Many of the churches are basically Norman with later additions; St. Florence near Tenby and Rudbaxton just to the north of Haverfordwest are examples. Village names like Williamston, Eastington and Morvil have a definite English sound.

The north of the county remained predominantly Welsh and although we find the occasional compact village, no doubt due to the influence of the Norman bishops of St. Davids, the settlement pattern is one of small isolated churches, with bell-turrets at the gable, serving tiny crofts scattered over a wide area. These churches contrast with those in the south with their tall square towers.

THE HOUSES

In an introduction such as this it is impossible to consider every kind of house and I propose to ignore the large gentry residences in their estates, the bishops' palaces, and the numerous castles which in S.W. Wales were in effect large fortified houses, and I intend to look at three types of houses which are more or less peculiar to Pembrokeshire. In the area south of Milford Haven, between Pembroke and Tenby, there are a number, some twenty or so, of small stone houses with vaulted undercrofts and sometimes a vaulted upper-floor as well.

Carswell in Penally parish, about two miles west of Tenby is an interesting example and consists of a vaulted undercroft measuring some 13 ft. by 15 ft. with a lateral entrance, four windows and a large fireplace, next to which is a stone bench. Above this is another room, the first-floor hall, only slightly larger than the undercroft, also having four windows and a fireplace with crudely ornamented corbels supporting a stone smoke-hood (FIG. 1).

The roof, now demolished, would have been constructed of timber and thatched. The entrance to the upper room is through a doorway in the gable wall opposite the fireplace, and was presumably reached by means of a wooden stair or ladder. There is no direct access between the hall and the undercroft.

The great chimney-stack which occupies about one third of the total length of the building is a feature of this and many other houses in the district.

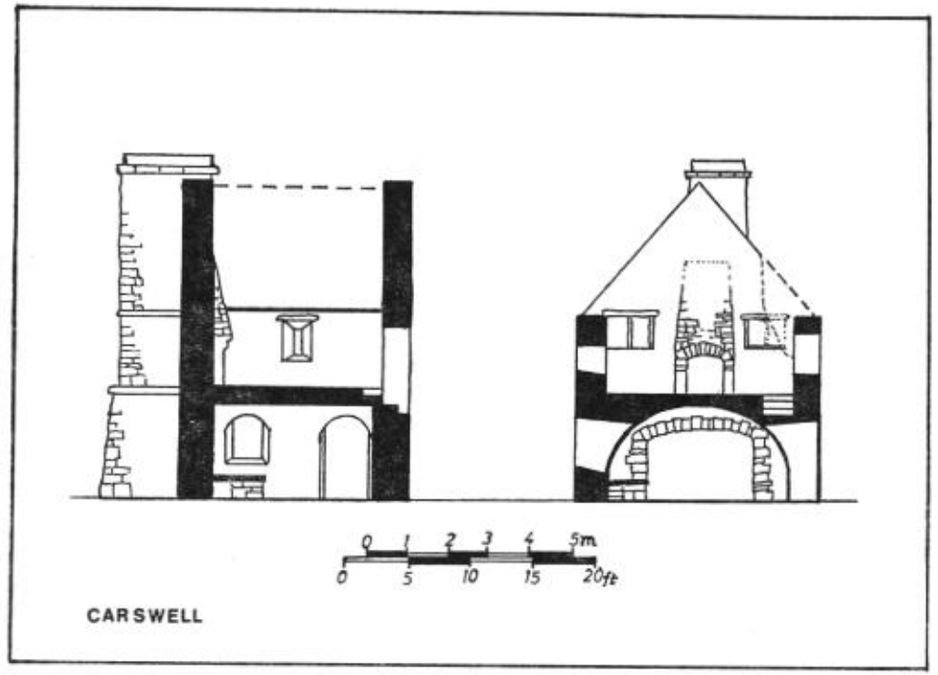

FIG. 1
Carswell, Penally
Vaulted undercroft and first-floor hall with its massive chimney

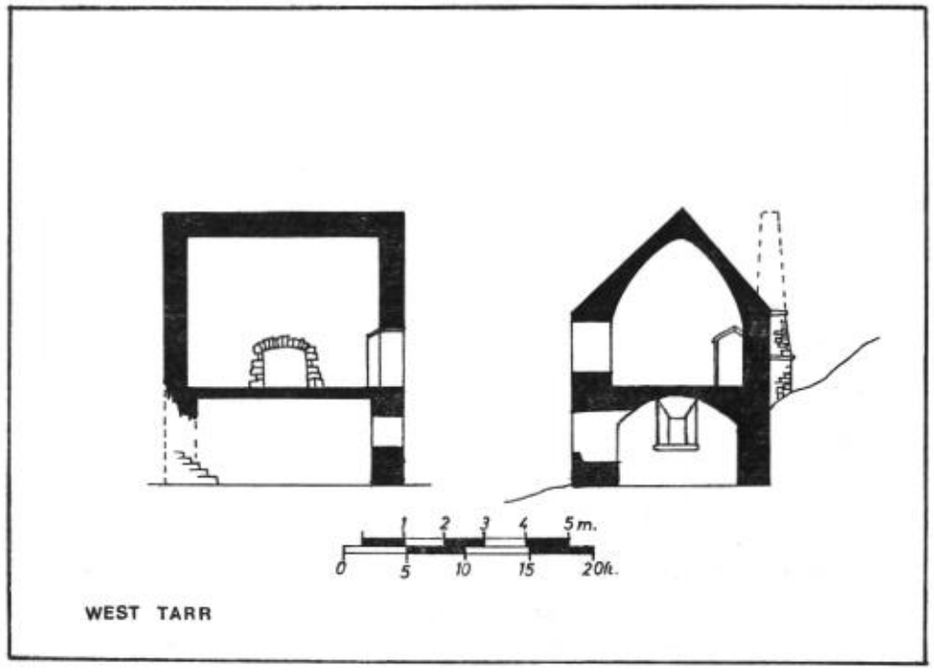

FIG. 2
West Tarr, St. Florence
The chimney, now collapsed, was probably of the cylindrical type similar to those of the bishops' palaces at St. David's and Lamphey

Half a mile to the west, in St. Florence parish, is West Tarr and another tiny example of the vaulted undercroft and first-floor hall. In this instance the hall is vaulted, no timber being used in the construction of the building. The hall measures only 11 ft. by 14 ft., the fireplace is positioned laterally and the entrance is, like Carswell, in one gable wall again with some form of ladder to the ground. In this house there is a very narrow winding stair in the thickness of the wall at one corner to provide access between hall and undercroft (FIG. 2).

On the southern shore of Milford Haven is a much larger and more imposing house, with the very English name of Eastington, possibly built by the Perrot family, who later moved to the even grander residence of Carew Castle.

Eastington is again a first-floor hall over a vaulted undercroft. Measuring 34 ft. by 17 ft. internally, the hall had a roof of timber, probably covered with stone tiles, a large lateral fireplace and a battlemented wall walk. A wing at the north end contained a vaulted parlour and garderobe, whilst marks on the west wall show where the gable of another wing stood at right-angles to the present structure.

As at Carswell there is no internal access between hall and undercroft (PL. 1).

The date of these houses is uncertain and the absence of any decoration leaves only the plan as a guide. In the early part of the 14th century Henry de Gower, Bishop of St. Davids, built fine first-floor halls and undercrofts at St. Davids, Lamphey and a smaller one at Lydstep, and it is quite possible that Pembrokeshire's wealthy merchants and lesser gentry followed his example, perpetuating the earlier Norman style and techniques. A date in the first half of the 14th century would seem reasonable for these buildings.

The second type of house to be considered, again peculiar to Pembrokeshire and found throughout the county, is that with the great round chimney. Apart from the chimney they have certain other, less obvious, features which are no less interesting.

The chimney, standing on a square base, is always lateral, external to the house, and adjacent to the front door. A porch is often extended out level with the chimney. Further rooms are added beside the chimney, and sometimes the porch, to form an outshot. These rooms open into the hall-cum-kitchen and are roofed over with stone or slate slabs quite independently of the thatched roof of the main part of the house. A further outshot is often constructed at the rear of the building to form a house reminiscent of the medieval aisled hall, but it seems doubtful if these houses developed from these aisled structures based on timber-framing techniques (FIG. 3) and (FIG. 4).

Similar outshots on a smaller scale are found in parts of Ireland, notably in Donegal and Mayo, to accommodate the bed and a somewhat similar plan occurs at Tintagel and Trebarwith on the north Cornish coast. Other houses with front protruding chimneys next to the door, and incorporating the cross-passage on the

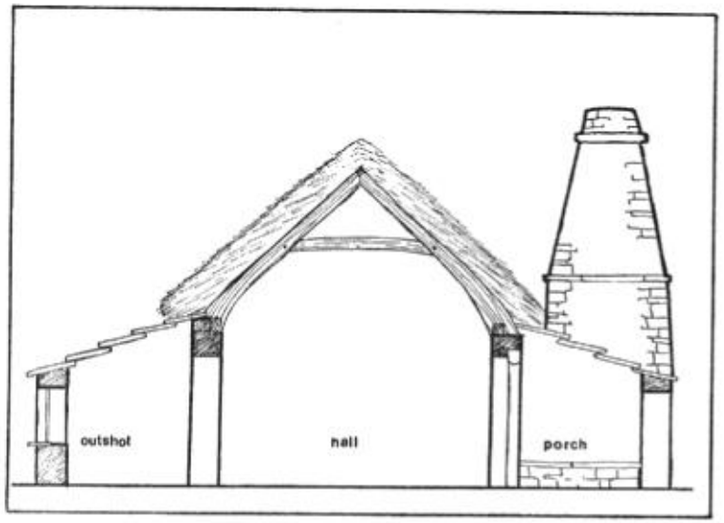

FIG. 3
Section of typical round-chimney farmhouse as originally built

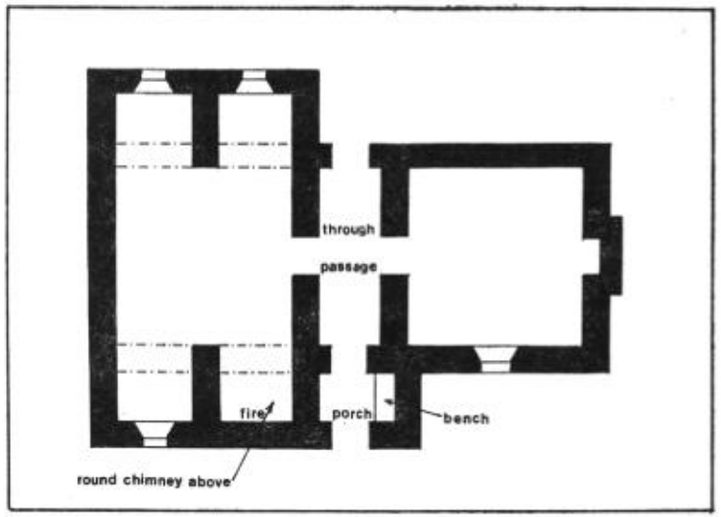

FIG. 4
Plan of typical round-chimney farmhouse as originally built

medieval plan are to be found on the north coasts of Devon and Somerset and it seems reasonable to suppose that, with the interchange of ideas through sea trading between the many small ports around the Celtic Sea, this style of building developed simultaneously on both sides of the Bristol Channel. The outshot technique developed to a greater degree in Pembrokeshire, possibly due to ideas brought by traders from across the Irish Sea. Most examples are farm-houses but there are one or two to be seen in the town of Tenby which were the homes of merchants trading through the port. The National Trust property known as the Tudor Merchant's House is one of these and is open to the public.

J. Romilly Allen described several of these farm-houses in the St. Davids area [1] most of which are now demolished or altered beyond recognition. Rhosson Uchaf, however, still has its round chimneys (PL. II), whilst Garn, three miles S.E. of Fishguard is another unspoiled example. Dating these houses is again difficult but the through-passage plan on which they are based suggests a date not much later than 1600, whilst the pointed door-heads on some examples, together with the tiny double windows with pointed lights found at Pwllcaerog [2] could well be of *c.* 1500. In the absence of any decorative features to suggest a more definite date, these buildings may be ascribed to early in the 16th century.

The third house to be described is by far the most common, and in date the latest. It is the labourer's cottage or crofter's farm-house; externally identical but with some differences internally, they are to be found in every part of the county. Low and single-storied they withstand the high winds of this coastal region.

Basically they consist of one room, a doorway in the centre of one wall and a fireplace, and in this form they must have existed back into prehistoric times.

This basic form of house constructed of mud, sods, stone, or a mixture of all three for the walls, with a roof of turf, heather, straw or stone slates is to be found over most of the western sea-board of the British Isles, including Scotland, Ireland, the Hebrides and parts of northern England as well as Wales. They vary in detail from one region to another and the Pembrokeshire examples have certain features which distinguish them from those of other places.

In other parts of Wales the chimney was often made of wattle or wicker-work and daubed with clay, but in Pembrokeshire few examples of this remain and it would seem to have been very rare. The typical Pembrokeshire fireplace occupies about three-quarters of the width of the house, is constructed of stone or *clom* and is always at the gable end.

In early times and indeed until the middle of the 19th century this single room, measuring as little as 12 ft. by 15 ft., was the only accommodation in which the family lived and slept.

Keepers Cottage at Rudbaxton is of this type, with dimensions of only 24 ft. by 13 ft. and 11 ft. to the apex of the roof. It was constructed of *clom*, a mixture

of mud and pebbles with an outer skin of stone. The chimney base was also of *clom* whilst the top section, where it protruded through the thatch, was of stone (FIG. 5).

The original single room had been divided by a rough partition of match-boarding to form a bedroom and, as in many such houses, a later fireplace had been inserted in the bedroom gable. There was no ceiling above either room, both being open to the roof.

The roof itself was quite crudely constructed of roughly-squared branches forming the trusses, onto which were laid thinner branches to form purlins and ridge-pole. Over these purlins ropes made of twisted straw were carried from one wall over the ridge to the other wall and then back again, repeatedly until the whole roof was covered, thus forming a base on which heather was laid followed by a thatch of straw (PL. III).

This rope work is peculiar to Pembrokeshire, possibly to the north of the county since no examples have been found to date in the south. An alternative to constructing a partition to form two rooms was to use box or cupboard beds. These consisted of wooden cupboards about 6 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep, with a doorway perhaps three feet square and an inserted floor on which could be laid a bed of straw or a mattress. Box beds were often placed in the end of the room remote from the fire and since the top was boarded over, a convenient storage space or shelf was formed (PL. IV).

Box beds are referred to in one of the letters, dated 1736, reproduced by the Pembrokeshire Record Society, an extract of which reads '. . . . a story of an old woman whose husband broke his arm and one of his ribs. When he was brought home he was put into his bed, which was a cupboard bed, as all the people of Stackpole have. When the Doc. came to set his arm, he must break the bed otherwise he could not come at the mans arm to set it right. "By no means" says the old woman, "will I have my bed broken, for it has stood this nine and twenty years and I won't have it broken now", but the doctor thought it right to break it notwithstanding the old woman's anger. The man is recovered and goes abroad again'. This provides a date of about 1700 for these beds, and no doubt they were in use well before then.

A logical development from this shelf formed by the top of the box bed was to board over the whole of the space from wall-top to wall-top, and thus make an upper floor over half of the house. A hessian or boarded front, and a ladder for access, completed what is known as the *croglofft*, and provided a sleeping place for the children of the family.

In early examples the *croglofft* had no light or ventilation and even into the late 19th century the only light was from a small window in the gable some 12 ins. by 15 ins., and ventilation was by the opening in the front (PL. V). The *croglofft* cottage can be identified by this tiny window in the gable next to the bedroom chimney (PL. VI).

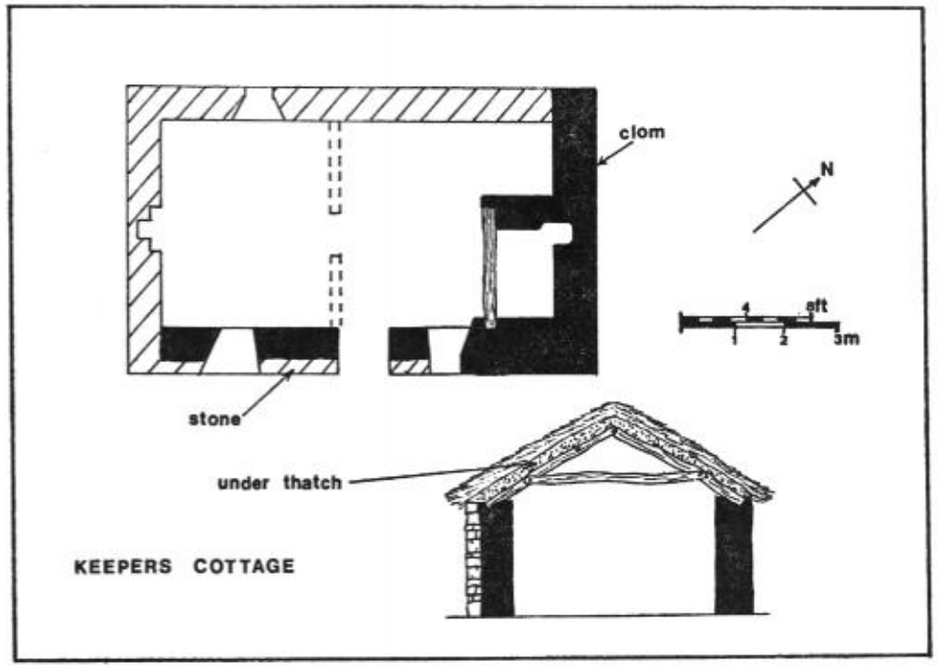

FIG. 5
Keepers Cottage, Rudbaxton
Originally of one room only, it was too low to accommodate a croglofft

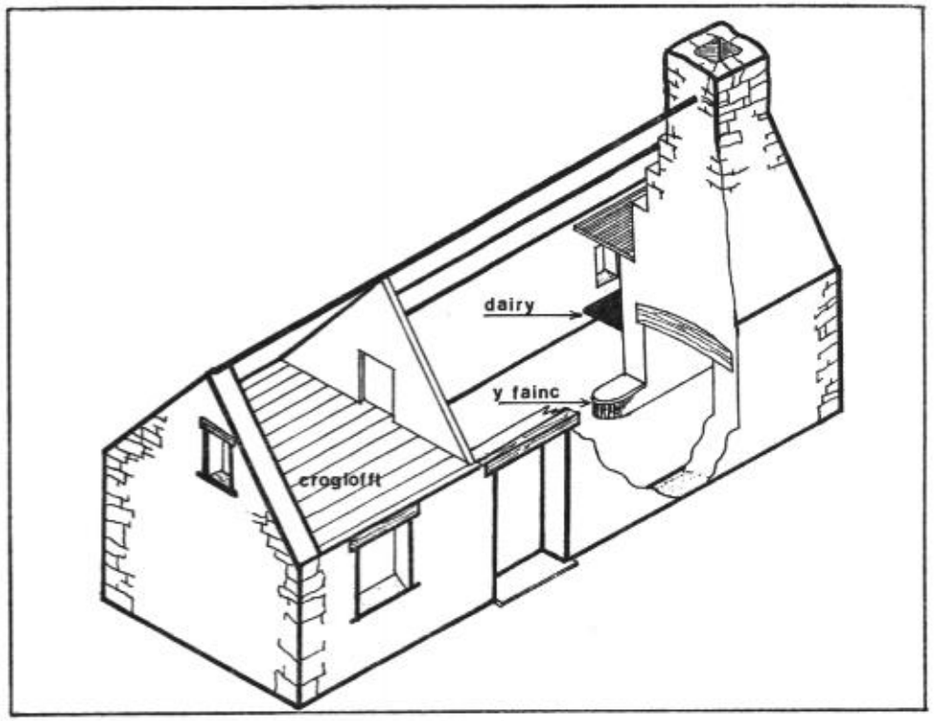

FIG. 6
Diagram of a north Pembrokeshire croglofft cottage showing *y fainc* and dairy with stone slab

In the crofter's cottage, common in the north of the county, the space between the fireplace and the wall was roofed over and used as the dairy. Measuring about four feet square, and often fitted with a stone slab and a small window, the dairy was usually on the north side of the house. The boarded roof kept the milk free from dust from the fire and provided a shelf for storing household articles and utensils (FIG. 6).

Another feature of these Pembrokeshire croft houses was the small stone shelf, a foot or so high, protruding from the fireplace between fire and dairy. Called *y fainc* it was a convenient place to rest pots and pans whilst cooking. Neither the dairy nor the *fainc* are common in the south of the county where the cottages would have been occupied by labourers rather than smallholders or crofters. A house with the odd name of Start Naked in Roch parish is a later example of the crofter's house. It appears to have had the roof raised about the third quarter of the 19th century, and the dairy is now external on the north side of the house. Even at this late date the *croglofft* is retained, lighted by its tiny window, and access being by means of a ladder through a curtain covered hole.

Small low cottages of this type, but without the *croglofft*, are to be found built in rows, rather like the terraces of industrial houses in the Midlands and north of England. They are indeed the Pembrokeshire equivalent of the industrial worker's home. Such a row may be seen at Porth Gain near St. David's built in the 19th century for workers at the slate quarry on the hill above. This row of six two-roomed cottages is still occupied, but mostly by summer visitors. The Sloop Inn in the same village, also of traditional single-storey plan, dates from 1743 (PL. VII).

At Abereiddy, a mile or two to the south, are the remains of another row of quarry workers' cottages. These have the addition of what appears to have been a communal bakehouse or wash-house and nearby was a larger house, no doubt intended for the foreman or quarry supervisor.

The County Museum has restored and furnished a traditional Pembrokeshire cottage at Penrhos near Maenclochog in the north-east of the county. This is open to visitors in the summer and is well worth a visit.

E. T. Lewis in his book on the parish of Llanfyrnach gives an account of the cost of building a cottage for use as an almshouse in 1790. Some of the items listed are as follows: -

	£	s.	d.
'Josiah Hughes bill for walls and carpenters work	8	6	6
Wood Bill, Llwyndewy	2	16	5½
Half Hundd wheat thatch at Wm. Jones		13	0
One Hundd wheat thatch Vachedre, etc.	1	8	0
Boards for doors		7	6
Isaac Jones for thatching		7	5½
Three cart loads lime, etc.		10	6
2 loads stone from Glogue for chimney, etc.		6	0'

The total cost of this house amounted to £22 5s. 8½d. and from the list of materials it would appear to have been built of *clom*, the carpenter's work referring to the construction to support the mud until it had hardened.

At Llanfyrnach in the north of the county is to be found a variation on the industrial cottage referred to above. This is a row of twelve back-to-back houses built to serve the local lead and silver mine, when it enjoyed a period of prosperity at the end of the 18th century (PL. VIII).

Each house consists of a living room measuring 14 ft. by 15 ft., with a cooking range and an under-stair cupboard, and two small bedrooms above. Six of these faced west and were joined to a mirror-image row facing east. Windows and door were therefore possible on only one wall.

By present-day standards these houses leave much to be desired, but compared with the *croglofft* cottage, with its poor light and ventilation, or the single-room hovel in which most of the population existed, these houses with their opening windows in each room must have seemed like palaces to the fortunate miners of Llanfyrnach. Back-to-back houses are by no means peculiar to Pembrokeshire. They occur in most parts of Britain particularly in mining areas. This row, however, appears to be the only one built in this county.

We have considered houses of different periods and sizes, and all but the last mentioned, to some degree peculiar to the county of Pembroke; the early-medieval merchants or gentry house with its first-floor hall, the later medieval farm or town house with its great round chimney and lastly the cottage of stone or *clom* which housed the labourer or crofter from prehistoric times and is now much sought after as a holiday home for the summer visitor.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For permission to photograph and reproduce the picture of the cupboard bed—The Curator, Pembrokeshire County Museum.

The extract from Pembrokeshire Life 1572-1843—The Pembrokeshire Record Society.

The extract from Llanfyrnach Parish Lore—Mr. E. T. Lewis, Messrs. C. I. Thomas & Sons (Haverfordwest) Ltd.

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The Origins of the Diocese of Hereford

By JOSEPH HILLABY

THE diocese of Hereford, according to the traditional account, was founded in 676. In that year bishop Putta fled from his cathedral church at Rochester which had been destroyed by the Mercian king Aethelred, 674-704, and established his seat on the banks of the Wye at Hereford. Here he remained bishop until his death in 688 when he was succeeded by Tyrhthel.

A number of writers have had serious reservations about the role of Putta in the early history of the diocese.[1] Indeed such are the conflicts in the evidence that Stenton attempted to resolve them by putting forward the suggestion that there were two Puttas, one Kentish and the other Mercian. Nevertheless, the traditional account has retained its hold and 1976 was chosen as the year to celebrate the 1300th anniversary of the foundation of the see. This is an appropriate occasion for a careful assessment of the evidence relating to that event, to ascertain whether Putta was the first bishop and, if not, what the circumstances were in which the diocese was established. Such an examination will span the episcopacy of the first five bishops in the customary lists—Putta, Tyrhthel, Torhthere, Walhstod and Cuthbert—the period from about 676 to 740, when Cuthbert left Hereford to become archbishop of Canterbury.

Four documentary sources provide evidence for the foundation of the diocese —Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* contemporary charters, the Old English episcopal lists and William of Malmesbury's description of the 8th-century monuments in Hereford cathedral. Evidence from these sources must also be placed in a wider context. The political and religious circumstances of the area in the 7th and 8th centuries must be considered, particularly in relation to the history of the folk who lived west of the Severn. Called the Western Hecani, and later the *Magonsaetan,* they formed a sub-kingdom of Mercia with their own dynasty. It was to serve these people that the diocese was established.

BEDE'S 'ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY'

Completed in 731, fifty-five years after the events with which we are concerned, this is the only source for the life and character of Putta. Yet nowhere, and at no time, does Bede ascribe to Putta a bishop's seat on the banks of the Wye, nor, indeed, anywhere else west of the Severn.

Bede refers to Putta in three passages in Book IV of the *Ecclesiastical History,* that is in chapters two, five and twelve.[2] In the first passage he indicates the circumstances of Putta's ordination as bishop of Rochester by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, in 669.

> 'From that time the knowledge of sacred music, which had hitherto been known only in Kent, began to be taught in all the English churches. With the exception of James already mentioned, the first singing master in the Northumbrian churches was Eddius, surnamed Stephen, who was invited from Kent by the most worthy Wilfrid, who was the first bishop of the English race to introduce the catholic way of life to the English churches. . .'
>
> 'Wilfrid was sent to Gaul from Britain to be consecrated and, since he returned before Theodore's arrival, he ordained priests and deacons even in Kent until such time as the archbishop arrived at his own see. When Theodore came soon afterwards to the city of Rochester, where the bishopric had long been vacant after the death of Damian, he consecrated a man whose name was Putta. The latter was very learned in ecclesiastical matters but showed little interest in secular affairs and was content with a simple life. He was especially skilled in liturgical chanting after the Roman manner, which he had learned from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory'.[3]

Bede himself drew on the *Life of Wilfrid,* written by that 'first singing master in the Northumbrian churches, Eddius, surnamed Stephen' for much of this passage.[4] From Eddius' *Life* we learn that Putta was one of those priests and deacons ordained by Wilfrid before the arrival of Theodore.

> 'Egbert, too, the pious king of Kent, summoned our bishop [Wilfrid] to his presence, and there he ordained many priests, one of whom was Putta who afterwards became a bishop, and not a few deacons. For Deusdedit, who had been appointed bishop after the death of archbishop Honorious, was dead'.[5]

Initially, therefore, Putta's advance was under the patronage of Wilfrid, whose over-riding concern, apart from the introduction of Benedictine monasticism into England, was the eradication of the Celtic and the establishment of the Roman ways in church life, especially the grave and decorous manner of singing the mass and office known as the Gregorian chant. Putta's skill in plainsong, which he had learned from 'the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory', possibly including Eddius Stephanus himself, was his chief qualification for the see of Rochester. This skill he retained to the end of his life.

Unfortunately, not only did he show little interest in secular affairs, but he also lacked the fortitude and resolution required to exercise episcopal office in such troubled times. After describing, in the second passage, Putta's attendance at the Council of Hertford in 670 as 'bishop of the Kentish castle, called Rochester',[6] Bede tells us, in the final passage, of Putta's flight to Seaxwulf, bishop of the Mercians, after his see had been devastated by the Mercian king Aethelred, in 676.

> 'In the year of our Lord 676 Aethelred, king of the Mercians, at the head of a cruel army, devastated Kent, profaning churches and monasteries without respect for religion or fear of God. In the general devastation he also destroyed Rochester, Putta's see, though the bishop was absent at the time. When Putta found that his church was destroyed and all its contents removed he went to Seaxwulf, bishop of the Mercians, who granted him a [certain] church and a small estate, where he ended his life in peace, making no attempt whatever to re-establish his bishopric; for, as was said before, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical than with worldly affairs. So he served God [only] in this church and went round wherever he was invited, teaching church music. Instead of him Theodore consecrated Cwichelm as bishop of Rochester. But when the latter left the bishopric soon afterwards for lack of means and went elsewhere Theodore appointed Gefmund in his place'.[7]

Bede is in no doubt about the character of Putta. In the first passage, from chapter two, he comments that Putta 'showed little interest in secular affairs and was content with a simple life.' This is consciously reiterated in the final passage

'making no attempt whatever to re-estabish his bishopric; for, as was said before, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical than worldly affairs.' However, worldly affairs could not be ignored for, in the 7th century, the bishop of this frontier area, west of the Severn, was the bishop of the local tribe, the Western Hecani. They had their own tribal sub-kingdom within Mercia, with their own ruler or *regulus.* As such, the episcopal role would have an important political context. Would others, bearing in mind Putta's flight from Rochester in 676 and his character as described by Bede, regard his outstanding ability in plain-song as the requisite quality for such a pioneering mission on Mercia's wild Celtic frontier?

There is even more conclusive evidence that Putta was not the first bishop of the people west of the Severn. Bede states that Putta, after accepting the church and small estate from Seaxwulf, served God *only* in that church, and that whenever he left that church it was when he was invited for the specific purpose of teaching church music. This is not the description of the duties of a bishop. In the late 7th century archbishop Theodore of Tarsus was struggling to divide England into dioceses of reasonable size. Eventually he was able to split the southern province of Canterbury into thirteen, and the northern province of York into four, bishoprics but the division of the diocese into a comprehensive system of parishes was not yet an ideal. In such circumstances the episcopal function was essentially pastoral and peripatetic and the bishop was expected to visit each year, every part of his see or *parochia* as it was called at that time.[8]

We know that this was so because Bede, in what was possibly his last work, *The Epistle to bishop Egbert,* described such duties in detail, and with loving care.[9] In this letter he contrasted the 'seeking of earthly profit' and the neglect of their duties by some of his contemporaries with the dedication and spirituality of the bishops of the mid-7th century. He explains in a series of memorable passages how Egbert should 'rule and feed Christ's sheep', following the example of the latter.

> 'The covetous, Christ saith, "shall not inherit the kingdom of God". For when a bishop moved of the love of money hath taken under title of his prelacy more people than he can by any means within the space of one year pass through and preach unto, or go about and visit, he is plainly shewn to be the cause of a peril which shall be right ruinous both to himself and to those over whom he hath been preferred with the false title of prelate'.
>
> 'We have heard', Bede reports with indignation, 'that there are many hamlets and steadings of our nation, lying amongst inaccessible mountains and bosky valleys, where in the passage of many years no bishop hath been seen, which should perform some ministerial act or bestow some heavenly grace'.[10]

To such a minor figure in his grand story as Putta, Bede devotes considerable attention. On the simple character and unworldly attitudes of Putta he is not merely explicit but he reinforces his statements by subsequent repetition.[11] He is equally explicit about Putta's career after 676. One must conclude that Bede is here recording matters on which he is well informed and of the accuracy of which he is fully confident, for he took great care to distinguish between reliable sources and unsubstantiated report. In drawing up his *Life of St. Cuthbert,* for

example, first he submitted his witnesses to his own *subtilissima examinatio* and then he invited criticism of his work from those who had known Cuthbert well. Of Bede's historical method Stenton has said 'His preface reads like the introduction to a modern work of scholarship', and 'in regard to all the normal substance of history his work can be judged as strictly as any historical writing of any time'.[12] Mommsen went further 'few writers have treated matters of fact with such laborious accuracy'.[13]

Thus the details of the career of Putta as recorded by Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History* are wholly at variance with the traditional story of the exiled bishop of Rochester founding a new diocese in the extensive, remote and troubled western borderland of the Mercian kingdom. Any source relating to the origins of the diocese that conflicts with the evidence of the *Ecclesiastical History,* the 'essential quality of which carries it into the small class of books which transcend all but the most fundamental conditions of time and space', will, therefore, have to be submitted to very careful examination.[14]

CONTEMPORARY CHARTERS

The charters of the period are the only fully contemporary evidence available to us. These documents took a variety of forms, such as deeds of gift, leases or wills, but they all recorded formally the granting of land or rights over land. However, many are spurious or, at the best, of doubtful authenticity. There was considerable temptation for ecclesiastical institutions with the clerical skill at their disposal to forge such charters, frequently at a much later date, to secure legal safeguards for lands and privileges that were not already so protected. From our point of view, the value of the charter as evidence lies in the attestation—the list of witnesses that appears at the end. The authenticity of the charter has to be established, but even so a spurious charter may embody some authentic material, including the attestation, drawn from earlier genuine charters.

In Birch's great collection of the texts of Anglo-Saxon charters, the *Cartularium Saxonicum* of 1839-1848, Putta's name is found as witness to three charters, all ascribed to the years 680-81.[15] Critical comment is provided in the recent annotated list of *Anglo-Saxon Charters* edited by Sawyer.[16]

Charter I[17] relates to the grant in 681 by Aethelmod of land 'next to the river which is called Cervelle' to the minster church of Bath. This river, it has been suggested, was the Cherwell which rises in Northamptonshire and joins the Isis at Oxford.[18] Putta is described in the list of witnesses as 'bishop by the grace of God'. The authenticity of the charter is not in doubt.[19] It places Putta, still carrying the title of bishop, within the circle of the Mercian court at that time, for the others that attested the charter with him included the Mercian king Aethelred, the man who had ravaged Kent five years earlier, Bosel, who had become bishop of the Hwicce (Worcester) the previous year, 680, and archbishop Theodore.

Charter II[20] purports to be a grant in 681 by Wigheard, to the Abbess *Bernguidis* and the same minster church at Bath, of 40 *manentes* of land by the river Cherwell. The witnesses include 'Putta, archbishop by the grace of God'! This charter is fundamentally a fabrication, though some of the details, including the names in the list of witnesses at the end, may well have been taken from Charter I. This was entered on the adjoining page of the same Cartulary of Bath priory.[21] Charter II can, therefore, add nothing to the conclusions already drawn from Charter I. What degree of authenticity its list of witnesses has is dependant upon material derived from Charter I.

Charter III purports to be a grant in 680 by Aethelred, king of the Mercians, of extensive lands to the minster of St. Peter at Medeshamstede (Peterborough) which has been added to a bull of Pope Agatho of the same year.[22] The attestations include that of 'Putta, bishop of Rochester'. The charter is found in the 'E' version of the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* which was drawn up by a monk of Peterborough in or after 1121.[23] The copyist added to the original text a range of local material. This included the following entry under the year 963:

> 'Later Bishop Aethelwald came to the monastery which was called Peterborough, which had formerly been destroyed by the heathen; he found there nothing but old walls and wild woods. There he found, hidden in the old wall, documents which Abbot Headda had formerly written—how King Wulfhere and Aethelred, his brother, had built it, and how they had made it free of king and of bishop and of all secular service, and how Pope Agatho had confirmed this with his charter',[24]

whilst the charter itself was added to the entry for the year 675. It has been suggested that this charter, a 'late and clumsy fabrication',[25] was possibly the work of a monk of St. Medard at Soissons, a house 'notorious for its frauds in respect of relics, hagiography, and charters'. Before he had died, a monk called Guerno had confessed to the forgery of papal privileges for divers monasteries.[26] Yet, even though this is one of a group of notable Peterborough forgeries of the early 12th century, Stenton has argued that this charter, and the group to which it belongs, cannot be dismissed, because it contains a significant amount of earlier local material.[27] It seeks to ascribe certain of the privileges of the monastery at Peterborough to Pope Agatho. As the author's knowledge of this Pope was derived from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* he must have been aware of Putta's flight from Rochester in 676.[28] Nevertheless he is quite prepared to describe Putta as bishop of Rochester in 680. Clearly neither the forger, nor the earlier sources on which Stenton suggests he drew, were aware of any tradition that Putta subsequently became bishop of Hereford.

Such charter evidence as there is throws very little additional light on Putta's career after 676. The use of the title *episcopus* after his name in Charter I does not necessarily signify that Putta was continuing to exercise an episcopal function in 681. According to the custom of the time he would retain the title of bishop for such a formality although he had withdrawn from active participation in the office. The attestations to Aethelmod's grant of land next to the Cherwell does

show Putta in Mercia and closely associated with the court after five years of exile. It thus confirms Bede's account of Putta's departure from Rochester to Mercia. On the central issue of whether Putta was the first bishop of a new Mercian diocese west of the Severn it is neutral. It in no way contradicts, but it does not confirm, the conclusion drawn from the *Ecclesiastical History* that Bede in describing the work of Putta after 676 is not describing the work of a bishop.

THE OLD ENGLISH EPISCOPAL LISTS

If there is no firm evidence, either in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* or in contemporary charters, of Putta as bishop of the diocese which became Hereford, what is the basis of the tradition? It is derived from the lists of the archbishops and bishops of the several Anglo-Saxon sees given by two 11th-century chroniclers. These were Florence (or John) of Worcester, in the Appendix to the *Chronicon ex chronicis* of 1117,[29] and William of Malmesbury, in the text of his *Gesta Pontificum* of 1125.[30] Florence lists the bishops of Hereford under the title 'Hecana, the names of the bishops of the Magesetas, or people of Herefordshire,' with Putta at the head. William of Malmesbury tells us in his section 'On the bishops of Hereford' that 'these from the first were bishops, Putta, Tyrhthel, Torhthere, Walhstod, and Cuthbert afterwards archbishop of Canterbury'.

Both writers derive their lists in part from Bede, Eddius Stephanus and others, from letters and charters, but more particularly from a number of Old English episcopal lists or post-conquest copies. There are eight such manuscript episcopal lists surviving. Three of these give details for the southern diocese only. Of the remaining five manuscripts, four list the names of the bishops of Hereford. These four, generally referred to as the Vespasian group, also give genealogies of the ruling houses of Anglo-Saxon England. The Vespasian group manuscripts are:

1. British Museum, Cotton MS., Vespasian B VI ff. 107^{v}-110
2. British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B V ff. 19^{v}-23
3. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS., 183 ff. 61-64
4. *Textus Roffensis,* ff. 102-16

All eight of the episcopal lists together with those of Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury have been the subject of detailed critical examination by Page,[31] whilst the four royal genealogies have been studied by Sisam.[32] We are fortunate, therefore, in that we have a firm basis for commenting on matters of transmission, credibility and historical setting.[33]

All four commence their 'Hereford' list—although it is not so described in the title at the head of any of the four lists—with Putta as the first bishop. To assess the reliability of this evidence it is necessary to establish the provenance or origin of the lists. Are the four manuscripts based on one or a number of

early sources? What was the historical context of the original or originals? It has, in fact, been shown that the four lists do derive from a single archetype.[34] Furthermore, Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury's episcopal lists, which are closely related, have a common source which itself is based on that archetype.[35]

The *Textus Roffensis* is a copy drawn up at Rochester at the beginning of the 12th century,[36] which is closely related in most of its lists, including Hereford, to Tiberius B V.[37] It can, therefore, be omitted from further consideration.

Two of the three remaining manuscripts are of southern English origin. The first, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 183 brings only the lists for Canterbury and the West Saxon diocese up to about 937. Its other diocesan lists go no further than about 840. This, it has been suggested, was probably compiled at Glastonbury between 934-42.[38] The second, the Tiberius B V lists, are a Christ Church, Canterbury, compilation and have been dated 989-95.[39] (FIG. 1).

The third manuscript, Vespasian B VI, is of Mercian origin.[40] Its calligraphy is of the same school as that of the Mercian charters of the period. Of the royal genealogies only that of Mercia is brought up to the date of its compilation with the name of the reigning Mercian king, Cenwulf (796-821). In all probability it originated in Lichfield and remained there throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The episcopal lists in the manuscript indicate that it was drawn up about 812. It is, therefore, by a very considerable margin the oldest of the three texts.

What is the relationship between the three manuscripts? Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 183 and Tiberius B V do not give independent evidence on episcopal succession before 840.[41] Both, it has been suggested, derive from a common source, now lost, described as 'CT', which was very closely related to the earlier and Mercian Vespasian B VI. There is no clear evidence that this common original, CT, was independent of Vespian B VI.[42] CT must have come south from Mercia about 840 to provide the base for the two later southern texts. Vespasian B VI thus provides, for our purposes, the master text from which all the others have come. This is the source of the tradition of Putta as first bishop of Hereford.

Moreover, its provenance, Lichfield, at the heart of the Mercian kingdom, and its date about 812—some eighty years after Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*—should invest it with considerable authority, for Lichfield was the mother diocese of all Mercia. It was here, at St. Mary's where his well can be seen a short distance from the later cathedral, that St. Chad established his seat in 669,[43] and it was here with Seaxwulf, bishop of Lichfield and the yet undivided Mercian diocese, that Putta had sought refuge in 676. Even after it was divided, Lichfield retained its pre-eminence in Mercia and for a short time, from 788 to 803, during the reign of Offa, it became the centre of a third English archbishopric.[44]

British Museum, Cotton MS., Vespasian B VI, f. 108 v	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS., 183, f. 63 v	British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B V, f. 21 v
Lichfield, c. 812 ?	Glastonbury, 934-942 ?	Christ Church, Canterbury, 989-995 ?
Nomina Episcoporum	Nomina Episcoporum	NOMINA EPISCOPORUM
Uestor E [1]	Uuestor Elih	
p Saex.	post Seaxuulfum	
i Putta	i Putta	j Putta
ii Tyrhthel(m)[2]	ii Tyrhthelm	ii Torhelm
iii Torhthere	iii Torhthere	iii Torhthere
iiii Walhston	iiii Walhstod	iiii Ealhstod
v Cuthberht	v Cuthberht	v Cuthberht
vi Podda	vi Podda	vi Dodda
vii Acca	vii Acca	vii Acca
viii Headda	viii Aldberht	viii Ceadda
viiii Aldberht	viiii Esne	viiii Aldberht
x Esne	x Ceolmund	x Esne
xi Ceolmund	xi Utel	xi Ceolmund
xii Utel	xii Uulfheard	xii Vtel
xiii Uulfheard	xiiii Beonna	xiii Uulfheard
	xv Eadwulf	xiiii Peonna
	xvi Cuthwulf	xv Eadwulf
	xvii	

FIG. 1

The succession of the early bishops of the Western Hecani according to the three Old English episcopal lists

[1] Four letters faded and now undecipherable
[2] One letter (m?) scratched out

We are thus presented with a clear cut conflict. Bede, writing in Northumbria before 731, described Putta as serving God, only, in that church given to him by Seaxwulf and leaving it only when invited to teach plain-song. The Mercian scribe of Vespasian B VI, writing at Lichfield about 812, by placing Putta's name at the head of the list of the bishops of the Hereford diocese, showed Putta as the first to establish his see west of the Severn.

This apparent conflict can be resolved. Vespasian B VI is not always accurate. Sisam has pointed out some disquieting features in the royal genealogies. In a list of eight early names in the Kentish pedigree there are two misreadings and two inversions of order.[45] Similarly, in the list of the Hereford bishops there are two major errors in the first four names but there are no errors in any of the nine names that follow.[46] The last letter in the name of the second bishop Tyrhthel has been scratched out. This would almost certainly have been a final 'm', as found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 183 and British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B V. Vespasian B VI has the incorrect version, Walhston, rather than the correct, Walstod, for the name of the fourth bishop. Even though he is listing the names of the bishops of a Mercian diocese, the Lichfield scribe is clearly on unfamiliar ground with the first four bishops. This does not suggest a close acquaintance with the Hereford diocese before the episcopate of Cuthbert, 736-40.

Furthermore, Sisam has sought to show that there were political motives for the original compilation of the royal genealogies, and episcopal lists. Vespasian B VI is derived, he suggests, from a late 8th-century original drawn up in the last years of the reign of Offa, 757-96, when the power of Mercia was at its peak. This was an important stage in the development from the small tribal kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England to the unified English state of the pre-conquest era. By 774 Offa was styling himself *rex anglorum,* 'king of the English', and *rex totius Anglorum patriae,* 'king of the whole land of the English'. Offa even aspired to parity of esteem with Charlemagne. The original of Vespasian B VI strengthened such claims by showing, in a society where ancestry was still of vital importance, that 'no contemporary king could surpass him in the ancestors that tradition gave him among the kings of Angel'.[47]

Offa's desire for supremacy had an ecclesiastical as well as a political context and the lists of English bishops recall Offa's leading role in church affairs. His ecclesiastical policy eventually led to the creation, in 788, of an archbishopric at Lichfield for his own kingdom of Mercia.[48] The late 8th-century original of Vespasian B VI is probably best understood as an important element in the campaign either to prepare the ground for or to justify such a blatant departure from what was already a hallowed tradition—Gregory the Great's plan for the government of the English church. Following the precedents of the late Roman Empire this had laid down that there should be only two provinces in England. The Lichfield archdiocese was shortlived, for it had only one archbishop, Hygeberht.

Offa's successor, Cenwulf, once he had established Mercian control over Kent, and therefore Canterbury, found no further need to defend this third, Mercian, archbishopric and in 803 the metropolitan dignity given to Lichfield was withdrawn.[49] The Lichfield scribe, recasting the lists in their new form as Vespasian B VI about 811, obviously suffered considerable embarrassment at the whole episode, for the Mercian archbishopric, although extinct only some eight years, was passed over in total silence in the episcopal lists he drew up.

Nevertheless, clear evidence of Offa's campaign remains in the lists of Vespasian B VI. His letter to Pope Hadrian, which had sought to justify a third archdiocese, had emphasised the wide extent of his lands.[50] The episcopal lists strove to underline this point. They sought to show that, in the time of Seaxwulf, who had become a bishop about 675, and of his predecessors at Lichfield, the authority of the Mercian see had extended over an area so wide that it had been divided subsequently into five dioceses. This effect was achieved by placing Seaxwulf's name at the head of each of the lists of bishops for the four new dioceses carved out of Lichfield in the late 7th century—Lindsey (Lincolnshire), Leicester, Worcester and Hereford. Thus, for example, we have, 'the names of the bishop of Lindsey after Seaxwulf', '*Nomina Episcopo(rum) Lindisfarnorum post Seaxwulfum'*, as the title at the head of the list of the bishops of Lindsey (FIG. 2 and MAP 1).

The arrangement in Vespasian B VI of the four new 'Mercian' dioceses gives the clear impression that these probably highly random and piecemeal changes in the Lichfield diocese were the result of a deliberate Mercian act of state. In the early 12th century, Florence of Worcester even went so far as to say, to the utter confusion of later generations, that it was carried out by archbishop Theodore at the request of King Aethelred and with the consent of the Mercian Witangemot in 679.[51] In this, Florence was amplifying the text of the episcopal lists These merely said that 'afterwards, to speak the truth, it was divided into five dioceses', *postea vero in V parrochias dividitur.*

The fivefold division of Lichfield was not, in fact, the result of any such Mercian act of state in 679. Bede tells us that the diocese of Lindsey had been established by the Northumbrian king Egfrid, after he had defeated and killed the Mercian king Wulfhere in 675 and annexed Lindsey in 678.[52] Such a discrepancy could not appear in the lists and this untoward affair of a Northumbrian king creating an independent tribal diocese for Lindsey was, as we have noted, suitably disguised by the formula 'Names of the bishops of Lindsey after Seaxwulf' (MAP 1).

A further discrepancy had to be overcome. In Lindsey and at Worcester the new dioceses were undoubtedly established in or about 679 and the names of their first bishops are well substantiated by Bede and contemporary charters.[53] At Hereford this was not the case, as we have noted. This discrepancy had to be overcome in order to fill the gap between the supposed fivefold division of the

LICHFIELD

Nomina Episcoporum prouinciarum Merciorum·

Primus in prouincia Merciorum
et Lindisfarorum ac Mediteranerum
Anglorum episcopus

j· Diuma
·ii Cellah· ambo de Scottia·
iii Trumhere de natione Anglorum·
iiii Gearomon·
v· Ceadda
vi· Wynfrith
vii Saexwulf·

Postea uero ·in·v· parrochias diuiditur

LICHFIELD

post Sæxuulfum prouincia Merciorum duos episcopos habuit· Headdan et Wilfridum·

Postea Uuilfridus eiectus· et Headda praefatus regebat ambas parrochias· DEinde Alduine qui et Uuor nominabatur Iterum diuisa est in duas parrochias

i Huita
ii Hemele
iii Cuthfrith
iiii Berhthun
v Hygberht
vi Alduulf
Hereuinne
Oetheluuald
Hunberht

LEICESTER

i Totta
ii Eadberht
iii Unuuona
iiii Uuærenberht
Rethhun

LINDSEY

Nomina Episcoporum Lindisfarnorum post Sæx pulfum·

i Eadhaeth
ii Aetheluine
iii Eadgar
iiii Cyneberht
v Alouuioh
vi Alduulf
vii Ceoluulf
viii Eaduulf

WORCESTER

Nomina Episcoporum Huicciorum post Saexwulfum

i Bosel
ii Oftfor
iii Ecguuine
iiii Uuilfrith
v Milred
vi Uermund
vii Tilhere
viii Heathored
viiii Deneberht
Heaberht

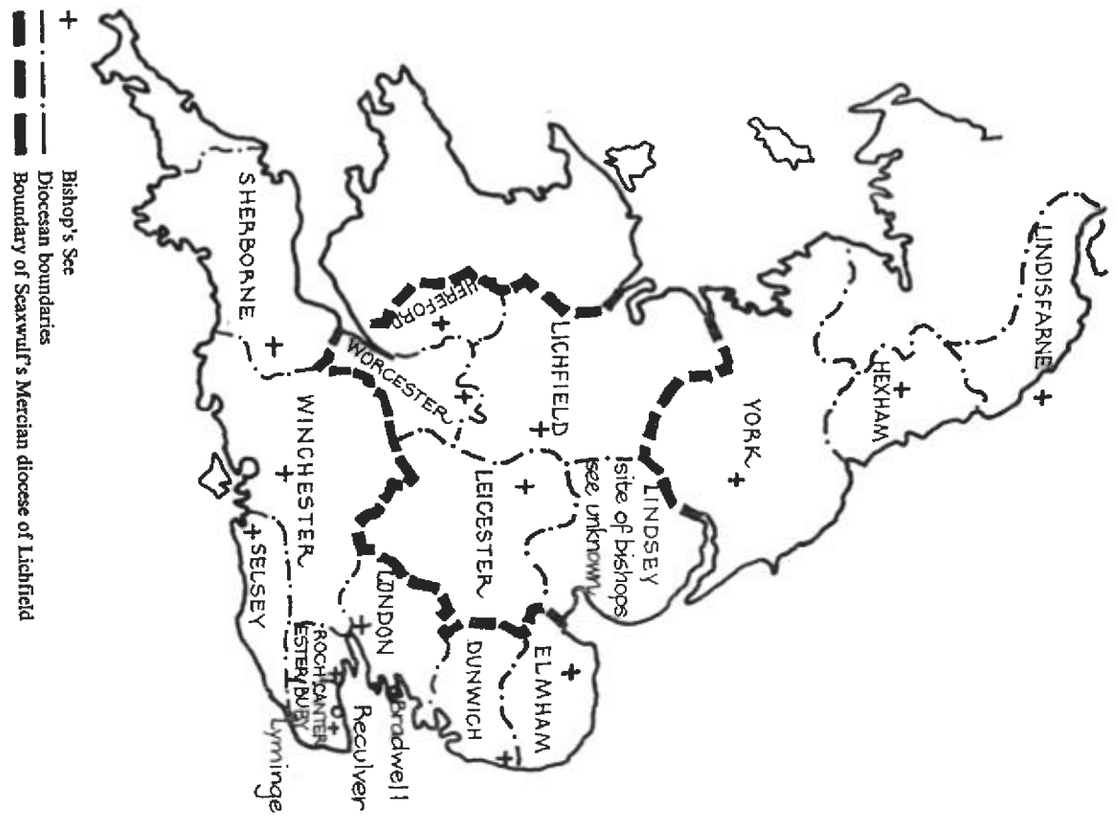
HEREFORD

Nomina Episcoporum Uestor É · p ·
Sæx .

i Putta
ii Tyrhthel[m]
iii Torhthere
iiii Walhston
v Cuthberht
vi Podda
vii Acca
viii Headda
viiii Aldberht
x Esne
xi Ceolmund
xii Utel
xiii Uulfheard

FIG. 2

Diagram of the division of Lichfield diocese and the succesion of the Mercian bishops, based on British Museum MS., Vespasian B VI



MAP 1

The Anglo-Saxon dioceses, c. 700, showing the Lichfield diocese of Seaxwulf as it was c. 676 and its subsequent fivefold division.

Mercian diocese in 679 and the episcopacy of Tyrhthel—the second bishop in the traditional Hereford list but, in reality, the first person of whom we have indisputable evidence as bishop. As our first record of Tyrhthel is his attestation of a charter in 693 there would have been a gap of some fourteen years.[54]

If this is so the author of the original episcopal lists, writing some hundred years after the event, at the end of the 8th century, and with only a hazy knowledge of Tyrhthel, and of Walhstod, whose names, as we have seen, he seriously misspelt, had to fill the fourteen years gap. His answer to the problem was Putta. Mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History* in the paragraph preceding his account of the foundation of the Lindsey diocese in 679, did not Bede say that Putta had received a church from Seaxwulf? Who better, therefore, to head the list of bishops west of the Severn 'after Seaxwulf' than Putta?

BISHOP CUTHBERT'S INSCRIPTIONS AND THE BURIAL CHAPEL AT THE CATHEDRAL, 736-740

Highly important evidence about the early history of the diocese and bishops of Hereford is provided by William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta Pontificum*. William had visited Hereford before 1125 and began his section on the diocese with a first-hand description of the city at that time. 'It was not large', he tells us, 'but it showed itself, by the remains of steep ditches, to have been something great'.[55] Then, after listing the names of the first bishops, commencing as we have seen with Putta, he quotes two verse inscriptions he had seen within the cathedral.

These were the work of Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford from 736 to 740 and fifth in the traditional line. The first, Cuthbert had had inscribed on a cross of great magnificence adorned with gold and silver which his immediate predecessor, Walhstod, had begun but had not completed before his death about 736.[56] The second had been inscribed, on Cuthbert's instructions, at the burial place he had constructed at the cathedral for six local dignitaries. Three of these were prelates who had gone before him, Walhstod, Torhthere and Tyrhthel. The others were Mildfrith, prince or *regulus* of the Western Hecani, with his wife, Cyneburh, and 'Oshelm, son of Osfrith',—a man of whom we know nothing further.

Item super sepulchrum antecessorum.

Qui quondam extiterant famosi altique per orbem,
Corpora sena tenet horum hic marmor obumbrans.
Tumbaque mirifico præsens fabricata decore
Desuper ex alto cohibet cum culmine tecta.
Hos ego Cudbertus, sacri successor honoris,
Inclusi titulis, exornavique sepulchris.
Pontifices ex his ternos sancta infula cinxit,
Nomina sunt quorum Walhstodus, Torhtere, Tirhtil;
Regulus est quartus Milfrith cum conjuge pulchra
Cuenburga, exstitit e senis hæc ordine quinta.
Sextus præterea est Oselmi filius Osfrith.

If the verses of the inscriptions are genuine, and quoted *verbatim* as the text indicates, these lines provide us with valuable evidence from a local source only five years after Bede had completed his *Ecclesiastical History*. Indeed Stubbs has said that, if they are genuine, they provide 'two of the most interesting relics of 8th-century English history, besides charters and councils of the church.'[57]

It seems beyond doubt that the texts of these inscriptions as quoted by William of Malmesbury, are authentic and have been quoted *verbatim*. Firstly, we have independent evidence of Cuthbert as an epigraphist. The antiquarian Leland saw a volume of Cuthbert's epigrams, now lost, in the library of Malmesbury Abbey immediately prior to its dissolution in 1539.[58] Not only, therefore, did William visit the city himself, but it may well have been from that very volume that he was able, on his return to Malmesbury, to copy so exactly the verses inscribed on the cross and the tombs at Hereford.

Secondly, all that we know from other sources of Cuthbert's character and of his career after he became archbishop of Canterbury in 740, confirms what William has to say about his work at Hereford. 'These verses, which formerly were seen by me, will show forth the worthiness of the man, how much he revered his predecessors and how he brought to completion by his own labour what they had begun to adorn the house of God'.[59] Cuthbert's work at Hereford, 736-740, and at Canterbury, 740-58, was characterised by the same over-riding interests, to enhance the honour and prestige of his cathedral church and to ensure due respect for his predecessors in the see. We have a moving personal expression of his faith in a letter he wrote in 754:

> 'What ought we—timid, I fear, and too little kindled by zeal for righteousness—chiefly to do, other than unceasingly to demand the help of the holy apostles and martyrs of Christ and of the venerable bishops of the churches of God; that in this office to which we were called and appointed, the grace of Christ may make us to persevere with continual watchfulness; and that we be not false, but accepted, not indolent, but active, not dispersing, but gathering whomsover we can to the unanimity of the Christian religion and the unity of the ecclesiastical mode of life; to the end that the performance of our stewardship and the skill of our labour may redound to the praise and glory of Almighty God, so that we may deserve at length to hear with those serving God well and pleasing him: "Blessed is that servant, whom when his lord shall come, he shall find watching. Amen, I say to you, he shall place him over all his goods" '.[60]

Much is known about the character and career of Cuthbert. He was the only truly historic figure to occupy the see of Hereford before the Conquest. Very few of the other bishops are more than names on charters or in episcopal lists. His government of the cathedral church at Canterbury is well authenticated and is described in detail by a number of the early chroniclers of the church, especially Eadmer and Gervase of Canterbury and Simeon of Durham.[61] They show that he was as much concerned for the honour and welfare of Christ Church, Canterbury, as he had been for the cathedral church of Hereford. This concern found particular expression in his unceasing efforts to establish a burial place for the archbishop himself and later archbishops within the precincts of the metropolitan church. Not only would this further enhance the prestige of the cathedral church

it would also ensure more of those rich offerings of the faithful which relics alone could attract. It also ensured that Cuthbert's life and deeds would be adequately recorded for posterity, a concern which is clearly expressed in the two Hereford verse inscriptions.

At Canterbury, the archbishops, St. Augustine with his successors Lawrence (d. 619), Mellitus (d. 624), Justus (d. 630), Honorius (d. 653), Deusdedit (d. 664), Theodore of Tarsus (d. 690), Brihtwald (d. 731) and Nothelm (d. 740), had not been buried at the cathedral but at the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. This, the original building of St. Augustine's abbey, was situated outside the city. Cuthbert's sixteen years as archbishop were dominated by an over-riding ambition to bring this ancient tradition to an end, to replace it by the establishment of a new burial place for the archbishops next to the cathedral of Christ Church in the centre of the city. This he achieved by a determination and a cunning which prevailed even after his own death. The events are graphically described by Gervase of Canterbury.

> 'He was succeeded by archbishop Cuthbert of venerable memory, who was bishop of Hereford. Going to Rome, he received the pall and the plenitude of the power from pope Gregory, together with permission for all future archbishops of Canterbury to be buried within the church of Canterbury, and for the construction of a cemetery within the walls of that city. For, from the earliest period until his death, the kings of Kent, and the archbishops and monks of Christ Church, as well as the inhabitants of the city, had been usually buried in the precincts of the church of the apostles Peter and Paul; for the first Roman missionaries who had arrived in England declared that the city was intended as a residence for the living, and not for the dead. However, by the will of God, and the instrumentality of the blessed Cuthbert, and by the authority of pope Gregory and the assent of king Eadbrith, it was decided that all the archbishops of Canterbury should be buried in their church of Canterbury; that is to say, that on their death they should rest in that building which they had honourably governed during their life.
>
> Cuthbert, happily, held the archbishopric many years afterwards, and caused many councils to be celebrated for the benefit of the church; amongst the other decrees of which, it was decided that the festivals of St. Gregory the pope, and of St. Augustine the apostle of the English, should be honourably kept in England.
>
> He also built a church near Christ Church, which he consecrated in honour of St. John the Baptist; where he and all his successors were honourably buried. As he drew near the end of his life (when he had ruled the church of Canterbury for sixteen years), he gave directions that no one should be informed of either his sickness or death, and that the bell should not be tolled for him until the time when his corpse should be laid in the grave. So having died on the seventh of the kalends of November (26th October 758), he was buried as he had commanded. When the bells were tolled for him and the intelligence of his death was circulated, Iambert, the abbot of St. Augustine's, and his companions, arrived with haste, with the intention of removing with them the corpse of the archbishop, according to the early custom; but finding that he was already buried and being informed that this ancient usage had been changed by the apostolical and royal authority, he returned home exceedingly disconcerted'.[62]

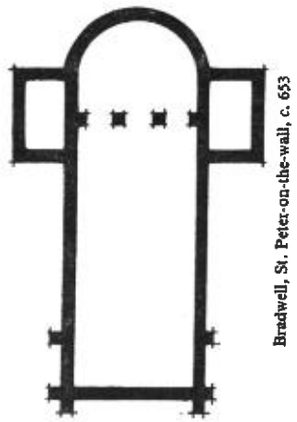
It was in this way, described as 'foul, snake-like and matricidal' by the dismayed monks of St. Augustine's, that Cuthbert securely established the new tradition. All the later archbishops were buried in the chapel of St. John at the east end of the cathedral church until, in 988, archbishop Dunstan established another tradition, that of burial within the cathedral itself.[63]

At Hereford, where Cuthbert also sought to embellish the minster or cathedral church, *ad ornatum domus Dei,* and to honour his predecessors, *quantumque antecessores suos honorificavit,* his objectives had been much more easily attained. His major task was the construction of what he variously describes as the *sepulchrum* or *tumba* of the early bishops and the members of the princely family. This was clearly far more than a tomb or tombs for it is referred to in architectural terms. It was held together 'from above, from on high, with a ridged or gabled roof', *desuper ex alto cohibet cum culmine tecta.* The phrase *cum culmine tecta* recalls precisely those words used by Eddius Stephanus in describing the stone church at York built by Paulinus about 627 and restored by Wilfrid in 669-71.[64]

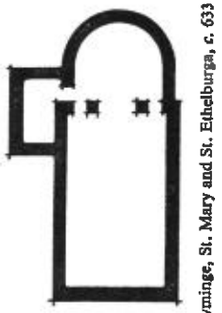
There is no doubt that what Cuthbert was referring to in the inscription was a *porticus.* This term was used on the continent and in Britain to describe a number of types of small buildings attached to churches.[65] The term is loosely translated as porch and this may indicate its origin. In Kent and south-east England in the 7th and early 8th centuries, however, it was used in a quite specific sense meaning a small lateral building, square or rectilinear in plan, attached to the north or south of a church with access only from the interior. The main body of the church, the nave and the chancel to the east which usually terminated in an apse, served the ceremonial purposes centred on the altar. The *porticus* formed an annexe to the main body of the church. Many of the south-eastern *porticus* overlapped nave and chancel giving immediate access to the altar (FIG. 3).

In early Christian Rome the well-born and the affluent had vied for a final resting place close to the *memoriae* of the martyrs.[66] In the days of the early church all had wished to rest *ad santos,* close to the relics of the saints, but burial within the ceremonial part of the church was forbidden. 'In a consecrated church no dead shall be buried'.[67] The Council of Nantes, as late as 896, was quite specific, 'no one may be buried in a church, only in the *atrium,* the *porticus* or the *exedra* of a church'. The continental *porticulus,* or lesser *porticus,* was defined in the Salic Law as a 'little building which is low and erected over the tombs of the dead'.[68]

In the minster churches at the tribal centres of early Anglo-Saxon England the *porticus,* built close to the altar and thus the holy relics, was the final resting place of the leaders of its tribal society, the kings and their bishops. Their tombs, like those in Rome,[69] had to be embellished with suitable epitaphs.[70] The church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury was erected by king Ethelbert, on the injunction of St. Augustine, in order that 'the bodies of Augustine, and of all the bishops of Canterbury, and of the kings of Kent, might be buried' there.[71] As we have noted this mandate was followed and all his successors were buried there until Cuthbert brought the tradition to an end in 758.[72] The southern *porticus,* of St. Martin, was intended as the burial place of the Kentish royal family but only Ethelbert, Bertha, his queen, and her chaplain were interred there[73] (FIG. 3a).

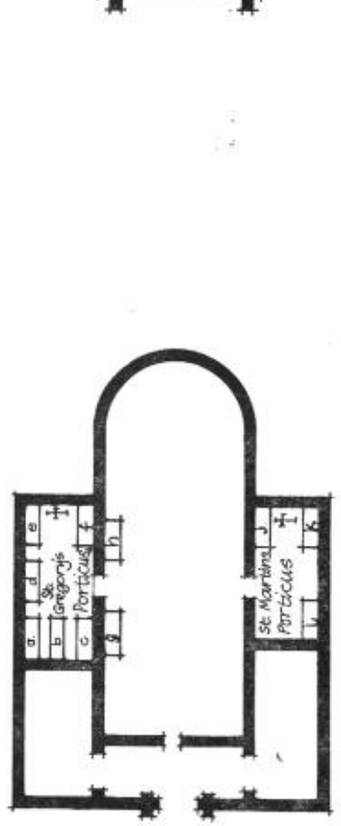


Bradwell, St. Peter-on-the-wall, c. 653



Lyminge, St. Mary and St. Ethelburga, c. 633

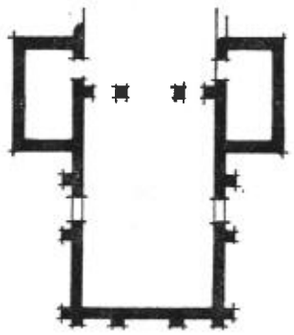
Winchester, the Old Minster of St. Peter and St. Paul, c. 648 (after Biddle).



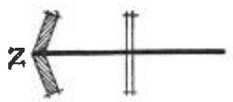
Canterbury, St. Peter and St. Paul, 613

Tombs of:

a. Jussus (d. 630)
b. Honorius (d. 653)
c. Deusdedit (d. 664)
d. Mellitus (d. 624)
e. Lawrence (d. 619)
f. Augustine (d. 604x9)
g. Brihtwald (d. 731)
h. Theodore (d. 690)
i. Liuthard
j. Queen Bertha
k. King Ethelbert



Reculver, St. Mary c. 669



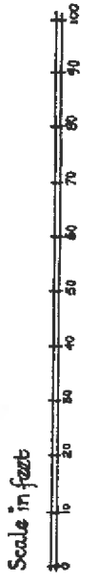


FIG. 3a

Early Anglo-Saxon church plans showing position of lateral *porticus*

At Winchester, the Old Minster was of a similar nature.[74] After it had become the centre of a re-united West Saxon diocese in 670, bishop Hedda and king Cenwalh sought to consolidate its position by bringing the body of Birinus, the missionary and first bishop of the West Saxons, from Dorchester to Winchester for reburial in the cathedral. Here also was buried Cynegils, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, and many of his successors.[75] The Old Minster thus became, according to the design of Hedda and Cenwalh, a lasting and tangible expression of the prestige and authority of the West Saxon dynasty, its bishops and folk.

The minster erected by king Mildfrith at Hereford served the same purpose as the Old Minster at Winchester. It was the mother-church of the folk who lived beyond the Severn, the Western Hecani, and it was here that their rulers and bishops were buried. If Putta had been the missionary and the first bishop of this folk it would have been imperative to ensure that he was laid to rest in this mother church, in the *porticus* intended for Mildfrith and his queen, and the bishops of the Western Hecani. The translation of the body of Birinus from Dorchester to Winchester was not an isolated case. In 710, the body of Aldhelm, bishop and saint of the west country, was taken with great ceremony from Doulting in Somerset to Malmesbury for burial. Stone crosses, 'bishop-stones', were erected every seven miles along the route.[76] Even if Putta had exercised authority over the Western Hecani from a different site his subsequent re-interrment at Hereford would have been a necessity.

Cuthbert's inscription is quite explicit about this. There is no mention of Putta amongst 'those who stood out, of renown and celebrated throughout the world'. *Qui quondam extiterant famosi altique per orbem. Nomina sunt quorum Walhstodus, Torhtere, Tirhtil.* Their names were Walhstod, Torhthere, and Tyrhthel. Tyrhthel was the first of the bishops to be buried in the minster church at Hereford. It was he, not Putta, that was the earliest regular bishop of the folk who lived west of the Severn. The epitaph, composed by Cuthbert and recorded by William of Malmesbury, makes this quite clear.

At Hereford, unlike Canterbury, there are no tombs still to be seen. Nor do we have archaeological evidence of the first cathedral church as there is at Winchester, where Biddle's excavations revealed the ground plan of the Old Minster in 1967-69. At Hereford even the site is a matter for conjecture.[77] The last-remaining vestige of the minster erected prior to 736 must have been incorporated in the new cathedral, built 'from the foundations' by bishop Athelstan about 1020-40, but destroyed by the Welsh in their attack on the city in 1055. Subsequently it had been incorporated in the third cathedral church, constructed by the early-Norman bishops after 1066. One can only speculate about the fate of the tombs of Mildfrith, Cyneburh, Osfrith and the early bishops. It is highly probable that they, together with Walhstod's great cross ornamented with gold and

silver, were amongst those 'relics of St. Ethelbert and other saints' with which Athelstan enriched his new cathedral. Certainly one of the versions of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle records that when the Welsh 'burnt the glorious minster which bishop Athelstan had built' they 'captured all the treasures and took them away'. Another version describes how they 'stripped and robbed it of relics and vestments and everything'.[78]

The *porticus* or burial chapel built by Cuthbert at Hereford may have been situated laterally or at the eastern end. North and south *porticus* had first been introduced at Ethelbert's church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury and many early churches of the south-east had followed this plan.[79] By 648 the same plan was being used in the south-west, in Wessex, for the Old Minster at Winchester was of this type.[80] In addition, we know that before Cuthbert was consecrated to the see of Hereford he had been abbot of Lyminge in Kent.[81] According to Goscelin of Canterbury, Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert of Kent and widow of the Northumbrian king, Edwin, was buried in the north *porticus* of Lyminge, the monastery to which she had retired after the death of her husband.[82] The lateral *porticus* used for burial purposes was, thus, well-known to him (FIG. 3a).

It is much more probable, however, that Cuthbert built on a site to the east at Hereford.[83] As abbot of Lyminge he would have been well acquainted with the arrangement of the buildings at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. There in 618, only five years after Ethelbert had completed the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Eadbald, his son, began a new chapel slightly beyond it to the east. This was St. Mary's where Eadbald himself and many of the later Kentish kings were buried. It was much larger than the southern *porticus* at St. Peter and St. Paul which his father had intended as the royal burial chapel.[84] More important it represented a significant change in overall plan. It is the earliest example in this country of 'the axial arrangement of two or more churches which became such a characteristic feature of early Anglo-Saxon monasteries' [85] (FIG. 3b).

Eadbald had constructed the new axial chapel of St. Mary because the southern *porticus* of St. Peter and St. Paul was not large enough to continue to serve the Kentish royal family.[86] The northern *porticus*, where the archbishops were buried, was eventually to take only six tombs. By the time that king Eadbald had begun work on St. Mary's there were already three tombs in the smaller *porticus*, those of his father, his mother, and her chaplain. The use of a site to the east rather than to the south offered considerable advantages. It permitted the construction of a newer and much larger burial chapel without requiring the demolition of the earlier southern *porticus* and without unduly sacrificing proximity to the altar. It also provided an architecturally far more satisfactory solution for St. Mary's was almost equal in size to the main body of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. If it was built to the east rather than the south it would enhance rather than diminish the original structure.

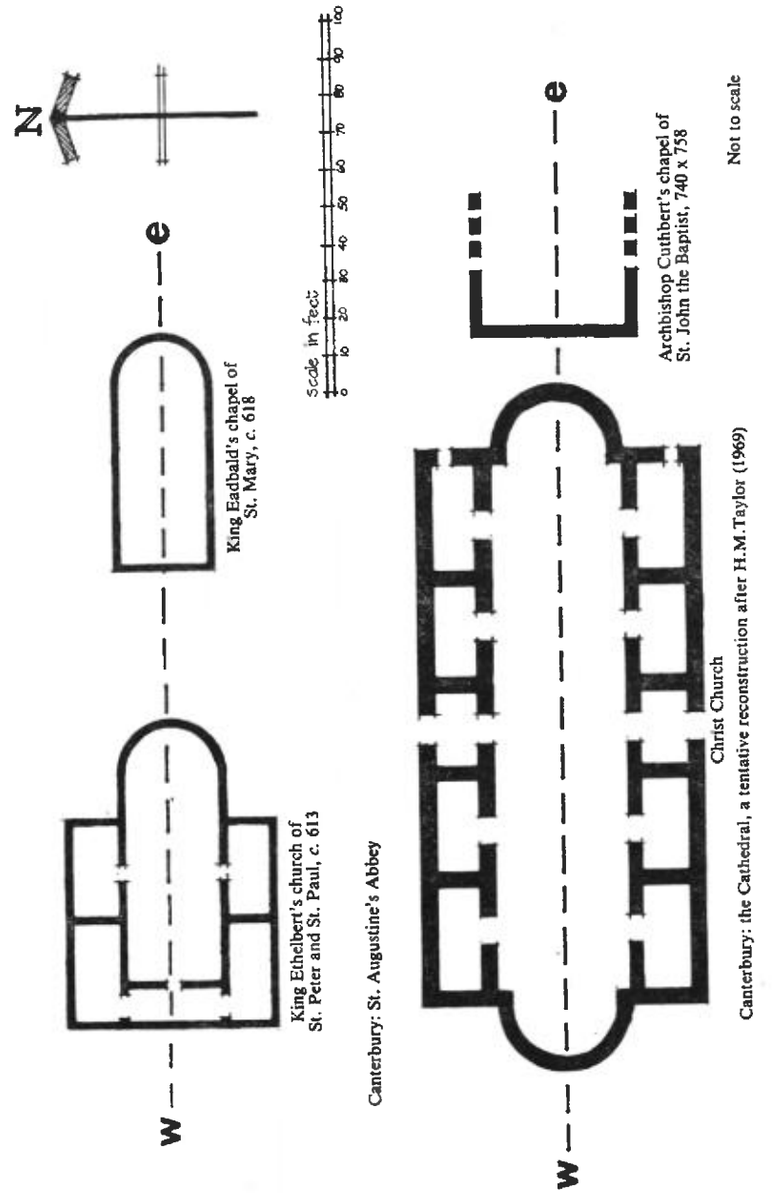


FIG. 3b
Early Anglo-Saxon church plans showing axial arrangements of buildings

At Hereford and later at Canterbury one of Cuthbert's intentions had been that, in making provision for the burial of his successors, he would ensure that he should, himself, have a burial place of the dignity appropriate to his office. The epitaph he composed for the tombs of his predecessors at Hereford refers to them being buried, surrounded with symbols of their sacred dignity. At Canterbury he had to provide only for the future, that is a chapel for his own tomb and those of his successors, for his predecessors were buried within the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, but at Hereford he had had also to ensure adequate accommodation for the six earlier tombs referred to in his inscription. As we have noted, the northern *porticus* at St. Peter and St. Paul, which was 28 ft. by 12 ft., could take the tombs of no more than six of the archbishops. Cuthbert's burial chapel at Hereford would have to be much larger than that. As with Eadbald's chapel of St. Mary at St. Augustine's this had important implications for the site.

We do not know whether Mildfrith's original minster at Hereford was provided with small north and south *porticus* similar to those at the Old Minster built by Cenwalh at the West Saxon royal centre of Winchester about 648. This probably was the case but it does not vitally affect the major issue for both architecture and tradition would dictate an eastern site for the new burial chapel at Hereford. As we know, Cuthbert's purpose was to enhance the minster, *ad ornatum domus Dei.* This could be well achieved by an axial arrangement whereas a large building situated parallel to the old minster would have seriously diminished its impact. The axial arrangement of two churches in line had been established more than a century earlier at St. Augustine's. It was this time-honoured example that Cuthbert was to follow when he built the chapel of St. John the Baptist to serve as a burial place for himself and later archbishops, as well as a baptistery and court.[87] Although the building was not as ambitious in its scope or size, all the evidence points to a similar arrangement at Hereford. It was there that king Mildfrith, queen Cyneburh and the first bishop of 'the folk who lived west of the Severn', Tyrhthel, were buried with his successors, Torhthere and Walhstod.

THE TRIBAL DIOCESE OF THE WESTERN HECANI

The title of the early bishops and of the diocese related to a people not to a place. The first description of that folk is in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* at the very end, where he surveys the present state of the English nation. Here he tells us that, in 731, 'Walhstod is bishop of the folk who live in the west beyond the river Severn'.[88] This folk he clearly distinguishes from the Mercians whose bishop is Aldwin, and the Hwicce whose bishop was Wilfrid. There, in quite unambiguous terms, is evidence of the tribal diocese and its well-defined bounds.

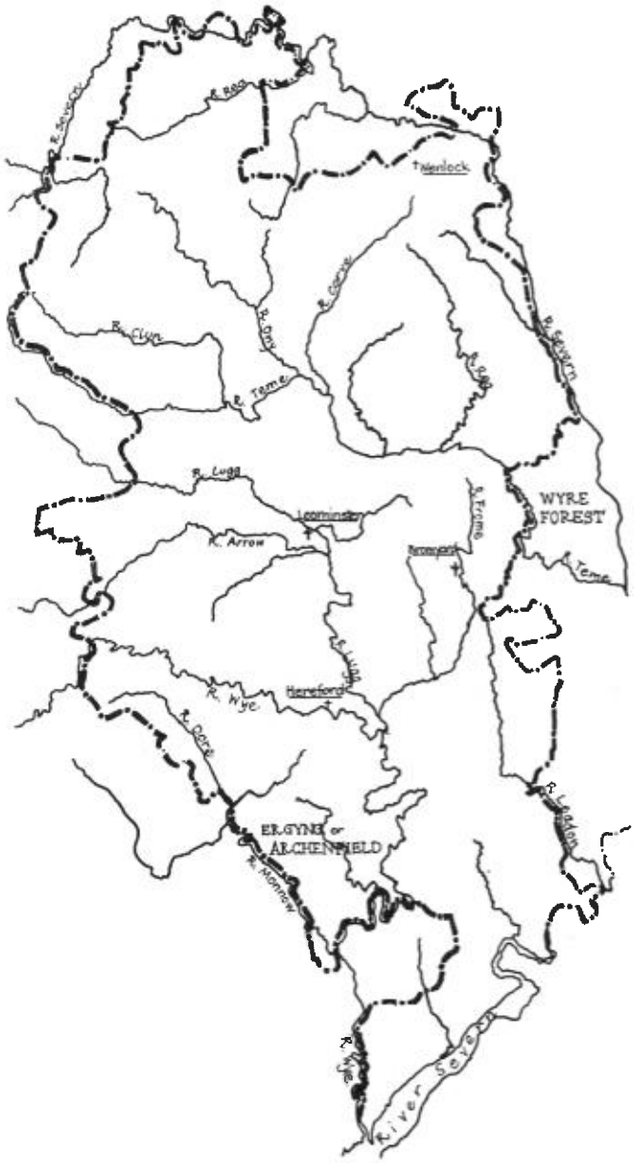
Bede gives no name for the folk or their kingdom and little is known about them from other sources. In the 7th and 8th centuries they were called the Western Hecani. Merewalh, their king, is called *rex Westehanorum* by Goscelin

of Canterbury.[89] In the Appendix to Florence of Worcester the title *Westan Hecanorum rex* is used for their ruler and *Hecana* for the folk.[90] One of the sources used for this Appendix was the Old English episcopal lists described in an earlier section. In the earliest extant list, British Museum MS., Vespasian B VI, the second word in the title at the head of the list of bishops of Hereford is virtually lost. Only *Uestor H. . .* can now be read due to fading of the ink. In one of the Palaeographic Society's volumes produced a century ago the title is given as *Uestore horum.*[91] In the Tribal Hidage, which it has been suggested was drawn up in the reign of Offa, 757-96, the folk were described merely as the *Westerna.*[92] By the 9th century the title was obsolete. The first reference to their new title, *Magonsetum,* is in a charter of 811 referring to a gift of land at Yarkhill.[93]

The territory of the Hecani extended from the Severn in the north to the Wye in the south, with the Wyre Forest, the Malverns and the Leadon, south of Donnington, as the eastern boundary. The boundaries of the diocese were coterminous with those of the kingdom and they are virtually the same today, except for the loss of the Forest Deanery to the newly-established Gloucester diocese in 1541. North of the Severn were the *Wreocensaetan,* the folk of the area of the Wrekin and Wroxeter, who formed a part of the large mother diocese of Mercia, Lichfield. To the east of the Severn were the Hwicce whose tribal area extended from just north of the Stour to the Bristol Avon in the south. Their tribal diocese was based on the church of Worcester (MAP 2).

Despite Stenton's belief that 'there is no evidence to support the suggestion that the *Magonsaetan* formed part of the Hwicce and the fact that each of these people had its own bishop in the seventh century is decisive against their identity',[94] this view has been restated by Hart in a recent study of the Tribal Hidage.[95] 'One cannot avoid postulating that the word Hecana is in fact a corruption of *Hwiccena,* the Old English genitive plural form of the tribal name Hwicce. The topography leaves us with very little room for any other conclusion'. He goes on to suggest that 'the East and West Hwicce (together possibly with the *Wreocensaetan*) formed the original tribe components of the West Angles' and that 'later, the East Hwicce began to monopolise the tribal name dropping their prefix; the West Hwicce thereafter were commonly called the *Westerna'* until the beginning of the 8th century when they began to be described as the *Magonsaetan.*[96] Whatever the truth of the matter, at the time of the Tribal Hidage the Hecani were still a political unit with a quite distinct political identity. Their relative importance is indicated by the number of hides at which they were assessed. That was 7,000, the same number as the Hwicce, the *Wreocensaetan,* the South and the East Saxons and the people of Lindsey[97] (MAP 3).

Much of our knowledge of this folk is derived from the work of Finberg.[98] His critical examination of the *Life of St. Mildburg,* abbess of Wenlock at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century is fundamental to an understanding of the subject.[99] This *Life* was written by Goscelin, a Flemish monk



\+ Early christian sites

MAP 2

The diocese of Hereford at the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. 1535. The boundaries shown are virtually the same as those of the tribal diocese, and thus the sub-kingdom of the Western Hecani, in the 8th century. In all probability the only major addition was that of the land between Wye and Monnow.

MAP 3

England at the time of the Tribal Hidage, showing the sub-kingdom of the Western Hecani and its neighbours.

who had come to England soon after the Conquest and had finally settled down at St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury.[100] He was the leading hagiographer of his day and in William of Malmesbury's view 'in praise of the English saints he was second only to Bede'.[101] Goscelin informs us that he based the *Life* on old histories, both Latin and Anglo-Saxon, local tradition and original documents, especially the ancient charters of Wenlock priory. He included *verbatim* the so-called *Testament of St. Mildburg* which incorporated five of the earliest charters of the house spanning the years 675x690 – 727x736.[102]

From the *Life* and the *Testament* Finberg pieced together the bare outlines of the history of the Western Hecani. Their first recorded ruler was Merewalh, *c.*625-*c.*685. According to Goscelin, he was the third son of Penda, king of Mercia, 632-654. He was a pagan, like his father, but in 660, six years after his father's death, he was converted to Christianity by Eadfrith, a Northumbrian missionary.[103]

Goscelin's account accords well with Bede's description of the conversion of Mercia by Celtic missionaries from Northumbria.[104] This had begun, Bede tells us, when Peada, another son of Penda, married the daughter of Oswiu, the Christian king of Bernicia, and was baptised by St. Aidan's successor, the Irishman, bishop Finan, in 653. On his return Peada was permitted by his father to bring four Northumbrian priests back to Mercia. After Penda had been defeated and killed by Oswiu at the battle of *Winwaed,* near Leeds, in 654, the conversion of Mercia proceeded apace.[105] Almost the whole of the kingdom passed for a time under Northumbrian control. Diuma, another Irishman and one of the four priests who had accompanied Peada on his return to Mercia, was consecrated bishop of the Mercians, the Middle Angles—of whom Oswiu had made Peada king—and the people of Lindsey, by Finan. He was followed by three other Celtic bishops in Mercia, Cellah, another Irishman, and Trumhere and Gearomen, both English. All are listed in MS. Vespasian B VI.[106] Only when Chad was appointed bishop by Theodore of Tarsus in 669, was the supremacy of Canterbury and the Roman church finally acknowledged and the see permanently fixed at Lichfield.[107]

According to Goscelin, Merewalh's conversion in 660 was the work of the Northumbrian priest, Eadfrith. He was, doubtless, a member of the Northumbrian mission, referred to by Bede, which was bringing about the conversion of Mercia after the establishment of a diocese for the kingdom under the Celtic bishop, Diuma. Soon after he had become a Christian Merewalh founded a number of churches in his kingdom. These included one for Eadrith at the place that was to become Leominster. Finberg suggests that this site, hallowed by the relics of Merewalh's brother-in-law, Ethelbert, a murdered Kentish prince, and renowned as the first church built by the reigning family, probably served as the ecclesiastical centre of the kingdom until Hereford cathedral was built.[108]

However, in the Celtic church emphasis on a central church for the area would have been very slight, if it were made at all. The church at Leominster would have been pre-eminent only in terms of prestige. If we accept Goscelin's evidence, then, the conversion of the Western Hecani and the construction of churches was taking place some sixteen years before the traditional date of the foundation of the diocese. Furthermore, such churches would have conformed to the ideas of worship and organisation of the Celtic church.

The *Life* of St. Mildburg indicates that Merewalh had two sons prior to his conversion, Merchelm and Mildfrith. From an earlier source, Aelfric's *Life of Mildthryth,* Goscelin knew that Merewalh subsequently married a Christian princess from Kent, Eormenbeorg, by whom he had four more children. Of these only one was a son, Merefin, and he was 'led away to heaven in his youth'. Subsequently, Merewalh and his wife 'for the love of God and mankind separated from their conjugal estate and gave their children and their worldly possessions to God'. The three daughters, Mildburg, Mildthryth and Mildgyth, became renowned for their piety and for their 'miraculous powers which were often exhibited'.[109] Mildburg, as we have noted, became abbess of Wenlock, Mildthryth followed her mother as abbess of Minster in Kent and Mildgyth was also a nun, at Eastry in Kent. 'They exercised an influence on the life of their time to which there is nothing parallel in later history.'[110] It was their fame which rescued the early history of their family, and the story of the conversion of the Hecani, from oblivion[111] (FIG. 4).

According to Goscelin, when Merewalh died he was not buried in his own kingdom but at Repton, one of the principal burial places of the Mercian royal family. He was succeeded by his son, Merchelm, who seems to have ruled with his brother Mildfrith for their names appear together in the first two charters of *St. Mildburg's Testament.* Thus in the first charter they witness, together with their uncle, the Mercian king Aethelred, 675-704, archbishop Theodore and bishop Seaxwulf, the transfer, by the abbot of Icanho, of certain lands to 'the consecrated virgin Mildburg'. In the second they are the donors, with the consent of Aethelred, of part of the land which 'by the bounty of the good lord is ours by right . . . to our own sister Mildburg' after she took charge of the monastic house at Wenlock about 680. The third charter referred to in the *Testament* is a grant of land in Herefordshire by Aethelred's successor, king Coenred, 704-709, which is witnessed by bishop Tyrhthel. Neither in that third charter, nor in the two later charters of the *Testament,* are Merchelm and Mildfrith mentioned.[112] It can, therefore, be assumed that both were dead by 704-709 and that this may well be the date of the final demise of the sub-kingdom of the Western Hecani as an autonomous political unit.

Under the overlordship of Aethelred, Roman worship established a firm hold in midland England. Despite his devastation of Rochester in 676, Aethelred was a devout man. He was the close friend of St. Wilfrid and was the benefactor of

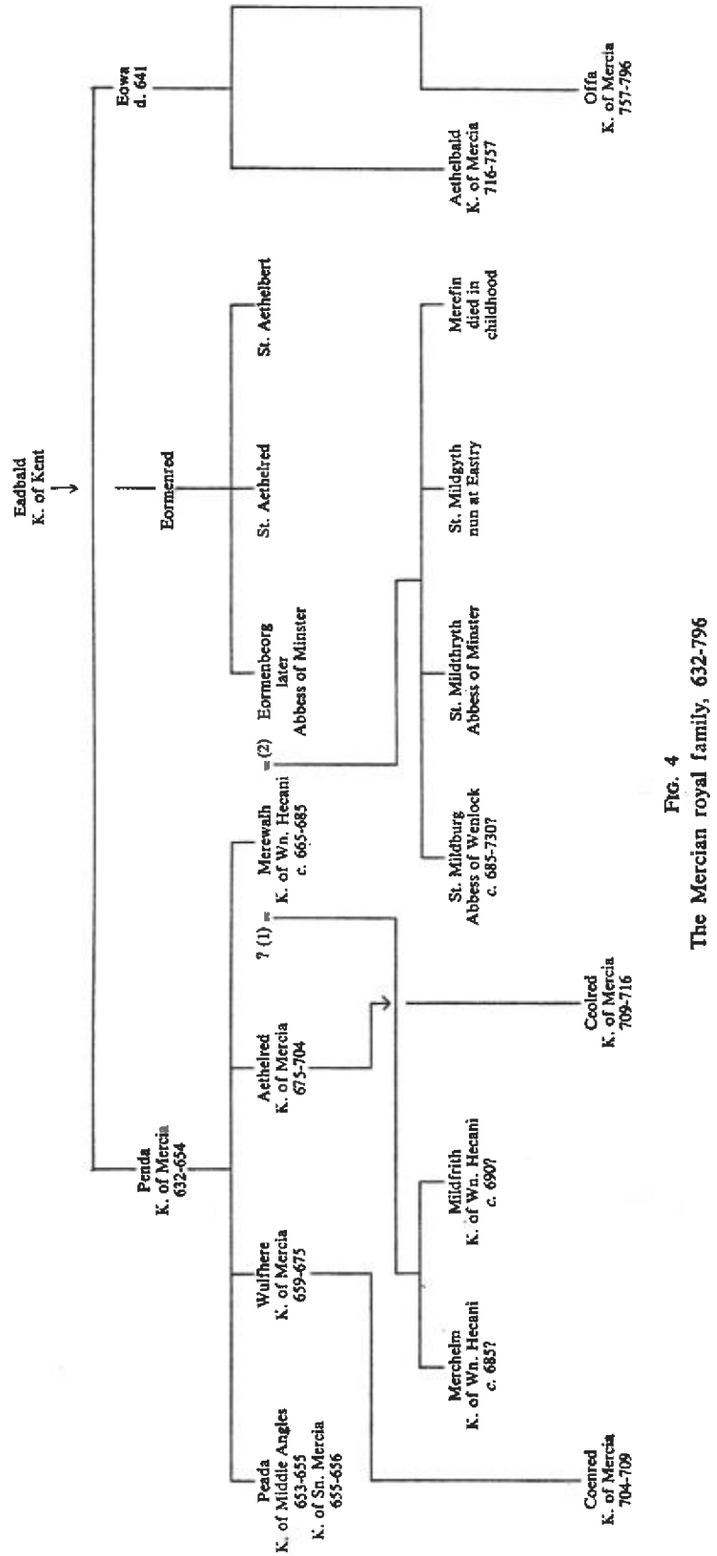


FIG. 4
The Mercian royal family, 632-796

many churches in the different parts of his kingdom. He eventually retired to the monastery at Bardney in Lindsey.[113] His reign was also an era of political stability. Relations with both Kent and Northumbria were settled and according to Finberg 'he maintained his father's good understanding with the Welsh, for we hear of no hostilities on that front'.[114] He was able to rule Mercia and its dependencies with a relatively light hand.

Such circumstances favoured political and religious growth and, about 690, a political and religious centre was established for the Hecani on the Wye. The tombs of Mildfrith, his queen, and Oshelm, son of Osfrith, together with that of bishop Tyrhthel point to circumstances similar to those in Winchester in 670, when Cenwalh and Hedda sought to express through their work at the Old Minster the prestige and authority of the West Saxon dynasty and folk.[115] As the body of Mildfrith, but not his brother Merchelm, was buried at the newly-established cathedral in Hereford, it is reasonable to suggest that it was Mildfrith who presided over the move from Leominster to Hereford, after his brother's death had left him in sole authority, but before 704-709, when we find Aethelred's successor, Coenred, was able to grant an estate within the lands of the Western Hecani without any reference to a sub-king.[116]

The establishment of a tribal diocese with a fixed seat at Hereford represented another triumphant victory for the policy of archbishop Theodore, first enunciated at the Synod of Hertford, in 673.[117] When he had arrived in England, five years earlier, he had found only three bishops.[118] He was determined to divide these, in order to create a series of smaller dioceses where it would be quite possible for the bishop to visit all his flock each year. He tried to combine 'the virtues of both Roman and Irish organisation'.[119] Each diocese, or *parochia,* would have a fixed seat, where the bishop's stool, or *cathedra,* would be established, but each of these dioceses would be arranged on a territorial basis, with due regard to political and tribal divisions.[120] Thus, in 669, Theodore skilfully achieved his first objective when he overcame Celtic practice in the great Mercian diocese. There, the first bishops had had no permanent seat or administrative centre. This Theodore fixed at Lichfield, with Chad as bishop.[121] In a number of cases continental and Romano-British practice was followed, and sites at or near former Roman settlements were chosen. The new sees founded about 678 to serve the Hwicce and the Middle Angles, at Worcester and at Leicester respectively, belong to this category. By the time of Theodore's death, in 690, England had been divided into fourteen such tribal dioceses (MAP 1).

It seems to have taken longer to change the old order west of the Severn. Merewalh had been converted by Northumbrian missionaries, about 660, and may have been more tenacious of the old ways. The land to the south of his kingdom had been the cradle of Celtic Christianity. The area between Wye and Monnow had been the centre of the missionary work of St. Dubricius some century earlier. Celtic ways would have been firmly entrenched. Furthermore,

appointed by his brother Wulfhere, early in his reign, Merewalh must have played a significant part in the conflict between Mercia and Wessex that dominated the years that Wulfhere was on the throne.[122] He was also the brother of the next Mercian king, Aethelred, and had controlled the western territory of Mercia over a long and important period. His personal authority would, therefore, have been considerable. The transfer of the centre of power of the principality from Leominster and the creation of a Roman diocese, with a bishop's seat or *cathedra* together with his *familia* of priests, established on a permanent basis at Hereford, represented a considerable break with the past. It must have been undertaken by the new regime, following Merewalh's death about 685. However, the reasons for the move to Hereford, and the relationship between the political, religious and even military motives of those who made that decision, will, possibly, always remain a matter for speculation.

These events cannot be dated precisely. The traditional date for the consecration of Tyrhthel to the see is 688 but there is no sound documentary authority for this. The sentence, *Defuncta Putta, Herefordense episcopo, Tyrhtel successit*, printed in Thorpe's edition of the *Chronicon ex chronicis* of Florence of Worcester for that year, is an addition, in a later hand, found merely in one of the MS. of the *Chronicon*, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS., 157.[123] The first firm evidence for the episcopacy of Tyrhthel is, in fact, his attestation of a charter of Oshere, king of the Hwicce, in 693.[124] The following chronology of the diocese can be reliably documented:

Tyrhthel	693 - 704x9
Torhthere	716 - 727
Walhstod	731 - 736
Cuthbert	736 - 740

Between 704 and 709 Tyrhthel granted fifty hides of land in Fulham to bishop Wealdhere of London 'in return for his acceptable money'.[125] By 716 he had been succeeded by Torhthere who was present at the Synod Council of Clovesho in that year, and of whom we have evidence in 727.[126] Walhstod, the third bishop, must have been consecrated between 727 and 731 when he is mentioned by Bede as bishop of 'the folk who live in the west beyond the river Severn'.[127] Five years later he was dead and the great cross he had begun in the cathedral was unfinished.[128] With the consecration of Cuthbert in 736 we are on well-documented ground.[129]

It was almost a century before the diocese took on the name of the place where its bishop had placed his stool. The first reference to a bishop of Hereford is in 800 when Wulfheard, professing his faith and obedience to archbishop Aethelheard, describes himself as *gratia Dei humilis Herefordensis Ecclesiae Episcopus*.[130] When he subscribed to the act of the Council of Clovesho, in 803, forbidding the election of laymen or seculars as lords of monasteries, he described

himself as *Ego, Wulfheard, Herefordensis Ecclesiae Episcopus* [131] and in 816, at the Council of Celcyth, as *Vulfheard, quoque Herefordensis antistes.*[132] On that occasion his name appears after *Daeneburtus, Huicciorum Episcopus*, that is the bishop of the Hwicce centred on Worcester, and *vel etiam reverentiam Merciorum Episcopi, Herewine et Raethuno.* Here he is clearly identified with his three fellow Mercian bishops, but, unlike them, his title is now taken from a place not a people. From this time the title 'bishop of Hereford' is clearly established.

The title can possibly be taken back before the 9th century. At the Council of Clovesho a dispute between the bishops of Hereford and Worcester over certain lands at Cheltenham and Beckford in Worcester diocese was resolved. In the evidence presented it was stated that these lands *olim in antiquis diebus ad Herefordensem Aecclesiam praestita fuerunt.*[133] 'In ancient days' is usually a reference to the sworn testimony of the oldest inhabitants of the place in question. To such people the idea of 'the church of Hereford', that is of a cathedral church as a land-owning community of bishop with his *familia* of priests, was not something new, but of antiquity, that is going back well into the 8th century.

In the 12th century, some three hundred years later, Florence of Worcester described it as the diocese of the Hecani under which title he listed 'the names of the bishops of the *Magesetas* or the people of Herefordshire'. Here he was bringing together old and new, tribal and shire titles in a misleading and inaccurate way for the *Magonsaetan*, the Western Hecani as they had been called earlier, were more than the people of Herefordshire, as we have seen (MAP 3).

When Edward the Elder (899-924) divided Mercia into shires he ignored the old tribal units. In consequence, political and ecclesiastical parted company irrevocably. Each of Edward's new Mercian shires was named after a *burh*, or fortified centre, which 'with its garrison, mint and trading population' was to be its focal point.[134] Herefordshire was thus less than the diocese of Hereford, for the area between the Severn and the Teme was to be administered from Shrewsbury, as part of the new county of Shropshire. Similarly, the lands of the Hwicce were divided by Edward the Elder to become the shires of Gloucester and Worcester, with the eastern extremity given over to the custody of Warwick.

Today, the bounds of Hereford diocese alone bear witness to the ancient West Anglian kingdom to which it owed its birth, and to those who established the cathedral church on the banks of the Wye with its bishop's stool, the great cross covered with gold and silver and the burial chapel, to the east, of king, queen and bishops. All that was lacking was a protector and this was granted in 794 when the cathedral provided the last resting place for the East Anglian murdered by Offa—Ethelbert, King and Martyr.[135]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Mr. Gordon Wood for drawing Maps 1, 2 and 3 and Figures 3a and 3b, and to Mr. Michael Martin for much helpful discussion.

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1 Principally, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, III (1871), 130 note e, followed at a local level by H. W. Phillott, *Hereford, a diocesan history* (1888), 9-11 and A. T. Bannister, *Cathedral church of Hereford* (1924), 12-16. F. M. Stenton puts forward the suggestion of two Puttas, one Kentish and the other Mercian in *Inventory of Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, III (1934) 1v.

2 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. Mynors (1969).

3 *Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto lacabo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis Aeddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, inuitatus de Cantia a reuerentissimo uiro Uilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent catholicum uiuendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.*
Uilfrid quoque de Brittania Gallam ordinandus est missus, et quoniam ante Thedorum rediit, ipse etiam in Cantia presbyteros et diaconos, usquedum archiepiscopus ad sedem suam perueniret, ordinabat. At ipse ueniens mox in ciuitate Hrofi, ubi defuncto Damiano episcopatus iam diu cessauerat, ordinauit uirum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et uitae simplicitate contentum quam in saeculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta, maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

4 *The life of bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, text, translation and notes B. Colgrave (1927).

5 *Life of Wilfrid*, c. XIV.

6 *Putta episcopus castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofaecaestir, H.E.*, IV, 5.

7 *Anno autem dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVI, cum Aedilred rex Merciorum, adducto maligno exercitu, Cantiam uastaret et ecclesias ac monasteria sine respectu pietatis uel diuini timoris fedaret, ciuitatem quoque Hrofi, in qua erat Putta episcopus, quamuis eo tempore absens, communi clade absumsit. Quod ille ubi conperiit, ecclesiam uidelicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, diuertit ad Sexuulfum Merciorum antistitem, et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiae cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace uitam finuiuit, nil omnino de restaurando episcopatu suo agens (quia, sicut et supra diximus, magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius) sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo seruiens et, ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina diuertens. Pro quo Theodorus in ciuitate Hrofi Cuichelmum consecrauit episcopum. Sed illo post non multum temporis prae inopia rerum ab episcopatu decedente atque ad alia loca secedente, Gebmundum pro eo substituit antistitem.*

8 'The tenth century is probably to be regarded as the great age for the establishment of parish churches as we now understand them, that is to say, churches for a local community with a settled, resident priest, distinct from minster churches with a college of clergy serving a district.' J. Godfrey, *The English parish, 600 - 1300* (1969), 44 - 5. See also G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The development of the parochial system from Charlemagne to Urban II* (1954), also H. Mayr-Harting, *The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972), 240 - 8, on pastoral organisation. On the bishop's *parochia* see M. Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon church* (1962), 4 - 8.

9 C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, I (1896), 405 - 32. Translation from *Bedae Opera Historica*, II, trans. J. E. King (1930), 453 - 9 also in *English Historical Documents*, I, ed. D. Whitelock (1955), 735 - 45.

10 *Epistle*, c. 8 and 7.

11 *H.E.*, IV, 2 and 12.

12 F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947), 187.

13 Quoted by R. L. Poole, in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1919), 2.

14 Stenton (1947), 187. See also J. N. Stephens, 'Bede's Ecclesiastical History', *History*, LXXI (February, 1977), 13 - 4 where Bede is described as 'greater than Matthew Paris, Clarendon, Hume or Macaulay and greater than all those who have written the history of the *gens Anglorum* until historians gave up writing that history altogether'.

15 *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de G. Birch (3 vols., London, 1885-93).

16 P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters, an annotated list and bibliography* (1968).

17 Birch, 57. Sawyer, 1167. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 111 ff. 60-61.

18 *Two chartularies of the priory of St. Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt, *Somerset Record Society*, VII (1893), 60.

19 Eric John, *Land tenure in early England* (1960), 6, 'nothing in the charter conflicts with the more garrulous and informative charters already noted, Birch 35, 36, 40 and 45'.

20 Birch, 28. Sawyer, 1168. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 111 f. 59.

21 Hunt (1893), 59. Also C. R. Hart, *The early charters of Eastern England* (1966), 21, who suggests 'a possible explanation' of the fact that the charter 'claims to have made with the consent of King Wulfhere in the fourteenth year of his reign, 670-1,' and yet has the same signatories as the previous charter is that the land was given by Wighard in 670-1. This was recorded in the abbey's list of benefactors and that subsequently, when charter evidence for the abbey's possession of the estate was called for, this information was written into charter form, using diplomatice and witnesses borrowed from the original of Birch 57.' (Charter I).

22 Bodleian MS., Laud Misc., 636 ff. 17v-19. Birch, 48. Sawyer, 72.

23 C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel* (2 vols., 1892-99), especially xlviii-l also *Facsimile of the Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock (Copenhagen, 1954), 30, but Cecily Parker, *The Peterborough Chronicle*, 1070-1154 (2nd ed., 1970), xxi-xxiii suggests that 'provenance remains indeterminate'.

24 Parker (1970), 123, Appendix. The Perborough Interpolations.

25 F. M. Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies' in *Historical essays in honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (1933), 313-26.

26 W. Levison, *England and the continent in the eighth century* (1946), 199-221. Guerno's death bed confession was revealed by bishop Gaufrid of Chalons (1131-42), who had been abbot of the monastery of St. Medard (1119-1131), to pope Innocent II in 1131.

> *'Ait enim, quod, dum in ecclesia Beati Medardi abbatis officio fungeretur, quendam Guernonem nomine ex monachis suis in ultimo confessionis articulo se falsarium fuisse confessum, et inter cetera, quae per diversas ecclesias figmentando conscripserat, ecclesiam Beati Audoeni et ecclesiam Beati Augustini de Cantuaria adulterinis privilegiis sub apostolico nomine se munivisse lacrimabiliter poenitendo asseruit; quin et ob mercedem iniquitatis quaedam se preciosa ornamenta recepisse confessus est ad Beati Medardi ecclesiam detulisse.'*

Levison (1946), 207-8 from *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 186 f., 415 f., 879 f. and H. Boehmer, *Die Fälschungen erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, ed. Bonwetsch and Seeberg, VIII, i. Leipzig, 1902).

27 Stenton (1933), 313.

28 *H. E.*, IV, 18.

29 *Florenti Wigorniensis monachi chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe *English Historical Society* (2 vols., 1848-49), also in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, ed. H. Petrie and I. Sharpe (1848), and available in translation in Joseph Stevenson's, *Church Historians of England*, II i (1853).

30 *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton *Rolls Series*, LII (1870) IV, 163.

31 R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, IX (1965), 71-95 and X (1966), 2-24.

32 K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1953), 287-348.

33 Sisam (1953), 288-92, 324-31.

34 Sisam (1953), 290.

35 Page (1965), 85-8.

36 N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, (1957), No. 373, 443-47. 'The first part of the manuscript contains law, followed by genealogies etc., and the second part ff. 119 sqq., is a Rochester cartulary. Both parts were compiled almost certainly in the time of Bishop Enulf (115-24)'. Martin Linton Smith, bishop of Rochester, discussed the evidence of the *Textus Roffensis* for 'the early succession of the See of Hereford' in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, (1932), XXVII, 141-4. This was based on Liebermann's work on the *Textus Roffensis* at the end of the last century.

37 Ker (1957), No. 373, 446. The list of English archbishops and bishops, nearly as in Tiberius B V. The lists of bishops extend in the main hand usually only to *c.* 990-1000, as in Tiberius B V. Additions to Hereford, Lincoln and Norwich lists are in later hands. See also Page (1953), 81.

38 Ker (1957), 42, 64-5 and J. A. Robinson, 'The Saxon bishops of Wells', *British Academy Supplemental Paper*, IV (1919), 14.

39 Ker (1957), No. 193, 255.

40 E. M. Thompson, *Catalogue of ancient manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II, Latin* (1884), 78., also *Palaegraphic Society*, Series 1, II (1873-83). The text accompanies plate 165. 'The last name in the list of Popes, by the first hand, is that of Leo. III d. 816, the last king is Coenuulph of Mercia who died in 819, and among the latest of the bishops in the different dioceses are some who succeeded about the year 811 and others who died in 814. The fact that the latest recorded succession among the Kings is one of the house of Mercia, points to the Kingdom as the part of England where the MS. was written. The character

of the writing confirms this view, being of the same school as that of the Mercian charters of the period', and K. Sisam, 'Cynewulf and his poetry', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII (1932), 303-31.
'The case for Mercia seems to be overwhelming; and I find evidence that the lists come from Lichfield, the ecclesiastical centre of the old Mercian Kingdom. The lists for the Northumbrian sees remain almost as they were written . . . But the bishops of Lichfield alone have been brought up to date, one between 828 and 836, and again at the end of the twelfth century; and where the manuscript shows by two columns the division of the see into Lichfield and Leicester, a twelfth century hand also continues the list of bishops of Leicester until that see was removed to Dorchester. This document which shows 'e' and 'i' about the year 812, is of the central Midlands. It is not a witness for 'e' in Northumbrian usage'.
Confusion has been caused by Henry Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, (1885), 167-71, placing the royal and episcopal lists under the title 'Genealogies (Northumbrian)'. As Sisam puts it 'Sweet, perhaps the greatest master of linguistic science that this country has produced, was unhappy when he ventured on the history of manuscripts bearing the pressmark Vespasian'. Sweet in his prefatory comments rejected the suggestion that Vespasian B VI was of Mercian origin on the grounds that the royal genealogies began with Northumbria. He thus ignored the fact that the latest recorded succession is one belonging to the Mercian house. He also insisted that 'the want of Northumbrian charters makes the evidence of handwriting doubtful'.

41 Page (1965), 76.
42 Sisam (1953), 290.
43 *H. E.*, IV, 3. *Life of Wilfrid*, XX.
44 Offa persuaded Hadrian I to raise it to an archdiocese with jurisdiction over Leicester, Elmham, Dunwich, Hereford and Winchester.
45 Sisam (1953), 324-5.
46 British Museum, Cotton MS., BVI f. 63 r. Page (1966), 10.
47 Sisam (1953), 329-31.
48 Haddan and Stubbs (1871), III, 444: the Synod of Celchyth (787); and F. M. Stenton (1947), 206, and 216.
49 Haddan and Stubbs (1871), III, 542-4: the Council of Clovesho (803) and F. M. Stenton (1947), 224-6.
50 Birch, 288.
51 Printed with detailed commentary in Haddan and Stubbs (1871), III, 127-30.
52 *H. E.*, IV, 12.
53 *H. E.*, IV, 23. The charter, which refers to the foundation of the see by king Osric of the Hwicce, is held by Finberg to have an authentic basis. H. P. R. Finberg, *The early charters of the West Midlands* (1961), 172-4. Birch, 43. Sawyer, 51.
'The bishopric of the Hwicce, with its seat at Worcester, was established before 680 as a part of the policy of archbishop Theodore (669-690). But christianity had penetrated into the province at an earlier date and the bishopric is likely to have been located in an already existing minster. Bede, recording the mission of St. Wilfrid to the South Saxons, states that the king, Aethelwold, was already a Christian. *(H. E.*, IV, 13). He had been baptised in Mercia and his sponsor, king Wulfhere, had given him the newly conquered Isle of Wight at the time of his baptism. The date indicated is 661. (Whitelock, 1961, *sub annno*). Bede continues: 'Moreover the queen, Eaba by name, had been baptised in her own province, that of the Hwicce. For she was the daughter of Eanfrith, the brother of Aenhere, both of whom were christians, as were their people.' This would suggest that the conversion of the Hwicce took place in the middle of the 7th century or even earlier, before the conversion of Peada, the son of Penda, in 653 opened up Mercia to the christian missionaries.' C. A. Ralegh Radford, 'The historical context of two burials under the refectory of Worcester cathedral', *Medieval Archaeol.*, XVIII (1974), 149-51.
54 Birch, 85. Sawyer, 53. Finberg (1961), 382.
55 *Gesta Pontificum*, IV, 163.
56
Hec veneranda crucis Christi veneranda sacratæ
Ceperat antistes venerandus nomine Walhstod
Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis.
Sed, quia cuncta cadunt mortalia tempore certo,
Ipse opere in medio moriens e carne recessit.
Ast ego successor præfati præsulis ipse,
Pontificis, tribuente Deo, qui munere fungor,
Quique gero certum Cudbert de luce vocamen,
Omissum implevi, quod ceperat ordine pulchro.
Gesta Pontificum, IV, 163.

57 *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace (1887), IV, 1170.
58 *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1964), II, 164.
59 *Sed et versus isti, nuper mihi visi, antiquitatem viri, quantumque antecessores suos honorificaverit, insinuabunt, et si quid ab eis ad ornatum domus Dei ceptum, ipse studio suo perfecerit. Gesta Pontificum*, IV, 163.
60 Extract from a letter of Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, to Lul, after St. Boniface's martyrdom. *English Historical Documents*, I, ed. D. Whitelock (1955), 762-3.
61 *Eadmer, Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, *Rolls Series*, 81 (London, 1884). *Historical works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 73 (London, 1879-80) II, the minor works includes the *Actus Pontificum*. *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* ed. T. Arnold, *Rolls Series*, LXXV (London, 1882-5) 2 vols.
62 Gervase of Canterbury, *History of the archbishops of Canterbury*, translation of Joseph Stevenson, *Church Historians of England*, V, i (1858), 296. Although Gervase's description of Cuthbert's work at Canterbury was written four hundred years later, in the second half of the twelfth century, it is fully authenticated. Not only was it part of the traditional history of Canterbury, much older than Gervase, but a detailed description of Cuthbert's church of St. John the Baptist was included by Eadmer in his life of Cuthbert's successor, St. Bregwin. Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Bregwini*, in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton (1691), II, 186. The tombs of Cuthbert's predecessors were found during Hope's excavations of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. W. St. J. Hope, 'Recent discoveries in the abbey church of St. Austin of Canterbury', *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1915), 377-400.
63 Only once after Cuthbert's death in 758 was the cathedral deprived of the honour of archiepiscopal burial. In 791 Jaenberht, himself a former monk of St. Augustine's, was buried with the earlier archbishops in the abbey church outside the city walls. So great was his humility that he believed himself unworthy to be buried in the church with such holy predecessors. He ordered that he should be buried in the chapter-house, *capitulo*, instead. Goscelin, *Historia translationis Sancti Augustini episcopi Anglorum apostoli*, *Patrologia Latina*, CLV, ed. J. Migne (Paris, 1854), 26.
64 *Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia*, and *Prima culmina corrupta tecti renovans.* Colgrave (1927) 34-5.
65 Some discussion of the *porticus* in general terms will be found in: G. Baldwin Brown, *The arts in early England*, II, 124-5, 129-32. H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture* (1965), I, 13-4. G. Webb, *Architecture in Britain, the Middle Ages* (1956), 1-10 and A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque architecture before the conquest* (1930). The subject awaits a detailed examination.
66 F. van der Meer and C. Mohrman, *Atlas of the early Christian world* (1966), 146-51. 'The most popular Christian devotion after 313 was the veneration of the martyrs. The sanctuaries in which their relics were venerated were called in the East *martyria* and in the West *memoriae*. Nearly every city possessed a few . . . Later, when the relics began to be divided up and transferred *memoriae* were also built within the city walls . . . Yet people still came to Rome chiefly to visit the graves of Peter, Paul and Lawrence.' and 162. 'From early Christendom, the splendour of Christian Rome was almost exclusively bound up with the graves of Peter and Paul. On 29th June Rome was black with pilgrims come to visit the apostles tombs, for that was considered of old as the day of their death.' Also R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture* (1975), 32-7, 483, on the cult of the graves of the martyrs.
67 *Capituli Theodori*, 8, in Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 211. *In ecclesia sanctificata nulli mortui sepelientur.*
68 C. du F. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, cum supplementis integris P. Carpenterii et aliorum. Digressit G. A. L. Henschel* (Paris, 1840-50), Tomus V, 345. For the Council of Nantes, G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Reprint, Graz, 1960), XVIIIa, 167. Canon VI enacts: *Prohibendum etiam . . . ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut in porticu, aut extra ecclesiam. Infra ecclesiam vero, aut prope altare, ubi corpus Domini et sanguis conficitur, nullatenus habeat licentiam sepeliendi.* The need for the canon suggests that the strength of the tradition was weakening. Indeed by the late 10th century it had been swept away in this country. As we have already noted, in 988 archbishop Dunstan established a new tradition at Canterbury when he built his own tomb within the cathedral itself. There he was buried in 988.
69 P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (1971), especially ch. 6. *Rome of the Pilgrims.* 'The Anglo-Saxons were the most eager of all for the Roman pilgrimage . . . The Saxon kings Ine, Offa, and Cadwalla founded for their own nation their own hostel or hostels, near St. Peter's which they called in their own tongue their borough.' 169. Their eagerness for the Roman pilgrimage was due to the fact that Gregory the Great's mission to England had carried the patronage of the apostles. Gregory, himself, illustrated the awe in which

the apostles were held. 'I wished to carry out some repairs near the most sacred body of the apostle St. Paul; as it was necessary to dig to some depth near his tomb the foreman found some bones, which had no connection with the tombs. He dared to lift them and move them elsewhere; he died suddenly with horrifying symptoms.' 174.

70 van der Meer and Mohrman (1966), 162. 'On the tombs of the principal saints . . . pope Damasus had magnificent epitaphs carved in marble.' These established the tradition. Bede gives in full the epitaph carved on the tomb of St. Augustine. *H. E.*, II, 3. King Ethelbert's epitaph, preserved by Thomas of Elmham, has a strange jingle which it is difficult to reproduce fully in intelligible English. J. Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments of Great Britain, Ireland and the islands adjacent, with the dissolved monasteries therein* (1st. ed., London, 1631) translates it:

"King Ethelbert lieth here, closed in this polyander
For building churches, sure he goes to Christ without meander."

See, R. U. Potts, 'The tombs of the kings and archbishops in St. Austin's abbey', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 2S., XXXVIII (1926), 105.

71 *H. E.*, I, 33.

72 *H. E.*, II, 3.

73 *H. E.*, II, 5.

74 M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Reports', *Antiq. J.*, XLVIII (1968), 168-280; XLIX, (1969), 312-23, and L (1970), 311-21.

75 *H. E.*, III, 7. Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, 611-643, had been converted to Christianity by Birinus in 635. Cynegils had made Birinus bishop of the West Saxon folk and had granted him land for his episcopal seat at Dorchester, the Roman site on the Thames where he had been baptised by Birinus. His son, Cenwalh, erected a church, also dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, at Winchester about 648. Soon after Cenwalh elevated it to cathedral satus. There seems to be no doubt that it was the foundations of this church that Martin Biddle found in 1967. After a period of some confusion with two bishops serving the West Saxons, one at Dorchester and the other at Winchester, the Old Minster eventually became the centre of the re-united tribal diocese under the rule of bishop Eleutherius in 670. Ultimately, as Winchester became transformed from a tribal to a national capital, it became a centre of religious and cultural life rivalling even Canterbury.

The cathedral church has been reconstructed a number of times and on each occasion the bones of the early kings and bishops have been moved. Their ultimate resting place can still be seen—in the six mortuary chests on top of the stone screen in the choir. They were placed there by bishop Fox, 1500-1528. Here, according to the inscription, yet remain the bones of Cynegils.

The Winchester example is important and worth discussing in detail for it shows how the conventions translated from the continent to St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury were adopted by another of the Anglo-Saxon dynasties. The burial chapel at Hereford must be viewed in this context.

76 *Gesta Pontificum* (1870), 383-4.

77 R. Shoesmith, *The city of Hereford, archaeology and development* (1974) Map 1 shows 'the presumed site of the Saxon minster'.

78 *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle, a revised translation*, ed. D. Whitelock (1961), 130-1. Versions D and C respectively.

79 W. St. J. Hope, 'Recent discoveries in the abbey church of St. Austin at Canterbury', *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1914-1915), 377-400.

The church plan established at Canterbury spread quickly. It has been revealed most clearly at Bradwell, in Essex, and at Reculver, in Kent. The Bradwell church was, in all likelihood, that built by St. Cedd about 653, probably with the help of Kentish masons. It had a north and south *porticus*. These overlapped the nave and chancel and had internal access only, one from the nave and the other from the chancel. *Inventory of Historical Monuments in Essex*, IV (1923), 15-6. C. R. Peers showed that the minster church erected by the priest Bassa on the land given him at Reculver by king Egbert in 669 had the same features, but in this case access to both *porticus* was from the chancel. C. R. Peers, 'Reculver, its Saxon church and cross', *Archaeologia*, LXXVII (1927), 241-56. Also H. M. and J. Taylor (1965) for all three sites.

80 Biddle (1970), 319.

81 Birch, 86; Sawyer, 24.

82 R. C. Jenkins, 'The basilica of Lyminge; Roman, Saxon and Medieval', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, IX (1874), 205-23 uses Goscelin of Canterbury's *Life of St. Mildthryth*, which tells us 'we know that Ethelburga, after the king's (Edwin's) death, returned and took the veil at Lyminge at the hands of Honorius and there she died and was buried'. Jenkins seeks to explain the apparent contradiction in Goscelin's description of the site of the 'eminent and august' monument as being *in aquilonali porticu ad australem ecclesiae parietem*. Goscelin's *Life of St. Mildthryth* is in B. M. Cotton MS., Vespasian B XX.

83 J. F. Niermayer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976) quotes Hugeburc, *Vita Wynnebaldi* for an early example of the use of the term *porticus* for a chapel at the eastern end of the church. At Monkwearmouth, Benedict Biscop was buried in the '*porticus* of the blessed Peter, east of the altar, where afterwards the bones of the most reverend abbots Easterwine and Sigefrith were translated also'. The anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*, abbot of Jarrow, c. 18. Plummer, (1896), I, 388-404. Translated in Whitelock (1955), 697-708.

84 Potts (1926), 104-5, 108-12.

85 H. M. and J. Taylor (1965), 135 also Clapham (1930). For the axial arrangement of two or more churches on the continent see J. Herbert, *L'Art pre-roman* (Paris, 1938). The great church of St. Bénigne, at Dijon, has been shown by recent excavation (1977-8) to be of this type. Here a rotunda joined two earlier buildings to east and west and was the inspiration for Wulfric's Octagon of 1050 which served a similar purpose at St. Augustine's where it joined the church of St. Peter and St. Paul with St. Mary (Fig. 3b).

86 It was 23 ft. x 12 ft., some 5 ft. shorter than the north *porticus*. Futhermore, as it was the burial place of the royal pair there was twice the demand on space. As it was, queen Bertha had insisted that her Frankish chaplain, Liudhard, was buried in the same chapel.

87 H. M. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon cathedral church at Canterbury', *Archaeol. J.*, CXXVI (1969), 112 and 122.

88 *H. E.*, V, 23.

89 British Museum, Add. MS., 34,633. See note 97 below.

90 ed. Thorpe (1848-49), 238 and 265.

91 See note 40 above.

92 British Museum, Harley MS., 3271 f6^{v}. Birch, 297. For reproduction and transcript see R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II (1952).

93 Birch, 332; Sawyer, 1264; Finberg (1961), 234.

94 Stenton (1934), 1vi, n.1.

95 C. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, 5S, XXI (1971), 133-157.

96 Hart (1971), 140-1.

97 Hart (1971), 134.

98 Most particularly 'St. Mildburg's Testament' and 'The Princes of the Magonsaete' in H P. R. Finberg, *Early charters of the West Midlands* (1961), 196-224 and 'Mercians and Welsh' in H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna* (1964), 66-82.

99 B. M., Add. MS., 34,633. Transcribed, translated and commented upon in Finberg (1961), 196-216.

100 See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXII, 253-4.

101 *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, II (1889), 521.

102 Finberg (1961), 201-6, text and translation.

103 Finberg (1961), 219 but Stenton (1947), 47. 'In the tenth century it was said that Merewalh was a son of Penda (*Liber Vitae of Hyde Abbey*, ed. W. de G. Birch, 84). But a statement of this kind in so late a text has little, if any, authority. The fact that no names beginning in M occur in the elaborate geneaology of the Mercian kings makes it in the highest degree unlikely that Merewalh was Penda's son. The further fact that the names current in the family alliterate with the name of the Magonsaetan suggests very strongly that they had a claim to rule in their own right over this people, and that originally they were independent of the Mercian kings.'

Finberg has commented that 'there is no evidence that the district-name Magonsaet was applied to the whole people in the seventh century, nor is it clear that Anglian settlers had reached the country between the Wrekin and the Wye much before Merewalh's time. Moreover, . . . all the other known members of this dynasty were Merewalh's children, and, as Stenton himself remarks, "the practice of giving to a child a name which alliterates with that of his father was common amongst the Germanic people" '. Finberg is quoting from Stenton (1934), 1vi.

104 *H. E.*, III, 21.

105 *H. E.*, III, 24.

106 *H. E.*, III, 21 and 24.

107 *H. E.*, IV, 3.

108 Finberg (1961), 217 and 220. Not to be confused with Ethelbert, the East Anglian king murdered by Offa in 794. This Ethelbert 'seems most likely to have been a brother-in-law, one of two brothers who were revered as martyrs though in fact the victims of a political assassination'. See also Stenton (1934), lxi.

109 *Natale Sanctae Mildrethae Virginis.* B.M., Cotton MS., Caligula A, XIV, ff. 121v-124v. See also Ker (1957), No. 138, 172-3 and *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. O. Cockayne, *Rolls Series*, XXXV (1866), III, 422-9.
110 Stenton (1947), 46-7 and 162.
111 There are a considerable number of extant *Lives* relating to various members of the family. These have not yet been subject to detailed and comparative study. After the Danish attack on Minster in 1011, the body of St. Mildthryth was translated to Canterbury. The dispute between the monks of St. Augustine's and the canons of St. Gregory's as to possession, and their attempts to establish their rival claims, explains the considerable interest in the family at this time. The monks of St. Augustine's claimed that her body had been buried in the extended north *porticus* of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in order that it might be close to those of St. Augustine and the other early archbishops. Such was her fame.
112 Finberg (1961), 218 and 201-6.
113 *H.E.*, IV, 12 and 20. Stenton (1947), 201-2. H. P. R. Finberg, *The formation of England, 550-1042* (1974), 53 and 95-6.
114 Finberg (1974), 30 and 95-6. Finberg (1964), 75-8.
115 *Loc. cit.* in note 75.
116 Finberg (1961), 212.
117 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 118-22. c. 9. Increase of sees and dioceses. 'Gregory's scheme of two archiepiscopates, with twelve suffragan sees a-piece, no doubt supplied the basis of Theodore's proceedings.' Note also c. 5. Clergy to remain in their own diocese, and c. 6. Of bishops and clergy when in a diocese not their own. These were clearly aimed at what were now to be considered Celtic irregularities.
118 Wine, the simoniacal bishop of London, and Wilfrid and Chad in contest over Northumbria. A number of sees were vacant—Rochester, and those of the West Saxons and East Anglians. J. Godfrey, *The church in Anglo-Saxon England* (1962), 129.
119 H. Mayr-Harting, *The coming of Christianity* (1972), 131.
120 Godfrey (1962), 130-4. Mayr-Harting (1972), 131-2.
121 *H. E.*, IV, 3. 'He had his episcopal see in the place called Lichfield in which also he died and was buried and where the succeeding bishops of that diocese still continue.'
122 Stenton (1947), 201. J.E. Lloyd, *A history of Wales* (3rd. ed., 1939), I, 147-8 for the missionary work of St. Dubricius in Archenfield, also G. Doble, *St. Dubricius* (1943) and R. Fenn, 'Early Christianity in Herefordshire'; *Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1968) XXXIX, 333-47.
123 This is confirmed by the footnote entry in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* ed. H. Petrie (1848), 538.
124 Birch, 85; Sawyer, 53; Finberg (1961), 382.
125 Sawyer, 1785; M. Gibbs, *Early charters of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London* (1939), 3, based on a collection of extracts taken from a *Rotulus Antiquus Eccleiae Santi Pauli*, now lost. Translated in Whitelock (1955), 449.
126 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 300-1.
127 *Loc. cit.* in note 88.
128 *Loc. cit.* in note 56.
129 *Loc. cit.* in notes 59-63.
130 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 528-9. Compare with the subscriptions of the bishops in attendance at the Synod of Clovesho, 798, where no reference was made to the individual sees. Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 514-5.
131 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 546.
He appears to have taken some of the members of his *familia* with him on this occasion for their names appear below his in the attestation of this act of the Council. They were *'Strygel, presbyter. Dycga, presbyter. Monn, presbyter. Heathobald, diaconus. Werferth.'*
132 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 579.
133 Haddan and Stubbs, III (1871), 544-5.
134 Finberg, (1974), 147.
135 *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, ed. Whitelock (1961), 36.

The Palaces of the Bishop of Hereford

by J. W. TONKIN

WITH the exception of the Hereford residence it would probably be preferable to think of the various dwellings of the bishop as manor-houses, but strictly the residence of a monarch or bishop is a palace and consequently 'palaces' they must be called.

Three early lists of bishop's manors survive, Domesday Book 1086, the Red Book of *c.* 1260 and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas of 1291 (see Appendix A). The first has sixteen mentioned in modern Herefordshire, the second and third both have twenty-two in total. However, the Red Book list contains Prestbury and Sevenhampton which are not in the 1291 *Taxatio* which in its turn has Cloppele, Lydbury North and Sugwas which are not in the 1260 list though Sugwas is in Domesday. Certainly before 1275 there was also Montalt, the London residence of the bishop. This, like Prestbury and Sevenhampton, was outside the diocese.

Later, Bishop Trillek, 1344-61,[1] added Goldhill in the diocese of Salisbury. This is probably Goldhill, about seven miles south of Shaftesbury in Dorset. It is not Goldhill in Bosbury.

These twenty-four manors may seem the sign of wealth to us today, but Bishop Swinfield, 1283-1317, claimed that Hereford was the worst endowed bishopric in England. He could well have been correct.

The bishop, like any other great feudal magnate, moved from manor to manor, favouring some much more than others. They were useful when he toured his diocese as well as being sources of food and income. On many of them he did not stay at all, for they were close to others which acted as centres of various groups.

It it interesting to follow the bishops' movements in their *Registers.* Apart from Hereford and the London residence of Montalt which was in considerable use, Sugwas and Bosbury seem to have been the most favoured for a time. Bishop Cantelupe, 1275-82, stayed at twelve during his episcopacy, Bishop's Castle being his other frequent stopping place.[2] He made a reasonable number of visits to Prestbury, Ledbury and Whitbourne and only a very few to Bishop's Frome, Bromyard, Colwall and Ross. No stay was made at any of the other twelve by Cantelupe or any of his successors and it seems probable that whilst these were manors there was no 'palace' at them.

In his thirty-four years Bishop Swinfield, 1283-1317, used Bishop's Frome only twice and after his days it was not used at all.[3] For the sixty years from 1283 to 1344 during the episcopates of Swinfield, Orleton and Charlton Bishop's Castle, Bromyard and Ross were little used and for most of the time this applied also to

Colwall and Ledbury though these had rather more use by Bishop Charlton, 1327-44.[4] Bosbury and Sugwas remained popular and Whitbourne and Prestbury increased in favour.

Bishop Trillek, 1344-61, ceased to use Bishop's Castle and Ross, used Montalt very rarely, but Bromyard and Ledbury became more popular than they had been for a long time.[5] Bosbury, Prestbury, Whitbourne and, to a lesser extent, Sugwas, were the most popular palaces outside Hereford and for a time he made considerable use of Goldhill.

On 23 April, 1356, the Chapter agreed to keep only the houses at Bishop's Castle, Bosbury, London, Prestbury, Sugwas and Whitbourne in addition to the palace at Hereford.[6] The printed version of the document has 'Richard's Castle', but this must mean Bishop's Castle. This really recognized the facts, for except for a short time under Bishop Trillek when Bromyard and Ledbury had come back into use, these were the most popular other than Goldhill, which had been used for only a short time. At the other manors only the farm buildings were to be maintained.

Thus only six palaces outside Hereford continued to be used after 1356. One is bound to ask if there was rebuilding and if so, how much. By the time of Bishop Bothe, 1516-35, only Whitbourne and Montalt were used much, Bosbury and Sugwas not at all. The last definite use of Sugwas was in 1514 by Bishop Mayhew, who, like Bishop Myllying, 1474-92, obviously favoured Whitbourne. Bosbury seems to have been last used in 1467 by Bishop Stanbury, 1453-74, who apparently favoured it in his early years, but then turned to Whitbourne.

It is probably better to take the known palaces in two groups: those which went out of use before or in 1356 and those which continued after that date.

THOSE WHICH WENT OUT OF USE IN 1356

BISHOPS FROME

As far as can be traced there is nothing left of this house. Robinson thought there had never been a bishop's residence here.[7] There is no reference to a bishop staying here after Bishop Swinfield in the late 13th century.

BROMYARD

This seems to have stood somewhere in or close to the present churchyard and it has been suggested that the present-day council offices occupy the site, but there seems to be no proof of this.

COLWALL

Little used by Bishops Cantelupe and Swinfield, but quite popular with Bishop Charlton, 1327-44. Part of the present house is 16th century in date, but there do not appear to be any remains of the bishops' palace.

GOLDHILL (Dorset)

Appears to have been used only by Bishop Trillek from 1347 until the Chapter's decision of 1356. It was situated in the parish of Child Okeford about seven miles south of Shaftesbury in Dorset.

LEDBURY

Not greatly used in the 13th and 14th centuries except by Bishop Trillek in the period 1344-56. It was almost certainly on the corner where Ledbury Park now stands.[8]

ROSS

This palace does not seem to have been used after 1334 when Bishop Charlton was last there. It was already in existence by 1166-67 when it is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls for provisioning.[9] It was then classed as a defended house. Cellars belonging to it were found on the site of the present Royal Hotel.

PALACES WHICH CONTINUED IN USE AFTER 1356

BISHOPS CASTLE

The original site may be the 'Bishop's moat' about two miles west of the town, but the 'New Castle', as it was known until 1285, seems to have been built between 1087 and 1127, and, along with Montalt, Prestbury and Ross was included in the list of castles mentioned in the Pipe Rolls in 1166-67.[10]

Bishop Bothe used it occasionally during his episcopacy, 1516-35, Leland in 1530 describes it as habitable and a survey during the reign of Elizabeth describes it as having thirteen rooms covered with lead, a tiled tower on the outer wall on the eastern side containing a stable and two rooms and 'le new Buyldinge' on the outer wall between the gatehouse and 'le prison Tower'. There was also a dovecote and a garden.

Excavations carried out in 1937 show that the walling was 14th century, possibly a rebuild after 1356.[11]

In the 16th century it came into royal hands and in 1610 James I granted the manor and castle to A. Ingram and T. Willowes who, in 1618, transferred them to the Earl of Arundel who held it for about forty years. It is during this period that it seems to have become a ruin.

Certain rents paid to the local council are supposed to be an acknowledgement for stone taken from the castle.

Today the Castle Hotel seems to be on the site of the main buildings and the bowling green on that of the earlier shell keep.

BOSBURY

It was here that Bishop Athelstan died in 1056 and it was clearly a favourite residence of the bishops throughout its history.

The earliest surviving part at Old Court, Bosbury, today is the gatehouse which Robinson suggested was built by Bishop Cantelupe,[12] though it could well be the work of Swinfield, 1283-1317, whose favoured residence was Bosbury. The main gateway with its two chamfered orders looks 14th rather than 13th century. The timber-framed inner wall appears to be later.

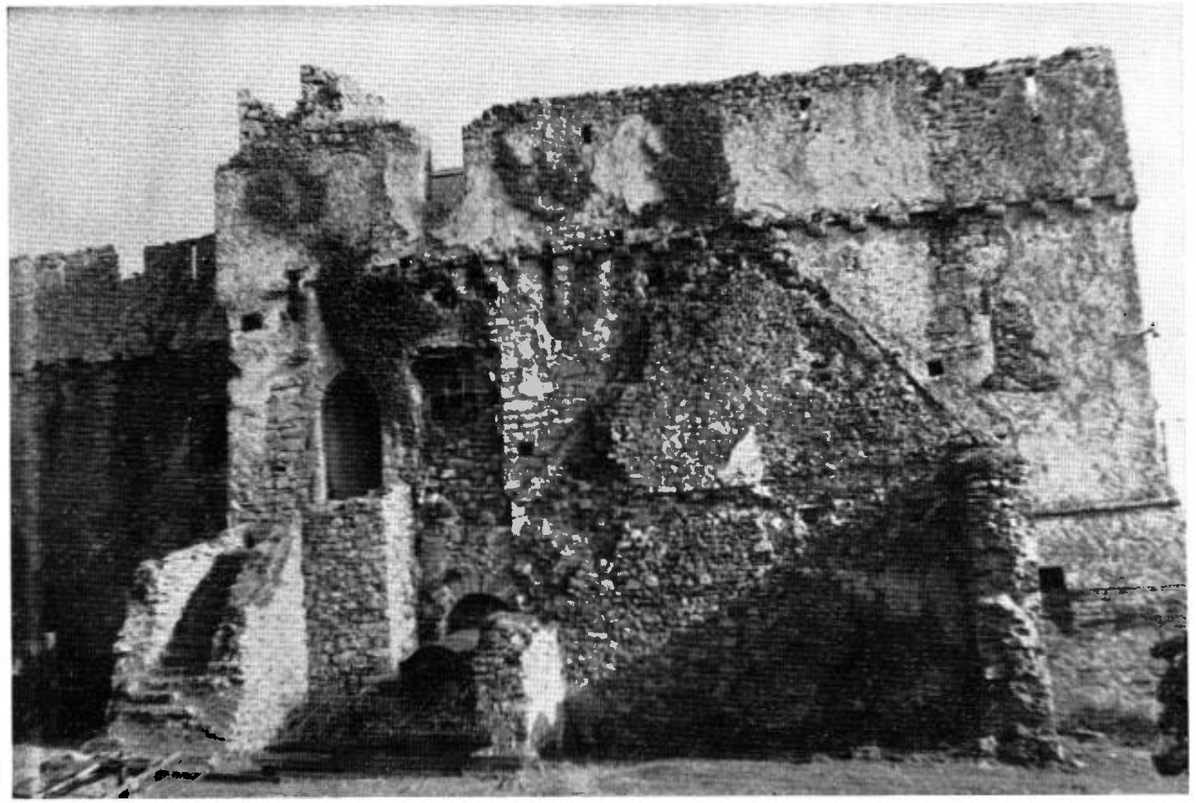
The last bishop to use it to any extent was Bishop Stanbury in the 1460s and it seems to have been a favourite with him for a time. It is possible that the fine roof of the south wing above the modern first-floor dates from his episcopacy; certainly it is 15th-century work. The two western bays had arched-braced collars in the western and central trusses, the braces apparently being quite deep. These trusses are tenoned for three butt-purlins but the roof has been converted at some later date to trenched through and ridge purlins. At some stage it has been ceiled at collar level. The third truss from the west was a tie-beam, closed truss, now much altered by the insertion of a central stack. As there are the remains of a flue on the northern wall just west of the central truss and a corbel outside it seems possible that these two bays were an open first-floor hall with a corbelled, lateral stack.

East of this inserted stack is a closed truss with a cambered tie-beam and a collar. The mortices remaining in these and the principal rafters show that there were once five vertical and two raking-struts between tie and collar and tie and principals respectively. Beyond this is another arch-braced open truss and at the east end another cambered tie-beam truss. As with the two open trusses in the west end the central truss now has a tie-beam bolted on to it. Immediately east of the central truss is a flue in the north wall as in the western room.

Thus there were two two-bay open rooms on the first-floor with a single bay between. Perhaps the latter marks the position of an early stairs, but there is sufficient remaining to show that in the late 15th century the bishop had here a fine house with two first-floor open rooms, one presumably a hall, the other perhaps a great chamber or an audience chamber.

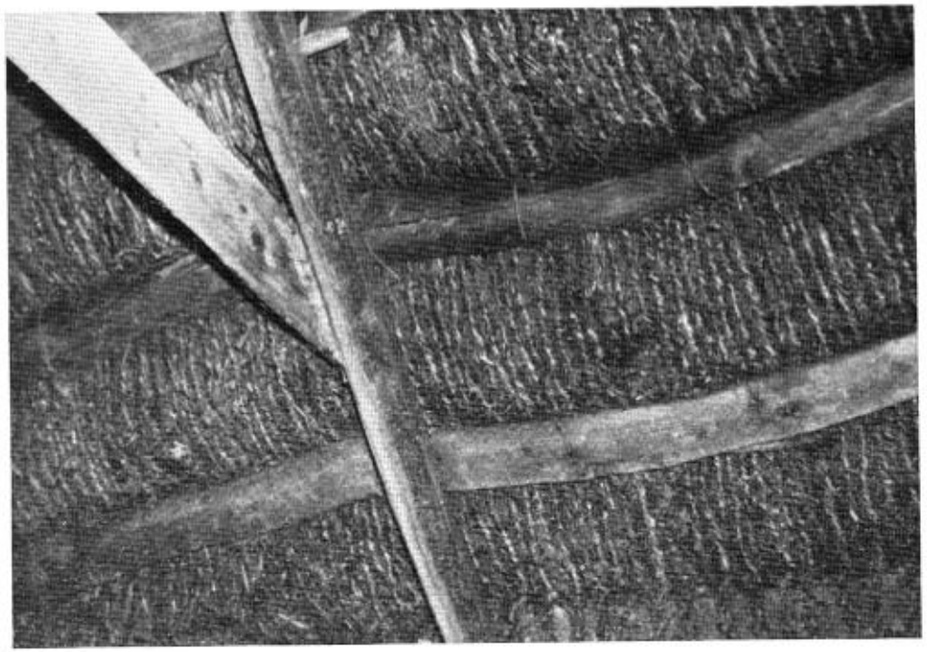
Beneath this eastern room is a fine parlour about 17 ft. by 23 ft. with well-moulded, chamfered and stopped beams and joists which appear to be contemporary with the roof. This was presumably the bishop's parlour, his private room. The floorboards of the room above are set between the joists, a form of flooring which is found at Churche's Mansion, Nantwich, and must have been expensive to construct.

In 1572 the court and stage halls were destroyed during the episcopacy of Bishop Scory, John Harford having undertaken to build a new house on the same ground. Fourteen years later Bishop Westfaling complained to Scory's executors



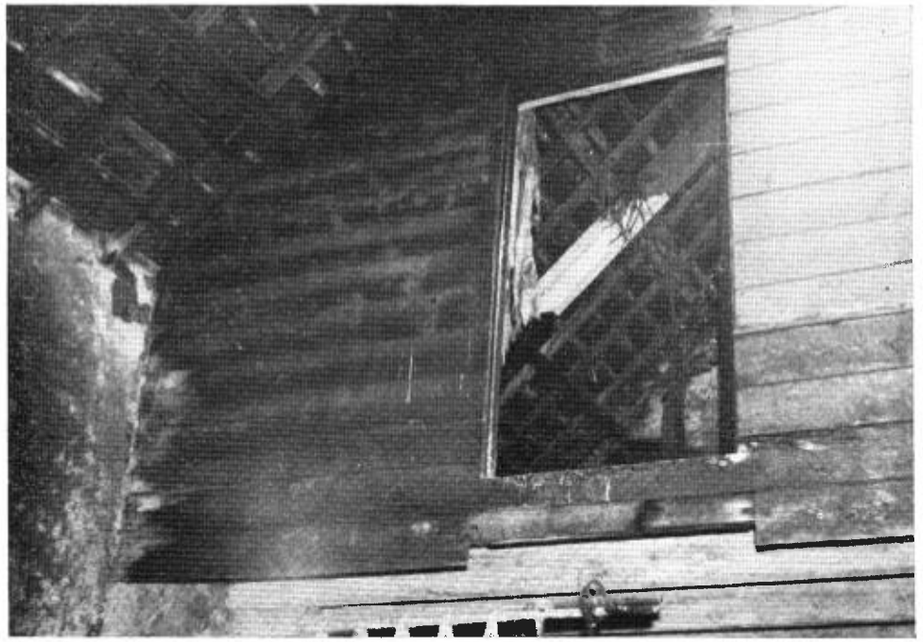
I— Eastington, Rhoscrowther
A battlemented first-floor hall with vaulted undercroft and an imposing stone stair

II— Rhosson Uchaf, near St. Davids



III— Straw ropework forming the ceiling of a north Pembrokeshire cottage

IV— A box or cupboard bed
(Courtesy of Pembrokeshire County Museum)



V— Start Naked, Roch
Entrance to croglofft

VI— Start Naked, Roch
Showing the tiny croglofft window in the gable

VII— Porth Gain
Quarry-workers cottages

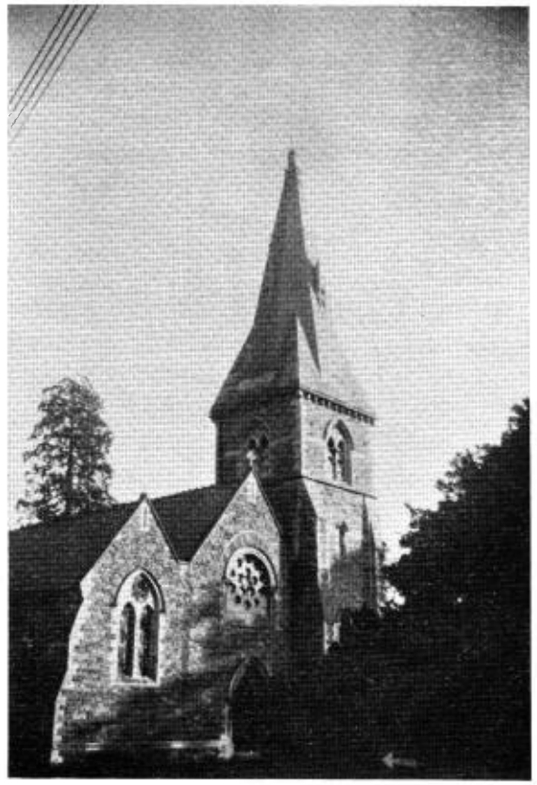
VIII— Brick Row, Llanfyrnach
Back-to-back houses

IX— Old Court, Bosbury

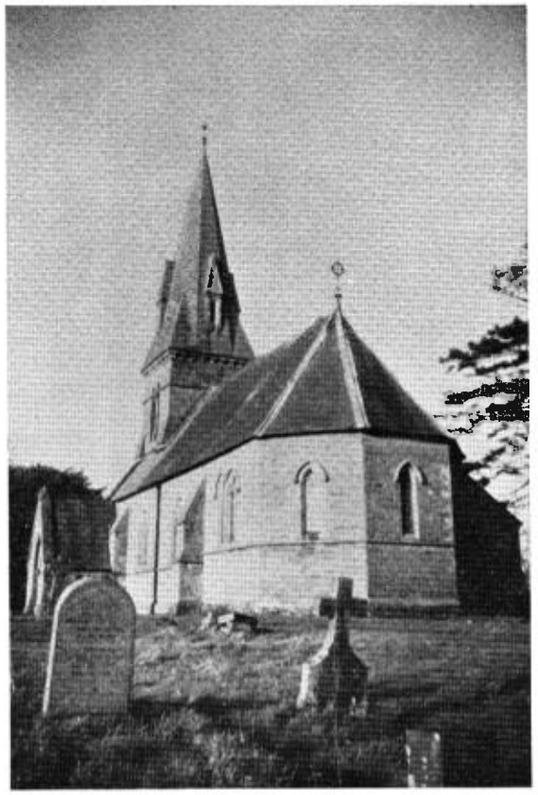
X— Whitbourne Court

XI—Norman capital, Bishop's Palace, Hereford.

XII— St. James, Hereford



XIII— Tupsley, Hereford



XIV— Edvin Loach, Herefordshire

XV— Hope Bowdler, Shropshire

that all that had happened was 'nothing but an addition to an old tenement standing in that place before', 'fit for a good Knight, or gentleman, it was short for a bishop'.

Perhaps the court and stage halls destroyed in 1572 were the two rooms of which the roof still exists, but which may well have been ceiled at that date.

The southern part of the north wing has walls about 1 ft. 6 ins. thick and could be of timber-framing encased later by bricks laid in Flemish bond. The west wall of the northern part of this wing is of thin, apparently early, brick for the first six feet or so and then normal Flemish bond above. It could be all that is left of an external kitchen which was incorporated into the wing. This wing with its chamfered beams and Wern Hir type stops could well be the addition mentioned in 1586. The dovecote was taken down sometime in the later 19th century before 1892.

MONTALT

This London house of the bishops stood on the west side of Old Fish Street Hill and was burnt down in the Great Fire of 1666. It was purchased by Bishop Maidstone *c.* 1234 and he gave it to his successors. However, as early as 1166-67 the Castle of 'Munhalt' is listed in the Pipe Rolls as belonging to the bishops of Hereford, who presumably had it on lease.[13]

In 1311 it was let to Hamo de Chiggewelle for two years at £10 a year and we learn that it contained a hall, stabling with a 27 ft. manger, and there were rushes for the floor, mats for the benches, cellars for the storage of wine and that there was a pavement or pitching. Some of the occupants slept on straw.[14] There was a chapel of St. Mary belonging to it.[15]

Bishops Foxe and Skipp were buried at Montalt.

PRESTBURY

There was already a possession of the bishops of Hereford here at the time of Edward the Confessor and possibly as early as 803.[16] In 1166-67 it was one of the castles listed in the Pipe Rolls.[17] It was a typical moated defended manor of the time with a two-bay aisled hall not unlike Finchale Priory in the county of Durham which some members may remember from the visit of 1973. From the excavations by Mrs. O'Neil in 1937-39 and 1951 it is learnt that this 12th-century hall was part of a building which included a solar over an under-croft, a small chapel and had an external kitchen close by.[18]

There is a reference in *Gloucester Collections* to the fact that in 1209 'The Bishop had here a Park wherein stood a handsome Stone House moated about' and a list of dilapidations in 1344 mentions the stable, ox-house, great stable, pigstye, cow-house, three barns, 'an old chamber within the inner gateway,' dairy, granary, chamber of the squires and clerks, hall, kitchen, larder, brewhouse, middle-chamber, chapel, cellar, lord's chamber and mill.[19]

This residence on the outskirts of modern Cheltenham seems to have been popular with all the bishops and continued in use into the episcopacy of Bishop Bothe 1516-35. In 1531 it was let to Humphrey Elton with the proviso that the bishop could stay there when necessary except in the part south of the gatehouse.

At some time fairly soon after this it changed hands, for in 1564 Queen Elizabeth granted a long lease to Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, while in 1577-78 Bishop Butterfield describes it as 'late the possession'.

In 1643 it was occupied by a troop of Commonwealth soldiers, but by 1698 money 'was Paide to Mr Bagholt for Halling four Loade of stone from the Manor'.[20] The stone was used to repair the north doorway of the church and to build a buttress to the tower.

SUGWAS

The Norman doorway now in the stable is evidence of a house here in the 12th century. It was the favourite of Bishops Cantelupe and Orleton, was well used by Swinfield, but was less popular with later bishops.

In 1503 it was let to John Breynton with the bishop reserving the right to stay there. This right was exercised by Bishop Mayhew in 1514 and as late as the last decade of the 17th century it seems that Bishop Ironsides stayed there, the last bishop to do so.

During the next century the house apparently fell into a state of disrepair and what was left was destroyed in 1792 and a new house built three years later.

The illustration in Robinson's *Mansions and Manors* dating from the 18th century shows a stone hall apparently with an undercroft and flat, probably Norman buttresses.[21] At right angles to this, running east and west, is a wing with a stone ground-floor and a timber-framed storey above. The former was stated in 1718 to have been the chapel 39 ft. by 19 ft. and has a four-light window at the east end and two two-light windows in the south wall. The 1718 description says that the floor over the chapel contained the dining-room and bishop's chamber. This timber-framing is said to have been rebuilt by Bishop Myllyng, 1474-92. From the shape of the panels in the drawing this seems possible.

The glass in the east window was inserted in the time of Bishop Spofford, 1421-48. It is said to have been removed in 1752 and re-used in the east window of Ross parish church. The description of the Sugwas window by Hill in 1718 in a Mss at Belmont Abbey describes exactly the east window at Ross and it is perhaps for the insertion of this that glaziers were being paid there in 1780-81. It portrays Sts. Ethelbert, Anne, Joachim and Thomas Cantelupe.

Tiles from the palace are now in Sugwas Church and contain the arms of Bishop Richard Beauchamp, 1448-50.

The bargeboards in the Hereford Museum brought from the New Weir in 1930 where they were found loose are reputed to be from the late 15th-century timber-framed gable. Certainly they are not from the New Weir itself and it is quite probable that they were brought there from the nearby Sugwas Court.

WHITBOURNE

From the 14th century onwards this was the most popular of all the bishop's palaces and remained in use until the time of Bishop Bisse who died in 1721. During the Commonwealth period it became one of the residences of Col. John Birch and after the Restoration he and the bishop seem to have reached a compromise, for he retained Whitbourne on a long lease, but the bishop could come and stay as of old.

The early house here may well have been on the island surrounded by a moat in the garden to the south-east of the present Court, but the latter dates from the late 15th century and has 'just growed' from then onwards.

The hall and library forming the central part of the present house and the room immediately to the south have stone walls about 3 ft. thick and were probably the full extent of the 15th-century house. The hall is about 30 ft. by 15 ft. and although it has been much altered its roof remains virtually unchanged. It is of two 15 ft. bays and apparently was over two chambers, for there is a central collar and tie-beam truss, the collar being cambered and having raking-struts to the principal rafters with clasped purlins. Half-way along each bay is an arched-brace collar truss, again with clasped purlins. The arched-braces and the collar and principals are plainly chamfered, the last changing in scantling above the purlin. There is one tier of curved wind-braces in each half-bay. Thus there appear to have been two open first-floor chambers here as at Bosbury.

Birch and his son, Samuel added the block to the north of the hall, probably *c.* 1670-80. This included the modern kitchen and study and probably the dining-room. It is of stone and the southern face has a plat-band and elliptical-headed windows. There are two big flues in the modern passage between the kitchen and study and perhaps the kitchen once extended to this point, though there is a big fire-place in its north wall. A blocked hole by this may have been a wood hole from the yard outside, or may be the remains of a bake-oven. At least three original windows with single mullion and transom survive in the north and west walls on the first-floor, those facing north still retaining their original casements. The doorway at the end of the passage mentioned above has ovolo moulding and it and the door and doorway now blocked by the later stairway are also of this late-17th-century build.

The corner fire-place in the chamber over the eastern part of the hall is no doubt also of this date and it was probably at this time that the early-17th-century panelling was brought into this room.

The brickwork of the wall at the north of the garden is interesting and in its lower part is almost certainly of the Birch period for the fifteen lowest courses are of narrow brick, some as thin as two inches, but these, like the thirty courses of more normal brick above, are all laid in English Garden Wall bond.

The third period of building seems to have been about a hundred years later. The north wing was extended to the east to give two extra rooms on the ground and first-floors. Two of the ground-floor windows in this new east wall seem to have been re-used from the earlier period. This new piece of wall is of rather inferior work to that of the late 17th century and has no plat-band. It was probably at this time that the south and east walls of this block were given a brick dentilled cornice and brick elliptical heads to the upper windows.

It was no doubt at this time that the dining-room and hall were given their Adam type fire-place and that the former was 'modernised' with plaster panels and frieze. The present stairway from the hall with its fine handrail is probably of this same period, but could be a little later. At some period the hall/dining-room block has been refronted in brick laid in Flemish bond and this could well have been done at this time.

The last major additions were in 1878 when the Victorian south wing was added and the library was given a big bay window. The windows of the hall-block were also altered at this time.

The extensive cellars are interesting and, as is usually the case, difficult to date. Those beneath the hall are probably the earliest. Those beneath the dining-room have beams with ogee stops and have a fire-place and bake-oven beneath the dining-room fire-place. They are no doubt part of the Birch additions. Those beneath the library appear to be an 18th-century addition with wedge-shaped stops to the beams and contemporary wine bins. Finally there is the 19th-century extension below the Victorian south wing. In these cellars the remains of the acetylene lighting system are still evident and of considerable interest in that they show what happened in a number of the better-off houses which were beyond the reach of the normal gas supply in the days before electricity reached rural areas.

HEREFORD

This is the only bishop's palace in this diocese still used for its original purpose. The evidence for the clerestoried form of the 12th century great hall of the palace at Hereford has been closely argued elsewhere by Dr. Ralegh Radford, Professor Jope and the present writer.[22] It is comparable with the great aisled halls at the bishop's palace at Farnham, and at the castles at Leicester and Oakham.

The three 24 ft. bays of this hall still survive with their nail-head decoration and roll moulding on the arches of the arcades which date from *c.* 1190 and which are carried on Norman scalloped capitals about 14 ft. above the original floor level. The aisle roofs were lean-to with their apex about 27 ft. above the floor and were shingled. A shingle still remains in the slot into which the roof fitted on the eastern side. The aisles were 10 ft. wide and the outer wall had a stone base. Each aisle had a tie-beam with a semi-circular Norman arch below it springing from about 9 ft. above the floor.

The great transverse arches sprang from scalloped capitals some 21 ft. 6 ins. above the floor level. These arches have disappeared, but must have been about 33 ft. to the soffit. Above that would have been a tie-beam carrying probably a king-post to the apex giving a total height of almost 50 ft., as against the length of 75 ft. and width including the aisles of very nearly 55 ft.

The sheer weight of timber was tremendous for each of the great posts is about 27 ft. tall and as they are 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 1 in. plus an 8 ins. shaft on each face cut from the solid this gives 2 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. The bishops' forests must have been well combed to find these great oaks at least 27 ft. completely straight and of sufficient diameter to cut down to 2 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. in section. Even now with an inserted floor and ceiling this roof is still an impressive sight.

What is seen externally today is the Georgian and Victorian encasing and alterations to this original great palace, probably the work of Bishop Bisse or his immediate successors in the early 18th century and of 1841, the date on the rainwater heads of the Tudor revival part of the building. Internally the remodelling dates from the same two periods and the last third of the 19th century when the present transverse hall was remodelled and the drawing room formed during Bishop Atlay's episcopacy, 1869-95. The hall fire-place was an insertion of Bishop Beauclerk's time, 1746-87.

CONCLUSION

The two 12th-century buildings of which there is still some definite knowledge are Hereford, which is still standing, and Prestbury. The great aisled hall of the former is of national importance and built in the European Romanesque tradition. The hall including the aisles is about 75 ft. by 55 ft., but the Prestbury example, about 50ft. by just over 40 ft., is still of palatial proportions. No other building of this early period has survived sufficiently intact or been excavated for its form to be known.

However, the Pipe Rolls of 1166-67[23] include Bishop's Castle, Montalt, Prestbury and Ross in a list of castles for provisioning. Thus these four were sufficiently defensive at that date to be classed as castles. It would be interesting to know if the halls at the other three were of the same type as at Prestbury. Also there was a moated site at Whitbourne.

The only two other buildings which survive completely enough for their plan to be evident today are the 15th-century houses at Bosbury, and Whitbourne, now part of a much added-to residence. However, both have two rooms on the first-floor with arch-braced collar-beam roofs. These may be the 'stage and court halls' of Bishop Scory's time at Bosbury. It is of interest to note that in the 1718 description of Sugwas it is written that there were two rooms on the first-floor, the dining-room and the bishop's chamber. This may well have been the purpose of the two upper rooms at Bosbury and Whitbourne. The surprising fact about the Sugwas building is that they were over the chapel, though for what we know now this may have been the case at the other two.

However, it is certain that the 15th-century houses of the bishop were no longer palatial in their proportions, nor defensive as they had been earlier. Equally they were not the traditional open halls of the time. It seems that the bishop of Hereford had by that time a plan which may well have been closely related to the priests' houses of the period, as at Wellington and Weobley, though larger and grander.

Unlike the priests' houses in the parishes, on the whole the palaces were not enlarged with the coming of married bishops. Only Bosbury was added to by a bishop in the 16th century, Scory having employed Harford to do so in 1572. Whitbourne does not appear to have had much done to it until its occupation by the Birch family. Bishop's Castle and Prestbury both passed into royal hands in the 16th century, Sugwas does not seen to have had much done until its rebuilding in the late 18th century and even Hereford itself apparently had to wait until Georgian times before being altered.

The large diocese of St. David's has at least three first-floor hall palaces remaining, St. David's itself,[24] Lamphey[25] and Lydstep. The first two are palatial in scale but the last named, is comparable with these later Herefordshire buildings, having two rooms approximately 15 ft. by 18 ft. and 15 ft. by 30 ft. over a vaulted undercroft. All are now in ruins as is the 16th-century example at Kirkwall in the Orkneys which is 64 ft. by 21 ft. on the first-floor.[26] Much nearer home, the Old Palace at Worcester is a 13th-century example of a first-floor hall,[27] but like the northern palace it is close to the cathedral and one would expect it to be bigger and grander just as at Hereford itself.

It seems that building was going on at one or other of the residences for most of the time until gradually they went out of the bishop's possession. Today there is only Hereford, but what a fine palace it is.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to thank all those who today live in the one-time palaces of the bishop of Hereford for all their help and kindness and for allowing him to scramble around their roofs and outbuildings.

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APPENDIX A

Manors and Houses of the bishop of Hereford

Name	Domesday Book 1086	Pipe Rolls 1166-7	Red Book c. 1260	Taxation Pope Nicholas 1291	House pre-1356	House post-1356
Barton	/		/	/		
Bishop's Castle		/	/	/	/	/
Bishop's Frome	/		/	/	/	
Bosbury	/		/	/	/	/
Bromyard	/		/	/	/	
Cloppele				/		
Colwall	/		/	/	/	
Cradley	/		/	/		
Eastnor	/		/	/		
Eaton	/		/	/		
Goldhill (Dorset)					/	
Grendon			/	/		
Hampton	/		/	/		
Hereford	/			/	/	/
Ledbury	/		/	/	/	
Lydbury North			/	/		
Montalt (London)		/			/	/
Prestbury (Glos.)		/	/		/	/
Ross	/	/	/	/	/	
Sevenhampton (Glos.)			/			
Shelwick	/		/	/		
Sugwas	/			/	/	/
Tupsley	/		/	/		
Upton	/		/	/		
Whitbourne			/	/	/	/

Victorian Church Architecture in the Diocese of Hereford

By H. J. POWELL

MEMBERS of the Woolhope Club may remember that my presidential address, delivered in 1972 and printed in the *Transactions* for that year, was entitled 'Hereford Churches of the Gothic Revival' and in preparing that paper I attempted something that had not been done before in the study of Herefordshire churches. When therefore I was asked to deliver a lecture on a subject of interest to the diocese of Hereford, I thought that a study of Victorian Gothic churches covering the diocese would be appropriate. It will of course be apparent to all who know the diocese that this will mean some repetition as, generally speaking, the diocese consists of Herefordshire and South Shropshire and I would point out that included in the diocese are churches in Montgomery, Radnor, Gwent and Worcestershire and embracing such interesting Victorian churches as Leighton in Montgomery and St. Michael's College, Tenbury.

In view of this repetition it is my intention to approach the subject in a different way and to compare the work done in Herefordshire with work done in South Shropshire and the churches in the other counties which fall within the scope of this paper. Furthermore, I do not intend to go into such detail with regard to the origins and causes of the Gothic Revival as I did in my previous paper, as I am sure that those of you who have read it now know as much as I do about the Church Building Acts of the early 19th century and the Cambridge Camden Society of 1839. However, I shall briefly mention these points as they play an important part in the origins of what is called Victorian Gothic.

Early in the 19th century church people began to realise conditions as they existed at that time. Due to the Industrial Revolution and the movement of people from the country districts, large centres of population had grown up and cities and towns had increased in size at an alarming rate and there were no established churches to cater for the people. The Prince Regent mentioned this point in his speech from the throne in 1818 and soon after the Church Building Society was formed. Shortly after this a bill was brought before parliament proposing that a million pounds should be spent for the building of churches and this culminated in the Church Building Acts and the building of what were known as the Commissioners' Churches.

Before going on to describe these early churches, we should consider another matter that influenced the design and that was the materials available and the means of transport. In mediaeval times the churches were built of local materials or at least brought from not too far away. In this diocese this was usually the red sandstone which was available locally. This stone was used for walling and carving generally whilst oak was used for the roof timbers and furnishings. With

regard to the coverings of the roofs, stone tiles were used where these were available and also thatched roofs were common where suitable reeds were obtainable, which was normally in the valleys. In some of the larger and more opulent churches lead roofing was occasionally found. Roads were very bad in the mediaeval period and all materials were moved by water if this was at all possible.

Now the Victorian period of church building coincided with the coming ot the railways and this meant that materials could be easily and cheaply carried across the country from one district to another. In addition to this oak was no longer plentiful but plenty of pitch pine was now being imported into the country. Now we see that if local stone was used for walling, Bath stone was suitable for the dressed stonework, moulded work and carving, being cheap and easily worked and readily delivered by railway. When stone tiles existed on an ancient roof, they were sometimes replaced but if not the roof was recovered with slates from Wales or clay tiles. New churches were certainly roofed with these materials. These materials give to the Victorian churches that hard mechanical look from which so many of them suffer and also in certain cases makes them seem out of place. Of course this did not occur in every case but there is no doubt that when churches were built in local materials the effect was infinitely better.

Internally, the use of painted roof timbers and stained pitch pine is no substitute for oak and many Victorian church interiors are spoilt by too much inferior woodwork which is often accentuated by filling the church with pitch pine pews. From what I have said you might be excused from thinking that there is no good Victorian church work but this is not the case. There are many excellent and interesting buildings but there are quite a few that have been spoilt by unsympathetic treatment. It is surprising how these can be improved in many cases by a little replanning of the furnishings and by a different colour scheme. There is very little that can be done with some of the poor stained-glass windows although here again some of the later glass is very good and is now being appreciated.

To return to the Commissioners' Churches it was obvious that the most important matter was to build these new churches in the new centres of population but no particular style of architecture was mentioned at first. However, later on styles were mentioned, Roman, Grecian and Gothic, and the latter style was specially recommended. The chief reason for this was cheapness. Classical churches required porticos, lintols and beams but Gothic could be built of brick or small stone which could often be obtained locally and was generally cheaper. Cast iron pillars were also recommended and these can be found in some of the churches we shall discuss. Another point in favour of Gothic was that it was ingrained in the nation's mind and was recognized as a national architecture whereas the classical style was not.

No Commissioners' churches were built in the diocese of Hereford but nevertheless, some early churches from about 1840 were influenced by the provisions of the act. One such church is St. Nicholas, Hereford, built in 1842 in the so called lancet style, a large bare building with a shallow chancel. In a church built to a large scale this was a failure and the Perpendicular style was sometimes attempted. Some architects experimented with other styles of Gothic and small churches in the Norman period were built. Cwm Head in Shropshire and Huntington, near Hereford, and Pencombe, both in Herefordshire, are examples of this.

Of course it must not be forgotten that Gothic-type churches had been built in the 18th century and that the advent of the Church Building Act did not prevent Gothic churches of a better type being built in the early period. We shall also see examples of this during our examination of the churches. Hardwick in Herefordshire, Leighton in Montgomery and Broseley in Shropshire are churches in this category that come to mind. Many of these churches were built to accommodate a large congregation.

The Commissioners' type of church was in fact a large rectangular hall with a shallow chancel or sanctuary at the east end to take the altar and the larger churches had galleries supported on cast-iron columns moulded in Gothic detail. A tower was also regarded as a necessity and therefore was included in the design whether the church had a peal of bells or not. If the churches were small the galleries were omitted, at least at the sides, and left at the west end only as at More Church, Shropshire, but the plan of the church otherwise remained as before. In fact the plans whether in town or country only differed in scale and were copybook constructions. This type of plan required heavy roof trusses, some of which were hardly Gothic in inspiration or in detail. This lack of understanding of true Gothic principals was noted by certain discerning people and as a result the Cambridge Camden Society was founded in 1839 by two young undergraduates from Cambridge. The purpose of the Society was to study Gothic architecture and ritual arrangements. These people set forth their ideas in a series of pamphlets which showed that they were not only an antiquarian society but had their own opinions on how a church should be designed and decorated. This new science was called 'ecclesiology' and was, unfortunately, responsible for a lot of harm being done to old churches in an attempt to make them 'correct' and truly symbolic. In fact I think it is true to say that much unnecessary restoration work and rebuilding was carried out in the 19th century to old churches through the over enthusiastic efforts of this society. Nevertheless, they did good work as well and by the study of old churches raised the standard of the earlier work.

One of their theories was that the 'Decorated Style' or 'Second Pointed' was the only true Gothic style and it was thought that if architects would assimilate this style they would be able to progress to a new and even finer style of Gothic different from 'Perpendicular' or continental 'Flamboyant'. This was one of the reasons in my opinion that the Cambridge Camden Society was interested in the work of the architect William Butterfield and his multi-coloured brick churches which he called 'structural colouration'. His first church in this style was built in

1844 and is the famous church of All Saint's, Margaret Street. An example of his influence can be found in the church at Jackfield in Shropshire. The architect of this church was A. W. Blomfield. Sir Gilbert Scott was in agreement with the ecclesiologists over their preference for the Decorated style but thought their date was too late. He preferred the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. There was also some influence from the continent during this period due to some architects travelling abroad and one imported feature was the circular column with the French-type capital which was found to be cheaper to construct.

Between 1850 and about 1875 much of the work carried out shows these influences and many churches were erected in the Decorated style and two lines of thought can be detected here. On the one hand some architects were content to design and erect these Gothic-type churches with 14th century details, some of which were crude in the lesser churches, often badly carried out in alien materials, as quite apart from the economies that had to be exercised even in the Victorian times, obviously there were not enough masons and carvers of high standard who could deal adequately with the work involved. These churches were built to a mediaeval pattern but many failed to impress because of regularity in the work which was always missing from true Gothic building. Scott's church at Edvin Loach and Elmslie's work at Llanwarne are examples of this.

Some architects endeavoured to counteract this by introducing irregular features such as odd windows or even features from a different Gothic period or even in some cases some Norman work such as one might find in an authentic church. I have seen some of these things done quite successfully but generally speaking the larger churches were more impressive than the smaller ones, at least from the outside. The Victorian architects were often more successful with their exteriors than with the interiors . On the other hand there were the innovators who, whilst not rising to the heights of William Butterfield and his 'Structural colouration', did design churches in the general style of the Decorated period but introduced peculiar features such as an eastern apse with a gable at the end and weird towers and roof trusses. There are some good examples of this sort of thing in Shropshire where the local architects seemed to be of an inventive turn of mind. There is no doubt that a number of Victorian architects tried to be different in detail as well as in design. Hope Bowdler church and Downton both by S. Pountney Smith, the Shropshire architect, show this desire.

During the mediaeval period the men responsible for the church buildings were largely unknown and only in a few cases is the name of the architect or master mason, as he was called, known. The high Victorian period is only about one hundred years ago and therefore we expect to know who the architect of a particular church was but in fact there are quite a number of Victorian churches the architect of whom is unknown, either through lack of interest or research or probably because his name has not been recorded. Also there are plenty of cases where the architect is known but his name is not mentioned even when a booklet

on the church is available. I think this is due to the fact that Victorian gothic was ignored for so long but the church must realise that people are now more interested in the period and often wish to know who designed a particular church.

I have already mentioned one or two of the known architects but in fact at least 23 well-known architects, many of them with London practices, were working in the diocese at different times against about 9 local architects from Hereford and Shrewsbury plus about 30 practitioners from the surrounding districts and beyond. It is difficult to ascertain how some of these came to be employed as some of them are not well-known but I suppose they must have had contacts in high places.

With regard to the nationally known architects, it is very often found that they were employed on a church after their work at a great house in the vicinity where the landowner often had considerable influence or sometimes paid for the whole of the work himself. Such was the case at Bredenbury in Herefordshire where the church was designed by T. H. Wyatt after working at Bredenbury Court. G. F. Bodley the well-known architect who carried out a number of jobs in Herefordshire was married to a lady from Kinnersley Castle. T. H. Wyatt also restored the church at Stanton Lacy but Bodley carried out no work in the diocese other than in Herefordshire. Sir George Gilbert Scott carried out restoration work at Hereford Cathedral and St. Laurence, Ludlow, and in addition built the churches of St. Leonards, Ludlow, Eastnor and Edvin Loach and the chancels at Cradley, Tedstone Delamere and Yarpole as well as the north aisle. He also carried out restorations at Aconbury and Upton Bishop. Street worked at Clun, Monkland and Weston-under-Penyard and St. Aubyn built a new church at Tuckhill in Shropshire and carried out restoration and rebuilding at Cusop, Herefordshire. Apart from these examples G. Colley, Ewan Christian, C. F. Hansom, J. Pritchard, Pugin & Pugin, Rushforth, Seddon, Trufitt and Thomas Blashill worked only in Herefordshire, the latter having some local connections and also being a member of the Woolhope Club.

Against this the following national architects worked in Shropshire only and in one case in the Worcestershire part of the diocese: Aston Webb, A. W. Blomfield, James Brooks, J. T. Micklethwaite, Slater and Carpenter, A. Salvin, Norman Shaw, Reeves and Voysey and H. Woodyer. Voysey must have been the father of C. F. Voysey, a well-known London architect, and H. Woodyer was a pupil of Butterfield and carried out the work at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, for Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley. Fortunately for us he did not adopt his 'Mentor's' 'Structural Colouration' for this fine group of buildings.

With regard to the local architects Herefordshire had at least four working in the diocese and Shropshire four or five. Thomas Nicholson and F. R. Kempson between them built 16 new churches in Herefordshire and carried out many restorations but I can only find one instance of Kempson working in the Shropshire part of the diocese where he restored the little church at Bedstone. On the other

hand Nicholson built four new churches in Shropshire at Bishops Castle, Cleeton St. Mary, Hopton Castle and Llanfair Waterdine also, the church at Kinnerton in Radnor. Thomas Nicholson held the post of diocesan architect and although this did not make him automatically responsible for the new churches in the diocese it was of course an influence in his favour. He was also responsible for a number of new churches in middle and south Wales at Aberystwyth, Llandrindod Wells and Swansea. As to the local Shropshire architects and their work in Herefordshire, Edward Hayward Junior was responsible for the new churches at Tedstone Wafre and Titley and S. Pountney Smith the new church at Downton and the nave at Burrington. Pountney Smith could be regarded as Shropshire's answer to Thomas Nicholson for he carried out a considerable amount of church work in Shropshire generally both new and restoration. In spite of this he does not seem to have won recognition outside Shropshire. Some of his work is excellent but he was somewhat of an innovator when I feel he was less successful. His restoration of Battlefield Church north of Shrewsbury is extremely well done but does not come within the scope of this paper, not being in the Hereford Diocese.

From about 1875 onwards there was a movement to get back to purer work, the question of which period should be adopted gave way to the desirability of building churches which would be suitable to present-day needs. The foreign gothic craze had come to an end, with it the structural polychrome and the early French style column and capital. Norman Shaw, one of the foremost architects of the time, was a leader in the movement and we are fortunate in having a fine church at Batchcott, Richard's Castle designed by him in 1891-92. This influence can be seen in various restorations and new churches built in the diocese from 1869 to 1891, most of them by local architects, so it cannot be said that the diocese of Hereford was behind the times at the end of the 19th century, at least as far as its architecture was concerned. Examples of this can be found at St. James, Hereford, 1869, Ludlow St. John, 1881, Kinnerton, Radnor, 1884, Mainstone, Shropshire, 1887 and Lingen, Hereford, 1891.

G. F. Bodley, an eminent church architect of international fame and his local connections, I have already mentioned, was also a forerunner in the movement. Unfortunately, however, his contribution to new churches built in the diocese is small. His work in Herefordshire was done before this time, one new church which he did design was erected after the Victorian period had ended. This also applies to Aston Webb, another forward-looking architect, whose contribution in Shropshire was an early effort in remodelling at Burford Church in 1889.

Unfortunately, J. L. Pearson the architect who was a great exponent of the simplified Victorian Gothic and who was responsible for the design of Truro Cathedral, has no work in the diocese. His nearest work is the chancel of Knighton Parish Church erected in 1898. The nave of this church was carried out by S. Pountney Smith in 1876-77. This church is not in the diocese of Hereford but is part of the Church of Wales.

I think we have now arrived at a point where it would be desirable for me to summarize my own conclusions on the Victorian churches in the diocese of Hereford and compare some of the work done in the different sections, for that is what I set out to do. In the first place I am generally of the same opinion about the work of the well-known national architects as I was when I wrote on the Herefordshire churches, namely that I cannot see that the work carried out by them in any part of the diocese is superior to that done by local and in some cases quite unknown men. Can we honestly say that the new churches by Gilbert Scott such as Edvin Loach or St. Leonard, Ludlow, or even Eastnor are superior to Cwm Head, Middleton-in-Chirbury or Bishop's Castle?

Again the restoration by Street at Clun is inferior to the restoration of the chancel at Kington Church, a job so well done that most people are unaware that the north wall was completely rebuilt. Also the best restoration work of Pountney Smith is superior to Street's work. On the other hand work carried out by some lesser known national architects is extremely good.

Generally the diocese is agricultural except for the industrial district covered by the deanery of Wenlock and including the churches of Broseley, Coalbrookdale, Ironbridge and Jackfield. Broseley and Coalbrookdale both possess opulent Victorian churches befitting the prosperity of the district and exceeding anything that would be required or could be afforded in a purely agricultural district. Both Ironbridge and Jackfield have brick churches, the latter an early work by the architect A. W. Blomfield (1863), a church of some interest.

Of the same date is Leighton Church Nr. Welshpool in Montgomery, another fine large church which in this case owes its existence to a Liverpool banker who built the church adjoining his house, Leighton Hall.

St. Michael's Tenbury, another large church by a London architect, Henry Woodyer, was built together with the adjoining college by Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley for the maintenance of English Cathedral Music. In my opinion this is a very satisfactory church of its type. It was undoubtedly the influence of the iron area which accounts for the use of cast-iron columns in the northern part of the diocese. These are found in the arcade at Church Stoke, the window jambs at Acton Scott, Cressage, Cruckton, More and elsewhere.

As in Herefordshire good work was done in Shropshire by some local architects such as Haycock Senior and S. Pountney Smith but Haycock Junior's work does not compare with that of his father. This can be seen by comparing the elder man's work at Middleton-in-Chirbury or at Hope with Titley in Herefordshire or Yockleton in Shropshire. In Herefordshire a number of local architects were doing good work among whom were Thomas Nicholson and F. R. Kempson.

The later period is not well represented as most church building in the rural areas had already been carried out and was found to be adequate. However, as already mentioned, we are fortunate in having one new church by R. Norman Shaw and some good examples by local architects.

Leominster Fair, 1556

By J. BATHURST and E. J. L. COLE

THE Benedictine priory of Leominster was founded by King Henry I. It was a daughter church of the abbey of Reading and it received its confirmation charter, by Richard de Capella, bishop of Hereford, to Hugh, first abbot of Reading, in 1123. Most of our knowledge comes from John Price's *An Historical & Topographical Account of Leominster and its Vicinity* published in Ludlow in 1795, which tells us that Henry II in 1170 granted the town its first fair, and from Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. The series of printed Charter Rolls at the Public Record Office names at least five grants made to the abbey and convent of Reading of annual fairs at their manor of Leominster, on 30 April, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 May in 1281; of further grants of similar fairs on the feasts of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the four following days in 1282. Henry III had made the fair to cover the six days, 28, 29, 30 September, 1, 2, 3 October, but this was amended to read 'the Vigil and Feast of St. Edfrid and four days following' by a charter of 1290. In 1335 it was enacted that, whereas by charters of former kings the abbot and convent of Reading had a weekly market on Friday at Leominster, they sought to have the day for holding this market changed to Tuesday thereafter. When the monasteries were dissolved in 1539, the crown took possession of the manor of Leominster with all its former rights and privileges, but in 1552 the inhabitants petitioned Edward VI to renew or grant them a fresh charter. In 1554 Queen Mary Tudor complied with the town's request, and Queen Elizabeth's charter of 1561 was a recital of this.

This account of the activities at the fair in 1556, while the only document of its kind we have seen, arises from the grant made by Mary Tudor. It is a long document—thirty-two pages of photostats—written almost entirely in English and loosely enclosed in what may have been the cover of a work of an ecclesiastical nature, but it gives a plain account of transactions at the fair of the time and it seems to be unique in its range of detail of the buyers and sellers of animals, with unconsciously amusing descriptions of these animals, of their parishes of transit and/or origin and destination, of the prices at which they changed hands, and the parishes of origin or residence of most individual buyers and sellers.

If this account is the sole survivor of a market or a fair that had been current for four centuries, one can but regret the disappearance of an unknown number of such documents and their wealth of material. All we have tried to do in this transcript is amply repaid if we have drawn attention to its survival.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The numbers on the left hand of each entry are additional and are not contained in the original. Those marked * rclate to the references.

Leominster) A note of the buying & selling of horses & besste apone the first feyr
Boroughe) daye at Lempster anno 1556 & Anno tertio et quarto Philip et Marie Rex et Regina etc.

1* Evan ap Morgan of Dovering Tewy in the pareshe of Seicnt Davis sould one mare color black grey unto Walter Bray of Docklow 18 October in the above year.

2* Humfrey Lane of the pareshe of Tenbury bought one black bull of Thomas Fermor of Knyghton.

3* Robert Hawley of Anbury pareshe bysides Bromyard bought a grey mare, a grey nagg & a whyte nagg of John Addys of Cheryngton in Whilshir.

4 John Barowes of Kyngisland bought one coll black horse having a piece cutt owt of the catching eare of Wyllyam Barow of Tenbury.

5 Roger Bryan of Beryngton bought one Redd bullock of John Ingrame of Tetstone Dalamer.

6 Richard Rowbery of Tenbury bought one browne cow of Harry Eckley price 27 shillings.

7* Thomas Aston of the pareshe of Leyntwardyn bought one brown bay horse of David applelow Goch of Prestene.

8 John Norick bought one black horse of John Yong of Norton.

9 Walter Knight of Bokulton sold a black mare to John Bocher of Hereford.

10* John Trayntor of Tytley sold a black coult to Richard Howper of Great Markhyll.

11* John ap Rice of the pareshe of Old Radnor sold a sorell coult to John Crick, price 24 shillings 8 pence.

12* John Trick of Felynton in the parreshe of Wystonstow bought one grey whyte mare of Wyllyam Lloyd of Woddbache in the castils pareshe.

13 Wyllyam Lloyd bought a bay amblyng mare of Richard Dykyn of Edvyn Rafe.

14* Robert Haly of Anbury pareshe sould a grey nagg to Thomas Valentyne of the pareshe of Hanley in Blackwell Park.

15* Thomas Steple, Humfrey Rebold, John Wylmottes, Antony Ferfox —bought a browne cow, a black bull stagg, a Redd heyfer, a bryndyd cow—of Wyll' Morgan of Carmorgan shir.

16 Frauncis Comby of Tetstone bought a hawkyd bullock of the same Wyllyam Morgan.

17 John Vaughan of Barlond in the countie of Radnor sold ij bullockes, i browne, thother black, price £3, to Richard Hoggis of Ivyngton to be payd at Seynct Andrewis Day next 12 pence received in ernest.
sithens the feyr on markettes dayes

18* Howell ap John of Carmarden Shire sold ij heyfers color Redd & j black bullock unto Thomas Poull, clerk, and Edmond Burhoppe.

19* Walter Whetstone bought one bay gelding of Harry Kent 27 February 1556.

20 Wyllyam Stret bought one skewid curtall slytt in the nose upon Seynct Mathewis Daye of one Rice Lloyd of Lasanffrede in the countie of Radnor.

21* John Sampson of the parrishe of Eye in the countie of Hereford bought one browne bay gelding with a storr in the Forehed and one hynder foote whyt, of David ap Thomas of the parishe of Merther-konock in the countie of Brecknok the 14th daye of May annis Regis et Regine Philip & Marie 3 & 4, pryse 9 shillings.

At Seynct Peters Day anno tertio et quarto Regis
Philip et Regine Marie.

22* Owen Haulton of the pareshe of Malpas in Chester bought a bay mare with a whyte storr in the forhedd and the right ear croppyd, of Evan app Jenkyn of Llangyrryck in com. Mountgomry, the price 16 shillings 8 pence.

23* The seyd Owen bought a grey mare croppyd on both ears of John app Ris of Llandewy in com. Radnor / 24 shillings.

24* Wyllyam Penkymman of Waryngston in the county of Lancaster bought a stone grey colt having iij stryks upon the right syde of Thomas Payne of Walton in the countie of Radnor.

25 Wyllyam Crondall of the nym' in the county of Salop bought a black horse with iij strakes on the left side, of David applelo of the paresh of Prestene in the county of Hereford for 21 shillings.

26 Mathew Geffreys of the city of Hereford bought a grey gelding with a crosse on the catchyng side, of Thomas Harrys of Hopesayes pareshe in com. Salop for 36 shillings 8 pence.

27 Thomas Webb of Hereford bought a grey mare having both yeres croppyd of Lewis Beare ap Rice of Aperustith 25 shillings 8 pence.

28* John Urmeston of the pareshe of Hawxston in the countye of Salope bought a black nagg with a whyte storr in the forehedd, of Hughe Davys of New Radnor for 15 shillings.

29 John Tyllar of Bradwas in ths com of Wurcetr bought a skewid bay gelding with iiij whyte feet & a storr in the forhedd for 16 shillings, of John Hews of Glawstre in Radnor Shir.

30* William Tunkyn of Parthefeld in the county of Salope bought a grey nagg with the catching ear slytt, of Harry Evans of Pembridge, for 25 shillings.

31 John Urmeston of the forest of Hawxston in the county of Salope bought a grey mare cropte upon one of the eares of Richard Perkis of Knighton in the countie of Worcetor for 17 shilling 6 pence.

32* William Garnaunce of Colyngton in the countie of Herefs bought a sorell mare with a crosse on the catching side upon the hipe, of Rothorothe ab Evan of the pareshe of Llanndlos for 14 shillings.

33 Rafe Broke of Brymyngam in co. Warwik bought ij bullockes one bryndyd & thother black, of John apprise Gwyn of Mahuntley in com. Mountgumry for five marcs.

34* William Coxe of the pareshe of Cleynt in com. Stafford bought ij bullocks collor one black & one redd of Thomas Orris of Seynct Davys paresh for iij dossen of stithes.

35 William Evett of the pareshe of Halow in com. Wigorn bought a redd oxe (46 shilling 8 pence) of Thomas Sheward of Chorlstre & a black taggyd cow (26 shillings 10 pence) of John Stevyn of Coxall in the countye of Hereford, price as above.

36 Christofer Munmouthe of Bycknor in com. Glocestre bought 20 lames of John Taylor of Kynton in com. Herefs. for 35 shillings 10 pence.

37 Roger app Richard of Aberustith in com. Cardynkgam bought a bay geldyng of John Bayly of Asheton for 32 shillings 8 pence.

38* Evans Taylor of Longdon in the paresh of Ponsbery in the countye of Saloppe bought a black mare with a crosse on the buttock, of Thomas ap John of the pareshe of Kenles, for 21 shillings 4 pence.

39* Item, the seyd Evans bought a black mare with a storre in the forhedd of David ap Evore appowell of Seynct Mychaell pareshe in Cardyngan shir.

40 William Jones of Byshoppe Frome in com. Heref bought ij black oxen of William Dalow of Mylson in the county of Salope, for 6 pounds.

41* Hughe Badnege of Chorlstre bought a black mare with a storr in the foreheadd, of John ap Rice of Llandewe in the countye of Radnor, price 30 shillings.

42 Stevyn Kyng of Sapy in com. Heref bought a baye mare with the right ear twise slytt of Richard Moncklond of Marston for 28 shilling 4 pence.

43 William Tunkyns of Hightfild within the county of Salopp bought a black nagg with a whyte storr in the forhedd of Agnes Whyte of Kynges Pewon in com. Heref for 40 shillings.

44* The seyd Wyllyam bought a black nagg of Evan app Rothorothe of the pareshe of Llandew in com. Radnor for 29 shillings.

45 Item, he bought one bay nagg swalowtaylyd on the right ear of John Taylor of Ledycott in com. Heref for 30 shgs.

46 Item, the seyd Tunkyns bought a bay gelding with a crosse on the nerer shewldr, of Thomas Bery of Knighton on Teme in com. Wigorn for 34 shilling 4 pence.

47 Item, he bought a bay nagg croppyd on the nether ear of Edward Baker of Dyllwyn in com. Heref for 30 shilling.

48 Edmond Wygmore gent bought of William Noke of Letton upon Wye ij kyne color redd blowyd & thother black blowyd price 56 shillings 8 pence.

49* John Robyns of Docklow sould a grey nagg swalow tayled on the lyfft ear to William Palmer of Bleson in Co. Glocestre for 19 shillings 9 pence.

50 John Marten of Bleson in com. Heref bought a bay nagg croppyd on the lifft ear, of John Thomas of Kynsam in com. Heref for 28 shillings 4 pence.

51 Evan ap Jenkyn of Llangyrrick in the county of Montgumry sold to Thomas Hackluytt Esquyer ij bay mares with a swyrd on the hype & showldr for 4 marcs 5 shillings and 10 pence.

52 Item, the seyd Evan sould a whyte spottyd mare with the mark above seyd to William Webbe of the pareshe of Mychaell Deane in com. Glocestre for 23 shillings 4 pence.

53 Phillipp Herford of Marden bought a bay nagg the right eare croppyd, of William Longdon of Acton in com. Salopp 19 shillings 6 pence.

54* Humfrey Lane of Tenbury bought a browne oxe of Rafe Walker of Sharshick in com. Stafford for 56 shillings 8 pence.

55* Wyllyam Elsmore of Muche Markhill bought a black colt of Richard Blyke Esquyer for 40 shilling 6 pence.

56 Roger Baughan gent. bought of William John Lewis of Dorston in com. Heref sixe kyne fyve redd & one black.

57 Richard Marshe bought of Rafe Walker ij bullockes, one browne & one black for £6.

58 Anselme Nott of Shellyseley in the countie of Wigorn bought a valow oxe, price 53 shilling 4 pence, of William Passy of the pareshe of Prestene.

59* Richard Wall of Sapi bought ij mares one bay & thother don, the bay mare being slytt on the right ear & the dong mare having a crosse on the right side, of Rothoroth app Evan Goch for 49 shillings 8 pence.

60* Item, the seyd Wall bought ij coltes, one Rone & thothir black of John Maredith of Llanidlos for 25 shillings.

61* John Wilkockes of Bullyngam in com. Heref bought a mare color redd baye of Thomas Harrys of Prestene for 20 shillings.

62 Thomas Reynols of Longlond in com. Salop bought a grey skewid mare with a whyte showlder, of David ap Rice ap Bedo of Malenithe for 32 shillings.

63 William Nashe of Kynsam bought a valow heyfer of Jenkyne Hebbe price 27 shillings.

64 John Cownley of the pareshe of Corby in the com. of Salope bought a black bullock of John Bruggwater of the pareshe of Pembridg for 26 shillings 10 pence.

65 Richard Noxxe of Orleton bought a black nagg of Hughe Reynols of the pareshe of Bucknill with a noche cutt out of the right ear, price 11 shillings 10 pence.

66 John Bowkcott of the pareshe of Kynton bought a bay mare with a flaxen mane & tayle, of David app Evan appowell of Llanyhangell of Crithell in the com. of Cardygan.

67* Robert Cowper of Whitchurche in the county of Salope bought a gryseld gelding with ij nockchis on the right ear of Richard Higges of Bishop Fromes pareshe for 34 shillings.

68 Robert Whythy of the pareshe of Burford bought a sorell mare of Lewis Evan app Rice of Llangunnais in the com. of Carmarden for 26 shillings 8 pence.

69* Thomas Sheffeld of Kyre 40 lames of Rice David ap Rice of Llandagles in com. Radnor.

70* Richard Brase of Shellysely in the county of Wigorn bought a redd oxe of William Colcum of Dyllwyn for 41 shillings 4 pence.

71 Roger Crompe of Pencombe bought a black oxe of James Hall of Almeley.

72* Thomas Stevyns of Prestbury in com. Glocestre bought a black oxe of Edward Smyth of Lyntall in com. Heref.

73 Rice Emans of Thornebury bought 40 lames of Edward app Lewis of Kington.

74 Harry Duppa of Kyngeston sold a bay nagg to William Jones of Bleson in com. Glocestre.

75 Thomas Harrys of Presten sold a redd don mare to Walter Stallward of Tarryngton in com. Heref for 19 shillings.

76 Edward Holond of Dyddylbury bought ij styrres one bryd thother black of David ap Evor of the county of Montgumry for 40 shillings.

77* Thomas of Broke of Hampton Lovett in com. Wigorn bought 13 rontes, 2 being one valow & thother bryndyd of Evan approthorothe of Radnorshire, 2 of George Richardes of Kynton, one whyte runt of John Bubbe of Kyngisland, ij of Rice appowell one black taggyd & thother bryndyd redd, one of Thomas Taylor of the pareshe of Pembridge, and thother ij of Laurence Phelpottes of Dylwyn.

78 John Webbe of Whyteley in com. Wigorn bought a black oxe of Richard Bremeld of Orleton, price 47 shillings 4 pence.

79 Hughe Taylor of Lye bought of Thomas Sheward of Chorlstre ij oxen one redd & a black. Item, one oxe of Richard Perrott of Morton. Item, 2 more of other men.

80 John Byrd of Bromyard bought ij oxen, one black & one Redd of Thomas Grismond of Asheton, Item, he bought one of Richard Wall of Byrchore color valow.

81 Richard Phelpottes of Okyll bought of Richard Gravell of Preston ij black steres, price £6.

82 John Hamon of Bromyard bought ij oxen, one of John Whyte of Kinges Pewon & one of Thomas Pascald.

83 Thomas Broke of Hampton Lovett in com. Wigorn bought ij Runtes, one black & thother black taggid of William Ricards & Roger Crone of Leyntall.

84 William Harrys of Grendon bought of William Crose of Pewon one Redd oxe.

85 Thomas Harrys of Prestene sold to William Badnege a yerlyng colt color bay, price 20 shilling 4 pence.

86* John Smyth of Stoke Lacy bought a black oxe of Humfrey Buffton of Landewe in com. Radnor.

87 William Tyler of the pareshe of Kyre in com. Wigorn bought a valow stire of Wyllyam Webbe of Almely.

88* Richard Lane of the pareshe of Tenbury bought one black oxe of one John Hill of Ulynsholk.

89* William Partridge of Hales pareshe in com. Wigorn bought of Lewis appowell of Radnor shir iij kyne, one blak, one brydyd & the other browne & whyte facyd.

90* Richard Wyley of Brymyngam in com Wigorn bought a bull color browne of Lewis appowell of Radnors shir.

91 Hughe Chyppe of Yedvyn Rafe bought a bay curtall stonyd of John Baker of the pareshe of Bradwardyn.

92 John Wattes of Prestbury in com. Glocestre bought a black oxe of Walter Lyngen of Laisters in com. Heref.

93 Thomas Wotton of Salope pareshe in com. Wigorn bought 5 oxen of 5 dyvers men.

94* John Noven of Pittylton bought ij valow styrres of Richard Stede of Pembrige pareshe.

95 Thomas Muttlo of the pareshe of Bosebury in com. Heref bought a bay horse of Nycholas Stede of Marden.

96 George Walter of Prestbury in com. Glocestre bought ij black oxen & one Redd of (sic)

97 Edward Cowper of Yarpoll bought of Rafe Walker ij black oxen.

98* Richard Hentes of Caynams pareshe in com. Salop & Thomas Cock of Myddylton bought one 100 of lames of Jamys Bedo Griffithe of the pareshe of Llannyhangell Deytho.

99 Thomas Comsome of Kinges Swynefort in the county of Stafford bought one cow one styre & one calf of Wyllyam Evans of the pareshe of Pembridge.

100* Richard Wyley bought of Howell ap Rice of the pareshe of Fisher in com. Radnor one grey nagg.

101 Thomas Malpas of Sturbridge in com. Stafford bought xj whyte shepe & one black of Richard Gryffithe of the pareshe of Kenchurche.

102 Richard Pickthorne of Kytherminster bought a black mare of Morrice David Vaughan of Rather Goyeth, price 10 shgs.

103* Thomas Cowper of Kyderminster bought a done nagg of Mathew Higgyns of Brymyngam.

104* Wyllyam Gregg a coult color black with a storre in the forehedd, of Morgan ap Maredithe of Melenith.

105 Morgan ap Maredithe bought a rone mare of Evan ap Griffithe Vaughan of Llanbaderne.

106* Thomas Wever of the pareshe of Aymestre bought a grey nagg of Maurice Phillps of Glascom in the countie of Radnor for 20 shilling 8 pence.

107* Edmond Wancklen bought a skewid horse of Morgan ap Evan of (blank) for 36 shillings 8 pence.

sithens the feyre

108 Walter Knight of Kingeslond bought a bryndyd stere of Rafe Walker of Stafford shire.

109 Edmond Russell of Suckley bought ij bullockes, one black & thother bryndyd of Evan ap Rice of the pareshe of Bygildy.

110 John Badam of Fowon hope in the countie of Heref sould one don gelding with a whyte storr in the forehedd to (blank) for 13 shillings 4 pence.

111* John Stevyns of Ivyngton bought one grey mare & one grey colt of Davyd ap Thomas of New Radnor for 15 shillings the 8th day of August.

112* The names of those which hadd bushels newly Sealid & perusid by me & made uniforme in the tyme of my Bayliwick being then also clerk of the markett.

Willyam Beysy a bushel	Alys Long a bushel
John Grene senior a bushel	John Jaye a bushel
Rychard Stede a bushel	William Pace a bushel
Richard Perryn a bushel	Thomas Cook a bushel
William Peynter a bushel	Margarett Baker wido a bushel
John Shoter a bushel	John Baker a bushel
Thomas Buttler a bushel	Maude Hays a bushel
Philipp Adams a bushel	George Monoxe a bushel
Rychard Thorne a bushel	Joan Foremy Wydo a bushel
Walter Caldwall a bushel	Rychard Corfyn a bushel
John Ingill a peck	Thomas Poull a bushel

Rychard Poull a bushell

Rec' for sealing vjs

Newly Sealyd and Made uniforme

113 Bushels Sealyd by other baylyffes & perusid by me & made uniforme

My owne bushel	perusid & made uniforme
John Coxe a bushel	
Joachym Cooke a bushel	
John Hygges a bushel	
Walter Whetstone a bushel	
John Rowbery a bushel	
John Walker a bushel	

114 Harrie ap Thomas of the parishe of Keynchurche in the countie of Heref bought ij oxen, one color black & one other valowe of Evan a Morice of Llangerigg in the countie of Mountgomrie, pryse 4 markes 2 shillings.

115 Richard Dowlfyn of Brymyngam in the countie of Warwycke bought ij kyne, one color brynded, the other Red, of John Ameredythe of Bilthe in the counte of Brecknok, pryse 4 markes.

116 Robart Cowper of Whytchurche in the countie of Salope bought a baye geldyng, one of the hyndre fyte whyte under heighte of bothe the eares, of William Jonys of Yarpoll in the countie of Heref, pryse 17 shillings.

117 Thomas Davies of Brynshoppe in the countie of Heref bought 42 lambes of Evan Apowell ap Meredith of Llandewy in the countie of Radnor, pryse £3.16.4.

118* William Lugar of Kingsland in the countie of Heref bought a skewyd mare, the right eare slytt & the lefte cropte of John Abowen of Prestene in the countie of Radnor, pryse 21 shillings 10 pence.

119 Richard a Wall of Hope in the countie of Heref bought ij mare coultes the one color rone thother color blak, the one having bothe eares cropte, of Evan ap Howell of the parrishe of Llangontlo in the countie of Radnor, pryse 20 shillings.

120 William Tunkyn of Highfyll in the countie of Salope bought one brown baye geldyng, the right eare cropte and over height upon the same eare, of William Browne of Wolfrelowe in the countie of Heref, pryse 46 shillings 8 pence.

121 Edward Crompe of the parrishe of Chadsley in the countie of Worcetor bought ij bullockes and kowe, bothe the bullockes color browne black, the cowe color red, of Griffithe ap Bowen of Bilthe in the countie of Brecknock for £3.

122* Robart Cowper of Whytchurche in the countie of Salope bought ij mares whereof one color daple grey thother whyt grey, the whiche whyt grey mare hath a squyre upon the lefte buttoke & the other mare havyng a noche upon the further ere, of Stevyn ap Evan Thomas of the parrishe of Cascope in the countie of Radnor for 4 markes.

123* William Tunkyn of Malpas in the countie of Chestre bought a don nagg marked with a broche upon the left showlder & the hynder hyppe, of Rees ap John of the parrishe of Prestene in the countie of Heref for 26 shillings 10 pence.

124 William Mathos of Lempster in the countie of Heref bought 20 lambes of Rees David Ap Ris of Llandegle in the countie of Radnor for 30 shillings.

125 Richard Griffithe of Brymengam in the countie of Warwicks bought ij oxen, one color red thother color black, of Evan David of Llangonok in the countie of Brecknok for £3.

126 Robart Cowper of Whitchurche in the countie of Salope bought a don grey mare noched upon the right eare, of William Myles of Docklow in the countie of Heref, for 33 shillings 4 pence.

127 Richard Grey of the parrishe of Norton bought ij bullockes color black & one hayfer color black, of Thomas ap Evan of the parrishe of Llangeryk in the countie of Mountgomrye for 40 shillings 4 pence.

128 William Tunkyn of the Malpas in the countie of Chester bought a grey mare cropte upon the right eare, of John Taylor of Wyllersley in the countie of Heref for 21 shillings.

129 William Merell of Overton in the countie of Salope bought a bay mare with a noche upon one eare, of John Holond of Tenbury in the countie of Worcetor for 34 shillings 8 pence.

130* Rogger Houlgot of Ratlychapp in the countie of Salope bought a bay mare with a storr in the forehed, burnyd with a crosse upon the showlder & the cheke, of Thomas ap Rees of the parrishe of Begylde in the countie of Radnor for 27 shillings 11 pence.

131 Owen Haulton of the Malpas in the countie of Chestre bought a grey nagg noched on the lefte eare, of James Hopley of Sarnesfeld in the countie of Heref, for 12 shillings 4 pence.

132 John Urmeston of the Forest of Hauxton in the countie of Salope bought a bay mare slitt in bothe partes of the nose, with a storr in the forehed, of Richard Smithe of Brylley in the countie of Heref for 26 shillings 4 pence.

133 John Urmeston foresaid bought a bay nagg with a whyte storr in the fore hed and a compas with an arrowe hed upon the lefte shulder, of David ap Thomas of the countie of Mountgomry of the parrishe of Moughtrie for 22 shillings 8 pence.

134 William Combey of Over Sapye in the countie of Heref bought one oxe color black of William Pytt of Leyntall in the said countie, for 41 shillings.

135 Owen Haulton of the Malpas in the countie of Chestre bought a blacke mare slytt on the lefte eare of John George of Howmare in the countie of Heref, for 17 shillings 10 pence.

136 Owen aforesaid bought a black mare of David ap Evan ap Hoell of the parrishe of Saynt Michaell in the countie of Cardygan marked upon the shoulder & the hyp with a horse shue, for 23 shillings 8 pence.

137 Rogger Houlgat of Ratlichappe in the countie of Salope bought a bay mare marked as before, of Evan ap Hoell of the parishe of Saynt Michell in the countie of Cardygan, for 28 shillings 4 pence.

138 Edmond Letherlond of the parrishe of Ponsbury in the countie of Salope bought a grey mare marked with iij wode houkes & a crosse on the hyp the shoulder & the thighe, of John Bowen of Prestene, for 20 shillings.

139* William Benet of Howcaple in the countie of Heref bought iiij yerling coultes, one color rone, one black, one bay & the other greye, three marked of them with a compas upon the lefte shoulder & iiij crosses without the compas & the black marked with an iron upon the said shulder, of Rees ap Evan ap Philippe of Nantmele in the countie of Radnor for 4 Markes.

140* Thomas Cowper of Brymyncham in the countie of Warwyke bought iij bullockes whereof ij of them bryndyd, thother red, of William Prees of Llanandovery in the countie of Carmarthyn, for £3.

141 William Jeffreys of Hom Castle in the countie of Worcetor bought ij oxen, the one color black, the other color red, of William Wynston of Dyndor in the countie of Heref, for £4.16.8.

142* John Urmyston of the Forrest of Hoxtown in the countie of Salope bought a bay mare of Thomas Skawnderyd of Kynton in the countie of Heref having a whyte strake downe the forehed, for 16 shillings.

143 The foresaid John bought a bay mare noched on the eare, of Griffithe ben abowen of the parrishe of Bletho in the countie of Radnor, for 21 shillings.

144 Rafe Good of Thonebury in the countie of Heref bought one oxe color red of William Coulcombe of Dylwyn in the said countie, for 33 shilling 8 pence.

145 Rychard Poull of this towne of Lempster bought one horse collor don of Thomas Vaghan of Newchurch in county Radnor for 36 shilling 8 pence, marked with an iron upon the lefte syde nere the sadle.

146 William Penell of Lynriche in the countie of Worcetor bought a black oxe of John Pivinche of Stoke in the countie of Heref for 4 markes.

147 John Urmyston of the Forrest of Hoxton in the countie of Salope bought a grey nag with ij slyttes on the right eare, of Symond Byryngton of Wynsley in the countie Heref for 17 shillings.

148 Richard Uggan of the parrishe of Corely in the countie of Salope bought a red nagg cropte of the catchyng eare, of David ap Hoell of the parrishe of Llanhotho in the countie of Brecknok for 10 shilling 2 pence.

149* Hughe ap Res of Newnam in the countie of Gloucester bought ij nagges color browne bay with ij whyte faces, of Evan Meredythe of Llanbystre, & of Evan Codogan of Llanbystre in the countie of Radnor, for 41 shillings.

150 Harrie Kedyatt of the parrishe of Clyfton in the countie of Worcetor bought one valowe bullock of Phelipe Roules of Brongwen in the countie of Radnor, for 35 shillings.

151 William Baker of the parrishe of Marden in the Countie of Heref bought a browne oxe of William Roubery of the parrishe of Tenbury in the com. of Worcetor for 4 markes & 5 shillings.

152 John Riffyn of Little Cowarne in the countie of Heref bought a red taked bullock of William Jenkyns of Litle Mawncell in the said countie for 20 shillings 8 pence.

153 Rogger Hill of the parrishe of Burvord in the countie of Salope bought a whyte oxe of Humfrey Bufton of Llandewe in the countie of Radnor for 40 shillings.

154* Thomas Brasyer of Mylston in the countie of Salope bought a blowed Red cowe of Humfrey Bufton of Llandewe in the countie of Radnor for 28 shillings.

155 Thomas Pennell of the parrishe of Lyndrege in the countie of Worcetor bought a Red oxe of Thomas Sheppam of Pembridge in the com. of Heref for 44 shillings.

156* John Carpynter of Kynnersley in the countie of Heref bought ij coultes, the one color Red with a storr in the forehed, the other bay with a storr in the forehed, of John a Meredithe of Llannydlos in the countie of Montgomry for 16 shillings 8 pence.

157 John Carpynter foresaid bought a Red coulte with a storr in the forehed of Retherough ap Evan Goughe of Llanydlos in the com of Moungorye for 16 shillings.

158 Robart Cowpar of Whytechurche in the com of Salope bought a grey nagg of David ap Griff of Llandewy in the com of Radnor for 20 shillings.

159* William Boucher of Bradston in the com of Gloucester bought ij black coultes marked with a crosse upon the lefte shulder, of John Meredithe of Llanydlos in the com of Mongomry for 18 shillings.

160 Randoll Massie of the parrishe of Lye in the com of Worcetor bought ij bullockes, the one of them with a blowyd face, of Richard Griffyn of the parrishe of Houghton in the com of Heref, for 30 shillings 8 pence.

161 Richard Kyng of Over Sapie in the com of Heref bought a grey coult burnyd with a crosse upon the lefte shulder of David a Morice Glyn of Llanydlos in the com of Mountgomry, for 12 shillings 4 pence.

162 Richard Hunt of Breynton in the com of Heref bought a falowe oxe of Richard Halward of Docklowe in the said com, for 47 shillings 2 pence.

163 Waulter Stede of Weston in the com of Heref bought a brynded Cowe of George Mullyner of Prestene in the com of Radnor, for 41 shillings.

164 Richard Fareley of Wellington in the com of Heref bought a black Cowe of John Skaundered of Kynton in the com of Heref, for 35 shillings.

165 Thomas Stevyns of Presbury in the com of Gloucester bought iiij (sic) of the which ij color black ij Red, of Jamys Wynton of Bodnam in the com of Heref £7.3.4.

166* John Vale of Morton in the com of Heref b. . . (sic).

167 Waulter Hopkyn of Mawnecell in the com of Heref bought a browne oxe of John Pytt of Leyntall in the said com. for 40 shillings.

168 John Davies of Wynsley in the com of Heref bought ij Valowe kyne of John Vale of Morton in the said com, for £4.5.0.

169 William Colryke of Buryton in the com of Heref bought one oxe of John Coke of Conope in the said com, color browne, for 37 shillings.

170 John Watton of Yardley in the com of Wigorn bought ij bullockes one Redd & one black, of William Thomas of Blannye Vaure in the com of Brecknok for £3.9.8.

171* John Urmyston of the Forest of Hoxtone in the com of Salope bought a blak mare, the right eare cropte, of Morgan ap John of Brongwen in the com of Radnor, for 14 sillings 6 pence.

172 John Karpynter of Kynnersley in the com of Heref bought a grey coulte marked with a compas & a horse showe upon the lefte shulder & a arowe hed, of Howell ap Evan of the parishe of Mocktre in the com. of Montgomry for 13 shillings 4 pence.

173 Thomas Brasyer of Mylston in the com of Salope bought of William Shaperd of the parrishe of Aylmestre in the com of Heref one black oxe for 30 shillings 8 pence.

174 Thomas Stevyns of Huntington in the com of Heref bought a rone mare with a whyte face & four white fete, of Stevyn Bull of Waulton in the com of Radnor, for 24 shillings.

175 George Cowper of Wackton in the com of Heref bought one oxe blak of Thomas Sucker of Logaston in the said com for 46 shillings.

176 John Jeffres of Kymbalton in the com of Hereford bought a browne oxe of Walter Phelpotes of the parrishe of Tenbury for 4 markes.

177 William Bowcher of Bradston in the com of Gloucester bought a rone coulte marked with a crosse & ij compasses on the right shulder, of David ap David of Llandewye in the com of Radnor for 10 shillings 8 pence.

178 Richard Lone of Tenbury in the com of Worcetor bought a Red oxe of William Shaperd of Weston in the com of Heref for 30 shillings.

179 Richard Lone foresaid bought ij bryndid oxen of John Webbe of Hawton in the com of Salope for £4.13.4.

180* Edward Benson of Stoke Lacye in the com of Heref bought a Red brynded oxe with a storr in the forehed, of Thomas Nycholls of the Hethe in the com of Radnor for 33 shgs 4 pence.

181 Richard Lone of Tenbury in the com of Worcetor bought a valow oxe of John ap Hoell of Weston in the com of Heref for 41 shillings.

182 William Eysham of Wellington in the com of Heref bought a bay coulte with a whyte mane & a whyte tayle of Evan Codogan of Lanbistre in the com of Radnor for 12 shillings.

183 Hugh Badnege of Chorlyste in the com of Heref bought a black bay mare nocht upon the lefte eare, of Griffithe Goghe of Llanbatharne Venythe for 10 shillings.

184 Rogger Bougan of Burchill in the com of Heref bought ij blak kyne of John William Thomas of Llandewye Vaughe in the com of Radnor for 33 shillings 8 pence.

185 Morice ap Phelippe of the parrishe of Glascum in the com of Radnor bought a grey coult with a white storr in the forehed of Meredithe ap Griffithe of Lanbistre in the said com for 21 shilling 8 pence.

186 Thomas Stevyns of Presbury in the com of Gloucester bought one Red stere of William Wele of the parrishe of Pembrige in the com of Heref for 34 shillings 4 pence.

187 Thomas Cowper of Brymyncham in the com of Warwicke bought a blak oxe of Lewys David Goghe of the parrishe of Lasanfrede in the com of Radnor for 20 shillings.

188 Richard Poull of Lempster in the com of Heref bought a bay nage with a slytt in the nere eare, of Johan ap Morrice of Hergest in the com of Heref, for 18 shillings.

189 William Bird of Bromyard in the com of Heref bought 26 lambes of Rees David ap Res Llandeglo in the com of Radnor for 31 shillings.

190* William Boucher of Bradston in the com of Gloucester bought one blak coult of the marke of a swalow tayle hed upon the right shoulder & a halfpeny cut under the nere eare, of Evan David ap Jevan Floyd of Landryndo in the com of Radnor for 20 shillings 6 pence.

191 Thomas Skaundered of Kynton in the com of Heref bought a bay nagg the lyfte eare slytt, of John Sampson of Ashton in the said com for 15 shillings 4 pence.

192 John More of Brymyncham in the com of Warwike bought ij blak steres & one blak hayfer of David ap Meredithe of the parrishe of Llanyre in the com of Radnor for £3.6.8.

REFERENCES

1 'Dovering Tewy' i.e. Dyffryn Dewi—'David's Valley'; lands adjacent to and in the ownership of the cathedral of St. David's, Pembroke.

2 Humfrey Lane; see also 54. Thomas Fermor of Knighton, Radnors; refs to him will be found in Great Sessions at NLW as a juror or as a named debtor in writs.

3 Robert Hawley; see also 14. The implication is that one of his purchases was resold. The absence of quoted prices precludes further comment.

7 David Applelow Gogh; David 'son of Llewelyn the Red or Red-faced'. See also 25. Brother and witness to will of Meredith ap Lello Goch of Lytton, co. Heref. dtd. 10 Aug 1568. (Hereford wills at H.C.R.O.).

10 Trayntor; Tranter was a family name in the Pembridge area.

11 Crick or Trick; see also 12.

12 Wyllyam Lloyd; see also 13. The sale of one mare to be replaced by another stretches the imagination.

14 Hanley Child, co. Worcs., but 'Blackwell Park' remains unidentified.

15 Will(iam) Morgan; see also 16. Could be equally 'of' Glamorgan or Carmarthen.

18 Thomas Poull (clerk); see also 112. Burhoppe's association suggests he also was 'of' Leominster, but there were, however, Burhopps at Byton in 1620 when Christopher B. died leaving sons George, John, Thomas and Walter, Chris. B. also owned land at Eye, co. Heref.

19 Walter Whetstone; see also 113.

21 John Sampson; see also 191.

22 Owen Haulton; see also 23, 131, 135, 136.
Evan app Jenkyn; see also 51, 52.

23 John ap Rice or Ris; see also 41.

24 Thomas Payne or Paine of Walton, Old Radnor; Lay Sub. E179/224/561 3 Ed. VI (PRO). PCC Will 28 (Stevenson) dtd. 24 July 1564. Proved 15 Oct. 1564.

28 John Urmeston or Urmyston; see also 31, 132, 133, 142, 143, 147, 171.

30 William Tunkyn(s); see also 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 120. 'Hightfild', 'Highfyll', 'Parthefield' possibly Ightfield (Whitchurch), co. Shrop. but could equally be Highfields Park, co. Worcs. near Bridgnorth, co. Shrop.

32 Rotherough ap Evan Goughe; see also 59, 157.

34 The only example of a sale by barter. OED suggests 'stithes'—stythes—anvils. However, this may be unrealistic, in which case stathes i.e. prepared posts and rails to be used in construction of a cattle proof pen, might be more acceptable. 'Clevnt in com. Stafford' would appear to be a scribal error, Clent being in co. Worcs., although close to the co. Staffs border.

38 Evans Taylor; see also 39.

39 David ap Evore ap Powell; see also 66, 136, 137.

41 Hugh Badnege; see also 183.

44 Evan ap Rothorothe; see also 77.

49 'Bleson'—Blaisdon, co. Gloucs. Note scribal error in 50 and further reference in 74.

54 Rafe Walker; see also 57, 97, 108.

55 Richard Blyke esq. of New Radnor. Sheriff of co. Radnors. 1543/4 (*Trans. Radnorshire Soc.* 36). PCC Will (36 Wrastley) dtd. 15 July 1557 (PRO).
59 Richard Wall; see also 60.
60 John Meredithe; see also 156, 159.
61 Thomas Harrys; see also 75, 85. 'of Presteigne', mercer. Manucaptor £10 24 Sept. 1558 Gaol Files 462-5 Radnor. (NLW).
67 Robert Cowper; see also 116, 122, 126, 158.
69 Rice David ap Rice; see also 124, 189. 'of Llandaglas' Lay Sub. E179/224/561 3 Ed. VI (PRO).
70 William Colcum; see also 144.
72 Thomas Stevyns; see also 165, 186.
77 Thomas Broke; see also 83. The scribe's arithmetic was incorrect.
86 Humfrey Buffton; see also 153, 154.
88 Richard Lane or Lone; see also 178, 179, 181.
89 Lewis ap Powell; see also 90.
90 Richard Wyley; see also 100.
94 Richard Stede; see also 112.
98 Jamys Bedo Griffithe; juror in GSP in 1555, of Llanfihangel Rhydithon, yeo. Manucaptor (in own recogn. £20) 5 Sept. 1560. Manucaptor with another each for £10 11 March 1560/1 (NLW).
100 Howell ap Rice of 'Fisher'. There is no parish of this name in Radnorshire, but there are two parishes having the prefix of Bettws—Bettws Clyro and Bettws Disserth. Our suggestion is that Disserth was misheard as 'Fisher'. We have seen the name of Hoell ap Ieuan ap Rees of Disserth whose close was burgled in this year, but there is no certainty that this was the same man.
103 Thomas Cowper; 'of Kidderminster'. See also 140, 187; could well be the same man.
104 Morgan ap Meredith; see also 105; of Maelienydd; of Bryndraenog, Beguildy, *c.* 1580; of Llynwent, Llanbister earlier; Sheriff of co. Radnor 1559/60, 1581/2; Sheriff of Montgomeryshire 1590. *(Trans. Radnorshire Soc.* 38). PCC Will (18 Dixy) dtd. 15 Sep. 1593. (PRO).
106 Maurice Phillps; see also 185.
107 Wancklen; *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (PRO) gives a John Wankelyn as of Leominster on 12 Jul 1571.
111 David ap Thomas; Pardon to D.apT. alias Smyth late of New Radnor, 'smyth' (PRO).
112 Rychard Poull; see also 145, 188. The implication of this item and item 113 is that all persons named were 'of Leominster'. However the reference to Rich. Stede both here and in item 94 suggests that the bailiff's jurisdiction was more widespread.
118 The Lugars were long 'of Kingsland'. See A. T. Bannister (ed) 'Visitation of Hereford 1397', *Engl, Hist, Rev.*, 44/45 (1929-30); E. J. L. Cole, 'Bailiff's Accounts, Kingsland Manor', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XXXV (1955-7), 168-176; M. A. Faraday, *Hereford Militia Assessments* (1972); P. E. H. Hair, 'Family and Location', *Local Hist.* 12 (1976); John Abowen see also 138.
122 Stephan ap Evan Thomas; Lay Sub. E179/224/561 3 Ed. VI (PRO).
123 William Tunkyn; see also 128.
130 Rogger Houlgat; see also 137.
139 Rice ap Jevan ap Philip of Nantmel, manucaptor £10 23 Feb. 1561/2 (NLW).
140 Thomas Cowper; see note on 103, also 187.
142 Thomas Skawnderyd; see also 191.
149 Evan Meredythe; probate of Will granted 28 June 1581, Brecon wills at N.L.W. Vol. 1. fo. 63.
Evan Codogan; see also 182; Brecon wills at N.L.W. Vol. 1. fo. 415; as Jevan ap Cadwgan, Manucaptor 9 June 1558. (NLW).
154 Thomas Brasyer; see also 173.
156 John Carpenter; see also 157, 172.
159 William Boucher; see also 177, 190.
166 John Vale; see also 168.
171 Morgan ap John; gent. manucaptor £10, 12 Jan 1556/7 Gaol Files 462-2 Radnor (NLW) will dtd. 12 April 1586 Brecon wills 2/300 (NLW).
180 Thomas Nicholls of Heath, Presteigne, Will dtd. 25 Sept. 1562, Heref. Wills, (HCRO). Probate granted 2 Mar. 1562/3 Heref. Consistory Acts vol. 50.
190 Evan David ap Evan Floyd also Jevan David ap Jevan Lloid; Lay Sub. E 179/224/561 3 Ed. VI (PRO). Manucaptor £10 31 July 1555, Gaol Files 461-6 (NLW).

Crisis and Response: Reactions in Herefordshire to the High Wheat Prices of 1795-96

By W. K. PARKER

THE object of this article is to examine reactions in the county, as portrayed in the *Hereford Journal*, to the first spell of high wheat prices which were to characterise the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Though not a local paper in the sense of publishing almost exclusively local news, the *Journal* does provide an insight into the response at local level to the appeals and directives of the central government and also into more local initiatives.

With the outbreak of war in 1793 wheat prices, which had been rising steadily for several decades,[1] began to rise sharply and in the last few months of 1794 the rate of increase accelerated: the era of abnormally high wheat prices had begun.

Year	Hereford Annual Av. Wheat Price (Winchester Qtr.)	Hereford Index	National Annual Av. Wheat Price (Winchester Qtr.)	National Index
1792	35/0	100	43/0	100
1793	41/4	118.1	49/3	114.5
1794	46/6	132.8	52/3	121.5
1795	57/2	163.3	75/2	174.8
1796	64/0	182.8	78/7	182.8
1797	45/10	130.9	53/9	125.0

National and Hereford Wheat Prices and Indices 1792-97.[2]

It is not surprising that the price level at Hereford was significantly lower than the national average for the county seems to have been a major wheat-growing area at this time, indeed Lodge and Clark suggest that too large an acreage in the county was devoted to wheat.[3] Moreover it is likely that population growth in the county was lower than in most other areas of England and thus the pressure of population upon food resources was less intense.[4] Again, since the county was largely self-sufficient in wheat, transport costs would be appreciably lower and this would be reflected in the local price level. It is tempting to explain the price differential in terms of transport difficulties counteracting the tendency for regional price variations by transporting grain from areas of relative plenty to those of dearth. However the *Journal* provides evidence that considerable quantities of wheat were transported both into and from the county in the years in question.[5] Transport difficulties can therefore only be considered a contributory factor in explaining the price differential.

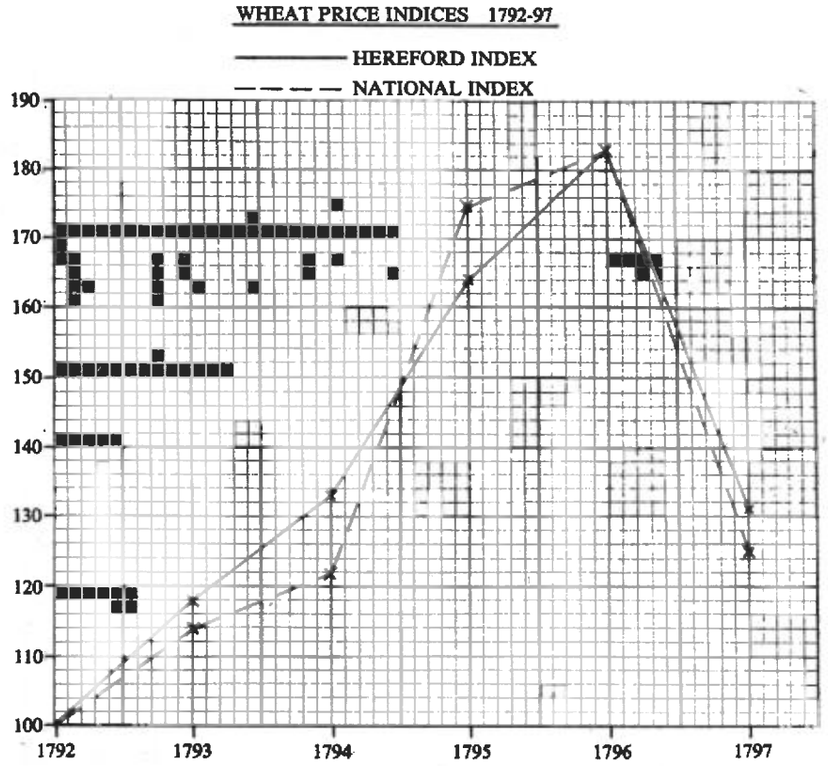
At the national level the steady rise in wheat prices in the second half of the 18th century is to be explained in terms of the pressure of an increasing population and during this period Britain ceased to be self-sufficient in wheat. This dependence upon imported wheat should not be overstated however, and the sharp rise of 1795-96 is to be explained in terms of poor harvests rather than as a result of warfare interrupting grain imports. True, the war had a profound psychological impact, for with grain reserves run down by two successive poor harvests, the resultant increased dependence upon imports created a siege mentality and a panic reflected in unrealistically high price levels. Structural defects in the banking system, together with the inflationary impact of war finance aggravated matters still further.[6]

Local evidence drawn from the *Journal* supports this view. In 1794 the harvest was poor, 'half a crop' as a result of blight, and the severe winter of 1794-95 made matters worse. Wet weather, high winds and hard frosts hindered the working of the land, damaged the winter wheat and had an immediate impact upon the price level by hampering the transport of wheat to market.[7] The effect of the severe winter was not immediately apparent for as late as 22 July the *Journal* was apparently expecting a good harvest. However the sharp rise of the autumn together with the reference by 'Candidus' to the failure of the last two crops in the *Journal* of 16 December shows that the expectations of July had come to nothing.

A comparison of the movements of the Hereford and the national wheat price indices bears out, to some extent, this analysis. Thus the Hereford index rose more steeply than the national index in both 1794 and 1796 and almost as steeply as the national index in 1795.

Contemporary opinion in the county accepted that the two successive poor harvests were the prime cause of the crisis but many believed that there were contributory factors exacerbating the situation. Inevitably the corn dealers and others were suspected of manipulating and heightening the crisis in their own interests. In April 1795 and February 1796 notices appeared in the *Journal* condemning forestalling and regrating.[8] Though not mentioned specifically the Hereford corn dealers were sensitive to such charges and in May 1795 twelve of them publicly resolved not to buy wheat at more than 8s. 6d. per customary bushel on pains of forfeiting £20. However this only had the effect of drying up grain supplies for the farmers simply refused to bring their grain to market at this price and at the end of May the dealers abandoned the scheme, replacing it with a resolution that they would not buy grain 'to send down the river' until after the next harvest.[9]

The farmers too were accused of profiteering. In a letter defending the farmers published in the *Journal* of 16 December 1795, 'Candidus' admitted that the farmers had been recently censured and condemned as 'selfish monopolists'.



In his letter in the issue of 6 January 1796, 'A Coffee House Lounger' roundly condemned the farmers for hoarding and not selling wheat 'until they were at last ashamed to bring it out except in the silence of night'. The farmers had already proved their power in May 1795 when they had brought to an end the initiative of the Hereford corn dealers and in the autumn of 1795 there may have been some attempt to rig the market, for while in September the price had fallen to 10s. per customary bushel, on 21 October the *Journal* commented that very little wheat had yet been brought to market and that the price had advanced considerably. Again in early 1796 it seems that the farmers were withholding grain. Thus a request by the Hereford Common Council to the neighbouring farmers to bring a regular supply of grain to Hereford market met with no response. On this occasion it may have been fear of violence which lay behind the farmers' action for the Council's request was accompanied by a guarantee of protection.[10] Rioting and violence in the Ross area in 1795 and 1796 suggests that the farmers' fears were not groundless.

The 'Coffee House Lounger' and 'Candidus' also discussed other contributory factors. The former placed some responsibility for the high prices upon consolidation of farms, producing the conventional arguments to buttress his views; that the small farmer was proportionately more productive and less able or willing to manipulate the market. Moreover the existence of the small farm acted as an incentive to industry on the part of the poor, so working for social cohesion, while consolidation had the disadvantage of driving up rents. 'Candidus' could not accept these views, arguing that as far as wheat production was concerned the small farmer operated at little more than subsistence level. He believed that increases in rents, tithes and parochial taxes, together with the rise in the general cost of living would have produced a rise in wheat prices by driving up costs, even if the harvests had been better.[11]

Some evidence suggests that at least in 1794-95 the county experienced higher prices than some of its neighbours. Thus though the Hereford prices for those years was appreciably lower than the national average, an analysis of the Hereford Wheat Account for 1794-95 shows that supplying the poor of the city with wheat at a concessionary price entailed a subsidy of just over 15% on wheat purchased in the county compared with a subsidy of just over 8% on wheat bought in Gloucestershire.[12]

Throughout the crisis the *Journal* reflected the response of the local establishment to the appeals of the central government for economy in the use of wheat. In the issue of 5 August 1795 a public notice announced that the Grand Jury of the county had adopted the Privy Council's Engagement to economise in the use of wheat and in the following January public notices advertised the local response to Portland's circular urging the use of bread made of two-thirds wheat and one third barley. In such notices the bishop of Hereford enjoined the use of such bread and its advocacy upon the clergy of the diocese and he was supported by the Common Council of the city, the J.P.s of the county and the J.P.s of Grimsworth Hundred in separate notices.[13]

The *Journal* was more than a detached observer for it threw its weight behind any measures to alleviate the crisis; the economy measures outlined above, the use of substitutes and other measures to augment the county's grain stocks. In support of the mixed loaf it published the unanimous view of the physicians of Oxford Infirmary that such bread was perfectly wholesome,[14] and in common with many others it sought to promote the use of potatoes. In February 1795 'Agricola' urged farmers to plant potatoes in acreages they intended leaving as summer fallows, and a little later 'Benevolus' was writing, somewhat unconvincingly, that his family preferred potato bread to wheaten. Nor did the apparent failure of the potato crop in 1795 deter the *Journal* for in February 1796 it was again advocating the wider use of potatoes.[15]

By mid 1795 the situation in Hereford was such that the Chamberlain, Dr. Symonds, appealed to the government for assistance. The response was prompt for he was informed that a ship was at Gosport ready to carry wheat to Chepstow for the relief of Hereford, Monmouth and Glamorgan, while the Mayor was notified that quantities of American and Riga wheat and flour were on sale in Plymouth and could be delivered immediately. The *Journal* heaped praise on those who volunteered to transport the expected wheat from Chepstow.[16]

During 1795 the *Journal's* attitude towards the price rise is best described as neutral: the price rise was deprecated but accepted, and the paper confined itself to supporting measures designed to alleviate distress. By 1796 it had apparently come to the conclusion that the extent of the price rise was excessive and it stated so on more than one occasion. The *Journal* then seems to have launched something of a campaign to bring down prices though this was never admitted. The campaign took several forms: a poem contrasting the simple, honest and unspoilt yeoman of the past with the contemporary capitalist farmer and his family with their social pretensions; a report from a 'trusted correspondent' that not one-twentieth of the crop had yet been consumed; reports of convictions in other areas for regrating or forestalling; and reports of massive quantities of wheat on the way into the kingdom and the locality.[17] The most constant feature was a determined attempt to reassure public opinion and to 'talk down' local prices by omitting to report these while talking of falling prices in other regions. Thus while the *Journal* gives the Hereford wheat price each week in 1793, for 48 weeks in 1794, and for 22 weeks in 1795, it did so for only five weeks in 1796 and then in the autumn when prices had fallen. The first reports in the *Journal* of falling wheat prices elsewhere were in general terms but in April they became specific and falling prices were reported from Whitney, Beverley, Sheffield, Hull, Lincoln, Bristol, Cambridge, Shaftesbury and the market towns of Shropshire. The most dramatic fall reported was from Devizes where apparently the price fell in three weeks from 13s. 6d. to 7s. 10½d. per Winchester bushel.[18] The campaign seems to have had little effect for the *Journal* reported on 20 July that wheat prices were still high though grain crops looked good.

The hardships imposed by the high prices upon the poorer sections of the community apparently offered little threat to the social fabric of the county, for the *Journal* offers little evidence of an increase in social unrest in 1795-96 and only in the Ross district did it report any serious public disturbances. Thus on 1 July 1795 it reported rioting by Forest of Dean colliers at Mitcheldean and Lenghope and detachments of the Herefordshire Yeomanry and the Essex Light Dragoons were called to Ross but the threatened disturbances did not materialise. Again on 7 November some 'Foresters' stopped a wagon of wheat on the way from Lydbrook and took it to Ross with the intention of selling it below the market price. Troops intervened and escorted the wagon from Ross, arresting the ring-

leaders and dispersing the mob. In March 1796 barges carrying corn were stopped near Ross and the owner compelled to sell wheat at a reduced price though troops were present. One of the barges was allowed to continue but was stopped again at Jayford in the Forest of Dean and plundered.[19] The issue of 6 April reported further disorder in the area, a mob led by Pritchard of Walford stealing 260 bushels of barley after stopping a barge at Ruardean.

The attitude of the *Journal* to this disorder was rather ambivalent for while it condemned the disorders it was sympathetic towards the grievances which prompted the incidents. On 8 July it published two letters; one from Job Carpenter, a 'mechanic', appealing for sobriety and industry on the part of the poor, and another from 'Clericus' which, while condemning the disturbances in the Ross area, commented that 'when diseases are desperate, desperate remedies are applied' and attacked the wealthy and avaricious farmers who sent grain to distant markets when there was a local shortage. Again on 9 March 1796 the *Journal* condemned further disorders in the Ross area but expressed the view that people should be given an adequate supply of grain at a reasonable price before large quantities were shipped through the district. This attitude was reflected in official circles in the county for when he received a circular letter from Portland protesting at instances of the removal of grain being resisted in some parts of the country, Lord Bateman, the Lord Lieutenant, stressed that in many parts of the county the shortage of wheat was severe.[20]

From the outset of the crisis the *Journal* advocated and publicised measures alleviating the burden imposed by the high grain prices upon the poor. Initially relief measures consisted of the distribution of cash, food or coal to the poor on the part of charitable individuals,[21] but, as in other parts of the country, almost at once a pattern developed by which wheat, and later wheat and barley, was sold to the poor at concessionary rates on the production of a ticket from a clergyman or from the overseer of the poor, the cost of the subsidy being defrayed by public subscription or by wealthy individuals in the parish. The concessionary price varied, at first it was 6s. per customary bushel but as the crisis heightened this became increasingly unrealistic and it rose to 8s. or 8s. 6d., and later to 10s. or 10s. 6d.[22]

The number of such schemes operating in the county is difficult to determine. The *Journal* mentions schemes of this nature operating at Winforton, Wellington, Fownhope, the Ross area and Hereford, and similar schemes may have been in operation at Almeley, Dilwyn, Eardisley, Kinnersley, Norton Canon and Weobley,[23] but apparently there were large parts of the county not covered by such systematic relief schemes, for in the *Journal* of 26 June 1795 'A constant reader' praised the Hereford scheme and expressed the wish that similar schemes were in operation in all the parishes of the county.

The *Journal* provides considerable information on the Hereford scheme. By mid-February more than £240 had been raised but by 20 May only £4 13s. 8d. remained and it was decided to open a fresh subscription.[24] The scale of operations in 1795 is impressive but the momentum was not maintained in 1796 when the scale of activity was much more limited as a result of a marked decline in subscriptions.[25] Possibly the propertied classes were becoming inured to the sufferings of the poor, or they may have felt threatened by inflationary trends and the financial uncertainties engendered by the failure of country banks. Alternatively public opinion may have come round to the view that the extent of the price rise was unjustified. Thus at a public meeting reported in the *Journal* of 23 February 1796, the general opinion was that the scarcity of grain was not as great as had been represented. Certainly in Hereford in early 1796 public attention was increasingly occupied with the need to persuade the farmers to supply the market from their grain stocks on a regular weekly basis.[26]

Not surprisingly the Ross area, the only part of the county to experience serious disorder, was the other area to embark upon an extensive relief scheme. This differed from the Hereford scheme in that the emphasis was on subscriptions of wheat and barley from the farmers to be sold at 10s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. per customary bushel respectively In other words it was the farmers who were to bear the cost of the subsidy. The farmers responded well and by the end of 1795 wheat subscriptions totalled 2,629 bushels to be supplied before 12 August 1796. Those eligible to buy grain at concessionary rates were the poor who lived in the area normally served by Ross market, which was defined as the parishes of Ross, Bridstow, Weston, Foy, Much Marcle, Goodrich, Fownhope, How Caple, Little Dewchurch, Brampton Abbots, Hentland, Upton Bishop, Llanwarne, Marstow and Letton. Other requirements were that the applicant should have a family of three or more and that he should produce a ticket signed by a clergyman or the parish overseer. Those who fulfilled these conditions were entitled to buy a bushel of wheat per week and were also expected to buy half a peck of barley. The scheme appears to have been almost too successful, for the poor from other areas flocked to Ross and some disorder ensued.[27]

Fortunately the harvest of 1796 fulfilled the promise shown in July and by 17 August the *Journal* could report that wheat prices had fallen. By September new wheat was selling in Hereford at the equivalent of 45s. 9d. per Winchester quarter, and for the moment the crisis had passed.[28] In general the high prices of 1795-96 had produced less dislocation than one might have anticipated. Undoubtedly the poor had suffered greatly, but partly as a result of the humanitarian response of the more fortunate, a response mirrored by the *Hereford Journal*, social harmony had not been strained beyond repair. Nevertheless there were some unfortunate repercussions, for the suspicion had been created that some, the farmers and the dealers, had exploited the crisis, and whether this was justified or not, it was to poison social relationships during future periods of high prices.

REFERENCES

1 In 1750 wheat was selling at between 26s. and 36s. per Winchester quarter. See J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1850* (1966) Paperback Edition 111.
2 The national average prices are taken from Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and* Present 4th Edition (1927), Appendix A Table ii, p. 441. The Hereford average prices are derived from a letter in the Hereford Journal of 19 February 1818 which contains a table giving the weekly average prices at Hereford Market 1792 - 1817 as returned by the Corn Inspector. These prices are given per customary bushel of 80lbs. and have been converted on a pro rata basis first into the 56lb. Winchester bushel equivalent and then into the quarter equivalent price for comparison with the national figures.
3 J. Lodge, *Introductory Sketches towards a Topographical History of the County of* Hereford (1793), 24 and J. Clark, *A General View . . . of the County of Hereford* (1794), 14. Clark estimated that two-thirds of the acreage farmed in the county was under tillage.
4 E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosure,* (1912), Appendix A, p. 448. Only thirteen English counties showed a smaller increase than Hereford's 17.8% 1750-1801. D. Thomas, *The Agricultural Geography of the Welsh Borderland in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries,* unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, June 1957, p. 48 cites Clark's reference to Welsh harvest gangs as evidence of depopulation in the county. Clark *op. cit.* p. 29.
5 *Hereford Journal* (hereafter *H.J.*) 8.7.95, 27.1.96, 9.3.96, 18.5.96.
6 The argument developed in this paragraph is based closely upon Chambers and Mingay *op. cit.* pp. 112-115 and Ernle *op. cit.* pp. 267-69.
7 *H.J.* 25.6.94, 21.1.95 and 'Agricola's' letter, *H.J.* 25.2.95.
8 Forestalling: buying goods coming to market; regrating: buying food in a local market for resale, *H.J.* 22.4.95, 24.2.96.
9 *H.J.* 13.5.95, 27.5.95.
10 *H.J.* 27.1.96.
11 The 'Coffee House Lounger's' letter, *H.J.* 6.1.96, 'Candidus' ' letters, *H.J.* 16.12.95, and 20.1.96. Consolidation was also seen as a contributary factor by 'Clericus', *H.J.* 8.7.95.
12 See the 'City of Hereford Wheat Account to 6th August, 1796.' *H.J.* 15.3.97.
13 *H.J.* 6.1.96, 13.1.96, 27.1.96.
14 *H.J.* 20.1.96.
15 *H.J.* 25.2.95, 15.3.95, 23.2.96.
16 *H.J.* 8.7.95.
17 *H.J.* 3.2.96, 30.3.96, 6.4.96, 18.5.96. In the summer of 1796 the *Journal* was too preoccupied with the general election to concern itself with such mundane matters as the price of wheat. Perhaps this places the 'campaign' in its true perspective.
18 *H.J.* 13.4.96.
19 *H.J.* 9.3.96.
20 *H.J.* 12.8.96.
21 In Leominster, *H.J.* 21.1.95 and 18.2.95, in Holmer 25.2.95.
22 *H.J.* 28.1.95, 25.2.95, 27.5.95, 1.7.95, 27.1.96.
23 The type of relief scheme in operation in these parishes is not clear since the *Journal* of 11.3.95 simply states that individuals in these parishes 'have distinguished themselves by their benevolence.'
24 *H.J.* 4.2.95, 11.2.95. By the latter date £244 1s. 6d. had been raised in Hereford.
25 The new subscription of early 1795 raised a further £162 16s. 6d. £35 was raised for the poor in 1796. *H.J.* 15.3.97.
26 See the notices published by the Common Council, *H.J.* 27.1.96, and by a public meeting chaired by the Mayor, *H.J.* 3.2.96.
27 For the development of the Ross scheme see *H.J.* 1.7.95, 8.7.95, 18.11.95, 2.12.95 and 23.12.95.
28 *H.J.* 7.9.96. The wheat price quoted was 8s. per customary bushel.

Reports of Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 1976

By R. SHOESMITH

City of Hereford Archaeology Committee

Two members of staff have continued to be employed by the committee throughout the previous twelve months due to funds being made available by the City Council and the Department of the Environment.

The greater part of the year has been devoted to preparing a report on all excavations in the city since 1965.

During the year the unit has also been responsible for further excavations in the garden of number 5 Cantilupe Street in preparation for the eventual display of these important Saxon defences as one of the city's monuments. The final area of Berrington Street was examined early this year during a three month excavation period and the results are confirming and extending the information gained from the previous excavations. The county excavator was loaned to the committee and carried out a series of small trial excavations in the northern re-development area during the summer months.

The unit has proposed a further series of excavations for the 1977/78 year which will probably have to be extended once the development guidelines for the northern 10 acres of the town are published.

Cantilupe Street Site. Excavations were first carried out in the garden of 5, Cantilupe Street between March and May 1972. A section was cut through the Saxon clay and turf bank, and both front and rear walls of the later revetment were exposed. The surviving remains were recognised as being of national importance, and, during 1975, the Hereford City Council bought the part of the back garden containing both the Saxon and medieval walls.

The original excavations in 1972 were extended to include the whole width of the garden and the area of Saxon berm within the grounds. During the excavation the Saxon and medieval walls were fully exposed and are now being consolidated. Slight changes have been made to the periods suggested in 1972 and the following sequence best explains the features examined.

Period 1: Pre-defensive. The original soil surface, about 30 cms. thick, survived over the existing Saxon berm. There were no signs of any previous occupation, confirming the 1972 results.

Period 2: The Saxon Rampart. The rampart was not examined in 1975, as the rear of the front Saxon wall was the limit of the excavation. A section was cut through the rampart in 1972, when it was shown to be similar to the second defensive phase in the western rampart. Horizontal, internal timbers strengthened the rampart and the remains of the vertical face between the rampart and the period 3 wall, were examined. No dating evidence was found for this period, charcoal and timber remains being unsuitable for radio-carbon dating.

Period 3a: Addition of stone walls. The 2 m. thick stone wall supporting the original timber face was cleared for the whole width of the garden. Although broad, the wall was poorly constructed, without any appreciable foundation trench. The lowest facing course was of large irregular blocks, but above this the coursing and bonding was poor and the core consisted of clay and rubble with some traces of mortar. Small mixing pits for the mortar were found on the berm. There was some evidence that the wall was not built as a continuous entity but that it was constructed in sections. This could not be confirmed without destroying the wall, but if it was the case, it could indicate that the sections were built as the timbers decayed or even that a timber tower had occupied part of the area before being replaced by walling. The wall stands about 2 m. high and may never have been much higher due to its lack of structural strength. Signs of a timber breastwork were seen in 1972 as was a smaller wall at the rear of the flat fighting platform.

The edge of the ditch associated with this period and probably with period 2 also was about 3 m. in front of the wall. In the soil accumulation in front of the Saxon wall was a single sherd of Chester Ware. Bones from this level have been sent for radio-carbon dating.

Period 3b: Partial re-build. In a small part of the area, the wall had been roughly re-faced, a rough stone face being found some 50 cms. in front of the original face. There was a rough stone packing between the two faces. A spread of gravel on the berm may indicate a clean-out of the ditch during this period.

Pediod 4: Disuse. The wall was either deliberately slighted or gradually collapsed, and the whole defence became a smooth bank which totally covered the stone walls. Slight signs seen in 1972 suggested that this bank was re-fortified with a simple timber palisade.

Period 5: The Medieval defences. In 1972, it was thought that a gravel rampart finally covered the Saxon works, but it was shown in 1975 that the gravel was contemporary with the medieval wall, presumably being waste material from the city ditch. The medieval wall, about 2 m. thick, was partly coursed and massively constructed. The foundations were within the Saxon ditch, and thus continued some 2½ m. below the then ground level. The dimensions of the Saxon ditch were not found and it may have been that the medieval wall filled most of it. As the

wall was built, gravel from the new ditch was used to fill the remaining foundation trench and the area between the new wall and the ruined Saxon defences. Bands of stone chippings in the gravel indicated successive levels in the wall construction. This wall was not strong enough to survive the pressure of gravel behind it which eventually caused it to collapse.

Period 6: Medieval wall re-build. The medieval wall was not completely re-built, but was eventually refaced using the original heavier foundations, with a ¾ m. wide wall of regularly coursed stones. Several stones of this period had previously been used as part of an arch.

Period 7: Modern. After the ditch was filled, the wall became the boundary between properties in Mill Street and Cantilupe Street and suffered little disturbance until properties on the Mill Street side were demolished in 1971. These buildings had supported the medieval wall and rebuilds against the pressure of the gravel behind, and on removal, the remains of the medieval wall were roughly shored as they are now seen.

Conclusions. When the full conservation work is carried out to both the Saxon and medieval walls, the whole should be an impressive display of the defences of Hereford and will include the only stretch of Saxon defensive walling exposed in the country.

BERRINGTON STREET SITE 4. Previous excavations in 1972 and 1973 were concentrated on the more westerly areas of the site where it was expected that the earlier levels would have been protected by slip of the tails of the various ramparts. However the proposed extensions to St. Nicholas House (fortunately to a different design) gave an opportunity to examine a street frontage, the first to be examined in Hereford. Although continuous occupation of the site had caused many disturbances, the early levels remained in sufficient quantity for a reasonable assessment to be made.

Period 1: Earliest levels—9th century and earlier. Within the area examined, traces of post-holes and gullies were concentrated along the east side close to Berrington Street. Fragments of buildings at both the north and south ends of the site suggest a consistent frontage occupation throughout this, apparently aceramic period.

Period 2: 10th to early 11th centuries. This period is characterised by many fragments of Chester Ware but in the main without any other types of pottery. Clay floors and hearths sealed the posts and gullies of period 1 and suggested larger buildings.

Period 3: mid 11th to early 12th centuries. Chester Ware continued in use but other fabrics were present including limestone tempered wares, Stamford Ware and occasional fragments of non-local early-glazed wares. Further clay floors and the remains of gravelled yards were sufficient to indicate the continued usage of

the street frontage part of the site for buildings. The whole of the area during this period was covered in a thick layer of ash. It is noteworthy that only 3 or 4 pits were found which could be dated prior to the mid-12th century over the whole site.

Period 4: 12th and 13th centuries. A rapid increase of black Malvernian cooking pots, tripod pitchers and a gradual introduction towards the end of the period of glazed vessels.

Occupation along the street frontage can only be postulated during this and the following period. Any remains of these two periods were removed during levelling operations in period 6 except for the lower parts of some 12 large pits in various parts of the site.

Period 5: 14th to 15th centuries. Traces were again slight and consisted of pits. Industrial use is postulated for the whole site, possibly as two different properties. The northern part of the area was used for the manufacture of cauldrons, but unfortunately the furnace area was outside the area examined.

Period 6: 16th to 18th centuries. A small cellar cut out earlier levels along the street frontage for about half of the excavated area and this was superceded in the early 17th century by a stone built house fronting Berrington Street. Two small stone-lined pits produced an excellent collection of whole glass wine-bottles, clay pipes, pottery and useful environmental evidence from the first decade of the 18th century.

Modern disturbances such as drains, foundations and such like crossed the area at various angles and considerably increased the difficulty of relating the various parts of the site.

Conclusions. This excavation is very important in that it has shown that, if the area is chosen carefully, fully-stratified deposits from the earliest levels of the town are still present. The site has produced more sherds of pre-conquest and late-11th century pottery than any other in Hereford. The previously postulated sequence of pottery fabrics is now based on firmer evidence and the presence of an early period without pottery on a very low level of subsistence is confirmed.

The occupation strongly suggests that Berrington Street has followed the same orientation throughout the city's history and this evidence, together with that accrued from previous excavations helps to confirm the theory that Hereford was laid out as a planned town by the 9th century at the latest. It is interesting that, with ample ground behind, the buildings were constructed as close to Berrington Street as possible. Evidence for a further north-south road, eventually sealed by the defences, was present in the earlier Berrington Street excavations and this may raise once again the question of the earliest defences of the city.

NORTHERN AREA TRIAL EXCAVATIONS

Bewell Street Car Park Site. A small trench in the gateway of the original entrance to Bewell House produced evidence of occupation at least from the 10th century. The trench was too small to enable any building lines to be identified.

Bewell Street (rear of All Saints Church). An attempt to find a possible continuation of the line of Broad Street to the north during the Saxon period was unsuccessful, the area chosen being completely disturbed by 12th-century pits.

Trinity Almshouses (Commercial Street). The remains of a probable 13th-century stone-built house sealed two 11th-century ditches running parallel to Commercial Street. The main one is suggested as a palisade trench, constructed before the city defences were extended to their northern limit. The Jewish area of the town should be in this sector, but further excavation will be necessary before this can be confirmed.

Wall Street. The gravel rampart was discovered virtually intact at a depth of some 2 m. below the present ground level. A hearth and gully sealed by this rampart suggests earlier occupation in this area, the pottery evidence suggesting a 10th or early-11th-century date.

Maylord Street. An exploratory trench along the Maylord Street frontage was completely unsuccessful as only modern cellars were found.

Conclusions. It is a little early to attempt to draw any firm conclusions from these trenches which only represent an infinitesimal proportion of the total area available for development. It rapidly becomes apparent that Hereford has regularly expanded beyond its defended areas and that, to obtain a full picture of the early development of our city an area greater than even the walled town must be considered. The picture of disused defences in the post-Conquest period as shown in the Cantilupe Street excavations together with the Domesday reference to citizens living without the walls is now confirmed archaeologically, but the type and degree of settlement remains a problem which can only be solved by large-scale excavation before the northern area is developed. This, together with the associated problems of roads leading to the original ford over the Wye, are problems which we anticipate will occupy the resources of the archaeological unit during the next two or three years.

THE COUNTY AREA. As you know, the area outside the city is the responsibility of the county archaeologists based at Hartlebury Castle. No excavations have been undertaken in the last 12 months but work has continued in compiling a complete sites and monuments record. The Department of the Environment has been informed of some 25 sites which it is considered should be scheduled within the county area. Two booklets are being prepared, one a town study of Leominster, which must be one of the most neglected towns of archaeological importance in the West Midlands, and a second booklet on Herefordshire Treasures. This latter is being compiled in conjunction with the Woolhope Club.

The following sites are obviously of great local interest:

Blackwardine. The Roman site mentioned in the last *Transactions* as being excavated by rather over enthusiastic amateurs has now been scheduled by the Department of the Environment. However the rest of this interesting area does not have any protection.

Kenchester. The problems associated with the Roman walled town and its extra-mural area continue to increase. The Stretton Sugwas gravel quarry each year removes more of the areas which have been illustrated in previous issues of the Woolhope Club *Transactions* and are of obvious archaeological importance in understanding the complete picture of occupation in this area. Over the past ten years Roman settlements to the east of Kenchester have been removed without any record whatsoever. The Iron Age ditches which were plain on aerial photographs reproduced in the *Transactions* have now disappeared and the destruction continues.

On the western side of Kenchester, planning permission has been granted for a house immediately outside the western gateway of the Roman Town adjoining the area excavated in the 1950's.

Archaeological Research Section, 1976

By C. E. ATTFIELD

THE Section had a busy year with ten field meetings and the AGM. One of the highlights of the year has been the publishing of *The Guide to Prehistoric and Roman Sites in Herefordshire* on which members of the section devoted much time and energy. This was made possible under the auspices of the club. Some copies are still available.

In February the Goodrich area was visited to assess the possibilities of a secret tunnel from the castle. This was carried out in conjunction with Colin Smith of Lydbrook, who is a skilled water dowser, assisted by Mr. K. Richardson of Bernithan Court, Llangarron. There was plenty of reaction from the hazel rod used by Mr. Smith regarding some 'feature' running along the steep bank from the castle forming the southern limit of the Wye Valley but no conclusion was reached in the absence of excavation. Later that day members visited Bernithan Court and walked down a tunnel extending some 30 yards from the house and which was easily detectable on the surface using metal rods. The club visited it some years ago and decided it was a drain. Also further investigation was made of the waterworks complex on the Humber Brook above Hampton Court to trace various drains and leats, together with pools named in old documents and maps.

In March certain earthworks at Brampton Hill were the subject of examination but the findings are not at hand at present.

Letton was visited in April to look for traces of a more extensive occupation and examination of the early Norman church; then on to Winforton to examine the site of a medieval hermitage, and finally Oakers Hill for traces of Neolithic occupation.

In May members visited Monksbury Court, Monkhide, to examine and record a section of the Hereford and Gloucester Canal, including various feeders, sluice gates and a mill site.

In June a very interesting visit was paid to New Mill, Clehonger, most of the machinery still being in situ, although operations ceased soon after the last war.

In July the section visited Llanfair Grange, a grange of the Cistercian abbey of Dore, the site of which is being excavated by Mr. D. Jemmett. A second visit was made to the site of the abbey of Parc-Grace-Dieu in the valley of the Trothy, a few miles from Monmouth.

On a hot September day members were successful in locating a cave in the Aymestrey area alleged to have been used by fugitives after the battle of Mortimers Cross. This was very small, on a very steep slope and hardly large enough for one person. Also visited was the local gravel pit to look for fossils and interesting rock; and the mill at Aymestrey where the wheel has been repaired for use to drive other machinery.

In October because of a deluge a guided tour of Ironbridge Industrial Museum was postponed but some members visited the Coalbrookdale Ironworks Museum or the Coalport China Museum in the morning and the Blists Hill Open Air Museum in the afternoon. A wide detour had to be made between these two latter because heavy rainstorms had washed part of the direct roadway away.

Bringewood Chase will be visited in November.

Fuller details of individual meetings are to be found in the Archaeological Research Section Newsletters and in particular those for June 1976 and January 1977.

Buildings, 1976

By J. W. TONKIN

LAST year it was European Architectural Heritage Year which kept the Recording Group busy, this year it was the 13th centenary of the founding of the diocese of Hereford. The Group met regularly and its work on the Huntington Hundred will be reported later as will also the lectures to celebrate the centenary. As always we are much indebted to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work. A University Extramural weekend course with the writer as tutor was based on Kington.

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

BRIDSTOW

PEACHEYS BARN. SO 589242

This 18th-century warehouse is built of brick with a kneeler at each corner and a little brick finial at each gable. A loading door on the first floor overlooks the road. This building is the last survivor of an important group which was a reminder of days of the important trade up and down the Wye. It was due for demolition but thanks to the efforts of some local people is to be saved. This is very good news for it is the last reminder of the great days of Ross's river trade.

DILWYN

BIDNEY. SO 412561 (R.C.H.M. 60)

This was a house of some importance and is very interesting. In the original cross-wing is an upper-cruck truss and another with a sharply cambered collar-beam. The doorways into this wing are both ovolo moulded. The sills of the bay windows are a combination of ovolo and ogee mouldings, the mullions and transoms being ovolo.

There is an interesting stone preserved outside the front door. It is octagonal and is decorated with a face, the whole perhaps dating from the 14th century.

LUNTLEY COURT. SO 393554 (R.C.H.M. 4)

The main block could be 16th century rather than 17th. It is of four bays with heavily cambered tie-beams rather like the cranked variety found in the north-west of the country, with curved braces. The ovolo mould is used in the house, in the cow-house to the east and in the pigeon-house. This moulding probably dates from the work of 1674 and 1673, the dates on the house and the pigeon-house respectively.

LEINTHALL EARLES

MANOR FARM. SO 442676 (R.C.H.M. 12 Aymestrey)

The original house of *c.* 1600 was built on a three-part plan. The hall ceiling follows the pattern seen in a number of other superior Herefordshire houses in that the joists in alternate panels are at right angles to each other with the result

that the floor-boards in each room above are arranged in a chequer-board fashion. The plasterwork and doors in the original parlour appear to be early 18th-century work. There is a good stairway with turned balusters. Upstairs in the chamber over the parlour and over the wing are 18th-century panelled partitions.

LEOMINSTER

1 & 3 Bridge Street. SO 495594 (R.C.H.M. 7)

In spite of refacing much of the original house can still be traced. It seems to have been a four-bay building with an open first-floor great chamber in the two central bays jettied towards the street. Evidence of the jettying still remains as does the arch of the main upper room. It was probably an early 16th-century building, much altered in the 17th.

RODD, NASH & LITTLE BRAMPTON

Rodd Court. SO 321626 (R.C.H.M. 1)

The granary has now been turned into a library thus revealing the late, upper-base cruck type of construction so often found in this type of building in this area.

Ashley. SO 334622 (R.C.H.M. 12)

The cider-house in the west wing still retains its stone mill which is still used.

WHITCHURCH

Old Court. SO 552176 (R.C.H.M. 3)

The west wing may well be an earlier house with a first-floor hall. It could be a two-storey cross-wing of an earlier hall, but it seems big enough to have been a first-floor hall with undercroft much altered when the 16th-century house was built. There are three early roof trusses all of a cruck type. One springs from first-floor level and is a full raised cruck truss with the superior type of apex found in Herefordshire and on the Marches. The truss on either side has a yoke with an upper king-strut, a rare form of construction in this part of the country.

During the year 52 planning applications from within the old county of Herefordshire have been referred to the listed buildings sub-committee. Most were for comparatively minor alterations, in some cases, worthwhile restorations.

About five cases during the year have caused a fair amount of work. These were the alterations to the Fox and Badger at Bromyard; proposed demolitions at the New Inn, St. Owen's Cross; Peachey's Barn, Wilton; barn at Church Farm, Madley; and an outbuilding at Merton House, Ross-on-Wye. As always I am very grateful to a number of people who have drawn my attention to buildings and sent me notes on them. As usual Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Perry and Mr. C. H. I. Homes have been stalwarts in this aspect of our work.

Deserted Medieval Villages, 1976

By ROSAMUND SKELTON

GRIMSWORTH HUNDRED

Pipe and Lyde. SO 498440

The earthworks of a deserted settlement site have been found at NGR SO 498440 in the parish of Pipe and Lyde, lying midway between Upper Lyde and Lyde Arundel. As the Domesday Book mentions four manors in Lyde, some of which were identified by several different names during the medieval period, the identification of this particular settlement is uncertain.

There are several clearly-marked rectangular platforms and boundary banks visible. The site may also have been used as a source of building materials as there are some deep holes suggesting the robbing out of foundations of buildings.

Further research is required to establish the identity of the site.

Entomology, 1975/76

By M. W. PRYCE

CONTINUED mild winters, and the warm sunny summer of 1975 favoured the success of hibernating insects and the build up of many insect populations. The prolonged hot summer of 1976 broke existing records for sustained high temperatures and lack of rainfall and was said to be the hottest summer for 250 years. The heat and resultant drought presented unusual climatic conditions in 1976. High diurnal and nocturnal temperatures had the effect of increasing the metabolic rate and accelerating life cycles, so that, at first, insect life was very abundant. The winged adults of most orders, particularly the Lepidoptera, Coleoptera, Diptera and Hymenoptera, were noticeably numerous. Vast numbers of aphids early in the summer resulted in equally large numbers of ladybird beetles, hoverflies of the aphid-eating variety, and lacewings. A gradual dispersal of insects, and reduction in numbers, was seen as the drought progressed. When the vegetation suffered, many species sought cover in woods and hedgerows, or by ponds and streams. Even insects with aquatic larvae must have suffered as ponds dried up, and rivers and streams receded. Many hibernating insects may have used up much of their food stores, and a hard winter could result in a high mortality.

Order Orthoptera

Interesting specimens recorded were a field cricket *Gryllus campestris* collected by Mr. M. P. Watkins at Whitchurch, the speckled bush cricket *Leptophyes punctatissima,* and the dark bush cricket *Pholidoptera griseoaptera,* the last two species found at Bosbury and also recorded by Miss E. M. Davies in Hereford city.

The oak bush cricket *Meconema thalassium* was found near Bosbury, at Dorstone, and in Hereford city.

Grasshoppers were very numerous in 1976 and those commonly found are *Myrmeleotetrix maculatus, Omacestus viridulus, Chorthippus brunneus* and *Chorthippus parallelus.*

Order Odonata

Caenagrion puella is common, and *Pyrrhosoma nymphula* was seen in the Fishpool Valley, Croft, by F. M. Kendrick.

Aeshna cyanea and *Aeschna juncea* were also recorded, and M. P. Watkins reported *Libellula depressa* near Whitchurch.

Order Ephemeroptera

Ephemera danica and *Cloeon sp* were recorded at Titley and large numbers of unidentified may-fly nymphs were found in the Pool. E. M. Davies identified the species *Ecdyonurus venosus* and *Ecdyonurus dispar* from Olchon Brook, Longtown.

Order Hemiptera

Interesting records include the black and red froghopper *Cercopis vulnerata,* and the shield bugs *Pentatoma rufipes* and *Acanthosoma haemorrhoidale.*

Mr. A. P. Watkins made interesting records of butterflies in the Whitchurch area. Unusual species included the marbled white *Melanargia galathea,* the purple hairstreak *Thecla quercus,* the green hairstreak *Callophrys rubi* and the grizzled skipper *Pyrgus malvae.* Most interesting was his record of the purple emperor *Apatura iris* which is very rare in the county.

He recorded only one specimen of the high brown fritillary *Argynnis adippe,* but noted the large numbers of *A. paphia,* the silver washed fritillary. The last observation is true for the whole county, the silver-washed fritillary being wide-spread and numerous, whilst the high brown fritillary was seen only once at Wellington Heath.

The common blue *Polyommatus icarus* appeared to be as wide-spread and numerous in 1976 as the more usual holly blue *Celastrina argiolus.*

Brimstone butterflies *Gonepteryx rhamni* were seen near Bosbury in September.

Clouded yellows *Colias croceus* were reported by M. P. Watkins near Whitchurch.

Records of moths trapped in Hereford city were provided for 1974 by Philip Boddington and for 1975/76 by Philip Stirling and Robert Boddington.

Rarer species found in Hereford city were: -

Green Arches	*Eurois prasina*
Dusky sallow	*Eremobia ochroleuca*
Chocolate tip	*Pygaera curtula*
Pale oak eggar	*Trichiura crataegi*
Marbled green	*Bryophila muralis*
Ear	*Hydroecia nictitans*
Dark dagger	*Acronycta tridens*
Dot	*Mamestra persicariae*
Barred red	*Ellopia prosapiaria*
White spotted pinion	*Calymnia diffinis*
Scarce tissue	*Eucosmia certata*
Lilac beauty	*Hygrochroa syringaria*
Swallow tailed	*Ourapteryx sambucaria*
Mallow	*Ortholitha cervinata*
Feathered thorn	*Colotois pennaria*
Small yellow underwing	*Panemeria tenebrata*
Small blood vein	*Scopula imitaria*

P. Stirling and R. Boddington also found the brick moth *Agrochola circellaris* and the tawny pinion *Lithophane semibrunnea* in Ledbury, and the chevron *Lygris testata* and the small autumnal carpet *Oporabia filigrammaria* near Longtown. They found the orange moth *Angerona prunaria*, the water carpet *Lampropteryx suffumata* and the drab looper *Minoa murinata* in Haugh Wood, and the mocha moth *Ephyra annulata* at Fownhope.

The humming bird hawk moth *Macroglossum stellatarum* was seen at Wellington Heath.

Order Coleoptera

It may be of interest to note the climatic effect on some of the ladybird populations.

Normally the 2-spot ladybird *Adalia 2-punctata* is more common in its two forms (black spots on red, or red spots on black elytra) than the larger 7-spot ladybird *Coccinella 7-punctata*. Both species feed on aphids and the abundance of aphids and their location is reflected in the numbers and distribution of their predators, the ladybirds. Last year there was a big build up in the 7-spot ladybird population. Adults and larvae feed on aphids. There are four larval instars which can eat up to 200 aphids per day. In August and September, as food supplies were used up there were noticeable movements of adult beetles following their food supplies. The mild dry winter and favourable conditions in spring enabled large numbers to survive, and in the summer of 1976, with abundant food supply in June and July, they rapidly multiplied until there was a population "explosion". By August the ladybirds had become desperate for food and water, and possibly existed on prey other than aphids. One instance of unusual behaviour was seen in a walled garden where fully grown larvae left vegetation apparently in an effort to find shade and shelter in which to pupate. Hundreds of larvae were seen walking over hot paving stones, and finding no suitable alternative, they eventually disappeared into crevices between rockery stones, or under the door frames of the house. Adult beetles formed large swarms, moving in search of food. They disappeared from gardens, and were noticeably seen by ponds and streams, but many reached the coast, where, with food supplies exhausted, and no further areas to explore, they settled on the ground in unprecedented numbers. If the insects' food reserves are used up, many will be unable to survive the winter. It will be interesting to see if the 7-spot ladybirds maintain their supremacy, or whether they will again be rivalled and replaced by the 2-spot variety.

Other less common Coleopterous species include glow worms *Lampyris noctiluca* recorded by P. Stirling in Haugh Wood, tortoise beetles *Cassida haemisphaerica* from Titley, and *Chrysolina hyperici* at Wellington Heath.

Ornithology, 1976

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

IN Herefordshire ornithology can be split into four headings, each will be reviewed in turn. This year birds had a difficult time with the drought.

Residents

The nest-box scheme run by the Nature Trust, showed a large drop in successful boxes largely due to a cold spring with lack of food for the offspring. In some cases boxes were not occupied at all and in other cases eggs failed to hatch.

Winter Migrants

Due to very little flooding of the Lugg Valley flats, bird life was very down compared to a normal winter. However, the usual flocks of starlings roosted in Shucknall Woods.

Summer Migrants

Pied flycatcher numbers were down in the nest-box scheme. This could be attributed to the cold at the time of arrival and also influences outside Great Britain, such as bird catching on the continent. House-martins had a difficult time with nest building due to lack of mud. Migrants appear to be passing through Herefordshire early this year on their return journey to the warmer countries.

Rarities

The following rarities were seen and noted:

HARRIER	Moorhampton	13 April
HOBBY	Hereford	22 May
HOOPOE	Bromyard	30 April
NIGHTINGALE	Great Doward, Shucknall Hill	6 May
OSPREY	Criftin Ford Bridge	4 May
OSPREY	River Wye	Autumn

Natural History Section, 1976

By C. W. SHELDRAKE

THE Natural History Section was formed to revive one of the aims of the club and several meetings were held during the year. The inaugural meeting was held on 20 November 1976.

Two meetings were held in the Mortimer Forest. The first to view the deer in the early morning and several herds were seen. A fox crossed one of the rides. The second was to see many shallow-rooting trees which had been uprooted in the gale early in the year. Several types of conifers were examined.

An evening meeting was held on Dinmore to review the natural history of the area when Mr. Kendrick outlined the geology of Herefordshire from the lookout post.

In June a meeting on The Doward saw evidence of drought following a dry spring. Mr. Kendrick pointed out the geology of the area and a visit was made to King Arthur's cave. When visiting the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Trust reserves various butterflies were seen on the wing, including Wood Whites. Butterfly orchids were observed under beech trees. An examination of a disused mine-shaft was made and also a visit to the latest acquisition of the Nature Trust, Leeping Stocks, where orchids were seen in profusion.

The fifth meeting was to Croft Ambrey and Fishpond Valley where Mr. Kendrick described the geology of the areas. Many butterflies were seen including Speckled Wood, Silver Washed Fritillary and Green Fritillary. Inspection of the pools in Fishpond Valley was highlighted by damsel flies over one of the pools.

Weather

The year began with gale-force winds, many trees being uprooted, followed by a dry cold spring with north winds. Although the year was described as being a European Wet Year a drought followed with shortages of water in the county. The weather broke at the end of August and wet weather followed (see table of statistics).

Weather Statistics for 1976

Month	Sunshine Hours	Days with Sun	Max. Temp. Screen °F	Min. Temp. Screen °F	Nights Air Frost	Nights Ground Frost	Rainfall ins.	Max. Rain-fall/Day	Days with Rain Over .005 ins.
January	43.9	17	57	28	6	8	.52	0.13	7
February	47.4	14	58	28	7	14	1.52	0.46	17
March	87.6	21	56	23	9	15	2.00	0.65	11
April	130.5	28	66	32	—	4	.33	0.17	4
May	174.9	31	74	38	—	—	1.59	0.34	14
June	213.6	29	91	46	—	—	.81	0.41	5
July	243.2	31	93	48	—	—	1.28	0.40	6
August	261.6	30	87	43	—	—	1.62	1.05	3
September	99.9	26	74	41	—	—	8.04	2.09	13
October	61.2	20	65	38	—	1	4.22	0.56	26
November	56.4	21	54	30	5	7	1.66	0.32	18
December	47	17	49	23	15	24	2.55	0.52	14
Totals	1467.2	285			42	73	26.14		130
Totals 1975	1469.7	308			17	49	18.15		146

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