# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"


"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLII 1977

PART II

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VOLUME XLII 1977

PART II

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1977-78

| | |
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| 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, 1977

## SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 15 January: The President, Rev. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

Mr. G. C. Davies outlined the career of the late Alfred Watkins whose business he had taken over. He explained how Alfred Watkins had invented the Bee Meter in 1885, one of the first exposure meters. He then showed one of the earliest films on Hereford activities dating back to 1908 and one on the club's field days between 1923 and 1940.

SECOND MEETING: 12 February: The President, Rev. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

Mr. R. Green gave a talk on 'Common British Spiders'. With the aid of slides he illustrated the anatomy of spiders, the construction of their webs, breeding habits and life cycles. He detailed the orders to be found in Britain and referred to a Herefordshire mutant of the common garden spider which seems to be unique.

THIRD MEETING: 5 March: The President, Rev. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A. gave a talk on 'Popular protest and public order: the case of the Herefordshire Turnpike and other riots 1731-42'.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 26 March: The President, Rev. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 905 members as compared with 561 ten years ago.

It was unanimously agreed that winter lectures in 1977 would commence at 2.30 p.m.

The President briefly reviewed the year's activities and then gave his address 'Medieval Life in the 13th and 14th Centuries' which is printed on pp. 120-8.

## FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 7 May: TINTERN AND WESTONBIRT AREA

Visits were made to the Wyndcliff near Tintern to see how the valley of the Wye was the result of superimposed drainage which retained the meanders that are the feature of a river in old age, and to see the junction of the Wye and the Severn near the Severn Bridge: also to Silk Wood and the arboretum at Westonbirt.

SECOND MEETING: 28 May: RICHARD'S CASTLE AND BERRINGTON

At Richard's Castle the preconquest site of the castle, the borough layout and the old church were visited. Berrington Hall designed in 1778 by Henry Holland, junr. for Thomas Harley, built in 1784, now National Trust, was also visited.

THIRD MEETING: 16 June: NEWPORT AND RISCA AREA

During the day visits were made to St. Woolo's Cathedral at Newport, the Cwmcarn Forest and Tredegar House built in 1672 in the style of Inigo Jones.

FOURTH MEETING: 16 July: FRAMPTON-ON-SEVERN AREA

During the day visits were made to Elmore Court, the 16th-century and Georgian home of the Guise family; to Fretherne Church, a small Victorian masterpiece; to Frampton Court, built 1731-33 for Richard Clutterbuck, and its octagonal orangery of 1752; and to Frampton Church.

FIFTH MEETING: 11 August: LEIGH SINTON AREA

At Leigh the church dating from Norman times onwards and Leigh Court barn dating from *c.* 1350 and the largest cruck building in Worcestershire were visited. The Norman red and grey sandstone church at Martley and the church at Shelsley Walsh built of tufa were visited and some members walked to Southstone Rock to see a natural deposit of tufa and The Hermitage.

SIXTH MEETING: 17 September: BLEDDFA AND ASHFORD BOWDLER AREA

This meeting was arranged to follow the Herefordshire connections with Aaron Thomas who wrote his Newfoundland Journal on *H.M.S. Boston* in 1794. Visits were made to Bleddfa, Wigmore, Leinthall Earles, Ashford Bowdler, Orleton and Eyton. Throughout the day Mrs. Tonkin read extracts from the diary and the wills of various members of the Thomas family when pointing out the appropriate memorial, tombstone or other site.

SPECIAL MEETING: 30 July: LEDBURY AREA

Members walked from near Fowlet Farm through the hamlet of the Whiteleaved Oak to Eastnor Park across fields and Coneygree Woods to Ledbury to study the various rock formations and its effect upon the flora.

MATLOCK VISIT: 17-24 August

Forty-four members spent a week at the College of Education at Matlock and on the way visited Lichfield Cathedral and Ashbourne.

Visits were made to Hartington, Bolsover Castle, Winster, Eyam, Peak Cavern at Castleton, Peverill Castle, Haddon Hall, Hardwick Hall, Chatsworth House,



Bakewell Church and Museum, Crich tramway museum, Dale Abbey and Church and Melbourne Hall. Members enjoyed walking through Wolfescote Dale to Mill Bridge and through Lathkilldale to Monyash. A tour of Cromford village and the Arkwright centre reminded one of the Arkwright connection with Hampton Court. The walk along the towpath or the journey on the horse-drawn barge from Cromford Canal wharf to the Leawood pumphouse to see the 1849 beam engine was much appreciated.

On the return journey stops were made at Belper, Derby Cathedral, the Saxon excavations at Repton, Repton Church and School, and Abbots Bromley.

Lectures were given by Dr. P. Strange on 'The Smaller House of Derbyshire' and Mr. S. Stoker on 'The Cromford Canal and its Restoration'. Messrs. Homes, Kendrick, Perry and Tonkin gave short talks on particular aspects concerning the visit.

## AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 8 October: The President, Dr. W. H. D. Wince, in the chair.

Mr. G. C. Davies with the aid of slides and recordings showed how before the days of photography, which started in 1849, and of recording, one had to rely on illustrations of various types for 'Recording the Past'.

SECOND MEETING: 29 October: The President, Dr. W. H. D. Wince, in the chair.

Mr. J. L. Fox gave a talk on 'Bird Migration'. He explained how and why some fifty species come north each spring to the temperate climate of the British Isles to breed and rear their young and return again, or come south and west in the autumn to winter in this country. He also referred to the way birds return to the same area each year using the stars and known landmarks.

THIRD MEETING: 19 November: The senior vice-president, Rev. W. B. Haynes, in the chair.

This was an open meeting held in the Town Hall, as the eleventh annual F. C. Morgan lecture. Mr. C. R. Clinker gave an illustrated talk on 'The Kington Railway, 1818-62'. The slides were taken by Mr. Cooke and it was their combined work for over twenty years using surviving records and fieldwork. His slides showed the route of the railway and the remains of it which can be seen today.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 10 December: The President, Dr. W. H. D. Wince, in the chair.

Officers for 1978 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1976 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 119. Field meeting dates and venues for 1978 were agreed.

Mr. F. M. Kendrick gave an illustrated talk on 'Journeys To and Around Llandovery'. He explained the Old Red Sandstone, Silurian and Ordovician formations and the particular flora which grows on them. He also showed slides of the Towy glaciated valley leading to the Llyn Brianne Dam, the Wenlock limestone on the Mynydd Eppynt and along the old railway, now a road, from Builth along the Wye where it rejoins the main road over the suspension bridge at Llanstephen.

With regret one has to record the death in September, 1977, of Mr. C. T. O. Prosser who had been the club's Field Secretary for the last ten years.

During the year the club's public liability coverage had been increased to £250,000 and the club's library insured for £10,000, two bound Pomonas at £750 each and the club's property in the Woolhope Room for £1,000.

The Editor, who had been seriously ill during 1977, wishes to apologise for the delay in the publication of the *Transactions*, and to say that there have been many difficulties beyond his and the committee's control. Because of ever-increasing costs of publication all contributors are asked to make their articles as concise as possible to allow the largest possible number of contributions to be printed.



## WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

**Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account for the year ended 31st December, 1976**

### RECEIPTS

| 1975 £ | £ | | £ p | £ p |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Balances, 1st January, 1976 | | |
| | | Cash at Bank: | | |
| | | Current Accounts— | | |
| 666 | | General ... ... | 179.03 | |
| 163 | | Subscription ... ... | 659.00 | |
| | | Deposit Accounts— | | |
| 5,546 | | Subscription ... ... | 7,024.71 | |
| 365 | | George Marshall Fund ... | 391.14 | |
| 158 | | Herefordshire Flora ... | 169.33 | |
| | | Archaeological | | |
| 29 | | Research Group ... | 16.64 | |
| 768 | | City Excavations ... | — | |
| 1 | | Cash in Hand ... ... | 21 | |
| 7,696 | | | | 8,440.06 |
| | | Interest on Investments | | |
| 33 | | 3½% War Loan ... | 32.64 | |
| | | Hereford & Worcester | | |
| 102 | | Council Loan ... | 97.18 | |
| 546 | | Bank Deposit Interest ... | 650.71 | |
| 681 | | | | 780.53 |
| | | Subscriptions | | |
| | 1,014 | General ... ... | 1,064.93 | |
| | | Archaeological | | |
| | 20 | Research Group ... | 18.30 | |
| 1,034 | | | | 1,083.23 |
| 11 | | Sales of Offprints, etc. ... | | 60.64 |
| 116 | | Field Meetings (Net) ... | | 568.30 |
| 308 | | Income Tax Refunds ... | | — |
| — | | Collection ... ... | | 17.32 |
| £9,846 | | | | £10,950.08 |

### PAYMENTS

| 1975 £ | £ | | £ p | £ p |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | | Insurance ... ... | 7.50 | |
| 82 | | Printing and Stationery ... | 545.23 | |
| 129 | | Postage and Telephone ... | 229.67 | |
| 78 | | Subscriptions and Donations | 67.89 | |
| 30 | | Expenses of Meetings ... | 42.65 | |
| | | Archaeological Group | | |
| 34 | | Expenses ... ... | 19.52 | |
| 100 | | Honoraria to Assistants ... | 100.00 | |
| 116 | | Accountants' Fees ... | 64.26 | |
| | | City of Hereford | | |
| 793 | | Archaeological Committee | — | |
| — | | Botanical Society ... | 200.00 | |
| 28 | | Sundry Expenses ... | 37.00 | |
| 1,406 | | | | 1,313.72 |
| | | Balances, 31st Dec., 1976 | | |
| | | Cash at Bank: | | |
| | | Current Accounts— | | |
| 179 | | General ... ... | 145.39 | |
| 659 | | Subscription ... ... | 511.36 | |
| | | Deposit Accounts— | | |
| 7,025 | | Subscription ... ... | 8,543.47 | |
| 391 | | George Marshall Fund | 420.51 | |
| 169 | | Herefordshire Flora ... | — | |
| | | Archaeological Research | | |
| 17 | | Group ... ... | 12.42 | |
| — | | Cash in Hand ... ... | 3.21 | |
| 8,440 | | | | 9,636.36 |
| £9,846 | | | | £10,950.08 |

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 for the year ended 31st December, 1976 and certify it to be in accordance with the books and vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club.

(*Signed*) HERBERT S. WIDGERY,
Chartered Accountant,
Hereford.
2nd November, 1977.

*Presidential Address*

# Medieval Life and Thought

*By* W. B. HAYNES

WHAT do we mean by the phrase, 'The Middle Ages'?

It can refer to the period of history between the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410 A.D., and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 A.D.; but usually the time before 1000 A.D. is known as 'The Dark Ages'.

Out of this vast area, I have chosen the 12th to 15th centuries, with special emphasis on the 13th and 14th, with Chaucer, who was born in 1340, at the back of my mind.

As we know, the culture of any age, is seen in its buildings, e.g. the high rise office and housing blocks of today. In the Middle Ages, the emphasis was on churches, great and small.

Today, to be a member of the social community, is not the same as belonging to a definite religious body. In the Middle Ages society *was* the Church. All members of the community were members of the church, under the Bishop. It is noticeable that in his *Canterbury Tales,* Chaucer makes no mention of any bishop, or of high ranked clergy.

Neville Coghill in his preface to Chaucer's works writes; 'In all literature, there is nothing that touches or resembles "The Prologue". It is the concise portrait of an entire Nation, High and Low, Old and Young; Male and Female, Lay and Clergical, Learned and Ignorant, Rogue and Righteous, Land and Sea, Town and Country, but without extremes. Apart from the stunning clarity, touched with nuance, of the Characters presented. The most noticeable thing about them is their normality. They are the perennial progeny of Men and Women. Sharply individual, together they make a Party'.

In the Middle Ages, the Diocese, i.e. the spiritual territory of the Bishop, gradually came into existence. Generally it was coextensive with the Anglian kingdom. For instance, Archbishop Paulinus of York, travelled in 625 with King Edwin, and as the kingdom grew, his mission also extended.

Bishops then began to settle in central places, which became the hub of missionary efforts by the clergy, who formed the Bishop's household. 'He was not regarded as a sympathetic Person to comfort ye Clergy. Mediaeval Bishops knew their position, and lived up to it. They were primarily, the Spiritual Judge of their Flock. Their Palace was the Spiritual High Court of the Diocese. On his Visitations, he would meet Parishioners and hear their complaints, such as broken Church windows, and the Parson visiting Ale Houses. But He and His Staff had





to be houses and entertained, which was a great expense to the Parish. Often when the Bishop's Representative, asked, "Any Complaints"?; the Parishioners would reply, "Omnia Bene" (All's well).'

The close connection between church and state is shown by the fact, that those who served the king, are chosen, like Becket, to rule the church.

Dominating the thoughts of everyone from the serf to the king, was the papacy. Rome was the capital of the world empire, and the traditions of its splendour remained unimpaired. The basic idea of the Middle Ages is of an empire of which Rome was the centre. For instance, in the 12th century, Pope Gregory stood up for righteousness and civilisation against the whole world. When the Normans sacked Rome, and Gregory died in captivity, his last words were: 'I have loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity; therefore I die in exile'. Later he was Canonised. He had left the papacy with such a good reputation, which only had to be improved, to make it impregnable.

A second dominating idea was that of feudalism.

The universal empire, inherited from Rome, passed to the German and Frankish kings who became Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. They in turn, were replaced by national kingdoms. The theory of the feudal system was, that God was the supreme landowner. Kings held their fief, or gift, direct from God. Under the king were his great followers, tenants-in-chief. Each of these granted land to others, who owed him, not the king, direct allegiance. These in turn granted land to subtenants, who owned allegiance to them, not to the tenant-in-chief, nor to the king.

A very important man of this period, was the knight with whom Chaucer begins his Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales.* He may be based on a portrait of Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, who later became Henry IV of England.

The best knights held chivalry as a form of religion. Chaucer describes the four characteristics of chivalry;

'There was a Knight, a most distinguished man,
Who from the Day on which he first began to ride abroad,
Had followed Chivalry, Truth, Honour, Generousness and Courtesy'.

Generousness means liberality, a readiness to give gifts where they are most deserved. Courtesy means a cultivation of tact towards the feelings of others, and also, devotion of the knight to his lady, being the weaker sex, and in need of his protection.

On his admission to knighthood, the knight pledged himself to be faithful and loyal to the church, which gave protection to his order.

Chaucer's knight was 'Worthy and Wise'. He was worthy of the distinction he had won. He was wise, that is eminently careful and prudent in all his dealings. His deeds of daring, give a remarkable portrait of a Knight of that time, 'He was a true, a perfect gentle Knight. At mortal battles had he been fifteen, And fought for our Faith at Tremessen. In Lists thrice, and always slain his foe. And evermore had a Sovereign's praise. And though he was worthy he was wise; and in his bearing as meek as a maid'.

His son, his squire, 'Courteous he was, Lowly and Serviceable,

And carved, to serve His Father, at the Table'.

The clergy were of two groups, higher and inferior.

The higher clergy, were born and lettered, and were usually the younger sons of noble families, who took Holy Orders and were appointed to the family livings of parish churches, often of great wealth. They also spent much time in government work, which lead to high office, both in the church and in the state.

In spite however of social divisions in the community, there was no bar to advancement in the church, if a man, like Wolsey, had business acumen.

Normally, those who were not of noble birth, would receive their education from the benevolence of a patron. They would rise to positions of trust in his house, and then proceed to serve in the government. They would draw their income from their several benefices, from which, for the most part, they were absent. Their cures were served by curates, who maintained the cure of souls, and was paid a small stipend, sufficient to keep him alive.

Recently I was at a meeting, when the question was asked, 'How can we get the right Men to train as Clergy today?'

A young man answered, he himself being a prosperous farmer, 'Pay them as little as possible'. This shows how old habits die hard.

The above, who usually became bishops and deans, were only a small section of the clergy. The great majority, the inferiors, were the parochial clergy, who were beneficed or unbeneficed.

The beneficed clergy were rectors or vicars, who held the parish freehold, which included not only the rectory/vicarage and its grounds, but also the churchyard.

The difference in status between a rector and a vicar, depended on the distribution of tithes.

At Easter, the rector was given one tenth of all produce, including animals, grain, fruit; while the vicar, who was working vicariously for someone else, maybe a monastery, was only entitled to the lesser tithes of chickens and eggs, and all things growing, except corn and hay.



The freehold remained with the incumbent, until his resignation or death.

Normally a parish priest, belonged to the same social class, as the villagers. Some of them, did not even know the English meaning of the Latin Mass.

Non-beneficed clergy, now known as curates, but more correctly as assistant curates, could be removed at very short notice.

Chaucer describes an exemplary parson, thought to be based on the life of John Wycliffe, who was offered the bishopric of Worcester.

'A holy minded man of good renown, there was, and poor,

The Parson to a Town. Yet he was rich in Holy Thought and work.

I think there never was a better priest.

Christ and His Twelve Apostles and their lore he taught;

But followed it himself before'.

In contrast to the excellent characters of, the knight, the parson, and the clerk of Oxford, who, 'Gladly would he learn, and gladly teach', with no hope of preferment; Chaucer describes his Monk and Prioress as fashionable people, who cared more for dress and pleasure than for the Rules of their Orders.

The monk was fond of hunting. 'He did not rate that text at a plucked hen, which says that Hunters are not Holy Men.

And that a Monk uncloistered, is a mere fish out of water,

That is to say, a monk out of his cloister'.

As regards the Nun, a Prioress, she displays all the faults, about which, the bishops fumed. They disliked nuns wearing worldly attire including brooches; but she wore:

'A golden brooch of brightest sheen, on which there was graven a crowned "A", and lower, "Amor vincit Omnia" '.

They disliked nuns showing too much forehead, but;

'Her forehead certainly, was fair of spread, almost a span across the brows; I own'.

This nun was also fond of dogs, 'Which she would be feeding, with roasted fish, or milk, or fine white bread'.

Hounds and dogs were forbidden in monasteries and convents; and bishops constantly complained about their presence. Nunneries took ladies in as paying guests. Lady Audley of Leicester brought with her twelve small dogs, who used to accompany her to the chapel services and 'join in the singing! '

It could be argued, that as nunneries were often sited in isolated surroundings, dogs were needed for protection.

The last representative of whom I shall speak is the Friar. He was a Mendicant, who travelled in poverty, and begged support from the religious houses.

Francis, the Founder of the Franciscans, 'Was wedded to Lady Poverty. His followers fell in love with Her; and served Her as Knights served their Ladies'. But not for long.

The Orders of friars, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and others, soon became very wealthy, and neglected the poor.

Those Franciscans who disliked property and wealth, were expelled as reactionaries. They were persecuted, and 'died in poverty of their own choice'.

Chaucer's friar, 'Knew the Taverns well in every Town, And every Innkeeper and Bar maid too, Better than Lepers, Beggars and that crew, For in so eminent a Man as he,

It was not fitting, with the dignity of his position,

Dealing with a scum of wretched lepers

But only with the Rich, and Victual sellers'.

The friar was a Limiter. He was answerable only to the pope, and not to the local bishop. He had a limited area, in which he could beg, preach and hear Confessions. This brought him into conflict with the local vicar.
Now let us see how they lived.

Most of these pictures come from France which is richer in remains, especially of stained glass. H. A. L. Fisher in his *A History of Europe* writes, 'A traveller passing from England to France would have found no great contrast in the French and English scenes'.

Editor's note. From this point the lecture was based on a filmstrip on Medieval Life, numbers 1-27 below, and some transparencies; thus the following is in note form.

1 Lord & Vassals. Many nobles of the king.

2 Lord as Judge. In 1200, Henry II appointed his own circuit judges.

3 Payment of taxes. Wooden chest no banks or safes. In France taxes farmed out, so that less money was received by the king than was collected.

4 Hunting the stag, the most famous of medieval sports. Still done in Devon.

5 Tournament. Trial of skill, not fight to death. Regular part of celebrations for weddings, visit of overlord. Strict rules, e.g. swords had blunted points.



6 Second great class of medieval society. Clergy. Under authority of bishop as here, or monks under abbot, or wandering friars.

7 Hospital—provided by monks. Little knowledge of surgery as dead bodies could not be dissected until 13th century. Herbs from monastery gardens greatly used.

8 Clerk teaching. In early Middle Ages few people including nobles could read or write. To become a priest one first had to be a clerk. I am a Clerk in Holy Orders, which is my correct title.

NB. Hour glass. Even poor scholar could advance in Church provided he had a wealthy patron. Not all clerks became priests. Some became lawyers or kept accounts, wrote letters or kept records. No women clerks of any sort.

9 In countryside nobles and Church were supreme, but townsmen gradually won rights for themselves. Here is town in 1400. Gunpowder not much used. Walls defended by archers, and then by hand to hand fighting. Town small; countryside in easy access.

10 House of 12th century little different from Roman villa. Norman arches. Recess at street level used for shop or place for apprentices to work.

11 15th-century town house elaborately ornamented. Norman arch replaced by pointed style. Dominance of cathedral.

12 Fire danger in all Ages. Particularly in Middle Ages when wood was greatly used, buildings were crowded together without adequate water supply.
Notice large barrel of water and leather buckets to carry water to top of ladder to splash out flames.

13 Bedroom. Too small and humble for nobleman, might belong to prosperous townsman or Franklyn, who was a landowner of free but not noble birth. He was a small squire. 'His bread, his ale were finest of the fine. His house positively snowed with meat and drink, And all the dainties that a man could think'.

But he has glass in top small windows. Glass was a great luxury. If the weather was very cold, shutters were drawn, and the only light came from the fire or candles. In rented house, glass was often the property of the tenant, who took it with him, when he moved on. Beds had no springs. Mattresses were placed on boards, or on criss-cross ropes. Mattresses were stuffed with straw or wool, and had a feather bed on top. Notice clean sheets. Floor have no carpets. Rushes or straw was used to give warmth.

14 Citizen's House. These three pictures show scenes in the house of a rich citizen during the 15th century—the time of Joan of Arc and the Wars of the Roses. The elegant clothes are a sign of wealth. Another sign is the white table cloth. Forks were not known. Family used fingers for eating cf. Chaucer's

Prioress; 'At meat her manners were well taught withal; No morsel from her lips did she let fall, nor dipped her fingers in the sauce too deep, but she could carry a morsel up and keep the smallest drop from falling on her breast'.

Though wealthy, the lady of the house, winds the wool she has spun. She also has a dog.

Her husband, skilled with horses and the bow, leaves carpentry and gardening to his servants.

15 Banners of the Guild. Trade Unions have only grown up in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the Middle Ages all members of a particular craft were organised in a Guild. Even the apprentices hoped to become journeymen or skilled workers, and eventually as masters, having men working for them.

The Guild controlled wages, and supervised the quality of goods. The Guilds were interested in the welfare of their members; and took care to see that there was no infringement between one Guild and another. In processions, each Guild had its own banner; so from left to right we see; The Shoemakers; Pin and Needle-makers, (with thimbles and needles on their banner), Tilers, Slaters, Clothworkers, Nailmakers and Harness makers.

16 The next three pictures are reproduced from stained glass at Chartres. More stained glass has survived in France than in England, where much was destroyed during the time of Oliver Cromwell. Chartres has some of the finest French glass. The three pictures show craftsmen at work. In the first the farrier is shoeing a horse, which has been stood in a kind of crate, to prevent it falling. Sometimes the horse to be shod, was hung up by a sling. Its mouth is firmly tied with rope.

17 Carpenters and Joiners. Imagine the wooden scaffolding required to build a Cathedral. The master carpenter was responsible for the wooden roof. His work can also be seen in the carvings on the seats in the choir. He was paid the same fee as the master mason—8d. a day. This man was in supreme control as architect, and was skilled in design.

18 Stone Masons. Carved stone figures inside and outside buildings. Often modelled on neighbours.

19 Working on the Lord's estate. These are serfs, not slaves. They had certain duties to perform for their lord, such as ploughing, before they could tend their own ground. Oxen were used in preference to horses, as in many parts of the world today.

In the Prologue the ploughman is the brother of the poor parson. He is an 'Honest worker, good and true'.



20 These are forced labour serfs bringing wood to their lord's castle. Coal, though known in the Middle Ages was not greatly used, owing to difficulties of mining, and transport hazards.

Wood was used for heating and cooking, as well as buildings.

21 Sowing and Haymaking. This site is near the present centre of Paris. The building in the background is the medieaval Louvre, later replaced by a palace, now a museum and art gallery. On the right, in the background are buildings on the oldest part of Paris, an island in the Seine. They include St. Chapelle, which is still standing today.

From the 13th century, the writing and illustration of manuscripts—illumination as it was called—ceased to be the monopoly of monks. Pictures like these are done by laymen.

22 Harvest scenes. The pitchfork and scythe have changed little since this picture was painted. The flail for threshing, and the hand fans used for separating the dust from grain, were only superseded about 100 years ago in civilised countries, but still can be seen in use in the Middle East, and many Third World countries.

Wheelbarrows have not changed much over the centuries; but how many young men today would be kind enough to give an old lady a ride in one?

23 Swine and Swineherd. Poor people in the country ate little meat, apart from pork mixed with beans. Notice the swineherd's dog. Then as now there were numerous breeds, used for different purposes.

24 Domestic Scenes. Killing a pig. Baking and cultivating olives.

25 A Fair. All classes, rich and poor, came to the great fairs, to buy supplies, to meet people and to enjoy themselves. People who lived in the country hardly ever saw shops. At the fairs, those who had money to spend, bought things which they could not grow or make at home—like spices from the East, or silks and satins. In the corner of the picture is a religious ceremony in progress before the fair opens.

26 Carnival. At the end of winter and before Lent began a carnival which was held as it still is in many countries in Europe and elsewhere.

27 Religious procession. For the last picture we return to the Church, because there was nobody in the Middle Ages who could live apart from it as we have seen in frames 6, 7, 8 & 25. Religious celebrations took place on many Saints' days, when the Guildsmen carried their banners. And, to conclude by looking forward, it was in the scenes from Scripture which were enacted in churches at such times, that the modern theatre came into being.

In the transparencies we see examples of the work of the Master Masons, Master Carpenter, Free Masons and other workers including illuminators.

When we consider the primitive equipment they used in scaffolding, cutting and shaping stone and wood, and the lack of power apart from human energy, what they did, is truly amazing.

Gloucester cathedral crypt: 11th century.

Building of Mediaeval Church.

Stress on columns and buttress of great medieval church necessary to allow for large windows.

Beverley Minster: 'Fox in Pulpit', (*cf.* book *Jamaica Inn*).

Canterbury Cathedral: Crypt capitals—Smiling lion—13th cent.

Wells: Crypt capitals—Toothache—12th cent.

Ely: Misericords—Devil and Gossips.

Chichester: Stone carving at Bethany—12th cent.

Wells: Carved capital: Thorn in foot—12th cent.

Canterbury: Theme of Adam Delving. John Ball; Peasants Revolt; Wat Tyler.

Worcester: Knight jousting.

Worcester: Misericord—Sow and piglets.

York: Oldest glass in England.

Illuminated Manuscript.

In conclusion I am reminded of a Chaplain who had preached the Assize Sermon. After the Service he asked the Judge, 'My Lud, what did you think of it?' The Judge hesitated, looked at him and then said, 'It was like the Peace and mercy of God'. The Chaplain felt very pleased, but after a few moments, doubts entered his mind, so he again asked, 'Would you please explain my Lud?'

This time the Judge answered without hesitation; 'Your sermon was like the Peace of God, because it passed all understanding; and like his mercy, it endured for ever'. I sincerely hope that your opinion of my few words, is not similar.

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# Pembridge and Mature Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire

*By* R. K. MORRIS

PEMBRIDGE parish church stands for the arrival of mature Decorated architecture in Herefordshire. Above all, that means the consistent employment of curvilinear tracery, in contrast to the more geometrical patterns found in earlier works dependent on the new aisles and tower of Hereford Cathedral.[1] To cite Rickman, 'The general appearance of Decorated buildings is at once simple and magnificent; simple from the small number of parts, and magnificent from the size of the windows, and easy flow of the lines of tracery.'[2] This is epitomized in the new nave and transepts, which, together with the remodelled chancel, boast the most complete display of ogee reticulated tracery in the county: no less than sixteen windows, including two of four lights each dominating the east and west ends (PLS. I and II). They combine with the majestic proportion of the nave arcades to produce the most impressive Decorated interior surviving in the whole area (PL. II).

The scheme of the new work was ambitious, in that it adopted the cruciform plan more usually associated with cathedral, monastic, or collegiate churches. In particular, the patrons may well have been fired by the example of the important collegiate church at Ludlow, which was being rebuilt on a regular cruciform plan at exactly this period. A special feature which links the transept forms of the two buildings is the use of a large half-arch (rather like an internal flying buttress, PL. II) to communicate with the adjoining aisles. At Pembridge, the transept most probably replaced smaller side chapels, each the width of an aisle only, which would have stood to the east of the new transept arms, directly flanking the chancel, and which must have been demolished when rebuilding began. Their blocked early 13th-century arcades are still partly visible in the west part of the present chancel, largely filled on each side by a 14th-century window of three stepped lancet lights. The likelihood that earlier chapels were replaced by larger ones further to the west (i.e. the transept arms) suggests that the whole nave may extend a bay or two further west than its predecessor, and was probably laid out around the latter, as no earlier walls seem to be re-used in its aisles or west front. Amongst the advantages thus gained would have been, firstly, larger chapels in the transept arms, with space for the burial of patrons if the chapels were to be chantries; and, secondly, an improved setting for the rood, with a loftier chancel arch and a large staircase turret for access (PLS. II and III).

It has been suggested that a west tower was also originally planned, to be abandoned after the incursion of the Black Death,[3] but no consistent evidence seems to exist in the building for this assertion. Changes in the size of stone-courses do not appear to add up to any consistent pattern, and seem more likely to be caused by variations in the quarry supply. Further, if one examines the bases of the nave arcades, those of the west responds are noticeably lower than the rest. The most likely explanation is that the respond bases (which are also of a different profile to all but one of the pier bases, FIG. 2,B) were laid down first with the foundation walls of the new work. The uniformity of the exterior plinth moulding, and the fact that the west walls of the transept are in bond with the adjoining aisles, suggests that the lowest courses of the transept, aisles, and west front were all set out together at the start of the campaign, a familiar procedure where a building was being considerably enlarged. When the time came to erect the bases of the arcade proper, a decision was taken (for reasons that are not clear) to heighten them by about a foot, but without bothering to alter the existing respond bases. If the church had been rebuilt from east to west, as the argument for a west tower implies, then to build the last two bases lower than the rest—and presumably at a time when the west tower idea had been abandoned—would make no sense. Rather, the magnificent west window is such an important and integral part of the nave design that one suspects the west front was conceived like this from the beginning.

It should be borne in mind too that not all important parish churches had axial west towers at this period. Neighbouring Weobley, which, it will be shown, was influential on the design of Pembridge, rebuilt its nave with a great west gable,[4] only later adding a tower—but detached. Indeed, if a tower had originally been contemplated at Pembridge, it is more likely to have been a central crossing tower, such as the one that was presumably being planned for Ludlow in this period.[5] The internal width of the transept at Pembridge is only about eighteen inches less than that of the present nave, close to producing a square crossing area if they were allowed to intersect, with perhaps a five-bay nave attached instead of a six-bay one. However, there is no other evidence to support this contention (unless the impressive scale of the rood turret stems from its being planned as the start of a tower staircase, PL. III), and overall it seems unlikely. The majestic hall-like interior of the nave is the key architectural motif of the rebuilding, and this would be compromised if heavy crossing piers are imagined inserted into the existing nave space.

No direct documentary evidence is known for the date of the rebuilding. The two pairs of 14th-century effigies now on the north side of the chancel almost certainly include persons who are likely to have contributed to the cost of the new work, especially the earlier pair. They are said to commemorate members of the Gour or Gower family of Marston, in the parish of Pembridge, and seem originally to have lain in the north transept, which in all probability was their private



chapel.[6] However, it has not been ascertained exactly which members they represent, and a stylistic dating for the two pairs produces nothing more precise than the likely dating span for the architecture itself (see further Appendix A). Another vague clue is provided by fragments of the original stained glass, for it is recorded that the arms of Mortimer, Genevill, and Grandison were depicted in the two west windows of the aisles.[7] These arms must refer to Roger Mortimer, first earl of March (executed 1330) and his wife, Joan de Genevill (d.1356), and probably Sir Peter de Grandison (d.1358), who married their daughter, Blanche (d.1347).[8] However, the record of these arms (and the likelihood that others have been lost) does not necessarily signify anything more than that the Mortimers were the traditional patrons of the living, and does not produce a dating span significantly smaller than that suggested by the tombs.

In seeking out the stylistic sources for the building, the mouldings and related details will be considered first, and then the tracery and more general features. It is clear from the outset that the most prominent forms of the rebuilding, both in mouldings and tracery, can be derived from the remodelling of Tewkesbury Abbey and, to certain extent, from works related to it, such as the nave north aisle at Ludlow: operations at Tewkesbury may have begun as early as *c.*1320, and were certainly in full swing, *c.*1323-6.[9] Indeed, Pembridge is a major example of the increased influence of that workshop on church architecture in the county in the second quarter of the 14th century. On the other hand, there are sufficient parallels of detail with buildings nearer at hand to indicate that the master mason at Pembridge was locally based, albeit keeping abreast of the latest stylistic trends in the region as a whole. Most relevant among these local works is the nave at Weobley, closely linked stylistically with that at Pembridge and apparently directly preceding it; but also the nave at Kington, the nave south arcade at Lyonshall, and the nave north aisle at Kinnersley. All these works are within six miles to the south and west of Pembridge, and fortunately two of them can be dated. It is recorded in the register of Bishop Orleton that Weobley was dedicated by him on 14 April 1325, and 'the church of Kington, and two altars in it', four days later.[10] These were two of four dedications carried out by the bishop in that area in those five days, and he was clearly catching up on several ceremonies that were overdue.[11] As Pembridge is not mentioned, this confirms what its style suggests, that the work there was not ready by this date (even if begun). Indeed, its direct dependence on Weobley, coupled with its reliance also on certain developments in the work at Tewkesbury, argues for a starting date in the period *c.*1325-30.

A key link with Tewkesbury is the prevalent use of wave mouldings, particularly in pairs (FIG. 1). At Pembridge, they are employed for all the arcade arches and the half arches into the transepts: the new chancel arch and the tomb recess in the south wall of the chancel: the rere-arches of clerestory windows: and the exterior frames of all the reticulated windows and of the north, south, and west

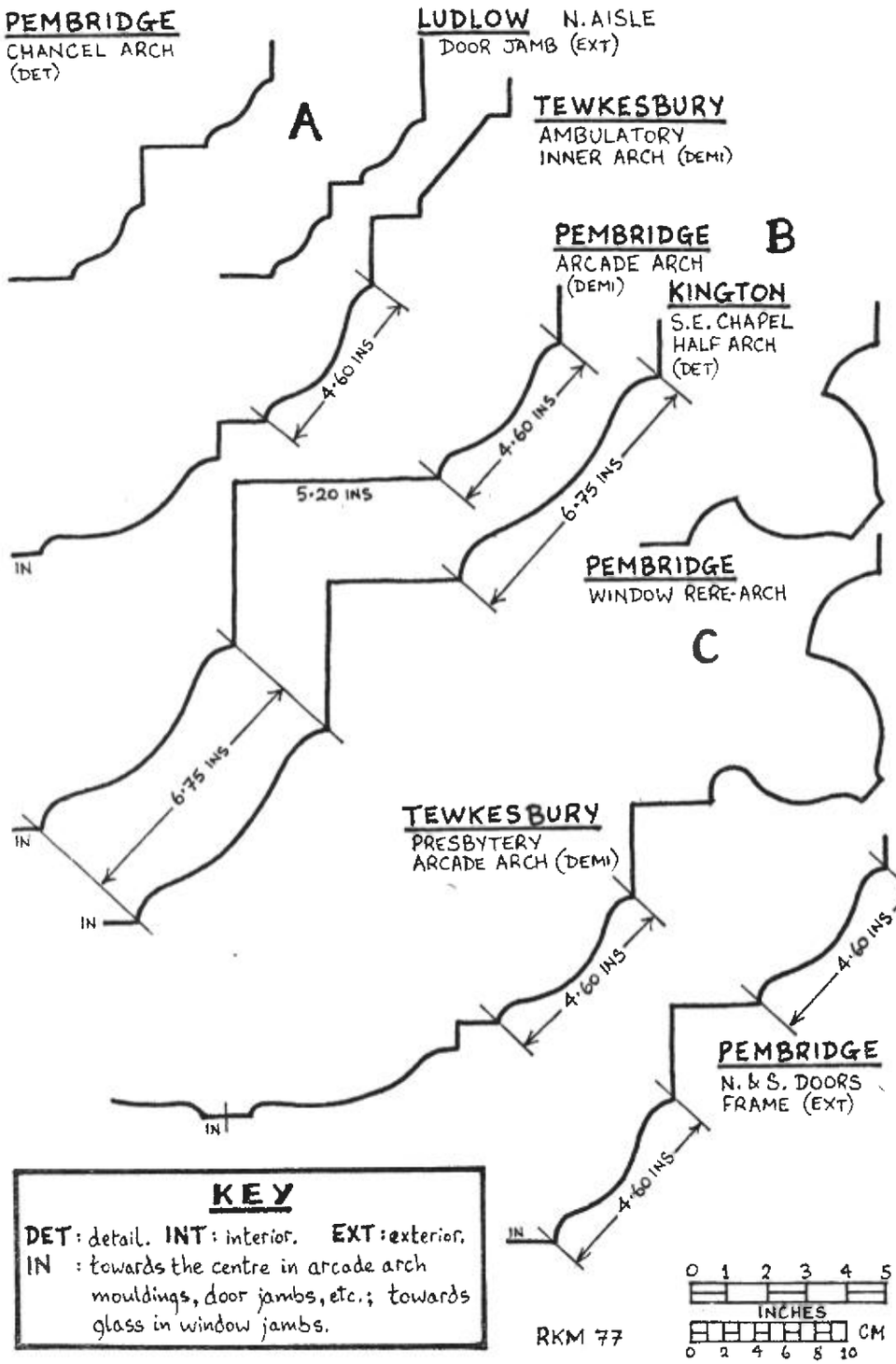


FIG. 1
Wave mouldings



doors. In fact, they are so dominant that the only other mouldings worked on the chamfer plane there are the plain chamfer (all the mullions), a roll and fillet between quarter hollows (rere-arches of the doors and reticulated windows), and a semi-circular hollow (west door arch). At Tewkesbury, paired wave mouldings are consistently used for the presbytery arcade arches, the inner arches of the ambulatory (i.e. the supplementary arches resting on the ambulatory side of the presbytery piers), and the exterior frames of the ambulatory chapel windows (FIG. 1). The shorter wave in each of these formations is about 4.60 ins. across, which is also the width of the smaller wave of the arcade arches at Pembridge and of both waves of the north and south door frames. A sophistication in the Tewkesbury work is that each moulding is canted away from its neighbour in each pair, whereas at Pembridge they always lie on the same plane, governed by right-angled isosceles triangles, as was more usual in early Decorated work in Herefordshire (FIG. 1).[12] Another difference with Tewkesbury is that the moulding is never employed for tracery, only for frames around the windows. Nonetheless, Tewkesbury seems the most likely source of inspiration because no other major building centre in the area in this period makes consistent use of paired wave mouldings, particularly for arcade arches. For example, this formation does not occur in any of the work at Gloucester: it is absent from Worcester until the 1330s, and then it is used only sparingly: further south-west, grouped wave mouldings make a late solo appearance only in the strainer arches of the crossing at Wells after 1338: to the north, it is absent at Lichfield, but is present in the arcade arches of the south transept at Chester Cathedral, though again late in date, perhaps *c.*1340.[13]

The other usages of this moulding connect Pembridge particularly with local buildings. Firstly, the paired waves of the chancel arch and empty tomb recess in the chancel south wall are unusually small and delicate, a treatment not found often in churches in the area (FIG. 1,A). In the nave north aisle at Ludlow, however, they are used for the rere-arches of all the windows and for the exterior frame of the north door, and at Fownhope, south-east of Hereford, for the south door of the nave. Both works are related to Tewkesbury, Fownhope apparently by way of a mason who worked on the south side of Ledbury Church;[14] and Ludlow, it has been observed already, bears a special relationship to Pembridge in its use of a cruciform plan. It is also used at Almeley, just south-west of Pembridge, for the rere-arches of the nave clerestory windows, which have alternating tracery patterns closely related to the nave clerestory at nearby Weobley, itself the most important local influence on the style of Pembridge.[15] The second distinctive usage of paired wave mouldings at Pembridge is for the rather uncommon half-arches at the entrance to each transept arm from the nave aisles. Though the half-arches in the same position at Ludlow have paired mouldings too, they are sunk chamfers, a moulding type not employed in this campaign at Pembridge.[16] However, at Kington, the half-arch leading from the nave south

aisle to the south-east chapel not only consists of paired waves, but also they are of the same width as the larger type at Pembridge, 6.75 ins. (FIG. 1,B).[17] Thus, if Ludlow was of general inspiration to Pembridge, Kington is more specifically related, and, in fact, further connexions with it and with the neighbouring church of Lyonshall will indicate that they must be by the same workshop.

Amongst the most distinctive moulding formations at Pembridge is the design of the nave capitals, which has a projecting fillet moulding between the scroll moulding of the abacus and the lower elements of the capital proper (FIG. 2,A). The design is sufficiently unusual for it to be found in only four other churches in the county, all in the vicinity of Pembridge: Weobley (nave south arcade), Kington (nave north arcade, with a related design in the south arcade), Lyonshall (nave south arcade), and Kinnersley (nave north arcade). On this evidence of distribution, it appears fairly certain to be the invention of just one mason in this area, and may be taken as one of the strongest bits of evidence for the existence of a local workshop. Those at Lyonshall and Kinnersley are exactly the same design as Pembridge, with a bead moulding included in the abacus; and Lyonshall is the closest of all to Pembridge, in that its capitals are the same height as well (FIG. 2).[18] The capital designs at Weobley and Kington omit the bead and are larger, the former quite noticeably so. These are likely to be the two earliest works of the five, partly because there is a general tendency during the 14th century for capitals to be reduced in size, but especially because these were the only two works to be dedicated in the visitation to the area in 1325.[19] Weobley in particular may be the direct prototype for Pembridge, for the style of base used for the north arcade —derived essentially from a 13th-century water-holding base, a survival not unknown in Herefordshire—could be the inspiration for the unusual base type found at Pembridge on the west responds of both arcades and one pier in the south arcade (FIG. 2,B).[20] Both have in common a hollow running around the centre of the base (contrast this with the stock base type of the Herefordshire/north Gloucestershire area illustrated in FIG. 2,C). The base design used for all the rest of the work at Pembridge is also rather archaic, stemming ultimately from the common later 13th-century type of a series of concentric rings on top of each other, as employed in the north transept of the cathedral (FIG. 2,E). Its direct antecedent, however, may be the design used for the south arcade bases in Weobley nave (FIG. 2,D). In contrast, the other three works—Kington, Kinnersley, and Lyonshall—all use plain single chamfers for their bases, possibly because of limited funds.[21]

The specific link with Weobley nave is substantiated by other parallels of detail. For example, the interior treatment of both west doors is the same, having a segmental-shaped rere-arch consisting of a pair of mouldings, only one of which is continued down into the jamb (FIG. 3,A). Their mouldings are not the same design, but if drawings of them are superimposed one over the other, with the



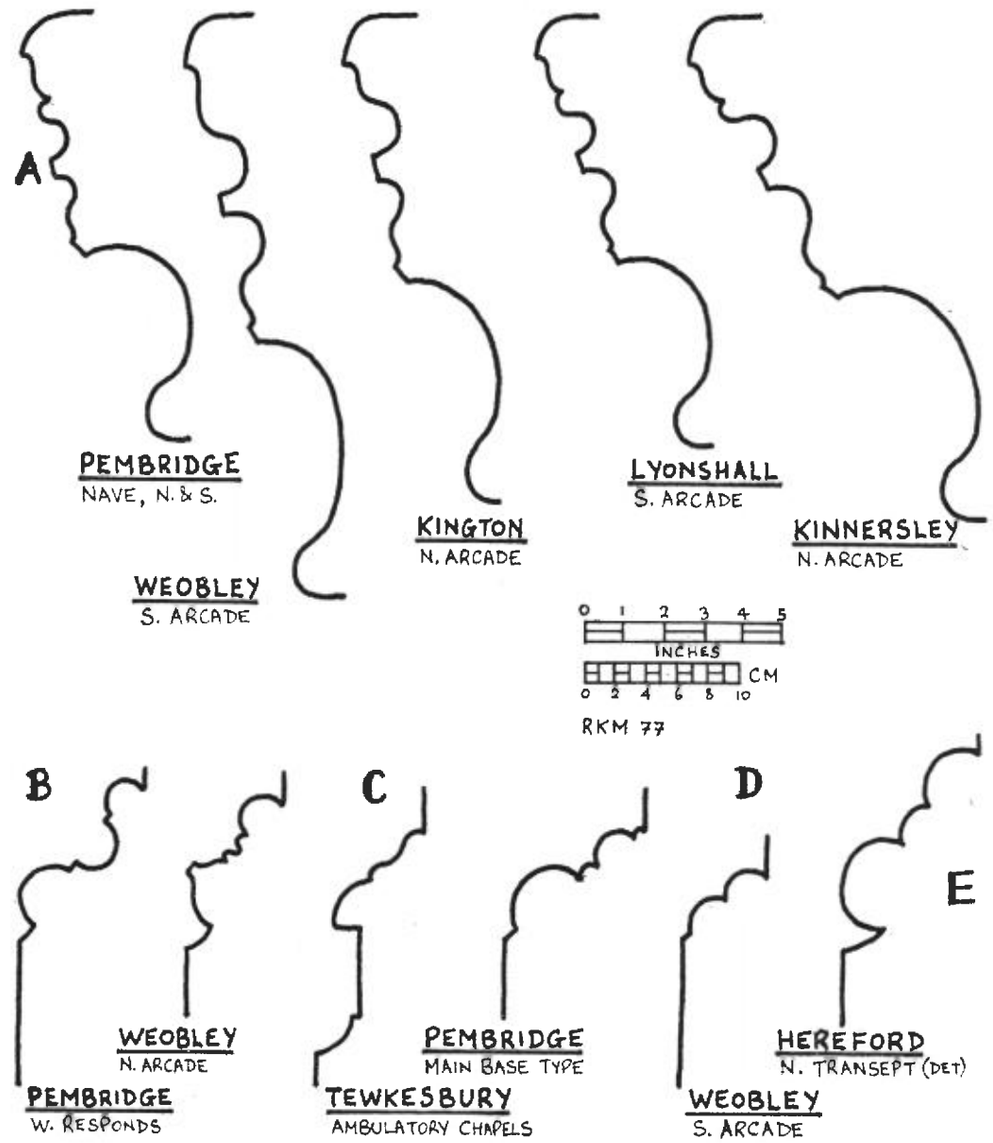


FIG. 2
Capitals and bases

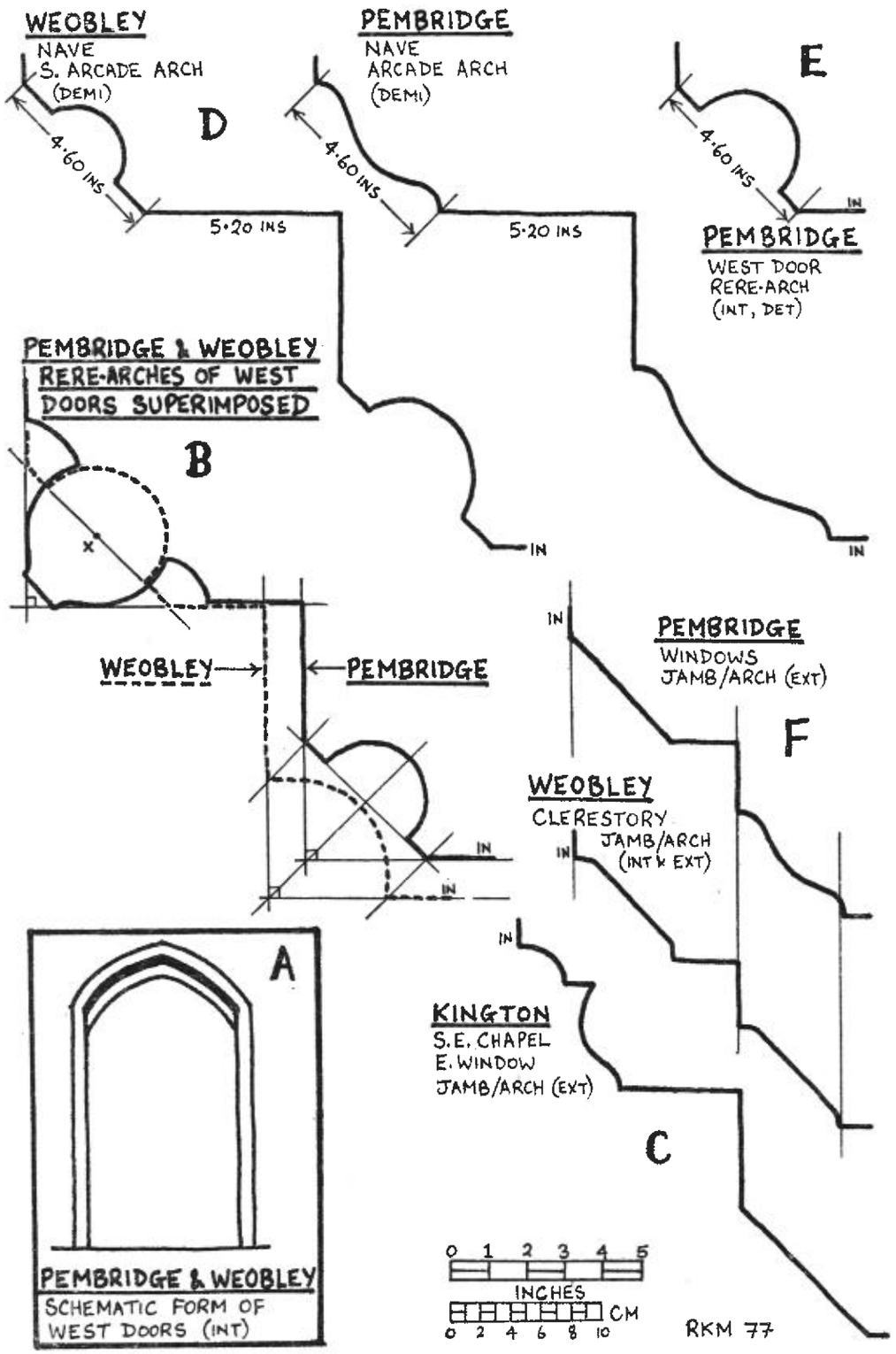


FIG. 3
Weobley nave and Pembridge



centre (X) of the roll and fillet moulding at Pembridge coinciding with the centre of the semi-circular hollow moulding at Weobley, then their dimensional relationship is obvious (FIG. 3,B). Moreover, the design of the Weobley arcade arches, employing the rather uncommon feature of deep hollows flanked by broad parallel fillets, must be the source for this form in the Pembridge door arch.[22] The total width of this feature is actually the same as the smaller of these formations in the Weobley south arcade arch, though the hollow itself is deeper (FIG. 3, D and E). In passing, it might also be noted that the outer formation of the Pembridge door arch—a roll and fillet set between two shallow hollows—is used for the rere-arches of all the windows in the nave and transept there, and that the closest parallel for it seems to be the outermost moulding of the presbytery arcade arches at Tewkesbury (FIG. 1,C). The total width of each formation is 6.75 ins. in both buildings, though at Tewkesbury the roll and fillet is offset from the centre.

Two other dimensional similarities exist between the mouldings of Weobley and Pembridge, though the actual type of moulding is different in each case. Firstly, the size of the outermost order of the south arcade arch at Weobley is identical to the outermost wave of all the arcade arches at Pembridge (FIG. 3,D). Secondly, the frames of the clerestory windows at Weobley have the same total width and the same dimensions for the constituent parts as the exterior jambs of all the reticulated windows at Pembridge (FIG. 3,F). Though chamfer mullions of this size are found quite often in Herefordshire and neighbouring counties, for both elements of a chamfered frame to be worked on the same plane, as at Weobley and Pembridge, is less usual. Only the window frames of the 'Madley Mason' provide an exact parallel for the size and angles of this design.[23]

The dominant tracery pattern at Pembridge is ogee reticulation, as has already been emphasized. This is the most common of all mature Decorated tracery designs, but early dated examples of it are hard to come by, especially in the western half of England. Indeed, no important local centre is known that made a great display of reticulated tracery, in contrast to the distribution of previous patterns, such as the ornately cusped cinquefoil pattern which took its lead from the great crossing tower of Hereford Cathedral. Some of the earliest examples in major buildings in the west appear to be in north Somerset, at the cathedrals of Bristol (formerly St. Augustine's Abbey) and Wells. At Bristol, reticulation is found in the lateral windows of the west bay of the Lady Chapel and in the side-lights of the great east window; according to Abbot Newland's roll, the work on the building started in 1298, and much is considered to have been done by the time of Abbot Knowle's death in 1332.[24] At Wells, some of the windows of the eastern transept and the eastern chapels of the retrochoir are reticulated, and the burial of Bishop Dronkensford at the junction of the south-east chapel and transept arm in 1329 suggests that these parts were complete in their essentials by then, perhaps having been started with the Lady Chapel as early as *c.*1306.[25]

It may be under the influence of these buildings that the pattern appears during the early 1320s in the Severn valley area, at Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Worcester. Two-light windows of a reticulated type occur in some of the ambulatory chapels at Tewkesbury, and there are better examples in the chapels off the north transept, all likely to be work prior to 1326.[26] The presence of mullions based on wave mouldings both at Tewkesbury and Bristol suggests this connexion with the south-west. In the gallery chapel of the south transept at Gloucester is a two-light reticulated window encrusted with ballflower, which seems to follow on from the famous ballflower work of the nave south aisle there, begun 1318; all this work is directly related to Tewkesbury.[27] At Worcester, the nave north aisle, under way before 1327, has a tracery pattern of radiating petal shapes derived apparently from the choir aisle windows at Bristol Cathedral, a design to be connected with ogee reticulated tracery because both apparently are based on an interest in naturalistic forms.[28] However, it does not seem to be until about 1330 that actual reticulation arrives at Worcester, in the monastic refectory, and equally it is not until this decade that the finest reticulated windows appear at Tewkesbury, namely the splendid five-light examples in the presbytery clerestory and the west walls of the transept.

Indications as to the date of the arrival of the pattern in Herefordshire are to be found at Leintwardine near Ludlow, and at Kington. About December, 1328, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, obtained a royal licence to alienate lands to maintain nine chaplains in the church of St. Mary at Leintwardine, and it has been suggested that this was the reason for building the north-east chapel, which has tracery with reticulation units in its lateral windows.[29] The proximity of Leintwardine to Ludlow may provide a clue to the date of the large reticulated windows in the south transept and south-east chapel there, part of that cruciform remodelling which has been shown to be related to Pembridge in its general forms. However, there are no clear moulding parallels between any of these three works, which implies that different masons were involved on them. At Kington, it seems likely that one of the altars dedicated in 1325 was in the south-east chapel, which has a three-light reticulated window presumably of that date. The lateral window adjacent to it in the south wall is a distinctive type of Y-tracery design, identical to the north-east and south-east windows of the apsidal chancel at Madley, which was begun about 1318.[30] The juxtaposition at Kington of ogee reticulation with this more geometrical design tends to confirm that the reticulated windows in the chancel at Madley were part of the original design, and not later insertions, so that Madley may also be listed as an early and reasonably well-dated example of the use of this pattern in the county. With regard to Pembridge, it has been shown above that specific details of the nave at Kington, including the entrance arch into the south-east chapel, are sufficiently closely linked to that work to suggest the same workshop, yet ironically the reticulated window of the chapel would appear to be an isolated work by a different hand—its mouldings bear no relation to anything at Pembridge or works linked to it (FIG. 3,C).



In sum, reticulated tracery was quite demonstrably in use in the county by the mid-1320s, though its precise source is difficult to pinpoint. It might have arrived directly from works using it in Somerset, or via the Tewkesbury/Gloucester workshop of the early 1320s, or just possibly via Worcester. At least it may be significant that to the north-east, a major centre like Lichfield was not using curvilinear tracery until after 1337, and never seems to have employed ogee reticulated tracery.[31] Pembridge does not seem to have been among the pioneers of reticulated in the county, so the form could be derived from one of several previous works, but nonetheless the important moulding links already demonstrated with Tewkesbury and further tracery links to be discussed below argue for due consideration of that workshop as an important distribution centre in this instance.

The tracery pattern of the nave clerestory windows can be traced more precisely. It consists of a cinquefoil set in a roundel, with each foil assuming a delicate ogee shape (PL. I), and its only other occurrence in the whole area is in the vicinity of Tewkesbury. One of the windows in the sacristy there employs the form over two lights, and this same window design is used much more extensively in the chancel at Bishops Cleeve, only five miles from the abbey and a work related to it.[32] Ultimately, it derives from the Canterbury group of court masons, for it is found in the first decade of the 14th century in works attributed to them at Canterbury (Prior Eastry's choir screen in the cathedral, and the gatehouse of St. Augustine's Abbey); and the ogee cinquefoil in a roundel alone was used to decorate the exterior spandrels of the upper chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster, their most prestigious documented work. In the previous article in this series, it was indicated how one possible avenue for the arrival of another Canterbury derived pattern, the ogee trefoil, in Herefordshire, could have been through the patronage of Hugh le Despenser the younger at Tewkesbury or Caerphilly.[33]

The only other tracery pattern at Pembridge is of three stepped lancet lights, employed for the two new lateral windows in the chancel. As these are the only non-ogee windows, and were inserted with the wall masonry to block the two 13th-century arcades at the west end of the chancel, it is likely that they constitute an early work of the campaign, when the chancel was being prepared for use whilst the rest of the remodelling was under way. Stepped lancet lights executed in bar tracery, and generally grouped in threes, had been a common tracery pattern in Herefordshire since the late 13th century (e.g. the nave north aisles at Ledbury and St. Peter's, Hereford),[34] but there are several varieties. In the design at Pembridge, the apices of the side-lights lie on the super-arch, and the mullions of the centre light are not extended vertically to meet that arch (PL. III); the tall pointed side-lights are cinquefoil-cusped, and the more rounded centre light is trefoil-cusped. Windows of three stepped lancet lights with exactly the same cusp-

ing arrangement were executed by a contemporary workshop centred on Ledbury (e.g. Ledbury chancel south aisle, and Ashperton chancel),[35] but here the mullions are consistently carried through to the super-arch.

In this respect, closer parallels for the main forms of the Pembridge design are to be found more locally, in the east window of the north aisle at Kinnersley, and in the easternmost lateral windows of the nave aisles at Lyonshall.[36] The design used in both these churches is absolutely identical to the Pembridge design, except that the centre light is cinquefoil-cusped, and this comparison thus reinforces the mouldings parallel already demonstrated between the three works. In addition, the west window of the nave at Kington may also belong with this group, given its other proven connexions with Pembridge: it consists of four stepped lancet lights, designed on exactly the same principles as the above windows, but with all the lights trefoil-cusped.[37] Further afield, the most important building to employ this particular design is again Tewkesbury, in certain windows of St. Margaret's and St. Faith's chapels around the ambulatory, and in the nave clerestory: all of three stepped lancet lights, with every light trefoil-cusped. The ultimate source in the whole area for the pattern may well be the west window of the bishop's chapel at Wells, *c.*1290, of five stepped lancet lights, all cinquefoil-cusped.[38]

To return to the most impressive feature of Pembridge, the interior elevation of the nave, the possible sources for this are of considerable interest. Locally, it seems to be more specifically indebted to Weobley nave than to any other surviving work. Relatively monumental arcades (for a parish church of this period), with octagonal piers, and clerestory windows set over the spandrels: a markedly broad chancel arch springing from corbels incorporating triple shafts: and a great west window instead of a west tower—these are all constituent elements of both works, and are not easily found in combination elsewhere (PL. II).[39] On the other hand, the proportions have been modified at Pembridge so that the bays of the arcades are a little wider (14 ft. 0 ins. between the centres of the piers, compared with 12 ft. 6 ins. at Weobley), and considerably taller, at the expense of the size of the clerestory. Moreover, the windows of the latter take on the highly unusual form of roundels as we have seen, clearly expressed externally (PL. I), but internally set into more conventional frames with pointed arches (PL. II). The only other church in the whole area to combine really spacious arcades with a clerestory of roundels is Kingsland, only four miles away (PL. IV), but its moulding detail indicates that it is definitely not by the same workshop. On the evidence available, it is impossible to state with certainty which of these two works was started first.[40]

Another local source of inspiration for the roundels alone might have been the work of the 1260s and 70s on the north transept of the cathedral, where cusped roundels set in curved-sided triangles—a clear reference to the French inspired remodelling of Westminster Abbey—form the east clerestory, and internally are



set in more conventional frames like those at Pembridge. In addition, the windows of the east gallery consist simply of octofoiled roundels. It may be the immediate influence of this work on local architecture that explains the presence of two crude roundels over the chancel arch at Dilwyn, a position in which they are also used at both Pembridge and Kingsland.[41]

The story of their sources would probably go no further, were it not for the fact that there is another group of churches at this same period in East Anglia, employing clerestories of roundels often combined with lofty arcades. The features are found, for instance, in the Decorated naves of Snettisham, Cley-next-the-Sea, Great Walsingham, and Stalham in north and east Norfolk, and of Trumpington (south arcade), Dry Drayton, Elsworth (south arcade), and Linton in Cambridgeshire: and continue in works of the early Perpendicular period, such as Ingham (after 1360), Heacham, and Terrington St. Clement in Norfolk, and Whaddon in Cambridgeshire.[42] The detail of a Cambridge example, such as Trumpington, indicates that it is related to work at Ely from the early 1320s (especially the three west bays of the presbytery, *c.*1322-37); and of a Norfolk example, such as Cley, that it is dependent on work in the cathedral precinct at Norwich (particularly the St. Ethelbert gate, perhaps finished about 1316-17).[43] The flushwork decoration on the Ethelbert gate includes tracery patterns set in roundels, and further confirmation of the interest in this form in Norwich at this date is shown by its use for the undercroft windows in the Carnary College chapel (founded 1316), also in the precinct. All this suggests that the group antedates Pembridge, and in fact there may have been a continuous tradition for the use of roundels in that area stemming back to the 12th century. The ultimate source may be in such later Romanesque works as the crossing tower at Norwich Cathedral and the west front at Ely, the feature then kept alive during the 13th century in a few smaller churches,[44] and enjoying a revival of popularity in the 14th century.

Whether one should thus consider the Pembridge design as influenced from East Anglia is problematical, however. There appear to be no specific stylistic ties between the two Herefordshire churches in question and this group, so it is not a straightforward case of being able to prove that a mason travelled from one area to the other.[45] Not that there is any doubt that master masons did travel between the east and west of the country quite often, as surviving records testify, nor that other stylistic connexions do exist between East Anglia and the Severn valley area,[46] but more specific details of these interchanges and their chronology remain in need of research.

Another dimension is given to the problem by a glance at the European situation. The later 13th century and first half of the 14th is the period when the architecture of the Preaching Orders developed a maturity, and began to stamp its influence on late Gothic church design. In Italy, one of the key formative areas, some of their best known early works combine large spacious arcades with

roundel windows at clerestory level: in the Dominican churches of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence (nave begun, *c.*1279) and Sta. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (*c.*1280, but heavily reconstructed), and in the Franciscans' Sta. Croce in Florence (begun 1294).[47] Indeed, if one overlooks the much more monumental scale of Sta. Maria Novella, with its stone vaults, then a comparison between its interior and especially that of Kingsland (PL. IV) is rather striking, perhaps more than a coincidence.[48] Outside Italy, the influence of this type of church can be traced westward during the early 14th century, in the Midi of France (e.g. St. Vincent's Church in the lower city at Carcassonne); and in Catalonia, in works such as Barcelona Cathedral (begun 1298) and especially Sta. Maria del Mar in the same city.[49] To the north, examples of Mendicant churches with clerestory roundels survive from the later 13th century in Austria (e.g. the Dominican church at Leoben and the Franciscan church at Stein a.d. Donau), and at least as early in the Rhineland, as, for instance, in the Sionskirche (begun *c.*1235) and the Franciscan church (nave, *c.*1260) in Köln, and the Franciscan church at Seligenthal (begun before 1247).[50] The roundels in the German examples occur in either the clerestory or the aisle windows, or in both, and are generally cusped in the fashion of Rhineland late Romanesque. In fact, it has been argued that the feature is the survival of a local Romanesque tradition, not only in Germany, but also in Austria and Italy,[51] rather as seems to be the case in East Anglia. Thus, it cannot be regarded as a particular characteristic of the Mendicant churches alone, though any one of these local groups might have been influential on the English developments already discussed especially in East Anglia with its flourishing commerce with the continent.[52]

Whether the feature existed in Mendicant churches in England can be no more than speculation, because the Reformation obliterated so much, but it happens that two round windows are still to be seen incorporated into the surviving west range of the Dominican house in Hereford, where work on the church probably began shortly after *c.*1320, and thus would be under way at the time when Pembridge and Kingsland were begun.[53] The round windows at Hereford are crude, and unlikely to have come from the church,[54] but it is just possible that they are a reflection in the domestic buildings of a feature employed in a more grandiose way in the church.

At the very least, it can be said that a revival of interest in circular windows took place in more than one area of England in the early 14th century, and that in most instances this seems to be linked with an increase in the scale of nave arcades. That the space of the nave should be as unimpeded as possible was extremely important in Mendicant churches for the sermon, and it may well be that this influence at least is present in the parish churches under consideration, for it was the Mendicants' most significant contribution to later medieval architecture.[55] The need to accommodate larger nave arcades often meant limiting the height of the clerestory as a result, and this circumstance may have caused



architects to rediscover the circular window for the purpose. Perhaps this happened concurrently in several different places, as the Mendicants' sermons (and their associated style of architecture) caught the popular imagination. Thus, in our area, the designer of Pembridge would revive the idea in the cathedral north transept, in East Anglia they would look to Romanesque Norwich and Ely, in the Rhineland to the late Romanesque churches of Köln, and so on. On the other hand, from the evidence presented above, a chronological development can be demonstrated from the continent (either from the Rhineland or Italy, both important trading areas for England), to East Anglia in the early 14th century, to Herefordshire in the third and fourth decades of the century. It seems a more credible solution, and it is in need of more detailed investigation than this article allows.

The elevation of Pembridge nave thus seems to belong (if only indirectly) with one of the most significant trends in European late Gothic architecture, but its direct effect on the parish churches of the county was very restricted. It is rather the use of reticulated tracery that relates it more meaningfully to them, for in the second quarter of the century, no Decorated tracery pattern is encountered more often in the area than this one. Few of the examples achieve the grandeur of Pembridge or the Chilston Chapel at Madley or the south transept and south-east chapel at Ludlow, but there are numerous churches with a series of two-light windows with reticulation units in the head, as at Fownhope or Leintwardine, or Stottesdon in south Shropshire.

The moulding detail of three such works indicates that they are probably by the Pembridge workshop. Easily the most important is the great tower and spire at Weobley, rising almost detached from the church at the north-west corner. Around the base of the tower are three windows of blind reticulated tracery, each of three lights, and the lucarnes of the spire are of two lights with reticulation units. The exterior mouldings of the blind tracery are the same template as those of all the reticulated windows at Pembridge (FIG. 4,B). In the latter, however, only the chamfer moulding is used for the mullion, whereas both wave and chamfer are used at Weobley, probably to accommodate the thickness of wall required at the base of a tower. The size of the wave mouldings which constitute the frame of the lucarne tracery (FIG. 4,D) is also the same as those of the north and south door frames at Pembridge, and the hollow moulding flanked by broad fillets on the underside of the flying buttresses at the foot of the spire has already been shown to be a distinctive feature of Pembridge and the Weobley nave (FIG. 4,E).[56]

Two miles away, at Dilwyn, a north transept was added at this period, with a reticulated north window of three lights, and probably at the same time the nave was given its two-light west window with a reticulation unit. The paired mouldings of the north transept window are each 4.00 ins. wide, like those of the Pembridge windows and Weobley tower, but consist simply of two plain chamfers rather than a chamfer and a wave (FIG. 4,C). The triangular recess between the chamfers is

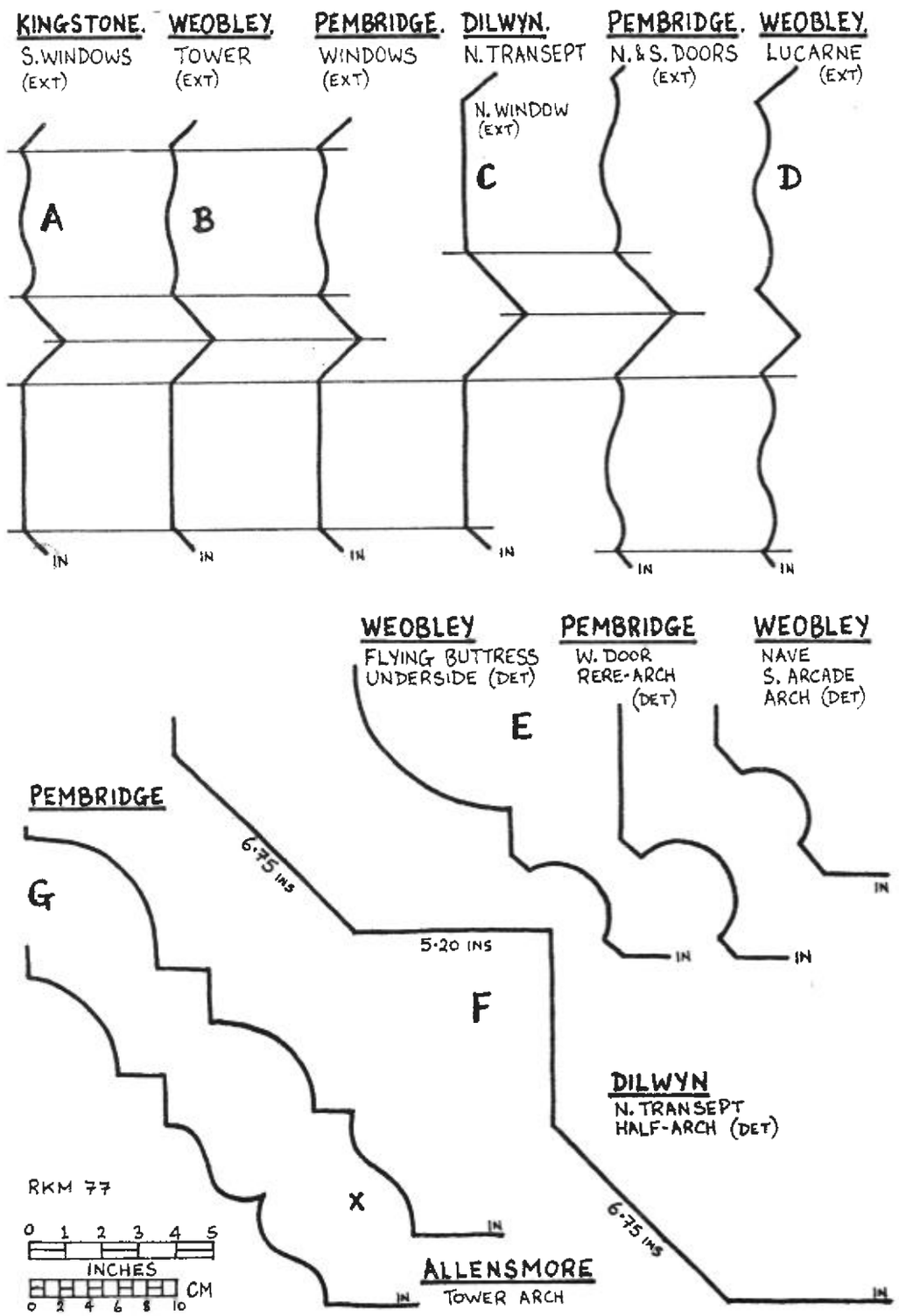


FIG. 4
Pembridge, Weobley tower and spire, Dilwyn and Kingstone



exactly the same size as that between the paired waves of the door frames at Pembridge. Furthermore, the entrance from the nave aisle to the transept is effected by a half-arch, as at Pembridge and Kington—here simply of plain chamfers, but employing both the 6.75 ins. and 5.20 ins. dimensions used for the mouldings of the half-arches in those churches (compare FIGS. 1,B and 4,F). Externally, each corner of the transept is secured not by a pair of angle buttresses as is usual at this period, but by a neatly executed diagonal buttress, which is one of the most characteristic features of the exterior of the Pembridge transepts and nave (PL. III). The transept at Dilwyn is clearly an addition to the 13th-century nave, as the original wall-plate for the aisle roof, and the easternmost nave clerestory window (now looking into the transept), are still visible above the pair of nave arcades that lead into the transept.[57] This explains the west window of the transept, which is patently later 13th-century in style (an uncusped roundel over two cusped lights), and must be one of the original aisle windows re-used. The same may well have been the case with the transept east window, which was formerly of two lights, though modified to one large single light after the mid-19th century.[58] Both the reticulated windows of the transept and nave have rere-arches on cusped supports, like that over the chancel east window of *c.*1300, which suggests they include re-used pieces. However, as they have a plain chamfer moulding rather than the hollow moulding of the chancel rere-arch, and as a similar rere-arch appears over the reticulated window in the south-east chapel at Kington, they probably belong with the 14th-century window tracery, albeit a slightly archaic survival.

It is not hard to conceive that these works at Pembridge, Weobley, and Dilwyn were all designed by one master mason, as the stylistic parallels between them are combined with geographical proximity. There is, however, one other work in the county that has reticulated tracery combined with exactly the same size and design of window frame mouldings as those at Pembridge—the south windows of the nave at Kingstone, ten miles to the south across the Wye (FIG. 4,A). The relative isolation of this work from the others, accentuated by the fact that it lies in the middle of the area of operations of the 'Madley Mason', whose style is quite distinct from this one,[59] may indicate that it is a pattern book job by a mason who had worked for a time with the master mason of the Pembridge group above. The framing of a reticulated window with a wave moulding, the ogee forms of which echo those of the tracery, is one of the most obvious aesthetic combinations for a mason to copy in this period.

With regard to the dating of these fully reticulated works, Dilwyn provides the most useful piece of evidence. Amongst the ordinations of sub-deacons carried out by Bishop Thomas Charlton at Ludlow in 1334 was that of John, son of John le Budel, for the chantry of the Virgin Mary at Dilwyn.[60] There is a good chance that the chantry in question was in the newly-built north transept,[61] in which case 1334 would be the *terminus ante quem* for the work: this makes it close in date

to Pembridge. On the other hand, Kingstone is probably later than Pembridge, for the west window of the nave has curvilinear tracery (two mouchettes and a quatrefoil over three lights), which does not seem to appear in the region until c.1330 (e.g. Worcester), and which may even be later in Herefordshire itself, where its appearances are rare.[62] For the tower and spire at Weobley, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a more precise date than the second quarter of the 14th century. The main clue in its relationship to Pembridge lies in the fact that it was built detached (except for a small connecting corridor) from the nave and aisles dedicated in 1325, and that stylistically, in its plinth mouldings and tracery, it looks detached: it is part of a separate building campaign.[63] If one accepts that Pembridge follows very closely upon the completion of the nave and aisles at Weobley, then the most feasible sequence is that Pembridge comes between that work and the tower and spire.

The operations of the workshop traced here were very localized, all the churches referred to lying in the Stretford hundred, except Kington (which is only just outside it) and Kingstone. On the evidence available, 'workshop' seems a more acceptable description than 'master mason', for the features involved do not remain constant throughout all the works, even though their combination occurs only in this local area; for example, the wave moulding is absent from the earliest work, Weobley nave, and also from some of the others. There is also the possibility that some of the mouldings, notably the distinctive capital type, represent the work of a mason who specialized in carving this particular architectural component, but who was not necessarily the master mason or designer of the whole work. Equally, there appear to be just too many building operations within too short a timespan for the same master mason to have been in charge of all of them, though of course this does not preclude the likelihood that two or more works within the group are by the same designer: the naves of Weobley and Pembridge, for example, and probably the Weobley tower as well.

To sum up, the full sequence of the works begins with the nave at Weobley, started probably *c.*1315,[64] and finished by 1325. At about the same time, operations were under way on the nave at Kington, where the south-east chapel with its reticulated window was probably the last part executed before the dedication of 1325. Judging by parallels of general form and of detail, such as bases and the west door design, the rebuilding at Pembridge was begun fairly soon after Weobley was complete, that is to say, in the period *c.*1325-30; a date corroborated by its other major source works, Tewkesbury and Ludlow, and by dated buildings in the county using reticulated tracery (Madley, Leintwardine). The progressive design of its nave elevation need not necessarily imply the presence of a new master mason, for such general features could have been suggested by the patron(s), on the model of an important intermediary since lost, perhaps the Dominican church in Hereford or the nave of the collegiate church at Ludlow (rebuilt in the 15th century). Pembridge was not as long drawn out a building



work as implied by some authorities.[65] A tentative work-speed calculation based on the time it would take one skilled mason to cut all the window tracery, and assuming that the rest of the masonry work kept pace with him, would give a building period definitely no longer than fifteen years.[66] If the number of masons involved were doubled, even for part of the time, which would still not produce an unreasonably large labour force, the campaign would take less than ten years. Whilst work was progressing here, or perhaps even before it started, smaller jobs like Lyonshall, the aisle at Kinnersley, and the transept at Dilwyn seem to have been undertaken. Lyonshall especially looks like a pattern book job by one of the masons engaged at Pembridge, its south arcade capitals apparently cut from the same template as those at Pembridge, but used for much smaller piers. Finally, as we have already seen, the only two works of this group that seem likely to postdate Pembridge are the great steeple at Weobley, and the minor outlying work at Kingstone. By this date, moving towards the middle of the century, another style had come to dominate the north of the county, as will be described in the next article of this series.

## APPENDIX A: THE GOUR EFFIGIES

The tradition that the four effigies in the chancel at Pembridge belong to the Gour family cannot now be traced back earlier than the 17th century (Dingley, see note 6), but a few fragments of information that appear relevant survive from the time of Edward III. A John Gour is recorded as steward to Roger Mortimer, earl of March (1346-60) for at least some part of that period; he certainly held this position at Mortimer's death in 1360 and was evidently a man of some substance.[67] On a different tack, Foss notes that the legal year books for the reign of Edward III, which supply the names of counsel acting in the courts, include the name 'Gower', though no further details are given.[68] Neither of these references supply any connexion with Pembridge, but one of the two male effigies there is definitely in the dress of a serjeant-at-law,[69] and it is possible that he is the lawyer noted above, though unfortunately Foss provides no closer dates within Edward III's reign. There is a better chance that the other male effigy, in stylish civilian dress, may be John Gour, for Pembridge lay in Mortimer territory and the type of effigy is about right for a relatively wealthy administrator who was in his prime around 1360, and died in the 1370s or 80s.

Stylistically, the effigies are difficult to analyze with any precision. They are meant to be disposed in two pairs as at present (note the different cushion arrangements under the heads from one pair to the other), and all seem to have come from the same workshop (for example, note the treatment of the eyes in all four figures), perhaps within a relatively short time of each other.[70] The eastern pair, the serjeant and a lady in widow's dress, are simpler in appearance, but there is very little implicit stylistic evidence that argues that they are substantially earlier than the western pair, except possibly for the use of 'trough' folds

rather than continuous vertical folds in the widow's dress around the area of the stomach: 'trough' folds were a French convention favoured in the depiction of female dress especially in the Decorated period. Indeed, it is possible that they were commissioned together, and that the earlier looking figures represent the parents of one of the western pair. One interesting factor is that all the effigies are carved from an oolitic limestone, not the local sandstone, and are likely to have come from a Cotswold or Bristol workshop, probably the latter. This is not unique in Herefordshire at this period, for the fine military effigy of a member of the De Frene family at Moccas (*c.* 1330-40) is also of oolitic stone, and must have been commissioned from the same Cotswold shop that produced the very similar figure of a knight in the south transept of Minchinhampton Church, Gloucestershire.[71]

One should look therefore to the Cotswold area for stylistic parallels for the Pembridge effigies, but comparison is made difficult because neither male effigy is depicted in armour, which is by far the most common form of male dress on 14th-century monuments, and also the best guide to dating. For this reason, the author has not yet found a suitable parallel in that area for either male effigy, though there can be little doubt that the style of dress of the civilian, and the smart lady with square headdress next to him, belong to the last third of the century. The eastern pair pose more of a problem, because neither legal nor widow's dress lend themselves to close dating. Only the trough folds of the widow's dress seem to provide a clue, for, despite their frequent use in Decorated art, they are seldom met with in female effigies of this period in the Cotswold area, except for a rare instance in the figure of Lady Margaret Berkeley in the north choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral. Her effigy is more elaborate than that at Pembridge, as her superior social station would lead one to expect, but significantly the trough folds of both are 'syncopated', that is to say, the lowest point of the curve of each fold tends to alternate from a position nearer one side of the body to a position nearer the other (this is especially clear in the Bristol effigy). The date of Lady Margaret's effigy is probably in the years directly after her death in 1337, when her husband, Thomas III de Berkeley, was concerned to found a chantry for her at Bristol.[72] Eventually, in 1368, their son, Maurice IV de Berkeley, was buried alongside her, but his effigy is stylistically quite different to hers, indicating that they were not produced as a pair, and presumably therefore that hers is earlier. Thus, her effigy could help localize the date of the earlier Pembridge pair to around 1340-50, even though they are not by the same hand as hers (e.g. their facial features are treated more crudely), and there is one final factor that strengthens this link. Lady Margaret was a daughter of Roger Mortimer, first earl of March, grandfather of the Roger Mortimer mentioned above,[73] and it may be that the Berkeley connexion helped to further in Herefordshire the products of the Bristol workshop they patronized. Indeed, one is tempted to speculate that some of the 14th-century effigies that presumably adorned the lost Mortimer tombs in Wigmore Abbey may have come from it.



APPENDIX B: NOTE ON THE BELLTOWER.

The detached belltower (PL. I), the feature for which Pembridge is most famous, is not directly relevant to this article. Its only pieces of moulded stonework—the entrance jambs (FIG. 4,G)—have nothing in common with the mouldings of the workshop under discussion. The way in which an ogee moulding (X) is used directly adjacent to the inner wall surface is a fairly stock-in-trade Perpendicular feature, and not so dissimilar, for instance, to the Perpendicular door into the tower from the nave at Allensmore, south of the Wye (FIG. 4,G). Thus, as the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and other authorities have indicated, the belltower was at least partially rebuilt in the later 14th century, or perhaps even in the 15th.[74]

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3 G. Marshall, 'The Detached Church Towers of Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXI (1942-5), 136.
4 For Weobley, see Morris, 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, pp. 50-4.
5 The Perpendicular rebuilding at Ludlow has largely obscured the details of the 14th-century church, but the consistent use in the Decorated period of the buttress-like half-arches, cited above, at all four corners of the crossing imply an intention to erect a crossing tower.
6 T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, compiled in the reign of Charles II (Camden Society, 1867, ed. J. G. Nichols), II, 165.
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8 G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (new ed.), V (1926), 634, and VI (1926), 62-3.
9 For Tewkesbury and Ludlow, see Morris, 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, pp. 57-9.
10 Rev. A. T. Bannister (ed.), *The Register of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, 1317-27* (Cantilupe Society, 1907), 339.
11 The other dedications of altars were at Kings Pyon and Wormesley Priory.
12 See further Morris, 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 59 and fig. 5: and *id.*, 'The Mason of Madley, Allensmore, and Eaton Bishop', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1974), 180 and fig. 1.
13 For Worcester, see R. K. Morris, 'Worcester Nave: from Decorated to Perpendicular', *Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans.*, I, (to be published in 1979); for Wells, N. Pevsner, *North Somerset and Bristol* (1958), 280; for Chester, N. Pevsner and E. Hubbard, *Cheshire* (1971), 140-1. A few other churches in Cheshire and Shropshire use double or triple wave mouldings for their arcade arches (e.g. Nantwich, and Worfield near Bridgnorth), but there is no certainty that these works precede Pembridge, nor do they possess any other specific stylistic features in common with it.
14 For Ledbury and Fownhope, see R. K. Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire: Sources, Workshops, Influence* (unpublished doctoral thesis, London University, 1972), 227-34 and 269-71.

15 The Almeley clerestory alternates two-light reticulated windows with a window design consisting of a pointed quatrefoil over two cinquefoil-cusped lights, whereas Weobley, probably the earlier of the two works, uses the latter pattern alongside a non-ogee trefoil design derived from the cathedral aisles. The design of the Almeley clerestory is also exactly the same as the nave south clerestory at Lyonshall, a work very closely related to Pembridge and apparently contemporary with it. A further connexion between Weobley and Almeley is the design of their fine four-light geometrical windows: the west window of the nave at the former and the east window of the chancel at the latter, both shown to be authentic in their main forms by drawings of 1850 in the Pilley Collection, *Churches of Herefordshire* (Hereford City Reference Library), vol. 2, pp. 2 and 193: also H. B. and G. L. Lewis, *Drawings of the County of Hereford, 1837-41* (Heref. City Ref. Lib.), II, p. 184, for Weobley.

16 Pembridge north porch employs them, but the porch is a slightly later addition (see the next article in this series).

17 The only other half-arch known to the author in the area is at Dilwyn, discussed later in the article.

18 The size of capitals in this group of churches bears no relationship to the height or width of the piers, and therefore comparison between their dimensions without regard for their context seems justified. All the piers in question are octagonal, as also are the capitals.

19 See Note 10.

20 For other survivals of the water-holding base type, see the nave south arcades at Clehonger and Kings Pyon: but Weobley is the only church to employ this base type alongside the distinctive capital type found at Pembridge. In 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, I suggested that these bases and capitals at Pembridge might be the work of the 'Dilwyn Mason', to whom all the bases and capitals at Weobley were also attributed. I am now less inclined to give all this work at Weobley to one man, because since then the number of buildings that use this capital type has grown from two to five, as described above. At Weobley, I would now favour giving to the Dilwyn Mason only those carvings that look specifically like the work at Dilwyn, namely, the north capital of the chancel arch, the east respond capital of the north arcade, and the font; also perhaps the other capitals of the north arcade *(ibid.*, fig. 3). Thus, if style is any guidance, it now appears unlikely that the Dilwyn Mason is connected with the capital type of Pembridge and the south arcade at Weobley.

21 The base of the east respond of the Weobley south arcade also consists of a plain chamfer, but elaborated with the addition of a scroll moulding.

22 The ultimate source seems to be work of the 1280s in the bishop's palace at Wells (see Morris, 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 1).

23 See further, Morris, 'Madley Mason', *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 180-2.

24 G. H. Oatley, a note on the fabric of Bristol Cathedral, *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, LIV (1932), 38-41: and Pevsner, *North Somerset, op. cit.* in note 13, p. 371.

25 Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 280; and J. A. Robinson, 'On the Date of the Lady Chapel at Wells', *Archaeol. J.*, LXXXVIII (1931), 168-9 and 172-3, for evidence of the setting up of altars in the nave in 1306, and burials there, almost certainly indicating remodelling under way at the east end of the church.

26 The main boss in the north chapel, attached to the north-east corner of the north transept, bears the marriage shield of Hugh le Despenser the younger and Eleanor de Clare; Despenser was executed in 1326, and his widow had remarried by 1329.

27 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, ch. III.

28 Morris, 'Worcester Nave', *B. A. A. Conf. Trans., op. cit.* in note 13. In 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, with regard to St. Katharine's Chapel, Ledbury, I dated the Worcester north aisle windows as 1339-49, but more recent investigation suggests this window design could belong quite conceivably to the episcopacy of Bishop Cobham, 1317-27; this finding does not, however, alter the relatively late date argued for the Ledbury chapel.

29 G. Marshall, 'The Church of Leintwardine', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1918-20), 226.

30 Morris, 'Madley Mason', *op. cit.* in note 12, p. 179 and pl. III. The lateral window at Kington is very renewed, but a pencil sketch dated 1837 of the exterior from the south confirms its main forms: Lewis, *Drawings, op. cit.* in note 15, I, p. 94. The other lateral window in the chapel is Perpendicular, as also the arcade between the chapel and the chancel.

31 Curvilinear tracery will be considered in more detail in the next article in this series.

32 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, pp. 162-3.

33 Morris, 'Madley Mason' *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 184 *sqq.*

34 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, pp. 65 *sqq.*

35 *Ibid.*, 227 *sqq.*



36 In the Pilley Collection, *Churches of Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 15, vol. 2, p. 115, is a pen and wash drawing of 1850 of Lyonshall Church from the south-west, with the south aisle window shown rather sketchily as of two lights. I am inclined to regard this as a mistake on the part of the artist, C. F. Walker, whose depiction of detail is not always absolutely reliable (e.g. in the same volume, p. 94, he omits the three prominent dragon-head corbels on the west wall of Kilpeck Church, which are shown in views by other artists). Moreover, the window was originally set in a small gable (like a small, non-projecting transept), the lines of which are still visible within the larger gable that the Victorian restoration produced by heightening the original and extending it to the east. If the three-light window was a Victorian fabrication, it seems more likely that they would have placed it centrally in the expanded gable, rather than build it as it appears today, in line with the centre of the old gable. I have found no old views of the corresponding north window at Lyonshall, nor of the Kinnersley window.

37 The mouldings of all these windows are rather anonymous plain chamfers, all completely renewed.

38 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, pl. 115.

39 For the interior of Weobley nave, see *ibid.*, pl. 152.

40 The next article in this series will contain a fuller analysis of Kingsland.

41 Were they meant to represent the sun and moon above the rood?

42 For brief descriptions of all the relevant churches in this area, see the appropriate entries in N. Pevsner, *North-East Norfolk and Norwich* (1962), *North-West and South Norfolk* (1962), and *Cambridgeshire* (1954), and also their introductions (pp. 34 and 38 for the Norfolk volumes, pp. 207-8 for Cambs.).

43 For Ely, see the *Victoria County History, Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, IV (1953), 65. For Norwich, E. C. Fernie and A. B. Whittingham, 'The Early Communar and Pitancer Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Norfolk Record Soc.*, XLI (1972), 33, thought these authors are inclined to date parts of the Ethelbert gate towards 1330; for the original flushwork, see J. Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich* (1836), pl. XXIV. An up-to-date assessment of Trumpington places the architecture of its north transept chapel before 1326, but one cannot be sure that the nave belongs with it, even though they must be fairly close in date: see S. D. T. Spittle, 'The Trumpington Brass', *Archaeol. J.*, CXXVII (1970), 223-7. Details such as the sunken chamfer moulding suggest the connexion between Trumpington and Ely; and mouldings, such as the double ogee and three-quarter hollow, the connexion between Cley and Norwich.

44 According to Pevsner's volumes, *op. cit.* in note 42, roundels (or mandorla shapes) are used for clerestories in the Early English period at Teversham (Cambs.) and Shropham (Nf.), and in the late 13th century at Bourn (Cambs.); as well as for bell openings in the crossing tower at Heacham (Nf.) in the late 13th century. The fact that the design employed at Shropham and Bourn, and in the majority of the 14th-century Cambridgeshire examples, is a quatrefoil, tends to validate the idea of continuity of form from the 12th century, for this is the pattern found on the west front and tower of Ely.

45 This statement is based on a comparison between the mouldings of the Herefordshire group, and Trumpington, Cley, Snettisham, Great Walsingham, and work at Ely and Norwich. Some interesting parallels emerge, such as the use of a cruciform plan at Snettisham in combination with half-arches between the transepts and aisles, but nothing of specific detail.

46 For further information on both these points, see Morris, 'Worcester Nave', *B. A. A. Conf. Trans., op. cit.* in note 13. In addition, mature Decorated works in East Anglia and the west of England have an enthusiasm for certain mouldings, notably large waves and sunk chamfers, not shared by other areas like the north-east.

47 P. Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (1962), 123, 135, 145 and pls. 76, 94, 105B; and W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* (1952), III, p. 680, for Sta. Maria Novella. At Sta. Croce, the roundels are used over the main chancel windows and the chancel arch rather than in the clerestory.

48 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, pls. 154 and 155. The comparison becomes less far-fetched if one realizes that there are very precise links between Kingsland and one of the most cosmopolitan buildings of the period, Bristol Cathedral, described by Pevsner as, ' . . . from the point of view of spatial imagination . . . superior to anything else built in England and indeed in Europe at the same time' *(North Somerset, op. cit.* in note 13, pp. 371-2).

49 See, for example, R. Rey, *L'art gothique du Midi de la France* (1934), especially 122 *sqq.* and ch. V, pt. VII.

50 R. K. Donin, *Die Bettelordenskirchen in Österreich* (1935), 50 *sqq.* and 114 *sqq.*, and pls. 84, 168, and 188, for Leoben and Stein; and R. Krautheimer, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland* (1925), 81 *sqq.* and 129.

51 See Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 82, and Donin, *op. cit.*, especially 52-4, where he lists further Mendicant examples in Italy, and discusses their Romanesque antecedents. For numerous examples of the feature in Rhineland late Romanesque and early Gothic, see W. Meyer-Barkhausen, *Das Grosse Jahrhundert Kölnischer Kirchenbaukunst 1150 bis 1250* (1952), e.g. Bonn Minster, Köln St. Gereon and St. Severin, Neuss, Sinzig, and Werden.

52 The great commercial centres of East Anglia attracted the Mendicants' attention at an early date, as the importance of their former establishments at Norwich, Kings Lynn, Great Yarmouth, and Gorleston testifies. Moreover, continental influence on other forms of art in the east of the country have been demonstrated at this period, notably in manuscripts, e.g. O. Pächt, 'A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art', *Jnl. of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VI (1943), 51-70.

53 See A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (1937); and W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (1951), chs. VII and VIII. Martin, p. 22, seems unduly pessimistic about the likelihood of English Franciscan churches having clerestories at an early date. For the Hereford Dominicans, see Hinnebusch, 113, and the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire: I, the South-West* (1931), 128-9. It should also be recalled that connexions between the form of the chancel at Madley, the former Lady Chapel at Tewkesbury, and the Franciscan church at Winchelsea were demonstrated in 'Madley Mason', *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 186-90. Moreover, the form of the Winchelsea church, with its aisle-less chancel terminating in a polygonal apse, was a common plan for Mendicant churches on the continent (see numerous examples in Donin, *op. cit.* in note 50).

54 Note, however, that the two east facing roundels in the clerestory at Dilwyn, referred to above, are also crudely constructed and uncusped.

55 See A. W. Clapham and W. H. Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings and their Story* (1913), ch. V.

56 All the details of the spire are completely restored, as is inevitable with any sandstone structure of that height (*cf.* the cathedral towers of Hereford and Worcester, and the spires of Coventry). The top of the spire was blown down about 1640, and restored by 1682, but this damage did not affect the main features of its lower parts: see Dingley, *History from Marble, op. cit.* in note 6, vol. I, clii, and II, 95.

57 The same is true of the north transept at Weobley, and it therefore must be an addition to the nave, rather than preceding it, as stated in 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 50. This means that the tracery with a large pointed trefoil in its north window must almost certainly be a 19th-century interpolation, for this design on a large scale, derived from the cathedral aisles, was already going out of fashion when the nave was being built: also, externally, there is a pronounced break between the double chamfer mouldings of the window jamb, and the single hollow chamfer moulding of the tracery head. It is possible that this transept was added at about the same time as that at Dilwyn, and it might originally have had reticulated tracery, though I have been unable to find any early views of the church from the north to confirm this.

58 A pen and crayon drawing of the church from the north, dated 1850, shows the transept as today, with diagonal corner buttresses and a reticulated north window, except that the east window is clearly of two lights, though it is not possible to tell whether the pattern in its head is a foiled figure or a reticulation unit: Pilley Collection, *Churches of Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 15, vol. 2, p. 45. The stump of the central mullion is still visible on the sill of the east window. The mouldings of the window frame are indecisive, as they combine a wave moulding, more likely to be associated with a mature Decorated tracery design, with a small quarter hollow used in this church for the tracery of *c.* 1300 in the chancel.

59 See Morris, 'Madley Mason', *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 180-3, for his style.

60 W. W. Capes (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, 1327-44* (1913), 150.

61 J. Duncumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquieties of the Co. of Hereford* (1804), Stretford Hundred, p. 21 (loose notes).

62 'Curvilinear' means here ogee tracery more extreme and varied than the repetitive pattern of ogee reticulation. The form of the Kingstone window is confirmed in a drawing of 1837, showing the church from the south-west: Lewis, *Drawings, op. cit.* in note 15, I, p. 72. For Worcester, see Morris, 'Worcester Nave', *B. A. A. Conf. Trans., op. cit.* in note 13.

63 See further G. Marshall, 'Detached Towers', *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 133.



64 Morris, 'Influence of Hereford Cathedral', *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 54.

65 e.g. N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (1963), 266, dates the work *c.* 1320-60.

66 For this workspeed calculation, see further Morris, 'Madley Mason', *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 190 *sqq.* The new windows at Pembridge give a total of 46 lights, plus 10 roundels in the clerestory. To keep pace with the skilled mason cutting the tracery, at least one other skilled mason would be needed for the doors, arcade arches, etc.; and I would guess probably two other less skilled masons for wall masonry, piers, etc., and at least two further men for construction work. This gives a steady workforce of six, excluding carpenters. Of course, the delegation of tracery to one mason and arcades to another is quite arbitrary, to help estimate the workspeed, and is not intended as a reconstruction of how the labour was actually apportioned.

67 G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in 14th-Century England* (1957), 45-6 and 69.

68 E. Foss, *The Judges of England* (1848-64), III, 373-4.

69 W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Legal Dress in Europe* (1963), 74 *sqq.*; note especially the sleeveless tabard and the labels or tippets at the shoulder. The effigy is definitely not of an ecclesiastic, as stated by Rev. J. B. Hewitt in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1901), and cited in M. Langston, *The Story of Pembridge and its Church* (church guide, 1931 and 1966), 9-10.

70 All four are illustrated in the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire: III, the North-West* (1934), pl. 62.

71 Morris, *Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire, op. cit.* in note 14, p. 273 and pls. 108, 168.

72 A. Sabin, 'The 14th-Century Heraldic Glass in the Eastern Lady Chapel of Bristol Cathedral', *Antiq. J.*, XXXVII (1957), 70.

73 *Dictionary of National Biography* (1917 *sqq.*), II, 341.

74 *R. C. H. M., Herefordshire*, III, op. cit. in note 70, pp. 159-60; and Marshall, 'Detached Towers', *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 133.

# The Preferment of Two Royal Confessors to the See of Hereford: Robert Mascall and John Stanbury

*By* ANN RHYDDERCH

THE episcopal stakes were highly competitive in the 15th century. However, the reasons for the appointment, and the suitability, of a particular candidate for preferment can rarely now be precisely established. Much will always remain unknown to posterity. It is impossible on every occasion to appreciate fully the factors at work in a patron's mind or, on a less-exalted level, the behind-the-scenes machination of a would-be-bishop himself. Both Robert Mascall and John Stanbury earned their bishopric because they served as royal confessors. It was a not unusual reward for holders of this position and the see of Hereford was neither too generous nor too modest a preferment for a king's confessor. However, this was not the sole recommendation of either Mascall[1] or Stanbury.[2]

Both men appear as somewhat obscure 15th-century figures. It is impossible to guess with any certainty at their social origins. Professor Rosenthal claims that Mascall was of 'minor or unknown family', and that Stanbury was of a 'gentry or known middle class family.'[3] It is difficult to see on what grounds he bases these conclusions. Because of the nature of their royal service, both men moved in Court circles for considerable periods of time, but their movements and actions are to a large extent unrecorded. It is even difficult in the case of Stanbury, to say with any certainty exactly when he became royal confessor. What can be concluded is that both men would develop strong political allegiances from their close relationship with the king.

On those occasions before 1404 when Mascall emerges from obscurity, he appears as an experienced man of affairs. He was appointed the king's confessor sometime in 1400 — or perhaps even earlier. J. H. Wylie claims that he was Henry IV's confessor after 6 November 1401,[4] but he is certainly referred to as the royal confessor on Christmas Eve, 1400, when he was granted the temporalities of the bishopric of Meath in Ireland.[5] Mascall subsequently appointed Laurence Merbury[6] and Henry Myle as his attorneys in Ireland for one year in January 1401. There is little evidence to reveal clearly his own actions at this time. That he was at Court for much of it seems certain. On 6 November 1401 Mascal received a grant for himself and his servants and in the process was described as having been 'charged to stay continually about the king's person . . . for the safety of his soul.'[7] The grant catered for Mascall's own maintenance,





that of his servants, for four horses and one 'hackeney' at three shillings daily, amounting to £54 12s. 0d. yearly; for the wages of four grooms to keep the horses, at 1½d. daily, amounting to £9 2s. 6d. per annum; for other small necessaries, an additional 116 shillings was granted. The whole amount totalled £69 10s. 6d. which was to be paid at the Exchequer as long as Mascall remained king Henry's confessor. This was precisely the same order of grant as was made to William Syward, confessor to Edward III.

On 16 January 1401 a grant was made for life to Thomas Leget of a bridge called 'Rodebrugg', near Southampton, with the wages and profits belonging to it, 'on the information of the confessor and Thomas Dalynbrigg.'[8] Presumably, therefore, Mascall was at court and able to help influence the king in making this grant. Similarly, on 20 November 1401 a royal writ was issued demanding the return from 'foreign parts' of Thomas Ledbury a monk of Evesham who was accused of subverting the foundation on Evesham Abbey, which enjoyed the king's patronage.[9] This writ was issued as a result of information supplied by Robert Mascall. Again this points to his presence at Court and perhaps to his taking a close interest in the king's religious foundations. On 26 May 1402 he further witnessed an instrument appointing John Perant and others to negotiate a marriage metween Prince Henry and Catherine, daughter of Eric IX, king of Sweden.[10]

These are but small indications of Mascall's activity but they do reflect a career that was based at Court during those early years of Henry IV's reign. By the time that Henry's fifth parliament met at Westminster in January 1404, the commons evidently saw Mascall in the role of meddling friar and they demanded his dismissal from the office of confessor, together with the removal of three other members of the royal household and some foreigners.[11] These other three members of the household (apart from Mascall) were the Abbot of Dore, Richard Derham and Crosseby. On Saturday, 9 February the confessor, Derham and Crosseby came before parliament. The king saw no reason why they should be expelled from his household but agreed to their removal. We have no record of the reasons given by the commons for their request: it can only be assumed that parliament believed that Mascall was exerting undue influence on the king. On the other hand Mascall may simply have been the innocent victim of a bad-tempered commons. The controversies between Henry IV and his parliament rank among the more serious of the 14th and 15th centuries. Trouble in parliament arose over taxation; in January 1404 Henry IV pleaded that he needed parliamentary taxes so as not to resort to alienation of the royal estates. The royal household soon moved to the heart of the struggle. 'It was the largest non-military spending department in the government.'[12] At a time of falling revenue and heavy expenditure in other areas of government, a costly royal household seemed to be an extravagant drain on the parliamentary taxes which largely

financed it. Moreover, demands for councils nominated and charged in parliament were being made, and such efforts to control the personnel of government were extended to the royal household. There had been powerful commons hostility to the king's household in 1401, when all three main wardrobe officers were replaced.[13] The severity of this earlier attack is underlined by the presence of members of the commons on the occasion when the new household officers took their charge. Despite the fact that in 1401 the royal household was only part of the administration under attack, it was clearly the key part of the struggle. Robert Mascall and the three other household officials dismissed in 1404 were possibly the victims of a similar, but less serious attack on the household. Whether this was intended as a personal victimisation of Mascall for a particular reason or whether, as the king's confessor and close confidant, the commons felt that his removal would be a personal blow to Henry without precipitating a major household reconstruction remains a problem. Scapegoats are frequently found at times of crisis and the first half of Henry IV's reign was a period of sustained crisis. Mascall may well have been preferred to Hereford as compensation for his removal from the king's household. Within a few weeks of his dismissal, Bishop Trefnant died on 26 March 1404. A *congé d'élire*[14] was issued 12 April and was probably executed in favour of Mascall. In the meantime, he seems to have been employed abroad on business, since record survives of an agreement made with the Italian bankers, the Albertini, through one of their London representatives, Philip de Albertes.[15] A licence was granted to them to receive 900 marks from Mascall and to issue him with a letter of exchange so that this amount of money should be placed at his disposal abroad 'for furtherance of certain business.' No clue is given as to the nature of this business. It is interesting to note, however, that Mascall was already being referred to as 'Robert, bishop of Hereford,' despite the fact that he was not formally provided to Hereford until 2 July, a month later. It is probable that Mascall had in fact gone to Rome to secure his own bull of provision to Hereford. Adam of Usk the chronicler from the Welsh border land, close to Herefordshire, was a papal auditor at the Curia.[16] He claimed that there was a conspiracy afoot to deprive himself of the see of Hereford, which he believed should have been his; 'but through the envy of the English who opposed me and by letter belied me with poisonous words to the king,' he was denied the bishopric.[17] Adam of Usk's bid for the see may explain the pope's delay in providing to Hereford — long enough for the English at the Curia to warn the government what was happening in Rome and for Mascall himself to travel to Rome to press his own claim. He secured the see of Hereford and was consecrated in Rome four days after the provision on 6 July 1404.[18]

It was while returning from Rome in September 1404 that Mascall became an unwitting victim of the hostility then prevailing between England and Flanders. While crossing from Middelburg, the ship in which he was sailing was boarded by Flemish pirates and Mascall was taken captive and imprisoned at Dunkirk. There



according to a letter written by the king to the duchess of Burgundy, Mascall was held for ransom 'to the final destruction of his poor estate, as it is said.' The king expressed the hope that this action would not rupture the agreement reached between England and Flanders, and therefore asked for Mascall's unconditional release. Several further letters were sent to the duchess of Burgundy complaining of the bishop's imprisonment and requesting his release, along with that of captured English fishermen. Exactly when Mascall was set free is unknown. He was still prisoner early in November, when Nicholaus de Rysshetón wrote to the duchess reporting that he had met the king at Coventry and that he had again asked for the bishop of Hereford's release.[19] Mascall's early days as bishop were tempestuous ones.

Mascall's suitability for the see may have been taken into account by the king and in many ways he can be depicted as an unexceptionable choice. A local man from Ludlow, he had studied theology and philosophy at Oxford. Bale attributes to Mascall the *Sermones Vulgares* and, according to Weaver in his *Somerset Incumbents,* he was 'a man for his good learning and good life admired and beloved by all men.'[20] His reputation as a stirring preacher and his concern for moral rectitude rather than theological nicety were evidently qualities that recommended him to Henry IV as his confessor. Such an outlook would also have appealed to Archbishop Arundel. Mrs. Aston stresses Arundel's devotion to duty in the diocese of Ely and his striking effort to reside in York.[21] Thomas Walsingham, in his *Historia Anglicana,* praised Arundel as a stern, incorruptible hammer of the Lollards. Furthermore, there was a general concern with heresy, reflected in the statute *De Haeretico Comburendo* which was passed in the parliament January-March 1401. This forbade preaching without a licence and the teaching of new doctrine. All heterodox books were to be delivered to the bishop. One may well imagine that Arundel would have taken a personal interest in the provision to Hereford. Despite the wide area the archbishop covered in his metropolitical visitation *sede plena,* which according to Dr. Churchill, exceeded those covered by Archbishops Courtenay and Chichele, he did not attempt a visitation of Hereford, Exeter or Salisbury, where the suffragans had fought Courtenay most strongly.[22] Mascall must have been considered well suited to a diocese long troubled by cells of heretics. Mr. McFarlane writes, 'practices that received small attention in remote Herefordshire could not safely be indulged in for long under the very nose of a wakeful archbishop.' One only has to call to mind Sir John Oldcastle himself, who had taken a prominent part in the local affairs of Herefordshire for at least two generations before becoming the most sought after heretic in the land. Both Oldcastle's grandfather and uncle had been knights of the shire in parliament and the latter had also been sheriff and escheator of the county. Sir John represented his native shire in the parliament of January 1404, the very parliament that demanded the removal of the royal confessor from the honsehold; in 1406-7 Oldcastle served as sheriff.[23] Even the cathedral church

of Hereford afforded a strange tale of heresy in the second half of the 14th century in the person of Nicholas of Hereford who was the treasurer of Hereford Cathedral 1397-1417.[24] Thus, in view of developments in the late 14th century and events that occurred during the period of his own episcopate, Mascall must have been chosen with a view to providing strong and active diocesan rule; he succeeded Trefnant, who was a bishop much troubled by heresy and described by McFarlane as 'an undoubtedly conscientious but slow-moving disciplinarian.'[25]

Furthermore, Hereford was a strategically placed shire on the Welsh border. At a time of rebellion in Wales, it became a key buffer shire, and the western vales of Herefordshire had at this time a considerable Welsh population.[26] The strong links between Herefordshire heretics, like Swinderby and Nicholas Hereford and the Welsh demonstrate the traditional connections of these areas. Sedition and heresy were so closely linked that it is possible to imagine the fears that must have been nurtured concerning shires bordering Wales at the time of Owain Glyndŵr. Mascall, as a trusted royal servant, could be expected to prove a staunch supporter of the new dynasty in the area. Indeed, he was never translated or, as far as is known, ever considered for translation elsewhere. Henry IV was a hard-headed patron who did not lavish episcopal rewards lightly.

John Stanbury's case is very different. Although a Carmelite friar like Mascall, he had no prior links with Herefordshire. Friar-bishops were often appointed to the poorer bishoprics, and Hereford was a fairly good reward for a friar who had served the king as his confessor. As Professor Williams points out, 'of such friar-bishops, the Welsh sees, especially the smaller ones, had more than their fair share (between 1350 and 1535) . . . as an acknowledgement of their service to the king . . . the Welsh dioceses were held to be just about good enough.'[27] Hereford was a considerably richer see than all the Welsh bishoprics, apart from St. David's. Stanbury was a native of Morwenstow in Cornwall and the son of Walter Stanbury. He was educated at the Carmelite convent at Oxford, where he was reputed to be an outstanding scholar in his day; this explains why Henry VI chose him as confessor. With reference to Stanbury's scholarship and distinction, Duncumb claimed that Oxford 'adjudged to him more honours that were obtained by an individual before' and that it was after giving lectures at Oxford that he was appointed king's confessor.[28] Bale gives an impressive list of Stanbury's writings, but not one of these has survived. He gained a doctorate in theology and was evidently highly regarded by his Order because, in 1446, he was selected as one of its representatives to attend the General Chapter held at Rome for the reformation of the Carmelites.[29] Stanbury's reputation as a scholar, however, seems somewhat exaggerated in certain particulars. Herefordshire antiquarians claim that he was the first provost of the king's collegiate foundation at Eton.[30] But in the charters of Eton, Henry Sever was designated the first provost and was quickly succeeded by William Waynflete.[31]



It was by 1446 that Stanbury emerged as a royal favourite; Henry VI sought to promote him to the see of Norwich. This proved unsuccessful in the face of opposition from the earl of Suffolk and his protege, Walter Lyhert, who was provost of Oriel and confessor to Queen Margaret of Anjou. At Oriel Lyhert came into contact with Thomas Gascoigne, who mentioned Lyhert with condemnation in his *Liber de Veritatibus,* stating that he was Reginald Peacock's patron. Henry VI was undoubtedly a poor patron—usually where power lay there also resided effective episcopal patronage. During the king's minority, the question of preferment had naturally become more complex. With the king's majority, the pattern of preferment should have reverted to a more traditional course with the king exerting greatest influence. However, the continuation, and increasing bitterness, of faction struggles made the king less able to provide unhindered to vacant sees. Henry's own choices reflect his personality; the men he raised to the episcopate were admired scholars or his religious counsellors, men such as William Ayscough, Richard Praty and William Lyndwood.[32]

On 25 January 1448 Stanbury received a grant of twenty marks due to the king through the death of Thomas Chiryngton, bishop of Bangor.[33] This was obviously a stepping stone in Stanbury's career, but it was not a fair or profitable testing ground for the new bishop. It is probable that the king did not consider Bangor to be rich enough for his confessor, but having failed to secure his promotion to the much richer see of Norwich (assessed at 5,000 florins for *servitia,* compared with Bangor's 470 and Hereford's 1,800 florins),[34] Bangor did at least give Stanbury episcopal status. Like the other Welsh bishoprics, Bangor had suffered great material losses during the Glyndŵr rebellion.[35] In 1421 the bishop had claimed that it would take ten years to improve the revenue of the diocese, and in 1453 Archbishop Kempe had to remit to Bishop Stanbury, on account of the poverty of the see of Bangor the fees due to him and his officers on the occasion of his consecration as bishop. In February 1449 he was pardoned certain debts 'in consideration of his poverty and the small endowment of his church.'[36] It is unlikely that Stanbury ever visited Bangor for any length of time — if at all — and no Register of this period survives. Yet, he remembered his first bishopric in his will, leaving it £30.

Stanbury ranked high in the king's trust. In June 1449 Henry VI issued at Winchester a licence to Stanbury as bishop of Bangor to make a will, perhaps in the presence of Stanbury himself.[37] He was to remain with the king throughout the following decade. On 17 March 1450 Stanbury was present in the king's chamber at Westminster during Suffolk's second appearance to face complaints when the king held the duke 'neither declared nor charged' and sent him into exile.[38] It was in 1450, too, that Stanbury is first mentioned as being present at a meeting of the king's Council.[39] Stanbury was also prominent enough, and

unpopular enough, during the crisis of 1450 to be mentioned in a ballad of the commons of Kent during John Cade's uprising.[40] The ballad is in the form of a satirical dirge for the murdered duke of Suffolk in which many bishops take part. Those mentioned appear to be a random selection and include such notorious courtier-prelates as William Ayscough, Walter Lyhert and Reginald Boulers, all of whom had suffered in the recent troubles; but non-political figures, such as John Carpenter of Worcester and Nicholas Close of Carlisle, were also mentioned. It is worth recalling, however, that Stanbury was mentioned by name —'Frere Stanbury'— and not by his episcopal title as are the majority of bishops. This suggests perhaps a particular knowledge of the royal confessor on the part of the commons, even a marked dislike of him, for the only other bishops similarly named were Walter Lyhert and Adam Moleyns, both of whom were closely associated with the unpopular Suffolk. Lyhert, his chaplain, was attacked, while Moleyns, employed in the government as keeper of the privy seal, was murdered. R. J. Knecht, in considering the position of the bishops in the mid-15th century, writes, 'it would have been impossible for the bishops recruited as they were for mostly political ends, not to have been involved in the political controversies of the day.'[41] Stanbury was thought to be a central figure in the detested household circle about the wing in 1450. The known personal inadequacy of the king made a great many deeply suspicious of anyone in a position to influence the king's pliant mind. The fundamental problem between 1422 and 1461 lay in the king's personality rather than in his councillors and household.

Stanbury was translated from Bangor to Hereford on 7 February 1453.[42] Henry VI had clearly singled Stanbury out for preferment since 1446, and Bangor had been a poor reward for someone the king valued so highly. However, although several other sees fell vacant, between 1448 and Stanbury's translation to Hereford in 1453, other men were preferred to them. Perhaps Stanbury lacked a powerful patron other than the king whose inability to promote bishops of his own choice was manifest. The see of Hereford alone was filled twice: on Spofford's death in 1449 by Richard Beauchamp and, on Beauchamp's translation to Salisbury, by Reginald Boulers, abbot of Gloucester. One may well conjecture that Suffolk did not concern himself unduly with Stanbury's episcopal career. He rather attempted to fill the episcopal bench with useful and prominent supporters of his own, such as Adam Moleyns, Boulers, William Booth and Marmaduke Lumley. Suffolk was well on the way to creating an influential following in the church. It was, as E. F. Jacob claims, 'a circle of almost Caroline selectivity'[43] since patronage must have helped to determine the political outlook of certain of the bishops, especially those of non-aristocratic origin who did not feel strong family loyalties.[44] They provided a group of men so closely connected with the king or with the queen's household that Stanbury as royal confessor must have felt completely at home in its midst.



In the late 1440s and 1450s questions of patronage and preferment had become increasingly involved with the still deeper splintering of factional interests, complicated as they became by the queen's intervention. Professor A. R. Myers speaks of 'the dominating personality of the queen, always quick and determined to help those whom she trusted' which meant that she became a formidable patron in her own right.[45] Stanbury, then lived in a very different political environment from Mascall. It was a period in which the historian is tempted to impose a pattern upon promotion to, and within, the episcopate which is determined in large part by the in-fighting of factions. Circumstances in the diocese of Hereford were therefore somewhat different from those obtaining in Mascall's time. Most obviously, Wales was no longer in the throes of revolt, and Hereford need no longer be regarded as an important base from which to combat Welsh rebels. However dislocated central and local government was to become later in the decade, in 1453 the need to have this diocese in strong loyal hands would not have been as acute as in 1404. Furthermore, after the rising of 1431, Lollardy was a less dangerous force and its association with sedition had weakened. Yet in the intervening period, Hereford had continued to witness several manifestations of heresy. In February 1433 a commission was appointed to inquire into heresies in the Almeley area, where there had probably been a tradition of unorthodoxy from the time of Sir John Oldcastle. This commission was the result of evidence of unorthodoxy found by Bishop Spofford in his visitation.[46] Heresy trials held in the Severn Valley in the years immediately before the mid-century show that the problem was still acute. J. A. F. Thomson points out that the views of some of the victims were more extreme than their predecessors. And it may be relevant to note the anti-clerical tinge in the crisis of 1450. The disorders of 1450 in the diocese of Salisbury culminated in the murder of Bishop Ayscough at Edington in Wiltshire. The population of the borderland and West Country was, it appears, still attracted by Lollardy.

The most disturbing political factor affecting the border country in the year preceding Stanbury's translation had been the duke of York's stay for significant periods in the Welsh March at Ludlow. This doubtless made life uneasy for Stanbury's predecessor at Hereford, Reginald Boulers, who was translated to Coventry and Lichfield in 1452. A former Suffolk partisan, he was clearly associated with the court and his removal from the king's presence was asked for in the parliament of January 1451. He spent little time at Hereford, but chose to stay in Gloucester, making hurried visits only to his diocese. It is also certainly difficult to conclude that Stanbury was chosen for the unruly see of Hereford with a view of his being an active diocesan in a needy area, despite Henry VI's expressed appreciation of Spofford's work in the diocese during 1421-48.[47]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Ralph A. Griffiths, University College, Swansea, for his assistance during my researches into this subject.

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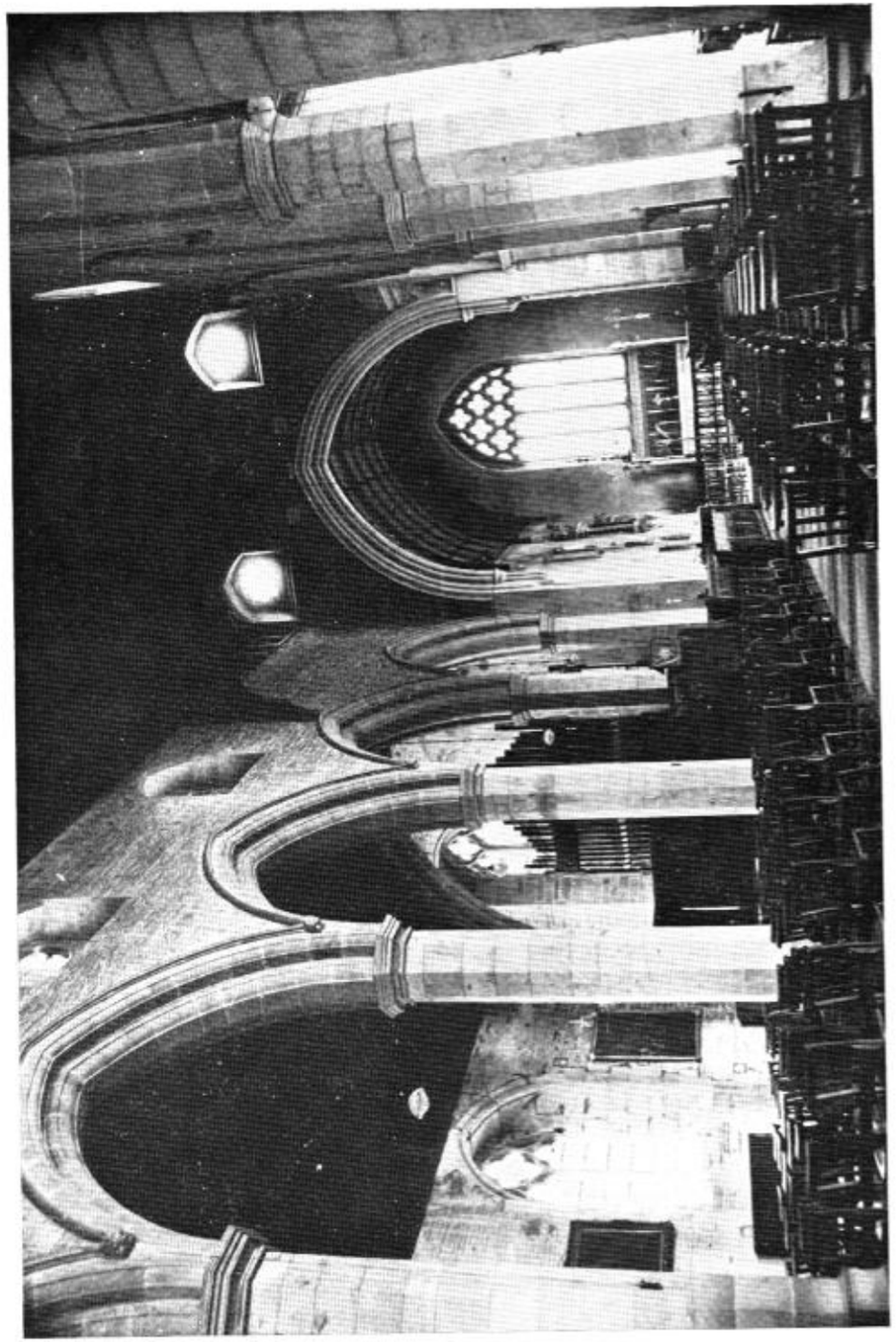
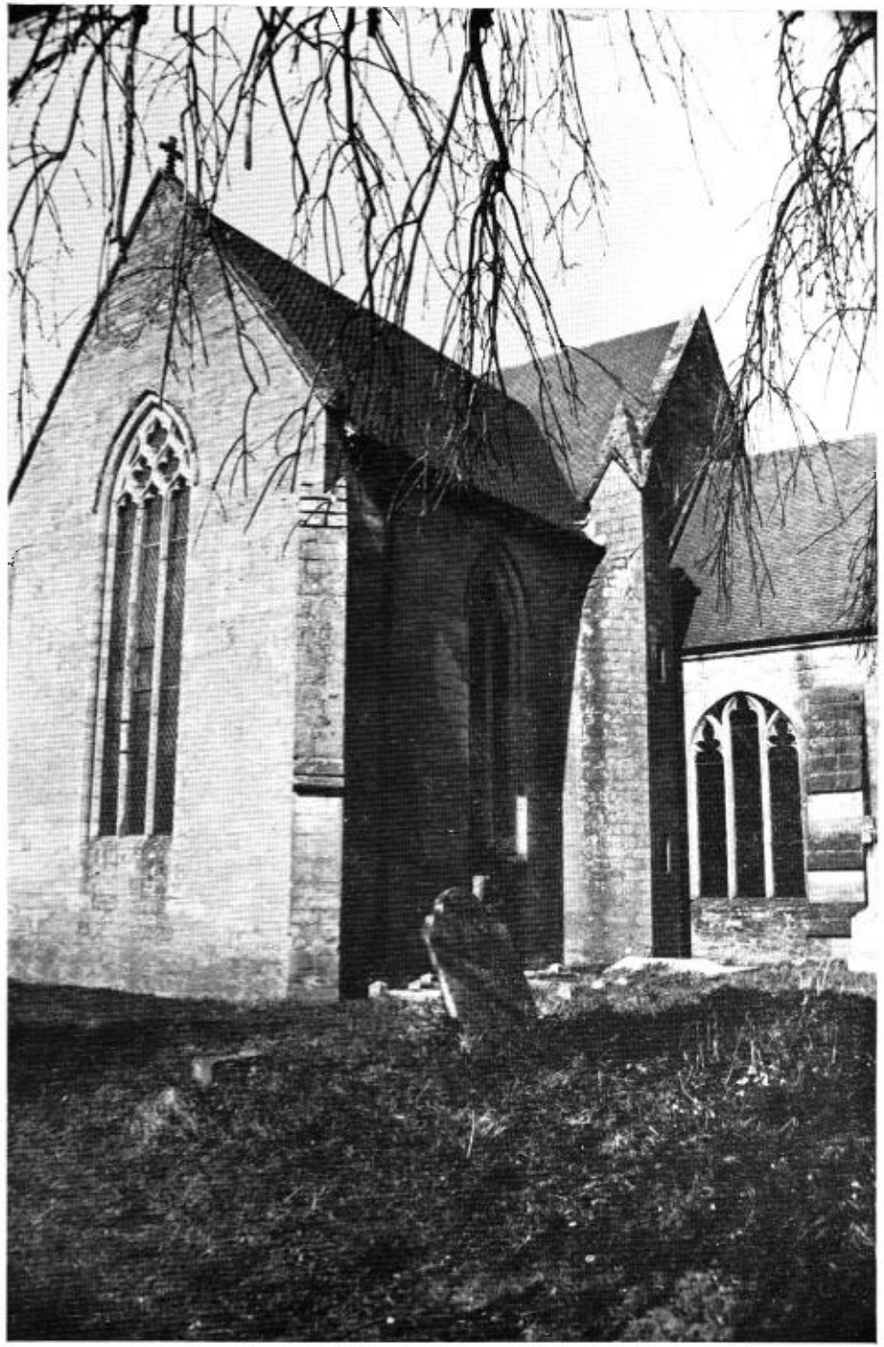
*Abbreviations*

*C. P. R.* Calendar of the Patent Rolls.
*C. C. R.* Calendar of the Close Rolls.
*C. P. L.* Calendar of Papal Letters.
*Rot. Parl.* Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parliamento.

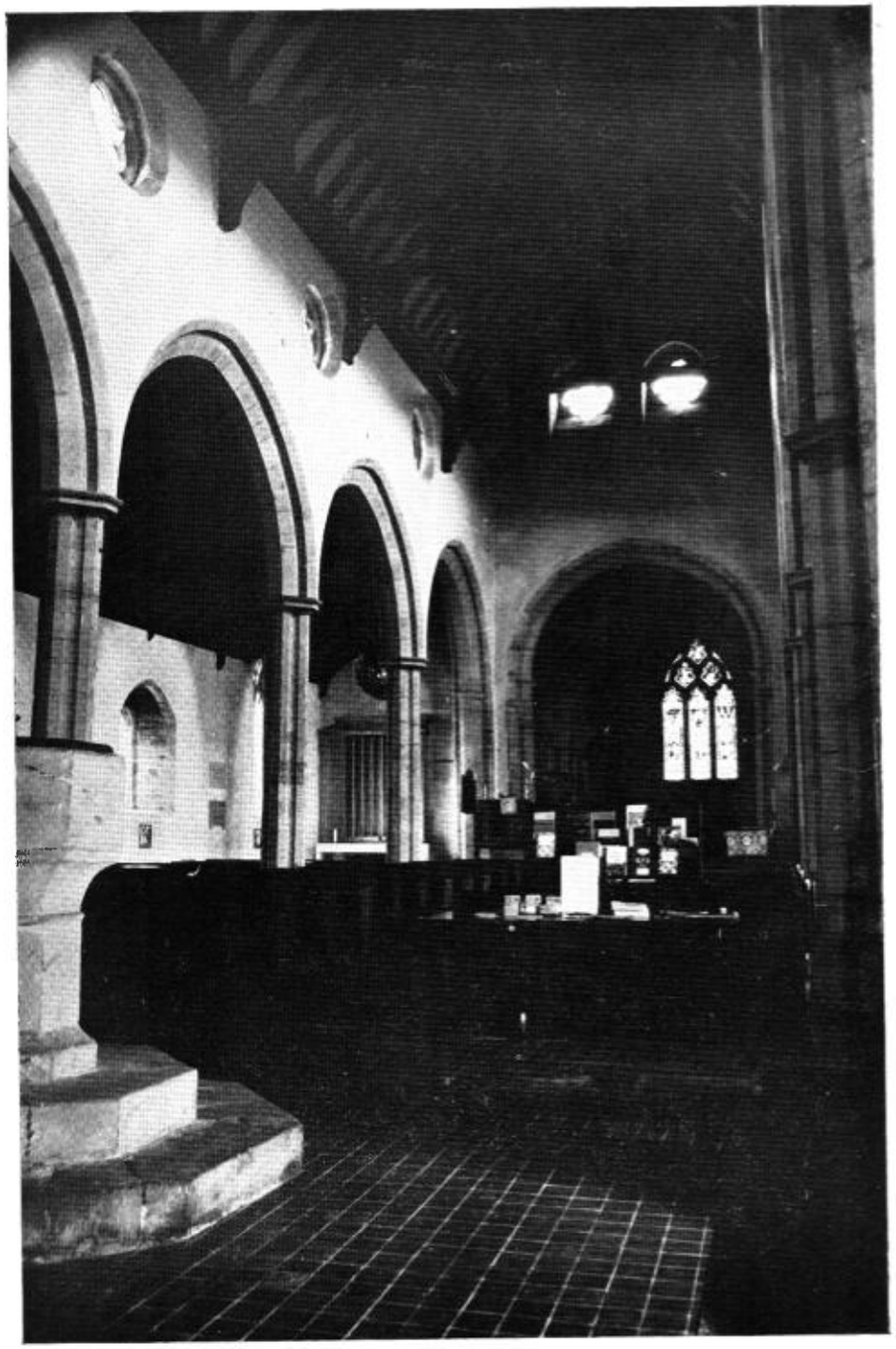

I— Pembridge belltower (left) and church from the north-west (from an old postcard)



II— Pembridge, interi r from the west
Note the half-arch into the north transept isible behind the arcade on the left side



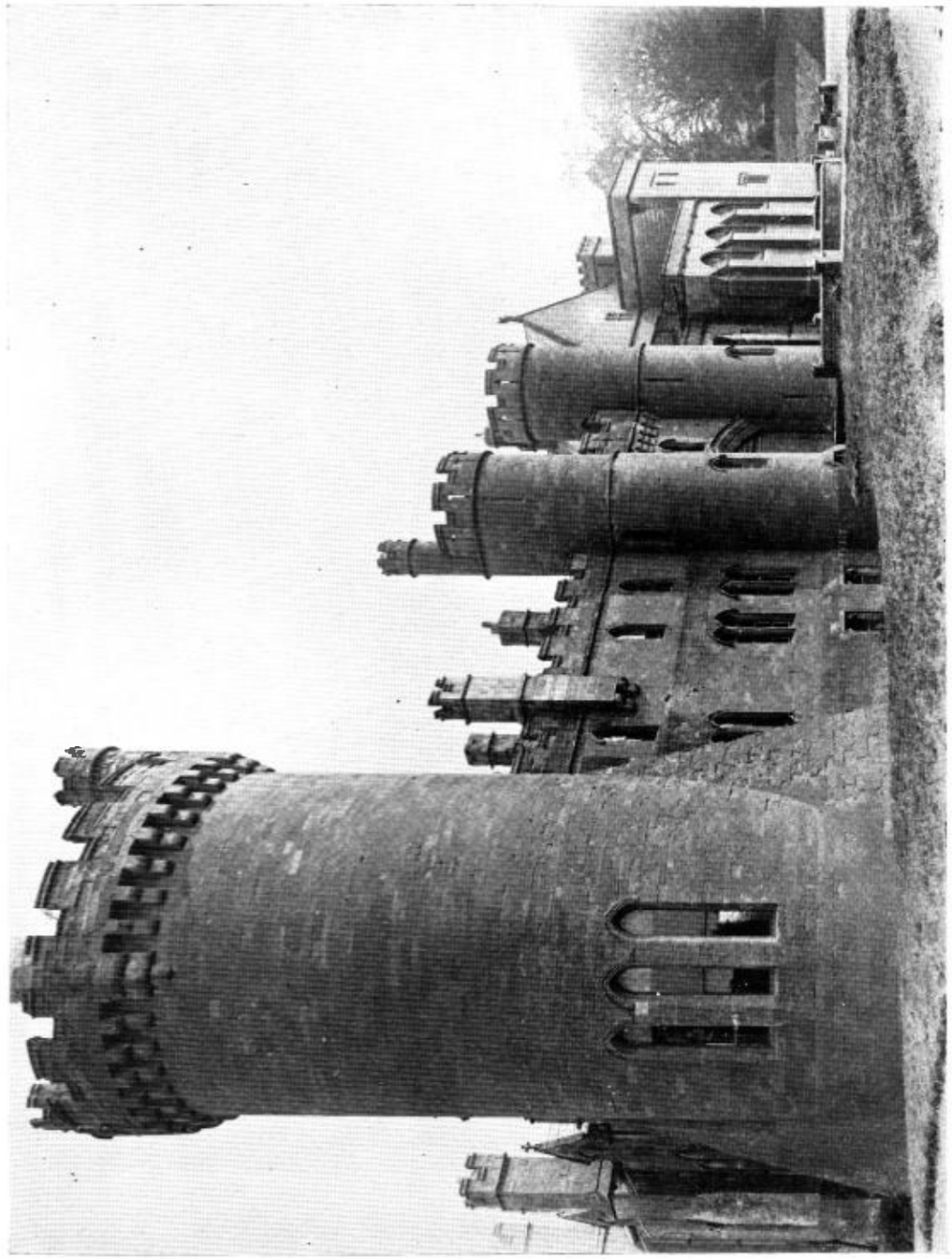
III— Pembridge, south transept
Note the staircase turret at the junction with the chancel wall, and the stepped lancet light window to the right of it



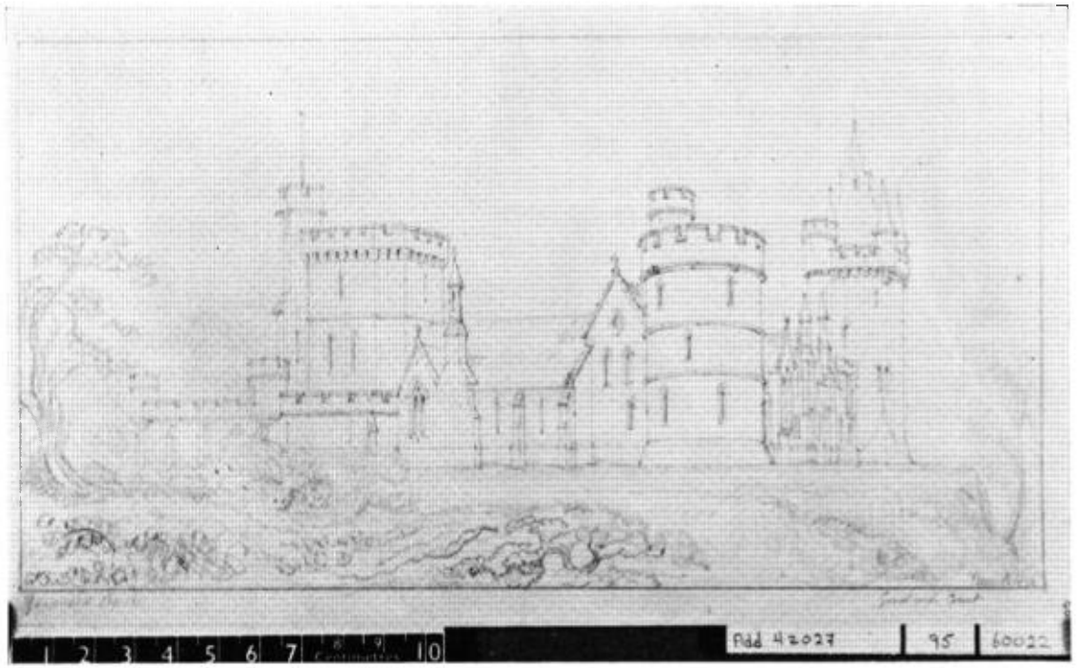
IV— Kingsland, interior from the west

V— Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick
*(Reproduced by courtesy National Portrait Gallery, London)*

VI— The Gatehouse at Goodrich Court

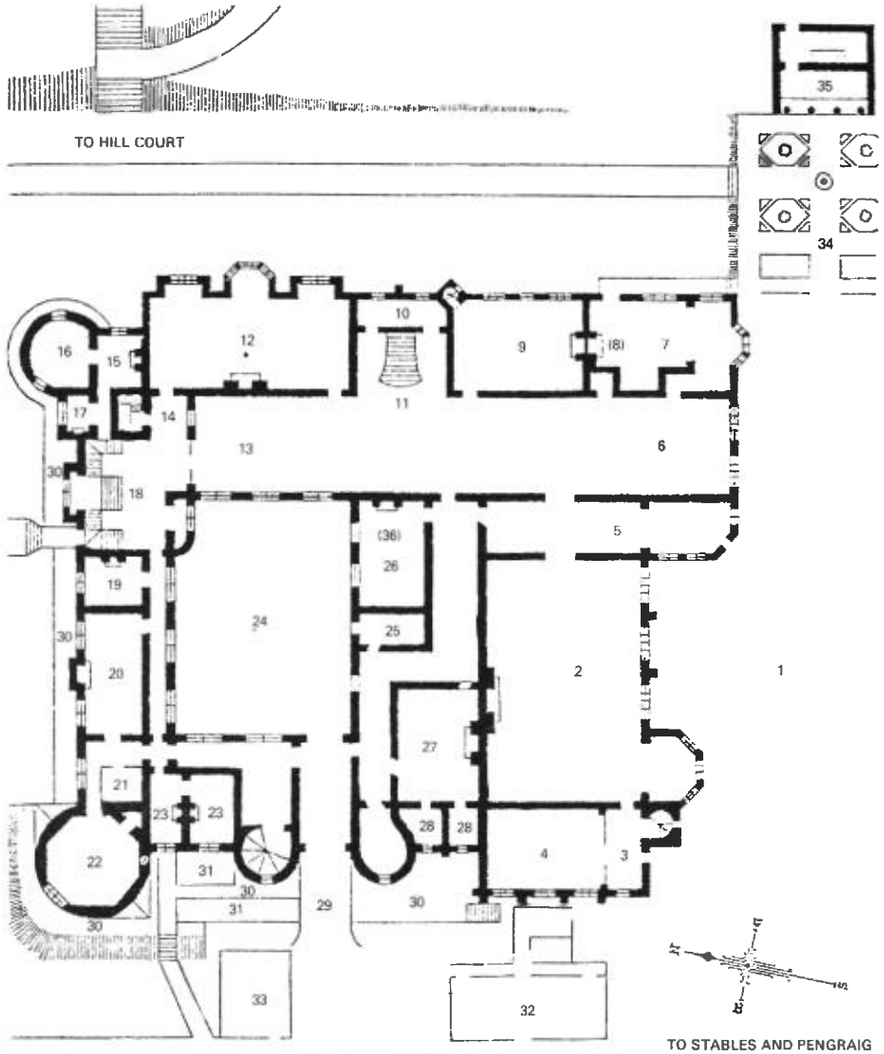


VII— Goodrich Court
The entrance or west front as it was in 1945 *(Reproduced by courtesy National Monuments Record)*




VIII— The north and east elevations of Goodrich Court, sketched by Edward Blore
*(Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board)*

IX— Goodrich Court
The great hall, built by Harold Moffat and showing the coronation fireplace

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | PARADE GROUND | 13 | GRAND GALLERY 2 | 23 | STAFF ROOMS |
| 2 | GREAT HALL | 14 | TO UNDERGROUND | 24 | COURTYARD |
| 3 | ANTE-CHAPEL | 15 | HEADMASTER'S STUDY | 25 | LARDER |
| 4 | CHAPEL | 16 | MRS. TRAFFORD'S ROOM | 26 | PANTRY |
| 5 | ENTRANCE HALL | 17 | MR. ALSTON'S STUDY | 27 | KITCHEN |
| 6 | GRAND GALLERY 1 | 18 | TO SICKROOM | 28 | SCULLERY AND STOREROOMS |
| 7 | SMOKING ROOM— MASTERS' COMMON ROOM | 19 | BREDA ROOM—BURY, MASTERS' DINING ROOM (CLASSICAL VI.) | 29 | DRAWBRIDGE |
| (8) | BATHROOM OVER (HISTORY & ENGLISH VI.) | 20 | BILLIARDS ROOM —MONTS' JUNIOR ROOM | 30 | MOAT |
| 9 | DINING ROOM—LIBRARY (M.L. VI.) | 21 | PAINTED ROOM —MONTS' HOUSE PREFECTS | 31 | BICYCLE SHEDS |
| 10 | STAIRS CLASSROOM | 22 | OCTAGON ROOM —MONTS' SENIOR ROOM | 32 | GYMNASIUM |
| 11 | MAIN STAIRCASE | | | 33 | ARMOURY |
| 12 | DRAWING ROOM —STOCKS' HOUSE ROOM | | | 34 | ITALIAN GARDEN |
| | | | | 35 | SUMMER HOUSE—BIOLOGY LAB. |
| | | | | (36) | SCHOOL PREFECTS' STUDY OVER |

**GOODRICH COURT**

**X**— Plan of Goodrich Court with adaptations whilst in use by Felsted School, 1940-5

XI— Rev. T. T. Lewis with his daughter, *c.* 1855

# Mortality in the Diocese of Hereford 1442-1541

*By* M. A. FARADAY

THE Court Books of the Episcopal Consistory of Hereford which have been deposited in the County Record Office in recent years record the varied business of the church court arising from its jurisdiction over moral offences, matters of conscience and, particularly, the probate of wills. From the period 1442 to 1541 forty-two yearly books, together with some fragments, have survived. These contain some 11,800 probate and administration grants.[1]

Such numbers of probate grants can provide very good evidence of relative levels of mortality in the diocese, and this article attempts to use them for this purpose. Only better-off people in general left wills or goods worth grants of administration and it is to be expected that their standards of nutrition would have given them an advantage over their poorer neighbours. At least they might be expected to have been the last to die of starvation after a bad harvest. Nevertheless, the incidence of infectious disease was such that this relative advantage would have been mitigated. The numbers of probates can therefore (with some adjustments and reservations) be taken as an index of mortality generally.

Each Court Book covers court sessions from early October until the following summer. It was common for the same probate case to be adjourned several times before the actual grant was made, but only the first recorded listing of a case is included in the figures upon which the following comments are based. Where the book for the previous year has not survived it is not possible to tell which of the October probate cases were being listed for the first time—in short, whether they were new cases or whether they arose some time before August. As, however, many consecutive books have survived, it is possible to guess at the normal proportion of October cases which were in fact adjournments. I have taken this to be 20% for the purpose of this article.[2] This does not significantly alter the relative magnitude of the yearly totals. There were few court sessions between July and October, so it may be accepted that the October lists consist chiefly of probates arising from deaths in those summer months. It is also possible that the archdeacons' summer visitations may have uncovered a few deaths from still earlier months which had not been reported; there is no way of guessing at their numbers, so it seems sensible to assume that they would have been few and evenly spread throughout the year. The apparitors, court officials whose job it was to seek out revenue-earning business for the court, were notoriously effective and we must allow their reputations to support the figures.

The court was itinerant and heard cases in a series of two and three week circuits of the diocese, meeting in each successive deanery on each circuit to hear cases from that deanery only. The deaneries were: Weobley, Leominster, Ludlow, Clun, Pontesbury, Wenlock, Stottesdon, Burford, Frome (based on Bromyard and Ledbury), Irchenfield (based on Monmouth), Ross, Forest and Weston (a deanery scattered across east-central Herefordshire).[3] Hereford deanery, containing the city itself, fell outside the jurisdiction of the court.

The probates can therefore be analysed both by deanery and by the month of the court session. Wills which have survived demonstrate that in most cases executors proved wills within a few days of the testators' deaths. Analyses by parishes are also possible because parishes of residence are recorded.

There are wide variations in annual mortality which must be attributed either to the accidental result of administrative inability to process probates evenly or to the results of epidemics. The effects or even the existence of the former cannot be proved; there is no evidence that the Wars of the Roses, fought during the earlier decades of the century,[4] disrupted the normal working of the court. There is some evidence that the court did not sit in late 1454 and 1455, in late 1467 and early 1468, in the summer of 1473 to the summer of 1474 and at times in 1474-1476. None of these periods coincided with military campaigns and were themselves unusual.

There is however evidence of epidemics. The registers of the bishops of Hereford for much of this period have survived; these record institutions to benefices where the previous incumbents had died.[5] The numbers are not large enough for a very significant mathematical correlation coefficient to be calculated (in fact $r = 0.3457$);[6] nevertheless, when they are plotted together, inspection suggests that there is some relation between numbers of probates and numbers of deaths of incumbents and that therefore fluctuations in probate numbers represent fluctuations in contemporary mortality.

The other evidence can be derived from the probates themselves. In each book there are testators who were clearly related to certain other testators. Contemporaneous deaths within the same family may reasonably be ascribed to infectious disease. If these are compared with the gross numbers of probates a significant correlation is found ($r = 0.6967$). It may therefore be concluded that large numbers of probates indicate epidemic diseases.

In the 'normal' way of things the old die before the young; epidemic infectious disease, however, is likely to take away a higher proportion of young adults than would otherwise die. Bubonic plague, particularly, was known to attack the young. The only way of determining the number of deaths of young adults in the probate records is to look for those whose parents were their executors. The



average for a year was 7 or 8. In 1445/6 there were 9; in 1479/80, 32; in 1487/8, 10; in 1502/3, 20; in 1508/9, 20; in 1514/5, 12; in 1529/30, 10; in 1530/1, 10; and in 1537/8, 10. These were generally years of high mortality.

The number of administrations granted may also be significant. There may be many reasons for intestacies, but the commonest in all ages is that deceased's final illness came suddenly, usually from infectious disease. During the century the numbers of administrations gradually increased, probably for reasons unrelated to the incidence of sudden mortality,[7] but in certain years their numbers were much greater than was normal in the decade: in 1479/80, 62; in 1501/2, 50; 1508/9, 63; in 1527/8, 51; 1529/30, 57; in 1535/6, 41; and in 1537/8, 57. These were years of high mortality.

Creighton notes outbreaks of epidemic disease during this century; the chief among these were the plague and the sweating sickness.[8] His references are noted in the yearly calendar which follows.

Adjustments to the raw probate totals are necessary. Where parts of a book are missing the numbers of missing probates have been estimated according to the normal proportion of the annual total which the lost deaneries or sessions comprise. A reduction to take account of adjournments included in the October lists has already been referred to. In the early 1520s some testators are noted as having died on the king's service or overseas (presumably while on Surrey's and Suffolk's campaigns in France); these too have been subtracted.[9] The Table which follows the text of this article includes these adjustments.

## CALENDAR OF MORTALITY[10]

### 1442-1443

Mortality was in general below average for the century, although in Ludlow and Irchenfield deaneries it was well above. The peak was in November.

### 1445-1446

Mortality was generally very high, particularly in Weobley and Weston deaneries, though Pontesbury and Frome suffered less than usually. The main peak in November was followed by a smaller peak in May. Groups of deaths included: (a) John, Thomas and Margaret Mordiford of Ludlow and John Carpenter of Stanton Lacy and Richard Carpenter of Bitterley; and (b) John, Margery and Thomas Balle of Dilwyn. Mitcheldean had most deaths (23), followed by Tenbury (14) and Weobley (13).

### 1447-1448

Mortality in the diocese was below normal; there was a peak in October. Creighton notes an epidemic, probably plague at Oxford, in 1448.

1453-1454

Mortality was above normal in total, the level being particularly high in Frome, although Ross deanery suffered little. Most deaths were in Bromyard (12) and Clun (12). Creighton notes plague in London in 1454.

1455-1456

Only Ludlow deanery went against the general level of below average mortality. There was a small peak in November.

1456-1457

Mortality was generally below average; the peak was in April.

1458-1459

Total mortality was average; although Leominster suffered very much more than usual, Ludlow, Pontesbury, Frome and Ross suffered very much less. A small peak in October was followed by a higher one in February.

1459-1460

May and June were the peak months in a year of below average mortality.

1467-1468

Only the May to September figures have survived; these show quite high mortality in May. Creighton notes plague in London in 1467.

1468-1469

Only Pontesbury and Forest suffered higher than normal mortality in a year of below average mortality generally. A small peak in February was followed by a higher one in July.

1471-1472

Very high levels of mortality in Frome and Irchenfield cancelled out the effects of low mortality elsewhere. Again the peak was in July, preceded in this year by a smaller peak in November. Creighton notes plague in Southwell in 1471 and in Hull in 1472.

1472-1473

Mortality was higher than normal, chiefly owing to the high level in Pontesbury. The monthly peak was in February. Groups of deaths included Thomas and Katherine Lymen of Wenlock and Ralph Lymen of Ditton.

1474-1475

This was a year of below average mortality, although the previous June had been otherwise. There were most deaths in Monmouth (12). Groups of deaths included William, John and Agnes Ball of Pontesbury.



1475-1476

Mortality over the year was below normal, though in April and May it was particularly high. Most deaths in Leominster (19). Creighton notes plague in Hull in 1476.

1479-1480

This was the worst year by far of the whole century. The records for the months before October have not survived and it may be that the peak of the epidemic occurred then in most places, though it seems to have been reached in November in Wenlock and Burford, in January in Pontesbury and Forest, in February in Irchenfield and in June 1480 in Stottesdon; these however may have been secondary peaks. Most deaths occurred in Leominster (21), Leintwardine (18), Pontesbury (18), Ledbury (17), Tenbury (15), Ross (14), Westbury, Gloucs. (12), Diddlebury (11) and Lindridge (10). That this scattered group of nine parishes contributed almost a quarter of the total deaths in the diocese indicates how varied was the incidence of even this, the worst, epidemic. Although places suffering high mortality were scattered throughout the diocese, two thirds of those experiencing lower than normal levels of mortality were along the western border of the diocese. More than half the parishes manifest fairly normal levels. Groups of deaths included (a) Roger, Alice and Isabel Hill of Brinsop, (b) Margaret, Richard and Roger Hoby of Clifford, (c) Richard, Juliana and Roger Turner of Stoke St. Milborough, (d) Giles Sibrance of Ross and John, Rose and Henry Sibrance of Walford, (e) Agnes and Richard Bradford of Ledbury and James Bradford of Donnington, and (f) John, Margaret and Margaret Court of Walford. Creighton refers to the great plague of 1478/9 in London, Hull, Norwich and other places.

1480-1481

This was a year of average mortality with the peak in April. Weston deanery, however, suffered unusually severely. Most deaths occurred in Bodenham (15) and Newland (11).

1481-1482

Mortality was only slightly less than that of the previous year, again with a peak in April.

1486-1487

Leominster deanery suffered severely in a year of very high mortality generally, although Clun and Burford were affected less than normally. October and May were the peak months. Most deaths occurred in Leominster parish (15), Lydney (12) and Ludlow (12). Creighton notes plague in Oxford in August 1486 and the first outbreak of the sweating sickness in 1485.

1487-1488

Ross and Forest suffered very severely in a year of generally above average mortality; it was however less than normal in Leominster, Ludlow and Wenlock deaneries. May was the worst month.

1488-1489

In Leominster deanery it was one of the worst years of the century, Leominster parish suffering 15 deaths and Presteigne 14 (including 4 in nearby Norton). Elsewhere mortality was fairly normal. The peak was reached in February.

1489-1490

Mortality was generally below normal; November was the peak month.

1490-1491

There was a further fall in mortality, with a small peak in February being followed by a larger one in April. Creighton notes plague in Oxford in 1491.

1491-1492

This year experienced the lowest mortality of the century. The period from October 1486 to September 1492 is the best documented of the whole century; it shows what may be a full cycle of an epidemic, from the sudden onset and initial severity to the gradual recovery over the years. The progressive fall in mortality may reflect both the subsequent deaths from other causes of those weakened by the original infection and the gradual disappearance of residual pockets of infection. It may be thought to have the characteristics of a short-term plague cycle.

1494-1495

Mortality was at a normal level with no deanery varying from its average by very much. November was the peak month. Groups of deaths included Robert, Thomas and John Lova of Clifford. Creighton notes the first outbreak of syphilis in this year.

1499-1500

Although Wenlock and Frome suffered less than usual, this was a year of above average mortality generally, with Forest particularly badly affected; there were 15 deaths in Westbury. Groups of deaths included Alice, Isabel and John Smyth of Rushbury. Creighton notes a very severe outbreak of plague everywhere lasting until October 1501.

1500-1501

Mortality was generally a little less than normal but Forest suffered even more than in 1499-1500. November was the worst month.



1501-1502

Mortality was in total above average, although levels were below normal in six deaneries. Irchenfield however was severely affected. There were most deaths in Ludlow (15) and Presteigne (13); this includes one will from each proved in the PCC. February was the worst month. Groups of deaths included John, William and John Nichols of Dilwyn.

1502-1503

This year experienced the third worst mortality of the century with a peak in November and a smaller peak in February. Mortality was at twice the normal numbers in Ludlow and Wenlock but was below normal in Pontesbury, Frome and Weston. Most deaths occurred in Leominster (21), Ludlow (20), Presteigne (14) and Ross (13). Groups of deaths included: (a) William, John and Edward Wilson of Bromyard; (b) John and John Bigilston of Much Birch and Robert Bigilston of Llanwarne; (c) William and Katherine Walker of Linton and Walter Walker and his wife at Newland.

1507-1508

Only Leominster, Stottesdon and Frome were above normal in a year of below normal mortality. Deaths were evenly spread throughout the year apart from a peak in August. Groups of deaths included Walter, Humfrey and William Parsons of Upper Sapey.

1508-1509

The second worst mortality of the century occurred in this year, reaching a peak in June. Levels were high in the eastern parts of the diocese, and particularly in the south-eastern deaneries of Forest, Ross and Irchenfield, although Pontesbury, Leominster and Weston suffered less than normally. Most deaths occurred in Newland (24), Westbury, Gloucs (14), Ludlow (13), Wollaston (10) and Bromyard (11). Groups of deaths included: (a) William, Johan, Agnes and Walter Pyrry of Rudford; (b) John and Edmund Bray of Awre and William Bray of Wollaston; and (c) Richard and Richard Wintle of Westbury and Alice Wintle of Longhope. Creighton notes plague and sweating sickness in 1508; and on 24 June 1509 John Browne of Ludlow made his will naming a second executor 'forasmoche as Margery my wife ys sore greved and vexed with infirmitie of Pestilence'.[11]

1514-1515

Mortality was above normal, especially in Wenlock, and reached a peak in April. Most deaths occurred in Ludlow (12), Bewdley (9), Leominster (9)—including one will in the PCC—and Monmouth (7). Creighton notes severe plague in Oxford and London in 1513.

1517-1518

Clun, Pontesbury and Wenlock suffered more than usually in an otherwise average year. The peak month was October and there was a smaller peak in the following June. Groups of deaths included William Yorke of Little Wenlock and his two servants. Creighton notes sweating sickness from June 1517 to December, coinciding with plague from September.

1519-1520

The records for half the deaneries are missing so large estimates are necessary. It seems to have been an average year with a peak in April. Mortality was low in Leominster. Most deaths occurred in Ludlow (10)—including one PCC will—and Worthen (6). Groups of deaths included Alice and Margaret Perse of Habberley and Thomas Perse of Pontesbury.

1522-1523

A peak in October began a year of average mortality, though Stottesdon was well above and Forest well below normal. Most deaths occurred in Leominster (14) and Ludlow (8). Groups of deaths included: (a) Margery and Maud Beckinsale and Ralph Strete of Leominster; and (b) Philip, Elizabeth, William and John Gynny of Little Birch.

1523-1524

Only Wenlock suffered greater than normal mortality, and this to a severe extent, in an otherwise average year. April was the peak month. There were 9 deaths in Monmouth. Groups of deaths included: (a) William and John Tiler of Aymestrey and John Tiler of Leominster; and (b) William and John Yevans of Coldweston and William Yevans of Kingsland.

1524-1525

This was an average year for which large estimates are required to substitute for missing probates.

1525-1526

An October peak was followed by a smaller peak in March. North of the river Teme mortality was above average; south of the river it was below average. Most deaths occurred in Presteigne (12), Clun (8), Ludlow (8) and Ross (6). Creighton refers to plague at Shrewsbury in 1525.



1527-1528

All deaneries, but particularly Burford and Weobley, suffered severely in this year in which mortality was the fourth highest of the century. The worst months were November and July. Most deaths took place at Kington (18), Presteigne (14), Bromyard (10) and Lydney (10). Creighton remarks upon the fourth great outbreak of sweating sickness between June and August 1528.

1529-1530

Mortality was above normal with a peak in November and another in May. Shropshire suffered most while Weobley's mortality was below average. Most deaths occurred in Leominster (16), Ludlow (14)—including one PCC will—and Presteigne (9). Groups of deaths included: (a) John, John and Walter Wever of Presteigne; (b) Elizabeth, Richard, Walter and John Erdisland of Burford and Thomas Erdisland of Coreley; and (c) John and William Milward of Bucknell and Roger Milward of Lydbury North.

1530-1531

The western side of the diocese suffered somewhat less than usual, while the eastern side suffered more, particularly Stottesdon, Ross and Forest. October was the worst month. Most deaths were in Ross (10) and Leintwardine (7). Groups of deaths included David and Jenet Tumkins of Llangarren and Thomas and Agnes Tumkins of St. Weonards.

1534-1535

Only Wenlock suffered more than normally in a below average year. Most deaths were in Leominster (10) and Ludlow (7). Groups of deaths included: (a) Hugh, Richard and John Hall of Kington and Philip Hall of Whitney; and (b) John and Thomas Scaltoke of Stretton followed some months later by that of John Scaltoke of Monkhopton.

1535-1536

All deaneries suffered lower than normal mortality except Weobley. Most deaths occurred in Kington (7) and Pontesbury (7). Creighton refers to plague in Shrewsbury in the summer of 1536.

1537-1538

Only Forest and Ross did not suffer well above normal mortality in a very bad year. Most deaths occurred in Leominster (21), Clun (16), Ludlow (16), Clunbury (13), Much Marcle (10) and Presteigne (10). The PCC registers contain the wills (all 1537) of John, Richard and Roger Shortgrove of Bishop's Frome.

1538-1539

It is the exceptionally high figures of mortality in Clun deanery, and also the mortality in Wenlock which disguise the effect of very low levels elsewhere. The peak seems to have been in January. Most deaths were in Clun (13) and Clunbury (11); the records are very fragmented and it is possible that some of the Clun probates relate to the previous year.

1539-1540

Ludlow and Leominster suffered above normal mortality, which seems to have been typical of the diocese, although estimates have to be used for Forest and Weston. Groups of deaths included Thomas, Agnes, Alison and Richard Ades of Weston under Penyard.

1540-1541

May was the peak month. Mortality was about normal, though Ludlow suffered more and Clun, Stottesdon and Frome very much less than usual. There were 13 deaths in Leominster parish.

Although factors other than deaths in a particular year may have influenced the numbers of probates in that year and although only the better-off section of society was represented in probate records, I consider that where the probates are as numerous as they are in the Hereford records they are useful as indicators of relative levels of mortality both chronologically and geographically.

In the following Table I have summarised the figures.



## MORTALITY 1442-1541

### ANNUAL PROBATE TOTALS IN THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD 1442-1541

| Year | Total Probates in Book | Estimated Missing Probates | Estimated Adjourned Probates | Revised Total of Probates | Archdeaconry Salop % | Archdeaconry Heref % | First Half % | Second Half % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1442-43 | 216 | 7 | 7 | 216 | 47 | 53 | 42 | 58 |
| 1445-46 | 412 | 10 | 16 | 406 | 38 | 62 | 60 | 40 |
| 1447-48 | 188 | 0 | 15 | 173 | 35 | 65 | 70 | 30 |
| 1453-54 | 321 | 0 | 22 | 299 | 36 | 64 | 59 | 41 |
| 1455-56 | 173 | 43 | 7 | 209 | 39 | 61 | 57 | 43 |
| 1456-57 | 184 | 6 | 0 | 190 | 38 | 62 | 45 | 55 |
| 1458-59 | 242 | 7 | 19 | 230 | 34 | 66 | 61 | 39 |
| 1459-60 | 165 | 5 | 0 | 170 | 32 | 68 | 28 | 72 |
| 1468-69 | 215 | 0 | 5 | 210 | 30 | 70 | 41 | 59 |
| 1471-72 | 213 | 62 | 8 | 267 | 30 | 70 | 41 | 59 |
| 1472-73 | 210 | 96 | 0 | 306 | 40 | 60 | 73 | 27 |
| 1473-74 | 122 | 21 | 0 | 143 | — | — | 14 | 86 |
| 1474-75 | 93 | 82 | 0 | 175 | — | — | 62 | 38 |
| 1475-76 | 214 | 3 | 0 | 217 | — | — | 19 | 81 |
| 1479-80 | 560 | 18 | 42 | 536 | 45 | 55 | 76 | 24 |
| 1480-81 | 237 | 0 | 0 | 237 | 33 | 67 | 38 | 62 |
| 1481-82 | 228 | 0 | 0 | 228 | 35 | 65 | 38 | 62 |
| 1486-87 | 390 | 0 | 24 | 366 | 34 | 66 | 57 | 43 |
| 1487-88 | 317 | 0 | 0 | 317 | 32 | 68 | 50 | 50 |
| 1488-89 | 235 | 0 | 0 | 235 | 22 | 78 | 51 | 49 |
| 1489-90 | 198 | 0 | 0 | 198 | 36 | 64 | 52 | 48 |
| 1490-91 | 168 | 0 | 0 | 168 | 24 | 76 | 38 | 62 |
| 1491-92 | 125 | 21 | 0 | 146 | 33 | 67 | 55 | 45 |
| 1494-95 | 250 | 0 | 14 | 236 | 39 | 61 | 61 | 39 |
| 1499-1500 | 340 | 0 | 19 | 321 | 33 | 67 | 59 | 41 |
| 1500-01 | 216 | 7 | 0 | 223 | 28 | 72 | 66 | 34 |
| 1501-02 | 323 | 0 | 0 | 323 | 32 | 68 | 47 | 53 |
| 1502-03 | 409 | 11 | 0 | 420 | 39 | 61 | 61 | 39 |
| 1507-08 | 196 | 40 | 9 | 227 | 39 | 61 | 46 | 54 |
| 1508-09 | 431 | 0 | 0 | 431 | 27 | 73 | 47 | 53 |
| 1514-15 | 299 | 0 | 9 | 290 | 40 | 60 | 39 | 61 |
| 1517-18 | 239 | 0 | 15 | 224 | 45 | 55 | 51 | 49 |
| 1519-20 | 140 | 140 | 8 | 272 | 40 | 60 | 51 | 49 |
| 1522-23 | 258 | 0 | 21,1 x | 236 | 41 | 59 | 66 | 34 |
| 1523-24 | 244 | 0 | 9 x | 235 | 37 | 63 | 50 | 50 |
| 1525-26 | 272 | 0 | 0 | 272 | 45 | 55 | 66 | 34 |
| 1527-28 | 400 | 34 | 15 | 419 | 41 | 59 | 48 | 52 |
| 1529-30 | 355 | 0 | 15 | 340 | 41 | 59 | 52 | 48 |
| 1530-31 | 313 | 0 | 0 | 313 | 37 | 63 | 37 | 63 |
| 1534-35 | 202 | 1 | 0 | 203 | 36 | 64 | — | — |
| 1535-36 | 227 | 0 | 0 | 227 | 30 | 70 | — | — |
| 1537-38 | 387 | 0 | 14 | 373 | 44 | 56 | 70 | 30 |
| 1538-39 | 180 | 75 | 0 | 255 | 55 | 45 | — | — |
| 1539-40 | 227 | 53 | 0 | 280 | 39 | 61 | 34 | 66 |
| 1540-41 | 276 | 0 | 0 | 276 | 41 | 59 | 45 | 55 |

REFERENCES

1 A calendar and index of these probates and administrations has been compiled for eventual publication by M. A. Faraday and E. J. Cole at the invitation of the British Record Society.

2 Very few probates were adjourned as often as that of Howell Squire of Clun, first listed in 1471 and still listed in 1479.

3 Burford, Clun, Ludlow, Pontesbury, Stottesdon and Wenlock deaneries comprised the archdeaconry of Ludlow or Salop. The other deaneries formed the archdeaconry of Hereford. Forest deanery and part of Ross deanery were detached in September 1541 to form part of the new diocese of Gloucester.

4 Throughout this article the word 'century' means the period from 1st October 1442 to 30th September, 1541.

5 Published by the Canterbury and York Society, vols. 23, 25, 26, 27 and 28; edited by A. T. Bannister, (1917-1921).

6 The calculation of the product moment coefficient of correlation *(r)* is described in M. J. Moroney, *Facts from Figures,* 2nd ed., (Pelican, 1954) p. 286. The calculated value will fall between 0 and 1 and will be positive or negative; the closer it is to 1 the greater is the functional relationship between the two sets of figures being compared. The smaller the number of 'sets' being compared the greater the value of *r* required to establish significance.

7 Possibly greater meticulousness about the validity of wills or the legal status of executors.

8 C. Creighton *A History of Epidemics,* 2nd ed. (1965), *passim.* The plague experienced in the 15th and 16th centuries appears to have been the same as the Black Death, that is bubonic plague spread by rat-fleas. Severe and widespread epidemics occurred periodically, but severe local outbreaks occurred frequently. The identity of the sweating sickness seems never to have been established satisfactorily. There were several bad outbreaks each characterised by a rapid onset of symptoms, most obviously the 'sweat', and in many cases followed by death. Typically the epidemics seem to have run their course by early autumn.

9 In chronological order these were: Thomas Fer of Lydney, John Kent of Lyonshall, John Taylor of Pembridge, Walter Adams of Mitcheldean, Howell Nicles of Tidenham, Richard Ameler of Richard's Castle, William Moris of Mainstone, John Whitteney of Minsterworth, Richard Morse of Dean, John Wier of Stretton and Ralph Hill of Newland.

10 In the calendar of mortality the notes have been condensed for brevity's sake. The term 'average (or normal) mortality' refers to the average yearly mortality for the diocese or particular deanery between 1442 and 1541. The deaneries showing the largest and smallest variations from their own normal yearly numbers of probates are usually mentioned. Parishes with large numbers of probates are noted with the gross numbers. In all cases the number of 'deaths' means the number of probates; it should be assumed that many other people died without leaving wills or property. A 'group of deaths' is a group of testators dying in the same year who were clearly members of the same household or family. Probates from the 13 Hereford deaneries proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury were too few in number to alter the relative magnitudes of the annual numbers proved in the Hereford court. The highest decadal total was reached in 1500-1509 when the diocesan probates were also at their maximum. A few references to the PCC wills are included in the calendar.

11 Public Record Office; Prob 11/16 fo. 18.

12 The table of annual probate totals brings together the figures discussed in the article. The year in the first column is the year from October to September. The second column gives the number of deceased persons appearing for the first time in the court act book. The third column gives an adjustment to take account of missing deaneries or sessions, based on the missing section's normal share of the total. The fourth column subtracts an estimate for cases adjourned from a previous year for which the book itself is missing; it also subtracts the numbers of those who died overseas (marked x). The revised total is in column five. Columns six and seven give the proportions of the year's total arising respectively from the two archdeaconries. The eighth and ninth columns give the proportions of the total arising respectively in the first half year (to 31st January) and second half year (after 31st January).

# The Architectural History of Goodrich Court, Herefordshire

*By* HUGH MELLER

LONG before his death in 1879, the architectural reputation of Edward Blore had been eclipsed by A. W. N. Pugin and the great architects of the Victorian gothic revival. But between 1824 and 1849, when he practised from his office in Manchester Square, Blore was immensely successful, and as early as 30 April 1828 the *Hereford Journal* was able to announce that he was 'unquestionably the best gothic architect of the age'. This uncompromising description had been prompted by the laying of the foundation stone on the previous St. George's day for a most extraordinary house, even by the standards of the 19th century. It was Goodrich Court, designed by Blore for Dr. (later Sir) Samuel Rush Meyrick (PL. V).

Unlike the great majority of Blore's country houses, which are in a repetitive and rather dull *Jacobethan* style, Goodrich blossomed as a remarkably exotic castle. At the time it was built, the vogue for mock castles was waning. A few later examples do exist, like Salvin's Peckforton or Tennyson's Bayons, but they were more serious attempts at representing archaeological exactitude. Not so at Goodrich, where picturesque gothick had a final fling exploiting the marvellous site, high above the river Wye, and combining a glorious hotch potch of both genuine and copied medieval features of many periods.

On completion, Goodrich Court was generally admired by the many who wrote about the beauties of the Wye valley. There were exceptions: Wordsworth, for whom the Wye had special significance, regarded it as an 'impertinent structure' and Miss Catherine Griffen, who owned nearby Goodrich Castle, complained the new house spoilt her view. She had disapproved of the whole project from its inception in 1827, when Meyrick had hoped to buy and convert the castle. She rejected his offer and instead he purchased land within half a mile, resolving to build his own castle there.

Although a lawyer, practising in the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court, Meyrick's consuming interest was in antiquarianism, and he had a truly Victorian capacity for research and collecting. In 1824 he had published in three volumes, *A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour as it existed in Europe,* a then unparallelled work, as was his own enormous collection of armour. He began collecting when living in London, but his house in Upper Cadogan Place[1] was clearly inadequate to house the 'most remarkable assemblage of Arms Armour and Antiquities in the civilized globe', which not only 'filled the

garrets, the staircase and the back drawing room, but even encroached upon the bedrooms'.[2] Descending as he did from a distinguished Welsh family, he decided to return to the Marches and establish the collection there in more appropriate surroundings.

Meyrick had been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries since 1810, and had probably met Blore after he had been elected a Fellow in 1823. In 1827 both read papers at Society meetings. Blore had been appointed surveyor of Westminster Abbey that year and read his paper concerning the recent discovery of the abbey retable which had aroused considerable interest and it was as an authority on medieval buildings and monuments that he was then chiefly known. In particular, he had provided drawings and engravings for numerous topographical books, not least for six of John Britton's highly successful publications, and his own *Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons* published in 1826. His ability in that field had attracted the attention of Sir Walter Scott and the Earl Spencer for whom Blore had illustrated books and advised on building projects. But he was still, in 1827, the architect of only three houses—Canford, Dorset, Corehouse, Lanarkshire, and Weston Hall, Warwickshire, of which only Corehouse, of modest size, was actually complete. Meyrick nevertheless was a man prepared to take gambles. In 1803, aged 20, he had married a Welsh girl against his father's wishes and had been disinherited in favour of his son, Llewellyn. (Fortunately he shared Meyrick's enthusiasm for collecting, and when he died in 1837, the effect of the disinheritance was nullified and Meyrick was able to indulge his aquisitive passion all the more). Now, in 1828, he commissioned Blore, a virtually untried architect, to produce an antiquarian's paradise that would satisfy them both.

How far Blore was responsible for devising the extraordinary scheme for Goodrich is a matter of conjecture. Although he became the architect of thirty-four new country houses and was involved to a greater or lesser degree with approximately forty-three others, none resembles Goodrich. Only in one wholly unrealised project does a hint of affinity occur. In the same year he began Goodrich, Blore was commissioned by the earl of Radnor to plan alterations for Longford Castle. Eventually, it was Salvin who transformed Longford, but Blore did sketch its massive 16th-century corner towers to which he contemplated adding conical spires, just as one later appeared on the circular-planned Sussex tower at Goodrich. In fact the origin for the battered base of that tower is closer to hand, on the 14th-century towers of Goodrich castle itself. There can be little doubt that Blore's vast knowledge of English medieval art and architecture, derived from his years as a topographical artist, provided him with a ready source for many of his Goodrich designs, but there is something about the spikiness of Goodrich that compares with no British castle. It is a quality, in fact, with a decidedly continental flavour.



From his dated sketches and letters,[3] Blore is known to have travelled to Belgium, France and Germany in the 1840s and 50s, but that was long after Goodrich was built. However, in 1823 Meyrick himself had spent the summer travelling from Belgium through Germany and Austria to Czechoslovakia, and back to Holland. He kept a diary during the tour[4] describing, inter alia, the buildings and antiquities that he visited. In Frankfurt and Nuremburg, he sketched examples of round towers surmounted by conical spires and bartizans. Travelling down the Danube, he was impressed by the romantic views of the chateaux, high above its banks. In Prague, he again made sketches of the bizarre pinnacled towers of the church of Our Lady of Tyn and the old town Bridge Tower. There seems little doubt that Goodrich was in part at least the fruit of that tour, and that it was Meyrick who envisaged transplanting a Bohemian castle to Herefordshire.

Sadly, almost nothing of Blore's Goodrich Court now exists, but the construction work between 1828 and 1831 is well documented. Several of his meticulous drawings of elevations and interiors are in the British Museum and the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection, and there are forty-five working drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum. In Cambridge University Library, there is a clerk of works account book, dating from 7 July 1828 to 3 April 1831, and entries in Blore's own account book record his seven visits to inspect work in progress between 1828 and 1830.[5]

Red sandstone was quarried locally and the house, faced in ashlar over a rubble core, rose three floors above the brick-vaulted cellars. In the auctioneer's particulars of sale of 1869, it was said to have been built 'regardless of cost'[6] and the (unfortunately incomplete) building accounts give some idea how the money was spent. By the beginning of 1829, over fifty labourers and quarrymen, and over eighty masons, were employed. An office, stone house and smithy, had been erected on the site and nearly £4,000 expended. From the mass of figures in the accounts book, it can be estimated that Goodrich cost approximately £25,000 before the elaborate fixtures and fittings, gardens and outhouses were added. A figure at least double, perhaps treble, that would be a realistic grand total. Even so, in 1830, the duchess of Sutherland described Blore as 'the cheap architect',[7] but for clients less wealthy than the Sutherlands, that was probably an advantage. In 1832, Meyrick was trying to obtain some recompense from the Ordnance Office 'as a reward for having historically arranged the valuable national collection of armour at the Tower of London and ornamentally that at Windsor Castle'. He 'should not have made this application, but being engaged in building at great cost, every sixpence is of its full value'.[8]

In fact, Goodrich did not take long to build: the last stone was laid exactly three years after the first, and it was an additional satisfaction to all concerned that 'no material accident had happened to any of the men engaged at the work'.[9]

This report overlooks a story related by Meyrick's friend, J. R. Planché, the dramatist and antiquary. Apparently, whilst touring the building operations, Meyrick, a man with a quick temper, once violently assaulted a workman who had annoyed him! Nevertheless, he must have been proud of his house when, in April 1831, the red cross standard of St. George fluttered from the keep tower for the first time.

Described by Sir J. B. Burke as 'a modern antique, and one of the most perfect and beautiful of its kind'[10] Goodrich Court immediately became an important attraction included in all the guide books on the Wye Valley. One of the early visitors was a Louisa A. Twamley, who was lucky enough to have Meyrick himself conduct her round, and she published her impressions in *An Autumn Ramble by the Wye* in 1839. In the Wallace Collection, a list of visitors in the 1840s survives. They include a number of eminent and titled persons and their friends. The reputation of Goodrich Court was clearly widespread, and like some other great lost houses, its fame endures, although now somewhat obscured in myth.

Goodrich was approached through a gatehouse (it happily survives) which was a foretaste of the house itself. It was built to resemble the Marschiertors in Aachen, which Meyrick had seen during his 1823 tour (PL. VI). It is fronted by two projecting turrets, and between them has a false portcullis, surmounted by machicolations. The visitor then wound his way up the drive through parkland designed to exploit the natural beauty of the Wye valley and tantalise him with glimpses of the turreted and pinnacled house beyond, which suddenly 'burst upon him'.[11] The prevailing style of the architecture appeared to Thomas Roscoe as 'of the period between the first and third Edwards' and he describes arriving 'at the principal gateway, which is approached over a drawbridge, (not intended to be raised) and is furnished with a portcullis and flanked by two round towers (PL. VII). The surrounding battlements, turrets, loopholes, and machicolations look bristlingly on the defensive, while the small dry moat, laid with velvet turf, and the fair flower beds perfuming the quiet air around, are out of keeping, though agreeably so'.[12] To the north soared the 100 foot Sussex tower (named after H.R.H. the duke of Sussex, a Whig intellectual and Meyrick's friend) with its spire and bartizans. Along the north front the skyline was broken up by a series of pinnacles and gables, before reaching the N.E. tower. The east front was dominated by a massive keep, whilst the stables were sited, unusually for a 19th-century house, on the south side (PL. VIII).

The visitor, doubtless impressed by what he had seen, crossed the drawbridge to enter a large inner courtyard, and found the entrance porch in the far corner. This was in the style Blore would have described as *Early Pointed* and was not unlike an example illustrated by Loudon.[13] The knocker was modelled on a design of Giovanni di Bologna, representing Samson slaying the Philistines. This



would summons an 'intelligent and communicative guide'[14] who was available to conduct visitors around the fabulous rooms. Just as Walpole at Strawberry Hill had intended his house to be part museum, and part home, so Meyrick regarded Goodrich. It is also interesting to speculate on the influence of Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford for this dual arrangement. Although not the architect of that house, built between 1816 and 1825, Blore had been one of the original members of Scott's *Committee of Taste*, which aided and abetted him in incorporating a mixture of reproduction and authentic features in the house which Scott then filled with miscellaneous relics.

Even before the exhibits and furniture at Goodrich were finally arranged, two lavishly-illustrated volumes produced by Joseph Skelton had been published in 1833 describing the interior.[15] Another *handy-book* was written by Charles Nash in 1845 and both authors convey something of the staggering variety and richness of the house and its contents.[14] They begin by describing what confronted the tourist in the entrance hall. Built with a partly-ribbed ceiling, modelled from a chapel in Rochester Cathedral, it had a fireplace adapted from one of the Allard tombs at Winchelsea, and chairs resembling the coronation chair at Westminster. All these details suggest Blore's hand, since he had sketched the originals in his youth. Authentic relics varied from a bronze lamp from Herculaneum, to several trophies retrieved from the field of Waterloo. At the opposite end of the hall was the grand staircase, lit by an oriel window containing a portrait of a Meyrick ancestor and various coats of arms. It was the work of Thomas Willement and his coloured sketches for this and other windows at Goodrich survive in the British Museum.[16] He had also probably met Meyrick at the Society of Antiquaries and had worked in collaboration with him at the Tower of London during Meyrick's re-organisation of the armour collection there in 1826. It is a reflection on both men that Meyrick once wrote of Willement, 'he is the cleverest fellow in his way in London, his only fault being a forgetfulness occasionally of the station he occupys in society and a consequent disposition to be too familiar'.[17]

The visitor would next have admired the Henry VI gallery stretching the length of the north wing of the house with its scarlet walls powdered with heraldic insignia and containing, among other treasures, 'the most magnificent suit (of armour) in the known world'[18] made for the duke of Ferrara and now in the Wallace Collection. He then proceeded into the Asiatic anteroom, before entering the octagonally-planned Asiatic armoury in the N.E. tower. The rooms at Goodrich each tended to specialize in one style, and the Asiatic was represented by a potpourri of Moorish, Hindu and Chinese decorations and artifacts. The armoury ceiling was blue, emblazoned with gilt stars, and the design of the cornice and wallpaper apparently derived from the illuminations of a Persian manuscript. Again, there is no evidence of Blore's hand in the designs but there is no doubting his interest in the Asiatic style since in 1832 he began plans for the vast Hindu-

Moorish style palace at Aloupka in the Crimea for Prince Woronzow. Then, having passed through the South Sea room, which housed 'rude and fearful weapons'[19] the visitor entered the magnificent banqueting hall, which extended fifty feet along the east wing. This vast oak-panelled room, with its arch-braced roof, was intended to evoke the great halls of medieval castles and was one of the earliest recreations of its kind (slightly later examples are at Bayons, Harlaxton and Scarisbrick). On the crimson walls, powdered with fleur-de-lys, hung a number of portraits, including Meyrick's own. At the north end was a minstrel's gallery and at the other, a dais on which stood a billiard table, instead of the expected high table, with a wheel window above it. The door beyond opened into the hastilude chamber, in which a jousting tableau was presented. The arsenal at Vienna, which Meyrick visited in 1823, may have been the inspiration. He had seen there, 'in a long room occupying three sides of a square . . . a great number of inferior suits (of armour) placed on figures in attitudes representing combats and pretending to exhibit the armour from the tenth century onwards'.[20] This imaginative method of exhibiting the collection did not appeal to all visitors. Thomas Roscoe wrote, 'I think this splendid collection is seriously injured by the puerile style of its arrangement: such as the introduction of dilapidated doll faces into the visors and where armour does not entirely compose a costume, the eking it out by drapery of coarse chintz, or print, carrying imagination at one cruel whisk, from dreams of courts and tournaments to Betty chambermaid's last new gown'.[21]

Roscoe was equally critical of the armoured figures in the next room, the grand armoury, which formed the south wing of the courtyard, separating the house from the servant's quarters. This, the largest room in the house, was a galleried hall eighty-six feet long, with an open panelled oak roof. The fireplace was designed by Blore to resemble Crouchback's tomb in Westminster Abbey. The hall contained the cream of Meyrick's collection, arranged in chronological order, since 'the principal intent of the armour is instruction'.[22] The effect was marred only by the number of notices printed "Don't touch anything", which were 'pinned to banners, wafered to walls, stitched on hero's garments, and hung up in all directions'.[23] Obviously the house was a popular attraction for inquisitive tourists who, having admired the armoury, came next to the ante chapel and chapel on the south side of the courtyard. By 1830 private chapels were rarely built in country houses but for Meyrick it provided the setting for displaying part of his collection of ecclesiastical relics. It was a small rectangular room, lit by lancets and with an open timber roof. The entrance was through a double arch for which Blore's design survives. Meyrick, not a purist in architectural matters, specifically requested the trumeau be made of cast iron.

And so the public's tour of Goodrich Court ended, but no less interesting were the private apartments in the N.W. wing. The library had an Italian-made 16th-century ceiling that had been removed from Breda government house in



Holland.[24] In this and the adjoining dining-room were hung the best of Meyrick's pictures which illustrated his taste for late gothic German artists. A casket on the library table was described as once owned by William Beckford at Fonthill, perhaps the only house that surpassed Goodrich in eccentric extravaganza. Other private rooms were decorated and furnished in a particular period style. For example, the octagonal drawing-room was Edwardian. Its walls were painted with scenes from the Arthurian legend and it had a castellated fireplace copied by Blore from one in Prior Crauden's study at Ely and a table from one in Salisbury Cathedral chapter house. There was an Elizabethan bedroom called Sir Gelly's chamber, after Meyrick's ancestor of that name, executed in 1600. Other bedrooms were in the style of James I, Charles I and William III. The breakfast-room was in the Queen Anne style and there were several other rooms each with its speciality including a Greek room containing, amongst other antiquities, facsimiles of the Elgin marbles. In all the rooms there was a mixture of genuine period furniture and copies, and a number of the former were illustrated by Meyrick and Henry Shaw in their book *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* published in 1830.

Meyrick was always expanding his collection, and his insatiable quest for armour is illustrated in a letter from Germany that Mr. Isaacs the Wardour Street dealer once wrote to his wife, 'for God's sake, my dear, be very careful and if Dr. Meyrick comes round, whatever you do don't show him the armour upstairs unless he specially asks about it'.[25] In 1834 Francis Douce, the antiquarian and a former keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, died. He had been residuary legatee to the sculptor Nollekens, and in his turn left 'all my carvings in ivory or other materials, together with my miscellaneous curiosities of every description' to Meyrick. Three rooms at Goodrich were set aside to house them. But in 1848 Meyrick himself died, much honoured in both academic and public life, and Goodrich suffered a sharp decline in its fortunes.

The house was devised to his cousin, Lt. Col. Meyrick, who made a number of changes to it. In particular, he subdivided some of the larger rooms into more convenient suites of living rooms. The banqueting hall, for example, was transformed into a smaller drawing-room, the hastilude chamber became a billiard room, two lavatories were installed on the ground floor where there were none before, the entrance hall was moved to the east side of the court, and the kitchen and other domestic offices were rebuilt in a new range running parallel to the armoury. A gas works was built to supply power to the house, fuelled by Forest of Dean coal. These changes did not appeal to Blore, who at the age of 84 was shown photographs of the new work. He wrote, 'that showing Colonel Meyrick's addition is as you truly described it a very ugly protruberance and deserves all the censure you have so well bestowed upon so great a monstrosity'.[26] The letter was to Mrs. Moffatt whose husband George, sometime M.P. for Southampton, had bought Goodrich from the Meyrick family in 1871.

Col. Meyrick had also sold his cousin's magnificent collection of armour in 1868. Sir Henry Cole, then director of the South Kensington Museum claimed, 'Col. Meyrick knows and cares nothing for the collection',[27] but when the Colonel offered it to the Museum for £50,000 agreed only to buy it for £45,000. The offer was refused and the collection sold piecemeal, much of it going to Frédéric Spitzer in Paris. Happily, when Spitzer's collection itself was sold in 1893, some of the Meyrick armour was purchased by Sir Richard Wallace, and it returned to London.

George Moffatt and his son Harold, who inherited Goodrich in 1878, were more worthy successors to Sir Samuel Meyrick. They were both antiquarians and collectors, especially Harold Moffatt, who produced a privately-printed catalogue to the furniture at Goodrich and Hamptworth Lodge, his other house in Wiltshire. Between them they made a number of alterations to Goodrich which totally altered the aspect of the south and west facades—from castellated romanticism to a sober neo-Elizabethan. A plan of the house in 1884 also shows how the Lancaster gallery was inserted on the east side of the courtyard; it was nearly eighty feet long and terminated at the south end in a pair of pointed arches. Beyond them rose a new grand staircase with a double flight of steps. The timber used throughout was oak. In order to insert the gallery, Meyrick's grand armoury was truncated and thereafter called the grand hall. Not satisfied, however, with these additions, Harold Moffatt embarked on a series of far more drastic alterations towards the end of the century. The old grand hall and chapel were sealed over at corbel level and converted into the kitchen and offices on the ground floor and servants' bedrooms above. Incredibly, the old kitchen and offices were rebuilt into a brand new chapel and great hall complete with hammer-beam roof 'carefully studied from that of Hampton Court Palace'.[28] A gallery was added to its east end with an organ above. In a fit of patriotism in 1901, the coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra was commemorated by adding a massive fireplace with a Jacobean-style overmantel containing the carved relief portraits of the royal pair (PL. IX). George Moffatt was a very able amateur craftsman and some of the furniture and fittings in the new rooms were carved by him. In the Meyrick tradition he also pirated other buildings for pieces he needed. For example, the ornamental gates in the hall gallery came from the town hall of Bar-le-Duc in France.

Moffatt's other great change was to remove the stables and workshops built around four courts south of the house and rebuild them in 1888 on the far side of the Hereford road. This also meant demolition of the shortlived grand staircase at the end of the Lancaster gallery, and a new one being cut through the gallery east side, replacing the old hastilude chamber. This allowed for a new main entrance (the third) to the house on its south flank. Where the stables had been, a gravel forecourt was laid and ornamental railings and a gateway separated it from the seven-acre flower garden and its new loggia, erected in 1900 (PL. X).



The architect of this major rebuilding programme remains a mystery. In 1910 Moffatt employed Edward Dawber to rebuild the Tudor-styled Hamptworth Lodge. It is possible that Dawber, who had set up practice on his own in Gloucestershire in 1888 at the age of twenty-six, may have worked on Goodrich. But equally, it is not impossible that Moffatt, a very capable furniture designer, could have been his own architect.

In 1907, Harold Moffatt's eldest daughter (he had no son) married into the Trafford family, owners of the nearby 18th-century mansion, Hill Court. Members of the family remained living at Goodrich for another forty years, but it was to become superfluous to their needs. During the first world war it was used as a convalescent home for Australian soldiers. After the war, Mrs. Dorothy Trafford continued to live there until the second world war, when it entered the last phase of its life. In May 1940 Felsted School, Essex, was given forty-eight hours to evacuate to Goodrich and the school remained there until March 1945. An account of those years was written which pronounced the house 'served its purpose remarkably well'.[29] There was ample dormitory space, the great hall became the dining-room, and class-rooms were established in every available space. There were problems nevertheless; black-out for every window, lack of a cricket pitch, and plumbing facilities to name a few.

In the post war years, the future for a house like Goodrich was bleak. It was decided to sell it, but there could hardly have been a more inauspicious time to attract a buyer for such a vast 19th-century pile. There were rumours of an American, anxious to ship the whole building to America, and an hotelier who refused to buy it for only £7,000. Thus the inevitable occurred and a series of auctions took place at Goodrich as it had to be sold piece by piece. Over four days in August 1946 the contents were auctioned to buyers from all over the country. The auctioneer's catalogue lists over one thousand lots which were sold at prices which now seem absurdly low. Three years later, the fixtures and fittings were auctioned. Buyers, fortified from the bar set up by the licensee of the Bunch of Carrots, paid £16 for Willement's stained-glass figure of Meyrick's ancestor, and £685 for the carved woodwork of the Breda room. Harold Moffatt's great hall hammer-beam roof went for £200, but the huge fireplace for only £50. It was a sad end to a great house. The *Hereford Times* reported, 'In the late afternoon the sale ended . . . the silence broken only by the bats flitting about the lofty rafters of the building'.[30] Goodrich Court would have made a splendid ruin matching the neighbouring castle, but it was not to be, for in December 1949 the last auction, of the building materials, was held. 'Demolition of the court has proceeded rapidly during the last three months, and with only a few exceptions, all that remains are the massive sandstone walls and turrets. These are to be taken down during the coming months and sold to all comers at half a crown a ton', wrote the *Hereford Times*.[31]

Of the house itself, nothing now remains. A very different Goodrich Court has replaced it, a convenient modern bungalow where the Misses Trafford live. Here and there a few remnants of past glory remain. They include a huge cedar tree which appears in early photographs, the summerhouse and garden walls, the gas works, now converted into a shooting lodge, and most impressive of all, Blore's original gatehouse, but rather brutally converted into new living accommodation. One other survival of Blore's work is the Hostelrie Hotel in Goodrich village. It was a 17th-century building that Blore rebuilt for Meyrick and it still retains three of the curious chimney pinnacles that once adorned the chimneys of the Court itself.

Although the best of the furniture and works of art from Goodrich can be traced to Hill Court, the Wallace Collection and elsewhere, the fixtures and fittings have mostly vanished. The whereabouts of a few items are known, for example, the Lancaster gallery linenfold panelling now enhances the north aisle of Goodrich Church. Harold Moffatt's ornamental iron garden gates, sold in 1949 for £210, were later bought by an American for £2,500 under the impression they were of 18th-century origin. They were renovated and presented to the College of Arms in 1956, where they still are. But what has happened to the Breda room carving, or Willement's glass, or Blore's magnificent fireplaces and Moffatt's hammer-beam roof? Their discovery would help solve the greatest mystery still surrounding the history of Goodrich Court.

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# T. T. Lewis and Murchison's Silurian System

*By* J. C. THACKRAY

THE early years of the 19th century saw the foundations of the detailed study of the strata of Great Britain. The pioneering work of William Smith had shown that fossils could be used to identify rock strata and had led to the stratigraphic work of John Farey in Derbyshire and James Parkinson in the London Basin. By the 1820s and 1830s a regional study in which strata were named and mapped and their fossil contents described had become a standard piece of research, and many of the leading figures of British geology produced papers and books along these lines. These publications had an importance beyond the area described whenever previously unknown fossils were described or a classification of the strata put forward that was found to be applicable throughout the country or overseas. Examples of these publications are G. A. Mantell's *Fossils of the South Downs* (1822), John Phillips' *Illustrations of geology of Yorkshire* (1829), papers by Adam Sedgwick on the geology of the Lake District (1835 and 1845), and papers by H. T. De la Beche on the geology of Dorset (1822 and 1826). In some cases the geologists named as authors of these publications may have worked alone, but in many cases there is evidence that they received substantial help from naturalists and collectors living in the areas concerned.

This paper investigates the help given to R. I. Murchison by a small group of naturalists in Shropshire and Herefordshire during his fieldwork in the years 1831 to 1837 which resulted in the publication of *The Silurian System* in 1839. The leader of this group was the Rev. T. T. Lewis, of Aymestrey.

Thomas Taylor Lewis was born in Ludlow in 1801,[1] the son of Edward and Ann Lewis, the third of six children. He attended school in Cheam, Surrey, and was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner in 1819. He developed an interest in mathematics at university and, we are told, approached geology from his study of geometry, attending a course of lectures given by the newly-appointed Woodwardian Professor of Geology, the Rev. Adam Sedgwick. He obtained a B.A. degree in 1825 and, following his ordination, was appointed curate of Aymestrey, a village south-west of Ludlow. He married Eliza Penfold of Cheam in 1827. He began to collect fossils from local quarries and cliff sections, arranging them in his cabinet according to the strata in which he had found them. Using these fossils his distinguished five rock formations in the area below the unfossiliferous Old Red Sandstone which outcropped to the north and east:





| *Lewis' names, c.* 1830 | *Murchison's names,* 1839 |
|---|---|
| Grauwacke | Upper Ludlow Rock |
| Pentamerus Limestone | Aymestry Limestone |
| Pendle | Lower Ludlow Rock |
| Coral or Nodular Limestone | Wenlock Limestone |
| Lower Fossiliferous Strata | Wenlock Shale |

By 1829 he had traced these formations throughout the parish of Aymestrey, towards Ludlow as far as Elton and Richard's Castle, east of the river Teme to Caynham, and around Downton and Leintwardine to the north. Lewis seems to have followed this hobby alone and with reference to only the most elementary literature; he was certainly never able to name his fossils with any great certainty.

In 1831 Roderick Impey Murchison, a keen young geologist of some six years' experience, visited south Wales and the Welsh Borders.[2] He wanted to see the ancient rocks of the area, known as the Transition Series, which underlay the much better known Secondary succession of the rest of England, and was particularly looking for evidence of the way that igneous intrusions can buckle and contort the strata around them. Although rocks of this age had been studied in the Lake District and in Ireland, no widely applicable succession had been worked out, and there seemed to be no way of using the fossils found in them for long-range correlation. He visited Professor Buckland on his way westwards in June for advice on localities to visit and local people to contact. The tour was an extended one. From Oxford he travelled slowly through the Cotswold Hills, visited the Rev. W. D. Conybeare in Sully, went on westwards through Swansea to Llandovery, and up the river Towy to the river Wye at Hay. Then on 11 July, he found an important section at Cavansham Ferry, on the banks of the Wye north of Brecon, where fossiliferous Transition strata could be seen lying conformably below the Old Red Sandstone. He began to think that he could bring order to these ancient rocks. On 15 July Mr. Mitchell, a surgeon of Kington, showed Murchison specimens of the brachiopod *Pentamerus* from the local limestone and suggested he should visit the curate of nearby Aymestrey. Two days later the two men met for the first time.[3]

In the few days they were together Lewis took Murchison through his area, demonstrating the succession he had worked out and showing him the characteristic fossils which helped him to distinguish the different beds. Murchison collected rocks and fossils, annotated his maps, and filled his notebook with sections and sketches. He showed Lewis the peculiar importance of the Ludlow area and no doubt talked on his plan, now fast crystallising, of bringing order to the Transition rocks of south Wales and the Borders. The two men met Mr. William Jones of

Ludlow, a keen fossil collector, and were taken over the Knowbury Coalfield, east of Ludlow, by its proprietor James G. Lewis, Thomas' brother.[3a] They went as far as Wenlock Edge and Church Stretton together before Lewis returned home, leaving Murchison to head for north Wales and the British Association meeting at York. In the autumn Lewis sent the first of what was to be a long series of crates of fossils up to London for Murchison to study and have identified by the experts who were collaborating in his researches. Some of these fossils were sent as gifts to Murchison or to the Geological Society, others were on loan.

In his first letter to Lewis, on 16 December 1831, Murchison wrote: [4]

'In the meantime I will be very much obliged to you to send me any additional information you may have collected, or *any new fossils* from the country west of Aymestree, in which you informed me of lower zones of fossiliferous strata, and in a part of which you had observed a red sandstone . . . Pray send me sections, however rough, of the scites of new observations, and do not omit the dip, or any approximation to it.'

In his reply Lewis disclaimed any geological pretensions: [5]

'If possible I will endeavour to throw together a few observations on the geology of the localities of some of the fossils I send you; but I attribute little value to them, as I have never taken the trouble to make sketches of locations or notes on the spot of the particular dip and direction of the strata . . . The whole of my labour must be regarded by you only in the light of a humble collection of fossils in my parochial rambles.'

This disclaimer is unconvincing when set beside the long letter written to Murchison in February 1832, in which he gives a detailed verbal description of the courses of the nodular and Pentamerus limestones. There is no evidence that Lewis ever drew up a geological map, but there is no doubt that he had the information to do so. Of the former he wrote: [6]

'The nodular strata are seen highly inclined, dipping under Bircher Common and the strata are again seen in the continuation of the ridge, at a greater elevation, near Dinas Lom, where the strata have been worked for the kiln; the nodules are there more compact and larger than usual. . . . I have not yet examined Burrington Ridge, but from a few observations I have made in crossing it, I have little doubt, but that it is similarly composed . . . I have fancied the formation a coral reef—corallines abounding in most places and forming the largest of the nodules I have ever observed in them.'

The following summer, 1832, Lewis was up in London, visiting the rooms of the Geological Society and seeing Murchison's own collections in Bryanston Square, at the time when the geologist was making his second visit to Shropshire. They met for the first two or three days of August however, and explored the country west of Aymestrey towards Kington and Hay-on-Wye. This year Murchison met Dr. Thomas Lloyd of Ludlow,[7] the senior physician at the Ludlow Dispensary and a keen fossil collector, Dr. Davis of Presteigne[8] and his son Edward,[9] the Rev. John Rocke of Clungunford[10] who had been interested in fossils as early as 1813, and whose son Thomas was to marry Lewis' daughter Edith in 1861, and Mr. Proctor, a surgeon from Leintwardine.[11] It was during this visit that, using speciments in his collection, Lewis demonstrated to Murchison that the black limestone of Sedgley in the South Staffordshire Coalfield, was the equivalent of his Pentamerus Limestone.



The following November Lewis, still filling in details for Murchison, wrote: [12]

'Your queries have I assure you exercised me in most of my spare time. I have been to Highcop and skirted the NE boundary of the Norton bowl but I fear I have not done as much as you could wish. I must see Downton and Litley within a few days; indeed I am bent on the latter place this morning and will venture to keep your maps another week.'

Along with the letter went 'two or three cwt.' of fossils for the Geological Society, including a mass of orthoceratites from Mr. Proctor and fossil corals from Mr. Jones.

This same month Dr. Lloyd discovered fossil fragments in the supposedly unfossiliferous Old Red Sandstone. These were first thought to be crustaceans, but later identified as some of the oldest known fish. It was with pride that Lloyd wrote to Murchison: [13]

'I was so much struck with the fact [of the fossils], so much at variance with the accounts I had read of the Old Red, that I have since seized every opportunity to pry into the same formations about Ludlow . . . I have not seen Mr. Lewis since, or I would have shown him the spot and you might have had the advantage of receiving a description of the rock from a more practical but not more zealous geologist than myself. I am still warm with the enthusiasm I caught from you and only want an occasional example such as yours to become a downright working man. Believe me I shall be delighted to hear from you, if you can entrust me with any little jobs connected with this neighbourhood.'

Lloyd was typical of the eight or so naturalists who made up this 19th-century Ludlow research group, collecting fossils, tracing strata and watching for temporary exposures for Murchison during the seven years he worked in the area. They had been interested in the local geology before Murchison's arrival, but had pursued their hobbies in solitude without particular scientific aims in view. Murchison helped them by lending them books and pamphlets for reference and by having their most interesting fossils expertly identified. He channelled their enthusiasms through Lewis, the most energetic and knowledgeable member, into his own research.

Lewis and Rocke made at least two field excursions together to sort out details for Murchison's map. Murchison wrote to Rocke in November 1832 asking him to look for the Pentamerus Limestone around Norton Camp, above Craven Arms, and to trace the edge of the Old Red Sandstone south of Clun. Rocke asked Lewis to join him, and the men spent two hard December days marking up Murchison's maps, collecting specimens, and making notes. Rocke described their work on Norton Camp in a letter of 16 December: [14]

'[We] made a bold attack on the encampment on the summit of the hill: we began our search and made our way along the face of this confounded steep face, at the imminent risk of breaking our necks, for nearly ½ mile, without finding a single specimen of Pentamerus; but at last, after proceeding S.S. West so far as to be almost opposite to Stoke Castle, we found a good specimen of Pentamerus, side by side with a Productus, but sparingly . . . The assistance of little Lewis was everything to me. I should have been groping in the dark without him. He is an intelligent amiable little fellow, and I am glad to have had this opportunity of becoming acquainted with him.'

The limits of the Old Red were further studied by Lewis to the north-west of Knighton and by Dr. Davis south-west of Presteigne.

An event which was partly the result of the stimulus given to the local geologists by Murchison's work was the founding of the Ludlow Natural History Society in October 1833.[15] Lloyd and Lewis were both on the first committee, Jones was curator and treasurer, while Rocke and James Lewis were among the members. Murchison himself was an Honorary Member. The Society, which survived until the 1920's, by its meetings, library, and museum, must have promoted the spirit of natural enquiry in Ludlow and drawn Murchison's friends even closer together.

In March and April of 1833 Murchison read two papers to the Geological Society of London in which he gave the results of his two years' work. In the published version[16] he acknowledged the help he had received from local residents, and made known his deep obligation 'to the Rev. T. T. Lewis of Aymestrey, whose unceasing researches have contributed very essentially towards the zoological illustration of this memoir.' In this paper Murchison made the extraordinary error of joining Lewis' Pentamerus and Nodular Limestones under the single name 'Wenlock Limestone', and placing this between the Upper and Lower Ludlow Rocks. We are told it was Lewis who corrected the mistake, although no correspondence on the subject survives.[17] Murchison corrected the point in 1834 when he published a table of the subdivisions and fossils of what he named the Upper Grauwacke Series.[18] In this paper there is no mention of Lewis or his confederates.

Other important finds by members of the group were the basaltic dyke on Coston Ridge discovered by Lewis and Rocke in December 1833, and the curious ginger-coloured rock first seen by Lloyd in a small quarry near Ludford Bridge, Ludlow, in January 1834. This rock, first thought to be an insect bed and now famous as the Ludlow bonebed, was excavated at Ludford and traced through the area by William R. Evans (1810/11-1842), son of the rector of Kingsland, who had already contributed a number of fossils to Murchison's collection.[19] The fish remains which largely make up this bed were, in 1834, the oldest known vertebrate remains. They were described by Murchison in a paper of 1838 and received detailed treatment in *Silurian System*. There were odd pieces of work done by members of the group in 1836 and 1837, fossils were dispatched and new sections were reported, but it was mainly a time of waiting for the appearance of the great book in which Murchison would set out the results of his researches. The year 1838 was taken up with reading proofs, checking the accuracy of the plates of fossils, and trying to sort out last minute muddles and confusions. *Silurian System* was published at the very beginning of January 1839.[20]



In the book there is full acknowledgement of the Ludlow group for the fossils they provided; Lewis, Lloyd, Davis, Evans, Jones, and Proctor are all mentioned in the palaeontological part of the book as the collectors of fossils figured or described. Lewis receives a special mention for his work on the fossils of the rock unit which, partly in his honour, is named the Aymestry Limestone. Among the new species of fossil described in the book are *Cephalaspis Lewisii, Lingula Lewisii, Pleurotomaria Lloydii,* and *Trinucleus Lloydii.*

All this must have been very gratifying, but was it enough? In a long review of *Silurian System,*[21] William Fitton criticised the inadequacy of the historical chapter with which the book begins. Fitton had made a particular study of the history of geology and was always anxious that, if treated at all, it should be treated properly. In particular he was disturbed that Lewis was given no credit for his pioneering stratigraphic work in the area. He pointed out that Lewis, together with Arthur Aikin, a London geologist who had worked in Shropshire many years earlier, was the first to work out a succession based on fossils in the rocks below the Old Red Sandstone. Fitton took the trouble to visit Lewis in Aymestrey and go over the ground with him.

These criticisms touched Murchison in a tender spot. Although perhaps not a generous man, he certainly did not like to seem mean, and probably had a real affection for Lewis. When his inaugural address to the Dudley and Midland Geological Society was published in 1842, many copies were provided with an inserted leaf accepting Fitton's strictures and emphasising his indebtedness to Lewis.[22]

Lewis married Elizabeth Ferguson (1815-1874) in 1838, after the death of his first wife. Her father, Captain George Ferguson of Yatton Court, Aymestrey, would not consent to the marriage of his daughter to the poor curate, and never spoke to the couple. In 1842 Lewis left Aymestrey to serve as rector of Bridstow, Herefordshire. During the 1840s, while other members of the Ludlow group died or faded back into obscurity, Lewis became a well-known figure. He met Professor Adam Sedgwick and Frederick McCoy several times and provided fossils for the geological museum in Cambridge.[23] He became a close friend of the Rev. W. S. Symonds, rector of Pendock, who described in his *Record of the rocks* (1872) Lewis' part in the discovery that Murchison's Caradoc Sandstone was made up of two formations of very different ages separated by an important unconformity.[24] He also corresponded and went in the field with Charles Lyell[25] and Leonard Horner,[26] both well-known London geologists.

The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was founded by a small group of enthusiasts in the winter of 1851. They paid great attention to geology and particularly to the Silurian rocks of Herefordshire, so it is not surprising that

Murchison was made one of the first Honorary Members, and that Lewis should have been not only active in leading field meetings, but actually President of the Club for the 1853-1854 session.[27]

In 1854 Murchison's *Siluria* was published.[28] This was Murchison's account of the Lower Palaeozoic rocks of Europe and North America which he regarded as the offspring of the big book of 1839. In the preface to this work he notices Fitton's review and refers to Lewis as his 'most efficient coadjutor.' In the body of the book Lewis is mentioned in reference to corals from the Wenlock Limestone, fossils of the Aymestry Limestone, and, along with Lloyd and Evans, the Ludlow bonebed. Fitton wrote to Murchison that he was glad to see Lewis properly treated. Lewis himself wrote to Murchison:[29]

'I cannot withhold from you that I felt disappointed in the slight notice my early researches have received in this volume. Looking, or I should say, watching as I have the progress of the subject for the last 23 years, I cannot be ignorant of the importance of my early doings,—of the accuracy of the succession I had observed of the rocks in the neighbourhood of Aymestrey (the equivalents of the Upper Silurian) previous to your first visit to that locality, and of the value of my subsequent identifications and of the richness of illustrations I there laid before you, and the liberality with which I continued to supply you with every thing that came within my reach—and as you acquiesced in the estimate given of my labours by Dr. Fitton in the Edinburgh Review, I had flattered myself, as others thought, that whenever you reproduced the Silurian System, you would record there a little more detail.'

A little more detail appeared in the 1859 and 1867 editions of *Siluria,* but it is doubtful whether either would have satisfied Lewis, who died in the year 1858. He had come a long way from the 'humble collector of fossils' who disclaimed any pretensions to being a geologist.

Murchison is rightly given the lion's share of the credit for the founding of the Silurian System. Too often however he is given all the credit, which is quite unjust to his numerous helpers. Without them his work would have lacked the wealth of detail which made it so impressive and so convincing. Unimportant people, such as Lewis and his friends, collectively deserve an important place in the history of geology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am pleased to acknowledge the help given and the interest taken in this research by two of Lewis' great-granddaughters, Mrs. V. Gardner of Yatton Court, Aymestrey, and Miss P. Chewett, by the great-grandson of Lloyd, Mr. M. R. Lloyd, and by the great-grandson of Rocke, Mr. J. S. E. Rocke.

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1 Biographical information from *Dictionary of national biography*, W. Fitton. 'The Silurian System'. *Edinb. Rev.*, LXXIII (1841), 10-13, and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis,* 10 vols. (1922-1954).
2 A. Geikie, *Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison*, 2 vols. (1875).
3 Details of Murchison's travels are taken from fieldnotebooks among the collection of Murchison manuscripts in the library of the Geological Society, Burlington House, henceforth cited as GS.



3a James George Lewis (1799-1887) elder brother of Thomas Taylor, was Proprietor of the Knowbury Coalfield (spelt 'Knowlbury' in Murchison's day). He also built and opened the first blast furnaces in the Clee Hills, where he established extensive brick and pipe works. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1854 and lived in South Molyneux, Otago. He established the Coal Point coal mine near the mouth of the Clutha River. Obituaries were published in New Zealand newspapers at the time of his death.
4 Edinburgh University Library, Murchison manuscripts, a copy made by A. Geikie.
5 GS, 21st December, 1831.
6 GS, 7th February, 1832.
7 Thomas Lloyd (1802-1849), M. D. Edinburgh 1826, assistant surgeon in Bombay 1827-1830, worked in Ludlow for twelve years and was living in Aberystwyth when he died. His copy of *Silurian System*, inscribed by the author, is in The Lilly Library, Indiana University. His portrait was lithographed about 1840.
8 Aaron Wall Davies (*c.* 1794-1863), M. D. Edinburgh 1816, a member of meteorological and archaeological societies, and author of works on vaccination and the Tenbury waters. His copy of *Silurian System*, with two letters from Murchison, is in the Geology Department, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
9 James Edward Davies (1817-1887), belonged to the Geological and Palaeontographical societies, became a noted criminal lawyer, living most of his life in London. Specimens from his collection are in the Institute of Geological Sciences.
10 John Rocke (1783-1849), educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge, and was vicar of Wellington as well as rector of Clungunford. A letter of Rocke to Dr. Dugard of Shrewsbury, 1813, about a fossil from Clungunford is preserved in GS, E-tracts-1. Four generations of Rockes were rectors of the village from 1779 to 1945.
11 Henry Proctor (*c.* 1790-1869), medical officer to the Hay-on-Wye Union for nearly fifty years, see Fairs, G. L., *A history of the Hay*, (1972). Specimens he presented to the Geological Society are now in the Institute of Geological Sciences.
12 GS, 16th November, 1832.
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14 GS, 16th December, 1832.
15 I am indebted to J. Norton of Ludlow Museum for the loan of printed reports of the inaugural meeting, 12th October, 1833, and of the annual meetings in 1834, 1841, and 1858. The British Museum (Natural History) holds a copy of the second annual report, 1836.
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18 R. I. Murchison, 'On the structure and classification of the Transition rocks of Shropshire, Herefordshire and part of Wales . . . ' *Proc. geol. Soc. Lond.*, II (1834), 13-18.
19 Murchison refers to R. W. Evans, W. R. Evans, Rev. W. Evans, and Rev. J. Evans at different places in his writings. All these seem to refer to the one William R. Evans. Evans' bonebed specimens were lost soon after his death, see R. I. Murchison, 'On some remains in the bonebed of the Upper Ludlow Rock'. *Quart. Jl. geol. Soc.*, IX (1852), 16-17. Some are preserved at Neuchatel, see A. Jeannet, 'Les poissons fossiles originaux conserve a l'Institut de Geologie de l'Universite de Neuchatel', *Bull. de la Soc. Neuchateloise des Sci. nat.*, LII (1928), 102-124. Members of the Evans family were rectors of Kingsland from 1760 to 1871.
20 J. C. Thackray, 'R. I. Murchison's Silurian System (1839)', *Jl. Soc. Biblphy. nat. Hist.*, IX (1978), 61-73.
21 W. Fitton, 1841, *op. cit.*
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23 Seven letters from Lewis are in the Sedgwick papers, Cambridge University Library.
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# Reports of Sectional Recorders

# Archaeology, 1977

*By* R. SHOESMITH

### THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

The committee continues to be responsible for the archaeology of the city. Post-excavation work has been of prime concern throughout the year although the unit has continued to advise the planning department of the City Council on archaeological matters. Apart from work on the Hereford report, the committee has sub-contracted to the Welsh Department and has completed a report on excavations at Llangar Church, Merioneth and is at present working on a report on excavations at Chepstow. Various forms of sub-contracting work such as this are essential if an archaeological unit in Hereford is to be kept in being as there are insufficient national and local funds for the unit to work solely on material from the city.

No excavations have taken place in the city during the last twelve months due to a lack of development on key sites. A watching brief by J. Sawle of the County Archaeological Department was arranged at the Drybridge House site, south of the river, on the line of Rowe Ditch. The bank, shown on the Ordnance Survey map as Rowe Ditch is a major feature in Bishop's meadow and runs from the Victoria suspension bridge in a westerly direction towards Drybridge House. Trial trenches dug in 1975 established that the bank continued as far as the site and possibly turned north towards the river. The watching brief this year was of areas south of the 1975 work and was concerned with the wet ditch which ran to the south of the bank. The remains of a line of stakes were found in the bottom of the ditch and samples from the fill are being examined by the Environmental Archaeology Unit at York.

Landscaping and tree planting in the Cathedral Close was watched by staff of the unit. Random bone and sherds of medieval pottery were recovered.

### THE COUNTY ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

Work has concentrated on building up the Sites and Monuments Record and following up in the field. Vegetation seemed to be very late dying down this year which produced problems when surveys were being carried out. All of the projects started last year have been continued and information from them has been fed into the Sites and Monuments Record. Liaison with the County Planning Department Conservation and Countryside Section has been continued.





One 'spin-off' from the survey of collections of buildings photographs started by Miss Babb and Miss Wilson in 1976 has been the County Planning Department's survey of dovecots in the county.

Several new sites have been put forward for scheduling among them being the motte at Whitehouse Farm, The Bage, Dorstone.

### THE KENCHESTER ENVIRONS

Last year I voiced my concern about the encroachments of the Stretton Sugwas gravel quarry on the extra-mural occupation areas east of the walled town of *Magnis*. The picture has changed during 1977 and a major excavation of a villa-type complex in advance of the gravel workings was directed by P. A. Rahtz. Also during 1977, standing masonry in the New Weir Gardens was examined and proved to be Roman and trial excavations were organised. Unfortunately the western gateway and approach road to *Magnis* has been destroyed and a house built on the site. This is a great tragedy because it is the only building which encroaches on the Roman town and its defences and although the grounds of the house have since been added to the scheduled area, the damage had been done.

Interim reports on Mr. Rahtz's excavation and my own work at New Weir are included in the Newsletter of the Archaeological Research Group and the following notes are a summary of these reports.

*The 'villa'-type complex east of Kenchester.* The area excavated was part of the complex of buildings shown on W. A. Baker's aerial photograph published in the *Transactions* in 1966 (PL. V) and was some 400m. to the east of the walled town. The site was thought to be that of a temple but was proved by excavation to be a complex of buildings and related activities extending over the four centuries of the Roman period.

An ancient stream-bed led south of the main site and was possibly the reason for the site's existence. There were some signs of a pre-Romanised culture followed, probably in the 1st century A.D., by a curving ditch which may have had a defensive function. The 2nd century A.D. had major activity on and close to the site and a masonry building, probably with hypocausts, has been postulated. During this period the stream more or less dried up, remaining water being channelled into a trough. A minor road continued south from the site. Later in the 2nd century the lay-out was changed and the eastern boundary was defined oy a north-south ditch. In the 3rd century this ditch was continued in a westerly direction to become a south boundary of the site. The badly robbed-out remains of the masonry buildings found were complex and the chronology is not yet fully understood. The main room excavated contained a small fragment of mosaic pavement and had a semi-circular apse. A rectangular structure to the south of the main building is interpreted as a farm building. There was also industrial

activity in this period and the remains of a furnace and crucibles were found. Two burials also belong to this period. In the 4th century cobbling to the south was cut by a deep ditch. A layer of charcoal in the ditch fill may mark the site destruction.

*The New Weir Roman Masonry.* Early in 1977, I wrote a report for the National Trust about the various 'remains' in the New Weir Gardens. Following this, several small trial holes were excavated during October to establish the size and nature of the site. Details of the upstanding masonry and the cistern were originally noted in earlier volumes of the *Transactions* (1892 pp. 24-46 and 1893 pp. 56-60) but they were thought to be medieval or later.

The trial excavations have shown that the visible remains are indeed Roman and that there was a complex of rooms next to the buttresses which include at least one with a mosaic pavement. Fifty metres south-east of the upstanding masonry a further complex of rooms appears to surround the octagonal cistern and tesserae from the area suggest further tesselated pavements. Between the two areas the debris suggests that they were joined by a corridor or further range of rooms.

The restricted extent of the site would inevitably have influenced the design of the buildings so one would not expect a standard design but it is suggested that there was a long range of rooms parallel to the river with several wings at right-angles enclosing one or more courtyards.

Dr. Webster considers that the remains are part of an elaborate villa with a little poop or it may be a nymphaeum. It will be interesting to see if the choice of site was influenced by the calcareous springs which are a feature of the area.

The visible remains are in a remarkable state of preservation considering the destructive power of the fast-flowing Wye. The buttresses are the highest standing pieces of Roman masonry in Herefordshire, and, for a building of this type, in the west midlands or Wales.

It is to be hoped that the walled town of *Magnis* is now completely safe from any form of development or agricultural damage. It must be realised however that the town walls were probably built quite late in the town's history and that previously, as the aerial photographs show, the town was originally an elongated street settlement. Well to the west of the town the remains found when Bishopstone rectory was built indicate an elaborate Roman villa. It would seem likely that many more extra-mural Roman buildings remain to be found in the neighbourhood of the walled town. Buildings in this sort of position are of great archaeological interest in that they were vulnerable to threats when the town wall provided a protection to the main community. Excavation of such areas should add another dimension to the previous researches carried out by the Woolhope Club into the history of *Magnis*.



But this is not all. The crucial archaeological problems in this area concern the sequence from Credenhill to *Magnis* and then later from Magnis to Hereford. The proximity of these three important sites have led to suggestions that the whole area should be treated as one of national archaeological importance. It is a sobering thought that the significant events in the history of this area may have left more archaeological traces in the small undefended settlements than in the walled towns.

## CHURCHES

Work is proposed on two medieval ruined churches in the county. The old church at Edvin Loach will probably be taken into guardianship and the ruins conserved. At Llanwarne a committee of parishioners are hoping to carry out repairs to the ruined church with aid from the Job Creation scheme. In both cases suggestions have been made to the Department of the Environment that a full stone-by-stone survey be undertaken before the consolidation work starts.

## STONE AXES

The following were shown to the editor during the year:

1. Flint axe found near Shobdon aerodrome SO 390603. Pale flint. Quite a good edge. 7¼ ins. by 3.2 ins. by 1¼ ins. Found on 6 January 1978 by Mr. Weaver of Titley.

2. Polished greenstone axe. 4½ ins. by 3 ins. by 1 in. Appears to have been broken at handle end, but could not have been much larger. Widest point about ½ in. from leading edge. Good edge. Found by Mr. J. Stinton of Woodlands, Elton, on top of Petchfield, SO 452702.

# Buildings, 1977

*By* J. W. TONKIN

THIS year's report is much shorter than usual, because of the fact that the writer was out of action for some considerable time. It meant that the group met less frequently than normally and did virtually no fieldwork as a group. As always we are much indebted to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging the work.

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.

## HEREFORD

29 and 30 CASTLE STREET. SO 511398 (R.C.H.M. 99)

Was pre-1473 hall of the Vicar's Choral, now part of the Cathedral School. It probably dates from *c.* 1395. There is a heavily moulded ridge-purlin and the wind-braces have fleurons at the cusp points as at Chapel Farm, Wigmore.

The head's study has panelling of *c.* 1700 with bolection moulding and a good overmantel of about a hundred years earlier.

## COLWALL

SO 745424

Examination of a derelict barn at Colwall revealed that it was a 3-bay cruck barn which had been extended at both ends and had had the roof raised. It was finally demolished by the high winds on Christmas Eve.

## EATON BISHOP

WORMHILL. SO 433393 (R.C.H.M. 11)

This farmhouse was examined during demolition. It was a long, rather low, brick house with a cross-wing at the east end. The eastern bay had been a two-storey cruck bay, parts of both trusses still remaining. It had apparently been the service end adjoining a large two-bay open hall which had been remodelled as a two-storey block in the 17th century. It had passing wind-braces.

The wing running north from the cruck bay was of 17th-century build and contained a large granary and hop-kiln. The whole building had been timber-framed originally.

## LEINTWARDINE

CANDLEMAS COTTAGE, KINTON. SO 500746 (R.C.H.M. 39)

A six-bay, 17th-century house with straight, late upper-cruck trusses, built on a three-room plan plus what appears to be an early entrance hall. The present parlour appears to have been always the main room of the house which in many ways is reminiscent of the Old Post Office at Wigmore.





CHURCH HOUSE. SO 404742 (R.C.H.M. 10)

The earlier wing has smoke-blackened trusses in the central part and has cambered tie-beams. The 17th-century turned balusters on the landing are reputed to be from the church.

## LINGEN

THE FORGE. SO 365673 (R.C.H.M. 10)

The cross-wing of the western part has chamfered and stopped beams forming eight squares with two joists in each running at right-angles to each other in alternate squares, a pattern which occurs in wealthier houses in the area.

## PEMBRIDGE

37 WEST STREET. SO 387581 (R.C.H.M. 37)

A much-altered L-shaped house apparently of 17th-century date this house has been recently restored. The main truss of the wing appears to have been open having had finely-moulded ceiling beams and joists inserted at the same time as a post-and-plank partition. The roof of this wing shows evidence of having had passing wind-braces.

## STAUNTON-ON-WYE

HANDMORE. SO 353456

The barn has upper-cruck trusses and another single-storey outbuilding has unusual, remarkably small carpenters' assembly marks.

## WINFORTON

WINFORTON COURT. SO 296470 (R.C.H.M. 3)

The second outbuilding has a series of three-light ovolo-moulded windows on the first floor and across a narrow corridor each of these is opposite a partitioned-off space; almost a room, but with only three sides. What was this building's use? Could it possibly have been a stopping place on the drovers' road? Also here is an excellent example of a cowhouse divided into bays, each for two cows.

During the year 39 planning applications from within the old county of Herefordshire have been referred to the listed buildings sub-committee. One building in Leominster is due to be demolished viz. Townsend House. This is a great pity, but it has been allowed to get into such a state it is now virtually past saving.

As always my thanks are due to Mr. C. H. I. Homes, to Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Perry and my wife for all their work during the year. The first named has spent a lot of time recording in Colwall and we shall see the results of this in due course. He is also responsible for some of the above entries.

# Entomology, 1977

*By* Mrs. M. W. PRYCE

MEMBERS of the newly-formed Natural History Section visited Moccas Park on 9 July. Investigation of the lake revealed surprisingly few species of insects, and very little variation was found in different regions of the lake. In predominance, and in very large numbers, were the Hemipterous species *Corixa punctata, Callicorixa praeusta* (indication of organic pollution) and fewer specimens of *Notonecta glauca.* Ephemeroptera nymphs included *Baetis rhodani, B. muticans, Centroptilium luteolum* and *Caenis horaria.* Trichoptera larvae of the Fam. Leptoceridae (probably *Arthripsodes aberrimus*) were found. Coleopterous species collected were *Ilybius obscurus, Ilybius fenestralis, Hydrobius fuscipes* and Dytiscidae larvae. Dipterous species included *Culex* and *Chironomus.* The dragonflies *Ischnura elegans* and *Libellula depressa* were seen. By the edge of the lake a specimen of *Pseudiops bicolorana,* the scarce silver lines moth, was found.

I am most grateful to Jonathan Cooter, B.Sc., F.R.E.S., of the Natural History Dept. Glasgow Museum for supplying records of his visits to Moccas Park. Coleoptera associated with trees and rotting timber included the following species:

*Melasis buprestoides*, *Platypus cylindrus* } on beech trunks

*Sepedophilus bipunctatus* on wet rotten beech

*Colon serripes* on slope by lake

*Plectophloeus nitidus*, *Batrisodes venustus* } rotten oak

*Hypebaens flavipes* oak

*Lymexylon navalae* parkland-woodland boundary

*Henoticus serratus* beaten from oak

*Abdera quadri fasciata* under bark of oak

*Elodona agricola* on bracket fungus on oak

He, and his wife S. Cooter, also collected the following Diptera (identified by Alan Brindle, Manchester Museum).

*Chloromyia formosa, Haematopota pluvialis, Sorgus iridatus, Myathropa florea, Rhagio scolopacea, Rhagio tringarius, Chrysopilus cristatus, C. aureus, Opomyza germinationis, Xylotomima nemorum, Platycheirus immarginatus, P.albimonus, Chrysops caecutiens, Dioctria linearis, Lejogaster metallina, Bibio nigriventris, Machimus atricapillus, Berris vallata, Leptogaster cylindrica.*





J. and S. Cooter collected the following Hymenoptera (S.O. Apocrita) Aculeata (ants, bees, wasps) identified by B.M. (N.H.).

*Bombus pascorum, Ectimus cavifrons* on fallen lime.

*Chrysis angustula, C. cyanea* on fallen debarked oak.

*Crossocerus podagricus, C. annulipes, C. quadrimaculatus, Rhopalum coarctatum, Chelostoma campanularum, Lasioglosum moris, Vespa crabo.*

S.O. Symphyta (sawflies)—identified by G. J. Moller, Monkswood Expt. Station:

*Dolerus aericaps, Selandria serva, Strongylogaster lineata, Rhogogaster chlorosoma, Pachyprotasis rapae* and at Vowchurch *Ardis brunniventris, Pristiphora crassicornis.*

By kind permission of the owner Mr. Rogers, Estelle Davies and I visited an artificial lake excavated at Hampton Bishop near the river Wye, during the rebuilding of the river banks. This filled naturally with water, and is now becoming established. It has a gravelly bottom (once river bed) and as yet very little vegetation. It has been stocked with rainbow trout, which are regularly fed by the owner. Miss Davies suggested that it would be of interest to observe the colonisation of the lake, and to study the establishment of a balanced ecosystem in which insects will form part of the food web. Samples of insects were collected in July (two years after excavation) and it is intended to visit the lake in later years to make further observations. E. Davies identified the following species, and observed that plankton life was reasonably abundant.

Order Ephemeroptera (nymphs) *Cloen diptera, Baetis rhodani, B. buceratus, B. muticans, Centroptilum luteolum, Potomanthus luteus, Siphlonurus armatus.*

Order Trichoptera (larvae) *Mystacides* sp., *Sericostoma* sp., *Polycentropus* sp., *Agapetus* sp.

Order Plecoptera (nymphs) *Taeniopteryx nebulosa.*

Order Odonata (nymphs) *Coenagrion puella.*

Order Hemiptera (imago, nymphs) *Corixa* sp., *Callicorixa* sp.

Order Coleoptera (adults, nymphs) *Platambus maculatus* and Dytiscidae spp.

Order Diptera (larvae) *Chironomus* sp.

Other records for the county this year:

Order Ephemeroptera

Fam. Caenidae *Caenis moesta, C. rivulorum* R. Frome, Canon Frome.

Fam. Ecdynuridae *Ecdynurus venosus* (R. Monnow, Craswall and R. Frome, Canon Frome).

Fam. Ephemerellidae *Ephemerella* sp. R. Arrow, Kington.

Order Odonata

*Agrion splendens, Coenagrion puella* and *Ischnura elegans* at Canon Frome.

Order Orthoptera

A survey of S.E. Herefordshire (Ledbury, Wellington Heath, Colwall, Frome Hill area) showed that the following species were widespread:

Fam. Tettigoniidae *Pholidoptera griseoaptera, Leptophyes punctatissima* and Meconema thalassium.

Fam. Acrididae *Chorthippus parallelus, C. brunneus, Omocestus viridulus, Stenobothrus lineatus* and *Myrmeleotettrix maculatus* found on the Malvern Hills near British Camp.

Order Hemiptera

(Sheildbugs) Fam. Cynidae *Sehirus bicolor* (Bosbury).

Fam. Acanthosomidae *Acanthosoma haemorrhoidale* (Ledbury, Bodenham), *Elasmucha grisea* (Canon Frome).

*Palomena prasina* (Frith Woods, Nupend, Bodenham).

(Pond skaters) Fam. Hydrometridae *Hydrometra stagnorum.*

Fam. Gerridae *Gerris lacustris.*

Fam. Veliidae *Velia caprai.*

These spp. and the water scorpion *Nepa cinerea* are fairly common.

Order Diptera

Hover flies of the Fam. Syrphidae were very much in evidence this year. *Syrphus balteatus, S. luniger, S. ribesii, Catabomba pyrastri* and *Sphaerophoria scripta* were commonly seen—most of which are predatory on aphids. Other species recorded were *Volucella bombylans, Eristalis tenax, E. arbustorum* and *Helophilus pendulus.* Other flies commonly seen in the Ledbury area were *Eriothrix rufomaculatus, Nemorilla floralis, Varichaeta radicum* and *Rhagio scolopacea.*

Order Hymenoptera

Dr. Anthea Brian supplied a list of bumble-bees common in the county: *Bombus hortorum, B. lapidarius, B. lucorum, B. pratorum, B. ruderarius, B. terrestris, Psithyrus bohemicus* and *P. campestris.*

Order Coleoptera

Mr. Nicholl of Llanrothal sent a record of a larva of *Sinodendron cylindricum* (Fam. Lucanidae) on dead hardwood.

C. Sheldrake collected *Cryptocephalus moraei, Stenocorus meridianus* and *Pristonychus terricola* at Nupend.



Fam. Coccinellidae (ladybirds)

The very hot summer of 1976 was followed by a very wet winter. A mild spell in the first two weeks of April encouraged *Coccinella 7-punctata* out of hibernation, and very large numbers of adults of this species were seen near British Camp (Malvern Hills) on 8 April. During the following weeks, adults were widespread but not especially numerous in hedgerows and woodlands. Otherwise it remained wet and cold throughout most of May, and though the seven-spot ladybird survived the winter, the long cold spring possibly caused reduction in numbers, and aphids were not much in evidence until June. No migrations were observed this year, but by September the species was widespread and abundant.

The 2-spot ladybird *Adalia bipunctata* was seen only in small numbers this year.

In the Ledbury-Bosbury-Canon Frome area, the most common ladybird was *Propylea 14-punctata.* By the end of May and early June this species was very numerous, and remained so throughout the summer.

In September *Thea 22-punctata* was common.

Other recorded species of the family were *Adalia 10-punctata* and *Coccidula rufa.*

# Industrial Archaeology, 1977

*By* C. H. I. HOMES

THIS year much time has been taken up with a university of Bristol extramural project on the use of privately made gas in the 19th century in the counties of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire.

In Herefordshire six sites have been located. All are at private houses. These were: Bryngwyn (SO 484305), Burghill Asylum (SO 485435), Euroclydon (SO 646184), Foxley (SO 413469), Goodrich Court (SO 572198) and Shobdon Court (SO 399627).

In Gloucestershire nineteen sites have been located, eleven at private houses and eight industrial sites. These were at: Angeston Grange (ST 781982), Ashwick Park (ST 785718), Beckford Grange (SO 976357), Daylesford House (SP 243261), Eastwood Park (ST 674922), Henleaze Park (ST 583765), Lydney Park (SO 621023), Oaklands Park (SO 677095), Owlpen House (ST 807982), Seven Springs House (SO 967168), Tortworth Court (ST 691928), Charfield Mills (ST 722931), Golden Valley Mills (ST 681699), Hampen Mill (SP 056204), New Mills (ST 736930), Paslip Mill (SP 008270), Sharpness Docks (SO 675030), Stanley Mills (SO 812043) and Vatch Mill (SO 870065).

As far as can be ascertained all these were coal-gas plants, mostly installed in the 1850-70 period. But what was surprising was that a number of them were still in use in the 1920s, having been in continuous use for fifty to sixty years. In some cases buildings and fittings still survive. At Tortworth Court account books show that in 1854 the gasworks used 103 tons 16 cwt. of coal purchased for £51 7s.

By far the most exciting discovery of the year was in Llanveynoe parish on the slopes of the Black Mountains where a small irrigation system was discovered still working. Water from the spring at the house was diverted out of its course into a ditch along the top of two large fields. The water was pushed out onto the field as required by dropping a large turf into the ditch causing it to overflow. Many of these systems were in use up to the 1940s but I never expected to find one working in 1977.



# Ornithology, 1977

*By* C. W. SHELDRAKE

Rarities observed in Herefordshire in 1977 are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Greenland Wheatear | — | Holme Lacy — 19 May |
| Osprey | — | West Herefordshire—17 April |
| Hoopoe | — | Tarrington — 7 May |
| | | Bullinghope— 1 October |

USE OF NESTBOXES

There has been a recovery of the use of nestboxes used by the hole-nesting birds in the scheme run by the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust. Results over 36 sites showed that 56.2% of the boxes were occupied. An increase of 12% over last year.

The results are as follows:

| | *1976* | *1977* |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Boxes ... ... | 977 | 987 |
| Occupied Boxes ... ... | 430 | 555 |
| % Occupancy ... ... | 44% | 56.2% |
| Great Tit ... ... ... | 130 | 160 |
| Pied Flycatcher ... ... | 62 | 121 |
| Blue Tit ... ... ... | 170 | 212 |
| Coal Tit ... ... ... | 15 | 12 |
| Marsh Tit ... ... ... | 7 | 8 |
| Redstart ... ... ... | 4 | 1 |
| Nuthatch ... ... ... | 6 | 12 |
| Wren ... ... ... | 12 | 3 |
| Others ... ... ... | 23 | 26 |

Flocking of birds in Herefordshire is usually a winter occurence, being unique in the range of habitat and milder climate in winter.

The following were observed:

Swans, gulls and waders on the Lugg Meadows.
Starlings, fieldfares, redwings and lapwings on farmland.

# Archaeological Research Section, 1977

*By* C. E. ATTFIELD

THE Section's activities got off to a promising start at the beginning of the year but faded in the latter half. In February further investigation was made of the waterworks complex at Hampton Dingle, connected with the Hampton Court landscaping and water supply and a revised plan included in *ARS News No. 33.*

In March we visited Whitchurch, examined a Romano/British enclosure in Lords Wood, the legendary King Arthur's Cave and iron workings on the Doward.

In April the farm of Nant-y-bar in the parish of Dorstone was visited to examine the purpose of a supposed medieval causeway at GR 284-410 and certain pond sites near Mynwdd Brith. Norman earthworks and farm-houses were examined and a full report is in *ARS No. 34.*

May found the section examining the Oxenhall Pool, loch and cottage, branch to the Newent coalfields and the portals of the Oxenhall Tunnel.

In June we visited the Herefordshire Waterworks Museum at Broomy Hill, Hereford, and associated buildings and reservoir, of great interest to the industrial archaeologists in the Section. The Trust which runs the museum is an independent body and the museum which is open to the public on certain days contains a Lancashire boiler of 1895, the oldest triple-expansion pumping engine in Great Britain, a now unique two-cylinder engine and boiler feed pump. These are demonstrated under steam.

A social evening was held at the Olde Harpe, Hereford, in November and the Annual General Meeting in the Tudor Room of the Golden Eagle Restaurant, Commercial Street, Hereford in December.

During the year the assistant editor and I paid a visit to the excavations at Kenchester being carried out under the direction of Phillip Rahtz of the Department of History, Birmingham University, and also to some trial excavations on the site of Roman buildings at New Weir, some four miles west of Hereford, by Ron Shoesmith. Reports on both these excavations are included in *ARS No. 34* and we acknowledge our thanks to the authors.

Co-operation with the Hereford and Worcester County Planning Department will enable the Department to include information contained in the *News* to be incorporated in the publication 'Herefordshire Countryside Treasures'.



# Natural History Section, 1977

*By* C. W. SHELDRAKE

EIGHT field meetings were organised during the year.

In January members visited the Slimbridge Wild Fowl Trust to observe the wild geese on the Dumbles. During the afternoon a film was shown in the lecture theatre on the work of the Trust and the ouse washes.

The Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust Reserve at Nupend, Fownhope, was visited in March when members were able to observe the helebores and the geology of the surrounding county was explained by Mr. Thomson.

In April members visited the Wyre Forest and were shown around by Dr. N. Hicken, a well-known authority on the area. He pointed out many interesting features of the forest in geology, trees and butterflies and related them to historical facts. A special visit was made to the well-known witty pear, and the final visit was to the information centre.

In May members visited the house of Mr. V. Lewis at Rose Hill, Lyonshall. Mr. Lewis who is a well-known broadcaster and has supplied many sound tracks of bird recordings to the B.B.C. gave a talk on sound recording apparatus and techniques. He played several tapes to illustrate this. A film on bird life and habitat made by Mr. J. Elvins showed birds at nest and the young being fed. The film terminated with shots taken of a hobby nest, from a 90 ft. scaffolding tower which had been specially erected.

In July members met in Moccas Park when the party was split up into three groups and each group changed after half an hour. Dr. Wince spoke to one group about the use of a camera telephoto lens for insect photography: Mrs. Pryce and Miss Davies demonstrated netting pond life and identified the contents in bowls: owing to the dull and cool weather, bees were not flying, so, Dr. Brian had an exhibit of mounted bumble bees, common in Herefordshire, and used these to identify with keys.

In September a field meeting on mammals was held at Belmont Abbey led by Mr. Myers and assisted by a pupil, Robert Hild. He had arranged a small exhibition of books and mounted pelts of various small mammals. In a small woodland Mr. Myers demonstrated the setting of traps and the removal of the contents for examination. A general discussion on mammals followed in the school.

A fungi foray at Queens Wood led by Mr. and Mrs. Thomson was held in October when approximately eighty species were observed.

In November members visited Nupend Nature Reserve with Dr. Cameron to observe molluscs when twenty-six species were recorded.

This year saw the after-effects of the 1976 drought. Being shallow rooted many beech trees died off due to lack of moisture the previous year. Also, throughout the county, a poor apple crop was recorded due to the fruit buds not developing the previous year.

The weather in the early part of the year was dominated by cold north winds, and finally strong gale-force winds in December when much damage occurred. It was noted by beekeepers that the seasons were generally three weeks late in Herefordshire.

## Weather Statistics for 1977

| *Month* | *Sunshine hours* | *Days with Sun* | *Max. Temp. Screen °F* | *Min. Temp. Screen °F* | *Nights Air Frost* | *Nights Ground Frost* | *Rain ins.* | *Max. in one day* | *Days with rain over .005 ins.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 68.3 | 17 | 54 | 25 | 8 | 16 | 2.93 | 0.52 | 18 |
| February | 63 | 22 | 55 | 30 | 3 | 7 | 3.25 | 0.53 | 21 |
| March | 63.7 | 21 | 64 | 29 | 2 | 3 | 2.17 | 0.55 | 17 |
| April | 142.3 | 24 | 60 | 31 | 1 | 4 | 1.24 | 0.26 | 14 |
| May | 238.8 | 30 | 75 | 37 | — | — | 1.41 | 0.52 | 10 |
| June | 144.6 | 23 | 79 | 40 | — | — | 2.95 | 0.67 | 16 |
| July | 200.6 | 31 | 80 | 46 | — | — | 0.26 | 0.10 | 4 |
| August | 146.5 | 26 | 79 | 44 | — | — | 3.31 | 0.86 | 15 |
| September | 97.9 | 23 | 73 | 42 | — | — | 0.35 | 0.27 | 4 |
| October | 71.8 | 29 | 69 | 37 | — | 1 | 1.08 | 0.17 | 17 |
| November | 86.7 | 29 | 65 | 27 | 6 | 11 | 1.55 | 0.18 | 16 |
| December | 26.7 | 16 | 60 | 31 | 2 | 5 | 2.61 | 0.49 | 16 |
| | 1350.9 hours | | | | | | 23.1" | | |

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