

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB
HEREFORDSHIRE

“HOPE ON”



“HOPE EVER”

ESTABLISHED 1851
VOLUME XLV 1987
PART III

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

Proceedings, 1987

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 10 January: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Geology, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports for 1987 which are printed on pp. 761-94.

SECOND MEETING: 7 February: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Mr. J. W. Tonkin, B.A., F.S.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'Herefordshire Police Authority, 1841: Houses, Courts and Lock-ups.' He explained that before the Rural Constabulary Act of 1839, law and order was in the hands of the parish constable, the militia, the yeomanry and the regular army. As a result of Chadwick's essay in 1829 a Royal Commission was set up in 1839 and an Act was passed for the formation of a police force charged with the protection of people and property. Twenty-four counties in England and Wales adopted the Act within two years, eleven more over the next fifteen years and twenty-two did not adopt it at all. In 1856 police forces were made compulsory. In Herefordshire a Police Committee consisting of a magistrate from each petty session on 8 November 1856 agreed to establish a Constabulary Force consisting of a chief constable, eleven superintendents, eleven sergeants and twenty-two second-class constables. Captain Telfer, R.A. was appointed as the first chief constable from among sixty-four applicants. Details of the building regulations for 1841, 1846, 1851, 1875 and 1886 for police houses and lock-ups were referred to. In 1842 Herefordshire agreed to build nine lock-up houses at Abbey Dore, Bromyard, Harewood End, Kington, Ledbury, Leominster, Ross, Weobley and Wigmore in addition to Hereford. Detailed specifications for Abbey Dore 4 January 1855; Bromyard 6 February 1844; Kington undated; repairs to Ledbury 9 March 1844; Leominster 31 July 1851; Ross 11 January 1845; Weobley 14 June 1844 and Wigmore 27 May 1848 were read. Remains of all these buildings are to be seen today. No documentary evidence has been found for Harewood End and nothing of the building survives.

THIRD MEETING: 7 March: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

Mr. H. Williamson, J.P., gave an illustrated talk on 'King's Acre—Origins and Development.' It lies north-west of Hereford and stretches about one and a half miles from the Whitecross roundabout to the junction of the A438 and A480. In 1931 he purchased 180,000 rose-budded briar stock from the nursery on the south side of King's Acre Road and five acres on the present nursery site to set up a new one. It is thought that a nursery had been established there in the 1760s but the Breinton Court Estate papers refer to the land being purchased by James Cranston in 1785. He died in 1835 and was succeed-

ed by his son John who was one of the great rosarians of the last century and initiated the Hereford and West of England Rose Society which is one of the oldest in the country. The King's Acre Nursery became well known nationally for fruit trees and introduced several new varieties e.g. King's Acre Berry, King's Acre Pippin and King's Acre Bountiful. That nursery felt the effects of the depression in the 1920s and was forced out of business in 1931.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 28 March: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 851 members.

Mr. Hillaby referred to the varied activities of the club during the year and gave his address 'Early Christian Leominster' which is printed on pp. 557-685.

Mr. G. Charnock was installed as president for 1987-8.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 25 April: TEME VALLEY

This meeting was arranged and led by Dr. Peter Cross as a follow-up to his talk to the club on the 'Glacial Diversion of the river Teme.' Members climbed part of the way up Tatteridge Hill from where he explained how the various features had been formed. The next visit was down the hill and westwards to see the meanders, one of which had been formed within the previous three weeks. After tea the party walked down the Downton Gorge and across Bow Bridge. This gorge was formed some 11-12,000 years ago when the terminal moraine deposit at Aymestrey diverted the river Teme eastwards and created Wigmore Lake. The club was grateful to the landowners for allowing members to walk over their lands.

SECOND MEETING: 21 May: MUCH WENLOCK AREA

The first visit was to Wenlock Priory which was founded c. 680 by Merewald, king of Mercia, as a nunnery for his daughter Milburga. It was destroyed by the Danes c. 874 and re-founded c. 1050 by Leofric, earl of Mercia, a friend of Edward the Confessor and was dedicated to St. Milburga. Probably between 1070 and 1080 it was made a monastery by Roger de Montgomery who gave it to the Cluniacs of La Charité. Of the buildings which remain the apse was discovered in 1901 and probably dates from 1050, the chapter house and infirmary from the 12th century, the church from 1220-50, the Lady chapel from the early 14th century and the prior's lodging and infirmary chapel from the end of the 15th century. Of particular interest was the hexagonal sacristy of c. 1500 and the carving on the chapter house.

Walking around the town visits were made to the Guildhall which dates from 1540 and 1577 and which has as roof with tie-beams and queen-posts and Jacobean panelling

dated 1624, and to Wenlock Museum. The church dedicated to the Holy Trinity was not visited because it was being treated for wood rot.

Members were taken to Wenlock Edge which is composed of Wenlock Limestone and is probably the oldest of the Silurian limestones containing many fossils such as coral, crinoids, brachiopods, gastropods and some trilobites. The party walked to Ippiken Rock, a very fine viewpoint, down steps to a ride which until the 1950s was the railway line between Craven Arms and Wellington and then along a path through Easthope Wood and then upwards and back to Ippiken's Wood. The wood was carpeted with ransoms which at times smelt very strongly.

THIRD MEETING: 4 June: ABERGAVENNY

The first visit was to the castle, now ruinous, which stands on a strategic site overlooking the Usk Valley. About 1090 it was held by Hamelin of Ballon who was succeeded by the families of De Braose, Cantelupe, Hastings, Beauchamp and Nevill. The museum is housed in the hunting lodge which was built against the keep by Baker-Gabb, 1815-25, for the Nevill family who gave it to the Abergavenny Improvement Committee. In the museum displays traced the history of the market town and there were a traditional Welsh kitchen and a reconstructed saddler's shop.

Walking around the town the following features were seen: the site in Castle Street where a Roman fort was found; in Nevill Street once called Rother Street (Rother meaning horned cattle) where horned cow heads can be seen under the eaves of a shop which had been the Cow Inn; St. John's Church which became the Henry VIII Grammar School; the market and town hall designed by Nash in 1780 and improved by the Bristol architect, Westmacott, 1868-70. The parish church of St. Mary before the Dissolution had been a Benedictine priory founded by Hamelin de Ballon for a prior and twelve monks. The church was heavily restored in 1882. In the chancel there are twenty-four monks' stalls with misericord seats; the Herbert Chapel lies on the south side and the Lewis Chapel to the north. Monuments to the Herbert family of alabaster, freestone and wood date from 1270 to 1640. In the Lewis Chapel is a striking example in wood of a Jesse Tree.

The final visit was to the Llanfoist Wharf on the Monmouthshire-Brecon Canal where members walked from the village of Llanfoist up through a beech wood to the wharf, where the old warehouse stands and then along the towpath from where there was a fine view of Abergavenny.

FOURTH MEETING: 4 July: BLACK COUNTRY MUSEUM

This meeting was a visit to the Black Country Museum at Dudley where a museum is being constructed to depict life in the Black Country during Victorian times. The site has been worked for coal, ironstone, limestone and clay but has been made safe for the museum. Each building has either been moved from its original site or been built to a traditional design. Walking around members saw a glass cutter and a chainmaker working, a general store, a chemist's shop, a bakery, a Methodist Chapel, a public house and

many types of workers' houses. A colliery and other buildings are under construction. Majority of the party went on a powered narrow boat into the Dudley Tunnel which was originally built in 1778 and became derelict when working ceased in 1951. The route was through the Castle Mill Basin into the Singing Cavern which is part of the limestone mines beneath Castle Hill. It was re-opened in 1973 and a new tunnel completed in 1985.

FIFTH MEETING: 25 July: CARDIFF AREA

The first visit was to Dyffryn Gardens, seven miles west of Cardiff administered jointly by Mid and South Glamorgan County Councils. John Cory purchased the fifty-five acre site in 1891 and built the present house on the site of an Elizabethan mansion. His son, Reginald Cory, was a keen horticulturist and began developing the gardens which were bequeathed to Cambridge University Botanic Gardens. Colonel Sir Cennydd Treherne bought them in 1939 and presented them to Glamorgan County Council and since 1974 a rehabilitation programme has commenced. Members wandered around the gardens, the arboretum, the plant houses, the water-lily canal and the palm house completed in 1965.

The afternoon was spent at St. Donat's Castle, now Atlantic College, the first international sixth-form school in the world which opened in 1962 and now has over 300 boys and girls from sixty countries. Members were taken around in two groups by two students and shown a video of the work of the college.

The earliest part of the castle dates from the 14th century and was added to by the Stradling families in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, who occupied it until 1760. It then was neglected and in 1862 Dr. Carne purchased it, and began restoration work and was followed by Morgan Stuart Williams in 1901. In 1922 it was sold to an American Richard Pennoyer who in 1925 sold it to William Randolph Hearst, another American. About 1929 he rebuilt the west range and brought in architectural features from Bradenstoke Priory, Wiltshire, and the church at Boston Stump, Lincolnshire. The gardens slope steeply down to the sea and are laid out with windbreaks of walls and hedges.

SIXTH MEETING: 12 September: GOLDEN VALLEY AREA

This meeting was the President's choice. At Bredwardine visits were made to the site of the Norman castle which was in decay by 1440 and on which a manor-house was built in the 17th century but was removed between 1775-80; to the church which has a Norman nave and font, the central tower having been replaced by one at the north-west dating from c. 1790 and the windows and doorways are tufa; to the bridge over the Wye where one was constructed 1759-62, re-constructed after a bad flood in 1795 and again restored in 1922.

At St. Margaret's Church members saw the fine screen dating from c. 1520 which was taken down and restored in 1934. Most of the party walked some three miles through Chanstone Woods to Chanstone and on the way looked at an old lime tree which was a boundary marker and also saw some autumn crocus in flower. By kind permission of the

owner members walked to the earthworks at Chanstone alongside the river Dore at the bottom of the valley.

The last visit was to Vowchurch Church which has a chancel roof dating from 1348 and the nave roof of 1610.

SPECIAL MEETING: 15 August: MALMESBURY AND FAIRFORD

This was a joint meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and the Woolhope Club. The theme for the day was to examine the origins of the two market towns of Malmesbury and Fairford. Mr. Hillaby explained that Malmesbury is situated on a promontory between the rivers Avon and Ingleburne, that c. 640 Maeldub founded the minster and he was succeeded by St. Aldhem (639-709) who became bishop of Sherborne. The abbey was built c. 1160 of which only part remains. Of particular interest was the south porch with its rich Romanesque sculpture, a parvise chamber over it and in the sanctuary the tomb of king Athelstan. Outside were seen the remains of the cloisters and the house of William Stumpe, the clothier. The party walked down to Little Gate and the mill on the Ingleburne from where one could see the king's wall and returned to the abbey passing by St. John's Hospital, the mill on the Avon and the Postern Gate.

At Fairford Church which was rebuilt 1490-1500 by John Tame, a wool merchant, Miss Sylvia Coppe-Gardner spoke on the history and described the stained-glass windows. Mr. Hillaby explained how the town grew up at the river crossing, that it had urban pretensions by 1221, a weekly market by 1296 and sixty-eight burgesses in 1307.

NEWCASTLE: 2-9 September

Forty-three members spent a week based at Henderson Hall, Newcastle University. Harewood House was visited on the way there. The estate was bought by Henry Lascelles and his son Edwin built the house designed by Carr in 1759. The interiors are by Adam, 1765-76, and the south front was remodelled by Sir Charles Barry, 1843-9. The grounds were laid out by Capability Brown in 1772 and the stables, 1755-6, are by Chambers. The house contains fine Chippendale furniture, Chinese porcelain and many portraits. After the evening meal Mr. Perry outlined the week's programme.

On Thursday morning the party travelled to the small fishing village of Craster, well known for its kippers, from where most members walked along the coastal path to Dunstanborough Castle built on a dolerite promontory and now a magnificent ruin. It was built in 1314 by Thomas, earl of Lancaster and strengthened in 1380-4 by John of Gaunt. After 1584 when it was no longer of importance near the Scottish border it fell into disrepair. In Bamburgh visits were made to the mainly 13th-century church which has an effigy of Grace Darling; the museum opposite commemorates the rescue of the survivors of the *Forfarshire* in 1838 by Grace Darling and her father, and to Bamburgh Castle built on a basalt outcrop by Henry II on a 6th-century fortification. Ruinous in 1704 it was bought by Lord Armstrong in 1890 who restored it 1894-1905. Next visited was Holy Island, formerly Lindisfarne, which is reached by the causeway at low tide. The castle on

a crag is the highest point on the island. It was a 16th-century fort which became ruinous and in 1901 was sold by the Crown to Edward Hudson, the owner of *Country Life* who commissioned Lutyens to restore it. Returning over the causeway the final visit was to Lindisfarne Priory and church. St. Aidan came from Iona in 635 and founded the monastery which was destroyed by the Danes in 875 and in 1093 became a Benedictine priory. In the church dating from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries members saw copies of the *Gospels* and the *Book of Kells* and a carpet made by women on the island depicting one of the title pages of the *Gospels*. After the evening meal Mr. John Gosden, B.A. gave a talk on the changes in the landscape in the area in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The first visit on Friday morning was to Brinkburn Priory and down the tree-lined path to it a badger sett was seen. This Augustinian priory was founded in 1135 and built c. 1200. The church is the only complete surviving part and soon after the Dissolution a house was built on part of the site. In the 1830s the Cadogan family employed John Dobson on the west side of the house and in 1858 Thomas Austin to restore the church.

At Craggside, Sir William Armstrong, the inventor and industrialist, in 1869 called in Norman Shaw to transform the original house of 1864-6 into a country mansion. The stables house a museum showing the life and work of Lord Armstrong and Swan light fittings and electricity. At Chillingham the church with a 12th-century nave and box pews were seen. The majority of the party walked quite a distance to see the Chillingham wild cattle where the warden gave an account of their history. After the evening meal David and Elsey Burleigh, makers of Northumbrian small pipes gave a talk and demonstration.

On Saturday morning it rained and the walk up the Hareshaw Burn was cancelled. However, the church at Bellingham was visited; it has a stone roof and is said to be the only one in England. It was fine on arrival at Keilder Water for a boat trip around the largest man-made lake in Europe. The commentary gave members an insight into its history, natural history, and purpose to maintain a water supply for the north-east of England. The remainder of the afternoon was spent in the village of Elsdon situated around a village green. Visits were made to Elsdon Tower which is part of a house dating from c. 1390 with three floors, eight feet thick walls at the base forming a barrel-vaulted undercroft. The spiral staircase led up through the garret to a parapet walk from where there was a good view of the Redesdale countryside. It was added to c. 1700; in 1826 it was the rectory and in 1961 it passed into lay hands. The church is mainly 14th century and the motte and bailey castle is c. 1080.

As is usual Sunday morning was free but some went to church services and others went walking. The afternoon was spent in Newcastle and members were taken around in groups by city guides. Features noted were the royal castle keep of 1172, the town walls of the time of Edward I, the various bridges over the river Tyne and the streets designed by Dobson and Grainger in the 1830s. After the evening meal Mr. Peter McDougall gave a talk on 'The Wild Goats of the Borders.'

Monday morning was spent at Vindolanda where members were guided around the site by one of the staff. The Roman site occupies twenty acres and excavations are still in progress. The party were shown the bath house, the corridor house, the *mansio* and the fort. The finds were seen in the Chesterholm Museum. The next visit was to Kirkharle

Church where Miss Shepherd's grandfather had been the incumbent and died there in 1804-5. A brief stop was made at the Kirkwhelpington Wind Turbine, a wind-driven generator engaged in the development of alternative sources of energy for small communities. Next visited was Wallington built of honey-coloured sandstone c. 1688 for Sir William Blackett and altered 1735-45 when it was turned around. Dobson in 1855 designed the courtyard to form a central hall. The grounds were laid out by Capability Brown c. 1766 and the gardens were re-organised by Lady Trevelyan in 1928. The last visit was to Bolam where members walked around the artificial lake designed in 1817 by Dobson. The church has a fine Saxon tower, Norman nave and chancel arch and the south doorway has dog-tooth tracery.

Two visits were made on Tuesday morning. Belsay Hall of honey-coloured sandstone, quarried on the estate and designed by John Dobson, was built in 1810-7. It is now empty and in the hands of English Heritage. Alongside are the ruins of the mid-14th-century tower and 17th-century manor-house. The Middleton family created gardens in the quarries and these are being restored. Warkworth Castle with its 12th and 15th-century keep on a motte and bailey stands on high ground above the village. At Alnmouth the 18th-century granaries have been converted into houses.

The afternoon was spent at Alnwick Castle, the home of the Percy family, dukes of Northumberland, who have owned it since 1309. In the 1750s and 1760s Paine and Adam did work there but in 1854 Salvin was employed by the fourth duke who spent a quarter of a million on the castle, so little of the work of Adam survives. The church contains Norman and 14th-century work but was restored by Dobson in 1825, Salvin in the 1860s and Hicks in the 1890s. Some members walked to the ruins of Hulme Priory.

On Wednesday on the way home a stop was made at Knaresborough to see the ruinous royal castle on the sandstone cliffs above the river Nidd dating mainly from the 14th century, and the museum housed in the Court House lying in the castle grounds and which was built in the late 16th century above a 14th-century building.

Tea was taken at the Crown Hotel, Wychbold, where coffee was enjoyed on the outward journey. Mr. and Mrs. Perry were thanked for arranging and leading the visit and Wendy for her safe driving and cooperation.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 3 October: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

This meeting was the twenty-fifth F. C. Morgan annual lecture and was held at St. Martin's Parish Centre. Mr. Ted Rowlands, M.P. for Merthyr, gave a lecture on 'The Harleys of Herefordshire in the late 17th Century.' He traced the life of Sir Edward Harley, 1624-1700, who had been a M.P. for a Herefordshire constituency for over fifty years. He was the eldest son of Sir Robert and Lady Brilliana Harley of Brampton Bryan. The main theme was the part Harley played in Parliament after the Civil War and the in-

trigues with other Herefordshire families in the various elections. During this period the electorate for the shire was 2,000, for Hereford city 500, Leominster 200 and Weobley 90, each sending two members to Parliament. The families involved were Scudamore, Cornwall, Berrington, Coningsby, Dutton Colt, Birch, Price of Foxley, Morgan of Kinnersley, Croft and Foley. Edward Harley led the Herefordshire families against James, a Catholic, becoming king and welcomed William of Orange in 1688. During the 1690s three Harleys and five Foleys served in Parliament.

SECOND MEETING: 24 October: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Mr. D. F. Lovelace, B.Sc., gave an illustrated lecture on 'Ancient Woodlands and their Future.' He explained that ancient woodland can be described as semi-natural and must have been woodland since 1660. It was difficult to find historical evidence for the period 1660 to the tithe map surveys of the 1840s. Indicators for ancient woodland were small-leaved lime, oak, ash and wild service tree with an undergrowth of herb paris, bluebell, yellow archangel and also obscure micromoths and slugs. The main objects of the Forestry Commission were to keep broad-leaved trees and not to clear woods for agriculture. The Nature Conservancy Council has published a provisional survey based on Bryant's map of 1830 and the Nature Trust was carrying out a survey.

THIRD MEETING: 14 November: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Dr. J. C. Eisel gave an illustrated lecture on 'Comparative Campanology of the Welsh Marches.' He explained how a church bell was cast up to the 19th century, how the inscriptions on them were formed by casting in wax and how they were suspended from canons at the top. The earliest bells had Latin inscriptions and very few were dated whereas after the Reformation inscriptions were in English and dated and had the founder's name or initials. The early bell-founders were called 'potters.' Some founders' marks were countrywide and others were local. Worcester was a centre in the 15th century and Bristol from 1350-1550. Thomas Jeffreys was responsible for the tenor bell in Hereford Cathedral which is the largest medieval bell in the country. John Finch of Hereford who died in 1664 and his son John, 1622-89, used their initials and a fleur-de-lis, and examples are All Saints 1626, Holmer 1628, Hentland 1628 and Bodenham 1663. Thomas Stone of Hereford was an itinerant bell-founder throughout Wales. The Rudhall family 1684-1835, were prominent in Herefordshire and along the border producing complete sets of bells and used Richard Brown, then William Cook and later the Jacques family to hang them. Finally he described the development of bell-frames with examples of a medieval one at Little Malvern Priory, Mansell Lacy and St. Peter's, Hereford c. 1500 and Orleton of the 16th century.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 5 December: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1988 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1986 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 554.

The speaker was Mr. H. Williamson who showed his film 'The River Wye' which he completed in 1971. The first part was the mountain stream, some fifty miles, from its source on Plynlimion to the Rhydspence on the Hereford Plain. Part two to Kerne Bridge showed the Wye as a pastoral river passing through the rich Herefordshire farmland and the final part to the Bristol Channel, having joined the Severn at Chepstow, was down the scenic Wye Valley through Llandogo and Tintern. Throughout the journey from source to sea the commentary described the natural history, the geology, the villages and towns and the countryside through which it passed, and which it influenced.

H.P. Bulmer Ltd. in celebration of its centenary published a limited edition of a *Pomona* and donated a half-leather edition to the Club.

During the year a number of books have been given to the Club's library. They include a run of *Antiquity* (1965-86) from the widow of the late Colonel T. W. M. Johnson, *Change Ringing* and an offprint of *Montgomery Bells* by Dr. J. C. Eisel and *A Century of Cider-Making* by W. P. Wilkinson donated by Mr. Ivor Bulmer Thomas.

On 17 August the Club welcomed members of the Cambrian Archaeological Society who were spending a week in the area and Mr. Tonkin assisted and accompanied them on their visits.

An exhibition of the Club's varied activities was mounted in the Shirehall, Hereford, on 22 and 23 October, as part of the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust's exhibition.

It is with regret one records the death of Mr. C. H. I. Homes who was the Club's president in 1972 and who had been for many years the Recorder for Industrial Archaeology.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1986

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
1985	1985	1985	1985
£	£	£	£
Interest on Investments ... 33	32.64	Insurance ... 30.80	
3½% War Loan ... 112	105.18	Printing and Stationery ... 295.50	
Hereford & Worcester ... 1,619	1,708.50	Printing and Binding ... 4,788.85	
County Council Loan ... 310	247.61	Expenses of Meetings ... 94.06	
Nat. Savings Investment ... 2,074	2,093.93	Postage and Telephones ... 461.01	
Bank Deposit Interest ... 2,269	2,219.73	Subscriptions & Donations ... 102.50	
General Subscriptions ... 219	187.06	Honoraria ... 519.35	
Sale of Publications ... 500	1,165.00	Projector ... 65.31	
Grants and Donations ... 272	277.78	Natural History Section -	
Income Tax Refund ... 74	84.21	Expenses ... 205.19	
Natural History Section ... 117	71.03	Archaeological Research	
Archaeological Research	881.82	Section - do. ... 6,892.57	
Field Meetings (Net) ... 4,132	4,886.63		
Bank Balances 1st January		Bank Balances 31st	
Current Accounts		December	
General ... 2,509	404.28	General ... 253.37	
Subscription ... 282	253.44	Subscription ... 89.67	
Natural History Section ... 43	34.88	Natural History Section ... 8.57	
Archaeological Research		Archaeological Research	
Section ... 126	109.66	Section ... 293.47	
Field Meetings ... 27	32.52	Field Meetings ... 331.13	
Deposit Accounts		Deposit Accounts	
Nat. Savings Investment ... 13,114	15,233.04	National Savings	
Subscription ... 3,790	3,846.10	Investment ... 16,941.54	
G. Marshall Fund ... 597	638.40	Subscription ... 1,442.10	
Natural History Section ... 212	238.47	G. Marshall Fund ... 663.01	
Archaeological Research		Natural History Section ... 303.68	
Section ... 58	107.25	Archaeological Research	
Field Meetings ... 398	304.34	Section ... 112.78	
Cash in Hand A.R.S. ... 16,138	21,222.38	Field Meetings ... 894.55	
3	23.50	Cash in Hand ... 21,333.87	
	28,226.44	Archaeological Research	
	22,347	Section ... 28,226.44	

Note - The Club Owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and has Deposit Loans with Hereford and Worcester County Council amounting to £1,040.

I have audited the above Receipts and Payments Account and certify it to be in accordance with the Books, Bank Statements and Vouchers of the Club.

(Signed) H. S. BERISFORD, F.C.A.,
Honorary Auditor,
27th March, 1987

Obituary

CHARLES HERBERT INETT HOMES, 1914-1987

Inett Homes, President of the club in 1973, was elected a member in 1960 and first addressed the club in 1962 on 'Caving in South Wales.' He was one of the group which helped to explore the cave at Llangattock which was discovered in 1949 and was found to form part of a system extending nearly ten miles. He became a committee member in 1970 and remained on it until his sudden death on Saturday, 21 November, 1987.

His first paper to be published by the club was 'A Secret Tunnel in Llandetty parish, Breconshire' in 1971, and in the same year he spoke to the club on 'Early Herefordshire Hop-growing,' the subject on which he was the county's acknowledged expert and his material is being used by the Bromyard Historical Society in a forthcoming publication. His Presidential address was on 'Herefordshire Vineyards.'

From 1973 until the time of his death he was the club's Recorder for Industrial Archaeology, and at a committee meeting on the evening before he collapsed and died he asked to hand over the post and suggested the present Recorder, John van Laun, as his successor.

What is not so well-known about Inett is the fact that in his younger days he was a keen and successful motor-cyclist and an agricultural engineer. I remember coming across him in the Black Mountains when we were in that area recording buildings resting on a farm gate looking at a piece of agricultural machinery and quite obviously lost in thought. On being offered 'a penny for them' he replied that he remembered the day he had taken out a patent for that machine and he had not realised there were any of the original model still in use a quarter of a century later.

This engineering side of him was seen in his interest and help with the Broomy Hill engines and with the annual Bromyard Gala.

When, to use his own expression, he became 'too long in the tooth and too round in the tum' to do much more caving he became a member of the Old Building Recording Group having attended the meeting from which it developed in November 1963, when he offered one of his farms, Upleadon, for us to record.

From this grew a personal friendship and my wife, Inett and I spent some quite long holidays touring in the U.S.A. and in western Europe. He was 'unflappable' and I shall never forget the morning we had to travel forty-odd miles to catch a plane in San Francisco. It was pouring as only a sub-tropical storm can pour. He was driving and we made it.

He was elected a member of a national body, the Vernacular Architecture Group, where his wide knowledge of farm buildings and their uses was greatly respected. I remember one president of the Group, a senior member of the then R.C.H.M., who often asked for comments from 'that Herefordshire farmer' for the benefit of his sound

common sense and practical knowledge. It was here at a national level that his wide-ranging knowledge and keen powers of observation were much appreciated.

Another side of him which was little known was his kindness to and work for the disabled. He was truly a man of many parts.

J.W.T.

Presidential Address

Early Christian and Pre-Conquest Leominster: An Exploration of the Sources

By JOE HILLABY

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Conclusion

It is now clear that the ideal conditions for town growth include such disparate features as an earlier Roman administrative centre, a British ecclesiastical settlement, a mid or late Saxon royal or monastic estate, a mother church and royal residence or monastic house.¹

INTRODUCTION

The Role of Leland

Of all the Herefordshire towns, Leominster has been the most fortunate in the number and quality of its historians.² Each has grappled with the problem of the foundation legend. John Price wrote in his *Historical and Topographical Account* of 1795, 'That this Town is of great antiquity, is beyond all doubt, tho' I have met with few authentic particulars concerning it, any very considerable period of time before the conquest.' He then describes how 'Merwald King of Mercia in the year 658, built here a monastery for Religious Virgins, and endowed it with all the lands about this town, except Kingsland. This Merwald was son of Penda King of Mercia, and Brother of Peada and of his successor Wolpher King of Mercia who all lived between the sixth and seventh century.'

In *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (1863) George Fyler Townsend told the story in more detail. 'The event which promoted at once its growth and its reputation was the establishment of a Religious Institution, A.D. 660, by Merewalh, king of Mercia. This foundation, in accordance with the customs of those days, was associated with miracles. The legend prevalent on this occasion is this: that Ealfrid, a priest of Northumbria, coming to the court of Merewalh footsore, faint and weary, in the evening, sat himself down, and taking bread out of his wallet, eat it. While in the act of eating, a Lion appeared, who, on his offering him bread, mildly took it from his hand. The Lion, according to the narrative, was typical of Merewalh, who, on the teaching of Ealfrid, from a fierce Pagan, became a mild and forbearing Christian.' Townsend gives the date of Merewalh's conversion as 660, that given in the 1516 printed text of the *Life* of St. Mildburga, and calls the Northumbrian missionary Ealfrid. Edfrid in the earlier texts, he is now generally referred to as Edfrith.

Both accounts are derived from the works of the antiquary, John Leland, who visited Leominster about 1538. In his *Itinerary* he left notes on the origins of the minster church—and its later history.³ 'The antiquity of the town is most famous by a monastery of nuns that Merewaldus king of the Marches built there, and endowed it with all the land thereabout, saving only the lordship called Kingsland.' Leland's sources were twofold. The most important was a text of the *Life* of St. Mildburga, abbess of Wenlock and one of Merewalh's daughters. This he published in a shortened form in the *Collectanea*, using the text as it appears in the *Sanctilogium Britannia*, a collection of 156 lives of British saints drawn up in the second quarter of the 14th century by the St. Albans' monk John of Tynemouth.⁵ This was itself an abridgement of the *Life* of St. Mildburga, written in the late 11th century and attributed by Leland to Goscelin, a monk of St. Omer who had come to England to serve Herman, bishop of Ramsbury, joined St. Augustine's, Canterbury and established by the end of the century a reputation as the foremost hagiographer in the England of his day. Leland, and thus Price and Townsend, were therefore drawing, by way of John of Tynemouth, on a late-11th-century source for their accounts of the conversion of Merewalh and the foundation of the minster church.

'The Coming of Edfride.' A Local Source?

Leland also collected evidence locally. During a visit to Leominster he met Thomas Hackluyt, clerk to the Council in the Marches of Wales, who lived at Eyton Court, which he had bought from his kinsman, John, just before the latter's death in 1533.⁶ Thomas shared the antiquarian enthusiasms of his age and assured Leland that 'the body of King Merewald was found in a wall in the old church of Wenlock.' Leland was also careful to record that 'some say that the monks of the priory said that they had the skulls of the heads of Merewald and Ethelmund, kings of the Marches,' but he knew that, according to the *Life*, Merewalh 'died, it is said, at the monastery at Repton' (Reopedune).

When in 1893 F. Gainsford Blacklock wrote *The Suppressed Benedictine Minster and other Ancient and Modern Institutions of the Borough of Leominster*, he was convinced that he had found another account of Edfrith's journey 'and its happy result.' This was a long poem which, he believed, had been 'fortunately preserved from the ruin (dissolution)

of the Priory and the destruction of most of its papers.' He was of the opinion that 'the Monks ... had amongst their number a Poet whose gift was of no mean order' and that 'his work, done at an unknown date, has survived his own name and his house.' Blacklock, who gave the poem the title 'The Coming of Edfride and Building the Priory,' went on to explain that 'the only ancient manuscript copy ... recently came into the possession of Alfred Lewis, Esq., J.P., by whose courtesy the author is able to print it here for the first time. It is now at the Free Library.'

By the time Norman Reeves republished the poem in 1972, as an appendix to *The Town in the Marches*, the original had been lost. Sceptical about the early date ascribed to the document by Blacklock, he sought advice from Dr. Basil Cottle, who considered the language to be 'either of the 16th or a not-very-clever fake made in the early 17th century.' However, in 1980 Alfred Lewis' daughter-in-law, Mrs. V. M. Lewis of Worthing, presented his copy of the poem to the Herefordshire County Record Office.⁷ It can now be seen that it is written in a late-16th or early-17th-century hand and that Blacklock only published a part of the text—that which dealt with the foundation legend. The later, unpublished section reveals the true purpose of the poem. It is both a paean to the town of Leominster and a sermon to its people. Two lines will suffice: 'Thus have you heard in brief declare, the first begynninge of this Towne whose situacion in regarde of healthe passes many of renowne.' The evidence as to date is confirmed by references in this unpublished section to Sir Philip Hoby, who helped the borough to obtain its charter in Mary Tudor's reign, and to the apprentices' charity established under the terms of the will of Bishop Scory who died in 1585.⁸

Nevertheless, the heart of the poem is clearly based on a text of the St. Mildburga *Life*. In all probability it was transmitted by way of an earlier vernacular foundation poem, similar to that composed by William Malverne, the last Abbot of Gloucester, and to the early-16th-century verse life of St. Werburga written by the Chester monk Henry Bradshaw which combined local traditions with details from the late-11th-century *Life* by Goscelin of Canterbury. This was a popular genre of the late medieval period, belonging to a tradition that went back to the Old English verse saints' lives.⁹ In the poem we are told: 'That night Edfride lodged abroad, in open fields nere Ridgmouth banke.' Both John of Tynemouth's abridgement of the *Life* and Capgrave's edited version of his text, printed by Wynkyn de Worde as *Nova Legenda Anglie* in 1516, call this place 'Redeswode.'¹⁰ Yet in the 13th-century manuscript version it is 'Reodesmouth.'¹¹ The poem calls this place Ridgmouth, in an allusion to the Ridge Brook which joins the Lugg one mile north of the minster. It also makes reference to a significant episode not found in the *Life*. The Lord 'Byd Edfride goe into the Southe, and preache his Gospell at Ridgmouth. This message Edfride did unfoulde, to Bothall a most godlie man.' Botolph was an East-Anglian saint. The only document which links him with the lands west of the Severn is the so-called *Testament* attached to the *Life* of St. Mildburga.¹² One must therefore conclude that the author of the poem was not relying on Tynemouth but was conversant either with the full text of that *Life* or with a later, and freer, metrical rendering, probably in the vernacular.

Other elements are incorporated for which no justification can be found. The Poem is embellished with wild anachronisms and local belief, sometimes shakily applied. Thus

we are told: 'The Towne with buildings did increase, inhabitants did multiplie, And Edfride ruled the Church in peace, full fiftene yeres, and thene did die, Upon the hill by did he dwell, calde yet Castle of Compfordte Dell.' The borough of Leominster was not founded in 660, but about 1123, some four and a half centuries after Edfrith's mission. It is known that the land and pasture called 'the Castell of Comfort hilles within the lordship of Leominster,' which had belonged to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin in St. Laurence's Church, Ludlow, passed in 1549 into the tenure of John Hyllesley, but there is no evidence linking it to the early history of the minster.¹³

Elsewhere we are told that: 'When greate commannders rule arighte; Inferiors followe with delighe; Subjects followe king's example, ffor kings are gods to the people.' The last phrase has a splendidly Jacobean ring about it, echoing James I's maxim that kings are 'Gods vice-gerents on earth adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinitie.' The poem can safely be interpreted, therefore, as an early-17th-century work in which the foundation legend, suitably tricked out with archaisms, was used as the historical core of a work calculated to foster civic pride by stressing the antiquity of the town. John Hackluyt of Eyton, in all likelihood the son of Leland's informant, may well have been the author. John had strong antiquarian interests and a knowledge of Old English letters, Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In 1592 he claimed to have found a 'brassen plate on the south side of the church' with an inscription, 'all in Saxon characters,' recording the gift by a certain Kenelm of all his lands, 'but only Kingsland and also my Kenelmworth I do not give,' to the church 'my foremost fathers did build.'¹⁴ With considerable skill, it would appear, John had fabricated evidence to associate Leominster with the Kenelm legends of the neighbouring counties of Worcester and Gloucester, to link Leland's account of the foundation in the 7th century with the details he provides of the nunnery in the 10th and 11th centuries. The local traditions have, therefore, to be sifted carefully.

The Significance of this Survey

Some reference is made to Merewalh in other pre-Conquest texts, but the *Life* of St. Mildburga is the unique source for the Leominster foundation legend.¹⁵ Despite the fact that there has been a marked revival of interest, both scholarly and popular, in Anglo-Saxon England,¹⁶ Leominster has aroused no interest amongst specialists in the period. H. P. Finberg's brief but seminal essay on 'The Princes of the Magonsaete,' the folk who lived west of the Severn, first published twenty-six years ago, has never been followed up, but his work on Mildburga's *Testament* and the Saxon minster at Wenlock¹⁷ has aroused interest at a national level—and considerable archaeological activity.¹⁸ It is indeed symptomatic that a recent study in *Midland History* entitled 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia' makes not a single reference to Edfrith, Merewalh or Leominster.¹⁹

How reliable is the account of Edfrith's conversion of Merewalh as presented in the *Life* of St. Mildburga? Can the history be disentangled from the hagiography? There is a pressing need to examine the foundation legend and place it in the context of contemporary and later events, in Kent and Northumbria as well as in Mercia.

Firstly, if the chronology provided by the 1516 *Nova Legenda Anglie* version of the *Life* is accepted, then Leominster is the earliest documented site of Mercian Christianity, and Edfrith's minster by the Lugg antedates St. Chad's Church at Lichfield by nine years and the cathedral at Hereford by almost three decades.²⁰ The traditional date for the foundation of the cathedral at Worcester is 679 and of St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester 679/81.²¹

Secondly, Merewalh ruled a people called the Western Hecani.²² For Bede they were a shadowy people and he evidently did not even know their name, for he is content to refer to them as 'the folk who dwell west of the river Severn.' This description is vindicated by place-name evidence which shows that most of the small streams that run west of the Severn have pre-English names, whilst those to the east have English names. It has thus been suggested that the settlement of this folk west of the Severn 'probably represents the last phase of the original Anglian advance against the Britons of Wales.'²³ The kingdom or principality was bounded on the east by the Hwicce of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and South Warwickshire who seem to have pushed their frontier from the Severn to the Malverns either at the end of the 7th or early in the 8th century. Across the Severn to the north were the *Wreocensaetan*, the folk of the country about the Wrekin.²⁴ To the west, and south of the Wye, were the Welsh. Later, in charters of the 9th and 10th centuries the Western Hecani are called the *Magonsaetan*.²⁵ One hypothesis was that the name derived from the Maund area between Hereford and Leominster, which was thus presumed to be their tribal centre. This has been challenged by Margaret Gelling.

The legend is the only hint we have of the political geography of that kingdom beyond the Severn in the third quarter of the 7th century. It may even tell us something by inference of the lost centuries that went before. As Merewalh founded the church for Edfrith at Leominster, we must assume that this was already an important centre of royal power. By 690 there had been a dramatic shift in the political balance. One of Merewalh's sons chose Hereford as his capital; thus it was there that the seat of their tribal bishop was placed. The bounds of the diocese, despite a few later alterations, still reflect the extent of the lands over which he and his father had ruled.²⁶

Thirdly, the diocese was an institution of the Roman church, but Merewalh's conversion, the *Life* tells us, was the work of a missionary from Northumbria. In all probability Edfrith came from that great centre of Celtic Christianity, the monastery founded by St. Aidan at Lindisfarne in 635. The first church at Leominster therefore conformed to Celtic, not Roman, practices. This apparently had important topographical implications. Such great monasteries of the Celtic church as Iona, Clonmacnoise and Glastonbury were marked off from the secular world by large rectangular precincts enclosed by banks and ditches and marsh or water. Just these characteristics can still be seen at Leominster. Here they form the primary element in the existing town plan and distinguish it from the other early Christian centres of Mercia.²⁷

Fourthly, an immediate survey is imperative because of the rapidity and destructive nature of modern development in the town. Within the precinct Arkwright Court, with its attendant service roads etc., has been built and the site of the priory fishponds has degenerated into a vast and unseemly car and heavy goods vehicle park. Within the priory

itself the area immediately in front of the high altar has been repaved. Here in 1950 were found the skeletons of sixteen females, presumed Saxon nuns.²⁸ The timber flooring of the present nave and south aisle—the most probable site of the 7th- to 11th-century cemetery and thus a most valuable archaeological resource for the history of Leominster's pre-Conquest religious community—has been given additional concrete supports and replaced. None of this work was carried out under archaeological supervision.

This is not all. The Planning Officer of Leominster District Council has now published a 'Development Brief for Land and Premises between Broad Street and Arkwright Close.' This actually *proposes* breaches across the line of the bank and ditch which marked off the Saxon minster precinct, to provide facilities for development of the rear of the early-12th-century burgrave plots on the eastern side of Broad Street. Already the loss in terms of unexploited archaeological opportunities is great. If such development continues, the heart will be torn out of one of the most important early Christian sites in Mercia.

Rosemary Cramp has stressed that, in archaeological terms, the subject of early Anglo-Saxon monasticism is 'singularly unexplored.'²⁹ Evidence from excavations at other early Christian sites reinforces the documentary evidence. Both underline the need to treat the *whole* of the precinct as archaeologically highly sensitive. Attention has been drawn to the dangers of working on the assumption of clearly defined models, for the total impression of the period is of a wide variety of layouts. This applies particularly to Leominster, for here the historical evidence suggests at least three, possibly five, major stages in the evolution of the minster complex prior to 1046. At present only the area of the 12th-century and later priory buildings is scheduled as an Ancient Monument. Despite the important archaeological context and the wealth of documentary evidence relating to the minster between 660 and 1046, English Heritage has declined to extend scheduling to the remainder of the precinct.

Fifthly, questions need to be addressed concerning the house in the later Anglo-Saxon period. In the *Itinerary* Leland states categorically that it was Merewalh who built 'a monastery of nuns' at Leominster. This was merely an assumption based on his knowledge, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, of a nunnery on the site in the early 11th century. In this he has been followed by Dugdale, Tanner and most subsequent writers.³⁰ The *Life* of St. Mildburga provides no authority for such an assumption. It states only that Merewalh built a *church* for Edfrith, the Northumbrian missionary, dedicated to St. Peter.

Nunneries were not characteristic of Celtic Christianity. They were a Gaulish institution. Double houses of men and women became popular and developed vigorously in the Frankish lands in the 6th century, and were exported to England in the early 7th century. There a number of princesses of the Kentish royal house espoused the regular life organised in such double houses which have thus now come to be called princess minsters. From Kent they were adopted in most Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. If there was a nunnery at Leominster in the 7th century, the inspiration would have come, not with Edfrith from Northumbria in 660, but later, in the 680's, from Kent.

Leland continues 'Some say that the nunnery was after, in the Danes wars, destroyed,

and that after a college of prebendaries set there. The certainty is known that the abbey of Shaftesbury had rule at Leominster, and possessed much lands there, and sent part of the relics of S Edward the Martyr to be adored there.'³¹ In this way Leland raises a range of questions concerning the problem of continuity. Did religious life at Leominster weather the vicissitudes and storms of the 8th, 9th and early 10th centuries and, if so, in what form—as a nunnery, or merely as a house of canons? Or did this house, as so many others, simply peter out in obscurity? If so, was the well-documented nunnery of the early 11th-century a child of the 10th-century movement of monastic reform? Was it, as Leland suggests, a West Mercian offshoot of Shaftesbury, the richest and most famous nunnery of late Anglo-Saxon England, founded by Alfred in 888?

For many, however, the chief interest of the subject lies elsewhere. The borough of Leominster was founded in the 1120s. Its growth was so rapid that, by the early 13th century, it had excited the fears of both Hereford and Worcester. In 1237 they persuaded the king to transfer Leominster's market, as a 'tortious nuisance,' from Saturday to Friday. In 1281 Leominster Michaelmas fair was quashed as it was held to be 'to the damage of the fair of the Lord King at Hereford' which was held on the feast of St. Denis, 9 October. The king's citizens of Hereford did not confine their actions to the courts. They seized the opportunity provided by the ascendancy of Simon de Montfort to launch an armed assault on Leominster, on which occasion they carried off and consumed goods of the prior to the sum of £2,000 and devastated by burning a great part of the town. Despite such measures it has always remained the second town of the county.³² This can be adequately explained only in terms of Leominster's pre-Conquest history.

To pursue these and allied questions, we may have to venture far from Leominster, and from Herefordshire. Fortunately, there is an unusually wide range of sources to illumine the history of early Christian and pre-Conquest Leominster. They include the *Lives* of St. Mildburga and her sister St. Mildred; Domesday Book; Rhigyfarch's *Life of St. David*; Richard de Capella's 1123 charter describing the Leominster *parochia*; the 11th-century *List of Saints' Resting Places*; the Staunton-on-Arrow charter of 958; the Leominster Priory and Reading Abbey relic lists; an early 11th-century prayer book which includes a Leominster *Kalendar*; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; the Leominster Priory cartulary; the transcript of the 14th-century Leominster Priory register; and others. In addition, there is the important topographical evidence of the ecclesiastical precinct itself. Direct evidence for the 8th and 9th centuries is, unfortunately, not available.

The survey that follows is preliminary in nature, for many of the matters raised—especially those relating to the relic lists, the prayer book with its two litanies, and the *Kalendar*, as well as the Leominster *parochia* and manor—require more detailed consideration. It is hoped that the Leominster *Kalendar* will be the subject of a further study. Here an attempt is made to establish the overall context.

1 THE FOUNDATION LEGEND: MEREWALH AND EDFRITH

The Manuscript Evidence

The *Vita Sancte Milburge virginis* was written at the end of the 11th century, probably in 1080/81 when Wenlock was refounded as a Cluniac priory by Roger de

Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury. The text has been studied, independently, by A. J. M. Edwards and H. P. R. Finberg.³³ Both believed the author to be the Flemish monk Goscelin, who spent some ten years travelling the country, writing such *Lives*, and reworked the *Life* of Mildburga's sister, Mildred, in the years 1087-91.³⁴ In this they follow John Leland, who described his extract from John of Tynemouth's abridged *Life* as '*Ex libro Gotcelini de Vita Sancte Milburge*.' This view has been contested by David Rollason who holds that 'although frequently attributed to Goscelin ... there is no documentary or internal evidence to justify such an attribution,' for the text differs 'markedly in wording, style and emphasis' from the *Life* of *St. Mildred*, which Goscelin certainly wrote.³⁵

Mildburga's *Life* has come down in two manuscript forms. One is a lectionary version, part of a collection of saints' lives shortened to make them suitable for reading in the divine office on the occasion of their festivals. The second is a longer version, from which the first was evidently derived. Only in the latter is the description of Merewalh's conversion to be found. There are two extant manuscript copies of the longer version. British Library Additional MS 34,633 is a composite manuscript of the 13th century, written in several hands, with the *Life* of *St. Mildburga* as the second of its six items. An inscription shows that it originally belonged to the Augustinian priory of St. Mary at Beddgelert in Gwynedd. The second is to be found in the former ducal library at Gotha in the German Democratic Republic. Gotha I, 81 is an English manuscript of 14th-century date which contains the *Lives* of 64, predominantly Anglo-Saxon, saints. The *Life* of *St. Mildburga* is item 50 and is followed by an account of the miracles she wrought. The two manuscripts have only minor textual variations and were, apparently, ultimately dependent on a Wenlock original.³⁶

This, although now lost, has not disappeared without trace. British Library Harley MS 2253 is a miscellany of Latin, French and English texts which, the handwriting suggests, was drawn up in the 1340s. It includes three saints' *Lives*. One is the *Legend of St. Etfred, Priest of Leominster* (FIG. 1) which is merely that part of the *Life* of *St. Mildburga* that describes Merewalh's conversion.³⁷ The question immediately arises, who was sufficiently interested in the Leominster foundation legend to have it transcribed as a *separate Life*? N. R. Ker edited a facsimile edition of BL Harley 2253 in 1965 and examined in detail the evidence relating to its date and origin. He came to the conclusion that the scribe was a person 'with a continuing interest in' and probably a member of 'the household of Adam de Orleton,' bishop of Hereford 1317-27.³⁸ This he based on the evidence of the script which is in the same hand as some Irish accounts of the Mortimer family, 'nearer 1308 than 1340,' which are to be found on one side of the binding leaves, and an extract from the ordinal of Hereford Cathedral on another. The Hereford provenance is apparently confirmed by the presence of a *Life* of *St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr*, patron saint of Hereford Cathedral, as the second of the saints' *Lives* within the same volume. Less easily understood is the presence of the third *Life*, the *Legend of the Martyr St. Wistan*, the Mercian prince murdered in 850 whose relics were the prized possession of Evesham Abbey. The explanation seems to be that Orleton was elevated to the see of Worcester in 1327. An interest in Edfrith is hardly surprising in a man whose family came

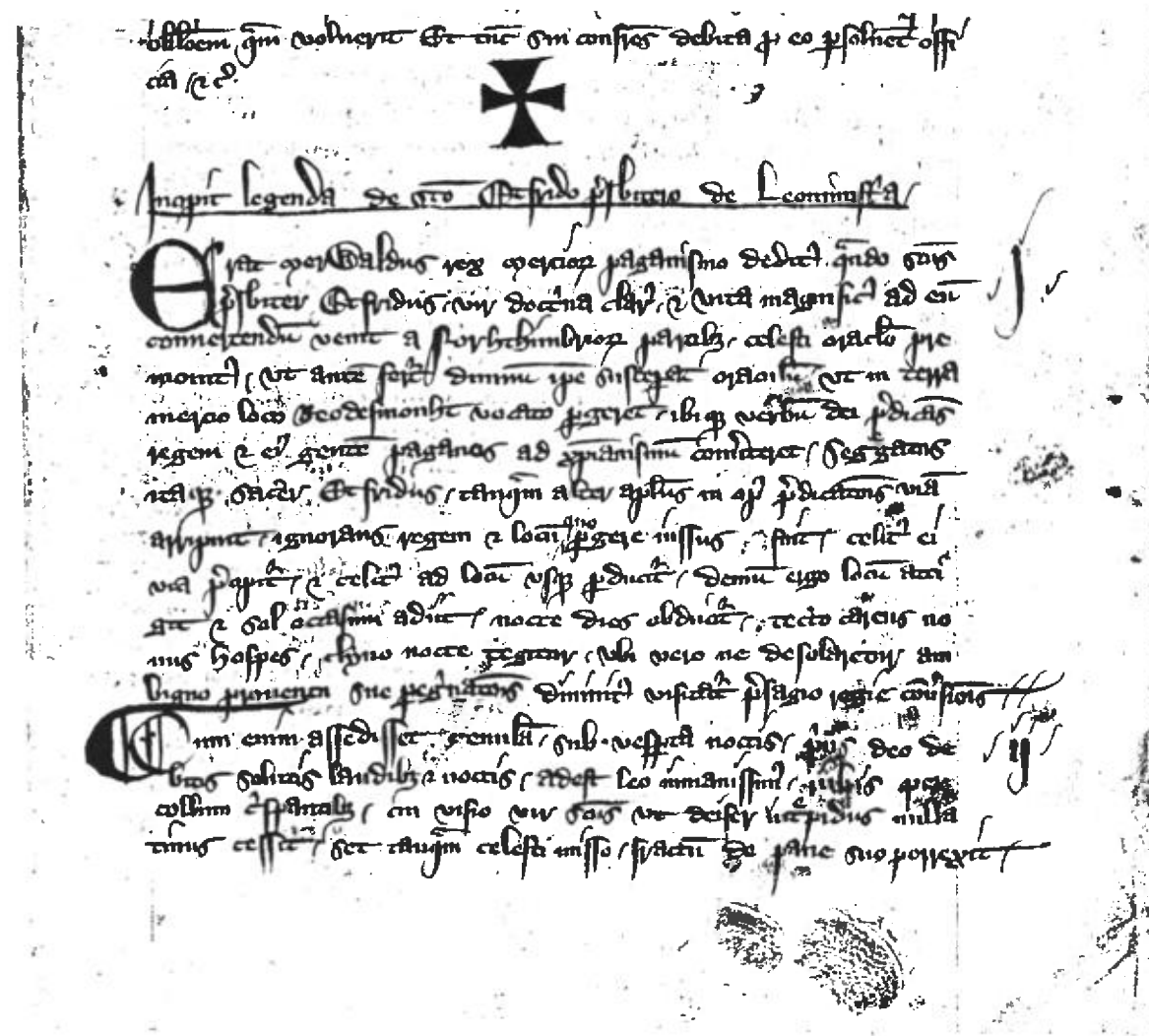


FIG. 1
BL Harley MS 2253 f132r: The Legend of St. Etfred.
(Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, British Library)

from a village on the Leominster Priory estates and who rose to eminence under the patronage of the Mortimers of Wigmore.

By a strange coincidence, an entry in the register of John Trillek, bishop of Hereford 1344-61, shows that on 10 December 1346 he borrowed a copy of the *Life* of St. Mildburga, *Libellus de Sancte Milburge*, from the library of Much Wenlock for which he gave, as security for its return, his written bond to the prior and convent.³⁹ Trillek was the nephew of Orleton, had served in his retinue as secretary and chaplain and, on the death of Bishop Thomas de Charleton, it was his uncle's influence with king and pope that secured his election to the see. One can therefore appreciate that Trillek shared his uncle's interest. Whether Trillek was obtaining the source for the Harley copy of the *Legend of St. Edfrid* or for a further copy for himself is not clear. What is important is that the register entry indicates the source of the legend. It was copied from a now-lost Wenlock *Life* of St. Mildburga. The differences between the Wenlock-based text BL Harley 2253 and those of BL Additional 34,633, from St. Mary's, Beddgelert, and Gotha I, 81 are slight. Thus a comparison of the Harley text of the *Legend of St. Etfrid* with the relevant sections of the two *Lives* of St. Mildburga enables us to establish the purity of the latter.

Of the authenticity of the main elements that lie behind the legend, there can be little doubt. The *Life* was written half a century after the nunnery at Leominster was dissolved in 1046, on account of the liaison between earl Godwin's son, Swein, and abbess Eadgifu. What purpose could have been served by the author fabricating a link between Mildburga, whose sanctity he was concerned to stress, and an institution stained by such disgrace and now sunk in obscurity? The answer must be that this was no flight of fancy for, as the author takes care to explain, his material was gathered from old histories, in Latin and Old English; original documents including some ancient Wenlock charters; local traditions; and the evidence of one of the clergy of the Saxon minster.⁴⁰ Such sources cannot be dismissed out of hand, for *Lives* of a number of 7th- and early 8th-century saints were written only a short time after their deaths—a tradition adopted from the Franks. A *Life* of Mildburga's sister, Mildred, was composed between her death in 732 and her translation, not later than 748. Bede was able to use *Lives*, not only of Cuthbert (d.687) and Wilfrid (d.709), but also of the less eminent Fursey (d.659) and Ethelburga (d.675), for his *Ecclesiastical History* completed in 731.⁴¹

The account of Merewalh's conversion is typical of the history of the coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England, for it 'displays the role of the king as the converter of his people. In no kingdom did the conversion occur without royal support, and in none do we hear of the conversion of the folk without that of the monarch previously,' for the pagan kings of Anglo-Saxon England were the intermediaries between their folk and their gods; the king, as priest, was the religious head of his people.⁴²

Although the date, 660, only appears in John of Tynemouth's text, it fits well the general chronology of the conversion of Mercia. Bede tells us that towards the end of his reign the pagan king Penda allowed four Northumbrian missionaries, the English Cedd, Adda and Betti, and the Irish Diuma, to preach in Mercia.⁴³ They were in the entourage of his son, Peada, who had been baptised on his marriage to the daughter of king Oswy of Northumbria in 653. After Penda's death in 654, Mercia came under Northumbrian con-

trol for three years. It was at this time that the Celtic missionaries made great headway. In 656 Diuma was consecrated first bishop of Mercia and Middle Anglia by the Scot, Finan, who had come from Iona to be the second bishop of Lindisfarne. When in the next year the Mercians re-established their independence under Penda's second son, Wulfhere (657-74), they gave 'willing allegiance to Christ the true King.' Wulfhere had Trumhere as his first bishop (659-62). Thus, as Goscelin's *Life* of Mildburga's sister, Mildred, carefully explains, one of Merewalh's brothers, Peada, 'converted the Middle Angles,' and another, Wulfhere, 'converted the Mercians.'⁴⁴ The conversion of the Western Hecani was but a part of the Northumbrian missionary activity which had led to the formal acceptance of Christianity throughout most of greater Mercia by 660.

The Conversion Story

The story of the conversion, as told in BL Additional MS 34,633, Gotha MS I, 81 and BL Harley MS 2253, has never been published in translation. Briefly it is as follows. 'Merewald, king of the Mercians, was completely devoted to paganism when the holy Edfrith, famous for his learning and warned by a heavenly vision, came from Northumberland to convert him. He received the divine bidding to make his way to the land of the Mercians to a place called *Reodesmuthe*. He was not far from his destination when a lion with a huge and bristling mane appeared. Quite unperturbed, he offered it bread, which it ate like a lamb before settling down for the night at his feet.'

Shortly afterwards Edfrith was invited into Merewalh's presence to interpret a dream which troubled the king sorely and which none could explain. Asleep in his bed, the king had seen two huge and hideous dogs. They were about to go for his throat when he was saved by a venerable person, with hair cut above his ears in the shape of a crown, who snatched him from the jaws of the dogs with the help of a golden key. Edfrith explained that he should not be troubled by the dream, for 'it is the messenger of your perpetual salvation. Listen therefore my king and understand the message behind the horrendous aspect of the dogs that attacked you and also the benign face of your saviour, the key-bearer. The huge and terrifying dogs are the soot-black attendants of Satan and enemies of life and salvation who bring death and in whose jaws you will be despatched as prey to be devoured and having been devoured to be eaten again always. In this way forever dying but never completely dead you will be tortured with those in the midst of hell by endless terrors, fumes of sulphur, gnashings of teeth, burning of the fire and by punishments terrible and unbearable, unless you completely deny your pagan beliefs and turn, from the depths of your soul, to Christ, the son of the living God.

'The key-bearer by whose power you were saved from these dogs is the "Leader of the Heavenly Host," the "Vicar on earth of Christ the Saviour of the World." His golden key is the heavenly power by which he binds whatever is bound and looses whatever is loosed. Build a church to him in your realm, give praise and thanks day and night to the King on High. Believing in him in your heart, professing your faith in him with your mouth, wearing the garb of his baptism, when you have denied the demonic rites of the pagan life and the profane cults of idolatry you will deserve to become acceptable to the House of the Kingdom of Heaven. The eternal and blessed joy of this Kingdom knows

nothing of fading away and death. To this Kingdom you will be a joyous and everlasting heir when you are freed from the teeth of the hounds by accepting the faith of the Blessed Peter, your saviour.

'With these and other essentials of the Faith, Edfrith brought the good news of Christ to the king who ... having listened carefully, said "Whatsoever your doctrine of Christ has taught me my devoted submission is prepared to accept, if only I can avoid being torn and devoured by such terrible beasts." Overcome by heaven's mercy, the king destroyed every single one of his idols, set aside the marks of kingship—the sceptre, the purple and the crown—and sat in sackcloth and ashes. He cried out in lamentation and was driven to total repentance. He threw himself at the saint's feet, abjured his pagan beliefs and proclaimed the worship of God. Reborn in a holy spring, he became a saved Christian.

'Thus the king, hitherto like the lion that appeared to Edfrith, became gentler than a lamb and received the true faith, the bread of life, from his guest and teacher. After Merewalh's conversion a spot was chosen where a church was founded to (St. Peter) the king's liberator and the keeper of the keys of heaven. The church was royally endowed and richly furnished from the king's wealth. In charge was placed the blessed Edfrith, the saint through whose teaching first shone the grace of the true light on the western shores of Mercia. There his blessed memory continues to be honoured.'⁴⁵

The Political Context

Thus the hagiographer explains Merewalh's conversion, but what were the political realities that lay behind this legend? Anglian penetration of the lands west of the Severn, the plain of Hereford north of the Wye and the hill country of south Shropshire, has been described as 'the last important movement of the Mercians towards Wales.' On place-name evidence it has been dated to the middle and second half of the 7th century.⁴⁶ An increasing number of Merewalh's people were thus Anglian, but most were Celts. A considerable number may have been lapsed or even practising Christians. To a dynasty attempting to rule a mixed population in a land with remote and heavily wooded country, the adoption of Christianity offered obvious political advantages.⁴⁷ It held out the prospect of social cohesion, a goal of even greater importance if the dynasty was new.

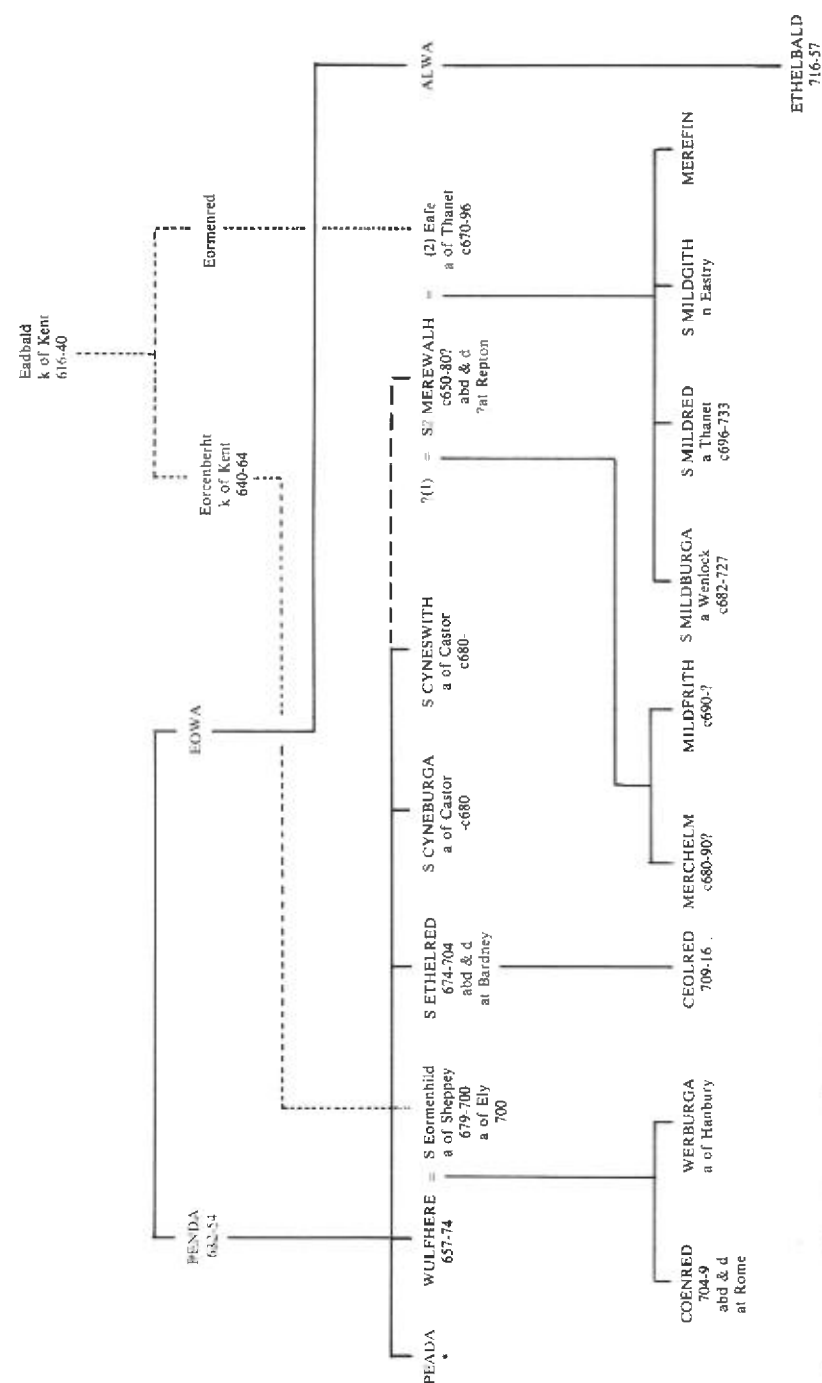
About the origins of the earliest Mercian rulers a number of questions have been raised. The Old English word *walh*, *wealh*, was the name for a man who spoke a Celtic language and from this our word 'Welsh' has been derived. The fourth bishop of Hereford was called *Wealhstod*, a man who could understand the language of a *wealh*.⁴⁸ He was an intermediary or interpreter, a man who spoke the *waelisc* tongue. Recently Margaret Gelling has pointed out that *Merewalh* is the Old English for 'famous Welshman.'⁴⁹ Twenty-five years ago Nora Chadwick suggested that the name Penda itself 'has a Welsh look' and that the early history of Mercia was marked by an alliance with the distinguished north Welsh dynasty under Cadwallon, 'founded by the great Maelgwn Gwynedd, reproached for his sins by Gildas.'⁵⁰ Such considerations throw a new light on a relationship which Bede believed was intended to 'wipe out the whole English nation from the land of Britain.'⁵¹ This friendship between the rising power of Mercia and the most important of the north Welsh dynasties was maintained by Penda's sons, Wulfhere

(657-74) and Ethelred (674-704), despite the continuing Anglian settlement of lands across the Severn.⁵²

The cordial relations which Penda and his sons had established with the rulers of Gwynedd were not matched by a similar cordiality in relations with the Welsh church. Augustine's meeting with some of their leaders at Aust in 602-3 had been a disaster.⁵³ 'He seems inclined to have treated them much in the same way as a modern Anglican priest would treat a Coptic Christian,' was the verdict of Willis Bund in 1897.⁵⁴ It led to their adoption of an iron curtain policy for well over a century. For Bede the Welsh 'reckon the faith and religion of an Englishman as nought and hold no more converse with them than with the heathen'⁵⁵ and St. Aldhelm described how the priests of Demetae (south west Wales, St. David's country) 'glorying in their own cleanness of life, abominate our communion to such an extent, that they deign neither to offer prayers in church with us, nor eat with us at our tables for the sake of charity.'⁵⁶ Only by 768 did the Welsh church begin to adopt Roman practice in the matter of Easter and in this the lead was taken by Bishop Elfoddw of Gwynedd.⁵⁷ Thus, when Christianity was firmly established west of the Severn, the source of religious inspiration was first Celtic Northumbria and then, only in the 680s, under Merewalh's sons, the Roman Church of Canterbury.

Around the strong midland state created by Penda were a number of dependent principalities.⁵⁸ They were of two types: the Middle Anglian principality was ruled, during Penda's own lifetime, by his eldest son, Peada. On the other hand the folk known as the Hwicce, to the east of the Malverns, were apparently ruled by their own dynasty, the origins of which are 'unknown but possibly Northumbrian.' The Western Hecani, predominantly Welsh in the mid-7th century, were evidently another such dependent folk. Finberg has suggested that the military position of Cadwallon of Gwynedd in north and central Wales was strong enough for him to strike a bargain with Penda; even at the expense of a Welsh neighbour.⁵⁹ The question, therefore, is what is more likely, that Penda should have given the rule of this dependent folk west of the Severn to one of his own sons, or accepted a member of its own dynasty to act as his viceroy?

In seven of the versions of the early legends surrounding the Kentish royal family, but not the earliest, Merewalh is described as a son of Penda.⁶⁰ This was accepted by both Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, but the editors of the *Handbook of British Chronology* point out that such a relationship was not mentioned by Bede and conclude that 'the tradition is improbable.'⁶¹ F. M. Stenton shared this view and pointed out that, as 'no names beginning in M occur in the elaborate genealogy of the Mercian kings,' it is 'in the highest degree unlikely that Merewalh was Penda's son.' Noting that Merewalh's own name and those of all his children alliterate with the name *Magonsaetan*, the title used later for his folk the Western Hecani, Stenton suggested that 'he had a claim to rule these people in his own right and that they were, originally, independent of the Mercian kings.'⁶² However, the first evidence of the use of the title *Magonsaetan* comes 150 years later, in a charter of 811.⁶³ Certainly the names of Penda's sons, Wulfhere and Ethelbert, unlike the first-born Peada, bear no alliterative relationship to his own. Indeed Ethelbert carries an initial element common in the royal families of Kent and Wessex, but not of Mercia. On the other hand, Merewalh himself used the Anglo-Saxon custom of



alliteration when it came to the naming of his own children. What we have here is evidence of cultural fusion with the Anglian element gradually establishing dominance.

The *Historia Regum* text of the Kentish Royal Legend, which seems to have been based on a version of the legend composed between 732 and 748, describes Merewalh merely as 'rex Merciorum,' a term best interpreted as 'a king of the Mercians.' Only in later texts is he described as a son of Penda.⁶⁴ It would be natural to regard these later references as speculative elaboration, reflecting the revival of interest in Merewalh in the late 11th century which was the result of the hagiographic attention to his daughters, Mildred and Mildburga; and to assume that this was an attempt by such informed writers as Goscelin and Florence of Worcester to locate Merewalh more precisely and firmly in the history of his times. However, in a charter of 748 Ethelbald, king of Mercia, granted to the church of Minster-in-Thanel half the toll due on one ship, '*amore consanguinitatis religiosae abbatisse Mildrede*'—for love of his blood relationship with the abbess Mildred.⁶⁵ If Merewalh was Penda's son, he was Ethelbald's cousin, explaining the blood tie referred to in the charter (FIG. 2).

It is difficult to define with any precision the political relationship between the western Hecani and the kingdom of Mercia in the second half of the 7th century. Although in later texts Merewalh is accorded the title *rex*, king, his relationship was apparently one of dependence. Indeed, the use of this title in Anglo-Saxon texts does not exclude the concept of overlordship⁶⁶ and this would certainly explain the increasingly Anglian nature of what is possibly best described as the principality of the Western Hecani. In this context it is interesting to note that, whilst Wulfhere of Mercia married the daughter of king Eorcenberht of Kent, Merewalh married the daughter of Eormenred, Eorcenberht's younger brother who never attained the throne.⁶⁷ At the beginning of the 8th century Merewalh's second son, Mildfrith, was described as *regulus* in the only contemporary record, the inscription on his mausoleum;⁶⁸ the ruler of the neighbouring Hwicce was usually referred to as *subregulus*. Although there is a clear indication of dependence here, how fine the gradations were the terminology does not allow us to judge.

The Foundation of the Royal Minster

In the waters of the Lugg hard by that minster so generously endowed with landed possessions, Edfrith would have baptised Merewalh's people. The *Life of St. Mildburga* describes the king's conversion in detail, but tells us nothing of the mass baptisms of the folk that followed. Fortunately, such events are well recorded elsewhere. After the conversion of Clovis in 496 St. Remi baptised more than 3,000 of his Franks.⁶⁹ According to pope Gregory the Great, 'more than 10,000 of the English' were baptised by St. Augustine in 597.⁷⁰ Bede gives a more graphic account of such an occasion. Thirty-three years before Edfrith's arrival at *Reodesmuth*e Paulinus, Ethelburga's chaplain, baptised Edwin, the Northumbrian king, in a church of wood hastily constructed for that purpose and dedicated to St. Peter; but open-air services had to be used for the 'vast numbers of the common people' who subsequently 'received the faith and regeneration by holy baptism' at the hands of Paulinus. At Yeavering, in Northumberland, he remained '36 days con-

stantly occupied in instructing and baptising. During this time he did nothing but proclaim Christ's message to the people, who gathered from all the surrounding villages and countryside, and when he had instructed them he washed them in the cleansing waters of baptism in the nearby river Glen.⁷¹

The Lugg at Leominster provided an ideal site for such a spectacular occasion. The smaller minsters of Wessex are, for the most part, similarly situated in what are now lush meadows with the church placed close by the banks of a river or stream; a fact to which their place-names bear witness. Charminster, Iwerne Minster, Wimborne Minster, Stourminster Marshall and Stourminster Newton in Dorset; Axminster and Exminster in Devon; Ilminster in Somerset; and Warminster in Wiltshire are all compounds of adjacent river-names with the old English *mynster*.

The place-name Leominster is similar in origin. The earliest forms, of c.1000, are in OE *Leomynstre*, *Leomynster* and in Latin *Leomenstre*.⁷² The first element is the OE *Leon*, the name of the lowland district watered by the rivers Lugg and Arrow which can be found in the Staunton-on-Arrow charter of 958 as *Leonhina*, the community of *Leon*. It is found in other place-names within this district, being the first element in *Lyonshall*, the Domesday *Lenehalle*, and the second in Kingsland, Eardisland and Monkland. In Domesday Book all three are called *Lene* or *Leine*. The first element was added as a means of differentiation. It is also found in the Leen Farm, in Pembridge parish, close to where the Rowe Ditch crosses the Arrow and occurs as the name of one of the Domesday hundreds of Herefordshire.

The term comes from the old Welsh *lion* or *lian*, from the root *lei*, 'to flow, water,' as in the Welsh *lliant*, 'a torrent or stream.'⁷³ The district name would therefore be 'the streams' and Leominster 'the minster on the streams' or 'the minster of the district of the streams.' It is used in this context in a charter of 958 relating to the grant of an estate at Staunton-on-Arrow by king Edgar to his thegn Ealhstan. In describing the boundaries this refers to the lands of the *lionhina* or *leonhina*. Here the first elements are early forms of the district name Lene, whilst the second refer to a religious community.⁷⁴ *Llanllieni*, the Welsh name for Leominster, has the same meaning. It is found in the earliest Welsh text of the *Life* of St. David and in Leland's *Itinerary* of the 16th century, and continued in use until the 19th century.⁷⁵ According to Ekwall the Welsh element *lliant* is also to be found in the place-names Leinthall and Leintwardine. These are situated within the Clun/Teme, not the Lugg, drainage system. Given Leominster's rule at the former, was *lliant* used there by extension?

Merewalh, the Christian Ruler

Merewalh was not content to establish merely a principal church for his kingdom at Leominster but 'having come to the knowledge of the truth, was so fervent for God with a burning holiness that he ... put right with the greatest vigour all that he had neglected in the past. Whatever he had gained with his earthly power he gave away with heartfelt generosity to the poor of Christ. He founded and built churches in many places. When they were built he gave them rich lands and servants. It is said that the king and his royal wife built the monastery at Gloucester (Glavecestre) to the glorious martyr, king Oswald,

which was not only enlarged by king and queen with wide lands but also beautified by such decorations that, on account of the great number of rich gifts, it was called by the common people the golden monastery.'⁷⁶

Although by the late 11th century it seems to have been assumed that the Oswald dedication referred to the important minster at Gloucester, the author of the *Life* evidently had his doubts, for he is careful to preface his information with the words 'it is said.' The remains of St. Oswald's minster can yet be seen a few hundred yards north-east of the cathedral. Excavations and structural examination in 1975-6 revealed a building belonging to the so-called 'new minster,' founded about 909 by Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, to receive the body of St. Oswald, which had been removed from Danish-held territory at Bardney in Lincolnshire.⁷⁷ The Wenlock tradition of Merewalh and his wife, Eafe, as founders of a Gloucester minster can probably be explained as a confusion with the gift, recorded in the Gloucester Abbey cartulary, by a later ruler of the people west of the Severn, *Nodehard*, earldorman of the *Magonsetum*. From him Gloucester received four *manentes* of land in *Erkandefeld* (Archenfield?) and *Brankarnfeld*, during the reign of Beornwulf of Mercia (823-5). It is highly unlikely that Merewalh and Eafe would have founded their 'golden monastery' at Gloucester, in the heart of the neighbouring kingdom of the Hwicce. Indeed, in 679/81 Osric *regulus* of the Hwicce himself founded a minster at Gloucester, dedicated to St. Peter, which was to become the cathedral in 1541.⁷⁸

In searching for the 'golden monastery,' one can do no better than accept Finberg's view that Oswestry, Oswald's tree or cross, 'is a more probable site.' Evidence from the *Life* of St. Oswald suggests that the battle of Maserfield, where the Northumbrian king met his death at the hands of Penda in 641 and where, according to Bede, many miracles were wrought and 'sick men and beasts are healed to this day,' took place at Oswestry. This site was within the bounds of the Western Hecani. In the 13th century there was a church here called the White Minster and Leland records that it and a sacred fountain nearby were both dedicated to St. Oswald.⁷⁹

According to an early interpolation in the Peterborough, 'E', version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Merewalh advised his brother, king Wulfhere, on the foundation of the monastery at Medeshamstede (Peterborough). 'The king loved it much for love of his brother Peada, and for love of his sworn brother Oswy ... He said that he wished to honour and reverence it according to the advice of his brothers Ethelred and Merewalh and according to the advice of his sisters Cyneburga and Cyneswith and according to the advice of the archbishop Deusdedit.'⁸⁰ The Latin charter on which this insertion is based, B22, is a forgery, probably of the time of king Edgar, but it does show that the monks of Peterborough were highly conversant with the legends surrounding both the Kentish and Mercian royal families, in which Merewalh figures as a son of Penda.

With old age Merewalh's thoughts turned increasingly to the world to come and apparently he retired to spend his last years in a monastery. Evidence for this is provided by the first charter in Mildburga's *Testament* which records that land 'is being purchased (the present tense) from the king called Merewald' whilst in the witness list his son, Merchelm, is described as 'king.'⁸¹ The implication is that Merewalh, having handed over the rule to his son, retained his title in an honorary capacity, for once a king always a king. In

2 THE PRINCESS MINSTER AND THE KENTISH ROYAL LEGEND

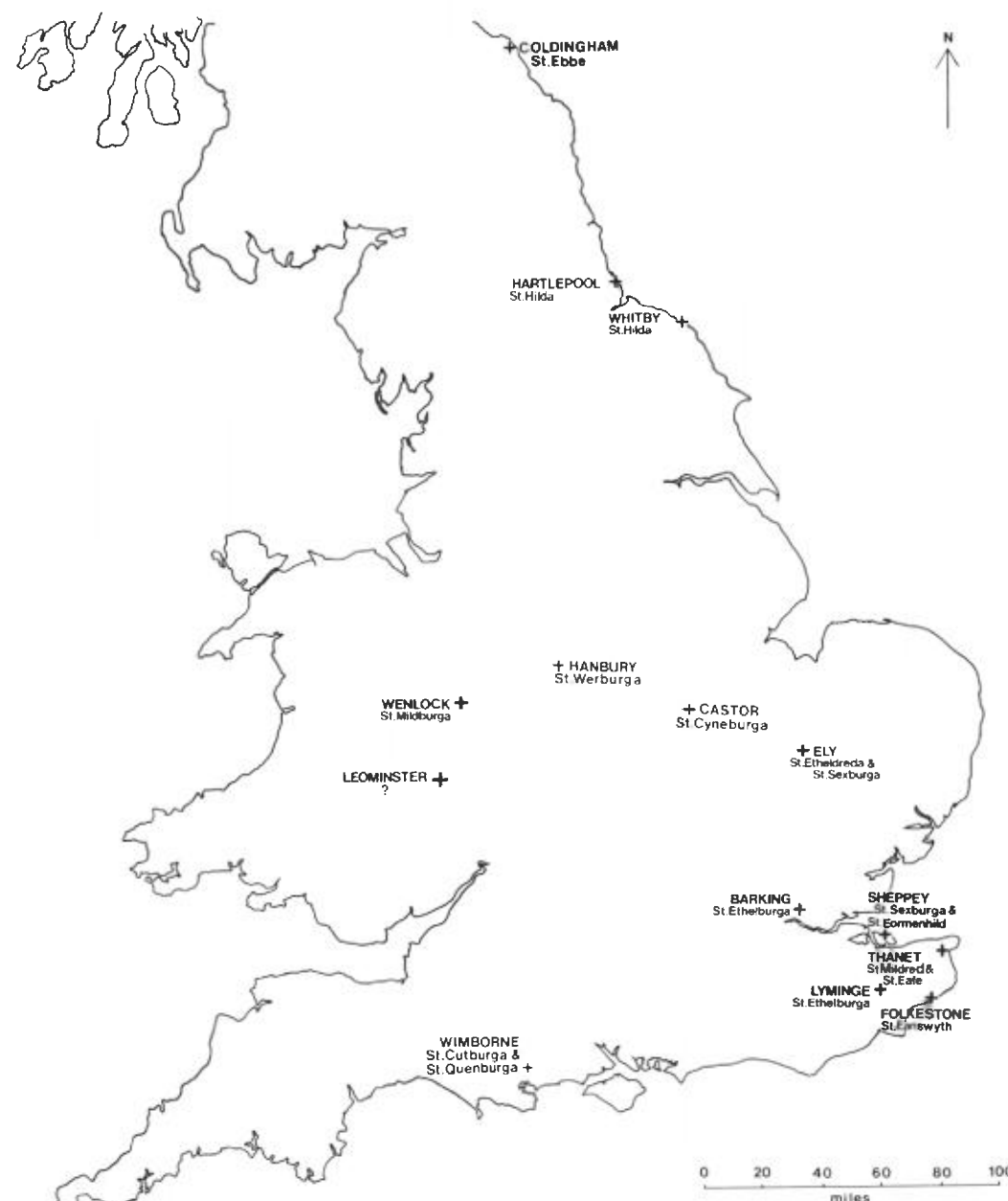
The Kentish Marriage

The story of the foundation of the minster by the Lugg is unique to the longer version of the *Life* of St. Mildburga, but the main elements belong to a group of texts known collectively as the Kentish Royal Legend. Eleven versions of the Legend have been examined by David Rollason who has shown that, although in many Mildburga's sister St. Mildred is the central figure, in others, such as the *Lives* of St. Mildburga and of St. Werburga, she is much less important and from a few she is wholly absent. Nevertheless all belong to a single literary tradition which seeks to portray the sanctity of the lives of members of Kent's ruling house. The Legend deals with the history of that dynasty for more than a century—from Ethelbert's baptism by St. Augustine in 597. It was established very early—by 732-48, between the burial of St. Mildred in the church of the Virgin and her translation to the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, both at Minster-in-Thamet. For this reason, the light which it throws on the history of the 7th century is of the utmost importance.⁸⁷

Mildburga's *Life* is prefaced by a royal genealogy.⁸⁸ This is an important feature of all versions of the Legend and Rollason has suggested that here 'we may be seeing the Church's alternative to the conventional, dangerously pagan, genealogy' which emphasised 'the connection of royal lines with pre-Christian war-lords and pagan gods.'⁸⁹ This genealogy traces in detail the Kentish royal line and explains the marriage alliances which linked it to the Mercian and East-Anglian royal families (FIGS. 2 and 3). Thus it takes the Legend well beyond the bounds of Kent. The author of Mildburga's *Life* was well versed in the details of the Legend and these he combined with similar traditions relating to the Mercian royal house. In this way the foundation of St. Peter's at Leominster, part of a Mercian legend, became firmly linked to the earliest recorded history of the English people.

Ethelbert and his queen, the Frankish Christian Bertha, had two children, Eadbald, who succeeded him, and Ethelburga, who became Edwin of Northumbria's queen. After Edwin's death in 633 Ethelburga returned to Kent and founded a minster at Lyminge, where she was buried (Map 1). Eadbald, like his father, married a Frankish Christian princess, Emma, and they had three children. Their daughter, Eanswith, spent her life in and was buried at the minster at Folkestone. One of their sons, Eorcenberht, married Sexburga, daughter of the East-Anglian king Anna, and their daughter, Eormenhild, married Merewalh's brother, the Mercian king Wulfhere (659-74). She bore him the virgin Werburga who founded a number of Mercian monasteries, at one of which, Hanbury, Staffs, she was buried. Her relics were translated to Chester, in all probability by Alfred's daughter, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, at the beginning of the 10th century.⁹⁰

Eadbald's other son, Eormenred, was, according to the *Life*, 'more concerned with purity than power.' He had two sons, Ethelred and Ethelbert, and five daughters. One of these was 'Domneva,' a conflation of the Latin *domina* with the Old English Eafe, who was married to Merewalh, 'king of the Westehani, in the western part of Mercia.' Merewalh, the third-born, we are told 'ruled together with Wulfhere, second son of that most violent king Penda.' Ethelred, his brother, succeeded Wulfhere and reigned for



MAP 1

Princess Minsters in the 7th and early 8th centuries.

twenty-nine years before entering the monastery at Bardney. 'Their sisters, SS. Cyneburga and Cyneswitha, rest with St. Tibba at the church of Peterborough.'

The marriage of Eafe to Merewalh was a major element in almost all versions of the Kentish Royal Legend because their daughter, St. Mildred, was its central figure. Thus one Old English *Life* of Mildred describes how 'the lady Eafe was given into the lands of the Mercians to Merewalh, son of king Penda, for his queen and they begot St. Mildburga, St. Mildred, St. Mildgith and the holy child Merefin.'⁹¹ In some of the texts Eafe is called Eormenburga, but a Kentish charter of the late 7th century which they both attested indicates that Eafe, the Latin form of Aebba, and Eormenburg were separate persons.⁹²

The marriage evidently took place after Merewalh's conversion, for a Christian princess was regarded as a prime weapon in the church's battle to win over a heathen ruler. Thus in 597 Augustine arrived in England only a few months after Ethelbert's Christian bride, the Gaulish princess Bertha.⁹³ Similarly, in 626 Pope Boniface wrote to Ethelburga, the Kentish-born bride of the Northumbrian king Edwin, urging her to use all her powers to bring over her husband to the faith. 'Persevere in using every effort to soften his heart by teaching him the laws of God ... Melt the coldness of his heart by teaching him about the Holy Spirit so that the warmth of the divine faith may enlighten his mind through your constant encouragement.' Ethelburga and her chaplain did not fail the pope. Edwin was baptised the next year.⁹⁴ Indeed, conversion came to be regarded as 'incumbent on a heathen ruler who acquired a Christian bride.'⁹⁵ If Merewalh had been a pagan on his marriage to Eafe, she would have brought with her at least one personal chaplain. In this case Edfrith's message would hardly have been novel and Merewalh would have adopted the Roman ways of his wife rather than the Celtic Christianity of Edfrith.

He already had two sons, Merchelm and Mildfrith, evidently by a previous marriage. They appear in the witness lists of two of the 'Wenlock charters' in the so-called *Testament* of St. Mildburga. In the first, of about 680, Merchelm is described as king. He was succeeded by his brother, Mildfrith, at a date unknown. Finberg suggests that for a time they may have exercised joint authority. From an independent source we know that Mildfrith was buried, by the side of his 'beautiful wife Cuenburga,' in the royal mausoleum in the newly-established cathedral at Hereford.⁹⁶ Charter evidence indicates that he had died by the reign of Coenred of Mercia (704-9).⁹⁷

For both his families the 'famous Welshman' adopted the Old English practice of consonantal as well as vocalic alliteration. Thus the element *Mer-* is to be found in the name of his eldest son, by his first marriage, and his youngest son, Merefin, of his second marriage; whilst the second son of the first marriage shared the element *Mild-* with his three daughters by Eafe.

The Chastity of Eafe

After the birth of their fourth child, Merefin, who died in infancy, the royal couple, in the words of the Mildred *Life*, 'began to turn away from normal embraces' and even-

tually 'for the love of God and of mankind separated from their conjugal estate.'⁹⁸ The separation is dealt with more fully in Mildburga's *Life*. There we are told 'both sides of their shared life would not have been adequate if the pleasures of the flesh, known to almost all, had not been given second place, and the heavenly manner of life, unknown to most, had not been adopted ... By the grace of celibacy and mutual agreement, they were removed from physical intimacy. Christ became the heir of all their possessions so that they might become the co-heirs of his everlasting joy. O what a glorious and splendid example of holiness!—and all the more excellent because so rare among mankind. What king of today copies such a good example? Would that the poor and needy whose marriage bed is pain and grief would imitate it.'⁹⁹

The writer's surprise, if not his joy, at such a phenomenon, the joint dissolution of matrimonial ties, for the love of Christ will be shared no doubt by many today, but it provides powerful evidence for the purity of the tradition on which he relied in drawing up the *Life*. In 7th-century England it was not at all unusual for marriages to be dissolved in this way—with or without mutual agreement. Bede describes how Drythelm, who had been nursed back to life from a deadly malady by his devoted wife, left her to enter Melrose Abbey and how Benedict Biscop abandoned his wife and children to be among the 144,000 virgins of the Apocalypse.¹⁰⁰ The same conventions obtained for royal couples. St. Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, had married Egfrith, king of Northumbria (670-85). After preserving 'the glory of perfect virginity' for twelve years and despite her husband's entreaties, she entered the convent of Ebbe, Egfrith's aunt, at Coldingham near Berwick. The following year she returned to her homeland and founded a double monastery at Ely.¹⁰¹ St. Cuthburga, daughter of king Coenred of Wessex, left Egfrith's successor, king Aldfrith (685-704) after a few years of marriage to become a nun at St. Ethelburga's double house at Barking. Then about 705 she returned to her native Wessex to found, with her sister, Quenburga, a double monastery at Wimborne.¹⁰²

Such practices had deep roots in pagan Anglo-Saxon society. The belief that marriage was a contract which could be terminated by mutual agreement was firmly entrenched in that society and is reflected in the earliest Kentish Laws. 'If a wife wishes to depart with her children she shall have half the goods. If the husband wishes to keep the children she shall have a share of the goods equal to a child's.'¹⁰³ This cut sharply across the Pauline doctrine of marriage enunciated so clearly in the first epistle to the Corinthians (VII, 10-11): 'to them that are married, not I, but the Lord, commandeth that the wife depart not from the husband ... and let not the husband put away his wife.'

Nevertheless, English churchmen were prepared to come to terms with such pagan customs. St. Wilfred aided and abetted queen Etheldreda in her intent to leave her husband and it was he who gave her the veil. Bede himself, inspired by Etheldreda's example, wrote a hymn in elegiac verse on the subject of her virginity. This 'many years later' he still felt able to include in his *History*:

'Nor lacks our age its Etheldreda as well;
Its virgin wonderful nor lacks our age.
Of royal blood she sprang, but noble far
God's service found than pride of royal blood.

Proud is she, queening it on earthly throne;
 In Heaven established far more proud is she.
 Queen, wherefore seek a mate, with Christ thy groom?
 To him betrothed, queen, wherefore seek a mate.¹⁰⁴

St. Aldhelm, with his female readership much in mind, put forward in *de Virginitate* a concept of female chastity in tune with his times. 'Chastity,' as opposed to 'virginity' and 'conjugalit,' was the state in which a woman, 'having been assigned to marital contracts, has scorned the commerce of matrimony for the sake of the heavenly kingdom.' When he wrote that 'virginity was gold, chastity silver, wedlock brass' and went on to liken them to 'day, dawn and night; sun, moon and darkness; freedom, ransom and captivity,' he must have been articulating the sentiments of many high-born women of his day.¹⁰⁵

Even archbishop Theodore (669-90) had to accept this strange but powerful convention, drawn partly from pagan German and partly from Christian roots. The *Penitentials* bearing his name clearly state that it was 'not allowable for a woman to reject her husband, even if he is an adulterer,' but adds the qualification 'unless perchance to enter a monastery.'¹⁰⁶ Merewalh and Eafe were thus acting firmly within the conventions of their age and the inclusion of the story of their separation in the foundation legend is a further argument in favour of its authenticity.

Leaving her husband, Eafe returned to her homeland to join the coterie which surrounded Theodore and Hadrian at Christ Church and St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. 'Just as a dove, freed from the snare, flies to her beloved cote, so the noble queen, free from the ties of the flesh, went to her native Kent. There, a star of the morning, never again going to the evening. For she took more pleasure in the mausoleum of the first missionaries where were the tombs of Augustine and his companions, than she did in the royal palaces of Mercia where she had been queen and leader, preferring to enjoy the great men of heaven, the holy Theodore, archbishop, and the blessed Hadrian, abbot.'¹⁰⁷

The Founding of Minster-in-Thamet

Eafe did not, however, spend long in such august company. Soon after her return she found tragedy. The clandestine murder of her younger brothers, Ethelred and Ethelbert, probably on account of the threat they presented to the ruling king, Egbert (664-73), was discovered through divine intervention—a miraculous beam of light which rose up to heaven through the roof of the hall where they were buried. When, in expiation and compensation, Egbert offered her 'whatever she wished within the compass of his power' Eafe replied that she wanted 'no more of his (land) than her tame hind, which always ran before her when she was out riding would run around in one "circuit"'. On this land she founded the convent of Minster-in-Thamet where she brought up Merewalh's three daughters and was eventually succeeded by the second, Mildred, as abbess.¹⁰⁸ Thus we find a common thread in the stories of the three queens, Etheldreda, Cuthburga and Eafe. Each returned to the land of her birth—East Anglia, Wessex and Kent respectively, and there each founded a 'princess minster' which she ruled as abbess.¹⁰⁹

Such 'princess minsters' were not new. They had been a marked feature of Kentish Christianity from the earliest days. As the *Genealogy* which prefaces Mildburga's *Life* explains, such convents had been founded at Folkestone about 633 by Eafe's aunt, St. Eanswith, daughter of king Eadbald (616-40) and at Lyminge by St. Ethelburga, daughter of king Ethelbert (560-616), after her return from Northumbria on the death of her husband, king Edwin, in 633.¹¹⁰ Another aunt, St. Sexburga, daughter of king Anna of East Anglia, wife of Eafe's uncle, king Eorcenberht, founded a convent at Minster-in-Sheppey to which she retired after her husband's death in 664 and subsequently became abbess of Ely on the death of her sister, Etheldreda, in 679 (FIG. 3). All of these minsters were in fact double houses, of monks and nuns.¹¹¹ Eafe was thus following a path well trodden by other members of her family; the difference was that Eanswith, Ethelburga and Sexburga were widows.

Double houses were the rule not the exception in the 7th and early 8th centuries. It is doubtful whether any houses of women were founded without adjacent communities of men.¹¹² As with much early Christian practice in Kent, the inspiration was Frankish, coming from the double monasteries of northern France.¹¹³ As early as 566 the redoubtable St. Radegund had obtained St. Germain's help to withdraw from her polygamous husband and ruled a large nunnery linked to a monastery at Poitiers.¹¹⁴ Bede tells us that the English especially favoured the houses of Faremoutier-en-Brie, Chelles and Les Andelys-sur-Seine where 'girls of noble family were sent for their education or to be betrothed to their heavenly bridegroom.' Thus Eafe's uncle, Eorcenberht, king of Kent (640-64) sent his daughter, Eorcengota, to Gaul where she became a nun under her aunt, Ethelburga, abbess of Brie.¹¹⁵

Invariably such double houses were ruled by a woman; indeed two of the daughters of king Anna of East Anglia became abbesses of Faremoutiers, and Chelles was refounded by an English woman, Bathild. Originally a slave in the household of the mayor of the palace, her beauty and charm won over the Frankish king, Clovis II (638-57), who made her his queen. Always a formidable political force, she acted as regent until 665 when she retired to Chelles where by 'a life of asceticism and devotion she gained the reputation of a saint.'¹¹⁶ Her cult, on 30 January, was observed at Leominster in the early 11th century.

Under its abbess Bertila, Chelles became one of the principal intellectual centres of northern France. As her *Life* shows, it was more than a training institution. When 'those faithful kings from the parts of Saxondom across the sea (Anglo-Saxon England) would ask her ... to send some of her followers for teaching or sacred instruction, or even those who might establish monasteries of men and women there, she did not refuse. With a thankful heart (she sent) chosen women and very devout men thither with both saints' relics and many volumes of books so that through her the yield of souls was increased.'¹¹⁷ A number of versions of the Kentish Royal Legend tell us that Eafe sent Mildred to Chelles for instruction in the conventual life. On her return to Minster-in-Thamet with sacred relics she was consecrated by her mother in company with 70 other virgins.¹¹⁸

As king Egbert died in 674 we can assume that Eafe's house in Minster-in-Thamet was founded by that date. Its subsequent history is corroborated by independent evidence. One third of the thirty earliest extant charters of the Kentish kings refer to the granting or

confirmation of privileges to this monastery (Table 1). These show that Eafe ruled the monastery until 696/7 when she was succeeded by her daughter, Mildred, who held office for some thirty-six years—a combined rule by mother and daughter of some sixty years. This is not all that we learn from the charter evidence. Their very quantity, more than that of all the extant charters for the same period relating to St. Peter's, the cathedral at Canterbury, indicates the importance attached to the minster by the early Kentish monarchy. By 748, only a few years after her death, Mildred's cult had become so powerful that Ethelbald of Mercia, virtual overlord of all Anglo-Saxon England, sought to associate himself with it by proclaiming their consanguinity.¹¹⁹

The formulation of the Kentish Royal Legend seems to have taken place between Mildred's burial after 732 in the church built by her mother and dedicated to the Virgin, and the translation of her incorrupt body not later than 748 to the church of St. Peter and St. Paul built by her successor, abbess Eadburga.¹²⁰ The Legend as found in the *Historia Regum* version may well have been drawn up on this occasion. Mildred's shrine was on the north side of the oratory and from the earliest days was the scene of numerous miracles.¹²¹ Given the significance of royal genealogies in that era, one can now understand the circumstances in which the story of Merewalh came to be preserved. The ruler described by the English of Mercia as 'the famous Welshman' was remembered by the people of Kent as the husband of the founder of the royal convent of Minster-in-Thanel and, more important, the father of Mildred, the heroine of their Royal Legend.

Table 1: Early Charter Evidence: Eafe, Mildred and Minster-in-Thanel

No	S	B	Date	Grantor	Grantee
1	1648	44	678	Hlothere	Eafe
2	10	42	690	Swafheard	Eafe
3	11	41	690	Swafheard	Eafe
4	13	35	690	Oswine	Eafe
5	14	40	690	Oswine	Eafe
6	15	86	694	Wihtred	Eafe
7	17	88	696	Wihtred	Mildred
8	18	96	697	Wihtred	Eafe
9	1180	141	724	Ethelbert	Mildred
10	26	846	724	Eadbert	Mildred
11	86	149	733?	Ethelbald of Mercia	Mildred
12	87	150	733?	Ethelbald of Mercia	Mildred
13	91	177	748	Ethelbald of Mercia	Eadburga
14	143	188	759x764	Offa of Mercia	Sigeburga
15	29	189	c761	Eadbert	Sigeburga

S *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (1968)

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

The Establishment of Roman Ways west of the Severn

Merewalh's other daughters, Mildburga and Mildgith, chose to leave their mother's convent to make lives of their own. Mildgith, we are told, 'spent her life in Northumbria and worked many miracles there.' Mildburga returned to her father's lands beyond the Severn to make a life of her own. She became a nun in the convent at Wenlock in the northernmost reaches of his kingdom. This, a double house on Frankish lines, was founded during the last years of Merewalh's reign, about 680 and, if we are to believe the *Testament* attached to St. Mildburga's *Life*, was originally a cell of the East-Anglian monastery of Icanho ruled by an abbess with the well-attested Frankish name of Liobsynde. None of the sources tells us whether Mildburga also attended Chelles. Even if she did not, her training must have been deeply embedded in the traditions of the double houses of northern France. It was quite natural, therefore, that shortly afterwards she succeeded Liobsynde as abbess of Wenlock which thus became a princess minster of the Kentish type. Here, if we can trust the last charter of her *Testament*, Mildburga ruled until the episcopate of Wealhstod (727-36).¹²²

Mildburga's return to the land of her birth was at a time of rapid change. According to tradition, Edfrith ruled his church for fifteen years, until his death about 675.¹²³ As a Northumbrian monk he would have established at Leominster and its subject territory the customs and uses of the church of St. Columba which had been brought from Ireland to Lindisfarne by way of Iona. There lay the roots of the zeal, humility and asceticism which characterised the early Northumbrian missionaries, qualities exemplified in the story of St. Chad, forbidden to continue making his visitations on foot and lifted onto a horse by archbishop Theodore's own hands. At the synod of Whitby Roman ways were accepted by the Northumbrians. With Theodore's arrival and his reconsecration of St. Chad as bishop of Mercia according to Catholic rites in 669,¹²⁴ they were firmly established in Mercia itself by Merewalh's brothers, Wulfhere and Ethelred. His sisters, Cyneburga and Cyneswitha, founded a double house of the Kentish type at Castor in Northamptonshire.¹²⁵ The church in the lands of the Western Hecani could not cut itself off from such events.

Merewalh, faithful to Edfrith, may have held out in the isolated, half-Welsh western Marches for the old ways of the Celtic church, but events moved swiftly after the accession of Merchem and Mildfrith who may for a time have shared the rule, for they jointly witnessed a number of charters granting lands to their sister for the benefit of the convent at Wenlock. By 693 the interest and ambitions of the dynasty, in all probability for military reasons, had been drawn away from Leominster to Hereford. Whereas the 7th century had been characterised by accommodation with the Welsh, the 8th century saw increasing confrontation and Anglian penetration of land south of the Wye.¹²⁶ Whether the adoption of Hereford as the political centre of the principality was cause or effect, it is difficult to say.

The loose structure of the Celtic monastic church, developed within a pastoral and hunting society, was abandoned. At Hereford its place was taken by an institutional church organised on Roman lines, reflecting the forms of an ancient urban civilisation. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was exercised by a bishop within a diocese, itself a term derived

from late Roman imperial administration. On the banks of the Wye, the earliest recorded bishop, Tyrthel, established his *cathedra*, or seat. There the mother church of the diocese was built and also the mausoleum for the tombs of the tribal kings and their bishops. This is supported by archaeological evidence. In the nearby Saxon graveyard on Castle Green, excavated by F. G. Heys in 1960 and by Ron Shoesmith in 1973, bones from the earliest burial group have given a radiocarbon dating with 'a 68% probability that the date of burial was in the 7th or early 8th centuries.' Thus Leominster was replaced by Hereford as the political and religious centre of the kingdom west of the Severn. This was a change not merely in location but also in the nature of ecclesiastical authority.¹²⁷

Despite this shift of power, Leominster remained an important religious centre throughout the Saxon period. Edfrith's church was reformed to become a house firmly embedded in the Roman traditions. The Leominster *Kalendar* in BL MS Nero AII, to be considered later, makes this very clear, for although a compilation of the early 11th century, we find at its core the observance of the cult of saints who reigned supreme at Rome in the 7th century. It thus provides firm evidence of the adoption of the Roman liturgy at Leominster in the last two decades of the 7th century.¹²⁸

Precisely what institution replaced Edfrith's Northumbrian minster we do not know. There is no direct evidence that it was a double house in the mould of Wenlock, Minster-in-Thanel, Lyminge and Folkestone, although it has been accepted as such by many authorities. Indeed there is no documentary evidence of nuns at Leominster before the 11th century.¹²⁹ All that can be said at present is that, as there was a nunnery endowed with wide estates at Leominster in the period immediately prior to the Conquest, it raises the probability that it originated in such a double house; that the argument for continuity is not a slight one.

The prayer book BL Cotton MS Galba AXIV provides a clue to some of the changes arising from the adoption from Kent of Roman practices. At f119v is the prayer *Via sanctorum*, one of a series used during the Sunday procession, *Asperges*, to sprinkle holy water on the altars of the church and the buildings of the monastery. Before re-entering the minster from the outer court a prayer was chanted for 'this place consecrated to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew, as patrons.'

Thus we have evidence of a triple dedication prior to the dissolution in 1046. This is of great interest. To deal first with the dedication to Peter and Paul: the foundation story in St. Mildburga's *Life* is quite explicit. Merewalh's liberator was St. Peter and it was to him that Edfrith's church was dedicated. However, this is not contemporary evidence. The *Life* was written just before 1100, almost four and a half centuries after the foundation. Nevertheless, evidence of a single dedication is confirmed by the Domesday scribes who, writing in 1086, tell us that 'of the lands of Ralph de Mortimer in Aymestrey (the church of) St. Peter has 15s.' The priory church was still dedicated to St. Peter in the early 12th century. In a charter of 1123 Bishop Richard de Capella refers to '*ecclesiam sancti Petri de Leoministre*' and in another, of about 1130, Bishop Robert de Bethune calls it '*ecclesiam beati Petri de Leominstre*.'¹³⁰

The earliest records in the Leominster cartulary are no help in resolving this problem. They show that 29 June was the main feast and law day of the priory. Thus in 1130x35

Richard, son of Sewach, agreed to pay two marks annually on that feast for lands held of the abbot of Reading. The same date of payment was adhered to by Roger of Letton, 1158x65, for lands at Letton; Walter de Clifford, 1135x70, for an enlargement of his park at Hamnish; Roger of Letton, 1173x86, for tithes of Hurstley Chapel; and many others. Dues to and attendances at the minster as mother church of the district were also made on 29 June, but as this was the day of the joint martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, it served both as the principal feast of St. Peter and the feast of Peter and Paul.

A charter of Bishop Ralph de Maidstone provides evidence of the priory's dedication to SS. Peter and Paul in 1239. If one accepts the evidence of Galba AXIV, this was in fact a re-dedication, a reversion to the earliest tradition of the church. This interpretation is reinforced by the number of relics of Peter and Paul, including 'part of their sepulchre' at Rome, which are known to have been amongst the most treasured of the ancient, that is pre-Conquest, relics of the minster.¹³¹

When was the change, from double to single dedication, made? One can but hazard a guess. It could have been at the suppression of the nun-minster in 1046. On the other hand, it might have taken place in the late 8th century for Offa of Mercia had a close relation with the papacy and a deep attachment to St. Peter. All the monasteries he founded and all those he acquired were given this single dedication. If this was the case at Leominster, the community maintained a marvellous example of passive resistance, for the prayer book shows them observing its old traditions more than a century later. This is not surprising, as the joint dedication to Peter and Paul was probably the most prestigious of all. Other early Anglo-Saxon churches so dedicated included St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury; Ine's church at Glastonbury; the Old Minster of Winchester, built by Cenwalh after his baptism; Birinus' cathedral at Dorchester, traditionally the site of king Cynegil's baptism; the abbey of Malmesbury; and Benedict Biscop's joint monastery of St. Peter at Wearmouth and St. Paul at Jarrow.¹³²

The presence within the precinct of a second church, with its own distinct identity, is attested by post-Conquest records. A 'chapel of St. Andrew at Leominster' is mentioned in a document of 1433 in Bishop Spofford's register. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 refers, under the vicarage of Leominster, to the cemetery of St. Andrew. In both cases it is clear that the graveyard was now being used to pasture animals.¹³³ A terrier of Leominster vicarage, 1685, describes a plot of land near the Poplands, formerly the Popelands, as 'St. Andrew's Garth.'¹³⁴ Access from the precinct was by the footpath across the Priory bridge and through Paradise meadow on the north bank of the Kenwater. When Blacklock was writing in 1898 a piece of land to the east of the railway line was still glebe but the portion to the west had been disposed of.

St. Andrew was the patron of some of the most ancient churches in the country. Before his departure for England in 597 St. Augustine had been prior of St. Andrew's on the Coelian hill in Rome, the house founded by Pope Gregory himself in 575. At Rochester in 604 Augustine dedicated the cathedral church built by king Ethelbert to St. Andrew in memory of that monastery.¹³⁵ St. Wilfrid gave his minster at Hexham the same dedication.¹³⁶ The first monastery at Wells and the church built near the site of the Roman city at Wroxeter also had St. Andrew as their patron. The dedications to Peter, Paul and

Andrew thus underline, in a dramatic way, the new religious alignment established at Leominster in the 680s.

It was by no means unusual in Anglo-Saxon England to find more than one church within an ecclesiastical precinct. There is evidence of two churches at Minster-in-Thamet,¹³⁷ Wenlock¹³⁸ and Jarrow¹³⁹ and many other places, and of at least three at Malmesbury.¹⁴⁰ At Canterbury, Winchester and Glastonbury there were linear families of churches, multiple churches laid out in line.¹⁴¹ This was not a feature restricted to double houses; thus the existence of two churches at Leominster cannot of itself be taken as evidence of the presence of nuns.

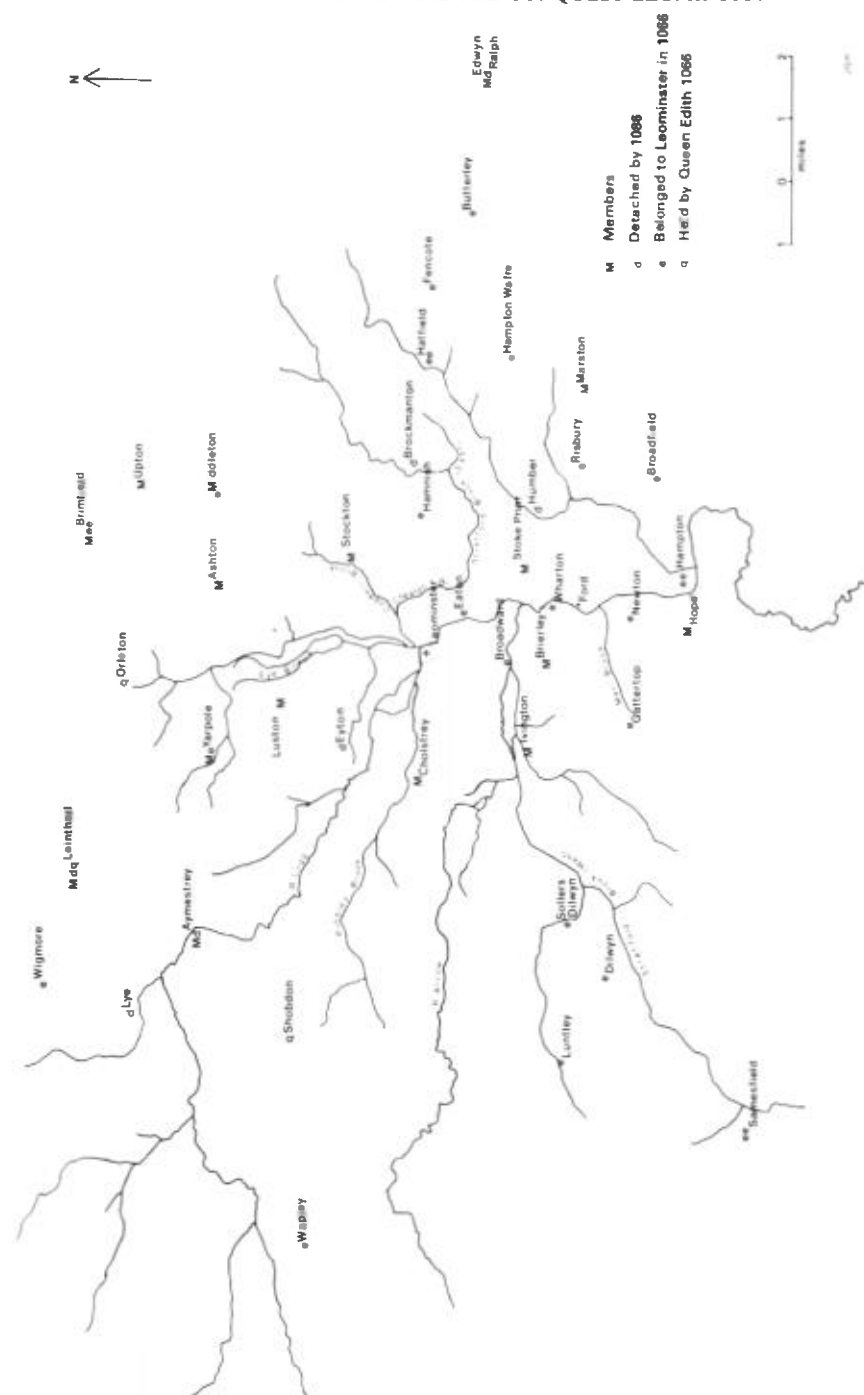
Certainly in the late 7th century women of all ages took the veil and double houses were to be found throughout England, many ruled by abbesses of royal blood. As we have seen, these included women closely related to Merewalh and his daughters. 'Monasteries were handed from mother to daughter, from one sister to another. Princesses were dedicated from their early years; others entered after years of marriage during which they adhered to vows of virginity, others entered who were mothers and many entered at their widowhood.' Wherever this may have been, there was an expectation that they would be 'nobly housed and surrounded by rich objects in buildings of some splendour.' Given such royal leadership, it is not surprising that large numbers were attracted to these double houses—100 at Ely, 74 under Sexburga at Sheppey, 70 at Thanet under Mildred, but 500 were claimed for Wimborne, founded by the daughters of king Coenred of Wessex.¹⁴² Like Chelles, where Mildred produced her own illuminated psalter, they became important cultural centres. At Whitby Hilda compelled those under her direction to devote time to the study of the holy scriptures. At Barking the nuns were well versed not only in Latin, writing and grammar but also in law, history and poetry.¹⁴³

Although one of the least known, this is one of the most interesting chapters of women's history, for they 'exercised an influence on their times for which there is no later parallel.' It is exciting to think that Leominster may have played a significant part in such an important movement.

3 'ROYALLY ENDOWED': THE DOMESDAY EVIDENCE

The Leominster Estates: Size, Distribution, Antiquity

The antiquity of the church of Leominster is indicated by the size, character and distribution of its estates at the time of the Domesday survey. Here we can test the statement in Mildburga's *Life*, that Edfrith's minster was 'royally endowed.' F. W. Maitland drew attention to what he called the 'gigantic' Domesday manor of Leominster and compared it with the large and valuable Gloucestershire manors of Berkeley, with a rent of £170, and Tewkesbury, worth £100 in the Confessor's time.¹⁴⁴ In 1066 it was held by Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith, daughter of earl Godwin and sister of Harold. It was composed of two elements—demesne lands farmed directly (Table 2.1) and a group of estates which were sublet, subinfeudated (Table 2.2). In 1066 the demesne lands were divided for administrative convenience into sixteen 'members,' assessed at eighty hides (Table 2.1.1).



MAP 2

Domesday Book: The Manor of Leominster

By 1086 a quarter of these lands had been detached and Domesday Book shows them all, with the exception of one unnamed estate, in the hands of local magnates: Roger de Lacy, the greatest of the lay tenants in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire and the political heir of William fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford; Urse d'Abitot, sheriff of Worcestershire; Ralph de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore; and William fitz Norman, forester of Herefordshire and lord of Kilpeck (Table 2.1.2). A recent study of estate structure in the west Midlands has shown how attractive ecclesiastical subtenancies were to major tenants-in-chief, such as Roger de Lacy, and that Urse d'Abitot had used such opportunities to amass an estate of some 200 hides.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, these lands are still recorded as being

Table 2: Domesday Book: The Manor of Leominster

2.1 Demesne Lands

2.1.1 16 members

Lustone	Luston
Iarpol	Yarpole
Elmodestre	Aymestrey
Brumefelde	Brimfield
Estune	Ashton (-in-Eye)
Stoctune	Stockton
Stoca	Stoke (Prior)
Mersetone	Marston (Stannett)
Uptone	(Nun?) Upton (Brimfield)
Hope	Hope (under-Dinmore)
Bretlege	Brierley
Ivintune	Ivington
Cerlestreu	Cholstrey
Lentehale	Leinthall
Gedeven	Edwyn (Ralph)
Fernelau	Farlow (Salop)

Total: 80 hides, £120

2.1.2 Lands detached by 1086

	Land	Hides	Value		Lord
			1066	1086	
1	Gedeven	Edwyn (Ralph)	3		Urso de Abitot
2	Humbre	Humber	3.5		Roger de Lacy
3	Brochemt	Brockmanton	1.5		Roger de Lacy
4	Elmodestre	Aymestrey	1		Ralph de Mortimer
5	Lethale	Leinthall	8		Ralph de Mortimer
6	Lege	Lye	0.5		William fitz Norman
7	Ettone	Eyton	1	12.55	William fitz Norman
8	?	?	1.5?	1.25	Lewin Latimer
		20		£13.8	

Total: 20 hides, £13 16s

2.2 Subinfeudated Lands

2.2.1 "These lands belonged to Leominster in the time of King Edward" (the Confessor)

	Land		Hides	Value		Lord	
				1066	1086	1066	1086
1	Hetfelde	Hatfield	5	4	5	Leofled	Hugh the Donkey
2	Wapleton	Wapley	2		1	Osbern fitz Richard	Osbern fitz Richard
3	Buterlei	Butterley	1		2	Ketel	Urso de Abitot
4	Fencote	Fencote	1	?	?	Abess	Abess
5	Hantone	Hampton (Wafre)	0.5	2	1.5	Browning	Roger de Lacy
6	Hantone	Hampton	2	1	2	Edwy	Roger de Lacy
7	Sarnesfelde	Sarnesfield	1.5	nil	1	Saeric	Roger de Lacy
8	Gadrehope	Gattertop	1		1.5	Alwin	Roger de Lacy
9	Wighemore	Wigmore	0.5		?	Alfward	Ralph de Mortimer
10	Bromefelde	Brimfield	0.75	0.375	0.375	Ernsy	Ralph de Mortimer
11	Forne	Ford	1.25)			Alfward	Ralph de Toden
12	Bradefelde	Broadfield	1)	2.75	3.75	Alfward	Ralph de Toden
		(Bodenham)					
13	Sarnesfelde	Sarnesfield	0.5)			Alfward	Ralph de Toden
14	Eton	Eaton	1.5	2	3	Leofnoth	Ralph de Toden
15	Riseberie	Risbury	2	1	3	Edwin	William de Scohies
16	Wavertune	Wharton	1	1	1	Wulfward	William de Scohies
17	Newentone	Newton	0.5	nil	nil	Browning	William de Scohies
18	Dilge	Dilwyn	2	1	2	Aelmer	William de Scohies
19	Hetfelde	Hatfield	0.5	0.27	0.4	Aelmer	William de Scohies
20	Bradeford	Broadward	0.5	1	1.5	Leofnoth	William fitz Norman
21	Hantone	Hampton	1	1	1	Edric	Drew fitz Ponz
22	Hamenes	Hammish	1	1	1.67	Ernsy	Drew fitz Ponz
23	Miceltune	Middleton	1.5	1	0.5	Aelfric	Durand the Sheriff
24	Dilge	Dilwyn (Sollers)	2	1	2	Ravenkel	Ilbert
25	Lutelei	Luntley	2	2	1.5	Ravenkel	Ilbert
26	Alac	?	1.5	0.5	0.5	Alfward	Griffin the Boy
27	Iarpole	Yarpole	0.25	0.15	0.15	Aelfric	Lewin Latimer
			35.25	23.045	36.345		

Total: 35.25 hides, £36 6s 11d

2.2.2 "Before 1066 two manors belonged to this manor"

Merchelai	(Much) Marcle	17	30	30	Harold	King William
Stanford	Stanford	4	5	5	Queen Edith	King William

Total: 21 hides, £35

Grand Total: 136.25 hides, £205 2s 11d

2.2.3 Leominster? manors held by queen Edith, 1066

Lintchal	Leinthall	4	2.5	5	Queen Edith	Ralph de Mortimer
Scepedune	Shobdon	4	6	7	Edith	Ralph de Mortimer
Alretune	Orleton	4	7	5	Edith	Ralph de Mortimer

'of this manor' and in some cases payments were still to be made to Leominster. Thus we are told that Ralph de Mortimer was to render 15s. for his one-hide holding in Aymestrey.

In the second category were lands assessed at more than thirty-five hides (Table 2.2.1). These, we are told, had 'paid customary dues to Leominster' and 'lay in (belonged to) Leominster in 1066' but by 1086 they had become quite detached. However, the Domesday scribe qualified their owners' title by listing these estates under the manor of Leominster rather than under their owners' fiefs. In addition two important manors had, apparently, been detached by the Godwins after the nunnery was dissolved in 1046. Stanford, which belonged to queen Edith in 1066, and (Much) Marcle, which Harold himself had held, 'belonged to this manor before 1066.' In 1086 they were in the hands of king William (Table 2.2.2).¹⁴⁶

It is highly probable that other manors suffered a fate similar to that of Stanford and Much Marcle. How, for example, did Edric the Wild acquire those lands at Staunton, Kinnersley, Burrington and Elton, which by 1086 were part of the Mortimer fief? Amongst the other lands of Ralph de Mortimer were manors at Leinthall, Shobdon and Orleton. In the first his predecessor was queen Edith. In the other two the Domesday scribes, in the hasty business of translation, refer to her merely as 'Edith' (Table 2.2.3).¹⁴⁷ Other places, on the northern and western periphery, had no doubt been granted away to meet the exigencies of frontier defence (Section 9). Nevertheless as Domesday Book shows, in the early 11th century the minster estates still comprised more than 135 hides, at a time when the cathedral church itself held but 300.¹⁴⁸

Even at the time of the conversion an endowment for Edfrith's church of well over 100 hides seems to represent generosity to the point of extravagance. Bede himself drew attention to the implications of such generosity.¹⁴⁹ The military resources available to the crown were based on land; estates given to the church could not sustain warriors. However, such considerations came to the fore only after the initial fervour of the period of conversion. The fact that the ruler of the Western Hecani was prepared to hand over to the church most of the rich lowlands of north central Herefordshire gives support to the contention that relations with the Welsh were good. Later, when they deteriorated, his successors were faced with a problem which ultimately had to be resolved by alienation.

In the second half of the 7th century such grants were not unusual. In Northumbria, between 674 and 682, king Egfrith granted ninety hides to Benedict Biscop for his foundations of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. By 716 this had been increased to more than 143 hides. It has been calculated that the initial grant to St. Wilfrid for the foundation of St. Andrew's, Hexham amounted to nearly 9,000 acres. St. Cuthbert's, Lindisfarne was treated even more generously.¹⁵⁰

Charter evidence from southern England shows a similar liberality. The foundation grant to Gloucester was 300 hides, according to the problematic charter of 674x679. Malmesbury and Barking were similarly endowed, whilst over twenty years Chertsey received even more.¹⁵¹ Indications as to the size of king Egbert's original grant to Merewalh's second wife, Eafe, for her convent at Minster-in-Thanel vary. According to Bede 'the large island called Thanet ... is 600 hides in extent' and the 'circuit of the hind' which defined her lands apparently gave title to the greater part of the eastern end of

Thanet. The earliest texts of the Kentish Royal Legend, however, put Egbert's gift of land variously at eighty sulungs and eighty hides.¹⁵² For Wenlock, Eafe's daughter, Mildburga, was given at least 220 hides, if we accept the evidence of her *Testament*.¹⁵³

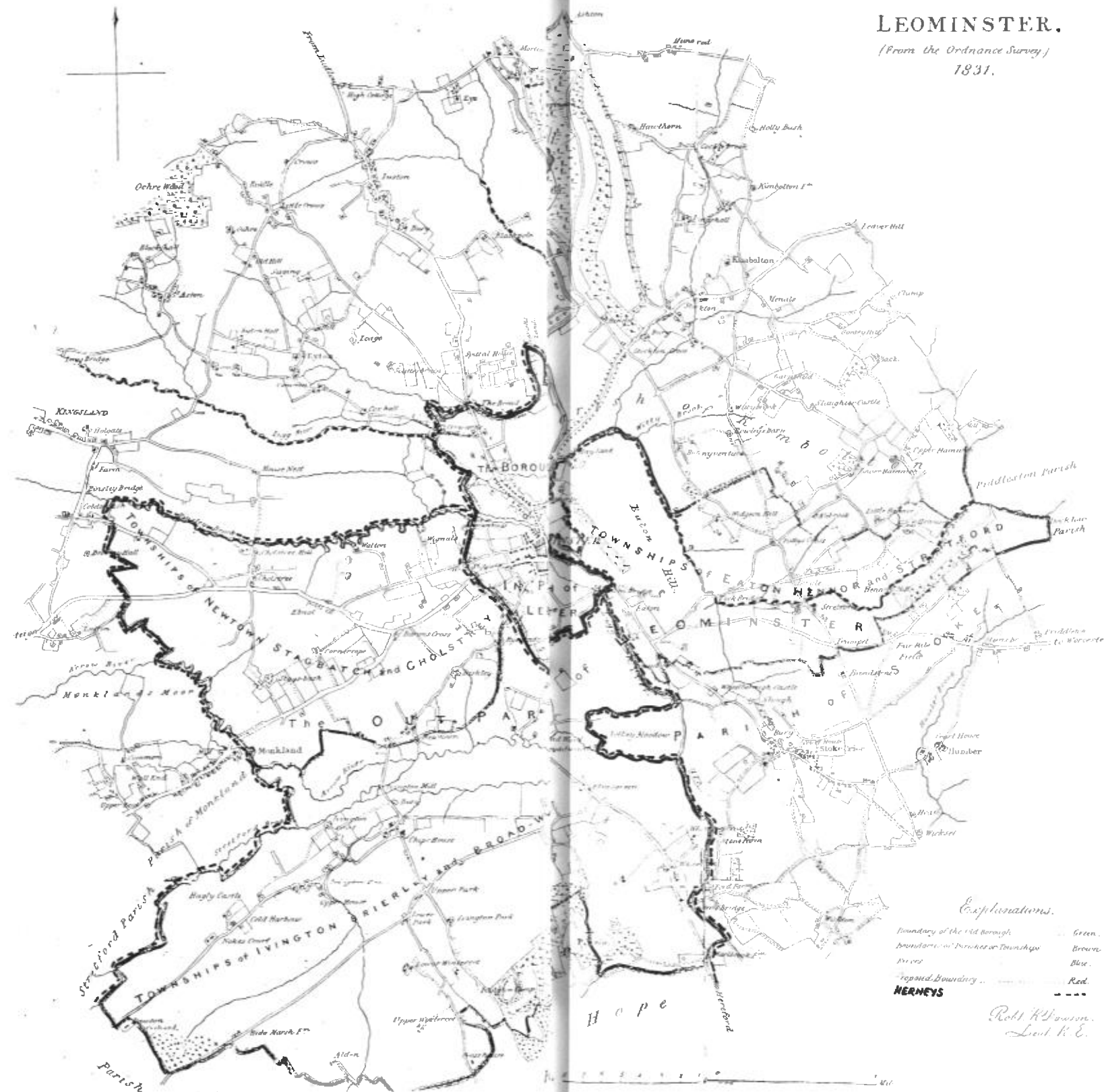
Can a case be made out for continuity over more than four turbulent centuries in the ownership of such vast estates? In an area so profoundly affected by the Viking onslaught as eastern England, it has been shown that a number of monasteries were able to retain or re-establish their rights to a considerable proportion of their original endowments. The majority of the lands which belonged to Barking in 1086, 100 hides valued at £162, had been held since the double house was founded by St. Erkenwald about 666. The same can be said of Ely, Peterborough and the lands of St. Paul's Cathedral in Essex.¹⁵⁴ In Mercia a similar continuity has been demonstrated for the estates granted to the church of Evesham in the early 8th century.¹⁵⁵

At Leominster we have no such documentary evidence of early grants such as those made by Ethelred (674x679) in favour of Gloucester, St. Frithuwold (672x674) for Chertsey and St. Erkenwald (677) for Barking, or the Wenlock charters incorporated in Mildburga's *Testament*. We have therefore to argue the originality and continuity of the Leominster estates in other ways.

A further argument for the antiquity of the great manor of Leominster lies in its compact character. Apart from Marcle and Stanford in east Herefordshire and Farlow in south-east Shropshire, the Leominster estates formed a remarkably cohesive unit (Map 2). The manor occupied most of the lowland basin of north Herefordshire, except for a segment to the west represented today by the parishes of Kingsland, Monkland, Eardisland and Pembridge. It thus occupied a well-defined physiographic region, enclosed by hill country rising from 400 to 600 or more feet and drained by the Lugg, the Arrow and their tributaries. To the north-west are the limestone uplands of Leinthall Common, Mere, Shobdon and Wapley Hills, but Aymestrey and the vale of Wigmore beyond also belonged to Leominster. To the south, before one reaches Wormesley Hill, the land around Weobley and Birley was in other hands, but on Dinmore Hill, Leominster and the great royal manor of Marden met. It was not high land alone that provided a natural boundary for the minster estates. Evidence of extensive assarting in Domesday Book and the Leominster cartulary shows that this hill country was heavily wooded in the 11th and 12th centuries. Much of the area yet retains its woodlands except to the east. There, on the Dittonian sandstone uplands, the Leominster estates marched with those of the bishop centred on Bromyard. Even so, north and south of Ashton, the scarp is still marked by woodland. Here, in the east, a tongue of Leominster territory intruded by way of Fencote and Butterley to Edwyn Ralph.

All these lands formed the patrimony of Leominster. Only in the west does the compact character become confused. Here such enclaves as Wapley, Luntley, Dilwyn and Sarnesfield suggest disintegration of the original endowment. This is much as we should expect, for the temptation to place lands in the firm hands of trusted laymen was strongest in the area most vulnerable to Welsh attack.

Similar agglomeration can be seen in the bishop's estates about Ledbury and Bromyard and the explanation is apparently the same. Traditions of the endowment of



MAP 3

Leominster District, 1831: Drainage and Boundaries. The Herneys boundaries superimposed.

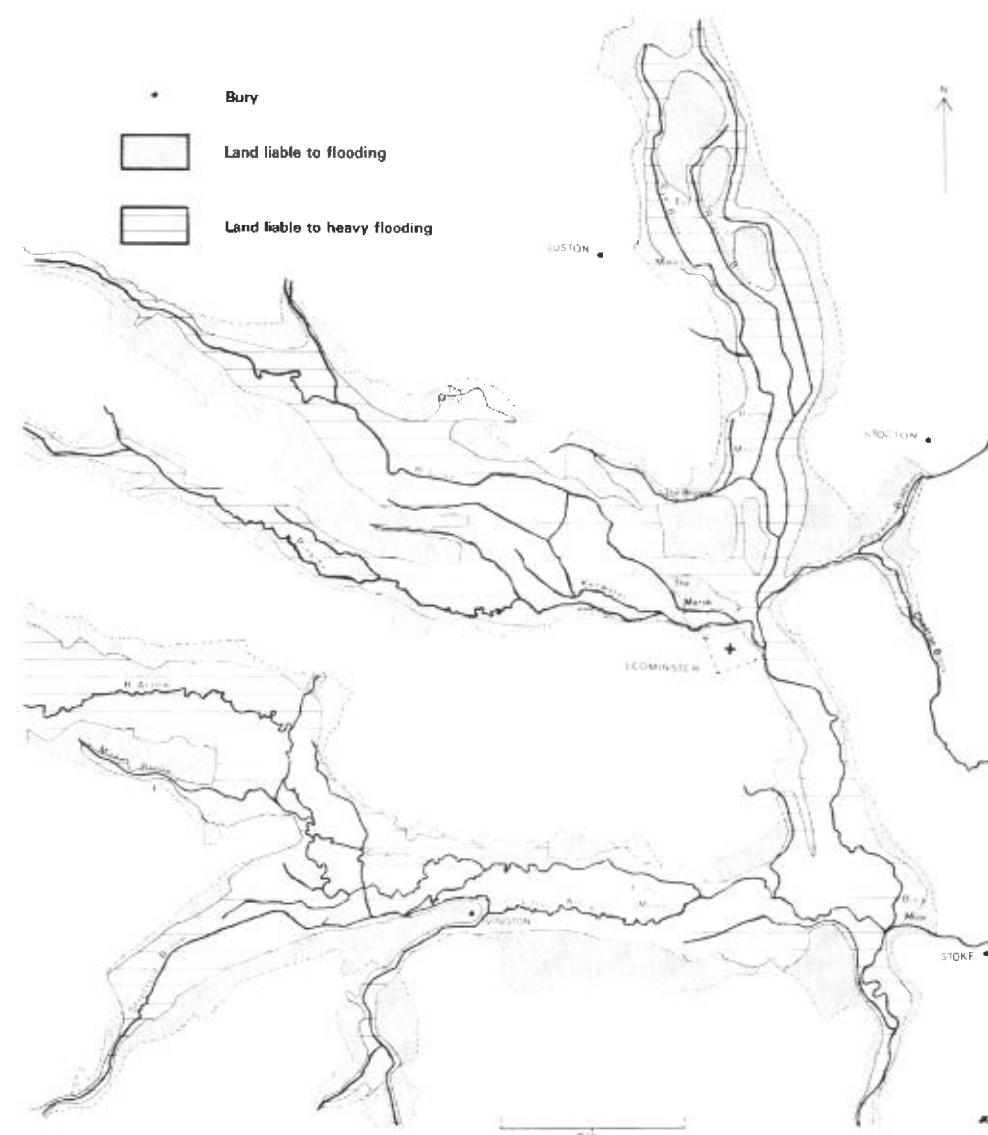
the see with lands in the Malverns by Merewalh's son, Mildfrith, were still strong in the first half of the 12th century and there is no good reason to dispute them.¹⁵⁶ Later endowments, such as those made by the sisters, Wulviva and Godiva, at Woolhope, Preston-on-Wye, (Canon) Pyon and Norton (Canon), were piecemeal.¹⁵⁷ If the tradition about the origin of these episcopal estates is correct, then it enhances considerably the statement in the *Life* of Mildburga, that Leominster's lands were the gift of Merewalh, for once the ecclesiastical centre of the principality had been established at Hereford one can see no justification for such a wide-ranging grant to Leominster.

The Fourfold Division: Ministerium and Herneys

After the Conquest the remaining Leominster estates were retained in royal hands until Henry I refounded the monastery as a cell of Reading Abbey in 1121. The earliest records of the priory's demesne lands, in the Leominster Cartulary, show that they were being administered in four distinct units for which the Norman-French word *ministerium*, meaning bailiwick, was used. In 1127 Hugh, first abbot of Reading, granted a certain Ailward 'one hide of land in (Miles) Hope which is in the *ministerium* of Stockton, another in Lucton which is within the *ministerium* of Luston' and ten acres 'within the *ministerium* of Leominster (Ivington).' For these lands Ailward 'made full service as a radknight,' that is one who rode on escort duty and with messages, and paid a rent of 10s. a year at the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June) the patron saints of minster and priory.¹⁵⁸ This is our first evidence of the division of the manor into four sub-manors: Ivington, which included Hope-under-Dinmore, in the south-west; Luston in the north-west; Stockton in the north-east; and Stoke (Prior), not referred to in abbot Hugh's charter, in the south-east.

Although this subdivision of the manor acknowledged the central position of the priory, in reality it was based on the drainage system, for hills and woods were not the only geographical features affecting settlement (Map 3). The lowland area was dominated by the Lugg, Arrow, Little Arrow, Pinsley and Eye Brooks and their tributaries, such as the Cheaton and eastern and western Stretford Brooks. This is the basis of the settlement pattern. Close to the Welsh hills, the lands through which the rivers passed were liable to sudden and extensive flooding. On such occasions the land of Lene earned its name, the district of the streams, for then the floods divided it into numerous tongues of land projecting towards the centre.

In this way each of the four sub-manors was cut off from its neighbour by waterways and marshlands, impeding movement but providing rich meadows (Map 4): the Eye Brook formed the boundary between Luston and Stockton; the Stretford and Cheaton Brooks between Stockton and Stoke (Prior); the Lugg between Stoke and Ivington. Between Ivington and Luston was the wedge of the alien lands of Monkland, Eardisland and Kingsland. Luston was defined on the south by the Lugg but Ivington's northern boundary was more complex. It followed the Pinsley east past Cholstrey as far as the bridge at Kingsland; there it turned due south and, near Stagbatch, joined the Arrow, continuing past Monkland to the other, western, Stretford Brook.



MAP 4

Leominster District: Lands Liable to Flood

This map is based upon the river Wye Catchment Board and Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food 6 in. flood-level maps. These have been compiled from flood data collected since the 1920s. These are currently at the Monmouth offices of the Welsh Water Authority. Note the construction of the Shrewsbury-Hereford Railway and the more recent cutting of the Main Drain have materially affected the flood level in certain places.

By the time of the fifth abbot, Roger (1158-65), the Latin term *ministerium* had been abandoned. The scribe now used the vernacular expression, *herness*, *hernes* or *herneys*. The Lay Subsidy of 1334 names the four *herneys*, calling them Leominster *Intrinsecus*.¹⁵⁹ The other lands are the foreign. When comprehensive estate records become available in the 14th century they show that the manor of Leominster was still being administered as the four *herneys* of Luston, Ivington, Stockton and Stoke.¹⁶⁰ The term comes from the Old English *heran*, to hear or obey. *Herneys* thus means 'obedience, a jurisdiction, a district obedient to a single jurisdiction.'¹⁶¹ It was used in at least three other places locally. In 1155 when Bromfield Priory in southern Shropshire became a cell of St. Peter's, Gloucester, its possessions were described as Bromfield *hernesse*.¹⁶² In 1535, as a consequence of the Act of Union, the small marcher lordships of *Logharneys* and Wigmore were 'annexed and joined' to the county of Hereford, where they were to be 'taken, named and known by the name of the hundred of Wigmore.' Called *Loggarnes* in 1367, the lordship included Titley, Cascob, Wapley, Rodd and Combe in 1400.¹⁶³ In the south of the county one of the four 'liberties' or divisions of the hundred of Wormelow was known as New Harness as late as 1722.¹⁶⁴

The most celebrated use of the term comes from Gloucestershire where Berkeley Harness appears frequently in documents between 1121, when it is described as *Beorclea hyrnesse*, and 1596, by which time it has become *Berkeley Horne*.¹⁶⁵ The similarities between Berkeley and Leominster in the pre-Conquest era are striking. The first reference to Berkeley is in 777 when its abbot, Tilhere, became the seventh bishop of Worcester. In 802 the house was ruled by an abbess, Ceolburga, who was succeeded by Cynethritha, daughter of king Kenwulf. In the 1040s, like Leominster, Berkeley was dissolved and its lands, some 144½ hides, were seized by the Godwin family. This we know because the Domesday clerk, in a propaganda aside, explains that Harold's wife, Gytha, refused to eat anything from that manor 'on account of its destruction.'¹⁶⁶ However at Berkeley the term *herness* was applied to the whole lordship, whilst at Leominster it was used to describe the four sub-divisions.

Horace Round believed a five-hide unit to be the basis of the ancient system of assessment and 'fairly well illustrated' in Herefordshire, citing Kingsland, Eardisland, Pencombe and Cowarne, all fifteen-hide manors, as examples.¹⁶⁷ Such a unit has been associated with early Anglo-Saxon settlement. However, just as strong a case could be made for an alternative four-hide unit. The important royal manors of Lugwardine (4), later regarded with Marden as ancient demesne, Kingstone (4) and the church of Hereford's manors at Woolhope (16), Easton Bishop (8), Withington (8), Moreton Jeffreys (4) and many others, all exemplify the latter unit. This may represent what Professor G. R. J. Jones has described as the superimposition of a typical English pattern of rural settlement on an earlier deeply-rooted Welsh pattern.¹⁶⁸

Despite the rapid disintegration of the minster estates which had taken place between 1066 and 1086, the Domesday survey still provides evidence of a basic four-hide unit amongst the outlying Leominster lands. Queen Edith's detached manors of Leinthall, Shobdon and Orleton all conform to this pattern (Table 2.2.3), as did the two Dilwyns and Urse d'Abitot's contiguous holdings at Edwyn Ralph and Butterley, whilst Ralph de

Mortimer's Leinthall lands formed a double unit (Tables 2.1.2 & 2.2.1). How did such an arrangement fit in with the original eighty-hide assessment of the demesne lands in 1066? The answer probably was four twenty-hide *herneys*, but that later each of the *herneys* was composed of four units of four hides whilst Leominster, the central place, carried a similar assessment as what would now be regarded as a home farm. Such a five-fold division is to be seen in the records of pope Nicholas' taxation of 1291 (Table 3).¹⁶⁹ In the late medieval period the home farm was called the Grange and by 1327 it had an agricultural establishment similar to those of Ivington, Luston and Stockton.¹⁷⁰

The administration of each of the four *herneys* of Leominster was based on a *bury*. This word, in its meaning of 'court or manor house, the centre of a soke or jurisdiction,' is of post-Conquest origin, from the home counties north of the Thames.¹⁷¹ It was therefore an introduction into this county from Reading and it is still used to describe farms at Stockton, Luston, Stoke Prior and Ivington. The lower stone storey of the medieval gateway of the *bury* still stands at Ivington. From the priory records we know that the alien term *bury* had replaced the Old English *heall* by the 14th century. However, the assembly of the *herneys* continued to be called the *halmote*, *heall gemot*, the meeting at the hall or chief place of the sub-manor. The *halmote* was the prior's customary court which was concerned with the affairs of his peasants. In Price's time, 1794, it was still held at Stockton, under a tree called the Halimot Tree.¹⁷²

For F. M. Stenton the 'currency of this term in the 12th century is good evidence that what can only be described as a manorial court had been a well-established ... institution before the Conquest' and 'in view of the general drift to the substitution of French for English terms after the Conquest, the preservation of the Old English term is remarkable

Table 3: Leominster Demesne Estates, *Intrinsecus*, in Pope Nicholas' Taxation, 1291

Centre place		Hides	
Leominster			6
<i>Herneys</i>			
1	Ivington	Ivington	3
		Hope	3
			6
2	Luston		3
			3
3	Stockton	Stockton	4
		More	2
			6
4	Stoke	Stoke	3
		Bokland and Fencote	3
			6

testimony to the strength of the Old English traditions underlying the institution.¹⁷³ The four Leominster *herneys* with their *halmotes* were probably part of the administrative network of the pre-Conquest period.

The persistence of servile tenure indicates the conservative character of the administration of the priory estates in the late middle ages. In 1431/2 the ratio of bondsmen to free was 14:10 at Stockton, 16:18 at Luston and 8:4 at Ivington.¹⁷⁴ As late as 1538 Thomas Cromwell's agent reported that 'there are many bondsmen belonging to the lordship ... it is a royal rich country' and this despite the fact that the abbot had 'made the chief and richest of the bondsmen ... free and taken the profits to himself.'¹⁷⁵ The retention of the term 'herneys' was therefore but part of a profoundly conservative tradition on the Leominster lands. What is remarkable is that three of these administrative units should have survived intact into recent times.

At the Dissolution the *herneys* of Luston was detached from what was then called 'the Lordship of Leominster alias Leominster Ore.'¹⁷⁶ In 1572 it was granted to Sir James Croft who had been restored to royal favour after a decade of disgrace.¹⁷⁷ His family had held the manor of Yarpole since 1361; with the grant of Deerfold Forest and of priory lands in Kingsland they were able to round off their holdings in the north-west of the county. The three other *herneys* were retained in royal hands until 1620 when the duke of Buckingham obtained the lease. In 1692 these three were purchased by earl Coningsby and incorporated into his Hampton Court estate. However, the court books show that the three *herneys* continued to be administered through their ancient *halmotes* or courts baron until 1851—when records terminate.¹⁷⁸ Thus as late as the mid-19th century institutions apparently fashioned for the Saxon minster served new masters.

The Origins of the Herneys

Eighty years ago F. W. Maitland suggested that the great Domesday manor of Leominster, with its 'neat symmetrical arrangement—80 hides, 16 members, 8 reeves, 8 radknights, 16 beadles—very probably had a Welsh (British) basis.'¹⁷⁹ The symmetry was greater than he thought, for there were in fact not 16 but 8 beadles and also 8 mills in the time of Edward the Confessor. More recently Jones has drawn attention to the Book of Iorwerth as one model of territorial organisation which can provide a basis for the interpretation of early settlement history. In this 13-century north Welsh source fourfold divisions play a fundamental part, with four holdings giving one vill and four villas making up a 'multiple estate.'¹⁸⁰ The Domesday figures suggest that each of the four Leominster *herneys* had a double administration. This is supported by post-Conquest evidence in that, as late as 1327, the *herneys* of Ivington had two burys—one at Ivington, the other at Hope-under-Dinmore—each with its own bury house, fruit garden, dovecote etc. and a 'family' of overseer, pinder, shepherd and keeper of the oxen.¹⁸¹

The Domesday entry for Leominster is lengthy and complex and there are problems of identification. Analysis is, however, helped by a knowledge of the operation of the manor as described in the 14th-century register and other documents. Behind the apparently haphazard description of the demesne estates, can one descry the traces of its

pre-Conquest administrative framework? All but three of the 16 'members' can be placed in one of the four *herneys*:

<i>Luston</i>	<i>Stockton</i>	<i>Stoke (Prior)</i>	<i>Ivington</i>
Luston	Brimfield	Stoke	Hope (u-Dinmore) ¹⁸²
Yarpole	Ashton (-in-Eye)	Marston (Stannett)	Brierley
Aymestrey	Stockton		Ivington
	(Nun) Upton		Cholstrey

The three remaining 'members', the last in the list, are Leinthall, an eight-hide holding which was in Roger de Mortimer's hands in 1086; Edwyn (Ralph) which with neighbouring Butterley formed in 1086 a four-hide estate for Urse d'Abitot; and Farlow, situated to the north-east of Titterstone Clee in Shropshire. In these cases the three outlying estates may well have had a relationship similar to that between Hope (under-Dinmore), and Ivington, with Leinthall looking to Luston, Edwyn (Ralph) via Marston to Stoke (Prior) and with Stockton attempting to cope with distant Farlow.

Why was Leominster chosen as the site for the minster church? The assumption must be that this was already a major site of royal administration.¹⁸³ Jones has shown that in northern England some of the large estates, multiple estates in his terminology, which had been granted by the kings to the early church had a central place, often giving its name to the whole, through which the various subordinate communities rendered their dues.¹⁸⁴ Evidence from the south-east and elsewhere suggests that many sites chosen for minsters were already regional or district capitals. In Kent most were associated with palaces, centres for the collection of food rents, situated on Roman roads.¹⁸⁵ Other early minster churches were built on or near 4th-century villa sites. Wenlock in Shropshire, Wimborne and Halstock in Dorset, Cheddar in Somerset, and Keynsham in Avon all belong to this category. At Leominster, however, the picture is not so clear. It was certainly not situated on a Roman road and there is as yet no evidence of a royal palace.

The main north-south route linking the legionary fortresses at Caerleon and Chester, by way of Leintwardine and Wroxeter, passed four miles to the west. Today its course is marked for seven and a half miles by the A4110 from Elton's Marsh and the Portway near Burghill to the Stretford Brook just south of Stretford Court. The Old English *straet* comes from the second element of the Latin *via strata*, a paved road. For a further five miles its course is indicated by parish boundaries. The road was thus still an important feature when those parishes were formed, possibly in the 10th or 11th century. Just north of the Pinsley, beyond Street Wood and Street Court, its course is followed by a minor road as far as Mortimer's Cross, where it is rejoined by the A4110. To the east of Leominster was the minor road from Ariconium through Stretford and Stockton to Ashton, but its ultimate destination is unknown.¹⁸⁶ Roman structures have been found at Blackwardine and at Stonechesterfield, Stretfordbury Farm, and Stockton Cross but it is perhaps significant that nowhere north of Withington was the line of this road subsequently perpetuated by parish boundaries. The only Roman pottery recorded at Leominster is a Samian bowl of form 37, discovered during sewage trenching at the gas works in 1962.¹⁸⁷

In an earlier paper on the pattern of settlement on the Welsh border, Jones put forward the thesis, developed in more detail later, that almost everywhere along the border a striking continuity could be demonstrated in the administrative arrangements of settlements between prehistoric and medieval times; a continuity which appeared to be more closely associated with the Iron Age hill fort than with the relatively few Roman villas to be found on the Welsh marshes. 'Nowhere perhaps,' he said, 'is this more striking than at the hill fort of Ivington near Leominster, in Herefordshire.'¹⁸⁸ A similar relationship has been posited for other early towns, for example in Wiltshire between Warminster and Battlesbury, Malmesbury and Brokenborough, Bradford-on-Avon and Budbury, and Amesbury and Vespasian's Camp.¹⁸⁹

The fourfold division described above does not invalidate but elaborates Jones' theory, for each *herneys* had a major multivallate hill fort situated on its segment of the upland periphery: Croft Ambrey (38 acres) in Luston; the Bache (10.5 acres) in Stockton; Risbury (28 acres) in Stoke Prior; and Ivington (48 acres), already mentioned. If the hill forts were the predecessors of the burys as estate centres, the major question remains, how and when were the four territorial units brought together? How long had Leominster existed as a 'gigantic manor' prior to its gift by Merewalh to Edfrith as the endowment of his minster?

4 ST. DAVID: RHIGYFARCH'S LIFE

A Second Foundation Legend?

Not only administrative structures and settlement patterns take us back beyond the time of Merewalh and the arrival of the pagan English in the lands across the Severn. A second and quite different tradition about Leominster's origins relates to the dimly-lit Welsh, partly Christian past of the district. It is found in the *Life* of St. David, written about 1090 by Rhigyfarch 'the Wise,' son of bishop Sulien of St. David's. The earliest surviving text of this *Life* is BL Vespasian AXIV of about 1200. This is 'probably not an exact copy' of the original. The earliest Welsh text is in the Book of the Anchorite of Llandewibrefi, Jesus College, MS 119 of 1346. Rhigyfarch recounts how David 'founded in all 12 monasteries. First he reached Glastonbury and built a church; next Bath, and here rendering the death-dealing water health-giving by blessing it, he endowed it with a never-failing heat ... Afterwards came *Croulan* (traditionally translated as Crowland in East Anglia) and Repton, Colva and Glascwm; from this place he founded the monastery of *Llanllieni* (Leominster) and next Raglan in the region of Gwent, afterwards the monastery of *Llangyfalach*' (in Glamorgan).¹⁹⁰

Almost all writers have rejected these claims out of hand as far too ambitious a programme, even for one of the greatest of the wandering saints of the Celtic church.¹⁹¹ However, long-ranging evangelising missions were a characteristic of the Welsh Church. The *Life* of St. Samson, who became bishop of Dol and died c.565, shows that Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and ultimately Brittany were evangelised by such missions.¹⁹² A range of evidence suggests that, in relation to Leominster, this passage in the *Life* deserves careful scrutiny. Although Rhigyfarch wrote 500 years after the events he describes, he carefully explains that he used 'the oldest manuscripts of our country and chiefly his (David's) own

monastery. These, though eaten away along the edges and backs by the continuous gnawing of worms and the ravages of the passing years ... are, as the bee sucks delicately with its mouth in a flower-filled garden rich in plants, gathered together and collected by me ... that they shall not perish.'¹⁹³ The records of St. David's went back a long way: annals were kept there in the late 8th century and have entries looking back even further. Thus they record that in 645 'the monastery of David was burnt down.' Furthermore, the 8th-century annalist was conversant with our own county, for he relates that in 760 'there was war between the Britons and Saxons when battle took place at Hirford (Hereford).'¹⁹⁴

By the 11th century both Leominster and Glastonbury had strong links with St. David's. Each claimed relics of the saint and each venerated his feast on 1 March.¹⁹⁵ Of the twenty extant English *Kalendars* of saints' festivals produced before 1100, only three have an entry for St. David—Leominster, Glastonbury and Sherborne. This has been explained by the fact that in 884 king Alfred invited the Welshman Asser, then bishop of St. David's, to become bishop of Sherborne;¹⁹⁶ that Asser introduced the cult of St. David to Sherborne whence it spread by way of Glastonbury to Leominster.¹⁹⁷ However at Glastonbury there was a tradition, recorded by William of Malmesbury, that 'David came thither, with seven bishops, of whom he was the chief, in order to dedicate (the second church).' This must have been based on oral tradition, for William did not know of Rhigyfarch's *Life*.¹⁹⁸ Whatever the truth as to the origin of St. David's cult at Leominster, it continued to be observed with such reverence that soon after refoundation in 1123 some of David's relics were transferred to the mother house at Reading. His feast on 1 March was celebrated as one of the principal festivals of the priory's calendar throughout the middle ages and in the late 12th century copies of St. David's *Life* were to be found in the libraries of both Leominster and Reading.¹⁹⁹

The Sphere of Influence of the Church of St. David

Prior to the arrival of the English west of the Malverns in the 7th century, the lands south of the Wye were an active centre of the Welsh church, associated especially with St. Dubricius (*Dyfrig*) who died about 550. There is no doubt about the continuity of Christian worship in this area from late Roman times. Evidence for this comes from charters, the earliest 'probably made in the second quarter of the 6th century,' incorporated in the *Book of Llandaff*. This was compiled c.1125-50, in part to vindicate the spiritual authority of the see in the lands south of the Wye which were not fully assimilated into England, and the diocese of Hereford, until after the Norman Conquest.²⁰⁰ Much of this district remained Welsh-speaking until modern times and, apart from the area to the north of the Dore and Worm, its place-names are still predominantly Welsh.²⁰¹

North of the Wye Llandaff made no such claims and we have no comparable material for the early history of the area. The reason is simple. By 693 an English diocese had been established at Hereford. It was subject to Canterbury and had jurisdiction of all the lands of the Western Hecani, that is from the Wye in the south to the Severn in the north. In consequence, all evidence of a Welsh Christian past has been lost. One cannot, therefore, argue from the absence of written evidence that the religious history of north Herefordshire was markedly different from that of the south in the period between the collapse of

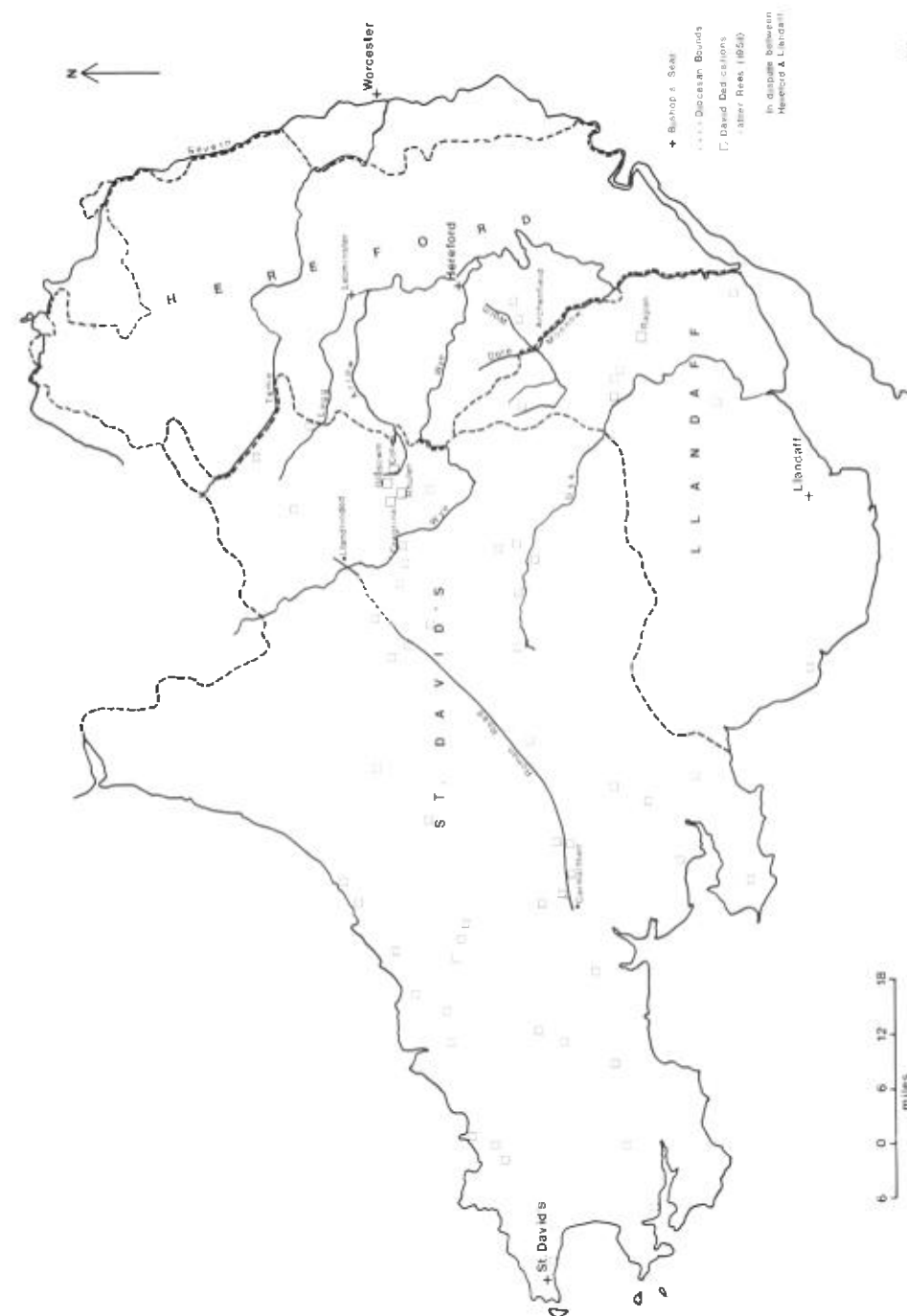
Roman authority at the end of the 4th century and the foundation of the diocese in the 690s.

St. David's, we are told, 'was already famous in the 9th century and its saints had a widespread cult even before that date.'²⁰² Fragments of evidence remain which point to the impact in those years of the church of St. David in Herefordshire, to the south as well as to the north of the Wye. The ancient dedications of churches show the influence of St. David's, extending north and east along the Roman road to Llandovery and then beyond; it is widespread in Radnorshire, where it extends to the boundaries of Herefordshire on the upper reaches of the Wye, Arrow and Lugg. To the present day the bounds of the diocese of St. David's meet those of Hereford where Offa's Dyke marks off Radnorshire from Herefordshire (Map 5).²⁰³

Amongst the churches of Powys dedicated to St. David are Glasgwm and Colva. They stand on an important trackway leading from the heart of Wales to central Herefordshire. Three miles apart, they were founded on either side of the watershed between the English and Welsh river systems. *Colva* church is reputedly the highest in Wales; the road between Colva and Glasgwm rises to 1,289 feet. At Glasgwm was kept the 'portable bell called Bangu ... said to have belonged to St. David himself' which Rhigyfarch tells us was 'distinguished for its miracles.' Such was its virtue that, when it was seized by soldiers at Rhayader Castle, 'the whole town, except the wall on which the bell hung, was consumed by fire.'²⁰⁴ A handbell of similar type, found at Marden, is in Hereford City Museum. The large manor of Glasgwm belonged to St. David's until the Church of Wales was disestablished in 1920. Two miles to the west of Glasgwm, and in that manor, lies the church of Cregrina.²⁰⁵ Two miles to the south is the church of Rhulen. Both are dedicated to St. David and Rhulen, rather than Crowland, could be the *Croulan* that appears in the earliest text of the *Life* of St. David. The antiquity of all four is evident from the stone-banked enclosures which surround their churchyards: round at Glasgwm, Rhulen and Cregrina; rectangular at Colva. All these churches were dependent on St. David's. As Leominster lies only some twenty miles away, Rhigyfarch's statement about its origins assumes a new significance.

This part of central Wales was within the catchment area of Leominster's markets and fairs throughout the middle ages. The Leominster fair records of 1556 show that this was still the case in the 16th century. Indeed large herds of black cattle continued to be brought to Leominster fair from south Cardiganshire and Carmarthen until the coming of the railway in the second half of the 19th century. Cregrina, where cattle were reshod with irons known as 'cues,' Glasgwm and Colva were all important stopping places on the drovers' routes.²⁰⁶

Hints of St. David can be found south of the Wye. At Llanveynoe there are two memorial stones of the 9th-10th century. One was dug up just outside the churchyard about 1899. It has a deep-cut Latin cross inscribed with monograms: '(The cross of) Alpha (and) Omega. Jesus Christ.' The only other examples of this type are found close to St. David's.²⁰⁷ More problematic, for the dedications may refer to another David, Much Dewchurch (David's church) seems to have been the mother of a cluster of adjacent parishes, Little Dewchurch, Dewsall (David's well) and Kilpeck.²⁰⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis



MAP 5
St. David's and the land North of the Wye.

tells us that 'in the deep vale of Ewyas, about an arrow-shot broad, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains ... the humble chapel of David the archbishop had formerly stood, decorated only with moss and ivy.' In 1188 this place was 'still called by the inhabitants *Llanddewi Nant Hodni*,' David's church by the Hodni stream, a name corrupted by the English to Llanthony.²⁰⁹ *Llanddewi Ysgryd*, David's church on the slopes of the Skirrid mountain, lies ten miles south-west.

If Rhigyfarch's statement that David founded the monastery of *Llanllieni* is accepted, there was a Christian community at Leominster well before the arrival of Edfrith in 660. 'Found' can be taken literally, but most probably it should be interpreted in a more general sense, that Leominster was a church which acknowledged the authority or was within the patrimony of St. David and that at its heart was the *llan* or enclosure where life was conducted according to the austere rules of David *Aquaticus*. These prohibited the use of animals in farming, the consumption of either meat or alcohol and the ownership of land. Its spiritual exercises emphasise the benefits of frequent genuflection and of immersion in cold water.

Nora Chadwick has pointed to the two distinct ideals of the churches of West and South Wales: 'the asceticism of St. David's and the intellectual qualities of Illtud, Samson and Gildas ... The more intellectual saints of South Wales (Dyfed and Cardigan) have their early traditional contacts chiefly with North Brittany; the more austere and spiritual saints of West Wales (Morgannwg and Gwent) with Ireland.'²¹⁰ Rhigyfarch's *Life* may well have been a propaganda weapon in the 'great historical struggle' for the archiepiscopacy of the whole of Wales and Llanbadarn Fawr may well have been as important a seat of learning as St. David's in early times. From our point of view what is significant is that such evidence as there is suggests that Leominster and its tributary area north of the Wye had been within the cultural ambit of the ascetic traditions of West Wales whilst Herefordshire to the south of the Wye lay within that of the more intellectual traditions of South (East) Wales.

The probability that the 7th century witnessed the re-establishment of Christianity in areas of Anglo-Saxon England such as Northumbria and Wessex, has already been recognised. Indeed it has been accepted as not unlikely that British religious houses were absorbed into the west Saxon church.²¹¹ Glastonbury is but one example. It is just as likely that the same process took place in the lands north of the Wye, for Christianity had been firmly established south of the river for many centuries.

An Earlier Political Configuration?

Minor kingdoms were a characteristic of south-east Wales in the 6th and early 7th century. Two are mentioned by Rhigyfarch in the *Life* when he tells us that David, after founding the monastery at Leominster, travelled south to *Ergyng* (Archenfield), where he 'cured *Peibio*, the king, by restoring the sight of his eyes.' He then crossed the Monnow into the kingdom of Gwent where he founded a monastery at Raglan.²¹² This must have taken place about 575-585, the regnal dates suggested for *Peibio*.²¹³ If the St. David's tradition is accepted, it takes the history of Leominster back almost a century, to that sub-Roman period when the land about the Lugg and Arrow belonged to a Celtic-speaking

people, at least partly Christian. It further suggests that the 'district of the streams,' the 'land of Lene,' referred to in Leominster's Welsh place-name *Llanllieni*, was at the heart of a northern counterpart to the well-documented kingdom of Archenfield, between Monnow and Wye.

To the north, Welsh poetry of the 9th century indicates a lost, Celtic dynasty of the early 7th century. In the *Canu Heledd* the poet laments the fate of Cynddylan and his family, once dominant in Shropshire about the Severn, the Wrekin and the Tern, Tren of the poem, and the former ally of the Mercians at the battle of Maserfeld in 642:

'My brothers were slain at one stroke,
Cynan, Cynddylan, Cynwraith,
Defending Tren, ravaged town ...
White town between Tren and Trafal,
More common was blood on the field's face
Than ploughing of fallow ...
The hall of Cynddylan, dark is the roof,
Since the Saxon cut down
Powys's Cynndylan and Elfan ...
It's not Ffreuer's death I mourn for tonight
But myself, sick and feeble,
My brothers and my land I lament ...
Heledd the hawk I am called.
O God! to whom are given
My brothers' steeds and their lands?'²¹⁴

These lands became the home of the *Wreocensaetan*. Was there, further south, a ruling family of Lene, with its sphere of influence bounded on the north by the Severn and on the south by the Wye? Did it succeed where Cynddylan failed—by accommodation with the rising power of Mercia, and acceptance of a state of dependency—and did its Celtic peoples ultimately become, through assimilation rather than conquest, the *Magonsaetan*?²¹⁵

5 A SACRED ENCLOSURE: THE MINSTER PRECINCT

The Vallum Monasterii

The most distinctive feature of Leominster's ground plan, although now sadly eroded, is the way in which the minster church has been marked off from the secular world beyond by a clearly defined precinct. To the north the Kenwater and to the east the Lugg provide a natural boundary. The eastern section of the Pinsley can with fair certainty be regarded as a work of the early 12th century, to provide fresh water and drainage facilities for the priory buildings then under construction. But to the west and south there is a great earthen bank. Together the watercourses and bank form an enclosure, trapezoidal in shape, some 1,200 feet from east to west and 1,100 from north to south, giving an area of approximately 150,000 square yards.

As early as 1808 this striking feature had aroused the curiosity of the Rev. Jonathan Williams. In his *Historical & Topographical View of the Ancient and Present State of Leominster* he drew attention to the fact that even then 'only a part of the southern side

remains now in a state of perfection, the other sides having been levelled ... partly for the formation of private gardens and the foundations of houses and partly for dividing the course of the Pinsley.' As to its origins, he believed that 'its vallum and fossa, its square figure, its rectilinear sides, its elevated praetorian station' were 'strong indications of Roman art and construction.' This is clearly not the case, but the bank and ditch certainly antedate the first stages in the building of the borough to the west which took place almost immediately after the foundation of the priory in 1123. Such a bank and ditch is not characteristic of Benedictine precinct planning at this time²¹⁶ and it is highly improbable that the small band of Reading monks, when they came to Leominster in the 1120s to establish the priory, would have embarked on so laborious a task. No such earthworks protected Reading Abbey from the already important borough at its gates. Why, then, undertake such an unusual and expensive project at Leominster?

From the earliest times the Celtic church had marked off its sacred enclosures from the profane world beyond by a bank and ditch. In the Saints' *Lives* there is repeated reference to the *vallum monasterii*. The ideal enclosure, we are told, was circular but 'an ideal rarely attained on the ground.'²¹⁷ This was an inheritance from a pagan past, stretching back as far as Avebury and Stonehenge. Certainly there was a predilection on the part of the Welsh church for circular enclosures. Some, retaining stone cladding to the banks, can still be seen, as at Eglwys Gymyn, near Carmarthen, Llanmerewig and Meifod, the burial place of the early princes of Powys and 'as old as Christianity in these lands';²¹⁸ even closer, at David's churches of Glascwm (Plan 1), Cregrina and Rhulen. In Galloway excavations in 1984 and 1986 by Peter Hill at Whithorn Priory, the site of Scotland's earliest recorded Christian church, reputedly founded by St. Ninian in the 5th century, revealed evidence of a stout stone-faced wall of curved shape, at least three metres thick, presumed to be the *vallum monasterii* of the Anglian monastery.²¹⁹

Rectangular Enclosures

Nevertheless, rectangular ecclesiastical enclosures are to be found in Wales: Colva (Plan 2) is a good example. Attention has been drawn to the siting of churches within and very near to Roman forts, towns and villas, as at Caerwent and Caergybi, but Charles Thomas has argued that 'the whole concept of the very large, free-standing, near rectangular enclosure is alien to western Britain at this period—the only counterpart would be a Roman legionary marching camp, which can hardly be relevant.'²²⁰ The inspiration, he has suggested, came from the monasteries of the eastern Mediterranean, such as St. Catherine's in the Sinai desert where rectangular walls protect almost fifty acres.

Whatever the case in Wales, Roman military camps with their rectangular enclosures seem to have been adopted enthusiastically as ready-made ecclesiastical precincts by a number of the earliest Celtic missionaries to England. About 630 the Irish monk, Fursey, built his monastery in a Roman camp, 'pleasantly situated close to the woods and sea,' at Burgh Castle in Suffolk, a site which he had been given by the East-Anglian king, Sigeberht. Soon after 653 Cedd, the Irish-trained monk from Lindisfarne, was given a site in another fort of the Saxon shore, further south at Bradwell in Essex where he established himself as bishop of the East Saxons.²²¹ St. Mary's at Reculver in Kent was similarly



PLAN 1
St. David's Church with Circular Churchyard, Glascwm (1st ed., 25 in. O.S.).

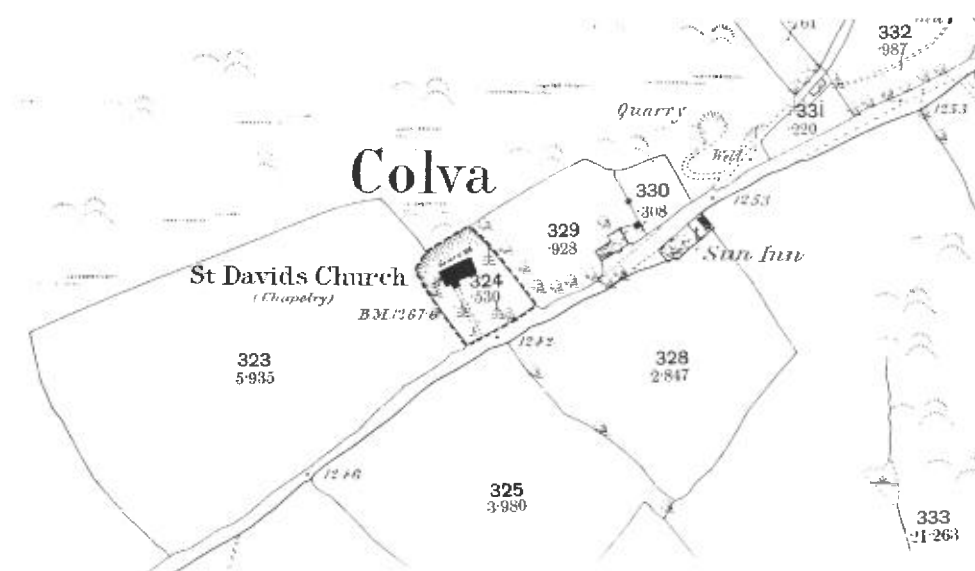


Table 4: Rectangular Precincts: Dimensions (Approximate)

	feet	
Clonmacnoise	1,200 x 1,200 +	
Iona	1,200 x 1,000	
Glastonbury 1	984 x 984	(least favoured)
2	984 x 1,180	
3	1,047 x 1,180	
Leominster	1,200 x 1,100	

ously 'off-set' in relation to the other. The present minster church would occupy a site between the two and astride what appears to be an axial routeway 'where, during the last century, a tessellated pavement was unearthed.'²²⁶ The suggestion of coupled rectangular enclosures at Wimborne (Plan 4) is particularly interesting as we know from literary sources, Rudolf of Fulda's *Life of Leoba*, that 'in olden times the kings of that nation had built two monasteries in the one place, one for men, the other for women, both surrounded by strong and lofty walls ... From the beginning the rule firmly laid down for both was that no entrance should be allowed to a person of the other sex.'²²⁷ At Leominster the remains of a secondary embankment can be seen running first east and then north-east behind the properties within the precinct on the south side of Church Street. It has been emphasised by the creation of the cricket ground, of which it now forms the northern boundary, but one is bound to pose the question whether this may represent part of a later division of the precinct, either between monks and nuns or between nuns and minster-priests.

The Island Site

Island sites were dear to the heart of the monks of the early Irish church. Skellig Michael off the coast of Co. Kerry is the most striking example but Columba at Iona in Scotland and Aidan at Lindisfarne, Holy Island, in Northumbria followed the example of those that went before. Such islands were not always sea-girt. Clonmacnoise had the Shannon on one side and marshland on the other. At Glastonbury, the 'royal island,' it would be difficult to determine where sea ended and marsh began. More locally, of the saints mentioned in a Leominster litany St. Cynidr had an island hermitage in the Wye near Bretforton, whilst St. Triac gave his name to the tiny island still to be seen off Beachley Point (see Section 12). The Celtic tradition continued to command respect in Anglo-Saxon England until the end of the 7th century. Guthlac's hermitage at Crowland could be reached only by boat. Ethelburga also chose a place in the Fens which is still



PLAN 4
Wimborne: Coupled Rectangular Enclosures (1st ed., 25 in. O.S.).

called the Isle of Ely. Less intimidating perhaps, but nevertheless island sites, on Thanet and Sheppey, were adopted by Merewalh's wife, Eafe, and her aunt, Sexburga, for their double houses. The minster at Barking must have been similarly situated.

Leominster, although in no way so spectacular, had a similar island site. At the time of Edfrith's arrival it was surrounded on all sides by water and marsh; only a narrow neck of flood-free land, at Cholestrey, connected it to the world beyond. Even today the impact of the drainage pattern on Leominster's immediate neighbourhood is starkly illustrated by the Ordnance Survey Agricultural Land classification map where liability to flooding is an important factor in the five-fold grading of land. The town is surrounded by yellow-coloured fingers of grade 4 land, standing in marked contrast to the predominant blue, grade 2 land of the rest of the lowland area—except at Cholestrey. The problems of communication were eventually overcome by bridge-building, an activity in which the church played the major role. By the end of the middle ages the town was served by ten bridges. This we know from a petition by the burgesses to Edward VI, to secure the chantry lands and cottage rents. This they sought to justify on the grounds of the great charge they now had to bear for the maintenance of all ten bridges, a burden in fact borne by the trade guilds or occupations of the borough.²²⁸

The Lugg and Kenwater still provide a natural boundary for the precinct on the north and east, but in the 7th century there were in addition extensive tracts of marsh. These were fed not only by the main river system but also by the Eye Brook from the north, the Cogwell Brook from Kimbolton in the east, and the Stretford and Cheaton Brooks from the south-east. The area immediately across the Kenwater has from the earliest times been called, as it is today, the Marsh. Indeed, the Middle Marsh and the Nether Marsh were two of the six wards of the medieval and later borough. Beyond lay the Broad, a term originally meaning 'lake' or 'expanse of water,' but the wetlands extended much further north. The ancient church at Eye was built on a virtual island just above the 50 ft. contour between two arms of the Eye Brook and a mile beyond is Marsh Hall, between Ashton and Orleton, 'tun, amongst the alders.' To the west fenland extended between Lugg and Pinsley as far as Cobnash, Holgate and Lugg Green, an area carefully avoided by the Roman road going north to Mortimer's Cross (See Map 4).

Since the earliest records this land has been described as 'more.' In the north of England the word is used to describe rough highland pasture, but it has another and possibly earlier meaning, 'low-lying marshy area,' a term probably current to the end of the 9th-century.²²⁹ It is found, for example, in Sedgemoor and Wedmore—and moorhen. However when, in parts of Somerset and Herefordshire, these lands were improved the word was retained. It thus came to mean 'a low, flat level of former marshland, reclaimed and drained.'²³⁰

Moreton probably represents the original meaning, but in the priory's 14th-century register there are many examples of 'more' used in the later sense of drained land, including lands south of Leominster, besides the Arrow, Little Arrow and, western, Stretford Brook. At Stockton in 1327 there were eleven acres of pasture in 'the more towards Eyam' which, with the vivary of eleven acres, maintained sixteen cows whilst at Luston fifteen acres of pasture in the More were adequate for forty cows and calves. Ivington

More provided sixty-three acres of pasture, maintaining 'with the help of the fields (after harvest)' 180 sheep, with twelve further acres at Middle More.²³¹ At Ivington by Eaton in 1369 Roger de Nicoleston had an interest in half an acre of meadow in Cromore and in 1397 Thomas de Streete held 'all the pasture called Fynchesmore.' In Bradeforde (Broadward), close to 'the water called Arewe' was Poppesmore.²³²

'Marsh' can be found following the same path as 'more' in the register. In 1372 Richard in le Wych had 'a meadow within the meadow at Courmarsh,' Stockton. In 1378/9 'all the tenants of Eyton' granted John de Wharton 'liberty to erect a house upon the common pasture called Eytonsmersh.' Elsewhere 'marsh' had become arable, as in Longmarshfield, Stagbatch and at Ivington in 1371 there were forty-two selions of arable in Cornmarsh Field.²³³ From the number and range of such references one can appreciate just how extensively these marshlands, which had been such a marked characteristic of the landscape of Lenc at the time of the minster's foundation, had been transformed in the seven centuries prior to the outbreak of the Black Death. They show a comparison, not merely of the shape and size but also of the situation of the monastic enclosure at Leominster to that at Glastonbury to be anything but fanciful.

The Victory of Mammon

Archaeological evidence of an adherence to a rectangular form of burial enclosure in the early Christian period has been found not far from Leominster. At Bromfield, just north of Ludlow, Stanley Stanford has excavated an abandoned squarish farm enclosure, probably of the first century A.D. This was re-used as a graveyard by an Anglo-Saxon community about 700. The east-west orientation of the twenty-three graves and the absence of grave-goods indicate its Christian character. One of the graves may be that of a priest, for he was buried with his head to the east, facing his flock.²³⁴ Was he, one wonders, a priest from the minster at Leominster or from Wenlock?

However, excavations at Much Wenlock by Humphrey Woods between 1981 and 1986 revealed no traces of any enclosure. Indeed, as we have seen, documentary sources indicate that the minster at Wenlock owed its foundation to the monastic traditions of Kent and northern Gaul and had no Celtic predecessor, a conclusion which has received archaeological confirmation, for although Woods found conclusive evidence of the Roman period, he found none relating to the Celtic church.²³⁵

Charles Thomas has suggested that the Welsh *Llan*, as in *Llanllieni*, and the Cornish *lan* originally meant 'flat space, cleared space' and is 'so widely employed, invariably in a religious context, that one can infer a semantic development from 'cleared space' to 'consecrated cleared space' (=unenclosed cemetery), thence to 'sacred enclosure' (enclosed cemetery) and finally 'church and cemetery' or even 'church site' (developed enclosed cemetery).²³⁶ Does this proposed semantic development provide a model for Leominster's enclosure and, if so, were the David and Edfrith episodes merely the final chapters in such a sequence?

Even though it lacks this earlier Celtic phase, Leominster's sister house at Wenlock has been described by Humphrey Woods as 'in the front rank of early Christian sites in

this country.' How extraordinary it is, therefore, that at Leominster much of the sense of enclosure has been allowed to disappear through random development in our own century, much of it at the hands of the District Council, the body charged with its protection. Only to the south of Church Street in the south-western corner by the cricket ground can one yet appreciate the character of the ecclesiastical precinct. A far better impression can be gained from William Gallier's *Plan of Leominster* of 1832 which was drawn to a scale of 25 inches to the mile (Plan 5). This shows the area to the north of Church Street as it would have been in the middle ages, undisturbed except for the fine 18th-century Forbury House. The priory gatehouse collapsed in 1752 but the neighbouring late 13th-century Forbury Chapel, called the Court House on Plan 5, and the Pound remained.

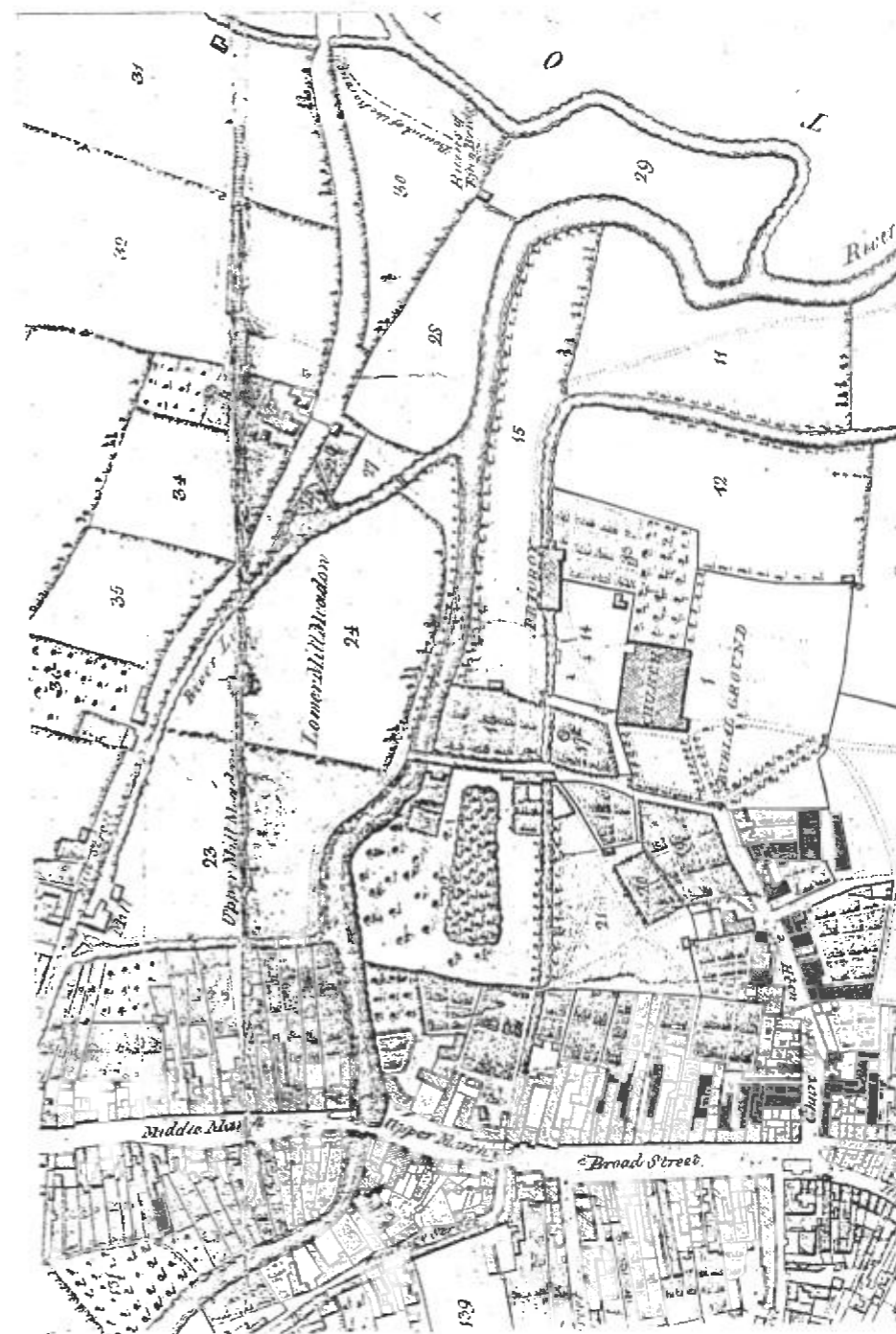
The first major modern encroachment, the National School opened in 1858 in the Almonry Close, appears on the 1:500 or 10.56 feet to one mile Ordnance Survey plans of 1886 and the 1:2,500 of 25 inch plans published in the following year (Plan 6). The fishponds have now gone and the gas works, built in 1836, are ominously close to the precinct but the essential nature of Leominster as a 12th-century planned borough designed to lie snug against but never encroaching upon its nucleus, the 7th-century precinct, can still be appreciated on these plans. Once the gas works broke through its eastern bounds, encroachment proceeded apace. The precinct is unprotected by the Ancient Monuments Act and lies within a 'conservation area' which lacks any meaningful definition of its historic character. Despite the most strenuous representations, the District Planner himself has taken the initiative in driving 'access roads' across the line of the ancient bank and ditch, in pursuit of what are described as conservation goals. What sermon, one wonders, would the Rev. Jonathan Williams or the Rev. George Fyler Townsend have preached on this subject? The Victory of Mammon, no doubt.

6 MOTHER CHURCH AND PAROCHIA: RICHARD DE CAPELLA'S 1123 CHARTER

The Pastoral Role

From the earliest days the church of Leominster had a strong sense of its missionary role. This was part of its Celtic inheritance. The Northumbrian monk-priests were essentially teachers. A passage in Bede's *History* describes their work. Edfrith and his companions would have 'worked to rouse the ordinary folk far and near to change their foolish customs for a love of heavenly joys.' At times of plague, famine, war and other disasters some of their folk would 'abandon the sacraments for the false remedies of idolatry—spells, amulets and other devilish secret arts.' Then the monk-priests would visit the neighbouring villages, 'sometimes on horseback but more frequently on foot. The villagers would gather at their call to hear the Word and to openly confess their wrongdoing and make proper atonement.' No doubt Edfrith, like St. Cuthbert, was prepared 'to visit and preach in villages far distant among high and inaccessible mountains which others feared to visit and whose barbarous squalor daunted other teachers.'²³⁷

With the adoption of Roman ways in the 680s, the Celtic monk-priests would have given way to the *mynster-preosts*, already to be found in Kentish minsters, but the missionary work would have continued, for the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings show how deep-seated some pagan practices remained. Gradually, however, the minster-priests'



PLAN 5
William Gallier's *Plan of Leominster* (1832): detail of precinct.

Table 5: The Leominster *Parochia* from Leominster Priory Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII f59v

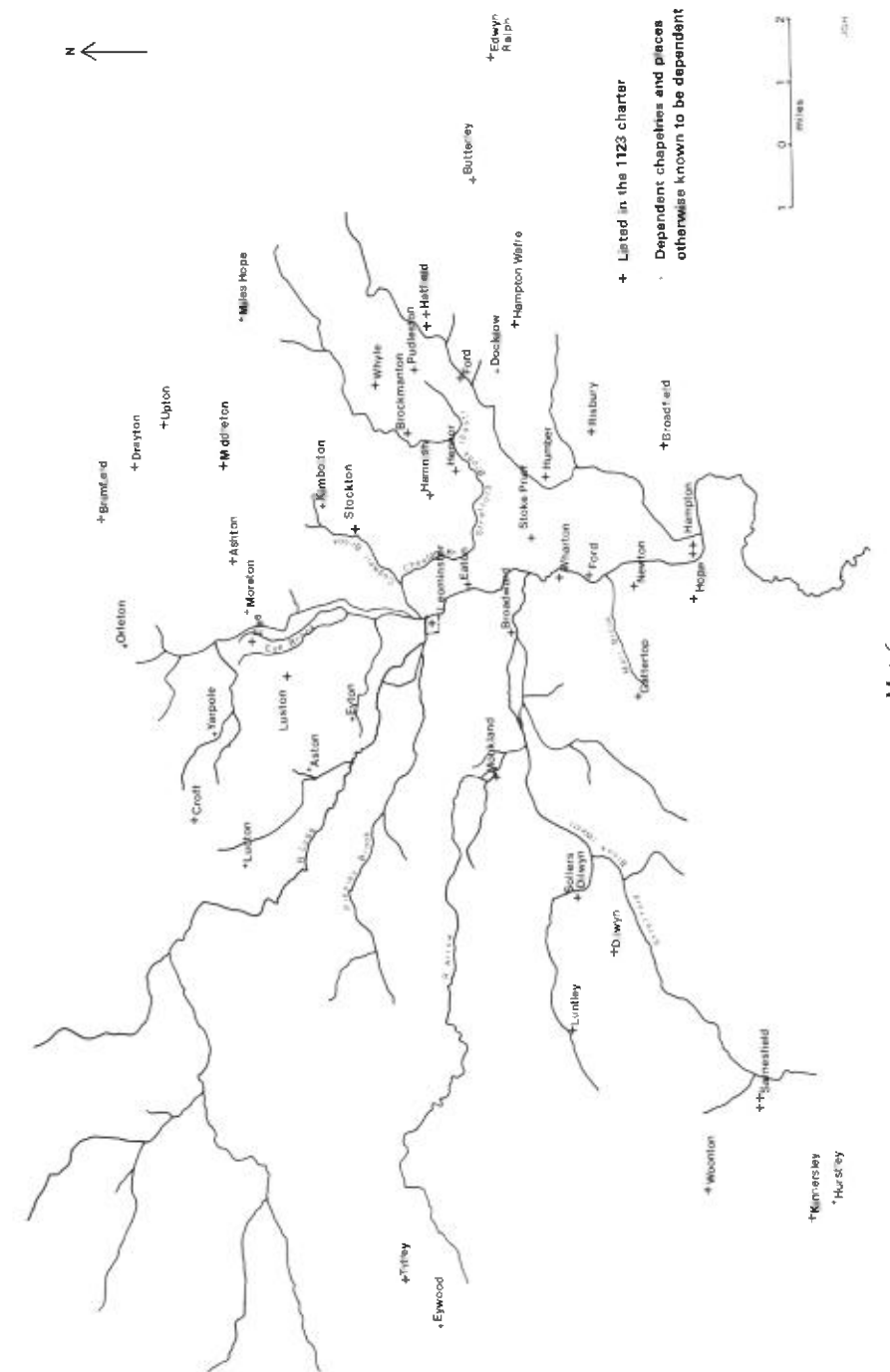
5.1: Places named in 1123 Charter

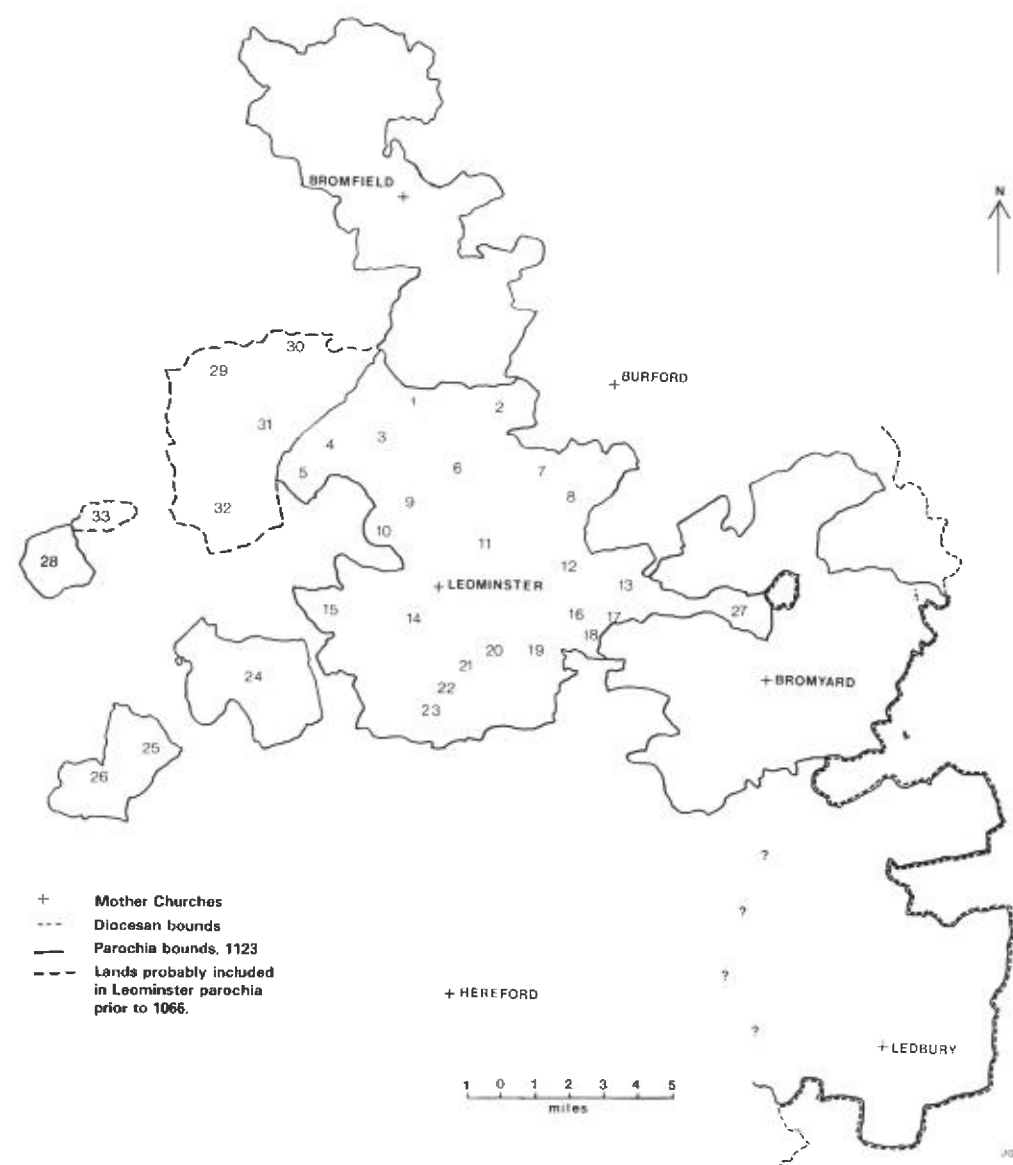
<i>Ach</i> (unidentified)	<i>utraque Hamtuna</i> (both Hamptons)
<i>Bradeford</i> (Broadward)	<i>Forda</i> (Ford)
<i>Leena</i> (Monkland)	<i>Henoura</i> (Hennor)
<i>Diliga prima et secunda</i> (Dilwyn)	<i>Eatuna</i> (Eaton)
<i>Luntelega</i> (Luntley)	<i>Heentuna</i> (Hampton Wafre?)
<i>Kinardeslega</i> (Kinnersley)	<i>Stoctuna</i> (Stocton)
<i>Winnetuna</i> (Woonton)	<i>Essetuna</i> (Ashton-in-Eye)
<i>utraque Sarnesfelda</i> (both Sarnesfields)	<i>Brumesfelda</i> (Brimfield)
<i>Titelega</i> (Titley)	<i>Uptuna</i> (Upton)
<i>Hopa</i> (Hope-under-Dinmore)	<i>Michlatuna</i> (Middleton)
<i>Wavertuna</i> (Wharton)	<i>Dreituna</i> (Drayton)
<i>Niwetuna</i> (Newton)	<i>Hamenesce</i> (Hamnish)
<i>Gatredehopa</i> (Gattertop)	<i>Wihale</i> (Whyle)
<i>Stokes</i> (Stoke Prior)	<i>Putlesduna</i> (Pudleston)
<i>utraque Hethfeld</i> (both Hatfields)	<i>Brocmanetuna</i> (Brockmanton)
<i>Risebiria</i> (Risbury)	<i>Forda</i> (Ford-in-Pudleston)
<i>Humbra</i> (Humber)	<i>Lustuna</i> (Luston)
<i>Gedesfenna</i> (Edvin Ralph)	<i>Eya</i> (Eye)
<i>Buterlega</i> (Butterley)	<i>Croftona</i> (Croft)
<i>Bradesfelda</i> (Broadfield)	

5.2: Places not named in 1123 Charter

Independent chapelries	Others
Orleton	Eywood
Yarpole	Hurstley
Kimbolton	Hope-in-Laysters
Docklow	
Eyton with Lucton	

The charter names thirty-nine places of which all but one, *Ach*, can be identified (Table 5). These places 'ancient and trustworthy men' had vouched for in Capella's presence but, he added, they had 'abstained from giving evidence about many others which of old were part of the *parochia* because they were too antiquated.' No doubt many of these had been detached from their loyalty to Leominster during the troubled times before and immediately after the Norman Conquest. Orleton, Yarpole, Kimbolton,





- 1 Orleton 2 Brimfield 3 Yarpole 4 Croft 5 Lucton 6 Eye (with Moreton & Ashton) 7 Middleton
 8 Laysters 9 Luston 10 Eyton 11 Kimbolton 12 Pudleston 13 Hatfield 14 Leominster 15 Monkland
 16 Docklow 17 New Hampton 18 Hampton Wafre 19 Humber 20 Stoke Prior 21 Ford 22 Newton
 23 Hope 24 Dilwyn 25 Sarnesfield 26 Kinnersley (Hurstley) 27 Edwyn Ralph (with Butterley) 28 Titley
 29 Wigmore 30 Leinthall 31 Aymestrey 32 Shobdon 33 Wapley

Boundaries based on A Bryant's *Herefordshire* (1832-4).

MAP 7

Herefordshire Minsters and Parochia

Docklow and Eyton with Lucton were not listed in the charter, but were dependent chapelries of St. Peter's, Leominster. Eywood, Hurstley and Hope-in-Laysters also formed part of the *parochia*.²⁴⁴ As Map 6 shows, this was still very extensive four and a half centuries after foundation; it included much of north Herefordshire.

From the earliest times payment, *tributa*, was due to the mother church from all who lived within its *parochia*. These obligations were not impaired when thegns founded lesser churches on their own lands. This process, the beginnings of a parochial network, began early in the south-east but more slowly in Herefordshire, as in much of the north and west. Anglo-Saxon law codes indicate the financial obligations due to the 'old minster' or mother church when such lesser churches had been founded. A law of Edgar the Peaceful (959-75) declared that all tithes and every church scot (church due) should be paid 'to the old minster to which obedience is due.' As to lesser churches, if a thegn had a church on his own land then 'he shall pay the third part of his *own* tithes to his church.' If the church had no graveyard then 'he shall pay what he will to his priest out of the tithes.' Such payments to the mother church were considerable.²⁴⁵ With the Danes an ever-present threat, a late Anglo-Saxon law code specified that 'the most scrupulous care shall be taken in the payment of God's dues in order that God Almighty may have mercy upon us and grant us victory over our enemies.' These payments were: plough alms fifteen days after Easter; the tithe of young animals at Pentecost; the tithes of the fruits of the earth at All Hallows; church dues at Martinmas; light dues three times a year—a halfpenny of wax for every hide on Easter eve and as much at the feasts of All Hallows and the Purification of St. Mary.²⁴⁶ As Capella's charter shows, mortuary fees were an important additional source of income for the old minsters, which normally had the only graveyard in the *parochia*.

The 1123 charter must therefore be regarded, not merely as an attempt to reassert the spiritual authority of Leominster after a period of almost eighty years of turmoil, but as the means of securing the considerable revenues from its *parochia* for Henry I's newly-founded abbey at Reading. The charter is important because it enables us to reconstruct the area of the priest minster's spiritual jurisdiction in the late Saxon period. It is a valuable complement to the evidence furnished by Domesday Book as to the extent of the nun minster's estates prior to its dissolution in 1046. A comparison of Maps 2 and 7 emphasises the close relationship between St. Peter's *parochia* and the estates with which it was 'royally endowed.'

In addition to making tithe and other contributions, those living within the *parochia* were obliged, even after the founding of lesser churches, to attend the mother church on the great festivals of its calendar.²⁴⁷ At Leominster these included the feasts of St. Ethelmod, St. David, St. Ethelbert (of Hereford) and St. Edfrith, as well as others celebrated universally within the western church. Thus the Herefordshire minster churches, both the royal minster at Leominster and the lesser bishop's minsters at Bromyard and Ledbury which had but meagre endowments and a small band of priests, came to provide an economic, administrative and judicial as well as religious focus for their localities. They became centres for marketing, the meeting of courts of law and the payment of taxes.²⁴⁸ They were the natural centres from which towns developed when the appropriate economic conditions came to prevail after the Norman Conquest.

7 THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUITY: THE LIST OF SAINTS' RESTING PLACES
AND THE STAUNTON-ON-ARROW CHARTER OF 958

In the late 7th and early 8th centuries Anglo-Saxon monasticism was at the peak of its development at home and of its influence abroad. Yet between c.830 and 880 'all the monasteries of Wessex and South Mercia had either become extinct or had become houses where a number of priests or clerics lived together without any full regular life. Anglo-Saxon monasticism, whether considered as an institution or as a body of tradition with a local habitation, had ceased to exist by the time of Alfred.'²⁴⁹ In support attention has been drawn to the fact that for his new monastery at Athelney Alfred had to bring in monks of other nationalities because 'no noble or freeborn man of his own race would of his own accord undertake the monastic life.'²⁵⁰ This collapse was due as much to spiritual decay, what has been called 'the eviscerating effect of the control of monasteries by local aristocratic families,'²⁵¹ as to the ravages of the Vikings.

However, two qualifications need to be made. Firstly, the cultural collapse which is associated with that of monasticism was not as great in parts of Mercia, those relatively free from Scandinavian attack, as it was in the kingdom of Wessex. In his *Life of Alfred* Asser tells us that when the king embarked upon his programme of educational works he summoned four men. These were Wertferth, bishop of Worcester (873-915), 'a man thoroughly learned in holy writings' who translated Gregory's *Dialogues*; Werewulf, a member of Wertferth's household; Plegmund, who was elevated to Canterbury in 890, 'an estimable man richly endowed with learning' who assisted in the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*; and the priest Athelstan. All were 'Mercians by birth and learned men.'²⁵²

Asser, as a good biographer, probably overemphasised the cultural collapse at Alfred's accession. Old English literature seems to have flourished in Mercia in the 9th century in a way that it did not elsewhere. Mercia can thus claim the poetry of Cynewulf, a translation of Bede's *History*, a prose *Martyrology* and four of the five extant Anglo-Saxon prayer books, of which three significantly date back to the 8th and 9th centuries. Thus F. M. Stenton's view that Alfred's Mercian assistants, at least two of whom were from the Severn valley, represent a tradition of learning which had 'descended ... without interruption from Mercian schools established in or before the 8th century' is well founded.²⁵³

The second qualification relates to nunneries. These may not have been affected in quite the same way as the monasteries by the forces at work in the 9th century, for they served a rather different purpose. It was not only in Merovingian Gaul that women played a critical part in the intrigues and power struggles that beset royal families. If nunneries, like monasteries, had collapsed in Wessex by the reign of Alfred, they were quickly revived. Shaftesbury, Wilton and the nun-minster at Winchester have been ascribed to Alfred and his queen and Romsey to his son. Nunneries are usually regarded as places of retirement but they were also valuable as socially acceptable centres for confinement. Here royal, or noble, families could safely incarcerate ambitious dowagers or nubile daughters whose marriage could have unwelcome dynastic implications in a society where the succession was, in practice, fraternal.²⁵⁴

The system can best be seen at work in 10th- and 11th-century Wessex but it applied with equal force to the less-well-documented Mercian court of the 8th and 9th centuries. After the death of Offa and his son Egfrith in 796 their successor, Coenwulf (796-821), a remote relative, ensured that both Cynethryth and Ethelburga, Offa's queen and unmarried daughter, entered nunneries. The latter was abbess at Fladbury, the former probably at Cookham. Coenwulf's own daughter became abbess of the nun-minster founded by Offa at Winchcombe in 787 and of Southminster in Essex. Both Offa and Coenwulf obtained papal privileges to underwrite their claims to proprietary rights in the monastic houses they had founded. Thus Cynethryth's successor at Winchcombe was Aelflaed, in all probability the daughter of Ceolwulf (821-3), Coenwulf's brother and successor.²⁵⁵

The Mercian kings were acting in an accepted manner, for hereditary right was 'common and probably the rule' in such minsters. This was the case from the earliest times and clearly established in such princess minsters as Minster-in-Thanel, Sheppey, Ely, Castor (see FIGS. 2 and 3) and Wimborne. Indeed at Iona itself 'eight of the first nine abbots were certainly relatives of St. Columba; the ninth may have been.'²⁵⁶ Such a princess minster at Leominster would have been a most valuable political asset for Merewalh's sons. Their aunt was safely established at Wenlock on the northernmost reaches of the kingdom. After the move to Hereford the minster on the Lugg could have provided a useful retreat for ladies of the royal and noble families. Unlike Wenlock it was not so remote as to make adequate surveillance difficult. Furthermore it would ensure that its considerable assets, Merewalh's endowment, remained at the disposal of the family.

What we do not have, however, is evidence to indicate whether the rule at Leominster was that of an abbot or abbess at this time. Probably we should not look for too clear-cut an answer. At Wenlock five of the witnesses to a charter in 901 were female but the 'senior' of the house was a man, an inversion of the early rule for double houses.²⁵⁷ At Berkeley we have evidence of an abbot in 759; of Coelburh, widow of the Hwiccan ealdorman Ethelmund, killed in battle at Kempford, as abbess in 804; whilst forty years later there was another abbot, Aethelhun.²⁵⁸ The choice often reflected family circumstances when a successor had to be chosen.

Although we have little knowledge of the precise status of Leominster in the 9th and early 10th centuries, we do have clear evidence of its continued existence from two sources. The first is the *List of Saints' Resting Places*, a guide to the major shrines, eighty-eight in all, of late Anglo-Saxon England. Item 20 states that 'St. Ethelred rests at Leominster, near the river Lugg.'²⁵⁹ The problem of the identity of this St. Ethelred will be dealt with in Section 12. Here we merely need to note the implications for the church at Leominster of the presence of such a renowned cult.

Fundamental to all sections of Anglo-Saxon society was an absolute belief in the ability of saints to work miracles. The thaumaturgical powers of the saint worked through his or her relics. They often punished wrong-doers; they were sought to restore health and were often called up in times of plague, famine, war and other perils. On such occasions the saint's shrine would be carried in formal procession by the clergy through the threatened countryside. Possession of the relics of an awesome saint was thus an indication of the power and prestige of the minster church where they rested and of the kingdom

to which they belonged. In this respect lists of resting places can be regarded as political as well as religious statements.

The extant text of the *List* is of the 11th century but David Rollason has suggested that the first half was in origin a separate and earlier list, for it follows a different and more elaborate convention. The saints are predominantly of the pre-Viking period and the sites have additional topographical definition, in twenty cases, as with 'St. Ethelred ... near the river Lugg,' a reference to a river. Internal evidence suggests that this earlier *List* was compiled in Mercia or Northumbria not later than the end of the 9th century.²⁶⁰ Here Ethelred is in the company of twenty-four other saints, including such august figures as Alban, Botulf, Chad (Ceadda) of Lichfield, Cuthbert, Ethelbert of Hereford, Guthlac of Crowland, John of Beverley, Mildburga and Oswald.

For such a cult to have flourished in the 9th century, there must have been a major religious institution to house and administer it, which would have received many endowments. The *List* thus provides valuable evidence of an important land-holding community having custody of the shrine. Verification of its existence is found more than half a century later when in 958 Edgar, as king of Mercia, confirmed the manor of Staunton-on-Arrow to his faithful 'minister' Ealhstan. The charter describing the bounds of the estate refers at one point to '*Leonhina gemaeres*.' *Leon* is the same as the first element in the place-names Leominster and Lyonshall; *hina* means a community, especially of a religious character.²⁶¹ At this point the boundary of Staunton-on-Arrow, therefore, marched with 'the boundary (*gemaeres*) of the religious community of Lene.' Mrs. Beryl Lewis has re-investigated the line of the boundary. To the north of Staunton lay the Domesday manor of Wapleton, later called Wapleseves. Then, as today, it was dominated by Wapley Hill and its Iron Age hill fort. In 1086 Osbern fitz Richard of Richards Castle held this manor 'by the king's gift, as he states.' The Domesday clerks, evidently sceptical of this claim, carefully recorded that Wapleton had been part of the great manor of Leominster 'before 1066.'²⁶²

The Staunton-on-Arrow charter of 958 proves the continued existence of that land-owning 'religious community' at Leominster, with estates at Wapley immediately prior to the great movement for monastic reform. As a result of the reforms, many monasteries were wrested from the grasp of local aristocratic families and placed firmly under the protection of the crown. They received generous royal grants, some amounting to 100 hides. The *List of Resting Places* and the Staunton charter confirm that the Leominster estates pre-dated these grants. As the 9th century was a period of monastic decline throughout Mercia, their origins should be sought at an earlier date.

However, neither the *List* nor the 958 charter enables us to resolve what may be called the Leominster identity problem. The Leominster prayer book Nero AII/Galba AXIV provides evidence of the continuity of some form of corporate spiritual life within the precinct from the mid-7th century to the foundation of the Benedictine priory in 1123 and thence to Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. Few other English churches can claim such an unbroken tradition spanning almost 900 years. What cannot be established is whether, in the difficult years of the 9th century, this tradition was perpetuated merely, as elsewhere, by a small family of clerks who performed the liturgy,

educated children who were to succeed them and had common inalienable possessions, or whether there was also a monastic community—in whatever shadowy form. Thus we do not know whether the nunnery of the late 10th and early 11th century was a princess minster, modified in part according to the ideals of the monastic revival of Edgar's reign, or whether it was a new institution founded during or even before that period of reform.

A 14th-century list of English shrines, *Catalogus Sanctorum Pasantium in Anglia*, contains the entry '*apud liemenstrie iacet Cuthfleda*.'²⁶³ A number of writers have therefore linked Cuthfleda with Leominster.²⁶⁴ As other Saxon female saints in this list, such as Cuthburga of Wimborne, were foundresses of double houses, it might be supposed that here we have both the name of the first abbess of Leominster, under the Roman regime introduced in the 680s, and evidence of a double house. Sadly, this is not the case. No trace can be found of Cuthfleda in any Leominster record. More conclusively, the position of the entry in the *List*, which for this section has a topographical base, makes it evident that it refers to Lyminster, two miles south-south-east of Arundel in Sussex. Here there was another Anglo-Saxon nun-minster. In king Alfred's will of c.880 it was called *Lullyngmynster*.²⁶⁵ In 930, when a council was held on the extensive royal estate there, it was '*Lullyngmynstre*, a place very well known by all.'²⁶⁶ The parish church still retains some pre-Conquest features. At the time of the Domesday survey *Nonneminstre* was held of the king by Esmund *presbiter* whilst king Edward held *Lolinminstre* in demesne. About 1082 the nunnery was refounded by Roger de Montgomery as a cell of Almenesches in Normandy, after which it reappears in the records as Leominster or, less frequently, Lyminster to the confusion of historians.²⁶⁷

8 LEOMINSTER PRIORY AND READING ABBEY RELIC LISTS

Leominster always remained marked off from the other Herefordshire minsters. Despite its similarity of title and function, as a mother church, its status was quite different. Its shrine was the centre of a national cult. Its vast estates, spread across much of North Herefordshire, ensured that it continued to receive the attention both of the crown and of its local representative, the earl. Above all, as the earliest royal foundation in the lands west of the Severn, it had an acute sense of its identity and of pride in its past. This found expression in the annual celebration not only of the feast of its founder, St. Edfrith, but also those of other early saints.

This sense of identity is most clearly illustrated by its List of Relics. 'Kept in the church of Leominster from time immemorial,' the details of the relics were copied into bishop Swinfield's register in 1286.²⁶⁸ Although in a very corrupt form, many of the entries can be cross-checked against two Reading Abbey relic lists. The first, compiled in the 1190s, itemises 242 relics; the other, drawn up hastily at the Dissolution in 1539, picks out but 24. Both Reading lists include many items plundered from Leominster when it became a daughter house in the 1120s.²⁶⁹ This is not altogether surprising, for, as the saintly bishop Robert de Bethune pointed out about 1130, the priory possessed 'relics of saints in greater and more precious quantity than we can find words to express.'²⁷⁰ Even allowing for hyperbole, this conveys Robert's wonder at a collection which, according to the lights of the day, was quite awesome, far outshining that of his own cathedral church at Hereford.²⁷¹

Leland was the first to recognise the light that its relics could throw on the history of the Saxon minster. 'Sum say,' he remarked cautiously, 'that the nunnery was, in the Danes warrs, destroyed' but, unaware that it may have been a double house and certainly had been a mother church, a priest-minster, he added 'aftyr a college of prebendaryes was sett there.'²⁷² On firmer ground he continued, 'the certainty ys known that the abbay of Shaftesbury had rule at Lemster and possessed much lands there, and sent part of the reliques of St. Edward the Martyr to be adored there.' Founded by Alfred about 888, Shaftesbury was ruled by his daughter, 'a virgin consecrated to God,' variously called Elfgiva, Aelfgyfu, or Aethelgifu. There many other nuns of noble birth lived with her in the monastery 'abundantly endowed with land and every kind of wealth.' Shaftesbury was the first of the new nunneries, quite different from the double houses of the 7th and 8th centuries.²⁷³

Leland seemingly relied on the monastic chronicler William of Malmesbury who, writing 400 years earlier of the young king, Edward, murdered at Corfe in 978, said that 'his remains were taken to Shaftesbury, and at a later period part of his body was taken to Leominster and part to Abingdon.'²⁷⁴ This is confirmed by the two Reading relic lists and the Leominster list, where 'the body of Saint Edward, king and martyr' is the second item. The third item is 'the body of Elvena.' Light is thrown on this problematic reference by the earlier Reading list which includes two saints called Aelfgyfu (Elvena), one described as 'queen,' the other as 'virgin.' Both were closely associated with Shaftesbury. The latter was Alfred's daughter, the first abbess; the former was the first wife of king Edmund (939-46) and grandmother of Edward, king and martyr. She was a great benefactress of Shaftesbury where she was buried in 944 and where within ten years she was venerated as a saint.²⁷⁵ However, Leland's conclusion concerning the rule of Shaftesbury at Leominster must not pass unchallenged. Shaftesbury certainly had no rule over the monks of Abingdon. Further, the transmission of Edward's relics was very late in Leominster's history, about 1000; and no hints are to be found elsewhere, in the *Kalendar* for example, of earlier links.

Leominster claimed part 'of the Lord's tree,' the True Cross, a most important relic. Indeed when, in the early 1130s, the eastern end of the new priory was completed, one of its altars was consecrated to the Holy Cross.²⁷⁶ In addition, the first items in the 1539 Reading *List* were 'twoo peces off the holye crosse.' In 885 king Alfred received from the pope 'not a small piece of that most holy and venerable Cross on which our Lord hung for the salvation of mankind.' This he apparently entrusted to his daughter at Shaftesbury.²⁷⁷ On the other hand, Leominster's relic may have been part of that 'picce of the holy and adorable Cross enclosed in crystal' which, with a sprig of the crown of thorns, had been given to Alfred's grandson, king Athelstan (925-39), one of the most devoted of relic collectors, by the duke of the Franks in 926. Certainly, parts of this splinter were given to the abbeys at Malmesbury and Milton.²⁷⁸

Many of the other items in the Leominster relic list can be traced back to Athelstan, the first English ruler to claim to be 'Emperor of the English and ruler of the whole of Britain.' At an early age he had developed a passion for precious objects, relics, rare books and other works of art. 'True and wise men' scoured the continent on his behalf. Byzantium was an especially fertile source of relics from the Holy Land and of the Holy Family.

By a process of division and redivision, these grew and grew. The flight to England of Breton churchmen threatened by the Viking attacks led to a flood of holy bones and to a veritable *furor* in the cults of saints from 'Britain across the sea.' The main body of Athelstan's collection was kept in five sealed shrines at the abbey dedicated to St. Sampson, first bishop of Dol, which he founded at Milton in Dorset. From this store numerous gifts were made. Glastonbury claimed 'innumerable relics and of high excellence.' The clergy of SS. Mary and Peter, Exeter maintained that their founder, 'the most glorious and most victorious king Athelstan,' had given them a third of all the relics he had brought from abroad. William of Malmesbury believed that there was 'scarcely an old monastery in the whole of England which he did not embellish either with buildings, ornaments, books or estates.' Nevertheless, at Athelstan's death enough of his store remained for the relics 'which he had purchased from Britain beyond the seas' to be borne in state before his corpse.²⁷⁹

From lists of varying degrees of reliability, compiled at a number of these houses, can be picked out those items which were the gift of king Athelstan. These included the relics of St. Branwalator, bishop of Dol, to Milton Abbey and the nunnery at Amesbury; St. Winwalloe, the Breton abbot, to Exeter and Glastonbury; St. Owen, bishop of Rouen, to Exeter and Malmesbury; and SS. Bartholomew, Germanus and Lucius to Exeter, Glastonbury and Malmesbury. Relics of all these saints were to be found at Leominster. In addition, relics of 'the vestments of St. Mary,' 'the Lord's Manger,' 'the Lord's altar,' 'the table at which He dined' and 'the Mount of Olives whence He ascended into heaven' are included in both the Exeter and Leominster lists.²⁸⁰ Such a degree of correspondence must indicate that a sizeable proportion of the relics held by Leominster in such 'great and precious quantity' had come from Athelstan's rich store.

This munificence sprang from a deep desire to be remembered in the prayers of the communities he had espoused. This is underlined by an entry in the Nero AII section of the Leominster prayer book, f10v-11v. It is a 'brief but difficult poem,' *Carta dirige gressus*, 'Letter direct your steps,' copied into the prayer book by someone W. H. Stevenson described as 'very ignorant or amazingly careless,'²⁸¹ a sad reflection on the state of the community prior to the Norman Conquest; but it may have been the work of a novice. Fortunately another version, though of no better quality, is to be found written into a gospel book in Durham Cathedral Library MS AII, 17. The monks of St. Cuthbert's had to leave Lindisfarne in the 9th century on account of the Vikings. They first settled at Chester-le-Street and only moved to Durham in 995. It has been inferred that the poem was added to the gospel book whilst they were at Chester-le-Street.²⁸²

From these two highly imperfect copies Michael Lapidge has, with great skill, reconstructed the text. He shows the poem to be a celebration of one of Athelstan's greatest achievements—the submission of the Welsh and Scots kings at Eamont bridge near Penrith in July 927—which provided the justification for his claim to be king of all Britain. The heart of the poem is:

'Letter direct your steps

...

England (now) made whole:

King Athelstan lives
glorious through his deeds.'

At Durham Athelstan was commemorated as a benefactor of the shrine and community of St. Cuthbert whilst it rested at Chester-le-Street. In the Durham *Liber Vitae* a place of especial honour was reserved for Athelstan, whose gifts had included a missal, two gospel books embellished with gold and silver, two silver cups with covers, and 96 lbs of silver.²⁸³ His liberality to the church at Exeter has already been referred to. However, the southern march was as much a centre of activity as the north-east or south-west during Athelstan's reign.

He had been brought up by his aunt, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, and on the death of his father, Edward, in 925 was immediately elected king by the Mercian assembly. A forceful Welsh policy brought many benefits to his lands west of the Severn. Hywel Dda of Dyfed and Owain of Gwent submitted in 927.²⁸⁴ Within a decade, at a meeting at Hereford, he forced almost all the other Welsh princes to acknowledge his sovereignty, to accept the Wye as the boundary between English and Welsh, and to pay an annual tribute: 20 lbs of gold, 300 lbs of silver, 25,000 oxen and an undefined number of hounds and hawks.²⁸⁵ The names of such rulers as Hywel Dda, Owain, Tudor ap Elisedd of Brycheiniog, Morgan ap Owain of Morgannwg and Idwal Foel of Gwynedd, which are to be found on charters attributed to Athelstan, bear witness to the tight control he exercised over Wales.²⁸⁶ That he left as firm an imprint at Leominster as at Chester-le-Street and Exeter should hardly surprise us.

9 THE LEOMINSTER PRAYER BOOK: BL COTTON MS NERO AII/GALBA AXIV

This prayer book rivals the *Life* of St. Mildburga, with its foundation story, as a source for the history of the Anglo-Saxon church of Leominster, for it provides evidence of a community at work there for some 350 years. The book included the *Kalendar* Nero AII to which reference has already been made. Taken together these are documents of the greatest importance, for they tell us about the cultural affiliations and religious life of the minster at a time for which there is no other witness. Just as important, the *Kalendar* furnishes firm evidence of the continuity of spiritual life at the minster from the late 7th century.

After the Dissolution it was acquired, with many other monastic records, by the great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631). His manuscripts became part, first of the royal library, and then of the British Museum's collection, where they yet include many of its choicest items on English medieval history. At Cotton House they were kept in fourteen presses, each surmounted by a bust for purposes of identification. This tradition continues, for they are still described by the name of one of the twelve Caesars, Cleopatra or Faustina.

The Leominster prayer book was split up before it came into Cotton's possession. His earliest catalogue shows it in two parts—eleven leaves at the front of the volume, called Nero AII, the remaining 154 leaves are Galba AXIV.²⁸⁷ From the text and the handwriting it is evident that these two parts were originally one volume.²⁸⁸ It is therefore more

accurately described as the prayer book Nero AII/Galba AXIV. This has been contested recently,²⁸⁹ but an analysis of the contents of the two parts, below, confirms the considered judgement made by N. R. Ker thirty years ago, that 'the evidence that the leaves containing a calendar and tables, now Nero AII ff3-13, have been detached from Galba seems fairly conclusive. Two of the hands in Nero are also in Galba, the format is the same, both manuscripts contain notes by Goscelin and both have the same curiously comprehensive character liturgically and come evidently from the same region.'

On the first leaves of Nero AII, ff3r-13v, are to be found a *Kalendar* and a *compotus* (a table of cycles for calculating Easter), followed by the Athelstan poem already referred to, a prayer and then further 'hymns' to SS. Dunstan and Ethelbert. Galba AXIV is composed for the most part of prayers and hymns—the majority in Latin but some in Old English—but there are other items.

Unfortunately, Galba AXIV suffered badly in the disastrous fire of 1731 which destroyed or damaged nearly a quarter of Cotton's manuscripts. It has now been meticulously restored but some sections are still illegible. For some years a reconstruction has been promised in which 'by slow and painstaking work with ultra-violet lamps Dr. Muir has been able to recover substantial portions of the text, so that we can now form an accurate appreciation of the original book.'²⁹⁰ Sadly at the time of going to print it has not yet appeared. However, in some cases the lost text can be reconstructed either from notes made before the fire or by comparison with similar prayers elsewhere.

The origins of the prayer book have so far evaded all enquirers. In 1908 Edmund Bishop pointed out that the *Kalendar*, although written early in the 11th century, is full of archaisms drawn from 'our earliest extant hagiographical records. This is easily explained,' he wrote with remarkable insight. 'It comes not merely from the most remote but from the most Celtic, backward, part of the country.' Such a description could equally well fit Herefordshire, but Bishop hazarded the guess that its home was in 'furthest Wessex' and that it was 'the type of *Kalendar* existing in Devonshire before (bishop) Leofric (1046-72) took the Church (of Exeter) ... in hand.'²⁹¹

A number of scholars, putting aside N. R. Ker's evidence, have sought to explain what are considered discordant elements in the text of Nero AII ff3-13 and Galba AXIV by concluding that they were the products of different houses. The latter quite clearly came from a nun-minster, for the feminine as well as the masculine singular form is used in the text. Given the presence of Winchester's most famous saints in two of its litanies, scholars have accepted Edmund Bishop's proposal that Galba AXIV emanated from the nun-minster at Winchester.²⁹²

This being the case, a different home had to be found for Nero AII, as the *Kalendar* ignores a number of the more important Winchester feasts, including the translation in the 970s of the see's most famous saint, Swithin. Some have put forward Exeter and Sherborne as possibilities. Others, ignoring Bishop's warning that 'I see no sufficient reason for assigning it to the yet more Celtic land west of the Tamar—Cornwall,' have pressed the claim of St. Germans, the see founded by Athelstan for the region beyond the Tamar, or even Truro.²⁹³ In this way they seek to explain what have loosely been described as the 'Celtic' elements of the *Kalendar*. Unfortunately for the St. Germans' thesis, these

find much stronger expression in the longer of two litanies in the 'Winchester' Galba AXIV than in the *Kalendar* of Nero AII.

However, even if one insists on the distinct identity of Nero AII ff3-13, it is highly improbable that it came from Cornwall. Strongly Celtic as the Cornish church remained after the foundation of the see of St. Germans, it was nevertheless very much under the cultural influence of its immediate neighbour, Wessex. Nero AII shows no such influence. Of sixteen major feasts of Winchester saints celebrated at the time the *Kalendar* was produced, only four are found in Nero AII of which one, the translation of St. Birinus, has been carelessly misplaced—at September 3 not 4. Indeed, as Table 6 shows, it has fewer Winchester feasts than any other early *Kalendar* except those in Bodley Digby MS 63, which is of the 9th century and from the north country, and in the Glastonbury Leofric Missal of c. 980.

It is evident that the two parts of the prayer book must be examined separately.

10 KALENDAR NERO AII ff3r-8v

The *Kalendar* is one of the key records of any monastery. It lists, month by month, the saints' days to be commemorated in the daily service of the mass. The Anglo-Saxon church observed the feasts of saints from many different places. The first English *Kalendar*s were copies of those used in Italy in the 7th century, but each church amended its *Kalendar* as new influences—local, regional, national or from far beyond—made themselves felt.²⁹⁴ Thus new saints were added as their cults came to be observed in the locality. Of the earlier saints, some were rejected whilst others were retained, although in Nero AII retention seems for the most part to have been preferred to rejection. Thus by detailed analysis of the content of a *Kalendar*, one can establish the major cultural influences at work in the community.

There are copies of some twenty English Benedictine *Kalendar*s of this type compiled before 1100. These have been edited by Francis Wormald and are listed in Table 6.²⁹⁵ They are identified in the text by the numbers given in the table, K1-K20. Most belong to one of three groups, each closely associated with a major centre of the 10th-century monastic reform movement—Glastonbury, Winchester or Ramsey/Worcester. The *Kalendar* in Nero AII is of particular interest as it does not belong to any of these groups. The extreme antiquity of its core has long been recognised because a large proportion of the entries in this *Kalendar*, as in K2, a Salisbury cathedral MS of 968-78, are martyrological in character.²⁹⁶

Nero AII f3-13 came from no other monastery but Leominster. The foremost clue is the appearance on 26 October of the feast of '*sci eadfridi, conf*' which is to be found in no other *Kalendar* (FIG. 4). In the main body of the prayer book, in the longer of two litanies, next to '*aethelmod c.*' we find an invocation to '*eatferth.*' Both, of course, are references to Edfrith, the Northumbrian monk who converted Merewalh in the mid-7th century. Much other evidence points to the same conclusion. Ethelmod, as we shall see, was Leominster's foremost saint. Furthermore, the final entry on f13v, the poem *Inclite martir* is addressed to St. Ethelbert. This is the East Anglian king, supposedly murdered at

Table 6: *Kalendar* Nero AII: The Winchester Saints

	Date	Feast		L	Glastonbury		Winchester		Worcester East Anglia	Total
			K1 2	3	4 5 6 7	8	9 10 11 12	13 14	15 16 17 18 19 20	
1	9 Jan	Trans Judoc C	x			x	x x x x	x	x x x	10
2	12 Mar	Alphege B					x x			2
3	15 June	Edburga V	x		x x		x x x x	x	x x x x x	13
4	2 July	Dep Swithin B	x		x x x	x	x x x x	x x	x x x x x	17
5	7 July	Hedda B					x x x x			5
6	8 July	Grimbald C	x	X	x x x	x	x x x x	x	x x x x	15
7	15 July	Trans Swithin B			x x x	x	x x x x	x x	x x x x x	16
8	1 Aug	Ethelwold B					x x x x			9
9	4 Sept	Trans Birinus B		X	x x		x x x x	x x	x x x x x	14
10	10 Sept	Trans Ethelwold B			x x		x x x x	x	x x	9
11	18 Oct	Justus M			x	x	x x x x	x	x x x x	11
12	30 Oct	Ord Swithin B			x				x x	4
13	4 Nov	Birnstn B			x		x x x x		x	6
14	3 Dec	Dep Birinus B	x x	X	x x	x	x x x x	x x	x x x x x	18
15	10 Dec	Oct Birinus B					x x			2
16	13 Dec	Judoc C	x	X		x	x x x x	x x	x x x x x	15
Total			16	4	0 4 9 7	7	13 14 14 16	5 11	9 10 8 8 10 10	

B Bishop; C Confessor; L Leominster; M Martyr; V Virgin.

Dep Deposition; Oct Octave; Ord Ordination; Trans Translation.

- K 1 Oxford, Bodleian Digby MS 63 ff40r-45v; North Country, 9th century
 2 Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 150 ff3r-8v; West Country, 969-78
 L BL, Cotton MS Nero AII ff3r-8v; Leominster, early 11th century
 4 Oxford, Bodleian Bodley MS 579 ff39r-44v; Glastonbury Abbey, Leofric Missal, c980
 5 BL, Add MS 37517 ff2-3; St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Bosworth Psalter, late 10th century
 6 Cambridge, Un Lib, MS KkV 32 ff50r-55v; West Country, early 11th century
 7 BL, Cotton MS Vitellius AXII ff65v-71r; Exeter Cathedral
 8 BL, Cotton MS Vitellius AXVII ff3r-8v; Wells Cathedral, 1061x1083
 9 BL, Cotton MS Titus DXXXVII ff3r-8v; Hyde Abbey, Winchester, c1030
 10 Cambridge, Trin Coll, MS R15 32, 15-26; Hyde Abbey, Winchester, early 11th century
 11 BL, Arundel MS 60 ff2r-7v; Winchester Cathedral, c1070
 12 BL, Cotton MS Vitellius EXVIII ff2r-7v; Winchester Cathedral, c1050
 13 BL, Arundel MS 155 ff2r-7v; Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury
 14 Cambridge, CCC, MS 422, 29-40; Sherborne Abbey, c1060
 15 Rouen, Bibl Mun MS Y6 ff6r-11v; Ely Abbey, Missal of Robert of Jumieges, early 11th century
 16 Oxford, Bodleian Hatton MS 113 ff3r-8v; Evesham Abbey, 1050-1100
 17 Cambridge, CCC, MS 391, 3-14; Worcester Cathedral Priory, 1050-1100
 18 Cambridge, CCC, MS 9, 3-14; Worcester Cathedral Priory, 1025-50
 19 Rome, Bibl Vat Reg Lat 12 ff7r-12v; Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, c1050
 20 Oxford, Bodleian Douce MS 296 ff1r-6v; Croyland Abbey, mid 11th century

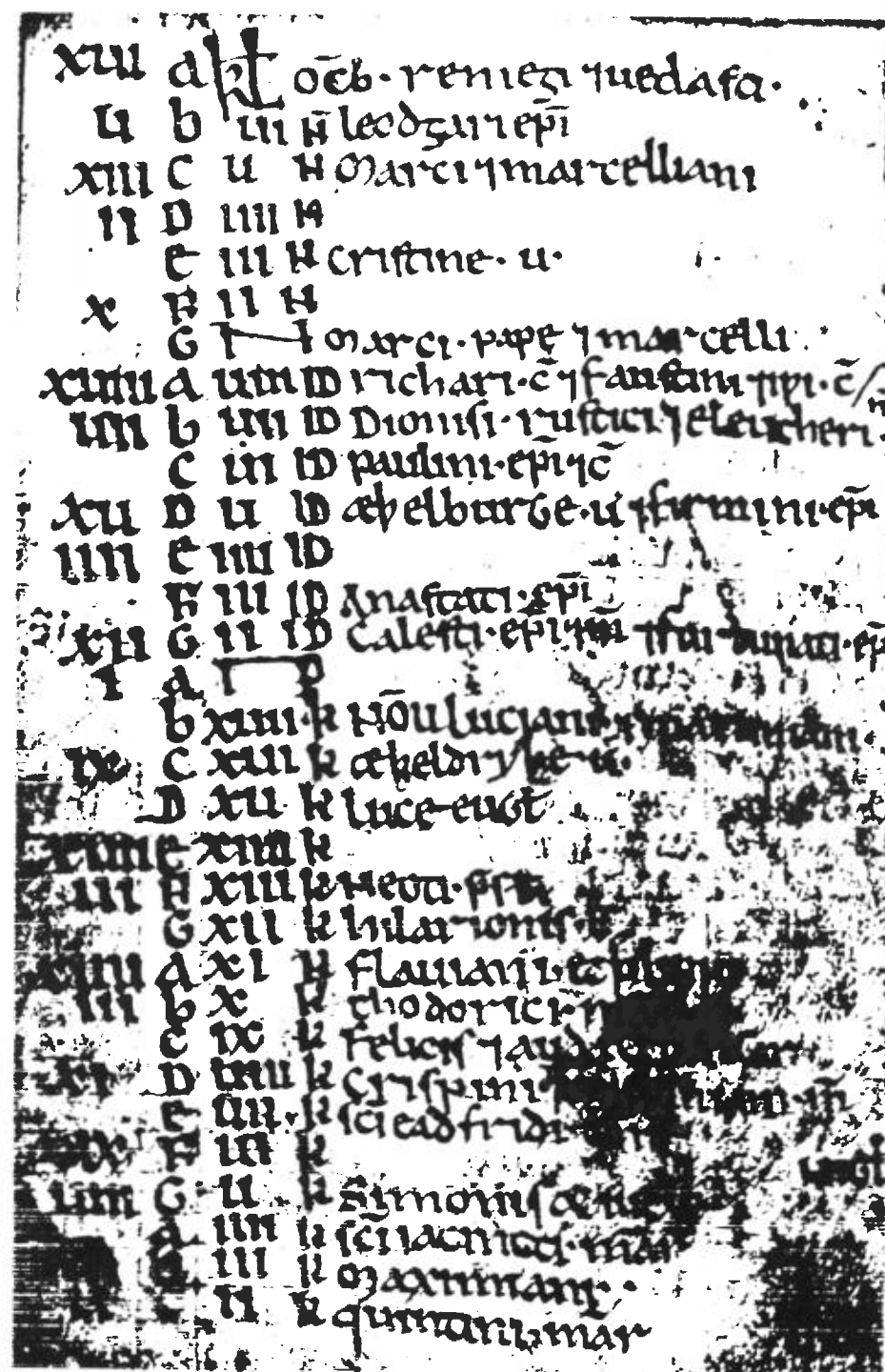


FIG. 4

Kalendar Nero A11 f7v: October.
(Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, British Library)

October		KL	Ocb	
1		KL	Ocb	Remegi et uedasti.
2	vi	N		Leodgari epi
3	v	N		Marci et marcelliani
4	iiii	N		
5	iii	N		Cristine. u.
6	ii	N		
7		N		Marci. pape et marcelli
8	viii	ID		Richari. c et faustini et iwi. c
9	vii	ID		Dionisi. rustici et eleutheri. m
10	vi	ID		Paulini. epi et c
11	v	ID		Aethelburge. v et firmini. epi
12	iiii	ID		
13	iii	ID		Anastati. epi
14	ii	ID		Celesti. epi et m et furtunati. epi
15		ID		
16	xvii	K	Nov	Luciani. et maximiani
17	xvi	K		Aetheldrythe. u.
18	xv	K		Luce eugl.
19	xiiii	K		
20	xiii	K		Neoti. psbi
21	xii	K		Hilarionis. c
22	xi	K		Flauiani. et filippi
23	x	K		Thodorici. mar
24	ix	K		Felcis et audacti. mar
25	viii	K		Crispini et crispiniani. m
26	vii	K		sci eadfridi. conf
27	vi	K		
28	v	K		Simonis et iude
29	iv	K		sci iacincti. mar
30	iii	K		Maximiani.
31	ii	K		Quintini. mar.

uigilia

uigilia

eugl evangelist; epi bishop; m/mar martyr; c/conf confessor; u virgin; psbi priest.

FIG 4
Kalendar Nero A11 f7v (Transcription)

Sutton Walls by his intended father-in-law, king Offa of Mercia, who became Hereford's patron saint after his body was enshrined in the cathedral, about 794.

The less frequently a Leominster feast is found in other early *Kalendars*, the more significant it is in terms of identification and in building up a profile of the house's cultural evolution. The number of *Kalendars* with similar feasts in their original text is therefore given in brackets. St. David (1: K14) appears on 1 March. With 26 October this date continued to be observed as one of the principal festivals at Leominster throughout the middle ages and a copy of his *Life* was to be found in the library of the priory in 1191x3. This was only to be expected in a church which claimed possession of St. David's arm.²⁹⁷ St. Columba, the Irish monk who established the monastery of Iona and provided the inspiration for Northumbrian Christianity, is remembered in this and only one other early *Kalendar*, on 9 June (K12). Two prayers composed by him are to be found in Galba AXIV. The celebration on 21 November of the feast of St. Columbanus, the greatest of the Irish church's many apostles to pagan Europe and abbot of Luxeuil and Bobbio, is unique to *Nero AII*. His name appears again in the longer litany of Galba AXIV.²⁹⁸

True to the dual origins of the minster, its *Kalendar* celebrates some of the earliest saints of the Kentish church. Merewalh's daughters, St. Mildburga of Wenlock (2: K5&6) on 23 February and St. Mildred of Thanet (7) on 13 July, and three of the first four archbishops of Canterbury were all venerated. St. Augustine (597-604) is of course represented in all the early *Kalendars* and Mellitus (619-24) in seven but Justus (624-7), on 10 November, is to be found in only two others (K2&5). In addition there is archbishop Theodore of Tarsus (668-90) who was responsible for the establishment of the diocese of Hereford (2: K4&5). From the late 8th century is St. Ethelbert. Also popular in his own east country, he is to be found, on 20 May, in six *Kalendars*, mostly of the Ramsey/Worcester group (K6, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20).

There are more than fifty unique entries in the *Nero AII Kalendar*. Many refer to extremely obscure saints of the early church: the identity of some is a matter of dispute; the very existence of others, a matter of doubt. Some, like 'Donatus, bishop and confessor,' whose feast was commemorated on 12 December, are a complete mystery but others can be identified with some confidence. They come from Italy, North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. From Asia Minor we find St. Gorgonius of Nicaea (10 March), St. Julian of Nicomedia (13 February) and St. Theodorus of Cappadocia (10 April); further south, from Antioch in Syria, come St. Saturninus (5 March) and St. Martian (10 March). St. Fursey (7 June) was bishop of Constantinople about 351, whilst St. Alexander (26 February) was a bishop of Alexandria, Egypt, who died in 326. From Italy there are saints of the Campania, the area between Rome and Naples. Representing Sicily is St. Euplius (12 August) who was arrested with a copy of the gospels in his possession and was tortured and beheaded in 304.

Such feasts, for the very reason of their obscurity, are of great importance for they provide evidence which enables us to identify the character of the *Kalendar* in use at the minster in the days of St. Mildburga. Most of these unique entries are to be found in the Hieronymian martyrology, a lengthy list of martyrs erroneously attributed to St. Jerome.²⁹⁹ They represent the saints in vogue at Rome in the days of Gregory the Great

and his immediate successors. Indeed, St. Euplius of Catania figures in Gregory's correspondence.³⁰⁰ These early feasts came to Leominster from Rome in the 7th century. Relics and service books for use in the newly-established English church were brought by such heroic figures as abbot Hadrian, of Capua in the Campania, archbishop Theodore of Tarsus in North Africa, and the Englishman Benedict Biscop, first abbot of Wearmouth, who made five arduous journeys.

Bede describes how pope Agatho commanded John the Precentor to accompany Benedict Biscop on his return from his last journey to Rome. Once in England, John 'committed to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year.' Writing in 731, Bede observed that 'these writings have been preserved to this day and copies have now been made by many others elsewhere.'³⁰¹ Just such a copy would have formed the base from which the *Nero AII Kalendar* was developed over the centuries. Through the early feasts of *Nero AII* we catch an extraordinary glimpse of the lore brought by the church to the kingdom of Merewalh's successors and expounded by the minster priests, both within their precinct and on their missions in the countryside.

Two unique feasts are of particular interest. St. Helen, mother of the emperor Constantine was celebrated for her part in the finding of the True Cross, but incorrectly believed to have been of British birth. Throughout the west her festival was celebrated on 18 August and appears on that date in all the early *Kalendars* but *Nero AII*. At Leominster, and only there, it was celebrated in May, as was the custom of the eastern church. Similarly, St. Wilfrid in *Nero AII* is to be found, not on 12 October, the date adopted by fifteen of the other *Kalendars*, but on 24 April, the date of the primitive feast.

Strong on early saints, the *Kalendar* is weak on those of later years. Of the great Frankish saints whose cults came to be adopted in England, only Sts. Leger and Lambert and queen Bathild are mentioned. Sts. Amand, Vedast, Germanus, Remi and Omer and queen Radegund are absent. St. Aldhelm (639), abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Sherborne, was ignored. Neither Edmund, king of East Anglia, nor Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, both martyrs to the Danes, was acknowledged. The former, defeated and captured by the Vikings in 869, having refused to deny his faith, was scourged and then beheaded. The latter, seized in 1011, would not permit the payment of a ransom of £3,000, and was killed with bones of oxen.

In these ways the *Kalendar* betrays Leominster's great antiquity. From it we can detect that, for long periods, Leominster suffered marked, and not altogether surprising, cultural isolation. Most important of all, it provides conclusive proof of a continuity of liturgical observance at the minster church from the 7th century, a claim that can be made by very few other churches. As with the relic list, much further analysis is required, however, before this valuable document yields up all its secrets.

11 GALBA AXIV: THE PRAYERS

The prayers of Galba AXIV are equal in interest to the *Nero AII Kalendar*. Here we can still hear the voices of Leominster men and women speaking to us across almost ten centuries, giving expression to their most profound and innermost feelings. It is

something of quite extraordinary rarity: there remain but four other such Anglo-Saxon prayer books and these are all of the 8th or early 9th century.³⁰²

Almost a hundred items, the overwhelming majority prayers, can be read but others, particularly at the end, are illegible because of fire damage. They were written by a number of different people. N. R. Ker detected more than five different hands, written in the two scripts, Anglo-Caroline and Anglo-Saxon, current at the time.³⁰³ As the original order of the leaves has been lost, the sequence of the handwriting, and thus the changing ownership of the book, is difficult to establish. Most entries are in Latin, but a few are in Old English. The latter have been examined by R. A. Banks who has drawn attention to a form of alliteration and end-rhyme which is used. It is significant that this belongs to a type of Old English rhythmical writing which was employed over a large part of the midland area in the late 10th and early 11th centuries.³⁰⁴

Most of the prayers were intended for male use but at one stage the book came into the hands of a nun for, as we have seen, the feminine form was employed. The female of the Latin term for sinner, *peccatrix*, occurs on a number of occasions, eg. ff6v, 53v, 89v and 'your handmaidens,' *ancillas tuas*, on another, f85r. In addition, one of the prayers is a plea for mercy from a person describing herself as *miserulam famulam* (f125v). She evidently had the book a long time, for almost a third of the entries are hers. Often her Latin leaves something to be desired. Many of the pages she wrote confidently, but elsewhere her hand is tremulous, as if, it has been suggested, she was nearing life's end. In such a hand, at or shortly after the death of Ethelred II the Unready in 1016, she wrote 'O God Almighty, give, we beseech Thee, rest everlasting to the soul of Thy servant King Ethelred, and to all who by their alms have increased this monastery to the praise and glory of Thy Holy Name' (f98v).³⁰⁵

Edmund Bishop has pointed out that amongst the prayers are a number of notable examples of the devotional intensity which characterised one of the greatest eras of English piety, the period between Athelstan's reign and the Conquest. Important elements were derived from Celtic sources, with a heavy emphasis on the confession of sin. Thus in a prayer on ff66r-70r the confession itemises an extraordinary range of sins: of neglecting the divine commands in favour of the penitent's own wicked deeds; sins of pride and envy; slander and covetousness; fornication and greed; false testimony and malice towards others; rapine and theft; blasphemy and carnal desire; drunkenness and gossiping; quarrelling and contentiousness; swearing and anger; earthly and transitory joys; anguish and murmuring. The prayer then catalogues the various parts of the body through which the suppliant has sinned. This is taken further in the prayer, *Deus inestimabilis misericordie*, ff53r-57r, copied out by the nun. Here she named each of the natural members and described the way in which it sustained her in sin, from her feet, 'running in wickedness,' to her legs, knees, thighs, genitals, stomach, bowels, kidney, loins, side, back, shoulders, arms, hands, mouth, throat, windpipe, ears, nostrils, eyes, head and finally to her heart 'full of pain and malice.'

As these prayers were by no means unique to Galba AXIV, it could be supposed that they were recited in an empty manner, as a matter of mere form, but this was not so. They were all carefully selected. It is evident that they were included for the very way that they

expressed the deepest feelings of the various members of the community to whom the book belonged. Indeed, many, as Bishop indicated, were changed and adapted in a very personal manner. To illustrate this point he selected another prayer, f21v, of a rather different character to those described above. 'O Lord, hear my prayers, for I know already that my time is near at hand ... Pour out to me tears of the heart, as Thou didst lay the foundations of the earth upon the waters, for my heart has grown hard as if a stone; I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned exceedingly in my life; I acknowledge all my iniquities. I entreat of Thee, to Thee do I cry. Do stretch out Thy right hand and deliver me from my adversary as Thou didst deliver the three children from the furnace of burning fire. There I pray Thee, O God, heavenly King, give me temperance and chastity, humbleness and faithfulness and truth, that I may be found worthy to persevere in good works. As indeed the desire of my heart is, whatever it be I have said or thought or done from my youth upwards ... to Thee I cry with a great cry out of my whole heart.'³⁰⁶

St. Columba's Prayers

Two of the prayers take us right back to the Celtic church of the late 6th century. Bernard Muir has shown that both were the work of Iona's founder, St. Columba—Colum cille, 'dove of the church,' to the Irish.³⁰⁷ The first, *Altus prosator*, f7r-19v, is a well-known abecedary poem. Twenty-three of the twenty-four verses begin with letters in alphabetical sequence, the modern J, U and W being omitted. It has been described as a 'kind of early *Paradise Lost*. The subject is the "great argument" of Christian cosmogony: the nature of the Godhead; the creation of the orders of angels; the fall of Lucifer (from heaven to earth); the creation of the universe; the seduction of Adam and Eve and second fall of the devil (from earth to hell); the nature of the world and of the infernal regions; the giving of the Law to Moses; the terrors of the Judgment Day; the fate of the wicked and of the good'³⁰⁸ (Appendix 1).

As well as its authorship and subject matter, the poem is of great interest in terms of vocabulary. The Last Judgment is derived from Ezekiel 37 but Columba followed the Old Latin text of the Bible, the version of the scripture used on the continent before St. Jerome's Vulgate was completed, about 404. It was still the basic text in Ireland in the 6th century. In addition, he employs Hisperic speech, 'distinguished words,' characterised by abstruse and rarified vocabulary. This so-called 'Western speech' was developed in Wales in the mid-6th century and later adopted in Ireland. There, in the *Hisperica Famina*, a manual was produced which influenced, amongst others, Aldhelm of Malmesbury.³⁰⁹ The *Altus* is one of the earliest recorded Irish examples of Hisperic speech.

The full significance of the presence of this poem in the Leominster prayer book can only be appreciated in the wider context provided by the other extant MS copies. The Leominster *Altus* is the only British manuscript of the text. The seven others fall into two groups: one Irish, the other continental, each with its own distinct characteristics. The three Irish texts—two are incomplete—are prefaced by vernacular descriptions of the circumstances of the poem's composition and all have stanza titles a number of lines long, explaining, in prose, the text that follows. The four continental manuscripts are all early. Two, the first a Bobbio manuscript in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and the second at

the Medical School Library, Montpellier, are of the 9th century. The other two are of the 9/10th and 10/11th centuries. They are all very similar, showing that they depend on an ultimate, very early, common exemplar. They have neither the prefaces nor stanza titles which characterise the Irish group. Instead, the *Altus* is placed, incorrectly, among works attributed to St. Prosper of Aquitaine (403-65) and they are thus described as the Prosper group. Although the Leominster text lacks both prefaces and stanza headings, its affiliations are with the Irish group, for it has no textual links with St. Prosper.³¹⁰

There is a remarkable degree of correspondence between the Irish prefaces in their explanations of how the poem came to be written, except that one places it on the island of Iona whilst the other sets it in Columba's Black Church at Derry. The saint, the prefaces explain, was troubled by the battles that had been fought and won on his account—Cuil Dremne in Connacht (561), Coleraine (579) and at the weir of Clonard (587). The *Altus* was written to beg God's forgiveness.

At just that time Columba learned by divine revelation that a mission from Gregory the Great was to visit him. 'What food is there in the common stock?' he enquired of his solitary companion. 'But a sieve of oats,' Baithin replied. 'Stay at home in attendance on the guests,' said Columba, 'that I may go to the mill.' Thereupon he took upon his shoulders the sack from the stone that is in the refectory, Moel Blatha its name, and luck is left on all food that is put thereon. When Columba put the first feed into the mouth of the mill he then began upon the *Altus*, and the composition of the hymn and the grinding of the corn were completed together, nor was it the fruit of meditation but *per gratiam Dei*. This hymn Columba sent to Gregory in return for the gifts he had received—the cross whose name was the Great Gem and the Hymns of the Week—and Gregory found no fault with it; except the faintness of its praise to the Trinity, a reproof which reached Columba's ears.

Both prefaces also refer to the composition, on the same occasion, of a second, shorter hymn. One tells us that as 'his burden felt heavy, so he composed this hymn, *Adiutor laborantium*, from there to the mill.' The other records that 'as he was going to the mill Colum cille composed this little hymn, *Adiutor laborantium*,' and adds that 'it is in alphabetical order.' As no copy of the second hymn had ever been found its very existence was called into question. However, when Bernard Muir recently recognised it in Galba AXIV, the Irish prefaces were fully vindicated, for the Leominster prayer book confirmed both its title and its abecedary form. It has twenty-six verses, of which the first twenty-four, each of one line, have the initial letters in alphabetical sequence except K, which is represented twice. Although he had no suspicion of its true authorship, Edmund Bishop was deeply moved by the poem. With great insight he described it as 'a relic of the ancient Celtic piety so widely spread in England of the 7th century' and likened it to the prayer of abbot Hygbald in the Book of Cerne. Unfortunately, his partial translation, 'Helper of those that Labour, Ruler of all the Good, Rampart for our protection and Defender of believers' may well have masked its real identity from scholars.³¹¹ Thus only now, as a result of the work of Dr. Muir, do we know that 'me, battered and most pitiable manikin' of the hymn was, in fact, St. Columba.

How did these two prayers get to Leominster? They are to be found in no other Anglo-Saxon collection of prayers. As Galba AXIV preserves the only British manuscript form of the first of the Columban hymns and the unique copy of the second, is it unreasonable to suggest that here we have the minster church's most ancient and precious possessions—brought from Iona to Lindisfarne by Aidan and thence by Edfrith to Leominster? Certainly, Columba continued to be venerated at Leominster long after his cult had disappeared elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, by the early 11th century the observation of his cult there was virtually unique. It can be found in only one other early *Kalendar*—and there it is erased.³¹²

The Monastic Hours

There are a number of explicit references in Galba AXIV to the monastic community. The prayer for the repose of the soul of king Ethelred, f89v, included 'all who by their alms have increased this monastery (*hoc monasterium*).' Another, f86v, asks the Virgin to intercede on behalf of 'the family of this holy monastery (*cenobium*).'

A series of prayers for the monastic hours throws a valuable light on the nature of the liturgy at Leominster in the early 11th century and thus helps to clarify the relationship of that church to the reforms of the preceding century. They were an outcome of the spiritual movement which had swept western Europe, initially associated with the house of Cluny, founded in 910. In England the lead was taken by three great bishops—Dunstan of Canterbury, Ethelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester—all of them Glastonbury monks. They were enthusiastically supported by king Edgar who, according to a rather partisan account, 'when he heard that the holy monasteries ... were wasting away and neglected, moved by the grace of the Lord set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate ... drove out the negligent clerks with their abominations, placing in their stead for the service of God ... not only monks but also nuns under abbots and abbesses: ... and he saw to it wisely that his queen, Ethelfrith, should be the protectress and fierce guardian of the community of nuns.' At Winchester, by Ethelwold's command, the clerks 'given up,' as we are told, 'to pride, haughtiness and extravagance' were physically ejected. Abingdon, Peterborough, Ely, Thorney, Crowland and probably St. Albans he also reformed. Locally, Oswald used more temperate methods but by 973 he had re-established regular life, on the reformed lines, at Westbury-on-Trym, Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, Winchcombe and Deerhurst.³¹³ Such events, one would anticipate, would have had a profound impact beyond the Severn at Leominster, only twenty-six miles from Worcester, one of the centres of reform.

Central to the movement was an affirmation of the rule of St. Benedict and the observance of the hours of prayer, the Divine Office. This was the prime purpose of the *Regularis Concordia*, the Monastic Agreement drawn up by a council of bishops, abbots and abbesses under Edgar's guidance at Winchester about 970.³¹⁴ It sought to standardise observance 'lest by unequal and various use of one rule holy life shall be brought into disrepute.' The first chapter, following the Benedictine rule, prescribed eight offices or hours: the seven day offices of Matins (now Lauds), Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline and the night office of Nocturns.

The Leominster series of prayers, ff105v-107v, was written, in Old English, by the nun who felt quite free to adapt her models to her own needs. The offices for the first, third, sixth and ninth hours are similar to those in the Leofric and Wulfstan's *Collectars* and the Old English *Benedictine Office* attributed to Aelfric and Wulfstan.³¹⁵ But the two subsequent prayers diverge from this path. Vespers is followed by the twelfth hour which brings together the last of the day hours, Compline, with the night office, Nocturns. Not only is the order different, but both are in form quite unlike the later offices in the Old English collectars. Banks has suggested that their source is to be found in the works of the Englishman Alcuin (735-804), spiritual adviser to Charlemagne, and he provides as evidence the close verbal parallels between the text of these two prayers in Old English in Galba AXIV and in Latin in Alcuin's *de Psalmorum usu*. The nun's final prayer takes us back to the first hour, Prime.³¹⁶

The Leominster liturgy thus comprised not eight but only six offices—Compline and Nocturns are brought together and there is no reference to Matins. What were the implications for the life of the community? On the basis of the standard Benedictine winter *horarium* this would mean that the nuns would retire after Compline at 6.30 p.m.; that there would be no Nocturns at 3 a.m. or Matins at 6 a.m.; but the first office would be Prime at 6.45 a.m. On the summer *horarium* they would retire about 8.15 p.m.; there would be no Nocturns at 2 a.m. or Matins at 3.30 to 4 a.m., but Prime at 6 a.m.³¹⁷ More important we have here evidence of the continued observance at Leominster of a use going back beyond the *Regularis Concordia* and beyond the common source of the other Old English collectars, possibly the *Liber Capitalaris* of Stephen of Liege, to an even earlier collectar 'but firmly based on the work of Alcuin.'³¹⁸ It thus confirms the sense of cultural isolation which is such a marked feature of the Nero AII *Kalendar* and at the same time underlines the antiquity of Leominster's traditions.

This leads us back to the fundamental problem, raised in Section 7, about the antiquity of the nun-minster. There the question was posed as to whether it was a new house, founded as a consequence of the monastic revival of Edgar's reign, or a much older institution, possibly revitalised at that time. Given the nature of the liturgy described above, one is driven to one of two conclusions: firstly, that the newly-established nuns, ignoring the zeal of the reformers, adopted the ancient use of six offices from an existing community of canons. This would indeed be strange, for St. Ethelwold translated the *Concordia* into Old English especially for the use of nuns.³¹⁹ The second possibility is that Leominster already existed as a nun-minster but that it remained relatively unaffected, at least in terms of liturgy, by the events of the 970s in the Severn Valley, East Anglia, Wessex and elsewhere. The problem will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

Prayers for the Royal Family

The *Regularis Concordia* laid great stress on the saying of prayers for the king and queen. Special psalms and prayers for king Edgar were to be said after every portion of the office save Prime. Furthermore 'those who live under the yoke of the Rule shall not chant at excessive speed those prayers of intercession which, following the usage of our fathers before us, we are accustomed to say for the king and benefactors by whose

bounty, under Christ, we are maintained, lest rashly we provoke God to anger ... therefore let all these prayers be chanted distinctly so that mind and voice agree.'³²⁰

In addition to the poem concerning Athelstan (924-39), most other members of the late West Saxon dynasty—Edmund (939-46) f150v, Edgar (959-75) f153v and Ethelred II (978-1016) f89v, as well as Edward, king and martyr (975-8) f150r, some of whose relics were held—were remembered in prayers of intercession at Leominster. Not surprisingly the list does not include Edwig (955-9) who, the reformers believed, 'through the ignorance of childhood, dispersed his kingdom, divided its unity and delivered the lands of the church to rapacious strangers.'³²¹ The penultimate prayer in the book is for Edgar the Peaceful, f153v, a recognition of his part in revitalising the spiritual life of the country—despite Leominster's adherence to the 'old ways.' This English emphasis on royal prayers, to be seen so clearly in the Leominster prayer book, was in all probability a tradition that went back to the Conversion which had brought sanctity and regality together in an unusual way.

The Veneration of the Cross

The cult of the Holy Cross received a great impetus in western Europe when, in 569, the pope gave a fragment to St. Radegund of Poitiers. From the Frankish lands the cult was, no doubt, brought to England not long after the Conversion. Here it was further enhanced by the pope's gift to Alfred of 'not a small piece' of the True Cross in 885 and the gift of another piece to his grandson, Athelstan, by the duke of the Franks in 926.³²² In Galba AXIV the hours are followed by three prayers in Latin and Old English, which are part of the Good Friday service of the Veneration of the Cross. Dom Thomas Symons has shown that the recitation of these three prayers was a unique English liturgical practice which had no parallel in and cannot be assigned to contemporary western European monasticism.³²³ Furthermore, it was a practice of long standing, for the three prayers are in the early 9th-century Book of Cerne.³²⁴ Thus, although they are to be found in the *Regularis Concordia*, the probability is that the Leominster Veneration prayers, like others in Galba AXIV, were not taken from there. This is all the more likely as the minster claimed, amongst its most ancient relics, part 'of the Lord's tree.'³²⁵

From the *Concordia* we can reconstruct the ceremony within the minster church of SS. Peter, Paul and Andrew as it would have been conducted on Good Friday more than a quarter of a century before the Conquest. It began with the unveiling of the Cross set up before the altar. The abbess, followed by the sisters, would then prostrate themselves thrice before the unveiled Cross. This ritual was apparently derived from Byzantium where the Veneration took place in the presence of the emperor with a triple prostration. They would then say the three prayers, rise and humbly kiss the Cross—the whole community walking barefoot until after the Veneration. On the altar, 'where there is space ... there shall be a representation of a sepulchre hung about with a curtain in which the holy Cross, when it has been venerated, shall be placed,' the deacon who carried the Cross having placed it on a napkin. 'In that same place the holy Cross shall be guarded with all reverence until the night of the Lord's resurrection.' At this time our nun would have taken her turn with the other members of the community, in twos or threes, 'keeping faithful watch and singing psalms.'³²⁶

Asperges

Another ritual, that of *Asperges*, is represented by a further series of prayers, ff119r&v, 130r-132r. This weekly ceremony goes back many years. It is mentioned by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims from 845-82, in his *Epistola synodica* and the series occurs, in a more elaborate form, in some of the earliest mass books. One of the most detailed is in the copy of the Gelasian sacramentary, written about 790, which belonged to the abbey of Gellone, near Aniane in southern France. The series also appears, in slightly different form, in early Gregorian sacramentaries of the 9th century. In addition it can be found in two other English prayer books, the Missal of Robert of Jumieges and the Portiforium of St. Wulfstan.³²⁷ Both are somewhat later than the Leominster book but they are of considerable interest for they indicate the form of the procession about the mid-11th-century at Ely and Worcester.

The ceremony, named from a chant based on David's prayer in Psalm 51:

'Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean
Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow,'

took place on Sundays before High Mass. Each stage had its appropriate prayer or prayers. It began with the exorcising and blessing of the water and the salt, after which a small quantity of the salt was sprinkled, crosswise, in the water. The whole community would then move in solemn procession through the church, blessing the altars with the holy water before going outside to visit the monastic buildings. Most probably, only the officiating priest with his cross-bearer, thurifer with censer and candle-bearer would enter them for the process of aspersion. This completed, the procession re-entered the church to say the bidding prayer for their community, king, queen and all benefactors before the great rood in the nave. The procession then passed through the screen back into the choir.

Each of the monastic buildings had its own prayer. Together these provide a valuable picture of the variety of buildings within the precinct in the early 11th century. Examples from other houses show the Leominster series to be either incomplete or somewhat perfunctory. Two of the prayers, ff119r&v, to be chanted at the gateway of the monastery and the door of the church, are now quite detached and others may now be illegible through fire damage. The logical processional sequence would be: to asperge sacristy and vestry after the altars, then leave the church by a south door to visit the buildings around the cloister (at Leominster, if the pre-Conquest cloister was on the same site as the later 12th-century cloister, it would have been by a north door) and thence to the outer court, gateway and finally the (west) door. However, this is to assume a layout similar to that of Benedictine houses of the post-Conquest period. Probably, the diagram of a monastery, c. 820, now in the chapter library at St. Gallen, Switzerland, gives a more accurate picture of what might have been found, on a far less grand scale, at Leominster.

The Galba AXIV order is kitchen (*coquina*), storehouse (*cellarium*), and 'chimney room' (*caminita*). In later terminology this was the *calefactorium*, the warming room where the common fire was permitted from All Saints' day, 1 November, to Easter. The older term, *caminata*, is to be found in the writings of Alcuin.³²⁸ Next in order are the refectory, dormitory, larder and infirmary. Although it is possible that this represents a topographic sequence on site, one would have expected the procession to visit the dor-

Table 7: Sequence of Monastic Buildings in the *Asperges* Prayers

	Gel	Greg	Ely	Worc	Leom
Church					
Sacristy	3	1		1	
Vestry	5	2			
Cloister					
Dormitory	4	4	1	2	5
Scriptorium	15	6	3		
Calefactorium	14	14	8		3
Refectory	6	3	2	3	4
Cellar	7	5	6	5	2
Dispensary	8				
Kitchen	9	12	4	4	1
Larder	10	13	5	6	6
Outer Court					
Area	13	9	10		
Granary	11	10	11		
Bakery	12	11	12		
Hospital	16	7	9		
Infirmary	17	8	7	7	7
Gatehouse	1		13	8	d
Church door	2		14	9	d

d = displaced in text

mitory at an early stage, as in the other sequences, for it should have had easy access to the church—even for a truncated office of six hours. It certainly would be strange to have the kitchen and chimney room, with the attendant fire risk, not to mention noise and smells, so close to the church. For purposes of comparison, the topographic sequence of the five series of prayers is presented in Table 7.

Refectory and dormitory were prime expressions of communal life. For the good of their souls neither abbess nor nuns were to eat outside of the refectory, except in the case of sickness. Generally two meals were permitted in the summer and one in the winter. One would dearly like to know whether the nuns accepted the injunction in the *Regularis Concordia* which, following the rule of St. Benedict, required 'each one according to his strength and with thanksgiving to fulfil the duties of kitchen and bakehouse' or whether they left the physical labour to *contemptibiles personae*, servants, and, scorning 'the

greasing of shoes, washing of garments and ministering of water,' devoted their time fully to their devotions. Admission to the infirmary, where servants were permitted, was only 'with the blessing of all.' Here the invalid was to be furnished 'with everything she wants' and each day to receive communion and be anointed with oil. On the approach of death the *tabula* was to be struck and all were to assemble to assist her passing. When the sister had departed her body was to be washed, clothed in clean garments, borne into the church with chanting of psalms and tolling of bells and early next morning to be committed to the earth.³²⁹

The two sacramentaries and the Jumieges Missal all specify a wider range of offices (Table 7). They include sacristy, vestry, *scriptorium* and outer courts, with granary, bakery, *hospitium* (guest house-cum-almonry), and, in the case of the Gellone sacramentary, a dispensary, *potionarium*. Leominster, and Worcester, may not have had separate *scriptoria* but one would certainly expect prayers to have been said in the outer court and that each would have had its own granary and bakery. The omission of the guest house-cum-almonry is even more puzzling, for hospitality to the poor and strangers was a major responsibility of all monasteries. Above all the offering of the daily Maundy, at which the nuns would wash, dry and kiss the feet of three paupers, had to be administered with the most scrupulous care, for this way 'Christ shall be adored Who is received in them.'³³⁰

The prayer book affords us a brief glimpse of medicine as practised at Leominster. There are a small number of apparently extraneous items in Galba AXIV, passages, for example, in Old English but badly burned (ff136r & 139r), that deal with the gall as a remedy for sore eyes and the virtues of the right foot and the teeth of the upper jaw bone. But the most interesting are two leechdoms or herbal remedies (ff118r & v) which graphically portray early 11th-century links between medicine and prayer and show that such exotic commodities as myrrh and frankincense were readily available.

Translated,³³¹ they read:

- 1 'To keep the body in health by the Lord's grace: this is a noble leechdom: take myrrh and rub it into wine, so much as may be a good stoup full, and let *the man* take it at night fasting and again when he will rest; that wonderfully upholdeth the health of the body, and it also is efficacious against the evil temptings of the fiend.'
- 2 'This is the noblest leechdom for the same; take myrrh and white frankincense, and savine and sage, and dyeweed, and of the frankincense and of the myrrh let there be most, and let the others be weighed, of them let there be equal quantities; and have them rubbed to dust together in a mortar, have them set under the altar, when it is Christmas tide, and let one sing three masses over them, for three days until midwinter, and at St. Stephens tide, and St. John the evangelists *day*, and for those three days let *the man* take the *leechdom* in wine at night fasting, and what there is left of the dust hold and keep; it is powerful against all dangerous infirmities, either against fever, or against typhus, or against poison, or against evil air. Writings also say, that he who employs the leechdom is able to preserve himself for twelve months against peril of all infirmities.'

The text is very close to two remedies which appear in Bald's *Leechbook*, BL Royal MS 12DXVII, believed to have been compiled at Winchester, between 925 and 955. However, it is thought that the Leominster remedies were not taken directly from Bald,

but that both go back to a common, lost original.³³² In 1191x93 a *Medicinalis unus anglicis litteris scriptum*, a medicinal written in Old English, was listed amongst the books in Leominster priory's library.³³³ This lost volume was almost certainly the source for the leechdoms entered into the Galba prayer book. In this case the lost Leominster leechbook would have shared a common origin with Bald, and possibly been of a similar date. Sadly, the post-Conquest library list makes no reference to any of those Anglo-Saxon prayer books which must have been the source for the prayers copied out by the nun and others into Galba AXIV.

12 GALBA AXIV: THE LITANIES

In addition to the prayers, Galba AXIV contains two litanies: invocations for mercy and deliverance to the Trinity and for intercession to the Blessed Virgin, the archangels and angels, the patriarchs and prophets, the apostles and saints. Both are in the nun's hand. The first litany (ff76r to 78v) is quite short. The second (ff90r to 96v) is much longer and would repay more detailed analysis than is possible here, for there are invocations to 133 martyrs, 131 confessors, monks and hermits, and seventy-three virgins. In this respect it conforms to the traditions of what have been described as the interminable litanies of the Celtic church. Like them it included a wide and indicative range of regional saints. Not all the names are legible because of fire damage—those of twenty-four martyrs, twenty-six confessors and sixteen virgins have been lost. The litany has been printed in the Henry Bradshaw Society edition of the *Leofric Collectar*.³³⁴

The English Martyrs

Amongst the 109 martyrs whose names can be read are many of those early Mediterranean saints whose feasts are recorded in the *Kalendar*. Only six are English. The first is Alban, protomartyr of Britain—and the only member of the group not of royal blood. He is followed by Edmund, the East Anglian king killed by the Vikings in 869, whose shrine was established at Bedricsworth, which became Bury St. Edmunds, in 915. Ignored by the *Kalendar*, his entry may be due to a revival of the cult in the early 11th century, marked by the construction under the patronage of Canute of a new church at Bury in 1020.

The others have strong local links. Alkmund, 'Ealchmund', was a Northumbrian prince who, according to the earlier, 9th-century *List of Saints' Resting Places*, 'lies at Northworthy (the pre-Viking name for Derby) beside the river Derwent' where excavations by Raleigh Radford led to the discovery of a 9th-century sarcophagus 'elaborately carved on all sides ... the shrine prepared for the relics of St. Alkmund.' In the *Polychronicon* Ranulf Higden tells us that Alkmund had taken part with the Mercian earldorman, Ethelmund, in a battle against the West Saxons at Kempsford near Cricklade in which they both died. He goes on to add that Alkmund's body rested first at Lilleshall in Shropshire.³³⁵

Although doubts have been cast on the Lilleshall connection,³³⁶ Alkmund's cult was certainly strong in western Mercia, for of the four dedications to him outside Derby three

are west of the Severn. The most important of these was St. Alkmund's in Shrewsbury. In 1086 this house of secular canons was the most affluent of the five collegiate churches in the city, with estates assessed at twenty-seven hides (it had lost Wistanstow) and twenty-one burgesses in Shrewsbury itself.³³⁷ It has been suggested that, like St. Oswald's in Gloucester, it was founded by Alfred's daughter, Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians.³³⁸ Another was at Whitchurch, in the extreme north of Shropshire. But from our point of view the most significant is the last of the three. It was shown in Section 2 that the great Domesday manor of Leominster stretched as far north as Aymestrey, Leinthall and Wigmore. Aymestrey was one of the sixteen 'members' of Leominster but by 1086 had fallen under the control of the powerful Ralph de Mortimer, first earl of Shrewsbury and master of Wigmore Castle, who rendered St. Peter's Church 15s. for this one-hide estate. It is here that we find the last of the Alkmund dedications.³³⁹

St. Oswald, the Northumbrian king killed in battle by Penda, is another English martyr invoked in the litany. Even before his relics were translated from Bardney to Gloucester in 909, his cult had a strong following west of the Severn (Section 1).³⁴⁰ The last two are Ethelbert of Hereford, already represented in Nero AII by the poem *Inclite martir* (f13v), and Kenelm, the son of king Coenwulf of Mercia (796-821), buried at Winchcombe. The cult of the latter was developed after St. Oswald of Worcester reformed the church of Winchcombe and placed it under the control of Germanus, dean of Ramsey, as abbot about 969.³⁴¹ That Galba AXIV is not a West Saxon manuscript is further confirmed by the strong Mercian presence amongst the English martyrs of the litany.

The Confessors

As one would anticipate, the list of confessors is dominated by continental saints. However, analysis of the English entries shows that resistance to change was not as pronounced in the litany as in the *Kalendar*. This is to be expected: the litany, being personal, could respond more immediately to new cults as their fame spread to Leominster; whereas the *Kalendar* was liturgical and institutional, and thus much more conservative. Last in the litany's long list of confessors is archbishop Alphege. He had strong local links. Before he went on to better things, as abbot of Bath, bishop of Winchester in 984, and archbishop in 1005, he had been monk and then abbot at Deerhurst (970-8). There he is still commemorated by a mid-15th-century stained-glass window. His martyrdom at the hands of the Danes in 1012 ensured the immediate recognition of his sanctity—although he is listed amongst the confessors rather than the martyrs. The three leaders of the monastic reform movement—Dunstan (d. 988), Oswald (d. 992) and Ethelwald (d. 984)—had to wait longer. They were eventually tacked on as a postscript. Amongst the confessors are a number of 'Winchester' saints, both those recognised in the *Kalendar*—Grimbald, Birinus and Iudoc—and those not—Swithin, Haedda and Birnstan but other entries show that this is not adequate evidence to identify Galba AXIV as coming from Winchester. They are merely part of that wholesale adoption of the saints of the capital which became so general in early 11th-century Anglo-Saxon England.³⁴²

The Celtic Saints

This is confirmed by the range of other cultural influences which can be seen at work in early 11th-century Leominster. The Celtic saints listed are of especial interest, for they add extra and unusual dimensions to the profile of an English minster, but care must be taken. 'Whoever approaches the Celtic saints walks all the time on the edge of a quicksand—but a quicksand that conceals valuable treasure.'³⁴³ The word 'Celtic' itself is fraught with difficulties, as are such alternatives as 'British', 'Welsh', 'Irish', 'Cornish' or 'Breton.' The most important and troublesome question is, at what period were the cults of the various Celtic saints adopted at Leominster? Some represent cults introduced by refugee Breton churchmen in Athelstan's reign who brought, amongst other important relics, the bones of the blessed Samson, his companion Branwalader, called 'Bran, Wallator' in the Leominster relic list, and St. Iwi, St. Cuthbert's disciple who had ended his days in Brittany. All three are to be found in the litany and strengthen the impression gained from the prayer book itself of an important role played by Athelstan.³⁴⁴

Others are more difficult to determine. Cornwall's 6th-century patron saint, Petroc, is invoked in the litany and his festival is recorded in the *Kalendar*. At Padstow, St. Petroc's stow, and Bodmin, where his relics were translated after 981, his festival was celebrated on 4 June. On this date it is to be found in nine of the early *Kalendar*s. The widespread adoption of his cult may well be a consequence of Athelstan's Cornish expedition and his foundation of the see of St. Germans prior to 931.³⁴⁵ Leominster's entry, on the other hand, is unique, for it gives 23 May instead. Bearing in mind the unique dates which the same *Kalendar* gives for the festivals of St. Helen and St. Wilfrid, it is possible that this also represents a similar, earlier and otherwise unrecorded tradition.

St. 'Cherane' is probably St. Kieran or Ciaran. Confusingly a number of Irish saints bore this name. The two most important lived in the 6th century—Kieran, founder of Clonmacnoise, and Kieran of Saighir. The feast of the latter, on 5 March, is found in many early Welsh *Kalendar*s and his name is perpetuated in Tregaron, Dyfed. It also appears in a litany in the Exeter Missal and, to make confusion even greater, the Exeter clergy, in an act of hagiographic imperialism, identified Kieran with one of their Cornish saints, Piran who died at Perranzabuloe, Perran *in sabulo*, in the sands, where his relics continued to be venerated.³⁴⁶ It is likely, therefore, that 'Cherane' of the Galba AXIV litany represents links, through Athelstan, with Cornwall and Devon. On the other hand, it is possible that it represents the adoption of one of the two major Irish cults—of Kieran of Clonmacnoise, whose precinct may have provided the model for Leominster, or Kieran of Saighir, venerated in south-west Wales within the sphere of influence of St. David's.

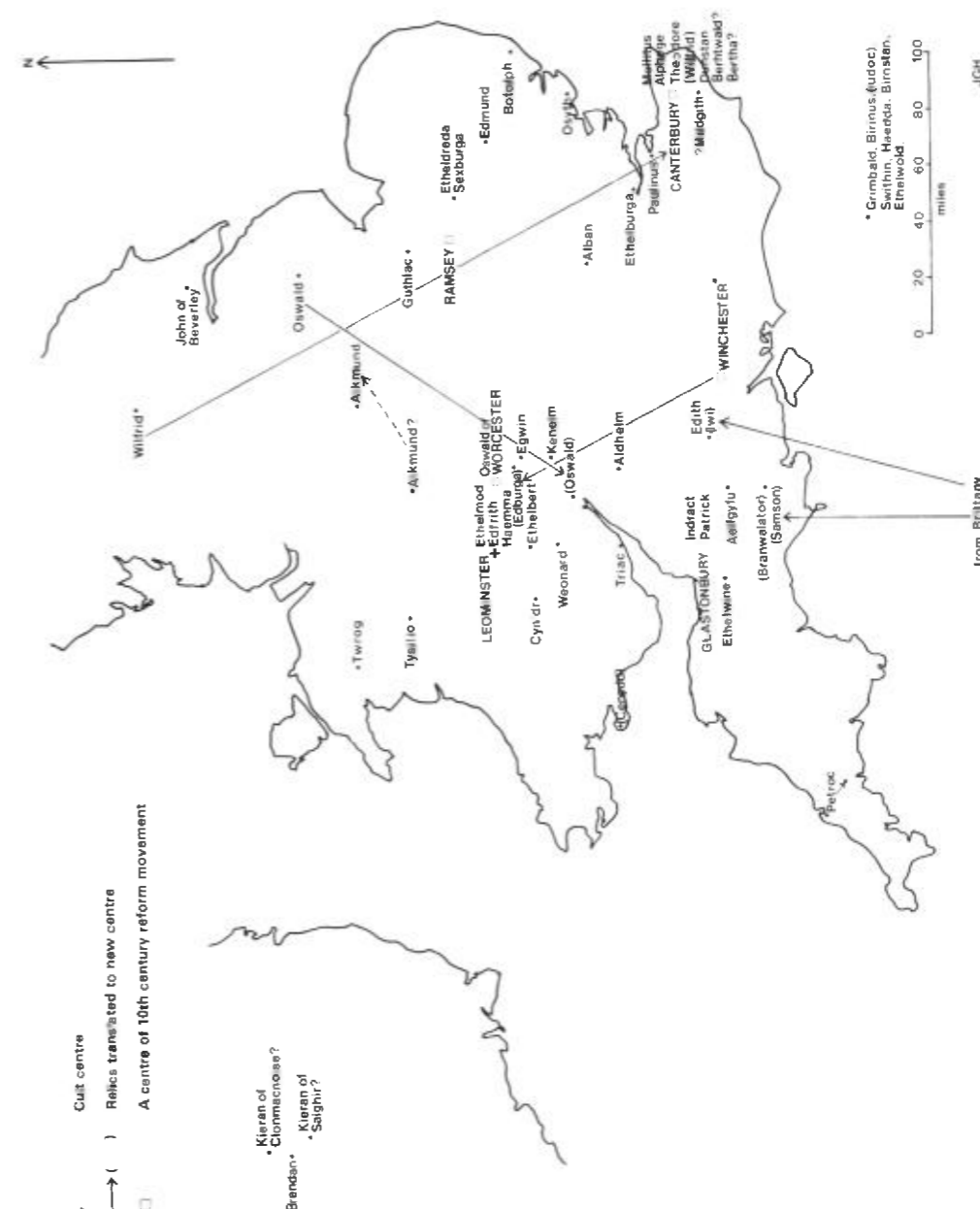
Just as thought-provoking are entries for another group of Celtic saints. They have strong local connections, in particular with that area within the sphere of influence, now the diocese, of St. David's, discussed in Section 4. St. Cynidr (Keneder) of Glasbury was reputedly a son or grandson of Brychan, founder and king of Brycheiniog (Brecon). According to tradition, his hermitage was on an island in the Wye at Winforton. His well, Ffynnon Gynidd, can still be seen on the common above Glasbury. He gave his name to Kenderchurch (Llangynidr) in Herefordshire; and to Llangynidr between Brecon and Crickhowell. Other Breconshire churches—Aberysgir, four miles west of Brecon with a

by a Glastonbury monk at a date between the production of the Leofric Missal *Kalendar* about 970 and the Galba litany before 1046. Indract's inclusion in the litany will, therefore, have been due either to a copy of his *Life* being available at Leominster or a pilgrimage to the old church at Glastonbury where the shrines of Patrick and Indract, in the form of stone pyramids, were one of the most imposing sights for any visitor prior to the great fire of 1184.

Amongst the additions to the list of confessors is St. Egwin (d. 717), third bishop of Worcester and founder of Evesham Abbey, where he was enshrined. Egwin's flourishing cult was the work of Aelfward, abbot of Evesham (1014-44), who, like abbot Germanus of Winchcombe, had been a Ramsey monk. Appointed by king Ethelred, he was a determined and well-placed man but, above all, a great collector of relics.³⁵³ Over the years he pursued a highly successful policy to raise the status of his abbey. In 1019 he persuaded king Canute, a relative, to permit the translation of St. Wistan's relics from Repton to Evesham. A few years later he commissioned a *Life* of Egwin from Byrhtferth, another Ramsey monk and author of a *Life* of the great reformer and spiritual founder of Ramsey, St. Oswald of Worcester. On 10 September 1039 he organised an elaborate translation of the relics as a result of which Egwin's shrine became one of the most popular in the midlands and west.³⁵⁴

Amongst the additions to the list of virgins is St. Osyth, of whom very little is known except that there were, in fact, two saints of that name, one of Chich, now St. Osyths, near Clacton in Essex and the other of Aylesbury, Bucks. Recent work has shown how intertwined the legends of these two saints became. This is especially the case in the lost *Life* written by William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-98) which, it has been supposed, was the reason why the cult flourished in the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester. At Hereford Cathedral this feast was celebrated with nine lessons on 7 October.³⁵⁵ However, the Herefordshire connection predates de Vere's *Life*, for St. Osyth was added to the Leominster litany shortly before the dissolution in 1046. The cult of St. Osyth is to be found in only one early *Kalendar*, K16, where it appears in capital letters, denoting a principal feast. On the opposite page, on 10 September, in even bolder lettering one reads *TRANSLATIO SANCTI EGWINI EPISCOPI*. The *Kalendar* also notes, in capitals, Egwin's principal feast on 30 December—for this is a mid-11th-century MS from Evesham Abbey.³⁵⁶

The link between Egwin and Osyth is Aelfward. About 1034 he was consecrated bishop of London but retained the abbacy of Evesham. In London he bought for Evesham the relics of the missionary of Frisia, St. Odulf, which had been stolen from their resting place in the church of Stavoren by Vikings. For these he is reported to have paid one hundred marks, so it is no surprise to find him described by the Ramsey chronicler as the 'golden bishop.' Within his London diocese was Chich where, according to the earlier form of the *List of Resting Places*, was the shrine of Osyth. In 1044 Aelfward contracted leprosy and resigned his see. This, it was widely held, was the consequence of his removal of St. Osyth's relics from Chich. In his last days, rejected by the monks of Evesham, he returned to Ramsey and took with him 'many and famous relics,' including the skull of St. Egwin. The appearance of St. Osyth in the Evesham *Kalendar* suggests that Aelfward did not return all her relics to Chich. The Galba AXIV litany



MAP 8
Cultural Influences at Leominster in the early 11th Century

Note: In cases of ambiguity such as the three St. Ethelburgas the cults have been sited to context. The inclusion of Bertha, Ethelbert of Kent's queen, amongst the Saints of the Litany, is an interesting comment on attitudes in the Leominster nunnery just prior to its dissolution.

shows how quickly the new Evesham cults of Egwin and Osyth were transmitted to Leominster, a conclusion confirmed by the Leominster *Kalendar*. Just as Egwin and Osyth were added in a later hand to the litany, so the feast of Egwin appears as one of only two additions to the *Kalendar*. On this occasion, the *Kalendar* had responded with alacrity but the cult, characteristically, was placed a day late, on 31 December.

The *Kalendar* Nero AII underlines the antiquity and institutional isolation of Leominster; the litany adds a further dimension. It illustrates the wide spectrum of cultural influences at work at an informal level in the early 11th century: the Mercian-based cults of Alkmund, Oswald, Ethelbert and Kenelm; the Breton saints, through the agency of Athelstan, from the south-west; the Welshmen Cynidr, Siloc and probably Twrog, Triac and Weonard; from Glastonbury to the south the recently-established cult of St. Indract; the East-Anglian Osyth, with Egwin, from Aelfward's abbey of Evesham; even the obscure St. Beornwald from Bampton in Oxfordshire. (FIG. 6).

St. Ethelred or St. Ethelmod?

Evidence from the list of confessors enables us to resolve the problem of the identity of the 'St. Ethelred that rests at Leominster near the river Lugg' named in the *List of Saints' Resting Places*.³⁵⁷ Finberg believed that he was 'most likely Merewalh's brother-in-law, one of the two Kentish princes revered as martyrs though in fact victims of political assassination.' Grosjean draws attention to the well-documented tradition that both Ethelred and his brother Ethelbert were buried at Wakering on the coast of Essex opposite Thanet and that between 978 and 992 their relics were translated to Ramsey (Hunts). He therefore suggests that it was not impossible that Ethelred's relics were divided and cites in support the fact that the same *List* places the relics of Ethelred's contemporary, St. Botolf, at both Medeshamstede (Peterborough) and Thorney. Doble was also of the view that the *List* referred to Eafe's brother and that his relics 'must have been brought from Ramsey.'³⁵⁸

Leominster records make it clear that the St. Ethelred of the *List* was a fault of transcription. Rollason has demonstrated from internal evidence that the *List*, in an earlier, shorter form, was compiled in Mercia or Northumbria not later than the end of the 9th century, whereas the extant list, with its many additions, originated in the south of England about 1000. Evidently, a clerk to whom the original entry, Ethelmod, meant nothing, replaced the earlier 'mo' with 're'—for it was Ethelmod's relics that were at Leominster; the third entry in the minster's relic list of 1286 reads '*Corpus Ethelmodi, regis et martiris*'. This is confirmed by both Reading relic lists, that of the 1190s which refers to '*Maxilla Sci Athelmodi martyris*' and that of 1539 which mentions 'A chawbone of Saynt Ethelmol.' Ethelred's name is found in none of the relic lists. Furthermore, St. Ethelmod's day was one of the principal feasts in the Leominster Priory calendar. From Bishop Spofford's register we know that in 1433 it was observed between the feast of the Epiphany on 6 January and the feast of St. Vincent on 22 January. *Kalendar* Nero AII shows that it was celebrated on 9 January.

Ethelmod is also to be found in the second, longer litany in Galba AXIV f93v where the name appears in the sequence 'aethelmod c(onfessoris), eatferth, hemma.' This is

highly significant, for all three are unique entries in Nero AII. 'Eatferth' is of course Edfrith who appears on 26 October; and 'Haemma abb(ot)' can be found on 25 May. Not only is Ethelmod's feast celebrated in Leominster's early 11th-century calendar but in the litany the nun accorded him precedence over both Edfrith, the founder, and Haemma, 'the abbot.' Clearly it was Ethelmod who was the centre of a national cult and thus the person to whom the 9th-century *List of Saints' Resting Places* referred. Indeed the cult may have originated long before that, for the *Kalendar*, although written in the early 11th century, embodied very early traditions.

Who, then, was this Ethelmod? The *List* gives no clue. In the Leominster relic list of 1286 he is described as 'king and martyr.' This local tradition was apparently accepted by Leland, who refers to the monks having 'the skulls of Merewald and Ethelmod, kings of the Marches' and was followed by Liebermann who suggests that Ethelmod was Merewalh's brother.³⁵⁹ However, the Reading list of the 1190s merely describes him as 'martyr.' Both these attributions are wholly at variance with *Kalendar* Nero AII which describes him as 'confessor,' that is a person who attained sanctity, then usually locally conferred, from the nature of his life, not of his death. Given such a conflict, the evidence of the *Kalendar* must be accepted against that of the relic lists, for the latter must ultimately have been based merely upon the remembrance of minster-priests at the priory's foundation in 1121, some eighty years after the nunnery's dissolution.

Edmund Bishop hazarded the guess that our confessor was 'probably Aethelmod, bishop of Sherborne c. 772-81,' but he is not referred to in the Sherborne Abbey *Kalendar* of c. 1061, K14.³⁶⁰ Ethelmod was a popular name: Searle gives nineteen examples in his *Onomasticon*.³⁶¹ The unique character of the Ethelmod entry in the Leominster *Kalendar* suggests that he was a local person. It is probably significant that the Domesday Book form of the place-name Aymestrey, *Elmodestrey* 'represents the OE personal name Aethelmod in the genitive singular, and OE *treow*, *treo* a tree,' or cross.³⁶² As, prior to the Conquest, Aymestrey was a Leominster estate and within its *parochia*, we may well have here a reference to the saint 'who rested by the Lugg.'

The question then has to be put, who was 'Haemma abb(ot),' the third member of the group? The answer is apparently provided by the earlier Reading relic list, of the 1190s, which refers to '*Quiddam magnum os et due coste Sci hemme prime abbis leonis monasterii*.' In the much shorter list in the *Suppression Letters* he is merely 'Heremie.' The 1286 Leominster list has no reference to Haemme. Instead, at the head, we find '*Corpus sancti Thome, abattis ejusdem ecclesie*.' This cannot refer, as Doble supposed, to any of the priors of the house refounded by Henry I as a cell of Reading Abbey. Numerous documents record the fact that the superior of this cell was called prior or dean and, in the 14th-century registers, with the sub-prior, merely *custos*, keepers.³⁶³ These titles were chosen to emphasise that he was appointed and removable, at will, by the abbot of Reading. Both the Reading and Leominster documents must therefore refer to a person who was the head of a pre-Conquest monastery. The discrepancy in name can probably be explained by the slipshod work of the Leominster copyist in 1286. There are as many as five spelling mistakes in one entry. Other entries show a total lack of understanding of their real meaning. The visitation records of Bishop Thomas Cantilupe in 1276 and his

successor, Gilbert Swinfield, in 1283 and 1286 show that the priory was deeply in debt, numbers had declined and its spiritual life had reached its lowest ebb.³⁶⁴

Given its position and description in the Leominster list, it is evident that we should read Haemma in place of Thomas as 'abbot of this house.' This is confirmed by a fragment of a prayer to Haemma, to 'succour and save me from all my adversaries,' in one of the last folios, 152v, of Galba AXIV. Such an interpretation puts in doubt the existence of a double house from the 680s, as suggested in section 2, for such houses were *invariably* ruled by abbesses.³⁶⁵ However, one cannot rule out the possibility that Edfrith himself was succeeded by a Northumbrian as abbot and that this institution was subsequently reformed along Kentish lines as a double house on or about the time of Mildburga's return. This problem will be discussed further in the Conclusion. However, the confusion in the 1286 list does indicate that Haemma was no longer held in the same regard as Ethelmod and Edfrith. This is confirmed by the list of principal feasts in Bishop Thomas Spofford's register of 1433. There, no mention is made of any of the festivals of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic saints—except SS. Ethelmod and Edfrith. Haemma has gone.

The appearance of Ethelmod, Edfrith and Haemma as unique entries in Nero AII, their joint invocation by the nun in the longer litany, the inclusion of Ethelmod and Haemma in all three relic lists and of Ethelmod and Edfrith in Spofford's list of Leominster feasts, place two things beyond any reasonable doubt. Firstly, Nero AII ff3r-8v and Galba AXIV were originally one volume. Secondly, that volume was a prayer book of the pre-Conquest church of Leominster. Much of what has been said about this book is summarised in its last charred folios, for these include prayers to St. Andrew, St. Edmund, king and martyr (2), Edward king and martyr, St. Dunstan, St. Mildburga (2), St. Aelfgyfe (Elvena), St. Haemma, St. Patrick, the Virgin, king Edgar and the Holy Cross (2).

13 THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE: THE END OF THE NUN-MINSTER

Having described, through the leaves of the prayer book, how the community saw itself, it may be well to consider how it was viewed from without. The evidence is meagre; there are but two sources. It could be argued that the late 10th- or early 11th-century will of a certain Wulfgeat of Donnington near Albrighton in Shropshire indicates Leominster's place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the region. He left the equivalent of half a pound of pence to St. Ethelbert's, Hereford; the same to the house of secular canons, St. Guthlac's, at Hereford; to the minster churches of Leominster and Wolverhampton, four full-grown bullocks each; two bullocks to the minsters at Penkridge (Staffs) and Tong (Salop); and one bullock each to the minsters at Bromyard and Clifton-upon-Teme (Worcs).³⁶⁶

However, the record is put straight by a short obituary notice in the *Chronicon ex Chronicis*. Here, under the year 1057, Florence of Worcester described how the renowned earl Leofric and his wife, the noble countess Godiva, had founded the monastery at Coventry. They 'also enriched with valuable ornaments, the monasteries of Leominster and Wenlock, and those at Chester dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Werburgh the Virgin, and the church ... at St. Mary's, Stow (Lincs), gave lands to the monastery at

Worcester and added to the buildings, ornaments and endowments of Evesham abbey.'³⁶⁷ It is especially noteworthy that Leominster was included as a beneficiary with these major Mercian houses, for Herefordshire was not within Leofric's earldom. His territory lay further north and east. Between 1023 and 1032 he inherited from his father the Mercian earldom of Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire to which Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and other midland districts were added in 1049. Herefordshire had been part of the earldom of Ranig and then of Swein Godwinson. Subsequently it became a separate earldom in the hands of the Norman, Ralph the Timid. The inclusion of Leominster demonstrates that the spiritual power of its minster was undiminished in the early 11th century. In no way can it be likened to those minor priest minsters which found favour under what were obviously the very personal terms of Wulfgeat's will.

Swein and Eadgifu

Catastrophe struck the house only shortly after its enrichment by Leofric and Godiva. In the wake of his coronation at Easter in 1043 Edward the Confessor rewarded earl Godwin of Wessex for his political support by making his eldest son, Swein, an earl. In this capacity Swein ruled the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset and Berkshire and was thus responsible for the security of the southern march; no light matter. Five years earlier Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, who had then become ruler of Powys as well as Gwynedd, had defeated a north Mercian army at Rhyd y Groes, near Welshpool and 'killed Edwin, earl Leofric's brother and Thorkil and Aelfgeat and many good men with them.'³⁶⁸ In 1046 Gruffydd called in English assistance against his south Welsh rivals. The English army was led by earl Swein. It was on his return from this expedition, flushed with success and accompanied by his hostages, that he 'ordered the abbess of Leominster to be brought to him and kept her as long as it suited him, and then he let her go home.'³⁶⁹

Two Worcester sources throw some light on Swein's motives. On the one hand, Florence of Worcester suggests that his intentions were fundamentally honourable, that Swein left England and went to Denmark because he was not permitted to marry the abbess, Eadgifu. On the other hand Hemming, smarting no doubt from Swein's seizure of some of the church of Worcester's lands in Shropshire, gives a different impression. He wrote that Swein was so addicted to vain glory and pride that he claimed that Canute, not Godwin, was his father and added that Eadgifu was carried off by force, kept by Swein 'as his wife' for almost a year, and only finally released as a result of pressure from the bishop of Worcester and archbishop of Canterbury.³⁷⁰ Swein was certainly a man of ungovernable passions, for shortly afterwards he murdered his own cousin, Beorn.

Edward Augustus Freeman discusses Swein's conduct in some detail in the first two volumes of his magisterial *History of the Norman Conquest*.³⁷¹ He had a considerable interest in the history of Leominster. He addressed the Cambrian Archaeological Association on the subject of the architecture of the priory on the occasion of a visit in August 1852. He was instrumental in uncovering the foundations of the transepts and the east end of the priory church and in the saving of the Grange. In 1863 he contributed a chapter to Townsend's *Town and Borough*. Freeman suggests that a child was born to Eadgifu, for even though there was no record of Swein subsequently marrying, Eadmer tells us in his

Historia Novorum that he had a son called Hakon. When the Godwin family returned from exile in the autumn of 1052, one of earl Godwin's sons and this grandson, Hakon, were handed over to duke William of Normandy as security for the family's good conduct.³⁷² No more is heard of Hakon. In Freeman's words 'born under other circumstances he might have been the head of the house of Godwin. As it was ... the child of shame and sacrilege, the career to which he was doomed was short and gloomy.'

According to Florence, his father, touched with repentance, undertook the pilgrimage barefoot from Flanders to Jerusalem in 1052 but on his return journey died in Lycia, 'from illness brought on by the severity of the cold.'³⁷³ Eadgifu apparently lived on to a ripe old age, for the Domesday survey records that in 1086, as in 1066, 'the abbess' was holding the small Leominster sub-manor of Fencote, now a small farm dignified with the name of Fencote Abbey, a quarter of a mile south of Hatfield. Here she had one hide of land free of geld (tax) with four villeins and two ploughs. Neither did the nuns fare badly, for the manor was charged with their maintenance and the jury that gave evidence to the Domesday commissioners was of the opinion that if it were freed from such claims it could be valued at £120 rather than its present £60.

Such an act of abduction, whilst untoward, should not be regarded as unique in late Anglo-Saxon history. In 901 Edward the Elder's cousin seized Wimborne and one of its nuns. The nun was arrested on the grounds that she had been abducted 'without the king's consent.'³⁷⁴ In 1015 Edmund Ironside abducted a high-born widow that Edward the Confessor himself had placed in the convent at Malmesbury.³⁷⁵ King Edgar, the champion of the monastic reformers, seems to have had a pronounced weakness for novices. The 15th-century verse *Life of St. Edith* tells how Edgar, visiting Wilton, was smitten by Wulfthryth, a young girl being brought up there. She became abbess of Wilton and reared their daughter, Edith, in her nun-minster. With Wulfhild of Winchester Edgar had less success. He therefore persuaded her aunt, Wulflede, abbess of Wherwell, 'to entice her to come thither where he might be bold to catch her' but Wulfhild 'by a secret hole under ground gott away and came to her monasterie.' The king followed her and 'caught her by the sleeve as she entered in at the church dore' but, the sleeve tearing, she escaped once more and, by prostrating herself before the altar, kept 'her chastitie undefiled.' For Wulfhild the royal love bore different fruit. For her 'with princelie munificence' he repaired the former double house of Barking and gave her precedence over the abbesses of all other English nunneries.³⁷⁶ Decisive action by Edgar's second queen, Aelfthryth, put an end to such episodes. She saw to it that she was publicly acknowledged in the *Regularis Concordia* as 'protector and fearless guardian of the community of nuns; so that ... there should be no cause for any breath of scandal.'³⁷⁷

There is no contemporary evidence that the nunnery was dissolved on account of Eadgifu's fall. However, in his 1125 charter announcing the foundation of Reading Abbey, Henry I states, immediately after the greeting, 'know you, that three abbeys were formerly destroyed in the kingdom of England, their sins requiring it, that is to say Reading, Cholsey and Leominster, which a lay hand has long possessed, and has alienated and divided their lands and possessions.'³⁷⁸ Eadgifu's sin was not, of course, the reason but the excuse for the dissolution. There can be little doubt that if Leominster had been a

fully reformed Benedictine house it would not have suffered such a fate. The value and strategic position of its estates provide the real explanation.

The Godwins, Spoilers of Church Lands?

Who took the initiative in dissolving the nun-minster and secularising its lands? Although Domesday Book shows the estates in the hands of the Godwin family, that is Harold's sister, queen Edith, in 1066, it does not necessarily follow that they were responsible. The family did have an unsavoury reputation as despoilers of the church.³⁷⁹ In 1052 the Abingdon chronicler, always hostile to the earl, commented that 'he made far too few amends for the property of God which he had taken from many holy places.'³⁸⁰ Certainly he was the beneficiary of the destruction between 1019 and 1051 of the generously endowed minster at Berkeley. Like Leominster, it was an unreformed house and all that we know of the circumstances of its dissolution is from an aside in Domesday Book. This tells us that Godwin had to buy the manor of Woodchester for his wife so that she should live off its produce whilst they were at Berkeley because she would not consume anything from Berkeley 'on account of its destruction.'³⁸¹

The Domesday clerks were also quick to put on record how son followed father. Manors of the church of Hereford which, in their words, had been 'unjustly seized by earl Harold' were Coddington, Colwall, Collington, Hampton (Bishop), Hazle, Holme (Lacy) and Sugwas in Herefordshire and Inkberrow in Worcestershire, assessed at a total of thirty-two hides. In addition he held the important eleven-hide manor of Pembridge which belonged to St. Guthlac's. Other ecclesiastical 'victims' included the nunnery of Shaftesbury (forty-three hides), the bishop of Wells who claimed fifty hides in Somerset, the bishops of Rochester and St. Petroc, the nuns of Chatteris and the church of St. John, Sussex.³⁸²

Freeman sought, not altogether effectively, to show that these charges against his hero were Norman propaganda. Yet despoliation and misappropriation of church lands were, under various pretexts, widespread in late Anglo-Saxon England. Eadmer drew attention to 'the wholesale destruction of monasteries, which until then had escaped such a fate' during Edward the Confessor's reign.³⁸³ Not all could be attributed to the Godwins. Indeed, the king himself seems to have had no scruples about holding the Berkeley lands after Godwin's death and was quite happy to plunder Pershore to provide lands for his new abbey at Westminster, and Deerhurst for its parent, St. Denis at Paris. Even the much praised earl Leofric behaved in a similar manner. He seized a number of estates from the cathedral church of Worcester and had his nephew appointed abbot, not merely of his own foundation at Coventry but of four of the greatest houses in the country—Burton, Crowland, Thorney and Peterborough.³⁸⁴ In 1055 his son, Aelfgar, took part with the Welsh king Gruffydd in the sack of Hereford Cathedral when seven of its canons were slaughtered defending the doors of their church. Its shrines and relics, including those of St. Ethelbert, were pillaged and the new minster was burned down.³⁸⁵ The wonder is that Leominster had remained inviolate over four centuries; that the lands granted by Merewalh to Edfrith had withstood for so long the threats of secularisation.

There can be little doubt that despoliation when it came was at the hands of someone exercising the authority of earl. Swein forfeited the earldom of Hereford when he fled abroad in 1047.³⁸⁶ It is possible that he seized the minster lands as well as its abbess the preceding year, but in such circumstances one would have supposed that they would have been restored on his departure. If Swein was not responsible, then it must have been his successor. As to who that was the sources are confused. On the one hand the 'C' and 'D' versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tell us that Harold and his cousin Beorn 'opposed Swein's return' in 1049, and the 'C' version adds that 'they refused to restore to him anything of what the king had bestowed on them' but this could refer to his private estates, not his earldom.

The Role of Ralph the Timid

On the other hand the chronicles point to a strong Norman presence in Herefordshire by 1051, when 'foreigners' had built at least one castle in the county and 'had inflicted all the injuries and insults they possibly could on ... the men in that region',³⁸⁷ a phrase which could well include the despoliation of Leominster. It is hard to believe, if Harold or Beorn's authority had run in the county, or that of Swein on his return, that they would have countenanced such a strongly antipathetic Norman presence within their bailiwick.

In 1934 no less an authority than Sir Frank Stenton believed that 'by the middle of the century if not before'³⁸⁸ the county had been placed under the Norman Ralph the Timid, otherwise known as Ralph of Mantes, a younger son of the king's sister, Godgifu, and the count of Vexin. More recently Barlow, after careful analysis of all the available charter evidence which shows Ralph in possession of an un-named earldom in 1050, concluded that 'Edward made provision for his nephew out of Swein's earldom, probably when Swein left England in 1047' and suggested that the promotion of Ralph was intended to irritate the Godwins.³⁸⁹

Certainly Ralph had considerable military resources at his disposal by 1051 for when an acute crisis developed between the Confessor and the Godwin family he was able quickly to bring a strong force from his un-named earldom to support Leofric and Siward in protecting his uncle, the king. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'E' adds that it was the Normans of Herefordshire 'who were the first to gain the king's ear and accused (the Godwins) so that they could not get an audience with him.' In 1051 the Confessor backed his Norman friends in their vendetta against the Godwins whom he obliged to go into exile and in the next year Ralph was appointed with earl Odda of Worcestershire to command the fleet based at Sandwich to guard the south-eastern coast against attack by the exiles. The conclusion seems inescapable, that Herefordshire was under Ralph's authority after Swein's first departure in 1047 and that it remained in his control until his death in 1057.

One does not have to look far to find the reasons for the presence of Ralph and his Normans in the county. In 1048, at a time when Essex, Kent and the Isle of Wight were threatened by the Vikings,³⁹⁰ the Confessor had been anxious to secure his western flank with men upon whose loyalty he could thoroughly rely. By 1052 he recognised the challenge offered by Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, now master of much of Wales. The nature of this challenge is starkly illustrated in both the English and Welsh chronicles. In the years

between Swein's second flight in 1049 and earl Ralph's death in 1057, there were at least five Welsh onslaughts on the southern march—in 1049, 1052, 1053, 1055 and 1056. During the reign only four major battles were fought: three were in defence of Herefordshire—Leominster, 1052; Hereford, 1055; and Glasbury, 1056. The pages of Domesday Book still provide evidence of the impact of this warfare on the Herefordshire countryside. In 1066, in a county where in two thirds of the places named the manor was co-extensive with the vill, fifty-two vills were wholly waste and fifteen more partly waste. Almost all were in the western half of the county, close to the valleys of the Lugg, Wye and Dore. In 1086 thirty-four were still waste and sixteen partly waste.

To curb this Welsh threat, Ralph sought to implement a policy that anticipated much of what William fitzOsbern was to do, much more successfully, after the Conquest. This is not surprising for both had learned the art of war on the equally vulnerable southern march of Normandy—the one in the Vexin, the other at Breteuil—where they had had to resist the might of the French king. There were two main elements in this defence policy. The first was the construction of castles, governed and garrisoned by Normans: Richards Castle in the north-west under Richard fitzScrob; Pentecost Castle, later called Ewyas Harold, after Ralph's own son, in the south-west; and Hereford Castle at the centre. The second was the use of cavalry.³⁹¹ This latter led to disaster in 1052, when the 'castlemen' were defeated near Leominster, and again in 1055, when the Herefordshire militia, now uncomfortably mounted on horseback and with Ralph at their head, fled in the face of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn and earl Aelfgar's attack. According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, this was before even a spear was thrown, but one must anticipate a fair degree of racial prejudice. The Welsh source, the *Brut*, refers to flight after a 'bitter-keen struggle.'

Edward's commitment to the defence of the southern march is evidenced by the number of times the Witan met at Gloucester. Enthusiasm for the chase in Dean Forest no doubt played a part, but beyond this lay his concern about the recurrent Welsh attacks.³⁹² Despite the triumphal return of the Godwins from exile in 1052 and the Welsh king's great Herefordshire victories in that year and 1055, the Confessor insisted on Ralph's retention of the county. It was only after the earl's death in December 1057, more than a decade after Eadgifu's disgrace, that Herefordshire was attached to Harold's earldom of Wessex.

The evidence therefore indicates that responsibility for the sequestration of the Leominster estates rests with Ralph of Mantes, not the Godwin family. To implement his new defence policies, the earl required considerable resources. This brings us back to the problem to which Bede had alluded at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History*, more than three centuries earlier. If wide tracts of land were granted to the monasteries, the crown would lack the resources to sustain its thegns; 'what the result will be, a later generation will discover.'³⁹³ By the 11th century most of the extensive early endowments referred to in Section 3 had been lost as a consequence of the attacks of Vikings and others. From the worst of this south-west Mercia was sheltered. Not for Leominster the experience of Repton in 873/4. There the Danish Great Army overwintered and recent excavations have revealed the three-and-a-half-acre defended enclosure they built on the monastic site, with the church enclosed as a gate tower within the defences.³⁹⁴ Leominster's trials came much later, in 1052, with the Welsh victory but two miles from Edfrith's church.

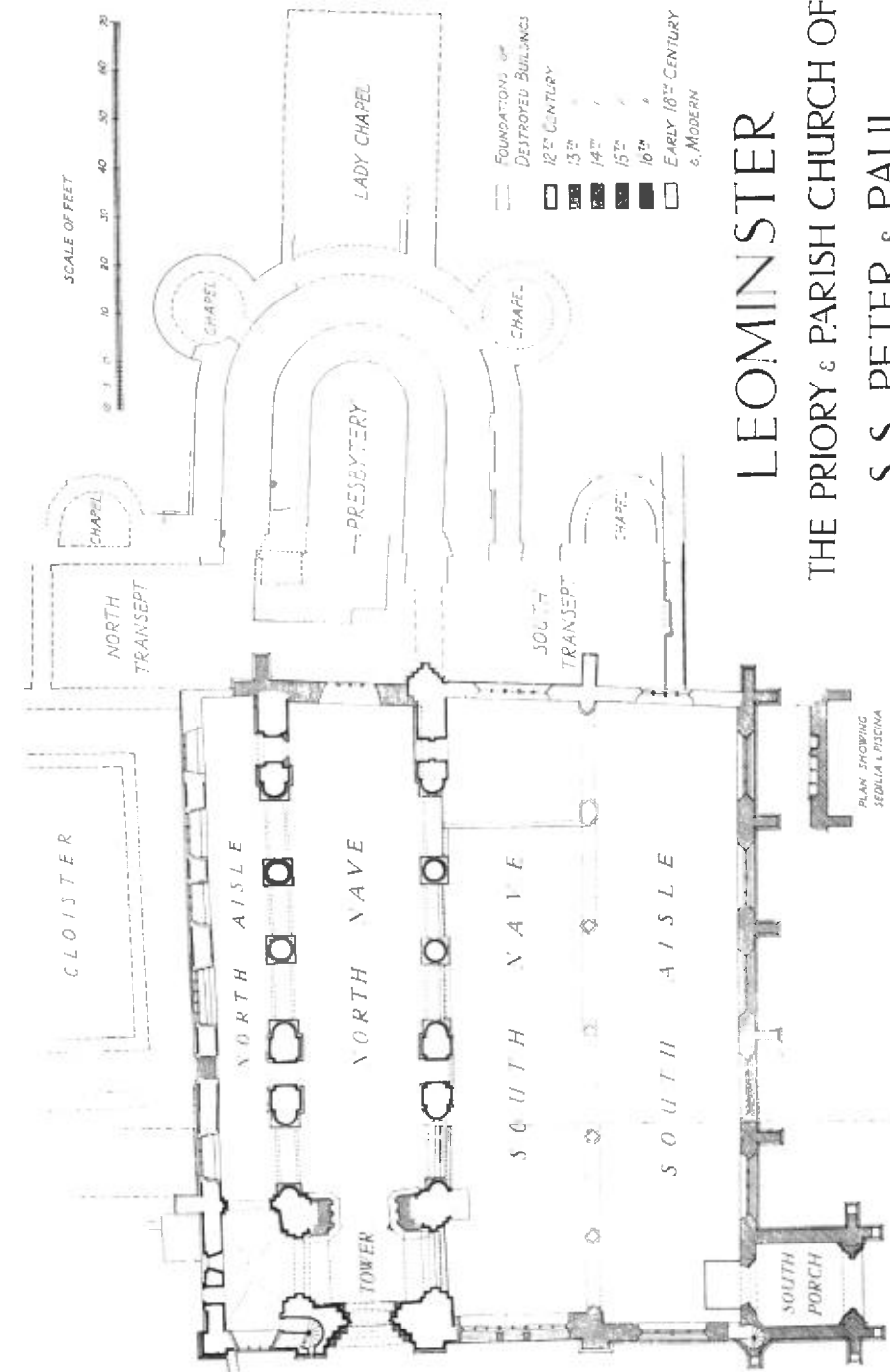
Ironically, the county was saved, in the short term, not by Ralph's Normans with their imported military techniques, but by Harold Godwinson's adoption of Welsh methods, light arms and loose array suitable for a rapid, offensive war of movement aimed at the heart of Gruffydd's power, Snowdonia. This he brought to a successful outcome in 1063. Gruffydd 'head and shield and defender of the Britons ... the man who had hitherto been unconquered was now, after immense spoils and immeasurable victories and innumerable treasures of gold, silver, gems and purple raiment, left in waste valleys' where 'through the treachery of his own men he fell.'³⁹⁵ His head was brought to Harold 'who took it to the king together with the figurehead of his ship and the adornments with it.'³⁹⁶ The new earl may have plundered the lands of the cathedral church and ensured that the rich Leominster estates were kept safely in the hands of his sister, but he was able to provide the victory and the security which had eluded his predecessor.

Priest-minster and Parochia

The dissolution of Eadgifu's community and the sequestration of its lands was not the end of the minster. Within the precinct bank and ditch there had been two institutions. The second, the priest-minster, remained. In the Leominster priory cartulary a reference to one of the priests can still be found. A lease of abbot Roger of Reading, 1158-64, refers to 'that messuage in the vill of Leominster which was Ailwin the canon's.'³⁹⁷ A document of Bishop William de Vere of 1186x93 suggests that the priest, assisted by three chaplains, who served the wide *parochia* on behalf of the monks, may well represent the rump of the ancient community, for the vicar had been accustomed to receive twelve sheaves annually from each virgate cultivated by the parishioners as 'scritcorn,'³⁹⁸ that is as part of those payments made to the mother church discussed in Section 6.

Richard de Capella's charter of 1123 demonstrates that the same forces had been at work in the *parochia* as in the manor. For both, fragmentation began before the Conquest. Lay lords were anxious to secure independence for the churches they had founded to serve their estates. Many cases were pursued by the abbots of Reading through the royal and ecclesiastical courts in their attempts to protect the integrity of the still extensive *parochia*, for the various payments due to the mother church were valuable financial assets. One of these cases, the conflict over the chapel at Eye, was only brought to a successful conclusion after more than a century, in 1254.³⁹⁹

Perhaps the most interesting example of continuity relates to the structure of the Saxon minster itself, for at least part of this remained until the first stage of the priory church was completed. Building began at the east end and the consecration of a number of altars by Robert de Bethune in the early 1130s, it has been suggested, represents the completion of work on the choir, crossing and transepts. The existing Norman nave is full of constructional idiosyncracies, of which the strangest is the fact that this eastern end, as revealed by excavation, was built on a different axis from the nave. The most likely explanation is that the monks continued to use the Saxon minster for their services until the new choir and crossing were built. These abutted onto it but were on a more exact eastern orientation. If this is so, the ghost of the late Saxon minster is still with us today (Plan 7).



PLAN 7
Leominster. Plan of the Romanesque Priory Church showing different ages of presbytery and nave.
(Reproduced by permission of R.C.H.M. (England).)

CONCLUSION

What conclusions can be drawn from this exploration of the sources for the early Christian and pre-Conquest history of Leominster? Two stand out. The essentials of the foundation legend, as incorporated in the late 11th-century *Life of St. Mildburga*, stand up well under close examination. Not only is it in accordance with the general circumstances of the conversion of Mercia, but in less than a century, by 732x748, the principal elements were already a basic part of the Kentish Royal Legend. In the *Nero AII Kalendar* we have an independent pre-Conquest witness to the observance of the cult of St. Edfrith on 26 October. This is supported by an invocation in the longer Galba AXIV litany. Further, the size, character and distribution of the minster estates, as described in Domesday Book, are consistent with an early royal foundation.

The date 660 is, however, not in the early texts, BL Additional MS 34633, Gotha MS 1.81, and BL Harley MS 2253. It is first found in John of Tynemouth's later version of the *Life*. Until Bede's adoption, for his *Ecclesiastical History* completed in 731, of Dionysius Exiguus' system of calculating from the year of grace, chronology, which was based on methods of reckoning by indictions of fifteen-year cycles from 312 A.D., was at the best full of difficulties.⁴⁰⁰ From Bede, however, a dating sequence can be established which provides upper and lower limits for the conversion of the Western Hecani. The success of the Celtic mission to Mercia was a consequence of the death of Penda at Oswiu's hand at the battle of Winwaed, 654; Diuma was consecrated first bishop of Mercia in 656. The further limit is provided by Eafe's foundation of Minster-in-Thanel which took place before the death of her cousin, king Egbert, in July 673. Thus, the conversion of Merewalh, in or about 660, represents the not unreasonable assumptions that it took four or five years for the Celtic mission to penetrate the lands west of the Severn and no more than thirteen years for the negotiation of Merewalh's Kentish Christian marriage, the birth of three children, the separation by mutual agreement, Eafe's return to Kent and her establishment of the princess minster on Thanet.

The second conclusion relates to continuity. *Nero AII* is distinguished amongst early English *Kalendars* by its many martyrological entries which link it to the Epternach version of the Hieronymian Martyrology which, with its accompanying *Kalendar*, is 'the most ancient and venerable monument of our English hagiographical tradition.'⁴⁰¹ Although *Nero AII* is a document of the early 11th century, its base takes us back to the last decades of the 7th century, the time when Leominster first accepted Roman ways. It therefore provides firm evidence of an unbroken liturgical tradition at the minster church from that time until the dissolution in 1046.

Any attempt to carry the argument for continuity further back, before the arrival of Edfrith, to the sub-Roman background that underlies the foundation of the minster church, is problematic. Interest in the history of the lands south of the Wye received a great impetus from Wendy Davies' detailed examination of *The Book of Llandaff*. From the body of early Welsh poetry known as *Canu Llywarch Hen* we have glimpses of pre-Anglian Shropshire and its links with Powys.⁴⁰² On account of an apparent lack of evidence, the territory between Wye and Severn has been ignored. The sources (Section 4) which indicate that it was at least partly Christian and was within the cultural sphere of in-

fluence of the church of west Wales are persuasive. No longer should the sub-Roman history of this area at the best be ignored and at the worst be regarded as a black hole.

A number of questions need to be addressed. What was the role of the church of west Wales in the lands north of Wye? Was it comparable to that of the church of south Wales on the other side of the river? Were the Leominster estates inherited as a unity by Merewalh? In this case, how far do they stretch back? How far is Jones' hypothesis applicable?

The establishment of a see for the Western Hecani at Hereford at the end of the 7th century points to important political changes within the principality. There can be little doubt that this was linked to the transfer of authority from Merewalh to his sons, first to Merchelm and then to Mildfrith. This can possibly be regarded as the belated counterpart to the triumph of Roman over Celtic ways in Northumbria at the Synod of Whitby, so vividly described by Bede. In this policy Merewalh's sons were no doubt energetically supported by their half-sister, Mildburga, who had returned to her native land to become abbess of Wenlock in the early 680s.

What this meant for Leominster is difficult to establish. Obviously it gave way to Hereford as the religious centre of the principality, but what happened to Edfrith's church? It has been generally assumed that the Celtic monastery was replaced by a double house ruled by an abbess on Kentish lines. The only basis for such an assumption is the existence of a nun-minster in the late Saxon era. The fact that Leominster honoured no virgin as foundress—Cuthfleda was venerated not here but at Lyminster in Sussex—puts the existence of such an institution in doubt, but does not rule it out. Such doubts are strengthened by the references in the relic lists to St. Haemma as 'first abbot,' coupled with his inclusion in the *Nero AII Kalendar* and the longer litany and closing prayers of Galba AXIV. However, as it is not possible to say whether he was abbot of a Celtic or Roman house, although on balance the presumption is towards the latter, the existence of a princess minster at Leominster in the late 7th century is an open question.

What Galba AXIV does make clear is that the victory of Rome was not total. The site, a great rectangular precinct on an island within the marshes, remained distinctively Celtic. Its Northumbrian founder had an honoured place amongst the church's feasts, although, strangely, there is no reference to his relics. More important than any of this, many of the prayers show how strongly and for how long Celtic influences were still at work in the liturgy. In this respect Leominster was not alone; similar characteristics can be found in other Anglo-Saxon prayer books. But it was quite unique in its retention of two of the prayers of St. Columba.

The 8th and 9th centuries are a dark period in the history of the minster church but some light may be thrown on it by more detailed analysis of the *Kalendar* and by placing the Galba AXIV prayers in the wider context of our other extant Anglo-Saxon prayer books. It is doubtful whether anything further can be established about the shadowy Ethelmod, but the earlier *List of Resting Places* does provide an independent witness to the importance of Leominster as a religious centre in the 9th century. With the Staunton charter of 958, it thus supports the testimony of the *Kalendar* as to the continuity of the church at a time when the records are otherwise silent.

Continuity found expression, not only through land ownership and the liturgy, but also in terms of spiritual jurisdiction. Soon after the establishment of the diocese, the Leominster *parochia* must have been assuming the form which it was to retain for some three centuries, for we have record of a bishop's minster at Bromyard in the early 9th century. It is fortunate that Richard de Capella's 1123 charter indicates its bounds before the process of disintegration had been allowed to go too far. For such an extensive *parochia* there must have been a priest-minster with a generous establishment, of which some evidence can be found in 12th-century documents.

However, the fundamental question, as to the character of the institution by the Lugg, remains. If the nun-minster was not the direct lineal descendant of a late 7th-century princess minster, when and under what circumstances was it founded? In his monumental *History of the Order of St. Benedict* dom Philibert Schmitz states that the nunnery at Leominster was one of the new foundations of the Edgarian revival but provides no evidence to support this assertion.⁴⁰³ It is most unlikely that it was a child of the 10th-century reform movement, for the reformers cannot claim the establishment of any major nunnery. On Edgar's initiative Barking, the double house founded by St. Erkenwald about 666, was revived as a house of Benedictine nuns by St. Dunstan. Edgar's second wife, Ethelthryth, founded Amesbury c. 980 and Wherwell c. 985. Contemporaries suggested that this was in expiation of the murder of her stepson, Edward, king and martyr, in 978. Recent research represents it as a further extension of political influence, to be used in support of her son, Ethelred, who became king in that year.⁴⁰⁴ Yet these two latter and Chatteris, founded c. 980, were but small houses (Table 8). More particularly, such evidence as we have—the observation of an earlier form of the liturgy as indicated by the prayers *ad horas* in Galba AXIV, and its fate in 1046 which it would hardly have suffered if it had been a reformed house—point to Leominster's foundation at an earlier date.

The four most important West Saxon nunneries all antedate the Edgarian revival. Three of them, Shaftesbury c. 888, Wilton c. 890 and the nun-minster at Winchester c. 900, claimed Alfred and his wife as their founders whilst Romsey, c. 907, has been attributed to his son, Edward the Elder. Certainly all four were reconstituted on strictly Benedictine lines by Ethelwold and were represented by their abbesses at the Council of Winchester which drew up the *Regularis Concordia* (Table 8).

We have but the slightest knowledge of the other Mercian nunneries at this time. Indeed, as Schmitz has said, '*Le Wessex et plus précisément le territoire occupé par les comtés de Dorset, Wilts et Hampshire semblait être devenu le refuge du monachisme féminin.*'⁴⁰⁴ To argue by analogy is therefore not possible. Polesworth apparently suffered the same fate as Repton at the hands of the Danes, but there were at least five nuns at Wenlock in 901. It is known, however, that Ethelfleda and her husband, Ethelred, rulers of the Mercians, adopted her father Alfred's defence policy, based on *burhs*, within a number of which they established houses of canons. Well recorded at St. Oswald's, Gloucester, the evidence points to similar action on their part to establish the cults of Werburga at Chester and Alkmund at Shrewsbury.⁴⁰⁵ If this is so, it is likely that St. Guthlac's, Hereford, belongs to the same category.⁴⁰⁶ But their interest was not limited to

houses of canons, for in a charter of exchange of 901 they expressed concern for the adequacy of the board of nuns at Wenlock and presented them with a golden chalice weighing thirty mancuses 'in honour of the abbess Mildburga.'⁴⁰⁷

If the Leominster nunnery was not an Edgarian introduction, was it, then, a Mercian counterpart to the West Saxon nun-minsters founded by Ethelfleda's father and mother at Shaftesbury, Wilton and Winchester and by her brother at Ramsey? Is it another example of Ethelfleda's adoption of policies which had met with such success in Wessex? The imprint of her work can be read in the longer Galba AXIV litany where, it will be recalled, Oswald and Alkmund were two of the four local martyrs invoked by the nun.⁴⁰⁸ This proves merely the popularity of the cults she established elsewhere, not that the house was her foundation. The relic lists show the imprint of Athelstan to have been far greater but in the last resort the evidence presently available does not enable us so much to answer questions as to pose them with more precision.

Any further movement towards a resolution of this and other related problems will only come when the expertise of specialists working in a number of fields—hagiography and liturgy, Anglo-Saxon and Latin, place-name studies and palaeography, settlement studies, and above all archaeology—is brought together. As far as archaeology is concerned, the outlook is bleak, for English Heritage has declined to extend any scheduling of

Table 8: Late Anglo-Saxon Nunneries: Domesday Valuation

Nunnery	County	£	s	d	Founded	Founder
Wilton	Wilts	246	15	0	by 934	Alfred?
Shaftesbury	Dorset	234	5	0	c 888	Alfred
Leominster	Herts	205	2	11	?	?
Barking	Essex	162	19	8	rev 870	Edgar
Romsey	Hants	136	8	0	c 907	Edward the Elder
Winchester ¹	Hants	65	0	0	c 900	Alfred
Amesbury ²	Wilts	54	15	0	c 980	Queen Ethelthryth
Wherwell	Hants	52	0	0	c 985	Queen Ethelthryth
Chatteris	Cambs	20	10	4	c 980	Elvena?

¹ 'manor of Itchin held by Hugh fitz Baldric in 1086'

² 'depredations of certain magnates' recorded in Domesday book

Adapted from D. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England, 940-1216* (1963), appendix VI.

Other nun-minsters included:

St. Albans, Polesworth, Reading, Minster-in-Thamet, Wareham, Horton, Berkeley and Exeter.

the Ancient Monument from the immediate vicinity of the priory buildings to the wider area of the precinct.⁴⁰⁹ Further, its advice to the District Council Planner ignores the 7th-century minster church, but blandly refers to what it describes as 'a nunnery which existed in the 9th century.'⁴¹⁰

The events of 1046 did not bring a total break with the past; the nun-minster was dissolved but the priest-minster continued. This is all the more important bearing in mind the disaster that overtook the cathedral church of Hereford in 1055. Leominster retained its relics and some of its books were passed on to its successor, the priory church. The prayer book disappeared from view for more than 500 years and only re-emerged after the Reformation, when it became part of the Cottonian collection.⁴¹¹ Yet these sources enable us to build up a far more detailed picture of the church at Leominster in the Anglo-Saxon period than is possible for Hereford Cathedral.

Far more significant from the point of view of the predominantly urban society of England today, it was the minster church which provided the foundations from which urban growth was to flourish in the 12th century to make Leominster the second town of the shire. The stages in this urban development can best be appreciated from the data provided by Domesday Book on the origins of the earliest market towns in the neighbouring counties of Gloucester and Worcester.

Only at Winchcombe, where one of the foremost Benedictine houses of the Confessor's reign had exploited the cult of St. Kenelm, revitalised by abbot Germanus, was the process complete, for it was formally recognised as a 'borough.' This brought great profit to its lord, the king. In 1066 the burgesses paid £6, twenty years later £20 per annum in rents. Not long after, the town had one hundred and fifty-one burgesses.⁴¹² At Tewkesbury there were sixteen 'smallholders' in 1066 but by 1086 the term 'burgesses' was used—thirteen paying in total 20s. a year—a development fostered by queen Edith who had 'set up a market which paid 11s 8d.' A market was also established at Cirencester, by the entrance to the Saxon church, a considerable structure. Recent excavations have shown that it was 170 ft. long and 55 ft. in width at the west end, with a rectangular relic chamber under the chancel, approached by a curved passage and steps.⁴¹³ From the market 20s. was received in dues, of which one third went to St. Mary's. Another market 'in which seventeen men live and pay dues' was to be found beside the former monastery at Berkeley, referred to in Sections 3 and 13.

In Worcestershire the story is similar. Twenty-eight burgesses rendered 30s. and tolls provided a further 12s. in Pershore, and at Evesham 'the town which is situated in the abbey, the men dwelling there pay 20s a year.' Urban growth in all these places was developing around the nucleus of a minster church, whether of monks or priests. There was only one exception, the market at Thornbury.

At Leominster the same influences were at work. The Domesday entry makes no mention of 'a market in which men live and pay dues' but this does not rule out the possibility of some small proto-urban settlement, for the great survey is patchy in the way it records such matters. The clerks had difficulty enough with the gigantic manor; one can but excuse them if they drew a veil over any market facilities that existed. By the 12th century we are on firm ground. In or about 1123 Richard de Capella founded a small

borough around a triangular market place close to the precinct gates, where the new priory was to be built. It can still be seen today between Drapers Lane on the east, High Street on the west and Corn Street to the south. Capella, a seasoned royal administrator, having acted in the first instance as Henry I's agent, then turned his experience to his own advantage. Using Leominster as his model, he established other boroughs. Market places with burgage plots on either side were laid out at his episcopal manors of Bromyard, Ledbury and probably Ross. In each case the nucleus was a priest-minster at the centre of a wide *parochia*.⁴¹⁴

The success of these ventures was due to two things, the pacification of the southern march by William fitzOsbern and, more specifically, Capella's ability to graft the new institutions onto an existing social, economic and administrative framework, evolved over a number of centuries. At Leominster, this evolution had taken place virtually half a millenium—if not longer. This was appropriately recognised by its burgesses. When, in 1290, an alternative date had to be found for the town's great six-day Michaelmas fair, the royal charter shows that they determined that 'the said fair shall last in the same way, viz, on the vigil and the feast of St. Edfrid and the four days following.'⁴¹⁵ This re-assertion of the cult of the founder brought together Leominster's functions as a religious and an economic centre.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> .
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> .
B	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (1885-93).
BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
BL	British Library.
EHD	<i>English Historical Documents</i> , 1 c. 500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock (1955).
EPNS	English Place-Name Society.
GP	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Pontificum</i> , ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, (RS 52, 1870).
GR	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 90, 1887-9).
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society.
HCRO	Herefordshire County Record Office.
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> .
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
Monasticon	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley <i>et al</i> , 6 vols. (1846).
OE	Old English.
PR	Patent Rolls.
PRO	Public Record Office.
RS	Rolls Series.
S	<i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , ed. P. H. Sawyer (1968).
VCH	Victoria County History.

REFERENCES

- ¹ C. Taylor, *Antiquity*, 60 (July 1986), 161.
- ² N. Reeves, 'Five Leominster Historians', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLV (i) (1985), 284-95.
- ³ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 2 (1964), 73-5, 178 where Leland's details of Saints Lives show that he 'used Tynemouth's work itself not Capgrave's epitome.'
- ⁴ J. Leland, *De Rebus Britanniae Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (1774), 3, 169-70.
- ⁵ BL Cotton MS Tiberius EI.
- ⁶ For Thomas Hackluyt and his relations see 'The Hakluyts of Herefordshire' in the introduction to *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (Hakluyt Soc., 2S, 76, 1935) and Penny Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (1958), 159.
- ⁷ HCRO, AG/25.
- ⁸ Scory's charity is alluded to in Townsend (1863), 185.
- ⁹ *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, ed. Rev. William Bazeley, 1 (1892-3), 148-56. *The Life of St. Werburge of Chester by Henry Bradshaw*, ed. C. Horstmann (Early English Text Society, 88, 1887). An early 15th-century poem describes the history of the nunnery at Wilton from its foundation to the reign of Henry I. *S. Editha sive Chronicon Vilodunense in Wiltshire Dialect*, ed. C. Horstmann (Heilbronn, 1883).
- ¹⁰ John of Tynemouth's great collection of saints' lives was arranged according to the order of the church calendar. It was rearranged in alphabetical order by John Capgrave and this was the version published as the *Nova Legenda Anglie* in 1516. The collection was 're-edited with fresh material' by C. Horstmann in two volumes in 1901.
- ¹¹ BL Additional MS 34,633 f207v. BL Harley MS 2253 gives 'Reodesmonht'.
- ¹² The text, taken from BL ADD MS 34,633, is printed with a translation in *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (1961), 201-6; F. S. Stevenson, 'St. Botulf', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* (1922), 29-52.
- ¹³ PR (1549, ii), 393. Leland records a different tradition relating to the castle of Comfort Hills: 'The common fame of the people about Leominster is that king Merewald and some of his successors had a castle or palace on an hillside by the town ... This place is now called Comfort Castle where now be some token of ditches where buildings hath been. The people of Leominster thereabout come once a year to this place to sport and play.' Unfortunately he did not record the date. One would wish it to have been on 26 October, St. Edfrith's festival but Mrs. E. M. Leather, *Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (1973), 156 says that it was 'early on May morning, on Eaton Hill.'
- ¹⁴ This 'choice piece of antiquity communicated by the late Sir John Hartopp to Mr. Warburton, Somerset Herald, in Hackluyt's own hand writing' was reproduced in John Weever, *Antient Funerall Monuments* (2nd ed. 1767), 584-7. Margaret Gelling says of 'this extraordinary inscription': 'If I had to make a guess I would say it was a learned forgery, perhaps of the mid 16th century, by an antiquary who knew Old English letters and had access to Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.' The antiquary in question was apparently building on Leland's statement in the *Itinerary*, 'all the land thereabout, saving only the lordship now called Kingsland.'
- ¹⁵ See Section 1 below.
- ¹⁶ The success of the annual journal *Anglo-Saxon England*, first published in 1972, is a measure of scholarly interest in the period.
- ¹⁷ Finberg (1961), 217-24 and 197-216. Not all historians have regarded the *Testament* with the same optimism. Thus James Campbell described it as 'a source which inspires reserve infused with mistrust' and points out that 'the only incontrovertible early reference to the house at Much Wenlock comes from a letter of Boniface,' 'The First Century of Christianity in England', *Ampleforth Journal*, 76 (1971), 21 & 15, reprinted in J. Campbell *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (1986), 49-67.
- ¹⁸ In 1901 the curate of Much Wenlock, Rev. D. H. Cranage, who subsequently became dean of Norwich, excavated the crossing of the priory in an attempt to find traces of St. Mildburga's original church and that of the 11th century which he assumed replaced it. Cranage's report was published as 'The Monastery of St. Milburga at Much Wenlock' in *Archaeologia*, 72 (1922). This was followed by Rose Graham's 'The History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 3S, 4 (1939), 117-40. Prompted by 'the need for a reassessment ... occasioned by the recent transcription of important medieval manuscripts about St. Milburga and Much Wenlock' which 'throw new light on the historical and architectural problems awaiting solution ... a series of exploratory trenches—better described as "trial digs" than excavations' was undertaken by E. D. C. Jackson and Sir Eric Fletcher in 1962 and 1963. They published their findings in 'The Pre-Conquest Churches at Much Wenlock', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 3S, 28 (1965), 16-38 but their conclusions have been qualified by Humphrey Wood's further excavations on the same site in 1981-6 (see note 235 below) and by the work of D. C. Cox and M. D. Watson, 'Holy Trinity Church, Much Wenlock: A Reassessment', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 190 (1987), 76-87. I am much obliged to Dr. Cox for a most helpful discussion of his findings prior to their publication.



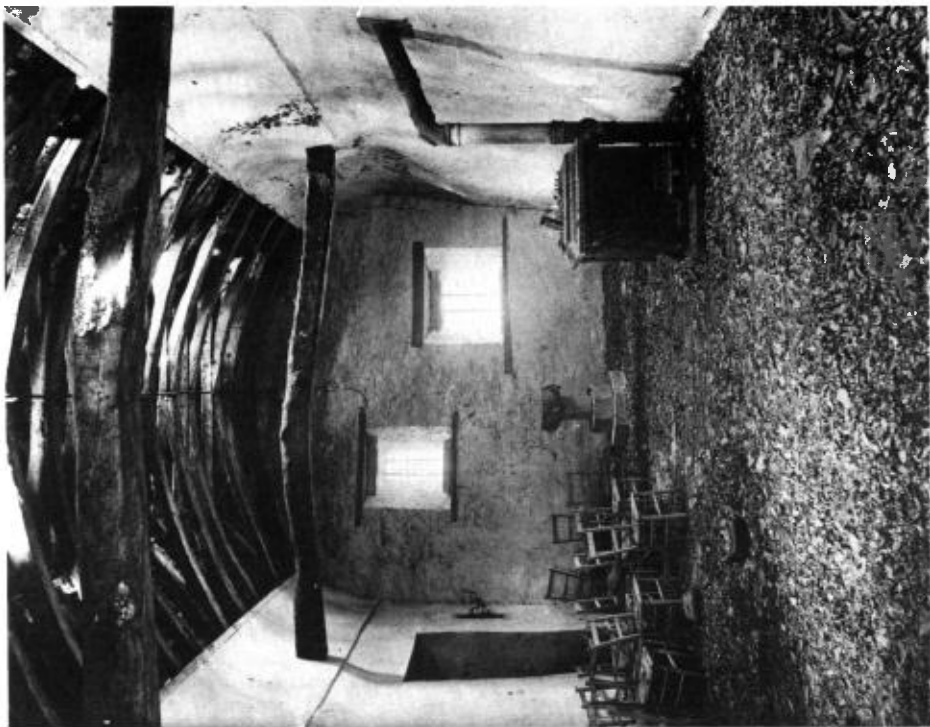
LXI - The Chapel from the east in the late 1930s.



LXIII - The chancel arch wall from the west in 1979 showing the side altars, the blocked niche and the rood loft.



LXII - Looking east into the church from the apex of the west wall in 1979 after clearance of the vegetation.



LXV - The interior of the chapel from the east in the late 1930s showing part of the trussed rafter and collar-beam roof.



LXVI - The internal excavation from above, showing the remains of the semi-circular apse of period 1. West is to the top of the photograph.



LXIV - The interior of the chapel from the west in the late 1930s. The rood or tie-beam is apparent directly in front of the chancel arch.



LXVII - The external excavation from above showing the earlier west wall. West is to the top of the photograph.



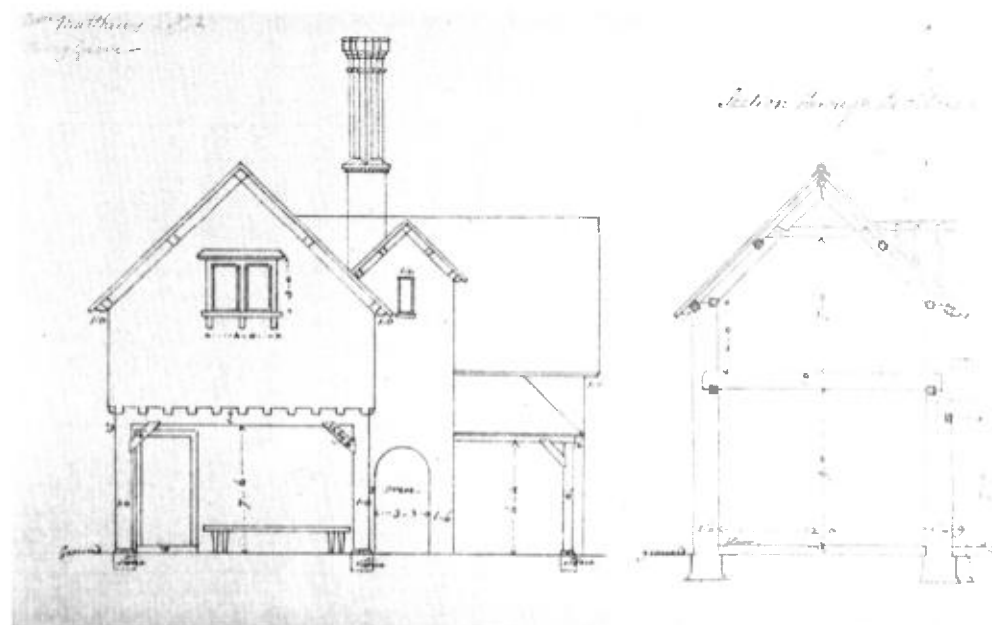
LXVIII - Kingswood Gate ticket (?1877)



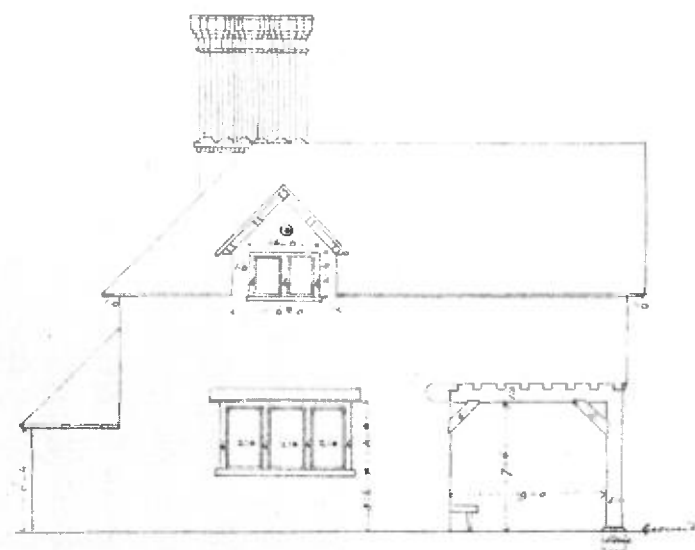
LXIX - Old Bridge Inn, Kingdon and the Kingswood toll house from a postcard by W. J. Yates, Kingdon. (undated)



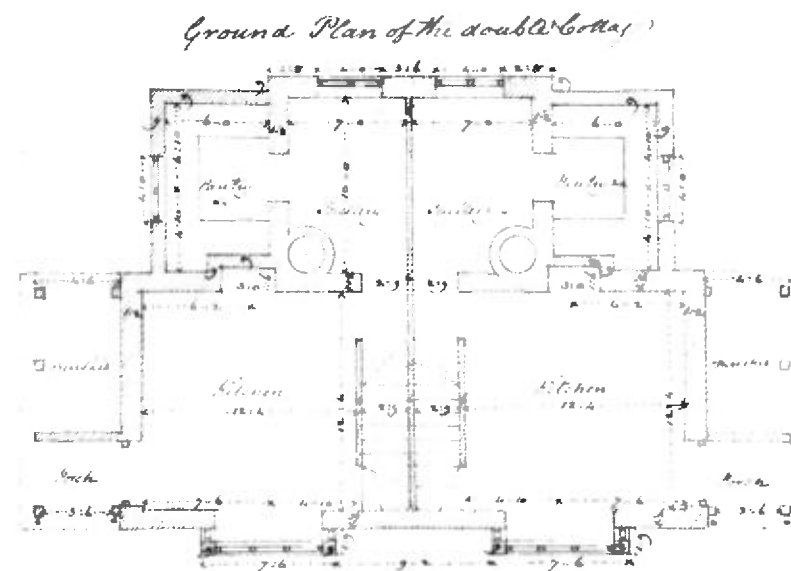
LXX - The Kingswood toll house before restoration.



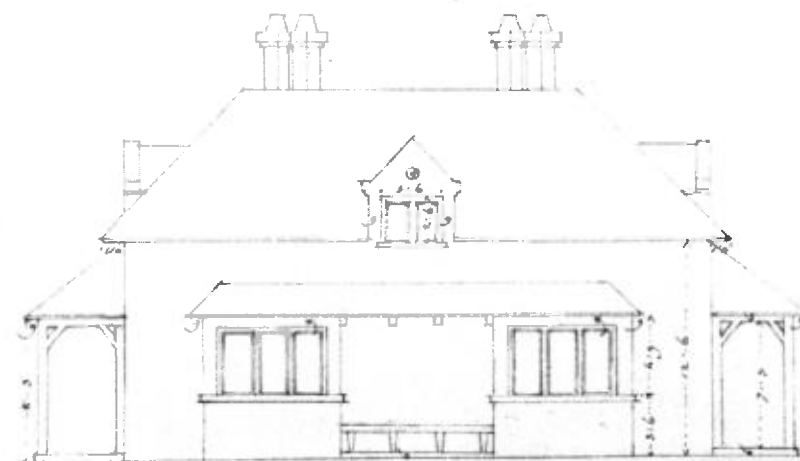
LXXI - No. 2 Spring Grove. Elevation and Section. PNB 95.



LXXII - Elevation of a cottage. PNB 97.



LXXIV - Ground plan of a double cottage. PNB 105.



LXXV - Elevation of a double cottage. PNB 107.



LXXIII - Spring (Grove) Cottage, Belmont, shortly before demolition.



LXXVI - Belmont Cottages, shortly before demolition.



LXXVII - Lake Cottage, Belmont, 1976, from the Hereford Road.



LXXVIII - The Lake, Belmont, showing the rear of Lake Cottage as in 1821.



LXXIX - Dewsall Lodge, Callow, 1976.



LXXX - An unidentified cottage displaying features favoured by Nash and Repton.



LXXXI - The Precentor's Barn from the south-east.



LXXXII - The south elevation of the timber-framed building at the rear of 41 Bridge Street.



LXXXIII - 20 Church Street from the north-east.



LXXXIV - 20 Church Street - the crown-post roof of c. 1400.

¹⁹ Alan Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1-25.

²⁰ Bede, *HE*, IV, 3. 'Chad established his episcopal seat in the town of Lichfield where he also died and was buried and where the succeeding bishops of the province have their see to this day ... When he had ruled the church of the province with great success for two and a half years ... Chad was himself to pass out of this world to our Lord ... Chad died on the second of March (672).' J. Hillaby, 'The Origins of the Diocese of Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLII (i) (1976), 16-52.

²¹ For Worcester see *HE*, IV, 23; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. A. Haddan & W. Stubbs, 3 (1871), 127-30 gives text and comments on Appendix to Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley *et al.*, 1 (1846), 607. For Gloucester see *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri, Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, 1 (RS 33, 1863) and Finberg (1961), 153-66 which discusses 'The Early History of Gloucester Abbey'.

²² Evidence of the tribal name comes from three sources:

i In the Tribal Hidage, in all probability drawn up between 670 and 690, they are called 'Westerna'. W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Context of the Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), 223-93. On p. 227 and n19 it is argued, convincingly, that 'the two decades 670-90 seem the most likely period for the compilation of the list; despite recent comments to the contrary, it is by no means impossible that it was drawn up by Wulfhere himself.' C. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5S 21 (1971), 133-57 and 'The Kingdom of Mercia' in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (1977), 43-61 prefers the second half of the 8th century.

ii In two 10th-century episcopal lists, in BL Cotton MS Vespasian BVI and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 183 they are referred to as *Uestor E...* and *Uestor Elih*. See Hillaby (1976), 23.

iii In St. Mildburga's *Life* they are the *Weste-hani*. This is part of the Kentish Royal Legend which was incorporated by Florence of Worcester in his *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, where they are called *Westan-Hecani*, ed. B. Thorpe, 1 (Engl. Hist. Soc., 10, 1848), 265.

²³ Bede, *HE*, V, 23; E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (1928), 1viii-lix; K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), 220-3 and 240; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd ed. 1947), 46.

²⁴ See maps in Davies and Vierck (1974), Hart (1971) and Hart (1977).

²⁵ Finberg (1961), 217 discusses the evidence for the tribal name *Magonsaetan* but see M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (1982), 102-5.

²⁶ Hillaby (1976).

²⁷ Section 5 below.

²⁸ Reeves (1972), 30-1.

²⁹ R. Cramp 'Monastic Sites' in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (1976), 201-52.

³⁰ D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (1953), 69. 'The earliest foundation was for monks and nuns.' John Godfrey, 'The Double Monastery in Early English History', *Ampleforth Journal*, 79 (1974), 28. 'Merewalh himself founded a double house at Leominster.' S.E. Rigold, 'The "Double Minsters" of Kent and their Analogies', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 3S, 31 (1968), 36-7 identifies Leominster with Bath, Gloucester, Wenlock and 'Penitaham', Worcestershire as the nunneries of the West Marches in his list of north-western European nunneries in the 7th century but apparently dissociates the convent from the monastery founded by Merewalh for Edfrith by the significant, and well-justified, qualification 'c 680.' Unfortunately he gives no reason for this. See Section 2 below.

³¹ Leland, *Itinerary*, 2, 74.

³² The medieval history of the borough of Leominster is to be the subject of a forthcoming study.

Section I

³³ Finberg (1961), 197-216 and A. J. M. Edwards, 'Odo of Ostia's History of the Translation of St. Milburga and its Connection with the Early History of Much Wenlock Abbey' (unpublished University of London MA thesis, 1960) and 'An Early Twelfth Century Account of the Translation of St. Milburga of Much Wenlock', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, 57 (ii) (1962-3), 134-51.

³⁴ Finberg (1961), 200: 'the style is unmistakably Goscelins'; Edwards (1960), 92-138 provides a detailed consideration of the problem of authorship, coming down firmly on the side of Goscelin.

³⁵ D. W. Rollason, 'The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England' (unpublished University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1978), 85; T. J. Hamilton, 'Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of his Life, Works and Accomplishments' (unpublished University of Virginia PhD thesis, 1973).

³⁶ These manuscripts are discussed in detail in A. J. M. Edwards (1960), 1-32. The Gotha Codex is described by P. Grosjean in *AB*, 58 (1940), 90-103.

³⁷ The *Legend of St. Etfrid* is to be found in BL Add MS 34,633 f207v (bottom) to the end of f208v.

³⁸ The full text, with introduction by N. R. Ker, is to be found in *Facsimile of BM, MS Harley 2253* (Early English Text Society, 255, 1965), who draws attention to four lines of verse added in the same hand to BL Royal MS 12 CXII f6v. For Orleton see R. M. Haines, *Church and Politics in Fourteenth-century England* (1978).

- ³⁹ *Register of John de Trillek* (1344-61), ed. J. H. Parry, (Cantilupe Soc., 1910), i-iii, 96-7.
- ⁴⁰ BL Add MS 34,633 f206r; for Mildred see Section 2 below.
- ⁴¹ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (1969), xxxii-xxxiii.
- ⁴² William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (1970) especially Chapter 5, 'The royal role in the conversion of England', 156-73. J. L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (1986), Chapter 3 'Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship' takes the discussion further in terms of the distinction between sanctity and sacrality.
- ⁴³ Bede, *HE*, III, 21 & 24.
- ⁴⁴ D. W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend* (1982), 77. The earliest surviving text of the *Vita Deo dilectae virginis Mildrethae* is the badly burnt BL Cotton MS Otho AVIII.
- ⁴⁵ BL Add MS 34,633 ff207v (bottom) - 208v (end); BL Harley MS 2253, ff132 (middle) - 133 (end).
- ⁴⁶ Jackson (1953), 210-23.
- ⁴⁷ J. Campbell, 'The Conversion of England', *Ampleforth Journal* (1973), 16-19 reprinted in Campbell (1986), 69-84 discusses such problems in relation to Northumbria and western Wessex.
- ⁴⁸ *Angles and Britons: The O'Donnell Lectures*, no editor, (1963), 23.
- ⁴⁹ 'I am confident that *Merewaldus* is a Latinisation of Old English *Merewalh*, and that this means "famous Welshman"', 15 December 1986.
- ⁵⁰ N. K. Chadwick, 'The Celtic Background of Early Anglo-Saxon England' in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. K. Jackson *et al* (1963), 336-7.
- ⁵¹ Bede, *HE*, II, 20.
- ⁵² H. P. R. Finberg, 'Mercians and Welsh' in *Lucerna: Studies in Some Problems in the Early History of England* (1964), 66-82. R. W. D. Fenn, 'Early Christianity in Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1968), 341-2.
- ⁵³ Bede, *HE*, II, 2: Augustine 'summoned their bishops and teachers to a conference.'
- ⁵⁴ J. W. Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church in Wales* (1897), 141.
- ⁵⁵ Bede, *HE*, II, 20.
- ⁵⁶ Quoted in H. Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972), 119-20.
- ⁵⁷ *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. T. Jones (1955), sa 768.
- ⁵⁸ Davies and Vierck (1974), 238.
- ⁵⁹ Finberg (1964), 67-70.
- ⁶⁰ Rollason (1982) Appendix A provides summaries of 11 of the extant texts of the Mildred Legend.
- ⁶¹ *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. F. M. Powicke & E. B. Fryde (2nd ed., 1961), 15.
- ⁶² F. M. Stenton (1947), 47 n1.
- ⁶³ Finberg (1961), 217 and 140; S 1264.
- ⁶⁴ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 (RS 75, 1885), 11 refers only to 'Eormenburga vel Domneva nomine quam habebat in conjugium copulationis legitime rex Merciorum Merewoldus nomine.' The Bodley 285 Text of 1035x59 is more specific and says that 'Domne Eafe married Merewalh, son of Penda, and bore him Mildburg, Mildrith, Mildgith and Merefin who died in childhood.' Rollason (1982), 15-20, 74-5.
- ⁶⁵ S 91, printed in *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, ed. B. Thorpe (1865), 31-3; Rollason (1982), 39. It is improbable that the blood relationship to which Ethelbald referred was through the much less direct route of his cousin Wulfhere's marriage to Eormenhild and thus on the matrilineal side to Mildred (FIGS. 2 and 3). In her *Testament* Mildburga refers to gifts of land made 'by word of mouth, but not without the assent of the most excellent king, Ethelred, my uncle' (Finberg 1961, 205) but it could be objected that this reference may in fact be merely a part of the process of location referred to above, on this occasion by the author of Mildburga's *Life*.
- ⁶⁶ J. Campbell, 'Bede's *Reges & Principes*' in Campbell (1986), 85-98.
- ⁶⁷ Eorcenberht's son, Egbert, came to the throne in the year of his father's death, 664. Rollason (1982), 9 writes of Eorcenberht 'on whose status the versions differ but who was either a joint king or merely a prince.'
- ⁶⁸ Hillaby (1976), 28.
- ⁶⁹ Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. O. M. Dalton, 2 (1927), 68-70.
- ⁷⁰ *MGH: Greg I Reg, Lib 8* (Berlin, 1887), 29. A translation of the relevant part of pope Gregory's letter to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexander, written in July 598, is to be found in R. A. Markus, 'The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence', *J. Eccles. Hist.*, 14 (1963), 24.
- ⁷¹ Bede, *HE*, III, 14.
- ⁷² *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. F. Liebermann (Hanover, 1889), 13-14, No. 20.
- ⁷³ E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th ed. 1960), 295; Ekwall (1928), 451-4; P. H. Reaney, *The Origins of English Place-Names* (1960), 91-2. 'Ekwall explains the name as "the church on the streams" or "in the district of the streams". The latter is more correct.'
- ⁷⁴ Finberg (1961), 141-2 but see also page Section 6 below.

⁷⁵ *The Eleucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Landewivreni AD 1346*, ed. J. M. Jones & John Rhys (*Anecdota Oxoniensia* 1894), 108. Leland, *Itinerary*, 2 (1964), 74.

⁷⁶ BL Add MS 34,633 f208v

⁷⁷ ASC, 'D' for 906 and 'C' for 909, merely state that 'St. Oswald's body was translated from Bardney into Mercia.' The BL MS Stowe 944 refers to St. Oswald 'now resting in the new minster at Gloucester' but David Rollason, 'List of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 7 (1978), 81 believes this to be 'evidently an interpolation made after the translation.' It is William of Malmesbury in the *GP* who tell us 'in the time of Alfred, his daughter Ethelfleda with her husband Ethelred, built a monastery without sparing expense and richly endowed. Here were transferred the king's relics from Bardney.' 'The Early History of Gloucester Abbey' in Finberg (1961), 153-66. C. Heighway *et al*, 'Excavations at Gloucester. Fourth Interim Report: St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, 1975-1976', *Antiq. J.*, 58 (1978), 103-32; C. Heighway, 'Anglo-Saxon Gloucester to AD 1000', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. M. L. Faull (1984), 35-53.

⁷⁸ Hart, I (1863), 4 & 64; Finberg (1961), 140-1, 153-7.

⁷⁹ Bede, *HE*, III, 9; Finberg, (1961), 219 n1; Leland, *Itinerary*, 5 (1964), 37. 'Blancminster' first appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1160.

⁸⁰ ASC, 'E', sa 656.

⁸¹ Finberg (1961), 205.

⁸² BL Add MS 34, 633 f 209r.

⁸³ Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted Out' in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough & R. Collins (1983), 154-75. N. K. Chadwick in Jackson (1963), 331-2. William Malverne's poem on the foundation of St. Peter's, Gloucester refers to:

'...sondry famous Kings also of this land,
Intending to conquer the Realm celestial,
Renounced their Kingdoms, and gladly tooke in hand
Holy Religion and became men spiritual'

and then identifies ten: Coelwulf and Eadbert of Northumbria; Cenred and Ethelred (Merewalh's brother), of Mercia; Sigebert and Offa of East Anglia; Sebbi of the East Saxons; Constantine of Cornwall; Cadwalla and Ine of Wessex. *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, 1 (1892-3), 153-4. See also *Rites of Durham*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Soc. 107, 1903), 124-6 for the screen of the chapel of SS. Jerome and Benedict at Durham Cathedral where were depicted six emperors and six English kings who had so resigned their thrones.

⁸⁴ ASC, sa 757. For the building the most recent evaluations are H. M. Taylor, 'St. Wystan's Church, Repton, Derbyshire: A Reconstruction Essay', *Archaeol. J.*, 144 (1987), 205-45 which concludes that 'the burial in Repton of king Aethelwald is consistent with, but not proof of, his burial in this crypt' and M. Biddle, 'Archaeology, Architecture and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England' in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. L. A. S. Butler & R. K. Morris (CBA Research Report 60, 1986), 15-22; also 'Repton', *Current Archaeology*, 100 (June 1986), 140-1.

⁸⁵ *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (1956), 83-5.

⁸⁶ *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, I (Eng. Hist. Soc., 1848), 265; *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. & trans. R. W. Southern (1962), 50-2.

Section 2

⁸⁷ Rollason (1982), 15-31.

⁸⁸ BL Add MS 34,633 ff 206r-207r; P. Hunter Blair, 'Some observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham' in Jackson (1963), 63-118; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the early sections of the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 97-122.

⁸⁹ Rollason (1982), 43.

⁹⁰ A. T. Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organisation in Two Mercian Boroughs', *Northern History*, 18 (1982), 203-4.

⁹¹ BL Cotton MS Caligula AXIV, f122r & v. This is published by Oswald Cockayne in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft*, 3 (RS 35, iii, 1866), 422-33 and with commentary by M. J. Swanton, 'A Fragmentary Life of St. Mildred and other Kentish Royal Saints', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 91 (1975), 15-27.

⁹² Rollason (1982), 39-40 and 153 n38, referring to S20.

⁹³ Bede, *HE*, I, 25.

⁹⁴ Bede, *HE*, II, 9 & 11.

⁹⁵ Joan Nicholson, 'Feminae Gloriosae: Women in the Age of Bede' in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1, 1978), 23.

⁹⁶ Hillaby (1970), 28, 33-6.

⁹⁷ Finberg (1961), 197-210; Hillaby (1970), 41.

- ⁹⁸ BL Cotton MS Caligula AXIV, f122v.
⁹⁹ BL Add MS 34,633 f208v.
¹⁰⁰ Bede, *HE*, V, 12 and *Historia Abbatum* in *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, 1, ed. C. Plummer (1896), 364-5.
¹⁰¹ Bede, *HE*, IV, 19.
¹⁰² *GP*, 379-80 and *GR*, 1, 935.
¹⁰³ D. M. Stenton, 'Anglo-Saxon Women', in *The English Woman in History* (1957), 8-10; *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. F. L. Attenborough (1922), Ethelbert, 78-9.
¹⁰⁴ Bede, *HE*, IV, 19-20.
¹⁰⁵ *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren (1979), 75.
¹⁰⁶ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs, 3 (1871), 199-202.
¹⁰⁷ BL Add MS 34,633 f208v.
¹⁰⁸ For the various versions see Rollason (1982), also Cockayne (1866), Swanton (1975) and D. W. Rollason, 'The Date of the Parish Boundary of Minster-in-Thanet', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 95 (1979), 7-17.
¹⁰⁹ For the term 'princess minster', M. Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (1961), 201-7.
¹¹⁰ For Folkestone and Lyminge in the various versions of the Kentish Royal Legend see Rollason (1982), 75-114. Also Bede, *HE*, II, 20 and Goscelin's *Libellus contra inanes S. virginis Mildrethae usurpatores* and *Vitam sanctorum Aethelredi et Aethelberti martirum et SS. virginum Miltrudes et Edburgis*. English summaries in M. L. Colker, 'A Hagiographic Polemic', *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), 65-7. For the ruins of the original minster church at Lyminge and its shrines: H. M. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 (1978), 742; E. C. Gilbert, 'The Church of St. Mary and St. Eadburg, Lyminge', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 79 (1964), 143-8; H. M. Taylor, 'Lyminge Churches', *Archaeol. J.*, 126 (1969), 257-60 and Biddle in Butler & Morris (1986), 8.
¹¹¹ Bede, *HE*, III, 8; IV, 19-21. So-called 'Privilege of Wihtrud, 697-8' in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 3 (1871), 238. Comments in Rigold (1968), 29; M. Bateson, 'The Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, NS 13 (1899), 169-77.
¹¹² Bateson (1899), 169-182.
¹¹³ M. Deanesly, 'The Early English and Gallic Minsters', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4S 23 (1941), 25-69; Campbell (1986), 49-67. Especially valuable is Chapter 7, 'The Search for Spiritual Perfection' in S. F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900* (1981), 149-88 where it is pointed out that in southern Gaul 'where Christianity had deeper roots and a network of monasteries had developed, a few nunneries were in existence at the beginning of the sixth century.' Ch. 4 'The Ascent of Monogamy' and 5 'The Consequences of Monogamy' describes how 'Carolingian legislation on the indissolubility of marriage and the exclusion of illegitimate children from inheritance brought about a new concept of the family in the 9th century' in the Frankish lands.
¹¹⁴ 'De Vita S. Radegundis', in *MGH, Script Rer Merov*, 2 (Hanover, 1888), 358-95; Wemple (1961), 61.
¹¹⁵ Bede, *HE*, III, 8 and IV, 23.
¹¹⁶ 'Vita S. Balthildis', in *MGH, Script Rer Merov*, 2 (Hanover, 1888), 475-508; J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history' in Baker (1978), 31-77.
¹¹⁷ P. Sims-Williams, quoting from *Vita Bertilae*, in *MGH, Script Rer Merov*, 6 (Hanover, 1913), 95-109 in 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century' *ASE*, 4 (1975), 1-10.
¹¹⁸ Rollason (1982), 11 and 13; for texts 76, 78, 85, 98, 120.
¹¹⁹ Note 65 above.
¹²⁰ Rollason (1982), 16.
¹²¹ Rollason (1982), 79.
¹²² BL Add MS 34,633 f209r-v; Finberg (1961), 208-9 and 220.
¹²³ F. G. Blacklock, *Suppressed Benedictine Minster* (1898), 14.
¹²⁴ Bede, *HE*, IV, 3.
¹²⁵ BL Cotton MS Otho AVIII, *Vitae Mildrethae* summarised in Rollason (1982), 77-9. John of Tynemouth produced a *Life* of the sisters, BL Cotton MS Tiberius E1 f58v-59v.
¹²⁶ The Welsh Annals record two victories over the English in 722: one at Garth Maelog, probably in Radnorshire; the other at Pen Coed, 'in Deheubarth'. In 760 the two sides fought 'at Hereford', *Brut*, sa 722 & 760.
¹²⁷ Hillaby (1976), 16-52; R. Shoesmith, *Excavations at Castle Green, Hereford* (CBA Research Report 36, 1980), 24-5, 45-9.
¹²⁸ See Section 10 below.
¹²⁹ See Introduction and note 30 above.
¹³⁰ BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII ff59v, 74v; *Monasticon*, 5, 56 trans. Townsend (1863), 267-8.
¹³¹ BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII ff118r&v, 78r, 120v; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. B. R. Kemp, 1 (Camden Soc., 4S 31, 1986), 283-4, 278-9.
¹³² H. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (1946), 30-1, 257-9; C. S. Taylor (1894-5), 72.

- ¹³³ *Register of Thomas Spofford*, ed. A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Soc., 1917), 162; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 3, ed. J. Caley (Record Commission, 1817), 37.
¹³⁴ Blacklock (1898), 18-9.
¹³⁵ Bede, *HE*, II, 3 and III, 14.
¹³⁶ Bede, *HE*, V, 20; *Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (1927), Chap. 22.
¹³⁷ Rollason (1982), 16.
¹³⁸ Edwards (1962-3), 139.
¹³⁹ Cramp in Wilson (1976), 236.
¹⁴⁰ *GP*, 345, 404-5, 394-5 and 421.
¹⁴¹ H. M. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 (1978), 1020-21 on 'Families of Churches' and W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning' in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. M. Faull (1984), 16-9 on the close pairing and linear families of churches.
¹⁴² Bateson (1899), 183; Campbell (1986), 52-3, 57-9.
¹⁴³ Bateson (1899), 170-5, 181; Bede, *HE*, IV, 23.

Section 3

- ¹⁴⁴ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1960 ed.), 145-6.
¹⁴⁵ J. D. Hamshire, 'Domesday Book: Estate Structure in the West Midlands' in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (1987), 155-82.
¹⁴⁶ *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, ed. F. & C. Thorn (1983), 1.10-1.38.
¹⁴⁷ Thorn (1983), 9.7, 9.10, 9.19; 9.3, 9.5, 9.11, 9.15. Two other Herefordshire manors were held by a lady called Edith: Westhild and Stoke Edith in the east of the county. These manors are distinguished from the three northern estates by the fact that it was found necessary to record that the lady concerned 'could go where she would.'
¹⁴⁸ Thorn (1983), note 1.10a 'a total holding of over 150 hides' should read 'over 130 hides'.
¹⁴⁹ Bede, *HE*, V, 23; Letter to Egbert, *EHD*, 1, 734-5.
¹⁵⁰ N. Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (1986), 288-91.
¹⁵¹ *The Early Charters of Wessex*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (1964); *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, ed. C. Hart (1966), 117-45.
¹⁵² D. W. Rollason (1979), 14-6.
¹⁵³ Finberg (1961), 201-6.
¹⁵⁴ See Note 151 above.
¹⁵⁵ D. C. Cox, 'The Vale Estates of the Church of Evesham, c700-1086', *Vale of Evesham Historical Soc. Research Papers*, 5 (1975), 25-50.
¹⁵⁶ Bull of Innocent II confirming the possessions of the church of Hereford to Robert de Bethune (1133x36) transcribed into bishop Trefnant's *Register*, f131v (not in printed text). This refers to Mildfrith as 'Mereduth'.
¹⁵⁷ A. T. Bannister, *Cathedral Church of Hereford* (1924), 21 n1 quoting the calendar of obits, xviii kal February; BL Landsdowne MS 213 f315r-46v printed in L. G. Wickham-Legg, *The Russell Press Stuart Series*, 7 (1904), 80-3, 174-7 describes the 46 wall paintings in the chapter house which included 'the two sisters that gave four manors to the church.'
¹⁵⁸ Leominster Priory Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII, f123r.
¹⁵⁹ BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII, f114r-115v; *Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock (1975), 130.
¹⁶⁰ Leominster Priory Register transcript, HCRO, M31/9/1/f167: 'Memorandum. That the Herneys of Luston, Ivington, Stockton and Stoke say that every freeman or native ...'; f166 refers to 'the elders of the herneys' inquiring into the original of Hugh Smith of Wynnesley. The court held on Wednesday before Christmas 24 Edward III (1350) is headed 'Hernes de Iynton', f64. At a court held on 'Sunday before Nativity of St. John 50 Edward III (1376) Walter atte Wall of Ivington and John his son' paid an entry fine for 'lands and pastures called Dobbelesewe which are held of the Hernes of Ivington', f75. The court held on Sunday before the Purification of the Blessed Mary, 43 Edward III (1369) is headed 'Hernes of Stoke with its members and appurtenances as follows', f115. At the court held on the Sunday before the Purification of the Blessed Mary the succeeding year for 'Stocton cum Harnes' Richard le Childe paid a fine of 20s. for entry into 'a noke of land which Richard his father first held', f22. In the Leominster Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII f246 a 14th-century deed refers to the lands of James de la Mare 'within the hernesse of Stockton'. In addition there are numerous references to Westhernes/Wetherneys in the 14th-century register of Leominster priory and in documents immediately after the dissolution of the priory. In HCRO M31/2 Ivington is called directly 'allia Wesharnes'. References to HCRO M31/9 give original foliation.
¹⁶¹ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 1 (EPNS, 1956), 245.
¹⁶² BL Cotton Charter XVII, 4; John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book' in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (1985) reproduces and discusses this charter.

- ¹⁶³ *Calendars of inquisitions post mortem*, 12, 180 (PRO, 1938); also see W. St. C. Baddeley in *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 39 (1916), 160-1.
- ¹⁶⁴ A. T. Bannister, *Place-Names of Herefordshire* (1916), 124.
- ¹⁶⁵ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* 2 (EPNS, 1964), 206-7. 'Berkeley Harness did in fact denote the territory that came under the jurisdiction of Berkeley; the use of the term *herness* rather than hundred is probably significant in respect of the ancient organisation of the district.' Also see B. R. Kemp, 'The Churches of Berkeley Herness', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 86 (1967), 96-110.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, ed. J. S. Moore (1982), 1.63; C. S. Taylor, 'Berkeley Minster', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 19 (1894-5), 70-84 and 18 (1893-4), 132.
- ¹⁶⁷ H. Round, 'Domesday Survey' in VCH, *Herefordshire* (1908), 270; M. Hollings, 'The Survival of the Five-Hide Unit in the Western Midlands', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 63 (1948), 453-87; N. Hooper, 'Anglo-Saxon Warfare on the Eve of the Conquest: A Brief Survey', *Proc. Battle Conference* (1978), 88-9. However C. W. Atkin, 'Herefordshire' in *Domesday Geography of Midland England* (2nd ed., 1971), 66 holds that 'the five-hide unit is not readily apparent in the majority of entries.'
- ¹⁶⁸ G. R. J. Jones, 'Early Historic Settlement in Border Territory: A Case-Study of Archenfield and its Environs in Herefordshire' in *Recherche de Géographie rurale* ed. C. Christians and J. Claude (Liege, 1979), 117-32 puts forward other models drawn from south Welsh law books of 13- and 7-vill multiple estates.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica ... Auctoritate P. Nicolai*, 5 (Record Commission, 1802), 173.
- ¹⁷⁰ HCRO M31/9 Item 15: 'Wages of the Families at Leominster, Ivynton, Luston, Stocton, Stoke, Hope, Hyde and More.'
- ¹⁷¹ A. H. Smith, (1956), 58-62 and A. Mawer, *The Chief Elements used in English Place-Names*, 1 (ii) (EPNS, 1924) 10-11.
- ¹⁷² HCRO, M31/9/1 f64 for references to the payment of Halimot silver/rent; Price (1794), 79.
- ¹⁷³ F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, (2nd ed. 1961), 43 n2 and 77 and Stenton (1947), 495.
- ¹⁷⁴ Wiltshire CRO, D1/19.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Letters and Papers, 30 Henry VIII* (PRO, 1893), 520-1 No. 1263.
- ¹⁷⁶ HCRO, A63/1/305, 306, 391, 395.
- ¹⁷⁷ PR (1572), 373. 'Grant to James Crofte, Councillor, Controller of the Household, for life, with remainder to Edward Crofte, his son and heir apparent, in tail male, of, - the reversion and rent of the site of the Manor of Luston called 'le Bury' of Luston and lands (named) in Luston.' See also W. J. Tighe, 'Two Documents Illustrating the Marriage of Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy and Mary Shelton', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1984), 420-30.
- ¹⁷⁸ HCRO A63/1/393 and 391, which rental covers the years 1696-1718 and 1776-1854 for the manors of Ivynton, Stockton and Stoke.
- ¹⁷⁹ See note 144 above. *Domesday Book and Beyond* was first published in 1897.
- ¹⁸⁰ G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Development' in *English Medieval Settlement* ed. P. H. Sawyer (1979).
- ¹⁸¹ HCRO M31/9 Item 15.
- ¹⁸² Hope, 'a remote, enclosed place, valley,' is a common Herefordshire place-name, for example Margaret Gelling (1984), 111-21 refers to Hope-under-Dinmore, Gattertop, Westhope, Lawtons Hope and Burghope, all to be found in the area of the Dinmore massif. The VCH identifies the Leominster 'member' of Hope as Miles Hope, north of Laysters, but Thorn (1983) has some doubts, 'it is perhaps Hope-under-Dinmore.' The VCH identifies the latter as a St. Guthlac's manor but that house held (West) Hope on the opposite side of the hill as well as Dudaes Hope, a mile to the east of Bodenham. It did not hold what is now called Hope-under-Dinmore. The Leominster Cartulary carefully distinguishes, in all but four cases, between what it calls Hopemyle and Hopeswde but it is the register which makes it quite evident that Hope-under-Dinmore was the principal estate.
- ¹⁸³ If the royal centre was not at Leominster, it was close at hand. The Maund has been discounted but there are a number of other possible sites. The most probable, Kingsland, was on the major north-south route and, with Eardisland and Monkland, remained a royal enclave within the wide estates granted by Merewalh and his successors to Edfrith's church. Wherever, it was soon eclipsed by Leominster.
- ¹⁸⁴ G. R. J. Jones, 'Basic Patterns of Settlement and Distribution in Northern England', *Advan Sci*, 18 (1961), 192-200; J. Campbell, 'Bede's Words for Places' in *Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement* ed. P. H. Sawyer (1978), 34-54 reprinted in Campbell (1986), 99-120.
- ¹⁸⁵ S. C. Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent, c425-725' in *Archaeology in Kent* ed. P. E. Leach (CBA Research Report 48, 1982), 75; P. Rahtz and P. J. Fowler, 'Somerset AD400-700' in *Archaeology and the Landscape* ed. P. J. Fowler (1972), 187-217; S. M. Pearce, *The Archaeology of South West Britain* (1981), 192-3. For Wenlock see note 18 above and 235 below.
- ¹⁸⁶ I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (3rd ed., 1973), 321-2 and 331-2.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVII (1962), 231.

- ¹⁸⁸ G. R. J. Jones, 'The Pattern of Settlement on the Welsh Border', *Agr. Hist. Rev.*, 8 (1960), 66-81.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. J. Haslam (1984), 130.

Section 4

- ¹⁹⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of David* ed. J. W. James (1967), 33.
- ¹⁹¹ P. Sims-Williams (1975), 1 dismisses 'the assertion ... by Rhigyfarch' as 'obviously invention.'
- ¹⁹² G. H. Doble, 'The Saints of Cornwall', 5 (1970), 80-103.
- ¹⁹³ James (1967), 48.
- ¹⁹⁴ 'Annales Cambriae and Old Welsh Genealogies', ed. Egerton Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, 9 (1888), 152-69. K. Hughes discusses the annals in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources* (1980), Chap. V, 'Annales Cambriae and related texts' and VI, 'A-text of Annales Cambriae'. Hughes agrees with Sir John Lloyd that 'from 796 to 954 the annals must have been kept at St. David's.' She believes that 'there are strong reasons for thinking that the chronicle was started at St. David's in the late eighth century' and that the entries concerning Hereford 'are the work of the St. David's compiler in the late eighth century, or possibly of another reviser.' Also D. Dumville, 'When was the "Clonmacnoise Chronicle" created? The Evidence of the Welsh Annals' in K. Grabowski and D. Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales* (1984).
- ¹⁹⁵ For Leominster see *Register of Richard Swinfield (1283-1317)*, ed. W. W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc., 1909), 124-5; *Register of Thomas Spofford (1422-48)*, ed. A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Soc., 1917), 162. BL Egerton MS 3031 ff6v-8r lists 242 relics at Reading. Denis Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-century Relic Collection' in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. G. J. Cumming and D. Baker (Studies in Church History 9, 1972), 61-72 investigates the relationship of the relic list of the daughter house, Leominster Priory, to that of the mother, Reading Abbey, and shows that Reading plundered the older collection of Leominster. In this way part of the 'rib and bone of St. David' travelled from Leominster to Reading in the early 12th century. This was not in the Leominster list in Swinfield's register but a series of indulgences in the Leominster Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian, AIII ff72r-3r show that it was accepted to be at Leominster—'even by bishop Iorwerth of St. David's' (1215-29). Hence the 'principal feast' referred to in Spofford's register. Also G. H. Doble, 'The Leominster Relic-List', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXI (1942), 58-65.
- For Glastonbury: *William of Malmesbury's Early History of Glastonbury*, ed. and trans. J. Scott (1981), 1, 62-5, 71, 95, 192-3; J. Armitage Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury's "On the Antiquity of Glastonbury"' in *his Somerset Historical Essays* (1921), 1-25; G. H. Doble, 'The Celtic Saints in the Glastonbury Relic List', *Notes Queries Somerset Dorset*, 24 (1943-6), 86-9; I. G. Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics in Medieval England', (unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 1974), 171 and 386.
- ¹⁹⁶ *English Calendars before AD 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (HBS 72, 1934).
- ¹⁹⁷ S. M. Harris, *St. David in the Liturgy* (1940), 69-72; *Asser's Alfred the Great*, trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (1983), 48-53.
- ¹⁹⁸ Scott (1981), 63-5 and 192.
- ¹⁹⁹ BL Egerton, 3031; S. Barfield, 'Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 3 (1888), 123-5; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd ed., 1964), 114. On David's relics see Section 8, on his feast Section 10 above.
- ²⁰⁰ W. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis: its construction and credibility', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 88 (1973); W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (Roy. Hist. Soc., 1978); W. Davies, *Llandaff Charters* (1979).
- ²⁰¹ B. G. Charles, 'The Welsh, their Language and Place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry' in *Angles and Britons* (1963), 85-96.
- ²⁰² W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (1982), 196.
- ²⁰³ 'The Welsh church of the twelfth century was a remarkable mingling of old traditions and new ideas: the bishoprics were based on old shrines and established Welsh saints, the idea of fixed diocesan boundaries made a little headway, as we shall see; but it was the Normans who carried it through,' C. N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (1986), 2.
- ²⁰⁴ James (1967), 43; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales* (1908), 16; Davies (1982), 179. 'Of (Celtic) relics of the associative type, by far the most numerous are bells and staffs (bachalls). In both literature and iconography bell and staff are depicted as the insignia of the ecclesiastic,' A. T. Lucas 'The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland', *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ir.*, 116 (1986), 7-11. Also C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (1910), clxv-clxxiv.
- ²⁰⁵ On the relationship of Glasgwm and Cregrina to St. David's see *Black Book of St. David's*, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund (Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1902), 290-3, 330-1.
- ²⁰⁶ W. H. Howse, *Radnorshire* (1949), 228-9.
- ²⁰⁷ V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950), 37, Nos. 410 and 411 and Plate 52.

²⁰⁸ The subject of the dedication of Celtic churches aroused considerable interest even before E. Bowen's *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (1954). The subject was discussed further in E. Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands* (1977), 81-111. In 'The Evidence of Dedications in the Early History of the Welsh Church', *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. Chadwick *et al.* (1954), Owen Chadwick suggested that there were but 'two dedications, to David and Teilo, known to exist before the eleventh century' and queried whether these cathedral dedications were original. Subsequently Wendy Davies (1978), 132 has shown references to David in four charters of the 7th and 8th centuries as well as many other saints before the 11th century. The subject of church dedication and dependency is discussed further in Davies (1982), 145-6, 162-4 and 176-7 where such 'founding' saints as Dinebo at Llandinabo and Guorboe at Garway are mentioned.

²⁰⁹ *Itinerary through Wales* (1908), 34-5.

²¹⁰ N. K. Chadwick, 'Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church' in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick *et al.* (1958), 133 and 161-2; James (1967), 29.

²¹¹ Campbell (1986), 71-2 n15, 'It is highly probable that Northumbria contained considerable numbers of British Christians. The same could be said of parts of Mercia.'

²¹² Davies (1982), 90-4; James (1967), 33. The earlier texts read Proprius, king of Erging.

²¹³ Davies (1978), 66; W. Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (1979), 74-5, 92-4. 'An entry in the *Annales Cambriae* which, though the reading is far from clear, appears to relate to him records (David's) death s.a. 601,' N. Chadwick (1958), 131 n2.

²¹⁴ Davies (1982), 98-101.

²¹⁵ The process is described somewhat differently by Fenn (1968), 339: 'The land of the Cornovii became the kingdom of Powys and it is not unlikely that the Saxon penetration into the eastern extremity was either preceded or accompanied by a process of disintegration. This produced several small units of people like the Pecsaetan, Wreocensaetan and Magonsaetan.'

Section 5

²¹⁶ The Cistercian abbey of Bordesley, near Redditch has a boundary bank which apparently marks off part of its precinct. I. Burrow and C. Dyer in *Bordesley Abbey: The first Report on Excavations 1969-1973*, ed. P. Rahtz and S. Hirst (BAR, 23, 1976) 120, 132 are categorical that it did not 'serve as a vallum monasterii as in earlier monasteries, as it did not surround the whole monastic area.' This 'major earthwork running parallel to R Arrow to the north of the main claustral complex ... becomes much less marked on the hillside (to the south) when it leaves the floodplain of the Arrow ... it seems likely that a major reason for constructing the bank was to protect the low-lying land near the river from flooding.'

²¹⁷ C. Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971), 38; L. A. S. Butler, 'The Monastic City in Wales: Myth or Reality?', *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, 28 (1979), 458-67 referring especially to the *Book of Mulling*, ed. H. J. Lawlor (1897), 167-85.

²¹⁸ R. Haslam, *Powys* (1979), 159.

²¹⁹ 'Whithorn', *Current Archaeology*, 96 (April 1985), 27-9; P. Hill, *Whithorn 1, Excavations 1984, 1986; Interim Report* (1987), 1-6.

²²⁰ C. Thomas (1971), 27-43.

²²¹ Bede, *HE*, III, 19 and 22.

²²² *The Church in British Archaeology*, ed. R. Morris (CBA Research Report 47, 1983), 41-5; S. E. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum—The Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in *The Saxon Shore*, ed. D. E. Johnston (CBA Research Report 18, 1977), 70-5.

²²³ C. Thomas (1971), 29-31.

²²⁴ R. Reece, *Excavations in Iona, 1965-74* (University of London Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publications 5, 1981); J. W. Barber, 'Excavations in Iona, 1979', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 111 (1981), 282-380; Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Scotland), *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments*, 4, Iona (1982).

²²⁵ C. A. R. Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey before 1184: Interim Report on the Excavations 1908-64', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury* (Brit. Archaeol. Ass. Conf. Trans. for 1978, 1981), 113-4; *Medieval Archaeol.*, 23 (1979), 243; P. J. Ellis, 'Excavations at Silver Street, Glastonbury', *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 126 (1982), 17-24; W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning' in Faulk (1984), 18-21.

²²⁶ K. Barker, 'The Early History of Sherborne' in *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland*, ed. S. M. Pearce (1982), 103-5.

²²⁷ 'Life of St. Leoba' in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* trans. C. H. Talbot (1954), 207.

²²⁸ Townsend (1863), 62.

²²⁹ Gelling (1984), 54-6.

²³⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, Moor (2).

²³¹ HCRO M31/9/1, quoted by Price (1795), 156, 157, 177.

²³² HCRO M31/9/1 ff80, 107.

²³³ HCRO M31/9/1 ff36, 58, 97, 98.

²³⁴ S. C. Stanford, 'Bromfield Excavations—from Neolithic to Saxon Times', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.*, 64 (1985), 1-7.

²³⁵ H. Woods, 'Excavations at Wenlock Priory, 1981-6', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 140 (1987), 36-75. I am much obliged to Humphrey Woods for discussion of both his Wenlock 1981-6 and Glastonbury 1987 excavations prior to publication.

²³⁶ C. Thomas (1971), 85-8.

Section 6

²³⁷ Bede, *HE*, IV, 27.

²³⁸ *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (1970), 231; Mayr-Harting (1972), 244-8; John Blair (1985), 104-42.

²³⁹ Hereford Dean & Chapter Records, A4067. Copy with transcription and translation in *Bromyard: A Local History*, ed. J. Hillaby and E. Pearson (1970), fig 1.

²⁴⁰ J. Hillaby, *Ledbury: An Essay in Interpretation* (1982), 11-14. F. E. Harmer, 'A Bromfield and a Coventry Writ of King Edward the Confessor' in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture*, ed. P. Clemoes (1959), 89-103.

²⁴¹ Ekwall (1960): 'Presthemede 1252, Presthemede 1291. "Household of priests." Second element OE *haemed*, which is recorded only in the sense "marriage, sexual intercourse", but must also have meant "household." H. M. Taylor (1965), 497-9 has conjectured that the existing church incorporates part of an aisleless pre-Conquest church of grey ragstone. Also J. & H. M. Taylor, 'Pre-Norman Churches of the Border' in Jackson (1963), 243.

²⁴² J. Godfrey, *The English Parish, 600-1300* (1969), 1-33, 42-62. For a discussion of Bromyard *parochia* which on the west met that of Leominster see J. Hillaby, 'Introduction' to P. Williams, *Whitbourne: A Bishop's Manor* (1979), 1-3 and Map 1b, 'Bromyard *Parochia* and Plegeliet hundred', xi.

²⁴³ In Reading Abbey Cartulary, BL Egerton MS 3031 f54v-55r and Leominster Priory Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII f59v. Printed in *Monasticon*, 5, 56 and *Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (1967), 392-3 and Kemp, 1 (1986), 287-8. It is discussed in detail by B. R. Kemp in 'The foundation of Reading Abbey and the growth of its possessions and privileges in England in the twelfth century' (unpublished University of Reading PhD thesis, 1966).

²⁴⁴ Kemp (1966), Appendix 6.

²⁴⁵ *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. A. J. Robertson (1925), II Edgar 1 & 2; VIII Ethelred 5; I Canute 11.

²⁴⁶ Robertson (1925), II Edgar 3; V Ethelred 11 & 12; VI Ethelred 16-19; I Canute 8-10, 12. Church dues are discussed by N. Neilson, 'Customary Rents' in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, 2, ed. P. Vinogradoff (1910), 188-210. In the mid-17th century such dues were still acknowledged by Aylton to its mother church Ledbury: 'A third part of the tithe sheaf corn is gathered by Proprietors of the Upper Hall, Ledbury' and another third by the proprietors of the Lower Hall, Ledbury. These were, until the Reformation, the estates of the portionists, the successors of the Saxon minster priests. *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVI (1958), 55.

²⁴⁷ At Bromyard as late as the reign of Elizabeth I the clergy of the 15 'inferior' churches of its *parochia* still owed attendance at the mother church 'upon Whitsun Monday to help say service ... confessing the same to be the Mother Church.' A fine of half a mark (6s. 8d.) would be levied for nonattendance. Hereford Dean and Chapter Archives, A2324.

²⁴⁸ Hillaby & Pearson (1970), 36-7; Hillaby (1982), 11-24.

Section 7

²⁴⁹ D. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England, 940-1216*, (1963), 23-36.

²⁵⁰ Keynes & Lapidge (1983), 102-5.

²⁵¹ E. John, 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth Century Reformation' in *Orbis Britanniae* (1966), 154-6.

²⁵² Keynes & Lapidge (1983), 92-3.

²⁵³ F. M. Stenton (1947), 268, 190, 199; Chadwick in Jackson (1963), 343-6; K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (1953), 1-28. See note 302 below.

²⁵⁴ P. Stafford, 'Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages', in Baker (1978), 79-100 suggests that 'at the centre of most documented intrigues in the royal family stands the queen' and 'nunneries were emphatically the favoured way of disposing of surplus daughters.' In Wessex 'from 852 until 1042 brother succeeded brother on every possible occasion' giving 'a misleading impression of a fixed rule,' P. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex, 800-1066', *Past and Present*, 91 (1981), 3-27 and Nelson in Baker (1978), 31-77.

- 255 Levison (1946), 249-59.
 256 John (1966), 171 quoting *Adamnani Vita S. Colombae*, ed. J. Fowler (1894), genealogical table.
 257 Finberg (1961), 197-8.
 258 C. S. Taylor (1894-5), 70-84.
 259 Liebermann (1889), 9-19.
 260 Rollason (1978) and D. W. Rollason 'The Shrines of Saints in later Anglo-Saxon England: distribution and significance' in Butler & Morris (1986), 32-43.
 261 S677. Text translated in *EHD* 1, 514-6; Finberg (1961), 141-2.
 262 Thorn (1983), 1, 12.
 263 BL Harley MS 3776, f126r; Liebermann (1889), 13.
 264 D. H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (1980), 96 and 432; Rollason (1978), 19, 72; Butler & Morris (1986), 40.
 265 S 1507; *EHD*, 1, 494.
 266 S 403; E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, 87 (1948), 135-46; P. Sawyer, 'Royal Tun in Pre-Conquest England' in P. Wormald (1983), 295.
 267 H. Poole, 'The Domesday Book Churches of Sussex', *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, 87 (1948), 36-49; *Domesday Book: Sussex*, ed. J. Morris (1976), 11.59 & 11.63; VCH, *Sussex*, 2, (1907), 121.

Section 8

- 268 See note 195 above. *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 124-5 discussed by G. H. Doble, 'The Leominster Relic List', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXI (1942), 58-65.
 269 BL Egerton MS 3031 ff6v-8v; BL Cotton MS Cleopatra EIV f234. The latter is printed in *Monasticon*, 4, 47-8 and *Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, ed. T. Wright (Camden Soc., OS 26, 1843), 226-7. The lists are discussed by Bethell (1972). The subject of relics is dealt with more comprehensively and in a broader context by I. G. Thomas (1974).
 270 BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII f74; text in *Monasticon*, V, 56; translated Townsend (1863), 267-8.
 271 Lost in the Welsh attack of 1055.
 272 See note 31 above.
 273 Keynes & Lapidge (1983), 105; RCHM, *Dorset*, 4 (1972), 55-8; VCH, *Dorset*, 2 (1908), 73.
 274 *GP*, 188.
 275 M. A. Meyer, 'Women in the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform', *Revue Benedictine*, 87 (1977), 38-48. Doble (1942) suggests that Elvena 'may be Aelwena, sister of Eadnod (a monk of Worcester) and by him appointed first abbess of Chatteris.'
 276 See notes 195, 268 & 270 above.
 277 Keynes & Lapidge (1983), 88; *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (1930), 169-70.
 278 J. Armitage Robinson, 'King Athelstan: A Collector of Relics', *Times of St. Dunstan* (1923), 71-80.
 279 Robinson (1923), 71-80; C. N. Brooke, *Saxon and Norman Kings* (1967), 119-24 describes him as 'the Pierpont Morgan of his age.' For Exeter list see *Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren (1883), 3-5; *GR*, 1, 157.
 280 Exeter: *Monasticon*, 2, 528-31 and *Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren (1883), lxi-lxii & 3-5; Glastonbury: *John of Glastonbury: Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* ed. J. P. Carley (BAR 47(i), 1978), 19-26, 342-5; Malmesbury: *GR*, 149-50 and on Athelstan's burial there *GP*, 397; Milton Abbey: *Monasticon*, 2, 349-50 and *GP*, 186 & 400.
 281 W. H. Stevenson, 'A Latin Poem addressed to King Athelstan', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 26 (1911), 482-7.
 282 M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin poems as evidence for the reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9 (1981), 83-98.
 283 Lapidge (1981), 83-4; E. E. Barker, 'Two Lost Documents of King Athelstan', *ASE* 6 (1977), 137-43.
 284 *ASC*, 'D', sa 926.
 285 *GR*, 1, 148.
 286 F. M. Stenton (1947), 337.

Section 9

- 287 Humfrey Wanley, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottoniae* (1705) in volume 2 of George Hickes, *Thesaurus...* (1703-5).
 288 *A Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, ed. N. R. Ker (1959), 200.
 289 M. Lapidge (1981), 84-6.
 290 Notes in the BL Manuscript room refer to an edition by Dr. B. Muir of the University of Melbourne of his 1981 University of Toronto PhD dissertation 'BL MS Cotton Galba AXIV and Cotton Nero AII ff3r-13v' to be 'published by the Henry Bradshaw Society.' Boydell's 1988 catalogue advises of its publication, this year, as *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book*.

- 291 F. N. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter* (1908), 152.
 292 For Winchester as the home of Galba AXIV: E. Bishop, 'About an Old Prayer Book', *Liturgica Historica* (1918), 387 'Now we can recognise where we are—at Winchester.' Gasquet & Bishop (1908), 156; R. Priebisch, *The Heland MS: Cotton Caligula AVII* (1925), 26-7 traces two of the hands 'to the same scriptorium at Winchester.' They are followed by E. S. Dewick & W. H. Frere in *The Leofric Collectar*, 2 (HBS 57, 1921), and H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England' in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985), 138.
 293 On Nero AII: F. Rose-Troup, 'The Ancient Monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter, 680-1050', *Trans. Devonshire Ass.*, 63 (1931), 179-220; H. Gneuss, 'Manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 23; Lapidge (1981), 85-6; Farmer (1978), 327 refers to it as a Truro calendar.

Section 10

- 294 M. Perham, *The Communion of Saints* (Alcuin Club, 1980), 1-32 is a commendable introduction. Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologues Historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1908) and Hippolyte Delchaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Subsidia Hagiographica 20, Bruxelles, 1933) provide much help with analysis. For the origins, W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy, I The Kalendar* (Alcuin Club 28, 1930).
 295 Printed in F. Wormald (1934).
 296 F. Wormald (1934), vi.
 297 See Sections 4 and 8 above. 'Sancti Devvi' was added to K4, the Leofric Missal, c. 1050, when the *Kalendar* was at Exeter Cathedral. The entry in Nero AII reads 'Deawig episcopi.' S. M. Harris in *St. David in the Liturgy* (1940), 9 comments that this 'unusual form ... is evidently derived by metathesis from the Old Welsh *Deui*. By the 11th century this had become *Dewi*. The entry in this form witnesses to a cult ... some two centuries earlier than the date of the Kalendar in which it is found. This is indeed the form ... found in Asser's book on Alfred.' However B. Dickens, 'St. David in Early English Kalendars and Place-Names' in Jackson *et al* (1963), 206-9 points out that there is 'nothing abnormal about the spelling of ... Deawig.'
 298 See Sections 11 and 12 below.
 299 A critical edition of the Hieronymian martyrology with the Berne, Epternach and Wisseburg texts was provided by G. B. de Rossi and E. Duchesne in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov II, 1 (Bruxelles, 1894) and a critical commentary by H. Quentin and H. Delehaye in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov II, 2 (Brussels, 1931).
 300 *MGH, Greg 1 Ep 1*, ed. P. Ewald (Berlin, 1887), 107-8, No. 29.
 301 Bede, *HE*, IV, 18.

Section 11

- 302 These are: i Cambridge University Library, L1 1.10 in *The Prayer Book of Adalwald the Bishop, commonly called the Book of Cerne* ed. A. B. Kuypers (1902); ii BL Harley MS 2965 in *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1889); iii BL Harley MS 7653 in *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 2, ed. F. E. Warren (HBS 10, 1895), 83-6; iv BL Royal MS 2 AXX in Kuypers (1902), 200-25. See Gneuss (1981), 137-8.
 303 Ker (1959), 198-201.
 304 R. A. Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS Cotton Galba AXIV', *Notes and Queries*, 210 (June 1965), 207-13; A. McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 35 (1949), 110-13 describes the characteristics of this late 'debased' Old English verse—one of 'five clearly separable stylistic genres' of the late Old English period.
 305 Bishop (1918), 388-90.
 306 Bishop (1918), 386-7.
 307 B. Muir, 'Two Latin Hymns by Colum Cille (St. Columba)', *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, 39 (1983), 205-9.
 308 J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (reprint 1979), 264.
 309 For a brief introduction to Hisperic speech see Deanesly (1961), 134-6.
 310 *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2, ed. J. H. Bernard & R. Atkinson (HBS 14, 1898), 23-6, 140-69 comments on the manuscripts, provides texts of the prefaces and notes on *Altus Prosator*.
 311 Bishop (1918), 386.
 312 See Section 10.
 313 *Regularis Concordia*, trans. T. Symons (1953), 1-2; Robinson (1923), 113-6, 129-31; J. Armitage Robinson, 'Saint Oswald and the Church of Worcester', *Brit. Acad. Supplemental Paper*, 5 (1919), 3-21; Sir Ivor Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century', *Antiq. J.*, 20 (Jan. 1940), 5-11; Taylor (1893-4), 107-33.
 314 'The chapters of the Concordia are concerned exclusively with the spiritual or liturgical life of men and women who lived in the monasteries, that is with the performance of the Divine Office.' M. Gatch, 'The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism' in Lapidge & Gneuss (1985), 343.

- ³¹⁵ *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. J. M. Ure (1957), 81-102; *The Leofric Collectar*, ed. E. S. Dewick & W. H. Frere, 2 vols. (HBS 56 & 57, 1914 & 1921).
- ³¹⁶ Banks (1965), 210-3.
- ³¹⁷ Symons (1953), xliii-iv.
- ³¹⁸ Banks (1965), 212.
- ³¹⁹ M. Bateson, 'Rules for Monks and Canons', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 9 (1894), 707; Robinson (1923), 121-2.
- ³²⁰ Symons (1953), 5.
- ³²¹ BL Cotton MS Faustina, AX f148r; 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' in Cockayne (1866), 434-7.
- ³²² See notes 277-9 above.
- ³²³ Symons (1953), xlv; T. Symons, 'Sources of the *Regularis Concordia*, Part 2: Customs of Native Origin', *Downside Review*, 59 (1941), 156-7; Bishop (1918), 168.
- ³²⁴ Kuypers (1902).
- ³²⁵ See Section 8.
- ³²⁶ Symons (1953), 41-5.
- ³²⁷ *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonense* ed. A. Dumas (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 159, Turnhout, 1981), 452-9, 481-4; *Le Sacramentaire Gregorien*, 1, ed. J. Deshusses (*Spicilegium Friburgense* 16, Fribourg Suisse, 1971), 480-5. More readily available is *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson (HBS 49, 1915), 220-6; *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* ed. H. A. Wilson (HBS 11, 1896), 274-9; *The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan*, ed. A. Hughes (HBS 89 & 90, 1958), 163-7.
- ³²⁸ *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 1, ed. E. Duemmler (Berlin, 1881), 228, 328.
- ³²⁹ Symons (1953), 63-5.
- ³³⁰ Symons (1953), 39, 61-2.
- ³³¹ Reconstructed from Cockayne, 2 (1865), 294-7.
- ³³² A. L. Meaney, 'Variant Versions of Old English Medical Remedies', *ASE*, 13 (1984), 240-1 also M. L. Cameron, 'Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 11 (1983), 135-55 and 'Bald's Leechbook: Its Sources and their Use in its Compilation', *ASE*, 12 (1983), 153-82.
- ³³³ BL Egerton MS 3031, f12v transcribed by S. Barfield in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 3 (1888), 124.

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- ³³⁴ See note 314 above.
- ³³⁵ Liebermann (1889), 14; C. A. R. Radford, 'The Church of St. Alkmund, Derby', *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.*, 96 (1976), 26-61.
- ³³⁶ D. W. Rollason 'The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 11 (1983), 4-5, n17.
- ³³⁷ VCH, *Shropshire*, 1 (1908), 291, 294.
- ³³⁸ *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, ed. D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock (2nd ed., 1971), 438.
- ³³⁹ J. Bacon, *Liber Regis* (1786), 363.
- ³⁴⁰ See note 77 above.
- ³⁴¹ Levison (1946), 249, 253.
- ³⁴² Gasquet & Bishop (1908), 38-9, 62.
- ³⁴³ W. G. Hoskins, *Devon* (1959), 219.
- ³⁴⁴ See Section 8.
- ³⁴⁵ G. H. Doble, 'The Relics of St. Petroc', *Antiquity*, 13 (1939), 403-15; P. Grosjean, 'Vies et Miracles de S. Petroc', *AB* 74 (1956), 131-88; G. H. Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, 4 (1965), 132-66.
- ³⁴⁶ D. P. Mould, *The Irish Saints* (1964), 76-9; P. Grosjean, 'Vita S. Ciarani Episcopo de Saiger ex Codice Hagiographico Gothano', *AB* 59 (1941), 217-72; Doble, 4 (1965); S. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia* (1978), 136, 173, 199; S. Baring Gould & J. Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, 2 (1908), 119-38 give a detailed account of the Irish traditions but were unaware of the Exeter identification with Piran.
- ³⁴⁷ Ekwall (1960), 271; L. Fleuriot, 'Les Evêques de la *Clas Kenedyr*, évêché disparu de la région de Hereford', *Etudes Celtiques*, 15 (1976-7), 15-6.
- ³⁴⁸ Ekwall (1960), 411; G. H. Doble, *St. Suliau and St. Tysilio* (1936); M. Miller, *The Saints of Gwynedd* (1979), 82.
- ³⁴⁹ Gould & Fisher, 4 (1913), 279-82.
- ³⁵⁰ *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 238-9; *Register of John Trefnant (1389-1404)*, ed. W. W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc., 1914), 178, 186, 189. Presentations to the benefice will be found in a number of other registers of the bishops of Hereford: Stanbury, 1464; Myllyng, 1489; Bothe, 1519. In 1536 the benefice of 'Capella libera sancte Tiriaci' was valued at 26s.8d.
- ³⁵¹ Ekwall (1960), 401.

- ³⁵² M. Lapidge, 'The Cult of St. Indract at Glastonbury' in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. D. Whitelock *et al* (1982), 179-98 modifies the findings of G. H. Doble, 'Saint Indract and Saint Dominic', *Somerset Record Series*, 57 (1942), 1-22.
- ³⁵³ For Aelfward see *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (RS, 83, 1886), 148-50, 157-8, 198, 340; *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray (RS, 29, 1863), 36-9, 81-5, 313-4.
- ³⁵⁴ Benedictines of Stanbrook (L. McLachlan), *Saint Ecwini and his abbey of Evesham* (1904); *The Chronicle of Evesham Abbey* trans. D. C. Cox (1964); M. Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecwini', *Vale of Evesham Hist. Soc. Research Papers*, 6 (1977), 77-93; M. Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham's *Vita S. Ecwini Episcopi et Confessoris*', *AB*, 96 (1978), 65-77; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecwini*', *Med. Studies*, 41 (1979), in addition to McCray (1863) & (1866).
- ³⁵⁵ C. Hohler, 'St. Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Bucks*, 18i (1966), 43-57; D. Bethell, 'The Lives of St. Osyth of Essex and St. Osyth of Aylesbury', *AB*, 88 (1970), 75-110.
- ³⁵⁶ Wormald described its origins as 'problematical because its obits are almost certainly from Worcester Cathedral and date from the reign of St. Wulfstan.' However the commemoration of St. Wistan on 1 June, Egwin on 13 September, translation of Egwin and Odulf on 10 October and the feast of Odulf on 24 November make it evident that the *Kalendar* originated at Evesham. For obits Atkins (1940), 28-31. Bishop (1918), 384-91.
- ³⁵⁷ See Sections 7 and 8. For Beonwald see J. Blair in *Oxoniensis*, 49 (1984), 47-55.
- ³⁵⁸ Finberg (1961), 220; P. Grosjean, 'Saints Anglo-Saxons des Marches Galloises', *AB* 79 (1961), 167; Rollason (1982), 15-20; Doble (1942), 62. The *List* gives a St. Ethelbert at Bedford but note Rollason (1978), 80-1 is of the view that the *Lists* are 'in the spirit of the Roman tradition, since their form implies that they are dealing predominantly with whole saints, not with small corporeal relics of saints, or, in other words, that the entire earthly remains of the saint rest where they locate them.'
- ³⁵⁹ Leland, *Itinerary*, 2 (1964), 74; Liebermann (1889), 14 n8.
- ³⁶⁰ Wormald (1934), 183-95; Gasquet & Bishop (1908), 165.
- ³⁶¹ W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum; Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from Bede to King John* (1897).
- ³⁶² John Freeman quoted in Thorn (1983), notes to 1.10a, Leominster.
- ³⁶³ Morey & Brooke (1967), No. 334; B. R. Kemp, 'The Monastic Dean of Leominster', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 83 (1968), 505-15. Despite bishop Hugh Foliot's acceptance of the prior's status, conflict between bishops of Hereford and abbots of Reading continued for many years, eg. *Reg. Swinfield*, 30, 64; *Close Rolls*, 1384, 363 & 593.
- ³⁶⁴ *Register of Thomas Cantilupe (1275-82)*, ed. R. G. Griffiths (Cantilupe Soc., 1907), 37-8, 46-9, 116-7, 265-7, 270-1; *Reg. Swinfield* (1909), 14-15, 108-10, 131-2, 149.
- ³⁶⁵ Bateson (1899), 103; Godfrey (1974), 31.

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- ³⁶⁶ The will of Wulfgeat is printed and discussed in *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (1930), 54-6, 163-7 where it is pointed out that the identification of the testator with a royal thegn whose lands were forfeited in 1006 (ASC, 'C', 'D' & 'E') 'rests on a very slender foundation.' Another candidate, a kinsman of Wulfruna who bequeathed ten hides to the minster at Wolverhampton, who was dead by 994 is 'more probably the testator but ... the evidence is not sufficient to justify either identification.'
- ³⁶⁷ Florence of Worcester, *sa* 1057 was misconstrued by William of Malmesbury, *GR*, 1, 237 who wrote that 'Leofric and his wife Godiva, munificent in matters of religion, built many monasteries as Coventry, St. Mary's Stow, Wenlock, Leominster and some others; to the rest he gave ornaments and estates; to Coventry he assigned his body with a very large donation of gold and silver.'
- ³⁶⁸ ASC, 'C', *sa* 1039; *Brut*, *sa* 1039.
- ³⁶⁹ ASC, 'C', *sa* 1046.
- ³⁷⁰ Florence of Worcester, *sa* 1049; *Hemmingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 1, ed. T. Hearne (1723), 275-6.
- ³⁷¹ E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 2 (3rd ed., 1877), 89-90, 608-11. Freeman's views are reassessed by F. Barlow in *Edward the Confessor* (1970), 89-91, 99-103, 303.
- ³⁷² *Eadmer's History of Recent Events*, trans. G. Bosanquet (1964), 6.
- ³⁷³ Florence of Worcester, *sa* 1052 but ASC, 'C', *sa* 1052 records that 'he died whilst on his way home at Constantinople at Michaelmas.'
- ³⁷⁴ ASC, 'A', *sa* 901.
- ³⁷⁵ ASC, 'C' & 'E', *sa* 1015.
- ³⁷⁶ *The Lives of Women Saints of our Contrie of England*, ed. C. Horstmann (Early English Text Soc., 86, 1886), 102-8.
- ³⁷⁷ Symons (1953), 2.

- 378 BL Cotton MS Domitian AIII f48r, printed in *Monasticon*, 4, 40-1 and Kemp, 1 (1986), 33-5; translated by Price (1795), 251-5.
 379 On 'The alleged spoliations of the church by Godwin and Harold' see Freeman, 2 (1877), 554-67.
 380 ASC, 'C', sa 1052.
 381 See note 166 above.
 382 These charges against Freeman's hero have been re-examined recently by A. Williams in 'Land and Power in the 11th Century: The Estates of Harold Godwinson', *Proc. Battle Conference* (1980), 171-87.
 383 Eadmer, *History* (1964), 5.
 384 *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Soc., 40, 1928), xxii n3 & xxiv n7.
 385 ASC, 'C', 'D' & 'E', sa 1055; Florence of Worcester sa 1055; *Brut*, sa 1056 (1055).
 386 See notes 369 and 370 above.
 387 ASC, 'E', sa 1048 & 1051; 'D', sa 1052; H. Round, 'The Normans under Edward the Confessor' in *Feudal England* (1895 ed. re-issued 1964), 249-53 and *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1901), 147-50.
 388 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Herefordshire*, 3 (1934), lix.
 389 Barlow (1970), 93 n3 & 4.
 390 ASC, 'C', sa 1048.
 391 Little new has been said on the subject since Round (1895) & (1901) and Mrs. E. S. Armitage's pioneer work *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (1912). They are placed in context by R. Allen Brown, 'The Norman Conquest and the Genesis of English Castles', *Chateau Gaillard*, 3 (1969), 1-14. 'Harold, the Son of Ralph' is discussed in Freeman, 2 (1877), 683-5.
 392 Barlow (1970), 205 quoting T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor* (1955), appendix O.
 393 See note 149 above.
 394 *Current Archaeology*, 100 (June 1986), 140-1.
 395 *Brut*, sa 1063.
 396 ASC, 'D', sa 1062.
 397 BL Cotton Domitian MS AIII f115r.
 398 BL Cotton Domitian MS AIII f63r, printed in Kemp, 1 (1986), 290-2.
 399 B. R. Kemp, 'Hereditary Benefices in the Medieval English Church: A Herefordshire Example', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, 43 (May 1970), 1-15.

Conclusion

- 400 W. Levison, 'Bede as a Historian' in *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (1935).
 401 Gasquet & Bishop (1908), 152.
 402 *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, trans. J. Clancy (1970), 65-78, 92-7.
 403 P. Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de St. Benoît*, 7 (2nd French ed., Maredsous, 1956), 68.
 404 Meyer (1977), 51-61; Stafford (1981), 23-4.
 405 Thacker (1982), 199-211.
 406 There was a divided ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Hereford similar to that at Gloucester, Chester and Shrewsbury.
 407 Finberg (1961), 148; B 587; S 221.
 408 See Section 12.
 409 Letter from Dr. A. D. F. Streeten to J. Hillaby of 7 January 1987 ruled out any pre-emptive scheduling 'before the general review of urban monastic precincts as part of the general monuments protection programme.'
 410 Leominster District Council, *Development Brief for Land and Premises between Broad Street and Arkwright Close* (September 1986), 3.4-3.6 gives the advice provided by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.
 411 The *Kalendar Nero AII* has eight interpolations relating to the year 1593.
 412 *Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii de Winchelcumba*, ed. D. Royce 1 (1892), xiv.
 413 P. D. C. Brown & A. D. McWhirr, 'Cirencester, 1965', *Antiq. J.*, 46 (1966), 245-8; 'Cirencester, 1966', *Antiq. J.*, 47 (1967), 195-7; P. D. C. Brown, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Period', in *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Cirencester* (1976), ed. A. D. McWhirr (1944).
 414 Hillaby (1982), 11-24.
 415 *Charter Rolls*, 2, 356.

Appendix. St. Columba's *Altus Prosator*

1 Free metrical rendering by Rev. Anthony Mitchell (1894)

2 Literal translation from Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, 2 ed. Barnard & Atkinson (1898)

Ancient of days, enthroned on high!
 The Father unbegotten He,
 Whom space containeth not, nor time,
 Who was and is and aye shall be:
 And one-born Son, and Holy Ghost,
 Who co-eternal glory share,
 One only God, of Persons Three,
 We praise, acknowledge, and declare.

Beings celestial first He made;
 Angels and archangels of light,
 In Principalities and Thrones,
 And mystic rank of Power and Might:
 That Love and Majesty Divine
 Not aimlessly alone might dwell,
 But vessels have, wherein to pour
 Full wealth of gifts ineffable.

Cast from the highest heights of heaven,
 Far from the Angels' shining state,
 Fadeth from glory Lucifer
 Falling in scorn infatuate.
 Angels apostate share his fall,
 Steeled with his hate, and fired with pride,
 Banished from their fellows bright
 Who in the heavenly seats abide.

Direful and foul, the Dragon great,
 Whose deadly rage was known of old,
 The slippery serpent, willier
 Than living thing that earth doth hold:
 From the bright realm of heaven he could
 A third part of the stars entice,
 In Hell's abyss to quench their light,
 In headlong fall from Paradise.

Earth next and heaven, sea and sky,
 Found shape within the Eternal mind,
 And stood created. Next appeared
 The fruitful herb, and tree in kind:
 Sun, moon, and stars that climb the heavens,
 And birds and fishes, great and small,
 And beasts and herds and living things,
 And man to be the king of all.

From every glad Angelic tongue
 Soon as the stars sprang into light,
 Burst forth the wondering shout that praised
 The heavenly Creator's might.
 And as His handiwork they viewed
 Arose from loving hearts and free,
 The tribute due of wondrous song
 Swelling in sweetest harmony.

Gainst Satan's wiles and Hell's assault
 Our primal parents could not stand:
 And into new abysses fell
 The leader and his horrid band;
 Fierce forms, with noise of beating wings,
 Too dread for sight of mortal eye,
 Who fettered, far from human ken,
 Within their prison houses lie.

The High Creator, Ancient of Days, and Unbegotten
 was without origin of beginning and without end;
 He is and shall be to infinite ages of ages
 with Whom is Christ the only begotten and the Holy Spirit,
 coeternal in the everlasting glory of the Godhead.
 We set forth not three gods, but we say there is One God,
 saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

He created good Angels, and Archangels, the orders
 of Principalities and Thrones, of Authorities and Powers,
 that the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive
 in all offices of bounty,
 but might have creatures in which
 it might richly display heavenly privileges by a word of power.

From the summit of heaven's kingdom, from the brightness of
 angelic station,
 from the beauty of the splendour of his form,
 through pride Lucifer, whom He had made, had fallen;
 and the apostate angels too by the same sad fall
 of the author of vainglory and stubborn envy,
 the rest remaining in their principalities.

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible, and old,
 which was the slimy serpent, more subtle than all the beasts
 and fiercer living things of earth,
 drew with him the third part of the stars into the abyss
 of the infernal regions and of divers prisons,
 apostate from the True Light, headlong cast by the parasite.

The Most High, foreseeing the frame and order of the world
 had made the heaven and earth. The sea and waters He established;
 likewise the blades of grass, the twigs of shrubs;
 sun, moon, and stars; fire and necessary things;
 birds, fish, and cattle; beasts and living things;
 and lastly man first-formed to rule with prophecy.

So soon as the stars, the lights of the firmament, were made,
 the angels praised for His wondrous handywork
 the Lord of the vast mass, the Builder of the heavens,
 with praise giving proclamation, meet and unceasing;
 and in noble concert gave thanks to the Lord,
 of love and choice, not from endowment of nature.

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,
 the Devil falls a second time, with his satellites;
 by the horror of whose faces and the sound of whose flight
 frail men, stricken with fear, should be affrighted,
 being unable with carnal eyes to look upon them;
 who now are bound in bundles with the bonds of their prison-houses.

He, banished from his first estate,
The Lord cast out for evermore;
And now his wild and rebel crew
In upper air together soar;
Invisible, lest men should gaze
On wickedness without a name,
And, breaking every barrier down,
Defile themselves in open shame.

In the three quarters of the sea
Three mighty fountains hidden lie,
Whence rise through whirling waterspouts
Rich-laden clouds that clothe the sky:
On winds from out his treasure-house
They speed to swell bud, vine, and grain;
While the sea-shallows emptied wait
Until the tides return again.

Kings' earthly glory fleeteth fast,
And for a moment is its stay:
God hath all might: and at a nod
The giants fall beneath His sway;
Neath waters deep, with mighty pangs,
In fires and torments dread they rave,
Choked in the whirlpool's angry surge,
Dashed on the rocks by every wave.

Like one that through a sparing sieve
The precious grain doth slowly pour,
God sendeth down upon the earth
The cloud-bound waters evermore:
And from the fruitful breasts of heaven,
While changing seasons wax and wane,
The welcome streams that never fail
Pour forth in rich supplies of rain.

Mark how the power of God supreme
Hath hung aloft earth's giant ball,
And fixed the great encircling deep,
His mighty hand supporting all
Upon the pillars which He made,
The solid rocks, and cliffs that soar,
And on the sure foundations rest,
That stand unmoved for evermore.

None doubteth that within the earth
Glow the devouring flames of hell,
Wherein is prisoned darkest night
Where noisome beasts and serpents dwell,
Gehenna's old and awful moan,
And cries of men in anguish dire,
And falling tears, and gnashing teeth,
And thirst, and hunger's burning fire.

Of realms we read beneath the world
Where the departed spirits wait,
Who never cease to bend the knee,
To Christ, the only Potentate.
They could not ope the written Book,
Whose seven seals none but He might
break,
Fulfilling thus the Prophet's word,
That He should come, and victory make.

Paradise and its pleasant glades
From the beginning God did make;
Out of whose fountain-head there flow
Four rivers sweet, earth's thirst to slake.
And midstmost stands the tree of life,
With leaves that neither fade nor fall,
With healing to the nations fraught,
Whose joys abundant never pall.

He, removed from the midst, was cast down by the Lord
The space of the air is closely crowded
with a disordered crew of his rebel satellites; invisible,
lest men infected by their evil examples and their crimes,
no screens or walls ever hiding them,
should openly defile themselves before the eyes of all.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the fountains of the sea—
the three deeper floods of Ocean—
to the regions of heaven in azure whirlwinds,
to bless the crops, the vineyards and the buds;
driven by the winds issuing from their treasure houses,
which drain the corresponding shallows of the sea.

The tottering and despotic and momentary glory
of the kings of this present world is set aside by the will of God!
Lo! the giants are recorded to groan beneath the waters
with great torment, to be burned with fire and punishment;
and, choked with the swelling whirlpools of Cocytus,
overwhelmed with Scyllas, they are dashed to pieces with waves and
rocks.

The waters that are bound up in the clouds the Lord ofttime
droppeth,
lest they should burst forth all at once, their barriers being broken
from whose fertilising streams as from breasts,
gradually flowing through the regions of this earth,
cold and warm at divers seasons,
the never failing rivers ever run.

By the divine powers of the great God is suspended
the globe of earth, and thereto is set the circle of the great deep,
supported by the strong hand of God Almighty;
promontories and rocks sustaining the same,
with columns like to bars on solid foundations,
inmovable like so many strengthened bases.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that hell is the lowest regions,
where are darkness, worms, and dread beasts,
where is fire of brimstone blazing with devouring flames,
where is the crying of men, the weeping and gnashing of teeth,
where is the groaning of Gehenna, terrible and from of old,
where is the horrid, fiery, burning of thirst and hunger.

Under the earth, as we read, there are dwellers, we know,
whose knee ofttime bendeth in prayer to the Lord;
for whom it is impossible to unroll the written book—
sealed with seven seals, according to the warnings of Christ—
which He Himself had opened, after He had risen victorious,
fulfilling the prophetic presages of His Advent.

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning
we read in the noble opening of Genesis;
from its fountain four rivers are flowing,
and in its flowery midst is the Tree of Life,
whose leaves for the healing of the nations fall not;
its delights are unspeakable and abounding.

Questions the Singer,—“Who hath climbed
Sinai the mountain of the Lord?
The echoing thunders who hath heard,
And ringing trumpet-blast outpoured?
Who saw the lightning's dazzle whirl,
And heaving rocks that crashed and fell,
Mid metors' glare and darts of flame,
Save Moses, judge of Israel?”

Riseth the dawn;—the day is near,
Day of the Lord, the King of kings;
A day of wrath and vengeance just,
Of darkness, clouds, and thunders;
A day of anguished cries and tears,
When glow of woman's love shall pale;
When man shall cease to strive with man,
And all the world's desire shall fail.

Soon shall all mortals trembling stand
Before the Judge's awful throne,
And rendering the great account
Shudder each hateful sin to own.
Horror of night! when none can work,
Wailing of men, and flooding tears,
Opening the books by conscience writ,
Riving of hearts with guilty fears.

The trump of the archangel first
Shall blare afar its summons dread;
And then shall burst earth's prison bars,
And sepulchres give up their dead.
The ice of death shall melt away,
Whilst dust grows flesh, and bone meets
bone
And every spirit find again,
The frame that was before her own.

Unloosed from the pole of heaven,
Speedeth Orion's evil ray,
Far from the clustered Pleiades,
Over the Ocean's trackless way.
Two years shall pass ere he return
From East again with tortuous speed.
To shine instead of Hesperus.—
Whoso hath wisdom let him read.

Xrist the Most High from heaven descends
The Cross His sign and banner bright.
The sun in darkness shrouds his face,
The moon no more pours forth her light.
The stars upon the earth shall fall
As figs unripe drop from the tree,
When earth's broad space is bathed in fire,
And men to dens and mountains flee.

Yonder in heaven the angel host
Their ever-ringing anthems raise,
And flash in maze of holy dance,
The Trinity Divine to praise.
The four-and-twenty elders cast
Their crowns before the Lamb on high,
And the four Beasts all full of eyes
Their ceaseless triple praises cry.

Zeal of the Lord, consuming fire,
Shall whelm the foes amazed and dumb.
Whose stony hearts will not receive
That Christ hath from the Father come.
But we shall soar our Lord to meet,
And so with Him shall ever be,
To reap the due rewards amidst
The glories of Eternity.

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed mountain of the Lord,
Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure pealing,
Who the clang of the mighty trumpet resound,
Who hath seen the lightnings gleaming round about,
Who the flashes and the thunderbolts and the crashing rocks,
Save Moses the judge of Israel's people?

The day of the Lord, the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand:
a day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
a day of wondrous mighty thunders,
a day of trouble also, of grief and sadness,
in which shall cease the love and desire of women
and the strife of men and the lust of this world.

Trembling we shall be standing before the judgement seat of the
Lord,
and shall give account of all our deeds;
seeing also our crimes set before our eyes,
and the books of conscience open before us,
we shall break forth into most bitter cries and sobs,
the necessary opportunities of action being withdrawn.

As the wondrous trumpet of the First Archangel soundeth,
the strongest vaults and sepulchres shall burst open,
thawing the (death) chill of the men of the present world;
the bones from every quarter gathering together to their joints,
the ethereal souls meeting them
and again returning to their proper dwellings.

Orion wanders from his culmination the meridian of heaven,
the Pleiades, brightest of constellations, being left behind,
through the bounds of Ocean, of its unknown eastern circuit;
Vesper circling in fixed orbits returns by her ancient paths,
rising after two years at eventide;
(these), with figurative meanings, (are) regarded as types.

When Christ, the most High Lord, descendeth from heaven,
before Him shall shine the most brilliant sign and standard of the
Cross;
and the two chief luminaries being darkened,
the stars shall fall to the earth, as the fruit from a figtree,
and the surface of the world shall be like a fiery furnace.
Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

By chanting of hymns continually ringing out,
by thousands of angels rejoicing in holy dances,
and by the four living creatures full of eyes,
with the four and twenty happy elders,
casting down their crowns beneath the feet of the Lamb of God,
the Trinity is praised with eternal threefold repetition.

The raging fury of fire shall consume the adversaries,
unwilling to believe that Christ came from God the Father;
but we shall forthwith fly up to meet Him,
and so shall we be with Him in divers orders of dignities
according to the everlasting merits of our rewards,
to abide in glory, for ever and ever.

Who can please God in the last time,
when the glorious ordinances of truth are changed?
Who but the despisers of this present world?

Urishay Chapel

By R. SHOESMITH

INTRODUCTION

In a wild and almost inaccessible part of the Parish of Peterchurch and on the summit of a steep hill' is how Urishay was described in the middle of the 19th century.¹ Peterchurch, some 12 miles to the west of Hereford, is a large parish of over 5,000 acres in the middle of the Golden Valley with the village centre on the left bank of the river Dore close to the southern edge of the parish. (FIG. 1) The village church is a very complete example of 12th-century work which includes the semi-circular apse, the chancel of two divisions, and the nave. The western tower, which is of 13th-century date, has a modern spire.² In the north-west of the parish is the hamlet of Snodhill, which includes the remains of an extensive motte and bailey castle incorporating 13th and 14th-century masonry.³ Urishay, on rising ground in the south-west of the parish, includes the chapel, a motte and bailey castle surmounted with the ruins of a 17th-century house, and the Castle Farm and its outbuildings.

This report is a record of a complete survey of the chapel and two associated small excavations all undertaken between 1979 and 1983 by the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee and funded by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Department of the Environment (now English Heritage). The chapel, which was then ruinous, now belongs to the Friends of Friendless Churches⁴ who have since undertaken a partial restoration. A temporary wall has been inserted across the middle of the church allowing the eastern part of the nave, the chancel arch and the chancel to be re-roofed.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the *Domesday Book* five estates in the Golden Valley are shown as being in the ownership of Hugh Donkey (Hugh Lasne), a follower of William fitzOsbern earl of Hereford. These five, which together apparently occupy the approximate area of the modern civil parish of Peterchurch, are listed as follows:

BELTROU. Leofled held it. ½ hide.

WLUETONE. Leofled held it. 2 hides. ...

These two lands were and are waste.

WILMESTUNE. Leofled held it. 5 hides. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 villagers, 2 smallholders, a smith and 1 rider with 2 smallholders; between them they have 2½ ploughs. 4 slaves; a mill at 3s. It was waste. Value now 30s.

ALMUNDESTUNE. Alfward held it. 3 hides. 2 Frenchmen with 2 ploughs; a priest with a church who has ½ plough; 3 slaves and 1 smallholder; 2 men pay 8s. It was waste. Value now 20s.

ALCAMESTUNE. Leofled held it. 1 hide. It was and is waste; but it pays 3s. however.⁵

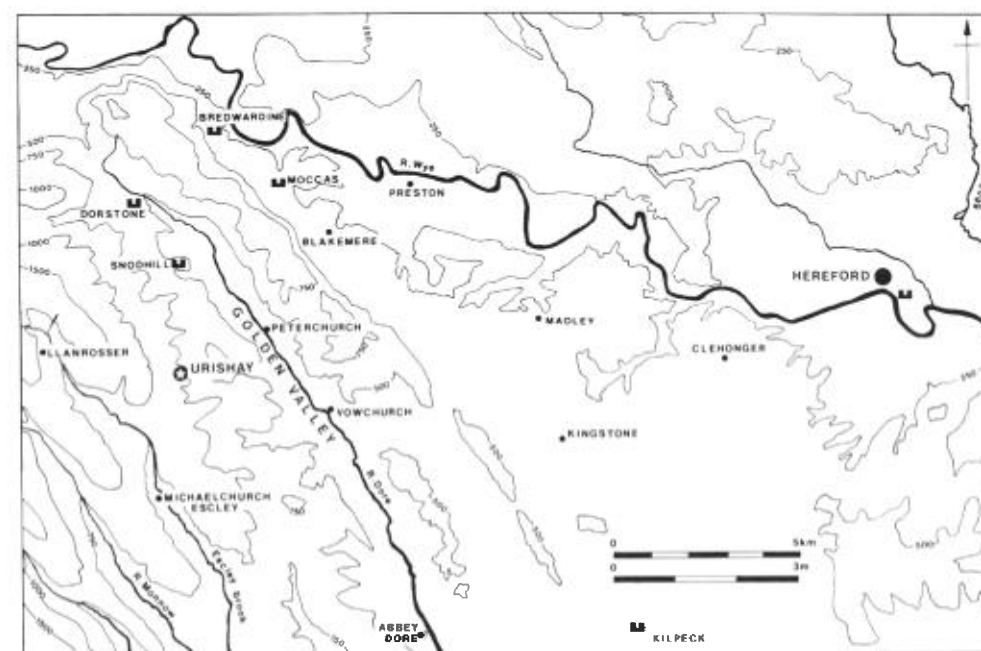


FIG. 1
Location plan showing the position of Urishay in south-western Herefordshire. The contours are at 250 ft. intervals.

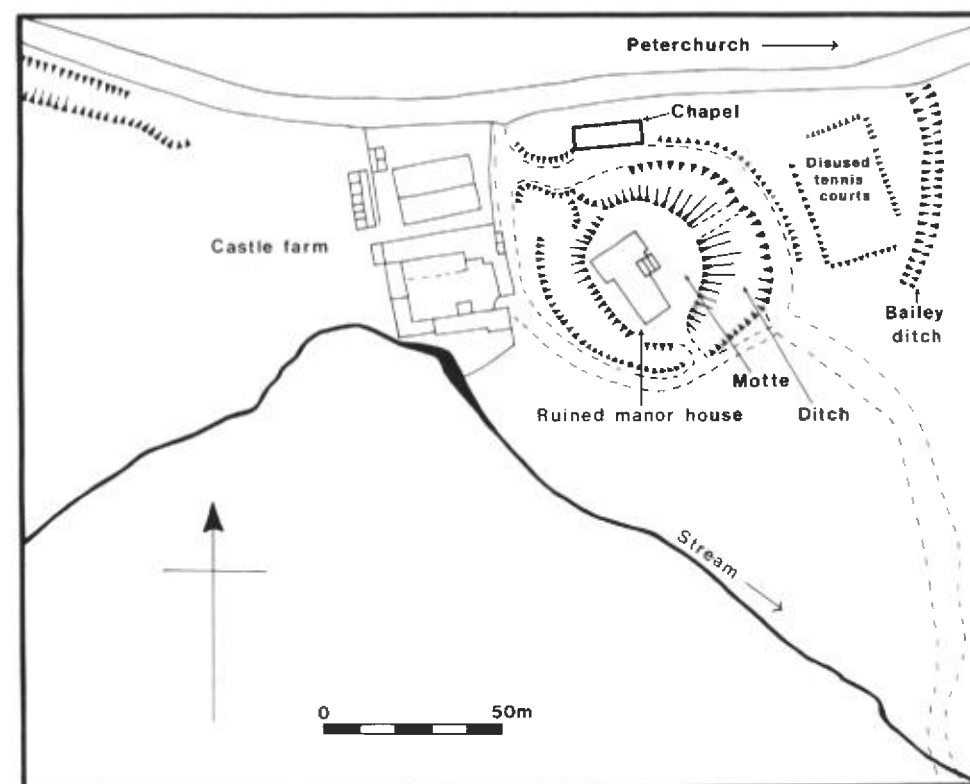


FIG. 2
The Urishay area showing the relationship of the chapel to the motte and bailey castle and the present farm buildings.

Of these, *Wilmestone* can be identified with the area around Wilmestone Farm in the north of the parish and on the eastern bank of the river Dore. *Beltrou* may be reflected in a wood of that name on the ridge above Wilmestone.⁶ The size of the settlement, and the fact that it has a church and priest seem to identify *Almundestune* (OE Alhmundes village or estate) as being Peterchurch itself. A marginal note *In Wuluetona... Lenhal* in the 12th-century Herefordshire Domesday⁷ suggests that *Wluetone* may have been the area around Lyonshall, immediately north-east of Peterchurch. This leaves *Alcamestune* (OE Alhelm's estate) unaccounted for. It has been suggested⁸ that this manor was at Chanstone, but this is outside the immediate area of Peterchurch. One possibility is that it should be identified with Urishay and this is considered in the following section.

Alcamestune would most probably have been laid waste by the Welsh in the time of Edward the Confessor. Although still waste in 1086 it was by then returning a small income. In this it parallels other ravaged manors in the western part of Herefordshire. Thus, near Presteigne, Osbern fitzRichard had twelve such estates whose value was measured in terms of their return in game from the woods which had grown in the intervening thirty years—'he has from them what he can catch.'⁹ The three shillings from *Alcamestune* may have represented a similar return to Hugh Donkey. It would seem that Hugh followed the example of his peers by attempting to restore agricultural activity to the valley whilst allowing the higher lands to the south-west of the river Dore to fall back into forest and scrub so that he could use them for hunting. In this regard it is noteworthy that the nine waste manors owned by the king near Hereford later became the royal 'hay' of Hereford¹⁰ and is still known as Haywood. A 'hay' was a hedge or hedged enclosure in open woodland in which deer or other wild game could be kept or trapped. 'Hay' is, of course, the second element in the place-name 'Urishay', the first being the personal name 'Urri' or 'Urry'.¹¹ The presence close by of 'Oldhay' farm tends to reinforce the suggestion that this area was used for hunting.

When Hugh Donkey died, in or about 1101, all his lands, including those in the Golden Valley, escheated to the king through the lack of a male heir. Most of the estates (with the exception of the area around Snodhill Castle) then came into the possession of Robert I de Chandos. However, de Chandos seems to have preferred Hugh's holdings in Gwent,¹² and it was left to his son Roger I to restore the integrity of the Golden Valley lands by exchanging a manor near Leominster for the Snodhill site.¹³ It was presumably this Roger who built the castle of *Strada* or *Stradd* (Snodhill) and made it the *Caput* of his honour.

At the same time, he distributed the other manors among his followers. These estates were held on feudal terms in order to provide the necessary armed support for his new castle. Among his followers were men named Chanflur, Aliz, Tornai, Talbot, Burghill and Urri de la Hay. Urri seems to have been close to de Chandos, being a witness to two charters of his lord to Llanthony Prima¹⁴ in company with Simon de Chandos (Roger I's brother), Robert II de Chandos, and Ralph de Tornai. Later, between 1157 and 1162, Urrio de la Haie, Robert de Chandos, Nicholas de Chanflur and Geoffrey Talbot witnessed a charter of Ralph de Tosny, lord of Clifford.¹⁵

Urri's estate at 'the Hay' was held for the service of a half a knight's fee,¹⁶ and the motte and bailey castle which was built there would have been well placed to protect the

Chandos lands from incursions by the Welsh from the hills to the south. This would seem to stress the trust placed in Urri, and his close association with Roger I de Chandos. Both Urri and others of the followers already mentioned probably formed Roger I's *curia* at Snodhill. They, or their sons, also appear in Robert II de Chandos' *carta* of 1166 as holding military fiefs of their lord, most of these fiefs being of the 'old' enfeoffment—having been established before the death of Henry I in 1135. Thus, having received his lands from Roger I sometime before this date, it seems almost certain that it was that Urri whose name became associated with the Hay in that area. References to *Haya Urri* date from about 1210 onwards, soon becoming the accepted name for the area which, it is suggested, was formerly the devastated and forgotten *Alcamestune*.

Urri was apparently succeeded by William de la Hay, who seems to have resided principally at the manor of Noakes, near Bromyard.¹⁷ His son, Roger I de la Hay, however, was active in the Marches in 1192 under the then sheriff of Herefordshire, William de Braose. Four years later, he received payment for his involvement with Richard I's campaigns in Normandy¹⁸. He seems to have pursued an active military career in the royal service, being quit of King John's fourth, fifth and sixth scutages of 1203-1205 by reason of his serving in the French wars in person.¹⁹

These absences do not seem to have distracted him from the acquisition and maintenance of the family estates. Thus in addition to Urishay and Noakes, his name is mentioned in connection with holdings at Pudleston, Kenchester, *Thurlokeshope* and the serjeantry tenure of land at Kingstone. However the momentum built up by this career in the royal service was lost by the death of his son Roger II and the succession of minors as heirs.²⁰

If, as seems likely, Urri de la Hay was the first holder of the manor after its return to cultivation, it is also likely that he built the chapel to serve the needs of both family and garrison immediately after the construction of the castle. The later 12th-century extensions and improvements to the building correspond closely to Roger I's eminence in the royal service. The lack of change after this period could reflect the downturn in the family's fortunes. Whilst it would be rash to pursue this argument too far, it nonetheless sheds an interesting sidelight on social circumstances during the period of the chapel's construction and early use.

SITE DESCRIPTION (FIG. 2)

The ruins of Urishay Chapel are in a small, wire-fenced enclosure on a sloping site on the south of and adjacent to the unclassified road leading upwards from the village of Peterchurch to Urishay Common and thence down into the Escley Valley at Llanrosser. A ruined stone wall separates the chapel garth from the road and several trees grow on the steep bank between the road and the building. Both chapel and road are aligned approximately east-west.

Immediately to the south of the chapel is the ditch and motte of Urishay Castle. The mound is about 46 m. in diameter at the bottom and is surrounded by a ditch. The motte and ditch sides both display signs of terracing and revetting of 17th-century and later date.

There is a stone causeway with a culvert underneath crossing the ditch on the south-east and the remains of a bridge on the north-east. The mound rises about 6m. above the bottom of the ditch and is now occupied by the ruins of a 17th and 18th-century house.

The recent history of the house is not without interest. It was in use throughout the 19th century, although by 1879 it was merely let as a shooting box by Richard Delahay Esq.²¹ It was advertised in *Country Life* in 1903 as follows:

'To be let, unfurnished, the above most comfortable residence, commanding grand views of a rich and varied country. Eight bedrooms, bathroom, billiard and four reception rooms, butler's pantry, servants' hall, laundry etc.; stabling for six horses, coachman's rooms, cottage and outbuildings. Land up to 80 acres if required; fishing; hunting.'²²

It would appear that the building was not let, at least for any length of time, for the whole estate was put up for sale in 1913 and the house was even offered to former tenants for £500. The offer was refused and the house was dismantled in 1921.²³ In the 1920s Roberson's, a London firm dealing in rooms from country houses, advertised fine rooms from Urishay.²⁴ This appears to contradict comments made by members of the Woolhope Club, who inspected the Castle in 1916. They noted that it retained few features of interest, except a plain oak panelled room with a good moulded ceiling of 17th-century date.²⁵ Perhaps the better features had already been moved into storage for it would appear that at least one of the rooms was sufficiently fine to be shipped to Chicago, although then apparently to languish in a basement for many years.²⁶ This room was then sold by the Buckingham family to the Spencer Foundation of Kansas City, Missouri, and in 1978 was at Baker University in the nearby Baldwin City, where it housed part of the Quayle Bible collection. It was complete with two windows and two of the panels are described as being from the ancient Urishay Castle whilst the remainder were from the Jacobean or Elizabethan house built on the site and using some of the walls.²⁷ The remainder of the Castle fittings went elsewhere for the Woolhope Club noted that 'its panelling together with most of its woodwork, have been transported to the Island of Mull.'²⁸ By 1927, when the Royal Commission visited the site, the house was described as ruined.²⁹

Although Urishay Castle is described as 17th century in all the published reports, the ruins exhibit several features which may argue an earlier date for some of the fabric. The south-west and south-east walls have now lost much of their internal plaster-work, and it is apparent that most of the windows have been narrowed from earlier openings which are deeply chamfered with tufa quoins. However, the building has not been properly surveyed, and any attempts to date the various parts in this article would be premature.

The earthworks associated with the castle have been much disturbed, but sufficient remains to establish the general plan. The large, flat-topped mound and ditch have already been described; the bailey was apparently to the north and east. Most of the northern part of the bailey would have been on the opposite side of the present road, but no traces survive above ground in this regularly ploughed field. The eastern part of the bailey still retains traces of its ditch, but most of the enclosed area has been levelled in the past

apparently to make a tennis court. A small stream, which now runs directly behind the farmhouse, may once have been diverted to flow into the ditch around the motte. It appears unlikely that the ditch around the bailey could have been filled with water at any time.

West of the castle mound and south-west of the chapel are the farmhouse and outbuildings of the present Urishay Castle Farm. They appear to be external to the earthworks of the motte and bailey castle, although a long and deep gully runs in a westerly direction between the farm buildings and the road. This appears to be too deep to be a sunken road and could possibly be an old stream course.

THE BUILDING (FIG. 3)

Externally the chapel appears as a simple oblong which was until recently under a continuous roof, but internally it is divided into nave and chancel by a massive wall with a square opening. Owing to the entire absence of mouldings and indeed any wrought freestone, except in the inserted east window, it is difficult to ascribe definite dates to the various periods of construction. The walls are of local sandstone rubble which includes many long, thin slabs. In the earlier part of the 20th century the roof was covered with stone slates. (PL. LXI)

The Chancel (5.8 m. by 5.4 m.) east wall stands to gable height and is tied into both the north and the south walls. Externally the coursing has some regularity, the stones being thin (less than 0.08 m.) but often of great length (up to 3 m.) (FIG. 4); the internal stonework is slightly more irregular. (FIG. 5) The wall originally contained two narrow lights of which traces remain. These lights both had semi-circular heads constructed from thin voussoirs, chamfered reveals and steeply-sloping cills. The external cills of the windows are emphasised by a 0.1 m. set-back of the wall. Externally the windows were approximately 1.1 m. high. The full height and width are apparent internally being 2.7 m. and 0.95 m. respectively. The external reveals are constructed of thin stones, but shaped tufa blocks are intermingled with the stonework on the interior. A niche (0.7 m. wide and 0.3 m. high), which had been blocked off and plastered over, is apparent directly underneath the southern window. Through putlog holes in the earlier part of the east wall are probably original features although similar holes are apparent in the window blockings.

The whole central part of the wall was demolished down to the cill level of the original windows leaving the outer responds and fragments of the two heads. The wall now contains a window of one wide light and a four-centred head with widely-splayed responds and a sloping cill. The opening is constructed of grey sandstone blocks which have been re-used from an earlier window. This is apparent because the holes in the stones for window bars do not now correspond either horizontally or vertically. The responds are also very weathered and of a slightly different stone from the head and the cill. Surplus moulded stones are also present in the internal splays, together with tufa which may have been re-used from the demolition of the original narrow openings. Thus the single light windows may have been replaced by a large single light which in turn was reconstructed as the present window.

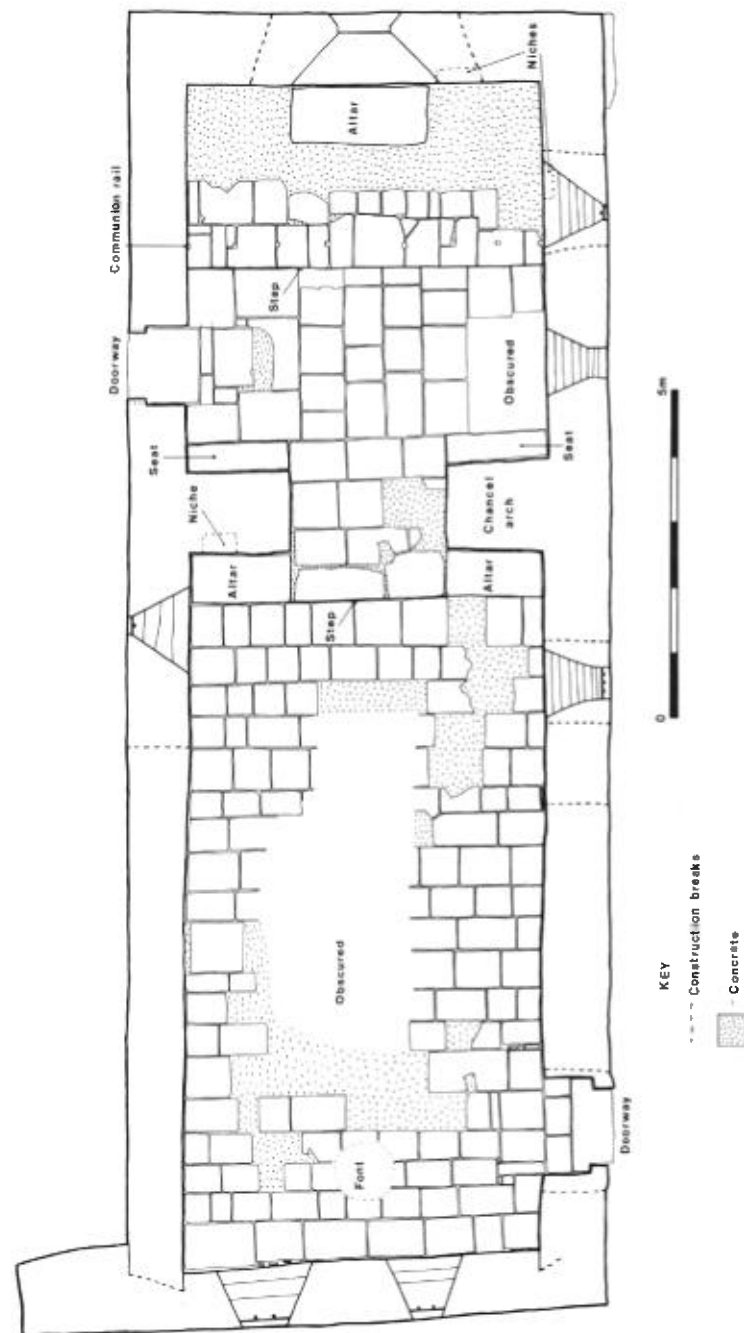


FIG. 3
The survey plan of the chapel before restoration works started. The main constructional breaks are shown.

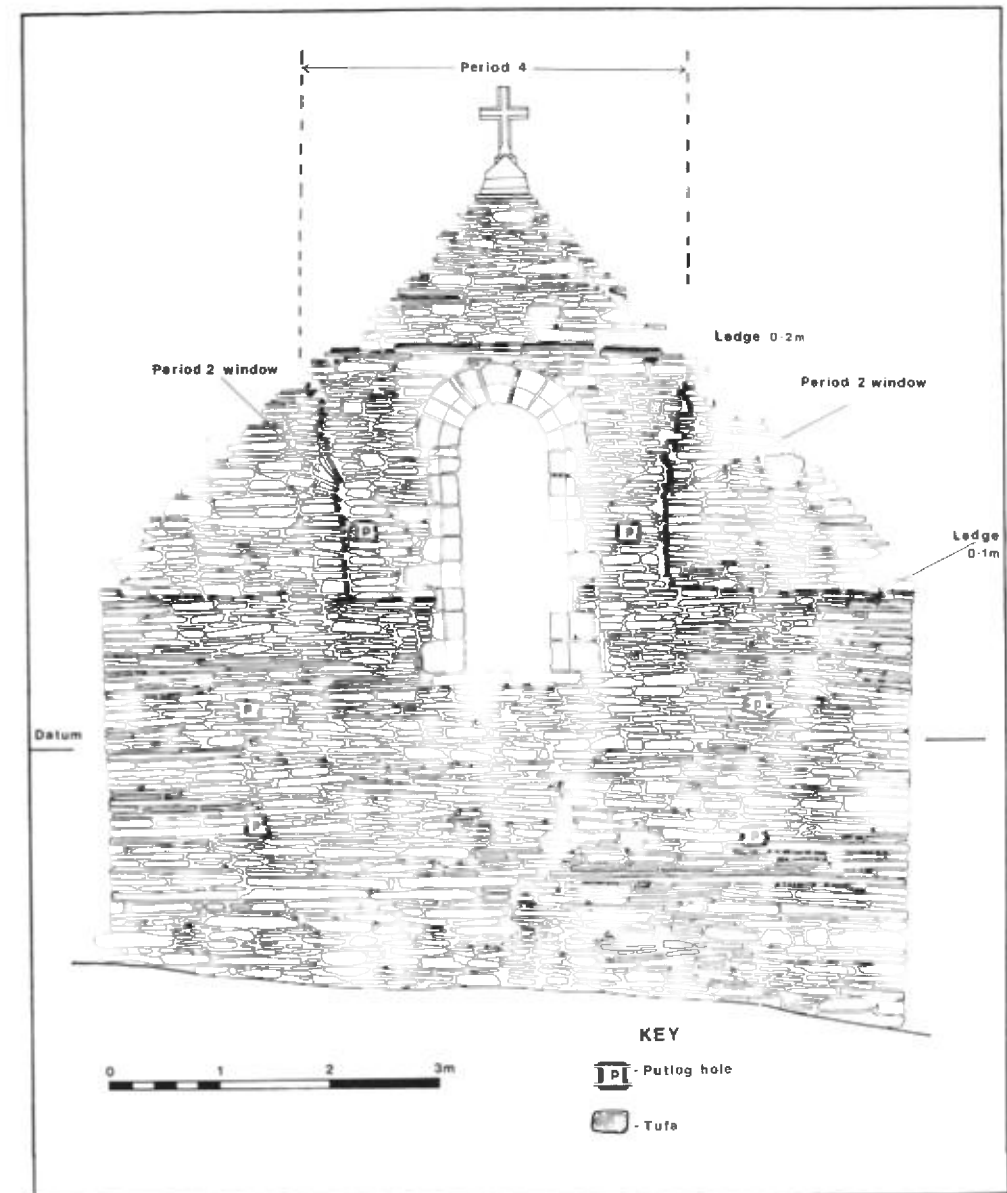


FIG. 4
The external elevation of the east wall showing the fragments of the period 2 windows and the replacement period 4 window.

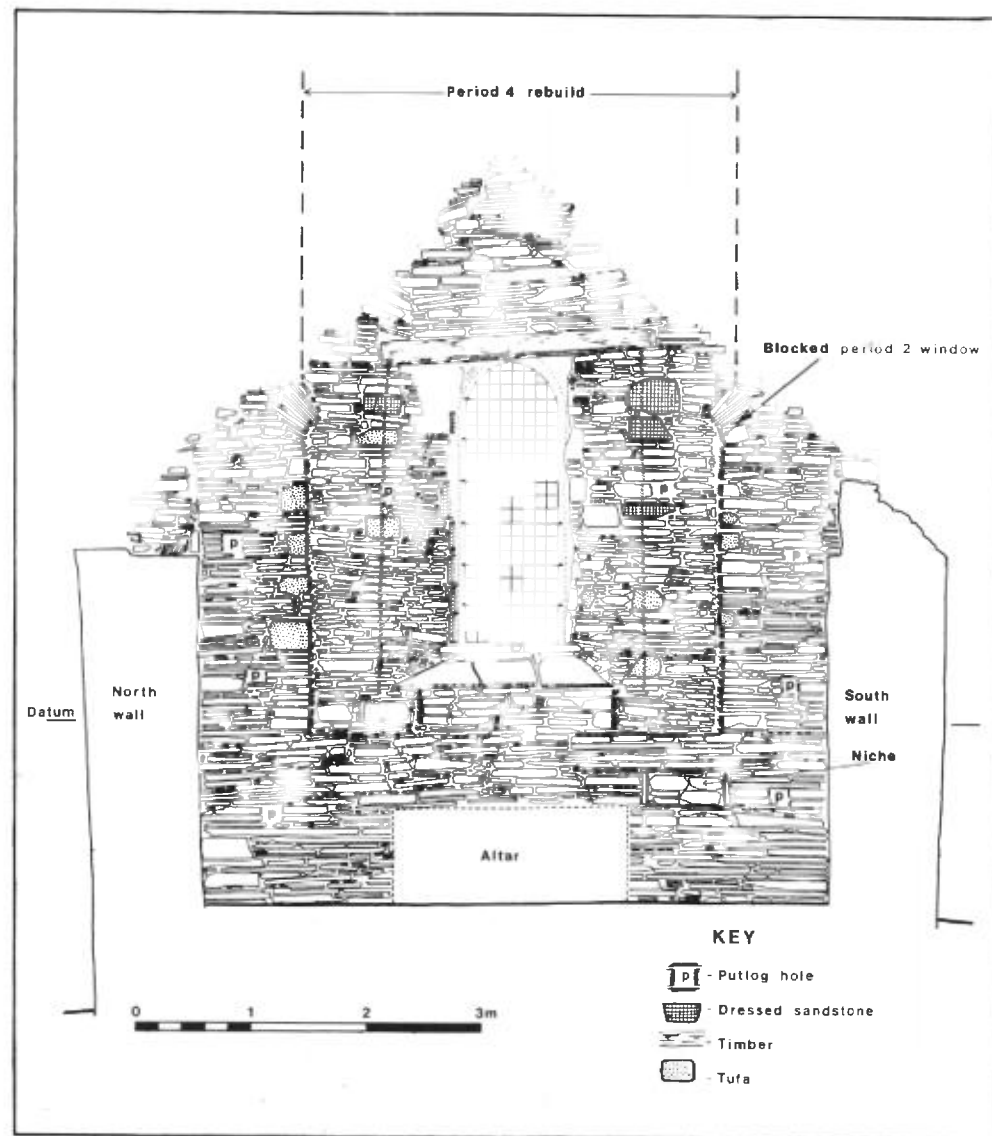


FIG. 5

The internal elevation of the east wall showing the fragments of the period 2 windows and the replacement period 4 window.

Externally the reconstructed wall around the new window is very similar to the original build, but with a set-back of 0.2 m. above the window head. Internally a rough, square, stone bracket, doubtless designed to carry an image or statue, protruded through the plasterwork on the south side of the window. It was built into the blocking of the narrow single light. A matching bracket, on the north side of the window, had been broken and plastered over. Above the head of the window, on the internal elevation, is a large chamfered and stopped timber. The stops are similar to those on the timbers which form the head of the rectangular chancel arch.

The north wall of the chancel was built in the same style as the east wall and is considered to be of the same period. (FIG. 6) It contains a doorway with jambs and a round arch of plain order. Internally the arch is slightly flattened. The doorway contains the remains of a wooden frame but the door has disappeared. The wall to the west of the doorway is considered as part of the nave. FIGS. 6 and 7 in pocket at back.

The south wall of the chancel is of similar construction to the north wall and contains two windows. (FIG. 7) The head of the western window had collapsed at some time prior to the survey but the window was described about 1916 as being a square-headed opening with a wooden frame.³⁰ This was confirmed during the clearance works when the remains of the rectangular leaded light were found amongst the debris outside the wall. The internal stonework was fully exposed when the plasterwork was removed. It was then apparent that the window had been widened at some time; the splay having been roughly hacked away. The original window had a stepped cill and probably a semi-circular head with thin, self-bedded voussoirs. Although the window is apparently integral with the wall, it does not have tufa jambs internally as did the original windows in the east wall and the one, a little further along the south wall, which illuminates the eastern part of the nave.

The easternmost window is a small loop, high up in the wall and with a flat, stone top. The jambs are splayed and the cill has three regular steps. It is apparent on both the internal and external elevations that this window was inserted into an earlier wall. This window was blocked until the restoration of 1914³¹ and the present frame and glass date from this period. Below this window, and apparently an original feature, was a blocked niche or cupboard, 0.65 m. wide, 0.3 m. high and 0.55 m. deep. It had been plastered over.

The north and south walls of the nave (c. 10.8 m. long) are not built continuously but are both divided towards the east by an almost straight joint. This is readily apparent on the south wall (FIG. 7) but is obscured on the external elevation of the north wall by modern timber shoring. (FIG. 6) Westwards of the joints the walling is rough, the coursing being irregular with varied bands of large and small stones. Eastwards the coursing is more regular making use of thin stones in an identical manner to that used in the walls of the chancel.

There have been other re-builds of parts of both these walls increasing the complexity and, due to the lack of architectural features, making accurate dating difficult. On the external face of the north wall there is an apparent constructional break to the right of the chancel door. (FIG. 6) The position of this break is obscured internally by the wall of the chancel arch. The window to the west of the doorway appears to have been inserted into the wall, but this is probably due to the various reconstructions from which it has suf-

fered; the replacement of the original semi-circular head with a rather more squat and poorly constructed arch, the widening of the internal splays and the possible loss of tufa jambs, and the repointing around the window on the external elevation. Externally the timber shoring obscures much of the western part of the north wall but this is windowless and apparently of one constructional period apart from the extreme western part. Here the north wall is encased by a buttress which was built at the same time as the west wall.

The eastern part of the south wall of the nave contains one window opposite the one in the north wall. (FIG. 7) Internally this window preserves all the features of the original construction with tufa jambs and a semi-circular head constructed of thin voussoirs. The stepped cill is also apparently original. However, the window opening was widened by cutting back the splays and probably reconstructing the external head. This rebuilding work gives an erroneous impression, on the external elevation, that this window was inserted into an earlier wall.

The major part of the western half of the south wall is of similar construction to the opposing part of the north wall. However, it includes two plain corbels which may have been associated with an earlier roof structure. There are two distinct rebuilds towards the western end of the wall. The first includes the area of the southern doorway which was apparently inserted into the wall. Surrounding the doorway the stone is laid in long, thin courses with thin voussoirs around the head in a similar style to the north doorway. To the west of the doorway the earlier wall survives internally but most of the external face is associated with the later reconstruction of the west wall.

The present west wall of the nave is built at a slight angle to the north and south walls and incorporates a buttress at the north-west corner. The wall survives to full gable height and is surmounted with a stone cross. (FIG. 8) It is mainly of one build but parts near the top may have been reconstructed at some time. It is built principally of sandstone blocks of varying sizes, but the internal elevation contains several large blocks of tufa which appear to be re-used. (FIG. 9) Internally the west wall is butted against the north and south walls but externally the rebuild continues around the south-western corner and includes the buttress at the north-western corner.

The wall contains two square-headed windows which appear to be of the same build as the rest of the wall. The windows are placed at different levels, the northern one being wider and set lower in the wall than the southern one. Both windows have splayed sides and oak lintels internally and contain internal glazing bars and modern glazing. The northern window was found blocked during the restoration of 1914.³² The external head of this window is constructed from a former window-head of two square-headed lights, which includes a groove for glazing, and is now set on its side.

The chancel arch wall is 1.3 m. thick and contains a rectangular opening 2.4 m. wide and 3.0 m. high above the chancel floor, with chamfered and stop-chamfered oak beams instead of an arch. Above, on the nave side, is a ledge 0.85 m. deep forming a rood-loft. (FIG. 10; PL. LXII) The wall is constructed of thin blocks of sandstone similar to those used in the chancel walls. (PL. LXIII) The chancel arch wall is fully tied into the north and south walls with the exception of the upper northern part of the west face where there is an inserted niche. The square-headed niche (0.5 m. wide, 1.1 m. high and 0.25 m. deep), with

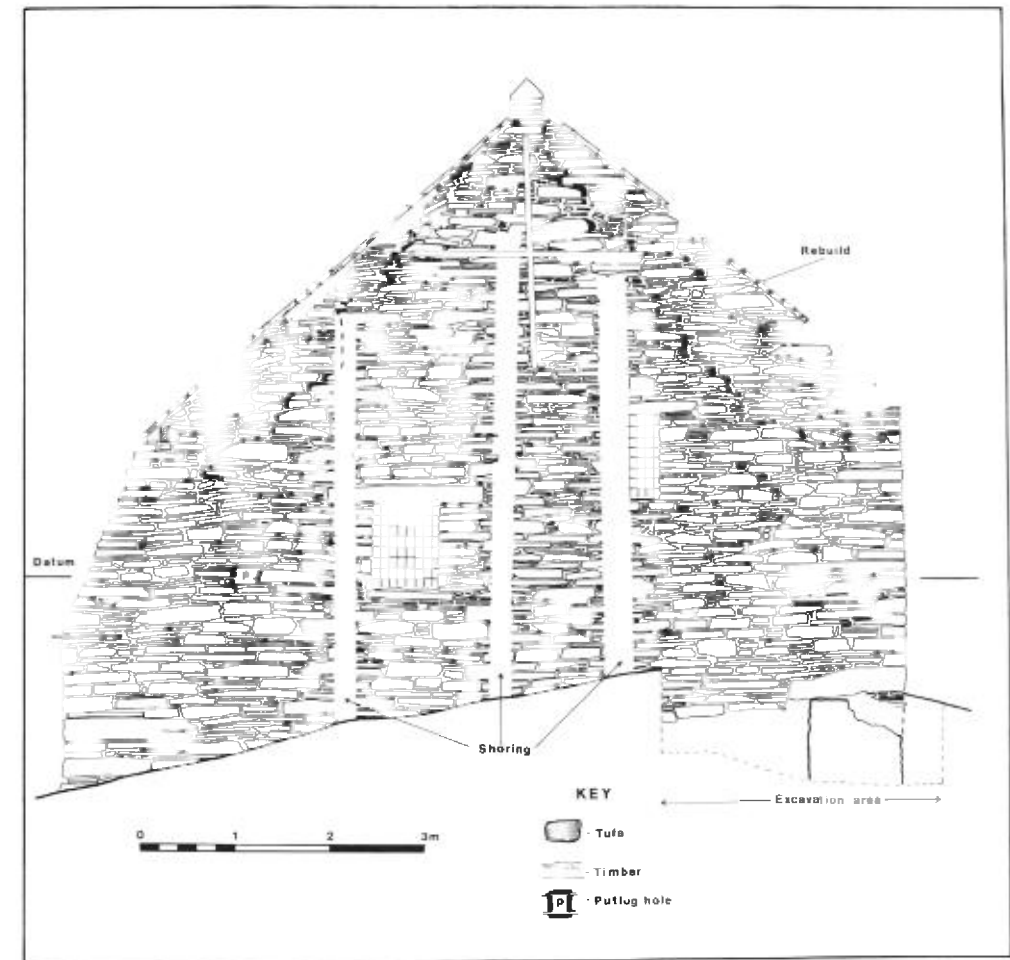


FIG. 8
The external elevation of the period 5 west wall.

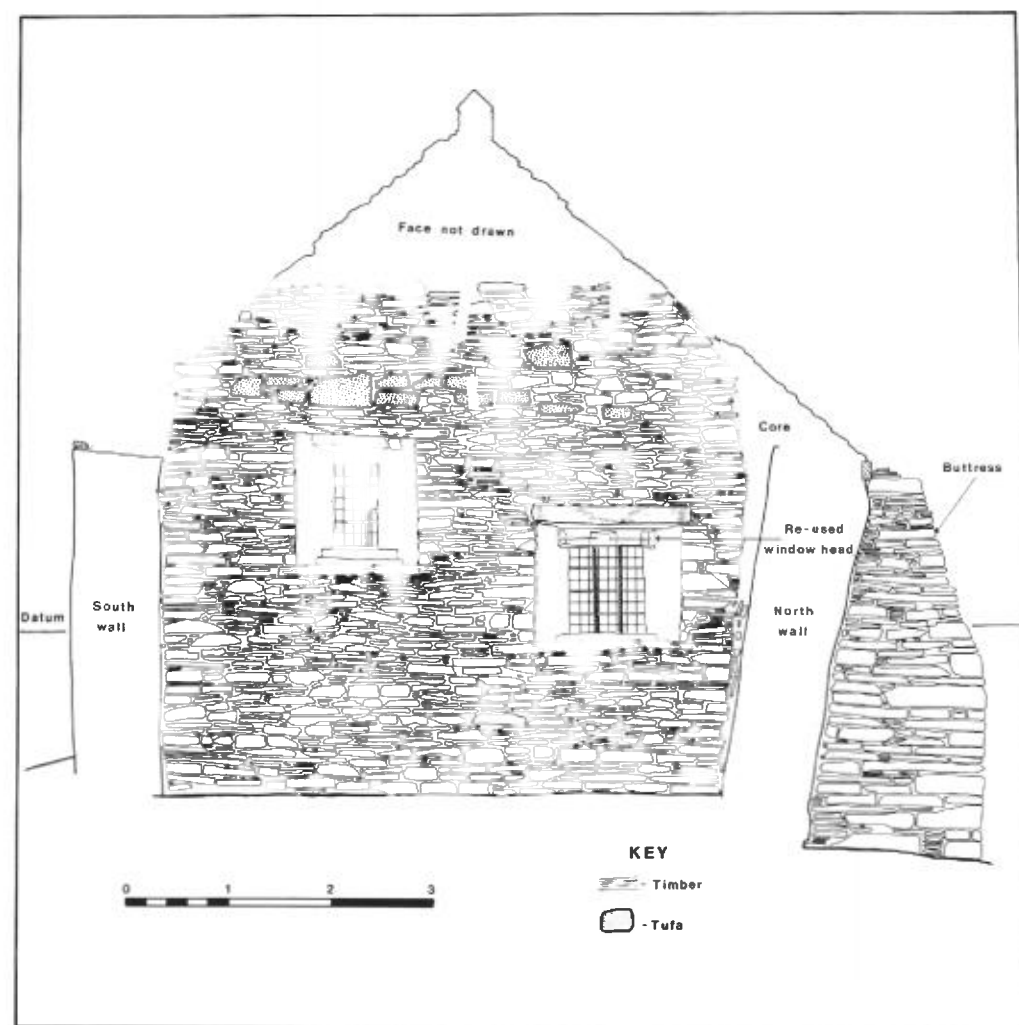


FIG. 9

The internal elevation of the period 5 west wall and the east elevation of the buttress.

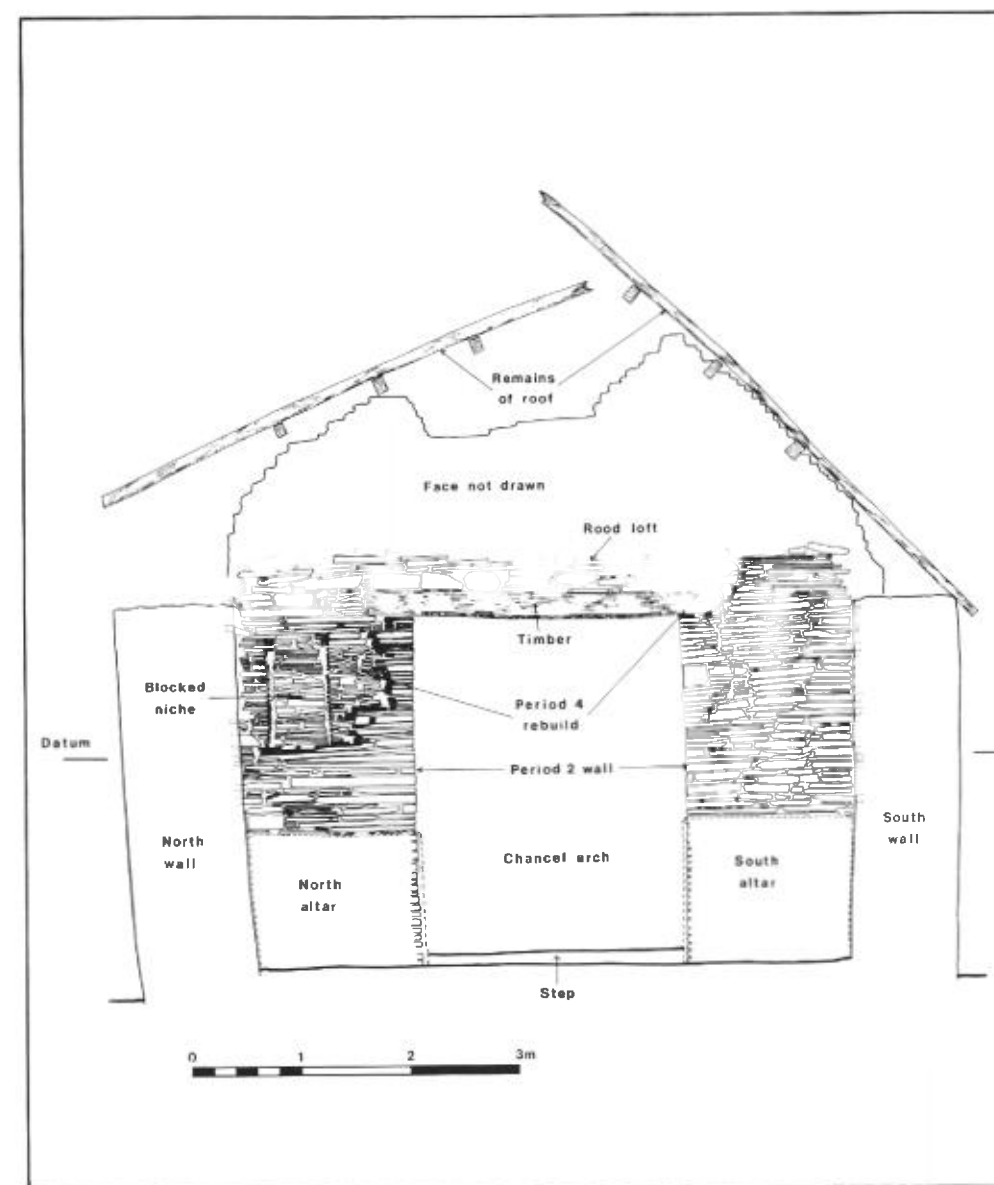


FIG. 10

The chancel arch from the west showing the side altars and the rood loft.

slightly splayed sides, was inserted into the northern part of the west face of the wall and was found blocked at the time of the survey. There was no corresponding niche in the southern part of the face. The reconstruction work which was required as a result of the insertion of the niche apparently included the replacement or re-seating of the timber work above the chancel opening.

The rood-loft is 0.85 m. deep and 3.6 m. above the flagged floor of the chancel. At the eastern side the wall continues upwards 0.45 m. thick. During the construction of this upper wall re-used timbers were inserted into the eastern face apparently to provide some strength. Much of this upper wall is constructed of thin slabs but they are smaller than those in the wall below. It may be that the upper wall was rebuilt at some time, probably during roof repair work. The top of this wall had collapsed previous to the survey.

Adjoining the chancel arch wall on the west are two stone altars, one to each side of the opening. They are free-standing and could thus be later than the surrounding walls. Both altars are approximately 1.5 m. wide and 0.7 m. deep and stand 1.3 m. above the flagged floor of the nave. Flanking the opening on the east face are two similar offsets, but only 0.5 m. high and 0.4 m. wide, apparently designed as seats. Both altars and seats are constructed of a mixture of thin slabs and larger stones with stone slabs on the top.

Under the east window stands the original high altar. The thin, stone slab with five consecration crosses was unfortunately cracked across at some time before 1914.³³ The high altar is constructed of similar stone and in a similar manner to the altars adjoining the chancel arch.

The floor throughout the building was of stone paving, but much of it is badly cracked and parts have been replaced with cement. There are two steps, one leading into the sanctuary, where the remains of the communion rail are present, and the second leading into the chancel in line with the western edges of the altars adjoining the chancel arch wall.

At the time of the survey the roof of the nave had been completely removed with the exception of one massive oak tie-beam and the remains of the wall plates. The main timbers of the chancel roof survived into the 1980s.

FIXTURES AND FITTINGS IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

Most of the fixtures described either in 1914³⁴ or during the late 1920s³⁵ have since disappeared, but they are included in the following inventory for the sake of completeness and to give some impression of the interior of the building before it became ruined.

The earliest photographs of the interior of the building were taken about 1933³⁶ (PLS. LXIV and LXV show it in the late 1930s) and show that the walls and side altars were fully plastered as were the chamfered jambs of the windows. The plasterwork continued around the soffits of the two doorways to the outside as though there had been porches for both openings. However no trace of such features were seen when the elevations were drawn nor was there any indication that the external faces of the walls had been plastered. The remains of the internal plasterwork were examined before being removed to allow the

elevations to be drawn. Most of it had lost at least the top surface and there was no indication that coloured paint had been used at any time. A maximum of three coats of limewash survived exceptionally in sheltered places. Careful attempts at removing individual layers produced nothing new. However, when Stallybrass visited the building in 1914 he noted that 'the plastered walls are at present whitened but in several places I have discovered ancient wall paintings below'.³⁷ Unfortunately there is no other mention of these paintings.

Above the window in the north wall of the nave was a roughly executed and grotesque bust of a man modelled in plaster. It was described in 1914 and in 1927 as having 'his hands on his breast and apparently an intertwined garland and rams-horns below'.³⁸ However, Mr. Kay, visiting in 1949, described and drew the figure as a skeleton complete from the hips upwards.³⁹ Above the opposite window was a crude, winged cherub-head.⁴⁰ Both were probably of 17th-century date and have now disappeared.

The north door, which led into the chancel, has been lost. It was described as being made up of two six-panelled portions of 17th-century panelling. The top and bottom rails had moulded edges and the centre styles were moulded. Other rails and styles were chamfered.⁴¹ The south door, of simple vertical planks and probably 19th-century date, survives.

All the internal fittings, with the exception of a fragment of the communion rail and the base of the font, had disappeared by the time that the survey took place. The Jacobean pulpit was of oak, square with panelled sides and a half baluster planted on the west face of the north angle.⁴² It was repaired in 1914 and was still in the building in 1949.⁴³ In 1914, a reredos was made from a 15th or 16th-century screen door 'despoiled some time ago from a neighbouring church'.⁴⁴ It was formed of cinquefoil tracery with sub-cusping, the openings being filled with modern lattice-work. On either side of the centre panel were quatrefoil traceried panels superimposed on plain square panels.⁴⁵ Apparently the traceried panelling was sawn in half for its new purpose.⁴⁶ The communion rail was new in 1914. The seating consisted of simple wooden chairs and the building was lighted by candles in ornamental metal brackets. Heating was provided by a Gurney-type stove which had a flue exiting through the centre of the north wall of the nave. (PL. LXV)

There was apparently no font in the building when restorations started in 1914 although Stallybrass mentions that 'a holy water stoup is reported in the neighbourhood.' The problem was resolved by using a round, stone mortar with opposing lugs, which was set up on a modern base.⁴⁷ This was still in the church in 1949⁴⁸ but only the lower parts of the base now survive.

There was a wooden tablet affixed to the north wall of the nave with the following inscription:

This chapel formerly belonging
to the ancient family of Delahay
of Urishay Castle was rededicated
after restoration for Public Worship
by the Bishop of Hereford July 29th 1914

To the Glory of God and in
memory of the Delahay family
this tablet was placed within
this chapel AD1920 by
Mabel C. Delahay.⁴⁹

The roof of the nave was of trussed-rafter and collar-beam type, the braces forming four-centred arches. It was later lath and plastered but in 1927 only the lower parts of this ceiling remained. At that time there were three stop-chamfered tie-beams but only one remained in 1979. The roof as described was probably of early 16th-century date with the tie-beams a later insertion.⁵⁰

In 1914 it was noted that the plasterwork which covered the lower portion of the roof sweep stopped a yard from the west end. It was suggested that this break may have been for a staircase leading to side galleries and that this would help to explain the different levels of the west windows.⁵¹ If this suggestion is accepted then the galleries could originally have afforded access to the rood loft although the use of the latter would have ceased by the time the west wall was rebuilt.

The main timbers of the chancel roof survived into the 1980s. It was of two bays with a king-post truss. The rafters were described as being 'evidently of oak but of sapling trees with much wain.'⁵² It was of 18th or 19th-century date and has now been replaced with a new roof of similar design.

RECENT USE OF THE CHAPEL

Urishay Chapel has had somewhat of a chequered history during the last 100 years. Robinson, writing in the middle of the 19th century, describes it, simply as 'a desecrated chapel.'⁵³ The various County directories between 1858 and 1913⁵⁴ refer to it as 'a disused chapel at Urishay Castle' adding, after 1902, that it contained 'an altar with five consecration crosses.' During this period it appears that it was used 'among other things, as a blacksmith's shop, a carpenter's shop and a dog kennel!'⁵⁵

In 1914 'the chapel was purchased by a small committee of churchmen with a view to restoring it as a chapel of ease for the Urishay district.'⁵⁶ A report, recommendations and estimate was produced by Basil Stallybrass for the local vicar and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.⁵⁷ The total estimate, including simple furniture, came to £485, but it is evident that not all the suggested work was carried out and that Mr. Stallybrass was not invited to supervise. The work was organised by the vicar of Peterchurch, the Rev. E. R. Holland, and carried out by a local builder at a total cost of less than £100. However, when Mr. Stallybrass visited the chapel again in December 1914, he was impressed by the results and commented that the Chapel was 'an example of how much satisfactory repair can be done with the smallest funds.' It is evident from the report that much of the work had been patching and pointing, but two windows had been reopened—the south choir window and one in the west wall. In the latter, an old mullion was found built into the head. The walls were colourwashed internally and the windows re-glazed throughout.⁵⁸

There was a note of caution at that time about the eventual necessity for thorough repairs to the roof and the north and west walls but the time was obviously inappropriate.⁵⁹ The Woolhope Club visited in 1916 and noted that 'from a lumber room (it) has been transformed into a light and airy, if rude and quaint, place of worship.'⁶⁰ The directories immediately after the war record that it had been partially restored and re-dedicated for public worship but it was again closed in 1923.⁶¹ In 1926 the attention of the Woolhope Club was drawn to 'the present neglected state of the ancient chapel at Urishay' although it had been recently repaired by Rev. Holland (who was the owner of the freehold).⁶² This was just before the visit of the Royal Commission inspectors in February 1927. They noted that it was damp and dirty but was undergoing repairs to fit it again for use.⁶³ The Woolhope Club re-visited Urishay in 1933, noticing the fine timber roof, stone altars and Jacobean pulpit.⁶⁴ Contemporary photographs show that it was once again in a state of disrepair. (PLS. LXIV and LXV) Richard Kay visited Urishay in April 1949 when it was in a very ruinous condition with gaping holes in the roof tiles and the interior littered with broken chairs and other debris.⁶⁵ It was scheduled as an ancient monument in 1950 when it had 'begun to fall into ruin again' and was in use as a farm store.⁶⁶

By 1979 Urishay Chapel had been abandoned for many years. The north and west walls had begun to lean outwards and shores had been inserted to prevent their total collapse. All the stone roofing tiles had been removed, and although some of the timbers of the chancel roof had been left in place, the nave roof had been totally stripped with the exception of one massive tie-beam. In the small garth were partly buried piles of roofing material and the rotten fragments of the timbers of the nave roof. The nave and chancel contained further debris and were both so overgrown with nettles and brambles that access into the building was almost impossible.

THE SURVEY

In 1979 it was proposed that the leaning west and north walls of the nave should be demolished, the stone to be re-used to rebuild facsimilies on new foundations thus enabling the whole church to be re-roofed. The Department of the Environment agreed to fund the necessary recording work in advance of this proposed demolition and the work was carried out during August and September 1979. As a preliminary to the survey the nave and chancel were both cleared of undergrowth, exposing as much of the original stone floor as possible. Vegetation growing from the walls was removed and the grass and nettles were cut around the exterior. (PL. LXII)

Before recording work commenced a limited photographic survey of the threatened parts of the building was prepared to show the extent and nature of the surviving wall plaster. The north and west walls of the nave were then cleared of their internal plasterwork and measured elevations of both internal and external faces were drawn. Mortar samples were taken from the walls at various places. Cross-sections and plans were then produced for both doorways and for the window openings in the north and west walls. The final part of the 1979 survey involved the construction of a detailed plan of the whole building.

An interim report of the work undertaken in 1979 was produced,⁶⁷ the intention at that time being to examine the fabric as the walls were being demolished and then to excavate the footings archaeologically. However, it became apparent during 1980 that funds were not going to be made available for the full scheme of restoration originally proposed and the architect was commissioned to prepare a revised scheme preserving those parts of the building which were then considered to be most important.

The revised proposals involved the construction of a new cross wall just to the west of the chancel arch wall and the demolition and reconstruction of the leaning part of the north wall from west of the chancel doorway to the new wall. The chancel arch wall and the north, south and east walls of the chancel were to be consolidated to allow the re-roofing of the chancel and the eastern part of the nave up to the line of the new wall. The proposals also envisaged the demolition of the leaning north and west walls of the nave to approximately 0.3 m. above the existing ground level. It was agreed that these proposals would involve further stone-by-stone recording work and that the foundation trench for the new cross wall would have to be archaeologically excavated.

This additional survey work, which took place during August 1981, included the completion of the internal and external photographic cover of the building. After the removal of plaster detailed internal and external elevations of the whole of the south wall of the chapel were prepared, and the 1979 elevations of the north wall were completed to the eastern end of the building. The west-facing elevation of the chancel arch was also drawn.

During 1981, the contractor demolished the unsafe eastern part of the south wall of the nave under limited archaeological supervision. A trench was then dug by the archaeological team across the floor of the nave to take the foundations of the new cross wall. This trench was extended to the north to include the foundations of the demolished section of the north wall. A second small trench was excavated outside the south-western corner of the chapel, immediately to the west of the existing west wall, to establish the level of the original ground surface and compare it with that inside, and also to investigate the present west wall foundations and attempt to establish the original western limits of the building.

The contractors continued with the restoration works, reconstructing the north nave wall and removing the remains of the timbering from the chancel roof. Part of the altar in the north-eastern corner of the nave, which collapsed when the north wall was demolished, was also rebuilt. A second interim report, with a revised plan, was produced as a result of this second season's work.⁶⁸

The final survey work was carried out during April and May 1982, after the east wall of the chancel had been encased in scaffolding. Plaster was removed from the interior and full stone-by-stone elevations were then drawn of both the faces. Because of the scaffolding a photographic survey was impossible at this stage of the works. These elevation drawings completed the work funded by the Department of the Environment. The survey had included detailed drawings of every face of the building with the exception of the eastern side of the chancel arch wall.

The building work continued throughout 1982, and although occasional visits were made no formal recording was possible. However, the extent of the demolition and reconstruction works were noted as the work progressed. The upper part of the east wall, down to the level of the head of the window, was rebuilt and the head of the collapsed window in the south wall of the chancel was reconstructed. The upper parts of the north and south chancel walls from the level of the rotten wall-plates were then rebuilt. The timbers supporting the upper part of the chancel arch wall were found to be unsafe and the whole of the upper part of this wall above the level of the rood loft had to be rebuilt. Unfortunately there was insufficient stone available on the site to carry out all the rebuilding work needed, and much of the remaining part of the north wall of the nave was demolished, without archaeological supervision, to provide the necessary materials.

The chancel and the eastern extremity of the nave is now roofed but the remainder of the building, including some of the oldest and most interesting parts of the fabric, is now beginning to disintegrate and this record will soon be the only evidence for the complex structural sequence which has been established.

SUMMARY OF PERIODS (FIG. 11)

Period 1: Late 11th or early 12th century.

A simple, rectangular chapel with an apsidal east end.

Period 2: Late 12th or early 13th century.

Demolition of apse. Construction of extended chancel and chancel arch.

Insertion of south doorway.

Period 3: Undated.

Construction of the altars and insertion of a niche in the chancel arch wall. Insertion of east window in south wall of chancel. Burials within the nave.

Period 4: 16th century.

Insertion of large eastern window and its possible reconstruction. Reconstruction of upper part of chancel arch wall. Construction of nave roof.

Period 5: 17th century and later.

Rebuilding of west wall. Insertion of flag floor. Widening of several windows. Minor later repairs.

THE INTERNAL EXCAVATION (FIG. 12; PL. LXVI)

Three rows of flagstones were lifted in the nave and a trench, 1 m. wide, was marked out in such a position that the new foundations could be inserted against its western edge. The trench itself was slightly wider than was required for the foundations to enable features to be properly examined and recorded. As the excavation progressed it was appreciated that an examination of an additional area was required and two further flagstones were removed between the trench and the face of the north altar. Shortly after the main excavation was completed, a section of the north wall was demolished down to ground level and the trench was then extended across the footings.

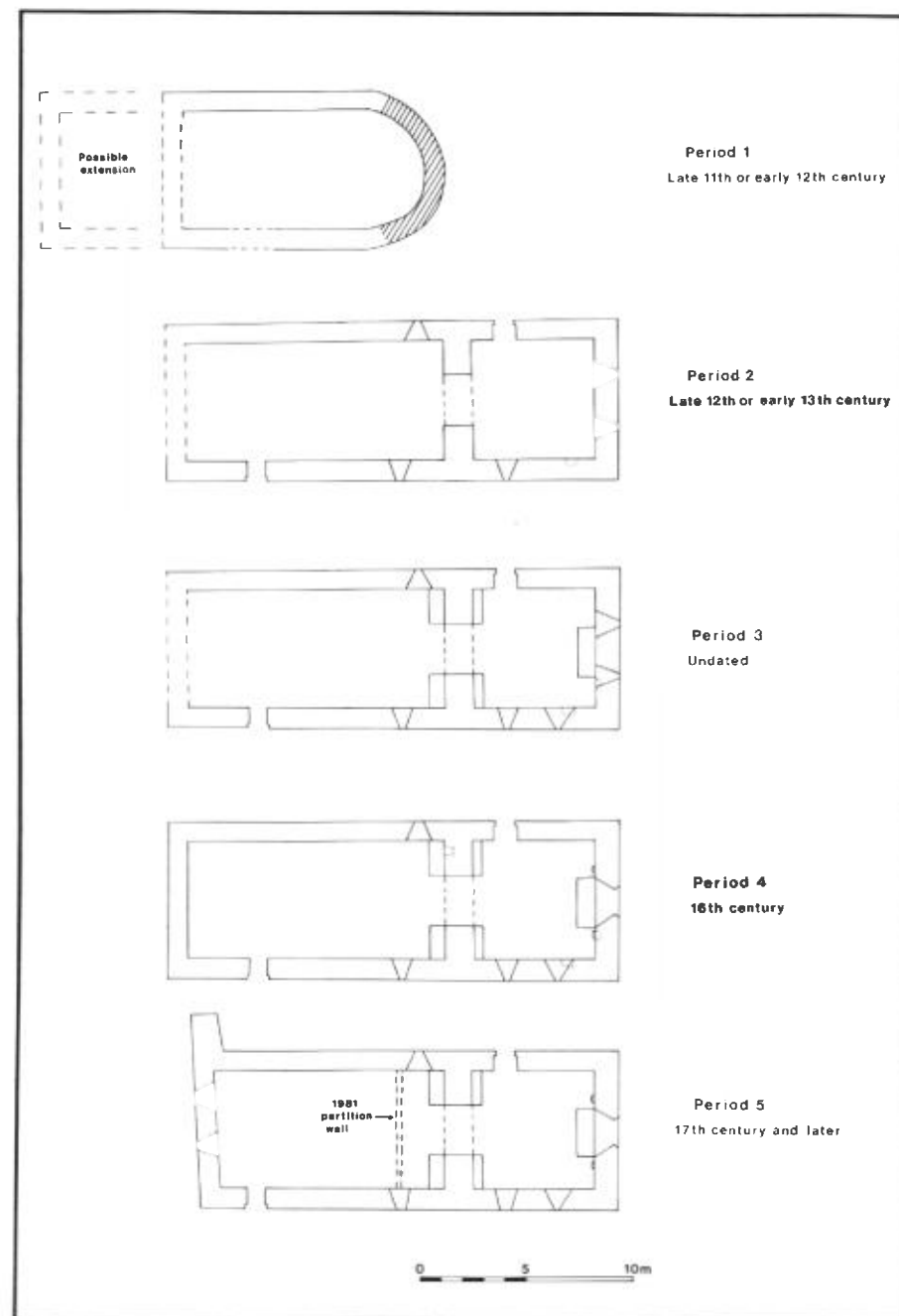


FIG. 11
The constructional periods.

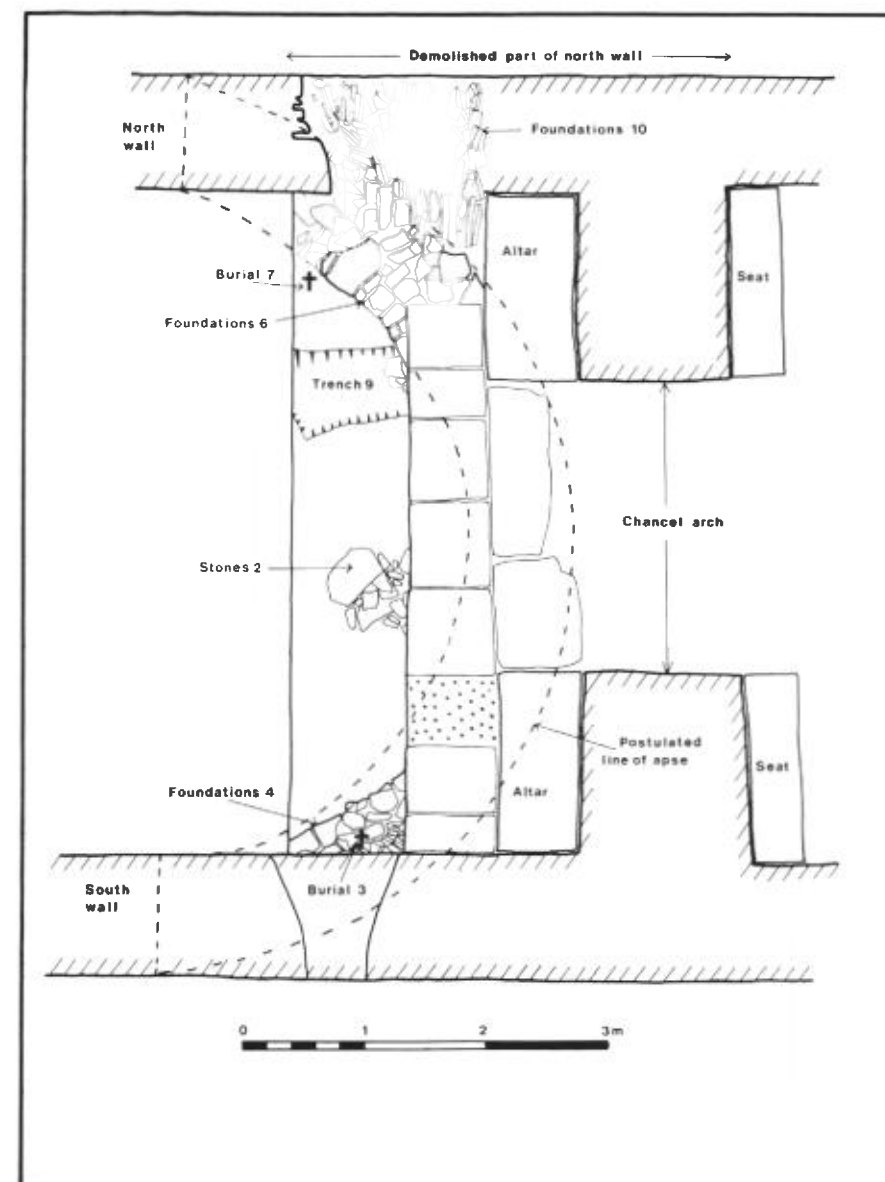


FIG. 12
The internal excavation showing the remains of the period 1 semi-circular apse.

Period 1

The trench for the new foundations was eventually excavated to a total depth of c. 1.0 m. below the level of the flagged floor. The lower 0.5 m. consisted of a compacted clay marl, flecked with green sandstone and containing occasional rounded pebbles. The compaction, lack of soil and other extraneous material and the slight signs of banding indicate that this layer is most probably the undisturbed natural of the site. There is, however, a slight possibility that it was redeposited as part of the castle earthworks but this is considered to be unlikely in view of the proposed date of construction of the chapel.

Three trenches, all considered to be of period 1, were cut into this layer. Two (contexts 4 and 6) were related, being used as trenches for the foundations of the wall of the postulated semi-circular apse. The third trench (context 9), cut some 0.4 m. deep into the natural, adjoined context 6 at the northern edge of the excavation and apparently came to an end just to the west of the excavated area. It was thus some 0.6 m. wide and 1.0 m. long. The fill was a clean, soft, brown soil with occasional flecks of mortar. Several stones associated with the lower part of the foundations in context 6 continued into this small trench which is thus assumed to have been open at the time of the original construction. It is suggested that this trench was used for timber supports or scaffolding whilst the period 1 church was being built.

The two foundation trenches were cut to a similar depth as context 9 and also had vertical sides. The foundations were carefully formed with a layer of rubble in the bottom of the trench. This was followed with a layer of thin stones which had been laid horizontally forming a flat platform. Above this was a second layer of flat stones, but this time laid at an angle making a layer some 0.2 m. thick. A little mortar was found amongst the lower stones but the upper ones were set in clean red clay. Nothing of period 1 survived about the level of these foundation courses in the southern end of the excavated area, but in the northern end one course of faced stones was present on the inside of the curve giving some impression of the thickness and curvature of the period 1 apse. The wall was c. 0.85 m. thick and built of larger blocks of stone than those used in the foundations.

When viewed from above (PL. LXVI), the curved foundations could be seen to align with the upstanding north and south walls in the western half of the nave. The commencement of the curve corresponds to the constructional breaks apparent in these walls. The apse foundations to the south (context 4) were cut by the foundation trench for the south wall of the period 2 eastern extension to the chapel, and the apse foundations to the north (context 6) were cut by a similar trench for the north wall. At this point the excavated area was widened to the east where the period 1 foundations were also cut by the foundations for the side altar.

There were no surviving floor levels associated with the period 1 building, but throughout the excavated area there was a 0.3 m. thick layer of clean soil with occasional flecks of grey-brown mortar (context 8). Sealing this layer, in the southern part of the area, was a thin layer of clean, red clay, identical to that used as packing in the foundations for the apse.

Period 2

Late in the 12th century or early in the 13th century the semi-circular eastern apse was completely demolished and the chapel was extended to the east. A new wall, separating the chancel from the nave, was built above the line of the demolished apse.

The demolition of part of the north wall of the nave allowed the foundations to be examined. The foundation trench for the eastern extension of the north wall (context 10) cut through the foundations of the period 1 apse (context 6) and were exposed for a length of c. 1.4 m. The trench was cut about 0.5 m. into the natural clay marl and was slightly wider than the overlying wall, the excess of some 0.4 m. being internal. The foundations comprised two layers of thin stones, both laid at an angle, the upper layer being on the opposite slope to the lower one. These foundations were sealed with large, flat stones which formed the lowest course of the wall. Above this the wall was built of thin, flat stones which did not continue through from one face to the other. There was no mortar used in the wall and the core consisted of small stones, large pebbles and a quantity of fine, reddish gravel. Apart from the reconstructed head of the window and the associated walling, the whole of the demolished section of wall appeared to be of one build. The chancel arch wall was tied to the north wall on the east and throughout the core. Although the western face was not tied, it was evident that this part had been rebuilt when the niche was inserted.

There were no layers or floor levels within the excavated area which could be ascribed to period 2 and it is assumed that these levels were removed when the flagged floor of period 5 was laid.

Period 3

Within this broad period are included all features which are probably later than the early part of the 13th century (period 2) and earlier than the 16th century (period 5) but otherwise undated. Within and close to the excavated area they include the insertion of the side altars, several infant burials, and indications of floor levels which are earlier than the existing flag floor.

The northern of the two side altars formed one edge to the excavated trench and the northern side of it was fully exposed when the north wall of the chapel was demolished. The lowest courses stood partly on the extended foundations associated with the period 2 north wall and partly on the foundations of the demolished apse. The altar butted against the north wall and the chancel arch wall but was not tied in to either. Unfortunately this altar collapsed shortly after the excavation had been completed and had to be rebuilt at a later date.

In front of the northern altar, and slightly cut into the foundations of the demolished apse, was an infant burial (context 7). The upper parts of the body, which were within the western baulk, were left *in situ*. A similar infant burial (context 3), but more disturbed, was found in the southern end of the trench, in front of the south altar.

In the centre of the trench, overlying layers 5 and 8, were several flat stones (context 2). They did not appear to represent a floor level and may have been nothing more than

levelling material. However, an indication of the level of one of the earlier floors was established in the northern part of the trench where the plaster on the north wall and on the western face of the north altar continued down for c.0.15 m. below the level of the present flag floor. There were no traces of the associated floor which must have been totally removed when the present floor was laid.

Period 4

Not present in the excavated area.

Period 5

After the floor mentioned in period 3 had been removed, the level was built up with a thin layer of brown clay (context 1). This was laid directly on top of the exposed surfaces of layers 2, 5 and 8 and also sealed the foundation courses of the apse. The clay was used as a bedding for the present flag floor which is assumed to date from the 17th century or later.

THE EXTERNAL EXCAVATION (FIG. 13; PL. LXVII)

The degree of uncertainty about the level of the undisturbed ground surface and the lack of early floor levels within the chapel led to the suggestion that an external trench would be of assistance. The existing ground level outside the south-western corner of the chapel was some 0.6m. above the internal floor level—the highest point around the building—so this position was chosen. The trench continued around the corner to the east and was thus of irregular shape, the main area being some 3 m. by 2.5 m.

Much of this external area was occupied by the foundations and footings of a pre-17th-century west wall and a continuation of the foundations of the south wall of the chapel. These foundations were not removed and could not be fully exposed due to the restrictions on space. This meant that the method of construction of the foundations could not be as fully examined as had been the case in the internal trench.

The wall foundations exposed in this limited area could belong to period 1 or period 2—it would seem unlikely that they are of later date. If they belong to period 1 then they represent the line of the original west wall of the chapel. However, if they are considered to be of period 2, then the original building may have extended some additional distance to the west.

Periods 1/2

The foundations of an early west wall (context 12) were found c. 1.6 m. to the west of the present wall. They were excavated to a maximum depth of 0.7 m. The upper part of the wall, which may originally have been above ground, was 0.95 m. thick and was set eastwards some 0.1 m. from the line of the foundations below. This set-back could indicate a rebuilding of the wall at some time, but may have simply been the result of a poor lay-out of the foundations. In the southern part of the area excavated a western con-

tinuation of the foundations of the south wall of the chapel was examined (context 16). Walls 16 and 12 joined on the inner face, but the southern face of 16 and the position of the external south-western junction of the two walls were both cut away by trench 15 of period 5. It could not definitely be established that walls 16 and 12 were of the same period as it was possible that wall 16 continued westwards beyond the line of wall 12. Both walls were constructed of thin, flat stones with little or no mortar. There was no indication of stones being set on edge, as had been the case with the period 1 and 2 walls in the internal excavation, but it should be emphasised that neither of the walls were fully excavated.

The foundations of part of the existing south wall of the chapel were examined during the excavation. They extended some 0.35 m. in front of the wall face (context 19) being cut to the west by trench 15. There is no apparent reason for these extended foundations—the various possibilities are discussed in the concluding section.

The area bounded by the two sets of foundations (contexts 12 and 16), the present west wall of the chapel, and the northern extremity of the excavation, was the only place where there was any chance of establishing the early floor levels which had been totally removed within the building. The results were rather disappointing—the lower part contained only a clean, brown soil with occasional stones and animal bones (context 18). This was sealed by a 0.1 m. thick layer containing charcoal and mortar flecks (context 17), which was on the level of the set-back of wall 12 and could therefore represent a rough earth floor. To the west of wall 12 was a similar brown, clayey soil (context 14) to that found internally. There were no significant finds from these levels.

Periods 3 & 4

Not represented in the excavation.

Period 5

It is assumed that walls 12 and 16 were demolished to build the present west wall during the 17th century. Layers 14 and 17 were sealed with a dark brown soil containing much stone and mortar (context 13) which was assumed to be some of the debris resulting from the demolition. The robber trench for the lower courses of wall 12 (context 11) cut through layer 13 and included some roofing fragments and mortar in a black soil which extended over the whole trench.

The southern part of the excavated area included a trench (context 15), cut from the level of layer 11, which had removed much of the south-western corner of the junction of walls 12 and 16 and the southern face of the foundations of wall 12. It had also destroyed all traces of any possible continuation of wall 12 to the west. The trench contained 19th-century material and was considered to represent late stone-robbing of the foundations of walls 12 and 16 to enable the pathway leading from the road to the south doorway of the chapel to be more even and level.

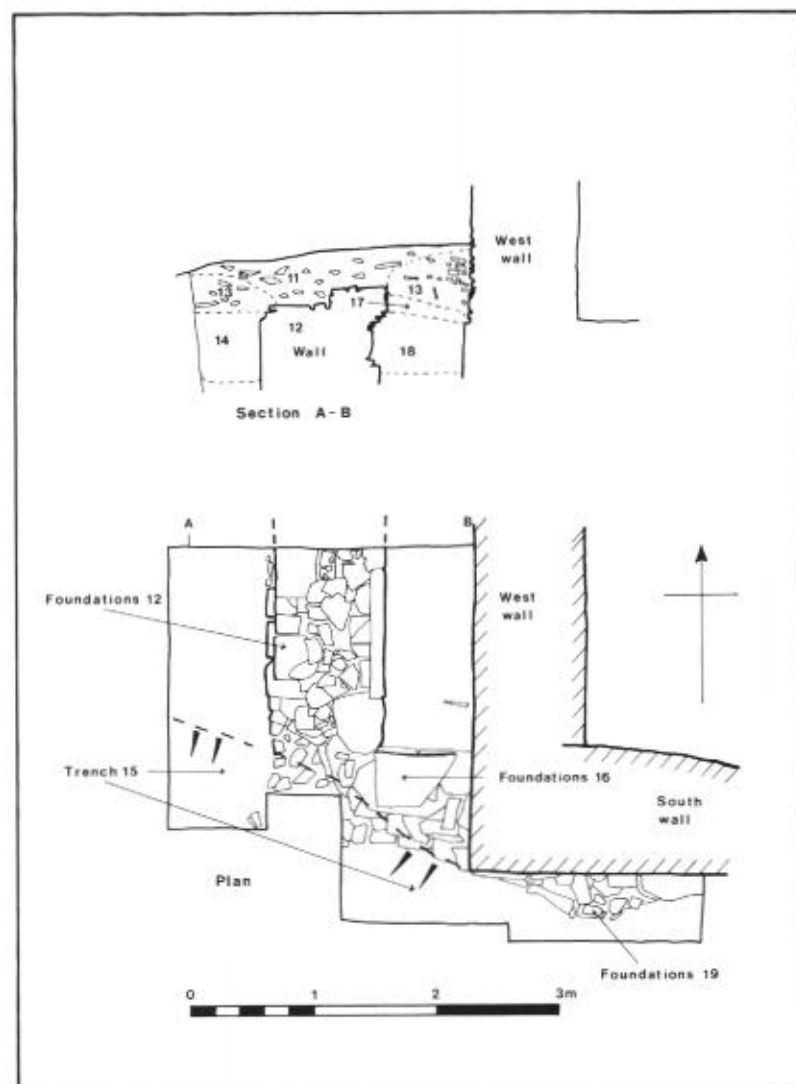


FIG. 13
The external excavation showing the earlier west wall.

CONCLUSIONS (FIG. 13)

The earliest church so far established on the site consisted of a simple rectangular building with an apsidal east end. With the exception of the south door, which is of period 2, and the north-western buttress, which is of period 5, the upstanding western parts of the south and north walls of the nave belong to period 1. They are totally without architectural features.

The buried foundations of the apse remain underneath and partly to the west of the present chancel arch. The western end of the period 1 church has not been securely established, there being two possibilities. In the first case the western wall could be the one which was exposed during the external excavation, approximately 1.6 m. to the west of the present west wall. However, the foundations were apparently different from those of the apse and this wall could therefore be of later date. The foundations of the south wall could not be properly examined in the external trench and the wall may have originally continued further to the west than the excavated area. The period 1 building could therefore have been longer than is immediately apparent. The only positive evidence consists of several stones, which are visible as a surface feature in the adjoining farmyard, some 7.8 m. to the west of the existing west wall. The internal measurements of the period 1 building would have been 5.4 m. wide and either 12.2 m. or 18.2 m. long.

It is possible that the existing period 1 masonry of the north and south walls, together with the apse, represents only the chancel of the original church and that the whole nave was to the west of the present building.

DIMENSIONS	URISHAY	KILPECK ⁶⁹	MOCCAS ⁷⁰	HEREFORD CASTLE ⁷¹
MAXIMUM LENGTH	18.2	19.2	21.3	13.4
(Nave & chancel)	or 12.2			
NAVE WIDTH	5.5	6.1	6.7	5.9
	or wider			
CHANCEL LENGTH	?12.2	9.1	9.8	5.2
	or smaller			
CHANCEL WIDTH	5.5	5.2	4.9	3.5

The comparative measurements shown above indicate that, if one accepts the shorter building, the chapel at Urishay was of the same general dimensions as the one partially excavated in Hereford Castle. The postulated longer building would have been of similar dimensions to the parish churches at Kilpeck and Moccas, although the chancel itself would have been substantially longer. However, the external excavation did expose some foundations to the south of the south wall which could possibly have been associated with

the construction of a wider nave as is usual in churches of this period.⁷² If this was the case then the chancel would only have been about 9 m. long.

The period 1 building is, on stylistic grounds, a product of the late 11th or early 12th centuries. It has been suggested that Urry de la Hay was the first local manorial authority to be established at Urishay, probably during the 1120s. It would seem most likely that he was the founder of both castle and chapel. The probability that they were founded together and that the chapel was proprietorial in origin must be high.

The period 2 reconstruction involved the demolition of the semi-circular apse to its foundations and the construction of a new chancel which was added to the remaining north and south walls. The present south doorway was probably inserted at the same time (or it replaced an earlier doorway). The location of the western end of the church is uncertain, but the position of the south doorway suggests that the west wall of period 2 was the one exposed as foundations in the external trench, 1.6 m. to the west of the present west wall.

The tendency towards the prolongation of chancels appears to date from around 1200. During the 13th century many eastern apses disappeared.⁷³ It is not clear whether this change was related to a liturgical rearrangement or if it was an attempt to mimic the great eastern extensions undertaken by many cathedrals during this period. In the case of Urishay the reason may have been partly to provide an independent access into the chancel for the priest in addition to any liturgical purposes. It is unlikely that the reason was associated with the division in responsibility for maintenance between the nave and the chancel, as was the case in many parish churches.

Period 2 includes several features which suggest a constructional date late in the 12th century or very early in the 13th. They include both doorways, the western window in the south wall of the chancel and the two windows in the eastern part of the nave (although all three windows have been altered). The two narrow lancets in the new eastern wall, which had semi-circular heads, chamfered sides and steeply sloping cills, are also typical of this date range. All the windows of this period, with the possible exception of the western window in the south wall of the chancel, made use of tufa in the internal responds. The use of tufa for this purpose seems to have ceased by the end of the 13th century.⁷⁴

The main part of the chancel arch wall is also of period 2 although the upper part has been rebuilt. One of the tie-beams across the nave was immediately in front of the chancel arch wall (PL. LXIV). This is the normal position for a rood beam but Stallybrass commented that there were no signs of a rood in this beam and that there were no indications of a staircase.⁷⁵ Although many roods were destroyed at the time of the Reformation, their final removal was not ordered until 1561.⁷⁶ The thickness of the chancel arch wall, which at 1.3 m. is greater than any of the external walls, may indicate that the original intention was to include some form of integral rood loft within the structure.

The niche on the western side of the chancel arch wall appears to have been inserted before or at the same time as the timber lintel was inserted into the wall and the upper part rebuilt. The chamfer and stops on the latter would argue for a late-16th or early-17th-century date and it may be that the reconstruction involved in this work removed all traces

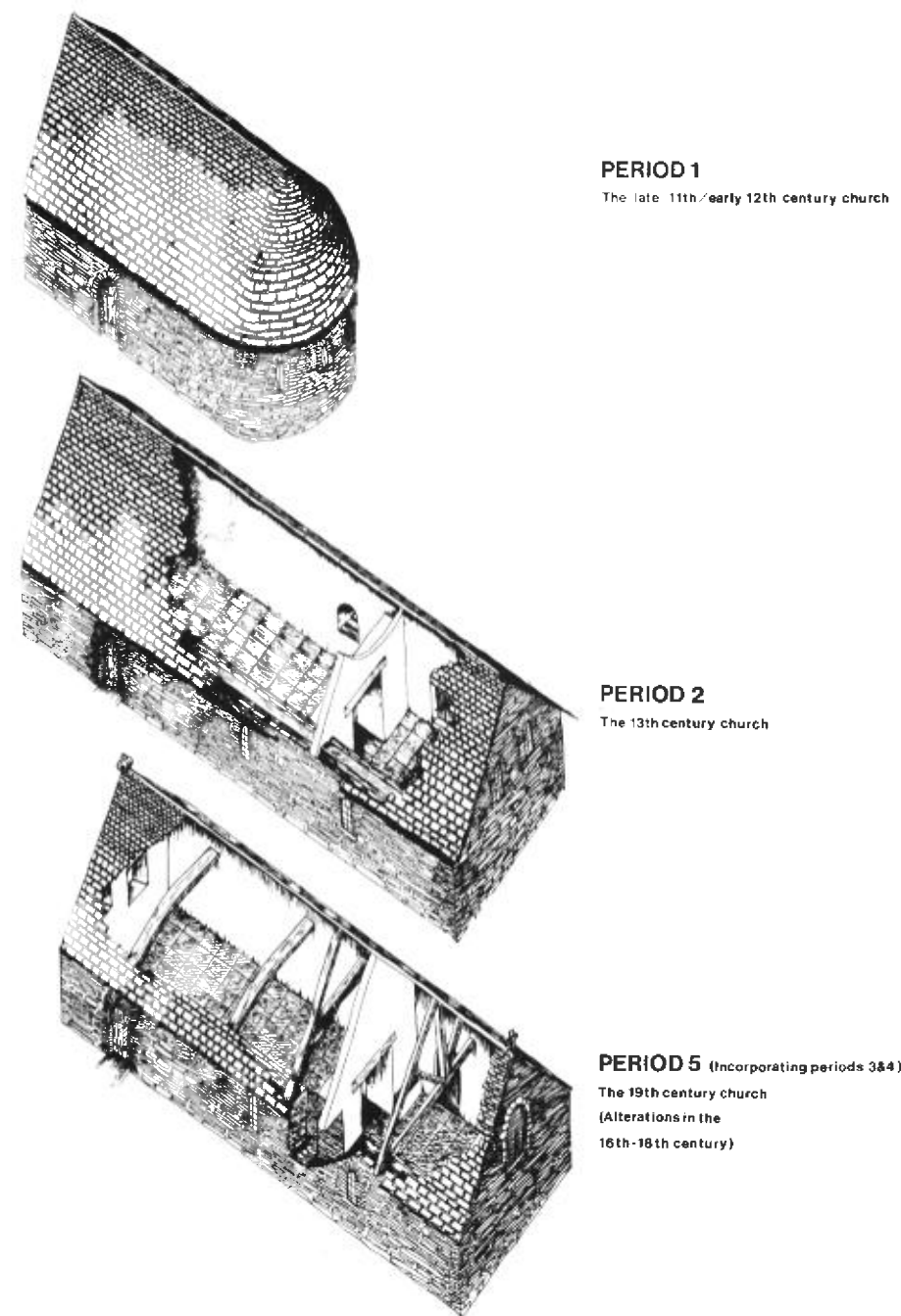


FIG. 14
Isometric drawings of the chapel showing the principal periods of construction.

of the rood stairs, whilst preserving the loft itself. At Llanrothal Church, in the extreme south-western corner of Herefordshire, there was until recently a similar blocked opening in the north part of the chancel arch wall.⁷⁷ This wooden-framed opening was described as formerly opening onto the rood-loft (i.e. the rood-stair door.)⁷⁸ This feature was lost during the reconstruction works of the 1950s and there is now no trace on the chancel side of any associated opening which would have led to the stairs. It may be that the niche at Urishay, although lower in the wall than the rood, took the place of part of the rood stairs.

The alternative access to the rood-loft could have been via side galleries as suggested by Stallybrass,⁷⁹ but his evidence is related to the 17th-century west wall and this, and the height of the north and south nave windows, makes the suggestion improbable. The evidence which Stallybrass noted would, in any case, be more compatible with a small western gallery rather than side galleries.

Apart from retaining parts of the north and south walls of the original chapel, the period 2 reconstruction of the building was almost total. It would seem most likely that this work was carried out by Roger I de la Hay, whose social and economic ambitions in the early 13th century have already been noted.

The eastern of the two windows in the south wall of the chancel is an insert into the period 2 wall. This small, widely-splayed window, which is included in period 3, is probably of 13th or 14th-century date. It was probably designed to provide extra light for the altar built against the eastern wall.

The two side altars in the nave, built against the chancel arch wall on each side of the opening, are not tied into the surrounding masonry and could therefore be later than period 2. Side altars such as these are unusual features in this area.⁸⁰ There is no indication of their precise liturgical purpose nor of the date when side altars generally were brought into use.⁸¹ In the case of Urishay the insertion of the niche into the chancel arch wall may well be associated with the use of the northern altar, whilst the several infant burials directly in front of both altars are perhaps some reflection of their importance. Apart from these isolated infant burials (later than period 1 but otherwise undated), which may have been interred clandestinely,⁸² there is no indication that the chapel was used for burial at any time throughout its history.

The seats on the chancel side of the chancel arch wall are similar in construction, and may well be of the same date as the side altars. Although seats within the chancel are not uncommon they are usually along the south side (sedilia).⁸³

The central part of the eastern wall was eventually demolished to the cill levels of the period 2 windows leaving the outer responds and fragments of the heads. A new window was inserted centrally into the wall and, at some later date, it was apparently reconstructed using most of the original stonework. The stonework used in the new window suggests an early-16th-century date for the original construction.⁸⁴ However, it is possible that the present window was reconstructed from a window belonging to an entirely different building at some date after the 16th century. The timber lintel above the window on the internal face has stops which are similar to those on the lintel above the

chancel arch. These stops are of late-16th-century or early-17th-century form and both lintels may therefore be of the same date as the reconstructed window. The statue ledges, built into the blocking of the period 2 east windows, were probably constructed when the large window was inserted.

The west wall was rebuilt after the north of the nave had begun to lean outwards at the top. The builders attempted to rectify this problem by including a buttress at the north-western corner of the chapel as an integral part of the west wall. The new wall was built with flimsy foundations within the line of the earlier wall, thus shortening the church by some 1.6 m. It contains two integral windows of 17th-century or later date.

The flag floor was laid at this time, or possibly later, and in the process all the earlier floor levels were lost. At some time during or after the 17th century all the period 2 windows were widened or had their heads reconstructed. Two windows were blocked—the easternmost one in the south wall of the chancel and the northern window in the west wall.

It would appear that little was done to the building after the end of the 17th century apart from routine maintenance and perhaps the replacement of the chancel roof. Insertion of tie-beams and a longitudinal tie-rod were probably attempts to limit the increasing lean outwards of the tops of the north and east walls. Thus, by the middle of the 19th century at the latest, the chapel had fallen into disuse and was not restored for public worship until 1914.

In 1927, the Investigator for the Royal Commission commented that 'there is little evidence of the date of the building ... which may possibly be of the 12th century.'⁸⁵ The survey and limited excavations have added much detail to this bare description. The building can now take its rightful place amongst the limited number of examples of separate chapels built during the early 12th century within the baileys of border castles. As such it is unique in Herefordshire, all other surviving examples of castle chapels being of 13th-century or later date and usually incorporated within the main range of buildings. In south Shropshire, Ludlow Castle includes a detached round chapel in the bailey which should have been built about the same time as Urishay.

The churches at Kilpeck and Longtown are both just outside their respective castle baileys and appear to have served the village settlements at least as much as the castles. The remains of the church which was excavated within the bailey of Hereford Castle are considered to be of late-11th-century date⁸⁶ and are similar in size and shape to Urishay. However, these remains are considered to have replaced a timber church possibly built before the end of the 8th century so the comparison with Urishay may not be fully valid.

This report has shown the immense amount of information which can be obtained from a thorough survey, coupled with selected excavation, on a relatively undistinguished building which heretofore had a very poor chronological history.

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My most grateful thanks must go to Mr. & Mrs. H. J. Price of Urishay Castle Farm who allowed us access to their grounds whenever necessary and provided much help and encouragement. During the period when recording and excavation went hand-in-hand

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- ¹⁵ F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism* (1932), 281. Stenton dates this charter to c. 1145, but the personnel and the witness list makes this date impossible. It is more likely to be during the short tenure of Ralph III de Tosny at Clifford, 1157-62 (info. B. Coplestone-Crow).
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- ⁷² These foundations could not be examined in detail. It is possible that they belonged to a buttress or a stone threshold.

⁷³ R. Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology*, C.B.A. Res. Rep. 47, (1983), 84.

⁷⁴ Tufa seems to have been in general use in Herefordshire during the 12th and 13th centuries but not later (Pers. obs.).

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The Effect of Bringewood Forge and Furnace on the Landscape of part of Northern Herefordshire to the end of the Seventeenth Century

By D. G. BAYLISS

THE river Teme rises in Radnorshire and flows through part of the Vale of Wigmore in Herefordshire before plunging into a narrow gorge through Bringewood chase between Leintwardine and Ludlow. Downton Gorge is two miles long and about 100 m. deep with almost vertical cliffs in parts and is well wooded. It cuts through the Wenlock and Aymestry limestone series of Silurian rocks.¹ Within the limestone series there are bands of softer shales and occasional sandstone and the river debouches on to the relatively softer Downtonian and Devonian sandstones of the Bromfield area. The relative resistance of these various bands of rock to the process of erosion has resulted in a series of rapids and small falls of water which had a great potential for water power.

This power of the gorge was harnessed in the rural industrial revolution of Tudor and Carolingian times for the smelting and forging of iron. There was a demand for iron for domestic and military hardware with a growing base in the midlands. In Downton Gorge, though at some distance from the midlands, there were several natural elements available for the production of iron:- power from the river Teme, limestone from local quarries for flux, a cheap, private remote site for industry, water for some of its processes, and charcoal for smelting made from the vast forest which formerly covered the area. There was however, no iron-ore.

The human factors necessary were capital, labour, technology and transport. Capital came from several landowners in the area especially the Craven and Harley families. The latter in particular, based at Brampton Bryan Castle were wealthy and influential at national level e.g. one was a Chancellor of the Exchequer and another a Speaker of the House of Commons. They needed money, especially in the Civil War, to support the Roundhead cause. Their involvement in the industrial development at Bringewood is typical of aristocratic capitalist involvement of the period which included property development in many great cities, e.g. the Harleys in Oxford Street and Harley Street, London.

The labour problem disappeared with the 1536 Act of Union between England and Wales.² Until then most men were tied to their villages preventing much movement to industrial work elsewhere. However, when all people on the Welsh border were given the same status as nominally free Englishmen, it was possible for a labour force to be recruited and also to import technological expertise from the midlands. A transport system was developed based on packhorses and the horse and cart, by which ironstone and pig iron were brought from Bewdley and Charlcombe in the Severn valley.³

Aspects of the capital, technological and commercial development of the industry can only be hinted at here. Similarly the history of the personalities involved is not the

concern of this paper (an account which would concern the foresters of Bringewood e.g. the Harleys and culminate in the life of the ironmaster Knight family and of Richard Payne Knight in particular, the great art connoisseur of the late 18th century).

The purpose of this paper is to set the context of the early start of the industry and to examine in more detail the effect the industry had on a large area of northern Herefordshire, in particular the hills of the former royal chases of Mocktree, north of the Teme, Bringewood east of the Teme and Deerfold forest to the west of the Downton area, until about the end of the 17th century.

To unfold this story the course of the industry in the 16th and 17th century must be briefly set out. John van Laun⁴ states that there is no firm written evidence of the existence of the forge until 1619,⁵ but that its previous existence may be inferred through complaints from local villages concerning the destruction of local forests for charcoal production in 1575, 1584,⁶ 1588,⁷ 1596⁸ and 1611.⁹ In 1619 Sir Henry Hobbart and others acting on behalf of Prince Charles leased 'all the iron mills with edifices and buildings thereto belonging at Bringewood with all weirs, banks, stanks and dams to Edward Vaughan.'¹⁰ Also in this year a flat slab of iron was cast which lies at Burrington Church.¹¹ A survey of the forest and chase of Bringewood in 1623-4 stated that the works had been let for seven years with 200 cords of wood at £250.00. The buildings were worth £500. At this date the ironmaster Francis Walker was paying an annual rent of £66 13s. 4d. for the forge and £170 19s. 0d. for land.¹² Details of a quitclaim in 1637 referring to all rights in the mills, furnace and forge show that the benefactors (some London merchants and Robert, earl of Lindsey) leased timber on Darrall Chase, Bringewood to Samson Eure of Grays Inn for thirty years at 2s. an acre. Eure agreed to supply Francis Walker with wood and in the same year the latter leased the ironworks from Lord Lindsey.¹³

The state of events at the forge is not clear in the Civil War, but following the Restoration the Crown sold off the royal forests in one of which, Bringewood, the forge and furnace were situated. In 1663 Lord Craven owned the site of the works and granted a lease of them, including the lands let to Francis Walker for twenty-one years to Sir Edward Harley and Samuel Baldwin. The lease returned soon afterwards to the Walker family for about thirty years.¹⁴ In 1684 the lease was renewed in favour of Jacob Walker (and again in 1690) 'of all the ironwork consisting of a Forge and a Furnace and other things thereunto belonging to Jacob Walker of Wooton, and all houses anciently engaged with the ironworks before the inclosings of the Forest and Chase of Bringewood and also the liberty to get ironstone and limestone in the Chase of Bringewood.'¹⁵ In 1698 Richard Knight ('an experienced Stour Valley ironmaster'),¹⁶ took over the works and ushered in over a century of Knight dynasty. By 1723 Knight was wealthy enough to purchase the Manor of Leintwardine, the Chase of Bringewood, and the Forest of Mocktree from Lord Craven.¹⁷

FOREST CLEARANCE

Against the brief backdrop presented above it is now possible to look at one aspect of the existence of the industry, namely its voracious need for charcoal for the furnace and forge which led to severe depletion of local forest.

The hills had been inalienable for centuries because the land was royal forest and hunting ground. However, the existence of the forge in the mid-16th century suggests that by this time the forests were being cut for charcoal-making by the authority of the royal foresters who leased the land from the Crown. At the same time the villagers of the bottomlands, Leintwardine, Burrington, Aston and Elton had commonable rights of estovers and, as indicated above, by 1578 complaints were voiced about clearance, because this interfered with their rights to take wood and use the forests for pasture.

It is possible to infer the scale of woodlands destroyed to feed the furnace of Bringewood. In 1596¹⁸ Ludlow Corporation petitioned the Crown concerning the destruction of the woodland, and soon after another petition was presented to the Earl of Essex who had become the principal landowner of the Wigmore area at that time. In April 1611¹⁹ Lord Eure who was President of the Council of the Marches took up the case and wrote to Parliament 'I entre (at) your special notice and care concerning the business of the Forest of Dervold belonging to his Highness (Prince Charles). Out of (the) forest being but a mile long, there is apportioned to the maintenance of the Iron Works in Bringewood and Mocktree a thousand cord of wood yearlie to be taken. So that in (a) short time (it) will be utterly consumed, the quantity in it so small and the (amount) by proportion out of it being so great, and the tenants and inhabitants destitute to the reliefs for buildings, &c necessities they have been formerly accustomed to receive.' 'And the iron works in Bringewood and Mocktree have already made so general a west & spoile by all kinds of wood (save a remnant of spring woods as they now dig by the ground and pull out the auld rootes) wch the whole countrey do much grudge at and the spoile wch they feare in Dervold and have already seen in Bringewood make a general murmure among the people.' (obviously coppicing by which the roots were left growing to produce new shoots and branches was not yet practised in the forests). The 'murmure' was against interference with the custom of estovers available to the villagers which in 1595 were classified as²⁰

howsboote	-	for building houses
heiboote	-	for hedges
ploughboote	-	for making ploughs
cartboote	-	for wagons
fierboote	-	for firewood

This was all cut wood supplied under the Warrant of the Foresters (the Harleys) in the forest of His Highness (the Crown). The commoners were also entitled to the 'crops of all Windefall trees,' and there were small sums to be paid for this, the rates for the (ox) team-land villagers differing from those of the customary tenants. It appears that the furnaces were consuming every last stick in the cleared areas of the forests. However, their Lordships and the Crown do not appear to have responded to the appeal in any positive way and the Crown seems to have lost interest in these areas as royal chases, or was responding to pressures from the powerful Harleys.

Fifty years later large amounts of woodland were still being destroyed to feed the forge and furnace.²¹ Wood was measured in cords and a cord in 1640 was '9 foote in length by 4½ foote in height and ye wood for ye most part cutt 4 foote long,' that is 162 cubic feet. Richard Walker the ironmaster in 1663 agreed to buy cords of wood at five

shillings a cord from Sir Edward Harley, who was to sell at least four hundred but not more than eight hundred cords.²² Another supplier was to provide at least four hundred but not more than one thousand cords per year. A thousand cords of wood would be upwards of 150,000 cubic feet equal to 100-150 mature trees sixty-seventy feet high. This amounts to a possible eighteen hundred cords of wood, or nearly a quarter of a million cubic feet each year. Further evidence is given in the same document where it is stated the 'coles' (charcoal) had to be carried four miles. This need for carriage at such a distance implies a disafforestation over a wide area around Bringewood so that the charcoal was having to be made in distant woods.

A third type of evidence is given in the details of the iron-founding processes. It took $3\frac{1}{2}$ cords of wood to make one 'lode of coles', and 4 loads of 'coles' (14 cords) were necessary (with 4 tones of ironstone) to make a ton of sow iron. The '(re) fyninge and drawing' of the ton of iron needed a further 3 loads of charcoal, (say) 10 cords of wood.²³ The whole process from the beginning of the smelting to the final product of bar-iron took, therefore, 24 cords of wood—nearly four thousand cubic feet of wood for one ton. A stock list, much later in 1733,²⁴ included 546 dozen (loads of) charcoals, 89 tons of bar iron and 123 tons of sow iron. Assuming the iron had all been made at Bringewood²⁵ the working of this stock alone represented a depletion of over half a million cubic feet of wood from the hills of Leintwardine and Wigmore area.

THE GRAB FOR THE FORESTS

Though the main impetus for the sale of wood by landowners came from their demand for a quick profit, it is suggested that there were other reasons for the industry which itself yielded profits to the shareholders who, apart from the ironmasters, were usually the landowners themselves. Even so the picture is more involved than that. Cutting down the wood did not mean disposing of the land. At first the Crown continued to possess the forests turning a blind eye to the fact that the wood had been sold by the royal foresters. In due course the forests passed to private landlords, frequently the local aristocracy, who made even further profits from the cleared land as follows.

Before the Act of Union the forests had been inalienable but after this date some cottagers had spread into the chases in which forest law had applied and where local villages had rights of great value for wood and grazing. When all people were free to move from the restrictive practices of the commoning villages, many of them wished to possess land or become tenants in the forest. This benefited the Crown or new owner (often the lords of the local manors). These lords (e.g. Essex, Craven, Lindley and Oxford) wanted the rest of the wood to be cut down for sale and the immigrant settlers wanted a cleared area to start their crofts or farms. The lure of severalty or cash tenancies to a previously customary population provided an excellent further income to the landlord for the same land. Very rapidly the forested landscapes assumed the following features over the last quarter of the 16th century and first quarter of the 17th.

a) the lords were able to enclose some parts as large unit farms, well built, in regularly laid out fields in ring-fences. These were much more efficient and better to administer than the former holdings of the lords in demesnes scattered among the strip holdings of

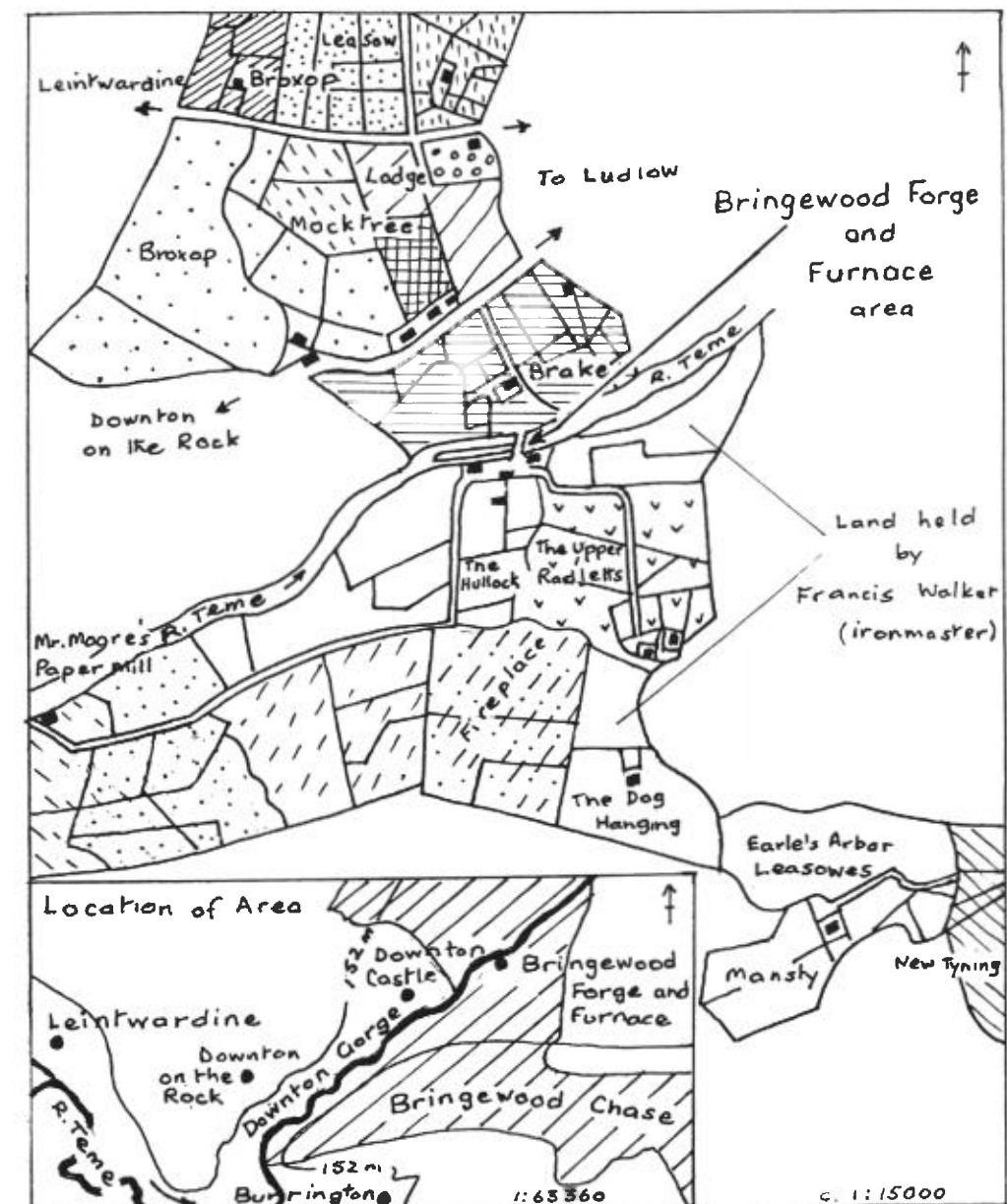


FIG.

Enclosure of a Royal Chase. Bringewood and Mocktree 1662 showing ring-fenced unit farms (shaded)

the village lands. These new-type estate farmsteads were to usher in the period of high-farming in the area, and occupied the better soils and flatter upland areas, e.g. between Downton and Bromfield (FIG.)²⁶

- b) by local enclosure-litigation some ex-villagers were able to move into small tenant farms and some were able to purchase in severalty.
- c) some cottagers and copyholders had already established themselves illegally in the forests and others followed. This produced a haphazard settlement pattern particularly assarting into the edges of the forest as on e.g. Bircher Common. Presumably these cottagers availed themselves of any customary estovers still available.
- d) commoning arrangements for existing lowland villages continued for some time in remaining small unenclosed areas whereby people could continue to take wood and graze a fewer number of animals.
- e) as well as all the above activities there continued large scale wood cutting and charcoal burning.
- f) the hunting aspects of the forests declined rapidly.

METHODS OF ENCLOSURE OF THE FORESTS

Many points of interest arise from litigation in the 17th century for enclosure, for example in the enclosure of Bringewood Chase in 1624.²⁷ This area was ditched and fenced by the people of Burrington themselves when they revoked their claim to high level common and received in return only 300 acres between them in severalty. Downton commoners received only 300 acres of Mocktree forest. Elton, Aston and Pachfield commoners accepted 500 acres of Bringewood Chase. These proportions were about only a third to a half of their previous ranging entitlements. Similar apportionments were suffered by Leintwardine commoners in 1638²⁸ when their tracts in Mocktree were reduced.

Evidence at this time also refers to the end of the role of the forests as chases for the taking of venison: 'The Earle (of Lindsey)... agreed that he should disforeste and destroy the deer therein, which was pretended (by) ... the common's to do Great hurt and Damage to them in their corne.' The commoners were to hold their forest areas in severalty, and the Earle 'in Manifestation of his future purpose to proceed in the sd agreement..did..destroy all the Deer ... and Survey and Measure and plot all ... the forest and did also Cutt down much Timber and provide other necessarys for the division thereof and did expend many great sums of money in dividing, ditching and quick-setting.' The former privilege of the township for taking stone freely was respected at the outset but was soon withdrawn and prosecutions followed.

Many of the small enclosures were not to last long. The lords took the better lands for their tenanted estate farms and these good red brick houses, barns and outhouses set in a large block of rectangular fields remain today. Small crofts continued in isolated spots but many areas were too hilly, thin soiled and otherwise unfarmable and eventually returned to waste.

THE EFFECT OF THE ENCLOSURE OF THE CHASES ON LOWLAND ENCLOSURES

The enclosures considered above were of upland woodland formerly used as permanent pasture for cattle, sheep, pigs and horses. The commoning lowland pastures continued for the time being but the abstraction of the high level pasture commons put pressure on the commoning lowlanders to operate their remaining lowland commons more efficiently.

These were small commonable patches of heath or marsh in the bottomlands. The Vale of Wigmore was such an area of alluvium. The site of "Lake Wigmore" was then, as now, subject to flood, and there were instructions issued in 1633 for the widening and deepening of the ditches draining it,²⁹ the ditch 'from the bridge by Newfyelds Common ... was to be made ... fower feete in the botom at the least, an(d) 6 foote or five at the least at the tope.' There were penalties for not keeping the ditches scoured twice a year, and artificial banks and levees that had been effected by selfish commoners had to be pulled down. Other persons were "impained" for diverting streams out of their proper courses for their own uses, presumably a record of early, but unauthorized, water-meadows.

Burrington commoners were restricted to a common behind the village and legislation in 1679³⁰ was designed to prevent over-stocking of the common by limiting the numbers of wintering stock in proportion to the commoners' other severalty holdings elsewhere, an interesting light on this transition period when the villagers held severalty plots and were commoners too.

Person A who possessed 120 acres was allowed 40 sheep.

B and C	„	80	„	„	„	40	„
D	„	80	„	„	„	26½	„
E	„	53½	„	„	„	26½	„
F, G and H	„	40	„	„	„	26½	„

If the commoners preferred to winter other animals than sheep they were reckoned as follows:-

- '5 sheep to one beast
- 2 beasts to one horse
- 2 yearlings to a beast
- 3 2-year olds to 2 beasts and so for horses'

The grazing of a horse was reckoned therefore to be equivalent to that of ten sheep or two beasts. It is clear from the fractional allocation of sheep to certain acreages that the commons were highly organised, and it is also clear from the arrangement of the tables that sheep were the basis of animal farming in 1679.

It was more than coincidence that ordinances for the improvement of bottomlands of the vale of Wigmore should appear in the same year as an agreement to supply eight hundred cords of wood from local upland forests to Bringewood Forge, and that strict measures for regulating stock on Burrington Common followed a survey which showed all Bringewood Chase to be enclosed. Regulation of customary privilege in the commons tightened as they shrank in area.

CONCLUSION

Thus the history of the ironworks in Bringewood even at this early date cannot be considered in isolation. Its inception and development involved famous families with involvements at national level, rural aristocratic capital investment in a heavy industry, share-profit from the industry and profit from selling wood for charcoal. The enterprise and audacity shown at the early stage by royal hunting foresters in selling royal wood on such a scale is almost beyond belief were it not for the obvious power of such families in national politics.

The running of the industry involved expertise imported from outside the region, massive technology for the period (six water wheels by the 18th century) and major destruction of forests over a radius of several miles. From the moment the forests passed from royal to lay ownership the new owners were spurred on to clear the estates for farming, a profitable investment. For those villagers who chose to move to the hills to an estate farm or to one owned by themselves, some moves were a success others a disaster. The villagers who remained in the lowlands were turned away from much of their former commonable hill pasture. Not only did populations fall in the villages as people moved out to the hills, but the villages could not support all the remaining inhabitants because the size of the commons was reduced, in spite of attempts to regulate these more closely.

Bringewood Forge and Furnace was therefore an important catalyst which altered the wooded landscape of northern Herefordshire, effected a new settlement pattern in the hills, benefitted the landowners and mainly adversely affected the village people of the lowlands and round about.

Though feudalism had many disadvantageous elements it held, in its communal agricultural way of life, a surety that life would continue for the same number of people in the same way. The local agricultural system needed vast grazing areas to support the village populations. When these areas were lost, largely through the rise of this rural iron industry, the protective aspect of feudal life, i.e. the mutual commoning organisation, was lost. Population numbers could not be sustained. The decline of the area began therefore the moment it emerged from feudalism. It is usual to think of industrialisation causing an increase of wealth and population. The Bringewood iron industry was an example of an industry which caused unemployment and a decline of rural population.

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- ¹¹ This and a number of other slabs may be seen at the eastern end of Burrington Church—John van Laun. Photos in R.C.H.M., Herefordshire, III.
- ¹² J. Duncumb Mss. notes for *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*. Hereford Library.
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- ¹⁴ H. and W. C.R.O. Downton Papers, 403.
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- ¹⁹ H. and W. C.R.O., L.C.5571.
- ²⁰ H. and W. C.R.O., L.C.5887.
- ²¹ H. and W. C.R.O., Gatley Park Papers, F76/11/353, quoted in J. van Laun, *op. cit.* Note 8. 'For the first seven years of this period Walker was to purchase at least 3000 cords of wood and roots to be delivered within six miles of the works at the following prices. Cords of wood delivered within three miles 3/8 each; roots delivered within six miles 3/8, wood delivered above three miles and within six to be 3/6. Every cord to measure 8ft. x 4ft. x 4ft. Walker to have liberty to 'cole' on the ground and to take turf, rubbage, sand and fern and to erect "cabins" for the Colliers.' He quotes further: 'Eure could reserve out of every "hagge" or parcel of wood such standells or trees to remain as he thinks fit.' Note that the size of the cord here, of 128 cubic feet was, in 1637, rather smaller than that of the cord of 162 cubic feet mentioned in 1640 (Downton Papers 403). See also H. C. Bull, *op. cit.* Appendix I, 270.
- ²² H. and W. C.R.O., Downton Papers, 403.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ H. and W. C.R.O., Downton Papers, 302A and 219 and L.C.5449.
- ²⁵ The stock may have included Charlcombe pigs at Bringewood (J. van Laun) of which 43 tons were recorded as lying there. However, 'coles' would still have been necessary to smelt these pigs of non-local origin.
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A Riot at Hereford, 1756¹

By COLIN HAYDON

IN December 1756, one D. W. Linden was travelling through Herefordshire. The times were hard, for a combination of harvest failure and the beginnings of the 18th-century population rise had forced up wheat—and hence bread—prices to levels unknown since 1740.² The result was that in 1756-7, food riots broke out in many parts of England, and in a letter, Linden described one he had witnessed as follows:

'On Monday last [i.e. 6th December] I was at Hereford where I did see a riote Conducted by women in the most regular manner, they stopped two waggon Loads of Corne, Escorted by Farmers, and Servants, but they got the better of the Farmers, they delivered the two waggons of Corn into the Custody of the magistrats, who intend to Sell it in a Lawfull manner, but one Farmer was used very ruffly by these women, for he was deepest³ and diked so Longe in the river, till he was almost drowned, it seems he was a papist, and hath been heard to say that he rather would Sell to the french for 5. Shill. than to his own Country for 7 shs. 6 pen: I think there was a just provocation for resentment.'⁴

The riot warrants scrutiny from a number of perspectives.

To begin with, some general comments are needed on the 'psychology' of the crowd. In recent years, historians have become increasingly aware that popular disturbances in pre-industrial England did not stem from a desire for radical change. Nor were they simply criminal, anarchic attempts to frustrate the law or bruise the social order.⁵ On the contrary, the crowd's aims were usually conservative: it wanted to prevent change, not to promote it, and to uphold customary practices and standards. Thus at Kingswood near Bristol, the colliers rioted against the introduction of turnpike roads and the accompanying tolls in 1727, 1731-2, 1735, and 1749: they saw no reason why they should not continue to transport their coal without charge, as in the past—not least because they regarded the old roads as adequate when repaired regularly by the proper authorities.⁶ This conservative mentality is likewise shown in 18th-century food riots. When there were grain shortages and prices rose, mobs often intercepted farmers on their way to market, but tended not to steal their produce: they recognized that the farmers were entitled to payment for their crop. It was the *inflated* prices that they saw as unjust—especially since they did not understand the real economic forces at work and therefore presumed that soaring prices were the result of malpractice, of hoarding or exporting by greedy producers or factors hoping to secure fatter profits. In consequence, the mobs normally set a lower, 'just' price for the grain, and proceeded to sell it, paying the farmers accordingly. A strong sense of legitimacy infused these actions. They were, in part, an imitation of the measures supposed to be adopted in times of dearth by local J.P.s or the Assize of Bread, measures deriving their strength from time-honoured practice, the Books of Orders, or from statute law. Significantly, the crowd commonly resorted to direct action only after magistrates had conspicuously failed to implement the procedures for controlling grain prices: it was then, almost literally, taking the law into its own hands. In addition, it frequently tried to in-

volve the authorities in its actions. The mob wanted to force J.P.s to regulate the local economy, prevent shortages, and stop profiteering. It also wanted assurance from the gentry and its agents that such actions were right-minded, justified, and not excessive.⁷

The riot at Hereford conforms very closely to this general pattern. It was orderly, limited to its objectives, 'Conducted... in the most regular manner,' as Linden put it. The crowd did not wish to subvert the social order. It could easily have stolen the corn once the farmers and their servants had been overpowered. Instead it chose to give the grain to the magistrates, so that they might 'Sell it in a Lawfull manner.' It thereby established the legitimacy of its act and made the authorities its abettors, rather than potential prosecutors who might side with the disgruntled victims.⁸ The sense of justification may well have been heightened by the suspicion that the shortages and high prices resulted from corn being moved to other localities or exported abroad—if not actually to France—and the following year, the movement of corn from the Wye Valley was again blocked by mob action of this kind.⁹ Even the women's treatment of the Catholic farmer exhibits restraint. Terrifying though his ordeal may have been, the aim of his assailants was not to maim, still less to kill him, but rather to inflict psychological humiliation in a highly public way. Doubtless as he scrambled, bedraggled, freezing, and breathless to the river bank, they felt they had succeeded. For Linden, this too seemed legitimate: 'there was a just provocation for resentment.'

The fact that the crowd was composed of women should not be considered remarkable, for women were involved in numerous grain riots in the 18th century. There are several explanations for this. First, women often went to buy food at market, and so were able to congregate and waylay farmers bringing their produce there. Secondly, because they were responsible for the cooking and the balancing of the household's food budget, it was they who first felt the impact of price fluctuations. Thirdly, it was believed that women were less likely to be arrested than men, whilst they may have calculated that their victims would be less inclined to fight them than their husbands.¹⁰

Lastly, the religious dimension of the riot deserves examination. For much of the 18th century, English Catholics were perceived as potential traitors, the cat's paw of the 'Popish' states of Europe. As an Oxfordshire parson put it in 1739:

'If France and Spain... would venture 1000 men... upon our English shore... [they] would have 10000 to join them... from ye Beck of [the Papists'] spiritual superiors.'¹¹

Such fears of a fifth column naturally increased in wartime, and ran especially high during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), when the Protestant powers of Britain and Prussia were pitted against Catholic France and Austria.¹² Small wonder that, only seven months after the start of the war, the crowd at Hereford should have reacted so fiercely to reports of provocative language on the Catholic farmer's part. Furthermore, religious, economic, and political concerns might easily become intertwined in Georgian England. In the Spitalfields district of London in the 1730s, Irish artisans were the victims of xenophobia and anti-Catholic prejudice, but were also disliked because they were held to undercut the wages of Englishmen, thereby putting them out of work.¹³ During the Jacobite rising of 1745, the Papists were said to be committing acts of economic sabotage, presumably with a view to aiding the Pretender: they were suspected of destroying the stock of farmers in divers parts of the country, of burning down the king's bakehouse at Dover, and, even

more improbably, of spreading cattle murrain by poisoning pools.¹⁴ Dearth might likewise exacerbate sectarian tensions if members of unpopular religious minorities seemed to be little affected or even profiting by it; and magistrates, anxious to deflect popular anger from themselves to a scapegoat, might do little to dispel such resentment. In 1756, it was in fact the Quakers rather than the Catholics who were the main targets of these prejudices. The Quakers were heavily involved as middlemen in the grain trade and, in August 1756, the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that mobs in the west midlands were incensed by the rise in wheat prices, blaming it on the millers and engrossers of that commodity. 'At Nuneaton, Atherstone, Polesworth, and Tamworth,' it went on.

'great mischief was done to the mills, and many farm-houses; and some of the dealers being quakers, three of their meeting houses at Badgley, Heartfall, and Atherstone, were nearly destroyed.'¹⁵

The Catholic farmer at Hereford was, however, not only hated for his religion and his economic dealings like the Quakers; his foolish remark (if he did indeed make it) had also proved him to be unpatriotic. That he was assaulted by a mob which regarded itself as the guardian of traditional standards is hardly surprising.

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¹ I am most grateful to Mr. Glynn Parry of the National Library of Wales and Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Housby for their help when I was preparing this paper.

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³ To plunge or immerse deeply.

⁴ National Library of Wales, 478 E, f. 16: D. W. Linden to J. Williams, 10 Dec. 1756. I have retained the original spelling and punctuation.

⁵ P. Slack in his introduction to Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (1984), 1-2.

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¹³ G. Rudé, *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (1971), 187-90.

¹⁴ *G.M.*, XV (1745), 555; *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole* ed. W. S. Lewis (Yale, 1937-83), XIX, 174: H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, 29 Nov. 1745. For other similar examples, see Haydon, *op. cit.* in note 12, 208.

¹⁵ *G.M.*, XXVI, 408.

The Kington Turnpike Trust (1756-1877) and the Kingswood tollhouse.

By DAVID VINER

INTRODUCTION

KINGTON is fortunate in preserving no less than five of its toll-house buildings from the period of the town's turnpike history, and all remain in domestic occupation. Recent road improvements, so often damaging to such buildings elsewhere, fortunately have avoided each site although the predecessor scheme for the town's new by-pass (an abortive inner relief road project in the early 1970s) did threaten the Kingswood toll-house and thus stimulated the researches gathered together in this paper. This survey is far from complete but it is hoped that others will be encouraged to pursue the subject further and reveal more evidence of Kington's turnpike history.

KINGTON TURNPIKE TRUST

The Kington Turnpike Trust was typical of its type and time, a local organisation with essentially local representatives but fitting as a piece of jigsaw into a national pattern. The state of 18th-century roads, particularly in the border counties, was well-recorded by contemporaries as being in poor condition. Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis of Harpton Court near New Radnor recollected in 1848 that when the Kington to Leominster road was under repair the mud was so bad that it was said to cost little more to make the road navigable and build a canal. Turnpike trusts were established in an attempt to improve matters and ensure a degree of local responsibility and accountability upon the trustees. The principle frequently proved to be better than the practice, as the Kington example testifies from the comments of later historians.

The Trust was established by an Act of 1756 (29 Geo. II)¹ with renewals or amendments in subsequent Acts of 1773 (13 Geo. III), 1794 (34 Geo. III) and in the following century in 1819 (59 Geo. III) and 1842 (5 Vict.). The Trust survived until 1877 and during the 121 years of its existence contributed a great deal to the improvement of road conditions in the Kington area. Unfortunately none of the working papers, and particularly the Minute Books, seem to have survived which frustrates any attempt to reconstruct the detailed history of the Trust, as has been possible, for example, with trusts elsewhere.² Only a preliminary attempt can be made here to reconstruct that history, for which acknowledgement is due to the efforts of the late C. W. Meredith of Kington in compiling a series of notes on local turnpike matters as part of the history of the town.

The original Act lists no less than eighty-six trustees, an impressive gathering of names of local influence and social standing. Their responsibilities included the 'surveying, ordering, widening, mending and keeping in repair' of a specified list of roads around Kington. It was frequently the case that relatively few turnpike trustees appointed in this way took an active part in the trust's affairs and it is not surprising to note that the second Act, seventeen years later in 1773, added a further four trustees 'for the more effectual

putting the said Acts in Execution.' In 1794 a further eight names were added to a list which must by then have looked very different from the original grouping thirty-eight years before. An analysis of the local status and social influence of the many names on these lists of trustees would prove a rewarding study.

THE ROAD NETWORK

The roads for which the Trust was responsible were clearly stated and remain the framework upon which any more detailed assessment of the Trust's achievements must be based. They can be summarised as follows, in each case, 'leading from the town of Kington':-

- (A) 'Through Welch-Hall Lane as far as the same County extends'—this is presumably the road westwards from the town, either south of the Back Brook along the old road via the Yeld and Vestrey Farm, as mentioned by the Kington historian Parry,³ or the line of the modern A44 on the north side;
- (B) 'to Brilley's Mountain'—the line of the present minor road;
- (C) 'through Bollingham to Eardisley'—the present A4111 road;
- (D) 'through Spond to Almely's Wotton and through the Holme's Marsh to Almely'—a route traceable as no more than tracks and minor roads today;
- (E) 'through the Parishes of Lyonshall, Almely, Sarnsfield and Norton to Eckley's Green'—linked with (D) above and including the present A480 road as far as Eccles Green and Norton Common;
- (F) 'through the parishes of Lyonshall and Pembridge to Eardisland'—the present A44 road;
- (G) 'through Titley and Stansbatch under the side of Wapley Hill to Staple Bar'—part of the present B4355 plus minor road(s);
- (H) 'through Lyonshall to Knoak's Bridge and from thence to Milton House'—the minor road running north-east from Lyonshall towards Shobdon.

These eight routes together were intended to encompass all the routes running into or through the town of Kington and to include a considerable area to the south and east as well. It must be remembered that many such specifications establishing trusts in the 18th century (and indeed the following century) included routes which were to prove either unsuccessful in terms of revenue income or abortive routes altogether, and were frequently included for no more complicated reason than to exclude opposition from other trusts or to protect the main routes of the trust concerned. Thus it might be conjectured that although routes (D), part of (G) and perhaps (H) above seem insignificant to our modern eye, they formed essential parts of the web of routes which the Trust sought to control. A more detailed analysis would be able to develop this theme.

Neighbouring trusts included to the west the Radnorshire Turnpike Trust (established in 1767), to the east the Presteigne & Mortimers Cross Trust (1754) and the Bluemantle Hall or Aymestrey Trust (1759) and to the south-east the Hereford Trust (1730). Thus, for example, of the routes noted above, (A) would be inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the Radnorshire Trust, and (G) and (H) both met directly with one of the main routes

of the Presteigne & Mortimers Cross Trust from Yarpole via Cock Gate and Mortimer's Cross to Shobdon and via Staple Bar to Presteigne.

The Acts subsequent to 1756 made various amendments to the system including the addition of route (I) Eardisley to Willersley in 1773, presumably to join up with the present-day A438 Brecon-Hereford road, and in 1794 a series of minor routes which were nevertheless important links in the network and clearly needed to be added to the schedule both for completeness and indeed because if excluded they may well have afforded toll-free cross-country routes for those travellers determined to avoid the tolls payable on the Trust's existing routes. In many ways this is an interesting group because it reveals something of the evolution of the turnpike system nearly forty years after the introduction of the first Act.

These routes included:

- (J) Lyonshall to Titley;
- (K) Lyonshall to Two Mile Gate (on the present A44) and part of the cross-country route north-eastwards towards Shobdon;
- (L) Pembridge via Milton Cross and Stockley Cross to Stansbatch;
- (M) Legion Cross, Eardisland parish to Stretford Bridge, Stretford parish;

The latter two routes particularly represented not only alternatives for travellers but also completed the network in relation to neighbouring trusts.

Thus was developed a network of routes which the Trust administered until the demise of the turnpike system. Much of its work was concerned with routine matters of maintenance and Parry records the apparent lack of success of earlier methods of repair until the decision of the trustees in 1822⁴ to appoint Mr. John Rutherford, an assistant to the highway engineer J. L. MacAdam, as highway surveyor. Matters improved thereafter, although doubtless the main routes were given more attention than the relatively minor parts of the Trust's network.

THE TOLL SYSTEM

The trustees met regularly in Kington, the first meeting being held on 24 June 1756 at the White Talbot Inn in Bridge Street. By Parry's time in the 1840s meetings were taking place at the Kings Head Inn, where the Market Hall now stands. Income for the Trust came from the imposition of tolls at various points on the road network according to the standard scale of fees listed in detail by Parry.⁵ The Act of 1756 listed the categories payable and included a number of exemptions, including the free passage of those who had already paid on any one day. This latter was repealed in the 1773 Act and replaced by an exemption from further toll in any one day those whose journey was less than eight miles from the point of payment i.e. an amendment designed to increase the income from those travellers making longer-distance journeys on the Trust's roads. Pressure for further income reduced this distance to six miles in the 1794 Act.

The payment of tolls was the most onerous part of the turnpike system from the user's point of view and avoidance of toll-sites must have been commonplace whenever it

could be achieved. One regular complaint was the regularity or indeed apparent duplication of payment whenever a traveller passed from the jurisdiction of one trust into another. An excellent local example derives from a letter of complaint to *The Times* in 1843 that tolls were payable on three gates within three miles on the journey between Kington and Presteigne (only seven miles overall)—the effect of moving between no less than three trusts. Meredith concluded that these three were one of the town gates leaving Kington (Kington Trust) which would also 'free' the Titley gate of the same trust, the Rodd Hurst gate of the Mortimers Cross Trust and the Corton gate of the Presteigne Trust which would also 'free' the Presteigne gate into the town.

The Trust let out its toll-collecting sites to the highest bidder in a procedure familiar to all students of the turnpike system. Parry noted that the bidding took place in November with possession for one or three years from the following January.⁶ He further noted that the most recent letting (i.e. at his time of writing c.1845) achieved £1,530 for the gates of the district, of which £800 was derived from the Kington town gates. This contrasts with £391 for the town gates in 1790. Later recorded figures achieved a consistency e.g. 1858 £1400; 1859 £1410; 1865 £1440. The successful bidder had of course to recoup his investment by efficient collection of the tolls at the stated rates of payment during the period let to him.

SITES OF TOLL GATES

This raises the question of where the toll-collection points were sited. This is basic to any proper understanding of the success or otherwise of any turnpike trust's affairs and it is regrettable that no list survives of all the toll-sites under the jurisdiction of the Kington Trust. The various Acts do not specify which sites were to be established or even hint at the possible use or re-use of existing buildings. The student is therefore obliged to piece together suitable sites within the network and to examine surviving remains of possible toll houses on the ground. There were undoubtedly many variations and it must be appreciated that toll-sites were moved from time to time from one place to another in order to achieve better results or (more likely) to plug loopholes in the system. Nor were all sites occupied by a building, either conveniently re-used or purpose-built. Many sites were no more than side gates protecting the toll road from a minor lane or route joining it, and as such probably manned only intermittently. Others afforded only temporary shelter for the toll-collector in structures which have not survived.

Meredith sought to establish the site of each of the gates belonging to the Kington Trust which he believed totalled at least eighteen in number. These are discussed in a sequence which attempts to relate them to the routes managed by the Trust and listed as (A) to (M) above.

KINGTON TOWN GATES

- (1) Church gate, opposite the church at SO 292566 which controlled the westward routes from the town both to New Radnor and the minor road to Brilley (routes (A) and (B)). The building ceased to be used from 1857 when (2) and (3) below were

constructed, and was demolished c.1936 to accommodate road widening at the entrance to Hergest Road. A 1930 photograph⁷ shows a two-storey building with no apparent external toll house features, such as a half-hexagonal window, and obviously much altered since its use as a toll house. Original date unknown, but there is a reference in 1791 to this site in use as a turnpike and it is shown on Bryant's county map of 1834 as 'TB'.

- (2) Floodgates toll-house which survives at SO 285571 on the south side of the present A44 (route (A)). This is one of two sites replacing Church gate and dates from 1857. Although modernised in recent years, the building's unmistakeable toll house features survive, viz. proximity to the road-side, and a single-storey design with the half-hexagonal feature for windows and door centrally placed along the frontage. The relationship with the Radnorshire Turnpike Trust (1767-1888) can only be elucidated by study of that Trust's records, including the site of the latter's gate at Stanner, which is marked on Bryant's map and was erected between 1768 and 1780.⁸
- (3) Hergest gate on the minor road running south-west from Kington at SO 287562 (route (B)). This building also dates from 1857 (or is it an earlier structure?) and has a first-floor addition and subsequent modernisation. The turnpike line may well have been established along the old route through the Recreation Ground etc., which remains a public footpath today, and might explain the siting of the toll house so far out of the town.
- (4) Kingswood gate protecting route (C) and probably route (D) at SO 298563, See below p. .
- (5) Headbrook gate protecting routes (E) and (F) at SO 303564. Now close to the bypass roundabout, this single-storey building survives hard by the road-side and is relatively simple in design. The uniform facade is relieved by a small gable above the central feature of door and protruding window, both of which are protected under a modest canopy. This is the only one of the Trust's gates for which disposal details are known once the Trust ceased to exist and tolls were removed on 31 October 1877. It was sold off to a Mrs. W. A. Mitchell for an unrecorded sum. Surprisingly it is not marked on Bryant's map of 1834.
- (6) Sunset gate protecting route (G) at SO 304571. The fifth of Kington's surviving toll houses and much altered by the addition of a forward projection to the first floor which gives the building a 'top-heavy' effect and confuses its earlier configuration. However the protruding half-hexagonal central feature at ground-floor level can be seen. Was this building originally single-storey and was it purpose-built as a toll-house? Sunset toll-gate is mentioned in use in 1791 and appears on Bryant's 1834 map as 'TB'.

OUTSIDE THE TOWN

- (7) Cross Way, on route (C) at SO 297534, which controlled the junction of the Eardisley road with two cross routes, from Brilley Mountain in the south-west and a route now reduced to (blocked) footpath status across to Yewtree and Spond, which

presumably either linked up with or formed part of route (D). No surviving evidence and no reference on Bryant.

- (8) Moseley, part of route (C) of which no evidence remains. Believed to be near Mere Cottage and Birches at SO 2953 and thus controlling the junction at the Kingswood Common route with the Woodbrook route from Kington. Perhaps Cross Way and Moseley complemented each other in controlling these two roads? No reference on Bryant.
- (9) Eardisley, presumed at SO 3149 on routes (C) and (I). No surviving evidence, but an old photograph⁹ clearly shows its position near the Tram Inn, where it is marked as 'TB' on Bryant.
- (10) Lyonshall at SO 3356 of which nothing remains. Queried by Meredith as near Wharf Cottages at the entrance to Lynhales Drive—an unsubstantiated site, probably confused with Lower Lodge for Lynhales at SO 333552. No reference on Bryant.
- (11) Next-end, of which no evidence survives. Either on present A44 at the turn for Next-end c. SO 336565 controlling access to route (J) from route (F) or in Next-end at SO 3357 controlling route (J) from Lyonshall and Titley. Unsubstantiated; not marked on Bryant.
- (12) Titley, on route (G) with presumed site at SO 335607, of which nothing remains. Marked on Bryant as 'TB'. R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, III (1934) p. 185 identifies Titley Gate Cottage, which may refer.
- (13) The Avenue, also on route (G) at c. SO 329591 controlling the junction with route (J) from Lyonshall and Next-end. Was the name taken from the former avenue of beeches and elms in the grounds of Eywood to which this gate leads? Bryant's 1834 map marks 'TB' at SO 331590.

It should be noted that each of these sites is listed as being 'freed' of toll on the ticket issued at Kingswood gate in the 1870s (PL. LXVIII). Unless the ticket was manifestly out of date, it can be assumed that each existed as either a gate or a side-bar at that time. An earlier but similar ticket issued at Lyonshall gate on 14 July 1853 lists Kingswood, Sunset, Eardisley, Titley, The Avenue and Milton Cross.

Other sites prove more difficult to establish. There must have been some form of demarcation at the extremities of the network or where the roads of other trusts were joined. Thus might be suggested:

- (14) Eccles Green/Norton Common, on route (E); Bryant shows 'TB' at SO 375487;
- (15) Legion Cross at SO 414576 on routes (F) and (M), where Bryant shows 'TB';
- (16) Eardisland at SO 4158 on route (F); no reference on Bryant;
- (17) Milton Cross at SO 382605 at the junction of routes (H) and (L), where Bryant shows 'TB';
- (18) Two Mile Cross at SO 3456 where route (F) is crossed by routes (H) and (K). Is this indeed the same gate as no. (10) Lyonshall? A reference to 'Two Mile Gate' appears in the 1794 Act, and on Bryant's map of 1834 and an indenture of 22 July 1909 which each show a gate with this name at SO 342566, just west of the minor route from Lewis Wych and Brook Farm which joins the main Kington-Leominster road at this point.

Study of the lettings announcements in the *Hereford Journal* during the last two decades of the Trust's life¹⁰ reveals other sites, including:

- (19) Noke, almost certainly controlling the cross-roads at SO 374595 on route (H) and in support of route (L); no reference on Bryant and unsubstantiated;
- (20) Brooch, possibly synonymous with Hollyberry Field gate at or near Broom on the route between Eardisland and Pembridge station to join route (L); no reference on Bryant and unsubstantiated.

Although extensive, this list cannot be regarded as exhaustive. Some of the sites might be duplicates or replacements for each other (nos. (10) with (18) perhaps or indeed (11) with (18)) and all twenty sites were certainly not in use continuously throughout the life of Kington Turnpike Trust. Only a detailed ground survey together with intensive study of local maps would substantiate further evidence, although the nine references on Bryant's map to toll-bar sites probably identify the main locations, perhaps also indicating the presence of a toll-house or shelter at these points. Even so, firm dating evidence is elusive for virtually all the surviving buildings.

THE KINGSWOOD TOLL HOUSE

Travellers for Hereford via Eardisley or Lyonshall would leave Kington along Bridge Street and cross the river Arrow by a bridge rebuilt in 1810 and to which an additional arch had been added to prevent flooding in 1782. The junction just beyond of the roads to Kingswood Common and via Headbrook to Woodbrook provided a suitable location for a toll house commanding all approaches and controlling no less than three routes leaving Kington for the south and south-east.

It seems likely that a gate of some description was constructed here from the early days of the Trust and a reference to the Bridge gate appears (along with Sunset and Church gates) in trading books for 1791. This name remained in use throughout most of the Trust's life, being recorded by Parry and on the Lyonshall gate ticket of 14 July 1853. The name Kingswood gate first appears in advertisements for the letting of tolls in 1857 and the 1870s ticket gives this title.

The building which still stands at this junction was obviously purpose-built as a toll house. Its siting commanding the road approaches and its octagonal plan are excellent features of the functional tradition in toll house design and it is the only such example from the list of Kington Trust toll-house sites above. No construction date is known but it may be noted that Parry records¹¹ the road to Woodbrook, Eardisley, etc. (route C) as being 'laid out and engineered under the direction of Messrs. Sayce, land-surveyors, in the year 1827-8.' Was the Kingswood gate building constructed at this time, replacing an earlier building at this junction? It seems a likely date and would explain the choice of a more developed form of toll-house design.

At the demise of the Trust in October 1877, the toll house would have been disposed of by the trustees. A deed of 1890 records that Thomas Probert of Hampton-in-Arden, Warwickshire sold the toll house to Richard Davies of the Swan Inn, Kington as part of a conveyance of the neighbouring property, the Old Bridge Inn, viz. 'also that Cottage or

tenement formerly a Turnpike House adjoining the last mentioned yard on the south side thereof and occupied by John Bateman.¹² As Thomas Probert's predecessor was one Ann Yates also of Hampton-in-Arden, who purchased the Old Bridge Inn in 1857, it seems likely that she acquired the toll house as an adjoining property when it was disposed of by the trustees in or soon after 1877 (PL. LXIX).

One of the last tickets issued by the Trust survives from this gate (PL. LXVIII) and was issued to a waggoner on payment for a load of timber brought from Kingswood Common into Kington on a single horse gambo. Meredith noted that the employee was allowed by his employer to keep the ticket as a memento as it was the last (one of the last?) to be issued. The actual date is not known, although obviously in the 1870s. The value of its reference to the 'free' passage at other toll gates on the system has already been noted.

The building remained in occupation until 1927 but thereafter was not used as a dwelling and by the time of the survey in 1973 had become partially derelict and boarded up (PL. LXX). Its future was in doubt whilst the proposals for an inner relief road were discussed but when this threat was finally lifted the building was given a new lease of life and has recently been modernised and sympathetically extended to return again to domestic occupation.

The FIG. shows the simple nature of the plan. Its single-storey octagonal shape with windows and doorway carefully sited to control the road approaches are typical features, the doorway giving direct access to the road right on the junction. Constructed throughout of local stone, the rubble walls are of uniform thickness, the only refinement being two courses of dressed stone forming a cornice feature at eaves level. The windows are all of uniform size and each the same height from the ground.

The interior of the building is also typical. A central fire and chimney-stack is of brick and allowed the ground plan of the building to be divided by wooden partitions into two main living areas. Between the front door and the fireplace was the main living room, tiny to the modern eye, but no less than toll house keepers might expect. To the north of the fireplace, a door led through to a second room, presumably a bedroom with only one window looking out to the road. The third and very confined area gave exit from the building via a door on the south side; this led to a garden running parallel to the Kingswood Common road.

On the recorded evidence, there seemed to have been no attempt to utilise the loft space in the roof, which was of simple design, rising to an apex at the chimney-stack. As the timber ceiling had long since collapsed, it may be that an opening in it gave access for storage above. Externally, the stone chimney remains a prominent feature, with the slate roof recently replaced. The toll house stands not on the level but set into a slight slope rising from east to west.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This survey has been undertaken at intervals over a number of years and largely at a distance from Herefordshire, and thanks are due to those who offered help and encouragement. Access to the files of C. W. Meredith was facilitated by Messrs. Allan Lloyd

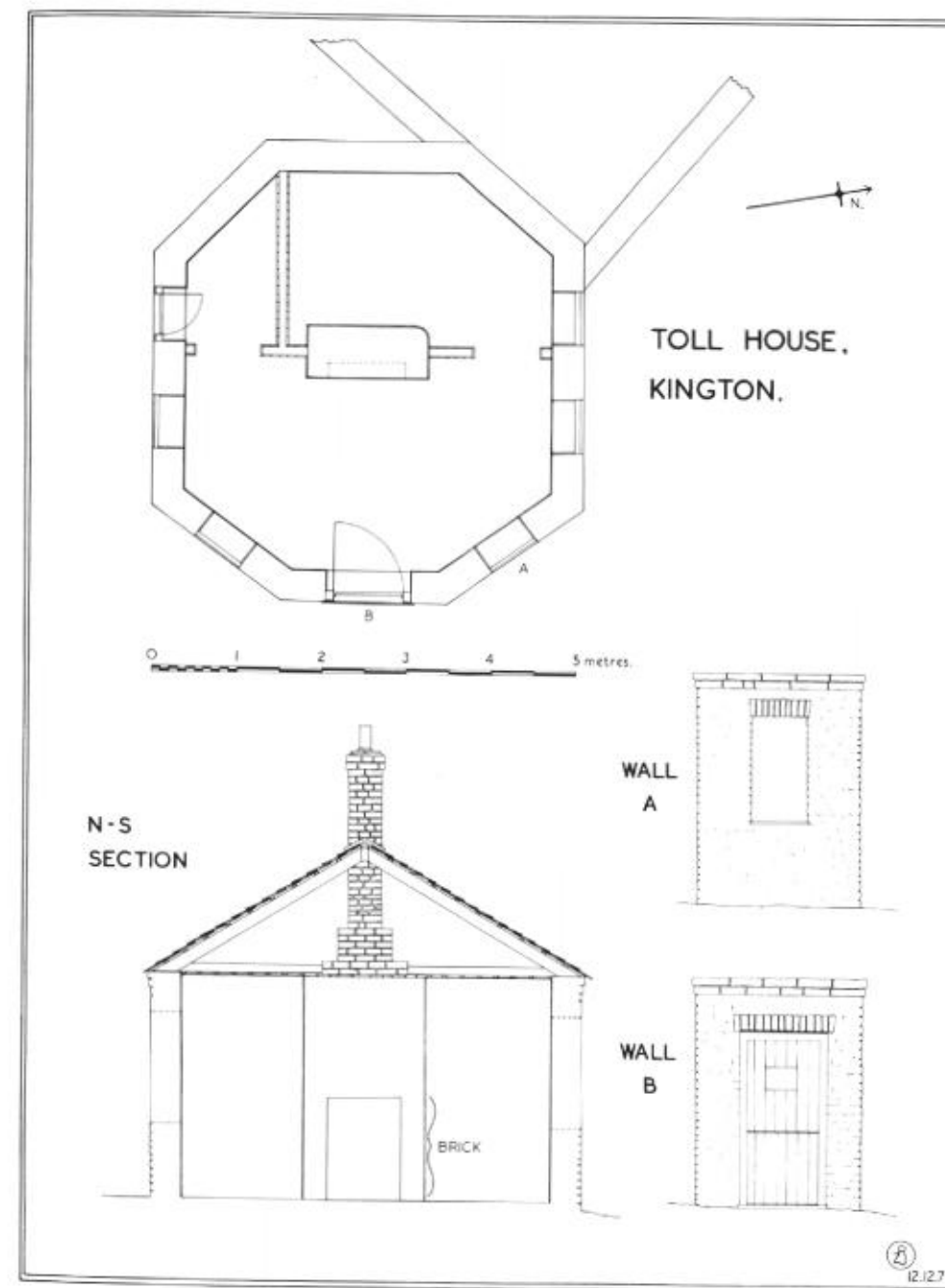


FIG.
Kingswood Toll House, Kington.

and Robert Jenkins of Kington and copies of the various Acts of the Kington Turnpike Trust were kindly supplied from the collections of Hereford Public Library by Anne Sandford, Museums Curator for Hereford City Museums. The wider search for parallel information was aided by Stephen Hughes of the Royal Commission of Ancient Monuments of Wales in Aberystwyth, by J. W. Tonkin of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club and by the staff of the Hereford & Worcester County Record Office in Hereford.

The survey of the Kingswood toll house dates back to November 1973 when a rescue-recording was undertaken by the writer and Robert Zeepvat with the kind assistance, in gaining the necessary permissions, of Alan Hutchison, then Public Health Inspector for Kington Urban District Council. PL LXX was taken by the author and PLS LXVIII and LXIX copied from originals kindly supplied by Mr. W. J. Price of Kington. The FIG. is gratefully acknowledged to Bob Zeepvat, whose efforts are finally noted in print after a wait of some fifteen years!

Notification of any additional information, the discovery of fresh sources of material or corrections to errors in this survey would be appreciated by the writer at the Corinium Museum, Park Street, Cirencester, Glos, GL7 2BX.

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- ³ R. Parry, *History of Kington* (1845), 52.
- ⁴ Parry, *op. cit.* in note 3, 51 records the date as 1822 although W. H. Howse, *Kington, Herefordshire: memorials of an old town* (1953), 11 has 1819.
- ⁵ Parry, *op. cit.* in note 3, 52-3 at rates applicable presumably at his time of writing.
- ⁶ Parry, *op. cit.* in note 3, 52.
- ⁷ Kindly loaned by Mr. A. W. Lloyd of Kington to whom the writer is indebted for this and other information.
- ⁸ See *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.* vol. 22, (1952), 12-7 by W. H. Howse who refers to two surviving minute books of the Trust covering the period 1767 to 1837. Attempts to locate these volumes within County Hall at Llandrinod Wells proved unsuccessful. See also W. H. Howse, *Radnorshire* (1949), chap. 24.
- ⁹ Hereford Record Office ref. N44/57.
- ¹⁰ e.g. *Hereford Journal* 6 October 1858; 12 October 1859; 7 October 1865; 10 November 1866; 21 November 1874 and 9 October 1875.
- ¹¹ Parry, *op. cit.* in note 3, 51.
- ¹² Reported in a letter from Vaughan & Davies, solicitors of Kington to C. W. Meredith on 15 March 1963.

Pages from an Architect's Notebook

George Stanley Repton: drawings for two cottages, inscribed with the name Matthews.

By NIGEL TEMPLE

THE architect John Nash (1752-1835) entered into partnership with the landscape gardener Humphry Repton (1752-1818) in about 1796. Repton's two architect sons—John Adey Repton (1775-1860) and George Stanley Repton (1786-1858)—were assistants in the practice, which ended acrimoniously in about 1802. As a result, John (who was deaf) joined his father (who had no formal architectural training), and George remained with Nash to become his chief assistant. He left Nash's office, not long after marriage in 1817, for independent practice.

During his years with Nash, George Repton kept several notebooks. We are concerned here with only two of them. One is at the British Architectural Library Drawings Collection at the RIBA, London. Undated, contents suggest that it was in use from about 1800 to 1805. Its pages are watermarked 1798. The second notebook, at the Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton, is a companion leather-bound pocket-book, the inside upper board of which is inscribed with George Repton's name and the date January 1805. There is no complete watermark, but fragments make up 1799. For differentiation and convenience, the notebook at the RIBA is referred to here as the RIBA Notebook (or RIBANB) and the one at Brighton as the Pavilion Notebook (or PNB). The former has been foliated, the latter paginated. Hence, for example, RIBANB (43v, 44r) or PNB 95.

The RIBA Notebook contains drawings for three buildings inscribed Dr. Matthews. One (17v.) shows a gatehouse-like building. Another (43v, 44r) is a 'Gymnasium'—a single-cell temple-like design, the entrance porch of which is marked by two pairs of Ionic columns. The opposite elevation has an alcove seat behind two Doric shafts. Both orders are *in antis*. The third building (91r) is an asymmetrical cottage, with dormer window, Gothic porch, and little bench seats under pent roofs.

The Pavilion Notebook contains sets of drawings for two more cottages. Four drawings for Mr. Matthews, one of which is inscribed No 2 Spring Grove (PNB 94-7), delineate a previously unrecorded design, as do the pages for 'Col Matthews' of a semi-detached pair.

Before examining these designs, a further note about Nash's professional background is needed. In 1783, very early in his career, Nash was declared bankrupt. He retreated to Carmarthen to start afresh and by 1798 was writing from Dover Street, London.¹ By then he had expanded on the classical repertoire to which he had been introduced by his master, Sir Robert Taylor, to embrace the picturesque. As will be seen, his clientele included a group of gentry seated in Herefordshire—a breeding place of the fashionable picturesque philosophy that was of increasing influence as the century advanced towards its close. William Gilpin had published his *Observations on the river Wye...relative chiefly to picturesque beauty* in 1782, and (Sir) Uvedale Price (1747-1829), of Foxley, published the first volume of his widely-read *An essay on the picturesque, as compared with the*

sublime and the beautiful, in 1794. Another squire, from the Herefordshire-Shropshire border, Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824), published *The Landscape, a didactic poem* in the same year. Knight and Humphry Repton had been friends. But controversy broke out between the two amateur theorists and Repton the professional practitioner, who had nailed his colours to the mast when declaring his admiration of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783) and his determination to replace him. Knight and Price detested Brown: and *The Landscape* was a diatribe against him and Repton. It is now accepted that John Matthews (1755-1826), of Belmont, was the anonymous author of a further hand-somely produced contribution to the battle of aesthetics. *A sketch from the landscape, a didactic poem*, also of 1794,² attacked Knight and supported Brown. It is therefore not surprising to find that Humphry Repton, and consequently Nash, knew Belmont. Indeed, an illustration to the 1794 edition of *Peacock's Polite Repository* (an annual almanac-cum-diary) was engraved from Humphry Repton's wash drawing of Belmont. Knight's book was addressed to Price.

In October 1791 Repton had recommended that George John Legh should create a picturesque village at an approach to High Legh Hall, Cheshire, by developing an existing nucleus around the village green and cross. Six years later the vision was almost realised when the partners detailed on paper just such a scheme for the same client. At about that time Nash, probably with Repton, envisaged also an ambitious picturesque group at the gates of Attingham Park, Shropshire, for Lord Berwick. Blaise Hamlet, Bristol, built to the design of Nash with George Repton's assistance, was to fulfil the long cherished dream *par excellence*, but not until 1810-11.³ Although Humphry Repton was not involved in that realisation, he was associated with two additional early steps taken in the same direction. They were both in Herefordshire. He visited Garnons on 16 February 1791 and advised John Cotterell on how the grounds might be improved. The Red Book, completed in July, confirmed and illustrated his opinions. Repton's associate at this juncture was William Wilkins (1751-1815). John Repton was Wilkins's pupil. As Humphry Repton suggested only a single lodge to mark the entrance to Garnons, it is probable that Wilkins's design for a group of semi-circular plan, including an asymmetrical embattled lodge, a blacksmith's and a shopkeeper's cottage, a shoeing shed, and another in which Mr. Cotterell's horses could await the smith's attention, was drawn up a little later. The crescent was to be 216 feet wide and 104 feet deep. Repton was called also to neighbouring Stoke Edith by the Hon. Edward Foley. He was there on 29 June, 1792, and finished his plans for the Red Book of 'Stoke Park' in October. This time a co-ordinated cottage group was envisaged from the start: it is indicated on the Red Book plan and briefly discussed. The 'village' was to be built around an oval green on the Hereford road, at the point where the impressive domed lodge stands. This appears to have been the sole component actually built. Wilkins's drawings were made in 1792.

Bearing in mind that the Pavilion and RIBA Notebooks contain between them a variety of small subjects inscribed with the name Matthews, there was reason for considering whether or not yet another village was planned somewhere for this then unknown client. Perhaps there was a group embodying some existing building such as an inn, smithy or church, as was the case at High Legh. It was with this possibility in mind that the Pavilion Notebook drawings were investigated.

PAVILION NOTEBOOK: PAGES 94-7

The marches must have been very familiar to Nash for he had been employed by county landowners on either side of the border quite apart from gaining an occasional public commission. Over a decade or so from 1795 he was in Herefordshire alone at Kentchurch Court, Moccas Court, Foxley and Garnstone Castle, as well as being responsible for Hereford Gaol. Additionally, two previously unrecorded lodges—one by the gates to Canon Frome, and the other in the park at Egleton—both appear to have originated in Nash's office. The former is much altered: the latter virtually untouched. It is a delicate creation and an important survivor, by whatever hand. A further clue to Nash's local influence is in the RIBA Notebook, where there is a cottage design inscribed 'Mr. Foley'. One sharing several salient features was built at Stoke Edith, though it must be borne in mind that not every design appearing in George Repton's notebooks is attributable to Nash, or necessarily built at the time it was drawn, if built at all.

Evidence offered below all but confirms that Nash worked also at Belmont for John Matthews, who built the house to the design of James Wyatt between 1788 and 1790 to replace a house belonging to the Aubreys, which was burnt down in 1785. Humphry knew the same ground. By the turn of the century he had been employed not only at Garnons and Stoke Edith, but also at Hampton Court, Moccas Court and Sufton Court.

The circumstances in which Repton and Nash first met have long been a subject of research and speculation. Thomas Johnes's Hafod, or Price's Foxley, have been considered likely venues: and, indeed, Herefordshire was almost certainly the county, but Stoke Edith the likely place. Humphry Repton wrote with both spirit and sadness when recording how it all came about in his recently-discovered *Memoir*. In the course of his landscaping activities, he had on occasions been asked to advise on the building and interiors of houses as well as on their grounds, and he might find that his ideas had not only been carried out badly, but that the builder had made ten times more from the work than he had himself. This rankled. It happened that the Hon. Edward Foley wished Repton to meet a very talented architect. If these two, whom Foley considered to be the cleverest men in England, could agree to operate together, they might carry the whole world before them. Repton readily admits that this bait suited his aspiring vanity. So they met. They were mutually charmed. But, claimed Repton, when the day of reckoning arrived, Nash paid none of the profits due to him: not one farthing did Repton receive. All his share had been consumed in boarding John and George, his sons, who had been working in Nash's office. Repton forgave. But he did not forget.⁴

No manuscript material whatever connecting either of the partners with Matthews has come to light, other than the five subjects in George Repton's notebooks and Humphry Repton's original wash drawing from which the *Repository* engraving was made.

John Matthews, son of William Matthews of Linton, Herefordshire, qualified as a doctor, then shortly after (having married an heiress) moved to Clehonger. It was written of Matthews that 'He was not less a lover of the fine arts, than an ardent admirer of the beauties of nature, and the scenery of our highly favoured county has borrowed additional charms from his tasteful hand. -Neither was its Agriculture less an object of his attention. Improvement followed his footsteps, and his possessions became discernible at a glance.'⁵

E. W. Pugin rebuilt Belmont House in the 1860s. If the supposed gatehouse and gymnasium were ever constructed, they could have been swept away then, for the little temple would have been incompatible with the new Gothic mansion. Yet, Pugin retained part of Wyatt's three-storied classical facade that looks down on the Wye: a very strange union, indeed. We can be no more certain about the RIBA notebook cottage (91r). There are though enough tantalizing features about a small ruined dwelling attached to Merryhill Barn—standing isolated in fields past which a lane from Golden Post to Allensmore once ran—to suggest a possible connection with Nash. Allowing for obvious alterations and additions, for partial rebuilding and subsequent collapse, it is just possible to relate roof, dormer, purlins, (? once-) hipped gable end, doorway and three windows to George Repton's perspective view. However, one can go no further for lack of documentary or graphic support.

Turning now to the first set of Pavilion Notebook drawings—one (PNB 95) is inscribed 'Mr. Matthews No 2 Spring Grove'. (PLS. LXXI and LXXII) It was only by chance that the Belmont connection was established; and it was chance again that a brother of Belmont Abbey should have photographed 'a picturesque object in the landscape' in the 1930s. An entry in Joseph Farington's diary provided the initial lead: August 31, 1794, 'Dr. Matthews, and his Son, who He has brought to London for advice, breakfasted with me... Dr. Matthews thinks Mr. Price's book is written with information & spirit. He thinks very moderately of Mr. Knights, which is a didactic poem only in title.'⁶ Of course, these names and facts lead immediately to Herefordshire.

Farington's note does not hint of the *Sketch*, which must have been very much in the author's mind in the autumn of 1794, if not already actually in print. A year later Knight still did not know who had written this squib—'a sort of doggerel ode ... this contemptible publication,' as he called it in his second edition of *The Landscape* of 1795.

'Spring Grove' appears on the 1in. O.S. map of 1831. But had brother James Oakley not photographed 'Spring Grove Cottage' before the war and again in 1964, it is unlikely that the exact whereabouts and appearance of this cottage built as George Repton drew it would now be known. Altered, but not beyond recognition, (PL. LXXIII) it was inhabited and in good repair, but thirty years later, abandoned, decayed, and soon to be vandalised, burnt, and demolished without visible trace. Its last occupants happened to be named Nash.

PAVILION NOTEBOOK: PAGES 104-7

This double cottage design (PLS. LXXIV and LXXV) bearing Matthews's name (on PNB 107) offers about the normal accommodation for such a dwelling by Nash's standards. Given a kitchen, scullery and pantry, with one modest-sized and one small bedroom above, there would have been adequate provision for two adults and a child, and much more than many a lodge-keeper might expect in terms of gross cubic space within the main walls. There would probably have been a double privy under one roof somewhere to the rear, but neither dwelling has a back door to give access. Presumably client and architect considered it compensation enough to provide a sheltered seat, eared dormers and bay windows to entertain enlightened passers-by. Large decorative chimneys

would as likely as not have crowned the neat composition when built. Double Cottage, Blaise Hamlet, though looking much grander, had little more to offer in terms of living space, and even there tenants had to leave by the front door in order to use domestic offices to the rear.

No pair resembling Matthews's semis has been found extant, but until the 1960s there stood (by then for four years in a derelict state) a closely comparable building alongside the Hereford road.

Again, brother Oakley has been helpful, for he photographed Belmont Cottages (which once included a post office) many years ago. Because of hedges, snow, and a slightly blurred snapshot, close comparison of what he recorded with Repton's PNB 107 drawing is not possible. (PL. LXXVI) If, however, it can be accepted that the double cottage could have been built here much as drawn, but with ornate moulded brick chimneys on the transverse axis, the doors, bay windows and dormers later altered, and the whole structure at some time extended to double the size, then it almost certainly embodied a pair much as Repton drew. Despite accretions and demolitions there are undeniable points of likeness: and all the changes noted are commonplace enough, the embellishing chimneys, of course, being typical of Nash. Even if the working drawings showed (as these do) his standard diagonally-set simple square-plan shafts, towering ornate ones could have been recommended by the architect and been built accordingly—just as discussed by Price in his book, and illustrated at Dial Cottage, Blaise Hamlet, and elsewhere. Of Belmont Cottages, the stacks alone were virtually all that was standing in 1967, and only the roadside water pump survived subsequent site clearance to mark where they had stood.

Colonel Matthews must have been the very model of a squire: and more. His service to the public was distinguished. He was mayor and a senior alderman of Hereford for twenty years, a magistrate, chairman of the quarter sessions, and M.P. in support of Pitt. He was the best of landlords, 'his religious and moral conduct shone equally conspicuous,' and he raised a volunteer corps when Napoleon threatened, becoming Colonel to the local militia thereafter. Matthews's genius 'embraced every department of classical and elegant Literature,' and his poetical effusions were 'of that peculiar grace and felicity never to be forgotten.' He was further set apart from typical establishment contemporaries in having fourteen children. So what else might not this paragon, whose intellectual faculties combined 'utmost playfulness of fancy with the strongest and most discriminating powers of the mind,'⁷ have asked of his architect? One might have hoped for a creation by Nash that reflected these very same qualities—playfulness combined with judgement: and one is not totally disappointed. Two more cottages have come to light which, when first built, must have exhibited at least a fair measure of caprice with their abundant thatch crowned by elaborate chimneys in the Elizabethan style. Even more capricious if less conspicuous might have been the Root House in Mansion Shrubbery. It was there before 1840, but ruined by vandals in recent years.⁸

Lake Cottage—so easily unnoticed for being screened by garden hedge—was once exposed for the pleasure of travellers, where roads intersect. (PL. LXXVII) As late as the inter-war years the chimneys it then boasted would have attracted attention, as might well

have the thatch. But sparks from a steam waggon are said to have put paid to that. Even so, the surviving dormer window tells that Nash or a very close associate has been here, and on approaching the dwelling (once named Woodman's Cottage) via the garden gate, it is immediately apparent that the front is closely related to another Pavilion Notebook design. This was for Nash's friend, George Ward, of Northwood Park, Cowes: and a variation on it still stands there. A closer comparison may be made on inspecting the road-side elevation. Not only has the roundel or 'owl hole' in the dormer gable end been filled in, but also 'arrowslit' windows that once flanked the now carefully bricked-in porch on the ground floor. A seat and tree-trunk columns were probably once contained by the opening, just as at Cowes, at Oak Cottage, Blaise Hamlet, and in yet another design in the RIBA Notebook, inscribed as being for H. Vernon, possibly built at Hilton Park, Staffordshire.⁹ We may now return to Eggleton and Canon Frome lodges. These are twins, though not quite identical. Both retain one arrowslit, but the porch of once-thatched Canon Frome Lodge has been closed. These are all variations on the same simple theme: and others could be cited elsewhere for Nash was a master of bringing together half a dozen simple components and reassembling them in many satisfying ways.

Lake Cottage was once the focus of a very pretty scene—the subject of a competently drawn lithograph titled in the stone 'The Lake, Belmont, Herefordshire.' It is dated 1821.¹⁰ (PL. LXXVIII) If it depicts the scene accurately, one can appreciate the obituarist's comment on Matthews's influence—that 'the scenery of our highly favoured county has borrowed additional charms from his tasteful hand.' In the lithograph, clearly (if in miniature), across and above the water, is Woodman's (now Lake) Cottage, resplendent under its thatch and ornate twin chimneys, a loggia of four bays opening towards the viewer. This last feature is almost as shown on the cottage for Price (RIBANB 39v, 40r). And it was about that crucial year, 1794, that Nash built his first-known picturesque composition. It was Castle House, on the cliffs at Aberystwyth. The client, who told Nash what he wanted, was Uvedale Price.

Our remaining rural ornament is also undocumented. There is not even a remotely related un-named drawing by Repton known to associate it with Nash, any more than there was one in the case of Lake Cottage—two miles to the north. Research has been by observation and chance. Yet, because of its prominence, character, and quite obvious similarity to Circular Cottage at Blaise Hamlet, it is incredible that Dewsall Lodge, Callow (PL. LXXIX) has passed unrecorded; especially so as until at least 1938 its prominent chimneys (far larger than at Circular Cottage, and similar to those of Nash's Barton Farm, Isle of Wight, (RIBANB 6r)), were still intact. They had been replaced by mundane 'pots' fourteen years later, but even at that time the semicircular pent roof had not been breached so as to break the essential shadow-casting compositional line. Although enlarged to the rear, differing in detail, and deprived of its enriching thatch, it is essentially of the same design also as was the Keeper's House at Sarsden, Oxfordshire, shown in a drawing attributed to George Repton, at the RIBA. Nash was influenced by French architecture. It might be more than simple coincidence that all three of these cottages are strikingly similar when seen from the front to the thatched and dormered cylindrical stair tower of La Maison de la Reine (built at Marie-Antoinette's Hameau, Versailles, about thirty-five years earlier) when seen from the side. And can the likeness between Mansell Lacy Post

Office and Nash's Double Cottage, Blaise Hamlet, be coincidental? As it stands close to Foxley, Nash must have seen it. Their compositions are the same, and all the major architectural components of the 17th-century cottage are repeated, suavely, in Nash's 1810 design—itsself to recur, with variations, several times more.

There can remain little doubt that Nash, or a very close associate, was employed by Matthews and that he was responsible for designing at least five single cottages and a double one in the Belmont area, for yet another, as yet unlocated, is shown in an old photograph. (PL. LXXX) No doubt other hitherto unidentified drawings by George Repton also have a Belmont connection, for a 19th-century photograph shows an unlocated farmhouse complying precisely with the uninscribed set PNB 100-103. Then there was the gymnasium, and perhaps a gatehouse as well as the roothouse—conceivably attributable to Repton, for there was the Russian Cottage at Garnons, and the similar Timber Lodge still standing at Blaise Castle, on Repton's drive. Yet another lodge, almost as Timber Lodge, Blaise, stood at Stapleton Grove, Bristol. Repton worked at 'Stapleton Gloucestershire' as well. He made Red Books for both Garnons and Blaise, but no such chaumières russes, or cabanes ornées figure in his recommendations. Again, their appearance could be quite co-incidental, for they, like the root houses at Garnons and Blaise, were fashionable enough garden structures at that time.

Matthews, though born with many advantages and his silver spoon gilded by marriage, must even so have been a remarkable man. It was written 'by a highly respectable correspondent' that 'after a protracted malady of intense suffering borne with christian fortitude and pious resignation, died at his seat at Belmont, in the 71st year of his age, John Matthews, Esq.—whose death has excited as greater degree of public regret than we have ever witnessed. The unceasing anxiety of all ranks of people in this city and its neighbourhood during his last illness, exhibited an affecting proof how much and how generally he was beloved.'¹¹

As matter stand, it appears that Matthews did not build a picturesque estate village at Belmont. Neither has evidence been found that a village was considered. Even so, Belmont in its prime must have been a very choice place.

John Matthews died on Sunday 15 January, 1826. A memorial was placed in Clehonger Church.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sir John Cotterell bt. and Lady Cotterell, Mr. Andrew Foley, Mr. David Lambert, Brother James Oakley, (PLS. LXXIII, LXXVI) Mr. Bryan Turner, Mr. Charles Wegg-Prosser (PL. LXXX) and Mr. David Whitehead. The British Architectural Library and Drawings Collection of the RIBA, The British Library, The County Archivist County Council of Hereford and Worcester, Hereford Public Library (PL. LXXVIII) and The Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums Brighton (PLS. LXXI, LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV).

REFERENCES

- ¹ J. Summerson, *The life and work of John Nash architect* (1980). This is the fullest and most recent biography of Nash.
- ² [J. Matthews], *A sketch from the landscape, a didactic poem. Addressed to R. P. Knight esqr.* (1794). Written before, but not published until after Price's *Essay* appeared. A copy in Hereford Public Library.
- ³ N. Temple, *John Nash and the village picturesque* (1979). Details High Legh and Atcham village, Attingham; also Blaise Hamlet and its building. A brief account of Belmont. Illustrations include some relevant to this article, but not appearing with it.
- ⁴ H. Repton, *Memoir* (n.d.), B.L. Add MSS 62112. Mostly a 19th-century copy of the original ms, Part 2. Nash's name omitted, but later written in.
- ⁵ *Hereford Journal*, 18 Jan. 1826. Obit.
- ⁶ J. Greig (ed.), *The Farington diary* (1922-28), i, 68-9.
- ⁷ *Hereford Journal*, *op. cit.* in note 5.
- ⁸ Information from the late Mrs. A. Chichester, who remembered it clearly.
- ⁹ A search made in mid-1983 for the lodge was fruitless. Lodges at the entrance had recently been demolished, but no depictions of them have been found.
- ¹⁰ Hereford Public Library. The cottage has recently been altered and enlarged.
- ¹¹ *Hereford Journal*, *op. cit.* in note 5.

Further Addenda to Lepidoptera in Hereford City (1973-82)¹

By B. E. MILES

Residual addenda for 1987

<i>Anthrophila</i>	<i>fabriciana</i>
<i>Ptycholomoides</i>	<i>aeriferanus</i>
<i>Cnephasia</i>	<i>stephensiana</i>
<i>Eucosoma</i>	<i>cana</i>
<i>Crambus</i>	<i>pascuella</i>
<i>Achroia</i>	<i>grisella</i>

This brings my Grand Total to 513.

REFERENCES

- ¹ This included addenda for 1983 and 1984 (vol. XLIV (1983), 165-80) and further addenda for 1984-7 (vol. XLV (1986), 502-3).

EDITOR'S NOTE

'Dr. Martin Dunne of Ludlow, 1740-1814' by J. D. Blainey, in vol. XLV, Part I (1985) on p. 275, line 12, "£661" please read "£66 and for "£521" please read "£52".

A Survey of Herefordshire Field-Names

By RUTH RICHARDSON and GRAHAM SPRACKLING

ON 18 April 1919 the local historian, Canon A. T. Bannister, gave his Presidential Address to the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club in Hereford. He suggested that members should classify the Herefordshire Field-names. He said, 'This is not merely a most interesting study in itself but it would also throw light on the most difficult problem presented by the intermingling of Welsh and English in Herefordshire through the centuries.'

Nearly seventy years later, in January 1986, a small group of Woolhope Club members took up the Canon's challenge and, thanks to an enthusiastic response from volunteers, county-wide, the *Herefordshire Field-name Survey* is now well under-way. The Survey is organised by a sub-committee of the Archaeological Research Section.

Part I of the Survey involves copying all the Parish Field-names from the Apportionment lists attached to the Tithe Maps housed in the Record Office in Hereford. Miss S. Hubbard, the senior archivist, and the staff of the Record Office have been most helpful. Our county is very fortunate to possess almost a complete set of tithe records. The large sizes of the maps have made it impossible to compare more than about two. The Survey will make the records more readily available for research, particularly comparative research, and will contribute to the preservation of the originals.

In 1987 a number of parishes has been completed and the first forty-six, including Woolhope and the Hereford City Parishes, are now available for purchase. The third group of parishes to be published, which will include another town, will become available in the spring of 1988. The parishes are attractively presented in stiff gold covers and each contains an exact, outline, copy of the Tithe Map, reduced to a scale of 6 ins: 1 mile, based on the commercial hand-drawn originals by Geoff Gwatkin of 92 Verschoyle Gardens, Ross-on-Wye, who is a commercial map-maker. We should like to record our appreciation of Geoff's contribution to the Survey.

Everyone involved with the Survey is a volunteer. Many people have copied the relevant parts of the Tithe Apportionments and we are most grateful. Members of the committee then check the lists against the originals. Every effort is made to ensure accuracy, but there is always the possibility of error. Therefore, we should be most grateful if anyone noting an error, or omission, in any of the published parishes, would contact the committee, giving full details in writing. The information will be checked against the original and corrections will be published in subsequent editions of the *Transactions*.

Part 2 of The Herefordshire Field-name Survey is to collect older, and additional, Field-names discovered from farm, estate, or parish maps, deeds, wills, leases, sale particulars, etc. or from names known to have been handed down from the 19th-century. We should be pleased to hear from anyone who has such information. The material will be published in the *Transactions* under the relevant parish. The Field Number from the Tithe

Map and Apportionment is used as a reference location, followed by the earlier, or additional, Field-name, the Date and the Source. All contributions are acknowledged.

The Committee are:

Ruth Richardson	Mary Thomas	Graham Sprackling
Elizabeth Taylor	Clarence Attfield	Beryl Harding
Geoff. Gwatkin	Ruth Wride	

Volunteers to help complete Part 1 please contact:

Mr. C. E. Attfield, 64 Belmont Road, Hereford.

To contribute to Part 2 please contact:

Mr. G. Sprackling, 2 Castle View, Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire.

To purchase available parishes please contact:

Mrs. B. Harding, Aldermead, Llanwarne, Herefordshire.

For more information please contact:

Mrs. R. E. Richardson, The Gables, Riverdale, Abbey Dore, Herefordshire.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE FIELD-NAME SURVEY

PART 1: Corrections to the published parishes.

Please amend all copies accordingly.

HENTLAND

546	Brick Close
449	Way goround
483	Ox Leasow
324	Upper Morkin

Submitted by Geoff Gwatkin and re-checked against the original.

PART 2: Field-names that are earlier, or additional to, the Tithe Apportionments of c.1840.

Please refer to the Field Numbers given in the published parishes for the locations of the following Field-names:

BACTON

Contributed by Ruth Richardson.

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
179, 180, southern part of	Cae Pwll	1737	T.E.M.

181, northern part of 183.			
184-6, 188, 189, southern part of 183, possibly southern strips of 178-9.	Cae Hendy	1737	T.E.M.
190	Ralvon	1737	T.E.M.

Please note: On 1737 map

Northern field boundary of 179 continues west across southern end of 181.

180 contains a pool, but is not a separate field.

A field boundary runs west to east either continuing the southern boundary of 178, 179, across 183, or running north of this across 183, 179, 178.

Field 190 appears to have been two fields of approximately equal size made one, boundary running north to south.

SOURCE

'A Survey of Tremorithick Estate in the Parish of St. Margarets and Bacton in the County of Hereford belonging to Williams's Hospital in the City of Hereford by E. Moore. 1737.' In private ownership of S. Smith.

EWYAS HAROLD

Contributed by Graham Sprackling.

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
431	Spurr Meadow	1761	AB/4
251	Piscollony	1778	AB/4
432	The Moore	1758	AB/4
354	Ox Leasow or Oake Leasow	1758	AB/1444
517, 518, 519.	Wysomes	1758	AB/1669
87	Stoney Furlong Pitt	1758	AB/1669
457, 458, 459.	Standing Furlong otherwise Stoney Furlong	1761	AB/1444
281	South Furlong or South Meadow	1758	AB/1669
471?	Ka Newydd	1758	AB/1669
387, 388	Mouldhill otherwise known as Mounthill	1758	AB/1669
416	Colliers	1758	AB/1669
436?	Ringburs water	1758	AB/1669
439 (road)	Penly otherwise Banly way, also cottage on Helme Green called Bandland house.	1758 1552	AB/1669 AB/1669
	Banley way, Penlyway	1552	AB/1669
363-367,	Crastry field otherwise	1761	AB/1444

371, 372, 373	Cresfield	1767	AB/1444
247	Oak Pasture	1834	AB/1658
102, 103	Lords Acre	1701	AB/1658
243, 244	Borley Meadow (local name Caer dol)	1805	GR RM
485	Caer Thainter	1661	KP/606
485	Cae y dynteere	1641	KP/659
485	Dinetors	1867	DM
460?	Errow-y-Vrannen	1834	AB/1658
375	Helme Bridge	1758	AB/1669
383	Helme green	1758	AB/1669
435	Howells Croft	1761	AB/4
435	Lewis Croft	1529	AB/4
461	South Furlong otherwise South Meadow	1758	AB/1669
425	Lords Mead	1761	AB/1413
168	Cons Close	1805	GR
162	Pear Main Piece	1805	GR
200	Plecks	1761	AB/4
47 (part)	Sayers Meadow	1744	BG/24
<i>Unidentified</i>			
	The Homme	1682	KP/1886
	Worm Homes	1738	AB/1669

KEY TO SOURCES

- AB Abergavenny Documents (At National Lib. Wales, Aberystwyth).
 BG Baker—Gabb Papers (At National Lib. Wales, Aberystwyth).
 KP Kentchurch Court Papers (H.R.O.).
 GR Gwent County Record Office, Cwmbran, Gwent. (from map of Castle Lands).
 DM Dineterwood Mortgage of Freehold, supplied by Mrs. P. Broadbent.
 RM Field-name supplied by Mr. R. Marfell.

EWYAS HAROLD

Contributed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow.

Location uncertain

- Stamhurstam after 1206—Walker Reg.
 Wndewella (spring) after 1206 Walker Reg.
 Warthill 1227 Ch.
 Vriogis-strete, Haya (wood) 1265-1300—EHC.
 Frocgeleane 1265-1300 Walker Reg.
 Cochard (arable), (meadow in) Dorfield (called) la Hale 1327 Ch.
 La Ketetie, Greve, Schitbourne (ditch) 1359 Walker Reg.

KEY TO SOURCES

- Ch - *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols. (PRO), (1903-27).
 EHC - Cartulary of Ewyas Harold Priory calendared in A. T. Bannister, the
History of Ewyas Harold its Castle and Priory (1902).
 Walker Reg. - D. Walker, A Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St. Peter's,
 Gloucester in *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, (BGAS Records), (1976).

KING'S CAPLE

Contributed by Elizabeth Taylor.

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
37	Forge Meadow	1780	K
37	The Burways	1658	G
37	Burwaye	1566	G
103	Lockstock	1775	G
103	Lockstock Boat Place	1742	G
103	Loxter	1615	G
129	Birds Close	1755	K
129	Byrche Land	1653	W
129	Byrchland	1453	G
139, 140	Ellern Field	1769	G
139, 140	Helern Field	1453	G
157, 159,	Ruxton Field	1784	P
160, 173,	Rokeston Field	1453	G
174.			
173	The Held (included)	1784	P
173	The Heald	1775	P
176, 177	Case Hills	1613	G
178	Caple Street (Road so named in 1453)	1630	G
182	Brooke Feld	1513	G
184, 187,	Great Caven	1540	G
191, 192.	The Caven	1521	G
192 (included)	Shillbrookes	1784	P
202, 203,	Casteldychfeld,	1524	G
204, 205,	Castel Feld	1507	G
196, 197, 199.			
204, 205	Fow Meadow	1738	G
214, 217	Thorny Leasow, The Harp	1716	G
161	The Harp	1712	P
175	Lightfield	1728	G
175	Lytilfield	1507	G
237, 238,	Lakefield	1685	G
240.			
242a.	Lakeries Meadow	1775	P
242	The Biblett Meadow	1775	P
229	The Lake rise, Red Rail Meadow	1775	P

218	Lower Courtries meadow	1775	P
234	The Green	1654	G
234	Pennokstonys grene	1453	G
1	Upper Aramstone	1692	G
45	Tilly Hill	1722	B
2, 4, 18,	Aramston Feld	1453	G
19, 20, 21.			
3, 5	Aramstons Rye	1507	G
22	Greens Barn	1738	G
22	Aramstons Grene	16th.	G
23, 24, 27,		cent.	
32, 33.	Wodefeld (later Wood Field)	1453	G
25	The Hornes	1666	G
31	Gorsty Close	1666	G
6	The Stath, Old Stath	1691	G
6	The Stave	1615	G
9	Litloss Meadow	1728	G
9 (included)	Gyllys Porrock	1507	G
11, 12	Boate Field	1635	G
15	Newnham Field	1738	G
	The New Lond	1506	G
105	Tillers Meadow	1615	G
105	Tellowes Meadow	1578	G
	(Meadow formerly of John Telowe)	1507	G
50, 51,	Griffiths field	1587	G
53, 54?,	Grypytts feld	1507	G
51, 56.	Grette Pytt feld	1453	G
101, 102	Great and Little Drymore	1727	G
101, 102	Drymor	1453	G
119	Poors Close, Lankplace	1691	G
122, 116,	Heemwalls field	1607	G
117, 118,	Hemwall	1540	G
part. 119.	Heimwallis feld	1500	G
107	Banums Field	1660	G
107	Little Caven	1660	G
123, 124?,	Parke Field	1681	G
125.	Much and Little Parrock	1494	W
135, 136,	Fedlars Field	1738	G
137.	Feld Wales field	1649	G
137	Walfield	1538	G
137	Feldowsfeld	1507	G
137	Feldwall	1498	G
137	Feldwallfeld	1491	G
138	Winset	1775	P
138	Windsall	1739	P
138	Wyneswalles	1578	G
138	Wiswall	1522	G
59	Harpers Close	1691	G

68	Bunch Field	1782	G
68	Lendys field	1520	G
69	Penny Furlongs	1520	G
71	Boundes field	1624	G
74, 75,	Tykefield	1610	G
83, 84.	Tytefeld	1520	G
85	The Gorbenge	1648	G
80	Mutlow	1494	W
82	The Cloggat	1685	G
88	Irych field	1660	G
88	Myres feyld	1527	G
88	Myryths feld	1507	G
97	14 Ox Leasow The Lea	1593	G
98	Hyngens Meadow (N)	1536	G
98	Wytherstonestathe	1498	W
98	Turin Polstathe?	1498	W
115	Great Withys Field	1740	G
115	Withies fyeld	1596	G
63	Uddingsmeare	1638	S
63	Duddingsmeere	1583	O
94, 96	The Cryme	1681	G
94, 96	Commyn Cryme	1494	W
89, 90	Hingensbury	1691	G
89, 90	Hinningsbury Close (N)	1646	G
91	Oldland Field	1748	G
91	Olden field	1540	G
100	Fosters stath, (and part of) Puckmores ryes (N)	1522	G
108	Common Long Meadow	1727	G
108	Long Meadow	1513	G
109	Lower Poulston (earlier Little Puleston)	1624	G
110, 111, 112.	Hill field	1596	G
113	Little Hill	1514	G
127	Upper Poulston	1624	G
128	Palmer's Pytt	1566	P
132, 133, 134.	Church field	1540	G
133 (included)	Cryes Field	1784	P
133	Cryes Oak	1775	P
143	Pluds	1648	G
142 (part)	Riddock Sty	1784	P
142	Ruddock style	1638	S
186 (included)	Calver house Close	1738	G
186	Coverass Close	1722	G
188	Adams Well meadow	1648	F
189	Millditch	1630	W
230	New Leasow	1784	P

215	Stakland	1524	G
193	Old Boar	1742	W
154, 155,	Windmill field	1769	G
156.	Winnall Hills alias Winnall Knapp	1648	G
179	Bannut tree orchard	1784	P
181 (included)	Well Close	1784	P
181	Common Pear Tree	1775	P
207	Colleys Plecks (N)	1784	P
211	Great Marsh	1784	P
211	Marshfield	1513	G
211	Merch feld	1453	G
212	Wainstree and Little Broomhill	1784	P
213	Great Broomhill	1784	P
213	Broomhill	1648	G
219	Cow Leasow	1784	P
220	The Moors	1648	P
221	Nover Rise and Lawyers Meadow	1784	P
221	Novyr rye	1540	G
222	Great and Little Wetlands, Noke and Lower Marshfield.	1784	P
222			
223	The Worthin	1784	P
223	The Worthyn	1513	G
224	Pennoxton Orchard	1784	P
226	New Orchard and Stickavesty	1784	P
226	Cavesty	1769	
		& 1684	
226	Stackavisty	1650	G
226	Kithureke style ?	1453	G
227	Red Rail meadow and Longrove	1784	P
227	Longreeve	1656	W
232, 233	Upper and Lower Fishpool	1784	P
232, 233	Fishpool field	1666	P
235	Fishpool Orchard	1784	P
236	Colley Slade	1784	P
236	Collies Slade (N)	1635	P
180	The Colonels House	1737	P
162, & 163-169a.	Vineyard	1839	C
195	The Lobthorne	1784	P
195	Lobthorne	1453	G
231	Canons Land	1784	P
231	Canons	1453	G
228	Red Rail Common	1784	P
228	Ryderdyell	1548	G
245 (included)	Goose Acre	1548	G
Unidentified			
	Rewethens feld	1507	G
	Ellymor field	1583	G

KEY TO SOURCES

- G H.R.O. Aramstone Collection G87/15/1 *et seq.*
 F H.R.O. Poulstone Deeds. F100/1 *et seq.*
 S H.R.O. Seating Plan of Kings Caple Church F100/9.
 W Wills. H.R.O. and P.R.O.
 O P.R.O. C115.M7/6959.
 C Churchwarden's and Curate's Accounts. Kings Caple Church.
 B Hereford Library. Walking and Parish Boundaries. John Webb Mss. Collection.
 P Maps and Deeds in possession of Captain J. S. Cockburn, Pennoxton Court, Kings Caple.
 K Maps in possession of Mr. J. Lucas-Scudamore, Kentchurch Court.
 N Denoted land at one time in the possession of the families names; information from deeds and maps in the Hereford Record Office and in the possession of Captain J. S. Cockburn, Pennoxton Court, Kings Caple.

Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1987

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

THE City Archaeological Unit has been involved in surveying several historic buildings in the city during 1987. In every case, the analysis which followed the detailed survey work has shown that the building is of far greater interest than was apparent on first inspection.

Survey work has also continued at Goodrich Castle, and new projects have included a survey of Gunns Mills, an early charcoal-fired blast furnace in the Forest of Dean, and excavation and survey work at St. Bartholomew's Church at Richards Castle. At Kilpeck, trial excavations in advance of a proposed extension to the graveyard will lead to a major excavation in 1988.

The Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance continues to keep the Manpower Services Commission team busy and a variety of sites have been excavated throughout the year. An area close to the site of the Greyfriars monastery was followed by the total excavation of 3a Palace Yard and a cellar excavation in East Street. During the summer months the team continued with work close to St. Guthlac's monastic site in Commercial Road. Trial holes examined on the southern side of St. Nicholas Street will probably lead to full scale excavations in 1988.

THE CITY EXCAVATIONS

Greyfriars Monastery

A Franciscan friary was founded on low-lying ground to the west of the city in about 1228. Friars' Gate, at the western end of St. Nicholas Street provided access into the city. The friary was apparently relatively prosperous throughout its life until it was dissolved along with other monastic institutions in 1538. Although all traces of the buildings had disappeared by the 18th-century remains of some walls, found whilst laying a gas main in 1898, were assumed to be the north and south walls of the chancel of the friary church.¹

Excavations were carried out between November 1986 and February 1987 in the small paddock to the rear of the gardens on the west of Greyfriars Avenue. The northern and western parts of this paddock are in a shallow depression from which the ground rises to the north and east to become level with the gardens of 8-20 Greyfriars Avenue. This large, level area includes the position of the friary chancel mentioned above. It was considered that the change in level could indicate the western boundary of the friary. Much of the lower part of the paddock is subject to flooding and the owner was proposing to carry out landscaping works. To establish the archaeological potential and decide what works could be allowed, trenches were opened on the slope and in the depression. (FIG. 1).

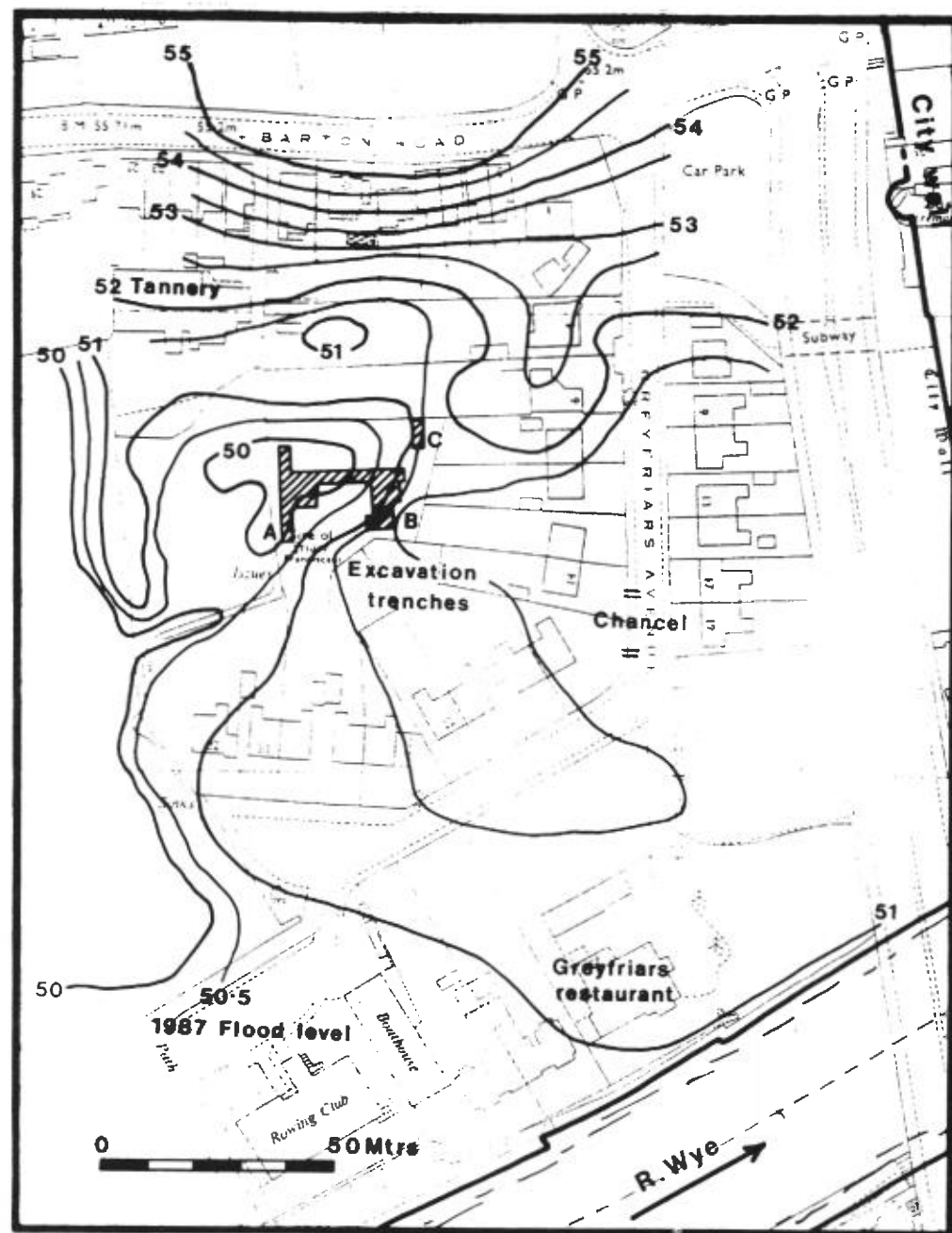


FIG. 1
Greystriars: the contour survey and excavated areas.

The lower trench, [A], was inaccessible throughout most of the excavation due to constant flooding and the very high water table. All that was seen, after removal of the topsoil, was a disturbed surface of cobbles, clay and small stones. It is possible that the surface formed part of an old yard for the adjacent tannery,² with the disturbances being due to allotment digging during the first world war.

The excavation of a trench on the bank, [B], was more productive. The latest feature, apart from two small modern rubbish pits, consisted of an infilled ditch running north-west to south-east across the trench. The upper levels of this ditch contained approximately 400 cattle horncores, associated with a great deal of late-17th to early-18th-century pottery. By studying the size, shape and texture of the horncores, it will be possible to ascertain the sex, breed and age of the animals when slaughtered and provide much information on husbandry practices associated with the tannery industry.

The ditch described above cut through two distinct layers of rubble. The uppermost one was similar to that described by Watkins in 1918.³ Mixed in with the rubble were fragments of medieval floor tile, much of which was decorated. A small quantity of worked sandstone and a jeton (a token in use during the 14th and 15th centuries) were also found. A trial pit, which was dug to a total depth of 1.9 m., exposed a thin patchy layer of grey clayey soil considered to be the ground surface associated with the friary.

A second small trial trench, [C], revealed similar layers of rubble. At this point the late ditch cut through an earlier, larger ditch running along a similar axis which may have been of monastic origin. Both ditches lay on the line of the roadway described by Watkins in 1919⁴ and still partly visible today running westwards across the Rowing Club field.

No *in-situ* remains of the friary were found in the area excavated and it must be assumed that the buildings were slightly further to the east. The contour survey has indicated that the friary must have been built on a plateau just above the general flood level and that any buried remains are now largely covered by the houses and gardens on the western side of Greyfriars Avenue.

Palace Yard

The excavation at 3a Palace Yard, almost adjoining the entry to the Bishop's Palace, was carried out between January and May 1987 in advance of a new housing development.

Prior to demolition, the latest buildings to occupy the site were Victorian wooden sheds used by an early photographer, W. H. Bustin, whose main shop was the present day S.P.C.K. bookshop. These sheds were built on a thick layer of brick and stone rubble used to level the site. Underneath this make-up was a cobbled yard and a stone-lined cesspit. The latter contained much early-19th-century pottery, wine bottles and valuable environmental material.

The earliest structural remains on the site consisted of two stone walls forming the corner of a 16th-century building with a clay floor. The floor was later replaced with cobbles. Slightly earlier than the building were two deep 15th-century cesspits, one of which contained a rare example of a Cucurbit distilling vessel and a pewter pilgrim's badge.

The excavation produced no structural evidence before the 16th century, despite being in a central part of the Saxon town. The natural gravels were at a very high level, similar to those found in a service trench excavated by the Unit through the entrance into the Bishop's Palace in 1985.⁵ This high level and the lack of early occupation evidence imply that the ground surface in this area has been substantially reduced. The reason for this becomes clear when the Palace Yard and Bishop's Palace excavations are placed into context with other excavations undertaken in the area in recent years.

In 1958, excavations were undertaken at the rear of the now disused Methodist Church in Bridge Street.⁶ Here marshy deposits continued down to 15 feet below the present ground surface without being bottomed. Similar deposits were found during construction of the two tennis courts to the south-west of the Bishop's Palace gardens in 1979.⁷

King Street has a pronounced dip between the Cathedral and the junction with Bridge Street. This dip has been taken by some to represent the line of the 'King's Ditch', previously thought to be either a demarcation boundary or even an early defensive feature. In 1980, during the excavation of a services trench along the road, further marshy deposits were sealed by a timber roadway dated to about 1000 A.D.⁸ Excavations in Aubrey Street, on the line of this 'Kings Ditch', have also produced waterlogged material.⁹ It would appear likely that the 'Kings Ditch' includes an old stream bed running into a marshy area to the east of Bridge Street. This marshy area was eventually filled in, apparently during the 16th-century. It was about this time that the ground surface to the west of the Cathedral was lowered and it is tempting to relate the two events.

107 East Street

Archaeological excavation at 107, East Street was due to proposed building operations including the lowering of the present cellar floor level. Although the construction of the cellar itself would have destroyed much of the structural archaeology, deposits were known to exist to a considerable depth in this area close to the Saxon defensive line.¹⁰

The cellar is of stone and consists of two rooms separated by a stone wall. Access into the rear cellar is gained internally by a modern stairway in the south-west corner and externally by 1.15 m. wide stone steps set into the east wall. The front cellar has a brick barrel run, 1.15 m. wide, leading to East Street. Two trenches of restricted size and depth were excavated, one in each cellar.

In the front cellar the latest floor consisted of early to mid-19th-century hand-made bricks and cobbles. It overlay the original earthen floor, which contained mid-to-late-17th-century clay pipes and pottery.

A small trench, excavated through this earthen floor, revealed three pits which had been dug before the present building was constructed. They contained early-17th-century clay pipes and pottery, but were not fully excavated for safety reasons. However, they cut through a soil level which survived to a maximum thickness of 0.23 m. This soil level, which overlay natural deposits, lies 2.9 m. below the present level of East Street. The depth suggests that it forms part of the original Saxon ground level. Unfortunately, no

Saxon archaeological features were evident, suggesting that any such features were removed together with the upper levels of the soil layer when the cellar was constructed.

Only a small area of the brick and cobble floor in the rear cellar was removed. Much of this floor had been relaid relatively recently where it covered a stone-lined well which had been reused as a soakaway and backfilled during the 1930s. The foundation pit for this well provided no dating evidence but it apparently belongs to a period prior to the construction of the present 17th-century building.

This small excavation has confirmed the results of the 1970 work and has indicated that archaeological levels do exist underneath the floors of the cellars on the south side of the line of West St./East St. A substantial amount of the material which originally formed the northern defence of Hereford lies buried underneath the line of the street and the properties on the northern side, sealing and preserving some of the earliest occupation levels in the city at a depth in excess of 2.5 m.

St. Nicholas Street

Proposals to develop an area to the south of St. Nicholas Street have been under discussion for some time. The western part of the site is a scheduled ancient monument (part of the Saxon and medieval defences) and trial excavations were considered necessary. They took place during a three week period in November, 1978, and were intended to provide information about the likely depth of archaeological deposits and their state of preservation.

St. Nicholas Street was widened to the south when the ring road was constructed in the late 1960s. Before this the then narrow St. Nicholas Street had a row of tall houses on its southern side. The front doors were approached by a flight of steps and each house had a semi-basement. As the ground was higher to the rear, the exit to the back garden was at ground-floor level. The area originally occupied by these houses is now mainly underneath the widened St. Nicholas Street, much of the present site being the rear garden areas.

The city defences, which form the western boundary of the development site, do not consist simply of a stone wall with an external ditch. Buried below the ground and hidden behind the wall itself are successive phases of the development of the strong defences at Hereford from the origins of the City. A stretch of these defences was examined during the construction of the ring road in 1967/8.¹¹ In the pre-Conquest period, the main west-east road in Hereford included St. Nicholas Street, King Street, part of the present Cathedral Close, and Castle Street within its length. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the main and most important elements of the Saxon town would front onto this road.

Four small trial trenches were excavated, one in each corner of the car park. In three of them, traces of late Saxon occupation were established. The small size of the trenches means that it is impossible to establish the nature of this occupation, but the types of deposit are very similar to those encountered in the excavations at Berrington Street between 1972 and 1976. It has been recommended that the whole of the area which will be disturbed by building foundations, drains etc. should be archaeologically excavated before any development commences and work should take place in 1988.

The 'Bus Station Site

The archaeological unit continues to search for the elusive remains of St. Guthlac's Monastery, known to be in the area now occupied by the 'bus station, cinema and car park on the south-eastern side of Commercial Road.¹²

In 1987, an area to the south-west of the cinema, in the angle formed by Commercial Road and Union Walk, was excavated in advance of building development. Considerable difficulties were experienced due to the presence of live electricity cables and the foundations for a proposed extension to the cinema which was never built.

A series of features which belonged to the County Gaol were next uncovered. They included a section of the original boundary wall built in 1797, large 19th-century pits containing builders debris and a soil level which represented the garden of the late-19th-century prison governor's house.

Below the Gaol levels was a thick layer of garden soil associated with the late-17th-early 18th-century house belonging to William Price.¹³ A rectangular cesspit rich in pottery and environmental material also belonged to this occupation period. Underneath was a small, mid-17th-century hearth associated with a great deal of iron slag.

The earliest levels found during the excavation consisted of a metalled yard and an associated large cesspit which contained much 12th-century pottery, animal bone and environmental material. The yard surface was on a similar level to features found during the exploratory excavations in 1986¹⁴ and could well have been associated with St. Guthlac's Monastery.

THE CITY BUILDING SURVEYS

The College of the Vicars' Choral

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was commissioned by English Heritage to survey the College, excluding the Deanery, to enable a rational re-arrangement of the internal planning to be undertaken with minimal damage to the historic fabric.

The original layout

On 18 October 1472, Bishop Stanbury obtained a licence from the king allowing him to provide a new site for the College of the Vicars' Choral. The new site, to the east of the bishop's garden, comprised a vacant plot on which had stood the house of the late Canon Wolston and the ground and existing house of the late Canon Greene.

The College is an irregular quadrilateral with the south-western corner almost in contact with the wall of the Bishop's Palace gardens. One possible explanation for this eccentric positioning is that the builders were required to make use of the great hall and ancillary buildings of Canon Greenes house and had to construct the quadrangle in association with these existing buildings.

The constructional phases

Internal evidence suggests that the College was constructed in four separate phases, possibly corresponding to the four building seasons of the years 1472-5. The south range was almost certainly constructed first, adjoining Canon Greene's hall which was probably in a similar position to the present hall.

The east range was then built from south to north, including the College chapel and library, and adding a further six lodgings to the seven postulated in the south range. The north range was constructed next, being built westwards from the east range. This contained seven of the standard lodgings and a slightly larger house, assumed to be for the Custos, to the west of the entrance passage. The cloistral arrangement was completed with the construction of the west range between the extant north and south ranges. This was built at a slight angle, providing six further lodgings.

The corridor, joining the College to the south-east transept of the Cathedral, was added probably towards the end of the 15th century. Early in the 16th century the south-east bay of the corridor was replaced by a two-storied porch and the adjoining bay rebuilt.

The lodgings

When completed, the College provided twenty-six separate lodgings fronting onto the quadrangle, with a house for the Custos in an extension to the west of the north range. (FIG. 2) Each lodging comprised a ground-floor room and a first-floor hall. The lodgings were divided from each other by timber-framed walls of large wattle and daub panels beneath the main roof trusses. The first-floor halls were reached by internal stairs directly behind the doors leading from the cloister. They were larger than the rooms on the ground floor, continuing above the cloister walk, and were open to the roof. Overall, the standard of design and execution was extremely high. The College was undoubtedly a prestigious and expensive building.

Some time in the first half of the 16th century substantial alterations took place in the east range. The two lodgings immediately to the south of the chapel were incorporated into one house. The upper rooms had panelled ceilings, carried on moulded and stopped beams, inserted at wall-plate height. At approximately the same time, the two northernmost lodgings of the east range were also joined. Ceilings were again inserted and access was made to a second floor created in the roof space. In the 18th century this house was again extended to incorporate the easternmost lodging of the north range. The next major changes occurred during the late 18th century when there were several amalgamations of blocks of two units into larger houses throughout the College.

To the west of the entrance passage is the partly demolished set of rooms which originally accommodated the Custos. By the 17th century the lower room had become the porter's lodge whilst the upper chamber was used for teaching the choristers.

The Chapel (now Chapter Room)

The present chapter room is midway along the eastern range and extends to the east beyond the line of the main wall. The north and south walls within the width of the

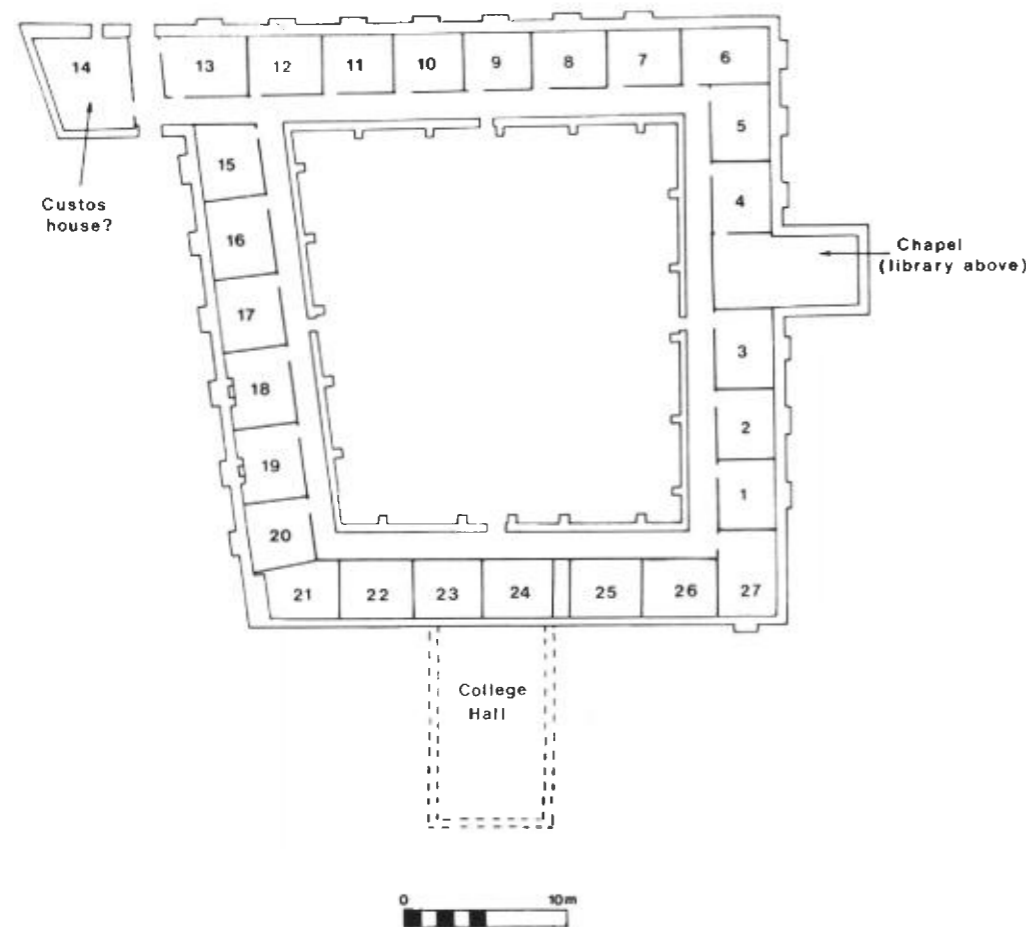


FIG. 2
The original individual lodgings in the Vicars' Choral.

eastern range are of close-set timber framing, the remainder and the east wall being of stone. The western jambs of former ground-floor windows are apparent to both the north and south in the existing stone walls. However, the original masonry continues to the east underneath the window sills indicating that these walls are an original feature. The west wall, which separates the chapter room from the cloister, has been much restored but still includes a series of Jacobean balusters.

There are in this room substantial traces of the 15th-century layout which, in its original state, consisted of a chapel on the ground floor with the College library above. Both floors extended some twelve to fourteen feet beyond the present east wall. A doorway from the cloister, just to the north of this complex, led, via a lobby on the ground floor, into the chapel through a doorway which is now blocked. From this lobby stairs led up to a second doorway in the close-set timber framing, now blocked, which provided access to the first-floor library.

In the early 19th century these rooms were in a state of dilapidation and by 1835 the walls were beginning to bulge. The eastern part was demolished and the present east wall built in 1842. The chapel was disused and apparently neglected from about the middle of the 19th century until it was renovated about 100 years later to provide accommodation for the Chapter body.

The College Hall

It has been suggested that the original College hall may have been part of Canon Greene's house, refurbished for use by the College. The hall was rebuilt during the second half of the 17th century after 'a great part of the stone of the Castle was disposed of to the College of Hereford to build their new dining hall.' The only visible internal feature which could date to this period is the southernmost fireplace on the west wall which was discovered and exposed in 1938.

In 1750 the hall was enlarged and in 1817 the south window was replaced 'uniform with the others' after being blown down. The remainder of the windows were renewed in 1884.

The reconstruction of the south-east corner

On Saturday, 26 July 1828, at about 2 o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the south-east corner of the College. According to the Act Book of that time, it totally consumed the buttery, cellar, larder, kitchen, and servants' bedrooms, and materially injured a great portion of the building. It appears that the south range eastwards from the College hall had to be completely rebuilt within the surviving north and south stone walls.

The brewhouse is a brick extension to the south of the eastern part of the south range. It was apparently built after the repair works associated with the fire and includes two doorways through the original south wall. A blocked window and an external chimney stack in the original south wall of the College and now internal to the brewhouse are the only visible features which are part of the original construction.

The Precentor's Barn

Like many of the buildings in the centre of Hereford, the barn at the junction of St. John Street and Cathedral Close conceals a long history of change and development behind a deceptively simple exterior. (Pl. LXXXI) On the south side the barn is of timber-framed construction above a stone wall. The panels in the timbering are infilled with brick. On the north, the timber frame rests on a stone plinth at ground level and is weatherboarded for its full height. Weatherboarding also conceals the east and west gable frames, which also rest on stone walls continuous with the one to the south.

Internally, the ground floor is undivided and is now used as a garage. There are double doors at either end and a series of smaller doors in the north side. The more visually interesting elements are in the upper floor, which is on two levels, with a separate room at the western end. The oldest parts of the fabric are the wall frames which, with the exception of the eastern gable, originally formed part of a barn-like structure of probable 13th-century date. This may have been aisled and almost certainly had a scissor-braced roof.

In the 16th century the roof was removed during extensive alterations. The building was shortened, and the north-eastern corner re-built with some new timber. A first floor was inserted, the level of which is still reflected in the western upper room. It is likely that the south wall was underbuilt in stone at this time. The existing roof dates from this rebuilding, and is a textbook example of early-16th-century framing. There are six trusses of three different types, which are braced by curved windbraces. Windows were inserted on the south side to illuminate the new first-floor level.

In the early 18th century the building was again modified, possibly for use as a coach house and stable. The upper floor was raised and direct access from outside was gained via loft doors on the east and north. On the ground floor, the building was divided into three rooms. The western end was a separate room with a staircase allowing access to the upper floor. On the north and south sides, the previous wattle and daub panels were removed and replaced with brick.

The final changes to the building were relatively minor and included the weatherboarding of the north, east and west walls and the insertion of a double door in the west end. The barn, which is now used as a garage, contains the substantial remains of one of Hereford's earliest surviving timber buildings. The available evidence points to a constructional date in the late 13th century. As such the barn is of key importance both in the history of Hereford's development and in establishing the pattern of evolution of timber building in Britain.

25 Commercial Street

The new Maylord Orchards development includes Preece's Passage as one of its pedestrian entries from Commercial Street. Chadd's, who own no. 25, the property on the east side of the passage, hope to renovate the rear part of the building to create additional shopping space. As the building is listed grade 2 it was agreed that this rear part should be fully surveyed before any alterations or demolition took place.



FIG. 3
25 Commercial Street - the late 15th-century gable.

The earliest parts of the complex are the west, south and north frames of a long, narrow building of late-15th-century date which occupied a backland site in the area between Preece's Passage and the eastern boundary of the present property. The west frame of this building is almost completely intact and is a classic example of its type with close-set vertical timbering. (FIG. 3). In the early 16th century a substantial extension was constructed to the south, incorporating the 15th-century house. Further south towards Commercial Street are three later buildings, all of which survive. They have not been examined in detail but it would appear that the central bay on the site is a late-16th-century building which also originally fronted on to Preece's Passage. On the Commercial Street frontage is a 17th-century building which was substantially altered during the late 18th or early 19th century. Between the two is a late-17th-century infill development.

The survey has revealed a series of buildings which were constructed during a period of well over 400 years. The earliest frames comprise a substantial part of one of the earliest houses to survive in the city, erected at about the time that Columbus discovered America and probably over a hundred years before the 'Old House' was built. The complex includes a cross-section of building styles in Hereford across half a millenium. It provides an excellent example of the development of a building plot in the medieval town centre, and in consequence is of unique interest.

41 Bridge Street (rear building)

41 Bridge Street is part of a terrace erected in the late 18th century. The small timber-framed building at the rear, which was surveyed during March 1987, is the only surviving part of what was a complex of medieval buildings on this backland site between Bridge Street and the city wall. It has thus provided valuable evidence of the layout of this part of the city in the Middle Ages.

The evidence of mouldings and framing date the main timbers of the rear building to the last quarter of the 14th century. At this time, the two-bay, two-storeyed structure must have abutted a pre-existing building to the east. There is no evidence of partitioning on the ground floor and the first floor was open to the roof as is shown by the chamfered and stopped purlins and the chamfered central tie-beam. The stone-built cellar underneath, which is approached by a flight of stone steps and has a fine moulded window surround and door jambs of stone, was probably inserted during the 15th century.

On the south elevation, considerable effort was made in ornamentation. (PL. LXXII). The frame braces are cusped and were originally symmetrical. Only three of the original six now remain. A 15th-century door-head carved with quatrefoils is carried on moulded door jambs in the eastern half of the facade. A series of mortices in the western half apparently indicate the position of another doorway, now vanished. Both the end posts are cut to accept beams from a building or buildings to the south. It is suggested that the main hall was to the south and that the existing building formed a cross-wing.

The evidence indicates that the large medieval wattle and daub panels were replaced by close studding on the north and west walls at some time in the 16th century. The building was again altered in the 18th century when all the wattle and daub panels were removed and replaced in brick. Re-used frame members were placed in the north wall to frame the new panels. With the construction of the small brick addition to the west, the property assumed its present form.

As a result of the survey, the Department of the Environment recognised the importance of this building and in December 1987 included it in the schedule of Listed Buildings with a 2* rating.

20, Church Street

Proposals to develop 20 Church Street and the surrounding garden area (PL. LXXX-III) have been under discussion for some time and in August 1987, the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was commissioned by Dominion Estates Housing Ltd. to undertake a detailed analytical survey of the standing building to ascertain, as far as possible, the original form of the structure and its subsequent development.

The earliest building consisted of a three-bay first-floor hall and undercroft built entirely of wood about 1400 A.D. It had a crown-post rafter double roof with each of the crown-posts rising from massive tie-beams to support a collar purlin which ran the length of the building. (PL. LXXXIV) The ceiling was apparently plastered on the underside of the collars and rafters leaving the chamfered crown-posts, collar purlin and tie-beams visible from below. The two intermediate crown-posts each had two concave braces to the

collar purlin and two to the collar. The crown-posts in the end walls each had two diagonal braces going down to the tie-beams but none of these survive. The four tie-beams were supported on two massive wall-plates with splayed scarf joints. In front of the wall-plates were moulded boards supported on shallow mortices cut into the tie-beams.

A timber and daub wall, which was inserted towards the centre of the westernmost bay, continues upwards to what would have been the line of the boarded ceiling. This partition may represent a widening of the screens passage being later than the original construction. Ceilings have been inserted throughout the building at tie-beam level thus concealing the crown-post roof.

The whole of the eastern wall of the hall below the level of the tie-beam has been replaced in brick. The western wall has suffered many alterations but is still basically timber-framed although much is hidden by the external render. Two mortices on the western face of the south-western corner post suggest that there may have been a western wing before the existing 18th-century wing was built.

The north wall of the original building suffered substantial alterations when the existing brick extensions were built. However, one post continues to ground level and includes a mortice for a door head in its northern face, suggesting that there were rooms or some form of aisle along the north side of the building.

The south wall contains several surviving features of historic interest, all at first-floor level. At the western end is the original doorway with an ogee-arched timber head. This entrance would have been approached by an external flight of stairs. In the centre of the south wall the external chimney stack is of stone. The large first-floor fireplace was blocked with brick in the 18th or 19th century when all the moulded stonework was removed.

Totally sealed in the south wall is a well-preserved timber window consisting of four cusped ogee-arched lights. They are slightly weathered on the outside indicating that this was originally an outside wall. However, the small room adjoining is timber-framed with the sloping roof timbers pegged to the ends of the overhanging main roof rafters. It is suggested that this room leading off the hall was a chapel or oriel chamber, possibly including an access to a solar wing.

Apart from the Bishop's Palace, 20 Church Street is the only building to survive of the several ecclesiastical residences which once surrounded the Cathedral Close. It was the residence of Percy Clarke Hull, the cathedral organist, until it was sold to the Conservative Association in 1930. Dr. George Robertson Sinclair was the organist from 1889 until 1918 and lived there with his famous bulldog, Dan, who is buried in the grounds. Edward Elgar was a regular visitor and Dan is immortalised in the 11th Enigma Variation.

Telephone Kiosks

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee shared the widespread concern expressed by English Heritage about the wholesale removal of K6 or 'Jubilee' telephone kiosks. This type was introduced across the country from 1939 after a public competition some years earlier, which had accepted the design by Giles Gilbert Scott.

In May, 1987, the Department of the Environment agreed to consider selected examples of K6 kiosks for immediate inclusion in the Schedule of Listed Buildings. Kiosks selected were to be those which made a positive contribution to the character of a Conservation Area.

The archaeology unit put forward two kiosks in Hereford for inclusion in this select list and both are now grade 2 listed buildings. They are the kiosk on the forecourt of the Shire Hall in St. Peters Square and the one on the north side of King Street close to the Orange Tree Inn.

SITES IN THE COUNTY

Aymestrey

The Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Section recorded a Beaker cist burial first encountered during topsoil stripping (HWCM 7060). The Beaker is similar to the North/Middle Rhine group in Clarke's classification. A preliminary pathological examination by Francis Lee at Bradford University identified the body as that of a child, 7-8 years old. It is anticipated that the burial will eventually be exhibited at Leominster.

Leintwardine

A watching brief took place at the Old Barn (HWCM 1062) during excavations for drainage and wall foundation trenches. Stone walls, a possible plinth, cobbled surfaces and ditches were exposed, all probably of Roman origin. A well-preserved column base was also visible and was left in situ. As all the remains were close to the surface, the County Council Archaeology Section recommended that English Heritage enter into a management agreement to raise the general level of the ground surface thus sealing these important deposits more deeply underneath the ground.

Roman Villa

The remains of a Roman Villa, identified during a recent watching brief by the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee on a site north of the city and close to the river Lugg, was examined by the County Council Archaeology Section (HWCM 5522). The site was exposed during topsoil removal but most of it had been sealed by c. 1.0 m. of silts, probably from flooding. Because of this the site was undetectable by geophysical survey and by aerial photography. The preliminary evaluation has indicated that the site is very large (over 4 hectares) and includes stone-walled buildings, a corn dryer, pits and ditches. Finds, which include large quantities of flue tiles, suggest that the villa was in occupation between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D.

Offa's Dyke

The County Council Archaeology Section organised a watching brief during works on Garnons Hill.

Dinedor Hill

The County Council Archaeology Section organised a watching brief on this Iron Age hillfort.

Goodrich Castle

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee has continued with survey work at this well-preserved border castle. The work of producing a detailed series of plans at 1:50 scale at each floor level is almost complete and further elevations have been drawn in advance of restoration works. Throughout its life, this castle has experienced many alterations and additions to ensure that it stayed in the forefront of military architecture and continued to include accommodation of a suitable stature for residents and guests. When the results of the survey have been analysed fully, it is hoped that a report will be published which will include many new aspects of life in a medieval castle.

St. Bartholomew's Church, Richards Castle

Late in 1987, the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee excavated a series of new drainage trenches to the south and east of this redundant church and cleared part of the postulated crypt underneath the chancel. The Unit also organised detailed surveys of the east window and of the north window in the north chapel in advance of restoration works.

Foundations exposed to the east of the church indicate that the building was originally longer than at present, possibly extending beyond the west wall of the late-14th-century detached tower. A detailed examination of the east wall of the present chancel and the excavations in the crypt have demonstrated that the eastern part of this church is of far greater complexity than is suggested in the Royal Commission entry.¹⁵ Although the crypt was used as a burial vault after the 16th century, the plastered walls and lime-washed interior indicate that it had an earlier function, perhaps as a hermit's cell.¹⁶ Further investigation and research is needed before a more complete story can be proposed.

Kilpeck Church and Castle

Kilpeck, with its unique collection of carvings of the Herefordshire School in the church, the extensive castle remains and the defended earthworks of a well-preserved deserted medieval village, presents a historic complex of national importance.

The graveyard which surrounds the church is very small (less than 0.3 acre) and about 1919 it was extended westwards into the bailey of the castle to include a further 0.3 acre. This extension is now almost full and for some years the Parochial Church Council have been attempting to find a further area. It was hoped to use the part of the bailey to the north of the present extension but, after trial excavations in 1982,¹⁷ it was appreciated that the area was of considerable archaeological importance and an alternative site north of the churchyard was chosen.

Following a resistivity survey, the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was commissioned by English Heritage to prepare a contour survey and excavate four trial trenches in this chosen area. Within the confines of the trial trenches it was not possible to

identify conclusively the pre-occupation ground surface. However, traces of burnt timbers should, if they are correctly interpreted as the remains of sleeper-beams, be of medieval date. The extent and nature of the building associated with these burnt timbers is not known and does not show on the resistivity survey. However, it is apparent that some, if not all of the building will be within the area of the proposed graveyard extension. It is anticipated that work will continue in 1988.

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- ¹⁵ *R.C.H.M. Herefordshire*, 3 (1934), 170-2.
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Botany, 1987

By P. THOMSON

on behalf of the Herefordshire Botanical Society

DURING 1987 and 1988 the Botanical Society of the British Isles (B.S.B.I.) is undertaking a monitoring survey of one in nine of the 10 km. grid squares throughout the country. This is being done in order to see what changes in our flora have taken place since the 1950s when data was collected for the Atlas of the British Flora.

The Herefordshire Botanical Society has undertaken the work on the three and a half squares which lie within the Watsonian vice-county 36 which covers the old county of Herefordshire. At this stage only interim comments can be made as the work is continuing.

One of the squares being examined is SO 62 which lies roughly between Howle Hill, Hole-in-the-Wall, Queen's Wood, Dymock and May Hill (just into Gloucestershire). In the 1950s survey about 348 species were recorded in the area 23 of which have not, so far, been rediscovered. 448 species have, however, already been recorded. The increase in the number is probably attributable more to the intensity of the survey than to any great change in the richness of the flora. Some of the plants yet to be located are: lady's mantle (*Alchemilla* sp.), common lousewort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*) and pepper saxifrage (*Silene acaulis*) all of which are plants of old grassland; kidney vetch (*Anthyllis vulneraria*) of limestone turf and cross-leaved heath (*Erica tetralix*) of acid bogs. Among the freshly recorded species perhaps the most interesting are the flowering rush (*Butomus umbellatus*) and soft hornwort (*Ceratophyllum submersum*) growing in two ponds, the former in one constructed since 1960 and the later in an apparently well-established pond. The flowering rush appears to have come naturally but it may have been introduced.

Buildings, 1987

By J. W. TONKIN

THIS year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Urban District of Kington. As in the past we are again indebted to the University of Birmingham for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based at Bromyard.

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

'BARN', CATHEDRAL CLOSE. SO 511398

Surprisingly this building is not mentioned in the R.C.H.M. Inventory and Pevsner notices it as being 'like a barn.' It appears to be of 14th-century build completely remodelled about two hundred years later. Evidence of the earlier build is in the notched-lap joints for curved braces. These latter have gone but the sockets remain. There is a long scarf joint with a nick in it like that at Wigmore Abbey. There are also notched joints at the top of the wall-plates apparently for beams running across the building making five bays.

In the remodelling, probably c. 1500, the building received curved wind-braces.

BUILDING AT REAR 41 BRIDGE STREET. SO 508397 (R.C.H.M. 49)

See also vol. XXXIX (1967) p. 164. Further restoration during the past year revealed an ogee-headed doorway with a quarter-round moulding on the edge of a rose in each spandrel probably indicating a late-14th-century date.

20 CHURCH STREET. SO 510398 (R.C.H.M. 106)

This three-bay, first-floor hall house is very unusual in Herefordshire, having a roof of crown-post construction. The heavy rafters are laid flat and are all numbered on the underside. The blocked window is of four ogee-headed lights and the doorway at the top of the stairs is also ogee-headed while the fireplace has pyramid stops. All this points to a date in the 15th century. The upper floor is of timber-framed construction, but the undercroft is of rubble.

BROCKHAMPTON

LOWER BROCKHAMPTON. SO 687560 (R.C.H.M. 2)

An opportunity arose to get into the roof of the eastern cross-wing which is not open to the public, but probably will be within the next few years. Interestingly the timber-framing on the east side hidden by a modern lean-to, is of alternating wide and narrow panels. The roof is typical of the period with good wind-bracing.

BURGHILL

WHITE HALL. SO 479443

A brick house with brick modillioned cornice probably built in the first quarter of the 18th century with a stone ground floor at the rear. There is a weatherboarded barn. Two small, black wooden figures either side of the door look as though they have come from an 18th or late-17th-century overmantel or sideboard.

EARDISLEY

CASTLE FARM OUTBUILDINGS. SO 311492 (R.C.H.M. 21)

This building was beyond saving. The small, gouged carpenters' assembly marks were evidence of its 17th-century construction. Many tiles were missing, the trusses had suffered from damp and were unsafe, while the walls were cracked and bulging. It had been modernised in the 19th century and seems to have housed a kitchen and dairy, though too big to have been built for this purpose.

KINNERSLEY

THE OLD CIDER HOUSE. SO 356501 (R.C.H.M. 3) ?

This house of two storeys on a two-room plan with a lean-to at the rear probably dates from the late 17th century, the carpenters assembly marks on the timbers exposed in the lean-to being over one inch long.

LINTON BY BROMYARD

OLD SCHOOL HOUSE, BRINGSTY COMMON. SO 692566

A most unusual building completely refronted in the late 19th century or even early 20th century when it appears to have been given a second front door. The wall-plates have a slightly hollow, quite deep chamfer, but at one end there appears to have been a hall and peg-holes still survive for an arch brace to the central truss. The roof at this end still has its cusped wind-braces probably of 15th-century date. The roof timbers seem to have been partially renewed in the 17th century and the carpenters' assembly marks appear to be from this date.

EYE, MORETON AND ASHTON

LUSTONBURY. SO 488626 (R.C.H.M. 23)

This building was stripped revealing some excellent timber-framing in the wings and at the rear some apparently of earlier work. A further visit has been promised.

WIGMORE

LONG HOUSE. SO 413690

When clearing to build a garage behind the house the owner found two column bases about 18 ins. in diameter at the top and 2 ins. at the bottom, about 3 ins. deep with a scalloped pattern right around the top and two fine incised lines around them. There was a very slight step of about ¼ in. in at the bottom. Where did they come from?

During the year fifty planning applications were received by the Club. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations, improvements and additions.

The Club raised queries on four buildings during the year.

One was Holme Lacy House, where the ceilings are very important and the hotel will probably use these as an attraction.

The cellars at 3 Widemarsh Street, Hereford, will probably be incorporated in the shop which is occupying the premises.

The third was the barn at the Croase, Kingsland, a 19th century brick barn of the agricultural revival, quite a rare building and one which probably could be preserved. The fourth was about a similar barn at Lulham Court, Madley.

Finally, I must mention the loss of a past president, Inett Homes, to whom building research in this county owes so much. His work and deep knowledge of agricultural buildings and machinery and especially the hop industry will be greatly missed.

Entomology, 1987

By J. COOTER

on behalf of ANTHEA BRIAN

DIPTERA (True Flies) in Herefordshire

IN recent years, thanks to people visiting the county, a large number of diptera have been collected at various sites and the records of a large percentage have been sent back to Hereford and are now incorporated in the data file held at the City Museum, Broad Street.

A lot of work has, as with most insect groups, been done in the southern regions of the county, especially the Monnow Valley, an area so often worked earlier this century by such well-known entomologists as Collin, Yerbury, Tomlin, Lloyd and Wood. Thanks to the assiduous efforts of Ivan Perry (Lode, Cambridgeshire) a great number of Empididae and Dolichopodidae have been recorded as well as a number of rarities and very interesting captures among other families. Other visits have worked for other families including the Tipulidae, Stratiomyidae and Syrphidae. Despite this dedicated onslaught, the coverage of our diptera is very patchy with virtually no records for such large and often well-known families as the Culicidae, Chironomidae, Mycetophilidae, Cecidomyiidae, Phoridae, Pipunculidae, Sphaeroceridae, Agromyzidae, Chloropidae, Tachinidae and the Muscidae. A search of the entomological literature will yield many records, especially for example for the Phoridae (the speciality of the late Dr. Wood of Tarrington a widely acknowledged authority on that family). Study of Wood's collection at the British Museum (Natural History) would also produce a wealth of records. Lack of records with the diptera does not mean lack of flies, we are all too familiar with mosquitos, gnats and midges, but the Museum data file has no records for these groups where often the literature is scattered and identification a specialist task. Perhaps with time different dipterists with differing specialities might be attracted to the county.

Apart from the Monnow Valley, Herefordshire's other well-known diptera site is The Flitts National Nature Reserve. Those old enough to remember 'flit' fly spray might think the name rather unfortunate as it is very rich in aquatic diptera. A visit by Alan Stubbs of the Nature Conservancy Council's Chief Scientist's Team during July 1982 produced the then unprecedentedly high number of seven species of aquatic Stratiomyid in an afternoon's collecting. Subsequent visits by other specialists have produced a reasonable list for The Flitts showing it to be a very rich site with varied fauna.

Ivan Perry has very kindly sent a list of the more notable captures he has made during his visits to the county from 1985 to date. Where possible with the scant literature available to me, I have annotated the list.

STRATIOMYIDAE

Oxycera terminata Meigen. 3♀ Monmouth Cap, 8. vii. 1985; 2♀ Llanveynoe, 9, vii, 1985; 1♀ Skenfrith, II. vii. 1985 all sites on the Monnow, Oldroyd (1969) gives this

species as 'Rare. Southern and western England: Dorset, Somerset, Welsh Border. Fonseca found it in great numbers on one occasion at Blaise Castle Woods, Bristol where a stream had been diverted.'

O. pardalina Meigen. 1♂ Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, 12. vii. 1985. According to Oldroyd (1969) 'Rare. Southern and western England; Derby, Dovedale (Parmenter). Male hovering 20-30ft up near trees by stream; female swept from nearby vegetation (Fonseca).'

Microchrysa cyaneiventris Zett. 1♀ Clodock, R. Monnow, 15. vi. 1987. 'A northern Palaearctic species that occurs all over Britain including Ireland though not very common. Common in some Yorkshire localities (Chandler).' Oldroyd (1969).

Beris morrisii Dale. 2♂1♀ Monmouth Cap. 8. vii. 1985; 1♀ Clodock, 8. vii. 1985, both sites on the Monnow.

Chorisops nagatomii Rozkosny. 1♀ Clodock, R. Monnow, 27. viii. 1986. A species recently separated from *C. tibialis* and as such its status in Britain is not properly known.

RHAGIONIDAE

Antherix marginata F. 2♂2♀ 8. vii., 2♀ 9. vii., 1♀ 10. vii., 1♂ 11. vii. 1985, Monmouth Cap, R. Monnow. 'Local ... On waterside vegetation from Devon to the Lake District and in Ireland'. Oldroyd (1986).

Atrichops crassipes Meigen. 1♀ Skenfrith, R. Monnow, 11. vii. 1985. 'Local in south-east England. Apparently not recorded from this country since Verrall (1909). Between 1900-04 it was found in some numbers on alders in a water-meadow near Ticehurst Road Station, Sussex, and again near Milford-on-Sea, Hants., as well as in two or three localities in the New Forest.' Oldroyd (1969).

ASILIDAE

Dioctria cothurnata Meigen. 1♀ Skenfrith, R. Monnow, 15. vi. 1987. 'Rare and local in southern England; absent from northern England (Skidmore) but abundant in some Scottish localities (Inverness-shire).' Oldroyd (1969).

THEREVIDAE

Psilocephala rustica (Pz.). 1♂2♀ 9. vii., 1♀ 11. vii. 1985, Monmouth Cap, R. Monnow. 'Apparently rare and local, known only from a few localities on the Welsh Border: Cheshire, R. Bollin; Shropshire, Wyre Forest; Herefordshire, Monnow Valley.' Oldroyd (1969).

EMPIDIDAE

Tachydromia Costalis (von Roser). A total of 7♂ 5♀ from Monmouth Cap, Clodock and an un-named Monnow site, 8. vii. 1985 to 16. vi. 1987.

T. halidayi (Collin). 3♂8♀ from the Monnow at grid ref. 384253, 9. vii. 1985 to 22. viii. 1986.

T. woodi (Collin). 3♂1♀ Clodock 8. vii. 1985 to 27. viii. 1986; Skenfrith 2♂, 15. vi. 1987.

Platypalpus albifacies (Collin). 1♂ Monmouth Cap, 8. vii. 1985.

P. luteolus (Collin). A total of 5♂10♀ from Clodock, Monmouth Cap, Skenfrith and grid ref. 384253 on the Monnow between 8. vii and 11. vii. 1985; Biblins, R. Wye 1♂ 28. viii. 1986.

P. melancholicus (Collin). 7♂5♀ from Monmouth Cap, Clodock and Skenfrith, 8. vii. 1985 and 15. vi. 1987.

P. subtilis (Collin). 7♂6♀ Clodock and Skenfrith 22/23. viii. 1986; 1♂ Biblins, R. Wye, 28. viii. 1986.

Empis limbata Collin. 2♂ Clodock, 11/12. vii. 1985.

Hilara albiventris von Roser. 3♂2♀ Monmouth Cap, 8 + 11. vii. 1985; 4♂1♀ Clodock, 12. vii. 1985 and 23. viii. 1986.

H. apta Collin. 2♂1♀ Monmouth Cap, 11. vii. 1985; 3♂ Clodock 22/23/27. viii. 1986; 384253 5♂ 9. vii. 1985.

H. barbipes Frey. 3♂ Clodock, 9. vii. 1985, 15. vi. 1987; 8♂ grid ref., 384253, 9. vii. 1985; Monmouth Cap 2♂ 11. vii. 1985.

H. biseta Collin. 5♂6♀ Clodock, 22/23/27. viii. 1985; 1♂1♀ Skenfrith, 23. viii. 1985.

H. cingulata Dahlbom. 1♂1♀ Monmouth Cap, 8/11. vii. 1985.

H. discoidalis Lundbeck. 1♂2♀ Clodock, 8. vii. 1985; 2♂ Monmouth Cap, 10. vii. 1985; 1♂ Skenfrith, 11. vii. 1985.

H. nigrohirta Collin. 2♂2♀ Pentaloe Stream, 24. viii. 1986.

H. woodi Collin. 7♂2♀ Monmouth Cap, 8/10/11. vii. 1985; 2♂ Clodock, 11/12. vii. 1985; 4♂ Skenfrith 11/15. vii. 1985; grid ref. 384253, R. Monnow, 2♂3♀ 9/11. vii. 1985. Breinton, R. Wye, 2♂, 10. vii. 1985.

Chelifera aptericauda Collin. 1♂ 8. vii. 1985, 3♂ 15. vi. 1987, Clodock; 2♂ Monmouth Cap, 17. vi. 1987.

Hemerodromia laudatoria Collin. 2♂ 27. viii. 1986, 1♂ 15. vi. 1987, Clodock; 2♂ Olchon Brook, 8. vii. 1985.

Hydrodromia wesmaelii (Macquart). A total of 3♂3♀ Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, 9/12. vii. 1985 and 23. viii. 1986.

DOLICHOPODIDAE

Dolichopus acuticornis Wiedemann. 1♂ R. Monnow, Skenfrith 15. vi. 1987.

D. argyrotarsis Wahlberg. 1♂ R. Monnow, Skenfrith, 23. viii. 1986. 'Originally established as British by one female Nairn (Nairnshire), 7. vi. 1905 and one male, Nethybridge, 19. vi. 1905 (both by Col. Yerbury); a further record of one male, Tomich (Inverness.), 13. vi. 1962 (Skidmore). The author found it in considerable numbers at numerous localities in Inverness-shire between 21. vi. and 8. vii. 1975.' Fonseca (1978).

D. virgultorum Haliday. 1♂1♀ 23. viii. and 1♂ 27. viii. 1986, Clodock. 'Recorded from Glos., Berks., Somerset, Devon, Hants. (inc. I.o.W.) and Sussex. Uncommon and very local.' Fonseca (1978).

- Hercostomus nigrilamellatus* (Macquart) 1♂ Skenfrith, 15. vi. 1987.
- Hypophylus crinipes* (Staeger). 1♂ The Flitts, 7. vii. 1985; R. Monnow (385254) 1♂, 16. vi. 1987.
- Rhaphium auctum* Loew. 2♂ The Flitts, 16. vi. 1987.
- R. fractum* Loew. A total of 2♂5♀ along R. Monnow at grid ref., 384253 from 9. vii. 1985 to 16. vi. 1987; Monmouth Cap 1♂, 17. vi. 1987. '... England: Shropshire: (Milverley and Maesbrook), Herefordshire (Monnow Valley). Fairly common in Scottish Highlands, becoming less so southwards.' Fonseca (1978).
- R. penicillatum* Loew. 1♂ Skenfrith, 11. vii. 1985; Monmouth Cap, 1♂ 8. vii., 1♂ 9. vii. 1985, 2♂2♀ 17. vi. 1987. 'Only British records known: Monnow Valley (Herefords.), 17. vii. 1907 (J. H. Wood); Porthcawl, vi. 1906 (Yerbury); Deal?, 16. v. 1868 (Mason.)' Fonseca (1978).
- Syntormon spicatus* Loew. 1♂ The Flitts, 7. vii. 1985; 1♂ Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, 23. vii. 1986. 'E. Lothian; Suffolk; Bucks.; Somerset; Hampshire;—all one locality in each. Herefordshire, Middle Park Wood, Stoke Wood.'
- S. macula* Parent. 3♀ Clodock, 11. vii. 1985. According to Fonseca (1978) 'Only British localities known: Coombe Dingle and Blaise Woods (nr. Bristol, Glos.), where females emerging from hibernation were found fairly frequently during March, April and May from 1947 to 1952 inclusive, and Failand (Som.N.) where one female was taken in April 1949. A male, hitherto unknown, was taken by the author at Blaise Woods on 1. viii. 1949 together with a number of freshly emerged females.'
- Argyra atriceps* Loew. A total of 5♂3♀ taken between 9. vii. 1985 and 15. vi. 1987 at Skenfrith, Clodock, Monmouth Cap on the Monnow and Michaelchurch (Escley Brook).
- Campicnemus marginatus* Loew. 1♂ Monmouth Cap, 8. vii. 1985; 7♂ Clodock 12. vii. 1985 + 22. viii. 1986; 1♀ at 384254 22. viii. 1986. 'Recorded only from Inverness (Aviemore) in Scotland and from Shropshire (Milverley) and Herefordshire (Monnow Valley, Moseley Mere and Churchyard Dingle) in England.' Fonseca (1978).
- Teucophorus calcaratus* (Macquart). 4♂1♀ The Flitts 7. vii. 1985.
- T. signatus* (Zett.). 1♂ Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, 23. viii. 1986 and 1♂ Cusop Dingle, 24. viii. 1986. Not recorded from Herefordshire by Fonseca (1978).

LONCHOPTERIDAE.

- Lonchoptera meijeri* Collin. 1♂ Clodock, 23. viii. 1986; Skenfrith 1♂ 23. viii. 1986 and 1♂ 15. vi. 1987. Distribution given by Smith (1969) 'Scotland: Inverness. (Kinrare, near Aviemore, J. E. Collin); England: Hereford (banks of Monnow near Pandey, J. E. Collin).' Smith (1969) designates a male from the Herefordshire series collected by Collin on 14. viii. 1934 as lectotype.
- L. nigrociliata* Duda. Clodock 1♂ 23. viii. 1986 and 1♂ 15. vi. 1987; 1♂ Skenfrith, 15. vi. 1987. 'England: Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Lancashire; Yorkshire. Scotland: Dumfries. Herefordshire (banks of river Monnow near Pandey and at Grosmont, J. E. Collin.' Smith (1969).

- L. furcata* (Fallen). 1♂ Skenfrith, 23. viii. 1986. 'Females common and widely distributed, but males rare and so far only recorded from England: Notts., Lancs.; Scotland: Inverness; Channel Islands.' Smith (1969).
- L. tristis* Meigen. 1♂ Pentaloe Stream, 24. viii. 1986. 'Uncommon. England up to Lancashire (Southwalls); Wales: Brecon, Carnarvon (Dulyne Rayme, R. Goodier); Merioneth (Coedy Rhygen, R. Goodier).' Smith (1969).

SYRPHIDAE

- Sphegina verecunda* Collin. Clodock, 1♂1♀ 12. viii. 1985 and 1♂ 15. vi. 1987. Coe (1953) gives distribution as 'Rare. Radnor (Clyro), Hereford (Doward, Cusop Dingle and Grosmont), Cornwall (Lostwithiel).' However with the increased interest in the hover-flies in recent years brought about by the Monks Wood Distribution Recording Schemes and by the publication of Stubbs and Falk's excellent book, Coe's distributions must be viewed with a degree of scepticism.
- Neoascia obliqua* Coe. 4♂ Monmouth Cap 8/11, vii. 1985. 'Rare, Perth (Bridge of Cally), Fife (Lundin Links), Renfrew (Erskine), Lanark (Gorge of Avon), Edinburgh (Blackford Hill); Kent (Darent).' Coe (1953).
- Xylota coeruleiventris* Zett. 1♂ Pentaloe Stream, 17. vi. 1987. A species recently separated from *X. florum* the two having complementary distribution, *coeruleiventris* being a northern and western species, possibly on the edge of its range in Herefordshire.

SCIOMYZIDAE

- Pherbellia annulipes* (Zett.). 1♂ Cusop Dingle, 16. vi. 1987.

SCATHOPHAGIDAE

- Acanthocnema glaucescens* (Loew). 1♀ Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, 12. vii. 1985; 1♀ Cusop Dingle, 24. viii. 1986; 1♂ Monmouth Cap, 17. vi. 1987.

TIPULIDAE

- Gonomyia bifida* Tonnoir. 1♂ The Flitts, 7. vii. 1985.
- Limonia ornata* (Meigen). 1♀ Clodock, 8. vii. 1985.
- Molophilus corniger* de Meijere. The Flitts, Clodock, Olchon Brook, Escley Brook, Michaelchurch, from 7. vii. 1985 to 23. viii. 1986.
- Cheilotrichia imbuta* (Meigen). Monmouth Cap, 9. vii. 1985.
- Rhabdomastix hilaris* Edwards Monmouth Cap, 11. vii. 1985.
- Psiloconopa melampodia* (Loew). Monmouth Cap, 11. vi. 1985.

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Geology, 1987

By P. CROSS

A GEOLOGICAL EXPOSURE ON THE LEOMINSTER BY-PASS

WORK began in 1987 on the construction of the Leominster By-pass. This follows a line east of the Hereford-Leominster railway from the A49 near Eaton Hill east of Leominster to a point near Cadbury's factory at Marlbrook. Rock exposures in cuttings produced by such projects are often very valuable to the geologist but here there are few for the by-pass traverses mainly low-lying flat land where much of the construction work involves infilling. However, at a point (Grid Ref. 512542) approximately 0.9 km. south of Ford Bridge an exposure in a low cutting showed boulder clay with striated stones up to 30 cm. in diameter in a red clay matrix. One small boulder collected was of the distinctive gabbro from Hanter Hill near Kington. This indicates that the boulder clay was deposited by ice entering the Herefordshire lowland from the west.

THE CONDOVER MAMMOTHS

The discovery of mammoth remains in sediments filling a kettle-hole in gravel workings at Condovery near Shrewsbury in September, 1986 was recorded in last year's report. During the previous twelve months work has proceeded on the skeletal remains (*Mammuthus primigenius* (Blumenbach)) and these are expected to be put on public display at Cosford in the spring of 1988.

A recent paper in *Nature*¹ gives further details concerning the finds. The skeletal remains have been radiocarbon dated to approximately 12,800 yr BP. which is about 5,000 years later than any other previous records of mammoth in Britain.

Condovery like much of Herefordshire lies within the limits of the late-Devensian ice advance which was at its maximum 18,000-20,000 years ago. Though such finds of mammoth remains are very rare their occurrence in late-glacial deposits in Herefordshire would, in the light of the Condovery discovery, be quite possible.

REFERENCE

¹ *Nature*, vol. 330, 3 December, 1987, 473-4.

Industrial Archaeology, 1987

By JOHN van LAUN

BRINGEWOOD FURNACE AND FORGE SITE—A REASSESSMENT

AS early as 1869 Bringewood was the subject of a contribution to these *Transactions* by Dr. Bull.¹ Interest has remained over the years but was significantly revived with the rediscovery of the Bringewood Furnace by Inett Homes and John van Laun on 27 February 1979. This location was later confirmed by a map of 1662.² Short notices were published³ but with the death of Inett Homes it is appropriate that an updating of the interpretation of the Bringewood should be made here.

No doubt the romantic nature of the Downton Gorge lead archaeologists of all persuasions to muse on the nature of the works there and fit them into a pattern related either to the forge, slitting mill or tinmill. However, the leats, weirs and ponds can be mostly explained by Richard Payne Knight's works of the late summer and autumn of 1817 which were spent 'in removing iron forges and a furnace, and converting a canal connecting them, into a pool fed by the river supplying "a small but very beautiful waterfall"'.⁴ The canal is marked on the 1st ed. 6 in. to 1 mile Ordnance Survey map and the pond can be identified at SO 459754. In 1823 Knight was 'converting a forge into cottage gardens'.⁵ Because of the context, such as the mention of a 'very venerable old bridge,' these most likely lie between Forge Bridge and the 'old bridge' adjacent to the Methodist Chapel shown on the 1905 ed. 6 in. to 1 mile map (SO 453749). Although Knight had been at Downton since 1772 he did not repossess the ironworks until the expiry of a lease in 1815,⁶ hence the late occurrence of these works.

A further reinterpretation concerns the dating and involvement of Thomas Farnolls Pritchard as surveyor of Forge Bridge. It has been generally accepted that Forge Bridge dates from when Richard Payne Knight became of age in 1772, however, a terrier⁷ of c. 1780 shows only the old bridge lying a little upstream from the present Forge Bridge. As Pritchard died in 1777 and does not appear to have been involved in any works at Downton since 1772 it is most unlikely that he was involved in the construction of Forge Bridge.

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- ³ *Historical Metallurgy Newsletter* Spring 1980, *The Association for Industrial Archaeology Bulletin*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1979.
- ⁴ Michael Clarke, Nicholas Penny, (eds.), *The Arrogant Connoisseur: RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT 1751-1824*, (1982), p. 16, (Aberdeen Papers, British Library 43230 f.314 verso, Knight to Aberdeen 2 Nov. 1817).
- ⁵ Clarke and Penny, *op. cit.* in note 4, *ibid.* 43231 ff. 59-60, 26 July 1823.
- ⁶ H. & W.C.R.O., Downton 163.
- ⁷ I am grateful to Mr. D. P. H. Lennox for this information to whom, by descent, the terrier belongs. This was compiled by James Sherriff and dated in part 1780. Nikolaus Pevsner perpetuates Pauline Beesly (*A Brief History of the Knight Family*, Mimeographed, 1958) by giving 1772 as the date. This is based on a short comment written by Richard Payne Knight concerning the attendance of Pritchard at Downton.

Mammals, 1987

By W. H. D. WINCE

BATS

THE numbers of bats in most roosts were much reduced this year, it is thought due to the cold wet weather in spring and early summer. The number of Greater Horseshoe Bats (*Rhinolophus ferrum equinum*) roosting in the Doward caves were greatly reduced. A dead specimen of what was thought to be Brandt's Bat (*Myotis brandtii*) was picked up at Luntley near Pembridge in the summer. Brandt's Bat has only been recognised as a separate species in recent years, resembling as it does the Whiskered Bat (*Myotis mystacinus*). The differences are very minor and on superficial examination the Brandt has a tragus with a convex outer margin rather than straight as in the Whiskered and small differences in the teeth, the fur in the adult is a golden brown colour.

DORMOUSE (*Muscardinus avellanarius*)

The Mammal Society held its annual meeting in Hereford in April, there were three papers on dormice. Following this a postgraduate student working at Exeter University visited the Herefordshire Nature Trust's reserve of Lee and Paget's Wood near Fownhope. He was able to demonstrate the presence of dormice and returned in December to commence a study by putting in place nearly 100 small mammal boxes. It should be possible to discover the distribution in the hazel coppice of different ages. It is hoped he will be able to use radio-tracking techniques to interpret the nocturnal movements of this animal. Studies in Somerset indicate a population of about ten dormice to the hectare, Herefordshire is likely to have less in a similar 'good' area.

Out of twenty small mammal boxes put up in the 1986/7 winter one was occupied by a breeding female dormouse at Lady Grove, Bush Bank. The nest was completed in 2-3 days, by 13.5.87, and on 20.6.87 five young were seen with their mother. Three young dormice were seen in the nest on 13.7.87, i.e. when eight weeks old, after which date they were not again found.

POLECAT (*Mustela putorius*)

'Biology of the Polecat' by P. R. S. Blandford in *Mammal Review*, December 1987 contains an up-to-date account of literature dealing with this species. Much of the information contained relates to central Wales and the Marches. It indicates that the polecat has an assured future and that the present area of distribution in Britain is perhaps half as large again as it was twenty years ago.

BADGER (*Meles meles*)

Arrangements have been made with the engineers working on the Leominster by-pass to put in a number of badger tunnels. The Herefordshire Nature Trust was consulted only

a short time before the sections were to be completed and it is not known how effective the tunnels will be.

Badgers continue to be killed on the roads and to be molested at their setts.

MUNTJAC (*Muntiacus reevesii*)

There have been several sightings in the Westhope/Bush Bank/Upper Hill district.

Ornithology, 1987

By BERYL HARDING

THE year began, after a damp and mild Christmas period, with increasing chilliness. By 8 January temperatures dropped to below freezing and the snows of mid-January were blown by strong winds into sculptured snow drifts which lay for several days. Freezing conditions continued for the rest of the month. Birds therefore found feeding difficult so clearings and offerings by humans were most acceptable. A snipe was seen feeding in a Garway garden and groups of bramblings visited bird-tables.

The British Trust for Ornithology (B.T.O.) have been conducting a survey of garden bird feeding since 1970 in nearly 200 locations around the country. Each year the total number of different species feeding increases, standing at the moment at 134. The top twelve are blue tit, blackbird, robin, starling, chaffinch, greenfinch, house sparrow, duncock, great tit, song thrush, coal tit and collared doves. Siskins are becoming quite accustomed to nut feeding and sparrow hawks are exploiting the situation as an easy source of prey. No bird-table has its own collection of regulars. In an average suburban area a blue tit, for example, forages over a range of 200 metres and for every blue tit seen at bird-tables one can estimate 100 within the garden. So many more visitors feed than one realises.

Warning of approaching bad weather can be obtained in January and February by the sight of great flocks of finches and buntings, golden plover, lapwing and skylarks flying in flocks of tens, hundreds, or even thousands. Some 250 skylarks were seen flying over Hampton Bishop on 4 January ahead of the bad weather—an instinctive safety mechanism allowing birds to move south-west or even out of the country if need be. It is many years since there was a waxwing invasion but a few individuals arrived in January and as fruit stocks diminished some were seen in Ledbury feeding on pyracantha and cotoneaster berries.

Snow returned on 7 March. It was a wet month ending with violent winds. Nevertheless, cock pheasants and curlew were heard calling towards the end of the month. The longer days give birds more time for feeding. The hard fruits of rosehips and tiny apples of *Malus robusta* become fully edible after the repeated frosts have softened them and previously snow-covered or frozen feeding areas are again available. Freshly uncovered windfalls provide additional food for waves of fieldfares and redwings spreading across the country northward. Flocks of 150 and more were seen by mid-March at Castleton and Kenchester. There are more winter visiting blackbirds and starlings than fieldfares and redwing, all of which return to Scandinavia. Some starlings fly as far as Russia and some redwings to the Caucasus and beyond. The swallows of South Africa have started northwards by mid-March but the hazards of the Sahel and Sahara followed by the Mediterranean crossing provide a formidable barrier made worse as the spring winds are less in their favour than those of autumn.

April completed the return of summer migrants and by May most birds were breeding. Some like the mistle and song thrush, robin and blackbird may be rearing their

second brood. Nesting lapwings are becoming rarer in lowland areas due to increased drainage. Sand martins are down to one-tenth of the breeding figures of the 1960s as a result of the Sahel drought. Almost every colony in southern Britain uses man-made sites and the vast majority nest in active pits or quarries which provide another difficulty.

Roadside habitats are hazardous. Gravel surfaces tempt many birds to land to take up grit and scavengers such as the crow family and gulls find abundant carrion. Mown-grass verges give good foraging for kestrels and owls but unfortunately increase the number of road casualties, especially for owls who tend to swoop down across the road before rising again. Up to 5,000 are killed each year and others have their right wing fractured by oncoming traffic. (Twice this autumn I have had to slow down and dim the car lights before a barn owl sitting on the road was no longer dazzled and able to take off.)

The Hawk Trust completed its Barn Owl Survey in 1985 with more than 11,000 responses received and monitored. The British Isles population is now estimated to be 5,000 pairs (3,800 pairs in England and Wales) against over 12,000 pairs documented in 1932. It was considered that they are under severe stress from road accidents, loss of nesting trees, pesticides and unscrupulous gamekeepers. However, it seems that it is not just a decline in nesting sites in barns and old trees. Other buildings are available and many traditional nest sites still intact but long since abandoned. Loss of vole-rich meadows are also considered to be the cause but Lincolnshire's intensively farmed fenlands still maintain the same population, having even more than the traditionally farmed areas of the south-west. Loss of rick-yards was also blamed but in a survey of stacks left in Hertfordshire not one nest could be found. New research has indicated that the dramatic annual population fluctuations recorded since 1914 coincide with those winters where snow cover remains for more than twenty days with consequent loss of hunting for their most important prey—the short-tailed vole. These in turn suffer from population crashes so given a year in which both factors are operating against them the barn owl suffers, especially as they are unable to accumulate sufficient fat reserves to withstand winter food shortages.

A check on the weather records showed that from 1901-39 winters were mild and only once did snow cover exceed twenty days but from 1940-86 this critical level occurred in twenty-one winters. This worsening of winter conditions has also coincided with increased loss of the huge rodent population associated with rick and fodder stores which were not then so widely poisoned and provided an alternative food source. If adult owls do survive these winter hazards they can find it nearly impossible to raise young in cool, wet springs. Correlating nest sites with rainfall showed that barn owls nest in trees in the drier south-east of the country but prefer buildings in the wetter west to keep rain off their easily water-logged fledglings.

Barn owls are a lowland species but the remaining healthy communities are threatened by isolation within hostile expanses of urban landscape or intensive cultivation with the gradual loss of grassland corridors flanking hedges and streams. Given a network of such corridors their population could remain viable in large built-up areas but the traffic hazards are considerable. The 3,000 to 5,000 killed each year represent one from each brood raised. Although a combination of factors it seems to be mostly loss of hunting

rather than nesting sites contributing to their decline. It is necessary to establish and protect a nationwide network of grassland corridors linking the strongholds of viable communities and the Hawk Trust is now promoting such a 'Riverside and Farmland Link Programme.' (Such corridors, plus wild patches in urban areas, are of obvious value to other birds and animals especially badgers.)

There was an influx of long-eared owls into Britain in the winter 1986-7. The largest for ten years. Some normally migrate into eastern and south-eastern counties remaining elusively hidden in thickets and conifers. The influx seems to be prompted by the large drop in vole numbers in Europe.

1987 proved another successful year for the local peregrine falcons. At Symonds Yat, wardened by the R.S.P.B., four young were reared to flying stage. One was later shot but taken to the Newent Falcon Centre to recover. By the end of September it was well enough to be set free. At a site in the Black Mountains the Herefordshire Nature Trust again mounted a guarding presence, manned by hardy volunteers. Three young were reared with success. The birds had returned to a previous ledge, much favoured in the past and recorded by Dr. C. W. Walker as used in the thirties to fifties. Despite the very poor weather of early summer incubation and hatching followed the same timetable as 1986 but being an upland site events are two weeks behind those of Symonds Yat.

The Nature Trust's Nest Box Scheme results for 1987 are not yet available, those for 1986 were printed in the April 1987 issue of *The Flycatcher*. In 1986 only 51.3% of the nest boxes were used as the spring was very cold and nesting was from 2-7 weeks later. 1987 must surely show an improvement.

With the poor summer much grain was spilt and spoilt. In the fields rooks, wood pigeons and gulls could be seen feeding with pheasants, partridges and the larger finches and buntings. An enormous crop of beechmast provided a bonanza for tits, nuthatches, chaffinches and bramblings as well as small animals. Some fruits have not been good but sloe, hedge plums, hawthorn and crab-apples have done well and will provide food for the winter. Goldfinches will find plenty of teasels. Goldcrests had a population explosion in the sixties accompanying the planting of many conifers but the mild winters necessary for their survival have been lacking so their numbers are dwindling drastically.

Surprisingly, the B.T.O. Common Bird Census shows that the starling population is also on the decrease with the species scarcer in 1986 than in any breeding season since 1962. Widespread changes are documented right across the northern hemisphere. Due, it is thought, to agricultural changes, especially the depletion of cattle pasture. These provided a rich source of crane-fly and leather-jacket food but with the continuing reduction in cattle numbers and increased use of indoor rearing rather than the old-style farm grassland a considerable food source has been lost.

July and August usually sees the migration of waders down the Wye if the water level is low enough to allow good feeding. Conditions were favourable as the July and August rainfall was low but results were disappointing with a few green and common sandpipers and only six greenshanks seen. The British breeding birds move south from Caithness and Sutherland, could this be the beginning of the effects of drainage and forestation on their breeding grounds in the Flow Country?

Good weather in September allowed a third brood of swallows and house martins. Their parents had mostly left by early October but these late broods have a hard time trying to make the long journey south with poorer fat reserves and without the extra six weeks flying experience and muscle strength attained by their older siblings. Disaster can befall many over the mountains if the weather turns cold. Some are collected, crated and continue the journey by plane!

October is the main migration month. Some fifty million winter migrants arrive to replace the fifty million that summered here. The migrations in northern Europe left more or less on time but it was reported from Gibraltar that by the third to fourth week of October huge flocks of finches, linnets and robins were arriving two weeks later than usual. Many would stay on in Spain for the time being as the mild, damp autumn had allowed the dried countryside to regrow and flower so that there were abundant seeds to feed the flocks before continuing to north Africa. The mildness had occurred throughout Europe slightly delaying departure which became collectively later as they moved south. There were very strong gales from 16 to 23 September but such strong cyclonic conditions are usually followed by a stable period with winds blowing to the south. So late departure due to good feeding and storm avoidance were compensated for by good tail winds.

A ten year record has been kept at Wigmore, by Mr. J. W. Tonkin, of the arrival and departure dates of two migrants. The house martins noted appear at the western edge of the village looking for nesting sites but the numbers actually nesting have dropped since 1985. The departure of the nesting martins is usually mid-September but the dates given below are for passage martins resting around the school on their southward flight. The cuckoo invariably calls from either the Dingle or from Cuckoo Pen, so named on the tithe map and still so today.

Year	Martins first seen.	Migrant martins last seen.	Cuckoo first heard.
1978	23 April	24 September	29 April
1979	7 May	3 October	6 May
1980	29 April	9 October	5 May
1981	16 April	21 October	6 May
1982	26 April	(Away until 21/10)	14 May
1983	4 May	14 October	28 April
1984	4 May	(Away until 18/10)	22 April
1985	19 April	8 October	2 May
1986	14 May	15 October	3 May
1987	23 April	8 October	27 April
Mean Date	28 April	9 October	3 May

The exceptionally late date for 1986 was due to the long and bitterly cold spring with winds from the north-east. The cuckoo dates rather confirm that St. George's Day, 23 April, is too optimistic an expectation for the return of the cuckoo. The Llanwarne dates for the last six years are a few days earlier for both birds as it is further south and lower lying.

Despite the weather the first returns to Llanwarne were not much later than usual but fewer in number. The chiffchaff was calling by 5 April but did not stay. Willow warblers, swallows and house martins had all returned by 22 April and the first cuckoo heard on that day. Lesser whitethroat, blackcap, spotted flycatcher, bullfinches, coal tits and yellow wagtails all raised young in addition to the usual birds but there were fewer swifts, swallows and house martins. Ten years ago fifty yellow wagtails could be seen on the fields nearby but only one pair arrived this year. A solitary chiffchaff still tried calling for mate in July. The barn owls returned to their nest hole in the old oak but spraying of the adjacent vineyard two weeks later caused them to abandon the site. Where they went and whether they raised young is unknown. A pair of Canada geese reared two goslings at Broomy Pool. The greater spotted woodpecker was often seen but not with juveniles though two young green woodpeckers were safely raised. Towards the end of June a female pheasant was seen with seven young, two albino! A Llanwarne streak that reappears from time to time. Grey-legged partridges, curlews and peewits also raised young although the peewits could be heard having a great deal of trouble with magpies. The little owl also bred with success again this year. With up to six buzzards circling overhead on summer thermals they too must have been successful. A flock of house martins were prepared to mob one buzzard at the end of September which was presumably too young or well fed to bother.

Nearly twelve inches of rain descended during October, November and December, otherwise it was fairly mild and the terrible gales that wrought such havoc in the south and south-east by-passed Herefordshire. The mildness of December therefore left us with plenty of food reserves for birds in early 1988 as well as the, now customary, unseasonable collection of plants in flower—rosemary and witch hazel and a pipistrelle flying in daylight on 28 December.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1987

By JOE HILLABY

41 Bridge Street. HC/870024/5. 10 February.

See report by City of Hereford Archaeology Committee, p. 772.

St. Peter's Close, Former Vicarage. HC/870048 of 24 February, revised by HC/870212 of 23 June.

The former vicarage is of early 17th-century date but was extensively altered in the 18th-century. It was refronted in brick and a fine early Georgian staircase was erected in the centre of the building. A number of doors and cases and some panelling remain from this period. It was suggested that the fire-proofing of these doors should be done by removing the panels and replacing them with master board (rather than treating the whole door on the inner face with one flush panel) to retain the character of the doors.

On inspecting cupboards fitted in a room at the eastern end, it was discovered that part of the 13th-century north aisle wall of St. Peter's Church formed the eastern wall of the vicarage. Inside this cupboard could be seen the exterior of one of the late-13th-century church windows. The committee, surprised at the proposal to mask this with kitchen fittings, recommended that imaginative use be made of this extraordinary feature. As this was the wall of an ecclesiastical building and planning consent was not required, the City Council was asked to make the CAAC's views known to the Diocesan Advisory Committee which would consider the granting of a faculty.

27 High Town. HC/870160/1. 19 May.

Further proposals were put forward to refurbish parts of the existing building, demolish others and construct a new two-storey extension to the south (see 1986 report).

St. Peter's School, Gaol Street. HC/870185. 19 May.

The Committee welcomed the proposed change of use of these premises, the future of which had been in doubt, to a Probation Resource Centre.

Commercial Road, Aeroparts Building etc. HC/870222. 7 July.

Proposed redevelopment of land for a 50,000 square feet retail store for Safeway Ltd. with associated car parking and service access. The committee deprecated the proposal to demolish without replacement the Stonebow furniture warehouse and other buildings on Commercial Road. This would do great damage to the streetscape by opening to view the vast car-parking area proposed for the site. The committee unanimously agreed that replacement or renovation of existing buildings was essential if this important entry into Hereford city was to retain its integrity.

41 Widemarsh Street. HC/870284. 7 July.

The committee recommended rejection of an application to alter the ground-floor windows as this is one of the few buildings in the street which retains its existing facade in its entirety.

25/26 High Town. HC/870312. 21 July.

The committee considered the proposal for the 'refurbishment' of these two important listed buildings to be wholly unacceptable. The plans as submitted make a mockery of many of the architectural features for which 25 and 26 High Town were listed, showing only the scantest regard for the original buildings. Five aspects need particular attention:

1 *The facade.* The restoration of the original fenestration of 26 High Town was welcomed, but the windows at first and third-floor levels should not be 'walled up'. The five urns should be replaced on the parapet of 25 High Town.

2 *Front rooms at first and second-floor level. 26 High Town.* These are half-timbered and of late-16th-century date, with decorated plaster ceilings and other features added in the late 17th-century. The proposal was to integrate the first-floor room with the ground floor as part of the sales area of the new stores. A strange sort of lantern chamber would thus be created, an architectural solecism similar to that perpetrated on the Marchant's building in Littlewoods. The fine room at second-floor level would be locked away.

3 *Passage-way.* The re-establishment of the passage-way between 26 and 27 High Town was not included in the plans submitted. This is of great importance. It would allow the public to enjoy the remarkable architectural feature of the 17th-century jettying at first and second-floor level on the east side of 27, and thus add an exciting new dimension to the tourist interest of the High Town area. The proposals make no concessions whatsoever to the city. Instead, we are offered an unrelieved, windowless brick tunnel, entered through a loading bay and fitted with forbidding timber gates at each end. The committee was unanimously of the view that the city should not allow itself to be shortchanged in this way.

4 *The staircase* should be a public feature used to embellish the ground floor of the building.

5 *The rear elevation* provides no enhancement for East Street and is totally lacking in architectural co-ordination in terms of floor levels.

For these reasons, the committee recommended refusal.

Booth Hall Hotel, East Street. HC/870500. 24 November.

All members thought that the installation of the proposed emergency internal staircase would completely spoil the character of the main room of the building listed as II*. The proportions and plan of the room would be changed irreversibly. Such an important structure in the centre of the city should not be harmed in this way. It was suggested that access to the main function room should be replanned to allow an alternative exit to the existing fire escape. This could be achieved by re-organising the landing and changing the

entrance to the kitchens. Another possibility would be to make a fire escape through a window over the roof of the neighbouring buildings. This application raised, once again, a matter which has concerned the committee deeply over the last years—the impact of the literal application of fire regulations to the interiors of important Listed Buildings.

Old Sack Warehouse, Wye Street. HC/870529. 8 December.

Members were enthusiastic about the plans to convert the warehouse to an art gallery with ancillary workshop, restaurant and extension to form flat and dwelling-house with private garages and congratulated the applicant on the overall design. It will be remembered that the original intention was to demolish this architecturally and historically important building and to use the site for car parking. If these plans are realised, a new use will have been found for the warehouse and an attractive riverside feature provided for the town.

Matters arising from earlier reports

1983-4. Romanesque tympanum, St. Giles' Hospital, St. Owen Street.

As a result of representations made by this committee and others over the last three years, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, Ancient Monuments Division (Midlands) called a meeting of interested parties on 14 October to discuss future policy in relation to the St. Giles' tympanum—and the Shobdon arches. Dr. A. D. F. Streeten represented HBMC, Ancient Monuments Division and Mr. P. Drury HBMC, Historic Buildings Division. The Club, and CAAC, was represented by Mr. J. G. Hillaby. These notes have been compiled from the official report of the meeting.

It was agreed that the objectives for preserving this sculpture were the importance of the subject, the potential for understanding technical and stylistic affinities and the intrinsic value of stone carved by 12th-century craftsmen.

After discussion the following preferred strategy for the St. Giles' tympanum was accepted. Condensation and frost are the main dangers and must be avoided. However, the sculpture should not be moved from its present location but a long-term scheme linking the almshouses to the side of the Trustees' office (the former wash-house) could be borne in mind when planning an enclosure for the tympanum. Specialist stonework repairs should be carried out followed by the erection of a 'porch' in the form of a cloister appropriate to the context of the sculptures.

As to funding, Mr. Drury raised no objections to Dr. Streeten's suggestion that although St. Giles is a Listed Building, funding for agreed repairs for both this and the Shobdon arches should be considered under Section 24 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. Councillor Powell, Chairman of the Trustees, expressed the Trustees' willingness to make funds available to form an appropriate cover for the sculpture. A package incorporating presentation, interpretation, recording and protection may be considered. The normal rate of Ancient Monuments Grants is 40% but it may be possible to consider a higher rate of grant for specific components of the project if funding of say the protected building was to be met entirely from other sources as had

been suggested. If this were taken up the necessary recording could be recommended by Dr. Streeten for HBMC grant aid at the normal rate of 100% for recording.

The following action was agreed: Mr. D. J. Hyatt, the Trustees' architect, to produce sketch designs requiring Listed Building Consent; Mr. B. Hodgeman of HBMC Research and Technical Advisory Service to provide Mr. Hyatt with the names and addresses of four acceptable stone-repair specialists; recording to start immediately, beginning with a photographic record by Hereford Archaeology Committee; Dr. Streeten to enquire from the University of York Photogrammetric Unit when a survey with stereo pairs of photographs could be fitted into the programme.

1985. The Essex Arms, Lower Widemarsh Street.

This building has now been removed from the city.

1986. The Black Lion, Bridge Street.

As a result of the committee's recommendations, restoration work to the plastered ceiling of the Commandments Room has now been carried out by Wheatleys of Batheaston and to the wall paintings by Paul M. Fodorma of London.

Archaeological Research Section, 1987

By M. T. HEMMING

MEMBERSHIP of the section stands at seventy-five this year. Seven field meetings were organised and two evening lectures were held. One edition of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* was produced in March. It has been very encouraging to leaders of field meetings that the number of people attending has increased during the past months. Thanks are given to the leaders and organisers who planned the meetings and to the many farmers who have allowed us access to their fields.

January: The Northern Boundary of Archenfield. The main object of the meeting was to see if the location of the boundary of the diocese given in the book of Lan Dav, which is probably based on an early record of the boundary of either Erging (Kingdom of Archenfield) or the diocese of Archenfield of which Cyfeiliog was bishop in 918 A.D. could be identified on the ground and how it compared with the later boundaries of Archenfield.

March: With the very able guidance of Mr. J. W. Tonkin members spent a very interesting day in the Downton area. Meeting at the parish church of St. Giles, Downton-on-the-Rock we proceeded to Downton Camp situated above the limestone cliffs at Downton Gorge. On our descent of the gorge we noted the embankment and arch which carries the Elan aquaduct across the Teme Valley. Proceeding down the side of the cliff to the bottom of the gorge we walked to the Bow Bridge, a pack-horse bridge on the old turnpike road from Leintwardine to Ludlow. Retracing our steps back up to the road where we had left our cars we then proceeded to Forge Bridge; here we visited the remains of the once flourishing iron-making settlement. Following lunch a visit was made to the old church of St. Giles and the castle site. The church is now in a very ruinous condition and of the castle all that remains is a mound approx. 68 ft. in diam. and some 10 ft. high. We next proceeded to Burrington, where a visit was made to the church with its iron tomb-slabs and village where Mr. Tonkin pointed out houses of special interest. The day concluded with visits to the churches at Aston and Elton.

April: The meeting led by Mrs. Jean Lawes was held in the Bredwardine area where we examined possible Saxon and early Norman churches. Our first visit was to Moccas, an almost perfect example of a Norman village church. After Moccas we proceeded back to Bredwardine and explored the church, castle site and fishponds. A short walk was made down the river bank to the medieval site at SO 336440. Our journey continued to Letton, where unfortunately we were unable to gain access and had to be content with an examination of the exterior. Finally we went to Bridge Sollers where we examined the 12th-century south doorway with imposts carved with a dragon in profile on one side and on the other, a head with two dragons emanating from the mouth. These are considered to be an example of the Herefordshire School of carving.

June: Great Corras, Kentchurch. In 1100 A.D. Harold, Lord of Ewyas, gave to St. Peter's Gloucester, the chapel of St. Kaene and the chapel of Kaneros. Investigations in the Kentchurch area led to the discovery of the possible remains of the chapel of Kaneros in Barn Orchard, Great Corras Farm. This orchard has already been noted as a likely

D.M.V. site. By probing and exposing some of the surface stone we were able to plot a number of walls, tracks and banks. We were able to trace the outline of two buildings. The first measured 26 m. x 13 m. and could have been a barn or small manor-house. The second building was 16 m. long and 6 m. wide with the substantial foundations of a separate square structure close to the S.W. end. These proportions would fit well with the suggestion of a chapel and tower. While tracing the wall alignment a large chamfered stone was exposed at the eastern corner and half-way along the southern wall a shaped door jamb was revealed.

July: A very enjoyable day was spent on a section of Offa's Dyke under the leadership of Dr. David Hill. Meeting at Knighton we proceeded to Bishop's Castle where we made a perambulation of the town. A visit was made to an excavation site in Station Street where a number of Dr. Hill's students were working in a trench cut across what is thought to have been the town bank. Our journey continued to the Blue Bell, Brompton, where we left most of the cars and then to Edenhope Hill to a point where the road cuts through the dyke. Continuing on foot we proceeded down the steep northern flank of Edenhope Hill, across the river Unk (at this time no more than a gently flowing brook) and then the steep and rough ascent through Nut Wood and along the dyke via Drewin, Lower Cwm, Mellington Hall and back to the Blue Bell Inn.

September: Field walking in Brobury. The Herefordshire Field-name Survey is now in its second year and one of its prime benefits to the Archaeological Research Section is the emergence of many new areas for investigation suggested by the old names. At Brobury we note 'Castle field' and several 'Castle crofts.' These covered quite a large area and, though some fields overlooked the river Wye and Bredwardine Castle, others did not. Aerial photographs also revealed some interesting alignments and a day's field walking was arranged. No area presented a dense scatter of pottery and we found no spread of building material. The pottery collected was thinly distributed over the area walked (roughly 10 acres) and was largely 18th and 19th-century wares. We were not wholly satisfied with the negative outcome of our investigations and hope to continue the project when crops permit.

October: The meeting, arranged at short notice by Elizabeth Taylor was held at Lower Buckenhill. We were joined by Tim Hoverd who is doing a project on the archaeology of the local area, who brought along many artifacts he had found. We went to Birds Farm at Lower Buckenhill where Mr. Edwards showed us two querns, a piscina and a possible boss head which had been discovered in one of his fields where a Celtic chapel is thought to have stood. A walk across the field which had been planted with potatoes revealed nothing. In the afternoon we went to see some lynchets in another field belonging to Mr. Edwards. A visit was also made to see lime-kilns and the limestone quarry at Fishpool Hill.

Natural History Section, 1987

By BERYL HARDING

MEMBERSHIP is eighty-six this year showing a further increase. The group was saddened by the death of Mr. Robert Ellis during the summer. He had been our treasurer for many years.

The A.G.M. on 26 March took a slightly different form with refreshments and members' slides as well as an exhibition of the Pond Survey results to date and the results of measuring boundaries at Hall Wood. There was also a display of slides prepared by the new microscopy section which meets monthly.

Seven outdoor meetings took place during the spring and summer attended by eight people on average. Most of these expeditions were led by members and we are grateful for their leadership.

5 April. A third visit was made to Hall Wood, Much Marcle to complete measurements across the boundary banks and ditches of this ancient woodland. Unlike previous visits it was warm, sticky work and the daffodils were in bloom.

16 April. A field trip was made to the Herefordshire Nature Trust Reserves at Clifford and Brilley Common for habitat recording.

Clifford Common Reserve is a wedge-shaped strip lying between the Wye and an old railway embankment. The lower meadows had been flooded and were covered with the growing seedlings of Himalayan Balsam—which is gradually choking out much natural vegetation along our riversides. The woods flanking the embankment support a rich variety of lichens and many young blackthorn were growing where there was greater light along the edge, thus encroaching on to the grassland. Willow warblers were heard and 67 species of plants recorded.

Brilley Common is a new reserve, bought jointly with local residents. The Trust's Conservation Team had cleared some scrub and made new pathways, steps and bridges through this ancient woodland. It was originally common land of wood pasture, the steeper slopes are mixed deciduous woodland with fine old beeches, bluebells and several species of fern. A stream flows through the dingle and a small pool had kingcups growing nearby. 87 species of plants were recorded.

14 May. A visit to Ladye Grove, Bushbank, was led by Dr. Wince to see how a small private woodland can be managed for the benefit of wildlife. Apart from narrow paths flanked by wild flowers with the occasional adder's tongue and moonwort, the remainder of the woodland is left wild with the undergrowth providing food and shelter for birds and animals. There is an abundant and varied woodland flora.

Many bird boxes have been erected from owl-size to tit boxes. To ensure a high bird population more boxes are erected than demanded, only one-third are used for nesting. The pied flycatcher does not lay until the end of May but the male calls continually and having placed a few pieces of moss, leaves and a feather in several boxes awaits the female's choice.

Footprints and droppings of muntjac deer were seen. These tiny deer are the feral descendants of escapees from parks, introduced as wild stock from India and China in the past.

Eighteen to nineteen dormouse boxes were put up last autumn. Some contain winter nests and some have summer nesting material. The dormouse is aboreal but tends to keep to low bushes so the boxes are not placed more than 3 ft.-4 ft. high. Being nocturnal it spends the day asleep in a nest built in a low shrub or tall herbage. Each mouse has its own summer sleeping nest—a ball of moss, grass and leaves. The breeding nest is larger and more compact. The winter nest is used for hibernation from September to April. Of similar construction it also contains stores of food and seeds. It is prepared to use bird's nesting boxes when unoccupied. The dormouse spends more than half the year in a torpid state. Such a reduction of energy output may be the reason for its longevity compared with other small animals of similar size—perhaps two to three years.

One part of the garden and the edge of the woodland merge with rhododendrons of many species and intermingled with silver birches brought back from Kashmir. In another part of the garden patches of lawn are left unmowed on a rotation basis providing flowers for butterflies.

At the lower part of the woodland mounds of red earth, worn out slideways and trails of discarded bedding mark a large badger sett—as many as thirteen have been seen. Lookout seats atop ladders give wonderful viewing. The chilly day gave promise of an even colder evening so the proposed return visit to badger-watch that night was regretfully postponed.

17 June. A half-day visit comparing different churchyards as ecological habitats was led by Estelle Davies. Dulas Court churchyard was the first visited. An ideal site as it was old meadowland with a damp basic soil. The churchyard is still treated as a meadow and grazed each year but never mown at regular intervals as so many are.

Quadrats were used with random samples taken. 63 species of plants 'in flower' were recorded, with a count of up to nine in most quadrats. Much of the colour was given by yellow rattle and spotted orchids. Fritillaries had bloomed earlier and the seldom seen ragged robin was in bloom. Comparisons were made between the plants on the north and south facing walls of the churchyard.

The second visit was to St. Margaret's Church, a higher and more exposed site with a tendency towards acid, heathland plants. Again random samples were taken with quadrats and 24 species of plants 'in flower' were recorded. 13 species were common to both churchyards. A comparison was again made between walls and nettle-brushing produced several species of small green invertebrates.

Teatime came upon us and no further time was left for the visit to the third churchyard of Michaelchurch Escley.

5 July. Yockleton Butterfly Reserve was visited in Shropshire. The resident entomologist showed us around the tropical house and explained how he tried to breed stock whenever possible, otherwise eggs or pupa are bought in. It was reassuring to discover such stock is obtained from reputable dealers overseas rather than from random plunder-

ing of natural habitats, though the greater damage abroad is due not to collecting but to loss of environment.

Some butterflies breed throughout the year, others intermittently depending upon day length. Those breeding after the summer solstice remain longer as eggs. Visits at different times therefore show different species. Eggs and pupae are collected from plants and kept in separate rearing cases—the pupae 'rehung' from sticks rubbed with 'Evostik'. Most caterpillars are very camouflaged. Various swallowtail larvae resembled bird droppings and also can eject a very unpleasant liquid on to intruders.

Stock-raising provides problems with predators and pests. Spiders are a hazard so quail are kept to forage among the ground plants with free-flying canaries providing song and even more colour. The canary population levels need attention lest they damage plants. Spraying for pests gives unsightly foliage, as well as damage to food plants, so chalcid wasps have been introduced to control mealy-bugs. Pheromone-trap controls are used for other pests.

Butterflies of the same species from different parts of the world have evolved using different food source plants. This causes problems. Feeding on alternatives can be acceptable up to the 3rd instar phase of larval development then they die. Experiments with prepared food mixtures are not entirely satisfactory either. Some butterflies hopefully lay eggs on alternative food sources and a female Mormon (*Papilio polytes*) was prepared to use human clothing and leather. So we left with four eggs on the shirt of one member of the party and one on the camera of another.

No flying indigenous butterflies were seen in the reserve meadow although it was a hot day. Presumably, the cool, wet spring was still having its effect.

The visit continued to the Earl's Hill Nature Reserve by Pontisford Hill. This was the first reserve of the Shropshire Nature Trust and was, in fact, their twenty-fifth anniversary that day with various events taking place. The reserve has a variety of habitats:-

- a) the glacially diverted Habberley Brook in its deep valley eroded by post-glacial meltwaters,
- b) a very ancient oak woodland, heavily pollarded in the past so that the bulbous trunk bases are 600 years old with the upper parts 100 years old. Huge cushions of moss covered the woodland floor.
- c) the hillside with old meadows at the base, flanked by thick ashwoods amid large boulder scree and moving into scrub and bracken higher up,
- d) the upper scree slopes with drought-resistant plants, leading to the summit topped by an Iron Age hill fort.

Most of these were visited but the scramble to the summit was left for a future, cooler occasion.

8 August. A field-trip was made to look at the geology and landscape between Long Mynd and the Corve Valley and was led by Peter Thomson.

The object was to start at the oldest rocks and visit outcrops of successively newer deposits. Cumley Quarry, previously a S.S.S.I., was the first visited, it is a Cambrian

exposure of some 570 million years of age. Ninety species of fossils had been recorded there in the 19th-century while other geologists collecting in rocks of equal age in Scotland found totally dissimilar fossils. This was because Scotland was still attached to Canada and Greenland at that time with similar fossil relations, and separated from England by the gradually closing Iapetus Ocean.

Climbing Caer Caradoc gave a bird's eye view of surrounding summits, once linked as an upland plain, of Long Mynd, Corndon, Wrekin and the slightly higher Clee Hills as well as seeing the valleys formed by faulting or by turbulent post-glacial meltwaters. To the east, the younger rock sediments could be seen out-cropping in parallel ridges, viz. Hoar Edge and Yell Edge of Ordovician sandstones, Wenlock Edge and View Edge of Silurian limestones and the Clee Hills of Carboniferous deposits. Each was visited, apart from the Clees, with discussion regarding their formation as the western shoreline changed giving varying deltaic conglomerates, continuental-shelf shallow sandstones, deep water mudstones plus the warm, sediment-free waters permitting coral-reef formation of Wenlock Edge, similar to those of the Great Barrier Reef of today—apart from the animal life.

Fossils and samples of rock, volcanic and otherwise, were collected. The field trip concluded with a drive to the Wigmore Dome where High Vinnals provided a vantage point to recognise the same Silurian limestone escarpments of the Wenlock area re-exposed in their S-shaped southern upthrust.

10 September. A riverside expedition was made to study some of the natural history of the river Arrow near Ivington, which was led by Dr. Anthea Brian. The first stop was beside a shaded, fast-flowing section of river with clear water and a gravel bottom. Stones, picked up and replaced, revealed caddis fly larvae and kick-samples were taken at the side and mid-stream. These gave specimens of pea cockles, freshwater shrimps (*Gammarus sp.*) and mayfly larvae—both one of the yellow species found in fast flowing water and *Ecdynorous sp.* flattened to reduce current drag. Both types avoid swimming and creep along the stream bed amid stones.

An uncommon water bug *Aphenelochirus montadoni* was found. There is only one British species. Both adults and larvae live on the bottom and can bury themselves. They never surface for air but absorb oxygen from the water through special pores or spiracles. Like all water bugs it has piercing mouthparts, this type has a proboscis half its body length which it keeps folded below its thorax and abdomen.

Further upstream and above a weir the water flow is considerably slower. Both surface sweeps and kick-samples were taken from a parallel side stream giving various species of water snail, leeches, lesser water boatmen (*Corixa sp.*), tiny fish spry, water lice (*Ascellus sp.*) and *Baëtis sp.* of mayfly—all typical of slow-water habitats. In addition, a kingfisher, heron and a family of swans were seen on the Arrow and a juvenile badger holed up for the day in a hollow tree.

27 October. A visit was to be made to the Wyre Forest, its N.C.C. reserve and the Bewdley Museum with its forest-related exhibition. This had to be cancelled due to an early extraordinary meeting of the Nature Trust. It will be incorporated into the 1988 programme instead.

RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

(HEREFORDSHIRE)

I.—That the Society be known as the "WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)" for the practical study in all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the district immediately adjacent.

II.—That the Club shall consist of ordinary members (ladies and gentlemen) and such honorary members as may from time to time be admitted; from whom a president, four vice-presidents, honorary treasurer, honorary secretary, field secretary and editor shall be appointed at the annual winter meeting to be held in Hereford in the latter part of each year, and they shall hold office for one year beginning at the next annual spring meeting. The club may also accept for affiliation as approved such societies or groups as exist for the furtherance of similar purposes to those of the club. Each group shall be entitled to have one representative at all meetings of the club, to receive copies of the *Transactions* and generally be treated as one ordinary member.

The Club shall admit junior members between the ages of 14 and 18. Such junior members may become full members at the latter age, but those who are bona-fide full-time students may remain junior members until the age of 21. Nobody of the age of 18 or over may be elected a junior member.

III.—The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said nine officers *ex-officio* and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or re-election *en bloc* shall be accepted. In the event of ties the president or the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote. Casual vacancies may be filled at any general meeting and any member then elected shall hold office until the date when the term of office of the member whom he or she succeeds would have expired. The central committee shall be empowered to appoint an assistant secretary; its duties shall include making all arrangements for the meetings of the year. Seven shall form a quorum.

IV.—That the members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

V.—That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £6.00, payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of 50p. for a full day meeting, or 25p. for a half-day meeting, in respect of each visitor.

VI.—That the president be requested to favour the club with an address at the annual spring meeting on the proceedings of the year, together with such observations as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the club, and the promotion of its objects.

VII.—Every candidate for membership of the club shall be proposed and seconded by members. The central committee shall elect or reject the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.

VIII.—That members finding rare or interesting specimens or observing any remarkable phenomenon relating to any branch of natural history, or making or becoming acquainted with any archaeological discovery in the district, shall immediately forward a statement thereof to the honorary secretary or to the appropriate sectional editor.

IX.—That the club undertake the formation and publication of correct lists of the various natural productions and antiquities of the county of Hereford with such observations as their respective authors may deem necessary.

X.—That any member whose annual subscription is twelve months in arrear shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privilege of membership, and that any member whose annual subscription is two years in arrear may be removed from the membership of the club by the central committee.

XI.—That the assistant secretary send out circulars ten days at least before the annual spring meeting to all members who have not paid their subscriptions and draw their particular attention to Rule X.

XII.—That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or alteration at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.

XIII.—That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting or has been approved by the central committee.

XIV.—That these rules be published in each volume of the *Transactions*.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

1851	Club formed in the winter months	1905	BAYLIS, Mr. Philip M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.
1852	LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.	1906	WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.
1853	LEWIS, Rev. T. T.	1907	RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.
1854	SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.	1908	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil and RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.
1855	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1909	WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.
1856	WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt	1910	FARN, Mr. A. B.
1857	LINGEN, Mr. Charles	1911	PHILLIPS, Mr. E. Cambridge
1858	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1912	STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F. S., M.A.
1859	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1913	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1860	BANKS, Mr. R. W.	1914	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1861	LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert	1915	WOOD, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
1862	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1916	JACK, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A., F.G.S.
1863	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1917	GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
1864	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1918	BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A. T., M.A.
1865	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1919	WATKINS, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
1866	BULL, H. G., M.D.	1920	HUMFRYS, Mr. W. J.
1867	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1921	JAMES, Mr. Francis R.
1868	McCULLOUGH, D. M., M.D.	1922	MARSHALL, Mr. George, F.S.A.
1869	RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.	1923	BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph A., C.B., M.A., D.LITT.
1870	COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.	1924	DURHAM, Herbert E., D.S.C., M.B., B.CH., F.R.C.S. (ENG.)
1871	CAM, Mr. Thomas	1925	MACKEY, Mr. J. C.
1872	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1926	SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
1873	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1927	DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D.D., F.S.A.
1874	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.	1928	SYMONDS, Mr. Powell Biddulph
1875	ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.	1929	SMITH, The Right Rev. Martin Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop of Hereford
1876	CHAPMAN, T. A., M.D.	1930	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1877	MORRIS, Mr. J. Griffiths	1931	SYMONDS-TAYLER, Lt.-Col. R. H.
1878	PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.	1932	SWAYNE, Lt.-Col. O. R., D.S.O.
1879	ARMITAGE, Mr. Arthur	1933	HAMILTON, Brig. General W. G. C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.
1880	KNIGHT, Mr. J. H.	1934	WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
1881	LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.	1935	ELLISON, Captain F. B.
1882	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.	1936	ROBINSON, Mr. R. S. Gavin
1883	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1937	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.
1884	BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.	1938	BETTINGTON, Mr. E. J., F.R.S.A.
1885	MARTIN, Mr. C. G.	1939	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1886	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1940	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A., F.G.S.
1887	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1941	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1888	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1942	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1889	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1943	WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R., D.D., Dean of Hereford
1890	CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.A.	1944	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1891	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H. Bart., M.A.	1945	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1892	BARNEBY, Mr. William Henry	1946	RICHARDSON, Mr. L., F.R.S.E., P.A.INST.W.E., F.G.S.
1893	LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H. M.A.	1947	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
1894	DAVIES, Mr. James	1948	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1895	WATKINS, Rev. M. G., M.A.	1949	WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A., LL.B.
1896	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil		
1897	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil		
1898	MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.		
1899	BEDDOE, Mr. H. C.		
1900	LEIGH, The Very Revd. The Hon. J. W., D.D., Dean of Hereford		
1901	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.		
1902	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart., M.A.		
1903	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.		
1904	HUTCHINSON, Mr. T.		

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

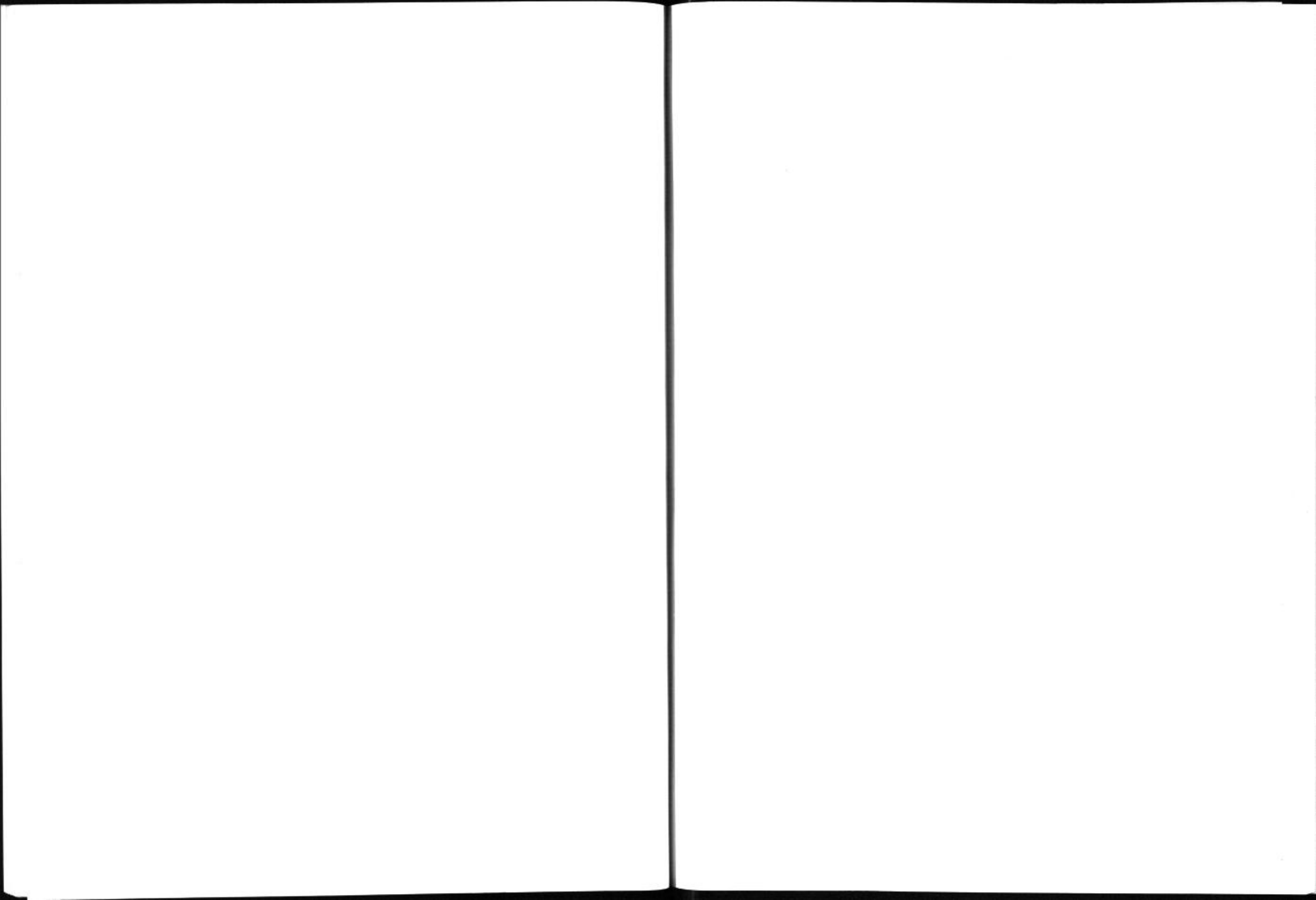
1950	CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.	1968	CURRIE, Mrs. D. McD.
1951	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A., M.A.	1969	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
1952	SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.	1970	O'DONNELL, Mrs. Jean E.
1953	COHEN, Mr. L., M.I.MECH.E.	1971	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.
1954	JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.	1972	HOMES, Mr. C. H. I.
1955	MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.	1973	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.
1956	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The Venerable A. J., M.A.	1974	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
1957	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1975	PERRY, Mr. R. C.
1958	LANGFORD, A. W., M.D. B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	1976	HAYNES, Rev. W. B., B.A.
1959	LEEDS, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.	1977	WINCE, Dr. W. H. D., M.B., B.S., M.I.Biol.
1960	MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch, M.A.	1978	PAGE, Mr. R. A.
1961	STANFORD, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.	1979	GARNETT, Mr. A. T. G., L.D.S., R.C.S.(Eng.).
1962	ZIMMERMAN, Mr. A. U.	1980	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1963	COLEMAN, Mr. V. H.	1981	VOSS, Mrs. Marjorie M., B.A.
1964	NOBLE, Mr. F., B.A.	1982	BRIAN, Mrs. Anthea D., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1965	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1983	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
1966	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1984	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A., F.S.A.
1967	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.	1985	ATTFIELD, Mr. C. E., F.I.E.H.
		1986	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
		1987	CHARNOCK, Mr. G.

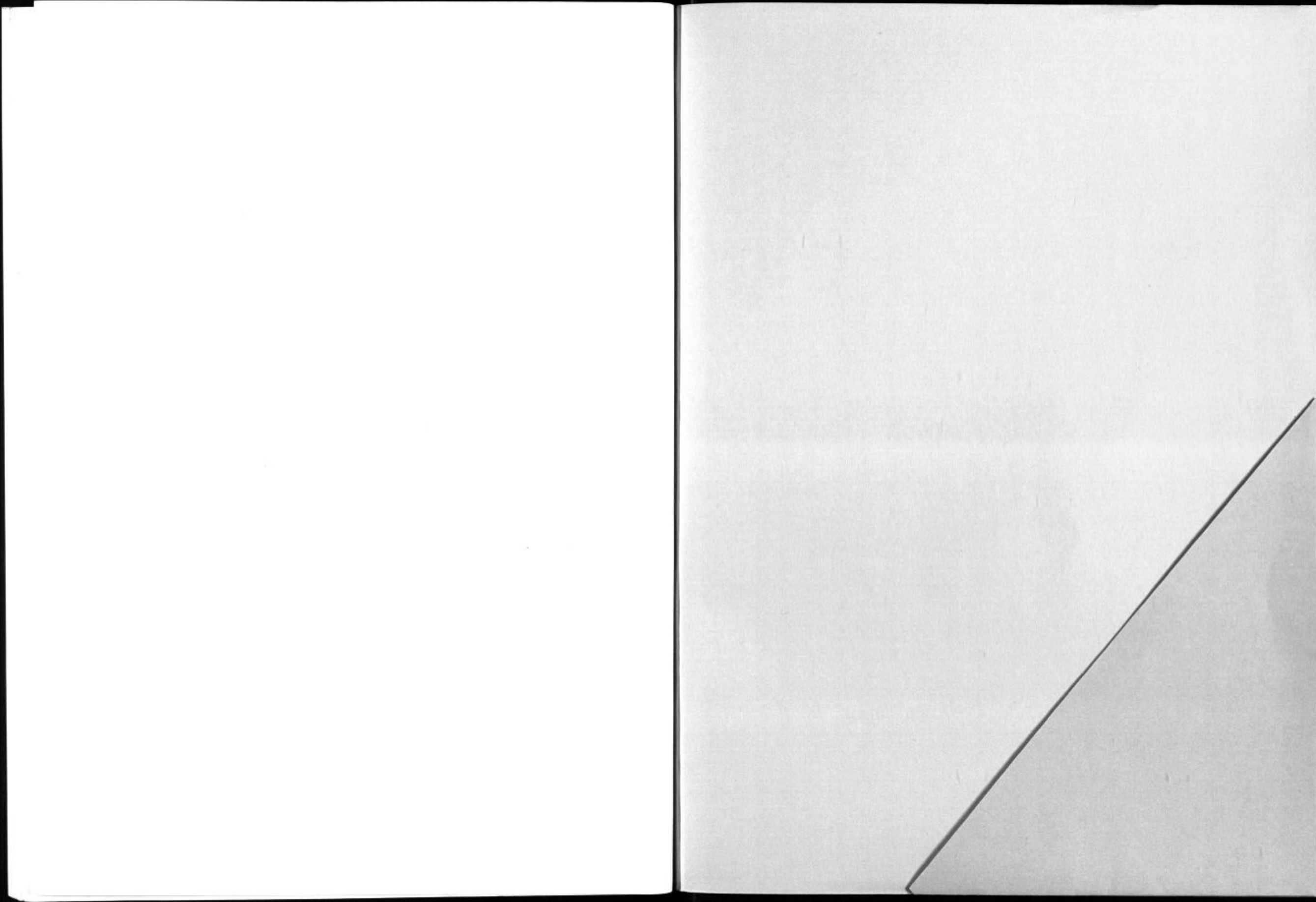
SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

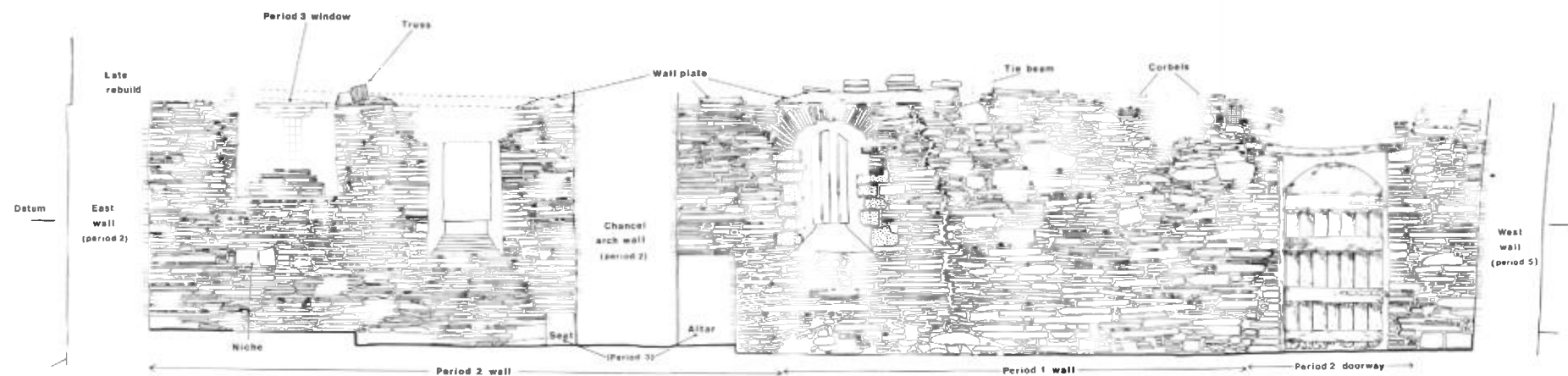
Birmingham Archaeological Society
 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
 British Mycological Society
 Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society
 Cardiff Naturalists' Society
 Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland
 Essex Archaeological Society
 Essex Field Club
 Hertfordshire Natural History Society
 Kent Archaeological Society
 Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society
 North Staffordshire Field Club
 Offa's Dyke Association
 Oxoniensia
 Powysland Club
 Radnorshire Society
 Shropshire Archaeological Society
 Somerset Archaeological Society
 Surrey Archaeological Society
 Worcestershire Archaeological Society
 Worcestershire Naturalists' Field Club
 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

Antiquaries Journal
 Archaeologia
 Cambrian Archaeological Society
 Harleian Society
 Journal of Industrial Archaeology
 Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology
 Mammal Society
 Midland History
 Prehistoric Society



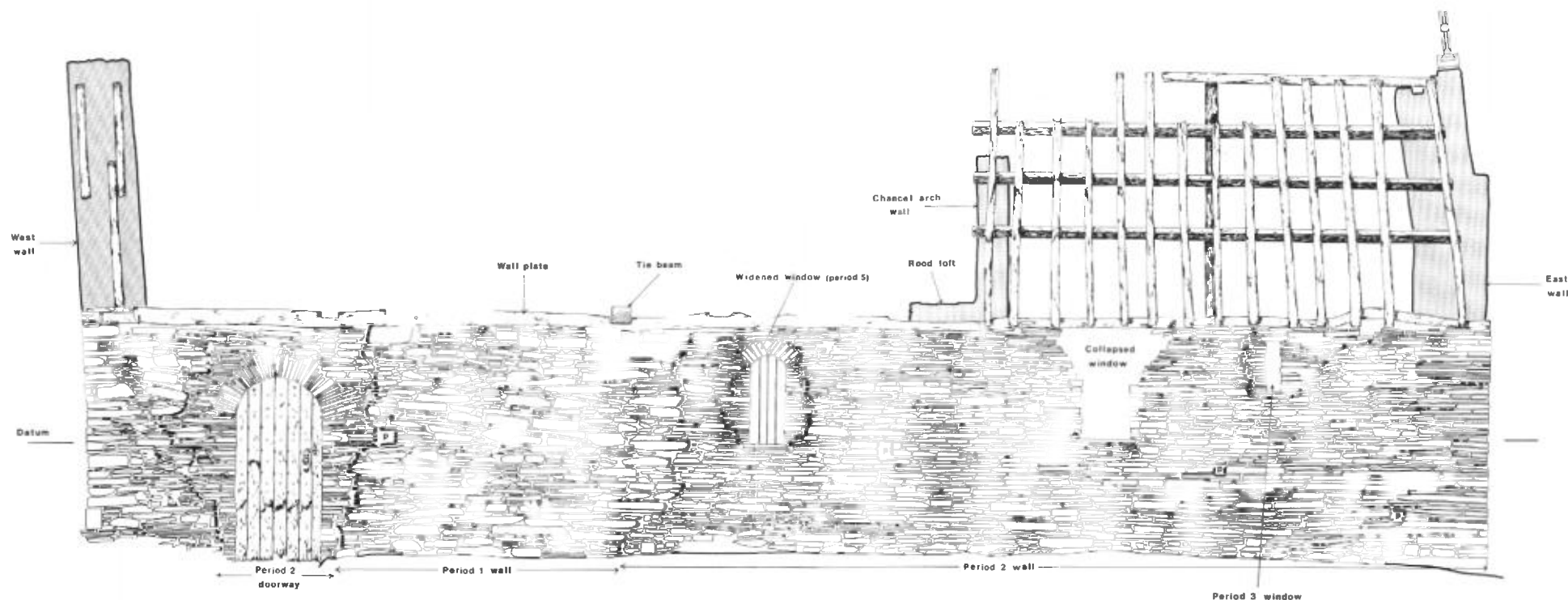




Internal

KEY

-  Tula
-  Dressed sandstone
-  Pulling hole



External

FIG. 7
The internal and external elevations of the south wall.

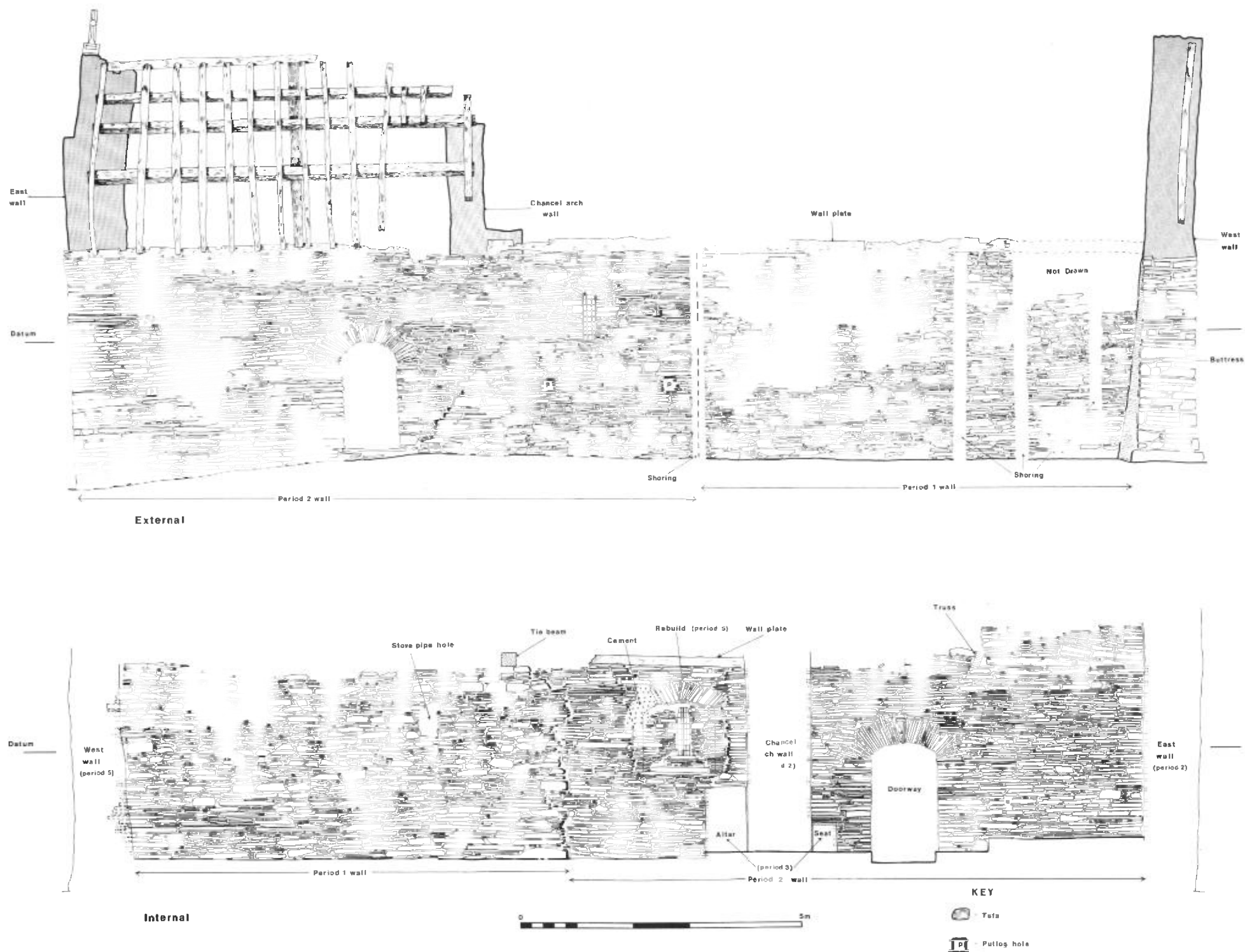


FIG. 6
The internal and external elevations of the north wall.

