TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE
NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLVI 1988

PART I

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Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 1988

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Proceedings, 1988

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 9 January: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Entomology, Geology, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology gave their reports. These and the reports of the Archaeological Research Section and Natural History Section for 1988 are printed on pp. 89-136.

SECOND MEETING: 6 February; Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Dr. B. Swann gave an illustrated talk on 'The History and Present Distribution of Herefordshire Commons,' She explained that commons were owned by someone and that to be a common at least one of the following six rights must apply (1) grazing (2) estovers (wood) (3) turbary (peat) (4) piscary (fish) (5) pannage (beech mast and acorns) and (6) in the soil (gravel and marl). The Statute of Merton of 1236 gave the lord of the manor the right to enclose land but sufficient land had to be left for the free tenants. Enclosure continued by agreement, by private acts and after 1660 by parliamentary acts. These were expensive and by 1797 over 1,000 enclosures had taken place. In 1801 the first General Enclosure Act was passed which brought down the costs. Enclosure went on until the last act was passed in 1914. The Law of Property Act of 1925 gave the public right of access to commons in urban areas and landowners could make land common. A Royal Commission, 1955-8, on commons referred to one million acres in England and half a million acres in Wales, but the tithe-map surveys of the 1840s had shown two and a half million acres. Under the Registration Act of 1965 all commons had to be registered. At this time many rights were bought out: thus commons were still disappearing.

In 1873 in Herefordshire there were 10,000 acres of common land and by 1986 there were only 5,000 acres, consisting of 197 commons. There were eleven of over 200 acres, nine between 100 and 200 acres, 111 under five acres of which forty-three were under one acre. At the same time forty-two village greens were registered. Of the six rights mentioned above grazing was the most common. Examples of commons are Ballsgate, Bringsty, Bromyard Downs, Broadmoor, Clifford, Sellack and Westhope Hill.

THIRD MEETING: 5 March: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Mr. John van Laun gave an illustrated talk on 'The Evolution of Railways.' He explained that the first recorded railway was used in the building of the Corinth Canal in 600 B.C. and that the Greeks were already using the 4 ft. 8½ ins. gauge in 480 B.C. Medieval Germans used dogs to haul trucks on a 'railed way', one in which grooves had been worn

by use. Flanged wheels on wooden rails replaced the grooves, but at Ironbridge came the tramway with the flange on the rail. He pointed out the technical differences between tramways and railways, flanged rails, flanged wheels and grooved rails, and the importance of Blaenavon in 1799 with the flange on the wheel. He referred to the use of embankments and the development of the self-acting inclined plane at Redbrook on Wye and the part played by Crawshay Baily's engine at Brynmawr. In the days of the steam tramways and railways the need for a pond every two miles for water for the engine was a disadvantage. The inventions of Robert Stephenson in 1825-30 and the building of the Stockton to Darlington railway were the beginnings of the modern system which was developed and improved by Isambard Kingdom Brunel whose Kilsbury Tunnel which opened in 1837 made the trunk line from London to Birmingham possible.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 26 March: Mr. G. Charnock, president, in the chair.

Mr. Charnock reported on the year's activities and said that the winter lectures on a variety of subjects were well attended. The six summer field meetings and the week's visit based at Newcastle were well supported as in recent years. In August the club entertained the Cambrians and during their week in the county the secretary helped them on most days. A joint field meeting was held with the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. A field-name survey using the tithe maps of the 1840s had been commenced by the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section was continuing with its pond survey. The club's *Transactions* were recognised nationally as an asset to the club.

Mr. Charnock gave his address 'Ancient Bridges and a Hereford Bridge Brotherhood' which is printed on pp. 12-26.

Mr. R. C. Perry was installed as president for 1988-9.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 30 April: MONMOUTH AREA

At Treowen in the parish of Wonastow members were welcomed by the owner Mr. R. Wheelock. It is a 17th-century stone, four-storied, double-pile house in a prominent position overlooking the surrounding countryside. Each of its four storeys has mullioned, ovolo-moulded windows with hooded drip-moulds. There are three post-and-panel partitions and in the chamber over the hall a considerable part of a fine ceiling with deep pendants still remains. The grand staircase, two yards wide with seventy-two steps, and with large finials and pendants and heavily-moulded balusters rises through all four storeys to a heavy through-purlin roof.

In Monmouth members visited 83-5 Monnow Street where Mr. Stephen Clark gave an account of the archaeological work in Monmouth in recent years by the Monmouth Archaeological Society and explained the present site which occupies two burgage plots and the different layers and occupation of the site dating from the 12th century which has produced quantities of pottery, bones and organic material and also the first piece of Chester Ware from South Wales. In situ were seen two cooking pots containing food remains.

The final visit was to the church dedicated to St. Mary. It was rebuilt in 1882 by G. E. Street but the tower is 14th century. Of particular interest are the stained glass windows by C. E. Kempe and the screen and furnishings of the chapel of the Good Shepherd by Caroë in 1928.

SECOND MEETING: 19 May: SEVERN VALLEY AND WOLVERHAMPTON

After coffee at Dunley members travelled to the railway station at Bewdley and after looking at the railway equipment the party boarded the steam train to Bridgnorth. Today this is a privately-owned steam-operated standard gauge railway which runs on the former British Rail lines from Kidderminster to Bridgnorth. This line opened in 1862 and closed in early 1963. The present private company was formed in 1967 and at the moment is floating shares for a boiler shop. In addition to the freehold of the land the company owns the permanent way, seven stations and halts, three steam locomotives and other railway stock. Another thirty locomotives are based at Bridgnorth. The repair work is carried out at Bewdley. The journey from Bewdley to Bridgnorth took members along the river Severn passing through Northwood, Arley, Highley, Hampton Loade and Eardington.

The afternoon was spent at Wightwick Manor near Wolverhampton. The house was built in 1887 designed by Edward Ould for Samuel Theodore Mander and added to in 1893. It was given to the National Trust in 1937 by Sir Geoffrey and Lady Mander. The interior decoration is influenced by Ruskin and Morris. There are painted glass windows by Charles Kempe, de Morgan tiles, William Morris wall papers, ceilings by Shuffrey and pictures by Ford Maddox Brown, Burne-Jones, Millais, Rossetti and G. P. Boyce. The grounds were laid out by Alfred Parsons and the terrace by T. H. Mawson.

THIRD MEETING: 7 July: NEWPORT AREA

Three sites were visited at Caerleon. Firstly, the Roman amphitheatre just outside the fortress walls was constructed about 90 A.D. and could seat 5,000 spectators and remained in use until the end of the third century A.D. Secondly, the barracks of which there were sixty-four blocks were originally built in timber about 75 A.D. and during the second century A.D. were rebuilt in stone. Rooms which housed eight men, smaller rooms as stores and examples of early cooking ovens were seen. Thirdly, the Roman baths within the fortress walls were discovered in 1964. Since 1977 excavations have exposed part of the baths which are now to be seen in a modern building. These are the open-air, the heated changing room and part of the cold room. The baths were constructed soon after 75 A.D.

and closed down about 230 A.D. Caerleon or *Isca,* its Roman name, was established about 75 A.D. as the headquarters of the Second Augustan Legion and covered about fifty acres.

The afternoon was spent at Tredegar House and gardens. For the tour of the gardens, orangery and stable block each person was supplied with a stereo-cassette player which guided one around and gave an historical account. The house dates from 1664-72 and is constructed of brick but part of the medieval stone house survives. It was the home of the Morgan family from 1402-1962 when the last lord of Tredegar died. It was sold in 1951 and for twenty-three years was a school but was taken over by Newport Borough Council in 1974 and is being restored as one of the finest country houses in Wales. Many portraits of the Morgan family are still in the house.

FOURTH MEETING: 21 July: REDDITCH AREA

The first visit was to Romsley Church which is dedicated to St. Kenelm and has a 12th-century nave and chancel which was remodelled in the 14th century, original stone benches round the walls, a 15th-century tower, a window in the south wall designed by Burne-Jones and a brown sandstone tympanum above the Norman doorway dating from *c.* 1150 depicting a crowned Christ enthroned in majesty supported by angels, showing the influence of the Herefordshire School of Carving.

The next visit was to the National Trust country park on the Clent Hills. It is about 400 acres, mainly grassland, part of a ridge of hills extending from Kinver Edge to the Lickeys. Members were able to walk to a viewpoint from where magnificent views into Shropshire, Powys, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire were seen.

At the National Needle Museum at Forge Mill, Redditch, members were shown over the water-driven mill which was used for the manufacture of needles from 1730 to 1958 and all the various processes were explained. The mill pool and the exhibition which illustrates the thousands of uses for millions of needles were seen.

The final visit was to the nearby excavations of Bordesley Abbey. The Cistercian abbey was founded by Empress Maud in 1138 and was destroyed at the Reformation in 1538 except for the chapel which was used up to 1805 when it was replaced by the Redditch town church. Excavations have been carried out annually since the late 1960s and members were able to see the layout of the great abbey church showing its typical square Cistercian east end and transepts each with three square-ended chapels. Excavations were in progress and some finds were seen.

FIFTH MEETING: 13 August: BRECON AREA

At Abercynrig members were welcomed by the owners Major and Mrs. Lloyd. The manor house is a hall with two unequal cross-wings dating from *c.* 1690 but inside there is evidence of a 16th-century house which probably dates from the time when lived in by the Aubrey family. In 1800 it was purchased by the Lloyd family and today is occupied by the great-great grandson. The garden and farm buildings were also visited.

The next visit was to the Brecknock County Museum which is housed in the Shirehall at Brecon. It was built in 1839-43 by Thomas Wyatt and David Brandon and is constructed of Bath stone and is of the Greek Revival style which is very similar to the Shirehall at Hereford. The Quarter Sessions were held there until 1971. The museum depicts life in the county and of particular interest were the Dark Ages standing stones with ogham inscriptions on them and rooms equipped to show life in the 19th century.

Because of the inclement weather and previous heavy rain the walk along the towpath of the Monmouth to Brecon Canal was shortened. The canal was surveyed and engineered by Thomas Dadford junior and it was fully open from Brecon to Newport in 1812. At Talybont members saw the 1970 modern electric drawbridge and walked along the towpath to see the limekilns.

The last visit was to Llanfilo Church which stands in a circular churchyard and is dedicated to St. Bilo. The building is partly Norman and 15th century. Of particular interest are the two 13th-century altar slabs; two lintels of *c.*1100, one built into the south and the other over the blocked north doorway; the altar rails and six pews of 1630 and above all the magnificent rood-screen of the early 16th century. Restoration work of the church and rood-screen have been carried out by Mr. W. D. Caroë and Mr. N. Hitch.

SIXTH MEETING: 3 September: GLOUCESTER AND TETBURY AREA

This was the president's choice when Mr. Perry took members to Gloucester Docks to visit the National Waterways Museum. The museum which opened in April 1988 is housed in the Llanthony Warehouse in the heart of the Victorian dockland, is a seven-storey brick building with cast-iron columns and timber floors. Members were able to go aboard a steam dredger and a narrow boat and visit a carpenter's and blacksmith's shop as well as many exhibits depicting the history and life on the canals.

At Robinswood Hill Country Park at a height of 650 feet there were fine views over Gloucester and the surrounding countryside. Some visited the exhibition centre whilst others went on a woodland walk.

The afternoon was spent at Rodmarton Manor where the party was welcomed by Mrs. Biddulph. The house was built between 1909 and 1926 for the Hon. Claud Biddulph and was designed by Ernest Barnsley. It was his largest and most important work. It forms an arc with a five-bay stone main block in the centre with a three-bay block to the left and a wing to the right containing a chapel. It is constructed of local materials from the estate and was built by the estate employees. The furniture was made for the house and contains magnificent pieces by Peter Waals, Ernest and Sidney Barnsley and Ernest Gimson.

The final visit was to Rodmarton Church which is dedicated to St. Peter. It dates from the 13th, early 14th and 15th centuries and was restored in 1862 and 1884. Of interest were the brasses dated 1461 to John Edward and Job Yate 1668 and on the church outside, two mass dials.

SPECIAL MEETING: 18 June: TENBURY AND BROMYARD AREA

This was a joint meeting with the Worcestershire Archaeological Society. The first visit was to Tenbury Church which was rebuilt 1772-6 as a result of being largely destroyed by a flood in 1770. The Norman tower which survived shows Saxon influence. There was a major restoration in 1864-5 under Henry Woodyer. Two monuments were of interest: a little crusader tomb of the 14th century said to be that of Sir John Sturmy and the big crusader in the south wall to John Sutton of Sutton Sturmy. Also seen was a fine 16th-century alabaster monument of Thomas and Mary Adams of Sutton Park.

At Burford Church the party saw the fine collection of monuments to the Cornewalls who were barons of Burford from 1304-1727, and the triptych dating from 1588 which recently has been restored.

The afternoon was spent in Bromyard. The first visit was to the church dedicated to St. Peter which dates from *c.* 1180 and the early 14th century. From the top of the church tower one could see the layout of the borough and the burgage plots. Bromyard had been a manor of the bishop of Hereford and is mentioned in the Red Book of 1285 and Bishop Butterfield's Survey of 1575. The day ended with a walk around Bromyard looking at its architectural and historical features.

BANGOR VISIT: 7-14 September

Forty-seven members spent a week based at Bangor University. En route a visit was made to Erddig near Wrexham. The house was given to the National Trust in 1973 by Philip Yorke and was built by Joshua Edisbury between 1684 and 1687 and designed by Thomas Webb of Middlewich. John Miller who bought the house in 1716 added a wing at each end of the nine bays in the 1720s and Wyatt refaced the west front in stone in the 1770s. In 1733 the house was inherited by the Yorke family who held it until it was handed to the National Trust which has repaired the damage due to mining subsidence and replanted the main garden keeping the formality of the 18th century. Inside is depicted the social history of a country house during the last 250 years. After the evening meal Mr. Ward outlined the week's programme.

Thursday morning was spent in Conway. The first visit was to the church dedicated to St. Mary where were seen the carved 14th-century font, a very fine 15th-century rood-screen, medieval stalls in the chancel and two early crosses which were discovered below the north porch. Other places visited in the town which was built in 1283-92 by the master engineer, Richard of Chester, were the town walls constructed of hard, grey, Silurian grit, Plas Mawr now the headquarters of the Royal Cambrian Academy of Art and built by Robert Wynne, 1576-80, containing fine fireplaces and plaster ceilings and Aberconwy House dating from about 1500 constructed of stone with a timber-framed second floor. Also visited was the castle which like the town dates from mainly 1283-7 and the three bridges alongside one another: Telford's suspension bridge of 1822, Stephenson's tubular railway bridge of 1848 and the road bridge of 1958. A road tunnel under the river is under construction. Bodnant Gardens was visited in the afternoon. They were presented to the

National Trust in 1949 by the second baron Aberconway. The gardens are in two sections; the upper part of terrace gardens and informal lawns, herbaceous borders and shrubberies, and the lower part, the Dell. After the evening meal Mr. Alastair MacNalee warden of the South Stack Nature Reserve, gave an illustrated talk on the reserve.

On Friday members travelled to Anglesey which is joined to the mainland by two bridges: Telford's chain suspension bridge of 1826 and Stephenson's Britannia Bridge of 1850 which was damaged by fire in 1970 and rebuilt with a road deck above the track. At Holyhead a visit was made to St. Cybi's Church founded by St. Cybi, son of Silyf, a Cornish king. It was founded in the 7th century, but the present church dates from the 13th to 16th centuries and the churchyard wall is said to be part of a 3rd-century Roman fort. Mr. MacNalee guided members around the South Stack Nature Reserve along the cliff path where many plants were pointed out and offshore gannets were seen diving and a shoal of porpoises as well as three pairs of choughs. In the afternoon visits were made to the Howell watermill, a small working water-mill where the owner welcomed members and to Llynon windmill which has been bought and restored by Anglesey Borough Council. On the return journey a stop was made at Barclodiad y Gawres to see a chambered tomb containing upright stones with pecked geometric patterns, one of the most remarkable and mysterious in Britain.

Saturday morning was spent in Caernarvon where like Conway the town walls dated from 1283 and the castle which encloses three and a half acres was commenced in 1283 and took forty years to be c ompleted. The next visit was to the Roman fort and museum of Segontium. It was founded in 78 A.D. covers five to six acres and was occupied until about 390 A.D. The afternoon was spent at Portmeirion, the creation of the architect Sir Clough Williams-Ellis who died in 1978 aged 95. He bought the site in 1925 on which to put his picturesque ideas into practice, and it had to be economically viable. Over fifty years a variety of buildings and objects were collected and erected. The church at Clynnog Fawr dedicated to St. Beuno was also visited. It dates from the early 16th century, the nave has a panelled roof with rosette bosses and in the chancel are fourteen original prebendal stalls, a piscina and three sedilia, and part of a rood-screen remains. A passage from the tower leads to St. Beunos Chapel where in 1913 foundations of an earlier stone building were found and which could be the site of the first church built by St. Beuno and destroyed by the Danes in 978. After the evening meal Frances Lynch gave an illustrated talk on 'Bronze Age Trackways and the Use of the Welsh Uplands'.

Sunday morning was free but some members went to church services and others went for a walk. The afternoon was spent at Penrhyn Castle which in 1951 was transferred through the Treasury to the National Trust. In 1820 George H. Dawkins Pennant commissioned Thomas Hopper to rebuild the property which he had inherited from his great uncle. Profits from the nearby rich slate quarries provided the money to construct the huge neo-Norman castle which was built 1827-40. It is furnished with furniture of the 1830s and surrounded by forty-five acres of gardens containing rare plants, shrubs and trees and a Victorian walled garden. In contrast the next visit was to Cockwillan Old Hall where members were welcomed by Mrs. Llewellyn. The house is part of the Penrhyn estate and was probably built by William ap Gryffydd in the late 15th century but had by

1961 deteriorated to a farm building. It has been restored and the hall of three and half bays has probably the oldest surviving hammer-beam roof in North Wales.

The first visit on Monday was a railway journey from Llanberis to the top of Snowdon. It is the only public rack-and-pinion railway in the British Isles, was opened in 1896 and travels four and a half miles from 350 feet to 3,493 feet above sea-level. A stop was later made at Dolwyddelan Castle perched on a small knoll overlooking the Lledr Valley. It is said to be the birth-place of Llewellyn I in 1174. The tall keep dates from *c.*1170 and the ruined west tower *c.*1230. The afternoon was spent at the Llechwedd Slate Caverns at Blaenau Festiniog which were opened to the public in 1972. This is the largest working slate mine in Wales and has been operating for 150 years supplying the world's best slate to every continent.

Monday was spent on Anglesey. At Beaumaris the first visit was to the castle which was begun in 1295 and was the last of the royal castles to be built by Edward I. It is perfectly symmetrical surrounded by a wet moat. Visits were made to the Courthouse erected in 1614 renovated in the early 19th century and still used as a magistrate's court, but since 1971 has lost its Assize Courts, and to the Beaumaris Gaol built in 1829 to serve the borough of Beaumaris and the county of Anglesey. It closed in 1878 but the building is unaltered and depicts the conditions of the time. In the afternoon the parish church dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas was visited. It dates from the early 14th century and the quire stalls and miseres are believed to have been brought from Llanfaes Friary about a mile away after the Dissolution. The last visit was to Penmon Priory where members were met by the churchwarden, Capt. E. Hewitt, a brother of Mr. J. Hewitt. Members visited the cell and holy well of the 6th century of St. Seirol, then to the priory church dating from the 12th and 13th centuries and the refectory now ruinous.

On Wednesday members left for home and on the way the first stop was at Llanrwst Church to see the fine late 15th-century rood-screen and nearby the Gwydir Chapel attributed to Inigo Jones in 1633-4. A stop was made at Gwydir Uchaf Chapel now in the care of the Welsh Office. It was the private chapel of Sir Richard Wynn and was built in 1673. The building is a plain rectangle with a gallery at the west end with the interior dominated by the painted ceiling which is one of the most remarkable pieces of 17th-century art in Britain. The final stop was at the Chirk Aqueduct which was built by Thomas Telford in 1801 consisting of ten stone arches carrying the Llangollen to Ellesmere Canal over the Afon Ceiriog.

Tea was taken at the Boat House at Ellesmere. Mr. and Mrs. Ward were thanked for arranging and leading the visit, Wendy for her safe driving and Mr. Tonkin for providing the historical background of the area.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 1 October: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

Mr. Ted Rowlands, M.P. gave a talk on 'Herefordshire Harleys after the Revolution of 1688.' He referred to his previous talk to the club and the part Edward Harley played in Parliament after the Civil War and the intrigues with other Herefordshire families in the various elections. Edward Harley led the Herefordshire families against James, a Catholic, becoming king, and welcomed William of Orange landing at Torbay on 5 November 1688. He had been a member of Parliament from 1646-89 but failed to be elected in 1690 as also did his son Robert. In November Robert Harley became M.P. for New Radnor and got back the stewardship of the Radnorshire manors. In 1691 Colonel John Birch who was a friend of Sir Edward Harley died and Paul Foley saw a chance for his son Thomas to stand for Weobley; hence there was tension between the Harley and Foley families despite the fact that two Harley brothers had married two Foley sisters. In 1692 Sir John Morgan of Kinnersley died and there had been a bitter controversy between the Morgans and Harleys, but in 1693 Sir Edward became M.P. for the county. He remained in the Commons until his death in 1699. Father and son (sir Edward and son Robert) were joined in the Commons in 1695 when son Edward was elected for Droitwich. Foley became speaker in 1694 and Robert Harley in 1702. Robert was created earl of Oxford in 1711. The period showed the influence of the electorate which reflected the mood of the people and the intrigues at election time between the Herefordshire 'middling gentry' and in particular the Whigs and Tories.

SECOND MEETING: 22 October: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

Mr. P. Klein gave an illustrated talk on 'Ludlow in the 16th and 17th Centuries.' He said that great changes had taken place between 1500 and 1700, during which time Henry VIII had dissolved the religious houses and in 1689 the Court of the Marches had moved from Ludlow to London. He pointed out the sites of the town walls, the 12½-acre Augustinian monastery founded in 1254 at the south end of Ludlow facing Ludford Bridge; the 4-acre Carmelite monastery founded in 1349 in Corve Street and the church of St. Leonards of the Hospitallers founded in 1186 which lies outside the town walls. After the Dissolution the dissolved lands were snapped up by Vernon and Foxe. Other buildings mentioned were the Foxe's Almshouses of the 1590s built on the site of St. Leonard's Chapel; the gateway with the initials T.B. 1598 representing Thomas Blashfield, a wealthy clothier; St. John's Chapel of the Palmers' Guild, north-east of the parish church and the Grammar School in Mill Street founded in the time of Edward VI. He also referred to the monuments in the parish church which is dedicated to St. Laurence, e.g. Robert Townshend, 1581; Ambrose the daughter of Sir Henry Sydney, 1580; Edmund Walker, 1592 and Edward Waties, 1635.

THIRD MEETING: 12 November: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

This meeting was the twenty-sixth annual F. C. Morgan lecture and was held at the Royal National College for the Blind. Dr. Stephanie Tyler, a conservation officer for Wales, gave an illustrated talk on 'Disappearing Dippers.' She said that there were five species of dippers and they were to be found in or behind waterfalls and liked fast-flowing

water and rippling rocky pools. They had a thick plumage, dense down, short wings and very strong legs and claws and could be recognised by their white front with chestnut and their bobbing up and down in water. They fed on all kinds of stream life, but in the breeding season needed mayfly nymphs and caddis larvae. The nests are mossy domes, well insulated and lined with beech leaves and are found under old stone bridges, on rock ledges and tree stumps. An average clutch is 4-5 eggs, 16-17 days incubation and then three weeks before the fledglings fly. The same nest site is known to have been used for 50-100 years. Their distribution is the west and north of the British Isles. Dr. Tyler referred to research work which is being funded by the C.E.G.B. The streams during the last twenty-five years have become more acidic and this has led to a decrease in the number of dippers. Sulphur is windblown, trapped in the needles of conifers and then rainwashed into the drainage channels to the rivers. This applies to mid, west and north Wales where dippers are absent from most acidic streams. The Welsh Water Authority is putting lime into the rivers to help counteract the acidity. Dippers are most common in south-west Herefordshire where the streams flow over the Old Red Sandstone. Grey wagtails are able to cope with the acidic streams. The average life of a dipper is 1-2 years and the young females move greater distances than the young males to prevent inbreeding. Sparrowhawks and mink are their enemies.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 3 December: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1989 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1987 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 11.

Mr. R. A. Banks gave an illustrated talk on 'The Trees at Hergest.' Hergest lies to the west of Kington on the Ludlow beds of the Silurian system. His great grandfather came to the Kington area in the early 1800s, his grandfather starting planting in 1850, his father in the 1890s and he himself has planted a clump of monkey puzzle trees on the top of Hergest Ridge. In the winter of 1940-1 an oak wood and an area of conifers were shattered by frozen rain. On 1 January 1976 the gale destroyed many mature trees and in the drought of 1976 yellow azaleas, 100 years old, died, and beech was badly affected. At Hergest there is a national collection of maples consisting of about 130 species and also a national collection of betulas. An exhibit of 50-60 cones won a gold medal awarded by the Royal Horticultural Society.

During the year a number of gifts had been accepted for the Club's library: a collection of geological maps from the Revd. B. B. Clarke; a quantity of books and journals from the late C. H. I. Homes and some books from Mrs. M. S. Richards who had left the county.

The club deplored the sale of the Mappa Mundi and suggested that it should come back to Hereford and should be on display as a tourist attraction. It further suggested that a Heritage Trust Fund could be formed and the income from it could be used to maintain the cathedral fabric.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1987

RECEIPTS

1986 £	£		£ p	£ p
		Interest on Investments		
33		3½% War Loan	32.64	
		Hereford & Worcester		
105		County Council Loan ...	95.30	
1,708		Nat. Savings Investment...	1,784.26	
248		Bank Deposit Interest ...	222.07	
	2,094			2,134.27
2,220		General Subscription ...	3,669.00	
187		Sale of Publications ...	21.35	
1,165		Grants and Donations ...		
278		Income Tax Refund ...	251.33	
84		Natural History Section ...	88.82	
71		Archaeological Research Section	103.40	
		Field Names Survey... ...	1,431.32	
882		Field Meetings (Net) ...	158.36	
	4,887			5,723.58
		Bank Balances 1st January		
		Current Accounts		
404		General	253.37	
253		Subscription	89.67	
35		Natural History Section ...	8.57	
110		Archaeological Research Section	293.47	
33		Field Meetings	331.13	
		Deposit Accounts		
15,233		Nat. Savings Investment...	16,941.54	
3,846		Subscription	1,442.10	
638		G. Marshall Fund ...	663.01	
259		Natural History Section ...	303.68	
107		Archaeological Research Section	112.78	
304		Field Meetings	894.55	
	21,222			21,333.87
	23	Cash in Hand A.R.S. ...		
	28,226			29,191.72

PAYMENTS

1986 £	£		£ p	£ p
31		Insurance	115.00	
296		Printing and Stationery ...	174.45	
4,789		Printing and Binding ...	75.85	
94		Expenses of Meetings ...	42.92	
461		Postage and Telephones ...	256.00	
102		Subscriptions & Donations	122.00	
330		Honoraria	330.00	
519		Projector		
		Pomona Volume	82.00	
65		Natural History Section ...	82.52	
205		Archaeological Research Section	64.90	
		Field Names Survey ...	1,275.85	
	6,892			2,621.49
		Bank Balances 31st December		
		Current Accounts		
253		General	290.47	
90		Subscription	64.97	
8		Natural History Section ...	24.55	
293		Archaeological Research Section	264.74	
331		Field Meetings	263.93	
		Deposit Accounts		
16,942		National Savings Investment	18,725.80	
1,442		Subscription	4,829.72	
663		G. Marshall Fund ...	677.46	
304		Natural History Section ...	294.00	
113		Archaeological Research Section	116.98	
		Building Society	204.14	
895		Field Meetings	799.11	
	21,334			26,555.87
		Cash in Hand F.N.S. ...		14.36
	28,226			29,191.72

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,
7th March, 1988

Presidential Address

Ancient Bridges and a Hereford Bridge Brotherhood

By GEORGE CHARNOCK

The bridge whilst being a fundamental functional structure has also been a romantic symbol, artists have painted it, writers have written of it in prose and verse, and it has often been the subject of myth, proverb and folk lore. Turner's painting of St. Gothard's Bridge in the Alps is one of the more dramatic paintings of a bridge, here a seemingly impossible structure is depicted against an exaggerated background of mountain, water, and gorge. This bridge is one of many which by myth or folk lore is connected with the devil. There is a Devil's Bridge in Westmorland at Kirkby Lonsdale and another in Mid-Wales near Aberystwyth. These bridges get their name from their form and location respectively, the suggestion being that they could not have been built without the help or intervention of his satanic majesty. Myth associates the involvement of the devil with the building of many other bridges; the legends have much in common but invariably take the form of the devil coming to a distraught bridge builder and making an offer of assistance in completing the bridge in exchange for some odious condition; this is usually accepted by the builder who then find some way of outwitting the devil when the work in almost finished. In some legends the devil is given an impossible task such as fetching construction water in a sieve or the agreement is frustrated by leaving the bridge unfinished in some minor way like leaving out one or more stones.

In the south-west of Herefordshire at Kentchurch there is an attractive bridge over the river Monnow which has a devil legend associated with it. Here the story goes that the devil approached the builder of the bridge after a period when all his work was falling down each night and offered to assist with the completion of the work in exchange for the soul of the first life to cross over the finished bridge. The bargain was struck and the bridge completed. However the builder was careful that no-one crossed until a dog had been lured across with the help of a meat bone. An adjoining public house is called The Bridge and a local artist has painted an attractive inn sign which illustrates this tale.

Proverbs about bridges abound; we are told not to cross our bridges until we come to them, to build bridges rather than walls, and there is an obscure Russian proverb that you call the bear 'uncle' until you have crossed the bridge. These are old proverbs but new ones are being created in our own lifetime; 'a bridge too far' and 'a bridge over troubled waters' are perhaps proverbs of the future. The tellers of folk tales of the past have in this modern age been superseded by the media and by advertising copy writers; they too recognise the human appeal of bridges which often figure in their promotional illustrations.

Bridges are an essential part of communications and have developed over the centuries as the means of transport have changed. Up to the beginning of the 18th century the

highway was to be avoided if possible, the main means of heavy transport was by navigable rivers. Many contemporary illustrations show river transport much in evidence and early maps such as that of 1325-50 now in the Bodleian Library indicate the significance and dominance of rivers both as lines of communication and as barriers to land transport. Bridges at that time were few and limited to the major rivers and usually located in towns and cities which could afford the cost of building and maintaining them. Road transport did not improve until the coming of the Turnpike Trusts. The first turnpike was established in 1663 but their construction did not reach real significance until about 1745 and was then rapid, by 1770 over eighty per cent of the final mileage had been completed. In this boom period of twenty-five years many new bridges were needed and built. The resultant land traffic put new demands on the earlier bridges which were often now inadequate. Turnpikes brought bridges to the countryside where previously ford and ferry served. The period from 1760 to 1810 marked the introduction and rapid expansion of canals, which needed service bridges and added to the general level of local distribution traffic. From 1840 to 1910 a vast mileage of railway was constructed. Railways needed to carry heavy loads on even gradients, bringing new bridge problems the solution of which was now the province of engineers rather than the craftsman and architect of earlier times. Heavy traffic came back to the roads with the steam traction engines introduced in the 1880s. This century has seen the changes to roads and bridges required by the quickening pace of the internal combustion engined vehicles, firstly with the development of classified and trunk roads in the inter-war years and secondly over the last thirty years the introduction of motorways associated with a new generation of bridges which sweep with nonchalant ease over river and estuary.

Wood was the obvious choice of material for early bridges and was often used by the Romans for their bridges. The Romans, however, could and did build in stone, but no Roman bridges survive in Britain. Pont de Gard near Nimes in the south of France is the outstanding example of a Roman bridge. Strictly an aqueduct it stretches in three tiers across the valley of the river Gard; its overall length is 860 ft. and its height more than 160 ft. It is much restored but most of the arches are original Roman work. All the arches are semi-circular, a shape with two distinct advantages to the builders; firstly it was easy to set out and secondly and more important it is only in semi-circular arches that it is possible to cut all the arch stones to the same size and profile. The Romans were good engineers but even better administrators and would have used this feature of standardisation to their advantage in the organisation of production of the immense quantity of worked masonry which was required.

A timber bridge existed at Hereford over the river Wye before the present stone bridge was built in the 14th century. Duncumb reports that Richard Bishop of Hereford who died in 1127 contributed towards its building and grants of timber for its repair were made by Edward I and Richard II. There were further grants of stone and timber for its repair in January 1383.

Leland in his Itinerary (1535-43) mentions a bridge at Builth 'newly repayryd with tymber' and a timber bridge at Monmouth. He tells us that there had been a wooden bridge at Ross but this had now gone since he says that 'there was then no bridge between Hereford and Monmouth.'

A wooden bridge existed at Chepstow over the tidal river from the early 13th century until it was replaced with the present three-arched iron bridge in 1821. There are several contemporary views and accounts of this bridge which stood half in Monmouthshire and half in Gloucestershire.

There is a private toll bridge at Whitney on Wye which is part stone and part timber. The original bridge was built following an Act of 1780 but has since been rebuilt twice after the floods of 1795 and 1814.

Some of the most primitive stone bridges are the clapper bridges of Devon. Here huge slabs of granite form a six-foot-wide pathway over crude piers. There is a bridge built on similar principles at Wycoller on the Lancashire-Yorkshire border; here the slabs are of local sandstone and are well worn by foot and hoof.

Horse bridges built specifically for pack-horses exist in many counties but are most common in Devon, Somerset, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire. They are of humpbacked construction with very low parapets, very narrow and only allow passage of a single horse. They are mostly of the 17th and 18th century and were I believe a specific response to the transport needs of early textile manufacturers. The early manufacture of woollens was carried out in the workers' houses and each one specialised in a particular stage of the manufacture, washing, combing, spinning, weaving, fulling and mending would all be done in a different workshop. The wool had to be moved many times in the course of its manufacture and this was all done on the backs of pack-horses. The value of the wool, thread, or cloth increased at each stage of manufacture and they could not allow it to be spoilt in transport. Whilst pack-horses carrying coals or iron could splash through fords with impunity those carrying finished or unfinished textiles could not and the pack-horse bridge was the economic solution.

Buildings on bridges were a common feature of the middle ages. Many bridges particularly those leading into towns had chapels built either on the bridge itself or adjoining the bridge. These chapels which were often quite small were mainly built by the Church, either as a source of income from the collection of alms or from the monies received from the sale of indulgences. Here the traveller could say a prayer for the safety of his journey and give donations for the use of the church or for the maintenance of the bridge. Today four Bridge Chapels survive, those at Wakefield and Rotherham in Yorkshire, at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, and at Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire. Ludford Bridge at Ludlow had a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine built on one of its massive centre piers and an earlier bridge over the river Severn at Bridgnorth had a chapel to St. Sythe. At York the bridge over the river Ouse had an adjoining chapel to St. William which old views show propped and in danger of sliding into the river.

Perhaps even earlier than the chapels on bridges were the fortified gate-houses. There is a wonderful bridge of 1355 at Cahors in France which took fifty years to build and has no less that three gate towers. The best surviving gate-house in Britain is at Monmouth over the river Monnow. Here the bridge of 1272 has been widened and footpaths made through the tower but the impressive gateway still dominates the southern entry to the town. From below the bridge the later widening can be clearly seen, as can the medieval

ribbed arch construction which was a way that the early bridge builders achieved economy of construction.

The river Severn skirts the western edge of Gloucester and the bridge there had been from early times an important entry to the city. A robust gateway in a square tower was built on the bridge adjacent to a section which could be lifted to allow river traffic to pass.

Shrewsbury stands almost completely surrounded by a loop of the Severn and was one of the more important northern March towns commanding the entry into north Wales. The town had two ancient bridges, one on the west called appropriately Welsh or St. George's Bridge and the Stone or English Bridge leading to the south-east. The Welsh Bridge had a marvellous gate-house and early views show its appearance before the bridge was demolished and rebuilt slightly upstream in 1795.

Shrewsbury's English Bridge had no fewer than thirty-two houses on it in addition to a water-driven mill which pumped a water supply to the town. This bridge was replaced in 1769-74 with the seven-arched bridge designed by the architect John Gwynn and decorated with stone dolphins.

Perhaps the most heavily built on bridge was the famous London Bridge which according to nursery rhyme was forever falling down. Views show it had chapel, gate-house and many houses. It was built by Peter of Colechurch in 1176-1209 and was finally replaced by the masterpiece of John Rennie Junior, completed in 1831.

Buildings on bridges persisted; in 1774 Robert Adam designed the Pulteney Bridge at Bath with its stylish range of buildings. These got into rather an unsightly state but thankfully a civic scheme took them in hand and tidied up the range together with the rebuilding of the weir which gives the bridge a most attractive setting.

At Pont-y-Goytre a finely detailed and delicate three-arched bridge carries the Abergavenny to Usk road over the river Usk. The detailing includes round openings over the piers, smaller but similar openings in the spandrels and large circular flood relief tunnels in the abutments. The delicate string-course is echoed in the capping to the parapet and the tops of the cutwaters. Three tiered projecting keystones are provided to all three arches. The parapet line is nicely broken over each pier, and over the centre arch the string-course is broken to emphasise an inscription plaque all details of which are sadly lost except the date of 1821. At the abutments the wing walls are smoothly curved and are finished in well proportioned circular finials. This bridge is often attributed to John Upton, an engineer of Gloucester, who built the next bridge upstream at Llanellen in the same year. Whilst the bridges have some features in common the Llanellen Bridge lacks the delicacy of Pont-y-Goytre and it is difficult to accept that they are by the same hand. Little is known about John Upton except that he subsequently got into financial difficulties and fled to Russia. There he is credited with the construction of the fortifications of Sebastapol and was captured by the British after the eleven-month siege in the Crimean war of 1854-5.

Circular holes through the spandrels of bridge arches are an interesting feature and one which was originally very local to South Wales and adjoining counties. When the holes are in this position they are not, as is sometimes thought, provided to give a relief

channel for flood waters. Their true purpose is to strengthen the arch by achieving a better distribution of the dead load of the arch. Their use was discovered in a very practical way by William Edwards a farmer, preacher and mason of South Wales who founded a family dynasty of bridge builders in the latter half of the 18th century. He was a self-taught mason and in 1746 at the age of twenty-seven he took a contract to build a bridge over the river Taff at Pontypridd. The contract, as was usual in those days, included conditions which required him to maintain and repair the bridge for seven years after its completion. This was a usual precaution against inferior materials or workmanship. The origins of the custom of putting inscription stones on bridges with the builders initials and the date of building probably lie in this contractual liability. In the event of any defect arising there was then less argument as to who was responsible and whether or not the contractual warranty had expired.

William Edwards completed his bridge over the Taff but two years later a flood washed away one of the piers and the whole bridge collapsed. It is not known if Mr. Edwards had any recompense from the promoters but it would be most unlikely. He bravely took on the task of its rebuilding, but deciding that next time his bridge would not be at the mercy of the flash floods that the river was subject to, he planned what was to be a very ambitious bridge which was to cross the river in a single span of 140 ft., a distance unequalled in Britain at that time. To achieve such a span he required a very slender design so that the scaffolding and timber centres he would have to use could support the weight until the arch was completed. Early in his work a further flood took away the supporting timber structure, overcoming this minor setback he completed his second bridge only to have it fail soon afterwards. This time the collapse was gradual with the shoulders sinking slowly inwards and forcing the crown of the arch upwards until the keystone could no longer do its work. We wonder what his thoughts were then? Certainly he was a man of determination and he must have given much study to the latest failure; he came to the conclusion that the second bridge had failed not because it was too long or too slender but because the distribution of weight in the masonry was not correct. With great courage he started again. He was determined to span the river in one arch and this he now accomplished. In his third and successful bridge the construction was even more slender and into the spandrels where much of the weight would have been, he introduced on each side three nicely graduated tunnel-shaped voids. These saved much weight and it has been suggested that in order to save even more he used charcoal as a filling material for the arches.

Structurally this bridge was a success although its steep crown must have made it a most inconvenient crossing for wheeled traffic. This bridge still stands today as an ancient monument and, although its setting has been spoilt by a later bridge having been built too close, Edwards' work can be seen and studied. His arch was completed in 1755 and remained the longest in Britain for two generations. The principles he had demonstrated were much copied and it became fashionable to incorporate circular voids in bridges. Some builders did not appreciate their true purpose and put them over the piers where they cannot serve the same purpose. Bridges over the river Monnow at Pandy and at Kentchurch have properly placed voids as do the Herefordshire bridges at Hampton Court, Bodenham and Burrington.

The coming of the 20th century saw not only the ever increasing demands of mechanical transport upon our roads and bridges but also the first awakening of interest in protecting some of the more picturesque of the country's ancient bridges which were by now crumbling under the extra traffic and were in many cases too steep and narrow for the modern road vehicles.

One of the early examples of preservation was at Ayr in Scotland where in 1907 work was commenced on the conservation of the Auld Brig of Ayr. A public campaign to raise funds by private subscription for the purpose had been held, and had been well supported no doubt due to the connection with Robert Burns and his immortal poem *The Brigs of Ayr*. In this case the narrow bridge, only twelve feet between the parapets, was not widened or improved but merely preserved and subsequently closed to all except foot traffic. The methods used whilst not new were widely reported; they consisted of underpinning the piers, grouting the stonework, removing all the loose fill from the core of the piers and spandrels and strengthening them internally with reinforced concrete diaphragms. This method of strengthening was to be often repeated in other places.

The first world war saw an understandable withdrawal of both interest and resources from the care of bridges, but it also brought to our local roads heavy munition and timber traffic to feed the western front, whilst the introduction of mechanical transport was greatly accelerated.

It was the effect of this heavy road traffic which caused the Ancient Monument Board in 1919 to ask the architect W. R. Lethaby to draw up a national list of endangered ancient bridges. Roads and bridges were now totally unsuitable for the new users, most road surfaces were of waterbound stone construction rather than tarmac and none of the roads had foundations suitable for the wheel loads now being imposed. The national response to this problem was the introduction of the Road Traffic Act of 1920 which raised funds by vehicle licences. In the spring of 1921 road classification was brought in by the Ministry of Transport initially classifying all roads as Class 1, 2, or 3. Classes 1 and 2 were later to become the more familiar numbered roads in the A and B series and Class 3 to remain the unnumbered local roads. In August 1921 State assistance to the County Councils in the cost of maintaining and improving main roads and bridges was announced. Grants were made available of up to fifty per cent of approved estimates for Class 1 roads and bridges and twenty-five per cent for Class 2 work. Where State assistance is given State control invariably follows and this was to prove the case with bridge improvements. However, to operate, State control requires a growth in bureaucratic administration which thankfully takes time to develop and we had therefore a period of Indian summer in the care of bridges when sympathetic and essentially vernacular county surveyors could get on with improving without destroying some of our ancient bridges, before being finally overcome by the stultifying effect of divorced financial control and its requirement for a standard solution to most problems.

During this period popular interest in this work continued; private transport by small car or motor cycle first became available for many of the population they could visit and appreciate the countryside and its monuments. In 1923 Sir Henry Maybury, the Director General of the Roads Department of the Ministry of Transport, speaking in an address to

the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers said: 'It sometimes falls your lot to deal with the old structures in the country which we have inherited, which have been the work of those who have preceded us and have "builded better than they knew". It often happens that these bridges are not sufficiently strong and commodious to support present-day traffic. Do not let it be said of us that we have no regard for art for arts sake, that we have carried out some work which has despoiled some glorious old bridge which we have inherited, and thus in our day been guilty of an act of desecration. Often with care the necessary strength and width can be acquired without materially affecting the beauty of the old structure. If and when this is impossible, I suggest we should all be well advised in leaving these old bridges intact, and seeking to build new ones in new positions.'

Engineers in the Marches were not slow to take this advice. By the end of 1921 Shrewsbury had decided that the English Bridge designed and built by John Gwynn in 1769 to 1774 was to be improved. Plans were drawn up by the Municipal Surveyor, Mr. A. W. Ward, in 1925 the bridge was taken down, stone by stone, and rebuilt double the width and with the old hump reduced by five feet all without loss to the overall appearance; the work was completed in 1927. Also in Shropshire the County Council became concerned about the inadequate width and steep slope of John Gwynn's other beautiful bridge which carried the Holyhead Road over the river Severn at Atcham. Widening proved impracticable and the County Surveyor, Mr. W. Butler, designed a modern reinforced concrete bridge to stand alongside. Work started in 1927 and the bridge opened in October 1929. Gwynn's old bridge was left preserved as an ancient monument; it still stands today.

In 1926 The Society for Ancient Monuments commissioned Edwyn Jervoise to survey the country's ancient bridges and write his five volume history, a task which took seven years to complete.

On the 9 March 1907 Mr. Gavin H. Jack was appointed County Surveyor to the Herefordshire County Council. He succeeded Alfred Dryland who had held the post since 1899. Mr. Jack was the fifth Surveyor to the County Council since its establishment in 1889 and was to serve in that position for twenty-six years. He had spent ten years working in a borough engineer's office in Aston, Birmingham, and County Surveyor to Herefordshire was a nice promotion for him although the county being rural and agricultural was one of the minor counties in the league of status for County Council positions. However, the position was one with which he was well content, valuing as he did the pleasant environment in which he worked. At the time of his appointment the total permanent staff of the County Council was no more than twelve, the County Surveyor's department at that time consisted of Mr. Jack alone.

His work involved much travelling on the county's roads since he had to inspect and certify the road maintenance work done by contractors under the supervision of the District Surveyors. As Bridge Master he was personally responsible for the care of the county bridges, arranging all contracts, approving work, and certifying payments. He was responsible to the County Council and reported to the Roads and Bridges Committee. The Roads and Bridges Committee was chaired by an alderman and comprised a selection of councillors; it was one of the more important standing committees by which the County

Council managed its business. Each year the Surveyor was required to submit his annual report on the year's work and provide estimates of expenditure for the coming year.

In comparing Mr. Jack's early reports with those of his predecessor it is evident that he had a different style of management; whilst Mr. Dryland generally included some condemnatory remarks in regard to the mode in which some of the road repairs had been carried out and regularly made comparisons of the results obtained by his 'offending District Surveyors' Mr. Jack was usually encouraging to his District Surveyors whilst being honest and critical if required. This did not mean a lowering of standards or expectations, rather the contrary he could and did withhold certification for payment if this was warranted. In the early years up to the first world war Herefordshire County Council was spending typically £50,000 per year on road maintenance and relatively little on the County Bridges, usually less than £500 per annum, although this was steadily increasing. He found the contract system for the repair of bridges unsatisfactory, none of the local building firms who took the contracts having the expertise needed for this special work. By 1912 he was referring in his reports to his 'direct supervision of the contractors' a financially dangerous but necessary practice, he saw the advantage that would accrue if a skilled and permanent team of workmen could be formed and retained. He had advocated this to his committee and advised against the contract system; they were not initially prepared to accept this advice and he acknowledges in his report for 1912 'that it remains for him to continue as hitherto to endeavour to work those policies.' However he continued to press his argument and begun to win by degrees; in 1913 the council agreed to important changes for road repairs from district contracts to the District Authorities employing direct labour and acting as agents of the County Council. This was an important change in policy but one which the war of 1914-18 was to prevent wider application and contracts for bridge major repair work was to continue for some years.

Mr. Jack was very aware of the attractive appearance of many of Herefordshire's bridges and the need to execute bridge work in a sympathetic manner. In his report for 1913 he acknowledges that reinforced concrete has to be used in some instances but should always be hidden by natural stonework; he goes on 'great care is exercised from this office in retaining the picturesque character of the County Bridges.' In that year Mr. Jack had applied these principles to the repair and strengthening of Wilton Bridge at Ross-on-Wye. Mr. Jack was an active member of the Woolhope Club; in 1916 he was elected President and gave the Club the first of several lectures on Herefordshire's bridges and the need to appreciate them.

There had been a shortage of skilled workmen for bridge maintenance before the war and when in 1920 the first of the County's major bridge reconstructions, that of the six-arched brick bridge at Bredwardine, was required the work was beyond the capacity of the small gang of directly employed roadmen and outside contractors had to be sought to undertake the tricky work. The cause of the trouble with the bridge was primarily due to the brick casing of the piers and spandrels being insufficiently strong to support the combined weight of the loose earth and stone filling and heavy traffic. In such a case it was not possible for either the Surveyor or a contractor to know before dismantling the extent of the repair work which would be required or its likely cost. This illustrates Mr. Jack's

reservations about the suitability of normal contract arrangements for the repair of old bridges. Since in this case the extent of the work to be done to Bredwardine Bridge could not be pre-specified, competitive tendering by the normal lump sum method and the important advantage to the Council of knowing beforehand what the work was to cost was not possible. In July 1920 the surveyor had to report to his Roads and Bridges Committee that he was unable to find a contractor to undertake the urgent work and that he was still seeking an arrangement. A year later he was advising that it was essential for work on Bredwardine Bridge to be taken in hand that summer and recommended that terms be agreed for Messrs. Beavan and Hodges builders of Hereford to undertake the work on a commission basis. These terms were accepted by the Council, Beavan and Hodges were to be paid the prime cost of the work plus seventeen and a half per cent to cover overheads and profit and an additional twenty-five shillings was to be paid for each site visit from the principal of the builders. The initial estimate of the expected cost was £2,000.

Two months later Mr. Jack was reporting that the work of restoration had commenced on 4 July 1921, that the sub-committee had inspected the work and that an application had been made to the Ministry of Transport for a grant and that he was due to meet the Ministry Engineer at the site. He also warned that the extent of the repairs required was greater than expected, £732 had already been spent and the estimate of £2,000 for the whole work was in danger of being exceeded. Work continued throughout the winter and by March 1922 Mr. Jack was telling the committee that the work was 'practically complete' and that the cost up to the end of January had been £3,453. He assured them that the work had proved most difficult and hazardous and had been very necessary as the old bridge was on the point of collapse, 100,000 bricks had been used and over 800 tons of concrete together with several tons of steel reinforcing bars. The roadway over the bridge was to be provided out of normal maintenance revenue. The work was finally finished on 21 April 1922 at a cost of £4,124.9s.0d. The overall beauty of the bridge had been retained and although the final cost was over twice the estimate the Ministry of Transport had contributed £1,031 towards it and the Council was assured that a new bridge which it had at one time thought necessary would have cost five times more than the repair work.

The work on Bredwardine Bridge had scarcely been finished before Mr. Jack was bringing to the attention of the Roads and Bridges Committee the county's next major bridge problem. This was at Little Hereford in the north of the county where the A456 road between Ludlow and Tenbury crosses the river Teme. Here a five-arch bridge of brick erected in 1761 was in serious need of attention. In August 1922 a sub-committee was asked to inspect and report on it. This they did and came back in the October of that year saying that they thought it might be repaired at an estimated cost of £2,000 and that the Ministry of Transport could be expected to contribute fifty per cent since it carried a Class 1 road. They were unduly optimistic; by the following April they had given further consideration to the report and recommendations of the County Surveyor and accepted that it would be unwise to spend £2,000 on repairs and therefore recommended the erection of a new bridge at a probable cost of £5,000. Mr. Jack was instructed to draw up plans and submit them with estimates to the Ministry of Transport. By October 1923 the Ministry had replied giving general approval but requiring that the width of the bridge be increased from 20 ft. to 25 ft. and that a four-foot wide footpath be included; for this they

were prepared to increase the grant to sixty-five per cent. The plans allowed for the new bridge to be built alongside the old on a different alignment. Whilst this would allow use of the old bridge during the construction of the new it did require the purchase of additional land on each side of the river and in addition the demolition and rebuilding of a stable block. Negotiations with the landowners proved difficult and it was the end of 1923 before these matters were settled.

The new bridge was to be a modern structure of reinforced concrete which would cross the river in a single span of 110 ft.; the general design was by Mr. Jack assisted by Messrs. L. G. Mouchel and Partners as structural engineers.

In April 1924 the committee were ready to accept a tender for its construction from a Manchester firm, The Re-inforced Concrete Co. Ltd., in the sum of £5,165 but further revision of plans and estimates was required and it was not until July that the contract was agreed. The total cost was now £8,684.18s.8d. less £747 in respect of taking down the old bridge and removing all the materials, a decision on which was deferred.

Work on the bridge progressed satisfactorily through the winter of 1924-5 and was reported as nearing completion in June of 1925. Traffic was soon to be diverted over the new bridge and the Council had by now decided that the old bridge was to be demolished rather than being retained as an ancient monument. The cost of removing the old and making good the approaches had been fixed at £1,282.9s.6d. The materials of the old bridge were offered for sale; only one offer was received and this too low to be accepted. In the end 26,150 old bricks 'not cleaned at site' were sold for 30s. per 1000 and 13 loads of rubble at 1s. per load; this brought in £39.17s.6d. from the old bridge. Everyone was pleased with the new bridge, Mr. Jack showed it with pride to the Woolhope Club on one of our field meetings and the Minister of Transport interested himself in the design and its somewhat unusual features. There was the usual post contract haggle with the contractor over their final bill. In April 1926 Mr. Jack advised the Roads and Bridges Committee that after much discussion with the contractors he had been unable to definitely settle accounts. He had issued a final certificate which he was prepared to submit to arbitration if not accepted by the contractor. The provisional settlement was for £9,360.14s.7d. which included £140.6s.5d. for work additional to contract on the foundations and difficulties with the old bridge. It would appear that the contractor finally accepted this.

The major bridge reconstruction at Bredwardine and at Little Hereford in the first half of the 1920s were only part of the on-going bridge repair work undertaken in those years. Each year brought its crop of bridge problems; repair work large or small was required to one or the other of the 328 listed bridges for which the County Council were responsible.

Up to 1926 all this repair work was done by the contract system, the surveyor would draw up a specification of the work required, tenders would be invited from three or more local contractors and the job given to the one whose price was lowest. This system was to change radically. In 1926 Mr. Jack had approval, initially on a trial basis, to recruit a small permanent staff of skilled bridge repair men to undertake much of the routine work and eventually even the major reconstructions. Masons, carpenters, mechanics and labourers were needed besides a foreman and supporting plant and transport. It was not

easy to find the right sort of men for this work; they were chosen with care and eventually the gang, who were never more than twelve in number, was formed.

Many of the Roads and Bridges Committee were not enthusiastic about this development, they saw the direct labour force and its plant as an unnecessary liability for the Council, they were not wholly convinced that the work would cost less, they did not appreciate the flexibility that the surveyor would have in responding to urgent needs and perhaps some were politically opposed to taking profitable work away from local businesses.

In forming his team Mr. Jack was particularly fortunate in obtaining as foreman Mr. J. W. Brimfield who was experienced in bridge repair work and Mr. Jack's methods, having worked for Beavan and Hodges on the Bredwardine Bridge. Mr. Jack also had invaluable support in the office from Mr. G. V. Roberts who assisted him with design work and took record photographs. Under the new arrangement there was close contact between master and men and this was appreciated. Any sign of a man's interest in his work was encouraged, the men were instructed as to the bridges' outstanding features and the merits of the old work and its history. In a short time the men responded to these conditions, they developed an interest and pride in their work, they became more competent and there was an improvement in the quality of the bridge work. The fine character and appearance of their restored bridges became well known outside Herefordshire. The work had made the workmen and the medieval 'Guild Spirit' had been revived.

Bodenham Bridge was one of the first of Herefordshire's bridges to benefit from the Bridgemen's restoration. This was an early 19th-century bridge of Ludlow sandstone, it had a single span of 54 ft. 3 ins. and a rise in the arch of 13 ft. 9 ins. Extensive restoration was done at a cost of £456 which was much less than contractors had asked for the same work. From August 1927 to April 1928 they rebuilt the facework and piers of Wilton Bridge at Ross; this work cost £716.6s.10d. and consolidated the massive internal strengthening which Mr. Jack had had done by contract fourteen years earlier.

The fully developed skills of the Herefordshire Bridgemen were required when in 1929 a flood severely damaged the fine five segmental arched bridge of Ludlow sandstone at Leintwardine. This bridge dated from about 1800 and although old was not the original one at this important crossing of the river Teme. There had been an earlier medieval bridge here which Leland referred to as 'a fayre stone-bridge' and there may have been a nearby Roman structure associated with the Roman settlement there. The bridge was 37 yds. long but only 12 ft. wide between the parapets so when the flood of 1929 undermined one of the piers and destroyed two arches it was decided that the whole bridge should be reconstructed to a width of 24 ft. This work was totally done by the Bridgemen keeping to the same outward appearance; the work started on 14 May 1930 and was finished on 24 April 1931 at a cost of £5,262.18s.6d.

The years 1930 to 1932 were those of peak achievement of Herefordshire's unique band of dedicated bridge restorers. In those years not only was the major work at Leintwardine completed but significant work was done on the bridges at Burrington, Monmouth Cap, Llangarron, Hunton, Lugg Green, and Arrow Green. Aymestrey Bridge was

rebuilt from 28 June 1931 to 21 March 1932 and in 1932 alone 103 of the County's bridges received attention from the bridge gang.

The rebuilding of Aymestrey Bridge was a job of which Mr. Jack was particularly proud. Here all his developed principles of achieving the necessary widening, the removal of humps which obscured lines of sight, together with strengthening for modern traffic were all obtained at the most economic cost without loss of the old bridge's attractive and fitting appearance. The bridge had been built 136 years earlier by Herefordshire's other famous Bridge Master John Gethin of Kingsland and Mr. Jack was at pains to ensure that Gethin's work was enhanced rather than desecrated. Aymestrey Bridge and its rebuilding is the subject of one of Mr. Jack's own papers in the Woolhope *Transactions* and it is not proposed to repeat the details here.

Mr. Jacks's work on Herefordshire's bridges had received national recognition. He had been presented with a pair of watercolours of Wilton Bridge by Alfred Packham from the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments 'in gratitude for his work in preserving the beautiful bridges in Herefordshire.' He had been installed as a Freeman of London, elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and praised by both popular press and the professional institutions. Jervious in his introduction to the volume on the ancient bridges of Wales and Western England acknowledges the help of Mr. Jack and his indebtedness to him in respect of Herefordshire's bridges. Photographs and details of the restored bridges figured prominently in the 1933 London exhibition to the Public Works, Roads and Transport Congress.

The ethos of the bridge builders required that some of this credit was properly reflected on to the actual workmen; the way in which this was accomplished was in character with an ancient tradition of bridge craftsmanship. On Saturday 10 September 1932 a private dinner was held at the Booth Hall, Hereford, and and Guild of Modern Bridge Brothers founded. All the workmen attended and joined with enthusiasm taking the name of the brotherhood and its aspirations from an old religious order of bridge brothers who in the middle ages built and repaired many continental bridges.

The Hereford Brotherhood consisted of a Master, two Wardens and twelve Brothers, their joint stated object was to encourage enthusiasm in good work for its own sake, to maintain a right understanding between employer and employee and to render competent and honest service in the matter of bridge building and repairing. Each member was presented with a badge which he was to retain for so long as he was a member of the Guild. The device on the badges represented a heraldic bridge together with a mason's hammer and an auger, the Master's badge was red, the Wardens' badges blue and the twelve Brothers all had green badges.

Each member also had a specially printed membership card which gave the objects and rules of the Guild.

We might have hoped or expected that the craftsmen with their past experience of good work and now constituted into a fraternal guild would go from strength to strength and complete even more accomplished work. Unfortunately this was not to be the case; all their best work was now behind them.

Only two months after the foundation of the Order of Bridge Brothers the *Hereford Times* of 26 November 1932 reported the quartery meeting of the County Council with the headline 'Bombshell County Surveyor Resigns' and went on to report that the Establishment Committee had appointed a sub-committee consisting of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman together with the chairmen of the Finance, Public Assistance, Roads and Bridges Committees to consider the matter. They had held a meeting on 16 November 1932 to consider a resolution passed by the County Council on 14 February 1931 to the effect that the County Surveyor should be County Architect and should accept responsibility for any structural work costing or likely to cost over £1,000 and that the Deputy County Surveyor should be appointed Chief Executive Officer and be responsible for the ordinary repair work of the council costing less than £1,000. The resolution went on to specify that the Chief Executive Officer may consult with the County Surveyor when necessary and that the County Surveyor would do all that was possible to enable as much as possible of the work to be done by direct labour. For these changes in responsibilities the County Surveyor was to receive additional salary of 100 guineas and the Deputy County Surveyor £150 rising to £200 per annum. The County Council reserved the facility to appoint an outside architect for any particular work should they consider such an appointment desirable.

The report of the special meeting of the Establishment Committee stated that the County Surveyor had indicated that if a re-organisation of the two departments; the Roads and Bridges and the Architectural, was now desirable, he would be willing to place his resignation in the hands of the County Council provided that his superannuation rights were agreed. The Special Committee further reported that in view of the circumstances, whilst expressing their extreme regret at the severance of the services of Mr. Jack after the many years of loyal and able service he had rendered, thought it better that the rearrangement take place at an early time rather than in fifteen months time when in the ordinary course of events Mr. Jack would have been able to resign. They therefore recommended that the resignation of Mr. Jack be accepted and that Mr. Jack should receive the agreed superannuation.

The Chairman of the County Council thanked Mr. Jack for his good work over twenty-six years and said that they all regretted that owing to the state of his health he felt unable to go on any longer and that he only hoped that when he retired his health would improve. He said things would crop up and the help of Mr. Jack in a consultative capacity would be wanted in the future. The Chairman of the Roads and Bridges Committee, Mr. W. L. Prichett regretted the resignation but the Committee felt they had no alternative but to accept it. A Councillor spoke up and asked 'if we may be told whether Mr. Jack voluntary retired or was he asked to retire?,' the Chairman answered that 'the resignation came from Mr. Jack.'

The Editor of the *Hereford Times*, who over the years had supported Mr. Jack and had been appreciative of his bridge work, commented in the same issue's editorial 'The resignation of the County Surveyor was stated at Saturday's meeting of the County Council to be in the nature of a bombshell. So far as most of the members of that body were concerned this was no doubt perfectly true. ...some tried to find grounds for persuading Mr. Jack to reconsider the matter for there is general recognition of the fact that

Herefordshire is to lose an official of distinction. We will need a first class officer to replace him... The history of local government abounds with examples of men who have saved their counties or municipalities more than most of the councillors of the area are aware. Everyone hopes that the County's next Surveyor will be able to keep Herefordshire in the forefront, as a pattern to be cited as she has been for many years.'

Mr. Jack's last attendance to a County Council meeting was in February 1933 when various resolutions acknowledging his service were passed. Perhaps the most genuine of these came from Captain T. P. P. Powell, the Vice-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, who said: 'That long after every member of the Council was gone and forgotten Mr. Jack's work in the bridges of the county would stand not only as a lasting memorial to the Surveyor but to the present Council.' Mr. Jack in returning thanks said: 'This is as the showman said is positively my last appearance. I thank you all for the nice resolutions you have so generously passed and also for the patience and consideration you have always shown towards me over a long period of years. I wish you all goodbye.' Mr. Jack then left the chamber.

There remained the usual leaving presentations; he received a pair of table lamps from the Council, a dinner and items of antique furniture from his Shirehall colleagues, but I suspect that the occasion he valued most was when the masons and labourers of the Bridge Brotherhood gave him a tea at the Crown Inn adjacent to Aymestrey Bridge and presented him with a clock in a specially made silver case in the form of an ancient bridge and whose hands were the mason's hammer and auger, devices from the Brotherhood badge.

In his final report, which contrary to the usual practice the Roads and Bridges Committee did not forward in full to the County Council, Mr. Jack finishes with: 'I conclude with mixed feelings. I find it very difficult to realise that my official connection with the County of Hereford is at an end. I am, however, satisfied in having done my level best in the Council's interests in so far as my limitations would allow. I express my thanks and gratitude to all the members and to my brother officials for their consideration and co-operation and especially to my loyal and competent staff whom I am very loath to part with.'

I will close with a contemporary and independent assessment of Mr. Jack's work. The Editor of the *Hereford Times* writing in May 1932 on the occasion of the opening of Aymestrey Bridge said: 'Generations yet unborn will sing the praise of Hereford's bridges and will hold in high esteem the name of Herefordshire's County Surveyor of the last quarter of a century, Mr. G. H. Jack. To Mr. Jack as we have aforehand pointed out, and has been recognised nationally, we are indebted for the fact that in an age in which modernity is in danger of becoming a craze and in which the ancient and picturesque is hardly tolerated, the native stone bridges which span our rivers and brooks and have carried the traffic in some cases for many centuries will be allowed to remain for very many years more. The title of Bridge Master which Mr. Jack holds in this County is one that he deeply appreciates, and he has made posterity his debtor by the manner in which Herefordshire's ancient bridges have been restored, he has achieved the purpose of utility without sacrificing the beauty of these massive structures of a bygone age.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to Miss S. Hubbard and the staff of the County Record Office for the production of documents and to the staff of the Hereford Reference Library for assistance with references.

The Leech Pool, Clifford: A Five-year Survey

By the late J. D. P. GRAHAM

Leech Pool is roughly oval in shape and approximately 2.3 hectares in area. It lies in a shallow hollow fed by a spring to the west of the ruins of Clifford Castle, ref. S024 at 2445. It is surrounded on two sides by hedges which enclose arable; to the west lies a ridge, which provides good viewing supplemented by artificial hides. The pool is fringed by old pollarded willows and about 1.2 ha. in the centre is occupied by a swampy area of willow car and alder threaded by channels between clumps of Tussock Sedge (*C. paniculata*). This small wilderness, protected as it is by dangerous depths of soft mud provides a refuge for waterfowl and is the site of a heronry. The pond is managed as a duck shoot. A certain amount of artificial feeding takes place in winter and there is a string of resident decoy mallard of mixed breeding. During the years 1983-7 inclusive the observed birdlife on and around Leech Pool has been recorded each first and third Wednesday of the month between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m.; an analysis of the findings is appended as a Systematic List.

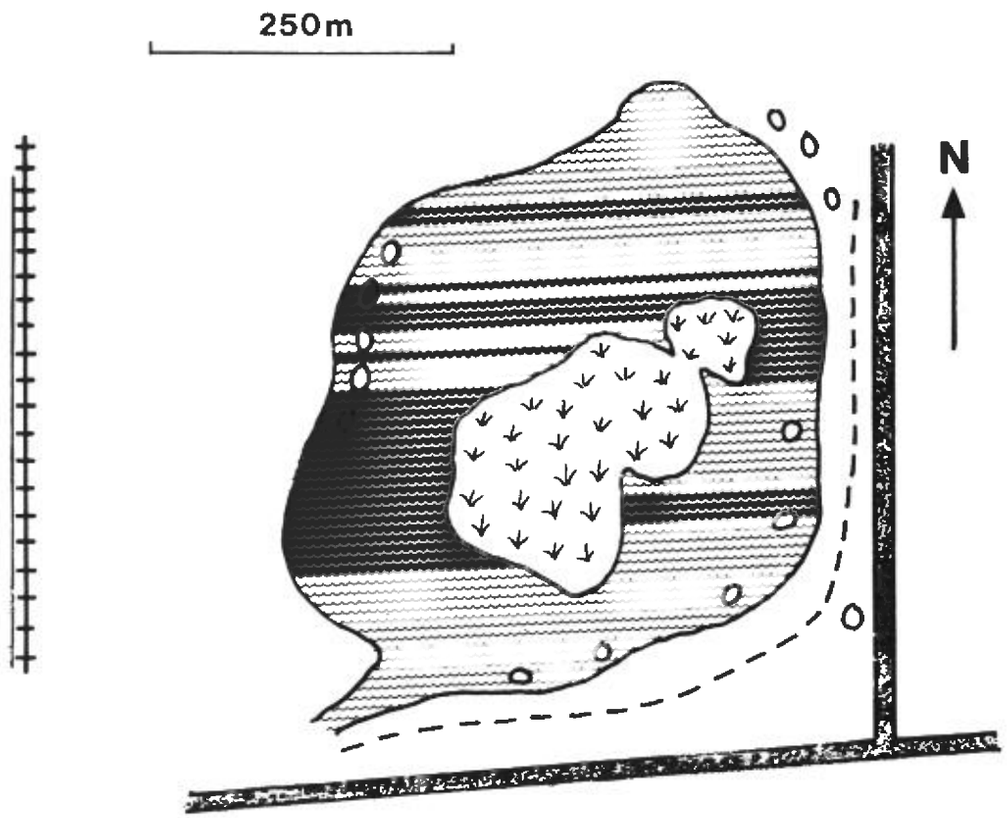
The Great Crested Grebe nested during the summers of 1983 and 1984, rearing four young, but was not seen again until 1987. One Little Grebe frequented the pond from August to October but not since.

TABLE 1

THE GREY HERON BY YEARS AND MONTHS, MAX. NO. ADULTS SEEN AT ONE TIME

Year / *Month*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*Nests*	*Pulli*	*Totals*
1983	0	1	23	7	9	6	5	1	1	1	0	0	9	8	88
1984	1	5	9	5	4	8	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	11	65
1985	1	0	8	6	5	5	8	7	0	3	0	0	8	9	77
1986	1	1	5	6	8	7	7	0	1	0	1	1	8	9	105
1987	0	6	7	10	5	6	5	9	1	1	0	0	9	8	114

Table 1 displays the annual count of resident Grey Herons from which it appears that this colony is holding its own; it consists of eight or nine nests from which approximately ten young birds are fledged in a good year; the crows are aggressive. Birds leave the site for the nearby river Wye in late August and survivors return about the end of February, occasionally accompanied briefly, as in 1983, by strangers. In a severe spring, as 1985, nesting may be delayed and the number which survive is inversely related to the severity of the winter. Apart from the shoot Leech Pool provides a resting place for passing wild fowl. It is a refuge on which Mallard pass the eclipse and breed. If the total sightings of this duck are summed it may exceed a thousand in a year, while the shoot has yielded 500-880 in a season. The number of confirmed rearings of duckling during these five years is only 150 but there is ample dense cover in which to conceal young birds.



LEECH POOL, CLIFFORD

MAP

Teal frequent this pond in small, wild flocks most frequently from October to January, never more than fifty at a time; appearances are irregular in summer. They feature in the game-bag in similar numbers but do not breed here. The Garganey was spotted on 22 October 1986 and two Gadwall on 18 December 1983, 30 October 1984 and no fewer than six briefly on 12 January 1984.

The handsome Wigeon may be present in a flock of up to 100 in winter but seldom features in the shoot. A few pairs may linger; and it has certainly bred, in 1983 and 1986, rearing three young on each occasion. It is readily disturbed and may withdraw to the

river for a week or more. The Pintail was noted once only, on 1 May 1984, but the Shoveler is a regular if uncommon visitor, single pairs appearing most years in March; usually they have left by mid-June and in 1985 one duckling was reared. The maximum seen was sixteen, in February 1983.

The Tufted Duck is a regular and attractive feature of life on Leech Pool. The greatest numbers (say thirty at one time) are to be seen from March on, a few pairs (five to eight) mate in April and rear young (thirty in 1985) but they mostly leave by late November. The Pochard bred in 1983 (three young seen) but has not done so since. Its numbers are always small, not having exceeded twenty-eight at one time and it has not featured in the game-bag since 1982. It leaves in June and reappears in late autumn. The Goldeneye is a rare visitor, two in January 1983 and four in late February 1984.

The Canada Goose winters on the riparian pastures by the Wye in a flock of 100-300 which arrives early in November. If disturbed birds may roost on the Pool by January, coming in at dusk and flying out at dawn. Of recent years there has been an increase in the number which linger during daylight hours, e.g. fourteen in May 1987. Breeding was confirmed in 1986 and 1987 with three goslings on each of these years. The geese mostly leave the neighbourhood by late July or early August, numbers diminishing steadily. In March and April 1987 two to three Grey Lag Geese joined their Canadian cousins on the Pool and a single Brent Goose grazed the margin for a week in October 1984.

The Mute Swan also winters by the river in a herd of fourteen to twenty-two which may contain five to ten grown cygnets and is usually joined by up to a dozen Whooper Swans in November to January; but not Bewick's Swan which prefers the clear waters of Pwll Patti a few miles upstream. In spring there may be two pairs of swans on the pond but one pair is soon dispossessed. The birds nest in the dense swamp in April, the young are on show by June and all leave for the river in July. From 1983-6 inclusive twenty-one cygnets were reared but in 1987 there were none.

Other relatively abundant waterbirds are the Moorhen; ten at a time may be seen in December and three to four pairs rear young in the swamp. The Coot grazes by the bank in winter in a flock of up to 100. 'Chasing' is evident in March, pairing in April and young by early June, as many as sixty-four in a good year, e.g. 1984. These birds are not shot. The Blackheaded Gull is usually present from April to October and is at times aggressive but does not as yet nest here; numbers may rise to 200-300 at plough. The Common Gull uses the Pool irregularly, usually two or three birds, but in March 1983 a flock of twenty. Of the lesser birds which frequent the edge of the Pool there were six corvid species, four titmice, five warblers, six thrushes, pigeons and collared doves, swallow, swift and house martin, two woodpeckers, creeper, nuthatch, wren, dunnock, robin, starlings, buntings, tree sparrows, spotted fly-catcher and of an evening the tawny owl.

The waterfowl that depend on this Pool are declining in numbers. Such is the nature of this place that it deserves active conservation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Mr. W. Davies of Lower Court Farm, Clifford for permission to visit, also to the Department of Medical Illustration, UHW, Cardiff for the graphics, and to Mrs. Glenys Wilks, Abergavenny for secretarial aid.

Chaplains, Chantries and Chapels of North-West Herefordshire c. 1400

By P. E. H. HAIR

In the course of a previous paper I argued that it is difficult to assess the precise extent and character of the pastoral care of the laity exercised by the parochial clergy of Hereford diocese *c.*1400, because many of the clergy, perhaps a majority, were unbeneficed. Being unbeneficed, their distribution over the parishes, and their careers in specific parishes, failed to be recorded with any regularity or in any detail in the major source for study of the late-medieval clergy, the bishops' registers.[1] Nevertheless, it is possible to extract, from the registers and from a number of other sources, a limited amount of information about the unbeneficed clergy, albeit often little more than individual names. In view of the numerical importance of the unbeneficed, it has seemed worthwhile to put together what can be learned about those of them who served in a particular area within the diocese in the period around 1400, by listing names, dates and locality of service.

Unbeneficed late-medieval secular clergy are hereafter termed 'chaplains.'[2] Most chaplains, though by no means all, worked within parishes, assisting in the cure of souls. It is a common practice for a present-day parish church to display a list of the names of its incumbents over the centuries. But in respect of the immediate pre-Reformation centuries, it was generally chaplains as well as incumbents - and at times chaplains rather than incumbents - who carried out the daily cure of souls in a particular parish at a particular date (just as it was 'curates' in more recent centuries). Hence, for the late-medieval period a list of chaplains may be at least as relevant to the history of local spirituality as a list of incumbents. My *List A* therefore supplies the names of chaplains recorded as serving the cure of souls within individual parishes at various stated dates between about 1380 and about 1430, in the expectation that this will be of some value to local historians.

List A relates each named chaplain to a specific location, normally a parochial unit, represented either by a parish church or by a chapel. Inquiry into where exactly any recorded individual served, or at least where his service was centred, led me to investigate various categories of chaplain service, particularly service outside the parochial system *stricto sensu*; and also led me to investigate the institutional range of 'chapels.' From these investigations resulted lists B and C. *List B* itemizes parochial chantries, by deaneries and parishes. *List C* itemizes, also by deaneries and parishes, those separate buildings wholly or largely for public and communal lay worship contemporaneously known as 'chapels.'

It must be made clear that all three lists are tentative and incomplete. Chantries and chapels are almost as elusively and fragmentarily evidenced as are chaplains. A fairly wide range of sources has been tapped, but largely printed sources, and it is morally certain that the lists could be extended if all extant archive sources were combed. A further limitation is that the amount of labour involved in pursuing and detailing chaplains, chantries and

chapels has prevented me from dealing with the whole of Hereford diocese or even with the ten deaneries previously studied. Instead I have had to limit my investigation to a small district within the diocese, basically the North-West Herefordshire deaneries of Leominster and Weobley as they were at this period - a district of some seventy late-medieval parishes containing not less than 120 buildings consecrated for public and communal lay worship.[3]

A plausible general conclusion of this study is that a not inconsiderable proportion of the communal worship of the laity *c.*1400 took place, not in the church buildings now standing on the sites of medieval churches and chapels - and in Herefordshire often little altered from their late-medieval structure - but in chapels which have not survived, whose site is frequently untraced, and whose previous existence has sometimes been completely forgotten. One purpose of this paper is therefore to encourage and further local research, both archaeological and documentary, into 'lost chapels.'[4]

The discussion that follows is intended to serve as an introduction and guide to the lists and as an explanation of some of their features. It particularly deals with taxonomic issues. What categories of work and what forms of employment led to clergy being designated 'chaplains?' What categories of chapel existed and how did these relate to chaplain employment?[5] Inevitably most ink is spilled on the knottier issues, and on those investigations whose conclusions are largely negative, in the sense that the employment of a significant number of chaplains or the existence of a significant number of chapels cannot in the end be demonstrated - or at least adequately proved.

CHAPLAINS AND ALTARS

An uncertain but probably small proportion of the unbeneficed clergy worked wholly for lay employers, mainly in secular activities. Some were clerks or secretaries to gentry, a few may have been schoolmasters. Even so, the duties of probably most of these, like the duties of perhaps all chaplains serving lay employers as 'household chaplains,' included saying mass.[6] To this extent these lay-employed chaplains came into line with the remainder of the unbeneficed clergy, the majority, whose work was primarily 'spiritual' and for whom saying mass was the central, the essential, and perhaps the major activity. Since saying mass required an altar, an investigation into the distribution of chaplains can usefully begin by asking where altars were to be found.

As far as the rich and powerful among the laity were concerned, altars were to be found - almost anywhere. By 1400 the papacy was annually handing out licences for 'portable altars' to dozens of English gentry and well-to-do citizens; and bishops consecrated batches of such altars.[7] Some of the licences evidenced in extant records were awarded to inhabitants of Hereford diocese, and no doubt there were portable altars travelling about within the limited area of study. Furthermore, licences for 'oratories' in private houses could be and were issued by bishops, and these licences allowed the gentry to attend mass at home, at least on occasions (recorded oratories within the area of study are noted in *List C*). It is true that fairly strict conditions were normally laid down limiting the period of use of these privileged facilities, and also specifying the persons allowed to attend mass at their altars (often only the licence-holder and his family, or at most his household).[8]

Nevertheless, the existence of both portable altars and oratories meant that there was this much additional work for chaplains; and we must assume that the licence-holder who could not afford to employ a permanent chaplain instead hired the occasional services of an odd-job chaplain from the local pool of clerical labour.

However, most altars were not portable but permanent, and were therefore located within consecrated buildings. Here again the gentry enjoyed an advantage, that of having private or at least non-public chapels, either within their residences or nearby. Some of these chapels were ancient foundations, being an architectural element of castles.[9] But since castles were beginning to fall out of use by 1400 (albeit surviving ones occasionally enlarged or increased their chapels), other private chapels were part of the buildings that succeeded castles, mansion houses.[10] Some chapels were by 1400 institutionally distinguished as 'free chapels' (a term which later acquired a wider significance), and this meant that, although beneficed, their 'rector' was still supposed not to compete with the parochial system in the normal cure of souls.[11] In general, the status of non-parochial chapels was varied and sometimes shifting over time, indeed by 1400 it seems in certain instances to have been as uncertain to contemporaries as it is to the historian. Presumably many of them had been established to serve castle garrisons, and almost certainly some of them still served manorial households and even local tenantry as well as the gentry when resident. Some however had become sinecures: others, like the rest of the large class of 'manorial chapels' founded in much earlier centuries, had been drawn towards the parochial system, and if not wholly incorporated - becoming dependent parochial chapels, with much of the character of what were later loosely termed 'chapels of ease' - had at least become partly dependent on the parish church.

The variety of non-parochial chapel can be illustrated from the area of study. The free chapel of Snodhill Castle gave an income to a series of pluralist and presumably non-resident senior churchmen, sometimes members of the Chandos family that owned the castle; and, perhaps for this reason, presentations of a 'rector' were regularly recorded in the bishops' registers. The free chapel of Hampton Wafer had rectors presented throughout the later 15th century, long after the village had decayed and the chapel had been (apparently) abandoned: the post had therefore become a sinecure, or very nearly so. The chapel at Croft, which perhaps pre-dated the mansion there, was at one time a 'free chapel with cure' - a particularly anomalous status - and *c.*1400 it had both a rector and a chaplain; yet by 1515, after the building had been reconstructed, it was formally considered a parish church, an exceptional promotion. The chapel within the vast mansion of Hampton Court, established and constructed in the 1430s, a chapel which still survives as an architectural feature, seems never to have been accounted a free chapel, and was therefore merely a private chapel served by a household chaplain.[12]

In general, portable altars, oratories, and private chapels served the gentry but not the masses. The masses instead worshipped normally in consecrated public buildings housing permanent altars, these churches and chapels being the physical embodiment of the parochial system of sacramental and pastoral ministration. There is no problem in listing the seventy or so parish churches functioning in the area of study *c.*1400. While there were many fewer parishes in 1400 than there were to be in 1900 - because in the 18th and 19th centuries most existing chapelries were up-graded into parishes - no 1400 parish

had disappeared by the present century. Looking backwards from 1400 there was also much continuity. The later medieval church was as loth to do away with parishes as it was to create new ones, hence in the area of study the parishes of 1400 were the same as those of two centuries earlier (with a single exception, Whyle, united to Pudleston in 1364). This degree of continuity in parochial distribution over many centuries means that all post-1200 parish churches in the area are represented by corresponding 20th-century parish churches (with the same single exception). Furthermore, the churches have remained on the same sites; and, perhaps more surprisingly, most of them remain essentially the same buildings. For despite the extent of reconstruction in both late-medieval and Victorian times, the majority of the rural churches of Hereford diocese have sailed through to the 20th century with considerable elements of both early and late medieval fabric intact. The same is true of those medieval chapels - only a minority however - which have survived as parish churches. Thus it makes sense to inquire into medieval altars by looking at the fabric of 20th-century churches.[13]

Medieval churches often contained more than one altar, but supplementary altars were normally removed at the Reformation. However, the *piscina* or wash-place near each altar, being built into the wall and not too obvious, was not uncommonly allowed to survive. Even when walls were taken down in drastic Victorian reconstructions, *piscinae* were sometimes saved and replaced, though occasionally at novel and inappropriate points. All surviving Herefordshire *piscinae* were recorded in the church surveys of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (carried out around 1930). Hence it can be authoritatively stated that one or more *piscinae*, supplementary to that at the chancel altar and apparently of pre-1400 installation, can be found in about one third of those present-day churches in the area of study which were parish churches *c.*1400, and can also be found in several of the churches which were then chapels. Supplementary *piscinae* are found not only in churches which were large and important *c.*1400 (e.g. three at Wigmore; two, and a third which may have been obsolete by 1400, at Pembridge), but in churches which were smaller and less important, some of them very small (e.g. two at Birley, one at Mansell Lacy).[14] In general, churches which were only chapels *c.*1400 do not have surviving supplementary *piscinae*; but, exceptionally, Kimbolton, Yarpole and Kinsham each has one.[15] Allowing that only a proportion of *piscinae* have survived, the survival of supplementary ones even in smaller churches of lesser parishes suggests that additional altars were commonplace and perhaps general by 1400, in parish churches of all sizes and all degrees of importance.

What does this tell us about chaplains? While it would be rash to suppose that in every instance a given number of supplementary altars required the services of that number of chaplains, it is highly likely that no church built supplementary altars unless it intended them for supplementary clergy, usually meaning a chaplain or chaplains. And in certain instances there is confirmatory evidence, to the effect that supplementary altars were used for specific supplementary services, notably the intercessory services of a chantry. In a few instances, the consecration of supplementary altars is recorded and coincides with the founding of chantries. In sum, the inquiry into *piscinae* strongly suggests that very many of the parish churches in the area of study had clergy additional to the beneficed incumbent. That is, they had chaplains.[16]

CHAPLAINS AND CHANTRIES

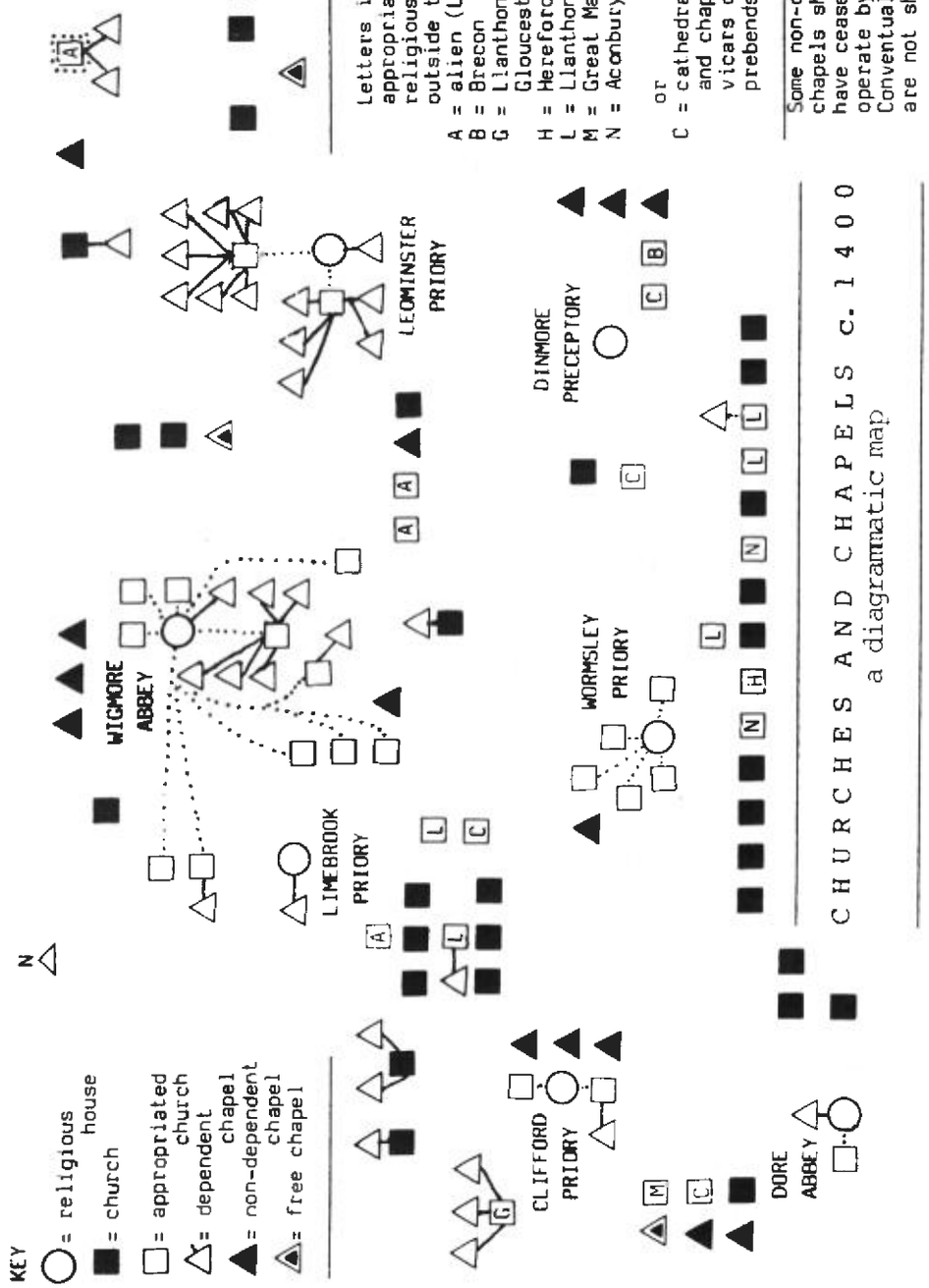
List B records the parochial chantries certainly or most probably in existence in the area of study *c.*1400.[17] Only one chantry, that at Tillington in Burghill parish, was housed in a separate building, a specially built chapel. All the other chantries were located within a parish church or occasionally a chapel. In larger buildings a chantry occupied an architecturally separate part (what was later termed a 'side-chapel'). But in many rural churches it merely took the form of an altar set against a wall and screened off (a re-sited screen in Eardisland Church is perhaps a chantry screen). Because chantries tended to be associated with additional altars, an individual chantry was often referred to simply as 'the altar of St. X.'

Chantries were normally served by secular priests, who were supported, at least in part, by the endowment and the earnings of the chantry. A well-endowed chantry might wholly support a 'perpetual cantarist,' who, being thus beneficed, it is slightly confusing to lump in with other 'chantry chaplains.' However the endowment of many chantries was either too small wholly to support a priest, or was so organised that their chaplain did not have permanent tenure but was on a short-term contract. Moreover, since endowments and their income tended to diminish in value over the centuries, and since formal chantry duties usually took up a limited amount of a priest's time, very many chantry chaplains, whatever their nominal status, undertook additional intercessory services for pay, particularly the non-perpetual obits and anniversaries for which there was most probably a continual heavy demand. Finally, while a certain amount is known about the number and location of chantries in the area of study, little or nothing is known about their detailed arrangements, including their exact endowed income *c.*1400. Hence it is impossible to assess in individual instances the extent to which a chantry chaplain concentrated on intercessory services and supported himself thereby.

Theoretically chantry chaplains were supposed to make themselves available, once they had completed their daily intercessory services, to assist the parish priest, both in church and in his pastoral duties; and inasmuch as they did this, then their work merged into that of the other chaplains of the parish.[18] It is not implausible that many did so assist. For while there is evidence that some were unhelpful, it is unlikely that relations between the parish priest and the chantry chaplain were invariably bad, if only because many chantry chaplains must have hoped for the incumbent's support if and when it came to their turn to seek promotion to a parochial benefice. Because the range of their work could vary so much, and because the individual range is unknown, it is convenient to consider all chantry priests 'chantry chaplains.' And it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that almost every chantry priest was something of an odd-job chaplain.[19]

CHAPLAINS, CHAPELS AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES

An uncertain number of chaplains worked for individual employers among the laity - as we have seen. The majority of chaplains, perhaps the vast majority, worked instead for the public-ministering church, a number as chantry priests - as we have also seen - but most as assistants to parochial incumbents, as we shall shortly see. In addition, however, a small number of chaplains was employed by the *tertium quid* in medieval society, the



religious orders. By 1400, very many of the parish churches in the area of study were linked to religious houses, which either were patrons of the benefice or, more commonly, had appropriated it.[20] Given the extra-mural influence of the religious orders, it is necessary to inquire into the relationship between local religious houses and the employment of secular chaplains. This in turn raises the issue of the religious houses' provisions for lay worship.

Despite the overarching principle that the religious orders should not intrude into the parochial system of sacramental and pastoral ministry to the laity exercised by the secular clergy, at several points the religious are found contributing to lay worship. There were no houses of friars in the area but there were seven houses of other religious.[21] Each house had a conventual chapel. The conventual chapels of Wigmore Abbey, of Wormsley and Clifford priories, and of Limebrook Nunnery, have all disappeared; but the chapels of Leominster Priory, Dore Abbey and Dinmore Preceptory have survived, in the sense that major elements of the medieval fabric of each are extensively incorporated in a present-day building. Such chapels were intended originally and essentially for the devotions of the religious. But by 1400 the laity was most probably allowed at least select, occasional, and partial access to almost all of them, in order to join in worship or, at the very least, to pray.[22] Although services in a monastic chapel were of course otherwise entirely in the hands of the religious, secular chaplains might be found serving in the chapel if it contained either a parish altar, or a chantry or chantries, or both. Often monastic houses also maintained chapels at their granges and mansions, again mainly for conventual worship but not always with the laity entirely excluded. But no chapel in this latter category is definitively evidenced in the area, in documentation or archaeologically, with the possible exceptions of a chapel allegedly situated on the Moor Abbey estate of Leominster Priory, evidenced by a building which disappeared *c.*1800, and a chapel on an estate of the Knights Hospitallers in Richards Castle parish, evidenced only in a 17th-century reference.[23]

In parish churches and chapels it was possible for even the monastic religious to minister to the laity. Exceptionally, a cloistered monk might obtain a dispensation to hold a benefice, though no instance relating to the area of study in the period has come to light.[24] But in 1397 Peterchurch parish complained that 'Brother Simon, a monk' was celebrating mass there 'twice in a day' - no explanation was supplied. Less exceptional was the grant of such a dispensation to a 'canon regular' - and there were two houses of Augustinian canons in the area, at Wigmore and Wormsley.[25] From its foundation this order of canons had a theoretical commitment to parish work, yet that commitment had to be weighed against the practical problem of conventual discipline if individual canons actually undertook parish work. Very occasionally canons of Wigmore and Wormsley did hold benefices in the area, generally for short periods it seems, benefices of appropriated churches in the vicinity of the respective house. What is not clear is whether the individual canons undertook the normal burden of a resident vicar's duties, or whether they were merely straw men whose appointment allowed the house to deploy a stipendiary chaplain, who came cheaper than a secular vicar. Conversely, it is just possible that within appropriated parishes dependent chapels were sometimes served by the canons themselves, rather than by chaplains, to avoid the necessity of having to augment the in-

come of the vicar to pay for chaplains.[26] Unfortunately there is no firm evidence about the strategy of the Wigmore and Wormsley canons in appropriated parishes, and it is impossible to say whether it increased or reduced the market for chaplains.

Secular chaplains could also be employed at religious houses. In return for gifts from the well-to-do, religious houses not uncommonly allowed both the burial of lay grandees within the conventual chapel (and also within the chapter-house) and the celebration of soul-masses for these and other lay benefactors in the conventual chapel or occasionally in a grange chapel. The soul-masses, when perpetual, constituted a chantry which was normally served by the religious themselves but exceptionally by a stipendiary secular chaplain. Endowments of chantries in the conventual chapels of all the religious houses of men in the area of study except Dinmore are recorded. Not all chantries founded at a much earlier date were of course still operating in 1400; but the six endowments of chantries at Wormsley Priory between 1282 and 1380, and the smaller number of traced endowments at each of the other houses, probably means that each house had at least one chantry around 1400. Moreover Wormsley at one time owned a chantry at a hermitage chapel at Winforton, and Dore a chantry at one of its grange chapels situated outside the area of study. Who served these various chantries? This was not always made clear in the record, and some were undoubtedly served by the religious themselves. But the Winforton chantry could be served either by a canon or by a chaplain, a chantry at Leominster was to be served by a secular chaplain and a chantry at Wigmore by two secular chaplains, and Dore Abbey was required to provide a secular priest to celebrate soul-masses for one of its benefactors in his family's castle chapel.[27] Thus, there can be no doubt that monastic chantries provided some employment for chaplains. Even where chantries were served by religious, the existence within a conventual chapel of tombs and chantries commemorating laity meant that it was difficult for even a Cistercian house like Dore not to allow lay access at least for relatives; and hence these tombs and chantries brought lay visitors to the house.

By 1400, lay-brothers had almost disappeared from religious houses. But their place had been taken by large number of lay dependents, and for these, together with a host of lay corrodians, pilgrims, tradesmen and official visitors, a religious house was forced to recognise a measure of spiritual responsibility, mainly in the form of providing facilities for lay worship, particularly if the house stood at some distance from the nearest parish church or chapel. It was therefore not uncommon for religious houses to establish a chapel specifically for the laity, often situated, for both symbolic and practical reasons, at the outer gate. Cistercian houses, because they endeavoured to exclude the laity from the conventual chapel, were particularly active in erecting gateway chapels. Such chapels seem to have been fairly frequently served, not by the religious, but by secular chaplains.[28] At Dore, Wormsley, Clifford and Wigmore, gateway chapels cannot now be traced in the ruins, but documented non-conventual chapels at Dore and Wigmore may well have been gateway chapels, and if so, may well have been served by chaplains. A supplementary chapel for the laity might even contain a font, and also might be associated with the burial-ground for the lesser laity provided by many religious houses, probably including Dore; although such additional facilities would need to be sanctioned by the bishop and perhaps the local parish incumbent.

At Leominster Priory, the only urban religious house in the area, special circumstances led to the establishment of a chapel for the laity in the outer court or 'Forbury' (from French *faubourg*). The Forbury Chapel still stands.[29] The circumstances of its foundation are worth detailing. Conventual chapels, particularly those in towns, sometimes contained a 'parish altar,' and the sharing arrangement at Leominster appears to represent an extended, though not unique, form of this practice. The priory chapel and the parish church formed a single structure, of which one part was exclusively monastic while the remainder was parochial. Exactly how the two parts were separated is not clear, but they were certainly not totally divided off, with the result that the chances of cacophony, literal and figurative, between the monks and their services and the parochial clergy and theirs were high. It is therefore not surprising that, although the monastery owned the benefice and appointed the vicar, a series of clashes is reported in the bishops' registers. In 1397 the parish complained that the monks would not hand over a key for the bell-tower.[30] A century earlier, the bishop and ultimately the archbishop intervened when the parish and the monastery quarrelled over the key to an important entrance door: the bishop had the door removed, the archbishop replaced it but ordered the monks to build a chapel for the laity as a compromise.[31] Against this background, we may suspect that when in 1346 the bishop required the prior, as surrogate rector, to present the names of those chaplains who had refused to join the vicar at daily services, the monks were torn between reconciling the parties and stirring up the pot, to keep the parish in its place.[32] However, as far as we know, none of these chaplains worked in the monastic wing and none was directly hired by the monks.

Two religious establishments remain to be discussed. Like all nunneries, Limebrook Priory required the services of a chaplain, who was permitted to be either a regular or a secular priest. Limebrook being a small and backwoods nunnery, it may not have had a full-time chaplain who resided within the grounds or nearby; and since the nuns followed rules related to those of the Augustinian canons of Wigmore, just over the hill, it is conceivable that they were served by a visiting canon rather than by a visiting hired chaplain. However the nunnery had financial ties with an obscure chapel in Deerfold Forest, between Wigmore and Limebrook, and it is likely that a chaplain was in fact hired so that he could also serve this chapel.[33]

Finally, the preceptory of the Hospitallers at Dinmore, whose estate enjoyed extra-parochial status, had its own chapel and a staff which included (according to a Hospitaller record of 1334) a prior and two brothers, all priests, but also a secular chaplain. The latter's duty was most probably to serve the lay dependents and the estate tenantry. The preceptory may have had a lay chapel. The 1406 clerical subsidy roll, which listed chaplains, recorded one at Burghope, a 'Brother Richard.' Burghope, a hamlet at the southern foot of Dinmore Hill, may therefore have had a chapel which is nowhere else recorded, a chapel served at this date by a brother from the preceptory, though perhaps at other times by the chaplain. If there was such a chapel, it was most probably organised by the Hospitallers to give wayfarers spiritual comfort as they made their way, northwards to Leominster or southwards to Hereford, over or around Dinmore Hill.[34]

To sum up. Religious houses in the area directly provided for lay worship by permitting various degrees of lay access to the conventual chapel and by providing specific

facilities, either altars within the conventual chapel or lay chapels, the latter within or near the precincts and/or elsewhere on their land. But the number of such facilities is uncertain and may have been very limited. Even more uncertain is the extent to which these religious houses directly employed secular chaplains, either at the house or as substitutes for those religious, especially canons, who were nominally the incumbents of appropriated churches. The 1406 subsidy list of chaplains locates each named chaplain within a named known parish or parochial chapelry, with the single exception of the Burghope entry. This might seem to indicate that chaplains were only employed within the parochial system and that no chaplain was employed at a religious house or a dependent chapel thereof. But this may well be to place too much confidence in the comprehensiveness of such a list, if it does not misinterpret its purpose and limits.

CHAPELS, SURVIVING AND LOST

No doubt because the evidence is scattered and fragmentary, little study has yet been made of the chapels of the late-medieval English countryside.[35] Chapels were numerous, since 'any large community, wherever sited and however temporary, might reasonably expect to have daily mass said for its benefit ... [hence] the need for manorial chapels to be in use during the lord's residence, for castle chapels, ... market chapels, ... [and] bridge chapels.'[36] Yet, apart from the publication of Dissolution material which contains references to seized 'free chapels,' there appear to have been very few attempts by historians to list comprehensively, for any area, all the chapels in use in the immediate pre-Reformation centuries.[37] The very earliest county histories gave some attention, in their parish accounts, to ruined chapels, but later county histories ignored them, possibly because the ruins no longer stood above ground as a reminder.[38] Exceptionally, Dukes' 1844 history of Shropshire supplied a list of 'destroyed chapels formerly belonging to the Church of England;' though significantly the only evidence Dukes could cite for the majority of his items was 'local tradition.'[39]

Apart from Dukes' coverage of the Shropshire deaneries, I know of no previous listing of the medieval chapels of Hereford diocese. Without the guide of precedent, I have thought it best to err on the side of generosity - perhaps even excess - by supplying, in *List C*, detailed references to the existence and operation of earlier chapels; although, on the other hand, details are sometimes so sparse that an individual entry may be bafflingly indeterminate. It is worth repeating that my study has been largely confined to printed sources, and that the archive investigation of the manuscript originals of these, and of unpublished manuscript sources, would render the list both more comprehensive and more meaningful.[40] The fullest information on medieval chapels is undoubtedly to be found in the 16th-century Dissolution material, but whereas, during the 19th and present centuries, printed editions of sections of this material relating to individual English counties have appeared for many counties, virtually nothing relating to Herefordshire has yet appeared. The present lists of chantries and chapels, by their inadequacy in this aspect of their sources, call out for the systematic editing of Herefordshire Dissolution material.[41]

Probably the majority of the chapels to be found in the area of study *c.*1400 were not in the categories previously discussed - private chapels, castle and manorial chapels, 'free

chapels,' chapels for the laity at or possessed by religious houses. Instead, they were chapels formally and fully dependent on parish churches. This means, first, that they were manned by chaplains appointed by the incumbent of the parish, and secondly, that those who attended the chapels owed specific obligations to the parish church and were required to attend there for certain spiritual facilities.[42] These 'dependent chapels' are better documented than other chapels; moreover, many of the buildings have survived, because the vast majority of dependent parochial chapels in the area of study were eventually promoted to the status of parish church. The map-diagram of the area shows the distribution of dependent parochial chapels *c.*1400, and their individual relationship to parish churches.

Two features of the distribution are striking (whether these historical features occur in other regions is not known). There were about thirty dependent chapels in the area, compared with about seventy parish churches, that is, on average every second parish contained a dependent chapel. But this average turns out to be of little significance when the geographical distribution is considered. Half the parish churches were to be found in a line - sometimes a double row - along the north bank of the river Wye; and presumably because these churches were situated fairly close to each other, hardly any of them had chapels. In contrast, north ot this line parishes grew larger and chapels became more common. In some districts there were more chapels than churches, and several parish churches had a string of dependent chapels. Thus, in the North-west of the area, Kington and Presteigne had three chapels, and Radnor had two; while the North-east of the area displayed an extraordinary concentration of chapels. A district divided in 1900 between a dozen parishes was in 1400 divided between only two, Leominster and Eye; but these two parishes possessed, respectively, three (perhaps four) and seven dependent chapels, a total of ten (perhaps eleven). A neighbouring district contained two parish churches, Aymestrey and Wigmore, each with two chapels; while neighbouring Tenbury parish, with its church situated outside our area, had two chapels situated within it.

Precisely why there were so many chapels in the north of our area is not clear. But it probably had some connection with the fact that all four of the named North-east parish churches within the area were appropriated to religious houses (Leominster and Eye to Leominster Priory, Aymestrey and Wigmore to Wigmore Abbey); as were two of the North-west parish churches (Presteigne to Wigmore Abbey, Kington to Llantony - near - Gloucester Priory). Thus it might seem that early appropriation froze the pattern of chapels, by inhibiting promotions to parish church status. Be that as it may, at the Dissolution these appropriated churches passed to the bishop and their chapels survived. So too did most, if not all, of the other dependent chapels of the area.

At the Reformation, certain categories of chapel were supposed to be exempt from dissolution. The Chantries Act, after claiming that parochial chapels were unaffected, stated that it did not 'in any wise extende to ... any Chappell made or ordeyned for the ease of the people dwelling distant from the parishe churche, or such lyke chappell whereunto no more landes or tenements than the Churche Yard or a lytle house or close doth belong' (1 E6 c.14, para. 15). This was strikingly vague, perhaps deliberately so. On the one hand, the last clause seems to be capable of bringing into the net almost any

chapel not formally and fully parochially-dependent, since an endowment of land was the most common way of funding the maintenance of such a chapel and the payment of its priest. On the other hand, the acceptance of 'ease' as justification for continuance, the casual addition of 'such lyke chappell' otherwise undefined, the failure to define a parochial chapel or quantify the claim of being 'distant from the parish church,' all these points made it easy for those local administrators who felt so disposed to limit the operation of the legislation. Hence, while it can be accepted that in general dependent parochial chapels survived because they were exempt under the act, it is not clear that they were quite the same as 'parochial chapels of ease' and not at all clear that all non-dependent chapels were dissolved. It is of course convenient to assume that all dependent parochial chapels were saved, all non-parochial chapels seized. But there are difficulties in accepting this neat distinction.

One feature of the surviving dependent chapels of the area which may additionally have contributed to their survival was the relatively limited practical extent of their 'dependence.' Evidence provided by their present-day fabric, particularly the existence of a pre-1400 font, together with documentation of pre-1400 burial-grounds and medieval sets of bells, indicates that many of these chapels provided a range of facilities which made them, as it were, mini-parish-churches.[43] Precisely why they were so well endowed with the means to provide superrogatory facilities is not clear; but the fact that they were so endowed must have made their post-Dissolution survival, and often their later independent operation, no excessive burden on their parishioners. Popular local pressure, exercised through sympathetic gentry, is thought by modern historians to have had some influence on the selection of chapels for survival. Hence a possible criterion for survival supplementary to that of 'dependence:' better-endowed chapels tended to survive while less well-endowed chapels did not. However, because the fabric of a surviving chapel normally provides part of the essential evidence, we cannot prove that non-surviving chapels were all of them ill-endowed.

Similarly, while it is certain that most surviving chapels were dependent parochial chapels, and that dependent chapels generally survived, it is by no means certain that the seized chapels did not include a number of dependent chapels - although it might perhaps be argued that there were degrees of dependence and that only the less than fully dependent failed to survive. There is unfortunately no document which comprehensively lists dependent chapels. The 1536 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (or its slightly fuller bishop's register form) did include many dependent chapels (either within the list of the deanery of location or sometimes, confusingly, within the list of the deanery of the religious house appropriating the parochial benefice), but it certainly did not list them all. Bollingham Chapel, which is not only documented earlier but survives to the present day as a dependent chapel, is not listed. Ednol Chapel, documented and surviving up to the 19th century as a dependent chapel, is also not listed. This raises the possibility that other chapels which have not survived and which apparently disappeared at the Dissolution were, after all, dependent chapels. Lower Kinsham Chapel may well have belonged to this category, while two other chapels, Street and Vowmynd, were most probably 'parochial chapels of ease' and as such at least semi-dependent. The basic problem is that we know very little about most of the non-surviving chapels, including such fundamental points as, in some

cases, whether they were actually operating as late as the Dissolution or had disappeared earlier, and in other cases, alternatively, whether though named at the Dissolution they actually ceased to operate then or at a later date.

Listed chapels which have not survived can therefore often be more easily categorised by the form in which they are recorded than by the form of their institutional operation, or degree of non-operation, at the Dissolution. Chapels recorded only when their burial-grounds were consecrated as refuges in the mid-12th century would not necessarily survive until even 1400: nevertheless, two chapels at Bodenham listed in Dissolution material may well have been ones whose only previous reference was four centuries earlier. Very early chapels which do not appear in Dissolution records had probably disappeared during the intervening centuries, for instance, St. Leonard's Chapel in Turnastone parish, nothing being heard of it after the institution to this parish, as his first benefice, of the future Bishop Orleton in 1303.[44] That, during the pre-Reformation centuries, chapels could cease to function, could be abandoned, and could even fall into ruin, is abundantly evidenced in complaints in the state papers and in the chantry certificates, although there is only one evidenced instance in the area of study, the chapel of Hampton Wafer which by 1536 was '*diruta*.' On the other hand, certain chapels are recorded for the first time in the Dissolution material, for instance, a chapel at Aston in Kingsland parish. Were these recent foundations, or merely early chapels to which nothing had ever happened that brought them into the scope of extant records? Finally, there are references in 17th-century sources to ruins of chapels, or alleged chapels, in places where no chapel was previously recorded. Although it must be conceded that, as the pre-Reformation centuries receded into the distance, a tendency emerged to attribute to them more than was their due, and therefore to romanticise old barns into lost chapels, it cannot be ruled out as utterly inconceivable, given the fragmentary evidence in other cases, that some medieval chapels went unrecorded until the 17th century. We must take seriously the evidence regarding 'lost chapels' supplied by the Herefordshire antiquarians Silas Taylor and Thomas Blount.[45]

The effect of the Dissolution on the chapels of the area is only clear in part. *List C* records eighty-six chapels or alleged chapels, thirty of them dependent, the rest non-dependent or uncertain.[46] Of these eighty-six, twenty-seven dependent parochial chapels continued in use, more or less as before the Reformation. Their later history was normally one of 18th-century upgrading to parochial status in the legal form of a perpetual curacy, sometimes with the help of Queen Anne's Bounty; and independent survival up to the mid-20th century, with a proportion abandoned thereafter, decade by decade. At the other extreme, twenty-one of the eighty-six are alleged chapels, whose existence at any period cannot be definitely proved, although it is unlikely that all are historically fictitious. In between these extremes are fourteen or perhaps fifteen chapels which definitely existed at one time, but which either cannot be proved to have survived until *c.*1400; or, alternatively, cannot be proved to have continued in existence from *c.*1400 until the Dissolution - although it is likely that at least two or three did exist at both dates.[47] Next, there are twenty-one or perhaps twenty-two chapels which existed at the Dissolution, but which afterwards were abandoned. Thirteen of these are on record as being listed for dissolution, or listed as having had all or part of their landed endowment seized and sold, and hence were most probably abandoned more or less immediately. A further five or six

are not so listed, yet appear to have been abandoned at the time of the Dissolution; and three more probably continued operating for a period but were all abandoned within a century of the Dissolution. And finally, two unique items: one private chapel which was unaffected, and the single chapel which was recorded as having fallen into ruins between 1400 and 1550.

If the alleged chapels had indeed an existence, then the majority would seem to have been manorial chapels, and most of the remainder grange chapels. Of the evidenced chapels whose existence up to the Dissolution is uncertain, one was a bridge chapel (Whitney), one a hermitage and chantry chapel (St. Kenedr, Winforton), one a parochial and perhaps a dependent chapel (Lower Kinsham), and the remainder were probably either manorial or grange chapels. Of the dissolved or later abandoned chapels, one was a chantry chapel (Tillington), one a churchyard chapel (Radnor), one a bishop's chapel (Sugwas), three were castle chapels (Snodhill, Urishay, New Radnor), five were monastic chapels wholly or partly for the laity (Forbury, Deerfold, Dore, Clifford, Wigmore St. Anne, Wigmore St. Juliana), two were probably parochial chapels of ease (Street, Vowmynd), and the remainder were perhaps estate or hamlet chapels. Of these twenty-one or twenty-two dissolved or abandoned chapels, only one survives today more or less intact, the Forbury Chapel in Leominster; while Urishay Chapel, recently abandoned, stands in ruins. The remainder have disappeared without known trace above ground, and the exact site of most of them is uncertain. All of the chapels which may or may not have reached the Dissolution are similarly 'lost.' In total, the area contains thirty-four documented lost chapels, as well as a further twenty locations where the existence of alleged chapels could be investigated.

Nationwide, the Dissolution led to the disappearance of hundreds of chapels, a social change the historian - *pace* the antiquarian - might regard as little less significant and far-reaching than the dissolution of the monasteries. As well as castle and manorial chapels, grange and gateway chapels, and any ancient free chapels without cure, the state swept away a range of what the 16th-century - or at least the state administrators - now called 'free chapels.' Why? The religious justification for the closing of non-dependent chapels was that their endowment tended to support a priest whose duties included, explicitly or implicitly, the saying of soul-masses, a rite the Reformation deplored. But, in addition, it is likely that these non-dependent 'free chapels' aroused little enthusiasm in parochial incumbents and the higher clergy. It can be argued that, as the pre-Reformation centuries ran out, the common laity gained more weight in the church and demanded more convenience in spiritual facilities. This led to the establishment of what were in effect hamlet chapels, often funded around a chantry or at least a regular round of soul-masses. The villagers exercised more control over their local chaplain than they had ever had over their parish incumbent, and the chaplain might be encouraged to undertake other useful duties, such as school-teaching.[48] Reacting, no doubt in the correct belief that overmuch lay liberty encouraged such heresies as anti-clericalism, the church authorities acquiesced in this aspect of the Protestant campaign against soul-masses, inasmuch as it restored villagers to the parochial church, to the parochial incumbent, and to the parochial finances. The term 'free chapels' was not complimentary but a term of condemnation. On this view, the problem for the historian is less why the chapels were swept away than why

the rural populace quietly accepted the clerical counter-attack. It can, however, be further argued that lay resistance was eroded by a compromise - not all threatened chapels in fact disappeared, at least immediately.

The commissioners listing chantries were supposed to list 'free chapels,' and in certain counties appear to have done so with vigour. But in Herefordshire - to the historian's regret - they chose to include very few in their returns. This perhaps in itself indicates some strength of local lay feeling in support of such chapels. Similarly, Dr. Haigh notes that in Lancashire - 'the chantry commissioners paid no attention to the chapels, apparently relying on the clause in the suppression act stating that chapels of ease in hamlets far from the parish churches were not to be molested. But the later commissioners for concealed property looked closely at chapels.'[49] Certainly, in Herefordshire, as in Lancashire, it was the case that the various sets of commissioners 'worked in a haphazard fashion and there is often no rational explanation for their treatment of individual chapels.'[50] What makes the picture more baffling is that we are uncertain how many chapels, even if condemned to seizure and closure, were actually abandoned. Professor Youings considers that, 'as an extension of the policy of accommodating local people whenever possible, ... in quite a number of cases the churches [sc. chapels] were handed over to the parishioners as free gifts, though without any endowment ... [and] in other cases were actually sold to parishioners for cash.'[51] In Lancashire, 'most of the chapels sold were still in use over the next 20-30 years, so it is probable that many were purchased by the local inhabitants and services were not interrupted.'[52] One cannot be so categorical about chapels in the area of study, but the slight evidence available suggests that, of the non-dependent chapels which might be thought to have been threatened, Middlewood, Dore and perhaps Urishay continued in use, at least for a period after the Dissolution and at least for certain religious purposes. There may well have been other surviving 'free chapels,' alias 'chapels of ease.' Yet it must be significant that, however many non-dependent chapels continued in use immediately after the Dissolution, none seems to have continued in operation up to 1650; and it is likely that by this date, like the chapels closed down at the Dissolution, they too had become merely barns or ruins. Here, it seems, is a contrast with Lancashire.

Given the difficulty caused by the lack of clarity about what happened to chapels in the 16th century (when they are at least relatively well documented), and hence about how many existed immediately before the Reformation, what can be said, in conclusion, about the chapels of *c.*1400? The exact number cannot be known, not least because the foundation of new chapels has always coincided with the abandonment of some old ones. Clearly, however, they were not uncommon in the Herefordshire countryside. If not exactly available at every lane-end, they were nevertheless to be found at almost any point in populated land where there was a gap of more than two or three miles between parish churches. They were of course associated with localities where people gathered, as well as with localities of settlement - at a bridge, in a market town, at a castle, at religious houses, as well as in hamlets and villages. It is a striking reflection that their number appears to have been of the same order as the number of Nonconformist chapels in the same area five centuries later, *c.*1900, when the rural population was most likely not much larger. This comparison serves to bring forward a final point.

After about 1680 the established church doubled the number of parishes in the area. In other words, the number of parochial incumbents increased, but the number of Anglican chapels sharply declined. There then followed a steady expansion of Nonconformity and a consequent multiplication of its own chapels - rather as if the rural populace abhorred a vacuum of chapels, preferring a close and more controllable local ministry to an authoritarian sacred hierarchy. If this is fanciful, at least it is certain that the lonely red-brick Nonconformist chapels of North-west Herefordshire - and *pari passu* of the English countryside at large - nowadays regularly standing abandoned and in ruins, are repeating a pattern a millenium old, that of the Rise and Fall of Chapels.[52]

ABBREVIATIONS

CPR = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CPRL = *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters*
CPRP = *Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions*
PRO = Public Record Office, London
RCHMH = *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, An inventory of the historical monuments of Herefordshire*
Reg. = *Register of* [named bishop of Hereford]

REFERENCES

[1] P. E. H. Hair, 'Mobility of parochial clergy in Hereford diocese c.1400', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XLIII (1980), 164-80. Although relating to another diocese a century later, compare the following statement. 'There is very little evidence of real neglect resulting from the absence of incumbents, since in most Lancashire parishes there were two or three assistants who could carry the burden of pastoral care:' C. Haigh, *Reformation and resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (1975), 28. Unfortunately the late-medieval unbeneficed represent 'the most obscure section of the ecclesiastical hierarchy:' R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (1973), 165. Professor Dobson instances the fact that monastic presentations of chaplains to chantries and dependent chapels may escape both monastic and episcopal record. Some insights may however be gained from studies of the unbeneficed in the early 16th century: see M. Zell, 'The personnel of the clergy in Kent in the Reformation period', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 89 (1974), 571-2; 'Economic problems of the parochial clergy in the sixteenth century', in R. O'Day and F. Heal, *Princes and paupers in the English church 1500-1800* (1981), 20-5, 27-9. For instance, Zell argues that the unbeneficed moved rapidly from job to job, a point less clear in my study (Hair 1980, 171).

[2] Each of the three terms employed in the title of this paper, 'chaplain,' 'chantry,' and 'chapel,' has no single, precise definition, either as used in the later middle ages or as used by modern historians. The term *capellanus* 'chaplain' was used in senses both very general and very specific, though in the later case it was sometimes qualified for precision (cf. M. Bowker, *The secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln 1495-1520* (1968), 106). Thus, while chaplains were generally unbeneficed secular clergy, the 'chaplain' of a king, a grandee or a bishop might be beneficed; while the 'chaplain' of an abbot would normally be one of the regular clergy. However the definition in the text comprehends the vast majority of 'chaplains.'

Despite the apparent etymological connection between 'chaplain' and 'chapel,' the rector of a late medieval 'free chapel,' being a beneficed incumbent, is not here considered a 'chaplain.' However, a beneficed chantry priest is - illogically but for convenience - here considered a 'chaplain,' because of the practical difficulty of distinguishing his activity from that of an unbeneficed chantry priest. With the exception of these beneficed chantry priests, all the 'chaplains' of this paper were unbeneficed, that is, they were stipendiaries, hired on short-term contracts and often dismissable more or less at will.

It is hereafter assumed that all chaplains were priests. Whether the term 'chaplain' was ever extended to those parochial assistant clergy who were only sub-deacons or deacons is unclear but perhaps unlikely. Even if it were, the inexactitude in regard to status would matter little in a chronological listing, since individuals normally received the major orders in rapid succession, progress from sub-deacon to priest often taking only two years or less (as shown in the Hereford ordination lists). The 1379 subsidy grant included (as the 1406 and 1436 grants did not) a group termed *clerici*, who were thus distinguished, in both the grant and the list, from 'chaplains,' and who in the former were defined as 'all clerks not advanced or beneficed, of whatever order and estate they be, except clerks under sixteen years of age and mendicant clerks' (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1377-1383,* 140). In 1379, nineteen unlocated *clerici* were recorded in the two deaneries under study. The canon law rule was that acolytes had to be at least sixteen, sub-deacons and deacons twenty-three, and priests twenty-four (although papal dispensations allowed individuals or stated numbers to be advanced at earlier ages). This must have meant that acolytes were in generous supply, and that there must have been some danger of parishes being over-stocked with under-employed and ill-paid youth, who presumably formed most of the *clerici*.

[3] The area under study is basically that of the medieval deaneries of Leominster and Weobley, two of the fourteen deaneries of the medieval diocese of Hereford. The two deaneries lay largely within the area of modern Herefordshire but on the west included half a dozen parishes in the area known in more recent centuries as the county of Radnor, in Wales. To bring the area of study up to the modern Herefordshire county boundary on the north, seven parishes in medieval Clun, Ludlow and Burford deaneries are included, as are two parishes of Hereford deanery which were enclaves within Leominster and Weobley deaneries. Finally, six parishes of Weston deanery which either were also enclaves, or which serve to straighten the eastern aspect of the area, are added. The total area is a squarish block of some eighty-five modern parishes, on the east running up the modern A49 road for 25 km. from the outskirts of Hereford town to the county boundary, and in the other direction crossing westwards the same distance to the edge of the Welsh hills. The block lies immediately north of the river Wye, except where it extends deeply on the South-west to include the 'Golden Valley' (but not the parishes in the hills to the west which, although in Herefordshire, have always been in St. David's diocese).

It has to be added that the medieval county boundaries were not everywhere the same as the modern ones. In the later medieval centuries the boundary of Herefordshire on the west was with the March of Wales, and was to some extent shifting, for as the Marcher lords gained from the crown extensions of their liberties, so the boundary of Herefordshire administration retreated. (On which, see T. F. Tout, 'The Welsh shires', *Y Cymmrodor*, 9 (1888), 221; C. A. J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (1904), 41-2; R. R. Davies, *Lordship and society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (1978), 17, 24-5. By the 14th century Radnor and Norton had moved outside Herefordshire, never to return. In 1340 the following parishes within the studied area and now in Herefordshire were stated to be wholly or partly in the March: Wigmore*, Aymestrey, Byton, Knill, Titley, Kington, Eardisley*, Whitney*, Winforton*, Willersley, Clifford*, Cusop: *Nonarum inquisitiones in curia scaccarii* (1807). Those parishes listed with an asterisk were specifically named, together with Huntington district, as being re-attached to Herefordshire when the March was divided up in 1536, by the act 27 Henry VIII, c.26, s.12, a division which also created the county of Radnor. On the north of the area, the parish of Leintwardine, originally in Shropshire, was withdrawn c.1300 into a Marcher liberty, more or less conclusively; but the 1536 act awarded the greater part of the parish to Herefordshire. It follows that the medieval history of certain parishes in the studied area is to be found in sources and histories of Wales and Shropshire as well as in those of Herefordshire. Note however that all references to counties in the text indicate the post-1536 situation of an exactly defined Herefordshire, including a western boundary with Radnorshire.

The population of the whole area *c.*1400 was most probably between 24,000 and 36,000. Probably Leominster had a population of 2,500-3,500; Pembridge, Weobley, Kington, Old Radnor, New Radnor, Presteigne and Leintwardine each a population of 600-2,000; and the remaining parishes mostly populations of 300-500. These estimates derive from study of the 1548 houseling return and the early-19th century censuses, after very many assumptions and interpretations have been deployed.

[4] Cf. 'about one third of the people of the county attended the services of a chaplain at a chapel of ease, rather than those of the incumbent of a parish church' (Haigh, *op. cit.* in note 1, 28). But Dr. Haigh is inclined to attribute the prevalence of chaplains and chapel worship in Lancashire to the peculiar geographical and historical circumstances of that particular county.

[5] For previous discussion of these issues, particularly in relation to earlier centuries, see A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English clergy and their organization in the later Middle Ages* (1947), especially 122-8; J. R. H. Moorman, *Church life in England in the thirteenth century* (1945).

[6] Unbeneficed clergy working for lay employers, whether wholly or partly in secular activities or as 'household chaplains' (categories which shaded into each other), tend not to be recorded in the sources used for this paper, for instance, they do not appear in the bishops' registers and it is very doubtful whether they appear in any of the clerical subsidy lists (but see Appendix C: clerical subsidy lists). Hence they are not discussed further in the text. Petitions to the papacy in the earlier 14th century (the register of petitions 1342-1419 unfortunately lacks English petitions after 1366) show royalty, gentry and senior churchmen seeking benefits for named chaplains, presumably their household chaplains, and some of the chaplains are stated to be 'of Hereford diocese.' For instance, the countess of Northampton in 1343 sought a benefice for her chaplain John Aunger, who was perhaps the man of that name ordained deacon in 1335 (*Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions* [hereafter *CPRP*]

1342-1419, 26; *Register* [hereafter *Reg.*] *T. Charlton*, 160). In 1344, Aunger, now described as chaplain to both the earl of Pembroke and the bishop of Winchester, obtained his new employers' support for further petitions in his favour (*CPRP 1342-1419*, 26, 35, 40). The bishop, a former bishop of Hereford, the same year petitioned on behalf of another Hereford chaplain, Adam de Aylton, later rector of Mordiford, who in 1345 attended the bishop on his death-bed (*ibid.*, 59; *Reg. Trillek*, 55). Clearly service as a household chaplain with the great and mighty offered good career prospects; yet there may well have been many household chaplains who never gained promotion to a benefice. Conversely, it is plausible that many beneficed clergy had spent part of their unrecorded earlier career in household service. However, some beneficed clergy deserted their benefices in order to serve in the households of the great. The licences for non-residence recorded in the bishops' registers, licences normally granted for the purpose of study, include a number granted to enable a cleric to be in attendance on a grandee. For instance, in 1335 the rector of Byford was allowed two years leave of absence in order to attend on the earl of Hereford (*Reg. T. Charlton*, 92). But this is almost the only instance noted relating to incumbents within the area of study.

[7] On the frequency of papal grants of licences for portable altars to English petitioners in the early 15th century, see J. A. F. Thomson, ' "The Well of Grace": Englishmen and Rome in the fifteenth century', in Barrie Dobson, ed., *The Church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century* (1984), 109. Only a handful of Hereford diocese recipients of licences for portable altars is recorded in *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters* [hereafter *CPRL*]. But some of the annual lists are missing, and licences could also be issued by papal representatives in England. Reasons for seeking portable altars are seldom recorded. Those that are recorded may be good, bad or indifferent, as witness the following instances (not from Hereford diocese): a prior to visit manors distant from a parish church (1355, 1397); a cleric so that he can celebrate before day-break (1348); villagers for use in a new and as yet unconsecrated chapel (1412); a soldier 'to go against the infidel' (1364); an official 'busily engaged in the service of the king, so cannot attend divine services' (1366); the duke of Lancaster's steward because his wife is 'so frequently pregnant that she cannot come to the parish church ' (1353) (*CPRL 1396-1404*, 61, 247; *CPRP 1342-1419*, 141, 271, 285, 490, 523). No reason was recorded for the issue of licences to the following Hereford diocese recipients: Sir Walter Huet (1364); the rector of Coddington (1404); John Fitzpiers, nobleman, and his wife (1415 - they were patrons of Hughley free chapel and of Lydham, *Reg. Mascall*, 181, 185); John Aylmystre, priest, canon of Wigmore (1421 - cf. 'apostate' *Reg. Spofford*, 65); Richard Sterlyng, priest (1423); Robert Grendour and his wife (1425 - the wife established a chantry and school at Newland in memory of Robert, *Reg. Spofford*, 281-8); Lucy Lentale, lady of Hampton (1438 - Rowland Leinthales, who held Hampton Wafer in our study area, where the village was being deserted and the chapel abandoned, was building a mansion with a chapel at Hampton Mappenore near Bodenham, five miles away - perhaps this licence indicates that the former chapel was out of use and the new one not yet consecrated) (*CPRL 1362-1396*, 47; *1396-1404*, 621; *1404-1415*, 356; *1417-1431*, 306, 332, 414; *1427-1447*, 394). In 1389 Bishop Trefnant gave the earl of Arundel a very open licence to have mass said by his household chaplains anywhere within the diocese: portable altars were not mentioned but seem to be implied (*Reg. Trefnant*, 6). Bishop Trillek in 1349 made arrangements to consecrate 'two, three, four, five, six or any number' of portable altars (*Reg. Trillek*, 146). The chapel of the castle of Shrawardine (in Shropshire, on the north bank of the Severn, but in medieval Hereford diocese) in 1396 contained three portable altars (*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* 1392-9, item 237). For comment on the use of portable altars, see R. E. Rodes, *Ecclesiastical administration in medieval England* (1977), 185.

[8] Licences for oratories were, strictly, licences to say mass in an oratory. Oratories within churches and chapels were not unknown: oratories within private houses were more common but were supposed to receive a licence only if the house was far from a church or chapel - a restriction which seems to have been frequently ignored. The Hereford bishops' registers of the 14th century record some fifty licences issued across the whole of the diocese (and the record is incomplete, there being no licences registered during the last thirteen years of Bishop Trillek or in any of the fifteen years of Bishop Trefnant). (See the list of licences in E. N. Drew, *Index to the registers of the diocese of Hereford* (1925), 18). Licences were generally issued for periods of one to five years, though occasionally 'at good pleasure,' or for a lifetime, or without set period. Yet the registers record not a single renewal to an individual or for a building, although it seems very unlikely that all oratories were abandoned after the period of the original licence. (There may however be two instances of renewal to generations of families: individuals with the surname Walweyn received licences in 1407, 1431 and 1451, and individuals with the surname Leghton received licences in 1405 and 1481, *Reg. Mascall*, 190; *Reg. Spofford*, 377; *Reg. Boulers*, 23; *Reg. Myllyng*, 206). A further defect of the registers is that the licences are recorded in an increasingly summary form, with details such as term of licence omitted. However, despite these defects the following information can be learned from the registers. Apart from a handful of licences for oratories at clergy houses (e.g. at the rectory of Richards Castle, at Batchcott, in 1362, *Reg. L. Charlton*, 3), perhaps because the cleric was aged or ill (cf. *Reg. Orleton*, 183; *Reg. T. Charlton*, 13), licences went to the gentry with castles or mansions (e.g. 'within Eardisley Castle' 1373, *Reg. Courtney*, 10; 'in Lyonshall Castle' 1471, *Reg. Stanbury*, 195). Sometimes the licence named a specific castle, mansion or house; sometimes it merely named the manor or parish; occasionally

it was for a number of manors, or for 'wherever he lives within the diocese;' occasionally no locality was given (e.g. a 1361 licence to John Oldcastle, who may have been one of the Aymestrey Oldcastles, *Reg. L. Charlton*, 13). Invariably a licence included a formula to the effect that the oratory mass was not to prejudice the rights and finances of the parish church, and hence it may perhaps be presumed that the incumbent was consulted, or at least informed (e.g. *Reg. Trillek*, 98). The oratory mass was to be attended only by the household of the licencee, or in one instance by the household and visitors (*Reg. Gilbert*, 92); and sometimes it was spelled out that there was to be no celebration on Sundays and feast-days. Very occasionally the gentry were reminded that, if possible, they should on these days attend the parish mass (e.g. the lady De Pembridge in 1346, she having obtained a licence for three manorial oratories, one of them at Monnington, *Reg. Trillek*, 87). Mass was to be said in the oratory by 'a suitable chaplain or chaplains,' but only once was a particular chaplain named (*Reg. Trillek*, 57). Exceptionally, a V.I.P., the countess of March, was allowed to have a wedding in her oratory (*Reg. Trillek*, 137). Seven of the recorded 14th-century licences definitely refer to oratories located in the area of study, and several licences for unlocated oratories were to gentry known to have had manors within this area. However, because it is not recorded how long specific oratories existed, it is not possible to know the number of oratories within the area at any one time, and hence impossible to assess the extent to which these oratories generated employment for chaplains. But the fact that three oratories were licenced at separate mansions within the parish of Dilwyn in a single year, in 1347, may just conceivably have some connection with the naming of three chaplains apparently working within the parish in the Dilwyn presentment of 1397, half a century later (A. T. Bannister, 'Visitation returns of the diocese of Hereford in 1397', *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 44 (1929), 278-89, 444-53; 45 (1930), 92-101, 444-63, on p.445 of vol. 45). It has to be added that 'oratory' was occasionally treated as synonomous with 'private chapel,' a more permanent foundation than the normal oratory (hence, perhaps the foundation of a chantry within an 'oratory' at Lydney in 1296, *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (1908), 167-8).

[9] The fullest near-contemporary lists of castles in the area of study were supplied by William Worcestre *c.*1480 and John Leland *c.*1540, the former obtaining his list from an informant, the latter visiting the area though not each castle locality. Archive sources suggest that by 1400 many earlier castles had disappeared or fallen into decay; however, a 1402-3 list of castles claimed to be defensible against the Welsh presumably indicates castles still operative, in the sense that they were maintained and at least occasionally occupied. Within the area of study the following castles were almost certainly operative *c.*1400: New Radnor, Huntington, Stapleton, Dorstone, Snodhill, Clifford (? Worcestre's 'Bage'), Lyonshall, Weobley, Brampton Bryan, Wigmore, Richards Castle (W. Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed., J. H. Harvey (1969), 201, 209; Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The itineraries of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, 5 vols. (1907-10), vol. 2, 69, 75-6, 78; vol. 3, 10, 41-9; vol. 4, 13, 164, 166, 176; D. J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 2 vols. (1983), 201-17, 405-16 [citing *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1403, 111]). But which castles possessed chapels? 'Every [royal] castle had a chapel, many had more than one...[although] most castle chapels were simply private altars:' J. H. Denton, *English royal free chapels 1100-1300* (1970), 129. The existence of multiple, architecturally specific chapels in many royal castles can be confirmed in detail: R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor, *The history of the King's Works*, vol. 2 (1963), *passim*. But there was no royal castle in the area of study by 1400: all the many castles were non-royal. Non-royal castles were no doubt less well provided with facilities for even private worship (a degree of supposition must creep in here, since many non-royal castles are in a state of complete ruin, and even those standing fairly intact have been less comprehensively investigated than have royal castles). Probably many did not have a chaplain, and perhaps many with a chaplain possessed only an oratory (for Lyonshall's 1471 oratory licence, see previous note). How many of the non-royal castles in the area of study had an architecturally specific chapel? Because all the castles in the area have fallen into extreme ruin, it is generally impossible to trace any remains of interior chapels (such as exist elsewhere in the diocese, most notably at Ludlow and Goodrich). To judge by size of ruins alone, probably most castles in this area did not have chapels - and perhaps not even chaplains. But Weobley Castle appears to have had a chaplain *c.*1350; unfortunately a 17th-century plan of the castle is not detailed enough to prove or disprove the existence of a chapel (*Archaeol. Cambrensis* (1869), 47, 265). Post-medieval references suggest that Wigmore Castle and Clifford Castle may have had chapels (T. Wright, *The history of Ludlow* (1862), 360, 408, 'an old decayed chappell' 1574; C. J. Robinson, *A history of the mansions and manors of Herefordshire* [1872], 67, quoting Silas Taylor in 1657, 'chapels of ease ... one by the Castle of Clifford, the steeple and chancel yet remaining'). Snodhill Castle certainly had a chapel, a 'free chapel' in the *c.*1400 sense, whose existence Leland noted, perhaps because there were presentations to it up to his day, perhaps because it was still operative, perhaps because it stood visually apart from the castle (if it did so - its site cannot now be traced). Finally, one building which has survived within the area has a tenuous claim to have been a castle chapel. The only medieval documentary reference to a chapel at Urishay is in the 1397 visitation return (Bannister, *op. cit.* in note 7, 283). The primitive building standing today at Urishay, outside a site of medieval and Elizabethan ruins, was reconstructed *c.*1910, after earlier use as a barn, and served as a chapel of ease until abandoned again *c.*1960. In 1931 the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments' *An inventory of the historical*

monuments in Herefordshire [hereafter cited as *RCHMH*], 3 vols. (1931-4), vol. 1 (1931), 211, 213-4, had no knowledge of its earlier history and doubted whether it was of medieval origin. However very recent archaeological examination has shown not only that the present remains represent in part the 1397 chapel, several times reconstructed, but that they indicate that a chapel was first built on the site in the 12th century or even earlier (*Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIII (1979), 69-70; XLIV (1982), 121-2 and plan). But was this a castle chapel? No castle at Urishay was recorded by Worcestre or Leland, and in 1398 two kidnapped monks of Dore Abbey, after imprisonment at Snodhill Castle, were put in a cellar at 'the manor of Urishay' (D. H. Williams, *White monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976), 20). However, a recent authority allows Urishay to have been 'a low motte, probably a bailey once' (Cathcart King, *op. cit.* in note 8, 211). On the strength of this, it may be claimed that Urishay Chapel is a castle chapel which miraculously survived when all the others in the area did not. If, then, there most probably once existed a number of castle chapels in the area, what services to the laity did these chapels and their chaplains offer? This is difficult to answer, there being indeed no direct evidence relating to the activities of castle chapels or their chaplains. Patently the chaplains served the lord of the castle, his household, and any garrison. But there is evidence from elsewhere which suggests that, whatever the canonical restrictions and the intentions of the church authorities, some castle chaplains at times ministered to wider areas of the laity, the estate tenantry or even other parishioners. Thus, at individual Yorkshire castles, chaplains were obliged 'to minister to the inhabitants of the castle and the park' or 'to the inhabitants of the castle and of a village two miles distant;' or were obliged 'when any nobleman or constable is there to say mass within the castle or at the parish church' (W. Page, *Certificates of the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc, in the county of York*, Surtees Society, 2 vols. (1894-5), 94-5, 119, 245, 323).

[10] Chapels at the many mansion houses in the area which have survived from the late medieval period have usually been swallowed up in frequent post-medieval reconstructions, though sites or alleged sites of chapels are sometimes known. The traces of a chapel at Brinsop Court alleged in Robinson, *op. cit.* in note 9, 43, (and in Kilvert's diary, entry for 13 March 1879) were not confirmed, or at least noted, in *RCHMH*, vol. 2, 29-31. But Hampton Court, built in the 1430s, has a surviving chapel little changed since its construction (some original carved woodwork from the chapel is now displayed in Hereford City Museum).

[11] A 'free chapel' was supposedly independent of the parochial system because it had been originally founded by royalty on a royal demesne, but this may have been a late legal myth. A 'royal free chapel' was a chapel which remained in crown hands and hence was largely independent of the diocese as well as of the parish: Shrewsbury Castle had a royal free chapel, but there was no royal free chapel in the area of study. It is important to note that 'free chapel' later acquired a wider meaning than that used in the bishops' registers *.c*1400 and followed in this article. The 'free chapels' seized during the process of dissolution of the chantries were mainly unbeneficed chapels (often 'chapels of ease,' of fairly recent foundation, supported by local endowment and centred round soul-masses, notionally dependent on the parish church, but only loosely so). The Hereford bishops' registers contain one inquiry into the relationship between a 'free chapel without cure' and a parish church. In 1323 Willey Chapel in Wenlock parish had a font but no burial-ground, and was served by a chaplain who was controlled by the vicar of Wenlock but was paid out of separate chapel funds and was therefore nominally a 'rector' (*Reg. Orleton*, 281-3). But this arrangement was certainly untypical: its anomalous features may have been due to the fact that both benefices were owned by Wenlock Priory.

[12] For references evidencing statements about particular chapels, see List C, under the names of the chapels. It may be noted here that the bishop of Hereford had a chapel at many and probably all of his several manor houses within the diocese, one of which, at Sugwas, with within the area of study (or almost so, see under Stretton Sugwas in *List C*). The bishops' registers record that ordinations were frequently held at Sugwas Chapel (a building long since destroyed). But a bishop's chapel was presumably never open to the laity.

[13] Use of the term 'twentieth-century churches' conceals the fact that the parochial system of rural Herefordshire has changed radically since the 1960s, with many parishes being amalgamated, many churches being made redundant, and some churches being abandoned to the extent that by the next century it will no longer be possible to trace in their ruins all the presently-existing medieval elements. Curiously, this process of 'rationalisation' nearly occurred three centuries earlier. In 1658 the Commonwealth surveyors recommended extensive uniting of benefices and contemplated the abandonment of two-thirds of the medieval churches (Lambeth Palace Library COMM XIIa/10/178-179v).

[14] Large and important churches containing supplementary *piscinae* include Pembridge (two and a third perhaps obsolete by 1400), Kingsland (one), Wigmore (three), Kington (one), Weobley (one), Bodenham (two), Burghill (one), Dilwyn (two), Leintwardine (two), and Richards Castle (one). Less important churches with one supplementary *piscina* each include Eardisland, Eye, Dorstone, Stretford, Eardisley, Lyonshall, Mansell Lacy, Peterchurch, Winforton, Kings Pyon, Canon Pyon, and Little Hereford; and there are two each at Birley and Kinnersley. Inspection has shown that almost all these *piscinae* still survive in the 1980s, though often hidden away behind organs or in vestries. It has to be added that the 15th century also added *piscinae* to churches, and

that the *RCHMH*'s confident dating, by style, of individual *piscina* to centuries before the 15th is perhaps not always trustworthy.

[15] It is odd that Kinsham Church, which remains very small and architecturally undeveloped, nevertheless has two *piscinae*, but there may be a special explanation. In 1480, Upper Kinsham and Lower Kinsham, described as 'chapelries,' were annexed to Byton Chapel (*Reg. Mylling*, 66). While there is no earlier documentation of a chapel at either Kinsham, and no archaeological evidence of a second Kinsham Chapel, the *RCHMH* dates the present Kinsham building much earlier than the 15th century. If the Kinsham Chapel stated to have been 'defaced' at the Dissolution was a second, non-surviving one, then it is conceivable that its demotion began before the Reformation, and that the surviving chapel inherited some of the elements of the other one, including its *piscina*.

[16] Apart from the regular duties of supplementary clergy, parishes may have often needed extra clerical labour at times of excess demand for soul-masses and at festivals, especially Easter communion, as argued for a later period in Zell (1981), *op. cit.* in note 1, 27-8.

[17] Although mentioned in the text, chantries at conventual and private chapels are not included in *List B*, which is thus limited to 'parochial chantries;' and the discussion that follows in this note is similarly limited. As is well known, counting chantries in existence at dates well before the Dissolution of Chantries is difficult and unsatisfactory, despite the apparent richness of sources. Chantries can be recorded in four major ways:

> (a) at foundation, by an ordination recorded in the bishop's register - but few ordinations of chantries happen to be recorded in the Hereford registers;
> (b) at a post-1279 foundations, by a licence to mortmain recorded in the patent rolls - but licences to mortmain give only a very rough guide, because not all licences were taken up, because many chantries licenced and established at earlier dates did not survive until *c.*1400, and because many chantries were founded by devices which side-stepped mortmain licencing;
> (c) during a chantry's existence, by institutions to it recorded in the bishop's registers - but in the Hereford registers recorded institutions are surprisingly few and probably very incomplete, as detailed below;
> (d) at national dissolution, by the surveys of 1546-8 (the partly-published 'chantry certificates') and the record of the later disposal of chantry property in the patent rolls - these records are the fullest, but foundation dates were only irregularly noted, hence chantries founded later than 1400 cannot always be distinguished, while on the other hand some chantries in existence *c.*1400 may have been extinguished by *c.*1550.

If institutions of chantry priests recorded in the bishops' registers were the only proof of the contemporary existence of chantries, then it would have to be concluded that in our area few chantries were ever founded, and that most of those founded had the life of a may-fly. From the other records it appears that twenty-three chantries are known either to have been in existence at specific dates between 1300 and 1400, or at least to have been founded before 1400. Of course not all may have survived to 1400, but these may conceivably be balanced by some of the eight chantries recorded at the Dissolution but not definitely stated to have been founded at dates before 1400. None of these twenty-three chantries has a continuous series of recorded institutions in the pre-dissolution registers. One chantry has four institutions, more or less in a series; four chantries have two institutions each, the two separated by a long period; four have a single institution in the middle of the 14th century; and fourteen have no institution whatever. Even allowing for gaps in the registers and recording lapses, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that few chantries were so organised that their endowment produced a genuine 'benefice' which it was worthwhile to follow up and register. On chantries in general, and on the difficulty of counting them in particular, see K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual chantries in Britain* (1965); R. M. Haines, *The administration of the diocese of Worcester in the fourteenth century* (1965), 230-9; A. Kreider, *English chantries: the road to dissolution* (1979), 8-14; S. Raban, *Mortmain legislation and the English church 1279-1500* (1982), 158-9. Occasional references to chantries and other intercessory services in the 1397 visitation presentments (Bannister, *op. cit.* in note 8, and see Hair, *op. cit.* in note 1, 178 note 6) are far fewer than suggested by Wood-Legh, *op. cit.* above, 90-1. Kreider stresses the value of local sources such as wills in listing chantries (p.86), and no doubt local historians could find references to extend, modify, and correct *List B*.

[18] For the other obligations of chantry priests, including participation in the daily liturgy, see Clive Burgess, '"For the increase of divine service": chantries in the parish in late medieval Bristol', *J. Eccl. Hist.*, 36 (1985), 46-65, on 52-3.

[19] The Hereford diocese chantry certificates, like those elsewhere, frequently indicate that individual chantry priests performed a range of additional duties, not only spiritual duties, in general by assisting the parish priest, but also secular duties, notably by acting as schoolmasters. However, it is plausible that communities exaggerated the additional duties, perhaps especially the secular ones, in the hope of saving from seizure all or some of the endowment of local chantries. Even if the chantry certificates do not misrepresent the range of duties, it is

by no means certain that chantry priests were as versatile a century and a half earlier. For discussions of the institutional difference between beneficed chantry priests ('cantarists') and stipendiary mass-priests, and of whether or not the distinction was commonly significant in practice, also of whether or not either group was significantly involved in parochial duties, see A. K. McHardy, *The church in London 1375-1392*, London Record Society (1977), xiv-xv; C. J. Kitching, *London and Middlesex chantry certificates 1548*, London Record Society (1980), xvi-xvii, xxvi. But it is also open to discussion whether what happened in London is much of a guide to what chantry priests were, and did, in rural England.

[20] For an indication of the extent of monastic appropriation of the parish churches of the area, see the map-diagram.

[21] The religious houses in the area of study *c.*1400 were Wigmore Abbey and Wormsley Priory (Augustinian canons), Dore Abbey (Cistercian), Clifford Priory (Cluniac, a cell of Lewes Priory), Leominster Priory (Cluniac, a daughter house of Reading Abbey), Limebrook Priory (Augustinian canonesses), and Dinmore Preceptory (Knights Hospitaller, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem). In addition, there were two cells of alien priories, at Monkland (Benedictine, Conches) and Titley (Order of Tyron): but these cells had no more than two resident monks each and the Monkland cell was probably not continuously operative. On the Welsh fringes of the area were located granges of other religious houses situated just outside the diocese, especially Cwmhir Abbey (Cistercian), Craswall Priory (Grandmontine), Llanthony Prima Abbey and Ewyas Harold Priory (Augustinian canons). On these houses and cells, see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales*, 2nd. ed. (1971). Of the seven houses within the area of study, only two, Wormsley and Leominster, have extant cartularies or registers, and these remain unpublished and largely unstudied. I have inspected British Library MSS Domitian.A.III and Harleian 3586, but lack the competence to give them extended study. However, I have had the benefit of Dr. Kemp's recent publication of the cartularies of Reading Abbey, the mother-house of Leominster, which contain much Leominster material (B. R. Kemp, ed., *Reading Abbey cartularies, I* (1986); and there is information from Leominster Cartulary in Brian Kemp, 'Some aspects of the *Parochia* of Leominster in the 12th Century', in John Blair, ed., *Minster and Parish Churches* (1988), 83-95.

[22] In general, Benedictine and Augustinian conventual chapels permitted public lay access, to a parochial nave or even to a parochial altar. The specific arrangements for lay worship at Leominster are described in the text. There may well have been lay access to the conventual chapels at Wormsley and Wigmore but there is no positive evidence. Early Cistercian conventual chapels provided only for the worship of lay brothers, lacked any parochial arrangements, and forbade public lay access: however it is not certain that the prohibition of public lay access was strictly maintained once the lay brothers had all but disappeared. For general views, see J. C. Dickinson, *Monastic life in medieval England* (1961), 12, 19-20.

[23] On monastic grange chapels in general, see Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.* in note 21, 110-1; C. Platt, *The monastic grange in medieval England* (1969), 25, 27, 29. The history of Cistercian granges and grange chapels in Wales and the March has been closely studied by Dr. David H. Williams: the evidence he has assembled regarding the one Cistercian house within the area of study, Dore Abbey, not only in relation to grange chapels but in relation to the whole issue of provision for lay worship, is so complex and yet problematical that it is presented separately in Appendix B. Elsewhere in Hereford diocese, in Pontesbury deanery, Cwmhir Abbey's grange chapel of Gwern y go, later a chapel of ease but now lost and represented only by a field-name (except that the medieval font is preserved in the Victorian church of the modern parish of Sarn), is fairly well evidenced (A. J. Bird, *History on the ground: an inventory of unrecorded material relating to the mid-Anglo-Welsh borderland* (1977), item 55 and p.55; David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols. in one pagination (1983-4), 237). Tintern Abbey's grange chapel at Woolaston, in Forest deanery (of medieval Hereford diocese), was only demolished in recent years (Williams (1983-4), *op. cit.* above, 237 and plate 27B). On Moor Abbey Chapel, see *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1890-2), 301; and *RCHMH*, vol. 3, 147-9, which states that a plan of the chapel was preserved *c.*1930. If this chapel was in fact medieval, it may well have belonged to Leominster Priory, but would most probably have been used only for the monks' own worship, particularly if the mansion at 'Moor Abbey' (in Middleton parish, 8 km. North-west of Leominster) served the priory as a rest-house.

[24] *CPRL* for the period 1346-1447 has been searched in vain.

[25] For monks and canons as parish priests in an earlier period, see B. R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in the twelfth century', *J. Eccl. Hist.*, 31 (1980), 133-160 on 144-6. The Peterchurch presentment complained that the vicar, though infirm, failed to employ a chaplain, but that 'Brother Simon, a monk, celebrates twice in one day, and has been doing this for a year and more' (Bannister, *op. cit.* in note 8, 283). It was irregular for a priest to celebrate a general mass more than once a day at other than great festivals. Peterchurch parish contained at least one chapel, so Brother Simon was probably saying mass both at the parish church and at the chapel. If the parish reported correctly, and it was really being served by a monk, could he have been sent from far-away Great Malvern Priory which owned the benefice? And had this anything to do with the fact that between 1380 and 1400 the priory was permitted by the bishop to farm out the fruits of the benefice? (*Reg. Gilbert*, 19, 94; *Reg. Trefnant*, 28). Was the priory keeping an eye on the financial management, as well as helping an infirm vicar? Instances of monks serving in parishes of the area in later periods can be found. For instance, around 1435 a monk of Dore Abbey was reported to sing mass at the appropriated church of Bacton parish (alias the 'parish of Dore,' since the abbey was founded and stood within Bacton parish - contrary to the view expressed in 1634 that there had once been a separate parish of Dore which the abbey had swallowed up: Matthew Gibson, *A view of the ancient and present state of the churches of Door, Home-Lacy and Hampsted*, (1727), 190; Williams (1976), *op. cit.* in note 9, 42). Again, at the Dissolution it was reported that, in Clifford parish, chantry masses at two chapels had been 'kept by two monks' from Clifford Priory (PRO, E.301/48). These chapels are unidentified, and it is uncertain to what extent, if at all, the monks were participating in the parochial system. Finally, in relation to the Titley cell (see note 21 above), no institutions to the appropriated benefice of Titley Church were recorded after the institution of 'a monk of Tiron' in 1347 (although the king made a presentation in 1385, during one of the many periods of royal control of alien priories). This makes it likely that the monks appointed no later vicar and instead either served the church themselves or hired a chaplain (*Reg. Trillek*, 374).

[26] I have investigated the extent to which Wigmore and Wormsley canons held benefices. Seven Wigmore canons were named in the 1379 clerical subsidy list (PRO, E.179/30/21) and sixteen Wigmore canons were named in a 1424 visitation record (*Reg. Spofford*, 64-77). As canon law required, all of these canons had been ordained in the diocese (and many of the total complement of canons had names suggesting that they came from the immediate locality of the house they joined). In the ordination lists in the bishops' registers for the period 1360-1420 a further thirteen Wormsley and thirty Wigmore canons have been traced. This makes sixty-six named canons. In the lists of institutions to benefices in the registers for the period 1360-1440, I can find only seven of the sixty-six named canons, in five instances the individual being specifically identified as a canon of Wormsley or Wigmore. In detail, one Wormsley canon held the benefice of Almeley Church from 1386 to probably 1392, immediately after the appropriation of the benefice, whose terms allowed any 'suitable chaplain' to serve - the next bishop revised the terms, insisting on a vicar (*Reg. Gilbert*, 15-6, 119; *Reg. Trefnant*, 14-5, 172). Five Wigmore canons were instituted to six benefices, but in two instances where the period of service could be traced it was only either one year or two years, and, curiously, only one institution out of six occurred before 1420. During the period 1360-1440 only one of the sixty-six canons received a papal dispensation to hold a secular benefice, and he was not one of those named in the institution lists, so may never have used the dispensation, (*CPRL 1417-31*, 290). It is not clear to me whether the canons holding benefices did so without obtaining a personal dispensation, or whether they obtained one by another route than than evidenced in the papal registers.

The issue can be looked at another way. Religious houses, and perhaps particularly houses of canons, could gain permission, either when churches were appropriated, or by papal dispensation at a later stage, to dispense with secular vicars in individual churches and have them served instead by religious or by secular chaplains (dispensations to canons in other dioceses in the 1390s can be found in *CPRL 1362-96*, 519, 520, 523). An Augustinian house in Yorkshire claimed that its churches and chapels could be served 'as has been done from time immemorial, by stipendiary secular priests removable at their pleasure' (*ibid*, 367). Did Wormsley and Wigmore have such overall permission? I can find no general dispensations for them in the papal registers (but have not searched the Wormsley Cartulary). As regards terms at appropriation, almost all the many Wigmore appropriations precede the extant bishops' registers, but the appropriation of Aymestrey required it to be served by a resident vicar (*Reg. Cantilupe*, 4-5). All five appropriations to Wormsley appear in the registers: one is recorded in no detail (Kings Pyon), one has terms which do not specify a vicarage or how the benefice should be served (Wormsley), two specify a permanent vicar (Dilwyn, Lyonshall), and the changes in the terms at Almeley have been noted above. There is thus little positive evidence that the canons of the area sought and gained permission to dispense with secular vicars in their churches. But this proves almost nothing, for two reasons, first, the lack of evidence about the terms of most Wigmore appropriations, and second, the uncomfortable fact that despite the terms of Almeley appropriation which seemingly insisted on a secular vicar, in 1422 a canon was instituted (*Reg. Spofford*, 350). There remains, however, a possible check on whether the canons dispensed with vicars. When institutions to appropriated benefices are traced, it can be shown that, although continuous service by vicars cannot be proved because of defects in the registers, nevertheless almost all the benefices had a number of vicars during the period. Byton, it is true, had no institutions, but although termed a 'church' in *Taxatio Nicholai* of 1291, Byton was later considered a 'chapel with cure' and so legitimately had only chaplains. However, Wormsley undoubtedly lost its vicar after appropriation, and provides an instance of a house of canons running a parish for over a century by using either the canons themselves (which would have raised few practical problems since the priory stood within the parish) or by hiring chaplains.

Summing up, it seems fairly clear that these local canons held a benefice only very infrequently, and that when they did so it was probably only for a short period, and therefore perhaps for some special reason. This might seem to support the view of an authority that 'Augustinian canons never engaged in parish work on any substantial scale' (J. C. Dickinson, *An ecclesiastical history of England: the later Middle Ages* (1979), 287: compare the same scholar's earlier extended discussion, in *The origin of the Austin canons and their introduction in-*

to England (1950), 224-41; and also see Bowker, *op. cit.* in note 2, 76-7, and P. Heath, *The English parish clergy on the eve of the Reformation* (1969), 175, 178, 180). But holding a benefice and engaging in parish work are not necessarily the same thing. It is simply impossible to tell from the tenuous evidence whether the extent of the benefice-holding of the canons in the area of study fairly represents the extent of their parish work: they may have done less parish work, because when beneficed they installed chaplains; or they may have done more, because unbeneficed canons worked as chaplains. (Theoretically, if beneficed but non-resident they should have obtained a licence from the bishop for non-residence, as Mrs. Bowker finds a number did in Lincoln diocese in a later period. In fact none of the canons we are discussing received such a licence. But the number of licences in the registers of the bishops of Hereford in the period 1380-1420 is so small compared with the number in earlier registers that it must be suspected that the relevant registers are grossly defective in this respect.)

Scepticism about the canons' interest in parish work might be to some extent countered by considering the contemporary literary activities of the prior of the Augustinian house at Lilleshall, only 50 km. north of the area of study. Around 1400, John Mirk compiled two sets of instructions for parish priests, even though the lack of personal references in these writings, their somewhat conventional content, and indeed their claim to be mere translations, make it difficult to decide whether Mirk's concern derived from any direct personal experience of parish work. Finally, a 16th-century Devon document indicates another possible positive relationship between canons and the employment of chaplains. Parishioners whose church had been appropriated by a local Augustinian priory complained of inadequate pastoral attention, claiming, for instance, that 'the priest or canon cometh and sayeth mass, matins and evensong before noon, and so goeth home again to the priory to dinner;' and therefore the parishioners, 'considering how many times they have lacked a priest..., have hired a priest at our own proper cost and charge' (J. Youings, *The dissolution of the monasteries* (1971), 138-9). Thus, in this instance, service in a parish by a canon led to the employment of a supplementary chaplain.

[27] The following references to chantries in the conventual chapels of the religious houses of the area of study have been traced.

CLIFFORD: *Calendar of Patent Rolls* [hereafter *CPR*] *1381-5*, 17;

DORE: *CPR 1327-30*, 20; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1338*, 302, *1446*, 443; Williams (1976), *op. cit.* in note 9, 15; Williams (1983-4), *op. cit.* in note 23, 203, 234;

LEOMINSTER: Hereford Cathedral Archives 3216 (1349, one secular chaplain) [many gifts of land around Leominster to Reading Abbey recorded in *CPR* were to found chantries, possibly some of which were to be at the daughter house of Leominster];

WIGMORE: *CPR 1379-81*, 412;

WORMSLEY: cartulary (endowments of 1282, 1332, 1341, 1351, 1368, 1380); *CPR 1377-81*, 556; R. Dugdale et al., *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1823), vol. 6, 402.

Note that Professor Dobson has observed, in relation to Durham Priory, that 'the monks were not immune from the obligation to serve a few perpetual, as well as innumerable temporary chantry foundations ... [but] the secular chantry priest was a comparative rarity' (Dobson, *op. cit.* in note 1, 72). However, at Barnwell Priory in Cambridge, 'those permanent chaplains who live in the Almonry' may well have been chantry priests (J. W. Clark, *The observances in use at the Augustinian priory at Barnwell* (1893), 175). It was not unknown for chantries to be established in nunnery chapels, but no record of a chantry at Limebrook Priory has been traced, although anniversary soul-masses were certainly endowed there: *CPR 1350-4*, 42; *1354-8*, 168-9.

[28] On gateway chapels in general, see A. Hamilton Thompson, *Visitations of religious houses in the diocese of Lincoln*, 2 vols. (1915-27), 68, 223; and D. M. Owen, *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire* (1971), 72. On the presence of laity and the provision of exterior chapels at Cistercian houses in Wales and the Border, including a gateway chapel at Tintern Abbey, see Williams (1983-4), *op. cit.* in note 23, 140.

[29] For the architecture of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, or Forbury Chapel, see *RCHMH*, vol. 3, 115; J. W. Tonkin, 'The Forbury chapel', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XL (1971), 265-7. Currently the chapel houses a dance school.

[30] The monastic part of the building included the presbytery, transepts, related side-chapels, and a nave which perhaps originally contained the parish altar; but by 1400 it seems that the parish used a later additional nave, with attached chancel and aisle, so that the building was split into a monastic wing and a parochial wing. In 1397 Bishop Trefnant accepted some of the monks' complaints about clashing services (*Reg. Trefnant*, 140-3). At the visitation of that year, the parishioners complained, perhaps in retaliation, that the monks kept the bell-tower key, which stopped them from ringing the bells, and also that the monks prevented them from tidying and improving the church (Bannister, *op. cit.* in note 8, 100). The latter complaint had probably something to do with the assertion of the monks that the parish was erecting supplementary altars without priory permission, an issue on which the bishop took the monks' side.

[31] In 1276 Bishop Cantilupe complained that the monks at certain hours locked the door of the building which housed both the conventual chapel and the parish church, thus preventing the laity from praying, parish priests from obtaining the viaticum, and fugitives from finding sanctuary; and he added that the monks stopped the parishioners from ringing the parish bell (*Reg. Cantilupe*, 46-9). Repeated complaints about the door having had no effect (*ibid*, 88-9, 95), Cantilupe had the door removed to ensure access. The monks protested to the archbishop, who ordered them, as an alternative solution, to build a chapel in the forecourt (British Library MSS., Add. Charters 19, 932; J. B. Hurry, *Reading Abbey* (1901), 180). This was in 1282, but it seems that the chapel was still under construction in 1287 (*Reg. Swinfield*, 132).

[32] *Reg. Trillek*, 106-7.

[33] On nunnery priests, who also served to regulate the temporal affairs of the house, see Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.* in note 21, 200. On Limebrook Nunnery, see J. W. Tonkin, 'The nunnery of Limebrook and its property', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLI (1974), 149-64. The injunctions of two bishops, drawn up in 1277 and 1422 after visitations of Limebrook, say nothing about sacramental arrangements and refer only to an 'oratory' (*Reg. Cantilupe*, 200-2; *Reg. Spofford*, 80-3). However the 'church of the nuns at Limebrook' was apparently dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr (Tonkin, *op. cit.* above, 153, citing a document of *c.*1250). In 1451 a canon of Wigmore was appointed as the nuns' confessor (*Reg. Boulers*, 13). The only other Augustinian nunnery in the diocese, at Aconbury, had a chapel that has survived as a parish church: 'which portion, if any, was parochial in the middle ages is uncertain' (*RCHMH*). Limebrook undoubtedly drew revenue from the chapel of St. Leonard in Deerfold Forest (Tonkin, *op. cit.* above, 153, citing the document of *c.*1250 and a 1540 rental in PRO LR2/183; cf. *Lists and indexes, supplementary: lands of dissolved religious orders*, PRO (1964), item 166). The local chaplain who in 1353 murdered the nunnery doorkeeper was perhaps not the nunnery chaplain (*CPR 1350-1354*, 319).

[34] W. Rees, *A history of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh border* (1947), 41. The 'vague earthworks' recently noted at Burghope (*Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XL (1970), 174) perhaps indicate the site of a larger settlement and conceivably include a chapel site. A road over Dinmore Hill had to be repaired in 1480 and a new one built in 1513-4 (*Reg. Mylling*, 206; *Reg. Bothe*, 286). In 1416 armed men captured certain Hereford citizens and held them for ransom at 'a mountain named Dinmore Hill' and then in a chapel 'two leagues distant,' the chapel unfortunately otherwise unidentified (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 4 H4 (1416), 99).

[35] Mrs. Owen's brief expositions of the history of chapels in medieval Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire are the most detailed, comprehensive and helpful studies to date: Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire* (1971), 5-19; 'Bedfordshire chapelries: an essay in rural settlement history', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 57 (1978), 9-20. However, as she notes at one point, 'the parish churches here survive but the chapels have almost vanished and it is hard to decide what they were like:' Owen (1971), 8.

[36] Owen (1971), *op. cit.* in note 35, 19.

[37] Even in the recent Yorkshire *Fasti parochiales* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 4 vols. (1933-71), ed. A. Hamilton-Thompson *et al.*), although chantry chapels are regularly listed and other chapels are occasionally mentioned, and although Hamilton Thompson provided some useful comments on the history of chapels (vol. 2, xxv-xxvi), there is no comprehensive list of pre-Reformation chapels and no systematic record of the later history of such chapels as are noted. An earlier Yorkshire survey, George Lawton, *Collections relative to churches and chapels within the diocese of York* (1840), listed contemporary extant chapels and is very informative on the post-Reformation history of those that were medieval in foundation, but it did not detail the pre-Reformation history of these, or list non-extant medieval chapels. However, over the Pennines a full list of medieval chapels was attempted in G. H. Tupling, 'The pre-Reformation parishes and chapelries of Lancashire', *Trans. Lancashire Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, 67 (1957), 1-16. Tupling's list of chapels was drawn principally from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1536, from a local clergy list of 1541, and from the chantry certificates, references being taken mainly from printed sources, the VCH and other local histories, or from volumes published by the local record society. (The *VCH* and a local record society are advantages denied to the historian of Herefordshire). Tupling counted fifty-one chapels, of which seven were known only through archaeological evidence. The conclusions of this article regarding chapels were repeated in Haigh, *op. cit.* in note 1, 66. Finally, Mrs. Owen has listed some sixty-five Bedfordshire medieval chapels, as documented in a range of sources, but particularly in the licenses enrolled in the published and unpublished diocesan records (an enrollment apparently lacking in the Hereford records): Owen (1978) *op. cit.* in note 35, 16-20.

[38] Thus, Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) notes ancient chapels. An exceptionally late work which does the same is J. Collinson, *History of Somerset* (1791) - see the index in the 1983 reprint. The *VCH* county sets generally contain lists of parishes but no set that has so far appeared contains a county list of chapels.

[39] T. F. Dukes, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1844), Appendix, xi-xiv.

[40] A note on some of the limitations of the present study may be helpful to later researchers. I have searched the sixty-six volumes of printed calendars of patent rolls for the periods 1282-1509 and 1547-1582, looking for references to chantries and chapels. But because each volume contains several thousand entries, and because the volume indexes are not consistent (for instance, only certain volumes list 'Hereford diocese' and/or 'chantries'),

in the case of many volumes I was reduced to finding and scanning all the entries listed in indexes under the names of the eighty-five parishes of my area. Most of these entries of course turned out on examination to contain no references to chantries and chapels. On the other hand, I missed all those entries containing references to chantries and chapels which failed to include the name of the parish, hence, any entry indexed under the name of a hamlet; and I must surely also have overlooked some of the parish entries. (*CPR* cries out for a new cumulative index, to be produced by a computer and optical-scanning). Sampling of the related series of printed calendars (*Close Rolls, Fine Rolls, Inquisitions, State Papers Domestic*) suggested that the returns were likely to be too slight to make it worthwhile to examine these sources with the same time-consuming degree of intensity.

The chantry certificates for Herefordshire have not been published, but most fortunately I was able to make use of a typed transcript, prepared by the late F. C. Morgan, which the honorary librarian of Hereford Cathedral Library, Miss Penelope Morgan, kindly allowed me to consult.

With respect to unpublished archive sources, future students might direct themselves to the following: (a) the patent rolls in the PRO, to check and sometimes enlarge on the calendars, (b) unpublished Dissolution material in the PRO and British Library, particularly that of the Augmentations Office, and the detailed reports of the commissioners for concealed lands, (c) the Leominster and Wormsley cartularies in the British Library, (d) 15th-century diocesan material and the post-Dissolution bishops' registers in the county record office at Hereford, (e) manorial records of the area in this record office and elsewhere (I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Helen Jewell, for demonstrating to me that manorial records can contain references to chaplains), (f) local wills (but there are few before 1430, according to a handlist at the county record office).

[41] Of the many county publications of archive material on the dissolution of the chantries and chapels I have examined the following: F. R. Raine, Ed., *A history of chantries within the county palatine of Lancashire*, Chetham Society (1862); M. E. C. Walcott, 'Inventories of church goods, and chantries of Wilts.', *Wilts. Arch. Magazine*, 12 (1870), 354-83; E. Green, ed., *The survey and rental of the chantries, colleges and free chapels...in the county of Somerset*, Somerset Record Society (1888); W. Page, ed., *Certificates of the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc. in the county of York*, 2 vols., Surtees Society (1894-5); V. B. Redstone, 'Chapels, chantries and guilds in Suffolk', *Procs. Suffolk Inst. Archaeology*, 12 (1906), 1-87; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Certificates of the Shropshire chantries...', *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, 23 (1910), 269-392; 24 (1911), 115-90; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The chantry certificate rolls for the county of Nottingham', *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, 16 (1912), 91-133; 17 (1913), 59-119; 18 (1914), 83-184; A. Hussey, ed., *Kent chantries*, Kent Record Society (1936); R. L. Storey, The chantries of Cumberland and Westmorland', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, 60 (1960), 66-96; 62 (1962), 145-70. The range and treatment of material varies greatly between these county publications, partly because the materials available for individual counties itself varies; furthermore, the earlier publications are not always clear about their archive source and lack the benefit of published calendars of the patent rolls and published bishop's registers. However, Hamilton Thompson's Shropshire publication includes a useful discussion of 'free chapels' (276-9), some of the listed chapels being in Hereford diocese and neighbours of those discussed in the present article; and the Suffolk publication makes extensive use of local wills.

[42] A question of some importance is whether 'chapelry' denoted a territorial as well as an institutional unit, as of course 'parish' did. Parishes had boundaries which were normally ancient and well-defined. Chapelries can hardly have had ancient boundaries, and it is perhaps unlikely that parochial chapels at every stage of development had fixed and restricted catchment areas within parishes. However, Dr. Alan Thacker, editor of the Cheshire *VCH*, has suggested to me that once a chapel gained a burial-ground it must have been territorially defined. There appears to be no documentation of specific chapelry boundaries, at least before the definition of boundaries in post-Reformation centuries necessary when a chapelry was upgraded to become a parish; and no prescriptive material bearing on the matter. In the 1397 Hereford diocese visitation return there is a single reference to 'parishioners of the chapel,' and it is perhaps more likely that these were parishioners living within a territorially-defined chapelry than that they were merely parishioners attending that particular chapel. Nevertheless, while it is clear that medieval chapelry parishioners were required on occasions to attend the parish church, it is not clear what the attitude of the church authorities was to the regular attendance at a chapel of parishioners living outside the chapel's immediate vicinity, something which might well occur if the parishioners lived midway between the parish church and the chapel. Given that this problem must have been general and common in urban localities, it would seem likely that the church authorities cannot have taken too rigorous a view and must have tacitly allowed, to at least some parishioners, choice in regular attendance at either the parish church or a parochial chapel.

[43] A 1403 inquisition complained that a chapel at a manor house 'built in the manner of a parish church, with chancel, choir, belfry and bells' had been abandoned and replaced by 'a small chapel or oratory without choir, or belfry or bell' (*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1399-1422*, item 269). However, the number (and related size) of hung bells (hand-bells were probably available in every church and chapel), rather than their

presence or absence, may have graded church buildings *c.*1400. According to the 1552-3 church goods inventories for Herefordshire, the listed parochial chapels had generally two bells, normally each of around 20 ins. or less, as had a few poor parish churches. Most parish churches had either three bells, normally each 25-35 ins., or more commonly four bells, normally each 25-45 ins.; while a few large and important churches in the diocese, particularly in Hereford town, had five bells, normally 30-50 ins. (It will be noted that bell-ringing in the form of ringing changes was not performed as understood in modern times, since not even the largest church possessed an octave of bells). It is, of course, uncertain whether there were as many bells *c.*1400 as there were *c.*1550, and the few surviving bells identified as medieval cannot always be confidently considered as having been in position by 1400. Not too much weight must therefore be given to the argument in the text that the presence of two or three bells at certain chapels *c.*1550 indicates their advanced status *c.*1400; and more weight should be given to the presence of fonts and burial-grounds, since these can often be identified as present before 1400.

[44] It is of course possible that some Dissolution references have been overlooked, and that some chapels were 'concealed' and therefore not recorded in the Dissolution material.

[45] Blount, a friend and correspondent of Dugdale and Nash, in the 1670s compiled notes for a history of Herefordshire - the earliest projected - and at his death in 1679 left two volumes in manuscript. The notes included separate accounts of each parish, and these consisted, in the main, of references from the patent rolls and other state papers consulted in London, and of information collected orally in visits to parishes around Blount's home at Orleton, a village within the area of study. The first manuscript volume, dealing with parishes whose names began with the letters A-L, was lost before 1750, but a few extracts from it, of an unsatisfactory summary kind, appear in the papers of Herefordshire antiquarians of the early 18th century (now in Hereford Public Library, Pilley Collection, 126 and D181). The second manuscript volume, now deposited in Hereford Public Library, was seen and borrowed by several later 18th-century local antiquarians, each of whom in turn worked on an uncompleted and unpublished history of the county; and it was also used by Richard Gough for his 1789 additions to Camden's *Britannia*. Blount was particularly interested in recording 'lost chapels:' some allowance perhaps needs to be made for his Recusant bias, but his reputation is that of a competent and careful scholar (see Theo Bongaerts, *The correspondence of Thomas Blount (1618-1679)*, (1978)). Silas Taylor's manuscript notes on Herefordshire parishes are in the British Library (Harleian MS 6726 - 6868 being an earlier, less full version). Taylor drew on state papers and cartularies, then in private possession, but included first-hand observations of churches and ruins in certain parishes he visited in the 1650s. A third local antiquarian of the period, Thomas Dingley of Dilwyn, made notes and drawings of a number of Herefordshire churches and monuments for his *History in Marble* (eventually published by the Camden Society in 1855) but ignored chapels and ruins. Both the Blount and the Taylor manuscripts were heavily quoted in C. J. Robinson's *A history of the castles of Herefordshire* and *A history of the mansions and manors of Herefordshire*, published in the early 1870s and recently reprinted.

[46] Omitting Brinsop, which seems to have been a 'chapel with cure' and non-dependent.

[47] Chapels evidenced as being founded after *c.*1400, not being included in *List C* would not appear in this category. It is implausible that there were no post-1400 foundations. But firm evidence providing a foundation date for such chapels is elusive (possibly because my researches have not been sufficiently directed towards post-1400 material). Hence these chapels tend in fact to be included in *List C* (their foundation date given as '? by 1400'), and those that failed to reach the Dissolution appear in the present category. Note that, throughout the article, the figures of numbers of chapels have been deliberately left somewhat less than precise, as a reminder of both the difficulty of categorisation and the fragility of some of the evidence.

[48] For the emergence of the common laity as a force in the parish, see Emma Mason, 'The role of the English parishioners 1100-1500', *J. Eccl. Hist.*, 36 (1985), 46-65 on 52-3.

[49] Haigh, *op. cit.* in note 1, 148.

[50] *Ibid.*, 150.

[51] Youings, *op. cit.* in note 26, 87.

[52] Haigh, *op. cit.* in note 1, 149.

[53] The lists described in this article will appear in a following issue of the *Transactions*, but until these appear I am willing to supply a typescript copy to bona-fide scholars who contact me. I thank the archivists and librarians who assisted me in the research, particularly those in the city of Hereford; and also helpful colleagues. I am especially indebted to Professor Barrie Dobson for reading a draft of this article, and then giving me warm encouragement to press on to publication of what has been, for me, an idyllic ten-year ramble, from my Herefordshire family-holiday caravan, throught the lanes and byways, previously unknown to me, of both the county and the period.

APPENDIX A: ecclesiastical statutes relating to chapels, chaplains and burial-grounds.

No ecclesiastical statutes of medieval Hereford diocese appear to be extant. But just as national and provincial statutes were normally only enlargements and locally adjusted applications of universal canon law, so diocesan statutes were normally only enlargements and locally adjusted applications of national and provincial statutes. Hence it may be fairly assumed that the Hereford statutes were much the same as the statutes of the province and of other dioceses within the province. Although these latter statutes are, in the case of individual units, varyingly incomplete, when conflated they provide a reasonably full documentation of the issues covered by such legislation. References below to pre-1313 statutes are to D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, *Councils and synods relating to the English church, part 1, vol. 2 [1066-1204]* (1981), or to F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and synods 1205-1313, part 2* (1964) [cited in this Appendix hereafter as CSW and CSP respectively].

Statutes of the 12th and 13th centuries required 'churches and oratories' on manorial estates, otherwise termed 'new chapels,' to be established only with the bishop's consent or, later, his specific licence (1102 Council of London, 1138 Westminster Council, 1245 x 1249 Durham statutes, 1287 Exeter statutes: CSW, 676/item 14, 777/12); CSP, 429/27, 1002/9). However, the Ottonine canons of 1237 failed to lay down the same strict rules for the consecration of chapels as were laid down for churches (if it was intended to include chapels in the term 'church,' as was indeed not uncommon at the time, it failed to make this clear); and the Ottobuano canons of 1268 seem to indicate that permission for the foundation of private chapels would normally be granted, provided that the operation of the chapel was without prejudice to the mother church of the parish (CSP, 246/1, 766/16). Records of the licensing of chapels, or even of their consecration, appear to be uncommon, and it is plausible that the foundation and building of chapels in the countryside was generally done without episcopal knowledge and formal consent, although it may well be that informal agreement was sometimes obtained.

Bishops were in a stronger position to exert control over the actual operation of chapels. Chapels were to be adequately furnished and closed around (1229 Worcester statutes: CSP, 174/21). More important, new chapels were to be licensed for the saying of mass, in practice the predominant reason for the founding of chapels (1245 x 1249 Durham statutes: CSP, 429/27). Probably most 13th-century chapels were manorial chapels, and these were presumably the 'magnates' chapels' which the bishops particularly endeavoured to bring under control. Chaplains of such chapels were to be duly presented and admitted, and were not to hear the confessions of the lord or his family, to award penances to them, or to undertake any sacramental duties, unless licenced specifically and individually - or unless the magnate had a general privilege (1229 and 1240 Worcester statutes, 1287 Exeter statutes: CSP, 179/57, 314/72, 1023/37). It is possible, perhaps likely, that the final proviso drove a coach and horse through this attempt to regulate these chapels. Certainly the presentation of priests to chapels, even dependent chapels, is not normally recorded in bishops' registers.

Evidence that the church had only limited control over chapels, at least certain categories of chapels, is provided by the 1239 protest of the clergy, to the effect that lay judges had been exercising the right to decide whether or not a chapel should have a font and burial-ground (CSP, 281). Yet there is also evidence that the church's desire for control was widely known. A 1344 manual for priests invited a confessor to ask a lord 'if he has a chapel in his manor and has caused mass to be celebrated there without the licence and authority of the pope or of his own bishop' (W. A. Pantin, *The English church in the fourteenth century* (1955), 207). Since extant records of the licensing of chaplains seem to be also very uncommon, it is impossible to say how successful the bishops' efforts to regulate such chapels via their chaplains turned out to be. While 'without prejudice to the parish church' might be the guiding formula for the existence and operation of chapels, and while it might be argued that the finances of both the parish church and the parochial incumbent were almost always damaged by any new chapel, it may be doubted whether local incumbents or even local bishops felt it politic to be over-insistent when confronted with burgeoning chapels erected by local magnates. It may be significant that extant diocesan records seem never to contain lists of chapels.

Large parishes were enjoined to employ two or three priests, therefore a chaplain or chaplains, and such stipendiaries were to be encouraged by not being dismissed 'without reason' (1213 x 1214 Canterbury statutes, 1222 Council of Oxford: CSP, 30/24, 113/22). But chaplains were strictly regulated to ensure that they did not compete in various duties with their beneficed superiors, particularly in those duties which earned fees (1240 Worcester statutes, 1295 x 1313 'Winchelsey statutes': CSP, 302/26, 1382-3/1-9). Chaplains serving in churches were to assemble with the incumbent at set services; while priests serving chapels were to take an oath to do so 'without prejudice to the parish church' (1240 Worcester statutes, 1287 Exeter statutes: CSP, 301/20, 1002/9). Diocesan records fail to give any guidance as to how effective these attempts to control chaplains were, but the repetition of statutes may tell its own story. Thus, a 14th-century provincial canon glossed by Lyndwode (3:23:5) found it necessary to reiterate that it was wrong 'to celebrate such great Mysteries in private Oratories, or Chapels not endow'd, nor assign'd to the Celebration of Divine Service, or in Houses not consecrated. But

Priests, both Regular and Secular, in contempt of all this, celebrating divine offices there, cause great dangers to souls by drawing Parishioners from their Parish Churches...We decree that whosoever celebrates Masses in Oratories, Chapels, Houses, or Places not dedicated, without Licence of the Diocesan...do for the future incur Suspension from the Celebration of Divine Service for the space of a month' (translation from J. Johnson, *A collection of all the ecclesiastical laws* (1720), under '1342 Stratford's Extravagants').

Because of the income from burial fees, ecclesiastical units not infrequently squabbled over the obligation that a corpse should be buried in a particular burial-ground (*cimiterium*). Parish churches were required to possess burial-grounds since it had long since been laid down that a corpse must be buried 'within the parish,' whatever that precisely meant (1102 Westminster Council: CSW, 1102/36). However, the working distinction, that churches had burial-grounds and chapels did not, was eroded almost as soon as set up (perhaps because a clear distinction between church and chapel took some centuries to evolve). Chapels separated from their mother church by a specific lengthy distance or by other specified obstacles to easy communication, particularly waterways or hills, were permitted, by licence, to have a burial-ground; and rectors were eventually instructed to establish burial-grounds at chapels where accordingly necessary (1258 Bath and Wells statutes, 1261 x 1265 Winchester statutes, 1287 Exeter statutes: CSP, 602/21, 709/38, 1005/11). The wording of applications for burial-grounds from dependent chapels in our area demonstrates that the required conditions soon became a mere formula, since distance and obstacles were often exaggerated (for instance, those between Wigmore Church and Leinthall Starkes Chapel). And it is clear that some chapels gained burial-grounds long before statutes regularised application for them.

One route to a burial-ground is a little unexpected. Statutes continually insisted that burial-grounds be kept 'closed off,' mainly to keep out animals (e.g. Exeter statutes: CSP, 1009/14). Several kinds of behaviour or misbehaviour were specifically forbidden in burial-grounds, especially the shedding of blood ('pollution') and sexual intercourse; also, no buildings were to be erected there - with one significant exception. Like churches and chapels, burial-grounds were sanctuaries: and in the especially turbulent times of the 12th century many burial-grounds, including a number in the area of study, were established primarily to act as places of refuge and popular sanctuaries. Hence, statutes ordained that sanctuaries were to be maintained, and that priests bringing food to fugitives in burial-grounds were not to be impeded. Moreover, in war-time it was permitted to erect huts for refugees in burial-grounds, provided that these were demolished when peace came - as well as, for some unexplained reason, during Eastertide (1225 x 1230 Constitutions, 1240 x 1243 Norwich statutes, ?1247 Winchester statutes, 1262 x 1265 Winchester statutes: CSP, 193/73, 353/50, 413/67, 708/34).

While these statutes could apply to existing churchyards, there is evidence that extra burial-grounds were established in our area, apparently at pre-existing chapels, as sanctuaries. It seems, however, that a burial-ground could even be established where there was no church or chapel; and there also appears to be some evidence that certain 'burial-grounds' were solely for refuge and were not used for actual burials (B. R. Kemp, ed., *Reading Abbey Cartularies* (1986), 282). Further, if such burial-grounds were regarded as temporary establishments, then they may well have been closed down when peace came; and a papal mandate of *c.*1155 even refers to temporary chapels which should be removed 'once the emergency is over' - the chapels against which the mandate was directed may have included some within the area of study (*ibid.*, 132). Thus, it is by no means certain that all these particular early burial-grounds and chapels survived the century in which they were established; though equally there is no decisive proof that all disappeared. Once again, the bishop's registers and other extant diocesan records fail us, in that they fail to list burial-grounds. The registers do contain occasional successful applications for burial-grounds at chapels, but many chapel burial-grounds are of earlier date and their establishment was probably either not recorded at all, or if appropriate, recorded only in monastic charters.

Mrs. Owen states that - 'once the bishops began to insist on the need for consecration of all buildings where mass was celebrated, they could, and did, claim their right to license those who wished for celebrations in unconsecrated buildings. Licences for celebrations occur throughout the medieval registers for new church buildings and for small quasi-temporary chapels' (Owen (1971), *op. cit.* in note 35 of text, 27). In view of this comment, it has seemed worthwhile to examine the extent to which the Hereford bishops' registers provide evidence relating to the various matters discussed above. In the period 1275-1535, apart from one 1329 entry recording the dedication, within a single week, of fifteen altars in four churches and a priory, and of the dedication (? re-dedication) of two parish churches, there are only eleven other similar entries, these recording, at scattered dates, the consecration and/or dedication of sixteen altars, six churches, two chapels and three burial-grounds. This irregularity and paucity of evidence strongly suggests that only a small proportion of consecrations and dedications were in fact recorded, and therefore throws no light on the degree of episcopal concern about the foundation of chapels. In the same period of 260 years, the vast majority of about forty recorded licences to say mass referred to oratories (perhaps what Mrs. Owen means by 'quasi-temporary chapels'). In only four instances were chapels mentioned, two being manorial chapels ('newly constructed in his manor' 1482, *Reg.*

Myllyng, 206; vicar separately informed 1346, *Reg. Trillek*, 98), and two being chapels founded by 'parishioners' or 'inhabitants' (e.g. 'new chapel' 1513, *Reg. Mayew*, 285). This suggests either than licences to say mass in chapels were not regularly insisted on, or that if they were they were hardly ever registered. In the case of dioceses whose registers display the same very limited record of regulation of chapels as the Hereford registers do, it would seem open to doubt whether their bishops ever operated any degree of effective control over chapels existing outside the parochial system.

APPENDIX B: Provision for lay worship at and by Dore Abbey.

Because of the detailed researches of Dr. D. H. Williams, the fullest evidence regarding monastic provision for lay worship within the area of study relates to the Cistercian abbey of Dore. The information in this Appendix is mainly taken from David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians: aspects of their economic history* (1969); *White monks in Gwent and the Borders* (1976); *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols., single pag. (1984), [especially 164-86 'The secular community', 233-8 'Grange chapels'], works cited below as WCE, WM, and WC respectively.

(a) *monks providing parochial service*

For the only instance traced, a Dore monk singing mass at the appropriated church of Bacton in 1435, see note 25 of the text.

(b) *lay access to conventual chapels*

Dore had a large conventual chapel, with many altars. The *conversi*, or lay brothers, had formerly had access to this chapel, but there were probably none of these by *c.* 1400 (WC, 156-8). Their assistants, the *mercenari*, or hired labour, must have had some facilities for worship provided at the monastery from the earliest date, since the first granges were required to be near the abbey in order to allow *conversi* 'and others' to attend mass. Either the *mercenari* had access to the conventual chapel, or, more likely, they had a separate chapel. Burial of notable lay benefactors occurred within the conventual chapel or chapter-house; and Dore probably had a special burial-ground for lesser laity who wished in death to be associated with the house, as Margam Abbey certainly did (WC, 182-5). (Gerald of Wales accused Dore of removing to the abbey from neighbouring parishes wealthy individuals who were dying, in order to obtain bequests and fees, carrying them off 'in wheeled carriages'!) These lay burials brought relatives to the abbey, at least on anniversaries, and perhaps even brought some laity to the chantries established by lay benefactors within the conventual chapel (WM, 5-15). Most probably the chantries were served by the monks themselves, although evidence from other Cistercian abbeys of the region suggests that Dore may occasionally have employed secular chaplains. It certainly employed seculars for a benefactor's chantry it owned in the castle of Treget (Llanrothal); while at a chantry in its grange chapel of Llanfair (Gwent), at which it first employed monks, it may later have employed secular chaplains (WM, 35; WC, 234; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1446*, 443). There is no evidence that the conventual chapel ever had a parochial altar. Thus, although it seems that by *c.* 1400 even a Cistercian house could not totally exclude lay worship from its conventual chapel, access for the laity was probably always very limited and occasional.

(c) *lay worship at a lay chapel*

In the later centuries, Dore had large numbers of lay corrodians, lay visitors, and lay domestics and estate workers living nearby; and there was therefore need for permanent provision for lay worship, at least for those unable or unwilling to walk the two miles to the nearest parish church, at Bacton. Neighbouring Cistercian houses are on record as having made provision for regular lay worship. Margam had a lay chapel up the hill from the monastery; Tintern had a gateway chapel (in 1414 an indulgence was offered to those visiting a miracle-working statue therein); Strata Florida had a chapel within the monastery, apparently served by secular chaplains (WCE, 16, 109; WC, 177). Bishops, anxious to safeguard the income of local parish churches, were opposed to monastic chapels, whether at the house or at granges, providing any service to the laity. But Cwmhir Abbey was permitted, on the grounds of remoteness, to 'hear the confessions of and administer the sacraments to the servants and household' (F. G. Cowley, *The monastic order in South Wales 1066-1349* (1977), 183-4). The only evidence for a lay chapel at Dore is a 1537 reference to a 'Capella de Dore' possessing tithes (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*). However, it is likely that this was a long-standing lay chapel, perhaps a gateway chapel, conceivably even one served by seculars. The primary supposition may be confirmed by a post-Dissolution reference to lay worship somewhere in the abbey ruins. At other Cistercian houses, arrangements were made to provide for lay worship after dissolution: 'the closure of the monasteries and the dispersal of the monks meant a loss of spiritual services to which the local populace had become accustomed,' hence at Cwmhir a new chapel was built, at Strata Florida the lay chapel was maintained, and at Margam part of the conventual chapel seems to have been used by the laity (WC, 122). At Dore, a former monk seems for a time to have served the community around the abbey as chaplain; and services seem to have been held in a surviving monastic building up to 1634, when the chancel of the conventual chapel was reconstructed as a parish church. Perhaps the continuing lay worship took place in the conventual chapel ruins, but an alternative possibility is that a lay chapel survived the Dissolution - though not the 1634 reconstruction.

(d) *lay worship at grange chapels*

Every early Cistercian grange had an oratory, but this was only for prayer. Chapels at granges were at first discouraged, but became inevitable when granges were established at a distance from the house, hence in 1255 there was papal agreement to masses being said at granges far from the abbey or nearest parish church (R. A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: studies in the geography of medieval England and Wales* (1978), 52-3). In practice, many Cistercian granges acquired a chapel. Grange chapels are recorded as existing on certain of the granges of most but not all Cistercian houses in the region of Wales and the Border. Some of these chapels are recorded only in contemporary documentation, some have become known only by archaeological excavation, some were visible above ground in recent centuries, either in a new use or in ruins, and a few are still more or less intact today (WCE, 53; WM, 70-2, 80-2, 121-5, plate 9 - a photograph of Woolaston grange chapel of Tintern Abbey, a chapel within Hereford diocese, the building only finally demolished in recent years). 'The more fieldwork is done, the more tradition and evidence of chapels on Cistercian granges comes to light' (WM, 81). But it cannot be assumed that all granges had chapels, or even that all Cistercian houses instituted grange chapels: Valle Crucis seems to have had none, perhaps because its granges were leased out in an early period.

Dore Abbey had many granges, with no less than nine of them in the 'Golden Valley' of Herefordshire, all within the area of study (seven of them apparently in the parishes of Bacton, Vowchurch and Peterchurch: WM, 32). Although several of these Herefordshire granges were at some considerable distance from the abbey, there is no firm evidence of any grange chapel. Yet at least two of Dore's Welsh granges had a chapel (WC, 233). At its Llanfair grange - the best documented - the grange chapel began as a hermitage and chantry chapel, and the monks accepted a continuing obligation to the laity. (After the Dissolution, Llanfair continued as a chapel of ease, at least informally, and later 'became a centre of recusancy, Mass being said there as late as 1695, burials taking place in its ruins until towards the close of the eighteenth century, and pilgrims visiting it into the twentieth:' WM, 35; WC, 232. Only its foundations now remain). In sharp contrast, almost nothing is known about any chapels at the Dore granges within the area of study. Dr. Williams can only surmise that Blackmoor and Newburgh granges may have had chapels, and that Churchyard Field at Blackbush may indicate a chapel, perhaps that of Moorhampton grange (WM, 37, 71-2, 155 n.152). Dore's daughter house, Grace Dieu near Monmouth, drew tithes from the extra-parochial district of Trivel Wood, not far east of Dore Abbey and partly owned by the abbey, and Grace Dieu may therefore have had a chapel there. But the evidence is post-Dissolution and contradictory, and if there was a chapel it seems to have lacked sacramental functions (WM, 33; WC, 233-4).

Bishops and archdeacons always endeavoured to limit the spiritual ministrations of grange chapels, forbidding them either all service to the laity, or at least sacramental ministration; although in exceptional cases they had to give way, for instance, where the grange settlement was out of the reach of parochial ministration. Dore's Llanfair grange chapel may have been one of the grange chapels limited to non-sacramental ministration. Thus, if Dore had grange chapels in Herefordshire, they may well have offered only very limited service to the laity. However, it is possible that Dore had no Herefordshire grange chapels: a speculative explanation might be that, like Valle Crucis, it had leased out the more distant of its granges early, before grange chapels were the order of the day. Nothing positive appears to be known about how the grange chapels of other Cistercian houses in the region were served, but it is perhaps most likely that they were served by the monks themselves and not by secular chaplains. All in all, while it is clear that certain other Cistercian houses in the region had a number of grange chapels which allowed lay access even to the sacraments, the position regarding Dore's Herefordshire granges is almost totally obscure. But it is unlikely that, even if there were grange chapels with lay access, the provision for lay worship in them was other than slight.

(e) *reduction of provision for lay worship*

It needs to be added that Cistercian houses at times reduced rather than increased spiritual provision for the laity. In their early days Cistercian houses occasionally removed or de-secularised parochial churches and chapels. As Gerald of Wales put it (and he may well have intended Dore to be included in his general denunciation, since it was his target for other complaints), the white monks had no qualms about disturbing the bones of the dead when they stood in the way of efficient farming. Some of Margam's grange chapels began as parochial chapels (WC, 236). It is perhaps significant that, in Yorkshire, certain parochial chapels were only established after the granges of Fountains Abbey had been broken up into vills (Donkin, *op. cit.* above, 38). While the story that Dore Abbey stood on the site of a removed Dore parish church is a 17th-century legend without foundation, the name of one of Dore's granges in 1291, 'Grange of the Chapel,' may indicate some early de-populating

activity and the site of a removed parochial chapel (*ibid.*, 48). Finally, it might be argued that the existence of so much Dore Abbey estate in the three Golden Valley parishes had the effect of inhibiting the establishment of parochial chapels in that district.

APPENDIX C: clerical subsidy lists

This note deals with the coverage and comprehensiveness of the Hereford diocese clerical subsidy lists of 1379, 1406, 1420 and 1436, in respect of chaplains and in relation to the deaneries of Leominster and Weobley. Unfortunately, the range of unbeneficed clergy to be taxed was varyingly stated in the grants of these several subsidies. Although it is difficult to be sure how meaningful the variations were intended to be, in some instances the varying descriptions either certainly, or almost certainly, indicate different ranges of the categories of chaplains that were to be included. It is therefore unlikely that the lists are fully comparable. Probably none records all categories of chaplains, and this compounds a doubt whether any list records all the chaplains of any category. Thus the lists may be varyingly incomplete.

The **1379** list, which in its extant form covers, for this diocese, only our two deaneries, claims to list, according to the wording of the subsidy roll, all 'unbeneficed priests,' i.e. chaplains. In the royal order to the archbishop (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1377-1383*, 129-30, repeated in the Bishop of Exeter's mandate for this subsidy, in F. C. Hingston-Randolph, ed., *The register of Thomas de Brantyngham, part I* (1901), 203-4 - the subsidy is not recorded in the contemporary Hereford diocese register), the unbeneficed are defined, within a rather confused series, as follows: 'all other curates and holders of benefices, parochial and anniversary chaplains, and all chaplains whatsoever, both those in the service of lords and other persons, and those in cathedral, collegiate and conventual chapels.' The 1379 list records seventy-three chaplains in the two deaneries (as compared with only thirty-six beneficed clergy), but as most of the chaplains are unlocated it cannot be determined where exactly they served. These deaneries contained no cathedral or collegiate chapels, but they did include conventual chapels and lords' castles and mansions: the 1379 list for the city of London included among its 497 chaplains three who served conventual chapels and seventeen who were employed by individual laity, merchants as well as nobility: A. K. McHardy, *The church in London 1375-1392* (1977). The 1379 list records more chaplains in the two deaneries than any of the later lists. None of the later lists claims to cover conventual chapels and lord's service (with the dubious exception of the 1406 list in relation to conventual chapels, as stated below), and apart from instances of apparent oversight all named chaplains are entered against parochial units. Probably therefore the later lists cover only chaplains employed by the church and serving within parochial units, and it may be that this is one reason why these lists record fewer chaplains than the 1379 list.

The **1406** list claims to cover all 'chaplains, stipendiary or salaried, secular or religious or even in mendicant orders, and all chaplains or wardens of chantries' (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1405-1413*, 35, checked against the subsidy roll; and see the Hereford mandates in *Reg. Mascall*, 24-6 - see also A. K. McHardy, Clerical taxation in fifteenth-century England', in B. Dobson, *The church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century* (1984), 183). The subsidy grant of the previous year used the same wording to define the range of chaplains to be taxed, but it added the following clause. 'Pursuant to information received that many of the said chaplains and parsons are dwelling continuously in abbeys, priories and religious houses, cathedrals and collegiate churches, and in other exempt and privileged places within the diocese ... so that the collectors have delayed to levy and collect the aid ... [they are now instructed] to collect from all the chaplains and parsons dwelling within [these places] who by the information of the abbots, priors, deans, wardens and governors ... ought to pay' (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1405-1413*, 4). It is difficult to be sure which group of chaplains was being defined as 'chaplains dwelling in religious houses,' hence to judge whether this clause significantly extended the range of listed chaplains, and therefore to know what significance to read into the fact that it was not included in the 1406 subsidy grant.

The 1406 list records 257 chaplains in the diocese (but only 128 beneficed clergy), the largest number of chaplains in any of the diocesan lists studied. Of these 257 chaplains, twenty-six were distinguished as parochial chaplains, and eight as chantry chaplains (three of them chaplains of perpetual chantries). The distribution of chaplains is curious but fairly typical of all the diocesan lists. The number of chaplains in Hereford town and deanery was large (fifty-three) - as might be expected. But the numbers in the other seven Herefordshire deaneries were middling to small (between thirty-six and twelve - a total of 140), and in the six Shropshire deaneries were very small (a total of sixty-four). If these figures really represent the actual totals of chaplains currently serving in parochial units, then one is forced to conclude that in certain deaneries almost every parish had a chaplain, while in other deaneries very few parishes had one (e.g. Pontesbury deanery had only three chaplains, Stottesdon deanery had only five). It is difficult to say whether this uneven distribution is plausible. Leominster deanery had thirty-six chaplains, Weobley twelve, a total of forty-eight (four of them distinguished as parochial chaplains): the total of beneficed was only nineteen. This total of forty-eight contrasts with the 1379 total of seventy-three. The explanation may be either differential coverage and comprehensiveness, or change over time, or possibly both.

The **1420** list, of limited value for comparative purposes, covers only those 'chantry chaplains and unbeneficed chaplains' earning annually £4.13s.4d. or more (or '40s. with meals') (see McHardy (1984), *op. cit.* above, 184-5). It records thirty-three such chaplains in the diocese, with none at all in four Shropshire deaneries, and only three in our deaneries. Of these thirty-three, four were distinguished as chantry chaplains, five as parochial chaplains, and seven served the Palmers' Guild in Ludlow: the remainder, described as 'stipendiary chaplains,' included the three in our deaneries.

The **1436** list covers three categories: stipendiary chaplains paid annually between £5 and £6.13s.4d., in salary or its equivalent in kind, these alone being taxed; chaplains in perpetual chantries who were exempt because they paid the lay fifteenth; and chaplains paid annually less than £5 and exempt for that reason. The 1436 subsidy grant had anticipated a wider range of the unbeneficed and had provided for taxation on the following categories: (a) 'all stipendiary parish priests and all collegiate and other chaplains' earning between £5 and £6.13s.4d. (b) the same earning above £6.13s.4d., at a higher rate, (c) 'all chantry chaplains who usually pay neither clerical nor lay taxes and whose chantries are usually worth between £5 and £6.13s.4d.,' (d) the same earning exactly £6.13s.4d., at a higher rate, (e) the same earning above £6.13s.4d., at a higher rate. It will be seen that Hereford diocese was claiming that there were no chaplains in categories (b), (d), and (e), that is, in the higher-rate categories. Further, while the diocesan authorities listed, unnecessarily (but useful for our purpose), those stipendiary parish priests whose low salary enabled them to avoid contributing to the subsidy, they included no further list of chantry chaplains, implying thus that there were none other than those listed as exempt, that is, there were no chantry chaplains who did not pay lay taxes, or alternatively none who earned as much as £5. It may have been that by national standards Hereford diocese chaplains were abnormally poorly paid, or else that the rates set were miscalculations of chaplain income throughout the province, reflecting exaggerated ideas about clerical wealth - as suggested in McHardy (1984), *op. cit.* above, 174-6. But even if both explanations were true, there is a hint in the shape of the return that the officials concerned were tolerating and perhaps practising a measure of considered tax avoidance if not tax evasion, by presenting minimal returns. If this was indeed the case, then the list may not be entirely trustworthy in the relevant aspects.

The 1436 list records nineteen taxable chaplains, all taxable at the lower rate (seven distinguished as parochial chaplains and one as a chantry chaplain, the last puzzlingly included in this category); thirty-six non-taxable chantry chaplains (thirty of these in Hereford town and deanery); and 100 non-taxable other chaplains, a total of 154. Our two deaneries recorded three taxable chaplains, no chantry chaplains, and twenty-seven other chaplains, a total of thirty (Leominster eighteen, Weobley twelve). The diocesan total of 154 falls far below the 1406 total of 257, and almost all the deanery totals are also lower, although by very varying proportions, despite the coverage of the two lists being notionally the same - all stipendiary parish priests and all chantry chaplains. If this is not change over time, another possible explanation is that the 1436 list was less comprehensive because less care was taken in recording the untaxed majority.

What all this amounts to is that it is very doubtful whether the three totals for the two deaneries, seventy-three (1379), forty-eight (1406) and thirty (1436), can be considered as indicating a change over time in the number of chaplains actually employed, at least to the extent of the apparent trend. Correspondingly, at the parish level it is very doubtful whether the sequence of recorded numbers of chaplains employed at the three dates in any parish always represents the true and full situation. It is noticeable that whereas some parishes register a chaplain or chaplains at all the dates, other parishes are recorded as having a chaplain at one date or at certain dates and yet not having a chaplain at other dates. It is certainly plausible that some parishes employed a chaplain only spasmodically. But there are perhaps too many instances of apparent spasmodic chaplain employment for this to have been always actually the case, and we may therefore suspect that there was sometimes more regularity in chaplain employment in a parish than these records would seem to demonstrate. For instance, more than a dozen parishes in our two deaneries are not credited with a chaplain in 1436, although their earlier experience and/or the presence of a chapel in the parish makes it almost certain that in fact they had one (e.g. Eye/Middleton, Eye/Orleton, New Radnor, Eardisley, Burghill, Tenbury). Furthermore, there may have been a chaplain or chaplains, at least at certain intermediate dates, in those parishes which uniformly record zero numbers.

Because the 1379 list for Leominster and Weobley deaneries contains many unlocated items, comparison of chaplain location in 1379, 1407 and 1436 is of limited value as a test of irregular recording. A better test is provided by the two Hereford diocese deaneries of Forest and Irchinfield, whose chaplains were listed not only in 1407 and 1436 but also in another extant list, covering these deaneries only, which appears to represent the clerical poll tax of 1381 and which records 'non-beneficed' as well as beneficed clergy (PRO E179/30/10b). In these two deaneries, twenty-two locations had recorded chaplains in 1381. Out of these twenty-two locations,

between sixteen and nineteen were represented in 1406 (three chaplains were unlocated) and ten were represented in 1436. To balance this loss of locations, in 1406 between thirteen and sixteen additional locations and in 1436 two additional locations were recorded. But of the thirteen to sixteen additional locations in 1406 only four were recorded in 1436. Thus, while there were examples of continuity in recorded chaplain location, there was also a substantial amount of shifting of recorded location, an amount which in actuality seems somewhat implausible. The totals may further indicate a lack of comprehensiveness in the lists - in 1381 twenty-two chaplains, in 1406 thirty-two, in 1436 only sixteen. The trend in numbers here, first up then down, contrasts with the 1379-1406-1436 trend for our two deaneries, which was wholly downwards.

That the number of chaplains in church service in the two deaneries actually declined during the period under study is not implausible, since numbers are thought to have declined in other dioceses than Hereford: McHardy (1984), *op. cit.* above, 176. The number of local secular priests ordained annually in Hereford diocese, after falling sharply from about eighty in the 1350s, stood at around twenty in the 1380s and 1390s, and then sagged slightly, to stand at around fifteen in the 1420s-1440s: the timing and the degree of decline do not adequately explain the trend in the number of recorded chaplains in the two deaneries. A possible further explanation is that the attempt to tax the unbeneficed, which only began in 1377, and the attempt to move some to higher rates which began in 1406, may have had the effect of training dioceses in skilful avoidance and evasion. The 1436 grant included the clause that 'touching which chaplains and their salaries, stipends, pensions or portions, and the number of those on whom the subsidy ought or ought not to be levied, the certificate of the ordinary shall be wholly accepted' (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1430-1437*, 186). The 1419 grant that produced the 1420 list provided another opportunity for minimising the return - or an excuse for careless compilation: 'provided nevertheless that nothing be levied from the chaplains ... who on account of their decrepit age or other notable inability are unable to help themselves, touching which the letters of the ordinary will be accepted' (*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1413-1422*, 310; *Reg. Lacy*, 85). If it had the will, the diocese could therefore fiddle the returns, at least up to a point, and it has indeed been argued that the 1436 subsidy was marked by 'widespread exemptions and evasions;' McHardy (1984), *op. cit.* above, 176). The comprehensiveness of List A should therefore be accepted only in the light of our authority's final conclusion - 'the assessment of the unbeneficed is still [to historians] a somewhat mysterious process' (*ibid.*, 178).

I wish to express my indebtedness to my colleague, Elizabeth Danbury, who helped me in the early stages to wrestle with the subsidy lists; to Christopher Whittick, of the East Sussex Record Office and a former student of my department, who generously transcribed the material in detail; and to Dr. Alison McHardy, who kindly discussed with me problems relating to the use of clerical subsidy lists.

Nos. 57 to 59 High Street, Bromyard.

By VERA AND ROY PERRY

This property now consists of three shops, No. 59 being on the corner of High Street and Cruxwell Street; the whole building presenting an 18th or early-19th-century brick facade to both streets, with shops below fronting High Street.

The only readily visible remains of an earlier building are part of a hall open truss, a horizontal section of moulded timber and part of a moulded wall-plate (PL. I). These were noted by Mr. J. W. Tonkin in 1970 and may be seen in No. 57 whilst, until recently, a dragon beam, a diagonal timber projecting from a corner of a building to support jetties on two sides, could be seen in the corner shop.

Access to the roof has now been made possible and has revealed a medieval structure with several unusual features.

The building originally consisted of a hall some 21 ft. long by 17 ft. wide (6.4 m. x 5 m.), open from ground-level to roof, and parallel to High Street, with a floored extension to the south-east, and a cross-wing, with solar or private chamber over, to the north-west. The service rooms, buttery and pantry, may have been below the solar.

The open truss is not, as one might expect, in the centre of the hall but is some three feet to the north-west of centre. It is of unusual construction, the rear half being a cruck blade, whilst the front section consists of a post with the principal rafter jointed to it (PL. VI); both sections being braced to the collar by arched brackets. These brackets are not of equal width causing the centre of the arch to be off-set from the centre of the collar. The upper face of the collar and the top of the principal rafters are cusped to form trefoiled openings. (PL. II). There is no ridge-purlin. Two cusped wind braces remain in situ (PL. III), and there are mortices for others on the trusses above the hall and over the solar. Decoration on the brackets and posts consists of a plain double chamfer. Only the foiled arrises of the collars are chamfered and these chamfers taper towards the centre and ends of the collar.

The roof timbers above the hall are smoke-blackened, (PL. II), indicating a central hearth, but no evidence of a louvre, to allow the smoke to escape, remains, due to extensive restructuring of the roof.

Two pieces of flat sandstone, about 2 ft. (60 cm.) square and 1 in. (2.5 cm.) thick, were found in the roof space. They appear to be discarded tiles left behind when the roof was slated early in the 19th century. The original roof may well have been stone tiled.

A section of the moulded wall-plate is still visible on each side of the cruck blade, and suggests a date early in the 15th century, as does the frieze cut into the structural timber some 12 ft. (3.6 m.) above ground-level (PL. I). This frieze, evidence of which remains on three walls of the hall, seems to be a unique feature, as no similar decoration appears to have been recorded, elsewhere, to date.

The many alterations to the building, particularly the conversion to shops, has obliterated evidence of doorways and windows, but the 8 foot (2.43 m.) space between the end of the hall and the wall of what is now the corner shop suggests a wide cross-passage.

With a door at each end this would have allowed access from High Street to a yard at the rear, and possibly to an external kitchen. There may have been a stair to the solar in this passage. A narrower passage in the solar wing, evidenced by the close spacing of trusses 3 an 4, would have provided access from the yard to Cruxwell Street.

Two of the roof trusses over the solar are decorated with cusping, one having a braced-collar similar to that in the hall, whilst the other has cusped raking-braces from the tie-beam to the principal rafters (PL. V). Some 2 ft. (60 cm.) has been cut away from the top of the solar trusses in later renovations. Carpenters' assembly marks are clearly visible on the braced-collar truss.

Nearly all the outer wall-plates have now gone, replaced by brick walls, but a short section, on the Cruxwell Street side, is still to be seen with the remains of an edge-halved and bridle-butted scarf joint (PL. IV). This joint was common from the mid-14th to late 16th centuries. The joint is used in the cloisters of Hereford Cathedral, dating from the second decade of the 15th century. Most of the inner plate remains indicating that the solar had, originally, a gable to High Street. This feature is not uncommon, the Red Lion Inn at Weobley, although an earlier building, being an example. This Bromyard house would, no doubt, have looked rather similar.

Several pieces of re-used timber are to be seen in the present roof structure: One, clearly once a principal rafter with cusping at one end, is now a purlin (PL. VII). Re-used cusped wind-braces are also to be found, strengthening rafters in other parts of the roof. A 10 foot (3 m.) timber, now a purlin, must originally have had a very different function. It is 6 ins. (15 cm.) square and has, on one face, a series of mortices, all 2 ins. (5 cm.) wide. The first mortice is 6 ins. long, the next three, 2 ins., the fifth 6 ins. and so on. The larger mortices are 2 ft. (60 cm.) apart. The arris between mortices is chamfered, except for a short section opposite each mortice, indicating that the studs and bars which fitted into the mortices were also chamfered. This piece of timber may have been the sill of a shop window but, since there is no evidence to show that the building was other than a residence, this seems doubtful. It could have been part of the hall window but is rather long for this. It is, perhaps, more likely to have been some form of partition or screen, possibly at the upper end of the hall.

The few remnants of external wall-framing still to be seen inside No. 59 suggest large, approximately square, panels. The internal panels have riven oak wattle with a daub containing a hay-like binder. No doubt the external panels were similar.

Early in the 17th century a floor was inserted over the hall and the whole building was ceiled. Heavy beams, with wide chamfers and Wern Hir stops, were used for this work.

A few pieces of wide elm board, and many nails in the inserted ceiling joists, indicate that the roof space was once floored, forming attics, possibly also in the 17th century. The remaining sections of board are in very poor condition due to woodworm attack.

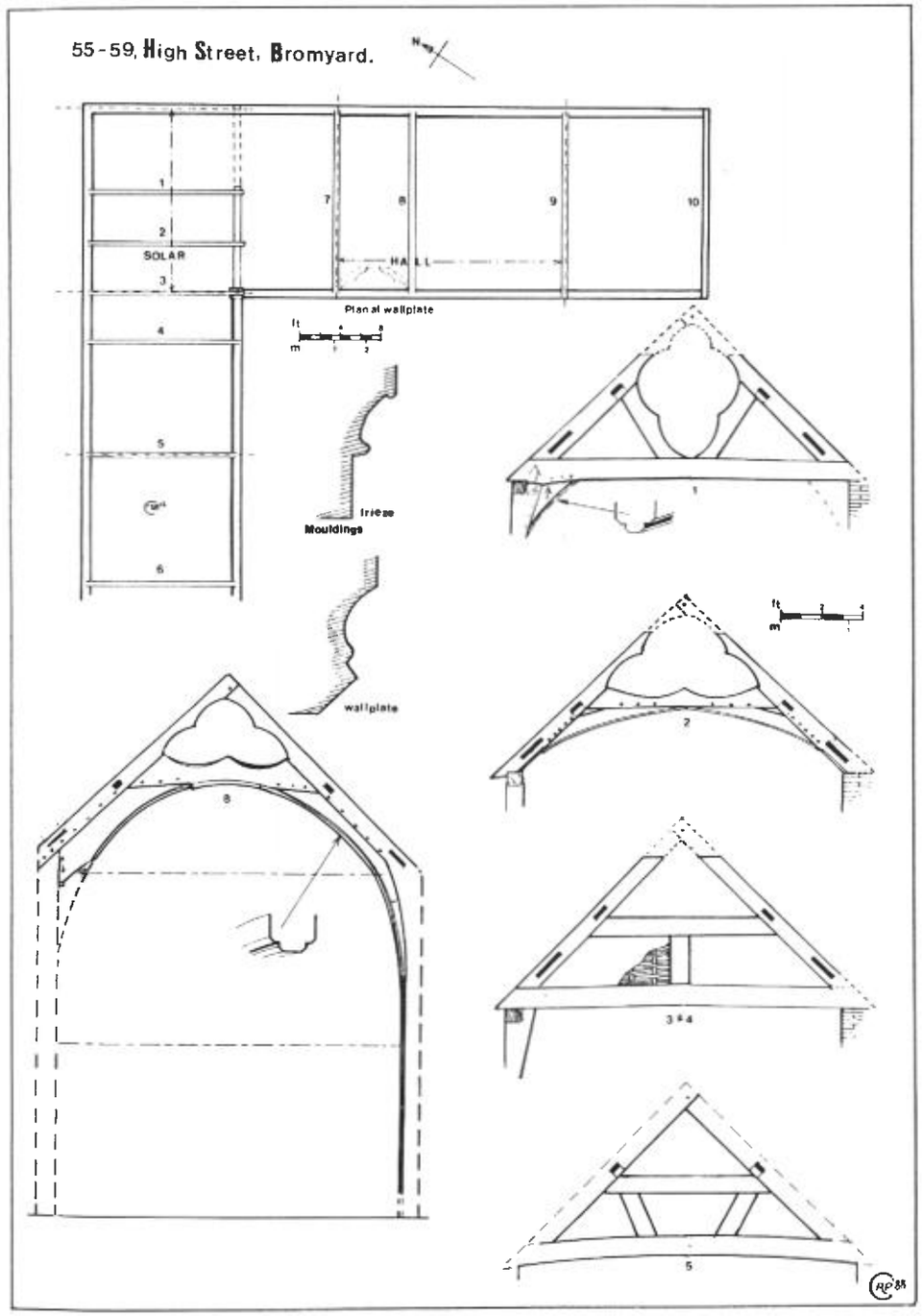


FIG. 1
Plan and sections

There is no doubt that this house, showing marked similarities to Lower Brockhampton, was of considerable importance, and was occupied by someone of no small wealth. Was he one of the prominent Bromyard people, a Mortimer, a Baskerville, a Domulton or a Watcham, referred to by Phyllis Williams in her recent book on Bromyard?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank Albert and Evelyn Cross, Allan and Kath Chapman and Hilda Webb for their interest and co-operation in allowing us to look at, and record, the details of this most interesting house.

Kington Orders an Organ

By J. B. SINCLAIR AND R. W. D. FENN

On Monday 19 July 1847 a meeting was convened of the inhabitants of the parish of Kington. It met in the Oxford Arms and the Revd. H. W. Maddock, M.A., who had been the 'highly esteemed' vicar of the parish since 1835, was in the chair. Its purpose was to take 'into consideration the propriety of adopting inmediate steps for the erection of an Organ in the Parish Church.'[1] Organs were fast becoming ecclesiastical status symbols and Kington needed one to reflect its growing self-confidence and prosperity. In 1801 its population was 1421 but by 1841 it had risen to 3131. Gas lighting had been introduced to light its streets and a National School erected to educate those of its young who did not attend the Grammar School. Besides a thriving market and the trade brought to the town by the drovers, further prosperity came from a flourishing iron foundry producing agricultural implements and nails. Glove making, malting, and tanning were also carried on.

In 1829 what was called 'a new addition' was made to the north aisle of the nave of the parish church to accommodate its growing congregations. This increased the seating in the church to 600, though under what one suspects were rather cramped conditions. In this enlargement, the new pews, some of which were in a gallery, ran lengthwise along the north wall to face the pulpit which being the focus of liturgical attention, rather than the altar, was moved to near the main south entrance of the church. The singing, however, at the services was still accompanied by only a band. But by 1847 this was no longer thought to be adequate or appropriate for the rising aspirations both of the town and of its parish church.

In fact Kington was rather late in the day in acquiring an organ and Jonathan Williams relates how nearby Presteigne got 'a handsome and well tuned organ' in 1819, though he did not approve of its position at the west end of the church 'in a situation extremely injudicious which concealed this noble and animating instrument from the sight of the greatest part of the congregation. Had it being placed over the entrance to the chancel, the grandeur of its appearance would have been more striking and the melody of its tone increased.'[2]

So it was that at the meeting at the Oxford Arms it was resolved that 'That measures be immediately adopted for the erection of an Organ in the Parish Church.' A committee was set up consisting of the vicar, Mr. Thomas Turner, Mr. Morris Sayce, Mr. Mark Moythen, Mr. Thomas Stanway to raise subscriptions to pay for the instrument.

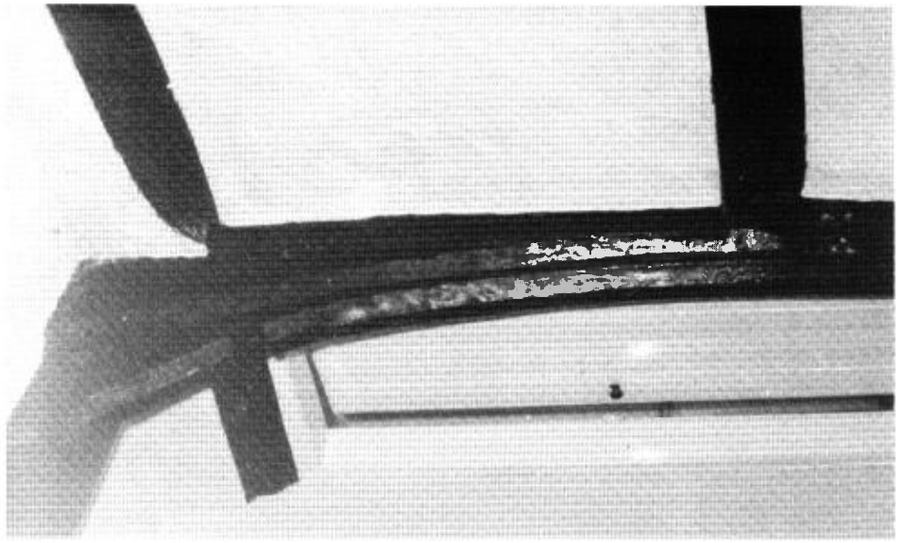
All these committee members, with the exception of Mark Stephens Moythen, were either prominent tradesmen, or followed some profession in the town. But in Lascelle's 1852 *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Hereford,* Moythen who lived at Gravel Hill Villa is listed among the clergy and gentry. His arrival, however, amongst this socially elite group was recent and was due to his successful career as a draper and mercer in the High Street.[3] Thomas Turner, the church warden, lived at Arrow Lodge Mill and was a

miller, maltster, corn factor, and agricultural seedsman. Morris Sayce, like Moythen, also lived at Gravel Hill; he was a land agent, surveyor, civil engineer, and an agent for the Phoenix Fire Assurance Company. Richard Parry said of him that he accomplished many things which few surveyors besides himself would have attempted. His genius in planning and forming roads and in the erection of houses (although not a practical builder) in the Italian style of architecture, did him much credit and indicated an inherent taste for such matters.[4] Thomas Stanway was a chemist, druggist, oil, and agricultural seedsman who lived in the High Street.

Three weeks later, on 10 August, there was another public meeting, and once again it was held at the Oxford Arms. A sense of urgency and purpose prevailed so that a second and much larger committee was now set up 'to carry into effect the immediate purchase, and erection of an Organ in Kington Parish Church, and for the general, and entire management of all matters connected therewith.' Of its fourteen members, three were clerics; the Revd. Samuel Evans, a gentleman-cleric of independent means and with no cure of souls, who lived in Kington, before moving in 1848 to Greenfields, Presteigne, and the Revd. J. N. Walsh, M.A., headmaster of the Grammar School and lecturer to the parish church, joining the vicar. Messrs. Turner, Sayce, Stanway, and Moythen of the original committee continued to serve on this new and larger body which had been strengthened by the addition of three of the town's solicitors, namely Richard Banks, Benjamin Bodenham and Thomas Rogers, and by two of its medical men; Mr. George Marshall, a surgeon, and Dr. Edward James, a physician. The other two members were Mr. John Meredith and Mr. William Sayce. John Meredith was the senior partner in the firm of John and Henry Meredith, drapers and ironmongers, which had a shop in the High Street and an iron foundry at Sunset. His qualities of heart and mind, according to Richard Parry, endeared him to all who knew him.[5] William Sayce, like his father, was also a land agent and surveyor.

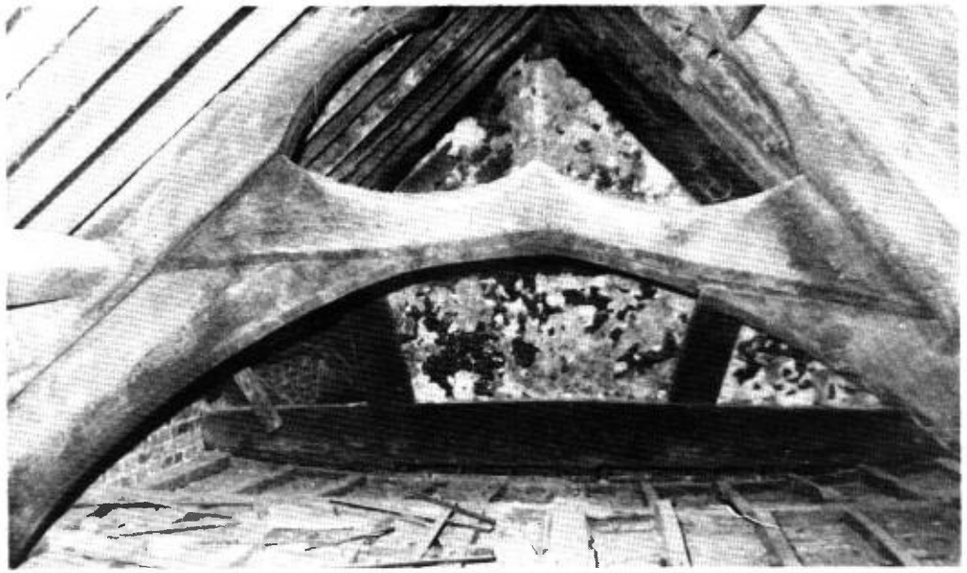
The new committee lost little of its initial momentum so that in less than a month, on 3 September 1847, it had commissioned John Nicholson, the Worcester organ builder, to build for Kington its first church organ. It was to be completed 'within the space of five months ... at the sum of £310, including the carriage of the same and all materials.'[6] Some hard bargaining obviously took place beween the organ builder and the organ committee. Nicholson's original estimate, dated 2 September 1847, was for £330 15s. 0d., so that a reduction of £20 15s. 0d. was obtained. It was to be a two manual and pedals instrument 'of superior tone and extra compass.' The Great Organ was to have a manual of 54 notes and its registration included:

Large Open Diapason 8ft
Small Diapason 8ft
Stopped Diapason 8ft (divided)
Principal 4ft
Wald Flote 8ft (from tenor C)
Twelfth 2⅔ft
Fifteenth 2ft
Sesquialtra (a mixture stop, involving 216 pipes in 4 ranks)
Cornett (another mixture stop, also involving 216 pipes in 4 ranks)
Trombone or Trumpet 8ft



I - Hall open truss - lower part.

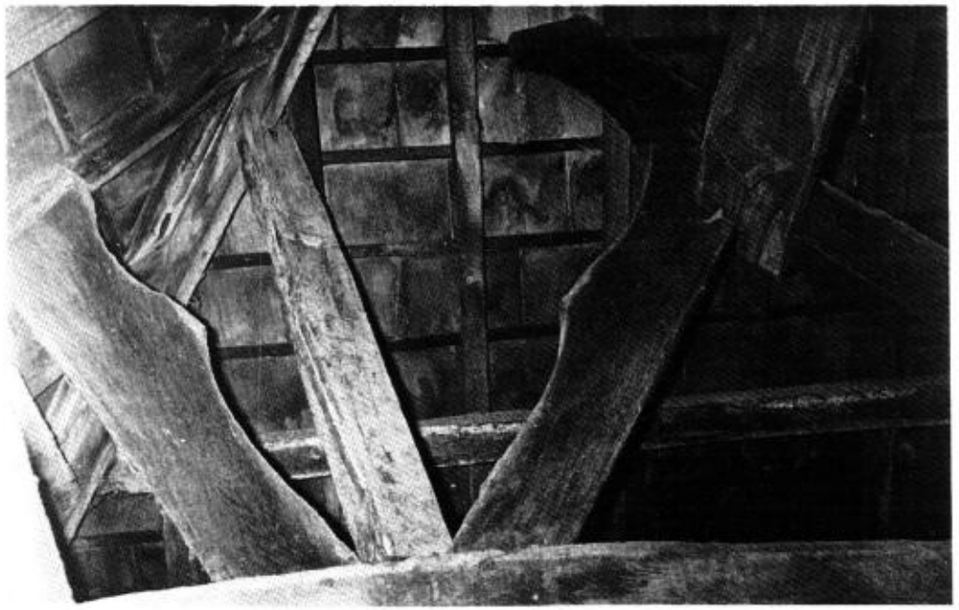
VIII - 17th-century font discovered under floor in Ledbury Church.



II - Hall open truss - upper part.

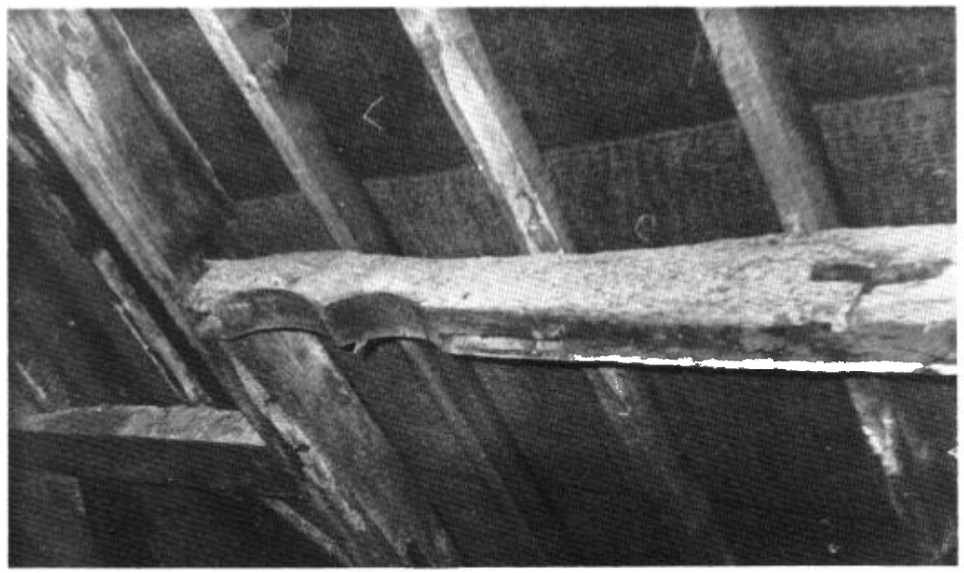
III - Only remaining wind-braces.

IV - Edge-halved and bridle-butted scarf joint on wall-plate.



V - Cusped raking-braces above solar.

VI - Front post with principal and brace jointed to it.



VII - Principal rafter re-used as purlin.

The Swell Organ was to be boxed and fitted with 'Venitian' blinds and to have a shortened compass of 42 notes, running from tenor C upwards. Its registration consisted of:

Bourdon 16ft
Open Diapason 8ft
Dulciana 8ft
Stopped Diapason 8ft
Principal 4ft
Fifteenth 2ft
Hautboy 8ft
Cornopean 8ft

The pedal organ has a compass of two octaves, from CCC to C, and with the exception of its solitary 16ft stop, borrowed considerably from the pipes of the Great Organ. It consisted of:

Open Diapason 16ft
Principal 8ft
Fifteenth 4ft
Sesquialtra 4 ranks
Great to Pedal 'couplet'
Swell to Great 'couplet'

There were to be 'three Composition Pedals to change the Stops at pleasure' and the bellows, hand worked of course, were 'to be on a large scale.' The organ case was to be of painted oak or mahogany and the exposed front pipes to be gilded. The instrument was 'to have all the modern improvements and made of the very best season'd Materials and fine Workmanship.' It was 'to be Warranted perfect and subject to inspection of any competent person, and to be kept in good Tune for the first year after the erection.' John Nicholson also undertook to keep the instrument 'in good Tune and Repair' after the first year for £3 10s. 0d. per annum.[7] Given a full Swell Organ keyboard and a concave and radiating pedal board, the registration of this instrument would be very acceptable today. It would be excellent for the interpretation of the modern as well as the baroque and classical organ repertoire, though it would be difficult to perform music of the romantic period upon it.

John Nicholson's organ works were at Fish Street, Worcester where he set up business in 1841. The Nicholsons were an extensive family of organ builders who crop up at Walsall, Lincoln, Newcastle on Tyne, Macclesfield, Rochdale, and Bradford, but John who died in 1886 was the best known of them. An excellent organ builder, many of his instruments still survive in country churches.

The organ was completed on time and William Wishlade, whose father Benjamin was county surveyor for Radnorshire, built a gallery to accommodate it in the church at the west end of the main nave. In the *Hereford Journal* of 26 April 1848 there appeared this advertisement:

Kington Organ.

Thursday 4th May.

The organ now erected in the Parish Church of Kington by Mr Nicholson of Worcester, will be opened with Cathedral Service on which occasion Mr Townsend Smith, organist of Hereford Cathedral, has kindly consented to preside. A Sermon will be preached by the Vicar. A Collection will be made after the Service in Aid of the Fund.

Divine Service will commence at 11 o'clock.

A paragraph elsewhere in the paper also drew the readers' attention to what was obviously deemed to be an important forthcoming event in the cultural and religious life of the town of Kington. On 3 May readers were reminded that 'the new organ is to be opened tomorrow, Thursday, on which occasion we trust there will be a numerous attendance and a liberal contribution. The Vicar preaches and Mr Townsend Smith of Hereford Cathedral presides at the new, powerful and pleasing instrument.'

On Wednesday, 10 May, the *Hereford Journal* gave an account of the day's proceedings. It took place 'in the presence of a highly respectable and very full congregation.' The choristers of Hereford Cathedral were lent, as it were, for the occasion, along with the cathedral organist, by the Dean and Chapter as patrons of the living, and they were joined by four male members of city's choral society. These musicians arrived for the service, it was reported, over an hour before it began, where they were joined by numerous other people, who were to be seen, apparently, flocking there so that by eleven o'clock, 'or very shortly after, every pew and all other seats were closely occupied.' The local inhabitants were joined by numerous visitors from the surrounding towns and villages, curious no doubt to hear this musical novelty as well as wishing to see and be seen. Amongst the local celebrities noted as being in the congregation were James King, Esq., M.A., J.P., D.L., of Staunton Park, and who became M.P. for the county in 1852 and James Davies, Esq., of Moor Court, the Kington banker. Others were E. Boddington, J.P., of Burcher Court, Titley, Henry Miles, Esq., J.P., of Downfield, late High Sheriff of Radnor, H. O. Holmes, Esq., of Newcastle Court, Mrs. Amphlett, of Titley House, Richard Banks, Esq., and J. Cheese, Esq., J.P., of Huntington Court.

The service was *intoned,* a liturgical novelty, and a fruit of the new Tractarianism, requiring skills which had to be imported for the occasion in the person of the Revd. William Cook, vicar of Bromyard, 'who kindly proferred his services for the occasion.' The service was also lengthy, taking the form of choral Mattins under the musical direction of Mr. Townsend Smith 'who very handsomely on this occasion gave his services gratuitously':

Introductory Voluntary	HANDEL
VENITE, Grand Chant	HUMPHREY
PSALMS for the day	MORNINGTON
TE DEUM & JUBILATE in A	Dr BOYCE
After the 3rd Collect the Anthem HEAR MY PRAYER 55th Psalm, verses 1, 2, 4 & 6	KENT
Before the Sermon 84th Psalm, verses 1, 2, 4 & 6	BEDFORD[8]
After the Sermon JUDGE ME, O LORD, I WILL GIVE THANKS, 35th Psalm, verse 24 & 57th Psalm, verse 10	MOZART
Concluding Voluntary THE HEAVENS ARE TELLING	HAYDN[9]

The *Hereford Journal* considered the service to have been accompanied by Mr. Smith 'in a most beautiful and impressive style ... the responses were chanted by the choir, the burst of the organ at the *Gloria Patri* had a very striking effect, it being the first time it had ever been heard in that church. The *Venite Exultemus* and the psalms for the day were not less beautifully executed.'

The choice of music for the day was dominated by the spirits of Handel, the composer of the unidentified opening voluntary, Haydn and Mozart, and with the exception of Pelham Humphrey, 1647-74, whose famous two note chant was used for the *Venite,* the 18th century prevailed. Thus, the psalms were sung to chants by the Earl of Mornington, 1735-81, professor of music at Trinity College, Dublin and father of the Duke of Wellington. William Boyce, 1710-79, whose *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* are less well known to modern congregations than his setting of *Heart of Oak* and James Kent, 1700-76, also belong to this period, though Kent is better remembered for the music he stole from other composers and incorporated into his own, than for what he actually composed himself. His *Hear my prayer,* however, was once a great favourite and the *Hereford Journal* found it 'beautiful and inspiring,' noting with satisfaction that 'the organ effects were marked by richness of tone, expression, and modulation.'

George Townsend Smith, 1813-77, 'the eminent organist' and who presided over the day's music was appointed organist of Hereford Cathedral in 1843 and remained there, discharging his duties 'honourably and conscientiously,' until his death. A man of antiquarian interests, perhaps reflected in his very conservative choice of music for the occasion, in which there was nothing by contemporary composers, even by ones as well respected as Mendelssohn. This is surprising in a way because Smith was at one time a pupil of Samuel Wesley,[10] the friend of Mendelssohn and champion of Bach. As a boy Samuel Wesley had played the violin with his kinsman the Earl of Mornington, whose chants were used in the service for the psalms of the day. Wesley's son, Samuel Sebastian Wesley,[11] was one of Townsend Smith's predecessors, having been organist at Hereford 1832-5.

The vicar in his sermon preached on the text 'Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth: make a loud noise and rejoice and sing praise.'[12] It was considered 'an eloquent and appropriate discourse,' worthy of publication and distribution amongst the subscribers to the organ fund, at the fund's expense.[13] The liberality of 'the Sundry Collections at the Church Doors' after the service fulfilled the expectations of the *Hereford Journal* and added £46 6s. 2d. to the Organ Fund.[14]

On 6 May 1848, two days after the inauguration of the organ, Mr. Townsend Smith was moved to write to the vicar, Mr. Maddock:

> Revd Sir,
>
> Your Organ I deem an excellent Instrument, highly creditable to its Builder; he has done you full justice, the price cannot adequately renumerate him, but as he lives in the country his expenses for warehouses, labour, etc., are much less than a London manufacturers, to whom you must have paid a much larger sum for the same description of Organ. You have reason to be more than satisfied with the Instrument, & my opinion is quite unprejudiced for, as I told you, I do not know Mr Nicholson; My only recollection of him being that I presided at the Organ at All Saints, Worcester, to which he had made some additions creditably.

I remain Revd Sir,
Yours Faithfully,
G Townsend Smith[15]

This letter was no doubt considered at the inquest held on the inauguration of the organ by the Organ Committee on 8 May. Various expressions of gratitude were made, especially to 'the Vicar and Mr Thomas Turner, the Churchwarden, for their assiduous exertions in carrying out the measures for the erection of the organ' and 'to the subscribers at large for their liberal contributions.' The Committee then begged 'to testify to Mr John Nicholson, of Worcester, the builder of the organ, their unqualified approbation of the instrument and entire satisfaction at the manner in which he has so far fulfilled his contract, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to him.' A copy of the proceedings was to be entered into the Vestry Book and the minutes of the Committee were to be deposited in the parish chest. The only note of caution sounded at the meeting came from Thomas Turner, treasurer of the Organ Fund, in his earnest request that the payment of unpaid subscriptions should be made 'on or before the 20th instant.'[16]

One suspects that the acquisition of an organ was not looked upon with complete approval by all the community. Consequently professional approbation was welcome for the re-assurance of those critics who felt too much money had been spent to too little effect. In July 1848 Mr. Henry Forbes, the organist of St. Luke's parish church, Chelsea, was moved to write from his fashionable Upper Belgrave Place address to Mr. Turner:

Dear Sir,

Having had the opportunity of trying the Organ of Kington Church I have much pleasure in stating that it is in every respect a good and sound instrument and one that I am convinced the Maker could not have made a fair renumerating profit of.

I remain Dear Sir,
Yours Truly,
Henry Forbes[17]

The subscription list is an impressive six page document[18] in which the 115 subscribers are not listed alphabetically, but according to the size of their donations. 'Jas. Davies & Co. (Bankers)' come first with their donation of £100. Next in generosity was the Reverend Samuel Evans and his wife, who between them donated £30. The vicar, Mr. Maddock, gave £15, and Mrs. Maddock £5. At first sight one is surprised to see that the archbishop of York gave £10, but then one recollects that Thomas Musgrave was translated to York in 1847, having been bishop of Hereford for the previous ten years. The local M.P.s gave £5 each: Joseph Bailey, of Easton Court, in 1847 was one of the three members for the county of Hereford, as was Thomas Baskerville-Baskerville, of Clyro, and Kedgwin Hoskins of Harewood House. Sir John Walsh and Thomas Frankland Lewis, who represented the county of Radnor and the Radnor boroughs respectively, gave similar sums. Familiar names like Richard Banks (£10), Richard Parry (£1 1s. 0d.), and Henry Skarratt (10s.) appear as do several anonymous ladies who gave their donations discreetly to the treasurer through others. Carriers, bakers, printers, victuallers, a seller of second-hand clothing, a bell-hanger, a butcher, a blacksmith, a horse-breaker, a plasterer, a shoemaker, a cabinet-maker, a skinner, all made their contributions as well as the beadle and the parish clerk. The smallest recorded donations were of two shillings. Thomas Turner

himself, whose energy and determination brought about the fruition of the venture, gave a guinea and the servants of his household 17s. 6d. In all £415 14s. 8d. was subscribed, some £105 14s. 8d. over the actual cost of the instrument and we do not know to what purpose the excess was put.

The acquisition of an organ necessitated, of course, the appointment of an organist, and the first occupant of the post seems to have been Mr. Walter William Ridley, of Bridge Street, who practised in the town as a 'Professor of Music.' The organ itself served the parish until 1884 when it was enlarged and rebuilt by Walkers of London. It was removed from its west gallery to the Vaughan Chapel which became an organ chamber until 1909 when it was restored again, this time by Norman, Hill, and Beard, and moved to its present position on the north side of the chancel. It was restored yet again in 1977, by Nicholsons of Worcester, and still contains some of the original pipework of its 1848 predecessor. Mr. Maddock the vicar, for whom the installation of an organ in the parish church was the crowning achievement of his career at Kington died, two years later in 1850.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are grateful to Miss M. F. Turner, of Island House, Kington for making the Turner Manuscript available to them. It consists of sixteen pages of foolscap copper-plate writing, presumably Thomas Turner's own transcript of the proceedings connected with acquiring the Kington organ, and one printed notice, an account of the Vestry meeting on 8 May 1848. The page numbers run from 1-29, but are not consecutive and have been removed from a ledger book.

REFERENCES

[1] Turner Ms, p. 1.
[2] Jonathan Williams, *History of Radnorshire*, (1905), 202.
[3] Richard Parry, *The History of Kington*, (1848). List of inhabitants.
[4] John Southwood, ed. *Further Recordings of Richard Parry, the Kington Historian*, (1984), 22.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21.
[6] Turner Ms, p. 21.
[7] *Ibid.*, 18, 19, 20.
[8] Bedford is in fact a *name* of a hymn tune composed by W. Wheale, 1690-1727.
[9] Turner Ms, p. 28.
[10] Samuel Wesley, 1766-1857.
[11] Samuel Sebastian Wesley, 1810-76.
[12] Ps 94:4.
[13] Turner Ms, p. 29.
[14] And not £45 0s. 0d. as reported by Richard Parry.
[15] Turner Ms, p. 22.
[16] *Ibid.*, 29.
[17] *Ibid.*, 23.
[18] *Ibid.*, 9-14.

Alfred Watkins and *The Old Straight Track*

By L. V. GRINSELL

The substance of a lecture given by the author at the Hereford meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in August 1987.

On 30 June 1921 Alfred Watkins, a prominent citizen of Hereford aged 66, was on a visit to Blackwardine south-east of Leominster when he noted on the map 'a straight line starting from Croft Ambury ... over hill points, through Blackwardine, over Risbury Camp, and through the high ground at Stretton Grandison, where I surmise a Roman station' (*Early British Trackways,* (1922), 9). At that moment was born one of the two biggest 'red herrings' in British archaeology, the other being the attribution of stone circles and other megalithic monuments to the Druids.

First of all let us look at Alfred Watkins himself. He was born in 1855 and after schooling in Hereford became first a brewer and then a corn merchant, an occupation which took him all over Herefordshire and its borders. In due course he became a magistrate, a county councillor in 1915, an alderman in 1934, was governor of the local high schools, and served on the Hereford Library Committee from 1880 to 1934. His death in April 1935 was followed by a funeral service in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, attended by a large congregation including representatives from many - perhaps most - sections of the community. The fiftieth anniversary of his death was commemorated in 1985 by the placing of a *Plaque* on the wall of Harley Court, his old home in the Cathedral close.

Watkins was a tremendous though somewhat indiscriminate reader, as shown by the selection from his library, now exhibited in Hereford Public Library: Harold Bayley's *Archaic England* (1919), and F. T. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour* (1900) standing cheek-by-jowl with E. C. Curwen's *Prehistoric Sussex* (1929), Walter Johnson's *Byways in British Archaeology* (1912), Sir Norman Lockyer's *Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments* (1909), and Dr. Williams-Freeman's *Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire* (1915). Whether everything came as grist to his flour-mill I would not know, but it is clear that everything came as grist to his intellectual mill.

One gets the impression that he had read almost all the relevant literature published up to 1925, the date of publication of *The Old Straight Track*. Page 4 of that book shows that he had even read the extremely rare book by Thomas Stackhouse, *Illustration of the Tumuli or Ancient Barrows* (1806), which tried to demonstrate the alignment of various barrows on Maiden Castle in Dorset, thereby giving perhaps the earliest hint of the ley theory of Watkins. He was equally familiar with poetry, and quoted from Gray's *Elegy* 'the lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea' as if to support his ley lines theory. Watkins' interest in bees, bee-keeping and bee-lines could well have helped to form his idea of *the Old Straight Track*.

Inventor of the Watkins photographic exposure meter, he was author of *Photography: its Principles and Applications* (1st. edn. 1911; pp. 333; 11th edn. 1932). He joined the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club in 1888, and between 1900 and 1933 he provided free of charge 90% of the photographic illustrations in their *Transactions,* earning for them the reputation of being among the best illustrated of all the county archaeological periodicals. He was president of the Woolhope Club in 1919. His other publications include *The Old Standing Crosses of Herefordshire* (1930) and papers on Arthur's Stone (Dorstone) and cup-marked stones, in the proceedings of various societies.

So much for the man. Now what of his book *The Old Straight Track?* First published in 1925, it has since then been reprinted several times, including twice during 1987, complete with all the misprints and spelling errors of the original. When its publishers, Methuen, applied to insert an advertisement for it in *Antiquity,* its editor O. G. S. Crawford refused to touch it with a barge-pole. In his *Archaeology in the Field* (1953) he described *The Old Straight Track* (p. 269) as 'one of the craziest books ever written about British archaeology;' but that was four years before the publication of his own book *The Eye Goddess* which fell so far below Crawford's former standards that it was avoided by the late Glyn Daniel who had followed him in 1958 as editor of *Antiquity.*

As Watkins explained in the introduction to his book (p. xix), 'Knowledge is only to be gleaned from three types of evidence. Firstly and chiefly from what exists or is recorded on or in the earth of the work or remains of man of that period. Secondly, from what can be gleaned and surmised in place-names and words... Thirdly, from folk-lore legends...' I shall examine his straight track theory from these angles of archaeology, place-names and local names, and folklore.

ARCHAEOLOGY

On the general subject of prehistoric sites in alignment, of course they exist. e.g. the megalithic monuments at Stanton Drew.

In his first two chapters he deals with mounds and their alignments. In his day most of those in and around Herefordshire were shown on the Ordnance maps by the word *tumulus.* Watkins can therefore be forgiven for assuming that most of these were Bronze Age barrows whereas we now know that most of those in and around Herefordshire are medieval mottes and they are shown as such on the present Ordnance maps. An exception is St. Weonards Tump, excavated in 1855 by Thomas Wright and shown to be a motte placed on a Bronze Age barrow. I feel sure of this as there appears to be another round barrow almost adjoining. A recent paper by A. E. Brown shows that not more than a couple of dozen round barrows are now known in Herefordshire, whereas the number of mottes is 72:3 times as many mottes as barrows. I believe that the construction of a motte over an earlier barrow was highly exceptional.

As to the alignment of round barrows, linear barrow-groups are of course well-known especially in Wessex, and the Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads group is certainly aligned on a long barrow; but linear barrow-groups are normally only approximate as shown not only by that group where there are numerous barrows out of the line, but also

by other groups such as the Cursus group north-west of Stonehenge, the westernmost member of which is certainly out of line with the others. Before we take leave of barrows we should take a look at Arthur's Stone (Dorstone) which Watkins claimed to be on a ley, but I think this is merely a path leading to it, such as gets formed by visitors approaching the monument.

In his chapter 4 Watkins has a good deal to say about Mark Stones, but one gets the impression that he uses those which serve his purpose and omits the others. I would take issue with him on his interpretation of the vertical grooves on the Queen Stone at Huntsham (p. 25). I feel sure these are not man-made but are the result of solution of the sandstone by rainwater through time.

In his chapter 7 (Mark Trees), he includes in some of his ley lines clumps of Scotch firs on hill-tops, sometimes mistaking them for round barrows. Many and perhaps almost all of these clumps of firs were planted between the late 17th and early 19th century as part of a movement of the landed gentry to increase the attractiveness and value of their estates. They are usually enclosed within a bank and outer ditch, and hawthorn was planted on the bank to prevent animals from browsing on the foliage of the trees before they had reached maturity.

There is no need to discuss hill forts and churches and other items dealt with by Watkins. His idea that churches were often placed on prehistoric sites to Christianize them has been fully explored in my recent paper on 'The Christianization of prehistoric Sites' (in *Landscape History,* vol. 8) and my own conclusion is that although this practice occurred occasionally in Britain it was rare; it was however very common in Brittany and occurs here and there throughout the Mediterranean and sometimes in the Iberian peninsula.

PLACE-NAMES AND LOCAL NAMES

At the time Watkins wrote his book, the English Place-Name Society had only recently been founded, and their first publication, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (misquoted by Watkins as British place-names, p. 54) appeared in 1924 about the time Watkins had finished his book. His use of the word *lea* or *ley* itself for an alignment is unfortunate, as it is usually taken to mean a glade, clearing, pasture or meadow and certainly not an alignment. The original *OED* did not include an alignment among the meanings for *ley*; but Dr. Burchfield's *OED Supplement* (1976) includes it cautiously as 'the supposed line of a prehistoric track ... with identifying points such as ponds, mounds etc. marking its route', quoting Watkins 1922 and 1925 as its authority.

It is only fair to add that from 1930 onwards Watkins abandoned the term *ley* in favour of *old straight track,* although in this he was not followed by the members of the *Old Straight Track Club* (Mullard in *The Ley Hunter* (Spring 1986), 3-4). His statement that 'no enclosed fields or pastures existed before Roman times' (p. 158) is hopelessly wrong. His explanation of words including *cole* and *dod* to mean those who planned or surveyed his ley lines or old straight tracks is at variance with modern scholarship.

FOLKLORE

When the *Folk-lore Society* was founded in 1878, it was confidently believed that folklore could help to fill out some of the details of the life of prehistoric man. So Edward Clodd observed: 'we have but to scratch the rustic to find the barbarian underneath' (Dorson (1968), 250). Accordingly its early members included Sir A. W. Franks, Sir John Evans and his son Sir Arthur Evans, Sir John Lubbock, and William Pengelly. I tended to share that view myself when I joined the Society in 1934. Since then my own study of the *Folklore of Prehistoric Sites in Britain* has convinced me that although some of the elements can be traced back to medieval or even earlier times, few if any can be traced back to pre-Roman times: almost certainly none at all.

Yet Watkins states (p. 168) that 'folklore tales almost always contain some germ of prehistoric fact, mixed with much accumulated imaginings.' He stated (p. 171) that the number of barrow-groups called *Robin Hood's Butts* disproves the idea that the original of this name was the outlaw of the Middle Ages. 'The name is assuredly far earlier.' My own belief that barrows and other prehistoric sites so called are named from the outlaw of the Middle Ages is supported by the statements of Hugh Latimer *c.* 1550 that many people preferred tales of Robin Hood to a sermon; and of Nicholas Bownd (1606) that many people knew more about Robin Hood than they did about the stories in the Bible (both quoted in Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971, p. 195). I hardly think it necessary to comment on Watkins' other digressions into folklore.

THE (OLD) STRAIGHT TRACK CLUB (1926-1947) AND ITS MEMBERS

The (Old) Straight Track Club was founded in 1926, the year following publication of *The Old Straight Track,* on the initiative of Mrs. B. M. Carbonell of Bideford (Devon), a prominent member of the Devonshire Association. It changed its name to *The Straight Track Club* in 1935 following the death of Alfred Watkins. It was a group of fifty or so of those interested in ley-lines, and they used to circulate the results of their activities in a series of *Portfolios,* thirty-one volumes of which were presented to Hereford Public Library in 1947 by A. T. Morley Hewitt, its last chairman, when the group was wound up. It numbered among its members some interesting people including Admiral Boyle Somerville, author of papers on orientation in *Antiquity* and *Archaeologia;* F. J. Hando the author of several books on Gwent (Monmouthshire); Mrs. Maltwood, author of a book on *Glastonbury's Temple of the Stars* (1924); and E. F. Wills, author of a crazy book on *Egypt in Bristol* (1937). Among the members whom I knew personally were F. A. Girling of Manningtree in Essex, author of a book on *English Merchants' Marks* (1964); Major F. C. Tyler, author of *The Geometrical Arrangement of Ancient Sites* (1939); Guy Underwood, author of *The Pattern of the Past* (1968 and later editions); and also A. T. Morley Hewitt, of Fordingbridge, author of works on the archaeology and history of his area.

THE LEY-LINE REVIVAL

Following the winding-up of The Straight Track Club in 1947, interest in the subject declined. The publication of Alexander Thom's *Megalithic Sites in Britain* (1967) and

other works, with their emphasis on orientation and alignments, led many ley-hunters to believe that it proved that straight trackism was right after all. Since about 1969 the periodical *The Ley Hunter* has accordingly flourished. A parallel periodical, the *Journal of Geomancy,* vol. 3, no. 2 (1978), proudly announced the discovery of the Cambridge Church Ley-line, which passes not only through seven churches but also for good measure through *The Flying Stag,* the retirement home of the late Glyn Daniel, then editor of *Antiquity* and the author of numerous editorial animadversions on the lunatic fringe (*Antiquity* 53, 91-2). *The Old Straight Track,* first published in 1925, and reprinted in cheaper editions in 1933, 1946 and 1948, was reissued in 1970, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980 (twice), and already twice in 1987. Guy Underwood's book *The Pattern of the Past* (1968), of related interest, was reissued in 1970, 1972, 1974 and probably more recently. Perhaps the best studies of the Ley-line movement and its recent revival are in Chapter 10 of *Megaliths Myths and Men* (1976) by Peter Lancaster Brown, himself a convert from *The Old Straight Track* to the objective science of astro-archaeology; and *Ley Lines in Question* (1983), an exhaustive study by Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy.

It remains to add that there is no BERLIN WALL between archaeological orthodoxy and the lunatic fringe. John Barnatt and Evan Hadingham were both attracted to the study of megalithic and other sites in the first instance by reading literature of *The Old Straight Track* type, but subsequently developed into becoming proper archaeologists. On the other hand Reginald Smith, the distinguished Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum between 1928 and 1938 wrote 'fringe' papers on the use of dowsing and the pendulum in archaeology; and Tom Lethbridge, after a distinguished if rather original career as a lecturer in archaeology at Cambridge University, retired to Branscombe in Devon and wrote several books on archaeology and the paranormal.

CONCLUSION

The only son of Alfred Watkins, the late Allen Watkins (died 1976), was an accountant who was author of books on playing bridge, and joint author of books on economics for accountants, as well as author of a short life of his father entitled *Alfred Watkins of Hereford* (1972), on p. 31 of which he gives his own assessment of *The Old Straight Track:*

> Directly you walked *The Old Straight Track* you walked into a faery world of Druids, holy wells, sacred trees, pagan practices, hermits, beacons, astrology, crosses, Bible texts, the lot: everything a healthily extroverted man of science most dislikes and distrusts.

My own impression is that the prehistoric Britain of Alfred Watkins, based so largely on alignments comprising stones and mounds, tracks and hill forts and churches supposedly sited on prehistoric sites, had no existence in the form in which he presented it except in his own imagination and that of his followers. However, I think it is good for normal archaeologists to inoculate themselves against falling victim to the 'lunatic fringe' by an occasional sampling of its products, and I think that is the justification for this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In addition to the textual references, there have been two excellent recent broadcast programmes on Alfred Watkins:

> Spring 1985: 'Mornin' Mr Watkins' (BBC Midlands), in which his daughter Marion Watkins (then in her 90s) took part, as well as his grandson Felix, born 1922.
> 11 Feb 1986: 'The strange affair of the Old Straight Track', on BBC 2.

There was a long review article on *Ley Lines in Question* by the editor of the *Journal of Geomancy* in *The Ley Hunter* no. 97, (Winter 1985), pp. 11-24.

A flint axe-head from near Bredenbury

By J. D. HURST

A flint axe-head was reported from Batchley Farm (SO 608577-HWCM 7073) by Mrs. M. Wakefield-Jones. It was a polished example of Neolithic date, and a notable feature was that it exhibited extensive signs of reworking subsequent to breakage. This demonstrated that, where flint was scarce, broken implements could be useful for producing smaller flake artefacts. When finally discarded, therefore, the axe-head resembled a core, though with enough of the original polished surface surviving to indicate its primary function.

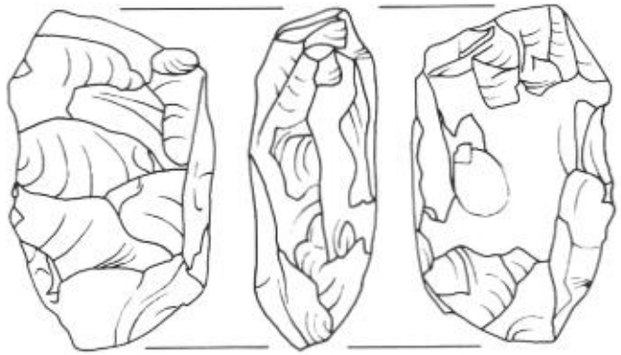


FIG. 1
Neolithic axe-head (⅔).

A Bronze Age vessel from near Leintwardine

By J. D. HURST

A single, large rim sherd of prehistoric pottery was found by Mrs. R. Roberts at Little Heath Farm near Leintwardine (SO 379765-HWCM 6014) while field-walking an area of cropmarks discovered during the Hereford and Worcester County Museum 1986 Herefordshire aerial survey.

Description

The fabric contained a moderate quantity of large (up to 7 mm.), angular fragments of dolerite rock, and the rim exhibited a continuous internal overhang, which was perforated at intervals from above. A 1-2 mm. thick black encrustation was observed on the inside surface.

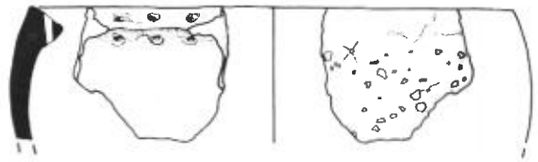


FIG. 1
Bronze Age pottery (¼).

Discussion

Both in form and fabric, the Leintwardine vessel closely resembled pottery present at the Bronze Age cemetery site at Bromfield in south Shropshire (cf. Stanford 1982, 312, fig. 17, no. 15). Comparison could also be made with material from Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Warwickshire (especially Longworth 1976-7, fig. 6, Urn CPS 11 (A. Ellison pers comm.)). However, none of these comparable vessels exhibited the perforated rim, though perforations below the rim are known on late Bronze Age vessels from East Anglia (e.g. Drury 1977, 35, fig. 10, no. 3). The black encrustation on the inside was probably a cooking residue indicating that a domestic rather than funerary function was applicable.

The Leintwardine sherd would, therefore, seem to be from a domestic vessel of late Bronze Age date. The Bronze Age dating was supported by a small assemblage of worked flint also found in the same vicinity, which included an unfinished barb and tang arrow-head.

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Identification of a Domesday Manor

By ELIZABETH TAYLOR

Under the Domesday Book's lists of lands belonging to the king in Herefordshire is the sub-heading, 'In Wormelow Hundred.' Only two manors are listed for the hundred and both are called 'Westwood.' The second manor has been identified from a marginal note in the 'Herefordshire Domesday'[1] as Dewsall.

The first 'Westwood' was recorded as a composite manor; the main part being held by the abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester, Roger de Lacy held the second part through his tenant Odo (Tyrell) and Ralph de Sacey held the third part. The Herefordshire Domesday gives the marginal note 'Wrmenton' against the de Lacy/Tyrell part and 'Wrmoton' for de Sacey's portion.

Wormeton has not yet been identified in editions of the Domesday Book but documents in the Hereford Record Office now make the identification clear. A series of deeds dating from the 13th century for lands in Wormeton describe lands in 'Wormelowsfeld,' 'between Wormelow and Wormeton,' 'in the vill of Wormeton next to Dewchurch Magna' etc. and a deed dated 1416 is concerned with lands in both 'Wormeton Tyrell' and 'Wormeton Sausey.'[2]

More exact identification can be found in a survey of the bounds of the 'Manor of Wormelow otherwise Archenfield' made in 1639[3] and another survey of 'the Manor or Hundred of Wormelow' made in 1816.[4] Lists of the townships, parishes and hamlets within the jurisdiction of the court are given with both but the 1639 list and survey are incomplete. The one for 1816 is given fully and includes 'Wormton Tirrel otherwise Sawsage' within the boundary while most of Much Dewchurch and all of Much Birch were by that time outside the area of jurisdiction.

The 1816 boundaries are described clockwise and the survey has been heading northwards before the relevant section begins at Wormelow Tump, leaving Much Dewchurch parish on the left, outside the boundary:

'...thence to Wormelow Tump to a Mere where a grove of trees are now growing, thence along a road leading to Much Dewchurch to a Mere Stone in a meadow called Blackhouse Meadow, thence over the brook called Worm leaving the said brook on the left to Eylstam's Ford thence by the brook crossing Cobhalls meadow to the house...'

The house referred to is The Rhydd. The boundary then follows the parish boundaries of Dewsall and Aconbury both parishes being within the area of jurisdiction.

The evidence from these two sources show that Wormeton was the roughly triangular part of the parish of Much Dewchurch, bounded on the south-west by the road from Wormelow Tump to a point a little short of Much Dewchurch village and then by the Worm Brook; on the north by Dewsall and Aconbury and on the east by Much Birch. The castle motte at Much Dewchurch was actually in Wormeton.

It seems probable that the remaining part of 'Westwood' held by the abbey of Gloucester was also in Much Dewchurch and perhaps included the area of the village as the church and two carucates of land later belonged to the priory of Kilpeck, a daughter-house of Gloucester Abbey.[5]

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[3] H.R.O. A19/1.
[4] H.R.O. A19/1.
[5] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica of Pope Nicholas IV,* (Record Commission, 1802).

A 'Lost' Domesday Manor

By J. W. TONKIN

One of the manors which puzzled Lord Rennell of Rodd in his *Valley on the March,* and which he could not positively locate, was 'Tumbelawe' which features in *V.C.H.* (1908) under 'Lands afterwards in Herefordshire entered under Shropshire.' It is entered between Lye (Lege) and Letton (Lectune) and as the manors as entered run Lingen, Shirley, Lye, 'Tumbelawe', Letton, Walford, it seemed quite possible that it lay between Lye and Letton and it was certainly in extreme north-west Herefordshire.

Enquiries from pupils attending Wigmore High School who lived in the Lingen-Brampton Bryan area elicited the fact that there was a field known as Tumberland. The writer was able to tell Lord Rennell this and it really pleased him that the mystery had been solved.

On the Leintwardine Tithe Map of 1846 it appears as Tumberland Field and Tumberland Top numbered 1349 and 1350 respectively and totalling about twenty-two acres. At that time the land was owned by the earl of Oxford of the Harley family of Brampton Bryan and tenanted by James Letton Nott.

This places Tumberland in square 3770 on the Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 Sheet SO 37 SE about 150 yards west of Letton Cottages, SO 377701, and part of Upper Letton Farm, lying between the unclassified roads from Lingen to Brampton Bryan and Lingen to Walford and Adforton, between the 150 m. and 165 m. contours.

In Bundle 5 of the Harley records at Brampton Bryan the manor of Letton is shown as having been purchased in 1580 by Charles Fox of Bromfield from Henry Vernon of Stokesay and in 1646 by John Birch from Somerset Fox. It then consisted of nine messuages, one cottage, ten gardens, forty acres of land, sixty acres of meadow, 300 acres of pasture, forty acres of woodland and 100 acres of furze and heath. Thus by the 16th century it seems that the Domesday manor of Tumbelawe had become incorporated into the manor of Letton and only the field-names remained to show where it had once been.

In 1661 John Birch sold the manor of Letton to Edward Harley. It remains in the possession of that family to this day.

The Fonts at Ledbury

By the late S. F. GAVIN ROBINSON

The Bapististry at Ledbury Parish Church has now been converted to other uses. The plan involved the removal of the 19th-century font to a position at the east end of the north aisle, and this led to the discovery of an older font broken up and buried underneath it.

This font has now been repaired and erected at the east end of the south aisle. It is a handsome object, with carvings of cherubs, acanthus leaves and festoons of drapery (PL. VIII). It very closely resembles the fonts at Holme Lacy and Llandinabo recorded by the late Mr. George Marshall in his survey of the fonts of Herefordshire published by the Club in 1949-51, and dated by him as about 1670. Like the Holme Lacy font it is made of Cotswold stone, not local stone.

Its measurements are:

Height from floor 48 ins. Circumference of top of stem 34 ins. Inside the rim of the bowl there is a narrow ledge to support a cover, but no trace of a fastening for this. Inner depth of bowl 9 ins. The sides are slightly concave with a shallow saucer at the base. In the base there is a sump or recess, 4 ins. deep and 9 ins. in diameter. The sides of this recess, unlike the rest of the bowl, are very rough, suggesting that a lead lining may have been hacked out. In the base of this recess is the central drainage hole, with a smaller hole on either side of it, which may be the dowel holes that secured the lining. According to Mr. Marshall's account, two drainage holes were not uncommon, but he does not seem to have identified a font with three. The outer diameter of the bowl is 24 ins., the inner diameter 18 ins.

The C. D. L. Stone Restoration Company of Bristol, which restored the font, report that while doing so they found traces of a greyish distemper on it. In addition, on the rim there are three small initials 'RJC' rather roughly painted, and faint remains of a date, of which only the last figure '2' may be seen clearly. No record can be found of a local stone mason whose initials might have been painted on when the font was buried. The architect Nickoll Cottingham was responsible for the major restoration of the Baptistry carried out in the 1850s, and Miss Jean Myles of Nottingham University considers that he was probably responsible also for the font installed at that time. He had an uncle named Robert Martin Johnston Cottingham. Miss Myles doubts whether the initials refer to him, however, as he lived in Essex and there is no record connecting him with Ledbury. The '2' might be '1852', the date at which the font was buried, or '1672', the date at which it was installed.

The mediaeval font that must have existed has vanished without trace, and it seems that now only the veriest chance can recover it. During the Protectorate the vicar, the Rev. Henry Page, was an ardent Royalist. He has left evidence of this by turning back the pages of his folio register to a blank space among the entries for 1597 and inscribing there in his unmistakable handwriting the defiant words, 'God save the King.' Unfortunately for him

the Rev. John Tombs, the Master of St. Katharine's Hospital appointed by the Commissioners, was an equally ardent Anabaptist, and if he had ordered the removal of the ancient stone font Mr. Page might well have had no choice but to comply. In the Vestry Book for 1656 there is an entry of payment being made for 'varnishing the standard of the christening bowl' - presumably the portable font consisting of a lead bowl in a wooden case that was permitted under the laws of 1653. That infant baptisms did continue is evident from the register.

If it had been possible to replace the stone font in 1660 it seems reasonably likely that this would have been done, rather than go to the expense of buying a new one. That it was not replaced further suggests that it had been broken up past repair. And an enterprising stone mason somewhere in the Cotswolds had found that there was a profitable trade in supplying new fonts.

If the Restoration font had originally been placed in the traditional position beside the congregation's entry it seems that it might as well have been left there when the new font was provided in 1852 and placed in the Baptistry. Mr. Marshall found instances of old fonts being buried under new ones to act as a sump, and this seems to have been what happened here. The Baptistry would then have been in use as such already in the 17th century, but its original intended use is a matter for speculation.

From their earliest dates in the 17th century the Vestry Books always refer to it as 'St. Katharine's Chapel.' This has given rise to the theory that it was intended as a shrine for Lady Katharine Audley, Ledbury's noted early-14th-century recluse, and dedicated to her patron saint. There is no documentary evidence for this, however, nor any mention of a St. Katharine's Chantry at the Dissolution under Edward VI. The three chantries named then are the Lady Chapel, St. Anne's and the Trinity Chantry.

The alternative theory is that it was built as a Chapter House by the Benedictines of St. Guthlac's in Hereford, who were making repeated efforts to adopt Ledbury as a Collegiate Church. An Inquisition of 1381, however, decided that Ledbury was not and never had been Collegiate, and did not possess and never had possessed a Chapter House. As its architecture indicates that it was built about 1330 it seems that if it was intended as a Chapter House it was never used as such. It can never have been suitable for congregational worship, as it has no provision for a sanctuary. It may have been used briefly for the Trinity Chantry, whose position is otherwise very doubtful.

It must remain uncertain, therefore, at what date the Baptistry was first used for that purpose, but now that the font has been removed it is to be known as the Chapter House.

Reports of Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 1988

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

The City Archaeological Unit has had a busy and eventful year, somewhat overshadowed by the loss of the Community Programme team due to changes in Government legislation. The team had been very useful in monitoring development work within the Hereford Area of Archaeological Importance, as well as providing practical training for prospective archaeologists. It effectively ceased to exist in October, but it has been possible to keep a few of its ex-members employed on other projects.

The Unit has continued with its programme of excavations and watching briefs and has developed its building survey work, providing detailed information on the fabric of historic buildings for the City planning department, English Heritage and potential developers. This work culminated in a joint commission with a London-based firm of planning consultants, funded by the City Council and English Heritage, in which the Unit did a thorough historical survey of the south side of Hereford's High Town as part of an eventual planning brief for this area. This study, one of the first of its kind to be part-funded by English Heritage, is due to be published early in 1989.

The three main excavations during the year have been at Wall Street and Deen's Court/St. Nicholas Street in Hereford and further afield at Kilpeck. The Wall Street excavation was just within the line of the medieval city wall to the west of the site of Widemarsh Gate, and was carried out in advance of the construction of a sheltered housing complex. The excavation uncovered the remains of two late-16th-century houses; the footings of one of which consisted of flat rectangular stone slabs overlying two parallel lines of narrow post holes presumed to have been part of piling in the soft material. Numerous pits from the 15th to 17th centuries were also encountered, as well as contemporary cobbled surfaces. Beneath these layers the 12th-century defensive ramparts were exposed, overlying the Saxon soil level. Far more exciting, however, was the discovery of a metalled surface below the Saxon soil level and lying directly on top of undisturbed natural deposits. Only the western edge of this feature, which was aligned north-west - south-east, was exposed in the trenches. Although there were no finds to date this surface, it must have been associated with the earliest settlement of the Hereford area and may well be Roman. It is possible that it was simply a yard, but it could have been part of a road, perhaps a stretch of the Roman road between Chester and Caerleon, which is assumed to have passed through Hereford although the course through the City has yet to be traced. The lack of any signs of repair or wheel ruts in the limited area exposed suggests that it was not in use for any great length of time.

The Deen's Court excavation was mainly carried out by the Community Programme team with additional financial aid from Martin Wilesmith Ltd., the firm developing the

site. This area to the south of St. Nicholas Street lies on and to the east of the line of the City defences, within the original Saxon settlement. Previous excavations to the north, adjoining Berrington Street, had exposed Saxon features including the remains of houses and various road surfaces and it was hoped that a similar settlement pattern would be found in the Deen's Court site. In the event, although the medieval and post-medieval occupation levels were reasonably preserved, there was little trace of earlier deposits. This may be due to the widening of St. Nicholas Street when the ring road was constructed or to the lack of need of this area separated from the main part of the town by a marshy area between Bridge Street and Gwynne Street. The excavation finished in October and the post-excavation work is now under way.

The excavation at Kilpeck was undertaken when plans to extend the graveyard into the bailey of the castle had to be changed because of the sensitive archaeological nature of that site. Instead, after protracted negotiations, a new extension was authorised to the north of the church, just outside the castle's outer ditch. Trial trenches in 1987 were followed by further trenches in September 1988, confirming that archaeological levels existed in the area of the new extension. In October, the team began a full-scale excavation of the area which, weather permitting, will be finished by February 1989.

On an encouraging note, the Unit has been able to co-operate with Morbaine Ltd., the developers of the new Safeway development adjoining Commercial Road, Hereford, on the site of the former Herron's leather works. Documentary research has revealed that the area had a long history of industrial usage stretching back to a water-mill owned by St. Guthlac's Monastery. Because the mill would have had to be associated with a mill-pond, rather than a mill-leat, it was thought that the much later mill-dam of the leather works would probably reflect its monastic predecessor. As the proposed store would obviously threaten any archaeological remains the developers agreed to help and provided machinery to remove concrete yards and dig trial trenches. These quickly established a stone-capped baulk of clay, probably a dam, laid on the natural soil level, together with associated wall footings. Although in the limited scope of a trial trench these could not be identified positively as medieval, they were considered to be of importance and the developers agreed to alter the design of their footings to avoid damage to the probable site of the original mill. These archaeological remains will thus be sealed and preserved for posterity. In addition, a watching brief on the remainder of the site, funded by Safeway, is being maintained throughout the building work.

The Unit has carried out a number of smaller-scale excavations and watching briefs, notably in the Gas Showrooms, Eign Street and the Vicars' Choral in Hereford, and at Dinedor Camp and Goodrich in the county. At Goodrich Castle a watching brief was carried out during the excavation of a new and very long electricity cable trench running from the end of the present vehicular access track, around the outer edge of the defensive ditch, past the barbican and into the outer ward. This resulted in the surprise discovery of a Christian burial-ground of some size near to the edge of the ditch to the south of the castle. The close proximity of the burials to the edge of the ditch suggests that the burial-ground could pre-date the ditch, which would imply that it might be associated with the earliest phases of the castle. The shallow nature of the trench meant that only a few graves

were actually disturbed by the work and it was possible to avoid further damage. Other finds in the trench included pieces of medieval encaustic floor tiles and a quantity of pottery sherds dating from the 13th to the 20th centuries.

One of the more unusual jobs undertaken by the Unit was the back-filling of trenches at Richards Castle Castle. These had been dug by archaeologists between 1962 and 1964 and it was necessary to back-fill them under proper archaeological supervision to ensure that no damage was done to the undisturbed levels.

Survey work in Hereford has included a photographic record and detailed elevational drawings of the surviving cloistral wall of the Blackfriars Monastery. After the Dissolution the west cloistral range of the monastery was converted into a town house, which was probably slighted during the Civil War. The survey work enabled a new phasing of the surviving masonry to be postulated.

A study was made of the porch of the Vicars' Choral to try and establish the original design of its facade. Despite approaching all the major archive sources in the country there were few helpful illustrations to work from, but a postulated design has been produced which appears to fit in with the surviving masonry.

3 St. Peters Square was surveyed and several of the surviving timber-frames drawn in detail. Although much of this building is relatively modern it appears to have incorporated within it the remains of a late-medieval timber-framed first-floor hall.

In the county, the Unit has continued to be involved in survey work at Goodrich Castle, producing further detailed elevation drawings and overall plans. There was also more work at Brampton Bryan Castle in the north of the county, following on from the Unit's earlier survey in 1986. Detailed elevations were drawn of each face of the outer wall of the original late-13th-century gate-house. The timber-framed tower of St. Bartholemew's Church, Vowchurch, was surveyed and drawn in advance of restoration work.

HEREFORD AND WORCESTER COUNTY MUSEUM

The Museum's Archaeology Section aims to manage and preserve the county's archaeological heritage. Its main tools are therefore not necessarily the trowel and spade of the excavator. In fact the Section's main tool is the Sites and Monuments Record, a record of all known archaeological sites in the county, which is used for a wide variety of purposes. The Sites and Monuments Record is currently being computerised with grant-aid from English Heritage.

In 1988 the Section became consultants to the Forestry Commission and this together with the long-standing provision of advice to District Councils on planning applications will help to ensure that as many important sites as possible are protected from destruction.

The Section looks to the future as much as it does to the past. The Archaeology in Schools Project produces a termly newsletter distributed to all the County's schools, promoting an appreciation of the past, one of the County's most important educational assets.

Obviously where the expenditure of scarce resources is absolutely necessary evaluation and excavation have to be undertaken. During 1988 four excavations and one watching brief were carried out in Herefordshire.

Marden Quarry, Wellington (HWCM 5522, SO 508479).

The earliest activity dated from the mid-to-late Iron Age (3rd to 1st century B.C.). A number of stone buildings were subsequently constructed, perhaps in the late 2nd century A.D. The buildings may be part of a farm or villa complex with the presence of flue tile indicating a hypocaust, or under-floor heating system. The core area of the Roman settlement covered an area of over four hectares (ten acres). Evidence of farming activity was indicated by a large quantity of animal bone, with the major domesticates (cattle, sheep, pig) all represented. Agricultural processes were represented by a 'corn drier' or malting kiln. Most of the excavated evidence dated to the late 3rd century, but continued well into the 4th century A.D. Three ditches of late- or post-Roman date were cut into Roman layers. Due to the limited extent to which these were revealed their significance is unknown.

A period of extensive alluviation followed abandonment of the site. The inundation this implies may have been the cause of abandonment of this site in particular and has major implications for settlement-patterns in the Lugg Valley generally. Such periodic alluviation is well known in the more extensively-investigated Upper Thames Valley. The presence of earlier alluviation was not investigated though the existence of earlier well-preserved deposits, again overlain by alluvium, cannot be ruled out. The alluvium, which occasionally exceeds 1 metre in depth, increases the potential for the survival of Roman and earlier deposits in a good state of preservation. It does however also make the use of geophysical prospection and aerial photography of questionable use as techniques for further investigation of the site.

No small-scale lowland settlements of Iron Age or Roman date have been excavated in the area and further work would complement that on sites such as Sutton Walls and Kenchester. This, together with the survival of well-preserved deposits, make this a site of national importance.

The Section has recently arranged for the salvage recording of the quarried area and is currently negotiating with Redland Aggregates Ltd. for the preservation of the Roman buildings.

Land adjacent to the Police station, Longtown (HWCM 1036, SO 321293).

This evaluation demonstrated the existence of buildings and associated features of medieval date within the present vacant plot. These deposits existed very close to the surface (below *c.*200 mm. at the western end of the site and *c.*450 mm. at the eastern end) and are therefore sensitive to damage caused by construction work or domestic gardening activities. No more precise dating may realistically be suggested at this stage due to the limited area examined. The finds (which included Monnow Valley Ware) are however consistent with the hypothesis that these buildings were contemporary with the medieval borough.

Excavations in early medieval boroughs have been undertaken, but mostly in urban contexts where early deposits are usually greatly affected by later activity. In Longtown, however the absence of recent disturbance and the potential existence of well-preserved deposits relating to the early medieval borough has great significance for our understanding of the development of these settlements in the Welsh Marches.

A Beaker burial from Aymestrey (HWCM 7060, SO 428664).

A full report has been submitted to the Woolhope Club for publication. The quarry manager (Mr. Fred Marston) who reported the find was nominated for the BP Award in 1988 by the Archaeology Section and was highly commended for his prompt action.

ARC (Western) Ltd., the quarry operators, have subsequently contributed to the costs of displaying this remarkable find. It will go on exhibition in Leominster, initially in the Museum and subsequently in the Library.

4 Watling Street, Leintwardine (HWCM 7550, SO 405734).

This watching brief recorded deposits lying close to the present ground surface which were probably Roman in date. Their significance cannot yet be determined with certainty. It is possible however that these deposits form the upper fill of the defensive ditch.

Shobdon Mound (HWCM 559, SO 399628).

The mound represents the remains of a motte and the excavation investigated the upper fills of the surrounding ditch. These were found to be of very recent date, probably in association with ground levelling prior to construction of the adjacent hatchery.

Botany, 1988

By PETER THOMSON
Using Herefordshire Botanical Society Records

Freshly colonized ground has provided some of the most interesting records for 1988. The first two mentioned are first records for the county.

Parentucellia viscosa, yellow bartsia, appeared in the Nature Trust's White Rocks reserve on the Great Doward. A few plants were growing on soil tipped to cover a waste-filled quarry. The plant is a semi-parasite of open grassland and is normally found near the sea in S. W. England, Wales and Ireland. The soil cover had been brought in from outside the area and the seeds may have been brought in with it.

Geranium rotundifolium, round-leaved cranesbill, was found in waste ground surrounding the Millpond Street car park in Ross-on-Wye. The car park has been made during the year and I understand some of the soil had been imported from Worcestershire. Once again the seed may have come in with the soil. The South Herefordshire District Council have agreed to leave a small area unsprayed and unlandscaped where we hope this and other 'weeds' will be conserved.

Centaurea cyanus, cornflower, and *Anchusa arvensis*, bugloss, have both appeared on the east side of the A49 between Llandinabo and Harewood End. The cornflower was spotted by a passing motorist visiting the county. Both plants are reported as rare weeds of sandy soil and may have germinated when the soil was disturbed but, as they are accompanied by *Trifolium hybridum*, alsike clover, which is often in mixtures used to establish plant cover on road verges, they may have been introduced in a 'wild flower' mixture.

Wild flower planting in gardens and semi-natural habitats is becoming increasingly popular. The practice has grown up as a response to the loss or increasing rarity of many of our wild flowers and their habitats and in the long run it may have a marked effect on our native flora. The desire to retain and revivify our local wild plants is wholly commendable but should be approached with caution. Many of the wild flower seed mixtures available are not collected in this county or even in this country. Where such a mixture is used the consequences may be:- i) that plants new to the area appear once or twice and vanish, ii) that they appear and begin to dominate a favoured habitat at the expense of the native flora. One plant which has done this is *Impatiens glandulifera*, Himalayan balsam or policeman's helmet, which, since it was first reported in the county in 1937 has spread to many riverside sites. iii) that the incomers of species which are already present will pollinate and be pollinated by our local plants. This may seem innocent enough but, even within the same species, there are local genetic strains which may be diluted or destroyed before they are even recognised.

Wild flower mixtures are being used on fresh road verges and around newly-created farm ponds as well as in gardens. Where this is happening I would be glad to receive reports which include the species in the mixtures, the source of the seeds and, if possible, the flowers which come up as a result.

Other records of note during the year include *Gentianella amarella*, felwort, on Ewyas Harold Common. The few plants appear to be well established but have not been recorded previously from that site. The plant grows on well-drained, thin lime-rich soils and is rare in Herefordshire, but in the course of the B.S.B.I. monitoring survey our attention was drawn to several plants on a forest road verge on Carboniferous Limestone just over the Gloucestershire border near East Dean.

Spiranthes spiralis, autumn ladies tresses, also on Ewyas Harold Common was first reported in 1950. This small orchid is often found in association with felwort, and it was good to know that it still survives in this site.

Cirsium acaule, stemless or picnic thistle, was also present with the previous two plants and was also found in flower growing on one of the Cornstone bands on the Cat's Back ridge near Longtown. This thistle has a very clear cut boundary to its distribution in Britain running N.E. - S.W. more or less parallel with and a little N.W. of the Cotswold Hills. The boundary is said to be the limit of the area in which viable seed will normally set and it would be interesting to know if viable seed develops at an elevation of over 1700 ft. in the Black Mountains.

Centenary of the Flora of Herefordshire by Purchas and Ley.

This first flora of the county was published in 1889 and the only major publication on the subject since then has been Mrs. Whitehead's Handlist of the Plants of Herefordshire in 1976. In the century which has elapsed since the Flora was published the countryside has undergone considerable change, as a result of which many wild plants have declined or vanished whilst others have arrived and spread.

Amongst those which have declined are the weeds of arable land which are now controlled by spraying; plants of wetlands which have been drained and plants of meadows which have been reseeded.

The more notable gains are either deliberate introductions or accidental escapes. *Chamerion angustifolium*, rosebay willowherb, can surely not longer be described as 'not very common', whilst *Fritillaria meleagris*, fritillary, of the Lugg Meadows receives no mention and may well have been introduced. Less welcome additions include *Impatiens glandulifera* and the recently arrived *Crassula helmsii*, a plant of still water ponds, which was first noted in a pond near Chipping Ongar, Essex, in 1956. Since then it has spread quickly and voraciously, and 1988 saw its arrival in Herefordshire. It has been reported from about five ponds, garden and field, and is liable to become so rampant as to eliminate other water plants. It may sometimes have been introduced to help with aeration but beware this inoffensive-looking green plant with its long stems, clothed with small simple leaves, and minute stalked flowers. Research is now concentrated on the control of the plant which is particularly difficult as every little piece left behind from physical removal appears to grow with enthusiasm.

Buildings, 1988

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Webtree Hundred. As in the past we are indebted to the University of Birmingham for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based at Ledbury.

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.

ACTON BEAUCHAMP

CHURCH HOUSE. SO 680504

The house was built for J. R. Hemming in 1802 and is a typical three-storey brick house of the period looking east over the garden and a lake. The main interest is in the virtually complete set of farm buildings around a quadrangle to the west of the house which with the garden wall forms one side of it. On the north side are goose cots, pig cots, an open cart shed and a granary over a lower storey which is open to the north. On the west side is the entrance archway next to the granary and a big barn with a threshing bay which continues around the corner to form part of the south side which also has hop storage and kilns and a cider-press and mill close to the house. All these buildings are of stone with brick dressings.

BISHOPS FROME

THE HANBURIES. SO 670471

This house seems to contain a 17th-century, L-shaped core with hollow-chamfered beams. Additions were made to this on the north in the Regency period early in the 19th century when two quite big rooms were added with corresponding rooms above. The new 'front' door was given a fanlight and pillars although it opened onto a narrow terrace with no room for a coach.

Late in the 19th century two more big rooms were added on the west, one of them known as the ballroom may well have been a schoolroom. The king-post roof is probably of this period but the side-purlins appear to have been re-used from the 17th century.

A narrow piece of the house right along the back seems to have been added at this time and there is some evidence of fire damage on the earlier timber-framing.

BOSBURY

THE MOATS. SO 714440 (R.C.H.M. 29)

Now one house again. At the time of the R.C.H.M. Inventory it was two cottages.

BROMYARD

43 HIGH STREET. SO 654547

A typical town house on a burgage plot. During the summer Mr. & Mrs. Perry were asked to look at it when some murals were found during re-decoration. They seem to be typical late-16th/early-17th-century patterns of the type which have been found in a number of houses in similar circumstances.

CANON FROME

BLACKLANDS. SO 637428

A typical 17th-century house with a continuous dairy-kitchen lean-to along the back. Between this and the house is a wattle screen with good carpenters' assembly marks on the framing.

EYE

EYE MANOR. SO 496638 (R.C.H.M. 3)

Many members will have seen some of the ceilings in this fine, late 17th-century house, but this year the writer was fortunate enough to be able to inspect the roofs typical of the period with trusses with collars and trenched side-purlins and a ridge-purlin. It is still good heavy carpentry with no hint of the much lighter roof timbering which was soon to become fashionable.

LEOMINSTER OUT

COLDWELL FARM, STRETFORDBURY. SO 524581

This is a four-bay house with a stone ground-floor and timber-framed first-floor. The two central rooms have transverse beams whereas the outer bays have longitudinal beams. All are chamfered and there is a mixture of scroll and Wern Hir stops. The big, lateral fireplace is typical of 1570-1640 and the house probably dates from the second half of that period. The upstairs trusses have quite long carpenters' assembly marks and are simple V-struts above a collar-beam.

The barn has two bays similar to the house and an added bay of brick. It appears to be of the same date as the house with carpenters' assembly marks on the tie-beams with an arrow on the first stroke of each mark.

LUCTON

NEW HOUSE. SO 436641

A fine stone house of the late 17th century or early 18th century with two projecting wings at the rear. There are two main floors with cellars and attics and the hipped roofs have the frequently found ties across the corners at wall-plate level. The bolection-moulded parlour fireplace has some good carved decoration above. With this and the School and Lucton Court, the village must have had considerable wealth *c.* 1700.

PEMBRIDGE

OLD WHEELWRIGHTS. SO 393582 (R.C.H.M. 18)

The heavy timbers to which the R.C.H.M. refers are about 1 ft. 6 ins. square and the carpenters' assembly marks almost 11 ins. in length are further evidence of medieval building probably late in the 15th century. A stack has been built over the probable site of an original open hearth and a later barn has been added at the east end. An intermediate truss still survives in the central bay.

STOKE BLISS

THE PERRY. SO 629625

A house referred to in the accounts of Limebrook Nunnery in 1540. Nun Upton in Brimfield parish which was also nunnery property pre-Dissolution is not far away and the Hyde, again Limebrook property, is in this same parish. The land was acquired in 1302, but nothing seems to remain of any house built in the 14th century. A lot of rebuilding was done early in the 16th, just pre-Reformation, and the massive roll-moulded beams of the hall of this house almost certainly date from that time. It has been completely cased in brick and the timber-framing 'fell-out' some forty years ago. Thirty-two tons of stone tiles were used in the re-roofing of the house in 1970, but unfortunately there is no access to the roof, though it seems unlikely that any other medieval timbers survive.

During the year sixty-one planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations, improvements or additions. Notifications are normally received from local district councils and in all cases from the Council for British Archaeology.

Nine queries were raised by the Club and the one objection to a demolition, viz. a barn of the 'Golden Age' of farming at Lulham Court, was upheld by the English Heritage inspector. The queries were on: 20 Church Street on the construction of shops in the garden; the finials at the Railway Station; the shop fronts of 55 Broad Street and 52B Commercial Street; the exterior and the Commandment Room of the Black Lion, Bridge Street; the facade including the doorcase and fanlight of 5 St. Peter's Street; and the retention of the facades and ceilings at Holme Lacy House.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people, especially those who have drawn my attention to buildings and those owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander around them.

Geology, 1988

By P. CROSS

LUDFORD CORNER AND THE LUDLOW BONE BED RECENT EXCAVATIONS

Based on information kindly supplied by John Norton, Curator of Ludlow Museum and Maggie Rowlands who is working in the museum on rocks collected from the famous geological site at Ludford Corner, Ludlow.

The world famous geological site on the corner opposite the Youth Hostel at Ludlow has attracted much attention since it was first described by Murchison in the Silurian System (1839). Here at the junction between Upper Whitcliffe Beds and Downtonian rocks occurs an exposure of the Ludlow Bone Bed in which the remains of fishes are abundant. This bed was first discovered in 1835 by Dr. Lloyd of Ludlow and Rev. Lewis of Aymestrey who informed Murchison of its occurrence. Murchison described the Bone Bed as 'a gingerbread coloured layer of thickness three to four inches dwindling away to a quarter of an inch.' It has since been found to consist of several thin laterally impersistent bone beds containing the broken remains of fishes.

The Ludford Corner site has been visited over the years by hundreds of geological specialists and students. It had become very untidy and overgrown and Ludlow Parish Council, after consultation with geologists, decided to clean up the site ready for the anniversary year of 1989 when many visitors are expected. It is then 150 years since the site was described in the Silurian System.

When vegetation and rubbish had been cleared it was discovered that the rock face was unstable because joints had been opened up by tree roots. It was therefore decided to remove loosened rock using a JCB. During the excavations at the end of September, 1988, volunteers from Ludlow Museum, Shropshire Wildlife Trust and Ludlow Conservation Volunteers assisted at the site and gathered fossils from the loose rock as it was removed. Material was collected from different horizons in 'bed boxes' and stored in Ludlow Museum where it is at present being investigated by Maggie Rowlands and a number of visiting geological specialists.

Maggie Rowlands is concentrating on going through all the 'bed box' material to identify as many species of fossils as possible. It is hoped that a preliminary report will be available soon.

HEREFORDSHIRE FIELD-NAMES, 1988

By G. SPRACKLING

During the autumn of 1988 it was decided by the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club to establish the reports of the Herefordshire field-name survey begun in 1986, as a continuing feature of the *Transactions*. Mr. Graham Sprackling was consequently elected as the first Recorder for Herefordshire Field-Names.

By the end of 1988 a total of 117 parishes, which includes the towns of Hereford, Kington, Ledbury and Ross, has been published. The survey has stimulated much interest for local research and also in a wider context. We should be most grateful if any one who has knowledge of older forms, additional field-names, or corrections to published parishes, would submit them in the format used below for inclusion in the *Transactions* where they will be duly acknowledged.

Our sincere thanks are due to the contributors, the checkers among whom Estelle Davies should be mentioned and to the typists who now include Monica Bevan, Sylvia Haines and Elizabeth Taylor. We should also record our continuing appreciation of Geoff Gwatkin's work for the survey.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE FIELD-NAME SURVEY

Part 1: Corrections to the published parishes will be printed in the *Transactions*. Please amend all copies accordingly. In this instance no errors have been reported.

Part 2: Field-names that are earlier, or additional to, the Tithe Apportionment of *c.* 1840. Please refer to the field numbers given in the published parishes for the location of the following field-names:

PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name : BALLINGHAM

Contributed by E. Taylor

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
1, 7	Bibil	*c.*1250	A149
	Biblett meadowe	1772	B
41 etc.	Karifelde	*c.*1250	A103
	Caryfeld	1586	C
	Cariefield	1610	C
88	Waterfordes medewe	*c.*1250	A149
167	Holtes meadow	1563	C
	The Hoults	1610	C
140	Woodfilde	1586	C
123	Newtons Filde	1585	C

	Further Newton Field	1610	C
	Could Newton field	1625	C
129	le pyket acre	*c.*1250	A
128?	la Lachu	*c.*1250	A
	Lacowesland	1563	C
111-113	Skrisgene field	*c.*1250	A162
116?	Greenway Pitts	1625	C
65, 67, 68	The Corralls	1625	C
71, 76	way called Porteweye	*c.*1250	A
	Nells Port	1610	C
	Nellys Portway	1842	F
152, 156	the munede of Baldingham	*c.*1250	A
	The Minde	1586	C
	Myndfild	1610	C
	the Mynde	1625	C
?	The Mountain	1625	C
50	Kilfodes	*c.*1250	A104
	Kilfod	1457	E
Unidentified.			
	Heldeland	*c.*1250	A
	Karydene	"	A
	Hanedlond	"	A
	Elbrok	"	A
	le Boke	"	A
	Oldetonsdene	"	A
	Over Kres (field)	1546	D
	Hadland Stath	1585	C
	Lower Medeland	1610	C
	Hollow Stath	1610	C
	Niebrokes Stie	1610	C
	Town hill ground (meadow)	1772	B
	Backtons Holm	1772	B
	Backtons meadow	1772	B

KEY TO SOURCES

A. HRO X/5 Cartulary of the Priory of St. Guthlac. Charter number.
B. PRO C115 R31 (Survey and Valuation of Ballingham manor).
C. HRO G87/Ballingham.
D. Brit. Mus. Addl. Charter 1349.
E. Brit. Mus. Addl. Charter 1330.

Note: Some identifications are based solely on the similarity of names.

F. Tithe Apportionment. (Error in Field-name Survey Part 1.)

Parish Name : BOLSTONE

Contributed by E. Taylor

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
9	New House	1825	A
60	Tryll myll crofte	1541	B
86	Kilfodes field	*c.*1250	C
	Kylfod	1457	D
	Kylfades	1541	B
1, 2	the Dynmore at Caldycott	1541	B
97	Aboterader	1200	E
	mill of Aber terader	*c.*1250	C
	Abotarattes myll	1541	B
	Abbottarettes mill. Robert Hancock the miller of	1571	F
56	Trillek also Tryllek	1292	G
Unidentified			
	Bettes more	1541	B
	le Grofe	"	B
	le Hold	"	B
	Maystre More	"	B
	le Parke	"	B
	Newton Feldes	"	B
	Lyttelfeld Eteston	"	B
	Comes More	"	B
	Moche Close	"	B
	Hodpursse Closes	"	B
	Taylorlandes	"	B
	Hugh Jevans Landes	"	B
28?	Wood called Harketell	"	B
	Wood called Gay garrewe	"	B
	Gaygarway wood	1629	H

KEY TO SOURCES

A. Perambulation of Parish Boundaries. Kentchurch Court.
B. PRO Sc 6 Hen 8/7263 Preceptory of Dynmore and Garway.
C. HRO X/5 Cartulary. Priory of St. Guthlac. Charter 139.
D. Brit. Mus. Addl. Charter 1330.
E. *Pipe Rolls 2 John.*
F. Lease. Schedule of Docs. used in Wye Free Fishery Case. Woolhope Club Library.
G. PRO Just I/303 (Assize Roll).
H. PRO C115 I/5559.

Note G. There is a moated site in Trilloes Court Wood. This was not part of the Hospitaller's manor. The following extract from the Assize Roll seems to explain the origin of the name.

'Escheats. They say that Wyganus Payne held certain lands in Villa of Boleston which are escheated to the lord King for his felony for which he was hanged 30 years ago. Value 10s per annum which William de Trillek now holds..... Then William de Tryllek comes and says he holds the lands of Wyganus Payne by lease fom his father, Robert of Tryllek. And Robert says he holds it by grant from the old King, father of the present King, by rent of 10s per annum and he produces the deed and says that the King has received the 10s. And the Sheriff bears witness to it.'

Parish Name : SELLACK

Contributed by E. Taylor

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
138	Cayr cradok	1292	A
	Cari cradok	1308	B
	Carcradok	1400	C
	Craddock	1630	D
126	Ladie meadow	1630	D
127	Castle meadow	"	D
131	Cowleasowe	"	D
132	the Flax Rudge pasture	"	D
128	wood adjoining the Castle meadow	"	D
133	Flax Rudge wood	"	D
134	Showpon Hill fyeld	"	D
136	Stonnie Hill	"	D
139?	Barne close	"	D
140, 141?	the Sheepcott fyeld	"	D
142	the Lands (pasture)	"	D
145	the Gayes	"	D
146	Wriges woods	"	D
147	Woodfyeld	"	D
148	Looffe poolle fyeld	"	D
149, 150	Mydle Walle fyeld	"	D
151	Upper Walle fyeld	"	D
152	Thegthorne fyeld	"	D
153	Wrigfyeld	"	D
155, 156	Wriggs meadow and Hopgarden	"	D
124	Buttoes meadow	1639	E
(Unidentified Craddock lands)			
	Over Burche Ryes	1630	D
	Nether Burche	"	D
	Stonie Hill fyeldes (two)	"	D
	Ewe fyeld	"	D
	Edwardes fyeld	"	D

36	Baissan	1086	F
	Baysam	1424	G
	Baysham	1630	D
30	Elmie fyeld	"	D
32, 33	the Pytts	"	D
37	Wyndmyll fyeld	"	D
38	Moorefyeld	"	D
73, 74. 75	Backney meadowe	"	D
(Unidentified Baysham lands)			
	meadow at the Byrne house	"	D
	the Crosse meadow and the Whitston	"	D
	Nether Strangfids fyeld	"	D
	Upper Strangfids fyeld	"	D
	Strangfides fyeld	"	D
	Pennellons fyeld	"	D
	Buythams fyeld	"	D
	the Shestie fyeld	"	D
	Vicaredge fyeld	"	D
	wood near the Cannon woods	"	D
	orchard at the Fishpoole	"	D
	Grove adjoining the Moores	"	D
180	Pengethley (house) Vineyard Barn and Green	1716	H
164	High tree Field	"	H
165	Grove Field	"	H
249	Hellgay Field	"	H
166?	the Ewe pasture	"	H
174	the Brick Close	"	H
185	the Waintree Field	"	H
183	the Upper Slades	"	H
184	the Lower Slades	"	H
167, 169, 172?	Hellgay wood	"	H
(Unidentified Pengethley lands)			
	Perry Field	"	H
	Bannuttree Close	"	H
	the Pencrookes	"	H
	the Long Close	"	H
	the Pittfield	"	H
	Calves Close	"	H
	the Loanes	"	H
	the Cow Lease	"	H
	the Eighteen Acres	"	H
	Close below Hellgay wood	"	H
	Pengethley or Hentlands High wood	"	H
	Pengethley Coppice or Hentlands wood	"	H

1	Baysom alias Whitehouse	1766	I
2	The Well Orchard	"	I
3	The Little Orchard	"	I
4, 5	Lady Field	"	I
6	Bottom Field	"	I
7	Bulbridge field	"	I
8	The Parkwood	"	I
9	Great and Little Eddy lands	"	I
11	The Cott Field	"	I
12	Upper Port field	"	I
13	Lower Port field	"	I
15	Tinkers Close	"	I
17	Hoarding tree Field	"	I
18	The Young orchard	"	I
20	Pool Close	"	I
21	Pool Field	"	I
14	The Smiths Shop and Pleck	"	I
23	Backney meadow	"	I
(Unidentified Whitehouse lands)			
	Long Field	"	I
	the Middle Field	"	I
	the Pawson orchard	"	I
	Lower Bottom Field	"	I
	the Wet Meadow	"	I
	Great Wet Meadow	"	I
279	Loughpole	1519	J
44	Stocksfield	1716	J
51?	Marsh	1716	J
92	Backney Common	1716	J
219	Kensley close	1662	J
(Unidentified)			
	Grove	1519	J
	Proke field	1545	J
	Morefeld	1547	J
	Wallfeld	"	J
	Heggotis Hey	"	J
	Jaks Rye	"	J
	Holwall feld	1547	J
	le Cheland	1560	J
	Mabels pleck	1639	E
	The Bennels	"	E
	Gunters meadow	"	E
	Alt farm next the common	"	E
	the Ryes wood bank	1649	K

	The Moore	1649	K
	Meaneing Glat acre	1694	J
	Brocks close	1716	J
	New Leasow	1716	J
	New Barn	1716	J
	Mabs Plock	1716	J
	(Glebe lands)		
	the crege	1607	L
	picke meadow	"	L
	lower leyes	"	L
	myddle meadow	"	L
	vicarage fyeld	"	L
101?	greate Can fyeld	"	L
102?	Can wood	"	L
	lyttle Can wood	"	L
	(mentioned with but not part of Glebe lands)		
14	prickes crosse	"	L
279	lowfpoole	"	L

KEY TO SOURCES

A. Cal. *Inquisitions quod damnum* III, 34.
B. Cal. *Close Rolls 1301-1350* no. 86.
C. HRO Catalogue of Mynde Park Documents no. 1, p.60.
D. PRO C115 F9/2992 (Surveys of Caradoc and Baysham lands.)
E. PRO C115 A5.
F. Domesday Book.
G. Dean and Chapter Archive no. 1842 (Cathedral Library).
H. Mynde Park op. cit. no. 1234, p.225.
I. HRO C99/111/245.
J. HRO G87/Sellack et seq.
K. PRO C115 A5/140.
L. HRO 5/51 (Glebe Terrier.) Glebe lands are listed in the Field-name Survey on pages 6 and 7 from 114 to 115a inclusive.

Note: Identification is only presumed from the similarity of the names. Some fields in the D surveys differ widely in acreage from those of the Tithe Map even allowing for the smaller 'customary' acres of 1630.

Industrial Archaeology, 1988

By JOHN VAN LAUN

Our townscapes are in a finely balanced 'organic' state. Wholesale redevelopment can cause havoc with peoples' lives in terms of their understanding of space and self. The exigency of commerce places pressure on some services to carry out major refurbishment in the interests of keeping ahead of competitors. The planners' emphasis is rightly on the listing of historic buildings but as a result many impressive town centre buildings of recent date are at risk. Banks are a typical example, when listed it is often for their age and not their architectural merit as banks.

In the main, buildings and artifacts receive adequate cover from other recorders of this Club - archaeology and buildings. It is incumbent on this recorder to bring to these *Transactions* buildings and structures which fall outside their brief.

Banks are a legitimate study for the industrial archaeologist. Although not specifically mentioned in either of the standard introductions on the subject,[1] they can broadly be accepted as part of the 'Public Services (necessary) to ensure wholesome social conditions and the smooth functioning of industrial, commercial, and personal relationships.'[2]

In selecting banks as a suitable subject for this year's report a limit has been placed on Hereford City. It is considered that this is a representative town in terms of bank styles and that this will provide a methodology and precedent for other studies.

Appendix 1 contains a list of banks throughout the county at different dates. It may be instructive to note the migration of banks within towns and the amalgamations (see Appendix 2).

Banks replaced the counting houses in inns. Perhaps the oldest in Hereford was Hoskins and Morgan, founded in St. Peters Street in 1775. It was followed by Matthews, Phillips and Bleech Lye, (later the City and County), in High Town and the Savings Bank in St. Johns Street founded in 1816.[3]

Lloyds Bank

The Old House, finally isolated in 1837, was purchased by the Worcester City and County Bank in 1881 who restored it. The architect was E. H. Lingen Barker of London and Hereford.[4] In 1927 it was given to the City on the opening of the new bank (see below). The windows on the ground-floor were part of the reconstruction.

The Gloucester Bank erected a branch in *c.* 1860 in Broad Street. (Burtons, 1, Broad Street).[5] The architects were Messrs. Medley and Maberley of Gloucester. The enrichments were carved by James Forsyth of Worcester (of Eastnor Castle great hall fame and Perseus fountain at Great Witley). The ground-floor windows with their polychrome arches and entrance containing the arms of Hereford and Gloucester Cities surrounded by oak and ivy foliage were destroyed in 1928.[6] It therefore appears that when the Capital & Counties Bank, which had absorbed the Gloucester Bank, became part of Lloyds in 1918

the old Gloucester Bank and the Lloyds Branch in the Old House were rationalised into the new 1927 Lloyds Branch in High Town. By June 1923 plans for the new bank were well in advance. Access was granted by the City through the Butter Market[7] to Jakeman and Carvers Printing Works. It appears that the Butter Market east wall was incorporated into the new bank as there was considerable debate concerning 'lights' (windows).[8] A photograph of High Town sometime before the new Bank shows numbers 8 and 9 with a board between the two displaying that 'These premises have been acquired by LLOYDS BANK LIMITED as a site for their new BANKING OFFICE.' Number 8 is a four-storey building with a stone neo-classical facade of two bays of two divided by two pilasters centrally with single terminating pilasters on the outside. The windows in the two upper storeys are banded whilst the pilasters of the first storey are also banded to give a degree of rustication. The ground-floor has modernised shop fronts. The building is of Edwardian appearance. Number 9 next door to the Butter Market is also of four storeys with Jakeman and Carvers at ground-floor. The building is of brick with two bays and of Regency or early Victorian date with a veranda of cast-iron on the first storey similar to that at numbers 10 and 11 Castle Street.[9]

The design of the 1927 Lloyds Bank was entrusted to Waller & Son, 17, College Green, Gloucester, architects, who worked on many of Lloyds more prestigious branches, their main commission being St. James's Street, London completed in 1910. The builder was W. Bowers & Co. Ltd. The neo-Grecian design was arrived at after much consultation: Lloyds Premises Committee Minute Book of 1922 notes the receipt of a letter from the Mayor of Hereford, and a promise 'that the Directors would keep in touch with him and the Hereford authorities as regards the elevation of the new Bank.' It is likely that a photograph of Lloyds Dover was consulted.[10] This shows a three-storey six-bay classical building with 'Lloyds Bank Limited' inscribed above the recessed central three bays. This central part is of the two upper storeys divided by two composite columns with two engaged columns at the side. The whole is supported by the first storey rusticated podium. The top is surmounted by a balustrade with finial urns. There are similarities between this and the finished elevation and it is tempting to equate this building as a proposal by the City worthies to the London Directors. Although this building is of Roman not Grecian origin it obviously had an influence on the final design.

The elegant Grecian elevation of the new bank is constructed of limestone with three storeys of seven bays. The seven bays are divided at the ground-floor by eight Tuscan pilasters. In the outside bays are doorways with architraves composed of bead and reel mouldings. The one on the left is adapted from the doorway of the Tetrastyle portico of the Erectheum. Each pilaster supports a single triglyph with guttae. Over the doorways the frieze it is made of five triglyphs alternating with four metopes which enclose a circular design. Over the next two storeys the five central bays are recessed divided by four Ionic columns with anthemion knecking. These are derived from the Erectheum. At the third storey a sill of Greek keys runs the full length of the recess supporting the five upper windows. The Ionic columns are engaged beneath this sill but in the round above. The capitals are engaged. The windows for the outer bays follow directly above the doorways. These bays are set off with two garlands to each at the top derived from the Choragic

Monument of Thrasyllus. Above the line of each bay are lionshead waterspouts. Surmounting the whole elevation runs a balustrade over the five centre bays. Set behind this is a blank attic storey. Before this building was completed to its final form two bays at ground-floor next to the Bank Chambers were occupied by a shop which was 'removed wrongfully by vacating tenants June 1948.'[11] The interior echoes the pillars of the elevation but with pilasters instead.

The Midland Bank

Of all the Clearing Banks the Midland seems to have had the greatest policy for projecting a 'House Style.' The influence of Edwin Lutyens classical style is apparent.

The present position of the Midland in High Street dates from 1910 when the corner site was purchased from A. E. Baker but the Branch was not opened until 1912. It was a plain building with a corner entrance with two bays facing High Town and two on High Street. The ground-floor was rusticated with 'LONDON CITY AND MIDLAND BANK' displayed. In May 1922 the City approved a new elevation although the line of the building had to be resubmitted.[12] By 1923 the building was refurbished and extended to incorporate 15/16 High Street. The ground-floor was now faced in limestone. All the windows were arched and a balustrade has been added at the roofline.

The above extension was possible through the exchange of 1/7 Eign Gate for 15/16 High Street. The 'London City & Midland Bank' in Eign Gate has an imposing classical elevation now occupied by F. Hinds Limited at ground-level but above retains its pre-1923 appearance. As built it had nine indeterminate bays constructed in an arc.

During the 1950s the High Street bank was extended through two extra bays into Widemarsh Street incorporating the premises of Walter Marchant. The building has strong classical references although skeletal compared to the richness of earlier designs.

The National Westminster

The old District Bank was the Mitre[13] and extends into the pavement with a 'florid Victorian canopy of cast iron.'[14] This was cast at Hereford Ironfoundry in 1836.[15] The most important part of the National Westminster is the National Provincial which adjoins the District (the share capital of the District was acquired by the National Provincial in 1962). This is three storeyed in the palazzo style, with pedimented first-floor windows and a top balustrade. It is by Elmslie, Franey & Haddon and dates from 1863.[16] The left-hand entrance gave access to the Manager's apartment.

Barclays Bank

This elegant red brick building with a stuccoed rusticated first-floor, gives the appearance of a long established bank. It is of three bays pedimented with a further three bays to the right but it should have had three bays to the left to provide a balanced elevation. It was formerly the 'Swan and Falcon' but was acquired by the Duke of Norfolk for a town house in 1771 and Georgianised in 1791-3 by William Parker.[17] It later became the

City Arms Hotel (the Hereford City Arms are displayed within the pediment) and after purchase by the Barclays was totally refurbished between 1972-5 being opened for business on 13 October 1975.

These four branches of some of the main Clearing Houses demonstrate the variety of bank styles to be found in a market town. Although no conclusions can be drawn that house styles were promoted by the Clearing Houses one can find some Metropolitan thinking behind the elevations adopted.

Lloyds demonstrates a clear National style of the late 1920s which would not look provincial anywhere. The Hereford Midland followed the Head Office style for the period whilst the National Provincial would pass readily as a town hall worthy of Manchester or Birmingham - a style to ensure confidence. Barclays is on a limb having arrived in the early 1970s perhaps looking for a pedigree but more likely taking on a large building newly available in the central business district.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

John van Laun is grateful for the help so freely given by the archivists of the banks cited.

REFERENCES

[1] R. A. Buchanan, *Industrial Archaeology in Britain* (1972). Neil Cossons, *The BP Book of Industrial Archaeology* (1975).
[2] Buchanan, *op. cit.* in note 1, 330.
[3] Jim and Muriel Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford* (1975).
[4] *Builder,* vol. 44, (1883), Part 1. p. 756.
[5] Lloyds Archives record cards '1862 Gloucester Bkg. Co. opened a branch in High Town' '1886 Absorbed by Capital & Counties Bank' '1912 Address recorded as 1, Broad Street.'
[6] David Whitehead, *Yesterdays Town: Hereford* (1983).
[7] Minute Book Hereford City Council.
[8] *Ibid.* M. B. and letter from Town Clerk dated 15 October 1963.
[9] Lloyds Bank Archives.
[10] Hereford City Library HA 116/2 contained in an envelope showing re-development of the Butter Market at the same time.
[11] Lloyds Bank Archives.
[12] City of Hereford Minute Book.
[13] Whitehead, *op. cit.* in note 6.
[14] Nicholas Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Herefordshire* (1963).
[15] Whitehead, *op. cit.* in note 6.
[16] Pevsner, *op. cit.* in note 14, 187.
[17] 'The corner stone of the west front of the Swan Inn was laid with great solemnity (by) Mr. Parker, the architect ... at the expense of the Duke of Norfolk.' *Hereford Journal* 2 March 1791.

APPENDIX 1.

BANKS IN HEREFORDSHIRE 1859 - 1988

Compiled from various sources

	1859 (Slaters Directory)	1867 (Directory & Gazetteer of Herefordshire)	1876 (Littleburys Herefordshire)	1890 (Directory & Gazetteer)
BROMYARD				
Lloyds Bank	-	-	-	-
Capital & Counties Bank	-	-	-	-
Worcester Old Bank	-	-	-	Broad St.
Midland Bank	-	-	-	-
National Provincial Bank of England	Broad St.	Broad St.	High St.	High St.
National Westminster	-	-	-	-
Savings Bank	Dumbleton Hall, Church Street	Dumbleton Hall, Church Street	-	-
HAY-ON-WYE				
Midland Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-
HEREFORD				
Lloyds Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	Old House, High Town
Capital & Counties Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	1 Broad St.
Gloucester Banking Co.	-	1 Broad St.	1 Broad St.	-
Midland Banking Co.	-	35 Broad St.	35 Broad St.	-
London City & Midland Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-
National Provincial Bank of England	Commercial St.	Broad St.	Broad St.	-
National Westminster Royal Bank of Scotland	-	-	-	-
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-
Hereford City & County Bank	High Town	-	-	-
Herefordshire Banking Co.	Broad St.	-	-	-
Old Bank	St. Peters St.	-	-	-
West of England & South Wales District Banking Co.	-	52 Commercial Street	52 Commercial Street	-
Savings Bank & Government Annuity Institution	East St.	East St.	East St.	-
Birmingham District & Counties Banking Co. Ltd.	-	-	-	22 Broad St.
Metropolitan Bank of England and Wales Ltd.	-	-	-	-
United Counties Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-

1905 (Kellys Directory)	1913 (Kellys Directory)	1934 (Kellys Directory)	1937 (Kellys Directory)	1941 (Kellys Directory)	1988 (British Telecom)
-	-	Broad St.	Broad St.	Broad St.	-
-	Broad St.	-	-	-	-
Broad St.	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	High St.	High St.	High St.	High St.
High St.	High St.	High St.	High St.	High St.	-
-	-	-	-	-	High St.
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	12 High Town Broad St.	12 High Town Broad St.	12 High Town Broad St.	-
Old House	Old House	High Town	High Town	High Town	High Town
1 Broad St.	1 Broad St.	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	35 High Town	35 High Town	35 High Town	35 High St.
-	35 High Town	-	-	-	-
11 + 12 Broad St.	11 + 12 Broad St.	11 + 12 Broad St.	11 + 12 Broad St.	11 + 12 Broad St.	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	21 Broad St.
-	-	50 + 51 Broad St.	50 + 51 Broad St.	50 + 51 Broad St.	Broad St.
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	22 Broad St.	-	-	-	-
-	50 + 51 Broad St.	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-

	1859 (Slaters Directory)	1867 (Directory & Gazetteer of Herefordshire)	1876 (Littleburys Herefordshire)	1890 (Directory & Gazetteer)	1905 (Kellys Directory)	1913 (Kellys Directory)	1934 (Kellys Directory)	1937 (Kellys Directory)	1941 (Kellys Directory)	1988 (British Telecom)
KINGTON										
Midland Banking Co. Ltd.	-	Duke St.	Duke St.	-	-	-	1 High St.	1 High St.	1 High St.	1 High St.
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-	-	-	Church St.	Church St.	Church St.	Church St.
Davies, Banks & Davies	Lower Cross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Herefordshire Banking Co.	Church St.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Savings Bank	Church St.	Church St.	Church St.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kington & Radnorshire Bank	-	(no address given)	High St.	(no address given)	1 High St.	-	-	-	-	-
Birmingham & District Banking Co. Ltd.	-	-	-	(no address given)	Church St.	-	-	-	-	-
Metropolitan Bank of England and Wales Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	1 High St.	-	-	-	-
United Counties Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	Church St.	-	-	-	-
LEDBURY										
Lloyds Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	High St.	High St.	High St.	24 High St.
Capital & Counties Bank	-	-	-	(no address given)	-	High St.	-	-	-	-
Midland Bank	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 High St.	4 High St.	-	4 High St.
National Provincial Bank of England	Southend St.	(no address given)	Homend St.	Homend St.	Homend St.	The Homend	The Homend	The Homend	The Homend	-
National Westminster	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	The Homend
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 The Homend
Savings Bank	Church St.	Churchyard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Webb & Co. (Ledbury Old Bank)	High St.	High St.	High St.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birmingham District & Counties Banking Co. Ltd.	-	-	-	-	High St.	-	-	-	-	-
LEINTWARDINE										
Midland Bank	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	High St.
LEOMINSTER										
Lloyds Bank	-	-	-	(no address given)	9 Corn Square	9 Corn Square	9 Corn Square	9 Corn Square	-	9 Corn Square
Worcester City & County Banking Co. Ltd.	-	Corn Square	Corn Squre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Midland Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 Broad St.	1 Broad St.	1 Broad St.	1 Broad St.
National Provincial Bank Ltd.	Broad St.	Broad St.	13 Broad St.	(no address given)	13 Broad St.	13 Broad St.	13 Broad St.	13 Broad St.	13 Broad St.	-
National Westminster	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 Broad St.
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	(no address given)	-	-	9 Broad St.	5 Broad St.	9 Broad St.	9 Broad St.
Savings Bank	Burgess St.	Burgess St.	Burgess St.	Burgess St.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Herefordshire Banking Co.	South St.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birmingham District & Counties Banking Co. Ltd.	-	-	-	-	9 Broad St.	-	-	-	-	-
United Counties Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	9 Broad St.	-	-	-	-

	1859 (Slaters Directory)	1867 (Directory & Gazetteer of Herefordshire)	1876 (Littlebury's Herefordshire)	1890 (Directory & Gazetteer)
ROSS-ON-WYE				
Lloyds Bank	-	-	-	(no address given)
Capital & Counties Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	High St.
Gloucestershire Banking Co.	High St.	High St.	High St.	-
Midland Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-
National Provincial Bank Ltd.	-	Market Place	Market Place	Market Place
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-
West of Englands & South Wales District Banking Co.	-	High St.	High St.	-
Allaway & MacDougall (Ross Old Bank)	High St.	-	-	-
Morgan, Adams, Ross & Archenfield	Market Place	-	-	-
Ross Penny Savings Bank	British School Room	-	-	-
Savings Bank	Churchyard	Churchyard	Churchyard	High St.
Birmingham District & Counties Banking Co. Ltd.	-	-	-	-
National Westminster	-	-	-	-
TENBURY WELLS				
Lloyds Bank	-	-	-	-
Barclays Bank	-	-	-	-
WEOBLEY				
Lloyds Bank Ltd.	-	-	-	-
SUB BRANCHES				
Colwall & Malvern	-	-	-	-
Eardisley	-	-	-	-
Kingsland	-	-	-	-
Leintwardine	-	-	-	-
Peterchurch (High House)	-	-	-	-
Pontrilas	-	-	-	-
Weobley	-	-	-	-

1905 (Kellys Directory)	1913 (Kellys Directory)	1934 (Kellys Directory)	1937 (Kellys Directory)	1941 (Kellys Directory)	1988 (British Telecom)
St. Mary's St.	St. Mary's St.	50 High St.	50 High St.	50 High St.	50 High St.
-	High St.	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	44 High St.	44 High St.	44 High St.	32 Gloucester Rd.
Market Place	Market Place	Market Place	Market PlacePlace	Market	-
-	-	10 + 11 Glos. Rd.	10 + 11 Glos. Rd.	10 + 11 Glos. Rd.	10 + 11 Glos. Rd.
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
High St.	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	Market St.
-	-	-	-	-	71 Teme St.
-	-	-	-	-	50 Teme St.
-	-	-	-	(no address given)	High St.
-	-	Lloyds Bank	-	Lloyds Bank Midland Bank	-
Birm'gham District & Counties Banking Co.	United Counties Bank	Barclays Bank	-	Barclays Bank	-
-	-	Midland Bank	-	Midland Bank	-
Nth & Sth Wales Bank Ltd.	Nth & Sth Wales Bank Ltd.	Midland Bank	-	-	-
-	-	Midland Bank Nat. Provincial	-	-	-
-	Lloyds Bank	Lloyds Bank	-	-	-
-	Lloyds Bank	Nat. Provincial Lloyds Bank	-	-	-

APPENDIX 2.

OUTLINE GENEALOGY OF BANKS DISCUSSED

(1) Lloyds Barnetts & Bosanquets.
1889 - Worcester City & County.
Capital & Counties.
1886 - Gloucester Bank.
1906 - Berwick & Co.
1918 - Lloyds Bank Limited.

(2) 1891 - London and Midland Bank Limited.
1898 - London City and Midland Bank Limited.
1918 - London Joint City and Midland Band Limited.
1923 - Midland Bank Limited.

(3) 1833 - National Provincial Bank of England.
1829 - Manchester & Liverpool District Banking Co.
1924 - District Bank.
1924 - National Provincial Bank.
1962 - Share capital of District acquired.
1970 - Westminster Bank of 1923 and National Provincial amalgamate.

Mammals, 1988

By W. H. D. WINCE

SHREWS

A young common shrew (*Sorcx araneus*) was found in a small mammal box at Ladye Grove on 31 December 1988; the box was 3½ feet from the ground. This tiny animal was probably 4-5 weeks old and must have been independent of its mother. Common shrews usually breed from May to September and late breeding must have occurred in the mild weather at the end of this year. Though shrews are ground-living animals there are records that they have been found in holes in trees up to 8 feet above ground-level.

There are two records of water shrew (*Neomys fodiens*), the first for the county. Mr. & Mrs. G. Smith of Westhope found one actively swimming in their garden pool during the summer. Mr. Nicholas Parsons observed one in 1983 in his garden pool which had been made by damming a small stream, he described it as 'ferociously catching tadpoles.'

YELLOW-NECKED MOUSE (*Apodemus flavicollis*)

In November-December thirty yellow-necked mice were trapped in Ladye Grove House. This is an unusually high number, the highest since 1971 when a comparable number were trapped.

HARVEST MOUSE (*Micromys minutus*)

Records of this species in the county are sparse. Early in the 1970s the late Mr. J. Smith of Stretfordbury near Leominster saw one in rough grass at the end of his garden.

In the late summer of 1980 Mrs. Rose Davis found three young harvest mice in a hedge at Deerfold near Lingen. Nicholas Parsons found a nest in newly-cut hay at Burrington in an SSSI meadow. It is likely that this attractive species would be found more often if suitable habitats were searched in August and September.

DORMOUSE *(Muscardinus avellanarius)*

In the winter of 1987/88 120 small mammal boxes were put up in Lea and Pagets Wood near Fownhope in hazel coppice of differing ages. Paul Bright a London University postgraduate helped by Ms. Sue Holland and members of the Natural History Section of the Woolhope Club took part in this study of dormice. In the first summer of use fourteen boxes (11.7%) were occupied.

Radio tracking indicated that dormice used the bushes and canopy of the wood and did not descend to the ground. Using wire traps Ms. Holland captured eight dormice in October, four males (av. wt. 13.8 gms.) and four females (av. wt. 12.5 gms.). Trapping took place on twenty-one nights, the traps being set in the evening and baited with apple, inspection, examination and release being on the following day at dawn.

These weights are on the low side because by October enough fat should have been laid down for successful hibernation. A mild winter with some activity would deplete fat stores and affect survival.

Mrs. R. Francis of Sollers Hope reported six dormice being caught in mole traps in April/May. This was during a spell of very cold weather and the mice may have returned underground.

BADGER (*Meles meles*)

In the first 6 months of 1988 members of the Herefordshire Nature Trust recorded thirty badgers being killed on roads in the county; this is likely to be a low estimate of the number.

During the construction of the Leominster by-pass road the engineers consulted the Herefordshire Nature Trust and agreed to put in four badger underpasses. It is to be hoped that this measure will keep down the number of casualties.

A Badger Group has been formed in Ross-on-Wye. The purpose will be to study badger behaviour and monitor badger setts in the district. The group will look for evidence of badger digging and lamping which are known to occur.

Ornithology, 1988

By BERYL HARDING

After a wet December and a mild Christmas, January continued mild and wet with 115 mm. of rain until 22 January when 25 mm. of snow fell but melted within the day. 1 January is the day for the B.T.O.'s winter bird count and, surprisingly, many more rare species were listed than normal whereas more common birds like the green and greater spotted woodpeckers, barn and tawny owls, marsh and willow tits, redpolls and siskins were down - the latter to between 10-20% of the normal count. The redpoll, unlike the siskin, had a bumper breeding season in 1987. No siskins were seen in Llanwarne in 1988 until the passage of one migrant on 16 March but small flocks were observed at Bridstow, St. Owen's Cross and Bridge Sollars during January with flocks of 50 in the riverside alders at Bodenham gravel pits. At Wigmore Rolls, however, mixed flocks with redpolls amounted to several hundred birds feeding in larches on 14 February.

Much of the lying orchard fruit was unfinished still in February. Huge flocks of fieldfares and redwing were to be seen throughout January and February feeding on the Hampton Bishop meadows, up to 500-700 at a time. Large mixed flocks of golden plover and lapwings ranging from 55 to nearly 300 were also seen in eastern parts of the county during those two months. A few blackcap decided to over-winter here. The mildness of February induced some blackbirds to prepare for spring early and one was reported nesting in Hereford and another carrying nesting material in Fownhope on 20 and 21 February respectively!

Feeding helps many resident species to start their breeding preparations in the late winter giving them a head start over those migrants that return by late March. Apparently, 100,000 tons of peanuts are purchased each year for the bird-tables with twice this amount if the weather is really cold. It has been estimated that, not counting other and natural foods, up to 200 million blue tits may be kept alive over the whole winter. However, not enough berry-setting shrubs are planted to feed many other species. Mistle thrushes will feed on berries generally in the early winter but will defend one holly or hawthorn against all-comers. If the winter is mild the defended tree can still have fruit from March to July and be available to other birds. A long or severe cold spell can result in flocks of blackbirds, fieldfares and redwings breaking through this defence and eating in one day what the mistle thrush intended should last for two months.

In the early fifties cormorants seldom came as far inland as Herefordshire but are now very common winter visitors. The Nature Trust reports that the Wye population is probably mostly native returning in autumn and winter from their breeding grounds, with juveniles returning earlier. Eleven locations have been recorded with the birds along the Wye probably roosting at Carey Island. The nearest breeding colonies are Steep Holm, the Gower, the Pembroke islands and the Dyfed coast as far as Aberystwyth. Since 1981 the cormorant is a fully protected bird but is still widely shot on many rivers in the belief that its intake of up to ¾-1 kilo of fish a day can adversely affect fishing interests. However, as a shallow-water feeder some of its diet includes shrimps, prawns, eels and the

random duckling or frog. Of the fish eaten some may be those that prey on salmon and trout.

The attempts to increase the barn owl population of Britain continues, not only with the Hawk Trust's 'Riverside and Farmland Link Programme' of green corridors but also with proposed careful barn conversions. These are increasing in number in Herefordshire and planning recommendations are sought so that the barn owl holes should be left or re-inserted. Unfortunately, modern lighting in farmyards and around barn conversions deter owls from using these possible sites. A dark corner and approach is necessary before owls will be tempted. Nesting boxes may prove more useful if they are erected at suitable heights. The Gloucester Nature Trust has one of the longest-running schemes in the country and has provided 120 boxes over the last eight years, specially designed for this declining species and already donated to farmers around the county. One bonus resulting from the gales of last year is the number of broken tree limbs that will provide holes and ledges for nesting birds in subsequent years - perhaps some of the highest will be taken up by barn owls.

A 'New Bird Atlas' is being prepared and started on 1 April. Material for the original atlas was gathered between 1968-72. One of the 10 km. squares allocated to Herefordshire was worked to the west of Leominster, utilising as many differing habitats as possible, giving a total of 63 species when visited from dawn on 2 May and again from dawn on 4 June giving a gross total of 74 species when visited over the two days.

Most of the pied flycatchers in the woods of Hereford and Wales arrive by mid-April or early May and the majority use nest boxes provided by the R.S.P.B. and naturalist groups. Thousands of boxes are used each year and by setting these up in new sites the Hereford N. Trust has managed to entice these flycatchers further eastwards. The results of the H.N.T. Nest Box Scheme for 1988 are not yet available but after the very poor results of 1987 it will be interesting to see if any recovery has been made. (1987 had a very cold spring and nesting was 2-7 weeks late.) Comparative results for the last few years are as follows:-

	1985		*1986*		*1987*	
	Nests	*Fledged*	*Nests*	*Fledged*	*Nests*	*Fledged*
Pied Flycatcher	317	1608	353	1754	194	1015
Blue Tit	258	1486	168	1200	182	1445
Great Tit	173	919	109	624	121	921
Marsh Tit	10	76	3	15	4	31
Coal Tit	14	108	1	10	7	58
Redstart	9	36	9	31	3	14
Nuthatch	22	66	9	49	10	71
Tawny Owl	2	-	2	3	1	1
Total boxes used	805		654		523	
Total boxes erected	1194		1273		1039	

Unfortunately, after a successful year in 1987 the peregrine falcons near Cwmyoy failed to raise a brood this year. Those nesting at Symond's Yat did raise young.

Most of our summer visitors winter in West Africa moving into areas already well populated by a wide range of resident species. However, these tend to be specialist feeders so that the migrants, being generalists, can fit in and establish their own territories. As far as migration is concerned at this end, June is the turning point. Some migrants like late swifts and reed warblers are still arriving to breed but by the end of the month flocks of migrant lapwings start to arrive back in Britain from their mid-European breeding grounds. By the end of July the swifts will start to leave for East Africa and the adults will not land again until the next breeding season. The juveniles may fly continuously for two, or even, three years.

In Llanwarne calling and pairing of partridges and curlews began in mid-February and by 11 March two herons were also paired and calling. The barn owls had been driven from their long-used oak hole in 1987 by nearby spraying. One was found dead by the end of February and there was no later sign of pairing by the other owl. Unfortunately, the corpse was tossed into the Gamber so the chance to ascertain the cause of death was lost. By 2 April the chiffchaff was calling but did not stay. Snow and sleet on 9 April brought tits and the greater spotted woodpecker back to the bird-table. It was an erratic month weatherwise with a late frost that killed the plum blossom but the cuckoo had returned by 20 April and on the last day a lesser whitethroat was calling and continued for two weeks without finding a mate.

A spotted flycatcher successfully raised young this year, safely nesting in a vine this time and protected by it from the marauding magpies but a mistle thrush was driven from its nest by these pests. House martins, various tits, green woodpeckers, nuthatches, bullfinches, willow warblers and wrens as well as the more common garden birds were seen to raise young. Swifts and swallows returned but took up no nest sies. Little and tawny owls were heard but whether they produced a brood is not known. Buzzards, a kestrel and sparrow hawk are continually seen and the kingfisher still frequents the Gamber stream. Canada geese, moorhen, coot, little grebe and mallard visit the various ponds and the resident flocks of patridge and collared doves have increased. A mild autumn has hatched out the insect eggs in the spread poultry manure providing rich pickings for very large flocks of crows and jackdaws. A crow with a damaged wing has continued to survive in a village hedgerow for two years. pulling itself up to roost by hopping and the use of its beak.

The mild and dry early winter was brought to a close after Christmas, one of the mildest on record, with the now expected bizarre and out of season blooming of flowers and with bulbs well ahead of schedule.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1988

By JOE HILLABY

11/12 Castle Street. HC/870561/LD/E. 5 January.

The committee made a site visit to consider the application, to form an internal opening between the two buildings and the provision of fire lobbies to the rooms on the first floor. It was considered that the Fire Officer's recommendations that the doors in the three first-floor rooms of 12 Castle Street be boxed in would seriously distort the overall design and proportions of the rooms.

Black Lion, Bridge Street. HC/870574/PF/W. 19 January.

The application was for internal alterations, an extension to form a lobby and new wrought-iron gates. The flat-roofed extension was entirely inappropriate for a Grade 2* Listed Building and would mask the bases of the early-17th-century projecting chimney stacks. The possibility of redesigning and re-using the courtyard was completely overlooked. Indeed the proposal detracted considerably from the courtyard's potential. The committee recommended that the application be refused in its present form and that a re-appraisal should be undertaken by the applicant which would take account of the potential of the Listed Building as a whole and of its courtyard.

5 St. Peters Street. HC/870589/PF/E. 2 February.

The committee considered this to be one of the finest Georgian buildings of its type in Hereford. It therefore recommended that the application, to alter the internal layout and provide a shopfront to the front elevation, should on no account be allowed.

The Shire Hall. HC/880005/GZ/E. 16 February.

The Public Services Agency applied for internal alterations, upgrading of cell accommodation, temporary alterations to Court No. 2 and the construction of a vehicle cage to improve security of access for defendants. This was in part designed to relieve pressure on the courts in Worcester. Members made a site visit and recommended that the benches taken temporarily out of No. 2 Court be stored properly with heating up to 50 degrees Fahrenheit. They inspected the external walls where the new wire cage was to be sited and proposed that one of the wire walls be repositioned to align with the window mullion.

20 Church Street. HC/880163/PF/E. 10 May.

This application, to erect seven purpose-built shops in the garden of 20 Church Street and to 'restore the 15th-century hall,' aroused greater public indignation and response than any planning proposal for a long time.

'Restoration' included the demolition of the 18th-century western wing and a 19th-century single-storey building which would have permitted more intensive development of the site. No working drawings were submitted with the application, so it was impossible to comment on the nature or quality of the proposed restoration of the medieval part of the structure. Even if the site had been appropriate, a development of seven shops was far too intensive. Further, the design of these buildings was quite alien to Church Street. The brick wall on the east side of the street was to be demolished and replaced by a two-storey shop with high-pitched gable parallel to the road. Verticals should have been emphasised to match the existing frontages. Instead there was strong horizontal articulation at first-floor level which extended the full length of the long building. It was broken only by one large dormer of crude design. Further, the seven shops would have generated serious traffic problems. There was provision for only one parked vehicle on the site and this would not have been seen further down Church Street. The banking-up of vehicles would thus have been inevitable.

The following comments on the historical importance of the site were made on behalf of the Club. With the Canon's House in St. John Street, Harley House and Harley Court (Nos. 102, 100 and 101 respectively on the plan in *RCHM, Herefordshire*, I, 119) 20 Church Street forms an integral part of the Cathedral Close. Early documents of the Dean and Chapter show that the *Vicus Canonicorum*, the Canon's Row, lay on the north side of the Close. At least one other canonical residence and St. Ethelbert's Hospital occupied the western, Broad Street end of the Row. At the eastern end and to the south was the Deanery.

If accepted, this proposal for commercial development within the line of the ancient Close would provide a precedent for similar development within the gardens of the three other canonical houses mentioned above, were they to fall into speculators' hands. A small and sensitive development *might* be justified, if this was the only way to get 20 Church Street suitably restored, but this was not the case. The Landmark Trust has offered to purchase and restore the building. This has been put formally in writing to the owners with a copy to the City Council. This opportunity should not be missed for, after their splendid restoration of Shelwick Court, the Trust's reputation stands very high in this shire.

The Hereford Civic Trust, alerted by Jacob O'Callaghan, drew attention to the Elgar associations of both house and garden. It was the residence of the cathedral organist during G. R. Sinclair's period of office. From the early 1890s Elgar was a frequent visitor and P. C. Hull records that he was given a room in 20 Church Street, outside which was placed the notice 'Incubator is warming up, hatching is on - please don't disturb the old hen.' Here the major part of *The Apostles* was composed. Within the garden can still be seen the small gravestone of Sinclair's bull terrier, Dan, 'Born 6 July, 1898. Died 1 July, 1903.' It was Dan who provided the inspiration for the opening bars of the eleventh '*Enigma Variation*'. These Elgar associations of 20 Church Street are all the more important in the light of the Department of the Environment's refusal, in both 1978 and 1983, to give Elgar's Hereford home, Plas Gwyn, the protection of Listed Building status.

The building history and constructional details appear in the Archaeological Report, Vol. XLV (1987), pp. 772-3.

The application was rejected unanimously by the City Planning Committee.

Commercial Road: Aeroparts Building etc. HC/880247/PM/E. 21 June.

A further proposal was submitted relating to the redevelopment of land for a supermarket, referred to in the 1987 report. The committee noted with dismay that its earlier comments, about the siting of the building and the importance of retaining the street frontage on Commercial Road, had been ignored. A policy statement of June 1988 by English Heritage on *Shopping in Historic Towns* draws attention to precisely this danger, of sacrificing the character of our market towns 'in response to what could be a short-term upswing in the retail investment cycle ... Once lost historic character is irretrievable and the town itself loses its ability to adapt in the future to a new cycle of demand which might include small-scale tourist based specialist shopping or town-centre housing. Many historic town centres could be left as wastelands of disused retail warehouses ... Towns compete with each other to attract "the major multiples." Many have sacrificed planning and environmental controls for fear of losing out to rival centres, either out of town or in adjacent towns.'

Bearing this in mind, the committee strongly recommended that the part of the site fronting Commercial Road should be developed with lock-up shops or something similar in order to retain the shape of Commercial Road enclosed by hard buildings. On one of the main approaches to the city, these should be strong and dominant, in such a way that the road system appears to pivot around them. As the application provides more car parking than is required by policy guidelines in the District Plan for Shopping Development, it is not possible to argue that one would lose too many car parking spaces.

21 St. Owen Street. HC/880188/PF/E. 7 June.

The application was for a change of use from office and flats to hotel and for internal alterations. As 19 and 21 St. Owen Street form a pair of outstandingly preserved early Georgian town houses, the committee visited the site. It was noted that most of the original panelling, furnishing and fittings were still in place at basement, ground-floor and first-floor levels. In the attics the original roof trusses, shared with 19 St. Owen Street, are intact. From the detailed drawings submitted it appeared that a number of the period features were to be removed. At ground-floor level the panel partition between the entrance hall and the front room was to be replaced by a glazed screen 'to give more light.' The partition between front and rear rooms was to be taken out to open up the building; at first floor it was proposed to do the same. In the basement some of the doors and their cases would disappear.

A further danger lies in the application of fire regulations which, in effect, will mean the 'lining' of much of the panelling to reduce fire risk. As 21 St. Owen Street has one of the finest interiors of its period in the town, it was recommended that detailed discussions should be held between the officers and the applicant to ensure the retention of existing

doors, panelling and other fittings. Only if a satisfactory outcome has been achieved should permission be granted.

19 St. Owen Street. HC/880339/PF/E. 13 September.

This was an application similar to the above, for conversion to a guest house and restaurant. The same recommendations were made as for the other half of the building.

Buildings around the Cloister of the Vicars' Choral. HC/880307/LD. 16 August.

A comprehensive programme of alterations and improvements had been drawn up by the Cathedral architect for improvement to the dwellings and the creation of new Chapter offices within the existing administrative space. The principal impact on the external appearance would be the construction of a series of dormer windows along the northern roofline, facing the east end of the Cathedral but these would be compatible with the dormers on the adjacent Cathedral School building. The committee believed the proposals to be sympathetic to this important site.

In addition a series of internal alterations were proposed. In one case a new doorway was to be formed in one of the main structural frames and the committee suggested that an alternative access should be found. It was also proposed to move some of the original stone fireplaces. It was recommended that these should be retained *in situ*, as they represent a highly important element in the original building design and that where possible the paint be stripped off to reveal the original stonework. Within the cloister a number of the first-floor casement windows were to be replaced. These should be of a design similar to those existing.

Matters arising from earlier reports.

Romanesque tympanum, St. Giles' Hospital, St. Owen Street. HC/870545/PF/E. 5 January.

In the 1987 report it was recorded that the Chairman of the Hereford Municipal Charities, Mr. George Powell, had agreed that the preferred strategy to protect this major Romanesque monument from continued damage by frost and condensation was 'specialist stonework repairs followed by the erection of a porch in the form of a cloister appropriate to the context of the sculpture.' Mr. Powell further expressed the Trustees' willingness to make funds available for such a cover for the tympanum.

The committee was therefore surprised to receive an application from the Trustees to demolish the wall which for years had offered the tympanum a modicum of protection from the elements and which, it had been anticipated, would have formed part of the cloister. In its place were to be erected ornamental railings. These, it transpired, were the railings that had stood outside the Trinity Almshouses in Commercial Street and which, it was believed, were to be incorporated in the new building on that site. The committee considered that the only benefit which could arise from the application was to enhance a very insignificant wash-house, now the registered office of the Trustees. It was recommended that no such proposal should be considered unless it afforded the tympanum adequate protection from frost, wind and condensation along the lines accepted by the Trustees in

October 1987 and that this and any other proposals should be referred to the Department of the Environment.

The matter subsequently became the subject of detailed correspondence between English Heritage and the Trustees, copies of which were sent to the Club's representative. Extracts from the last two letters explain the current position. On 18 January 1989 English Heritage wrote: 'Judging from your comments concerning the Trustees' intentions for preservation of the tympanum, it appears ... that we have reached a complete impasse! On the one hand the Trustees are of the view that it should not be taken out of the wall of the almshouse and have confirmed that it is not their intention to erect a protective building of the type previously envisaged; on the other hand the conservator's report has recommended that if it is to remain in an outdoor environment it should be removed for consolidation, and protective treatment of the surrounding walls. I note from your letter that it seems to the Trustees that the work may be done *in situ*. I should be grateful, therefore, for confirmation of the technical advice you have received on this strategy. ... I am sure that you will agree that the work which has been carried out is not adequate for *long term* protection.

'If the Trustees are not prepared to consider the type of protective building recommended in 1987, then we shall clearly need to review all other options once again. Our offer to meet the full cost of stonework repairs was based upon the understanding that these would involve the type of minimum intervention which would be ideal for the sculptures if they were to be displayed in a protective environment which would ensure their long term stability. I do not rule out the possibility of financial assistance for an alternative scheme including removal to an indoor environment elsewhere (the Cathedral authorities had offered the monument a safe haven) but we shall need to obtain technical advice on whatever alternative is proposed. Meanwhile it would be helpful if you could confirm ... what treatment the Trustees have in mind which could be carried out *in situ*.'

Three days later the Clerk to the Trustees replied to English Heritage: 'The Trustees considered your letter of 18th and have asked me to write to you finally that they are not prepared to agree to the removal of the tympanum to any other location and they are not prepared to permit the erection of any structure on the forecourt. As the other matters raised in your letter hinge on the Trustees' decisions I cannot add any useful comments which would not raise further queries.'

Although the tympanum can once more be seen by passers-by, it is protected merely by a polycarbonate sheet which, in the view of English Heritage, is 'surely unlikely to offer sufficient long-term protection' for so important a monument.

Other matters.
Fire regulations and Listed Buildings.

Over the years the committee had noted the unfortunate impact which the literal application of fire regulations had had upon the historic interiors of a number of Hereford's Listed Buildings. This arises from:

1. the installation of emergency staircases and exits (Booth Hall, 1987);

2. the building of fire screens (Constitutional Club, East Street, 1984);
3. the covering of period panelling and doors by non-combustible building board flush to the framing (19 & 21 St. Owen Street, 1988);
4. the enclosure of stairwells (33 & 35 Bridge Street, 1986);
5. the boxing-in of fire exit doors (11/12 Castle Street, 1988).

These problems have been examined by the Ancient Monuments Society which has suggested that in some cases less draconian solutions can be found, such as the use on period doors and panelling of highly efficient fire-resistant preparations such as intumescent paint which would have an impact similar to the use of incombustible building board and that 'there is no excuse any more for lining or hardboarding period doors.' At a meeting with the Fire Prevention Officer, these matters were discussed. In order that historic features could be taken into account in future assessments, it was recommended that he be provided with details of all Listed Buildings within the city.

Copies of the minutes of the City of Hereford Conservation Area Advisory Committee for 1988 and preceding years have been deposited at the Herefordshire County Record Office. However, it should be noted that these are only recommendations to the City Council's Planning Committee. For details of action taken, members will need to refer to the minutes of that Committee.

Archaeological Research Section, 1988

By M. T. HEMMING

Membership of the section stands at eighty-four this year. Eight field meetings were organised and the A.G.M. was held in December at the Golden River Restaurant Hereford. In July about thirty members and friends enjoyed a barbecue at the home of Mary Thomas. Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been produced, one in April and one in September, this being the fiftieth issue. Field meetings have been very well attended this year, which has been very encouraging to leaders. During the summer and autumn months approximately fourteen members took part in the excavation of the possible chapel site at Great Corras Farm, Kentchurch. A full report is being compiled.

In February members met at English Bicknor Church in heavy rain and strong wind. Owing to the weather the morning programme had to be amended. A visit was made to the church under the guidance of Richard Kay. The church is situated in the outer bailey of a castle site, and the more stalwart members examined and measured the motte site. We then examined the recently started excavation of Brian Walters from the Dean Archaeological Group, in a field at Eastbatch Court. A visit was then made to Staunton Church near Coleford. During the afternoon members visited 71 Monnow Street, Monmouth, where the Monmouth Archaeological Society, under the direction of Stephen Clarke were working on an excavation prior to the development of the site.

In March a lecture illustrated with slides on deserted medieval villages was given by Rosamund Skelton, at the Black Swan, Much Dewchurch. The text of the lecture has been reproduced in *H.A.N.* no 50. During the afternoon under the leadership of Elizabeth Taylor we endeavoured to find the site of the DMV of Wormeton. After a false start the possible site was found near to the site of Dewchurch Castle.

In May, by kind invitation of Mr. Michael Norman, members visited Dewsall Court. After visiting the church we were shown the route of the old coach road from Hereford to Monmouth, now represented by a hollow way. A visit was made to the reputed site of a DMV, where in the 1930s house platforms were still visible. After lunch members investigated the area of the arboretum, where during planting Mr. Norman had found quantities of stone. The results were very inconclusive. During the afternoon we were invited to examine the interior of Dewsall Court.

June found members in the old county of Radnorshire, where visits to a number of churches had been arranged. This meeting had been postponed from January 1988 because of snow. The leader was to have been Richard Kay but unfortunately he could not be with us, he had however left extensive notes on the various churches visited, which have been reproduced in *H.A.N.* no. 50. The following were visited, Newchurch, Bryngwyn, Cregina, Llanbedr-Painscastle, Llanbadarn-y-garreg, Rhulen, Glascwm and Colva. As refreshment was taken at the Maesllwich Arms, Painscastle, an opportunity was taken to visit the castle.

In July we met again at English Bicknor Church. This was a continuation of the meeting held in February and once again it rained heavily. A visit was made to the chapel site on Chapel Hill, but the weather being so atrocious and the nettles so thick that it was not possible to make much out of the site. After lunch a walk was made through Lords Wood at Bicknor Court. In the area are the remains of trackways which appear to be connected with the iron-working operations carried out in the past.

In November, at Ron Shoesmith's suggestion we commenced to continue his work on the recording of Non-Conformist Chapels in Hereford. We propose to keep the archive as simple as possible and a 'fill in' form has been devised which with photographs and scale plans should form an edequate record.

During the year the following areas were also visited, Madley, Uphampton and Kentchurch. Reports of these meetings will appear in the next edition of *Herefordshire Archaeological News.*

Natural History Section, 1988

By BERYL HARDING

Membership is now at ninety-four, showing a further increase. The eleventh annual general meeting was held on March 24 and included a lecture with slides on 'Small Mammals' by Dr. W. Wince, preparatory to the July meeting at Paget's Wood. This was followed by a social evening with members' slides and refreshments.

Nine outdoor meetings took place during the spring and summer. Most of these were led by members of the section and their leadership is much appreciated. It had been decided that we should try to increase the amount of species recording on Nature Trust reserves this year.

12 April: A visit to Crow Wood and Meadow, Turnastone. This is a newly-purchased H.N.T. reserve containing a range of habitats. The wood pasture has many mature specimens of wild service trees and limes, both indicators of ancient woodland, and perhaps a relic of the former Forest of Treville covering much of this part of the county. Crow Wood was more extensive as is shown by the ground flora of primroses, wood anemones and dog's mercury in the adjacent meadow. The name is derived from the old, established rookery and twenty-one nests were counted in the throes of noisy activity. Woodpeckers and tawny owls also breed there.

Three streams flow through the meadows. The one to the east emerges as a spring with tufa deposits on the bedstones and solidified old caddis cases. It was said that eighteen months ago that the lower stream was full of life, including crayfish. However, prior to purchase it was polluted leaving only fungal smuts. The object of this, and subsequent visits, is to monitor the speed of return of various living organisms. Temperature and pH readings were taken with species counts in all three streams. The part polluted last year is beginning to recover with both stone-cased and silt-cased caddis larvae beneath the stones. Larvae of *Gammarus, Simulium* and *Chironomid* species were found as well as stonefly and mayfly nymphs, including the flattened *Ecdyonurus* sp. adapted to life in fast-flowing water, also leeches and cranefly larvae.

16 May: Churchyard Ecology. Led by Estelle Davies.

A habitat comparison was made at Eaton Bishop and Clehonger. As the grass had been mowed the day before at Eaton Bishop wild flower counts could not be made. Nevertheless, a sward inspection was made to identify possible areas that could be left for future 'wild patches' and only mowed after the seed had set. It is hoped to enlist the aid of many P.C. Councils to leave such areas thus making churchyards a sanctuary amid sprayed farmland and sculptured lawns.

An examination of the churchyard walls was made comparing the flora at the top, mid and lowest levels with their differing aspects and degree of shade. At Eaton Bishop the walls consisted of Old Red Sandstone and were mortared. At Clehonger the grass had also been mowed recently but was long enough for a survey of possible future wild patches

and random sample quadrats were taken. The walls were similarly examined. These were also of sandstone but not mortared.

At Eaton Bishop 30 species of plants were found on the top, 17 in the middle and 35 at the base of the walls. The nearest garden was 10 metres away and the site was sheltered. At Clehonger 27 species were found at the top, 23 in the middle and 14 at the base of the walls. The nearest garden was 18 metres away and the site was less sheltered. More plants were able to grow in the middle of the dry-stone walling.

23 May: Monitoring plant recolonisation at some of the Doward Reserves.

Unlike other areas of limestone in Herefordshire, which are Silurian, the Doward is carboniferous. The first visit was to the Leeping Stocks reserve to compare the ground flora between compartments in the woodland. One had been cleared of scrub undergrowth and the other left uncleared. The reserve had been divided into compartments for management and these coincide with old field and wood boundaries. The woodland has been heavily coppiced in rotation in the past. The boundary banks were topped with beeches that had been layered but now are overgrown into large contorted trees.

If regeneration in the cleared areas shows no improvement in the species numbers than in the uncleared area then clearance is both unnecessary and expensive. Random quadrat sampling was carried out in both and a permanent 5 m. square quadrat laid down for future comparisons. With the improved light and space in the cleared area many more tree seedlings were germinating. Wild rose, wild strawberry, cuckoo pint, bluebells and meadow saffron were more abundant in the uncleared section.

A visit was also made to the Doward quarry to see what plant growth was occurring on the bare floor and sides. Gradual encroachment of small ash and oak trees can be seen amid the side scree with clematis, hemp agrimony, sage, wild strawberry, dog's mercury and spikenard. Random quadrat sampling was again done and a belt transect taken across the floor of the quarry. The ground cover is minimal on the unbroken surface but similar plants were found with a predominance of the calcicole ploughman's spikenard (*Inula conyza*).

4 June: A joint visit with the Botanical Society to the Wyre Forest and Brown Clee.

The visit was to the 105-acre Seckley Wood to the north-east of the Wyre and bounded by the river Severn. At present no extraction occurs in the Wyre and timber is maintained for future extraction with thinning and planting. The forest is managed mainly for its amenities and visitor numbers continue to increase. Planting needs protection from fallow deer grazing, whose population is increasing and even within Tulley tubes young trees can be damaged by mice digging and gnawing at the tree base. The ratio of wood ants is greater than anywhere else in Britain. This density is related to the age of the forest. Wood spurge grows alongside the grass edges but also occurs in large circular patches marking areas of previous charcoal burning. Areas of conifers are planted amid the broad-leaved trees which provide a jarring note if these are Lawsonii. Some of the lower branches of conifers are removed to allow more light for the ground flora but if

coniferous planting continues for too long the humus below becomes too thin and acid and the likelihood of later seed regeneration of deciduous trees becomes less.

The highlands are carboniferous deposits with valleys of shales and sandstones. Leaching into the valleys from the plateau gives high calcium levels here also. Descent was made into one of these steep valleys where very damp and base-rich conditions allow the growth of calcicoles and the bryophyte *Hookeria lucens* in one of the few sites in Britain. As one ascends the valley sides the changes in pH can be observed as the yellow archangel dies out. Lunch was under the Seckley Beech which looks like a clump of trees. It is really one huge tree with 26 main trunks, plus others. Four have coalesced into each other above ground level and at 2 m. height the overall girth is nearly 13 m.

The visit continued to Clee Hill where the almost horizontal carboniferous strata rests unconformably on Old Red Sandstone and is capped by dhu stone, or dolerite. The area is acidic but the unexpected wild liquorice grows on a limestone vein. The broad buckler fern, beech fern, oak fern, parsley fern, fir clubmoss and moonwort were found and in the shelter of the scree the scaly male fern and the broad buckler fern grow. The rare bay-leaved willow *Salix pedtranda* was found in its only Shropshire site.

5 June: Studying a Pond. This was a joint visit with members of the Nature Trust to a newly-made pond by kind permission of the owner, Mr. Amos of Llangarron. The site was a stream valley before widening. Surrounded by fields of crops and 'improved' pasture run-off of silt and nitrates can be a problem. Originally a second pond, separated by a dam, was dug but silt outwash giving deposits 3 m. - 4 m. thick caused the scheme to be abandoned and necessitated the construction of a by-pass channel 60 m. long to avoid further pond silting. Harry Williamson has made a film of the creation, difficulties and stages of the pond making and its island. Trees and shrubs were planted around the edge and wild flower seeds scattered. Viper's bugloss (a calcicole) and kidney vetch (a coastal plant) have appeared so it will be interesting to see if they can sustain growth! Pond sampling showed many invertebrates were present also Volvox and filamentous algae.

9 July: A visit to Brampton Bryan, by kind permission of, and led by, Mr. Christopher Harley with Jonathan Cooter.

The day started at the southern end of Pedwardine Wood which is mainly old oak, last coppiced *c.* 1914. The ground cover is mainly bilberry with some heather, bracken and grass which is partially parasitised by large amounts of cow-wheat. Longhorn beetles were found which feed on both dead and dying trees as well as living, also leaf-rollers, parasitic bees, sawflies and wood ants. Further into the wood more planting has been carried out with Douglas fir thriving on the higher slopes where the friable rock allows root penetration. On the lower slopes are recently coppiced oaks with very old stools. Planting has interspersed hard and soft woods to give windbreaks and for both appearance and the benefit of wild life. Signs of the spruce bark beetle were seen on Norway spruce. These both retard tree growth and damage the tree for timber. A specific predator beetle, *Rhizophagus grandis*, has been imported from Belgium and greatly reduced the activity of these pests.

A brown barn owl was seen flying across a woodland path - apparently this dark form is fairly common at Brampton Bryan. Flycatchers, goldcrests and buzzards were also noted.

In the Park are many large trees, mostly oak and sweet chestnut with clumps of sycamore as well as a 200-year-old plantation of Scot's pine and an old and undisturbed oak plantation whose rich lichen flora is being carefully catalogued and monitored. In conclusion, the party was shown Mr. Harley's remarkable collection of cones from eighty different species of conifer from all over the world.

13 July: An evening walk round Lea and Paget's Wood. Led by Dr. W. Wince.

After a day of heavy showers the evening was windless and almost sultry so many butterflies were seen in the meadow. Meadow browns, small skippers and marbled whites, 80 or more, were predominant. While walking, the comparative habits and feeding of dormice, wood mice, voles and yellow-necked mice were discussed and a dormouse box was examined. Some fifty have been erected in different habitats in the wood by Paul Bright in an experiment to ascertain the conditions preferred by nesting dormice. The project will be monitored for some time to come.

27 August: A field trip relating the geology and botany of the Olchon Valley. Led by Peter Thomson.

The wet and windy day started with a walk along the Cat's Back ridge. Rock exposures on the west side showed current bedding of sandstones. The former tilted layers were laid down in arid conditions by braided streams of fast-flowing water carrying pebbly material. Several thin bands of inorganic Fynnon limestone outcrop in the Black Mountains formed by percolation and leaching of calcium salts. Such bands are visible by their greener vegetation of stemless and carline thistles and wall rue amid the surrounding heather.

On the windswept, upland, peat moor of Black Hill trees have long been cleared allowing the build-up of acid bog with mat-grass, unpalatable to sheep with its silica-strengthened stems, evolved to withstand wind. Soft rush, *Festuca viviparis* and *Carex demessa* also grow. Heather and its associates, cross-leaved heath, bilberry and crowberry occur, all adapted to life in a windy and acid terrain.

Return via the Olchon Valley was more sheltered. The arm-chair shaped head of the valley was formed by freeze-thaw action and has no morainic deposits at its lip. Most of the valley has been cut by stream rather than ice action and the banks provide nooks for many ferns.

The day concluded at the Red Darren. Its irregular rock profile may be related to rotational slipping due to undercutting and steepeneing of the hillside by flanking ice rather than a glacier. The snow scree is now plant covered, other scree is not but provides a sheltered, shady and moist micro-climate similar to that of woodlands. Consequently, pteridophytes such as lemon-scented fern, lady fern, bladder fern, maidenhair spleenwort, hart's tongue and hard fern were found as well as limestone polypody. Green spleenwort is known to be there but not found that day.

12 September: A return visit to the Doward reserves to continue monitoring.

The Leeping Stocks compartments were revisited and fresh counts taken in the permanent quadrat. A visit was made to the Woodside reserve where a partial count of plant species was made.

Weather Statistics, 1988

Month	*Max. temp. shade °C*	*Min. temp. shade °C*	*Nights air frost*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in one day mm.*	*Days with rainfall*
January	13.5	-2.0	1	98.7	15.1	22
February	14.0	-3.0	4	42.7	10.1	16
March	14.5	-4.0	4	45.7	11.6	5
April	19.5	-1.0	1	24.0	7.9	6
May	27.0	4.0	0	58.3	15.0	12
June	29.5	6.5	0	52.4	24.0	7
July	29.5	8.0	0	82.9	23.9	16
August	31.5	5.0	0	57.8	16.4	8
September	28.0	2.5	0	21.2	7.3	9
October	18.0	-3.5	3	60.4	20.5	16
November	15.5	-4.0	10	26.7	13.3	5
December	14.0	0	0	12.1	7.6	5

Highest temperature 7 August: 31.5°
Lowest temperature 1 March/21 November: -4.0°
Total rainfall for year 582.9 mm
Days with rainfall 127

Recorded at Leadington, Ledbury by E. H. Ward.

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LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1989

HONORARY MEMBERS

POWELL, H. J., 336 Upper Ledbury Road, Hereford HR1 1QW.

WEBSTER, DR. G., F.S.A., The Old School House, Chesterton, Harbury CV33 9LF.

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BIRMINGHAM: The Library, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, B15 2TT.

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HEREFORD: Museum of Cider, 21 Ryelands Street HR4 0LW.

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HEREFORD: Friends of the Record Office.

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KIDDERMINSTER: Hereford & Worcester County Museum, Hartlebury Castle DY11 7XZ.

KINGTON: Kington History Society.

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LEOMINSTER: Leominster Historical Society.

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LONDON: London Library, 14 St. James Square, SW1Y 4LJ.

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LONDON: Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House W1V 0HS.

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WIGMORE: Headmaster, The High School.

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WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.

YORK: The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, YO1 2PW.

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