TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLVI 1989

PART II

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Proceedings, 1989

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 7 January: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Geology, Herefordshire Field-names, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports for 1989 which are printed on pp. 319-65.

SECOND MEETING. 4 February: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

Dr. W. H. D. Wince, gave an illustrated talk on 'Badgers.' He said that there were six species of badger in the world and then explained the unusual yearly cycle of a badger's life. The cubs are usually born in March and the sett should not be disturbed during December and January. A badger has very strong canine teeth, a strong sense of smell and very strong front paws used for digging. The footprints and tracks can be traced to the sett where there can be as many as eighteen holes leading to the complex underground system of tunnels and chambers. Ninety-five per cent of setts are to be found on sloping ground. Bedding is brought in twice yearly, the largest amount in March and in July-August. Their main diet is earthworms and as many as 200 can be eaten in any one night.

Dr. Wince emphasised that various acts had been passed to preserve the badger from gassing and snaring; and that under-passes on new road systems directed badgers through culverts so that when they come out at night, and travel anything up to a mile, they are less likely to be killed by motorists.

THIRD MEETING: 4 March: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

Mr. Bruce Coplestone-Crow gave a talk on 'The Domesday Fief of Alfred of Marlborough' which was based on his paper published in the *Transactions*, vol. XLV Part II (1986), 376-414.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 1 April: Mr. R. C. Perry, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 864 members.

Mr. Perry referred to the club's varied activities during the year and gave his address 'The Lodge at the Park Gate' which is printed on pp. 160-8.

Mr. E. H. Ward was installed as president for 1989/90.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 20 April: LONGNOR AND ACTON SCOTT.

The first visit was by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Richards to the Moat House at Longnor. The house which is surrounded by a moat is a high quality timber-framed manor-house dating from the late 14th century. It has a two-bay open hall with a spere truss and parlour and service ends. The chimney and fireplaces were inserted in the 17th century when the hall was divided into two floors. The heavy timbers of the roof with a quarter-round moulding and cusping were seen from the upper floor.

The next visit was to Longnor Church dedicated to St. Mary which dates from 1260-70 with a chancel and a nave with a small bell-turret at the west end. There are six lancet windows in the south wall and eight in the north wall. The gallery was enlarged in 1840 and the box pews were made by a local craftsman, Richard Lee, and dated 1723. The hatchments refer to the Corbett family who held the advowson from 1579 to 1948. In the park to the south of the church is the mound on which stood the original manor-house and across the park could be seen the present Longnor Hall built of brick between 1670 and 1694. The Corbetts are buried at Leebotwood.

The afternoon was spent at the Acton Scott Working Farm Museum where members saw butter being made and a horse being shod. There was a fine display of farm implements as well as Longhorn cattle, Shropshire sheep, Tamworth pigs, two shire horses and various breeds of poultry.

SECOND MEETING: 17 May: TETBURY AREA.

The first visit was to the Westonbirt Arboretum which was acquired by the Forestry Commission in 1956. There are 500 acres of woodland and 100 acres of downland. The arboretum was founded by Robert Staynor Holford of Westonbirt House in 1829, continued by his son Sir George Holford in 1870 and his nephew the fourth Earl Morley in 1926. It contains some 14,000 trees and shrubs from all over the world, and the present objective is to establish specialist scientific collections of subjects best suited to the Westonbirt environment.

The afternoon was spent at Chavenage where members were welcomed by the owner Mr. Lowsley-Williams. He explained that Chavenage was sold in 1564 to Edward Stephens of Eastington by Sir Walter Denys of Dyrham and it remained in the Stephens family until the 1860s when it was purchased by the ancestors of the present family.

The house is built of grey Cotswold stone and tiles and is dated 1576 being the reconstruction by Edward Stephens. Cromwell and Ireton were at Chavenage during the Civil War and in the rooms named after them are fine 17th-century tapestries. The ballroom which can accommodate 150 couples was added in 1904; the tower of the chapel was an early-18th-century folly to which was added the body of the chapel in the early 19th century.

After tea at the Priory Inn, Tetbury, a visit was made to Eastington Church to see the monuments to the Stephens family dating from 1518 to 1795. The church dates from the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The east window is by Comper in 1908 as is also the south-east window in the south aisle of 1909. The window in the north aisle is by Eden in 1936.

THIRD MEETING: 16 June: LLANDAFF PENARTH AND BRISTOL.

This meeting was arranged with the main objective to travel from Penarth to Bristol on the Waverley, the world's last surviving sea-going paddle steamer driven by a three-cylinder steam engine. The Waverley left Penarth at 2.0 p.m., stopped at Clevedon to set down and take aboard passengers, and proceeded up the Avon Gorge and under the Clifton Suspension Bridge to Bristol which was reached at 5.00 p.m.

In the morning a visit was made to Llandaff Cathedral where members were taken around by a cathedral guide. Building commenced in 1120 and the cathedral was complete by 1280. During the next 100 years the windows were replaced by 'pointed' ones. It then fell into decay and in 1734 John Wood of Bath began to rebuild. He was followed by J. P. Seddon and John Prichard in the 19th century. The tower and spire date from this time and had replaced a tower which had collapsed in 1722. The cathedral was heavily damaged during the 1939-45 war. George Pace was employed to restore it. The Rossetti tryptych was moved to the St. Illtyd Chapel at the foot of the north-west tower (the Jasper Tower), the Welsh Regiment Memorial Chapel was built and a reinforced arch was constructed between the nave and the choir on which stands Epstein's statue of Christ in Majesty.

FOURTH MEETING: 6 July: GATLEY PARK.

Members were welcomed at Gatley Park by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. T. R. Dunne. The house was built in brick about 1634 by Sampson Eure and was purchased in 1678 by Philip Dunne of Welsh Newton since when it has been the home of the Dunne family. Additions were made in the 1890s. Members were privileged to visit the Folly which was designed by the architect Raymond Erith and built in 1961-4 for Mrs. Victor Willis, the mother of Mr. Dunne. It is built of stone from the local quarry and the design is based on the Venetian foot i.e. 14 inches and is oval, not round. A single-storied wing was added in 1973-6.

Leinthall Earles Church dedicated to St. Andrew was also visited. The west doorway is Norman and there are two Norman windows in the chancel. The nave and chancel are in one with a tie-beam roof with queen posts.

FIFTH MEETING: 22 July: NORTHLEACH AREA.

The first visit was to the church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. The tower dating from the late 14th century was part of an earlier building, the present church being rebuilt

in the 15th century by wealthy wool merchants e.g. Bicknell, Busshe, Fortey, Lander, Midwinter, Parker, Gerche and Taylour, whose brasses were seen. The glass in the east window was designed in 1963 by Christopher Webb; the altar frontal is by Ninian Comper and the seating was designed in the 1960s by Basil Spence and made by Gordon Russell.

After lunch a visit was made to Keith Harding's world of Mechanical Music, a museum of antique clocks, musical boxes and other mechanical musical instruments. Also visited was the Cotswold Countryside Museum of rural life which was opened in 1982 and is housed in the House of Correction which was built in 1789-91 and designed by William Blackburn for Sir George Onesipherous Paul, a prison reformer and magistrate. The court rom was in use until 1974. The agricultural implements on display were collected by Miss Olive Lloyd-Baker and depict the whole range of agricultural methods and techniques throughout the horse-drawn period.

SIXTH MEETING: 10 August: NEWLAND AND CHEPSTOW AREA.

At Newland Church members were met by the incumbent. The church is known as the 'Cathedral of the Forest' and dates mainly from the early 13th century with additions in the late 13th century. It has a fine collection of 14th-century monuments and of special interest is the miner's brass in the south chancel. The stained glass window in the south chantry chapel is by Kempe in 1898 and the twelve-light chandelier is from about 1725. The modern embroideries in the Lady Chapel have been designed by Beryl Dean and Sylvia Green.

Clearwell Castle, now a hotel, was designed in 1727 by Roger Morris for the Wyndham family whose coat of arms is above the archway. In 1929 it was almost destroyed by fire and now is being restored to its original Gothic Revival style.

The next visit was to Puzzle Wood which is one of the finest examples of 'scowles' or early opencast mining and is part of the Lambsquay Mines dating back to Roman times. The iron ore was burned out from the 'crease limestone.' The paths were laid out by the Turner family in the late 1800s. In 1848 some 3,000 Roman coins were found dating from the 3rd century A.D. Practically every square inch of rock is covered by moss. The predominant tree is yew and its roots follow the veins of iron. Two types of fern have been identified by David Bellamy, the Soft Shield Fern and the Harts Tongue Fern.

The afternoon was spent in Chepstow with visits to the castle and museum. The castle stands on the cliff overlooking the Wye. The Great Tower was built by William fitzOsbern between 1067-72, the wall and towers between the middle and lower bailey in 1190 by William Marshall whose descendants strengthened the middle and upper baileys and the barbican. From 1270 to 1306 the Bigod family constructed the range of domestic buildings on the north side of the lower bailey and Marten's Tower. In 1491 it was obtained by the dukes of Somerset who modernised it and during the Civil War and Commonwealth it was held by the Cromwellians and dismantled in 1690 but remained the property of the duke of Beaufort until 1914. In 1953 the Lysaght family passed it to the Ministry. The museum depicting the history of Chepstow and the surrounding area is housed in a town house built in 1796 which had been a school and a hospital.

SEVENTH MEETING: 2 September: WYRE FOREST AND BEWDLEY AREA.

The Wyre Forest designated as a Forest Nature Reserve is an area of some 6,000 acres of ancient forest. Much of it is a site of special scientific interest and is jointly managed by the Forestry Commission and the Nature Conservancy Council. A number of walks have been laid out along which can be seen a variety of trees such as oak, fir, birch, spruce, beech and a variety of flowers, birds, mammals and insects. The visitor centre depicts the wildlife of the forest and members looked for the 'whitty pear', a rare, true, wild service tree.

At Bewdley the museum housed in the 18th-century butchers' shambles was visited. It illustrates the past history of Bewdley as an important river port and its associated trades and crafts. Members saw a film on coracle making and demonstrations of clay pipes and ropes being made.

The next visit was to Bewdley Church dedicated to St. Anne. Although the tower of four stages dates from 1695-6, the church itself was built between 1745-8 by Thomas Woodward of Chipping Campden in the classical style of the 18th century. The nave of five bays is divided from its aisles by Doric columns. The plaster ceilings are flat over the aisles and arched over the chancel. The windows are Venetian and there is a gallery at the west end.

The final visit was to Ribbesford Church which was the mother church to Bewdley which was not made a separate parish until 1853. In recent times the two livings have been united and transferred from the Hereford diocese to that of Worcester. At Ribbesford, the church in June 1877 was heavily damaged by lightning, after which the chancel, north aisle and north arcade were rebuilt and the whole structure restored. The north doorway with a fine tympanum and south aisle are Norman. Of particular interest is the 15th-century timber south arcade, the only one in Worcestershire. The west window is from a design by Burne-Jones and made by William Morris.

SILSOE VISIT: 6-13 September.

Forty members spent a week based at Silsoe College in Bedfordshire. En route a visit was made to Broughton Castle, the home of Lord Saye and Sele. The great hall, the dining-room and the chapel date from 1306 in the time of the Broughton family. In 1377 it was acquired by William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, who converted the castle into a medieval manor-house and his grand-daughter took it in marriage to Sir William Fiennes whose family still own it. Additions were made in 1554 and completed by 1599. In 1870 Frederick, the sixteenth Lord Saye and Sele, commissioned Giles Gilbert Scott to carry out internal repairs and decorations but no changes to the exterior. During 1629-40 the Parliamentarians worked against Charles I from a room at the top of the west stairs. The church nearby dates from the early 14th century and was restored by Gilbert Scott and his son in 1877-80. It contains 14th and 15th-century murals and many monuments to the Broughton, Fiennes, Wykeham and Saye and Sele families. Also visited was the Waterways Museum which stands alongside the Grand Union Canal. It is housed in a

three-storied grain warehouse and portrays the way of life of two centuries of working boatmen and their families. A short distance along the towpath is the entrance to the Blisworth Tunnel, the longest tunnel still in use on the waterways system. After the evening meal Mr. Perry outlined the week's programme.

The first visit on Thursday was to St. Leonard's Church at Old Warden which dates from the 12th and 13th centuries with a 14th-century arcade and chancel arch and font. In the mid-19th century Lord Ongley collected woodwork from Belgium and with some genuine Victorian had them built into the church. There are memorials to the Ongleys and Shuttleworths who lived at Old Warden Park.

Next visited was the Shuttleworth Collection of motor vehicles, motor cycles and cycles but especially the flyable historic aeroplanes dating from the beginning of powered flight and into World War II. This exhibition is maintained by the Richard Ormonde Shuttleworth Remembrance Trust which was established by Mrs. Dorothy Shuttleworth in remembrance of her only son who was killed in a training flight accident in 1940. Adjacent is the Swiss Garden which in 1872 was bought by Joseph Shuttleworth. In 1939 it became neglected and is now being brought back to its original state. The afternoon was spent at Wimpole Hall, the Home Farm and church, which was given to the National Trust in 1976 by Mrs. Bambridge the daughter of Rudyard Kipling. It is the largest house in Cambridgeshire, constructed in red brick with a seven-bay centre and wings. Parts of the mid-17th-century house of Sir Thomas Crichley remain. Sir John Cutler bought it in 1686 and his son-in-law Charles Robartes, second earl of Radnor, added a detached service wing and orangery and laid out formal gardens between 1693 and 1705. The duke of Newcastle purchased it in 1710 and almost immediately it passed to his son-in-law Edward Harley, later the second earl of Oxford. He employed James Gibbs to build the west wing joining the main block to the orangery and the chapel in the east wing which was decorated by James Thornhill. The library was added in 1730 to house the Harleian collection. In 1740 it was sold to Philip Yorke who commissioned Henry Flitcroft to reface the central, original block. The next generation used Capability Brown to extend the park in 1767. The third earl about 1800 employed Sir John Soane to design the domed yellow drawing-room and in 1801-9 Repton altered the park. In the 1840s the fourth earl had H. E. Kendall to build large-scale additions and in 1894 the extravagant fifth earl sold the estate to the second Lord Robartes who was a direct descendant of the earl of Radnor who laid out the gardens 200 years earlier. He lived at Lanhydrock in Cornwall and in 1938 it was bought by Capt. George Bambridge and his wife, Elsie, the daughter of Kipling. The three-mile south avenue had to be felled in 1978 because of Dutch elm disease and has been replanted with limes. The church by Henry Flitcroft was built in 1749 but preserves the 14th-century Crichley Chapel. After the evening meal members visited Wrest Park which was built in 1834-6 for the de Grey family and were shown around the gardens.

Friday morning was spent in Cambridge, a university city with seventeen pre-Victorian colleges and four Victorian ones. Each college is noted for its hall, chapel, library, gatehouse and quadrangles. Among the colleges visited were St. John's founded in 1135 with a chapel built in 1864 by Sir George Gilbert Scott; to Trinity founded in 1546; to Trinity Hall founded in 1350 with its Georgian additions and to King's with its chapel

founded in 1446 and which is said to be the finest piece of Perpendicular architecture in England. After lunch Anglesey Abbey house and gardens were visited. The abbey was founded as an Augustinian priory in 1135 and since the Dissolution has been in the ownership of the Hobson, Parker, Downing and Hailstone families. In 1926 it was purchased by Huttleston Broughton and on his death in 1966 it was left to the National Trust. Most of the priory buildings had been demolished but the chapter house about 1600 was converted into a domestic building of five bays, constructed of clunch, and attached at right angles to it was the monk's common room of three bays. Between 1926 and 1937 Lord Fairhaven remodelled the house and added to it. The garden is an outstanding combination of formal and landscape gardening of the 20th century. Finally at Grantchester Dr. Mary Archer welcomed members to the Old Vicarage and allowed them to wander around her garden. Rupert Brooke lived at the Old Vicarage from 1910-2. The church consists of a nave without aisles and has a splendid Decorated chancel.

The first stop on Saturday morning was at Geddington to see the Eleanor Cross which marks the spot where Queen Eleanor's coffin rested overnight in 1294 on its way from Harby in Lincolnshire to London. The church has a Saxon nave, a late-12th-century north aisle, a 13th-century south aisle and a late-13th-century chancel. The east window is by Comper in 1903. The bridge over the ford crossing the river Ise has two 13th-century pointed arches and a round arch of 1784. Next visited was the unusual Rushton Triangular Lodge built by Sir Thomas Tresham in 1593-6. In plan, it is an equilateral triangle, with three storeys with three windows on each side on each floor. Each side has three gables rising to three tapering pinnacles. It has a three-sided chimney-stack and a frieze below the gables with a continuous inscription around three sides, each thirty-three feet long, bearing thirty-three letters. It is said to represent the Holy Trinity. It is built of alternating bands of dark and light limestone. The next visit was to Rockingham which was a royal castle from 1066 to 1619 but Edward Watson obtained a lease in 1544 and converted it into a Tudor house. It was badly damaged during the Civil War and restored in 1669. In the 19th century Anthony Salvin modernised and improved it. The descendants of Edward Watson still live at the castle and continue to maintain it and improve the gardens. In the afternoon members walked to the site of the castle of Fotheringhay where Richard III was born and where Mary, Queen of Scots, was imprisoned and executed in 1587. At the church Edmund Langley in 1370 started to build a college and in 1434 a nave, but after the Dissolution the chancel was pulled down. There remains the west tower, a seven-light west window with Perpendicular tracery and four-light aisle and clerestorey windows. Finally the market town of Oundle was visited where the school was founded in 1556 by William Laxton, a London grocer. The present school dates from 1880 by Gwilt and 1907-28 by Blomfield. Also seen were good examples of 17th-century and Georgian buildings.

Sunday morning was free but some members went to church services and others went walking. After lunch a stop was made at Elstow to the Moot Hall which is a late-15th or early-16th-century market-house of timber-framed construction, jettied with an arch-braced tie-beam roof. The remainder of the afternoon was spent at Woburn Abbey, the home of the dukes of Bedford. It is on the site of a Cistercian monastery founded in 1145 which was given by Henry VIII to the Russell family. The original building was destroyed

by fire just before the Dissolution and has been largely rebuilt in the 17th and 18th centuries. Henry Flitcroft designed the west range and modified the north wing which is the oldest part and the long gallery in the 1750s. Henry Holland was responsible for the south wing between 1787-90 and the east range which has been demolished. Humphrey Repton landscaped the grounds and there are over 1,000 deer of various species in the park. After the evening meal Mr. B. Stephenson gave an interesting talk on the area.

The first visit on Monday was to Swaffham Prior where there are two churches in the same churchyard. St. Mary's is the older foundation and dates from the 12th and 15th centuries. The other church dedicated to St. Cyriac and St. Julita was built in 1250 but only the tower which was added to it in 1493 remains. The two parishes were united in 1667. Wicken Fen, the oldest nature reserve in the country covers 600 acres and is administered by the National Trust. The warden explained the reserve and the exhibits and then members walked the nature trail which is designed to see the most interesting parts of the Sedge Fen. A short stop was made to view the Stretham Old Engine built in 1831 by the Butterley Co. It is the only surviving example of a scoop-wheel engine which was used for draining the Fens. The afternoon was spent in Ely to see the cathedral which dates from the 12th to 14th centuries. The central tower collapsed in 1322 and was replaced by an octagon and lantern which is unique in Europe. After the evening meal Mr. Michael Lynch gave an enlightening talk on 'The New Town of Milton Keynes.'

On Tuesday the first stop was at Willington to see the dovecote and barn known as King Harry's Stables. The dovecote built about 1541 has nesting boxes for 1,500 birds and was built by Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to Wolsey. Chicheley Hall, the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Nutting was next visited. Mrs. Nutting was the widow of the second earl Beatty who bought the house in 1952 from the descendants of the Chester family. It was constructed between 1719 and 1722 by Francis Smith of Warwick for Sir John Chester in brick and is very little altered. The afternoon was spent in Milton Keynes where members were taken around by coach and on foot by Mr. Lynch to see some of the new town developments and facilities, and some knowledge was gained as to the thinking, social and architectural, which gave rise to the new town philosophy.

On Wednesday members left for home and the first stop was at Brixworth to see the church which has been referred to as 'perhaps the most imposing architectural memorial of the seventh century surviving north of the Alps.' The nave, chancel, central section of the tower and a polygonal apse survive. A 10th-century stair turret has replaced the west door, a 13th-century lady chapel has been added on the south side and the spire built about 1350. Roman tiles have been built into the south and north walls. A picnic lunch was eaten at Pitsford Reservoir where members were able to walk around it. The afternoon was spent at Althorpe where fifteen generations of the Spencer family have lived. The original house was built of red brick soon after 1508 by Sir John Spencer. It was enlarged in the 17th century and remodelled between 1786 and 1790 by Henry Holland. He refaced the exterior with grey-white mathematical tiles baked at Ipswich. The gardens were designed by Teulon in the 1860s and the stable block in the Palladium style dates from about 1735.

Tea was taken at Seymore House, Chipping Campden. Mr. and Mrs. Perry were thanked for arranging and leading the visit, Wendy for her safe driving and Mr. Tonkin for providing the historical background to the area.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 7 October: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

Miss Mary Thomas and Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor gave an illustrated account of the excavation at Corras in the parish of Kentchurch which was carried out under the direction of Miss Thomas from 1987-9. Mrs. Taylor was responsible for the historical background and finds and thanks were expressed to many helpers and especially to Mr. and Mrs. Watkins who gave permission for the excavation on their land. Mounds had been spotted in the orchard near the motte and possibly in the bailey of the castle. Records referred to a building erected before 1100. It was decided to try to discover the building and its age but that no trouble should be caused to the owners and that the trees around the site should not be disturbed. It was stressed that the excavation was carried out by amateur, not professional, archaeologists. A full report on the early Norman chapel is printed on pp. 194-208.

SECOND MEETING: 28 October: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

Mr. David Bick, B.Sc., M.I.Mech.E., F.S.A. gave an illustrated talk on the 'Hereford and Gloucester Canal.' He said that although there were locks on the Wye Hereford was not really interested in building a canal, and that it was the Newent coalfield which needed one. The canal from Gloucester to Hereford was promoted in 1790 and was opened from Gloucester to Ledbury in 1798 by which time it should have reached Hereford. This section cost £100,000 of which £40,000 was spent on the Oxenhall Tunnel. The capital came mainly from the Black Country. The main water supply was to have come from the Canon Frome area but this failed and the canal could not be used. In 1827 Stephen Ballard was appointed general manager and in 1838-9 it was again attempted to build the canal section from Ledbury to Hereford. It reached Hereford in 1845 and was designed so that it could be converted into a railway. It had long straight stretches, and bridges which could take a steam locomotive. In 1861 the canal was bought by the Great Western Railway, and the bed was used for the railway from Gloucester to Ledbury.

THIRD MEETING: 18 November: Mr. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

Dr. M. W. Harper gave an illustrated talk on 'Butterflies and Moths of Herefordshire.' He said that there were 2,500 lepidoptera in the country of which there are 1,110 today compared with 1,189 earlier in the century. The losses are due to the changes in the countryside especially hay meadows to monoculture, orchards have disappeared, woodlands have not been properly managed as there is now less coppice and sixty per cent of replanting has been conifers which have changed the undergrowth. Having explained

the classification of lepidoptera Dr. Harper referred to the various habitats on the Malvern-British Camp area. At the top, which was poorly grazed the grayling was found; on the bracken the very rare high-brown fritillary and the lead belle caterpillar on the gorse were found. In the unmanaged woodland at the bottom, moths were found within the leaves, i.e. between the layers on the small-leaved lime, the rowan and maple. The speckled wood butterfly was increasing in the coniferous forests. The oak beauty moth was found on oaks and the caterpillar of the silver-washed fritillary on the Doward. In the managed woodland of the Kempley-Dymock Woods birch was the dominant species which was good for insect life. In Haugh Wood which has been managed since 1921 the bluebell moth was found on wild golden rod; the grizzled skipper butterfly was now rare on the Woolhope Dome on wild strawberry as was the pearl-bordered fritillary. The case moths of which there are forty-two species in the county are found on the backs of oak leaves. On the grasslands in the western part of the county the burnet moths, five and six spot, were found on bird's foot trefoil, the cinnabar moth on ragwort and groundsel, the common blue on ox-eye daisy and the small copper on sorrel. The common forester moth has probably disappeared and the marbled white has shown up. In the woods clearwing moths are found on dead wood.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 9 December: Mrs. E. H. Ward, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1990 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1988 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 159a.

Mr. B. J. Whitehouse, A.L.A., F.R.S.A., the club's honorary librarian, gave a talk on the 'The Woolhope Club Library.' He said that the club and its library were formed in 1851-2 with forty members. By 1870 many specimens had been collected and there was a need for a place to meet and house the specimens. James Rankin of Bryngwyn agreed to finance a museum, library and a room for the club. The present arrangement of the books dates from some sixty years ago and are all entered on cards. Members of the public are allowed access to the books. Mr. Whitehouse referred to the work done by Mr. F. C. Morgan who was the City Librarian from 1924-45 and was the club's librarian until 1960. He also mentioned the valuable bequests to the club such as the George Marshall archaeological collection in 1952, the Hopton collection and the Benn and Murray collections in 1941 and 1971 respectively. The library contains a good collection of journals exchanged with other societies as well as those which it purchases annually. There are two complete sets of the club's *Transactions* and indexes up to 1911, 1935 and 1954 and it is hoped to publish another from 1955-87.

On 20 April 1989 it was passed 'that guests attending field meetings pay a capitation fee of £1.00, and in future this fee will be linked to any raising of the annual subscription.'

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A. represented the club at the inquiry held in August, September and October concerning the application to extract sand and gravel at Eau Withington.

The beech tree on Welsh Newton Common was blown down in the gale on 22 October. It was rotten and fungus infected and when measured on the ground its girth was 22 ft. and its height was estimated at 90-100 ft.

Mr. H. J. Powell, F.R.I.B.A., president of the club in 1965 and 1971, and having served on the committee since 1962 and previously been assistant-secretary, has been made an honorary member of the club.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1988

RECEIPTS

1987 £	£		£ p	£ p
		Interest on Investments		
33		3½% War Loan	32.64	
		Hereford & Worcester		
95		County Council Loan ...	85.52	
1,784		Nat. Savings Investment...	1,751.63	
222		Bank Deposit Interest ...	195.55	
	2,134			2,065.34
3,669		General Subscription ...	4,191.72	
22		Sale of Publications ...	331.25	
-		Grants and Donations ...	3,283.00	
251		Income Tax Refund ...	569.46	
89		Natural History Section ...	104.69	
103		Archaeological Research Section	196.28	
1,431		Field Names Survey... ...	1,832.88	
159		Field Meetings (Net) ...	1,173.40	
	5,724			11,682.68
		Bank Balances 1st January		
		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		Nat. 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		14.36
	29,192			40,318.25

PAYMENTS

1987 £	£		£ p	£ p
115		Insurance	50.00	
174		Printing and Stationery ...	215.06	
76		Printing and Binding ...	7,286.89	
43		Expenses of Meetings ...	54.95	
256		Postage and Telephones ...	932.41	
122		Subscriptions & Donations	113.00	
330		Honoraria	330.00	
82		Natural History Section ...	46.05	
65		Archaeological Research Section	318.29	
1,276		Field Names Survey ...	1,652.49	
82		Pomona Volume	-	
	2,621			10,999.14
		Bank Balances 31st December		
		Current Accounts		
290		General	245.53	
65		Subscription	322.19	
25		Natural History Section ...	70.00	
265		Archaeological Research Section	78.24	
-		Field Names Survey ...	539.08	
264		Field Meetings	20.80	
		Deposit Accounts		
18,726		National Savings Investment	20,477.43	
4,830		Subscription	4,395.71	
677		G. Marshall Fund ...	687.02	
294		Natural History Section ...	307.19	
117		Archaeological Research Section	19.01	
799		Field Meetings	2,034.64	
204		Building Society	113.53	
	26,556			29,310.37
	14	Cash in Hand F.N.S. ...		8.74
	29,192			40,318.25

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 April, 1989

Presidential Address

The Lodge at the Park Gate

By ROY PERRY

When, on our field meetings, we visit a stately home, we may stop to admire the view across the deer park with its fine trees, or the ornamental lake and the vista over woodland to the rolling hills beyond. But, as we enter the park from the road, how often do we stop to look at the lodge at the park gate?

Park gate lodges provide a wide variety in plan, materials, form of construction and decoration and almost all are of high quality, often designed by a well-known architect, and intended to impress the visitor to the estate upon arrival.

The purpose of these lodges was to provide accommodation for a gate-keeper, whose duty was to open the gate and allow access for carriages whilst ensuring that deer and other animals were not allowed to escape from the park. The lodge might be occupied by a gardener, keeper, coachman or some other servant and his family, the duty of gate-keeping being carried out by wife and children whilst father worked on another part of the estate.

The lodge, as we know it today, dates back rather more than two hundred years to about the middle of the 18th century, but the word, with slightly different meanings, has been used at least as early as the middle ages, when it seems to have meant a shelter of branches or a leafy bower. Both the words lodge and lobby appear to have come from the old German *laub,* meaning leaf. That part of a college occupied by the master was, in medieval times, referred to as the lodge, as was the accommodation for the porter. Better known, perhaps, is the hunting lodge in the forest, where deer and other wild animals were hunted for meat. This hunting lodge often, at least in part, occupied by a forester or warrener, was built as shelter for, or entertainment of, royal or privileged hunting parties.

By the end of the 16th century it had become fashionable for the aristocracy to entertain guests, and even hold banquets, in a lodge sited so as to provide views over the estates. The triangular lodge at Rushton Hall in Northamptonshire is such a building built in 1593 by Sir Thomas Trensham to symbolize the Trinity.

The gate-house, as distinct from the later lodge, had existed for many centuries, being built of stone and strategically placed and fortified to discourage unwelcome intruders, to castle, manor-house and abbey.

By the 16th century, however, the need for defence had lessened and the wish was to impress visitors rather than to repel them. The gate-house at Lower Brockhampton, of about 1500, is an example of this. It has richly carved barge-boards, close-spaced framing and jettied upper floor. It is thus more decorative than defensive. The same emphasis on decoration applies to the gateway at Stanway House in Gloucestershire, built in about 1630 of stone and again richly decorated. These gate-houses were located close to the house, guarding the immediate courtyard or garden. The park gate lodge, the subject of

this paper, appeared more than a century later, and was placed, as a rule, on the estate boundary some distance from the house although, as we shall see, there are exceptions.

The 16th and 17th centuries saw the construction of many great houses, Longleat in the 1550s, Hardwick about 1590 and Blickling Hall in the 1620s for example. To begin with, however, the estate was not enclosed and it was not until the end of the 17th century that the idea of an ornamental park with deer, for decoration rather than a source of meat, grazing amongst specimen trees by a specially dug lake or diverted river, became the fashionable surrounding for the home of the nobleman or rich merchant. This, of course, necessitated the construction of a fence to retain the deer and thus the park was created. The lodge at the gate, however, seems not to have appeared immediately.

Soon after 1700 Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip were making birds-eye engravings of gentlemen's residences, rather like the aerial photographs available today. These showed the house and garden surrounded by parkland with gazebos, pavilions and temples, and with tree-lined avenues fading into the distance but, in well over a hundred engravings, no lodge at the end of the drive is to be seen; neither do such buildings appear to be mentioned in estate papers of the time. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the park gate lodge had not been thought of at the beginning of the 18th century.

Towards the middle of the century pattern books and magazines were appearing for the guidance of builders and country gentlemen, providing drawings and plans of estate buildings. The first mention of the park gate lodge seems to have occurred about this time, the impressive entrance to the estate providing ample opportunity for the imagination of the designer.

Publications like *The Country Gentlemans Pocket Companion and Builders Assistant for Rural Domestic Architecture* dated 1753 by William and John Halfpenny or *The Gentleman and Farmers Architect* (1762) by Timothy Lightoler suggested plans, often far from practical, for lodges. The important factor was the appearance of the building and, all too often, the accommodation provided for the gate-keeper and his family was meagre in the extreme. Joseph Gandy's design of 1805 providing a circular room, 12 feet in diameter, on each side of the gate, in what look like upturned funnels is an extreme example and was never built, but many lodges of more conventional appearance were built with little, if any, more space for the family.

Batty Langley, a landscape gardener who later established an academy for teaching architectural drawing and design, produced a great number of pattern books and, in a drawing for a Doric Gate dated 1739, he shows a porter's lodge on each side of the gate. This appears to be one of the first references to the lodge at the park gate, but it was not until some twenty or thirty years later that the combined gateway and lodge became established.

One of the most ornate of these is at Fonthill in Wiltshire, dating from about 1760. With its massive urns over the pediment and the vermiculated rustication of alternate blocks of stone, it presents a truly impressive taste of what is to come upon arrival at the mansion itself. Unfortunately Fonthill Splendens is no more, having been destroyed in 1807.

We in Herefordshire have no really great houses on the scale of Fonthill, Chatsworth, Holkham or The Vine, but we make up for this in the number of smaller mansions, each with its surrounding park. There are well over one hundred such parks in the county, each with at least one lodge and many with two or three.

Lodge building in Herefordshire seems to have started towards the end of the 18th century and progresed apace through the 19th and on into this century, when motor transport and the cattle-grid gradually made the gate-keeper redundant. The many styles of architecture to be found in lodges, often intermingled in the same building, make it impossible to discuss them in chronological order but we will endeavour to look at examples in an approximate date sequence.

There are so many different types of lodge that it is, again, impossible to categorise them, but the most impressive is the triumphal arch. Among the earliest of the arched type is that at Berrington Hall, near Leominster. Built by Henry Holland about 1780, it does not, as is more usual, mark the gateway from park to road but the boundary between the park and the formal garden around the house. Of fine ashlar stone it has little decoration apart from the small section of balustrading, the moulded cornice and a fluted keystone. The whole effect is somewhat austere yet solid and imposing. It should be noted that the accommodation for the gate-keeper, although split into two parts, is of reasonable proportions. The lodges we see upon entering the park from the Leominster to Ludlow road are about a hundred years later in date.

Kentchurch Court has an arch lodge which, with its castellations, arrow slits and four-centred arch has every appearance of being medieval. The Court, however, was rebuilt by Nash about 1800, the work being referred to as new in 1807, and it seems not unreasonable to accept this as the approximate date for the lodge, which is a good example of the Gothick style so popular at this time. Here the accommodation for a family, discounting the recent addition on the right, is somewhat limited, although they did have an upstairs room over the gateway.

Samuel Rush Meyrick tried, in 1827, to purchase Goodrich Castle but was unsuccessful, so he bought the hillside opposite and commissioned Edward Blore to build a castle-like mansion 'of the architecture of Edward I.' The result was Goodrich Court, sadly now demolished. The Monmouth Lodge, (PL. IX) however, remains and is another example of the arched gateway in the Gothick style, although with a strong Continental feel about it. It would, perhaps, be more at home in the Rhine Valley instead of that of the Wye.

Pudleston Court Estate, in the north of the county, was purchased, in 1846, by Elias Chadwick, who rebuilt the Court with the castellations and mullioned windows in keeping with the romantic mood of the time. His imposing entrance to the park was in similar style, in two-coloured stone and with twin turrets to each lodge (PL. X). The gateway has, however, shrunk to a mere vestige of an arch. The housing for the gate-keeper was, by the standards of the mid-19th century, very adequate.

The first Earl Somers employed Robert Smirke to build Eastnor Castle in 1815 and the lodges to the Ledbury-Tewkesbury road, with their round-headed windows and

crenellated roof line, must date from about this time. Across the public road the Eastnor estate continues for some two miles with a drive to join the Ledbury-Malvern road. At the edge of the park, where the drive enters a stretch of woodland, another gate and lodge are to be found. Apart from the windows, this building is very similar to, and appears to have been built soon after, the one on the main road. The accommodation here, as with many such lodges, is split into two parts, one on each side of the gate. Continuing, for perhaps another mile or so through the woodland, one comes to another gate and lodge, where the drive joins the road to Malvern. Less pretentious than the other lodges, this one, with its cast-iron windows, wide eaves and flat-pitched roof, dates from about the same time.

The Neo-classical form of architecture, which became popular a little before 1800, was in the style of the Greek or Roman temple, with columns supporting a large pediment to form a portico. This looks well on a mansion, but when applied to a lodge, like that at Brockhampton Park by Bromyard, presents difficulties. The scale of this building is too small, and the proportions wrong, while the upper floor must be both cramped and poorly lit and ventilated by the single round window in the front pediment, and the small sash window at the rear.

About the turn of the 18th century, Sir Hungerford Hoskins built Harewood Park, near Ross-on-Wye, in the Neo-classical style, with a pediment supported on four Tuscan columns. The house was demolished in 1952 but the lodge remains. In 1811 T. D. W. Dearn produced a book entitled *Designs for Lodges and Entrances* and one of his drawings shows a lodge with four columns and a portico. Harewood lodge may well have been built to Dearn's design (PL. XI). Here the portico forms only part of the front facade of the building and the overall effect, with the dentil work under the eaves, is altogether more pleasing, although the original accommodation must have been even more cramped than at Brockhampton.

The Hereford lodge to Stoke Edith Park, was built in 1792 by William Wilkins, for Thomas, Lord Foley (PL. XII). It was of brick with stone dressings, to match the Foley mansion and, with its copper dome, recessed columns and octagonal plan, made quite an impressive entrance to the estate from Hereford. The accommodation here was much more satisfactory, with a wide curving stair from the living room to the upper floor, and with kitchen and service rooms at the rear. The entrance to the estate from Ledbury is also quite impressive, with the long brick walls sweeping up to the gates. The lodge appears, at first sight, to be more conventional but the great stone pediment gives the clue to what lies behind. The plan, now in the County Record Office, shows 'a pavilion near the pleasure garden.' This pavilion was, in fact, part of, and at the rear of, the lodge. With a pediment, similar to that at the front, supported by a column on each side of the wide entrance, a shelter was thus made where tea might be taken or guests entertained, after walking or playing bowls in the pleasure garden. This section has now been enclosed to provide even more living space in what was, originally, a quite commodious house.

Perhaps of a decade later the lodge at Yatton Court, Aymestrey still has the vestigal remains of the Neo-classical, but, with the Gothic Revival windows and tall chimney in the centre of the flat hipped roof, the emphasis is on the 19th rather than the 18th century. The portico, which no doubt, provided some shelter for the gate-keeper whilst awaiting

the arrival of the coach, has here shrunk to an open veranda; a feature to be found on a number of lodges.

It is interesting to note that many lodges, unlike the majority of architect-designed houses of the time, were single story dwellings; the forerunners, perhaps, of the bungalow to become popular early in this century.

Variations on the Gothic Revival window are to be seen on the lodges at Hope End, Colwall; Nieuport House, Almeley and the main road lodge at Homme House, Much Marcle. These all have flat pitched roofs and date from the early years of the 19th century. The Lower Lodge to Homme House, in Much Marcle village, must, judging by what remains of the gate pillars, have been somewhat similar, but it has been modernised out of recognition. There is, however, on the gable of the house, a date stone with two dates, 1820 and 1965.

In this period of the early 19th century the picturesque *cottage orné* was much in vogue, with the steep pitched, often thatched roof, lattice windows, ornamental chimneys and pentice supported on rustic posts. It would seem an ideal design for a lodge. So far, however, we have found no lodges of this style in Herefordshire.

Saltmarsh Castle near Bromyard, now demolished, had three lodges in the romantic Gothick Revival style. The South Lodge has miniature castellated towers, mullioned windows with drip-moulds above and impressive stone gate-piers supporting elegant iron gates. The North Lodge, octagonal in plan has a small extension at the rear and Gothick sash windows below the battlements. The accommodation afforded the gate-keeper, in both of these, seems to have been rather limited, but the West Lodge, on the minor road to Edvin Loach, complete with castellated tower and crowstep gable seems much more commodious, although it may originally have been two dwellings. It may seem strange to have the largest and most striking lodge on a minor road but it is, in fact, the second lodge on the south drive, which crosses the Edvin Loach road at this point, and was designed to be more impressive as one approached the castle.

Rebuilt in the Nash style in the 1930s, Garnstone Castle, near Weobley, is another mansion now, sadly, demolished. The lodge, (PL. XIII) however, remains to give us some idea, with its four-centred porch, windows to match and corner buttresses, of what the castle looked like in the mid-19th century. Here again the accommodation is not over generous.

On the western slopes of the Malvern Hills lies Colwall and a mile or so to the north, around the railway station, is Colwall Stone. This is a large urbanised village built on the parkland of two estates of the Ballard family; Winnings and Linden Manor and, although any deer and many specimen trees have long gone, five very similar lodges, now surrounded by houses, remind us of the estates of the 19th century. A taste of the classical remains with the broken pediment effect produced by the roof line, but the flat door and window lintels, together with the curved brackets supporting the large eaves-overhang and the smooth rendered finish to the walls, puts the date well into the 19th century. The top lodge to Linden Manor has a date-stone of 1863. Although not identical in plan, all five have the same features and are clearly about the same date and by the same architect (PL. XIV).

The classical front of Whitbourne Hall, built in 1861, with its six Ionic columns and pediment is not repeated in the two lodges at the park gates. The Italianate style, which appeared earlier in the century, was by this time becoming quite popular and both lodges represent this design. The style of architecture is not easy to define but round-headed windows and doors, the overhanging eaves to a flat pitched roof, combined with a certain squareness of plan, are features often, though not always, found in houses of this type. Another feature, sometimes to be found, is the pronounced plinth, giving the impression that the important living accommodation is raised above ground level, rather like the *piano nobile* in the stately home. This effect is to be seen in the East Lodge where the first three feet of walling is markedly battered. This is, of course, an illusion, since the ground-floor is truly at ground level. This, together with the flat pitched roof and bracketed overhang, combined with the rounded door and window heads give a certain Mediterranean feel to the building. The North Lodge, although different in plan, has similar features but the principal floor is here definitely raised above ground, with service rooms below.

At Mansell Lacy the lodge to Foxley (PL. XV), another demolished mansion, is after the same Italianate style with round-headed windows and doorway but, to add to the effect, we have a pantiled roof and flat-topped chimney.

The picturesque and romantic ideas of the early 19th century gradually gave way to a rather quieter form of decoration. This relied more on contrasting colours and good quality workmanship than on reproducing architectural forms from the past. Although the lodge to Allensmore Court still shows traces of the picturesque in the shaped window heads, the nibs on the chimneys and the brackets under the eaves, the contrasting colours in the brickwork over the windows show a wish to conform to the latest form of decoration. A similar effect is produced by the use of contrasting brick in the lodge to Longworth Hall, Lugwardine. It has bands of yellow brick, together with shaped bricks under the gable eaves. The rounded window heads are, however, in stone.

Thinghill, Withington, yet another mansion now demolished, has a lodge with turrets in the Scottish Baronial manner which might be more appropriate north of the border. It does, however, have the contrasting grey and red forms of our local sandstone.

Sugwas Court Lodge (PL. XVI) is another example of the use of contrasting colours, having red brick with stone quoins and blue engineering bricks on the garden wall. The carpentry here is of a very high quality with elaborately carved barge-boards, tall gable finials complimented by heavy pendants.

Bredenbury Court, built in 1873, for the Barneby family, by T. H. Wyatt, has three lodges. Two of these show a feature becoming popular at about this time. The roofs are made decorative by the use of shaped tiles. Rows of tiles with rounded lower edges, and of a different colour, contrast with the usual square-edged variety. The shaped ridge-tile, popular in medieval times, is also back in vogue at the end of the 19th century, and appears here. The third lodge, of rather plainer design, on the road to Rowden station, was built in 1905 no doubt to provide easier access to the railway which had opened some eight years earlier.

Rows of rounded tiles were also used for wall hanging, as at Cowarne Court Lodge. The village entrance to Goodrich Court has, in contrast to the Monmouth gate previously mentioned, a late-19th century lodge (PL. XVII). This has shaped tiles on the upper walls above the grey stone of the ground-floor. The oak gate-posts here are worthy of mention with their crenellations, their chamfers and stops, and the symbols of the sun carved in each post.

As might be expected in a county of timber-framed houses, a number of lodges were constructed in this manner. Although dating from about the turn of this century the lodge to Croft Castle contains a basic framework of early-17th century timber, possibly brought from another site and reconstructed, together with new wood, to make a larger house. At Lyonshall is another example of timber framing of relatively recent date, whilst at Lingen Hall the lodge is of brick with timber applied to the surface to look like framing.

The fine timber-framed lodge at Brockhampton by Ross (PL. XVIII) looks out of place in Herefordshire. With its small cusped panels, multiple curved braces and coving under the bressumers it seems more in keeping with Cheshire or Lancashire. This is not so surprising when we learn that the architect, in 1803, was Faulkner Armitage, whose practice was in Manchester.

I have shown or mentioned some forty or so of the park gate lodges in Herefordshire. I have slides of nearly 100 more and may be sure that there are quite a number yet to be discovered. I can recommend lodge hunting, on a fine sunny day in this beautiful county of ours, with time spent researching in the County Record Office on the rainy days, as a most rewarding pastime.

INDEX TO LODGES

This list is in alphabetical order by parish except where the name of the estate is generally better known. It is not claimed to be exhaustive and it is inevitable that some lodges will have been overlooked. The National Grid References all have the prefix SO.

Allensmore	462355
Almeley, Nieuport House	325516
Aymestrey, Yatton Court	425655
Bacton	378324
Berrington Hall	636511, 639516, 633513
Bircher Hall	476656
Birley, Ladye Grove	457526
Bishopstone	413434
Bishops Frome	650485 (twin lodges)
Bodenham, Broadfield Court	540531
Bosbury, Hollinshill	719456
Bosbury, Moorend Court	726454
Bredenbury Court	612556, 609559, 615565
Breinton Court	472397
Brinsop Court	446463
Brockhampton by Bromyard	688546, 682546
Brockhampton by Ross	595321, 598316
Bromyard, Buckenhill	650558, 668565, 663568

Bronsil	747367
Burghill, St. Mary's	482433
Canon Frome Court	640431, 651435
Canon Pyon House	454506
Colwall, Hoe Court	754437
Colwall, Hope End	731406, 719409
Colwall, Linden Manor	767433 (two lodges not identical)
Colwall, Old Colwall	732416, 732423
Colwall, Pembroke Lodge	753428
Colwall, Perrycroft	764405
Colwall, Quarry House	759430
Colwall, Redland	754432
Colwall, Stone Lodge	764434
Colwall, Stonehill Drive	755425
Colwall, Top Lodge	765434
Croft Castle	461657
Docklow Manor (Oaklands)	567574
Docklow, Buckland	554571
Donnington Court	704340
Donnington, Haffield	729341
Donnington Hall	704337 (two lodges not identical)
Eastnor Castle	733372, 756402, 738382 (twin lodges)
Foxley (Yazor)	423459
Foy, The Chantry	628290
Garnons (Mansell Gamage)	398432, 392444
Goodrich Court	566205, 573197
Grendon Bishop	599569
Hampton Court	512530, 541517
Hatfield Court	577591
Harewood Park	523278
Hennor	527583
Hentland	542273
Hill Court, Walford	580216
Kentchurch Court	420258
Kington, Dunfield House	272579
Kinsham Court	363651
Ledbury, Underdown	714370
Ledbury, Upper Hall	715380
Leddington, Hill House	691362
Leddington, Robins Croft	694363
Leinthall Earls, Gatley Park	456688
Leintwardine	404747
Lingen Hall	367665
Llanwarne, Lyston Court	495288, 495285
Lugwardine, Longworth Hall	561395
Lyonshall	331562
Madley, Swinmore	427399
Michaelchurch Court	314345
Moccas Court	363432, 355427, 365434
Mordiford, Sufton Court	572382
Much Cowarne, Cowarne Court	612458
Much Dewchurch, The Mynde	477313
Much Marcle, Bickerton Court	660308

Much Marcle, Hellens	659336
Much Marcle, Homme House	654319, 658328, 658318
Munderfield Harold	623553
Munsley, Mainstone Court	658397
Pembridge, Westonbury	369571
Pudleston Court	565597
Rowden House	636567
Saltmarsh Castle	672564, 676580, 672571
Sellack, Caradoc	557269, 565277
Staunton-on-Arrow, Staunton Park	362612
Stoke Edith	599407, 609409
Storridge, Birchwood Hall	752486
Stretton Grandison	639446
Swainshill, The Weir	436422
Sugwas Court	453412
Thinghill	558451
Thruxton	437345
Tillington Court	467455
Titley, Eywood	328597
Upton Bishop, Grendon Court	635278
Weobley, Garnstone	397503
Whitbourne, The Gaines	722559, 708555
Whitbourne Hall	718563, 706572
Whitfield, Treville	419339, 429340, 436315
Whitney Court	268475
Wormelow, Bryn Gwyn	492303

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Although this paper is offered as my presidential address it is, in fact, very much a joint effort; my wife, Vera, having done much of the research, together with the navigation and map reading on our travels about the county. Without her the paper would never have been produced.

Salvage Excavation of a Beaker Burial from Aymestrey (HWCM 7060)

By SIMON WOODIWISS
With contributions from RICHARD HARRISON, FRANCES LEE and ALAN SAVILLE. Illustrations by CAROLYN HUNT.

Summary

A burial cist was discovered containing the flexed inhumation of a child, accompanied by a Bell Beaker of Clarke's Primary Northern/Dutch type or Case's Middle Phase, and a flint knife. The cist was constructed from flagstones set in a pit. The presence of a barrow could not be determined with any certainty.

INTRODUCTION

In June 1987 flagstones were disturbed during stripping of overburden in preparation for gravel quarrying by ARC (Western) Ltd. at their Aymestrey Pit (NGR SO 428664. FIG. 1). Upon further investigation by the Archaeology Section (Hereford and Worcester County Council) these were found to cover human remains and a salvage excavation was subsequently carried out.

The site lies on a slight spur above a tributary of the river Lugg between the two Iron Age hill forts of Pyon Wood (HWCM 176) and Croft Ambrey (HWCM 177), and a Roman road (HWCM 6089). A ring-ditch (HWCM 7068), about 2 km. to the north, was located by aerial photography. Another cropmark of a rectangular enclosure (HWCM 6015) exists to the north-west, about 1.5 km. distant. Of these sites only Croft Ambrey has been excavated (Stanford 1974).

THE CIST

The capping stones of the cist were covered by *c.*600 mm. of gravel, though this may be regarded as a minimum figure as the topsoil had already been removed by machine. It is unlikely that this could have been deposited naturally as the burial was in an elevated position, above any possible source of derived material. There was no evidence of a cut through the overlying gravel down to the level of the top of the cist. The capping stones sealed the upper edges of a subrectangular construction pit (FIG. 2) with vertical sides and a flat base (approximately 1060 x 860 x 350 mm.). The pit was cut through natural gravel with no evidence of a buried soil at the top of the pit, as might be expected if it was cut from a contemporary ground surface. This absence may be explained by there having been little or no soil covering the gravel. No ring-ditch was noticed surrounding the burial, however the possibility remains that it was covered by a mound. Alternatively, a pit (not recognised in the field) was cut through the overlying gravel, the cist being inserted in a smaller pit cut into its base.

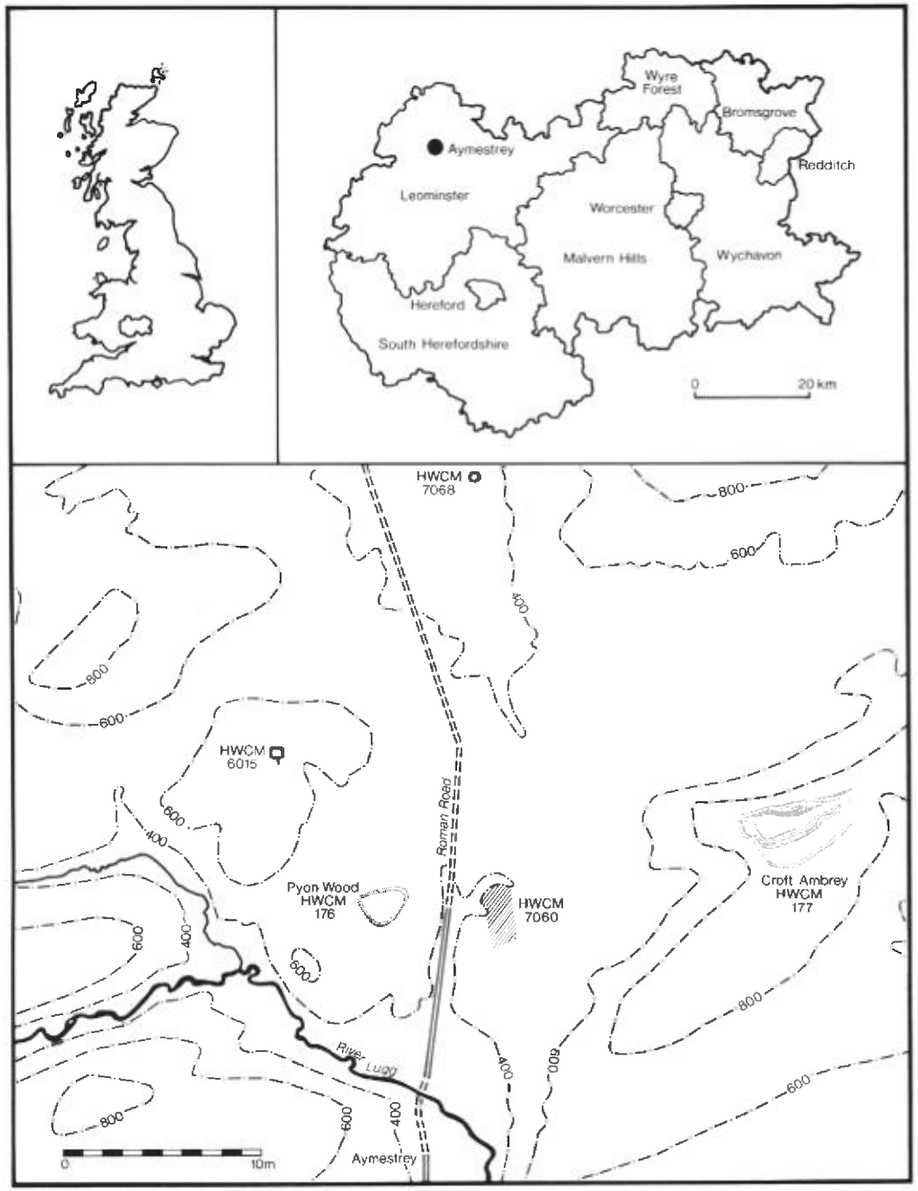

FIG. 1
Location of site.

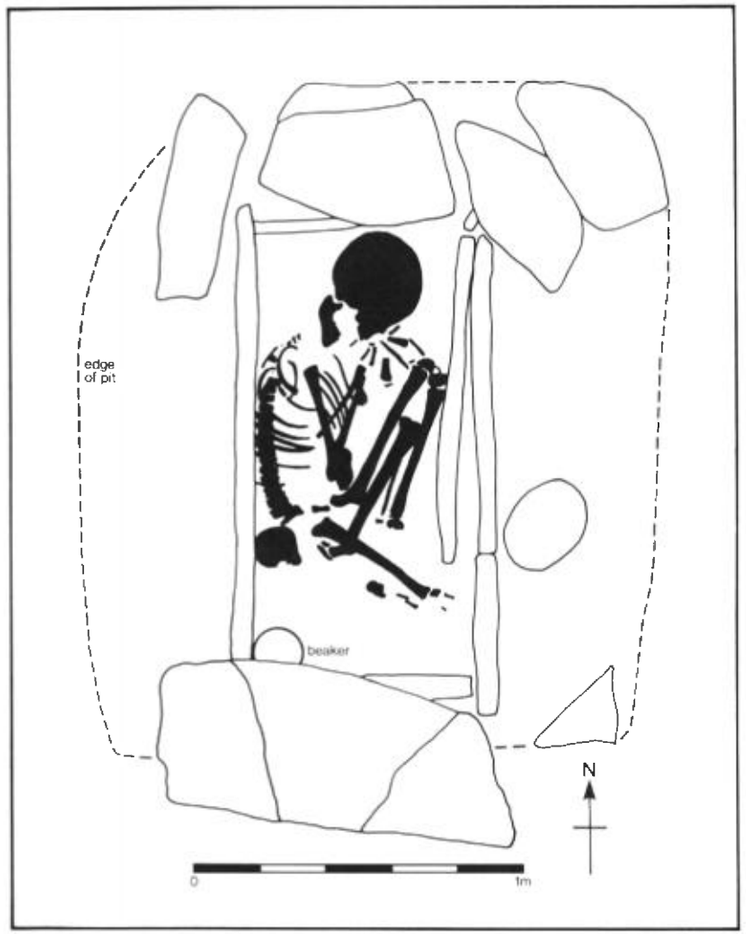

FIG. 2
The burial with capping stones removed.

The cist was constructed from roughly-shaped flagstones identified as Wenlock Limestone (Rita Roberts pers. comm.), which contain variable concentrations of fossil brachiopods. The same stone forms a naturally-occurring component of the gravel. The large flagstones of the cist were presumably quarried from the valley sides. The cist formed a rectangular box (approximately 800 x 340 x 450 mm. internally) and was covered by several layers of flagstones. The long axis of the cist was aligned north-south.

THE SKELETAL REMAINS BY FRANCES LEE

The body was tightly contracted and lying on the left-hand side. It was orientated north to south with the head towards the north (FIG. 2).

A number of bones had been moved as a result of collapse of the stone capping during discovery and excavation. The skeleton was well preserved and complete but for some of the smaller bones of the feet (middle and distal phalanges). There was little weathering, but frequently the bones were covered by a thin deposit of salts considered to be the result of groundwater percolating through the stone cist.

The individual represented was a child aged between seven and eight years. The permanent central incisors were beginning to erupt and the permanent molars recently had reached the occlusal surface. Unfortunately, the definitive traits used in sexing skeletal remains are not present until the onset of puberty, and as a consequence it proved impossible to sex the individual with any degree of accuracy

Most diseases affect the soft tisue, and consequently do not induce bone change, however in chronic diseases bone change may result from an imbalance in bone formation and resorption. In this individual no pathological abnormalities were noted.

THE GRAVE GOODS

The Beaker was complete except for the upper part of about one third of its circumference. This missing segment faced away from the corner of the cist. The skeleton, Beaker and flint artefact were partially covered by crystals presumably derived from minerals in the soil. The cist was not filled with soil, leaving an air space which facilitated the formation of crystals away from the damp sides. The missing segment of the Beaker had decayed due to the action of crystals forming and prising the fabric apart. Traces of the decayed fabric were concentrated in and around the Beaker.

TYPOLOGY AND PARALLELS OF THE BELL BEAKER BY RICHARD HARRISON

Description

Height: 137 mm. Rim diameter: *c.*110 mm. Body thickness: 5-6 mm.

Decorative technique: impressed comb, generally smeared and especially around the waist.

Inclusions: moderate, medium (0.1-0.5 mm.), rounded quartz; occasional large (<4 mm.) soft pale buff lumps (possibly locally derived shale); occasional fine linear organic voids.

Both the vessel's shape (FIG. 3) and the disposition of its coarse comb decoration concentrated on the neck and belly are typical of Beakers of Clarke's N1/D type. This was Clarke's term for Primary Northern/Dutch Beakers, of which he identified seventeen, all but one in northern Britain and Scotland (1970, II, 538). The pronounced waist between the neck and well-rounded belly give a shape common to many northern British Beakers.

The important decorative feature is one that Clarke called a 'Minor Characteristic;' the lack of much decoration on the lower third of the vessel is an independent trait specific to Beakers of different formal types from northern Britain. Fifteen of twenty examples listed by Clarke (1970 Appendix 2.10, II, 436) come from sites further north than Aymestrey, which lies on the margin of the distribution. There are no exact parallels to the Beaker in Clarke's *corpus*.

The position of the Beaker relative to the skeleton is important. Placing the pot 'behind the heels' of the flexed skeleton is specifically noted as a custom typical of late Beaker types, especially in central and southern Britain (Clarke 1970 Appendix 3.8, II, 455); it is a custom hitherto unrecorded in Clarke's N1/D group, and clearly a taste that gained popularity through time.

The real difficulties in using Clarke's terminology and *corpus* are caused by his overemphasis of detailed typological definition, closely linked to Rhenish and Dutch sequences of events. Case's (1977) simpler scheme is more workable. Using it, the Aymestrey Beaker would fall towards the end of his Middle Phase, around the final centuries of the third millennium BC in calendar years.

THE FLINT ARTEFACT BY ALAN SAVILLE

The flint artefact found in association with the Beaker burial is a small flake knife with bilateral edge retouch (FIG. 4). The secondary retouch is restricted to the periphery of the dorsal surface, comprising shallow, invasive removals, with a short (2 mm.) stretch of steep tertiary removals (possibly the result of use) at the right-hand side of the distal tip.

When examined by the writer, parts of the dorsal surface and the whole of the striking platform were obscured by adhering calcareous concretions (FIG. 4, outermost views). After removal of the concretion (using dilute hydrochloric acid) it could be seen that the striking platform had been truncated by dorsal retouch on the bottom right-hand side and that a break at the bottom left-hand side had been followed by a few small, inverse removals. The length of the knife, on the bulbar axis, is 38 mm., the width at right angles to the bulbar axis is 21 mm., the maximum thickness is 3 mm., and the weight (after removal of the concretion) is 2.2 g.

The knife is in good condition with only a single nick in the cutting edge on the upper right-hand side. There is no indication of heavy use in the form of edge smoothing or obvious striations, but neither does this appear to be a pristine object, since the edge is not completely fresh.

The flint itself is of a medium grey colour with no surface alteration, and the flake is thin enough to be translucent in the non-cortical areas. The cortex is very thin and

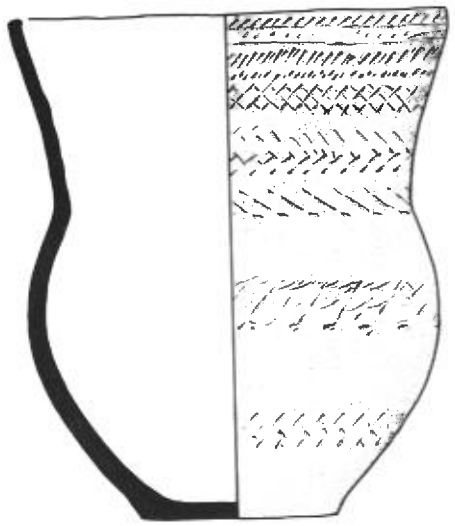

FIG. 3
The beaker (½).

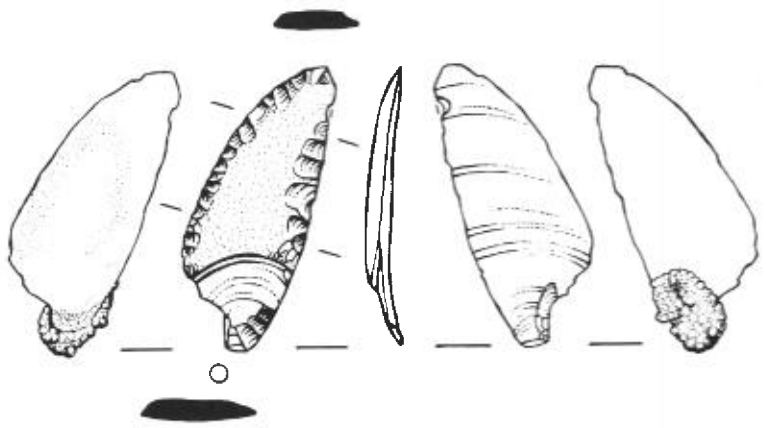

FIG. 4
The flint knife (1:1).

smooth, suggesting that the parent piece was a worn pebble from a riverine or boulder-clay deposit.

The knife was recovered from beneath the child's skull in a joint between slabs forming the base of the cist. Unless there had been post-depositional movement, therefore, the knife must have been placed on the floor of the cist in this location prior to inhumation.

Flint edge-flaked knives are the most common type of implement found in association with Beakers (Clarke 1970, 448) and are possibly the most common lithic implement found with Bronze Age burials in general (cf. Wilson in Powlesland 1986, M1/69; Kinnes and Longworth 1985). A possible parallel for the inclusion of a flint knife with a Beaker-period child burial is provided by the no. 5 burial in the Painsthorpe 4 round barrow, Humberside. This was the crouched inhumation of a '...youth from eight to twelve years of age,' associated with a small flint flake lying '...below the chin' (Mortimer 1905, 115). The proximity of the knife to the skull in both this and the Aymestrey burial is of some interest, but its significance is difficult to assess in the absence of a *corpus* of information about Bronze Age burials found with flint knives.

Knives such as the Aymestrey example are sometimes recovered as unassociated surface finds in the English midlands, and it is, therefore, of considerable interest to have this particular association with a Primary Northern/Dutch Beaker. Such an association with a Middle Style Beaker is perhaps indicative of the earlier end of the date range at which flint knives of this type are likely to occur in the region.

CONCLUSIONS

Beaker burials have been found at four other locations in the county: Bredon Hill (HWCM 7324, Thomas 1965), Hill and Moor (HWCM 3255, Else 1932-41), Kempsey (HWCM 2119, Hawkes 1935) and Llanveynoe (HWCM 1585, Marshall 1932). Of these, more than one burial was found at Bredon Hill, Hill and Moor and Llanveynoe. Although no skeletal evidence was found with the Beaker at Kempsey it is presumed that this too was part of a burial. Only at Bredon Hill was a barrow evident, though the Hill and Moor finds were *c.* 1.65 m. and the Kempsey ones *c.* 1.20 m. below the surface. Both were found in circumstances which would not have been conducive to definition of a barrow. Non-funerary finds of Beaker pottery have been recovered from excavations at Beckford (HWCM 359, James Dinn pers. com.), Holt (HWCM 743, Hunt *et al* 1986) and possibly Droitwich (HWCM 605, Morris forthcoming). Other finds of Beaker pottery not definitely assignable to either funerary or non-funerary contexts have been made at Midsummer Hill (HWCM 7357, Stanford 1981).

With Beaker burials found at only five locations in the county to date, and all but one either from hastily-conducted or older excavations, it is unwise to attempt a general discussion of the development of the Early Bronze Age in the county. The Aymestrey burial itself, with its Beaker and single flint, concurs with Case's (1977, 81) statement that children's burials were in general the poorest graves in terms of associated grave goods, often with only a Beaker and flint flake. The Early Bronze Age, in both its funerary and

settlement aspects, is very poorly understood in the county and there is an obvious need for more intensive survey to locate such sites, followed by their excavation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Archaeology Section would like to thank ARC Western Ltd., especially Fred Marston (Pit Manager) and David Harding (Public Relations Officer). Fred Marston was nominated by the Archaeology Section, and was a finalist, for the BP Award (British Archaeological Awards 1988), for his prompt and intelligent action in reporting the discovery. Lawrence Barfield (Senior Lecturer, Birmingham University) kindly commented on the report drafts. Justin Hughes (Post-excavation Analyst), Derek Hurst (Droitwich Archaeological Officer) and Adrian Tindall (Archaeology Officer) assisted in the field and with discussion of the report. Martin Read (Conservator, Bristol Museum) stabilised the Beaker and Rita Roberts kindly identified the stone used in the construction of the cist.

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Numbers prefixed by HWCM refer to the primary reference numbers of the Sites and Monuments Record held by the Archaeology Section, Hereford and Worcester County Council.

The Mortimers of Wigmore 1086-1214

By CHARLES HOPKINSON

The Mortemers, or Mortimers as they were to become known in England, were members of the baronage of Normandy during the mid-11th century. Soon after Duke William won the throne of England, a Mortimer established the English branch of the family in Herefordshire, and for 350 years the family's fluctuating fortunes in England, Wales and later in Ireland, brought them wealth and influence, as well as on occasion humiliation and disgrace. One of them became a close and influential friend of Edward I; his grandson made himself virtual dictator of England and was executed for treason, and at the end of the 14th century a descendant was named heir-presumptive to the throne. The male line failed early in the 15th century but a great-grandson of the last Mortimer became King Edward IV (1461-83).

The later Mortimers are well served by historians and genealogists; but the earlier ones - shadowy figures of the 11th and 12th centuries - have been the subject of a number of fanciful accounts and elaborate pedigrees. It is the aim of this article to chart the genealogy and progress to power of the earlier Mortimer lords of Wigmore.

1 NORMAN ORIGINS

Mortemer is a village in the Pays de Caux near Neufchâtel-en-Bray, thirty miles north-east of Rouen. It lies close to the historical frontier of Normandy, and it was here that a Roger de Mortemer held a castle in 1054.[1] Nothing is known for certain of Roger prior to 1054, and the grounds on which his forebears have been linked with the ducal house and his father identified as Hugh, bishop of Coutances, are unreliable, though in the small Norman aristocracy blood relationships would have been widespread.[2]

The near anarchy that pervaded Normandy for much of the early years of Duke William's reign - he was only six or seven years old when his father died in 1035 - provided fertile ground for the growth of power of certain Norman families. The battles of Val-ès-Dunes in 1047 and of Mortemer in 1054 were landmarks in William's progress towards supremacy in his duchy, and it was during this period that Roger de Mortemer must have made his way in the world. Perhaps he had allied himself to one of the rising families, such as Tosny, Beaumont or Montgomery, and had shared in their fortunes. Of this there is no evidence except that Roger did homage to Ralph de Crépi, count of Montidier, Amiens and Valois, for lands outside Normandy brought to him by his wife Hawise, a daughter of the count.[3]

In 1054 Duke William was faced with an invasion of north-eastern Normandy by a French army with Count Ralph as one of its commanders. A Norman force was mustered under Robert, count of Eu, and Roger de Mortemer, William de Warenne and other barons; the French were defeated near Mortemer and Count Ralph captured.[4]

Roger de Mortemer's share in the triumph of the Norman victory was short-lived. Count Ralph had fallen into his hands and he therefore found himself holding his lord and father-in-law a prisoner in his castle; after three days he released Ralph without the duke's authority. Presumably Roger found that his loyalties were divided between his lord and his duke, no uncommon situation and one which William as king of England was to clarify in 1086, when he made important rear-vassals do homage to him against 'all other men.'[5] William confiscated Roger's estates and banished him from Normandy for this offence to the ducal dignity. He later lifted Roger's banishment and restored his estates, with the exception of the castle of Mortemer which he granted to William de Warenne, probably a relation of Roger.[6]

After the restoration of his estates Roger moved his seat to St. Victor-en-Caux (now St. Victor-l'Abbaye) fifteen miles north of Rouen, where it is recorded that he was a benefactor of, and may have founded, the abbey of St. Victor-en-Caux. It was probably one of the 'seventeen abbeys of monks and six of nuns' which the duke recalled as having been established in his reign.[7] St. Victor remained the seat of the Mortimers' honour in Normandy, where they held estates in the bailiwicks of Caux and Bray, until the loss of the duchy to France in 1204.[8]

Roger and his wife, Hawise, had at least one son, Ralph.[9] It is possible that Roger accompanied Duke William to England in 1066, or the family may have been represented by one or more of his sons; Roger is, however, listed as one of the Norman barons who contributed ships to the invasion fleet.[10] The author of the *Roman de Rou* and the Wigmore chronicler tell of Ralph's part in the battle of Hastings but neither writer is to be trusted. 'My family came over with the Conqueror' is only too often a long-established example of wishful thinking; chroniclers and genealogists have always been tempted to endow families with unjustified military glory and prestige.[11]

Nothing more is heard of Roger after charter evidence of *c.* 1080.[12] Whether or not his son, Ralph, fought at Hastings, he soon came to England as one of 'an interesting class of men ... who were not of any particular importance in Normandy, but who became so in England; whose fortunes were made by the Conquest.'[13]

2 RALPH (I) DE MORTIMER *(fl. 1086-1104)*

Settlement in England

Two Normans in particular left their marks on the central sector of the Anglo-Welsh frontier during the twenty years between the battle of Hastings and Domesday: William FitzOsbern, created earl of Hereford in 1067, and Roger de Montgomery created earl of Shrewsbury in 1071 or 1074.[14] It is clear that by 1086 Ralph de Mortimer had become a baron of some importance in England; how he attained this status is not clear, but he may well have been associated with William FitzOsbern before the latter's death in 1071, and certainly was so with Roger de Montgomery.

Whatever the circumstances, and a number of scenarios are possible, he was granted estates in Herefordshire, Shropshire and elsewhere in England prior to 1086, and by that date had become one of the four major landholders in Herefordshire. The bulk of these

lands appear to have been forfeited by Roger, FitzOsbern's son and the second earl of Hereford, after his unsuccessful rebellion of 1075.[15] At Domesday, Ralph held these estates direct of the king as tenant-in-chief; but he also held nineteen manors in Shropshire as a vassal of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, Ralph was thus a tenant-in-chief as well as being allied to, and probably related to, one of the most powerful barons in England; it appears that Roger appointed him his steward.[16]

Domesday Book records that Ralph de Mortimer held land in twelve English counties, mainly in Herefordshire and Shropshire, with several manors 'waste in the Welsh March.' The most substantial estates were in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire, with others in Berkshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. The list of holdings in Herefordshire is headed by Wigmore Castle which had been built by William FitzOsbern; the honour of Wigmore was to become the core of the Mortimer dominions and the castle their principal stronghold until it was superseded by Ludlow Castle in the early 14th century. That Ralph held some estates in Shropshire as a tenant-in-chief and others as one of Earl Roger's vassals, can be explained by William FitzOsbern probably having established himself in parts of southern Shropshire before Roger de Montgomery was granted the county.

William, king of England and duke of Normandy, died in September 1087 and was succeeded in accordance with the Conqueror's wishes by his eldest son Robert, as duke of Normandy, and by his second surviving son, William, as king of England. Barons such as Ralph de Mortimer, with lands in both Normandy and England, found themselves in a difficult position, given the rivalry between the two brothers. In England the succession to the throne of William II was unpopular with a number of the baronage; there was sympathy for Robert, who had only received the dukedom, and perhaps more to the point the barons would have preferred the milder regime that Robert would offer, rather than the disciplined rule they could expect from William.

The focus of the rebellion in the spring and summer of 1088 was in south-east England where Duke Robert was expected to land with an army from Normandy. Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, appears to have sat on the wall in his castle at Arundel, unwilling overtly to join the rebels. Meanwhile other barons rebelled, including a group in Herefordshire and Shropshire, with Ralph de Mortimer as one of their number. Ralph's feudal relationship with Earl Roger, his status in Shropshire as is perhaps suggested by Florence of Worcester, and his active part in the rebellion make it likely that he was Earl Roger's lieutenant in the west. Ralph, furthermore, seems to have been in Normandy early in 1088 when, on 30 March, he witnessed a charter in favour of the abbey of Jumièges in company with Duke Robert who could well have taken the opportunity to sound him out.[17] In the south-east the rebellion soon collapsed nor, after initial success, did the dissident barons' cause fare better elsewhere. The rebels of Herefordshire and Shropshire led by Ralph de Mortimer, Bernard de Neufmarché, Roger de Lacy and Osbern FitzRichard, were defeated 'west of the Severn' and the rebellion in the west petered out.[18]

The king treated the disaffected barons leniently. There is no evidence of the western rebels being punished; Earl Roger was forgiven and he and Ralph were soon to be diverted by their activities in Wales and Normandy.

Wales

During William the Conqueror's reign the Normans made significant inroads into southern and northern Wales, but in central Wales the raids mounted by the earl of Shrewsbury were not followed up by more permanent occupation or control, probably because resources were needed to deal with a resurgent Powys under Gruffydd ap Cynan.[19] Ralph de Mortimer no doubt shared in the general but low-key advance of Norman control along the frontier in northern Herefordshire and southern Shropshire. Also, as a vassal of the earl of Shrewsbury, he may well have been involved in the raids deep into Wales of the 1070s and of *c.* 1081, as well as with wresting the western districts of Shropshire from the Welsh. The reign of William II, however, saw a change in Norman attitudes to Wales and the adoption of a more aggressive policy towards the country.

The Norman onslaught on Wales began in earnest soon after the unsuccessful rebellion of 1088. There does not appear to have been any overall strategic control by the king, and the private conquests in Wales were effected by individual lords replacing the local Welsh rulers. The basic unit of administration in the fragmented society of Wales was the *commote* which can be very loosely equated to the English hundred; two or more *commotes* formed a *cantref* - such as Maelienydd which adjoined the Mortimer estates in Herefordshire and Shropshire. A number of *cantrefi* made up a territorial grouping known as a *gwlad;* but given the chronic political instability in Wales, it is doubtful whether such a uniform framework existed throughout the country. The important fact was that there were small administrative units in Wales which, because of their size and resources, could be easily conquered by the Normans who then stepped into the shoes of the local rulers, assuming their regal powers. The *commote* and *cantref* provided the invaders with ready-made units of lordship.[20]

The earl of Shrewsbury pushed far into Ceredigion and then into Dyfed where the lordship of Pembroke was created. Ralph de Mortimer may have been involved in this enterprise and Maelienydd would have been a natural choice for an expedition on his own account.

The Wigmore chronicler credits Ralph de Mortimer with the conquest of Maelienydd and in this he may well be right, for Ralph would hardly have been left out of the free-for-all along the Anglo-Welsh frontier; in any event the territory had certainly fallen to the Mortimers by *c.* 1135.[21] Maelienydd was a sparsely populated, upland pastoral region and was not agriculturally valuable, the criterion for tribute to its lord. It had once been part of the kingdom of Powys, but after the collapse of the empire of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd, when he was killed in 1063, it seems to have been ruled by local chieftains. Ralph probably built the castle of Cymaron to secure his hold over Maelienydd; on the site of the *cantref's* old Welsh court, Cymaron became the major fortress of the lordship until it was replaced by Cefnllys, probably in the 13th century; it remained, however, the centre of judicature.[22]

Maelienydd may not have been a very rewarding conquest, but in addition to the advantages obtained by Ralph through annexation of all or part of the *cantref* - increased revenue and access to a pool of fighting men obliged to serve their lord whether he be

Welsh or Norman - Ralph gained further if more intangible benefits. As one of a group of magnates able to increase their political and military status in a way unavailable to most of the king's subjects, Ralph and his descendants shared in the developing ethos of the marcher lords. With a paramount common interest in preserving their rights and fortunes, which often overrode squabbles among themselves, this group of barons from time to time formed a coherent power-block in medieval English politics.

A widespread revolt of the Welsh broke out in 1094 and in many districts, perhaps Maelienydd, the Welsh temporarily regained control of their lands. The situation required the king's intervention, for his lords were unable to cope with the crisis, and over the next few years Norman control was re-established in most areas.

In 1095 the king had also to contend with a rebellion by a number of lords, with Hugh de Montgomery, the second earl of Shrewsbury, as one of its leaders. There is no suggestion of Ralph de Mortimer's involvement in the conspiracy. He may have been in Normandy, or managed to distance himself from the rebellion, or perhaps his relationship with the house of Montgomery as the first earl's steward had come to an end.[23] Maelienydd seems to have been the only major acquisition of Welsh territory by Ralph; events in Normandy demanded the attention of those lords with estates there and much of their energy was expended in the duchy.

Normandy

To the barons of Ralph de Mortimer's generation Normandy was 'home.' Although they might have gained honours and status in England and won for themselves lordships in Wales, their roots in Normandy and the wellbeing of their fiefs there meant that they were by sentiment and self-interest intensely concerned with events in the duchy. Normandy seems to have been as important as England to the Norman kings and aristocracy, and the fortunes of the duchy had a disproportionate effect on the kingdom. The descendants of the first Norman barons of England were to become increasingly ambivalent in their attitude towards Normandy, depending on which side of the Channel their more important interests lay.

Normandy slipped rapidly into anarchy after the death of William the Conqueror, for his son, Robert, to whom he had bequeathed the duchy, proved a disastrously incompetent ruler. William II of England was able to exploit the situation by meddling in the affairs of the duchy, in pursuit of his ambition to reunify the sovereignty of England and Normandy. In 1089 William established a bridgehead in eastern Normandy by suborning certain lords, and in the following year fomented an unsuccessful rebellion in Rouen. Ralph de Mortimer, who may have been in Normandy in the spring of 1088 and who could then have done homage to Duke Robert for his Norman lands, is one of the barons listed by Orderic Vitalis as supporting the king in his quarrel with the duke.[24] Ralph's estates lay within the king's sphere of influence in the duchy and he probably was one of the barons who put their castles in a state of defence and garrisoned them at the king's expense. Again, when William crossed to Normandy in 1091, it is likely that Ralph was in attendance at the king's headquarters at Eu when many barons submitted to him.

After his part in the rebellion of 1088, Ralph was clearly the king's man during the confused quarrels, wars and treaties between William and Robert that continued until 1095, but there is a hint that he did not sever all connection with Duke Robert. At some time between 1091 and 1095 he was at Lisieux witnessing with the duke a charter in favour of Jumièges Abbey; this may well have occurred during the uneasy peace between king and duke of 1091-3 and does not necessarily indicate any weakening of Ralph's loyalty to William.[25]

Some years later, in 1104, Ralph is recorded by Orderic Vitalis as being one of the barons with lands in Normandy who sided with Henry I of England in the struggle for the duchy. There is no further record of Ralph and the date of his death is not known. Little credence can be placed in the Wigmore chronicler's account of his prominent part in the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, when the same writer gives his date of death as six years previously and Orderic Vitalis makes no mention of him in his account of the battle.[26] However, as late as *c.*1115, a Ralph de Mortimer is noted as holding land in Lincolnshire which had been held by Ralph de Mortimer of Wigmore at Domesday.[27]

Henry I's victory over Duke Robert at Tinchebrai secured Normandy and the king of England was once more duke of Normandy. The evidence is that Ralph had sustained the English kings, William II and Henry I, for nearly twenty years in their contention for Normandy and he, if he was still alive, or his heir could anticipate the king's favour when he re-established government in the duchy and rewarded the barons who had supported him. In England, Ralph had kept clear of the intrigues of Robert de Bellême, third earl of Shrewsbury, and other barons; indeed he benefited from the earl's disgrace, for the departure of Robert from England and the decision of Henry I not to create a successor to this powerful magnate, removed one of the contestants for power along the Welsh border and in central Wales, and thus strengthened the Mortimers' position in the region. Ralph could pass on to Hugh, his son by either his first wife Melisande or second wife Mabel, a large inheritance in England, Wales and Normandy that was as secure as was possible at that time.[28]

3 HUGH (I) DE MORTIMER *(d. c.1149)*

Whatever the date that Hugh succeeded his father, he did not attract attention from the chroniclers until the 1140s when he is also mentioned in a grant of King Stephen. Two events dominated the period: the Welsh rebellion which had broken out in 1136, and the rebellion of 1138 which developed into the civil war in England and Normandy between the adherents of King Stephen and the Empress Matilda.

With Henry I's encouragement and active participation the Normans had extended their grip on Wales, leaving only the northern and remoter parts of central and western Wales in Welsh hands. On the king's death in 1135 a rebellion broke out in south Wales which rapidly spread throughout the country; between 1136 and 1144 most of the Norman lordships fell to the Welsh, with King Stephen unable effectively to support his harassed barons. It must have been at this period that Maelienydd was lost to the Mortimers. The

Welsh of Maelienydd under Madog ap Idnerth drove Hugh's men out of the lordship and kept control of it until 1144.[29]

The marcher lords were disillusioned with Stephen's weak policy towards Wales and his inability to support his barons. In an early example of unity of interest most of them supported the Empress Matilda in the rebellion of 1138. Hugh de Mortimer, however, appears from circumstantial evidence to have been an exception; the Normandy factor, considered below, may have weighed particularly heavily with him.

In 1141 Miles of Gloucester was created earl of Hereford by Matilda; but Stephen had already granted the county, and perhaps its earldom, to Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester. In his grant, Stephen excluded the lands and obligations of Hugh de Mortimer and certain other barons from Robert de Beaumont's jurisdiction. It would seem that in order to buy or maintain Hugh's support, the king agreed to safeguard his status as tenant-in-chief free from any services to the new earl of Hereford. The exclusion in the king's grant may also be evidence of a special status of the Mortimers, which developed into the anomalous position that the family were later to enjoy with regard to their lands and various military obligations.[30]

The chronicler of Wigmore Abbey tells of Hugh's feuds with Miles, Matilda's nominee as earl of Hereford, Miles's son Roger, and with Joce de Dinan who captured and imprisoned him in his castle at Ludlow. Whether or not this account of the infighting between Hugh and his fellow lords is accurate, it portrays the near anarchic state of England during the 1140s.[31] Hugh seems to have played little or no part on the national stage, and to have been more concerned with improving his position along the Welsh border than in supporting Stephen.

Medieval lordship was in some ways akin to the direction of a modern commercial company in a private-enterprise economy. The successful baron organized his estates and strengthened his political position for the benefit not only of himself but also of his family, dependants and vassals - his shareholders. Like an entrepreneur he had to move forward; to stand still led to weakened influence and power vis-à-vis his fellow magnates, and to the possibility of predatory actions by competitors. Being a major baron was no profession for the faint-hearted and the Mortimers were to prove adept at it.

Hugh reconquered Maelienydd in 1144 and rebuilt his castle of Cymaron. The Welsh chroniclers relate some of his activities: in 1145-8 he captured and imprisoned the Welsh prince Rhys ap Howel and later had him blinded (he was probably a hostage and was unfortunate enough to suffer for the misdeeds of his countrymen), and he killed the son of the late chief of Maelienydd and the neighbouring *cantref* of Elfael who no doubt had led the revolt of a few years earlier.[32]

In Normandy, Henry I had been involved in intermittent warfare during most of his reign; a Mortemer - Ralph of St. Victor - was one of the magnates who 'remained loyal to the king in adversity' in the crisis of 1119 when the French invaded eastern Normandy.[33] St. Victor-l'Abbaye lay some twenty miles from the historical frontier of the duchy, while fifteen miles to the south the valley of the Seine provided one of the major invasion routes into the duchy. The fortunes of St. Victor and its lords during the wars of the 12th century

and early years of the 13th were largely bound up with its geographical position; William II established his foothold there in his bid to acquire the duchy, and it was the last part of Normandy to fall to the Angevins in 1144 and to the French in 1204. The region was defended in the early 12th century by a haphazard mixture of royal and private castles; but by the end of the century, with the administrative measures and expenditure of Henry II and Richard I, it was protected by a relatively well organized system of defence.

A number of barons in England with lands in Normandy, apparently including Hugh de Mortimer, supported Stephen's claim to the dukedom. Matilda had married Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, and the barons feared that in accordance with Norman law and custom, her rights and property would pass to her husband. The counts of Anjou, traditional rivals to the dukes of Normandy, would then become rulers of the duchy. Norman resistance to Angevin attacks was at first strong, but by 1143 Geoffrey Plantagenet had gained control of Normandy south of the Seine and the next year he subdued the duchy to the north of the river, where lay the estates of the Mortimers. There is charter evidence that Hugh de Mortimer was in Normandy at some time in the 1140s but no indication of any part he took in the war with Anjou; it is likely that his affairs on the other side of the Channel took precedence over his interests in Normandy.[34]

Geoffrey Plantagenet's victory and assumption of the title Duke placed those barons who held land in England as well as Normandy in a dilemma, similar to the one when William II was crowned king of England and his brother Robert became duke of Normandy. Lord with important interests in England who continued to support Stephen could hardly expect to retain their honours in Normandy. If, because their Norman interests were paramount, they did homage to Geoffrey and by inference backed Matilda, they jeopardized their English interests. Waleran de Beaumont's answer to his difficulties was, apparently, to opt out of the situation temporarily by going on a crusade, but the real solution to divided allegiances lay in the reunification of England and Normandy. This was achieved in 1154 when Geoffrey's son, Henry, who had become duke of Normandy in 1149, was crowned king of England. By this time Hugh de Mortimer was dead; if or how he and his successor reconciled their divided loyalites and preserved their positions in England and Normandy is not clear, but in any event the family does not seem to have suffered any long-term damage to their fortunes.

4 ROGER (I) DE MORTIMER *(d. 1153)*

Roger succeeded his father *c.*1149; nothing is known of him, other than charter evidence and that in 1138 he commanded King Stephen's forces at Malmesbury, where Bishop Roger of Salisbury held a castle which he surrendered to the king. Roger's brother, Hugh, inherited the family honours on the former's death in 1153.[35]

5 HUGH (II) DE MORTIMER *(d. c.1181)*

When Henry, duke of Normandy, acceded to the throne of England in 1154 he determined to reimpose order in the country. One plank of his policy was that royal castles

which in one way or another had fallen into the hands of various barons must be returned to the Crown. His order was openly defied by a number of magnates, among them Hugh de Mortimer who refused to give up the royal castle of Brug (Bridgnorth).

Brug had been surrendered to Henry I by Robert de Bellême, earl of Shrewsbury and the castle's builder, during his rebellion of 1102. Hugh may have based his case on his grandfather's stewardship to the earls of Shrewsbury, and after the confiscation of the third earl's lands on some responsibility for the royal estates in Shropshire which could have been renewed by Henry I or Stephen. In the absence of the sheriff, this duty would have entitled him to the custody of the castle. Alternatively, Henry I may have at some time appointed Ralph or Hugh I de Mortimer as Brug's castellan; or the castle could, like others, have come into the possession of Hugh I or Hugh II during the civil war. In 1153, when Henry as duke of Normandy and heir to King Stephen had promised grants to Ranulph, earl of Chester, Hugh's fees in Staffordshire, along with those of other barons, had been excluded. Perhaps Hugh presumed too much on Henry's goodwill or lack of authority.[36]

William, count of Aumale, was the first of the defiant barons to submit when he surrendered Scarborough Castle, and in the early summer of 1155 Henry advanced with an army into the Welsh Marches to recover Brug and discipline Hugh de Mortimer. Roger, earl of Hereford, had earlier in the year declined to relinquish Gloucester and Hereford Castles, but was now persuaded to make his peace with the king; Hugh was isolated in the Marches while a few recalcitrant barons elsewhere in the country awaited the confrontation before deciding how to act. Henry simultaneously besieged Hugh's castles of Wigmore, Cleobury and Brug, and he was forced to submit to the king in a stage-managed public humiliation before a gathering of magnates at Brug. Hugh had to surrender Brug but does not seem to have been otherwise penalised. The king had made his point; with his eye on the restoration of the Crown's authority in Wales, he needed the support of the marcher lords and there was little to be gained in alienating a baron as important as Hugh de Mortimer.[37]

Pride, antipathy to the house of Anjou and a possible claim to Brug, all probably played a part in what appears to have been Hugh's reckless opposition to the king. That he persisted in his rebellion in virtual isolation is evidence either of *folie de grandeur* or of the status that the Mortimers had attained by the middle of the 12th century. To William of Newburgh he was 'a man powerful and of noble birth;' to Robert de Torigny he was arrogant; to Gerald of Wales he was an excellent knight; to the chronicler of Wigmore Abbey he was 'worthy, brave and bold ... of fine bearing, courageous in arms, judicious in speech, wise of counsel ... renowned and feared above all those who were living in England at that time ... the most generous and liberal in his gifts of all those known anywhere in his lifetime.' The last writer's account may safely be disregarded as a hagiography of the abbey's founder.[38]

Hugh lived for twenty-five or twenty-six years after the events of 1155, but the records and chronicles shed little light on his activities. He appears to have played a minor role in English politics and in Normandy, and in Wales his ambitions were circumscribed by Rhys ap Gruffydd. This prince forced the marcher lords onto the defensive, regained

much territory, and then by agreeing to a quasi-feudal relationship with Henry II was able to maintain a largely independent Wales.

In 1169 Rhys attacked the lordships of Buellt and Brecon and it was probably at this time that he moved against Maelienydd. There is no record of the loss of Maelienydd by the Mortimers, but in 1175, at a council at Gloucester summoned to deal with Welsh affairs, the Welsh prince or chief of Maelienydd, Cadwallon ap Madog, was present in an assembly of Welsh rulers. He purchased the right to his lands by paying the king 1,000 cattle. Thirteen years later Cadwallon's son, Maelgwn, ruled Maelienydd, acknowledging with the other Welsh princes the overlordship of Rhys ap Gruffydd.[39] It is possible, however, that Hugh or his son managed to hold on to, or to have recovered Cymaron Castle and perhaps the eastern districts of Maelienydd.[40]

Clearly, in the atmosphere of mutual trust between King Henry and the Lord Rhys, Hugh de Mortimer was unable to recover his lordship. Feelings between the Anglo-Normans and the Welsh ran high and local trouble was likely to flare up from time to time. One of several recorded instances occurred in 1179 when Cadwallon was killed whilst travelling under the king's safe-conduct. The king's reaction was severe; Hugh's son, Roger, was implicated in the affair and imprisoned.[41]

Hugh's relations with Henry II seem never to have been close and in 1167 he repeated his defiance of twelve years earlier, albeit in a minor key. He refused the king's command to surrender cattle, which he had seized from one of his knights, in return for the knight's surety against any claim that Hugh might have against him. Hugh was fined the considerable sum of £100 but did not pay it. In 1184, three or four years after his death, the £100 was charged against his heir, but was respited until the return of the king and there is no record of it ever being paid.[42]

Hugh does not seem to have been involved in the rebellion in England and Normandy of 1173-4, but the Mortimer estates in Normandy were threatened by the French during their invasions of the duchy. In 1173 a French army got to within some fifteen miles of St. Victor-l'Abbaye before retiring, and the following year King Louis advanced along the same route to lay siege to Rouen before being driven off. Hugh's son, Roger, may well have supported Henry, for in 1174 he received the first of a series of grants from the king.[43]

In 1171 Henry II ordered an enquiry into what lands in Normandy had been held by his grandfather, Henry I, and what had happened to them since. During the anarchy of the 1130s and 1140s, royal estates had been annexed by the baronage who were now made to pay for their presumption. The next year Henry's barons in Normandy were required to make a return of their tenants who owed military service; Hugh owed five knights' service and held thirteen and a half knights' fees. This assessment placed him in the middle rank of the Norman baronage, and his interests in England would have been of much greater importance to him than his Norman estates.[44]

During the latter half of the 12th century, the Mortimers' anomalous status in the English baronage became apparent; in some way Hugh II de Mortimer acquired certain privileges which set him apart from the bulk of the barons and which were retained by his

descendants. Eyton discusses the question of how these privileges were obtained and suggests that it was as a result of Ralph I's office as steward to the earls of Shrewsbury; these privileges became hereditary and were not lost with the sequestration of the earldom in 1102. The Mortimers appear to have enjoyed widespread though not absolute immunity from military obligations to the Crown - both scutage and aids. The first evidence of this is the omission of Hugh II from the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 when Henry II ordered his tenants-in-chief to make returns of the sub-tenancies that they had made, and the names of their tenants and the knight service they owed. This is but the first instance of complete or partial immunity enjoyed by the Mortimers.[45]

Another facet of these privileges is the specific omission of Hugh I and Hugh II's estates from the grants made by King Stephen and by Duke Henry which has been described above. In the case of Stephen's grant to Robert de Beaumont, Hugh I was indeed a tenant-in-chief, but the king deemed it necessary to make it clear that the Herefordshire estates of Mortimer, which had been part of the 11th-century earldom of Hereford, were excluded from the grant. Similarly, Duke Henry specifically exempted Hugh II's Staffordshire estates from his promise of a grant to Ranulph, earl of Chester. It seems that whatever the circumstances, this repeated emphasis on the Mortimers' status as tenants-in-chief recognized existing privileges - however they had been obtained. Stephen and Henry treated the Mortimers carefully where their feudal privileges and immunities were involved. In 1155 Henry II was in a position to abrogate these privileges, but wisely did not alienate Hugh de Mortimer unnecessarily, or antagonize the baronage over matters about which they felt strongly and over which they might unite against him. The Mortimer privileges became enshrined in custom.

Hugh II de Mortimer is principally remembered for his establishment of Wigmore Abbey. Religious benefactions played a prominent role in Norman politics for a number of reasons other than piety, and in Normandy the abbey of St. Victor-en-Caux appears to have flourished under the patronage of the Mortimers. Hugh I had enriched the abbey and confirmed its possessions, while a charter of the archbishop of Rouen confirmed a gift to the abbey made by Hugh II, and Roger, his son, was also a benefactor.[46] The abbey was clearly regarded by the Mortimers as a valuable asset and Wigmore Abbey came to occupy much the same position. It was one of a number of religious houses established by the Normans in the border counties of which Wenlock Priory, refounded by Roger de Montgomery *c.* 1080 is perhaps the best known.

The predecessor of Wigmore Abbey had been an Augustinian house at Shobdon founded *c.*1140; this was moved to Aymestrey, then to Wigmore before a final site was chosen about one and a half miles north of the castle. Work commenced in 1172 and the church was dedicated seven years later, not long before its founder's death. He was the first of the many lords of Wigmore to be buried in the abbey.[47]

Hugh appears to have had his estate confiscated by the king for his role in the murder of Cadwallon of Maelienydd in 1179. Dying, or resigning his honours, in late 1180 or 1181, he was succeeded by his son, Roger, the oldest surviving son of his marriage to Maud, daughter and co-heir of William le Meschin.[48]

6 ROGER (II) DE MORTIMER *(d. 1214)*

Some, if not all, of Roger's own estates and those he had inherited from his father were sequestered during his imprisonment for the part he had played in Cadwallon's death.[49] On his release he regained them and apparently the king's favour, for when he was in Normandy at some time before Henry II's death in 1189 he attested one of the king's charters.[50]

The uneasy peace that had existed between England and Wales for nearly two decades came to an end with Henry's death. Richard I and his advisers showed little of the late king's diplomacy and sensitivity in dealing with Rhys ap Gruffydd, and when Richard refused to travel to Wales to receive Rhys's homage, the Welsh prince was aggrieved at what he took to be a slight. As soon as Richard left England for the Holy Land in December 1189, Rhys began to raid the Anglo-Norman colonies of south and west Wales. With the king's absence abroad until the spring of 1194 and the conspiracies of his brother John who had built up a faction in England, intervention in Wales was hamstrung. John, as lord of Glamorgan, was closely concerned with Wales and used Welsh politics to disrupt the English administration. Roger de Mortimer appears to have gravitated to John's camp, and his long and apparently faithful association with him probably dates from this time. At all events, in 1191 when England was slipping into anarchy inspired by John, the justiciar, William Longchamp, besieged and captured Wigmore Castle, and banished Roger for three years for plotting with the Welsh.[51]

King Richard was released from his imprisonment by the Emperor Henry VI in February 1194, and by April Roger de Mortimer was back in England. The following year the king authorised a campaign to regain Maelienydd; the Mortimer lordship was re-established and Cymaron Castle rebuilt.[52]

In 1196 Rhys ap Gruffydd attacked the lordships of eastern Wales. When the Welsh advanced into Radnor whose lord, William de Braose, was campaigning in south-west Wales, Roger de Mortimer and Hugh de Say of Richards Castle led an army against them. Roger and Hugh were defeated, and the Welsh having burned the town of Radnor marched south to besiege Painscastle. Roger was fortunate that the Welsh had followed up their victory at Radnor by attacking Elfael and not by striking north into Maelienydd.[53]

Rhys ap Gruffydd died in the following year and when the Welsh were defeated in a decisive battle at Painscastle the threat to the lordships was lifted. Roger de Mortimer was able to consolidate his hold over Maelienydd and apparently to push westwards, for in 1199 he confirmed the abbey of Cwmhir's possessions in Gwerthrynion as well as in Maelienydd. Three years later, however, the Welsh destroyed his castle in Gwerthrynion, possibly the one at Rhayader which had been built by Rhys ap Gruffydd in 1177.[54] With the Welsh of southern and central Wales relatively subdued, Roger's attention in the first years of the 13th century would have been focussed on his affairs in Normandy and the deteriorating military situation there; any further exploitation of Welsh weakness would have had to wait.

The Angevin empire had passed to Richard I without major loss, but in 1193 Philip II of France invaded eastern Normandy, perhaps as far west as St. Victor-l'Abbaye, and un-

successfully besieged Rouen. A truce ceded the castle of Drincourt (Neufchâtel-en-Bray), only eight miles from St. Victor, and other fortresses to the French. The next year Philip again laid siege to Rouen but Richard I, recently freed from prison, landed in Normandy and over the next five years restored and maintained the integrity of the duchy. Richard died in 1199 and was succeeded by John. In the following year the treaty of Le Goulet brought peace until 1202 when Philip renewed hostilities. The French quickly conquered north-eastern Normandy and parts of Bray, and by the end of 1203 St. Victor seems to have lain only just inside the part of the bailiwick of Caux still under Norman control. In June 1204 Rouen surrendered to Philip and Normandy with the exception of the Channel Islands was lost.

Roger de Mortimer was one of the lords with lands in Normandy who appears to have supported John to the bitter end, though in company with other magnates he refused to serve in person in 1201 when the king summoned an army to assemble at Portsmouth for service in France. Roger and others were fined - probably John had never meant them all to go to France and the summons to Portsmouth was but a ruse to raise money for the hire of mercenaries to campaign in Poitou; William II had done much the same thing in 1094. Roger's fine was remitted and he was with John in France when Philip was stage-managing the break with him in April 1202; he was probably again with the king in July of the following year as Norman resistance crumbled. In the scutage of 1204 Roger was assessed for the service of five knights as a tenant-in-chief in Shropshire; he paid ten marks which went to sustain the war effort in Normandy.[55]

A William de Mortemer of the Norman branch of the family played a conspicuous part in the defence of Normandy under Richard I and John. He was appointed bailiff of Caux in 1203, but after the fall of Arques, the principal castle of the bailiwick, he made his peace with King Philip.[56]

In 1205 Roger de Mortimer landed at Dieppe which appears not to have been occupied by the French until that year. When the newly-appointed governor of Arques and bailiff of Caux, John de Rouvray, heard that Roger was organizing a resistance movement, he had him arrested. In due course Roger was ransomed for 1,000 marks, which had been raised by his wife who had obtained a loan from the king and was permitted to impose a levy on the Mortimer vassals in Shropshire. Roger was back in England by the summer of 1207 when he was ordered to give up custody of Knighton Castle.[57]

There are tantalizingly few details of the Dieppe incident. In 1205 John had by no means given up hope of recovering his lands in France; one force mustered at Dartmouth with Poitou as its destination, while another army assembled in and around Portsmouth, probably for an invasion of Normandy. Roger de Mortimer could well have been sent to gain intelligence and organize a fifth column in the recently conquered districts of the duchy, but any success he had before his capture was to no avail as John abandoned the Portsmouth expedition when faced with a virtual mutiny of the baronage.

In October 1204 King John had dispossessed those barons who had remained in Normandy and King Philip prepared to confiscate the estates of those who would not make their peace with him. A few magnates who remained loyal to John, such as William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, succeeded in making arrangements to safeguard their Norman

possessions, and during his captivity Roger de Mortimer may well have had an opportunity of following the earl's example. But if so, he refused or was unable to do so and his estates in Normandy were confiscated. In addition to their seat at St. Victor in the bailiwick of Caux, the Mortimers held lands in Bray, including a number of estates of the Warenne Honour of Mortemer. Roger de Mortimer's losses in Normandy were serious but not disastrous. His paramount interests lay in England and Wales, and the harrying of eastern Normandy during the wars of 1194-9 and in the years preceding the collapse of the duchy, must have drastically reduced the value of his estates and the income from them. He would have smarted under eviction from his ancestral home, but there was for many years the chance that Normandy might be recovered - a dream not abandoned until the Peace of Paris in 1259. In the meantime there would be opportunities to exploit in England and Wales, now that he enjoyed the king's favour and could concentrate on his affairs on this side of the Channel. Although he held land in at least thirteen counties, it was in Wales and the Marches that his interests were centred and where there was scope for expansion.[58] He could never have seriously considered throwing in his lot with Philip of France, unlike his brother-in-law, Henry, lord of Ferrières, who did so and whose lands in England were confiscated.[59]

King John had successfully kept Wales politically divided by playing off the Welsh princes one against the other, but by 1210 two events had radically altered the balance of power in Wales and had limited the freedom of action of the marcher lords: the fall of the house of Braose and the rise of the Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.

The Braose lordships of Radnor, Elfael and Buellt were neighbours of Maelienydd and Roger de Mortimer had gone to the support of William de Braose in the crisis of 1196. Further, Roger's son and heir, Hugh, had married William's daughter, Annor, and both Roger and William had loyally served John in England and Normandy. In 1208 John determined to break William politically; the erstwhile favourite was hounded out of the country and John relentlessly pursued a vendetta with the family. Hugh de Mortimer's wife, Annor, was imprisoned - either as a hostage for her husband's behaviour or because she was a Braose - and apparently not released until 1214.[60] A number of Roger de Mortimer's vassals served in the army John took to Ireland in 1210 to reinforce his control of the country and to punish the barons who had protected the Braoses when they had fled there.[61] The Braose estates in England and Wales were confiscated and the king gained twenty castles. This political upheaval would have worried Roger de Mortimer in particular. What evidence there is, suggests that he and William de Braose had been on reasonably good terms and he would not have relished the king's new interest and military capability on his doorstep. In more general terms, such vindictive and apparently unjustified treatment of a prominent baron increased resentment at the king's high-handed methods; if one of the highest in the land could be so easily destroyed, who might be next? But Roger's loyalty to John does not seem to have faltered.

The other destabilising factor was the crumbling of John's overall policy with regard to Wales. At first he had approved of, or at least tolerated, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's increasing influence and power in Wales, but in 1210 their friendly relations came to a sudden end. In order to strengthen his political position in England and so that he could deal

with Llywelyn, John made peace with the pope; Roger de Mortimer was one of the twelve barons and three bishops who in 1213 sponsored John's good faith in his reconciliation with the archbishop of Canterbury.[62] Although baronial discontent with John was now widespread, Roger remained a firm supporter of the king until he died in May or June 1214. Shortly before his death he resigned his honours in favour of his son, Hugh, who was with the king in France. He was survived for many years by his wife Isabel, daughter of Walkelin de Ferrières.[63]

The enduring bond between King John and the Mortimers, Roger II and his son Hugh III, probably dates from the early 1190s, but one hesitates to credit Roger and Hugh with the feudal rectitude of William Marshal who considered his oath of allegiance inviolable in spite of the wrongs he had suffered at the king's hands. The reason for the Mortimers' steadfast loyalty can probably be explained by group interest. Most of the marcher lords supported the king. John was a marcher lord himself; he shared with them a common interest in addition to his royal rights, and however harsh and arbitrary his rule they could usually rely on his patronage.

The progress of the Mortimers of Wigmore between 1086 and 1214 towards power in England can best be summarized as steady but unspectacular. By 1214 they held substantial estates in England, and as marcher lords were members of that select and privileged group with lands in Wales. Close to the seat of government and influence in the kingdom, in contact with the most powerful magnates as they manoeuvred for position, they were well-placed to exploit any opportunities to promote their fortunes.

THE MORTIMER LORDS OF WIGMORE 1086 - 1214

(Roger de Mortemer in Normandy)
(*d.* late 11th century)
|
Ralph de Mortimer
d. early 12th century
|
Hugh (I)
d. c. 1149
|
Roger (I)
d. 1153
|
Hugh (II)
d. c. 1181
brother of Roger (I)
|
Roger (II)
d. 1214

ABBREVIATIONS

CP G. E. Cokayne, ed. M. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom,* IX (1936).
Eyton R. W. Eyton, *The Antiquities of Shropshire,* IV (1857).

REFERENCES

The spelling 'Mortimer' has been adopted in this article for the English branch of the family, 'Mortemer' for the Norman branch. 'De Mortuo Mari' is a whimsical play on words similar to the entry in *Herefordshire Domesday,* where Alfred from Epaignes in Normandy is referred to as 'de Hispania.'

[1] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. and tran. M. Chibnall, IV (1973), 87-9.
[2] B. P. Evans, *The Family of Mortimer* (unpublished University of Wales Ph. D. thesis 1934), 2-6, considers the evidence and theories about Roger's parentage and possible relationship with other Norman families.
[3] *CP,*267. For the relationship between the Normans and their neighbours at this period see D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (1969 ed.), 53-104.
[4] *Loc. cit.* in note 1; *ibid.* Douglas, 67-9.
[5] D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway ed., 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *English Historical Documents,* II (1981), 168.
[6] *Loc. cit.* in note 1; *CP,* Appendix A.
[7] *CP,* 267; *op. cit.* in note 1, 93.
[8] F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (2nd. ed. 1961), 353.
[9] *CP,* 267.
[10] *Op. cit.* in note 1, II (1969), 144, and in note 3, Douglas, 189.
[11] Wace, *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie,* ed. H. Andressen, II (1877), 373, 740; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, VI (1830), 348. The chronicler's account 'Fundationis et Fundatorum Historia', *Monasticon Anglicanum,* VI, 348-55, is of very doubtful value in view of the many errors which have been detected. It has sometimes been confused with 'Cartae ad Prioratum de Wigmore', pp. 344-8 of *Monasticon Anglicanum,* of which there is a modern translation in J. C. Dickinson and P. J. Ricketts, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* (1969), 413-46; see also M. E. Giffin, 'A Wigmore Manuscript at the University of Chicago', *National Library of Wales Journal,* VII (1952), 316-25, a microfilm of the ms. is in Hereford Record Office. See *op. cit.* in note 3, Douglas, 203, for a review of the evidence for those alleged to have been combatants at Hastings.
[12] *CP,* 267.
[13] C. Lloyd, ed. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families* (1951), p. vii.
[14] J. F. A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* XIII (1963), 1-28.
[15] *Domesday Book: Herefordshire,* ed. F. and C. Thorn, (1983), note Ch. 9.
[16] *Op. cit.* in note 14, Mason, 10; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* IV, no. 235, and comment on it by J. F. A. Mason in 'The Officers and Clerks of the Norman Earls of Shropshire', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.* LVI (1960), 244, 257.
[17] C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (republished New York 1960), 290-1.
[18] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis,* ed. B. Thorpe, II (1849), 24-6; *op. cit.* in note 5, II, 173-4. Ralph's position in Florence's list of rebels, immediately before 'the vassals of Earl Roger,' may be significant of his status.
[19] *Loc. cit.* in note 14.
[20] For the early development of the Norman lordships in Wales see: J. G. Edwards, 'The Normans and the Welsh March', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* XLII (1956), 155-77; D. Walker, 'The Norman Settlement in Wales', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference, I, 1978* (1979), 131-43; R. R. Davies, 'Kings, Lords and Liberties in the Marches of Wales 1066-1272', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* XXIX (1979), 41-61.
[21] Maelienydd was 'reconquered' in 1144; T. Jones tran., *The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth M. S. 20 Version* (1952), 53, and *Red Book of Hergest Version* (1955), 118-20.
[22] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1292-1301,* 290; R. R. Davies, *Lordships and Society in the Marches of Wales 1282-1400* (1978), 156. The earthworks of Cymaron, Grid Reference SO 152703, consist of an oval motte with a rectangular bailey; it may never have been fortified in stone. The scanty remains of the stone castle of Cefnllys occupy a magnificent site overlooking the river Ithon, Grid Reference SO 088614.
[23] Ralph was in Normandy at some time between 1091 and 1095; see note 17.

[24] *Op. cit.* in note 1, IV, 183.
[25] *Op. cit.* in note 17, 291-2.
[26] *Op. cit.* in note 1, VI (1978), 57, 85, and in note 11, Dugdale VI, 349.
[27] *CP,* 268.
[28] *Ibid.* Suggestions that a son, Robert, married the daughter of Hugh de Say of Richards Castle, and thus founded the Mortimers of Richards Castle are discounted by I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A Study of their origin and descent,* 1086-1327 (1963 ed.), 75. Robert de Mortimer married Margaret de Say in 1219.
[29] See note 21.
[30] *Eyton,* 201; J. Duncumb, *Collection towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford,* I (1804), 232, relates that a similar provision was made in the case of Joce de Dinan.
[31] *Op. cit.* in note 11, Dickinson, 429. Mortimer's Tower, in which by tradition Hugh (I) de Mortimer was imprisoned, is of 13th-century date.
[32] *Annales Cambriae,* ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (Rolls Series 1860), 43-4; *op. cit.* in note 21, 53 and 120 respectively.
[33] *Op. cit.* in note 13, and in note 1, VI (1978), 223.
[34] *CP,* 269-70.
[35] *CP,* 269; William of Malmesbury, *The Historia Novella,* ed. and tran. K. R. Potter (1955), 31.
[36] *Eyton,* 202; *CP,* 270.
[37] See *op. cit.* in note 2, 31-3, for an analysis of the different accounts of the incident in: *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* ed. W. Stubbs, I (Rolls Series 1879), 161-2; William of Newburgh, 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum', and Robert de Torigni, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I,* ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series 1884-90), I, 105, and IV, 184-5 respectively; *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello,* ed. J. S. Brewer (1846), 75.
[38] *Loc. cit.* William of Newburgh and Robert de Torigni; *Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera,* ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, VIII (Rolls Series 1891), 215; *op. cit.* in note 11, Dickinson, 421.
[39] J. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (3rd ed. 1939), II, 545-6, 567.
[40] *Eyton,* 205-6. Cymaron lay only some eight miles from the westernmost estates of Ralph de Mortimer in 1086, and even less from the Braose lordship of Radnor which Rhys had not conquered.
[41] *Eyton,* 206; *op. cit.* in note 21, 72 and 168 respectively. Ralph of Diceto, *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica,* ed. W. Stubbs, II (Rolls Series 1876), 607.
[42] *Eyton,* 204.
[43] *Ibid.* 206.
[44] *Red Book of the Exchequer,* ed. H. Hall, (Rolls Series 1896), 631.
[45] *Eyton,* 203-4.
[46] *CP,* 268-70, 272.
[47] *Op. cit.* in note 11, Dickinson.
[48] *CP,* 271-2; *Eyton,* 205-6; see note 11, Dickinson, 445, and note 41.
[49] *Eyton,* 205-6.
[50] *CP,* 272.
[51] *Op. cit.* in note 37, Howlett, Richard of Devizes, 'Ricardus Divisiensis De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi', III, 407.
[52] *Op. cit.* in note 21, 75 and 174 respectively, and in note 32, Williams, 59. For an account of this period see J. Beverley Smith, 'The Middle March in the Thirteenth Century', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* xxiv (1970), 80.
[53] *Op. cit.* in note 21, 75, and 174 respectively.
[54] *Op. cit.* in note 21, 72 and 169 respectively; *op. cit.* in note 52, Beverley Smith, 81.
[55] *The Great Roll of The Pipe, 5 John* (Pipe Roll Society 1938), 70; *CP,* 272-3.
[56] *Op. cit.* in note 8, 347. Roger's relationship with William de Mortemer is not known.
[57] *Op. cit.* in note 8, 264; op. cit. in note 2, 67-8, describes how the ransom was raised.
[58] *Eyton,* 207.
[59] *Ibid.* 208.
[60] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium,* ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission), I (1835), 122; *CP,* 275.
[61] *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis,* ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission 1844), 211, 220.
[62] *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.,* ed. A. Clarke, J. Caley and F. Holbrooke (Record Commission), I (1816), 112, 115.
[63] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus,* ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission 1835), 209, 530; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum,* ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission), I (1833), 170, 201; *CP,* 273.

Partial Excavation of the Chapel of Corras, Kentchurch

By MARY THOMAS and ELIZABETH TAYLOR

Following a preliminary exploration of Barn Orchard, Great Corras (SO 419249) made in 1987, work was begun in May 1988 on the site of the building thought to be a chapel. (Building B on plan FIG. 1).

AIMS

The intention was to explore the site in order to discover the use of the building and if possible, its age and the length of time it was in use. This was to be done by removing the earth and tumbled stone to reveal only enough of the structure for our purpose without dismantling or damaging any of the build. We also wished to cause no damage to the trees and minimal damage to the pasturage of the orchard.

HISTORY

The earliest record of the chapel comes from the cartulary of the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester. In 1100 Harold of Ewyas gave the tithes of the church of St. Keyne of Kentchurch and of the chapel of Caueros (amongst other gifts) to the newly-dedicated abbey. The manor of Corras was then held by Ralph (Scudamore), one of the nine knights of Ewyas Castle named in Domesday Book. Corras is still owned by the Scudamore family.

The chapel is subsequently mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291 as belonging to the church of St. Keyna, the parish church. Its position near the motte of Corras makes it likely that it was built by Ralph as his own manor chapel. The Scudamores do not seem at that time to have owned the part of the parish which included the parish church of St. Keyne which was probably within the adjacent manor of Hardwick. The Lay Subsidy of 1334 includes Caueros which suggests that it was a fairly considerable settlement in the first half of the 14th century.

SITE

The chapel was built about 30 m. S. of the motte which is now within the private garden of a house next to the orchard. The motte has been much destroyed; a lot of the damage was done during the war when a concrete pill-box was built by the Home Guard on the side overlooking the road.

Barn Orchard, where the chapel is situated, lies to the S. of the motte and covers an area of four acres on the opposite side of the road from the present farm-house and buildings. The land slopes to the south where a small pond has recently been cleared and enlarged. The lower part of the orchard has some older apple trees but much of the area

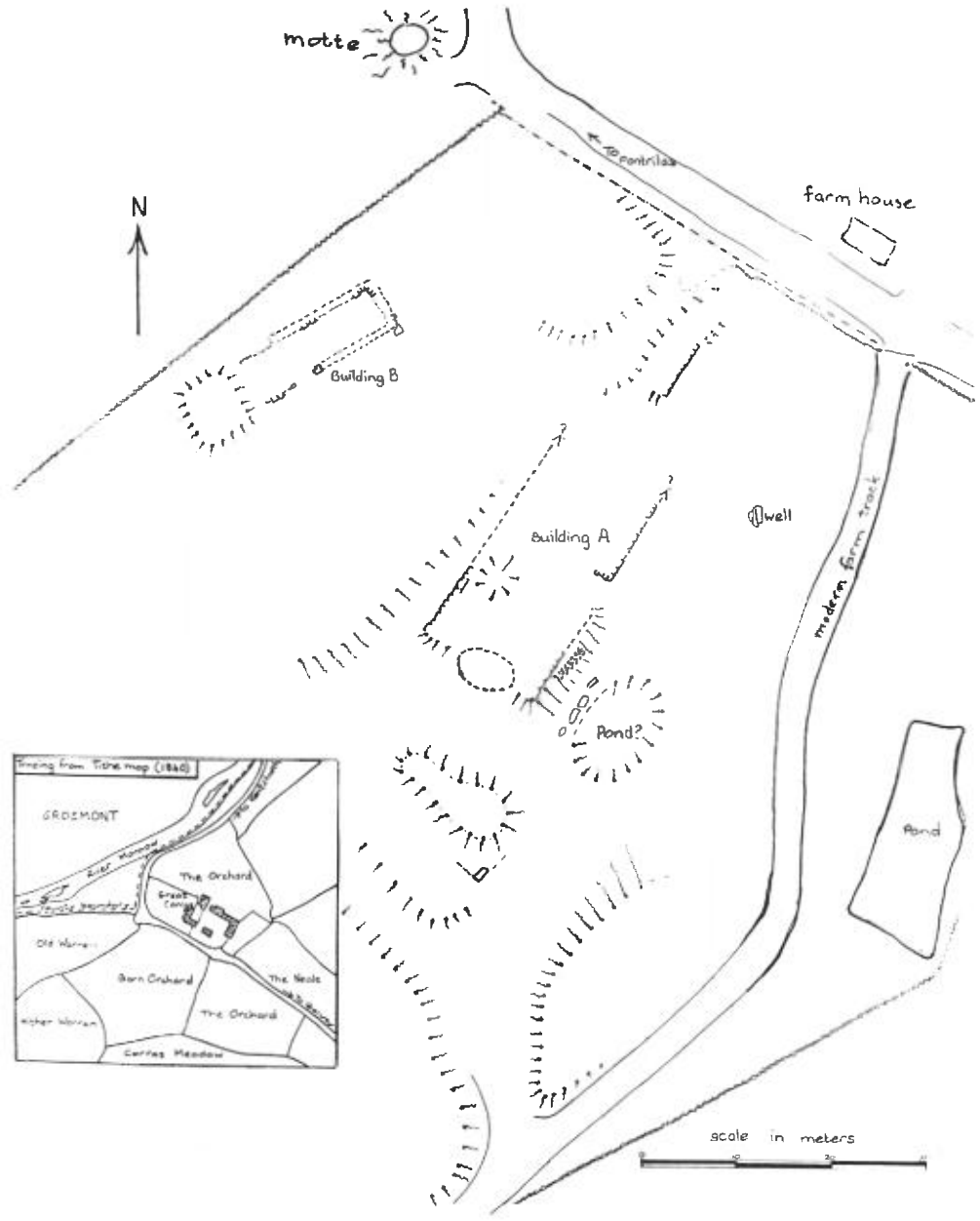


FIG. 1
Sketch plan of Barn Orchard, Great Corras, showing position of chapel. (Building B).

was replanted in 1976. Over the years, tree planting and the tree roots have interfered with the masonry of the other buildings, disrupting alignments and creating spurious dips and hollows.

In addition to the modern farm track running along the E. and S. sides of the orchard, two older tracks were identified. One leads in from the S.W. corner of the orchard running through what appears to be a D.M.V. and the other enters from the N. leaving the present road which runs up from a ford over the river Monnow and passes the foot of the motte. Some of the mounds and banks have a good deal of stone on or just below the turf line but among the many banks and undulations we have not been able positively to define the bailey.

The present farm-house appears to be of 18th-century build but the barn in the present farm-yard is late 16th century. Mr. Watkins, the farmer, told us that his father had heard that the earlier house had been in the orchard; the name Barn Orchard is also significant and either use may account for the very long building A shown on the plan (FIG. 1 and PL. XIX). The well in the vicinity may also be relevant.

INVESTIGATION

Sections of the N. wall, the S.W. corner of the tower, the S. doorway and the whole of the eastern end of the chapel were exposed to ascertain the overall plan and main features of the building. This was found to be a rather disproportionately long, narrow building with a square tower at the W. end and no chancel arch or structural division between the nave and the chancel.

The building seems to have been demolished rather than casually robbed. The best stone had been taken down to ground level or just below, leaving behind a mass of the poorer and smallish stone together with a few broken pieces of dressed and carved stone.

At one point, part of the N. wall had fallen inwards in one piece with the faced sides of the stones lying directly on the floor at right angles to their original position (PL. XX). They were still wedged tightly together with the mortar in place. They could have fallen before or during demolition but there was no humus layer between the fallen stones and the floor; nor in any other of the excavated areas. The chapel must have been reasonably intact until at least shortly before its demolition. There had certainly been no kind of occupation either by humans or animals.

Excavation inside the E. end of the chapel revealed a complicated series of re-builds. With the limitation of not removing any of the built stone it was not possible to answer all the questions which these complications raised. The following sequence of builds has been worked out from the available evidence and is suggested as a probability.

CONSTRUCTION

Note. Corras chapel is aligned E.N.E. - W.S.W. but for the sake of simplicity the following description is written as though it were aligned E. - W.

Phase 1. The external width of the original nave was probably the same as that of the remaining walls today but it was almost certainly shorter. The S. doorway would then have been in the more usual position near the rear end of the nave.

The E. end of the chapel was apsidal. Only four stones of the apse were revealed in the excavated area outside the E. end of the N. wall but their shape and curve were so unequivocal that we feel in no doubt that they were part of an apse (PL. XXI). A trench was cut at right angles to the exterior of the centre of the E. wall down to just below foundation level. A slight suggestion of a curve was found in the foundations of the wall. There was a mortar spread of nearly 3 m. in the trench but no trace of a floor was found and as the E. wall appeared to have fallen outwards it was concluded that the mortar was from the collapsed wall. No trace of an apse was found in the corresponding position exterior to the S. wall so the short apse must be almost entirely overlaid by the present squared end (FIG. 2).

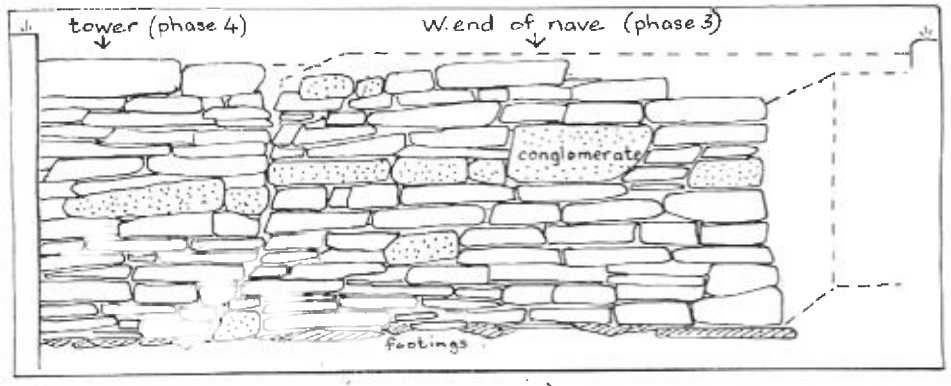
Phase 2.

The apse was demolished down to foundation level and replaced by a squared E. end using as much of the apse foundations as possible. The N. and E. walls were built 1.2 m. thick with an additional 0.1 m. footing spread; the E. wall was 1.6 m. thick. They were built mainly with straight faced sandstone of fairly even thickness with a few conglomerate stones of comparable size (FIG. 5).

At the S.E. corner where the ground slopes away and the new build would have been outside the apse foundations a well built buttress was incorporated into the build. The uppermost of the remaining stones was only just below turf level; it was large enough to cover the whole of the buttress and the three exposed sides were nicely chamfered (PL. XXII). At the N.E. corner the buttressing was quite different. Because the new square end was slightly offset from the apse, more of the N.E. corner would have to have been built outside the apse foundations than at the S.E. corner. To strengthen this area the buttressing was brought well back along the N. wall. In this corner the later wall had been completely robbed out exposing the full width of the Phase 2 wall which had also been disturbed. Two broken Roman bricks were found in the wall at this point.

A feature which seems to have belonged to this phase was the remains of what was thought to be the altar support wall. This was poorly built of rough, rather small stone and quantities of mortar. Only the N. side was found, though two smallish stones in the expected position for the other side, may have been the only remains. If these were the supports, the altar would have been positioned right back against the E. wall.

The altar supports sat directly on the 'pebble' floor which belonged to Phase 2. It was made of small angular stones in a slightly yellowish sandy mortar. The sharp angularity of most of the stones was consistent with their having been the waste chippings left after the building stone had been dressed to give the straight facing edges. The floor just covered the footings of the walls except in the disturbed N.E. corner where it seemed to have been broken through leaving a deep deposit of the same sandy mortar. No burial was found in the 0.1 m. excavated below the floor.



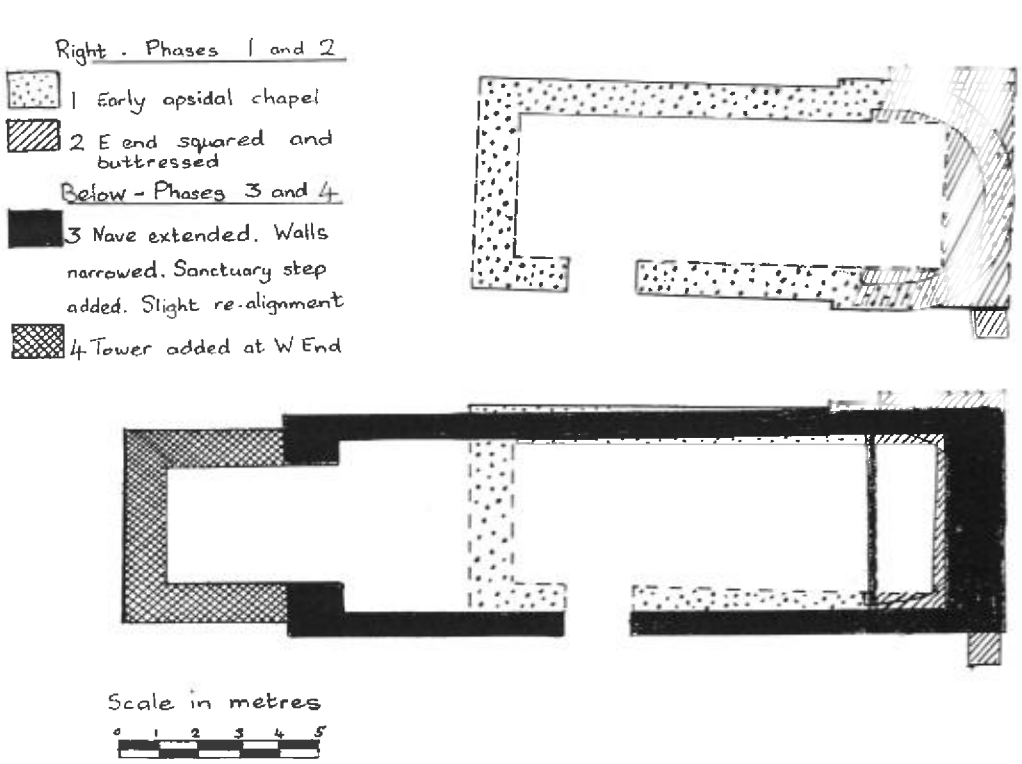


FIG. 2
Construction. Phases 1 to 4, and section of N. wall.

No attempt seems to have been made to level the ground before this floor was laid. The natural lie of the land sloped both to the S. and to the E. with a high point against the N. wall 8.5 m. from the E. end. The presence of gritty, whitish lime plaster on top of this floor and under the later one, shows that the chapel was plastered and lime-washed inside the E. end and the nave in the Phase 2 stage. Some of this plaster had traces of red colouring on the surface.

Phase 3.

The whole building was taken down and rebuilt.

The Phase 3 chapel was longer; wider internally; the floor was levelled; a step was built across the E. end and a raised sanctuary floor was made (PL. XXIII). This was all done in the most economical way in time and material by using the existing walls as foundations wherever possible. However the whole Phase 3 chapel was built on a slightly different alignment taking it even further away from the usually preferred E. - W. axis. A possible reason for this shift may have been the presence of some obstruction - perhaps a building or a massive tree stump - to the N.W. which made the extension of the nave impossible if the line of the Phase 2 walls had been followed.

The Phase 2 walls were taken down to what was to be the new floor level. As the intention was to have a raised floor in the sanctuary, a greater height of the Phase 2 walls was left intact there. Along the N. wall westwards from the sanctuary, the ground level and the 'pebble' floor gradually rose to the high point and more and more of the Phase 2 wall was taken down until it dwindled to one stone depth and then was completely removed.

The inside width of the Phase 2 chapel was only 3.3 m. To widen it using as much of the Phase 2 foundations as possible, the new walls which were only 0.65 m. thick were set back to the outside of the 1.2 m. wide Phase 2 walls towards the E. end where the divergence from the Phase 2 walls allowed. The new floor was carried over the rest of the foundations giving about 1.1 m. additional internal width to the chapel.

In Phase 3 the exterior of the E. wall remained as in Phase 2 but, as can be seen on the plan, the interior face was slightly altered to agree with the new alignment (FIG. 3).

The N.E., buttress was enlarged bringing it back further along the N. wall to the point where the apse foundations were met (PL. XXIV).

At the E. end the floor was raised and roughly levelled by spreading a depth of red clay and building a step across the full width. Owing to the original slope of the floor down to the S., the step was gradually built up and was 0.15 m. deeper at the S. side than at the N. The clay was levelled up here and there with thin, flat stones, some of them being broken tile stones from the roof. A bed of sandy mortar was left over the whole of the raised area and it is presumed that there would have been a floor of clay tiles or perhaps dressed paving stone which had been removed at the time of demolition.

Three fragments of what could have been clay tile were found in the area but near the high point by the N. wall of the nave, where the 'pebble' floor had been skimmed off, a

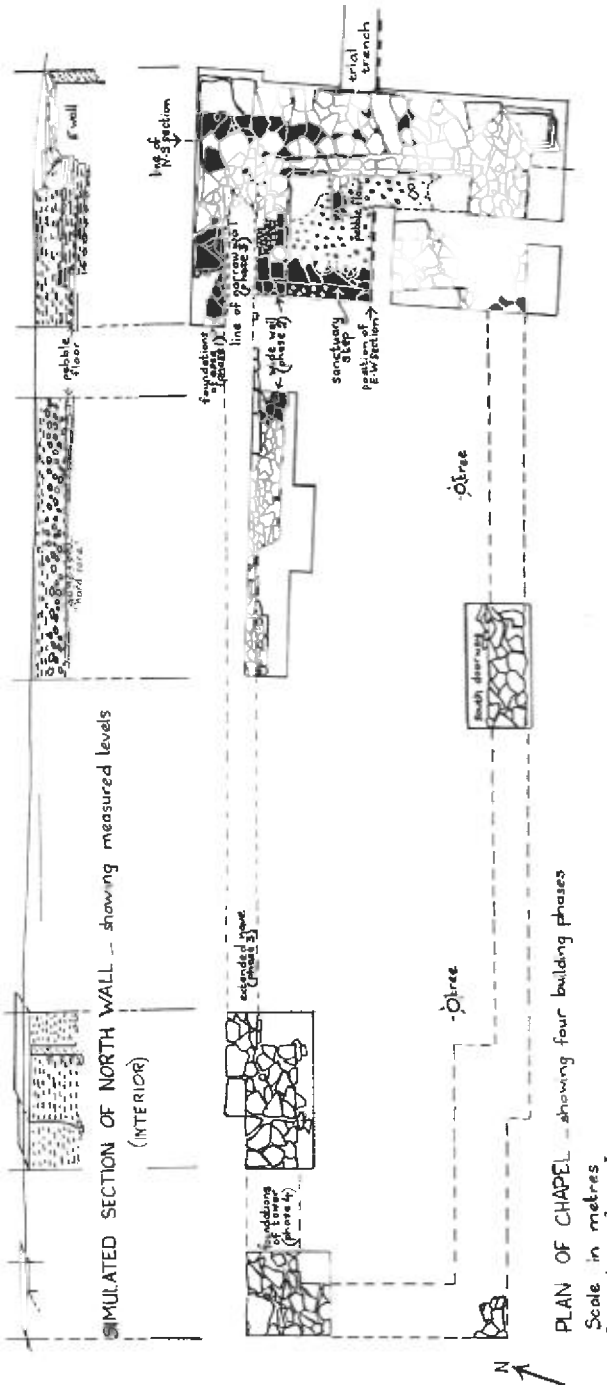


FIG. 3
Plan of chapel showing four building phases.

concentration of small pieces of broken Roman tile, brick and burnt daub and also pieces of medieval tile, some with traces of glazing, were found. The reason for their presence is unexplained unless it was a working area during the time of the re-building. A circular fire patch of charcoal nearby might be consistent with a working area.

All the excavated areas W. of the sanctuary step were randomly paved with flat, unshaped stones. These were also on a bed of sandy mortar and in places flat stones and roof-tile stones had been used underneath to bring up the level.

Where the Phase 2 N. wall had been completely removed at the high point, the new wall appeared to be built straight on to the earth, bridging the gap of 1.7 m. before the Phase 2 wall was met again. But further investigation showed that some rough conglomerate stones had been put down as a sort of hard core base on which the wall was built. This 'hard core' was set back 0.1 m., leaving the inner face of the wall only supported by earth (PL. XX).

This rather slap dash piece of construction contrasted with the good quality of the small section of the N. wall examined at the W. end where the foundations and the wall were well coursed and carefully built. However, this section of the wall was not broken and robbed of its facing stones as much of the previously described section had been.

The N.W. corner was a strongly-built square structure measuring 1.2 by 1.3 m. The lower courses on the outside of the wall were gradually spread for added strength for this corner had to support the weight of a wide-arched west doorway. The well-faced and finished square corner structure comprised all there was of a W. wall. Owing to the presence of an apple tree, the S. side was not examined but presuming that the W. end of the building is symmetrical, it can be calculated that the arch was 2.7 m. wide (FIG. 3).

Richard Kay pointed out that this wide west arch style had been used in the ruined chapel of Llanvair Cilgoed in the parish of Llantilio Crosseny (SO 391193). This was a grange chapel belonging to Dore Abbey and when visited in 1976 he found 'the chamfered jambs of a wide opening, into the blocking of which had been inserted a smaller plain chamfered doorway... This W. wall was at gable height in 1900 and a sketch made at that time shows the two archways, the smaller inserted in the blocking of the larger.'

This is quoted to show that this unusual style was not unique to Corras in this district.

The S. doorway of Phases 1 and 2 showed no signs of having been blocked and was presumed to have continued in use perhaps as the priest's door. The lowest jamb stone on the E. side of the doorway still remains in position. This has a well-cut chamfer and is illustrated.

Phase 4.

This was the later addition of a square tower measuring 4.6 m. N. - S. and 3.8 m. E. - W. externally, built against the west end of the nave (FIG. 4).

The S.W. and N.W. corners were uncovered just below the turf line.

The S.E. corner was not looked for, again because of the presence of the apple tree.

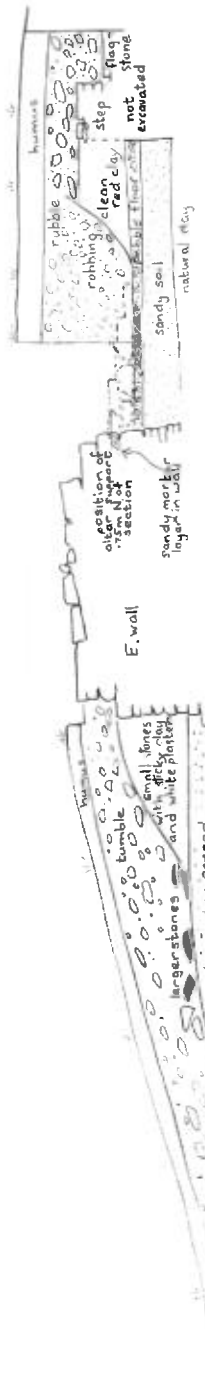


FIG. 4
East-west section.

FIG. 5
North-south section.

The internal N.E. corner was excavated down to foundation level and was clearly seen to butt against the N.W. corner of the nave and to be a later addition. There was no east wall and the wide-arched opening of the nave led straight into the tower (PL. XXV and FIG. 2).

The tower walls were only 0.9 m. thick; not very massive to bear the weight of a full stone tower. The probability is that the stonework was only raised perhaps to gable height and the top of the tower and the belfry may have been of timber construction.

No excavation was carried out on the S. side of the tower or the W. end of the S. wall of the nave and it is not known whether there was another doorway or if the original south door was the only one used in Phase 4.

A few conglomerate stones had been used but the build of the tower was mainly of fairly thin sandstone, evenly coursed and very closely laid with little mortar. The small sample of mortar which could be poked out was made with a very fine, very red sand not found elsewhere.

Undetermined

The higher remaining levels of the E. wall were not understood. They included some very rough work using stones of widely different thickness. The work may have been done in later repairs.

The presence of apple trees confined examination of the S. wall of the nave to the doorway area. Though the wide wall of Phase 2 was present in the S. wall of the sanctuary and in the N. wall of the nave except for the west end, no trace of it was found near the S. doorway.

DATING

Very little pottery was found but it ranged from Roman to *c.*1400. Nothing was found which could be dated later. The limited nature of the investigation meant that hardly any of the finds were in undisturbed identifiable levels. One very small fragment of greenish glazed ware was found in the clay used for raising the sanctuary floor but this merely tells us that Phase 3 did not take place much before about 1200. One piece of dark grey cooking pot was found under the edge of the sanctuary wall below the pebble floor of Phase 2. Unfortunately this was a small, featureless piece which could be dated no closer than between 1150 - 1250. A large broken cooking pot is dated *c.*1350. This was at the bottom of the destruction levels and could be associated either with the time of the demolition or before it.

BUILDING STONE

Mainly red sandstone and conglomerate with some green sandstone. The old quarry about 400 m. west of the chapel was probably the source of the first two types where the conglomerate is sandwiched between layers of red sandstone. The green sandstone may occur there also but was not seen.

MORTARS

The whitish mortar using a pink sand used in Phase 1 appears to have a much higher lime content than those used later. This was the only mortar which had not decayed. A few stones in the N. wall of the nave still had this whitish mortar adhering to them. Similar mortar was found just west of the S. door.

Phase 3 used a coarse, pinkish mortar; decayed and crumbly.

Phase 4. Fine red sand; decayed.

Both floors used yellowish mortar decayed into sand.

BURIALS

As a chapel belonging to the church of St. Keyne, Corras would not be expected to have had any burials which by right would have belonged to the parish church. However, pieces of two coffin slabs were found (see illustration) so some burials must have taken place. A piece of skull was found in the levelled-down area near to the point where the N. nave wall foundations had been removed and a small piece of skull was recovered from the disturbed N.E. corner of the sanctuary.

COFFIN SLABS (FIG. 6)

No. 1 The top left angle of a slightly tapering slab with a plain chamfered bevel, showing a segment of a circular floriated cross-head in low relief. 23 x 20 x 4.5 cms. Late 13th to mid-14th century.

No. 1b Probably another piece of the same slab. 17 x 13 x 4 cms. This piece is badly worn but the segment of circular floriated cross-head and the bevel are the same as in No. 1 (Not illustrated).

No. 2 Showing part of a circular floriated roundel. 8 x 4.5 x 2 cms. Possibly from the same slab as No. 1.

The three pieces described above are of hard sandstone of a pinkish-grey colour, similar to the stone used for the building.

No. 3 Two contiguous pieces of a softer red sandstone slab showing part of a disc-head cross enclosing a curvilinear derivation of a Maltese-type cross. 20 x 11 x 2 cms. The thinness of the fragments suggest that they have flaked off a thicker slab. 13th century. Perhaps early 13th century.

DRESSED and CARVED STONE (FIG. 7)

The broken half of a small capital 37 cm. in diameter and 13 cm. deep. It has an 11 cm. square socket, 1.5 cm. deep on the underside for seating it on a stone column and the same sized square socket on the top is 9 cm. deep. The deep socket is likely to have held a timber upright. The capital was found in the sanctuary area but it must be emphasised

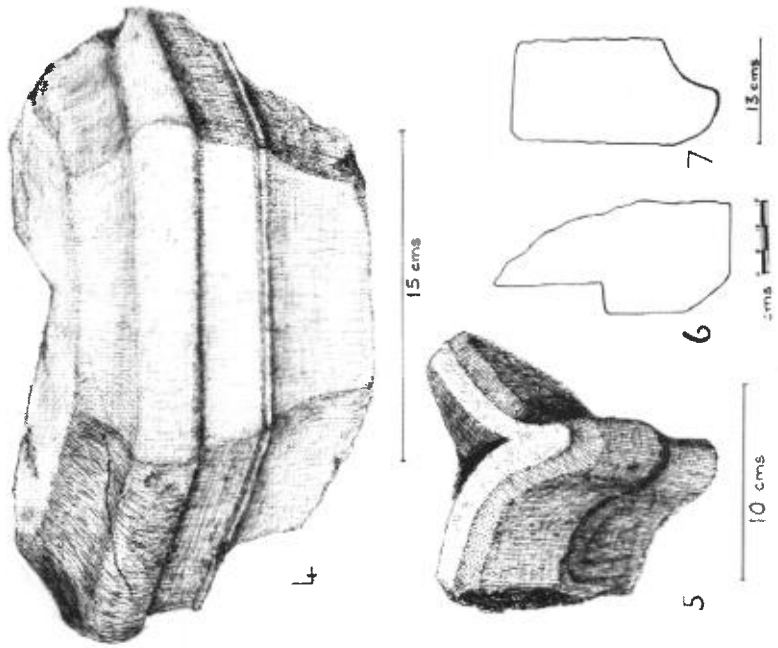


FIG. 7
Details of masonry.
4 small capital 5 cusped tracery 6 plan of jamb stone of south doorway
7 plan of spring-stone of arch.

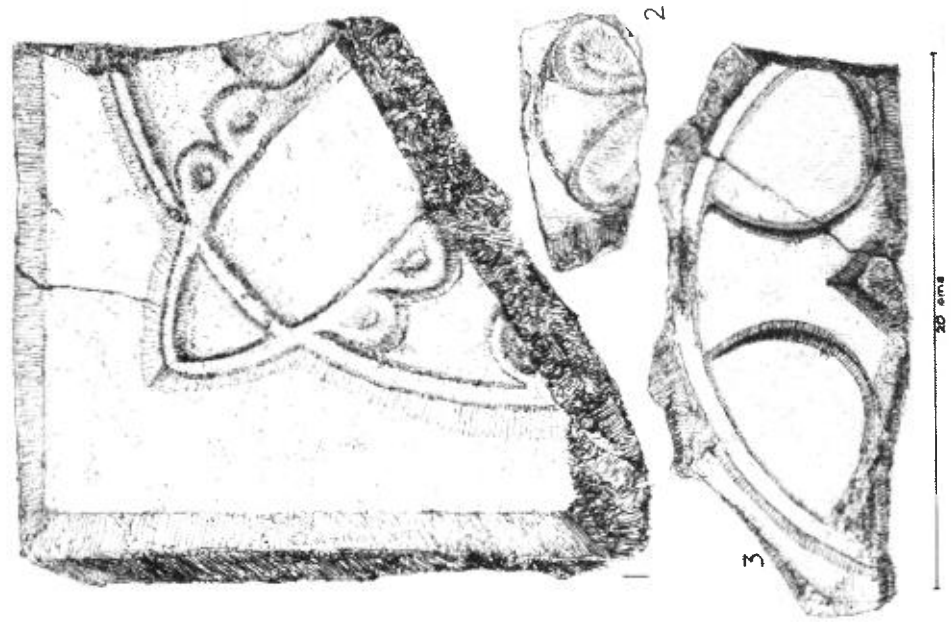


FIG. 6
Coffin Slabs.

that none of the pieces of carved stone were found *in situ;* all were broken pieces which had been thrown aside as rubbish. (Drawing no. 4).

A fragment of rebated cusped tracery. 12 x ? x 9.5 cm. deep. (Drawing no. 5).

The left hand springer of an arch. 23 cm. deep x 12.5 cm. wide x 21 cm. high. Rough cut chisel marks on all faces of the block except the moulding suggest the possibility that this is part of the more ornate pattern of moulding of a larger arch. The inside moulding is plain cavetto and the outside is plain ovolo. The rather slight radius of the moulding suggests a two-centred (pointed) arch. (Drawn in plan no. 7).

Jamb stone of south doorway with plain chamfer. 31 cm. high. (Drawn in plan no. 6).

Chamfered plinth of S.E. buttress.

Stone roofing tiles.

OTHER FINDS

Plaster was found in every area excavated and most of the pieces with the smooth limewash still adhering bore traces of red colouring. No patterns were discernable.

Glass. One small fragment 1 mm. thick found with a small piece of lead strip immediately outside the south wall of the sanctuary.

Three small pieces of 0.5 mm. thick greenish glass found in the destruction rubble on top of the centre of the E. wall. This glass is rough and 'frosted'.

Lead. Apart from the above mentioned piece, all the lead was found in the sanctuary area in the destruction levels. Three pieces, the largest weighing 10½ ozs. appeared to be spilt lead dropped by the plumber while still liquid. Some narrow strips 2-3 mm. wide had been twisted together. Another piece appeared to be the corner of a window fixing; it bore marks on the back as if it had been pressed out with a tool to fill out the available space and had a small piece of stone embedded. This piece was found together with a piece of the glass fixing strip.

Nails. A variety of nails were found in the destruction levels of all areas. The two largest were 8.5 cm., the others were around 4 cm. Of these, one had a round, flat head 2.5 cm. diameter; another had a slit, hooked end. The others were unremarkable.

Charcoal. Small fragments were found in most areas but the amounts were too small to suggest that a fire had ever taken place. The small circular area of burning has been mentioned under Phase 3.

Bones. Those thought to be human have been mentioned under the heading of Burials. Others include small-bird bones, bones bearing tooth marks and butcher's cleaver marks. Their presence in the destruction levels is likely to be purely accidental. One oyster shell was found.

Pottery. Very little was found. Some pieces have been mentioned under the heading of Dating. Several pieces of a large cooking pot, typical Monnow Valley ware. Buff to grey

fabric. Diameter 30.5 cm. One badly eroded piece of roof ridge-tile was found. Apart from a few pieces which appear to be Roman, all the other pottery consisted of small, featureless pieces of types normal to the Monnow Valley area pre-1400.

Tiles and Brick. Four fair sized pieces of Roman brick. The majority of the pieces appear to be broken fragments of Roman brick and tiles. The harder, darker, coarser fabric pieces seem to be medieval. Some have traces of glaze. One piece with honey coloured glaze. (See under Phase 3).

CONCLUSION

The association of the chapel with the motte and D.M.V., most of which are reasonably undisturbed, make the site an interesting one and add to the value of the discovery.

The archaeological findings agree very well with the recorded history. We know from the cartulary of the abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester that a chapel existed at Corras in 1100. We know from later records that the 'Ralph' of Domesday Book was Ralph Scudamore and that the Scudamores owned the manor of Corras.

The situation of the chapel within the bailey of a motte and the plan of the original building with its apsidal E. end are very typical of an early Norman manor chapel. Despite the lack of finds to give dating evidence, the historical records and the building itself give a date of origin between the Norman conquest and 1100.

Sometime later, the apse was replaced with a squared E. end. The early chapel was very strongly built for its small size, the internal measurements being 3.3 m. wide by 8.5 m. from the E. end to the S. door which is presumed to be near the W. end. The chapel had a stone-tiled roof, an unlevelled floor of stone chippings in mortar with no structural division between the nave and the sanctuary. The altar was set right back against the E. wall and the whole chapel was plastered internally at that stage and in the later stages.

At some time after 1200 the chapel was taken down and enlarged giving internal dimensions of 4.4 m. by 13.5 m. long. The extended nave of the rebuilt chapel had a very wide arched W. doorway; the floor was levelled and paved with random stone paving in the nave. There was at least one slender stone column with an octagonal capital carrying a timber upright. The sanctuary was differentiated from the rest of the church by a raised floor which was probably tiled.

The last phase in the building was the addition of a square stone tower, probably with timber top and belfry, at the west end of the chapel. The nave then opened straight through into the tower. The original S. doorway remained in use despite its unusual position, then midway down the nave but whether or not it was the only door in use in the last stage of the chapel's use, is not known.

The single fragment of cusped window tracery tells us no more than that there was at least one traceried window but we were lucky to find even that for all the evidence points to the chapel having been deliberately demolished, with all the best, usable stone above ground being carried away for some other use.

Pottery dating gives a date of 1350 - 1400 for the demolition. Depopulation following the Black Death may have been a contributory factor in the decision to demolish the chapel but the main reason was more likely to be the increasingly important position of the Scudamores in the area. The first record so far found of the Scudamores at 'Kencherge' is in 1386 when John Skydmore was living there but the Scudamores had probably moved from Corras to the moated site near Kentchurch Court long before that. They had probably also already acquired the old manor of Hardwick which included the parish church of St. Keyne which was much nearer to Kentchurch Court than the Corras Chapel.

The direct line of the Scudamores of Corras seems to have died out with Yseuda, described as the Lady of Corras who granted the manor of Corras to William Tregoz, brother of the Lord of Ewyas for the rent of a pound of cummin in an undated charter of *c.* 1240. A few years later, certainly before 1247, William Tregoz granted the manor to the Knights Templar of Garway. The Templars or their successors the Hospitallers, would have little interest in a chapel whose tithes belonged to the abbey of Gloucester and whose congregation were either dead or had departed. The chapel had originally been given to the abbey of St. Peter as part of the endowment of their cell the priory of Ewyas but in 1358 the bishop of St. Davids and the lord of Ewyas gave permission for the prior and monks to return to Gloucester because 'The area is inhospitable, the people not friendly and religion cannot flourish there' and the priory was abandoned. All these circumstances must have combined to make the chapel of Corras redundant.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Rowland Watkins of Great Corras and their family for allowing us to carry out the excavation and for all their help and interest. To Ron Shoesmith and to Dr. A. D. F. Streeten of English Heritage for visiting the site and giving us their valuable advice. To Steve Clarke of the Monmouth Archaeological Society for dating the pottery. To Ken Hoverd for taking the photographs. To Jeremy Knight of Cadw (Welsh Historic Monuments) for his dating and information on the coffin slabs. To the members of the Archaeological Research Section of the Woolhope Club who did the work. And by no means least, to Richard Kay for his drawings and for his skill and knowledge which correctly recognised the bumps under the turf as the site of a chapel.

The archive and finds are the property of the W.N.F.C. Deposited in the Hereford City Museum.

'The House of Houses': The Cistercians of Dore and the Origins of the Polygonal Chapter House

By JOE HILLABY

The polygonal chapter house is one of the triumphs of English Gothic architecture. 'A form of structure which Gothic builders never surpassed in beauty,' was the assessment of that shrewd and highly informed judge, Alexander Hamilton Thompson,[1] a view held as firmly by the medieval masons. At the entrance to the York chapter house there is the inscription *ut rosa phlos phlorum sic est domus ista domorum:* 'as the rose is the flower of flowers so is this the house of houses.' It is ironic that this statement should be found in one of the few polygonal chapter houses where the builders lost their nerve. At York they failed in their attempt at one of the greatest technical achievements of their age, the building of a stone vault supported by a single central column; instead the building was roofed in wood.[2]

THOMAS BLASHILL AND ROLAND PAUL

It was Thomas Blashill who discovered the first of the polygonal chapter houses. Although his architectural practice was in London, he had been a member of the Club since the earliest days. He was responsible for the reconstruction of a number of Herefordshire churches: St. John the Baptist, Yarkhill (1862); Putley (1875); St. Peter's, Dormington (1877); and for the design of the National School at Yarkhill, with its fine glass by the Whitefriars firm of James Powell. Blashill persuaded the Woolhope's naturalists to visit some of the major monastic sites of the locality, using the recently opened railway network. However, in June 1876, when members were viewing the ruins at Llanthony, his 'very interesting description of the abbey had to be curtailed by the Secretary announcing that the time had arrived for their departure to Llanvihangel in time for the last train for Hereford.'[3] The following year, when the Club visited Tintern, on the newly completed Wye Valley line, he presented a further paper, this time without interruption.[4]

During his first presidency, in 1882-3, Blashill took the Club to Abbey Dore. The party, joined by members of the Malvern Naturalists, took the 9.40 to Pontrilas and a special train up the Golden Valley's 'new railway' - an adventure eschewed by some of the more conservative, who made their way on horseback. Blashill described his discoveries in the Club's *Transactions* for 1882 and 1883 but more fully in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1885. 'Early in the year 1882 I carefully examined these remains (the sacristy and chapter house, parts of which are still in evidence), in preparation for a visit of the Woolhope and Malvern Field Clubs ... and I came to the conclusion that the chapter-house was a polygonal building. This was very surprising, as all English Cistercian chapter-houses then known were quadrangular, except that of Margam in South Wales, which was of about the same date, and 50 feet in diameter. By careful search

I have since ascertained that the chapter-house of Dore was a twelve-sided building of beautiful thirteenth century design, having a clustered column in the centre, the base of which, prepared for six large shafts and six smaller intermediate shafts, I identified in a rockery in the Rectory garden. I found also in the belfry a base from one of the angles of the interior, prepared for a large vaulting shaft, and two smaller shafts that carried the wall-ribs, thus fully establishing the shape of the building. I think also there are remains of the small arcade that ran round the lower parts of the walls, forming stalls for the abbot and monks in their chapter. Those who know the splendid chapter-houses of Westminster, Salisbury and Wells will easily picture this at Dore, which seems to have been a most worthy example of that class of buildings.'

Blashill's reference to 'the small arcade that ran round the lower part of the walls' can probably be explained by his plan in the 1883 *Transactions* (FIG. 1). There he shows four features on the inner face of the southern wall of the vestibule and chapter house. From west to east he drew:

1) the moulding on the base of the southern doorway;

2) what is evidently the foliated trumpet capital with triple shaft which is still visible;

3) what is probably another piece of vaulting shaft in the vestibule, no longer visible although the outline of its vault can be discerned;

4) one of the angle shafts of the chapter house, part of which remains. This is drawn so prominently as to suggest that it was surmounted at that time by its capital. It would have been this feature which Blashill interpreted, not as the springing of the chapter house vault, but as part of his suggested arcade.

For a short while Blashill changed his mind about the dodecagon. In the text to the accompanying plate he said that the portions of the central column and other indications made a six-sided figure more probable than the twelve-sided put forward in the main body of the article. However, later excavations persuaded him that his original idea of a dodecagon was correct.[5]

Almost twenty years later Thomas Blashill was accorded the honour of the Presidency of the Club in its Jubilee year, a tribute to a man whose enthusiasm for 'archaeology' was as strong as for natural history (PL. XXVI). The third field meeting (Ladies' Day) for 1901 was held at Abbey Dore which was visited via Hay. On this occasion Blashill spoke about the 17th-century restoration of the abbey. The subject was well chosen, for the building was now assuming 'a condition amounting to dangerous.' An unsuccessful appeal for repairs was made in 1898 but in May 1901 another attempt was made. A meeting was held at the palace under the chairmanship of the bishop where 'a powerful committee was appointed' to raise the £6,000 required according to the estimate of 'a competent and sympathetic architect, Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A.'[6]

Paul's interest in Dore went back ten years. In the 1890s he was a frequent contributor to *The Builder,* in particular to the series 'Abbeys of Great Britain' which was accompanied by large-scale illustrations and splendid plans. Paul's first publication on Abbey Dore appeared in *The Builder* in 1893. It was the text of a paper he had read to the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society the preceding month. It described the remain-

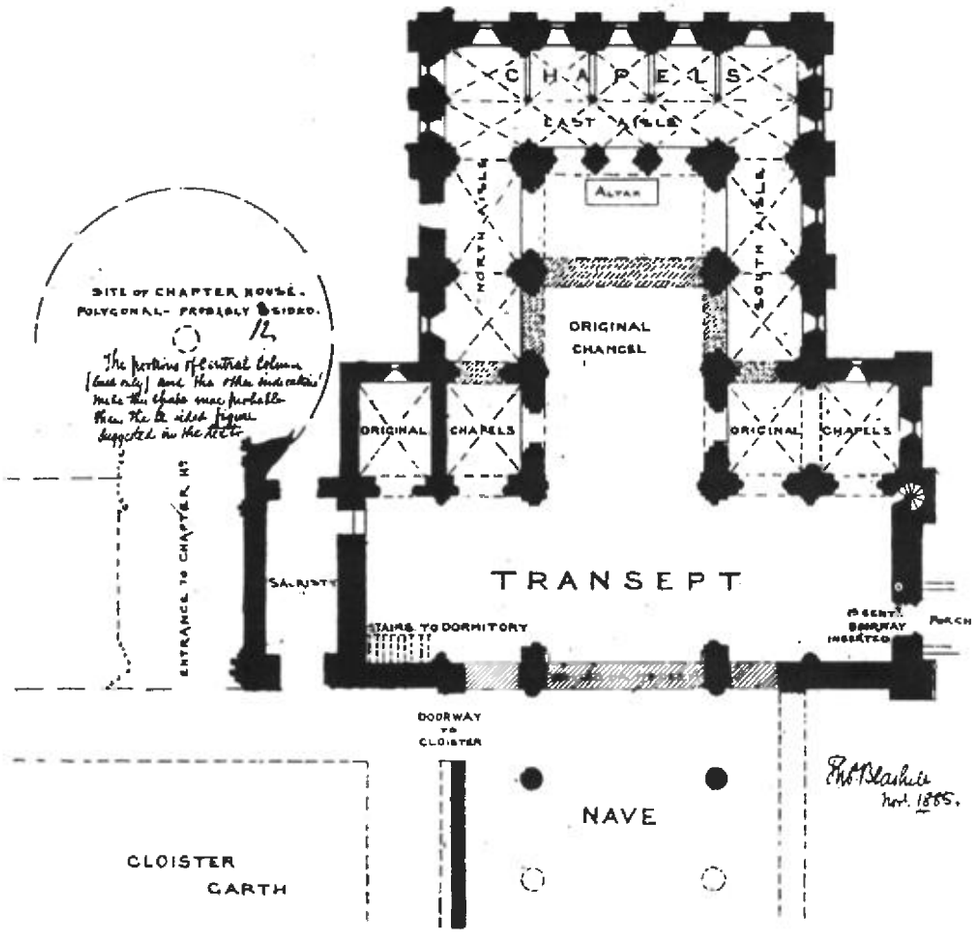


FIG. 1
Plan of Abbey Dore. T. Blashill, *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1883), 7.

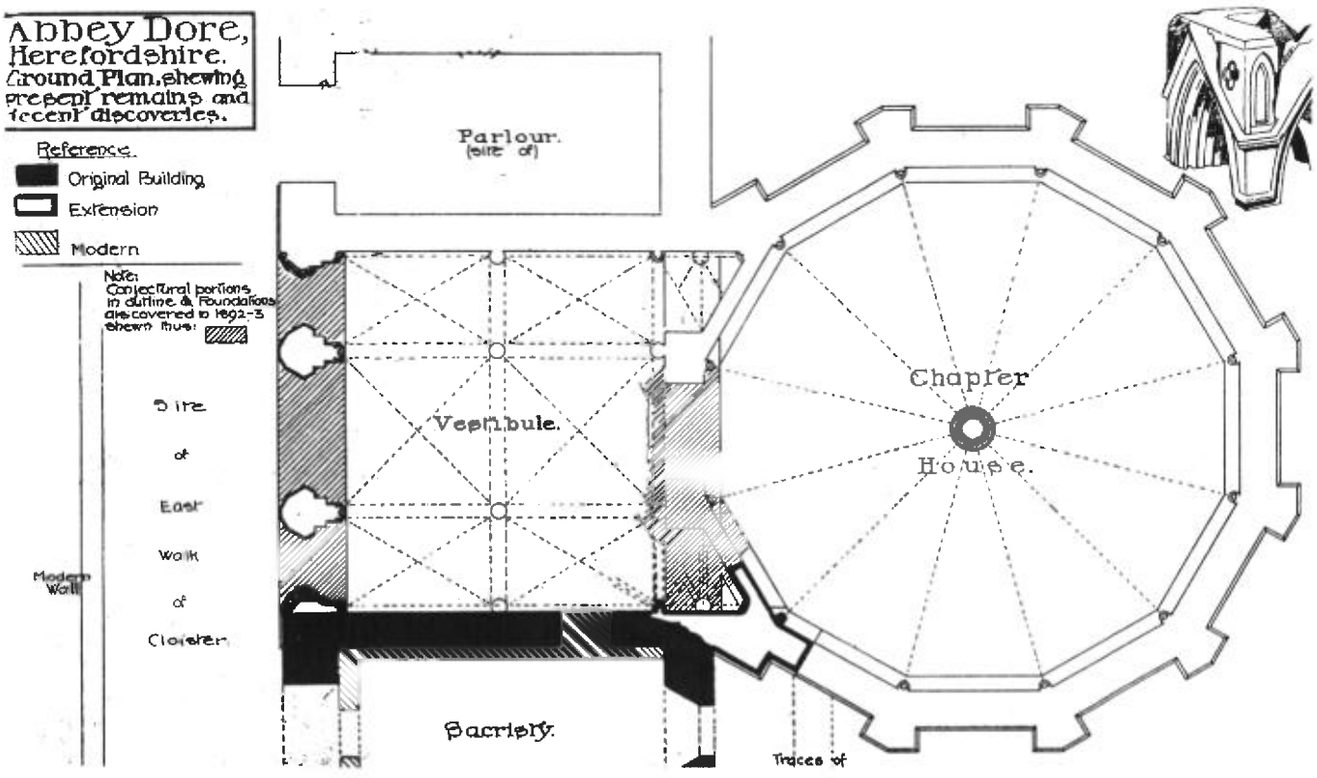


FIG. 2
Plan of Abbey Dore chapter house, vestibule etc. R.W. Paul, *The Builder* (8 April 1893).

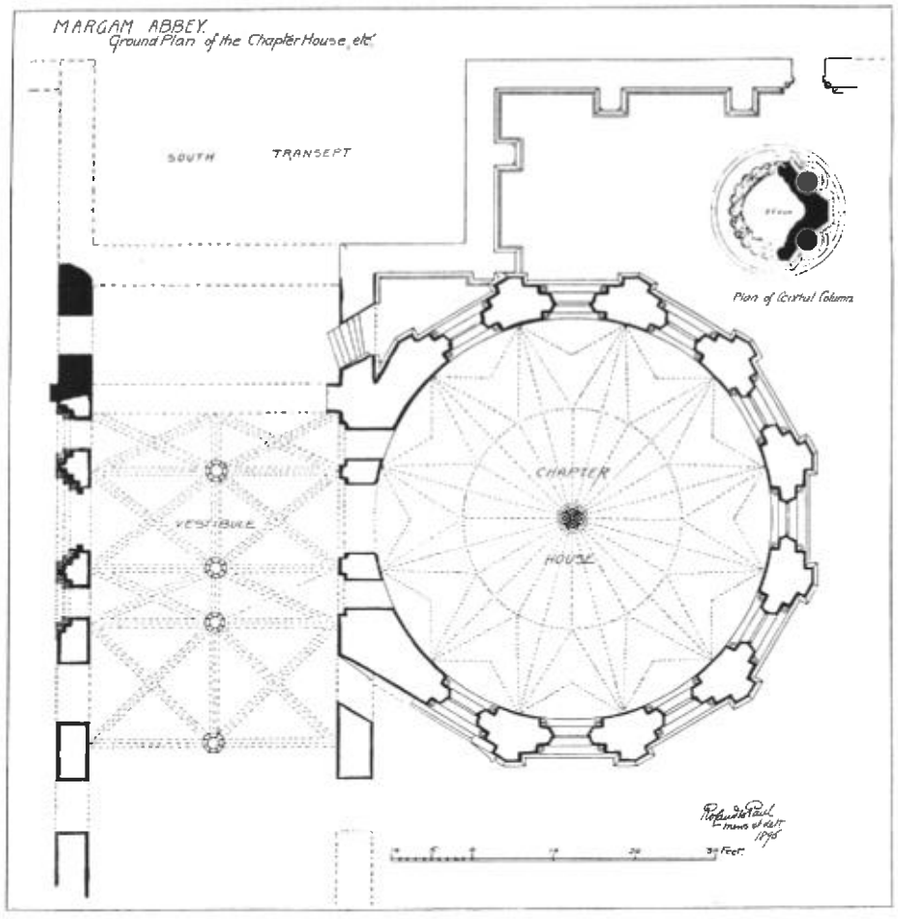


FIG. 9
Margam Abbey: plan of chapter house, etc R.W. Paul, (1895) in W. de G. Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey* (1897).

ing structure in detail but it is evident that it was the chapter house, or rather Blashill's discoveries in the chapter house, that interested Paul most. 'By kind permission of the rector, Rev. W. A. Phillipps, I have been able to make some excavations, both last year and this,' to discover 'the exact dimensions of the chapter house' (FIG. 2).[7] By 1895 his interest had shifted and Paul dug further trenches to establish the extent of the nave. He continued to explore the site until restoration was completed in 1907.

None of Paul's working drawings or notes has so far been located, so we have to rely on the printed material to comment on the date and possible affiliations of the Dore chapter house. His comments, plans and drawings on the architecture and archaeology of Dore are to be found in a range of journals spanning almost four decades, 1893-1931. Confusion has arisen as these included seven different plans of the site with no cross-reference; and some of the earliest were used by others. Although Bilson's study of early Christian architecture was published in 1909, he employed one of these. M. R. James and Alexander Hamilton Thompson reprinted an 1895 plan in their popular book on *Abbeys,* published by the Great Western Railway Company in 1926, and it was probably from here that the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments took details of the nave and some of the claustral buildings to incorporate in their own plan in *Herefordshire,* I in 1931.[8] A plan of 1904 was used by David Williams in *The White Monks in Gwent and the Border* as late as 1976.

From the printed sources it appears that Paul's interpretation of the site developed in four stages:

Stage 1: The Chapter House

The first plan accompanied the 1893 *Builder* article. It described the standing structure - the presbytery with its aisles and ambulatory, the crossing, the transepts with their chapels, the sacristy and the eastern bays of the nave. In addition it provided a reconstruction of the chapter house and its vestibule, based on Blashill's finds and his own 1892-3 excavations (outlined in black on FIG. 2). This was supplemented by a plan of the chapter house at Margam dated 1893, plans of the bases of the central shafts at Margam and Abbey Dore (FIG. 3) and a sketch of the vaulting shaft on the south side of the vestibule at Dore (FIG. 4).[9] This can still be seen.

Stage 2: The Nave

(a) The next plan, dated 1895, accompanied a second *Builder* article in the 'Abbeys of Great Britain' series in 1896. The previous year he had dug exploratory trenches to establish the length and character of the nave. The results, showing a nine-bay arcade, were incorporated on this second plan. To accommodate this westward extension, details of the 1892-3 excavations at the chapter-house site were considerably simplified.[10]

(b) A further plan, dated 1898, was included in Paul's book, *Dore Abbey,* appealing for funds for the work of restoration. This adds nothing to 2(a) but the site of the nave, that is lay brothers', altar.[11]

Stage 3: The Claustral Buildings

In 1904, the year of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society's visit, a fourth plan was published with his description of 'The Church and Monastery of Abbey

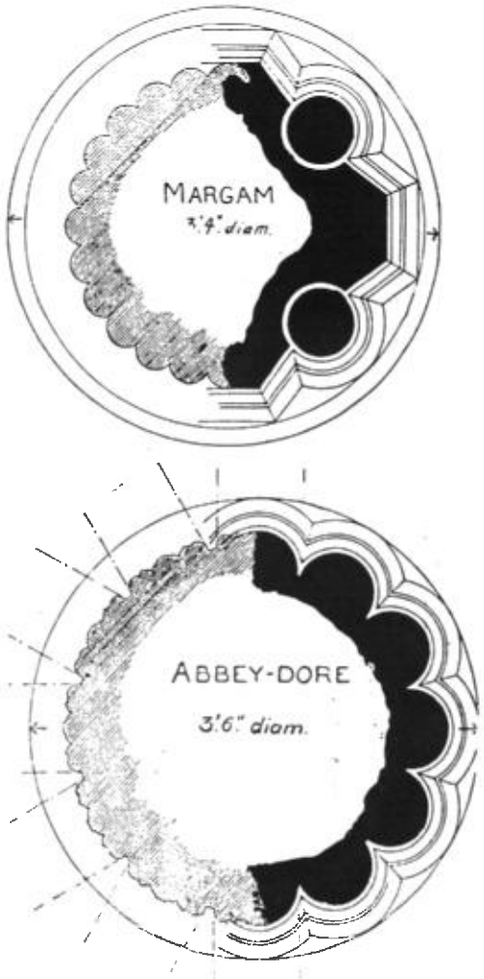


FIG. 3
Bases of the central shafts of the chapter houses at Abbey Dore and Margam. R. W. Paul, *The Builder* (8 April 1893), 268.

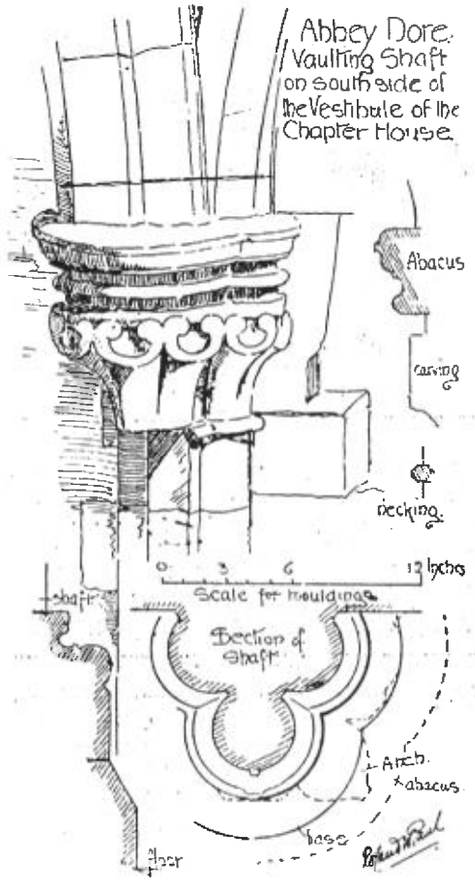


FIG. 4
Sketch of vaulting shaft on south wall of chapter house vestibule at Abbey Dore. R. W. Paul, *The Builder* (8 April 1893), 268.

Dore.' It incorporated the results of excavations made after 1895, which threw light on the size and position of a number of the claustral buildings - the west wall of the eastern range: parts of the rere-dorter, warming house, refectory and kitchen to the north; and the cellar and 'lane' on the west. It also provides a few more details relating to the chapter house - two grave slabs outside the vestibule and some masonry, presumably the floor, within the southern part of the chapter house itself.[12]

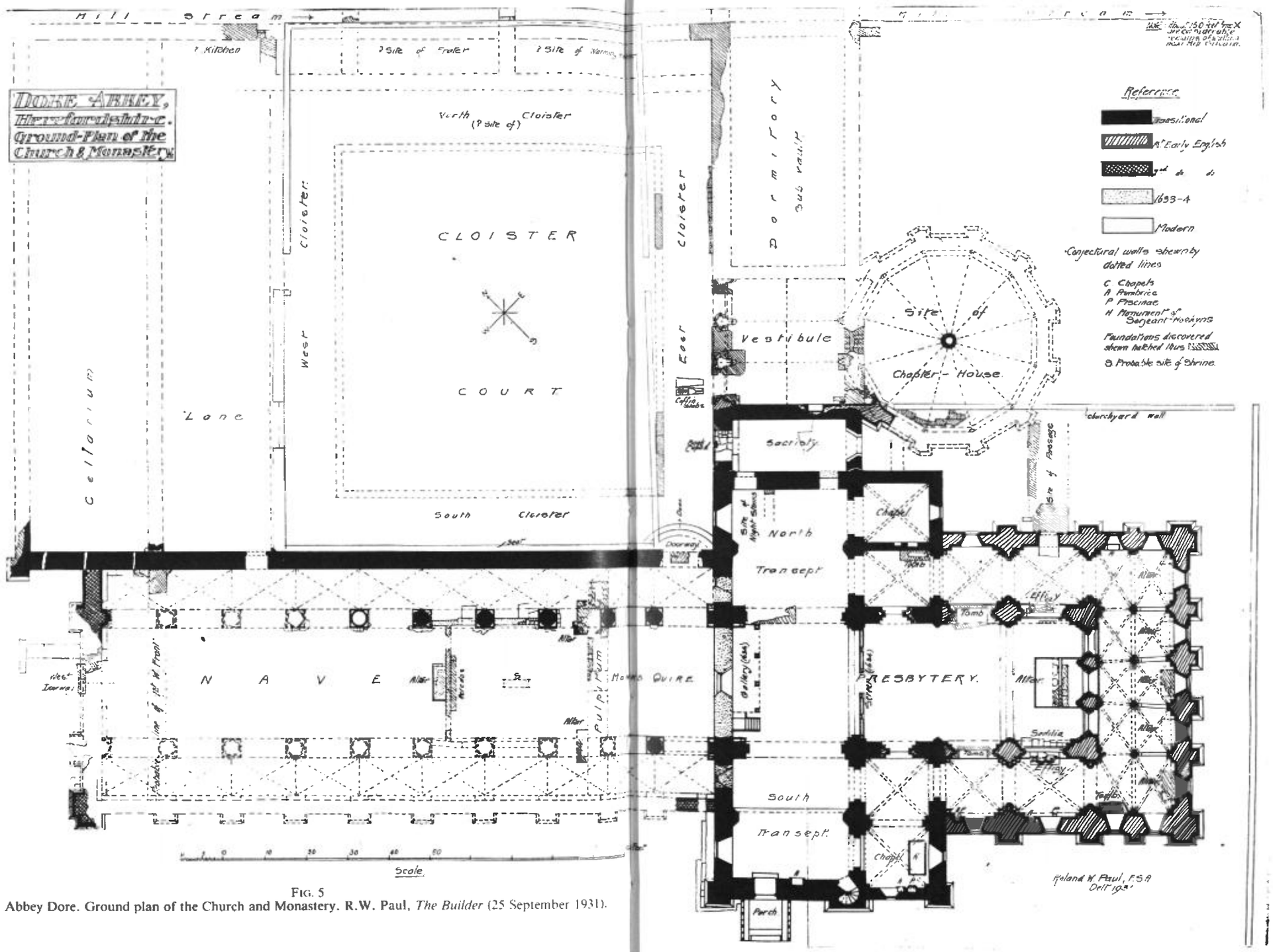


FIG. 5
Abbey Dore. Ground plan of the Church and Monastery. R.W. Paul, *The Builder* (25 September 1931).

Stage 4: Nave Extension and Reconstruction of South Aisle

(a) Paul produced what he believed to be his definitive plan at the termination of restoration work in 1907. The original, bearing his signature 'Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., Architect, 3 Arundel St., London WC. Mens. et delt. 1907,' is still displayed, in a rather sad condition, on the west wall of the south transept. To the 1904 plan were added the important discoveries, made in 1905, that a new west end, and thus a tenth bay, had been built in the first half of the 13th century when a great deal, if not the whole of the south aisle was rebuilt. What he considered the three main building periods - Transitional, *c.*1147-80; First Early English, *c.*1180-1210; and Second Early English, *c.*1210-50 - were indicated in colour.

(b) When the Cambrian Archaeological Association visited the site in 1927 a paper written by Paul was read out by the president, Dr. Hermitage Day. Attached to the report in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* is a further, undated, plan. This is 4(a) with one significant amendment. Paul had changed his mind about the date of the work in the chapter house and vestibule. This he now attributed to the 'First' not the 'Second Early English period,' that is *before,* not *after,* 1210.[13]

(c) Stung by the Royal Commission's use of the results of his excavations, without permission and 'incorrect in important details,' Paul returned once more to the drawing board, so that purchasers of the first volume of the Commission's *Inventory of Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* should 'as far as possible' have an accurate plan of the nave and claustral buildings. Printed in *The Builder* in 1931, it was plan 4(b) reworked more fully (FIG. 5). Thus a 13th-century stone coffin lid with foliated cross and plain shield, now behind the high altar, is shown, where it was found, in the cloister outside the southern entrance to the chapter house vestibule. The accompanying article provides two important drawings of the northern end of the second west front of the nave (FIG. 6). The Royal Commission was persuaded to publish a revised plan and corrigenda at the end of *Herefordshire,* III.[14]

Of these seven plans only the first, of 1893 (FIG. 2), provides full details of Paul's finds on the chapter house site. In the text he describes how he arrived at his conclusions. 'The only remains above ground are an angle with a vaulting shaft, and a small portion of one side, with a stone bench projecting 15 in. from the wall still remaining (outlined in black in FIG. 2). The foundation of this side was followed as far as its junction with that of a cross-wall, which was found running north from the vaulting shaft which still remains at the east end of the vestibule wall. The length of one side and an angle having been obtained, the twelve-sided figure has been restored, and the central column, already discovered by Mr. Blashill, restored to its proper position. The diameter internally at the angle of the chapter-house was 45 ft., being 4 ft. less than the one at Margam.' The angle shaft can still be seen but no trace of the bench is now visible.

Paul excavated the Dore chapter house site no further, for 'the ground sinks rapidly to the east for a few yards, an indication that all the ashlar work has been removed and perhaps even the foundations cleared away. Fortunately the entire thickness of the wall (on the south-west?) remains at one point and an angle of one of the buttresses. This has enabled me to restore this feature of the building with certainty. There was probably a

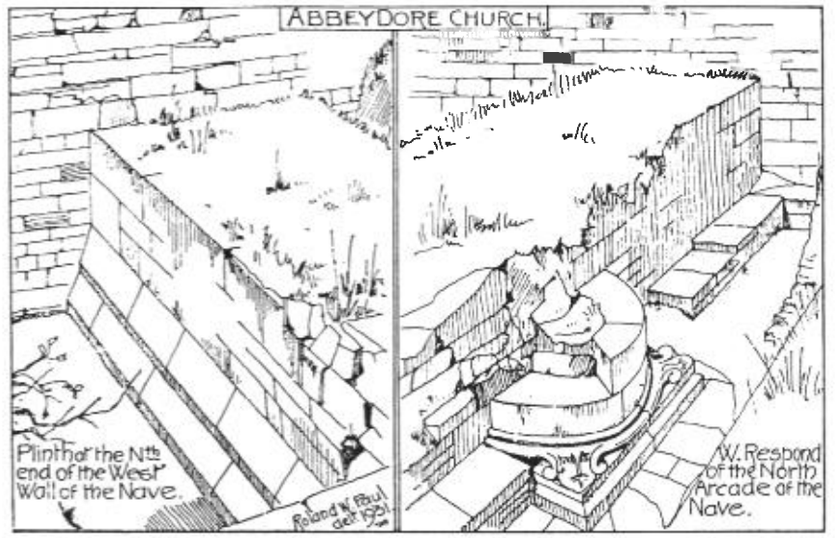


FIG. 6
Abbey Dore Church. R.W. Paul, *The Builder* (25 September 1931), 500.
i. Plinth at the north end of the west wall of the nave.
ii. west respond of the north arcade of the nave.

lancet at each face (of the nine free-standing sides), as at Margam (FIG. 7), but nothing remains above the string-course which ran immediately under the windows and this only at one point. Of the vestibule which led to the chapter-house from the cloister only a portion of the south wall remains and this in a very fragmentary state. The base of the doorway with its mouldings was however found and also the foundation which supported the three entrances running a considerable distance northwards. The destruction of the rest of the vestibule and indeed of the building situated north of it has been very complete and in places even the foundation and concrete used has been taken up. All the worked stone had entirely disappeared.'[15]

THE WHITE MONKS AND THE REJECTION OF PRIDE, SUPERFLUITY AND SINGULARITY

It is extraordinary that the design of the polygonal chapter house should have been pioneered in two Cistercian houses, Dore and Margam. The order had originated in a rejection of the riches and luxury that characterised the life of many monasteries, especially the Cluniacs, in the early 12th century. The founders sought to return to the early forms of western monasticism, in all their simplicity and severity. These ideals found formal expression in such later documents as the *Exordium Cistercii, Carta Caritatis* and *Exordium Parvum.*[16] The Cistercians were to be 'the new soldiers of Christ, poor with the poor of Christ,' their houses 'far from the concourse of man,' in places 'inhabited only by wild beasts.'[17]

Everything that savoured of pride or superfluity, or that would corrupt poverty, they rejected as an impediment to the life of contemplation and prayer.[18] St. Bernard denounced in uncompromising terms 'the immense height of (monastic) churches, their immoderate length, their superfluous breadth ... and strange designs which, while they attract the eyes of the worshipper, hinder the soul's devotion.'[19] Thus 'every ornament, vessel and utensil must be without gold, silver or precious stones except the chalice and the communion reed. We are allowed these two things of silver or gold plate but never of pure gold. The altar linen and vestments of the ministers, except the stole and maniple, must be without silk. The chasuble must be of one colour. We may not have sculptures anywhere; we may have paintings but only on crosses; and we may have crosses made only of wood.' William of St. Thierry took this even further: 'if I envisage for you my God, any form whatever or anything that has a form, I make myself an idolater.'[20] Later statutes insisted that windows should be only of white, now called *grisaille,* glass without pictures or crosses, that bells should not exceed 500 pounds so that they might be rung by a single person and that two bells should never be rung together. Bell towers of stone were forbidden.[21] However, to the outsider, the ideal found clearest expression in the undyed, white, habit.

For the Cistercians, the three fundamental characteristics of the human soul were simplicity, immortality and free will. The removal of superfluity was part of the striving for simplicity. 'There is no virtue more indispensable at the beginning of our conversion than simplicity.' Furthermore, 'He Who is subsisting Truth has no love of singularities; divisions do not please Him. He "standeth in the midst," that is to say, He is found in the common life and discipline; uniformity of observance is His delight.' Singularity was a seeking of one's own interest, that is an indulgence of one's 'own will,' at the expense of the common will. Thus for the Cistercians unity of plan and construction was the architectural expression of the monastic ideal of community; of the common will and its desire for simplicity.

However, St. Bernard recognised that what applied to the monks did not apply to the laity. The latter were 'not yet spiritually strong; they still needed milk rather than solid food.' Bishops had a duty to their flock, 'to rouse devotion in a carnal people incapable of spiritual things.' Thus for cathedral and parish churches, Bernard did not oppose the use of art, only the use of curiosities with scant or no religious symbolism.[22]

ABBEY DORE: THE BUILDING PROGRAMMES

Analyses of the architecture of Abbey Dore have been published on three occasions since the RCHM's *Inventory.* It was considered briefly, but perceptively, by Pevsner in 1963. Ten years later Carolyn Malone examined, in detail, Dore's relationship to the Cistercian houses of northern France and to the non-Cistercian buildings of the so-called West Country School in England. In 1984 Peter Fergusson placed the building firmly in the context of the evolution of the Cistercian church in England in the 12th century. However, his discussion is concerned with their churches, not with their claustral buildings. The Abbey Dore chapter house, and the church and chapter house at Margam, are thus excluded.[23]

The original structure, one assumes, was simple in plan and similar to that of Waverley, the first British house. In the late 12th and probably the first few years of the 13th century a massive campaign of reconstruction was undertaken, with great success. Pevsner suggests rebuilding 'started about 1175-80 and went on to 1210 or 1220 or beyond.' RCHM proposes a commencement date of about 1180 and completion about 1200-10. As we shall see, on historical grounds, it is most improbable that *this* campaign continued after 1210, although there was another bulding campaign later in the 13th century.[24]

Fergusson, whilst indicating that the chronology is complex, divides the work into three phases:

1 (*c.*1170-*c.*1180) The rebuilding of the presbytery, crossing and transepts of which the western bay of the choir, the crossing and the transepts, remain (marked in black, FIG. 5). This followed the so-called Bernardian plan. There were two chapels on each transept, as at Fontenay, *c.*1139, and many other French Cistercian houses, and as at Riveaulx, *c.*1132, Buildwas, 1155, and Roche in England.[25] The style, Jean Bony has shown, was drawn from Cistercian houses on the lower reaches of the Seine, such as Chars (Seine-et-Oise), Le Bourg Dun (Seine Inferieur) and Mortemer (Eure).[26] This Fergusson describes as the first unambiguously early gothic work in the west of England.

2 (*c.*1180-) The construction of the nave in a totally different style (also marked in black, FIG. 5) with the original French Gothic impulse now swept aside by the West Country school first recognised by Prior and Brakspear.[27].

3 (*c.*1186-1210) Total remodelling of the east end (hatched diagonally, FIG. 5). A double eastern ambulatory and northern and southern aisles were built to provide a processional way behind the high altar and additional altars. This plan, inspired no doubt by the eastern extension at Byland, *c.*1170-7, found its ultimate expression in England in the chapel of the nine altars at Fountains, 1203-47, which was copied by the Benedictines of Durham. At Citeaux itself a more elaborate eastern extension was consecrated in 1194.[28]

Recent work, as yet unpublished, by B. O'Callaghan shows that these three phases were not as distinct as has been suggested. For example, the eastern extension had already been decided upon before the north transept was completed.[29] However, this re-examination does not affect the terminal date of 1210, after which the church underwent only minor modifications (cross-hatched in FIG. 5). As a result of his 1905 excavations, Paul suggested that the south aisle of the nave was rebuilt and a new west front constructed in the first half of the 13th century (FIG. 6).[30] This may have formed a narthex, as at Citeaux, Clairvaux and Pontigny. If so, it was the only English example, for Fountains and Byland only had lean-to porches or Galilee chapels. In the 14th century further vaulting was undertaken. The evidence for this is the splendid 14th-century bosses of the Majesty and St. Katherine, discovered by Paul in the nave, and of a monk in prayer before the Virgin and Child and the coronation of the Virgin, all now displayed in the eastern chapels.[31]

THE DORE AND MARGAM CHAPTER HOUSES

The features by which the vestibule and chapter house can be dated are slight but they make it clear that they belong to the third stage outlined above. Neither the mouldings of the base of the southern side of the south entrance, drawn by Blashill in 1883 and Paul in 1893, nor the slight remains of the stone bench running along the wall, to which Paul referred, can now be seen (FIGS. 1 and 2). The only decorative features left are the foliated trumpet capital with its triple shaft on the south side of the vestibule and a short piece of one of the angle shafts in the chapter house. In addition we have the base of the central column of the chapter house. This presents problems. Blashill, who found it, refers to it being prepared for six large and six small shafts. This is not the impression given by Paul's 1893 plan (FIG. 2), nor by the base itself which is evidently the circular carved stone, 3 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, resting in the south transept. Indeed, it is difficult to fully reconcile the latter with Paul's drawing (FIG. 3).

On the other hand we are fortunate that the capital with part of its triple shaft remains. Both are typical of the work of the West Country school which has received much attention. Triple shafts with fillets are a characteristic of the choir extension as are trumpet-shaped scallop capitals with their palmettes.[32] These latter are a natural development from the large circular capital still to be seen on the north-eastern pier of the nave with minute foliage decoration. Paul believed that the vestibule and chapter house belonged to the third phase of reconstruction. This he dated 1180-1219 (FIG. 5). The RCHM dates the vestibule capital without any equivocation *'c.*1200,' a judgement fully accepted in the most recent discussion of 12th-century Cistercian architecture.[33] Any revision of the Royal Commission's dates runs into serious difficulties. There was no church building during the Interdict. Furthermore, as will be explained later, the second half of John's reign was a hard time for the English Cistercians in general, and for Abbey Dore in particular; and in the years following, money was short at Dore.[34]

The close relationship between the designs of the chapter houses at Margam and Dore was noted by Blashill in 1885.[35] The Cistercian abbey of Margam had been founded by Robert, earl of Gloucester, as a daughter of Clairvaux in 1147. By the late 12th or early 13th century it had acquired widespread estates in and around the valleys of the Afan and Kenfig and an ambitious building programme was undertaken to reconstruct the east end of the church.[36] The precise arrangement has not yet been established but the position of a south door in the presbytery suggests that, in plan, it was similar to the new work at Dore, with a series of chapels in the easternmost bay and an ambulatory to the west.[37]

The chapter house was part of this programme. After the Reformation it was retained in use as an out-building of the mansion which Rice Mansel built on the site of the abbey. In 1736 it was being used as a coalhouse and the vestibule was a brewhouse. Fortunately, a painting was made of the interior a few years before the vault collapsed in 1799, of which an engraving was published in H. P. Wyndham's *Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* of 1781 (FIG. 8).[38] From this one can obtain an impression of how the smaller chapter house at Dore would have been vaulted - with triple vaulting shafts rising between each of the windows to meet the shafts from the central pier.

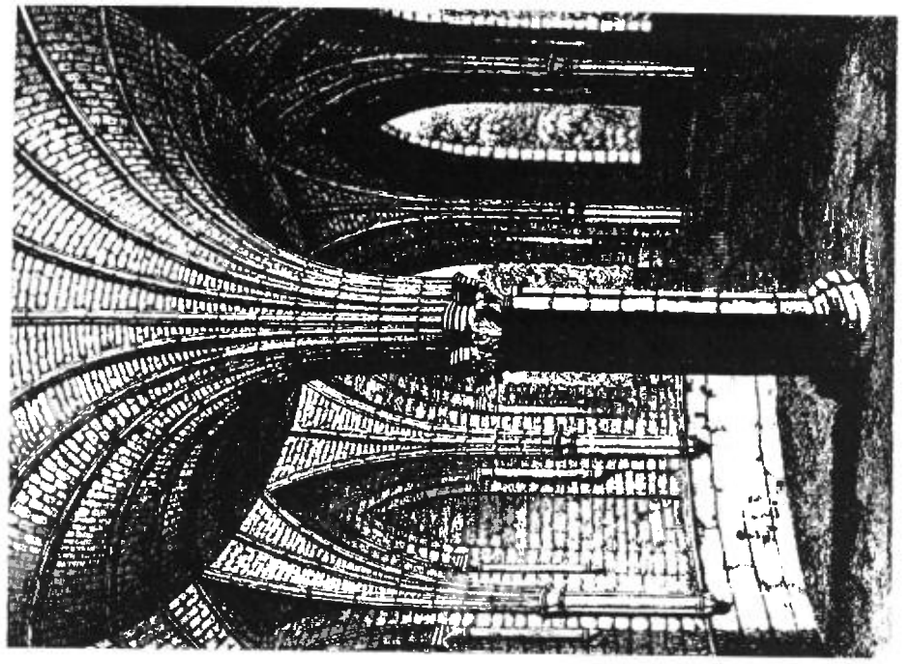


FIG 8
Engraving of Margam Abbey chapter house before the vault collapsed. W. de G. Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey* (1897).

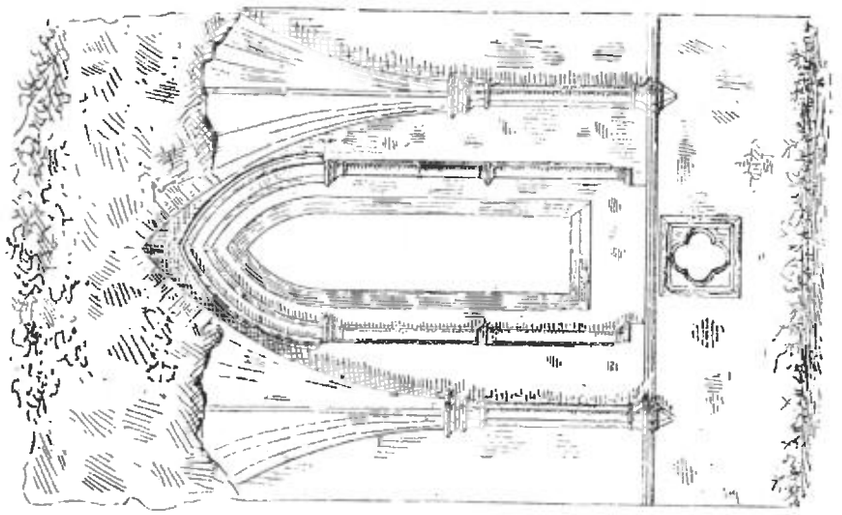


FIG. 7
Drawing of lancets of Margam chapter house. W. de G. Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey* (1897)

Because it was circular internally and dodecagonal externally, the Margam chapter house has been regarded as a halfway stage between the Romanesque circular chapter house at Worcester and the pure dodecagon at Dore. This was the view of Paul who had studied both buildings with care. His 1893 *Builder* article thus provided plans of both chapter houses and of the bases of both central columns. He returned to the subject three years later when he produced a further plan for inclusion in W. de Gray Birch's monograph on Margam (FIG. 9).[39]

Paul supported his conclusion, that Margam was the hybrid and Abbey Dore the perfected form, with further arguments.

1) At Margam the walls at the east end of the vestibule flanking the entrance have two arch openings which were carried straight through the wall and look rather awkward on the inside. At Abbey Dore this was 'altered and improved upon. The walls were made thinner on these sides and a little triangular space vaulted over took the place of the solid wall at Margam, and probably formed a very picturesque feature in the vestibule.'

2) At Margam no remains of a stone bench are to be seen but at Dore sufficient is left at the angle adjoining the vestibule to give a section. Such a section was, in fact, not given in the 1893 *Builder* article or subsequently.

3) At Margam the central column had eight shafts, four circular and four semi-octagonal. The springing of the vaulting remains and consists of a series of ribs, simple rolls, radiating to the columns against the outside wall. The mouldings of this vaulting do not fill up the abacus of the cap at all well. At Abbey Dore this was improved. The base, circular below and showing the bases of twelve shafts above, was placed with its vaulting over it. This stone has long been lying in the field and now proved to be the springing of the vaulting. It filled the cap a great deal better than at Margam.

Not everyone is convinced that Margam was built first. Neil Stratford, for one, is 'inclined to award priority to Abbey Dore on the evidence of the surrounding details.'[40] A review of the architectural evidence suggests that he is probably right. Paul's comment on the ill match of the mouldings of the chapter house vault with the abacus of the capital with its central column is quite correct but the comment can be applied to a great deal of the other decorative work. The chapter house vaulting ribs fit ungainly on their other capitals. Within the church itself the proportions of many capitals are unfortunate. Plate tracery is left raw and unadorned on the inner face of the choir and transept windows. As compared with Dore, the decoration throughout lacks sophistication and is best described as rustic. This does not necessarily mean that it was earlier.

The same comment may be made about the design of the vestibule. Indeed the Margam chapter house sits awkwardly within its site. It appears to merge into the south transept. The north-west angle buttress virtually touches the south-east angle buttress of the south transept (FIGS. 9 and 10). One wonders whether it was built in this way merely to outrival the size of Dore, by an extra four feet. Why was this quart-sized building fitted into a pint-sized plot? It certainly detracts from the impact when seen from the east. The answer is probably that the unwise decision was made, to squeeze the new vestibule into the site occupied by the earlier chapter house.

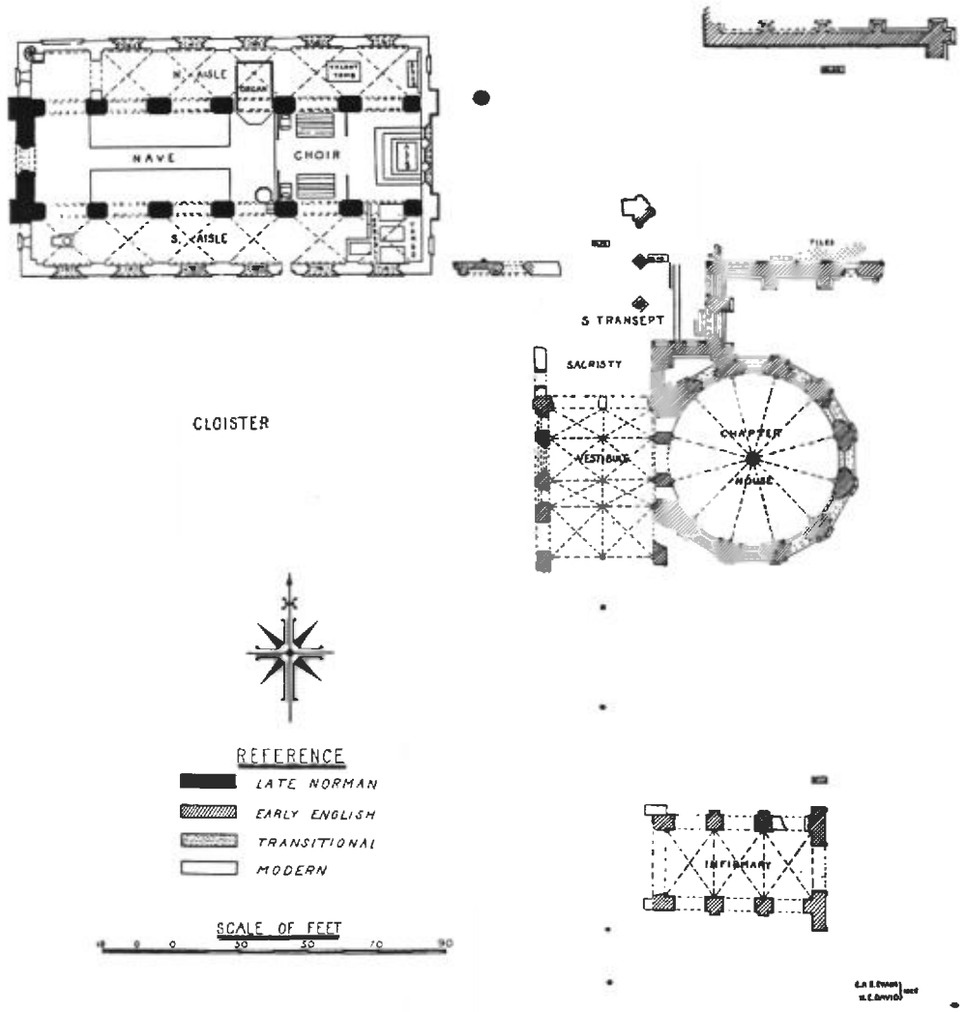


FIG. 10
Margam Abbey: plan by E.A. Evans. H.E. David, 'Margam Abbey, Glamorgan' *Archaeol. Camb.* 84(2) (1929), 318.

There is another, significant, difference between the two buildings. Rings are found on almost all the shafts at Margam, on the inner and outer face of the chapter house lancets as well as those of the church. Originally a functional element, the West Country masons first used them decoratively at the Glastonbury lady chapel, which can be dated precisely, 1184-6. At Hereford they are not to be found in de Vere's retrochoir, *c.*1190, but they are a marked feature of the multiple shafts of the lady chapel, *c.*1120-30. Rings were used, to great effect, to decorate the single shafts of Brecon Cathedral, 1201-8, where the terminal date can be fixed by the flight from the kingdom of its patron, William

de Braose, and of the east end of the cathedral at Llandaff. De Braose had not only been responsible for governing Glamorgan but was also the outstanding figure in the annals and records of Margam. In an elaborated form rings were adopted for the east end of St. David's Cathedral. There each shaft is embellished with four bands, a design element which was incorporated, under marcher influence, into Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. It is improbable that the Dore masons, if they had copied and refined the detail of the Margam dodecagon, should have rejected the ring shafts.[41]

It can rightly be claimed that the Interdict would have terminated construction work at Margam as well as at Dore. However, the experiences of the two houses during these years were very different. As the Margam chronicles themselves proudly proclaim under the year 1210, their abbot (despite his former close links with de Braose) had particularly cordial relations with John who visited the house, which lay on the principal route between England and Ireland, on two occasions. Indeed, the king placed Margam under his special protection in 1210 and favoured it almost as much as his own foundation, Beaulieu. Unlike the Dore annalist who had counted each day to the ending of the Interdict his Margam colleague passed over the event in silence. On the other hand the Margam annals do record the arrival, a year before its lifting, of messengers from Citeaux with letters deposing abbot Gilbert who was banished to the distant Cistercian house of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, where he ended his days. The annalist offers no explanation and the incident is not referred to in the Statutes. Was this intervention, one wonders, a counterpart to that at Vaucelles in 1192, when the visitor was reprimanded for not correcting extravagances there, particularly 'the building of a church that is too costly and superfluous, shocking many,' and delegates were ordered to suppress all that failed to conform to 'the simplicity of the order'?[42]

As Pevsner says, 'the very splendour of Dore's double ambulatory was a denial of Bernardian ideals.'[43] What, then, of the two chapter houses? They were not merely 'superfluity', but the very essence of 'singularity'. How could such an outstanding architectural development, so much at variance with the ideals of the rule, take place in these Cistercian houses? That is the fundamental question.

The answer may be, in part, geographical. Dore was sited on the very frontiers of Wales. Indeed, it was built on the western bank of the river Dore and even in the second half of the 13th century bishops Thomas Cantilupe and Gilbert Swinfield had to act vigourously against claims that it lay within the bounds of the see of St. David's. When Cantilupe consecrated the newly-completed church he travelled under escort and at considerable danger to his person.[44] Its foundation in 1147 by Robert, son of Harold of Ewias,[45] may be regarded, like those of Walter de Lacy at Craswall and of John of Monmouth at Grace Dieu, as a simple way of providing a buffer between their castles - of Ewias Harold, Longtown and Monmouth - and the Welsh. Nevertheless, Robert, a true marcher, had enough tact to ensure that Dore, like most of the Welsh Cistercian houses, was founded by French, not Anglo-Norman, monks, directly from Morimond in Champagne.[46]

'Once a year,' the *Carta Caritatis* enjoined, 'the abbot of the mother house shall visit all the monasteries that he himself has founded, either in person or through one of his co-

abbots. If he visits the brethren more often, let them rejoice the more.'[47] Such annual visitations to Dore would have been 'long, arduous, expensive and occasionally fraught with danger.' It has been estimated that the journey from Tintern to Citeaux took some three weeks and that the return journey cost £10.[48] Further, the abbot of Morimond had 26 other daughter houses to visit. Not surprisingly, therefore, a certain laxity developed by the end of the 12th century.

As early as 1169 Pope Alexander III had written to the English houses, warning them that the entire way of life had undergone injury and change, a decline from established customs, a leaving behind of the original manner of life.[49] The documentary evidence suggests that the papal warning fell on deaf ears. Little seems to have changed in the following decades, a matter on which the Waverley annals are less reticent than the statutes of the General Chapter. At Waverley itself the abbot had to be replaced by a monk from Bruern in 1187. The next year the General Chapter sent visitors to England who dismissed the abbots of Tintern, Bordesley and Flaxley. At Garendon in Leicestershire abbot William was replaced in 1195 by Reginald, abbot of Merevale, who had difficulties re-establishing discipline amongst the conversi; within a year one of his own lay brothers stabbed and grievously wounded him by night in the infirmary. At Bordesley in 1199 Richard, who had replaced the earlier abbot, was himself removed.[50]

At Vaucelles and elsewhere, this 'leaving behind of the original manner of life' was expressed in architectural terms. At Dore these were most striking. In the 1180s the unmistakable French influence in the transepts gave way to new work of a wholly English style, West Country in origin. Whilst the contrast betwen the splendour of the new retrochoir and Bernardian ideals was sharp, it is hard to imagine a more forceful rejection of simplicity and of the pursuit of singularity than Dore's new polygonal chapter house.

ABBOT ADAM I (c.1186-1215)

The answer to the dilemma posed by the Dore and Margam chapter houses lies more in the personality of their respective abbots than in geographical factors which, by weakening central authority, provided the context within which they could exercise their ambitions with greater freedom. As Fergusson indicates, 'the attitude of the abbot was ... critical. As the formulator of the program, as the presiding on-site authority watching all developments and as the most widely travelled and thus most knowledgeable person about developments elsewhere, the abbot exercised decisive control over the work.' In support he quotes the example of Meaux, where new building programmes were instituted by three successive abbots.

At Dore all the evidence indicates that Abbot Adam I, who the Haughmond Abbey cartulary shows to have been in office by 1186 x 9, was the person responsible for the programme of reconstruction of the presbytery and the building of the new polygonal chapter house. The architectural evidence indicates that a new hand was at work about 1185. 'Soberness and restraint were firmly set aside in favour of robust decorative interest' derived from neighbouring West Country workshops. As Fergusson has pointed out, the

programme was 'immensely costly.' It is not surprising, therefore, that his fund-raising efforts met with criticism.[51]

Much of our knowledge of Adam is drawn from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis. His most famous work, the *Description of Wales,* developed from a tour throughout Wales preaching the crusade with Archbishop Baldwin in 1188. Some four years later he withdrew from the English court and devoted himself to literature and theology, first at Hereford, where he was a canon and wrote a *Life* of St. Ethelbert, later at Lincoln. A salary of £7-12-1 appears in the sheriff of Herefordshire's accounts in the Pipe rolls each year between 1193 and 1202. Born of a noble Norman-Welsh family, he had an intimate knowledge of Wales and the southern march. More important, Gerald, like his close friend, Walter Map, was a stern critic of the monks.[52] The White Monks fared better at his hands than the Black, but some of his bitterest comments were reserved for the Cistercian abbots of whom he had fallen foul. In addition to Adam of Dore, these included Peter of Whitland, whose deposition by the General Assembly at Citeaux in 1202 was secured by Gerald; Cadwgan, who was successively abbot of Strata Florida (1200-02), Whitland (1203-15) and bishop of Bangor (1215-36) before withdrawing to a notorious retirement as a monk of Dore; and lastly Gilbert, abbot of Margam, who was eventually deposed and expelled from his monastery in 1213.[53]

Gerald's antipathy to Adam is easily explained. They had been rivals for the vacancy at St. David's in 1198. Gerald, who had had to decline nomination in the previous election, in 1176, on account of Canterbury's opposition, described the circumstances vividly in his autobiographical *De Rebus a se Gestis,* written for the most part in 1204-5 but only completed after 1208.[54] 'Adam of Dore, a man not unknown to fame, the instant the bishop died and immediately after that great slaughter of Welshmen in Elfael, crossed the sea that he might bring the news to the King while it was still fresh, that he might be pleasing in his sight. He took with him letters from magnates and barons of the March in which they wrote counselling his promotion in the Church of Mynyw (St. David's). In order that he might please the King, whom he knew to be athirst for money, and might thus find an easier approach for the fulfilment of his desires, he gave a large sum of money to the King, who knew nothing about the place, for the possession of the wood of Treville, that he might cut it down; a Royal forest, very fair and remarkable, whose tall trees were a sight to feast the eye and wherein was a great multitude of wild beasts. Had not the King soon died abroad, more especially since he was always quick to perform anything that pleased him and above all to promote unworthy persons, great tribulation would have befallen the Church of Mynyw.' Indeed in 1199, Adam failed to attend the General Chapter, an absence not altogether surprising, given his intensive canvassing for the see. For this breach of discipline he was sentenced to remain outside the abbot's stall and fast on bread and water every Friday until he presented himself at Citeaux.[55]

In the *Speculum Ecclesiae,* completed about 1217, Gerald describes with gusto some of the means used by Adam and his monks to raise funds for their building programme. Due allowance has to be made for Gerald's prejudices but the factual nature of a number of the stories he relates about Adam can be confirmed from other sources. His monks solicitously visited the dying Sybil of Ewias, widow of Harold. Eventually, 'with all the solemnity with which men were made monks they made her a monk with tonsure and cowl complete.' The same privilege they accorded to the mother of John, lord of Monmouth. The prizes they sought are indicated by a charter of Sybil's granddaughter which granted to Dore 'common of pasture on the side of Dulas, saving the woods, meadows and demesne, for 200 sheep.' The dying from Ewias Harold and Bacton they carried off to their monastery in *rhaedae,* Celtic four-wheeled carriages, and other transport, 'especially the Welsh who are more simple-minded and easy to deceive with promises of salvation in return for appropriate gifts.' A local knight, Gilbert, was filled with wine and then his seal affixed to a forged grant of lands 'large and spacious, fertile and fruitful.' This is confirmed by a survey of 1213 which refers to twenty-eight acres of the fee of Walter de Lacy held as the gift of Gilbert of Bacton. There were further charges. Dore's daughter house, Trawscoed, was relegated to the status of a grange. The charter of the donor, Walter I de Clifford, shows that this was contrary to the terms of his gift. The lands and pastures of their neighbour, the Augustinian canons of Llanthony, they encroached upon and rents from land and the church of Bacton they held contrary to the rules of their order.[56]

The less personal 'Digression of Master Walter Map on Monkery,' shows that Adam's behaviour was not uncharacteristic of monks of that era, both white and black. In Map's words, they 'recognise their prey, as the hawk spies the frightened lark, in the shape of knights whom they can pluck - men who have wasted their patrimony or are shackled with debts. These they entice, and at their firesides, remote from noise entertain them sumptuously, most amiably press them to repeat their visits frequently, promise them similar cheer every day, faces always smiling. They show them their larders before they have broken their fast; lay out all the treasures of their house, and awaken their hopes; undertake to supply their needs, then hurry them to the various altars and tell them who is patron of each, and how many masses are said there every day: they enrol them in the brotherhood in full chapter, and make them sharers of their prayers. Thence they bring them, to quote Virgil, "Indoors in winter cold, to shade in summer heat."[57] At what stage, one may well ask, does energetic fund-raising become rapacity?

Some ten years after the completion of *De Rebus,* when he was older and even more embittered at his two failures to obtain the premier Welsh see, Gerald returned to provide a new slant on the Treville forest episode. The whole of chapter 12 of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* is devoted to the subject, 'How the monks of a religious house disforested part of a royal forest.' There he describes how, after buying the 300 acres from Richard I for £200 in 1198, under the pretext that it was inaccessible to all save the Welsh and robbers, to whom it offered a safe haven, Adam had the timber felled. Not only did he then have a splendid tract of fertile land as flat as a threshing floor, but also sold in Hereford all the tall trees which had been 'a sight to feast the eye' for three times the purchase price. Gerald's story is in part corroborated by the Pipe Rolls which show that as early as 1199 the monks were fined for assarting heavily within the royal forest. This first success Adam followed up by the purchase of another 200 acres from Richard I.[58]

Adam's interests extended beyond agriculture and forestry. He was very much the entrepreneur. In this he was not alone; in the words of Walter Map, the Cistercians were 'harrowers, herdsmen, merchants, and in each calling most active.'[59] Indeed, Adam's

business activities led him into a number of feuds. In 1203 his conflict with the merchants of his powerful neighbour William de Braose, lord of Abergavenny, reached the ears of the General Chapter. The abbots of Margam and Coggeshall were deputed to resolve the matter but apparently failed, for the following year they were reprimanded for making no report. Adam was evidently using the river port on the Usk, rather than Monmouth on the Wye, for the export of his wool and the burgesses felt that this was being done without due regard to the privileges afforded by their charter. In 1211 and 1212 details of a further dispute indicate the destination of the wool - St. Omer, where it was purchased by Florence and John, son of Bartholomew.[60]

Richard's successor knew only too well how Adam had exploited Treville. King John was renowned for 'haunting woods and streams and greatly delighting in the pleasures of them' and stayed regularly at Kilpeck to hunt in the forest. 'The discord between us and the clergy of England' he used as an excuse to resume this land. However, on reaching an accommodation with the Pope, John had in August, 1213 to return the monks' part of Treville. A survey of that year shows just how large a holding Adam had now established. To the south and west of the Treville Brook the abbey held 690 acres of coverts, 274½ acres of waste, 109 acres of old assarts and 131½ acres of newly cleared land. Their total holding was thus more than 1,200 of the 2,000 acres of the forest. But John did not lack means to make the monks pay, and pay heavily. In 1215 he levied a fine of £400 and ten palfreys for a charter confirming the possession of their lands between the Dore and Treville Brooks. Next year they were faced with large fines for disafforesting. On 28 July the abbot delivered, by his own hand to the royal chamber at Hereford, 100 marks 'of the fine made with us for disafforesting and assarting part of the forest of Treville.' Three days later Adam the cellarer paid another 200 marks. A similar sum was handed over a little later. The market value of Adam's acquisitions is revealed by the price which John of Monmouth had to pay for the other half of Treville in 1230 - £4,000.[61]

Gerald's story of the timber sold in Hereford was thus in no way far-fetched. That such large fines could be paid is a clear indication of the profit derived from Treville. Indeed, the forest was more than a local resource. In 1224 Henry III gave Bishop Poore of Salisbury 100 Treville oaks for the cathedral he was building on a new site in the valley of the Avon. So valuable a commodity were they that the transport costs of the difficult journey were fully justified.[62]

Relations between John and the Cistercians had been strained since 1200 when they had opposed the imposition of a carucage as contrary to their immunities. The king uttered dire threats against the order but the conflict was resolved amicably by the chancellor, Archbishop Hubert Walter. Indeed, in 1204 John founded one of the largest of English Cistercian abbeys, at Beaulieu.[63] During the Interdict, however, they suffered more harshly from John's exactions than any other order. According to Roger Wendover they were fined £40,000 in 1210 and Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall records a further levy of £22,000 in 1212. How far these are exaggerations is not known. Receipts from the Cistercians do not appear on the royal account rolls but many of their houses were dispersed, their monks seeking refuge in other monasteries. Apart from John's own foundation of Beaulieu, Margam was the only house to escape these impositions. This was because of

the apparently warm relations between its abbot and the king and the hospitality given to John on his way to and from the Irish expedition of 1210.[64] John's resumptions of their lands and the crisis of the interdict provide the critical date, about 1208, when Adam I's resources came under acute strain. The historical and architectural evidence thus concur as to the terminal date of the work on the east end and chapter house.

On 2 July 1214 the Dore annalist recorded the lifting of the Interdict which, he added in a poignantly precise note, had 'lasted six years, three months and seventeen days.'[65] It was not only 'the break of the Interdict' that affected building activity at Dore. The monks received no indemnification for John's financial depredations during those years; nor did the abbey's finances improve after 1216, for Henry III continued the heavy fines imposed by his father. In 1223 a fresh survey was ordered of 'the assarts made by the abbot and monks of Dore in Treville wood.' In 1226 the abbot and convent had to pay £433 for a further charter of confirmation of their lands in Treville.[66] Dore was not alone in its difficulties. At Waverley itself, the premier English Cistercian house, the new church which had been laid out in 1203 was not completed before the end of 1231.[67] Gerald's description of Adam's successor, Adam II (*c.*1216-*c.*1226), as 'modest in a mediocre way' is therefore not altogether surprising. Given such a drain on his resources any man would have found it hard to emulate the building programme of Adam I. It is no wonder that the building was only completed with difficulty. In 1260 Peter Aquablanca had to offer twenty days' indulgence to those who would contribute to the completion of the work. The church was only finally consecrated by his successor, Thomas Cantilupe.[68]

THE HEREFORD CATHEDRAL SCHOOL

In the last quarter of the 12th century the cathedral school at Hereford was one of the major intellectual and cultural centres of the kingdom. In a poem written to persuade Gerald of Wales to take up residence at the cathedral, Simon du Fresne, or Ashe, one of the canons, described the range of studies. Not only the seven liberal arts, the trivium (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy), with canon and civil law and theology flourished within the city, but also the natural sciences, astrology and geomancy. This is the first reference to its study in this country. In 1176 a certain Roger Infans of Hereford produced a *Compotus,* an adaptation of Arabic astronomical tables, for the Hereford Use. His other books included an astrological work, *Iudicia Astronomie.* It has been suggested that the eminent scientist, Alfred Angelicus, was also here for a time.[69] From Gerald we learn that the young Robert Grosseteste, even then renowned for his ability in the liberal arts and wide knowledge of literature, canon law and medicine, was a member of Bishop William de Vere's household.[70]

Although on the edge of this circle, Walter Map remained an important influence. Witness lists show that in the 1170s he was an occasional visitor to Hereford. Later, when his career at court ended, he moved to Lincoln but about 1197 he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Oxford which gave him the opportunity to visit the countryside in which he had been born, of which he had written and which he loved. He was at Hereford on a number of occasions; he made a grant to St. Guthlac's; he witnessed a charter of Bishop

de Vere. On the latter's death he was the favourite for the vacant see and travelled with the Hereford deputation which consulted the king at Angers in 1199. But he was passed over by John who, instead, repaid a political debt by the election of William de Braose's brother.[71]

Other members of the Hereford school were also interested in literature. Simon du Fresne wrote poems in Norman French as well as those in Latin addressed to Gerald of Wales. Two of the former have come down to us, *Le Roman de Philosophie,* an adaptation in 1,700 verses of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy,* and *La Vie de Saint Georges.* De Vere himself indulged in hagiography. His widowed mother, the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, had retired to the monastery of St. Osyth's in Essex. De Vere brought together into one composite *Life,* now lost, details of the lives of the two saints of that name, of Crich, Essex and Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.[72] De Vere's *Life* is known from Leland and from extracts in two Hereford breviaries.[73] De Vere was not alone. Within the diocese there was evidently a strong vernacular tradition of which five works survive: *Hale Meidenhad,* lives of SS. Katherine, Margaret and Juliana and *Sawles Warde.* All bear unmistakable signs of their Herefordshire origin.[74]

Abbot Adam I was more than an ambitious builder, he was a true son of the 12th-century Renaissance. Not for him, as for so many English Cistercians of his day, talk merely of litigation, 'the progeny of bulls, ploughs ... and the yield of fields.'[75] His clashes with Gerald of Wales and Simon de Fresne, and other evidence, show that, himself a Hereford man, Adam was closely associated with the work of the cathedral school. Gerald and Simon did not have it all their own way. Adam replied with a counterblast in the form of satiric verse which was obviously well chosen for it drew replies from both. In the British Library is a series of sermons with verse endings and in the Bodleian a number of Biblical passages rendered into a mixture of prose and verse. Both have been attributed to Abbot Adam. Such literary activity is of particular interest because the General Chapter sought to prevent such poetising by its members. In 1199 it ordained that any monk indulging a taste for poetry should be sent to another house and not allowed to return without the express permission of the General Chapter.[76]

Adam has also been credited with the authorship of the treatise called *Pictor in Carmine.* This contains the largest known collection of types and anti-types, 510 and 138 respectively, intended for use by artists in the decoration of cathedral and parish churches. Types were Old Testament subjects which prefigured events (anti-types) in the New Testament. Thus chapter 110 follows Matthew XII, 40: 'For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' The subject was used in this way in the twelfth of the Romanesque typological windows (sXV) at Canterbury and can still be seen in the Passion or Redemption window (LIX) at Chartres.[77]

For M. R. James the author was both a Cistercian and English, no other than Adam of Dore. All thirteen copies of the manuscript are English. The spirit of the text is in close sympathy with the aesthetics of St. Bernard. The author would prefer to have no paintings at all in churches but if they are to be 'he will at least have them to be edifying; with the grotesques of which both books and buildings are so full in the twelfth century he has no

patience.' The Herefordshire school of Romanesque sculpture, above all the neighbouring church at Kilpeck, would thus have provided an excellent incentive. Finally, an early manuscript of the *Pictor* once belonged to Hereford cathedral library, one of the few complete copies and it contains the preface. On the flyleaf it is ascribed to Adam, abbot of Dore.[78]

Adam's interest in music is well documented. Bale, quoting a lost passage of Gerald's *Speculum,* tells us that he wrote a study of the *Rudiments of Music.* This is of considerable interest as in 1217 the General Chapter took Abbey Dore to task for its indulgence in three- and four-part chanting to the detriment of the order's plainsong.[79]

Throughout Adam's abbacy of some thirty years, there is no evidence of breaches of discipline serious enough to merit the attention of the General Chapter, acting as a chapter of faults. This was in marked contrast to the state of affairs in such English houses as Bordesley, Flaxley, Garendon and even Waverley. Discipline was no better in Adam's own province of South Wales. In 1188 the abbot of Tintern had to be dismissed; at Caerleon, Aberconway and Valle Crucis it was reported that the abbots celebrated mass rarely and abstained from the altar. The most serious trouble was amongst the lay brothers where the sin of drunkenness was virtually endemic. From about 1190 almost every abbot in South Wales had difficulty in controlling them. At Margam beer-drinking at the granges had become a serious problem and in 1191 the General Chapter sentenced the abbot to remain out of his stall for forty days on account of unspecified 'enormities' committed in his house. In 1206 the conversi rose in revolt. They placed an embargo on food supplies and, with arms in their hands, chased Abbot Gilbert for fifteen miles. Gilbert had to call in the secular power to have his lay brethren carried off to the dungeons of the nearby castle. Drunkenness and rioting were not to be found at Abbey Dore, where Abbot Adam's wide cultural interests did not prevent him from ruling his house with a firm hand.[80]

THE CHAPTER HOUSE

By the end of the twelfth century the monastic chapter house had a status second only to that of the church. This reflected the important business conducted within its walls. It was the administrative and disciplinary centre of the monastery. Here took place the reading of the rule, the management of the affairs of the house, the commemoration of benefactors, the chapter of faults and the making of confession. Over all these functions the abbot presided from his stall at the centre of the east wall. To his left and right were his principal officers with the brethren seated by the north and south walls. The abbot exercised both spiritual and civil authority. He was both judge and lord of his house and its dependants. Sometimes, as at the Benedictine houses of Reading and Bury, the abbot had extensive civil authority within the Liberty of his monastery but that function either he or his deputy exercised in a quite different building, the Court House, outside the precinct.

The chapter house thus came to be an expression of the authority and personality of the abbot for it was here, from his abbatial stall, that he ruled. Within the Cistercian order this received further emphasis. At the annual visitation the abbatial stall was given up to

the abbot of the mother house or his deputy, the co-abbot. Similarly, serious transgressions on the part of a Cistercian abbot were punished in the General Chapter not merely by such penalties as fasting on bread and water but also by exclusion from the abbatial stall, a far more public humiliation. Thus in 1199 Adam I had to 'remain outside his stall until he presented himself at Citeaux.'[81] As, during life, the abbot had ruled from his chapter house, so it was only fitting that there, after death, he should have his earthly memorial. At Fountains, immediately in front of the abbot's stall and extending down the middle of the house, were found the gravestones of thirteen of its abbots. These tombs illustrate, vividly, the growth of a cult of personality amongst heads of Cistercian houses. The earliest were wholly unadorned but during the first half of the 13th century a dramatic change took place. Thus on the tomb of the tenth abbot, John de Cancia (1220-47), was found the inscription, finely carved in Lombardic letters:

Hi REQIESCIT; DOMPNUS JOH'S X AbBAS DE FONTIbV'
QVJ OBIJT VII KL DECEMBRIS.[82]

The personality of the abbot and apparent freedom from interference from the General Chapter were essential factors in the development of a polygonal form of chapter house at Dore and Margam but without the technical capacity nothing could have been achieved. Carolyn Malone has described the great interest shown by the masons of the West Country school in the possibilities of vaulting. Under the influence of early French Gothic in the 70s, the vaulting of naves, 'almost totally rejected in the north, sporadic elsewhere, was provided for consistently in the west.' This explains why, at the end of the 12th century, the structurally most adventurous group of buildings in England is to be found in the west. Some of the earliest signs were the vaulted nave aisles at Malmesbury in the 60s and the ribbed vaults of the Dore transepts in the 70s.[83]

For his retrochoir Adam followed the model of Byland.[84] For his chapter house he apparently turned to local sources. Indeed there is a strong and not surprising family likeness between Hereford and Dore in terms of the capitals (trumpet-shaped scallop and upright stiff leaf) and the triple shafts carrying the vault. But it was in the use of space that Adam was really inspired by de Vere's new retrochoir at Hereford. As originally designed, this was composed of three tall and spacious two-bay compartments. Only the central compartment remains; the other two were reconstructed, that in the north-east by Swinfield, d. 1316, and that in the south-east probably by Lewis Charlton, d. 1369. The failure to complete the project at that time, with a short lady chapel to the east, is probably explained by de Vere's death. The plan was developed from Wells and Glastonbury, where the choir aisles were taken around the eastern end as an ambulatory and four chapels constructed to the east (FIG. 11). De Vere sought to outdo these by building a wider east end which was not to be broken up into enclosed eastern chapels but left open. North and south walls were built for the central compartment, to take the thrust from the projected lady chapel. Malone has indicated the similarities in design between the three structures and even suggested that 'it is possible that the Glastonbury masons ... were subsequently employed at Hereford.' However, de Vere's design ensured that Hereford differed from the other two in the oustanding sense of space that was achieved from the use of a more open plan. 'One would have emerged from the lower aisles of the choir into the unusually large spatial units of the retrochoir ... an early and one of the more exciting examples of

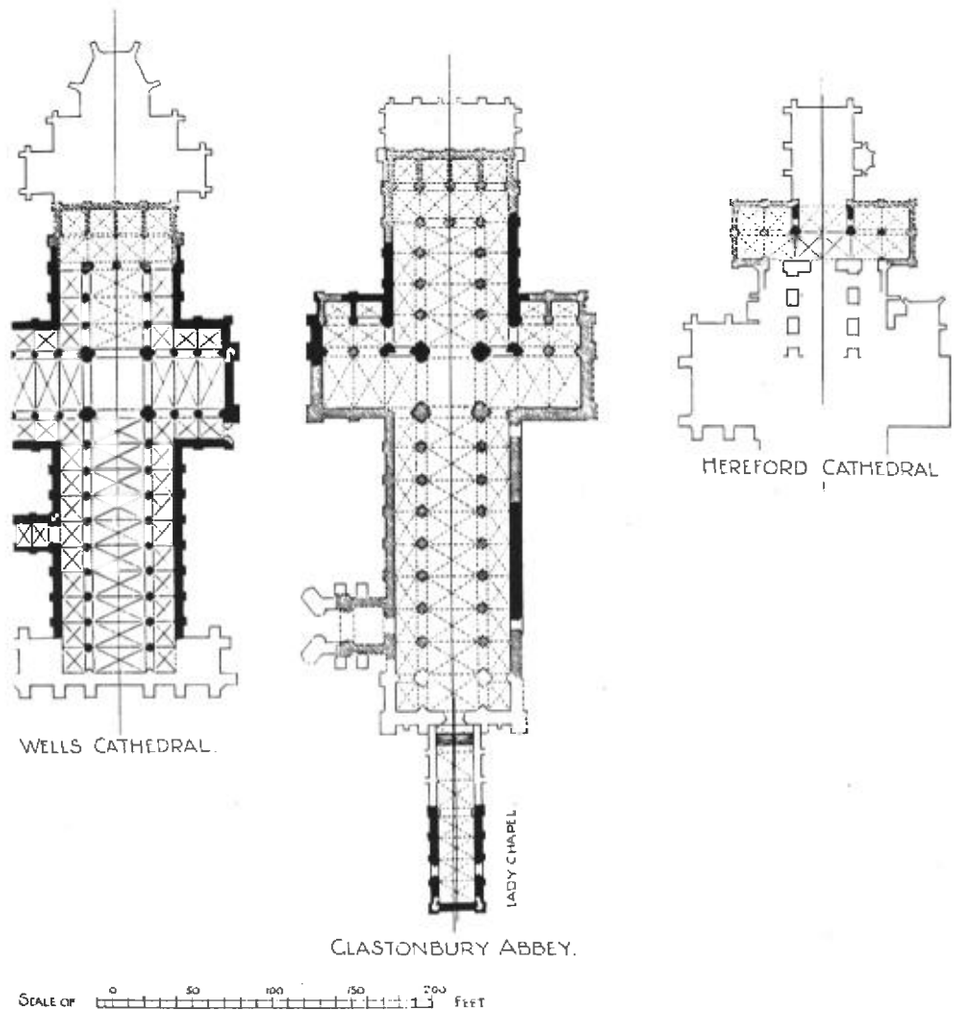


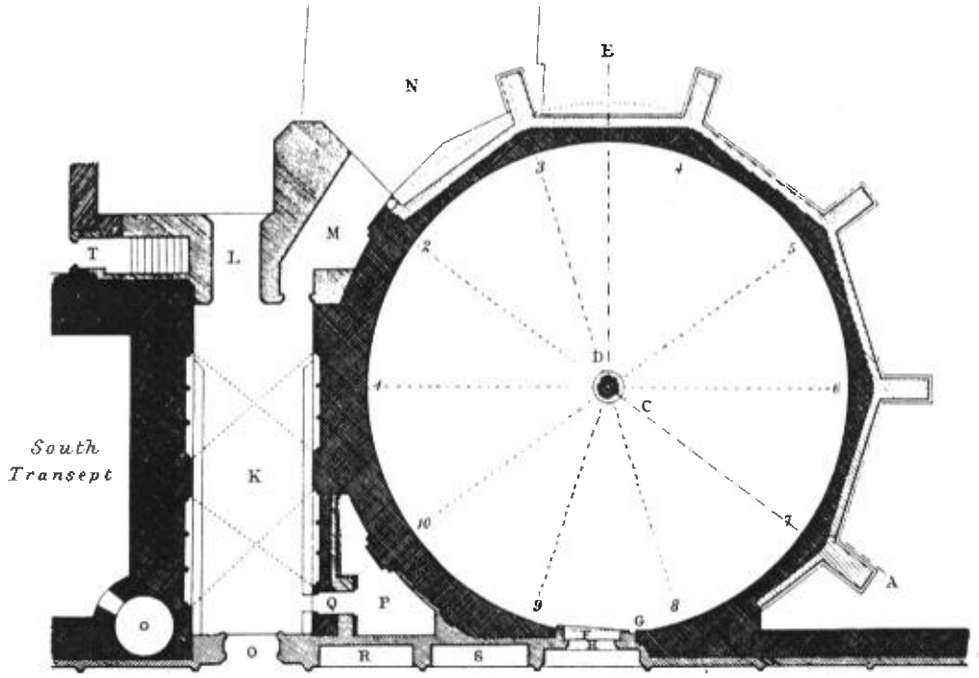
FIG. 11
Hereford Cathedral: de Vere's retrochoir, original design compared with the plan of Wells and Glastonbury, Bilson, *Archaeol. J.* 85 (1928).

the English taste for treating space as an element of dramatisation.'[85] This is precisely the sensation which one would have got on leaving the vestibule and entering the chapter houses at Dore. Indeed, despite the loss of the vault, this can be experienced even today at Margam.

In his ambulatory, remarkably beautiful as it is, Adam was unable to create this effect for, unlike Hereford, the Dore retrochoir does not reach the full height of the presbytery; it is in fact a lean-to of less than half the height. However it was in their chapter

houses that Adam and his colleague and rival, Abbot Gilbert of Margam, achieved such spectacular dramatisation of space.

What were their antecedents? Paul and following him Bilson suggested that the great Romanesque chapter house of Worcester Cathedral was the real inspiration for these two polygonal chapter houses. Its plan and history, first examined in 1863 by Willis at a meeting of the RIBA, was further investigated by Neil Stratford at the BAA Worcester conference in 1975.[86] Originally it was circular and covered with a ribbed vault springing from a central column, but in the late 14th century, in an attempt to relieve the pressure of the vault on the walls, it was reconstructed as a decagon (FIG. 12). The interior retains the circle of stone seats in niches and blank arcading but above straight walls were built between the ten wall shafts which carry the transverse ribs. Whatever the reasons behind the original circular design, the monks made a considerable sacrifice, for the dormitory could not occupy its traditional position, above the chapter house, on the first floor of the eastern claustral range, with direct access to south transept and choir by the night stairs.



Ground Plan of the Chapter House, Worcester.
on the Line A'A'.

FIG. 12
Worcester Cathedral: Ground plan of the chapter house showing circular interior and exterior as modified in 2nd quarter of 13th century. R. Willis, 'The Crypt and Chapter House of Worcester Cathedral' (1863), reprinted in R. Willis, *Architectural History of some English Cathedrals,* 11 (1973).

Instead it had to be built on a most unusual site, projecting westwards from the centre of the western alley of the cloister and the monks had a long, chilly walk in winter to reach the choir for the first office of the day.

Was Worcester a model for others? Its decoration certainly inspired the Augustinians of Bristol who copied the stone seats in niches and arcading and the Cluniacs of Wenlock who introduced three tiers of arcading of intersecting arches. In terms of plan there are two candidates, Pershore and Alnwick, but in neither case is the archaeological evidence easy to interpret. Pershore was excavated by F. B. Andrews in 1929-30 who described the results as 'meagre and disappointing,' for 'the removal of stone foundations had been so extraordinarily complete that only by the evidences of debris-filled trenches would many of the wall-lines be traced at all ... neither their thicknesses, buttressings, nor any other details would be determinable.' As less than half a dozen stones were found, Andrews attempted to trace the wall-line of the chapter house by such trenches. Such was the basis for his conclusions that the chapter house:

1) was circular and about 36 ft. in diameter;
2) did not project beyond the eastern range of the cloister.

Additionally he concluded, as there was no evidence of a central shaft and there is undeniable evidence (the now blocked door high up on the south transept wall and roof weathering) that the dormitory ran above the chapter house, that, unlike Worcester, it had a flat timber roof.[87]

At Alnwick, excavated in 1884, St. John Hope refers to a chapter house with a rectangular western section about 30 ft. by 27 ft. opening onto what is described as a circular portion 26 ft. 20 ins. in diameter without central column. Although this has been assumed the excavation provided no evidence that these were of the same date.[88] Such small and inelegant structures could have had no influence on Abbey Dore and Margam.

It would hardly be surprising if Worcester had inspired the Dore masons. There are conflicting views on the relationship of the contemporary work at Dore and Worcester. For Christopher Wilson 'the transepts there (at Dore) bear many resemblances to Worcester, notably in the design of the vault shafts, but the indifferent quality of workmanship and the relatively many revisions of the design suggest a minor workshop and one not likely to have exerted much influence (on Worcester).'[89] For Carolyn Malone the design of Dore *c.*1175 had a marked effect on the first design of the western school of masons at Worcester. Abbey Dore was 'a decisive source for the design of Worcester' although 'the Gothic message of relatively thin walls without passages proclaimed at Abbey Dore was rejected by the architects of Worcester.' Additionally, 'Worcester or Buildwas were also influential from an early date at Abbey Dore but seem to have become especially important around 1180.' She points to the trumpet capital and the new crocket style of foliage as probably introduced from Worcester.[90]

The actual direction is not material. What is significant is the relationship between the work at the two sites. Masons working even on the later stages at Dore would have been well aware of the particular characteristics of Worcester chapter house - and of the difficulties the circular form was already imposing on its walls. As Stratford has argued, the central column and possibly capital had to be replaced, *c.*1225-50. This involved the

major technical manoeuvre of underpinning the vault.[91] The adoption of a polygonal form at Dore and Margam ensured that the outward thrust of the vault would be stabilised by angle buttresses.

It is possible that there was a further model for these earliest polygonal chapter houses. At Le Thoronet, Var, which has one of the 'oldest and most typical' cloisters that has been preserved,[92] a hexagonal fountain house was built about 1175.[93] More elaborate hexagonal fountain houses, very similar in design to each other, were built somewhat later at Santes Creus, near Tarragona, and at Poblet in Catalonia. The latter, of about 1200, is one of the largest and most beautiful of those that remain. At Alcobaca in Estremadura the form was further developed as an irregular hexagon of two storeys.[94]

In Britain the polygonal form was much favoured by the Cluniacs. The best example, of *c.* 1180, is at Wenlock, an octagon with a double row of slender columns. The circular trough was decorated with sculptured panels of which two remain.[95] At Mellifont in Ireland the ruins of a sumptuous octagonal Cistercian fountain house are preserved and Stalley has pointed out that the vaulting system is a miniature version of that used in the Worcester chapter house, whilst the mouldings suggest that the immediate inspiration came, as one would anticipate, from the west of England.[96] At Citeaux itself and at Royaumont the fountain houses were also octagonal but these may have been of later date.[97]

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Lincoln, the next in the line of English polygonal chapter houses, was not only the largest (at 59 ft. its diameter was one foot wider than that of Westminster) but also, in terms of achievements, the great pioneer. It was geographically remote from its prototypes at Dore and Margam but cultural links were close between the cathedrals of Hereford and Lincoln at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. Walter Map, dignatory of Lincoln and canon of Hereford, did not die until 1209/10 and Gerald of Wales, who must also have known well the chapter house built by Adam at Dore, lived on at Lincoln until 1223.[98] The ten-sided structure built by Bishop Hugh of Wells (1213-35) at Lincoln was begun about 1220, once the troublous last years of John's reign and the early years of Henry III's minority were over.

It was followed almost immediately by the much smaller octagon at Beverley which was without a central column and on two levels. The secular canons now had the bit firmly between their teeth. Lichfield was built *c.* 1239-49. The most recent suggestion for the date of the plan and lower part of the chapter house at Wells is before 1250.[99] From his brother, Bishop Hugh, Jocelin of Wells knew all about the work at Lincoln but costly building elsewhere prevented him from moving forward with the chapter house. At Westminster the construction of the great octagon represented a further stage in the development of the polygonal chapter house. The adoption of an eight-sided figure permitted the design of much larger, delicately traceried, windows. These, with a much more slender central column, gave an altogether different and lighter appearance. The octagon was now supreme. Of the later polygonal chapter houses only Evesham, built by Abbot John

de Brokehampton, 1284-1308, and Hereford were ten-sided.[100] The reversion to the decagon at Hereford is easily explained. It was designed to have a fan vault where the conoids, according to Drinkwater's calculations, had a radius of 11 ft. from the wall. In the fan vault of the contemporary cloister at Gloucester each conoid had a radius of 6 ft.

The reasons for the adoption of a centrally planned chapter house at Worcester have been examined by Harvey, Gardner and Stratford. Harvey believed that it 'was doubtless based on the Church of the Sepulchre as it was before the Crusader additions of 1125-49.'[101] After discussing the iconography of the centrally planned chapter house in the 12th century, Gardner concluded that its popularity in the 13th century and the third quarter of the 14th was due more to architectural fashion, especially a strong interest in stone vaulting, than a desire to repeat 'the symbolic significance which had surely been intended in the early twelfth century.'[102] Stratford, after showing how impractical the Worcester plan was, and discussing the liturgical problems it created, concluded that it is not capable of purely functional explanation and that 'if it was known what sort of building was used by the pre-Conquest community ... the problem of the Norman ground plan might well evaporate.'[103]

Be that as it may. At Abbey Dore and Margam there are no such difficulties. Liturgical reasons, pre-Conquest antecedents and Palestinian models could have played no part there. They can only be explained by the triumph of personality or, to use Ailred of Riveaux' perceptive phrase, 'the concupiscence of the eye,' linked to a keen interest in technical innovation. However, this victory of singularity and superfluity was but a temporary setback for the order. A year before the lifting of the Interdict messengers from Citeaux deposed John's friend and Adam's rival, Gilbert of Margam.[104] Bernardian ideals were firmly re-asserted. Discipline was restored. It was almost a century and a half before another English Cistercian abbot stepped out of line. After 1200, apart from one lapse at Whalley, polygonality was restricted to fountain houses and the occasional kitchen, as at Furness.[105]

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[59] Map, *De Nugis* (1983), 85.
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[67] 'Annales de Waverleia,' *sa* 1203, 1231.
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[69] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera,* 1 (1873), 382-5; J. C. Russell, 'Hereford and Arabic Science in England about 1175-1200,' *Isis,* 18 (1932), 14-25; J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Res. Supplement, 3, 1936), 4, 18-19, 144; R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the late Twelfth Century,' *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4S 19 (1936), 19-42 includes the important addition of 32 lines after line 36 of

Brewer's text of Gerald's works in the Rolls Series; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science,* (1927), 123-6; J. Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum,* ed. R. L. Poole & M. Bateson (1902).

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[94] A. Dimier, *L'Art Cistercien hors de France* (1971), 251, 253, 132, 136, 297-8. Aubert 2 (1947), 26 followed by D. R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland* (1987), incorrectly describes Poblet as octagonal.

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[99] J. Harvey, 'The Building of Wells Cathedral I, 1175-1307' in *Wells Cathedral: A History,* ed. L. S. Colchester (1982), 72.

[100] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham,* ed. W. D. Macray, RS 29 (1863), 287 and *The Chronicle of Evesham Abbey,* trans. D. C. Cox (1964), 50; N. Drinkwater, 'Hereford Cathedral: The Chapter House,' *Archaeol. J.,*

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[104] See p. 226 and n42 above.

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APPENDIX

CIRCULAR AND POLYGONAL CHAPTER HOUSES

	Order	*Date*	*Form*	*Diameter*	*State*
Worcester (altered externally)	B	c1120	C	56′	C[1]
		c1400	8		
Pershore	B	early C12	C?	36′	D[2]
Alnwick	PC	c1185	C/R	26′ 10″	D[3]
Abbey Dore	C	c1200	12	45′	D
Margam	C	c1200	C/12	49′	R
Lincoln	SC	c1220/30	10	59′	C
Cockersand	PC	c1230	8	c30′	C[4]
Beverley	SC	c1230	8	c31′	D[5]
Incholm, Fife	AC	early C13	8		C[6]
Lichfield	SC	c1240	e8	45′ x 26′ 8″	C
Kings Lynn	P	early/mid C13	6		
Westminster	B	c1250	8	58′	C
Pontefract	C1	mid C13	10	30′	D[7]
Salisbury	SC	c1260	8	58′	C
Elgin	SC	c1270	8	33′	C
Wells	SC	(1250) c1295-1306	8	53′ 6″	C
Southwell	SC	c1280	8	31′ 4″	C
Thornton	AC	1282-1308	8	42′ 9″	R[8]
York	SC	pre 1300	8	58′	C
Evesham	B	1284/1316	10	51′ 6″	D[9]
Carlisle	AC	c1284/1327	8	30′	D
Bridlington	AC		10		D[10]
Tavistock	B	early C14	8		D[11]
Old St Paul's	SC	c1332	8	32′ 6″	D[12]
Whalley	C	post 1330	8		D[13]
Garendon	C	C14	semi 10/R		D[14]
Hereford	SC	c1340	10	41′	D[15]
Bolton Abbey	AC	c1370	8	29′	D[16]
Warwick, St Mary	SC	1370-9	semi 8/S	18′ x 16′ 6″	C
Howden	SC	c1390	8	26′	R
Belvoir	B		8		D[17]
Holyrood Abbey	AC	c1400	8	c38′	D[18]
Cirencester	AC	late C15?	8?	24′ x 30′?	D[19]
Manchester	SC	c1485/1520	8	18′ 4″	C

Abbreviations:
AC Augustinian canons; B Benedictine; C Cistercian; Cl Cluniac; P Premonstratensian; SC Secular canons.
Form: C circular; R rectangular; S square; e elongated.
State: C complete; D demolished; R ruin.

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[8] A. W. Clapham, 'Thornton Priory,' *Archaeol. J.*, 103 (1946), 173-5. Dates based on Thornton Abbey Chronicle, Bodley Tanner MS 116.
[9] J. Leland, *De Rebus Britanniae Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (1774), 1, 249 refers to a chapter house with nine fair windows; *Vetusta Monumenta*, 5 (Soc. Antiq., 1835), pl. lxvii provides a plan based on Edward Rudge's 1811-34 excavations, as does 'Evesham Abbey' in VCH, *Worcs.*, 2 (1906), 387. The abbey chronicle tells us that, built by abbot John de Brokehampton, 'on account of its size and beauty it is held to be one of the chief among the chapter houses of the realm.' *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS 29 (1863), 287 and *The Chronicle of Evesham Abbey*, trans. D. C. Cox (1964), 50. The splendid entrance still stands, ivy-clad and scandalously neglected by the authorities, close to a welter of modern development.
[10] 'Copy of a Survey of the Priory of Bridlington, 32 Henry VIII,' *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821), 273-4 refers to 'a very fayre Chapter House wt ix fayre lyghts about the same'; VCH, *Yorkshire: East Riding*, 2 (1974), 45.
[11] H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey* (1969), 221, 285 quoting Browne Willis, *History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbeys* (1718), 170 who describes it as 'polygonal, having six and thirty seats, wrought out in the wall, all arched overhead with curious hewn and carved stone.' It was demolished between 1716 and 1725.
[12] Hollar's engraving of Old St. Paul's chapter house is reproduced in Drinkwater (1955) below.
[13] D. Knowles & J. K. S. St. Joseph, 'Whalley' in *Monastic Sties from the Air (1952), 102-3.*
[14] 'Garendon,' *Med. Archaol.*, 13 (1969).
[15] N. Drinkwater, 'Hereford Cathedral: The Chapter House,' *Archaeol. J.*, 112 (1955), 61-74 is published in abbreviated form in *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1957), 260-5.
[16] A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Historical and Architectural Description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale,' *Publ. Thoresby Soc.*, 30 (1924), 160-1, pl. xlix (2).
[17] Details of the 1792 excavations at Belvoir are reported in *Archaeologia*, 17 (1819); J. Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, 2i (4 vols. in 8, 1795-1815), 79.
[18] 'Holyrood Abbey' in RCHAM, *Inventory of Monuments in Edinburgh* (1951), 130-1 with plan; J. Giffard, C. McWilliam, D. Walker & C. Wilson, *Edinburgh*, Buildings of Scotland (1984), 139.
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NOTES

[1] RCHAM *Edinburgh* (1951), 253 explains that what was thought to have been a polygonal chapter house at the parish church of Restalrig has been shown by excavation to be a balm well at the traditional burial site of St. Triduana. However, it has been pointed out more recently that 'the difficulty with this theory is that the building makes no provision for a well or spring. The water which floods the interior ... has to be explained by a rise in the water table, since an altar (dedicated to St. Triduana) is known to have stood here in 1515.' Giffard, McWilliam, Walker & Wilson (1984), 660, 147.
[2] Wickham (1912) gives Kenilworth an octagonal chapter house but this was in fact a bell tower, E. Carey Hill, 'Kenilworth Abbey, Record of Excavations, 1890 and 1922-3,' *Birmingham Archaeol. Soc. Trans. & Proc.*, 52i (1927).

Chaplains, Chantries and Chapels of North-West Herefordshire *c.* 1400 (Second Part)

By P. E. H. HAIR

LIST A CHAPLAINS *c.* 1400, by deaneries, parishes and chapelries, and by specific dates of record

KEY TO LIST A

(a) The list is arranged by deaneries; then, within deaneries, by parishes in alphabetical order; and within parishes, following the parish church, by chapelries in alphabetical order. However, for reasons stated below, under (d), there is also a common 'Leominster and Weobley deaneries' list.

(b) Surnames of chaplains are given in full when recorded. Christian names are given in their English form but common ones are abbreviated, e.g., Jn, Ric, Wm. When only the Christian name is recorded, the surname is given as ---, e.g., Jn ---.

(c) In the sources, chaplains are listed in forms which may or may not indicate the locality of service. For instance, (i) Orleton, Wm BROWN (ii) Orleton, Wm (iii) Wm BROWN de Orleton (iv) Wm de Orleton (v) Wm ORLETON (vi) Wm BROWN (vii) Wm. The first three forms are assumed to indicate a chaplain located at Orleton, but the fourth is only assumed to do the same if this makes sense in the order of the list and there is no countervailing entry for Orleton. The fifth is only assumed to indicate a locality if it is exceptional in a list which otherwise contains items in the form 'Wm de Orleton,' items clearly referring to relevant parish units. The last two forms, together with those items in the fourth and fifth forms where 'de Orleton' or 'Orleton' is assumed to be a patronymic, are assumed to lack reference to a locality and are therefore indicated as 'unlocated.'

(d) Evidence is provided mainly by clergy lists, and by the 1397 visitation return, which record only service at one specific date. These sources are signalled by the dates which follow below, given before a name and without any further reference in brackets.

1379 : clerical subsidy roll for Leominster and Weobley deaneries only, listing unbeneficed priests (PRO E179/30/7)

1397 : diocesan visitation record (see note 1 of Hair 1980, cited in note 1 of text)

1406 : clerical subsidy roll for Hereford diocese, listing all stipendiary and chantry chaplains (PRO E179/30/1)

1420 : diocesan list of those chaplains receiving annual stipends of 7 marks or over as returned for tax purposes *(Register Lacy* 87-8)

1436 : diocesan list of those chaplains receiving annual stipends of between 100sh. and 10 marks as returned for tax purposes *(Register Spofford* 209-212)

The 1379 list includes many names not ascribed to any specific parish or chapelry or even to either deanery. These names are given in the separate 'Leominster and Weobley

deaneries' list and if they also appear in the general list are indicated as 'unlocated.'

(e) Other evidence is signalled by a date followed, usually after a name and any further information, by a reference in brackets. The most common reference is to a bishop's register, indicated by *Reg*, e.g., *(Reg Trefnant)*. This generally refers to the date of presentation to a chantry.

(f) Such other aspects of the careers of individual chaplains as are recorded and have been traced are given after the initial reference to the individual, in pointed brackets « ». They are linked to the initial reference and to each other by an = sign. The career earlier than the initial reference is given first, and is then followed by the career later than the initial reference. In many cases, there is uncertainty about the nominal linkage and this is indicated by a ? sign. Thus, 'Jn SMITHE = ? Jn SMYTHY' indicates uncertainty whether the two names represent the same individual. (Some latitude in linking names is justified, as it is clear that editors of Hereford registers have often misread surnames and produced unnecessary variants). Where there appear to be several contemporary individuals with the same name, some may be excluded from the relevant linkage, and this is indicated by the signal 'not ='.

(g) The recorded earlier career generally consists only of the individual's recorded admissions to various stages of holy orders, the evidence taken from the bishop's registers and the record nearly always lacking several stages. (Blessing and tonsure, for instance, are only recorded in pre-1380 registers.) Recorded admissions appear after the individual's name in abbreviated form, as follows.

When only one stage is recorded: tons. = tonsure ac. = acolyte sdc. = sub-deacon dc. = deacon pr. = priest

When several stages are recorded:

dp = deacon + priest
sp = sub-deacon + priest
sdp = sub-deacon + deacon + priest
asdp = acolyte + sub-deacon + deacon + priest
btasdp = benediction + tonsure + acolyte + sub-deacon + deacon + priest
etc.

References to the relevant admissions entries in the bishop's register then follow. In the case of the major orders, a 'title' is always recorded and is added in the list, signalled by the term 'title.'

The date/s of admission to orders are given before the individual's name. Normally there was a substantial time gap between the minor and the major orders, but the latter followed each other in quick succession, often within a period of months rather than years. Hence, dates tend to be, e.g., '1382, 1388-9'.

(h) The recorded later career generally consists of presentations to and service in specific benefices and is evidenced from the bishop's registers. A single date indicates the date of presentation, and 'chaplain' after such a date repeats what the register there states (but what it means is far from clear). Periods of service are given in the form, e.g.,

'1390-1402'. But when, as frequently, there is uncertainty about either date, a query sign is inserted, e.g., '?1390-1402' or '1390-?1402'. In certain cases, only an intermediate date is known or is firm, and this is signalled by linking dots rather than by a linking dash, e.g., '?1390...1397...?1402' and '?...1397...?'.

NOTA BENE Whereas '?1397 Jn SMITHE' indicates uncertainty about the date only, '? 1397 Jn SMITHE' indicates uncertainty about the relevance of the whole item.

(i) The earlier and later careers of chaplains listed only in 1436 have not been investigated.

LEOMINSTER deanery

AYMESTREY 1379 Matthew ---

CROFT 1406 Gervase SEWE « = ? 1379 unlocated Gervase SEWE = ?...1418...?1424 Gervase ---, rector Croft, absentee (*Reg Lacy* 47, *Reg Spofford* 353)»

EYE 1406 Wm ---
1436 Wm BROWNE

BRIMFIELD 1379 Thos STOKWYTH (shared with Middleton)
1406 Rog COLYER « = ? 1437-42 Rog COLYER/COLYET 'chaplain' rector Brampton Bryan, 1439 study = 1442-? Rog COLYER vicar Canon Pyon («*Reg Spofford* 361, 369, 371)»
1436 Wm THOMAS de Bromfield (assuming a misreading for 'Brimfield')

EYTON 1406 Jn BOKENHALLE (shared with Lucton)

KIMBOLTON 1379 Walt ---
1406 Ric ARNEUT « = ? 1379 unlocated Ric ARNEOT = ? 1371 Ric ARNETT ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 32)»
1436 Ric ---

LUCTON 1406 Jn BOKENHALLE (shared with Eyton) « = ? 1379 unlocated Jn BOKENHALLE, but another of this name, 1406 presented rector Aston (*Reg Trefnant* 181) = ? 1390 Jn BOKENHALLE ac. (*Reg. Trefnant* 194)»

MIDDLETON 1379 Thos STOKWYTH (shared with Brimfield)
1406 Walt KINGUSLANE
? 1436 unlocated Walt KINGESLANE

ORLETON 1379 Wm BOUR 'curate' « = ? 1378-80 Wm BOURE asdp title Llanthony Priory (*Reg Gilbert* 135, 139, 143, 146) = ? 1399...1430...?1437 Wm BOWERE /BOURE rector Caynham (*Reg Trefnant* 183, *Reg Lacy* 117, *Reg Spofford* 361)»
1406 Wm COSYN « = 1397 Wm COSYN at Leominster (see Leominster)»

YARPOLE 1397 (April) Wm CROMPE presented to chantry (*Reg Trefnant* 181) « = 1397 (June) Wm CROMPE at Leominster (see Leominster)»
1406 Wm CROMPE and Thos PARKE
1436 ('Yarkhille' in error) Wm YNGESONE « = 1406 Wm YNGESONE at Wigmore (see Wigmore)»

KINGSLAND 1406 ('Kinguslane' twice, once perhaps in error) Wm CAMBRYGGE and Wm FLESSHEWER « = ? 1361 Wm FLECCHERE ac. (*Reg L Charlton* 76) = ? 1379 unlocated Wm FLESHEWER, but not = 1370 and 1385 Wm FLECHERE /FLEYSCHEWERE presented rector Bredenbury twice, 1370 ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 11, 22, *Reg Gilbert* 118, 124)»
1436 Ric RASTARD on higher stipend and ? unlocated Walt KINGESLANE (but see Middleton above)

LEOMINSTER 1397 (chaplains stated to be at Leominster) Wm --- at chantry, Wm CROMPE, Wm COSYN, Ric PASTAY, Jn GRASLEY, (other chaplains named in Leominster presentment, perhaps at Leominster) Walt GODYCH, Thos WHYTEBREDE, Jn STONE (for other references to almost all of these, see below)
1406 Thos WYTEBREDE parochial chaplain, Jn NORTHWYCHE, Ric STOCTON, Walt STOCTON, Hugo PIBMERE, Jn BRYDWODE, Ric AYLMER, Thos DOLBY, Ric MORE, Jn NORTON (for other references, see below)
1420 Hugo TAVERNER receiving 7 marks, Ric AYLMER receiving 40s with meals (for other references, see below)

Wm CROMPE (see Yarpole above) « = 1380 Wm CROMPE sdc. title bishop (*Reg Gilbert* 145)»

Wm COSYN (see Orleton above) « = 1386-91 Wm COSYN/COSIN/COSY asd title Sir Jn Herte (*Reg Gilbert* 171, *Reg Trefnant* 196, 198)»

Ric PASTAY « = 1378 Ric PASTEY sdc. title Griffin de Forden (*Reg Gilbert* 134)»

Jn GRASLEY « = ? 1371-9 Jn GRASLEY/GRASELEY ta (*Reg Courtenay* 33, *Reg Gilbert* 137) = ? 1379 Jn GRESLEY listed as unlocated clerk»

Walt GODYCH « = ? 1378 Walt GODERICH ac. (*Reg Gilbert* 135)»

Thos WHYTEBREDE « = 1382 Thos WHITBRED pr., title St Bartolomew's Hospital, Gloucester (*Reg Gilbert* 152)»

Jn NORTHWYCHE « = ? 1388-90 Jn NORTHWYCH/NORTHWYS sp, from Exeter diocese, title Bodmin priory (*Reg Gilbert* 178, *Reg Trefnant* 195)»

Ric STOCTON « ? = 1379 unlocated Ric STOKTON = 1391-2 unlocated Ric STOCTON 'chaplain' (*Inq.ad dampnum* 657)»

Jn BRYDWODE « = ? 1385Jn BRIDWODE pr., title parochial (*Reg Gilbert* 167) or = ? 1386 Jn BRIDWODE dp title lord of Blakwelle (*Reg Gilbert* 171-3) or = 1386 Jn BRYDEWODE ac. (*Reg Gilbert* 171)»

Ric AYLMER « = ? 1371, 1384-5 Ric AILMER/AYLMERE/ALYMERE ts title Wormsley priory (*Reg Courtenay* 33, *Reg Gilbert* 162, 165) or = ? 1384 Ric AYLMER (*Reg Gilbert* 162)»

Ric MORE « = ? 1404-11 Ric MORE/MOORE asdp title dean and chapter (*Reg Mascall* 126, 136, 138, 151)»

Jn NORTONE « = ? 1366 Jn NORTONE de Nortone tons. (*Reg L Charlton* 108)»

Hugo TAVERNER « = 1378-9 Hugh TAVERNER sp title land ad rent (*Reg Gilbert* 134, 144) = 1379 Hugh TAVERNER listed as unlocated clerk = 1433-6 Hugh TAVERNER vicar Monkland to death (*Reg Spofford* 359, 361)»

NEW RADNOR	? 1379 at 'Radenore' Lewis --- parochial chaplain, and Steph --- 1397 (named in presentment) Wm HETH « = 1384-5 Wm HETHE sdp title Southwell priory (*Reg Gilbert* 162, 167, 169)», Jn DISCOTE « = 1366, 1379 Jn DISCOTE tp title Philip ap David (*Reg L Charlton* 102, *Reg Gilbert* 138)» 1406 Rees AP GWILIM « = 1393-6 Rys AP GWILIM adsp, from St David's diocese, title Cumhir abbey (*Reg Trefnant* 204, 215-7)»
OLD RADNOR	? 1379 at 'Radenore' Lewis --- parochial chaplain, and Steph --- 1406 Wm TONKYNS parochial chaplain « = ? 1381 Wm TOMKYNS ac. (*Reg Gilbert* 148) or = ? 1391-5 Wm TOMKYMS/TOMKENES asp title Wm Scholle de Schoit or Ric Schott (*Reg Trefnant* 196, 209, 212) = 1406 Wm TOMKYNS presented to New Radnor chantry (*Reg Mascall* 170) = 1414 Wm TOMKYNS vicar Church Withington (*Reg Mascall* 187)», Jn PULLYT 1436 Jn --- parochial chaplain, Jn HOWELL, Jn STONEYS
KINNERTON	? 1406 'Kynaston' Lewis ---
PEMBRIDGE	1379 Ric --- parochial chaplain 1397 (mentioned in Pembridge presentment) Jn HOPKYNS 1406 Jn CHYRCHE « = ? 1383 Jn CHIRCHE sdp title Dore abbey (*Reg Gilbert* 156, 158, 160) but not ?-1417 Jn CHIRCHE rector Westbury, patron the lady of Pembridge, 1417-1431 vicar Monkland, 1431-? rector Gladestry, St David's diocese, if the Jn --- presented to Westbury in 1405 was Jn CHIRCHE (*Reg Lacy* 120, *Reg Spofford* 369, *Reg Mascall* 10)», Thos BODYN « = ? 1379 unlocated Thos BODN = ? 1371 Thos BODY sdc. title St Gile's hospital, Shrewsbury (*Reg Courtenay* 40) but not ?...1384...? Thos BODY vicar Shobdon (*Reg Gilbert* 58)», Wm HAUKYNS, Walt WESTON « = 1382-3 Walt WESTON sp title Chirbury priory (*Reg Gilbert* 153, 155) = 1413-?1442 Walt WESTON 'chaplain' vicar Staunton-on-Arrow (*Reg Mascall* 178, *Reg Spofford* 363)» 1436 Hugo ---
PRESTEIGNE	1406 Jn WALKER « = ? 1392 Jn WALKER ac. /*Reg Trefnant* 202) or = ? 1382-8 Jn WALKERE asd title David Weston (*Reg Gilbert* 154, 178, 182) = ? Jn WALKER vicar Lyonshall 1418-? (*Reg Lacy* 115)», Jn CASTOPE 1436 Jn CASCOPP
BYTON	1406 Jn ---
KINSHAM	1436 'Kyngeham Superiori' Wm SYMENDER
LINGEN	1406 David LLOYDE « = ? 1395 Dav LLOYT sp title Dore abbey (*Reg Trefnant* 211, 213)»
SARNESFIELD	1379 Thos --- parochial chaplain
SHOBDON	1407 Rog COSTON (*CPR* 329)
STAUNTON-ON-ARROW	1406 Phil STAUNDON 1436 Ric MINOUR
WIGMORE	1379 ? unlocated Phil de WIGMORE 1406 Wm INGNESON « = ? Wm YNGESONE (see Yarpole above) = 1385 Wm INGESONE ac. (*Reg Gilbert* 169)»
ELTON	1397 complaint that vicar Burrington acts as chaplain

IX - Goodrich Court, Monmouth Road Lodge, *c.* 1832.

X - Pudleston Court Lodge. Two coloured stone and twin turrets, *c.* 1847.

XI - Harewood Park, a Neo-classical lodge. Early 19th century.

XII - Stoke Edith, Hereford Road Lodge. Copper dome and octagonal plan, 1792.

XIII - The lodge to Garnstone Castle, by Nash in the 1830s.

XIV - Pembroke Lodge, Colwall; one of five of similar style, *c.* 1863.

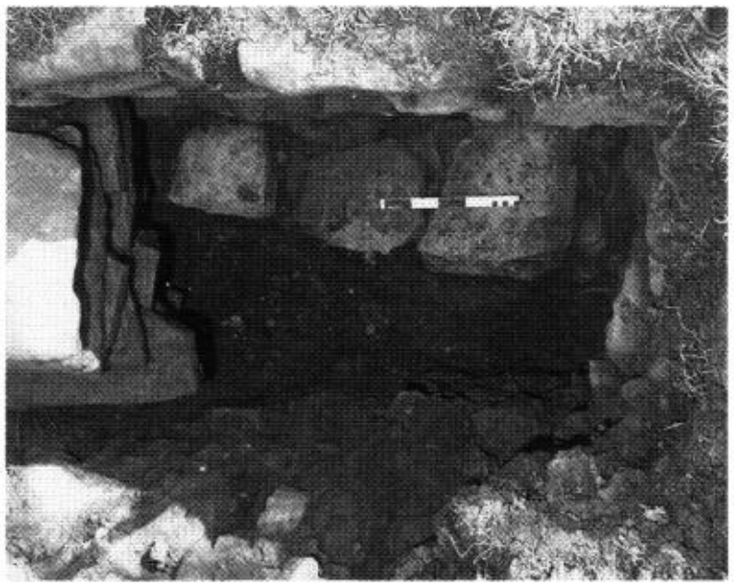
XV - Italianate style of the lodge to Foxley, Mansell Lacy, mid-19th century.

XVI - Sugwas Court Lodge. Red brick with stone quoins and elaborate carpentry, mid-19th century.

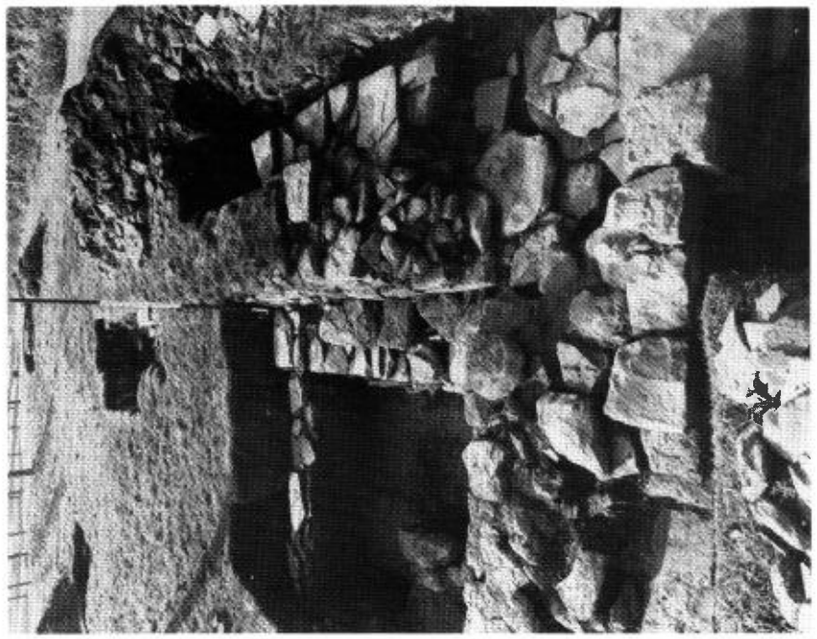
XVII - Goodrich Court, village lodge. Shaped tiles above stone base, late 19th century.

XVIII - Brockhampton by Ross. Cheshire style of timber framing, 1893.

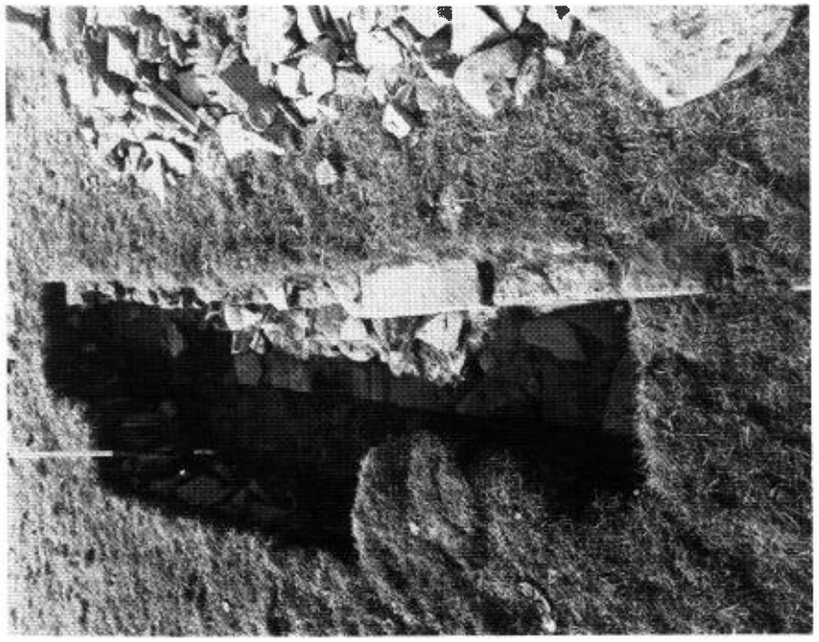
XIX - View of site looking E. to Great Corras Farm and Garway Hill. S. doorway in centre.



XXI - Foundations of apse below N. face of N. wall. Buttressing on left can be seen in right foreground of PL. XXIV.



XXIII - N.E. corner of chancel looking W. showing narrow Phase 3 wall built over the wider Phase 2 wall. Sanctuary step and altar support on centre left.



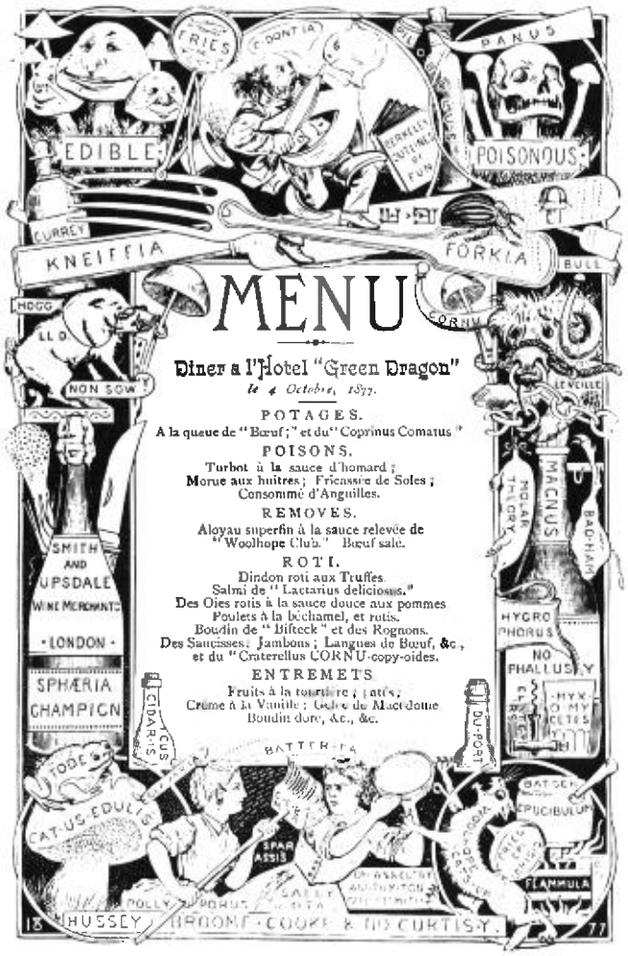
XX - N. wall of nave looking W., showing divergence of alignment between Phase 2 and Phase 3 walls. Note break in foundations where levelling down occurred at highpoint.

XXII - East end of chapel from S.E. showing plinth of butress in foreground.

XXIV - East wall of chapel looking S. showing step of raised sanctuary floor and altar support. Note extended buttressing in foreground strengthening the Phase 3 N. wall.

XXV - Narrow Phase 3 wall of nave with strongly built N.W. corner and tower abutting. Note N.W. corner of tower top left.

XXVI - Thomas Blashill (1850-1905).
Club President, 1882 and 1901.



XXVII - Menu. Fungus Banquet, 4 October 1877.

XXVIII - The frame at Marden installed by William Greenleaf.
(Copyright: C. Dalton)

XXIX - Sarnesfield Church, 1904. William Greenleaf outside and Mr. T. Payne, carpenter, in the porch.

XXX - Caradoc Court before the fire of 1986.

LEINTHALL STARKES — 1406 Dav MOYLE « = ? 1387-8 Llewellyn ap David MOYLE dp title Roger Redynge, from St David's diocese (*Reg Gilbert* 177,180)»

UNLOCATED — 1436 (probably Leominster itself, these being the first names listed) Wm SOKOURE, Wm FORGE, Jn CAUMENDEN, Jn STAUNTONE

WEOBLEY deanery

ALMELEY — ? 1436 Hugo de ALMELEY (if in error in Leominster deanery list)

BISHOPSTONE — 1379 Jn --- parochial chaplain
1415 Jn FOURCHES 'chaplain' presented to chantry and 1416 mentioned (*Reg Mascall* 181-2) « = 1411-2 Jn CLERC alias FOURCHES sp title Winforton chantry, dispensed for illegitimacy (*Reg Mascall* 151,154,189) = ? 1418-? before 1428 Jn FOURGES vicar Yazore = Jn FORCHES/FORGES 1431-1442 death rector Bridge Sollers (*Reg Lacy* 115, *Reg Spofford* 355, 357, Bridgenorth, in error, 364)»

BRIDGE SOLLERS — ? 1397 (unnamed parish, alternatively Letton) Wm TINKER mentioned (for further references see Yazore below)

BYFORD — 1379 Rog --- parochial chaplain
1406 Jn SMITH « = too common a name to trace in ordination lists = ? 1409-11 Jn SMYTH 'deacon' vicar Eardisley (*Reg Mascall* 175,176) or = ? 1415-?1432 Jn SMYTh 'chaplain' rector Turnaston (*Reg Mascall* 181, *Reg Spofford* 358) or most probably = ? 1416-?1433 death Jn SMYTHE of Byford rector Monnington (*Reg Mascall* 182, *Reg Spofford* 364 'John Byford')», Gilb TAYLOUR « = 1379 unlocated Gilb TAYLOUR but listed after Rog --- above = 1378 Gilb TAILLOUR pr. title parochial (*Reg Gilbert* 134) = 1415-1421 death Gilb TAYLOUR vicar Mansel Gamage (*Reg Mascall* 180,182, *Reg Poltone* 16)»

CLIFFORD — ? 1397 Winforton presentment mentions Rbt TYMMYS 'living at Clifford' « = 1379 unlocated Rbt TYMMES»
1436 Ric HENNYNGE

CUSOP — 1397 Owyn --- , ? Jn DAVYS accused in Dorstone presentment of marrying a couple at Cusop

DORSTONE — 1406 Jn SPENSER
1436 Wm CLERKE, Lewis AP YEVAN

EARDISLEY — 1397 ? Mylo de ERDESLEY
1406 Lewis WATERDENE « = ? 1372 Llewellyn ap Jevan de WATERDINE ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 35) = ? 1385-6 Laurence WATURDENE sdp title Cwmhir abbey (*Reg Gilbert* 166,168,170)»

KINGTON

BRILLEY — 1379 Walt ---
1406 Gryffyn ---
1436 Edmund --- on higher stipend, David CLOGH

HUNTINGTON or Castell Maen — 1379 David ---
1397 Gruffuth --- 'chaplain of Castell Maen' mentioned in Brilley presentment
1403 David PILLALLEYN chaplain at castle and/or village (*Archaeologia*

Cambriensis, 1869, 224, apparently from manorial record)
1436 Jn PENWARYN

MICHAEL-CHURCH-ON-ARROW — 1379 --- --- (name omitted) 'chapel of the Blessed Michael'
1397 Jn ---
1406 Jn SYMONDE

KINNERSLEY — 1397 Walt ONDYS mentioned in presentment « = 1379 Walt ONDYS unlocated»

LETTON — 1379 Jas --- parochial chaplain and perhaps Ric de LECTON the next but unlocated entry
? 1397 Wm TYNKER (see Bridge Sollers above)

LYONSHALL — 1406 Ric ACLEFELDE, Jn BULCHE « = 1410 Jn BULCH to serve church while rector absent (*Reg Mascall* 189) = ? 1392 Jn BULCH pr. but a friar (*Reg Trefnant* 203)»

MANSELL GAMAGE — 1377 Wm BESANT presented to chantry (*Reg Gilbert* 115) « = 1368 Wm BESAUNT ac. (*Reg L Charlton* 118) = 1379 unlocated Wm BESAUNT
1394 Jn POER 'chaplain' presented to chantry (*Reg Trefnant* 178) « = ? 1396-9 Jn POORE de Blackmere 'chaplain' vicar Bredwardine (*Reg Trefnant* 180) = 1399 Jn PEER exchanges Bredwardine for chantry of Holy Cross at Hereford (*Reg Trefnant* 190)»
1396 Reg PENYMAWE presented to chantry (*Reg Trefnant* 180) « = 1397 Reg --- in Mansell Gamage presentment and ? Reg PENYMAWE alias Collyng accused of keeping a woman in Bedstone and Bromfield presentments = ? 1401-9 Reg PENNADES/PENMAWE vicar Lydbury North, 1409-10 rector Cleobury North = Reg PENYRAW 1410-?1420 rector Lydham (*Reg Trefnant* 184, *Reg Mascall* 184,185, *Reg Lacy* 117)»
1401 Jn SMYTH presented to chantry (*Reg Trefnant* 185) « = too common a name to trace in ordinations lists»
1421 Walt WODEWEY 'chaplain' presented to chantry and vicarage (*Reg Poltone* 16) « = ? Walt WODEWEY vicar Mansell Gamage 1404-8 (*Reg Trefnant* 187, *Reg Mascall* 183)»

MONNINGTON — ? 1379 Rog --- chaplain of 'two churches of Vowchurch and Monnington' but this more probably indicates Vowchurch's chapel of Monnington Straddle
1406 Nic NABBAY

PETERCHURCH — 1397 complaint that Brother SIMON celebrates

SNODHILL — 1397 complaint of no chaplain
1406 Ric ---
1436 ? Matt (? de) SNODHULL

STAUNTON ON WYE — 1406 Ric ---

VOWCHURCH — 1379 Rog --- (see Monnington above)
1436 Phil AP HOWELL, Jn CLERK

WEOBLEY — 1397 unnamed 'chaplains living here' and Phil HEILIN 'absent at Pyon' « = 1378-1385 Phil HEILIN/HEYLEN/EYLEN de Leominstre tasdp title John Payn (*Reg Gilbert* 133,148,163,165,167)»
1406 Ric ALEYN « = ? 1364-5 Ric son of Wm ALEYN de Borytone dp title

parochial (*Reg L Charlton* 92,95) = ? 1379 unlocated Ric ALAYN»
1420 Ric PORTER receiving 7 marks « = 1404 Ric PORTER pr., title Wigmore abbey (*Reg Mascall* 126)»
1436 Wm HANKYNS « = ? 1406 Wm HAUKYNS at Pembridge», Jn CLERK

YAZOR — 1397 complaint no chaplain at chantry but mention of Wm TINKER who also mentioned by neighbouring parish (see Bridge Sollers and Letton) « = ?...1416...? Wm TYNKERE vicar Bredwardine (*Reg Mascall* 182)»

WESTON deanery

BODENHAM — 1406 Ric FELTON parochial chaplain, Jn PERY « = ? 1381,1397-8 Jn PYRY asp title Dore abbey (*Reg Gilbert* 148, *Reg Trefnant* 210,222) but not = ?...1406...1411 Jn PYRY chaplain at St Peter's, Hereford, chantry = 1411-7 Jn PYRY vicar Lyonshall = 1417-? Jn PERY rector Dyndor (*Reg Mascall* 185, *Reg Lacy* 120)»

BRINSOP — 1397 presentment mentions Wm PENY, a previous chaplain of unstated date

BURGHILL — 1406 Nic --- parochial chaplain

TILLINGTON — chantry 1395 Jn TYPET, perpetual chaplain, mentioned in re-endowment document (*Reg Trefnant* 31) « = 1406 Jn TYPETE = 1407 Jn TYPET/TYPPETE dispensation for absence, then resigns (*Reg Mascall* 172,189)»
1407 Wm SWAN 'chaplain' presented (*Reg Mascall* 172) « = ? 1405 Wm SWAN bachelor of laws mentioned (*Reg Mascall* 29)»

DILWYN — 1397 Jn SNEDE, Walt ROBYNS, Jn SKYLLE mentioned, at least the first two almost certainly serving in the parish (see below)
1406 Walt ROBYNS, Walt HURTE
1436 Ric THOME

Jn SNEDE « = ? 1393 Jn SNEDE dp title Wigmore abbey (*Reg Trefnant* 207,209) = ? 1402-?1403 Jn SNADE 'chaplain'/Jn SNEDE vicar Eardisland (*Reg Trefnant* 186, *CPR 1401-5* 206,216)»

Walt ROBYNS « = 1381-2 Walt ROBYNS asp title land in Stretford (*Reg Gilbert* 148-9,152) = 1409-23 Walt ROBYNS/ROBYNES 'chaplain' vicar Dilwyn, retiring with pension and lodgings (*Reg Mascall* 175, *Reg Spofford* 350)»

Jn SKYLLE « = ? 1381-2 Jn SKELE ad title land of Margaret Fenmore (*Reg Gilbert* 148,150) = 1402-death 1407 Jn SKELE/SKYLE vicar Dilwyn (*Reg Trefnant* 185, *Reg Mascall* 49,170)»

KINGS PYON — 1397 ? Phil HEILIN (see Weobley above)

WELLINGTON — 1406 Ric KNOTTE
1436 Jn WYLLEYS and at chantry Jn MONKE

CLUN deanery

LEINTWARDINE — 1406 Howell --- , Wm MERLOW « = ? 1425-?1437 Wm MARLOWE 'chaplain' vicar Leintwardine (*Reg Spofford* 352,361)»

HEREFORD deanery

NORTON CANON — 1392 Jn CHABBENORE mentioned in chantry re-endowment document (*CPR 1391-6* 123) « = ? 1351 Jn CHABBENORE sdp title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 546,554,560)»
1406 Thos --- and Nic ---

LUDLOW deanery

BROMFIELD
LUDFORD — 1406 Rog Reynalde « = 1370 Rog Reynalde ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 22)»

RICHARDS
CASTLE — 1397 Hugh --- mentioned

Extra-parochial

DINMORE
BURGHOPE — 1406 Brother Richard

LEOMINSTER AND WEOBLEY deaneries : 1379 entries unlocated

ALEYN Ric — (see Weobley)
ARNEOT Ric — (see Kimbolton)
BAKERE Ric — « = ? 1359 sp title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 623,627) = ? 1390-1 Ric BAKERE/BAKER vicar Hopton Wafers and non-residence = 1391-? Ric BAKER vicar Presteigne = ?-1404 Ric BAKER vicar Bromyard = 1404-5 Ric BAKER/BAKERE rector Hampton Bishop = Ric BAKERE 1405-death 1411 vicar Monkland (*Reg Trefnant* 175,192, *Reg Mascall* 176,182,183)»
BAKERE Rog — « = ? 1346 Rog BAKERE de Wiggemore pr. title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 461)»
BALLARD Wm — « = ? 1349 Wm BALLARD dp, from St. David's diocese, title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 483,489) or ? 1368 Wm BALLARD ac. (*Reg L Charlton* 118)»
BARROWE Jn — « = ? 1371 Jn de la BAREWE ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 32) or = ? 1379 Jn BEREWE /BARWE/BEREWES de Markeleye asdp, from Worcester diocese, title St Wolstan's priory (*Reg Gilbert* 137,139,142,144) or = 1364 Jn BEREWE, ac., from Worcester diocese (*Reg L Charlton* 91) = ? 1385-?1394 Jn BAREWE rector Letton (*Reg Gilbert* 118, *Reg Trefnant* 179)»
BESAUNT Wm — (see Mansell Gamage)
BOCTE Phil
BODN Thos — (see Pembridge)
BURN Jn
BUTON Jn
CLERK Walt
CNOBELL Wm
COLIRI Phil
COLNER Adam
DENE Wm
ERGYN Dav
FLESHEWER Wm — (see Kingsland)

FOREST Rbt
GODEWEY Walt
HONTE Jn — « = 1349 Jn HONTE dp title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 487,496)»
KENARD Jn
KNYGHTON Jn — « = ? 1358-9 Jn de KNYGHTONE asd title hospice of St John of Jerusalem (*Reg Trillek* 621,624-5) or = ? 1346 Jn de KNYGHTONE asd title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 432,434,451) = ? 1406 Jn KNYGHTON chaplain St Peter's, Hereford or = ? ?-1392 Jn KNYGHTON vicar Wykewone, Worcester diocese, 1392-?1396 rector Moccas (*Reg Trefnant* 177,180,188)»
LARHER Wm — « = 1372-5 Wm LAHHERE/LAHZHERE/LAWHER asdp title Clifford priory (*Reg Courteney* 35,41,49,54)»
LECTON Ric de — (see Letton) « = ? 1359 Ric de LETTONE ac. (*Reg Trillek* 626) = ? 1373-4 Rog (sic) de LETTONE dp title Wigmore abbey (*Reg Courtenay* 46,50)»
LEPER Thos
LUDE Wm — « = ? 1366 William of the LUYDE tons. (*Reg L Charlton* 102) = ? 1378 Wm LUDE sdc title parochial (*Reg Gilbert* 134)»
MASON Wm — « = ? 1368 Wm MASON of Diddlebury ac. (*Reg L Charlton* 75) or = ? 1349-50 Wm MASON of Preone pr. title St Gile's hospital, Shrewsbury (*Reg Trillek* 511,543) = ? 1391/2 Wm MASON chaplain, probably at Leominster (*Inq ad dampnum* 657)»
MASKALD Walt — « = ? 1358-62 Wm MASCAL asd, letters dimissory to pr., title Limebrook priory (*Reg Trillek* 621, *Reg L Charlton* 73,77,81)»
MASYLES Jn
MONK Rog — « = ? 1393 Rog MONKE parish chaplain Monmouth mentioned in will (*Reg Trefnant* 101) = 1397 Rog MONKES parish chaplain Monmouth = 1400-?1406 Rog MAUK 'chaplain' rector St Giles, Castle Goodrich (*Reg Trefnant* 184) = 1406-death 1413 Rog MONKE rector Welsh Bicknor (*Reg Mascall* 170,173,178)»
MULE Jn
ONDYS Walt — (see Kinnersley)
PARANT Thos — « = ? 1346-51 Thos PARAUNT de Langarstone asdp title Hospital St John of Jerusalem (*Reg Trillek* 431,553,559,561)»
PARSONS Alex — « = ? 1368,1377 Alex PARSONS de Monklone tsd title Wormsley priory (*Reg L Charlton* 120, *Reg Gilbert* 130,132)»
PODY Wm
PYRYE Thos — « = ? 1346 Thos Pyrie ac. (*Reg Trillek* 432) = ? 1421-? Thos PYRY rector Sollers Hope (*Reg Poltone* 15)»
SEWE Gervase — (see Croft)
STAGBAGGE Walt — « = ? 1363-6 Walt STACBACHE/STAKEBACHE asp title Dorchester abbey (*Reg L Charlton* 86,101,106) but not 1375-?1419 Walt STAGEBACHE vicar Birley (*Reg Courtenay* 12, *Reg Lacy* 62)»
SMITH Thos
STEPULTON Rog de
STOCTON Ric de — (see Leominster)
SWAN Walt — « = ? 1378 Walt SWON sdc. title parochial (*Reg Gilbert* 134) = ? 1402...1433...? Walt SWAN rector Pembridge, previously rector in Lincoln diocese (*Reg Trefnant* 185,191, *Reg Spofford* 152, *Cal.Papal Regs.Letters 1396-1404* 247) or = ? 1427-resignation 1428 Walt SWAN 'chaplain' rector Hampton Wafer, a sinecure (*Reg Spofford* 353-4)»

TAYLOUR Gilbert (see Byford)
TULER Thos « = ? 1347 Thos TULLE of Ross ac., letters dimissory to all orders (*Reg Trillek* 399)»
TREUCE Jn
TYMMES Rbt (see Clifford)
WALKER Wm « ? 1354,1372-3 Wm WALKERE basdp title Holy Trinity hospital, Bridgnorth (*Reg L Charlton* 93, *Reg Courtenay* 35,42,46,50) or = ? 1362-6 Wm WALKER sdp title parochial (*Reg L Charlton* 85,87,105)»
WALWEY Jn « = ? 1340-2 Jn WALLEWY de Eitone asp title parochial (*Reg T Charlton* 177,185,193)»
WANTE Phil
WARTON Jn « = ? 1375 Jn WARTON ac. (*Reg Courtenay* 53)»
WEBBE Jn « = ? 1373 Jn WEBBE dc. title Deerhurst priory or Jn WEBBE dc. title Stoneleigh abbey (*Reg Courtenay* 40,49) = ? 1378 Jn WEBBE pr. title parochial (*Reg Gilbert* 134) or = ? 1347 Jn WEBBE pr. title parochial (*Reg Trillek* 468) = ? 1382-death 1423 Jn WEBBE 'chaplain' vicar Dixton (*Reg Gilbert* 117, *Reg Spofford* 40,351)»
WIGGEMORE Phil de
WISDOM Thos

INDEX OF CHAPLAINS' NAMES

Names are indexed only as they first appear in List A, including the joint Leominster/Weobley deaneries list. Variants are not indexed.

Parish names are preceded by a deanery indicator, as follows:

LW = joint Leominster/Weobley
L = Leominster
W = Weobley
WS = Weston
C = Clun
H = Hereford
L = Ludlow

PILLALEYN Dav	W/Kington/Huntington	SWAN Wm	WS/Burghill/Tillington
PODY Wm	LW	SYMENDER Wm	L/Presteigne/Kinsham
POER Jn	W/Mansell Gamage	SYMONDE Jn	W/Kington/Michael church
PORTER Ric	W/Weobley		
PULLYT Jn	L/Old Radnor	TAVERNER Hugo	L/Leominster
PYRYE Thos	LW	TAYLOUR Gilbert	LW
RASTARD Ric	L/Kingsland	THOMAS Wm	L/Eye/Brimfield
REYNALDE Rog	L/Bromfield/Ludford	THOME Ric	WS/Dilwyn
ROBYNS Walt	WS/Dilwyn	TINKER Wm	W/Bridge Sollers
SEWE Gervase	LW	TONKYNS Wm	L/Old Radnor
SKYLLE Jn	WS/Dilwyn	TULER Thos	LW
SMITH Jn	W/Byford	TREUCE Jn	LW
SMITH Thos	LW	TYMMES Rbt	LW
SMYTH Jn	W/Mansell Gamage	TYPET Jn	WS/Burghill/Tillington
SNEDE Jn	WS/Dilwyn	WALKER Jn	L/Presteigne
SNODHULL Matt	W/Peterchurch/Snodhill	WALKER Wm	LW
SOKOURE Wm	L/unlocated	WALWEY Jn	LW
SPENSER Jn	W/Dorstone	WANTE Phil	LW
STAGBAGGE Walt	LW	WARTON Jn	LW
STAUNDON Phil	L/Staunton-on-Arrow	WATERDENE Lewis	W/Eardisley
STAUNTONE Jn	L/unlocated	WEBBE Jn	LW
STEPULTON Rog de	LW	WESTON Walt	L/Pembridge
STOCKWYTH Thos	L/Eye/Brimfield	WODEWEY Walt	W/Mansell Gamage
STOCTON Ric de	LW	WHYTEBREDE Thos	L/Leominster
STOCTON Walt	L/Leominster	WIGGEMORE Phil de	LW
STONE Jn	L/Leominster	WISDOM Thos	LW
STONEYS Jn	L/Old Radnor	WYLLEYS Jn	WS/Wellington
SWAN Walt	LW	YNGESONE Wm	L/Eye/Yarpole

LIST B PAROCHIAL CHANTRIES *c.*1400

KEY TO LIST B

(a) The list is arranged by deaneries; and then, in alphabetical order, by the parishes within each deanery containing chantries - the deaneries and parishes those of the immediate pre-Reformation centuries.

(b) The list excludes chantries in religious houses or their dependent chapels and chantries known to have been founded later than *c.*1420.

(c) Unless otherwise indicated, each listed chantry was in the parish church or a named parochial chapel, and the altar served was that of "Our Lady" ("St Mary", etc).

(d) The first date given after the name of the parish is that of the earliest of any traced pre-1400 references to the chantry, for instance, the date of foundation, if known. But when the date of foundation is not known and there are no pre-1400 references, so that the existence of the chantry *c.*1400 is uncertain, the entry is introduced thus - '? founded by 1400'.

(e) Subsequent dates indicate references to the continued existence and apparent operation of the chantry.

(f) Sources for dates and other particulars are given in brackets, mainly in abbreviated form, as follows.

Reg = bishop's registers
1397 visitation = 1397 visitation record, see note 1 of Hair, 1980, cited in note 1 of the text
1536 Valor = *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 1536
CPR = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CC = 1546/7 and 1548 chantry certificates, see note 38
pens = list of pensioners *c.*1550

References to (*1397 visitation*), (*1536 Valor*), (*CC*), and (*CPR*) indicate that the chantry is mentioned in the record at the appropriate date.

(g) The sequence : \\ : divides pre-Dissolution from post-Dissolution references.

(h) A date followed by a reference to a bishop's register indicates, unless otherwise stated, the earliest recorded presentation for institution to the chantry benefice (later recorded presentations, indicated by following dates, are given only when significant). The name of the patron, if stated, is given in brackets after the date, but only when it appears to have significance for the entry.

(i) Certain chantries are evidenced in the bishops' registers by being named as the 'title' of an individual presented for one of the major orders. The reference to title appears between the date and a register reference, e.g. '1354 title (*Reg A.B.*)'.

(j) Certain particulars given in the chantry certificates are cited. The listed value of the chantry is, whenever possible, the net value or 'clear remainder', which represents, more or less, the value to the chantry priest. However, the figure often varies between the two certificates and between those and the 1536 Valor, sometimes for good reasons. The figures given should therefore be regarded as only approximate values. The stated duties of the priest, if recorded, are also listed. When the Valor or the second certificate states that a named priest was serving the chantry, this is indicated by 'incumbent'.

(k) The post-Dissolution *CPR* reference, which when available is usually the final reference, always refers to the disposal of the chantry property. Recurring references to the sale of the same land in later decades are not cited unless they supply more information about the chantry itself.

LEOMINSTER deanery

AYMESTREY	? founded by 1400 : (*1536 Valor*, under Wormsley priory) : \\ : "stipendiary priest, to pray for founders and help the curate", incumbent, 11s 0d (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1548-9, 407)
BIRLEY	founded 1350 (*CPR* 1350-4, 10) : 1356 (*Reg Trillek* 389) : 1383 further endowment by will (*Reg Gilbert* 35) : \\ : "stipendiary to sing morowe masse" every Sunday, "removable", 17s 8d (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1557-8, 271)
EARDISLAND	? founded by 1400 : £6 13s 4d, "the late incumbent" (*1536 Valor*) : 1543 bishop denies a 'chantry' taxed at 13s 4d in parish church, perhaps distinguishing from

a 'service' (see New Radnor) (HRO, Reg Skip, f.50v) : \\ : "St Mary's service in Ereslande" (*CPR* 1563-6, 5)

EYE, chapel of YARPOLE — founded 1361 (*CPR* 1361-4, 1) : 1372 (*Reg Courtney*, 11), 1397 (*Reg Trefnant*, 181) : (*1397 visitation*) : \\ : "stipendiary, removable", £1 6s 8d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1548-9, 349)

HATFIELD, free chapel of LITTLE HATFIELD — 1326 (lord of Little Hatfield) (*Reg Orleton* 333), only reference

KINGSLAND — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : "service of Our Lady and St Katherine, Edward IVth founded the service of St Katherine of Charity to pray for the souls of all those slain in battle at Mortimer's Cross", i.e. after 1460 - but the later certificate states "two stipendiaries of the altar of Our Lady, one discharged, lands and tenements given by divers persons for the finding of a priest to celebrate and teach children", which may perhaps indicate an earlier chantry, if not a later enlargement, £8 4s 3d, one incumbent, "hath the profit of his scholars" (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1560-3, 296)

LEOMINSTER — (a) founded 1376 (*CPR 1374-7, 384) : (1397 visitation*) : 1510,1515,1518,1533 (*Reg Mayew* 277,283; *Reg Bothe* 331,348) : £5 6s 8d, incumbent (*1536 Valor*) : \\ : "daily", £7 13s 1/2d or £6 6s 4 1/4d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 11)

(b) ? founded by 1400 : \\ : "Our Lady of Pity", £1 19s 10d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 12)

NEW RADNOR — 1342 "in St Mary's chapel" (*Reg T. Charlton* 82), 1350 titles "Radnor" = ? Old Radnor (*Reg Trillek* 539,548), 1406 (*Reg Mascall* 170) : 1414 "chantry of the B.V.M. in Holy Cross chapel" (*ibid.*, 187) : £6, incumbent (*1536 Valor*) but "chantry or service of Holy Cross", £2 18s 4d (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1543 bishop denies chantry taxed at 12s, "no such chantry here, but a service at the good pleasure of the parishioners worth 58s 4d annually" (HRO, Reg. Skip, f.50v) : \\ : "the Rode service", 14s, but second certificate names "Our Lady of petye service", £5, incumbent - not the same as in Valor (*CC*) : "St Mary of Pity" (*CPR* 1548-9, 256). It is difficult to be sure whether this is a single chantry which moved or more than one chantry.

OLD RADNOR — ? founded by 1400 : 1350 titles "Radnor" = ? New Radnor (*Reg Trillek* 539,548) : 1544 will refers to three unnamed chantries (*Trans. Radnor Soc.*, 1956, 22) : \\ : "Oure Lady preste", 66s 8d, but second certificate states "service of Our Lady", £5, incumbent, and the Brief Certificate names another man as "scole master", stipend 68s (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1548-9, 256)

OLD RADNOR, chapel of KINNERTON ("Keynarth alias Keynarton") — ? founded by 1400 : : "priest to say mass", no stipend or incumbent mentioned, stock £19 4s 4d (*CC*)

OLD RADNOR chapel of EDNOL — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : "priest to say mass", no stipend or incumbent mentioned, stock 54s 4d (*CC*)

PEMBRIDGE — (a) ? founded by 1400 : \\ : "to celebrate one mass weekly and be schoolmaster, to teach children freely", £3 13s 0d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1548-9, 349)

(b) ? founded by 1400 : Trinity service, perhaps founded *c.*1433 when Trinity altar dedicated (*Reg Spofford* 129) : 1529 alms for altar of Trinity and BVM (*Reg Bothe* 360) : \\ : to celebrate and help curate, £1 1s 0d, incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1549-51, 11)

PRESTEIGNE — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : four stipendiaries, viz., Our Lady of Grace service - £7 6s 8d, incumbent; Our Lady of Pity service - £4 10s 8d, incumbent; Trinity service - £3 17s 2d, incumbent; St George service, second certificate names "St David" service - £2 18s 3d, and Brief Certificate list for pensions the three incumbents *(CC) : pens* Our Lady of Grace, Our Lady of Pity : four chantries, including "St. David" (*CPR* 1548-9, 256)

PUDLESTON-cum-WHYLE — ? 1329 title from chantry at "Wyle", but this may be Willey, not Whyle (which was united to Puddleston in 1364) (*Reg T. Charlton* 110), no later references

SHOBDON — founded 1332-3 (Ralph de Lingen) (deed cited in Blount MS *c.*1670, f. 106) : no later references

STAUNTON ON ARROW — ? founded by 1400 : \\: priest to sing for all Christian souls and help the curate to visit the sick, founded by parishioners, hence "upon theyr revocion", 16s 1d, incumbent, teaches children of poor (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 27) : cantarists's house, called St Mary's House, near churchyard (Blount MS *c.*1670, f.108)

STRETFORD — 1332 (*Reg T. Charlton* 77-8) : no later references

WIGMORE — 1333 title (*Reg T. Charlton* 141) : 1533 alms sought for chaplain of service of Our Lady (*Reg Bothe* 360) : £5 4s 10 1/2d, incumbent (*1536 Valor*), £5 (*Reg Foxe* 366) : \\ : "service, within parish church, founded by Sir John Lentall and others", £5 8s 7d - second certificate terms it "Bygges Chantry", priest to celebrate and help curate, £5 12s 1d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens* (Bygges) : (*CPR* 1548-9, 352)

WIGMORE, chapel of LEINTHALL STARKES — 1353 vicar ordered to provide chaplain for chantry (*Reg Trillek* 194) : \\ : £4 3s 10d, incumbent with no other living (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1548-9, 349). It is possible that the reference in the previous item to a chantry founded by Sir John Lentall at the altar of Our Lady in the parish church was inaccurate, his chantry being at the same altar in the chapel of Leinthall Starkes.

WEOBLEY deanery

ALMELEY — ? founded by 1400 : chantry (Wormsley Priory) (*1536 Valor*): \\ : "no free chapel, chantry, stipendiary, light nor obit within the said parish church" (*CC*): a light however later reported (CPR 1550-3, 253)

BISHOPSTONE — 1323 (de Burghope) (*Reg Orleton* 388), 1335 (*Reg T. Charlton* 79), 1415 (*Reg Mascall* 181), 1531 refoundation or further endowment (*Reg Bothe* 256-8) : \\ : stipendiary, £1 0s 9d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1548-9, 230)

CLIFFORD — 1277 title (*Reg Cantilupe*, 301), 1385 title (*Reg Gilbert* 165) : \\ : endowment of two priests to sing mass every holy day at two chapels, formerly "kept by" two monks of Clifford Priory and now a hired priest, 11s 6d (*CC*) : "prayers for dead in the bederoll" endowment (*CPR* 1572-5, 369)

CREDENHILL — founded 1306 (*CPR* 1301-7, 434), but church named as "Holy Cross" instead of St Mary, the chantry perhaps in a destroyed side-chapel (*RCHMH*) which was perhaps Holy Cross chapel : \\ : service of Our Lady, 8s 0d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1549-51, 26)

DORSTONE — (a) founded *c.*1250 (lord of Dorstone) (*Reg L. Charlton* 57-61) : 1346 dispute over (*Reg Trillek* 80-1), 1348 "the castle chantry" (*ibid.*, 374) : no later references

(b) 1336, 1364 "chantry of St Mary" (Clifford Priory) (*Reg T Charlton* 81; *Reg L Charlton* 66) : \\ : £3 1s 4d, incumbent with no other living (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 84)

EARDISLEY — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : stipendiary, to teach grammar school and celebrate, £4 13s 2d, incumbent, "has the revenues and the advantages of his scholars and no other living" (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1553, 126)

KINGTON — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : stipendiary, to celebrate, help curate and teach children, £4 16s 9d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens*

KINGTON, chapel of MICHAEL-CHURCH — ? by 1400 : \\ : "priest to say morrowe mass, given of olden time", 40s (*CC*)

KINNERSLEY — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : stipendiary, £6 2s 6d, incumbent now schoolmaster, "no stipend but only the revenues, no other living" (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 255)

LYONSHALL — ? founded by 1400 : \\ : service "at the will of the parish", £1 10s 10d, incumbent (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1549-51, 11) : "an anniversary" (*CPR* 1572-5, 409)

MANSELL GAMAGE — ? founded *c.*1220, short-term chantry in uncertain parish (William de Gamages) (*Reg Trillek* 183-5) : 1302, see next item : 1377 (lady of Mansel) (*Reg Gilbert* 115) : 1397 complaint about absent chaplain of this chantry (*1397 visitation*) : 1421 (*Reg Poltone* 16)

MANSELL LACY — 1302 (lady of Mansel) (*Reg Swinfield* 534), no further references - possibly this parish was named in error for the previous one

WEOBLEY — (a) founded 1392 (Barton) (*CPR* 1391-6, 120) : 1430 (Barton) (*Reg Spofford* 357), 1489,1492 (*Reg Mylling* 197,201,202) : \\ : £1 14s 5d or £1 16s 6 1/2d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1553, 127)

(b) ? founded by 1400 : "chantry of the Holy Rode, given by divers persons", 2s 8d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1553, 127)

WINFORTON — (a) founded 1264 in hermitage chapel of St Kenedr on island in Severn (*Monasticon*, 6, 402) : no later references

(b) 1377-1415 titles (*Reg Gilbert* 130,153-4,157,171-2; (*Reg Trefnant* 206, 211, 220, 222; *Reg Mascall* 138-9,141-2,144-5,148-51,164) : no later references

YAZOR — founded 1347 (*CPR* 1435-8, 418) : 1397 complaint that vacant (*1397 visitation*) : no later references

WESTON deanery

BODENHAM — (a) 1331 title (*Reg T. Charlton* 121) : \\ : stipendiary, £3 19s 1d, no incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1548-9, 382; 1549-51, 156)

(b) ? founded by 1400 : \\ stipendiary, "Jesus service", £1 5s 0d, no incumbent (*CC*) : ? "Johns Chauntrey" (*CPR* 1549-51, 156)

BRINSOP — *c.*1190 land in Brinsop granted to Brecon priory by Ralph de Torel (*Monasticon*, 3, 261) : 1328 title (*Reg T. Charlton* 96,100) : 1397 reference to lapsed endowment of service of Blessed Mary originally made by Ralph de Torel (*1397 visitation*) : no later references

BURGHILL, chantry chapel of TILLINGTON — founded 1340, in chapel of St Michael, Tillington (*CPR* 1340-3, 63) : 1395 perpetual chantry of St Michael Archangel re-endowed (*Reg Trefnant* 30-6; *CPR* 1391-6, 371-2) : 1407,1524,1529 (*Reg Mascall* 172; *Reg Bothe* 337,343) : £1 13s 4d, incumbent (*1536 Valor*), also "oblations of Tillington, with herbiage of burialground of Burghill" (*ibid.*, 2, 427) : 1545 last incumbent resigns (HRO, Reg. Skip, f.62v) : \\ : stated that patrons wish to dissolve to recover rents, and, wrongly, that chantry located in Burghill church, (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1549-51, 10) : "the chauntry chapel" (*CPR* 1572-5, 295)

DILWYN — (a) 1334 title (*Reg T. Charlton*, 150) : 1392 re-founded or further endowed, "daily, in the chapel of St Mary in the parish church" (*CPR* 1391-6, 119; *Inq ad damnum*, 2, 685) : 1480 (*Reg Mylling* 191,199) : 1481 dispute over (*ibid.*, 68) : £4 4s 3d, incumbent (*1536 Valor*) : \\ : priest to sing and keep an obit, £5 17s 1d or £4 8s 7d, incumbent with no other living (*CC*) : "anniversary" (*CPR* 1550-3, 253) «A second chantry in the parish church, founded 1466, had the distinction of being the last chantry in the diocese to record an institution, in 1547.»

(b) ? founded by 1400 : \\ : "chantry of St Mary in Little Dilwyn" (*CPR* 1558-60, 318; 1569-72, 468; 1575-8, item 1347 (iv)). It is possible that this was not a separate chantry, the references being to lands in Little Dilwyn belonging to the parish church chantry.

KINGS PYON — founded before 1290, service of three chaplains (Wormsley Priory) (*Monasticon*, 6, 400) : 1312 priest in service of Blessed Mary (*Reg Swinfield* 471) : 1332 re-founded or further endowment (*CPR* 1330-4, 250) : 1353 title (*Reg Trillek* 596), 1393 (*Reg Trefnant* 177), 1398 title (*ibid.*, 222) : \\ : stipendiary, 15s 11d, no incumbent, because income insufficient, "time out of mind" income funded to provide occasional appointment of a chaplain for six or twelve months, repairs to the church, and, recently, equipment for men for the king's wars (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1550-3, 253)

WELLINGTON — £2 17s 6d, incumbent (*1536 Valor*) : \\ : founded *c.*1270, £2 4s 2d or £2 17s 4d, same incumbent (*CC*) : (*CPR* 1549-51, 25)

HEREFORD deanery

CANON PYON — founded 1345 (HCA 2075,2077; *CPR* 1343-5, 572) : \\ : stipendiary, 4d, no incumbent (*CC*) : "anniversary" (*CPR* 1549-51, 2)

NORTON CANON — 1334 title (*Reg T. Charlton* 145) : 1354-5 re-founded or further endowed (*Inq ad damnum*, 18 E3, 481) : 1392 further endowment, to celebrate "daily" (*CPR* 1391-6, 123): \\ :stipendiary removable by wardens, "to sing mass every five years" (?), £2 1s 8d or £1 1s 8d (*CC*): "Norton" (CPR 1553, 163)

CLUN deanery

LEINTWARDINE 1328 chantry for souls of late king, etc, with nine chaplains, founded by Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (*CPR* 1327-30, 343) : 1330 chantry for souls of himself and family, with ten chaplains, founded by Roger Mortimer (*ibid.*, 494) - Mortimer's downfall in 1331 may have ended or limited these foundations : 1334 title (*Reg T. Charlton* 145) : 1374 re-founded or further endowed (*CPR* 1374-7, 33) : £5 6s 8d (*1536 Valor*) : \\ : apparently refounded 1509, £5 3s 1d or £6 2s 5d, incumbent with no other living (*CC*) : *pens* : (*CPR* 1548-9, 349)

LUDLOW deanery

RICHARDS CASTLE 1330 title Blessed Mary (*Reg T. Charlton* 115) : 1349 re-founded or further endowed in chapel of St John Baptist (*CPR* 1348-50, 408; *Inq ad damnum*, 2, 445) : 1351 (*Reg Trillek* 385) : 1362 title (*Reg L. Charlton* 85) : £3 6s 8d (*1536 Valor*) : \\ : stipendiary of the service of Our Lady and St John the Baptist, to sing mass every holy day and help the cure, removable at will of parishioners, £4 16s 7d, incumbent, "has the revenues and the small reward that cometh by means of the teaching of children" (*CC*) : *pens* to "sometime canon of Wigmore" : (*CPR* 1548-9, 349)

LIST C CHAPELS *c.*1400, other than conventual chapels, by parishes : with chantries, oratories and chaplains also indicated.

KEY TO LIST C

(a) The list is arranged by deaneries; and then, in alphabetical order within each deanery, by the parishes (or 'free chapels with cure') containing chapels - the deaneries and parishes those of the immediate pre-Reformation centuries. CHAPELS are named inset.

(b) The form of each benefice *c.*1400 is indicated. Where a benefice had been appropriated by a religious house, etc, this is indicated by "vicar" and the religious house, etc, is named within brackets. Where a benefice remained unappropriated, this is indicated by "rector", and for those items where it appears relevant the patron of the benefice is named within brackets.

(c) Chantries, piscinae and, if relevant, certain other details of fabric are indicated. In the case of a parish church or free chapel, the existence or possible existence of a chantry *c.*1400 is noted (for more details, see LIST B); and if the church or chapel is represented by a building surviving to the present-day, the evidence of surviving piscinae is also noted. In the case of a late-medieval chapel, if it is represented by a building surviving to the present-day, then details of the fabric which demonstrate its pre-Reformation history are noted, particularly the existence of surviving medieval fonts, sets of bells, and piscinae. The proven existence of the building *c.*1400 is indicated by the note "pre-1400 fabric" or the note "pre-1400 fabric elements" (for more precise details and exact dating, see *RCHMH*).

(d) Where the existence of a chapel or chantry *c.*1400 is less than certain, because the only recorded evidence is either much earlier or much later, then this is indicated thus - "? by 1400". (For the detailed evidence regarding chantries, see LIST B.)

(e) Recorded instances of a chaplain or chaplains serving in the parish or chapelry are indicated by the date, and (in brackets) the number of chaplains if more than one (for further details and sources, see LIST A; but for 1475, see *Reg Myllyng* 9-13).

(f) Evidence for the existence of oratories and chapels is provided by sources which are in the main those cited by the following abbreviations :

Reg = bishop's register
Taxatio = *Taxatio Nicholai* 1291
Valor = *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 1536
CPR = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*
Silas Taylor MS = see note 45 of the text
Blount MS = see note 45 of the text
1397 = visitation return, see note 1 of Hair, 1980, cited in note 1 of the text
1658 = Commonwealth survey, see note 13 of the text

(g) Chapels are divided in the list between "parochial chapels" and "non-parochial chapels". The distinction is a convenient but crude categorisation of many different types of chapel and in certain individual instances may be misleading. Furthermore, for lack of evidence many chapels have to be listed as " ? parochial chapel" or " ? non-parochial chapel".

(h) The post-Reformation history of chapels is indicated. In the case of chapels which continued to function, and which eventually gained parochial status, the date of the earliest recorded institution to a benefice (ERI) is noted. (The date is that supplied in the printed Index of the post-1540 institutions recorded in the bishops' registers, but note that the seventeenth-century registers are defective). Usually the institution is to a perpetual curacy, noted as "p.c.".

(i) In the case of any chapel which ceased to function, either immediately after the Dissolution or at a later date (up to the mid-nineteenth century), and whose building therefore acquired other use or fell into ruin or totally disappeared, reference is given to the building's changed circumstances.

LEOMINSTER deanery

AYMESTREY : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : ? chantry by 1400 : 1291,1340 with unnamed chapel (*Taxatio, Non.Inq.*)

chaplain : 1397,1436 (assuming "Almeley" in the Leominster deanery list to be a misreading of 'Aymestrey')

parochial chapel(s)

LEINTHALL EARLS : pre-1400 fabric, one piscina : 1275 burial-ground (*Reg Cantilupe* 45) : 1284 "parish churches of Ailmondestre and Shobbdone with chapels of Leynthale and Lingame" (HCA 1050a, visitation record) : 1488 agreement between vicar and parishioners regarding services (*Reg Myllyng* 112) : 1574 concealed lands of "five decayed chapels in

Wigmoresland'', including ''Lentalle chapel in Aymestrey'' - since the chapel survived, it may have been wrongly included in this group (*CPR* 1572-5, 408, an inadequate summary, the chapels named only in patent roll, PRO C.66/1125, m.13) : ERI (p.c.) 1792

? LINGEN : wholly reconstructed, pre-1400 font and bell : 1284 (see Leinthall Earls above) : 1390 ''free chapel'', king grants advowson to layman, acting for Mortimers during minority (*CPR* 1388-92, 229) : 1397 reports at visitation at same centre as Aymestrey, which complains that the inhabitants of the vill of Lingen refuse to mend the enclosure of Aymestrey burial-ground, ''even the part that concerns them'' : 1536 listed as chapel of Presteigne : 1562 ''chapel of Lingen'' among seized property (*CPR* 1560-3, 286) - but in fact survived : 1565 chapel at farm (HCA, Act Book, f.178) : 1658 ''parishe'' : ERI (p.c.) 1780. It would seem that Lingen chapel was attached to Aymestrey *c.*1400 but was later transferred to Presteigne. The 1390 reference to a ''free chapel'' is baffling.

N.B. Chapels within an area of contiguous parishes, all of which parishes were appropriated to the same religious house, seem sometimes to have been allocated, presumably by the house, to different neighbouring parishes at different periods.

BIRLEY : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : chantry : two supplementary piscinae

? non-parochial chapel

BIRLEY COURT: ? by 1400 : *c.*1655 ''There was in the memory of some people now living a chapple adjoyning to the house of the Lord of the Manour, the end wall of it still remayning therein, was by the bones discovered there a place of burials *sed quere*'' (Silas Taylor MS, f.183)

CROFT : rector, apparently free chapel with cure, earlier probably dependent chapel, later a parish church (Crofts of Croft Castle) : 1279 ''Croft church'' conferred on official by bishop (*Reg Cantilupe* 235) : 1284 ''Croft church'' (HCA 1050a) : 1277 x 1292 rights in ''chapel of Croft'' of Reading /Leominster monks (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1291 ''Croft chapel'' (*Taxatio*) : 1336 onwards, regular presentations, in 1390 and 1400 to Croft ''chapel'' (*Reg T Charlton* 81; *Reg Trefnant* 175,184,187), 1419 listed as ''chapel'' (*Reg Lacy* 72), yet 1390 ''parish churches of Kington, Whitney and Croft'' (*Reg Trefnant* 215) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1515 reconstruction of church and rededication of ''parish church'' with burial-ground (*Reg Mayew* 212)

chaplain : 1406

oratory and ? non-parochial chapel

NEWTON (a detached and distant district of Croft parish, near Hope-under-Dinmore) : 1347 oratory, licenced for ''Newton manor in Hope-under-Dinmore'' (*Reg Trillek* 101) : 1382 dispute over Newton tithes between the Crofts and Leominster priory (Price, *Leominster*, 31) : 1658 ''the chappell township or hamlett of Newton being eight miles distant from the parishe church of Croft'' proposed to be united, together with Ford chapel, to Hope-under-Dinmore : *c.*1675 ''it is said that anciently ther was a small Chapel of ease at the Court House but long since gone to ruin'', inhabitants later attended Ford chapel (Blount MS, f.77) : no other references

EYE : vicar (Leominster priory, cell of Reading abbey) : ''chapel of Eye'' *c.*1180 becomes parish church when appropriated *c.*1220 (*Leominster register*, ff.67,120, see Kemp, 'Eye', 4-6) : two supplementary piscinae

chaplain : 1406,1436

parochial chapels

BRIMFIELD : pre-1400 fabric elements, font : *c.*1180 burial-ground for poor parishioners

instead of at Eye (BL Ms. Add. Charters 19,585; Hurry, *Reading Abbey*, 163; *Leominster register*, f.60v, in Kemp, 'Eye', 12) : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141 and cf. p.272): 1284 ''chapel of Eye'' (HCA 1050a) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 : ''parishe'' : ERI (p.c.) 1779

chaplain : 1379 (shared with Middleton), 1406,1436,1475, 1522 (''serving the cure'' *Reg Bothe* 135),1562 (*CPR* 1560-3, 289)

EYTON : pre-1400 fabric elements, font : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1284 ''Lucton and Eyton chapels of Leominster'' (HCA 1050a), but not listed among Leominster chapels 1291 (*Taxatio*) : 1397 reports at visitation at Eye, not Leominster : 1412 disagreement over services between vicar and squire (*Reg Foxe* 375) : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 two bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 ''chappell'' : ERI (p.c.) 1774

chaplain : 1406 (shared with Lucton), 1475 (shared with Lucton), 1562 (shared with Lucton, *CPR* 1560-3, 289)

KIMBOLTON : pre-1400 fabric elements, one supplementary piscina : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1284 ''chapel of Leominster'' (HCA 1050a) but not so listed 1291 (*Taxatio*) : 1397 reports at visitation at Eye : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 four bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 ''parishe'' : ERI (p.c., with Middleton) 1759

chaplain : 1379,1406,1436,1475

LUCTON : wholly rebuilt : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1284 (see Eyton above) : 1397 reports at visitation at Eye : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 two bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 ''chappell'' : 1680-1709 ruinous, but restored by founder of Lucton School (HPL, Dumcumb notes, Wolphy, 145) : ERI (p.c.) 1760 : recently abandoned

chaplain : 1406 and 1475 (see Eyton above), 1483 (''curate'' *Reg Myllyng* 193), 1562 (see Eyton above)

[LUSTON : *c.*1675 ''The inhabitants keep their feast of dedication on the Sunday next after St Peter ad vinculum; but I found no tradition of any Chapel which had been there'' (Blount MS, f.49) : ''one side of the parish church of Eye is considered to belong to the township of Luston, on which is a stone, containing a list of benefactions to that township'' (*Charities Report*, PP 1837-8 XXVI, 225)]

MIDDLETON : pre-1400 fabric, piscina, font, three bells (all medieval but perhaps *c.*1450, see Sharpe, *Church bells*, 367) : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, p.141) : 1284 ''chapel of Eye'' (HCA 1050a) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 ''parishe'' : ERI (see Kimbolton)

chaplain : 1379,1406,1475,1483 (''curate'' *Reg Myllyng* 183)

MILES HOPE, in modern Middleton parish : ? *c.*?1250 chaplain of ''Hope Mililon'' listed with other Eye chaplains (undated entry, Leominster priory register, f.100v, *Monasticon*, 4, 53) : 1277 x 1292 'Hopemile' listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1284 ''Hop'myle dependent chapel of Eye'' (HCA 1050a) : no later references : Miles Hope, where Leominster priory had lands, in an extreme NW corner of the diocese, was an understandable location for a chapel since the nearest chapel of Eye parish was at Middleton, 2½ miles away

ORLETON : pre-1400 fabric, piscina, font, churchyard cross : *c.*1220 chaplain and vicar to divide oblation of dead (*Leominster register*, f.103v, cited Kemp, 'Eye, 6) : 1284 "chapel of Eye" (HCA 1050a) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1424 granted burial-ground (*Reg Spofford* 57-9) : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 "parishe" : ERI vicar 1669

chaplain : 1406,1475,1483 ("curate" *Reg Myllyng*, 183)

YARPOLE : pre-1400 fabric, one supplementary piscina : chantry : 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1284 "dependent chapel of Leominster" (HCA 1050a), but not so listed 1291 (*Taxatio*) : 1397 reports at visitation at Eye : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1553 three bells : 1658 "parishe" ERI vicar 1718

chaplains : 1406 (two),1436 (assuming that "Yarkhill" is a misreading), 1562 (*CPR* 1560-3, 289)

? non-parochial chapel

'MOOR ABBEY' in modern Middleton parish (O.S.546633) : ? medieval, ? non-public chapel of Leominster priory grange or monastic rest-house : *c.*1280 manor of La More acquired by Reading abbey/Leominster priory (*Reading cartulary*, 284-5) : 1809 building demolished but surviving plan indicated a chapel (*RCHMH)*

FORD or FORDSBRIDGE : uncertain parochial status *c.*1400, perhaps extra-parochial chapel : ? pre-1400 foundations of Victorian chapel, ? medieval stonework and woodwork in local house (*RCHMH*) : *c.*1130 "chapels of Ford and Hampton belonging to the church of Leominster" (*Reading cartulary*, 277-8) : *c.*1218 appropriated to almonry of Leominster priory (Kemp, '*parochia*', n.77; *c.*1240, mentioned, in apparent proximity to and possible relationship with Humber (Leominster priory register, f.67v, *Monasticon*, 5, 53): 1277 x 1292 listed among dependent chapels of Leominster and Eye (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : no later medieval references and not included in lists of Leominster chapels : 1658 "Foord a small parishe...the chappell of Foord in the saide parishe [? of Leominster]...curate" proposed to be united to Hope-under-Dinmore : *c.*1675 "formerly" attended by inhabitants of Newton (see Croft above) (Blount MS, f.77) : 1684,1771 presentations to a curacy (HRO, Reg Croft, f.28; Reg Beauchamp f.210v): 1689 dated chalice with inscription "Capella impropriat. de Ford" (Stanhope and Moffat, *Church plate*, 62) : 1743 "the liberty of Ford Chapel" (HRO, parish register); 1847 "Fordsbridge, otherwise the Ford", extra-parochial (*Tithe Reports*, PP 1847-8 LXIX) : *c.*1850 "the old chapel taken down", new one erected (HPL, Bird MSS, vol.3, 13; vol.12, 121-2), which presumably explains why Ford was ignored by *RCHMH*, although it may be questioned whether the present chapel fabric is entirely Victorian.

HAMPTON WAFER : rector, free chapel (lord of Hampton Wafer) : *c.*1150 consecration of refuge burial-ground (*cimiterium ad refugium*) at "Hamtona", probably Hampton Wafer, with assent of monks of Leominster (Leominster register, f.60, *Monasticon*, 4, 53; *Reading cartulary*, 281-2) : *c.*1195 chapel advowson in dispute between Leominster priory and lord of manor, agreed joint presentation and burial rights reserved to Leominster, stage towards lord gaining advowson and indepence of chapel (Leominster register, f.64, cited *Reading cartulary*, 282; Kemp, '*parochia*', n.64) : 1277 x 1292 not listed among chapels dependent on or having dues to Leominster (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1291 "church" not taxed because of poverty (*Taxatio*) : regular institutions, e.g. 1322,1428,1531 (*Reg Orleton* 387; *Reg Spofford* 354; *Reg Bothe* 345) : 1340 "no parishioners", worth 6s (*Non.Inq.*) : 1536 listed as "ruined church" (*Reg Foxe* 366), Hampton Wafer having become a deserted viallage (*TWNFC* 1969, 71-92) : no archaeological traces of the chapel as yet discovered

'HATFIELD' : possible confusion in the sources between Great Hatfield and Little Hatfield : *c.*1150 consecration of Hatfield burial-ground, but dues still to Leominster and chapel not to be treated as mother church (Leominster priory register, f.58, *Monasticon*, 4, 53; *Reading cartulary*, 282) : 1277 x 1292 Leominster dues in "chapels of Hatfield Minor and Hatfield Major" (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1291 and 1340 "Great Hatfield church", "Hatfield chapel", "Little Hatfield chapel" (*Taxatio, Non. Inq.*) : 1419 "Great Hatfield church", "Little Hatfield church" (*Reg Lacy* 72-3): only one church today - which?

GREAT HATFIELD, patronal name not known : ? parish church, but not institutions recorded : 1291 and 1419 Great Malvern priory had the major portion of the benefice (*Taxatio*, *Reg Lacy* 72) and 1319 had licence to farm the benefice (*Reg Trefnant* 28), hence chaplains perhaps served

non-parochial chapel

LITTLE HATFIELD, St Leonard : rector, free chapel (Weston family) : 1291 not taxed because of poverty (*Taxatio*) but 1340 income sufficient to support a chaplain (*Non.Inq.*) : institutions 1312 ("Hatfield", Weston, *Reg Swinfield* 541),1326,1335,1336 (*Reg Orleton* 333; *Reg T Charlton* 79-80) : 1435 "Little Hatfield chapel" listed (*Reg Stanbury*)

'HATFIELD' : 1536 listed as chapel of Leominster, perhaps in error (*Valor*) : 1553 two bells (church goods inventory) : 1587 "curacy" (HCA Westfaling survey) : 1658 "parishe...parishe churche" : the present church St Leonard, has pre-1400 fabric, font, bells : ERI 1562

HUMBER : rector (Brecon priory), termed a chapel before *c.*1300 but not thereafter (*Reg Cantilupe* 41, 302-3; *Reg Swinfield* 388) : pre-1400 fabric, font, one piscina : *c.*1150 permission to lord and wife at "their chapel of Humber" for burial of one body, others to continue to be buried at Leominster (Brooke, *Foliot*, 387; *Reading cartulary*, 283) : *c.*1150 confirmation of grant by same lord of "church of Humber" to Brecon priory, presumably breaking the Leominster dependency (Brooke, *Foliot*, 355; *Reading cartulary*, 283) : *c.*1217 men of Risbury, parishioners of Leominster, permitted to attend "chapel of Humber" (*Reading cartulary*, 299-300; 'Cartularium de Brecon', *Arch.Camb.*, 1883, 229) : 1277 x 1292 Leominster dues in "chapel of Humber" (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : if the church and the chapel were the same, the chapel was not up-graded until some time after the early dependence on Leominster was lost

? non-parochial chapel

? RISBURY : ? by 1400 : *c.*1150 consecration of burial-ground "within land of monks of Leominster" (Brooke, *Foliot*, 388; *Reading cartulary*, 298-9) : *c.*1180 lord of manor allowed private chapel (Leominster register, f.80, cited *Reading cartulary*, 299) : *c.*1217 (see Humber above) : 1277 x 1292 not listed among chapels dependent on or with dues to Leominster (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : if a chapel existed *c.*1400 it was probably private, and Risbury had come to be within Humber parish : *c.*1675 "an ancient Court House...by the windows and other signes appears evidently to have heretofore been a Chapel of ease, as tradition delivers it" (Blount MS, f.95) : no other references

KINGSLAND : rector (Mortimers) : ? chantry by 1400, one later chantry : one supplementary piscina

chaplains : ? 1379,1406 (two),1436 (two),1475

? parochial chapel

STREET : 1291 "chapel of Street in parish of Kingsland" (*Taxatio*) : 1340 "chapel of Eardisland" (*Non.Inq.*) : 1419 "chapels of Street and Croft" (*Reg Lacy* 72) : 1453 listed (*Reg Stanbury* 13) : 1594 brass, reported thought not extant, and alleged to have come from chapel near Street Court, now demolished (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1826, 2, 394) : 1607

two-thirds of the tithes of Street, presumably those of the former chapel, given to support school at Eardisland, but provide sinecure for vicar until 1823 (*Charities Report*, PP 1837-8 XXVI, 188-91) : 1658 proposal that "the township or hamlett of Streete" be removed from Kingsland parish and transferred to Eardisland parish, allegedly because of proximity but perhaps because of tithes : Street hamlet lies between Kingsland and Eardisland villages but Street township has always been in Kingsland parish : no traces known

? non-parochial chapel

ASTON : ? by 1400 : 1550 "chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalene in the vill of Aston in the parish of Kingsland" (PRO, E310/2/20) : 1841 'Chapel Green Croft' fieldname at Aston (HRO, Kingsland tithe map schedule) : no other references and no traces known

LEOMINSTER : vicar (Leominster priory, cell of Reading abbey) : church building shared with priory chapel : in parochial section, one chantry by 1400, two others later: two supplementary piscinae in partly reconstructed building

chaplains : 1397 (seven named in visitation presentment), 1406 (ten, one parochial chaplain),1420 (three, *Reg Lacy* 86),1436 (four),1522 (four, *Reg Bothe* 135)

parochial chapels

DOCKLOW : pre-1400 fabric elements : 1277 x 1292,1284 and 1291 listed as dependent chapel (*Reading cartulary*, 141; HCA 1050a; *Taxatio*) : 1397 parishioners complain at visitation that vicar does not provide services on certain feastdays : 1433 obligations to vicar (*Reg Spofford* 162-3) : 1537 dispute between parishioners and vicar over services (*Reg Foxe*, ff.20-20v) : 1553 two bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 "chappell" : ERI (p.c.) 1778

HOPE-UNDER-DINMORE : rebuilt, slight pre-1400 elements, font : *c.*1190 "chapel of Hope" (Leominster priory register, f.61v, *Monasticon*, 4, 53; *Reading cartulary*, 292-3) : 1277 x 1292,1284 and 1291 listed as dependent chapel (*Reading cartulary,* 141; HCA 1050a; *Taxatio*) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1433 obligations to vicar (*Reg Spofford* 182-3) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 "chappell" : ERI (p.c.) 1763

chaplain : 1397 (complaint that no resident chaplain, "only a stipendiary from Leominster"), 1475,1483 ("curate", *Reg Myllyng* 183)

STOKE PRIOR : wholly rebuilt, pre-1400 font : 1277 x 1292,1284 and 1291 listed as dependent chapel (*Reading cartulary,* 141; HCA 1050a; *Taxatio*) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1433 obligations to vicar (*Reg Spofford* 182-3) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 "chappell" : ERI 1788

chaplain : 1522 ("curate", *Reg Bothe* 135)

non-parochial and ? non-parochial chapels

LEOMINSTER, ST THOMAS THE MARTYR (the Forbury chapel) : priory gateway chapel : *c.*1290 constructed for lay use (BL Ms. Add. Charters 19,632 ; *Reg Cantilupe* xxxviii-ix; Hurry, *Reading Abbey*, 3,180) : survived dissolution, given various secular uses, and extant (*RCHMH; TWNFC,* 1970-2, 265-7) : 1985 houses a dance school

? LEOMINSTER, ST ANDREW : ? by 1400 : 1433 "pasturage around chapels of St Andrew, Leominster and Stoke" (*Reg Spofford* 162) : 1536 "pasturage of the burial-grounds of Leominster, Stoke, Docklow and St Andrew" (*Valor*) : 1630 terrier refers to land of "St Anthony's or St Andrew's churchyard" in precise location in Poplands area of Leominster (HRO)

? LEOMINSTER, HOSPITALS, possibly with chapels : ? by 1400 : 1427 St Anne and St Clement outside the town (*Reg Spofford* 103) : St Clement and St Katherine "at the end of the town", 1521 "in the marsh" (*Reg Mayew* 287; *Reg Bothe* 256) : 1489 St Clement's (*Reg Myllyng* 113) : 1481 Blessed Virgin, which repairs roads and bridges (*ibid*, 206) : 1534 endowment "to pave streets, mend bridges, repair the market-place, etc", partly used for a chantry (chantry certificate) - possibly connected with the last hospital : no further references, not even of dissolution, endowments probably transferred and concealed

? ? EATON : ? by 1400 : 1397 'Eton vill' reports at visitation, no mention of chapel : 1795 local historian alleges a chapel once at Eaton Hall, now converted into a malt-kiln (Price, *Leominster*, 181) : no other evidence

EYTON,KIMBOLTON,LUCTON,YARPOLE (see under Eye above for possible early Leominster connection)

FORD (see above for early Leominster connection)

HAMNISH : ? by 1400 : *c.*1150 tithes to Leominster in return for grant of chapel to lord (Leominster register, f.77, cited *Reading cartulary*, 279) : no later references

HAMPTON in Hope-under-Dinmore : ? by 1400 : *c.*1130 "chapels of Ford and Hampton belonging to Leominster" (*Reading cartulary*, 277-8) : *c.*1150 burial-ground consecrated and chapel within burial-ground given to Leominster priory by Peter de Mappenore, hence probably at 'Hampton Mappenore' (Brooke, *Foliot*, 388; *Reading cartulary*, 279) : *c.*1160 parochial dues of 'Hampton Ricardi' to Leominster church (Brooke, *Foliot*, 391-2; *Reading cartulary*, 279) : 1434 Hampton Court built by Rowland Lenthall at 'Hampton Ricardi' with private chapel, which survives today (*RCHMH*) : *c.*1675 "there was an old chapel of ease at Hampton consecrated, but the new one built by Sir Rowland, with curious painted windows" (HPL, Pilley 2325, extracts from Blount MS *c.*1670; cf. William Camden, *Britannia*, enlarged by R. Gough, 1789, vol.2, 400) : no trace of earlier chapel today

? HATFIELD (see above for early connection with Leominster)

? HUMBER (see above for early connection with Leominster)

IVINGTON : ? grange chapel : 1388 altar in chapel of "park" of Ivington dedicated to SS Martin and Benedict (Leominster priory "leiger book" and kalendar, cited by antiquarians *c.*1715 and *c.*1750, HPL, Hill MSS, vol.3, 342; Pilley 2325, 49; copied inaccurately in Price, *Leominster*, 181) : reported traces at Ivington Bury (F.Gainsford Blacklock, *The suppressed Benedictine monastery*, Leominster, n.d. [*c.*1898], 464-5) - not confirmed in *RCHMH*

? ? OVERHILL (Upper Hill in Leominster out-parish) : ? by 1400 : 1577 church/chapel symbol (Saxton county map) : plausible because of distance from parish church, but may well be a symbol error or a misplacement for nearby Ivington : no other evidence

NEW RADNOR (Radnorshire) : rector (Mortimers) : chantry : wholly reconstructed church

chaplains : ? 1379 (see Old Radnor below),1397 (two),1406

? non-parochial chapels

? NEW RADNOR CASTLE : ? by 1400 : *c.*1540 "There is an olde chirche standynge now as a chapell by the castle. Not very farre thens is the new paroch chyrche" (Leland, *Itinerary in Wales*, 10, discussed Owen, 'New Radnor', *Arch.Camb.*, 1918, 263-78) : 1610 Speed plan shows only church, no obvious chapel (*RCHM Wales*) : no other reference

? ? RADNOR CHURCHYARD (see Old Radnor below)

NORTON (Radnorshire) : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : pre-1400 fabric elements

parochial chapel

DISCOED : re-built, ? pre-1400 foundations : 1397 complaint from Norton at visitation that rector failed to provide light and vestments at chapel of "Dischecote" : 1480 Discoed parishioners instructed to attend Norton church on holy days, etc (*Reg Myllyng* 67) : 1536 listed as dependent chapel of Presteigne (*Reg Foxe* 368) : 1985 still a chapel.

N.B. See note under Aymestrey/Lingen above.

OLD RADNOR (Radnorshire) : rector (Mortimers) : ? chantries by 1400 : pre-1400 elements
chaplains : ? 1379 (two at "Radenore"),1406 (three),1436 (three),1475 (two)

parochial chapels

EDNOL (Adenwale) : 1397 visitation complaint from Old Radnor that altar not consecrated at 'Adenwale' chapel but mention of chaplain there : 1536 not listed (*Valor*) : 1548 reference to endowment for priest (chantry certificate) - but the chapel survived : 1811 "Divine Service left off altogether for some years past" (N.Carlisle, *Topographical Dict. Wales*) : 1829 last burial in graveyard of chapel 39'6" x 22'6" (*RCHM Wales*) : *c.*1830 "not often" used, thereafter abandoned, standing till *c.*1910, now foundations only, "the most recent of Radnorshire's remote churches to have gone" (*ibid.*; S.Lewis, *Topographical Dict. Wales*, 1833; Haslam, *Powys*, 237)

KINNERTON : rebuilt, slight pre-1400 fabric elements : 1536 listed (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1548 reference to endowment of "priest to say mass" (chantry certificate) : 1549 "late chapel" (*CPR* 1548-9, 256,258) - but the chapel survived : 1811 "Divine Service once a month only" (Carlisle, *Top.Dict.Wales*) : 1985 still a chapel

? non-parochial chapel

RADNOR CHURCHYARD : ? by 1400 : *c.*1540 "Ther is a chapel at Radenor beside the paroch chirche in the chirch yarde" (Leland, 3, 41), perhaps a charnel-house chapel : no other reference - and is "Radenore" New Radnor?

PEMBRIDGE : rector (Mortimers) : ? chantry by 1400 : two or three supplementary piscinae
chaplains : 1379,1397 (one named),1406 (four),1436

?non-parochial chapels

? WESTON : ? by 1400 : 1547 "one chapel called Weston's whereunto belongeth neither service nor land, tenements or rents" (chantry certificate): 1558 concealed land of chapel of Weston in Pembridge (PRO, C.66/937, m.20, name omitted in *CPR* 1557-8, 467) : *c.*1675 chapel lost but "there is yet a place called Chapel Ground" (Blount MS, f.80v) : 1842 tithe map does not confirm Chapel Ground (or any 'chapel' field name in Pembridge parish) : Weston hamlet exists but no trace of chapel known

? MARSTON : ? by 1400 : *c.*1675 "St Thomas of Canterbury...now demolished" (Blount MS, f.80v) : Marston hamlet exists not no trace of chapel known

? ? BROXWOOD : ? by 1400 : *c.*1675 suggestion that annual dedication feast of the hamlet indicates a former chapel (Blount MS, f.80v) : no other reference

PRESTEIGNE (Radnorshire) : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : 1291 listed as with unnamed chapel (*Taxatio*) : ? chantries by 1400
chaplains : 1406 (two),1436,1475

parochial chapels

BYTON : rebuilt, slight pre-1400 fabric elements, font : 1377 bishop states not a vicarage (Lunt, *Accounts*, 496) : 1480 "chapel with cure of souls" (*Reg Myllyng* 66-7), hence inconsistent dependence : 1340 listed separately from Presteigne and Wigmore (*Non.Inq.*) : 1397 reports at visitation at Presteigne centre : 1406,1419 listed separately from Presteigne (*Reg Mascall* 21; *Reg Lacey* 69) : 1536 listed as chapel of Presteigne (*Reg Foxe* 368) and "cure" (*Valor*) : *c.*1540 "chappel of Byton in parish of Presteigne" (HPL, MS in Herefordshire References vol.1, 'Extracts from conventual leases in the Augmentations Office 1763', Wigmore lease) : 1544 "perpetual curate of Byton" (HRO, Reg. Skip, f.57) : ERI 1542, 1562 *in curam capelle de Byton*

KINSHAM, UPPER and LOWER : present Kinsham church has pre-1400 fabric elements, one supplementary piscina : 1397 neither chapel reports at visitation, but Byton complains that "Nether Kinsham" inhabitants fail to contribute to Byton repairs, though parishioners : 1480 Upper and Lower chapelries annexed to Byton cure, with alternating services at Byton and Upper Kinsham (*Reg Myllyng* 66) : 1514 individual of "Lower Kinsham in Presteigne parish" (*Reg Mayew* 201) : 1536 Upper and Lower chapels listed (*Reg Foxe* 368) : 1552 "Nether Kinsham defaced about three years past" (church goods inventory) : no further reference to Lower Kinsham chapel and site untraced : 1658 "Upp Kinsam parishe" : 1985 Kinsham still a chapel.

? LINGEN (see under Aymestrey above)

non-parochial chapel

NASH : ? by 1400 : 1474 licence to Ellen ap Roger for mass in chapel (*Reg Stanbury* 133) : no later references

PUDLESTON-cum-WHYLE : rector (lord of Puddleston) : pre-1400 fabric in part, medieval bell said to come from Whyle : 1291 "parsonate of Putlesdon" and "church of Whyle" in Leominster deanery (*Taxatio*) : 1326 last reference to rector of Whyle (*Reg Orleton* 393) - if Whyle was a chapel it must have been a 'free chapel' : 1329 ? chantry at Whyle : 1340 Pudleston listed apart from Leominster deanery and together with two chapels of Tenbury, Burford deanery, and Whyle stated to be chapel of Tenbury, all perhaps erroneously (*Non.Inq.*) : 1364 churches of Pudleston and Whyle, with same patron, united, because of the insufficient income of the latter, allegedly due to plague depopulation, and Pudleston parish extended because that church in better condition (*Reg L Charlton* 8-10) : *c.*1675 at Whyle "some remains of a church here were not long since visible" (Blount MS, f.136) : *c.*1870 ruins "may still be traced", but perhaps quoting Blount (Robinson, *Mansions*, 237)

SARNESFIELD : rector
chaplain : 1379 (parochial chaplain)

SHOBDON : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : reconstructed totally, apart from tower, but separate pre-1400 remains
oratory : 1318 licence to Walter de Shobdon for "oratory or chapel in your manor of Shobdon" (*Reg Orleton* 63)

? non-parochial chapel

ST JULIAN(A) : ? by 1400 : *c.*1100 before church built, "only a chapel of St Julian, subject to the church of Aymestrey" (Wigmore chronicle, *Monasticon*, 6, 345) : 1513 indulgence for repairs of chapel of St Juliana the Virgin (sic) (*Reg Mayew* 285) : *c.*1675 "the chapel of St Julian is yet standing but has bin long disused, being now covered with

thatch'' (Blount MS, f.106v) : no traces known

STAUNTON-ON-ARROW : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : ? chantry by 1400 : wholly reconstructed chaplain : 1436

STRETFORD : rector : ? chantry by 1400 : pre-1400 fabric, one supplementary piscina

TITLEY : vicar (Titley priory, standing in parish, cell of alien priory of Tyron, only served by at most two monks) : wholly reconstructed : 1277 x 1292 listed among ''chapels'' in which Leominster has some rights (*Reading cartulary*, 141) : 1291 listed as ''church'' (*Taxatio*) : 1347 only recorded institution, of ''a monk of Tyron'' (*Reg Trillek*) : 1377,1379 the king, having seized priory, as frequently during wars, grants to individuals, on condition a chaplain celebrates daily in priory chapel (*CPR* 1377-81, 377) - perhaps the same arrangement operated for the parish church : 1385 king presents to benefice (*CPR* 1385-9, 69) - but no institution recorded : 1390 priory and parish advowson granted to Winchester College (*CPR* 1388-92, 433-4) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1536 listed (*Valor*) : 1587 ''curacy'' (HCA Westfaling survey) : ERI (p.c.) 1759 : Titley appears to have been a parish church but one served generally by a monk or a chaplain, its status therefore similar to that of a 'chapel with cure'

? parochial chapel

EYWOOD : see Kinnersley in Weobley deanery, below

WIGMORE : vicar (Wigmore abbey, which stood just outside the parish, in Leintwardine parish, Clun deanery) : chantry : three supplementary piscinae : 1291,1340 with unnamed chapel (*Taxatio, Non.Inq.*)

chaplain : 1406

parochial chapels

ELTON : pre-1400 fabric elements, font, bell : 1397 reports at visitation at Old Radnor centre, as does Wigmore parish, but complains that the vicar of nearby Burrington, Clun deanery, another Wigmore impropriate, serves as chaplain at Elton : 1480 Elton parishioners ordered by the bishop to be associated with Burrington (*Reg Myllyng* 67) : 1536 listed as dependent of Wigmore (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1658 ''parishe'' : ERI (p.c.) 1796

N.B. See note under Aymestrey/Lingen above.

LEINTHALL STARKES : chantry : pre-1400 fabric, font, bell : 1353 memorandum states that Wigmore vicar must provide a chaplain for certain chantry services in the chapel (*Reg Trillek* 194) : 1397 reports at visitation : 1480 inhabitants ordered to be associated with Wigmore parish church (*Reg Myllyng* 67) : 1536 listed as dependent of Wigmore (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1547 claimed that chantry priest takes services when in winter the Wigmore ''curate'' cannot travel the ''great and dangerous ways'' between (chantry certificate) : 1658 ''parishe'' : ERI (p.c.) 1786

chaplain : 1353 (parochial chaplain of Leinthall),1406

? non-parochial chapels

DEERFOLD, ST LEONARD : *c.*1250 ''church of Blessed Mary and St Leonard in Sutelfield which is now called Derefand'' (grant copied in 1535 diocesan court book, cited in Tonkin, 'Limebrook nunnery', *TWNFC*, 41, 1973-5, 153) : 1390 ? William Swinderby, a Lollard, accused by the bishop of preaching in an unconsecrated chapel in a wild wood called Dervaldewode, denies but states that ''hit is a chapel where a prest synges certain dayes in the yere with great solempnitee'' (*Reg Trefnant* 236,249) : 1532 ''a close above Darwald Chapell called the Nune Marsh'' (HPL, MS in Herefordshire References vol.1,

'Extracts from conventual leases in the Augmentations Office 1763', Limebrook lease) : 1540 ''chapel of St Leonard in Darvold'' (Limebrook rental, PRO LR2/183, cited in Tonkin) : 1541 ''Dorwalde, capella S.Leonardi'' (Limebrook valuation, *Monasticon*, 4,184) : 1553 ''at Wynmershe'' (*CPR* 1553, 506) : 1574 concealed lands of ''five decayed chapels in Wigmoresland'', including ''Darvell Chapell'' (*CPR* 1572-5, 408, details in PRO, C.66/1125, m.13) : *c.*1655 ''the chapel in Derevold a priviledged place, now in the possession of one Rikard'' (Silas Taylor MS, f.73) : *c.*1675 ''in the village of Deervol are the ruynes of a chapel, which some call the Lollards chapel'' (Blount MS, f.41v; cf.W.Camden, *Britannia*, enlarged by R.Gough, 1789, vol.2, 455) : *c.*1790 ''There is an ancient Ruin or farm called Chapell or Chapell House not far from Mr Pennon of the Lodge'', i.e. ? Lodge Farm (HPL,Pilley 2325, 'Notes on Leominster and district' (partly based on Blount MS), 105) : 1844 'Chapel Farm', 'The Chapel', 'Far Chapel Piece', 'Near Chapel', field-names at or near the present Chapel Farm (HRO, Wigmore tithe map schedule) : no trace of chapel known, site discussed (*TWNFC*, 1869, 183; Tonkin), not Chapel Farm itself (*RCHMH*) but nearby

WIGMORE CASTLE : 1574 ? ''my late being there, I espied an heap of old papers... (in tymes past belonging to the Abbey of Wigmore) and ther to lye rotting...in an old decayed chapel'' (Wright, *Ludlow*, 360, citing BL, Lansdowne MSS, 19/38) - if this chapel was not that of the castle it may have been St Anne's chapel, near the Abbey (see Leintwardine below) : 1574 ? concealed lands of ''five decayed chapels in Wigmoresland'', the fifth being ''le chappell of Wigmoresland'', perhaps this one (*CPR* 1572-5, 408, detailed PRO, C.66/1125, m.13) : the castle is too ruined to trace a chapel

WEOBLEY deanery

ALMELEY : vicar (Wormsley priory) : ? chantry by 1400

? non-parochial chapel

? 'LOWER LOGASTON', perhaps at Newchurch : ? by 1400 : *c.*1550 free chapel dissolved (Blount MS, f.44, citing unpublished patent 27 Elizabeth, par.1) : no other reference and no trace known

BACTON : vicar (Dore abbeys, which stood within the parish) : the church has a late-medieval chalice with a mysterious inscription beginning ''capell(a)'' (Stanhope and Moffat, *Church plate*, 9; *TWNFC*, 1888) - did it come from the chapel below ? : 1388 last recorded presentation of vicar by the abbey, 1433,1453 bishop presents by lapse, 1543 curate reports that no vicar instituted ''for many years'' (*Reg. Gilbert* 122; *Reg Spofford* 360 : *Reg.Stanbury* 173; HRO, Reg.Skip, f.50v) -presumably the abbey used chaplains for pastoral care after *c.*1400

? non-parochial chapel

DORE : ? by 1400 : 1397 complaint at visitation that Bacton vicar celebrates twice in one day, perhaps implying mass at a chapel : 1536 ''Dore chapel'' among the possessions of the abbey (*Valor*) : 1552 'Dowre' chalice and four bells, but some goods ''reserved to those of the parishe'' (church goods inventory) : 1587 'Dower' listed, with named ''vicar'' (HCA Westfaling survey) : *c.*1620 chapel apparently abandoned, and perhaps destroyed, because ''the Curate here, before the present Church was rebuilt [in 1634], read Prayers under an Arch of the old demolished [priory] church'' (M.Gibson, *View of the present state of the churches of Door...*, 1717, 36) : ? ? room above entrance porch at Grange Farm known as 'the chapel' (*RCHMH*) : was Dore chapel a gateway or grange chapel of the abbey, later given some parochial use?

BISHOPSTONE : rector : chantry

chaplain : 1379 (parochial chaplain, the incumbent being non-resident in 1385 and dying in Rome in 1388, *Reg Gilbert* 80,121)

BRIDGE SOLLERS : vicar (Aconbury priory)

chaplain : ? 1397 (a chaplain in an unnamed parish, either Bridge Sollers or Letton)

BYFORD : rector (Brecon priory)

chaplains : 1379 (parochial chaplain, the incumbent, a senior cleric and tax-collector, being non-resident in 1385, *Reg Trillek* 386; *Reg Gilbert* 10,25,40,68,80,83), 1401 (because church damaged in Welsh wars, rector and three priests, regular or secular, licenced to hear confessions and give indulgences, *Calendar of Papal Registers* 1396-1404, 281),1406 (two),1475

CLIFFORD, St Mary : vicar (Clifford priory, which stood in the parish) : chantry

chaplain : 1397 (Winforton presentment at visitation mentions a cleric at Clifford, presumably a chaplain),1406,1475

? non-parochial chapels

CLIFFORD : ? by 1400 : 1547 "two chapels called Clifford and Middlewood, lands and tenements given for two priests to say mass every holy day, which were kept by two monks of the late house of Clifford" (chantry certificate) : 1552 "chapel of Clifford", chalice, vestments, perhaps bells (document torn), some "reserved to the" (illegible - ? "use of the parish") (church goods inventory) : 1564 "late chapel of Clifford" (*CPR* 1563-6, 149) : 1657 "Chappels of Ease are many, as one by the castle of Clifford, the steeple and chauncell yet remaining, then the church of the Priory wherein was the buriall of the Clifords, but all destroyed, then there is Middlewood, and not far thence St Oswald's chapple, by the Parish Church" (Silas Taylor MS,f.85v) : 'Clifford chapel' was presumably the chapel near the castle, the location where the main settlement of the parish, Clifford village, now is located, and probably always was - whereas the parish church is 0.5 km distant, the Priory site 1.0 km distant, and Middlewood is on the other side of the parish, 4 km distant (and therefore not 'by the Parish Church', as Taylor seems to say) : *c.*1870 all these chapels disappeared (Robinson, *Mansions*, 67) : no traces of chapel near ruins of castle

? HARDWICK : ? by 1400 : 1560 tithes in the fee of church of Hardwyke in Clifford, late of Clifford priory (*CPR* 1558-60, 388) : 1786 ? 'Chap.' marked near 'Hardwick' (Cary map) : 1843 'Chapel Orchard' field-name in Hardwick (HRO, Clifford tithe map schedule) : no traces known - the present Hardwick church is Victorian and is not recorded as being on an earlier site

? LLANFAIR : 1537 'capella de Llanfair' (Bannister, *Placenames*, citing only 'Augmentations Office'), Llanfair or 'church of the Virgin' being the farm-hamlet nearest to the parish church of St Mary (i.e. the Virgin) : since there are no other references to a chapel in this location and since it is unlikely that one existed so close to the parish church, this may be a mistaken or perhaps colloquial reference to the parish church

MIDDLEWOOD : ? by 1400 : 1547 (see Clifford chapel above) : 1552 "chappel of Middlewood", a chalice in custody of Mr Robert Whitney of Castletown, which "he and his ancestors brought only in tyme of Dyvyne service", two bells, a vestment and altar cloth, the latter "reserved to those of the said Chappell" (church goods inventory, which nowhere else records reservation to a chapel) - the abandonment of the chapel apparently therefore not intended : 1657 (see Clifford chapel above) : 1786 'Old Chap.' marked apparently near Middlewood (Cary map) : *c.*1870 (see Clifford chapel above) : ? unidentified ruins at the deserted village of Newton, near Middlewood (Stanford, *Welsh Marches*, 237)

ST OSWALD'S : *c.*1260 "land in the manor of Middlewood... on the upper part of the chapple of St Oswald...and a tenement by St Oswald's chapple" (Silas Taylor MS,f.85v, deed cited from Wormsley priory register) : 1409 indulgence for repairs (*Reg Mascall* 191) : 1657 (see Clifford chapel above) : modern 'St Oswald', a farm near the River Wye and 0.5 km from Middlewood, may well indicate the site of the chapel (supposing Taylor's "by the Parish Church" to be inaccurate) : no traces known

CREDENHILL : rector : chantry

CUSOP : rector, free chapel with cure (Llanthony priory) : pre-1400 fabric, font, bell : 1320-1505 regular presentations : 1397 claim at visitation by Clifford parish that Cusop should contribute to bell-tower repairs and other improvements, as their mother-church, basis for claim unknown : 1505 'free chapel' (*Reg Mayew* 273)

chaplain : 1397

DORSTONE : vicar (Clifford priory) : chantry or chantries : rebuilt, pre-1400 fabric elements, one supplementary piscina

chaplains : 1406,1436 (one Welsh-speaking)

? parochial chapels

BACH, ? The Bage : 1333 "chapels of Bach and Fowenminede" (*Reg T Charlton* 67) : 1426 ? "altarage of the whole parish, that is, of Dorstone, Fowemunde, Le Bache and Bottecot" (*Reg Spofford* 99), perhaps indicating that each township had a chapel : 1562 ? "advowson of the vicarage (sic) of Bache and Bodcote" (*CPR* 1560-3, 286) : no later references and no traces known

? BODCOTT : 1426 and 1562 (see Bach chapel above) : no later references and no traces known

VOWMYND or Mynnyd-brydd, which "old people at Dorstone still call Vowmynd" (Bannister, *Placenames*), modern 'Fowmine Farm' at Mynnyd-brydd : 1333 and 1426 (see Bach chapel above) : 1577 'Fowemynde Chappel' marked (Saxton map - marked twice, presumably in error, once correctly behind Dorstone, once behind Turnastone) : 1786 'Vowmynd Chap.' (Cary map) but probably copied from previous : 1840 'Chapel Close' field-name at Mynydd-brydd (HRO, Dorstone tithe map schedule) : no traces known

EARDISLEY : vicar (Llanthony priory) : ? chantry by 1400 : pre-1400 fabric, font, one supplementary piscina

chaplain : 1406

oratory : 1272 licenced "within the walls of the castle" (Robinson, *Castles*, 46, citing 'Reg.Breton' - ?) : 1373 licenced at Eardisley Castle (*Reg Courtenay* 10)

parochial chapel

BOLLINGHAM : pre-1400 fabric : 1397 Eardisley complaint that vicar found no chaplain for 'Bolynghull' chapel and himself celebrates twice in a day : 1537 agreement between vicar and 'Bolyngehull' parishioners (*Reg Foxe* 375; HRO, Reg. Foxe, ff.25-6) : 1658 not mentioned in Eardisley return : 1985 still a chapel

KINGTON : vicar (Llanthony-near-Gloucester priory) : ? chantry by 1400 : pre-1400 fabric

oratory : 1347 licence to Richard le Brut of Kington (*Reg Trillek* 104)

parochial chapels

BRILLEY : pre-1400 fabric elements, font, churchyard cross : 1397 reports at visitation, mentions burial-ground : 1536 listed as dependent of Kington (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1658 'chappell' : ERI (p.c., Brilley with Michaelchurch) 1860
chaplains : 1379,1406,1436 (two)

HUNTINGTON or Castell Maen : pre-1400 fabric, font : 1397 reports at visitation : 1536 listed as dependent of Kington (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1658 'chappell' : 1900 still a chapel : extant
chaplain : 1379,1397 (Brilley at visitation complains about chaplain of Castell Maen), 1436,1475 (shared with Michaelchurch)

MICHAELCHURCH (Radnorshire) : pre-1400 fabric : 1397 reports at visitation : 1536 listed as dependent of Kington (*Reg Foxe* 366) : ERI (p.c.,Brilley with Michaelchurch) 1860
chaplains : 1379 (?),1397,1406,1475 (shared with Huntington)

KINNERSLEY : rector : ? chantry by 1400 : pre-1400 fabric, two supplementary piscinae
oratory : 1347 licence to Richard de Almely for his house at Almely in Kinnersley (*Reg Trillek* 103) - either the village or the parish an error ?
chaplain : 1397

? non-parochial chapel

'EWDA', ? Eywood : *c.*1150 judgement that Ewda chapel not attached to Kinnersley church, apparently chapel of Leominster (Brooke, *Foliot*, 391; *Reading cartulary*, 277) : Eywood, 10 km North of Kinnersley church, now in Titley parish, but *c.*1150 both Kinnersley and Titley were accounted in Leominster parish - 1291 Leominster portion in Kinnersley church (*Taxatio*), possibly derived from Eywood agreement : no later references

LETTON : rector
oratory : 1347 licence to Thomas Pychard (*Reg Trillek* 103)
chaplain : 1379, 1397 (see Bridge Sollers)

? non-parochial chapel

HURSTLEY : 1173 x 1186 tithes of (*TWNFC*, 1987, 585) : no later references known

LYONSHALL : vicar (Wormsley priory) : ? chantry by 1400 : one supplementary piscina
oratories : (a) 1384 "customary for faithful Christians to go to the oratory in the parish of Lyonshall on the Feast of the Holy Trinity", Wormsley priory deputed a canon to celebrate, prevented by cleric claiming to be vicar by papal provision (HCA 4220,2828) : no further references
(b) 1471 licenced at Lyonshall Castle (*Reg Stanbury* 195)
chaplains : 1406 (two),1475

MANSELL GAMAGE : vicar (Hereford priory) : chantry : pre-1400 fabric
chaplain : 1397 (absent chantry chaplain)

MANSELL LACY : vicar (Aconbury priory) : ? chantry : pre-1400 fabric, one supplementary piscina

MONNINGTON-ON-WYE : rector
oratory : 1346 licence to Petronilla de Pembridge for three manors including 'Monnington' (*Reg Trillek* 87) - but this may be Monnington Straddle (see Vowchurch below)
chaplain : ? 1379 ('Fowechurch and Monnington - see Vowchurch below),1406

PETERCHURCH : vicar (Great Malvern priory) : pre-1400 fabric, one supplementary piscina : 1271 church "with chapels" (*Reg Swinfield* 308)

? non-parochial chapels

SNODHILL CASTLE free chapel : rector (Chandos) : 1291 "chapel in castle of Snodhill" listed after Vowchurch, not Peterchurch (*Taxatio*) : 1340 "chapel of Peterchurch" (*Non.Inq.*) : 1361-1540 regular presentations : 1397 complaint at visitation by Peterchurch that vicar failed to find a chaplain for Snodhill, basis for claim not known : 1406 "church of Vowchurch with chapel of Snodhill Castle" (*Reg Mascall* 21) : 1536 listed as 'free chapel' (*Reg Foxe* 366) : 1553 lands of (*CPR* 1560-3, 554) : 1540 "free royal chapel" (HRO, Reg.Skip, institutions) : 1885 castle in ruins and no traces of chapel (*TWNFC*, 1886-9, 228)

URISHAY chapel : probably manorial or castle chapel, no presentations recorded : pre-1400 fabric elements and foundations : 1397 complaint at visitation by Peterchurch that vicar failed to provide chaplain for "Urisay" : no dissolution references traced : 1577 the 'Fowemynd chappell' (Saxton map) shown west of Turnastone is almost certainly, from its location, Urishay chapel, misnamed or with a local name : 1606 bell stolen from "the chapell of Uris hay" (legal document, cited Sharpe, *Church bells*, 801) : *c.*1850 "a desecrated chapel within the present building", on the site of Urishay Castle (Robinson, *Castles*, 130 and drawing) - but the 'castle' is dubious and the chapel is outside it, not within : *c.*1910 after being "used for centuries as a barn" (Bannister, *Placenames*) the chapel was repaired and refitted (*TWNFC*,1916, 100-1; *RCHMH*), and operated until *c.*1960, when it was again abandoned : now in decay but under active archaeological investigation (*TWNFC*, 1987,686-703)

STAUNTON-ON-WYE : rector
oratory : 1347 licence to Thomas Pychard for his houses in Staunton and Letton
chaplain : 1406

STRETTON, now Stretton Sugwas : in 1884 the parish of Stretton was extended to include Sugwas district which, although on the North side of the Wye, was formerly in Eaton Bishop parish, deanery of Hereford : rector (Llanthony priory)
oratory : Sugwas manor, a residence of the bishop of Hereford : 1443 one candidate ordained in the oratory (*Reg Spofford* 341)

non-parochial chapel

SUGWAS MANOR, St Thomas of Canterbury : the bishop's chapel was frequently used for ordinations, particularly in the fourteenth century (e.g.,1384 *Reg Gilbert* 160) : *c.*1675 "St Thomas his chapel is kept in reasonably good repair, though not used" (HPL, Blount MS, f.115; and cf. Camden,*Britannia*, Gough additions, 2, 450) : *c.*1715 chapel described (HPL, Hill MSS, vol.3, 249-53) : 1792 the house rebuilt and chapel destroyed, glass eventually to Ross church (*RCHMH; TWNFC*, 1922, 101-119)

TURNASTONE, St Mary Magdalene : rector : 1340 "chapel of Turnastone", probably in error (*Non.Inq.*) : largely pre-1400 fabric, one supplementary piscina

? non-parochial chapel

? ST LEONARD : 1299 "armed men occupy the church or chapel of Thornestone and the chapel of St Leonard and the houses of their rectors" (*Reg Swinfield* 357) : 1301 institution to Turnaston "with the chapel of St Leonard" (the first benefice of the future Bishop Orleton) (*Reg Swinfield* 532) : 1737 land-deed names St Leonard's chapel as a building or locality in Combe Slough (*TWNFC*, 1959, 204-5) : no other references and no traces known

VOWCHURCH : benefice annexed to prebend of Puttesdon Major (*Reg L Charlton* 72; *Reg Lacy* 113; *Reg Foxe* 366), hence no separate institutions to the parochial benefice and incumbent described variously as 'rector' (1397 visitation) or 'vicar' (*Reg Foxe* 366) : the prebends being generally pluralists, Vowchurch was probably served by chaplains : pre-1400 fabric : 1348 three altars dedicated (*Reg Trillek* 143)

chaplains : 1379 ('Fowechurch and Moniton'),1436 (two),1475

? oratory and non-parochial chapel

? MONNINGTON STRADDLE : 1346 (see Monnington-on-Wye) : 1379 chaplain of 'Fowechurch and Moniton' : 1577 church/chapel symbol near Monnington Straddle (Saxton map) : 1852 'Chapel' near Monnington Court marked on estate map (HRO, C99/III/223) : 'Chapel House' in the same location on later maps, in Monnington Straddle township of Vowchurch, said to be sixteenth-century and later (*RCHM*) : no other references or traces known

WEOBLEY : vicar (Llanthony priory) : chantry : 1329 three altars dedicated (*Reg Orleton* 339) : one supplementary piscina

chaplains : 1397 ("chaplains dwelling here"),1406,1420,1436 (two),1475 (two)
? oratory : 1316 licence to Richard de Webley (*Reg Swinfield* 508)

WHITNEY : rector

oratory/chapel

WHITNEY BRIDGE, Trinity and St Katherine at the end of the bridge : ? by 1400 : 1407 licence for oratory to the hermit of the chapel (*Reg Mascall* 190) : the bridge, threatened by floods in 1406 (*CPR* 1405-8, 181), was in a later century destroyed (*TWNFC*, 1935, 119-23)

WINFORTON : rector (Mortimers) : chantry (? Wormsley priory, *Reg Trefnant* 211)

non-parochial chapel

ST KENEDR, hermitage on island in River Wye : ? by 1400 : 1264,1303 deeds indicating its endowment and award to Wormsley priory (*Monasticon*, 6, 402) : 1264 endowment of a chantry (*ibid.*) : *c.*1675 "yet called the Chapel close, where the foundation stones have been lately dug up, and where yet stands a yew tree, and the place is only surrounded by the river Wy in the time of flood" (Blount MS, f.146v; cf. Camden, *Britannia*, Gough additions, 446) : 1898 traces claimed (Dawson, 'Winforton', *Arch.Camb.*, 216-21) : no other references and no traces now known

WORMSLEY or Little Wormsley : pre-1400 fabric : 1262 and 1287 appropriation to Wormsley priory without specific provision for vicar (*Monasticon*, 6, 403; *Reg Swinfield* 136), hence no institutions, the church presumably served by canons or chaplains : 1291 income £1 6s 8d, very poor : 1397 burial-ground mentioned at visitation : 1536 "Wormesley parva" listed among churches of Wormsley priory (*Reg Foxe* 366; but omitted in *Valor*) : ERI (p.c.) 1767 : 1985 redundant but preserved

YAZOR : vicar (Llanthony priory) : pre-1400 remains of abandoned church, one piscina : chantry

WESTON deanery

BODENHAM : vicar (Brecon priory)

chaplains : 1406 (two),1475
oratory : 1347 licence to Margaret de Bradefeld (? modern Broadfield Court)

? parochial chapels

'MACHNA', 'RUBERH', 'FERNA', ? 'BRADEFELD' : ? by 1400 : *c.*1150 four refuge burial-grounds (*cimiteria ad refugium*) within Bodenham parish consecrated, with the consent of Brecon priory, apparently at three named chapels of 'Machna' (Maund), 'Ruberh' (Rowberry) and 'Ferna' (The Vern, Little Vern), and also at 'Bradefeld' (Broadfield), those individuals using this last burial-ground to worship at either the parish church or the chapel of Machna "fairly near" - hence 'Machna' was probably Maund Brian (Brooke, *Foliot*, 353-4) : 1123 Broadfield listed in Leominster parish, but agreement *c.*1135 gives burial rights to Bodenham, indicating a stage of transfer to that parish (Leominster register, ff.59v-60, cited *Reading cartulary*, 263,287) : if a chapel was erected at Broadfield immediately subsequent to the consecration of the burial-ground there, it may have been one of those condemned by a papal mandate of *c.*1155 as having been erected temporarily in war-time, and not subsequently closed, within parishes of Reading abbey (i.e. Leominster) to the prejudice of the monks (*Reading cartulary*, 132) : *c.*1150 chapel of 'Maghene' (Maund) among possessions of St Guthlac's priory, Hereford, cell of Gloucester abbey, but as listed with Little Sutton and Marden probably Rosemaund in Marden parish and neither the 'Machna' above nor Whitchurch Maund, both in Bodenham (Brooke, *Foliot*, 378-9) : *c.*1150 confirmation of grant to Kilpeck priory, cell of Gloucester abbey, of "tithes and chapels" in various locations, including 'Ferna', 'Fenna' (Vennwood, Venn's Green), and Broadfield ('Bradeford' in error) (*ibid.*, 366-7), but perhaps only tithes in these locations - the two former survived as a tithe unit until the nineteenth century (HRO, 1844 Venn and Fern tithe map) : 1179 x 1189 Broadfield tithes awarded to Bodenham, but cleric of neighbouring Stoke Prior, within Leominster parish, to have charge of an oratory and a "*cimiterium* without actual burials for the refuge of the poor", both apparently at Maund (? Brian) ('Cartularium de Brecon', *Arch.Camb.*, 1883, 228; *Reading Cartulary*, 182) : *c.*1195 dispute between Brecon abbey and Hereford priory over certain tithes in Bodenham, reference to 'Radolphus de Cimiterio' = ? modern locality called 'Churchyard' ('Cartularium de Brecon', 25) : *c.*1225 land in 'Weteroft' (? Wetcroft, cf. Millcroft,Broadway Croft) "near the chapel" (*ibid.*, 283) : no later medieval references to any Bodenham chapels, but - : 1547 chapels of "St Mary Magdalene and St Margaret", exact localities not stated, "without lands or service" (chantry certificates), perhaps the same as those below : 1809 conveyance of a tenement called 'Chapel', locality unstated (HRO, A63/II/30/13), perhaps the same as 'Chapel' on Bodenham Moor shown on 1832 1" OS map (no.55, Leominster)- but this may relate to a Nonconformist chapel

BROADFIELD : 1575 concealed lands of "the chapels of Wytechurchmaund and Overbradley" (*CPR* 1572-5, 408), assuming that 'Overbradley' is a mistake for 'Overbradfield', i.e. Upper Broadfield : 1812 "the remains of a chapel at Bradfield mansion" (Duncumb, *County of Hereford*, vol.2, pt. 1,50, repeated in Robinson, *Mansions*, 1873,31) : no traces known

WHITCHURCH MAUND : 1575 (see Broadfield above) : *c.*1655 "where is a small chapple" (Silas Taylor MS, f.,240) : *c.*1675 "had a white chapell" (Blount MS, f.62v) : 1812 "no vestige can now be traced" (Duncumb, *Hereford*, vol.2, pt.1, 51) : no traces known

BRINSOP : vicar, chapel with cure (Llanthony priory) : associated with Burghill, also a Llanthony impropriate, hence "church of Burghill with chapel of Brinsop" (*Reg Foxe* 370), but apparently not dependent : pre-1400 fabric, bells, font, one piscina : chantry : 1397 visitation mentions font and burial-ground : regular institutions

oratory : 1404 licence to William Kyrkelot (*Reg Mascall* 190)

non-parochial chapel

BRINSOP COURT : ? by 1400 : 1873 reported that this "14th century manor-house" (*RCHM*) formerly had a chapel (Robinson, *Mansions*, 44), not confirmed by *RCHM* description

BURGHILL : vicar (Llanthony priory) : one piscina, set above rood-loft
chaplain : 1385 (priory complains that vicar failed to provide one, *Reg Gilbert* 62),1406

chantry chapel

TILLINGTON, St Michael : chantry founded 1340 when the chapel was probably built : 1407,1514,1529 recorded presentations : 1545 "in sacello de Tulyngton" (HRO, Reg.Skip, ff.62v,64) : 1547 "late chantry of Tillington in the church", an error, as separate building in different locality (chantry certificate) : site mentioned in eighteenth century estate survey but now uncertain (*TWNFC*), 1931, 62) : no traces known
chaplain : 1395 (*Reg Trefnant* 30),1406, and as above

DILWYN : vicar (Wormsley priory) : 1329 two altars dedicated (*Reg Orleton* 339) : chantry at Little Dilwyn : two supplementary piscinae
chaplains : 1397 (three named),1406 (two),1436
oratories : 1347 licences for John de Budeneweye's houses at Chabenore and Alton (cf. modern Bidney Farm, Chadnor Court, Alton Court) (*Reg Trillek* 102,104)

? parochial chapel or non-parochial chapel

CHADNOR or UPPER CHADNOR : 1305 vicar's obligations include payment of a chaplain to celebrate at Chadnor each Sunday (Heather, 'Dilwyn', *Arch.Camb.*, 1868, 135, source not stated) : 1305 tithes of Chadnor pass to Wormsley priory (*Reg.Swinfield* 424), possibly some connection with previous reference : *c.*1655 "the chapel at Chabnor is dedicated to St Hellin and called St Hellin's or corruptly by the inhabitants St Chollins" (Silas Taylor MS, f.184v) : *c.*1675 "six vicars belonging to the Collidge of Delwyn, the vicar of this parish was the seventh and their custos. Four of them were to serve in the quire every Lord's Day and the other two at Upper Chabnor in a chappell dedicated to St Kenelm and the chappell of Chabnor Court...The chappell of ease dedicated to St Kenelm is now demolished but the vicar receives 8d per annum as rent for the said chappelyard to this day" (HPL, MS Pilley D 121, 'Extracts from Blounts MSS collection', anonymous early eighteenth century copyist from the lost volume of Blount's MS; another and slightly different version if MS Pilley, drawer 2, no.126, 'Webb notes') - the College of Vicars at Dilwyn is not confirmed elsewhere : no later references : 1868 "the site can only be made out by some ancient yew trees dotted around the chapel yard" (Heather, *loc.cit.*) : no traces known

KINGS PYON : vicar (Wormsley priory) : chantry : 1329 two altars dedicated (*Reg Orleton* 339) : one supplementary piscina

WELLINGTON : vicar (prebend of Wellington) : chantry : one piscina
chaplains : 1406 (one),1436 (three)

CLUN deanery

BRAMPTON BRIAN : rector (St John of Jerusalem) : rectors at times non-resident, in order to assist at Hospitallers' Dinmore preceptory (*Reg Trillik* 396-7; *Reg L Charlton* 72), hence chaplains must have served the parish
chaplain : 1475

BURRINGTON : vicar (Wigmore abbey) : 1291 chapel of Leintwardine (*Taxatio*) but 1362 vicar instituted (*Reg L Charlton* 65) : 1397 complaint at visitation by Elton (see Wigmore in Leominster deanery, above) that vicar of Burrington serves as chaplain there, ? explanation

LEINTWARDINE : vicar (Wigmore abbey, standing just within parish) : 1291 listed with chapels of Burrington and Downton (*Taxatio*) but both have vicars instituted before 1400 : chantry : two supplementary piscinae
chaplains : 1406 (two)
hermitage : ? by 1400 : 1410 hermit of St Katherine's chapel on Teme bridge, Ludlow, described as formerly "hermit of Leintwardine" (*CPR* 1405-8, 217)

? non-parochial chapels

1419 "Leintwardine with chapel", possible misreading for 'chapels' (*Reg Lacy* 70) : 1575 "five decayed chapels in Wigmoresland" (*CPR* 1572-5, 408, named in PRO, C.66/1125, m.13) include two below and "le chappell of Wigmoresland"

ST ANNE : ? by 1400 : 1480,1514, repairs to, near Wigmore abbey (*Reg Myllyng* 206; *Reg Mayew* 287) : 1530 ordinations in, by the abbot, a suffragan bishop (*Reg Bothe* 327), hence later accusation that the abbot ordained priests irregularly at a "chapel out of the abbey" (Wright, *Ludlow*, 352) : 1538 "mansion named St Anne *set* (except) Chappell" (HPL, MS Herefordshire References, vol.1, 'Conventual leases', Wigmore lease) : "mansion called St Anne's chapel situate with the moat, orchard, meadows and a parcel of land called 'le Wettmore' in the forest of Moctre" (*Lists and Indexes, Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses, item 164*) - Wetmore being at the opposite end of the parish and 7 km NE of the abbey, the chapel was not located on the land it possessed at Wetmore : 1554 chapel and St Anne's meadows (*CPR* 1554-5, 177) : 1574 "St Annes chappell", one of the "five decayed chapels in Wigmoresland" (*CPR* 1572-5, 408 : PRO, C.66/1125, m.13) : perhaps a gateway chapel of the abbey : no traces known

ST JULIANA : ? by 1400 : 1418 repairs to, "by Wigmore" (*Reg Lacy* 22) : 1535 "an Almeshouse at Goderment in Wigmoresland" (HPL, MS Herefordshire References, vol.1, 'Conventual leases', Wigmore lease) : 1555 "St Juliana's chapel situate in Gotherment" (*CPR* 1554-5, 325) : modern Gotherment Farm, no traces of chapel

NEWTON : ? before 1378 "chapel at Newton tempore Edward III" (HPL, Duncumb notes, Wigmore, p.130, no source given) - perhaps only speculation based on the next reference : 1390 "an unhallowed chapel in the park of Newton beside the town of Leintwardine", evidence in trial of Lollard (*Reg Trefnant* 236,249,256) : 1574 "the second called Newton Chappell", one of the "five decayed chapels in Wigmoresland" (*CPR* 1572-5, 408; PRO, C.66.1125, m.13) : *c.*1675 "in Newton there has been a chappell, some remains whereof are yet to be seen" (Blount MS, f.29v; cf.Camden, *Britannia*, Gough additions, vol.2, 453) : 1873 "foundations of a small building still can be traced in a field at Newton called 'Chapel Meadow'" ('Deerfold Forest', *Arch.Camb.*, 336; cf. T.M.Bound, *History of Wigmore*, Leominster, 1876, 96) : no traces now known

HEREFORD deanery

CANON PYON : vicar (dean and chapter) : chantry : one supplementary piscina

NORTON CANON : vicar (dean and chapter) : chantry : one piscina
chaplains : 1406 (two)

LUDLOW deanery

BROMFIELD (Shropshire) : vicar (Bromfield priory) : 4 chapels in Shropshire but also -

parochial chapel(s), ? non-parochial chapel

LUDFORD (formerly divided between Shropshire and Herefordshire with village and chapel in latter, from 1895 wholly Shropshire) : pre-1400 fabric (*Trans. Shrop. Arch. Soc.*, 49, 1937-8, 217-44) : 1371, 1372 title 'rector of Ludford', an error (*Reg Courtnay* 24,26) : 1397 "capelle de Lodeford et Syde" report at visitation : 1424 vicar of Bromfield ordered to provide suitable resident chaplain at Ludford for sacraments,etc, except burials which still at issue (*Reg Spofford* 49-50) : ERI (p.c.) 1752
chaplain : 1406,1475 (*Reg Myllyng* 12)

? ? 'SYDE', unidentified placename : 1397 see Ludford above : no other reference : ? a corrupt form of 'Sheet', a township of Ludford : or ? a reference to Teme-side : if the latter, ? ? St Catharine's chapel on Teme Bridge : 1407 indulgence to repair this chapel (*Reg Mascall* 190), *c.*1540 "a praty chapple of St Catherine" (Leland, vol.2, 79) : located more to the North end of the bridge (Lloyd and Klein, *Ludlow*, 37), St Catharine's was in Shropshire, not Herefordshire : but very unlikely such a chapel would report at visitation ?

LITTLE HEREFORD : rector (bishop, the benefice being held by the chancellor) : a peculiar, perhaps why listed at different times in varying deaneries : one supplementary piscina above rood-loft
oratory: 1444 licence to Richard Uptone (*Reg Spofford* 372)

parochial chapel

ASHFORD CARBONEL (Shropshire) : 1272 mentioned (*Cathedral charters*, p.127) : 1536 listed (*Reg Foxe* 368) : ERI (p.c.) 1768

? non-parochial chapel(s)

? "USTANCE" or "UPTONE" : 1547 'free chapel', income 8s 7d, no incumbent (chantry certificate) : perhaps the same as the next -

UPTON, perhaps at Upton Court : ? by 1400 : 1562 "Upton chapel and its possessions" (*CPR* 1560-3, 259) : 1564 "free chapel of Harforde Parva concealed for many years" (*CPR* 1563-4, 5) : no traces known

RICHARDS CASTLE (partly in Shropshire, former church in Herefordshire) : rector : medieval church abandoned but preserved : one supplementary piscina
chaplain : 1397
oratory : 1362 licence to rector for his house at Batchcot (Shropshire) (*Reg L Charlton* 3)

? non-parochial chapels

BATCHCOT : ? by 1400 : *c.*1675 "anciently a Chappel, I suppose of ease, now converted into a Barne now possessed by Charles Town" (Blount MS, f.93v; cf. Camden, *Britannia*, Gough additions, vol.2, 454) : no traces known

? ? 'BLECHELOWE', unidentified placename : 1397 wardenship of the hospital of St John and St Mary Magdalene "in the parish of Richards Castle" (*CPR* 1396-9, 205) - if the association with this parish is correct, the hospital may have had a chapel, which may have been the same as one of the others listed

? 'POLEMARSH' (Shropshire), unidentified placename : destroyed chapel at, "by tradition" (Dukes, *Antiquities*, App. xiii)

TURFORD in Wooferton (Shropshire) : ? by 1400 : 1505 "Turford Wyston et Brymfeld" (HRO, A63/III/104/1, Dinmore rental) : *c.*1675 "of old [an] Oratorium sive Capella, rather Turford Chappell which did below to the knights of St John of Jerusalem at Dinmore...converted into a Barne, as it continues" (Blount MS, f.93v; cf. Camden, *Britannia*, Gough additions, vol.2, 454, "Walderton" in error) : 1843 'Upper Chapel' and 'Lower-Chapel', fieldnames near 'Twyford Hill', near Gosford (HRO, Richards Castle tithe map schedule) : no traces known

BURFORD deanery

TENBURY (Worcestershire) : vicar (Lyra priory) chantry
chaplain : 1420 (*Reg Lacy* 88), 1475

parochial chapels

LAYSTERS (Herefordshire) (St Andrew) : pre-1400 fabric : *c.*1222 dispute over tithes between Tenbury and Humber, agreement involves payment at "chapel of blessed Andrew at Lastes" ('Cartularium de Brecon', *Arch.Camb.*, 1883, 233) : 1340 "church of Lastres" listed with Rochford and Pudleston, connection with Tenbury not stated (*Non. Inq.*) : 1536 listed as dependent of Tenbury (*Reg Foxe* 370) : 1553 three bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 "parishe" but later "chappell" : ERI (p.c.) 1769

ROCHFORD (Herefordshire until 1837 as an exclave, then Worcestershire) : pre-1400 fabric : *c.*1150 dependent on Tenbury, burial-ground conceded (*Monasticon*, 6, 1094) : 1277 "vicar of Racheforde" (*Reg Cantilupe* 300) : 1340 "chapel" and see Laysters above : 1536 listed at dependent of Tenbury (*Reg Foxe* 369) : 1553 two bells (church goods inventory) : 1658 'parishe' : ERI 1845

? WHYLE (see under Pudleston above for alleged connection)

KYRE (Worcestershire)

Extra-parochial

DINMORE : preceptory chapel (St John of Jerusalem) : pre-1400 fabric : "used for services after the dissolution" (*TWNFC* 1900-02, 81-4) : 1658 proposal that "the township or hamlett of Burrop [Burghope] in the parishe of Dinmore" be transferred to Wellington parish : 1727 chalice presented (*TWNFC loc. cit.*) : 1836 restored and used for public services (HPL, Bird MSS, vol.3, 13; col.12, 68-9) : 1866 again restored : in 1985, after further restoration, a private chapel

? non-parochial chapel

? BURGHOPE : 1406 clerical subsidy list "ftr. Ricardus cap. ibm." : no further reference

Parishes in Leominster and Weobley deaneries without recorded chapels or any of the other listed items

Leominster deanery

Eardisland

Weobley deanery

Bredwardine

Knill
Monkland

Brobury
Kenchester
Moccas
Willersley

POSTSCRIPT ADDITIONS

LIST A (chaplains)

Leominster deanery/KNILL	1397 legacy to unnamed parish chaplain (*Ancient Deeds*, 6, item 5383)
Weston deanery/WELLINGTON	1392,1393 Ric HYNTON 'chaplain of St Mary' (*Ancient Deeds*, 1, C332,C1637); 1404,1406 Jn ap GRIFFITH (*Ancient Deeds*, 1, C219,C226)
	(add to) Jn MONKE 1404,1406,1430 'chaplain' (*Ancient Deeds*, 1, C97,C219,C226)

LIST C (chapels)

Ludlow deanery/'SYDE'	'Sete', croft at, 1514 (*Ancient Deeds*, 3, A6009)

KEY TO ABBREVIATED REFERENCES IN THE LISTS

Ancient Deeds	*Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols., 1891-1915
Bannister, *Placenames*	A.T. BANNISTER, *The Placenames of Herefordshire*, 1916
BL	British Library
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
Camden, *Britannia*	William Camden, *Britannia, enlarged by Richard Gough*, 3 vols., 1789
CC (Chantry certificates)	J.T.EVANS, *The church plate of Radnorshire*, Stow-on-the-Wold, 1914, 101-6, 'Chantry certificates (Augmenttions) no.74 (Paper Book) for Radnorshire'
	E.D.JONES, 'Survey of South Wales chantries,1546', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 89, 1934, 135-56
	F.C.MORGAN, Typescript transcript of the certificates for Herefordshire of the surveys of chantries, etc, by the acts of 37 Henry VIII and 1 Edward VI (from Public Record Office, E301/24-26), Hereford Cathedral Archives
Charters	W.W.CAPES, ed., *Charters and records of Hereford Cathedral*, Cantilupe Society, 1908
Church goods inventory	D.S.STANHOPE and H.C.MOFFAT, *The church plate of the county of Hereford*, 1903, 205-43 'Inventories of church goods in the County of Hereford taken by the Royal Commissioners 6 & 7 Edward VI'
Duke, *Antiquities*	T.F.DUKE, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 1844

Duncumb, *County of Hereford*	John DUNCUMB et al., *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the County of Hereford*, 7 vols., 1804-1912
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
HPL	Hereford Public Library
HRO	Herefordshire Record Office, i.e. Worcester and Hereford County Record Office, Hereford branch
Herefordshire Domesday	V.H.GALBRAITH and J.TAIT, eds., *Herefordshire Domesday c.1160-1170*, Pipe Roll Society, 1950
Hurry, *Reading Abbey*	J.B.HURRY, *Reading Abbey*, 1901
Kemp, 'Eye'	B.R.KEMP, 'Hereditary benefices in the medieval English church : a Herefordshire example' [i.e. Eye], *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43, 1970, 1-15
Kemp, '*parochia*'	B.R.KEMP, 'Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century', in John Blair, *Minsters and parish churches: the local church in transition 900-1200*, 1988, 83-95
Inq. ad damnum	*List of Inquisitions ad quod damnum*, 2 vols. (single pag.), Public Record Office, 1904,1906
Leland	Lucy TOULMIN SMITH, ed., *The itineraries of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, 5 vols., 1907-10
Leland, *Itinerary in Wales*	Lucy TOULMIN SMITH, ed., *The itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539*, 1906
Lloyd and Klein, *Ludlow*	David LLOYD and Peter KLEIN, *Ludlow*, 1984
Lunt, *Accounts*	W.E.LUNT, *Accounts rendered by papal collectors in England 1317-1378*, Philadelphia, 1968
Maps	John CARY, 'A map of Herefordshire', [*c.*1790]
	Christopher SAXTON, 'Frugiferi ac ameni Herefordiae Comitatus deliniatio Anno Dm. 1577'
Monasticon	W.DUGDALE et al., eds., *Monasticon Anglicanum*, enlarged ed., 1823
Non. Inq.	*Nonarum inquisitiones in curia scaccari*, Record Commission, 1807
pens. (pensions)	F.C.MORGAN and P.E.MORGAN, 'Some nuns, ex-religious and former chantry priests living in the diocese of Hereford (*c.*1556)', *TWNFC* 37, 1962-3, 135-48
Price, *Leominster*	John PRICE, *An historical and topographical account of Leominster and its vicinity*, 1795
RCHMH	*An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 3 vols., 1931-4
RCHM Wales	*An inventory of the historical monuments in the county of Radnor*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in Wales, 1913
Reading cartulary	B.R.Kemp, ed., *Reading abbey cartularies, vol.1*, Camden series, Royal Historical Society, 1986

Reg	W.W.CAPES, A.T. BANNISTER et al., *The Register of Bishop Cantilupe*, etc.(1275-1539), Cantilupe Society, Hereford, 1905-1921, reprinted Canterbury and York Society, 1907-1921
Robinson, *Mansions*	C.J.ROBINSON, *A history of the mansions and manors of Herefordshire*, n.d.[1873]
Sharpe, *Church bells*	Frederick SHARPE, *The church bells of Herefordshire*, 5 vols., 1966-75
Stanford, *Welsh Marches*	S.C.STANFORD, *The archaeology of the Welsh Marches*, 1980
Taxatio	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Wallae auctoritate P.Nicholai IV circa A.D.1291*, Record Commission, 1802
TWNFC	*Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*
Valor	*Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII*, 6 vols., Record Commission, 1810-1834
Wright, *Ludlow*	T.Wright, *The history of Ludlow*, 1862
1397 visitation	A.T.BANNISTER, 'Visitation returns of the diocese of Hereford in 1397', *English Historical Review* 44, 1929, 278-89, 444-53; 45, 1930, 92-101, 444-63

EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of the content of this paper it has been printed in a slightly different format from the Club's normal editorial practice.

The Croft Affair

By JOHN ROSS

I am going to relate one of the few memorable historical connections which Herefordshire has with the medical profession — how the county was linked with certain dramatic medical events which occurred near London during several foggy days in November 1817. If these events had not taken place, the history of our country and its empire might have been very different. On 5 November 1817, Princess Charlotte was delivered of a stillborn boy and died just under six hours later. If either had lived, Victoria would probably not have come to the throne. The link with Hereford was the Princess's accoucheur, Sir Richard Croft, whose family home, Croft Castle, was in the north of our county and who added more drama to this story by committing suicide three months after the confinement, completing what a later writer called a triple obstetric tragedy — mother, baby and accoucheur all dead.

I have nothing new to add to the story but have found that not many people know about it. I have completed this account from many sources and am particularly grateful to Lord Croft for allowing me to see many of his books and pamphlets about the affair, and to Dr. C. R. Croft for his pamphlet, *The Hope of the Nation*, which tells the story so well. I have quoted freely from Sir Eardley Holland's detailed review written in 1951.

The first mention of the Croft family is in the Domesday Book and it is believed that they were Normans who came to Herefordshire before the Conquest, in the time of Edward the Confessor. The family was active in a variety of ways during the succeeding centuries, being concerned in rescuing Edward I, when a prince, during Simon de Montfort's rebellion, featuring in the Wars of the Roses and taking high office in government.

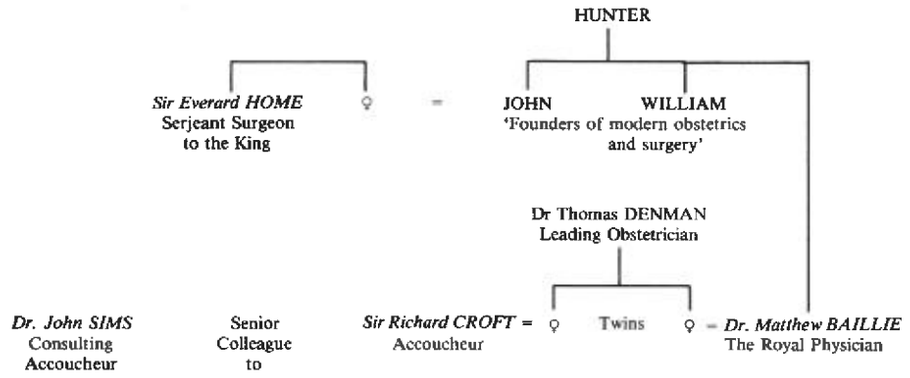
Sir Richard Croft, the central figure in my story, was the 6th baronet and, at the time of Princess Charlotte's confinement in 1817, was fifty-five years old. He had been a student at Barts and an apprentice to an apothecary at Burton-on-Trent. He had also worked in Oxford and was said to have described himself as 'Chirurgus priviligatus' of Oxford — a title unconnected with the University. After moving to London he trained under the great John Hunter and Dr. Denman, an apothecary who later became the leading obstetrician of his day. Sir Richard was appointed to the honorary staff of the Surrey Dispensary for delivering poor married women in their homes where his senior was Dr. John Sims, whose main claim to fame was as a botanist and a pioneer of shorthand. He did in fact have a great reputation with 'instruments', that is with forceps, but later authorities have wondered if he could have had much time left for midwifery.

Sir Richard married Dr. Denman's daughter, inherited his fashionable obstetric practice, and built up a great reputation for himself. It is difficult to get a clear impression of Sir Richard Croft's personality. Many of the descriptions of him were written after Princess Charlotte's confinement by those anxious to criticise or, alternatively, to leap to his defence. I have the impression from brief descriptions of him that his rapport with patients and relatives was not always very good. Baron Stockmar, physician to

Charlotte's husband, described Sir Richard as 'a long thin man, no longer very young, fidgety and good natured, and seems to have more experience than either learning or understanding.' A book written a year after the tragedy says, 'His only fault as an accoucheur that has ever been laid to his charge with any appearance of truth was that of nervousness, but *that* it must be owned, is a most dangerous quality in anyone of his profession.' A later book says, 'He seems to have been fidgety and sententious rather than harsh or morose.'

It is worth noting at this stage the family connections between the medical personae dramatis (Table 1); connections which undoubtedly influenced their conduct of the obstetric affair because they had all received the same teaching, and which inevitably invited some unfavourable comment after the Princess's death.

TABLE I PARTICIPANTS IN THE TRAGEDY



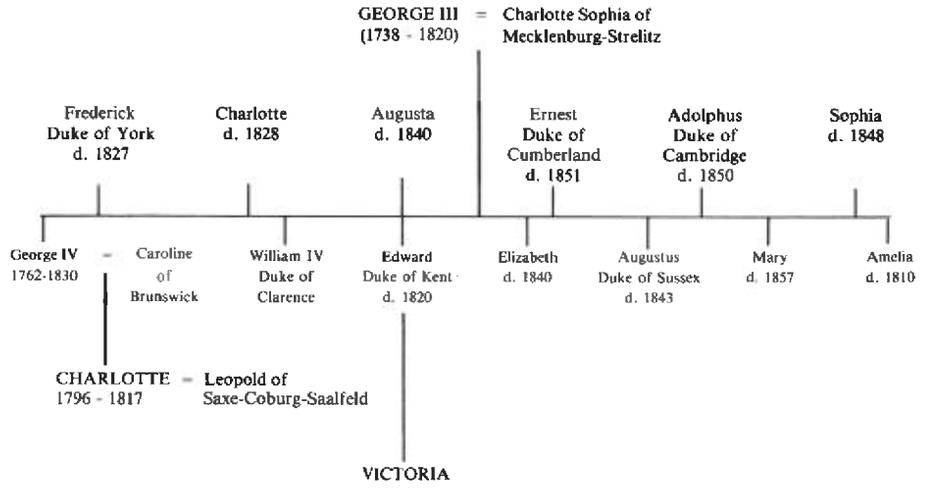
Key: *Italics indicate participation in Princess Charlotte's confinement.*

The structure of the Royal Family in 1817 must be reviewed in order to understand why there was so much concern about the succession to the throne. George III still occupied it in that year. He had been a tough man with simple tastes, a lover of the country — hence his nickname, Farmer George. From 1788 onwards he was, however, intermittently and increasingly ill with a disordered mind, probably due to porphyria. In 1810 the death of his youngest and favourite daughter, Amelia, led to further confusion and he retired into a private world of his own. Early in 1811 the Prince of Wales became Prince Regent.

George III had thirteen children, twelve of whom lived to adult life, enough you would have imagined to ensure a succession which could be legally recognised; but the Royal Marriage Act of 1772 laid down that no descendant of George II could marry without the King's consent and George III's consent was not given to any of his family except to the arranged dynastic marriage of the Prince of Wales.

In 1817, Princess Charlotte was the only legitimate grandchild and when she died following her stillbirth it seemed just possible that the Crown would pass to the Brunswick family, to a weak-minded boy of thirteen. Why was this so and what consequences did Charlotte's death prompt?

TABLE II THE FAMILY OF GEORGE III



Reference to the family tree (Table II) will make the answers to these questions clearer. In 1817 the Prince Regent, who became King three years later, was fifty-nine, somewhat worn out with debauchery and rows with his wife and unlikely to produce another child. Then there were six dukes (the duke of Wellington had referred to them as 'the damndest millstone about the necks of any government that can be imagined'). Frederick, duke of York, was fifty-four and had had twenty-six years of childless marriage. The duke of Clarence, who became William IV, had ten little Fitzclarences living with their devoted mother, a Mrs. Jordan. The duke of Kent had lived in domestic bliss for twenty-seven years with a commoner, Madame St. Laurent. The duke of Cumberland was considered the most unpopular man in England, known for his wild eye and obscene language. He had married three years before, a forty-year-old princess, twice married before, with six children and a reputation for dubious morals. Everyone hoped their marriage would remain childless. The duke of Sussex had married a commoner when aged twenty, and another thirty-seven years later. The duke of Cambridge was only forty-three, unattached, and many looked to him for rescue from the difficult situation.

Of the five surviving daughters, two were married and childless, two were not childless but secretly married, and one was unmarried and aged forty-nine.

Princess Charlotte's death exposed this desperate situation and led to a rush for eligible German princesses and heirs by the royal dukes, encouraged by Parliamentary

grants. The dukes of Clarence, Kent and Cambridge all married in 1818! Cambridge was first home with a legitimate child, a son, in March 1819 but Kent had the only other child, Victoria, in May 1819 and the Crown therefore went to her when the childless (legitimately childless) William IV died.

Princess Charlotte's extraordinary parents, the Prince of Wales — later George IV — and Caroline of Brunswick, are well known from books, plays and television series. The Prince made this legitimate marriage to his first cousin in order to beget an heir and to reduce his debts. She was a dumpy, cocksure girl, careless in her dress and personal habits, but probably did not deserve the treatment given to her at first by the Prince. On first seeing her he felt ill and sent for brandy. He was drunk on their wedding night and the bride said he spent most of it on the floor with his head in the grate. They probably never had physical contact again; nevertheless Charlotte was born nine calendar months less a day later — 7 January 1796. Her childhood and adolescence must have been very much affected by the continuous warfare between her parents, their endless attempts to be in charge of her and to influence her future, their intermittent neglect of her, their own separation and her mother's bizarre debauched self-indulgent life.

She was said to have been a charming child, with blue eyes and golden hair, intelligent but wild and harum-scarum at times. She played the piano and read widely (she shared her father's appreciation of Jane Austen and went into ecstasies over Byron who was a sort of pin-up boy to her). In her 'teens she tended, as did her father's family, to become overweight, but had pretty legs, remained vivacious, was widely admired and had romantic love affairs which were encouraged by her mother possibly to upset the Prince Regent.

The large Royal Family was beset with intrigues and rivalries. The young Charlotte seems to have been aware of them, picking her way with care and making shrewd comments on her strange relatives. She had difficulty in establishing any form of independence which she thought was her right after her seventeenth birthday.

Marriage plans of all sorts blossomed in these years; to the king of Prussia and to the duke of Gloucester and other British aristocrats. She became engaged to the Prince of Orange, a diplomatic arrangement pressed by her father. At first Charlotte was enthusiastic, but when she found she would be unable to live in England and when he became frequently drunk during a visit to England, she withdrew. A row with her father over this and his withdrawal of members of her household led to her running away to her mother for a short while. After another affair with a foreign prince Charlotte decided, in the year of Waterloo, to marry Prince Leopald of Saxe-Coburg. She was rather surprised, after a long period of waiting to meet him, to find him charming and intelligent, and was thrilled that the marriage agreement allowed her to stay in England.

They were married on 2 May 1816. The honeymoon was said not to have been blissful. It was spent at the duke of York's residence and Charlotte complained that the air of the place was quite unwholesome, with the smell and breath of dogs, birds and all sorts of animals — obviously not a country girl. The Prince and Princess took up residence in Claremont, near Esher, where they were remarkably happy.

In July 1816 she probably had a miscarriage. In the spring of 1817 the news spread that Charlotte was pregnant. She was said to be in excellent health and throughout the summer kept up her social activities without problems.

Sir Richard Croft was selected as accoucheur by Dr. Matthew Baillie, the Royal Physician, and must have been consulted very early in the pregnancy: there is a letter dated 14 March from her to him reporting that her second period was safely passed over and seeking advice about sickness and some dysuria. She continued to write to him throughout the pregnancy. His antenatal care, although later criticised, seems to have been excellent. She was instructed to have a diet, modest by Regency standards but perfectly adequate, and to exercise daily, to have a shower bath on alternate days, and to have her loins sponged with cold water every morning. She was overweight and had some headaches, and was therefore bled on several occasions; with difficulty because of plump arms. The amounts removed were probably small and did not warrant later condemnation, although it is possible that she was already anaemic.

The confinement was expected on 21 October and from that date onwards there was public anxiety with daily reports of progress. Possibly anxiety was exacerbated by rumours that Charlotte was unnaturally large.

There are a number of descriptions of the labour, including one by Sir Richard Croft. I am freely using the consolidated account given in the excellent paper of 1951 by Sir Eardley Holland, who critically examined the various sources.

At 7 p.m. on Monday, November 3rd, the waters broke, forty-two weeks and one day after the last period (Table III).

TABLE III 1817

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE'S LABOUR

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3RD		WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH	
7 p.m.	Waters broke	2 a.m.	Sims arrived
11 p.m.	Weak pains. Os = halfpenny	Midday	Dark green discharge
		9 p.m.	Stillbirth
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4TH		9.20 p.m.	Manual removal of placenta
3 a.m.	Retching. Officers of State sent for	10 p.m.	Blood loss. Pulse < 100
11 a.m.	Weak pains. Os = crown	11.45 p.m.	Vomit. Tinnitus
6 p.m.	Os fully dilated		
9 p.m.	Ear felt. Sims sent for	THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6TH	
		12.45 a.m.	Collapse
		2.30 a.m.	Death

By 11 p.m. Charlotte was having very weak pains every eight to ten minutes and Sir Richard found the os uterus to be the size of a halfpenny (copper coins were very large in those days). At 3 a.m. on the following day she was retching and Sir Richard, thinking that this might expedite the labour, sent for Dr. Matthew Baillie and also for the officers of state who were meant to be present at the birth. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary for War and the Colonies all arrived by 8 a.m. in their coaches and four. They then kept vigil for forty hours.

Pains continued, 'insufficient' but distressing, and at 11 a.m. Sir Richard found the os to be the size of a crown piece — he wondered if twins were present and damping down normal uterine action.

He wrote a note to Dr. Sims thinking that forceps might be needed but delayed sending it. By 6 p.m. the os was fully open and by 9 p.m. Sir Richard could feel the child's ear. The mother was well and Sir Richard was somewhat relieved, but worried about the slow progress and sent off his note to Sims, who arrived at 2 a.m. on the Wednesday. The second stage had been going for five hours. Sir Richard proposed to tell Charlotte that Sims had come, but Sims and Dr. Baillie advised against this fearing that it might upset her, and only Sir Richard continued to attend directly on Charlotte. As mentioned before, Sims was a great botanist but there were other and more skilful accoucheurs in London at the time — presumably he was asked by Sir Richard because of their professional relationship.

Labour continued very slowly, with no undue distress to the Princess. Instruments were ready but the three doctors decided that they were not needed. At midday, fifteen hours into the second stage, there was a dark green uterine discharge and foetal death was presumed. Progress was still slow and it was only at 9 p.m. that a male child of 9 lbs was stillborn. The labour had continued for fifty hours; twenty-six in the first stage, twenty-four in the second. There were no signs of life in the child but brandy was put into its mouth, artificial respiration was given, and it was rubbed with salt and mustard in the vain hope of resuscitation. Charlotte was well apparently, but the uterus was acting irregularly and an hour-glass constriction was suspected. Sir Richard consulted Sims and they decided to wait for some bleeding, which came in twenty minutes. A manual separation of the placenta was then carried out without blood loss. Charlotte had further pain and lost more blood at 10 p.m. - at that time the uterus seemed moderately contracted. She ate well and her pulse rate was under a hundred.

At 11.45 p.m. she vomited a little and complained of singing noises in the head. She was given camphor and tea but became irritable and restless. Laudanum with wine and water was given. About an hour later she became very restless with chest tightness and breathlessness. Her pulse became rapid and feeble and irregular. She was given cordials, antispasmodics and opiates by the three doctors, but died at 2.30 a.m.

On 7 November Sir Everard Home, Serjeant Surgeon to the king, carried out a post-mortem. The only significant findings reported were two ounces of red-coloured fluid in the pericardium and a 'considerable' quantity of blood in the uterus which extended as high as the navel. The hour-glass contraction was still apparent. The heart and lungs were said to be 'in a natural state.'

The three doctors concerned with the labour were puzzled by the death. Dr. Baillie said that after the delivery Charlotte appeared 'quite as well as women commonly do after so tedious a labour, and much better than they often do under such circumstances.' Sir Richard and Dr. Sims did not think that the blood lost was sufficient to cause alarm. Sir Richard said it was less than usual on such occasions but, added to about a pound of blood found in the uterus, might have been enough to produce the unfavourable symptoms in 'so excitable a constitution.' Dr. Sims thought that the symptoms were such as attend death from haemorrhage but the loss of blood did not appear to be sufficient to account for a fatal issue. They were all surprised by the small pericardial effusion but did not think it enough to have hindered the action of the heart.

Authoritative statements were slow in appearing. One in a medical journal published three weeks later stated that the Royal Family were liable to 'spasms' of violent description and concluded that this hereditary predisposition, and the 'increased excitability of the amiable sufferer owing to the tedious nature of the labour,' led to the death — an unfortunate conclusion as, even in those days, a diagnosis of 'spasm' was very suspect.

Official statements and letters written by members of the Royal Family and other notables absolved the medical attendants from any blame and considered their handling of the case to be correct. Sir Richard had many letters assuring him of the Royal Family's confidence in him and his conduct. However, it was hardly surprising that there was much criticism, almost hysterical, from the ignorant, the suspicious, the jealous, and the gossips. Such criticism, often with little foundation, recurred in publications for many years. There was even one which tried to prove that Princess Charlotte had been deliberately poisoned. Possibly much of the public distress and anger was caused by poor public relations — the doctors told their stories slowly and intermittently with consequent misrepresentation.

The main critic who published pamphlets calling for a public enquiry soon after the death was a surgeon, Jesse Foot, who had previously revealed himself as a rival to the great John Hunter, whom he hated. He and other informed critics made the following points in a very outspoken manner:

1. Bleeding and lowering treatment had been used during the pregnancy.
2. No female midwife was engaged, only an untrained nurse.
3. Forceps should have been used.
4. Haemorrhage was allowed to take place.
5. Sims never saw Charlotte, although he signed bulletins.
6. Sir Richard and the others went off to bed after the delivery.
7. Talk of spasm was 'cant.'
8. Family connections of the doctors led to suspicions of collusion.
9. The only public defence had been to mention the high standing of the doctors who kept silent in public after the official pronouncements.
10. Efforts to resuscitate the child were novel and futile.
11. There had been insufficient care of the Princess after delivery and inadequate stimulants had been used.

None of these points is of much consequence, except the accusation that forceps were not used and that haemorrhage had been allowed to take place. Sir Eardley Holland, the distinguished London Hospital obstetrician, who made the most detailed examination of all aspects of the case, believed that the conduct was as good as was possible at that time. He thought that the labour was most difficult and dangerous and that there was uterine inertia of the hypotonic variety, possibly with a constriction ring. He considered that the psychological and emotional stresses of Charlotte's past life and the responsibility of producing an heir to the throne also played a part, and that death was probably due to post

partum haemorrhage, occurring before, during and after removal of the placenta, and then later in a concealed fashion. The chief criticism was that Sir Richard allowed the labour to go on for so long without using forceps, but by contemporary practice he was not wrong. After the great Smellie retired in 1760, forceps had been used too freely, and William Hunter and Denman, who had trained Croft, had reacted strongly against them, possibly over-reacted. Denman published a sort of obstetrical bible in 1788 and one passage was known as Denman's law, viz:

> 'A practical rule has been formed, that the head of the child shall have rested for six hours as low as the perineum before the forceps are applied, though the pains shall have ceased during that time.'

William Hunter is supposed to have said that 'it was a great pity that the forceps were ever invented; where they save one, they murder twenty,' and he used to produce his own in rusty condition to reinforce his advice to others to abstain from their use.

It is difficult to know what could have been done to prevent haemorrhage — it might have been worse if forceps had been used — possibly the third stage could have been managed better.

Sir Eardley thought that Sir Richard must have been a diffident, sensitive man, without much self-confidence, despite all his skill and experience and was possibly over-anxious from the start. He commented that Sims was of *no* help to Sir Richard. The three doctors might have done better to have issued more frank and authorative reports although, from contemporary records, it is clear that they were not concerned for Charlotte until her final collapse. Subsequently they could have made themselves more available for enquiry but that was not the custom in those days.

The cause of Charlotte's death has intrigued obstetricians for years and various theories have been put forward. Amniotic fluid embolism has been mentioned, but this is usually associated with extremely strong uterine contractions. Pulmonary embolism from leg or pelvic thrombi, which was not recognised in 1817, has of course been suggested but is not very likely. Porphyria has been considered but there is no evidence for it, and an inverted uterus would have been recognised.

The death led to a remarkable national display of grief and mourning. Princess Charlotte had been popular and besides this there was great concern about the Royal succession. 'It really was as if every household throughout Great Britain had lost a favourite child,' said Lord Brougham. Byron commemorated the tragedy in canto four of *Childe Harold*, and there was a remarkable flow of very poor poetry from all over the country.

Her husband, Leopold, is said to have never fully recovered, although he married twice again and became king of the Belgians, and Queen Victoria's so-called 'dearest uncle.'

The effect of the tragedy on a mild, conscientious man like Sir Richard Croft was sad in the extreme. On the day after the tragedy, he wrote to Stockmar, 'May God grant that you nor any connected with you may suffer what I do at this moment.' Some friends and colleagues deserted him, his practice dwindled, and he became depressed. In February

1818, he was attending a Mrs. Thackeray in Wimpole Street. The labour was protracted and he was not unnaturally distressed. When the husband expressed anxiety, Sir Richard exclaimed, 'What is your agitation compared to mine?' After three sleepless days with the labour, Sir Richard was taken to a room to rest. Unfortunately there was a pair of loaded pistols in the room, kept there because of recent burglaries, and some time during the night Sir Richard discharged both of them into his head.

At the inquest, witnesses gave evidence of the anxiety and the depression shown by him since Princess Charlotte's death. A surgical colleague thought that his mind must have been deranged at the time of taking his life, and this was the verdict returned by the jury.

A sad conclusion to a worthy professional life, completing this 19th-century triple tragedy.

The above talk was given in 1981 to the West Midlands Physicians' Association whose permission for publication has been given.

Medical Naturalists of Victorian Herefordshire

By B. E. MILES

The following historical sketch is based, with a few minor alterations, on my talk given to the West Midlands Physicians' Association in 1969, with, in addition, another naturalist discovered by me some twenty years later.

Our summer meetings rotate through the District General Hospitals in the Region so that every ten years or so the Association comes to Hereford. Since 1952 it has become the custom that the senior physician, presumed to be past having anything of scientific interest to communicate, gives a talk about local medical history in the half-hour before lunch when the audience is at its lowest ebb. The previous Hereford contribution, given by Charles Walker without script or slides, was both erudite and hilarious; impossible to emulate.

It would be hard to claim that Herefordshire doctors have made significant advances in medical science but I hope to show that several have excelled as naturalists. In 1851 the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was formed after the successful precedents of the Cotteswold, Tyneside and Berwick Clubs. For the next fifty years this famous club was dominated by some brilliant Anglican clergy and doctors. Ten of the original band of thirty members were clerics and eight medical men. To start with, the main interests were geology and botany and accordingly four of the seven distinguished honorary members were geologists and three botanists. Among the former was Sir Roderick Murchison who had named the Silurian strata after the Silures, a British tribe which had once lived in the west of our county and under Caradoc fought so valorously against the Roman legions. Murchison counted himself almost a Herefordian having at the age of sixteen served with the Herefordshire Regiment, the 36th foot, and carried the Colour at the Battle of Vimiera in the Peninsular War. The club was named after the classic Silurian anticline surrounding the village of Woolhope five miles east of Hereford, which he had described with such clarity, and remains today a place of pilgrimage for students of geology.

The pursuit of natural science was still frowned upon in some circles. DR. McCULLOUGH, Superintendent of the Abergavenny Asylum, who had done valuable research among the 'old red' rocks of west Herefordshire, said in his presidential address, 'it is to be hoped the time is passing away when the investigation of the wonders of creation can be regarded otherwise than as a means of increasing our reverence for the Creator. Some who know least of His works seem to have, still, a vague dread of such pursuits;' and went on to quote an old writer 'the wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire His works.'[1,2]

HENRY GRAVES BULL came to Hereford in 1841 after being four years resident pupil at Northampton Royal Infirmary and then three years at Edinburgh interrupted by a year in Paris into which he crammed a two-year course by allowing himself only four hours' sleep at night. Despite his two gold medals and a surgical prize at Edinburgh, he failed to get the

house physician post at the Hereford General Infirmary. Instead, he leased Harley House, no. 1 St. John Street, where he put up his plate, and was to spend the rest of his days and bring up his family of nine children.

Time does not permit me to do justice to this remarkable man. Suffice to say that he quickly made his mark as a doctor and threw himself with characteristic vigour into all manner of public and charitable duties. Later, he was appointed physician to the hospital and was responsible for the lay-out of the grounds and lodge, but it is as a naturalist that he is best remembered and the centre of his activities was the Woolhope Club which he had helped to found. His main interest was botany and one of his earliest major contributions was a thirty-five-page paper on mistletoe which he noted to be much more common here than in any other county, as it remains today. He described the mode of propagation and growth, the host trees, its partiality for apple, white poplar, hawthorn, crab apple, lime, etc., and its rarity on pear and oak, and finally from his omnivorous reading, all the literary and historical associations of the plant.[3]

He soon became especially interested in fungi and started a series of illustrated articles on the edible fungi of the county, which he said were so 'delicious in flavour, rich and wholesome, sadly neglected.' This ardent interest was to lead to the Fungus Forays, which for twenty years became the most important feature of the Woolhope programme. Each October expeditions were arranged on four consecutive days and attracted mycologists not only from all over England but also from France. Dr. Bull planned the meetings, invited the guests and was the life and soul of these outings in the autumn woods. Several varieties new to science were discovered. In the evenings there would be a reception at his own home or at Wargrave House, the home of a surgical friend, Mr. Cam. There, they examined the finds and heard papers and discussions on mycological subjects. The Forays promoted the formation of the British Mycological Society.

Each year there was a Fungus Banquet, for which Dr. Bull supervised the preparation of several fungus dishes. The drawings in the 'Menu'[4] (PL. XXVII) mainly depict puns about fungi and fungologists. Fries, for instance, was the greatest living mycologist; Panus, Kneiffia and Forkia are different genera of fungi. On the right we have Dr. Bull, the rope and chain indicating his power and irresistible force. Cornu was a famous French mycologist present at the dinner. In fact, the *Craterellus cornucopioides* in the menu was a highly relished novelty cooked in his honour. Poisons for Poissons seems to have been a printer's error, forgivable in the circumstances.

Dr. Bull's next major enterprise arose from his intense curiosity about the apples and especially the cider apples of the county. There was widespread ignorance about the proper naming of the different varieties and lack of any authoritative literature on the subject. Consequently, in 1878 he set about remedying the need and six years later two handsome folio volumes appeared entitled *The Herefordshire Pomona.* Dr. Hogg, an expert pomologist, had undertaken the letterpress, a Miss Ellis and Dr. Bull's daughter Edith, in the drawing-room of Harley House, had painted with astonishing fidelity the apples and pears whose pictures were to become the renowned seventy-six plates in the *Pomona,* each displaying full-sized, several different varieties, but it was Dr. Bull who inspired, organised and co-ordinated. Most of the first hundred pages consist of introductory essays by his pen.

In 1884 Dr. Bull, Dr. Hogg and another Woolhopian attended the great Pomological Exhibition in Rouen, bringing with them four large crates containing 238 varieties of fruit and samples of six kinds of the best cider and two of perry. Medals and a diploma were presented and Dr. Bull in thanks treated his audience to a long discourse in French recounting, among much else, how the cider apple growers of Normandy came from Wales in the 6th century as refugees driven out by the Saxon invaders. Ending with 'Dieu bénisse la France,' his speech was received with acclamation.[5]

For many years Dr. Bull had been contributing short papers on Herefordshire birds and collecting records from other members of the Woolhope Club and his *Notes on the Birds of Herefordshire* was almost ready for publication when he died unexpectedly at the height of his powers shortly after his French triumph.[6,7] This book of ornithological observations contributed by members of the club is of the greatest interest today. Without it, our knowledge of the county's birds a century ago would be meagre indeed.[8]

HENRY CECIL MOORE was a regular soldier who saw service in the Indian Mutiny, in Aden, and as Chief Engineer and Governor of Perrim Island, a desolate spot at the entrance to the Red Sea where he was in charge of building water-tanks and a lighthouse. Having retired on health grounds after ten years in the army, he enrolled at the Birmingham Medical School. When qualified, he completed two resident appointments at Birmingham General Hospital before coming to Hereford in 1872 as house surgeon to the General Infirmary, in which post he remained for seven years. This was followed by several years in practice and for the last ten years of his life he was Medical Officer of Health to the city of Hereford. This modest and unassuming man made his initial contribution to the Woolhope Club in 1883, the first of eighty-eight communications on a wide variety of topics which included the Salmon disease (the ulcerative dermal necrosis of topical interest), meteorology, geology and trees.[9] He became the guide, director and right-hand man of the Woolhope Club after Dr. Bull's death in 1885. He was a prodigious worker and not only club secretary and editor of the *Transactions* for twenty-one years but collated, compiled and edited the *Transactions* for the first fourteen years of the club and produced them in 1907, a selfless task which becomes increasingly appreciated as the years pass. An obituary notice tells us how when he got older and suffered from heart trouble, he travelled by vehicle to the field meetings where, 'at the sound of his miniature trumpet so familiar to all, there was a prompt gathering of the clans and the doctor poured out a wealth of expert knowledge, his retentive faculty having long been the envy of his compeers.'[10,11]

His method of keeping up with his vast public and private correspondence was to deal with it at once. On his desk was a large envelope in which he put letters requiring an answer. Across one corner was written the word 'Now;' when he died the envelope was empty.

His was not an original mind but he brought out the best in others and his industry and organising talent did much to maintain the high reputation of the club. At his funeral the flag flew at half mast over the Free Library where he had been honorary secretary for over twenty years. The minute bell of the cathedral tolled.

GERALD ROWLEY LEIGHTON qualified in Edinburgh in 1895. I mention him very briefly because I suspect that he spent his four years in the quiet rural practice at Grosmont solely in order to write his two books, *The Life Histories of British Serpents* and *British Lizards and their Local Distribution in the British Isles.* He also found time to write his Edinburgh M.D. thesis on *The Reptilia of the Monnow Valley.* He made several contributions to the Woolhope Club, including 'The Capture of Adders of Remarkable Size,' referring to those he caught near Grosmont, one 28½ inches long (70.8 cms.).[12,13]

He left Grosmont in 1902 to undertake the editorship of *The Field Naturalists' Quarterly* in Edinburgh. After this we lose sight of him for several years till we find him Professor of Pathology, Bacteriology and Meat Inspection at the Dick Veterinary College in Edinburgh, writing books on such topics as *The Principles and Practice of Meat Inspection.* Although he seems to have abandoned his former interests he was clearly held in high regard, being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and honorary Doctor of Science at the University of Syracuse.

THOMAS ALGERNON CHAPMAN, M.D. of both Glasgow and Edinburgh, came to us in 1871 as the first Superintendent of our County Asylum where he remained for twenty-five years. From his masterly annual reports to the Committee of Visitors one is astonished at his enlightened reign nearly a century ago.[14] There were over four hundred patients, as Herefordshire had always had a higher proportion of lunatics to population than any other county. Despite the greater average age of his patients he records the lowest death rate of any comparable hospital. This he attributed to abundant outdoor exercise, which wherever possible, included walks outside the hospital grounds, 'Hardly any patients capable of occupying themselves were idle.' In 1885 he wrote that for several years past neither restraint nor seclusion in any form had been resorted to, and went on - 'we continue to preserve our immunity from suicide and homicide.' There were theatricals, picnics, cricket, and less popular, tennis and bowls; also dances on one or two evenings a week.[15]

He was an enthusiastic Woolhopian - president in 1876 and for many years on the editorial committee with Dr. Bull. His numerous contributions were invariably original, mainly about beetles but also on moths and other insects. He bequeathed a fine collection of beetles and butterflies to the museum.[16] His humour was sometimes dry. Of the ladybird family he notes, 'one preys upon enemies of the ash used for hop-poles, and the hop itself has at least three species preying on its aphids' and continues 'probably no plant is so much indebted. They are no doubt, in consequence, held in high regard by all drinkers of beer.'[17] On another occasion he begins an after-dinner talk to the club, 'you are doubtless well acquainted with the "shardborn beetle with its drowsy hum", *Geotrupes stercorarius* ... (known more familiarly as the bumble-dor or lousy watchman).'[18,19]

His enthusiasm is shown by his paper 'A Lepidopterous Pupa with Functionally Active Mandibles' '... on March 10th, 11th and 12th, and several other occasions after, I had the pleasure of seeing it emerge.' He mentions only in passing that this inopportune creature emerges between six and seven in the morning.[20]

I find all his contributions so fascinating that I quote, almost at random, an excerpt from 'A note on the Flight of *Hepialus humuli*.'

'It so happened that this summer a meadow conveniently near my home swarmed with *Hepialus humuli*[21] and afforded the desired opportunity of repeating my observations of ten years ago, and I devoted a short time on several evenings to noting its habits in the long, late evenings following the 21st June. The flight lasts but twenty minutes beginning at the first indication of dusk and ceasing when the white male becomes a somewhat dim object. At first an odd male or two may be seen creeping up the grass stems and taking flight, sometimes making a wild dash or two of a few yards but almost immediately settling down to hovering. This has acquired for the species the name of 'ghost moth', and before the vagaries of the first one or two have been noted, the males are seen to have turned out in force and to be busy hovering in all directions. Not the regular oscillation of the *Hepialus hecta*[22] male which looks precisely as though the moth were attached to the extremity of a pendulum, though it has some approach to it.

Meantime, sundry females may be seen hovering over the top of the grass, but instead of keeping to one spot they move steadily forward. These pass near the hovering males but rearely attract their attention. The female moths acting in this way are ovipositing, dropping the eggs loosely on to the grass, and if captured continue to do so in the hand. The eggs if dropped on a smooth surface, such as a piece of glass, rebound with much elasticity. Now and then a female moth flies along in a wilder manner, dashes against, or at least appears to collide with one of the hovering males and with the momentum of her previous flight passes forwards perhaps as much as several feet and settles in the grass. The male moth so challenged follows almost simultaneously. There can be no doubt therefore that in this species we have a reversal of the habit usual among moths as in other classes of animal, the male being found by the female instead of the contrary.'

At the age of fifty-five he retired to Reigate. He was a regular attender at the Entomological Society but could not be induced to accept the presidency. He travelled extensively from Norway to Sicily, always with an entomological object in view, notably the life history of butterflies. In 1918 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society.[23,24]

JOHN HENRY WOOD came from a Herefordshire medical family, his father and younger brother practised in Ledbury. After qualifying at King's College Hospital he settled at Tarrington on the edge of the Woolhope area, where he practised for nearly fifty years. He seems to have been a man of many parts; a fine horseman with renowned prowess in the hunting field, a charming conversationalist and book lover, but above all a great entomologist, in correspondence with eminent men in various parts of Europe.

We are fortunate to possess in the Woolhope Club Library his diary for the years 1891-4. This reveals the complete naturalist. On his long excursions he missed nothing, the antics of a water shrew, a local variety of snail, rare birds such as hobbies and blackcock, and especially unusual plants, sedges and even mosses.[25]

His energy was phenomenal despite his fifty odd years. Apart from hunting and tennis, he canoed down the Wye, and cycled long distances often out before breakfast with net and collecting boxes. He was a tireless walker. Dr. Chapman, who usually

accompanied him on his expeditions to the Black Mountains, is chided for not being able to keep up a pace of more than four miles per hour, though it is only fair to mention that it was Chapman who wrote Wood's obituary and not vice versa. A typical excursion would be to go to Hay by train, walk up the Cusop Dingle to the head of the Olchon Valley, and then, after a meal and a long search for beetles and moths, always strictly within the county boundary, walk on to Pandy to catch the late train to Hereford.[26]

Although an enthusiastic collector, and his diptera, now amalgamated with the British Collection in the Natural History Museum, was probably the finest collection of its kind, his real interest was much more scientific, life histories and biological details always engaging his attention.

He made forty-five contributions to the literature, at first mainly about the smaller lepidoptera and later the diptera. He found the nepticulae the most fascinating group of the lepidopterous order.[27] About seventy of this family with leaf-mining larvae were known in Great Britain. He identified fifty in an area three miles across near Woolhope, including four new to Britain, and two new to science, one of which he named *Nepticula woolhopiella*.[28] When one considers that leaf-miners occur among three other Orders, flies, beetles and wasps not to mention other families of moth, the differential diagnosis must have been daunting indeed, and necessitated hatching them out in order to identify the adults, as well as microscopical examination of the larvae.

Later, in a paper to the Woolhope Club on the three families of flat-footed, big-headed and hover-flies,[29] he seems to be ashamed to be concerned with such conspicuous creatures. He calls them 'gaily coloured insects which appeal to the beginner in much the same way as do the gaudy day-flying butterflies to the embryo lepidopterist.' However, he collected, practically single-handed, 194 of the 260 known British representatives of these families. I quote a short passage. 'In the Syrphidae are to be found perhaps the most striking instances of mimicry that our natural fauna exhibit ... but let the resemblance be as perfect as it may, there is always something about them as they visit, that betrays them to the eye of the collector. Watching, say, some hawthorn bush, white with bloom and alive with insect life, he sees at once that the bees are in downright earnest. They work methodically and almost greedily, clutching the flowers in their claws as if determined on leaving not a drop behind. Whereas the gay flies, though they too have come for honey, but for their own eating only, set lightly to work, travelling carelessly over the blossoms into which they now and then dip their heads for a sip, or bask idly in the sunshine.'

Dr. Wood died aged seventy-three and was, we are told, especially missed by the poor. He lies buried in Tarrington churchyard.[30,31,32,33]

A. E. BOYCOTT was born in Hereford in 1877, the son of a solicitor who later became mayor. When a small boy at the Cathedral School he was lucky to be befriended by Ernest Bowell for it was from him that he learned that natural history was interesting. Ernest's father was the Reverend William Bowell who ran a boys' school at Chandos House[34] and had a large, lively and intelligent family of which Ernest was the most studious, partly because his very short sight prevented him from playing games to any purpose.

Boycott recounts, 'We began with butterflies and moths, and next added beetles

when rearranging Chapman's collections, and then we got hold of Rimmer's book and started with slugs and snails, originally with the idea that we wanted something to do in the wet weather.'[35]

Boycott roamed about as far as he could get throughout the county, accumulating and identifying snails, sometimes with invaluable help from Bowell. But when aged fifteen he wrote his first paper, 'A contribution to a list of the mollusca in Herefordshire,'[36] (eighty-seven species), Bowell five years his senior was already at Oxford on an open classical scholarship, though no doubt returning home during the vacations.

It seems appropriate now to give a brief sketch of Bowell's future career and Boycott's later judgement of him. After graduating he took to teaching, was ordained, left the Church after a brief spell as a curate, and much later enrolled as a medical student at Guy's Hospital, qualifying in 1917 at the age of forty-five. After some army service in Mesopotamia he returned to Guy's to do laboratory work. Finally, becoming increasingly blind, he developed a long tedious illness, dying in 1935 aged only sixty-three.[35,37]

Boycott says he was amiable, learned, a dreamer, and very eccentric. He continued with his research on molluscs and became president of the Conchological Society, but he irritated Boycott because his research was frequently ineffective as he used to get bogged down in the methodology, at which he was often very inventive, but lost sight of his original objective. His good influence was exercised more in his talk and his letters.

To return to Boycott, it was not until 1899 that his first major paper was published after several years editorial delay, no doubt because it was a veritable treatise, 103 pages long, and the editor had to struggle with 260 pages of closely-written manuscript.

Whenever he could, he attended field meetings of the Woolhope Club,[38] a youth among the grey-beards, in the company among others of Chapman, Wood and Moore. The 'treatise' respectfully acknowledged Wood 'who has supplied a few interesting records and we regret that such an able observer has not devoted more of his time to this group.'

His contribution to these meetings included identification of snails and butterflies and he was twice asked to read excerpts from the awaited 'treatise' which were fully reported in the *Hereford Times*[39] and *Hereford Journal.*[40]

This major work by Boycott and Bowell was entitled 'Contributions to a Fauna of Herefordshire: Mollusca.'[41] Clearly Boycott was the moving spirit. Bowell was responsible for two sections but Boycott did the lion's share, including a thirty-page dissertation on colour banding in the so-called black-lipped and white-lipped hedge-snails, [42] and the hundreds of very precise measurements of all their accumulated molluscs. The final section dealt in turn with each species with details of taxonomy, intra-species variation, lifestyle, habitat and so on. A remarkable effort, finished in 1896 when Boycott was only nineteen and already a medical student at Oxford.

When Moore was president in 1897, he gave an account of the museum saying, with reference to molluscs, that the very valuable collection of these invertebrates under Messrs. Boycott and Bowell required a more extended area for their display.[43] They were

honorary curators for Conchology and also (with others) for Entomology. In 1900 Boycott was club recorder for molluscs. After 1904 he was no longer a member.

Meanwhile his academic career proceeded apace: 1894 matriculation, 1895 Oriel College, Oxford, with a Senior Classical Scholarship. First class in Classical Moderations, followed in 1898 by First Class Honours in Physiology.

At Oxford he was taken up by J. S. Haldane (son of J.B.S.), a pioneer in industrial medicine, with whom he was later to investigate and identify, among Cornish miners, the first British outbreak of hookworm infestation, and by Professor Ritchie, his mentor in pathology, who became a life-long friend. When there he wrote six papers on molluscs. In 1900 he went to St. Thomas's Hospital where he scooped up all the available prizes, and in 1902 qualified B.M. in record time, continuing there for a year as House Physician.

His subsequent careers in Medicine, Pathology and Malacology, which he regarded as a science not a hobby, are not strictly relevant so I shall not try to appraise his 230-odd papers. Suffice it to say M.A., BSc., D.M., F.R.S., Hon. F.R.C.P. and Hon. LL.D McGill followed in due course. His last appointment was the Chair of Pathology at University College Hospital which he held for twenty years. His contributions to pathology were astonishing in both range and depth, scholarly and notably well written.

As for his snails he was, among much else, president of the Conchology and the Malacological Societies and, later, the Ecological Society. Perhaps the best remembered of his ninety-odd papers are those to do with ecology and genetics.

A famous experiment with several willing helpers and lasting ten years involved breeding about a million snails (Limnaea peregra) to establish the mode of inheritance of left-handed coiling of the shell. At its peak, more than a thousand bottles decorated the flat roof of the medical school, each representing a potential family which had to be counted and scrutinised. It is one of the classics of genetical research.

He had uncompromising principles of right and wrong and did not suffer fools, toadies, slovenly work or sloppy thinking. But we also learn of great personal charm. He was an ideal, beloved chief, but demanded honesty in the search of truth; with this, those working for him needed no other passport to secure his active and unstinted help. A certain asceticism was expected if one was accounted wholly worthy of the high calling of pathology.[44] He was incapable of sparing himself and expected others to have the same unflagging industry. He held strong pacifist views.

There were some who were upset by his apparent arrogance but I have become convinced that at heart he was a humble man and one of such eminence certainly had no time to squander on the second-rate. Virtue in others can be dispiriting, in ourselves of course it is its own reward. When we hear that he played bridge in small amounts with 'worthwhile people' who are we to sneer when some of us have had to give up the pastime altogether for that very reason?

To his friends, collaborating in the laboratory or in the field work where he was in happiest vein, his lively interest, delicate humour and unconventional behaviour made tiresome drudgery a pleasant occupation.

In 1934, aged only fifty-seven, he was smitten by tuberculosis. The following year he had to resign his Chair of Pathology and left soon after, quickly followed by his bottles and jars of molluscs, to spend his last years with his younger son who farmed at Ewen Farm House near Cirencester with his family. There were several relapses and remissions, in one of which (1936) he was taken to visit his old haunts of childhood in Hereford, the Black Mountains, Woolhope, 'and saw several places where I'm sure the devil showed the wonders of the world.'[45,46,47]

Did he visit his younger sisters living in reduced circumstances in Hereford? Acquaintances tell me that they never mentioned their distinguished brother, yet one of them presented a copy of his thirty-three paged 'In Memoriam' notice to our Reference Library.[44] My guess is that he did, and that the sister was the one who had been a Nightingale nurse at St. Thomas's Hospital.

In 1937 he wrote for the Lancet four successive articles in the series 'Grains and Scruples,' 'The unfettered thoughts of doctors in various occupations.'[48] In 1938, the year of his death, he wrote five papers about molluscs. A passionate naturalist ending as he had begun, sharing the secrets.

His ashes were scattered to the four winds at Roel Gate in the Cotswolds.

When one reads the natural history papers of our Victorian forebears, one cannot but be impressed by their erudition and literacy. They were not men who neglected their work, the very reverse was true; they exemplify the paradoxical adage that 'the busiest man is the man of most leisure'! Where are such men today? They are scarce but, happily, one of them, Charles Walker, is with us this morning; he is without doubt Herefordshire's leading naturalist, also ex-president of the Woolhope Club and our own Association.

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William Greenleaf

By J. C. EISEL

The peculiarly English art of change ringing, in which the bells sound in a different order each time that they swing, requires a means of hanging the bells such that the ringer has control over the speed at which the bell swings. An example of a bell hung in traditional fittings is shown in FIG. I. The bell is at rest, hanging mouth downwards. To invert it, the rope is pulled so that the bell swings one way and then back again: the rope is pulled again and so the bell gradually swings higher. When the bell is about half-way up, because of the rope's point of attachment to the wheel, the rope begins to be drawn over the pulley and under the bell and can thus be pulled back again so that there is a pull at both swings of the bell. At the point where the rope is caught by the ringer to pull it back again, there is a length of tufting woven into the rope, usually multi-coloured, called the sally. This word is derived from the phrase 'at sally,' descriptive of the bobbing of the rope.[1] With the two pulls at the rope - called handstroke and backstroke - the bell is swung higher and higher until it describes almost a full circle, one way and then the other.

If, when the bell is ringing full circle, the ringer wishes to cease ringing, the bell is allowed to settle just over the point of balance and the piece of wood called the stay engages with a slider which is pivoted at one end and has limited travel. This prevents the bell from going over any further and the bell is said to be 'set.' An unskilful ringer can break the stay by hitting it too hard and thus overthrow the bell: there are strictures against this in most belfry rules and a local example is at Cradley, where part of the rules, dated 1795, read thus:

'Observe this law, and mark it well,
The Man that Overthrow his Bell;
Six-pence he to the Clark must pay;
Before that he go hence away;'[2]

In some towers, stays were not fitted until comparatively modern times and thus bells were easy to overthrow. A local example is at Wistanstow, Salop., where stays were not fitted until 1891, when a new band of ringers was formed.[3]

The traditional form of bell fittings had been evolved by the latter part of the 17th century and remains basically that in use today although cast-iron is now the usual material for the stock rather than timber (which was usually elm), and the design of the gudgeons (the pivots on which the bell revolves) has been gradually improved: those shown in FIG. I are typical of the late 19th/early 20th centuries.

For the bell to 'go' well, that is to require little effort to ring it full-circle, the work of making the fittings must be done to a high standard and therefore specialist bell-hangers came about. Whereas nowadays we assume that bell-founders also hang bells, this is in a comparatively modern development and certainly up to the end of the 18th century most bell-founders did not hang bells.

1. Garter Hole
2. Rope
3. Wheel
4. Head of Frame
5. Main Brace
6. Cill
7. Ground Pulley
8. Clapper
9. Crown Staple
10. Slider
11. Slider Cage
12. Gudgeon
13. Bearing
14. Stay
15. Headstock
16. Strap
17. Canons
18. Wheel Stay

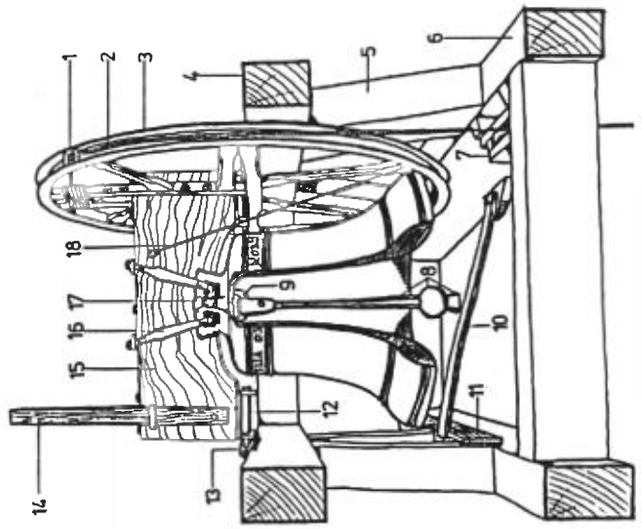

FIG. I
Bell hung in traditional fittings.

One exception to this rule was John Finch of Hereford, who, as the accounts show, not only cast a bell for Ludlow in 1638 but made a new frame as well.[4] There is, however, evidence to suggest that he began in business as a carpenter before he became a bell-founder.[5]

Even members of the famous Rudhall family of Gloucester, who were casting bells between 1684 and 1835, worked in conjunction with specialist bell-hangers: in latter years this was a family by the name of Jacques whose work is found in several towers in Herefordshire.

In the 19th century, much work on bell frames and bell-hanging within the county was done by members of the White family of Appleton, Berkshire (now Oxon.), and also by George Day and Son of Eye, Suffolk. However, in 1894 a bell-hanging firm was established in Hereford by William Greenleaf and until his departure abroad *c.* 1910 this firm had almost a monopoly of bell-hanging operations in the area. Study of contemporary records shows that many contracts said subsequently to have been performed by other bell-hangers/bell-founders were actually carried out by William Greenleaf.

William Greenleaf was born in Bethnal Green, London, on 23 November 1847.[6] About 1868 he gained employment at the Whitechapel Bell Foundry and subsequently became chief bell tuner there.[7] He learnt change ringing at the church of St. John-at-Hackney, London, and became a member of the Ancient Society of College Youths in 1868.[8] This, the oldest surviving ringing society, was founded in 1637, and provides ringers for St. Pauls Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. Greenleaf served a year as Master of the Society in 1875-6 and also in 1883-4.[9] A good change ringer and said to have a remarkable ear for accuracy, [10] during his second term as Master of the College Youths he took part in a long peal of 11,111 changes of Stedman Caters at Fulham on 8 December 1883, taking seven hours twelve minutes non-stop.[11,24]

In September 1884 Greenleaf left Whitechapel and set up in business as a bell-hanger in Stoke-on-Trent, advertising '15 years with Mears and Stainbank'[12] (the name of the Whitechapel firm at that time). This business apparently not prospering, he rejoined the staff at Whitechapel the following year and worked there for another five years.

In 1890 he left again and went into partnership with Thomas Blackbourn of Salisbury, a bell-hanger in a good way of business, Blackbourn's amended advertisement now reading 'W. Greenleaf was twenty years with Mears and Stainbank, as tuner and bell hanger.'[13] Among other jobs, in 1891 the partnership rehung the bells of Wells Cathedral[14] (a ring of ten bells with tenor of 56 cwt.) and the following year rehung Hereford Cathedral bells, the treble bell being recast at that time by Mears and Stainbank. The bells at Hereford were re-opened on Tuesday 4 October 1892.[15] The successful completion of the work resulted in Blackbourn and Greenleaf being employed to repair the bells of St. Nicholas, Hereford, partly renewing the fittings and repairing the frame at a cost of £60.[16] Greenleaf himself carried out the actual work, and while he was in Hereford (at the end of January and the beginning of February 1893) he rang with the Cathedral band both at the Cathedral[17] and on a visit to Holme Lacy.[18]

The partnership between Blackbourn and Greenleaf broke up in 1893, being last advertised as such on 29 July in that year. In a few notes on Greenleaf that appeared in

Bell News for 1 August 1903, it is said that he went abroad for a while after this partnership broke up. If so, it was not for long. He is recorded as ringing in Salisbury on 3 September, 14 October and on 30 December 1893, while in January 1894 he rang several times in Salisbury and also at Yeovil.[19] The article referred to above also stated:

> 'He has been a traveller in a small way, having been twice to New Zealand, Canada, Australia, etc.'

No indication was given as to when these visits took place, but it was probably earlier in his career, before he moved to Hereford.

On 28 March 1894 Greenleaf was in Hereford,[20] but when he actually settled there is not at present known. Certainly when he submitted estimates for the restoration of Burghill bells, on 3 July 1894, he was resident at 24 Victoria Street.[21]

It had been decided that Burghill bells, a ring of five bells of which two were cracked, should be restored as part of a more general restoration of the church, and Greenleaf's estimates were accepted. The *Weston Deanery Magazine* for August 1894, among the Burghill news items states:

> 'The Vicar and Churchwardens have signed the contract for the restoration of the Church Bells. Mr. Greenleaf has promised that the work will be completed by the Festival of St. Michael and All Angels.'

This date allowed under three months from the date of the estimates. In that time, the two cracked bells were recast by Mears and Stainbank who also cast three new bells to complete the octave, while Greenleaf made a completely new oak frame, tuned the new bells and hung all eight bells in new fittings. A service of dedication was held on 13 October 1894.[22] The chiming apparatus could not be fixed up for the re-dedication: Greenleaf had submitted an estimate on 2 October for two new floors (on the same day that he was paid £180 on account of his work on the bells) and the timber had not arrived in time. However, the December issue of the *Weston Deanery Magazine* reported that the contract had been completed: the final payment of £102 18s. 0d. was made on 1 December, Greenleaf remitting £1 as a donation towards the cost.[23]

Two attempts for the first peal[24] to be rung on Burghill bells after rehanging were made on 21 November 1894 but both were unsuccessful: Greenleaf was a member of the band.[25] He was also a member of the band that was finally successful in ringing a peal of Grandsire Triples on the bells on 23 January 1895.[26]

After the bells were rehung, Greenleaf helped the local tower captain to instruct a new band in the elements of bell handling. Also helping were two of the Cathedral ringers, one of whom, John Tristram, subsequently joined the bell-hanging business.[27]

With the successful completion of the bell-hanging part of the Burghill contract, Greenleaf began to advertise in *Bell News,* the first advertisement appearing in the issue for 20 October 1894. Work was a little slow in coming his way at first, despite the fact that many rings of bells in the area were in poor order and not in a fit condition for change ringing, a situation that the Hereford Diocesan Guild of Bellringers was doing its best to remedy. Founded in 1886, the object of the Guild was much-needed belfry reform in the diocese, promoting higher standards by the introduction of change ringing. This had

mostly lapsed in the diocese after a certain amount of activity in the 18th century, all memory of which had been forgotten.[28] Greenleaf was a welcome addition to the ringers of the City and for a few years joined the Cathedral band, helping them to ring Grandsire Triples and Bob Major.[29]

In the year 1895 Greenleaf rehung two rings of bells, while in 1896 he rehung three and in 1897 he rehung at least six. This increase in work was no doubt due to his excellent craftsmanship which often showed to advantage compared with that of other firms. For example, in 1894 Leominster bells were rehung in a new oak frame by J. Warner and Sons of London, and two further bells added to the eight bells cast by William Evans of Chepstow in 1755 to make a ring of ten bells. The bells were dedicated on 20 November 1894[30] and a full peal of Stedman Caters was rung in three hours and eighteen minutes.[31] Only three years later the 'go' of the bells had deteriorated to such an extent that it proved impossible to ring a peal length on the bells, even with two men on the tenor.[32] This was almost certainly due to poor maintenance in the meantime, but the adverse publicity given would have been to Greenleaf's advantage.

A number of reports praising Greenleaf's work appeared in *Bell News*. For example, in 1896 he rehung Withington bells, and the report of the first ringing on them after rehanging states:

> 'The work has been carried out in a most satisfactory manner by Mr. W. Greenleaf, of Hereford, and the 'go' of the bells is everything that can be desired.'[33]

We may also suspect that Greenleaf was a good salesman. In 1895 he repaired the frame at Peterchurch and rehung the six bells there. The ring was opened on Easter Monday by a band of ringers from Hereford, including Greenleaf. The report of the opening concludes:

> 'Calling on their way homewards at Madley in the hopes of having a pull on the beautiful ring of six bells there, they were sorry to find them quite unringable, owing to the bad state of the ropes and the dilapidated state of the bell fittings.'[34]

It perhaps comes as no surprise to find that Greenleaf rehung the bells two years later, the opening taking place on 18 November 1897.[35]

Greenleaf's reputation spread, and in 1899 he rehung the bells of Hazel Grove, Cheshire.[36] The following year, at the request of the Dean of York, he inspected the bells of York Minster as some of them were not going too well. While he was there, on 28 November 1900, he rang a course of Treble Bob Maximus with the local ringers.[37] Although he submitted a report on 6 December 1900 nothing came of this and the bells were not rehung until 1913-4.[38]

In 1902 Greenleaf took into partnership John Tristram, one of the Cathedral ringers, as we have mentioned before. The exact date is not certain: Greenleaf's advertisement in *Bell News* did not change until the issue of 25 July 1903. However, on 3 December 1902 Greenleaf submitted an estimate for proposed work to be carried out at Stoke Edith, and this estimate was written on 'Greenleaf and Tristram' headed notepaper.[39] This was one contract that Greenleaf did not obtain, the work being carried out by Taylors of

Loughborough, who recast three bells and rehung all six bells in a cast-iron frame.[40]

At about this period, Greenleaf's former partner, Thomas Blackbourn, ran into financial problems. These seem to have been caused by his decision to add bell-founding to his bell-hanging business in 1899. In December 1903 Blackbourn's premises were advertised for sale,[41] and the business was subsequently wound up early in 1904. A bell (cast in 1899) was bought for the church at Britford, Wiltshire, from the bankrupt stock, and Greenleaf was called in to tune the bell to match the others at Britford. His bill charged for three days work at 10s. per day and 19s. for train fares. The following year Greenleaf and Tristram built a new oak frame and hung the bell.[42]

In 1906 Greenleaf and Tristram obtained the contract to rehang the five bells of Barford St. Martin, Wilts. A new treble was cast by Mears and Stainbank, and the six bells were hung in a new cast-iron frame.[43] This is the first cast-iron frame made by the firm that is known to me, although the headed notepaper of 1902 advertises both oak and iron frames, and earlier examples may yet be discovered.

It appears that 1906 was the last busy year for the firm and thereafter business declined. The last major job carried out by the firm known to me was the rehanging of Marden bells in a new cast-iron frame (PL. XXVIII): at the same time two of the bells were recast by the bell-founders Barwells of Birmingham. A peal of Grandsire Doubles was rung on the newly rehung bells by members of the Cathedral band on Saturday 22 May 1909, taking two hours and fifty minutes.[44]

A letter in the *Ringing World* for 8 January 1943 from a Mr. Bert. Weaver of Penarth refers to these bells. Part of the letter states:

> 'There are six lovely old bells there, tenor 16 ¾ cwt. I rehung them for W. Greenleaf in 1910, before he went abroad. He recast the 4th and 5th....'

There are other inaccuracies in the letter, but it is probable that at the height of his business he employed several people.

Early in 1910 part of a foot-note to a peal rung at Glasbury, Brec. read:

> 'These bells have just been put in thorough going order by Messers Greenleaf and Tristram, of Hereford.'[45]

What was actually done (and when) is not certain, and this is the last record that I have of any work carried out by the firm: it is probable that Greenleaf went abroad at about this time although the advertisement continued to appear in *Bell News*.

Greenleaf died on 26 August 1921 at Auckland, New Zealand, in his seventy-third year.[10]

During his stay in Hereford Greenleaf lived in a number of places: in latter years his business premises were at 28 Aubrey Street, while he and Tristram lived at 111 Park Street.

The following list gives details of all contracts known to me that were carried out by Greenleaf during his residence in Hereford. In a number of cases the bells have been subsequently augmented: given are the number of bells at the time when Greenleaf rehung

them. There will no doubt be other contracts discovered which were performed by Greenleaf that are not on the list, and I would be glad to hear of them.

Year	*Place*	*No. of bells*	*Work done*
1894	Burghill	8	Rehung in a new oak frame, two bells recast, three added by Mears and Stainbank to make eight.
1895	Peterchurch	6	Rehung and frame repaired.[34]
	Leighton, Mont.	6	Rehung and quarter-turned.[46]
1896	Withington	6	Rehung, fifth bell recast by Mears and Stainbank.[33]
	Lugwardine	6	Rehung.[47]
	Hampton Bishop	5	Rehung.[48]
1897	Chirbury, Salop.	6	Rehung.[49]
	Montgomery	6	Rehung and chiming apparatus installed.[50]
	Church Stoke, Mont.	5	Rehung.[51]
	Madley	6	Rehung.[35]
	Clifford	8	Rehung in a new oak frame, one bell recast, three added by Mears and Stainbank to make eight.[52]
	Ledbury	8	Rehung.[53]
1898	Mathon	6	Rehung and quarter turned.[54]
	Leintwardine	6	Rehung in a new oak frame.[55]
	Tyberton	5	Rehung.[56]
	Tarrington	6	Rehung and tuned, one bell recast by Mears and Stainbank.[57]
	Tenbury Wells, Worcs.	6	Rehung in a new oak frame, bells recast by Barwell's.[58]
	Bodenham	6	Rehung, a new treble cast by Warner's of London (1897).[59]
	Pembridge	5	Rehung, two bells recast by Barwell's.[60]
1899	Hazel Grove, Cheshire	8	Rehung.[61]
	Weobley	6	Rehung in a new oak frame.[62]
	Bromyard	6	Rehung, fifth recast by Barwells's.[63]
1900	Newtown, Mont.	6	Rehung and tuned.[64]
	Tue Brook, Liverpool	8	Rehung.[65]
	Weston Beggard	5	Rehung.[66]
1901	Kington	6	Rehung and old frame strengthened.[67]
	Much Marcle	6	Rehung and tuned.[68]
1902	St. Helen's, Worcester	8	Rehung.[69]
	Kingstone	6	Rehung in a new oak frame, a new treble added by Barwell's.[70]
	Stokesay, Salop.	6	Rehung.[71]
1903	Bosbury	6	Rehung.[72]
	Wistanstow, Salop.	8	Rehung and frame extended, one bell recast, two added by Barwell's to make eight.[73]
	St. Nicholas, Worcester	6	Three bells rehung.[74]
1904	Sarnesfield	4	Rehung dead, two bells cast by Barwell's (PL. XXIX).[75]
	Hampton Bishop	6	Treble cast by Barwell's, hung in a frame extension.[76]
	Norton Canon	5	Rehung.[77]
	Talgarth, Brecs.	6	Rehung in a new frame, one bell recast by Barwell's.[78]
	Leigh Sinton, Worcs.	6	Rehung.[79]
1905	Chaddesley Corbett, Worcs.	8	Rehung in a new oak frame, two bells recast by Mears and Stainbank.[80]
	St. Briavels, Glos.	8	Rehung, one bell recast by Mears and Stainbank.[81]
	Lydney, Glos.	8	Rehung.[82]
	Cheltenham, Glos.	12	Repairs.[83]
	Swindon Village, Glos.	5	Rehung in a new frame, one bell recast by Barwell's.[84]
	Areley Kings, Worcs.	6	Rehung.[85]
	Britford, Wilts.	6	Hung new treble to make six.[86]
	Beaumaris, Anglesey	8	Rehung, two trebles cast by Barwell's to make eight.[87]
1906	Barford St. Martin, Wilts.	6	Rehung in a new cast-iron frame, new treble cast, former treble recast by Mears and Stainbank.[88]
	Kimbolton	6	Rehung in new oak frame, two bells cast by Mears and Stainbank to make six.[89]
	Eardisland	6	Rehung and frame repaired.[90]
	Shelsley Beauchamp, Worcs.	6	Rehung in a new oak frame.[91]
1907	Orcop	5	Rehung in a new oak frame.[92]
	Monkland	4	Rehung, one bell recast by Barwell's.[93]
	Bitterley, Salop.	3	Rehung in new oak frame.[94]
1908	Whitbourne	6	Rehung in a new cast-iron frame.[95]
	Stonehouse, Glos.	6	Rehung in new oak frame.[96]
	Downton, Wilts.	6	Rehung in a new oak frame.[97]
	Middleton-on-the-Hill	3	Rehung.[98]
1909	Marden	6	Rehung in new cast-iron frame, two bells recast by Barwell's.[99]
1910	Glasbury, Brecs.	8	Repairs.[100]
n.d.	Single bell at Llanfihangell Crucorney, Mon.		

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[3] *Bell News* (1892), 535. *Bell News* was a paper for bell-ringers; starting as a monthly paper in February 1881, it became weekly with the issue of 8 April 1882. Publication ceased in 1915.
[4] H. B. Walters, *Church Bells of Shropshire* (1905), 143.
[5] For more details see J. C. Eisel, *The Bells of Hereford Cathedral* (1977), 6-7.
[6] *Bell News* (1 August 1903), 218.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] A microfilm of the College Youths name book is in the author's possession.
[9] J. A. Trollope, *The College Youths* (1937), 98.
[10] *The Ringing World* (1920), 555. This weekly paper for bell-ringers started publication in 1911 and is still current today.
[11] For details see E. Morris, *The History and Art of Change Ringing* (1931), 115.
[12] He is recorded as ringing at Fulham on 8 September. See *Bell News* (1884), 282. However, Greenleaf's depar-

ture for Stoke took place before the end of his year of office as Master of the College Youths. The minutes of the St. Saviour's meeting of that Society on 16 September 1884 record:-

> 'Proposed by Mr. Hayward & seconded by Mr. Horrex that Mr. Dorrington fulfill the office of Master for the end of the term of 1884 in lieu of Mr. Greenleaf he having to be relieved of the Master Ship through leaving London carried
> Proposed by Mr. Dorrington & Seconded by Mr. Hayward that the Company are unanimous in passing a Special vote of thanks to Mr. Greenleaf for conducting the business of the Company in his usual efficient manner he having taken the office Chairman under difficult circumstances Carried'

The 'difficult circumstances' referred to above were that Challis Winney, a well-known member of the Society, had served successively as Junior and Senior Steward and customarily would then have become Master. He apparently withdrew at the last moment and Greenleaf, as a Past Master, was elected instead.

For a typical advertisement see *Bell News* 4 April 1885 (cover).

[13] First appearing in *Bell News,* 4 April 1890, 578.
[14] The opening was reported in *Bell News,* 14 November 1891, 398.
[15] *Bell News,* 22 October 1892, 362.
[16] *Bell News,* 25 February 1893, 583.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Bell News,* 18 February 1893, 367.
[19] All these occasions are recorded in the appropriate issues of *Bell News.*
[20] *Bell News,* 21 April 1894, 598.
[21] In Hereford County Record Office (H.C.R.O.) Ref. L3/58.
[22] *Bell News,* 20 October 1894, 253.
[23] H.C.R.O. Ref. L3/58.
[24] In change ringing, a peal mean at least 5,000 changes rung consecutively, taking about three hours to ring.
[25] *Bell News,* 5 January 1895, 395.
[26] *Bell News,* 2 February 1895, 439.
[27] *Weston Deanery Magazine* December 1894.
[28] For more details see J. C. Eisel 'Some notes on Early Changeringing in Herefordshire and its Surrounding Counties', *The Ringing World,* 4 October 1974, 825 and 11 October, 844.
[29] For example see *Bell News,* 15 December 1894, 358.
[30] *Bell News,* 1 December, 325.
[31] Details given in *Bell News,* 24 November 1894, 320.
[32] *Bell News,* 18 December 1897, 415.
[33] *Campanology,* 16 December, 157. This paper was a short-lived competitor of *Bell News.*
[34] *Bell News* 4 May 1895, 600.
[35] *Bell News,* 27 November 1897, 375. F. Sharpe in *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 326 mentions a printed testimonial relating to Madley. I have so far been unable to trace a copy of this and other printed testimonials. There is apparently no copy in the Sharpe collection nor in the library of the Central Council of Church Bell Ringers.
[36] *Bell News,* 16 September 1899, 193.
[37] *Bell News,* 8 September 1900, 383.
[38] A preliminary report, dated 6 December 1900, was submitted by Greenleaf but was not taken up. See also D. Potter, *The Bells and Bellringers of York Minster* (1987), 27.
[39] H.C.R.O. Ref. E12/5/565.
[40] Details in F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 472-6.
[41] *Bell News* issues of 12, 19, & 26 December 1903.
[42] Inf. ex Mr. N. O. Skelton, Salisbury.
[43] *Bell News,* 28 April 1906, 37.
[44] *Bell News,* 29 May 1909, 176.
[45] *Bell News,* 5 March 1910, 55.
[46] *Bell News,* 23 November 1895, 304.
[47] *Hereford Diocesan Guild of Bellringers* (H.D.G.B.) *Annual Report* 1914. The Parish Book shows that the cost was £42-12-0. H.C.R.O. Ref. M6/1.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Bell News,* 11 September 1897, 237.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 104. Also *Bell News,* 27 November 1897, 373.
[53] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914. Also *Bell News* 22 January 1898, 466.

[54] *Bell News,* 30 April 1898, 637.
[55] *Bell News,* 30 April 1898, 641. Also F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 496.
[56] *Bell News,* 29 October 1898, 244.
[57] *Bell News,* 5 November 1898, 263. Also F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 496.
[58] *Bell News,* 7 January 1899, 363.
[59] H.C.R.O. Ref. AG 3/31.
[60] H.C.R.O. Marshall Collection Ref. K38/Cd/5/Box 2.
[61] *Bell News,* 16 September 1899, 193.
[62] The Towers and Bells Handbook 1973, 6. Also *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914.
[63] *H.D.B.G. Annual Report* 1914.
[64] *Bell News,* 3 March 1900, 482.
[65] *Bell News,* 11 February 1905, 577.
[66] H.R.C.O. Ref. AA9/14. Vestry meeting 20 April 1900. 'Bells (£61) to be proceeded with.' The fittings are Greenleaf's.
[67] *Bell News,* 1 June 1901, 49. Also F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 258.
[68] *Bell News,* 31 August 1901, 210. Also F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 342.
[69] *Bell News,* 15 November 1902, 377. Also issue of 17 January 1903, 481.
[70] The frame and fittings (now destroyed) were typical of Greenleaf's work, but the church records are silent on the matter. Also, no newspaper account of an opening has so far been found.
[71] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Worcestershire and Districts Changeringing Association (W.D.C.R.A.) Annual Report* 1918.
[75] See photograph in the Marshall Collection H.C.R.O. Ref. AA17/193.
[76] The bell is hung in Greenleaf's fittings.
[77] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914. Also H.C.R.O. Ref. J9/4.
[78] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914.
[79] *W.D.C.R.A. Annual Report* 1918.
[80] *Bell News,* 6 May 1905, 107.
[81] *Bell News,* 18 November 1905, 442.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.* The hanging work is wrongly identified as being by Barwells in E. M. Bliss and F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire* (1986), 598.
[85] *Bell News,* 13 May 1905, 110.
[86] Inf. ex Mr. N. O. Skelton, Salisbury. Also *The Ringing World,* 26 August 1977, 729.
[87] *Bell News,* 6 May, 98. Inf. re bells ex Mr. C. J. N. Dalton, Ullingswick.
[88] *Bell News,* 28 April 1906, 37.
[89] *Bell News,* 24 November 1906, 397.
[90] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914. Also inf. ex Mr. L. Evans, Eardisland.
[91] *W.D.C.R.A. Annual Report* 1918.
[92] F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Herefordshire,* 390.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] Inf. ex. Mr. R. W. M. Clouston, Hartest, Suffolk.
[95] *H.D.G.B. Annual Report* 1914.
[96] E. M. Bliss and F. Sharpe, *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire,* 95.
[97] Inf. ex Mr. C. J. N. Dalton.
[98] H.C.R.O. Ref. AH61/25 & AH61/26.
[99] *Bell News,* 29 May 1910, 176.
[100] *Bell News,* 5 March 1910, 55.

Farington's Wye Tour

By JOHN VAN LAUN

When Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre were preparing their recent complete edition of the diary of Joseph Farington, they were unable to trace the Ms volumes of Farington's Wye tour of 1803 and of his Devon and Cornwall tour of 1809.[1] As is well known, the Ms of the main diary was purchased by the proprietors of *The Morning Post* from descendants of Farington in 1921, and excerpts from it, edited by James Greig, were published in that newspaper between January 1922 and October 1923. Greig also had available the Ms volumes of some of the journals Farington kept on his tours, and also included excerpts from these - among them the Wye Tour - which he then incorporated in his eight volume abridgement of the Diary published between 1922 and 1928.[2] In 1934 the Ms volumes of the main diary were presented to King George VI, and are now kept in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.[3]

In the absence of the manuscript, Garlick and Macintyre included Greig's fragmentary version of the Wye tour in volume VI of their edition. The manuscript volume has now come to light in the Hereford City Library, where it has been since the 1940s.[4] Its rediscovery allows a number of shortcomings in Greig's edition to be rectified. For example, Greig omitted any reference to the entries for 10, 20, 23, and 27 September 1803; part of the entry for 20 was included with that for 17; and the entry for 22 September was printed as being for 23. Because some days were omitted, two of Farington's charming seating diagrams were lost, as was a large section of the entry for 14 September which contains five sketches Farington made on the Wye as well as comments on the scenery. Greig also omitted Farington's day-by-day financial accounts.

The index for Garlick, Macintyre and Cave's edition is currently being prepared by Evelyn Newby at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in London. The Centre is to include the full text of the Wye tour in the index volume, as well as reproductions of three drawings Farington completed during the tour.[5] In the meantime, a copy of my edited and annotated transcription of the tour journal is available at the Paul Mellon Centre, and the original Ms can be consulted in Hereford City Library.

REFERENCES

[1] See K. Garlick and A. Macintyre eds., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (1978-84), Vol. I, p.ix, in the introduction dealing with the history of the MSS. Volumes VII to XVI were edited by Kathryn Cave.
[2] J. Greig, ed., *The Farington Diary* (1922-8).
[3] A typescript is kept in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.
[4] Its provenance is obscure. The sixteenth annual report of the Friends of Hereford Art Gallery and Museum, 1933-4, records: 'Recently a copy...and a manuscript diary of a tour on the Wye by the celebrated artist Joseph Farringdon [sic], with original sketches by the writer, [has] been bought.'
[5] These are *Goodrich Castle, Fish house at new Weir* and *Chepstow Castle,* all in the Hereford City Museum and Art Gallery.

This notice first appeared in *The Burlington Magazine* October 1988.

Reports of the Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1989

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

The City Unit has had another interesting and busy year coping with an ever increasing workload.

Excavations in Hereford itself have been comparatively limited with no large-scale projects on the scale of the Deen's Court site of the previous year. Most of the excavations have been related to development work and were a result of the A.A.I. legislation.

Several small excavations took place on the line of the City defences. Near to Bath Street car-park, two trenches were dug across the assumed line of the City Wall and ditch, prior to the expansion of the council's car-park. Both exposed, at their westernmost ends, the outer face of the surviving footings of the medieval stone wall, aligned with the northern side of Gaol Street.

Just to the west of the site of Widemarsh Gate, on the grass verge between Wall Street and Newmarket Street, three evaluation trenches were excavated within the Scheduled Area of the City Wall and Ditch to assess the feasibility of constructing a temporary road and inserting a drain. The trenches demonstrated that the upper levels were all comprised of modern material.

Two trenches were excavated in a yard at 14 Mill Street, also part of the City Wall and Ditch Ancient Monument, to determine the type of foundations which could be used for a proposed new house. It was established that significant archaeological levels were present at a depth of 1 metre below the present ground surface and that they comprised the berm, which separated the city wall from the ditch, and the successive fills of the ditch itself.

During the summer months the heating system in the cathedral was converted to gas, and a new supply trench was excavated around the whole of the building. The Dean and Chapter were anxious to ensure that the disturbance to archaeological levels was kept to an absolute minimum and co-operated with the Unit to establish a route which went through ground which had already been disturbed by service trenches wherever this was possible. The watching brief, undertaken by the Unit during the excavation works, demonstrated that archaeologically sensitive deposits were present at a very shallow level in much of the area surrounding the cathedral, mainly due to the levelling down of the ground in the 1830s. Although much of the area must have been disturbed by the regular use as a burial ground, it is suggested that the gradual build-up of the level may well mean that significant early archaeological strata are preserved in many areas.

At Kilpeck, the large-scale excavation to the north of the church on the site of the proposed graveyard extension, which was begun in October 1988, was completed in May

1989. The area excavated lies between the defences of the castle and the earthworks of the deserted medieval village. The work indicated that a slight bank and ditch crossing the site in a north-west to south-east direction was probably a hollow-way between the two. Its date is uncertain but an adjoining trench contained 13th-century pot-sherds. The hollow-way appears to have been re-surfaced with stone in the 15th century, and larger stones found on its surface might be related to the demolition of a building to the north of the excavated area.

To the west of the hollow-way a rectangular pit containing further 13th-century pot-sherds was uncovered, leading into which was a narrow, sinuous gully. To the south of this was a stony area assumed to be the remains of a platform or structure of which no other traces were found. The function of this complex is uncertain but might be related to the large amounts of smithy waste found all over the site. The site had suffered from repeated ploughing which may have resulted in the loss of any shallow features.

After the main excavation had been completed, a watching brief was undertaken on the machine excavation of an electricity supply trench from near the Kilpeck Court barn to the south-west corner of the church. The line crossed the lane to the south and west of the church and in this section the trench exposed a laid surface of stones and cobbles some 0.5 m. below the present road surface. Although the section visible in the trench was quite small, it did appear that the surface was associated both with the medieval main road of the village, and with the hollow-way uncovered on the main site.

The Unit has now received a grant from English Heritage for the post-excavation work associated with this project. It is anticipated that the final report will be completed during the Spring of 1990 and, hopefully, that it will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Transactions.*

The large amount of detailed survey work undertaken by the Unit at Goodrich Castle since 1982 has resulted in a vast increase in our knowledge and understanding of this border fortress. English Heritage have now commissioned the Unit to prepare a feasibility study and synopsis for a major work on the monument and, if this is accepted, work on the project should start in 1990.

The Unit continues to expand its building survey section and carried out work throughout the west and south midlands and in the Welsh border region. The permanent staffing of this section has ensured that the Unit can organise and carry out detailed surveys in the City and County areas whenever this work is required.

In the City, the Unit continued its detailed survey of the late-15th-century Vicars' Choral in advance of restoration work. The 1989 work was in the northern part of the west range (1a The Cloisters) which incorporates three of the original lodgings. Internal alterations, amalgamating and reducing the number of lodgings, took place in the late 16th and 17th centuries. The northernmost lodging in the range is of particular interest as it is the only one with a cellar. The detailed survey work is helping to show how the College was originally designed and built, and how it has been adapted to the changing needs of its members.

Grant aid, associated with a survey of the Capitular Holdings, has allowed the Unit to prepare an interim report on the barn at the north-eastern corner of the Close, originally surveyed in 1987. The barn, now a grade II* Listed Building, was erected in the mid to late 13th century, probably with aisles and a scissor-braced roof and extending slightly further into St. John Street. It was drastically altered in the late 16th century when the aisles were removed, the roof was replaced and new walls erected on the line of the arcade posts. Later alterations include the present weatherboarding and the reconstruction in stone of the lower parts of the walls. The barn is the second oldest surviving secular building in Hereford, see these *Transactions* XLV (1987) pl. LXXI.

In August 1989 the Unit carried out an historical analysis of the cellars underneath 62 Commercial Street - now a branch of the Cheltenham and Gloucester Building Society but previously the Tabard Inn and, around the turn of the century, the City and County Dining Rooms. The survey demonstrated that, despite the potential historic importance of the site and a muddled reference in the Listing details, the cellars were of little or no historic interest and the Society have now made use of the area for staff facilities.

The Grapes Tavern, at the junction of West Street and Lower Church Street, was one of the several public-houses in Hereford which closed during 1989. In this case it was due to severe structural defects which included movement of the southern external wall. The City Council commissioned the Unit to survey the earlier timber framework and prepare an analysis of the building and its historic development. The survey, which was completed in December 1989, demonstrated that the present building comprised the substantial remains of two 17th-century timber-framed buildings, one of which was jettied and gabled towards West Street. During the 18th century the southernmost building was given a stuccoed brick front and side wall and an additional building was constructed. In its report, the Unit emphasised the importance of the timber-framed buildings and of the late-18th/early-19th-century panelled rooms.

The Unit was responsible for the discovery of the non-listed and almost complete medieval roof in a rear building at 50A Commercial Street. This was of sufficient importance for the City Council to issue its first Interim Preservation Notice in March 1989 and the building was subsequently listed grade II by the Secretary of State. The building was originally a timber-framed hall, almost square in plan, of two main bays each of which was sub-divided by a subsidiary truss. The raking struts above the collars are all cusped; in the central truss the cusping is reflected on the principals forming a pattern of a quatrefoil flanked by two trefoils. The trusses carry two sets of wind-braced purlins. The wind-braces are cusped with pierced spandrels, the cusps ending in foliated points. This domestic open hall, which includes evidence in the roof for a smoke louvre and therefore a central open hearth, is probably of late-14th or early-15th-century date.

In the County area the Unit spent much time establishing the constructional history of Caradoc Court, some four miles north of Ross. This fine mansion was gutted in a fire in 1986 and most of the evidence for the earliest constructional phases had to be gleaned from a study of the badly-charred timbers as they were removed from the building. The original building, of 16th-century date, was of a typical 'E' plan but with a large two-and-a-half storied cross-gabled oriel which projected from the north face. The building was

for many years the home of minor branches of the Scudamore family. For a while it belonged to the Digbys but in 1864 it was sold to Elisha Caddick who radically rebuilt it and re-modelled the gardens and grounds (PL. XXX). During the earlier part of the 20th century it belonged to the Heywoods and the Gazes, both involved in race-horse management. Present proposals are to extend and convert the building into luxury flats.

Finally, the Unit has diversified into a new field - that of design. During the last two years we have prepared studies for new display panels at Goodrich Castle, Longtown Castle and Ludlow Castle. Late in 1989 we designed and produced, for the City Council, a new display panel which will shortly be erected in High Town. We hope that this will be the first of a series of panels which will help visitors to our historic city to understand its history and development.

HEREFORD AND WORCESTER COUNTY MUSEUM

Evaluation at Millfield House, Leintwardine (HWCM 7556: SO 403 740)

The earliest deposits were heavily truncated features such as pits and post-holes of Romano-British date. These were confined to the north of the evaluation area and none were more than 350 mm. deep, the majority less than 100 mm., suggesting that over 50% of the features had been removed by post-medieval cultivation. Furthermore the extent of truncation increased towards the High Street, whilst the western area revealed increasing amounts of stratigraphy. That pattern was reflected in earlier adjacent excavations. HWCM 1931 on the High Street frontage for example, revealed very little except sporadic truncated features cutting into natural marl, sealed by post-medieval horizons whilst HWCM 1062, further to the west, showed evidence of buildings and surfaces just beneath the topsoil extending to a depth of at least 800 mm.

The three walls, running perpendicular to the High Street were also severely truncated, with only the foundations remaining. Each could date from the Roman period through to the post-medieval but have provisionally been assigned to the medieval period on the grounds of form and function. An even spacing of approximately ten metres between walls, as well as a crude drystone construction, with the same size, type and condition of stone suggests that they are all contemporary and they have been initially interpreted as plot or field boundaries. None of these proposed plots contained any construction debris or other evidence to suggest the presence of structures in the near vicinity.

The truncation of the early significant deposits was attributed to the effects of cultivation. The sealing cultivation layer contained a large quantity of residual, abraded and fragmented pottery typical of a worked soil. Other features, such as an irregular gully infilled with the same cultivation soil, are best interpreted as cultivation furrows; whilst lenses of pebbles, clay and silty clay clearly derive from contexts lower down the strata.

Leintwardine: an archaeological assessment (HWCM 549: SO 403 740)

Being a scheduled ancient monument and an expanding village conflicts between conservation and development are more likely to occur. The assessment gives priorities and

recommendations on research, presentation and management objectives seeking to clarify the issues and reduce potential problems.

Evaluation at Shobdon Airfield, Shobdon (HWCM 8513: SO 396 604)

The archaeological investigation of the evaluation area revealed a scatter of prehistoric worked flint showing a marked concentration. No buried features associated with this concentration were located.

It is considered to be unlikely that any extensive archaeological deposits survive. Nevertheless it is possible that smaller isolated features may be present, since these would not be easy to detect under the conditions of an archaeological evaluation.

Evaluation of New Mills, Ledbury (HWCM 4789: SO 703 382)

An evaluation of a large area to the west of Ledbury, conducted in April and May, has added to our understanding of the historic landscape of the Leadon valley. Trenches adjacent to the river indicated areas of waterlogging and alluvium consistent with long-term erosion of topsoil from the valley sides. A sparse scatter of Roman pottery may be linked to agricultural use of this area by the inhabitants of Wall Hills hillfort (HWCM 557) during the Roman period, while a similarly sparse scatter of medieval pottery suggests that the inhabitants of medieval Ledbury had a similar use for this area.

Hereford by-pass: a preliminary assessment

The preferred route for the new by-pass planned for the city of Hereford was announced on 4 August 1988. The northern end will commence from the A49 at Pipe and Lyde and then skirt the built-up area to the east and south, ending at the A465(T) to the south-west of the city. An initial quantification of the number of known archaeological sites along the preferred route was made from the County Sites and Monuments Record. As little or no detailed fieldwork has been carried out in this area these sites could only be regarded as the minimum which would be affected by the by-pass. A preliminary assessment was requested by the Department of Transport to justify and quantify an evaluation of the suggested route, to locate all archaeological sites, assess their significance and make recommendations on their treatment.

Wellington Quarry (HWCM 5522: SO 508 479)

Salvage recording was carried out on behalf of Redland Aggregates Limited during removal of topsoil and overburden above gravel deposits, in advance of the extension of the extraction area to the west of its present limits. The salvage recording produced evidence of prehistoric activity in the area, but no remains were located *in situ*. There are indications, however, that such deposits may be buried as deep as 2 m. below the modern ground surface.

The Roman material from the salvage recording was consistent with the results of the earlier excavations at the quarry. The features recorded indicated that the easternmost part of the evaluation was in arable use, with the remainder of the area employed as an in-field zone used for a variety of agricultural purposes.

No significant post-Roman features were located. Three major phases of alluviation were identified, two occurring before the Roman period, and the third sealing Roman deposits. Further research is currently underway to investigate this sequence.

A second phase of salvage recording in the vicinity of the known Roman settlement at Wellington Quarry, was undertaken with the cooperation of Redland Aggregates Limited. Important archaeological remains were identified including large Roman ditches relating to either field or property boundaries of the settlement. Two Bronze Age ring-ditches were also recorded, suggesting that a previously unknown barrow cemetery may exist. Recommendations on the methods and recording strategy for the next phase of soil stripping are also made.

Farm survey for presentation purposes, Clothiers Farm, Michaelchurch Escley (SO 315 372).

A Farm Survey for presentation purposes was undertaken at Clothiers Farm in the parish of Michaelchurch Escley near Hereford. Standing buildings, earthworks and fields were surveyed and recorded, and maps and documents relating to the area were consulted. Recommendations are made for the presentation of the farm's history and heritage to the public and the drafting of a publicity leaflet. The work was carried out with the assistance of a Survey Grant for Presentation Purposes from English Heritage.

Leominster Priory (HWCM 721: SO 4989 5934)

Post-excavation work is currently underway on excavations and building recording at Leominster Old Priory, fieldwork carried out in 1979-81 by Duncan Wilson. In addition, work carried out by S. P. Q. Rahtz on Pinsley Mead gas-pipe trench will be summarised. A brief summary of the history of the priory, and the layout of the monastic precinct will also be made.

The building, with a watercourse running underneath its entire length, includes part of the monastic reredorter, as well as the only standing first floor monastic infirmary in the country. The earliest phase is 12th century while most of the existing medieval fabric is probably early 14th century, although substantial portions have been rebuilt or altered. Pinsley Mead represents the site of the monastic fishponds, two of which were, in part, located. It is now a pleasant picnic area, from which the north side of the Old Priory, including most of its medieval fabric, can be viewed.

Watching brief at Bridge Street, Ledbury (HWCM 8926: SO 7053 3765)

At Bridge Street, Ledbury, a machine driver excavating a telephone cable trench encountered a large number of cattle horn cores. Some of these items were examined by

Clare de Rouffignac, environmentalist. The discovery of this group of waste products from the horn industry, and the description given by the machine driver of their spread along a stretch of road suggested their use as lining a drainage ditch or land drain (see Armitage 1989, 147). The date of these items could not be ascertained, but the increasing use of waste bone for bonemeal as a fertiliser from the mid-18th century onwards may provide a *terminus ante quem*.

Armitage, P L, 1989, The use of animal bones as building material in post-medieval Britain, in Serjeantson, D and Waldron, T (eds), 1989, *Diet and Crafts in Towns,* British Archaeol Rep 199, Oxford.

Botany, 1989

By PETER THOMSON

Using Herefordshire Botanical Society records

1989 has been characterised by a long hot dry summer which encouraged early flowering of the plants, a short flowering period and rapid drying up of the vegetation. Even *Mercurialis perennis,* dog's mercury, wilted badly in shaded woodlands. Effective rainfall did not occur until October by which time it was too late to benefit many of the flowering plants although some produced unseasonable flowers as a result of it.

On 22 April in the woods around Cherry Hill, near Fownhope, *Helleborus viridis,* green hellebore, *Helleborus foetidus* stinking hellebore, *Anemone nemorosa,* wood anemone, and *Primula veris,* cowslip were all beyond their best whilst *Hyacinthoides non-scriptus,* bluebell, *Orchis mascula,* early-purple orchid, and *Euphorbia amygdaloides,* wood spurge, were two or three weeks in advance of a 'normal' season.

A visit to the Deerfold area in late May confirmed the vigour of *Asarum europaeum,* asarabacca, near Limebrook, whilst previously unreported sites were found for *Berberis vulgaris,* barberry, in a hedgerow just off the metalled road at 32/376674, and adder's-tongue fern, *Ophioglossum vulgatum,* in the corner of a small meadow at 32/375669. The barberry is probably a garden escape which has naturalized in a few hedgerows in the county, but the adder's-tongue is a plant indicative of undisturbed old grasslands.

In late June the county was visited by a party of about a dozen members of the Wild Flower Society. During their stay they were shown some of the more interesting botanical sites including the Black Mountains and the Great Doward. In the Escley and Olchon Valleys some of the few remaining herb-rich hay meadows were visited where the rare *Vicia orobus,* wood bitter-vetch, at Pikes Farm drew particular attention. On the screes of the Black Darens, *Gymnocarpium robertianum,* limestone polypody, flourished but the *Asplenium viride,* green spleenwort, which was rediscovered about ten years ago was not found. *Mecanopsis cambrica,* welsh poppy, was present in small quantity and flowering. It seems to be in a truly native situation here.

On the Great Doward *Sorbus torminalis,* wild service-tree, *Tilia cordata,* small-leaved lime and *Tilia platyphyllos,* large-leaved lime, were examined, and remains of the rare, early-flowering sedges *Carex digitata,* fingered sedge, *Carex montana,* soft-leaved sedge and *Carex humilis,* dwarf sedge, were sought.

In this report in 1987 the monitoring scheme being run by the Botanical Society of the British Isles was mentioned and a brief report was given of changes in the plants recorded that year with those recorded in the 1950s in the 10 km. square 32/62 east from Ross-on-Wye. A similarly brief report can now be given on the 10 km. square 32/65 which lies in the Bromyard area. The area concerned extends from Little Cowarne in the south-west to Thornbury in the north-west and from Acton Court in the south-east to Tedstone

Delamere in the north-east. A plateau at just above 200 m. dominates the landscape and is deeply dissected by the river Frome and its tributaries and, in the east, by tributaries of the river Teme. Geologically the whole area is underlain by Old Red Sandstone which also contains some cornstone bands. Botanically it is best known for the record of the *Epipogium aphyllum,* ghost orchid, in 1854 but the habitat has since changed and the plant has not been rediscovered.

In the 1950s survey 353 species of flowering plants and ferns were recorded as compared with 406 in 1987-8. 40 species found in the first survey were not rediscovered but about 100 previously unrecorded species were identified. Amongst the 40 not re-recorded were species such as *Carlina vulgaris,* carline thistle, *Circium acaule,* stemless thistle, *Erigeron acer,* blue fleabane, *Genista tinctoria,* dyer's greenweed, *Helianthemum nummularium,* rock-rose and *Thymus praecox subsp. arcticus,* thyme. This suggests the decrease or disappearance of some grazed calcareous turf...or some gem of such habitat awaiting rediscovery in the area.

Another group of plants which may represent a reduced or vanished habitat are *Carex binervis,* green-ribbed sedge, *Carex otrubae,* false fox-sedge, *Carex pulicaris,* flea sedge, *Lychnis flos-cuculi,* ragged robin and *Calluna vulgaris,* heather, all typical of damp heathlands. The 100 or so plants recorded in 1987-8 but not in the 1950s do not show groups associated with particular habitats so much as plants of families which attract few devotees. Nearly all the 'new' records are of species which must have been long established in the area. One of the few likely new plants is *Veronica filiformis,* slender speedwell, a native of Asia Minor. This was first recorded as a garden escape in the country in 1927 and, as any gardener knows, has spread most successfully throughout the British Isles. The newly recorded species include 12 grasses, 4 ferns, 4 knotweeds, several ruderals (plants of waste ground) and, surprisingly, the ancient woodland species, *Sorbus torminalis,* wild service-tree and *Tilia cordata,* small-leaved lime. A particularly interesting record is that of *Lathyrus nissolia,* grass vetchling, found by Elizabeth Dean on a disused railway line.

Some interesting records have been received from the east of the county including another site for *Rumex maritimus,* golden dock, *Scrophularia umbrosa,* green figwort, *Cardaria draba,* hoary pepperwort, *Anthriscus caucalis,* bur chervil and *Alisma lanceolatum,* narrow-leaved water-plantain (two sites). *Cardaria draba* is native to the Mediterranean and W. Asia and was originally introducted into this country probably as seed. It was a troublesome arable weed and was first mentioned in the 1905 *Additions to the Flora of Herefordshire.* By the 1950s it was spreading widely in the country and F. M. Kendrick in his *Further Additions to the Flora of Herefordshire* (1957) mentions a number of sites. Strangely, L. E. Whitehead in her *Plants of Herefordshire* doesn't include it at all. Undoubtedly it will have decreased with the use of herbicides, as have all arable weeds, but perhaps the present dearth of records is as much to do with recorders and their distribution as the apparent rarity of the plant.

A particularly interesting plant for Herefordshire is *Acroptilon repens,* formerly *Centaurea repens,* first found by Mrs. Whitehead on a bank at Hereford station in 1948. This proved to be the first record for Britain and one may conjecture how it arrived from

its native S. E. Russia. By 1976 Mrs. Whitehead observed that is was spreading slowly, but since then various visiting botanists had apparently been unable to find it and had pronounced it extinct. I suspect that they had either been looking in the wrong place or at the wrong time of year because in 1989 it is very much alive with about fifteen plants within a yard or two of its original site. It must be tough as the whole area of waste ground where it grows now gets rather more drastic treatment than the winter burning over which it received in past years. British Rail staff have been fully co-operative and are anxious to retain the plant. Hereford station still remains the only known site for it in the British Isles.

Buildings, 1989

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked again 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 Leominster.

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though in some cases the two need to be read together. For the first time Tithe Map Numbers have been added from the maps *c.* 1840-5 prepared as a result of the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act, except where early commutation or previous ecclesiastical ownership has caused a property not to be valued.

HEREFORD

50A COMMERCIAL STREET. SO 511401

This building, not recorded by the R.C.H.M., seems to date from the late 14th or early 15th century. It is a typical town house in being set at right angles to the street with a four-bay open hall which has brattished wall-plates.

The bays are remarkably short and each has three tiers of cusped wind-bracing which has pierced spandrels and foliated points like those at Chapel Farm, Wigmore, and 29 Castle Street (*Transactions* XLI (1974), 159 and XLII (1977), 198). As has happened there most of these have gone. Each truss has quatrefoiled and trefoiled bracing above and the south-east gable has trefoiled panels similar to those at Wellbrook.

There is the seating for a louvre in the bay to the north-west of the central truss, rather like that at Grafton House in Leominster.

The carpenters' assembly marks are the normal Herefordshire type and would seem to point to the later date mentioned above.

AYLTON

LOWER HOUSE. SO 655359 Tithe No. 175

This rather remote house does not appear in the R.C.H.M. inventory, but seems to have been built in the second part of the 17th century. It is of two storeys and attics of heavy timber-framing. The stone outbuilt chimney at its northern end has a secondary flue and a low stone opening which appears to have been a kiln with a bake-oven between it and the chimney. The only carpenter's assembly mark is punched and about an inch long.

COLWALL

ALE HOUSE. SO 739423 (R.C.H.M. 13) Tithe No. 719

This building was used as a cottage at one time. It is a typical 17th-century construction with long diagonal braces.

OLD CASTLE FARM. SO 754405 (R.C.H.M. 4) Tithe No. 343

There is little to add to the R.C.H.M. account except that the beams are chamfered with the standard Marcher Wern Hir type stops.

KINGS PYON

BARN ON BROOK FARM. SO 439506

This building is rather dilapidated, only one bay remaining, but there are plans to restore it. The important thing is that it is an aisled building. Normally in this area big barns are of the cruck type, but here the aisled construction, more commonly found in eastern England, is used. Usually these are early and it seems probable that this building is at latest 15th century and, possibly, late 14th.

KINGTON RURAL

RIDGEBOURNE. SO 283567 Tithe No. 263

This house has been said to have been built in the period 1810-20, but some restoration work this summer showed that the work of that period was the encasing of an earlier house. The old roof is still more or less intact with a ridge-purlin and two side-purlins. It has carpenters' assembly marks along the wall-plate about six inches long which at this level are differenced by the use of two lines off one side implying that there were two more sets below, at first floor and ground floor levels. These marks probably date from the early 17th century, but could be from the late 16th. It seems to have been a three-part plan house of two storeys with attics and a cellar.

The later wing has a king-post roof with punched carpenters' assembly marks.

The elegant stairway with its narrow handrail dates from the 1810-20 restoration as do the semi-circular bay windows.

LEOMINSTER

40 BROAD STREET, BUILDING AT REAR. SO 496593 (R.C.H.M. 55)

This galleried building may well have been part of the lodgings of an inn as suggested by the R.C.H.M. It is quite similar to the lodgings behind the 'Bull' at Ludlow and has a number of features in common with the 'barn' at Winforton Court.

WATERLOO ROOMS, 14-16 VICARAGE ROAD. SO 495593

A remarkable survival in that it is also a galleried building, though this is not clear

from outside, because it has been boarded up. It appears to date from *c.* 1800 and must have been an important coaching inn.

RICHARDS CASTLE

COURT HOUSE. SO 490699 (R.C.H.M. 5) Tithe No. 559

In addition to the house, cider mill and dovecote mentioned in the R.C.H.M. there is what appears to be an external kitchen, a two-storey building with three ogee-moulded beams, probably dating from the same time as the house, i.e. early 17th century, and evidence on the first floor of an oriel window.

WACTON

WACTON COURT. SO 614575 (R.C.H.M. 3) Tithe No. 110

The attics in the later wing have a king-post roof and in the cellar is the initial B and date 1777. In the kitchen is a hop-treading hole and on the beams in the same room are quite elaborate bar stops. In the roof are short, late-17th-century carpenters' assembly marks. Thus there is evidence here of a house and farm buildings gradually growing and changing over a period of about two hundred years and presumably replacing the original castle.

WIGMORE

CALLIS CLOSE. SO 412690 (R.C.H.M. 17) Tithe No. 192

No longer thatched this house has been restored and is back as one house. The lean-to had always had a roof of sandstone tiles. The roof has one trenched purlin on each side with late-17th-century carpenters' assembly marks.

OLD POST OFFICE. SO 414690 Tithe No. 172

See also these *Transactions* XXXIX (1969), 487.

This house is of the lobby entrance type and dates from sometime in the late 16th or early 17th century with a two-room addition at the northern end, probably of the late 17th century.

The carpenters' assembly marks and the heavy timbers in the main part look as though the date should be the earlier rather than the latter.

PRESTEIGNE

WELL COTTAGE, CANONS LANE. SO 315645

A timber-framed, L-shaped house with a through passage and a jettied front which has been underbuilt. This stonework has blocked a five-light window, but even more interesting are two recesses in the through passage each with an all-over pattern mural in it.

During the year thirty-nine planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations, improvements or additions. Notifications are usually received from the local planning authorities and in all cases from the Council for British Archaeology. Five of these involved demolition viz. garden walls at a house in Edgar Street, a barn at Almeley where the timbers will be stored, ruined, fallen-down, farm buildings at Lower Kinton, Leintwardine, and Upper Court, Sutton St. Nicholas, the Victorian wings at Poston House, Vowchurch and the conversion of a barn at Almeley into seven dwellings. Comment was made on these proposals including the fact that whilst conversion was in many cases the only way of saving barns, seven seemed rather too many houses.

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.

Entomology, 1989

By ANTHEA BRIAN

The Woolhope Club's Entomology Report may seem a far cry from our present concerns over acid rain, the greenhouse effect, nitrates in our water supplies, etc. which are highlighted in the news now almost daily but in fact they may be very relevant. The insiduous effects of man's activities very often take a long time to manifest themselves and the first signs and danger signals very often come from someone noting a decline or change in our native plants and animals. The effects and dangers of DDT were first detected in the eggshells of predatory birds for example.

For this reason the Woolhope Club's records of what perhaps appear to be insignificant insects may, in the long term, prove to have great value in indicating subtle but important changes in our environment.

This report covers two entomological activities that have been brought to my notice in 1989.

1) A list of the moths attracted to a light in West Malvern collected and identified by Mr. Peter Garner over the period 1986-9.

2) The Nature Conservancy Council is producing a report on the scarce and threatened aculeates (bees, ants and wasps) of Britain.* Work by Hallet published in the club's *Transactions* in 1934 and 1948 has been used and bears out that in Herefordshire, as in the rest of Britain, bumble bees are in decline.

The report shows that several species once rare are now virtually extinct and that other species once moderately common are now very rare. I have seen none of these species in Herefordshire in the last fifteen years.

The common species probably appear to be commoner than in fact they are because we see them in our gardens and these provide the nesting sites and continuous supply of flowers that the bees require. Large areas of farmland today provide neither flowers for food nor rough areas for nesting and hibernation. The report emphasises that the rarer species appear to require particularly large flower-rich sites and gardens cannot provide what they require.

I have had one other interesting report. A humming bee hawkmoth was seen on 8 January 1990 in a garden at Whitbourne feeding on winter-flowering pansies.

* I was asked to comment on the section dealing with bumble bees.

MOTHS (*macrolepidoptera*) of West Malvern. by Peter Garner

1986-1989 (V.C.37. SO74)

THE SPECTACLE (1) '89
Abrostola triplasia

YELLOW-BARRED BRINDLE (1) '89
Acasis viretata - 305

YELLOW HORNED (2)
Achlya flavicornis galbanua - 309

GREY BIRCH (1) '89
Aethalura punctulata - 334

THE BRICK (2)
Agrochola circellaris - 336
RED-LINE QUAKER (1) '89
Agrochola lota - 337
BEADED CHESTNUT (2)
Agrochola lychnidis - 338
YELLOW-LINE QUAKER (4)
Agrochola macilenta - 339
HEART AND DART (3)
Agrotis exclamationis - 344
SHUTTLE-SHAPED DART (2)
Agrotis puta - 347
THE TURNIP MOTH (1) '89
Agrotis segetum - 349
MOTTLED BEAUTY (4)
Alcis rapandata - 356
GREEN-BRINDLED CRESCENT (4)
Allophyes oxyocanthae - 358
MARCH MOTH (4)
Alsophila aescularia - 360
DOTTED CLAY (1) '89
Xestia baja - 365
SETACEOUS HEBREW CHARACTER (1) '89
Xestia c-nigrum - 368
TRIPLE SPOTTED CLAY (2)
Xestia ditrapezium - 369
DOUBLE SQUARE SPOT (4)
Xestia triangulum - 372
SQUARE-SPOT RUSTIC (4)
Xestia xanthographa - 373
? LARGE EAR (1) '88
Amphipoea = oculea (probably)
COPPER UNDERWING (1) '89
Amphipyra pyramidae - 377
MOUSE MOTH (3)
Amphipyra tragopoginis - 378
TREBLE BAR (1) '89
Aplocera plagiata - 383
FLOUNCED CHESTNUT (4)
Agrochola helvola - 391
BROWN-SPOT PINION (1) '88
Agrochola litura - 392
THE STREAMER (3)
Anticlea derivata - 398
GREY CHI (3)
Antitype chi - 402
CLOUDED-BORDERED BRINDLE (3)
Apamea crenata - 407
LARGE NUTMEG (1) '87
Apamea anceps - 411
LIGHT ARCHES (2)
Apamea lithoxylaea - 413
DARK ARCHES (4)
Apamea monoglypha - 414
DUSKY BROCADE (3)
Apamea remissa - 418
SLENDER BRINDLE (2)
Apamea scolopacina
COMMON RUSTIC (3)
Apamea secalis - 420
RUSTIC SHOULDER-KNOT (4)
Apamea sordens - 421
THE MILLER (1) '88
Acronicta leporina - 432
POPLAR GREY (1) '88
Acronicta megacephala - 433
GREY DAGGER (2)
Acronicta psi - 435
KNOT GRASS (2)
Acronicta rumicis - 436
LILAC BEAUTY (3)
Apeira syringaria
BLACK RUSTIC (4)
Aporophyla nigra - 450
GARDEN TIGER (2)
Arctia caja - 455
CENTRE-BARRED SALLOW (1) '88
Atethmia centrago - 475
THE FLAME (3)
Axylia putris - 479
CLOUDED SILVER (3)
Homographa temerata - 485
PEPPERED MOTH (4)
Biston betularia - 489
MINOR SHOULDER-KNOT (2)
Brachylomia viminalis - 494
THE SPRAWLER (2)
Brachionycha sphinx - 501
THE CINNABAR (2)
Tyria jacobaeae - 509
BLOOD VEIN (1) '89
Timandra griseata - 517
LIGHT EMERALD (4)
Campaea margaritata - 519
THE UNCERTAIN (1) '88
Hoplodrina alsines - 523
THE RUSTIC (1) '88
Hoplodrina blanda - 525
PALE MOTTLED WILLOW (1) '89
Caradrina clavipalpis - 526
BROOM MOTH (4)
Ceramica pisi - 555
ANTLER MOTH (3)
Cerapteryx graminis - 559
RED CHESTNUT (3)
Cerastis rubricosa - 561
LUNAR MARBLED BROWN (2)
Drymonia ruficornis - 565
THE STREAK (2)
Chesias legatella - 571
AUTUMN-GREEN CARPET (4)
Chloroclysta miata - 581
RED-GREEN CARPET (4)
Chloroclysta siterata - 582
BARRED YELLOW (4)
Cidaria fulvata - 588
DUSKY-LEMON SALLOW (1) '87
Xanthia gilvago - 592
THE SALLOW (3)
Xanthia icterita - 593

PINK-BARRED SALLOW (4)
Xanthia togata - 597
WILLOW BEAUTY (4)
Peribatodes rhomboidaria - 600
NUT-TREE TUSSOCK (2)
Colocasia coryli - 614
MOTTLED GREY (1) '88
Colostygia multistrigaria - 617
GREEN CARPET (4)
Colostygia pectinataria - 619
FEATHERED THORN (4)
Colotois pennaria - 622
BLOTCHED EMERALD (2)
Comibaena bajularia - 626
THE CHESTNUT (3)
Conistra vaccinii - 630
LUNAR-SPOTTED PINION (1) '89
Cosmia pyralina
THE DUN-BAR (2)
Cosmia trapezina - 638
THE MOCHA (1) '89
Cyclophora ammulata - 645
SCALLOPED OAK (4)
Crocallis elinguaria - 654
MARBLED BEAUTY (3)
Cryphia domestica - 660
CHAMOMILE SHARK (1) '88
Cucullia chamomillae - 666
THE SHARK (3)
Cucullia umbratica - 671
THE MULLEIN (2)
Cucullia verbasci - 672
MUSLIN MOTH (3)
Diaphora mendica - 676
PALE TUSSOCK (4)
Calliteara pudibunda - 683
COMMON WAVE (2)
Cabera exanthemata - 692
COMMON WHITE WAVE (4)
Cabera pusaria - 693
CANARY-SHOULDERED THORN (4)
Ennomos alniaria - 695
SEPTEMBER THORN (1) '88
Ennomos erosaria - 696
PURPLE CLAY (4)
Diarsia brunnea - 701
INGRAILED CLAY (4)
Diarsia mendica - 705
SMALL SQUARE-SPOT (2)
Diarsia rubi - 706
BRIGHT-LINE BROWN-EYE (4)
Lacanobia cleracea - 709
OAK HOOK-TIP (2)
Drepana binarid - 719
MARBLED BROWN (1) '89
Drymonia dodonaea - 725
BRINDLED GREEN (2)
Drybotodes eramita - 727
DARK MARBLED CARPET (2)
Chloroclysta citrata - 735
COMMON MARBLED CARPET (4)
Chloroclysta truncata - 737
SHOULDER STRIPE (2)
Anticlea badia - 741
SMALL PHOENIX (4)
Ecliptopera silaceata - 743
THE ENGRAILED (3)
Ectropis bistortata - 745
BROKEN-BARRED CARPET (3)
Electrophaes corylata - 752
BARRED RED (3)
Hylaea fasciaria - 754
AUGUST THORN (3)
Ennomos quercuiaria - 766
COMMON CARPET (4)
Epirrhoe alternata - 780
FIGURE OF EIGHT (3)
Diloba caeruleocephala - 785
SCARCE UMBER (1) '88
Agriopis aurantiaria - 787
MOTTLED UMBER (4)
Erannis defoliaria - 788
DOTTED BORDER (3)
Agriopis marginaria - 790
BRINDLED PUG (1) '88
Eupithecia abbreviata - 821
FOXGLOVE PUG (3)
Eupithecia pulchellata - 849
JUNIPER PUG (1) '89
Eupithecia pusillata - 852
BORDERED PUG (1) '89
Eupithecia succenturiata - 855
DWARF PUG (1) '89
Eupithecia tantillaria - 857
COMMON PUG (1) '87
Eupithecia vulgata - 864
SMALL ANGLE SHADES (4)
Euplexia lucipara - 868
YELLOW TAIL (2)
Euproctis similis - 871
THE SATELLITE (3)
Eupsilia transversa - 873
LESSER YELLOW UNDER-WING (3)
Noctua comes - 877
LESSER BROAD-BORDERED YELLOW UNDER-WING (4)
Noctua janthina - 879
THE ANNULET (1) '89
Gnophos obscuratus - 904
SCALLOPED HAZEL (4)
Odontoptera bidentata - 906
FROSTED ORANGE (3)
Gortyna flavago - 908
ROSY RUSTIC (2)
Hydrae micaea - 909
DOUBLE DART (2)
Graphiphora augur - 916
DOUBLE-STRIPED PUG (1) '89
Gymnoscelis rufifasciata - 920
BUFF ARCHES (4)
Habrosyne pyritoides - 924

THE SHEARS (2)
Hada nana - 926
BROAD-BARRED WHITE (3)
Hecatera bicolorata - 930
THE LYCHNIS (1) '87
Hadena bicruris - 931
BEAUTIFUL BROCADE (2)
Lacanobia contingua - 937
PALE-SHOULDERED BROCADE (3)
Laconobia thalassina - 942
GHOST MOTH (1) '87
Hepialus humuli - 970
SWIFT MOTH (2)
Hepialus lupulina - 971
THE FERN (4)
Horisme tersata - 984
SMALL WAVED UMBER (1) '89
Horisme vitalbata - 985
MAY HIGHFLYER (1) '89
Hydriomena impluviata - 998
JULY HIGHFLYER (3)
Hydriomena furcata - 999
THE SNOUT (4)
Hypena probascidalis - 1006
GREEN SILVER-LINES (1) '88
Pseudoips fagana britannica
LITTLE EMERALD (1) '88
Jodis lactearis - 1022
BROAD-BORDERED YELLOW UNDERWING (1) '87
Noctua fimbriata - 1026
WATER CARPET (3)
Lampropteryx suffumata - 1029
POPLAR HAWK-MOTH (2)
Laothoe populi - 1031
BROWN-LINE BRIGHT-EYE (1) '88
Mythimna conigera - 1044
SMOKY WAINSCOT (4)
Mythimna impura - 1046
THE CLAY (3)
Mythimna ferrago - 1050
COMMON WAINSCOT (1) '89
Mythimna pallens - 1052
WHITE SATIN (3)
Leucoma salicis - 1063
SCORCHED CARPET (3)
Ligdia adustata - 1065
BROWN SILVER-LINE (4)
Petrophora chlorosata - 1070
GREY SHOULDER-KNOT (2)
Lithophane ornitopus lactipennis - 1077
BLAIR'S SHOULDER-KNOT (1) '89
Lithophane leautieri hesperica
SCARCE FOOTMAN (2)
Eilema complana - 1082
COMMON FOOTMAN (4)
Eilema lurideola - 1085
CLOUDED BORDER (4)
Lomaspilis marginata - 1096
COXCOMB PROMINENT (2)
Ptilodon capucina - 1098
FLOUNCED RUSTIC (4)
Luperina testacea - 1106
BRINDLED BEAUTY (2)
Hycia hirtaria - 1108
TRUE LOVER'S KNOT (2)
Hycophotia porphyria - 1110
NORTHERN SPINACH (3)
Eulithis populata - 1116
THE PHEONIX (1) '89
Eulithis prunata - 1117
BARRED STRAW (4)
Eulithis pyraliata - 1118
PURPLE BAR (4)
Cosmorhoe ocellata - 1124
HUMMING-BIRD HAWK-MOTH (2)
Macroglossum stellatarum - 1128
THE LACKEY (1) '87
Malacosma Neustria - 1133
THE CABBAGE MOTH (4)
Mamestra Brassicae - 1135
THE DOT MOTH (4)
Melanchra persicariae - 1139
PRETTY CHALK CARPET (1) '89
Melunthia procellata - 1141
WAVED UMBER (3)
Menophra abruptaria - 1145
TREBLE LINES (4)
Charanyca trigrammica - 1147
THE GOTHIC (1) '88
Naenia typica - 1173
LARGE YELLOW UNDERWING (4)
Noctua pronuba - 1178
IRON PROMINENT (2)
Notodonta dromedarius - 1191
PEBBLE PROMINENT (1) '87
Eligmodonta ziczac - 1195
FLAME SHOULDER (3)
Ochropleura plecta - 1206
LUNAR UNDERWING (4)
Omphaloscelis lunosa - 1212
WINTER MOTH (4)
Operophtera brumata - 1214
NORTHERN WINTER MOTH (2)
Operophtera fagata - 1215
BRIMSTONE MOTH (4)
Opisthograptis luteolata - 1217
AUTUMNAL MOTH
Epirrita autumnata - 1219
PALE-NOVEMBER MOTH
Epirrita chrystyi - 1220
NOVEMBER MOTH
Epirrita dilutata - 1221
SMALL AUTUMNAL MOTH (1) '89
Epirrita filigrammaria - 1222
SHADED BROAD-BAR (3)
Scotopteryx chenopodiata - 1230
LEAD BELLE (2)
Scotopteryx mucronata - 1232
JULY BELLE (4)
Scotopteryx luridata plumbaria - 1234

SMALL QUAKER (3)
Orthosia cruda - 1239
HEBREW CHARACTER (4)
Orthosia gothica - 1240
POWDERED QUAKER (2)
Orthosia gracilis - 1241
CLOUDED DRAB (4)
Orthosia incerta - 1242
TWIN-SPOTTED QUAKER (2)
Orthosia munda - 1244
COMMON QUAKER (4)
Orthosia stabilis
SWALLOW-TAILED MOTH (4)
Ourapteryx sambucaria - 1248
SMALL YELLOW UNDERWING (1) '88
Panemeria tenebrata - 1260
AUTUMNAL RUSTIC (2)
Paradiarsia glareosa - 1266
THE RIVULET (1) '89
Perizoma affinitata - 1288
SMALL RIVULET (3)
Perizoma alchemillata - 1290
SANDY CARPET (1) '88
Perizoma flavofasciata - 1293
SMALL DOTTED BUFF (2)
Photedes minima - 1298
LESSER SWALLOW PROMINENT (4)
Pheosia gnoma - 1302
SWALLOW PROMINENT (2)
Pheosia tremula - 1303
PALE BRINDLED BEAUTY (3)
Apocheina pilosaria - 1304
ANGLE SHADES (4)
Phlogophora meticulosa - 1311
RUBY TIGER (2)
Phragmatobia fuliginosa - 1317
SCORCHED WING (2)
Plagodis dolabraria - 1321
BURNISHED BRASS (3)
Dachrysia chrysitis - 1329
SILVER 'Y' (4)
Autographa gamma - 1333
PLAIN GOLDEN 'Y' (3)
Autographa jota - 1335
BEAUTIF GOLDEN 'Y' (4)
Autographa pulchrina - 1339
DECEMBER MOTH (1) '89
Poecilocampa populi - 1342
GREY ARCHES (3)
Polia nebulosa - 1347
FROSTED GREEN (2)
Polyploca ridens - 1352
MIDDLE-BARRED MINOR (4)
Oligia fasciuncula - 1358
ROSY MINOR (1) '88
Mesoligia literosa - 1361
MARBLED MINOR (2)
Oligia strigilis - 1362
RUFOUS MINOR (1) '88
Oligia versicolor
SPECKLED YELLOW (2)
Psuedopanthera macularia
PALE PROMINENT (2)
Pterostoma palpina - 1383
BROWN RUSTIC (3)
Rusina ferruginea - 1405
SMALL BLOOD-VEIN (2)
Scopula imitaria - 1419
CREAM WAVE (1) '88
Scopula floslactata - 1422
EARLY THORN (4)
Selenia dentaria - 1431
LUNAR THORN (2)
Selenia lunaluaria - 1432
PURPLE THORN (1) '88
Selenia tetralunaria - 1433
TAWNY-BARRED ANGLE (1) '87
Semiothisa liturata - 1438
WHITE ERMINE (4)
Spilosoma lubricipeda - 1459
BUFF ERMINE (4)
Spilosoma luteum - 1460
RIBAND WAVE (4)
Idaea aversata - 1465
SMALL FAN-FOOTED WAVE (2)
Idaea biselata - 1466
DWARF CREAM WAVE (1) '89
Idaea fuscovenosa - 1476
SMALL DUSTY WAVE (2)
Idaea seriata - 1480
PLAIN WAVE (2)
Idaea straminata - 1482
SATIN WAVE (2)
Idaea subsericeata - 1483
TREBLE BROWN SPOT (2)
Idaea trigeminata - 1485
FIGURE OF EIGHTY (1) '86
Tethea ocularis octogesimea
STRAW UNDERWING (3)
Thalpophila matura - 1516
GREY PINE CARPET (1) '89
Thera obeliscata - 1521
HEDGE RUSTIC (3)
Tholera cespitis
PEACH BLOSSOM (4)
Thyatira batis
PALE EGGAR (1) '88
Trichiura crataegi - 1540
EARLY TOOTH-STRIPED (1) '89
Trichopteryx Carpinata - 1542
FLAME CARPET (3)
Xanthorhoe designata - 1562
DARK-BARRED TWIN-SPOT CARPET (1) '89
Xanthorhoe ferrugata - 1563
GARDEN CARPET (4)
Xanthorhoe fluctuata - 1564
SILVER-GROUND CARPET
Xanthorhoe montanata - 1565
RED TWIN-SPOT CARPET (4)
Xanthorhoe spadicearia - 1568

EARL GREY (3)
Xylocampa areola - 1573
SMALL FAN-FOOT (4)
Herminia nemoralis - 1578
THE FAN-FOOT (3)
Herminia tarsipennalis - 1579
SIX-SPOT BURNET (1) '86
Zygaena filipendulae - 1588
FIVE-SPOT BURNET (1) '89
Zygaena lonicerae - 1589

TOTAL NUMBER OF SPECIES RECORDED - 245

1986	95
1987	159
1988	190
1989	185 (so far)

Geology, 1989
Murchison Year

By P. CROSS

1989 was 'Murchison Year,' the 150th anniversary of the publication of '*The Silurian System*,' Murchison's classic work on which all subsequent work on Silurian rocks has been based.

The clean up of Murchison's world famous geological site on the Ludford corner at Ludlow in preparation fot the celebration of this anniversary was mentioned in last year's report.

The highlight of 'Murchison Year' was the holding during March and April of the Murchison Symposium at Keele University. This was the first major international symposium devoted specifically to the study of rocks of the Silurian Period.

After the conference at Keele a large number of members from all parts of the world including China, the Soviet Union and the United States took part in field excursions in the Welsh Borderland and Wales visiting many localities described by Murchison including the Ludford site. Here a commemorative plaque was unveiled. A dinner for members of the Symposium was held in the Feathers Hotel at Ludlow.

To mark the holding of the Symposium a book entitled *Silurian Field Excursions - A geotraverse across Wales and the Welsh Borderland*[1] was published and issued to members. It formed a guide to their excursions but was also designed for wide use subsequent to the Symposium itself. It summarises the latest current Silurian research and forms a sound basis for geological excursions into Silurian areas of Wales and the Borderland.

Of particular relevance to geological studies in north Herefordshire and south Shropshire is Chapter 3: The Ludlow Anticline and contiguous areas: a shelf marine to non-marine transition.

The book is a fitting memorial to Sir Roderick Murchison, an honorary member of the Woolhope Club, who actively took part in the Club's excursions during the middle of the last century.

REFERENCE

[1] D. J. SIVETER, R. M. OWENS, & A. T. THOMAS (1989), *Silurian field excursions: a geotraverse across Wales and the Welsh Borderland* (1989), National Museum of Wales, Geological Series No. 10, Cardiff.

Herefordshire Field-Names, 1989

By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

The editors, Ruth Richardson and Mary Thomas, report that the project is progressing very satisfactorily with 129 parishes now published and another sixty awaiting publication. The committee wish to record their thanks to the staff of the Hereford Record Office, to Geoff. Gwatkin, who draws the excellent maps, to all the volunteers and to the typists who now include Ruth Wride, Barbara Krarup and Ivor Lesser. It would be pleasant to have no corrections to publish but considering the number of fields involved, and the difficulty of deciphering some of the writing, corrections are inevitable. The committee, whose names were given in the 1987 *Transactions,* are most grateful to all who have sent us contributions for Part 1 and Part 2. Please contact us if you would like to help.

Part 1: Published Parishes.

Corrections may be obtained by application in person at Hereford Record Office. In case of difficulty, please contact the editors.

Please amend all copied accordingly.

Corrections are available for the following parishes:

BRAMPTON BRYAN. CUSOP. DILWYN. DONNINGTON. EATON BISHOP. EYTON. FOWNHOPE. HUNTINGTON. KINGTON. LEDBURY. LITTLE DEWCHURCH. LLANGARRON. PEMBRIDGE. ROSS. ULLINGSWICK. WEOBLEY.

These parishes have been re-checked and appear correct as published:

ASHPERTON. ALLENSMORE. BACTON. BALLINGHAM. BOLSTONE. DEWSALL. LITTLE COWARNE. KINGS CAPLE. PENCOYD. FOY.

Please contact the editors if you have checked any published parishes.

PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name : BRILLEY

Contributed by Rosemary Bradshaw

These field-names on Cwmma and Fernhall farms are taken from a photocopy of a map of 1763 supplied by Leicester Record Office, where papers relating to the Perry Herrick Estate are lodged.

'Exact Plan of Cumme and Fernhall 1763'

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE
804	The eight Acres	1763
800	Mountain Close	
791	(includes)	
	The Quarry Field	
	Six Acres	
802	The Great Field	
803	The Five Acres	
848 (includes)	The Cow Pasture	
	The Ox Pasture	
860	The Chymney Meadow	
871	The Barn Close	
873	The Great Meadow	
847, 845	Cae myn	
908	The Pentre Meadow	
874, 909 (part)	Upper Changes	
910	Pool Meadow	
872	The orchard and garden	
870 (includes)	The Green	
	Cwm Close	
869, 867, (part)	Upper Wood	
868	" "	
913	Barn Close	
912	Calves Close	
911	Cae Mair	
917	Meadow by the garden	
918 (includes)	Banky Meadow	
919	The Kiln yard	
920	Ashen Coppice	
921	Middle Moors	
922, 923	Lower Changes	
952	The Moor Coppices	
953	Middle Moors	
849	Ambro's Wood	
957	The Kiln Wood	
956	Piece below Kiln Wood	
916	The garden	
915	Beast House Meadow	
914	Lane Close	
959	Great Held	
958	Tilers Close	
961	Head of the Lane	
960	Banky Piece	
967	Whitefield	
966	Upper Counter field	
962	New Tyndings	
963	The Rye Grass	
951		
964	Orley Meadow	
965	Lower Counter Field	

SOURCE

Leicester Record Office DG 9/Ma/M/27.

From papers relating to the sale of Lane Farm, Brilley, once part of an Estate in chancery. Included was a list of field-names for Lane Farm in 1832.

TITHE NOS.	FIELD-NAME	DATE
688	Hopyard	1832
	Great Orchard	
629	Cae Beddoe Wood	
627	The Ten Acres	
651	Coppy Pin Pair	
680	Land on Brilley Green	
685	The Moors	
686	The Rough with the Road	
687	The Quab	
650	Orchard	
649	Cow Pasture	
648	Piece under road	
646	Little piece above Crossway	
655	Piece below the Barn	
644	Three Corner Piece	
741	Brilley Green	

SOURCE

Hereford Record Office AD/57/53.

A further list of field-names for Fernhall Farm some of which cannot be located on the tithe map.

1. William Holman
2. William Parry of Fernhall yeoman

Lease for 21 years of Fernhall and parcels of land called.....

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE
		1729-30
	The spout meadow	
	The Well meadow	
873	The Great meadow	
	The Poor meadow	
	Little held	
917	The little Plock	
	The Lower meadow	
	The new meadow	
	Lyny Wood	
	The Asping Close	
	Great held pasture	
	The Close above the meadow	
958	Upper Tylors Close	
	Lower Tylors Close	
966	Upper Coult Iron field	
965	Lower Coult Iron field	
960	Upper Banky Close	
861	Lower Penland Close	
862	Upper Penland Close	
910	The Pool Close	
913	The Close above the House and part of Little held	

959	The Great held	
914	The Piece above the way	
	Lower Banky Close	
	The Close beyond the meadow	
	Long Close	
Unidentified	Bryery Close	
	The Close below the coppice	

SOURCE

H.R.O. Transcript of Scudamore Papers, Vol. 1. p. 231, No. 274.

Map of the common of Brillie in the County of Hereford.

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE
11	tin y Luggod	1589

SOURCE

H.R.O. P22/20/7.

11	Trelugges	1757

SOURCE

Lease of six parcels of land called Trelugges Farm, Brilley.
H.R.O. Transcript Scudamore Papers, Vol. 2. No. 367.

88	Kae Wilkins	1757

SOURCE

Lease of Pentwyne and parcels of land called Barnesley's lands.
H.R.O. Transcript Scudamore Papers, Vol. 2. p. 364. No. 131.

165	Flying Meadow	1757

SOURCE

Lease of Chambers Farm and Jenkins Farm and a parcel called Flying Meadow (formerly part of Wern Farm).
H.R.O. Transcript Scudamore Papers, Vol. 2. No. 139.

538	Parcel of land Brilley Wood	1832
656	Lower Meadow	
528	Upper Cae Yat	
655	Piece at Green	
576	Upper Bower Close	
570	Pistols Meadow	
970	Parcel of land Brilley Wood	
575	Lower Bower Close	
605	Hop Yard	
569	Parcel of land Brilley Wood	
571	Orchard by building	
621	Wood	
653	Crooked piece	
673	Part of Crooked piece	
662	Little wood at Green	

SOURCE

Will of John Morris. Title deeds of Pentre Farm.
(N.B. Brilley Wood and Brilley's Green are two of the old commons).

Additional Brilley field-names contributed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow

Unidentified

La Speys	1259-60	Banks
Lower Lane	1537	RS
Lloyen Jane	1540	RS
Llete Irmeddo	1537	RS
Llete Irmedowe	1540	RS
Kaye Croys	1537	RS
Kay Croys	1540	RS
Erwellen	1537	RS
Ewellen	1540	RS
Baylemard	1537	RS
Baldmard	1540	RS
Kalken	1537	RS
Calken	1540	RS
Penbrille	1540	RS
Penbrett	1562	Powell
Tier Ynnrisson or Gwayne Inreage	1558-79	Powell
Poullgone	1558	Powell
Poullgoney	1566	Powell
Gwayne Gartore	1566	Powell
Pull Gooy	1558-79	Powell
Wayne y Kinetor or Gwayne y-Caitor	1558-79	Powell
Garow (close)	1558-79	Powell
Terr Myler	1603	Powell
Wernhire	1603	Powell
Kyebreithen	1603	Powell
(?) Plantalase	1603	Powell
Errow colly	1603	Powell
Keirbirthen	1603	Powell
Porthkylyme	1603	Powell
Cayrellog	1603	Powell
Pennkevayne	1603	Powell
Bronkellye	1603	Powell
Kilvaghestrode	1603	Powell
Vron Hire	1603	Powell
Doll Faher (meadow)	1603	Powell

KEY TO SOURCES

Banks R. W. Banks, 'Notes on the Early History of the Manor of Huntington', *Arch. Cambrensis* (1888).

RS *Rolls Series.*

Powell A. D. Powell, 'Some Lawsuits about Brilley and Huntington in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Trans. Radnorshire Soc.,* (1959).

Parish Name : EASTNOR

Contributed by John Wickham King

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
329	Part of Danford Meadow	1721	2
315 (part)	Honeysuckle	1721	3
315 (part)	Old Home (part)	1721	3
316	Bran Husk	1721	3
347	Coal Ground	1808	4
352	Old Home (part)	1721	3
353	Broadfield	1721	3
363	Beacons Hill Leasow	1721	3
440	Floodgate Meadow	1816	1
18	Batches Croft, Old Leys	1816	1
60	(includes)		
	Great Home Meadow	1721	2
	Lower Mill Meadow	1721	2
	Danford Meadow (part)	1721	2
62	(includes)		
	Gold Hill Green	1721	2
	Clarkes Meadow	1721	2
63	(includes)		
	Squash Meadow	1721	2
	Summer House	1721	2
	Cover Hill & Cover Coppice	1721	2
64 (part)	How Meadow	1721	2
67 (part)	How Meadow (part)	1721	2
69	How Field (part)	1721	2
20	The Parks	1721	2
21	Lower Bare Acre (part)	1580	5
22 (part)	Leyesse (part)	1580	5
41	(includes)		
	Whallet Field	1816	1
	Leys Leasow	1816	1
	Leyesse (part)	1580	5
	Lower Bare Acre (part)	1721	2
	Gittins Croft (part)	1721	2
	Upper Bare Acre Field (part)	1721	2
70	How Meadow (part)	1816	1
74-77, 80	(includes)		
	Birchams Sling	1816	1
	Birchams Pasture	1816	1
	Farm Field	1816	1
	Old Lands	1816	1
	Upper Bare Acre (part)	1721	2
122, 123	(includes) Branks Field,	1816	1
	Further Branks Field	1816	1
	Gatleys End	1721	6
	Orchard above Road	1816	1
	Hems Orchard	1816	1
		13th cent.	7(a) 13th cent.
268 (part)	Hollys and Sindings	1816	1

270 (part)	The Tindeings	1721	3
283 (part)	The Mowing Ground,	1816	1
	Little Meadow	1816	1
276	Bronshille (meadow)	1649	7(b)
	Wayesmedow	1469	7(b)
	Fulmores Medow	1469	7(b)
	The Castle of Broomes Hill	1648	8
	Bromeshill alias Bromehill	1721	3
	Branshill Castle	1816	1
114	(includes)		
	Ridgeway Croft	1816	1
	Oaken Grove	1816	1
	Stimps Wood	1816	1
	Ashen Field Wood	1816	1
	Hawthorne Walls	1721	2
	Stimps	1721	2
	Stimps Coppice	1721	2
	Stimps Hill	1721	2
	Little Stimps	1721	2
	Upper Ridgeway Field	1721	2
	Lower Ridgeway Field	1721	2
	Ashing Field	1721	2
	Rough Ashing Field	1721	2
	Upper Ashing Field	1721	2
	Ashing Field Croft	1721	2
	Old Courts	1721	2
	Lower Gardners Home	1721	2
	Furlong	1721	2
	Birchy Wood and High Park	1721	3
24 (part)	Lower Bare Acre (part)	1721	2
25 (part)	Bare Acre Wood	1721	2
92 (part)	Gooses Foot	1816	1
113	Bonds Meadow	1721	2
210	(includes)		
	Sumphold, Ridgeway and Seven Acres	1816	1
210 (part)	Lumpholdfild	1721,	2
		1580	5
	Ridgeway Wood	1816	1
210 (part)	Seven Acres	1721	2
423	Owelers Coppice	1721	2
404 (part)	Upper Anny Croft (part)	1816	1
	Anny Croft Meadow (part)	1721	2
407 (part)	Fludgate Meadow	1721	2
408 (part)			
410	Joiners Field	1816	1
404 (part)	Upper Anny Croft	1816	1
415 (part) 416 (part)	The Welch Ground	1721	2
429, 431, 432	Owelers	1721	2
434, 435(part)	The Rideings	1721	2
439 (part)	The Orchard	1721	2
444(part)	Old Field	1721	2
445	The Banks and Reycroft	1721	1
402 (part)	Anny Croft Meadow	1816,	1

		1721	2
169 (part)	Hospital Meadow	1816	1
177 (part)			
185	Three Corner Piece	1816	1
201	Westbrook Field	1721	2
	Wrister	1816	1, 9
172	Aven Croft	1721	2
171, 172	Heaven Croft	1816	1
173 (part)	Parsonage Croft	1816	1
174	Rister Field	1721	2
179, 175	Underdown Field	1721	2
206	Seech	1721	2
125	Bury Meadow	1816	1
126, 127	Deddymans Thorn	1816	1
127	Dead Womans Thorn	1580	5
159 (part)	'Sarg' (map)	1816	1
159	Orchard (award)	1816	1
	Estnor Seerg nigh Dedwomans Thorn	1580	5
189	Windmill Croft	1816	1
278 (part) 280 (part)	Wheelers Meadow	1721	3
280 (part)	Mill Meadow	1721	3
300, 301	Lineleys Fields	1721	3
302, 303	The Custome Houlds	1721	2
323	Kidley Meadow	1721	2
	(note - Kidleysmore Wood)	1288	10
324	Matalls Hill Park	1808	1
343	Danfords Coppice (part)	1721	2
286	Lineleys Coppice	1721	3
365	Wainhouse Ground	1816	1
277 (part)	Simhalls	1816	1
277 (part)	Simballs	1721	3
277 (part)	Barn Close	1816	1
		1721	3
277 (part)	Holleys Meadow	1721	3
277 (part)	Holleys and Sindings	1816	1
349	Pinhany arable	1808	4
351	Pinhany Meadow	1808	4
264	The Meadow	1721	3
265	Great Blenhalls	1721	3
267	Little Blenhalls	1721	3
265, 267	The Blenhalls	1816	1
260	The Park	1816	1
335	Rowicks Farm	1816	1
342	Danfords Coppice (part)	1721	2
40 (part)	Clamber Hill Field,	1816	1
	Upper Bare Acre Field	1721	2
463	Myl called Glencheforthe	1580	5
58	Gibs Hay and Croft	1721	2

Unidentified

From 13th-century deeds in Hereford Record Office (HRO AH/82).

DEED NO.		
3	La Dryfaud	1200-1215
3	Derefold	12th cent.
16	Dryfaud later Priours Derefold	1469
4	Stiweye	13th cent.
5	Dedeforlong	ditto
6	Le Brode Feld	ditto
	Hodhull	ditto
7, 10, 11, 13	Le Stepple or Stepples	ditto
8, 9	Kideleysmore or Kedeleysmor	1289
9	Le Tipparesfeld	ditto
13	Lithe wode	ditto

Unidentified

16	Le Trevys (dated 1469)

From Eastnor Glebe Terrier circa 1580 (HRO 1/36).

SERIAL NO. IN TERRIER	
2	Coblershey
	Cobbridge Lane
5	Wilkinge Croft
6	Binnwells Croft
11, 15, 16, 17, 18	Seerge or The Seerge or Seergecroft
16	The Geoche
16, 20, 22	Huddynhope Hill
17	Harvthornewalles
18, 19	Pesedenhill or Pesdenhyll
20, 21, 22	Rushuss
21	The Watersloryge
23, 24	Heuley Hill
24	Newodicross brook
25	Wynmyllslade
34	Grinkhyll
35	Caldfall
37, 48	Groves Ground or Grovesland
38	Ginors Ground
	Broadstand
	Whelhed Grove
39	Broomyfurlong
	Brownslam
44	Badyers
48, 49, 50	Forlestland or Foreletland
48	Russeleheld
52	Fowlesland
53	Gookhill
53, 54, 56	Guldhill

KEY TO SOURCES

1 HRO Q/R1/17 (Eastnor Enclosure Award 1816).
2 Survey of the Manor of Castle Ditches for John Cocks by John George 1721 Eastnor Estate Archives. (EEA).
3 Survey or the Manor of Bromeshill alias Bromehill for Thomas Reed taken by Edward Moore Surveyor 1721. (EEA).

4 Map prepared by T. Davis Surveyor 1808. (EEA).
5 Eastnor Glebe Terrier *c.* 1580 (HRO 1/36).
6 Survey of Lands (int al) in the Parish of Eastnor taken for John Cocks 1721 (EEA).
7a HRO AH82/4 (Eastnor Medieval Deeds).
7b HRO AH82/16 (Eastnor Medieval Deeds).
8 Worcester RO 705/350 (Deeds of Read Family).
9 Ledbury Inclosure Award (HRO Q/R1/25).
10 HRO AH 82/8, 9, 6, 7 (Eastnor Medieval Deeds).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks are due to Mr. James Hervey-Bathurst for kindly permitting use of Eastnor Estate Archives.

EASTNOR. Contributed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow

Unidentified

NAME	DATE	SOURCE
Le Churchende	1354	AD
Cokhulle	*c.*1285	Red Book
Doggemor	1368	BM
Bakinghale	*c.*1242	St K
Baginghale in campo de Estenovere	1318	St K
Estenoveresfeld	1303	St K
Magna Wydecroft	1329	St K
Parva Wydecroft	1369	St K
Wethycrofte Magna	1395	St K
Elfledelega juxta Levithe Rugga	13th cent.	St K
Ankerugge	1242	St K
Horscroft	1306	St K
Froggehale, Totehull (furlong), Esthrope, Bercmeresmedowe, Horsefeld, Holmersbrugge, Redewythe, Grava Edrici, Gornam	*c.*1240	St K
Bronsil; campo qui vocatur Brankeffelde	1319	St K

KEY TO SOURCES

AD Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (PRO) in progress.
Red Book A. T. Bannister, 'A Transcript of the Red Book of Hereford,' *in Camden Miscellany,* (1929).
BM H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley (eds.), *Index to Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum* (1903).
St K A. T. Bannister, 'A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Dealing with St. Katherine's, Ledbury.' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* (1923).

Industrial Archaeology, 1989

By JOHN van LAUN

PREFABRICATED HOUSING IN HEREFORDSHIRE

Down in the jungle, living in a tent
Better than a prefab, no rent. (Radio Programme 1950s)

In common with many areas Herefordshire constructed 'prefabs' as temporary housing between 1944 and 1950. In Hereford between 70 to 80 remain today at College Green, Kingsway, Eign Mill Road, the Hinton Estate and Beattie Avenue, Leominster had prefabs which were replaced by 1965.

These important 'social documents' formed a very valuable contribution to post-war housing and are likely to disappear as re-housing takes place. Avoncroft Museum of Buildings have felt an "Arcon V" worthy of restoration. Replacement, although slow, has taken place at Geldorf Close, Grandstand Road and Highmore Street. Recent legislation has allowed tenants to purchase their Council-owned properties. Although this will 'preserve' some prefabs, already some are showing a change in exteriors with the addition of brick skins.

Two types of construction were employed in Hereford. The 'Tarran' was of pre-cast concrete sections bolted together with plasterboard interiors secured to a wooden framing. The roofs were of asbestos or metal. The windows were of timber. The second type was of aluminium construction of the type remaining in Beattie Avenue. They measured 11.4 x 7.6 metres.

The generic name of 'prefab' is applied here to single-storey dwellings of the immediate post-war, nevertheless Hereford was a leader in the use of two-storey industrial building systems and about 25% of the Hereford City Council housing stock is comprised of three further types.

1. P.A.B. (Permanent Aluminium Building) at Putson Drive. These have a timber frame, aluminium clad with a sheet aluminium roof and metal windows.

2. B.I.S.F. (British Iron & Steel Federation). These comprise a metal frame clad on the ground floor with galvanised mesh and render. The upper floor is clad with metal sheeting. The roofs are of asbestos cement and windows of steel-framed windows.

3. Cornish Types 1 and 2. Type 1 comprises reinforced concrete columns with unreinforced concrete panels slotted between them. The first floor and roof is a tile-hung structure which can be regarded as an independent wooden structure supported by the concrete column base. Some have Mansard roofs. Type 2 comprises reinforced concrete columns with unreinforced concrete panels slotted between them to the eaves with a traditional roof. There are over 1,000 Cornish Type 1 dwellings with the more appealing Mansard roof. As Cornish Types have been specified as 'defective' a 90% grant is available to owner/occupiers to rebuild. We are therefore likely to see this type die out.

The industrial building system died out in the early 1960s.

The above information was kindly supplied by Hereford City Housing Department.

HEREFORD RAILWAY

The Hereford Civic Trust has proposed that the Hereford Railway (Tramroad) in the area bounded by Belmont Avenue and the river Wye 'should be preserved, cleared of scrub and its significance explained on a suitable display stand .. some track could be re-instated and even a typical wagon re-constructed.'[1]

The Hereford Railway (Tramroad) was opened to Hereford in 1829. It formed the third of a series of tramroads (Llanvihangel of 1814 and Grosmont of 1819) which joined the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal at Govilon with the river Wye at Hereford.

BARRS COURT RAILWAY STATION

The Hereford City Council have prompted British Rail into a major external refurbishment to this Tudoresque building. Hereford Barrs Court was built and managed as a joint station for the Shrewsbury and Hereford Railway and Hereford, Ross and Gloucester Railway and opened to traffic on 1 June 1855.[2] Built of pressed brick, tuck pointed with Bath stone facings it is illustrated in a woodcut of June 1855 near completion.[3] 'HEREFORD, ROSS AND GLOUCESTER RAILWAY - THE STATION AT HEREFORD'. 'The architect for the building is Mr. T. M. Penson of Chester'.[4] This important building was showing severe wear on some of the finials and other stonework. In 1855 these embellishments impressed contemporaries. 'The gables will be finished with stone finials, 10 ft. and 11 ft.'[5]

HEREFORD GLOUCESTER CANAL

The industrial archaeology of the Hereford & Gloucester Canal has been adequately dealt with by David Bick.[6] The intention here is to update.

The road bridge crossing the canal on Roman Road (SO 523419), apart from being widened, has lost its iron railings dated 1846.

The wharf house at Withington noted by I. Cohen in the late 1950s with the painted inscription 'William Bird, Wharfinger' has faded considerably.

The Hereford and Gloucester Canal Society have put back in water a section from the Hereford - Worcester Road (A4103) to the Skew Bridge near Monkhide with further extensions nearing completion at Monkhide itself. The Skew Bridge has been listed and undergone some amateur repointing in a modern mix. It is a great pity that lime mortar was not used for the purpose. The original tuck pointing in the lower courses stands out in sharp contrast to the unnecessary work higher up. It is yet a further unnecessary piece of conservation work which will lead to frost damage to the original brickwork caused through unyeilding hard mortar.

Tunnel Cottage Ashperton (SO 653418) appears in good condition since its refurbishment. Clearance work around the approach cutting to the tunnel at the cottage end has greatly improved the setting.

A trip by rubber boat into Oxenhall Tunnel from the south portal was made by Longtown Outdoor Education Centre staff in January 1989. The condition of the tunnel was as good as when a trip was made in July 1973. However, there is concern that the wooden capping to some of the seventeen shafts must give way in the not too distant future. The collapse in the vicinity of the old pump about one third of the way in does not appear to have run in further since 1973.

The Lock House at Oxenhall (SO 713266) is now in a very poor condition compared to a photograph of 1972. In September 1989 the House Lock itself was listed Grade II.

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[2] C. R. Clinker 'Stations in Hereford', *Journal of the Railway & Canal Historical Society*, XXVII, No. 5, 91-7.
[3] *Hereford Journal*, 2 June 1855.
[4] Gordon Biddle and O. S. Nock, *The Railway Heritage of Britain* (1983) states R. E. Johnston. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Herefordshire* (1963) states Johnson of Birkenhead. Thomas Mainwaring Penson (d. 1864) son of Thomas Penson (d. 1824) and brother of Richard Kyrke Penson (d. 1886). Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 - 1840* (1968).
[5] HCL *op.cit.*
[6] David E. Bick, *The Hereford and Gloucester Canal* (1979).

Mammals, 1989

By W. H. D. WINCE

BATS (Chiroptera)

The Hereford Bat Group under Ms. S. Holland continued to monitor summer roosts. Several new summer roosts have been identified with good numbers of five of the eight species known in this county. The number of Greater Horseshoe Bats (*Rhinolophus ferrum equinum*) in the Doward Caves counted in winter was only seven and there is anxiety that this species may eventually be lost to the county. Careful counts of the Lesser Horseshoe Bat (*Rhinolophus hipposideros*) show that roost numbers in summer are being maintained. The large Natteras Bat (*Myotis nattereri*) roost at Abbey Dore was joined for a short while in November by Lesser Horseshoes, they were not present some days afterwards perhaps indicating that this species was searching for a satisfactory hibernation site. If the mild winter weather continues into 1990 bats may well use up their fat reserves by the time they would normally leave roosts in the spring.

DORMICE

The Dormouse (*Muscardinus avellanarius*) study continued in Lea and Paget's wood, Fownhope. The number of small mammal boxes there was increased from 98 to 117. The occupancy improved from 11% last year to 20% approximately. The dry weather seemed to cause a food shortage and in the autumn twelve juveniles were found dead in their boxes; in November some young dormice weighed only 7 - 9 gms. For winter viability dormice should weigh at least 15 gms. at this time.

In October a Dormice Day organised by Paul Bright of the Mammal Society and Sue Holland of the Hereford Nature Trust was held at Fownhope. Paul Bright is carrying out similar work in the Mendip area. Sue Holland has been very involved at Lea and Paget's wood. Some members of the Woolhope Club were able to attend and received instructions on techniques used in the study of these small elusive mammals.

BADGERS (*Meles meles*)

The long dry summer affected the lifestyle of badgers. In drought earthworms do not come to the surface of the ground at night and badgers have had to forage for other food. Lactating sows are most hard hit and may lose considerable amounts of weight feeding their cubs. This may well lead to cub deaths.

At one main sett watched by the recorder a maximum count of twelve badgers seen in April dropped to four (boar, sow and 2 cubs) by July. By the end of September there was a return to the sett. It would appear that the clan had split and members were occupying other small setts in their territory, the dispersion was very likely because of a food shortage.

Ornithology, 1989

By BERYL HARDING

1989 gave another mild winter with the December to February period one of two warmest on record, equalled only by 1869. Hours of sunshine and temperature were above average in January and February as well as from May to August. Sharp frosts in April adversely affected some fruit blossom and some bird arrivals. May had an average of 16.3 mm. of rain - the fifth driest recorded.

The winter will be remembered for its waxwing invasion, partly due to good breeding results in North Russia and partly due to a scarcity of fruit on the Continent. The numbers were such that they spread all over Britain and, having little contact with man in the taiga, were prepared to feed in busy town centres avidly taking hips berries and orchard fruits. Such invasions tend to occur every ten years or so, and the birds remain in numbers until the end of March. Redwings were also abundant for the same reasons but bramblings did not arrive en masse as the Norwegian beechmast crop was good.

Two successive mild winters have left our resident bird population at a good level. Siskins and over-wintering blackcaps have adapted to nut feeding and so have the greater spotted woodpeckers. Local sparrow-hawks use the bird tables as a source of ready prey. It therefore helps to have some type of overhang around the feeding area, unless it is felt that the hawk has right to a meal also. Stale or mildewed food should never be left. The Birdfood Standards Association has been set up to ensure that no more unsafe peanuts are on sale, the title should be printed on the label.

Flocks of up to 250 Bewick and whooper swans with barnacle geese were seen in January along the Wye meadows and 150 barnacle geese at Clifford, perhaps on their way to the Pembroke coast. Fieldfares were abundant throughout winter outnumbering redwings. Siskins had increased in number since 1988 with flocks of 100+ seen along the Lugg throughout January. Flocks of linnets of 200+ were seen in Hampton Bishop and goldcrests were widely seen and heard in the county until March. With the mild, sunny weather a nuthatch, wren, yellowhammer and green woodpecker were heard calling in Llanwarne and the long-tailed tits were distinctly flirtatious, all by late January. Robins were noticed pairing elsewhere with tree creepers in song in early February. The chiffchaff was calling in Fownhope on 11 March and in Llanwarne on 20 March, with the curlews the next day. By 28 March yellowhammers were in pairs so also were goldcrests and bullfinches and house martins noted in several parts of the county. Swallows arrived by 31 March and the cuckoo heard by 14 April.

With the approach of the breeding season birds change their diet to high-protein feeding with no further intake of bulky, slowly digested fruit and seeds. The rare bearded tit increases its gut size in winter to accommodate reed seeds but when insect populations increase in spring and gut regresses to half its weight thus obliging it to feed on insects. All finches feed their young on insects rather than seeds but pigeons develop throat glands which secrete 'pigeon milk' for the young so avoiding a change of adult diet. Blue tits are able to feed on high-energy nectar while seeking insects among willow catkins (giving

them distinctly yellow heads from the pollen). Cambridge research has shown that the crown fritillary is actually pollinated by blue tits, having evolved a nectar low in sucrose, which would otherwise be difficult to digest.

April is the time for the migrants' return, although some were delayed by the frosts. Widespread and heavy rain in the Sahel has relieved much of recent pressure on over-wintering birds there but a resurgence of locust plagues over much of Africa has meant the increased use of toxic chemicals with probable ill-effects on local and migrant birds, as well as the raptors.

The males of many species return first to establish territory but a spell of bad weather can kill many, so upsetting the sex ratios and breeding. May is thought to see the arrival of the last of the summer visitors but many whitethroats and garden warblers are still streaming in - these being females and first-year birds whose presence is over-looked because attention was caught by the earlier influx of territorial, singing males.

Thousands of Nest Record Cards sent to the BTO annually show that half the breeding attempts of garden birds fail due to spells of bad weather or predation by cats, crows and magpies. Cover protection could be given by the re-inforcement of bushes and creepers with 1in.-2in. wire netting in early March so keeping out nest robbers.

The warmer winter months allowed large numbers of ladybirds to survive. These, together with the early appearance of aphids, suggested a ladybird explosion which did not materialise. Certainly the fine summer weather increased the amount of aerial plankton so that swifts could raise their young in five weeks - two less than usual. House martins could also raise a third brood, provided that they could find sufficient damp mud for nest building.

The much despised, non-native sycamore is regarded by conservationists as a menace as it out-competes other trees, slowly changing mixed woods into dense sycamore thickets. Surprisingly, recent research has shown that the six most common woodland birds prefer it and strongly avoid beech. Sycamores tend to support abundant numbers of aphids and insects which the beech does not, so providing a valuable food source.

Every few years there is an influx of quails into the country and 1989 proved one of these. Being only seven inches long they are difficult to see but their distinctive calling in the mornings and evenings have been heard by many. They would be more abundant, as they are protected here, but for their twice annual slaughter on migration. The song thrush has dropped from the seventh most common bird to the sixteenth due to the French partiality to potted and patéd 'English Thrush.'

Re-introduction of birds to an area requires careful forethought. A joint RSPB/NCC project is to re-establish the red kite in England and Scotland. Continued protection of red kites nesting in mid-Wales has allowed numbers to built up with fifty-three pairs this summer rearing fifty-seven young. However, they are still extremely vulnerable with little prospect of increasing their range. Six kites from Sweden (where they are given winter feeding) were flown to RAF Kinloss last June for release in Scotland. With the increase in poisoning and trapping will they be able to survive? 1989 was a particularly bad year for raptors with thirty-one confirmed cases of poisoning in Scotland, eight osprey nests rob-

bed, six harrier nests deliberately destroyed in England and at least eight red kites poisoned in their Welsh heartland.

There are now less than 5,000 pairs of barn owls in the whole of the British Isles with populations at critically low levels in one-third of the counties of England and Wales. In Herefordshire it is believed that there are now forty-eight pairs, a reduction of 75% in fifty years. At present there is no control on the sale or release of barn owls and as many as 400 people may be involved in re-introducing up to 3,000 birds a year. Some projects are organised, breeding owls especially for release, but some are run by entrepreneurs who offer little advice or follow-up after the bird has been released at random and with no learned behaviour patterns from its parents. It is thought that as many as 2,700 could consequently die from starvation each year. If other barn owls are in the area the inexperienced newcomer could be driven out. The Barn Owl Trust offers a free consultancy service to responsible enquirers. A pattern of return for continued feeding needs to be first established and a continuing commitment after release with careful result recording is essential for success. Best of all would be habitat restoration so that barn owls can recolonise slowly and mate with some of the new introductions.

Britain is one of the most important places for the millions of migrating species, many flying 5,000 miles to reach us. We are angered by the slaughter of one in six of 'our' migrants over Mediterranean countries but severe habitat reduction here continues yearly. Britain's estuaries are some of the richest in the world providing staging posts for millions of geese, ducks, swans and waders, many of whom overwinter here also. However, the government-appointed Cardiff Bay Development Corporation wants to build a £50 million barrage across the Taff and Ely estuaries, not to provide tidal electricity but to flood 'ugly' mudflats. The 600 acres of Cardiff Bay are designated an SSSI and of international importance also. Should such large-scale habitat destruction be permitted there is little doubt that forty other proposed coastal wetlands could be due for similar destruction.

The Nest Box Scheme results for the Nature Trust for 1989 are not yet available but in 1988 on twenty-three sites 568 boxes were used out of 855 erected. More nests were made but fewer chicks fledged on the whole than in the previous year. In 1989 at the two sites looked after by us the nuthatch and the pied flycatcher had total success in the few nests used by them, but the great tits had a poor year. Dormice used bird boxes earlier in the year, and blue tits nested in dormouse boxes later! The peregrine falcons failed to raise young at their guarded site at Cymyoy but those at Symonds Yat, protected by the RSPB, raised three with success.

Around Llanwarne the barn owl has not returned but the little owl reared young. Mallard, little grebe, coots and moorhen were successful. Quails were heard and the kingfisher seen frequently - more have been reported throughout the county. As well as the usual garden birds, young were reared by long-tailed tits, goldfinches, yellow wagtails, whitethroat and spotted flycatcher.

Autumn and early winter have been mild with heavy rain in November and December and plentiful food supplies have allowed the birds to retain good fat deposits to meet the colder weather to come.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1989.

By JOE HILLABY

Wye Bridge House/Wye Villa. HC/890006/LD/W. 7 February.

This group of buildings, the former Wye Bridge Hotel, occupies one of the most important sites in the city, on the northern bank of the Wye adjoining the north-west end of Wye Bridge. The nucleus was built in the early 17th century. It is the subject of a watercolour by David Cox, now in the City of Birmingham Art Gallery. This shows it as a timber-framed structure with two cross-wings. The cross-wings were rebuilt in brick in the early 19th century. There is a brief description in RCHM *Herefordshire*, I, 137.

A site visit revealed that the central section was intact. At basement level there was serious sagging to the rear but this has now been underpinned. In addition to the timber-framed structure three features are of particular interest. A very large stone-built chimney stack and a timber-framed stair turret originally projected to the rear but are now incorporated in later building. More important, the north-western end of the bridge, including part of a cut-water, was used as the end wall, as at St. Peter's vicarage (*Transactions*, 1987, 795). The stonework is earlier in character than any on the bridge. Unfortunately, it has been harshly repointed.

9-11 Eign Gate. HC/890096/LE/E. 4 April.

The committee made a site visit to consider an application to demolish and rebuild the main roof and rear elevation wall. It was noted that there was a considerable amount of timber-framing on the first and second floors; the front and rear walls of the building had spread. It was recommended that in the restoration work the timber-frame should be left intact and the structure be tied together.

49, 50 & 50a Commercial Street. HC/890140/PF/E. 4 April.

A site inspection was made to consider proposals to relocate the first-floor staircase, to bring a vacant building into use and provide a fire escape. The rear wing is an early-15th-century timber-framed structure. It was listed by English Heritage on 10 August as 'a rare survival, a richly decorated high-status hall.' Smoke blackening on all the original timbers shows that it had been an open hall. To the rear is a building with a 17th-century principal rafter roof with queen posts and wind bracing. It had halved rafters, pegged at the apex. One bay, at least, was demolished in the 19th century.

The committee recommended that the whole building be preserved and enhanced and the applicant encouraged to find a use for the first floor which would make it accessible to the public.

Coral Leisure Club, Berrington Street. HC/890151/LD/W. 18 April.

This was built as the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in 1793 but the meetings were transferred to the Crozens, Eign Road, in 1887. Purchased by Heins & Co. and dignified by the name *The Beethoven Hall*, it was used as a pianoforte showroom. By the outbreak of World War I it had been converted into Hereford's first cinema, *The Picture House*, under the management of Mr. Arthur Sharp. Subsequently it became a theatre and the home of the Hereford Repertory Company, being known first as the *Palladium Theatre* and then the *County Theatre*. On the closure of the latter it reverted to use as a cinema, *The Regal*.

The proposed internal demolition, alterations and refurbishment would eliminate one wall of the auditorium and a projecting end of the balcony and remove the stage entirely. The Committee recommended refusal of the application because it would destroy the integrity of this historic building. A more imaginative approach was suggested.

Re-erection of parts of the Old Market Hall. HC/890252/PF/E. 16 May.

A scheme was submitted by the Hereford Civic Trust to move the four Market Hall columns with carved capitals and spandrels from Holmer Hall and re-erect them on a podium at the western end of the site of the old Market Hall in High Town. The project was the subject of a public meeting, where an overwhelming majority was in favour of its implementation, of an exhibition of drawings and model in the foyer of the City Library and of consultation of members and officers of the City Council. Sadly, an officer of English Heritage took exception to the scheme.

31-34 Commercial Road. HC/890352/LE/E. 27 June.

The committee noted that the proportion and design of the existing buildings were not appropriate to this part of Commercial Road and considered the proposed structure capricious in elevation and lacking in rhythm and scale. It was suggested that modification of the present buildings for office use should be investigated.

The Chapel, Price's Almshouses, Whitecross Road. HC/890560/LD/W. 17 October.

These are the earliest dated brick buildings in the town (1665) and represent the last breath of perpendicular gothic architecture in the county. The proposal was to breach the south wall to provide a disabled persons' entrance. This south wall has been protected by a lean-to, constructed soon after the almshouses. The brickwork and mortar have therefore been protected from the elements and never restored. The main entrance was more than 3 ft. in width and thus suitable for wheelchair users. The main problem was that access from the sheltered housing to the north was by means of the steps on Whitecross Road. The Planning Committee recommended that a ramp be installed instead of breaching the wall.

Matters arising from earlier reports.

Romanesque tympanum, St. Giles' Hospital, St. Owen Street. HC/870545/PF/E. 5 January, 1987.

The present situation is summarised in the excerpts of a letter sent by the Convenor to each Trustee of the Hereford Municipal Charities:

'For several years this Committee has been concerned about the rapid deterioration of this major work of the world-famous Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture. It was undoubtedly inspired by the tympanum at Shobdon ... That at Rowlstone, whilst well preserved, is artistically much weaker and treats the subject in a different manner.

'These tympana are unique. Other examples follow the western tradition and show Christ supported by only two angels, as on the Prior's door at Ely. The use of the four angels is derived from the Byzantine and Orthodox world, but even there only some three examples of its use architecturally can now be found. Two are painted on the vaults of the apses of the churches of Santa Sophia, at Ochrid (1037-40) in southern Yugoslavia and at Trebizond, on the shores of the Black Sea in eastern Turkey. The third, portraying the theme in mosaic, is in the central dome of St. Mark's, Venice.

'Given such august company, one would anticipate that the greatest care would have been taken to preserve this monument. This has not been the case. A photograph by Alfred Watkins provides stark evidence of how seriously it has been allowed to deteriorate. In consequence, I wrote to the Secretary of the Municipal Charities on 27 November 1984. The reply advised that the Trustees intended to erect a porch over the monument. Nothing happened.

'At a meeting three years later, 'it was agreed ... to carry out specialist stonework repairs followed by the erection of a porch appropriate to the context of the sculpture' (*Transactions*, 1987, 797). Since then, a screen has been placed in front of the tympanum. No preservation or consolidation of the stonework has been undertaken. No interpretative material has been provided.

'As we now understand it,

1 English Heritage is categoric that your temporary plywood screen "is not adequate for *long-term* protection" (letter 18 January 1989). Is this to be replaced? If not, why not?

2 English Heritage has offered to meet 75% of the cost of the work of cleaning and stabilising the stonework to prevent further deterioration, a clear indication of the importance they attach to such work. The cost of the stabilisation might be in the order of £6,000; the work would therefore only cost the Charity some £1,500.

3 This has been rejected out of hand and that, in the words of your Secretary, you "do not anticipate any further work on the tympanum".

'In the 17th century the citizens of Hereford went to great pains to preserve this sculpture for the benefit of future generations. With care and affection they moved it from the ruined church of St. Owen and incorporated it in St. Giles' Hospital. We are therefore writing to you to ask whether or not, as part of the Trust which you hold for the city, you

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personally accept the low valuation of this monument expressed so clear and tersely in your Secretary's letters to English Heritage. You will no doubt appreciate that this is a question that not only we but future generations will be asking.'

21 St. Owen Street. HC/880188/PF/E. 7 June 1988.

On the recommendation of English Heritage, who considered this one of the finest 18th-century interiors in the city, the application was rejected. An appeal was lodged and a Public Inquiry was to have been held on 11 April but the appeal was withdrawn and the premises sold.

Other matters.

CAAC Award, 1989.

This was made to Barclays Bank and APW Contractors for outstanding conversation work at 27 High Town. This has ensured the preservation of the 16th- and 17th-century timber-framing and the retention of wall paintings and early panelling in situ. Redevelopment had been so designed as to allow the public to enjoy these features. The present lessees, however, are not prepared to make the first floor accessible to the public.

Sandblasting of brickwork.

The committee's attention was drawn to the damage done to historic buildings, as in St. Owen Street and Bridge Street, by excessive sandblasting. It was recommended that, when the planning guidelines are revised, a section should be added to deal with this.

Archaeological Research Section, 1989

By M. T. HEMMING

Membership of the section stands at eighty-four this year. Seven field meetings were organised with an additional two meetings held in Llanwarne village hall. In July about twenty-six members and guests enjoyed a barbeque at the home of John and Beryl Harding. The A.G.M. and annual dinner was held in December at the Golden River Restaurant, Hereford. Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been produced, one in January and one in September. Field meetings have been very well attended this year.

In *January* members met at Llanwarne village hall. A talk was given by Mary Thomas and Elizabeth Taylor on the work of the section at Corras. The talk was accompanied with slides and a display of photographs, site drawings and finds from the excavation.

In *February* members met once again at Llanwarne village hall. On this occasion we had been fortunate in persuading Steve Clark, chairman of the Monmouth Archaeological Society to come and give us some basic instruction on pottery dating. Members were able to handle and examine examples of sherds from Roman to the post-medieval period.

March found the section in the Lugwardine and Bartestree area, where we were welcomed by members of the Lugwardine Historical Society. Members walked a section of a newly-ploughed field west of Sheepcote, where aerial photographs showed marks indicating a Romano-British settlement. During the day visits were made to the 14th-century Longworth Chapel and St. Peters, Lugwardine.

May. Under the expert leadership of Joe Hillaby members visited Abbey Dore Church. During the morning Mr. Hillaby talked about the development of the Cistercian order and how this had affected the Abbey Church. We examined the church as reconstructed from the original chancel crossing, transepts and ambulatory.

June. Brecon and Radnorshire churches. The day was led by Richard Kay and the following churches were visited: Llowes, Llandeilo Graban, Llanstephan, Crickadarn, Gwenddwr, Aberedw and Llanfaredd. Descriptions of these churches appear in *H.A.N.* no. 52. In addition to the programme of church visits the opportunity was taken to look at the following, the gateway of the Dore Abbey grange at Clyro (Court farm) and the nearby longbarrow.

During the rest of the year the following field meetings also took place.

July. Seeking possible Roman roads from field-names in the area of Black Hole.
September. Investigation of the Kilpeck and Saddlebow areas of Herefordshire.
October. Looking at industrial remains in the Forest of Dean.
Reports of all field meetings are published in *Herefordshire Archaeological News.*

Natural History Section, 1989

By BERYL HARDING

Membership continues to show a steady rise with 100 members. Seven field meetings were planned mostly led by members of the section; such leadership is much appreciated.

8 March. The Annual General Meeting was held followed by a much enjoyed showing of the film 'Gleam of Bright Water' by Harry Williamson. The evening concluded with refreshments and an opportunity to meet and talk to members often unable to attend outside meetings.

11 April. A trip to Westhope Common was planned to see how the pond had re-established itself after the dredging some three or four years ago. This, and the visit to nearby woods, had to be cancelled due to heavy rainfall. It is hoped that this will be done next year.

22 May. A further visit was made to monitor plant growth in Leeping Stocks Reserve on the Doward. Last year a permanent 5 m. quadrat was laid down in a cleared section of woodland undergrowth in Compartment 3. These results were checked and another permanent 5 m. quadrat laid down in Compartment 4 in uncleared woodland. A continuing comparison can be made between the ground flora types and rates of growth of the two areas.

In the cleared part of Compartment 3 the soil is hard and dry, on chalk and shaded in summer. Comparison with 1988 shows a decline in ash and hawthorn seedlings and ivy. Clematis and bluebell have disappeared for this year. The other seventeen species recorded had increased in number, especially the bullace which suckers and even the common spotted orchid. Milkwort, strawberry, yellow pimpernel, cuckoo pint and dogwood seedlings have appeared with, more ominously, bracken.

After lunch the party walked to see the tufa formation at the springs of Dripping Wells, between the limestone cliff and the Wye Valley.

6 June. An afternoon visit was made to Common Hill and the Monument Reserve at Fownhope to make random plant counts, especially cowslips. Thirty species were listed in the field at the top of Common Hill. Recording became difficult as the rain descended and deciphering the results later from soggy pieces of pencilled paper even more so. Refuge and tea was taken in cars and later a walk in the Monument Reserve showed similar species, which were not recorded. Orchids, twayblade and moonwort can still be found.

4 July. An afternoon expedition was made to Ewyas Harold Common led by Dr. Michael Harper to see dayflying moths and butterflies.

An introductory talk was given, in the shade, about the classification of the 2,500 species of Lepidoptera in Britain and the fact that butterflies are slotted half way among the Lepidoptera families with moth groups differing as much from each other as from butterflies. Various types of moths and butterflies were discussed with their physical

characteristics and habitat requirements. It was an extremely hot day so the moths and butterflies on the wing were moving very fast - too fast for easy identification.

The small heath was seen, which lives in well-grazed land off the main footpaths amid bracken. Large white and speckled wood butterflies were seen, also the peacock and small tortoishell, both of which hibernate as adults. The small tortoishell seems to be declining in numbers - perhaps because the mild winters have allowed its hibernation to be broken and then it fails to survive the rest of the winter.

The grass moths (*Crambus pascuella*) were abundant and easily seen when flying as they have very large hindwings. These they fold like umbrellas on landing so becoming very inconspicuous. It was expected that burnet moths would be found on the grazed grassland, with their club-shaped antennae like butterflies, but they flew so fast that no one was prepared to guarantee their identification despite their brightness. Some of the best colonies of high brown fritillaries are to be found in Herefordshire, especially on common land, but they are rare elsewhere in Britain. Several pairs were seen clearly with their large wings but all flying fast and not settling long enough for the mother of pearl spots to be visible on their underwings.

Often such expeditions are marred by cool weather and non-emergence of butterflies, this proved to be the other extreme.

13 August. We were invited to join the Botanical Society, led by Ian Hart, on their visit to look at the plant rehabilitation of Ebbw Vale coal tips and those of adjacent valleys.

At the head of the valleys where coal outcropped in the past an area of dereliction has existed for some years. Now rebuilding of housing and light industries is designed to combat unemployment. Further down the valley at the Garden Festival Site an ambitious scheme of reclamation and replanting is under way to provide amenities and entertainment for locals and tourists, to be opened in 1992. At the beginning of the year the valley sides were strewn with metal debris and unwanted pit gear, now it is heartening to see the changes and the chequerboard of plant nurseries.

Further down the valley another pit at Marine Colliery was closed in May 1989. Houses have been refurbished and modernised and the school, once at valley bottom, was moved uphill after the Aberfan disaster. Since that tragedy the National Coal Board has spent more than £200 million making tips safe by re-locating or re-aligning them, putting in adequate drainage and providing stepped profiles to combat soil slip. Tree planting is usually coniferous at first. In this part of Ebbw Vale there is still a sessile oak wood at its most westerly limit, which is an SSSI. It is the aim of the NCB to restore the valley sides to their previous rich woodlands with common land on the open moors on top, improved and replanted to give better grazing.

Other colliery areas were visited and their tips still had a barren, black, windswept landscape with reclamation just beginning. After re-alignment, levelling and draining a thin layer of soil is spread and two-year old trees planted in holes 600 mm. deep of 350 mm. diameter with a backfill of peat, organic matter and soil. They seem able to grow in the coal debris without ill effects. Some conifers and silver birches are able to seed and grow in abundance naturally. So also does the pink centaury, looking far too delicate to

cope with such an unfriendly environment. 50% of NCB planting is grey and common alder as they are able to withstand the resultant drought conditions after drainage. Other valleys visited have completely new profiles now. Where possible the lowest valley sides are left to regenerate naturally. Water run-off has carved runnels; nevertheless these become stabilised fairly rapidly.

The primary tree colonisers that come in from surrounding woods are the pioneer silver birch then willow, oak, ash and rowan. The primary herbaceous colonisers capable of coping with a dry environment are common centaury, small cudweed, sticky groundsel, eyebright, sticky mouse ear and pearly everlasting (*Anaphalis margaritacea*) from north America. Some thirty-six species occur on these reclaimed tips.

The field trip, viewed with apprehension lest it was too depressing, became one of hope showing how dereliction can be overcome, the countryside restored and areas of conservation established.

17 August. An afternoon field trip was made to survey churchyards as possible areas of conservation. As 1989 was another year for the Best Kept Churchyard Competition with the emphasis towards conservation rather than neatness alone, the object was to evolve a quick method of surveying and measuring a churchyard, using the church itself for a series of base lines, and then sampling plant growth. The results obtained, together with those of 1988 will be of value should advice be sought for possible future conservation areas. Surrounded by intensive farming and diminishing copses and hedges country churchyards are often the only oases left for wildlife feeding and shelter.

Two churches were visited - Kinnersley and Sarnesfield. Both have stone walls on three sides with plant cover which provides nesting sites for birds and bees, Sarnesfield is also flanked by woodland on three sides. Tombstones in both have a good lichen flora. The grass sward if mowed regularly does not allow flowering plants to seed easily whereas peripheral areas, if mowed only occasionally, would give a herb-rich grass without conveying an unkempt or uncared-for appearance.

28 September. A field trip walking part of Malvern Geological Trail was led by Peter Thomson.

For over a century the Malvern Hills Conservators have protected the hills and their unique geological sites. The Nature Conservancy Council (NCC) has now produced a geological guide to the area, spreading the fieldwork to less well known and from over-visited sites, encouraging observation and recording rather than collecting of any sort. The NCC have also cleared vegetation-overgrowth and talus-buildup at these sites so that rock features are visible again.

The day's activities started at the Gullet Quarry and since our last visit the unconformity junction between the complex Pre-Cambrian and the steeply dipping Silurian rocks is clearer with ripple marks visible also in the rock face above. Successful search for trace marks and fossils was made in the debris below, giving evidence of the tropical climates of the time of their deposition. These were carefully returned to the debris for future visitors.

At the top of Swinyard Hill the view to the west showed scarps and vales formed from the eroded tight folds of Silurian limestones and shales, convoluted by folding and a

thrust fault from the east during the Caledonian mountain building period. To the north the line of the Malvern ridge could be seen where it had slid westward along horizontal faults over softer and younger rocks below, making an increasingly steep slope as these rocks eroded. To the east the Jurassic hills of the Cotswolds and the Bredon outlier were clear. The Malvernian faultline along the east side of the hills gave a very steep edge during the Hercynian, or Variscan, mountain period at the end of the Carboniferous, and formed an inland desert basin to the east, like the Sinkiang today, later filled in with New Red Sandstones of the Triassic period and forming much of the Midland Basin.

The walk continued to Clutter's Cave. The rocks around contain basaltic pillow lavas formed on the seabed at a subduction zone. These zones occur where one crustal belt is diving below another forming an oceanic trench and an adjacent volcanic island arc. Such activity took place in the Pre-Cambrian period some 700-800 million years ago.

Expeditions were also made by car to roadside cuttings where exposures of Old Red Sandstone could be seen formed by fast-flowing rivers from the mountains to the north-west in desert conditions. Then Britain was south of the equator. Other cuttings showed exposures of Triassic New Red Sandstone formed by rivers of central-continental desert basins with periodic rain-giving scree, later consolidated to form breccia. Britain was then north of the equator but much further south than now. Dune bedding sections were also visible, formed from blown sands. The bedding can be etched out by weathering showing the original deposition patterns and wind direction. Small reptile fossils can be found.

Weather Statistics 1989

Month	*Max. temp shade °C*	*Min. temp shade °C*	*Nights air frost*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in one day mm.*	*Days with more than 0.1 mm. rain*
January	13.5	-2.5	4	28.3	8.0	11
February	14.0	-2.0	5	65.3	15.0	15
March	20.0	-2.0	2	46.8	9.9	15
April	17.0	0	1	62.6	19.0	8
May	29.0	-2.0	1	29.5	16.5	7
June	33.0	1.0	0	33.5	13.0	11
July	35.5	7.5	0	18.5	7.7	4
August	31.0	5.5	0	40.6	19.0	7
September	28.0	6.0	0	36.0	32.3	5
October	21.0	3.0	0	89.0	31.2	14
November	15.0	-4.0	7	57.9	16.6	10
December	13.0	-2.0	4	134.9	20.0	15

Highest temperature 21 and 24 July: 35.5°
Lowest temperature 25 November:- 4°
Total rainfall for year 642.9 mm.
Days with rainfall 122

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

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