# **TRANSACTIONS**

OF THE

# WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"



"HOPE EVER"

**ESTABLISHED 1851** 

**VOLUME XLVII 1993** 

PART III

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PART III

## Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 1993

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

										Page
Proceed	dings, 1991 1992 1993	-	:	•						1 129 277
Woolh	ope Room, b	у <b>J. W</b> . Тог	okin	120	-		-			15
Woolh	ope Club Ba	dge - Carpe	t Bed, b	y Murie	l Tonkin	-	-			17
George	: Marshall, b	y F. W. Pex	ton	-					-	18
An Eai	rly Motte and	d Enclosure	at Upto	on Bisho	p, by Elia	zabeth	Taylor	-	-	24
The M	ortimers of V	Wigmore, 12	214-1282	2, by Ch	arles Hop	kinsor	-		-	28
The Ol	d House, Vo	wchurch, b	y R. E.	Rewell a	ınd J. T. S	Smith			7.5	47
Herefo	rdshire Stree	t Ballads, b	y Roy F	Palmer				-	20	67
	ge and Roma Ruth E. Ric				e Herefor		Area	20	23	144
Excava	tions at Kilp	eck, Heref	ordshire	, by R. S	Shoesmitl	1 -	*5	-	*	162
	Nash and Hu D. Whitehe				er in Here	efordsh	ire	5/	-	210
Chang	es in Herefor	dshire duri	ng the V	Voolhop	e Years,	by G. I	Rees	2	-	289
Herefo	ordshire <b>B</b> arr	ows, by L.	V. Grins	sell -		4		-	-	299
	ts and Offen P. E. H. Ha					Dioces	e, 1397,	ā	-	318
		RE	PORTS O	f Sectio	ONAL REC	ORDER	s			
Archa	eology, 1991				2	2		-	-	83
		, by R. Sho		-	-	-	0	-	-	237
_		, by R. Sho			11	. 10	in in the second	1	-	35]
Botan	y, 1991, by P								-	92
		Thomson Thomson							-	245 355
	1773, Uy F	. I IIOIIIIIOIII	noming II	(PLOIDED)		minear c	outety IN	ACOI (12	-	٠,٠

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

									Page
Proceedings, 1991	~	-	-	-		-	-	-	1
1992	-	-		-	-	-			129
1993	2	-	-	-		*	-		277
Woolhope Room,	by J. W. To	nkin	2	2	12	2	-		15
Woolhope Club B	adge - Carpe	t Bed, b	y Murie	l Tonki	n -	-	-	-	17
George Marshall,	by F. W. Pex	cton	-	-	13			-	18
An Early Motte a	nd Enclosure	at Upto	on Bisho	p, by E	lizabeth	Taylor		-	24
The Mortimers of	Wigmore, 12	214-1282	2, by Ch	arles H	opkinso	n -		-	28
The Old House, V	owchurch, b	y R. E. 1	Rewell a	nd J. T	Smith	-			47
Herefordshire Stre	eet Ballads, b	y Roy F	Palmer	-				-	67
Iron Age and Ron	nana British	Farmla	nd in the	Heref	ordshire	Area			
by Ruth E. R		-	nu m m	TICICIO	-	Alca		-	144
Excavations at Ki	lpeck, Herefe	ordshire	, by R. S	Shoesmi	th -	-	-	28	162
John Nash and H	umphry Rep	ton: an i	encount	er in He	refordsl	nire			
by D. Whiteh		-	-	(=:)	-	(*)		-	210
Changes in Herefo	ordshire duri	ng the V	Voolhop	e Years	, by G.	Rees	*	7	289
Herefordshire Bar	rows, by L.	V. Grins	sell -	-	-	-	-	-	299
Defaults and Offe	nces of Clerc	ny and I	aity in I	Jerefor	d Dioces	a 1307			
by P. E. H. H	~	sy and L		-	i Dioces	=	=	-	318
	Re	PORTS O	f Sectio	DNAL RI	CORDER	RS			
	_ <b></b> .								
Archaeology, 199			-	-		**	-	-	83
	2, by R. Sho					-	-	-	237
	3, by R. Sho		-		*	-		-	351
Botany, 1991, by									92
• •	P. Thomson	_				_		-	245
1003 hv	P Thomson	ncing H	erefords	hire Ro	tanical (	Society	Records	_	355

Buildings, 1991, by J. W. Tonkin -		-	+	-	-	-	95	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	
1992, by J. W. Tonkin -	-	-	-	-	-	-	247		
1993, by J. W. Tonkin -	-	-	+	-	-	-	357		'age
Entomology 1002 by 1 Contra							2.62	Woolhope Club Badge - Carpet Bed	
Entomology, 1993, by J. Cooter -		-		•	-		362	Pl. I Woolhope Club Badge, Churchill Gardens, 1991	
Geology, 1991, by P. Cross		-	-	-		-	104	Early Motte and Enclosure at Upton Bishop	
1992, by P. Cross	27	3			-	-	252	·	26
1993, by P. Cross -		-	*	*	-	-	363	Fig. 1 Pottery	26
Herefordshire Field-Names, 1991, b	y G. Spra	ackling		-			105	The Mortimers of Wigmore, 1214-1282	
	y G. Spra	_		-		_	254	Map Wales: lordships of the Mortimers in 1282	41
1993, b	y G. Spra	ackling		*			364	•	
								The Old House, Vowchurch	
Industrial Archaeology, 1991, by J.			•			-	110	Pl. II N. elevation	
1992, by J.	van Laun	:				-	260	III Hall showing doorway to service room, housing for	
Mammals, 1991, by W. H. D. Winc	е -		-			_	114	second door-head, and chamfered stud in partition	
1992, by W. H. D. Winc		-	-	. = 1			262	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
, 3								IV Hall showing fireplace with reused timber lintel,	
Ornithology, 1991, by Beryl Hardin	g -		-	-	-		116	post carrying inserted binding beam, and moulding on latter and bearer	
1992, by Beryl Hardin	_	-	-	-	-	-	263	On latter and beater	
1993, by Beryl Hardin	g -	17	30	(2)		-	368	Fig. 1 a. First floor	49
City of Hereford, Conservation Are	a Advisor	гу Сотп	nittee,					b. Ground floor	49
1991, by Joe Hillaby-	-		-	-		1(7)	119	2 Development diagram	51
1992, by Joe Hillaby	-	-	-	+	-	-	267	· · · · ·	
1993, by Joe Hillaby	-	- 7	1.7	(7)	•	-	371	3 a. White Haywood Farm, Craswall; ground floor	60
Archaeological Research Section, 1	001 by G	roham C	ngo aklin	~			121	b. Wellbrook Manor, Peterchurch; ground floor	60
	992, by P.			g	-	_	270	4 White Haywood Farm, Craswall; development diagram	62
	993, by P.			370		-	373	5 a. Court Farm, Craswall; ground floor	63
Natural History Section, 1991, by B			-	-		-	123	b. The Old Manor House, Eardisland; ground floor	63
1992, by B	-	~	•	-	-	7.	272	Excavations at Kilpeck	
1993, by B	eryl Harc	ling -	-	-	17	-	381	-	
Weather Statistics, 1991, by E. H. W	Vard -	12	10	121			127	Pl. V Aerial photograph of Kilpeck in 1958	
1992, by E. H. W		2		_	-		276	VI The 1982 Excavation from the south on completion	
1993, by E. H. V				-		1999	387	VII The 1988/9 excavation showing the period 1 trackway from	
								the south-east	
Rules of the Club							388		
List of Durai Louis							***	Fig. 1 Location of Kilpeck	163
List of Presidents							390	2 Earthworks	169
List of Members							392	3 Sites of excavations	172

4	Contour survey	173
5	1982 excavation	176
6	1988/9 excavation plan	181
7	1988/9 excavation section	182
8	Iron objects	188
9	Horseshoes	190
10	Horseshoes	193
11	Pottery	198
John Nash and	i Humphry Repton	
Pl. VIII	The Commercial Street facade of the County Gaol from J. Rees, <i>Hereford Guide</i> (1827)	
IX	The west front of Belmont House, April 1791 - inkwash by James Wathen	
X	Kentchurch Court before Nash's 'improvements', August 1795 - inkwash by James Wathen	
XI	James Wyatt's design for Garnons from Repton's Red Book, July 1791	
XII	Stoke Edith with its 'impediments' from the Red Book, October 1792	
XIII	The cider press temple, designed for the new village at Stoke Edith by William Wilkins, 1792	
XIV	A double cottage and blacksmith's shop for the new village by William Wilkins, 1792	
XV	Stoke Edith from the Red Book shewing the proposed pavilion	
XVI	Nash's new parlour at Stoke, 1793-6	
XVII	The new parlour at Stoke, doors leading to the Painted Hall	
XVIII	'Cottage for Mr. Foley' from the R.I.B.A. Notebook	
XIX	Nash's New Market Place at Abergavenny, 1795, extended 1826	
Herefordshire	Barrows	
Pl. XX	Arthur's Stone Long Barrow, Dorstone	
XXI	Round Barrow, Walford, Letton and Newton	
XXII	Woodbury Hill Long Barrow, Peterchurch	
Map		300

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# Proceedings, 1993

#### SPRING MEETINGS

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

The minutes of the out-of-county visit 1 - 8 September, 1992, based at Hadlow College, Tonbridge, were read and slides taken by members where shown.

SECOND MEETING: 23 January: Mr. G. Rees, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Entomology, Geology, Herefordshire Field-names, Industrial Archaeology and Ornithology gave their reports which are printed on pp. 351-70.

THIRD MEETING: 6 February: Mr. G. Rees, president, in the chair.

Dr. Charles Watkins gave an illustrated talk on 'Uvedale Price and Estate Management.' He explained that Uvedale Price, 1747-1829, was a friend of Richard Payne Knight, both of whom developed the theories of Gilpin, i.e. The Picturesque. The Foxley estate expanded during the 18th century to over 4,300 acres and when it was sold in the 1850s the money was invested in industry. Three sources were used to show the management of the estate. Firstly, an obscure document which on the fly-leaf listed all the plantings 1719-73. Secondly, good manorial surveys with maps of 1770 and thirdly, Nathaniel Kent's survey of 1774. Dr. Watkins said that planting had been carried out by the previous owners, the Rodd family, showing a horseshoe of woodland around the house, a Georgian box. By 1777 the woodlands had increased from 500 to at least 3,000 acres. The small farmers held fifteen-year leases with covenants and their rents had risen by twenty per cent. Kent who was an advocate of small farms also said that the cottager should have half an acre and keep a cow but five acres would be better. He tried to place the farms within a ring fence. Between 1770 and 1774 consolidation and the remodelling of the tenant farms took place and in 1810 there was enclosure by agreement. A carriageway was created around the estate. In the 1790s timber was sold to the Navy and transported down the Wye to Bristol. Woodlands were purchased and exchanged with his neighbours, Thomas Andrew Knight of Wormsley and Peploe of Garnstone. Some twelve acres were felled each year and replanted. In wet places alder was replaced by withy. A tree belonged to the landowner and a pollard to the tenant. Pollards were considered 'picturesque' and an attempt was made to stop the tenants pollarding.

FOURTH MEETING: 6 March: Mr. G. Rees, president, in the chair.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A. gave an illustrated lecture on 'The Celtic Iron Handbells of Marden and Bosbury: St. David or St. Columba?!' He asked why two Celtic handbells from Herefordshire whilst others were from the Celtic fringe. The Marden bell now in Hereford Museum was found 18 ins. deep in a pond at Marden in 1848. It is 11 ins. high,

of bronze rectangular with a shoulder and 4 iron rivets with the clapper missing. The Bosbury bell, now in the Horniman Museum, also of bronze, almost cylindrical in shape has a crude shoulder with 7 rivets and no clapper and was ploughed up in a field at Bosbury in 1888. Mr. Hillaby explained that early Celtic handbells were of two types (1) wrought iron coated with bell metal and (2) cast bronze. In the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. bells from Kilkenny, Temple Moil, co. Galway, Riverdale Bog, West Meath and Millengar, West Meath, had shoulders with 3 rivets. A bronze bell from Castle Island, West Meath has a cross on it. Accounts show that St. Patrick's bell and St. David's bell were used for cursing but usually for swearing an oath of innocence and were carried from place to place. The Celtic cross of c.800 at Kilcullen, co. Kildare has a bell with a crozier on it. A distribution of bells indicates 75 in Ireland of which 44 are of sheet iron and 31 of cast bronze: 19 in Scotland with 14 of iron and 5 bronze: 6 in Wales with 5 of bronze and 1 copper. The question as to whose influence led to these bells being in Herefordshire is perhaps an open one. King Merewald was converted by a Northumbrian, Edfrith, c.660 and this could point to the influence of St. Columba and still earlier from Ireland: on the other hand there are the legends about St. David and Cadog which could show a Welsh influence.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 27 March: Mr. G. Rees, president, in the chair.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 809 members.

Mr. Rees reported on the club's activities during the year and gave his address 'Change in Herefordshire During the Woolhope Years.' which is printed on pp. 289-98.

Dr. J. C. Eisel was installed as president for 1993/4.

## FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 8 May: HAY

A visit was made to Hay Castle which from c.1200 to 1520 was destroyed and rebuilt in 1233, 1402 and 1460 by Henry III, Humphrey, first duke of Buckingham, and Edward, third duke of Buckingham respectively. In the 17th century the Gwynn family owned it and a Jacobean mansion was built inside it as is seen in the gables and chimneys. During the 18th century it was purchased by the Wellington family and in 1833 and 1844 the house and castle were bought by Joseph Bailey and was used as a vicarage. In 1937 it was owned by Mr. Benjamin Guinness and was badly damaged by fire in 1939. Mr. Tuson of Clifford Castle restored much of it and in 1961 it was bought by Mr. Richard Booth. It was damaged by fire in 1978 but is being restored. Glass-blowing was in progress in the craft centre where other crafts, pottery, leatherwork and woodwork were seen. On a walk around the town a number of 17th-century timber-framed houses with 19th-century fronts were seen. Of interest were, the Butter Market 1833, the Cheese Market 1835, the Swan Hotel and Pemberton House early 19th-century and the Clock Tower 1884. The church

dedicated to St. Mary collapsed c.1700 and was almost entirely rebuilt by Edward Hay-cock in 1834 comprising a nave with south and west galleries and a small chancel to which was added an apse in 1866 probably by Nicholson. The tower with an embattled top course is mainly 15th century.

## SECOND MEETING: 27 May: STOURPORT AND HARTLEBURY AREA

In the morning despite the rain members walked around the canal at Stourport which was constructed in 1772 by James Brindley. This was an early narrow canal with locks linking the Midlands to Bristol. Walking around one saw the canal basin, the dry docks and the Tontine Hotel of 1788. It is now a conservation area and members saw the water being lowered and highered for the boats to pass through the locks.

The afternoon was spent at Hartlebury Castle where the party divided into two groups. One party visited the museum which was established as a county museum in 1964 in the north wing. The displays depict archaeology, agriculture, crafts, industries, costume and the domestic and social life through the centuries. The other party visited the State Rooms and were taken around by the wife of the bishop of Worcester. The castle is the official residence of the bishop of Worcester and the site was given to the bishop c.850. A house stood there in 1237 and was moated in 1255. This was plundered during the Civil War, was neglected and the north wing was built in 1675-7. The main hall dates from the 15th century, the chapel is 14th century but was restored in 1746 by Isaac Maddox with fan-vaulting by Keene. The Saloon on the site of an earlier solar is in the rococco style of c.1760 made of papier-mache to look like plasterwork. The stairs of c.1680 lead up to the Library which was constructed in 1782 by Bishop Hurd and contains 7,000 books in recessed bookcases with delicate plaster mouldings. The ceiling and the embossed medallions of famous men are the work of James Smith of Shifnal.

On the return journey Astley Church was visited. It has a Norman south doorway, chancel arch and arcade and an exterior south wall of c.1160 with corbels under the eaves similar to Kilpeck and semi-circular buttresses. The west tower and north chapel and the font are Perpendicular and the north aisle is about 1838. Fine monuments by Gildon of Hereford of Walter Blounte 1561 and his wife Isabel 1562 and of Robert Blounte and his wife Anne 1573 were noteworthy.

## THIRD MEETING: 19 June: STOTTESDON AND ACTON ROUND AREA

In the morning Stottesdon Church, one of the most important in Shropshire, was visited. The tower is early Norman with a Perpendicular top stage. The north arcade is late Norman of five bays with massive circular piers and the south aisle and chancel date from c.1330-40. In 1867-8 due to the soft clay foundations the north and south aisles were restored. The pulpit is Jacobean and the chancel screen, 1901, an example of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The two outstanding features are the Saxon tympanum forming the west doorway under the tower with animals; and the font of c.1160 being the best Norman font in Shropshire and in craftsmanship must be compared with the work at Shobdon, Kilpeck and Bishops Frome.

In the afternoon Acton Round House was visited by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Kennedy. It was built of brick in 1714 by Smith of Warwick for Sir Whitmore Acton of Aldenham. It is two-storied of seven bays with the three-bay centre pedimented and a hipped roof. Inside there are panelled rooms and a good stairway with three twisted balusters to each tread. The garden is being developed. The church has a chancel, nave and a timber-framed belfry and was much altered in 1750. The south porch has a cruck similar to that at Munslow. The Acton family chapel on the north side contains a fine rococco monument by T. F. Pritchard to Sir Whitmore Acton and his wife 1731 and 1759 respectively.

On the return journey a visit was made to the charcoal blast furnace at Charlcotte, one of the best preserved in Britain. Here Mr. van Laun referred to its history and explained how it worked.

## FOURTH MEETING: 15 July: EYE MANOR AND MORTIMER FOREST

At Eye Manor members were welcomed by Mr. and Dr. Mrs. A. G. Moncrieff. Mrs. Moncrieff explained that the house was built in 1680 by Ferdinando Gorges from money accumulated from the slave and sugar trade. The Gorges family in 1786 sold the property to Thomas Harley who owned the nearby Berrington estate. Harley's daughter Anne married the second Lord Rodney who became vicar of Eye and lived in the manor until his death in 1879. As the vicarage had been demolished it remained in use by the incumbents until 1912. Since then it has passed through the hands of the Tribe, Beresford, Carver, Sandford families and now the Moncrieffs. In the house were seen nine plasterwork ceilings dating from the late 17th century, each with its own motif in the Italian style and all modelled by hand. The staircase has turned balusters and the original mullioned and transomed windows have been replaced by sashes. The garden is being restored. The church dates from Norman times; the south arcade c.1190, the north arcade, c.1210-20, the chapel on the north side of the chancel later 13th century and the clerestorey of the nave c.1300. The pulpit is dated 1681 and some benches 1684. The alabaster monuments to the Cornewall family are c.1520 and c.1540.

Mr. John Speed met the party in the Mortimer Forest and guided the coach around the forest roads pointing out various features. He said the forest covers 18,000 acres and was now being managed on conservation as well as production lines. Areas have been set aside for wild life and several waymarked walks varying from one to ten miles have been laid out. The fallow deer management is carried out in co-operation with the neighbouring estates to keep the number and quality in balance with the farming and forest habitants so that browsing damage is limited. Clear felling and replanting is taking place.

#### FIFTH MEETING: 12 August: GROSMONT AND SKENFRITH AREA

This meeting was the president's choice. At Grosmont the church, castle and Grand-montine museum were visited. The church is cruciform in plan and dates mainly from the 12th century with 13th-century north and south transepts. In the 1870s J. P. Seddon almost rebuilt the chancel and restored the transepts. The old nave was cleared and has

been left unused ever since. The roof of the nave is thought to be c.1240. The west front, tower and spire are 14th century and the porch 15th century. The castle dates from c.1210 with the gatehouse and three towers c.1220-40 and buildings outside the north tower c.1330. In the old school an exhibition of the work of the Grandmontine society with special reference to the work being undertaken at Craswall Priory was seen.

Next visited was White Castle consisting of inner and outer wards and a hornwork, all moated. The curtain wall dates from 1184-6 with the circular towers and chapel of c.1263. Repairs were carried out in 1437-8 and 1481 but by the 16th century it was roofless and derelict.

Next visited was Skenfrith Castle, the third of the three castles which were in common ownership during the medieval period and controlled this sector of the Welsh Marches. It was probably constructed 1228-32 consisting of a gatehouse, curtain wall and four corner towers each with three chambers. The central round tower was built on a man-made mound and was completed in 1244. The buildings on the west side of the court-yard were found during excavations in 1954. The semi-circular tower in the centre of the west curtain probably dates from the second half of the 13th century. Skenfrith Church is dedicated to St. Bridget who was abbess of the monastery at Kildare in Ireland. It is built of red sandstone with nave, north and south aisles and chancel with a tower at the west end. It is in the Early English style and probably dates from 1199-1216. Of particular interest is the 15th-century English embroidered cope and the tomb of John Morgan and his wife Ann who died 1557 and 1564 respectively. John Morgan was the last governor of the three castles visited today.

The last visit was to Garway Church, a church of the Knights Templars c.1170 which passed to the Knights Hospitallers in 1308. Excavations by Jack in the 1920s revealed the foundations of a circular church which can still be seen in the round nave and chancel with the chancel arch being late Norman, 1170-90. The chapel dating from c.1210 and the nave were rebuilt in the 16th century. The partially detached tower is early 13th century with a 17th-century top stage.

## SIXTH MEETING: 11 September: BATSFORD AND CHIPPING CAMPDEN AREA

The morning was spent at Batsford Arboretum. In 1490 the estate belonged to the Freeman family, but it was Algernon Bertram Freeman Mitford, later Lord Redesdale, who laid out the gardens, pulled down the old Georgian house and built the present one 1888-92. Since 1956 it has been developed as an arboretum and during the last thirty years Lord Dulverton has increased the number and variety of trees, particularly magnolias and maples.

The afternoon was spent in Chipping Campden. First visited was the Woolstaplers' Hall said to have been built by Robert Calf, a wool merchant, c.1340. In the entrance hall there is a 14th-century fireplace and the original stone walls. On the second floor is the fine Woolstaplers' Hall with an arch-braced collar-beam roof, and another 14th-century fireplace with the Calf arms in the spandrels. Today the house is a museum with eleven rooms full of artefacts and bygones depicting all walks of life. En route to the church were

seen the Market Hall, 1627; Gravel House of the 14th century, the lodges and gateway to Campden Manor c.1613 and the almshouses, 1612. The church was rebuilt as a complete unity c.1450 although the south doorway, the trefoil piscina in the south wall and the north wall of the north chapel date from the 13th century whilst the crypt, the north aisle, the chancel walls and the south porch are 14th century. In the south chapel, known as the Hickes Chapel, are the 17th century effigies of Sir Baptist Hickes and his family. In the chancel floor are fine brasses to William Grevel and his wife, the Welleys, the Lethenards and the Gybbys, all dating from the 15th century. Also of interest were the medieval cope c.1380 and the 15th-century altar hangings. The tower dating from the 15th century is 120 ft. high.

## NORFOLK VISIT: 1-8 September

Thirty-one members of the Club spent a week in Norfolk based at Easton College, near Norwich. On the journey to Norwich a picnic lunch was taken in the garden at Rousham Park, Oxfordshire, following a guided tour of the house. The house was built for Sir Robert Dormer in about 1635. William Kent (1685-1748) remodelled the house in 1738-40 turning the exterior (in the words of Pevsner) 'into something vaguely resembling an Early Tudor palace in free Gothic style.' The interior retains much of Kent's work including the Painted Parlour described by Pevsner as 'one of the most exquisite small rooms of the 18th century in England.' The garden is of historic importance since it remains almost as created by Kent. It represents the first phase of English landscape design from which developed the Picturesque movement (in which Sir Üvedale Price of Foxley and Richard Payne Knight of Downton played an important role). There is a fine stone dovecote dated 1685. A further stop for tea was made at Bromham Water Mill, Bedford (1695) which has been restored to a working condition. After dinner the programme for the week was outlined by Dr. Pexton.

The following morning, Thursday, was devoted to the Norfolk Broads and began with a visit to the Norfolk Naturalists' Trust Visitor Centre at Ranworth. This floating thatched timber building tethered to the edge of Ranworth Broad was approached along a 'boardwalk' Nature Trail. From an upper gallery birdlife on the Broad was viewed through binoculars. Displays below illustrated the evolution of the Broads from flooded peat diggings and the present-day conservation problems which are the principal concern of the Trust. Some members also viewed Ranworth Church, notable for its beautiful 15thcentury screen, before the journey around the river Bure and through Wroxham in order to reach How Hill House which stands on high ground overlooking the river Ant. After hearing a detailed explanation of the relatively modern house (now a Residential Education centre), the garden and the surroundings members walked to How Hill Staithe and embarked on a motor cruiser for the hour-long journey along the river Ant and across Barton Broad to Stalham. Lunch was taken aboard. The afternoon was spent in Norwich where members, provided with a detailed map, were free to decide what to see. Many visited or viewed: the Mustard Shop (tracing 150 years of Colman's Mustard); the Strangers' Hall Museum containing a 15th-century merchant's hall; the fine 15th-century church of St. Peter Mancroft; the Assembly House (1754); the Guildhall (1410); Elm Hill, the most picturesque street in Norwich; the Market Place; the Norman Castle; and the Cathedral Close. After dinner the assistant Curator of the Norfolk Rural Life Museum (to be visited later) spoke on Norfolk country life and the collections of the Museum.

Norwich was again visited on the following morning, Friday, when members were taken on a guided tour of the Cathedral after seeing an excellent video of its history. The building of the Cathedral in Barnack and Caen stone began in 1096 after the see of East Anglia moved finally to Norwich from Thetford. The architectural styles we now see are Norman and Perpendicular and it is worth noting that there are 1,005 carved and painted roof bosses. In the late 1970s, and then occupying three separate properties, a 15thcentury first-floor cloth merchant's hall was discovered in King Street, one of the oldest and formerly the most important commercial and residential thoroughfare in Norwich. It has been restored by the Norfolk and Norwich Heritage Trust and the whole of the building, including an undercroft, opened to the public as Dragon Hall (so-named in view of the intricately carved dragon inserted in one - and probably originally in all - of the roof spandrels). This building was visited next when its history and structure were explained. After the journey to Blickling Hall (National Trust) a picnic lunch was first taken before entering the house and grounds in the afternoon. Blickling was built of brick with stone dressings (1616-27) for Henry Hobart (pronounced Hubbard), Lord Chief Justice, by Robert Lyminge. It is one of the major Jacobean houses of England, particularly notable for its 127 ft. long Gallery (1620), but with alterations in 1765-80. The earlier designers of the fine garden and park are unknown but Humphrey Repton and his son John Adey Repton were involved from the late 18th century. Together with its estate Blickling was left to the National Trust by Lord Lothian in 1940, the first of many great and complete estates left to the Trust, led by Lothian's example, under the Country House Scheme. The final visit of the day was to the round-towered Taverham Church where the Rector had pinned to the door a note of welcome to the Club. Built mainly of flint with stone dressings, and formerly completely thatched, apart from the Norman tower and doorway it is in the Decorated style. Framed by the communion rail were beautiful 14thcentury traceried roundels and other designs which presumably derived from a former screen. After dinner, Mr. Stephen Heywood, Norfolk Conservation Officer and Historic Buildings Secretary of Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, spoke of the ruined church at North Elmham (to be visited later). The Report of excavations by Stuart Rigold in 1962 suggested a pre-Conquest date for the earliest part of the ruins (subsequently built over by a 14th-century manor-house). This implied a Saxon stone cathedral site and appeared to tie-in with later nearby excavations of a Saxon cemetery and village. A paper by Mr. Heywood (J. Br. Archaeol. Assoc. 135 (1982) 1-10) considered documentary evidence and reassessed the excavation evidence from the architectural point of view, concluding that the earliest stonework relates to a post-Conquest chapel, probably built by Bishop de Losinga (1091-1119). An analogy was drawn with the Bishop's chapel at Hereford of similar date.

On Saturday morning the first visit was to the Norfolk Rural Life Museum at Gressenhall which occupies a former Union House of Industry opened in 1777. Paupers in all conditions from fifty parishes had been sent to this workhouse. The large buildings and the adjacent farm now provide excellent accommodation for the museum and several

members wondered where accommodation might be found for a similar museum in Herefordshire. The second visit of the day was to the village of Castle Acre, a site rich in history and 'dominated by two great symbols of medieval power: a castle to guard its owner's possessions in this world, and a monastery to help his smooth transition to a better life in the next.' The castle, one of the grandest motte and bailey castles in England, was sited to control the Peddars Way where it crosses the river Nar - in those days almost certainly navigable from the Wash. Following excavations in 1972-7 it is now clear that a relatively undefended early Norman country house (1070-85) was first converted to a strong keep and then surrounded by increasingly massive perimeter defences apparently in response to unsettled conditions. After members had visited the castle, the village and (some) the church, a picnic lunch was taken in the grounds of the priory. The priory was founded about 1090 for twenty-five to thirty Cluniac monks, a small number in view of the size and grandeur of the buildings. The remaining part of the west front of the church is notable for the doorway of four orders set in triple series of wall arcades separated by ornamental string courses. The final visit of the day was to the moated Oxburgh Hall (National Trust) built in 1482. The chief 15th-century survival of interest is the magnificent gate-house, the Great Hall having been demolished in 1775. Subsequent Victorian building has, however, left to us a building which has a picturesque appearance. Of particular note inside was the display of needle-work by Mary Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick.

Sunday morning is normally left free but most members joined a walk around the college grounds led by a member of staff who explained the horticultural work being carried out. After lunch at the College, and under the heading of 'industrial archaeology,' a visit was paid to the Thursford Collection of Organs and Engines, where for many the sound of Wurlitzer and fairground organs, together with a ride on a Gondola Switchback roundabout evoked memories of earlier days. The ruined church and the nearby parish church at North Elmham were then visited. The new interpretation of the ruins explained to us earlier by Stephen Heywood was considered. However, the custodian of the key to the gate of the site seemed unaware of the changed interpretation and wondered 'why things could not be left as they were.'

Monday morning was devoted mainly to visits to two large churches, Salle standing tall and isolated and Cawston surrounded by houses in an adjacent village. Both were financed by the profits of the wool trade and we are told that the stone for Salle came from Barnack and that for Cawston from Caen. It is their sheer size and the fine woodwork which are so impressive; Salle with its tall font canopy, arm and pulley, three-decker pulpit, misericords, original traceried doors, and the roofs; and Cawston with its magnificent hammer-beam roof and screen with doors. Lunch was taken in the restaurant at Fellbrigg Hall (National Trust) before visiting the house and garden. The house is unusual in having a Jacobean south front (1620) and a west front (1676-87) in a quite different classical style reflecting the revolution in English architecture which was taking place at that time. The original Jacobean house is probably by Robert Lyminge, builder of Blickling. For most of its history the owner of the house was of the Windham family; and William Windham II (1717-61) was accompanied by his exact contemporary Robert Price (1717-61, father of Uvedale Price) of Foxley, Herefordshire on the Grand Tour (1738-41). After

leaving Felbrigg Hall members proceeded to Sheringham station where they boarded a specially reserved coach on a steam train of the North Norfolk Railway for the five-mile journey to Holt. The railway line, part of which runs along the sea coast, was first opened by the Eastern and Midlands Railway in 1887. It closed in 1964 but was reopened by enthusiasts in 1976. The last visit of the day was to Letheringsett Water Mill (1802) which had been restored by the present owner. The operation of the machinery was demonstrated and the dressing of the stones described in an interesting manner by the owner. After dinner Richard Hobbs, Director of the Norfolk Naturalists Trust spoke of the work of the Trust and their various Reserves. Members were interested to learn of contacts which he had recently had with the Herefordshire Nature Trust.

The following morning, Tuesday, began with a journey to Morston Quay on the north Norfolk coast from where members travelled in an open boat in brilliant sunshine to Blakeney Point. The Point is a shingle spit leaving the coast at Cley. Dunes have been formed on part of this shingle by the wind-blown sand which has been stabilised by Marram grass and mosses. It has been a nature reserve, owned by the National Trust, since 1912. Early September is not a good time there for observing bird-life but many common seals were seen on the beaches. After returning from the Point lunch was taken at the Ouay followed by a visit to the village of Blakeney. This is a popular amateur sailing and holiday area. Next visited were the remains of Binham Priory founded about 1091 for Benedictine monks. Part of the former priory church is still in use as the parish church and the west front (probably 1226-44) contains a large central window having what is believed to be the earliest example of 'bar tracery' in England. The nave arcades show an interesting development in architectural style from Norman to Early English as building progressed from about 1130. There was then an opportunity to walk around and take tea in the nearby village of Little Walsingham, a place of pilgrimage since the 11th century. The final visit of the day was to the church of Burnham Thorpe where the father of Horatio Nelson was Rector when Nelson was born at the nearby rectory.

On the return journey to Hereford a visit was paid to the prehistoric flint mines at Grimes' Graves where the exhibition was viewed and where one of the excavated shafts was descended. Lunch was taken at St. Neots and a further stop made at the garden of the former Cluniac nunnery of Delapre Abbey, Northampton. The nearby Queen Eleanor cross is the best of the three remaining crosses. Tea was taken at Seymour House, Chipping Campden, when Dr. Pexton thanked Keith for his careful driving and helpfulness throughout the week. The staff at Easton College had been thanked earlier for their part in making our visit to Norfolk a most enjoyable one. Mr. Lesser thanked Dr. and Mrs. Pexton for their efforts in organising the visit.

## **AUTUMN MEETINGS**

FIRST MEETING: 2 October: Dr. J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Mrs. Margaret Gray, B.A., F.S.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'The Trinitarian Order.' She explained that very few of their religious houses remain and of the eleven sites

PROCEEDINGS, 1993

in England only one building survives in Norfolk. The Trinitarians can be described as nearest to the Augustinians. It was not a closed order and was founded in 1198 during the time of Pope Innocent, the first house being established at Cerfroid in France. Their aims were three-fold: the redemption of captives, the setting up of hospitals and the support of their own houses. Each house had three canons, three lay brothers and three others. The head of the house was called a Minister and they were allowed only to use donkeys. Little is known about the hospitals but they were always situated near a main road giving easy access for travellers. Many of the houses had either disappeared or were in decline by the time of the Dissolution. They still exist in Spain, South America and Rome and there is a lot of interest in Canada and the U.S.A. The English sites referred to were:

Knaresborough. In the form of a hermit cave, and is still there.

Oxford. Rose Lane was Trinity Lane and the Trinity Chapel by the east gate became Trinity Hall.

Totnes. The site was across the river and was there in 1270.

Newcastle-on-Tyne. The site was near the Roman wall but has completely disappeared. Easton Royal, Wiltshire. The Trinitarians were there in 1251.

Hertford. The site was on the outskirts of town and has completely disappeared.

Hounslow. A modern church of 1963 stands on the site.

Ingham, Norfolk. It was founded as a collegiate church and was built c.1355. It is the only Trinitarian standing building in England.

Thelsford Priory, Warwickshire. In 1970 it was excavated by Mrs. Gray.

It had been founded by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre c.1200 and the Trinitarian church was dedicated in 1286. Excavations revealed a simple church with cloisters. Over the centuries the site had been badly robbed, but evidence of the timber buildings of the Holy Sepulchre canons was found, good stone drains remained and some of the tombs of the Lucy family of Charlecote. Detailed research on the Trinitarians in England by Mrs. Gray has been published this year in B.A.R. 226.

SECOND MEETING: 23 October: Dr. J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Mr. C. C. Hopkinson gave a talk on 'The Lords of the Welsh March.' He explained that in the late 12th century the king had no power over the Marches or the right to interfere. There was continual fighting along the Welsh border which was always changing. The three Marcher earls, Shrewsbury, Hereford and Chester were responsible for the defence along the border and there was no great Norman invasion of Wales, only piecemeal conquest from 1080 to c.1480. The law of England did not apply to the Marches as along the Marches it was the law of Welsh custom whereby the lords kept the right to make private wars and to have one third of all plunder. Marriage was very important, for example, the Mortimers acquired estates which made them the third largest landowners in England and Ireland. Edward I did not like independent lordships and in 1290 tried to stop the earls of Gloucester and Hereford fighting each other and fined them. Edward III left them to themselves when he was involved with Scotland and France. They rarely contributed taxes for the wars. In 1402, however, during the Owen Glendower rebellion the king came to their aid. In 1489 the Council of the Marches was set up and remained in

Ludlow until 1689. In 1536 Henry VIII abolished the lordships, reorganised Wales into counties which remained until the reorganisation of 1974. The law of England was then applied to Wales.

THIRD MEETING: 13 November: Dr. J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Mr. R. A. J. Stone, M.A., A.I.F.A. gave an illustrated talk on the 'Excavations in the Cathedral Close.' He explained that the excavations were necessary on the site where the building to house the Mappa Mundi, the Chained Library and the archives will be erected. The site lies west of the cloister and south-east of the Saxon cross-roads. The burial ground was closed in 1791 and landscaped in 1850. Some 300-400 skeletons were expected to be found whereas over 1,100 have been excavated including about 200 in three 14th-century pits possibly victims of the Black Death in 1348. Also a large charnel pit contained hundreds of reburied skeletons probably moved when the Norman cathedral was built. The earliest evidence on the site was a gravel street lined with stone buildings, one with a cellar three metres deep. Half of the burials have been reburied and the other half have been stored for analysis. Finds include dress pins, brooch pins, rings, garter hooks and bone combs, Stamford and Chester ware and at the bottom, a sword in a wooden scabbard. The bones showed evidence of arthritis and much will be discovered about the human diet.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 4 December: Dr. J. C. Eisel, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1994 were appointed.

The accounts for the year ending 31 December, 1992, were presented and adopted.

The chairpersons of the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports which are printed on pp. 373-86.

Photocopies of the material referring to Herefordshire in the Notebooks by Mr. R. E. Kay which he had deposited with the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales at Aberystwyth had been received and bound into one volume for the club's library.

The Field-name Survey of all the parishes in Herefordshire has been completed. One hundred and eighteen persons had participated and now a small group was analysing the field-names on a variety of topics.

s Account for the year ended 31st December 1992

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ote: The Club owns £932.70 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) D. HAIGH Honorary Auditor

## Presidential Address

# Change in Herefordshire during the Woolhope Years

By G. REES

The 142 years since the Woolhope was started have produced large social and economic changes. Some of these in the 19th century had effects that were as important for the ordinary person as any taking place now. I intend to point out some of the changes that have been taking place during this time. This review will be selective and not comprehensive as some aspects have been tackled in very great depth by other people and especially members of the Woolhope Club. The centenary volume of the Woolhope Club published in 1954 is an outline of the history of the Club up to that time with excellent specialist chapters on various aspects of Herefordshire. A previous president Mr. Clarence Attfield gave as his presidential address 'Hereford in the 1850s.' This gave a lively and graphic picture of all aspects of Hereford and its people. My topic is Herefordshire, not just the city, but the whole county during the Woolhope years.

Well before the formation of the Woolhope Club in the 17th century, Dr. Beale wrote an address to Samuel Harkils (a friend of Pepys) entitled Herefordshire Orchards, A Pattern for all England but he did not confine himself to orchards. He begins by saying that Herefordshire is reputed 'The orchard of England and in the generality of good husbandry excelleth many other places.' The elm was the commonest tree for oaks were being devoured by the iron mills. A short time before that at which Dr. Beale was writing, Rowland Vaughan had introduced his 'water works' into the county. These were water meadows which he began in the Golden Vale. Vaughan was one of the first people in England to adopt this idea which spread later to many counties. There are now no water meadows in the county although the last ones were reported to be at Weobley. Dr. Beale said that in the county every rill of water is conducted to the best use. Dr. Beale leaves a pleasant picture of gentlemen 'lately contending in profitable ambition to excel one another (in the growing of vines), so that the white Muscatel is vulgar, the purple and the black frequent, the Parsley grape and Frontiniack in many lands,' of walnuts along the roadsides and of all houses however small, surrounded by orchards and gardens. By 1789 T. A. Knight painted a much gloomier picture of agriculture in Herefordshire. He said that more than half the arable land was tilled for less than twelve bushels an acre of corn even when the land had lain fallow the previous summer. Then towards the end of the 18th century there was a revival of interest in agricultural matters throughout England.

The 19th-century Herefordshire may not have had many noticeable changes but we have to look a little closer to see what fashioned the Herefordshire that we know today and what people had to contend with in the years when the Woolhope was started. Off the turnpikes travel was difficult to say the least and in winter appalling would be a better term. 'In my district,' said the member for Monmouth, pleading to the House of Com-

mons, in 1840, 'we do not travel on roads - we move in ditches!' The chaotic state of transport facilities which existed in the rural areas of this country prior to the creation of the County Councils is a standard illustration of the maxim, 'What is everybody's business is nobody's business.' The Courts of Quarter Sessions had power to call to account authorities guilty of persistent neglect, but in actual practice, this power was seldom used. By slow degrees the highway, and the bridges which carried it, passed through the hands of parish vestries, toll-gate trusts, private individuals, ecclesiastical bodies, sanitary authorities, and the military commands; all intermingling in places and leaving large gaps in others. By the Highways Act of 1862, the policy of consolidation was advanced to the stage of creating the Highways Boards. By this act the magistrates of the County were enabled to divide the County according to their own judgement, into Highway Districts. These districts were governed by a mixed board, consisting of resident justices as ex-officio members and waywardens returned by the constituent parishes. The Highway Boards were not particularly effective. Perhaps one of their problems was that their system of appointing surveyors left a lot to be desired. There were complaints that the surveyors had no knowledge and training for the work and that the labour employed was entirely unskilled. Some were employed for no better reason than to avoid giving poor law relief. In an essay on local government, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice quotes instances of road surveyors receiving their appointments for no better reasons than they had failed in farming, or had a large family, sang in church choirs, or were lodge keepers at cemeteries! These glaring examples of uneconomic engagements were confirmed before the Select Committee of the House of Lords. As a result of all this inefficiency the promoters of the Local Government Act of 1888 had no hesitation in abolishing the Highway Boards and handing over responsibility to the new County Councils.

Much has been written about the rise and decline of the railways but there is little about the transformation of the roads especially the minor roads from cart tracks to the system we have today. The turnpike trusts have been well studied and written about. The records of the county council give an outline of road changes but it is difficult to find a lot of local description of the work as opposed to the bare statistics. A previous president, Mr. G. H. Jack gave as his presidential address a talk on the 'Roads and Bridges of Herefordshire' which is an excellent account but he concentrates on the history of the roads in ancient times and spends a lot of the talk on bridges without telling us much about Herefordshire roads in the last half of the 19th century. I am not the first to complain how obscure the history of road administration is in the 19th century as Sidney and Beatrice Webb who wrote a book on the history of the King's Highway in 1913 made the same complaint.

The introduction of the motor car and especially the heavy buses and commercial vehicles caused great inconvenience due to dust and damage to the road surface. The first of these problems could only be overcome by sealing the road surface with tar and the second by much stronger and properly engineered foundations and surface. In general over the country this problem was tackled fairly quickly as by 1913 Britain had a larger mileage of dustless roads than any other country. That is not to say that this was true of Herefordshire as still in 1920 there were many complaints of the dust caused by motor vehicles. In 1920 the situation improved as the Roads Act of 1920 relieved the County

Councils of the responsibility for the upkeep of the main roads. The carriers who had been bringing people to their local towns for many years survived for a surprisingly long time after the introduction of buses. Jakeman and Carvers' directory of 1914 lists ninety carriers coming in to Hereford with corresponding smaller numbers serving the other market towns. Apparently the carriers did not become the bus operators but quietly faded out when the buses took over. In fact a lot of the carriers were women and quite often widows.

1851 was the year of the Great Exhibition when Great Britain was at the height of her power with an expanding empire and industry that was growing at such a rate that it needed the Empire to absorb all its manufactured goods. The Great Exhibition placed a great emphasis not only on industry but on scientific agriculture. These two themes were to have both good and bad effects on Herefordshire. The scientific agriculture would increase the productivity of the Hereford farms with their fertile soils but the cheap food from overseas in payment for manufactured goods would put a great strain on the profitability of Herefordshire farms and depress the standard of living of all connected with agriculture.

Up until the mid-1900s most people led very circumscribed lives. They were constrained by the sheer difficulty of travelling any distance other than to their local town. There was no railway in Herefordshire in 1851. The Shrewsbury to Hereford line opened to passenger traffic in December 1853 and the Hereford to Newport opened in 1854. The branch lines did not open until the seventies and eighties so travel at the beginning of this period was very much as it had been for the previous century. The Bromyard to Leominster line did not open until September 1897. The impact of the railways must have been enormous when they did arrive, and eventually were the factor that altered everybody's life but they did not bring in large industry. The railways were essentially north to south in the county as the east-west topography is very difficult for railways. There never were swift easy communications with the industrial midlands so manufacturers saw no reason to move to this county which had no supply of coal or minerals. Other things did not change quite so quickly as there were still toll roads in use until 1870. One hangover from an earlier age could be found on the Hereford to Gloucester Canal which was open until 1883 with a weekly passenger boat to Ledbury market from 1843. So travel was difficult, expensive and slow away from the railways. There was a great deal of change in the offing but it had not yet made an impact on the ordinary way of life in the country. As usual a lot of the changes came late to Herefordshire. The county was thus insulated from rapid change by its remoteness and the only large industry being agriculture.

Moving on now from those earlier descriptions of agriculture to the period that I want to examine, we can see that some of the crops have changed and the picture is not quite so idyllic. The improvements in agriculture that came about in the middle of the 19th century had far reaching effects on the countryside and the social structure of the county. Another effect of the industrial revolution was the tendency of the industrial entrepreneurs to want to join the landed gentry and try to improve their social status by buying a country estate or building a large country house on their newly-acquired land. The date of some of the new Herefordshire country houses shows this trend. All these houses in their day had an enormous influence on the ecology of the countryside. Estate owners in

general were keen on hunting, fishing and shooting. All of these pursuits depended on a managed countryside which was different in some ways from that of the farmer who was primarily interested in his farm as a production unit. The estates managed the woodlands including brakes and copses to provide cover for game. The result of this is that Herefordshire has a countryside which has preserved more of its traditional landscape and therefore its natural history than counties subjected to more urbanisation due to population increase and industrialisation.

To go back in time again to the 19th century J. H. Matthews wrote The History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in 1910 which gives graphic descriptions of the Herefordshire of his time. I have selected some of his writing about the Wormelow District. In his description of Wormelow he says:- 'No part of England is more remote from what is commonly termed "civilization" than Wormelow, and few of the material advantages which modern life has brought to less secluded places have found their way to this district. The isolation of Wormelow would render it a treasure house of primitive lore - of old customs, folk song, dialect and tradition, were it not that the decline in agriculture in the last quarter of the 19th century, and the consequent disappearance of the old "small gentry", the yeomanry and most of the original peasantry, have left this countryside a beautiful desert, rich in flaura and fauna, but almost bereft of human inhabitants. The story of Wormelow is a record of many centuries of rural prosperity and social well being, shared among a teeming population of hardy Silures and lost in 30 years. Cardiff, Bristol, Birmingham, London and the colonies and the States have drawn of the life blood of the SW Herefordshire. Modern economic conditions have made a wilderness and called it peace. The boundary line between the old time Wormelow and its modern self can be conveniently drawn at 1881, in which year the decay of the old country life and the flow of rural emigration may be considered to have definitely begun.'

Change during the period after the Woolhope was formed was due to factors outside the county having a direct influence on agriculture and so affecting the population and the countryside. The good years of the 1850s and 1860s were associated with an intensification of farming known as the 'High Farming' period. This was brought about by an increased investment in agriculture from the 1840s onward, mainly by the large estates. The Guy's Hospital Estates invested heavily in their estates in the 1850s and 60s as did the Arkwright family. Although the Corn Laws were repealed in 1845 there was large-scale investment in drainage as mass-produced draining pipes were now available together with government grants. This increased the productivity of some of the quite heavy land in Herefordshire. This period of heavy investment was unfortunately followed by a period of reduced returns. The peak of farm sale prices was reached in the 1870s. By the end of the century farms were selling for less than half they would have fetched twenty-five years earlier. The repeal of the corn laws set in train a pattern of events that eventually undermined the prosperity of agriculture and was responsible indirectly for the government intervention that has become such an important factor in farming every since. However it should be remembered that although Herefordshire suffered in years of depression it did not suffer as much as the eastern counties of England because of the diversity of its agriculture. As farmers were not so dependent on cereals, when these became depressed the other crops such as hops and all the livestock helped to maintain a reasonable income or at least a subsistence income. The large estates in Herefordshire also had a good reputation for understanding their tenants problems and adjusting rents accordingly.

There was a cost in human terms to these slumps and depressions. In 1861 the population of Herefordshire was 123,712 and reached a peak of 125,426 in 1871. After 1871 this steadily declined until in 1911 it stood at 114,269, a fall of over 8% but the rural depopulation was much more than this percentage would suggest as over a comparable period the population of Hereford had risen from 15,585 to 22,568 a rise of 44%. Also the birth rate was rising all the time but there was not the work for all these people in the country districts. For the sixty years after 1871 there was a natural increase of slightly under 53,000 but there was an emigration of 65,000 giving a definite downward trend over the whole of this period except for a small rise of 500 in the years 1901 to 1911. This was not just because of a lack of employment on the farms but the industrial revolution was now replacing some of the products of country crafts with cheap mass-produced goods from the large industrial towns. So country people emigrated to the towns and overseas while the population of the local towns especially Hereford increased steadily.

When we get to the first two decades of the 20th century agriculture did not suffer from the pronounced decreases of the 1880s and 90s. In the early years of the new century, cattle continued to provide a larger element of the farmers' income than previously but during the '14-'18 war a new chain of events was set in motion to government controls on agriculture. When these controls were relaxed in the 1920s there were parallels to the events in the 1880s and some of the agricultural changes of that decade were repeated. Cereals and livestock prices were badly affected. This had its effect on the countryside with some land reverting to scrub and a general run down in the standards of husbandry. This was a reversal of the war-time policy when there was compulsory ploughing up of pastures when the government organised the distribution of labour, machinery, fertilisers and feeding stuffs. The new legislation which authorised all this produced an increase in arable land of 1.15 million acres for the whole of the country.

The post-war boom was short lived. After the boom there was a rush of land sales forced by war deaths, rising taxation and high land values compared with the income. A lot of land was purchased by former tenants so generally owner-occupancy rose by about 25% between 1914 and 1927. The repeal of the Corn Production Act in 1921 caused a fall in prices and this was known as the 'Great Betrayal' of British farming. The problems were then the same as the 1870s and 80s, high cost and low prices. Most small farmers just hung on hoping for better times. The larger farmers attempted to reduce their cost by resorting to mechanisation and there was a considerable increase in productivity due to this well before the second world war.

The last war produced the greatest visual change to the countryside. The government controlled every aspect of agriculture and eight million acres were added to the arable land over the whole country. The most unlikely land was ploughed up including common land on the tops of some hills. Most of the scrub disappeared and the country-side had changed dramatically over a few years. By the end of the war owner-occupation had advanced still further and the 1950s produced conditions favouring small owner-occupiers. Later on, with our entry into the EEC, the economies of scale have favoured

larger farms especially cereal farmers. A new form of owner/tenant relationship grew up in the 1970s as large institutions such as insurance companies and pension funds bought agricultural land in the belief that land values would go up in the long term. These institutions are now in retreat as they go back to their 'core business.' Herefordshire has been very lucky in the results of all these policy changes on its countryside. The extreme effects of large-scale production that were and are suffered in eastern England have not been repeated here. Some hedgerows have been grubbed out to enable larger machinery to be used effectively but we have been spared the fields of several hundred or even a thousand acres that can be seen in Suffolk or Hampshire. The Government aided and abetted the destruction of hedgerows but at last public opinion has forced it to do an about turn and the hedgerows are now being looked after and there seems to be a fair amount of hedge relaying in hand every winter especially in the north of the county.

The way crops peculiar to Herefordshire such as hops and cider fruit have been produced has been changing over the years. The small grower of hops has practically disappeared as the Hop Marketing Board has been buying them out by paying £1,000 an acre to take land out of production. This has, and still is changing the look of the country-side especially as the old hopkilns are disappearing or being converted into country houses. Cider apple growing has become more organised under the direction of the large cider producers and the cider factories cannot get enough local fruit for their needs and have to import from abroad, mainly France.

This review of the ups and downs of agriculture in Herefordshire has tried to show the effect this has had on the countryside. The surprising thing is that the look of the countryside has withstood all these changes amazingly well. Due to the C.A.P. the countryside is changing again. We have seen the brilliant yellow fields of oil seed rape for some years now but a new colour that of blue linseed flowers has appeared. This year the set-aside scheme has been made compulsory so we will see 15% of unkempt fields and we shall have to wait and see what flora and fauna re-asserts itself. The depopulation of agriculture as opposed to the people living in the countryside is likely to continue. It is estimated that about one person will be made redundant for every 120 hectares set aside. Some of the latest figures show that over the whole country about 15,000 people are leaving the land every year. Farmers are now being encouraged to diversify and find other sources of income apart from growing crops. We consequently have fish farms, coarse fisheries, snail farms, golf courses, golf driving ranges, cart racing and shooting schools and ranges being set up. These could have a greater effect on the appearance of the countryside than any other change of recent times. We have also just seen a vast number of barn conversions into desirable residences. The housing boom of the late eighties brought in a lot of money which was used to renovate country cottages including many half-timbered ones. This has had a beneficial effect on a lot of housing that under normal times would have deteriorated further. Modern farming has produced some eyesores such as large silos on the skyline and buildings in rather unsympathetic materials as planning permission was not needed for purely agricultural buildings. This changed from the beginning of this year and there will now be more control over agricultural buildings and installations.

During the Woolhope years a large number of Herefordshire churches were restored or rebuilt. Victorian churches have been extensively studied and described but I wish to look at the more mundane subject of the way these churches were funded and the rebuilding organised.

Pevsner's volume on Herefordshire shows how much restoration and rebuilding of Herefordshire churches was carried out in Victorian times and especially the last half of the 19th century. This book does not usually go into detail beyond mentioning the architect or when heavy-handed restoration incurs disapproval. There are at least a further twenty-seven churches that were restored or renovated which are not mentioned. The total number of restorations is about 150. I have always been curious how this enormous repair programme was financed. From a study of the contemporary press cuttings it seems that the money was invariably raised within the parish. Some of the renovations were less than £1,000 but most major restorations were between one and two thousand pounds which, bearing in mind the then value of the pound, was an enormous amount of money to find from an agricultural community. A local account of the rebuilding of Monkland Church is given in The Builder magazine of 19 August 1865. It said that the chancel was rebuilt about 1825, but in the 'vilest style' of that period. By the liberality of the vicar, the Rev. Sir H. W. Baker Bart. (who compiled Hymns Ancient and Modern) that eyesore has been removed and the church generally put through a restoration. The vicar laid out £500, the parishioners sanctioned borrowing of £250 on the rates. The Diocesan Church Rebuilding Society made a grant of £40. The rest was raised by voluntary subscriptions to a total of £1,000 but this was guaranteed by the vicar. Most parishes seem to have raised the money somehow and I have counted 149 after 1851 which had restorations major enough to merit reporting in national papers or journals.

It is rare to find a report of difficulties and restorations that did not take place for lack of funds but again *The Builder* reports on 17 March 1865 the problems encountered at Goodrich. It relates that Colonel Meyrick and other gentlemen offered to undertake the complete restoration of Goodrich Church provided the parish would raise by loan and place at the disposal of the promoters and churchwardens the sum of £500 towards the expenses, and would also consent to the execution of all works in accordance with its architectural design and with ecclesiastical usage. Then followed a detailed list of the actual work involved. A vestry meeting, however, according to the *Hereford Times*, rejected this offer, which would have cost the gentlemen making it £1,000 and consequently it was withdrawn.

A lot of commentators on Victorian architecture have been very scathing about the heavy restoration that replaced some of the original features. However when one appreciates how dilapidated many of the churches were and the limited financial resources available, one must be grateful for the Victorian determination which saved them from further decay if not complete ruin. It was common for roofs to be falling in, walls bulging and when restoration was started it was often found that there were no foundations and rebuilding was the only choice. Sometimes the old church was abandoned and a completely new church built as at Llanwarne and Edvin Loach. Avenbury was abandoned as there was no longer any need for it. Times were changing and the Victorians took the

opportunity to move with the times. Paid pews were going out so that the free seats in the gallery were no longer needed so galleries were taken down and low seats were installed instead of the high boxed pews. Other churches needed to be enlarged for a locally increased congregation so an aisle would be added. Floors were relaid with tiles usually with Godwins encaustic tiles. The energy and money that was put into church restoration and rebuilding after a long period of neglect is truly amazing. The problem now is what to do with churches that are no longer needed due to greatly reduced congregations and in remote areas such as Wormsley and Michaelchurch, no-need at all. Many Victorian churches have been sold off and are now private houses as of course are a lot of the country schools. Fortunately some of the mediaeval churches have been taken over by the Redundant Churches Fund. In Herefordshire they have adopted churches at Llanrothal, Michaelchurch, Moreton Jeffries, Stretford, Wormsley, Yatton, and Yazor. Yazor is interesting as there are two disused churches in the parish. The mediaeval church was replaced in 1851 and it is the later church that is in the hands of the Redundant Churches Fund, Richards Castle Church was also replaced but the old church remained without being demolished or stripped of its seats.

I mentioned earlier that a lot of the estates were broken up and sold after the first world war. However the mansions that were the centre of these estates were still in being until after the last war. Between the wars some large estates had been broken up and the life style in the mansions considerably reduced but after the second world war the conditions for owning large mansions had drastically changed. Some houses had been used by the Forces during the war and were in a bad state and death duties and high taxation meant that some houses were unsaleable. Domestic servants had virtually disappeared in a world which was short of labour and so owners gave up and demolished the house. Preservation orders were not served on them so very large houses disappeared with little fuss and in a very short period. Some were saved by being used by institutions such as schools. Pudleston was a school for many years, and some were converted into flats. The changes that came about after the last war were rapid and dramatic. Between 1948 and 1958 about twenty large Herefordshire country houses were demolished.

I have tried to show how some of the events since 1851 have shaped the Herefordshire countryside and people. There have been great changes in this century especially in buildings and town architecture and planning. Some have been for the worse but I am an optimist and feel that some of the past mistakes will not be repeated. In the sixties we saw some quite amazing buildings erected with the full blessing of the planning authorities. The situation is now improving and more recent buildings seem to fit in very well with their surroundings. Some of the new half-timbered buildings which use the old traditional methods of construction look very attractive and fit in well in our north Herefordshire villages. Most of our major monuments such as Goodrich and Pembridge and Brampton Bryan are well looked after by their owners both public and private. We can have cause to worry about others; Wigmore, Limebrook, Richards Castle, Kilpeck Castle, Craswall Priory and many other sites deserve more care and attention which unfortunately is unlikely to happen in these straitened times.

The Woolhope Club itself was changing throughout this period and we are fortunate that we have a complete and detailed record of everything of note that has happened to

the Club in all the Transactions. They show how the interests of the Club have changed and widened as the body of knowledge outside has increased. The impetus for the formation of the Woolhope was the study of local geology but as early as 1857 other branches of local scientific interest were widening the scope of the Club. By 1864 there was a separate botanical committee within the Woolhope which I suppose can be considered the predecessor of our present day Natural History section. At the beginning of the 1870s the great event in the Club's history came about when James, later Sir James Rankin, made his generous offer to build a museum and meeting room for the Club. In the event he was prevailed upon by the City authorities to include a public library for the town and he contributed £6,000 while the town provided £1,500. Sir James was president three times, in 1869, 1907 and in 1908. Not only did he take part in the Club's activities for many years but he also wrote many papers on scientific subjects and social questions. The Club was indeed fortunate to have such a benefactor to give a headquarters for meetings and a museum for the artefacts that Club members had collected. We may not be able to hold our main meetings in the Woolhope room but I am sure that still having the room as our headquarters maintains a sense of stability and continuity in our affairs. I think it no bad thing to go over these events as Sir James had such a beneficial effect on the Club in the early days and influenced it for a considerable period. I think that his presidential address in 1908 shows what a broad outlook he had. He commented on a lot of the recent discoveries from the theory of evolution, to wireless telegraphy and the discovery of argon by Lord Rayleigh, which he said had shown to scientists that it is indeed rash to be too confident that they have ever found out the whole truth and he went on to say that the 'wonders and glories of creation are unexhausted and inexhaustible.'

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298 G. REES

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# Herefordshire Barrows

By L. V. GRINSELL

SCHEME

Summary

PART I. INTRODUCTION

History of Study

The problem of identification

Type and chronology

Neolithic: long barrows

Beaker phase: round barrows and flat graves

Early and Middle Bronze Age

Late Bronze Age

Early Iron Age

Number, distribution and siting

Funerary ritual

Structure

External relations

Later history

Local names and folklore

Museums containing relevant material

References (in Introduction)

PART II. THE LISTS

Introduction

Long barrows

Round barrows

Supposed round barrows of 'Wessex' types

Supposed round barrow of the pre-Roman Iron Age

Ring-ditches

Abbreviations

Acknowledgements

**Bibliography** 

## Summary

Compared with the adjoining county of Gloucestershire, where nearly eighty long barrows and 400 round barrows are known, and Dorset where more than fifty long and 1,800 round barrows have been listed, Herefordshire has only three certain and three possible long barrows, about sixty-three round barrows, and about seventy-three ring-ditches of which perhaps forty per cent may be the sites of round barrows. It can be inferred that the population of Herefordshire in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages was very small compared with those other counties. It is doubtless for this reason that Herefordshire has never attracted a barrow-digger such as the Batemans of Derbyshire, J. R. Mortimer in Yorkshire, or William Greenwell in the northern English counties. The writer has been unable to locate as much as a single object certainly from any Herefordshire barrow in any public museum.

On the asset side, in Arthur's Stone long barrow the county has one of the best known and most frequently illustrated long barrows in the British Isles.

## PART I. INTRODUCTION

#### HISTORY OF STUDY

In his *Monumenta Britannica* under 1662, John Aubrey gives a very precise account of two barrows near Brandon Camp, which must surely be those here listed as Walford Letton and Newton 1 and 2<sup>1</sup>.

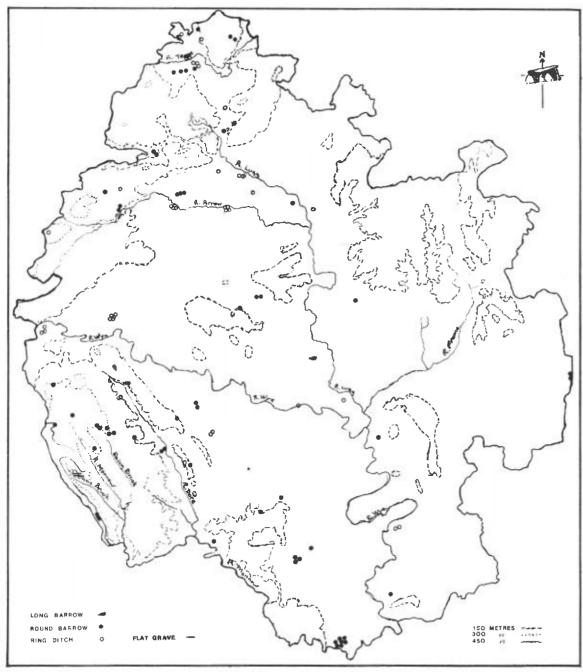
Fol. 44 recto. 'In Herefordshire not far from Lanberden is a Roman Camp, called *Brandon*, about a quarter of a mile from whence, are two Barrows; the Land is Sr Edward Harley's Knight of Bath, Governor of Dunkirk, and my own honoured friend, who caused one of those Barrows to be digged AD 1662, and found therein a greate deale of coales, and some pieces of burnt bones; but in the middle he found an Urne about two foot and a half high, full of coales and ashes and some pieces of burnt bone; I had a little piece of the Urne: it is of a kind of darke muske colour (umbre) a quarter of an inch thick and the middle of it as black as coale. I gave this piece to the Museum Ashmoleanum.

Sir Edward Harley keeps this Urne as a Rarity, as also a piece of a Skull found in this Urne and a coale or two which are yet as plainly discernable to have been of an Oaken stick, as if it had been burn't but yesterday... A Spear's head also which though rustie, still leaps to the Magnet; a piece of rusty copper and something like rotten horne...'

The Ashmolean Museum have no trace of the sherd presented by Aubrey. It is uncertain whether the rest of the urn is still with Sir Edward Harley's descendants.

In his Leominster Guide (1808), 193-4, Jonathan Williams describes what seems to have been a round barrow (Leominster 1) beneath which was a cist containing cremated remains.<sup>2</sup>

Passing over early references to Arthur's Stone (Dorstone I), which are discussed under Local Names and Folklore, the first serious attempt to excavate a Herefordshire barrow was made (without knowing it), by Thomas Wright when he explored St.



Herefordshire Barrows

Weonard's Tump in 1855, and found to his surprise that the Norman motte had been built over one (probably two) small round barrows (St. Weonards 1a, 1b) each of which contained burnt human bones.

#### THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION

Compared with all other counties in Southern England, the problem of identifying barrows in Herefordshire is unusually difficult. Elsewhere they are normally on hills and seldom in valleys. In Herefordshire there is often confusion with Norman mottes, which in this county are more numerous than barrows, especially near the Welsh border; but these are usually in low ground near rivers or streams as their inhabitants needed a good water supply. An exception is St. Weonards. a Norman motte on a hilltop, built over two small round barrows (St. Weonards 1a, 1b) each of which covered an interment of burnt bones, presumably human, when excavated by Thomas Wright in 1849.<sup>3</sup>

Barrows on hilltop situations include Ganarew 1 - 7 within the Ganarew Iron Age hillfort, and Colwall 1 and 2 on the Herefordshire side of the Malvern Hills and the boundary with Worcestershire.

Occasionally, as with Buckton and Coxall north of Buckton Park around SO 394740, two mounds similar to barrows may well be of glacial origin and others may exist elsewhere.

#### TYPE AND CHRONOLOGY

## Neolithic

List 1 comprises three reasonably certain and three doubtful long barrows which can be assumed to be of this period. No Neolithic round barrows are known in the county.

## Beaker Phase

Aymestrey 2: crouched interment of child with bell-beaker, uncertain if originally covered by a small round barrow.

Eastnor 1: Bronze Age sherds found 1869 included beaker ware; uncertain if originally covered by a small round barrow.

## Early Bronze Age

Adforton 1: Bronze Age knife (type unknown) from ring ditch assumed to be of a round barrow.

## Early/Middle Bronze Age cremations

Craswall 2: central slab-lined cist contained burnt bones and two flint flakes.

Leominster 1: grave containing burnt human bones, black earth and wood ashes.

St. Weonards 1a, 1b: each contained probably primary interments of burnt bones.

Walford 1 or 2: opened 1662: in centre, an urn 'full of coals and ashes, with some pieces of burnt bone.'

## MidlLate Bronze Age

Eastnor 1: part of a barrel- or bucket-urn with cordons below the rim, uncertain if covered by a round barrow.

## Early Iron Age

Peterchurch 1: the claim for a date in this period can probably be rejected.

#### NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION AND SITING

The lists comprise three certain and three doubtful long barrows, seventy-six round barrows, and seventy-three ring-ditches. Only a proportion of the latter are the sites of round barrows. Some may have originated as circular moats; others as mill-mounds; others as the ditches of circular Early Iron Age houses. A study of the ring-ditches in Eastern and Central Gloucestershire led Dr. Isobel Smith<sup>4</sup> (1972, 166) to conclude that 'around forty per cent of the 151 ring-ditches ... are potentially identifiable round barrows'

The distribution and siting differ considerably from those in Gloucestershire where the barrows are mostly on the Cotswolds, and Wessex where they are mostly on the Chalk, or on the heaths behind Bournemouth and in the New Forest.

In Herefordshire the position of Arthur's Stone at 280 m., and the Cross Lodge long barrow at 180 m. O.D. is normal for such monuments. The siting of the round barrows varies. Ganarew 1 - 7 are on a hilltop within Little Doward hillfort. The same applies to St. Weonards 1a, 1b, and 1c, beneath and just south of St. Weonards Motte; and to Colwall 1 and 2 on the Herefordshire side of the Shire Ditch.

On the other hand Walford 1 and 2 are beside a tributary of the river Teme. Other possible barrows, such as Kinsham 1 and 2, are doubtful being on the flood plain.

#### **FUNERARY RITUAL**

Herefordshire has been fortunate in not attracting barrow-diggers such as Charles Warne in Dorset; Rev. John Skinner in Somerset; or Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington in Wiltshire, - using techniques inevitably not in advance of their time. The evidence under this heading is very meagre, and comes mostly from burials uncertain whether originally covered by barrows.

## Long barrows: no evidence.

#### Round barrows:

Inhumations: Aymestrey 2: crouched burial of child with bell-beaker; uncertain whether covered by a round barrow.

304 L. V. GRINSELL

Cremations:

Adforton 1: Bronze Age knife from ring-ditch.

Craswall 2: burnt bones and two flint flakes in cist of red sandstone slabs.

Leominster 1: human bones (burnt?), black earth and wood ashes.

St. Weonards 1a, 1b: burnt bones.

Walford 1 or 2: burnt bones and an urn 'full of coals and ashes.'

Uncertain:

Eastnor 1: Bronze Age sherds included beaker ware and part of M/LBA barrel- or bucketurn; uncertain if covered by a round barrow.

STRUCTURE

Long Barrows

Dry stone walling: Clifford I.

Right-angled turn from entrance to burial chamber: Dorstone I.

Round Barrows

Central cist of sandstone slabs: Craswall 2.

Cairns: Llanveynoe 1, 2 and 2a.

St. Weonards 1a, 1b: of stones and sand.

Double ring-ditch, assumed of round barrow enlarged for secondary interments: Leintwardine 1.

Bowl-barrow with ditch and outer bank: Titley 1 (?).

#### EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The supposed round barrows of 'Wessex' types (Madley 1 and 2 and possibly Titley 1) are almost certainly not so; but Madley 1 and 2 are now destroyed. Round barrows of 'Wessex' types scarcely ever occur outside Greater Wessex except in East Anglia which the 'Wessex' Early Bronze Age culture reached via the Icknield Way.

## LATER HISTORY

All that need be said about the later history of Herefordshire barrows is that, being rather few and mostly inconspicuous, they have seldom attracted the attention of the barrow-diggers who were so active in the 19th century especially in Greater Wessex and Yorkshire. Very few of them are on parish boundaries, Colwall 1 and 2 and Llanveynoe 1, 2 and 2a being the only examples listed as such. Consequently there are no mentions of Herefordshire barrows in the Anglo-Saxon land charters, of which there are very few for Herefordshire parishes.

## LOCAL NAMES AND FOLKLORE

Dorstone I: Arthur's Stone. Indentations in the stone have been claimed to represent the elbows or knees of Arthur (Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club 1872, 4: Grinsell 1976, 29,



XX - Arthur's Stone Long Barrow, Dorstone



XXI - Round Barrow, Walford, Letton and Newton



XXII - Woodbury Hill Long Barrow, Peterchurch

#### HEREFORDSHIRE BARROWS

305

37, 52, 152). It has been the custom to hold an annual service at Arthur's Stone on the fourth Sunday in July.

Bodenham 1: Rowberry. The name suggests Rough Barrow. In the Saxon land charters alone there are no less than twenty instances of Rough Barrow, presumably meaning the barrow covered with vegetation.

Much Dewchurch 1: Wormelow Tump. The word tump is frequent for barrows on the Cotswolds. Wormelow has been claimed to mean the barrow near the twisting river (Duncumb 1804). Another possibility is that it refers to the barrow whose treasure is guarded by a Worm or dragon, as in Beowulf 31-3.

St. Weonards 1a, 1b: these are two small round barrows beneath the Norman motte, the scene of village fêtes and dancing 'until recently' (Wright 1861,59).8

Although St. Weonards I is a Norman motte, it seems well to include here the tradition that it is the burial-place of St. Weonard in a golden coffin, or a golden coffer filled with gold, the lid of which is inscribed:

Where this stood Is another twice as good; But where that is, No man knows.

Walford Letton and Newton 1: Harris Tump.

#### MUSEUMS CONTAINING RELEVANT MATERIAL

Hereford. Beaker from Mathon, N. of Southend Farm, SO 73724483.

Three urns from Bronze Age urnfield at Mathon SO 737448.

Finds from the Olchon cist burials.

## Leominster Folk Museum.

London. British Museum Nil.

Malvern. Two urns and two bronze spearheads from the Bronze Age urnfield at SO

737448.

Oxford. Ashmolean Museum. The sherd of an urn from Walford Letton and

Newton 1 and 2, presented by John Aubrey c. 1662, is no longer available

for study.

#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> John Aubrey, Monumenta Britannica, c.1690 (2 vols. 1980-2), ed. J. Fowles and R. Legg.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Williams, Leominster Guide, (1808).

Thomas Wright, 'Treago and the large tumulus at St. Weonards,' Arch. Camb., 3rd series, 1 (1855), 161-74.
 Isobel Smith, 'Ring-ditches in Eastern and Central Gloucestershire,' in P. J. Fowler (ed.), Archaeology and the

<sup>4</sup> Isobel Smith, 'Ring-ditches in Eastern and Central Gloucestershire,' in P. J. Fowler (ed.), *Archaeology and the Landscape* (1972), 157-67.

<sup>5</sup> Leslie V. Grinsell, Folklore of Prehistoric Sites in Britain, (1976), 29, 37, 52, 152.

<sup>6</sup> J. Duncumb, Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford (1804).

1 Beowulf, 31-3.

8 Thomas Wright, op. cit. in note 3.

#### 307

01492 Dec. 1966. By

April 1967 height had

been reduced to 4.5m.

Woolhope Club HAN, 1 (Dec. 1966); 3

(April 1967). SO33SE

# PART II. THE LISTS

#### INTRODUCTION

This is the twelfth county barrow survey undertaken by the writer since about 1928. The other counties, in chronological order, have been Sussex, Surrey (1934; revised 1986), Berkshire, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Wiltshire (as part of vol. 1 of the Victoria County History), Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Devon, and Kent (in Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, in the press).

In no other county has the writer been faced to the same extent with the problems of distinguishing between barrows and sites resembling them, which in Herefordshire include Norman mottes and mounds of glacial origin. The former are usually distinguished by their greater height and by their being sited near a stream or confluence of streams and not far from the church. In addition Herefordshire resembles the other counties in having the problem of distinguishing between barrows and ring-ditches, at least forty per cent of which are thought to be ploughed-out round barrows and the remainder of diverse origins.

The number of barrows in other counties varies from more than 100 long and 2,200 round barrows in Wiltshire (1957; since then others have been found) and fifty long and 1,800 round barrows in Dorset (1959) to 180 in the Isle of Wight (1941). Those here listed for Herefordshire comprise three certain and three doubtful long barrows; sixty-three round barrows; and seventy-three ring-ditches; yet the area of the county is about half that of Wiltshire, three-quarters that of Dorset, and three or four times that of the Isle of Wight. Seventeen barrows claimed in Peterchurch have been excluded as they are not in the records of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey and they are not reflected in the field names based on the Tithe maps of that parish.

The Other Details column begins, wherever possible, with the site number in the county Sites and Monuments record, and ends with the number on the 6 in. O.S. sheet in the records of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey. For various reasons unknown to the writer, there are a few sites for which one or other of these numbers is missing. In such cases a space has been left for them to enable the reader to insert it when allocated.

## LIST 1 LONG BARROWS

Parish	No.	District	Locality	National Grid. Ref.	Length	Width (metric)	Height	Axis (Entrance First)	Other details
Abbeydore	i	S. Herefs.	S. of Dunseal Wood	SO39133382	27	14	2 at N.	N/S	01504. In a natural dip: hence doubtful. HCT 301. SO33SE14
Clifford	I	S. Herefs.	S. of Newhouse Wood	SO27654287	13	10	2	?	04202. Dry stone wal- ling visible (1981). HCT 302.SO24SE12.

#### NW/SE 01528. Arthur's Stone. 1 S. Herefs, S. of Arthur's SO31894311 26 Almost all traces of H 2. covering mound have gone. Entrance from N.W. has sharp rightangled turn to burial chamber. Crawford (1925), 147-9; Hemp (1935); Daniel (1950), 217, HCT 2, SO34SW 01529. Gavin-N.W. of Cross SO33254168 2.4 S.Herefs. Robinson (1954), iii. Lodge Farm H 149. HCT 149 SO34SW SO34404140 1.8 08451. Cohen (1955). Woodbury S Herefs. SO345W8. Hill

21

7.6

SO513439

S.W. of

Farm

Lower Lyde

S.Herefs.

Pipe and

Lyde

HEREFORDSHIRE BARROWS

#### LIST 2 ROUND BARROWS.

Parish	rish No. District		Locality	National Grid. Ref.		nsions tric)	Other details
				Gra. Kei.	Diam.	Height	
Abbeydore	1	S.Herefs.	S. of Dunseal Wood	SO39293375	12	2.2	01504 S. of Dunseal Wood. WNFC Guide (1976) 4. SO33SE 14.
Adforton	1	Leominster	In Brandon Camp	SO39987242		=	07250. Bronze Age knife found in ring- ditch: probable evi- dence of round barrow? SO4YSW 2.
Aymestrey	1	Leominster	Yatton	SO437669	10 by 8	1.0	12017. 'Presumably a round barrow.' Pye (1975).
	2	Leominster	S.W. of Yatton	SO428664			07060. On false crest suitable for a round barrow. Crouched burial of child 7-8, sex uncertain with bell-beaker; not certain whether originally covered by barrow. Woodiwiss (1989). Shoesmith (1988).
Bodenham	1	Leominster	N. of Rowberry Court	SO55744967	'large'		10967. Ring-ditch, probably of a barrow ir view of place-name Rowberry. Air-ph. 84. 210. 1984.
Brampton Bryan							See under Walford, Letton and Newton.
Colwali	1	Malvern	W. of Shire	SO76784210	11	1.0	03218. H/C. In pasture

			L. V.	OKINBELL			
H177	2	Hills Malvern Hills	W. of Shire Ditch	SO76784209	10	0.75	LVG with P. Barra- clough 15 May 1989. Five m. N. of 2. RCHM II Colwall (35). SO74SE 6(N). 03217. Large H/C. In pasture LVG with P. Barraclough 15 May
Craswall	1.	S.Herefs.	N.E. of Priory	SO27603828	16 by 13	1.0	1989. Five m. S. of 1. RCHM II Colwall (35). SO74SE 6(S). H/C.
Ciumui	2	S.Herefs.	S.E. of Trelan Farm	SO29943519	10	low	Mr. Watkins. In centre, a cist of red sandstone slabs placed N/S contained burnt bones and 2 flint flakes. SMR card.
	2a	S.Herefs.	On Cefn HIII	SO27493820			00159. Perhaps a stone clearance heap. Gavin- Robinson (1950) 115. SO23NE 11.
	3	S. Herefs.	Parc y Mierch, near hill-top.	SO26043754			00160, SO23NE 9.
Eastnor	1	Malvern Hills	Within Midsummer hillfort	SO76213739			07357. Bronze Age sherds found 1869 included beaker ware and part of a M/L BA barrel- or bucket-urn with cordons below the rim. Uncertain if originally covered by a round barrow. Lines (1870). SO73NE 13.
Fownhope	1	S.Herefs.	E. edge of Fiddlers Green	SO57683606	10	0.4	06483. Ploughed down to 0.4 m. by 1950; now gone. SO53NE 4.
Ganarew	1	S.Herefs.	Within Little Doward hillfort	SO53931605	13	1.2	07134-07138 (the group) RCHM I (2) 1?
	2	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53771601	10	1.3	07134. SO51NW 14. RCHM I (2) 2
	3	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53911590	11	0.7	RCHM I (2) 3
	4	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53831602	12	0.75	RCHM I (2) 4
	5	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53861599			Perhaps modern - RCHM I
	6	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53881598			All have been opened but when or by whom is not known. RCHM I, 69
	7	S.Herefs.	Within Little Dowart hillfort	SO53931594			WNFC Guide (1976), 20. 07138, SO51NW14.
King's Pyon H 104	1	Leominster	N.E. of Butthouse	SO44254895			03204. On OS 1:25000 as Tumulus. Barrow or motte? SO44NW 1.
Kinsham	1	Leominster	S. of Lower Kinsham	SO35826408	30	1.0	02550. Doubtful: on flood plain. RCHM III, 101. On OS as Mound. SO36SE 11.
	2	Leominster	S. of Lower Kinsham	SO36066396	40	2.0	02549. Doubtful; on flood plain RCHM III, 101. Both enclosed by

							ditch and outer bank Pye (1976). On OS as Mound. SO36SE 10.
Leintwardine	1	Leominster	S. of Marlow	SO40017621			06378. SO47NW 11.
Leintwardine	1	Leominster	W. of Brakes Farm	SO43677532		-	06384. Double ring- ditch (site of enlarged round barrow?) W. Baker air-ph. (1963). SO47NW 16.
Leominster	1	Leominster	Junction of Burgess Street and New Street	SO49505915			09301. Beneath it, a grave or cist 1.2 m. square contained burnt human bones, black earth and wood ashes. J. Williams, Leominster Guide, (1808), 193-4.
Llanveynoe	1	S.Herefs.	On county bdry.	SO300283	17	1.2	Cairn, H/C. SO32NW
	2	S.Herefs.	Near county bdry.	SO303280	13	1.5	Cairn. H/C. SO32NW
	2a	S.Herefs.	Near county bdry.	SO300284	4		'A ring of stones showing in the heather' (site of small cairn?) For all three sites, Kay (1976). SO32NW
Madley	1	S.Herefs.	S. of Upper Chilstone House	SO39953927			00395. See under Supposed Rare Types SO33NE20.
	2	S.Herefs.	S. of Upper Chilstone House	SO39933930 or 39923927			00396, See under Supposed Rare Types. SO33NE 20,
Michaelchurch Escley	1	S.Herefs.	S. of Glibes Farm	SO30103730	7 by 5	0.9	01134, SO33NW 39.
Escicy	2	S.Herefs.	S, of Glibes Farm	SO30113720	?	?	07165. SO33NW 39.
	3	S.Herefs.	S. of Glibes Farm	SO30113720	?	?	07166. SO33NW39.
	4	S.Herefs.	N.E. of Pen Twyn Farm	SO31083703			01011, Levelled. SO33NW 4.
	5	S.Herefs.	Upper Llanon Farm	SO31603655			01010. Levelled. SO33NW.
Much Dewchurch	1	S.Herefs.	Near crossroads	SO49103030			06814. Wormelow Tump, destroyed by 1896. Early forms: 1085 Vrmelaue DB. 1086 Wermelau (DB ex Bannister); 1227 Wurmelawe Close Roll 1228 Wirmelauwe Close Roll 1330 Wormelowe Hundred 1351 Wormelow Manor. See under FOLKLORE. Taylor, Map of Here- fordshire (1754); Bevan (1896), 10; Bradney (1924). SO43SE 2.
Pembridge	1	Leominster	S. of Milton Cross	SO38256012	32	1.2	01027. Brown (1972), 316. (Mound A). SO36SE 12.

2 3 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Leominster S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	S.E. of Milton Cross  S.E. of Milton Cross  S. of Bradley Wood  W. of Upper Pen y Park W. of Urishay Villa Villa Villa Villa Villa	SO38506020 SO38656028 SO36283848 SO306385 SO316378 SO31603778 SO31603778	25 24 21 (1	0.6 2.2 938)	01028. Brown (1972), 316. (Mound B). SO36SE 12 01029. Brown (1972), 316. (Mound C). SO36SE 12. Now levelled. Claimed as Iron Age. Marshall (1933); Brown (1972), 315. 04249.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	S. of Bradley Wood  W. of Upper Pen y Park W. of Urishay Villa	SO36283848 SO306385 SO316378 SO316378 SO31603778	21	2.2	01029. Brown (1972), 316. (Mound C). SO36SE 12. Now levelled. Claimed as Iron Age. Marshall (1933); Brown (1972), 315. 04249.
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	W. of Upper Pen y Park W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa	SO306385 SO316378 SO316378 SO31603778			as Iron Age. Marshall (1933); Brown (1972), 315. 04249.
3 4 5 6 7 8	S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	Pen y Park W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay	SO316378 SO316378 SO31603778			04249. 04231.
4 5 6 7 8	S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa	SO316378 SO31603778			
5 6 7 8	S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa	SO31603778			04232.
6 7 8	S.Herefs.	W. of Urishay Villa W. of Urishay Villa				
7	S.Herefs.	W. of Urishay Villa	SO31603785			04233.
8			2001000102			04234.
	0.77		SO31963768			04235.
9	S.Herets,	N. of Urishay	SO31853785			04237.
	S.Herefs.	E. of Urishay	SO31953785			04238.
10	S.Herefs.	W. of Upper Pen	SO306385			04249.
11	S.Herefs.	W. of Upper Pen	SO306385			04250.
12	S. Herefs,	W. of Upper Pen	SO307385			04251.
13	S.Herefs.	E. of Urishay	SO33703740			04332. Part only.
14	S.Herefs.	S. of Newhouse	SO32003857			preserved. 04349.
15	S. Herefs.	S.E. of	SO30744052			11261. SO34 <b>SW</b>
16	S.Herefs.	S.E. of Mowbatch	SO34743918			11347. Ploughed out.
17	S.Herefs.	S.E. of Mowbatch	SO34743918			11347. Ploughed out.
						For all barrows in this parish, see Hickling (1983).
1	S.Herefs.	W. of Wern William Farm	SO31853667			04236. Hickling (1983).
1	S.Herefs.	Just E. of road A466 and 60 m. S.S.W. of church	SO49572426	10	1.5	00920. Dimensions given are of each of the two mounds, of stones and sand, near the centre. The site was opened by Thomas Wright from 12 to 17 April 1855. He appears to have located in or near the centre at ground level two small mounds of stones and sand, in each of which were burnt human bones. On balance it would seem that the
	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16	<ol> <li>S.Herefs.</li> </ol>	7 S.Herefs. Villa 8 S.Herefs. N. of Urishay Villa 9 S.Herefs. E. of Urishay Villa 10 S.Herefs. W. of Upper Pen y Park 11 S.Herefs. W. of Upper Pen y Park 12 S.Herefs. W. of Upper Pen y Park 13 S.Herefs. E. of Urishay Villa 14 S.Herefs. E. of Urishay Villa 15 S. Herefs. S.E. of Whitehouse 16 S.Herefs. S.E. of Mowbatch Farm 17 S.Herefs. S.E. of Mowbatch Farm 18 S.Herefs. W. of Wern William Farm 19 S.Herefs. Just E. of road A466 and 60 m.	Villa         Villa           8         S. Herefs.         S. of Urishay         SO31963768           9         S. Herefs.         N. of Urishay         SO31853785           9         S. Herefs.         E. of Urishay         SO31953785           10         S. Herefs.         W. of Upper Pen         SO306385           11         S. Herefs.         W. of Upper Pen         SO306385           12         S. Herefs.         W. of Upper Pen         SO307385           13         S. Herefs.         E. of Urishay         SO33703740           14         S. Herefs.         S. of Newhouse         SO32003857           Farm         S. E. of         SO30744052           Whitehouse         S.E. of         SO34743918           Mowbatch         Farm           17         S. Herefs.         S. E. of         SO34743918           Mowbatch         Farm           17         S. Herefs.         W. of Wern         SO31853667           Mowbatch         Farm           1         S. Herefs.         Just E. of road         A466 and 60 m.	Villa   S. Herefs.   S. of Urishay   SO31963768   Villa     S. Herefs.   N. of Urishay   SO31853785   Villa     S. Herefs.   E. of Urishay   SO31953785   Villa     S. Herefs.   W. of Upper Pen   SO306385   S. Park     S. Herefs.   W. of Upper Pen   SO306385   S. Park     S. Herefs.   W. of Upper Pen   SO307385   S. Park     S. Herefs.   E. of Urishay   SO33703740   Villa     S. Herefs.   S. of Newhouse   SO32003857   Farm     S. Herefs.   S. E. of   SO30744052   Whitehouse     S. Herefs.   S. E. of   SO34743918   Mowbatch   Farm     S. Herefs.   S. E. of   SO34743918   Mowbatch   Farm     S. Herefs.   W. of Wern   SO31853667   William Farm     S. Herefs.   Just E. of road   SO49572426   10   A466 and 60 m.	Villa

	la	S.Herefs.	Just E. of road A466 and 60 m. S.S.W. of church	SO49572426			was erec deposit bones, Bronze
	16	S.Herefs.	Just E. of road A466 and 60 m. S,S,W. of church	SO49572426			(1855); I Shoesm FOLKLO SO42SE
	1c	S.Herefs.	S. of The Tump	SO49572423			A small seen by earlier. would s tificatio beneath Tump a rows.
Shobdon H180	1	Leominster	S. of Shobdon Court	SO40136264			Situatio suggests
Поо	2	Leominster		SO42666268			10391. 1 ditch (p enlarge barrow Club H. 1991).
Titley	1	Leominster	S.W. of Stocking Wood	SO31046032	6	0.6	00206. Suppose SO36SV
	2	Leominster	N. end of Berry's Wood	SO32375868	6	0.6	06199. Woolho 28. SO
	3	Leominster	E. of Flintsham	SO32565882	4.5	0.5	02366. barrow 1979).
	4	Leominster	'Above Hindwell'	SO			Site not 1;25000
Tretire and Michaelchurch	1	S.Herefs.	1100 m. S.W. of church	SO51002551	?	1.3	'1rregu SO52N
Tyberton	1	S.Herefs.	ln Rushen Wood	SO37953796	'dama	iged'	01515. bdry. L SO33N
Vowchurch	1	S.Herefs.	N.E. of Haybrooks Wood	SO36643493			04298.
	2	S.Herefs.	S.S.E. of Chanstone Court Farm	SO36703504			04308.
Walford	1	S.Herefs.	N. of Walford Court	SO588208			08488.
Walford, Letton & Newton I or 2: H72	1	Leominster	S.W. of Walford	SO38587233	17?	0.9	00936. (Halliv 1991).
1 01 2. 11/2	2	Leominster	Probably E. of 1.	SO38657235	17 by 20	1.4	One of

motte covers two small cairns each of which was erected over a t of burnt human e Age, Wright RCHM I, 227; mith (1969); LORE: section SE 21. all round barrow by LVG 1985 or If authentic, this d support the iden-tion of the mounds th Wormelow as round bartion strongly

ests a motte.

1. Double ridge (possibly of ged round w?) Woolhope HAN, 55 (Jan. . See under

osed rare types. SW 12. 9, D. H/C. Pye, in lhope Club HAN, O35NW 14. . 'Possible w'. Pye (1978, SO35NW 13. not shown on 000 map.

ular shape'. 06420. NW 1. On Vowchurch

. Leach (1970). 3NE 31.

3. Hickling (1983).

3. Hickling (1983).

36. Harris Tump lliwell in litt 9 June ). SO37SE 8.

One of these barrows was probably opened by Sir Edward Harley in 1662. They met with a great deal of Coals and some pieces of burnt Bones. Also, in the middle, they found an Urn about 21/2 foot high, full of coals and

							ashes, with some pieces of burnt bones. I had a little piece of the Urne I gave this piece to the Museum Ashmoleanum'. Aubrey (ed. Fowles and Legg), 1690/1980-2, 308, 764. SO37SE 8.
Willersley and Winforton	l a, b	S.Herefs.	N. of R. Wye	SO28514625	13 by 7	0.9	07385-6. Possible twinned barrows Pye (1973), air-ph. 106G 1652, 3406-7 SO24NE 12.
		St	JPPOSED ROUND B	ARROW OF 'WE	SSEX' TYPES		
Madley	1	S.Herefs.	S, of Upper Chilstone House	SO39943927	23 (overall)	-	00396. Claimed as a bell-barrow. Now destroyed, SO33NE 20.
	2	S.Herefs.	S. of Upper Chilstone House	SO39953927	23 (overall)	9	00395. Claimed as a disc-barrow. Now destroyed. SO33NE 20.
Titley	i.	Leominster	S.W. of Stocking Wood	SO31046032	32	2	00206. Perhaps origin- ally a bowl-barrow with ditch and outer bank. Site reduced by ploughing. SO36SW 12.
		SUPPOSI	ED ROUND BARRO	W OF THE PRE-I	ROMAN IRON	AGE	
Peterchurch	1	S.Herefs.	S. of Bradley Wood	SO36283848	12.3 (19	2 38)	Now levelled. Marshall (1938), Brown (1972), 315.
							315.

## LIST 3 RING DITCHES

Parish	No.	District	Locality	National Grid. Ref.	Dimensions (metric) Diam. Height	Other details
Acton Beauchamp	a	Leominster	Pippins Hill	SO694509		03893. Worcester Evening News 9 July 1991: Mystery of circle in garden.
Adforton	a	Leominster	In Brandon Camp	SO39987242	23	
	ь	Leominster	In Brandon Camp	SO40027240		
	c	Leominster	In Brandon Camp	SO40027245		All three sites: SO47SW 2
	d	Leominster	S.E. of Walford	SO39597231		CUAP ADP 85. 6 July 1961,
Bodenham	a	Leominster	S. of Upper Maund Farm	SO56704881		10956. In S.W. corner of field.
	ь	Leominster	S. of Upper Maund Farm	SO56604889		Within rectangular enclosure. Perhaps a ploughed-out motte, Air-ph. MAFF 1989.
Brampton Abbotts	a	S.Herefs.	E. of Monks Grove Wood	SO59882741		07132. Both a and b on CUAP 2 July 1957.
	b	S.Herefs.	E. of Monks Grove Wood	SO59862741		Both SO52NE 14.

Brampton Bryan	a	Leominster	S.E. of village	SO37777191		08290. CUAP June 1965.
Buckton and Coxall	a	Leominster	E. of Buckton	SO38677350		08295. CUAP June 1970.
Coxan	b	Leominster	N.E. of Buckton	SO38727406		00199, W. Baker Air- ph. 1967, SO37SE 37.
	c	Leominster	N,E. of Buckton	SO38847408		00200, W. Baker air-ph. 1969. SO37SE 37.
	d	Leominster	N.E. of Buckton	SO38907370		06937, W. Baker air.ph.
Clifford	a	S.Herefs.	N. of village	SO248464		08407. Air-ph. CADW.
	b.	S.Herefs.	N. of	SO24904628		C. Musson July 1989. 09904. Air-ph. CADW. C. Musson July 1989.
	c	S.Herefs.	Whitehouse Farm W. of Sheepcote Farm	SO25324675		08269. CUAP July 1972
Eardisland	a	Leominster	E. of village	SO42825873		W. of group of 3 (b-d). 10385.
	b	Leominster	S.W. of Crown Farm	SO43005891		10384, C. Musson Aug. 1979.
	c	Leominster	S.W. of Crown Farm	SO42965885		09200. C. Musson Aug. 1979.
	d	Leominster	S.W. of Crown Farm	SO43025886		09201. C. Musson Aug. 1979.
Eardisley	a	Leominster	E. of Old Crow	SO31754752		08276. CUAP July 1971
	b	Leominster		SO31794750		08278. CUAP July 1971
	C		E. of Old Crow	SO31854750		08279. CUAP July 1971
	d		E, of Old Crow	SO31884753		08280. CUAP July 1971
	e	Leominster	E. of Old Crow	SO31934758		08281. CUAP July 1971
Felton	a	Malvern Hills	W. of Rosemaund	SO55754805		10952, Air-ph. MAFF 79,49,48, May 1979,
	b	Malvern Hills	Farm N.W. of Felton	SO57104810	.25	10468.
Foy	a	S.Herefs.	E. of Monks Grove (near Brampton Abbotts bdry.)	SO59702740		07004. ASP 1972. SO52NE 14.
Hampton Bishop	a	S.Herefs.	E. of Tupsley	SO54383973		SO53NW 64.
Hereford	a	Hereford	S.W. of Lugg Bridge	SO530418		08798. SO54SW 22.
	b	Hereford	Broomy Hill	SO49883929		10351. Pickering 1976.
	c	Hereford	S. of Roman Road	SO520419		09739
Kingsland	a b	Leominster Leominster	*	SO44186203 SO44486183		08308. CUAP July 1975 06008. SO46SW 11.
Kington Rural	a	Leominster	Hergest Ridge	SO25605620		06850.
Leinthall Starkes	a	Leominster	S.W. of Leinthall Barns	\$O42706850		07068. Woodiwiss (1986).
Leintwardine	a	Leominster		SO43677532		06384. SO47NW 16.
	b	Leominster	W. of Jay	SO38247517		08285. CUAP June 1959.
	c	Leominster	W. of Jay	SO38297519		08286. CUAP June 1959.
	d	Leominster	N.E. of church	SO40507420		08392.
Leominster	a		N, of Tick Bridge	SO517584		08524. C. Musson July 1989.
	b	Leominster	N. of Cobnash	SO45486013		10390. C. Musson July 1990.

Lugwardine	a	S.Herefs.	Sheepcote	SO56044008	08607. CUAP July 1975
Madley	a	S.Herefs.	E. of Lower Brampton	SO41003725	10406. C. Musson July 1990,
	ь	S.Herefs.	N.E. of Lower Brampton Farm	SO41103763	10405, C. Musson July 1990.
Mansell Lacy	a	Leominster	N.E. of Bishopstone	SO42514462	10372. C. Musson July 1990.
Mathon	a	Malvern Hills	S.E. of Old Country House	SO72804450	SO74SW 15.
Pembridge	а	Leominster	S.W. of Leen Farm	SO37595900	07589.
	ь	Leominster	S.W. of Leen Farm	SO37825888	07590.
	c	Leominster	W. of Rowe Ditch	SO37795972	10418.
	d	Leominster	E. of Lowe Farm	SO37705870	09203.
Peterchurch	a	S. Herefs.	E. of Castle, Snodhill	SO32534042	04313, Hickling (1983).
Preston Wynne	а	S.Herefs.	N. of village	SO55604780	10950. Air-ph. July 1990.
Shobdon	Đ.	Leominster	E. of Pencombestone	SO42306216	08307. CUAP July 1975.
Stapleton	a	Leominster	E. of Stapleton Cottage	SO32006530	05592.
	Ь	Leominster		SO32106520	05593.
	d	Leominster Leominster	S.E. of Castle Farm; 2 ring ditches	SO33106480	05596.
Staunton-on- Arrow	a	Leominster	N.W. of Leen Farm	SO37845932	07587.
	Ь	Leominster	N.W. of Leen Farm	SO37925928	07588.
Tedstone Wafre	а	Malvern Hills	Near Roman fortlet	SO67606020	06696. SO66SE 3.
Titley	a	Leominster	S. of Middle Barn	SO32306060	05591.
Walford	a	S.Herefs,	N. of Walford Court	SO588208	08488.
Wellington	a	S.Herefs.	N.E. of town	SO49994870	07054. Woodiwiss. Air- ph. 1987.
	ь	S.Herefs.	N.E. of town	SO49964878	07591. Woodiwiss, Air- ph. 1987.
	c	S.Herefs.	N.E. of town	SO49954876	07592. Woodiwiss. Air- ph. 1987.
	d e	S.Herefs. S.Herefs.	Marden Lane Quarry	SO50634788 SO50674777	08537. 08538.
Whitehureh	a	S.Herefs.	W. of The Plough	SO55251830	11945.
Willersley	a	Leominster	S.W. of Willersley Court	SO30974721	07161.
Yarkhill	a	Malvern Hills	S.W. of Covender	SO621429	06098.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Air-ph. Air photograph.

Bdry.

Boundary.

CUAP

Cambridge University air-photograph.

H/C or h/c

Hollow in centre of round barrow, usually evidence of former digging

but occasionally resulting from collapse of an internal structure of

wood.

HCT

Herefordshire Countryside Treasures (1981).

MAFF

Ministry of Agriculture Farming and Fisheries.

RCHM

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (1931-2-4).

WNFC Guide

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Guide (1976).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Ms. Hilary White for supplying the records of barrows and ringditches, held by the Hereford and Worcester County Sites and Monuments Record; and also to the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey for their advice. For assistance with transport I am grateful to Peter Barraclough.

The Club is much indebted to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the publication of this report.

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317

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It is regretted that L. V. Grinsell has died since the galley-proof stage of this paper.

## By P. E. H. HAIR

he returns of a parochial visitation of the greater part of the diocese of Hereford in 1397 were published by Canon A. T. Bannister in 1929-30. An article by Bannister (1927), and some pages in G. G. Coulton's *Medieval Panorama* (1938), have presented brief summaries of the returns and have drawn general conclusions, mainly about the moral state of clergy and laity in the diocese at this date. With regard to clerical behaviour, Coulton declared the 1397 visitation report 'the worst I know except the contemporary visitation of the diocese of Lausanne,' but in mitigation noted that 'Hereford diocese was, of course, considerably influenced by Wild Wales.'

The Hereford visitation is one of the widest, fullest and most detailed reports on clerical and lay behaviour in an English medieval diocese: the attention it gives to lay behaviour makes it of particular interest to the social historian as well as to the church historian.3 The purpose of the present article is to present a comprehensive statistical analysis of the returns - or less rotundly, a systematic totting-up of the complaints against clergy and laity. The value of this simple exercise is two-fold. First, it shows that the rhetorical flavour of the comments by Bannister and Coulton derived from 'impressions' of the returns, that is, neither had done his homework. Had they totted up systematically they would have denied themselves a number of extreme and misleading statements. Secondly, far from affording proof of the abnormal corruption of church and society in latemedieval Hereford diocese - or England - or Western Europe - the visitation returns. prove, on analysis, to describe conduct in many respects too good to be true. The returns are not the truth, certainly not the whole truth, and conceivably nowhere near the truth. Instead, they are (of course) a series of highly select accusations emerging out of the intricate interplay of social forces in a complexly-structured rural society with deep and contradictory institutional antecedents.4 The village wrestles with the bishop and church authorities: clergy wrestle with laity: rectors wrestle with vicars, vicars with chaplains, and all lesser clerics with archdeacons: among the laity, insiders denounce outsiders, relatives gang up, feuds are perpetuated, spouses lie about each other, hamlets make irreconcilable claims. This volcano of human fallibility is inadequately represented in the over-placid visitation returns.5 A final conclusion is that visitation returns, while they can provide valuable keyhole insights into past human behaviour, tell us too little to be of more than limited use for serious study of the social dynamics of medieval society.

The administrative circumstances which produced the 1397 report were as follows, in summary (detailed discussion of many problematic points is relegated to the notes). The visitation took place in the Spring of 1397, beginning on the eighth day after Easter. Ten weeks was spent on the road, the party moving to a new centre almost every day, including most Sundays, and Ascension Day. Nine days were individually lost, in one instance at a centre, Bromyard, where an abnormally large number of neighbouring parishes, fifteen, attended, and where presumably the business lasted two days; and in

another instance, where the journey between centres was abnormally long (Old Radnor to Richards Castle). On other days, including Whit Sunday and two other Sundays, the party must have rested. The distance between centres was normally about five miles, though in a few cases over ten and up to eighteen miles. The number of centres visited was fifty-eight. On average four, but on occasions up to fifteen, neighbouring parishes attended at each centre: the journey of the parochial representatives to the centre was seldom more than five miles. The visitation began near Hereford and made an anti-clockwise circuit through the deaneries bordering Hereford, before moving due north into Shropshire, where it made a clockwise circuit, thus making overall a figure of eight. Broadly, deaneries were treated in order, but centres in other deaneries were interpolated if this was geographically more convenient. With a handful of exceptions, each parish return begins Parochiani dicunt, and at Newland the names of fifteen laymen were listed under the heading 'P.,' these being, presumably, the parish representatives. But probably this was an exceptionally large number, perhaps because they were attending in their home parish, and the average number of representatives was more likely eight or less.'

The clergy who attended presented no complaints on their own behalf, and other business done with them was not recorded: the Hereford returns are therefore limited to reports presented by the laity. It is likely, however, that the parish clergy had contributed to the parochial presentments, at least in the majority of parishes. <sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, it does not appear to be known how the lay representatives were chosen. <sup>11</sup> Nor is it known how or when their return was put together. While it was almost certainly presented orally at the visitation, it was most likely the product of some previous deliberation, and it is possible that it was carried to the visitation in writing, in full or in notes. <sup>12</sup> It is also uncertain how the representatives knew what to include in the return: they may have been replying to a standard questionnaire put to them by the visitation officers or clerks, <sup>13</sup> they may have been replying to articles of inquiry sent around the parishes with the citations, <sup>14</sup> or they may have been basing their charges on the parish copy of diocesan statutes. <sup>15</sup>

Although the returns show an underlying consistency in the order of items, their frequent irregular, haphazard and apparently confused arrangement may indicate the contribution of various hands (or voices) and their substantial compilation in the parish before the visitation. But the terminology of the returns as we have them, with their set forms of description for specific offences is certainly that of the visitation officials and clerks, partly imposed, no doubt, as they put the original charges into Latin. Apart from the charges in the parochial presentments, there is one instance of an independent complaint which was received and recorded. Other administrative details of the visitation are not relevant to our analysis.

The text of the returns includes a large number of notes added, some perhaps in other hands, in the main immediately after the charge. These relate to individual and procedural responses to charges in the presentments, but the date of the responses is not clear: in some cases at least they may have been pleas and consequent judicial decisions taken during the visitation.<sup>20</sup> The charges thus responded to in the record form a small proportion of the total charges and it is not obvious why they were selected. They relate to both clergy and laity, and to all types of charge.<sup>21</sup> In about half the instances, individuals answered the charges against them, mainly charges of sexual offences. Some of them

denied the charge and successfully purged themselves. Thus, among those couples charged with fornication, seven claimed to be married and four purged themselves. Eight clergy charged with incontinence purged themselves. Admissions of guilt were not uncommon: thus, a man charged with ill-treating his wife 'stated his readiness to give her her due,'2 It is impossible to say how typical of the unrecorded responses to charges these recorded responses were, and difficult to be sure how accurate a proof of innocence was provided by purgation. But we need to bear in mind, when discussing the various charges, that some were denied and some were false.

We have the returns of 248 or 249 parishes, But forty-nine of these, or one fifth, reported that they had nothing to report: omnia bene ibidem. 'This looks, however, rather like a conspiracy of silence, since to one such entry has been added in another hand "except that the rector is incontinent with a woman that lives with him:" and to another is added "the procurator swore that he dared not cite the parishioners." Indeed, one parish used another wording: parochiani nichil dicunt, which might be translated, 'the parishioners are saying nothing."23 But the phrase 'conspiracy of silence' over-dramatizes the situation. Probably most parochial returns were selective in one way or another, and represented to some extent a balance of interests and consciences between clergy and parishioners. The omnia bene parishes were not necessarily those which were most dishonest. However, it is possible to find a number of instances where offences allegedly committed by clergy or laity of omnia bene parishes were reported by neighbouring parishes. For instance, Felton parish complained that its vicar celebrated twice daily, once in his home parish and once in the neighbouring parish of Ocle Pychard. But Ocle Pychard reported omnia bene.24 Some of the charges against both clergy and laity were undoubtedly due to malice or captiousness:25 but there may well have been parishes where the relations between clergy and parishioners, and among the laity, were sufficiently good to prevent any such charges arising. On the other hand, certain charges were so general, e.g. those of the commonplace sexual offences, fornication and adultery, that it is hardly credible that none of these offences occurred in forty-nine parishes. A declaration of omnia bene must therefore be taken with the same constructive scepticism as must the long list of charges in some other parishes. The presentments tell us not what actually happened in a parish exactly, in detail - but what certain persons wanted the authorities to believe had happened. The system would not have worked if there had not existed a rough equation between happenings and charges: charges of widespread 'fornication' were made because what the Church called fornication was widespread. But the equation does not mean that in any single parish all offenders were charged, or that all those charged were offenders. These points must be continually borne in mind during the discussion of offences that follows.

The returns of 244 parishes are available for analysis. Complaints against clergy, or laity, or both, were made in 195 returns. These complaints fall into three categories. (a) Non-performance of duties, clerical or lay, in relation to the maintenance of the fabric of church, churchyard and parsonage, to the provision and maintenance of portable property in the church, and to the handling of church income. (b) Non-performance of pastoral duties by the clergy; or of devotional duties by the laity, mainly in relation to church services. (c) What may be called, in the English tradition, 'moral offences,' that is, offences

of personal and social behaviour, mainly sexual offences. This was the order in which complaints tended to be reported, and I shall discuss them accordingly. In my view the most important category is the last one, which involved a large number of laymen. The two earlier categories involved relatively few laymen (by name, although whole bodies of parishioners were frequently charged), but a fairly large number of clergy. The extent to which parishes complained about their clergy must not, however, be exaggerated. Out of 244 returns, forty-nine reported omnia bene and a further sixty-five contained no complaint about clergy; thus, nearly half of the returns were silent about the clergy.

## FABRIC, PROPERTY AND INCOME

Out of 244 parishes, eighty-three reported defects in the fabric of church, churchyard, or parsonage. Taking parsonages first, nineteen were reported derelict or in poor condition, all except three being in parishes which had other complaints about fabric: the rector was almost always blamed for failure to maintain. Three parishes pointed out that their resident clergy lacked suitable accommodation.26 Churchyards come next: twenty were alleged to lack an adequate clausura (closing off), presumably walls, fences, hedges or mounds, possibly including gates; or in a few instances were alleged to be misused by the clergy who winnowed corn in them, or grazed stock, 'so that when processions took place, silk vestments were dirtied.'27 But the lack of a clausura was generally stated to be the fault, not of the clergy, but of the parishioners, the upkeep of the churchyard being one of their responsibilities.28 Finally, the churches in sixty-seven parishes (one quarter of the total number of parishes) were reported defective in various ways. Ten had no lock on the font (fonts were locked to prevent the laity from borrowing holy water for superstitious purposes), and in seven instances this was the only defect reported.29 More serious defects involved the structure of the church building, roof, walls and windows. It is not easy to assess the defects recorded. Coulton thought that forty-five churches were in 'more or less ruinous' condition. But a series of modern surveyor's reports on a row of elderly but very respectable houses might, by listing all the defects, give a similar but misleading impression.<sup>30</sup> In fifty-two parishes, the state of the chancel was the subject of complaint: in only three of these was a defect in any other part of the church mentioned. The peculiar defectiveness of chancels was of course the result of their maintenance being the duty of the rector, that is, in many cases, of a non-resident clergyman or of a well-to-do appropriating institution. Undoubtedly, these distant entities often failed in their duty. But it should also be considered that parishioners very likely seized the opportunity of a visitation to bring pressure to bear on absentees and appropriators, and that the standards they insisted on for the rectorial portion of the church may have been somewhat higher than those they tolerated in their own part. In other words, the complaints about chancels should probably be taken with a grain of salt. It will help us to assess the true clerical responsibility if we consider at this point other defects in the fabric. For all fabric defects, the parishioners in fifty-three parishes blamed the clergy solely, those in five parishes blamed themselves solely, those in nine parishes blamed both the clergy and themselves (and a couple of parishes blamed nobody in particular). Thus, parishioners occasionally recognised their own failings with regard to the fabric. Of the defects for which the parishioners accepted responsibility, in six parishes bell-towers had roof defects or were generally in poor condition; in one parish, the nave specifically needed repairs; in seven parishes, churches were merely stated to be defective in their roofs (four), their walls (one), their roof and glass (one), or their roof, walls and glass (one).31 The damage was not described in more detail. Since only in fourteen parishes did the laity admit responsibility for fabric defects, this means that in 234 parishes the laity considered that they had carried out their duties to the church building fully, a perhaps not very likely state of affairs. Returning now to the chancels which were clerical responsibility, in eleven parishes the description of the damage was vague ('in bad condition,' 'defective,' 'ruinous'). In three parishes, the complaint was only that some of the glass was broken; in eleven parishes the chancel roof was leaky ('it rains in during services'); in four more parishes, another single defect was reported. Against eighteen parishes with single defects, ten parishes reported two defects (roof and ceiling, roof and glass, roof and walls, etc.), and fourteen parishes reported three or more defects each (e.g. roof, walls and glass). The damage in this last group of parishes was apparently serious. The term 'ruinous' was employed in the returns about half a dozen times, but it probably meant no more than 'in need of urgent or serious repair'.32

The information in the returns is of the kind that prevents a detailed precise assessment. It may be doubted whether one could be produced even if each church were assessed separately, in terms of all related documentation and of its obvious architectural history.33 It would seem that the chancels of between thirty and forty churches had defects of some severity. The 'ruinous' condition of any single one of them may be questioned, but it is probable that a number were severely damaged, and approached ruinousness - though whether that number was two or three, or a score is uncertain. Other defects in the church fabric were less often reported - but may have existed more often than reported - and were seldom reported in such enthusiastic terms. Our conclusion about church buildings as a whole must be even vaguer than our conclusion about chancels. Only a small proportion of churches were reported as having any serious damage: how many of these were in fact in a dangerous, intolerable or ruinous condition it is impossible to say. The defect was generally alleged to be in the chancel: whether chancels were in reality so much worse maintained than other parts of the church is questionable.14 Even when dealing with such concrete matters as church fabric, the visitation returns provide, not facts, but only allegations.

Out of 248 parishes, forty (or one sixth) complained that the clergy had failed to provide specific items of portable property for the church and its services, items which they were required to provide. In the vast majority of instances it was the rector who was complained about, and the commonest complaint was that he had failed to provide sufficient service books. Thus, at Leominster the parishioners complained about the shortage of books pro officio sepulterae, which was inconvenient, not least 'in time of plague when sixteen or eighteen are buried in one day.' Coulton stated that in fourteen churches there was 'not even a Breviary, the book indispensable for Matins and Vespers;' the parishes of Peterchurch, Vowchurch and St. Briavels did so report, but the remaining eleven merely complained that a breviary had not been provided by the rector, which does not necessarily mean that they had none.35 Rectors were also accused of not providing a share of the vestments (six parishes), various numbers of candles (four), lamps (four), corn for the sacramental bread at Easter (one), and straw for the church floor (two). Less was expected

from vicars: candles and lamps (six parishes), rope for the bell (three), the bread and wine (one). Four parishes accused chaplains of taking away with them, when they moved on, books, vestments and even a chalice: four parishes which had lost chalices, or had them stolen, blamed their clergy for carelessness.<sup>37</sup> Some of the complaints were old scores: two rectors were accused of dodging on candles for ten and twelve years, and a third rector was accused of missing out on a lamp for thirty years.38 How many of these charges were justified, how many disputable or false, it is not possible to say. It will have been noted that the number of parishes making any one of these charges was a trifling proportion of the total number of parishes reporting.

Rectors, often being appropriators, were also charged with failing to provide adequate clerical staff for a parish, but these complaints we shall discuss later under the heading of pastoral duties. Apart from complaints about failure to carry out financial responsibilities in relation to fabric, property and staffing, a number of other complaints were directed against the clergy in relation to church finances. Nine parishes complained that 'the church was at farm' without due permission, or in one case was farmed by an unworthy chaplain. At Ledbury it was noted sourly that the Master of the Hospital of St. Catharine farmed out all its benefices. The same parish excelled itself by accusing the Lord Bishop, apparently to his face, of failing to pay an eighteen pence rent on a tenement, a rent which supported a light before the high altar. The rector of Coddington had also failed to support a light, by occupying the land to which it was charged (and not paying rent presumably). At Yarkhill and Bucknell, the vicar's salary had been cut.

These reported defects of the clergy in relation to property and finances can now be usefully compared with the reported corresponding defects on the part of the laity. Some thirty-three parishes, or one eighth, reported lay defects, mainly failure to pay church dues. In six parishes, laymen were accused of 'alienating' church property - two chalices, a lamp, and a 'towell;' of possessing and refusing to hand over unspecific ornaments; of refusing to hand over unspecified church goods; and of interfering with a churchyard, by leaving logs there.39 These charges related to eleven individuals. In six other parishes, laymen were charged with detaining legacies, one individual in each.40 In Bredwardine parish, two individuals had withheld mortuaries, a cow and a pig. In nine parishes, a total of eleven individuals had failed to pay rent-charges for the maintenance of Marian devotion, normally the upkeep of lights: the sum involved ranged from 1d. to 8s., and were in several cases alleged to have been withheld for periods of nine to fifteen years.41 An individual in each of two parishes had failed to provide an unspecified lamp. Other less specific regular dues had been withheld in seven parishes by ten individuals: these included five withholdings of tithes and two of oblations: the highest sum mentioned was 3s.2d.42 An individual in each of two parishes, Monmouth and Minsterworth, refused to take his turn at providing holy bread, 'as the other parishioners do.' In Dormington and Stoke Lacy parishes, an individual declined to hand over church money or church corn: a retired warden (custos bonarum ecclesie) of Much Cowarne had produced no accounts (a warden at Tidenham detained a legacy). All this is very small beer: so few parishes involved, so minute a proportion of the parishioners, so light the charges.<sup>43</sup> More instructive, perhaps is a final charge. In eight parishes, there had been some refusal to contribute to the repairs of the church or churchyard. I may add that in two other parochial returns there were references to repairs being under way (at Vowchurch, the parishioners had 'made an agreement with a carpenter and the money was at hand'). Thus we learn, almost incidentally, that in at least ten parishes churches were being repaired by the laity, activity to be set against the dilapidations listed in the visitation returns. In four parishes, the charge of non-contribution to repairs was brought not against individuals but against communities. Once a hamlet in the parish was charged: the remaining charges were against a neighbouring parish, on the grounds that the church needing repairs was a mother-church.<sup>44</sup> Such charges were clearly the product of a tangled history of dispute - now untraceable in detail - and cannot be taken at their face value.

#### PASTORAL AND DEVOTIONAL DUTIES

Out of 244 parishes, fifty-three or just under one quarter, complained about the nonperformance of pastoral duties by the clergy. The commonest complaint was that the parish was not provided with sufficient clerics - although by modern standards 'parishes were on the whole generously staffed,' particularly when the tiny population of so many of them is considered. Seven parishes complained that they lacked a parish clerk, 'vulgarly called a "sexton", whose job was 'to ring the bells and to process before the clergy when they visit the sick:' eight reported that they lacked a deacon, mainly 'to look after the books and vestments:' twelve parishes were in their own view, short of chaplains. 46 Since the returns report alleged lack of clerics but not the actual staff numbers, it is difficult to be sure how acute these shortages were. For instance, the Wigmore return began by accusing the rector of not providing a clerk, but continued by complaining that the present clerk failed to ring the curfew and the dawn bell ('Daybelle'). A Again, at Weobley the vicar was blamed for not providing a chaplain during his absences, when the services had to be taken by 'the other chaplains who dwell there, out of their good will.' Needs were to some extent a matter of opinion; the parishioners at Peterchurch thought their vicar 'infirm and impotent,' but his refusal to pay for a chaplain may have been because he saw himself in quite another light. The responsibility for providing clerks and deacons was normally that of the resident clergy, although at Bredwardine and Alberbury it was recognised that the rector ought to help the vicar. Three parishes specifically wanted chaplains for chapels: Ledbury wanted extra chaplains for the service of St. Catharine's Hospital: the remaining parishes wanted chaplains to help or deputise for the incumbent in the parish church. The responsibility was evenly divided between resident clergy and non-resident rectors and appropriators.

The generous contemporary supply of clerics in major orders meant that despite non-residence and the occasional absences of some incumbents it is unlikely that more than a very small number of parishes was left for any length of time without priests and services. At least it is certain that very few parishes complained in the 1397 visitation. Ten reported a gap in their services: four of these had had either no services at all, or less than the regulation three, on one or two specific occasions only, that is, on certain feastdays. A fifth had had no matins for an unspecified period, but presumably had had mass and vespers.<sup>48</sup> The other five parishes had been more seriously affected. Because the vicar was infirm and impotent, Peterchurch claimed, rather vaguely, that masses, visits to the sick,

and baptisms had been lacking. Cusop had had no services 'many Sundays, except mass,' which, the parishioners added, they themselves paid for; and the rector was also blamed because infants could not be baptised in the parish (although it had a chaplain, mentioned later in the return). Because of clerical negligence, there had been no services at Wollaston 'for five or six weeks together,' while because of a vacancy and a suspension, Ganarew had had no services for six months and more, and Stretton Grandison had had none for an unspecified period: these appear to have been parishes with a single clergyman. Bannister was extraordinarily inaccurate when he summed up thus: 'There had been no service for many months, even on festivals, in seven churches, and as many as thirty others reported that they were sometimes left without mass for five or six weeks.' Similarly, Coulton's statement, 'in 22 cases Mass is neglected,' cannot be confirmed.<sup>49</sup>

It is conceivable that owing to population contraction in the later 14th century, there were fewer clerics available throughout the nation than the grand total of clerical posts in the eight or nine thousand parishes; but the visitation returns provide very little evidence to suggest that there was any desperate shortage locally. Only four parishes bothered to complain about the non-residence of their rector, one adding that it was not known where he lived. 50 Six parishes complained about frequent or long absences of six vicars and two chantry priests. Or rather, in several cases they complained that the absentees had failed to provide a locum: one vicar was in Rome. 11 Because the rector of Coddington was often out of the parish, it was difficult to get babies baptised: nothing was said about services, for which presumably he made adequate arrangements. A more common complaint indicated one way in which gaps in clerical staffing could be overcome. Eleven parishes complained that priests 'celebrated twice in one day,' that is, they said mass in two different churches on Sunday (contrary to canon law). 2 One parish pointed out that the offender thus 'received two salaries:' a different point was made by another parish which argued that 'the parishioners did not have as much devotion at the second mass as at the first.' Occasionally two neighbouring parishes were served in this way, but more often the priest served the parish church and a parochial chapel. Goodrich began its report by complaining about a vacancy in the incumbency and the lack of a parish chaplain, 'to the grave danger of souls;' but subsequently charged two chaplains in the parish with celebrating twice daily, once at Goodrich (presumably in the parish church), once in their chapel (perhaps at the castle).

Negligence in pastoral duties was a complaint against clerics made by seventeen parishes. Three parishes complained that the church bell was not rung regularly: two of them blamed the parish clerk.<sup>53</sup> At Ledbury, the deacon did not sleep in the 'Treasury,' or Sacristy, as he should have done, to guard the church ornaments.<sup>54</sup> Chaplains in two parishes were said to be disobedient to their vicar: one of them 'did not care to participate in services with the vicar, but as far as he could hindered the smooth running of the church and the organisation of oblations and other collections.'55 A chaplain at Dilwyn did not say all the masses for the soul of the former vicar which had been endowed in the vicar's will. A parish chaplain at Clunbury had a string of charges against him: in general, 'he raised up brawls and dissensions among the parishioners' and did not serve them duly, in particular he had failed - so it was said - to give extreme unction to a dying man, to take a burial service, and to officiate at a public penance without a fee. At St. Weonards, a

chaplain was described as 'ill-fitted and inexperienced in the cure of souls, in common estimation' (a charge which could surely be preferred without rancour against a proportion of clergy in any century). More specifically, a chaplain at Garway was little use as he knew no Welsh and many of the parishioners knew no English (again a reasonable complaint) and also he had once revealed a confession. At Woolaston, the parish chaplain made announcements during service 'standing in the chancel and not in the pulpit, as is customary' - an instance of a petty and trivial complaint (but perhaps raised by a parishioner hard of hearing). However, the same priest was also accused of refusing to church a woman on the grounds that she had been suspended by the Commissary General: a more serious, though surely more disputable, offence. To conclude the charges against chaplains, at Hentland a chaplain had refused to bury a corpse (probably because he believed it to be that of an excommunicate), while a jurisdictional dispute must have lain behind the complaint of Orcop parish that the chaplain of Much Birch had 'usurped the burial of Llanwarne parishioners,' thus robbing their vicar 'of three bodies,' that is, of the corpses' burial fees.

Coming to rectors and vicars, two parishes found their priests negligent at service, one of them being 'too tepid' (his pigs, less tepid, tore up the churchyard), while another did 'not take the service well.' In two parishes the mass began too late and was not completed till after noon.<sup>57</sup> The vicar of Peterchurch, because of his infirmity, was unable to visit the sick or baptise. The vicar of Woolaston, one of the parishes listed above, was absent-minded: once he took the sacrament to a dying woman, processing behind a deacon with bell and lamp, through kneeling parishioners, only to find on arrival that the pyx was empty - 'it was great scandal to make people adore the sacrament when it was not present.' The vicars of Weobley and Eardisley were accused of refusing the sacrament to individual parishioners because tithes had not been paid; and the latter had also refused the sacrament to a woman who had made her confessions to a priest at Hereford. But contrariwise the vicar of Llanrothall was accused of allowing the sacrament to excommunicates. Many of the charges against clergy were eminently disputable, and some were naive and petty. When a string of such charges was brought against a single cleric it is difficult to know whether this reflects on his character, or on the character of those concocting the charge sheet. The vicar of Eardisley, mentioned above, was also accused of refusing to hear the confession of a woman mixed up in a crime, of solemnising a marriage without banns, of baptising an infant without employing the holy oil, and of saying as he buried a man, 'Lie there, excommunicate!' Perhaps the most serious of all the charges mentioned was that the procurator Rectoris at Leominster had demanded a half-penny from each communicant: the 'mass-penny' was a customary offering but was not enforceable.58

If we took the visitation returns at their face value we should have to believe that in three-quarters of the parishes visited none of the above offences was committed: that all relevant clergy conducted their services conscientiously and efficiently, that they made no mistakes in their interpretation of church ordinances, that they never acted unfairly against awkward parishioners, that all these parishes were fully staffed in their own estimation. This cannot have been the case, and the complaints we have are therefore select ones.

We now turn to defaults on the part of the laity with respect to their devotional duties, offences which correspond approximately to clerical lapses with regard to pastoral duties. In twenty-one parishes, or one twelfth, individuals were charged with not attending church - a common wording was 'on Sundays and feastdays' - and sometimes with working instead. The common wording gives no indication how often services had been missed: if it had been for a long period, it would probably have been stated. Only a few charges were more specific: a woman had missed the dedication feast, a couple had not attended 'thrice in a year,' a man attended 'just at Easter.' Another man had missed 'almost a whole year,' another again was absent per annum." A related charge made by six other parishes as well as two of those above, was that individuals had failed to receive the sacrament at Easter (generally the only occasion on which the laity communicated), in one case 'for three years past;' or in a single instance had communicated in the wrong parish. In the Burghill return (prepared for the first day of the visitation) seventeen parishioners were accused of missing services, but as the total of individuals charged with these lapses in the course of the whole visitation was only seventy, it can be seen that most of the parishes concerned charged only one or two individuals.<sup>61</sup> It is extremely unlikely that these seventy individuals were the only persons in two thirds of the diocese of Hereford who ever stayed away from church; and the vague nature of most of the allegations in the returns makes it quite impossible to gain a picture of what proportion of the populace generally attended church services, and how regular that attendance was. 62

Since Bannister suggested that 'there are, in these returns, details of abuses which sufficiently explain why Lollardy - the moral protest against all such things - was so strong in the diocese of Hereford,' it may be stated at this point that there is no mention of heresy in the returns and very little evidence of any systematic rejection of church rites which might conceivably derive from Lollard beliefs. At Little Marcle, a man was alleged 'to refuse holy bread and holy water, contrary to what the church had ordained.' At Minsterworth, the whole presentment was devoted to one Henry Merekote, who had dodged Easter confession and communion, who had refused holy water, who had failed to provide holy bread and pay his church dues, and who disturbed the service when he came to church. However, since the disturbance was caused partly by his seating himself in the clerical chancel, it is possible that he was not so much a protester as an eccentric. 63

A handful of miscellaneous lapses on the part of the laity may be inserted here: their incidence was negligible although some of the charges are interesting. In four parishes, individuals had laid hands on clergy or abused them: in one case, 'blood ran,' but the cleric was also charged with striking back. In two parishes, laymen had come to blows in the church or churchyard. 4 In six parishes, couples were accused of marrying clandestinely, mainly by marrying outside their parish; but in each case more was involved, as we shall see when dealing with moral offences. In two parishes, individuals disturbed services. In six parishes, individuals were charged with impeding the execution of a will, with administering unlicenced the estate of an intestate, or with other testamentary offences.65 Henry at Minsterworth and a woman at Burghill refused to provide the holy bread. Single parishes presented the following offences: a man used an unoccupied rectory as a tavern; a woman sold goods in church; a man impeded a sequestrating dean; a man incited another 'to wrath at Easter;' the women of one parish sat with the men instead of separately, and the laity sat in the chancel (like Henry); two female servants of a vicar rang the bell, instead of a man, contrary to decent church order; a leper was not living apart; a man maliciously opposed banns, blackmailing the couple for money.<sup>66</sup>

## MORAL OFFENCES

There remain the charges of immoral behaviour, that is, mainly of sexual misbehaviour. Some sixty-two parishes, or one quarter, complained about clergy, normally their own clergy, occasionally clergy in other parishes. Since there were generally several clergy in a parish, more than one was sometimes complained about in a single return. All told, eighty-nine parish clergy were complained about, as were eleven monks: the total of parish clergy was probably about 500, therefore, more than four-fifths were not accused. To start with the lesser offences, five clerics haunted taverns - 'excessively' as one parish reasonably added - or were drunkards. Three were accused of selling timber and stones intended for the church or parsonage: five of trading, two of them in eggs, no doubt from their own hens: two of usury: and two of going about at night armed and roistering. The chaplain at Kilpeck seemed to the parishioners 'not firm in his faith, since he often held ceremonies at night with fantastic spirits. Two clergy were accused of manufacturing wills (no doubt they often wrote them for parishioners), and one of perjury. For a number of these charges there may well have been innocent explanations.

Whereas laity were generally charged with only one offence each, clergy were commonly charged with several. Many of the clergy mentioned above were also charged with sexual misbehaviour. Some fifty-two parishes - or one fifth - charged seventy-five parish clergy and eleven monks with 'incontinence' (the term reserved in this visitation for clerical offenders, who were seldom charged with the lay offences of fornication and adultery, a curious distinction).<sup>71</sup> This represented probably between one sixth and one seventh of the parish clergy in the parishes providing returns, not one quarter as Coulton suggested.72 In eighteen cases the woman concerned was stated to be married, but adultery was not evenly distributed among the celibates charged. Sexual relations with other men's wives was particularly alleged against monks, to wit, the prior of Flanesford (his one alleged concubine), the abbot of Flaxley and seven of his monks (who between them were alleged to share eight married and five single women), and the prior of Hereford (who was alleged to have five married women).73 Hence, only four parish clergy were accused of adultery. The alleged partners of the remaining seventy-one clergy were either stated to be single, or were not stated to be married and were presumably single. Thus, while those monks who were reported had a predilection for adultery, the parish clergy were content with fornication. But, as we shall see even more strikingly in the case of the laity, 'fornication' was a blanket allegation covering many different circumstances, some of them little if at all disgraceful or shameful, even by the strictest standards of the time.

The commonest charge merely stated that a cleric 'was incontinent with...,' and this charge therefore sometimes related to casual sexual relations. But in twelve

instances the charge added 'whom he keeps,' or 'in his house,' or 'by day and night,' or 'publicly,' or 'continually' - or once this: 'they share the same house and table.'74 The parish priest at Clumbury not only was incontinent with one Alice, but he 'baptised his son born of her, and afterwards had relations with her again and produced another child by her.' A chaplain at Wistanstow was stated to have had four sons by the same woman. These concubines were therefore long-term and perhaps even lifetime partners. They were clerical housekeepers who if they carried domestic intimacy as far as the convenient arrangement provided by Sara Monday for her elderly employer, to save him going out on wet nights, became focariae or 'hearth-mates,' wives in all but the eyes of the church.75 These particular charges unfortunately never state how long the relationship had persisted, although a man at Colwall who accused a cleric of stealing his wife spoke of her being away from him for six years. What proportion of the clergy had focariae cannot be deduced from general considerations mainly because so little is known about the history of clerical celibacy in practice and certainly cannot be learnt from visitation returns. However, it seems likely, on commonsense grounds, that many, and perhaps a majority, of the clergy had female housekeepers; and likely therefore that parishioners in many parishes were given the opportunity for suspicion, blackmail, or accusation. Probably many of the unspecified accusations of incontinence also related to housekeepers; and in our view it is probable that many more clergy with housekeepers were, for good or bad reasons, not reported. Not all clergy accused of incontinence with housekeepers can have been guilty (there must have been some elderly and unattractive housekeepers, as well as some elderly and impotent clergy), and at least two denied the charge in 1397.76 Moreover, there is some doubt whether an accusation of cohabitation with a suspect female meant more than that a housekeeper was insufficiently elderly and insufficiently unattractive, and therefore liable to be a source of temptation. On the other hand, if not all accused clergy were guilty, not all guilty clergy were accused. We have instances where a cleric of a parish reporting itself as omnia bene was accused of being incontinent by another parish, and one of the accusations involved a housekeeper. Another clue is the striking absence of mention of children of the clergy: in the whole visitation only three clergy are referred to as having children, though it is inconceivable that the amount of incontinency charged could have led to so little procreation. It is generally accepted that the laity treated children of the clergy with tolerance and perhaps even some respect; and the Hereford visitation would seem to indicate that there was tacit agreement not to draw the attention of the authorities to clergy families. 8 Of course the authorities had their suspicions about female housekeepers, other than mothers or sisters, and probably in general disapproved and discouraged, but appear to have turned a blind eye to specific instances unless and until pushed into action." A Ludlow cleric who denied incontinence with his housekeeper was ordered to purge himself, but in the meantime to send her away.80 It would be rash to assume either that late-medieval clerical concubinage was general or common, or that it was limited and exceptional; and the 1397 visitation returns cannot be used to prove either one possibility or the other.81 It seems certain that a proportion of the clergy had illegal wives or focariae; that a larger proportion had female housekeepers; and that the laity were inclined to believe that the latter proportion was only a shade greater than the former. It is likely that a substantial proportion of all the charges of incontinency against the clergy related to housekeepers, although not all were necessarily true. No doubt some of the clergy took advantage of their pastoral position to indulge in casual sexual relations by seducing females, even other men's wives. But it is possible that most of the charges related instead to long-term partnerships and what in the eyes of the laity seemed respectable family unions. The fact that the reported partners of parish clergy were mainly single women tends to strengthen this possibility. Monks, offering both more comfort and more protection within the sacred walls of the monastery, could afford to lead a predatory love-life, collecting other men's wives. Parish clergy residing next door to lay neighbours, seldom dared to antagonise them by sexual poaching.<sup>82</sup>

Scandalous instances of sexual misbehaviour by professional celibates there indeed were. The abbot of Flaxley was accused of living with one woman for thirteen years, a fidelity less touching if it were also true that he had another woman housed in the monastery and two concubines outside. The other housed woman was alleged to have also had relations with a monastery servant and with one of the monks: the latter in turn was accused of relations with three women, one of them the abbot's long-term concubine. Whether true or not in detail, the allegations indicate that some of the laity believed that monastic chastity was both a disguise for promiscuity and a threat to married laymen. Perhaps the most scandalous allegations against parish clergy were those against two young chaplains at Cradley, apparently young reprobates since they went about at night armed, disturbing the parish: one was accused of adultery with two wives and fornication with a woman in another parish, Bosbury; the second of adultery with one wife and fornication with her sister, of having been excommunicated for his adultery and yet continuing to celebrate, and finally (though so spectacular an offence may have been prurient invention) of having coupled within the Lady Chapel sanctuary. The most tangled clerical offence was surely that of Richard Stoke of Dymock, 'lately promoted to clerical orders,' whose concubine was his fiancée, that is, the woman to whom he had been formerly betrothed - although, as the parishioners brightly added, 'matrimony between them was never solemnized.'

Three quarters of the parishes said nothing about the sexual morals of their clergy, and many clergy in the other parishes were not mentioned in this respect. But the number of accusations makes it certain that not all were false, and that clerics were expected to commit these offences. Thus, while it is likely that not all the accusations were correct, it is also likely that similar offences were committed elsewhere without charges being brought. Tolerance of clerical offences may occasionally have been mere charity, but it is likely that it was more often part of a tacit agreement between clergy and parishioners - or at least relevant parishioners, the *parochiani* or representatives - not to tell tales on each other. That live-and-let-live was as powerful a factor in the medieval village as in any other society appears to have been overlooked by those historians who have taken visitation allegations at their face value. As evidence of clerical celibacy or otherwise, the visitation returns may be particularly untrustworthy, since there is some evidence that the laity were never fully convinced that it was wrong for the clergy to do as they did, that is, rather marry than burn.

We now turn to the moral offences of the laity. Out of 244 parishes, whereas 130 criticised the clergy on any score and 183 made allegations against laity, sixty-two charged the clergy with moral offences and 149 charged the laity. (Note, however, that the figures for the laity are swollen by clerical incontinence, since every case of this involved a lay partner.) No firm conclusions about a reasonable balance of misbehaviour as between 'shepherd' and 'flock' - to use Coulton's terms - can be drawn from these figures, but they do show why the Hereford visitation interests the social historian. Most medieval visitations concentrated on the clergy, to the joy of the church historian: this visitation purports to tell about the behaviour of the mass of people.

We begin with offences involving small numbers of persons. Eight parishes were concerned about married couples (nine of them) who lived apart: in one instance, inlaws were forbidding cohabitation. Seven parishes reported on five husbands who illtreated wives ('often threatening to kill her and behaving atrociously towards her,' 'he expels her from home, denies her food and clothing and all marital dues, and refuses to support their child'); but also - lacking Victorian notions about the innocence of weaker vessels - on three wives who ill-treated husbands ('denies conjugal acts to him and ill-treats him').83 Ill-treating a spouse was also a common addition to adultery charges, but these we treat separately. Six parishes accused five women and one man of being common slanderers, and in another parish a man was accused of 'inciting dissention between the curate and parishioners.' Six parishes accused individuals of defaming others 'falsely and maliciously' by making allegations of theft, adultery, homicide and causing trouble between neighbours.84 Two parishes each accused an individual of usury; but a third parish, Cradley, was a nest of usurers - six of them having lent three customers sums totalling 57s.2d., to be repaid to the tune of 114s.6d. over an unstated period (and on 15s, another customer had paid 5s, annually for six years).85 Here is another offence which must have been moderately common in any peasant community, but was seldom reported in this visitation. Two parishes charged individuals with perjury, and two charged individuals with being excommunicate. A man at Ruardean maintained that his father's ghost walked at night and he had waited for it at the grave; while at Cradley a woman practised witchcraft - it is highly likely, of course, that much more magic was practised and not reported. Single parishes reported the following offences: cursing; chatting in church; selling goods at too high a price; wasting personal possessions (male devastat bona sua); taking a testamentary matter to a secular court.86

We now come to the less commonly alleged forms of sexual misbehaviour. 'Even in quite small villages women are presented as keeping communes burdellos, ad receptandum adulteros et fornicatores' - so said Bannister in discreet Latin. In sober fact, two parishes each accused one woman of keeping a brothel, and four parishes charged individuals with receiving into their homes 'adulterers and fornicators, for the purpose of sinning.'87 Two of those charged with the latter offence were women, apparently unmarried women, and they may indeed have been brothel-keepers. But one charge was (as far as can be gathered from a damaged entry) against a married couple for receiving into their home another couple who were accused of adultery (this was

the offence in later centuries known as 'harbouring'), and there may have been an innocent explanation. The offence of bastard-bearing was preferred against only two unmarried women, an astonishingly small number: presumably the proof of many of the charges of incontinency was a pregnancy or birth, but the contrast with the church discipline records of later centuries in the failure to mention bastards is curious and striking.<sup>88</sup> At Eastnor, Alice Brut was accused of relations with four men and may have been the village common woman, but there are no specific references in the returns to prostitutes - again, an unlikely clean sheet.

Other forms of sexual offence, though they doubtless covered very many cases of casual sexual relations, were all related in some degree to the central problem of medieval village social morality, the problem of legitimate marriage. Hence, many cases of alleged adultery and fornication turn out to be matrimonial offences, in the sense that they derived from differences of opinion as to what constituted a marriage. Six parishes each reported one clandestine marriage (generally a marriage solemnised out of the parish of residence) which had taken place, it was alleged, because the couple was not free to marry: in three instances, the man was already married ('he has a previous wife at Hereford, whom he has had for sixteen years ... and they say he has a third wife at Hereford'); in two instances, the man had a pre-contract (that is, he had been previously betrothed to another woman), and once was stated to have had sexual relations with his partner, which strengthened the binding nature of the betrothal contract: in the final instance, the partners were claimed to be related within the prohibited degrees. There were two other charges of bigamy, but in one case it was only alleged that the man had promised marriage (per verba de futuro), which was much less binding than a formal betrothal (per verba de praesenti).89 Nine parishes reported that individual couples in each had not completed their marriage by solemnisation (i.e. attendance at church for a priest's blessing) after a betrothal contract and sexual relations. One of the couples however had only engaged de futuro, and then the woman had apparently lost interest: in another case the man had had a seizure which left him without 'sense, movement or speech' (a puzzled lawyer could only annotate the charge, 'Consider what ought to be done').<sup>90</sup> Probably some of these marriages had not been solemnised because the couple knew that an approach to a priest would give the church the opportunity to find a defect in them. Apart from the clandestine marriages just discussed, sixteen parishes reported illegal, that is defective, unions. The niggling scholasticism of the late medieval church's marriage regulations was demonstrated in the first parish return: a wife had her marriage challenged on the grounds of alleged pre-marital sexual relations with a priest who happened to be a relative of her husband's 'within the fourth degree' (i.e. he was closer than a third cousin).91 Sharp practitioners among the laity worked the rules to their own advantage. At Whitchurch, a man whose marriage had broken up 'publicly admitted' - that is, he brought it to the attention of the authorities - that he had had relations with his wife's sister before his marriage, and hence that his marriage was void and he was free to start again. On the other hand, a sharp-nosed cleric could cause havoc: at Kingsland no fewer than six couples were reported for marrying within the prohibited degrees (three sets of spouses were second cousins, two third cousins) - presumably clergy were behind this esoteric charge and this spate of genealogical investigation." All told, twenty-three couples had their marriage challenged, sixteen on the grounds of prohibited degrees (twice derived from illicit relations), four on the grounds that one of the partners had had a pre-contract, once on the grounds of bigamy (the defence being that the previous marriage had been declared void because of the husband's impotence). In this last instance, the offence was ancient history, since the illegally married couple had a family of sons and daughters. Sexual relations within the prohibited degrees led to three charges of incest, in one case between first cousins. One couple charged with 'incestuous embraces' had certainly been prevented from marrying by their blood-relationship since they had 'continued in sinning for twenty-six years."

We reach the commonest allegations, those of adultery and fornication. 'There is adultery and fornication everywhere' wrote Canon Bannister, expressing un-Christian surprise at the prevalence of the flesh. We have no doubt that there was adultery and fornication everywhere. However, only 133 parishes, or just over one half, brought charges (101 parishes brought charges of fornication, ninety charges of adultery). About 250 couples were involved in fornication charges, about 160 in adultery charges - but of course some individuals of each sex were accused of having had more than one partner. If we include those women who were alleged to have been partners of clergy, all told about 900 lay persons were charged with sexual offences. The lay population of the parts of Hereford diocese visited was probably around 50,000, and the number of adults (aged fifteen and over) perhaps 30,000. Thus one in thirty-three adults, on this calculation, was charged with sexual offences.

In one quarter of the fornication charges (but in only one ninth of the adultery charges), it was said that the man 'kept' the woman. Although it would be rash to speak with assurance about the domestic and family arrangements of the late medieval village, this wording would seem to mean that the couple maintained a permanent relationship which involved living together. Thus, a substantial proportion of the fornication charges related, not to casual relations, but to unblessed social and sexual partnerships. Some couples remained 'unmarried' for long periods, presumably because there were legal impediments to marriage: at Bacton, a bachelor and spinster had continued in fornication for twelve years. Although we are told nothing about the background to most of the 'kept' charges, a few exceptional instances show that there could be lasting attachment between the partners. Five couples had appeared previously before the church courts and had abjured their sinning: they were now charged with continuing in their sin, in one case specifically 'living together in one house,' despite their abjuration. One couple had complicated matters by each partner being previously betrothed to someone else, presumably before the lovers met. Two couples charged with adultery and one couple charged with fornication persisted in living together after being formally divorced (that is, their marriage had been declared void, probably either on the complaint of an aggrieved pre-contractee or because they were within the prohibited degrees).95 It would seem a reasonable inference that many of these couples living together had children, which underlines the curious paucity of bastardy charges. While the unions of some couples remained unblessed because of legal impediments, it is possible that some of the couples in 'kept' charges, and perhaps some of those in less specific fornication charges, were practicing 'trial marriage,' probably more to test companionateship than fertility; but that if the union persisted until the woman became pregnant a church marriage followed. We know from the side-notes that four fornicating couples were married after being reported. 97

Fornication charges were brought by two fifths of the parishes visited. The 250 couples involved were thus drawn from an estimated population of about 12,000 adults. Since fornication is an offence of the unmarried, it involved almost wholly younger adults; and when it was either mere sexual experimentation or trial marriage it involved the youngest adults. If there were 12,000 adults in these parishes, there were probably about 4,000 aged between fifteen and twenty-four; we do not know the average age of marriage at this period, but even if we set it low, at ages twenty-twentytwo, there would remain about 2,400 young unmarried adults. Not all the couples charged with fornication were, as we have seen, young novices, but even if they had been, the total of 250 couples charged represented only one fifth of the number of young adults. Another way of setting the figure in perspective is to compare it with the annual number of marriages in these parishes: if we assume that an entire cohort married at age twenty-one or twenty-two, the number of marriages annually was probably about 200. Thus, for every four couples marrying in any year five were alleged to be fornicating: since for every couple marrying there were perhaps five times as many unmarried adults, this strikes me as a substantial but not outstanding amount. Of course no great weight should be laid on the exact proportions since they derive from estimates which are necessarily of the roughest. Nevertheless, I believe that, after making allowances for errors in the most reasonable directions, these calculations can be taken to suggest that the amount of sexual misbehaviour among the unmarried which was alleged in the returns was limited. The returns certainly do not prove general promiscuity, and arguably not even common misbehaviour.

How much 'fornication' went unreported we must now consider. Pace Bannister, it was another Victorian clergyman who noted of his own day that 'among the peasantry, fornication is the way to marriage.' We know that pre-marital sexual relations were common long before the 19th century: using the parish registers we can trace a high rate of bridal pregnancy back to the 16th century.<sup>98</sup> If from the 16th century onwards at least one quarter of English brides have been pregnant at marriage, we should certainly consider the possibility that this pattern of social behaviour extended back to the 15th century, and to 1397. It is true that the offence of 'ante-nuptial fornication' which from the 16th century increasingly engaged the attention of church courts does not seem to be at all common in pre-Reformation visitation charges and is not mentioned in 1397.9 But this can hardly mean that there were no pregnant brides. Rather it might be interpreted as meaning that the church had so much difficulty in enforcing marriage that it had not yet dedicated itself to punishing married couples for their previous behaviour. The most probable implication of the bridal pregnancy rates from the 16th century onwards is that a substantial portion, conceivably a majority, of the population - women as well as men - had pre-marital sexual relations, albeit limited ones, for women limited mainly to the period of courtship. If this were

also the case in 1397, then a certain amount, probably a substantial amount, of fornication, must have gone unreported in the returns. There can be no final proof of this, but two points strengthen the suggestion. First, it is obvious that the most casual sexual contacts are likely to be concealed and to pass unrecorded: we have seen that the reported fornication included much that was definitely not casual, and it may well be that only the more lasting relationships were considered worthy of note and report. Secondly, the amount of reported fornication in two fifths of the parishes - we have described it as substantial though not outstanding - contrasts curiously with the total lack of charges in three fifths of the parishes. It is barely credible that in more than a handful of the very smallest parishes there was no fornication. It seems likely, therefore that as between parishes there was a good deal of selectivity in fornication charges. For instance, where the parishioners overlooked the incontinence of the clergy, the clergy did not strive to have the sexual misdeeds of the laity publicised. Similarly, it is likely that there was selectivity of fornication charges within a parish: for instance, the faults of churchwardens and their families may well have been overlooked, the faults of strangers, outcasts and other marginal individuals exaggerated and publicised. This selectivity in sexual charges would be in keeping with the selectivity noted earlier with respect to other offences and defaults. What we can certainly conclude is that because the visitation returns mainly deal in allegations, with only a limited number of responses and judgements, they can give us little or no guidance as to the true incidence of sexual offences. Some of the allegations were denied, and a proportion we should expect to be untrue: on the other hand, it is conceivable that the total of allegations represented only 'the tip of the iceberg.'100

Charges of adultery were less common than charges of fornication, and a smaller proportion of women were 'kept.' In adultery charges the wording was generally 'kept in his house,' and it was often added that the man also ill-treated his wife, driving her away, denying her food and raiment, etc.<sup>101</sup> Two adulterous couples had persisted twelve and six years: a union could be declared adulterous, although long-standing, if one of the partners had a pre-contract - even a betrothal that was never consummated.<sup>102</sup> The marital status of adulterous partners was not always made clear: when it was, the married partner was in thirty-five cases the man, in twenty-three cases the woman. (Adulterous women, however, were never accused of ill-treating their spouse). One man was charged with condoning his wife's adultery.<sup>103</sup> The 160 couples involved in adultery charges represented about that number of broken marriages (it was unusual for both partners to be married). If the adult population of the diocese was about 30,000 the number of married couples was probably around 10,000: the proportion of reported broken marriages was therefore very small. But many broken marriages may not have been reported.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let me comment on the most general aspect of the 1397 Hereford diocese visitation. In being extant, the record of the visitation is well-nigh unique for the period 1200-1500, even if we extend the range of comparison from England to western Christendom; therefore, despite such visitations being apparently common-

visitation. In addition, seventeen places listed as chapels in 1291, and forty-six places not listed, also sent narochiani. In the whole diocese the 'Taxatio' listed 291 churches, but it has been stated that the list is incomplete and that a count in the registers reveals 342 (J. R. H. Moorman. Church life in England in the thirteenth century (1945), 4). Therefore defects in the 'Taxatio' list probably account for a large proportion of the forty-six nonlisted places making returns in 1397. On the other hand, nineteen churches listed in 1291, that is, two or three in each deanery, are unaccounted for in the 1397 return; either they missed the visitation, for unknown reasons (some may have been exempt), or they were accidentally omitted from the record. Hereafter we shall refer to all the units making returns in 1397 as 'parishes,' whether true parishes based on parish churches or only chapelries (or the four mysteriously-included secular units of villatae, Stagbatch/Cholstrey, Adforton, Bicton and Spoad), Bannister stated that the returns relate to 281 parishes, but this figure is a mis-calculation (caused apparently by double counting of visitation centres, whose names are given both as parochial entries and as section headings). Complete or very nearly complete returns are available for 244 'parishes' (one with its name missing), and fragmentary returns for four or possibly five nameless parishes. (The nameless damaged returns at the foot of f.3 are from at least two of the following three parishes, Letton, Moccas and Brobury: the nameless return at the foot of f.6 is almost certainly from Upton; the nameless, damaged returns at the foot of f.26b are probably from Meole Brace and Habberley: the nameless, damaged return at the foot of f.l is unidentified.) Thus, the total of parochial returns is probably 248 or 249. The number of 'parishes' which ought to have made returns throughout the diocese is not known, but, to allow for returns from a further number of parochial chapels, must have been greater than the 342 churches of Morman's calculation. If we suppose that it approached 380, then we have the returns for about two-thirds of the diocese.

<sup>2</sup> A. T. Bannister, 'Parish life in the fourteenth century,' The Nineteenth Century, 102 (1927), 399-404: G. G. Coulton, Medieval Panorama (1938, reprinted 1961), 1:202-5, 210-1, 440-1 (for Coulton's analysis of the Lausanne returns, see The medieval village (1926), 568-70). There are passing references in C. R. Cheney, Episcopal visitations of monasteries in the thirteenth century (1931), 10 (n.2), 84 (n.6): A Hamilton Thompson, The English clergy and their organization in the later Middle Ages (1947), 62; and the evidence of clerical incontinence is briefly discussed in H. Maynard Smith, Pre-Reformation England (1938), 47. A series of references in Glanmor Williams, The Welsh church from Conquest to Reformation (1962), follow Coulton in considering the 1397 returns 'eloquent of wide-spread abuse, shortcomings and neglect' (206).

A serious defect of church history, deriving no doubt from the clerical status of many of its practitioners, has been its over-concentration on the behaviour of the clergy, at the expense of serious study of lay behaviour. Compare the following witty but patronising remark (made in an article neighbouring the publication of the 1397 returns): 'Nine tenths of the cases with which these [church] courts deal concern rustic amours and their consequences, which it would be imprudent even on the part of a genealogist to investigate too closely' (G. Baskerville, Eng. His. Rev., 44 (1929), 4 (n.1)). This lack of interest in lay behaviour has been all too common. Even the most recent studies based on visitation records, although works of admirable scholarship, indicate their limitations in their titles: Margaret Bowker, The secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520 (1968); Peter Heath, The English parish clergy on the eve of the Reformation (1969). A collection of essays on The layman in Christian history (eds. S. C. Neill and H. R. Weber, 1963) justly claims of itself that 'unmistakably new ground has been broken' (11); but the contribution on 'The church of the Middle Ages' deals with the layman and the parish 'rather cursorily.' This may be because the same author has maintained elsewhere that 'the perennial aberrations of mankind are of little concern to the historian' (C. N. L. Brooke, 'Gregorian reform in action: clerical marriage in England 1050-1200,' in S. Thrupp, ed., Change in medieval society (1965), 49-71, on 53).

4 The grave limitations of the visitation returns have been rightly stressed by Mrs. Bowker. 'From the returns themselves, there is no means of assessing the weight of the criticism expressed, and it is clear from some of the entries that village quarrels and personal animosities lay behind many of the reports' (M. Bowker, An episcopal court book for the diocese of Lincoln 1514-1520, Lincoln Record Society 61 (1967), vii). But the limitation to visitation material, in particular, is that it relies on complaints. The visitor is told what the parish thought to be wrong. [As regards offences of the clergy,] it shows, therefore, the tolerance or exasperation of the parishioners rather than the actual state of affairs. A visitation return does not indicate where the priest had deviated from the canonical norms: it indicates only where the parishioners were dissatisfied with him.' (Bowker, Secular clergy, 3). But in the view of the present writer Mrs. Bowker does not carry her scepticism far enough. Both she and Dr. Heath point out the subjective nature of visitation returns when they wish to demonstrate the untrustworthiness of certain complaints, just as they use a statistical analysis to demonstrate the relative paucity of the complaints. But they fail to admit the corollary to the subjectivity of the returns, that no more than we can accept the objectivity of their content can we accept the comprehensiveness of any rate calculated from them. That is, these scholars fail to allow for the defaults and offences that were never reported. Their tenderness towards the clergy is thus related to a failure to consider the complexity of the lay society which produced the visitation returns. Mrs. Bowker's study of the subsequent church court proceedings (in her Episcopal court book) throws a certain amount of additional light on the complaints in the visitation returns, but cannot throw any light on the offences that were never reported. It is true, of course, that not all charges heard before church courts came from visita-

place, it is impossible to say if either the record or the visitation was typical. 104 But the grounds given by earlier historians for supposing it untypical are false. As far as we can tell, its procedures, which were sensible and efficient, very broadly corresponded to those evidenced in other spasmodically-extant records of visitation, although in particular its concern with the laity appears unusual. However, this concern may reflect a period development - but if so, one that in actuality was most probably common across England and perhaps even western Christendom. Be that as it may. there is nothing to suggest that the social content of the record is peculiar because Hereford diocese was peculiar - the easy assertion that the diocese was different from other English dioceses because neighbouring 'Wild Wales' was based on ethnic bias and is not justified by analysis of this record. 105 And finally, since the nature of the record, and indeed of visitation, gives us only a hazy view of actual behaviour, it was rash indeed for Bannister and Coulton to suggest that clergy and laity in Hereford diocese in 1397 were not only 'corrupt' but abnormally so. It is wiser to suppose, as a starting point for historical reflection, that the keyhole glimpses of actual behaviour provided by this notable record testify to behaviour and attitudes which not only were common, in all probability, in the nation in the 1390s but which are capable of being understood and empathised with in terms of the behaviour and attitudes of the 1990s, at least among the laity.

The Club is much indebted to the Marc Fitch Fund for its generous grant towards the publication of this paper.

#### REFERENCES

The manuscript record is preserved in Hereford Cathedral archives. A photocopy, kindly supplied by the late Miss Penelope Morgan, the then archivist, was transcribed at my direction in the 1970s by former students of the archivists' training course of the History Department, University of Liverpool, The final version was the work of Christopher and Margaret Whittick, the former now archivist in the East Sussex Record Office, to whom I am much obliged for their skilful cooperation - a copy of this transcript is available in the Hereford office of the Worcester and Hereford Record Office. I have checked, edited and translated the transcript. It supersedes a printed version which usefully introduced the document to historians but which was incomplete since it silently omitted most of the comperta: A. T. Bannister, 'Visitation returns of the diocese of Hereford in 1397,' Eng. His. Rev. 44 (1929), 279-89, 444-53; 45 (1930), 92-101, 444-63. The new transcript also corrects occasional misreadings and supplies details of readings, and I hope eventually to publish an edited version. For the history of the discovery of the manuscript, see P. E. H. Hair, 'Mobility of parochial clergy in Hereford diocese c. 1400,' Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club. XLIII (1980), 164-80, note 1. References to this primary source are given hereafter by the names of the places recorded: the foliation of the manuscript is indicated in Bannister's printed transcript. The terms 'return' and 'returns' are used throughout without prejudice to a subsequent discussion (see especially note 12 below) as to whether the recorded evidence was obtained by inquiry at the visitation centre or was previously realised in some form in the parish and brought to the centre. The record lacks returns from the deanery of Hereford, or from the Shropshire deaneries of Burford, Stottesdon and Wenlock. There is evidence in the bishop's register that these Shropshire deaneries were visited on the last stage of the visitation, after the other Shropshire deaneries and in the course of the journey back south to Hereford, Similar evidence is lacking for Hereford deanery; it may have been visited last, or, alternatively, it may have been exempt from episcopal visitation. The manuscript as we have it records the visitation up to Pontesbury, in the Shropshire deanery of that name, on 5 July; but documents in his register show that the bishop, who personally led part if not all of the earlier visitation, was at Burford on 8 July (possibly a mis-reading for 18 July) and at Wenlock on 9 July, in two of the missing Shropshire deaneries (W. W. Capes, ed., Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Cantilupe Society (1914), Canterbury and York Society (1916), 144, 151, for ff. 88b, 90b). It would therefore seem that the final sheets of the manuscript have been separated and lost. In the deaneries whose returns survive, the 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica Nicholai' of 1291 listed 201 churches (ecclesiae); of these, 182 sent parochial representatives (parochiani) to the <sup>5</sup> R. H. Hilton, A medieval society: the West Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century (1966), discusses a region bordering on Hereford diocese a century before our returns, and affords glimpses of the social forces operating although its treatment of peasant morality and church discipline is over-simple.

<sup>6</sup> It is quaint that charges of working on Sundays were reported to a visitation itself working Sundays and forcing others to attend on Sundays, although doubtless these duties were classed as godly labours. During the visitation of Lincoln diocese 1518-20, Sundays were normally spent quiescando (A. Hamilton Thompson, Visitations in the diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, 2 vols., Lincoln Record Society (1940), 1:xxiii, 141-7 - frequent comparative reference will hereafter be made to the Lincoln visitations and to Hamilton Thompson's introduction, the standard study of a late medieval visitation: the volumes will be cited as LVI or LV2).

<sup>7</sup> At nine centres, only presentments from the home parish were recorded and presumably only the home parish attended, for reasons which are not clear. Elsewhere, as well as the home parish normally from three to six neighbouring parishes attended, but twice nine attended and once fifteen. At two centres, Walford and Leintwardine. the home parish made no presentment, or more likely, their presentments were accidentally omitted from the record. Parishes were not necessarily called to the nearest centre, because of deanery boundaries and possibly because there were traditional sub-deanery groupings. The distances given in the text are map-distances: on the ground, journeys were no doubt further. The longest journey was from New Radnor to Leominster, about eighteen miles, but this was quite exceptional. Very occasionally, an item of business was postponed at one centre and transferred to a later one: thus, a man at Peterchurch was ordered to appear the next day at Dorstone, and two couples at Presteigne and Elton, ordered to purge themselves at Leintwardine, may have appeared before the official party when it reached there a week later (the Leintwardine returns are missing). On the first day of the visitation, the home parish, Burghill, for some unstated reason, had its presentment postponed and transferred: the nearby parish at which the presentment was made a week later was not even a centre, and this special occasion accounts for one of the lost days on the visitation. Later in the visitation Lyonshall parish presented two days late, at another centre. The Lincoln visitation gave much less attention to individual parishes, since regularly twenty or more parishes had to report each day; but in this record too there are instances of individuals who were charged at one centre being required to attend later at another (LVI, 8, 28).

\* This note considers, in relation to the 1397 Hereford diocese procedures, the normative procedures of visitation in the late-medieval period, as understood by historians from study of the very limited records. The scheme of conducting parochial visitations of the archdeaconries of York, Nottingham, East Riding and Cleveland in 1409-10 followed a scheme similar to that in Hereford diocese, in that Archbishop Bowet normally visited deaneries in turn, and moved from centre to centre daily, including Sundays; and that normally between three and ten parishes attended each centre (the extreme numbers being one and nineteen). But in the case of the York diocese visitation, monasteries as well as parishes were visited, the former being visited singly and on a separate day (A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Documents relating to diocesan and provincial visitations from the registers of Bowet 1407-23 and Kempe 1425-52,' in *Collectanea II*, Surtees Society 127 (1916), 133-334, on 157-64, 167-74, 177-84, 187-921). In respect of parochial visitations, a primary distinction may be between those which visited each parish, and those which visited centres and only received reports from each parish. The first kind tended to carry out personal inspection of the fabric and property of each parish church, while the second kind had to be

content with allegations regarding these. However, there was also a tendency for the first kind to have little time left, after fabric inspection, for examination into less concrete matters such as moral offences, while the second kind tended to concentrate on such matters. On the Continent, the episcopal visitation of Lausanne 1416-7 and the archidiaconal visitation of Josas archdeaconry in the archdiocese of Paris 1458-70 are examples of parish-byparish inspection of the fabric, with little apparent interest in lay offences (La visite des églises du Diocèse de Lausanne en 1416-1417. Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande. 2º série. t.11 (1921): J. M. Alliot. ed.. Visites archdiaconales de Josas. Paris (1902)). Attention was drawn to the varying content of visitation records in this respect, with special reference to the 1397 visitation, by Cheney, 'The earliest Grenoble registers lack altogether the records of the delinquencies of lay parishioners, which occupy so large a part of the Hereford episcopal visitations of this century' (G. R. Cheney, 'The diocese of Grenoble in the fourteenth century,' Speculum, 10 (1935), 162-76, on 170). Unfortunately the mandates and citations for the 1397 visitation are not in Bishop Trefnant's register. However, the itinerary in Frome deanery in 1397 can be compared with the itineraries in visitations of 1346 and 1363, as announced in mandates (J. H. Parry, ed., Registrum Johannis de Trillek, Cantilupe Society (1910), Canterbury and York Society (1912), 30; J. H. Parry, ed., Registrum Ludowici de Charltone, Cantilupe Society (1913), Canterbury and York Society (1914), 7. On each of these three visitations, the same six centres were visited, although not in the same order. In 1397, during a period of eight days, visits to two centres in neighbouring deaneries were interpolated; in 1346 and 1363, during a period of seven days, one day was left free, probably for a similar interpolation. We conclude that the 1397 itinerary in Frome deanery was based on one which had been established for at least half a century, and which was followed closely, although not rigidly. For a record of a comparable visitation of the whole diocese we must go further back. In 1289, Bishop Swinfield itinerated through the greater part of his diocese, including seven of the deaneries recorded in 1397 (Forest, Irchinfield, Ludlow, Pontesbury, Clun, Leominster, Weobley), and his Household Book records his staying a single day or more days at thirty-six localities. In a dozen instances, the record states that he 'visited the parish church,' or occasionally a monastery; and it is likely that, even when the record is not explicit, the halt was made for the purpose of visitation, although there is no evidence that the halts were centres at which neighbouring parishes assembled. In 1397, the visitation party as it passed through the same seven deaneries halted at forty-six localities: of these, thirty-one were the same places as in 1289 (and one more was virtually the same, since the Flaxley Abbey of 1289 lay within the Westbury parish of 1397). Even although the episcopal halts in 1289 included visits to a few monastic establishments and these were not repeated in 1397 (or if they were they were not recorded in the same document), nevertheless of Swinfield's thirty-six halts only four were not 1397 halts. Thus it would appear that the list of halts employed in 1397 was basically that employed a century earlier, with a number of additions. In outline, the itinerary of 1397 was not the same as that of 1289, since deaneries were visited in a different order, and within deaneries the parties travelled in opposite directions (both parties traversed the diocese broadly in a figure-of-eight pattern, 1289 moving clockwise around the southern part and anti-clockwise around the northern, 1397 reversing the procedure). But because the halts were largely identical, the route within a deanery was generally the same. This correspondence suggests that in 1289, as in 1397, the halts were at planned points, and it is conceivable although unevidenced that the halts were in fact centres which were attended by neighbouring parishes. While it cannot be proved that a formal and exactly similar division of each Hereford diocese deanery into groups of parishes attending a visitation-centre was already in existence a century before 1397, it does appear that at least the system of centres was based on a system of traditional halts. The 1289 visitation extended to the three Shropshire deaneries whose 1397 visitation records have been lost; the 1289 itinerary suggests that the following centres were visited in 1397 - Tenbury, Burford, Lindridge and Aka (in Burford deanery); Kinlet, Chetton, and Morville (in Stottesdon deanery); Wenlock and Munslow (in Wenlock deanery).

At an earlier visitation of the diocese, by Bishop Gilbert in 1385, there were summoned from each parish 'six or eight worthy parishioners, according to the size of its population, men of good repute, chosen honestly (electos absque fraude)' (J. H. Parry, ed., Registrum Johannis Gilbert, Cantilupe Society (1913), Canterbury and York Society (1915), 78, for f.41). The next Hereford visitation for which this detail is recorded was in 1513, when Bishop Mayhew summoned four, six or eight parishioners (A. T. Bannister, ed., Registrum Ricardi Mayhew, Cantilupe Society (1919), Canterbury and York Society (1919), 166). At a dozen visitations of other dioceses c.1300 (as listed in F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, Councils and synods, II, part I (1964), 262 (n.2)) the number of laymen summoned was normally three, four, six or eight, often according to the size of the parish. Bishop Bransford of Worcester in 1339 summoned four laymen from churches and three from chapels (R. M. Haines, The administration of the diocese of Worcester in the first half of the fourteenth century (1965), 149). At the Lincoln visitations of 1517-20, presentments which name their source usually begin Parochiani dicunt but occasionally Iconomi dicunt, and a dozen parishes had the names of two, three or four iconomi registered; white at the visitation of the archdeaconry of Oxford in 1530, each parish registered the names of two iconomi (LVI-2). In the Hereford returns, the fifteen parochiani named at Newland were possibly the representatives of both the parishes attending this centre, Newland and Staunton. A curious exception to the use in the Hereford returns

of Parochiani dicunt (used even by three of the villatae) is a single instance of Villani dicunt (the fourth villata,

10 The 1385 visitation of Bishop Gilbert had called on 'all rectors, vicars, presbyters and clergy from churches and chapels ... in which divine service is celebrated' to attend, partly in order to present their titles and letters of ordination. But the 1397 returns register the general presence of clergy at only one point: the Newland entry begins with the names of five clergy, one of whom, it was noted, had failed to produce letters of ordination. A chaplain at Newland named later in the presentment was not named in this list, and the first name on the list was that of the rector, the Bishop of Llandaff, whose presence must be doubted; it is uncertain therefore whether all clergy in practice attended, or were expected to attend. The English Bicknor entry, after a charge made against the parish chaplain, continues: 'The reverend parish chaplain here does not appear.' The Lyonshall entry begins in an exceptional way: 'The vicar, because he does not appear, is summoned before his lordship on Saturday month. The parishioners are given an appointment at Kington [two days later], where they say...' This last instance would seem to indicate that the lay presentment could normally be made only if the senior resident clergyman from the parish was present. (The Ganarew entry stated that because of a rectorial vacancy, the parish had had no services, implying that there were no other clergy: the laity therefore attended without clergy in this instance, but the circumstances were exceptional.) Possibly the clergy were needed to testify to the identity of the parochiani: whether they were actually present when the presentments were read out, or handed in, is uncertain. The laity must, of course, have been informed about the visitation by the parish clergy, who received citations from the rural deans. That the parish clergy had a hand in preparing the presentments would seem to us indicated by the technical nature of some of the charges, particularly those relating to lay dues and to matrimonial issues - although of course on these, as on other matters, it is only too easy to over-estimate the ignorance and simplicity of the medieval laity. Nevertheless, the formal silence of the clergy in the Hereford returns is striking. At the Lincoln visitations of 1517-20, clergy contributed complaints by speaking at sessions, at least occasionally. It was noted that for one parish rector et icinomi exhibent billam; and the report of another parish was recorded as Iconomi dicunt ... Eciam rector dicit (LVI, 30, 37).

"There would seem to be no clear indication whether these parochiani were specially chosen and appointed, or whether they were the same as the parochiani fide digni (so termed in a statue of the Synod of Exeter 1287) who held annual office as custodians of church goods in an increasing number of parishes during the 14th century, and who were the forerunners of churchwardens (C. Drew, Early parochial organisation in England: the office of churchwarden, St. Anthony's Hall Publications 7 (1954), 7, 10, 24-5: A. R. Myers, English historical documents 1327-1485 (1969), 610-11). For the visitation carried out on behalf of the Dean and Chapter in the diocese of Exeter in 1301, two grades of laymen appear to have been summoned, testes synodales and others (F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, ed., Register of Walter de Stapeldon (1892), 130). But this reference to parochiani who can be identified as church officers appears to be exceptional. In the 1397 returns, there are passing references to laymen who held the office of custos bonorum ecclesie (Tidenham, Much Cowarne), and the 'proctors' twice casually mentioned (Mitcheldean, Leominster) may also have been lay officers. It is likely that by this date Hereford diocese had a general system of what Drew calls 'proto-churchwardens.' But since these may not have been the same as the parochiani of the visitations, we translate the term broadly, and refer to 'parochial representatives.' Nevertheless, it is significant that these laymen came from parishes in which laymen already held responsible administrative offices, involving the organisation of records and accounts, and perhaps their actual writing. It would be clearly a mistake to think of the parochiani as necessarily simple illiterate boors. The mandates for the visitation of Worcester diocese in 1339 and 1342 contain a curious and perhaps exceptional clause: the parochiani are to be 'not those whom individual rectors and vicars reckon ought to be chosen but those whom you [the archdeacon's Official] yourself choose' (adding in 1342: 'by your decision') (Haines, op. cit., 149). How the archdeacon's Official could influence the selection is not clear.

12 That the laity were capable of producing written returns is certain. By the end of the 14th century, many parishes were producing 'churchwardens' accounts,' which often record their formal writing up by a scribe (not by the clergy) and which imply the regular keeping of notes by the lay officers themselves. Even a century earlier juries at eyres presented veredicta which appear to have been based on notes kept over a period of years by laity, though it is true that the laity concerned were of higher social standing than the normal parochiani (C. K. Meekings, 'The veredictum of Chippenham hundred 1281,' in N. J. Williams, Collectanea, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2 (1956), 50-128, on 57). As regards previous deliberation by the laity, the 1397 return from Stoke Prior has a note added to a fornication charge, 'Married before the visitation,' which would seem to indicate that the return was actually drawn up some time before the visitation. However, in the case of the Lincoln visitations. Hamilton Thompson insists that the parochial returns were shaped by the inquiries of the visitation clerks, thus implying that the parochial representatives did not bring with them a prepared statement (see following note). A related point is that 'in some of the later [13th century] records of visitations, the laymen are specifically said to be jurati' (Powicke and Cheney, op. cit., 262 (n.2): it might be argued that if the parochiani took an oath at the visitation, a return drawn up earlier would not have been acceptable. But even if jurati, the parochiani could have had previous deliberation, and could have arrived with notes. Discussion of the procedure of parochial visitation has generally assumed that it resembled the well-known procedure of monastic visitation, involving the close questioning of individual witnesses. Undoubtedly some early visitations followed this pattern: at the 1275 episcopal visitation of two Yorkshire parishes, a day was spent in each parish, investigating mainly clerical lapses, by examination of individual clergy on oath (W. Brown, ed., Register of Walter Giffard, Surtees Society 109 (1904), 322-6; Moorman, op. cit., 192-4). But the time factor alone rules out any close resemblance between this form of visitation procedure and that followed in 1397, also in Lincoln diocese in 1517-20, and probably in the majority of late medieval visitations, when parishes were not visited separately. In 1397, from three to six parishes normally reported each day; and often during the same day the visitation party moved on to another centre. When allowance is made for other business (examination of the clergy, almost certainly a visitation service), it becomes apparent that the reception and registration of the returns must have been carried through at a brisk pace. Hence, it is likely that the officers and clerks welcomed a prepared return from the parochinai, although this does not rule out the possibility that the formal procedure involved inquiry and oral response on a series of points. In the record of the Lausanne visitation of 1416-7, there are very occasional references to the parishioners handing over written presentments (La visite, op. cit., e.g. 105, 178).

13 'The presentation was made in answer to set questions and it is clear that the examiners often laid emphasis on particular points in one district which in others they practically ignored' (LVI, xxiv). This interpretation certainly fits the Lincoln returns, which are often brief and concentrate on a limited number of charges. However the 1397 returns are on average much fuller and less scrappy; was this because the visitation officials and clerks were more conscientious in their examining of the parochiani? Or was it because, in a different diocese in an

earlier century, another method of obtaining returns was being pursued?

14 'The visitation began with the bishop sending out either to the archdeacon, or to the rural dean, or possibly to each individual incumbent, a set of most searching questions' (Moorman, op. cit., 191). Other authorities assume that this procedure was general, yet (as we have seen) Hamilton Thompson does not suggest that it was followed in the Lincoln visitations, where the articles of inquiry seems to have remained in the hands of the visitation party. If there were articles of inquiry circulated in 1397, they are not extant; moreover there is no reference to them in the returns or in the bishop's register. A few sets of English medieval visitation articles are known, but the majority refer almost exclusively to clerical lapses and therefore have only a limited relationship to the 1397 returns (D. Wilkins, Concilia (1737), 1:627-8; H. R. Luard, ed., Annales monastici, vol.1, Rolls Series (1864), 296-8: Register of W. Giffard, 266-8; W. Brown, ed., Register of William Wickwane, Surtees Society 114 (1907), 116-9; E. H. Pearce, ed., Register of Thomas de Cobham, Worcestershire Historical Society 40 (1930), 225-6). The only detailed inquiry into lay lapses, as well as clerical, appears to be the 'articles of inquiry throughout England' of 1253 (Luard, op. cit., 307-8; M. Gibbs and J. Lang, Bishops and reform 1215-1272, 160 (n.8) - 'the presence of detailed questions in regard to the laity is a peculiar feature; Powicke and Cheney, op. cit., 262 (n.2) - 'the earliest English visitation articles for which there is good authority'). As Bannister pointed out, the 1397 returns 'correspond roughly' to the questions in the articles of 1253. Nearly all the charges in 1397 can be related to questions in 1253; while of the seventy or so points inquired into in 1253, about one third are not mentioned in the 1397 returns. In the order of the 1253 articles, the unmentioned inquiries of parochial interest are these: lay drunkenness; laity shockingly proud, greedy, lazy, rancorous, etc.; the holding of scot-ales; clerical neglect in allowing a parishioner to die intestate; undedicated church; tolerating Jews; papal taxation unpaid; clergy enormiter illiterati; uxorati clergy; clergy going to monastic churches; clergy holding secular posts; simony; clergy un-tonsured; priest celebrating with vinegar; clergy teaching secular law; illegitimates as clergy; Irish priests not reported; monks out of cloister; various offences of deans and archdeacons. Many of these unmentioned inquiries relate to fairly exotic lapses, and their non-appearance in the 1397 returns might simply mean that the particular lapses were not known in Hereford diocese. A few more were perhaps too general and vague to be worth pursuing (e.g., lay drunkenness, lay pride, scot-ales). There remain a few whose non-appearance may be more significant (illiterate and married clergy), although the significance may only be that of a change of clerical circumstances between 1253 and 1397. It would seem therefore that if articles of inquiry were used in 1397, they may well have resembled and perhaps derived from the articles of 1253.

15 Although it has been generally assumed that visitation articles were produced for each visitation, this need not have been so. Chency has shown that articles could be derived immediately and easily from diocesan statutes (C. R. Cheney, English synodalia of the thirteenth century (1941), 123-4). A copy of the current statutes was supposed to be kept in every parish (and presumably held by the incumbent): 'the libellus or quaternus synodalis kept by the parish priest and brought to synods, there to be corrected and augmented from time to time. It was the duty of the priest to read and expound the statutes periodically to the parishioners' (ibid., 45-6). It is therefore possible that parishes drew up their return by working through a libellus, although there is no positive evidence that they did this. The libelli in process of the time became much amended and no doubt confused, and some parishes lost their copy (ibid., 47-8, 143): conceivably the confusion in order of items in the 1397 returns may have been due to the use of corrupt libelli (but see the following note). During the Lausanne visitation of 1416-7,

parish clergy were charged with not possessing the diocesan statutes (La visite, op. cit., e.g. 11, 177).

16 Although many of the 1397 returns are too brief or too irregular to indicate the full order of inquiry, in the remainder a logical sequence can be detected. Clerical lapses were investigated before lay, with the offenders normally in hierarchical order; and property offences preceded moral lapses. Hence the sequence ran: clerical lapses with regard to fabric and income (normally lapses of rectors) and to portable property (lapses of rectors and/or vicars): clerical lapses with regard to pastoral duties; clerical moral offences; lay lapses with regard to fabric, income or property; lay lapses in religious duties and lay moral offences (often not clearly distinguished). But there are many instances where this order was partly or wholly disregarded, e.g. fabric offences appeared at the end instead of at the beginning, or moral offences were inserted at several points: see especially the returns from Peterchurch, Monmouth, Tidenham, Dymock, Little Marcle, Much Marcle, Alberbury. It is difficult to believe that the more haphazard returns represent an item-by-item response to a standard set of questions put to the parochiani at the visitation; and therefore difficult to accept that this was the method of procedure generally followed. The return from Wollaston contains alternate charges and counter-charges between clergy and laity, suggesting a confrontation at the compilation. The Ashperton presentment records a disagreement among the parishioners: 'The parochiani say that the reverend Robert Roke is a haunter of taverns, or so John Boley says, others say he is not.' Since the visitation officials and clerks registered returns which were in haphazard order, the procedure of presenting returns was perhaps one in which the leading parochial representative read out an agreed presentment, charge by charge. Yet even if the returns were substantially agreed on in the parish before the visitation, the amount of consistency in the sequence of charges indicates that the parishes were responding to some standard set of inquiries. Unfortunately it is not easy to relate the sequence detected in the 1397 returns to the sequence in known visitation articles or diocesan statutes - in part because neither articles nor statutes were arranged very systematically. (The Lateran decrees of 1215, from which many of the English statutes derive, have themselves been described as of 'an extraordinary miscellaneous nature ... nor do they appear to be arranged in any particular order,' Gibbs and Lang, op. cit., 99). The order of items in the various articles and statutes is in part the same (because they copy from each other and from common sources), but generally it is not a logical sequence and hence bears no resemblance to the sequence detected in the 1397 returns. The 1253 articles, whose content most closely fits the 1397 returns, are arranged on the whole in a logical sequence, but one which is quite different from that in the 1397 returns. The 1253 sequence runs: lay moral offences: other lay lapses: lapses of parish clergy: lapses of higher clergy. We are forced to conclude that analysis of the order of charges in the 1397 returns does not throw a great deal of light either on the procedure which produced the returns or on the exact content of the inquiries which underlay them.

" The clerks, after listening to a charge presented on behalf of the parochiani, wrote it down in Latin, in the appropriate legal form, and in set phrases, probably leaving out any details in the presentment which they considered irrelevant. Examples of set phrases are: communis operarius diebus dominicis et festis; contraxerunt adinvicem, carnali copula subsecuta; repulsa uxore sua legitima.

18 At Ledbury, one of the attending parishes was Colwall: in the middle of the Colwall presentment appears a sentence stating that a man 'complained publicly before me, the Registrar, and before the parishioners,' that his wife was cohabiting with the chaplain of Colwall. It sounds rather as if the complainant interrupted a formal reading. The separate complaint of a man and wife at Eardisley against the vicar penes officialem is different, since it has some relation to a charge already in the presentment and since it is not clear when this complaint was

19 As regards the personnel of the visitation, at the first centre Bishop Trefnant himself was stated to be making the visitation. He was not mentioned subsequently (references to 'his lordship' at Ledbury and Much Marcle being ambiguous), and the returns therefore leave some doubt whether he completed the visitation in person. However, his register contains a document referring to the non-presentation of a title coram nobis nostram visitacionem actualiter exercentibus at Ledbury church on Saturday 16 May (a mis-reading for 26 May), and ordering an appearance coram nobis at Pembridge on 8 June (the visitation there is dated 9 June, but possibly some business was transacted on arrival the evening before). Another document is dated 6 June at Leominster, where the visitation return is dated 5 June: another is dated 2 June at Whitbourne, the bishop's favourite residence, but the visitation of the area, centred at nearby Bromyard, took place that day (Register of Trefnant, 135, 138, 145, for ff, 86b, 87b, 88b). As we have seen earlier, Bishop Trefnant was also in the Shropshire deaneries of Wenlock and Burford at the period when their presumed visitation occurred. We conclude that the bishop conducted the visitation in person, certainly through several of the deaneries and probably through all of them. The Registrar was mentioned in the Colwall return (see previous note). Other officers mentioned in connection with the visitation, or with subsequent or earlier proceedings, were the Commissary General (Tidenham, Woolaston, Bitterley, Lydney, Eye) and the Official (Eardisley, Yarkhill). Mention was made of the previous visitation, which had been undertaken by the Official, Master Reginald de Wolstone (Ullingswick, Yarkhill, Churchstoke): one cleric was cited to 'the next visitation' (Bishop's Castle). The consistory court at Hereford was named once, and there were three apparent references to it (King's Pyon, Monmouth, Woolaston, Eye).

<sup>20</sup> Some of the decisions were technical, e.g. refer to the court at Hereford' (Westbury); 'injunction to repair by a given date' (Lydbury North); 'deferred sub spe emendacionis' (Wentnor); 'appointed a day to purge' (Ludlow);

and therefore might have been taken immediately the presentment was heard. But the wording of other notes is precisely that of normal church court proceedings, involving the appearance of the person charged, and it is doubtful if such appearances could have been organised for the day of the visitation. It is true that individuals were occasionally ordered to appear later at places which were appointed centres for the visitation (e.g., the couples at Presteigne and Elton ordered to appear at Leintwardine); but the side-notes also state that other individuals had made an appearance at places which the visitation had passed earlier (e.g. a clergyman charged at Newland on 17 May purged himself, according to the side-note, at Monmouth, which had been visited on 12 May). Thus, some side-notes cannot have been made at the time of the visitation, but must be records of church court proceedings held later. What is puzzling is that further proceedings were recorded against only a small proportion of the charges in the returns. Hamilton Thompson states concerning the Lincoln visitations that 'the correction of offenders was reserved for future treatment by special summons' (LVI, xxiii). However a number of parish entries conclude with what appear to be summary decisions; most of these are technical, mainly citations or injunctions, but there are occasional instances where it seems that an offender appeared before the visitation officer and was corrected. Thus, at Bicester in 1530, the visitor not only ordered the curate to warn the parishioners to cease their chatter in church, but then (postea) he warned a woman charged with incontinency, and another woman similarly charged deinde comparuit coram eodem domino (LV2, 34). In the last instance, there also appeared the man who had sinned with the woman, although he was not named in the charge: one wonders how his attendance was brought about on this occasion. While we are doubtful whether correction took place during the Hereford visitation, there is no doubt that 'the work of correction could take place on diocesan or provincial visitations, and the local ecclesiastical court might deal with only the residual stages of disciplinary actions' (B. L. Woodcock, Medieval ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Canterbury (1952), 30). Cf., 'la punition des fautes pouvait être immédiate: censure, amende, ou bien les inculpés étaient renvoyés au tribunal du diocèse. [footnote] Les Registres d'officialité contiennent peu d'affaires de ce genre' (G. Le Bras, Institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale, Part 1/2, (1964), 437).

<sup>21</sup> Bannister implied that the marginal notes 'added ... here and there' referred only to clerical offenders ('Parish

<sup>22</sup> Of laity, apart from the couples mentioned in the text, one man and five women purged themselves of fornication charges; one man and one woman purged themselves of adultery charges; two men purged themselves of usary charges; one man admitted adultery, and on the same charge one man and one woman were cited to a higher court; one man charged with ill-treating his wife submitted as in the text; one of three men charged with not attending church swore to emend, another denied the charge and was dismissed, the third was 'corrected.' Of clergy, eight purged themselves of incontinence charges (and three of their alleged partners also purged themselves, the remainder not being put to the test); the vicar of Weobley denied 'expressly' that he kept stock in the churchyard, and also a string of other charges of dereliction of duty; the rector of Ullingswick was ordered to replace a service-book; the vicar of Stokesay claimed that he had permission to say masses at two churches: the rector of Wentnor denied that he haunted taverns and promised to emend with regard to certain other matters. Also the following judgments were made, perhaps without the offenders appearing. Injunctions, mainly to rectify fabric by a given date, directed to clergy, groups of parishioners or individual laymen, were given in thirteen instances. Agreement on the matter at issue was reported in five cases: another five were deferred in the hope of emendment or agreement. A cleric at Ludlow was ordered to purge himself of an incontinence charge, and meanwhile to remove the suspected female from his house; a woman was also required to purge herself. Two clergy and two laity were cited to higher courts; two sequestration orders were made; twice the bishop was to be consulted on a matter, and one charge was referred to a dean. A layman at Pauntley who said he did not wish to attend services was excommunicated; and the Ashperton cleric whose parishioners were divided about his alleged tavern-haunting had his charge dismissed.

<sup>13</sup> Bannister, 'Parish life, 400: the quotations are from the returns of Huntley and Mitcheldean. The Mitcheldean return is very curious: it begins omnia bene, continues with the addition stated (whose meaning is not clear to me), and then adds, in the original hand, three charges. It is therefore not so much a clear sheet contradicted by later evidence, as a contradictory report. Similar contradictory returns were made by Kenchester, Ross and Longhope parishes; omnia bene is followed by one or more offences. This may indicate two stages of drawing up the return, or two hands at work. But it should be noted that half a dozen other parishes report omnia bene excepto ..., and it is possible that nothing more sinister happened at Mitcheldean and the other places than that a clerk omitted excepto. At least a dozen of the Lincoln visitation returns display the same contradiction, omnia bene followed by a default; although the wording in another case, omnia bene ut dicunt parochiani (LVI, 112), suggests that the default was reported by a second informant, a clergyman, or possibly in the case of fabric, an inspecting clerk. The Hereford parish which reported nichil dicunt was Stagbatch (not, in fact, a parish, only a vill, but probably this is not significant).

<sup>24</sup> Three omnia bene parishes (Llandinabo, Sarnesfield, Blaisdon) had clergy who were accused of incontinence by other parishes, presumably those in which the alleged partner lived (Orcop, Canon Pyon, Westbury). A woman living at the omnia bene parish of Middleton was named by Wistanstow parish as the partner of one of the local clergy. It is worth noting that the occurrence of *omnia bene* parishes was less than random: at the Bromyard centre, nine out of sixteen parishes attending claimed *omnia bene*, and at the Eye centre, five out of nine claimed the same. It looks as if the success of one parish in getting away with a clean sheet encouraged others. Hamilton Thompson has another view regarding *omnia bene*: 'I suspect that the perpetual recurrence of *omnia bene*, coupled with the very brief references to serious defaults, means that the clerks who attended Longland's vicar-general on his travels, having collected the visitation fees, did not press the churchwardens for further information' (*LVI*, xxiv). But the Hereford returns did not, in our view, depend upon the questioning by the clerks; and the entries for parishes not recorded as *omnia bene* were not brief and perfunctory. It is difficult to see how Heath can seriously maintain that it should be assumed 'until new evidence arises, that only a small number of offenders eluded the vigilant detection processes of that age' (Heath, *op. cit.*, 118).

<sup>26</sup> 'To all this gossip and tittle-tattle the bishop would have to listen, trying to sort out the true from the false and the serious from the frivolous and malicious' (Moorman, op. cit., 194). I doubt whether the bishop in person listened to the original presentments; more likely, some sieving was done by the clerks and his assistants and he was only involved when decisions had to be made on particular charges, the more involved ones. Simple charges such as those involving sexual offences, particularly when these were admitted to by both parties, followed such set procedures that they could be handled by subordinates more or less mechanically.

Because many livings had been appropriated, and because some of the remaining rectors were non-resident, rectorial parsonages were often unoccupied or in the hands of the farmer of the church income, and hence were often in disrepair. But the resident clerical staff of such a parish, that is, the vicar and chaplains, who ideally lived together in a celibate household (Moorman, op. cit., 58-62), required accommodation; and the parishioners naturally pointed to the derelict parsonage. While the parsonage did not automatically belong to the resident clergy, 'proprietors were often ordered to provide a dwelling place for the vicar, usually by the partition of their rectory house and its outbuildings' (Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 118). However, where the resident clergy of many parishes actually lived appears to be obscure. Parsonage dilapidations have of course 'provided a fruitful subject for parochial controversy over many centuries' (R. A. H. Hartridge, A history of vicarages in the Middle Ages (1930), 150-1). The parishes which complained about accommodation for their resident clergy were Monmouth, Pauntley and Kempley. It may be inserted here that a single parish, Kempley, referred to the dilapidated condition of their Church House, or parish hall.

<sup>27</sup> Clergy were accused at Weobley, Ullingswick, and Leominster. For similar complaints on the Lincoln visitations, see *LVI*, xxix. Also, the vicar of Bishop's Frome and the parish chaplain of Birch St. Thomas were accused of using, selling or giving away wood from the trees in the churchyard; the right to churchyard timber being 'a point of law which was a time-honoured subject of argument' (*ibid*). The rector of Ullingswick was alleged to have removed a churchyard lamp. For complaints about churchyards in 14th-century France, see Adam, *op. cit.*, 172-3

<sup>28</sup> 'In twenty-one parishes the churchyard was not properly enclosed and protected from beasts' (Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, 204): Coulton does not mention the responsibility of the parishioners, and includes this statement in an indictment of the clergy.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 204: 'holy water must be kept always at hand in the locked font so that the newborn child might be brought on the day of its birth to Baptism' (Moorman op. cit., 83). Half the Hereford complaints about unlocked fonts discreetly fail to state who was responsible, the remainder correctly blame the parishioners: 'the provision of locks for font-covers, which were so often wanting, was the business of the parish' (*LVI*, xii). The locking of fonts was ordered in the Lateran decrees of 1215, and the Statutes of Salisbury c.1218 ordered them to be locked 'because of sorcery' (Powicke and Cheyney, op. cit., 68). On unlocked fonts and witchcraft in France, see Adam, op. cit., 97, 127-8.

<sup>50</sup> Coulton, Medieval Panorama, 203, Cf., 'there is no period in which money was lavished so freely on English parish churches as in the 15th century, and there is a serious contrast between the complaints of dilapidations and decay so common in the reports of visitations and the building activity which was prevailing all over the country' (Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 128).

"The words "defective" and "ruinous" occur frequently. It may be doubted whether either means much more than 'out of repair', (LVI, xxvi): 'Anyone who takes the trouble to compare these sources of information with the architectural evidence of the buildings themselves will have reason to suspect that their conventional phrases often convey an exaggerated impression of damage, and that the stark phrase cancellus est ruinosus need not be taken too literally' (Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 88). Certain French historians, however, take (ecclesia) ruinosa very literally, since the damage is ascribable to the English invasions - although this can hardly apply to the ruinosae of Grenoble and other uninvaded dioceses (H. Denille, La désolation des églises, monastères et hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de Cent Ans (1897-9), passim: Adam, op. cit., 115-21). I am indebted to my colleague Christopher Allmand for drawing my attention to this aspect of French historiography.

<sup>32</sup> Bell-towers: Vowchurch, Llanwarne, Westhide, Hope, Burrington, Bromfield. At Coddington, the rector used the bell-tower as a cattle byre; at Bishop's Frome, the parishioners complained that they had pulled down the

bell-tower, in response to an offer of £5 towards a new one from the vicar, who then refused to pay up. Nave: Mainstone.

"Visitations sometimes involved official inspection of church property: Moorman pictures, perhaps a little unrealistically, a visitation where the bishop or his officials 'walked round the churchyard, climbed on the roof to examine the lead, scrutinised the mass books, had all the vestments turned out, counted up the purificators..." (Moorman, op. cit., 192). But there were no inspections and no such independent reports in the Hereford visitation, or in any other visitation which limited itself geographically to district centres and therefore administratively to partisan reports from the parishes.

The architectural evidence does occasionally tend to confirm the visitation complaints, as witness the following two instances. (a) The chancel of the church at Upton Bishop was built in the early 13th century, and for long it had only narrow lancet windows. During the mid- and late-14th century, four larger windows had to be inserted. The one now said to be 'late-14th' may well have been constructed after 1397, in response to the complaint that the chancel was 'so obscure and dark that the priest cannot celebrate without a candle' (and it is possible that at least one of the other windows, though dated 'mid-14th,' may in fact have been built at the end of the century). (b) At King's Pyon, there was much 14th-century building by the parishioners: this was apparently not matched by the rector, since in 1397 the chancel was said to be 'ruinous, with defects to the roof and elsewhere.' Clerical neglect is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the present chancel roof dates only from the early 16th century, in contrast to the 14th-century nave roof (also tower and south transept). Architectural data is from An inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire, Historical Monuments Commission (1934), 2:55, 3-126

"It should be remembered, where complaints are made about books and furniture, though local custom varied, the general rule was that their provision and upkeep lay with the parish' (LVI, xli). 'In the early part of the 13th century the provision of books, ornaments and vestments was the concern of the clergy ... [but] towards the end of the century it is clear that the clergy were gradually succeeding in laying more and more of the onus on the shoulders of the laity... At the Council of Merton held in 1305, Archbishop Winchelsey decreed that all the following should be provided by the parishioners: the Missal, chalice and vestments; processional crosses, incense and thurible; lights and bells; candlesticks and the necessary liturgical books ... [However] no uniform system could be established for the country. In many parishes parson and people had come to some working agreement, the readjustment of which would only cause endless dispute and litigation' (Moorman, op. cit., 120-2). While the Hereford complaints generally blame the clergy, Peterchurch parish, which claimed it had no breviary, admitted that this was the fault of the 'rector and parishioners.' On the high cost of service-books, and their regular purchase in many parishes, see J. C. Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts (1913), 106-10.

<sup>36</sup> Corn: St. Briavels, Much Cowarne, Bishop's Frome. Straw: Yarkhill, Bishop's Frome. Bell-ropes: Weobley, Much Cowarne (vicar to appoint deacon who provides), Eardisley - but responsibility of rector at Coddington. Bread and wine: Weobley. Instances of clergy being held responsible for most of these burdens are given in Moorman, op. cit., 142. 'We know from Churchwardens' accounts of much later date how frequently bell-ropes had to be replaced' (Drew, op. cit., 11: cf. Cox, op. cit., 211). As regards lamps - 'the employment of ceremonial lights during the celebration of the Eucharist and other religious offices ... prevailed in a stronger degree in England than in any other part of Christendom, owing probably to the greater gloom of our climate' (ibid., 160). For insufficiency of service-books in 14th-century France, see Adam, op. cit., 133.

<sup>37</sup> Chaplains removing: Welsh Bicknor, Goodrich, English Bicknor, Wentnor. Chalices: Llangarron, Ullingswick, Eardisley, Lydbury North.

38 Kempley, St. Briavels, Stow.

\* Dormington, Dorstone, Bredwardine, Holme Lacy, English Bicknor, Tidenham.

<sup>40</sup> Welsh Newton, Pencoyd, Much Cowarne, Shobdon, Montgomery, Churchstoke. The sums involved ranged from 16d. to 25s.

" Brinsop, Weobley, Pencoyd, Colwall, Stoke Edith, Bromyard, Little Cowarne, Eye, King's Pyon.

<sup>42</sup> Bredwardine, Goodrich, Minsterworth, Ashperton, Lydham, Wentnor, Norbury. In view of the large number of English church statutes relating to tithes, i.e. the alleged frequency and persistence of tithe-dodging, the tiny number of charges in 1397 is most surprising.

<sup>43</sup> But cf. - 'In these 281 parishes, no less than 109 cases of misapplication or embezzlement of funds were reported' (Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, 210).

<sup>44</sup> English Bicknor, Stoke Edith, Clifford, Byton, Aymestrey, Bitterley, Bromfield, Churchstoke. On mother-churches and their rights and claims, see Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 124, 128; LVI, xliv-xlv.

45 Moorman, op. cit., 53.

\* Without clerks: Bredwardine, Leominster, Wigmore, Hopesay, Alberbury, Pontesbury. Without deacons: Weobley, Much Dewchurch, Goodrich, Much Cowarne, Bishop's Frome, Wigmore, Lydbury North, Clunbury, Pontesbury. Without chaplains: Weobley, Peterchurch, Kenderchurch, St. Weonards, Monmouth, Ledbury, Little Cowarne, Hope-under-Dinmore, Eardisley, Diddlebury, Stokesay, Llanfair Waterdine. On parish clerks

and deacons, see Moorman, op. cit., 56-8; Heath, op. cit., 19-20. On parochial and other chaplains, see Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 122-7; Heath, op. cit., 20-6.

- <sup>47</sup> Note the importance to the laity of the church bell as a secular time-keeper: Pontesbury also referred to the curfew and day-bell. 'In 1344 Margery Doubleday, a washerwoman of Nottingham, left her modest estate to pay for the ringing of the church bell at 6 o'clock to arouse the washerwomen of Nottingham to their labours' (W. E. Tate, *The parish chest* (1969), 177).
- 48 Birch St. Thomas, Goodrich, Little Marcle, Clunbury, Stokesay.
- <sup>49</sup> Bannister, 'Parish life,' 401: Coulton, *Medieval Panorma*, 203. Compare the reports of failure to perform pastoral obligations in the Lincoln visitations, as analysed in Bowker, *Secular clergy*, 113-5.
- <sup>50</sup> Aston Ingham, Munsley, Eastnor, Little Cowarne. Munsley added that divine services were neglected as a result. For other unknown rectors, see *LV1* xxxiv.
- <sup>21</sup> Dewchurch ('vicar absent a month at a time'), Weston Beggard, ('chantry priest absent three weeks or a month sometimes'), Mansell Gamage, Monmouth, Woolaston, Coddington.
- <sup>52</sup> As stated, with exceptions, in the Statutes of Exeter II 1287 (Powicke and Cheney, op. cit., 1019). The parishes were Bacton, Peterchurch, Garway, Goodrich, Llangarron, Pixley, Felton, Eardisley, Elton, Burrington, Stokesay.
- <sup>33</sup> Bromyard, Eardisley, Wigmore, and Pontesbury wanted a clerk to ring the bell and Lydbury North a deacon. Leominster complained that it could not ring its bells because the monks kept the keys to the bell-tower (see P. E. H. Hair, 'Chaplains, chantries and chapels of North-West Herefordshire c.1400', Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club XLVI (1988), 31-64, on 39).
- <sup>34</sup> On parish clerks and others sleeping in special rooms in churches to guard the treasures, see Cox, op. cit., 87. The Treasury at Ledbury was perhaps the upper room of the north vestry, adjoining the north porch.
- <sup>55</sup> Weston, Leominster (where there were five disobedient chaplains): cf. 'again and again presented as being inobedientes vicario,' another exaggeration (Bannister, 'Parish life,' 403).
- <sup>56</sup> 'Disclosures of confession were much more serious and disruptive of parish life, but they were, for an age so prone to back-biting, remarkably rare' (Heath, op. cit., 111).
- <sup>57</sup> Coddington, Wentnor; Woolaston, Ullingswick.
- <sup>58</sup> Moorman, op. cit., 127-8. A note added to the text stated that the offender had been ordered to desist. We assume that the proctor was acting for the rector who was the prior of Leominster: there was a long history of dispute between the townspeople and the monks over church matters, arising partly out of the fact that the parish church and the priory chapel shared the same building (see Hair, 'Chaplains,' 39).
- " Coddington, Pauntley, Kilpeck, English Bicknor.
- <sup>60</sup> Llanwarne, Pauntley, Ullingswick, Whitney, Hopesay, Richards Castle, Leominster, Westbury. During the Lausanne visitation of 1416-7, many parishes reported a proportion of 'non-Pascalisants' (as French historians term those who miss Easter communion) (La visite, op. cit., e.g. 2). In 14th-century France, 'les abstentions furent assez nombreuses, du moins dans certaines régions' (Adam, op. cit., 189, 269). On the other hand, the visitation reports of the archdeacon of Josas 1458-70 report only very occasional 'non-Pascalisants' much as in the Hereford visitation (Alliot, op. cit., passim).
- <sup>61</sup> Cf.: 'in almost every parish there is much working on Sundays and holy days ... in every parish there are many who do not attend church' (Bannister, 'Parish life,' 403-4). More accurately 'non venit ad ecclesiam was reported in forty-six cases. In thirty-one more, a parishioner is denounced for Sabbath-breaking' (Coulton, Medieval Panormama, 210 (which continues with a useful discussion of medieval Sabbatarianism). For working on holy days in 14th-century France, see Adam, op. cit., 255-9.
- <sup>62</sup> Similarly in 14th-century France, 'on ne signale à l'evêque que les cas les plus graves: le curé ne dénoncait sans doute pas les gens qui manquaient la messe de temps en temps' (Adam, op. cit., 246-7).
- The well-known clash between Bishop Trefnant and the Lollards, Swinderby, Brut and others, around 1390, has led some historians to suppose that heresy was rife in Hereford diocese. Cases of heresey would normally be dealt with directly by the bishop or in his consistory court, and would therefore most likely not be noted in visitation returns. The range of Lollard protest was wide, for instance it extended at times to non-solemnization of marriage and refusal to pay tithes (J. A. F. Thomson, The later Lollards 1414-1520 (1965), 247); but such defaults were of course also traditional and universal, and their limited incidence in the Hereford returns provides no evidence of Lollard protest. Only if a series of refusals and defaults was alleged against a single individual could it be assumed that he was an ideological protester, and the case of Henry Merekote is the only instance of this in the Hereford returns. If not eccentricity, Henry's seating himself in the chancel may have been social protest: the only laity allowed there were church patrons. It was a traditional, though surely uncommon offence: the 1253 articles inquired An laici sint pertinaces, ut stent in cancello cum clericis? (cf. Cheney, Synodalia, 121-2). In fairness to Henry's memory, it must be added that he purged himself of all the charges.
- <sup>44</sup> Striking clerics: Garway, Ashperton (a chaplain driven out of church), Richards Castle, Montgomery. Laymen fighting: Woolaston, St. Briavels.

65 Disturbing services: Minsterworth, Hopesay. Testamentary: Peterchurch, Vowchurch, Kenchester, Dewchurch, Ledbury (the offence that of taking a testamentary matter to a secular court), Staunton-on-Arrow.

66 Ganarew, Bromyard, Little Cowarne, Leominster, Brilley (a damaged entry - meaning suggested in Coulton,

Medieval Panorama, 224), Eardisley, Norton, Stow.

67 In a previous article I noted the impossibility of estimating more than very approximately the 1397 clerical population of the ten deaneries and suggested a figure of about 470, while an attempt to grapple with the clerical Poll Tax records in a later article has suggested a slightly higher figure, say 500 (Hair, 'Mobility,' 170 and n.15; Hair, 'Chaplains,' 62-4). Of these 500 or so clergy, eighty-nine were accused. The proportion, though small, is much larger than the proportion of clergy in the archdeaconry of Lincoln 1446-52 against whom a charge of incontinence appears in the Correction Books. 'It is needless to say that any attempt to obtain definite statistics from such evidence is fruitless. We may no doubt regret that as many as thirty-seven suspect priests should be found in an archdeaconry of some 550 parishes; but when we remember that the record is spread over some six years, and that some of those named in it belonged to the very large class of unbeneficed clergy, the percentage, if any basis could be found for it, of clergy involved in any given year would be insignificant' (Hamilton Thompson, English clergy, 230). However, since it is known that no action was taken against many of the clergy accused at visitations - it is difficult to say whether the authorities exercised their discretion not to pursue the matter fairly, because they distrusted the evidence, or unfairly, because they were tender to the clerical caste and desperately anxious to avoid public scandal - the difference between the Hereford and Lincoln proportions may be only the difference between two sorts of records. The Archbishop of Rouen's 1250 visitation of 700 parishes with perhaps 1,000 clergy produced accusations of fame of incontinence against eighty-nine clergy, but only thirty confessed or were deemed guilty (P. Andrieu-Guitrancourt, L'Archevêque Eudes Rigaud et la vie de l'église au XIIIe siècle d'après le 'Registrum Visitationum,' (1938), 298-9). We need not accept Andrieu-Guitrancourt's view that the other fifty-nine accusations were false (for a less partisan interpretation of this visitation, see Cheney, Episcopal visitations, 154, which notes that 'there can be no doubt that many irregularities were never brought to the Archbishop's notice'). Yet even if we suppose that all the Rouen accusations were well-founded, the proportion of parish clergy charged is only 9%, a much lower proportion than in Hereford diocese. Another comparison can be made with the visitation of Lausanne diocese in 1416-7. Here the 273 parishes visited had about 360 resident clergy, of whom sixty-seven, or between one fifth and one sixth, were accused of incontinence. Since in almost every case the priest was enjoined to put the woman away, the authorities must have considered either that the accusations were true, or that at least there were strong grounds for suspicion. The proportion may be compared with the one-sixth to one-seventh we found for Hereford.

St. Weonards (and chatters indecently there), Garway (and revealed a confession - when drunk?), Hewelsfield (continually), Ashperton (but some of the parishioners deny and the charge is dismissed), Leominster (and other

unworthy places at night).

<sup>99</sup> Stealing and trading: Weston Beggard, Weobley, Monmouth, Yarkhill, Leominster (a chaplain made 5s. on every sixty eggs sold - presumably a clerical error for 5d.), Eardisley, Stanton Lacy. Usury: Yazor (interest on farm-produce), Eardisley - there were not nine cases, as stated by Coulton *Medieval Panorama*, 204, who appears to have counted lay offenders as clergy. Roistering: Cradley (disturbing the peace of the parish).

<sup>70</sup> On clergy as magicians, see Williams, op. cit., 331-2, which quotes the Kilpeck case. Forging and perjury: Canon Pyon (perjury in Curia Regali), Tidenham, Colwall. Clergy were supposed to be present whenever wills

were made: Statutes of Exeter II 1287 (Powicke and Cheney, op. cit., 1046; Adam, op. cit., 91-3).

- "When clergy were charged with fornication, the wording almost always ran, '(the woman) fornicated with the reverend...,' whereas when laymen were charged, the wording was '(the man) fornicated with (the woman).' Clergy, like Adam, blamed it on Eve. In half a dozen instances the charge ran, '... is vehemently defamed that he is incontinent with...:' in practice this amounted to a charge of incontinence. Clerical incontinence may have been regarded as different from lay inasmuch as it involved a breach of clerical discipline in respect of perpetual chastity, a breach more subversive of the ecclesiastical institution than mere lay frolicking or unlicensed cohabitation.
- <sup>72</sup> 'In the 281 parishes of the Hereford visitation 72 clerics, nearly all priests, were presented by the parishioners for incontinence: this gives more than 25 per cent' (Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, 202). The method of calculation, relating priests to parishes, when parishes regularly had more than one priest, speaks for itself.

"Goodrich, Westbury, Tarrington. The number of monks living in the parishes visited is not known, but was probably at least several score, and the proportion reported for sexual offences may therefore have not been high.

<sup>n</sup> Llanwarne, Orcop, Goodrich, Churcham, Ludlow, Bishop's Castle, Hyssington, Coddington, Huntley, Dymock, Wentnor, Chirbury.

<sup>28</sup> For Sara obliging, see Joyce Cary, *To be a pilgrim*. It is difficult to be neutral about clerical celibacy and focariae. Roman Catholic writers have often spoken about the latter with virulent rancour (in the tone of the late Graham Greene), though less so in the last decade. Anti-clerical writers have regarded both with the flippant humour of *Clochemerle*. Historians have taken up positions within this range. An Anglican bishop writes: 'the

man who took a woman to his bosom and was faithful to her was guilty of no sin worse than disobedience to ecclesiastical law' (Moorman, op. cit., 66). But the subject of priests' children arouses a contemporary historian to a censorious comment: 'the picture above is undeniably sordid' (Heath, op. cit., 106). Mrs. Bowker is more cautious. 'It was necessary for a parish priest to have a female servant in his house to act as housekeeper and to feed him... The incumbent of an isolated village who found in his cook a compansion for his solitude was all too likely to fall a victim to this kind of fault li.e., concubinagel, But, however excusable the failing, it nevertheless was a danger to the church as a whole and to any particular parish within it' (Bowker, op. cit., 117, 120). On focariae in Wales, see Williams, op. cit., 337-42, which argues that in the early 14th century marriage of the clergy was a recognized fact and their children were treated as legitimate. Williams' statement that 'in 1397 nearly all the many priests of Hereford diocese with Welsh names were accused of incontinence' needs modifying (207, 308). On our identification of Welsh names, ten clergy were accused (Llanwarne, Orcop, Kilpeck, Lydney, Cusop, Brilley, Churchstoke, Chirbury, Hyssington, Ledbury). But there were many other Welsh clergy who were not accused. Our list of 1397 beneficed clergy contains some twenty obvious Welsh names: including chaplains, there must have been at least forty Welsh clergy in the ten deaneries. The 1397 visitation cannot provide evidence that Welsh clergy were generally uxorious, and it cannot be argued from the visitation alone that the other clergy of the diocese were affected by the example of their Welsh colleagues.

<sup>76</sup> Hyssington, Ludlow. In 1397, the parish of Orcop reported the rector of Llandinabo for keeping 'Susanna, a quondam concubine of his,' but charitably added, 'whether they sin together we know not;' while at Eardisley, where the vicar's two female servants obliged him by ringing the bells, the parishioners entertained 'a dark suspicion about the vicar and these women living together.' Thus, cohabitation was sometimes not equated with concubinage.

" It has been argued that a housekeeper described as 'suspect' may only have been a less than elderly one (Bowker, op. cit., 118). Archbishop Eudes Rigaud required clerical housekeepers to be satis antiquae (Andrieu-Guitrancourt, op. cit., 295).

<sup>18</sup> H. G. Richardson, 'The parish ckergy of the 13th and 14th centuries,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, 6, (1912), 89-128 on 120-3; Moorman, op. cit., 65-6; Williams, op. cit., 342; Heath, op. cit., 106 - 'About the children in which these unions often often issued the records are singularly laconic, a feature which suggests that they were accepted without much difficulty or embarrassment by society.'

<sup>19</sup> 'Le célibat exclut les rapports légitimes: il expose aux malices des gouvernantes, et aux démons de la solitude. Pour réduire le premier de ces risques, le concile de Nicée avait établi une liste de personnes autorisées à la cohabitation. Cette liste fut soumise à toutes les oscillations, de l'indulgence à la sévérité, selon l'état des moeurs et l'exigence des prélats' (Le Bras, *Institutions ecclesiastiques*, Part 1/1 164).

<sup>80</sup> This is a fairer interpretation of the record than that offered by Coulton - 'Here we have practically the verdict of "Not guilty; but you must not do it again" (Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, 202).

<sup>51</sup> It is worth noting that the 1253 visitation articles inquired separately about, and therefore distinguished between, incontinent clergy and uxorati clergy. The 1397 returns, on the other hand, speak only of incontinent clergy, and the term uxoratus does not appear. While this may indicate a decline in the number of uxorati by the late 14th century, the primary explanation may well be the increasing rigour on the part of the authorities in their campaign for clerical celibacy, and their consequent reluctance to admit the existence of genuine uxorati. The 1253 articles also inquired separately concerning clergy who 'keep' any woman who might give rise to suspicion of evil, that is, they inquired into clerical housekeepers.

<sup>22</sup> The Hereford registers of the 14th and 15th centuries record a number of instances where a clergyman was attacked and castrated (in the tradition of Abelard), or otherwise sexually mutilated, by laymen; and it may be presumed that this was done as a punishment for sexual poaching.

53 In-laws forbidding: Kingsland. Ill-treatment quoted: Garway, Westbury (but the human appeal of this case is eroded by the next entry which accuses another husband 'ut supra:' charges were often in stereotyped rhetoric), Tidenham.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. - In almost every parish there is a diffamatrix vicinorum or communis suscitatrix discordiorum' (Bannister, 'Parish life,' 403). Inciting dissention: Wollaston. Defaming: Dormington, Bishopstone, Tibberton (chaplain defamed concerning homicide), Bredwardine, Bromsberrow, Leominster, Dilwyn, Kington, Bitterley, Leintwardine, Bedstone, Westbury, Alberbury.

85 Dymock, Lydham.

<sup>86</sup> Canon Pyon, Eye: Mitcheldean, Newnham: Bromyard, Dormington, Ledbury, Adforton, Michaelchurch.

87 Bannister, 'Parish life,' 204: Monmouth, Mordiford, Yarkhill, Lucton, Michaelchurch, Adforton.

88 Norton (father unknown), Canon Pyon (cleric suspected).

\* Norton, Bridstow, Staunton: Monmouth, Knighton: Alberbury: Alberbury, Diddlebury (contraxit matrimonium per verba de futuro, technically incorrect).

<sup>50</sup> On the legal aspects, and for a somewhat apologetic treatment of the operation of the late medieval canon law on marriage, see M. M. Sheehan, C.S.B., 'The formation and stability of marriage in 14th century England: evi-

dence of an Ely register [1374-1382], 'Mediaeval Studies 33 (1971), 228-63. For a general and detailed analysis of marriage law and practice, based partly on a study of 15th-century Hereford diocese records, see R. H. Helmholz, Marriage litigation in medieval England (1974). For an attempt to see English marriage practice in long time-perspective see Alan Macfarlane, Marriage and love in England 1300-1840 (1986).

91 Grandchildren of cousins might not marry. The parish was Brinsop.

<sup>92</sup> A side-note states - 'Defer until the arrival of the rector to examine witnesses.'

93 Bigamy: Peterchurch (propter frigidatem et impotenciam). Incest: Westbury, Kempley, Bromsberrow.

Hereford diocese covered almost all of Herefordshire, the south-western half of Shropshire, the part of Gloucestershire north of the Severn, and very small fringe areas of the Welsh counties of Montgomery, Radnor and Monmouth. The 1377 Poll Tax returns recorded about 17,000 tax-payers in Herefordshire and 27,000 in Shropshire (figures based on J. C. Russell, British medieval population (1948), with some modification). To include the remainder of the population (paupers, children and clergy), Russell adds 65%, but it is generally agreed that this is an underestimate, and I raise it to 100% (ibid., 132; J. Z. Titow, English rural society 1200-1350 (1969), 67-71; T. H. Hollingsworth, Historical demography (1969), 122-3). Between 1377 and 1397 there was probably a slight increase of population: I ignore this. I therefore estimate that in 1397 the population of Herefordshire was about 35,000, of half of Shropshire about 25,000, and of the parts of Gloucestershire and the Welsh counties about 10,000. (In the later 16th century, the population of the Gloucestershire villages formerly in Hereford diocese was some 7,500-9,000, according to my calculations from the figures in A. Percival, 'Gloucestershire village populations,' Local Population Studies. 8, (1972), 39-47 and loose table). Thus, the whole diocese had a population of about 70,000. The 1397 returns cover two thirds of the 'parishes.' Hence their population was probably about 50,000. A very fough check on these figures is provided by the number of communicants in 1603 in the smaller diocese of that date. 63,000 (Hollingsworth, op. cit., 83-4), which suggests a population for the area of the medieval diocese of about 120,000; and by the census figures for 1801, which indicate a population for the same area of about 170,000. The increases indicated between 1397 and 1603 and between 1397 and 1801 strike me as plausible. Of the population of about 50,000 proposed for the parishes in the 1397 returns, we suppose that 20,000 were under the age of fifteen: 15.000 between fifteen and twenty-nine; 10,000 between thirty and forty-four; and 5,000 forty-five and over. (That is, ages 0-14 40%, 15-44 50%, 45+ 10%; cf. Gregory King's 1695 estimate, 0-14 38%, 15-49 45%, 50+ 16%; and the 1821 census, 0-14 39%, 15-49 47%, 50+ 14%; D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, Population in history (1965), 215).

<sup>83</sup> Despite abjuration: Monmouth, Foy (the couple had not performed a penance), Upper Sapey, Wigmore (double pre-contracts), Aymestrey (they had abjured 'never to commit sin between them, except in marriage!). After divorce: Clifford ('they live together in the same house which is suspicious'), Knighton, Lydbury North. It is clear that some couples living in unions unblessed by the church avoided church discipline for many years, presumably because of local sympathy, or when ultimately challenged defied it for many years - a defiance also notable among village womanisers: for instances of long-term defiance in later periods, see Paul Hair, Before the bawdy court (1972), nos. 59, 344; and for a 14th-century French instance, P. E. H. Hair, 'Family history in the church discipline records of western Christendom,' Family History, 13 (1983), 39-59, on 41-2. From a visitation record, just as we hear allegations but not necessarily the true facts, so we hear sentences on those found guilty but have no evidence on how they reacted. However, whereas on general principles it is likely that most offenders submitted, it is plausible that those involved in certain offences found the balance of disadvantage too great - and this may have included those in long-term irregular unions, particularly if they enjoyed community tolerance and sympathy.

"There was probably an interval between the troth-plight and the religious ceremony, an interval long enough for the bridegroom to know that his bride was capable of bearing children. Then and only then did the couple resort to church' (Moorman, op. cit., 86). In a footnote Moorman adds -'1 understand that in some country districts today it is quite usual for a young couple to postpone their marriage until the bride is known to be pregnant.' It has been argued that in the 16th and 17th centuries socially-acceptable sexual relations often began after betrothal and before solemnisation (P. Laslett, The world we have lost, 3rd ed. (1983), 170). But Moorman's argument, for which he gives no evidence, contains a flaw: even if their union proved infertile, a betrothed couple would have been no more able to obtain a divorce than would a fully married couple. If therefore a proof of fertility was required, it would have been more sensible for the couple to have sought it before betrothal. In my view, if 'trial marriage' was practised, it was practised as 'fornication' between unbetrothed persons. But for doubts about the existence of fertility-testing in England, see Macfarlane, Marriage, 306-7 - a view I have now accepted in P. E. H. Hair, 'Bridal pregnancy in England: the limits to Establishment social control?,' in The role of the state and public opinion in sexual attitudes and demographic behaviour, International Commission of Historical Demography, 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences (Madrid, 1990), Paris (1990), 35-48, on 47.

97 Wollaston, Stoke Prior, Brimfield, Clun.

350 P. E. H. HAIR

\* P. E. H. Hair, 'Bridal pregnancy in rural England in earlier centuries,' *Population Studies*, 20 (1966), 233-43; 'Bridal pregnancy in earlier rural England further examined,' *ibid.*, 24 (1970), 59-70; Laslett, *The world we have lost*, 2nd ed. (1971), 302 (omitted in 3rd ed.); Laslett et al., *Bastardy, passim*.

99 Contrary to what might be implied by a too general statement in Hair, Bawdy court, 232.

The sociality as well as individually desirable, see Hair, Bawdy court, no. 554.

The charge was occasionally in the form, '... is defamed of adultery with....'

102 Hentland, Cradley,

103 Kingsland.

Presumably, after a short period during which the offences and penalties were followed up, such records were destroyed, as useless. The Hereford record may well have survived the general carnage because, for some unknown reason but presumably at an early date, instead of being included with the diocesan records it found its

way into the archives of the cathedral, where, lonely, it was safe.

This is not to say that close consideration of social structures and customs in medieval Wales would not suggest possible differences in lay behaviour between the then large Welsh-speaking areas of the diocese and the English-speaking areas. But any such differences are likely to be minimised in ecclesiastical records and there must be considerable doubt whether any significant Welsh influences on Hereford diocese, differentiating it from other English dioceses (other than in the regional use of the Welsh language for pastoral activities), can ever be proved. It is certainly not sufficient to show that in certain parishes large numbers of individuals with Welsh names were charged with sexual offences.

# Reports of Sectional Recorders Archaeology, 1993

By R. SHOESMITH

#### THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

These reports are not for general sale and, indeed, some have a degree of confidentiality especially when they contain details of buildings in use. However, full sets are kept in the National Monuments Record and the County Library in Broad Street. Copies are also normally distributed to the appropriate Sites and Monuments Records.

The number of reports produced in a year gives some indication of the work of the Unit, but it must be appreciated that some reports, on complex buildings for example, can stretch to several hundred pages. There are now almost two hundred reports in the Hereford Archaeology Series, and no less than thirty were produced in 1993. Although this is an apparent reduction on the thirty-seven produced in 1992 and thirty-four in 1991, it included a massive volume on Prior Park at Bath, a report which had taken over twelve months to produce and a three-volume report on the rock-cut houses on Kinver Edge in Staffordshire. These two reports give an indication not just of the widely different types of building studies undertaken by Unit staff, but also of the large area of the country where the Unit now has a high professional reputation.

Work on medieval castles has been continuous throughout the year with projects at Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Clun and Stokesay in Shropshire and Broughton in Oxfordshire. At Ludlow Castle extensive excavations in the Porter's Lodge have helped to elucidate the complex history of this building both during and after its use by the Council of the Marches. A new ticket office and shop is being constructed within the 16th-century walls of this building to replace the present garden shed.

The Unit has worked on a series of repair and renovation projects at Goodrich Castle since 1982. It is hoped that the results will eventually be put together in a published volume, but meanwhile the Unit is providing expertise in the design and contents of a series of display panels which should be in place before the summer. Display panels for the City Council owned Dinedor Camp should also be erected before the main tourist season.

It is pleasant to record that conservation work has begun at Craswall Priory as a result of the vast efforts put into the project by members of the Craswall Grandmontine Society. It was between 1904 and 1908 that excavations were carried out by C. J. Lilwall exposing the chancel and chapter house. As early as 1913, recommendations were being made to preserve the ruins but nothing was done, The Woolhope Club visited in 1936 and found the ruins in a 'very neglected condition - a state of affairs greatly to be deplored as these are the most perfect remains of a priory of the Order of Grandmont in Great Britain.' Further survey and excavations followed in 1962 and recording work in the late

70s. The monument was by then in extremely poor condition and eventually a series of recommendations was made which identified the areas at greatest risk. The Unit was associated with the consolidation work in 1993, but this is only the first phase. Much work still needs to be done if the ruins are to be preserved in a recognisable state.

Apart from the Cathedral Close excavations, archaeological work in Hereford itself has been at a relatively low ebb during 1993. The recording work on All Saints' Church spire was finished late in 1992 and the report was completed by February 1993. This was followed by an excavation to the N. of the church tower, where it adjoins Bewell Street, in an attempt to establish the reason for the lean to the north. The excavation went down some 4 m. into a pit or trench which produced 12th and 13th-century pottery. This may well be related to the ditch or trench recorded during the 19th-century repair works in the N. aisle. Restoration work still continues at the church and further recording will be needed in 1994.

Widemarsh Street has been the one area of the city where development has continued - particularly just outside the site of the medieval gate, to the N. of the ring road. It would appear that this area had been cleared of buildings during the Civil War, when cannons were fired through Widemarsh Gate to 'scoure the street,' and built up again thereafter. It is sad that two of these buildings, nos. 64-66 and nos. 88-90 have both been demolished during the year. These buildings were essentially timber-framed but made use of much second-hand material as timber was by then in short supply. At a later date the front walls were replaced in brick and additions were made to the rear to provide extra rooms. Limited excavations and watching briefs on both sites produced pottery dating back to the 12th century.

The archive of drawn and written information on these two properties will eventually be included in a book on the timber-framed buildings of Hereford which the Unit is preparing on behalf of English Heritage and Hereford City Council. These late 17th-century buildings were amongst the last to be built using traditional methods. Bricks were being made in increasing quantities and, by the end of the 17th century, the handsome Mansion House was being built for Dr. Brewster a little further down Widemarsh Street.

## Excavation in Hereford Cathedral Close

For the first ten months of 1993 the S.W. corner of Hereford Cathedral Close was the site of an archaeological excavation, carried out by the City of Hereford Archaeology Unit. The project was initiated and funded by the Mappa Mundi Trust and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral in advance of the construction of a new library building to house the Mappa Mundi, the Chained Library and part of the Cathedral's archives.

Full analysis of the material and other data will not be complete for several years, but at the time of writing the broad interpretation of the site's history is clear. The two main elements consist of a road with buildings fronting on to it, and the Cathedral's cemetery.

Until the latter part of the 10th century pottery was apparently not in use in Hereford, and because of this the close dating of earlier levels will have to await scientific analysis of other materials. The earliest occupation on the site included a narrow, nondefensive ditch, which produced Roman tile. Whether the ditch is of Roman date or is Saxon and simply contains residual material will remain uncertain until radiocarbon dating of animal bone from the ditch is undertaken.

By the time ceramic material came into use the site was well established, apparently as open ground with many pits and post holes, suggesting intensive occupation. In the later Saxon period a road was laid along the western part of the site. This probably led S. to a ford across the river and N. to join the present Widemarsh Street. The road was resurfaced on many occasions, a drain being added as part of one of these works.

Two stone buildings which fronted onto this road were revealed. The southern one extended 5 m. back from the road and was of uncertain width. The northern one was 5 m. by 2.75 m. and had a basement with a mortar floor. The basement was some 2.85 m. deep and was presumably accessed by ladder and used for storage. After some time it was reused as a dump for rubbish. The material in this dump was very rich in archaeological terms, producing a late Saxon sword, several animal skeletons, and a large amount of human waste. The construction of these buildings would appear to date from the 11th century.

To the E. of these buildings was that part of the cathedral cemetery which was to the W. of the presumed location of the Saxon cathedral. The graves were carefully aligned and in neat rows. After the cemetery had been in use for at least a century, judging from the burial pattern, a vast pit 1.5 m. in length, 7.5 m. in width and 4.6 m. deep was excavated through the middle of the site.

This pit truncated some of the burials and cut into both buildings, so these were evidently redundant by this time. The pit was quickly backfilled, with the disarticulated remains of some 5,000 individuals. It is tempting to see this as a small part of Bishop Reynelm's rebuilding of the cathedral (started 1107-15), with the clearance of the old Saxon cemetery, the bones being reburied in a pit which had been dug for gravel to be used in the construction of the new cathedral.

The pit also cut through the drain to the E. of the road but it is likely that the road itself continued to be in use at least until after the pit was backfilled. After two or more levellings, to counteract slumping, the area of the pit became part of the cemetery, which now covered the whole site. The road had, by this time, migrated further W. It is not clear whether this was associated with the changes due to the building of the new cathedral or whether it was a later development.

The use of the site as a cemetery was the major phase of the excavation. As already mentioned it began during the Saxon period, in the eastern part of the site. However, from the 13th century onwards it covered the site and inhumations became very densely packed, a total of over 1,100 burials being excavated.

The majority of the burials were in individual graves, but there were a few double burials, generally of an adult and a child, and one incontrovertible case of death during childbirth, in this case a breech birth. At some time during the 14th or 15th centuries three mass graves were dug at the west of the site. These may well have been for the victims of the Black Death, or some other major epidemic.

With only a few exceptions, the inhumations followed the normal Christian method: extended supine burial, placed in a shroud or coffin with no grave goods. Some of the first burials after the backfilling of the pit had stone-lined graves rather than wooden coffins, but this practice soon ended. No coffins were found, the wood having decayed, but the evidence of coffin nails indicated that burial in coffins became more common in the later burials.

Much further study of the skeletal material is needed but some trends are already clear. The mean height of females (148 cm., 4 ft. 9 ins.) and males 164 cm., 5 ft. 4 ins.) stayed the same throughout, though the range in stature is greater early in the sequence. It also appears that the individuals early in the sequence were more muscular. As is commonly found in cemetery excavations, there was an under-representation of children. Pathologies were present in many forms: from traumas such as broken limbs to congenital diseases such as spina bifida occulta. Other diseases such as arthritis and tuberculosis were also present. However, the diet appears to have been good: there were no cases of rickets, and dental condition was generally good.

The site had become part of a timber yard by the middle of the 18th century, although the cemetery elsewhere in the Close continued in use until 1791, when it was closed for reasons of hygiene. Certainly there was much overcrowding in the area excavated and there was evidence to confirm the truth of the contemporary reports of 'how highly indecent it is and improper to observe the many putrid limbs continually thrown out.'

In 1760 a brick Music Room was built, wider than the west range of the cloister, which it replaced, reusing the stonework from the cloister in its foundations. Despite surviving the catastrophic collapse in 1786 of the west front of the cathedral immediately to its north, the Music Room was doomed, being pulled down in 1835, a victim of architectural taste.

Mr. Richard Stone directed this excavation and has written this report.

## Corras Chapel, Kentchurch. SO 419249

A recently found early 17th-century reference to the chapel of Corras throws light on the later history of the building which was partially excavated by the Archaeological Research Section in 1988, the report of which was published in the *Transactions* for 1989. The following extract is from the Glebe Terrier dated 1607 which lists the possessions of the parish church of Kentchurch (HRO.HD2/5/30).

'We have a Chapell within our said parish called the Chapell of Cawrosse now ruynated and decayed with a Churchyarde therunto belonginge and now in the occupation of the aforesaid John Scudamore esq. but Whether it be a member of our said church or noe we know not.'

# Botany, 1993

## By PETER THOMSON

Using records held by the Botanical Society of the British Isles recorder

wet winter followed by a cool damp spring and a wet summer favoured a profusion of flowers which lasted well. The only real respite from the wetness came in June with a hot close spell, but rain reappeared in July and was overabundant for the rest of the year.

Despite the fact that about 1,000 species of flowering plants and ferns have now been recorded in Herefordshire, the sites which can be said to be herb-rich still decline unless under the protection of conservation bodies. In this respect traditionally managed herb-rich meadows are most vulnerable when subject to modern agricultural techniques, such as artificial fertiliser applications or ploughing and reseeding, usually with a rye grass mixture. The best herb-rich meadows flourish in somewhat impoverished soils where plants such as lady's-mantle, *Alchemilla sp.* and quaking grass, *Briza media*, grow. It is good, therefore, that the Herefordshire Nature Trust has acquired the Davies meadows and Ernle Gilbert reserve, both at Norton Canon, and the Cadbury reserve near Michaelchurch Escley. On these it is hoped that traditional management will ensure the survival of their rich flora.

Symptomatic of the suitability of the season for flowers was the abundance of primroses, *Primula vulgaris*, and other spring flowers in the Queenswood Country Park, and later in the season the displays of orchids. Here, greater butterfly orchids, *Platanthera chlorantha*, produced 228 fine spikes compared with only 106 in 1992, whilst there were 5,647 spikes of common spotted orchid, *Dactylorhiza fuchsii*, compared with only 153 in 1992. The figures are based on a survey undertaken for the Countryside Service by a volunteer.

The profusion of common spotted orchids was noticeable elsewhere, for example in Dulas churchyard and in Queen's Wood, Dymock. Here, in an area which has recently been coppiced, there were 138 spikes whilst on a ride elsewhere in the wood there were thousands. Counting was impracticable but in one square yard where the density was not nearly at its highest there were over 40 spikes. Also in the coppiced area there were 38 spikes of marsh helleborine, *Epipactis palustris*.

In contrast to the profusion of some plants, a search in their former sites for two Herefordshire rarities proved in vain. Shepherd's cress, *Teesdalia nudicaulis*, was not found on the Herefordshire side of the Malvern Hills even though it hangs on a few yards over the border in Worcestershire, and a few visits to the Woodland Trust reserve on the Little Doward again failed to produce hutchinsia, *Hornungia petraea*. Other records from the Doward include a fresh site, on and around the most westerly of the Seven Sisters, for the three rare sedges where they are all growing in close proximity. The dwarf sedge, *Carex humilis*, is on very thin soil over bare limestone, soft-leaved sedge, *C. montana*, amongst scree and fingered sedge, *C. digitata*, on cliff ledges.

Other plants recorded during the year include:-

Beech fern, *Phegopteris connectilis*, and oak fern, *Gymnocarpium dryopteris*, both of which were recorded in Shobdon Hill Wood by Martin Rickard.

Stinking hellebore, *Helleborus foetidus* was present in abundance after tree-felling in a well known site at Birchend.

Small nettle, *Urtica urens*, recognisable by its white rather than yellow roots, was seen in quantity near Baron's Cross west of Leominster and at several sites in the Hampton Bishop area. Sometimes known as the annual nettle this plant is seen now less frequently than formerly.

Black poplar, *Populus nigra*. There is a great deal of interest nationally in this native tree and all records are being coordinated by a group based in East Anglia. We were therefore glad to add to our records trees at Hampton Bishop, Much Cowarne, Ocle Pychard and Burley Gate. We would be glad to receive further records for this tree.

Sweet briar, Rosa rubiginosa, was found in scrub on rubbly limestone soil in a disused quarry near Ledbury.

Kidney vetch, Anthyllis vulneraria, is a plant of limy soils and is found mainly in coastal sites and chalk and Jurassic limestone areas. It is infrequent elsewhere. Even last century it was rare in Herefordshire but Paige Mitchell has recorded it near Hereford Railway station.

Dyer's greenweed, Genista tinctoria, and great burnet, Sanguisorba officinalis, were reported by Dilys and Ian Hart from meadows in the west of the county.

Wild parsnip, Pastinaca sativa, is widespread to the south east of a line from about Hull to Cardiff but it becomes very infrequent to the north-west of this line. In Herefordshire it is relatively rare but was recorded by David Thompson from a site in the middle of Ross-on-Wye.

Autumn gentian, Gentianella amarella. A large population was found in shallow soil over limestone in an old quarry near Ledbury.

Deadly nightshade, Atropa belladonna, was recorded by Mark Lawley from the Burrington area.

Tufted sedge, Carex elata. This was noted by Purchas and Ley as rare and local and was not recorded again until it was found by John Port in the Allensmore area.

Green-winged orchid, *Orchis morio*, is a scarce plant nationally but was recorded by David Lovelace and others in the Ernle Gilbert reserve.

# Buildings, 1993

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Ewyas Lacy Hundred where it had last worked twenty-two years ago in 1971.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based on Hereford and he spoke on recent finds in vernacular building in Herefordshire at the County Archaeological Day School at Worcester in October.

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.

### ALMELEY

RAINBOW COTTAGE. SO 336516 Tithe No. 536

This house does not appear to be mentioned in the R.C.H.M., but a number of features in it place its date of building well before 1715 which was the date to which the Herefordshire survey came. It is a three-room plan cottage with a 'barn' at the west end.

This non-domestic end was probably used for agricultural purposes, or possibly for some sort of craft workshop, e.g. basket making or carpentry, or just as a store. The truss which forms the west wall of the house and is visible from the barn has curved struts with cusp points on them in the space above the collar at the apex of the roof. These are pegged in and are an integral part of the construction. There are two trenched, through purlins on each side and there is a series of long carpenters' assembly marks from / to //// on the west side of this truss, starting on the southern post and working across the wall. These marks are about 6 ins. long and with the cusping probably date from the earlier part of the 16th century. Externally this 'barn' end is weather-boarded.

The dwelling part of the building is of three bays of normal 16/17th-century Marches type, box-frame construction with the roof hipped at the east end, i.e. the opposite end from the 'barn'. Unusual is the fact that it is only two panels high, which is made possible by the 3 ft. deep plinth of red sandstone. There is a chimney on the S. side in the bay next to the 'barn' and another, bigger, on the opposite side in the end bay on the hipped roof.

The former chimney is over a fireplace in the S.E. corner of the room which occupies the bay. It is set diagonally across the corner which is usually a feature of the late 17th century or early 18th. Before it was constructed the room, which was probably the parlour, may well have been heated by a brazier.

In each room a central beam runs longitudinally from E. to W. These are chamfered; in most cases the ends are lost in more recent plaster, but in the middle room, which appears to have been the hall/kitchen, an ogee stop survives by the big fireplace. This type of stop usually dates from the earlier part of the 17th century, pre-Civil War, but could be very late 16th century. In this room a stairway backs on to the diagonally-set fireplace to

BUILDINGS, 1993

the west and from it can be seen a rather unusual set of carpenters' assembly marks based on a scribed motif 5. Judging by their size and the structure of the truss the whole thing dates from c. 1600, probably a little before rather than just after. The diagonal braces below the tie-beam are a typical late-16th-century feature.

There is a step down from 'parlour' to hall/kitchen and a further step down to the room in the eastern bay which is only half the width of the house because of the big hall/kitchen fireplace which occupies much of the other half of this last bay and has a cupboard behind it. This change of levels probably accounts for the deep plinth already mentioned above. There is an external doorway in this eastern wall of this small room. A gable entrance is typical of the long-house of the hills of the Marches, especially western Herefordshire. There is no evidence that there was ever a byre at this end and in any case it is up the hill rather than down. If there was going to be a byre it should be where the 'barn' is.

Upstairs in the truss by the stairs mentioned above is a doorway cut right through the tie-beam and with its jambs going up to the collar. The house is ceiled at upper purlin level; so it was not possible to see the construction of the apex of the trusses other than that seen from the barn.

On the S. wall there is a window in each room downstairs probably in the position of the original windows. Upstairs there is a former window in the western two bays, both looking as though they have been altered, there is a window lighting the stairs and a small window in the E. bay. On the N. wall is a doorway opposite the stairs.

Thus there seems to be here a house probably built in the second half of the 16th century, most likely in the last quarter, which was 'modernised' in the late 17th century. It is unusual in having a non-domestic bay as an integral part of the house.

### **AVENBURY**

## HACKLEY FARM. SO 634533 R.C.H.M.3 Tithe No. 68

The stairway mentioned in the R.C.H.M. is fascinating and a fine example of Herefordshire carpentry. In this house is a mixture of ovolo and ogee mouldings, typical of early-17th-century Herefordshire, and evidence of quite a bit of alteration at the very end of the century.

Some of the moulded stops are quite long and elaborate usually a sign of later 17th-century work. The carpenters' assembly marks are differenced for level and in length are typical of the fairly early 17th century.

At the rear at a slightly lower level is a brick-vaulted cellar with a double door at one end.

#### HOLMER

### SHELWICK COURT, SO 527430 R.C.H.M.11 Tithe No. 607

The first floor and roof of the solar wing retains its magnificent later medieval woodwork, probably from early in the 15th century. There are quatrefoil panels in the

walls, three bays with principal trusses with trefoiling and quatrefoiling above the tiebeams, and intermediate trusses with arch-braced collar and trefoiling above. The windbraces are cusped with sunk chamfering at the cusp points.

### HOPE MANSELL

OLD CIDER HOUSE. SO 633196

When I visited the site on 26 October 1991 it was overgrown, but the report I wrote then is borne out by the recent excavations.

The northern room in the main block has a fireplace about 5 ft. 6 ins. across and projecting some 2 ft. 3 ins. from the gable wall. On either side is an alcove, that on the right (east) side being about 2 ft. 2 ins. and that on the other side about 2 ft. 8 ins. wide. With the fireplace jambs this gives a total interior width to the room of just over 11 ft. The left hand (western) above slopes to the W. to accommodate the shape of the bake-oven in what probably must be thought of as a kitchen which adjoins the main room. Alongside it to the west is another, earlier, opening. It could have been a little 'oven' or 'kiln' for drying malt or for drying barley for malting.

The wall between these rooms is about 1 ft. 6 ins. thick and at the S. end of it is a blocked doorway which must have led from one to the other. There is about a 1 ft. drop from the main room to the 'kitchen'.

This 'kitchen' is about 13 ft. from the front of the bake-oven to the S. wall which again has a blocked doorway. This wall is about 1 ft. 1 ins. thick. The main exterior walls on E. and W. are quite narrow for external stone walls, being about 1 ft. 10 ins. thick. Both these rooms are paved. The bigger, eastern, room has a doorway in the E. wall about 3 ft. 6 in. wide externally and then canting back into the room.

Inside this doorway there is now a drop of about 3 ft. though the eastern wall itself continues southward for 2 ft. 6 ins. before another 3 ft. 6 ins. doorway, again canted to widen it on the inside, and then another 12 ft. of walling to the south end of the building.

Immediately S. of this 3 ft. drop were steps going down from the W. wall into a cellar which continues under the remaining part of the building to the S. and with the slope of the ground this drops to 5 ft. below ground level inside the southern external wall.

The piece of wall on the E. side between the two doorways has a projecting wall only about 10 ins. wide which seems to have no real purpose unless a similar wall on the other side of one of the doorways has disappeared and there was a porch here.

On the W. side of the building the external wall of the 'kitchen' continues S. for a short distance and then disappears. It seems that this once ran the full length of the building making the whole about 40 ft. N./S. and 25 ft. E./W. with a narrow wall about 1 ft. thick between the two parts. The area S. of the 'kitchen' has now disappeared.

South of the stairs mentioned above is a wall in the cellar projecting some 5 ft. into the cellar and forming the S. wall of the stairs. It is revetted on the N. side presumably to take a door and chamfered on the S. It is more or less in line with the piece of wall between the two doorways mentioned above.

BUILDINGS, 1993

Immediately south of the southern of these doorways is another narrow wall running across the full width with a doorway in the centre. This is quite intriguing because it is almost the shape of the 14th-century shouldered or Caernarvon-arched doorway.

This forms a room about 9 ft. wide right across the southern end of the cellar with yet another blocked doorway immediately to the N. of the gable wall.

Dating this building is not easy, but the wall thicknesses are probably the best clue. Stone walls tend to become narrower the later they are built. As mentioned in the previous report 16th and 17th-century stone walls were about 2 ft. 3 ins. thick in most cases and it was not until well into the 18th century that wall of 20 ins. or so became more or less standard. Thus the main walls here of 1 ft. 10 ins. to 2 ft. are probably not earlier than the 18th century, probably post-1730 or so and could well be as late as the early 19th century.

There is no clear evidence in the present remains to show that this building was a cider house, but there is a flat area down by the stream which may possibly have been the site of a cider mill. On the other hand a cider house did not have to have its own mill or press.

With no evidence of brick on the site a date much into the 19th century can probably be ruled out, so somewhere in the second half of the 18th century is the likely date, but it could be the second quarter of that century or quite early in the 19th.

### KINGS CAPLE

THE FORGE SO 562289 Tithe No. 180

This house is yet another building of cruck construction which has been missed by the various surveys. There is evidence of three cruck trusses.

### KINGTON

45 BRIDGE STREET, SO 298565 Tithe No. 1002

This house is not mentioned in the R.C.H.M. Inventory although it comes within the period which they were recording, i.e. pre-1715. This is quite understandable as from the front it looks as though it is probably a house of c. 1800. It contains work of the late medieval, mid-17th century and c. 1800 periods with some unusual features and a very unusual 20th-century history.

It would have been built when Kington was still centred around the church and castle and this house would have been in Kington-in-the-Fields built on the old open fields of the earlier settlement. Thus there is here a house built parallel to the road not at right angles to the street running back along burgage plots as is normal in towns and as is found in most of urban Kington.

The front was originally jettied and the joists in this part are laid flat not vertically as was normal later and probably dates from the late 15th century just before 1500. This dating could apply also to the chamfered beam with a big stop in the room above.

This original house was almost completely rebuilt in the mid-17th century, quite probably during the Commonwealth period of 1650-60. This is unusual, for very little building went on at that time.

The evidence for this is in the simple diagonal stops on a plainly chamfered beam in the rear room and the big truss in the roof above it. It is interesting that where the addition butts against the earlier house a double post shows at the top of the stairs. The big dormer window at the back of the house is against a typical 17th-century truss.

The entrance today is in the gable of the later part approached by a normal urbantype passageway from the street with two chamfered joists across it.

One very interesting feature in the attic on the top floor in front is some evidence of a high frequency aerial which was in use during the Second World War.

During the year fifty-six planning applications concerning listed buildings were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor additions and alterations. Notifications are usually received from the local planning authorities and in most cases from the Council for British Archaeology. Only two warranted serious comment. One was Nupton Cottage, Canon Pyon where 'a black and white effect' was to be 'substituted.' The second was Puddleston Court where the C.B.A. and local district council were written saying that the proposed removal of 20th-century additions which had been built when it was used as a school would be an improvement.

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 their houses and outbuildings.

## Entomology, 1993

#### INSECT TRAPPING IN MOCCAS PARK NATIONAL NATURE RESERVE

## By J. COOTER

s part of the continuing survey of insects of Moccas Park National Nature Reserve, I ran a flight interception trap in part of the closed-canopy woodland from April to late September 1992. The results were very encouraging and several species were added to the Park List.

A flight interception trap is a passive trap, it does not attract insects to it, but relies upon them flying into it. The trap itself is a fine black nylon mesh approximately 2.5 m. long by 1 m. high kept taut between canes by guy-ropes. At the bottom of the net are a series of collecting trays each with an amount of water, detergent and bacteriocide. The trap has to be serviced at least weekly, more often in warm weather. The whole catch needs to be examined under a microscope. This is a slow and tiresome task in spring when many outer scales of opening buds fall in, and again in the autumn when the trays can become clogged with fallen leaves.

The samples were sorted into several lots: spiders, parasitic hymenoptera, diptera and coleoptera. The spiders, which one suspects became trapped through pure chance, were a bland lot, all quite typical of woodland. The diptera, by far the largest group represented were sent to the National Museum of Wales for sorting and identification. The parasitic hymenoptera were present in numbers and went to Dr. M. Shaw at the Royal Museum of Scotland. From a lot of dross, several species were retained, including a single male Wachsmannia spathiiformis (Ratzeburg), quite scarce in Britain with only two ancient examples in the collection at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. Fortunately a large and distinctive species and therefore identified by our authority on these insects with confidence. The beetles contained a nice lot of Leiodidae, an obscure group, largely of unknown habits and biology, but one that interests me. Of particular interest were three Leiodes strigipenne Daffner, a species I have only recently added to the British List and one female of the autumnal species, Leiodes oblonga (Erichson), taken in the last week of trapping. Amongst the small-fry were a few Neuraphes plicicollis and Euplectus nanus (Reichenbach) but the minute Ptiliidae, although present in fair numbers, produced nothing that normal active collecting has not previously found.

Of the beetles Moccas Park is famous for amongst natural history circles, both the "longhorn" Pyrrhidium sanguineum (L.) and the little "bak beetle" Ernoporus caucasicus Lindemann were trapped during the summer. Both these species have in recent years been found outside the Park, Pyrrhidium in a few old woodland sites in the Borders, Ernoporus in scattered localities in the Midlands. Hypebaeus flavipes (Fabricius) was not trapped and seems confined to a few of the most ancient oaks in the open parkland; Moccas Park is, in Britain, the only know locality for this diminutive beetle.

I would like to record my thanks to David Chandler for allowing me to erect the trap in the Park.

# Geology, 1993

## By P. CROSS

#### SUPERFICIAL DEPOSITS IN THE LUGG VALLEY AT KINGSLAND, HEREFORDSHIRE.

Welsh Water have kindly made available details of the deposits encountered during the installation of observation wells in the Lugg Valley at Kingsland. The borings were all made to a depth of 10 m. by percussion drill. Grid references for each of the six boreholes are given here together with details of the thickness of various deposits recorded by the drillers. It is significant that no bedrock was encountered in any of the boreholes. Interpretation without analysis of the deposits would be unreliable, but descriptions given by the drillers seem to indicate the presence of bands of boulder clay.

the driners seem to indicate the presence	e of bands of boulder clay.
Borehole No. 1 Grid Ref. SO 42706250	Borehole No. 2 Grid Ref. SO 43256280
<ul> <li>0.30 Brown TOPSOIL</li> <li>1.60 Brown silty CLAY</li> <li>6.90 Brown gravelly CLAY stiff</li> <li>1.20 Brown fine to medium GRAVEL</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>0.40 Brown TOPSOIL</li> <li>1.20 Brown silty CLAY</li> <li>1.40 Brown gravelly CLAY, stiff</li> <li>1.40 Fine grained GRAVEL</li> <li>4.30 Rounded fine to medium GRAVEL</li> <li>1.30 Brown coarse grained SAND</li> </ul>
Borehole No. 3 Grid Ref. SO 43606225 1.00 Brown silty TOPSOIL 4.00 Brown gravelly CLAY 1.00 Sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained, rounded 4.00 Sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained, dense	Borehole No. 4 Grid Ref. SO 44406160 0.40 Brown stoney TOPSOIL 1.10 Brown silty CLAY 2.50 Brown gravelly CLAY, stiff 2.00 Sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained 4.00 Sandy GRAVEL, dense
Borehole No. 5 Grid Ref. SO 44306150 0.40 Brown sandy TOPSOII 2.80 Brown gravelly CLAY, firm (Boulder Clay) 1.40 Sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained 0.30 Brown GRAVEL 0.40 Brown gravelly CLAY (Boulder Clay) (chisel on boulder	Borehole No. 6 Grid Ref. SO 43506190 0.40 Brown sandy TOPSOIL 3.00 Brown gravelly CLAY, firm 1.40 Brown sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained 0.40 Grey brown gravelly CLAY, firm 4.80 Brown sandy GRAVEL, fine to medium grained

Thicknesses of deposits are given in metres.

at 5.10-5.30 metres for one hour)

0.40 Brown sandy GRAVEL,

fine to medium grained
4.30 Sandy GRAVEL, very fine grained

## Herefordshire Field-Names, 1993

## By GRAHAM SPRACKLING

e are very pleased to report that Part 1 of the Herefordshire Field-Name Survey - published lists with maps from the parish tithe-maps, has now been completed. As some parishes are still being sold at the time of writing, details and statistics concerning numbers sold etc., will appear in the next report. However, we can say that 118 people including contributors, checkers, typists, Hereford Record Office staff and of course Geoff Gwatkin, have been involved in the project.

Since the first printing in April 1987, a steady stream of published parishes and townships has been produced in book form. The last batch of thirteen parishes plus two separate booklets (covering extra-parochials, forest areas and other categories not covered by the tithe-maps), was printed in October 1993.

To celebrate the completion of Part 1, a very successful party, with a buffet supper, to which all who were involved were invited, was held in the conference room of the Education Centre in Blackfriars Street, Hereford, on Saturday 25 September 1993. The invitation also thanked all who had helped, and stressed the need for future contributions for Part 2. Elizabeth Taylor contributed a display of greater and lesser tithe documents and an ingenious cake in the form of a field. Ruth Richardson thanked all the members of the organising committee for all their hard work. The staff at the Hereford County Record Office were also thanked for their endless patience and co-operation. A final tribute was paid to the main committee of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club for being so supportive financially and otherwise. Their editor and secretary Jim and Muriel Tonkin have been particularly helpful.

The published lists are supplying valuable information for various lines of research.

## PART 2 FIELD-NAMES FROM OTHER RECORDS

Parish Name: NEWTON (Township in Parish of Clodock)

### Contributed by George Charnock

TITHE NO.	FIELD-NAME	DATE	SOURCE
407, 408	Ox Pasture	1779	4
408a	Upper Gorsty Field	1779	4
409 (part)	Lower Gorsty Field	1779	4
409 (part)	Pool Field	1779	4
450	Cae Pwil (adjacent to above)	1832	5
396, 397	Wood and rough pasture called Kae Garrow	1752	3
	2 parcels called Caie Garrow or		
	Bakers Land	1832	5
351, 352	Wergloddgated Wood	1868	8
,	5 5	1906	9
399	Three Acres	1868	8
507	Three Acres	1906	9
396, 397 351, 352 399	Wood and rough pasture called Kae Garrow 2 parcels called Caic Garrow or Bakers Land Wergloddgated Wood Wergloddgated Wood Three Acres	1752 1832 1868 1906 1868	5 8 9 8

	HEREI ORDSHIRE FIELD-NA	MES, 1993	
400	Little Meadow	1868	8
	Little Meadow	1906	9
402	Wergloddgated	1868	8
	Wergloddgated	1906	9
403	Waingvi	1868	8
	Waingvi	1906	9
462	Clawddnewdd	1868	8
	Clawddnewdd	1906	9
463	The Wood	1868	8
482	Part of Wergloddyter	1868	8
	Part of Wergloddyter	1906	9
489	Wergloddyter	1868	8
	Wergloddyter	1906	9
483	Garden	1868	8
484	Querrelly Homestead	1868	8
486	Cae Quarry	1868	8
	Cae Quarry	1906	9
487	Part of Cae Quarry	1868	8
	Part of Cae Quarry	1906	9
492, 512	Cae Yr Inn	1702	6
,	Cae Clewin	1868	8
	Cae Clewin	1906	9
401	Gwain Sovel Deved	1778	7
	Gwun Sofol Defed	1800	12
	Wainsofadefid	1868	8
	Warnsofadefid	1906	9
454	Cae Gnoll	1868	8
T-V-T	Cae Gnoll	1906	9
456	Old Close	1868	8
450	Old Close	1906	9
457	Cae Derry	1778	7
437	Cae Derry		
	Cae Clery	1868 1906	8 9
458	Gwain Vach		7
+30	Waun Fach	1778	
	Wainfach	1800	12
		1868	8
246 247	Wernfach	1906	9
346, 347	Gworlod-y-Cornell	1743	11
224	Corner Meadow	1913	13
334	Kae Y Beadow	1743	11
225	Cae Bettaw	1913	13
335	Kae Glase	1743	11
	Cae Glase	1913	13
by 414	Lydiad Y Garn	1743	11
414	Garden Field		16
	Garn		16
329	Sheepcot Meadow	1913	13
328	Orchard by the Common	1913	13
327	The Common	1913	13
317	Lloynd Meadow	1913	13
318	Ruffet	1913	13
320	Great Tanhouse Meadow	1913	13
306	Palace Grounds	1913	13
305	Great Common	1913	13

301			
335	366	GRAHAM SPRACKLING	
337	301	Long Common	1913
336 Hop Yard Orchard 1913 345 Cae Gwyne 1913 348 Lower Ground Wood 1913 339 Picce above the wood 1913 344 Stoney Field 1913 340, 341 The Nine Acres 1913 342 The Upper Ground 1913 343 Upper Wood 1913 348, 349 Ox Pasture 1913 463 Cwarelau Wood 1887 466, 466a Cae Groes 1702 Cae Grose 1887 470 Cae Grose 1887 471 Blackhorse Wood 1887 515 Cae Tack Wood 1887 516 Cae Tack Wood 1887 517 Cae Tack Wood 1887 518 Cae Tack Wood 1887 519 Cae Tack Wood 1887 510 Cae Tack Wood 1887 511 Cae Tack Wood 1887 512 Cae Tack Wood 1887 513 Cae Tack Wood 1887 514 Cae Dijhouse 1688 515 Cae Tack Wood 1887 516 Cae Tack Wood 1887 517 Cae Tack Wood 1887 518 Cae Tack Wood 1887 519 Cae Tack Wood 1887 510 Cae Tack Wood 1887 511 Cae Tack Wood 1887 512 Cae Tack Wood 1887 513 Cae Tack Wood 1887 514 Cae Tack Wood 1887 515 Cae Tack Wood 1887 516 Cae Tack Wood 1887 517 Cae Tack Wood 1887 518 Cae Tack Wood 1887 519 Cae Tack Wood 1887 510 Cae Tack Wood 1887 511 Cae Tack Wood 1887 512 Cae Tack Wood 1887 513 Cae Tack Wood 1887 514 Cae Cae Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable 1683 518 Cae Tack Wood 1887 519 Cae Tack Wood 1887 519 Cae Tack Wood 1887 510 Cae	335	The Four Acres	1913
345	337	Lower Ground	1913
1913   338	336	Hop Yard Orchard	1913
339   Piece above the wood   1913   344   Stoney Field   1913   340, 341   The Nine Acres   1913   342   The Upper Ground   1913   343   Upper Wood   1913   348, 349   Ox Pasture   1913   346, 466   Cac Groes   1702   Cae Grose   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   447   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   448   449   444   444   444   445   446	345	Cae Gwyne	1913
344   Stoney Field   1913   340, 341   The Nine Acres   1913   342   The Upper Ground   1913   343   Upper Wood   1913   348, 349   Ox Pasture   1913   463   Cwarelau Wood   1887   466, 466a   Cae Grose   1702   Cae Grose   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   515   Cae Tack Wood   1887   515   Cae Dighouse   353   Cae Page   Unidentified   Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable   1683   Kae Nicholl   1740   Kae Hondee   1740   Gworlod-y-oddon   1740   Kae Cannal   1740   Kae Cannal   1740   Kae Corst   1740   Gworlod Warr   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Kae Wiggin Gwornoges   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Gwrlod Cae Groes   1702   Gwern Y Kifty   1702   Teere Packa	338	Lower Ground Wood	1913
340, 341   The Nine Acres   1913   342   The Upper Ground   1913   343   Upper Wood   1913   348, 349   Ox Pasture   1913   463   Cwarelau Wood   1887   466, 466a   Cae Grose   1702   Cae Grose   1887   470   Cae Grose   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   447   The Oaks   494   The Oaks   493   The Oaks   494   The Oaks   494   464   Cae Dighouse   464   Cae Dighouse   464   Cae Dighouse   464   Cae Page   464   Cae Page   474   474   474   475	339	Piece above the wood	1913
342         The Upper Ground         1913           343         Upper Wood         1913           348, 349         Ox Pasture         1913           463         Cwarelau Wood         1887           466, 466a         Cac Grose         1702           Cac Grose         1887           470         Cae Grose Wood         1887           447         Blackhorse Wood         1887           515         Cae Tack Wood         1887           494         The Oaks         1887           493         The Oaks Pool           464         Cae Dighouse           353         Cae Page           Unidentified           Cae Page           Unidentified           Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable         1683           Kae Nicholl         1740           Kae Hondee         1740           Gworlod-y-oddon         1740           Kae Hawkin         1740           Kae Cannal         1740           Kae Cannal         1740           Kae Cannal         1740           Kae Konnol         1740           Kae Konnol         1740           <	344	Stoney Field	1913
343   Upper Wood   1913   348, 349   Ox Pasture   1913   463   Cwarelau Wood   1887   466, 466a   Cae Groes   1702   Cae Grose   1887   470   Cae Grose Wood   1887   447   Blackhorse Wood   1887   515   Cae Tack Wood   1887   494   The Oaks   493   The Oaks Pool   464   Cae Dighouse   353   Cae Page	340, 341	The Nine Acres	1913
348, 349 Ox Pasture 1913 463 Cwarelau Wood 1887 466, 466a Cae Groes 1702 Cae Grose 1887 470 Cae Grose Wood 1887 447 Blackhorse Wood 1887 515 Cae Tack Wood 1887 494 The Oaks 493 The Oaks Pool 464 Cae Dighouse 353 Cae Page  Unidentified  Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable 1683 Kae Nicholl 1740 Kae Hondee 1740 Gworlod-y-oddon 1740 Kae Cannal 1740 Kae Cannal 1740 Kae Crost 1740 Gworlod Yawr 1740 Kae Konnol 1740 Kae Konnol 1740 Kae Higgin 1740 Kae Cock 1740 Gworlod Gallod 1740 Kae Higgin 1740	342	The Upper Ground	1913
463         Cwarelau Wood         1887           466, 466a         Cae Groes         1702           470         Cae Grose Wood         1887           447         Blackhorse Wood         1887           515         Cae Tack Wood         1887           494         The Oaks         493           493         The Oaks Pool         464           464         Cae Dighouse         353           353         Cae Page         1683           Kae Nicholl         1740           Kae Hondee         1740           Gworlod-y-oddon         1740           Kae Hawkin         1740           Kae Cannal         1740           Kae Crost         1740           Kae Crost         1740           Kae Konnol         1740           Kae Higgin         1740           Kae Cock         1740           Kae Dan Mase Mawr         1740           Kae Wiggin Lawyor         1702	343	Upper Wood	1913
466, 466a       Cae Grose       1702         Cae Grose       1887         470       Cae Grose Wood       1887         447       Blackhorse Wood       1887         515       Cae Tack Wood       1887         494       The Oaks       1887         493       The Oaks Pool       464         464       Cae Dighouse       353         353       Cae Page       1683         Unidentified         Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable       1683         Kae Nicholl       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Konol Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Gwrlod Vawr	348, 349	Ox Pasture	1913
Cae Grose   1887	463	Cwarelau Wood	1887
470       Cae Grose Wood       1887         447       Blackhorse Wood       1887         515       Cae Tack Wood       1887         494       The Oaks         493       The Oaks Pool         464       Cae Dighouse         353       Cae Page     Unidentified  Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable Kae Nicholl Kae Nicholl Kae Hondee 1740 Kae Hondee 1740 Gworlod-y-oddon 1740 Kae Hawkin 1740 Kae Cannal 1740 Kae Cannal 1740 Kae Crost 1740 Gworlod Vawr 1740 Kae Konnol 1740 Kae Konnol 1740 Kae Konnol 1740 Kae Higgin 1740 Kae Honden Gworlod Gallod 1740 Kae Cock 1740 Kae Dan Mase Mawr 1740 Kae Higgin Gwornoges 1740 Kae Higgin Gwornoges 1740 Kae Wiggin Lawyor 1740 Gwrlod Cae Groes 1702 Gwrlod Cae Groes 1702 Gwrlod Vawr 1702 Gwrlod Vawr 1702 Teere Packa 1702 Gwrlod Vawr 1702 Teere Packa 1702 Wern Kifty 1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702       Wern Kifty     1702	466, 466a	Cae Groes	1702
A47   Blackhorse Wood   1887		Cae Grose	1887
515         Cae Tack Wood         1887           494         The Oaks           493         The Oaks Pool           464         Cae Dighouse           353         Cae Page           Unidentified           Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable         1683           Kae Nicholl         1740           Kae Hondee         1740           Gworlod-y-oddon         1740           Kae Hawkin         1740           Kae Cannal         1740           Kae Crost         1740           Gworlod Vawr         1740           Kae Konnol         1740           Kae Higgin         1740           Kae Cock         1740           Kae Cock         1740           Kae Dan Mase Mawr         1740           Kae Higgin Gwornoges         1740           Kae Wiggin Lawyor         1740           Kae Wiggin Lawyor         1740           Maes Mawre         1702           Gwrlod Vawr         1702           Maes Mawre         1702           Gwrlod Vawr         1702           Teere Packa         1702           Wern Kifty         1702	470	Cae Grose Wood	1887
494       The Oaks         493       The Oaks Pool         464       Cae Dighouse         353       Cae Page          Unidentified          Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable       1683         Kae Nicholl       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Gworlod-y-oddon       1740         Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702	447	Blackhorse Wood	1887
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464       Cae Dighouse         353       Cae Page         Unidentified         Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable         Kae Nicholl         Kae Nicholl       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Gworlod-y-oddon       1740         Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702	494	The Oaks	
Unidentified   Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable   1683   Kae Nicholl   1740   Kae Hondee   1740   Gworlod-y-oddon   1740   Kae Hawkin   1740   Kae Cannal   1740   Kae Crost   1740   Gworlod Vawr   1740   Kae Konnol   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Dan Mase Mawr   1740   Kae Higgin Gworlod Gallod   1740   Kae Higgin Gworloges   1740   Kae Higgin Gworloges   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Gwrlod Cae Groes   1702   Gwern Y Kifty   1702   Maes Mawre   1702   Gwrlod Vawr   1702   Teere Packa   1702   Wern Kifty   1	493	The Oaks Pool	
Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable   1683   Kae Nicholl   1740   Kae Hondee   1740   Gworlod-y-oddon   1740   Kae Hawkin   1740   Kae Cannal   1740   Kae Crost   1740   Gworlod Vawr   1740   Kae Konnol   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Higgin   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Cock   1740   Kae Dan Mase Mawr   1740   Kae Higgin Gworloges   1740   Kae Higgin Gworloges   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Kae Wiggin Lawyor   1740   Gwrlod Cae Groes   1702   Gwern Y Kifty   1702   Gwrlod Vawr   1702   Gwrlod Vawr   1702   Gwrlod Vawr   1702   Teere Packa   1702   Wern Kifty   1702   Wern	464	Cae Dighouse	
Cae Mawre, 10 acre parcel of arable       1683         Kae Nicholl       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Gworlod-y-oddon       1740         Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702	353	Cae Page	
Kae Nicholl       1740         Kae Hondee       1740         Gworlod-y-oddon       1740         Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702	Unidentified		
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Kae Hawkin       1740         Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Hondee	1740
Kae Cannal       1740         Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Gworlod-y-oddon	1740
Kae Crost       1740         Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Hawkin	1740
Gworlod Vawr       1740         Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Cannal	1740
Kae Konnol       1740         Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Crost	1740
Kae Higgin       1740         Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Gworlod Vawr	1740
Gworlod Gallod       1740         Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Konnol	1740
Kae Cock       1740         Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Higgin	1740
Kae Dan Mase Mawr       1740         Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Gworlod Gallod	1740
Kae Higgin Gwornoges       1740         Kae Wiggin Lawyor       1740         Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Cock	1740
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Gwrlod Cae Groes       1702         Gwern Y Kifty       1702         Maes Mawre       1702         Gwrlod Vawr       1702         Teere Packa       1702         Wern Kifty       1702		Kae Higgin Gwornoges	1740
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Wern Kifty 1702		Gwrlod Vawr	1702
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		Teere Packa	1702
Maes Tan Llwyth 1702		Wern Kifty	1702
		Maes Tan Llwyth	1702

Wayne Vawr

Cae Darllian Cae Pwl

Gwain Vawr

Gwain Goy

Teere Coed

Freehold lands of Cae Quarrel

Waine Herbert pasture

Rhandeere	1636	10
Cadgar Wissa	1636	10
Cae Pulgh	1636	10
Cae Bagh	1636	10
Gworlod Heere	1636	10
Gwerny Naynte	1636	10
Cae Peny Bayley	1800	12
Cae Waun	1800	12
Kay Quarrel	1615	14
Kay Baugh	1615	14
Gworlod Dun Ye Tee	1615	14
Kay Perben	1615	14
Llyne	1615	14
Urescoed Gennoll Common	1615	14

367

#### KEY TO SOURCES

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1702 1778

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1778

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- 1 HRO K83/1 Marriage Settlement, February 1683.
- 2 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, 12/2/1740 (Far House Farm).
- 3 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, 26/8/1752.
- 4 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, 22/10/1779.
- 5 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, 27/7/1832.
- 6 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, Survey 1702,
  - Leasehold lands of Quarrelly Farm.
- 7 HRO J91/1-4 Ewyas Lacy Court Book, 8/10/1778
  - Leasehold lands/boundaries of Quarrelly Farm.
- 8 HRO 724/1 Deeds of mortgage Quarrelly Farm 22/2/1868.
- 9 HRO 724/1 Deeds of Quarrelly Farm 16/3/1906.
- 10 Report of Charities Commissioners 1636, (1839)
  - (lands of Tee Waine Herbert Farm).
- 11 HRO 069 L.C.Deeds 4705 V.
- 12 GCRO D 1583-208 Lord Abergavenny Ewyas Lacy property, 1800.
- 13 Sale Particulars, 11/11/1913.
- 14 HRO D4/17 Deed of mortgage, 10/5/1615.
- 15 O.S. 6 inch map 1887.
- 16 Local tradition/uncertain sources.

# Ornithology, 1993

## By BERYL HARDING

anuary produced a bit of everything with fog and strong winds but was not excessively cold with eight frosts and temperatures to -8°C in the south of the county. February was drier and cold in its second half with very cold winds.

Several gatherings of mute swan were noted in January with up to eighty recorded at Leach Pool where the numbers remained high until mid-March. More than twenty-five Bewick's swan were also to be seen at Leach Pool in January with about forty grazing in a field at Letton in February. Whooper swans were noted in smaller groups of up to ten. The largest count of Canada geese, some 177, was seen on January 3 at Bodenham gravel pits, always an area of interest, with fifteen+ greater crested grebes in February. Up to six pairs nest there during the summer. Lapwing were reported as widespread in small numbers, and in flocks ranging from seventy-five to 600+ at Glewstone. The regular cormorant roost in the poplar trees of Carey Island in the Wye now has up to sixty birds during mid-winter.

In March a kittiwake in a very starved condition was found at Whitecross School having been blown inland. Miss Beryl Bayliss of Tupsley, who cares for many damaged birds, managed to feed it until its condition was sufficiently improved to be returned to the coast two weeks later.

By February the dawn chorus is really under way, and at a reasonable time to be heard as the resident male birds establish their territories before the migrants return and some nest building is going on. Crossbills built their nests during the previous November/ December so that the young are hatched ready for the newly-opened crop of cone seeds. Their bills are not yet crossed but will become so by the time they have to feed themselves.

A new sound can be heard in the garden during March - a long high-pitched piping squeak. This is the female robin calling her mate to feed her. Such supplementary feeding enables her to reach egg-laying condition earlier than if feeding herself alone and also helps her to gauge whether the male will be a good provider for their brood.

Many of the huge flocks of starlings are preparing to disperse by March and the winter visitors must return to their breeding grounds. It is possible to distinguish between these as the residents have bright golden-yellow beaks by now whereas the continentals still have dull brownish bills.

The first arrivals of chiffchaffs can occur between 18-21 March but is more usually later. However, this year several early sightings were recorded, the first at Brilley Green Dingle on 13 March, at Wigmore Castle on 14 March and at Welsh Newton by the 23rd.

The traditional date for the return of swallows to England is 23 April but they can be seen a good two weeks earlier, especially if near lakes and rivers where they are stocking up on insect food. The earliest reported was a single on 1 April at Preston-on-Wye with about 100 at Castleton-on-Wye on 11 April. Some were seen in Llanwarne on 10 April.

The first cuckoo calls are heard mid-April with new males continuing to arrive to the end of May. Not all cuckoo calls are genuine, the collared dove - a resident now for more than forty years - has a similar call. Real cuckoos call their name but collared doves can call cuckoo-cuk. It has been observed that the huge parasitic chick is able to make dunnock calls when spurring its unfortunate foster parent to even greater efforts in feeding.

In 1992 the small mammal populations were low so birds of prey had a struggle. This year voles have made an excellent comeback so kestrels in turn should have bred well. Poison abuse of raptors is still widespread in lowlands where pheasants are reared and highland areas of grouse moors. The worst areas in England are the south west, especially Devon, Cumbria, Wales - especially Dyfed - and the Midlands especially Shropshire and Hereford. Half the incidents recorded are in March-May, the breeding season for game birds, birds of prey and lambs.

The Corn Bunting Survey by the B.T.O. continues into its second year. The bird's decline has accelerated in the 1980s throughout the country with local extinctions - this is also happening in northern Europe. The corn bunting, although resident, lays later than any other songbird with the first eggs at the end of May. The males, however, took up territories in March and continue to defend them until August or September thus making it one of the longest song seasons of any British bird. The nest is often in a standing crop of cereal, a hedge or dense bushes. They are attracted to spring-sown cereals, especially barley. These have been increasingly replaced by winter wheat which may not provide suitable nest sites and earlier harvesting cause losses to the young. More importantly, winter-sown cereal crops mean that no stubbles remain to sustain the birds in winter. However, these factors alone may not be the main cause of its decline hence the need for a survey. A male corn bunting was seen near Bromsash on 9 May with two males singing there on 3 February and a further two males singing on 7 March at Sellack. A further bird was seen in the Criftin Ford area on 6 March. With this year's wet weather ploughing and re-seeding has not always been possible so many stubble fields remain; these should give improved winter feeding to many birds. A large flock of bramblings has been noted in the linseed stubble fields to the north of the county.

The decline of the corn bunting is mirrored in other farm bird populations. The linnet, turtle dove, tree sparrow and grey partridge as well as others were once so common and now rarely seen. Another survey by the B.T.O. is being conducted to try to find out why. They are using ornithologists to do a bird count on organic and conventional farms, combined with sampling by staff of the arable Crops Research Institute on the soil invertebrates and weed seeds on these farms and so examine the variation in food resources available to birds on both. One of each type of farm is being used for the Herefordshire survey in the Bredenbury - Grendon Manor area.

The Nature Trust Nest Box Scheme for 1992 showed that of the 739 boxes recorded 431 were used (58%). There was a further decrease in the number of pied flycatchers using boxes in that year but their clutch size increased slightly so 148 nest boxes gave 677 fledged young. The same applied to blue tits with 167 boxes giving 1276 fledged young. In general the results compare favourably with those of the R.S.P.B. at Nagshead. Five sites were predated by weasels.

In the sites where the nest boxes are looked after by us in 1993, again no pied fly-catchers used the boxes and only one nuthatch. Great tit numbers remained the same with blue tits showing a slight drop at Welsh Newton. At Woodside reserve the great tits showed a fall of 32% on last year's figures while the blue tits showed a rise of about 32%. Such variable results would indicate that neither weather nor food availability seem to be major factors. Provision of nesting boxes has contributed to one population change, the pied flycatcher, a bird of Wales, has spread east into Hereford and now into Worcestershire.

In common with many southern counties in England and Wales, Herefordshire had a couple of little egrets which spent some time during August and September by the Wye in the Fownhope area. They, like several other recorded birds, seem to be extending their ranges further N. and B.T.O. records show that seventeen of forty bird species show a consistent trend in laying their eggs earlier in the year. Could there be a link with global warming?

Hobby and peregrine falcon have both bred in the county this year, also several pairs of goshawks in N. W. Herefordshire. One quail was reported, heard calling in the Marden area, and single oystercatchers were seen in Clifford and Wellington. Lesser black-backed gulls nested on a factory roof in Holmer where they nested last year. These are the first breeding records for Herefordshire although they are seen regularly throughout the year in small numbers along the Wye. Long-tailed tits and goldcrests have been seen in good numbers following a series of mild winters.

It has been a very wet year, so much so that the puffins in N.W. Scotland had their burrows washed out, and the year ended with snow in November - the first recorded in Herefordshire since 1969 - plus a night temperature of -4°C on the 21st which was the lowest for the county since records were kept in 1941.

The pied wagtails are back in their High Town roost for the third winter. The present count is about 300-400, they rose to 600 during February. Following discussions after the last Recorders' Meeting, I did check with the B.T.O. as to the frequency of such roosts. In nature they would roost in reeds in winter but large regular roosts are also reported in Dublin, the cooling towers of power stations (even in the generating rooms as at Rye House, Herts.), heated greenhouses and enclosed courtyards of tall modern buildings. Reading sewage farm has a very large roost on the equipment over the sewage tanks, warmed up by the decomposing sewage and one of the most amazing is in a foundry roof in Birmingham, where it must become very hot. On the continent white wagtails will also seek such artificial sheltered roosts. It is believed also that such large roosts can act as information centres with some latecomers following the early roosters out next morning to what would seem more favourable feeding grounds.

## City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1993

## By JOE HILLABY

The economic recession has been reflected in the number of applications for planning permission within the City Conservation Areas.

28/29 Castle Street. HC930229/30/PF/E, 6 July.

Application i) to open up the late 14th-century doorway between numbers 28 (Cathedral Prep. School) and 29 (Cathedral School staff house, the original hall of the Vicars Choral) and ii) to form new opening in the wall for access to the lower garden of number 29.

As to the first part of the application, it was noted from the attached drawings that the ashlar reveals to the proposed new doorway would completely replace the existing late-medieval stonework. It was suggested that there are ways of introducing a doorway into this opening without losing this important historical feature. It was also thought that the linked proposal to remove a corner of the base of the late-medieval chimney-stack was not acceptable.

The committee was unanimous in agreeing that 29 Castle Street, together with its gardens, forms a quiet oasis in the middle of an educational empire, as the building was used almost exclusively for administrative purposes, with the gardens laid out for the quiet enjoyment of members of the senior school and staff. The rose garden to which access was now sought for the use of the prep. school, with its surrounding shrubbery and herbaceous borders, was a delight on the day of the site visit. All members believed this part of Hereford to be very fragile and that it requires particularly sensitive treatment. They were concerned that access for prep. school pupils would have a detrimental effect on the tranquillity and beauty of the garden. It was recommended that these two elements of the application be rejected.

The City has produced two important planning documents during the year:

### 1. Draft Minerals Local Plan

This recommends that:

- i. the County Council be requested to accept the Inspector's recommendations to delete the Lugg Valley Preferred Area from the Local Plan.
- ii. the City Council confirms its objection to the planning application for minerals extraction in the Lugg Valley Preferred Area and an extension to the approved area at Lugg Bridge.
- iii. that a further report be presented when the County Council's intentions are clarified.

## 2. Shop Fronts and Advertisements Guide

This was in accordance with advice given in the English Historic Towns Forum's Shopfronts and Advertisements in Historic Towns and Book of Details & Good Practice in Shopfront Design which aim to promote and reconcile prosperity and conservation in historic towns. It brings up to date and amplifies the City Council's previous Design Guidelines for Shopfronts and Advertisements (October 1982) which was itself developed from the City's Guide to Developers: Visual Aspects of the City Centre Conservation Area (September 1973).

The new guide provides detailed advice for developers on: the need for consent; design principals; design details; new shopfronts and alterations to existing shopfronts; advertising; security measures. The policies are illustrated by numerous colour photographs of good and bad practice within the city. One hopes that the three other district councils will be encouraged to produce in the near future similar guidance for their own market town and village conservation areas.

Amendments to the fifth list of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest within the City.

Recent additions, all Grade II, include: Royal National College for Visually Disabled (683-/3/10015); 41 & 43 St. Owen Street (683-1/7/276); 10 Widemarsh Street (683-/6/10010); Gwynne House (683-/2/10011); Barn to south of Gwynne House (683-/2/10012); 2 St. Martins Street (683-/10005); Venns Arch and attached railings and piers, Commercial Road (683-/8/10017); St. Peters Church (683-/3/112) status raised to Grade II\*.

# Archaeological Research Section, 1993

By P. R. HALLIWELL

embership now stands at 118 and we have had an increase in membership recently. The increased interest in the activities of the Section is partly the result of including our programme in the general Woolhope distribution of information about events. We welcome new members and it should be made clear that you do not have to be a dedicated archaeologist to join our section.

Numbers 59 and 60 of the *Herefordshire Archaeological News* were published giving full reports of field meetings, work done by individual members and other articles of local archaeological interest. Eight monthly field meetings were held and one evening lecture in January was given by Paul Remfrey on the Use of the Camcorder in Field Archaeology. Beryl and John Harding again kindly hosted a very enjoyable garden party in July and the A.G.M. and annual dinner were held in Hereford in December.

#### FIELD-NAME SURVEY

Now that the publication of all the parishes has been completed, work has begun on the study of the archaeological information revealed by the names. The County Archaeological Service reports that from only ninety of the parishes so far checked, nearly 1,000 new sites have been added to the Sites and Monuments Record.

FIELD MEETINGS (Fully reported in the Section's newsletters.)

February. Dilwyn, Stretford, The Hyde, Ivington Camp.

Dilwyn Castle and the sites of possible castles at Stretford (SO 444555) and at two sites at Hyde (SO 453352 and 456553) were examined. Another site at Dilwyn (SO 416538), located from cropmarks photographed from the air by Chris Musson is also reported in *H.A.N.* 60.

Ivington Camp, Dilwyn and Stretford Churches were also visited.

March. Middleton on the Hill, Leysters, Ashton.

In Middleton on the Hill, near The Rock, a former chapel site (SO 543637 approx.) is shown on the Section's 1930 6 in. O.S. map near the junction of five footpaths. Nothing is now visible on the ground and the site is about 335 m. from any road. In a ploughed field across the brook to the S.W. some dark patches appeared to be occupation sites. (SO 542636). The pottery recovered was later examined by Steve Clarke of Monmouth who identified sherds dating from the 13th to 17th century. Some later pieces and one flint were also found but these were not particularly associated with the dark areas. The occupation sites were clustered in the part of the field nearest to the supposed chapel site and suggest that there was formerly a settlement here.

Possible castle sites were investigated in each of these parishes and Middleton and Leysters churches were visited.

April. Abbey Cwmhir, Llanbister, Llananno, - Powys.

Under the expert guidance of the Rev. Dr. D. H. Williams we examined the abbey ruins in their beautiful setting and the parish church. We also visited the church at Llanbister with its E. tower and the levelled platform immediately N. of the church which may equate with a princely llys or ecclesiastical building of some sort. In the 12th century, Giraldus Cambrensis noted that Prince Cadwallon's son had been educated at Llanbister. At Llananno we saw the magnificent rood screen and the more energetic members climbed up to the spectacularly sited Castell Tinboeth.

## May. Weston-under-Penyard and Linton.

Penyard Castle is well known but there are reasons for doubting whether its purpose was military or whether it was built as a hunting lodge for use with the Park. The indefensible nature of the site which is overlooked by higher ground, and the lack of any apparent defences are one indication. The very fine quality ashlar stonework and the finely chamfered plinth, together with the decorated bases and capitals of half- and quarter-round pillars noted previously in the now obscured undercroft, suggests luxury rather than military activity; a place from where a wealthy late-13th or early-14th-century nobleman could enjoy the pleasures of the chase and entertain his friends in comfort and style.

Bollitree 'Castle,' a very fine 'Gothick' folly built around 1795, was visited to see if stone from the then recently cleared Roman site of *Ariconium* had been used. There is a sharp contrast between the contemporary ashlar sandstone blocks used to build the 'towers' and the rougher stone used for the 'curtain walls' which is similar to that used for the barns and the field walls. It seems very probable that the 'vast quantities of stone,' which the builder of the castle said he had recently removed from *Ariconium*, had been used and may have been the inspiration for its creation.

Eccleswall Castle site and a tower, perhaps all that remains of the medieval chapel, were also examined.

June. Leintwardine, Clungunford, Clun, Bicton and Stokesay Castles.

Our out-of-county day in Shropshire included an interesting explanation of the construction of coracles by Peter Faulkner who also demonstrated their handling on the river Teme. A search was made for the site of the medieval bridge at Leintwardine and all the above castles were visited.

Following our visit, the attention of English Heritage was drawn to the misleading information on their display boards at Clun Castle and these are to be improved.

July. Much Marcle.

At Gamage Farm we were met by Professor Tim Darvill of Bournemouth University who is conducting a training excavation with his students on a Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape. This followed the finding, over a number of years, of over 5,000 carefully

recorded and plotted flints by Messrs. John and Mark Chapman of Gamage Farm. The discovery of a ritual deposit of five bronze axes gives the site additional importance. We were shown all the various archaeological techniques being employed in this ongoing study. Tim Darvill examined a collection of flints (reported below) which was extremely instructive and gave us valuable insights into Neolithic trade routes.

We also visited Kempley old church, Much Marcle Church and Mortimer's Castle.

## September. Kentchurch and Rowlstone

In Kentchurch parish we visited Llanithog and Bannut Tree farmhouses. Neither have been recorded previously and both contain very interesting features. A search was made at Crabs Castle but no evidence of a castle site was found.

At the Wigga Farm, Rowlstone (SO 365282) Mr. George Watkins showed us a fine collection of worked Neolithic and Bronze Age flints, including barbed and tanged arrowheads, and showed us the sites on his farm where he had picked them up over the years.

### October. Bosbury and Wall Hills, Ledbury.

At Bosbury we were able to see the beams of the fine ceiling of the former Bishop's palace at Old Court. The recent survey by the R.C.H.M. has dated these to about 1475 and suggests that there had been a courtyard to the S. of the house with buildings on three sides. We were also able to visit the New Court with its magnificent 16th-century panelling.

At the former Templar Preceptory of Temple Court we examined the motte and earthworks before going to The Farm, where we looked at Camp Field. Here it was thought that aerial photography under the right conditions might well show something to account for its name. Finally we visited Wall Hills hillfort near Ledbury. Wall Hills has an inner camp and a much larger outer area inside its enclosure. A distinct change in levels within the inner camp suggested an interesting and more complex succession of development during the life of the hillfort.

### November. Fifth Annual Shindig.

This year it was our turn to host the annual gathering of the Monmouth Archaeological Society, the Dean Archaeology Group, the Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group and the Woolhope A.R.S. This is a valuable and enjoyable get-together where we learn about each other's activities, share information and exchange views.

PREVIOUSLY UNRECORDED SITES AND FINDS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE SECTION.

Grafton. SO 496368 by R. Stirling-Brown.

An air photograph held by the county S.M.R. showed what appeared to be a motte and bailey. The surviving evidence seems to confirm this. An eroded mound has the very shallow remains of a ditch on three quarters of its circuit. The N.W. quarter of the circuit

has a slight wet hollow with darker soil and is obviously the remains of a silted pool forming a wide, wet defence on the weaker, uphill side. The mound summit still stands between 4 to 6 ft. above the present ground level. On the edge of the mound and in the former ditch area, there is buried stone and stone shows through the turf. There is much stone scatter, some with mortar attached, around the site after ploughing even though a large amount has been cleared off the field over the years. Two pieces of stone lying under a hedge showed evidence of diagonal tooling marks. Although any bailey earthworks have been ploughed out, some faint depressions are still discernible on the former ditch positions with long, lush-green grass, and shorter pale grass over the possible former rampart positions or wall foundations. There appears to be a double ditch on the S.W. side of the bailey which may have continued round to the E. side. Two sherds of late-12th to early-13th-century pottery were recently found on the site.

Blackbush Roman Fort, Abbeydore. SO 382327. Field walking was done here by members of the Section following the finding in the County S.M.R. at Worcester of an air photograph taken by Chris Musson. This showed cropmarks suggesting the possibility of a Roman fort. The datable pottery which was recovered from the surface of part of the field by members has confirmed the existence of a Roman fort. The pottery was examined by Dr. Peter Webster (University of Wales) and David Zienkiewicz of the Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon. It includes:

Samian. Drag. 29, South Gaul. Pre 85 A.D.
Drag. 37, South Gaul. 70 - 90. (2 pieces).
Severn Valley Ware. Probably pre-Flavian. pre-69.
Black Burnished ware, from a jar. Probably 2nd century.
A mortarium rim of the 1st - 2nd century.

In this area, pottery dated pre-90 A.D. nearly always indicates a military site. Quantities of iron slag were also present in or near the fort area of the field.

Chase Wood Hillfort. SO 602224. An Iron Age bead was found near the N. end of the enclosed area by E. Taylor and identified by Dr. S. C. Stanford as follows:

An Iron Age glass bead of Guido's Class 7(a) (whirl type). Earliest British dating - Walesland Rath 210-90 BC. Also found at Danebury, Meare and Glastonbury. Probably distributed from Meare Lake Village and importance probably waned with the Roman invasion. Roman period finds are probably survivals. [Guido, M., Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods (1978), p.57 & pl.1].

St. Weonards. SO 508236. A small concentration of Neolithic worked flints and flakes was reported and seen and the site at Trelesdee on the 250 ft. contour was visited.

Romano-British Iron-Making Sites. Bloomery iron slag in conjunction with Romano-British pottery has been confirmed at two unrecorded sites: In Hentland at SO 52962438 and in Upton Bishop at SO 64192642, the latter reported by our member John Edwards of How Caple.

A field significantly named Cinder Grove in Peterstow at SO 562242. This is a known site which was visited by several members guided by Bryan Walters on the Local History Day. Romano-British pottery and quantities of slag were seen. An 8lb. bloom of hammered iron was found here earlier in the year by Mark Walters of the Dean Archaeology Group. A rare and important find.

REPORT ON FLINTS FROM ORCOP AND GARWAY ETC. by Sue Rice.

All the flints were examined by Professor Tim Darvill and his identifications and comments were noted at the time.

The Black Pool, Garway Hill. SO.438251. Contour 345 m.

Fed by underground spring or a natural dewpond, this pool is now one of the few remaining sources of water on Garway Hill Common. Many springs and small ponds have disappeared over the past few years and the increasing usage of this pool by sheep and ponies is causing noticeable erosion of the banks on all sides. This is especially so on the S.E. corner. The flint cores were found on the northern edge, very close together; the flakes and blades singly, along the northern and western edges. All finds were made in 1992 when the water line had receded during the summer months.

4 pieces of core material
Lutilised flake

6 working blades 6 very small flakes

Sun Field, Garway Hill. SO 445250. Contour 280-300 m.

This N.E. facing field was ploughed during 1992/93 and walked by me frequently over this period. Looking towards Garway Hill from the Orcop Valley the south-western hedgerow forms part of the ridge of the hill from where there is a superb view over the surrounding countryside. All the flints were found along this hedgerow and in a 15-yard wide strip alongside the lengthy southern hedgerow even though equal attention was paid to all areas of the field. There was a small area on the S.W. headland where a number were found in close proximity, in soil of only about 6 ins. depth (15 cm.). A complete, small leaf-shaped arrowhead was found midway along the southern headland.

1 small leaf-shaped arrowhead. Bi-facial working. - Early to mid-Neolithic.
6 edge trimmed flakes used for knives or woodworking - Late-Neolithic.
13 small unused flakes and chips. - Early-Neolithic or late-Mesolithic.
8 pieces of blade material, some burnt.
1 core.
1 core.
1 small piece of pebble flint.
17 primary and secondary pieces.

Plum Pudding (field), Garway. SO 448249. Contour 265-275 m.

Walked 1992. This name may allude to the texture of the soil which on the lower two thirds of the field is a heavy clay and very sticky to walk on. Water frequently stands in a large pool on the N.E. side. This westerly facing field gradually slopes up to its eastern edge which is a former quarry. Many of the finds were in this top third, including the hammer stone and burnt flakes. The Mesolithic point was midway along the E. edge. No finds at all from the N.W. quarter where the clay is heavier.

Coles Tump, Orcopl Much Dewchurch, SO 464283, Contour 265-290 m.

I hammer stone. Originally a worked out core.

I probable rejuvenation flake - complicated - probably Mesolithic.

1 Mesolithic blade core - burnt - very heavily worked out.

6 primary flakes and core trimming flakes - two burnt.

17 waste flakes - three burnt.

I Mesolithic small point.

l lightly built flake.

4 utilised blades.

7 flakes and blades.

1 secondary flake.

### Fair House, Garway Hill. SO 451256. Contour 155-160 m.

Walked spring and autumn of 1992 and spring 1993. A small field at the E. foot of Garway Hill. Very slightly sloping down to its narrower E. side, this field catches the full day's sun. The S. edge runs alongside a tributary of the Garren Brook and the scattering of very small flakes was found midway along this side. In a field on the opposite side, two Bronze Age socketed axes have been found and further downstream a Late Neolithic polished flint axe has been found within the last few years. In another tributary of the Garren a Late Neolithic axe was found in 1963 and is now in Hereford Museum. Most of the finds at Fair House came from the S.W. quarter, a few midway along the N. side including the probable knife, but none from the E. side.

1 scraper - Late-Neolithic - Early Bronze Age.

12 pieces - Mesolithic character.

1 probable knife.

9 flakes.

51 tiny flakes too small to identify.

5 core trimmings.

## Cockshoot, Orcop. SO 458277. Contour 230-250 m.

A W. facing field sloping upwards on its E. side to what now remains of Cockshoot Wood. Walked in spring 1993 but ground condition was poor with a heavy sticky clay which did not weather down. A small scattering of working waste flakes was found midway along the S. side, the knife and scraper in the N.W. quarter; the remaining finds fairly evenly distributed right along the slope below the wood.

1 scraper, possible knife - Early B.A. or Late-Neolithic.

1 knife. Ripple flaking done by pressure rather than hammering. - Late-Neolithic or Beaker.

18 working waste flakes - mixed dates.

### Court-A-Grove, Kentchurch, SO 433263, Contour 175-190 m.

This is a small sloping area in a field on the N.W. side of Garway Hill. In places there is very little depth of soil which is of poor quality with much small stone and in a few places just rock. It is an extremely warm spot being sheltered by the hill from the colder E. and N. winds. The butt of a Neolithic axe was found on the edge of plough in the N.W. corner also a geometric microlith within the same square yard. Apart from a few single finds on the southerly slope, the remaining flints all came from a very small area along the E. side where the ground levels out.

1 butt of a Neolithic polished stone axe.

1 broken microlith - edge blunting.

1 complete geometric form microlith.

4 Mesolithic type pieces.

(? Lake District Group). 1 Mesolithic scraper.

2 scrapers.

14 waste pieces - one burnt.

I was very fortunate in being able to walk this ground in 1992 as it has only ever been ploughed on a few occasions. It commands panoramic views over the surrounding countryside on all sides and is a well known landmark with its Scotch firs. This field runs from W. to a slightly higher E., with a flat ridge, the ground then falling away on either side - rather more steeply on the N. The soil is poor with much small stone and very little depth especially along the top. As you descend on either side there is a noticeable improvement. There no longer appears to be any visible evidence of pillow mounds or barrows. Where I did find clusters of stone it did not correspond to the mound positions shown on aerial photographs. At the W. end on the N. side, just below the ridge, there is a fairly large saucer-shaped depression where many flints were found, both in and around it. The majority of finds came from along and just below the ridge on either side, getting fewer towards the lower ground. The microliths were all found just below the summit on

the E. side at a height of 280 m. The Neolithic leaf-shaped arrowhead was on the edge of

plough midway along the N. side. A large flake, 110 cm. long, weighing 4 ozs, was found

slightly higher up. both close to an old disused spring which rose here. At the W. peak,

right on the top of the ridge was a small group of elongated pebbles which seemed out of

place amidst the surrounding sandstone. It has been suggested they may have been left by

I large flake from a nodule of about 12 lbs, weight.
I leaf-shaped arrowhead - Early or Mid-Neolithic.
3 pieces of axe type material. One probably chert.
11 scrapers. One with point - Mid to Late-Neolithic.
I scraper - possibly Late-Mesolithic to Early-Neolithic.
2 pieces of axe material, one re-used after breaking.
41 flakes and blades. Some burnt.
2 waste blades -? Mesolithic.
9 primary flakes off a nodule.
9 flakes and blades.

glacial deposit but I found nothing similar elsewhere in the field.

2 edge worked blades - Neolithic. 11 waste flakes, two burnt. 1 re-touched flake. Knife or scraper. 3 microliths - one very fine.

1 Mesolithic blade.

1 fragment of serrated blade - Neolithic. 2 pieces of possible axe material. 1 Mesolithic blade
1 burnt blade core.
1 blade core.
10 waste blades.
1 scraper.
1 utilised blade
1 notched blade.
5 knives.
1 utilised flake.
1 point.
1 gun flint.

## Bettws Court, Orcop/Much Dewchurch. SO 467283. Contour 260-293 m.

This is the field adjoining Coles Tump and is really a continuation of the ridge. It has been ploughed on several occasions but there is still an area of very stony poor quality ground along the top which is where many of the flints were found. As with Coles Tump, because of its location it has the benefit of the sun all day and despite its height it is a surprisingly warm place, especially on its S. side. The tanged and barbed arrowhead was on the brow at the W. end; the blade with point on stony ground on the brow 50 yards further E. In the N.W. section two waste flakes of differing colour were found together with other single finds close by.

380

#### P. R. HALLIWELL

I complete tanged and barbed arrowhead.

l end of large concave knife.

1 blade with point -? Mesolithic.

7 primary working waste pieces - one burnt.

1 flake off a polished flint axe.

1 knife - Late Neolithic.

76 waste flakes and blades, 7 burnt.

2 blades.

1 spent Mesolithic core.

1 core, rejuvenated.

3 waste cores.

6 discarded core remnants.

1 end of a strike-a-light or rod.

The Asp, Orcop/Much Dewchurch. SO 465285. Contour 230 m.

This small N.W. facing field which till recent times had been orchard has very rarely been ploughed. A few single finds have been made including a small scraper, but of more interest was a scattering of approximately 600 tiny chips all under 1 cm. in size which were concentrated within an area 13 yards square. There is a spring which rises about 40 yards away. These were not seen by Tim Darvill but are thought by Steve Clarke of the Monmouth Archaeological Society to be possibly Mesolithic.

# Natural History Section, 1993

## By BERYL HARDING

- 3 March. An indoor session was held at the Willow Gallery, Weobley, to look at the various types of mosses and to examine them under a hand lens or microscope. One or two main club members came to join us for this, and others for the A.G.M., and were most welcome.
- 23 March. This was our Annual General Meeting, also held at Weobley. Following the business of the meeting and before refreshments, Dr. Wince gave a talk with slides to show how the fauna has changed during the last twenty-five years in the Bush Bank-Leominster area.
- 22 April. A visit was made to Leen Farm near Pembridge to see how farming and conservation can be practised side by side. We were kindly shown round by the owner Mr. Tony Norman.

It is a farm of 400 acres noted for the production of pedigree Herefords since 1870; there is still a nucleus herd of ten horned cattle but the mainstay of the farm is the 150 Friesians. 10% is not farmed but set aside as nature reserves with linking green corridors.

The soils are light and over gravels therefore irrigation is essential so water is pumped via the old mill-leat from new stream-fed ponds when necessary and the old water-wheel is now ornamental. Two large pools, 1-1½ m. deep, were dug out twelve years ago with displaced soil used to further embank the Arrow nearby. They are primarily trout fishing ponds but many toads return to spawn each year in a steady stream.

Predation by mink has meant that Mr. Norman frequently has to both hatch and hand rear the mallard ducklings. Having reached a peak some five years ago the mink population, with the aid of trapping, has now stabilised at lower levels so that moorhen, water rail and water voles have reappeared. Swans visit the pond but were being killed by the overhead wires until M.E.B. were persuaded to 'pigtail' the cables, since when visible fatalities have ceased. Around the ponds new trees have been planted and old ones coppiced, leaving the debris on the banks to give cover for birds and otters. Otters have been seen and an artificial holt has been made.

Where new woodlands have been planted bluebells are re-establishing themselves and after stubble fields have been allowed to revert to natural grassland the common spotted orchids are re-appearing. The farm has the pre-Offa Rowe Ditch running N.-S. across the land and part of the old railway embankment of the Leominster-Kington line. Both of these act as corridors and provide cover as the flanking hedges are laid and the trees pollarded to thicken them.

Up to eight hares have been seen each year. Kestrel, sparrow hark, buzzard and peregrine falcon visit frequently although the latter has tended to wipe out the collared doves.

26. May. A Visit to Stocking Meadow was made. This is a Hereford Nature Trust Reserve of ten acres near Bromyard consisting of a meadow sloping steeply down to Hackley Brook, a headwater of the river Frome. Underlain by Old Red Sandstone the reserve lies in typically rolling Herefordshire countryside.

As the name 'stockings' denotes, the meadow was once woodland and cleared for agriculture leaving many 'stocks' or tree stumps. It has been farmed as a traditional hay meadow for many years so the rich flora once typical of the area has been maintained. There are three main habitats - the grassland, the hedges and the brook. On the upper, flatter land where the soil is deeper knapweed, sorrel, meadow vetchling and dandelion grow. On the west-facing slopes the soil is shallower and cowslips grow abundantly, also quaking grass and common spotted orchid. In the lower marshy areas of the sunken way ragged robin, marsh marigold, angelica and meadow sweet are found.

The rich flora attracts many insects and the fast-flowing brook contains river limpet and many invertebrates only found in relatively unpolluted water. This variety of habitats with their rich insect life attracts in turn many species of bird.

After a preliminary walk around the reserve we took a 150 m. transect down the brow and upper slopes of the meadow with identification of plants every 15 m. within a 1 m. square quadrat. These results will give a data base for future comparisons. Obviously further sampling in other parts of the reserve would also be of value.

Thirty plant species were identified within the quadrats. Others seen in the vicinity but not on the transect line were milkwort, ladies bedstraw, speedwell species and ladies mantle, also two green winged orchids. Yellow rattle is increasing with large patches around the upper field edges and on the lower slopes of the meadow a patch of early purple orchids, which was approximately ten metres across two years ago, is spreading quite fast.

10 July. A visit to Kenfig Dunes. Kenfig Dunes and Pool is a S.S.S.I. and a National Nature Reserve, known locally as Kenfig Common, and situated two miles S. of Margam steelworks at Port Talbot. Most of the reserve is the southern end of the Margam-Kenfig dune system formed by 1,100 acres of mobile and fixed calcareous sand dune with lowlying hollows or 'slacks' between high sand ridges rising to 50 ft.

In 1972 ownership of the reserve was settled in favour of the Kenfig Corporation Property Trustees - the successors of the aldermen and burgesses of the mediaeval Kenfig borough which was gradually overwhelmed by drifting sand and finally abandoned in the 17th century. The County Council lease the area from the Trustees with all interests trying to work together to manage the dunes.

Mobile dunes occur behind the shore and are stabilised by the extensive root systems of the marram grass. Once established other plants can then take root and gradually cover the whole surface with mat-forming clumps e.g. rest harrow, capable of surviving periodic coverings of sand. As more plant species settle so the dunes become fixed and the hollows between often have the sand scoured out until the water table is reached so that further erosion is resisted. Such damp hollows have a varied flora with creeping willow, mosses,

marsh marigold, various orchid species and the round-leaved wintergreen - a plant that is becoming rare in Britain as a whole through picking and over-trampling. These slacks have a rich insect life with most species of British damsel and dragon-flies and a notable population of toads, newts, frogs and lizards.

The flora is very rich overall with over 500 species of flowering plants. A number are locally and nationally rare and Kenfig is the most important site for Fen Orchids. Areas in the hollows are mown by the management team to give spongy ground in wet weather suitable for orchids and allows their abundant growth, especially as the mowing reduces other plant competition. But such hollows need careful selection to avoid cutting clumps of sedge and horsetail which support many species of insects needing to be conserved. Kenfig is the only reserve that allows collecting for identification of some insects and leeches. Seventy-acre Kenfig Pool, which is rainfed, has two-thirds of the British species of leeches. Carboniferous limestone underlies the sand base and one spring through the limestone produces the alkaline water that gives fen conditions.

The reserve has many waders along the seashore. In winter the pool attracts large numbers of wild Whooper and Bewick swans, teal, pochard, tufted duck and grebe. Kestrel and short-eared owl hunt over the dunes. There are abundant prey rodents to be seen as well as stoats, weasels, foxes and badgers.

A stable dune system is difficult to maintain. Trampling leads to loss of ground cover and exposure of the sand allowing wind scouring and even the creation of a 'blowout.' Off-shore dredging, plus extraction of sand from the beach, to build Margam breakwaters have resulted in lack of fresh sand being thrown up and has severely threatened the stability of the dune system. Myxomatosis was introduced and severely depleted the rabbit population so loss of their close cropping has since led to an increased growth of taller plants and scrub, causing over-stabilisation of the dunes which in turn could lead to a complete change of the eco-system. Tractor tracks of the management team help to break up this vegetation and give open, sandy patches. Buckthorn is spreading but with grant aid the team hope to dig it out. One birch wood has grown but this has to be left for the shooting of wildfowl by the Trustees - their ancient right.

18 August. A visit to Lyepole Bridge to investigate the stream fauna of the Lugg. Our thanks to Miss May Evershed who has owned the left bank land for many years and allowed us entry.

Kingfishers are again to be seen flying to and fro, also grey wagtails and dippers. Otters have returned to this stretch of the river but, less happily, mink are around. Brown trout are to be found and crayfish. Both require water that is well oxygenated and crayfish need water of a high calcium content, which is to be found in this section of the Lugg as it flows over Aymestrey Limestone. An 'imported' disease affecting crayfish has depleted the numbers in England, particularly in the S.E. The number now seems less in the Lyepole area as well.

Surface sweeps and kick sweeps at the river bottom were made in both the deeper, clear pools and in the shallower turbulant water of the shoals at two sites:-

- (a) Some twenty m. downstream from the bridge where tall trees shade the water for most of the day, and
- (b) Several hundred m. further downstream with fewer trees and an open aspect, especially on the left bank where river deposition is occurring.

All specimens were released after identification. On the whole the results were comparatively standard but several young bullhead fish were caught ranging from 3-8 cms. in length. These are only found in fast-flowing stony streams. As well as sweeps, stone turning was carried out which revealed many of the tubes and cases of invertebrate larvae, snail eggs, leech cocoons, mayfly eggs and both caddis pupae and larvae in their cases. A caseless caddisfly (*Rhyacophila* sp.) was found (only four types occur in Britain) preferring to live free with no shelter. They can swim strongly with lateral undulating movements or attach themselves to stones by strong hooks at the rear.

When the results of the 1993 visit were compared with that made by two members of the Section in 1984, it can be seen that this is an active part of the Lugg with changing bank patterns. There were many more stonefly nymphs then and fewer fresh water shrimp. Stonefly are found only in highly oxygenated water. The changing numbers of these two indicator species could imply that this section of the Lugg is becoming slightly polluted - perhaps because some of the adjacent fields are being used to grow cereals, with the accompanying spraying etc., rather than remaining as water meadows.

9 September. A geological field trip led by Peter Thomson to the Stiperstones area of S. Shropshire.

The visit was arranged in order to examine some of the features of the geology and landscape of the Shelve area of south Shropshire. This area consists of an inlier of Ordovician rocks which lie unconformably on older rocks west of the Longmynd and are themselves overlain unconformably by rocks of Silurian age.

Most of the time was spent on the Stiperstones ridge but stops were made at Hillend in the Plowden Gorge at the southern end of the Longmynd, and at a roadside exposure of Longmyndian rocks beside the minor road from Plowden to Asterton. At Hillend we examined the bedded limestones of Silurian age which were rich in fossils of the brachiopod *Pentamerus oblongus*. These beds originated as shallow water deposits in the Silurian sea which, at that time, lapped around a Longmyndian island. Beside the Asterton road the exposures were of very steeply dipping beds of siltstone of Western Longmyndian age. At Stiperstones we were met by David Pannett who led us in that area.

The Stiperstones ridge is formed of steeply dipping Stiperstones Quartzite which is the oldest of the Ordovician rocks in the area. The rock is a very hard quartzite and is strongly resistant to erosion therefore standing out as a prominent landscape feature rising to well over 500 m. (1,700 ft.) The crest of the ridge is marked by a series of tors of which one, Cranberry Rocks, was visited. The tors are not present on the lower smooth slope of the quartzite ridge as it descends to the Shropshire plain, and it was suggested that during the last Ice Age the lower slopes were swept clear by moving ice whilst the summit area

remained as a nunatak above the ice and thus retained its tors. On the slopes leading down from the ridge stone stripes were examined. These bear testimony to the periglacial conditions in which they were formed.

The Quartzite produces a very acid soil supporting a plant community which includes heather, bilberry and some cowberry, *Vaccinium vitis-ideae*. This last species probably gave its name, wrongly, to the Cranberry Rocks as no cranberry has been known from the area.

At the Bog the geological map shows a small outlier of Lower Silurian age. No outcrop of this was seen but an old building at the site displayed an array of Silurian fossil species of brachiopods, corals and a few fragments of trilobites in its walls. The stone was almost certainly of very local origin.

Snailbeach lies at the north-western end of the Stiperstones ridge and was formerly an important lead-mining settlement. The mineral veins are largely in the Mytton Flags which overlie the quartzite and, because they dip steeply, outcrop to the west of the Stiperstones. In addition to lead ore (galena) the veins also contain zinc ore (blende) and the gangue minerals barytes (barium sulphate), calcite (calcium carbonate) and quartz (crystalline silica). The barytes was present in great quantities and, after it was no longer economical to extract the galena, the spoil heaps and mines were used for its production.

(P. Thomson)

9 October. An Autumn Woodland Walk led by Stephanie and Peter Thomson in Haugh Wood.

This was a joint visit with the Nature Trust. The fungi were abundant, the long wet and cool period in September, with earlier than usual leaf fall, helped them to produce good-sized fruiting bodies.

After a preliminary talk about the structure of fungi and the variations in their fruiting bodies fifty-one specimens were identified and some collected. When the same area was visited last in 1984 forty-eight species were identified. Sixteen species were found on both occasions giving an overall total of eighty-three different species. See *Transactions* 1984.

Specimens found in 1993, those marked with \* also found in 1984:

Agaricus silvicola - Wood mushroom Amanita citrina - False Death cap \* A. muscaria - Fly Agaric \* Armillaria mellea - Honey Fungus \* Boletus badius - Bay Bolete B. chrysenteron - Red-cracked Bolete B. piperatus - Peppery Bolete Clavulinopsis helvola Clitopilus prunulus - The Miller Clitocybe clavipes \* C. flaccida \* C. nebularis - Clouded Agaric \* C. odora \*

C. cerussata

Collybia butyracea \*
C. dryophila
Coprinus comatus - Shaggy Inkcap \*
C. lagopus group
Crepidotus variabilis
Cortinarius sanquineus
Hebeloma sinapizans
H. crustulinoforme
H. mesophaeum
Hypholoma fasciculare - Sulphur tuft
Inocybe posterula
Laccaria laccata - The Deceiver
L. amethysta - The Amethyst Deceiver

C. ditopa

## **BERYL HARDING**

Lactarius cinnicarius

L. chrysorrheus

L. deterrimus

L. glyciosmus
L. quietus - Oak Milk Cap \*
L. subdulcis

L. torminalis

L. turpis - The Ugly Milk Cap Leccinum roseofractum Lepista nuda - Wood Blewit

Lycoperdon pyriforme (Puffballs) \*
L. perlatum \*
L. echinatum

Marasminus ramealis
M. perbinatus - Wood Woolly Foot
Melanoleuca melaleuca \*
Mycena epipterygia
M. galopus
M. galericulata \*
M. pura

Panellus stipticus
Paxillus involutus - Brown Roll Rim \*
Russula fragilis \*

Tricholoma saponaceum
Xylaria hypoxylon - Candle-snuff fungus

(Stephanie Thomson)

# Weather Statistics, 1993

Month	Max. temp. shade °C	Min. temp. shade °C	Nights air frost	Rainfall mm.	Max. rainfall in one day mm	Days with rainfall
January	13.5	-3.0	4*	70.0*	21.5	*
February	12.0	-2.0	6*	91.5*		*
March	17.5	-3.0	1	16.4	6.0	6
April	30.0	0	0	64.8	*	*
May	28.5	2.0	0	79.6	*	*
June	35.0	5.0	0	47.0	6.5	11
July	28.5	6.5	0	51.2	*	*
August	32.0	6.0	0	16.7	9.6	5
September	22.0	4.0	0	84.9	22.2	16
October	17.0	-3.0	1*	77.5	aje	*
November	13.5	-6.0	8	56.4	14.6	12
December	14.0	-4.0	4	93.5	10.1	8

* figure estimated or not available		
Highest temperature 29 June		35.0°C
Lowest temperature 21November		-6.0°C
Total rainfall for year		669.5 mm
(10 years mean rainfall)		$646.0\;mm$
Maximum annual rainfall in last 10 years	1986	738.5 mm
Minimum annual rainfall in last 10 years	1991	545.6 mm

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

#### 389

### RULES OF THE WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

#### (HEREFORDSHIRE)

- I. That the Society be known as the "WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB (HEREFORDSHIRE)" for the practical study in all branches of the natural history and archaeology of Herefordshire and the district immediately adjacent.
- II. That the Club shall consist of ordinary members (ladies and gentlemen) and such honorary members as may from time to time be admitted; from whom a president, four vice-presidents, honorary treasurer, honorary secretary, field secretary and editor shall be appointed at the annual winter meeting to be held in Hereford in the latter part of each year, and they shall hold office for one year beginning at the next annual spring meeting. The club may also accept for affiliation as approved such societies or groups as exist for the furtherance of similar purposes to those of the club. Each group shall be entitled to have one representative at all meetings of the club, to receive copies of the *Transactions* and generally be treated as one ordinary member.

The Club shall admit junior members between the ages of 14 and 18. Such junior members may become full members at the latter age, but those who are bona-fide full-time students may remain junior members until the age of 21. Nobody of the age of 18 or over may be elected a junior member.

- III. The management of the club shall be in the hands of a central committee consisting of the said nine officers ex-officio and twelve other members elected by ballot at the annual winter meeting. Each elected member of committee shall hold office for three years from the next annual spring meeting and four shall retire each year but be eligible for re-election. Every candidate for election to the central committee shall be individually proposed and seconded at the annual winter meeting and no proposal for election or re-election en bloc shall be accepted. In the event of ties the president or the chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote. Casual vacancies may be filled at any general meeting and any member then elected shall hold office until the date when the term of office of the member whom he or she succeeds would have expired. The central committee shall be empowered to appoint an assistant secretary; its duties shall include making all arrangements for the meetings of the year. Seven shall form a quorum.
- IV. The members of the club shall hold not less than three field meetings during the year, in the most interesting localities for investigating the natural history and archaeology of the district. That the days and places of two at least of such regular meetings be selected at the annual winter meeting, and that ten clear days' notice of every meeting be communicated to members by a circular from the assistant secretary; but that the central committee be empowered upon urgent occasions, to alter the days of such regular field meetings, and also to fix special or extra field meetings during the year. The president shall have the privilege of choosing the place of one field day during his year of office. The committee shall also arrange such indoor meetings and lectures during the winter as they find possible.

- V. That the annual subscription for members and affiliated societies be £10.00, payable on the 1 January in each year to the honorary treasurer or assistant secretary. The subscription for additional adult family members of the same household may at their option be reduced to £2.00 each, but those paying this reduced sum shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the club. The annual subscription for a junior member shall be £2.00. This shall not entitle such member to a copy of the *Transactions*, but he may receive these on payment of an additional sum to be decided by the committee for the time being. Each member may have the privilege of introducing a friend to any field meeting of the club, but the same visitor must not attend more than two such meetings in one year. Members availing themselves of this privilege will be required to pay a capitation fee of £1 a meeting in respect of each visitor.
- VI. That the president be requested to favour the club with an address at the annual spring meeting on the proceedings of the year, together with such observations as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the club, and the promotion of its objects.
- VII. Every candidate for membership of the club shall be proposed and seconded by members. The central committee shall elect or reject the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.
- VIII. That members finding rare or interesting specimens or observing any remarkable phenomenon relating to any branch of natural history, or making or becoming acquainted with any archaeological discovery in the district, shall immediately forward a statement thereof to the honorary secretary or to the appropriate sectional editor.
- IX. That the club undertake the formation and publication of correct lists of the various natural productions and antiquities of the county of Hereford with such observations as their respective authors may deem necessary.
- X. That any member whose annual subscription is twelve months in arrear shall not be entitled to any of the rights and privilege of membership, and that any member whose annual subscription is two years in arrear may be removed from the membership of the club by the central committee.
- XI. That the assistant secretary send out circulars ten days at least before the annual spring meeting to all members who have not paid their subscriptions and draw their particular attention to Rule X.
- XII. That no addition to or alteration of the rules of the club be made except at a general meeting, after notice has been given of the proposed addition or alteration at a previous meeting, and the general purport of such addition or alteration has been circulated to all members with the notice of the general meeting.
- XIII. That no grant of money from the funds of the club exceeding £5 may be voted for any purpose, unless notice of such proposed grant has been given at a previous meeting or has been approved by the central committee.
  - XIV. That these rules be published in each volume of the *Transactions*.

## LIST OF PRESIDENTS

	LIBT OF TREE	DETTE	
1851	Club formed in the winter months	1913	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1852	LINGWOOD, Mr. R. M.	1914	WATKINS, Rev. S. Cornish, M.A.
1853	LEWIS, Rev. T. T.	1915	WOOD, Mr. J. G., F.S.A.
1854	SYMONDS, Rev. Wm. S., B.A., F.G.S.	1916	JACK, Mr. G. H., M.INST.C.E.,
		1710	
1855	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.	1017	F.S.A., F.G.S.
1856	WHEATLEY, Mr. Hewitt	1917	GRINDLEY, Rev. H. E., M.A.
1857	LINGEN, Mr. Charles	1918	BANNISTER, Rev. Canon A. T.,
1858	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.		M.A.
1859	BEVAN, G. P., M.D.	1919	WATKINS, Mr. Alfred, F.R.P.S.
1860	BANKS, Mr. Ŕ. W.	1920	HUMFRYS, Mr. W. J.
1861	LIGHTBODY, Mr. Robert	1921	JAMES, Mr. Francis R.
1862	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1922	MARSHALL, Mr. George, F.S.A.
1863	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1923	BRADNEY, Colonel Sir Joseph, A.,
1864	CROUCH, Rev. J. F., B.D.		C.B., M.A., D.LITT.
1865	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1924	DURHAM, Herbert E., D.S.C., M.B.,
1866	BULL, H. G., M.D.		B.CH., F.R.C.S.(ENG.)
1867	HOSKYNS, Mr. Chandos Wren	1925	MACKEY, Mr. J. C.
1868	McCULLOGH, D. M., M.D.	1926	SCOBIE, Colonel M. J. G., C.B.
1869	RANKIN, Mr. James, M.A.	1927	DAY, Rev. E. Hermitage, D. D.,
1870	COOPER-KEY, Rev. H., M.A.	1721	F.S.A.
		1020	
1871	CAM, Mr. Thomas	1928	SYMONDS, Mr. Powell Biddulph
1872	STEELE, Mr. Elmes Y.	1929	SMITH, The Right Rev. Martin
1873	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.		Linton, D.D., D.S.O., Lord Bishop
1874	DAVIES, Rev. James, M.A.		of Hereford
1875	ROBINSON, Rev. C. J., M.A.	1930	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1876	CHAPMAN, T. A., M.D.	1931	SYMONDS-TAYLOR, LtCol. R. H.
1877	MORRIS, Mr. J. Griffiths	1932	SWAYNE, LtCol. O. R., D.S.O.
1878	PHILLOTT, Rev. H. W., M.A.	1933	HAMILTON, Brig. General W. G.,
		1733	CP CCL DCO
1879	ARMITAGE, Mr. Arthur	1024	C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.
1880	KNIGHT, Mr. J. H.	1934	WALKER, C. W., M.C., M.D., CH.B.
1881	LEY, Rev. Augustin, M.A.	1935	ELLISON, Captain F. B.
1882	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A.	1936	ROBINSON, Mr. R. S. Gavin
1883	PIPE, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	1937	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.L.A.
1884	BURROUGH, Rev. Charles, M.A.	1938	BETTINGTON, Mr. É. J., F.R.S.A.
1885	MARTIN, Mr. C. G.	1939	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A.,
1886	PIPER, Mr. George H., F.G.S.	2737	F.G.S.
		1040	
1887	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.	1940	BENN, Mr. C. A., O.B.E., M.A.,
1888	ELLIOTT, Rev. William, M.A.		F.G.S.
1889	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1941	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1890	CROFT, Sir Herbert, Bart., M.A.	1942	MARTIN, Rev. Preb. S. H., M.A.
1891	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart.,	1943	WATERFIELD, The Very Rev. R.,
	M.A.		D.D., Dean of Hereford
1892	BARNEBY, Mr. William Henry	1944	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1893	LAMBERT, Rev. Preb. William H., M.A.	1945	TEMPLER, Mr. P. J. T.
1894		1946	
	DAVIES, Mr. James	1740	RICHARDSON, Mr. L., F.R.S.E.,
1895	WATKINS, Rev. M. G., M.A.	10.45	P.A.INST.W.É., F.G.Ś.
1896	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil	1947	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The
1897	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil		Venerable Archdeacon A. J., M.A.
1898	MARSHALL, Rev. H. B. D., M.A.	1948	GILBERT, Captain H. A.
1899	BEDDOE, Mr. H. C.	1949	WALLIS, Captain O. B., M.A.,
1900	LEIGH, The very Revd. The Hon. J. W.,		LL.B.
1700	D.D., Dean of Hereford	1950	CLARKE, Rev. B. B., M.A., M.Sc.
1001			
1901	BLASHILL, Mr. Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., F.Z.S.	1951	MORGAN, Mr. F. C., F.S.A., F.L.A.,
1902	CORNEWALL, Rev. Sir George H., Bart., M.A.		M.A.
1903	SOUTHALL, Mr. H., F.R.MET.SOC.	1952	SALT, Major A. E. W., M.A.
1904	HUTCHINSON, Mr. T.	1953	COHEN, Mr. L., M.I.MECH.E.
1905	BAYLIS, Mr. Philip, M.A., LL.M., F.Z.S.	1954	JOHNSON, Colonel T. W. M.
1906	WARNER, Rev. R. Hyett, M.A.	1955	MOIR, Rev. Preb. A. L., M.A.,
1907	RANKIN, Sir James, Bart., M.A.		F.R.HIST.S.
1908	MOORE, Mr. H. Cecil and RANKIN,	1956	WINNINGTON-INGRAM, The
1700		1750	Venerable A. J., M.A.
1000	Sir James, Bart., M.A.	1067	
1909	WILLIAMSON, Rev. Preb. H. Trevor, M.A.	1957	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1910	FARN, Mr. A. B.	1958	LANGFORD, A. W., M.D.,
1911	PHILLIPS, Mr. E. Cambridge		B.CHIR., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
1912	STOOKE-VAUGHAN, Rev. F. S., M.A.	1959	LEEDS, Mrs. Winifred, F.R.P.S.L.

1960	MACLEAN, Rev. D. A. L., of Dochgarroch,	1979	GARNETT, Mr. A. T. G., L.D.S.,
1961	M.A.	1000	R.C.S.(Eng.).
	STANFORD, Mr. S. C., B.A., F.S.A.	1980	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.
1962	ZIMMERMAN, Mr. A. U.	1981	VOSS, Mrs. Marjorie, M., B.A.
1963	COLEMAN, Mr. V. H.	1982	BRIAN, Mrs. Anthea, D., B.Sc.,
1964	NOBLE, Mr. F., B.A.		Ph.D.
1965	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1983	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J.P.
1966	KENDRICK, Mr. F. M.	1984	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A., F.S.A.
1967	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.	1985	ATTFIELD, Mr. C. E., F.I.E.H.
1968	CURRIE, Mrs. D. McD.	1986	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.
1969	HILLABY, Mr. J. G., B.A.	1987	CHARNOCK, Mr. G.
1970	O'DONNELL, Mrs. Jean E.	1988	PERRY, Mr. R. C.
1971	POWELL, Mr. H. J., F.R.I.B.A.	1989	WARD, Mr. E. H.
1972	HOMES, Mr. C. H. Í.	1990	PEXTON, F. W., B.Sc., Ph.D.
1973	TONKIN, Major J. W., B.A.	1991	RICHARDSON, Mrs. R. E., B.Ed.,
1974	TONKIN, Mrs. Muriel, J. P.		M.Phil., A.I.F.A.
1975	PERRY, Mr. R. C.	1992	REES, Mr. G., C.Eng., M.I.E.E.,
1976	HAYNES, Rev. W. B., B.A.		M.R.A.E.S.
1977	WINCE, Dr. W. H. D., M.B., B.S., M.I.Biol,	1993	EISEL, Dr. J. C., M.Sc., M.A., Ph.D.
1978	PAGE, Mr. R. A.	2773	21022, 21. 3. C., W.G., W.A., 1 II.D.

## SOCIETIES WITH WHICH TRANSACTIONS ARE EXCHANGED

Birmingham Archaeological Society

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

British Mycological Society

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Society

Cardiff Naturalists' Society

Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland

Essex Archaeological Society

Essex Field Club Hertfordshire Natural History Society

Kent Archaeological Society

Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society

North Staffordshire Field Club

Oxoniensia

Radnorshire Society

Shropshire Archaeological Society

Somerset Archaeological Society

Surrey Archaeological Society

Worcestershire Archaeological Society

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

## THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE PURCHASED

Antiquaries Journal

Archaeologia

Cambrian Archaeological Society

Harleian Society

Journal of Industrial Archaeology

Midland History

## LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1993

#### HONORARY MEMBERS

WEBSTER, Dr. G., F.S.A., The Old School House, Chesterton, Harbury CV33 9LF. WHITEHOUSE, B. J., A.L.A., F.R.S.A., The Library, Broad Street, Hereford.

#### INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

ABERYSTWYTH: The Library, Hugh Owen Building, Penglais, Aberystwyth SY23 3DZ.

BANGOR: Serials Acquisitions, The Library, University College of North Wales, College Road, Gwynedd LL57 2UN.

BIRMINGHAM: Reference Library, Ratcliffe Place, B3 3HQ.

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

BOSTON SPA: Acquisitions Unit (Unit DSC-89), British Library, Boston Spa, Wetherby, West Yorkshire LS23 7BQ.

BROMYARD: Bromyard & District Local History Society.

CARDIFF: The Library, National Museum of Wales, Cathays Park, CFI 3NP.

CARDIFF: Periodicals Acquisitions Dept. (Art), Arts & Social Studies Library, University of Wales College, Cardiff, P.O. Box 430, CF1 3XT.

EXETER: Periodicals Dept., University Library, Prince of Wales Road, EX4 4PT.

GLOUCESTER: City Museum & Art Gallery, Brunswick Road.

HEREFORD: Headmaster, The Bishop of Hereford Bluecoats School, Tupsley HR I 1UU.

HEREFORD; Botanical Society, c/o Mrs. J. M. Walker, Ash Close, Marden HR1 3EQ.

HEREFORD: The Librarian, Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

HEREFORD: Friends of the Record Office.

HEREFORD: Ornithological Club, c/o I. B. Evans, 12 Brockington Drive, HR1 1TA.

HEREFORD: The Principal, Sixth Form College, Folly Lane.

HEREFORD-WORCESTER: County Libraries, Central Services, Sherwood Lane, Lower Wick WR2 4NU.

KINGTON: Kington History Society

LEDBURY: Ledbury Naturalists Field Club.

LEICESTER: The University Library, Periodicals Dept., P.O. Box 248, University Road, LEI 9QD.

LEOMINSTER: Leominster Historical Society.

LIVERPOOL: The Sydney Jones Library, P.O. Box 123, L69 3DA.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS: County Library Headquarters, Cefnylls Road LD1 5LD.

LONDON: British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road SW7 5BD.

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

LONDON: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane WC2A 1LR

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

LONDON: The Library, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street WC1E 7HU

MEMPHIS: Acquisitions Dept. S.O., Memphis State University Libraries, Tennessee 38152.

MONMOUTH: The Museum, Priory Street, Gwent, NP5 3XA.

MONTREAL: Sir George Williams University Library, Acquisitions Dept., 1445 De Maisonneuve Blvd., W.

NEWPORT: Central Public Library, John Frost Square NPT 1PA.

NEW YORK: Serials Dept., 110 Olin Library, Cornell University Library, Ithaca 14853.

NOTTINGHAM: The Library (Serials), British Geological Survey, Nicker Hill, Keyworth NG12 5GG.

PRINCETON: Serials Division, Princeton University Library, New Jersey 08540.

SHREWSBURY: Shropshire County Library Headquarters, Column House, 7 London Road SY8 6NW. SOUTHAMPTON: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Green Lane, Maybush SOI 9FP.

SYDNEY: Serials Dept., 100507, Fisher Library, University of Sydney NSW 2006.

WEOBLEY: Weobley and District Local History Society.

WISCONSIN: Memorial Library, SOSC-CTS, University of Wisconsin, 728 State Street, Madison 53706-1494.

WOLVERHAMPTON: Wolverhampton Polytechnic, Walsall Campus, Library & Learning Resources, Gorway, Walsall WS1 3BD.

WORCESTER: Archaeology Dept., Cranham School, Tetbury Drive, Warndon.

WORCESTER: City Library, Foregate Street.

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

Members' names and addresses redacted.

