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This address provides a brief survey of the development of Hereford as an independent borough from 1215 until the year 2000. In 1215 the burgesses in Hereford gained the right to have a Guild Merchant and from this emerged the government and status of the borough. Local Authority re-organisation from the 1970s reduced the autonomous powers of the city council. In 2000 Hereford became one of only seven parish councils in England with city status.

The apparent dearth of surviving medieval domestic property in parts of Herefordshire: a reappraisal of the influence of Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion *by C. J. Boylett*.....51
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The Hereford Freehold Land Society: its role in the expansion of Hereford in the nineteenth and early twentieth century *by John Eisel* 84
This paper examines the role of the Hereford Freehold Land Society in the expansion of Hereford from the mid-nineteenth century and argues that the organisation played an important role in the provision of building sites for the 'industrious working man'.

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Thomas Blashill junior: architect, antiquarian and prominent Woolhopeian *by David Whitehead and Henry Connor* 140
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Proceedings, 2015

SPRING MEETINGS - held in the Jury Room, the Shire Hall

FIRST MEETING: 10 January 2015: Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.
Gary Butler, Conservation Architect, spoke on 'The repair of the Master's house, St Katherine's, Ledbury'.

Mr. Butler described how, inside a skin of brick, and cloaked in the vestiges of council offices and a doctor's surgery, were the remains of the late-15th century Master's House. Buried at the core was a timber frame structure, in fact two separate structures: a hall house comprising of a three-bay hall with cross passage, solar and service wing and a secondary range formed by a detached building, said to have been a kitchen.

The hall house still had its roof structure, which enclosed all four bays forming the central hall and comprised of a queen strut cross frame with two trench purlins, ridge plate and curved wind braces between the purlins and down to the wall plate. The hall and cross passage were originally open to the roof. Large amounts of the lower part of the timber frame had been removed or simply 'cut off at the knees', during later alterations, but otherwise much of the original timber structure remained perfectly intact, particularly at a high level, embodied within the later, enveloping, mostly 18th and 19th century construction. The secondary range stretched east-west some 12 yards north of the main building. Indeterminate in dimension, it was built, as his accounts show, by Edward Cooper between 1584 and 1595.

Mr. Butler explained that it was the Ledbury Civic Society, not Herefordshire Council, who in 2005 funded the dendrochronological analysis of the Master's House. Core samples from 21 different timbers of the original structure gave a felling date of 1487. For the author of the report, the Master's house 'may well prove to be the earliest detached hospital master's house in the country'. In 2002, in his Archaeological and Architectural Analysis, Richard Morriss concluded, 'Quite simply, the Master's House in Ledbury is an extremely rare building…..Despite the alterations to its side frames and the insertion of relatively modern partitions, it is still substantially intact and of good architectural quality'. Its only potential rival, at Saltisford in Warwick, described by Morriss as 'a substantial intact timber-framed building, mainly of the second half of the sixteenth century', is now covered in plastic in the middle of a 5,500 sq ft building site.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

SECOND MEETING: 31 January 2015: Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.
Henry Connor and David Whitehead, members of the Club, gave an illustrated talk on 'Thomas Blashill (1831-1905): architect, antiquarian and President of the Woolhope Club 1882 and 1901'.

Thomas Blashill was born into a large farming family at Sutton, to the NE of Kingston-upon-Hull and came to Herefordshire in *c.*1840 on the invitation of his uncle, Thomas Blashill senior, land-agent to Sir John Cotterell of Garnons. He lived with another uncle, Robert Blashill, tenant of Knapp Farm at Bridge Sollers, and was joined by his brother, Henry, who rented the Steppes, yet another small farm on the Garnons estate. Thomas junior stayed at Garnons for about a decade and later looked back on his experiences there with great affection.

In *c.*1850 he is found in the London office of the architects, J.W. Penfold and T.E. Knightly and subsequently collaborated with two other metropolitan architects, Charles Ainslie and

William Haywood. The climax of his career came in 1887 when he became Superintending Architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works from which post he retired in 1898. His department designed and constructed at Boundary Street and Millbank some of the most outstanding working class housing found in city— much admired by late 20th century observers. Whilst in London he wrote several articles on sanitary matters, the state of the streets, fire hazards in theatres and, of course, working-class housing.

His antiquarian and natural history interests were equally broad. He collected and wrote about wild flowers, debated the spurious claims that sweet chestnut timber was widely used in medieval buildings, wrote articles on medieval ploughing, early spinning and Palaeolithic tools. In collaboration with Henry Graves Bull he considered ways of reproducing the Mappa Mundi, collected information on the distribution of mistletoe, supplied information on the Herefordshire Lollards and regularly provided his friend with references, gleaned from metropolitan collections, on a diversity of topics.

Blashill became the living expert on the great medieval churches of the West Midlands. His archaeological analysis of these buildings attracted huge crowds both in the field and at his frequent lectures for local and national learned societies. His work was frequently published both in journals and newspapers. He took a pioneering interest in the Herefordshire School of Sculpture; he was the first to recognise that Dore Abbey had a round chapter house; the first to notice the presence of a Saxon chapel embedded in a farmhouse next to Deerhurst Priory; he wrote the first scientific guide-book for Tintern Abbey and recognised that the Romanesque abbeys of the Severn Valley were probably designed by the same hand.

Blashill's architectural work in Herefordshire began with the restoration of Yarkhill church, with his partner Ainslie, in 1862-3. Lady Emily Foley was a major patron and she was probably instrumental securing commissions for new schools at Westhide, Yarkhill, Tarrington and Putley, together with the restoration of churches at Putley, Westhide and Dormington. In 1863 he was working in Shropshire at Oldbury church, near Bridgenorth and later (1867) at Stottesdon. Blashill went on several continental tours, sketching notable buildings which broadened his approach to the gothic revival. In domestic architecture he was interested both in the vernacular as well as the mannerist classicism of the 16th and 17th centuries. Late in his career he was thrilled to discover the work of John Abel in the building accounts for Dore Abbey, which he found in the British Library. A second pair of local church restorations took place in the 1870s with Much Dewchurch (1877) and Hampton Bishop (1878). On his retirement he briefly returned to Hereford to do another stint as President of the Woolhope Club and in 1901 was the architectural assessor for the new Hereford Town Hall. He was a true polymath.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 28 February 2015: Jean O'Donnell, president, in the chair.

Dr Steven Cosh gave an illustrated talk on 'Roman mosaics in and around Herefordshire'.

Dr Cosh explained how he and his co-author, David Neal, came to produce their four volume survey of *Roman Mosaics in Britain*, published by the Society of Antiquities in 2010 at £350. He briefly explored the nature of mosaics; the materials used and their durability. The evidence from 'Time Team', he suggested, shows the general public are thrilled by mosaics but even modern digital photography fails to do them justice when published. Hand painted drawings, he believed, produced the best results.

The Romans were the only people in ancient times to produce mosaics and they appear in south-east England soon after the legions crossed the Channel. The earliest mosaics are black

and white and usually much worn. Some of the early town houses at Cirencester still have black and white mosaics with geometric designs; but rich people were soon demanding figurative designs in colour, provided by employing a variety of materials. In the Costwolds agriculture and feasting are the key themes and Bacchus appears on more mosaics in Britain than anywhere else in the Empire. The British elite were also keen to show their knowledge of classical literature. Ovid was a favourite author. Mosaics were highly valued and, if worn or damaged, frequently repaired by specialists.

Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, has the largest mosaic in Britain, found in 1793 by Samuel Lysons. There are many other fine mosaics in the Cotswolds e.g. the Orpheus pavement from Withington, and the craftsmen from the region apparently came to Herefordshire. There were some significant mosaics at Kenchester but most of them were vandalised by locals. One of *c*.350 AD, much repaired, is displayed on the staircase wall of the City Library and Museum and was drawn in situ by Dr Cosh for his book. The Bishopstone mosaic is similar in character and was found in 1812—it was noticed by Wordsworth who was staying nearby at Brinsop Court. A very good coloured drawing of it survives in the Library of the Society of Antiquities at Burlington House, London. Mosaics from London and Halstock in Dorset are very similar. Sadly, nothing is known of the building at Bishopstone.

Dr Cosh explained the phasing of mosaics found at Chedworth, which stretched for over a century. Recent excavations have revealed a very large mosaic, which was seriously damaged during excavations in the 1960s, directed by Sir Ian Richmond. It went un-noticed by the eminent archaeologist as workmen cut through it but Dr Cosh has managed reconstruct it from the remaining fragments and believes it filled a reception room, adjacent to the bath suite and dining room. Some Cotswold mosaics had a very chequered history. Brunel's Great Western Railway destroyed a mosaic close to Bath but the tesserae were recovered and reconstructed as a feature on Keynsham Station; only to be later removed in pieces for storage in Bristol Museum. Dr Cosh and his partner had the privilege of putting them together again so they could be drawn for the book.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 21 March 2015: Jean O'Donnell, the retiring president, installed Jaqueline Jonson as president 2015-16 after thanking the officers of the Club for their work during the year.

She gave her address on the history of local government in Hereford from the great charter of 1215. Her presidential address is printed in full in these *Transactions.*

The incoming president proposed a vote of thanks.

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 626 ordinary members and 34 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of 2014. Comparative figures for the end of 2013 were 642 ordinary members and 35 institutional members and affiliated societies and not those reported in *TWNFC,* 2014, p. 17.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 16 May 2015: Moor Abbey Farm, Middleton-on-the-Hill with David Lovelace and Roz Lowe.

Twenty members and friends enjoyed a full day at Moor Abbey, inspecting the newly-restored farm buildings in the morning, led by Roz Lowe and the historic landscape and veteran trees in the afternoon, led by David Lovelace.

In the recent past it has been believed that the 'Abbey' name implied that Moor Abbey was the site of a monastic establishment. However, John Freeman told members that he believed that 'Abbey' is a corruption of the name of the original owners of the estate. There is an ecclesiastical connection, as is recorded in the cartularies of Reading Abbey *c.*1280-90 that the manor of *La More, Westintone and Witesy* was granted to Reading by John de St Aubin. The name is mentioned in 1386, when Reading Abbey acquired the whole lordship of *Awbynsmore* from William Aubyn, *Moreaubyn*in 1407, *Moreabyn* in 1595, *Moore Abin* in 1609 and by 1651, *Moore Abby.* No evidence has been found of an early pigeon house. At the Dissolution the possessions of Leominster Priory, which belonged to reading Abbey, along with Moore Abbey came into the possession of the Crown, and its descent can be traced.

In 2013 Club members Roz Lowe and Rosamund Skelton had made a quick survey of these buildings for the architect preparing an application for a restoration grant, and produced a short report. They were unable to access all the rooms in the buildings for safety or security reasons, but member Edward Peters had made a survey of these some years before. The buildings concerned are in two lots: firstly, a long range of buildings holding sections named as granary, dovecote, byre, hay barn and an open building with silos, the fronts facing the farmyard; secondly, a separate building which may have been a wash-house, cookhouse and / or brewery with an attached bell tower.

From historical material going back at least until 1651 it was clear that hop-growing was a source of income which carried on into the 20th century. At the rear of the granary block, a pair of late brick-built hop kilns had been recently demolished. Next to them, but now inaccessible, were the remains of another, earlier pair, probably later 18th-century, identified by Edward Peters. In the upper storey of the 'granary' was a mechanical hop press standing over a hole in the floor where the long hop-pocket would have been inserted. Apotropaic signs noted in 2013 on the granary walls had been protected by Perspex sheeting during the restoration.

The next building in the range is a cart-shed with a dovecote or pigeon-house above. In 2013 the wooden nestboxes were falling from the walls, and the stone floor was unsafe. Now the old nestboxes have been removed and one new set erected. The stone floor has been strengthened. The dovecote is thought to date from the late 17th or early 18th centuries. The byre, barn and silo barn have all been re-roofed. The separate building with a bell-tower has also been restored.

David Lovelace led members around the estate which has many ancient trees. Within the estate, many of the interesting landscape features such as ditches are seen to align with these trees. He used the first edition OS 25'' map to show where individual trees mad been marked. The tithe map layout and field names were compared with a recent aerial survey. Although a number of fields were designated as 'pasture' in the tithe apportionment, he showed that these fields were in fact, wood pasture, as they held trees which pre-dated the tithe map, and showed evidence of ancient pollarding. From the woodland-type field names it was possible to identify still-existing older woods and areas where hop-poles had been planted. Unusually, old ash wood-pasture still exists.

Although the growth rate of young oaks is fairly well documented, no experimental work has been done on older trees, and David showed members a large oak around which he had installed a spring-loaded tape measure. He has been visiting the tree regularly for two years and

had detected a small but measurable increase in girth, though with seasonal variation. He is hoping to automate the system and extend it to other trees once the principle is proved.

Returning to the house, members noted quantities of an unusually large, pale double form of Lady's Smock or *Cardamine pratensis.* The final stop was the 'Large Pool', so-called on the tithe map, where it was surrounded by 'The Bogs' and 'Fish Pool Meadow'. The plentiful supply of water from springs in the hillside above the house explains the name 'La More'.
We were entertained to tea in the farmhouse by the Mosely family who had been most hospitable and interested during our visit, for which we were very grateful.

SECOND MEETING: 23 June 2015: A visit to St Mary's Church, Abergavenny and Llancaiach Fawr Manor with Rosamund Skelton.

We had a sunny drive down to Abergavenny and visit to St Mary's Priory Church founded by Hamelin de Ballon, overlord of Northern Gwent in 1087, as a cell to the Abbey of St Vincent, near Le Mans in Normandy. Only the Sanctuary and choir remain of the 12th century church the rest being rebuilt an extended by Sir John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny in the 14th century. The church as 57 m. long is one of the largest churches in Wales. It has a very fine collection of monuments in the Herbert and Lewis chapels, including a wooden sculpture of Sir John de Hastings resting on his original stone carved tomb base, and three very fine examples of the renaissance English school of alabaster carving representing members of the Herbert family. The most unusual and unique 15th century sculpture is that of the base of a 'Jesse Tre'. This is the figure of Jesse, father of King David, above which would have been carved all his descendants culminating in statues of the Virgin and Child and Christ in Glory at the top and thought likely to have been 20-30 feet tall. The figure is massive and cared from a very big tree.

The nave interior was rearranged with the installation of slender nave arches by Sit Gilbert Scott in the 19th century. The fine medieval choir stall were restored recently, the canopies dating from 1501.

Some members explored nearby parts of the town, the more energetic climbing the hill to view the remains of the castle which originally dominated the site of the Priory and lies beside the Roman Fort also on the hill. The surviving walls of the castle are obscured from view by the surrounding trees.

After coffee in a small upper room in the Tithe Barn, we embarked on the coach to travel to Llabcraich via the A465 Heads of the Valley road to Merthyr Tydfil, with interesting views of the works to widen it to a dual carriageway, then south on the A4060 and A470 to Nelson.

At Llancaiach some members had lunch in the café while others ate a picnic lunch in the sheltered walled garden behind the new visitor centre. Then the group were introduced to the house and treated to a room-by-room tour with a selection of guides acting out roles as servants giving information on the life-style of the Pritchard family round about 1645. One of the most interesting rooms was on the third floor which was used by the steward with direct access by a staircase to the owner on the floor below, and this room also had a pigeon lost built into it which, it was suggested, may have supplied carrier pigeons for sending messages. Colonel Pritchard, when he became a Parliamentarian, was Governor of Cardiff Castle and successfully defended it against the Royalists in 1646.

While this gave a good indication of the life of that period sadly there was no information regarding the original layout and structure of the house. This was of considerable interest as it was designed as a semi-fortified house with one half designed so that it could be sealed off from the other part making it easier to defend. The walls were 1.2 m. thick and the original stairs were

built within the thickness of the walls. Only one of these staircases can now be seen. Other staircases were sealed off by later redesigns of the house and the insertion of a grand staircase. The defensive part was on the east side and contained a latrine tower beneath which the Caiach brook flowed.

THIRD MEETING: 21 July 2015: Four contrasting churches on the English-Welsh border, led by Paul Olver.

The day started dull for a circular tour to four contrasting churches close to the Welsh border, but brightened up and, fortunately, the rain held off. The key focus for the visit was to observe the wide range of building materials and styles which reflected not only the local geology but also the fashion of the time of building.

Our first stop was St. Barnabas at Brampton Bryan, almost completely destroyed by a Royalist siege of the adjacent castle in 1643 and rebuilt in 1656. It is only one of six examples of a Commonwealth construction date in England. Precambrian rocks outcrop in the Pedwardine area south-west of the village and it is these grits and conglomerates that feature prominently in the south wall as well as in the local estate houses. Their variegated colour is due to abundant clasts of vein quarz, rhyolite and schist. Examination of the fabric of the church suggests that the original church was much narrower that that seen today with a tower at its western end. Its destruction led to the church being widened to allow the use of the Banqueting Hall roof whch dates from an earlir period. The original walls only survive in the south-west corner. Compared to other churches its breadth is out of all proportion to its length.

After a welcome coffee break at the nearby Aardvark Bookery and Café, we departed for our only Welsh church namely, St. Andrew at Presteigne. This lies close to the River Lugg which at this point forms the boundary with England.

At the eastern end of the north aisle and occupying half the current width of the nave is found the only definite Anglo-Saxon work in Wales. The in-filled windows on the north aisle wall and the remains of the chancel arch all show the characteristic use of tufa and also the alternation of horizontally-bedded with vertically-bedded stones which is characteristic of this period of building.

Outside, the north aisle wall shows two clear building phases with angular Old Red Sandstone conglomerates and flaggy siltstones giving way to squared-up quartzite sandstones and Upper Old Red Sandstone quarz conglomerate. A new chancel was added around 1320 which was built out of Downton Castle Sandstone and shows its characteristic golden-brown hues.

The party also examined the surviving remnants of wall paintings in the north-west corner of the north aisle, as well as the famous Flemish tapestry depicting the ‘Entry into Jerusalem’ woven *c.*1510. This was presented to the church by Robert Owen of Little Brampton in 1737. This is one of only two pre-Reformation tapestries still surviving in a church in Britain. A short walk took us into Presteigne and, for some, a welcome lunch break!

Our third stop for the day was St. Mary Magdalene at Eardisley. Here the oldest part of the fabric is 12th century but most of the exterior dates from around 1300. The present nave represents the whole of the Norman church with a narrow south aisle added at the end of the 12th century by cutting through the Norman nave wall. A wider three-bay north aisle was added in the 13th century.

The main attraction during our short visit was the Eardisley font, one of the best examples of the work of the Herefordshire School of Sculpture. Its style suggests it is probably slightly

later than the work at Kilpeck but contemporary with the Castle Frome font. Its spectacular and well-preserved decoration focuses on three main scenes, namely 'The Harrowing of Hell'—unique on an English font—and 'Two Knights Fighting' separated by a standing portrayal of God the Father, complete with halo and book.

Our final visit involved crossing the River Wye at Bredwardine and visiting the Norman church of St. Andrew. The original church, now the nave, shows four original Norman windows, tufa quoins, and herringbone masonry. The north and south doorway each show large lintels carved with rosettes and, in the doorway, these rosettes flank strange looking figures with reptilian and monkey-like heads. The remains of an apse have been found at the eastern end of the nave and this has been incorporated into the new chancel of about 1300. This lies at a slight angle to the original church which may reflect unsuitable ground conditions to the south. The tower on the north side was added in 1790.

The party also examined the grave, to the north side of the church, of the Rev. Francis Kilvert (1840-1879)—famous for *Kilvert's Diary*—who unfortunately died from peritonitis only two years into his ministry at Bredwardine and only one year after his marriage.

Crossing the river again, the party enjoyed a well-deserved afternoon tea at Oakchurch Farm Shop.

FOURTH MEETING: 8 September 2015: A visit to Winchcombe, Broadway Tower and Stanway House led by Dr Janet Cooper.

The first stop was at Winchcombe which is now a small market town, but in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon period it was an important royal and ecclesiastical centre, the site of a Mercian royal mausoleum. It was also the county town of 'Winchcombeshire' which covered the southern part of what is now Gloucestershire. In the Middle Ages Winchcombe Abbey occupied a large site in the centre of the town. The abbey tradition stated that the first church was founded as a community of nuns by King Offa of Mercia in 787. King Coenwulf added a community of monks in 798, and designated the church as his burial place. In the event the first royal burial was that of his murdered son Kenelm, who came to be venerated as a saint. The monastery declined in the earlier 10th century and was refounded in 969. It was well endowed, and after some troubles in the 13th century caused by extravagant building programmes, was prosperous—and its prosperity extended to the town. This is still demonstrated by the magnificent 15th-century parish church on the edge of the former abbey precinct, the chancel rebuilt by Abbot William Winchcombe (1454 – 74), the nave by the parishioners and Ralph Boteler, lord of the nearby Sudely Castle. Inside is a remarkable early 16th-century altar cloth made from two embroidered late 14th-century copes. Winchcombe, like Hereford, was strongly defended under the Mercian kings; the remains of the ramparts can still be seen from the churchyard.

After coffee at the White Hart Inn on Winchcombe's main street, we drove to Broadway Tower. The tower, which stands on a hill above the famously pretty Cotswold town of Broadway, is a folly. Designed by the 'gothick' architect James Wyatt, it was built for George William, 6th earl of Coventry, in 1797. The tower is a short distance from its car park, across an uneven pasture field, and has spiral staircases totaling 72 steps to reach its top. Nevertheless almost everyone made it to the top from which, had the weather been clearer, there would have been a view across 13 counties. The tower has had various occupants over the years, including Sir Thomas Philipps who operated a printing press there from 1822 to 1862, the artist William Morris who stayed there on several occasions, and the Royal Observer Corps who had a post

nearby during the Second World War. The tower now contains exhibitions about Morris and about the Observer Corps—the latter was particularly interesting to some of our members.

Our last visit was to Stanway House, aptly described as 'a romantically beautiful example of a Jacobean manor house'. The house was built by the Tracy family of Toddington, who had acquired the manor, formerly the property of Tewkesbury abbey, at the Dissolution. Like other such houses, it has survived virtually unaltered because the Tracys of Toddington and their descendants the Scottish earls of Wemyss and March had their principal residence elsewhere. Some additions were made in the 19th and 20th centuries, but they were demolished in 1948. The house is still occupied by the earl of Wemyss and his family, and our guide showed us round more as though we were guests than as paying visitors. After an excellent tea in the servants' hall, we explored the gardens, which the earl is in the process of restoring. The original water gardens featured a cascade running from a pyramid on the hill above the house to a pool and fountain. The cascade has not yet been restored, but the gravity fountain now works, throwing water 300ft. into the air, the highest gravity fountain in the world.

AUTUMN MEETINGS – held in the Jury Room, the Shire Hall unless otherwise stated.

FIRST MEETING: 12 September 2015: Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair. The meeting was held in the Pavilion on Castle Green.

Duncan James, club member and Recorder for Buildings, gave an illustrated talk on 'Timber framed buildings—recent discoveries in and around the county'.

Mr James demonstrated that detailed structural analysis of vernacular buildings can be used to reveal aspects of the undocumented past. Information about the orientation of a building, saw-mark evidence in the frame and detailed records of moulding profiles and chamfer stops are important evidence in any assessment of the status and primary function of a particular structure. In Herefordshire two basic timber conversion methods are seen; trestle-sawing, which leaves diagonal marks and pit-sawing which has characteristic 90 degree marks. There was a shift from one method to the other around 1530-1540. Some examples of moulding profiles were discussed in detail to demonstrate their value in dating a building or understanding its design.

An appreciation of standing archaeology in a town is also relevant and can lead to a reappraisal of its layout; for example a jettied structure of 15th-century date in the centre of Presteigne has been shown to be a possible booth hall built to over-see the market area.

The Reader's House in Ludlow, originally with a double gable on the back and an elaborate storeyed porch, is now considered to be a single-phase timber frame incorporating an earlier stone façade. The visible date of 1616 has been confirmed by dendrochronology.

In Worcestershire, a dozen buildings had been examined in the 'Medieval Abberley Revealed' project. This resulted in a revised assessment of their dates of construction and showed that local high-fired bricks, utilising coal from the many pits in the village, had been used.

Hanley Hall, near Malvern, is listed as 17th century but investigation of moulding profiles and saw-mark evidence show this was a ceiled-hall house built in the early decades of the 16th century with both wings probably of the same phase. It is of similar period to Colwall Ale House, now single storey but built as a two-storey range, jettied on both long sides. Timbers from this have been tree-ring dated to 1530, a similar date to those from the two-storey, Cradley Village Hall. Both these buildings were probably constructed for use as Church ale houses, although that at Cradley was later used as a school. The mouldings at Cradley are similar to those found in Hanley Hall and two buildings in Ledbury—the Heritage Centre and No 1 Church Lane.

Mr James went on to consider the value of reconstruction drawings, demonstrating this through consideration of the crosswing at Manor Farm, Monkland. Formerly thought to be a hall-house, investigations at this site had revealed a large, four-bay barn dating from the 15th or early 16th century. Further examples of barns were discussed including the unusual jettied barn at The Hyde, Stoke Bliss. This structure, dated to 1564/5, has a pendant hammer-beam roof and upper storey built without windows, important features to consider when evaluating its original function. The barn at Eaton Hall, Leominster, is even more significant; listed as 17th century this is now though to be part of a large, aisled tithe barn probably constructed in the 13th century. Eaton Hall, a monastic grange attached to Leominster Priory, has been associated with the Hackluyt family. Tax records show that Thomas Hackluyt, Clerk to the Council in the Marches, lived at Eyton, and may have built Eyton Court, a timber-framed, jettied crosswing property with a panelled ceiling featuring carved bosses similar to those on the screen in the nearby church.

The row of timber framed houses on the perimeter of the deserted village site at Lingen was then explored. The earliest of these is a four-bay cruck-framed 15th-century hall house, now divided into two separate units, Tudor Cottage and The Cottage. The range also includes Mortimer Cottage, with its impressive counter-change ceiling.

The multiple phases of development at Pound Farm, Yarpole were considered. This complex building, which had modest beginnings as a three-bay, 1½ storey house in the 16th century, was later transformed into a two-storey range with crosswings at both ends.

An opportunity to record the timber framing at the Old Post Office, East Street, Pembridge had arisen when the render was removed recently. Valuable evidence of the 15th-century hall range with window and two service bays had come to light during the examination.

Further details of some of the buildings discussed in the talk can be found in the 'Buildings' section in this and previous editions of the *TWNFC.*

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

SECOND MEETING: 10 October 2015: Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair. The F. C. Morgan Lecture: Professor Richard Marks gave a talk on 'Windows and wills: Glazing bequests in Medieval England'.

Professor Marks began by paying tribute to F.C. Morgan, who he regarded as a polymath, who he remembered from a visit to Hereford made accompanying his tutor, Professor George Zarnecki. He emphasised the value of wills in researching stained glass windows and promised a book on the subject in the near future. Unfortunately, wills for Herefordshire windows were very rare but he quoted two examples relating to windows in the cathedral. These were referred to in the will of Richard Swinfield (1327) for the new chapter house and in the will of William Lochard (1439) relating to the west window of the cathedral. He estimated that in all there were probably 6-7,000 surviving wills with clauses relating to glazing windows. Most of these were in East Anglia and the Home Counties and in dating terms they begin in the 14th century and end in the 16th century. To be useful, wills have to be read carefully and the specific window referred to is often difficult to find today because of removal, damage and re-setting elsewhere. Of course, only a minority of windows mentioned in wills survive today. He provided several examples including those that survive *in situ* in their 15th-century chapel at Lullingstone in Kent, which relate specifically to a will.

Surviving coats-of-arms provide useful clues when combined with wills. They also help to pin-point windows have been re-located, which is very common. Lady Scrope's (d.1498) window-patronage in Norfolk can be traced from the heraldic devices of her many husbands

found in several churches throughout the shire. Donors often chose the theme for their window but vicars were also consulted and seemed to have had considerable influence. Sometimes there was a great delay in implementing a donor's wishes, which can produce problems in dating. Moreover, the skill of craftsmen could vary considerably within a single window. In the window dedicated to the Ashfield family at Heythrop in Oxfordshire the male members of the family are executed excellently whilst the female are inferior, yet both are eclipsed by the loving detail put into the surrounding saints. Women were often important donors and frequently keen to perpetuate the memory of their own family, rather than that of their husbands. This gives an interesting insight into the nature of elite culture. Noble women were often inferior when alive but if they survived as widows, they were commemorated in a more assertive manner.

Joe Hillaby proposed a vote of thanks.

THIRD MEETING: 7 November 2015: Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair. Joan Grundy, a club member, gave an illustrated talk on 'The Hereford Bull in the Wild West'.

Mrs Grundy introduced her talk by establishing that the Hereford is the most numerous breed of beef cattle world-wide, being established in over fifty countries on every continent. It thrives on natural forage under extreme variations of climate and terrain. The characteristic markings—red coat with a white face—are not simply show points, they are vital economic assets, as the Hereford bull passes his characteristic white face to each and every one of his calves, whatever the dam's coat colour or pattern. Such visible evidence of inheritance is easily recognised in the market, identifying cattle as having beef potential.

A crucial time in the breed's worldwide expansion was during the second half of the nineteenth century, when major structural changes took place in North America after the end of American Civil War in 1865. The subjugation of the First Nations and the virtual removal of buffalo (bison) allowed the exploitation and settlement of the Great Plains. The natural vegetation was grassland and, from the point of view of the cattle trade, this sudden availability of unlimited new grazing grounds revealed a shortage of good quality cattle to stock the newly-created ranches.

The governments of both Canada and the United States saw the potential to export beef to Europe, especially to Britain, and recognised the need to improve range cattle by upgrading with high performance European breeds. Rather than aristocratic show-ring elites, new types were needed—grazers, able to rustle for their own feed, and tolerant of extremes of climate and uncertain food supply. Young Herefordshire stockmen who were working in North America were influential in publicising the Hereford, and in building momentum in favour of the breed.

From 1879, increasing numbers of American buyers visited Herefordshire, seeking breeding stock related to animals they particularly admired. Their task was greatly aided by the revolution of reliable steam transport. On land, rail replaced droving on both sides of the Atlantic; at sea, steam replaced sail. At the same time, improved refrigeration technology enabled North American beef exports to expand, boosting demand for quality cattle.

There was much interaction between breed enthusiasts in the two countries and high-profile auction sales at important Herefordshire breeding farms resulted in large shipments, nearly 4000 pedigree Herefords being exported to North America by the late 1880s. Cattle bred at The Grove, The Leen and Stocktonbury exchanged the hedged fields of Herefordshire for the open range of the Great Plains. The white faces inherited from Hereford bulls demonstrated the success of the importations, and could be found from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from Texas to the Canadian prairies.

Experience in North America set the pattern for global expansion, particularly to the pampas of South America and the extensive grasslands of Australasia. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Hereford was more successful internationally than at home, upgrading unimproved range cattle to useful beef animals on every continent.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 21 November 2015: Jacqueline Jonson, president, in the chair. In the absence of the invited speaker Elizabeth Round, who was ill, the Hon. Secretary, David Whitehead gave an illustrated talk on the 'Development of the Historic Landscape at Moccas Court'.

Mr Whitehead explained that he had recently been involved in the preparation of a Countryside Stewardship application for the post-medieval parkland at Moccas Court. This was done in collaboration with Caroline Hanks and David Lovelace. In the Dark Ages Moccas had been the location of a church associated with St Dyfrig and recent excavations have demonstrated that the present Norman church had an extended grave-yard, sub-circular in character, which had been reduced by the building of a ha-ha surrounding the court in *c*.1790. On the eve of the Norman Conquest, the church-estate at Moccas was in the hands of the minster church of St Guthlac, which appears to have acquired much British church property from the Mercian kings. Soon after 1066 Moccas was secularised and by the mid-12th century was in the possession of the de Fresne family who sought a crenellation license from Edward I, to fortify their manor house in 1290. There has been much debate about the location of this building. A motte photographed by Alfred Watkins in *c*.1900, situated above the Meres, to the south-east of the deer park, was ploughed-out in the 1960s. It appears to lack stone-work but could be surrounded by extensive water defences, by operating a sluice-gate, which still exists at the Meres. The alternative site for the de Fresne castle is likely to be beside the Wye, where the present Court stands, which was built in the 1770s on the site of a poorly recorded earlier house.

The present deer park existed long before the Cornewall's arrived in the mid-17th century but was perched upon Dorstone Hill and was attached to that manor. Just to the north-west of Moccas Court there is the Little Park, for which documentary evidence exists in the 17th century. Little parks have received much attention in recent years from landscape historians and they appear to have been fairly common appurtenances for a major late-medieval or Tudor house. They were ritual killing grounds for deer where there was often a natural amphitheatre, a source of fresh water and room for spectators. The Little Park at Moccas fits the purpose well. In the late Middle Ages Moccas belonged to the Vaughans who leased it in the early 16th century to a branch of the Scudamores. They probably shipped-in deer from the great park on Dorstone Hill for their entertainment. The Cornewalls did not acquire this park until the late 17th century, when they extended its boundaries south-eastwards towards Moccas itself.

The early Cornwalls were an equestrian family, interested in chivalric display and subsequently horse-racing. They built a great stone-walled 'Paddock' adjoining the park, and probably a stable, where they corralled their valuable mounts. This feature, hitherto unrecognised, is still a major landmark above the Meres. Velters Cornewall (d. 1768), a local hero for his work in abolishing the cider Tax in 1763, held a great horse sale in 1755, but managed Moccas as *ferme ornée*, employing a pupil of Alexander Pope, John Lockman, as a house-poet who wrote eulogies on the estate and its owner, whilst rusticating there at his patron's expense. Many eminent people visited Moccas at this time. However, his daughter and heir, Catherine, married a rich London banker, George Amyand, who restored the estate to prosperity.

His meticulous account books can be found among the Herefordshire Archives. George and Catherine engaged Robert Adam and 'Capability' Brown to build a new house and lay-out the grounds, but good sense and frugality prevailed and both were sacked. Instead the *ferme ornée* prevailed and encouraged by their friend Richard Payne Knight of Downton Castle, a more conservative approach was adopted for landscape improvements, which enhanced the best of what existed. Farmland, rather than parkland still swept down to the Court, which was designed by the Gloucestershire gentleman-architect, Anthony Keck, and an aesthetic bonus was gleaned from a landscape that remained productive as well as beautiful. There was much new tree planting but it was not until the agricultural depression of the late 19th century that the Revd. Sir George Cornewall, president of the Woolhope Club, began converting arable to parkland, a trend that was reversed after the 2nd World War. The objective of the recent Stewardship Scheme is to return some of the tillage to parkland, and retain the balanced character of the late 19th century setting of the Court.

The president proposed a vote of thanks.

Editorial Message

I would like to thank the members of the Publications Committee for their support over the year. Roz Lowe continues to be very generous with her time and expertise, especially with regard to help with the production of images and the preparation of the index for this volume.

As alluded to in several of the contributions to this edition, researchers continued to face problems in accessing the major county collections during 2015. The purpose-built Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre (HARC) finally opened its door to researchers in August 2015, following a closure period of some eighteen months. It was somewhat ironic that later the same month Hereford Library and Museum in Broad Street was closed to the public when asbestos was found during refurbishment works. The building remains closed at the present time although it is scheduled to reopen in January 2017. Despite these difficulties the work of recorders and researchers continued, facilitated by staff in the relevant council departments as best they could in the circumstances.

HARC provides a new home for the county's archive records in facilities which meet the environmental and access standards required by the National Archives as well as improved facilities for the public and a dedicated room for learning events. The new facility brings together the archives, the county archaeology unit, the historic environment record, and the biological records centre together in one building for the first time. The building is situated in Fir Tree Lane, Rotherwas, on the outskirts of Hereford.

Jane Adams

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
for the year ended 31st December

2014				2015	
	RECEIPTS				
20	Interest on investments	Subs Reserve		20	
3		GW Smith Reserve		5	
2656		Charity Bonds		2413	
441		National Savings		454	
4		Hfds. County Loan		2	
33		War Stock		9	
	3157				2904
	Investment redemption				
		Herefordshire County Loan		1040	
		3.5% War Stock		933	1973
7099	General Subscriptions			7080	
259	Sale of Transactions and other books			85	
985	Gift Aid Tax Reclaim (Net)			955	
52	Sundries				8119
413	Archaeological Research	Net Surplus			
369	Geology Section	Net Surplus			
28	Field Meetings	Net Surplus			
	9205				0
	12362				12996
	PAYMENTS				
27	Insurance			27	
4875	Stationery, Printing & Binding			5361	
378	Meeting Expenses			420	
1551	Postage & Telephone			1419	
245	Subscriptions & Donations			254	
136	Materials			194	
200	Honoraria			200	
442	Digital projector and software			0	
2350	Grants for publications (GW Smith Fund)			350	
38	Miscellaneous			43	
	NSB Investment			1040	9328
	Field Meetings	Net Deficit		132	
	Geology Section	Net Deficit		148	
	Archaeological Research	Net Deficit		832	1112
	10242				10440
Surplus	2120		Surplus		2556

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER

2014		2015	
	ASSETS		
1040	Herefordshire County Loan		0
59288	National Savings Investments		61715
85047	United Trust Bank Charity Bond		85047
33000	Bank of Cyprus UK Charity Bond		33000
	Bank accounts		
414	General	626	
2334	Subscriptions	2314	
1213	GW Smith Account	781	
40952	Subscriptions Reserve	40972	
10000	GW Smith Reserve	12500	
35	Natural History Section	35	
4152	Archaeological Research Section	3320	
1437	Field Meetings	1305	
2274	62810 Geology Section	2126	63979
241185			243741

Note that the following assets of fluctuation or indeterminate value are not included in this balance sheet:
The contents of the library and stock of publications
Photographic and computer equipment etc.

	CAPITAL		
	General Funds		
239065	Balance brought forward	241185	
2120	241185 Add surplus in year	2556	243741
241185			243741

Biographical Details of Contributors

Colin Boylett retired early from running a financial services business in London in 1994 and moved to Kingswood, near Kington in Herefordshire, where he had owned a property for some years. He obtained a private pilot's licence and became fascinated by the irregular field shapes and sizes seen from the air locally. This sparked an interest in medieval history. In 2000 he and his wife purchased a derelict Grade II* cruck-framed hall house dating from *c*.1455 which, over a four year period, they renovated utilising glass panels to replace much of the crumbling stonework. Pound Farm is run as a 53 acre nature reserve and is well-known for its orchids. Colin is the author of *The Pember Family of Herefordshire* (2013) and a number of privately published papers on local historic properties.

Henry Connor worked for 25 years as a consultant physician in Hereford. Since retiring he has pursued long-standing interests in history, especially the history of medicine, and he is both a Cathedral Guide and a City Guide in Hereford.

Biographical details of **John Eisel** can be found in the 2005 *Transactions*. Since then he has completed a fourth term as President (2011-2).

Heather Hurley began her working life in public and college libraries and, since moving to Herefordshire, has taken an active interest in local history. She has written several books and guides about Herefordshire and the Wye Valley including *Trackway to turnpike: the old roads of South Herefordshire*, *The story of Ross*, *The landscape origins of the Wye Valley*, *The green lanes of Herefordshire*, *Herefordshire's river trade on the Wye & Lugg, Harewood End Agricultural Society* and three books on the social history of pubs in the Wye Valley. She has contributed to the *TWNFC* and to Ross Civic Society's Publications.

Jean O'Donnell M.B.E. has been on the Central Committee since 1965 and was president in 1970, 1996 and 2014. She was Tutor-Organiser for the WEA in Herefordshire and taught courses on literature and local history. She is now President of Hereford WEA branch. In 1981 she formed the Hereford Guild of Guides as a contribution to City tourism. She is a trustee of the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious and her book *John Venn and the Friends of the Hereford Poor* was published in 2007. She has written many papers published in the *TWNFC* over the past fifty years.

Paul Olver completed his doctorate in geology at the University of Birmingham where he studied the volcanoes of Southern Italy. He spent his whole career in education, since 1974 within local authority adult education services both in Surrey and Herefordshire. He now works part-time as a consultant on European adult education projects. Throughout his career he has continued to tutor both day and evening courses in geology and astronomy. Paul is currently Chairman of the Herefordshire Astronomical Society and the dark skies of the county have encouraged him to set up his own observatory.

David Whitehead came to Herefordshire from the Midlands in 1970 when he was appointed lecturer in History at Hereford College of Education. Six years later he became Head of History at Hereford Sixth Form College from whence he retired in 2013. His interests in West Midland history were stimulated by the Warwickshire historian Philip Styles, who supervised his Birmingham M.A. thesis on Georgian Worcester in the early 1970s. He has written and lectured extensively on architectural history both in Worcestershire and Herefordshire but in middle age his scholarly inclinations modulated towards garden history and the wider man-made landscape. In 2001 he published a *Survey of Historic Parks and Gardens in Herefordshire*. During the 1990s he was the joint co-ordinator of the Certificate and Diploma of HE in Garden History offered by the University of Birmingham. He has taught for the Open University and now regularly offers courses for the WEA. He is a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of many historical and environmental groups. He was one of the founders of the Trust for the VCH Herefordshire and remains its vice-Chairman and assistant editor. Regarding the study and teaching of history in Herefordshire as a privileged activity, he has spent a good deal of his time trying to defend both the fabric and historic landscape of the shire, not least as Hon. Secretary of the Hereford Civic Trust/Society between 1973 and 2003 and a founder member of the Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust. Since 2009 he has been Hon. Secretary of the Woolhope Club.

Errata, *TWNFC,* 62 (2014)

Members, 2013

The membership secretary reported that the Club had 642 ordinary members and 35 institutional members and affiliated societies as at the end of December 2013. This corrects the figures reported in *TWNFC*, 62 (2014), p.17.

Peter Klein, 'Pembridge Parish Church: a survey of masons' banker marks' (*TWNFC,* 62 (2014), pp.99-109).

The final paragraph of the article and associated endnotes was omitted in error. These are given below.

'Since the work at Pembridge, Dr Morris has most kindly drawn my attention to another survey of masons' marks, this time at Tewkesbury Abbey in 1996.[13] There the marks on the 8-bay nave roof vault, also of mid-14th-century date, were recorded during the process of cleaning and restoration; and these too suggest a construction sequence working from east to west, in two to three bay phases, employing, it is suggested, 'a relatively large and unfamiliar team of masons, to whom marks need to be assigned to check and remunerate their work'. It was also possible to identify new phases by a change in the number and pattern of the marks, and to suggest that construction of bay 8 and the west window in fact preceded the completion of bay 7. Some years earlier a similar large collection of marks had been found at Tewkesbury in the ambulatory and its radiating eastern chapels, where there was new construction during the 1320s.[14] Dr Morris also called attention to the stylistic similarity of the ogee cinquefoils in the nave clerestory windows at Pembridge to window tracery in the sacristy on the south side of the ambulatory at Tewkesbury.[15] In the nave of the abbey, dating from the early 12th century, an 'A' form of mark has been noted that is very similar in style to one from the clerestory at Pembridge (2b).[16] Although the locations of these last examples at Tewkesbury were not stated, presumably the date of the marks would be of some two centuries prior to that at Pembridge'.

[13] R. K. Morris & D. Kendrick,'Tewkesbury Abbey nave cleaning and recording 1996' in *Church Archaeology,* 60, pp. 20-21. I am greatly indebted to Richard Morris for calling my attention to this.

[14] R. Morris, 'Tewkesbury Abbey: the despenser mausoleum', in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society,* 93, p. 147.

[15] R. K. Morris, 'Pembridge and mature decorated architecture in Herefordshire' in *TWNFC,* XLII (1977), p.131.

[16] H. J. L. J. Massé, *The Abbey church of Tewkesbury with some account of the priory church at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire* (1906), pp. 19-41. (This edition is now available online in facsimile from the project Gutenberg free ebooks website.)

Presidential Address, 2015
Local government in Hereford from the Great Charter of 1215

By JEAN O'DONNELL

This address provides a brief survey of the development of Hereford as an independent borough until the year 2000. Magna Carta was not the only notable charter signed by King John in 1215. In Hereford, the burgesses gained the right to have a Guild Merchant and from this emerged the government and status of the borough. Local Authority re-organisation from the 1970s reduced the autonomous powers of the city council. In 2000 Hereford became one of only seven parish councils in England with city status.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE INDEPENDENT BOROUGH 1055-1215

Since Offa's reign the early burgh at Hereford had been fortified to withstand the Vikings and, later, the Welsh. At the time of the 1055 attack by the Welsh under Gruffydd ap Llewelyn the Anglo-Saxon settlement was surrounded by an embankment reinforced with stone walls, a palisade and wide ditch. Destruction was considerable; the town was burned and the cathedral ransacked. Although the King's Hall on Castle Green had been strengthened with a tower on its highest point, the Norman Earl Ralph was vanquished. The Saxon Earl who replaced him, Harold Godwinson, is said to have refortified the whole city prior to his short reign as King. Redevelopment under Earl William fitz Osbern in the early days of the Norman takeover after 1066 was radical. The market area was moved from the cathedral crossroads to an area outside the north gate which funnelled the traffic into a new layout modelled on fitz Osbern's castlery of Breteuil in Normandy. This exchange of land with the bishop allowed the cathedral to be rebuilt on a site slightly further north on the east-west route. Fitz Osbern also introduced attractive customs tolls for French settlers from Normandy who he encouraged to trade in the new area. For the payment of a 12d. rent they were quit of all services and small fines.

The existing Anglo-Saxon customs of the City, as set out in the Domesday entry, show few changes from those in Edward the Confessor's time. There were only 103 men and their families living within the city walls, the low number accounted for, perhaps, by the Welsh destruction of 1055. With the reeve's consent, a man could sell his house to a buyer willing to take on the obligations that went with the property; the reeve received the third penny from the sale. Within the city every whole dwelling paid 7½d. plus 4d. for the hire of horses. Three times a year those owning horses went over the river Wye to Wormelow Tump to attend the meeting of the Hundred moot with the Sheriff. When the king came hunting one man from every house had to stall game while those without houses acted as escorts to the court. More onerous duties were three days reaping at Marden on the Royal Manor in August and one day's haymaking wherever the Sheriff wished. These customs also applied to those living outside the city walls, but they paid less—3½d. There were other customs that applied to the moneyers, smiths and wives that brewed ale within the *civitas*.[1]

The income from the royal borough was divided; the current earl received one third and the king the remainder. The city paid King William £60. The King received fines for breach of

the peace, house-breaking and highway robbery, including those levied on the French settlers. These customs, handed down over generations and jealously guarded, were eventually written down in a book used for recording formal proceedings such as entry to the Guild Merchant.[2]

The powerful men of the Guild Merchant, who possessed property and a trade, were freemen of the city. Membership of this exclusive body, which regulated trade and protected the city's ancient customs, was limited to those fulfilling set criteria. A successful applicant had to own a burgage plot, be a trader who had served a seven-year apprenticeship or be the son of a Freeman; or otherwise be a widow and pay an entry fee. The guild was led by the chief bailiff, an office which succeeded that of the King's reeve. The custumal or book of customs, setting out this co-operative structure dates from 1154 and thus predates the King John charter of 1215 which legalised its existence. In 1189, the freemen and the chief bailiff bought the freedom of the city from John's brother, Richard 1, in exchange for an annual fee of £40. This marked the beginning of the borough's independence from the crown. In addition to managing their own affairs the burgesses were required to fortify the extended city and keep the walls in good repair (Plate 1.1).

THE EARLY BOROUGH 1215-1597

The customs of Hereford were used as a model by some other towns seeking civic freedom; in 1284 Cardiff, Rhuddlan and Carmarthen paid the chief bailiff, John le Gaunter, for the privilege of using them.[3] These included the right of a man to be a freeman if he had escaped his country lordship for the town for a year and a day, or had bought a burgage and become a freeman by paying 'scot and lot' for entry to the guild.[4]

In the Middle Ages the city community was composed of the cathedral with its clergy, and the bishop's port, the castle and its complement; plus the commonality of ordinary citizens. The division between the cathedral enclave of about one third of the city and the rest of the inhabitants—the Bishop's Fee and King's Fee—resulted in rival claims over trade, burial rights and food regulations throughout much of the medieval period. In the 12th and 13th centuries there was also a small community of Jews in the city, important in financing the castle-building exploits of the Marcher Lords. They were tolerated because of their contribution to the local economy but were also persecuted and often imprisoned in Hereford Castle. In 1228 the town community was fined £100 by Henry III 'for a restoration to the king's favour and a confirmation of their privileges, which they had forfeited by committing murder on the person of a Jew, who was a resident of the town'.[5] By 1290 the Jews had been expelled from the country by Edward I.

The status of the city grew after the turmoil of the Barons' Wars between Henry III and Simon de Montfort during which the new defences withstood attacks in 1264/5. Growing trade and the refurbishment of the castle ensured a period of prosperity. The citizens had been granted an autumn fair on the Feast of St. Denis in 1227 and, although not as large as the St. Ethelbert Fair—which lasted nine days and belonged to the bishop—it attracted merchants from other towns. In 1314 earlier charters were confirmed and the commonality achieved privileges and rights normally held by a lord of a manor. It cost the city £100.[6] The title of mayor, by now widely used, was sought for the chief bailiff and in 1383 Sir John Burley requested a charter authorising this from Richard II.[7] Hereford's mayors have been counted from this charter and our present one is the 633rd (Fig. 1, Plate 1.2).

It is not know where the city council met. However in 1393, ten years after the city adopted the title of mayor, Thomas Chippenham requested a licence from Richard II to acquire a messuage valued at 60 shillings to be held in burgage tenure for 18d. *per annum*.[8] A royal licence

was needed to allow the civic community to hold property. The messuage was the *Bothehall*—only seven others are known in England—and was to be used as a courthouse. A year earlier, this property had been given to Thomas Chippenham, William Bowode and Thomas Hoppeleye by Henry Catchpole, he had acquired it as part of a settlement over burial rights.[9] Henry Catchpole was mayor at the time and Thomas Chippenham succeeded him.[10]

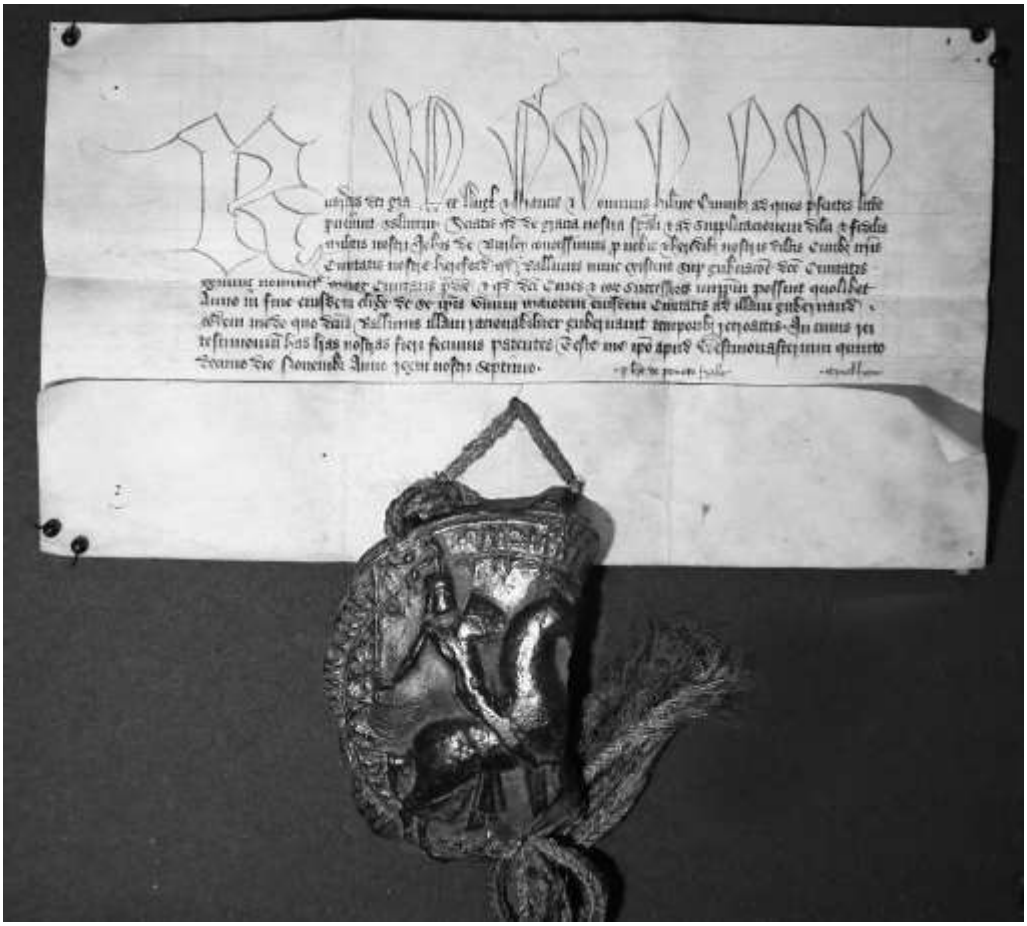


Figure 1. Letter Patent, 1383, City Charters, Grant to Sir John Burley that the bailiff shall be styled mayor. Photo D. Foxton, courtesy Hereford City Council

The Booth Hall was rediscovered in 1919 when it was due to be demolished after two hundred years in use as an inn (Fig. 2). The chimney fell and brought down the ceiling, revealing the older structure—a complete timber hall with hammerbeam roof, carved angels with wings removed and quatrefoil windbraces. The present Booth Hall passage is a tunnel within the hall on its eastern side. It is a right of way with entrances in East Street and High Town. Alfred Watkins described the premises in the Club *Transactions*, 'There are still ancient cellars containing an old fire-place outside the south end of the Hall, but connected with the Hall cellars by a doorway, which prove old buildings to have been against this end of the hall.' [11]

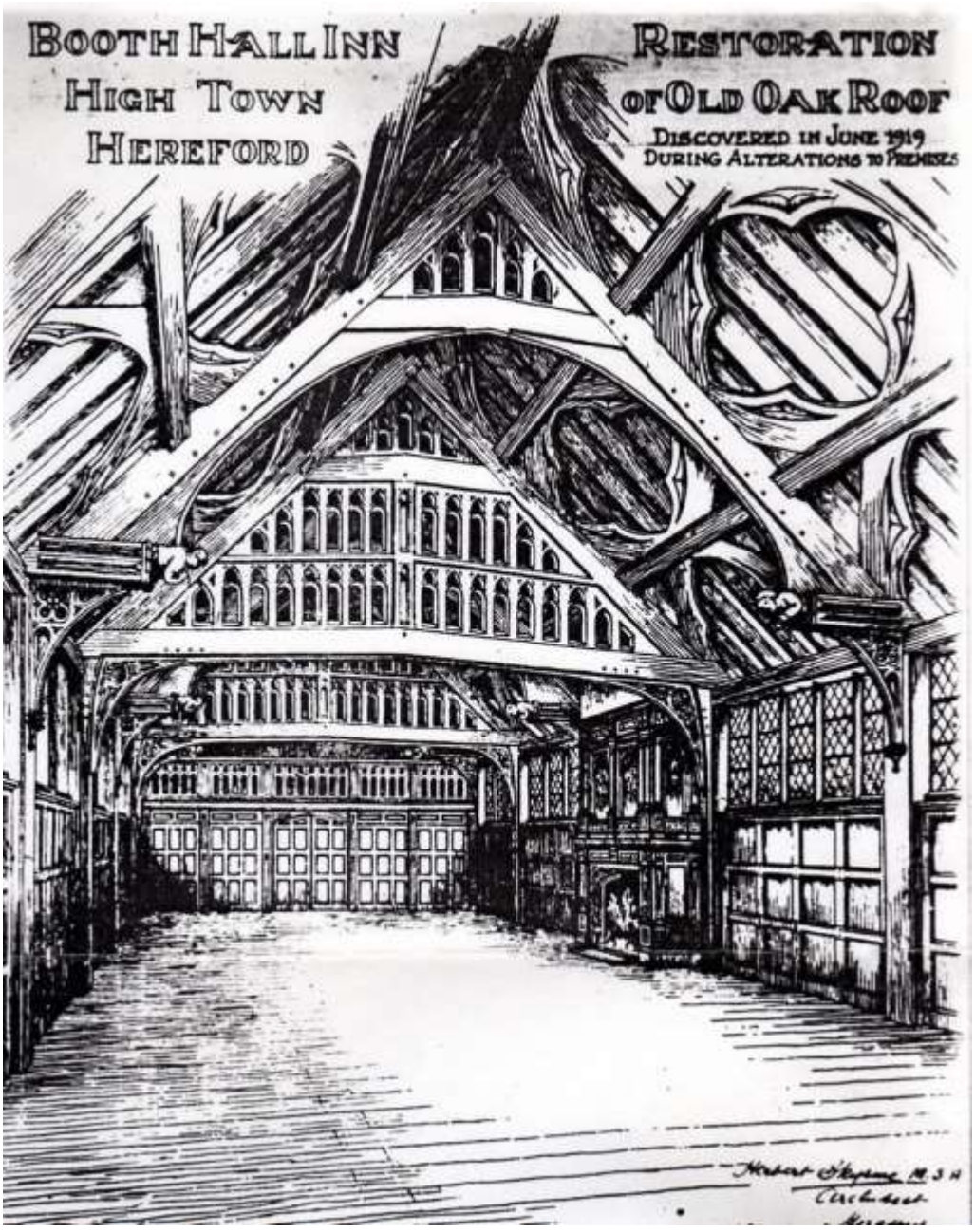


Figure 2. The Booth Hall after Restoration in 1919, *Hereford Journal*, H. Skyrme, 1921. Photo D. Foxton

Although it seems there was already an existing hall to serve the Guild Merchant, the

building uncovered in 1919 was not the one acquired by Chippenham. A report by the then Ancient Monuments Commission in 1997 stated that '[Tree] ring analysis has been carried out on a large number of timbers from the Booth Hall and 16-18 High Town that formed a complex of late medieval civic buildings between High Town and East Street.'[12] Before this analysis the Booth Hall was thought to date from the late 14th century at the time of the lease from the king. According to documentary evidence, a guildhall was built somewhere nearby in 1490 and a freemans' prison was constructed around the same time. It appears that by the late 15th century Hereford borough was wealthy enough for an outward show of civic pride. Dendrochronology has confirmed a programme of extensive rebuilding in this area aroun this time. Timbers from the Booth Hall have a felling date of 1454-1492; the freeman's prison at the rear was built from timbers felled in 1470-1515. A building incorporated into 16 High Town has timbers with a felling date of 1490 suggesting that this may have been the documented guildhall site. These dates are a hundred years later than was earlier thought to be the case and do not correspond to the aforementioned house that was valued for 60 shillings and used as a courthouse. This older hall may have existed alongside and been used as a guildhall.

The sequence of charters conferred status and confirmed established practices. Although courts for Law Days were held outdoors in each ward, other courts administering justice must have been held somewhere else before the hall was acquired. The mayor or bailiff was usually the Justice of the Peace. By now, the royal borough had achieved self-government bought by the privileged freemen and leading citizens. A guildhall with a tolsey were deemed necessary; the tolsey to house the city's treasures, archives and arms, and hold funds from gate tolls and market dues. In later years it stood in the High Town near Cooken Row and was built of stone with a house at either end.[13]

A little is known about some of the influential men of the Guild Merchant, especially Henry Catchpole and his family who lived in Hereford from the middle of the 12th century. One of their members, Walter Catchpole, who served as chief bailiff in the 1330s, was a wealthy wool merchant whose business interests included trading valuable Herefordshire fleeces with Venetian merchants. His son, Henry Catchpole, also chief bailiff, was MP in 1350 and 1354. Another Henry, married to Margaret, served as chief bailiff cum mayor during the 1380s and was elected MP in 1390.[14] Recorded as holding property in Hereford from 1362, he acquired more some six years later after settling a dispute over burial rights between the vicar of St. Peter's, Roger Side, and the Dean and Chapter. Roger Side and Walter and John Catchpole conveyed to Henry, for life, a large amount of property in Litley, a meadow in Tupsley called *Walneyspik*, a grange, gardens, a forge, a shop in St. Thomas's Street, Caboche Lane, Grope Lane, and—significantly—property opposite the Causey, usually known as High Town. This could have been the Booth Hall that he gave Thomas Chippenham and others for use as a courthouse. The Guild Merchant had their meetings in the complex which was also a trading hall for wool and leather.

It would seem that this influential group comprised the city's ruling elite in the 14th century. In spite of the Black Death, which halted development and caused a shortage of labour for a century, the council was wealthy enough to build the new booth hall and other civic buildings such as the tolsey in 1490. The population was around 3,000, down from an estimated 4,000 a century before.

The 1189 charter had given responsibility for city defences to the city burgesses and tolls were imposed in a series of murage grants collected by the gate porters. In 1297 a list of taxable merchandise for sale in the city recorded goods that were for sale in the markets and fairs.[15] The

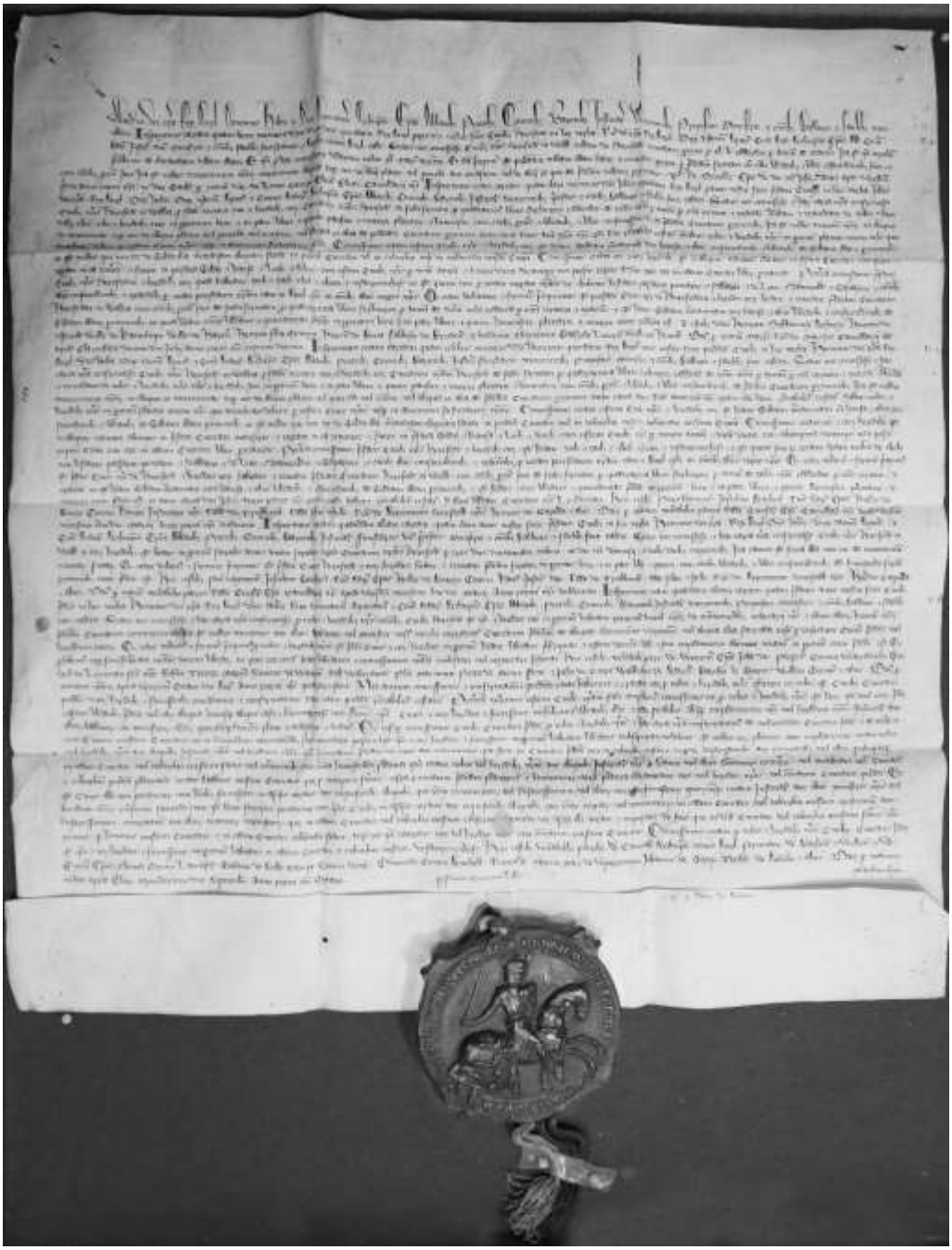


Figure 3. *Inspeximus* 1314, containing the Charter of King John, 1215. Photo D. Foxton, courtesy Hereford City Council

walls and seventeen bastions with six gates; all surrounded by a great ditch filled by the Eigne brook, fortified the medieval city. Much of the business of the council was concerned with the upkeep of these defences and any damage or removal of the fabric was dealt with severely.

Control of all law courts held in the borough, including the rights to profit from them, was confirmed by a charter from Richard 11 in 1399, acquired for £100. Planning and minor misdemeanours were dealt with at the twice-yearly Law Days: the first held between Michaelmas and All Saints Day and the second between Easter and Whitsun. These were held out of doors in the most public places of the city, usually at the gates. [16] There were three inquests or juries who agreed the decisions made; one for the suburbs and the liberty of the city, one for men dwelling within the city in any street whatsoever and the third for the 'discreetest and stoutest men' of the whole city who had to confirm the verdicts of the other juries.

Being judged by a jury of one's fellow men has long been fundamental to English law. The following case is an example of disenfranchisement after treating the Mayor with disrespect.

2 November 1568: William Sheward, draper, was disfranchised by the mayor, his brethren and three inquests for divers misdemeanours and offence and for disobedience to the mayor. Sheward had been discovered peering into the windows of the mayor's parlour at 10 o'clock while the mayor and others were talking and drinking there. He was committed to the Booth Hall prison for this—but left without the mayor's permission. [17] Unrepentant, Sheward later said these words to the mayor,

> 'Thou dost lie. I can have no justice here…I care not for thee, I am as good as thou every day in the week. Thou wast a cook and a scullier before, and when thine office is ended thou wilt be a cook again, thou art a briber and doth live by bribes'.The third inquest agreed to disfranchisement; he was thrown out of the guild and was no longer a freeman. Respect for the mayor was expected.[18]

Planning requests were common and it seems the council kept a close eye on developments near the walls. For example, in 1578 Mr Church was commanded to 'remove certain tenements that are not lawful but are likely to put the whole street in danger under the payne of xls [40s] before the feaste of All Saints.' The Church family, who rose to prominence during the 16th and 17th centuries, were dyers living in the Widemarsh gatehouse by the city ditch where they washed their cloth. In 1618, Thomas Church—who served as mayor—asked to put windows though the town wall into the new house he was building, promising to keep the wall next to his house in good repair. This was approved by the inquests but they charged him annual rent of 12d. In 1582 Thomas had asked to put a little door through the wall. This side door to the city ditch was revealed in 1968 when Victorian additions to the gatehouse were removed, the initials T.C. were clearly visible (Fig. 4). Records show that Thomas was also presented for assaulting one of his apprentices.

Nuisances and food controls were also dealt with at the Law Days. For example, Master John Gibbons, John Edwards and Roger Lingen were fined 12d. for making 'miskins' at their back doors, the butchers were fined for keeping tallow in their houses and Thomas Perse was fined for dung. There are numerous charges of removing stone from the city walls.



Figure 4. Blueschool Steet, 1968, showing the door used by dyers to access the city ditch with Thomas Church's initials 'TC' carved above it. The doorway was revealed by demolition work during the widening of Blueschool Street. Photo J. O'Donnell

Many presentments at Law Days were for infringements of food regulations. Some examples are:

> 1514 We present Miles Butcher for selling a quarter of corrupt beef bought of John Smith.
>
> 1522 We present John Vicaris for using beer hops in his ale and for excess selling of his ale.
>
> 1520 Thomas Symonds, Richard Furney, baker, and Thomas Bankcroft, inkeeper, were fined for baking horsebread within, [in] the common bakehouse.
>
> 1519 We present Nicholas Grene for a stinking safure made in his house in Eigne Street of a nuisance and the said Nicholas for getting his swine gobbets of beasts- it stinketh of a nuisance. And moreover the said Nicholas doth leave corrupt blood and flesh within his shop in the High Street which is a great nuisance to the common people.

Other ordinances dealt with safety issues, for example from ill-lit streets. In 1554 mayor Hugh Welsh decreed:

> No man may walk in the streets after 9 o'clock…all who have been mayors…all others of the co(m)en counsaile and all Innholders, Vynten(er)s and Talowe Chaundlers and Candle Sellers and all Typlinge houses and Alehouses…shall nightly from the vigil of All Saints…unto the feast of the purification of o(u)r blessed lady the Virgin have and mayntayne ev(er)y night (except the night that the moon do shyne) a lanterne and a candle light at theyre doors the wch Candells to be lighted ev(er)y night at the hour of vi of the Clocke and there to be burninge until viii…under penalty of 4d. for every time that any of them shall make defaulte.[19]

The council was still responsible for the defence of the city. In 1513 the Law Day court agreed that murage money once received by the mayor should be given to the chamberlain to use for repairs to the walls and gates. The accounts and receipts presented to the Law Day after the feast of All Saints show that 8 loads of stones and additional gravel was used to pave two hundred yards. A *gomstole*—used for punishing scolds—was built at a cost of 22d and the Booth Hall repaired for 24s.

By the time of Elizabeth I, Law Days had increased in number due to the growth in administration. The council was now a distinct body made up of freemen—aldermen and councillors—with formal procedures and rigid rules. The numbers varied from twenty-five to thirty-seven. In 1587 a new charter of incorporation was sought from Queen Elizabeth and this was obtained ten years later. A petition to the mayor from the second and third inquests requested to see the contents of the proposed charter. It is a beautiful document, with a portrait of the Queen, and would have incurred a charge at every stage of its procurement (Plate 1.3). This charter of incorporation granted the city the right to hold property and land as a body and confirmed its former customs and privileges. It also ratified the composition of the council with mayor, aldermen and twenty-four councillors. Amongst other clauses it stated that the city could hold three weekly markets, two annual fairs and that the Guild Merchant was to control trade and admission to the freedom of the city. It gave full independence; the borough was responsible to no one but the sovereign.[20]

In 1576, 21 years earlier, a grand and stately guildhall had been erected in the market place (Fig. 5). A tangible expression of civic pride, this beautiful edifice showed off the skilful work of Elizabethan carpenters. It comprised three floors built on twenty-seven oak pillars, held a large council chamber on the first floor and rooms for each of the fourteen guilds on the top floor. The wooden bell-tower was some 100ft. high. The oriel windows at each corner were another elegant feature. This elaborate structure demonstrated that Hereford was a place of consequence and prosperity. One floor was removed in 1770 and the building demolished in 1861.



Figure 5. The Guildhall or Market Hall, demolished in 1861. This reconstruction was published in John Clayton, *A Collection of the ancient timber edifices of England* (1846)

HEREFORD 1600-1837

By 1600 Hereford had three thriving markets, a number of trade guilds, an effective town council along with a crumbling castle and neglected city walls. In 1621 the butcher's guild house was constructed and several other timber-framed houses were refurbished in the 17th century. Vagrants were treated harshly; some perhaps due to the lingering impact of monastic closures and the expansion of rural enclosures. The civil war brought Hereford to its knees. Although the walls were strengthened for defence, two churches were destroyed. The city was loyal to the king and was rewarded by an addition to its coat of arms of ten saltires, symbols of the Scottish army

that the populace resisted with vigour for five weeks. While proud of this achievement, the city was left with a destroyed bridge, a ruined castle and a population royalist at heart but ruled by Commonwealth governors.

With the Restoration some of the restrictions on gaming and entertainment were lifted. The streets and buildings remained neglected; in 1707 Daniel Defoe described the city as 'mean built and very dirty'.[21] Instead of charters, now acts of Parliament were obtained for necessary improvements. Lack of transport infrastructure hindered progress and although further navigation acts were obtained, the vagaries of the river Wye restricted expansion of trade.

In the late 18th century the demolition of the castle mound and clearance of the site opened up a new area for development in Castle Street and St. Owen's Street. Several members of the landed gentry built town houses in this period; the Harleys, Devereux, and Chandos all constructed or adapted elegant mansions for their use. They also began to participate in city politics and several well-known names served as MPs and stewards.[22]



Figure 6. Old House, Golden Alley and Cooken Row, James Wathen, 1797. Courtesy of HAS

In 1774 the Act for Paving and Lighting, commonly called the Lamp Act, took over many of the powers of the council Law Days. Commissioners were appointed to oversee improvements.[23] These numbered about fifty of the great and the good and included the bishop, dean and cathedral officials as well as city aldermen and the mayor. The old division between the Bishop's Fee and the King's Fee was forgotten. The commissioners' passions included modernisation and fresh air. The city gates were removed and the main streets widened and paved. Oil lamps were installed on lamp posts and a firm from Bristol engaged to light them from September to March—an early example of outsourcing. Inhabitants were required to keep footpaths swept and contractors were appointed to remove night soil.

The clearance of medieval buildings in High Town was part of this programme. (Figs. 6 and 7). In 1776 the High Cross at the entry to Widemarsh Street was removed and the stone sold. The dismantling of the stocks and pillory along with the buildings to the south side of All Saints followed. In 1786 St. Owen's Gate was taken down, followed by Eigne Gate and then the others. The Dean and Chapter asked to convert Castle Hill into a burial ground as the one at the cathedral was full. This was refused in 1787.[24] The North Gate, the narrow part of Broad Street, was widened by taking down buildings. The once formidable city ditch deteriorated into a putrid watercourse (Plate 1.4). The Duke of Norfolk joined in the redevelopment of the city, building himself a town house on the site of the old Swan and Falcon. It later became the City Arms Hotel.



Figure 7. Caswells the Cutler's shop, G.R. Lewis, 1837. The Caswells refused to sell and the premises remained standing alone near the Market Hall until demolished in 1837. Photo J. O'Donnell from lithograph in private hands

This town 'improvement' and the destruction of the old timber-framed rows continued into the nineteenth century. By 1835 little of the medieval fabric was left. A road widening scheme led to the demolition of St. Nicholas Church, said to impede traffic. It was rebuilt in its present position in 1841. In 1835 funds were raised to purchase two further shops in Butchers' Row but Caswell, a cutler by trade, refused to move despite being given notice to quit. By May 1837 the council resolved the houses would be taken down but, fortunately, prior to this happening G. F. Lewis made a lithograph of the Caswell house (Fig. 7). Efforts to complete the removal of Butchers' Row with the demolition of the Old House failed, thanks to the firm stand made by

the owners as well as wider public opinion.[25] Cabbage Lane—Church Street—was at one time earmarked for development into a wide avenue but, thankfully, this never happened.

In 1861 the crumbling two floors of the Market Hall were removed and the Butter Market was covered and extended by the following year. By now council business was conducted in the Guildhall, built in 1811 on the site of the New Inn. The council chamber, entered from Widemarsh Street, was alongside the Butter Market; both premises unfortunately burnt down in 1922. The city officials had offices in the Mansion House opposite—in the 1960s the departmental titles were still on the doors—'City Surveyor' being one (Fig. 8. Plate 1.5).



Figure 8. Entrance to open-air Butter Market on the site of the Redstreak Inn, 1810. (Photo D. Foxton, courtesy Herefordshire Libraries)

FROM THE MUNICIPAL REFORM ACT TO PARISH WITH CITY STATUS

The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 regulated the composition of the council, now twenty-four members, but it was still controlled by the freemen who also voted in parliamentary elections.[26] The Reform Act of 1832 had only enlarged the franchise by twelve so that freemen and their heirs were able to maintain their ancient rights and privileges. Things did not change until 1933 after which the borough appointed only honorary freemen.[27] The last meeting of the common council was held in the Guildhall on 31 December 1835 and the following day John Griffiths was elected mayor to a new body. There was a fresh openness as reporters were admitted to council meetings for the first time and reports of proceedings were published in the local papers.

The Hereford Improvement Act of 1854 brought about radical reform of the health and sanitation of the city.[28] This Act resulted from a public health inquiry held in 1853 due to the

city's high mortality rates. Forced to choose between an Act of Parliament created by the council or a government-imposed Board of Health, the city chose to do it its way. Thomas Curley, an enlightened and imaginative surveyor, was employed to draw up improvement schemes for water supply, sanitation, and burial grounds in order to remedy the open drains and polluted wells, overflowing cesspits and full graveyards. New cattle markets, discussed for years, were finally built on land just outside the city wall bought from Charles Heather. The Lamp Act commissioners were disbanded and new committees created to administer the growing number of departments.

Through the next hundred years businessmen, lawyers and other professionals helped to run the city. Notable names include Charles Anthony, proprietor of the *Hereford Times*, Francis Bodenham and James Jay, both lawyers and Thomas Cam, surgeon. Local affairs began to be run more efficiently. In later years the major shopkeepers also played their part, Walter Pilley, Augustus Edwards, Lindsey Price and Cyril Franklin among them. Women were excluded until 1928 when Louise Luard became the first woman to be appointed mayor after female enfranchisement (Plate 1.6).[29]

The corporation, by now a powerful body able to raise rates to pay for improvements, put additional projects in hand. The gas works—opened in 1825—were bought and enlarged and an electricity power station was constructed by the cattle market in 1898. Other enterprises included the water works and tower at Broomy Hill, sewage works, markets and roads. By 1900 Hereford was a large corporation—there were fifteen committees—with income from markets and rates amounting to £24,976.[30]

The Guildhall and council chamber in Widemarsh Street were now deemed inadequate as the municipal borough councillors wanted a more prestigious building. At the turn of a new century, property in St. Owen Street was donated by the daughters of the former town clerk, Richard Johnson. These premises, together with the adjacent YWCA, were demolished to make way for the towers and pinnacles of an incongruous municipal palace. In 1902 Princess Henry of Battenburg came to lay the foundation stone carved with name of the Mayor—Alderman Bosley. Sadly the latter died suddenly the evening before the planned ceremony, this event casting a mournful shadow over the intended celebrations. The new Town Hall was formally opened on 9 June 1904.

Established systems of patronage that had founded charities and almshouses continued to provide resources to benefit local Herefordians. The great and the good invested their money in the Free Library, swimming baths, steam corn mill and the Boys' Home among other philanthropic institutions. The Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890-1903, enabled local authorities to buy land and build housing with the help of government grants. The slums of St. Owen's, Bewell Street, Friars Street and Maylord Street began to disappear. St. Owen's Gate or Turk's Head alley were some of the worst. The old burial ground of St. Owen's was turned into a children's playground. The attractive Garden City in Barr's Court, championed by local councillor Percy Bulmer and opened in 1909, was another important attempt to improve housing for the working classes. Land sold cheaply to the city council by the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious was used for the large estate of working-class housing around Central Avenue which was constructed in 1924-5.[31]

After the 1939-1945 war the borough went on much as before. The corn mill owned by the Hereford Society for Aiding the Industrious was sold in 1948. After the Boys' Home closed in 1933 its premises became offices for the County Council. The swimming baths, rebuilt in 1928 in Edgar Street, were rebuilt again in the 1970s, this time south of the river in St. Martin's. An

enlightened city surveyor had pedestrianized High Town and rationalised the roads with a new bridge in 1968, although the vast increase in traffic soon negated much of the benefit of the scheme. However, civic powers began to decline, demonstrated for instance by the privatisation of utilities. In 1972 a local government act forced a merger with Worcestershire. Hereford was given district status which meant it retained its assets—including the Town Hall—planning powers and running the markets. The Queen confirmed city and borough status in 1974.

The coup de grace came in 1998 when parliament decreed that the shire should be uncoupled from Worcestershire and the county lost a partnership which provided income from large towns as well as economies of scale. The demerger had local support but was soon regretted as the city was reduced to a lowly status; the ancient royal borough was not even a parish council. To protect the charters and regalia charter trustees were appointed to run the diminished council. City status was restored by the Queen in 2000 but the Town Hall now belonged to Herefordshire County Council along with the lucrative car parks and markets. Hereford is now one of only seven parish councils in England with city status.

Without a shire town with substantial powers and income the whole county is bereft. The civic centre is in decline with little investment in its major amenities of Town Hall, library, museums, streets and parking. Many of the assets are up for grabs as the recent list of property available for a new university shows, or are neglected like Moor House, left to Hereford citizens by Miss Chave. The city has a shopping centre that is unrelated to its historic core. The balance between the geographic and the historic place is disturbed so that the once royal borough now lacks the civic pride of the first Elizabethans. The old Booth Hall and adjacent medieval buildings, badly damaged by fire four years ago, remain a gaunt reproach and reminder of what has been lost.

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[3] John Duncumb, *Collections towards the history and antiquities of the county of Hereford,* Vol.1 pt.2 (1804, repub. Merton Priory Press, 1997), pp.329-44.
[4] Scot and lot was a municipal tax paid by burgesses.
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[6] E. M. Jancey, *The Royal Charters of Hereford* (Hereford, 1973), pp.13-16.
[7] *Ibid.*, p.18.
[8] *Ibid*., p.19. This became the official courthouse. In the 13th century an open-air court was held in front of St. Peter's church.
[9] W. R. Williams, *The parliamentary history of the county of Hereford* (Edwin, Davies and Bell, Brecknock, 1896), p.76.
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[13] M. Lobel, *Atlas of historic towns: Hereford* (Oxford, 1968), p.9; J. Eisel, 'Notes on the former Hereford Market Hall and Tolsey', *TWNFC,* 53 (2005), pp.25-40. The building was robbed in 1339. The mayor's inventory of 1557 included three swords and their scabbards called the King's and Queen's sword and a hat of purple velvet and four maces of silver. There was also a statute book of customs and three books of the courts of the city. An amount of weapons included eight daggers and a sheaf of arrows plus two bows of yew. Other items for combat were a motley array of armour. A good collection of weights and measures were kept here for control of the markets. The key of the Tolsey End was also included. A full list is printed in the *Mss. of Rye and Hereford* (HMC, London, 1892), pp.301-02.

[14] historyofparliamentonline.org (accessed 20 July 2016) gives dates for MPs from 1386. For the earlier period see Williams, *Parliamentary history of Hereford,* p.76. For details of those serving as mayor and chief steward of the city in this period see Johnson, *Ancient customs of Hereford,* 1868, p.168.
[15]Johnson, *Ancient customs of Hereford*, 1868, p.47. Murage Grant 1297; the sale of fish is explicit, purchased by the cartload for large households. The river produced eels, sturgeon, lampreys, salmon and minnows. The tax on a thousand herrings was a farthing. One hundred salted cod was twopence.
[16] F. C. Morgan, 'Local government in Hereford', *TWNFC* XXXI (1942), pp.37-57, p.40.
[17] The Booth Hall prison was a building at the rear for the imprisonment of the freemen. Conditions were less harsh than the city prison.
[18] Johnson, Ancient customs of Hereford, 1868, p.113
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[20] The original is in the Town Hall vault with other charters and may be seen on request.
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[24] W. Collins, *Modern Hereford*, pt.2 (Hereford, 1911), pp.6-9.
[25] *Ibid.,* pp.16-20.
[26]Municipal Corporation Act, 1835.
[27] The Local Government Act 1933 repealed and consolidated all local government legislation in England and Wales Section 259 of the Act continued the powers of borough corporations to appoint honorary freemen.
[28] Hereford Improvement Act, 1854.
[29]The Guildhall, built in 1811 on the site of the New Inn, stood at the junction of Maylord and Widemarsh Street. Most city functions were held there, including the Three Choirs Festival. It was lost with the Butter Market in 1922.The laying of a memorial stone after the rebuilding was the last duty performed by Mayor Louise Luard, who was the first woman to serve as mayor of Hereford, holding the office in 1929 and again in 1936. It was Mrs. Luard who added the link to the mayor's chain depicting a jumping Wye Salmon. Underneath this foundation stone is a 'time capsule' box containing copies of local newspapers, photographs and council minutes. The stone is over the side entrance to the Butter Market.
[30]Collins, *Modern Hereford,* p.83
[31] J. O'Donnell, *John Venn and the friends of the poor* (Logaston, 2007), pp.117-18.

The apparent dearth of surviving medieval domestic property in parts of Herefordshire: a reappraisal of the influence of Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion

by C. J. BOYLETT

In the area surrounding Kington, Huntington and Eardisley there are scarcely any confirmed examples of domestic property construction attributable to dates earlier than c.1420. As the number of properties being subject to tree-ring dating has increased many properties surveyed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England in the 1930s have been shown to have later dates than those recorded. Owain Glyndŵr's uprising of 1400-1412 has been blamed in some quarters for the destruction of medieval property in the Welsh March. A contemporaneous set of reeves' accounts from the manors of English and Welsh Huntington establish that Welsh attacks locally were minimal. It is apparent that the register of Bishop Mascall of Hereford dating from 1404-16 has been misinterpreted and that the conclusion that Glyndŵr was responsible for the 'destruction' of thirty churches in Herefordshire is manifestly incorrect. The account of the visitation of Bishop Trefnant to many Herefordshire churches in 1397 appears to have been overlooked when studying the causes of desolation in the Marches after the Black Death of 1348, as have allusions to the twelve plague outbreaks in the succeeding sixty years which are referred to in contemporary documents. The further reduction in the male working population due to men from the March being recruited for military expeditions is another factor which may have contributed to a hiatus in house-building. This paper is intended to provide a balanced explanation for a state of affairs that undoubtedly exists but which, hitherto, has not been subject to a rigorous examination using original contemporaneous sources.

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade there has been a surge in the analysis and recording of timber-framed buildings in north-west Herefordshire. It has become apparent that there is a near void in the record relating to the survival or existence of domestic buildings dating from before *c.*1420. The Vernacular Architecture Group collates details of dendrochronological (tree-ring dating) surveys which can be accessed via its website. The only domestic timbers dating earlier than 1400 recorded in the Kington locality were found at Hergest Court. One was a re-used timber dated 1267; the other dates to 1307.[1] Suggett found a similar dating pattern in Wales.[2]

It is the stated position of some historians, e.g. Parry (1916),[3] Hodges (1995),[4] and James (2009),[5] that Glyndŵr was responsible for the 'destruction' of thirty churches in Herefordshire, and twenty-two in Shropshire, and that the surrounding countryside suffered from a 'scorched earth' effect. These opinions are largely based upon a return made by Bishop Robert Mascall to the exchequer in 1406. James cites the dendrochronological data as additional evidence. Suggett takes a much more considered approach and refers to the theory being 'tentative'. The sources discussed in this paper show that the 'evidence' upon which these views are based has been misunderstood, and there has been a failure to link the 'Glyndŵr effect' to other, far more

credible, primary local sources. The most significant of these, the accounts of various reeves of English and Welsh Huntington dated 1372[6] and 1404-7[7] appear to have been overlooked.

Those who hold the view that Welsh rebels destroyed the churches have given no explanation as to why this might be the case. They apparently believe that the rebels were drawn to churches in the Marches where their kinsmen worshipped and that they also destroyed domestic properties occupied for centuries by those of Welsh origin. The fact that, in many cases, neighbouring churches were not 'destroyed' is overlooked. The alleged 'destruction' conflicts with physical evidence and ignores the fact that seventy-six churches in the Diocese of Herefordshire had serious structural defects in 1397, out of 211 visited by Bishop Trefnant[8] some ten years before the survey ordered by Mascall in 1405/6 adduced as 'evidence', and before the start of Owain's uprising. In the geographical area discussed here, the inhabitants were predominantly 'Welsh' and the Welsh language was spoken well into the 16th century.[9] Much of the March was already desolate by the time that Glyndŵr emerged. There were twelve outbreaks of plague between 1348 and 1407 recorded in the bishops' registers according to Dohar [10] and Hatcher.[11] Some of these were as virulent as the Black Death. The ordination accounts in the registers of successive bishops from John Trilleck through to Mascall confirm the extent of mortality amongst the clergy. The registers also contain references to plague in the general population, as does the visitation return of 1397 and the account of Roger de Barton, reeve of the manor of English Huntington in 1372. [12]

A further cause of depopulation, and lack of personnel to undertake building repairs, was the regular recruitment of men from the March for military service. In addition to mortality suffered in battle, there were substantial losses due to illness. Muster lists from the period confirm that many local families supplied men for military expeditions. [13] There was a tradition in the Welsh borders of supplying archers in particular.

It is not suggested that the Welsh rebellion had no effect upon the survival or building of domestic property in the March. It is apparent that the fear of attack by Glyndŵr's rebels did impinge upon life in the manors of English and Welsh Huntington. However, the re-discovery of a set of reeves' accounts dating from 1404-1407 supplies a primary source which provides evidence that attacks in this area were negligible.[14] It is also possible to extrapolate from primary episcopal sources that much of the rest of Herefordshire was not affected significantly by the uprising, but that the countryside was similarly blighted. It is my theory that the lack of property dated prior to 1400 in the Kington area is due to a fundamental lack of maintenance resulting from a labour shortage, depopulation caused mainly by the many plague outbreaks over a sixty year period, exacerbated by mortality resulting from military expeditions, and a fear of the Welsh rebels.

OWAIN GLYNDŴR'S MOVEMENTS: OCTOBER 1403 TO MAY 1406

The above time-frame is the only period during which Glyndŵr could have carried out the alleged attacks on many of the churches listed in Mascall's report. It is also the only period that domestic buildings could have been destroyed in large numbers in Kington and the surrounding area. As discussed subsequently, we have the accounts of various reeves of the manor of Huntington (near Kington) from October 1403 until 1407.[15] These confirm that substantial repairs were carried out on Huntington Castle to protect against possible Welsh raids, although none had taken place to date. Levyot's report to Bishop Mascall upon benefices is dated 6 May 1406 and the listed churches had to have been 'destroyed' by then to be included.

We can track Glyndŵr's reported movements during the period 1404-7 and compare these

with details of the churches allegedly 'destroyed'. Using a summary set out in Hodges's history it is stated that, in 1404, Owain took Cardiff, Aberystwyth and Harlech, held his Parliament at Machynlleth, treated with the Scots, the French and the Avignon pope.[16] In 1405 there were Welsh defeats at Grosmont and Pwll Melyn. In August 1405 Owain was in Milford Haven or Tenby greeting his French allies.[17] In 1405-06 there was a possible Franco-Welsh attack on the suburbs of Worcester (many historians doubt this), Whitney, New Radnor, and Presteigne—to name some of the 'destroyed' thirty Herefordshire churches—followed by Henry IV's invasion of Wales. The 1404-7 period is crucial when considering Mascall's return. It is patently obvious that Glyndŵr himself could not possibly have taken in the places mentioned by Hodges—Llangarron, Eardisley, Kington, Lyonshall, Peterchurch as well as twenty-two churches in Shropshire. Including the 'devastated' manors of 'Bertone' and Tupsley we have a substantial area. Making huge detours whilst en route to a strategic objective makes no sense.

ALLEGED ATTACKS UPON PRESTEIGNE, WHITNEY, LEOMINSTER AND NEW RADNOR

According to Williams, there is documentary evidence that there was an attack at Presteigne in 1401 and that tenements were destroyed with 'a substantial loss of rents'.[18] Hodges states that 'There is no doubt that in June 1402 Owain Glyn Dŵr invaded Radnorshire'.[19] Presteigne is one of the churches on Mascall's list. According to Keith Parker, 'The timbered roof...of the nave [of St Andrew's, Presteigne] dates from the 14th century rebuilding'.[20] If this survived attack by fire, any raid must have been pretty feeble. Similar observations can be made of many of those churches allegedly 'destroyed' by the rebels. However, during the Battle of Pilleth, Sir Robert de Whitney was killed along with many relatives. Robert had been Marshal of the King's Household in 1394 before deserting to side with the Duke of Hereford, later Henry IV. In 1404 the latter awarded his son, also Sir Robert, a grant of various lordships and castles, including Clifford, during the minority of the Earl of March.[21] The award contains the following: 'Know ye that since the father of Robert Whitney, Esquire, and his uncle and a great part of his relatives have been killed in our service at the capture of Edmund Mortimer [at Pilleth], and his property has been burnt and destroyed by our rebels of Wales...'.[22] Robinson avers that the Whitneys perhaps used Pencombe as their principal residence at this time and 'only occupied the Castle at Whitney as Lords Marchers or for purposes of the chase', suggesting that the castle was poorly garrisoned.[23] It does appear, from the details in the reeve's account for Huntington that it was common practice for castles only to be garrisoned once a threat emerged. Henry IV's instructions in September 1403 for Huntington, Eardisley and Lyonshall castles, amongst many others, to be readied for defence against the Welsh also appear to bear this out.[24]

Watkins states that the church at Whitney 'considered to have been erected on the left bank of the river by the monks of St. Guthlac, Hereford, previous to the arrival of the Normans, was swept away, together with the Rectory House, in 1735, by a flood of unprecedented violence' and that a new church was built in 1748.[25] The RCHME claim that elements and artefacts from the old church were incorporated in the new building.[26] If Watkins is correct, and it was a pre-Norman church that was destroyed by the flood, it could not have been 'destroyed' by Glyndŵr over three centuries beforehand as indicated by Hodges and James.

After the Welsh victory at Pilleth on 22 June 1402, Howse states that 'Edmund [Mortimer] was taken to Leominster, where Owen plundered the Priory and much other property, before returning to Wales with his prisoner'.[27] Howse gives no source for this statement. The Hillabys also mention Owain's alleged stay in Leominster but refer to this as being 'a local, but unsupported tradition' mentioned by the Leominster historian, John Price in 1795.[28] Reeves

refers to the 'event' but supplies no source.[29] Several questions arise from the assertion that Glyndŵr reached Leominster. Why was the 'plundering of the priory' not mentioned in Trefnant's register when the 'plundering' of Tintern was referred to in that of Mascall? If Owain's rebels were so intent upon destroying churches, why did they not sack the priory church of St Peter and St Paul? Similarly, assuming that Glyndŵr approached Leominster from the west on the 'king's highway', the modern A44, why spare the churches at Pembridge and Monkland? If he came from the south-west, along the line of today's A4112, why not attack Kinnersley, Sarnesfield, Weobley and Dilwyn churches—none of which appear in Mascall's return to the king?[30]

The attack upon New Radnor mentioned by Hodges to which Leland refers in his *'Itinerary'* of 1536-9 is possible.[31] Leland's graphic description: 'Radenor partely destroied by Owen Glindour, and the voice is there that after he wonne the castel he tooke a iii. score men that had the garde of the castel, and causid them to be heddid on the brinke of the castel yarde...' has the ring of truth. In 1845, the *Illustrated London News* reported that, during the rebuilding of the church, a large number of skeletons with detached skulls were discovered whilst digging foundations.[32] Leland refers to 'an olde churche stondynge now as a chapell by the castle' as well as the nearby 'new paroche churche'.[33] Both churches must have been at New Radnor at the time of the raid in 1401-2 if, as stated in some sources, the 'new' church was of 14th century origin.[34] It was thus not likely to have been 'destroyed' by 1406 as a result of Welsh raids if it survived the castle assault. Most of Glyndŵr's support outside Wales was in the west of Herefordshire and it is possible that some raids carried out in Radnorshire were by local sympathisers. Those who believe that Glyndŵr attacked New Radnor castle and church, do not appear to have explained the fact that the 'olde churche' was still standing, and apparently in use, when Leland visited despite the claims that it was 'destroyed' some 135 years earlier.

HEREFORDSHIRE IN 1397

In 1397, Bishop Trefnant set out upon a visitation of his diocese. The record of this provides a grim account of the state of various parishes. Amongst those who voiced their views to the bishop when he came to their 'town' were the parishioners of Eardisley:- 'Parochiani dicunt quod cancellus patitur defectum in tectura et aliis in defectum rectoris'.[35] Whittick translates this as 'The parishioners say that the chancel suffers defects in the roof and other ways in default of the rector'.[36] Discipline would appear to have broken down in many respects. There were several complaints against the vicar who was suspected of living with two women who helped him ring the church bells 'contrary to good church practice'. It is not immediately clear whether the criticism was for inappropriate campanology, 'incontinence', or both (Fig. 1). [37]

The plague outbreaks of the previous half-century had apparently taken their toll upon the maintenance of church buildings; the bishop's visitations elsewhere revealed that the churches at Clifford, Cusop and Michaelchurch (upon-Arrow) were amongst many in need of repairs to doors, windows and roofs, the first two being on Mascall's return. More than a third of all churches visited by Trefnant in 1397 required extensive repairs; seventy-six of the 211 listed. A further two had no vicars after the death of the incumbents.[38] Given the importance of the church to the community, the local housing stock was probably similarly blighted, with essential repairs not being undertaken due to a shortage of manpower caused mainly by the many plague outbreaks. Local domestic roofs were mostly of thatch at this time and materials used, such as rushes and straw, were not long-lasting.[39] A failure to repair these regularly would inevitably have accelerated dereliction.



Figure 1. St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, © Jaggery – Geograph.

That only thirty Herefordshire churches were listed as having ruined benefices in Mascall's return to the king in 1406 may appear surprising given the war, pestilence and lack of order in the countryside. However, the bishop had only asked his commissary, William Levyot, to list benefices in the March that were ruined and those of poor nuns and hospitallers. The visitation of 1397 included areas outside the March, but the 211 establishments listed fell well short of the overall total in the diocese. According to Dohar there were 'just under four hundred parish churches and chapels scattered through the diocese'.[40] If it is assumed that the percentage of 'destroyed'/ 'defective'/ 'dilapidated' churches in the diocese was the same as that evidenced by the visitation (36 per cent), it implies that there were some 140 establishments with structural defects in total. In addition, some churches had no vicars due to mortality (e.g. Ganerew, where the vicar had died eighteen months beforehand), sickness (e.g. Peterchurch), or unexplained absence (e.g. Lyonshall and Weobley).[41] There was a shortage of clergy and many churches changed hands frequently. As is still the case, it was quite usual for a priest to look after a number of churches simultaneously. The chaplain at Garway celebrated mass there and at Wormbridge; the chaplain at Foy was also the vicar of Llangarron, another of the churches on Levyot's list.[42] As Clifford, Cusop, and Eardisley were in need of repairs in 1397, it is probable that they had deteriorated by 1406.

The visitation return also provides confirmation that the plague had taken its toll on the diocese some years before Glyndŵr's uprising. The parishioners of Leominster complained that there were insufficient burial books to cope with '16 or 18 corpses on the same day'.[43] Many rectories were in ruins (e.g. Byford, Little Cowarne, Colwall).[44] Moral discipline had declined. Vicars were accused of usury (e.g. Eardisley and Yazor), turning church property into farmyards (e.g. Leominster, Weobley and Coddington), and fornication (e.g. New Radnor, Eardisley and Winforton). The lists of parishioners presented accused of adultery, fornication and 'incontinence' were long in some cases. At Eardisley fifteen individuals were cited for fornication and, at Brilley, thirty individuals were cited for fornication, 'improper unions' and 'incontinence'.[45] Complaints of this type would doubtless be made at every visitation but large

parts of the countryside appear to have been suffering from a malaise that brought ruin to many areas some years before Glyndŵr's uprising.

THE PLAGUE IN HEREFORDSHIRE

The account of the reeve of the manor of English Huntington in 1372 is of particular significance because it was contemporaneous, written by a local man, in this case one Roger de Barton, and provides a rare secular source. Barton ('Beuretone' in Domesday Book) is located just to the north of Kington, below Rushock. Under the heading 'Allowances of rents and defaults', Roger lists a raft of names 'in default'. These include 'John, son of Roger atte Wode', 'Thomas Russhok', 'John, son of Richard de Barton' and, 'Agnes atte Hulle de Pembreshok' (Fig 4). The rents could not be collected 'because they are dead and their land is in the Lord's hands'.[46] The 'Lord' here was Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton.

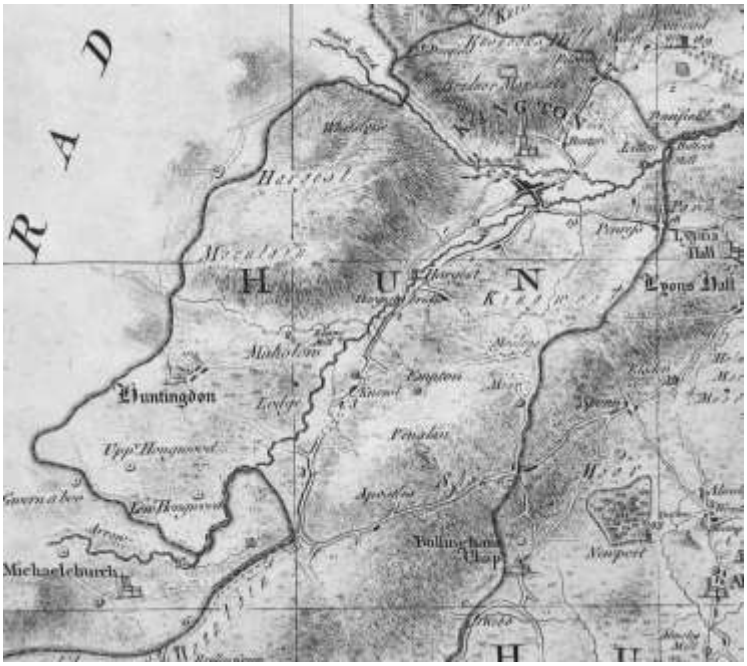


Figure 2. Section of Isaac Taylor's map, 1754 (north at top), © D. Lovelace

Rents are recorded as in arrears from the customary householders in fifteen instances and there were seven dead tenants. These properties had reverted to the lord as replacement tenants could not be found. Substantial arrears are recorded as owed by John ap Aleyn, Philip Nichol, David Moseley and William Hager, all previous reeves who had died. Many of the tenants' names recorded in the accounts for 1372-3 have been crossed through. As with documents in other parts of the country, this appears to indicate that those marked this way were plague fatalities, in this instance of the severe outbreak in *c.*1371. In a section relating to 'Ploughing', it is recorded 'Of which in default of ploughs of the tenants, below written, of Russhok, being in the lord's hands there for default, namely the tenement of John, son of Philip, the tenement of Margery Tyby, the tenement of Roger le ?Marcer, Muriel Croft, the tenement of John le Mason, the tenement of Isolda, daughter of Eleanor, Heyne Croft, and the tenement of John, son of Philip

Lollewall, 24 ploughs. In default of the ploughs of the tenants of Esthergast [East Hergest] and Westhergast for the aforesaid reason, namely the tenement of Nicholas, son of Agnes, William Daykyn, Philip Pous and the tenement of Franceys, 12 ploughs'. There is also a crossed out entry for Richard Frene and his son and heir who was in his minority.[47] The whole of this record has been scored through.



Figure 3. Section of Budgen's map of 1815 showing Pembers Oak (Pound) (north at top), © D. Lovelace.

In 1299, there were 106 'free tenants' in Huntington and Kington.[48] We do not know how many there were in 1372-3, but the fact that at least twenty-one families afflicted at that time are named, indicates a very high mortality rate bearing in mind that the accounts are a snapshot in time and do not include those who perished subsequently. The names of many others, of lower social class, would rarely be entered in such accounts. Rushock, Mos(e)ley and 'Hargest' are shown on Taylor's map (Fig. 2). 'Lollewall' [Lilwall formerly 'Lilwell'] and 'Pembreshok' ['Pound'/ Pembers Oak] are shown on Budgen's map (Fig. 3).



Figure 4. Probable site of the house of Agnes atte Hull of Pembreshok (at the hill of Pembers Oak), 2013, © C. Boylett

The Black Death erupted during the pontificate of Bishop of Hereford John Trilleck who assumed office in 1344 and served until his death in 1360. Dohar has researched this period extensively so far as Hereford is concerned and concludes that 'Nearly half the diocesan clergy had been struck down in the first plague'.[49] More parish churches changed hands at this time in Herefordshire than at any time before or since and it is established that some clerical institutions were omitted from the bishop's register.[50] Details for the deanery of Hereford are lost, and this was the most populous part of the diocese. In 1348 there were a total of eleven institutions to Hereford benefices, four of which were ascribed to death. In 1349, there were 160 institutions: fifty-six of these were specifically described as resulting from death; eighty-eight were given no cause. It is probable that most of the latter figure resulted from death by plague as well as most of the fifty-six because, if we look at the figures for preceding and subsequent years, the number of vacancies ascribed to 'death' is minimal.[51] In 1352, a joint petition by the churches at Great Colington and Little Colington was lodged with Bishop Trilleck referring to 'the sore calamity of pestilence of men lately passed' which had so reduced the congregations that there was barely enough income to support one priest, let alone two. The two parishes were allowed to amalgamate.[52]

One has to treat the episcopal records with care, because they may not be representative. Nevertheless, the fact that so many clergy were dying would have had a devastating effect upon church congregations and undermined their spirits. Trilleck was succeeded by Lewis Charlton in 1361. His election in October took place during an outbreak of plague given the name 'pestilentia puerorum' due to the number of young people it killed. These had been born after the Black

Death and had not gained immunity against the disease.[53] Edward III suspended all royal assemblies and courts throughout May and June 1361 and, just before the latter were due to re-open, again suspended them due to another plague outbreak.[54] The church's courts in Hereford were adjourned 'on account of the pestilence raging there at the time' and remained closed until September when the epidemic eased.[55] The vicar of Kington, William de Lowe, perished during the 1361-2 outbreak and had still not been replaced by 1366. A commission was issued on 30 January in that year into the right of patronage and vacancy of the living.[56] Bishop Charlton was obliged to merge the parishes of Puddleston and Whyle.[57] An indication as to the mortality suffered as a result of this plague can be gleaned from a dispute that arose in 1361 and ran for years before an appeal was finally settled in 1379. One witness deposed that twenty parishioners had been buried from St Peter's in just one day after the Black Death, with 120 being dealt with similarly during that epidemic. Other witnesses made similar points, confirming that forty parishioners had been dealt with in the same manner during the 1361 outbreak.[58] In Leominster, there is a reference in Trefnant's 1397 parish visitation to '16 or 18' corpses on some days during the plague.[59] Every bishop of Hereford after Trilleck faced the problem of finding sufficient men 'in number and in quality' to effect the administration of the parishes.[60] This was not a problem confined to the church. It affected every walk of life and, inevitably, led to the ruin of property, ecclesiastical, military and domestic, on a colossal scale.

William Courtenay succeeded Charlton as bishop in 1369. Dohar speculates that Charlton, who died on 23 May 1369, may have succumbed to plague as the cause of his death is not recorded in any records. Courtenay did not actually take up his post until well into 1370. During this period Hereford suffered yet another plague epidemic.[61] He was succeeded by John Gilbert in 1375 and John Trefnant was elected to the post in 1397. There were local plague outbreaks during these years and the record of Trefnant's visitation in 1397 demonstrates that much of the diocese was ruined physically, financially and morally, before Glyndŵr's uprising. Bishop Mascall, who took office in 1404, was faced with yet another epidemic in 1407. On 1 August in that year he issued a mandate to the dean and archdeacons to direct parish processions 'to implore the divine mercy to avert the threatened outbreak of plague'.[62]

The huge fall in population from plague mortality led to a reduction in housing needs, as did the increase in the conversion of arable land to pasture which happened on a large scale locally as a cause and effect of depopulation. An inquisition undertaken in 1419, after the execution of the Lollard martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, refers to 'messuages in ruins' in Ailey (near Kinnersley) and Kinley (near Letton), both areas that became prime grazing land.[63] The need to use marginal land in the March declined as the death toll rose. The fact that sheep farming became very profitable, with wool being easy to export, also added to the withdrawal from arable land.

Roger de Barton's accounts covered the Bollingham area in 'Eardisley Foreign', and the settlements at Huntington, Barton, Bredward, Bradnor, Kington, Chickward, Moseley, Mahollam, Hergest, Empton, Lilwall and Pembers Oak, and the Kingswood area in general.[64] There is no reason to believe that the residents of 'Eardisley Borough', Pembridge and Lyonshall were less affected by the plague. It is widely accepted that deaths from the Black Death of 1348-9 were between 35 and 45 per cent of the general population.[65] There were additional epidemics in Herefordshire in 1361-2, 1369-71, 1374-5, 1390, 1400 and 1407 to date just six of the dozen that occurred from 1348 up to 1407 inclusive.[66] The population did not recover to 1348 levels until *c.*1550.[67] There is no known evidence that overall fatalities in Herefordshire were significantly worse than elsewhere but it may be the case that there were more outbreaks due to

the scattered nature of the population. In Oxford, for example, the 1361 and 1371 outbreaks in Herefordshire were mirrored in date but deaths were fewer. The 1361 event 'seems to have been much less severe than the first [i.e. 1348]; only 11 wills were enrolled in the town's register'. There do not appear to have been additional serious outbreaks in the period up until 1406 in the town.[68] There were fewer national outbreaks in the 14th century in many places outside Herefordshire.[69] The continuing outbreaks would have sapped people psychologically, irrespective of the fact that the death toll severely reduced those with house building skills, such as carpenters, masons, tilers, plasterers and thatchers. Amongst those listed as manorial tenants *c.*1300 with 'occupational' surnames were Robert le Walkare (walk-fulling miller), Philip Pistator (baker), Peter le Chaloner (coverlet maker), Matilda le Chartare (parchment seller), Richard Molendinus (miller), Isabel la Carpentare, Luke Fisher, John le Mason, and Henry Cyrothecarius (glover). In *c.*1400 Simon Cook, Henry Tiller (tiler), Matilda Walker, John Sumpter (pack-horse driver), Philip Taillor and William Cissor are recorded.[70] What is notable about the roll of tenants is that each community often had just one person whose name was derived from a particular skill such as 'Tiler'. To lose, say, 40 per cent of a local population to the haphazard nature of the plague would have caused economic chaos. A tiler or thatcher dying in Huntington could not readily be replaced by one from, say, Peterchurch, even if one knew that the latter had survived.

MILITARY RECRUITMENT

The 'Hundred Years' War' rumbled on from 1337 until 1453. Military recruitment from the Welsh borders was significant and a high proportion of Henry V's archers at Agincourt in 1415 were from the March, as evidenced by the muster lists.[71] Some of the same family names can be found in the accounts of the various reeves, amongst them 'Vachan' (Vaughan), 'Barton', 'Hergast', and 'Huntyngdon' (Huntington). Mortality rates were high, with many of those signing up actually perishing from disease; dysentery, or 'body flux' as it was called, being the most common.[72] Although nothing like as serious as mortality from plague, which claimed lives indiscriminately, deaths on military service were mainly restricted to fit males thereby reducing the peacetime workforce. The Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 between Henry IV and Henry Percy involved an estimated 17,000 soldiers and was the first occasion upon which longbowmen had fought each other upon English soil. One estimate puts the number of deaths at 2,000.[73] In 1372, David and Thomas Vaughan were recruited as archers for a naval expedition captained by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.[74] Walter Vaughan was a man-at-arms in 1405 on a Welsh expedition. In 1405, Hegyn Hergest was indentured for an 'Expedition Wales' captained by Sir Richard Arundell.[75] In 1417, Owain Hergest is recorded as an archer on a French expedition led by Sir William Bourchier, the very man who inspected Huntington Castle in 1403.[76] The Vaughan family were associated with Bredwardine and, subsequently, Hergest Court.[77] Some names in the musters can be correlated with those found in a variety of local documents—wills, inquisitions post mortem, Chancery cases and the like. These include 'Pember', 'Baskerville', 'Crompe', 'Smert' and 'Howell'.[78]

Although Agincourt did not take place until after Mascall's return to the exchequer, military casualties had been fairly substantial in the preceding century. The battles of Bannockburn (1314), Myton (1319), Boroughbridge (1322), Dupplin Moor (1332), Hallidon Hill (1333), Neville's Cross (1346), Otterburn (1388), and Homildon Hill (1402) would all have taken their toll upon the indentured men from the Marches.

THE REGISTER OF ROBERT MASCALL, BISHOP OF HEREFORD 1404-1416

Mascall was born in Ludlow and became a Carmelite friar whilst a young man. Educated at Oxford, he was in Ireland in 1400-1 where he was granted the temporalities of the see of Meath and was then referred to as the 'King's Confessor'. He was consecrated bishop on 6 July 1404 and died, in office, on 22 December 1416.[79]

On 12 May 1405, Mascall commissioned William Levyot, rector of Kinnersley, 'ad inquirendum de beneficiis in Marchia Wallie destructis, ac de beneficiis pauperum monialium et hospitalariorum'.[80] Parry's translation of this instruction is, 'A commission to the rector of Kinnersley to inform the bishop, after due inquiry, of the benefices that have been ruined in the Welsh March and of those that belong to poor nuns and hospitallers, that he may acquaint the Exchequer.' [81] On 12 February 1406 Mascall received a writ from the exchequer requesting that he submit a return for the king's aid.[82] On 6 May 1406, the bishop submitted his return and Parry 'translates' this event as 'Return by the bishop to the exchequer of benefices which owing to losses in the war or the poverty of poor nuns and hospitallers are exempt from paying the king's aid'.[83] It is this return which has influenced Hodges, James, and others, to claim that Glyndŵr destroyed the thirty churches in Herefordshire.

Parry, the transcriber of the *Registrum*, makes a similar claim despite the fact that he himself translates 'destructis' as 'ruined', not 'destroyed', and he refers to 'benefices' not 'churches'. In his introduction to the transcription he makes the assertion that 'The course of one of the raids could clearly be traced by the ruined parishes in the deanery of Archenfield—the devastation extended to the river Wye, and was stopped only by the banks of that river'.[84] It did not occur to Parry that the Wye marked the eastern extent of Levyot's writ although the exact limits of the 'Welsh March' were imprecise. It is not that there were not additional 'ruined' or 'destroyed' churches to the east; merely that Levyot was not charged with recording them.

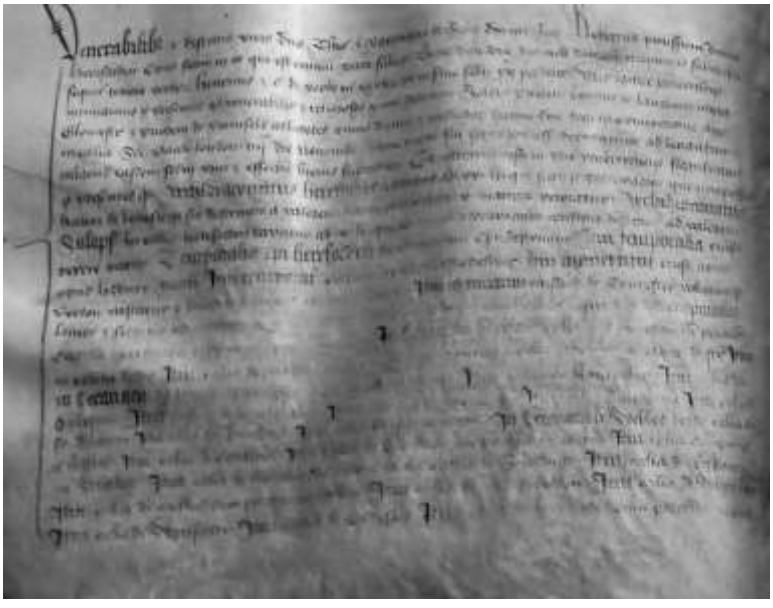


Figure 5. Section of folio 9b: Mascall's register, May 1406, HAS, AL19/6.

As can be seen from Figure 5 above, the first section of the entry in the register confirming the details of the return is badly faded in places, as it was a century ago when Parry transcribed it, but the majority of the return is quite legible (Fig. 6).[85] The details of 'poor nuns and hospitallers' were routinely provided to the exchequer for tax exemption purposes. However, there is nothing to compare with the entries relating to the Welsh March from earlier registers. Mascall must have been made aware of Glyndŵr's rebellion and made assumptions that the Welsh may have damaged much property, reflecting the ability to pay tax. The fact that Mascall instructed his commissary as early as May 1405, a year before he received the writ from the exchequer, is noteworthy, because it implies that he was given advanced notice that his return could include 'ruined' churches in the Marches. William Levyot was also commissary to Bishop Trefnant and is referred to in the latter's register in 1391.[86] He was appointed rector of Kinnersley in 1382 and would have been well versed in local knowledge and folklore.[87] The Welsh victory at Pilleth, the possible massacre at New Radnor, the attack upon Whitney Castle and the instructions given by Henry IV to fortify various castles on the March all pointed to this being an area that might have suffered at the hands of the Welsh. The bishop was not likely to ignore an opportunity to have his levy reduced.

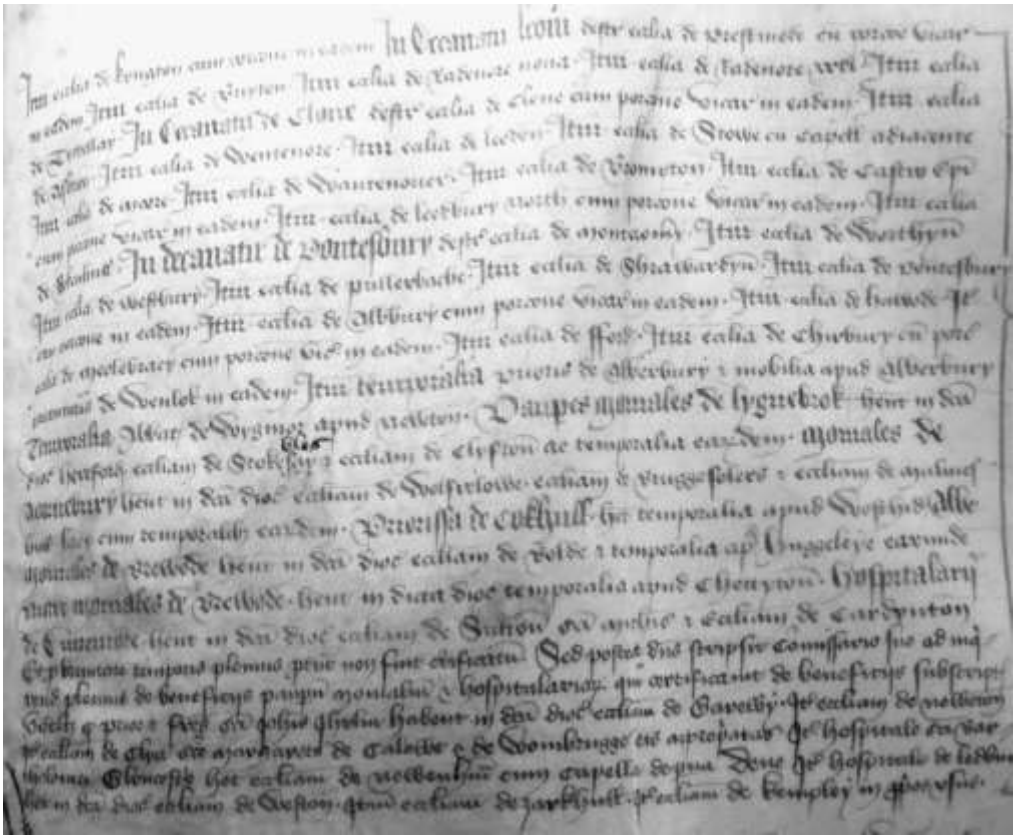


Figure 6. Section of folio 10, Mascall's register; May 1406 (HAS, AL19/6)

What was sought by Mascall was a list of those benefices unable to pay a tax upon their incomes, not a list of 'destroyed' churches. Some historians appear to have assumed that 'destructis' means 'destroyed by rebels'. I do not believe that this was the intended meaning. In two legible cases at 'Bertone' (Barton, Hereford) and 'Toupesley' (Tupsley), referring to the manors of the Bishop of Hereford, the phrase 'vastatur per solidarios et logers' is appended against each place-name. The Latin root 'vastus' appears to equate to 'destroyed' and 'vastitas' is 'a waste', 'devastation', 'ruin' or 'destruction'.[88] In these instances it does appear that the buildings or estates in question were 'wasted' as a result of specific acts because the miscreants are defined as 'solidarios' and 'logers'. Neither of these words appears to have survived into Renaissance Latin, but a crude translation may be 'soldiers'/ 'troops' and 'squatters'. There is an obvious difference between 'destruitur' and 'vastatur'. If churches had really been 'destroyed' by the direct actions of individuals, one would expect the same word to be used as related to the manors; i.e. 'vastatur'. Copplestone-Crow indicates that Barton, described as 'Bertone' in 1356 was derived from the old English 'beretūn, meaning 'grange'.[89] It is conceivable that Barton and Tupsley were looted but almost certainly not by Welsh raiders from over the border. Tupsley is two miles to the east of Hereford. It is a township within the parish of Hampton Bishop. The latter's church of St Andrew is of Norman origin and still retains features that pre-date Glyndŵr, including trussed-rafter roofs 'largely 14C'.[90] One has to question whether the Welsh rebellion spread this far into Herefordshire.

In the vast majority of cases, including references to Eardisley, Kington, Lyonshall, New Radnor and Presteigne, the wording is very different. In the case of Eardisley—'item ecclesia de Erdesley'—the governing word is 'destruitur'. This cannot mean 'destroyed' because of the surviving pre-1400 features in most of these buildings, a point made by Stanford: 'This did not mean that all had been razed to the ground; far from it, for only Bacton, Hentland and St Weonards in that list exhibit architectural evidence of large-scale rebuilding in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century'.[91] It is also the case that some of the places mentioned have the phrase 'cum porcione' (e.g. Kington) appended or 'cum porcione vicarii' (e.g. Presteigne). These are references to glebe land. You cannot 'destroy' land, but you can 'ruin' it for productive purposes through neglect. As the same word 'destruitur' is applied to both land and buildings, it must have had a meaning applicable to both**.** The fact is that a third of the churches visited by Bishop Trefnant in 1397, before the Welsh uprising, were neglected and dilapidated in some way or other.[92] Amongst these were, Eardisley, Clifford and Cusop, all churches 'destruitur' in 1406. After nine years of further neglect, rebellion, plague and military recruitment it is scarcely surprising that matters had worsened. Table 1 compares the entries in the 1397 visitation return with those recorded in Mascall's return to the exchequer of 1406. Of the twenty-eight identifiable Herefordshire churches listed as 'destruitur' in 1406, thirteen had problems in 1397 that may well have led to the benefices being ruined. Of these, ten had defects to the fabric of the church buildings which, if left unrepaired, would inevitably have caused churches and glebe land to be abandoned. The use of the word 'ecclesia' by Mascall is in the context of 'church = income-producing organisation capable of paying tax', not 'church = physical building', as reinforced by use of 'benefice'. In some cases, the absence of vicars for long periods would also have resulted in dereliction and a loss of income. A benefice may have been listed as 'destruitur' because the vicar had fled the neighbourhood, or died, even though the church was in good repair. Lyonshall's vicar was absent in 1397, and had been cited as such on four occasions. Unsurprisingly, the benefice was listed as 'destruitur' in 1406. There is little doubt that the plague

played a significant part, as did a fear of Welsh attacks even though these did not materialise in many areas.

CHURCH	Defects in 1397	'Ruined'/'destroyed' in 1406
Weobley Deanery		
Kington	No breviary.	'destruitur' + glebe land
Huntington	Recorded. No mention of defects.	Not recorded
Eardisley	Chancel, roof etc. Only one breviary. Vicar, a usurer, living with two women failed to find chaplain for Bollingham Chapel. Stolen chalice. No bell ropes. Church 'disgraced with hemp and flax'.	'destruitur'
Cusop	Chancel in ruins, roof, walls, windows, few services, no baptisms.	'destruitur'
Clifford	Roof, belfry, 'other ornaments'	'destruitur'
Dorstone	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'
Lyonshall	Vicar absent. Summoned for 4th time to appear before Bishop.	'destruitur' + glebe land
Moccas	Not recorded	'destruitur'
Whitney	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'
Winforton	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'
Willersley	Recorded. No mention of defects.	Not recorded
Bredwardine	No glass in chancel. Font unbolted. Timbers in churchyard. Vicar's livestock stolen. Churchyard not enclosed. Abbot of Wigmore not paying for clerk. Tithes unpaid.	'destruitur'
Vowchurch	Chancel roof 'in bad state'. Agreement made with carpenter.	'destruitur'
Snodhill Castle chapel	Not recorded	'destruitur'
Bacton	Chancel, roofs, walls, glass	'destruitur'
Peterchurch	Chancel roof, walls, glass. Vicar sick. No services.	'destruitur'
Leominster Deanery		
Knill	Recorded. No mention of defects.	Not recorded
New Radnor	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'*
Old Radnor	Chapel not consecrated. Other failings implied.	'destruitur'
Titley	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'
Byton	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur'

Presteigne	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur' + glebe land
Michaelchurch (on Arrow)	Chancel, roof, windows, door	Not recorded
Leominster	Not enough burial service books during plague when '16 or 18 corpses on one and the same day'. Churchyard in foul state due to grazing by vicar's cows.	Not recorded
Hereford Deanery		
Kingstone	Recorded. No mention of defects.	'destruitur' + glebe land
Madley	Not recorded	'destruitur' + glebe land
Archenfield Deanery		
Llanrothal	Chancel unroofed and windows broken. Prior of Monmouth has violated sequestration of tithes by bishop.	'destruitur'
Hentland	Chancel roof, walls and glass.	'destruitur'
Llangarron	Lost chalices. Vicar also serves at Newtown.	'destruitur'
Dukestone *(unidentified)*	Not recorded	'destruitur'
Kenderchurch	Not recorded	'destruitur'
Monmouth	House of the benefice 'is falling to the ground in default of the Rector'	'destruitur'
St. Weonards	Vicar of Lugwardine failed to find 2 chaplains for divine service at St. Weonards and one for the chapel of Treferanon and of Penros. Vicar frequents pubs and fornicates.	'destruitur'
St. Dubricius	Not recorded	'destruitur'
One illegible church	?	'destruitur'

**Leland mentions two churches here in 1536-9.*

Table 1. Bishop Trefnant's visitation of 1397 (Hereford Cathedral Library, 1773) compared to Bishop Mascall's return of 1406 (HAS, AL19/6)

In fact, there are at least thirty-seven further churches and religious establishments that are described as being 'dilapidated' or 'neglected' in Mascall's register. Only in the case of Tintern Abbey were 'the Welsh' blamed for its 'plundering' and, by this time, they were blamed for just about every local act of brigandry.[93] In Herefordshire, churches listed, such as Dilwyn, Stoke Lacy and Bodenham were suffering from a lack of maintenance which, in many cases, resulted in the sequestration of their revenues.[94] The failure to keep up general repairs is very likely to have been due to a lack of revenue and a shortage of manpower amongst both the clergy and the laity who would be called upon to repair leaking roofs and suchlike. The register only appears to refer to establishments where no local effort was made to carry out repairs and where there was the threat of income sequestration by the bishop. It is very likely that there were scores more churches in disrepair given the numbers recorded by Trefnant in 1397.

CHURCH (23 of 76 churches recorded as damaged in 1397)	**Defects recorded in 1397 visitation in churches outside the scope of Levyot's report in 1406.**
Brinsop	Roof defective
Burghill	Roof defective
Mansel Gamage	Chancel windows broken, defective catch, chancel walls not whitewashed nor adorned. Income sequestrated. Chantry priest absent.
Byford	Defects in roof and glass. Rector's house suffers defects in roof, walls and shutters.
Yazor	Chantry vacant for long time. Vicar guilty of usury.
Weobley	Rector's corn winnowed in churchyard. Vicar puts horses, cows and geese in churchyard. Bell ropes need maintenance. Vicar has taken timber and stones from floor of church. Vicar absent for period of 40 days. Candles, bread and wine not always supplied for every chaplain.
Llanwarne	Roof defective
Dewchurch	Chancel front ruined and gloomy. No deacon.
Newtown	Chancel roof defective and windows damaged
Ganerew	Church vacant through death of vicar over 6 months ago. William Staunton has made a tavern in the house of the rector.
Dixton	Chancel door broken
Little Marcle	Chancel has defective roof and lack of glass in windows
Colwall	Rector's house defective in roof, walls, shutters and other ways
Munsley	Rectory house has defects in roof, walls, shutters etc.
Eastnor	Rectory in ruins. Rector not resident.
Coddington	Rector's pigs chewing up churchyard. Fence broken. Vicar absent for baptisms etc. and keeps his concubine openly in his house. Keeps hay in bell-tower and bullocks in same. No bell ropes. Vicar occupies certain lands once given for maintenance of church.
Tarrington	Chancel defective in roofs, walls and windows
Westhide	Defective roof and defects in bell-tower
Much Marcle	Chancel needs repair. Injunction served on rector. Tithes sequestrated.
Donnington	Rector's house destroyed and fallen to the ground. Chancel roof.
Little Cowarne	Rector not resident. He rents benefice to a layman without a bishop's licence. Chancel ruined, defects in roof, walls and window glass. Rector's house ruined.
Kings Pyon	Chancel in ruins and suffers defects in roof and elsewhere
Elton	Chancel 'unroofed'

Table 2. List of 23 of 76 other Herefordshire churches recorded damaged in the 1397 visitation

Some accounts are somewhat skewed in that they refer to the 'destruction' of the churches and attribute this to the rebels, but ignore the 'wasting' of the temporalities and manors. Hodges does actually mention that some temporalities in Shropshire 'had been destroyed' and refers to

the manors at 'Berton' and 'Tupsley' being 'devastated' to the value of eight and ten marks respectively.[95] Whilst Enguerrand de Monstrelet states that Glyndŵr reached Worcester in 1405, 'it would have been the furthest that any foreign army had penetrated into England since 1066, but there is no mention of such a momentous campaign in any of the contemporary sources'.[96] It is improbable that the Hereford manors were raided by the Welsh. Table 2 indicates that many churches were 'ruined'/'destroyed'/'derelict' outside of the area allegedly raided by the Welsh a few years' later. The extent of the ruin often encompassed the rector's house which may well have been abandoned due to plague mortality. Since the visitation only took in 211 of some 400 churches, it is probable that there were many more with severe damage.

The register contains many references to 'dilapidations' for which the incumbents were liable. Benefice incomes were sequestrated to pay for repairs in many instances. In November 1406, the abbot of Tintern reported that his abbey had been 'plundered' by the Welsh. This indicates that Mascall's register was likely to mention specifically damage laid at the door of the rebels. In 1414, the register lists benefices in Shropshire 'destructa' 'per guerras Wallie'.[97] My preferred translation of these words is 'ruined during the Welsh wars' but the key word, as with the 1406 return, is 'beneficiorium' applied to the various establishments.

INCONSISTENCIES IN THE 'GLYNDŴR EFFECT' ARGUMENT

The interpretation of the register by Parry, Hodges, James and others gives rise to a mass of contradictions. The most obvious is that nearly all the churches 'destruitur' by 1406 exist today. Hodges explains this as follows:- 'The Latin *destruitur* "was destroyed" implies that the churches were gutted by fire rather than levelled to the ground'. If this were the case, it is inconceivable that 14th-century glass would have survived at Moccas (Figs 7a and b) or that the *c*.1280-dated oak effigy in St Mary's at Clifford would have emerged unscathed (Fig. 8).[98]



Figure 7a. St Michael's, Moccas, © Philip Pankhurst – Geograph.



Figure 7b. Fourteenth-century stained glass, Moccas, © Philip Halling – Geograph.



Figure 8. Oak effigy in St Mary's, Clifford *c*.1280, © Jeremy Bolwell - Geograph



There are countless other examples of fitments and architecture in the 'destroyed' churches that pre-date 1400, such as Madley's Nativity of the Virgin which has roofs 'originally ceiled in both the chancel and Chilstone Chapel, basically 14C' and wall-painting of similar date (Fig. 9).[99]

Figure 9. Medieval wall-painting at Madley

In Herefordshire, there are some striking omissions from the list of churches 'destruitur' if one tries to make the case that the word means that Welsh rebels attacked these. St Thomas à Becket at Huntington, near Kington, is not on the list. The basic church fabric dates from 'C13-C14'.[100] Given that Huntington is to the west of Kington, one might have expected it to have been attacked before the latter. Another odd omission is the church of St Mary Magdalene at Willersley. This dates from the 12th century, has a Norman window and features dated to the 13th and 14th centuries.[101] Today it is a private house. Given its position, just to the east of Winforton's church of St. Michael, and south of Eardisley's church also dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, both of which were allegedly 'destruitur', this seems peculiar. The maps (Figs. 10-12) below show churches allegedly destroyed and others nearby that are not on Mascall's list.

Eardisley is listed; Bollingham Chapel to the north built in 'robust late C13 style' with a nave roof dating 'C14-C15' is not.[102] St. Michael's at Lyonshall was 'destruitur' with its glebe land, but there is no suggestion that the adjacent castle, re-fortified against Glyndwr in 1403/4, was attacked.[103] Kington's church provides a significant rebuttal of the 'Glyndŵr effect'. In 2006, a dendrochronological survey was undertaken. Two corner posts from the lower part of the spire of St Mary's have given a timber-felling date of 1267-97.[104] If rebels attacked Kington's church, the survival of the spire frame would appear to indicate that little was damaged. According to

Kington's historian, 'In the year 1793 the old spire was destroyed by lightning'. This had been 'covered with oak shingles'.[105]

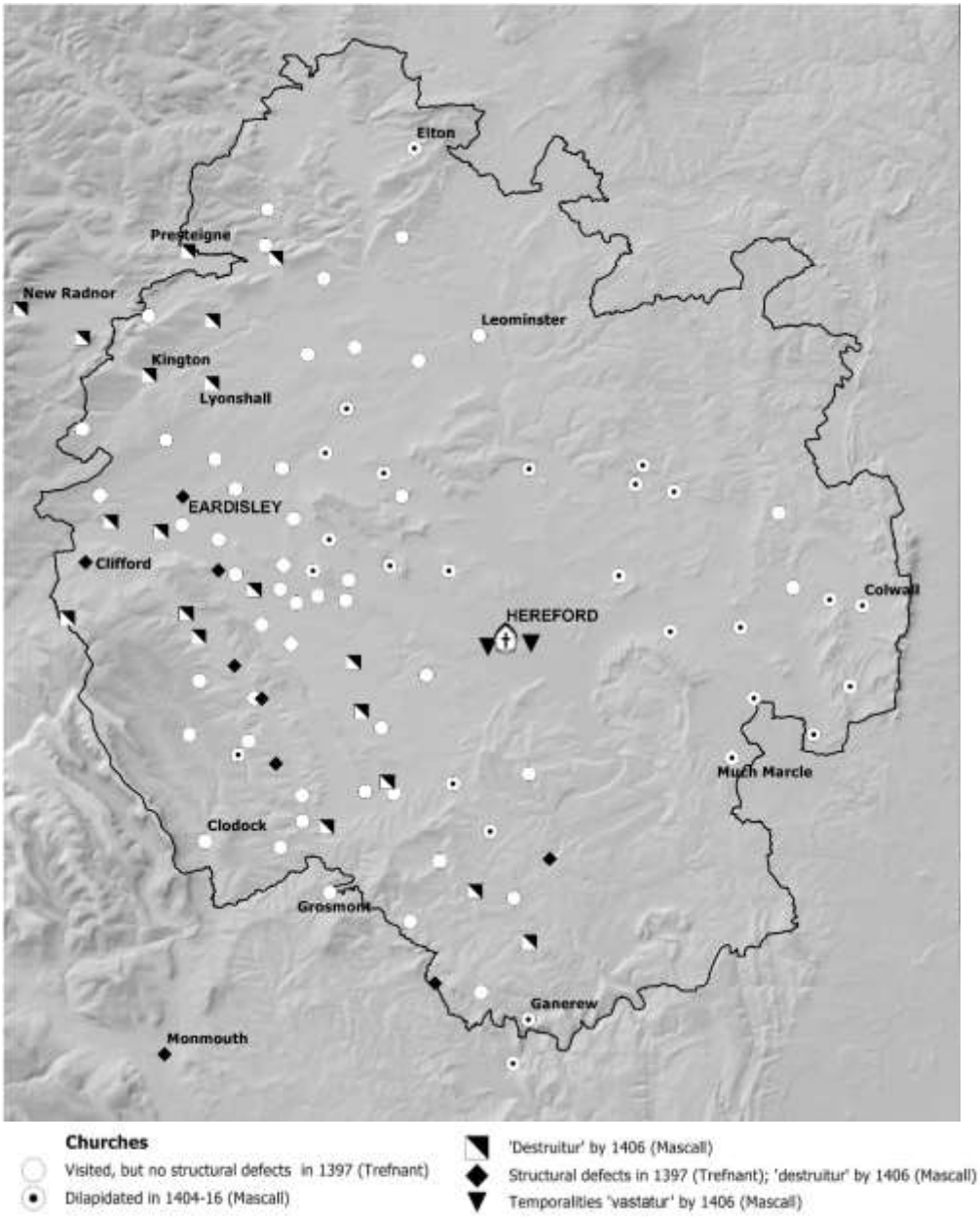


Figure 10. Herefordshire: Ecclesiastical buildings recorded by Trefnant (1397) and Mascall (1404-16) , © David Lovelace

The map at Figure 10 plots twenty-eight of the thirty churches in Herefordshire that were listed as ‘destruitur’ in 1406. The listed ‘Dukestone’ has not been identified and one benefice is illegible. Ten of these were listed as structurally damaged in Trefnant’s visitation of 1397. Also shown are a sample of churches recorded in 1397 that were not mentioned as having defects, and some churches recorded as ‘dilapidated’ in Mascall’s register not listed in Levyot’s survey to the bishop. Trefnant recorded seventy-six damaged churches in 1397, but only visited approximately half of all establishments. The fact that his journeys took him to churches well away from the March, where there were both damaged and undamaged buildings, points to the fact that there was nothing particularly odd about ‘undamaged’/’damaged’/’destroyed’/’ruined’ churches in the former locality. The entire county appears to have suffered in much the same way.

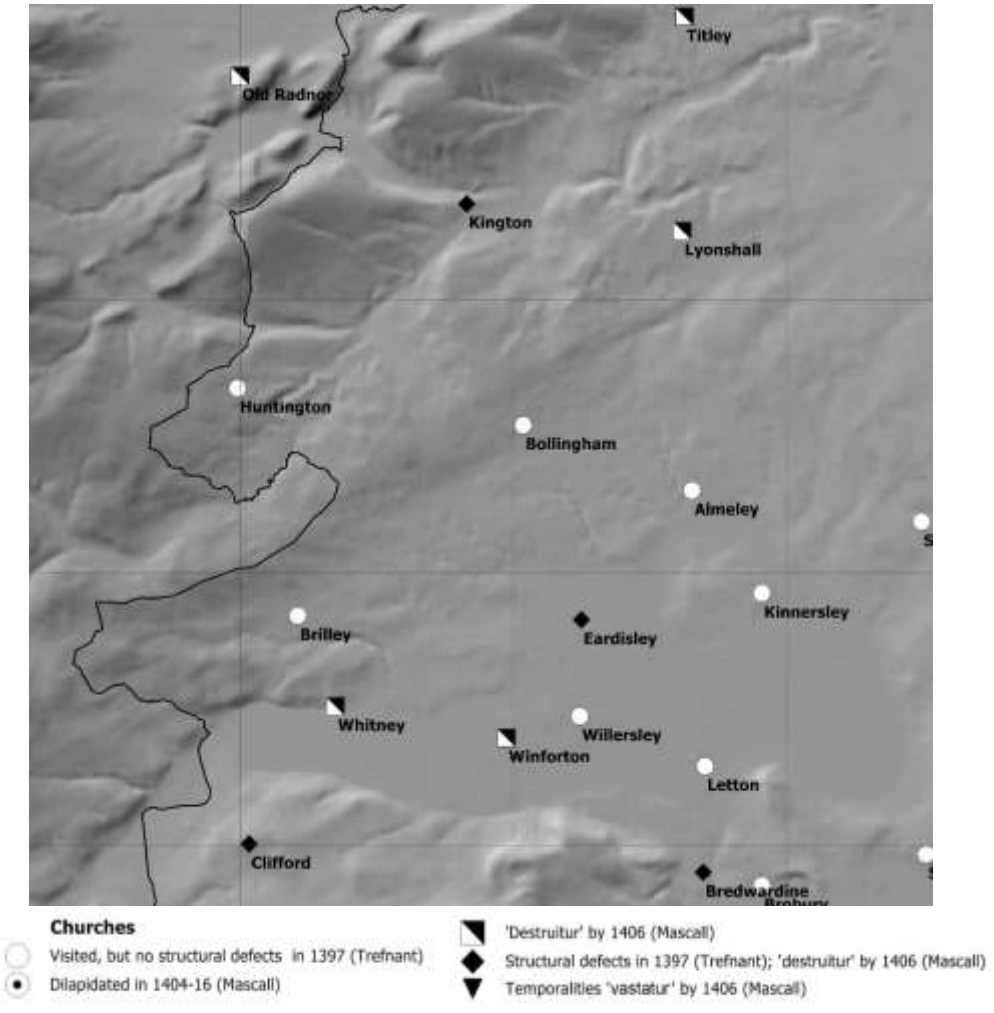


Figure 11. Selected north-western Herefordshire churches, © D. Lovelace

Another reason why ‘destruction’ is improbable in the vast majority of cases lies in the fact that there is not, so far as I am aware, any archaeological evidence of attacks upon the named churches at this time. There has been little large-scale excavation, but there has been much ‘restoration’ over the years, particularly in the 19th century, which usually involved the removal of plaster and lime wash. Given the Victorian penchant for antiquarian research, one of the forces behind the establishment of the Woolhope Club in 1851, one would have thought that some evidence would have materialised, particularly if one accepts the view that the churches were set alight with most domestic buildings. There have, however, been scores of small digs and archaeological investigations including those at Lyonshall,[106] Pembers Oak,[107] Eardisley,[108] Lyonshall,[109] Huntington,[110] and Kington.[111]

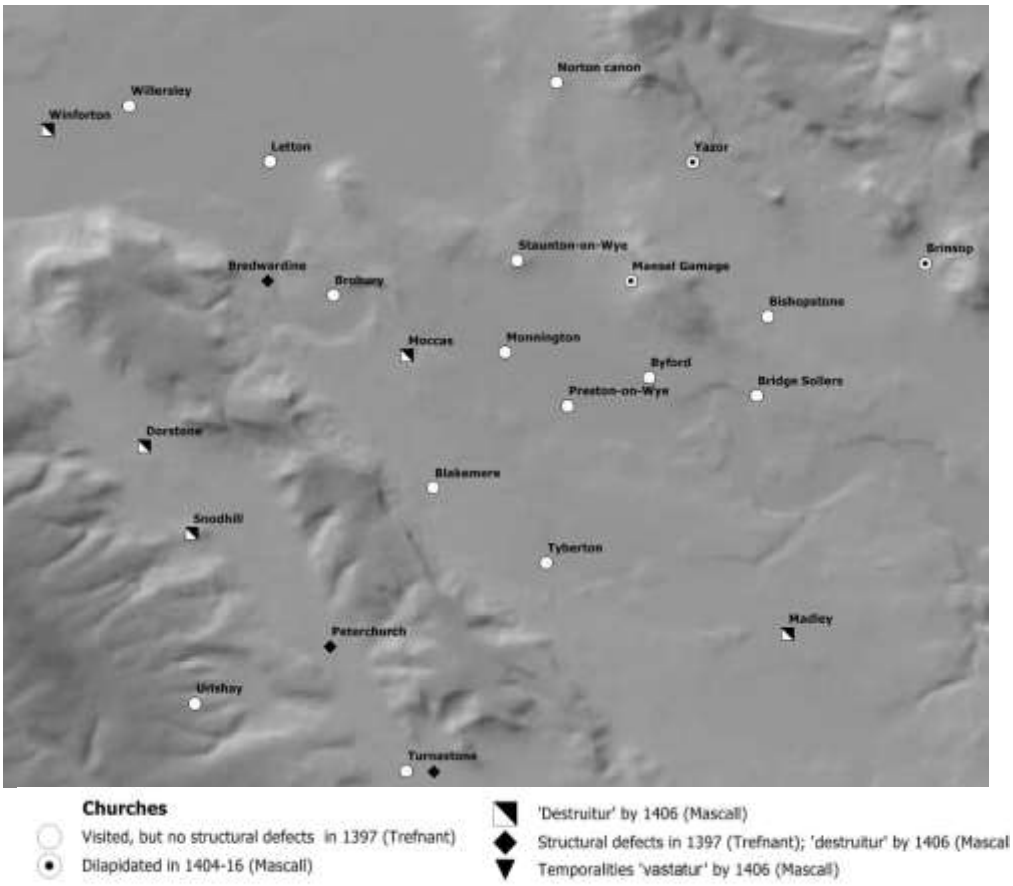


Figure 12. Selected western Herefordshire churches, © D. Lovelace

The larger-scale maps in Figures 11 and 12 emphasise the point that there can have been no coherent strategy at play. Mascall’s register records benefices throughout the county that contained dilapidated churches and, based upon the large sample of over half the total

establishments visited by Trefnant in 1397, it is reasonable to assume that there were a further ninety churches that may have been as badly off as the fifty-two in the Welsh March 'destruitur'. It is impossible to make the case that Welsh rebels attacked all these.

The logistics and time-frame militate against attacks upon any of the towns in the Kington area at this time. Hodges refers to 'mobile Welsh raiding parties....too lightly equipped to storm or destroy castles; they had time to strip and set fire to churches, but not to demolish them'.[112] However, Owain was besieging Aberystwyth and Harlech castles at this same time and, a few months later, his forces were assailing Welshpool and Montgomery. The sort of 'strategy' that is implied by some which, essentially, appears to imply that a force, or forces, of Welsh raiders simply headed for the next church on the horizon in Herefordshire in order to steal a few valuables, rustle some sheep and obtain hostages for ransom, is unlikely.

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE REEVES OF HUNTINGTON

In 1869, R. W. Banks wrote a paper on the manors of English and Welsh Huntington.[113]. A companion article was published in the same journal in January, 1870. The latter mainly consisted of summaries of original documents that were germane to his research. Richard William Banks (1819-91) was the second child of Richard and Esther Banks who came to own Hergest Court, Ridgebourne, and Hergest Croft at Kington. A lawyer by profession, he became an assiduous historian who contributed over thirty articles to *Archaeologia Cambrensis* between 1864 and 1890 as well as the *Transactions* of both the Woolhope Club and the Radnorshire Society.[114]



Figure 13. R. W. Banks (courtesy of the Banks family)

In his articles, Banks referred to many original documents including accounts by various reeves. The most notable of these were dated 1372 and 1404-7; the former because it alluded to the plague, the latter because it was contemporary with the Welsh uprising. The National Archives hold the earlier document[115] and many others researched by Banks. The 1404-7 accounts proved elusive but were found, by chance, amongst Banks's original notes which are in the Hergest Trust Archive at Hergest Croft. Astonishingly, the deposit included a tightly rolled and beribboned document that turned out to be the original set of accounts which had been catalogued incorrectly and held with the historian's papers for nearly a century and a half.[116]

The reeve was an official elected at regular intervals by his peers whose appointment was verified by the lord of the manor or his steward in return for an agreed stipend which, in 1372-3, consisted of corn to the value of just over £2.[117] It was not considered acceptable for someone to refuse the appointment. Indeed, in 1546, some lands at Lilwall ('Lilwell' on Budgen's map at Figure 4), formerly in the tenure of Richard 'Llullwall' were charged 'in the title of rents of assize, on account that the said Richard left the aforesaid toft and lands in the lord's hands, on account that he refused to occupy the office of reeve when he was elected by the tenants there'.[118] The reeve probably used the so-called 'reeve's tower' at Huntington castle when in office.

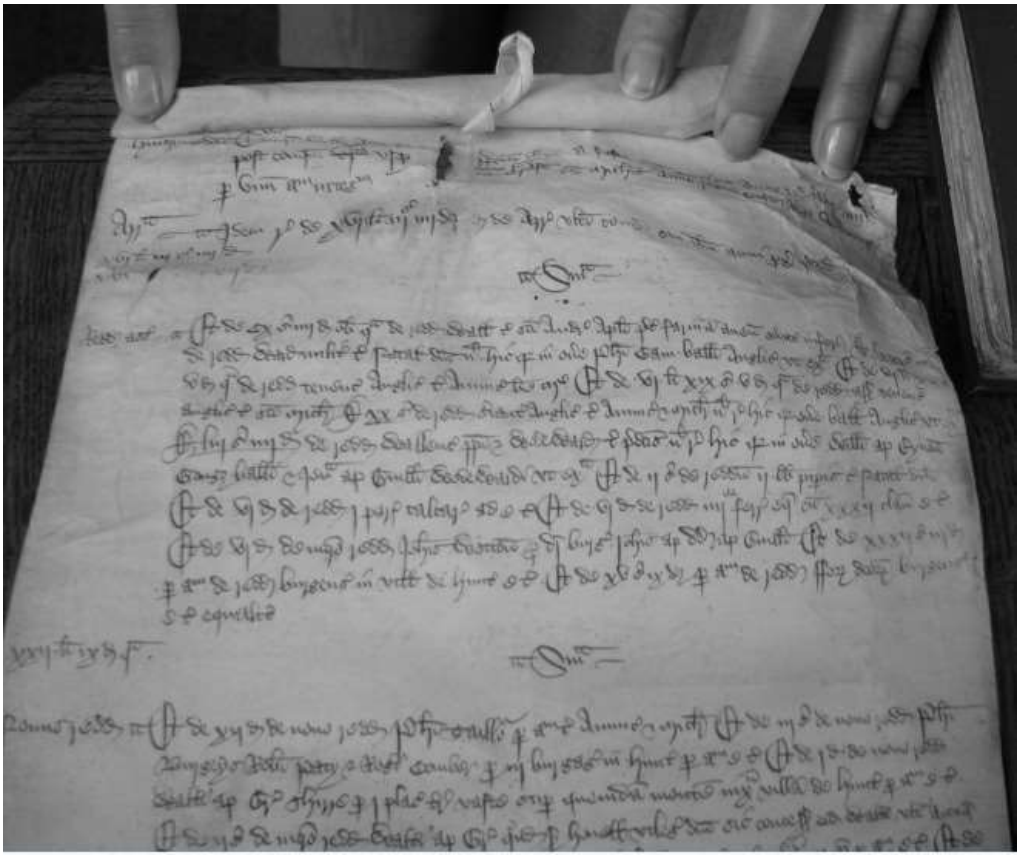


Figure 14. Section of the reeve of Huntington's accounts 1404-7 (HTA, RWB2/1/4)

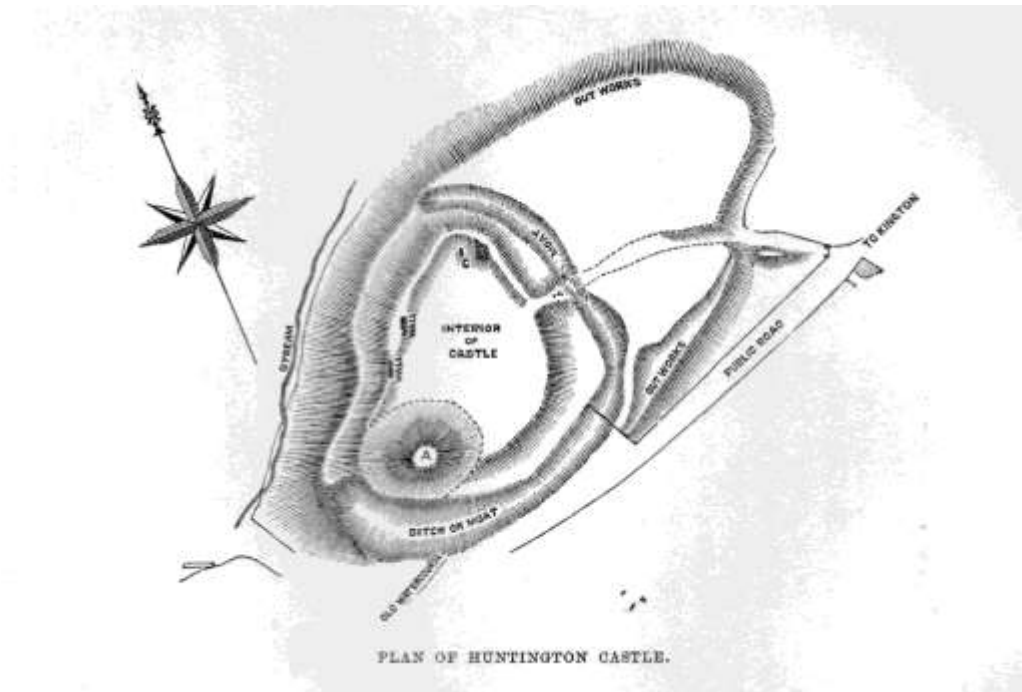
RECORDED DAMAGE BY WELSH REBELS

The reeve had no incentive not to tell the truth about matters. If there was a shortage of income from pig-grazing in the forests, referred to as 'passagium' or 'wormtak', he would explain that there were 'no masts' (acorns in this instance; the local forests, such as Kingswood, were predominantly oak) that year. If a meadow flooded and was unsuitable for hay-making, he would state that. If 'Welsh rebels' destroyed something, it was recorded, as was the effect of the plague upon tenancies. Unlike Bishop Mascall, who could gain a financial advantage in the form of relief from tax, the reeve gained nothing. Arrears were carried forward into subsequent accounts. In some cases, we can follow the tenancy and rental of a property over a 150 year period.[119]

The reeves' accounts of 1404-7 provide evidence that Glyndŵr's men had not attacked Huntington. The castle was repaired, due to general dilapidation, almost certainly exacerbated by the many plague outbreaks, after an inspection by William Bourchier (1374-1420), 1st Count of Eu, in October 1403. The reeve accounts for 8s. 6d. being the expenses of the visit. There was expenditure upon new roofing at Huntington Castle, hinges and locks for the great gate, a new ditch and palisade, and a 'barrell [sic] brought for cleaning armour in the castle, with arrows'. There are detailed accounts of the costs involved. The 'furbisher' of the armour was paid 12s.

10d. for his efforts; the oil 'bought for same' cost 4d. A new 'barre' was fitted to the 'tolkenyatt' or 'towenezat' (toll-gate/town-gate) by carpenters after the bar had been 'destroyed by rebels'.[120] The fact is that the gate was an easy target for vandalism, particularly at night, and a handful of men (drunk on Welsh nationalism and ale, perhaps?) could easily damage it. What is significant is that the castle, in a pretty sorry state of repair according to the repairs put in hand, was not attacked when it could have been easily sacked by a handful of Welsh troops. The inescapable conclusion is that Bourchier, a personal friend of Henry V with whom he was later to fight at Agincourt,[121] was ordered to repair the castle because of Welsh attacks elsewhere and, possibly, because of a handful of local incidents instigated by Glyndŵr sympathisers.

The castle owner, the Countess of Stafford, authorised William Grenewey, the castle porter and bailiff of English Huntington, to pay 20d. to two men to watch the castle from 30 June until 29 September.[122] This was considered a dangerous period following news of the attacks on Presteigne and (allegedly) New Radnor in 1401-2, the victory at Pilleth in 1402 and the burning of Robert Whitney's castle at Whitney (probably in 1403) giving much cause for concern. It also appears to confirm that the castle was ungarrisoned most of the time. In September 1403, Sir Nicholas Montgomery, described as 'Keeper of the royal castle of Eardisley' was instructed by the king to prepare its defences against the Welsh although it does seem likely that Eardisley Castle had been severely damaged some thirty years' beforehand and that Henry IV may not have known of the extent of its disrepair.[123] Similar writs were issued to Walter fitz Walter regarding Lyonshall and Dorstone castles and others responsible for castles in 'south Wales and the Marches'.[124]



PLAN OF HUNTINGTON CASTLE.

Figure 15. Huntington Castle drawn by R. W. Banks *c*.1869, *Arch. Cambrensis*, July 1869



Figure 16. Huntington Castle, 2015, © Philip Halling - Geograph

Further, extensive, repairs were carried out on Huntington Castle in 1413-14 according to John Sumpter the then reeve. Three oaks were felled in nearby Kingswood to provide roofing 'of the towers within the castle', for making posts 'to support the hall and chamber at the north end of the hall'. A tiler was paid 8d. for two days' work 'in repairing the house that is in decay in the roofing of the hall'. Other repairs included 'newly erecting and strengthening 16 perches of the pale that has fallen down due to the wind throughout the places around the enclosure in this year with new posts and rails that have fallen down with the wind 4s.' Repairs were undertaken in 1415-16 to 'le Octagon' and 'Reve' (sic) towers involving the replacement of old rafters and the cleaning-out of the well.[125] In 1460, the castle was recorded as worth nothing, mainly decayed apart from a tower used as a gaol.[126] There is no indication in any of these documents that repairs had been undertaken to the castle due to damage by the Welsh. It is not likely that 'old rafters' would survive in the event of an assault that would inevitably have included the use of fire. It is worth noting that the dilapidation of the castle probably went hand-in-hand with the dereliction of many local churches and that there was a common cause.

William Attewode's account commences in September 1404, but the expenses of the castle repairs were carried forward from the preceding year. Although these were fairly substantial, it is obvious from details of other activities listed, such as mowing various meadows, making hay and suchlike that there was no significant disruption to the life of the manor between October 1403 and September 1404 which may have resulted from a Welsh attack. Apart from the gate '?destroyed/?damaged [barely legible] by rebels', 'Welsh rebels' are recorded as having burnt down the mill at Chickward some two miles to the east. Under the heading 'Farms' it is stated 'And 16s. from the farm of the mill of Chikewardyn: nothing paid because it was burnt by the Welsh rebels'. We also learn that '26s. 8d. from the farm of the fulling-mill of Hencoyd [Hengoed]): nothing paid because it cannot be farmed out for fear of rebels'. On Taylor's map

(Fig. 2) Chickward is just to the east (the right) of 'Empton'; Upper and Lower 'Hengoed' are corrupted to 'Hongwood'.

There is no sense in the accounts that Glyndŵr himself, or even a Welsh force without him, swept through the manor destroying everything in its path. Chickward, shown on Budgen's map, is isolated and Woolhope Club members visited the probable site of its mill on a field trip in 1991.[127] It is noteworthy that the Club members apparently identified the site as a probable mill without any reference to Banks's article, or later manorial accounts which continued to mention its destruction. Stirling-Brown's observation that some features were 'probably for a mill on the south side of the stream' was very prescient. It is probable that the mill was destroyed by Glyndŵr sympathisers rather than Welshmen from the Principality. Adjacent Eardisley, like Huntington, was divided into an 'Englishry' and a 'Welshry'. The area known today as 'Welson' ('Whelston' on Taylor's map) probably took its name from 'Welsh Town' ('Walstone' in 1262).[128] In 1086, Domesday Book recorded that 'a Welshman' paid a customary due in Eardisley.[129] Some of Glyndŵr's supporters living locally would have needed little excuse to destroy symbols of the dominance of their marcher lords. Many of those living in and around Chickward bore Welsh names and that was still the case in 1552-3 when James ap Roger and John ap Rees are recorded in manorial rolls in courts actually held at 'Chykewardyn'.[130]

Chickward mill was a shrewd target because its destruction would have affected scarcely anyone, other than the lord of the manor who was Edmund, Earl of Stafford from 1399 until his death at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403,[131] and his local representatives who were obliged to account for the loss of income. An attack upon the mill was akin to a protest march and it probably occurred at night with the miller being given due warning if he lived on site. The mill was a taxation point, part of a perceived oppressive social structure.



Figure 17. Probable site of Chickward's mill at right, destroyed in 1402-4

'DAMAGE' NOT RECORDED

None of the reeves report any damage to domestic property. This demolishes the argument that the rebuilding of *c.*1420 onwards was caused by destruction of existing properties by Glyndŵr, at least in the manors of English and Welsh Huntington. It is known from a variety of sources that there were properties at Hergest, Huntington, Kington, Rushock, Bredward, Barton,

Bradnor, Empton, Moseley, Chickward, Pembers Oak, Lilwall, Bollingham, Mahollam and Knowle by 1400. Domesday Book (1086), various inquisitions dated 1267 onwards,[132] and reeves' accounts from 1372[133] all refer to these places as being occupied. A handful of properties may contain vestiges of dwellings that pre-date the Welsh uprising, although Hergest Court is the only local one to date to provide any such evidence. Most of the properties in English Huntington were, or became, copyholds, and details of transactions involving them were recorded in manorial rolls.[134] Any attack upon a copyhold property was, by implication, an attack upon the lord of the manor. Copyholders could pass their properties on by inheritance, let them on long and short leases, and 'alienate' (sell) them, albeit upon payment of the appropriate fines, chief rents and heriots. In all but name, copyholders were 'owner-occupiers' and it is beyond belief that they would burn down their own properties, irrespective of where their sympathies lay. There are records of the same family holding a particular copyhold for centuries such as at Bollingham Farm where the Pembers appear to have built a cruck-framed hall *c.*1450 and retained ownership until selling to the Foleys in 1712.[135]

The situation in Welsh Huntington, which encompassed Brilley and Hengoed, was different. Here, the householders claimed to hold their properties by free socage, although this assertion was recorded many years later.[136] The inquisition of 1299 lists the names of the free tenants and those in Brilley were all Welsh, as were many in Kington.[137] Whatever the locals got up to, destroying their own family homes, lived in for generations, was not likely to be on the agenda.

Eardisley was, at this time, an independent manor that was held by the Baskervilles. However, towards its northern boundary, the lordship of 'Irdesley and Bollynghulle [Bollingham]' was a discrete parcel of the manor held by Sir Richard Baskerville prior to 1377.[138] This lordship was adjacent to the manor of Kington, one of the 'sub-manors' making up the manor of English Huntington, as evidenced by the deeds to Great Quebb.[139] The Huntington reeves actually accounted for plough services due from the tenants of 'Bolynghull' in 1372-3 and 1495-6.[140] In 1407, the accounts confirm that there were arrears owed by the Welsh tenants, but many payments were made and it was traditional for arrears to be carried forward from tenants in both Huntingtons.

MILLS

Mills were ideal targets for the rebels and their supporters who, in some areas, may have adopted guerrilla tactics carrying out brief attacks before melting back into the countryside. One would have thought that mills further west than Chickward would have been likely candidates for attack by the Welsh. However, the reeves' accounts straddling the period 1372-1546, whilst referring to the cost of routine maintenance, only refer to the destruction of Chickward's mill.[141] This was repaired in 1372, with the reeve accounting for 3s. in his accounts for mending the sluice and 16d. for repairing and enlarging the neck of the spindle with iron. At the same time, the fulling-mill at Hengoed had its broken spindle repaired and the mill at 'Crookedmull' (Crooked Well) in Kington received substantial repairs.[142]

As noted above, in 1404 there is the reference to the mill at Chickward having been 'burnt by the Welsh rebels' and no rent being received from the fulling-mill at Hengoed 'because it cannot be farmed out for fear of rebels'. However, 40s. was received from 'the farm of the myll called Crokedmyll' and 66s. 8d. 'from the farm of the grinding mills of Hencoyd [Hengoed] and Brimley [Brinley/Brunley/Brilley]'. Various routine repairs to these mills were accounted for. Maud Walker was granted a twenty year lease on the fulling-mill at 'Mullegrene' [Mill Green].

This mill continued to yield 13s. 4d. annually, so it was still in operation. In 1405, the 'mill of Hengoyt' had a new interior wheel made on site. There is a reference to the 'farm of the mills of Hencoyd and Brimley' being included in figures accounted for by the Welsh bailiffs in 1407. [143] The accounts of 1525-6 refer to 'one corn-mill called a Crokidmyll' which yielded 40s.; 'one fulling-mill at Milgrene in Kyngton' which 'is totally decayed' and failed to yield the customary 13s. 4d. (the identical rent as that due in 1404); and 'the farm of one mill at Chikwarden in this year, because it was burnt by the Welsh rebels and is not yet rebuilt' thus failing to produce its 16s. of revenue.[144] The reeve was quite capable of distinguishing between 'decayed' and 'burnt by Welsh rebels'. It is noteworthy that the traditions of the accounts made it necessary to continue recording events—such as the destruction of Chickward's mill—that occurred over a century beforehand.

If any manorial property had been destroyed after 1407, in either English or Welsh Huntington, the cumulative nature of the accounts would ensure that this would be mentioned in later years. There are no such references. The fact that revenue continued to accrue from the Kington mills in 1404 is proof in itself that the Welsh did not destroy Kington earlier. Some may choose to interpret the account of the burning of Chickward's mill as evidence that Owain Glyndŵr, or a rebel force from over the border, was in the area. Such a view flies in the face of the evidence presented here. It seems unlikely that Welsh rebels would travel miles to destroy a small mill in the middle of nowhere leaving much closer and larger unguarded targets alone. It does not make sense. What does make sense, however, is that Welsh sympathisers living locally burnt the mill. During the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413) the names of John ap Aleyn, Jevan ap Llewellyn Vachan, Ievan ap Gorder, Rosser ap Cadogan and Trehairon Gam were just a few of those amongst the Huntington tenants.[145]

CONCLUSION

There is no known evidence that Owain Glyndŵr himself was ever in the area around Kington and Eardisley. Indeed, there appears to be little primary source evidence that he was ever elsewhere in the county. Many accounts of the rebellion have been romanticised, particularly those written by Welsh commentators. Scarce factual material has sometimes been ignored, distorted or misinterpreted. Hodges includes a map of 'The south-eastern Marches' purporting to show 'Burnt churches (Mascall)' with icons of burning torches.[146] The word 'burnt' does not occur in Mascall's register. Referring to the former Norman chapel at Chapel Farm, Deerfold, James avers 'There is however, evidence for a more dramatic end to the Norman chapel; simply that it was destroyed, probably in 1405-6 during the rising of Owain Glyndŵr'. The only 'evidence' adduced is that of the 'destroyed' churches in the register and the fact that, with one exception, no timber-dating has revealed 13th- and 14th-century properties within eight miles of the Welsh border in the survey undertaken in Shropshire.[147] The exception, Plowden Hall, has a crown post felled in 1301-2 which weakens this argument.[148] The local parish church at Lydbury North, two miles to the east, is amongst the twenty-two in Shropshire allegedly 'destroyed' by Glyndŵr.[149] This contains a 12th-century chapel dedicated to the Plowden family and many other 'pre-Glyndŵr' features.[150] In this instance we are asked to believe that rebels went after the meagre pickings in a church whilst ignoring the booty in a high-status house. It appears from this example that accounts of Welsh attacks in parts of Shropshire by Glyndŵr may well be as far-fetched as those assumed to have occurred in Herefordshire.

There were attacks in Herefordshire by bands described as 'Welsh rebels' for centuries. In the area surrounding Kington, these were minor at this time. Domestic properties in the

Huntington manors were not destroyed in attacks. Had they been, the reeve would have mentioned the fact. There was no significant reduction in the output of the manors as a result of the uprising. In 1404, the reeve accounted for '285½ plough-services sold'.[151] In 1494-5, the figure was 289.[152] However, in 1372, after a major plague outbreak and the death of many tenants, of the total of 304½ plough-services specified as due, thirty-six of these were not undertaken due to fatalities in Rushock, Hergest and Lilwall.[153] The Welsh rebellion had little impact upon production, but the plague was responsible in this instance for a loss of some 11 per cent in income received, each service being valued at 3d. The reeve's inability to find replacement tenants for those who had died further impacted upon the revenue collected.

It is odd that Glyndŵr's rebellion, which only affected Herefordshire for a handful of years, should have been given so much prominence by some in the context of the apparent dereliction in the countryside, when the county, and the Marches, were afflicted by the plague for nearly six decades. There is evidence that outbreaks of plague in the March were greater in number than in some other places, such as Oxford. The gap of thirty or so years between the ending of significant plagues in Hereford and Oxford almost exactly accounts for the difference in the dates of the earliest surviving domestic properties found to date. A re-appraisal of medieval population has that of Herefordshire declining from 72,502 in 1290 to 30,230 in 1377, a fall of 58.4 per cent. Between 1377 and 1430, the national population fell by 19.2 per cent. If the same fall occurred in Herefordshire, this would have left a population of just 24,425 by 1430. If a quarter of these were able-bodied men, say 6,000, the death of just 600 on military expeditions would reduce this pool by 10 per cent.[154]

Added to the death of artisans from plague was the fear of the Welsh. This did not have to translate into actual encounters in order to drive people away from some areas. How was a church supposed to pay its taxes if its roof was full of holes, it had an absentee vicar, and its congregation had abandoned it due to deaths from plague and fear of the Welsh? Many settlements were decimated by successive outbreaks of plague, but haphazardly, which accounts for the inconsistency of the dereliction in a manner that would not apply to a 'scorched earth' attack. A further erosion of the pool of able-bodied men as a result of deaths in battle and disability would have made a bad situation worse. One also has to ask, 'Why would Welsh rebels 'destroy' churches?' Welsh people lived in many of these areas, and worshipped in many of the 'ruined' churches. The Welsh still held allegiance to the pope in Rome, although Glyndŵr did attempt to obtain the support of the French by offering to support the French pope in Avignon in March 1406.[155] Destroying churches was unlikely to have been something that he wanted to be accused of, by either pope. Tree-ring dating in Herefordshire and elsewhere actually bolsters the argument that the Welsh rebellion had little effect upon the survival of property. In Pembridge, six miles east of Kington, twenty properties have been subject to dendrochronology. None of the samples reveal timber felled before 1424.[156] If Welsh rebels attacked Pembridge, it is very unlikely the detached timber-framed church bell-tower, dated by dendrochronology to 1207-23, would have survived assuming the church was attacked. However, Pembridge is not on Mascall's return. We thus have a similar situation to that in nearby places without the explanation that Glyndŵr was responsible.

Of the cruck houses surveyed by Alcock and Miles, eleven houses in Oxfordshire were built by 1400.[157] In Buckinghamshire, with the exception of one base-cruck house, the earliest dated were from 1430-40. In Leicestershire and Warwickshire combined, only six surveyed houses were built by 1400, all dating from 1380-90. The 'Glyndŵr effect' cannot be attributed to Buckinghamshire and, yet, we have similar survey results to those in Herefordshire. In the

latter, the surveys undertaken in Eardisley, Pembridge and elsewhere have generally given slightly earlier dates than Buckinghamshire.[158] It is known that the town of Oxford was spared significant plague outbreaks after *c.*1371.[159] It might be the case that here and elsewhere they had an effective start of some thirty-five years on Herefordshire, where outbreaks continued, when it came to rebuilding. The patchiness of dating nationwide is much better explained by a nationwide event, or series of events, that occurred indiscriminately and spasmodically over a long period than by a short-lived event confined to a specific area.

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The Hereford Freehold Land Society: its role in the expansion of Hereford in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century

by JOHN C. EISEL

The expansion of Hereford in the middle of the nineteenth century was somewhat erratic, with estates being developed surrounding the city that were only later linked to it. In this paper the role of the Hereford Freehold Land Society in this expansion is examined, an organisation which has generally been overlooked but which played an important role in the provision of building sites for the 'industrious working man'.[1] *However, since the records of the society are not known to have survived, this paper has necessarily been constructed from material published in the local newspapers, augmented by other printed material and cartographic evidence.*[2]

INTRODUCTION

The Freehold Land Society movement was politically inspired, and had its origins in the 1832 Reform Act. Under that Act the only persons who were entitled to vote were male, who owned property worth 40s. p.a. or occupied a house worth at least £10 p.a. Thus only a minority of the male population was entitled to vote, a fact which was seized upon by Liberal radicals who attempted to achieve reform from within, by enabling working men to own freeholds worth at least 40s. p.a. The apostle of the movement was James Taylor, jun. who advocated the setting up of Freehold Land Societies, the object of which was to buy larger acreages of land, and to split these up into smaller plots which were worth at least 40s. p.a. to be sold on to subscribers to the land society at cost, enabling those of the artisan class to aspire to own property. Of course, those of the labouring class could never aspire to become a member of such a society as the hand-to-mouth existence of those on the bottom rung of the ladder of society meant that they did not have the surplus money that was needed to subscribe. The first freehold land society was registered in Birmingham in December 1847, under the 1836 Building Societies Act. The idea spread rapidly, and in 1850 more than 100 societies were in operation,[3] including societies in Hereford, Ross, Ledbury and Leominster.[4] This paper details the activities of the Hereford society, and the splitting up of its various estates into parcels of land which could be used either as garden ground or, then or at a later date, as a building plot, a procedure which explains the very piecemeal development of these estates. The final extent of the Hereford estates is shown in Plate 2.1

It should be noted that the activities of such Freehold Land Societies were on a different basis to those of the Chartist Co-operative Land Society, established by Feargus O'Connor in April 1845 but later deemed to be illegal and wound up in July 1851.[5] Similarly, they differed from land clubs / societies, which were a group of subscribers who got together to buy an area of land, which was then divided up between the members, the number of which was fixed; once this had happened, then the club had fulfilled its objectives and lapsed.[6] However, in Hereford there is no record of the activities of such clubs /societies, and it was not until the establishment of the Freehold Land Society that there was an opportunity for those in the working classes to obtain a foothold on the property ladder.

THE FOUNDING OF THE HEREFORD FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY

On 3 April 1850 a large advert appeared in the *Hereford Journal*, under the heading 'Every Man his own Landlord', publicising a meeting that was to be held at the Guildhall on 9 April 1850 to consider the formation of what was termed the Hereford City and County Freehold Land and Investment Society. A full prospectus was printed, and the patrons included Sir Robert Price Bart. M.P. and Mr. Henry Clifford, Esq. M.P. plus 43 other names including that of the Rev. John Venn.

The meeting duly took place on 9 April, when about 800-1,000 were present, a long report appearing in the *Hereford Times* four days later. After John Jones jun. had spoken, a society was set up on the proposition of the Rev. John Venn, seconded by John Jay, Esq. The provisional committee was asked to carry on, and on the proposition of the Rev. E. Whittle, seconded by Dr. Bull, it was agreed that the first fortnightly subscription of 2s. 1d. would commence on 22 April at the Mechanics' Institution.[7] Members could be enrolled for 1s. per share entrance fee, and about 170 shares were taken on the night: by the time the report appeared, this had risen to about 200. The thanks of the meeting were given to James Taylor jun., who had addressed a similar meeting at Leominster the previous day.[8]

The first general meeting of members of the newly formed society took place on 24 April 1850, when it was reported that 369 members held 460 shares, the priority of which was ballotted for. A committee of 15 was appointed, which was to meet on 8 May, and the next general meeting was held at the Guildhall on 15 May. At the latter meeting the Rev. John Venn was elected president, and C. Pritchard secretary.[9] Investment in the society continued to increase, and the *Hereford Times* of 8 June 1850 reported that the 'Hereford Freehold and Investment Society' was going on steadily, with an office in Widemarsh Street at the house of the secretary, Mr. C. Pritchard. Although the official title was 'The Hereford City & County Benefit Building Society', it was usually referred to, particularly in earlier years, as the 'Hereford Freehold Land Society', much more descriptive of its function. For consistency the latter title will be used throughout this paper.

THE FIRST PURCHASE AT WIDEMARSH

It was clearly thought that with the progress being made, more tangible results were wanted, and a letter in the *Hereford Times* on 15 June stated that there were about 500 members of the society, and that it should get on and buy some land! However, it was not until 16 October 1850 that the *Hereford Journal* reported that Mr. Jenkins had invested in land on behalf of the Hereford Freehold Land Society of the Industrious Classes.[10] This would appear to be the $4^1/_2$ acres that the *Hereford Times* of 14 December reported that the land committee of the Society had bought, which was augmented by an adjoining 4 acres which a member of the committee had agreed to sell to the society, the latter reported at a committee meeting on 23 December 1850. The land in question was in the area now known as Newtown, a name dating from this period. The committee was also informed that there was likely to be available another $7^1/_2$ acres over the river.[11]

Thereafter things took what was to become the usual course. Balloting for allotments took place at the Guildhall on 11 February 1851, and of the 48 allotments balloted for, 16 were fronting the road.[12] An advert in the *Hereford Journal* on 19 February 1851 asked for tenders for making two roads on the Widemarsh estate, and for the removal of buildings in the form of stables and coach houses, while another in the *Hereford Times* on 1 March 1851 asked for tenders for roads, culverts, and fencing. The same issue of the *Hereford Times* reported that several of

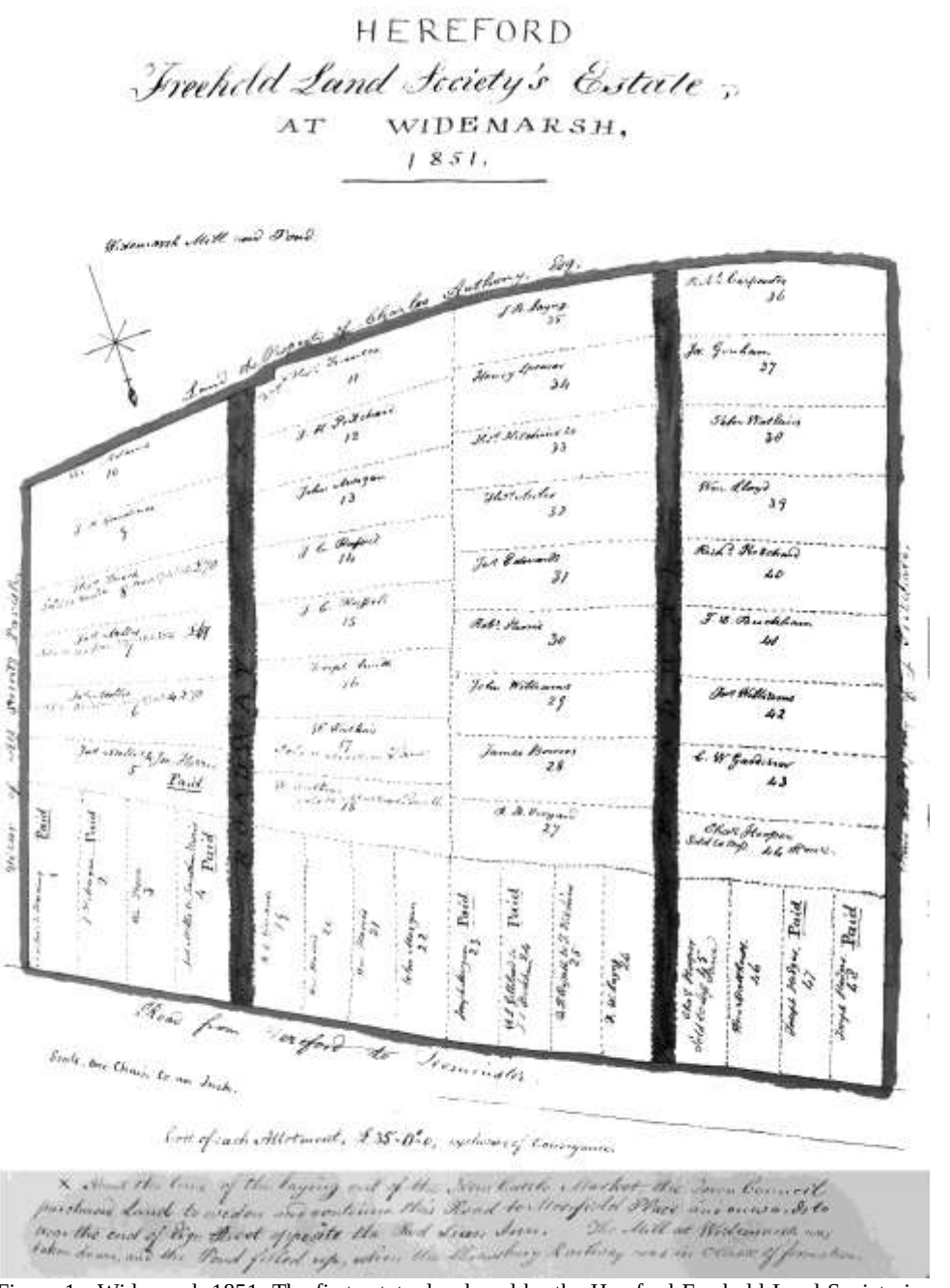


Figure 1. Widemarsh 1851. The first estate developed by the Hereford Freehold Land Society in 1851, in the area now called Newtown. As part of the project, two roads had to be constructed, what is now the northern end of Edgar Street, and Millbrook Street.

the allotments had been sold at premiums of £5 to upwards of £6. Nothing was reported about the winners in the tendering process, but the roads were constructed, one of which was a short stretch of road leading south from what is now the traffic island on Newtown Road, and now forms the northern part of Edgar Street (not then constructed); the other was what is now Millbrook Street (Figs. 1 and 2).

Although nothing was reported in the press, development of the allotments no doubt commenced, later evidence proving that on some plots more than one dwelling was built. There was no control over what was built on the estate, and one of the earlier constructions was the Heart of Oak public house, which was in a good position alongside a turnpike road, with much passing trade. One of the rules of the Freehold Land Society was that it should not hold its meetings in any premises that sold intoxicating liquor, so this licensed establishment is unlikely to have been viewed with very much favour, although no adverse comment appeared in the local press. The Heart of Oak was built on two plots that had been allotted to a Mr. Wm. Harris, and was certainly built by 1855, when the licensee, Mr. James Abbotts, applied successfully for a spirits licence.[13]



Figure 2. Newtown cottages. Allotments on the Freehold Land Society estates were generous and often more than one dwelling was built. An extreme example occurs at the north-west corner of the first estate at Newtown, where a terrace of cottages was built sideways on to the road.

THE HUNDERTON ESTATE

Although the actual purchase of the Hunderton Estate was not reported in the newspapers, on 12 February 1851 the *Hereford Journal*, in its reporting of the allotting of the Widemarsh estate, mentioned that possession of some ground at Hunderton was shortly to be had from the Hereford Industrial Aid Society, which had been using it for allotment gardens (at that period the word 'allotment' did not have the connotations that it does at present, a source of confusion for some later writers).[14] This estate, with an area of about $6^1/_2$ acres, was divided into 26 allotments, which were balloted for at the Guildhall on 8 April 1851 (Fig. 4).[15] The average size of an allotment was thus about a quarter of an acre, with building plots somewhat smaller and garden allotments larger, but all of annual value of 40s. or more. Roads were needed before the allotments could be developed, and an advert asking for tenders for the roads and fencing on the Hunderton estate appeared later in April 1851.[16]

Thomas Jenkins, who was present at the ballot for the Hunderton Estate, held two shares, and hence when his name was drawn on that occasion was allocated two allotments, one which he retained for the purpose of building a cottage with hollow bricks, a subject in which he had an interest, having published a letter about it earlier in the year.[17] This was followed by a further letter which appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 6 March 1852 in which he suggested that a company be set up to manufacture these.[18] Although nothing happened about this, Thomas Jenkins clearly persevered in his interest in innovations in building, and on 1 January 1853 it was reported in the *Hereford Times* that two cottages had almost been completed on the Hunderton estate, having hollow walls. These were built in what is termed 'rat-trap' bond, where each course was laid with alternate headers and stretchers, but with the bricks laid on edge, so that there were cavities within the walls. The joints in each succeeding course were, of course, staggered. The report stated that there was much economy in the use of bricks, and also that there were other benefits.[19] Because of the economy in the use of bricks, this type of bond is now relatively common in the developing world (Fig. 3).



Figure 3. The demonstration house, built by Thomas Jenkins on his allotment at the south-east corner of the Hunderton estate, still survives, but the brickwork is concealed by a layer of render. However, the brick pilasters are characteristic of the so-called rat-trap bond.

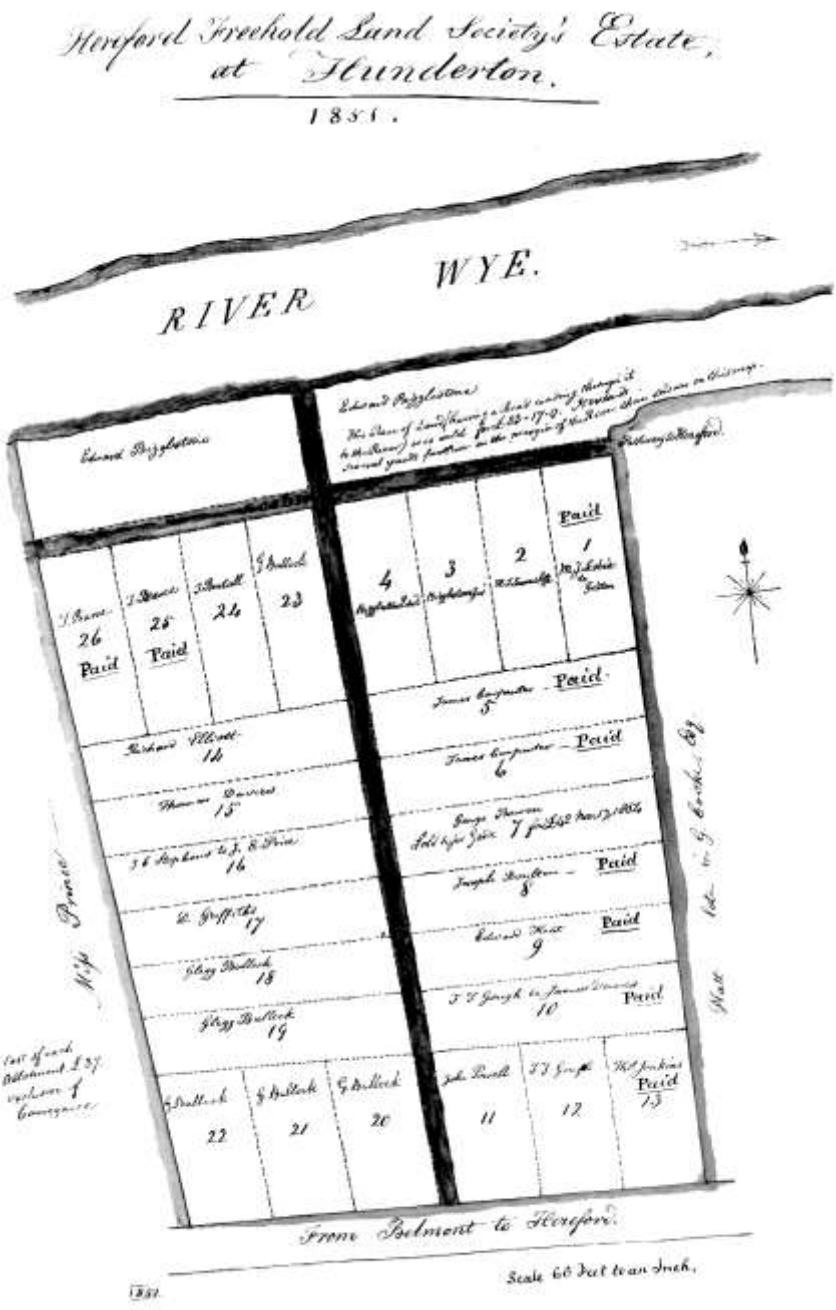


Figure 4. Hunderton. Two roads were built for the development, the estate was divided into 26 allotments, and of those successful in the ballot, over a third had fully paid up for their share.

Meanwhile, other buildings had been erected on the society's allotments, reported at a committee meeting on 8 June 1852, where it was also reported that while some were creditable, others were not, and it was felt that some sort of regulation was needed (Fig. 5).[20] Curiously enough, Curley's map of 1858 does not show all this development, although it reaches the area.



Figure 5. The varied development on the various Freehold Land Society estates is well illustrated by the south-east part of the Hunderton estate. Comparison with the estate map shows that this was laid out as three allotments, the first of which was developed as a terrace of five houses, then a detached house, and finally the pair of cottages built for Thomas Jenkins.

Despite the small size of the estate and its situation remote from the city, there was also a public house on the estate. This was—and is—the Vaga Tavern, the first mention of which so far traced comes in 1866, when Mr. Wood, the relieving officer, applied successfully for a warrant for a man named Withers, of the Vaga Tavern, Hunderton, who had deserted his wife and three children and left them chargeable to the common fund of the Union.[21] However, it would not be correct to infer that the street on which the Vaga Tavern is situated was already named Vaga Street at this time: when alternative names were being considered for what became Harold Street in 1867, one of the possibilities was for it to be called Vaga Street, which would not have been considered had there already been a street of that name already in existence.[22] The street was not named as such until about 1891, so that it was named after the public house, and not *vice versa*.[23]

THE ABOVE EIGN ESTATE

At the committee meeting on 8 June 1852 it was reported that the society was waiting to hear about further land, a report which must refer to the four acres of land which the society purchased at Above Eign (Whitecross Road), a purchase which was discussed at a committee meeting on 1 February 1853. Since adverse comments had been made about houses built at Widemarsh, the committee decided to ask the society's solicitor to enter into a restrictive covenant in the mortgages (those who had not subscribed enough to cover the cost of their allotment had to enter into a mortgage with the society). Plans for cottage residences were presented to the society by the Rev. John Venn, and it was decided that the allocation of the 27 allotments on the estate would take place immediately.[24] Accordingly, adverts were placed in the *Hereford Times* (12 February) and *Hereford Journal* (16 February) asking for tenders for making the roads and fences on the estate. A debate ensued at a committee meeting on 14 February 1853 about whether to fence or not, and the decision was made to fence on the roadside with larch, but the internal division to be made from quick (hawthorn), the fencing on the earlier estates being more substantial. The total length of the roads was given as about 220 yards, 20 feet wide.



Figure 6. Datestones in Guildford Street, in the Above Eign estate.

The allocation took place at a meeting at the Music Hall in Broad Street on 1 March 1853, with the president, the Rev. John Venn in the chair. Tea was followed by the ballot and then a speech by the President. In this he reported that while numbers of subscribers fell rapidly not long before there were still over 200 on the books. Then followed a speech by that interesting character, Jelinger C. Symonds.[25] Four days later the allottees of the Above Eign estate met at the society's rooms in Church Street, reported in the *Hereford Times* on 16 April 1854.

> THE ABOVE-EIGN ESTATE OF THE HEREFORD FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY.—At a meeting of the allottees, held at the rooms of the Society, Church-street, on Friday evening, the 5th instant, it was unanimously agreed that those who erected dwellings thereon should do so in a regular order, a certain distance from the roads, according to a line marked on the plan; and that no buildings of an unsightly nature should be erected, and each allottee pledged himself by his signature to an agreement to abide by these regulations.

> It was the general opinion of the members present that these restrictions were absolutely necessary, in consequence of the irregular manner in which some dwellings had been erected on the two previously bought estates of the Society, not only tending to deteriorate the neighbour's allotment, but that of the owner himself. A party who had speculated in three or four allotments, had sold them at £10 premium each, but there was scarcely one to be parted with by the industrious working men to whom they were allotted at that price. Each will cost somewhere about £36, including roads, fences, and conveyance, and some of them are rented at 50s. a year as mere garden ground.

Thereafter development of the allotments began, and, because of the size of the sites, the opportunity was taken in most cases to build more than one dwelling on an allotment. The earliest dated houses in the estate have datestones for 1854 (Fig. 6). However, despite the start of the development, like many new roads in Hereford the three roads of Oxford Street, Bedford Street, and Guildford Street were not named as such until 1867.[26]

ADMINISTRATIVE AND OTHER MATTERS

The next purchase and allotment of land did not take place until 1855 and 1856 respectively, during which time the rules were revised, and there had been a change in administration. The general administration of the society was in the hands of the secretary, the first of whom was Mr. C. Pritchard. However, he resigned at the annual meeting of the society which was held at the Guildhall on 6 May 1851 and Mr. F.W. Hollings was elected to succeed him. The society office was moved from Mr. Pritchard's house in Widemarsh Street to Church Street. Mr. Hollings too only acted in this capacity for a year, resigning at the meeting on 5 May 1852, and at an adjourned annual meeting held a week later Mr. William Peters was elected secretary, in which capacity he acted for a number of years.[27] Stability was maintained by the Rev. John Venn being re-elected President each year. However, at the annual general meeting on 16 May 1855 he resigned as president, saying that he had thought it was only a temporary measure, and W. James, Esq. was elected in his place.[28] However, this turned out to be a temporary measure as well, as W. James served for less than two years, and at the annual meeting in 1857 was succeeded by Peter Warburton, who served until 1863, when he was succeeded by T.T. Davies sen.[29]

During this period two major issues had to be addressed. Firstly, the difficulty of allocating allotments caused some unease. The rules provided that these should be offered to those who were up-to-date in their subscriptions for shares, in order of seniority, and the seniority of the shareholders who joined at the same time was determined by ballot. Also, when the allotments were allocated to those who were lucky to qualify, this was done by ballot. Those subscribers who joined the society last would thus be last in obtaining an allotment, and this was considered to be a discouragement to new entrants to the scheme. This issue was addressed at an adjourned annual general meeting that took place on 1 June 1853, when an alteration to the rules was proposed, recommending that half of the allotments on an estate should be offered to old members by rotation, and half to be balloted for by those contributing to the Society for a period of 12 months. This was discussed and compared with the national system, and the meeting agreed that it should be 6 months instead of 12. The annual general meeting was adjourned for 3 months: a further general meeting on 6 July 1853 agreed that that the method of allotting land in the ensuing year should be decided at each annual meeting but participation should be restricted to those who had been members for at least 6 months. The alteration to the rules was confirmed at an adjourned annual general meeting on 11 August 1853, and the method of allocation of allotments was considered at each annual general meeting until the demise of the society.[30] The

next year, at an adjourned AGM which was held on 10 May 1854 the method of allocation was again discussed, and it was agreed that a third of the shares in an allocation should be offered to shareholders in order of seniority, a third to those prepared to pay the full value, and the remaining third to be distributed by ballot amongst all unallotted shareholders of six months standing.[31]

The second major issue caused a conflict of interest on the part of Charles Anthony, who, despite the underlying Liberal influence in the Freehold Land Society movement, was a supporter of the Hereford Society and was elected a vice-president in 1853. As is well known, the *Hereford Times* was published in the Conservative interest. The conflict arose as a result of the Hereford Improvement Act of 1854, the proposals for which were publicised in the *Hereford Times* on 12 November 1853. These contained provision for improved access to the new market, then being developed (now, of course, the Old Market). A road was to be built to approach the market from the Leominster turnpike road at Widemarsh, proceeding in a southerly direction through land belonging to the Hereford Freehold Land Society and land belonging to Richard Hereford, and others, and terminating at or near to Widemarsh Mill. Also a new road was to be built from Clarence Place to Widemarsh Mill, with powers to widen and alter. (The section from Richmond Place to Widemarsh Mill was previously little more than a pedestrian route.) Essentially the first part of the proposal was the taking over of a section of road built by the Herford Freehold Land Society.

The Act passed into law on 2 June 1854 and negotiations evidently took place between the representatives of the city and the Hereford Freehold Land Society, during which the city authorities thought an agreement had been reached. But then, in June 1855, it was reported in both Hereford papers that the trustees of the Freehold Land Society had started a claim for £80 for the existing road through the allotments at Widemarsh.[32] An alternative route, cutting to the east of the allotments and coming out by the canal bridge, was proposed by Thomas Curley, the surveyor, and the mayor, Charles Anthony, who owned the necessary land, was in agreement. What happened next was not reported, but agreement must have been reached with the Freehold Land Society, as the road was constructed as originally envisaged. In November 1855, in the report of the street-naming committee, it was referred to as the 'intended new street' and given the name of Portfield Street, which, in 1867 became Edgar Street.[33] It had been completed within twelve months, as adverts which appeared in the local press, about which streets could be used on fair days, as well as the market places, included Portfield Street.[34] Because this new road effectively bypassed the turnpike gate at the north end of Widemarsh Street, near to the Essex Arms public house, this was moved further out to obviate this, and was positioned just to the east of the Heart of Oak public house, effectively just round the corner from the northern exit from Portfield (Edgar) Street.[35]

One of the main aims of the 1854 Act was to improve public sanitation by providing sewers for the built-up areas of the city as they then were. This had a beneficial effect on the society estate at Widemarsh as one of the branch sewers authorised under the Act was designed to drain the estate. However, certain later estates developed by the Hereford Freehold Land Society had to wait for this modern convenience.

WIDEMARSH ESTATE NOS. 4 and 5

It was not until 1855 that more land was bought on behalf of the Hereford Freehold Land Society. On 27 March 1855 an auction took place at the New Inn, Widemarsh Street, at which a number of parcels of land were offered for sale on behalf of various vendors. Several of the lots were

bought by Mr. P. Warburton on behalf of the society, although the reporting in the newspapers was not consistent.[36] Even the report given at the fifth annual meeting of the Hereford Freehold Land Society, which took place on 16 May 1855, which stated that about eight acres had been bought: the correct acreage was just under four.[37] The land was that on the corner of Holmer Road and Grandstand Road, but did not include what is now Priory Place, which at that time occupied by the Bull Inn[38] and is now occupied by a row of cottages (Fig. 8). Despite the fact that no roads were constructed on this estate, some delay must have occurred, as it was not allotted to members until the following year. On 8 March 1856 the *Hereford Times* reported that the ballot had taken place on 26 February 1856 and that those fortunate members who obtained allotments were being offered a premium.[39] Indeed, on 26 April 1856 the same paper carried an advert for the sale by private treaty of three allotments on this estate, adjoining the turnpike road. Other evidence proves that there were 30 allotments in this allocation, so these represent 10% of the total on the estate, and no doubt other allotments changed hands at this time as well. On the map that was published in 1858 with the second edition of Jones's *Hereford, Cathedral and City; a Handbook*… this development is marked as Newtown West, whilst the first Widemarsh estate, soon to be extended, was designated Newtown East.[40]

At the annual meeting of the society, held in May 1856, it was announced that there would be another allotment of land at Widemarsh as soon as the purchase of the land from the Newport, Abergavenny, and Hereford Railway Company could be effected, and this would be about 24 parcels of land (in the event it was 28).[41] This was not long delayed, although the purchase not announced in the local press, but on 20 August 1856 William Peters, secretary to the society, advertised in the *Hereford Journal* for tenders for the road and fences on this new acquisition, which was allotted on 28 October 1856.[42] As the estate consisted of 4 acres, the average allotment was a little under an eighth of an acre. This land appears to be that on the north side of what is now Newtown Road. Certainly development of this area was happening at about this time. The deeds of the former Newtown Inn, on the north side of Newtown Road—still identifiable by the name over the front door—are said to begin in 1855, and Curley's map of 1858 shows development of this area, although that map does not mark the area as part of the Land Society allotments.[43] Somewhat further to the east from the Newtown Inn, and on the corner of the road over the former canal bridge, is Ailesbrook Place, built in 1857, which appears to be part of the Freehold Land Society development (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Ailsbrook Place, part of the third Freehold Land Society development at Newtown.

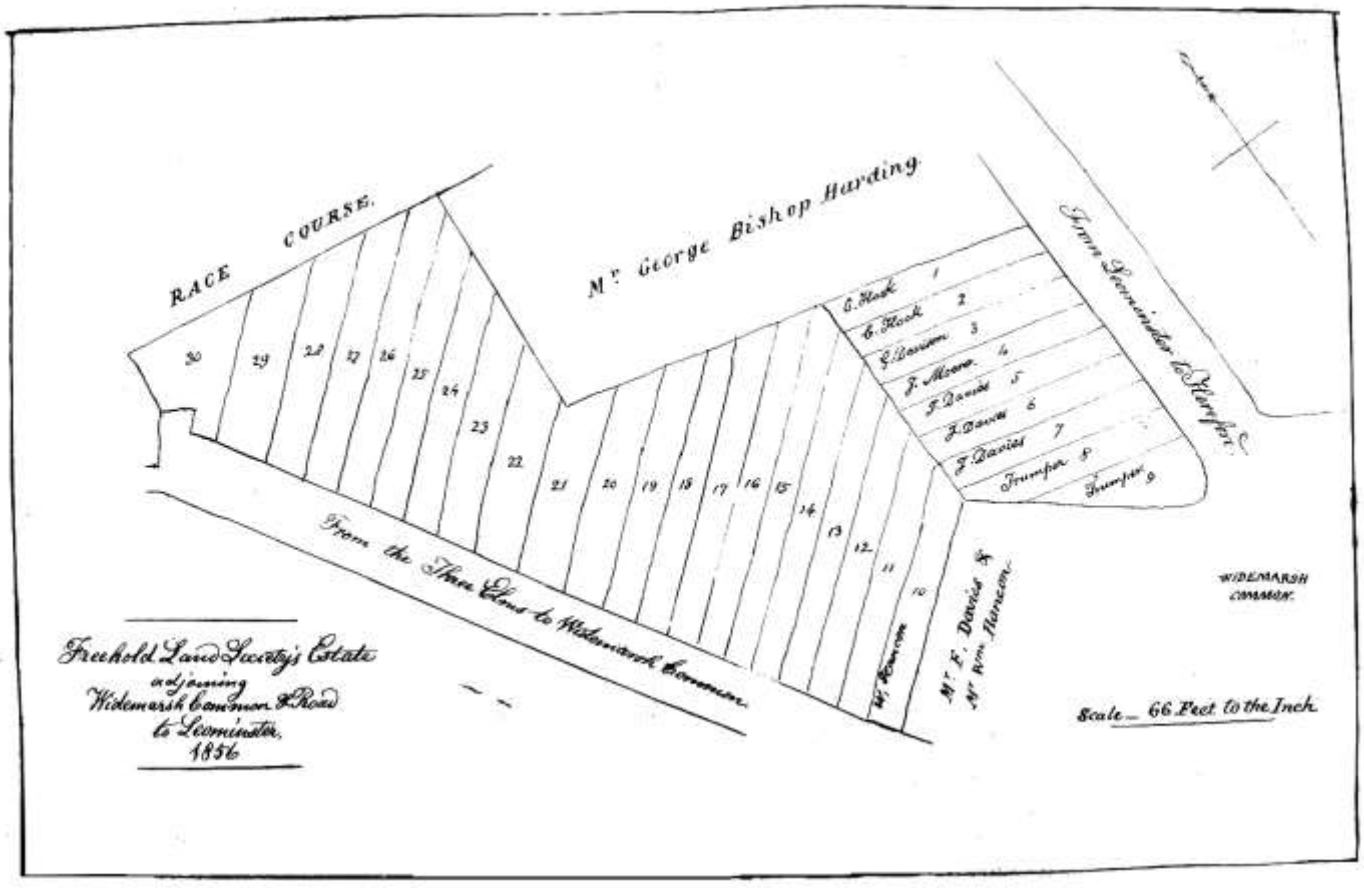


Figure 8. Widemarsh West. The development adjoining the race course was of irregular shape, with the result that the allotments were of varying sizes. A contemporary map marks this as New Town West, with the earlier development as New Town East

THE MOORFIELD PLACE ESTATE

The purchase of the land from the railway company was included in the annual report given at the annual general meeting of the society that took place on 13 May 1857, when the purchase of a small estate at Moorfield Place was also announced (Fig. 9).[44] Land behind Moorfield Place and Richmond Place had been split up into seven lots, and offered for sale by auction at the Green Dragon on 16 April 1857. Two of the lots, numbers VI & VII, totalling 2a. 2r. 24p. were purchased on behalf of the Freehold Land Society.[45] This purchase by the society was announced in the *Hereford Times* on 2 May 1857, where it was stated that it would divide into some 24 allotments, a statement repeated at the annual general meeting. An advert asking for tenders for making the roads and erecting fences on this estate appeared in the local newspapers in July 1857, an advert which also stated that the land was about to be allotted: no contemporary report of the latter has so far been traced, but a later report states that it took place on 10 September 1857 and that there were 27 allotments on the estate.[46, 47] Building must have started soon after this, with the earliest date-stones on houses on the Freehold Land Society development bearing the date 1858 (two) and 1859, but the roads on the estate were not officially given names until 1867.[48] To the west of the development was a narrow strip of land, between the development area and the railway, not owned by the freehold land society, and advantage was taken of the access afforded by the construction of Richmond Street to build a terrace of cottages on this, named, appropriately enough, Railway Terrace. This was subsequently demolished and replaced by Brunel Court.



Figure 9. Moorfield Inn. Most of the Freehold Land Society developments included a public house. However, because these were small locals, they are suffering economic pressures. Here the Moorfield Inn is closed and boarded up in 2016.

THE BARTONSHAM ESTATE

On 5 January 1859 the *Hereford Journal* reported that the Hereford Freehold Land Society had purchased land near to the barracks. However, this was premature as it was announced at the annual general meeting on 11 May 1859 that the society was negotiating with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the purchase of about 11 acres of land from the Bartonsham estate which would divide into about 80 allotments (Fig. 11).[49] The success of the negotiations was announced in the *Hereford Journal* on 21 August 1859, and the process of dividing up the estate began. A map of the estate shows that this consisted of what is now Park Street and Hampton Street, and two blocks on the north-west side of what is now Harold Street. An advert in the *Hereford Journal* on 9 November 1859 requested tenders for making 560 yards of roads, with culverts, larch fencing with 84 gates and posts, and 14,000 hawthorn quicks. Unusually, on 24 December 1859 it was announced in the *Hereford Times* that the tender of £280 for the roads and culverts on the Bartonsham estate, submitted by Mr. Joseph Trumper, of Holmer, had been accepted, and that there had been five or six other competitors. The 84 allotments were allocated on 27 December 1859, at which time it was stated that several of the allottees were contemplating the erection of houses (Fig 10).[50]



Figure 10. One of the earlier allotments to be developed on the Bartonsham estate.

Subsequent to the allotting, strips of land were taken for making footpaths on the estate, strongly complained about in a letter from W.S. Doey in the *Hereford Times* on 3 March 1860 on the grounds that as a corner site he lost a substantial area of land. A letter supporting the action, and claiming that this was beneficial to the value, appeared the following week. Then, on 17 March 1860, a report in the *Hereford Times* stated that there was much activity on the Bartonsham estate, with the roads and fencing making good progress, and that several allottees had begun building, houses evidently soon completed as there are extant date-stones on the estate bearing this date. At the annual general meeting of the society that was held in May 1860, it was reported that with the 84 allotments at Bartonsham, 273 allotments had been made. Also at that meeting the secretary, William Peters, resigned, and William Earle, of Wilton Place, Moorfield Allotments, was elected in his place, Mr. P. Warburton continuing as President, to which post he had been elected in 1857.

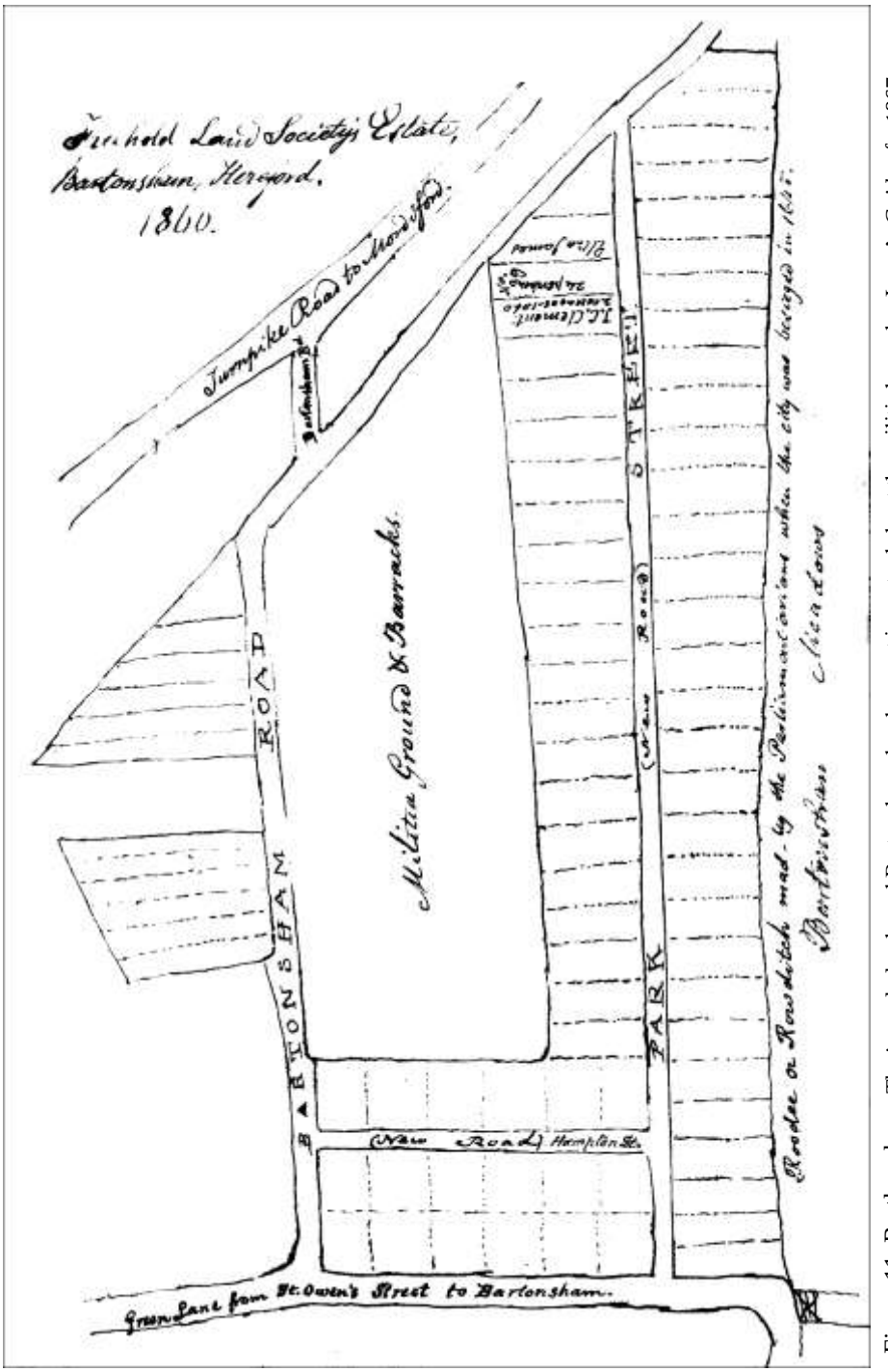


Figure 11. Barthonsham. The irregularly-shaped Bartonsham development is centred about the militia barracks. Jones's *Guide* of c.1867 states that this area is 'covered with new tenements of various sizes, many of which are very commodious.' This emphasises the varied nature of the Freehold Land Society estates.

From the beginning the development was just referred to as the Bartonsham estate, and Park Street and Hampton Street were not officially named as such until 1867.[51] At the same time that Park Street and Hampton Street were named, what is now Harold Street received the name of Barrack Street. It seems that the name Bartonsham Road had already been given to the road, but this was probably unofficial. The residents did not like the change to Barrack Street, and presented a memorial to the Council, requesting that it be altered. Various alternatives were suggested, and the name of Harold Street was chosen.[52]

At this period the residents who complained, mentioned above, would have lived in the cottages erected on the allotments on the Freehold Land Society estate, either at the Green Street end or facing onto the barracks (built 1856) and parade ground. It is not surprising that the opportunity was taken to build the Volunteer Inn, which first appears in a directory in 1867, and has continued to trade successfully ever since.

THE WESTFIELDS ESTATE

After the Bartonsham purchase, the society had bought a total of just over 41 acres of land on seven estates, Bartonsham being the largest: the next estate, at almost 28 acres, was a substantial increase on that. The purchase of the estate was first reported in July 1861, when it was said to be of about 30 acres, on the Hay road about a mile and a half from the city.[53] A more accurate report appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 4 September 1861, when it was stated that the Hereford Freehold Land Society had purchased 28 acres of excellent land near the race course.

A letter, published in the *Hereford Times* on 14 September 1861, asked if it was true that an estate at Widemarsh, not far from "Red Barn", King's Acre, and at Above Eign, near the turnpike, had been purchased? The response a week later also confirmed that the committee was negotiating for another purchase. Meanwhile the development of the estate at Westfields, on the west side of the race course and bought from the Governors of Guy's Hospital, proceeded as usual, although it was not until January 1862 that adverts for separate tenders for roads, footpaths, drains, gates and division posts, and quicks appeared (Fig. 12).[54] A Mr. Davies was successful with his quote for the quicks, while Mr. Scandrett won the contract for the roads, drains etc.[55] The ballot for allocation of the 91 allotments was due to have been held soon after, but was postponed, and took place at the Guildhall on 11 March 1862.[56] The smallest allotment was ¼ acre in extent, the largest somewhat more. Of the 91 allotments, 87 were balloted for, the other four being held over for gravel for the roads, to be allocated at a later date. Of the 87 allotments up for offer, 29 were allocated by seniority, while a two-part ballot was held for the remaining 58. The first stage was to decide who would receive allotments, and unusually this ballot was reported in detail. Then a ballot was held to decide which allotments the winning ballottees would receive, the results of which were not reported.[57] A report in the *Hereford Journal* of 29 March 1862 informed the public that the cost of each allotment was £42. The inevitable speculation in these allotments took place, and on 14 June 1862 both of the Hereford newspapers carried an advert for the sale by auction of four allotments on the Westfield estate.

The date when the four allotments that had been held back were allocated has not so far been found, but it was before September 1863. A valuation list for the parish of Holmer was compiled in that month, listing all properties in the parish and giving the names of the occupiers and owners, a very brief description of the property, acreage, gross rental value, and rateable value. The 91 allotments were listed individually, and of these 86 were listed as land; despite the premise of being worth 40s. p.a., for a single plot the maximum gross rental value was £1 5s. The other five allotments, none of which were adjacent, had been developed: one had had five

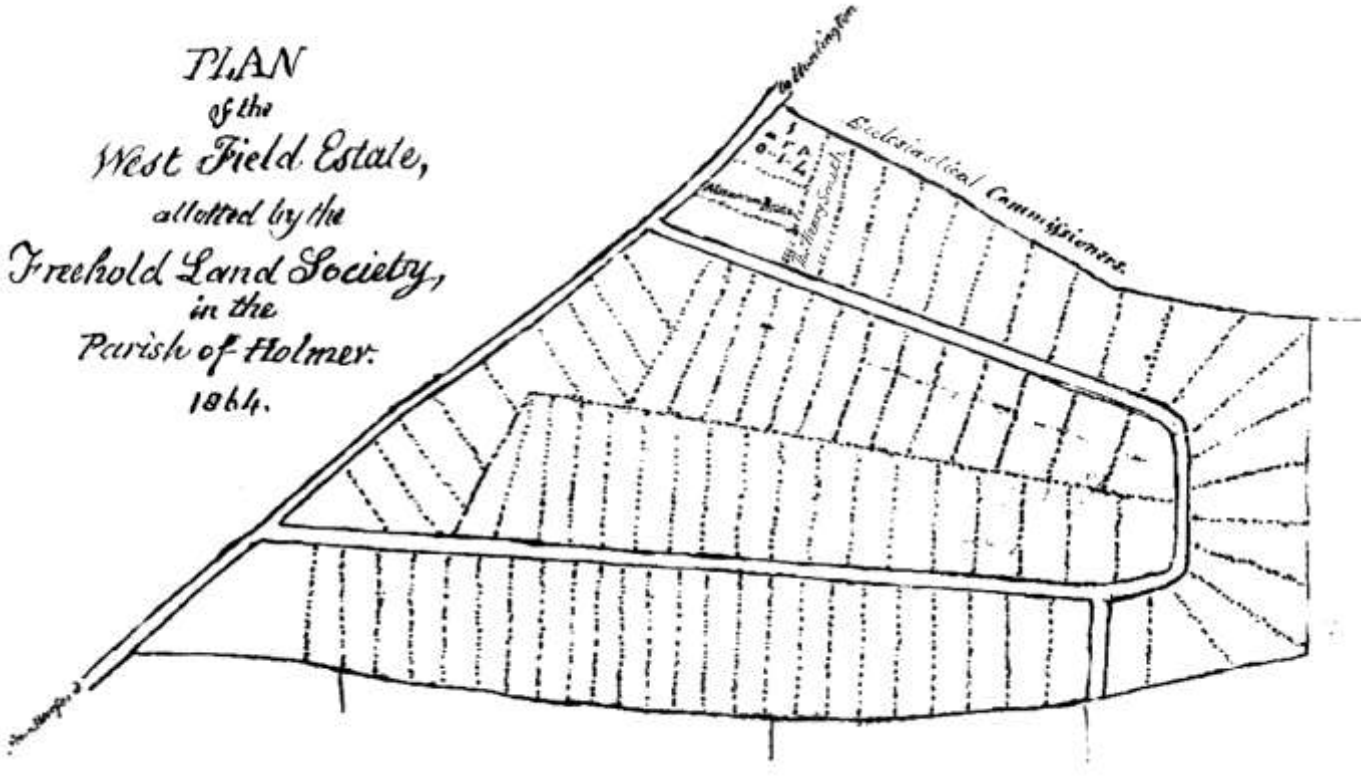


Figure 12. Westfields. Although the Westfields estate was developed from the 1860s, its relatively remote situation made it less popular and so was slowly built up. The long gardens lend themselves to development, with Glendale Close and Bilston Close being built in the backlands between Westfield Street and Highmore Street. The process continues today.

houses built on it, another four, one had three and one had two. The fifth had been divided into three, one part still being land while the others each had had a house built on them. Development was thus slow, perhaps because of the relative remoteness of the estate from the city.[58] This was also reflected in the building of the roads, and at the annual general meeting that took place at the Guildhall on 28 May 1870 it as reported that the roads on the Westfields estate were being put in order prior to handing them over as public highways to the Town Council.[59]

THE WHITE CROSS ESTATE

The purchase of an estate of about 18 acres in White Cross Road by the Hereford Freehold Land Society, was reported by the *Hereford Journal* of 15 March 1862, the cost being stated to have been £3,760. Five weeks later an advert appeared, asking for tenders for roads, footpaths, drains etc. on this estate. At the annual general meeting in May, reported in the *Hereford Journal* on 10 May 1862, the buying of both the Westfields and White Cross estates was reported, and it was indicated that there would be about 120 allotments on the latter estate. A discussion on the building line took place, during the course of which it was stated that the estate had a ¼-mile frontage onto a road which was 30 ft. wide. It is thought that this would become a main road into Hereford, and that care should therefore be made in laying out the allotments. Criticism of the piecemeal and uneven development of earlier estates had evidently been noted, and the meeting decided that a restrictive covenant should be entered into so ensure that all buildings were built up to the building line. Also at the meeting, after a long debate, it was decided to re-open the scheme to new subscriptions, the previous annual general meeting have decided to close it to new entrants, for the benefit of existing members. This report no doubt stimulated an editorial that appeared in the *Hereford Journal* a week later, which praised the work of the society.

With this, the work of laying out the estate continued. On 14 June 1862 both Hereford papers carried an advert for the sale by auction of four allotments on the Westfields estate, and certain building materials on the White Cross Road estate were auctioned at the same time. Evidently the contract for the roads and drainage was in the process of being performed, as a letter to the editor of the *Hereford Times* that appeared on 19 July 1862, queried the depth of the septic tanks, claiming that they were not deep enough. At that time there was no mains drainage along this road, and proposals for this were not published until 1867.[60] Then, on 27 September 1862 an advert appeared in the *Hereford Journal*, asking for tenders for 7000 yards of quick fencing on the White Cross estate, and for the purchase of one lot of [standing] timber, numbered 1-20. The ballot for the 126 allotments on the estate took place at the Guildhall on 2 October 1862, although the infrastructure was not yet in place: the *Hereford Journal* of 19 September 1863 carried an advert for tenders for a pathway 6 feet wide and about 485 yards in length, with 9inch drain thereunder in front of the Whitecross road allotments.

At the annual general meeting that was held at the Guildhall on 6 May 1863 progress on the White Cross estate was reported. Also, there were two nominations for the president of the society, Evan Pateshall, Esq. and Mr. T.T. Davies. This caused at least some upset, and the report of the meeting that appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 9 May was accompanied by a long advert which pointed out that the latter's son [James Davies] was the solicitor to the society and that he charged the society nearly £500 in the previous year. This was signed by 'A Working Man'. Despite this, Mr. T.T. Davies was elected, and he was re-elected at the annual meeting on 4 May 1864, the report of which meeting that appeared in the *Hereford Times* of 7 May 1864 stating that 'contrary to last year, the business was conducted very agreeably, and without interruption.'

The White Cross estate was of a somewhat unusual shape, consisting of a ribbon development along Whitecross road, (now nos. 167-253 Whitecross road) which at the east end joined the main part of the estate, consisting of Cotterell Street, Cornewall Street, Scudamore Street, Clifford Street, Breinton Street (now Windsor Street), and Holmer Street; this main block did not front onto Whitecross Road.[61] These streets were not named as such until 1867, when roads built on the various estates developed by the Hereford Freehold Land Society were officially designated.[62] However, it is likely that the names were used unofficially beforehand, and in the *Hereford Journal* of 27 October 1866 there appeared a report of a court case in which a person was summoned for obstructing the public road called Cotterell-street. This street also had early places of liquid refreshment, the Britannia and the Cotterell Arms, both of which appeared in a trade directory of 1870.



Figure 13. A comparison between large houses and rather more modest ones along the Whitecross road, on the Whitecross estate.

Because of the complexities of the parish boundaries in this part of Hereford, the estate lay within two parishes, most of the ribbon development being in Holmer parish, while the remainder was in All Saints' parish. For the part in Holmer parish, the Valuation list of 1863 gives a snapshot of what had happened since the allocation of the allotments - nothing! Allotments nos. 23-56 lay within Holmer parish, and all were described as being land. This is confirmed by the fact that the earliest date-stones on the houses on the estate which front onto Whitecross road

bear the date 1864. There is also clear evidence that other parts of the estate were only gradually developed, and the *Hereford Times* of 28 September 1867 reported the laying of the foundation stone of a Primitive Methodist chapel in Clifford Street two days before, going on to say:

> The site for this little edifice was given by Mr. William Hughes, and is situate at the lower end of the street, which at present only has two houses in it, although there are plenty of eligible building sites.[63] (Fig. 14).

By the time the area was surveyed by the OS in 1885 development of the estate was well advanced.



Figure 14. Chapel, Clifford Street. Although the former chapel in Clifford Street has now been converted into a pair of houses and partly rendered, the side elevation indicates that its previous use was non-domestic.

THE PORTFIELDS AND ST GILES'S ESTATES

It was another three years before the society managed to buy more land for dividing up into allotments. On 17 March 1866 it was reported in the *Hereford Journal* that the Hereford Freehold Land Society had bought 11 acres on Scutmill road, about 200 yards from St Owen's toll gate, from J.J. Evans Esq., and that it was about three years since the White Cross estate had been allotted. This purchase was reported at the annual general meeting at the Guildhall on 30 May, where it was also reported that the society had bought nearly 100 acres in the previous 17 years, and tabulated the results.

Estate		Quantity A. R. P	Allotments	Date of Allotment	Current no. of houses on each estate.
Newtown, Widemarsh		8 2 34	48	11 Feb. 1851	76
Hunderton		6 1 30	29 [The estate map shows 26.]	8 April 1851	31
Above Eign		4 0 23	27	1 March 1853	58
Widemarsh No. 4		3 3 28	30	26 Feb. 1856	53
Widemarsh No. 5		4 0 0	28	28 Oct. 1856	21
Moorfield Place		2 2 24	27	10 Sept. 1857	67
Bartonsham		11 1 9	84	27 Dec. 1859	138
Westfields		27 2 29	91	11 March 1862	33
White Cross		18 0 14	126	2 Oct. 1862	91
Lower Portfields		11 3 34	About 90	Not yet allotted	
			580		568

Table 1. Hereford Freehold Land Society land purchases and apportionments reported in *HJ* 17 March 1866.

The table above is derived from the report.[64] Also tabulated was the cost of the land, and the cost of each allotment, the lowest cost being £36 18s. for an allotment on the first Widemarsh estate, which included expenses. Costs for the later estates increased, and went as high as £45 18s. for an allotment on Widemarsh No. 5, over the face value of shares in the society. Estimates of value of the allotments were also given, ranging from par for the White Cross estate up to £150 for an allotment on the Above Eign estate, which was evidently very popular, since there were more than twice the number of houses than allotments. Of the most recent allotments, Westfields was evidently not popular, perhaps because of its relatively remote situation, and was little developed, a situation that was still true when the large-scale OS maps were surveyed and published in the 1880s.

Drainage was an issue here, and in January 1901 the provision of a water supply and sewerage system for the estate was under consideration, many of the houses being considered insanitary and unfit for human habitation. In June 1904 a scheme for draining surface water was proposed and subsequently implemented, and in September 1906 water was supplied to two tanks by a temporary connection, so that those without water could collect it themselves. The following year a service reservoir was constructed at Bobblestock, completed in October 1907. At that time there were some 73 houses on the development, with a population of 340 persons. Because of the increased supply of water it was expected that the dry earth closets then in use would be converted to water closets, and a scheme of drainage to a communal septic tank was implemented from the latter part of 1908. No doubt this helped with the further development of the estate.[65]

On 21 July 1866 the *Hereford Journal* carried a report that the Hereford Freehold Land Society had concluded an agreement with the Rev. J. Evans for the purchase of 25 acres at

'Ailstone-hill,' and that this, with the land purchased at St Owen's Gate, would make about 38 acres for allotment. This report of land being purchased on Aylestone Hill was an old chestnut, and had first surfaced in the following terms in the *Hereford Times* on 24 November 1860:

> FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY.—During the last few days it has been rumoured that the Freehold Land Society have had the offer made to them of purchasing, at fair terms, a considerable quantity of land at Athelstan-hill, the property the Rev. John Evans, and that certain members of the Society are opposed to the purchase on the ground that it would be "ruination" to the city to have so charming a site dotted over with workmen's cottages.

Neither was the later report correct either!

Meanwhile, preparation of the Portfields estate was going ahead. An advert in the *Hereford Journal* on 14 July 1866 publicised the sale by auction of materials from agricultural buildings on the estate, and another advert in the same issue an advert asked for separate tenders for building the roads, and providing for sewerage and pale fencing on the estate. The specification was later amended, and further tenders were wanted in August 1866.[66] Provision was also made by the city council for a supply of water, and a tender for £150 for a water main to the Portfields estate was accepted in November 1866.[67]



Figure 15. Eign Road. A mixture of houses of different periods and sizes along Eign Road.

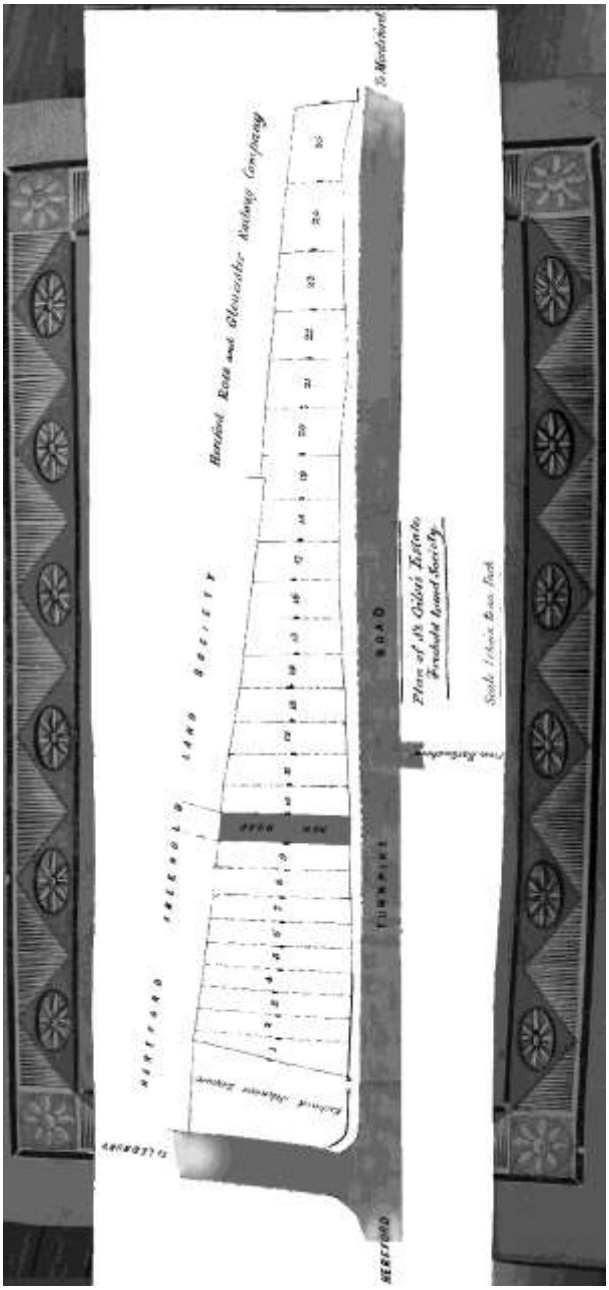


Figure 16. Eign Road. The purchase of this long roadside frontage on Eign Road enabled the full development of the Portfield estate, and the building of Clive Street. The house on the corner of what is now Ledbury Rod was occupied by Richard Johnson, the noted Hereford historian.

The land on the Portfields estate was balloted for on 6 February 1867, previously announced in the *Hereford Journal* on 5 January 1867, a report which also stated that the Hereford Freehold Land Society had bought from the charity trustees some land adjoining the turnpike road from St Owen's to Eign-hill. This again was incorrect, as although negotiations were taking place there was a problem because this land was leased to Mr. Richard Johnson, who had an adjoining residence on the corner of Scutmill (Ledbury) Road and Eign Road. The balloting for the 87 allotments on the Portfields estate took place in the presence of a large attendance of interested parties and the report in the *Hereford Journal* on 9 February 1867 also contained the information that £700 had been offered for the land occupied by Mr. Johnson, but it was not known if this had been accepted. It hadn't, and a counter offer had been made by Mr. J. Carless, a local solicitor, on behalf of a client, which caused the society to increase its offer to £850. Through April this battle continued, with offer and counter offer, until the Freehold Land Society's offer was finally increased to £950, which the charity trustees recommended should be accepted. [68] On 1 June 1867 it was reported in the *Hereford Journal* that the Freehold Land Society had agreed to purchase $2^1/_4$ acres of land, but it was not until August that it was reported that the land had been sold to the Freehold Land Society and that the deeds were to be signed by the charity trustees.[69] This land, which was part of the endowments of the St Giles's almshouses and was referred to as the St Giles Estate, joined the Portfields estate, and enabled the outer section of Clive Street to be completed. Subsequently the land bordering on Eign Road was divided into 25 allotments, which were then gradually developed (Fig. 16).[70] By the time of the OS survey in 1885 almost all of the plots along Eign Road had been developed, and some of the allotments have since been redeveloped (Fig. 15).

The roads on the Portfields estate consist of Portfield Street, Foley Street, and Clive Street, the land being divided by the railway line, and they were given the current names at a meeting of Hereford Town Council on 21 April 1868.[71]

THE BARTON ESTATE

On 9 March 1863 a house and land at Broomy Hill, which had been divided into nine lots which were advertised as building plots, were auctioned at the City Arms by Mr. J.H. Sunderland.[72] As usual the result of the auction was not reported, but it is assumed that most, if not all, of the lots were sold. The final lot in the auction was a meadow of something over $5^1/_4$ acres. Subsequently, this was purchased by P. Ralph on behalf of the Freehold Land Society, a purchase reported in the *Hereford Journal* on 24 August 1867.[73] This was later referred to as the Barton Estate, although it was at the western edge of the area known as the Barton.[74] Before it was allotted part of the land was sold on to Walter Williams, an adjoining resident (Fig. 17). At the end of December 1867 adverts appeared in the local press, asking for tenders for the construction of the roads and pale fencing on the Barton estate. The tender was won by William Bowers, who quoted a very precise £263 5s., and the other five tenders were for higher amounts, up to £350.[75] The estate was divided into 36 allotments, but development was slow, and the six-inch OS map, surveyed in 1885 and published in 1887, shows that almost nothing had begun. Soon development began more seriously, and two houses in the road, by now named Tower Road, bear the dates 1887 and 1888 respectively: by the time that the OS survey was revised in 1902 a high proportion of the plots had been developed.

After the purchase of the Barton Estate in 1867, there was a period of about ten years when the Freehold Land Society was not able to buy any suitable development land. For most of this period T.T. Davies. sen. held the position of president of the society, but at the annual general

meeting in 1875 his son, James Davies, solicitor to the society, stated that his father wished to be relieved of his duties as president because of his advancing years.[76] Philip Ralph, who was acting as chairman for this meeting, was elected as president in place of T.T. Davies.[77] In his presidential report, T.T. Davies proposed that the society be incorporated under the Building Societies Act 1874, which had certain financial advantages, and this was agreed to.[78] Subsequently the rules were revised and reissued. T.T. Davies's presidency of the Freehold Land Society explains how he obtained some of the original maps of the allotments of the Freehold Land Society which are still in his collections.[79]

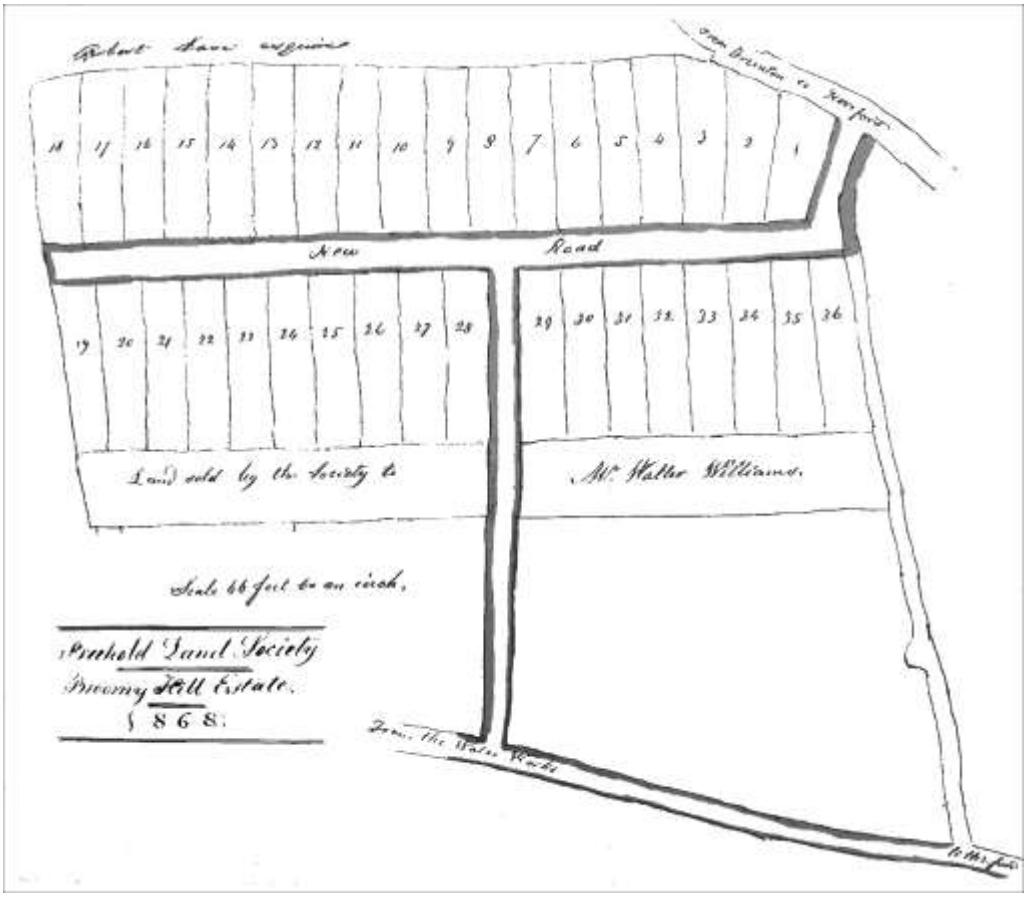


Figure 17. Tower Road, Broomy Hill. Despite being closer to the city centre than the Westfields estate, the Barton estate on Broomy Hill was also only slowly developed.

THE CASTLE GREEN ESTATE

In 1878 the Hereford Freehold Society bought a field in Mill Street, facing Castle Green and lying between Mill Street and Green Street. This acquisition was reported in the *Hereford*

Journal on 4 May 1878:

> LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS.—Some years ago, it will be remembered, Dr. Lingen made a suggestion for improving the footpath and highway from Eign-road to the Infirmary, and ultimately on his own property gave a practical illustration of the utility and value of his advice by constructing a new road and forming a new street, metalled and laid out with footpaths, from St. Giles's Chapel to Green-street. Working still further on the doctor's design, the Hereford Freehold Land and Building Society have thrown a large space open from their newly-acquired meadow along Mill-street, and thus made the new road to the Infirmary an excellent one and a shorter approach thereto from the Lugwardine and Fownhope district. Some of the oldest citizens will remember that the Infirmary Lodge stands upon the ancient site of the Castle Mill dam.

Although the exact date that Dr. Lingen constructed his road is not given, it evidently predates this, and the description proves that this was St James's Road. By the time the OS survey was carried out in 1885, about half of that road had been developed with large houses. At the time that the Freehold Land Society bought the meadow, there was a path on the south side of the land, which was where land was given for this good cause, to form what is now Nelson Street. The purchase of the land which was developed as the Castle Green Estate had evidently happened some little while previously, as the account, published with a report of the 1878 annual general meeting show payments for fencing and hawthorn quicks. However, the accounts do not record payments for making up Nelson Street, so it is unclear who made it up, perhaps the Town Council. The accounts also show that a building and land were sold off, bringing in £130 to offset against expenditure.[80] At about this time the estate was divided up into 41 building sites and allotted to members (Fig. 18). Development began immediately, with date-stones of 1879 in Green Street. The estate was clearly popular, and at the annual general meeting that took place at the Guildhall on 28 May 1879 it was reported that many of the plots had been sold at a premium.[81] A year later, the annual general meeting was told that the estate had cost about £1700 to develop, and that only about £100 was due on it, although it is not clear if the £130 received for the portion sold off had been allowed for.[82] By the time of the 1885 survey all the frontage onto Castle Green had been developed, as was that onto Green Street, but Nelson Street was only partly developed.



Figure 18. An early datestone in Green Street, part of the Castle Green estate.

THE RYELANDS ESTATE

At the annual general meeting of the Freehold Land Society that took place at the Guildhall on 31 May 1882 it was reported that an estate, to be called the Ryelands Estate, had been bought, which would supply 178 building sites, and that it was in the course of allotment. This was the largest purchase that the Society had made. It was confirmed that the method of allotment would be one third by priority, and two thirds between all members of at least twelve months membership. In his speech to the meeting, Mr. P. Ralph, the president, claimed that at that time about one third of all houses erected in the city were on land purchased by the society.[83] The three roads on the estate were constructed by the Town Council, on terms agreed between the society and the Town Council, and part of the estate was used to enable the Town Council to widen Cemetery Lane—shortly to be called Westfaling Street—and Whitehorse Street. One of the three roads built was Ryeland Street, formerly just a dead-end off Whitecross Road, and the others were Chandos Street and Stanhope Street. The building plots on the estate were allotted on 6 July 1882, and this was reported at the next annual general meeting of the Freehold Land Society at the Guildhall on 30 May 1883. The report of the meeting that appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 2 June 1883 stated that the estate was upwards of 20 acres in extent, and that the Freehold Land Society, during its existence, had purchased some 134 acres, spent £10,000 on roads on the estates, and made 857 allotments on the various estates on which 1,000 dwellings had been erected.[84] From a later report it is known that the Ryelands Estate was laid out by Richard Webster, a local surveyor and land agent who had an office in Widemarsh Street, assisted by Richard Parker, the city surveyor. The roads were constructed by the city council, on behalf of the Freehold Land Society, which would have expedited their adoption.[85] The 1885 OS survey of the area, published two years later, gives a snapshot of the early development of the estate. Since this was only about four years after the allotment, it is not surprising that only part of the estate had been developed, in rather a haphazard way, but the pattern of the plots was clearly defined. What is also clear is that the processes of amalgamation and of sub-division was also under way. What is surprising is that when the annual general meeting was held in 1889, it was reported to the meeting that of the whole of the Ryelands estate, only one allotment had a mortgage on it, and that the total cost of the estate had been about £10,000.[86]

There is also an interesting literary reference at this period in a booklet entitled *Early Days of Cider Making*, written in 1937 by E.F. Bulmer to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of H.P. Bulmer & Co.

> When a start was made in Ryelands street later in 1888, it was on an acre of land bought from a Mr. Lane, of The Ryelands, Leominster, after whose establishment the street was named; part of a field of 11 acres on the east side of the present road. The land in the vicinity had not "gone well" as they say. There were no houses at all to the east of Ryelands Street, and very few to the west. Hereford Town ended where the Breinton Road divided from the road leading to Broomy Hill, and the present Breinton Road was a lane about 12 ft. to 14 ft. wide, and corn still grew where St. Nicholas Rectory now is.[87]

Subsequently the firm bought the remaining 10 acres of the field, and sold off for building three acres fronting Ryelands Street, although as far as can be determined this was not to the Freehold Land Society.[88] The firm continued to develop its business on the remaining seven acres of the site.By the time that the OS survey was revised in 1902 most of the Ryelands estate had been developed, and the frontages of the Bulmer's site on Ryeland Street and Breinton Road had also been developed.

THE CORNEWALL ESTATE

At the annual general meeting of the Freehold Land Society, held at the Guildhall on 26 May 1886, it was reported that since the last annual general meeting the society had bought two small pieces of land in Whitehorse Street and Cornewall Street, and that this estate was to be called the Cornewall estate. It was stated that while the estate was desirable in itself, the fact that it was possible to widen Cornewall Street added value to allotments in this area. With these clues, it is possible to identify this land as being on the south side of Cornewall Street. The OS survey, carried out in 1885, was just too early to record the division of this land into allotments, but these show clearly on the survey of 1902 which was published in 1905. This suggests that, allowing for some subdivision, about 12 allotments were allocated, although this does not seem to have been reported in the local press.

It was also reported that, since July 1882 when the Ryelands estate was allotted, houses with a rateable value of nearly £1,400 had been built. Also that on the estates which had been created by the Freehold Land Society about 1,500 houses had been built.[89] When the next annual general meeting was held on 25 May 1887, it was stated that the various estates developed by the society had provided 880 allotments, each sufficiently large enough for the erection of two houses of moderate size, and that about 8,000 people or two-fifths of the population of Hereford lived in houses erected on the allotments.[90] It was also reported that nearly £13,000 had been expended on roads etc. In discussions after the accounts had been presented, it was stated that the Ryelands estate would be enough for some time to come, a view confirmed by the fact that the OS survey of 1885 showed that at that period little development had happened on the estate.[91]

THE JUBILEE

No estate was developed between the Cornewall Estate and the celebration of the Jubilee of the Freehold Land Society in 1900. To mark that, a full report was printed, giving an outline history of the society. This highlighted meritorious service to the society, in particular that of James Davies, who had been solicitor to the society since its inception. For this he was presented with an inscribed silver tea service on a silver tray. Another long-serving servant of the society was William Earle, who had been elected secretary in 1860, still in office in 1900, although soon succeeded by his son, Percy W. Leighton Earle. The lengths of service of the various presidents could not compare with these servants of the society: Philip Ralph was succeeded in the mid 1880s by Thomas Maund, who in his turn was succeeded by Alderman E.E. Bosley, who was in office at the time of the jubilee. However, he died in 1902 and John Marchant became president. All of these were prominent persons in Hereford at the time that they were elected.

THE MOOR ESTATE

After the creation of the Cornewall estate, the Freehold Land Society was unable to buy any further land for development until 1903, consequently in the interim the society was closed for new shares. However, at the annual general meeting held at the Guildhall on 30 May 1903 it was reported that there were still 297 shares held by 111 members. It was also reported that the society had bought what was called the Moor estate in Grandstand Road, the first purchase for about 16 years, which would give a stimulus to the society, and that the allotment would take place at the end of the meeting, it being agreed that a quarter of the 26 allotments would be allocated by seniority and the other three-quarters by ballot.[92] The land on which this estate was built was a strip along Grandstand Road, on the opposite side of the road to the Widemarsh estate, beginning at a large house called Armadale.[93] Previously all of this area had been part of

Moor Farm, which appeared on the OS survey of 1885, but was demolished not too long afterwards, and Armadale was built on part of the site, appearing on the 1902 revised survey.[94]

With this successful purchase it was decided that the society should be opened to new shares, and it was stated that the secretary should be pleased to received new applications.[95] Development was slow in taking place, with the terrace called Westmoor Place being dated 1906. This slow development is confirmed by the small number of entries in a street directory published in Kelly's directory of 1909. A mission hall, served by the parish of Holmer in which it was, was built on the estate in 1911-12, and by the time the OS survey was revised in 1928 perhaps half of the estate had been developed.[96]

THE MOOR PARK ESTATE

That the society was opened to new shares was evidently a good thing, particularly as the society soon bought what was called the Moor Park estate in 1904. This was an area between King's Acre Road and Three Elms Road, with the 135 allotments lining the newly-built Ferndale Road and Moor Park Road. The former road was named after Ferndale House, on the south side of King's Acre Road, which, confusingly enough, was opposite the end of Moor Park Road. These allotments were allocated at a general meeting of the society on 11 July 1905. When the annual general meeting was held on 31 May 1905 it was made clear at the meeting that the society was open for the issue of new shares, probably with the intention that more land should be purchased.[97] However, no further purchases were recorded in subsequent surviving reports (1908-9, 1911-2, 1912-3) where references are made to the Moor Park estate, but nothing else, and nothing appears to have been reported in the local press.[98] The rules of the society were revised at about this period, an undated set in the Pilley Collection having the date 1909 added on the front in pencil, the printing being of the style of the period.

At the annual meeting that took place on 11 June 1914 it was reported that during the previous year the roads on the Moor Park estate had been cleaned, and further building plots on the estate had changed hand, and that building operations were in progress. The society had been in negotiation with the Roads Committee with regard to the Town Council taking over the roads on the estate, and the meeting agreed for this to happen at the cost of the society. At the next annual meeting, which took place on 8 June 1915, it was reported that the roads on the Moor Park estate had indeed been taken over by the Town Council, and that additional houses had been erected on the estate during the year.[99] Optimistically and in accordance with established custom, the meeting also decided that for any development that would take place before the next annual general meeting, a quarter of the allotments would be made to members according to seniority, and the other three-quarters allotted amongst the rest of the unallotted shareholders, who held shares of no less than 12 months standing. The annual meeting that took place on 6 June 1916 also made this decision, and as a consequence of the war the value of the investments was written down.[100] Also the society was effectively dormant, with little activity, and the routine was disrupted. Thus in 1919 the annual meeting, usually held in June, did not take place until 26 November. At that meeting the president, Mr. G. Franklin, who had been in office for the war years, resigned, and Mr. T. Godsell was elected in his place. At that meeting the rule for allotment of sites was again approved.[101] At this period the society had a low profile, and while it was advertised in the Hereford Journal Directory of 1914, it was not recorded in Kelly's directories of 1917 and later.

During the course of First World War little or no new housing development took place, and this problem was addressed immediately by the Hereford City Council after the end of the

war. In 1919 the City Council bought land to develop for council housing at Portfields, Breinton Road, Ross Road, and Mostyn Street. This totalled about 30 acres in extent and on these estates some 242 houses were built.[102] In 1922 the government decided to call a halt to Council Housing Schemes, and withdrew the subsidy to private builders, but despite this, in 1923 the City Council decided to build a further 40 houses at Portfields, and 24 on an estate at Penn Grove.[103] Thus the Hereford Freehold Land Society had little scope to act, as any suitable building land that was available was being bought by the City Council. The change in emphasis was emphasised by the establishment of the Hereford Permanent Building Society in 1922. This had first been mooted in 1911, the idea being to run it alongside the Hereford Freehold Land Society, and the proposal was resurrected and agreed in 1922 at a meeting that took place on 9 December. A report of the meeting stated that it was 'not proposed that the new society should in any way be run in opposition to the old Herefordshire Society.'[104] However, the Freehold Land Society does not seem to have carried out any development work after the Moor Park estate, and the pressures were such that it could no longer continue. Accordingly it closed in 1924, although no account of this has so far been found in the local press.[105]

POLITICS

The initial impetus of the Freehold Land Society movement was political, and there is the occasional newspaper reference with respect to the Hereford society and to the wider context. Thus when the lists of voters were being revised in 1852, the *Hereford Times* of 23 October 1852 reported that 'The greater part of the claimants for the qualification under the Freehold Land Society were among the number of Tory objections, and were with one exception struck out." No reason was given for this.

That the principle of the 40s. franchise was accepted by the Conservative Land Society underlay a court case in the Court of Appeal in 1854. 17 of the allottees on the Putney estate of that society had been refused the vote on the basis that the land was not let. This case came to the Court of Appeal where it was decided that the land did not have to be let, but just of value of 40s. p.a. to qualify for the county franchise.[106]

In 1858 the Conservative interest objected to parties holding votes for allotments on the Widemarsh estate under the Freehold Land Society. The claim was that since the capital and interest was not paid up, the allotments were not of sufficient yearly value. This was not accepted, but some were struck off on the not unreasonable grounds that they had sold their allotments.[107]

Another case occurred in 1862, when several claims were made on behalf of the Westfields estate, and these were objected to by the Radicals. The claims were disallowed as the ballot for the allotments was too late to qualify.[108]

THE CONSERVATIVE LAND SOCIETY IN HEREFORD

The idea of the freehold land society was also taken up nationally in the Conservative interest by setting up the Conservative Land Society. This was a national society which had been established on 7 September 1852, and by 1866 had purchased some 60 estates in 26 counties.[109] The attention of the Conservative Land Society turned to Hereford, and late in 1865 it bought the Moorfields Estate from Mr. Folliot Nash.[110] An article appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 6 January 1866, calling attention to an advert for the Conservative Land Society, applications for shares in which could be obtained from Mr. G. Barter at his office in Widemarsh Street. The advert publicised freehold building plots in Hereford, on the Moorfields estate that was about to be allotted. Unlike the Hereford Freehold Land Society, the allotments were of varying cost,

from a modest £28 to a large £155, the latter obviously intended for much larger houses.[111] A public meeting duly took place at the Shire Hall on 21 February 1866, at which over 1,000 were reported to be present. W. Pulling Esq. was in the chair, and the deputation from the Conservative Land Society included Viscount Ranelagh, its chairman, Colonel A. Meyrick, of London (and Goodrich), and C.L. Gruneisen, its secretary. After a discussion, during which an error in layout in the estate was suggested, the ballot for the right of choice on the estate was held.[112] A letter refuting the alleged error in surveying, suggested at the meeting, appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 3 March 1866, to which Orlando Shellard responded a week later.[113] There the matter rested. What was not in dispute, however, was that the allotment was not a great success. A report that appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 3 March 1866 stated that more than half of the allotments on the Moorfields estate had been sold—evidently there were not enough subscribers from Hereford. It also noted that a road to join Ingestre and Bagallay Roads (now designated streets) was to be added to the plan: although not named at the time, this was clearly what subsequently called Gruneisen Street.[114] It was also stated that tenders for the roads were to be issued without delay.



Figure 19. Meyrick Street. Houses built on the Conservative Land Society estate on Whitecross road were generally on a larger scale, such as these houses in Meyrick Street.

An advert asking for tenders for the roads on the estate appeared in the *Hereford Journal* on 17 March 1866, the work to be tendered for including 2,600 ft. of new roads, 30 ft. wide, with 7 ft. wide pavements on either side, and 28 ‘Gulley cesspits.’ The latter probably just refers to the roadside gullies, rather than cesspits for the houses, as, although the number of allotments

was not reported, there were far more than this. The development than appears to have stalled, and demand seems to have still been exceeded by supply, as the estate was still advertised in the *Hereford Times* in August 1867.[115] An article on the expansion of Hereford, which appeared in the *Hereford Times* on 16 November 1867, commented favourably on recent expansion of the city, with the building of large houses on 'Athelstan-hill' and at Hampton Park, and adversely on the Moorfields estate, saying that 'in the Spring it is thought that the Conservative Land Society will take heart and build on their allotments.' Perhaps the subscribers were waiting for the construction of drainage in the White Cross district, proposed by Thomas Curley in November 1867.[116] There would have been little point in building septic tanks if mains drainage was soon to be installed. When it was, under the 1854 Improvement Act, if a main drain or sewer had been laid, development of a site could not begin until a suitable drain had been laid from the site to the sewer.[117] Meanwhile some of the land was let out, five adjoining plots on the estate being advertised to be let for gardening purposes in the *Hereford Times* on 9 February 1867.

It is also evident that not all the allotments on the estate were sold at the same time, either being released in batches, or being sold as and when the opportunity arose. At the annual general meeting of the Hereford Freehold Land Society that took place on 25 May 1870, with the president T.T. Davies in the chair, it was reported that the society had not made any new purchase of land since the last annual general meeting, implying that was a good thing as the Conservative Land Society would have about 50 allotments for sale in a few days.[118] However, by the time that the survey for the six-inch OS map was carried out in 1885, development of the estate was well under way, over half of the allotments having been built on, and when the OS survey was revised in 1902, development had continued, leaving only a few vacant plots.

It is evident from the above that the Conservative Land Society estate at White Cross satisfied much of the demand for more expensive building plots in the city. That being so, it is surprising that in 1867 there was a proposal for the establishment in Hereford of a Villa Building Society. This proposal was discussed at a meeting held on 12 December 1867, where it was stated that the limit of £45 on the shares of the Freehold Land Society was an obstacle, and that someone who built a good villa on his allotment could have it spoilt by being surrounded by houses of poorer quality, and that a Building Society in which the shares were larger would overcome this perceived problem. The meeting agreed with this proposal, and Mr. W. Earle, secretary of the Freehold Land Society, was appointed secretary *pro tem*. However, this proposal seems to have come to nothing.

CONCLUSION

At the present time, when a housing estate is developed, in general all the houses are built by the developer and are then sold on. Thus modern estates have in general something of a uniformity of character (avoiding arguments about this lack of variety!). This compares with the rather different method of working of the Hereford Freehold Land Society in which the estates developed by that society were sold off as allotments, to be used either as gardens or building plots. Although in the early days of the society there was no preference expressed either way, by its later years the allotments were increasingly referred to as building plots, a change in emphasis. Because it was left up to the buyer how their allotment should be developed, the result was that any estate developed by the Freehold Land Society was of a very mixed nature. Many of the plots, which were in general quite generous, were subdivided, whereas those better off who had more than one allotment could build a larger house. Thus in Park Street, for instance, there are larger houses as well as smaller cottages, and some have been developed right up to the street

while others were set well back. Also not all plots were developed at the same time, so that in the latter part of the nineteenth century the aspect of the estates would have been very different to that now. Some indication of the slowness of development of the various estates has been given above.

However, for all the faults of the method of working, the result was a substantial expansion of artisan housing in Hereford in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The main idea of the movement was to encourage thrift and to enable the 'industrious poor' to provide for themselves. As the twentieth century went on, the main thrust was to provide by the local authority what is now called social housing, for rent rather than to be bought. The first of these was the garden suburb adjoining Barr's Court Road. Acts of 1890 and 1903 enabled councils to buy land at Barr's Court, and put in the infrastructure for a new estate. This was then leased to Hereford Co-operative Housing Ltd., which was a registered industrial society. When funding was in place some 85 cottages were constructed, the first of which was rented out in 1909. With this, and other housing built by the Hereford Council in the early 1900s, and in the immediate aftermath of World War I, the emphasis had changed from encouraging the construction of houses by the artisan class, to an acknowledgement that the demand for suitable housing could only be satisfied by what was called the 'state municipality.'[119] The consequence was that there was less opportunity for a society such as the Freehold Land Society, and its consequent demise in 1924 was not unexpected.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Rules of the Hereford City & County Benefit Building Society* (1850), iii. Hereford Reference Library, PC Pamphlet Box 4.
[2] No records have been deposited in Hereford Record Office. Inf. ex. Rhys Griffiths.
[3] *Op.cit.* in Note 1.
[4] Ross, Ledbury, and Leominster Freehold Land Societies, like the Hereford Freehold Society, were founded in 1850, for which see *Hereford Journal* (henceforth *HJ*) 12 Jan. 1853; *Hereford Times* (henceforth *HT*) 18 May 1851 & 15 Feb. 1851; and *HJ* 10 April 1850. Unusually the Leominster Society was also a temperance society, although a note in *HT* 10 Dec. 1859 stated that persons who were not abstainers could become members.
[5] The Chartist Co-operative Land Society—from 1846 renamed as the National Land Company—was established by Feargus O'Connor to buy estates in the country, and divide them up into smallholdings. It was promoted among poorer members of the population, who could subscribe at least 3d. per week towards a share in the society which cost £2 10s. Shares would then be entered in a lottery by which holdings on the estates would be allocated. There was thus no certainty that any subscriber would ever be allocated a smallholding. Doubts arose about the legality of the operation, and because it could not be registered under the Friendly Societies Act, O'Connor attempted to have the law changed. A Select Committee was set up to investigate, which decided that the scheme was illegal and would not fulfil the expectations held out to the shareholders, but could be wound up without penalty because all taking part had done so in good faith. No means of legalising the company was ever devised and the Land Company was wound up by Act of Parliament in July 1851. Summarised from *Gwent Local History* 98 (Spring 2005), 26-7.
[6] Little research has been carried out on land clubs, one of the few exceptions being Noel Gilbert, 'Kidderminster's Land Clubs', *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc*., Vol. 22 Third Series (2010), pp. 181-194.
[7] The Rules state that the extra penny was to be applied towards the expenses of the society. Shares were limited to £45.
[8] *HJ* 10 April 1850.
[9] *HT* 27 April 1850, 18 May 1850, HJ 22 May 1850.
[10] This was undoubtedly Mr. Thomas Jenkins, of Castle Green, who was a keen supporter of the society.
[11] *HT* 28 Dec. 1850. The committee member was possibly Charles Anthony, who is known to have owned land in this area.
[12] *HJ* 12 & 19 Feb. 1851, HT 15 Feb. 1851.
[13] *HJ* 12 Sept. 1855.

[14] See, for instance, G. Roberts, *The Making of Modern Hereford* (2002), 133. The allotments that were said to have been cleared for housing at Moorfields were in fact allotments on the Hereford Freehold Land Society Moorfields estate, for which see later in text.
[15] The report of the ballot that appeared in the *HT* on 12 April 1851 states that there were 29 allotments on the estate. However, the map of the estate that survives is clearly divided into 26 allotments.
[16] *HT* 26 April 1851, *HJ* 30 April 1851.
[17] *HT* 12 April 1851 & *HJ* 16 April 1851; *HT* 4 Jan. 1851 & *HJ* 8 Jan. 1851.
[18] At the Herefordshire Agricultural Society annual meeting that took place on 18 October 1851, Mr. W. Godwin of Lugwardine Tile Works exhibited a machine capable of making hollow bricks, draining tiles, and pipes. *HJ* 22 Oct. 1851, *HT* 25 Oct. 1851. At the Candlemas show of that society that took place on 7 February 1853 he exhibited hollow bricks, as well as encaustic tiles. *HJ* 9 Feb. 1853.
[19] The plan of the Hunderton estate proves that the pair of cottages built on Thomas Jenkins' allotment are now nos. 54 and 56, Hunderton Road. These have been rendered on the outside and hence the bond is not visible. There are solid brick piers at the outer corners and on the common wall of the pair of cottages, it evidently being recognised that this bond is not as strong as when the bricks are laid in the usual manner. Thanks to Robert Williams for the initial identification of the use of this bond.
[20] *HT* 12 June 1852
[21] *HJ* 18 Aug. 1866. No licensing records survive for this period.
[22] *HJ* 11 May 1867.
[23] David Spiers, 'The Street Names of Hereford, 1757-1961,' *TWNFC* Vol. 37 (1962), 208. This paper should be read in conjunction with the present paper, as various of the conclusions about the dates and origins of street names are corrected and updated in the present paper.
[24] *HT* 5 Feb. 1853.
[25] See J.C. Eisel, 'The Herefordshire Philosophical Society', *TWNFC* Vol. 59 (2011), 82 n.48 for an outline biography of Jelinger C. Symonds.
[26] *HJ* 9 Feb. 1867.
[27] *HT* 10 May 1851; *HT* 8 May 1852 & *HJ* 12 May 1852; *HT* 15 May 1852 & *HJ* 19 May 1852.
[28] *HT* 19 May 1855 & *HJ* 23 May 1855.
[29] *HT* 16 May 1857*; HJ* 15 May 1861; *HJ* 18 May 1863; *HJ* 29 May 1875.
[30] *HT* 4 June 1853, *HT* 9 July 1853, *HT* 13 Aug. 1853,
[31] *HJ* 17 May 1854.
[32] *HJ* 27 June 1855, *HT* 30 June 1855.
[33] *HT* 10 Nov. 1855, *HJ* 14 Nov. 1855, *HJ* 11 May 1867. It had been decided that the name of Portfield Street was too similar to Portman Street.
[34] *HT* 4 & 11 Oct. 1856. The notice was issued over the name of Charles Anthony, mayor, as clerk to the markets.
[35] *HT* 20 Oct. 1855, *HJ* 24 Oct. 1855. The new position of the turnpike gate is clearly marked on the map issued with the second edition of Joseph Jones's *Hereford, Cathedral and City; a Handbook*… in 1858.
[36] *HT* 31 March 1855 states that three lots (nos. 5, 6 and 7) were bought, whereas *HJ* 4 April 1855 reports that five lots (nos. 6, 7, 10, 11 & 12) were bought. From a summary in *HJ* 2 June 1866, it is known that the acreage bought was 3a. 3r. 28p. and a little detective work shows that the lots that were bought were nos. 10, 11 and 12, which were contiguous. It is at least possible, if not likely, that Mr. Warburton bought lots 6 and 7 as well, but on behalf of another a client (he was a solicitor and the local coroner), and since those totalled another four acres, that would explain the error in the report to the annual meeting.
[37] *HT* 19 May 1855, *HJ* 23 May 1855. *HJ* 2 June 1866.
[38] Sometimes called the Bull's Head Inn. See Ron Shoesmith and John Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004), 285.
[39] By this time development had already begun on an adjoining piece of land, which also bordered the race course. The MS map of the Freehold Land Society estate marks this as belonging to Mr. George Bishop Harding, and no doubt he bought this at the auction on 27 March 1855. On 9 September 1855 the HT reported that Mr. Harding had erected several houses at Widemarsh. Clearly these did not take long to build.
[40] This map was also used to illustrate the third edition of this handbook, published in 1867, although it was out-of-date by that time.
[41] *HT* 17 May 1856, *HJ* 21 May 1856.
[42] *HJ* 2 June 1866. It is not certain which road was being referred to, and it may be that the road over the canal was being either built or altered at this time.
[43] Ron Shoesmith and John Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (2004), 279. The deeds probably begin with the conveyance to the railway in 1855, but at present I have been unable to locate these.
[44] *HT* 16 May 1857, *HJ* 20 May 1857.

[45] *HT* 4 April 1857.
[46] *HT* 25 July 1857, *HJ* 29 July 1857.
[47] *HJ* 19 May 1858, *HT* 22 May 1858; *HJ* 2 June 1866.
[48] *HJ* 9 Feb. 1867. On this estate the roads named were Moorfield Street, Canonmoor Street, and Richmond Street. Conditions of sale for the auction and two maps, one marking the ground for sale and the other with it divided in lots, survive in HRO AP 435. Four of the lots were smaller, on Portland Street. On the corner of Portland Street / Moorfield Street was a larger property, owned by William Lewis, the registrar of births and deaths. To the west of that and fronting onto what became Portland Street were four building plots (Lots I-IV). Lot V was a wedge-shaped patch of land to the north of these, 1a. 1r. 26p. in extent. Lots VI and VII were to the north of this. The published areas, as well as other evidence, proves that it was lots VI and VII that were bought on behalf of the Freehold Land Society. It seems most likely that Lots I - IV were sold at the auction to the same developer, at present unknown, as Walmer Terrace was built across the boundaries of the lots, in the centre of which terrace is a datestone for 1858. Lot V either did not sell, or was bought by a speculator, as it was advertised again for sale by private contract later the same year, for which see *HJ* 26 Aug. 1857 and *HT* 29 Aug. 1857. It was subsequently developed by the building of Walmer Street, and on the corner with Moorfield Street is a datestone for 1861. This terrace, on the south side of Walmer Street, is all of one build, indicating that it was built by one developer, whose identity is not currently known. Certainly is was not the Freehold Land Society.
[49] *HT* 14 May 1859, *HJ* 18 May 1859.
[50] *HT* 31 December 1859.
[51] *HJ* 9 Feb. 1867.
[52] *HT* & *HJ* 11 May 1867. Curiously enough, Curley's map of 1858 marks Green Street as Barrack Street, but there is nothing to suggest that it was ever changed to this, even if temporarily.
[53] *HJ* 10 July 1861, *HT* 13 July 1861.
[54] *HT* & *HJ* 29 June 1862; *HT* 11 & 18 Jan. 1862, *HJ* 11 Jan. 1862.
[55] *HJ* 25 Jan. 1862.
[56] *HT* & *HJ* 25 Jan. 1862.
[57] *HJ* 15 March 1862.
[58] Valuation list of Holmer Parish, September 1863. Hopton Collection, HRL.
[59] *HJ* 31 May 1870.
[60] *HT* 23 Nov. 1867.
[61] Evidence of the development along this part of Whitecross Road can be found in the map that was issued with the second edition of Jones's *Hereford Cathedral, and City: a Handbook…* in 1858. The map shows development fronting onto White Cross Road between White Horse Lane (later street), and a footpath which eventually became Holmer Street. When the Freehold Land Society developed the White Cross estate, Cotterell Street was built to the rear of these irregularly shaped plots. Although buildings in this area are shown on Price's survey of 1802, it is likely that further development took place in the 1850s, extending the developed area beyond the Above Eign estate of the Freehold Land Society. The Buckingham House Inn was in this part of Whitecross Road, the earliest known reference to which is in 1858, when a servant at this establishment was summoned as a witness in a court case involving a drover. (*HJ* 17 Feb. 1858). When E.L Bristow applied for a licence for the Buckinghamshire Inn (the name varied) at the Licensing Sessions later in the same year, it was stated that the house was built as a facility for persons driving Welsh cattle and that is was 'near which a large number of houses had been lately erected, or were in course of building, besides the new kennels.' The new kennels were further out, just beyond the Whitecross itself. (*HT* 11 Sept. 1858) The reference to new houses is no doubt to houses being built along this section of White Cross Road, and also to the Above Eign development. The position of the inn just outside the turnpike gate is possibly significant, and, since at this period the railways had already arrived, it suggests that the droving trade was using Hereford as a railhead.
[62] *HT* & *HJ* 9 Feb. 1867.
[63] This building, at No. 1 Clifford Street, is still there, but now converted to a pair of semi-detached dwellings (in Herefordshire usually called a double dwelling). The chapel was replaced by a chapel in Chandos Street, built 1902-3. Brooks and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Herefordshire* (2012), 314.
[64] *HJ* 2 June 1866.
[65] Summarised from William Collins, *Modern Hereford Part II* (1911), 64-5. The relatively slow development of the estate is reflective in the surviving datestones, with only one in the 1860s (Spring Cottages, Highmore Street, 1868) and two in the 1870s (Emily Place, Highmore Street, 1877, and Bilston Cottage, corner of Westfield Street and Grandstand Road, 1874). The area is of a very mixed nature, and the depth of the plots has led to modern development in the rear gardens.
[66] *HJ* 25 Aug. & 1 Sept. 1866.
[67] *HJ* 17 Nov. 1866.

[68] *HJ* 6, 13 & 20 April 1867.
[69] *HT* & *HJ* 10 Aug. 1867.
[70] *HJ* 30 May 1868.
[71] *HJ* 7 March 1868.
[72] Details of the lots appeared in the *HT* & *HJ* 14 Feb. 1863 onwards.
[73] This was almost certainly Philip Ralph, a family and dispensing chemist, of 3 High Town, who was noted in Littlebury's directory of 1867 as being the 'sole proprietor of Dr. Bleeck Lye's bilious and liver pills.' The land was purchased from Thomas Evans, esq. Littlebury's directory of 1867 records a Thomas Evans, Esq. M.A. (J.P. for the city and D.L. for the county0, 27 Castle Street, and Moreton court, near Hereford, who is the most likely vendor.
[74] In a discussion about water supply in the Whitecross area, reported in the *Hereford Times* on 14 December 1867, it was stated that the Freehold Land Society had got possession of the property in the Barton and were going to run a road across to the Breinton Road, between Mr. Walter Williams' and Mr. Garrold's house, so in the event of the water supply being taken from Broomy Hill to the White cross district, that would be the shortest way to bring the mains to the latter district. Mr. T.W. Garrold lived at West Bank, Broomy Hill, and was a vice-president of the Hereford Freehold Land Society.
[75] *HJ* 11 Jan. 1868. William Bowers was almost certainly the William Bowers, builder and contractor, of 72 Bath Street. See Littlebury's directory of 1867.
[76] T.T. Davies was born on 15 January, 1793, so was 82 years of age when he resigned. He died on 28 August 1887. J.C. Eales-White, *Records of Hereford Cathedral School* (1932), 64.
[77] Philip Ralph was a chemist with premises at 3 High Town, next door but one to T.T. Davies. *Littlebury's Postal and Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Hereford* (1867), 246.
[78] The incorrect statement, in Collins, *A Short History of Hereford* (nd, *c*. 1912), 136, that the Hereford City and County Benefit Building Society was formed in 1875 is a misinterpretation of what happened.
[79] In the local collection, Hereford Reference Library. This is an extensive collection of very varied material relating to the history of Hereford.
[80] *HJ* 1 June 1878.
[81] *HJ* 31 May 1879.
[82] *HJ* 29 May 1880.
[83] *HT* 3 June 1882.
[84] These seem to be round figures, and only a short time later the number of houses erected was stated to be 1,500. See details of Cornewall Estate.
[85] *HT* 15 May 1918, where it is also stated that the roads on certain of the other Freehold Land Society estates ware also constructed by the city council, but without specifying which estates.
[86] *HT* 3 June 1889.
[87] E.F. Bulmer, *Early Days of Cider Making* (1937), p.5.
[88] *Ibid*. pp.11-13.
[89] *HT* 29 May 1886.
[90] The entry for Holmer in John Marius Wilson, *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (1870-72) explained the rise in the population of the parish of Holmer and Shelwick (excluding the township of Huntington), up from 618 in 1851 to 1,083 in 1861, by stating: 'The increase of population arose mainly from the operations of a Freehold Land Society.'
[91] *HJ* 28 May 1887.
[92] *HJ* 30 May 1903.
[93] At the time this house was occupied by Col. Mackay John Graham Scobie, who was elected President of the Woolhope Club in 1926.
[94] Armadale and its surrounding grounds were redeveloped post world war II, with Armadale Close being built on the site.
[95] *HJ* 30 May 1903.
[96] Brooks and Pevsner, The Buildings of Herefordshire. Herefordshire (2012), p.310.
[97] *HT* 3 June 1905.
[98] Hereford Reference Library, PC Pamphlet Box 4.
[99] *HT* 13 June 1914, HT 12 June 1915.
[100] *HT* 10 June 1916. There were only seven members present at this meeting.
[101] *HJ* 1 Nov. 1919.
[102] *HT* 21 July 1923.
[103] HT 20 May 1922, 16 June 1923.
[104] *HT* 16 Dec. 1922.
[105] TNA FS13/30. The central register was closed in 1924.

[106] *HJ* 29 Nov. 1854.
[107] *HT* 16 Oct. 1858.
[108] *HJ* 8 Nov. 1862.
[109] *HJ* 13 & 20 Jan. 1866.
[110] *HT* 18 May 1867. Unless the land was bought on behalf of the Conservative Land Society by Colonel Meyrick and the Earl of Shrewsbury, which is unlikely, the suggestion that they were the joint owners is incorrect. See David Spiers, 'The street names of Hereford, 1757-1961,' *TWNFC* Vol. XXXVII (1962), pp. 201 & 203.
[111] *HJ* 27 Jan. 1866.
[112] *HJ* 24 Feb. 1866.
[113] Orlando Shellard was a well-known local surveyor, valuer, auctioneer, land and estate agent, with offices in King Street. Littlebury's directory, 1867.
[114] The streets with the names Ranelagh, Ingestre, Meyrick and Bagallay were all mentioned in *HT* 24 & 31 Aug. 1867. The street-names were derived from the names of Viscount Ranelagh (chairman of the Conservative Land Society), Viscount Ingestre and Colonel Meyrick of Goodrich Court (both committee members of the Conservative Land Society), Sir Richard Bagallay (Conservative M.P. for Hereford 1865-1868), and C.L. Gruneisen, secretary of the Conservative Land Society. Thus only two of the streets were named after local dignitaries.
[115] *HT* 24 & 31 Aug. 1867.
[116] *HT* 23 Nov. 1867.
[117] Hereford Improvement Act, 1854, *Cap*. CXXIII.
[118] *HT* 28 May 1870.
[119] Summarised from Graham Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford* (2002), 136-7.

The hidden past of Chase Wood in the parishes of Ross and Walford

By HEATHER HURLEY

Between 2008 and 2012 research into the history and heritage of the Wye Valley was carried out by the Overlooking the Wye project. This included identifying, conserving and understanding the hillforts, hidden industry, river connections and viewpoints in the Wye Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Amongst a proliferation of hillforts in the Wye Valley, the project selected those at the Little Doward, Chase Wood, Symonds Yat Rock and the viewpoint from Capler, with the aim of enhancing appreciation of 'the significance of the hillforts clustered in the landscape through improved access and interpretation'. On the Little Doward extensive conservation work and an archaeological survey was carried out; at Symonds Yat access was improved; at Capler a few trees were selectively felled to maintain the view over the Wye and at Chase Wood an almost forgotten footpath leading to the ramparts was re-instated and an interpretation panel erected at Fernbank Road, Ross-on-Wye.[1] This paper expands on information presented by Heather Hurley during the project, through talks and guided walks, to outline the history of Chase Wood and explore use of its extensive natural resources.

SITUATION AND EARLY HISTORY

Chase Wood and the Camp site rise to a height of 660 ft. to the south-east of Ross-on-Wye within a mile of the town. Several footpaths including the Wye Valley Walk lead through the woods in the parishes of Ross and Walford, and follow the lower side sections of the ramparts. The top of the Camp consists of open fields offering far reaching views but has no public access. The promontory Camp occupies an area of about 27 acres and is an irregular oval shape. At the southern end it is defended by a rampart rising about 5½ ft. above the ground, the defences on the west and north-west may date from a later period (Figs. 1 and 2).[2]

Finds dating from the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods suggest a considerable flint industry (Fig. 3). Archaeologists consider that the Iron Age hillfort was only intensively occupied from the 5th or 4th century BC when the earthwork defences were extended, and occupied by approximately 1,400 people. A fair quantity of coarse pottery sherds dating from 800 BC together with a Romano-British coin of the 3rd—4th century AD have been found in cleared woodland.[3] Later post-medieval features include a storage platform, saw-pit, stone steps, banks, quarries and a network of hollow-ways which may date from an earlier period.[4]

Hollow-ways have been identified which are regarded as being of mediaeval origin, but there is growing evidence to suggest that many are of greater antiquity. From the slopes of Chase Wood a network of sunken paths can be traced and sections followed in all directions: north-west into Ross, north-east to Alton Court and south-west towards the Forest of Dean crossing a possibly Roman road leading from Ariconium to the ancient Wye crossing at Walford—the 'Welsh-ford'.5 Another route led north-west from Chase Wood down to the former Vine Tree Inn (an area also known as the Dead Woman—see below), past the Cleeve to the river crossing over the Wye at Wilton.6 The name 'Dead Woman' is derived from 'boundary stone' and apart from the Dead Woman on the Ross/Walford boundary others have been discovered in

Herefordshire on the boundary of Aymestry and Lower Kinsham and near the Eastnor parish boundary.[7]



Figure 1. Map showing site of Chase Wood and Camp, A. Bryant (1835). Courtesy of HAS (F76/B/241)

The Domesday entry for Ross records the woodland in the King's preserve as forest, and although the bishop claimed rights, it was not until after 1228 that the jurors stated that 'the Bishop of Hereford has his Chace by ancient title'.[8] In medieval times boars, like deer, were prey for huntsmen and poachers so that bailiffs and wardens guarded and managed the valuable woodland. Despite these precautions a number of serious offences were committed. The most outrageous occurred in 1354 when the warden, Walter Moton, 'entered the chace at Ross and carried off 500 stags and hides, 500 fallow deer and 300 roe deer, and did other damage'. On another occasion he took hundreds of hares, rabbits, partridges and pheasants. A trial followed and Walter submitted to the bishop and resigned. However in 1356, while in the Fleet prison, he was pardoned for his outlawry.[9]



Figure 2. View of Ross and Chase Hill from Ashwood, Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque views on the River Wye* (London, 1797)



Figure 9. Mesolithic worked flints, courtesy of Hereford Museum Resource & Learning Centre



The property at Dead Woman can be traced through a run of deeds dating from 1551 when the property passed from Kyrle to Parry.[10] It later passed from Merrick to 'Edward Dobarly late of ye Deadwoman in ye parish of Ross', and is recorded in his inventory dated 1708.[11] Tenants in the nineteenth century included James Frere and then John Bailey.[12] In the 1850s the latter, a victualler, gardener and seedsman, changed its name, appropriately, to the Vine Tree (Fig. 4). This thrived as an inn throughout the 19th and 20th centuries before closing around 2012.[13]

Figure 4. Vine Tree Inn, 2012. (H. Hurley)

After the Dissolution, Chase Wood ceased to belong to the bishop and reverted to the Crown. In 1578, John Scudamore was serving as the steward of Ross Borough and Ross Foreign and ten years later the vicar of Walford disputed the amount of tithes to be paid for the woods before the manors devolved to the Earl of Essex in 1588. By this time Chase Wood was a managed woodland with evidence of charcoal burning, timber felling and stone quarrying. The timber was valued for building, fuel and industrial purposes and was in demand in nearby Ross which was noted for its 'reputation for iron-works'.[14] Below Chase Wood, on the Castle Brook, were the established iron-works and furnaces at Bill Mill which had been acquired by Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. In 1606 his workmen 'committed an outrage at Ross' where they had travelled for provisions and stabled their horses at an inn. Following a drinking bout a disagreement with other workmen led to a fight with pikes and a 'Birdinge peece which did hurt' one or two of the Earl's men.[15]

Raw materials from Chase Wood were important for the development and expansion of Ross during the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition to ironworking, with its associated nail making and iron forging, bark was stripped from the oak trees and dried in ricks for use in the expanding tanning industry.[16] Stone from the numerous quarries was probably carted down the steep and rough tracks and into the town for building material. Timber, hauled by horses, was also used for buildings and repair work.[17] The ownership of the wood was complicated, but the 'Bishop's Chase' was recorded as leased to William Marks in 1615, to John Markey in 1650 and

to Mrs Markey in 1700. She let 'land in the field' to Mr Abrahall when the manors passed to Lord Weymouth who became the Marquis of Bath.[18]

In 1704 Richard Greenway, vicar of Walford, made a plea that tithes were due on the 'woodlands of the Chace' in Ross and Walford parishes. He claimed for tithes on 'wood cut down and barked, although the trees were beyond twenty years growth, they had grown up in a scattered manner from the stubs of other trees', and 'they were unfit for timber and were used for firewood and laths, or sold for use of the furnaces in the ironworks'. The document concludes 'that all wood above twenty years growth cut and corded and the bark stripped was tithable, but not wood above that growth that was corded'.[19] From around 1715 oak bark was in demand for the rapidly expanding Irish tanning industry; the coppice bark from Chase Wood and Penyard Park was 'conveyed in barges down the river Wye to Chepstow and thence to Ireland where it was sold'.[20]



Figure 5. Puckeridge Lane, 2012 (H. Hurley)

The perambulation of Ross boundaries in 1747 made references to the Dead Woman, Round Tree Field, and the ancient way to the Goat House. This route, known as Puckeridge Lane followed the hollow-way between the hills of Chase and Penyard to the Forest of Dean (Fig. 6).

It was one of the eleven routes turnpiked by the Ross Turnpike Trust in 1749. This ancient way may still be followed from Ross, climbing up a hollow-way to Hill Farm below Chase Wood to the Castle Brook valley before continuing along an overgrown section to Deep Dean. Before the end of the eighteenth century Puckeridge Lane was discontinued as a toll road and in 1820 this 'Team Road or Public Highway' was 'stopped up' by Quarter Sessions.[21]

In 1790 an agreement was made for 'sale of coppice wood in the Chase, Walford from Jane Clarke, of Hill Court, to William Partridge of Monmouth', and a few years later Amos Jones of Merrivale and William Partridge, iron master and nail manufacturer, rented most parts of Chase Wood in Ross.[22] Although in 1801 'Chase Coppice in the parish of Ross was in the occupation of William Partridge',[23] in 1807 '100 prime Maiden Oak Trees standing on the Cowbury Estate' were sold by James Trusted for one thousand pounds.[24] By 1813 parts of Chase and Penyard were held by the Partridge family, whereas Merrivale Wood was tenanted to Amos Jones before the Marquis of Bath sold the manors in 1815 to Kingsmill Evans and others in the area. By 1823 the ownership of Chase Wood in Ross parish was shared between Amos Jones with 51 acres, Richard Addis of Old Town Court with 23 acres and John Partridge with 21 acres.[25] During the 1840s Kingsmill Evans, Chandos Hoskyns and John Partridge, owned the largest portions of Chase Wood. On the southern slope, a stone marked with E and H denoted the boundary between Evans and Hoskyns (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Boundary marker in Chase Wood between the property of Kingsmill Evans and Chandos Hoskyns. The E is just visible. (H. Hurley)

Carriageways and rides were created in Chase Wood while in the ownership of Amos Jones, John Partridge, Kingsmill Evans and John Stratford Collins in the nineteenth century.[26] In 1859 Edith, wife of John Stratford Collins of Upper Wythall in Walford, had a tragic accident there. 'Mrs Collins was endeavouring to entice a stag, which had escaped from its domain to return to its paddock, the animal furiously rushed upon her and struck her to the ground'. She died from her injuries and the stag was slaughtered.[27]

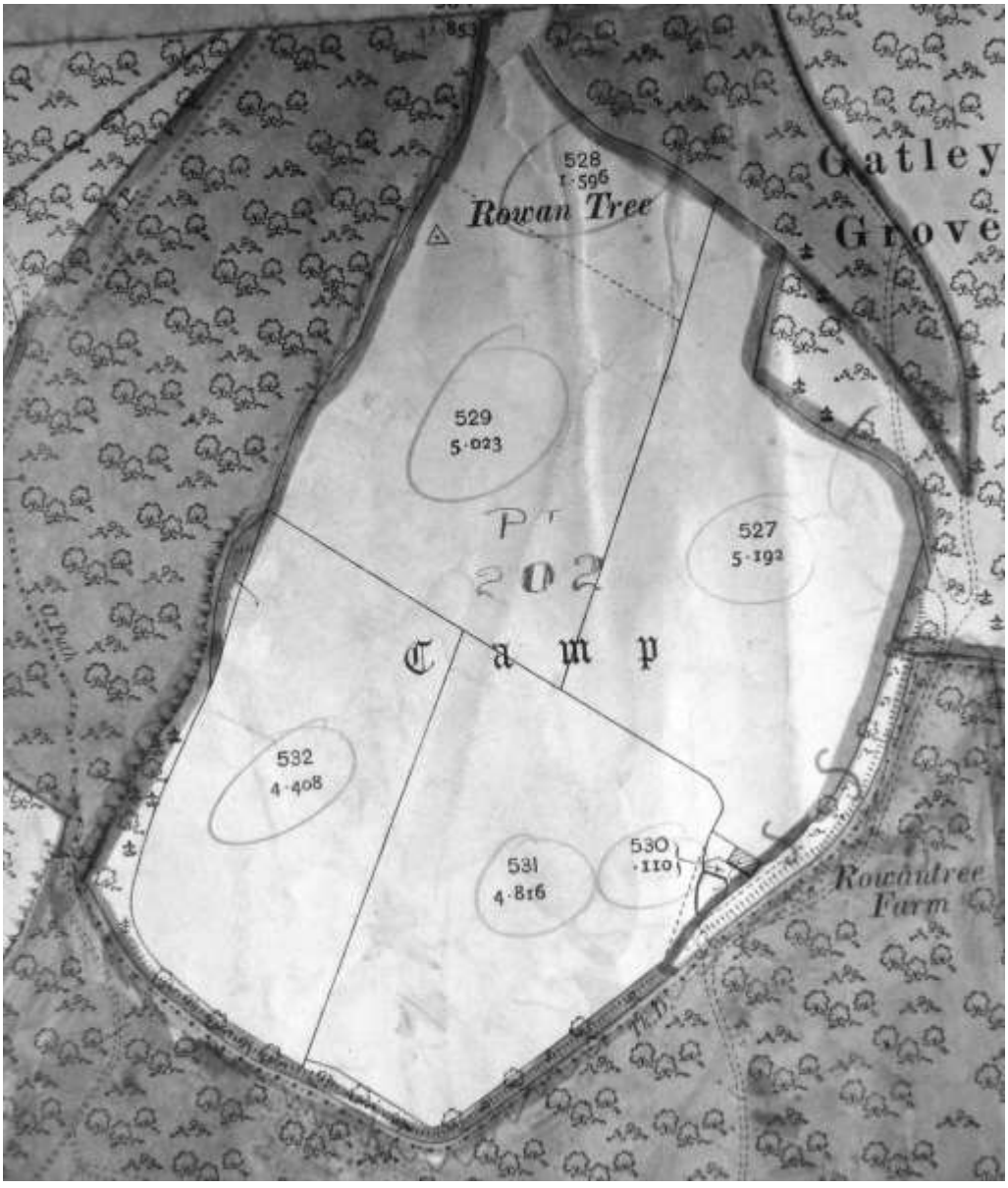


Figure 7. Land Valuation 1910 (HAS J26/51/12)

Chase Hill was also known for its plentiful springs. After the second Ross Improvement Act of 1865 local businessmen competed to secure an improved water supply for domestic and industrial use and to serve the steam trains now running on the Hereford, Ross and Gloucester Railway and the Ross to Monmouth Railway. Joseph Turnock, of the Alton Court Brewery

Company, purchased land in 1866 close to Bollin Farm where he built an impressive Victorian residence called Purland Chase.[28] The house was demolished in 1923. Evidence from arrangements in the grounds suggest Turnock attempted to create a water supply for the town from springs there. Turnock moved to Merrivale around 1881 where he continued to develop schemes to provide water from the slopes of the Chase.[29] However, it was Thomas Blake from Alton Court who achieved a viable supply by digging artesian wells on Chase Hill to supply the Alton Court Water Works. These opened in 1887 and were able to supply 100,000 gallons a day pumped from a reservoir on Tank Meadow which held 4,000,000 gallons.[30]

Members from the Woolhope Club who walked up Chase Hill in 1901 admired far reaching views at an 'elevated position' from the Rowan Tree field (Plate 1).[31] A year later, 142 acres of 'Oak and other Coppice Wood and Timber' known as the Chase Wood was offered for sale (Fig. 7).[32] Although the purchaser was not recorded it was probably John Stratford Collins who held 141 acres of woodland in 1910.[33] The planting of Sequoia or Redwoods took place around this date—intended to form an avenue or possibly grown experimentally as a windbreak. These trees 'have a Girth of 3m. If the growth rate is similar to open grown oak, which would be typically 25mm. girth increment per year, then that's about 100 years old. The growth rate is probably faster although depends on soil conditions so 100 years is probably a maximum age'.[34] During the 20th century the Monmouth Steam Sawmills Coal & Lime Co. acquired 205 acres of Chase Wood and sold the woods to the Forestry Commission in 1929.[35] The Commission made a detailed 'census of the woods' in 1953 depicting species, age and acreage of the broadleaved and conifer stands.[36]

By tradition, stone from the overgrown Chase Wood quarries, recorded as post-medieval, was used in building Ross Church but this claim has not been substantiated. The only confirmed reference to stone used in Ross church dates from 1911 when a contract for repairs noted that '[All] stone used to be of the best perspective kind....and prepared for setting on its natural quarry bed'.[37] However, the contract does not record where the stone came from. According to geologists the 14th-century tower was built of Tintern Sandstone which came 'from the quarries on Penyard Park Hill'.[38]

Two folk legends associated with Chase Wood were recorded by John Stratford, editor of the *Ross Gazette*, in his *Wye Tour* of 1896. The legend of the Dead Woman may originate in the death of a woman collecting water from Chase Well on the southern slopes of Chase Wood who was either torn to pieces by hounds, murdered or hung herself in a chimney after committing a hideous crime. Today the hounds of the Ross Harriers Hunt can be heard howling from the nearby hunt kennels at Coughton. The spring line is still identifiable although the well with its later reservoir is not visible.[39] At Bollin, lying to the east of the hill, the ghost of a farmer, Thomas Trouncer, who died in 1804 and was buried in Ross churchyard, is reputed to have caused havoc until laid to rest by 'twelve long-winded parsons'. The story relates that 'one after another, eleven of the parsons sank fainting on the floor, and Tommy grew more and more menacing. But the twelfth kept on, and as he prayed and prayed, the ghost grew less and less and at last collapsed and was popped into a snuff-box' which was thrown into the horse-pool.[40]

For those wishing to explore and investigate Chase Woods there are numerous paths to follow through the woods owned by the Forestry Commission. These include the long distance Wye Valley Walk which was extended through Chase Wood from Monmouth to Ross-on-Wye in the 1980s and paths around the ten-acre Merrivale Wood acquired by the Herefordshire Nature Trust as a reserve in 1990.[41] Between 2008 and 2012 the Wye Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty's 'Overlooking the Wye' project created a circular walk and a pictorial panel featuring the long and fascinating history of Chase Wood. (Plate 3.2). Unfortunately the open summit of the Camp is farmed and in private ownership so that the view much admired by members of the Woolhope Club in 1901 can no longer be enjoyed by the public (Plate 3.1).

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Thomas Blashill senior: land agent at Hampton Court and Garnons, *c.*1825-60

By DAVID WHITEHEAD

Thomas Blashill senior has regularly been confused with his nephew of the same name. This paper explores the work of the older man who worked as land agent in Herefordshire, first at Hampton Court and then at Garnons. He proved to be a skilled and competent manager, responsible for overseeing substantial remodelling of the principal houses on both properties in addition to improving management of the estates.

INTRODUCTION

In pursuing the life and work of Thomas Blashill the architect, it became apparent at an early stage that there was another, older, Thomas Blashill who practised as a land agent on two major Herefordshire estates, Hampton Court and Garnons, between *c.*1825 and 1860. The two men have regularly been confused. For example Brooks and Pevsner in *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* have Thomas Blashill, presumably the architect, designing the new service wing at Garnons in 1856. As will be explained below, this is almost certainly Thomas the elder. Similarly, a new guide to the archive sources of Herefordshire believes that there was only one Thomas Blashill, both land agent and architect and Philip Weaver in his recent and most useful *Dictionary of Herefordshire Biography* recognises that there was an earlier Thomas Blashill but makes the assumption that they were father and son.[1]

Mistakes about Thomas Blashill the architect were being made within a few years of his death. In 1912 as a Woolhope field meeting passed along the road from Bishopstone to Garnons, Alfred Watkins, the guide for the day, directed attention to a farmhouse called the Steppes, close to Garnons' park, as the place where Thomas, twice president of the club, had been born. This prompted the architect's widow, Honor, to write to the editor of the club's *Transactions* pointing out that 'her husband was born at Sutton in Holderness, and that it was a brother who was born at the Steppes'. This was duly published as a footnote in the *Transactions*. Mrs. Blashill was in her early 70s and also got it wrong – it was her husband's brother but he too was born in Holderness, but sometime in the 1850s, and he too came to take up a tenancy on the Garnons estate and lived at the Steppes. [2] Some of these misunderstandings will, hopefully, be cleared-up in this short essay on Thomas Blashill, senior, the land agent.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Blashills lay thick on the ground in Holderness, the bleak lands on the northern shore of the Humber estuary in East Yorkshire. Three brothers, Thomas (b.1793), Robert (b.1796) and Henry (b.1806) were children of Robert and Mary Blashill of Preston-near-Hedon, a few miles to the east of Kingston-upon-Hull.[3] The eldest brother Thomas, for our purposes, Thomas senior, first appears in Herefordshire in 1825 at Hampton Court, Hope-under-Dinmore, where he was land agent to John Arkwright. John was the grandson of the famous industrialist, Sir Richard Arkwright, of Crompton Mill, Derbyshire, who invented the 'Spinning Jenny'. John's father, also Richard, bought the Hampton Court estate as an investment from the earl of Essex in 1810 and allowed his fourth son to live there as titular lord, but relied heavily upon a series of professional land agents, one of whom was Thomas Blashill, to keep the estate in profit (Fig. 1).



Figure 1. South front, Hampton Court, drawn by Simon Fisher of Hereford, *c.*1790 two decades before Richard Arkwright bought the estate from the earl of Essex in *c.*1810. It shows the gothic make-over by James Wyatt and the grounds recently planted, perhaps by Humphry Repton. (Private collection)



Figure 2. North front, Hampton Court in the early 19th century, before the alterations supervised by Thomas Blashill senior after 1832. The landscaping has now matured (*Beauties of England and Wales* VI, 1805)

Presumably acting as an intermediary between father and son made the job very demanding and one of Blashill's first letters (January 1826) to John Arkwright proposed 'to revise the whole plan of business (as) I think the system cannot work profitably and creditably to the managers without the following regulations are carried into effect'.[4] Blashill seems to have got his way and stopped at Hampton Court until *c*.1837. His energy is reflected in a complete review, in his hand, of the rental structure of the estate, where he proposes rent increases in return for adjustments to holdings and other improvements by the landlord.[5] One of his main tasks was to supervise the reconstruction of the medieval Court, which commenced in 1832 and required collaboration with a team of eminent architects including William Atkinson, John Gray and, most challenging of all, Charles Hanbury-Tracy, the amateur gothicist and chairman of the committee for the rebuilding of the House of Commons (Fig. 2).[6] Blashill supervised the development of a water powered saw mill, managed the supply of materials from the estate and helped in the construction of a tramway to bring stone to the building site. In his recommendations for the better running of the estate, he proposed the employment of a young clerk, who would attend the steward (land agent), take his instructions, run the estate office, book all the labour charges and, particularly, manage the building crafts. It was to be a decade or so before he found such a model assistant in his nephew.[7]



Figure 3. Knapp Farm, part of the Garnons estate, was rented to Robert Blashill, Thomas senior's brother, in the late 1840s. The early Georgian brick house sits on a bluff ('knapp') above the modern Byford Bridge (Photograph author)

Thomas senior is first recorded as being employed at Garnons in 1839 when he signed and dated a sketch-map of Byford, near Bridge Sollers, which is endorsed 'copied from one made by

Mr. Stokes in the year 1826'.[8] Surveying and map-making seems to have been another accomplishment of Blashill, senior. He is said to be living at Kings Acre, on the western edge of the city of Hereford, four miles from Garnons, but on an outpost of the estate. He remained there until 1847 when he moved to Downshill, on the western edge of the park at Garnons. [9] From the evidence of the estate ledger, Thomas arrived before his brother Robert Blashill, who is first recorded paying a rent of £120 1s 8d for Knapp Farm in February 1847 (Fig. 3). It seems likely that Robert, who was 50 in 1847, took up the tenancy at Garnons on the recommendation of his brother and brought with him his nephew, Thomas, junior and his younger brother Henry (b.1832). Henry eventually took also took up a tenancy and lived at the Step[pe]s (Fig. 4). The ledger records Thomas senior's salary as £150 per annum in 1846 but rising to £200 by 1850. There is no sign of the younger Thomas receiving a salary, suggesting that his uncle was responsible for this, which was perhaps reflected in his sudden salary increase. In 1850 two 'T. Blashills' pay rent to the estate, presumably one of these—£11.18s 11d—was by Thomas senior for Downshill but the other may well have been Thomas the younger, £8 1s 7d for a smaller cottage albeit the census has him at Knapp Farm the following year.[10]



Figure 4. The Steppes at Garnons, an ancient inn on the main road to Wales until the new turnpike was created in 1791. It was acquired by the Garnons estate with a small holding of land and rented to Henry Blashill in the late 1840s. He was Thomas senior's nephew and the brother of Thomas Blashill junior. The brothers had recently arrived from East Yorkshire, to join their uncles. Photo D. Whitehead

Thomas senior appears to have come to the notice of John Geers Cotterell during the era of tithe commutation in the late 1830s. In December 1838 Blashill is found representing both John Arkwright and Cotterell in a dispute with Sir Robert Price of Foxley, relating to lands at

Yarsop and Bishopstone but in February 1839 he was acting solely for Cotterell, successfully challenging the figures, produced by the Rev. Walker, rector of Brobury, for the wheat yields on land belonging to Cotterell. Blashill's competence in these matters is reflected in his employment in April 1839 by the Tithe Board to sort out tithing disputes at Kinnersley, and four years later, at Marden.[11] He was also politically active in agrarian matters and was prominent among those Herefordshire farmers who called for a public meeting to counter the 'stir which is now making in the great commercial towns and manufacturing districts to abolish the Corn Laws'. He was similarly among the agriculturalists in July 1839 petitioning for the abolition of turnpike tolls on lime used in agriculture.[12]

When Sir John Cotterell died in 1845 he was 80 years old and left a mortgage on the estate of £84,350 at 4% per year. It needed to be run efficiently just to stand still, but the conclusion drawn from Blashill senior's report to the trustees in 1847 was that it was run most inefficiently. The woodland was either full of decayed trees or had not been thinned for decades; the tenant farmers over-cropped the land and failed to implement any known system of rotation, producing very light yields from weedy neglected land. 'No tillage land in England would bear this system', he declared in exasperation. The land had never seen any lime, the nearest kilns were 18 miles away, and the tenant farmers were left 'to go on their own voyages of discovery'. Most bred Hereford cattle for quick sale and ignored the potential of the land, at the expense of the estate.[13] Needless to say, Blashill explained to the trustees how he would turn this situation round and found a sympathetic ear in the guardian of the estate, Mrs. Harcourt Vernon, to whom there is a revealing collection of letters written between 1845 and1855.[14]

Blashill senior believed the neglected timber could revivify the estate. Having sold the naval timber to some reluctant government contractors—the age of iron-clads was just dawning—he set out to utilise the young timber, from pollards and thinning, for a grand campaign of farm and cottage refurbishment.[15] He had outlined the scale of the project for his employer in July 1845. In all 20 farmsteads, 37 houses—together with their outbuildings—77 cottages, all with thatched roofs to be replaced with pantiles; a corn-mill and five miles of coach road and drive needing fencing and 750 new gates were to be renewed. For this purpose he set up a team of 11 craftsmen—carpenters, sawyers and masons—to move from building to building. All the materials were to be found on the estate, new quarries were opened, brick clamps built and additional plantations established, using sweet chestnuts and acorns gathered on the estate to provide a nursery crop, to be planted on the south-west slopes of Mansell Hill. A moratorium was placed on informal pollarding of hedgerow trees by tenant farmers, to secure future timber, useful for the estate.[16]

Thomas senior had collaborated with the architect William Atkinson (*c.*1773-1839) at Hampton Court in the early 1830s and, on moving to Garnons, found a house, rebuilt by Atkinson in *c.*1820 for Sir J. G. Cotterell. As a pupil of James Wyatt (1746-13) Atkinson had picked up several commissions in Herefordshire and probably followed his master at both Hampton Court and Garnons. Atkinson left behind a large number of working drawings at Garnons, together with the earlier schemes drawn-up by Wyatt and William Wilkins.

With the death of Sir John Cotterell in 1845, the mansion was placed under the direct control of Blashill senior. He had the keys to the wine cellar and the muniment room whilst the house was let, with some shooting, to a Mr. Coley. However, in 1852 the tenant left and Blashill wrote, rather pessimistically to Mrs Harcourt Vernon that the chances of finding a new tenant were slim, as Foxley and Downton Castle were both available for rent at that time.[17] Between 1815 and 1825 Garnons had been rebuilt for Sir John Cotterell by Atkinson who, with his son

John, had worked at Hampton Court, whilst Blashill was land agent there, trying to restrain the profligate enthusiasm of the amateur architect, Lord Hanbury Tracy, who held sway over John Arkwright.[18] At Garnons Atkinson had left the house with an inferior service wing, which was located in a jumble of older building, to the west of his new house (Fig. 5). In February 1852 there was a serious flood – the worst in forty years—accompanied by strong winds, which brought down trees in the park. Blashill senior reported to the guardian that he had visited the mansion and found that 'the old part had stood better than I expected' although the flimsy lathe and plaster walls had suffered and the men had been put on repairs. Two weeks later he provided further detail, implying that a wholesale renewal was taking place including re-pointing chimneys, 'well-sinking and pump work', restoring garden walls and the peach house, together with roads and drives. He concluded, 'I cannot state that the whole premises are in substantial repair, but in a better state than at the beginning of the minority'. He was also concerned about the setting of the mansion and earlier instructions had insisted that no trees should be felled near the house, nor on the lawn; ornamental trees were to be protected and no trees were to be felled that would 'interfere with the general features of the house'.[19]



Figure 5**.** William Atkinson's reconstructed mansion is seen in the 1830s through the encroaching woodland. Hidden behind the flamboyant gothic façade was a kitchen wing, housed in the remains of an earlier medieval or Tudor house. (HAS, D52, AH16/22)

It is clear that Thomas Blashill senior was a competent surveyor and supervised the repairs to the mansion without professional advice. An attractive watercolour map of the Garnons estate, albeit undated, is associated with the probate material drawn up by Blashill for the executors and is probably in his hand. When necessary Blashill called upon the services of a professional architect, as in December 1849 when John Gray was paid £32 for repairs at Garnons and subsequently, in December 1850, £275 for 'Mr. Gile's house'.[20] Gray was the pre-eminent architect domiciled in Herefordshire at this date. He was Atkinson's clerk of works at Hampton Court and in his own right he had designed and built many moderate sized houses, as well as rectories and schools, and in 1841 restored Bishopstone parish church, just to the east of Garnons. Between 1842 and 1861 he was the County Surveyor for Herefordshire, famous as a 'contriver of machines' and a builder of police stations. He also lived at Kings Acre where he was a neighbour of Thomas senior.[21]

On 7 May 1856 the *Hereford Journal* invited builders to tender 'for the erection of a new wing to the mansion of Sir H. G. Cotterell at Garnons'. The specification was to be viewed at the house but no architect is mentioned. However, several authorities have suggested that this was the work of Thomas Blashill, senior. In 1856 he was preparing for the return of Sir Henry Cotterell, grandson and heir of Sir John Cotterell who had died over a decade earlier. Some interesting light is thrown upon the preparations for his return by the following events. During the period of Sir Henry's minority, a quarry for extracting road-stone had been opened close to the mansion. This was now to be terminated and Blashill offered the turnpike contractor, Mr. Shellard, an alternative source of stone, closer to the road at Bridge Sollers. Shellard was unhappy with this and the magistrates were called upon to adjudicate at a public inquiry, which took place in March 1856, followed by an appeal in July. Blashill held that the quarry was a 'great nuisance' and that any blasting that took place there, once the mansion was permanently occupied, would frighten the ladies of the household. Various witnesses were called to support Blashill's case, including Mr. Curley, 'the engineer for the Hereford improvements' and John Gray, the County Surveyor. In cross examination, Blashill stated that the new wing planned for the house, would employ all the stone that could be extracted from the quarry and it had already been planted around by the gardener, Mr. Wright, with cypress and tulip trees, scotch and spruce firs and other forest and ornamental trees, that required close protection. Moreover, improved 'look-outs' onto the Wye Valley had been created within the park by cutting down trees etc. which also precluded future extraction for turnpike purposes. The magistrates found in Sir Henry Cotterell's favour.[22]

This episode serves to emphasise, once again, that Blashill senior was a very special land agent who, for a decade at least, had virtually complete control of the management of Garnons and its policies and, specifically, was in charge of the new building project. To ascertain what was being proposed at Garnons, we need to return to the late 18th century. Humphry Repton's Red Book, with its before and after views of the house, shows a tower house flanked by a classical block, which was to be replaced by a long straggling gothic building, designed by James Wyatt.[23] Nothing came of this but in *c.*1820 William Atkinson built a three bay, three storey tower house; with an adjoining two storey block, three bays wide, to the east. Both were crenellated, pierced with gothic windows and raised on a high terrace. The ensemble is illustrated in the *c.*1820 edition of Neale's *Seats*, where to the west the earlier tower house had been much reduced, if not partly demolished, and adapted for services, hidden behind a crenellated wall. This was the service building that Blashill, senior, had restored in 1852 and was now (in 1856) to be replaced by a new wing.

Later 19th century photographs show that this was a major building in its own right adding a six bay, two storey block to Atkinson's house, terminated on the west with two three storey towers, either side of what became the entrance front in the early 20th century. The whole was crenellated and given gothic windows to match the earlier work, but these were altered to neo-Georgian sashes by Sir Reginald Blomfield in *c*.1908. When Atkinson's work was virtually eradicated by demolition in 1957-58, the Blashill range, modified externally and internally by Blomfield, became the building we see today (Fig. 6).[24]



Figure 7. Fortuitously Blashill's kitchen range of 1856-7 survives on the left of the modern photograph. It was converted into a modern residential block by Sir Reginald Blomfield in c.1908. Atkinson's range was subsequently virtually demolished and Blashill's sturdy pile has become the entrance front to the house. Photo D. Whitehead

The architect of this work is not mentioned but since the 1980s it has been attributed to Thomas Blashill, senior.[25] Since John Gray was working on the estate, supervising the building of 'Mr. Giles's house' in 1850, he also seems a likely candidate as designer of the new wing, which may account for his appearance at the quarry appeal in July 1856, although the *Hereford Journal* states that he was there as county surveyor. The contractor for the work was Austin Maggs from Bristol, temporarily domiciled in Hereford, who also signed a contract to build the first stage of Belmont Abbey in July 1857. The architect at Belmont was Edward Welby Pugin, who discovered that Maggs had failed to provide the new building with efficient damp courses, and had his early work pulled down. Maggs, apparently already in financial difficulties and damaged by a failed marriage, went mad and wrote a letter to Queen Victoria offering, politely, to take over her position as head of the English church. He was declared a lunatic at his trial in 1858, which created a great stir. The *Hereford Times* also noted that in addition to Belmont, Maggs was also contractor at Garnons. This begs the question—was Edward Pugin the architect here? The newspaper account also indicates that Maggs' employment at Garnons was equally unhappy and was terminated because of his financial difficulties; in which circumstances we can easily imagine that Blashill might come to the rescue and take direct control of the contract for his young master. Equally plausible is the likelihood that Thomas Blashill, the younger, now in

his mid-twenties, played some role in the creation of the new services. Yet, however well founded, these suggestions remain speculations and the architect of the new wing at Garnons remains a mystery.[26]

Thomas Blashill senior continued as land agent for Sir Henry Cotterell and after his retirement he is found in the census of 1871 living at Calvaries Cottage at Breinton on the Hay Road. He is 77 years old, living with his wife Ann. They had no children. His younger brother Robert was still at the Knapp in 1851 with a large family of six children and employing eleven labourers on his farm. He figures frequently in both the *Hereford Journal* and the *Hereford Times* in the 1850s and 1860s together with Henry Blashill of the Steppes. Eventually, Robert also owned a farm at Allensmore and in 1876 was domiciled at the Bowling Green Farm, Clehonger as a tenant of the Wegg-Prossers of Belmont.[27]

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[7] Transcription of letters in HAS provided by Catherine Beale.
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[9] *Hereford Times* (*HT*), 27 Apr. 1838; HAS, W69/III/247.
[10] HAS, W69/III/188.
[11] *HT*, 22 Dec. 1838, 29 Dec. 1838, 16 Feb. 1839, 24 Apr. 1839.
[12] *HT*, 2 Mar. 1839, 3 July 1839.
[13] HAS, W69/III/226.
[14] HAS, W69/III/220.
[15] HAS, W69/III/248.
[16] HAS, W69/III/220 – 8 July 1845, 12 Jan. 1847, 8 July 1850, 15 Feb. 1852.
[17] HAS, W69/III/ 209, 220 - 29 Apr. 1852, 223.
[18] Mc Carthy in note 3, pp. 71-2; for Atkinson at Garnons see HAS, D52/2, 4, 9.
[19] HAS, W69/III/220 – 6 Feb. 1852, 15 Feb. 1852; 226.
[20] Henry Connor in a letter to the author dated 22 Oct. 2013 believes 'Mr. Giles' was P. B. Giles, a surgeon, who in 1861 lived at Handmore Meadow, Hackford, Staunton-on-Wye.
[21] HAS, W69/III/ 188 ff. 135, 151, 153; Chris Pickford, 'The County Surveyors of Herefordshire', *TWNFC*, LVII (2010), p.184; John Macklin. *Bishopstone and Bunshill* (Leominster, 2011), p.128.
[22] *Hereford Journal* (*HJ*) 12 Mar. 1851, 2 July 1856, 7 May 1856.
[23] Illustrated in Stephen Daniels, *Humphrey Repton* (New Haven and London, 1999), p.117, fig. 120.
[24] Illustrated and described in Peter Reid, *Burke's and Savills Guide to Country Houses* II (London, 1980), pp.29-30; Brooks & Pevsner, *Hereford*, p.504.
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Thomas Blashill junior (1830-1905): architect, antiquarian and prominent Woolhopeian

By HENRY CONNOR AND DAVID WHITEHEAD

Thomas Blashill junior was an architect and antiquarian who was twice President of the Woolhope Club, even though he was based in London. An understanding of the man and his antiquarian interests, as described in this paper, is a prerequisite for a proper understanding of his architectural work.

BIOGRAPHICAL SYNOPSIS

Thomas Blashill was born in 1830 in the hamlet of Stoneferry at Sutton in Holderness near Hull, the eldest child of Henry Blashill, a farmer, and his wife Mary. He was educated in Hull and Scarborough but details of his education have not been discovered. He came to Herefordshire in 1850 to live with his uncle Robert, a farmer at Bridge Sollars, while working as assistant to another uncle, also Thomas, a land agent and surveyor in Herefordshire, from whom he learned surveying and general building practices while studying architecture in private libraries (Fig 1).[1]

Thomas senior had been the agent at Hampton Court and then at Garnons so it is probable that his nephew had access to these libraries. He would have received excellent instruction from his uncle, who was an exceptionally talented land agent and surveyor, and would have gained first-hand architectural experience during the building work at Garnons in the 1850s.[2]

It was during his time in Herefordshire that the young Thomas developed a deep and abiding respect for the work of the humble and ill-remunerated craftsman. In 1901, four years before his death, he wrote:

> Looking back, as I do, just fifty years, when, in a district charmingly remote, I was entrusted - perhaps prematurely - with oversight of works where, without any sort of machinery, every kind of building material had to be raised from the quarry or felled in the wood, and seasoned and converted for use, the boards and quartering laboriously planed and grooved, and moulded and morticed with resounding blows - when during hours of labour that were long and for wages that were astonishingly low, the masons and joiners turned out their work with a perfection of finish that modern machinery can do no more than imitate, I can realise the contrast between the old style and the new. I have always been impressed with the skill of these artificers in stone or wood, the truth of their joints, the perfection of their angles, the beauty of their finished surfaces, the rarity of mistakes in their setting out and of material cut to waste.[3]

In 1854 he entered the London offices of the architects J.W. Penfold and T.E. Knightley, devoting his evenings to study and attending Professor Thomas Donaldson's lectures at University College. Blashill remained with Penfold and Knightley until 1861 when he entered into partnership with Charles Ainslie (1820-63), another enthusiastic antiquarian.[4]

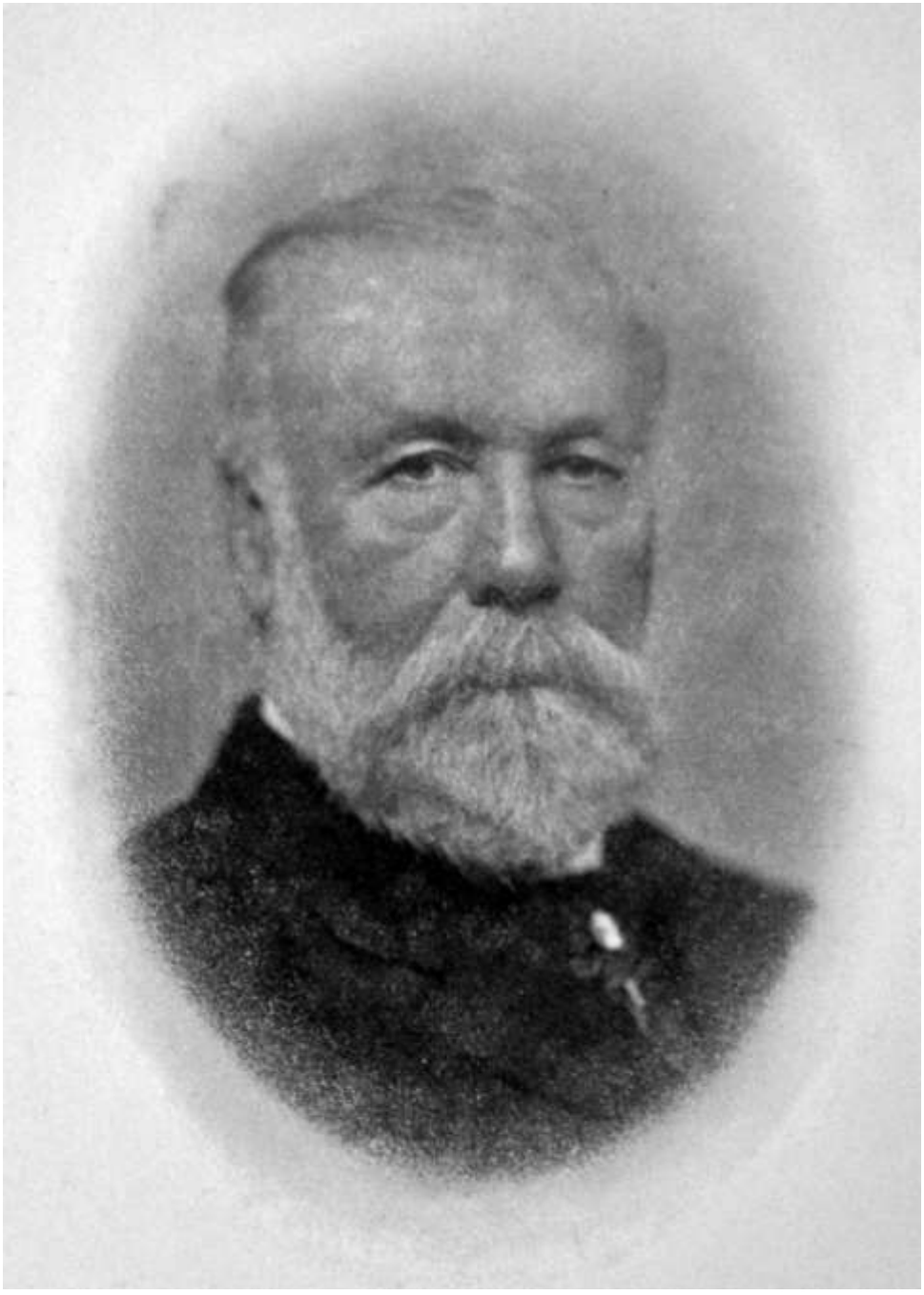


Figure1. Thomas Blashill (1830-1905), sketched as a county worthy *c.*1880, *Herefordshire portraits: (past and present)…,* Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1908, p.63 (courtesy Hereford City Library)

The next year Blashill was elected president of the Architectural Association[5] and he married Honor Pitt Nind, eldest daughter of Benjamin Walter Nind of London.[6] After Ainslie's premature death in 1863 Blashill collaborated with William Haywood, a municipal civil engineer and architect who worked with Joseph Bazalgette on London's sewerage.[7]

Blashill assisted Haywood with many architectural projects in the City of London, most notably Holborn Viaduct (Fig. 2). At this time Blashill shared his offices with Henry Haywood with whom he also collaborated on several buildings.[8] Blashill was elected an associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1866 and a fellow in 1877, subsequently serving on its council and many of its committees.[9] In addition to his committee work for RIBA, Blashill was a fellow and council member of the Surveyors Institution. In 1901 he chaired a conference of civil engineers and brick makers which eventually achieved agreement on the standardisation of bricks.[10]

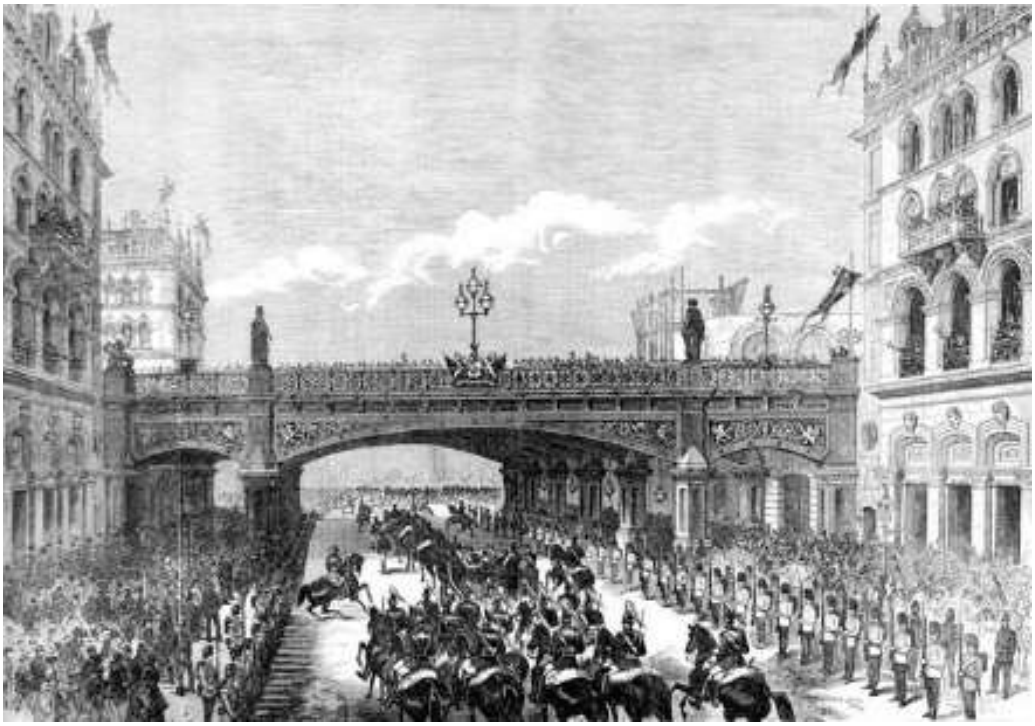


Figure 2. The Holborne Viaduct at its opening in 1869, designed by William Haywood, assisted by Thomas Blashill. *Illustrated London News, 1869.*[11]

In 1876 Blashill was selected from thirty candidates for the post of District Surveyor for Bethnal Green and South Bow and he was subsequently also appointed to the same post in West Hampstead.[12] These posts he resigned in 1887 when he was appointed Superintending Architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works and then to its successor, the London County Council (LCC).[13]

After reaching the retirement age of 65 in 1895 his employment was extended for a further year on three occasions under a rule which allowed prolongation of service beyond the

compulsory civil service retirement age if retirement 'might be detrimental to the interests of the public service'.[14] His service was then continued for a further six months because the Council declined to appoint any of the 27 candidates who applied for his post![15] He was finally succeeded by his friend William Riley in 1899.[16]

Blashill continued active in retirement, writing and lecturing on architectural and antiquarian subjects. In 1895 he had been elected to the council of the Architects' Benevolent Society.[17] He had served in the Honourable Artillery Company and was subsequently elected Master of the Fitzroy Lodge of Freemasons which was associated with this regiment. He was a liveryman of the Framework Knitters Company and served as master in the year before his death. As a councillor on the St Pancras Borough Council he was involved with several charities. For three years before his death he had been churchwarden at St Pancras Parish Church, having previously been churchwarden at St Matthew's City Road for 23 years.[18] He died on 19 or 20 January 1905 at his home at 29 Tavistock Square. The funeral service was held at St Pancras Church and he was buried in Highgate Cemetery.[19] He left estate worth £11,269 gross, £10,765 net.[20] There had been no children and his widow survived him, dying in 1926 at the age of 87.[21]

ANTIQUARIAN AND OTHER INTERESTS

Blashill was an active member of at least three societies with antiquarian or natural history interests and he published in the transactions of several other societies.

His longest association was with the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club which he first attended as a visitor at its third field meeting in September 1852, subsequently becoming a member in 1853.[22] Although he left Herefordshire two years later he remained a member until his death and was president in 1882 and in the Club's Golden Jubilee year of 1901-2. While living in London he continued to attend meetings whenever possible and, from 1866, was a frequent contributor to the *Transactions*. He maintained a regular correspondence with Dr Henry Graves Bull until Bull's death in 1885. Bull's letters to Blashill, some of them annotated by Blashill, are now in the Club's Library and provide much 'behind the scenes' information about the Club's early history and some of the personalities involved.[23] Blashill's presidential address in the Club's jubilee year also contains some fascinating vignettes of the early field visits and of scientific opinion in the 1850s.[24]

Having been born near Hull he was for many years a member of the Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists Club and published several papers in that Club's *Transactions*.[25] He was a longstanding member of the British Archaeological Association having been elected as an associate in 1861, its treasurer for several years and vice-president in 1901.[26] Blashill was a prolific contributor at the Association's meetings and to its journal. Roman finds, such as a section of tessellated pavement in London in 1861, or those discovered during his restoration of the church at Putley in Herefordshire in 1876, merited short presentations to the Association.[27] He would have been familiar with the elaborate coffin lid in Mansell Gamage church, a drawing of which he exhibited to the Association in 1861, from his association with the Garnons estate. Blashill dated it to *c.*1280, very close to the date of *c.*1300 given in the recent edition of *The Buildings of England*.[28]

In 1897 he read a paper in which he described how, in 1851, he had had worsted spun and knitted into stockings by an old woman in Herefordshire but he thought that only a few years later the skill had completely died out in England, killed off by cheap linen and cotton clothing. His interest in the subject seems to have been stimulated by the spindle wheels found during archaeological excavations and also some which had belonged to his grandmother which he

exhibited at the meeting. He then described the origins and uses of different types of spinning wheels, illustrating his paper with his own drawings.[29]

When addressing the Association on ancient methods of tillage, Blashill remarked that it was only in the last few years that writers on ancient agriculture had recognised that the 'reverse S', or aratral curve as it is now known, was caused by the team of oxen beginning its turn before it reached the end of the strip. Blashill himself recognised that the initial turn of the oxen was always to the left in England but varied considerably on the continent.[30]

Blashill's contributions to the Woolhope Club covered the full range of his interests as an antiquarian and natural historian. The majority were architectural and they will be considered shortly. His earliest recorded contribution was in June 1861 when he exhibited recently discovered flint instruments found in the drifts of Abbeville and Amiens and which were lent by the British Archaeological Association.[31] At that time these worked flints provided some of the strongest evidence for the antiquity of man, and Blashill wrote later that there were those in the Woolhope Club who viewed them with suspicion.[32] The tensions within the Club which resulted from recent advances in geological research and the resurgence of discussions on evolution which followed publication of Darwin's theory of natural selection in 1859 have been reviewed recently by Stone.[33] Some members expressed their views very openly while others couched their opinions in ambiguous language which was less likely to offend those of a different persuasion.

Following a proposal in 1866 to make a copy of the Mappa Mundi in Hereford Cathedral, Blashill suggested that the Ordnance Department be approached because of the map making skills of its employees.[34] The next year he published a paper in which he described previous copies of the Mappa and in which he concluded that a copy made by an experienced lithographer would be of greater practical use than a photographic reproduction.[35] Thereafter Blashill's involvement in the project seems to have lapsed, probably because he was in Hereford only infrequently.

Blashill was also a Fellow of the Zoological Society of London[36] and he contributed items on natural history to the Woolhope Club. In 1863 he provided examples of mistletoe growing on hawthorn, lime and *Robinia pseudoacacia* for Dr Bull's paper on mistletoe in Herefordshire, and his last contribution to the *Transactions* was a description of its occurrence on plum and pear trees.[37] He described the great variety of water ranunculi to be found within half a mile of Garnons and the botanist Edwin Lees agreed that much of the variation was attributable to the different environments in which the plant was growing.[38] His lecture was accompanied by 'many well-executed water colour drawings' but of course these did not appear in the *Transactions* at such an early date.

Two years later he contributed a paper on native food-producing plants, accompanied by references to ancient cookery books.[39] A whimsical paper described finding an unusual beetle at Pompeii but was really a call for a greater interest in entomology which, at that time, received 'scant attention' from the Club's members.[40]

In 1901, while President of the Club, he sought to stimulate interest in natural history by offering book prizes to schoolchildren for dried collections of eleven wild plants.[41] In doing so he was contributing to a tradition which had perhaps enhanced his own interest in botany because, as a young man, he had been runner up to another future president of the Club, the Rev. J. F. Crouch, in a competition for dried collections of local plants organised by the Herefordshire Horticultural Society.[42]

On occasion Blashill's professional expertise overlapped with his antiquarian interests. In 1877 he read a paper to the Woolhope Club in which he showed that a piece of wood, which had

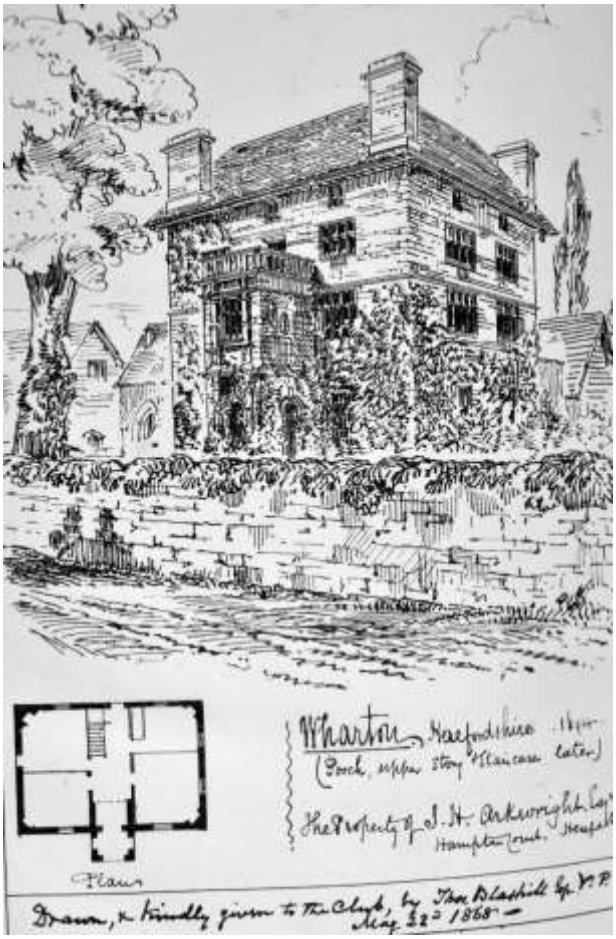
been exhibited for many years in the museum at Kew as an example of chestnut from a roof at Windsor, was in fact made from the common oak. According to Blashill the proven use of chestnut in medieval English joinery was limited to a single case—that of the chancel screen at Rodmersham in Kent. He contended that chestnut was not suitable for use in roofs and had never been used for this purpose. He also observed that the bridge of chestnut wood at Hoarwithy had lasted only nineteen years and was about to be replaced with a steel one.[43] The next year he gave a paper on this subject to the Royal Institute of British Architects in which he provided further evidence to support his contention.[44] Some stories will not die and in 1892 he wrote to *The Times* to contradict another claim of chestnut having been used in old roofs. Blashill reviewed the history of such claims and supported his own views with evidence from Sir George Gilbert Scott and the French specialist restoration architect Viollet le Duc.[45] More recently the ecologist Oliver Rackham has written that claims of chestnut in timbers in old buildings always proved to be oak when subjected to expert examination.[46]

ANTIQUARIANISM AND ARCHITECTURE

Between 1861 and 1867 Blashill restored four churches and built two new schools in Herefordshire and South Shropshire; but this was followed by a hiatus in his local career until 1874. Nevertheless, he returned regularly to Herefordshire to visit his brother Henry, his uncles, Thomas and Robert, and his cousins at The Knapp, Bridge Sollers. Additionally, and increasingly important for him were his social visits to his good friend and correspondent, Henry Graves Bull who kept Blashill busy on many errands that relied upon metropolitan services and contacts, which were necessary to enhance the quality of Bull's wide-ranging research.[47] In return Bull widely promoted Blashill's antiquarian skills and draughtsmanship and encouraged him to publish papers and illustrate articles in the Club's *Transactions.* The Club had initially turned its back on antiquarianism but, as Blashill reflected in his presidential address in 1902, its excursions to sites of scientific interest revealed incidentally 'the ancient remains…in the remote parts of the border country' at a time when 'the popular passion for antiquities was new-born'. Thus, it was not long before these 'remains' were the subject of scientific scrutiny and classification. Blashill also reflected upon the ruinous state of the churches of the Herefordshire countryside; 'unrepaired and uncleansed…dangerously dilapidate...no other edifice used by human beings was so utterly neglected'. He thought that the turning point in public consciousness came in the 1840s when the great baulks of timber, used by Cottingham to support the Cathedral tower during its restoration, were rolled out of the church into the Close and for the first time the public at large became conscious of just how close the cathedral tower had come to self-destruction. Similarly, public interest in vernacular buildings came, he thought, a little later in 1861 with the demolition of the Old Market Hall in High Town, Hereford. He noticed that, albeit 'mutilated and shapeless', it still had its 'handsome fifteenth century arcades'; and, yet, there was so little local antiquarian interest, they vanished without trace. Although Blashill was wrong about the date of the arcades—they were late-16th-century—his enthusiasm for a Tudor gothic monument was in many respects precocious—at least in Herefordshire. Finally, in his presidential speech, he regretted the 'mischief wrought with fittings and memorials of the 16th and 17th centuries' during the first age of church restoration. Here, no doubt he was reflecting upon his own church restorations, which in some cases were cavalier with post-medieval fittings. However, his later antiquarian interests broadened his perspectives and led him to embrace more than the gothic canon.[48]

WHARTON COURT

Bull greatly respected Blashill's drawing skills and on several occasions encouraged his friend to help record the antiquities of Herefordshire and publicise the results in the Club's *Transactions*. In April 1868 Bull drew Blashill's attention to 'an old Jacobean house, near Ford Bridge, Leominster' where the Club was to have a business meeting and Bull required a few lines of description for the account in the *Hereford Times*. This seems to have captured Blashill's interest and some material on Wharton Court was sent. Bull decided that for the *Transactions* he wanted a sketch (Fig. 3). This was duly provided in March 1869 and Blashill offered to pay the bill for 350 copies of the lithograph. He kept some for himself and sent 20 to Mr. Arkwright of Hampton Court, on whose estate Wharton Court was situated.[49]



As promised, Bull published the drawing in the 1868 *Transactions* and added the inscription 'Drawn and kindly given to the Club by Thomas Blashill Esq. V.P., August 22nd 1868'. The sketch is a very competent and stylish portrait of this intriguing, and still relatively unappreciated, country house. Seen from the south-west, Blashill handles the perspective very skilfully, enabling the viewer to see two sides of the house and with an economy of line he shows the irregular bonding of the stone walls and the light-reflecting mullion windows. This is accompanied by a small ground-floor plan and a handwritten description 'Wharton, Herefordshire, 1604 (porch upper storey and stairs came later). The property of J.H. Arkwright Esq. Hampton Court, Herefordshire'.[50]

Figure 3. Wharton Court, near Leominster, sketched by Blashill for the frontispiece of the *TWNFC*, 1868

For an architect whose Herefordshire work was hitherto firmly fixed in the gothic style, this was a surprising building to choose for his debut in the *Woolhope Transactions.* Even today it is difficult to date and pigeon-hole Wharton Court. It certainly does not reflect its date, which

relies upon the authority of John Price, writing in 1795.[51] The hipped roof and cubic proportions suggest that it is a Commonwealth house, on the cusp of the Jonesian revolution that was to take hold of English architecture after the Restoration of Charles II. Yet, it is far from 'polite' and entirely vernacular in its execution and is very much an example of what Sir John Summerson christened as 'artisan mannerism'.[52] It seems that, although Blashill was happy to provide gothic churches and schools for his conservative and Anglican clients, his heart seems to have been elsewhere, among the buildings of whimsy and caprice to be found in the highways and byways of Herefordshire. In the previous August he was in the company of Thomas Wright at the British Architectural Association meeting in Ludlow where 'Mr. Blashill gave an interesting account of many of the half-timbered houses of Ludlow, taking occasion to criticise rather severely the bad taste and ignorance displayed in repairs and alterations which many had undergone'. This, no doubt, did not go down well with the burghers of Ludlow but it places Blashill among the *avant garde* of those sensitive souls who were beginning to turn away from ecclesiology towards buildings of other periods and styles found in the English countryside.[53]

This was not the first time that Blashill had expressed his discontent with the accepted norms of the prevailing enthusiasm for the gothic revival. His inaugural address to the Architectural Association was printed in full in the *Hereford Times*—a tribute to his reputation locally—where he made a plea for new ideas and excitement, which he felt might still be found in 'gothic art' but also among 'classical remains'. Architects, he recommended, should 'borrow at will' and 'work freely within their chosen style'. He believed that modern materials would lead to rapid changes and any style that refused to adapt would quickly 'become an antiquity' and give way to a pliant rival. He urged his audience to travel both at home and abroad to 'leave the beaten track for fields unexplored and look at different styles and usage'. Innovative architects should practice their style with the 'truest feelings and with confidence' but at the same time temper their enthusiasm with understanding for those not convinced of the new ways. It seems that Blashill's travels along the Welsh Border—together with his many trips abroad—Bull mentions Italy, Dresden, Tangiers, Seville and Jerusalem—developed his enthusiasm for a variety of styles.[54]

THE LOLLARD CHAPEL

A further example of Blashill's delight in the vernacular came in 1869 when Bull's new enthusiasm for Lollardy focussed Blashill's attention upon a minor farmhouse in North Herefordshire. Bull announced his interest in the pre-history of English Protestantism in a letter to his friend in July, describing a visit to Chapel Farm in Deerfold Forest, near Wigmore, where he was informed that in the late 14th century the farmhouse had been used by a hermit who 'took-up heretical notions (against his own Romanish countrymen) so famously the forest became a famous Protestant refuge'.[55] For the next nine months Bull's letters were full of his research into William de Swynderby 'the hermit', Walter Brut and Sir John Oldcastle. Specifically, he needed Blashill to substantiate the age of Chapel Farm, using his archaeological skills. He provided a long description of the building with a competent sketch and by return of post, Blashill furnished a response, leading Bull to declare that the 'Lollard chapel is a find, which must be described and written out by Thomas Blashill Esq. and Dr. Bull' (Fig. 4). He promised to arrange a visit for Blashill and treated his friend to another lecture on the local Lollards, concluding that the building, which Blashill had yet to see, was built in the early 15th century. Blashill, it seemed, was to confirm his friend's assumptions, which were based principally upon secondary sources, much tainted by popular Protestant hagiography. In public

life Bull appeared to have been a moderate Anglican but the story of Swynderby and Brut seems to have released something more fundamental. In a further letter he railed against the 'bigotted Romanish clergy (who) burned all their enemies...both rich and poor...who secluded themselves in Deerfold'.

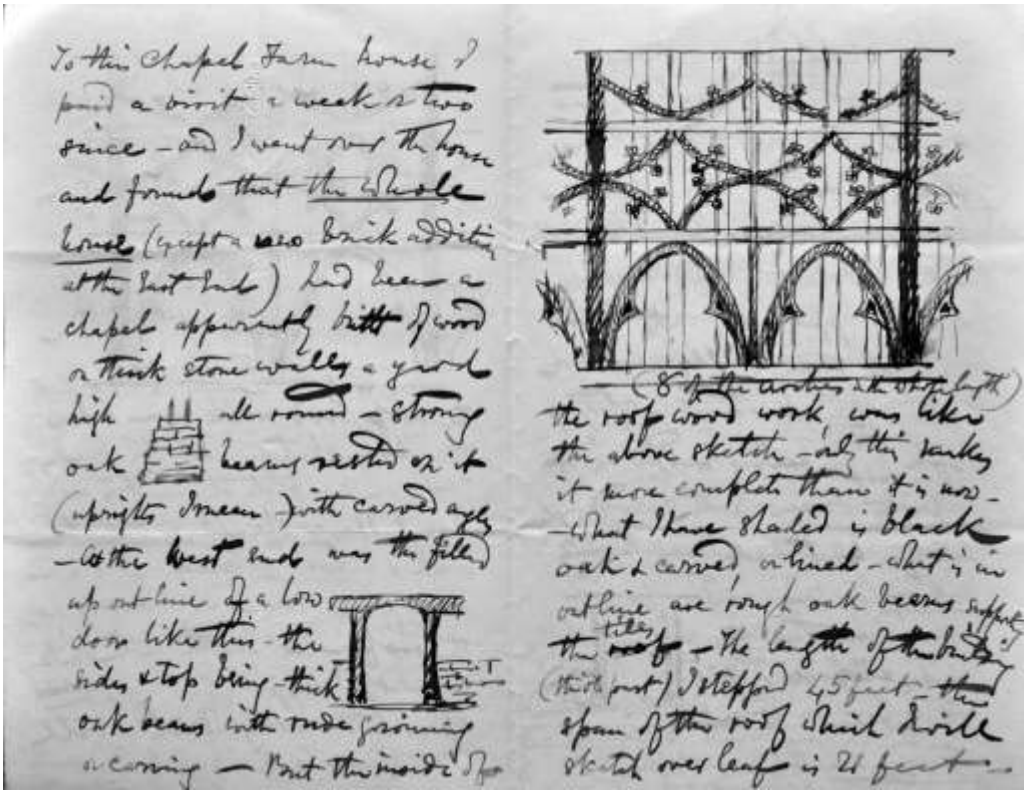
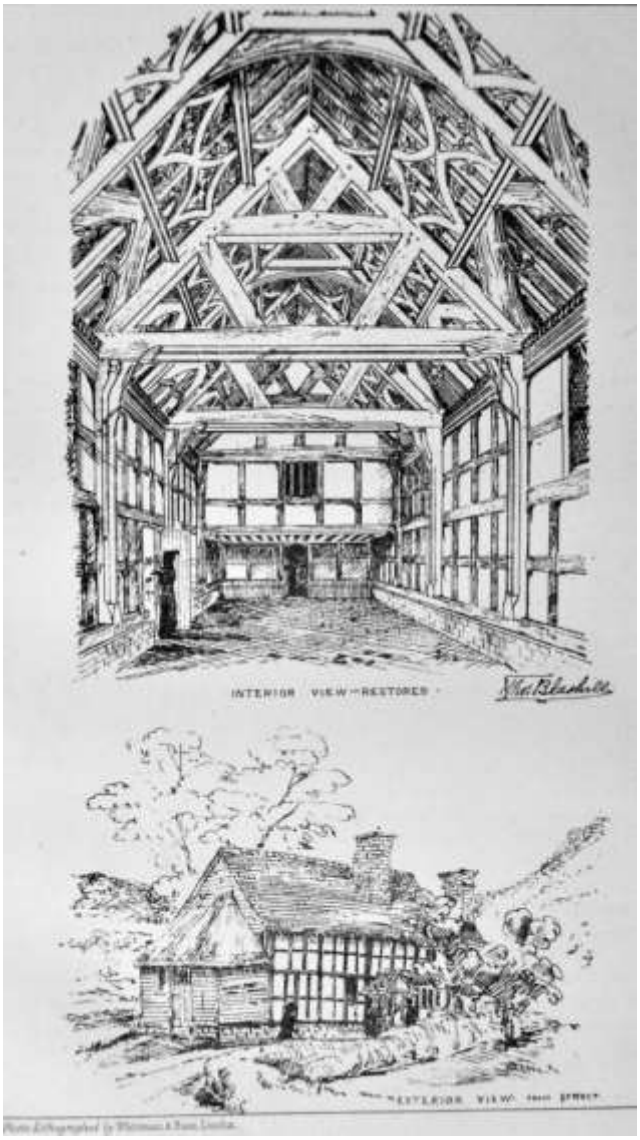


Figure 4. Bull's sketch of the Lollard 'chapel' at Deerfold found in his letter to Blashill dated 7 July 1869 (Woolhope Library)

In late September or early October Blashill made his promised visit and Bull urged his friend to be speedy with his report, promising that 'I think I shall be able to do justice, in a Lollard point of view, to your sketches'. Their joint article, he believed, would be 'the hit of the year' and with Blashill's research his thesis would be 'unanswerable'. Early in February Blashill's contribution arrived and Bull discovered that it provided little support for his theory that Chapel Farm was a purpose-built Lollard chapel. His indignation was palpable: 'I don't believe your 'Hall' theory for a moment – a chapel was wanted there, plus a burial ground'. He cast doubt upon Blashill's drawings, which were 'rather too complete and finished' and ignored the 'rougher execution' of the mouldings and ornaments. However, he found some comfort in Blashill's dating: 'your idea, or opinion rather, that the mouldings are of the latter half of the XIV century and the work carried out in the early XV century' suited his view that it was built by the Lollards 'so I quote you against yourself!'. In a further letter three days later Bull was still asserting that Blashill's views were 'utterly untenable', and in defence of his case listed

fifteen points. He ended, rather desperately: 'I still think it is a Lollard chapel built like a hall, if you please, - let me have your description'. In despair he added 'I don't know what to say in my paper'.



Bull continued with his research hoping to find more authoritative evidence for his Lollard chapel but Blashill refused to change his interpretation of the existing building. He still helped Bull with his research; looking-up contemporary and secondary references in the British Museum and locating the Elizabethan forest surveys, which turned out to be disappointing. The discussion stretched on through 1869 into 1870. Gradually Bull began to accept that Blashill's findings must stand alone and he decided to print his paper along-side Blashill's without making any obvious alterations—'the bother of writing it all again would be terrible to think of'.

Figure 5. Blashill's sketch of the Lollard 'Chapel' provided for the *TWNFC* for 1869. Bull was disappointed by his friend's archaeological honesty. *TWNFC*, 1869, pp.182-3

In the Club's *Transactions* for 1869 Blashill's careful description of the 'old building in Deerfold Forest' is squeezed between the two parts of Bull's history of the forest from Domesday to the era of enclosure in the late 17th century. Bull's picaresque style enabled him to populate the woods with merry men, wolves, banditti and even a heron hunt containing 'a gay party of

lords and ladies from Wigmore Castle'. The core of the account tells the story of the Lollards who made the forest 'a centre from which the doctrines of the Reformation were thus early spread'. Only at the very end of this patriotic tale is the reader's attention directed to the 'old oak building' recently discovered at Chapel Farm, which 'may fairly be presumed to have been used by the Lollards'.

There follows Blashill's sober archaeological description, remarkable for its early use of the specialist language that marks out the study of vernacular architecture. It is obvious throughout that the author is conscious of Bull's desire to have the building confirmed as a chapel and itemises five reasons why this might be so, but concludes with six reasons why the writer is 'of the opinion that the building is the Hall or principal part of a 14th century house'. He provided two plates: one with a scaled plan and section; the other an exterior view showing 'its present outside aspect of deplorable tumble-downess'—as Bull had demanded—and above it a finely executed interior reconstruction, with, again for Bull's consumption—a hooded-monk, depicted leaving the hall from the south door (Fig. 5). In case any reader has been convinced by Blashill's critique of the religious use of the building, Bull continued reiterates the story of the Lollard chapel. Finally, in his list of acknowledgements, he pays tribute to his errant friend: 'Thomas Blashill Esq. of London has earned much gratitude. His drawings and description of the old house of the Chapel Farm shew clearly enough the very great trouble he has taken to render them as accurate as possible'.[56]



Bull's research into the chapel at Deerfold was well received by the President of the Club, James Rankin MP who complimented it as 'the deepest historical research'.[57] Bull's thorough, but uncritical, documentation was a refreshing innovation and his insistence upon the ecclesiastical nature of the building at Deerfold was confirmed by the discovery on the site, in 1872, of several worked stones 'of a character foreign and distinct', which Bull deduced could be from a small Norman window. He sent Blashill a sketch but his response is unrecorded (Fig. 6).[58]

Figure 6. Romanesque arch sketched by Bull in a letter of 1 January 1873

However, Bull remained keen to get Blashill involved in other local projects and on hearing the Caradoc Club of South Shropshire had been treated to a paper on Wigmore Abbey, he wrote to his friend informing him that there was a barn here with details similar to Deerfold and the owner was Alfred Salwey, a member of the Club, who was certain to welcome Blashill

to inspect the building.[59] Bull also arranged for Blashill to measure and sketch Brinsop Court but his response to both these offers is unrecorded (Fig. 7). Bull retired from the committee of the Woolhope Club in 1872 and his letters to Blashill become much more infrequent. There is also no sign of Blashill in the attendance lists of the Club in the early 1870s.



Figure 7. Brinsop Court as Blashill would have seen it in 1872 and before the restoration by H. Avray Tipping in 1912-3, H. Thornhill Timmins, *Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire*, 1892

Notwithstanding, Blashill's absence from the Woolhope Club's meetings in the 1870s, during this decade he became the leading authority on the important monastic buildings in the Welsh Border and the Severn Valley. Usually he was in the company of the British Archaeological Association (BAA) which, on its provincial expeditions, often extended an invitation to those local learned societies whose members were beginning to take seriously the antiquities of their shire or region. In fact, with the help of Bull, Blashill had recruited Chandos Hoskyns MP of Harewood to do a stint as President of the BAA and the architect, Frederick Kempson had agreed to become Hon. Secretary.[60]

THE HEREFORDSHIRE SCHOOL

In 1867 Blashill began a major restoration of Stottesdon church in South Shropshire, which included building a new baptistery to set-off the famous Romanesque font—an important outlier of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture.[61] Three years later, Blashill gave a paper on Kilpeck church in which comparisons with the Stottesdon font and the Shobdon arches were

drawn. Interestingly, Blashill gave his paper at Kilpeck in front of E. A. Freeman (1823-1892), the doyen of Norman studies and the author of the six volumes of *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, which he had begun in 1865 and completed in 1876. Freeman, who was well known for his 'rough and rude' behaviour, disgraced himself by being abrupt with the patron of the church, the Rev. Archer-Clive of Whitfield Court. Blashill's talk at Kilpeck was much in demand and when the Gloucester Cathedral Architectural Society visited Kilpeck in 1884 they requested Blashill as their guide (Fig. 8).[62]



Figure 8. Kilpeck Church in *c.*1830, before the restorations of L.N. Cottingham in 1847-8 and J. P. Seddon in 1864. Courtesy of Hereford City Library.

Two years later the Woolhope Club were there and the Rev. E. R Firmstone, the vicar, apologised for 'repeating verbatim the excellent paper' published by Blashill in 1871 on Kilpeck and Rowlstone churches in which the author drew attention to 'points of resemblance' between these churches and also those at Shobdon and Leominster which suggested that they had been 'designed under the same influence, if not by the same hand.'[63] Powell has suggested that this was the first explicit and published recognition of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture, as subsequently formulated by Zarnecki.[64] There is certainly no mention of the concept in the works of George Robert Lewis who made many detailed drawings of the architectural features of both Kilpeck in 1842 and Shobdon in 1852, but John Gage Rokewode had recognised similarities in the carvings at Kilpeck, Shobdon and Eardisley in 1842, as had also Thomas Wright in 1845.[65] When describing the tympanum in Fownhope in 1849 Dr George Strong, a physician with antiquarian interests, also recognised the stylistic similarities with Kilpeck and

Shobdon and with Bridstow.[66] Nevertheless Blashill's comments were much more detailed and explicit than any of these earlier writers and he also recognised the School's work at Bredwardine, Leominster and Rowlstone. Moreover he described similar stylistic work in France and Spain and recognised that Oliver de Merlimond, an important patron of the school, was probably influenced by some of the architecture which he had seen during his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

In 1891 Blashill returned to Rowlstone Church.[67] As in his previous paper to the British Archaeological Association twenty years earlier, he drew comparisons with Kilpeck and Shobdon.[68] He also repeated his suggestion that one of the two carved figures which appear upside down on the chancel arch represented St Peter, to whom the church has always been dedicated and who was crucified upside down. He also cited other examples of such representations of St Peter's crucifixion. Zarnecki did not agree with Blashill's interpretation but it has received recent support from Thurlby.[69]

GREAT MALVERN, EVESHAM, PERSHORE, TEWKESBURY AND DEERHURST

Blashill recognised the architectural similarities between the abbeys at Tewkesbury, Gloucester and Pershore and concluded that 'the same hand designed all three'.[70] Whether it was or was not the same architect, modern scholarship certainly indicates that all these churches, and also Ewenny Priory, have features attributable to a single building project between 1116 and 1126.[71] Blashill also suggested that the chapel of St Eustatius at Tewkesbury had originally been intended as a Lady Chapel for use by the laity. Identifying possible Lady Chapels for use by the laity seems to have been something of a hobby for Blashill and he commented on the Galilee at Durham, the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol and a chapel adjacent to the choir at Ely.[72]

Blashill seems to have sharpened his perceptions of local abbeys and priories in the 1860s by attending lectures with the local antiquarians where the incumbent was usually recruited to explain the history of his church. He first went to Great Malvern in 1853, just after G. G. Scott's restoration, and returned in 1866 to listen to the Rev. Mr Munn, the rector of Madresfield holding forth on the medieval glass, which still awaited restoration and was subject to 'daily damage'.[73] We can, perhaps, imagine Blashill quietly forming his own opinions about the building. Just under a decade later he was much less reticent and at Evesham in 1875 he read a paper on Abbot Reginald's bell-tower, which stimulated much debate.[74] The following week found the BAA at Tewkesbury where again he was called upon to give a paper, which was repeated two years later for the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society (Fig. 9). This was fully written-up by the *Berrow's Worcester Journal* and enables us to follow, stage by stage, Blashill's rigorous approach to the fabric. The visit on 18 August was given impetus by the famous letter from William Morris, published on 7 March in *The Athenaeum* which began 'My eyes just now caught the word 'restoration' in the morning paper, and on looking closer, I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott'. As the correspondent of the *Worcester Journal* put it, the work at Tewkesbury 'created a claim upon the attention of the Diocesan Architectural Society and produced an 'assemblage' of over 200 persons'.[75]



Figure 9. Tewkesbury Abbey before restoration, engraved by the Worcester artist James Ross for W. Dyde, *The History and Antiquities of Tewkesbury,* 1798

Gilbert Scott sent his apologies, which was, perhaps, diplomatic but in fact he had good reason to be absent as he was in Hereford, giving a paper on the architectural development of the Cathedral to the Archaeological Institute. Blashill may have been introduced to Scott whilst he was restoring the Cathedral between 1858 and 1863 but, if not, he was certainly known to him, since two months before the Tewkesbury meeting, when speaking to the Woolhope Club on the subject of sweet chestnut timber as a substitute for oak, Blashill quoted a letter from Scott. At the Tewkesbury meeting Scott was represented by his assistant John Medland (1840-1913), a native of Gloucester, whose father James (1808-94) was half of the prolific partnership of Medland and Maberley of Gloucester. The younger Medland was a friend of Blashill and was proposed by him both for his ARIBA (1881) and FRIBA (1892). It seems, therefore, that Scott's reputation was safe in the hands of these two young architects (Fig. 10).[76]

Blashill was introduced by Sir Edmund Lechmere as a representative of the Royal Architectural Institute and began his tour outside, looking at the Romanesque west front with its inserted pointed window of 1686. He then went inside and sat his audience down and discussed Tewkesbury in the context of the great Romanesque churches of the West Midlands and beyond—Durham and St Albans. He courteously allowed Sir Edmund, Chairman of the Restoration Committee, to explain what Scott intended to do. Blashill resumed his talk, and occasionally referred to Scott on an interpretative point. Outside again, the east end was admired and the *chevet* placed in a French context. Periodically, Sir Edmund took over, describing the removal of the gallery and high pews, and the laying of a new floor—a particular concern of

William Morris. This passed without comment and Blashill began his tour of the ambulatory chapels, pointing out the 'richly painted windows' patched-up with modern glass, where Sir Edmund interjected again with an affirmation that they would be removed and the old designs replicated. This was a step too far for the amateur artist Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-88) of Highnam Court who testified firmly to the great historical and artistic value of the surviving glass, which should not be 'disturbed by injudicious repairs'. He was even more sensitive about the surviving wall paintings and threatened to 'kick and crop' anyone who attempted to restore them. These were powerful words, indeed, from the patron/artist of the church of the Holy Innocents, Highnam. Sir Edmund assured him that the chapel walls would not be touched. Scott's brief was changing as the tour progressed.[77]



Figure 10. The choir of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1874, a year before Blashill's tour and before Scott's restoration (J. H. Blunt, *Tewkesbury Abbey*, 1875

A well-deserved cold collation was taken at the Swan Hotel and 'repeated thanks were made to Mr. Blashill for his lucid and painstaking description' of the Abbey. The afternoon advancing quickly, the crowds gathered on the quay and dropped down the river to Deerhurst where Blashill was in action again, assuring his audience that the 'ancient relics' they were about to see were 'truly pre-Norman and the curious round sculptured font was undoubtedly Saxon'. Discussion turned to Odda's inscription, which many had seen at the Ashmoleum Museum in Oxford. The incumbent felt that the chapel referred to must have been attached to the church but Blashill led the party into the cellar of the adjoining farmhouse where round pillars of the time of Edward the Confessor were noticed. Blashill was fully conversant with the secrets of the farmhouse a decade earlier than the official date for the discovery of the chapel in 1885 (Fig. 11). [78]



Figure 11. Odda's Chapel at Deerhurst just after its 'discovery' and restoration in 1885, a decade after Blashill's visit in 1875 (George Butterworth, *Deerhurst: A Parish of the Vale of Gloucester*, 1887

LLANTHONY, TINTERN AND DORE ABBEY

When checked against modern architectural sources, for example, *The Buildings of England*, Blashill's dating and interpretation is rarely found wanting and frequently, it seems, important discoveries can be traced back to him. For example at Llanthony his account is revisionist from the beginning to the end. This talk, given to the Woolhope Club, had originally been delivered to the BAA in 1870 and among its innovatory ingredients was the analysis of the elements of the 'transitional' style between Romanesque and gothic, which is very well represented here. Also at the end of the tour, as the club members were scrambling to catch the last train from Llanfihangel Crucorney to Hereford, Blashill directed their attention to the parish church, pointing out the hinges that survived embedded in the chancel arch, which showed that it had once been the infirmary of the priory. With this observation he dismissed the traditions that it pre-dated the Priory or was an even earlier Celtic church. In fact, quite logically, it only became a parish church at the Dissolution (Fig. 12).[79]

Another iconic ruin that Blashill made his own was Tintern Abbey. He was called upon by several societies to render an account of this building, which was duly published in their *Transactions*. His first visit seems to have been in the company of the Woolhope Club in August 1877—three days after his heroic endeavours at Tewkesbury. Tintern, even in the late 19th century, remained the primary objective for those in the search of the picturesque, who came seeking atmosphere and romance and thus, most of the available information for Protestant

travellers concentrated upon papist history and the curious aspects of monkish life.[80] Blashill's history was based upon documents and his archaeology upon evidence. He was not, however, unmoved by the scenic attractions of Tintern declaring that as a ruin 'it was unequalled among our monastic remains' but his intention was to persuade his audience that the late-13th-century style of Tintern's great church was 'the happiest moment (in) the history of English architecture' and represented 'a reserve of fancy and grand uniformity, which hardly any building of its age can rival'. Here we have an affidavit of Blashill's favourite pointed style, a predilection he shared with many contemporary architects. The early part of his talk was taken up with the function of monastic buildings and the different approaches taken by the Benedictine and Cistercian orders, but soon the assembled visitors were off on a typical Blashill tour, moving from place to place, with their guide naming the parts, pinning down the period and sometimes quoting from his own guide book.[81]



Figure 12. The church at Llanthony which Blashill correctly identified as the Infirmary of the Priory, not an ancient Celtic church. Photo D. Whitehead

Two years later the Club was back at Tintern in the company of another eminent local architect, George Haddon, who was very active in Hereford at this time and clearly anticipated that by engaging in a little ecclesiology, he could enhance his reputation. The excuse for the return visit was the 'well executed plans and drawings of the building' that Haddon promised to reveal. However, the transcript of his paper, published in the *Transactions* is rather meandering with lots of measurements and statistics relating to other monasteries; together with much second hand history and devoid of archaeological analysis and new insights. There is no sign of the

lauded plans and drawings and with some insensitivity the editor of the *Transactions* refers the reader to Blashill's *Guide* and his 'valuable paper' in the earlier *Transactions*. It appears that George Haddon's skill as a builder of polychrome villas was not matched by his grasp of ecclesiology—no wonder he failed at this time to get the commission to design St Paul's church in the suburbs of Hereford.[82]

The Club made a final visit to Tintern on 21 July 1904 and made it a 'Ladies Day'. The objective was to hear from Mr Philip Baylis, the Deputy Surveyor of the Forest of Dean, under whose authority the state had placed the newly classified 'Ancient Monument'. The tour began with Mr Baylis drawing attention to the book-stall in the Abbey grounds where a new edition of Blashill's *Guide* was on sale. Notice was also given for those who were seeking a more rigorous account of his article in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* (1882-3) from which, quotations were provided. On the tour around the Abbey remains Mr Baylis pointed out the new areas of interest in the wider precinct that had recently been excavated. Deferentially, he refers to the 'great deal of attention' Blashill had given to the Abbey, especially in respect to the dating of the masonry in the Abbey church.[83]

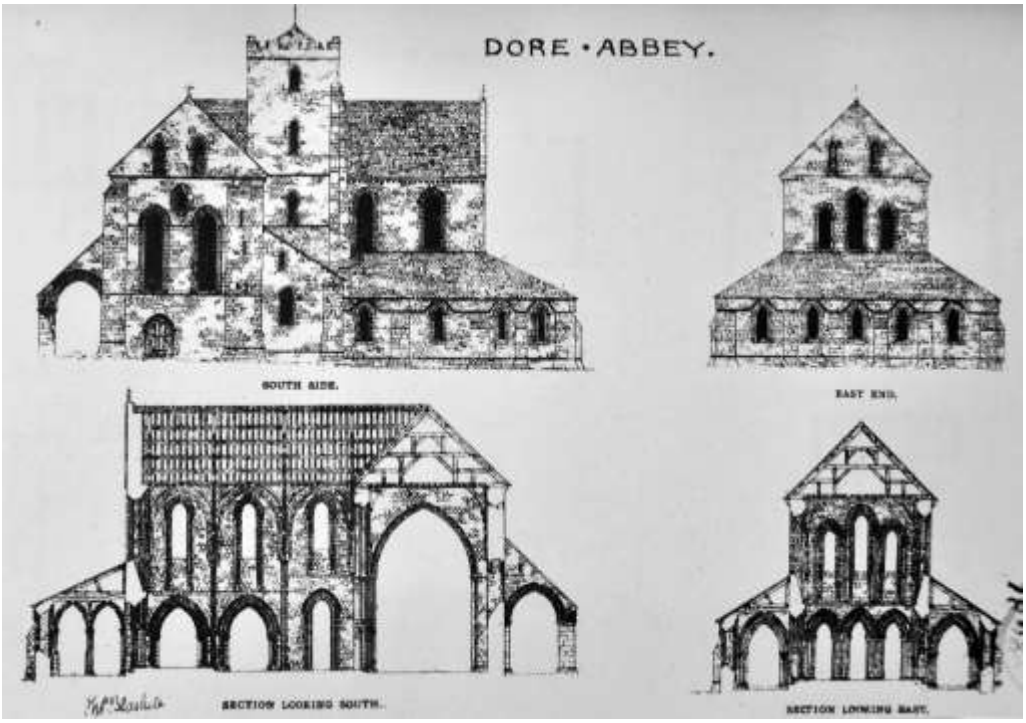
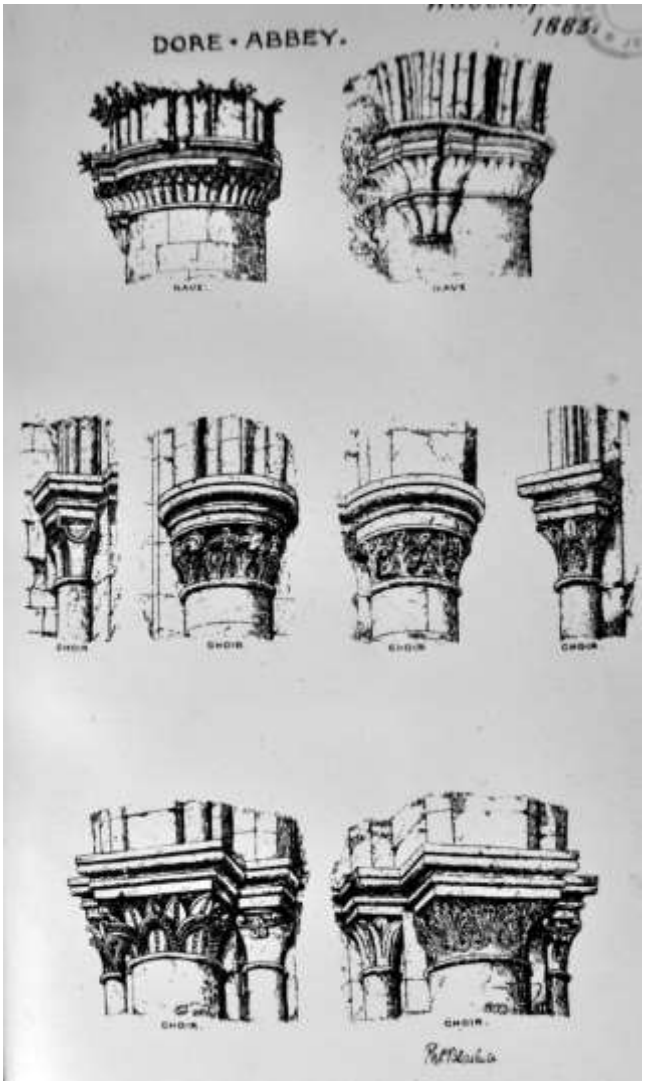


Figure 13. Dore Abbey, Blashill's elevations and sections presumably reduced from large-scale drawings produced in the architect's office, from Blashill, 'Abeydore', *TWNFC,* 1883, pp. 4-5

Blashill's final engagement with the monastic remains of the West Midlands came during his first presidency of the Woolhope Club in 1882-3. As his summer excursion in May 1882 he took the Club to Abbey Dore but deferred his considered account until the AGM of 4 April 1883.

This was a very special occasion and the Club invited a number of notable guests from among the city and county community. In all over 130 people attended the event, which was designed to show-off the Woolhope Room in the new library in Broad Street. The bookcases had been glazed; fossil-cabinets constructed and the Room laid out in the best possible taste, to look like a London club. Mr With, the Club's most eminent scientist, demonstrated his microscopes and the unbound pages of the *Herefordshire Pomona* were on display. After a respectable interlude, guests and members gathered in the large Museum Room where Dr Bull gave an address, which was followed by the President, Mr Thomas Blashill, who read 'a very able description of Dore Abbey, illustrated by many beautiful drawings'.



He postulated two 12th-century phases of construction for the abbey; British and continental parallels were recruited from his extensive travels to support the view that the eastern parts of the church were modified in *c.*1185. He praised the carved capitals in the ambulatory as 'unmatched in style and workmanship by anything done either then or since'. A plate illustrating the diversity of treatment accompanied the article in the *Transactions*; the intensity of detail suggests that these were reduced photographically from large-scale working drawings. They were accompanied by various other perspectives and cross-sections, providing further examples of Blashill's skills as a draughtsman (Figs 13 and 14).[84]

Figure 14. Carved capitals, Dore Abbey, presumably reduced from large-scale drawings produced in the architect's office, from Blashill, 'Abbeydore', *TWNFC,* 1883, pp.5-10

Blashill continued and asked his audience to consider the Chapter House, which on the field-trip he had surmised was 'not of the usual square form but polygonal'. He announced that since the May visit he had returned to investigate the Chapter House, carrying out a small excavation, which confirmed that the building was either twelve or six sided and 'of beautiful design, having a clustered column in the centre, the base of which was found by me in the rectory garden'. He suggests that this chapter house was the precursor of those at Westminster, Salisbury, Wells and Hereford and paralleled by a similar example at the Cistercian house at Margam, Glamorgan. Subsequent research by Roland Paul, the restorer of Dore Abbey, and, more recently, by Joe Hillaby, has confirmed the importance of this discovery. Blashill completed his talk by promising to return someday to talk about Viscount Scudamore's restoration in the early 17th century.[85]

As it turned out, this was deferred until 25 July 1901, during his second stint as President when, once again, he brought the club to Dore Abbey. He explained that he had discovered among the Scudamore papers in the British Museum, two contracts for the restoration of Abbey church in 1633-4. This was clearly a spin-off from one of his many visits seeking information for Dr Bull. He commenced his talk by providing a fairly lurid picture of the state of the abbey after the Dissolution in 1536 and before the state of the building began to impinge upon the conscience of the 1st Viscount in the early 1630s. As a tribute to his deceased friend, he referred his listeners to Bull's account of the Viscount in part 2 of the *Hereford Pomona*.[86]

Scudamore's contracts described the work carried out by John Abell of Sarnesfield, the carpenter, and Francis Stretton of Fownhope, a plasterer, who in August 1634 was required to plaster the interior of Holme Lacy House. Abell's contract of 22 March 1633 required him to fell timber, as directed by the Viscount, and use it to re-roof the body of Dore Church while retaining any existing timbers where possible. In addition he was to put two floors into the tower of the church and build a new bell-frame. Mistakenly, on the basis of this contract, Blashill assumed that the tower already existed and he was in 'no doubt whatever that it had been erected before the Dissolution'. What Blashill did not know was that there was a contract to build the tower with a mason called David Addams of Ross, in the Duchess of Norfolk's Collection in the Public Record Office. This was only discovered by the architectural historian Howard Colvin in 1948.[87]

However, Blashill was particularly excited by this firm documentary reference to the work of the fabled John Abell. It proved that the man described as 'architector' on his fading tombstone at Sarnesfield, was just that, a man who combined the skills of designer and craftsman. These were the very qualities that Blashill admired in the rustic team he managed at Garnons in the 1850s and was the type of modern architect/craftsman extolled by William Morris and his followers. In John Abell Blashill had found a 17th-century prototype for the hands-on architects who held sway in the golden age of English domestic architecture between 1890 and 1914.[88]

At Dore he was convinced that all the fittings, including the mannerist screen, were within Abell's competency and cited the Leominster Market House as an important part of his oeuvre. He noticed, also, that the Latin inscription there also appears at Abbey Dore and on a fragment of a screen at Monnington Court. He promised to 'deal more fully' in the future with Abell's 'reputed works' and we might imagine a draft of this lay unnoticed among his papers when he died three years later.

Blashill's antiquarian achievement is very considerable. First of all he was one of the first scholars to apply the new archaeological techniques, developed to support the gothic revival, to a group of important standing remains of medieval buildings in a remote area of Britain. There was no amateur antiquarian in the region who could match his knowledge and skill. He waved

a magic wand over mute and incoherent stones and reassembled them in an intelligible form. This ability, together with some charisma, filled rooms in Hereford and brought the educated classes out in their hundreds to the sites he visited. Secondly, this scholarly activity underpinned his skill as an architect. The gothic revival was reaching its zenith as Blashill made himself the master of four of the greatest monastic buildings in the West Midlands and Wales. His skill in analysing the archaeology of these buildings added lustre to his reputation as a practising architect, albeit one for whom church-work became increasingly scarce. His day-to-day life as a District Surveyor of Bethnal Green East was far removed from the aestheticism he deployed on those glory days in the West Midlands. Like many scholars before and after him, he found useful work to support his life-style but nurtured his spirit in the Welsh Marches. His regular trips abroad also fed into the mental database that enriched his ecclesiology. We can imagine him returning home with his sketchbooks and travel notes, which provided a tangible means of escape from his day-to-day life and sustained the balanced creative mind we are admiring here.

BLASHILL'S CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL INTERESTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Many of Blashill's architectural interests and publications stemmed from his antiquarian interests and from the statutory aspects of his work as a municipal architect. Blashill's lectures were often reported in *The Builder* which, under its energetic editor George Godwin (1813-1888), had become a highly successful weekly journal with a remit well beyond just architecture and construction. Like Blashill, Godwin was a practising architect who had also been a district surveyor. It seems probable that Godwin, as the older man, had an important influence on Blashill because the two had many interests in common and because *The Builder* covered topics and campaigned on issues which became dear to Blashill's heart. These included housing reform and the provision of housing for the working classes, sanitary reform as it affected the architect, fireproofing of buildings, management of panic and the provision of safety exits in public buildings, design of slaughterhouses and cleansing of streets. Like Blashill, Godwin was an antiquarian and also an enthusiastic architectural historian, especially of churches, all of which interests were reflected in *The Builder's* content.[89]

Several Acts required the supervision and approval by councils of new public premises and of modifications to existing ones to protect the public against fire and panic. In 1892 Blashill was called to give evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Theatres and Music Halls. He stated that the structural condition of these buildings had improved considerably in recent years but that there was still scope for improvement. The responsibilities of his own department, where five of his staff were exclusively engaged on theatre and music hall work, related mainly to the dangers arising from fire and panic and to the means by which these might be reduced.[90] He discussed both these issues in more detail in 1898-9, over a decade after 186 people had died in a theatre fire in Exeter. In his opinion legislation was still defective and the public ignored the potential dangers until some fatality occurred when it sought a scapegoat—who was often the architect. Blashill stressed the importance of fire-resistant materials and called for further studies on the causes and consequences of fires and any subsequent panic. He also emphasised the importance of cordial collaboration between architects and the municipal authorities which was required to enforce the existing regulations.[91]

Blashill's work also took him into the fields of sanitation and public health. He wrote about the design of abattoirs, and about how the filthy conditions in London streets, which were worse than in any of the continental cities which he had visited, might be improved.[92] He saw the

London Building Act of 1894 as a lost opportunity to emulate the wide boulevards of many continental cities and to enhance regulations to minimise fire damage.[93]

He developed a particular expertise in hygienic issues associated with housing, especially housing provided by councils for the labouring classes, and he suggested that eventually no home should be occupied until it had been certified as fit for human occupation.[94] As architect to the LCC, he had overall responsibility for the design of two major housing schemes to replace slums. The first Acts for Housing of the Working Classes had stipulated that everyone turned out of unhealthy districts should be provided with housing on land within the same district or nearby. This was soon found to be impracticable and the provisions of the 1890 Act allowed schemes which provided for the re-housing of only half of the displaced inhabitants.[95] Blashill explained the consequences which then followed when an authority purchased an insanitary area, pulled down the houses and constructed model dwellings. The occupants of the condemned houses, moved to other insanitary areas, causing further overcrowding in those areas which became even more unhealthy. The new model homes, fewer in number than the slums which they had replaced, were taken by incomers because the original inhabitants could not afford the higher rents.[96] Blashill emphasised that the architect must therefore exercise the most rigid economy. The working man did not require his home to be picturesque and would not or could not pay for it to be so. Nor was he inclined to pay for hygienic measures, to some of which, such as ventilation of staircases, he was bitterly opposed. Nevertheless the architect must take notice of public health regulations even where they added to the cost. Staircases and passages earned no rent so as many homes as possible must be made to open from each one, especially from staircases which were particularly expensive. Designs must also discourage 'lurking places for rough and mischievous youth.'[97] Writing in 1900 Blashill foresaw that the problem of slum clearance would be eased by the availability of cheap trains and trams to new suburbs, thereby anticipating the arrival of Metro-land, a term coined by the Metropolitan Railway's publicity department in 1915 and used to describe 'the country districts served by the Metropolitan Railway'.[98]

Blashill also had a longstanding interest in technical and professional education. He established classes at the Architectural Association to prepare candidates for the examinations set by the Royal Institute of British Architects, was an examiner in the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, a member of the Statutory Board of Examiners under the London Building Act and a council member of the Polytechnic School. He lectured on carpentry at the Carpenters Hall and at the Society of Arts, and he sat on a joint committee with Plumbers Company and Water Boards to inquire into education and registration of plumbers and plumbing work in general.[99]

He was a great advocate of education by foreign travel and lectured on a course which prepared those setting out on such ventures. He travelled abroad at least once a year and sometimes more. He had a particular interest in Viennese architecture and, as a result of his observations in Italy and elsewhere, urged a greater use of marble by English architects.[100] He made many sketches on his journeys and left several manuscript journals of his travels[101] but, if they have survived, their whereabouts are unknown.

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Colleagues described Blashill as a sound practical man who was well trained in business. He was a careful and conscientious man who took trouble over his facts and whose opinion therefore

carried great weight. He was also a kindly man, helpful to his colleagues and much liked and respected. [102]

In a lecture delivered at the Surveyors' Institution in 1901 Blashill paid tribute to the work of skilled artisans who deserved to earn a decent wage, sufficient to allow for a comfortable provision in old age. He observed how changing methods of construction had affected established trades; for example, the use of fire-resistant materials had meant less work for carpenters, while masons had suffered from the fashion for terracotta. Blashill then discussed the education and training of all those engaged in the building industry. Apprenticeships had become more difficult to obtain but, although they had disadvantages, he would like to see them revived. Technical education was still in its infancy but would expand. He concluded by suggesting that everyone involved in the industry should:

> ...learn the different crafts that composed it in the same school and at the same bench, at least so far as they had to travel together. The workmen would leave comparatively early in the journey and the rest at stages which preference or necessity might dictate. But so far as they might journey together they would be learning the same things. They would understand each other for the rest of their lives, and, if one who might have started with lower ambitions should find his way into the higher grades of the industry, it was not the class to which the speaker belonged that would begrudge him the success he had earned.[103]

Blashill's personal attributes and his antiquarianism, as described here, influenced and informed his professional work as an architect. That work will be described in a separate research paper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are very grateful to Susan Whitehead for help in tracing Blashill's family history.

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An archaeological evaluation of the Old Priory buildings, Leominster: Saxon, medieval and later discoveries

By BRUCE WATSON

with contributions by Ian Baxter, Julie Bowen, Shelia Hamilton-Dyer, Derek Hurst, Alan Peacey, Elizabeth Pearson, David Symons and the late Alan Vince.

In 2005 the Friends of Leominster Priory organised an archaeological evaluation of the car park occupying the site of the cloisters of Leominster Priory (est. 1123), which were located to the north of the church. The primary purpose of this project was to investigate and date a circular structure identified by a ground penetrating radar survey (which proved to be modern). Three radiocarbon dates of cal AD 655-730, cal AD 655-775 and cal AD 772-900 were obtained from bone samples from the initial Saxon features, which makes this activity contemporary with the documented foundation of a church/monastery in c. AD 660 by St Edfrith. The wide variety of faunal material present included the major domesticated species plus birds and fish, confirming that this area was used for rubbish disposal.

The three phases of the western arm of the priory cloisters were located. The final phase of the cloister walkway was found to be of either late 14th or 15th century date. Part of a cellared masonry building attached to the western side of the cloister walkway was excavated. After the suppression of the priory in 1539, the cloisters were demolished and then extensively quarried for building stone. During this phase of demolition the former cloister garth was used to sort salvaged material and 536 fragments of broken glazed floor tiles were discarded here.

Introduction

During August 2005 the author, on behalf of the Friends of Leominster Priory, organised and directed the excavation of an evaluation trench (16.85m long and 5.0m wide) within the south-west portion of the Old Priory Buildings car park (Figs 1, 2 and 3).[1] This investigation was undertaken as part of 'Operation Leofric', a HLF funded community project.[2] Aspects of this fieldwork have already been incorporated into a new history of the priory produced as part of 'Operation Leofric' and an interim report published.[3] The site archive including digital reports is held by Herefordshire Museum Service and Historic Environment Record.

The primary aims of the investigation were to investigate and date a circular structure with a radius of 3m identified by a ground penetrating radar survey carried out by Stratascan in 2003.[4] This structure was interpreted as starting some 0.4m below ground level and extending down to a depth of 1.5m. No fixed date or interpretation was assigned to this structure by Stratascan, but subsequently it was provisionally interpreted as a Saxon rotunda and therefore part of the pre-Norman minster.[5] It now clear that the depth of the feature interpreted from the radar response was misleading despite the nature of the returns being consistent with a dense rubble foundation extending to a depth of 1.5m. What caused this disparity is unclear. A marked reduction of velocity of the radar signal through the rubble would explain part, but not all of the discrepancy.[6] This circular foundation was located during the evaluation at a depth of 0.26m to

0.62m below the existing ground surface and it proved to the limestone rubble foundations of a 20th-century car park (see Period 6).

During the post-excavation analysis related contexts, such as the contemporary fills of a pit were arranged into sets defined as Sub-Groups (e.g. SG1). The related Sub-Groups, such as a number of contemporary features, were arranged into Groups (e.g. G1). These Groups were then the arranged into site wide chronological phases of activity defined as periods (e.g. P1). Full details are in the stratigraphic archive.[7] Context numbers are shown as (1) etc. For reasons of space only selective finds and environmental data is incorporated into this article; a full list of the specialist reports available online are listed at Appendix 1.



Figure 1. The excavation in progress 26 August 2005, view looking west. In the centre of the trench the robbed-out remains of the cellared building adjoining the western side of the cloisters is being excavated.

Period 1: The geology and natural topography of the site

The Priory Church of St Peter and St Paul is situated on the edge of a plateau (ground surface *c*. 76m OD) (Fig 2). The land surface of this plateau slopes away towards the north and east. As the site was situated to the north of the church along the top edge of this slope, it possesses a natural south to north slope, which has been obscured by dumping and terracing intended to raise and level the ground surface.

These slopes around the plateau have been created by the down-cutting action of the River Lugg and its tributary the Kenwater. To the north of the site ran the former course of the Pinsley

Brook (now diverted). The priory and the historic core of the town are located on this plateau which is high enough to be flood free. The low-lying areas of the town around the Kenwater have a long history of flooding.

The underlying solid geology consists of Devonian Old Red Sandstone, overlain by marls. A reddish clayey marl (top 73.03m OD) was interpreted as part of the Devonian deposits, which due to biological activity had been transformed into a soil horizon (G1), predating the Saxon activity (not illustrated).

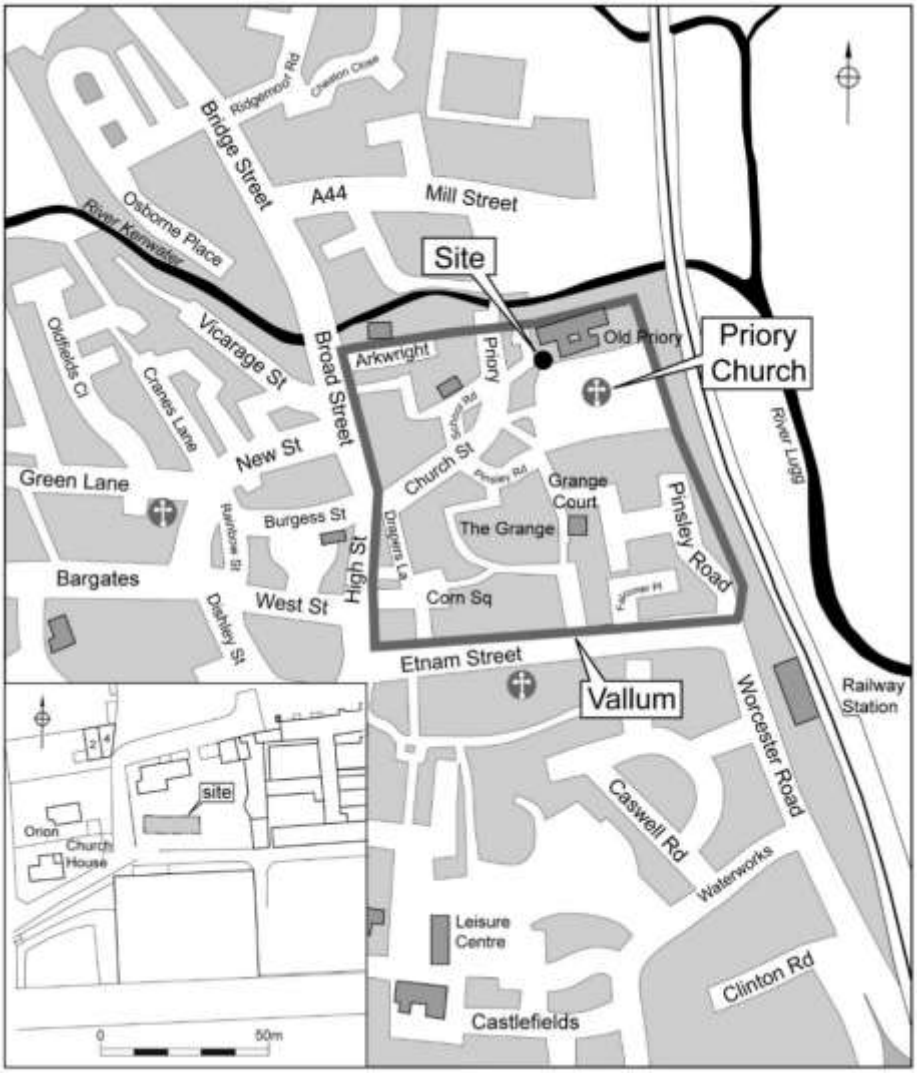


Figure 2. Site location within Leominster showing the possible extent of the Saxon monastic precinct. With an inset Figure 3. Trench location within the Old Priory buildings car park

Period 2: Pre-Saxon activity

Prehistoric activity on site was indicated by finds of two residual struck flints. One was probably a broken Mesolithic blade and the other a Neolithic to Early Bronze Age, naturally backed knife with fine invasive retouch and with heavy use or damage along one edge and the proximal end.[8] Part of a small pit of Roman date (no more precise dating possible) was found (G2) (not illustrated). Two Roman ceramic tile fragments were found within Saxon contexts, it is not certain if this building material is simply residual material or whether it was brought to the site during the Saxon period for reuse, perhaps for lining hearths. Two residual sherds of Roman Severn Valley Ware were also recovered from site.[9] There is other evidence of Roman activity in the vicinity and nearby excavations recently uncovered a dump of Roman iron smithing slag probably of 2nd century AD date.[10]

Period 3: Middle/Late Saxon Activity (*c*. AD 650-1066)

Middle Saxon activity (Groups 3 and 4 c.AD 650-850)

Initial Saxon activity consisted of dumping subsoil and marl to level up the natural south to north ground slope (G3) (not illustrated). The earliest features (G4) consisted of a south-west to north-east aligned ditch (SG6) the fill of which (82) included bulk sample 2, and the northern portion of a large oval-shaped rubbish pit (SG7), the fills of which included bulk samples 1 (84) and 3 (86) (Fig 4). The fill of both these features consisted of domestic rubbish which was rich in faunal remains (discussed later). There was also a fragment of a north-south aligned slot or small gully and a robbed out stakehole (SG8). Two radiocarbon dates of cal AD 650-730 (SG6) and 655-775 (SG7) were obtained from animal bones recovered from these features.[11] All AMS radiocarbon dates are quoted to a 95% level of probability (2 standard deviations) and were calibrated using Intcal 04.[12]

Late Saxon activity (Group 5; c. AD 850-1066)

A third date of cal AD 772-900 was obtained from the backfill of the north-south aligned ditch (SG 5) (Fig. 5). **[13]** This date implies that activity continued on site until the 9th century. This ditch was later cut by one or more intercutting pits of unknown function (SG4). These features were later sealed by a series of levelling dumps, which contained masses of faunal material (SG 9). In the absence of any stratigraphy this deposit was dug in a series of 15cm thick spits. A fourth radiocarbon date of cal AD 776-902 was obtained from the next to top spit.[14]

The Saxon faunal material and its significance

(with Ian Baxter, Shelia Hamilton-Dyer and Elizabeth Pearson)

These deposits contained a high concentration of animal bones (total 352), including many fragments of ribs and vertebra. Some of these bones had cut or chop marks confirming that this material was butchery waste. The most frequent component in terms of numbers of large bones and teeth were pigs (33%), then cattle (29%), followed by wild and domestic birds (21%), sheep/goat at 13% and horse at 4.5% and roe deer 0.6%. The most important sources of meat were cattle and pigs.[15] Amongst the bird bones domestic fowl or chicken counted for 13% of the total assemblage. Cats were represented by the presence of a single bone. It is assumed that the cats were not food waste and were kept for vermin control. As 'their remains are found with remarkable frequency on nearly all Anglo-Saxon sites' it appears that cats were very widely kept.[16]

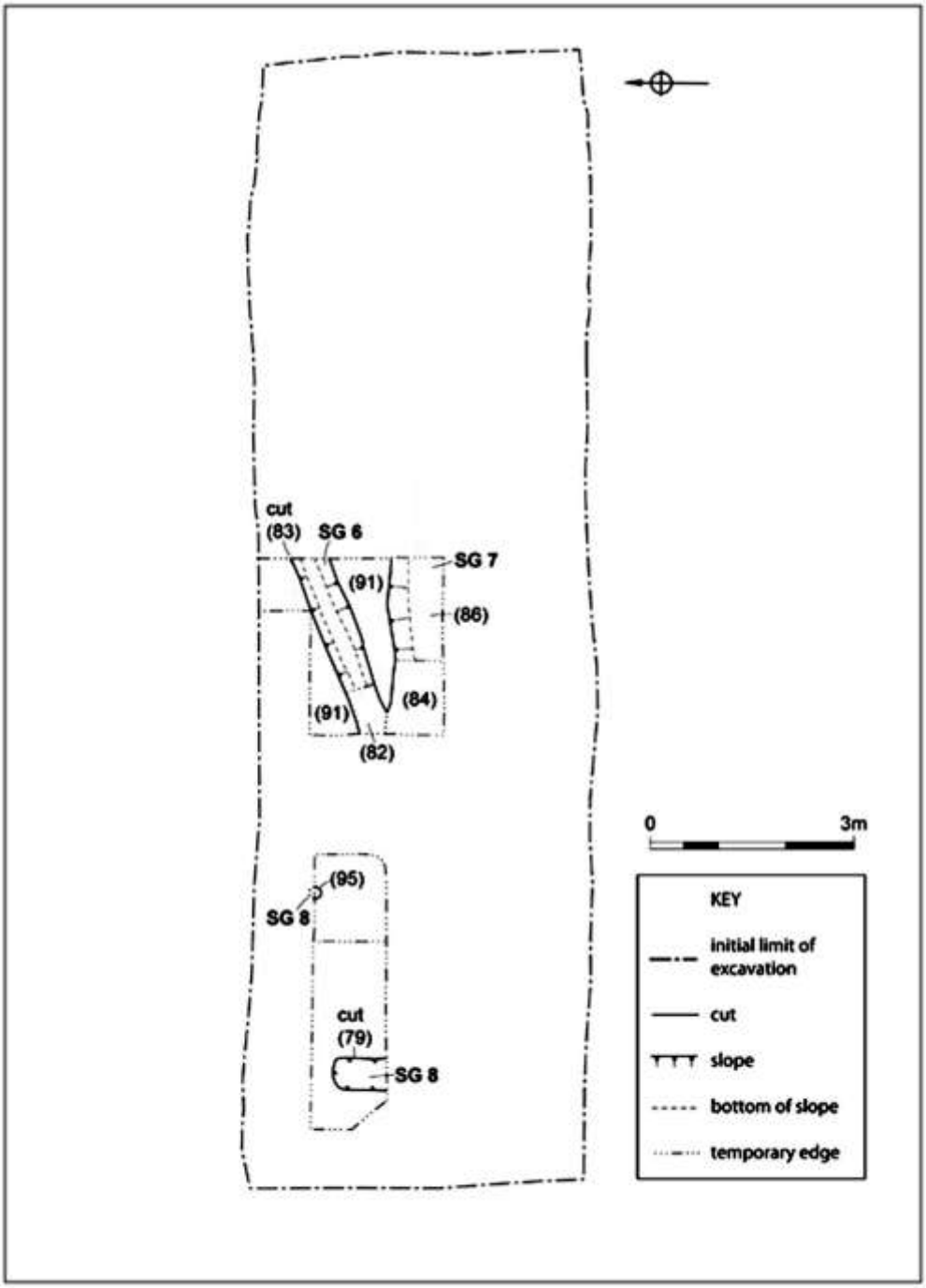


Figure 4. G4 Middle Saxon features

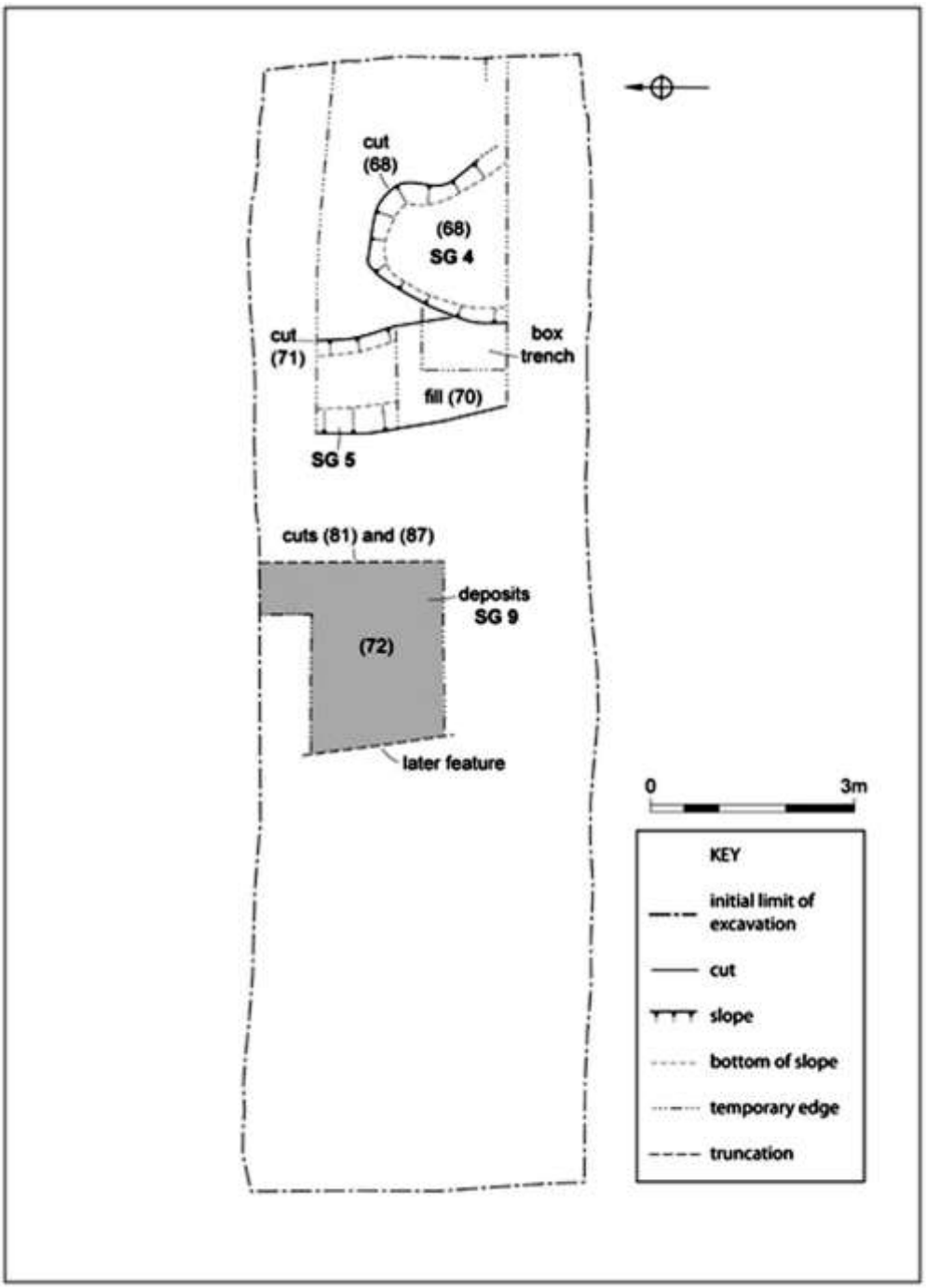


Figure 5. G5 Late Saxon features

Bulk samples 1 (84) and 3 (86) from SG7 revealed a wide variety of faunal material including small mammals, birds, fish, amphibians and fish. The bird bones were dominated by chickens, including juveniles and hens implying that they were being raised locally. Other domestic species present included greylag geese and ducks. While wild species present included geese (examples smaller than greylag), plover, teal, wood pigeon and woodcock. It is possible that blackbirds and sparrows were present too.[17] This wide range of species confirms that some wild fowling was taking place. At Lyminge, Kent, on the site of a royal double monastery founded in the 7th century, excavations of contemporary deposits within the outer precinct revealed that the wild and domestic bird species made up an extrapolated 10% of the quantified faunal assemblage (of which wild species made up just under a third). By the 8th to 9th centuries bird remains comprised about 33% of the faunal assemblage at Lyminge. However, wild species by this date only comprised between 12-20% of the assemblage and chicken was the most important species.[18] Bird remains from Middle Saxon ecclesiastical sites generally show a more restricted range of species than secular ones, with the latter showing more evidence of hunting and the former greater emphasis on domestic fowls.[19] Bird bones of late-12th or 13th–century date have also been recovered from Leominster Priory, including domestic fowl, goose, wood pigeon, song thrush, and jackdaw.[20]

The only wild mammal present in the Saxon deposits were two roe deer bones implying that hunting played no significant part in the monastic economy. However, the probable tip from a long bow from SG5 is evidence of a weapon that could have been used for hunting.[21]

The four species of fish present amongst the identifiable bones were eel (51.6%), salmon (9.6%), herring (8.3%) and grayling (0.3%). While a further 30% of the fish remains were unidentifiable. Most of the eels would have probably been immature specimens some 30-40cm long, but there were a few vertebrae representing full-sized ones over 50cm long.[22] All of these species except herrings, which are marine, can be caught in the River Lugg today.[23]

Both salmon and eels are migratory species, while grayling are restricted to freshwater. The herrings would have been preserved by drying, smoking or salting.[24] There are number of ways that these fish could have caught, for instance eels and salmon might have been speared, trapped or netted. The fish traps in the River Severn at Redwick date from the 5th-6th century AD.[25] Other fish might have caught by line fishing, a practice represented on site by the discovery of a small barbed iron hook (22mm long).[26] Saxon fish hooks are usually made of iron and barbed and are of variable size implying that they were used to catch a variety of species. One Anglo-Scandinavian barbed iron fish hook from York is 55-56mm long. [27]

Other finds from these bulk samples included occasional fragments of iron hammer scale, which show that smithing was being carried out locally. Some of the small fragments of animal bones had the appearance typical of dog digestion. While some of the small fish bones were crushed, probably as a result of human ingestion. This evidence implies that this midden area was also used to dispose of faecal material. The fragments of fired clay or daub present in the samples were probably derived from the cladding of timber-framed buildings.[28]

It is assumed that all this food waste was produced by the monastic community as the site lay within the medieval cloister (Period 4), and it was presumably within the Saxon monastic precinct too. Whereas laymen were only supposed to observe the prescribed feasts and fasts, members of Saxon monastic communities would have probably faced constant restrictions on both the number of meals they consumed and their content. For instance, the rule of Chrodegang stated that between Easter and Pentecost the brothers ate twice a day and could have ‘flesh’ or meat except on Wednesdays and Fridays. From Pentecost until the birthday of St John the Baptist

(7 January) they still had two meals a day, but ate no 'flesh'.[29] Fish was a popular dish on these frequent fast days. There are documented references to Saxon 'fisheries' and fish also occur as an item in some rental agreements, showing their importance as a food item.[30] The 8th- and 9th-century monastic deposits at Lyminge, contained 'prodigious quantities' of fish bones, the assemblage being dominated by the larger marine species of the Gadidae family (principally cod and whiting), but eels were a significant component of the assemblage. Interestingly, the 6th- and 7th-century deposits at Lyminge revealed very few fish bones, implying that during this period fish was not a significant part of the monastic diet. [31] Fish remains including eel, herring, salmon/trout, haddock, cod, perch and plaice or flounder of late 12th- or 13th-century date have also been recovered from Leominster Priory.[32] This list shows that a much wider range of preserved marine species was being consumed by this period.

Pigs would have been important as both a source of fat (lard) and bacon. The presence of similar proportions of male and female pigs and a perinatal piglet suggests that these animals were being raised locally, perhaps on a small scale. The reasoning being that large scale pig husbandry or the importation of live pigs and/or carcasses would have resulted in a preponderance of males. Pigs could have been maintained locally in woodland or on rough grassland and fattened on natural forage. At Lyminge, pig was the most common domesticated species represented in the 6th and 7th century monastic deposits, making up 45-55% of the faunal assemblage from the assessed contexts. A high proportion (over 30%) of pig remains is often interpreted as a 'high-status dietary signature' during the Saxon period.[33] At Cheddar Saxon palace in Somerset, pigs provided 29% of the meat and were second in importance to oxen before AD 930.[34]

The cattle remains were derived from all parts of the skeleton, implying they were butchered on site. A significant proportion of the cattle being consumed were either sub-adults or young adults and therefore would have been prime beef, as opposed to beasts that had spent years as either dairy or draught animals before being consumed. At Lyminge, in the 6th- and 7th-century monastic deposits, cattle comprised some 16% of the faunal assemblage and about 21% by the 8th and 9th centuries, compared with 29% of the Leominster assemblage.[35]

The sheep or goat remains were also derived from all parts of the skeleton. The limited evidence suggests that most of the sheep being consumed were skeletally adult, which might imply that older animals were being deliberately selected for slaughter.[36] Sheep would have been kept for their wool, milk and meat. At Lyminge during the 6th and 7th centuries sheep made up 19% of the monastic faunal assemblage, while by the 8th to 9th centuries sheep had increased to 36-54% of the assessed contexts, while pig had declined to 12-27% (from 45-55%). It is believed that this change was linked with a major increase in the production of woollen textiles during the Middle Saxon period. [37] The small assemblage of mammal bones of late 12th or 13th–century date recovered from Leominster Priory included cattle, sheep, pig and cat. Some of the medieval sheep and pig bones are immature suggesting the consumption of lambs and suckling pigs.[38]

The average age of the horses and ponies represented on site was seven years old, but specimens present ranged in age from 1 year 3 months to over 12 years old.[39] However, the small number of equid bones present implies that they were only consumed occasionally, while the diverse age range of the individuals represented implies that they were reared locally. These horses would have primarily been intended for riding or possibly farm work as they were technically a 'taboo' food species. In AD 786 Pope Adrian I issued an injunction to the English

banning the consumption of horseflesh; it is not known how widely his instruction was observed.[40]

The plant remains from these deposits consisted of charred grains of oats, free-threshing wheat and a pea. A sample from (82) SG6 contained a charred barley grain and a fragment of hazel nut shell. [41] Baked barley or wheat products in the form of bread would have been the mainstay of the monastic diet; this is documented in several contemporary monastic rules. For instance, under the rule of Chrodegang the individual ration of bread was one pound per day. Oats were probably eaten as porridge or added to soups or stews. In addition broths or stews containing cereals, vegetables, beans or other pulses (including peas) would have been probably consumed on a daily basis. These dishes may have enriched by dairy products and perhaps flavoured with meat or fish. The rule of St Benedict allowed two meals per day one of which was cooked and could have included two dishes of broth or soup. [42] St Wilfred (*c.* AD 633-709) is credited with introducing the rule of St Benedict to England, so it is quite possible that it was followed at Saxon Leominster. There is no documentary evidence that Leominster followed any particular monastic rule, but the content of the surviving Saxon prayer book from Leominster shows liturgical influences from Iona and the church of St Columba, the great Irish monastic evangelist (died AD 597), as it includes two Hiberno-Latin hymns attributed to St Columba. [43] Therefore, it is possible that the Saxon monastic at Leominster followed the rule of St Columba, which does not describe diet. [44] St Columba did not leave a written rule—it was compiled later by his followers. However, the lifestyle guidance outlined in his rule suggests that it would have included dietary restrictions similar to other contemporary monastic rules.

The rule of St Benedict describes an ideal monastic community that was both a self-contained and self-sufficient unit, with its own fields, livestock and gardens. This concept fits quite well with the faunal evidence for the local rearing of livestock and explains the presence of 'taboo' horses amongst the food waste. Activities like fishing, wild fowling and even smithing would have complied with this concept of self-sufficiency. The medieval priory at Leominster followed the rule of St Benedict and documentary evidence from other medieval Benedictine houses shows a predominance of fish in the monastic diet. [45]

Saxon Period general discussion

These deposits contained no ceramics or datable finds, so four radiocarbon dates were obtained from animal bones samples to provide a chronology. A chronological model for the radiocarbon dates produced by Alex Bayliss, English Heritage Scientific Dating Co-ordinator, indicates that the initial Saxon activity took place during AD 655-775 (95% probability) and that the third and fourth radiocarbon dates confirm that this activity continued into the 9th century.[46] This means that the initial Saxon activity is contemporary with the documented foundation of a church/monastery in *c.*AD 660 by St Edfrith, a Northumbrian missionary. [47] It is probable that this church was always part of a minster or *monasteria,* which means that it would have included a small monastic community of priests or missionaries who would have provided pastoral care in the Leominster region. The original mid-7th-century foundation at Leominster was unlikely to have been either a nunnery or a double house (containing monks and nuns), but by 1046 it is documented that it had become a nunnery. [48] Where the Saxon church was situated is unknown, but as the excavation of many other ecclesiastical sites have established that the remains of early churches are frequently found under later ones, it is likely that its remains lie under the medieval church.[49] For instance, in 1996 excavations within the choir of Pershore Abbey Church, Worcestershire, revealed elements of the former Saxon and Norman churches.[50]

It appears that this naturally sloping area was on the periphery of the settled area and was being used systematically for the disposal of food waste and other debris until the late 8th or 9th century (discussed earlier). This might suggest that the site was situated close to the monastic kitchens. Latterly attempts were made to level the naturally sloping site by dumping material perhaps on a systematic basis.

It has been suggested that the extent of the Saxon monastic enclosure or *vallum* at Leominster can be reconstructed, but as this ditch and bank earthwork is unexcavated its date remains uncertain. The western side of this postulated enclosure is defined by Broad Street, its southern side by Etnam Street, while the remaining two sides are defined by the steep breaks of slope adjoining the River Lugg and the Kenwater (Fig. 2). Leominster Priory was situated within the north-eastern corner of this enclosure. Similar enclosures surround the monasteries at Glastonbury and Iona.[51] A Saxon prayer book from Leominster mentions the following early 11th-century monastic buildings: the sacristy and vestry of the church; various cloistral buildings: dormitory, scriptorium, calefactorium (warming room), refectory, cellar, dispensary, kitchen, larder, and an infirmary, while the outer court contained the granary, bakery, hospital and infirmary.[52]

Period 4: The Medieval Priory (*c.*1123-1539)

The first phase of the western arm of the cloisters (G6)

The earliest medieval activity on site consisted of the construction of the first phase of the western arm of the cloister walkway. This undated masonry is assumed to be part of the 12th-century priory (see discussion). This consisted of a north-south aligned trench-built wall foundation constructed of roughly coursed sandstone rubble, bonded by now decayed mortar (SG11) (Figs 6 and 7).



Figure 6. Composite remains of the cloister garth wall foundations, view looking north. At the southern end is robber trench (65) SG13/G8 and in-situ masonry (88) SG14/G8, in the centre masonry (80) SG11/G6, and at the northern end masonry (89) SG12/G7.

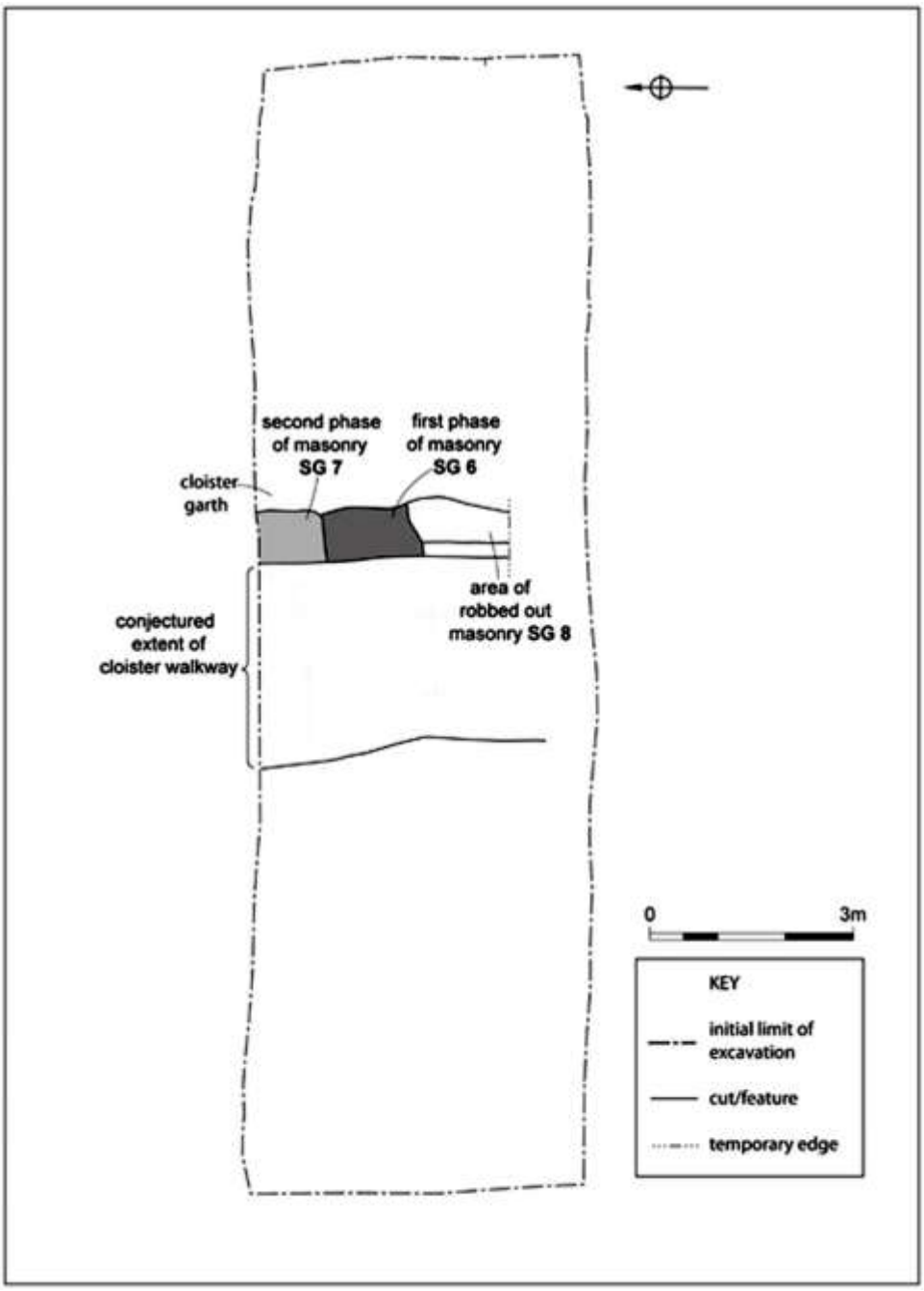


Figure 7. The earlier phases of the medieval cloister garth, G6 and G7 foundations.

Second phase of cloister walkway (G7)
At some point the cloister walkway foundation was replaced by another one built directly over its predecessor and this confirms that the layout of the cloisters remained unchanged. The replacement masonry was 0.86m wide and constructed of random sandstone rubble foundation, bonded by a cream coloured sandy lime mortar (Figs 6 and 7). This foundation appears to have been built as a series of linear segments, not as a continuous structure. There is no finds-dating evidence for this activity, but it is of pre-14th century date on stratigraphic grounds.

Third phase of cloister walkway (G8)
During the late 14th or 15th century the cloister walkway was rebuilt for a second time. This new phase of the ambulatory walkway was *c.*2.5m wide (G8) (Fig 8). This rebuilding appears to have removed any earlier floor levels and parts of the earlier masonry, creating a void (SG13), which was then spanned by ramshackle masonry (SG14). The nature of the new cloister garth wall is uncertain as all but one of the stone blocks it was constructed of were later robbed out, but its empty foundation trench that shows that it was 50cm wide (SG16). The relatively shallow nature of this replacement foundation suggests that it was either a dwarf wall or supported a timber-framed structure. The area of the cloister walkway was levelled (SG15 not illustrated), then mortar bedding for the tile or stone paving (of which there was no trace) was laid (SG21). This indicates that the approximate height of its robbed out floor of the walkway stood at 73.8m OD. This activity was dated to the late 14th or 15th century by pottery recovered from SG13 and SG15.[53] These levelling dumps also contained fragments of disarticulated human skeletal material (representing at least three individuals). As there were no *in-situ* burials within the excavated area this skeletal material might have been derived from the dumping of excess soil from the nearby cemetery.[54]

A half-cellared building on the western side of the cloister walkway (G9)
The remains of part of a substantial half-cellared masonry building attached to the western side of the cloister walkway were discovered. Its walls and floor levels had been entirely removed by post-Dissolution robbing (Figs 1 and 8). The date of this building is uncertain, but the presence of late-14th- or 15th-century pottery in the robbing debris indicates that it was a later addition to 12th-century cloisters.

Pre-dating the building was a series of external dumps and top soil horizons with clear evidence of biological reworking (SG10). These deposits had been disturbed by post-Dissolution activity and contained ceramics dating from the 13th to 17th centuries.

Activity within the medieval cloister garth (G10)
A linear ditch with a concave profile within the cloister garth is assumed to be contemporary with the second rebuilding of the walkway as it contained a silver halfpenny of Henry VI (1422-61) and a fragment of grit or mill stone (SG18) (Fig. 8, left). [55] Possibly this ditch served as a bedding trench. Within this area there was a garden soil horizon (top 73.34m OD) containing 13th-century pottery (SG19) (Fig 8 right).

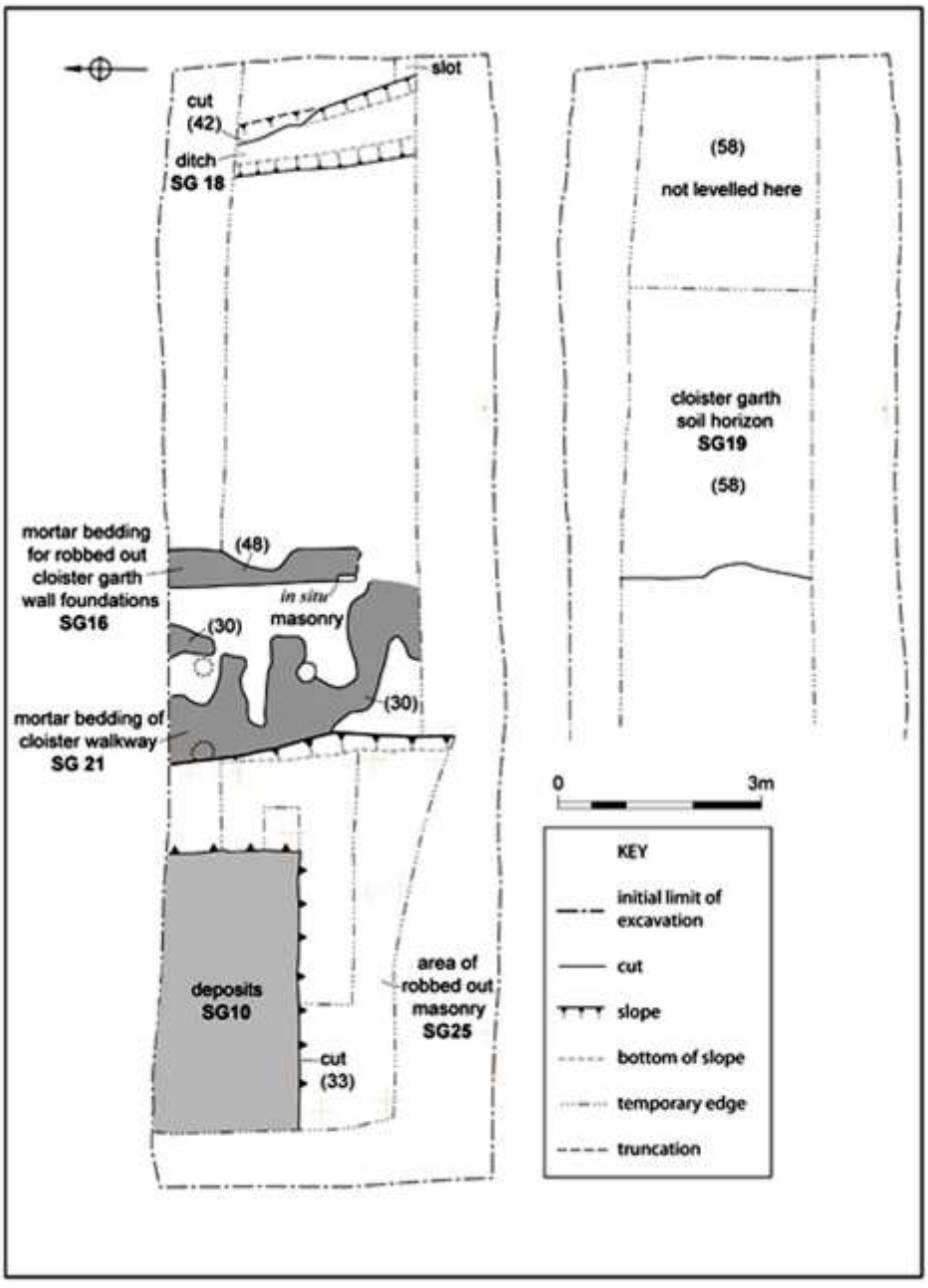


Figure 8. Left: the later phase of the cloister garth wall (G8), plus the mortar bedding for the paving (SG21), plus the robbed out walls of the adjoining half-cellared building (G9) and ditch (SG18/G10). Right: later deposits within the cloister garth (SG19/G10).

Medieval period discussion

In 1046 Leominster nunnery was involved in a scandal, when the earl of Herefordshire abducted and seduced the Abbess Eadgifu, who he then kept 'as his wife' for almost a year, until he was persuaded to release her by the Bishop of Worcester and the Archbishop of Canterbury. This abduction seems to have been only one of a number of problems that the nunnery and its estates faced during this period as it appears that between 1046 and 1066 the extensive estates of Leominster nunnery were sequestrated by the earls of Hereford to finance a series of border wars with the Welsh.[56]

In 1123 Henry I gave Leominster church and its remaining estates to Reading Abbey. By this date it is uncertain what remained of the nunnery, its church and other buildings, as it is assumed that after the events of 1046 the nunnery was probably dissolved. It is believed that building work on the Priory of St Peter and St Paul started immediately after Reading Abbey took over, as in *c.* 1132 Bishop Robert de Béthune consecrated two chapels in the nave of the new church. The Romanesque priory church consisted of a twin aisled nave, while to the east was the choir or monastic church; it consisted of a semi-circular presbytery, with transeptal chapels. [57] To the north of the church were the cloisters and domestic buildings, some of which are still standing. [58] During the 13th century a new south or parochial nave was added to the church and during the 14th century a new south aisle was added to this nave. [59] The eastern portion of the church was uncovered during the 1850s and its ground plan established from the robbed-out foundations. [60] A hypothetical plan of the priory shows the area of the site as lying across the western arm of the cloisters and part of the cloister garth (Fig 9).[61] Cloisters of English and Welsh medieval monastic houses were generally situated on the south side of the church, but at a significant number of sites such as Leominster the cloisters were located on the northern side of the church. Of the 25 examples of English and Welsh monastic houses with cloisters only 8 (32%) possessed northern cloistral ranges. [62]

The evaluation located the western arm of the priory cloisters in their expected position (G6). The width of the cloister ambulatory or walkway was 2.5m. The remains of mortar bedding for the tile or stone paving (of which there was no trace) indicated that the approximate height of its robbed out floor of the cloister walkway stood at 73.8m OD, which is some 1.2m below the floor level of the north aisle of the 12th-century priory church. Clearly the various elements of the priory had 'stepped' floor levels to take account of the sloping ground surface. The floor level of the western arm of the cloisters explains why the blocked door in the north wall of the north aisle (next to the toilet entrance) of the 12th-century church relates to a much lower floor level and it must have originally possessed steps on its southern side which have since been infilled.

The date of the half-cellared masonry building (G9) attached to the western side of the cloister walk is uncertain, but the presence of late-14th- or 15th-century pottery in the robbing debris indicates its possible date of construction (see G11, SG17). The plan and function of this building are difficult to determine because it had been completely robbed out and its associated deposits disturbed during the post-medieval period. It was interpreted as half-cellared because of the absence of floors (SG17) at similar level to floor-level within the walkway of the adjoining portion of the 15th-century cloisters (G8). The function of any cellared building would have been storage, perhaps for foodstuffs to supply the nearby kitchen. The substantial nature of the robbed-out foundation suggests that this building possessed an upper storey.

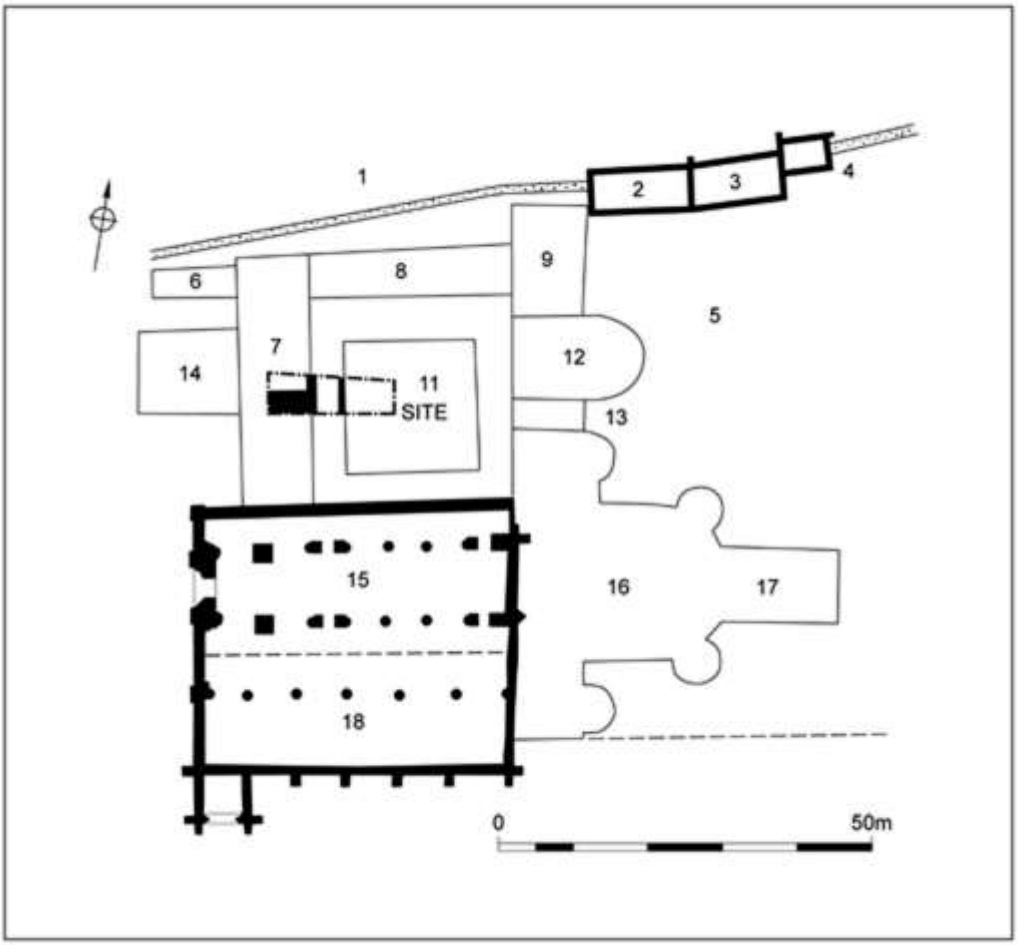


Figure 9. Plan of the medieval priory based on Brown and Wilson (1994, illus 37) showing the excavated area within the cloisters.

Key and conventions

The solid lines denote existing buildings, recently excavated foundations or robber trenches including these found during the evaluation. The extent of the buildings shown in outline is conjectural, apart from Nos 16 and 17, which are based on antiquarian discoveries.

KEY: 1. Former course of the Pinsley Brook: **2**. Redorter; **3**. Infirmary; **4.** Infirmary Chapel; **5.** Monastic cemetery; **6.** Kitchen; **7.** Cellared building; **8**. Frater; **9.** Warming room with Dorter above; **10.** Cloister walkway: **11.** Cloister garth; **12.** Chapter House; **13.** Sacristy; **14**. Prior's Lodgings; **15**. 12th-century twin aisled Nave; **16**. Chancel with north/south transepts and radiating chapels; **17.** Lady Chapel, probably a 14th-century addition; **18.** 13th-century parochial nave and 14th-century south aisle.

Period 5: The Dissolution

The demolition and destruction of the cloisters (G9)

After the suppression of the priory in 1539, the cloisters, the cloistral buildings and the choir were demolished and then extensively quarried for building stone.[63] In 1611 and 1613 it is documented that stone was being salvaged from the site of the cloisters.[64] Interestingly, the sequence of events concerning the demolition and robbing out of the masonry of the western arm of the cloisters can be reconstructed in detail (G11):

First, the tiled or paved floor of the cloister walk was removed (uncontexted). Then scaffolding was erected along the line of the western cloister walkway, presumably to allow the roofs to be stripped of stone slates and the standing walls demolished (SG24). The evidence for this scaffolding consisted of an L-shaped arrangement of four robbed out postholes within the walkway of the cloister garth, which probably held vertical timber scaffolding poles. Presumably all or most of the superstructure of the adjoining half-cellared building was demolished during this activity (Fig 10).

Secondly, after all the superstructure had been removed, the cloister garth wall foundations were robbed out (SG23). It is probable that contemporary with this activity was the robbing out or removal of both any remaining superstructure and the upper portion of foundations of the adjoining half-cellared building (G9) as the unwanted material (mainly mortar rubble, and sandstone rubble debris) were discarded within the interior of the former building (SG17). The 14th- and 15th- century pottery (61) recovered from these deposits is residual and may have been derived from disturbed floor construction deposits. The area of the former cloister garth was used to sort some salvaged material building materials as hundreds of fragments of broken glazed floor tiles and a lot of sandstone roof slate fragments were discarded here (described later) (SG20). Associated pottery was used to date this activity to the 17th century (SG20). Other finds included a few oyster shells and a small amount of disarticulated human skeletal material. [65] Thirdly, the deeper masonry foundations of the half-cellared building were completely dug out (SG25). Finds from these deposits included: sherds of 17th/18th-century pottery and a copper-alloy farthing token of mid-17th date century (a previously unrecorded type issued by Roger Smith, a mercer from Weobley). [66] Associated clay tobacco pipes (23) dated to 1650-75. [67] During the 17th century a north-south aligned ditch was dug across the area of the cloister garth. This was probably a property boundary, perhaps connected with occupation within the retained priory infirmary and reredorter known as the 'Priory House', which in *c* 1605 was being used as a hall for entertaining. It is possible that the eastern arm of the cloisters, which was apparently not demolished until the 1640s, formed part of this residence. [68]

The site was levelled (SG26) during the later 17th and early 18th century by the dumping of top soil containing many fragments of demolition material, mainly stone roofing slates and including a charcoal spread (Fig 12). Associated finds included clay tobacco pipes dated to 1650-75 and sherds of 17th/18th century pottery. Finally a shallow north-south aligned ditch was dug across the area (27) (SG27). This may have been a property boundary and its backfill contained 17th-century pottery.

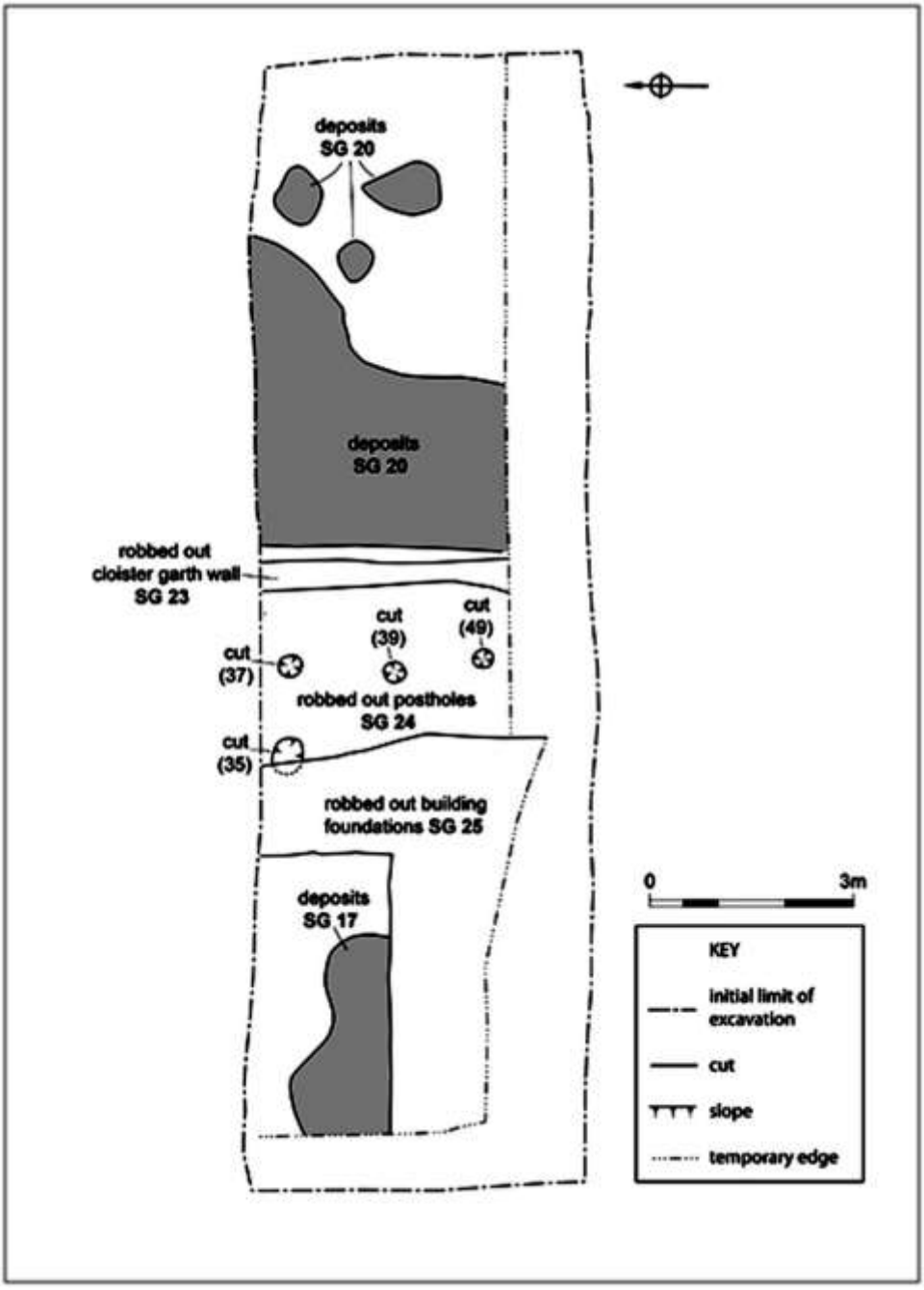


Figure 10. G11 earlier activity within the western cloister: postholes SG24, robber trenches SG23 & SG25, SG17 & SG20 deposits.



Figure 11. Dissolution period activity in the western cloister. In the centre of the trench can be seen the G24 postholes and the line of the robber trenches of the half-cellared building (G9) and the masonry of the various phases of the cloister garth wall (G6-8), view looking north.

The Medieval floor tiles

(with Julie Bowen)

The most important element of the medieval finds assemblage from the site were the 536 fragments of plain and decorated floor tiles, plus other building materials including broken sandstone roof slates and lumps of tufa, all found in post-Dissolution contexts (mostly SG20). [69] The absence of complete tiles implies that this material was being brought here for sorting and the complete or reusable ones were being carted off. The tiles range in date from the 13th century to the16th. Thin section and chemical analysis of a typical green-glazed tile, suggests that it was a Bredon-type, produced within the Hereford area. [70] All the tiles (except one) were a similar size, measuring some 132-35mm square, with bevelled edges. Of the 536 pieces of tile recovered 12% are decorated and the rest are plain. The plain coloured pieces bear a variety of coloured glazes including: 42% light yellow over white slip; 29% dark green or black, and 17% green. The yellow and dark green or black tiles were presumably laid chequer board fashion. There were also some triangular pieces and decorated infill strips. The decorated tiles bear a variety of designs implying that they were derived from a number of different settings. [71] Interestingly, the decorated tiles were dissimilar to those recovered during the 1878-9 restoration of the south nave and aisle of the priory church. [72] This lack of similarity implies that the tiles recovered from cloisters were originally laid in other parts of the priory, possibly the choir and chapter house.

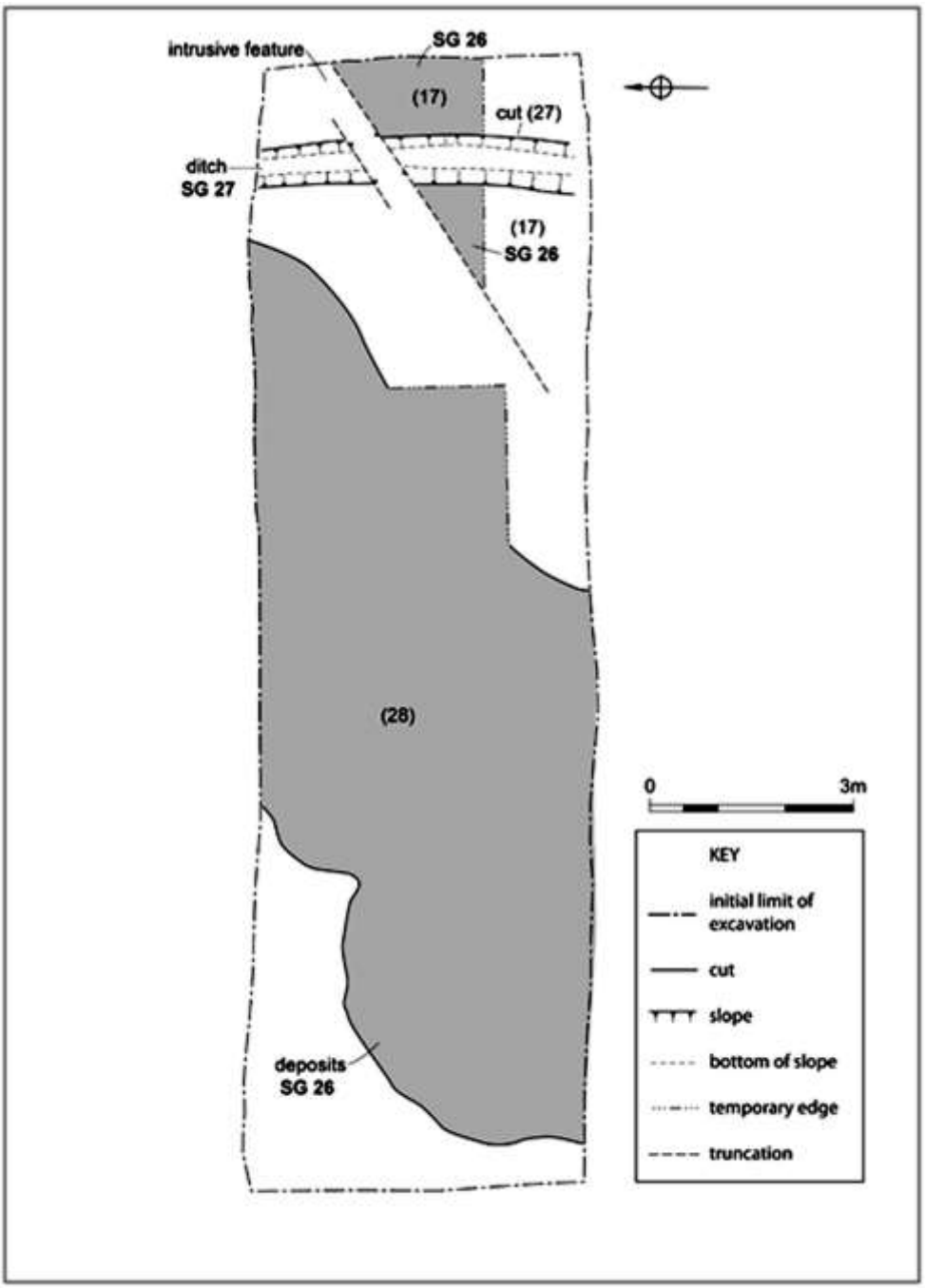


Figure 12. G11 later activity within the western cloister SG26 deposits and ditch SG27.

Period 6: the 18th to 20th centuries

Paved trackway (G12 18th- early 19th century)



According to Gallier's map of Leominster, by 1825 the site of the cloister was open-space, crossed a south-west to north-east aligned trackway (top 74.15m OD), represented on site by an area of pitched sandstone paving (dated to post 1650) (SG28) (Figs 13 and 14).[73]

Figure 13. G12 pitched stone trackway (22) being cleaned, view looking east

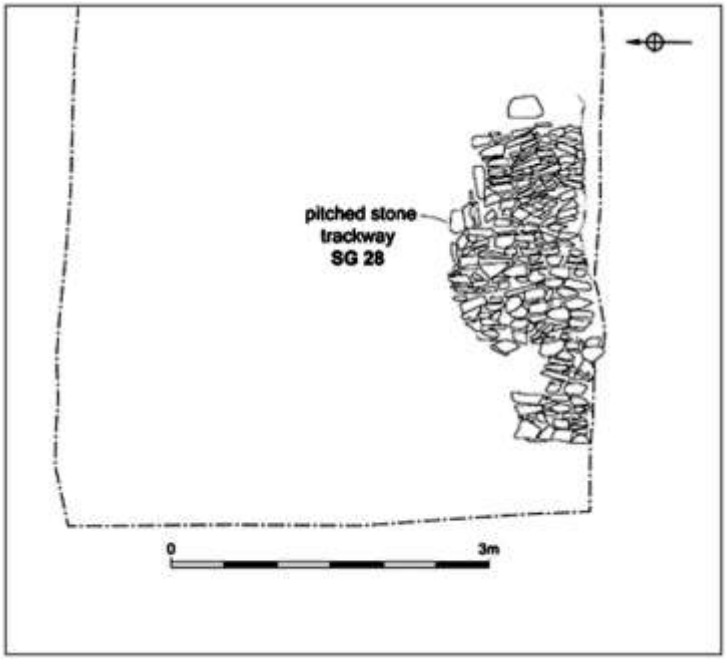


Figure 14. G12 pitched stone trackway (SG28).

The workhouse garden (G13, late 19th - early 20th century)

From 1795 the 'Old Priory' buildings were used as Leominster Workhouse.[74] By 1886 the site was part of the workhouse gardens. During this period soil was dumped here to raise the general ground level (SG29) (Fig. 15). Associated finds included fragments of green glass bottles, a clay tobacco pipe stamped RE dated to 1670-1710, and late-18th century pottery. [75]

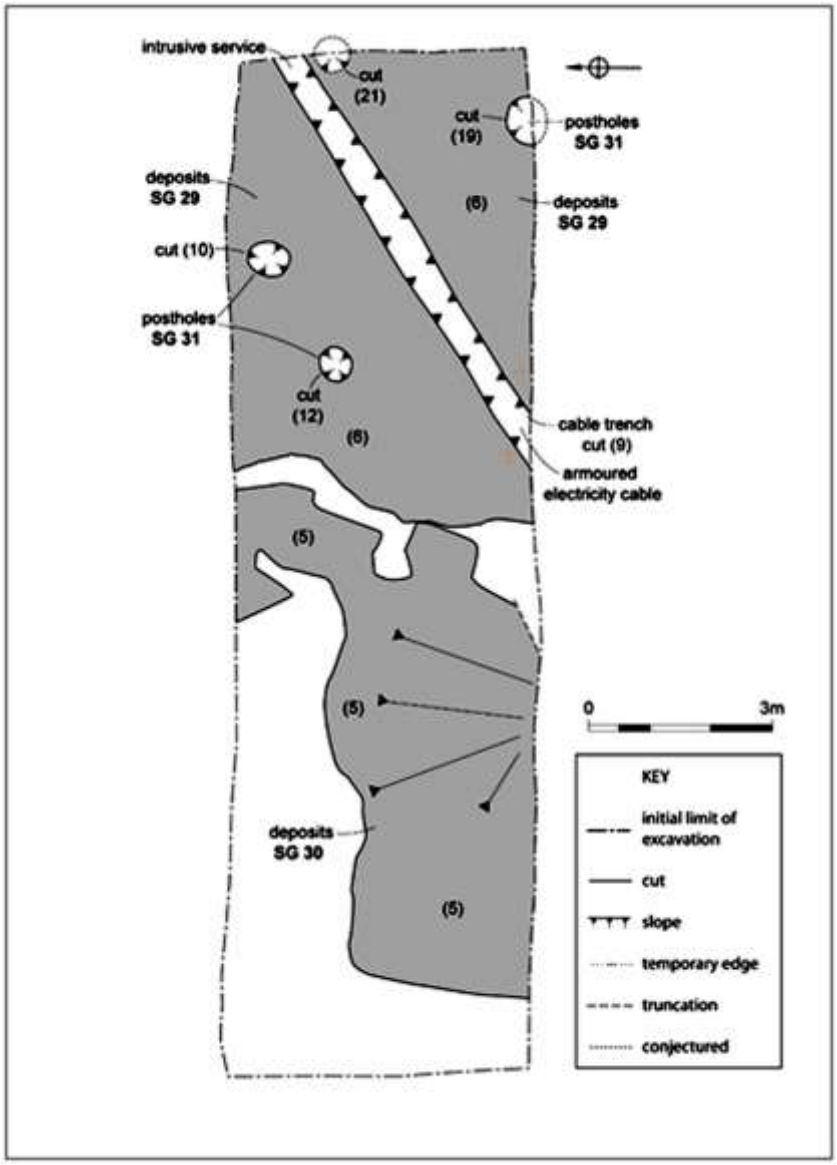


Figure 15. G13 deposits (SGs 29 and 30) and postholes (SG31).

Four scattered postholes (interpreted as 19th-century garden features; SG31) and top soil horizons (SG 30) contained pottery of 18th- to 20th-century date, plus coins of George III and George V. A photograph *c.*1866-90 of the northern side of the church shows the footpaths and borders of the workhouse garden. These footpaths are also visible on an aerial view of the church taken in 1920. [76]

The car park (G14, 1948-2005)

In 1948 the Workhouse became part of the NHS and was converted into a hospital; this involved installing a number of drains and other services across the site (SG 32) (not illustrated). Soon after this area of garden was converted into a tarmac car park with a large circular raised flower bed or border complete with a central flagpole (constructed before 1968) (Figs 16 and 17). The dense mass of limestone rubble used to create the foundations for the tarmac car park (which finished some 50 cm below present ground level) raised the ground level of the area (SG33). This material also created a massive 'shadow' or signal detected during the ground penetrating radar survey, which was misinterpreted as a Saxon rotunda (see introduction). Finds from the garden soil inside the raised border included (SG33): a late 18th-century clay tobacco pipe of William Bryan with a stamped stem, possibly produced in Bromyard; a corroded copper halfpenny of George III dated 1799, a copper disc (diameter 27mm) possibly an extremely worn a late 18th- or early 19th-century halfpenny coin or token; 19th-century pottery; buttons; a bone toggle; a ceramic wig curler; a broken slate pencil and a glass marble. [77]

During 1978-81 as part of the restoration of the adjoining priory buildings the entire car park was repaved in brick. The car park surface within the vicinity of the excavation showed a noticeable south-westerly to north-easterly slope (74.78m to 74.13m OD). Currently the car park is used by Herefordshire Social Services Council staff working in the adjoining buildings.



Figure 16. The car park phase, showing deposits and features, looking north

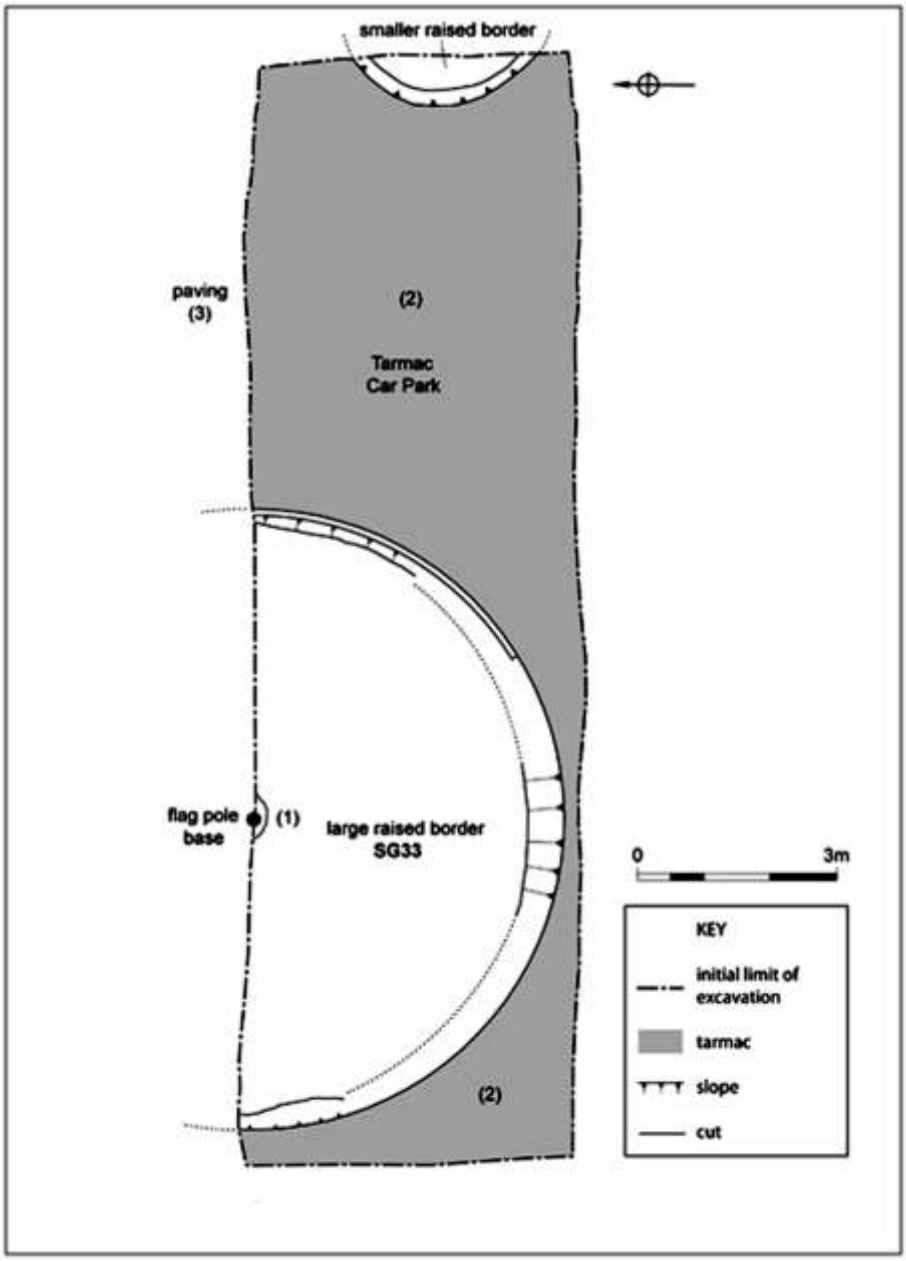


Figure 17. G14 selective features: the large circular raised bed complete with flag pole (SG 33) and the western portion of second smaller raised bed within the tarmac car park

Appendix One: list of on line archive reports (written 2008)
(These are available as PDFs from the Woolhope Club website www.woolhopeclub.org.uk).
Finds:
Bowen, Julie, 'Medieval Floor Tiles'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Glass Vessels'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Metalwork Objects'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Miscellaneous Other Finds'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Other Building Material'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Pottery'.
Peacey, Alan and Hurst, Derek, 'Clay Tobacco Pipes'.
Symons, David, 'Coins'.
Vince, Alan (the late), 'Compositional Analysis of the Medieval Floor Tiles'.

Environmental:
Baxter, Ian, 'Animal Bones'.
Hamilton-Dyer, Sheila, 'Small Bones'.
Hurst, Derek, 'Shell'.
Pearson, Elizabeth, 'Palaeobotanical Report'.

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The radiocarbon dates were calibrated by Alex Bayliss English Heritage Scientific Dating Co-ordinator. Thanks to Buzz Busby for helping supervise the excavations; Derek Hurst of Worcestershire Archive & Archaeology Service for managing the analysis of the finds and environmental material; Allan Peacey for helping identify the clay tobacco pipes; Julie Bowen for sharing her research on the floor tiles; and the many volunteers who enthusiastically dug the site and washed the finds.

Derek Hurst would like to thank Tom Richards (Earth Heritage Trust) for help with the building stone. Ian Baxter would like to thank Sheila Hamilton-Dyer for her identifications of wild birds and fish, and general observations on the bird remains, and Simon Davis for his helpful suggestions regarding the young equid tooth. The graphics were produced by Carolyn Hunt of Worcestershire Archive & Archaeology Service.

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[35] Thomas, 'Life before the Minster: … Lyminge', p.135, fig 13.
[36] Baxter, 'Animal bones'.
[37] Thomas, 'Life before the Minster: … Lyminge', p.137.

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Ten years of change at Whitman's Hill Quarry and Woodland

By JANET PARRY

This article records the Hereford and Worcester Earth Heritage Trust's project to save an abandoned quarry and convert it into a geological site of interest for the general public and academic researchers. The Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club was invited to record the wildlife on the site and monitor the changes over ten years both in the quarry and adjacent woodland. The re-colonisation of the bare quarry site and the contrasting woodland, where nesting boxes for birds and dormice were erected, are reported.

BACKGROUND

When travelling East along the A4103 from Hereford to Worcester and passing through Storridge, a gap can be seen in woods along the skyline of the ridge to the right. This is the site of an old limestone quarry at Whitman's Hill at the end of the Cother Wood and Vinesend ridge. It was worked until 1988 and in excess of 300,000 cubic metres of rock, used mainly for road construction, was removed over the years, creating a great hole in the hillside. The consequence of this was that the quarry offered an excellent resource for geologists as it had exposed sections through the 430 million year old rock of the Silurian period and revealed many fossils of Corals, Brachiopods, Crinoids and Trilobites, sea creatures which were growing in shallow, subtropical waters when this part of the earth's crust was submerged under an ocean about 15 degrees south of the equator.

The future of this resource was threatened by potential landfill and off road vehicle activities, but was saved in 1999 when it was designated a Regionally Important Geological and Geomorphological Site (RIGS). Since then, the Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) secured funding from English Nature and the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund to rescue the site and use it for education and research. The funding was for 2 years from April 2005. The EHT leased the site including the quarry and a strip of woodland, from Madresfield Estate for 10 years initially to survey it, set up safe access and produce teaching materials to assist groups of students visiting the site. A steering committee was set up to organise and oversee the project.

The quarry is situated at SO 747483 and access to the site is via the private road starting at SO 751485 off the B4219 Cowleigh Road to Malvern. It covers an area of 2.36 hectares. The section of woodland included in the lease runs south-east from the quarry to approximately SO 751481, a little way past the public footpath from Cradley to Storridge. It covers approximately 4 hectares (Fig. 1). Meetings were held and decisions made about how to make it accessible and safe for visitors. The Madresfield Estate contributed by erecting fencing round the quarry and making it safe and more secure. There was a big launch event on 28 January 2006 when Professor David Dineley, president of the EHT, and Bill Wiggins, the local MP, gave the project their blessing and emphasised the importance of geodiversity and local involvement. The Trust invited local schools, the Malvern Outdoor Centre students and local community groups as well as parties of geologists and research students to make use of the facility. Geologists from the EHT, based at the University of Worcester recorded the geology of the quarry in preparation for its future use. Local residents were also involved. The Cradley Heritage group investigated the

history of quarrying in the area and recorded interviews with people who worked there or remembered quarrying days and contributed to a leaflet and other teaching material about the history of the site.

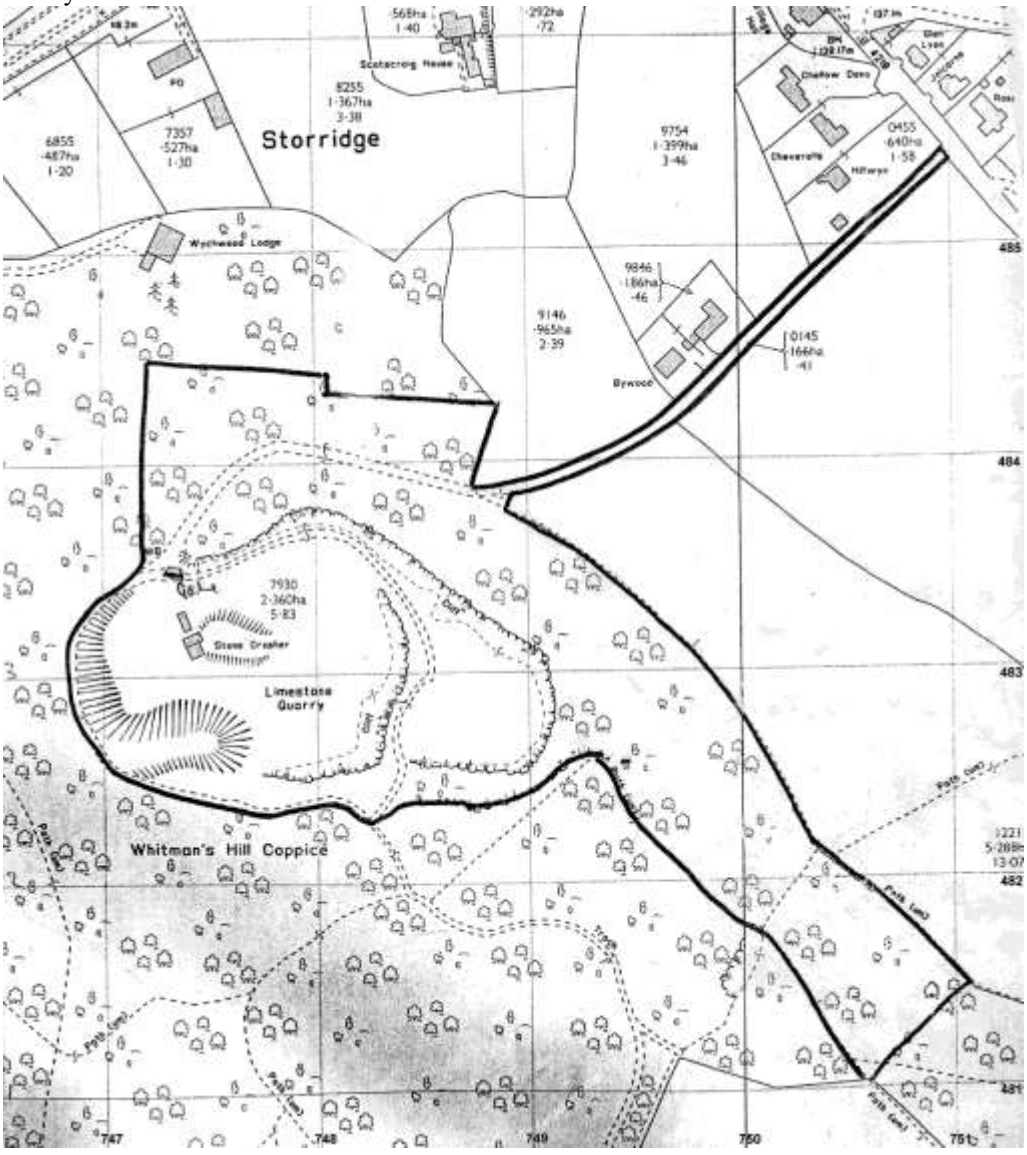


Figure 1. Area leased at Whitman's Hill quarry and woodland

The Natural History Section of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (WNFC) were invited to record the natural history of the quarry and the surrounding woodland and produce a formal report and an information leaflet and possibly create a nature trail. Unfortunately, the need to expose much of the geology of the quarry site and conform to health and safety regulations meant

that a large part of the quarry surface was scraped clean of vegetation in October 2006. Bunds were created to dissuade visitors from getting too near to the ponds and steep cliffs and to restrict access to the main fossil collecting area. Thus colonisation had to begin again in these disturbed areas so a further project was to monitor the plants and other wildlife appearing in the quarry itself till the end of the lease. I was involved in the project from the beginning and so am in a good position to report the progress and the contribution made by WNFC. Annual reports have been written and appear in the *Transactions* of the club, as well as being sent to EHT.

THE SURVEYS

As the site had two distinct and different ecological areas these are dealt with separately.

THE QUARRY (Plate 4.1)

The initial survey 2005/6

Members of the WNFC reconnoitered the site initially in April 2005 after it was acquired by EHT. A field meeting to record species in the quarry and in the woodland was made in August 2005. Further work was done in 2006, but access to the quarry was restricted due to nesting Peregrines, *Falco peregrinus*.

The removal of about a million tonnes of rock had left a very large hole and three ponds. Over the intervening almost 20 years, the bare rock had started to be recolonised by a range of plants. The largest and most obvious plants to colonise the area since quarrying ceased, were Buddleia shrubs, *Buddleja alternifolia*, and Silver Birch trees, *Betula pendula*. The perennial, Traveller's Joy, *Clematis vitalba*, had covered the slopes with its green carpet in Spring and its fluffy seed heads in Autumn.

Those plants growing on the quarry floor had to cope with many difficulties but even so, 43 species were identified. The soil was thin giving little room for root spread, or for earthworms and other invertebrates which help with soil aeration. The plants lack shade which, coupled with poor water absorption and good drainage, mean that they had to be adapted to cope with very arid conditions, especially in hot summers. Consequently, many of the plants were annuals which rely on rapid flowering and seed dispersal for their survival and some of which have thick leaves to minimise transpiration. The plants trying to grow on the slopes had to contend with the same difficulties plus rainwater run-off removing the thin soil. Initially, most of the plants were puny specimens, struggling to grow in difficult conditions. The most common plants before the clearance were Wild Marjoram, *Origanum vulgare,* Perforate St. John's-wort, *Hypericum perforatum*, Wood Sage, *Teucrium scorodonia*, Wild Basil, *Clinopodium vulgare* and Teasel, *Dipsacus fullonum*. Also present were Ploughman's-spikenard, *Inula conizae* (Plate 4.2), Yellow-wort, *Blackstonia perfolia*ta, Common Centaury, *Centurium erythraea,* Creeping Cinquefoil, *Potentilla reptans,* and Blue Fleabane, *Erigeron acer,* whilst the Wild Strawberries, *Fragaria vesca*, seemed quite at home on the higher slopes where their many tiny red fruits could be seen in June.

As the rock is limestone, the plants are mainly calcicoles, but frequently, the lime in the surface gets dissolved by rain water leading to more acidic conditions. This is shown by the presence of such plants as Wood Sage, *Teucrium scorodonia*, and Creeping Cinquefoil, *Potentilla reptans,* whereas Wild Marjoram, *Origano vulgare,* Ploughman's-spikenard, *Inula conizae,* and Yellow-wort, *Blackstonia perfolia*ta, are good lime indicators. Between the limestone rocks are nine thin layers of Bentonite, (volcanic ash), deposited by ancient volcanoes. These softer layers are easier for plants to recolonise as they are more nutrient rich and hold water more efficiently.

In fact the growth patterns of the new vegetation helped to identify the Bentonite bands. It was anticipated that after many years, with the gradual build up of soil and more invertebrate action, conditions would improve allowing further growth and plant succession.

A few butterflies were attracted to the vegetation, especially the Buddleia bushes. Small Tortoiseshell, *Aglais urticae,* Painted Lady, *Cynthia cardui,* Large White, *Pieris brassicae,* and Red Admiral, *Vanessa atalanta*, were seen.

The ponds were fairly shallow in the summer but flooded after heavy rain. They were alkaline with a bottom of limey mud and negligible plant growth apart from some Broadleaved Pondweed, *Potamogeton natans*, in the western pond and Stonewort, *Chara vulgaris*, in several others. In view of the limited pond plant life, it would seem that the food chains must be based on the bacterial decay of leaf litter blown in from the surrounding woods. As a result of this lack of food there was little aquatic animal life initially, apart from some Backswimmers, *Notonecta sp.*, Caddis fly, *Eruciform sp.*, Mayfly larva, *Cloeon sp.*, and one Palmate Newt, *Lissotriton helveticus*. The reflective surface of the water attracted flying insects such as water beetles and dragon flies, however their visits were short lived with few plants to sustain the basis for a food chain or for egg-laying platforms.

Surveys from 2006 to 2015

Initially a small group of club members made visits every year but in later years I was the main recorder. As the quarry is a Peregrine nesting site, access was restricted to late July which meant that some early plants could have been missed.

The 43 species of plants recorded initially increased to 97 by 2015. Of these, 28 species had been recorded at every visit. The dominant Buddleia, Silver Birch and Traveller's Joy continued to thrive and spread, and the Ash trees in the undisturbed far section grew taller. The ground cover plants increased in diversity. Early arrivals in 2008 were the Teasels, *Dipsacus fullonum* (Plate 4.3), which have remained, their population fluctuating over the years but always attracting Goldfinches, *Carduelis carduelis.* Bristly Oxtongue, *Picris echiodes*, which is now well established was an early pioneer. By 2009 the bunds were becoming much more populated and Perforate St. John's-wort, *Hypericum perforatum,* Musk Mallow, *Malva moschata,* Ground Ivy, *Glechoma hederacea,* and a few grasses appeared showing the build up of soil and enabling more water retention in the summer. The Common Gromwell, *Lithospermum officinale,* was becoming well established by now and still had a healthy population in 2015. Despite 2011 being a very dry year, the seeds blowing in from the woodland persisted and many Oak and Ash seedlings took root though not many survived. Barren Strawberry, *Potentilla sterilis,* appeared on the bunds and Imperforate St John's-wort, *Hypericum imperforatum,* joined the quarry floor flora. The summer of 2012 was much wetter and the Buddlia was so prolific that it had to be cut back to expose the geology in places. More new species appeared including Lesser Burdock, *Arctium minus,* Petty Spurge, *Euphorbia peplus,* and Heath Speedwell, *Veronica officinalis,* though the Teasel and Wood Sage were much reduced. This probably reflects the timing of the rainfall. The soil cover was getting deeper by 2013 and Red Clover, *Trifolium rubrum,* and Pendulous Sedge, *Carex pendula,* appeared as well as some grasses. There was evidence of grazing by Rabbits, *Oryctolagus cuniculus,* limiting the spread. By 2014 the Wild Strawberry and Creeping Cinquefoil were covering the bunds (Fig. 2). The Common Centaury, *Centaurium erythraea,* which had been present for many years had an interesting mixture of both pink and white strains.

In April 2015 the quarry floor was scraped clear of vegetation again as the fossil collecting

area was being obscured (Fig. 3). This meant that no new species were noted but the established plants were still there on the edges and on the bunds. The Field Pepperwort, *Lepidium campestre,* which had recently arrived, disappeared but may return in time. The Blue Fleabane seen in the original survey has not been seen again.



Figure 2. Vegetation encroaching on fossil collecting area, June 2014



Figure 3. Fossil area scaped clean, May 2015

The three ponds began by being fairly sterile but gradually have become more populated as organic material accumulated (Figs 4 and 5). In 2009 a clump of Bullrush, *Typha latifolia*, appeared in the pond to the left of the path and has persisted through drought and flood. There are also now well established areas of broadleaved Pondweed and Stonewort in all the ponds.



Figure 4. Pond dried out completely, August 2011.



Figure 5. Pond and path flooded, August 2012.

A pond survey was carried out in 2015 and the insects found were mainly Mayflies, Mosquitoes, Damsel and Dragon Flies, Backswimmers, Whirligig Beetles and Pond Skaters. The newt population has increased over the years and many Palmate Newts, were positively identified in 2015. One Great Crested Newt, *Triturus cristatus*, was identified in 2012 though this species has not been recorded again. The fortunes of the ponds depend very much on the rainfall. They can vary in depth greatly or dry out completely giving a challenge to wildlife. However, more organic material is accumulating and they are thus becoming more populated. As they are not critical for geological interest they are likely to be undisturbed.

The other main interest in the quarry has been the Peregrines. A pair had nested in the quarry for many years and they raised at least two young in 2006. They continued to breed as the survey proceeded. In 2009 they raised three chicks and in 2010, two chicks. However, in 2011 the platform supporting their nest collapsed in the winter and the male could not find a suitable new ledge that the female could be tempted to use. Two birds continued to be seen regularly but there was no nest for four years. Eventually in 2015 a new nest site was found and three chicks were raised.

THE WOODLAND

Initial survey 2005/6

Visits to the woodland were made in January, March, April, June and November 2006. In contrast to the quarry, the adjacent woodland is ancient in origin and has been little disturbed. It runs along the ridge towards Vinesend, Bank and Cother Woods which are very rich in plant and animal species and contains an area designated as an SSSI, as is Halesend Wood to the north. The area surrounding the quarry is predominantly Ash-Oak woodland with Hazel, *Corylus avellana,* under-storey. There are also a few Sycamore, *Acer pseudoplatanus*, Yew, *Taxus baccata*, Horse Chestnut, *Aesculus hippocastanum*, Sweet Chestnut, *Castanea sativa*, and Field Maple, *Acer campestre*. It is well-established woodland with the trees providing holes and niches in which invertebrates and birds can breed and over-winter. Some of the trees have been coppiced in the past for usable wood and there are several grown out coppice stools which are an interesting shape beside the path. The presence of Yew, Spindle, *Euonymus europaeus*, and Wild Service, *Sorbus torminalis*, indicate it has ancient woodland origins. The ground flora is typical of old woodland on calcareous soil. The flowering season begins with Dog's Mercury, *Mercurialis perennis*, Wood Anemones, *Anemone nemorosa*, Bluebells, *Hyacinthoides nonscripta*, and Wild Garlic, *Allium ursinum* (Plate 4.4), and a patch of the rarer Herb Paris, *Paris quadrifolia*. Clumps of Primroses, *Primula vulgaris*, Yellow Archangel, *Lamiastrum galeobdolon*, Bugle, *Ajuga reptans*, and Violets, *Viola riviniana*, grew along the edges of the paths. Later, the Wild Roses, *Rosa canina*, and Honeysuckle, *Lonicera peryclymenum*, scrambled through the trees to find the light. A range of fungi grew on the decaying trees and leaf litter throughout the year. There were a few garden escapees, such as Day Lily, *Hemerocallis sp*., as the edge of the wood has been used to dump garden refuse at times.

On 17 January 2006, 12 bird boxes were fitted on Oak, Q*uercus robur*, and Ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*, in the woodland and these were monitored throughout the breeding season. A certain amount of squirrel damage was found initially so squirrel guards were fitted to stop predation. The nest boxes erected in the wood were well used, mainly by Blue Tits, *Parus caerulens*, and Great Tits, *Parus major* (Plate 4.5*)*, and a Nuthatch, *Sitta europaea*, successfully raised its whole brood. A Tree Creeper, *Certhia familiaris*, nest was found in a tree trunk but later predated before the chicks could hatch.

Twenty five species of birds were noted in the area initially. Coal Tit, *Parus ater*, Marsh Tit, *Parus palustris*, Robin, *Erithecus rubecula*, and Chiffchaff, *Fringilla coelebs*, were regularly seen as well as the Long-tailed Tit, *Aegithalos caudatus*, Wren, *Troglodytes troglodytes*, and Blackcap, *Sylvia atricapilla*. The Great Spotted Woodpecker, *Dendrocopos major*, could be heard drumming to attract a mate in spring and pecking to make a nest hole or find insects in decaying trees. There were often several Buzzards, *Buteo buteo*, to be heard and seen circling overhead as well as the Peregrines from the quarry.

The site was potentially suitable for dormice, *Muscardinus avellanarius*, and they had been reported in adjacent woodland. On 6 June, 6 dormice boxes were set up in some of the hazel coppice in the woodland. These were regularly monitored for the rest of the year with one box showing evidence of occupation (Plate 4.6). All the boxes remained until the end of the lease enabling a ten year sequence of records.

Surveys from 2006 to 2015

The flora of the woodland was stable throughout the ten years so was not surveyed in detail again. Many trees blew over and rotted away adding to the organic material in the woodland soil. The Herb Paris bloomed every year in two main patches, the number of flowering spikes varying between 40 and 70. In 2009 a single spike of Greater Butterfly Orchid, *Platanthera chlorantha*, appeared at the top of the woodland slope but sadly has not been seen since though there were specimens near Vinesend a little further along the ridge towards Cother Wood.

The main interest in the woodland was the bird and dormice boxes which were monitored for the ten years of the survey. I visited the boxes many times every year during the nesting season, mainly in April and May, as I live locally. Of the 12 birdboxes erected, one disappeared in 2012 and was not replaced. The bird boxes in total raised 503 chicks so averaged about 50 a year. The best year was 2011 with 76 chicks and the worst was 2012 with only 23. However, many of the dormice boxes were taken over by Blue Tits and Great Tits which added 189 fledgelings. This gave a grand total of 742 recorded chicks over the 10 years, an average of about 75 a year.

The main occupants of the boxes were Great Tits (255 chicks) and Blue Tits (465 chicks). As well as this Nuthatches successfully raised five chicks in 2006 and seven in 2008 and there have been other less successful Nuthatch nests over the years. In 2013 a Pied Flycatcher nest was found in one box and the local ringing group alerted. This was a success and five chicks were ringed. The parents had been ringed previously and it was noted that they had been breeding on Midsummer Hill the previous year with different partners and that the female was older than the male. Flycatchers did not appear again until 2015 when seven eggs were laid and five chicks survived and were ringed.

Throughout the project there were many more eggs laid and chicks hatched than survived. Often cold wet springs caused nests to be abandoned full of small chicks and in some cases nests were predated.

The dormice boxes were also occupied at times. In 2007 after the tits had finished nesting, two of the boxes had dormouse nests and one adult was seen in September. The following years these boxes were used again and mice seen and photographed. One box was taken over regularly by a woodmouse and in 2014 the most favoured box was taken over by a colony of bees. Since 2012 there have been no more dormice sightings but they are doubtless still around.

OUTCOMES

The aim of the project was to convert the disused quarry into an educational and research resource for both the general public, school groups and academic geologists. This was achieved by the EHT with the initial funding and the site was made accessible and safe and the interesting geology revealed. Three information leaflets were produced on geology, history and natural history which are used for visitors. A collection of fossils from the site has been accumulated and an information board has been erected in the quarry with carved fossil shapes on it to aid identification and teaching material produced to link in with the National Curriculum. The proposed nature trail did not prove practical due to the nature of the terraine. Many school groups have been into the quarry and enjoyed and profitted from their visits. Storridge village hall is used as a display area and briefing place for groups before ascending the path to the quarry. Other groups such as Rockwatch, the junior section of the Geologists' Association, local natural history groups and the University of the Third Age have also made visits as well as reseach geologists (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Family fossil day, 2012

The natural history data collected has been sent to Hereford Biological Records Centre and the bird data to the British Trust for Ornithology, the Herefordhire Ornithological Club and Herefordshire Wildlife Trust so is contributing to the county and national records.

More detail about Whitman's Hill and its geology in particular, including many pictures

and a virtual flythrough showing the geology of the whole area, can be found on the EHT website at *www.earthheritagetrust.org*

THE FUTURE

The lease of the site has been extended for another five years so the site can continue to be used as an educational resource. The Wychavon ringing group have taken over the nest boxes and extended their range in adjoining woodland and will continue to monitor the birds and ring when appropriate. The regular monitoring of the quarry for wildlife interest has now finished as the ground is regularly scraped to reveal more geology which is its primary purpose. The plants in the quarry have stabilised to a typical limestone flora and the seed bank in the soil will ensure a regular battle between geology and botany! The undisturbed fringes will become more wooded as seeds blow in and germinate and the young saplings mature. Increasing vegetation means more organic material supporting more plants, insects and birds. The undisturbed ponds will increase in biodiversity as time goes on. The Peregrines should continue to nest and the woodland support many more breeding birds and dormice.

Acknowledgments

Thanks go to the WNFC team who carried out the original survey. They were Beryl Harding (co-ordinator), the late Anthea Brian, the late Stephanie Thompson, Felicity Burge and Rosamund Skelton with help from Gillian Davies of Worcester University and John Meiklejohn of Ledbury Naturalists' Field Club (LNFC). In later years I was helped with the botany by Hilary Ward of LNFC and previously Natural England and Richard and Phyl King, county moth recorder and member of LNFC who carried out the pond survey. Ray Bishop of the BTO has kept a watchful eye on the Peregrines and advised on visiting times. Wychavon ringing group, mainly Don Box and Fergus Henderson, were very helpful with the Flycatchers and will continue the monitoring in the woodland. The nest boxes were supplied by Hereford Wildlife Trust. The Madresfield estates Manager, Peter Hughes, was most helpful in the initial stages and in making the whole site safe. The Cradley Heritage group and Village Hall Management Committee contributed archive material and hosted the launch event. Storridge Village Hall Management Committee have been generous in their support by allowing car parking and hosting many educational events.

The Whitman's Hill Champions, a local group of volunteers interested in the site and its use for education, lead by Andrew Gaster, have continued to keep the quarry in good order for visitors to enjoy.

The Hereford and Worcester Earth Heritage Trust can be congratulated in organising a very successful project to which WNFC was happy to contribute.

2015: the year of two eclipses

By PAUL OLVER

During 2015 astronomers were able to observe two notable eclipses from Herefordshire; a partial eclipse of the Sun on 20 March and a total eclipse of the moon on the night of 27-28 September. An event at Madley offered members of the public a variety of opportunities to view the partical eclipse of the sun.

PARTIAL ECLIPSE OF THE SUN: 20 MARCH 2015

Early morning on the 20 March 2015 was a busy time at Madley Environmental Study Centre. Some 500 people who gathered to witness a partial eclipse of the Sun included large groups of schoolchildren and their teachers from Kingstone and the Golden Valley areas as well as Woolhope Club members.

The Herefordshire Astronomical Society organised the event with the Study Centre and their members were fully occupied setting up their telescopes together with 50 members from Stargazer Lounge, the world's largest astronomy forum. They have organised a similar annual star party near Mordiford in Herefordshire for many years which attracts experienced observers not only from the UK but also from across the world.

Eclipses of the Sun occur when the Moon passes directly between the Earth and the Sun. The Moon casts its shadow onto the Earth preventing sunlight reaching that part of the Earth. Coincidently the Moon, although much closer than the Sun, is almost exactly the same size which leads to the blocking out of the main solar disc but not the Sun's atmosphere or corona which during a total eclipse forms a spectacular halo around the eclipsed Sun.

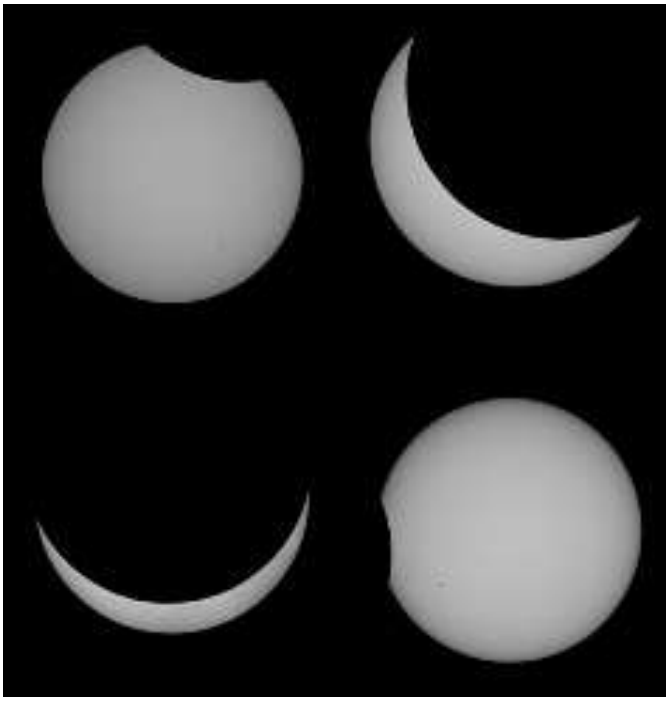


Figure 1. The Moon slowly advances onto the Sun's disc until maximum coverage occurs (bottom left). The final picture (bottom right) shows the Moon 'exiting left' from the Sun's disc. Photo courtesy of Mark Chamberlain

Because the Moon's orbit is at an angle of about 6º to the plane of the Earth's orbit around the Sun, the eclipse alignment only occurs at most seven times per year and makes a total solar eclipse in any one part of the Earth extremely rare.

The partial eclipse at Madley is only part of a rare event which was being fully enacted that same day in the Faroe Islands just north of the British Isles. Here, they experienced a total solar eclipse although the weather was generally poor. Totality only occurs in a well defined strip across the Earth's surface which averages 150 km in width. Outside but close to this strip, a deep partial eclipse is experienced where the Moon covers a major part of the Sun's disc. At Madley, 87% of the Sun was obscured leaving a thin crescent (Fig. 1).

We can just about count the 20 March event as a British event as the island of Rockall was on the edge of the totality area. Total solar eclipses are rare in the British Isles. The last one occurred in south west England and the Channel Islands on 11 August 1999 and was almost totally obscured by cloud, although the encroaching darkness, the cessation of birds singing and the enveloping chill were all experienced. I was fortunate to see that eclipse whilst on a geology field trip to Hungary, when clear skies were the order of the day.

When will the next total solar eclipse occur in these islands? Not until the 23 September 2090 which is bad news for most of us and it will be Cornwall and parts of Southern England which will again be favoured.

At Madley, Society members were using telescopes and equipment to ensure that the Sun could be observed safely. Special high quality H-alpha or Mylar filters can be used directly on a telescope's objective or main lens. However, by far the safest way to observe the Sun is to employ indirect projection where the telescope, either a refractor or reflector, is used to focus an enlarged image of the Sun onto a screen in a darkened box to increase contrast. The photographs taken on the day illustrate these various projection techniques (Figs 2- 5).



Figure 2. Chris Millington, a member of the Herefordshire Astronomical Society, demonstrates how a small refracting telescope can be used to project the image of the partially eclipsed Sun. Photo courtesy of Graham Hotchen

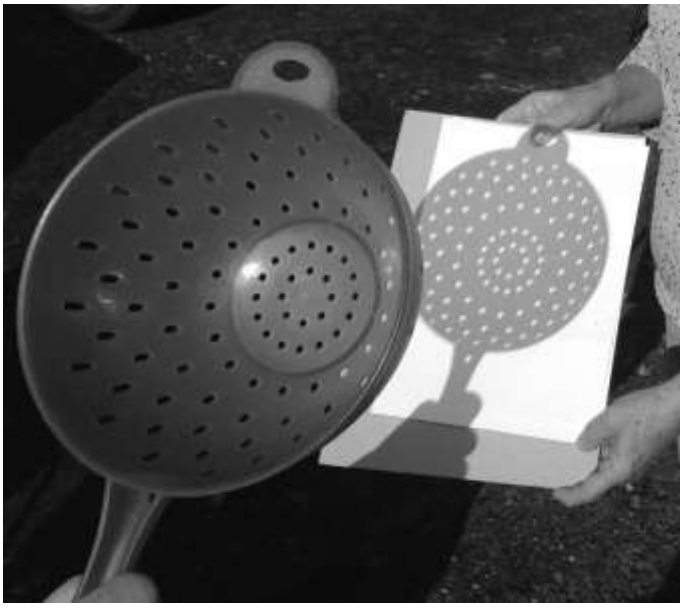
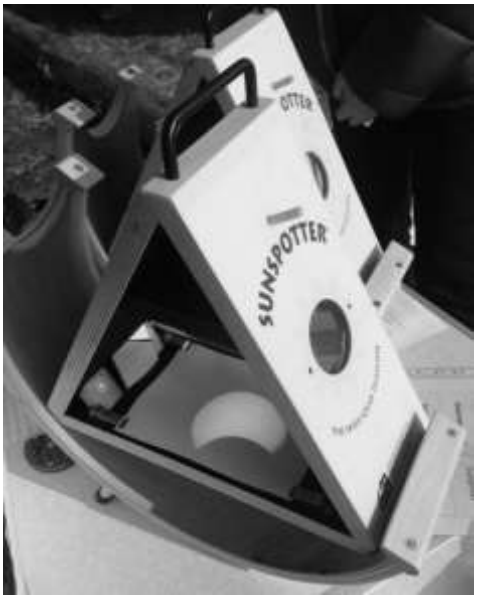


Figure 3. Multiple projected images of the partial eclipse using a colander and a sheet of paper as demonstrated by Society member Chris Millington. Photo courtesy of Graham Hotchen



Figure 4. James Mattock, a member of the Herefordshire Astronomical Society, demonstrates his home-made 6-inch Newtonian reflecting telescope and how the Sun's disc can be safely observed through a projection box affixed to the eyepiece. Photo courtesy of Graham Hotchen



Everyone was treated to clear skies at Madley on the morning—we were lucky as it was much cloudier to the east. The eclipse started at 8.24 am and the whole sequence of the Moon passing over the Sun's disc was observed until 10.38 am. The maximum eclipse was seen at 9.29 am when the Sun was reduced to a narrow crescent.

Figure 5. A commercially available 'Sunspotter' projector showing the image of the partially eclipsed Sun with the Moon gradually moving across the Sun's disc during the event. Photo courtesy of Graham Hotchen

TOTAL ECLIPSE OF THE MOON: 27 - 28 SEPTEMBER 2015

Herefordshire was fortunate to be able to see another major astronomical event in 2015. On the night of the 27 to 28 September, the whole of Western Europe was treated to a spectacular total eclipse of the Moon. Unlike the total solar eclipse which is visible only along a small strip, total lunar eclipses are visible from the whole night-time hemisphere of the Earth. Lunar eclipses occur at full Moon and are caused by the orbit of the Moon passing through the shadow of the Earth. The Earth's shadow is much larger than that of the Moon and consists of an outer lighter penumbra and a darker umbra in its centre. Because of various alignments of the Sun, Moon and Earth, lunar eclipses do not occur at every full Moon. An added attraction of this September event was that the Moon, which follows an elliptical orbit, was at perigee, its nearest point to the Earth. This made it larger than normal and it has been suitably dubbed as a 'Supermoon'.

As can be seen from the accompanying sequence of photographs, the passage of the penumbra and then the umbra across the Moon's disc was clearly seen. The eclipse commenced at 11.47 pm and finished at 6.22 am with maximum eclipse occurring at 3.47 am (Plate 5.1).

It was a tiring night for keen observers but well worth the effort especially as the eclipsed Moon had a deep copper-red colouration. The total phase of the eclipse lasted for 1 hour 12 minutes. Sometimes called a 'Blood Moon' when it displays this strong colour, it is caused by sunlight passing through the Earth's atmosphere around its edge, where most of the blue light is scattered leaving mainly the red end of the spectrum. This red light is refracted by the atmosphere and illuminates the eclipsed Moon.

It has been observed that the redder the colour, the more dust is present in the Earth's atmosphere. The unexpectedly strong colour of this event was attributed to a series of major eruptions at the Calbuco volcano in southern Chile during April 2015.

CONCLUSION

Astronomers in Herefordshire were indeed well blessed in 2015 and could enjoy their two eclipses. These events are exciting and can bring astronomers and the general public together. One important point to mention is never to observe the Sun with the naked eye, camera or telescope. In this way you will avoid serious damage to your eyes which are irreplaceable. Enjoy your eclipse chasing

Recorders, 2015
Archaeology, 2015

By RON SHOESMITH

As in previous years, I have included a section for each archaeological organisation that responded to my request for information. Their reports continue to provide members with a vivid picture of archaeological work throughout the county.

Once again, the prehistoric site on Dorstone Hill produced important information, as did the excavations for the pipeline that crossed southern Herefordshire. A late Iron Age/Roman boar's head mount was found near Leintwardine, whilst other Roman finds included a coin hoard near Leominster and a Romano-British farmstead including mosaics and traces of a hypocaust at Weston-under-Penyard. A post-Roman cemetery adjoining Merlin's Cave at Whitchurch and a sceatta from Kington gives some indication of the importance of Herefordshire in the post-Roman period. Burials predominated in the medieval period with further remains from the St Guthlac's Priory site at the County Hospital in Hereford and underneath St John's Walk at the Cathedral. Building recording took place at the chapel at Lower Brockhampton and also at the Royal George Inn at Lyonshall. The 19th century was well represented by work on the rifle firing range on the Bromyard Downs.

Each report is indexed by city, town or parish, and site name and a six-figure grid reference given where appropriate. Many of the references are to unpublished internal organisation reports ('grey literature'), some of which are available in the Hereford City Library (temporarily closed at present); others may be consulted in the Herefordshire Historic Environment Record database maintained by the Herefordshire Archaeological Service. This is available at HARC or can be searched online at htt.herefordshire.gov.uk/her-search. Some reports may be found on the internet under the web pages of the indiivudal units or via the Woolhope Club website (www.woolhopeclub.org.uk), following the Archaeology and Literature & Bibliography Links option.

Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; if it is an event it is prefixed by EHE (Event in Herefordshire) to distinguish it from a site. The Herefordshire Historic Environment Record is shown by HHER and Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed by SAM.

Ruth Richardson and I have produced a summary of the work of the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee and its unit between 1965 and 1997, including a list of all the 'grey literature' it produced—over 200 entries. Individual reports are listed by town, parish, street and details provided of how to access them. The report can be found by following the links on the Club website given above.

On behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club I offer grateful thanks to the staff of all the organisations who have willingly provided the information that makes this report a valuable and up-to-date source of information about archaeological work in the county during 2015. Particular thanks go to P. J. Pikes, who has spent much time checking and correcting the text and ensuring that it is in the Woolhope Club format.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY LIMITED

HEREFORD, St John Medieval Museum, 108 Widemarsh Street (SO 511 404)
Border Archaeology was commissioned to undertake a programme of archaeological observation relating to engineering works for the installation of an internal WC and drainage connection. No deposits of archaeological significance were observed during the course of the engineering works and only deposits relating to the existing drain were removed.

LEINTWARDINE, Millfield House, Mill Lane (SO 403 739)
A programme of archaeological observation of excavations for footings of a single-storey conservatory was undertaken. Millfield House lies within the Scheduled Ancient Monument of the Roman settlement of *Bravonium*. No features, deposits or finds of archaeological significance were encountered during the course of the observations. It would seem probable that the paucity of archaeological material encountered reflects the extent of landscaping activity carried out during the construction of the house in the 1920s. The natural deposits were recorded at approximately 0.3m. beneath shallow, disturbed topsoil and red-sand levelling material underlying a paved area. However, it is possible that these deposits relate to an orange-yellow sandstone-derived clay soil identified during the course of a previous programme of work undertaken by Border Archaeology on land adjacent to Millfield House in 2000/01. This was found to contain a mixture of Roman and recent (19th -20th century) pottery. The shallow depth and limited extent of the conservatory foundations meant that it was not possible to establish conclusively whether this was indeed the case.

LEINTWARDINE, The Old Vets, Church Street (SO 404740)
Archaeological observations were undertaken during the excavation of footings for the construction of a conservatory. The footings, designed to accommodate a reinforced concrete raft foundation, were excavated to a maximum depth of 0.3m. No potential archaeological deposits or features were impinged upon, and no evidence was found for the substantial ditch discovered during the evaluation excavation undertaken in 2010 (BA 2011), which was identified with the eastern defensive ditch of the Roman fortified settlement of *Bravonium*.

LYONSHALL, Upper House Farm (SO 334 554; SO 336 553; SO 339 550)
Following an archaeological desk-based assessment, Border Archaeology was commissioned to undertake a programme of archaeological field evaluation on three areas of land at the farm, prior to a housing development Apart from possible evidence of embankment remains relating to the former railway line connecting Lyonshall to the Leominster and Kington Railway, no deposits of archaeological significance were encountered in any of the trenches. Therefore, it can be concluded that all three sites lie outside the area of medieval settlement and associated activity at Lyonshall.

LYONSHALL, White Lion Meadow (SO 338 553)
A programme of archaeological field evaluation was undertaken in advance of a proposed development at the site. Four trenches were excavated to natural deposits. A number of sherds

of pottery of a post-medieval date were recovered from the topsoil and subsoil, but not from securely stratified deposits. No disturbance to the natural soil was detected in any of these trenches and no deposits, features or finds of archaeological significance were present on the site.

LYONSHALL, The Royal George Inn (SO 337555)
A programme of detailed archaeological assessment and standing building recording was commissioned in connection with proposals to redevelop the property as a community public house. The building is Listed Grade II. The investigations found that documentary information for the early history of the Inn is very limited, with the earliest specific reference occurring in a sale advertisement of 1795. However, the architectural evidence suggests that the building was originally constructed in the late 16th or early 17th centuries as a yeoman's house of box-framed, continuous-jettied type often found in vernacular houses of this period in Herefordshire and the Marches. The investigation revealed evidence of five broad phases of construction and rebuilding. Following the original construction of the property further phases of building work took place from the late 17th to the late 19th centuries. Much of the original fabric was altered or removed as a result of later work, particularly by extensive internal re-organisation in the mid-20th century; however, some early work has survived intact.

SOLLERS HOPE, Sollers Hope Farm (SO 614332)
The Unit was commissioned to undertake an archaeological observation of ground works relating to the construction of an egg-production unit at the farm. The site lay some 250m. to the east of an 11th-century motte and was also close to the Iron-Age hillfort sites of Capler Camp (1.9km. to the west) and Oldbury Camp (1.8km. east-south-east). No finds or features were observed during the course of the work. However, a considerable depth of subsoil was present, probably representing an accumulation of sediment transported by slope processes; it is possible that the steep slope of the ground meant that the area remained unoccupied. The area to the east of the egg unit was low-lying and may have been subject to flooding.

COTSWOLD ARCHAEOLOGY
LEINTWARDINE, Land adjacent to Seedley Lodge (SO 431 743)
An evaluation recorded Roman ditches, postholes and pits likely to have been on the periphery of the Roman settlement known as *Bravonium*. The site also borders a Roman road and the features found are consistent with Roman roadside activity (CA typescript report 15122). On a separate site at Leintwardine *(SO 407 740)* an evaluation identified an undated ditch (CA typescript report 14433).

DW ARCHAEOLOGY
BROCKHAMPTON ESTATE, National Trust
The Summer of Archaeology 2015 project was commissioned by the National Trust, and was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and the National Trust. The project aimed to enhance the understanding of the historical setting of Brockhampton Estate, whilst also involving community organisations, schools and members of the public.

Geophysical survey failed to identify any evidence for burials to the north of the chapel, but perhaps more surprisingly, RADAR failed to identify burials within the chapel, despite the presence of grave slabs.

Archaeological evidence, from a total of fourteen trenches, established that the earliest occupation at Lower Brockhampton can be traced to the 12th century. This evidence not only includes the standing chapel, but also domestic pottery recovered from the surrounding area, and especially in the area to the east of the chapel. Excavations against the north wall of the chapel (Fig.1) has shown that the foundation was cut in the 12th century, and excavation on this side of the chapel clearly showed that there were no burials. Evidence of occupation was found to be continuous through to the 20th century.

Further excavation to the north of Lower Brockhampton house identified a series of landscape features which made use of the abundant water supply surrounding the site. This includes the purported 'early moat' that was shown to be an overflow channel for the existing moat, constructed in the 15th century, and separate fish and duck ponds constructed in the 18th century (National Trust report by C. Atkinson & D. Williams).



Figure1. Lower Brockhampton: excavated footing on the north wall of the chapel

HEADLAND ARCHAEOLOGY (UK) LTD.

WELLINGTON, Trial trench evaluation on land west of Haywood Industrial Estate (SO 503 485) *[EHE 80198]*

Headland Archaeology undertook an archaeological evaluation on a site to the east of Wellington. Only two features of potential archaeological origin were uncovered. They comprised a small pit or post hole next to a north/south orientated ditch. Neither contained finds from which they could be dated. The ditch runs parallel to other boundaries within the site; however, no boundary is mapped at the location as far back as 1887 (I. Bennett, Hereford Archaeological Series (HAS) 1158).

HEREFORD, Temporary Emergency Ward, County Hospital, Hereford; Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief. (SO 516 401) [EHE 80159]

Headland Archaeology was commisssioned by Wye Valley NHS Trust to undertake an archaeological watching brief and excavation during groundworks in preparation for the erection of a temporary ward, corridor link and associated works at Hereford County Hospital. Groundworks entailed the excavation of nineteen foundation pad positions within the former mortuary car park and a service link trench.

Human remains, representing at least eleven individuals, were identified in association with five of the nineteen foundation bases and within the service trench. Six of the skeletons were *in situ* and remained articulated, whereas the remainder represented charnel deposits and other post-inhumation disturbance. Given that the site was located within the footprint of the burial ground of the medieval priory of St. Guthlac, skeletal material was not unexpected. The remains survived in various states of preservation and truncation, many of the bones recovered being disarticulated. Walls and other remnants of structures, potentially associated with the former Hereford Union Workhouse were also revealed during the works (K. Bain, HAS 1157).

HEREFORD, THE CATHEDRAL, ST JOHN'S WALK

Human and animal bones were some of the finds recovered during ongoing restoration work at the Cathedral. Archaeological remains appeared as builders lifted parts of the existing floor of St John's Walk. Under the supervision of the Cathedral archaeologist, Richard Morriss, the area was thoroughly investigated and a number of finds were recovered including human and animal bones, pieces of clay pipe, pottery and oyster shells which reveal some tantalising clues to the past lives of the vicars choral for whom St John's Walk was originally built. Some of the items have already proved fascinating, such as the copper stylus for marking parchment, and the fragment of a large tankard—suggestive of ale-drinking—which the vicars choral, who lived in the cloisters, would doubtless have enjoyed.

At the southern end of St John's Walk, nearest to the Vicars' Choral College and the river, archaeologists uncovered evidence of an earlier structure. Foundations of a wall dating from the 1400s and large pieces of decorated daub may have come from a high-status building demolished to make way for the college, which was built around 1470.

Evidence of industrial activity has also been recovered from the area which offers a hint at other early uses of the site. This links to similar discoveries made during archaeological work undertaken by Headland Archaeology as part of the restoration of the Cathedral Close (see A. Boucher, L. Craddock-Bennett & T. Daly, *Death in the Close: a Medieval Mystery*, Headland Archaeology, 2015).

The new slabs are now in place on St John's Walk and an analysis of the finds has begun. The human bone will all be re-interred once this is complete. The restoration of St John's Walk is the core of a wider project which, as well as conserving the building and illuminating the carved timbers of the roof, will enable visitors of all ages to learn about the history of the site. (ex *Hereford Times* 26 October, 2015).

HEREFORDSHIRE PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES

The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) was established in 1997 and Herefordshire has had its own reporting officer since 2003. The following list is of 2015 records. More detail of the records

reported here are, or will be, available on https://finds.org.uk and can be found using the HESH reference.

LEINTWARDINE AREA: Late Iron Age or Roman Boar Mount

A cast, copper-alloy mount in the shape of a leaping boar realised in three dimensions of probable early Roman date (AD 50-200). The boar extends from a sub-circular plate whose edges are rolled back upon itself. From the centre of the plate (being integrally cast) extends the head and front body of a boar. The figure seems to leap from the plate with its two front feet arching outwards—the lower leg is distorted on one side and lost on the other. The mouth is wide open and the eyes are oval recesses. The ears are set forward and slightly pointed and the crest of mane extends between the ears and descends the back. The casting is very fine and originally highly detailed, the flanks and face have lines depicting hair and other details are also picked out.

The reverse face of the mount is slightly dished. At the centre is a triangular-shaped depression from the centre of which extends an integrally-cast shank or peg. Around the edges of the reverse are three small spikes; two of which are broken and lost. It is likely that these three spikes and central rivet would have held the mount onto a wooden surface; either a box or casket or, more likely, onto a cart or chariot.

The surface patina of the boar is a mid-brown colour; this surface patina has been removed in places revealing a bright yellow grass colour. The boar is a feature of both later Iron Age (Celtic style) art and also Roman Art. The style and exact rendering of this example suggests a Roman date. The record of an example from Western-under-Weatherly, Warwickshire, includes the observation that 'The depiction of a boar could be interpreted as an emblem of ferocity and tenacity. These attributes could be associated with warriors and soldiers—legions or hunters' (PAS Reference: HESH-562F53, Peter Reavill).

LEOMINSTER: Hoard of late 3rd-century coins

This hoard was discovered in July 2013, but conservation and identification work have been completed during the intervening period. The find was made by two metal detectorists who called in expert advice from the PAS whilst the coins were still *in situ.* This enabled a full-scale investigation to be mounted and, with the help of the finders and landowners, the hoard was block-lifted once surrounding features were investigated. The excavation showed that the hoard had been placed within the ground in a small pit, the cut of which was impossible to identify archaeologically. This is often the case where discrete deposition occurs and the soil removed whilst digging the hole is replaced swiftly as fill. The excavation did show that the hoard was a single distinct deposition within an organic container. The top of the container was covered with small limestone stones which may have acted as a marker or to protect the organic bag from damage caused by digging when recovered.

The block of soil containing the hoard was x-rayed at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery which showed a series of three defined bags. Conservation work at the British Museum revealed that these bags had been placed within a leather satchel prior to deposition. Interestingly, dried leaves were found as packing between the coins and cloth bags, something which is unique within the Romano-British coin-hoarding tradition. The function of the leaves is unknown—they may represent a form of early 'bubble-wrap' to prevent the coins chinking or they could be aromatic if such a deposition was interpreted within a religious context.

The coins range in date from AD 260-*c.*290 and the assemblage is broadly similar in composition to the many Romano-British coin hoards buried in the aftermath of the breakaway

'Gallic Empire'. The Gallic empire, whose capital was at the city of Trier but which had held dominion over Britain, was established in AD 260 and reconquered by the legitimate ('central') Empire in AD 274. In addition, there are eight coins of the 'Britannic Empire' initiated by Carausius (AD 286-93) who separated the British provinces (and briefly northern France) until it was reabsorbed by the legitimate Emperors in AD 296. Leominster Town Museum and Herefordshire Museum Service hope to acquire the hoard for display locally. (PAS Reference: HESH-549817, Peter Reavill, Pippa Pearce and Richard Abdy).

KINGTON: Sceatta Pendant (PAS Reference: HESH-C9EF2A, Peter Reavill and John Naylor).



This Saxon sceatta or sceat (Fig. 2) was made in the early 8th century (*c.* AD 700-710); probably at a mint in Kent. They are extremely uncommon coins in Wales and the Marches with only 5 other examples of this coin type known from Herefordshire. Although sceats were made as coins, they probably did not have this function in regions where the economy was based on bartering and exchange, as in the Marches, This coin is evidence of this—being converted into a pendant probably sewn into clothing or worn as a necklace rather than being used as a unit of currency. The hole is tiny and is positioned on the break. The hole was pierced to display the reverse side which depicts a military standard. Pierced sceattas are extremely rare with only a handful discovered nationwide. This coin pre-dates the assumed date of construction of Offa's Dyke (*c.*757-796) and provides persuasive evidence of an established population in the area—perhaps with wide-ranging social networks As the coin had been pierced it is regarded as an artefact and, as such, was reported to the coroner as treasure under the 1996 Act. . Both the finder and landowner waived their right to reward allowing Kington Museum to acquire and display it.

Figure 2. Saxon sceatta pendant, Kington (© British Museum's Portable Antiquities Scheme)

SUTTON AREA: Late Bronze Age Hoard dated 950-750 BC

This important and rare find was made in the Sutton Area in 2012/3. The hoard has been acquired by Hereford Museum. (PAS Reference: HESH-A81AA5, Peter Reavill). The find-spot lies a few metres north-west of a meandering watercourse or stream, which joins with another stream and forms the Little Lugg. When found the sword-hilt fragment was wedged within the mouth socket of the axe head.



The axe **is** a complete socketed axe with prominent swollen collar and relatively straight sides which expand near the base of the socket (Fig. 3). The sides flare to form a slightly expanded blade edge. The loop is relatively small and wide being set in a low position beneath the collar. On each face, three parallel longitudinal ribs descend from the lower edge of the swollen mouth moulding / collar. The ribs are complete and taper along their length terminating in sharp points. The casting flashes on the sides of the axe have been hammered and clear striations on the blade's edge bevel suggest some preparation for use.

Figure 3. Late Bronze-age axe-head from Sutton area (© British Museum's Portable Antiquities Scheme)

The axe is damaged in several areas—some of this damage is patinated and thus old, whilst other areas could be more recent. The lower blade of the axe has been deliberately bent causing a wide and deep horizontal fissure / crack which extends across the entire blade. This break is patinated and therefore old—most probably predating deposition. The mouth of the socket has also received a blow of some force which has caused longitudinal cracking resulting in distortion to the shape of the socket (crushing the mouth slightly). Overall the axe is a mid-green colour with a thick well-developed surface patina.



Figure 4. Late Bronze Age sword hilt from Sutton area (© British Museum's Portable Antiquities Scheme)

The sword fragment is from the hilt plate of an Ewart Park type sword, specifically a Western Step 2 variant. The hilt is irregular in plan with an expanded 'fishtail' hilt (Fig. 4). The long edges of the hilt expand and taper (bulge) along the length. The lower edge of the hilt is broken with a sharp and irregular edge. The exterior / long edges have slight-cast raised flanges. The centre of the hilt-plate is pierced by three, cast, rivet-holes the upper two of which are complete whilst the third is partial due to the break.

Two raised ribs descend the length of the hilt and the holes are positioned between them. The remains of a third, central rib can be seen on one face—this terminates in line with the first rivet hole. The hilt is a mid-grey-green colour with an irregular, partially-polished, surface patina. The broken edge has a similar patina to that seen on the body of the hilt.

When discovered and reported by the finder the sword hilt was wedged within the socket of the axe. The mouth of the socket was also filled with a clay-rich soil. Once the upper part of the soil plug was removed to a depth of 40mm. a clear void was present; this extended to the base of the socket. The soil in the upper 25mm. was hard and compacted whist below this it was loose and friable. No organic material was present within the soil and there was no evidence of stone, grit, pebbles or other inclusions.

Both the sword hilt and axe date from the Late Bronze Age, specifically from the Ewart Park metalworking tradition dated 950 - *c.*750 BC**.** The style of axe is common to Britain during this period being similar to axes from the Northern Welsh Marches—specifically from the Breidden, Powys. The sword hilt is also diagnostic, a good parallel is a sword from Figsbury Rings, Winterslow, Wiltshire.

During the later Bronze Age a number of object types are often deposited together within specific locales in the landscape. These locales can sometimes be man-made structures such as hill-forts or settlements, but are more commonly natural places often near water, such as spring-heads, slow-moving streams, or bogs / meres. It has also been noted that many of these objects were put into the ground in a deliberately altered, mutilated or damaged state that placed them beyond use. The reasons for such mutilation are complex and not fully understood. It is thought that such deposits represent offerings or gifts to deities. However, they may also represent a deliberate public destruction of wealth and assets (conspicuous consumption) which cement social hierarchies within communities.

WIGMORE AREA: A post-medieval assemblage from within a house

An assemblage of material found was deliberately placed together within the floor socket of an internal wooden partition wall. The assemblage is dated by the pipe bowl to the mid 17th century. It consists of the following pieces—broken clay pipe, copper alloy crotal / bell, shard of window glass, an iron ring, lead weight with a hole, incomplete leather object (possibly shoe related, filled with organic matter, probably straw, or possibly tobacco) (Fig. 5). It seems that this group represents a deliberately curated assemblage which had specific significance to the person who placed, hid or concealed the items. It is possible that they had magical or symbolic importance.

The group is dated by the very early tobacco pipe bowl to the period *c.*1650-1660 (the interregnum). It shows signs of burnishing (straight, smoothing strokes), bottering (smoothing of the bowl rim), and rouletting. The heel, which is round, is unmarked. The crotal is incomplete, being sub-circular in plan and profile with an integral cast sub-rectangular suspension loop attached to the upper edge. Through the loop is preserved a length of linen cloth / thread which is knotted at the junction with the loop. The bell is a mid-brown colour with an even patina which covers all the surfaces. Similar crotal or rumbler bells have been dated to the late post-medieval period, usually the late 17th and 18th centuries.



Figure 5. Post-medieval finds from Wigmore (© British Museum's Portable Antiquities Scheme)

The weight is formed of cast lead or lead alloy and is sub-circular in plan and convex D-shape in cross-section. The exterior surface of the weight is poorly preserved with laminating,

crystalline, surface corrosion present. Through the centre of the weight is an irregular, oval-shaped hole. The broken shard of window glass is a mid-green colour with oval / lentoid-shaped bubbles within the matrix. Two edges seem original suggesting the glass comes from a small broken pane. The iron ring is formed with its open edges being rolled back upon themselves in a regular scroll. The surface has a reasonable, albeit corroded / rusted surface. The leather object is exceptionally dry and friable—if it were to be opened out it would be oval (tear-drop shaped). Around the edges are regular positioned holes which are square in shape, in some areas are the remains of small iron nails or rivets. Within the leather are the remains of straw, dirt and fine, shredded material. It is possible that this is a deliberate deposit—or it could possibly be the remains of a mouse nest. There is an outside chance that this fibrous material could be tobacco.

The deposition or concealment of artefacts is a well-known post-medieval practice; most often it is focused around the placing of shoes within fireplaces, in attics or under stairs. This example is an interesting variation of this with these curated objects being placed deliberately within the post socket of an internal wall; possibly as part of a ceremony or an act with symbolic significance. It is unlikely that they could have found their own way there over time. Once the objects were recorded and returned to the finder they were reinstated within the new wall to prevent 'bad luck' (PAS Record: HESH-549817. Peter Reavill).

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY, HEREFORDSHRE COUNCIL

During January 2015 the Archaeology Service moved into the Herefordshire Archives and Record Centre (HARC) in Rotherwas. Herefordshire Archaeology staff had been involved in the design and layout of the new offices during the design and construction phases of the building and now have a fully-operational, purpose-built, office-suite, lay-out room and post-excavation space. This has enabled a number of legacy projects to be completed and has given Herefordshire Archaeology the ability to undertake more post excavation work 'in house' than ever before.

During the course of 2015 the Archives and Museum Service was placed under review and, as a result, it was agreed that the Historic Environment Record (HER) should be transferred from that section into the Archaeology team. Unfortunately, this coincided, firstly with Lucie Dingwall (HER Officer) and secondly with Melissa Seddon (her job-share HER Officer) leaving in October and November respectively. They will be greatly missed. The process of recruiting a replacement, full-time HER Officer is currently taking place. In the meantime, Peter Dorling has been re-employed in order to deal with HER enquiries on a temporary basis.

Herefordshire Archaeology has continued to provide routine advisory case-work (development management, and countryside matters), together with HER maintenance and updating duties. In addition, it has been involved with a number of community and agency based projects. The scientific analysis and dating of the human remains recovered from outside Merlin's Cave during 2014 was completed and an updated report produced. A small project looking at a volunteer firing range on the Bromyard Downs was undertaken as part of the Bromyard Downs Project, funded by the Heritage Lottery and managed by Herefordshire Wildlife Trust. Herefordshire Archaeology continued to support and work in partnership with Manchester University, undertaking another season at Dorstone Hill. A number of Conservation Management Plans were produced for a wide range of Scheduled Monuments across the county including Credenhill Hill-fort, Brandon Camp, Craswall Priory and the site of Rotherwas House. In addition to new, externally-funded projects, funding was found that could be used to complete a number of major 'legacy' projects. These included the Aerial Survey Project which has resulted in all the 2002-2009 aerial photographs being catalogued and all new sites entered onto the HER.

The completion of the Rotherwas Ribbon Assessment documentation, the commissioning of the Rotherwas Conservation Management Plan (which will be completed by the end of the financial year) and the re-assessment and completion of the Historic Landscape Character for Herefordshire also scheduled for completion by April 2016).

BROMYARD: An archaeological survey of a Rifle Volunteers' firing range on Bromyard Downs, (SO 671 556) [EHE 8017; HSM 53707]

A firing range or rifle range shown on the first-edition Ordnance Survey map of 1886 on Bromyard Downs, was used by the late-Victorian Rifle Volunteer movement. It was investigated in order to determine the life-span of the range and the weapons used there. A metal-detector survey was carried out with local volunteers under professional supervision. Three types of Victorian service rifle can be shown to have been used, and the recovered ammunition shows evidence of some of the ballistic characteristics noted by users at the time. The survey also showed that the firing range—a widespread but little-studied archaeological monument type—retains its below-ground archaeological signature despite the post-war levelling of its earthworks.

The Herefordshire Rifle Volunteer Corps (HRVC) were raised in 1860. Eight were formed in Herefordshire and three in Radnorshire; Company D being raised at Bromyard in May as the 4th HRVC. They saw overseas service with the King's Shropshire Light Infantry in South Africa from 1899 to 1901 and survived as Company F (Leominster and Bromyard) to be incorporated into the Territorial Army in 1908. The site chosen for the 4th HRVC firing range was Bromyard Downs, an area of common land about one mile east of the town centre. A racecourse had been installed there in 1820 and the range was created on the grassland within the racetrack towards its eastern side, away from the small-holdings that clustered around and encroached upon the down-slope side of the common, nearest the town.

The rapidly-changing technology of the second half of the 19th century means that the life-span of the range can be accurately estimated. The conditions under which the Rifle Volunteer corps were raised makes it probable that the firing range was built in 1860 when the Bromyard unit was formed. The volunteers would have shot with the P53 Enfield. The Snider breech-loading conversion was adopted as the British service arm in 1867 and, while it might be thought that there would be a time-lag between its adoption by the Army and its appearance on a rural Volunteer corps rifle range, this may not have been the case. At Altcar in Lancashire, Martini-Henrys were seen on the range the same year they were adopted for general service (1871) though Sniders were still in use alongside Martini-Henrys in 1881. The first Lee-Metford (0.303 inch), introduced in 1888, was seen on Altcar Range the following year, and they were used in large numbers there by 1892. ·303 rounds are notable for their absence from this collection, aside from a single stray round of later type. The calibre was in general service from 1888 when the Lee-Metford was introduced, and the lack of a single early ·303 round suggests strongly that either the range was disused as early as *c.*1890, or that the Bromyard unit was moribund and never re-equipped with the new repeating arms of the 1880s (Plate 6.1).

The second edition OS plan of 1926 not only shows the firing range as 'disused', but a golf course had been laid out across the 600-yard firing point. It looks as if, by *c.*1900, an activity which only forty years before been thought essential to the defence of the realm had been eclipsed. (N. Baker & T. Hoverd, HAR 356)

DORSTONE, Dorstone Hill, Excavations in 2015 (SO 326 424); [EHE 1969; HSM 1551]
A fifth season of excavation on the site of what was previously thought to be an Early Neolithic (4th-millennium BC) hill-top enclosure took place in July 2015. The excavation continued to be directed by Professor Julian Thomas of Manchester University and Dr Keith Ray, former County Archaeologist for Herefordshire, in association with Irene Garcia Rovira of Manchester University, Tim Hoverd of Herefordshire Archaeology, and Associate-Professor Koji Mizoguchi of Kyushu University, Japan. In 2015, the project was staffed by local volunteers and by students from (mostly) the Universities of Manchester and Cardiff. These excavations continued those of 2014 to the west of the 2012-13 trenches (see *TWNFC*, 61 (2013), pp.120-2; Plates 5.7 – 5.9; *TWNFC* 62 (2014), pp.157-8).

The re-opened trench was sited across the western end of the 'bank' surveyed by English Heritage in the late 1990s and test-excavated by Roger Pye and members of the Woolhope Club in the 1960s. This now slight earthwork extends for some 130m. across the narrow neck of the large promontory that overlooks the Golden Valley to the west and towards the Wye Valley to the east. Lacking a western ditch and containing mounds that are (or were) symmetrical along their long sides, this part of the Dorstone Hill site (at least) did not feature an enclosure, but rather the site of an early- to mid-4th-millennium BC, below-ground, burial chamber contemporary with a series of Early Neolithic communal halls, and overlain by earthen and stone-covered long mounds.

During the 2014 season it had become clear that what had until then been assumed to have been two elongated mounds placed end-wise to one another had, in fact, comprised three distinct mounds. This most westerly of the mounds transpired to have been from the outset a stone-encased trapezoidal long-mound aligned east-west and facing east (with its narrower end tapering towards the west). The 2015 season involved closer investigation and sampling of the surviving north-facing stone revetment wall, the discovery of a 'forecourt' terminating the east-facing end of the mound, and examination of the traces of a massive timber structure that was found to underlie the later long-mound (Plate 6.2).

There were clear indications that the stone revetment wall had once survived on the southern side of the mound, as a 'mirror' of that surviving in its lower courses on the northern side. However, this had mostly been removed by WWII-period bulldozing to create arable land, with machine movements having tracked from south-east to north-west across the formerly upstanding mound. The north-facing stone revetment wall was shown to have featured a multi-component build, with a relatively simple dry-stone revetment then strengthened with a series of curving buttresses, indicating a raising of the height of the stone cairn towards its eastern end. At least two very small stone-lined chambers had been built integrally within the western end of this cairn. A series of shallow pits underlay the northern edge of the original wall, beneath the buttresses. Excavation of these pits produced organic deposits and several sherds of thin-walled early Neolithic pottery. The eastern end of the wall terminated in a rudimentary stone 'horn-work', that had subsequently been linked to the stone cladding that, in a final building phase (presumably also during the 4th-millennium BC) had encapsulated the northern side of all three long mounds.

The façade—an incurving, east-facing, formalised frontage to the highest (eastern) end of this most western of the three long mounds at Dorstone Hill—was uncovered in July 2015, surviving as a vestigial structure within the excavated area. It comprised a series of stone-holes spaced at intervals in a curving arc, and within which upright stones had been placed. The façade had apparently been terminated to south-east and north-east by stone and earth protuberances,

usually denoted as 'horn-works', that framed it to north and south. It also defined a forecourt that had possibly been levelled with the insertion into the space to the east, of the 'middle' of the three earthen mounds (that had been around 50% excavated in 2012-13).

The timber structure that had preceded this most western of the three mounds had been of massive proportions (approximately 28m. east-west by 19m. north-south), and was defined during excavation by series of large post-pits. Those pits defining the northern and southern sides of the building formed closely-spaced rows, while those supporting the ridge were more widely-spaced but yet larger (up to 1m. in diameter and over 1m. in depth). The building itself appears again to have been partly daub-built and mud-walled, and again to have been deliberately burned down and its debris mounded along its central axis. Here, however, the turf mound built up over these remains had from the outset been retained in stone, rather than the timber revetting found in both the central and eastern mounds.

A detailed interim report has been prepared for the 2011-14 seasons of work at the site. This can be found at:
https://www.academia.edu/12506828/An_Interim_Report_on_Excavations_at_Dorstone_Hill_Herefordshire_2011-14 (T. Hoverd, K. Ray, and J. Thomas, forthcoming).

WHITCHURCH, A Post-Roman cemetery at Merlin's Cave, Symond's Yat West, (SO 556 153), [EHE 80151; HSM 3358; SAM 1012448]

Initial investigations regarding the discovery of dis-articulated human bones, together with animal bone and flint and ceramic artefacts, recorded the location of an *in-situ* human burial within one of the tree throws. This was recorded but not investigated fully at the time. During 2011, further erosion took place and this resulted in the discovery of a second burial within another tree throw. After discussions with the Forestry Commission and the Wye Valley AONB, it was decided that both burials should be fully excavated and recorded in order to establish their date and reason for burial within this unusual location. The dating of both burials provided a late-6th to early-7th century AD date (although one burial was deliberately buried with bones which were dated to the Bronze Age).

Further erosion in 2014 revealed more human bone, and this was excavated and examined during late 2014 and early 2015. The dis-articulated bone was buried in a pit which appeared to be cut from the same stratigraphic horizon as the two grave cuts (Plates 6.3 & 6.4). The pit contained a minimum of four individuals together with a quantity of animal bone, a quern stone fragment and a spindle whorl made from a sherd of Severn Valley ware. Three additional carbon-14 dates were obtained from three individuals represented within the assemblage from the pit. All three dates closely matched the dates from the two burials. The mixed nature of the pit assemblage together with the taphonomy of the human bone present would strongly suggest that the bones from the pit had been collected, possibly from within Merlin's Cave and purposefully buried within close proximity to the two burials. The five dates from the human remains (both burials and pit assemblage) were subjected to Bayesian analysis with the aim of refining them and producing a statistically likely order of burial. The results strongly suggest that the contents of the pit were deposited after the two burials were in place.

The location and date of the burials together with the presence of a considerable quantity of human bone, which appears to be eroding from the hill slope, would suggest that these were not isolated burials and that much of the area below Merlin's Cave may have been used as a cemetery. The age profile of the individuals, the location of their graves and the grave goods, and the contents of the pit, raises some interesting possibilities concerning the type of cemetery

and the relationship between it and the cave. The short time span covering all of the burial activity on the site may suggest that rather than this representing the end of a long-lived tradition of ancestral veneration harking back into pre-history and that this was a short-lived, re-invention of such traditions during a period of political and climatic instability (T. Hoverd, HAR 351).

MUSEUM OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY (MOLA)

EARDISLEY, Castle House, (SO 331 249)

The project was initiated in response to a Listed Building application (Ref: P142591/L) which was granted for the construction of an extension to the southern angle of Castle House. The site is located in a sensitive archaeological area adjacent to Eardisley Castle (SAM 86). In consideration of the application Herefordshire Archaeology advised that the location of the proposed development was likely to contain at-risk heritage assets with archaeological interest. Planning permission was subsequently granted by Herefordshire Council, subject *inter alia* to an archaeological 'programme of works'.

Although excavation was limited to the demolition of existing foundations and a concrete slab and the excavation of two 'new' foundation trenches, significant archaeological deposits were identified. Although the limited nature of the excavations prevented detailed investigation, the remains of two masonry walls and possible floor surfaces were identified. Pottery retrieved from one of the walls is of medieval date, placing the deposits firmly within the 'lifespan' of the later castle. The investigations also identified a significant amount of made ground containing hand-made bricks of the same dimension as those used to construct Castle House. The made ground was observed in the westernmost trench and partially filled the ditch surrounding the castle motte prior to construction of the house.

The results of the watching brief have confirmed that significant medieval deposits survived the construction of the former conservatory attached to the southern angle of Castle House. The limited extent and depth of the current excavations caused only minor truncation of well-preserved medieval deposits whose significance is probably on a par with those protected within the designated scheduled monument (D. Lewis, & H. Sherlock., *Castle House, Eardisley, Herefordshire; Archaeological watching brief).*

HEREFORD, Greyfriars Avenue, Former Campions Restaurant site, (SO 351 240)

MOLA staff maintained an intermittent watching brief of groundworks associated with the redevelopment of the site for a block of apartments. No archaeological features were recorded in the areas observed. However, the work is ongoing at the time of writing.

LEINTWARDINE, Land to the north of High Street, (SO 340 275)

Six evaluation trenches were cut in the field immediately north of the new surgery in High Street, Leintwardine. Five were positioned to coincide with traces revealed by a geophysical survey; the sixth was cut in a position to coincide with linear features revealed in excavations in advance of construction of the surgery to the south.

The first five trenches revealed no archaeological activity and related to variations in the natural sub-soil and one area of ground make-up. The sixth trench, in the south-east corner, contained a track-way and three probable ditches running parallel. Two of these linear features produced pottery of first or second century date. One also contained demolition material from a substantial building.

It seems likely that these features are a continuation of those found to the south (*TWNFC*, 61 (2013), pp. 110-12), and that the rest of the study area was agricultural land (D. Barrett & H. Sherlock, *Leintwardine, Land off High Street, Archaeological Evaluation*, Report No. 15/130, June 2015).

NETWORK ARCHAEOLOGY

The Iron Age and Roman Hinterland of Herefordshire

Between 2005 and 2012 National Grid oversaw the construction of the 316 km long gas pipeline from Milford Haven to Tirley. The archaeology along the pipeline through Herefordshire was monitored by Network Archaeology Ltd and broadly followed the river Wye eastwards, before passing south of Hereford and crossing the Wye itself near Foy (Fig. 6). Nine of the larger and sixteen of the minor discovered sites of the project were in Herefordshire and included a network of small, enclosed farmsteads with industrial sites as follows:

At Dorstone (Plot 250) there was a small, agrarian, rural enclosure, founded in the late Iron Age and abandoned soon after the arrival of the Romans. The nature and quantity of the artefacts recovered suggests proximity to a more significant site.

Small-scale prehistoric activity (Mesolithic, Neolithic and Early Iron Age), consisting of post-holes, pits and worked flint, was recorded at Peterchurch (Plot 271). Activity on the site became more intensive during the Roman period with an enclosure bounded by three concentric ditches, an associated metalled surface, and a range of artefacts indicative of domestic occupation. The site was interpreted as having originally been a small rural Iron Age settlement which was abandoned around the time of the Roman conquest, and subsequently re-established as a much larger, defended enclosure.

A pair of Bronze Age pits and a Romano-British rectilinear enclosure was recorded at Pencoyd (Plot 400). A large ceramic assemblage was collected with a high proportion of tankards which may indicate an inn or *mansio*, though the lack of an obvious road might make that less likely.

At Peterstow (Plot 430) the plot contained three distinct loci of activity, all forming part of the same landscape. To the east, a rectilinear enclosure bounded by a double ditch had a small number of discrete features and, along with the collected artefacts, indicated domestic activity. Towards the centre of the area, midway up the hill-slope there were three, concentric, curvilinear ditches forming a small enclosure with an associated domestic assemblage. At the top of the hill towards the east, there was evidence of iron smithing and smelting that represented bloomery furnaces.

The site at Hill of Eaton (Plot 454) was dominated by a Romano-British rectilinear enclosure incorporating an earlier late Iron Age enclosure (Plate 6.5). Associated features included pits, postholes, gullies and cremations.

A possible major Roman site was identified at Crow Hill (Plots 468-9) on the projected course of the *Ariconium* to Leominster Roman road. A geophysical survey revealed a rectilinear enclosure and associated features that may represent a substantial rural Roman site, possibly relating to metal-working. Little is known about the Roman period in Herefordshire—the few major settlements being separated by a largely-unexplored hinterland with a scattering of Romanised farms. The enclosed settlements and domestic assemblages recorded during this investigation attest a well-populated, late Iron Age/Roman rural landscape where the economy was principally agrarian and relatively low status. However, it was certainly part of a wider

network with considerable local and regional trade occurring, and even international goods being available (albeit on a limited scale). Whilst the economy was, for most, based around growing crops and rearing animals, there were also centres of industry, principally involved in the processing of iron and the manufacture of iron goods. The picture of an active, vibrant rural landscape now emerging is very different from perceptions of a largely empty rural hinterland in Herefordshire at this period.

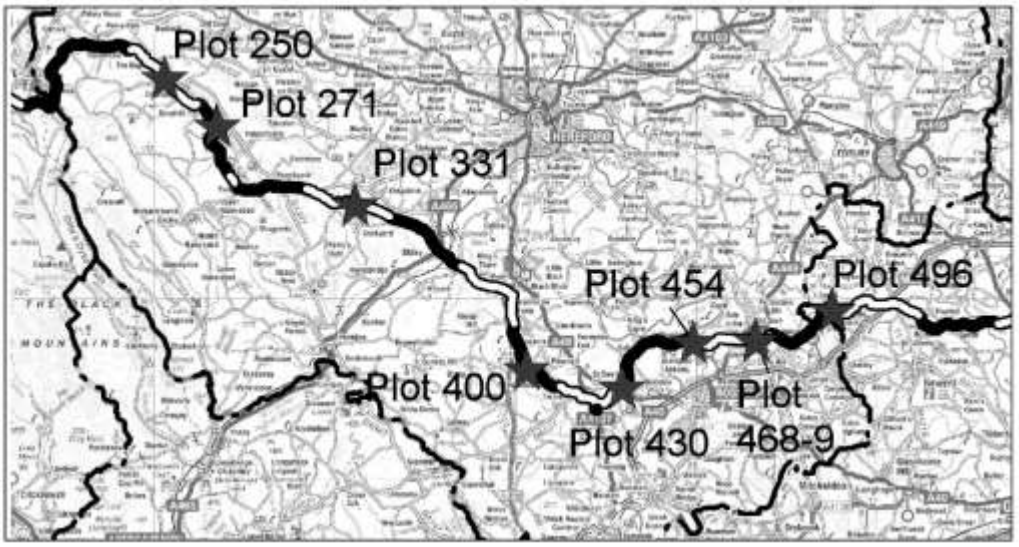


Figure 6. Location of plots along the length of pipeline through Herefordshire

VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY TRUST (HEREFORDSHIRE)

BOSBURY, Harland's Wood Field (SO 705 430,), [HSM 53142

Harland's Wood Field is located in the south-eastern corner of Bosbury parish, exactly 1km. east-south-east from Holy Trinity parish church. It is the last remaining field of unimproved pasture in the southern half of the parish, and this fact reflects a dramatic process of loss of both 'permanent' pasture and orchard within the last 60 years. A survey and test excavation project, directed by Keith Ray, was organised on behalf of the Herefordshire Victoria County History Trust with practical support from Tim Hoverd and Herefordshire Archaeology and with grant-in-aid for aerial photogrammetry (by Adam Stanford of Aerial-Cam Ltd) and for specialist study of ceramics finds received from the Woolhope Club Archaeological Research Section. This fieldwork took place in March and October 2015. The field was the subject of investigation because remote imaging data suggested the likely presence of at least one abandoned moated site in one corner of the field, which, among other features had been recorded previously in the county Historic Environment Record.

Initial close study of the available oblique aerial photographs for the site (Plate 6.6) indicated that there were possibly two moated enclosures present, and that they straddled the Harland's Wood Field and the field to the south, formerly also in pasture but ploughed in recent years. Most of the Harland's Wood Field is covered with the ridges of a former medieval open

field, but the eastern area of such ridges was subsequently encompassed within Harland's Wood. In the meantime, the western area remained in cultivation, with the result that the ridges here continued to increase in size, while the strips of the open field located in the former woodland are very much slighter in profile. There seems no reason to doubt, therefore, that the only 'surviving' vestige of Harland's Wood (which from the indications of the Tithe Map once existed mostly to the north-east of Harland's Wood Field) is the former extreme south-west angle of that wood encompassed within the Wood Field. The two 'relict' woodland features are part of the western woodland boundary-bank (a north-south linear earthwork), and the root-bole holes of two former large trees that had survived here after the reorganisation of this part of the woodland into pasture. Surface collection in the southern field produced a small assemblage of wheel-thrown but plain potsherds, the rims indicating a date range of the 12th to the 14th century. Two small test excavations were undertaken in two trenches each measuring 1.5m. x 1.5m. Excavations in Trench 1, the most northerly trench, revealed a dump of clay, with some indications of burning, in the centre and south-eastern quadrant, beneath the turf and principal soil horizon, at a depth of *c*.0.4m. A large lump of what at first appeared to be either burnt daub or most of a clay loom-weight was found embedded in the underlying clay-soil deposit in the north-west corner of the trench. After subsequent cleaning for further study, the burnt clay appears most likely to have been part of a former oven or (perhaps) hearth-surround. Trench 2, sited some 5m. to the south of Trench 1, but on the same alignment, revealed a mass of loose stone rubble, also at a depth of *c*.0.4m. (Plate 6.7). A first layer of this rubble was removed to reveal a more compacted spread of rubble, which appeared to be the collapsed remains of a building. In among the rubble were found two nails and a number of unabraded sherds of medieval pottery. No clay-pipe or glazed pottery sherds were found in this deposit.

Documentary research by Dr Janet Cooper for the forthcoming Bosbury parish history indicates that a large field called Harlands Wood (Parcel 139 on the tithe map of 1839) was part of the demesne land of the bishop's manor of Bosbury. It had presumably been demesne land from the early Middle Ages, but it is not identifiable on the Butterfield Survey of 1578 [AA59/2]. It lay in the large common field called South Field, and was presumably unenclosed strips of arable in 1578. The adjoining Brier Hill parcel (235) and The Meadow (236), also in South Field, were held in 1839 by James Gregg who owned the nearby Grange homestead. In 1578 the Grange was the house of a freehold estate owned by James Halfhyde or Halfield. Unfortunately, the freehold estates were not surveyed in detail in 1578, and neither Brier Hill nor the Meadow can be identified in the survey. Halfield's main estate derived from a yardland held *c*. 1288 by knight service by the heirs of Henry de Stanford. [AA59/1, p. 153] Its house was presumably a fairly substantial one.

What appears to have been discovered here, therefore, is the demolition rubble (oven, timberwork, walling stones) from a former substantial building complex sited on a level platform within a moated enclosure that was abandoned by the 15th century. The site was later reconfigured, cut by three drainage channels that have also truncated the nearby cultivation ridges. The apparent lack of ashlar blocks from the (albeit limited) test-excavation plausibly results from the careful dismantling of this building-group and re-use of its materials elsewhere. The pottery associated with the more westerly of the two moated sites indicates that there was likely to have been another building complex here, the site of which has mostly been destroyed by subsequent pond-digging. The exact status of either group of buildings, or their inter-relation, is unknown: but the field, its surviving medieval earthworks and settlement features, is worthy of preservation given its increasing rarity in this landscape.

WORCESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

WESTON-UNDER-PENYARD (SO 636 232) (EHE 80200)

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken at land at Weston-under-Penyard. The site is a former, pasture field at the base of a south-west facing slope on the eastern edge of Weston-under-Penyard. The Scheduled site of the Roman town of *Ariconium* (NHLE 1005364) lies 700m. to the north-east of the site. This was a Roman industrial, small town with wide trading-links and considerable status. Archaeological investigation within the Roman town indicates that it was settled from the late Iron Age and seems to have reached its maximum extent in the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries.

The archaeological works were commissioned by CgMs Consulting on behalf of their client, who intends residential development of the site, for which an outline planning application had been submitted to Herefordshire Council.

A Romano-British farmstead was recorded 50m. to the north of the site during archaeological works associated with a sewage pipeline laid in 1993-1994 and Roman settlement activity was recorded during an evaluation undertaken as part of the proposed Ryeford by-pass on the southern side of the road, south-east of the study site. The line of a Roman road linking *Ariconium* to the Forest of Dean also runs adjacent to the site's eastern boundary.

Thirteen trenches were excavated over the site area of 4 hectares representing a sample of 3%. The evaluation demonstrated the survival of a density of buried Roman archaeology in the northern and eastern parts of the site. The presence of stone walls, roofing material, and metalled surfaces indicates that the site comprised a complex of buildings. The presence of two mosaics and *pilae* stacks (indicative of a hypocaust system) are evidence of high status and are likely to relate to a villa complex.

Two fragments of mosaic were uncovered on a slight plateau at the northern edge of the site (Plate 6.8). Several substantial walls were also revealed at this location and it is thought that this area represents the living area of the complex. One mosaic consisted of red, white, and blue tesserae set upon an *opus signinum* bed in a geometric pattern whilst 10m. to the west another small patch of blue tesserae was revealed.

Further evidence for buildings was revealed in trenches located further down the slope, to the south and east of this plateau, in the form of walls, stone roof tile and metalled surfaces. Two stacks of *pilae* square tiles, stepped to form an arch are indicative of a hypocaust heating system and it is likely that this area was a bath-house or heated bedroom, either joined to, or standing slightly separate to, the main complex.

At the base of the hill, two palaeo-channels were revealed in section in a trench. These are thought to represent channels of a water-course which formerly ran down the hill from the direction of *Ariconium* and is likely to have been extant in the Roman period. There is some evidence that the channel was revetted or canalised and the fact that there are two channels may represent deliberate modification of the watercourse.

The site is on a slight rise at the base of a south-facing slope to the west of the road between *Ariconium* and the Forest of Dean. It is close to the Roman 'small town' and as such is a typical location for a hinterland villa (P. Lovett, T. Rogers & R. Jackson, *Archaeological evaluation of Land at Weston under Penyard, Herefordshire,* Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2234).

HEREFORD, Clehonger, Haywood, and Grafton, (SO 490 368) (EHE 80149; EHE 80163)
An archaeological evaluation was undertaken at Hereford Southern Link Road on behalf of Herefordshire Council and their agent Parsons Brinckerhoff, who intend to construct a new section of road to connect the A49 and the A465.

Geotechnical trial pits were also monitored following the evaluation. Only natural deposits were observed during this stage of works. One area of significance was identified. Here, at least one feature of Early to Middle Iron Age date had been identified and it was considered very likely that other features would be broadly contemporary. The site was dated through the few sherds of pottery present and it included evidence of metal-working from a pit containing smithing slag and a hearth bottom. The available artefacts suggested a short-lived period of activity for the site (P. Lovett, S. Woodiwiss & G. Arnold, *Archaeological evaluation of the Hereford Southern Link Road,* Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2249).

LEDBURY, 2 Church House (SO 711 377) EHE 80162)
An archaeological watching brief was undertaken on behalf of Chris Noel at 2, Church House, Ledbury. The area of the site to the south of Church Street has been highlighted as the potential position of the earliest settlement within the town and was developed through the medieval and later periods. By the later post-medieval period, the area was well-established and being used for industrial purposes, with a tannery being listed to the west of the site.

One trench was monitored, 4.10m. by 4.70m. and up to 0.58m. deep, to the south of 2, Church House. No significant archaeological features, layers, structure, horizons, or artefacts were present. The lowest deposit recorded contained redeposited natural clay, and domestic debris of 19th and 20th century date. The potential remains for earlier deposits to exist on the site, at a depth greater than that reached during the present development (T. Cornah, *Archaeological watching brief at 2, Church House, Ledbury*, Worcestershire Archaeology Report 2264)

Botany, 2015

By PETER GARNER

A number of interesting species were recorded in the county during 2015, including some recorded for the first time and others not for many years.

Lesser Twayblade Orchid (*Neottia cordata,* until recently known as *Listera cordata*)
This is, without doubt, the outstanding discovery of the year, made by Mark and Clare Kitchen. We estimated that there were approximately 200 of these diminutive and rather inconspicuous orchids growing among and under the heather on the Black Mountains, just on the Herefordshire side of the county boundary (Plates 7.1 and 7.2).

Lesser Twayblade is essentially a plant of Scotland and northern England, but it does also occur in North Wales and there is a small isolated population on Exmoor. Most botanists are first acquainted with it on excursions to the heather moors of northern Scotland.

Such a well-established colony was probably present in the days when the county was very well recorded by many eminent Victorian botanists. The thought that it has probably been flowering in the same spot undiscovered during the last 200 years of plant recording in the county, puts into perspective the excitement generated by Mark and Clare's discovery.

To the best of my knowledge it is the first orchid, 'new to Herefordshire' for over 100years!

Yellow Vetchling (*Lathyrus aphaca*)
In July I found several plants of this unusual looking member of the pea family growing on a bank beside a green lane leading to the western end of Brierley Hill, a few miles south of Leominster. Yellow Vetchling is considered native in southern England, but casual elsewhere: how it found its way to this spot I can't imagine. It was recorded twice in Herefordshire in the 1980s, but prior to that, not since 1871!

Fiddleneck (*Amsinckia micrantha*)
This introduced North American member of the Borage family is now naturalised and spreading in East England, but when it turned up this autumn in Rotherwas it was only the second time it has been recorded in Herefordshire. I found it as I came out of the Herefordshire Biological Records Centre, which is now housed in the new Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre (HARC) in Fir Tree Lane, Rotherwas. There were several plants growing on made-up ground abutting the building. Its presence can probably be explained by the use of earth-moving machinery during the construction and landscaping of this new building (Plate7.3).

Hay-scented Buckler-fern (*Dryopteris aemula*)
Mark Jannink has made several significant discoveries of rare Herefordshire plants, and this year he and Martin Rickard re-found a small colony of this very rare fern. There is just one plant at a site in the north of the county, but apart from that it has not been found in Herefordshire for over 100 years. This fern was recorded from Warmhill Wood just south of Ross-on-Wye in 1900 and has not been seen there since, until Mark and Martin revisited the site in July last year. Hay-

scented Buckler-fern has an 'Atlantic' distribution in Britain, with the Herefordshire sites further inland than any other sites in Britain.

Ivy Broomrape (*Orobanche hederae*)

Whitchurch in the far south of the county has been the only Herefordshire site for this parasite on the roots of ivy, which is more frequently found on coastal cliffs. However, this year I found 6 plants towards the top of the steep embankment beside the western end of the Roman Road on the north side of Hereford (Plate 7.4).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is based on information collated by the Herefordshire Wildlife Trust and published in *The Flycatcher*, March 2016.

Buildings, 2015

By DUNCAN JAMES

The many early buildings in the county continue to offer rich and interesting material for detailed study. It is especially useful to investigate a building when it is under repair or alteration as this can often reveal evidence that is usually hidden from view. Information from tree-ring dating is also important, especially when associated with specific timber moulding profiles, plan form layouts and other features.[1]

Highlands, Staunton-on-Arrow
Lat/long: 52.251834, -2.968763
RCHME, Staunton on Arrow, monument No2
One surprising result found this year has been the dating of **Highlands** (Staunton-on-Arrow), a large cruck-framed hall house situated in north Herefordshire close to the Welsh border, immediately west of Wapley Hill with its Iron Age hill fort (Figs 1 & 2). Previous opinion dated this hall to the 15th-century—later than the Owain Glyndŵr uprising (1400-1410) when many buildings in the area were destroyed. However, tree-ring evidence indicates a probable felling date for the timber used for the cruck blades in the third quarter of the 14th century, which makes it a rare survivor in the Border area.



Figure 1. Highlands, Stanton-on-Arrow; 14th-century hall with later crosswing.



Figure 2. Highlands, Stanton-on-Arrow; the apex of the principal crucks seen at (inserted) first floor level.

LEDBURY

A programme of tree ring dating of four buildings was carried out in Ledbury as part of the Ledbury Community & Heritage Regeneration Project.



No. 1 Church Lane is well known for its remarkable painted room on the first floor (Fig. 3). This sequence of decoration can be dated to 1560-70 but it was known the building was earlier. Tree-ring dating confirms this, indicating the timber was felled between 1510 and 1530.

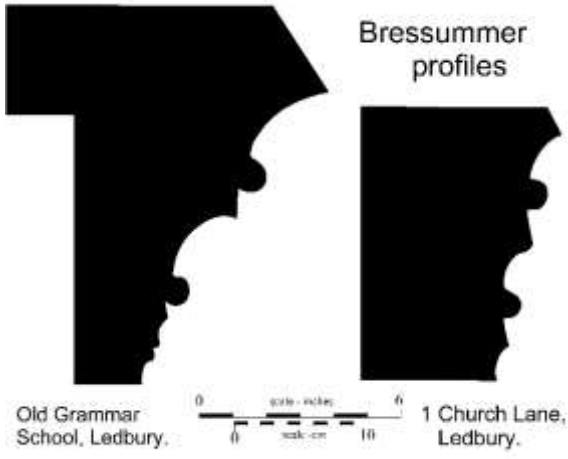
The building is jettied along the south side and the west end although here it has been underbuilt. The bressumer is moulded with a similar profile to that used on the Heritage Centre (Fig. 5). There is also a smoke bay that now contains a chimneystack. No detailed analysis of this building has yet been carried out.

Figure 3. No. 1 Church Lane, Ledbury

Nos. 2 & 3 Church Lane, which abut No. 1, is later in date and was constructed from timber felled between 1650 and 1655. **The Butcher's Row House Museum** in Church Lane, which originally stood in the Market area, was found to be built from timbers felled in the winter of 1581/2. The two-storey **Heritage Centre (formerly the Grammar School)** in Church Lane has proved to be the earliest of this group as it was built from timber felled during the winter of 1489/90 (Fig. 4). It is jettied along the front and has a moulded bressumer. At the west end of the range there is a smoke bay which, in vernacular buildings, is a transitional feature between the open hall with a central hearth and the introduction of the chimney stack. Smoke bays sometimes survive with chimneystacks built within them. An example of this is in Church House, Leintwardine and No. 1 Church Lane (see above).

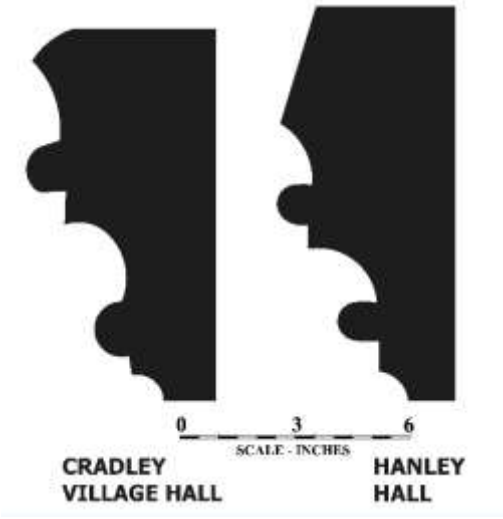


Figure 4. The Heritage Centre (former Grammar School), Ledbury



The moulding profiles on the bressumers of the Old Grammar School and No.1 Church Lane are similar as both use a hollow containing a roll, set one above the other (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. Old Grammar School and No.1 Church Lane, Ledbury showing comparison of bressumer mouldings



This profile can be found elsewhere in the county; on the bressumer at Cradley Village Hall, and at Hanley Hall, in Worcestershire where it decorates ceiling beams in the ceiled hall (Fig. 6).[2] It is also a feature of Eyton Court, Leominster (Fig. 12) as discussed below.

Figure 6. Comparison of mouldings at Cradley Village Hall and Hanley Hall

Eyton Court, Eyton, Leominster, HR6 0AG.
Lat/Long: 52.248573, -2.771523
RCHME Eyton monument No. 2.



Figure 7. Eyton Court, Eyton, Leominster; crosswing west elevation

This listed building (grade II*) has been the subject of detailed investigation in advance of a planning application concerning repairs and minor alterations (Fig. 7).[3] Eyton Court is a building of two principal phases, the earliest of which is a 16th-century timber-framed, two-storey crosswing that is abutted by a later, two-storey brick range of *c*.1800 standing on the site of an earlier hall that may or may not have been coeval with the crosswing.

The jettied crosswing has close studding, oriel windows, moulded beams and an extraordinary first-floor panelled ceiling. These are indications of a high-status building and documentary research suggests that it was probably built by Thomas Hakluyt (1492-1544), the wealthy Clerk to the Council of the Marches of Wales, based at Ludlow. Thomas's son, Richard Hakluyt the Elder (1531-1591) became an influential guardian to his cousin, the renowned Elizabethan geographer Richard Hakluyt the Younger (1552-1616). It seems to be a house with a pedigree.

The crosswing was probably built in the first quarter of the 16th century. The first-floor primary framing on the front (south) elevation has been replaced with square framing and the oriel window lost; otherwise the wing is in remarkably good condition having five surviving oriels with moulded mullions and sills. The first-floor jetties to the west and south have a richly moulded bressumer, and brackets with moulded, attached pillars under the jetty.

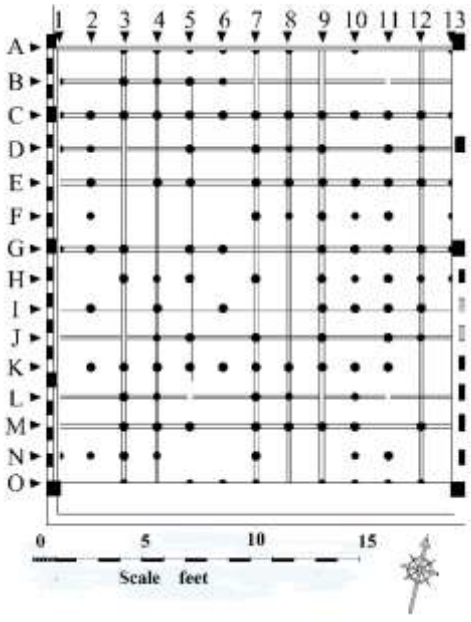
On the ground floor, two of the three bays form a large room with a wide fireplace at the north end. The ceiling has moulded beams and joists, with a moulded dragon beam at the south-west corner (Fig. 8). The room above is considerably larger due to the jetties and the wide fireplace at the north end. The area has been subdivided, probably in the 19th century, to create two rooms and a small lobby, all of which reduces the impact of the spectacular panelled ceiling (Fig. 9).



Figure 8. Eyton Court; ground floor ceiling beams



Figure 9. Eyton Court; part of the first floor panelled ceiling



The panels are formed using oak planks nailed to the joists. These have been overlaid with ribs of two distinct sizes and profiles, the larger ones to create 42 panels, each approximately 3ft. square. Each panel is subdivided, using the smaller ribs to create four smaller panels, each about 18in. square giving a total of 168 panels (Fig. 10). The corners are decorated with 143 carved oak bosses, fixed in place where the ribs intersect. There is an additional series of 48 half-bosses attached where the ribs meet the sidewalls of the room. Of the original 191 bosses approximately 120 survive in situ on the ceiling (Fig. 11).

Figure 10. Reference plan showing the positions of the surviving carved bosses.

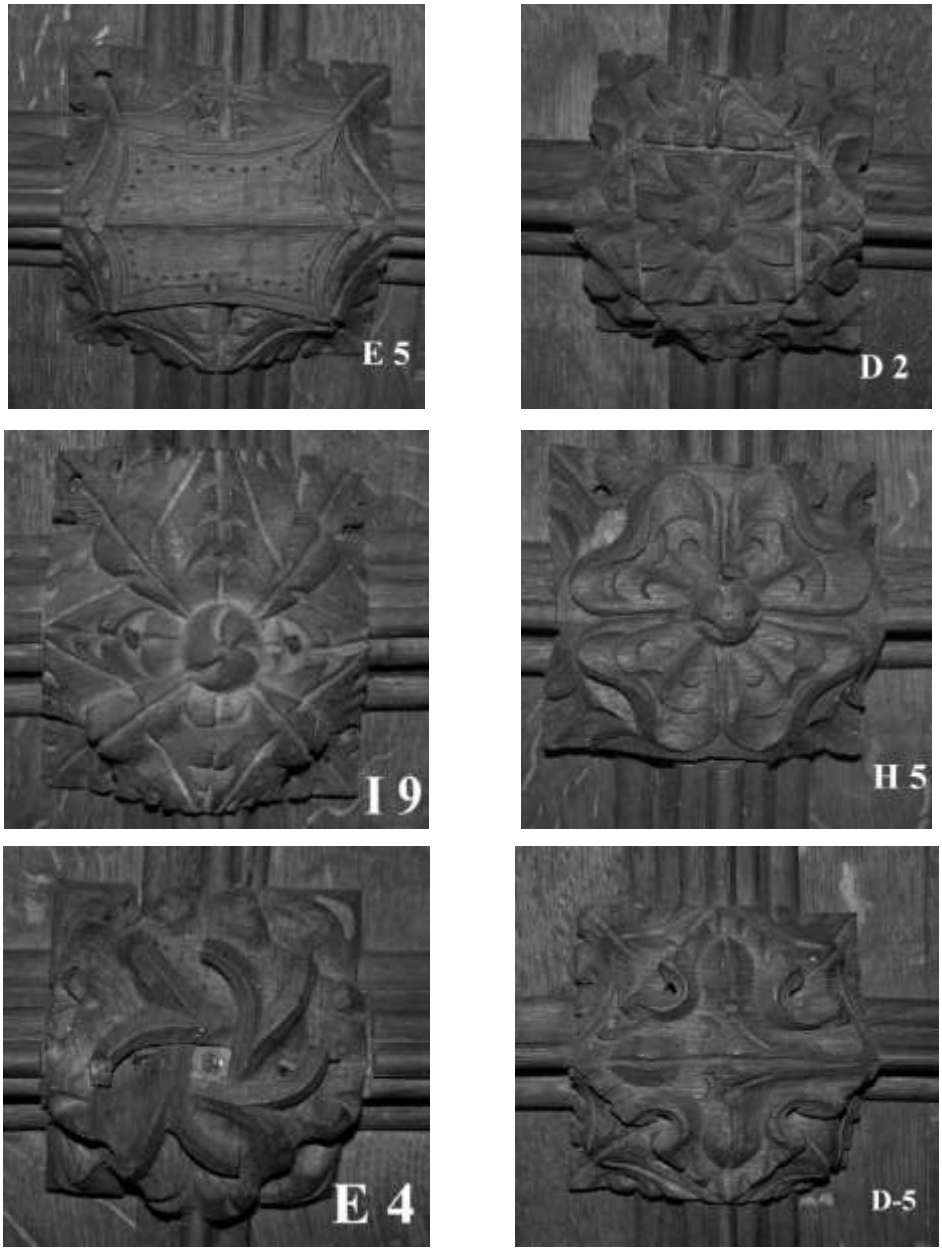


Figure 11. A small selection of the 129 carved oak bosses on the corners of the panels of the panelled ceiling. All of them feature leaves sweeping back at the four corners. The reference numbers indicate their positions on the ceiling – see Figure 10.

The basic shape of all the bosses has been dictated by their function, which is to cover the joint where the ribs cross and, in effect, to fold back into the corner of each panel, clasping the rib junction. They are therefore all essentially square in plan with stylized petals or leaves, swept back at the corners. A number of motifs are used, all based on foliage, flowers and the acanthus leaf although five of the bosses incorporate an escutcheon (Fig. 11).

Perhaps the most striking thing is that of the 120 surviving carvings, no two are exactly the same. The overwhelming impression is of great ingenuity and variety in the design of each one, as if the craftsmen were determined (or instructed) not to repeat any of the motifs.

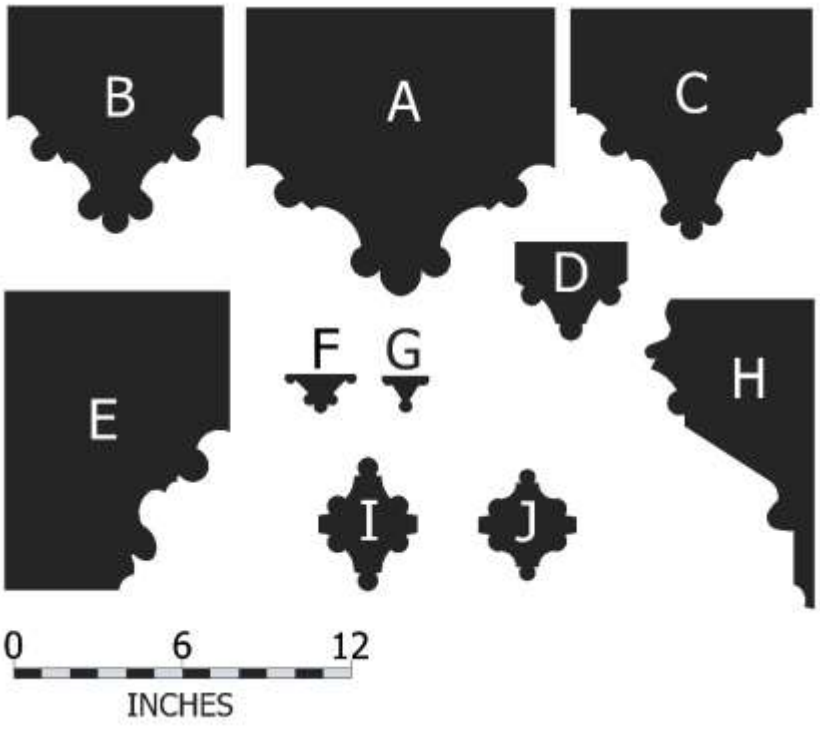


Figure 12. Eyton Court; moulding profiles

The moulding profiles used throughout the building (Fig. 12) have significant features in common—variations on a theme. The basic motif is the 'hollow-with-roll' used on the mullion 'I' and joist 'D'. It is also used, one above the other, on the beams 'A', 'B' and 'C' but with the lower motif merged into a half-round 'keel' creating the triple lobe that is reproduced on the rib 'F'. The half round 'keel' is also a feature of the small rib 'G', the joist 'D' and the mullion 'I'. The bressumer moulding 'E' uses a double hollow-with-roll but with the addition of a quarter-round hollow between each motif. This quarter-round is also used along the lower edge of the windowsill profile, above which is a double hollow-with-roll, the lower one having been adjusted to fit the function and shape of the sill. The moulding along the upper edge is somewhat unclear.

Only one moulding does not really fit the scheme and that is mullion 'J'. This uses an ogee profile, which does not occur anywhere else in the building. It may simply be that the

mullions were cut by a different craftsman.

The crosswing at Eyton Court is a high-status structure—demonstrated by the complexity of the moulding, the jetty on two faces, the close-studding, the large oriel windows and the elaborate ceilings on both the ground and first floors. The latter is especially noteworthy—the carving of 190 oak bosses would have taken many months to complete, especially as they had to be hollowed out on the backs in order to fit over the moulded ribbing.

The date of the crosswing is indicated by a number of features. The moulding profiles are a valuable source, suggesting a date in the first quarter of the 16th century. The design of the glazed oriel windows and the chimneystack sited within the crosswing and with wide fireplaces on both floors are also appropriate for this period Ceilings on the first floor are an indicator of modernity and extra comfort—in the previous century upper rooms were open to the ridge. Finally, the timber is trestle sawn which places the building before 1530-40.[4]

However, the adjacent hall and service range that would have stood on the site now occupied by the brick range do not survive. By the opening years of the 16th century the open hall was falling out of favour and more modern, comfortable ways of living were being introduced. The building on this site would not have been an open hall with a central hearth and no chimney, but a two-storey hall with ceiling.

Why these are no longer in evidence can only be a matter for speculation. It is possible that a medieval hall stood on the site, perhaps a cruck building, and that an upgrade in the early 16th century replaced the solar accommodation with a new, jettied crosswing and that this older hall was later taken down and replaced in brick, keeping the best part—the solar crosswing.

The idea that this was an upgrading of an earlier hall on the site gathers some credence as the upper end (the solar) is positioned towards the south-west quadrant and the prevailing wind. This is also the case with The Marsh, a medieval hall house of some size on the other side of the road. It can be demonstrated that such an alignment is a feature of medieval hall houses in Herefordshire.[5] What is clear is that there is no evidence for smoke blackening on any of the roof timbers adjacent to the hall so if there was an earlier hall then by the time the crosswing was constructed, the open hearth was no longer in use.



Figure 13. All Saints' Church, Eyton; One of the carved bosses on the screen

The connection with Thomas Hakluyt is circumstantial as no documentary evidence confirming he built the house has been found. However, he did have a house in Eyton, built on land given to him by a kinsman and constructed while he was Clerk to the Council of the Marches in Wales. Clerk (or Secretary) to the powerful Council was an important position that would have made him a wealthy man. However, this report is not the place for a detailed analysis of the documentary evidence—suffice it to say that there is a strong possibility that Eyton Court was the family house of Thomas Hakluyt until his death in 1544.

If Thomas Hakluyt did commission the house it is likely that he also funded the screen in the nearby Eyton Church (All Saints) which is contemporary with Eyton Court crosswing and its first-floor ceiling and includes carved bosses that are almost certainly from the same workshop (Fig. 13).[6]

The Marsh, Eyton, Leominster, HR6-0AG
Lat/Long: 52.248070, -2.770637
RCHME - Eyton monument No. 3.



Figure 14. The Marsh, Eyton; the south elevation

This is a late-medieval timber-framed hall house with a two-bay, two-storey upper crosswing (Fig. 14). The building was the subject of an extensive program of restoration. The service bay has gone and been replaced with a modern wing. In May 1933 J. W. Bloe, the RCHME inspector, made small but detailed sketches of the structure in his notes. In 1983 Richard Harris produced a carefully-measured set of (unpublished) plans and elevations. A shortened version of Bloe's

notes, included in the RCHME Herefordshire volume (1934), stated that the ‘crosswing was rebuilt and heightened probably in the 16th century’. However, from evidence seen during a recent visit to the house by the author and the record made by Richard Harris, it is clear that the crosswing is of a single build, with storey posts that are the full height of the walls and that it was constructed as a two-storey wing.

A particularly interesting feature of the crosswing is the side as seen from within the hall (Fig. 15). This has a pair of principal rafters that are an integral part of the structure and yet do not relate to the present hall, which is an independent structure and wider and higher than this. It is clearly the vestige of an earlier, lower and slightly narrower hall that was coeval with the crosswing. This indicates that the crosswing must predate the present hall and that the latter would have replaced a rather low, possibly cruck-framed structure.

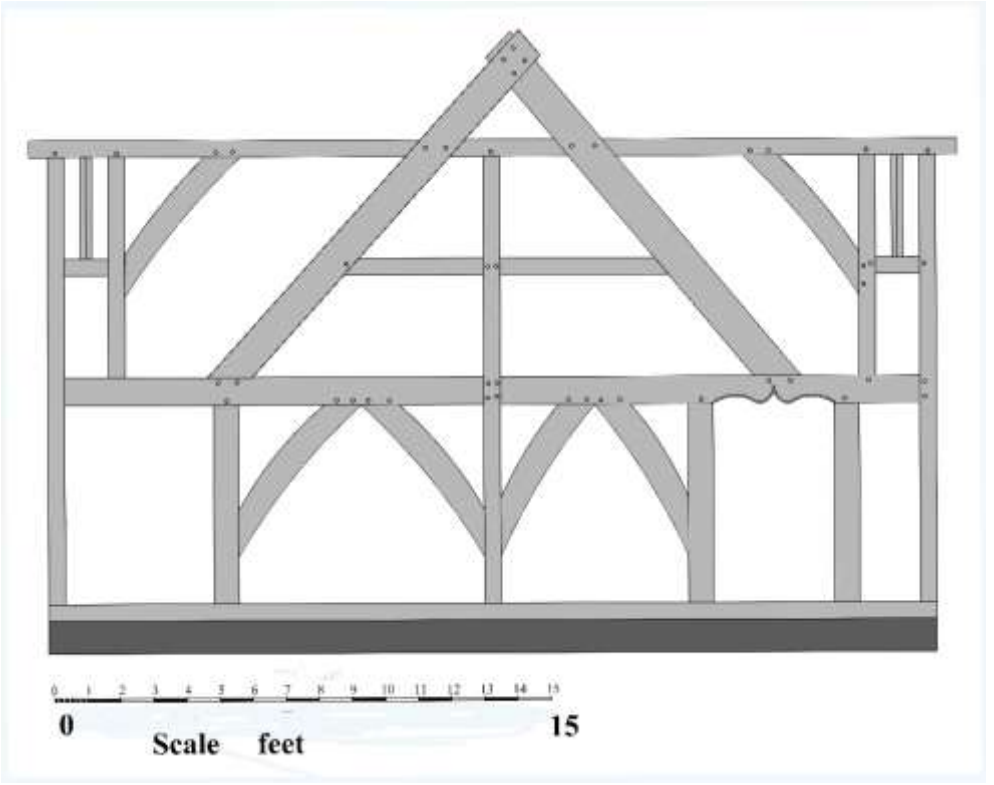


Figure 15. The Marsh, Eyeton; east elevation of the side of the crosswing

Incremental upgrading of premises is found in many buildings. In a medieval hall house there are three units; solar, hall and service, any of which, but particularly the hall and the service bay were vulnerable to damage from fire. Modifications could also demonstrate an owner’s rise in wealth or status, which may explain why the previous hall at The Marsh was replaced with the present lofty structure. This has a full set of thirty-two cusped windbraces, a spere truss and a principal truss over the centre of the hall that is decorated above the collar with a quatrefoil

flanked by trefoils. It is an impressive interior.

The present approach to the house is from the north side but it is possible that the original front elevation faced south with access from that side of the building. Clues suggesting this include the mortice and peg-hole evidence of an arched doorhead (now reconstructed) at the south end of the crosspassage. A similar modern doorhead has been made for the north doorway although there is no evidence on which to base this. It is more likely that this was a straight doorhead as it was common practice in the area to make the 'back' doorway less significant than the principal doorway. There are examples of this at 15th-century hall houses in Pembridge (The Old Forge) and Preston-on-Wye (Green Farm) where the principal doorways have a semi-circular arched head while the back doorhead is square.

Pound House, Yarpole, Herefordshire, HR6 0BA
Latitude/Longitude: 52.2809, -2.7740
RCHME Yarpole, monument No. 31.
Pound House is a timber-framed building constructed in a number of separate phases. The building has functioned as a farmhouse for many years—possibly since it was built—and was known as Pound Farm in the early 19th century (Fig. 16).[7] The modest house constructed in the 16th and 17th centuries underwent significant remodelling in the late 17th or early 18th century.



Figure 16. Pound House, Yarpole; north front elevation

The building stands to the east of the village on the south side of the road. It consists of a two-storey, three-bay, central block laid out on an east-west alignment with a two-bay, two-

storey crosswing at the east end and a three-bay, two-storey crosswing at the west end (Fig. 17). In addition there is a small two-storey bay on the north side against the projecting return of the west wing. The principal fireplace is within the middle bay of the west crosswing at the west end of the central block. It has two brick shafts, one of them square, set on the diagonal. The walls are timber framed with some stucco and rebuilding in brick, especially on the south side including the side wall of the central block although it is possible that the framing survives behind the brick (Fig. 18).

The central block contains the earliest, phase of the building, which was a modest three-bay, timber-framed, 1½ storey house with a large, external stone chimneystack at the west end. At first-floor level the bays would have been open to the ridge and there are likely to have been dormer windows fitted in the roof.

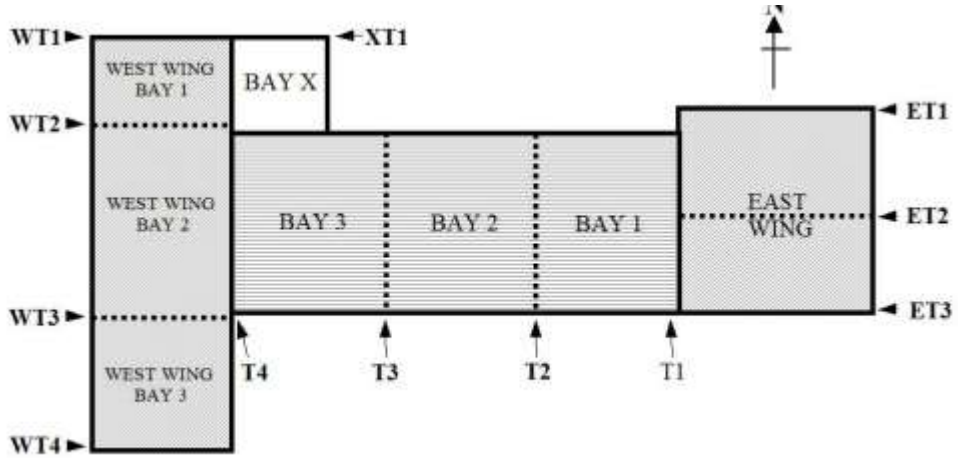


Figure 17. Pound House, Yarpole; sketch plan showing layout of bays and roof trusses

The date of this earliest phase is indicated by a number of features. The three-bay layout is indicative of the 16th rather than 17th century when, in the locality, two-bay structures tended to be adopted at the vernacular level. Although not an open hall structure the three bay primary phase (solar, hall and service unit) does refer back to aspects of the 15th-century open hall.

The ground-floor, axial ceiling beams in bays 1 and 2 have wide chamfers and bar-stops with stepped runout. This suggests early 16th century. Finally, the first-phase timbers are pit-sawn rather than trestle-sawn, which would place the structure after 1530-40. In the absence of tree-ring dating it may therefore be appropriate to place the first phase in the second quarter of the 16th century—say 1540-1550, although it could be later in the century.

The second phase constitutes a significant upgrading of the building by the addition of the west crosswing. This two storey timber-framed wing has been built around the formerly external chimneystack, the latter being extended to provide a fireplace in bay 3 of the west wing. On the first floor of the wing, bays 1 and 2 formed a single large room. All of this suggests that the west wing was intended to provide extended ‘upper end’ accommodation. There is no evidence for primary first-floor ceilings in the west wing and the design of trusses WT2 and WT3 with their raking struts, suggests that they were intended to be seen. First-floor access may have been via

a staircase within one of the bays. It is suggested that this phase belongs to the second half of the 16th century, say 1550-1600 although the fact that the first floor rooms were open to the ridge means that the wing may be earlier rather than later in this period.

In the third phase the roof over the main range (bays 1, 2 and 3) was raised to create a full, two-storey building with first-floor ceilings. The primary roof trusses were removed; the corner posts and storey posts were extended by about 4 ft. and a new set of roof trusses inserted along with first-floor axial ceiling beams, the latter with scroll stops.

The attic space was not used at this stage since the roof trusses would have impeded movement between the bays. It is difficult to date this phase but the scroll stops on the ceiling beams suggest the second half of the 16th century.

Access at first-floor level was by means of doorways positioned centrally in the new cross-framing under T2 and T3. The position of a staircase or steps to the first floor is not known but it is likely to have been in bay 2.At this stage, the 'upper' end of the house remained at the west end.

The building of the wing and the creation of the full two-storeys of the main house brought modifications to the planned circulation arrangements. This now required a single staircase giving access to both the wing and the main range and, in addition, possibly reaching up to the attic floor of the main range, an area that had not been used. This may have been the moment when floorboards were laid in the attic and the roof trusses T2 and T3 modified, by removing the collars, to allow movement between the bays in the roof. This would have formed accommodation for servants.

The dimensions of bay X, and its position in the return of the west crosswing, mean that it was almost certainly built as a staircase tower housing a winder staircase. Exactly how this may have been arranged is not known as very little of the primary structure of the bay survives or is visible. What can be seen is a fragment of timber framing in the roof, on the south side of bay X, that includes evidence for a former window although it is not clear how this might have fitted in with the staircase.

The last major addition to the house was the east wing. A prominent two-bay structure built over a cellar and clearly marking out the east end as the upper end of the house and a change in the use of rooms within the house in that the function of the west end of the building reverted fully to that of service.

The east wing was unusual in having windows on both floors on the east side in addition to those on the north and south sides. Although a two bay building, the wing had a single near-square room on each floor. The ceiling beams, with their scroll and notch chamfer stops, are distinctive and it is of interest to note that these unusual stops are also used on the soffit of the lintel over the fireplace in bay 3 of the main range. This suggests that when the east wing was added there was also a refurbishment of the fireplace in bay 3, possibly installing the stone jambs as well as fitting a new lintel.

From the evidence of the timber framing that is visible on three sides of the east wing, plus the evidence of the scroll stops with notch, it is suggested that this is a 17th-century addition—possibly 1600-1650. An almost complete set of assembly marks can be seen on the north face of the east wing.

The cellar under the east wing was reached from steps down in bay 1 and this suggests that the boxed-in staircase may well have been added at the same time giving easy, direct access to the new wing. Whether this meant that the staircase in bay X was still in use at the

time is not clear. It may simply have fallen out of use or, more likely, been taken out of use when the next phase, that of remodeling the house, took place.

This final remodelling phase is of late-17th or early-18th century date. It was focussed on the east wing and involved replacing the windows with 18th-century sash windows and closing off both east windows. The ground floor of the wing was fitted with panelling and a chimneystack built in the south-west corner with fireplaces on both floors of the south bay of the wing and on both floors of bay 1 in the main range.

These 18th-century modifications extended further into the main range with the creation of a corridor along the north side of the building on the first floor and the installation of a superb fireplace in bay 3. The bay 1 first-floor fireplace, which is also of this phase, survives but the fireplace below, on the ground floor, has been lost.



Figure 18. Pound House, Yarpole; south elevation during repair to the timber frame

A number of new, internal doors related to the smaller rooms created on the first floor, were fitted in this phase as well as the front and back doors, that on the front having a simple hood fitted. The windows were also replaced in the main range although only a single 18th-century example survives (the side-ways sash with thick, ovolo-moulded glazing bars); all the others have been replaced with later sashes with narrower glazing bars.

The most striking change introduced as part of this remodelling was the creation of a brick front on the south side of the main range, possibly hiding the remains of the primary timber-framing (Fig. 20). It could be argued that this new south face with its smart brickwork was intended to turn it into the principal façade and it may be significant that the back door has better panelling than the front.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] The tree-ring dates given are from the work of dendrochronologist, Dr Ian Tyers. The results are due for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Vernacular Architecture.*

[2] The term 'ceiled hall' denotes a hall either with an inserted ceiling or one that has been built as a two storey structure with the hall on the ground floor and a large chamber above that is open to the ridge and that can serve a similar semi-public function to that of a ground-floor hall.

[3] A copy of the full report has been deposited in the Woolhope Club library.

[4] D. James, 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance', *Vernacular Architecture*, 43 (2012), pp.7-18.

[5] D. James, 'An Investigation of the Orientation of Timber-framed Houses in Herefordshire', *Vernacular Architecture*, 34 (2003), pp.20-31.

[6] The Eyton Church screen bosses are larger and more elaborate but all incorporate details found on the Eyton Court ceiling including the use of moulded ribs.

[7] A copy of the full report has been deposited in the Woolhope Club library.

Geology, 2015

By MOIRA JENKINS

This year has seen successful outcomes from several research projects exploring the county's geology.

A GENUS NEW TO SCIENCE

In early 2016 Dr Neil Clark of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow published the results of his research on fossils from a quarry on Great Doward. The specimens collected are a new genus and species, previously unrecorded, of a eumalacostracan crustacean. The Herefordshire finds are thus of great importance.[1]

Thorough examination of the well-preserved specimens from a quarry on Great Doward and comparison with specimens from around the world, have shown that this is not *Tealliocaris* as was originally thought. The new crustacean has similarities to other rarely found specimens of *Tealliocaris* and *Pseudogalathea* (found in northern England and Scotland), but there are significant differences in the shape of the carapace and its ornamentation. This new crustacean has been named *Schramocaris gilljonesorum*, after the American researcher Frederick Schram, who has done so much work on malcostracan crustaceans, Jackie Gill who collected related fossils at Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire and Val and Ian Jones who found the Herefordshire fossils.

HEREFORDSHIRE AND WORCESTERSHIRE EARTH HERITAGE TRUST (EHT)

A variety of work has continued despite the fact that government funding through the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund is no longer available for projects to mitigate the effects of quarrying (unlike the government in Wales). It is now more difficult to obtain funding for geoconservation projects. EHT have a number of projects running.

A Thousand Years of Building with Stone

This project, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), continued during 2015. The project's database is on www.buildingstones.org.uk. This contains 544 building stone quarry records, 3,894 stone building records and both OS and geological map layers. Close to 200 volunteers have been involved with the project with many trained to add the data they have collected via the internet.

The closure of Herefordshire Record Office made it difficult to access archival information for most of the life of the project. This was resolved with the opening of the new archives centre at HARC at Rotherwas in August 2015. However there is now no access to reference sources in the Woolhope Library due to the 'temporary' closure of the museum and library building in Broad Street. Access to reference collections at the Museum Resource and Learning Centre is also increasingly difficult due to significant cuts to staffing levels there.

A paper by Elliot Carter on the project and the building stones of Bromyard has been accepted for publication in *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*. The Herefordshire Building Stones display was on show at the Cider Museum from June until the end of December 2015, kindly supplemented by worked stone specimens and tools from the Hereford Museum

collection.

Museum staff were delighted by research evidence about the team from W. Clarkes of Llandaff who lifted the Roman mosaic excavated by the Woolhope Club at Kenchester in 1912.[2] In 1914 this was mounted for display in the stairwell at the museum in Broad Street, Hereford.

With the help of a team of volunteers, displays were put on at the Kington Show, Bromyard Gala and Bromyard Downs Big Picnic. A number of talks were given to local groups and societies. Guided walks included one in the Goodrich area for the Woolhope Club Geology Section. The project engaged with 10,176 individuals in 2015; making a total of 23,674 over the life of the project. Use of social media had led to 212 Twitter followers and 161 people so far have found one of the earth caches.

The HLF has agreed to re-alignment of the budget and an extension of the project which will allow work to continue until early 2017.

Voyages in Deep Time

Funding has been obtained for the Voyages in Deep Time project which will involve young people in the production of apps for mobile phones to explain geological features. The areas to be covered in Herefordshire are the Wye Gorge and Red and Black Darren in the Black Mountains. Funding has been received from HLF, the Bransford Trust and a legacy from Mr Rodway. Teme Valley Geological Society, Lickey Hill Champions and Worcester 6th Form College have also given small donations for work that directly affects these organisations.

The purpose of the project is to encourage schools to use local geological sites by producing smartphone apps. There will be a game about survival in deep time for younger children while the app for more advanced students will introduce them to independent fieldwork. Both will link to a website which can be used to develop ideas in class. We hope that both apps will also be used by others, including youth organisations and disabled groups, and the outreach programme to be developed later in the project will seek to engage these users. Finally, it is planned to involve the young people in introducing the apps to adults—many of whom probably have smartphones, but only use the 'phone facility and not all the 'smart' things it can do!

The Wye Valley Partnership Project

This project, funded by Defra through Natural England, enabled Herefordshire and Worcestershire EHT, as one of the partners, to undertake further useful work before the project ended in March 2015. This included collection of baseline data of geological sites, production of management strategies for landowners and designation of four more Local Geodiversity Sites.

One interesting event was a canoe trip down the Wye from Bredwardine to the boathouse at Hereford. This allowed EHT members and volunteers to record the geology of sites which are not accessible from the river bank. There was a clear view of the SSSI designated for its geology at the Scar, which is a huge cliff in Upper Silurian Raglan Mudstone Formation. Such outcrops of mudstone are rarely seen outside of coastal exposures in Pembrokeshire. This site cannot be seen from the public footpaths which run along the top of the cliff (Plate 8.1).

In the area of the Scar, several tributary streams have deposited calcareous tufa as they flow over small waterfalls on entering the River Wye. This calcium carbonate has been dissolved from the lime-rich rocks and sediments in the area and this then comes out of solution as the streams cascade into the Wye (Fig. 2).



Figure 1. Calcareous tufa deposited by a small stream entering the River Wye near Bredwardine

Tufa deposits can also be seen on the walls by the river at the National Trust Gardens at the Weir (Plate 8. 2). The tufa is an irregular deposit which encloses fragments of vegetation and other organic remains such as beetle carapaces. It is still forming though at a slower rate than in the past. The moss *Palustriella commutata* (formerly *Cratoneuron commutatum*) is adapted to grow at the same rate as the deposition of the tufa. It aids the formation of tufa by slowing the flow of the water and raising the pH level as it photosynthesises and absorbs carbon dioxide.[3]

The River Wye cuts through ridges of glacial moraine at Bredwardine, Staunton on Wye and Bridge Sollers. The Wye cut a new course through Breinton Gorge when its route further north was blocked during the Ice Age by moraine at Stretton Sugwas. The moraines mark some of the places at which the Wye glacier paused during its retreat at the end of the Ice Age, depositing the sediments which had been carried in the ice.

In Breinton Gorge the canoeists were able to record another cliff of Raglan Mudstone Formation cut by the river on the outside of a meander bend. This is not visible from the river bank near Tuck Mill. The geology of this site had not previously been recorded and proved to be much more extensive than expected, with a cliff section about 20 metres high and 300 metres wide. Plate X. 3 shows the layers of mudstone, sandstone and calcrete in the cliff, all laid down by seasonal streams on an arid land surface about 400 million years ago and capped by fluvio-glacial deposits from the last Ice Age. The red colour of these lowest of the Old Red Sandstone

rocks is given by oxides of iron which formed in the dry conditions. Logging of the section showed a calcrete layer, more than a metre thick, in about the centre of the section. This layer has a slight blueish tinge (Plate 8.3**).** This limestone is chemical and not marine. It contains nodules of calcium carbonate which accumulated at the base of a fossil soil as lime-rich ground water evaporated. A horizon near the top of the section has vertical cracks, vertisols, with an eroded top. Vertisols are formed when clay layers dried and cracked during dry periods. The greenish grey horizons mark periods when conditions were damper. Here iron minerals were reduced producing ferrous hydroxides rather than the red ferric oxides. At the top of the cliff under the glacial deposits is a coarser sandstone layer deposited when coarser material eroded from the newly formed Welsh mountains was deposited in the lowlands.

The weather was very cold for canoeing but the visibility is better in winter months when the exposures are not obscured by leaves on the trees.

Minibus trip for tourism operators

A minibus trip was organised for tourism providers to develop their understanding of the geological sites and features, including those associated with the Wye Tour, which contributed to the area's growing popularity with tourists from the late 18th and early 19th century.



The spectacular scenery created by the underlying geology made the area a favourite place to visit when the Napoleonic wars prevented travel to the continent. An appreciation of geology has the potential to add interest to a holiday for many people and it is hoped this will play a greater part in initiatives to encourage sustainable tourism. The tour visited sites at the Biblins, King Arthur's Cave and Goodrich among others.

Figure 2 shows caves cut into the line of cliffs near King Arthur's Cave. The base of the cliff face has been smoothed by running water—in contrast to the rough cliff face higher up—and the Carboniferous Limestone dissolved to form caves when the River Wye was flowing at a higher level, before it cut the deep gorge we see today. The rock here is the Gully Oolite (formerly Crease Limestone).

Figure 2. Water-smoothed walls of caves in Carboniferous Limestone near King Arthur's Cave

Clearance work has been organised by EHT at several localities, funded by Malvern Hills AONB. A keen band of volunteers has produced wonderful results by exposing features which had not previously been recorded. This has attracted interest from a variety of researchers. The sites are in good condition and have been visited by a number of students and geological societies.



Figure 3. Trace fossils, burrows in Cambrian Malverns Quartzite at Gullet Pass Pit

Figure 3 shows traces of the burrows of creatures which lived on the sea floor in the Cambrian Period about 540 million years ago. The prominent surface is a bedding plane of the basal Cambrian Malvern Quartzite, dipping down towards the stream which follows a line of weakness of a geological fault. This shows that the folding here is related to movement on the fault which runs through Gullet Pass and not to the uplift of the Malvern Hills themselves. The stream in Gullet Pass has its source to the west of the Malvern Hills and flows from there to the Severn Valley. It has eroded one of the few valleys to cross the line of the Malverns.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB GEOLOGY SECTION

The geology section has had an interesting year's programme of talks and field trips one of which is described below.

Trip to Huntsham Hill

The participants met at Symonds Yat Rock car park and admired the 'Shadowlands' view before crossing the road to Huntsham Hill. Excellent exposures in the crags on the hillside show

Devonian Quartz Conglomerate, now renamed Huntsham Hill Conglomerate, Tintern Sandstone, and the gradual transition from terrestrial deposits to the marine Avon Group (formerly called Lower Limestone Shales), the lowest of the Carboniferous limestones. The junction of the Avon Group with the overlying Black Rock Limestone (Lower Dolomite) is seen at the entrance to the tunnel of the former railway, where massive limestone overlies more thinly bedded rock (Plate 8. 4).

During the field trip, the landslip area on the east side of Huntsham Hill was also investigated. Evidence can be seen of scars on the hillside, trees which are leaning and the slight diversion of the river by debris which tumbled down the hillside.

Plate 8. 5 shows a close-up of the Quartz Conglomerate in the crags on Huntsham Hill. As well as quartz pebbles in a matrix of sand there is a vug, a geode, containing calcite crystals. Jasper pebbles are occasionally found in the Quartz Conglomerate. In the Devonian Period, these were carried long distances probably from nort-west Wales where jasper is found deposited between the pillow lavas.

SYMPOSIUM: 'THE GEOLOGY OF THE MARCHES: MURCHISON TO THE MODERN ERA'

A well-attended and successful event was held in Ludlow in October 2016, organised by the Geologists Association, Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Teme Valley Geological Society and Herefordshire and Worcestershire EHT. On the Friday, participants had the opportunity to follow self-guided walks using trail guides and attend a selection of workshops at Ludlow Museum, using its superb facilities and important collections of specimens. Unfortunately the museum faces an uncertain future due to funding cuts in this time of austerity.



Figure 4. The graptolite *Monogratpus tumescens* from Upper Elton Formation, Mortimer Forest

On Saturday morning there were several talks, including one by Professor David Siveter on ‘Sensational soft-bodied fossils from 425 MA volcanic ash - The Herefordshire Lagerstätte’. Professor Siveter showed that ‘sensational’ new discoveries continue to be made from the fossils found at this globally important site in Herefordshire. The fossils, which include details of soft body parts and are preserved in 3D, have revealed much that was not previously known about life in the Silurian Period. In the afternoon there were a series of workshops including one on the EHT Building Stones Project. A variety of displays, set up by local geological societies, were also available to view.

Various field trips were arranged on the Sunday, including one to sites in Mortimer Forest. These Silurian sites have been extensively recorded, including recent work by the Ludlow Research Group whose geologists have described the stratigraphy of the Silurian Period in detail. Many type sections and names from the area are used world-wide. Figure 4 shows a graptolite, *Monograptus tumescens* from an outcrop in the Upper Elton Formation (Lower Ludlow Shales) from Site 5 on the Mortimer Forest Geology Trail.

WOOLHOPE DOME WALK LED BY HEREFORDSHIRE WILDLIFE TRUST

A walk led by Herefordshire Wildlife Trust visited a variety of sites on the Woolhope Dome to explore its interesting geology and biodiversity. An exposure in a river cliff eroded by the Pentaloe Brook on the outside of a meander, at grid reference SO58492 37628, provides a clear view of rocks which are not often well exposed. The Haugh Wood Formation underlies the Haugh Wood and Broadmoor Common in the centre of the Woolhope Dome.



Figure 5. Cliff in Upper Haugh Wood Beds by Pentaloe Brook

These rocks are the oldest of the Llandovery Series—the earliest Silurian rocks—in the area (Fig. 5). Some older Llandovery beds have been found in a bore hole at Fownhope but these do not outcrop at the surface. The cliff is several metres high and more than 12 metres wide with alternations of thin limestone and shale bands. Figure 5 shows a block of a thicker limestone band which has fallen into the stream. It was examined and found to be made up of broken fragments of limestone held together with calcite veining.

A geological fault running through the section is visible where the rock strata is not continuous from left to right (Fig. 6). This is one of a set of minor faults radiating out from the Woolhope Dome which were produced when the area was uplifted. There is slight folding of the rock along this section of the stream with a shallow anticline and a syncline.



Figure 6. Geological fault in Haugh Wood Beds

OTHER GROUPS VISITING THE AREA

Students using seismic records to study structure on either side of the major line of weakness—the Malvern Axis—have made visits to see the rocks which outcrop at the surface. Many geological societies visited important sites in Herefordshire during the year. In addition to several in the Malvern Hills, an important location is Whitman's Hill Quarry where the Silurian Much Wenlock Limestone can be seen overlying the Coalbrookdale Formation (formerly called Wenlock Shale). Guided visits can be arranged by contacting the EHT. This year a party of

children visited the quarry with Rock Watch, the Geologists' Association's group that organises events for children. Visits to Whitman's Hill are always popular and well attended. Other groups, including the south-west Branch of the Open University Geological Society, visited the Malvern area to learn about the local geology. Figures 7 and 8 and Plate 8. 6 show some of the fossil finds made by these and other groups.

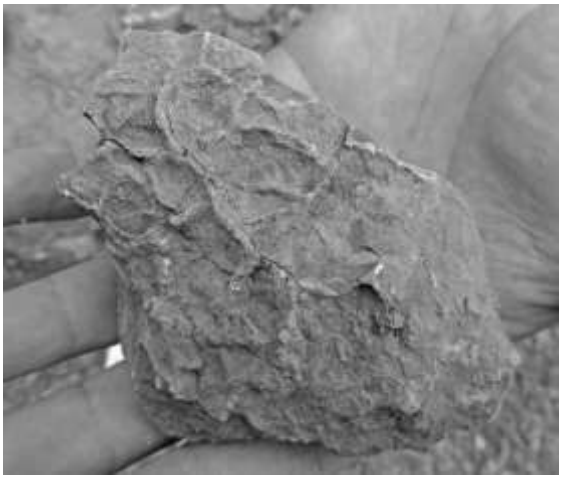


Figure 7. Halysites chain coral found in the Coalbrookdale Formation



Figure 8. Fossil gastropod *Loxonema*

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[3] B. Harding, 'Tufa formation today and in the past', *TWNFC,* 49 (2) (1998), pp.170-81.

Natural History, 2015

Whitman's Hill Quarry and Woodland

By JANET PARRY

This is the final year of monitoring begun in 2007 of the area at Whitman's Hill leased by Earth Heritage Trust (EHT) from the Madresfield Estate. Eight visits were made by Janet Parry (EHT and Club member) to check on the nest boxes in the woodland in April and May. There was a site meeting with EHT Champions in April to discuss future work needed. The quarry was visited in May to conduct a pond survey with Phyl and Richard King, county pond experts, and in August with Hilary Ward, to carry out an audit of the flora.

THE QUARRY

The vegetation has now stabilised and is dominated by Buddleia, *Buddleja alternifolia,* and , *Betula pendula*, with Wild Strawberry, *Fragaria vesca*, and Creeping Cinquefoil, *Potentilla reptans*, very common on the quarry floor. Other plants which are well established from earlier years are Yellow-wort, *Blackstonia perfoliata*, Common Centuary, *Centaurium erythraea*, Wild Basil, *Clinopodium vulgare*, Traveller's-joy, *Clematis vitalba*, Teasel, *Dipsacus fullonum*, Perforate St John's-wort, *Hypericum perforatum,* Ploughman's-spikenard, *Inula conizae,* and Bristly Oxtongue, *Picris echiodes*. These reflect the calcareous nature of the soil and have the ability to withstand occasional droughts. Other woodland plants such as Honeysuckle, *Lonicera peryclymenum,* and Selfheal, *Prunella vulgaris*, are starting to creep in at the margins and seedlings of Ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*, and Oak, *Quercus robur*, are establishing themselves as the soil layer develops. Also a range of grasses have appeared though they are rather sparce and there is evidence of rabbits, *Oryctolagus cuniculus*, grazing.

The quarry floor has been scraped in places to facilitate geology field trips, but this has removed some of the more tenuously established plants such as Field Pepperwort, *Lepidium campestre,* which have not re-established yet.

A pond survey was conducted this year as the ponds are getting more populated despite the water level fluctuating considerably. Broad leaved Pondweed, *Potamogaton natans*, continues to spread and the Bullrush, *Typha latifolia*, patch survives. The insects attracted to the water were mainly Mayflies, *Ephemera vulgata*, Mosquitoes, *Anopheles sp.*, Midges, *Chaoborus sp.*, Damselfly, *Pyrrhosoma nymphula*, and unidentified Dragon fly nymphs, Backswimmers, *Nononecta sp*., Whirligig Beetle, *Gyrinus substriatus*, and Pond skaters, *Gerris sp*.. There were various snails and the newts were identified as Palmate, *Lissotriton helveticus*. These are getting fairly numerous. There may be other species but the larvae found were too young to differentiate.

The Peregrine pair, *Falco peregrinus*, were successful in finding a suitable platform to build a nest this year and raised three chicks. They were in evidence over the quarry whenever visiting so need to be taken into account when planning spring and summer visits.

THE WOODLAND

Even more old trees blew down in the woodland making progress round the site difficult in places though there are several informal footpaths, some generated by animals. The bikers seem to have

disappeared and it seems that just a few local dog walkers roam round regularly which does deter less desirable intruders. The vegetation is stable with about 30 spikes of Herb Paris, *Paris quadrifolia*, in the main patch and a few others elsewhere. The Bluebells, *Hyacinthoides nonscripta*, Wood Anemones, *Anemone nemorosa*, and other woodland flowers made a good show as usual in spring.

The bird boxes were not very productive again due to bad weather early in spring when several nests were found abandoned with 10 dead chicks in one. Two Nuthatch nests were started but never occupied. Happily, the Pied Flycatchers, *Ficedula hypoleuca*, returned and were duly ringed by the Wychavon ringing group. Seven eggs were laid but only 5 chicks survived to be ringed. Overall, the boxes yielded 13 Great tits, *Parus major*, 30 Blue tits, *Parus caeruleus*, and 5 Pied Flycatchers, *Ficedula hypoleuca*, giving a total of 48 birds, much the same as last year. The dormice, *Muscardinus avellanarius*, did not put in an appearance again but are no doubt still around.

CONCLUSION

This is the last report on behalf of the WNFC for EHT as the 10-year lease has expired. However, the lease has been extended and the Wychavon ringing group has volunteered to take over the care and monitoring of the boxes in the woodland and pass on the data to the appropriate bodies as before.

As the quarry vegetation has stabilised reasonably and it is regularly disturbed to uncover more fossils for visitors and to keep the geological interest clear, there is little point in continuing to record it. It would be good if the disturbed areas were kept to a minimun to allow plants to establish further.

The Club would like to thank the EHT for the opportunity to record this interesting and beautiful site for 10 years which has added to the knowledge of natural history in the county. We hope it long continues to be an inspiration to young geologists and nature lovers alike. A retrospective account of the work done over the 10 years is published elsewhere in this volume.

Ornithology, 2015

By BERYL HARDING

Following on from 2014, which was the warmest and fourth-wettest year since records began in 1912, January continued mild. There were wide variations in night and day temperatures, ranging from -1°C to -6°C at night and with daytime peaks of 12°C to 14°C.

The usual national Garden Bird Watch run by the RSPB at the end of the month attracted more participants than ever. Over half a million people recorded 8,546,845 birds. Despite their place as the two most common birds seen, both House Sparrows and Starlings are listed as 'highest conservation priority-species needing urgent action'. Starling numbers have plummeted by 80% since the first Garden Bird Watch in 1979 and the RSPB are currently researching reasons for this decline. Blackbirds were at no.3, noted in 90% of gardens while Robins 'climbed' from no.10 to no.7, recorded in 86% of gardens. Twice as many Wrens were seen compared with 2014 giving the highest number since 2006—the mild winters have helped their survival. Goldfinches visited 84% of gardens, up from 1% in the 1970s—they are particularly attracted to nyjer and sunflower seeds. Song Thrush sightings were down to an all-time low and they are now in 22nd place; Greenfinches showed a dramatic drop to 25th place. This is most likely due to the *Trichomonosis* disease that has particularly affected them.

This disease is a viral form of avian pox affecting Green Finches and Chaffinches causing visible lesions around the eyes and beak as well as affecting internal organs especially the throat. Originally known to occur in pigeon and dove species, infection began in Greenfinches in 2005. It is believed that a few infected migrating Chaffinches left south-east England for Fenno-scandia in 2008 so spreading the disease into Western Europe as well. Unfortunately, it is also beginning to affect House Sparrows and Yellowhammers. It can be spread by contact, biting insects and contaminated feeding stations. Scientists are trying to understand the disease which seems most prevalent and severe from August to October. It is essential that people keep garden feeders and water containers clean to help reduce its spread.

It is well known that the milder winters have encouraged Blackcaps to over-winter in the UK, making use of garden feeders. Birds from Southern Germany and Austria that used to go to Southern Europe and Spain are now making a shorter 'hop' to Britain. This also gives them the advantage of a briefer return journey with the opportunity to set up their summer territories before the others arrive. The Garden Bird Watch project has twenty-two records of them over-wintering each winter from 1945-54 with 2,325 garden visits recorded in the winter of 2014/2015; 15% of gardens recorded their presence. This learned behaviour is passing on to their young. It also seems to be the start of an evolutionary trend as those that winter in the UK have developed rounder wings which provide better manoeuvrability but are less suited to long-distance migration. They are also developing longer and thinner beaks, more suited to eating feeder seeds and suets rather than fruit such as olives which make up 95% of the diet of the Spanish-wintering birds.

February continued in a similar vein with no rainfall until halfway through the month. With the jet stream well to the south, March had chill winds but the average temperature for the month was 10.9°C with 25mm. rainfall. Over the Easter weekend of April 11th and 12th strong westerly gales would have held up many spring migrants from Europe and Africa but this was reversed

the following week which brought cold easterlies. After an unsettled start, daytime temperatures moved into the upper teens and lower twenties leading to the sunniest April since records began with only 64% of the normal monthly rainfall.

This seemed to give promise for the nesting season. Egg laying commenced in mid-April for most species, other than the Flycatchers, and was nearly a week ahead of previous years. May began in the upper teens with some Blackbirds starting a second clutch, however, heavy rainfall then set in. By 16th May the average rainfall for the month had been received and the wet weather continued with lower than average temperatures. June also started chillier than normal with high winds and further heavy rainfall. The weather improved in the second half of the month with an average temperature of 14.6°C achieved. On 23rd June Hereford was recorded as the hottest place in the U.K. at 22°C. However this was too late to redress the balance for many nesting birds.

The Nest Box Scheme results were as follows:

Results for last the last nine years:

	2015	**2014**	**2013**	**2012**	**2011**	**2010**	**2009**	**2008**	**2007**
Sites recorded	27	23	26	26	26	29	30	29	33
Boxes available	866	731	741	805	820	818	939	961	943
Boxes used*	451	414	453	478	521	510	508	519	639
% used	**52.1**	**56.6**	**61.1**	**59.3**	**63.5**	**62.3**	**54.1**	**54.0**	**67.8**

*The number of boxes used was not fully recorded on one site resulting in a slight inaccuracy.

Taking into consideration the number of boxes now available, the number used shows the lowest take-up for many years. This was commented upon by several recorders and is a worrying trend. The 2014 winter had not been very cold so it is disappointing that our resident nest box birds were not making use of those available.

Species Results for 2014 compared with 2013:

Species	**Sites 2015/14**	**Nests 2015/14**	**Eggs 2015/14**	**Hatched 2015/14**	**Fledged 2015/14**	**% success 2015/14**
Pied Flycatcher	16/11	114/86	744/473	594/385	436/312	**58.6/65.9**
Blue Tit	27/23	186/194	1540/1535	1015/1247	782/936	**50.7/60.9**
Great Tit	23/22	163/140	758/896	589/749	434/639	**57.3/71.3**
Coal Tit	1/1	1/1	7/5	7/5	7/5	**100.0 /100.0**
Tit Species	2/3	8/6	45/49	34/31	12/15	**26.7/30.6**
Redstart	2/3	2/3	13/24	12/18	11/14	**84.6/53.8**
Nuthatch	8/5	19/13	94/78	74/66	62/55	**70.2/70.5**
Wren	3/1	3/2	7/9	7/3	7/unclear	100/unclear

Some young are recorded as tit species as their identity was not clear before departure.

As in last year, most species were off to a fairly good start but then the high winds and heavy rain of late May and early June, combined with lower than average temperatures by both day and night, greatly affected the invertebrate food supply and consequent fledging success.

The Blue Tits were more affected than others and achieved especially poor results.

Comparative annual success rate in fledging for the various species for past four years.

Species	2015	2014	2013	2012
Pied Flycatcher	58.6% - 16 sites	64.7%-10 sites	72.8%-14 sites	63.7% - 9 sites
Blue Tit	50.7% - 27 sites	60.9%-23 sites	69.1%-26 sites	58.7%- 26 sites
Great Tit	57.3& - 23 sites	71.3%-22 sites	68.0%-26 sites	67.3%- 26 sites
Marsh Tit	No sites	No sites	80.0% - 1 site	Failed – 1 site
Coal Tit	100% - 1 site	30.6% - 1 site	100% - 1 site	No record
Tit species	26.7% - 2 sites	30.6% - 3 sites	No record	No record
Nuthatch	70.5% - 8 sites	70.5% - 5 sites	42.8% - 5 sites	56.8% - 9 sites
Redstart	84.6% - 2 sites	53.8% - 3 sites	72.1% - 4 sites	? - 3 sites
Wren	100% -3 sites	? - 1 site	? - 1 site	58.3% - 1 site

Pied Flycatcher only Results: [2001 – no recording due to Foot & Mouth restrictions.]

2000	24 sites	140 nests	669 eggs	494 fledged	73.8% success
2002	14 sites	96 nests	685 eggs	263 fledged	38.4% success
2003	14 sites	109 nests	708 eggs	376 fledged	53.1% success
2004	14 sites	89 nests	620 eggs	443 fledged	71.4% success
2005	14 sites	85 nests	574 eggs	423 fledged	62.3% success
2006	16 sites	88 nests	520 eggs	503 fledged	96.6% success
2007	12 sites	107 nests	636 eggs	263 fledged	41.4% success
2008	13 sites	81 nests	582 eggs	367 fledged	63.0% success
2009	13 sites	93 nests	525 eggs	353 fledged	67.2% success
2010	12 sites	82 nests	539 eggs	404 fledged	74.9% success
2011	11 sites	87 nests	543 eggs	354 fledged	65.2% success
2012	9 sites	75 nests	477 eggs	425 fledged	63.7% success
2013	14 sites	135 nests	773 eggs	563 fledged	72.8% success
2014	11 sites	86 nests	473 eggs	304 fledged	64.2% success
2015	16 sites	114 nests	744 eggs	436 fledged	58.6% success

Note 2014 results have been restated from those reported last year.

Average overall success rate over the 15 years has been 64.9%

The percentage success per annum above should not be read in relation to previous years which can give the impression that some years give better results than others. This percentage is always pro rata in relation to the number of eggs laid and with young subsequently fledged in that particular year only.

The year 2000 shows a greater number of sites recorded (also influenced by the number of recorders then available) with a greater number of Flycatcher nests made. From then there was a steady decline until 2013 when the number of nests made almost recovered to the 2000 level but on fewer sites and with more eggs laid and a greater number fledged. This was probably because those Flycatchers that returned late that year made up for lost time by following on quickly with nesting and egg laying. The weather in late May greatly improved which would

have helped.

With such poor weather this year and consequent lack of insect food many recorders reported widespread abandonment of the young before they had fledged. In addition, a lot of mouse predation occurred, predominantly at the egg stage although some hatchlings were also attacked.

It proved a dire year at Merryhill, Mansel Lacy—a hilly site recorded since 1963. Of the forty-seven boxes taken up, twenty-two nests of the tit species were attacked with a further two abandoned after predator disturbance. It had been a good start for the Flycatchers but, of the eleven nests made, five were totally predated. It appeared that the predators had learned the distinguishing features of nest boxes particularly on the western half of the wood, which may consequently need to be moved next year. The previous recorder had noted that this had occurred in isolated years. Despite this the total numbers of Flycatchers fledged was fairly similar to previous years although numbers of tits fledged was severely reduced.

As usual, the Flycatcher ringing results showed that most adults returned to their previous sites. The males arrive two weeks earlier than the females to establish a site and make a rudimentary nest or two but the females may be slightly less site-faithful. At Whitney Estate one male repeatedly returns and, as he was hatched no later than 2008, is now at least seven years old! It will be interesting to see how long he is recorded for and hence his length of life.

Moccas Park, with its ancient oaks and consequent high invertebrate population, is obviously an ideal location for nest boxes and especially for Pied Flycatchers. Long-term recording has taken place since 1957 with results sent to the British Trust for Ornithology (BTO). There have been two new recorders for the last two years. As it is a National Nature Reserve, English Nature (EN) has requested that they monitor a further thirty-five new boxes erected at the upper part of the woodland at *c.*800ft. This will provide an interesting population comparison with those in the lower part of the park which is *c.*200-400 ft. Even more boxes may be erected there next year.

The results for this year show that the Flycatcher population soon made use of this extra area using 11 of the 35 new boxes with 77% fledging success. Many boxes available in the lower woodland were not taken up with only 17 of 70 boxes used, but with 76% fledging success. Other boxes were used by tits.

There are two other National Nature Reserves in Herefordshire—Downton Gorge and The Flits. EN have asked our Moccas recorders to monitor the latter, a 28-hectare site between Blakemere and Preston-on-Wye. The name is thought to have come from the Old English '*fliets*' meaning stream. This is a totally different environment consisting of lowland marsh with a fen scrub of birch and willow. Being on the Wye flood plain it also has some boggy grazing land drained by a ditch system. It has a very good mixed bog flora with abundant orchids. It is also notable for its diverse invertebrate population and 200 butterfly species have been recorded. While this is obviously not a suitable site for Flycatchers, EN consider it might provide an interesting comparison for the tit population at Moccas.

As usual, we are grateful to both the ringers and, particularly, the recorders for their efforts. As in some previous years it was disappointing for recorders to see a good number of eggs laid but then subsequently find only corpses—some close to fledging. It is also dispiriting to think of the enormous effort made by the female birds with such little success.

Both ringing and the new tracking devices used to follow birds on their migrations have provided new information as to where they over-winter and the routes followed, often with quite unexpected results. Also recorded has been the time spent in actual flight and on rest-and-feeding

stopovers during the journey. For example, from the Cuckoo tracking scheme, mentioned in recent Woolhope Club Ornithological reports, it has been shown that the Cuckoo spends only 15% of total time breeding in the UK compared with 47% over-wintering in the Congo and 38% en-route between the two.

One particular Cuckoo called Chris—named after the BTO Chairman, Chris Packham—has so far provided more information about annual migration than any other bird. A satellite-tracking device fitted in 2011 showed he made an annual migration of 5,000 miles flying at an average of 60mph at a height of two miles, flying both day and night when over the Sahara. Use of various route deviations were also revealed when he took a line nearer to the African coast to avoid the inland route. The last known signal from Chris was received from the Sahara in late summer so that, sadly, it must now be assumed he has died. The Cuckoo population in the UK has fallen by 65% in the last twenty-five years. The reasons for this are being investigated in order to assess factors at the over-wintering stage, en route and here in the UK.

Diminishing numbers of some of our other summer migrants are being recorded over-wintering in Africa so it is becoming ever more important to understand the climatic conditions and consequent food resources prevailing en route and at their final destinations. The BTO is working with other international organisations to study these. Rainfall during the African growing season is important for migrants that winter south of the Sahara as it affects plant growth and consequent insect abundance. This in turn influences both their date of return and subsequent nesting results. Adverse weather in the UK is also a crucial factor. Apart from rainfall, other factors that may compound the problems for some species include loss or degradation of wetlands, increasing clearance of woodland savannah, hunting and trapping en route and loss and change of habitat on migration routes—particularly at key stopover sites.

It has been estimated that more than 4,000 of the world's bird species, about 40% of the total, are migratory. The question of migration has intrigued ornithologists for generations. Despite much research the trigger for departure still remains obscure. Birds from the south move northward in spring for better feeding opportunities and to benefit from the extra hours of daylight, returning south from their breeding grounds when the temperature drops and/or food supplies become scarcer. Might there be another trigger for departure apart from temperature? Variations in day-length may provide an initial clue as these visual changes are known to set off hormonal changes in the brain, but there also seems to be an innate controlling mechanism or internal clock as those birds wintering in Central Africa will find variations in day-length hardly noticeable.

Imminent departure is manifested by a general flocking behaviour and restlessness—the latter is also noted in captive birds at the time that their wild 'cousins' are preparing for departure. However, this flocking is no indication that they will become fellow travellers. Preparation for long-distance flight for small birds involves not only the laying down of fat reserves for fuel but also other physiological changes—such as an increase in flight muscle with shrinkage of stomach, liver and intestine to compensate as any increase in overall weight puts a greater strain on their ability to sustain long-distance flight. An 18gm. Garden Warbler can more than double its weight to 37gm. before departure. During migration it may lose 3 to 3.5gm. for every 1,000 km. travelled, burning off fat and protein—the latter mainly from the digestive tract and liver but also from the leg muscle. These changes may be reversed temporarily during the bird's frequent stop-overs as it switches between feeding and flying modes. Such small birds use rapid flapping flight taking the most direct route and often flying at night.

Larger birds do not have the same capacity to sustain rapid flapping flight nor can they

afford to increase their weight so they take a more leisurely journey, some flying in groups, and at a greater height, stopping frequently to feed and roost. Thus an Osprey, flying as a single bird, may take over two months to reach Africa from the UK.

Swallows start to leave here between August and October, usually well ahead of House Martins. Their final destination is South Africa, a distance of 6,000 miles which takes about four to five weeks. They have an advantage in that they catch their insect food in flight so do not need to fatten up before departure; however they do need to rest, usually taking shelter at night in traditional stop-over points in reed beds.

In addition to the unknown factors triggering departure, navigation remains another unsolved mystery. It is clearly innate as most young do not need to learn the route from their parents—many leave after their parents' departure. We know that birds can re-orientate their bearings if displaced and that many use the earth's magnetic field. Scientists have discovered magnetite (iron oxide crystals) aligned to the north, like a compass, in the heads of both birds and bats. In addition, they may also use the position of the sun and stars to navigate—observations from the Cornell Laboratory of Ornithology near New York found that birds let loose in a planetarium continually altered direction as projection of the stars rotated. Navigation using the stars would be the more usual method employed by birds that travel by night for safety as well as for the Arctic Tern that travels the length of one hemisphere to the other and so needs to compensate for changes of pole direction. Once within range of their destination memory of local landmarks is used for more exact location.

The majority of birds nest between March and September taking advantage of the milder conditions and abundance of food which will include large numbers of invertebrates. Worms, grubs and caterpillars are high in both protein and water, the latter often being the only source of water for fledglings. However, Collared Doves and Wood Pigeons are two very successful species that nest much of the year round including the cold winter months, although their core breeding season extends from February to late-October. They have no need to catch food as the females feed their young a regurgitated liquid which is produced from special glands in the crop. Although unlike mammalian milk in constitution, this liquid serves the same purpose. Keeping their young warm in the cold weather can prove the main challenge but as they lay only one or two eggs these can easily be brooded by either parent. Nesting attempts may also overlap, with the female sometimes seen feeding the young from one brood during a break from incubating the eggs of the next. Both males and females take turns to incubate the eggs.

July began with warm air streaming in from the continent with July 1st being the hottest recorded in the UK for nine years. In the Midlands the hot weather led to heavy thunderstorms. By the second half of the month night-time temperatures dropped to single figures finally giving an average for the month of 15.8°C with 48.5mm rainfall. August remained overcast with little rain during the first half followed by 20% more rain than normal leading to flooding which was especially heavy in the north of the country. September finally brought more settled summer weather with little rain and temperatures in the upper teens and lower twenties.

2014 proved a good year for owls due to an abundant vole population which meant that Barn Owls could raise two or even three full broods. However despite the increase in the owl population fewer boxes were occupied this year and non-breeding females were found to be underweight, suggesting that the vole population had dropped and that the wet weather had adversely affected hunting. Their soft-edged feathers, so useful for silent flight, are not fully water-proofed and the sound of rainfall also affects their ability to hear prey in the rustling grasses despite their excellent adaptations in sight and to sound. Those that did nest reduced their

brood size to one egg rather than three to four. Some pairs attempted breeding much later in the year starting in August and having chicks well into October. Tawny Owls were also affected but less so as they also hunt mice and rats and are not vole dependent,

Flocking behaviour gives the obvious advantages of protection in numbers when feeding in day time and warmth in night-time roosts but this crowding can also pose difficulties. In the last twelve years there have been incidents of Starlings found drowned in groups of up to eighty. A drowned individual in shallow water is unusual so mass deaths of this nature are rare. Post-mortems revealed no evidence of disease but these incidents occurred mostly in juveniles during spring and summer. Records show that drowning has been the cause of death in Starlings more often than in any other species. It is thought that when flocking species bathe and drink together some individuals become unable to exit the confined spaces before their plumage becomes waterlogged which prevents lift-off and leads to consequent drowning.

In September a surge in returning Siskin and Goldcrest numbers was noted. At the Gibraltar Bird Observatory there were estimates of more than one thousand Goldcrests passing through on one day while two observers on the English east coast ringed six hundred and thirty birds on another day.

October was the warmest for seventy-four years and the warm spell continued into November with mild westerly winds; the Icelandic geese came south but those from Siberia were still lingering in Europe. Similarly, the Starling influx was delayed although Fieldfare and Redwing began to arrive. Many birds did not frequent gardens, preferring to enjoy the abundant berry and fruit crop in the countryside.

Brockenhall Gravel Pits (BGP) and Wellington Gravel Pits (WGP) often prove the most productive sites for seeing many species, especially migrants, and not only water birds. Some of the unusual single sightings recorded by Hereford Ornithological Club members during the year are as follows:—

Scaup, a diving duck that breeds on freshwater lakes in Norway and Sweden and winters in coastal areas of the Eastern UK, was seen at both gravel pit sites from January to April. It is a rare visitor to Herefordshire with only eight recorded sightings prior to 1993 although singles have since come this far west.

A Great Northern Diver was reported at Bodenham Lake. This goose-sized bird breeds in Iceland and Greenland but can be seen in winter around the coasts of the North Sea and English Channel. It has been a very rare winter visitor to Herefordshire with only nine sightings since records began. However, since 2000 four further sightings have been noted.

A Firecrest was recorded in March and September. A member of the Wren family and of similar size, it resembles the Goldcrest with a gold and black stripe on the heads of both sexes but with an additional white stripe. It is a winter visitor to coastal areas from Norfolk to Cornwall but a rare visitor to Herefordshire with only twenty records noted. It often flocks with Goldcrests in coniferous woods making it all the more difficult to distinguish.

Photographs of the rare Hoopoe, seen in April and May in one or two places, were even published in the *Hereford Times*. With the mild autumn it was still to be seen in October. Probably migrating southward, it is the first sighting of this exotic-looking bird in the county for sixty years. Its head, breast and mantle are a pinkish-cinnamon colour with a white rump and abdomen. It has rounded wings and tail, both strongly barred with black and white, and a prominent pink feathered crest, also barred, which is lowered during flight.

A Honey-Buzzard was noted in June and July in the north of the county. Similar in appearance to the Common Buzzard, although more closely related to kites, it is less given to

soaring and more to walking and running freely on the ground. As its name implies, it feeds mostly on wasp and wild bee nests. A scarce passage-migrant from the sub-Sahara it breeds widely across Europe. None were recorded in the county during the 20th century but a few have been noted in the last five years.

A Red-necked Phalarope was seen at BGP in September. This tiny wader breeds in the Shetlands and is a really rare visitor so far south. In last year's report, I mentioned that a radio-tagged male had followed an unexpected migratory route to South America via Greenland, the east coast of the USA and the Caribbean to a destination in Peru, rather than taking the expected eastward migration. Perhaps this bird was a youngster on its first migration and blown slightly off course.

Since the millennium, single sightings of a Short-eared Owl have been seen most years during the winter, mostly at the WGP. It is a summer visitor to Scandinavia and is the only medium-sized brown owl active during daylight. Its short-feathered ear tufts are difficult to see especially during flight and its long wings enable it to hunt with slow steady flaps quartering over open ground more in the manner of hawks.

Even more unusual, was the sight of an Eagle Owl in July at WGP. A resident of south-east Germany and Scandinavia, this is one of the largest owls—being 27ins in body length compared with the 24in. Barn Owl. It has clearly-visible large, erect feather tufts each side of the head. Always solitary, it hunts birds and larger mammals at dawn and dusk. Perhaps this was an escapee?

A Caspian Gull was noted at WGP in September. Its breeding range is from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea with over-wintering in the Middle East and South-west Asia but its range is now expanding westwards to France, the Netherlands and Britain, where it was first sighted in May 2011. Although scarce, it may be under-recorded due to its similarity to both the Herring Gull and Yellow-legged Gull.

In December a White Egret was seen at Credenhill which is a first sighting for the county. It is close to the size of a Heron and is therefore much larger than the Little Egret which is now seen more often in the county. A flock of 155 Golden Plover was noted south of Hereford City in December.

With the jet stream still to the north of the British Isles the mild wet weather continued. November 1st was in the lower twenties in west Wales—the warmest November 1st on record—and on 19th November the night temperature reached 15°C. A series of gales swept in leading to heavy flooding to the north of the country and with some in Herefordshire. The month closed as the third mildest November on record.

December continued similarly mild with heavy rain and further flooding to the north and in Scotland. Various summer plants were still in bloom and some daffodils had started flowering! The average temperature for the month was 4°C above normal making it the warmest as well as the wettest December since records began. The steady rise in global temperatures means that records, some of long-standing, continue to tumble. As recorded by Credenhill weather station, the average temperature for the year was 10.4°C with 241 days of rain amounting to 655.72mm

Weather Statistics, 2015

By IAN K. PORTER

Month	*Maximum temperature shade ºC*	*Minimum temperature shade ºC*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Maximum rainfall in 1 day mm.*	*Days with rainfall*
January	11.1	-3.3	75.2	15.5 (14th)	11
February	11.7	-3.3	41.4	17.5 (12th)	8
March	12.2	0.0	48.8	23.1 (13th)	9
April	20.0	2.8	22.9	9.9 (3rd)	4
May	20.6	6.1	90.9	23.6 (18th)	11
June	28.9	7.2	18.3	10.2 (12th)	4
July	30.0	10.0	48.0	17.0 (24th)	10
August	23.9	10.0	103.9	27.9 (14th)	15
September	20.0	6.7	38.1	13.7 (14th)	6
October	18.3	3.3	44.2	17.5 (29th)	7
November	13.9	-1.1	76.7	13.7 (7th)	15
December	12.2	1.1	160.0	22.6 (12th)	20
Total			**768.4**		**120**

Highest day temperature: 30.0ºC 1st July
Lowest night temperature: -3.3ºC 19th January, 8th February

Weather Summary 2006 to 2015

Year	*Total rainfall year mm.*	*Wettest day mm*	*Date*	*Days with rain*	*Highest temp. deg C*	*Lowest temp.deg.C*
2006	710.9	27.9	Nov. 11	127	35.0	- 3.9
2007	903.0	92.5	July 19	117	27.2	- 4.4
2008	928.6	43.2	Mar. 15	126	27.8	-4.4
2009	713.5	26.2	July 17	123	29.4	-5.0
2010	585.7	47.0	Aug. 25	102	28.3	-9.4
2011	498.9	18.3	Oct. 27	105	27.8	-5.6
2012	1007.4	67.3	Sept. 23	141	27.2	-7.8
2013	821.9	30.7	Sept. 21	116	28.9	-4.4
2014	1018.3	44.2	Oct. 13	152	28.3	-2.8
2015	768.4	27.9	Aug. 14	120	30.0	-3.3

Recorded by I. K. Porter at Greening's Acre, Little Birch. Height 152 m. (500ft.).

This is the first year that statistics from Little Birch have been published so the ten year summary has been restated. The Club is very grateful to Eric Ward who provided weather statistics from Much Marcle for many years.

Book Reviews, 2015

By BERYL HARDING,
JEAN O'DONNELL, ROSMUND SKELTON, DAVID WHITEHEAD

***The archaeology of Herefordshire: an exploration,* Keith Ray (Oxbow Books, 2015), 448 pp.**

Keith Ray's substantial survey of the archaeology of Herefordshire is undoubtedly the book of the year. It replaces and, in countless ways, supersedes Stan Stanford's *Archaeology of the Welsh Marches*, last printed in 1991. Even so, much of Stanford's work is reviewed in this volume and only his insistence that hillforts were crammed with habitations, has been seriously challenged. Dr Stanford ploughed a lonely furrow in Herefordshire, pushed out into the Marches by the University of Birmingham as an adult education tutor. His excavations at Credenhill, Croft Ambrey and Mid-summer Hill, together with the book, were all the more remarkable for this. Dr Ray, however, has been more fortunate. Since the 1970s successive governments have made archaeological research a key aspect of the planning process and thus, for fifteen years, Dr Ray has led a team of professional archaeologists, employed by Herefordshire Council, who penetrated the darkest corners of the county in the pursuit of its buried history. Dr Ray is very generous in acknowledging their role in providing the research for the book, equally the many independent units he commissioned. Anyone who has visited the Historic Environment Record at Rotherwas, or on-line, will appreciate the immense resource his team accumulated. Of course, Dr Ray's employers, ultimately the tax payers, were unlikely to encourage this little band of scholars to take time off, retreat to their studies, and publish the results. Their efforts lay in those 'grey' files, which underpinned the laconic entries in the HER. Hence we have had to wait for the tragic dissolution of the team, as a result of the 'cuts', for Dr Ray to find the time to write the book. The wait has been very worthwhile.

Nearly fifty per cent of this book is devoted to pre-history, which, as the author points out, is where archaeology is unencumbered by documentary sources, and can make the greatest impact, especially at a time when mechanised agriculture and comprehensive development has been destroying the fragile evidence of the remote past, which is often only apparent to the trained archaeologist. A major theme of the book is how a pastoral region, since the late Middle Ages, has suddenly been ploughed-up in the last fifty years. The author's enthusiasm for all aspects of pre-historic life is riveting from beginning to end. It begins in 750,000 BC with an environmental sample from the Mathon River and ends with the arrival of Dobunnic coins in *c*.20 BC, when the inhabitants of the region, without knowing it, joined a polity, which focussed upon the Mediterranean. There was no Brexit for the next 400 years. At every stage in the story local sites and finds are drawn out of the Environment Record and deployed to support the strong narrative in the text. This is a fully articulated synthesis of the county's early history not just a ramble through a few notable locations. Moreover, the broader national picture is always in focus.

The story has, of course, its highpoints and one of these comes during the Neolithic on Dorstone Hill where Dr Ray's nuanced excavation has challenged some of the accepted canons of the period. There is quite a lot of hypothesizing here but this is undoubtedly the most readable version of the excavation that you will find. Arthur's Stone and its immediate hinterland also comes in for some up-to-date evaluation here and Wellington Quarry makes the first of many guest appearances. It is here in the riverine soils of the Lugg valley that 83 hectares of

Herefordshire have been subject to the closest scrutiny, revealing the everyday life of early man from the Neolithic to the Dark Ages. Dr Ray reacts strongly to some of the old terminology of pre-historic archaeology like cursus, henge and grooved ware and struggles to create a new framework. Continuity is the keynote and he emphasises that there is no arbitrary break between the familiar periods—Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age. The first beaker and a copper dagger are found at Wellington, which heralds the Bronze Age—'a celebrity culture'. In this period (2500-1000BC) a starring role is played by the Rotherwas Ribbon, excavated with national acclaim in 2007. If you missed the excitement of the real event, Dr Ray's considered account is the next best thing and includes scenes of young men running the gauntlet down the ribbon set on fire by their captors. Occasionally the learned author cannot control his imagination. In this section of the book we visit nearly every, barrow, cairn and ring ditch in the county, out of which a well-drawn picture of life in the Bronze Age is developed.

Towards the end of the Bronze Age the people of Herefordshire begin to revisit the hill-tops again, like their Neolithic predecessors, and this inaugurates the Iron Age. Once again, there is no end or beginning but we are introduced to a landscape 'studded with homesteads'. The population of Herefordshire has reached one of its climaxes. Here Dr Ray is keen to reassess the conventional wisdom that Iron Age life was focussed upon the hillforts. Combining Dr Stanford's work with more recent investigations at Eaton Camp, Little Doward and Credenhill he promotes the view that hillforts were 'displays of communal effort' where local farmers could store surplus produce, do some smithing, collect salt and probably trade with visiting merchants. Only occasionally would they take refuge on the hilltops and generally they were to be found working their farms in the valleys. Hillforts, we discover, were already in decay when the Romans arrived in 43 AD.

They had a shaky start in Herefordshire and never completely extinguished Iron Age culture. Much new evidence is introduced here to sharpen-up the narrative of the Roman conquest. The young men massacred at Sutton Walls are discounted and no hillforts were subject to a siege. Credenhill was provided with a great granary to keep the troops supplied. Roads, farmsteads, villas and small towns all receive attention and Kenchester is promoted to a cantonal capital on the evidence of its thriving hinterland. Overall, the Roman experience was bad and their extensive farming brought about environmental degradation.

In the last chapters of the book archaeology has to play second fiddle to documentary history, albeit, Dr Ray is by no means convinced that this is the case. Nevertheless, there are still many new sites and exciting finds to discuss. These suggest that during Herefordshire's Dark Age (*c*.400-700 AD), it enjoyed, along with the rest of the lower Severn Valley and the South West, a sub-Roman interlude before the political annexation by the Mercians in the late 7th century. There is a growing list of isolated Christian burials for this period—Dewsall, Sutton St Nicholas, Marden, Stretton Grandison, Castle Green in Hereford and Bromfield, South Shropshire—which are not attached to churches, but confirm the growing scholarly consensus that there was a distinct British polity in this region[1]—neither Welsh nor Anglo-Saxon. Dr Ray, however, is reluctant to accept this—albeit not one pagan burial has yet to be found west of the Severn. He has a tendency to find English settlers lurking in ambiguous contexts such as a number of waste pits found at Bullingham. Nevertheless, there is much that is exciting here that

[1] Steven Bassett, 'How the west was won: the Anglo-Saxon takeover in the West Midlands' in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 11 (2000), 107-18; H. Hamcrow, 'The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in P. Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* I (2005), 263-90.

remains to be integrated into the broader picture.

From the 8th century onwards Dr. Ray is on safer ground since in recent years Herefordshire Archaeology have spent much time reviewing Offa's Dyke and its associated earthworks. Once again the starting point is refreshing look at existing work.[2] The excavations in Hereford in the 1960s and 70s are subject to new interpretations. For example, the early grain drying ovens found in Victoria Street by Philip Rahtz are annexed by the author to feed the Mercian armies gathering in Hereford. Also, having failed to locate Offa's palace (with the help of Time Team) in *c*.1990, he bravely conjectures—on the basis of a bank next to Marden church—that this is a potential site. Equally conjectural, having consulted the painstaking report by Headland Archaeology on the recent excavations in the Cathedral Close, he accepts that the large timber hall located near St John's Walk, was 'appropriate' for an early cathedral.[3] As you can see, there is nothing very reticent about this book—Aunt Sallies are set-up for future debate.

Chapter 7 is fundamentally about castles and here Dr Ray is an excellent guide to all the recent archaeological campaigns at Goodrich, Wigmore, Hereford, Wilton, Eardisley etc. He is keen to support the military interpretation of castles in the Early Middle Ages and is not convinced by the recent emphasis by some scholars that castles were basically domestic and symbols of lordship. This is surprising, given his views on Iron Age hillforts. However, the domestic arrangements of castles are fully explored via the smaller sites like Bronsil, Croft, Wallingstones and Breinton Camp. However, this reviewer baulked at the view that Breinton Camp housed a community of secular canons, but perhaps, I have missed a key reference.

The author is happier with the medieval countryside (Chapter 8) where all those key-hole excavations have made a big difference to our understanding. They show that Herefordshire in the Early Medieval period was very highly populated and virtually every piece of land, right up into the high lands, was devoted to arable farming, managed in open fields, just like Midland England. Dr Ray postulates that virtually every isolated farmstead in the county, hosted a small hamlet and a discrete field system. This is a revolutionary adjustment to the accepted view of Herefordshire in this period, which has been identified as a landscape of early enclosures. This character only dates from the late 14th century and is a result of over-population, famine and plague. This is a new synthesis, not yet absorbed by the scholarly community. In this chapter there is also much discussion of open fields, woodland, buildings, churches, industry and small towns. Whatever your interests, there is something here that you need to take note of.

The narrative basically ends in the Late Middle Ages, but there follows an interesting free-standing study of the iron industry which the author regards as the staple industry of Herefordshire for at least 2000 years, from the Iron Age to the death of the charcoal industry in the early 19th century. There is much of value here and once again Dr Ray has corrected an accepted orthodoxy. Herefordshire was not always a bucolic paradise and in the past the atmosphere of the northern and southern parts of the shire would have been polluted with industrial smog.

The last chapter enables Dr Ray to bring forward a number of significant post-medieval investigations with an emphasis upon the 'great estates'. Once again, his history is a little shaky in regard to the impact of the Reformation upon Herefordshire but there are some useful sections on parkland, gardens, woodlands, villages, roads and Civil War archaeology; together with the first complete summary of the excavations at Croft Castle where the remains of an earlier 'castle'

[2] Keith Ray and Ian Bapty, *Offa's Dyke* (Windgather Press, 2016) will be reviewed next year.
[3] Andy Boucher, *Death in the Close*, (Headland Archaeology, 2015), 173.

were located and several phases of formal gardens. Some of the conclusions here run counter to the family history of the Crofts but the archaeology is first-class. This is probably one of most important garden excavations in recent times and deserves a monograph of its own.

Finally, there is a wistful epilogue where Dr Ray records his wish-list for future archaeology in Herefordshire. Given the demise of Hereford Archaeology, this is all very elegiac but the book is a fitting memorial to a golden age of professional archaeology in Herefordshire.

David Whitehead

***Death in the Close: a Medieval mystery,* Andy Boucher, Luke Craddock-Bennett, Tegan Daly (Hereford Cathedral, 2015)**

The opening chapter sets out the background to the development of Saxon Hereford, presenting a summary of evidence from finds, earthworks, excavations and documents of the prehistoric and Roman periods relating to settlement and roads.

The excavations were carried out between 2009 and 2011 in an area stretching from the east to west ends of the cathedral on the southeastern side. They comprised an extensive, shallow area adjoining Broad Street on the west, various narrow, shallow trenches dug in the North Close and an extensive, deeper area in St John's Quad, south of the Lady Chapel.

Evidence for six buildings were found in St John's Quad. Building 1 was represented by part of the foundation trench for a timber framed building 7.5m. long with deep post holes, the largest of which was 1m. square and 1.9m. deep. This is indicative of a massive structure such as a cathedral or palace. Within the foundation trench, next to the post hole, the burial of an 8-10 year old child was found. Carbon dating of bone from the body and a seed of emmer wheat from the post hole dated this to 850-950 AD— predating all the other burials in the area by some 200 years. This is a mystery. Did the burial predate the building or was it contemporaneous with it? The implications of this are considered in detail by the authors.

The other five buildings had much slighter foundations and lay in the southern part of the Quad. The first of these was approximately 3m. square and, like its similarly-sized companions, was associated with hearths and evidence for metal working, smithing scales (small flecks of iron produced by hammering red hot iron on an anvil, when working it to produce tools, weapons, horseshoes and similar items) and glass working taking place in this area prior to the erection of the Norman cathedral. Other narrow trenches scattered around the North Close provided similar evidence of industrial activity on the site in this period.

The book's title refers to the excavation of 2,453 burials in a very limited area of the Close, mainly in St John's Quad and the area west of the cathedral adjoining Broad Street. All the burials were assessed as falling into categories which allows a rough allocation into five periods, 12th century, 12th-13th century, 11th-17th century, 16th-18th century and 17th-early-19th century. Plans show the location of all the skeletons excavated, and selected ones were carbon dated. The skeletons reveal details of life-experiences which the authors draw on to present personal stories of the health, wealth, occupation and status of the individuals found. These are explained clearly in an engaging style and the discussion is well-illustrated with many fascinating colour photographs, diagrams and plans.

Evidence from the excavations throws valuable new light on the development of Hereford and its population in this period.

Rosamund Skelton

***A Dictionary of Herefordshire Biography*, Philip Weaver (Logaston, 2015), 504 pp.**

Philip Weaver provides over 1600 biographies of people who 'have exerted their direct influence on the county'. Thus, this is a book, which needs to sit on your desk or beside your easy chair, for quick access. I have found it especially useful for looking up the life-dates of local notables. Many of his subjects were outsiders, who were famous elsewhere but their presence in the county—sometimes very fleeting—provided an event noticed at the time or later. This includes many kings and noblemen, celebrities like Wordsworth, Nelson and Dickens, for instance, or the last entry in the *Dictionary*, Francis Brett Young whose first novel *The Dark Tower* (1915), was set at Trecastle, a fictional settlement on the Hereford-Radnor border. Most of the entries concern people who either by birth or office contributed to the shire's history. These include members of the indigenous gentry and, of course, churchmen, MPs, magistrates and councillors. If you were associated with a literate institution that kept records, like the church, your transitory fame is likely to survive.

Generally, it is not until the modern era that the 'common people' make an entry as criminals, rogues, deviants, traders or members of local societies—even the Woolhope Club seems to provide a modest route to immortality, according to the useful index. Mr Weaver writes mysteriously in his introduction that he also includes the biography of 'a dragon, some ghosts, a pigeon, apples, cows, sheep and a cannon'. The last is 'Meg', the name of Cornel Birch's mortar, used at the siege of Goodrich Castle in 1646 and shared by one or two other big guns in Britain. I have yet to find the dragon or the ghosts.

Inevitably, men predominate in historical biography, but women figure frequently as wives, mothers, daughters and especially heiresses. There are also women who are there for their own achievements as saints, such as Mildred or the three Ediths or Mary Hodges (f.1662) the Hereford alehouse keeper accused of witchcraft. With an increasing diversity of sources from the 18th century onwards women begin to step into the lime-light, literarily, like Sarah Siddons or as writers like Elinor Mary Brent-Dyer (author of the Chalet School series) or Ella Mary Leather, the folklorist. The book is very strong on practical and professional men and women, who exist in specialist biographical dictionaries. Colvin's *Dictionary of British Architects* is well exploited, as are the many volumes of the *History of Parliament* for local MPs and failed candidates. This highlights a major weakness of the book, namely, the absence of any referencing system. Given that for every person mentioned there is probably a printed or electronic source lurking in the background, this is very unfortunate. Mr Weaver is a contributor to the *Oxford DNB* where there is always a brief synopsis of sources and even the occasional text reference. Thus, the scholarly reader is left wondering if the information can be relied upon whilst lay readers—school children doing a project, for instance—have nowhere else to go.

Nevertheless, this is still a book which will be much used for years to come—and, dare I say it, should be made available electronically. The book itself has the feel of something significant with heavy paper, a sown hard-back binding and red titling for each entry, like an 18th-century religious text. The expensive paper makes it possible to re-produce many colour illustrations, a large number of which are provided by the National Portrait Gallery. Logaston have served the author very well.

David Whitehead

***James Atlay: Hereford's forgotten bishop: a private study, 1868-1894,* Karl Showler (Karl Showler, 2012), 167 pp.**

Although not well-known as Bishop of Hereford, James Atlay was in office for 26 years and filled the episcopal palace with his large family of 11 children. He had married at 42 after falling in love with a young woman of 19 who proved a devoted wife. Francis Martin was a remarkable woman who devoted herself to the care and education of orphan girls. She also remodelled the palace to accommodate her growing family.

James Atlay came from Stamford where his father, Henry, had the living of St George's and St Paul's together with St Mary's, Wakeley, where the family lived in the rectory. James was born here in 1817. He went to the King's school and then on to St John's college at Cambridge. He became a parish priest, serving as vicar of Leeds and then canon of Ripon cathedral before being offered the bishopric of Hereford. He was considered to be a safe appointment after the radical ways of Renn Dickson Hampden and was approved by both Prime Minister and Archbishop

The perceptive portraits of Bishop James drawn out in the volume reveal a man both serious and rather severe. Frances Kilvert, who met him once socially as well as in his office as bishop, found him 'overbearing and imperious'. In contrast, W. J. Humfrys, in *Memories of Old Hereford* (1926), recalls him as 'active, energetic, genial, hospitable and agreeable to his clergy'. Karl Showler makes clear that he was highly esteemed by many, with a well-developed sense of humour. Humphreys concurs with this noting he used it to good effect when chairing difficult meetings. These recollectoions seem more consistent with an assessment of Atlay as a loving father and husband. Bishop Temple's eulogy on his death in 1894 reflected 'he had a wise and loving nature'.

Showler's study will be useful to those researching Hereford's dissenting churches 'as Bishop James was the best informed man in the diocese on the scope and range of dissent in the County'. However, much irrelevant detail, such as excessive biographical information of other members of his extensive family, in included. Long lists abound which, although useful background, are trying for the general reader. Overall, there is too little narrative to bring the forgotten James Atlay clearly out of the shadows. His successor, John Percival, fared better at the hand of his biographer; Jeremy Potter's, *Headmaster-the life of John Percival* (1998) drew out his qualities and personality both as bishop and headmaster. Despite this, Showler's work is a valuable source book for Hereford's religious and charitable institutions at the end of the 19th century.

Jean O'Donnell

***Wigmore Castle, North Herefordshire: Excavations 1996 and 1998,* Stephanie Rátkai (Society of Medieval Archaeology Monograph 34, 2015), 254 pp. Available from Oxbow Books.**

In 1995 Wigmore Castle was taken into English Heritage guardianship, which resulted in a two year campaign of repairs and consolidation. This created considerable anxiety amongst those who knew the castle well, as it was one of the last great medieval castles to have avoided the classic Ministry of Works treatment, resulting in weed-less reconstructed walls, shaven lawns and the sanitised atmosphere demanded by professional scholars. This was all very fine for the connoisseur of arrow slits and mouldings but unappealing to the general public—and their children—who delighted in picturesque ruins with romantic alcoves and hidden dungeons. Wigmore had long been an antidote to a visit to Goodrich or Ludlow. In the event, the guardians decided to take a natural approach; areas of wild flowers were carefully protected as work

progressed and those found on walls needing consolidation were carefully removed, watered during dry weather and replaced as the work progressed. The wonderful yellow wallflowers (*Erysimum cheiri*) continue to enamel the walls in May and June. As it turned out, the 'soft capping' pioneered at Wigmore, pleasing to the eye and beneficial for the monument, is now the universal treatment for exposed walls and has been used recently to great effect at Kilpeck.

Stephanie Rátkai's monograph pays tribute to this technique but is principally concerned with the two areas of excavation: one running up to the southern curtain wall and the other close to the east tower. On both sites there was a massive archaeological deposit, in places 8.5 metres deep. Thus, albeit restricted, the excavation was a remarkable success and several key questions relating the castle's development were answered. An earlier timber castle was located, surrounded by a clay rampart. This was simply reduced in height when stone walls were built but fundamentally, fitz Osbern's castle in the late 11th century occupied the same footprint as the present structure. The building of the walls was a long process, beginning in the 12th century and continuing until the 14th. Indeed, as the documentary evidence suggests, the castle achieved its apogee in the time of Roger, first earl of March. In the section beside the southern curtain wall a substantial timber building was excavated, which had been used as a kitchen. The pots, faunal and plant remains provide new evidence of high-life within the castle.

Large sections of the report are devoted to the analysis of the sweepings and waste products of the kitchen. The pottery used came from many localities, with several foreign sources identified, indicating the high status character of the establishment, which at various stages in its history included royalty. Much of the run-of-the-mill pottery, however, came from more local sources, some close to Hereford or to the east of the Malverns. A good deal of the pottery was even more local, suggesting that the Bringewood potters found to the east of Wigmore in the 17th and 18th centuries may have come into existence as early as the 12th century to serve the demands of the castle.

The faunal remains suggest, again as anticipated, that the inmates of the castle were fed by domestic animals although all species of deer were eaten and were readily available in two adjoining deer parks. From the same environment woodcock supplemented domestic fowl. Large numbers of cat bones were found but they presumably died after a life-time of predating on the vermin. The inhabitants ate a considerable number of oysters, which since they have a very short shelf-life, must have been regularly supplied from the Bristol Channel. Charred plant remains indicate that wheat and oats were staple at Wigmore and not barley. The absence of barley also suggests that no brewing took place in the castle. Since it is unlikely that the inhabitants were teetotal, it was presumably brewed elsewhere and brought up to the castle. Hazelnuts appear to have been used for snacking and were widely distributed along with walnuts and cherries. The garrison did not like apples, their seeds were rare. In the 14th century most of the windows of the castle were glazed and decorated; the walls too had decorative plaster, and similarly, floors were laid with glazed tiles embellished with Mortimer motifs.

For those who still see castles as engines of war, a substantial collection of arrowheads—suitable for either warfare or hunting—were found. There were also a few armour fragments —plate and chain mail —spurs, horse-bits and iron buckles of various designs. But among all these manly accoutrements there were beads for rosaries, a copper book clasp and various dress accessories. The book ends with a comprehensive overview, which combines the archaeological material with an excellent range of new documentary sources that provide context for the artefacts. Virtually every known historic view of Wigmore Castle is reproduced to show the

progress of the decline of the castle from the 16th century onwards. This research report fully confirms Wigmore's position as one of the most significant castles in Britain.

David Whitehead

***Wildlife in the Marches: a history of nature in the Welsh Marches,* Mark Lawley (Marches Publications, Ludlow, 2015), 360 pp.**

Mark Lawley lives in Ludlow and has been exploring the wildlife of the Marches for many years. With degrees from Cambridge, Durham and Reading he has published extensively on both natural history and the history of natural history and co-edited the British Bryological Society's *Mosses and Liverworts of Britain and Ireland – a field guide.* I have drawn on the author's informative preface to the volume in preparing this review.

The author acknowledges that the region known as the Welsh Marches has no precise boundaries. The volume discusses an area ranging from the Black Mountains in the south to the Berwyns in the north; focusing on Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire. The eastern parts of the two latter counties and the western parts of Montgomeryshire are excluded.

The Welsh Marches' comparatively gentle countryside provides a mosaic of ever-varying views, lanes, tracks and paths criss-crossing hills that have attracted discerning naturalists and ramblers rather than mountaineers. This book gives a fresh and fascinating blend of social and natural history—telling of the lives and discoveries of bygone naturalists; what they found and where and, more importantly, what remains within the Marches to be discovered.

The first chapter describes a visit by the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club and the Caradoc Field Club to Titterstone Clee Hill in 1868 and introduces some of the book's recurring themes. However, the story begins with first naturalists of the Marches in the 17th and 18th centuries continuing up to the early 21st century. Each stage along the road to discovery is illustrated by accounts of notable wildlife that bygone naturalists found in selected localities; discusses what has been discovered there since and speculates about what remains undiscovered. The localities described include the uplands of Titterstone Clee Hill, Catherton Common and Cramer Gutter, the Long Mynd, Black Mountains, Berywn and Breidden Hills, the gorges of Downton and Bach Howey, the volcanic hills of Breidden and Stanner, the wooded pastures of Moccas and Croft, and the aquatic habitats of north Shropshire and elsewhere. Lists of species that occur at these locations typically include mammals, birds, fishes, butterflies, moths, bees, wasps, flies, beetles, spiders, crustaceans, molluscs, rotifers, fungi, lichens, flowering plants, ferns, mosses and liverworts.

The early and middle chapters of this book then describe the backgrounds and biographies of bygone naturalists and the wildlife that they found—especially flowers, birds and butterflies. The middle chapters deal with the 19th century when a few naturalists began to investigate small, inconspicuous invertebrates and flowerless plants, revealing more about how species live together in ecological communities. Later chapters not only deal with what has been discovered, but also discuss what we do not yet know, particularly about little-studied kinds of wildlife such as tiny insects, mites, crustacea, roundworms, rotifers, protozoa, algae, minute fungi, slime moulds and others. All important for knowledge of the inter-connecting web of life within a community.

A recurrent theme in the story is that naturalists mainly add to knowledge and understanding of wildlife when they are working alone, but for their discoveries to enter the

mainstream circulation they must communicate them to other people. For this reason, three central chapters are devoted to the natural history societies and field clubs which arose in the mid nineteenth century, such as the Woolhope Club. These societies and field clubs created an important means for publishing reports of wildlife, as well as stimulating informal exchanges between their members thus adding immeasurably to the interface between wild nature and humankind—another of this book's themes.

With over 380 pages of beautifully illustrated text and around 400 enthralling photographs showing close-up detail, this book is a fresh and fascinating blend of social and natural history. A large volume some 285mm. square by 25mm. thick, this well-researched book is certainly not for the field but one that will prove repeatedly to be thoroughly enjoyable to both the armchair reader and the serious naturalist.

Beryl Harding

Index, 2015

Notes. Coloured plate numbers are shown in bold italics. If requesting copies from the *Transactions*, please ensure you ask for the full article.

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Plate 1.1. The earliest seal (1227) of the City of Hereford. The three lions are taken from the Royal arms as until 1189 the City belonged to the King (Photo D. Foxton, courtesy Hereford Cathedral Library)



Plate 1.2. Councillor Len Tawn taking office from the Right Worshipful Mayor, Phillip Edwards, May 2014 (Photo D. Foxton)



Plate 1.3. The initial letter from Elizabeth I's Charter of Incorporation, 1597 (Photo D. Foxton, courtesy of Hereford City Council)



Plate 1.4. Map of Hereford, 1806, engraver J. Roger (pub. Verner, Hood & Sharp), showing buildings in High Town and the Town Ditch encircling the medieval walls. The City coat of arms shows the original lions plus the saltires and motto granted by Charles I (Photo J. O'Donnell from copy)



Plate 1.5. The Mansion House, Widemarsh Street, 1974. Built for Dr. William Brewster in 1698, the building housed the Corporation offices and Guildhall between 1771 and 1903 when its conversion to retail premises ruined the frontage. It stood opposite the former Guildhall by the Butter Market. The latter was destroyed by fire with the market in 1922. A small part remains within the present Butter Market and Phillip Morris store (Photo J. O'Donnell)



Plate 1.6. Louise Luard OBE, first woman to be Mayor of Hereford, served in 1929 and 1936. Artist unknown. (Photo D. Foxton, courtesy of Hereford City Council)

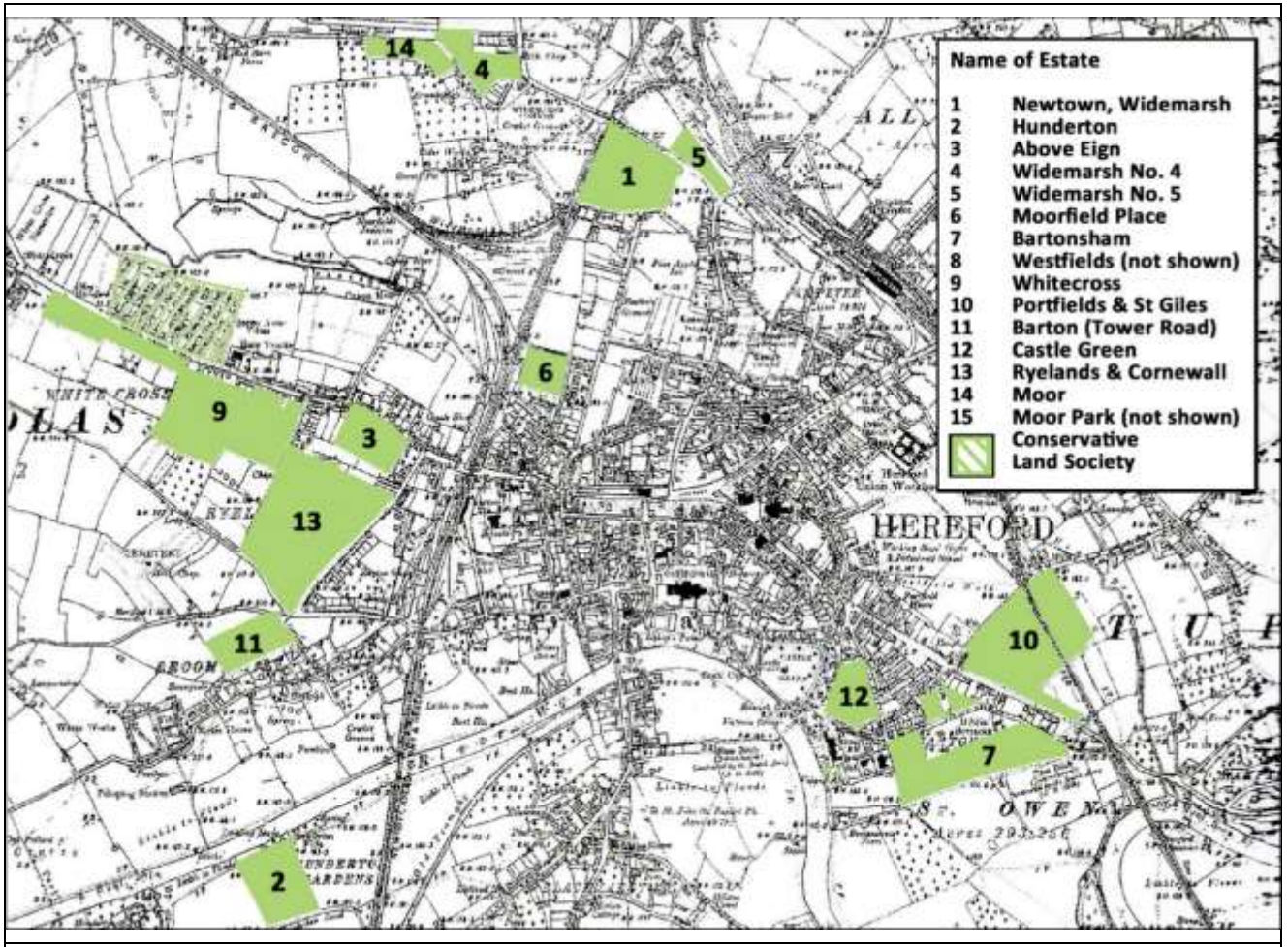


Plate 2.1. Freehold Land Society estates, superimposed on the 1905 edition of the 6-inch OS map. Those of the Hereford Freehold Land Society are numbered in date order of development, but in order that the map is not reduced too small, the further estates (Westfields and Moor Park) have been omitted.



Plate 3.1. The extensive view from the summit of Chase Hill admired by Club members during a 1901 field trip. There is no public access in 2016. (H. Hurley, 2012)



Plate 3.2. Heather Hurley (on right) at the Chase Hill information panel, Fernbank Road, Ross-on-Wye



Plate 4.1. Whitman's Hill quarry and woodland, 2005



Plate 4.2. Ploughman's spikenard, July 2009



Plate 4. 3. Bund populated by teasel, 2008



Plate 4.4. Wild Garlic, *Allium ursinum*, carpeting the woodland floor



Figure 4.5. Great Tit chicks in nest box



Plate 4.6. Dormouse in box.



Plate 5.1. Total lunar ecipse at perigee—28 September 2015— taken in Hereford by Mark Chamberlain. The sequence of photographs from top left to bottom right shows the advancing shadow of the Earth over the surface of the Moon leading to a total lunar eclipse and



Plate 6.1. Bromyard Downs: volunteers and Herefordshire Archaeology staff with original rifles loaned by Herefordshire Museum Service



Plate 6.2. Excavation of the westernmost mound at Dorstone Hill in 2015, viewed from the north-east. The surviving north-facing stone perimeter walling of the long mound is at right-centre, and the northern row of post-holes of the preceding timber hall at right. A parallel series of larger post-holes for major roof-supporting posts is visible nearer the later walling. Grid-sampling of the burnt remains of the hall (encased between the later north and south walls) is occurring at centre. The façade and forecourt are at left foreground (Trench dimensions 30m x 20m). (photograph Adam Stanford, Aerial-Cam)



Plate 6.3. Whitchurch: Merlin's cave. Bone pit prior to excavation



Plate 6.4. Whitchurch: Merlin's cave. Bones recovered from pit

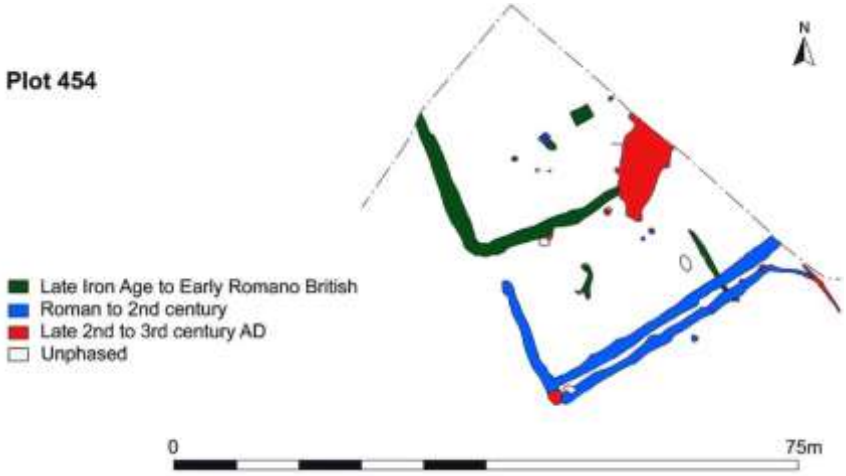


Plate 6.5. Plan showing the features found at Peterstow



Plate 6.6. Aerial photograph of Harland's Wood Field from the south. The ditches of the western-most moated site are plainly visible at left. The platform sample-excavated in October 2015 is at centre of the image, but its moat is obscured by later ditches and narrow cultivation ridges. The former woodland boundary bank divides off the eastern portion of the field, and the slighter cultivation ridging lies within the former Harland's Wood in this area. The line of the woodland bank is perpetuated by the field-hedge at lower right. (HAAS 04-CRM-14-MB-1453, copyright Herefordshire Council).



Plate 6.7. Excavations at the Harland's Wood Field platform, Bosbury, looking northwards across Trench 2, with demolition rubble from the medieval building exposed



Plate 6.8. Weston-under-Penyard: cleaning mosaic floor in villa complex



Plate 7.1. Lesser Twayblade Orchid (***Neottia cordata***, until recently known as ***Listera cordata***)



Plate 7.2. Lesser Twayblade Orchid (***Neottia cordata***, until recently known as ***Listera cordata***)



Plate 7.3. Fiddleneck (*Amsinckia micrantha*)



Plate 7.4. Ivy Broomrape (*Orobanche hederae*)



Plate 8.1. Geological SSSI at the Scar with red beds of Upper Siluruian Raglan Mudstone Formation



Plate 8.2. Moss growing on calcareous tufa at the Weir Garden, seen from the canoe



Plate 8.3. Breinton Gorge; Mudstone cliff showing calcrete layer with blueish tinge



Plate 8.4. Huntsham Hill; massive beds of Black Rock Limestone (Lower Dolomite) above the railway tunnel entrance overlying thinly bedded Avon Group (Lower Limestone Shales)



Plate 8.5. Huntsham Hill crags; geode in Upper Devonian Huntsham Hill Conglomerate (Quartz Conglomerate)



Plate 8.6. Gastropod and the orthoceras *Kionoceras virgatum* found in Ludlow Shales