TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"  "HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME 52

2004

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 2004

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website: www.woolhopeclub.org.uk

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LIST OF OFFICERS
2004/2005

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HR6 9UD	HR6 9UD	HR6 9UD

Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the Woolhope Club *Transactions* should be submitted to the current editor: Mrs. R. A. LOWE, CHARLTON, GOODRICH, ROSS-ON-WYE, Herefordshire, HR9 6JF. Please request a copy of *Notes for Contributors to the Transactions* or see the website.

Proceedings, 2004

SPRING MEETINGS

ADJOURNED WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 10 January: Mr. J. G.Hillaby, president, in the chair.
Officers and committee were appointed for 2005. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 2002 were presented and adopted, and were printed in the 2003 *Transactions*.

Mr. J. G. Hillaby, B.A., gave an illustrated talk on 'Halesowen Abbey.' He explained that the abbey was founded in 1215 under the patronage of King John who gave the manor of Hales to the bishop of Winchester. It takes its name from David ap Owain. It was of the Premonstratensian Order which followed the teaching of St. Bernard. They were White Canons and by 1267 had founded thirty-seven abbeys and three nunneries in England. At the Dissolution there were forty-eight and Halesowen was valued at £280, the third wealthiest. Henry VIII sold it to Sir John Dudley and in 1745 it was plundered by William Shenstone to build his 'Priory.' The fragmentary ruins are surrounded by the farm buildings of Manor Farm. The abbey site today consists of some walling of the north wall of the chancel, the wall of the south transept and a doorway leading into the former dormitory. Three lancet windows and rib-vaulting are to be seen as well as parts of the south wall of the aisle, the chapter house and Premonstratensian refectory which has the only remaining pulpit in the country. Another building dates to the 13th century and is said to have been the abbot`s house or infirmary. Today there are 19th-century barns around the cloister and it has been suggested these could be developed into an educational centre for the west midlands conurbation. As the site is dangerous it is not open to the public. Medieval tiles from the site belonging to the Chertsey School are of high quality and design and are some of the finest in the country. In 1974 Mick Aston and James Bond surveyed the area and found a number of fish-ponds and a wet moat around the abbey. Court Rolls from 1270–1400 survive and are held at the Birmingham City Library. The site is scheduled and at present the proposed development is at a standstill.

SECOND WINTER MEETING: 7 February: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.
Dr. John Powell gave a talk on 'Herefordshire Poor Law: Parish Apprentices 1750–1850.' He explained that the old Poor Law system existed from the end of the reign of Elizabeth I to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Under the Old Poor Law parish apprentices were apprenticed at the age of eight or nine. There was no central control so provision varied from parish to parish, and any person could be sent back to their parish of birth. Boys were usually apprenticed to husbandry and girls to housewifery. The apprenticeship could extend to the age of twenty-four. The master had to provide board and lodging and the parish paid an indenture payment to the master. In the 1770s the age of twenty-four was reduced to twenty-one. Usually the apprenticeships were in their own or in a nearby parish but some were sent to cotton factories. Problems often arose when an apprentice married.

Under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 Unions were set up. Each union consisted of a group of parishes to which each parish had to pay its share. Work-houses were built and in them children were supposed to have three hours education daily by a trained teacher. From the surviving records of the unions Dr. Powell pointed out the differences between them. Bromyard preferred to use its own and local parishes; Weobley sent apprentices to cotton factories in Sheffield and Ross did not provide education until 1855.

THIRD WINTER MEETING: 6 March: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.
Mr. D. Whitehead, M.A., F.S.A., gave a talk on 'Hewell Grange, Worcestershire' which was visited by the club on 15 July 2003. He explained that it had been a grange of the Cistercian abbey of Bordesley, and at the Dissolution in 1538 it possessed 3,000 acres, was in the hands of Lord Windsor Sheldon, and there was sheep rearing and iron working. Excavations have proved that here were the origins of the needle making industry and the manufacture of blue paper for wrapping them. The Windsors were seated at Hewell and in 1692 were created earls of Plymouth, and today are the Windsor-Clive family of Oakley Park, Bromfield. They still own Hewell Grange but in 1946 leased the house and gardens to the Home Office for a prison. The grounds are listed as Grade II*, and a £1 million restoration scheme is being managed by the Hereford and Worcester Gardens Trust. The inmates of the prison are involved in the scheme. It is hoped that the eventually the gardens will be open to the public.

Mr. Whitehead referred to the succession of houses there, the Tudor one being followed by one built in 1712 by Francis Smith of Warwick, which is now clad in scaffolding and slowly being restored. The final and present house was built in 1884-91, being one of the last great country houses to be built in England to the designs of Thomas Garner and George Bodley. The great hall constructed of Penarth marble but without its tapestries still survives.

Over the centuries the gardens and lake have changed in style due to work carried out by Capability Brown in the 1750s, Humphrey Repton in the early 19th century and later by Eden Nesfield. Among the features still to be seen are the yew maze, the steps to the water tower, hornbeam enclosures, the lake and a ruined boat-house. It is hoped to restore the lake and the cascade first.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 27 March: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, president, in the chair.
The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 766 members.

The president reviewed the activities of the club during the year and said that a Lottery Fund grant had made it possible to put the *Herefordshire Archaeological Newsletter* on the SMR and it was hoped that a further Lottery Fund grant , if awarded, to put the Index of the *Transactions* and articles on the SMR.

He gave his address 'Origins of the Borough of Leominster' which is printed in these *Transactions*.

Dr. P. A. Olver was installed as president for 2004/2005.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 11 May: LAYCOCK AND DYRHAM AREA

Members stopped for coffee at the Piercefield Arms, St. Arvans, and then proceeded to the village of Laycock which in 1944 was handed to the National Trust by the Talbot family. Buildings constructed in timber-framing, stone and brick exist from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were built from the profits of the wool trade. Apart from a walk around the village, members were able to visit the Abbey Gardens which contain a variety of trees planted in the nineteenth century. The abbey, an Augustinian nunnery, was founded in 1232 and at the Dissolution was granted to William Sherrington. It is still owned by that family. Also visited was the Talbot Museum commemorating the life and work of William Henry Fox who in 1840 invented the positive/negative process and became known as the father of modern photography. It is housed in a medieval barn.

The afternoon was spent at Dyrham Park, another property of the National Trust. A shuttle bus from the car park conveyed the party down a winding slope to the house. A house has existed on or near the present site since 1086. In 1686 William Blathwayt inherited the estate through his marriage to Mary Wynter, and between 1691 and 1704 he transformed the old Tudor house and its gardens into a mansion in the Baroque style. It was designed by William Talman with a Dutch style garden. After 1800 the formal gardens became parkland. Inside were seen a collection of fine paintings, Dutch Delftware, ceiling paintings and Flemish and English tapestries. The archives have been deposited at Gloucestershire County Record Office and have been catalogued and are available to the public.

SECOND MEETING: 5 June: MALVERN HILLS AREA

This was the president's choice and led by him. The aim was to study the rock formations and geology of the area. The Malvern Hills form a sharply defined north to south ridge, 12 km. in length, 425 m. high and 1 km. wide. Pre-Cambrian rocks up to 1,000 million years old separate the flat plain to the east from the folded land to the west. The most significant rock types are cross-grained granites and diorites with some dolerites, schists and minor igneous and metamorphic rocks.

A visit was made to the Wyche cutting where an outcrop of the oldest rocks was examined followed by a stop at the Dingle quarries. These had been worked at two levels, one for diorite and the other for granite; a dark dolerite could be seen dipping to the west marking the step between the two levels. At the Gullet quarry members saw the fault lines between the Pre-Cambrian, Cambrian and Llandovery beds. Brachiopods and corals were noted. The final visit was to the later sandstones of the Permian period at Bromsberrow. This red sandstone shows the effect of desert conditions of that period.

SPECIAL MEETING: 1 June: HIGHGROVE HOUSE GARDENS

After being on the waiting list for three years the club was fortunate to be given permission to take a party for an hour and a half tour of the gardens. Because of security numbers were limited to twenty-five, so there were many disappointed members.

On arrival at Highgrove at noon members were met by two policemen; one checked the coach and the other members' identification. The party was divided into two groups for a tour of the gardens which have been created from a hayfield over the last twenty years. They are inspired by the ideas and travels of the Prince of Wales and organically cultivated. Of interest

was the underground irrigation system and the use of 'rescued' materials. Advice has been given by Lady Salisbury, Rosemary Verey, Miriam Rothschild and Sir Roy Strong.

The house, not visited, is said to have been designed by Anthony Keck and built 1796-8 for John Paul Paul. In 1893 it suffered a severe fire, was rebuilt in 1896, altered in 1965 and since owned by the Prince of Wales. A pediment, pilasters and an open balustrade have been added. After coffee and a visit to the shop, members were waved out by a policewoman.

The rest of the afternoon was spent at Rodmarton Manor where members were welcomed by the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Simon Biddulph, a branch of the Biddulph family of Ledbury. It was commenced in 1909 and it was over twenty years before it was completed. It can be divided into three sections, service wing, living rooms and public rooms. Each part is built on a larger scale than the previous one. The service wing was constructed first, and today the family live in the converted public section. There are 74 rooms and 622 windows. Its furniture is of the Arts and Crafts Movement, by Sidney and Edward Barnsley and Peter Waals.

The gardens were designed by Ernest Barnsley and form a series of outdoor rooms.

THIRD MEETING: 1 July: SOUTH SHROPSHIRE AREA

After coffee at the Acton Arms, Morville, members crossed the busy road, walked across a stretch of grassland. They were welcomed at the Dower House garden, which lies to one side of Morville Hall, by the owner Dr. Katherine Swift, a garden historian and writer. She explained that over the years she has designed the garden of about one and half acres to tell the story of English gardening. It comprises separate gardens designed in the style of different historic periods using authentic plants and construction techniques. Walking around members saw a canal, a cloister, knot, ivy and wild gardens as well as a spinney, Lammas meadow, snowdrop walk and a Victorian rose border.

The church which is dedicated to St.Gregory had been part of a Benedictine priory. It has a Norman nave, chancel and tower as well as a Norman font.

The afternoon was spent at Acton Round Hall by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy. It had been the dower house of the Acton family of Aldenham. It is built of brick, with two storeys of seven bays with a pedimented three-bay centre. Members walked around the garden which has been created over the last twenty-five years, and in the house had tea provided by Mrs. Kennedy.

FOURTH MEETING: 29 July: GLADESTRY AREA

Members travelled to the stained-glass studio at Gladestry, where Jim Budd explained the designing and making of stained glass, and how stained glass in windows is repaired. Exhibits of work in progress were seen. Windows in Hereford Cathedral have been restored by him.

After coffee kindly provided by Mrs. Budd a visit was made to the castle site at Painscastle by the kind permission of Mr. Tom Lloyd. It is of Norman origin, and built and named after the Fitzpayne family. In 1231–3 Henry III rebuilt it in stone. It covers about twelve acres and has an inner and outer bailey.

After a picnic lunch at Builth Wells the afternoon was spent visiting three churches all dedicated to St. David, standing in circular churchyards and well known from the diaries written in 1870–9 by the Revd. Francis Kilvert.

Cregrina Church consists of a thirteenth-century nave, and a chancel with a fifteenth-century arch-braced roof. The screen is carved only on the west side and the font is Norman. In 1903 it was restored, and in 1958 the outside was roughcast. The last Welsh wolf was killed

here in the seventeenth century and it was the site of the drovers' shoeing station.

Glascwm is a *clas* church i.e. a minster church. The nave dates from *c*.1400 with an arch-braced roof to which was added a fifteenth-century chancel with a wagon roof and battlemented wall-plate. Remains of the rood stairs can be seen in the north wall. The east and nave windows were restored in 1891.

Colva Church stands on the 1250 ft. contour, one of the highest old sites in Wales. It dates from the thirteenth century and has a pyramidal bell turret. The roof has alternating tie-beams and arched braces and the font was made *c*.1200.

FIFTH MEETING: 28 August: OLD RADNOR AND KNIGHTON AREA

After coffee at the Crown Hotel, Walton, members travelled to Old Radnor Church. The church is dedicated to St. Stephen, and is situated in a large, round churchyard among prehistoric earthworks. In the 1920s it was transferred from the Diocese of Hereford to the Church in Wales. It dates mainly from the fifteenth century and has a nave, chancel, north aisle and chapel, south aisle and chapel, south porch and a three-stage west tower. The font is made from a dolerite boulder and is possibly 8th century. The rood-screen is late fifteenth-century with very fine tracery, also fifteenth century are the stalls with poppyheads. Of special interest is the organ case, the earliest in the British Isles, with linenfold panels and early Renaissance decoration. The fifteenth-century glass in the east window of the north aisle depicts St. Catherine with her wheel.

At the Quaker Meeting House at Pales the party was welcomed by Mr. Williams, who gave a brief illustrated talk on its history. It is situated 1,000 ft. above sea-level, built of stone with a thatched roof of 1717 and an adjacent burial ground acquired in 1673. It is the oldest Quaker meeting house in Wales.

After a picnic lunch members travelled via Llandegly, Penybont and Knighton to Bryndraenog in the parish of Beguildy. Today it is a working farm but was once associated with a dominant family in the lordship of Maellenydd, and is the greatest timber-framed building in Wales. It is U-shaped in plan with a three-bay hall, thirty-five ft. by nineteen ft. flanked by wings. A two-bay lesser hall was situated in the south wing. The house is of box-frame construction with two pairs of base-crucks, a very rare feature. A first-floor gallery dated 1634 runs around three sides. The roof above has cusped and pierced wind-braces and tracery. The tall transomed window in the east wall has four ogee lights and blank spandrels. The porch with a room over is at the south-east corner of the hall. Dendrochronology has dated the main structure to timber felled in 1436, and a repair felling of 1615. The visit was possible by the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas who also provided the tea.

The final visit was to Llanfairwaterdine Church where members were welcomed by the churchwarden, Miss Ruth Davies. The present church was built in 1854 by Nicholson, but has an altar rail which was part of the original roodscreen. On it is an inscription in Welsh recording the building of the screen *c*.1500. On the ends of the pews are the names of the farms in the parish. A recent acquisition is the banner hanging in the chancel which depicts the Himalayan bear. It was given by the family of the late Lord Hunt and had hung in St. George`s Chapel, Windsor. He led the first successful climb of Everest in 1953. In the churchyard was seen the gypsy grave with an inscription in the Romany language. It is a memorial to Herbert, the son of Noah and Delilah Locke, who died 19 May 1882 aged 21. It was erected by Hubert Smith, a landowner and solicitor of Bridgnorth who had married Herbert's elder sister, Esmeralda, in 1874. They were divorced in 1876.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 2 October: Dr. P. A. Olver, president, in the chair.
Dr. J. C. Eisel gave an illustrated talk on 'Some Historic Former Inns in Hereford.' He explained that a tavern was a place where all alcoholic drinks were sold and an ale-house had to have a sign, the evergreen bush. An Act of Parliament of 1553 stated that they had to be licensed, and Hereford was limited to three taverns. Documentary sources for Herefordshire inns are sparse. There are some recognizances for 1607 and some in the eighteenth century, the last being 1757. These give the name of the landlord, but not the name of the public house. There was approximately one for every 60–70 persons. The Cider Act of 1763 introduced a tax of 4s. a hogshead of cider and perry to be used for local purposes, but this was lifted in 1765. From 1770 the *Hereford Journal* provides useful information. By the Beer Act of 1830 the licence cost £2 and during the nineteenth century public houses could remain open twenty-four hours a day, and it was not until the First World War that opening hours were restricted.

Taylor's Map of 1757 is useful for showing sites and refers to a number which have disappeared in the High Town area, such as the Catherine Wheel in Cooken Row, the Old George, the White Lion (site unknown), the Redstreak and Dolphin on the site of the Market Hall, the Sun Inn on the south side and the Blue Boar on the west side of the Booth Hall. In Widemarsh Street renumbering has caused confusion. There was the Crown and Sceptre which became the Wine Vaults, the New Inn on the corner of Maylord and Widemarsh Street which moved next door, and the New Inn which became the Old New Inn. The Angel Inn was burned down and replaced by the Raven. The Black Swan, dating from the seventeenth century, was turned into shops and demolished in 1978. On the corner of St.John Street stood the Coffee House, which in the seventeenth century was used by the Vicars Choral and closed in the 1820s. In Broad Street the Swan and Falcon of sixteenth-century date became a house of the Duke of Norfolk, and later the City Arms. The Greyhound Hotel was one of the principal inns standing near All Saints' Church and closed in 1924. An updated publication of *The Pubs of Hereford* would be available shortly.

SECOND MEETING: 23 October: Mr. J. G. Hillaby, senior vice-president, in the chair.
Mr. J. G. Hillaby gave an illustrated talk on 'A Leominster Rotunda?' In a survey of the area near the cloister there were signs of a circular building overlapping the west end of the cloister with a diameter 58 ft. externally, 35 ft. internally and a wall 10 ft. thick. What is it? It was on the site where the lavatorium would be. He cited various examples including Gloucester and Worcester, and also the Cluniac priory at Lewes which has a diameter of 27 ft. and is the earliest one in the country. At Canterbury there is one 30 ft. in diameter. One of the main problems set by this is whether it is pre-foundation or post-dissolution.

Circular baptistries occur early in the days before infant baptism was introduced in the tenth century when baptism was by total immersion. Fonts came with infant baptism. Circular churches are found at Ludlow and Garway and at Cambridge and Northampton, but they are rare so the idea of a church can be dismissed. Also there are circular churches in Germany, France, Italy and Turkey, but again they are rare. Dovecotes are often circular. There is the well known example at Garway but this at Leominster is not one. Canterbury, Bury St.Edmunds and Worcester each had a rotunda.

The building at Leominster seems to have been taken down carefully. It is significant that it is the only place in North Herefordshire where baptisms were held on Maundy Thursday and it seems possible that it was built by Cuthbert, later Archbishop of Canterbury. It is hoped that an excavation will take place during the summer of 2005.

THIRD MEETING: 13 November: Dr. P. A. Olver, president, in the chair.
This was the forty-second F. C. Morgan lecture and was given by Jim Budd on 'Restoring Stained Glass in Hereford.' In July members had visited his studio and workshop at Gladestry where they saw stained glass being restored and designed. He explained that restoring stained glass required careful repairing, cleaning, collecting fragments and historical research on the subject being restored as well as full documentation of the work carried out in case any future work is necessary. Restoration work is carried out on stained glass as early as the thirteenth century and damage caused by vandalism and intruders.

He illustrated his talk by showing slides of the restoration of the late thirteenth-century glass in the Lady Chapel, and vandal damage in the Stanbury Chapel at Hereford Cathedral. At Dore Abbey the window given in 1634 by John, first Viscount Scudamore, has been cleaned and re-leaded with a lighter weight lead and the cracks repaired. Restoration has also been carried out on the window in Sellack Church, given about 1630 by Richard Scudamore, where holes needed mending. Old windows in private houses are also repaired. Much patience is required for this painstaking work

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 4 December: Mr. B. S. Smith, acting president, in the chair.
Officers for 2005 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 2003 were presented and adopted. They follow these Proceedings.

Mr Ross Andrew gave an illustrated talk on 'From the House Sparrow to the Blue-winged Olive—Community Involvement in Wildlife Recording and Monitoring.' He said he was in charge of a three-year Community Biodiversity Project funded by £100,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The idea was to record and monitor wildlife, working with local groups; eight have been formed. Record cards are completed, checked and forwarded to the Herefordshire Biodiversity Centre within the Herefordshire Council, and used for conservation and enforcement purposes. Project members include a number of students at the Royal National College for the Blind who are recording nesting birds based on birdsong. They follow the same route weekly.

On the river Lugg aquatic plants are noted for their distribution and condition to show the quality of the water in the river. Traditional orchards such as the one at Mordiford have produced the rare mistletoe moth and the noble chafer, a metallic green beetle. The water shrew has been found on the Lugg. Working with the anglers on the river Wye it is hoped to increase the chad, and on the river Monnow the grayling and wild trout. By improving the bank sides of the rivers it encourages caddis and mayflies. This shows the health of the rivers. Groups have been monitoring slow-worms at Belmont and bumble bees at Lower House, whilst at Haywood High School students have set up an exhibition unit.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

RECEIPTS & PAYMENT ACCOUNT
for the year ended 31st December 2003

2002			
	INCOME		
4,173	Interest on Investments -		
	Capital Reserve	2,115	
	General	1,620	
-	Income Tax Refunds	2,389	
4,173			6,124
7,653	General Subscriptions	7,237	
312	Sale of Publications	245	
3,659	Grants, Donations & Legacies	-	
600	Victoria County History (net surplus)	1,038	
38	Archaeology Research (net surplus)	439	
-	ARS Lottery Fund (net surplus)	241	
78	Field Meetings (net surplus)	-	
-	Geology Section (net surplus)	63	
-	FMS/MAS(net surplus)	71	
1	George Marshall Fund (net surplus)	4	
31	Natural History Section (net surplus)	17	
12,372			9,355
16,545			15,479
	EXPENDITURE		
475	Insurance	508	
6,617	Stationery, Printing & Binding	5,174	
30	Meetings Expenses	30	
877	Postage & Telephone	486	
144	Subscriptions & Donations	53	
302	Repairs & Renewals	-	
300	Honoraria	300	
194	Accountancy	205	
589	Field Names Survey (net deficit)	170	
(9,528)			(7,126)
(110)	Less refund of Previous year expense		-
£ 7,127	TOTAL SURPLUS in the year		£ 8,353

D. H. Davies, F. C. A.
18th November 2004
Independent Examiner

BALANCE SHEET
at 31st December 2003

2002			
	ASSETS		
1,040	Herefordshire County Council Loan		1,040
46,172	National Savings Investments		47,457
	Bank Accounts		
130,049	Reserves	21,595	
7,123	General	7,656	
2,022	Subscriptions	1,465	
291	Natural History Section	308	
983	Archaeological Research Section	3,304	
1,813	Field Names Survey	-	
1,126	Field Meetings	956	
-	Geology Section	63	
143,407			35,347
	Designated Accounts		
-	Special Reserve	112,843	
9,084	Victoria County History	10,123	
287	George Marshall Fund	291	
-	ARS Heritage Lottery Fund	1,241	
9,371			124,498
199,990			208,342

Note that the following assets of fluctuating or indeterminate value are not included in this Balance Sheet:-
1. £933 3 1/2% War Loan current value approx £690
2. The contents of the library & stock of publications

	CAPITAL		
	General Funds		
184,093	Balance brought forward		190,619
-	Less transfer to Designated Reserve	110,728	
-	ARS Lottery Fund	1,000	
184,093			(111,728)
6,526	Add Surplus in the year		4,953
190,619			83,844
	Designated Funds		
8,484	Victoria County Fund b/f	9,084	
600	Add Surplus in the year	1,039	
9,084			10,123
286	George Marshall Fund b/f	287	
1	Add Surplus in the year	4	
287			291
-	"New" Capital Reserve Fund/Transfer	110,728	
-	Add Surplus in the year	2,115	
-			112,843
-	"New" ARS Lottery Fund/Grant/Transfer	15,725	
-	Less net expenditure	(14,484)	
-			1,241
£199,990			£208,342

Editorial

It is some time since the editor has addressed the readers of the *Transactions*, and there is no necessity to make it an annual event. However, Jim Tonkin's retirement after nearly forty years in the chair seems an appropriate occasion to explain the Club's policy on publications, and on the *Transactions* in particular.

In forty years technology has brought major changes in publishing methods and media, and the Club wishes to take full advantage of these. In addition, the Club has received a generous bequest specifically directed towards aiding publications other than the *Transactions.* The Club has appointed a Publications Committee to manage all aspects of its publications from the *Transactions* and the Club's website through to separate volume series, and to support the editor of the *Transactions*, a member of that committee.

The 2003 *Transactions* was the first issue to be completely assembled and formatted by the editor as a file ready for the printers. Although this means extra proof-reading work by Club members, it has given us more flexibility in timing and greater control over layout. All illustrations are now in line with the text. It is our intention that the *Transactions* for a given year should be despatched to members in the summer of the following year.

The Woolhope Club was founded to pursue a number of disciplines, but over time the subjects of the papers presented to the editor for publication have reflected cyclic variations in members' interests. At the moment, the *Transactions* are rather heavy on history and archaeology, and light on geology. For the next few issues, papers which have been awaiting publication will reflect this imbalance, but I am hopeful that the reformed Geology section will help to rectify the situation. We plan to mark the celebrations of the bi-centenary of the founding of the Royal Geological Society in 2007 in the *Transactions* for that year.

Although members are given preference in the consideration of material for publication in the *Transactions*, any papers of Herefordshire relevance will be considered. We are particularly keen to encourage shorter (and possibly less academic) papers from members. Please get in touch with me if you would like to discuss your particular interest. For example, knowledge of the old Herefordshire way of life is disappearing, but it could be recorded within the *Transactions*. Help is available for those worried about writing an article, or without access to computers.

Roz Lowe, Hon. Editor October, 2006

Biographical Details of Contributors

Joe Hillaby
After appointment as Principal Lecturer and Head of History at Hereford College of Education, Joe was elected a member of the Club's Central Committee in 1962. The longest serving member, he was President in 1969, 1986 and 2003. Chairman of Hereford Civic Trust to 1991 and CPRE (Herefordshire) 1992–7. He represents the national conservation societies on the Hereford Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches. He was elected an Hon. Research Fellow on retirement from Bristol University in 1993. Living since then on the Malvern Hills, he was Chairman of Worcestershire Archaeological Society, 2000–3. Currently President of the Jewish Historical Society of England, he has published studies of the medieval Jewries of London, Hereford, Bristol, Gloucester and Worcester. Publications include *Ledbury: A Medieval Borough* (3rd ed., 2005), *St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury. I. c.1230-1547* (2003) and *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough c.660-1539* (2006).

Anthea Brian
Dr. Anthea Brian studied Biology at London University and then worked in the Bee Department at Rothamsted Experimental Station. While there she got interested in pollination and also the ecology of bumble bees. These subjects were taken further working at home while raising a family first in Scotland and subsequently in Dorset when her husband went into the newly set up Nature Conservancy. This work was written up in the Journal of Animal Ecology, papers which subsequently led to a Ph.D. Latterly she took to teaching biology. Since moving to Herefordshire she has been involved with the Herefordshire Nature Trust and served one year as president of the Woolhope Club. Her current interests are mainly in local history and the relationship between ecology and past land uses.

John C. Eisel
Dr. John C. Eisel F.S.A. was educated at Hereford Cathedral School and took his first degree at King's College, London. After training as a teacher, he lectured in mathematics, first at Dudley Technical College and latterly as head of mathematics at Herefordshire College of Technology until he took early retirement in 1994. Among his research interests are the history of change ringing and the development of bell frames, and he has published widely. He is deeply interested in the history of his adopted county, in particular the development of Hereford itself, on which he has written a number of papers. He is also an expert on the history of the local pubs! For many years a member of the Club committee, he is now (2006–7) serving his third term as President.

Presidential Address 2004

The Origins and Evolution of the Medieval Ground Plan of Leominster Borough

By JOE HILLABY

In 1970 the presidential address examined the evolution of the medieval boroughs of Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross. The stimulus was work with the Bromyard & District Local History Society, especially Phyllis Williams and the late Edna Pearson, for the production of Bromyard, A Local History *(1970). This was followed in 1982 by* Ledbury A Medieval Borough. *Having examined at the evolution of these three Herefordshire market towns, interest moved to the pre-Conquest era and the origins of the diocese. The second address, in 1987, on 'Early Christian and Pre-Conquest Leominster' was an attempt to resolve a number of problems arising from this. The address this year is an attempt to bring together these two themes, the parochia and borough origins, and the stages of borough growth, for the larger market town of Leominster.*[1]

The Refoundation of Leominster's Saxon Minster as a Cell of Reading Abbey, *c*.1123

It was the death in 1120 of his only son, Prince William, in the White Ship disaster that persuaded Henry I to found Reading Abbey.[2] There he was to be buried.[3] At both Reading and Leominster Priory the monks were to chant masses, in perpetuity, for the repose of 'my own soul, those of King William my father, King William my brother, William my son and all my ancestors and successors.' In his foundation charter Henry announced: 'Know that three abbeys were formerly destroyed in the kingdom of England, their sins requiring it, that is to say Reading, Cholsey and Leominster.'

This was a reference to the minster church founded *c*.660 by Merewalh, king of the 'folk who live west of the Severn', which was to become first a monastery and then a nunnery. The latter was 'destroyed' after 1046 when Earl Swein Godwinson, returning triumphant from a joint campaign with King Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll of Gwynedd and Powys against Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, ruler of Deheubarth (southwest Wales with Brecon), abducted Eadgifu, the abbess of Leominster's nunnery.[4] These monasteries, Henry I continued, 'a lay hand has long possessed, and has alienated and divided their lands and possessions. But I...have built a new monastery at Reading…and have given to that monastery Leominster and Cholsey with all things belonging to them.'[5] Thus he proclaimed the refoundation of the ancient minster and later conventual church of Leominster, founded *c*.660, as a cell of his royal abbey at Reading. To ensure its subject status, its monks were never to exceed the apostolic number of twelve, and the head of its community, known merely as *custos*, dean or prior, was removable at will by the abbot of Reading.

Other than the service of God on that venerable site by the waters of the Lugg, its purpose was the sustenance of the mother house, through the offerings of the faithful and income from its estates and judicial rights. In 1291, £240, 80% of Leominster's temporalities totalling £303 3s., went to Reading; in 1536, £438 4s. 8d., two-thirds of the annual revenue of £660 16s. 8d., was being remitted.[6]

This revenue was derived from three sources: firstly, the priory's extensive estates, for the church, in the words of the foundation charter, had been granted to Reading with its 'appendages, woods, fields and pastures, meadows and waters, mills and fisheries'; secondly, the 'churches, chapels and churchyards, offerings and tithes' of its *parochia*, its area of spiritual dependence; finally, the profits of justice from the hundred court, with 'all jurisdiction over assaults, thefts, murders, effusions of blood and infractions of the peace, as much as belonged to the royal power.' Henry commanded all who had lands within the hundred to attend the abbot's court 'as fully as they used to come' when it was in royal hands. A royal precept ensured that the abbot and convent of Reading enjoyed all such fruits of justice. The borough of Leominster was established to further augment that income from its fairs, markets and rents.[7]

Reading Abbey was founded in 1121, but only with the appointment of Hugh of Amiens as abbot in April 1123 did matters progress rapidly. At Leominster in that year Richard de Capella, bishop of Hereford, was required to call together a jury of 'the oldest and most reliable men' to determine, in his presence, those places that owed obedience and thus financial dues to the minster as a mother church.[8] They recorded the bounds of Leominster's *parochia* by identifying 39 places. These Richard listed in his charter, but added that the jurors had 'abstained from giving evidence about many others which were, of old, part of the *parochia*, because they were too antiquated.' A number of places omitted as 'too antiquated' were now in the hands of powerful Norman lords, such as Ralph I de Mortimer of Wigmore Castle.[9]

Construction of the priory church also moved apace. The liturgical choir, presbytery, transepts and eastern bay of the nave were probably completed by the early 1130s. Excavations in 1853, at the time of the construction of the Shrewsbury and Hereford Railway, revealed that these replicated the original plan of Reading, with ambulatory, three apsidal and two transeptal chapels.[10] The extensive precinct of the Anglo-Saxon minster, founded *c*.660, became the priory's outer and inner courts. That section which extended southwards from the path that led from the gatehouse to the west front was given the same name as its Reading counterpart, 'the Forbury.'[11]

When Bishop Capella came to Leominster in 1123, he found the old priest-minster much as it had been when it was enriched with ornaments by Earl Leofric and his wife Godiva, almost 100 years earlier.[12] To Norman eyes that church would have been a far from impressive sight, but the large rectangular ecclesiastical precinct, with its great bank and ditch to south and west and river to north and east, would certainly have commanded respect.

Until six years ago, it had been assumed that such rectangular precincts, as at Glastonbury and Leominster, were of rare occurrence in Anglo-Saxon England. T. A. Hall's recent study has shown that most Dorset minsters are surrounded by strongly rectilinear areas, indicating that the *vallum monasterii* of such minsters were the same. The bounds of such enclosures are usually contained within one of the angles, where a north-south and east-west road cross.[13] This was the case at the 7th-century royal minsters founded at Leominster and, later, at Hereford, as well as the episcopal minsters at Ledbury, where the north-south route is represented today by the Homend, High Town, (the market-place) and the Southend, and the east-west by Bishop (Bye) Street and Church Lane, and also at Ross.[14] There the north-south route is represented by Brookend, Broad and Corpse Cross Streets, and the east-west by High Street, Dean Hill and Old Gloucester Road. The present Gloucester Road is a 19th-century addition.

At Leominster the western side of the great precinct was marked by the north-south route, linking the strongholds of Chepstow, Monmouth, Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester, the main artery of the Welsh march; and the southern side by the east-west road from Worcester via Bromyard, later the London-Aberystwyth road, following the Lugg into central Wales. The former occupied much the same course as it does today, but not the latter. The dogleg now formed by West Street, part of South Street and Etnam Street did not exist. Instead, the route followed a straight line along what was to become Bargates and West Street to the Iron Cross. Following the line of the later Corn Street and the southern end of Corn Square, it passed along the southern bank of the minster enclosure, with town ditch outside, to cross the Lugg at a ford by Pinsley Mill and the White Lion.[15] Across the Lugg, the route may well be perpetuated by some 400 ft. of the Leominster-Kimbolton parish boundary and three field boundaries before it started to climb Eaton Hill to cross the Roman road coming up from Stretford. On the north, the minster enclosure was bounded by the line of the Kenwater, and on the east by the Lugg.

Figure 1. Aerial photograph of Leominster showing the N-S and E-W routes, triangular marketplace and cornmarket. Photo courtesy and © Derek Foxton

Reading and Leominster were both situated on important route-ways. At the former, the Great West Road divided and was crossed by a major road from Winchester to the Midlands. For William of Malmesbury, it was 'in a place well calculated to provide lodging for almost all travellers to the more populous cities of England.'[16] Leominster, as we have seen, also occupied a nodal position, although of regional rather than national significance. From a geographical point of view, both were therefore ideally suited as marketing centres.

Figure 2. The crossing point of the ancient north-south and east-west routes, the site of pre- and post-Conquest markets. The new eastern line of Etnam Street (E—E) was set one burgage width to the south of the original east-west route, which is marked with white dots. The area within the solid white line denotes the post-Conquest wedge-shaped *altus vicus* and *Corncepyng.* © Woolhope Club

Leominster's pre-urban Roots: Minster and *Parochia*

Geography and topography were not all. The grant of Leominster to Reading provided both the initiative and incentive for the formal foundation of a borough, but the overwhelming success of the abbot of Reading's commercial venture was based on foundations that had been laid over the preceding four centuries.

By the 10th century Leominster had become the centre of a hundred, with significant economic implications. Regular hundredal meetings provided further opportunity for trade. They also represent an important stage in the move from barter to a moneyed economy. The hundred had to witness buying and selling, and was the unit for collecting the tax called Danegeld.[17] The sale of farm produce to obtain tax silver was a major element, it has been suggested, in the generation of trade. The police function of the hundred, whereby misdoers could be fined 30 silver pennies or more, had a similar impact. Not surprisingly, many of our early market towns are found where minster church and hundredal centre coincided, as at Berkeley and Cirencester.

Although the minster area was important for administration and Sunday trading, this need not necessarily imply much in the way of permanent settlement. Domesday Book provides valuable glimpses of urban origins elsewhere. At Berkeley there was a *forum*, market-place, where dwelt 17 men who paid rent. This would have been at the entrance to the important minster. At the monastic site of Tewkesbury, where the Conqueror's queen had 'established' a market which rendered 11s. 8d., there were 15 burgesses paying in total 20s. a year. At Abingdon, one of England's most famous monasteries, merely 'ten merchants dwelt in front of the door of the church', paying 40d.; there is no mention of a market.[18]

In 1086 Hereford was the only town in the shire. The references in Domesday Book to 'burgesses' at Clifford and a 'borough' at Wigmore are illusory as evidence of urban status; for the Normans the term *bourg* and *castellum* were interchangeable.[19] True urban development came late to Herefordshire because of its frontier position. Under the late Saxon kings the threat of Welsh onslaughts, such as those of 1052 and 1055, hindered the full exploitation of the rich countryside and with it the development of trade.

In Herefordshire trade and market towns arose once the new Norman lords turned their conquering zeal westwards: Philip de Braose's seizure of Radnor *c*.1190, and of Builth shortly after; Bernard de Neufmarché's conquest of Brecon by 1093; the conquest of Gwent by the fitz Baderon, de Lacy and Ballon families and that of Glamorgan by Robert fitz Hamon, earl of Gloucester, by 1091—all had a profound impact on the county.[20] Behind this protective zone of marcher lordships Herefordshire's agriculture and commerce were able to flourish. For this reason the early 12th century is the age of economic growth and borough foundation *par excellence* in Herefordshire.

Charter evidence indicates that, within a decade of Henry III's coronation, a series of rival markets and fairs was established to the west by lords eager to emulate these early successes, and thus enjoy the financial benefits that accrued from the proprietorship of a small borough. Even so, vigorous growths such as Lyonshall (1227), Pembridge (1239), and ultimately Weobley were to founder in the economic contraction that followed the Black Death, 1348–9. By 1673 the market at Weobley was 'inconsiderable' due to the growth of its neighbouring town, *Kineton*, (Kington), whose Wednesday market before Whitsun and Christmas was 'the best in the county for corn, cattle, provisions and several commodities.'[21] This left the five earliest boroughs—Leominster, Bromyard, Ledbury, Ross and Kington—to provide the present network of market towns. All but Kington grew up around early minster churches.

Name	**Year**	**Lord**	**M**	**Fair**		**Date**
Eardisley	1225	Walter de Baskerville	W	Mary Magdalene	vf	27 Jul
Lyonshall	1227	Stephen Devereux	F	SS Simon & Jude	vfm	28 Oct
Pembridge	1239	Henry de Pembridge	M	St. Francis	vf	4 Oct
Preston-on-Wye	1253	Hereford Dean & Chapter	F	St. Laurence	vfm	10 Aug
Huntington	1257	Humphrey de Bohun jnr.	F	Trans. St. Thomas martyr	vfm	7 Jul
Clifford	1261	Walter de Clifford	W	Assumption	vfm	15 Aug
Staunton-on-Wye	1294	Michael Pichard	M	St. George	vfm	23 Apr
Kingsland	1306	Margaret Mortimer	Sa	Michaelmas	vfm +1	29 Sep
Winforton	1318	Roger Mortimer of Chirk	W	St. James Apostle	vfm	25 Jul
				Crispin & Crispinian	vfm	25 Oct
Kinnersley	1357	Richard de la Bere	Tu	St. James Apostle	vf	25 Jul
Bodenham	1378	Walter Devereux	Tu	Assumption	vfm	15 Aug

Key: M market day; v vigil; f feast; m morrow. Sources: Letters Close (1225); Calendar of Charter Rolls (1226–1417)

Table 1. Rival Markets and Fairs, 1225-1378

Figure 3. First edition (1887) 25in. OS map of Leominster (west), showing the 16 burgage series described in text

Figure 4. First edition (1887) 25in. OS map of Leominster (east), showing the 16 burgage series described in text

A conceptual framework for the origins, growth and decline of the county's early medieval boroughs was put forward in *Ledbury A Medieval Borough*.[22] There Ledbury was described as 'the child of the church.' Leominster differed from the other ecclesiastical boroughs of Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross in that its minster church was a royal foundation; the three others were merely episcopal minsters, in effect outstations of the bishop's seat at Hereford. As a royal foundation of the mid 7th century, Leominster was, for more than four centuries, the centre of a great administrative unit, with ecclesiastical, tenurial and judicial functions, for it had been endowed with lands extending over the major part of a large physiographic unit, the drainage basin of the middle Lugg and the Herefordshire plateau to its east.[23]

Stretching from Orleton and Brimfield in the north to Hope-under-Dinmore in the south, and from Eywood, Titley and Kinnersley in the west to Butterley in the east, most of this area owed service to Leominster. It has recently been described, somewhat anachronistically, as a mini-shire, like Winchcombe, which for a brief time did stand at the head of its own shire. For John Blair Leominster is 'outstandingly important' and its area of parochial dependence 'one of the biggest mother parishes known in England.'[24] The area around its monastic centre was 'articulated by complex territorial divisions and satellite settlements', the *herneys* and their burys. Compared with similar units in Gloucestershire, Berkeley and Tewkesbury, its size was 'gigantic.'[25] Informal trading activity therefore grew up at the minster gates at an early date.[26]

The informal market area, later known as *corncepyng*, close to the intersection of the two routes at the south-west corner of the bank and ditch of the *vallum monasterii* of the minster church, was the nucleus for the borough founded *c*.1123 by the abbots of Reading. A market will have been well established by late Saxon times. Before and after divine services at the minster on Sundays and festivals, above all that of its patron saints Peter and Paul, the people of the *parochia* gathered together, not only to trade but to meet friends, gossip and pass the time of day before the long journey home. Indeed, early fairs were often held on church lands; at Reading the Forbury continued to be so used, but there is no evidence of this at Leominster. On such occasions we should imagine the land about the crossroads bustling with country folk from as far away as Kinnersley, Titley, Orleton, Brimfield, Hatfield, Butterley and Hope-under-Dinmore.

The principal festivals of the minster's calendar, when those living within the *parochia* were obliged to attend their mother church—even after the foundation of dependent chapels—provided the occasion for fairs. It is no coincidence that when, in 1189, Richard I confirmed to Reading Abbey its right to hold an annual fair at its manor of Leominster, it was to be 'on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul' (29 June), its patronal festival, and the three days following. According to Price, who does not give his source, Henry II granted an earlier confirmation of this ancient prescriptive fair, by charter in 1170. Indeed, one of the earliest entries in the Leominster Cartulary, BL Cotton MS Domitian Aiii, records the fact that Ailward the Radknight was required to pay his rental of 10s. to his new lord, the abbot of Reading, annually on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The festival retained this distinction as a law day throughout the medieval period.[27]

The West Saxon kings, under strong pressure from the Church, had made a determined effort to stamp out Sunday markets. A law of Edward the Elder (899–925) enacted 'No trading shall take place on Sundays; anyone so doing shall lose his goods and pay a fine of 30 shillings.' Athelstan (924–39) followed, forbidding Sunday trading in the 24th chapter of his second law code, but abrogated it in his fourth and sixth codes. The second law code of Edgar (959–75) insisted 'every Sunday shall be observed as a festival from noonday on Saturday until dawn on Monday, under penalty the written law prescribes…' Canute (1013–35) qualified this, 'unless in

cases of great necessity.'[28] Such laws had little impact on those tilling a hard living from the soil. Leominster's markets continued to be held on a Sunday until the early 13th century.

The ineffectiveness of such legislation led to further ecclesiastical campaigns in the reigns of Henry II and John, but most effectively during the minority of his young son Henry III, when the papal legate, Guala Bicchieri, wielded considerable power within the Council of Regency. Thus in 1218 Leominster's market, 'by custom held on Sundays', was henceforth to be held on Thursdays. This must have been a commercial disaster, for the next year, under pressure from Simon, abbot of Reading, it was changed once again, to Saturday. Ironically, the county's only other recorded Sunday market, at Ledbury, was confirmed to that most saintly of Hereford bishops, Robert de Bethune, by King Stephen in 1138.[29]

In origin established to serve a district need, Leominster's fairs eventually developed a regional function. As the pastoral economy of Wales established closer ties with the English market, so Leominster's trade prospered. Easy access along the valley of the Lugg eventually provided it with a hinterland that stretched far into central Wales, but good lines of communication with the west had their drawbacks. Disaster did strike on occasions, most critically in 1052, when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll penetrated 'very near' to Leominster and defeated the combined forces of the local levies and the Norman 'castlemen', and again in 1402, after Owain Glyn Dŵr's victory over the Herefordshire levies at Bryn Glas, Pilleth, some 12 leagues from Leominster.[30] However, Henry III and Edward I's 13th-century campaigns against the Welsh eruptions into central Herefordshire undoubtedly provided a powerful stimulus to urban growth. Such expansion of Leominster's trade was viewed with deep suspicion by the citizens of Hereford, who were to seek, by varied means, to put down their rival.

The Role of Bishop Richard de Capella, 1121–7

Richard de Capella, who had been appointed bishop of Hereford in January 1121, arrived at Leominster in 1123 to hold an inquest into the spiritualities of the minster. Henry I would have been hard put to find a person better qualified for his work at Leominster. A clerk of the royal chapel, Richard had served him as keeper of the royal seal, *custos sigilli regis*, since 1107. As his personal chaplain, Capella would have been in close attendance during the king's travels throughout his lands. He was thus on intimate terms, not only with Henry, but also with the royal family and the magnates of the realm.[31]

As *custos* Capella was the immediate subordinate of the chancellor, and responsible for all the secretarial work of the royal scriptorium, in particular the preparation of royal charters and their validation with the royal seal. During his 14-year tenure, the scope and importance of his office had greatly increased; so much so that while Richard received 10d. a day plus allowances, his successor, Robert de Sigillo, was to receive 2s. a day plus allowances – almost half the salary paid to the five great officers of state.[32]

For a decade and a half Capella had been at the heart of affairs, and thus had as keen an appreciation as anyone in the kingdom of the methods used by enterprising and well-connected episcopal and monastic landowners to tap the rising agricultural production and expanding trade that characterised the English economy in the early 12th century. During his period of office, he was responsible for drawing up charters confirming and extending some of the most important fairs in the realm, in 1108–10 granting Ramsey Abbey a five-day fair at its manor of St. Ives, and extending the bishop of Winchester's St. Giles fair by a further five days. Within three months of his election he had persuaded Henry to grant a charter confirming his right to hold a three-day fair at Hereford during the festival of the cathedral's patron, St. Ethelbert. Co-operation between king

and bishop continued, for the Wye Bridge at Hereford was built on the advice of Bishop Richard, but 'at the command of the king himself.' The benefits were not merely strategic but also economic, for trade was improved not by new roads but by new bridges. The foundation of the borough adjoining the precinct at Leominster was a deliberate act of policy, carried out for the financial benefit of the abbot of Reading, who was to receive all property rents, market tolls and profits of the borough courts.[33]

The Wedge-shaped Market and the Burgage Series

Whilst authority for laying out Leominster' small wedge-shaped market with its series of burgage plots on three sides will have been Capella's, topography indicates that the surveyor came from Reading.

At Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross the *Red Book*, the episcopal survey of the bishop's estates *c*.1288, provides full details of all burgage and other tenancies.[34] Leominster has no counterpart. Although some information can be gleaned from the Reading and Leominster cartularies and the register of charters of the conventual Lady Chapel, reliance has to be placed for the most part on techniques of town plan analysis to determine the main stages in its evolution after foundation *c*.1123. A town plan, Conzen has suggested, consists of three distinct elements: 'the streets, and their mutual association in a street system; the individual plots or parcels of land and their aggregation in street blocks with distinct block patterns'; and their 'arrangement in the town plan as a whole.' Patterns of relief and drainage must also be taken into account. The interrelationship of these elements is anything but random.[35]

Insensitive post-war development has obliterated much of the charm and important historical evidence in terms of the fabric of the town. In contrast to the record at Hereford and Monmouth, only since the 1990s has much archaeological evaluation been carried out on development sites at Leominster. In consequence we are more dependent on early large-scale plans, but of Leominster there are none prior to the 19th century. The first, to a scale of about 25in. to a mile, was drawn in 1832 by William Galliers. 'Together with a valuation of all the rateable property within the limits of the ancient borough and the town wards', it cost the borough £150. The Council was evidently proud of Galliers' detailed, if not altogether accurate, plan, for it remained on display in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, built on the corner of High Street and Burgess Street in 1855, until the building was demolished by the Town Council in 1974-5.[36] Its great value is its description of the town some 50 years before the publication of our second major source, the 1:2,500 or 25in. to one mile Ordnance Survey plan published in 1887, followed by the 50in. plan. To his copy of the first edition of the 25" OS plan the Hereford land agent and surveyor, R. L. Bamford, added details of 'existing sewers to be abolished and retained, new sewers, and water supply mains.' These are sources of great value, and provide the basis for any essay in town plan analysis at Leominster.

There is one further, medieval, source: the *Liber Cartarum Capellae Beatae Mariae Monachorum Leomistrier*, the Cartulary of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary of the monks of Leominster, with translations of some 173 charters concerning the endowment of their Lady Chapel, of which 138 relate to properties within the borough.[37] This cartulary is available at the Herefordshire Record Office, both as Latin text and in translation, the latter forming the second 'pageing' in Thomas Coningsby's *Register* of documents relating to Leominster Priory.[38] The former, according to a letter from Thomas Blount to the antiquary Anthony Wood in 1669, was, with a number of other important manuscripts, in the hands of John Stead, town clerk of Leominster.[39]

A few of the cartulary's charters are dated, principally to the 13th century, the earliest being Edith daughter of John de Aula's grant to 'Isabell daughter of Robert inhabitant of Brumford for 5s which she in hand gave me' of 'all that burgage between the land of Sely the Baker and land which was William de Eyforde's in *Mappenoreslone* to hold from Michaelmas 1258.'[40] The property was subsequently granted to the almoner. However, that most of these documents are of the 14th century is evident from the priors named, such as Walter de Medan (Meders), prior 1290–*c*.1305,[41] Alan de Stepel Eston, prior *c*.1309,[42] and William of Dumbleton, prior 1357–61 and abbot of Reading 1361–9,[43] and such prominent burgesses as Richard Lyulf, MP for Leominster in 1315 and 1330,[44] Philip Romayn, MP seven times between 1332 and 1348,[45] and Adam de Salesbury,[46] who was granted a licence to alienate property to the church in 1350.[47]

A quitclaim dated 9 Edward II, 1315–16, records that a shop in the High Street was between that 'of the keepers of the altar of St Mary in the parish church' and another 'of the altar of St Mary among the monks.'[48] It thus makes it clear that the large rectangular Lady Chapel built by the Leominster monks *c*.1331x50 at the east end of their church, in position and design similar to that of Hereford Cathedral's Lady Chapel today, was a replacement. Additionally, it provides evidence that the parochial Lady Chapel, also built later in the 14th century, probably at the eastern end of the parochial south aisle, likewise had a predecessor.[49]

Figure 5. Aerial photograph of Broad Street from Five Crosses (F)—the junction of Drapers Lane with High, Broad, Church and Burgess (B) Streets. Also showing New Street (N); Vicarage Lane (V); Upper Marsh (UM) and Kenwater Bridge (K). Note 1: the narrowing and change of direction as Burgess Street approaches Five Crosses and 2: the eastern burgage series of Broad Street [(6) on fig. 3] backing on to *vallum monasterii*, marked with white dots.

In many cases supporting documents, such as earlier deeds, quitclaims and even a few wills, were recorded by the custodians of the chantry in their register. The records are, for the most part, arranged topographically, street by street. Commencing at Church Street (not so named), they move by High Street, *altus vicus*, including Broad Street, Corn Square (*Corncepyng*), Etnam Street (*vicus versus Eton*) and South Street (*vicus australis* or *vicus versus Hereford*) to Five Crosses (*Quinque Cruces*), the junction of High Street, Drapers Lane, Church and Burgess Streets with Broad Street, that is by the Butter Market and Hen Pen, continuing along West Street (*vicus occidentalis*) and Dishley Street (*vicus versus Dusteley*) to Burgess Lane (*Burgeyslone*) and Cranes Lane (*Croueslone*), and end up at the Nether Marsh by way of New Street (*novus vicus* or *vicus versus Chorlestre*), Mappenore Lane (*in viculo qui vocatur Mappenereslone* or *versus domum Walteri de Mappenore*) followed by *Pynnefurdlyngeslone*, Vicarage Lane (*Vicarystrete*, also *viculo versus Crouford*), *via pontem de Keneford*, 'beyond Kenford Bridge' that is 'Middle Marsh', Mill Street (*Mullestrete* or *vicus versus Sanctum Andream*) and Bridge Street (*vicus versus Mariscum*). The information the charters provide is in no way as comprehensive as that of the *Red Book* of the bishops of Hereford, which lists all his tenants at Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross, together with the rents due from each. From the number of tenancies of burgages and *seldae*, shops, we thus have an estimate of the total population for each of the three boroughs. For Bromyard and Ledbury, where tenants were listed by street, we also have an accurate guide to the length of each street.

A typical endowment for the conventual Lady Chapel at Leominster is that of Hugh Lawer. 'For the health of my soul and those of my ancestors and successors', he gave to 'God, the Blessed Mary and the monastery of Leominster' half a burgage in 'the street towards Hereford' [South Street], which Oddo the Smith sold me. At my petition with the assent of the Convent, my heirs shall hold forever the half burgage…paying yearly to the sub-dean 12d. for freedom in the said borough and to the *custos* [keeper] of the altar [of the Lady Chapel]…2lb. of wax to maintain a taper to burn every Saturday and six gallons of oil for a lamp to burn every day from morning to night before the said altar, and another lamp to burn all night on Sundays and Fridays at the Cross on the altar of St. James.' The chaplain was to make ready the said lamps, 'for the health of his own soul.' Hugh even now had certain apprehensions about the health of his soul, for his charter ends with a malediction and blessing: 'If anyone shall knowingly presume to break diminish or alter this my gift let the highest judgements fall on them and they and their posterity be rooted from the earth nor come within the pity of the Mother of mercy; and whosoever preserve this my grant the Lord prosper him hereafter.'[50]

Evidence from topographic and documentary sources for the growth of a single town should not be used in isolation. Although the similarities of ground plan at Leominster and Reading have been noted, the evolution of the street pattern at Capella's foundations of Bromyard, Ledbury and Ross is well documented and can also provide valuable clues. Despite their smaller size, the overall pattern of their growth is, in many respects, analogous to that of Leominster. Capella, having established one borough at Henry I's behest for the abbey of Reading, evidently decided to found others for the benefit of his see. In each case the nucleus was a minster church at a major north-south east-west crossroads, associated with an episcopal palace and hundredal centre. The three small market towns flourished in a way that may have surprised even their founder. At Ledbury it can be shown that New Street, evidently the last element in the street plan, was in existence by 1186.[51] By 1232, some 110 years after foundation, the street plans of both Ledbury and Bromyard were virtually as delineated in the earliest modern town plans, of 1788 and 1816. The *Red Book* shows that there were 282

tenancies in Ledbury's five streets, with a population of between 1,000 and 1,500, depending on which multiplier, 3.5 or 5, is used to estimate household size. This is described in more detail in the Club's *Transactions* for 1970 and in *Ledbury A Medieval Borough*.

At Leominster the pattern of growth was very similar, for the same forces were at work. A century and a half of rapid expansion created a street plan by the mid 13th century where the main elements were not very different from those surveyed by Galliers in the early 19th century. After the Black Death in 1349, Leominster was struck by the same demographic forces as the other three boroughs. However, other than the circumstances of foundation and a much more resilient 15th-century economy, based on the outstanding quality of its wool, the principal distinction between Leominster and the three bishop's boroughs was the much more extensive catchment area for its markets and fairs, a factor reflected in its size and wealth.

Stages of Borough Growth

The borough, founded in the early 1120s, evolved in a series of stages. The elements in the evolution of the ground plan are listed below in a suggested sequence of development. Early elements were:

1. The market area consisting of two linked sites: *Corncepyng*, now Corn Square, and the later wedge-shaped market, *altus vicus* I, now High Street/Drapers Lane.
2. West Street, with South End.
3. *altus vicus* II: now Broad Street.
4. The Marsh which, with its industry based on the plentiful supply of water power, was established by 1190. Later it included Vicarage and Mill Streets.

Later elements, consisting of new burgage series, were:

1. Etnam Street.
2. South Street.
3. Burgess Street.
4. New Street.
5. These were followed by more random development in such lanes as Cranes, Mappenore and *Pynnefurdlyngeslone*.
6. School Lane and Bargates (in the 15th century).

The Twin Market-Places

At Reading the abbot's surveyor had to deal with two market-places. One, St. Mary's Butts, also known as *veteri mercato*, the old market, lay outside the Anglo-Saxon minster church in the west of the borough. The other was close to the entry to the precinct of Henry I's newly-founded abbey church in the east.[52]

At Leominster, however, the old market, *Corncepyng*, now Corn Square, and the new wedge-shaped market, which today lies between High Street and Drapers Lane, were to be regarded as one unit by the abbot's surveyor.

1. *Le Corncepyng*

The term *cepyng* comes from the Old English *ceap*, of which the original sense was 'bargaining, barter or exchange of commodities.' With the growth of a moneyed economy, it came to mean buying and selling, although later it tended to be restricted to purchase; hence good purchase was cheap. By extension the word came to be used for a place for barter, buying

and selling—a market. Hence Westcheap, now Cheapside, and Eastcheap, London's two early markets; Mealcheapen, which led into *Corncepyng* or in Latin *forum blade*, now Queen Street in Worcester, and Wincheap [wagon market] Street in Canterbury. The term has also been applied to certain towns: Chipping (Lancs.), Chipping Sodbury (Gloucs.), Chipstead (Kent) and Chepstow (Mon.).

Corn Square, as it is now called, is a rectilinear area lying to the east of the broader end of the High Street market-place. The suggestion that this area was cleared to create a second market, subsequent to foundation, can be dismissed. Additional market accommodation was found in other, easier ways, as in the creation of Broad Street, and the establishment of a wide new market area at Bargates in the 15th century. *Corncepyng* thus represents the rump of a much more extensive area, the site of pre-Conquest market and trading activity about the crossing point of the ancient north-south and east-west routes. In one of the Lady Chapel charters *Corncepyng* is also called the *forum*, the term used by the Domesday Book scribes for the late Anglo-Saxon market at Berkeley.[53]

Figure 6. Aerial photograph looking east of *Corncepyng* and *altus vicus* market, showing encroachment of *seldae*, shops, with burgage series (2) extending to *vallum monasterii*. Grange walk (G) is a vestige of the original east-west route. ©Woolhope Club

Whatever its shape, a market-place did not of itself constitute a borough. For this one needed permanent settlement, shops and houses. Thus at both Reading and Leominster, burgage plots were pegged out beside the market-place, with narrow frontages but extending a considerable distance back from the road. At Leominster many such plots can still be seen. Although the precise dimensions varied considerably from borough to borough, and often within a borough, such burgage plots characterised all the county's medieval planned towns.[54] At Leominster the interrelationship of plot series, and occasional variation in plot size of different burgage series, provides valuable clues to the evolution of the ground plan of the borough. All the burgage series discussed below are numbered on figs. 3 and 4. The enumeration is intended merely for purposes of identification. It does not represent a complete chronological sequence, for in a number of cases this is not possible.

Clearly, livestock- and grain-trading had to be kept apart. The *Corncepyng* retained its specialist function for some 800 years, although by the 16th century it came to be called 'the Cornmarket', and in the 19th century, with the advent of solicitors and linen drapers, it assumed the grander title of Corn Square. Nevertheless, as late as 1858 'Elizabeth Collis, butcher' preferred the old name of Cornmarket. Unlike the High Street, only the west end was to be subjected to encroachment by stalls. The same was true at Ludlow, where the Cornmarket lay outside the castle gates to the west of the 'lanes' with their *seldae*, shops. As the names suggests, Leominster's Victoria Street is a Victorian creation, driven through the area of medieval encroachment to give convenient vehicular access to Corn Square. This is confirmed by Galliers' plan of 1832, which shows the former layout of nine shops that may well have been on the site of *le Bocherie*, referred to in 1387.[55] The existing shops appear to have been rebuilt in the early 17th century.

The later court leet rolls provide interesting insights into the operation of the *Corncepyng*. In 1578 the Twelve Men (of the court leet) commanded that 'no maner of burges or inhabytant of this borough shall receave nor take into theyre house or houses any maner of corne or grayne to be put in seller, garners, tubbes or vessels under the payne of 10s. every one making deffault'; further that 'no badger shall by any corne or grayne within the borough other than…from markett day to markett day under the payne of 10s.' Thirteen years earlier they had commanded that 'no persons shall threshe eyther corne, hemp or flax within the corne markett house unto the annoyance of the neybours and inhabitants of the Corne Markete' under pain of 12d. The maintenance of the building was, reasonably enough, the responsibility of the 'Occupation' or Fellowship of Bakers; an obligation they became increasingly shy of assuming. Between 1628 and 1653 there are a series of orders on the rolls for maintaining and keeping in sufficient repair the Cornmarket House. As late as 1659 the Bakers incurred a 20s. penalty 'for not keeping in good and sufficient order Tyles over the Corn Markett as of right they ought to do'.

Edward Munnox, a prominent citizen, built a separate Barley Market House in the middle of the Corn Market in 1605. Within 30 years its maintenance had already become cause for concern, and the court leet decided it was the responsibility of Thomas Caswall, farmer of the Cornmarket tolls, to keep it in good repair; but by 1653 the Chamber itself was under pain of £5 'for not keeping in repayr the Barley Market House and the paving of the Corn Market.' The sale of malt had always played an important part in the town's economy and was closely monitored by the Twelve. Thus in 1565 they ordained that 'no maner of maulte maker shall com and buy any maner of maulte within the market of the said borough to thence sell the same agayn or to have or take any gayne or vantage thereby.'

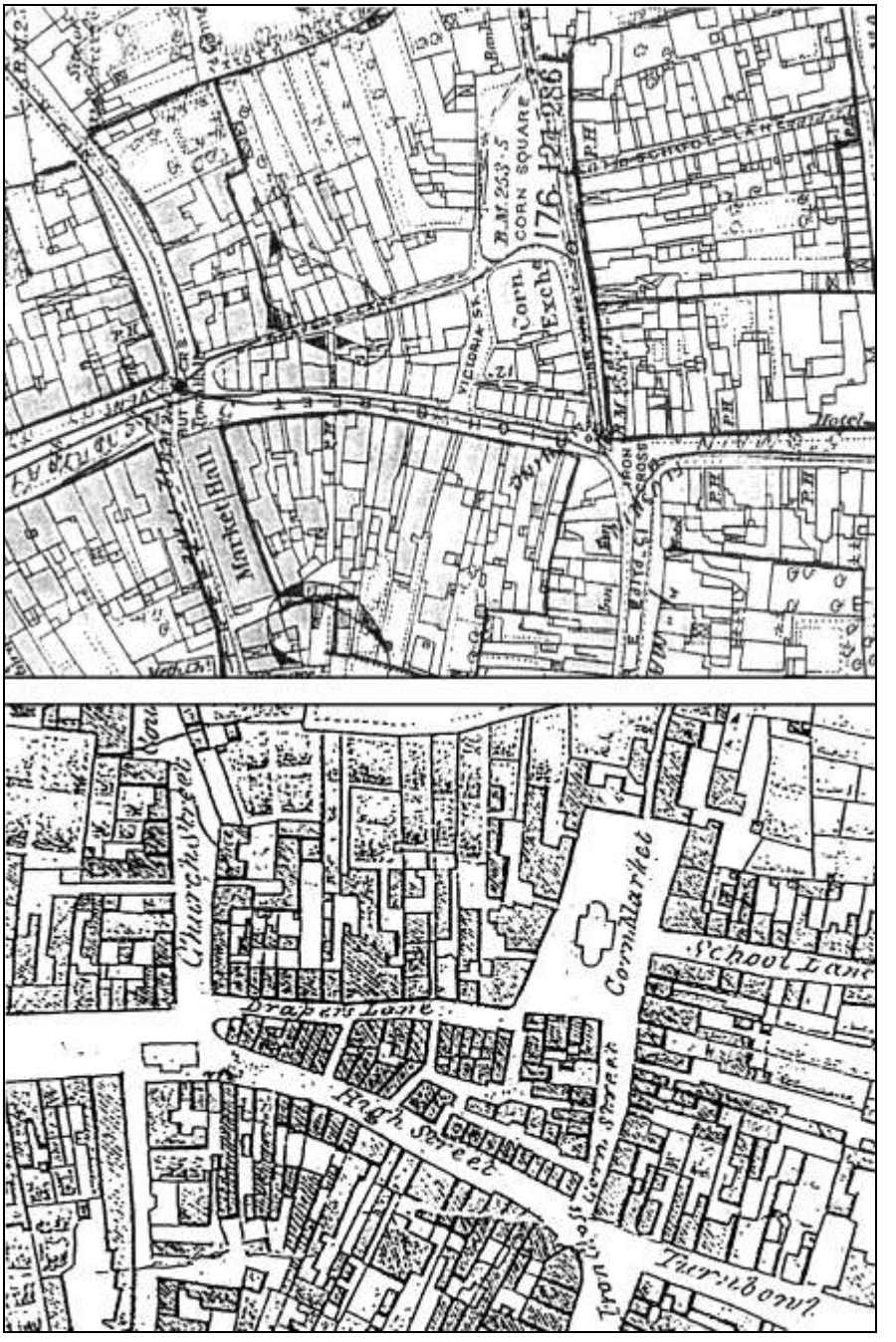


Figure 7. Comparison of Galliers' map and 1884 OS map showing insertion of Victoria Street

The common bushel, used to counter false measure of grain on market days, was kept within the Cornmarket House. In 1650 the bailiff was in trouble with the Twelve on account of its absence. This would have been the Herefordshire bushel of 10 gallons, for the Winchester measure of 8 gallons was only adopted as the statutory standard in 1670. Leominster would then have had a standard bushel, similar to that still to be seen in the church at Bromyard, which bears the inscription: 'The Bromyard bushell by Act of Parliament 1670. Herbert [Croft] Lord Bishop of Hereford, John Baynham Gent.' The borough accounts for 1672 refer to 1s. 6d. paid to 'Wllm Bowle for a marker to Scale the Bushells and for a staple and to strengtheninge the chaine to hange the standard Bushell.' By the Cornmarket House was also kept the bell that announced the opening and closing of the market.[56]

With the growth of turnpikes in the 18th century, grain came to be sold by sample rather than by bulk. This may explain an entry in the chamber minutes of March 1739 that, 'it appearing to this Chamber that the Bailiff of this Borough has been frequently defeated of the Tol of Grain by its being brought in and Lodge in private Houses and also upon other days in the week beside Markett Days, It is ordered, That a case be drawn up Relating there to…' Although income from grain sales diminished, a new Corn Market House, 'a neat building of the Tuscan order, with Pediments and a cupola', was built in 1803; it is shown on Galliers' plan. To Townshend this building, which 'stood on stone pillars with a penthouse roof and open at the side', afforded 'no protection from the weather' and proved 'insufficient for the increasing trade.' It was replaced by a much more substantial structure in 1858. Built by a private company at a cost of £4,000, it had a large hall with a glass roof with an area of 2,800 square feet. It is most unfortunate that this interesting piece of Victorian architecture was destroyed rather than modified to meet modern needs. By the late 19th century corn had wholly ceased to be sold. Yet the Corn Market House remained, as a fine symbol of the market specialisation that had characterised the area for almost a millennium.

The first reference to the Cornmarket is found in the 1275 Close Rolls, where it is referred to as *le Corncepyng*, when 'Edith who was the wife of Philip Cronge' brought an action against a certain 'Nicholas, son of Nicholas *atte Cornecepyng*.' The name also occurs in a later grant to the chantry of the Virgin, in which Hugh and Agatha Carpenter bequeathed land in the '*Cornchepyng* between the *selda* of Adam Talcurteis and the fee of John de Redyng', which they had bought of Adam and Beatrix Alreton for 2 silver marks (£1 6s. 8d.) and a measure of corn. From this an annual rent of 12d. was to be used to provide a wax taper every Saturday, and 6d. for oil for a lamp to burn every day in the Lady Chapel. The keeper of the altar, for the health of his soul, was to 'provide and prepare the said wax taper and lamp when there shall be need.'[57] In another grant, Richard de la Beche 'confirmed to God and the altar of the blessed Virgin' a rent of 12d. a year 'from the shop I bought of Adam Hoggesmake in the *Corncepyng*.' This was part of a series or row of shops, next to those of Cecilly Durand and Matthew Urri.[58]

2. *Altus Vicus*, High Street/Drapers Lane

In the middle ages the wedge-shaped market was referred to as *altus vicus*. The modern term, High Street, hardly does justice to the original, which carried the connotation 'great', 'noble' or 'lofty.' It spanned the north-south highway between the Iron Cross and the Five Crosses, by Church Street, the formal entrance to the monastic precinct.

Why, it may be asked, was the market-place wedge-shaped and not, say, rectilinear as at Ludlow and Chepstow? At Ledbury Bishop Richard's market-place, similarly sited on a north-

south routeway, is slightly more attenuated. At Ross, placed where four roads met, it is broader at its High Street end. At the de Lacy foundation of Weobley, it was the market wedge that spanned the axis between castle and church. The wedge-shaped market at the episcopal borough of Bishops Castle in Shropshire lay at the gates of the castle, with the main street spanning this axis. The persistence of the type suggests that the model may well have been the vast wedge-shaped market that William fitz Osbern created, immediately after the Conquest, as the heart of his new town to the north of the Saxon defences at Hereford. This encompassed the whole area from the eastern end of High street, by All Saints, to St. Peter's and then north to the Byster's or Bye Street gate, where the Kerry now stands. The Hereford wedge may well have been derived from the much smaller wedge-shaped markets of Osbern's borough of Breteuil-sur-Iton, founded prior to the Norman Conquest to defend Normandy's southern march from attack by the French king.[59]

The *altus vicus* market-place has a remarkable resemblance to the Reading market-place, both in its topography and in its position in relation to the monastery. Both are wedge-shaped along a north-south axis, with their series of burgage plots lying to the south, east and west. In both the eastern series backs onto the monastic precinct, with the principal access to the precinct at the northern, narrower end of the market-place. There can be little doubt that such marked topographic similarities represent market and borough development, not only under the same patronage but at a similar time, *c.*1123. Here, therefore, we see the hand of the abbot of Reading's surveyor. Indirectly, he may well have also provided the inspiration for the market-places of Capella's small boroughs at Ledbury, Ross and Bishop's Castle.

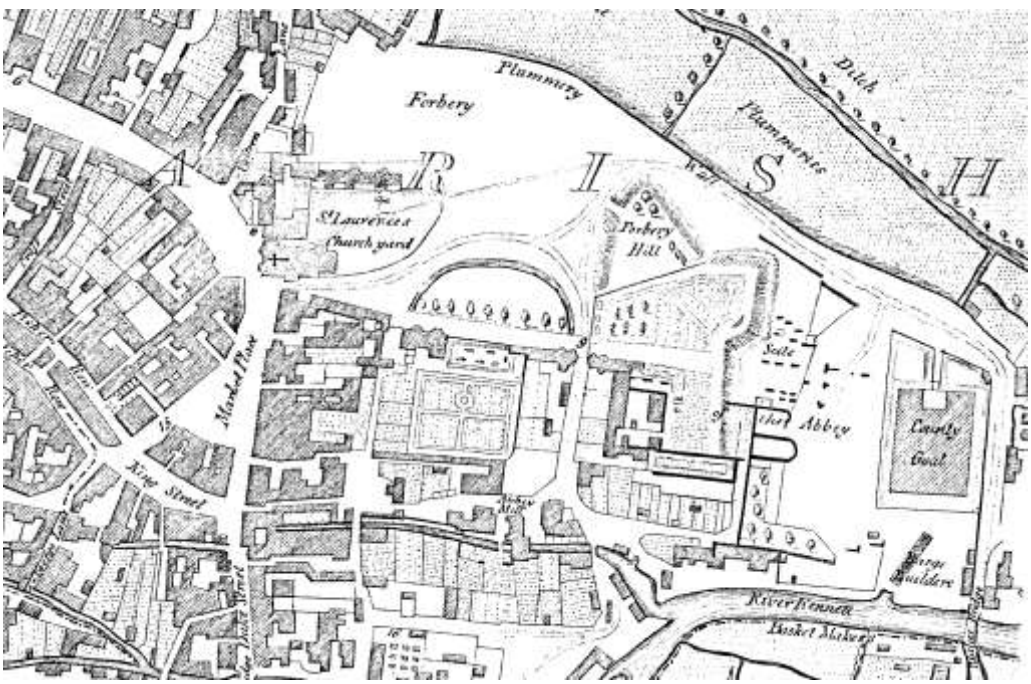


Figure 8. Map of Reading showing market-place and monastic precinct to the east.

Burgages and Burgesses

What, in this context, is meant by the term borough? Subsequently, it was to have a wide range of meanings, such as parliamentary, sending members to Westminster, or taxation borough, where taxes paid to the Crown were at the higher borough rate of 1/10th rather than the 1/15th paid in the countryside. Here it is 'a vill in which the tenements were held in burgage tenure'; where the burgage, a plot of land, conferred precise legal privileges that, later in the century, would be defined in the lord's foundation charter.

From the Leominster cartulary we learn that Abbot Joseph (1173-86) conferred 'the customs and privileges of Breteuil' on his borough at Leominster.[60] These 'customs' had been granted prior to 1071 by William fitz Osbern, first earl of Hereford, on Frenchmen willing to take up residence at Hereford, then the nerve centre of his defensive network for the southern Welsh march. Their great attraction in the early years of borough foundation was the limitation of amercements for all offences, with a few exceptions, to 12d. They became extremely popular with borough founders throughout the march. Thus they were given by their Lacy lords to Weobley and Ludlow, and by others to Shrewsbury, Oswestry, Stratford-upon-Avon and some two dozen other marcher foundations in Wales and its borderland. Later they were even adopted by Walter de Lacy for his Irish boroughs at Trim, Drogheda and Kells, and by other Anglo-Norman lords for their borough foundations in Ireland.[61]

From such foundation charters we can gain some impression, in practical terms, of these privileges. 'If any man live in the borough for a year and a day without challenge, he shall remain a freeman hereafter.' Free of the petty restrictions of servile tenure, a burgess could devote his time and energy to a craft or trade. He had freedom of tenure, with the right to devise his worldly possessions, to marry whomsoever he wished, and to trade in Leominster's market free of toll. Such privileges the burgesses and their heirs were to hold, together with their burgages, 'for 12d. a year in lieu of all services' paid to the lord, in this case the abbot of Reading.[62]

Nevertheless, the Leominster burgess did not have all the freedoms of his counterpart at Hereford, for the lords of monastic boroughs were notoriously conservative. At Leominster the abbot apparently retained suit of mill, for the burgesses were obliged to grind their corn at his mill. At other boroughs, such as Chesterfield, the lord even went as far as to insist on suit of oven. As late as 1565, after the lordship of Leominster had passed to the Crown, the court leet ordered 'Philip Adams, Thomas Wancklen and all others that they nor neyther of them from henceforth shall lode or carry any manner of corne, grayne or mault out of the borough to be ground at the myll or mylls without the borough and being none of the queens majesties customary mylles belonging to this borough.' After the end of the period of growth, restrictions came to be placed on the acquisition of 'freedom of the borough' as those established within the town became anxious to preserve their trading and other privileges.

Given such rights of personal freedom, the confines of a new borough had to be clearly distinguished from the manor out of which it had been carved. The borough became the manor denzein, the area within, whilst the rump of the manor became the foreign, the area without. Borough bounds had of necessity to be defined precisely, and required unambiguous physical expression on the ground; at Weobley the Town Ditch on the east of the market-place, referred to in a grant of 1389 and elsewhere.[63] At Leominster the distinction was between borough and liberty, each having their own bailiff, representing the interests, financial and legal, of the abbot of Reading. Here references to the town ditch are to be found in undated charters, granting property to the *custos* of the conventual Lady Chapel. In one Hugh Lawer granted 'a

certain half burgage in the street towards Herford [*sic*] now next and beyond the town ditch'; in the second, Hugh the Portreeve 'a certain messuage in (the same street) *vico Australi*, behind the ditch.'[64]

There is also archaeological evidence of the ditch. Watching briefs have located medieval deposits, which suggest that, having crossed Etnam Street, the ditch turned west to the rear of the southern burgage series and then crossed South Street, where 14th-century pottery has been recovered from behind Kingdom Hall; south of Westbury Street, it turned north to cross Bargates east of Townsend Court.[65] No archaeological evidence has been discovered to confirm this ditch as a defence structure, rather than a simple and economic means of denoting the bounds separating manor denzein from manor foreign. Without such further evidence, the ditch seems comparable to the Weobley town ditch, described by Frank Noble as 'no stronger town defences than those needed to keep out night prowlers.' That such was the case is proved by an entry in the Patent Rolls for July 1402. Townsend mentions the ditch, but fails to give its course. He states merely that 'it extended through the greater part of the town.' The borough's 'bounds and limits and the circumference and compass of the same and the jurisdiction thereof, time out of mind' is given in the Marian borough charter of 1553.[66]

In boroughs established by foundation charters, a practice which developed in the mid 12th century and thus post-dated Leominster's foundation, the size of the plots in terms of breadth and length or area was often specified: at Stratford-on-Avon in 1195, 3½ x 12 perches (about ¼ an acre); at Wotton under Edge, 1253, 1/3 of an acre; at Burton on Trent, 1197x1213, 4 x 24 perches, just over ½ an acre; and at Salford *c*.1230 and Ormskirk *c*.1286, a full acre, 160 square poles.[67] The medieval unit of linear measure was the pole, rod or perch, of which the standard was 16½ ft. Forty poles were a furlong, and 8 furlongs one mile. A 4-pole unit was favoured in the measurement of area. 160 square poles gave one acre, so ten or 20 times any multiple of 4 poles gave area in acres or quarter acres.[68]

At Leominster, burgage length was determined on a more pragmatic basis, for the surveyor did not have a clean slate on which to exercise his craft. The three series of burgage plots of the *altus vicus* had to relate not only to the wedge-shaped market, which itself related to a pre-existing road system, but also to the boundary of the ecclesiastical precinct. This probably dictated a 24-pole standard, the length of the western series. About the width of the original burgage plots, one cannot be so precise. The numerous alleyways—many shared—that served in place of rear access roads make calculations based on the existing frontages extremely problematic. The difficulty is compounded by subsequent fragmentation and amalgamation of plots. Where the width can apparently be estimated with some confidence, it is about one-tenth the length; the area of the Leominster burgage plots would thus lie between those at Wotton and Burton.

The burgage plots were laid out by the surveyor in series. As Conzen pointed out, 'specialised work in (town) plan interpretation has suffered from excessive restriction to the consideration of street systems and a neglect of other significant plan detail, particularly the *pattern* of land parcels or plots (that is burgage series)…which can give a clue to distinct stages in town growth of which a defective historical record may give no hint.'[69]

In the use of the lst edition of the 25in. and 50in. OS plans, it is the relationship of these burgage series and their place in the overall plan that are highly significant, especially in a complex plan such as that of Leominster, which evolved in a number of stages—see Figures 3, 6 and 9. Around the twin market-places the surveyor set out three such burgage series: **(1)** to the west of High Street; **(2)** to the east of Drapers Lane. The eastern series backs onto the

Anglo-Saxon *vallum monasterii*, soon to be surmounted by a monastic stone wall, built to preclude urban life from impinging on the privacy and seclusion of the precinct. The bounds of its individual plots are especially clear on the 25in. OS plan. The L-shaped plots at the southern end of this eastern series, on the north side of Corn Square between the Post Office and Conservative Club, although unusual, may well have formed part of the original borough design, for by this device frontages could be provided for the northern edge of *Corncepyng*.

Burgage series **(3)**, which ranged south from the line of the twin market-places, is more confused in plan. However, the distance between the building line on the southern side of Corn Street and Corn Square and that along the northern edge of Etnam Street is virtually the same as the length of the eastern and western series of the *altus vicus* burgage plots. That a third series did indeed form part of the original design is suggested by the fact that a number of adjacent properties on the south of Corn Street and Corn Square still extend virtually to Etnam Street. Thus in the 19th century No. 10 Corn Square, formerly the King's Arms, carried the additional postal numbers 11-16 for the smaller tenements built in its long rear yard, the remains of its burgage plot. No. 18 Corn Square is a further example. The original pattern seems to have been distorted by the development of a terrace of small shops along the Etnam Street end of School Lane, and the creation of that lane. This will be discussed in more detail in the section dealing with the 15th century. Confirmation of such a third, southern, burgage series comes from an archaeological watching brief at 3-5 Etnam Street that found evidence of the tails of these burgage plots fronting *Corncepyng*.[70]

West Street

As part of the major routeway into the town from Wales, West Street would have been one of the principal arms of the original crossroads, at the Iron Cross. Site-plan analysis indicates that it was part of the primary stage of borough development. In the 19th century a number of plots in the southern burgage series **(4)** still extended as far as the northern line of Etnam Street. The series on the west side of South Street came later, for they only achieved full coherence south of the line of Etnam Street. On the northern series of West Street **(5)** there was a battle with the earlier series established on the west side of High Street. Accommodation between the burgage series to the west of High Street and on the north of West Street was achieved only by short plots at right-angles to those on High Street. This problem was only satisfactorily resolved about one-third of the way along West Street. Even then the northern burgages are shorter than those on the south side of the street. When Prior Walter de Meders, *c.*1290x1305, granted a burgage and a half in West Street to Richard de Cornedale, these were described as 'over against the sheep cote in decay', suggesting they backed onto open ground, probably to the south. John Melide, on taking a lease from the *custos* of the chapel for a messuage in West Street, agreed to pay the considerable rent of 3s. 6d. per annum, and was to 'repair the house at his own expense', as well as 'attend to the form of the indenture', that is legal formalities.[71]

When Walter Lemmer granted a 12d. rent in West Street, to maintain a light before the altar in the Lady Chapel, he seemed to have had doubts about how scrupulously the terms of his charter would be observed, for at the end he added that this should be 'without impeachment', that is without impediment, hindrance or prevention. He was not alone. When Walter de Stocton granted the *custos* of the Lady Chapel a 10s. rent, 'issuing out of my messuage in *Burgeyslane*' he instructed that this was 'to be faithfully expended in the use of the said altar, by view of the prior and fellow brethren.'[72]

Bargates was to be developed only in the 15th century. In 1637 a 'Gatehouse, loft and Chamber, a parcel of a fold or backside and garden thereto adjoining in the West Street', was let at 6s. 2d. In January 1645 'all that one upper loft in the West Street' was let with 'the toll of the Corn and barley Marquett…for 18 yeares then next coming for £3 3s. 4d. per annum.' At this western entrance to the borough a pair of inns, the Bull's Head and the Golden Cross, faced each other as guardians into the 20th century. Until road 'improvements' in the 1960s at the junction of West Street with Bargates, there remained a marked change in street width.

Threats from without: the Great Anarchy, 1135-54

The reign of Henry I had been a period of peace and internal stability that witnessed the subjugation of south Wales, 'with scarcely a corner under the sway of a native prince.' This provided ideal conditions for the growth of Leominster, a borough whose trade depended not only on the growth of the internal economy of Herefordshire but also on its ability to serve some of the needs of neighbouring parts of Wales.

Henry's death and Stephen's disputed succession in 1135 provided an opportunity not only for the baronage to pay off old scores but also for the fierce expression of urban rivalries. For one chronicler, this was an age when God and his angels slept. Locally the Worcester chronicler describes it as 'a time of plunder beyond computation…Of terrible burnings of villages and towns…of great numbers of men put to the sword or bound with thongs for ransom.'[73] The Severn and Wye valleys were major centres of conflict. Strife began at Hereford in May 1138, with Stephen regaining control of the city. When he attended High Mass in Hereford Cathedral on Whitsunday 1138, Bishop Robert de Bethune persuaded him to grant Ledbury and Ross market charters. Capella and Bethune had very different priorities. Given the times, this was not so much an attempt to promote as to protect trade. The charter reads: 'I ordain that all men going there and coming back may have my [royal] peace.'[74]

The following November, Miles of Gloucester attacked Worcester. John of Worcester tells how in 1139 Matilda came to Gloucester and received the submission of its citizens, but 'on those unwilling to submit tortures worthy of Decius or Nero were imposed.'[75] 'The city of Gloucester had prepared arms and advanced with an enormous force, both on horse and on foot to assault, lay waste and set fire to the city of Worcester...Men were taken in the streets and led away, bound like hounds into wretched captivity.'[76] Miles then turned on the royal garrison at Hereford. Stephen's attempt to relieve the town came to nought. After getting as close as Leominster, he was obliged to withdraw. With Worcester in mind, the men of Leominster wisely temporised. 'Some, taking counsel, swore fealty to him; while others, refusing, sent him this message: "Although we will not swear, the king may if he wishes trust at least in the truth of our words, if not in our oath."'[77]

By 1144 there came a degree of stability, for Roger, who had succeeded his father, Miles, as earl of Hereford, shared control of the central march with Hugh Mortimer, who held the royal castle at Bridgnorth as well as his own stronghold of Wigmore. Henry II succeeded to the Crown in 1154, and by July the next year had re-established royal authority throughout the march. With peace restored, the process of town-building could be resumed. Apart from a number of Welsh campaigns, the second half of the 12th century was a period of peace and prosperity for Herefordshire, in which its young market towns thrived.

If Ledbury, where by 1186 burgage plots were being laid out in New Street, can be taken as a model, then Leominster's town plan may well have achieved full development by the end of the 12th century. Shortly after, disaster struck. In 1208 William de Braose, lord of

Abergavenny, Builth, Radnor and Limerick, and former royal favourite, fell out with King John. Two of his sons responded with ferocity. Using Walter II de Lacy's castle at Weobley as their base, they seized what they considered to be the royal borough of Leominster, and sacked the town, reducing half of it to ashes. John replied by starving de Braose's wife, Maud, and son, William, to death in the dungeons of Windsor Castle.[78] Leominster was to suffer grievously on two further occasions, in the 1260s and in the early 15th century.

Broad Street

Accommodation within the original *altus vicus* proved quite inadequate. To enhance the borough's marketing facilities, further development had to be embarked upon – the laying out of what is now called Broad Street. This came probably after 1144, as it is doubtful that such a considerable project could have been completed in the dozen years before the outbreak of civil war. Overcrowding about the market-place was a common feature in most medieval boroughs. Subsequent events showed how cautious the Leominster surveyor had been. His market-place was a mere 400 ft. long as compared to the 600 ft. found at the later markets of Ledbury, Ross and Weobley, and the 1,000 ft. at Ludlow and William fitz Osbern's market-place at Chepstow.

The impact can be clearly seen on the first edition of the 25in. OS map. The wedge shape, which must have proved very inconvenient, was abandoned in favour of an extended rectangle, as at Ludlow and Chepstow. Apart from the southern end, where it joined the market-place, it was laid out to a general width of four poles (66 feet). It was clearly designed as a continuation of the marketing area for when, in 1219, the bishop of Salisbury established a new site for his town by the water meadows below Old Sarum, a width of merely two poles was considered quite adequate for the streets. The very width of Broad Street, which permitted it to become the pig and sheep market, explains the continued market encroachment within *altus vicus*, between High Street and Drapers Lane, and its ultimate abandonment as an open market. Significantly, Corn Square, with its prime trade in grain, remained free of medieval encroachment. Only its western end, which might well have been considered part of the High Street/Drapers Lane market, became the site for *seldae*, shops.

Medieval deeds show that Broad Street, as well as High Street, was called *altus vicus*. This later, Broad Street, section of the *altus vicus* commenced at the Five Crosses, for a corner property in *altus vicus*, granted by Philip Chak to the chantry of the Virgin, is described as 'between the messuage which was Roger Crull's and *Burgeyslane*'. As with High Street/Drapers Lane, the burgage series on the eastern side of Broad Street **(6)** backed on to the minster bank and ditch. As Broad Street was not quite parallel with the western line of the *vallum monasterii*, burgage lengths became more generous as they moved northwards. The western series **(7)** conformed to the 24-pole standard. On the west this new section of the *altus vicus* terminated at New Street. Even today, the buildings between New Street and Vicarage Street project further into the highway than those of Broad Street. This is confirmed by the administrative divisions of the borough. Middle Marsh ward included New Street, Cranes Lane, Vicarage Street, 'the Broad over Pinsley' (described by Galliers in 1832 as 'Upper Marsh'), the Dingle on the east, and 'the houses at Kenwater Bridge.' Development of this northern area, beyond Broad Street, is evidence of growing confidence in controlling and utilising the flood waters down the Kenwater.

Although the creation of Broad Street doubled the length of Leominster's market-place, this should be placed in context. Secondary development at Ledbury, the Homend, which was half as long again and by 1285 contained 78 burgages, brought the bishop an annual revenue of

almost £4, excluding fees payable on market and fair days. The inspiration for Broad Street was probably Ludlow's great rectangular market-place, which extended from the gatehouse of the castle's outer bailey as far as the Bull Ring. It was twice as long and half as wide again as Leominster's Broad Street extension.

A deed of exchange drawn up in 1343 between Philip Romayn and William Dumbleton, at that time custodian of the chantry of the Virgin but later prior of Leominster and afterwards abbot of Reading, is of considerable interest. This is one of the few occasions when the chantry deeds give us more information than merely 'burgage', 'messuage', 'tenement' or 'shop'. It is the only charter to give a clue as to internal arrangements. It relates to Romayn's 'cellar with the solar in New Street.' This was 'near the chamber, *camera*, which is in the corner of my tenement in *alto vico* (Broad Street) and on the west part of the said chamber.'[79] This deed apparently describes two adjacent properties at the corner of New Street and Broad Street. The 'cellar with solar' was a type of building that began to appear in major trading centres such as Southampton in the early 12th century. It was increasingly favoured by the more wealthy burgesses of smaller towns in the 13th century. The basement or cellar usually had its floor some 6ft or so below ground level, was stone vaulted, had stone steps leading down from the street, and would have been used either as a work place for one of the trades or storage purposes, possibly both. The solar above provided living quarters for the master. However, even specialists find it difficult to say what particular terms used in medieval documents applied to which physical structures, or for which social purpose. Thus one glossary of medieval housing gives 'chamber: a private apartment; also called bower, *camera*, solar', and for 'solar' we read, 'see chamber.'[80]

Philip Romayn's description of his New St./Broad St. property possibly relates to two parts of a three-part town house. Derived from the rural hall-house, this was a common feature of many English boroughs. It could be either at right angles, as here, or parallel to the road.[81] In the former case it was modified to suit the spatial conditions imposed by the long, thin urban burgage plots. Such three-part houses had a central open hall built above a semi-basement vaulted stone cellar, serving either as warehouse or shop. It would have a two-storey chamber block on either side. One of these would overlay the service quarters, such as the buttery. That there is no reference to a service wing, essential for a house of such status, suggests that Romayn's was a three-part rather than two-part hall-house. In this case we should probably imagine a gable facing Broad Street, and the two other parts facing New Street, which would improve access and light, the considerable advantages of a corner site. One would anticipate an extensive yard, with the detached kitchen, to minimise risk of fire, and rubbish pit etc beyond. The three-part house parallel to the road may offer an explanation for the chantry's brisk trade in exchanges—the desire of both parties to create wider street frontages, enhancing their value.

Romayn was a man of far greater substance than the evidence of the 1341 subsidy rolls suggests. There he is recorded with four others as paying 5s. whilst William Salisbury was assessed at 1 mark, 13s. 4d. These six thus bore 37% of the borough's assessment of £4 10s. 4d. on a total of 32 burgesses. In fact the Romayns were second only to the Salisbury family within the town's ruling oligarchy. The first Romayn to represent Leominster in parliament was John in 1306, and the last another John, in 1413, whilst Philip was a member for the borough in 1332 and on six further occasions between 1338 and 1348. His status as a wool merchant is reflected in the fact that he was nominated one of the royal 'collectors of wool' for the shire in 1341–3. Given his dominant position within the borough, these two properties would represent but a part of his total holding.

The two parts of *altus vicus* were distinct identities in terms of borough government. They were separate wards, each with its own constable, responsible for law and order. In the names given to these wards we can see the borough authorities grappling with the problem of the two High Streets: in the Muster Rolls of 1539 they are that 'betwixt the Crosses', the Iron Cross and Five Crosses, (High Street) and that 'beneath the [Butter] Cross' (Broad Street); in a lease of 1634 two messuages are described as 'in the High Street between the Crosses'; but the court leet rolls of 1638 refer to 'Upper High Street' and 'Lower High Street'; whilst the Militia Assessments of 1663 and 1667, and the Hearth Tax rolls of 1666, refer to them as 'the High Street ward' and 'the ward betweene the Crosse and Pinsley'. Only in 1725 does the borough's Remembrancer Book refer to a tenement as 'next ye red lyon [later Alexander and Duncan's Lion Works and now Herefordshire Council premises] in ye Broad Street'. The process of gentrification of the street had begun.[82]

This did not prevent some of the householders who had the privilege of leasing out pens taking marked exception to a corporation directive in October 1807, that 'the pig and sheep market be moved from the Broad Street'—in fact this applied primarily to sheep, for traditionally pigs were sold in New Street. By the terms of a compromise they were permitted to 'take their pens wherein the pigs and sheep have been usually kept and erect the same every market and fair day on the spot in New Street, in preference to all other persons, and be allowed a space under the wall in New Street equal in breadth and space to the front of the houses now occupied by them in Broad Street.' They did not retain their perks for long. In 1829 the off-street Livestock Market was opened in Rainbow Street. This was the end of a tradition that went back to the earliest days of the borough, the right on market and fair days to set up booths in the street in front of one's burgage.[83]

Burgess Lane, *Burgeyslone*, and New Street, *Novus Vicus*

Broad Street was defined on the south by *Burgeyslone* and on the north by *Novus Vicus*, at right angles on the west in each case. Both probably relate to tracks in existence before Broad Street was laid out, that served the priory's and other agricultural lands to the west. Indeed New Street was also called *Vicus versus Chorlestre*.[84]

Galliers' and the lst edition 25in. OS show that the width of both Burgess Lane and New Street was constrained by the burgage series on the west of Broad Street.

Only beyond the length of these burgage plots could the surveyor be more generous, and at this point Burgess Street also changes direction. At Ross-on-Wye a similar constraint, caused by an existing burgage series, had the same impact upon New and, to a lesser extent, Kyrle Street. At New Street there is also change of direction.

The same feature has currently had a marked impact on traffic circulation in Bye and New Streets at Ledbury, where there is a one-way system in operation east-bound in the latter, and the market-place end of the former holds hazards for pedestrians, with its extraordinarily narrow pavements.

The early large-scale plans indicate that burgage series were established on the northern side **(14)** of the wider section of Burgess Street, where they met the tails of the burgage plots established on New Street **(15)**. On the southern side **(16)** they also extend from the wider section of the street to meet the tails of the northern series of West Street **(5)**. In consequence both series were about half the standard length of 24 poles. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that of the six burgages referred to in Burgess Street in the cartulary, five are fractional—see Table 2.

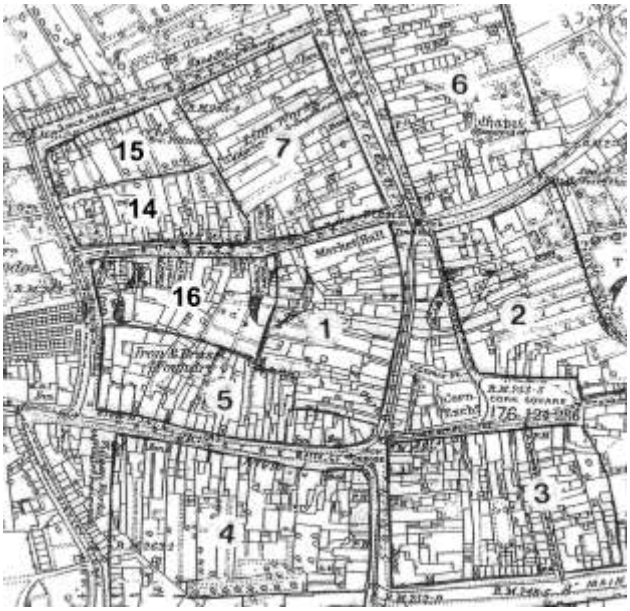


Figure 9. First edition OS map showing change of direction in Burgess Street at the end of the burgage plots in burgage series 7.

Despite the subsequent broadening of Burgess and New Streets, the term *viculus*, lane or alley, is applied to both in a number of charters. As late as 1485 Thomas, son of John Mascalde, confirmed by charter his gift to Thomas Blewet and his heirs of all that tenement and garden in Leominster situate in the High Street beside the *viculus* called New Street, that is on the southern corner of the junction of Broad and New Streets.[85] Other streets so characterised include Vicaryestret, known alternatively as *viculus versus Crouford*.

One property in *Burgeyslone* offers tantalising details. A messuage Iota de Kymbalton sold was merely ¼ of an iron rod in width, just over 4 ft., but eight rods, 132 ft., in length; this ratio of 1:32 suggests it had been built on an alleyway beside a burgage plot.[86]

One of the Lady Chapel charters enables us to establish that New Street and Church Street, which is nowhere so named in the cartulary, (and therefore Burgess Lane?) were burgaged by the early 13th century. Robert *Praepositus* (the bailiff), whilst living in New Street, 'struck his daughter Cecilia in the eye with a flail and the eye was lost.' As amends he gave her a burgage (in Church Street) 'near the Priory Gate.' She married Symon of the Gate 'who begat her three sons; Robert the eldest married and begat a son named Robert.' In 1260, in her widowhood, Cecilia devised this burgage to the conventual Lady Chapel.[87]

Lesser Lanes

A number of charters in the cartulary refer to streets whose names have now been lost. *Mappenoreslone*, also *viculo versus domum Walteri de Mappenore*, led northwards from just beyond the west end of New Street along the boundary hedge between the fields called Coneygear, rabbit warren, and Pigeonhouse Close, to the north-east on Galliers' plan. The Mappenores were lords of what became Hampton Court estate, known earlier as Hampton Mappenore and Hampton Ricardi. An Adam de Mappenore, a witness to a charter of Abbot Hugh II (1186–99), held part of the manor as tenant of Drew fitz Ponz. In 1243 Robert held it of the honour of Clifford.[88] In 1244x5 however, a Walter de Mappenore is referred to in an agreement between the men of Leominster and Matthew de Gammage about the pasturing of their sheep, cattle and draught animals in Gammageleasow, which lay between the royal highway leading to Eaton Bridge and Walter's land. This lay near the Broad to the north of the town. The first record of the use of the borough seal comes in this charter.[89]

The most famous member of the family, however, was Hugh de Mapenore, dean of Hereford *c.*1201–16 and bishop 1216–19. Hugh had served as a clerk in the household of William de Braose, until 1207 King John's favourite, whose sons burned the borough in 1208. Another of William's sons, Bishop Giles, sponsored Hugh for the deanship. Ironically, as bishop of Hereford, Hugh was a very good friend of Leominster Priory.[90] *Croueslone*, now Cranes Lane, struck due north immediately beyond the head of New Street, virtually an extension of Rainbow Lane. Further north, on crossing Pigeon House Close, it became *Pynnefurdlyngeslone*, probably a reference to its destination, the ford across the Pinsley, shown as a bridge on Galliers' map (Fig. 10).[91]

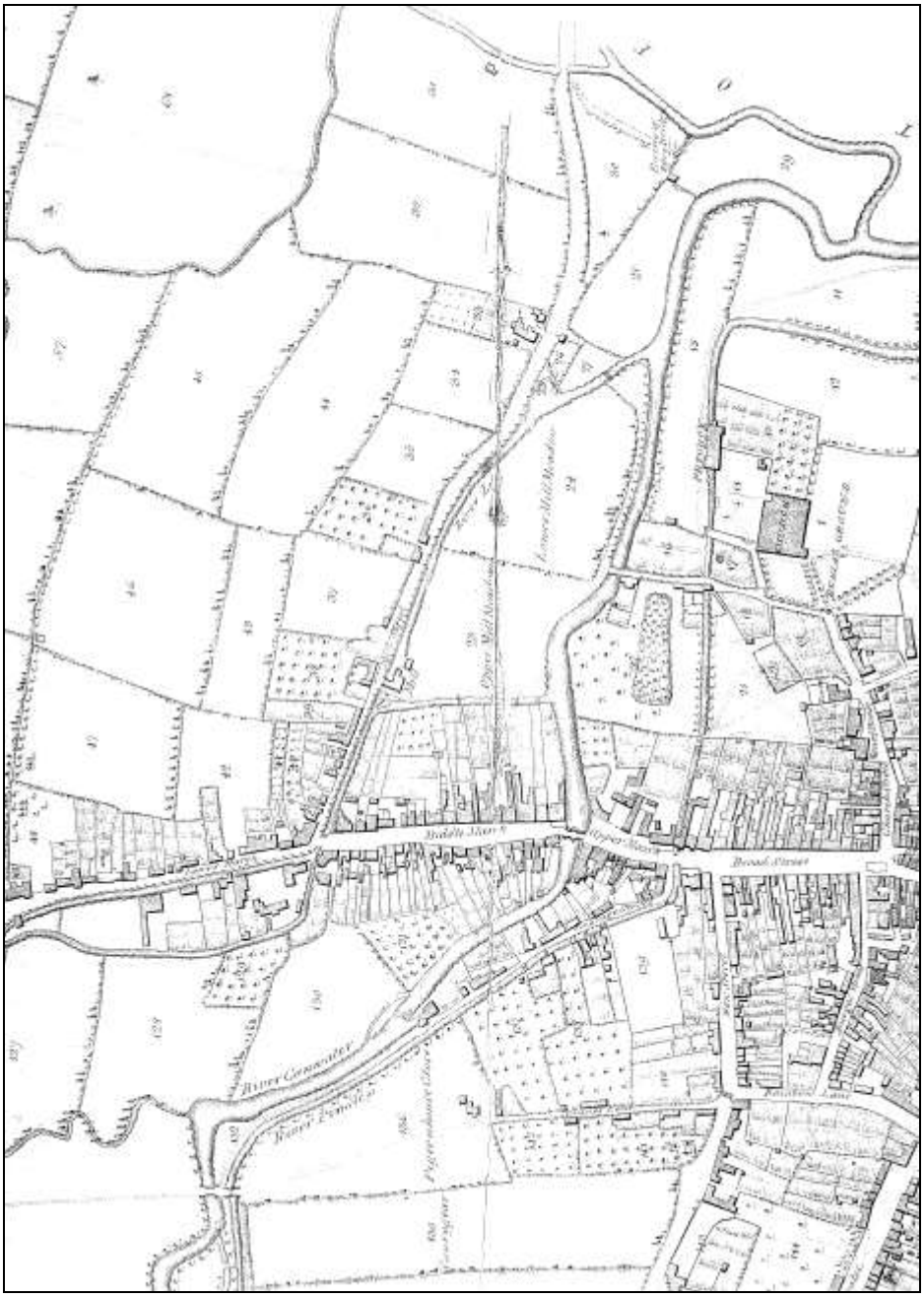
A number of holdings in these minor lanes, such as *Dusteley*, *Croues* and *Mappenore*, are referred to as burgages. However, no burgage series can be detected on these lanes in the large-scale plans. They were thus isolated properties that carried with them burgage rights such as the personal freedom, the hallmark of the burgess. In all cases these were whole, not fractional, burgages (Table 2).

The Marsh

Intercepted by waterways and liable to frequent flooding, the land about Kenwater and Lugg would appear unsuitable for building purposes. Yet there is firm documentary evidence of the introduction of a fulling mill into the Marsh, 1189–93. What has been called 'the industrial revolution of the 13th century', when 'water had become as decisive a factor as coal was to become in the 19th century', thus began early at Leominster.[92] There was evident reason for the development of the marsh. The abundant water supply served mills not only for grinding corn, but also for fulling cloth, the process by which it was made heavier and more compact. Traditionally the fulling of cloth, the removal of superfluous oil and grease and the matting together of the loose fibres, was carried out by 'walking' or beating by hand the cloth in wooden tubs. Felting the cloth gave greater durability and resilience to weather. Fuller's earth removed impurities and oil.

The fulling mill in the Marsh was one of the first half dozen such mills in late 12th-century England. These represent the high technology of their era. First developed on the Continent, the earliest reference is in a charter of the Norman abbey of St. Wandrille of 1086/7. The fulling mill, where revolving drums attached to water wheels operated wooden hammers to beat the cloth in water, appears to have been introduced into this country by the religious orders. An 1185 survey of the lands of the Knights Templar mentions them at Temple Guiting, Gloucs., and Temple Newsam near Leeds. Four years later, there is record of another, at the Cistercian abbey of Stanley, Wilts. Leominster's Marsh mill was established by Abbot Hugh II of Reading, which had close links with the great abbey of Cluny. His charter records that its profits were to be devoted to the maintenance of the hospital of poor brothers that he had built at the gates of Reading abbey.[93] By 1300 such mills were widespread.

The grant by Symon de Luctun' of 'a burgage in the southern part of the marsh' may well refer to the site on which Hugh's mill was built. Symon, a prominent tenant of the priory, was Hugh's contemporary, for he witnessed one of his charters. The monks defined this burgage holding with great care, as 'in its entirety or totality with all the lands, contents and rents appertaining.' This is hardly surprising, as they were paying the princely sum of £20. By such legal formulae Abbot Hugh sought to ensure that he had unquestioned control of the full attributes of Symon's highly desirable site.[94]


Broad Street
Broad Street

Figures 10 and 11. Galliers' plan of 1832. The plan has crease damage running east-west in the northern section

At the dissolution of the priory, amongst the 'rents in decay', that is not forthcoming, were 35s. for 'a mill in the Marsh of the town of Leominster called Tanmyll', 20s. for another, 'formerly in the tenure of John Chaundler fallen quite to the ground', and 10s. for a third, 'called Howton's Mill late in the tenure of Thomas Howton wholly in decay.' The streams were a necessary adjunct for other trades, of which leather production was the most important. It is most unfortunate that the half-timbered structure of Leominster's last tannery, the remaining vestige of this industrial area at the Marsh, was removed in the 1980s to Queenswood Country Park where it was re-erected as the Tourist Information Centre, offices and toilets.[95]

The area between Kenwater Bridge and the Lugg by Mill Street, now part of Bridge Street, was called 'Middle Marsh' by Galliers. Its burgage series **(8)** and **(9)** are clearly marked on both Galliers' and the 25in. and 50in. OS plans. Their length was not uniform, but dictated by the Lugg to the east and the Rope Walk and Kenwater to the west. During Philip de Banstede's custodianship William de Penebrugge made a grant to the chantry of the Virgin of an annual rent of 12d. from half a burgage between the mill and Hugh the Miller's property *via pontem de Keneford*, 'beyond Kenford Bridge.' Another deed refers to the transfer by Hugh, son of Hugh the Miller, 'for 5s. 6d. in hand and 8d. rent', of his tenement 'between the water of Keneford and the land of Hugh de Esthope.' A third relates to one whole burgage 'in the street towards the marsh', the gift of John de Bleburi, chaplain. The cartulary also records that William the Red paid Robert, son of Symon of the Gate, 6s. 8d. for 'two parts of land', defined merely as 'from the Pitt to the water in the Marsh.'[96]

This distinctive northern area of the borough was divided into two wards, Middle and Nether Marsh. The plan layout of the former **(8)** and **(9)** has already been described. Nether Marsh lay to the north, extending from the Kenwater as far as Spital Bridge, named after the leper hospital on a southern slope beyond the Broad, its site now occupied by Nordan Hall. This ward included Bridge Street (described on Galliers' map as 'Middle Marsh' and beyond Mill Street as 'Lower Marsh') and Mill Street. It is difficult to establish at what stage the Lower Marsh section of Bridge Street came to be used for domestic purposes. The east side, as far as Marsh Court, came to be favoured as a residential area, but not the west side, between the mill race below Marsh Mill and the Lugg. The layout, even of the eastern side, lacks the regularity of the burgage plots in the Middle Marsh, which apparently belong to a considerably earlier stage in the town's growth. If one can rely on the Muster Rolls of 1539, when borough households numbered 113, the total for the two Marsh wards was 31.

John de Bleburi, the chaplain, also granted to the Lady Chapel, 'for the health of his soul', the 6d. rent from quarter of a burgage 'in *Mullestret*', but this was take effect only after the death of two individuals, 'Constance and her daughter which she had by the said John.'[97] The street name no doubt refers to the Corn Mill served by the Lugg, which then flowed south, dividing the end of the burgage plots on the eastern side of Middle Marsh, now Bridge Street, from Upper and Lower Mill Meadow. The tail of the Corn Mill's race flowed along the south side of Mill Street before turning south, halfway between the mill and the Poplands, to rejoin the Lugg.[98] Situated within the borough bounds, there can be little doubt that this Corn Mill was the seigneurial mill at which the burgesses would have had to grind their corn according the mandate of 1655.

Mullestret is also called 'the street towards St Andrew nr Leominster' in John de Bleburi's charter, referred to above. St. Andrew is included in the prayers to be said outside the church and other prayers in Leominster's Anglo-Saxon prayer book. The cemetery of St.

Andrew's is mentioned in an undated, probably 13th-century, statement of dues received by the vicar of Leominster, whilst the church is referred to in the coroner's roll for 1291x2, when Isabel de Lendebrok, 'by the suit of two foreigners whose names are not known', sought sanctuary there and acknowledged herself a thief before abjuring the realm. A document of 1433 describes the vicar as having the right to pasture at 'the chapel of St Andrew', and its site is indicated by a terrier, or survey of the lands, of the Leominster vicarage in 1685. This calls the area about the Poplands St Andrew's Garth, or churchyard, suggesting that the chapel stood near the Ridgemoor Bridge.[99]

Luston, on the Lugg, and the Ivington townships of Brierley and Pervin were also valued for the provision of flax, which grows best in a cool, moist temperate climate. Its production and manufacture was one of the few cottage industries of which there is record. Dense sowing encouraged slender, unbranched stems, which the womenfolk harvested, pulling them out of the ground by the roots. They were laid out to dry before being retted, steeped in a nearby stream, to rot away the fleshy parts, then rubbed vigorously and beaten to separate the fibres. These were then hung up in strikes and, when thoroughly dry, were combed out in preparation for spinning. The finer fibres were made into thread for weaving into linen, the heaviest into canvas, for domestic use as shirts, smocks, board cloths and towels. The flax seed was used for the production of linseed oil. Flax and hemp production were linked, and there is also reference at Leominster to tithes of hemp, used to make canvas and rope etc.[100]

The South End

South End was an alternative name for that part of South Street that extended from Etnam Street to the Iron Cross. This was another arm of the original crossroads. On fair and market days this and the western end of Etnam Street were used for horse and pony sales. Development here appears to postdate West Street but predates Etnam Street. Later, South End was called Turnbull Street (Galliers refers to it as Turnbowl), a name lost at the end of the 19th century.

South Street

South Street, also 'the road towards Hereford', lay beyond. Here the burgage series **(10)** and **(11)** on both sides conformed to the 24-pole standard. One, which included the tenement granted by Hugh de Wygford to the Lady Chapel, is described as 'extending from the street to the field of the priory called Wynyard', from the Old English *wīn-geard*, vineyard. As in West and Etnam Streets, there was a gate. In 1664 'two tenements, barns and appurtenances called the Gatehouse' were leased for 21s. p.a. but in 1749 'five messuages commonly called the Lower Gatehouse' were still leased for 21s. The site is marked by Gateway Lane. A town ditch in South Street is mentioned in two of the Lady Chapel charters. Here also was Battle Bridge, allegedly the site of the conflict between the Welsh and the Normans, under Earl Ralph the Timid, in 1063.[101] It was sometimes called Glovers Bridge, from the occupation or guild responsible for its repair. Ditch and bridge were close to the Friends' Meeting House – now a disco! Monitoring at no. 16 South Street by Archenfield Archaeology produced a quantity of medieval pottery, as well as an un-mortared stone wall running at 90° to the street.[102]

Etnam Street

The creation of Etnam Street, described as either *vicus orientalis* or *vicus versus Eton*, 'the way leading to Eaton' in late 13th- and early 14th-century records, transformed the topography of

the town. The eastern routeway from the Iron Cross was moved from its original course, along the southern edge of the precinct wall, to a similar alignment 300 ft further south. This allowed the development of burgage series on the north **(12)** as well as the south **(13)** of the new street, but converted Corn Square into a cul-de-sac. Such a considerable programme of public works reflected great confidence in Leominster's capacity for further sustained growth.

The line of the earlier road was perpetuated by a wet ditch, known as the 'Town Ditch', which ran alongside to the north, that is on the outer sider of the precinct bank and ditch, the *vallum monasterii*. The ditch figures prominently in Court Leets presentments as late as the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1574 the residents of 'Etenam Strete' were to 'skower evry man anent their gardens, yardes, and other groundes, that the towne Dyche maye be conveyed to the brode by the next Lawdaye under the payne of xiid evry one makeyng deffault.' More specific presentments of 1631 and 1633 refer to the stopping of 'a water course shutting [a dialect expression meaning moving swiftly] down to the mill behind Etnam Street on the north side' and failure to scour 'the channel and ditch for passage of the water down the Towne from the Corne Market to the [Pinsley] Mills.' Thirty-six years later William Pychard alleged that the foundations of his house were being affected by his neighbour's failure to keep this town ditch free. A satisfactory solution to the problem came only in the mid 19th century. On 1 July 1857 the *Hereford Journal* reported that it was proposed to deepen and widen, and in some places alter the course of, the Main Ditch or Leat communicating with the river Lugg, and in 1868 a 12in. pipe was laid along the line of the old ditch. This connected with the 3 ft. x 2 ft. brick sewer, which followed the western side of the railway as far as Pinsley mill and the White Lion Inn (see Fig. 4 where it is indicated).

Etnam Street was conceived on an even more grandiose scale than Broad Street. Its width, of three poles, did not quite match that of Broad Street, but it was more than twice the length, even in the first stage of development. The burgage plots were the most generous in the borough, being laid out to an average length of 18 poles. However, the new northern series of burgage plots had to begin to the east of the original third burgage series. This had been set out south of the joint market-place to front onto what is now Corn Street and Corn Square. This new northern series must have begun beyond 25-29 Etnam Street, formerly the Old Iron Boat Inn. It probably extended as far east as 91 Etnam Street which, according to the RCHM records, incorporated one of the few remaining medieval secular buildings in the town, constructed in the late 14th or early 15th century.

The southern series began near Miles Court and continued as far east as the present Caswell Crescent, for the land at the southern corner of the junction of Etnam Street and South Street was already occupied by Stafferton House, now Dutton House, a tenement with extensive grounds. The size of this corner property and its subsequent history indicate that it must have been of considerable importance, although its precise character in the medieval period remains a mystery. It was probably linked to the manorial administration, possibly the town house of one of the two bailiffs of the abbot's liberty. Stafferton House was rebuilt in the late 1500s. Part of a large half-timbered building remains at the southwest angle, but the northern part was in its turn rebuilt in the 18th century. The hearth-tax returns show that Leominster had two especially grand houses in the 1660s. Stafferton House, then in the occupation of Wallop Brabazon, with 13 hearths, and one with 14, in the Middle Marsh. Brabazon, the brother of the first earl of Meath, was the heir to the Hackluyts of Eaton. The house was purchased by John Dutton Colt, MP for the borough 1679-81 and 1689-98 and bailiff in 1680.[103]

In 1337 Giles, son and heir of Hugh Hackluyt, sold to John, son of Thomas of Radyng of Leominster, 'all that tenement with its edifices and appurtenances which lies in the East Street between the tenement of Philip le Wheeler and that of the *Custos* of the altar of the Blessed Mary.' Later John of Radyng exchanged this property with the *custos*, brother John de Stanleye, for a piece of land in the New Street, 'between a tenement of the said John de Redyng and that which was Richard Lyulf's.' These were all men of substance, and what we see here represents only part of their accumulation of property within the town and without. Thomas de Redyng was Leominster's first MP, in 1295; Hackluyt represented the borough in 1304; Richard Lyulf in 1314; and John de Redyng in 1340.

By the early 14th century development had begun at the further end, near Prior's Mill on the Pinsley brook, for John Whytbred gave Felicia, his daughter, a half burgage plot at 'the Eastern Gate in the street towards Eton next to the way to [Eaton] Broade containing, by the road, 40 iron rods and behind, 9 iron rods.' The corner site is confirmed by Felicia's deed of sale 'to Thomas Hardyng of Thacheham, for 20s. of silver of all that place [in Etnam Street] between the land of Henry of London and the highway towards the Brade.'[104]

The Thirteenth Century

The evidence suggests that, despite the havoc wrought by the de Braose brothers in 1208, the 13th century was an era of great prosperity for Leominster. A Worcester city charter of 1235 shows that cloth, wool thread, unfinished wool and leather were the commodities which provided the borough with its wealth.[105] Population growth, as well as civic pride and wealth, found expression in the rebuilding of the old, dark south aisle of the parish church, that part of the priory church which lay west of the *pulpitum*, the stone screen dividing the laity from the monks to the east. Little can be seen today of this large new parochial south aisle, for its north arcade was rebuilt after the great fire of 1699. It was reconstructed once more, as we see it today, by George Gilbert Scott in the 19th century. However, the masonry on the exterior of the west end shows that the new aisle was twice the width of its predecessor, and 2 ft. wider than the existing Romanesque nave. The vestiges of one of the twelve crosses placed on the building by Bishop Ralph de Maidstone when he consecrated the new church in 1239 were discovered and restored by Scott. Although deteriorating, this cross can still be seen.

The parishioners also built a handsome new Early English south porch, much of which, including its stiff-leaf capitals, was reincorporated in the existing porch, built in the 14th century. At the same time the amount of light admitted into the Romanesque north aisle and nave was dramatically increased by the introduction of gabled five-lancet windows in the north wall of the north aisle, and a triplet to the west.

Henry I's foundation charter granted that the abbot and monks of Reading, and their men, should be quit of tolls, customs and exactions in all markets and fairs whatsoever in England and Wales. No 'person small or great may exact anything, by way of due, custom or violence, from the men, lands and possessions of Reading; neither for riding nor expeditions, nor building of bridges nor castles, nor carriage of transport by land or water nor other works, tributes or gifts.' They were to be 'free from all tolls or other customs whatsoever by land and water in ways and fields, in passing over bridges and through seaports throughout the whole of England.'[106]

These rights were frequently challenged by interested parties, including royal officers. In 1228 the king's bailiffs at Windsor pressed a claim for £52 due from the men of Reading in unpaid tolls on their boats travelling to and from London. Adam de Lathbury, elected abbot in

1226, knew that, in an era when heavy goods had to be carried by water, freedom from river tolls was essential for the abbey's prosperity. He thus used the occasion of a royal visit to make good his house's right to such universal exemptions, a claim upheld by Henry III himself after careful examination of the appropriate records.[107]

A series of conflicts on this matter with rival towns provides valuable evidence as to the nature and direction of Leominster's exports in the early 13th century. Prior to 1226 Adam de Lathbury had been prior of Leominster; he thus recognised that freedom of navigation on the Severn was of equal importance to his Herefordshire borough. Since the collapse of authority in John's reign, there had been contention between the reeves and community of Worcester on the one hand and the abbot's burgesses of Leominster on the other concerning 'unjust demands' which the former were making of the latter. In 1235 Lathbury obliged the reeve and 28 named citizens of Worcester to confirm before the justices in eyre the Leominster men's privileges of free entry and exit into their city however and whenever they came; freedom to buy and sell all manner of merchandise; freedom of access to their place beneath the 'Boothall'; freedom from all tolls, stallage and portage whatsoever. However, this was apparently something of a Pyrrhic victory, for the Leominster Cartulary includes an important clause, significantly omitted from the Reading copy, that these rights applied to all merchandise 'excepting leather, fresh hides, unfinished wool, wool thread and cloth'. These were, of course, Leominster's staples.[108]

Burgage Fragmentation and Market Encroachment

The market extension of Broad Street rapidly became the centre for the sale of sheep and pigs. As the tanners, fullers, dyers and others occupied the area about and beyond the Kenwater, the demand for accommodation within the limited space of the wedge-shaped *altus vicus* remained unsatisfied. As elsewhere, this was overcome by two means; firstly by fragmentation of the burgage plots of the series to the east and west, where land had quickly come to be at a premium. For example, in 1275 a case in the King's Bench related to a claim to 'a moiety of one burgage' and 'a third part of a burgage in Lemmenistre.' Such fragmentation was particularly prevalent the nearer one got to the centre. At Ledbury 'one half of a quarter of one burgage plot' is recorded in the *Red Book c*.1285. The process continued well into the 18th century. For example, a Leominster lease of October 1751 refers to a messuage 'lately made two dwellings in the New Street.'

One has, however, to be careful. Such fragmentation was not restricted to plots at the heart of the marketing area. At Maidenswell Lane, Bromyard, well away from the market, 19 out of the 23 plots were half burgages. At Ledbury, of the 212 burgage holders, more than 130 held half burgages. The fact that many of these were at the northern end of the Homend, furthest from the market, suggests that lords of boroughs were quite prepared to offer what were nominally full burgage plots in the more remote parts at 6d, rather than the full burgage rent of 1s imposed in more favoured locations. At Leominster, of the 25 references to burgages in the Lady Chapel charters, only ten were to full burgages; 15 were fragmentary. In *Burgeyslone* five of the six, and in New Street two of the three burgages referred to were fragmentary. These fractional burgages would be in the later development at the western, broader end of the two streets, relatively distant from the primary marketing area of the town.[109]

Market encroachment was the other response to the considerable pressure for space within the restricted market area. Amongst the Lady Chapel charters one frequently finds references to *seldae* in the area of the Five Ways by the Hen Pen, as well as the *altus vicus*.

Under the supervision of the abbot's officers, the burgesses had the right on market days and during fairs to set up booths and stalls in front of their premises. Gradually these rows of shops, originally mere trestles, became permanent structures, through the laxity of the abbot's bailiffs or some other cause, with the result that Leominster's market-place came to be built over as we know it today. Such market encroachment was a common feature of most medieval towns.

Street & burgage sizes	**¼**	**⅓**	**½**	**1**	**1½**	**No.**
Etnam Street		1	1			2
South Street			2	2		4
West Street			1		1	2
Street to *Dusteley*				1		1
Burgeyslone		1	4	1		6
Croueslone				1		1
New Street			2	1		3
Mappenoreslone				2		2
Pynnefurdlyngeslone				1		1
Marsh			1			1
Mill St 'to St. Andrew'	1					1
Street to Marsh				1		1
Total	**1**	**2**	**11**	**10**	**1**	**25**

Table 2. Burgages mentioned in Lady Chapel Cartulary
Source: HRO M31/9/2

Although medieval shops represent an area where much more work is required, certain comments can be made about the *selda*. Generally a shop/workshop, not infrequently a shop in the front and workshop behind, was characterised by one or more wide openings, with low sills and internal rebates for shutters; often boards could be let down to provide counters for trading during the daytime. Nos 16, 16a and 17 Corn Square provide a fine example of a range of 15th-century shops/workshops. Other local examples can be seen at Abbey Cottages, Tewkesbury, and, at Ludlow, Bodenham's on the corner of 1 Broad Street and 20 King Street, which is of three storeys, jettied at first and second floor. At Leominster similar three-storey examples in High Street/Drapers Lane await detailed examination.[110]

Leominster, Ludlow and Chepstow are fortunate in having retained their medieval market encroachment. It is most elaborate at Ludlow, in the rectangular area between the site of the former Victorian town hall and the Butter Cross, where three shop rows, of the butchers, shoemakers and lockyers, were established between what thus became Church and Market Streets.[111] At Hereford and Ledbury, the Butchers Row was pulled down in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as part of the era of municipal 'improvement'. At Weobley the passage of the 1832 Reform Act, which deprived the borough of the right to elect two members, and a subsequent fire explain the disappearance of the principal market row, with the Market Hall at the southern end, close to the entry to the castle, and the handsome three-storey Mansion House in the centre.[112] At Leominster, however, the borough council chose not to regard the apparent jumble of buildings as either a health or transport hazard, but in our own day this has provided sufficient cause to convert New Street into a mini-motorway.

There are two fundamental questions relating to these *seldae*: when did they first appear, and how permanent were they? In the *Red Book* 34 are listed at Ledbury, 26 at Bromyard, but only nine at Ross. All can be firmly dated, *c*.1285. At Leominster such market encroachment by shop rows had begun by the mid 13th century. Details are given in *The Book of Charters* under the heading 'Five Crosses' (*Quinque Cruces*). This was the junction of Drapers Lane with High, Broad, Church and Burgess Streets. Here, next to the Hen Pen, had stood John Abel's great half-timbered building, known variously as the Old Town Hall, Crosse House or Butter Cross, now re-erected as Grange Court.

Of the ten charters under 'Five Crosses', eight refer to *seldae*. The earliest, dated 'in the year of grace 1260', a charter of Peter son of Roger de Hamenasse, records his sale for 4 marks to Roger Little, baker, of 'all that *selda* (shop or booth) with its edifices and appurtenances which lies between the shop which was sometime Walter de Grubbe's and my shop which the said Roger sometime held of me in lease in the Great Street.'[113] Reference to their 'edifices and appurtenances' in this as in other Leominster examples confirms that such *seldae* were far from mere 'booths'. There are three other instances where the shop being transferred is identified as lying between two other shops. A charter of Walter de Saint Dennis, chaplain, relates to 'one of three shops at Five Crosses.' Have we here, therefore, evidence of one or more shop rows? The one trade for which a row is documented at Leominster is *le Bocherie*, yet the occupation referred to here is that of Roger, baker.

The eight *seldae* are described in four charters as in *altus vicus*, the High or 'Great street', but in four others as in South or Hereford Street. Robert the chaplain, son of Roger the Baker, granted to Nicholas de Knulle, for a sum of money, 'all that shop with the edifices and appurtenances in the High Street between the shop of the said Nicholas and the shop of the monks of the Blessed Mary.'[114] These were evidently part of the Shop Row that had originated as encroachment on the High Street. One the other hand, one *selda* is described as 'in Southstrete next the Five Crosses.' In another case, John Coteler, in his will of 1285 refers to his shop as at Five Crosses; yet his brother, Nicholas, in his quitclaim refers to it as 'in *altus vicus*.' However, Five Crosses was at the northern end of High Street, but South Street at the southern end, by the Iron Cross. This apparent contradiction can only be resolved by the assumption that, at this time, the whole area of the shop rows was described as Five Crosses.[115]

In November 1264, after Simon de Montfort's forces gained control of Hereford, Roger III de Mortimer, fearing Simon's alliance with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, led a 'great army' of his friends and retainers, including 'many of the liberty of the prior of Leominster', against the city of Hereford, and assaulted it 'from the first hour of daylight until nightfall. The next day he fired Bishop Street and all that suburb.' On Simon's arrival the men of Hereford replied in like manner, in the words of the abbot of Reading, in an action in the High Court in 1265, 'taking, carrying away and consuming goods of the priory, its manors and lands to the value of £2,000.' The abbot gave in full the names of 35 of the assailants. The outcome is not known, but the men of the city came quickly to heel after de Montfort's defeat and death at the battle of Evesham, when Roger sent his severed head home to his wife at Wigmore Castle as a trophy.[116]

Despite such attacks, Leominster, unlike Chepstow, Abergavenny, Monmouth, Hereford, Ludlow, Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury or even the small marcher boroughs of Radnor, Knighton, Clun and Montgomery, was not a walled town.[117] This is made clear not only from the lack of archaeological and documentary evidence, such as murage grants, but also by a document dated 23 July 1402, a few weeks after Glyn Dŵr's great victory over the Herefordshire forces at Bryn Glas, in which the Royal Council licensed 'the good men of the town of Leominster

[that is the bailiff and 24 co-opted burgesses who governed the borough in the name of the abbot of Reading] which is situated on the frontiers of the marches of Wales, to fortify the town with walls, pales and ditches for defence against the Welsh rebels and to compel all the men of the town to contribute to the expenses according to their means.'[118] Leominster's governing oligarchy, who would have had to provide a major part of the funds required for such a project, evinced little enthusiasm. Remnants of a ditch have been found crossing South Street. Fourteenth-century pottery in the deposits show that it predated the Glyn Dŵr crisis.[119]

The legal battle in 1265 was not the last between the two towns. There had been conflict over market days in the 12th century, and in 1277 the men of Hereford complained that the abbot's Leominster fair at Michaelmas, 29 September, was to the detriment of their own St. Denis fair, on 9 October. When a jury ordered the Michaelmas fair to be 'wholly quashed', Edward I granted the abbot another, on the vigil and feast of SS Cosmas and Damian, 27 September, and the four days following![120] There was conflict not only with Hereford, but also with Ludlow. Its citizens claimed in 1349 that 'a large confederacy of evil doers has formed a plot against them when they come out of the town to trade.' Many Ludlow men had been 'assaulted and maimed at Leominster and elsewhere in Herefordshire. Some have lost their limbs and some have been imprisoned until they made fine.' Furthermore, the confederacy had 'besieged the town of Ludlow for a long time, for which cause none dare come forth to make their profit.'[121]

The Fourteenth Century

The fourteenth century opened well for Leominster. In 1305 there is the first documentary evidence that wool merchants from St. Omer and Amiens were trading in the town.[122] Nevertheless, in both 1315 and 1316 there were catastrophically bad harvests, due to extraordinarily heavy late summer rain, preventing the ripening and harvesting of the corn. For two consecutive years grain reached the highest price ever experienced throughout the medieval period, 16s. 8d. a quarter. This crisis is apparently reflected in a Lady Chapel charter in which Edith de Aula had 'demised and granted a burgage in *Mappenoreslone* [not to the *custos*, but] to the almoner of Leominster', who was to pay yearly to the prior 12d. 'for the maintenance of the poor of Christ.' On the back it bears the legend, 'to maintain the poor in time of scarcity and dearness.' The almoner sold this charter, and thus the burgage, to the *custos*.[123] Certainly the *custos* exercised tight control over the property and tenants of the conventual Lady Chapel. In a charter relating to the grant of 'all that place of land in the street leading to *Crouford'* (Vicarage Street) Hugh le Scrivener, *Escrivoyn*, and his wife were to build 'at their own costs and to maintain the same in timber and covering.' Nor was it lawful for them 'to sell or alienate it without the licence of the *custos*.' Furthermore, 'if they shall be deficient in paying' their rent of 1s. 4d. at Michaelmas and Lady Day 'within one month… it shall be lawfull … to enter and distrayn their goods.'[124]

Amongst the charters of the *custos* are two examples of people who, 'in their great need', turned to him for cash in return for property.[125] 'Great need' or necessity was the standard charter formula for inability to meet interest repayment on debt. Thus Walter de Stocton granted his half burgage in Burgess Lane to William the Monk, keeper, who 'in my great necessity gave me two marks of silver' (£1 6s. 8d.). Without the full terms of the transaction, one cannot decide whether this was Christian charity or just the moneylending so roundly condemned as usury by the medieval church. If the latter, this should not surprise us. St. Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury, was involved in a number of such transactions when it was

building up its rural estates in the 13th century. Indeed its founder, Bishop Hugh Foliot, acquired the Hyde Farm, Cradley from John de Stanford in return for the bishop's repayment of a £18 13s. 4d. loan John owed to the great Jewish financier, Hamo of Hereford.[126] Here we know that John was parting with his estates at 11½ years' purchase. Reginald, first master of St. Ethelbert's Hospital, Hereford, was similarly engaged in the money market.[127] Unfortunately the two Leominster Lady Chapel charters are undated, so we do not know whether these loans were made after 1290 when Edward I expelled the whole English Jewry. Prior to that date the hospital would have faced competition from Hamo's successor, Aaron le Blund, whose agents were to be found seeking business at Leominster at the major festivals and fair days.[128] In the cases mentioned above, the grant of property is described as in 'pure and simple alms', Walter thus hoped to acquire some spiritual merit from his 'great necessity'.

The economic wellbeing of the borough, or at least its more wealthy members, is witnessed by the construction of the new south aisle of the parish church, one of the outstanding examples of its period within the county, in what proved to be an Indian summer of the architecture of Herefordshire's medieval parish churches. Remarkable examples of the work of this period are to be seen in St. Katherine's chapel at Ledbury, Weobley's nave, and the polygonal chancels of Madley and Marden, but none of these can rival the delicate tracery and ball flower ornament of the six south aisle windows, which combine motifs found in the tracery of the south aisle windows of Gloucester cathedral and the central tower of Hereford cathedral, 'probably begun about 1320 or shortly after.'[129]

Some three decades after completion of the parochial south aisle, Herefordshire experienced the full impact of the Black Death. This, with subsequent outbreaks of the plague, was to lead to a population decline, nationally estimated at around one-third. With the consequent escalation in labour costs, the emphasis in agriculture shifted dramatically from arable, the production of grain for a formerly burgeoning population, to pasture, with the emphasis on the production of wool. Whilst Leominster Priory had never been able to compete with such Cistercian houses as Dore, Margam, Tintern and Neath in terms of the quantity produced, by the mid 14th century it certainly could do so in terms of quality. Although in 1337 William de la Pole, the country's major wool exporter, purchased only 22 sacks in this county, Herefordshire wool fetched the top price, £7 16s. per sack, 25% higher than that of neighbouring Cotswolds and Shropshire. Such high quality wool was destined for the markets of Flanders and Northern Italy.[130]

'By 1350', it has been said, 'Wales was much closer in its economic structures and the pattern of its economic relationships to the Wales of 1650 than the Wales of 1050. A nexus of marketing links was established at local, regional and even, in some cases, international levels.'[131] Since the late 13th century, Leominster had been strengthening its trading links with Central Wales. In 1276 Llewelyn the Great, having gained Brecon, Builth, Gwerthrynion, Elfael and a possible claim to Mortimer's lands in Maelienydd at the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, complained to Roger II de Mortimer that, when Llewelyn's men had gone to markets and fairs at Leominster and Montgomery with their merchandise, more than 122 had been detained and one slain', warning Mortimer this gave his grounds for war.[132] We thus have a fair indication of the catchment area of Leominster within Central Wales, which may even have extended as far as Llewelyn's family territories in Ceredigion. Edward I's conquest of Wales in 1282–3 and the subsequent Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 led to a major amelioration of Leominster's position in the 14th century as a market for the produce of Central Wales.

The Fifteenth Century

A petition to Parliament in 1454 showed that there had been dramatic changes in wool prices since 1337. Whilst the value of the major part of the English wool clip had fallen considerably, the market for the highest quality wool had increased. The New Draperies sought wool with a long fibre. Demand from Northern Italy and Flanders remained high. Leominster had attained a dominant position as a supplier, to both internal and external markets, of the finest quality wool. The price differential was now very steep. A parliamentary list of suggested export prices for wool in 1454 has 'Hereford in Leominster' at the head at £13 a sack, followed by Leominster 'soke' (lordship) and Shropshire march, £9 10s., Cotswold at £8 6s. 8d. Other English wools, including the rest of Herefordshire, were awarded a mere £6, whilst many others were assessed at only £4, less than a third of 'Hereford in Leominster.'[133]

In 1457 we have evidence of the export, under royal licence, of 2,000 sacks of 'Lempster', with Marches and Cotswold, wool through 'the straits and mountains of Marrock' to Milan. Leominster wool retained this pre-eminence until the 16th century; in 1536 it was sold at 9s. or 9s. 3d per stone, compared with March 7s. 6d., Cotswold about 7s., 'Holland and Rutland' in Lincoln 4s. 8d. and Norfolk 3s. 4d. For Thomas Fuller 'Lemster Ore' was 'absolutely the finest in the county and indeed all England.'[134] Thomas Blount describes Leominster Ore as 'about 2 miles round that Town.'[135] Leominster not only sold but also processed this wool. Its speciality was the woollen plush fabric 'cham', from the Arabic *khamlet*. This attained the distinction of being named in Edward IV's sumptuary law of 1482: 'none, under the degree of esquire or gentleman, shall wear in their doublets damask or satten, nor gowns of chamlet upon pain to forfeit for every default £2.'

Even in the 13th century the priory estates had specialised in the breeding of oxen. In the 16th century royal purveyors were forestalling the markets to buy the best oxen from the former Leominster Priory's 'Fattyngmores' about the Arrow and elsewhere. In 1450 a reference to the 'Fattyngmore pastures at Ivington', and elsewhere even earlier, is firm indication of the fattening of stock from Wales for the metropolitan or west midland market. This could not refer to the priory's flocks, for the quality of Leominster wool was dependant on 'hard fare upon the fallow fields.' Analysis of the Leominster fair accounts for 1556 shows that more than half the cattle sold were of Welsh origin, a third from Radnorshire, but some from as far away as St. David's, Pembroke and Carmarthen. The drovers used the Roman road to Llandrindod, then ascended to the fine droving country of the 1,500 ft. plateau of Mynydd Eppynt. Thence the cattle were taken, via the upper Wye and Painscastle, to the rich meadows of the Lugg and Arrow and their tributaries.[136]

Evidence of the value of this fattening trade is to be found in a letter of Richard Hackluyt, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, who held 556 of the 837 acres in the open fields of Eyton. Writing in 1589 to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's Lord High Treasurer, he makes clear the amount of money to be made from this trade in stock. For seven of his oxen, 'of grete bone full fed (for two years) in the county', to be taken up by a royal purveyor for 'hir majestie's howsehold', Hackluyt was to receive £52 10s. He adds that for stall-fed oxen the price would have been £58 10s. Speed, *c*.1610, believed 'no place in England yieldeth better conditioned cattle' than Herefordshire. For William Stukeley, the countryside about Leominster was 'luxuriant above measure', and he was 'surprised at the extravagant bulk of plants.'[137]

Leominster's relative affluence in the 15th century left its mark on the topography of the borough. Firstly, it led to the first occurrence in the medieval period of what we now call redevelopment. Detailed examination of the half-timbered building at the corner of School Lane has thrown light on the origins of this street, for which one can find no reference in the 13th- and

14th-century charters of the *custos* of the conventual Lady Chapel. It is noticeably much narrower than those of the 12th-century borough. Its straightness and uniformity throughout its length suggest that, contrary to what one can see in New and Burgess Streets, it was of one build. Duncan James has shown that the L-shaped structure, now 16, 16a and 17 Corn Square, is a complex building of mid-15th-century date, which originally consisted of four lock-up shops on the School Lane elevation. They had three first-floor chambers above, jettied out over the shops below. Access was gained by means of a staircase in the courtyard, between 16 and 17 Corn Square, which led to a balcony at the rear. On the Corn Square frontage the building was divided into three bays. At first-floor level there was a single long room over the two eastern bays, with smoke-blackened roof timbers.[138]

Does the name School Lane throw any light on who was responsible for the construction of 16, 16a and 17 Corn Square? The undertaking of such an elaborate project, which included the cutting of a new street through the early southern 12th-century burgage series, suggests that this may well have been an institutional initiative. It has already been noted how the *custos* of the conventual Lady Chapel and others were engaged in a wide range of property exchanges, and here, as in so much property development today, property acquisition was an essential part. Only in this way could a new street have been cut through to Etnam Street. In this case, was the principal beneficiary to have been the school whose earlier rector, Master Alexander, is referred to on two occasions in the Lady Chapel charters?[139]

In the Bargates, just beyond the end of West Street, another major project was being undertaken. The Close Rolls for 1485 record the gift from Thomas Mascalde to Thomas Blewett, his heirs and assigns of 'six burgages in Leominster, lying in the new suburb outside the Bar and extending from the king's highway from Leominster to *Chorlestre* to the highway from Leominster to Monkelane.' As Galliers' map shows, these burgages were linked to the creation of the new, wide suburban market-place of Bargates, outside the Town Ditch and its Bar. This was more than twice the width of West Street.[140] There is a similar suburban market outside the Town Gate in Chepstow, known as Moor Street. Morrice's plan of 1800 shows that, unlike the Bargates market, this developed market encroachment in the form of a considerable Shop Row. Hereford also had a wide extramural market, outside St. Owen's Gate, in the middle of which stood St Owen's church and a Market Row.[141] Another wide suburban market and Shop Row can still be seen at the western end of Bye (formerly Bishop) Street in Ledbury.

As in the 13th century, with the new south nave, and in the 14th, with the Decorated south aisle, so in the 15th century Leominster's booming economy found concrete expression in its parish church—the building of a large west tower. This had diagonal buttresses and was surmounted by a parapet, embattled and panelled with corner pinnacles. Its construction was a considerable and complex operation, for the interior of the Romanesque west end had to be strengthened to carry the weight of the new three-stage tower. This was achieved by the introduction of massive internal, late Gothic arches. That was not all. The west end was further enhanced by the introduction of the large Perpendicular window that flooded the south nave with light. The two external buttresses are interesting, if not altogether beautiful, features. These were copied from the west window of Gloucester cathedral, themselves derived from the former abbey's magnificent east window.

Just as in 1235 Abbot Adam had to bring pressure to bear on the reeve and citizens of Worcester to acknowledge Henry I's grant to Leominster Priory, as a dependency of Reading Abbey, of 'freedom from all tolls … throughout the whole of England', so in the 15th century difficulties were also encountered in the other large Severnside ports. At Gloucester in 1407

officers were required to enter formally into their register a record for posterity of the privileges that the abbot's men of Leominster enjoyed within their city. On another occasion a firm hand had also to be taken with the men of the city and county of Bristol. A royal writ commanded them, 'as we have heretofore commanded others, that you permit the abbot, his monks and men to be quit of tolls, exactions and customs for all things within your bailiwick…Do not molest or disturb them…and if any distress be made on any of them…release the same without delay or signify the cause to us why you obey not our mandate to you directed.' These privileges were sustained even after the dissolution of the priory. In 1551 John Powle and John Edwardes were sent to Gloucester and 'shewed an extracte and copie of their Charter to the Maire, Aldermen and Shiriffs of the said Citie' who, after 'deliberate examynacon of the same fullie agreed' that the men of Leominster 'shall enjoye all their liberties and freedom.' In 1554 these rights, first granted in the early 12th century, were confirmed by Queen Mary's charter for the borough of Leominster.[142]

The 1539 Muster Rolls provide a valuable indication of the distribution of Leominster's population, by streets, at the end of the medieval era. What is surprising is the dominance at this stage of South Street, with almost one-fifth the population and 50% more than its nearest rivals, Middle Marsh, Etnam and Broad Street.

Ward	**No.**	**%**
Nether Marsh Ward	14	10
Burgeys Street Ward	12	8
High Street Ward beneath the Cross	17	12
Etnam Street	17	12
High Street betwixt the Crosses	16	11
South *Strete*	26	18
Cornemerket	12	8
Westestrete	11	8
Mydelmershe	17	12
Total	**142**	**100**

Table 3. Muster Rolls, 1539. Households[143]

Archaeological evidence suggests that the development of South Street, like that of the Bargates, was late. Fourteenth-century pottery was found in the back-filling of the town ditch where it crossed South Street near to Kingdom Hall. It continued to the south of Westbury Street before taking a northerly direction.[144]

CONCLUSION

Leominster's affluence at the end of the middle ages was based on the quality of its wool, woollen products, cattle-fattening trade and the extensive catchment area of its markets and fairs, which now extended well beyond the confines of its Anglo-Saxon *parochia*. It was in marked contrast to the condition of the county's other market towns, with the probable exception of Ross, close to the mineral workings in the Forest of Dean.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls 1227-1500*, PRO (1902-55)
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1216-1557*, PRO (1901-39)
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226-1516*, PRO (1903-27)
HRO	Herefordshire Record Office
HSM	Herefordshire Sites and Monuments record
J	Journal
JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester. II The Annals 450-1066*, ed. R.R.Darlington, P.McGurk & J.Bray (1995); *III The Annals 1067-1140* ed. P.McGurk (1998)
RAC	*Reading Abbey Cartularies*, 2 vols, ed. B. Kemp, Camden Soc 4S 31 & 32 (1986,1987)
Reg	*Registers of the Bishops of Hereford 1275-1535*, Cantilupe Society (1906-21)
Townsend	G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster* (1863)
VCH	*Victoria County History*

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[138] J. & C. Hillaby, *op. cit.* in note 11, pp. 245-50.
[139] HRO M31/9/2 ff.15r, 22r-v.
[140] *CCR* 1485 417, no. 1410.
[141] 'Hereford' in Lobel, *op. cit.* in note 50, Map 3.
[142] Townsend, *op. cit.* in note 64, pp.50-2; HRO M31/9 f.129.
[143] *Letters and Papers. 30 Henry VIII* (PRO, 1862-1932), XIVi, p.274.
[144] Napthan, *op. cit.* in note 117.

A Tenurial History of Lugg Meadow

By ANTHEA BRIAN

Floodplain meadows and pastures form a very distinctive type of landscape: wide, flat areas of permanent grassland bordering a river, often bounded on the far side by an alder-lined stream and with higher ground rising beyond. In the lower Lugg Valley two traditional meadows still survive, Hampton Meadow and Lugg Meadow, the latter being the largest such in the whole country. It is almost certainly due to the ownership of large parts of Lugg Meadow by the Bishop and Cathedral clergy that it has retained its ancient form, and it is because of this ownership that so much of its history has been preserved in the archives.

INTRODUCTION

Floodplain meadow and pasture is basically a man-made landscape but a very ancient one, which developed a long time ago as a result of grazing by cattle and sheep which in its turn had replaced the earlier, floodplain woodlands. This type of landscape is particularly well developed in the lower Lugg valley, because of the width of the floodplain which was formed long ago by a much larger river, the Teme. This river, until its course was altered at the end of the last ice age, flowed down to the sea along the valley now occupied by the Lugg alone.[1] Sadly most of the riverside meadows have now been ploughed up, much to the detriment of the river's quality, but their outlines are still present and the meadows could still be restored.

Prince Charles has spoken of the importance of 'the preservation of traditional, cultural landscape' and this exactly describes the lower Lugg valley where two traditional meadows, Hampton Meadow and Lugg Meadow, formerly often called Walney Meadow, still survive.[2] Both are Lammas meadows, the latter being the largest of these meadows to survive in the whole country. It is also the one where traditional management practices are still the most closely followed and where names for parts of the Meadow that were already old in the 17th century are still in regular use.[3] This management, put very briefly, means that for half the year, from Candlemas day, (February 2nd) to Lammas (August 1st), the meadow is in the hands of the owners who have the right to the first cut of grass which they take as a hay crop. Their individual parts of the meadow are marked out by dole or mere stones of which over 100 still exist. For the other half of the year, from Lammas to Candlemas, those with commoners' rights on the Meadow exercise their rights to the aftermath or second growth of the grass. This they take through the mouths of their animals which graze in common over the whole meadow. Long continuity of management in this way has enabled Lugg Meadow to retain its rich hay meadow flora, something that nowadays is very rare.

Lammas (Loaf Mass) must have been a day of great rejoicing, for not only was it the day when the first new corn became available to replace the meagre early summer diet of parsley, leeks and other green stuffs, as described in Piers Plowman in the 14th century, but it was also the day of release from constant watching of the hungry cattle to make sure they did not get into either the corn fields or the hay meadow. Up to Lammas day there are quite frequent records of cattle being tethered on odd bits of grass such as that beside the Lugg Bridge causeway and many people must have been needed to watch over the animals and keep moving them on. There would inevitably have been many disasters like that recorded in the nursery rhyme, 'Little Boy Blue.'

A certain amount has been written already about Lugg Meadow and Lammas Meadows in general, their past distribution and management and their present day survival, but only a very brief account has been given of the owners and occupiers of the 133 different parts into which Lugg Meadow is divided or of the archives that have provided this information.[4] The purpose of this paper is to fill this gap in the published information about the Meadow and give details of the quite exceptional number of documents: deeds, leases, manorial court books, etc. that refer to different parts of the Meadow. This is probably one of the best documented Lammas meadows to survive in the country and the archival information on which this statement is based is given in the Gazetteer at the end where the history of each part of the Meadow is given separately.

Unfortunately, despite the antiquity and interest of Lugg Meadow, the early members of the Woolhope Club paid little attention to it and left no account of its management or wildlife in the 19th century, information which would have been invaluable today. However, the Club was not alone in ignoring meadows. Historians in general have always placed a great deal more emphasis on the open field arable lands than on the common meadows, despite the fact that in the past meadow land was always valued much more highly than arable, for reasons that will be explained later.

Lugg Meadow today covers an area of 132 hectares (326 acres) on the right or west bank of the River Lugg. In the past it was considerably larger and extended as far north as Shelwick. Of this northern part only two areas remain as common land today. These are called 'The Lowes' and 'Midsummer Meadow' and both, like Lugg Meadow, are only common land for half the year.

Lugg Meadow was and still is crossed by two roads, known today as the A438 Hereford to Lugwardine road, and the A465 from Hereford to Bromyard. Today these roads divide up the Meadow but in earlier days, when they were unfenced, they formed no barrier to the movement of stock which grazed freely over the whole area.

Formerly there was another, even larger, Lammas Meadow to the north which lay on the left or east bank of the river and extended from Lugg Bridge right up to Sutton village. This meadow lay in the parishes of Holmer, Sutton and Withington and was enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1804. Confusingly, it too was called Lugg Meadow and in the records it is important to distinguish between these two meadows. In this paper the left bank meadow is always called Lugg Meadow (Sutton). (Fig. 1)

The area known as Lugg Meadow today is divided into two parts called 'Lower Lugg Meadow' south of the A438 and 'Upper Lugg Meadow' which runs north from there to the Lugg bridge causeway carrying the A465. It seems that when the traffic became so busy that these two roads had to be fenced off from the meadow the commoners adjusted their rights, which until then had allowed all animals to graze freely over the whole meadow. In 1906 they held a meeting at the Swan on Aylestone Hill where they signed a new agreement of rights by which:

a) the surviving parts of the meadow north of today's A465 became commonable only to commoners residing in Holmer and Shelwick.
b) the part of the meadow south of the Tupsley/Lugwardine road (A438) became commonable only to commoners residing in Lugwardine and Tupsley.
c) the central part of the meadow between the two main roads remained commonable to the commoners in all four parishes.[5]

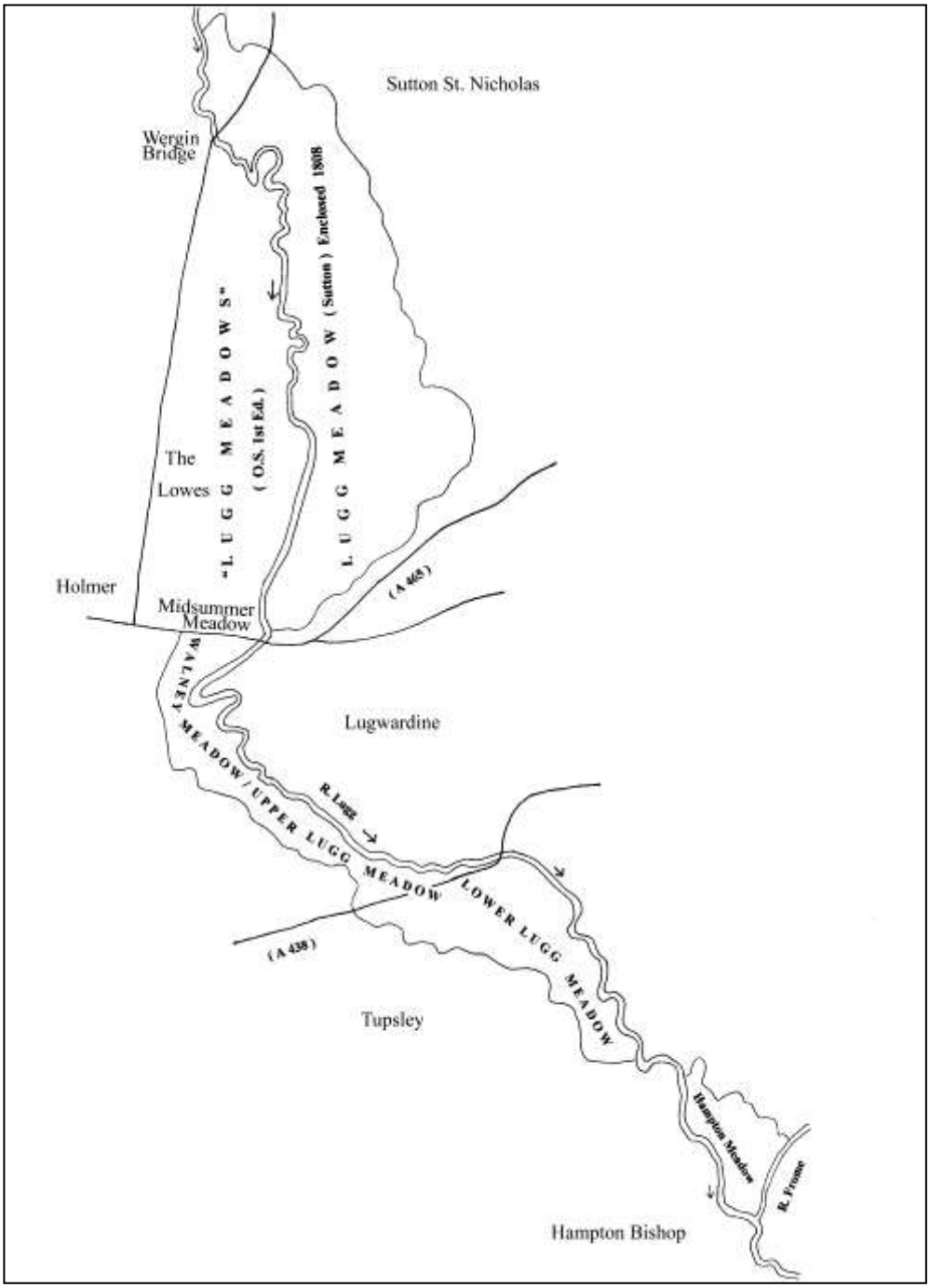

Figure 1. Map showing the former extent of Lugg Meadow

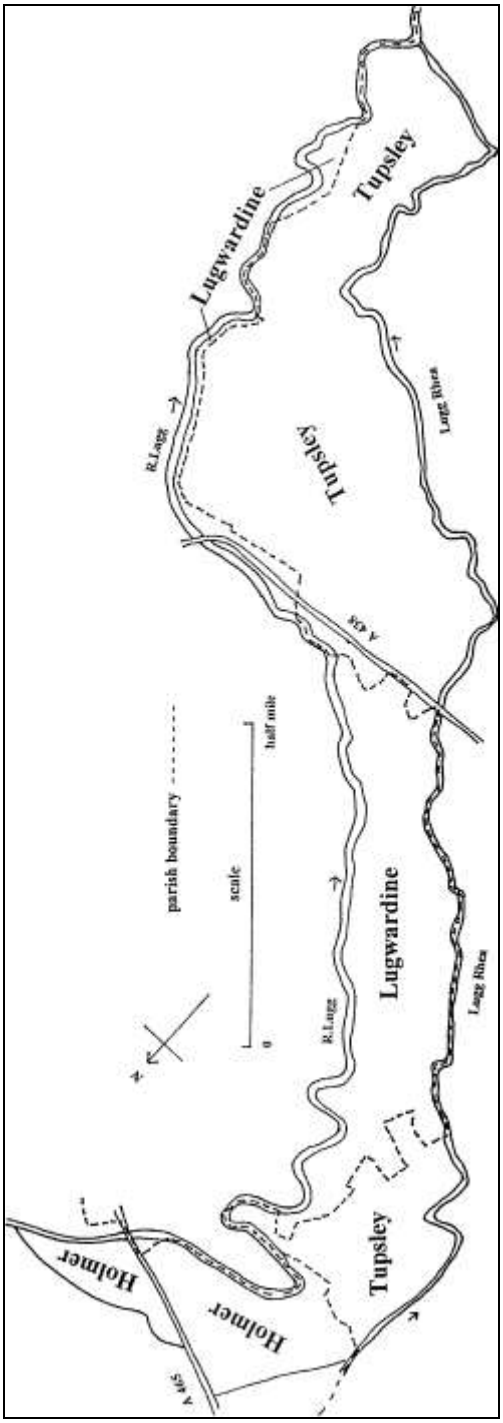

Figure 2. Parish boundaries in Lugg Meadow

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE MEADOW

There are only two really comprehensive sources of information about ownership that cover the whole Meadow. The first is Domesday Book (1086) and the second the tithe maps and apportionments.[6] There should have been a third such source provided by the maps and field books of the Taxation and Valuation survey of 1910, but these are often confused when dealing with Lugg Meadow, and hard to interpret.[7]

Domesday Book records that the parish of Holmer and the township of Tupsley, in the parish of Hampton Bishop, belonged to the Bishop and cathedral clergy while the parish of Lugwardine belonged to the crown. The church held on to its parts of the Meadow until the 19th and 20th centuries, but the crown soon gave the Lugwardine parts into other hands and was followed by a succession of lords of the manor based at Newcourt.

The tithe maps of the 1840s showing the areas into which the Meadow was divided at that time were accurate, and are still in use today. Unfortunately, however the apportionments are misleading. One column in these is headed 'Owner' but the names given under that heading are not necessarily those of the true owner, but more often are those of the tenant, who was presumably the person who paid the tithes. As a result the names of owners have had to be looked for elsewhere. Because of the way the Meadow is divided up information about the past ownership of the different parts comes from a great many scattered sources, and not from one single set of title deeds as is normally the case for one area of land.

Lugg Meadow in the 1840s was divided into 133 areas: 81 lying in the township (now parish) of Tupsley; 46 in Lugwardine and 6 in Holmer. Though many of these areas have since been amalgamated the old boundaries are still preserved. At hay making time the meadow still presents a patchwork appearance as some owners cut their areas early and some cut late, though this patchwork effect would have been more detailed in the past. Figure 2 shows the parts of the tithe maps for Holmer, Lugwardine and Tupsley that make up Lugg Meadow today. Figures 3 and 4 show the 133 unfenced strips and parcels into which the meadow is divided, each of which has its own documentation.[8]

Several of these different areas, though separated by quite large distances on the ground, were held together in one ownership or tenancy over long periods of time and so share one set of documentation. Nevertheless a great many documents have been found that were concerned with different parts of the Meadow. Well over 800 different individuals were involved and the search is certainly not complete.

The 133 different areas into which the Meadow was divided fall roughly into two types, based on differences in shape. One type is long, narrow 'strips' with parallel sides. The other is larger in area, and often has curving boundaries. In this paper these are referred to as 'parcels', another old term much used formerly to describe parts of the Meadow. Most of the Meadow that lies in Lugwardine parish is divided into strips, while in the other two parishes the strips are arranged in a few compact groups and the rest of the Meadow is divided into parcels. The possible origins of these two differently-shaped types of division is discussed later.

LAND OWNERS AND THEIR LANDS IN LUGG MEADOW

In this section the holdings of the more important landowners are summarised. The owners of each individual strip or parcel are given in the Gazetteer.

The Bishop's Lands

The Bishop of Hereford had a rich diocese in 1086 and most of his income would have derived from his lands. Early on it seems that while the Bishop retained a large part of Lugg Meadow in the bishopric estates, other parts belonging to the church were allocated to different members of the cathedral clergy. All this church land was held either by copyhold tenancy or was leased out as parts of farms. The records of the bishopric lands are deposited in Herefordshire Record Office, Ref. No. AA63/1–39.

The Bishop's lands held in copyhold tenure

These were mostly held in strips and tenants had the right to pass on their strips in the meadow to their heirs so that, on the death of a tenant, his or her heir came to the manorial court to claim this right—a custom that persisted for centuries. If no heir came forward at three successive courts the area reverted to the Bishop and its subsequent history becomes harder to trace. By the 17th century the copyhold tenants on Lugg Meadow, who had presumably all been working on the land originally, came from all walks of life. There were still a number of small farmers and agricultural labourers but many tradesmen were also recorded: mercers, glovers, dyers, cider-makers, butchers and bakers. In addition there were professional men, doctors of medicine and doctors of law. All the land transactions were recorded in the Bishop's Court Books where the main series starts in 1661.[9] Each volume has a thorough index of surnames, and for this reason exact references are not given to each of these numerous transactions. They can be found easily by looking in the Court book for the year given under the Court of the Palace for either Barton, Tupsley or Shelwick.

The Bishop's leasehold lands

Most of these were parts of whole farms which had parcels in Lugg Meadow, although in most cases the farm itself was several miles away from the Meadow. These parcels were normally listed separately from the rest of the farm but occasionally got omitted from a lease, either by design or by mistake. If this happened the parcel was in danger of being taken over by someone else. These bishopric farms, together with others owned by the cathedral clergy, all fall within the area bounded by the river Wye and lower course of the river Lugg. This area has been identified as Lyde by Copplestone Crow.[10] He suggests that this was the area that was given by the king, Merewalh, to Wenlock Abbey 50 years before the Hereford bishopric was set up and into whose ownership it subsequently came.

The lands of the Cathedral Clergy

The cathedral clergy all held land with their office, which in the case of the prebendaries provided not only an income but also the name for their prebend. It seems probable that this land was part of the original endowment given when that office was first established.

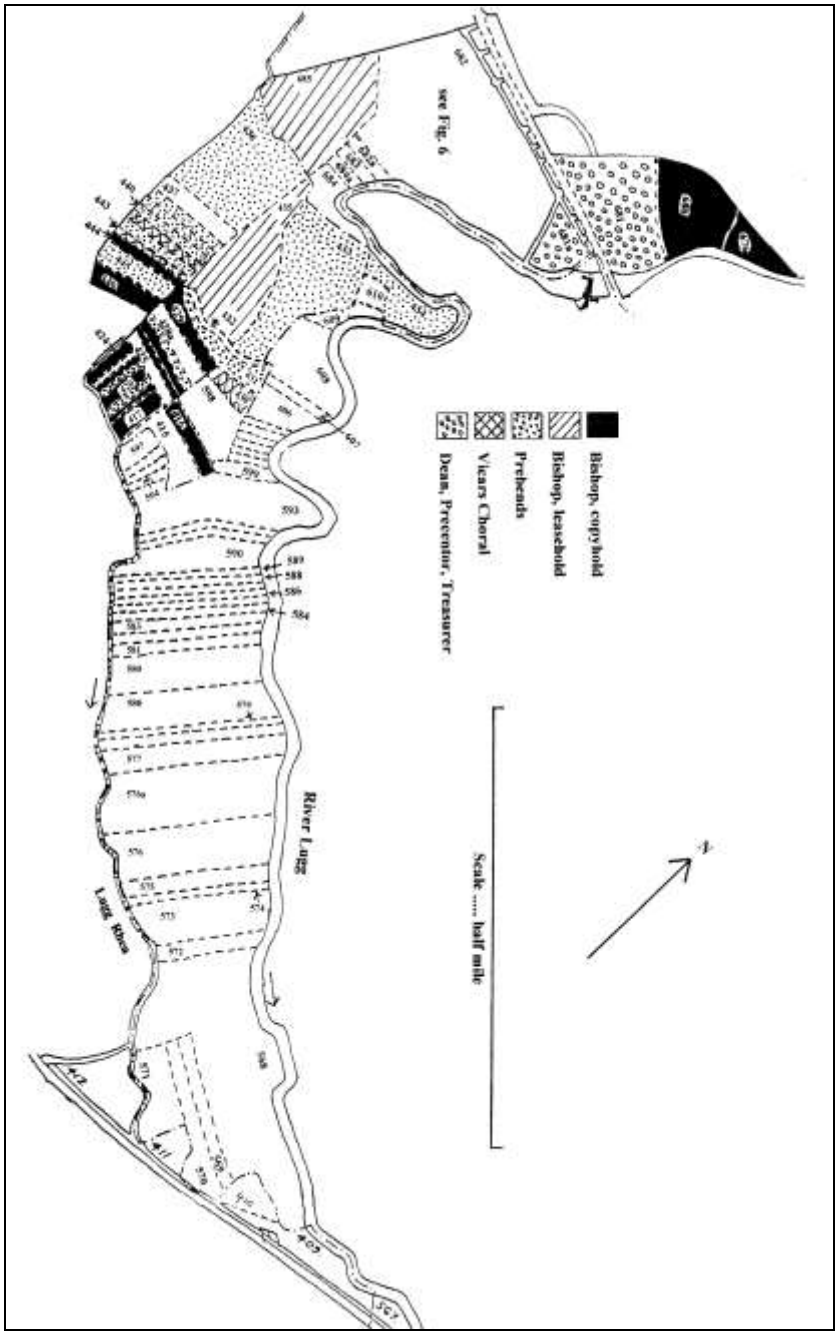

Figure 3. Map of Lower Lugg Meadow showing the unfenced divisions and church ownerships

The estates of the dean, the precentor, the treasurer and several of the prebendaries all included land in Lugg Meadow. These lands may well date from 1086 if not earlier, because fourteen of the clerical holdings listed in Domesday are said to have survived as later prebends, nine of which certainly held land in Lugg Meadow at a later date.[11] Unfortunately, as with the bishopric lands, there appears to be no comprehensive modern account of the former holdings of the cathedral clergy. Although the information given below is derived from a large number of original documents and only covers holdings related to Lugg Meadow in some way, never the less it is almost certainly incomplete.

Two fairly comprehensive sources of information about the cathedral's lands date from the time of the Commonwealth. The first of these was the Parliamentary Survey of 1649. The other was an attempt made by the dean and chapter in 1664, after the church lands and documents had been returned to them, to find out just what property they actually owned. At that time all the cathedral clergy were asked to produce a terrier of the properties belonging to their office. 'Six months were allowed by the Dean and Chapter for perfecting of the same and bringing it on parchment to be kept in the Archives from the present day of June 25 1664.'[12]

The results of this survey are still stored in the cathedral archives and predictably they vary widely. Some of the terriers produced were described as 'perfect' and these were not only presumably accurate but were also set out clearly as requested on a good sheet of parchment. Others were described as 'imperfect' or came with 'a promise to perfect it.' These latter tended to be poorly written on scrappy bits of paper and there is little evidence that the promises to complete a terrier were ever carried out. Terriers for some prebends have not been found at all and one doubts if they were ever made.

The information given below summarises the land holdings of the cathedral clergy relating to Lugg Meadow, details are given in the Gazetteer.

Lands in Lugg Meadow belonging to the Cathedral Dignities

a) The dean owned a farm at Breinton which had parcels in Lugg Meadow.

b) The treasurer owned a farm at Breinton which included parcels in Lugg Meadow, and a piece of land called Dignity Close, near Grey Friars, the leases for which always included a parcel in Lugg Meadow.

c) The precentor owned a farm at Tupsley with a barn of three bays and '3 meadows of glebe, lying near Lugg Meadow containing 9 acres.' [13]

Lands in Lugg Meadow belonging to the Prebends

The names of 28 prebends are listed and many of these have been found to have owned land in Lugg Meadow or in Lugg Meadow (Sutton).[14]

***Prebend of Bartonsham*:** Around 1660 this prebend owned 'in Lugg meadow 6 acres or thereabouts.'[15]

***Prebend of Breinton and Church Withington*:** In 1677 this prebend owned 'half an acre in Lugg Meadow.'[16] In 1719 'in a common meadow called Lugg Meadow several parcels of meadow ground containing in the whole seven acres' were recorded.[17] In 1859 'a half acre in Lugg Meadow' was enfranchised with a messuage and 'one yard land customary.'[18]

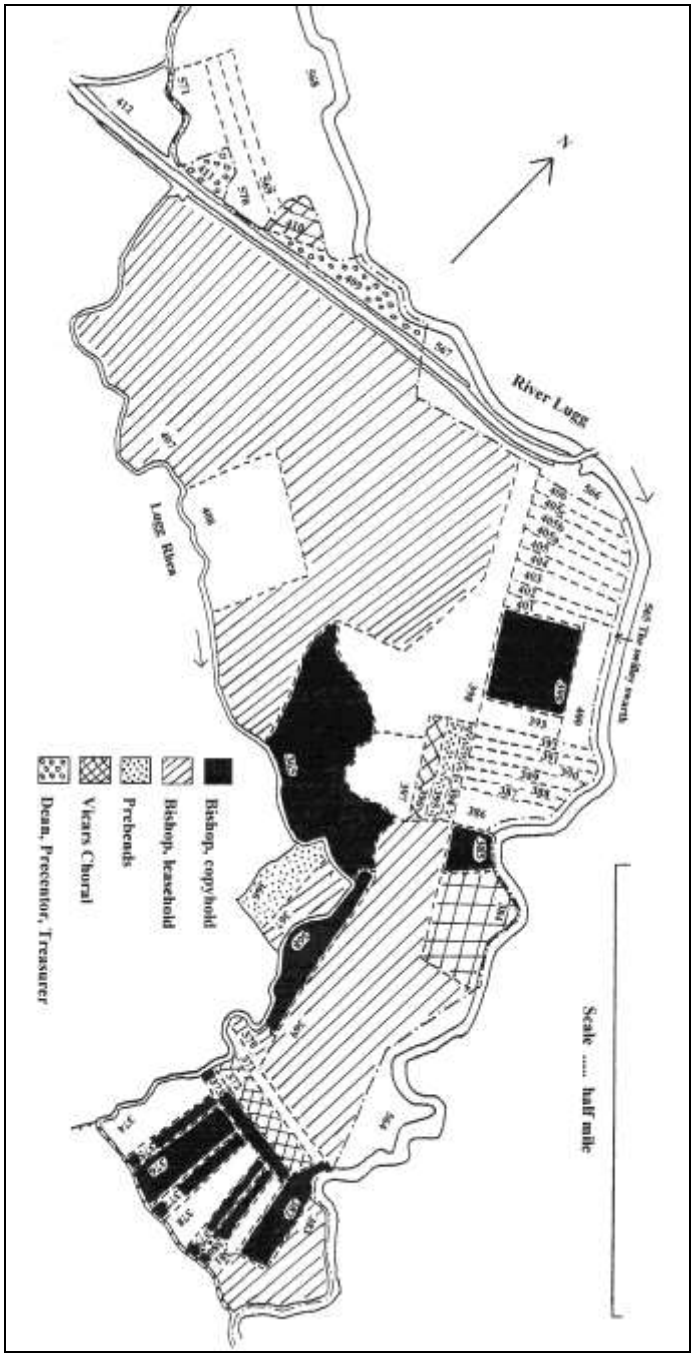

Figure 4. Map of Upper Lugg Meadow showing the unfenced divisions and church ownerships

***Prebend of Eign*:** The evidence here is uncertain. It is probable that the land of this prebend was known as the 'Eign Hill Estate' which included several strips in Lugg Meadow, but this seems always to have been managed by the Bishop's Court. However, in 1829 one of these strips (439) was marked on a map as definitely belonging to the 'Prebend of Eigne.'[19]

***Prebend of Gorwell & Overbury*:** In 1664 the prebendary meadowland was 'not discoverable' because it was occupied by 'a deadly papist.'[20]

However in 1801 it was recorded that the prebend owned six strips in Walney Meadow and three in Lugg Meadow. The latter were in Lugg Meadow (Sutton) and when this meadow was enclosed in 1804 the prebend was allocated an enclosed area there in lieu of the strips. By 1880 Gorwell and Cott Farm seems to have been being managed as part of the bishopric estate.[21]

***Prebend of Hampton*:** Records of this prebend are given at various dates but none mention actual bits of land. If the prebend did in fact own meadowland it would probably have been in Hampton Meadow rather than Lugg Meadow.

***Prebend of Hinton*:** A strip marked 'Hinton Prebendal lands' bounded a strip belonging to the prebend of Gorwall in Lugg Meadow (Sutton) in 1801.[22]

***Prebend of Hunderton*:** In 1708 a lease of Hunderton in the parish of St. John Baptist included 'one acre of meadow ground lying in Lugg Meadow.'[23] This was known as 'The Prebends Acre.' Later a conveyance of the estate in 1866 showed that this area was in Lugg Meadow (Sutton) and was enclosed in 1804 with other lands being given *in lieu*.[24]

***Prebend of Huntington*:** In 1664 this prebend owned 'in Lugg Meadow one piece 4 acres.'[25] This was probably an underestimate because the church sold this bit of land only in 1993, when it measured 7 acres. The discrepancy could be partly explained by the difference between customary and statutory acres.

***Prebends of Pratum Majus and Pratum Minus*:** These two prebends are taken together because it is not always possible in records to distinguish between them. They are the only prebends that do not take their names from a parish. Duncumb writing in 1804, was in no doubt that the meadows the prebends were named after were two parts of Lugg Meadow. This certainly does seem a plausible suggestion, although there is earlier evidence that one of the meadows may have been at Marden.

It is interesting that the first record found for both prebends refers to either a meadow or to hay. In 1291 'Pratum maius - one truss of hay 2d' and Pratum Minus in the same year was endowed with an acre of meadow valued at 6d.[26] A later document in 1654 describes 'a parcel of meadow ground reputedly parcel of the Prebend of Pratum majus in a meadow called Lugg Meadow near to the city of Hereford now or late in tenure of William Parsons, clerk, yearly value 20s.' which was sold by the Parliamentarians.[27]

Nothing has been found for a later date to enable the position of this parcel to be identified in the meadow.

***Prebend of Preston Wynne*:** In 1658 'Preston Wynne's acre lying in Lugg Meadow' was listed in the Parliamentary Survey.[28] In 1813 it was described as 'Barnes Acre in Lugg Meadow.'[29] This acre lay in Lugg Meadow (Sutton). How this prebend based so far from Hereford acquired the land is not known.

***Prebend of Putson Minor*:** In 1666 this prebend owned an 'eighth part of 3 acres called le prebends acre in Lugg Meadow.' In 1670 the prebendary wrote 'there is a manor belonging to this prebend but I cannot yet learn where it lies or what its value is.'[30] In 1866 one acre and two roods in Lugg Meadow was enfranchised but this land probably lay in Lugg Meadow (Sutton) because land in lieu was allotted under the Enclosure Act for that parish.[31]

***Prebend of Putson Major*:** The position of the land owned by this Prebend in 1818 has not been identified. It was described as '1 acre meadow lying in a common meadow called Lugg Meadow.'[32]

***Prebend of Warham and Aylestone*:** In 1670 this prebend owned four strips scattered across Lugg meadow, mostly let with a farm in Breinton.

Lands in Lugg Meadow belonging to the College of Vicars Choral

The College owned several parts of Lugg Meadow all leased out as parts of farms situated elsewhere. Several were included with its farm at Blackmarston, and in 1594 two half acre strips in the Meadow were leased to a Mrs. Piggins, widow, at a rent of 3s. 4d. and two fat capons. Seven acres were leased with Halcott Farm, 'Above Eign', from at least 1580 onwards. Another seven acres or so was leased with a farm in Breinton from at least 1667. Half an acre was always leased with a meadow situated elsewhere in Hereford called 'Spicers Meadow' and from 1617 at least 'half an acre near Lugg Bridge Mill was leased with an unidentifed farm referred to as 'Dubberloes Farm.'[33]

The Vicars Choral, alone among the cathedral clergy, owned land in Lugwardine parish but it is not known how it was acquired. They owned land in the open arable fields but no evidence has been found that they owned strips in that parish in Lugg Meadow. (Fig. 4)

Conclusions on the lands of the Bishop and cathedral clergy

All the strips and parcels in Lugg Meadow owned by the Bishop and cathedral clergy, right up to the 19th century when they began to sell them off, lay in the parishes of Holmer and Tupsley with none in Lugwardine (except perhaps the Vicars Choral). This is of course just the same distribution of ownership as at the time of Domesday and the logical conclusion to be drawn is that the lands were in fact the same and had been in continuous ownership by the Bishop and cathedral clergy from Domesday onwards though the early years of this ownership have not been traced. That being so, it seems probable that these lands were those with which the cathedral was originally endowed. If this is so then it is a very remarkable example of continuity of land ownership. A parcel of land was sold as late as 1952 by the bishopric, and a parcel of former prebendal land by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1999.

There can be few other areas of this size and complexity where such long continuity of ownership is still combined with continuity of management, which can still be outlined in detail on the map and walked over on ground that has changed so little. Clifton Ings, by the river Ouse in York, though much smaller, is perhaps one such meadow. It was owned by the

Archbishop at the time of Domesday and was still in the hands of the Church Commissioners in 1995.[34]

Other church lands in Lugg Meadow

Three strips on the Meadow formed part of the Lugwardine glebe. They were bought with money given by an early benefactor to provide alms to the poor of Lugwardine.[35] St Giles' Hospital owned strips 423 and 425 while St Guthlac's Priory also owned land, probably strip 438, from very early days until the Dissolution.

Owners of the part of the Meadow in Lugwardine parish

At the time of Domesday Lugwardine belonged to the king, but quite early on the crown gave away the manor, and after that there was a succession of lords of the manor based at Newcourt. Unfortunately the surviving Lugwardine court books do not begin until 1773.[36] They record the surrenders and admissions of copyholders as was normal, but it was always the same few families who were involved. Very little of the parish seems to be covered by the affairs reported on in these books. This makes one wonder whether proper records were kept, as in the Bishop's courts, of those who failed to attend to report deaths or ask for admittance as new copyhold tenants. However, when the tithe apportionment is consulted it appears that several of the farms, including those known to have been held by copyhold lease, had strips on Lugg Meadow, and so it is suggested that these too were originally held by lease from the manor of Lugwardine. In the same way, the strips owned by the Griffiths family, then the lords of the manor and residing at Newcourt, have been assumed to be their demesne property.

Apart from these probable copyhold and demesne strips and those known to have been part of the glebe or poor land, there were a number of strips that appear to have become freehold. These are recorded in the Gazetteer, noticeably Dr. John Bleek Lye's strip (575) to which he could produce no title, though he had owned it for 17 years. Strip 578 may be another that had become freehold by default, which led to confusion over its purchase.

In addition to the lords of the manor based at Newcourt, there are indications that the Walwyn family of Longworth held land on the Lugwardine part of the Meadow as well.

EARLY REFERENCES TO LUGG MEADOW

The earliest references to Lugg Meadow that have been found come in three charters in the cartulary for St Guthlac's Priory. A charter dated 1193-5 mentions 'pratum de Waleneya' and another dated between 1201 and 1243 mentions 'unum pratum in Waleneya.' This piece of the Meadow has been tentatively identified on the ground.[37]

Four 13th-century grants refer to a meadow 'in Presteye' which must have been a part of Lugg Meadow because there is mention of the River Lugg and also of Lugg Bridge Mill.

> 'half an acre in Presteye lying between the meadow of the grantee and the meadow of the men of Church breynton' [38]
>
> 'quarter acre of meadow in Presteye lying between the meadow of the Dean and chapter of Hereford and the meadow of------extending as far as the Lugge meadow'[39]
>
> 'quarter acre of meadow in Presteye extending from the meadow of Reginald Moniward to Lugge to be held of the Dean rent one rose p.a.'[40]
>
> 'meadow in the meadow of Prestheye lying between the meadow of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford and that of Dom John Helle chaplain...extending from the

> meadow of the Bishop of Hereford pertaining to the mill of Luggebrugge as far as the stream of Lugge.'

The use of the terms 'lying between' and 'extending upon' other people's land or the River Lugg in the grants quoted above shows that the writer was describing strips in Lugg Meadow. The presence of strips owned by the Bishop, the dean and the men of Church Breinton and the mention of Lugg Bridge Mill indicates that the part of the Meadow called 'Prestheye' or 'Presteye' was the part to the north mainly in Holmer parish. (see Gazetteer)

The Bishop's Red Book (1250-1280) lists all his lands. At that time he owned 55 acres of meadow in Tupsley and 53 in Shelwick (Holmer parish) which must have been in Lugg Meadow. Two of his other manors also had land in Lugg Meadow, though situated some distance away. Barton had eleven acres and Eaton Bishop two, both described as in Walney, an old name for Lugg Meadow.[41]

Other early references probably refer to the part of the Meadow lying in the parish of Lugwardine because the names all indicate that this part of the Meadow had belonged to the king. Stourton's charity founded in 1272 was endowed with land including '3 acres of meadow ground lying in Kingsheyd and 2½ acres of meadow customary lying in Kingsley.'[42]

In 1290 Bishop Cantelupe granted to his tenants at Shelwick 'the whole meadow...in Kingsley and in Walney'[43] while in 1444 there is reference to '2 acres meadow in Kyngushey.'[44] The last use found for the name Kingsley and its variants was in 1733 for strip 608. There is an interesting reference to 'a ditch called Walney lake lying in a meadow near Lugg Bridge' that was granted to the Bishop in 1349.[45] The word 'lake' in this context means a sluggish stream.

Another fairly early source of information about Lugg Meadow was written in 1577 by Swithin Butterfield who, drawing on the Bishop's Court Rolls from the reign of Richard II onwards which he said were in his keeping, gave a very good description of the 'Manorial customs on the Hereford Bishopric Estates.'[46] He described in detail the ways in which customary lands changed hands and the customs of the Bishop's manors.

THE NAMES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE MEADOW

It is clear that the names used by Butterfield to describe individual pieces of land in 1577 had been in use for many years before that time, and these were the names that were still being used unchanged in the 18th and 19th centuries. This means that when a strip was described, for example, as 'three days math' in the 19th century that name had probably been in use since at least the 14th century, when it presumably indicated how much a man could mow with a scythe at that time in three days. The same probably applied to many of the individual names for different strips and parcels in the Meadow, which were repeated time after time unaltered as the land changed hands. Some of these names, such as 'Prebend's Acre', 'Breinton Acre', 'Simkin's' and 'Baker's Acres' clearly relate to some former owner or tenant. Some relate to the shape of the area like 'Half Moon', 'Crooked Acres' and 'Shoulder of Mutton', also 'Bulls Horn' and 'Tidnors Horn', which are points of land sticking out into the river. Other areas took their names from their position near to a landmark that is still recognisable today: for example, 'Mill Meadow' near Lugg Mill and 'Walney Stile' where the path from Walney Lane crosses the Lugg Rhea and enters the meadow. A few names refer to size such as the 'Twenty Acres' and 'Two Half-Acres with one Feather.'

Some names were rather specialised like 'Shooters Hail' which lies near the former lock

at Tidnor. This was probably the place from which a boatman coming down the river and wishing to go negotiate or 'shoot' the mill weir would hail the miller. In the early days before pound locks were introduced the weir would fairly certainly have been made up of alternate posts and rhymers. When a boat wished to pass the weir the miller had to remove some of these thus making a hole in the weir through which a downstream boat would be carried on a rush of water or a boat going upstream would have to be hauled with ropes

The most interesting names are perhaps those that refer to the way in which the meadow was managed because they throw light on earlier practices in the meadow. The name 'Midsummer Plocks' probably refers to the time of year when the hay was mown, which on this area was rather earlier than normal. The names 'Short Ropes' and 'Long Ropes' probably refer to the method used to 'lay out' the meadow just prior to hay cutting. Working from a fixed point, usually a mere stone, the width of the strips would be measured out with a chain, rope or rod of standard length. Two men holding either end would walk the length of the strip treading down the grass as they went to make a visible boundary between two strips. They then repeated the process with the first man this time walking in the path beaten down by the second man and so on till the whole area was divided up into parallel-sided strips. The name of the area called 'The Five Rodds' probably has a similar derivation recording the use of rods rather than ropes. When the area to be divided up had converging, rather than parallel, sides an equal division of the area could be made by measuring out the ends of the strips using ropes or rods of two different lengths and thus making gore-shaped strips. This method was recorded in a Lammas Meadow in Yorkshire,[47] and may have given rise to the name of the area in Lugg Meadow called 'Long and Short Ropes'.

Another area was called 'Duck Nest', and though this name could have been given because a mallard once nested here, it is more probable that the name is a relic of the days when lots were cast for the strips on the meadow. On some former Lammas Meadows it is known that each individual involved owned a symbol which he carved on a stick or other object that went into a bag. Just before hay cutting began one stick was drawn out of the bag beside each strip and the symbol carved on it indicated the owner of that strip for the year. 'Duck Nest' was one such symbol and was drawn as a circle with a dot in the middle. The name 'Common Doles' also refers to former lot casting on the meadow, a practice that led to a fair division of the good and poor parts of the meadow.

Finally, a number of areas were called 'Swilley' or 'Swallow'. These tended to be long and thin in shape and marked the positions of former watercourses or damp depressions. The Swilley Swath was and still is the swath or cut of grass made with a scythe that lay all along beside the river.

THE LAYOUT OF THE MEADOW AND ITS POSSIBLE ORIGINS

The arrangement of strips and parcels in Lugg Meadow is unusual for a Lammas Meadow when it is compared with the layout of other such meadows, either those still existing or those known from old records.[48] Unless mere stones survive, documents are the only sources for this information because the divisions in a meadow leave no physical mark in the ground when they cease to be in use. This is unlike the divisions in former open arable fields where the ridge and furrow shows up in a variety of ways long after ploughing has ceased.

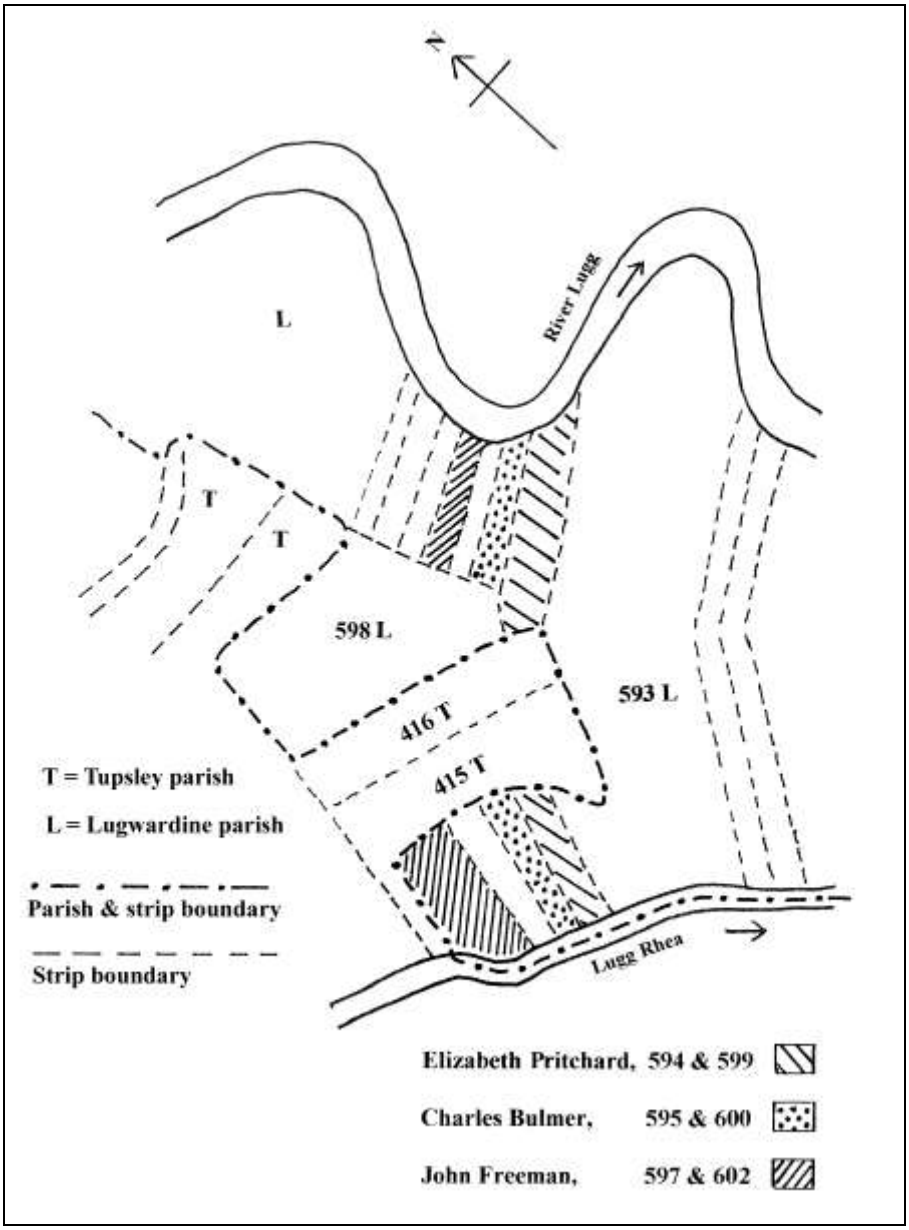

Figure 5. Map showing the ownership of strips beside the parish boundary between Lugwardine and Tupsley

The arrangement of the strips in a Lammas meadow appears to have depended on its shape, either long and thin or roughly circular. Long, thin meadows lying beside a river or stream were normally divided into strips running at right angles to the watercourse. The part of Lugg Meadow lying in Lugwardine parish takes this form with most of the strips running at right

angles to the river across to the Lugg Rhea. There was once a good example of this type of layout at Laxton, Northamptonshire, a parish famous today for its open arable fields that still exist, but its Lammas meadow was enclosed in the 18th century.[49]

This method of division would clearly be hard to arrange in a meadow of more circular shape, the type that usually existed at the confluence of two rivers. Instead meadows of this shape seem usually to have been divided up into a number of fairly large areas of equal size that were roughly square and were known variously as 'acres', 'furlongs' or 'layings out.' The corners of these larger areas were marked with posts or stones and each of them was then sub-divided into parallel strips which were marked out each year with a rope or pole as described above. One might have expected this method of division to have been used in the southern part of Lugg Meadow where the meadow is much wider but it was not. Instead most of the parcels here have irregular, curving boundaries. Some of these were marked on maps as 'swillies', and both the name and shape of these indicate that their origin may have been as streams.

Some of these curving boundaries are still today depressions in the ground which fill with water at times of flood, and show up as water courses across the Meadow when the floods recede. A possible origin for these swillies could go back a long way to a period when the wide floodplain of the River Lugg may have been divided up into many small islets by anastomosing branches of the river which formed a network of small streams with dry land between.[50] These islets may have been made use of in the summer for grazing and later for growing hay with different individuals or groups acquiring rights to individual islets. As the area dried out and the stream beds began to fill in the owners of each islet could have taken to marking their boundaries in a more visible and permanent manner with stakes or stones. It is possible that in this way the areas originally laid out by the network of small streams could have had their shapes preserved as the ownership boundaries still in use today and called 'parcels' in this paper. The channel of the river Thames at Oxford appears to have taken this form in Anglo-Saxon times leaving a great many islets of different sizes.[51] Further up the Thames the river was divided into a multitude of small streams forming islets of grassland in the early first millennium BC.[52] Still further upstream at Bampton, the tithe map shows rather similar shaped divisions in the riverside Lammas meadows.

It seems that in addition, at some period, probably after the unevenly shaped parcels had come into use, a number of rectangular areas were deliberately laid out in parts of Lugg Meadow in Tupsley and Holmer, and these were divided into strips. At least four groups of strips: 406–386; 374–381; 437–446 and 417–424 may have originated in this way—see Fig. 3. At the time that three of these groups were laid out, the Lugg Rhea that bounded them must have been altered in its course to fit around each group of strips, thus making the very unnatural, right-angled bends that are still present today.[53] Re-organisation on this scale would presumably have had to be carried out by some overall authority which, because of the Domesday ownership, must surely have been the church.

Changes to strip boundaries at some period after they were laid out are apparent along the parish boundary between Tupsley and Lugwardine. (Fig. 5) Here the parish boundary curves and would appear to have been following a meandering stream when first laid out. Later it seems that this stream, still carrying the parish boundary, went on eating its way into the bank and cut into already existing strips dividing them into two parts. This movement seems to have affected four pairs of strips: 599 with 594, 600 with 595, 601 with 596 and 602 with 597. The two ends appear to have remained in their former ownerships and still in the parish of Lugwardine, while in between them the new land that formed within the curve of the meander

became an extension of Tupsley parish. This new land (598) was not divided into strips, perhaps because the time when new strips were being laid out had passed by then.

It would seem that a small meander was probably already present when the strips were first laid out and this influenced their shape as far south as strip number 591 which still has a dog-leg bend in the middle of the meadow marked by a stone. (Fig. 5)

THE IMPORTANCE OF MEADOWS IN MAINTAINING SOIL FERTILITY

From Domesday and on through medieval times meadowland was always valued much more highly than the other sorts of farmland—arable and pasture. The most obvious reason for this was that hay from the meadows was needed to feed the farm animals through the winter, and especially to feed the plough oxen and horses, but there was probably an even more basic reason. In addition to their work the animals were also valued because they produced manure which was used to fertilise the arable fields. In fact, the nutrients in this did not compensate entirely for the nutrients carried away yearly in the crops of oats or barley or the bodies of animals and people. Not all nutrients so removed were returned to the land. Some animals were sold off the farm, some produce was exported and people when they died were buried in the churchyard. As a result, overall there would have been a yearly loss of nutrients

An attempt to find the extent of this loss was made by Newman and Harvey using the accounts of the manorial demesne of Cuxham, Oxfordshire from 1320 to 1340.[54] They drew up a balance sheet for the three vital elements, nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus, from the excellent farm accounts that have been preserved. The conclusions reached were that despite the export of these elements from the estate there would have been no overall loss of two of them. Nitrogen levels would not have declined because of the action of nitrogen-fixing bacteria in the soil, and there would probably have been no loss of potassium because this element is released fairly rapidly from rock and soil by weathering. However the balance sheet showed that there would have been an overall loss of phosphorus because its release from rock is very slow, and this loss should have led to a constant lowering of yields and hence probably to smaller adult animals. However, the accounts show that the yields on the farm did not drop steadily over the years, which meant that somehow there must have been an input of phosphorus into the system. The most probable source of this input was from hay. Growing beside the river in the floodplain, the grass from which the hay was made was regularly fertilised by minerals coming down in the water, and so the hay would have provided the vital input of minerals, especially phosphorus, into the system. Although this input was not appreciated at the time, of course, hay meadows were always valued much more highly than other land, and if a community or estate did not have waterside meadows of its own it either bought hay from elsewhere, as at Cuxham, or acquired rights in other people's meadows. This was the case with Ullingswick and Preston Wynne, which had rights in the Sutton meadows beside the River Lugg.

The advent of artificial fertilisers (including phosphates) which could be applied to grass growing on any soil meant that hay and the old meadows where it was grown lost their importance and value. As a result nearly all these meadows have now disappeared under the plough leading to erosion of the country's most valuable soil, silting up of the river beds and serious flooding in the lower parts of valleys. With the revival of interest in sustainable agriculture it is to be hoped that some of the old floodplain meadows and pastures may be reinstated, and become again the flowery grasslands of the past where skylarks, curlew, lapwing and possibly even corncrakes can once more nest and rear their young.

THE GAZETTEER

This gazetteer lists the strips and parcels into which Lugg Meadow was divided in 1840 in numerical order, and gives the history of each as far as it is known. The numbers, names of people and acreages for each area are those given in the tithe apportionments for the parishes of Holmer (H) and Lugwardine (L) and the township of Tupsley (T) (In 1840 Tupsley was a Township in the parish of Hampton Bishop). Many of the areas had individual names and when these have been found they have been given as well.

Where strips and parcels, though separated from each other on the ground, were held together as a unit and passed from one owner or tenant to the next as such over long periods of time the historical information for such a group is only given once, under the lowest number, the numbers of the other strips are given in brackets after it. When, as a result, a strip has been referred to earlier in the text this is indicated in brackets after its number.

The information about the various strips and parcels has been gathered from a great many sources and the most important references for each area are given. As indicated above references to the Bishop's Court Books, of which there are a great many, give the year, parish and name of the person concerned from which the reference can be traced from the index in each book.

TUPSLEY: LOWER LUGG MEADOW

365 T (with 373, 418, 422, 426, 439, 444 & 683) *Miss Adams* *8a.3r.8p.*

This copyhold strip was one of a group of eight scattered over both Upper and Lower Lugg Meadow in Tupsley that held together as part of one property from at least 1742 to around 1880, and formed a part of what was called the 'Eign Hill Estate.' In 1774 in the Bishop's Court of Tupsley three men surrendered these strips, with other lands, to Daniel Powell of the Vinyard who in his will left all his copyhold property to his niece, Sophia Kent. Daniel died in 1807 and Sophia, who had meanwhile married Charles Adams, inherited the land which on her death passed to one of her daughters, the Miss Adams of the Tithe schedule. There is some evidence that these strips once belonged to the Prebendary of Eign (see 439) rather than to the Bishop. In 1873 they were enfranchised and then sold to the Sudbury family.[55] (see also under 418)

366 T *'Warham Hole'* *B. Bidulph* *1a.3r.26p.*

In 1671 Warham Hole in Lugg Meadow was said to be part of 'Warham Farms' and had always been tithe free. It belonged to the Prebend of Warham and Aylestone and was let as a part of one of the Warham farms.

367 T (with 410 and possibly 366) *'Warham Hole'* *M. Newton* *2a.0r.7p.*

This parcel, with 410, formed a part of one of the Bishop's farms in Breinton. In 1748 both parcels were leased to William Elfe and in 1802 to William Vorse. By 1837 they had come into the hands of Marcellus Newton and then in 1850 passed to Mr. Wegg Prosser still described as 'copyhold under the Bishop of Hereford' and still forming a small part of the Warham estate. It is not known when these two parcels were enfranchised but by 1890 they formed part of Wegg Prosser's Belmont estate and, when he was exchanging lands in Warham with the Custos and Vicars, a footnote to a letter stated that 'In the Lugg Meadows there are two pieces of land called Half Moon Acre and Warham Hole containing 2a. 3r. 0p. These belong to the Belmont estate and Major Wegg Prosser would be glad to exchange them away.'[56]

368 T *'Shoulder of Mutton' / 'Skyrmes Acre'* *John Freeman* *2a.0r.30p.*

William Symonds of Hereford left this copyhold strip to his daughter, the wife of Isaac Skyrme, an ironmonger. Their son, Thomas, inherited and then surrendered the strip in the Bishop's Court in 1805 to John Freeman to whose son, John Gardiner Freeman of Rockfield, Lugwardine (now called Lugwardine Court) it came subsequently. The Freeman family were large land owners in the area.

369 T *'Tidnors Horn' / 'The Twenty Acres'* *John Freeman* *18a.2r.32p.*

This parcel was part of the bishopric estates and was included by name in the sale of the Bishop's lands to John Birch at the time of the Commonwealth in 1652.[57] On its return to the Bishop it was subsequently let to various people including members of the Freeman family from 1817–1845. The name presumably comes from the way that the land near here sticks out into the river just opposite Tidnor Mill. The name 'Twenty acres' was in use in 1713.

370 T *'Ducks Nest'* *John Freeman* *0a.1r.26p.*

This tiny parcel was probably another part of the bishopric estates leased to the Freeman family but no pre-1840 information has been found for it. The name probably derives from that of a symbol used in casting lots in the meadow (see above).

371 T *(with 609 & 567)* *Lugwardine Poor* *0a.2r.12p.*

This was one of the strips in the Meadow that was given to the vicar and churchwardens of Lugwardine parish for charitable purposes. As recorded in the church register this one was given by Richard Reed of Newcourt, lord of the manor of Lugwardine, in 1713 to pay for a 'sober and honest schoolmaster or mistress to instruct the poor children of Lugwardine.' In 1870 the churchwardens put up five new dole stones and re-erected four more, all of which were marked 'LP'. Some of these stood along the sides of the strips as well as at their ends but unfortunately none of them survive today. This strip was subsequently sold by the churchwardens.[58]

372 T *Richard Smythe Esq* *1a.3r.25p.*

No early records have been found dealing specifically with this strip but the tenant, Richard Smythe**,** was also tenant of the Custos and Vicars Choral at their Litley Court farm from around 1840, so it seems likely that it was a part of that estate and would have been included with it when it was enfranchised in 1861. A 'viewing*'* of the estate in 1753 found that it had '12 acres of meadow' which could have included parts of Lugg Meadow though the position was not recorded. The earliest occupier of this strip found was Cave Woodhouse in 1713. He was a mercer in Hereford and the Bishop's tenant at Lower House Farm, Tupsley.[59]

373 T (see 365) *Miss Adams* *1a.0r.6p.*

374 T (with 378, 381 & 405) *Charles Bodenham* *2a.0r.8p.*

These four strips were all described as occupied by Charles Bodenham in 1840 and he was almost certainly the owner as well. Charles Bodenham was the owner of the Rotherwas Estate and also held the Field Farm in Hampton Bishop which in the 17th century included a messuage called Foulkes Land. These strips, together with others in Hampton Meadow, were a part of Field Farm and were put up for sale with that farm in 1896. Three of them lie in the southern block of strips beside the Lugg Rhea and one, number 405, is part of the block of strips beside the river called the 'Common Doles'. Unlike other strips in this block 405 was not 'changeable'. In 1797 the Charles Bodenham of that date paid land tax for 'Common doles and old Field land' and in 1671 a perambulation of Hampton Bishop recorded 'the two acres in Lugg Meadow belonging to the Field Farm.[60] The history of the Field estate is given by Duncumb who, writing in 1804, says that in 1320 the Field was a part of the Barrs Court estate owned by the de la Barre family but in 1483 it was granted to Roger Bodenham, son of Roger Bodenham and Isabella de la Barre, and so became part of the Bodenham family estates. Duncumb adds that earlier still the Field estate was a part of the episcopal endowment granted by Bishop John de Breton c. 1270 to Richard de Hereford of Field Farm and that the Rotherwas estate was thus originally owned by the Bishop. Leases of the Field Farm have been found back to 1635.[61]

375 T *C. Bulmer* *0a.3r.13p.*

This strip, described as '1 acre in Lugg meadow near Tenders Horn' is well documented as being a part of the bishopric estates held by copyhold. In 1750 John Skyrme, probably son of Richard and Jane Skyrme, surrendered the strip to Hollings, a butcher, who left it to his son John. The son or grandson of John Hollings, in 1805, surrendered it to his niece and heir, Letitia Crump who was about to marry John Griffiths. In 1839 John Griffiths surrendered the strip to Charles Bulmer for £110, who enfranchised it in 1863 after which it remained a part of his Holmer estate until this was split up and sold in many lots in 1919 after the death of his daughter.[62]

376 T *Charles Bulmer* *2a.3r.16p.*

This strip was copyhold property of the Bishop's manor of Tupsley to which John Gwillim was admitted in 1827. Six years later he surrendered the strip to Richard Bulmer. It was described then as: 'two parcels of meadow 2 acres lying in a certain common meadow called Lugg Meadow in a place there called Tidnors Horn, formerly parcel of a certain customary messuage there called the Fawkes.' (see 374). It is of interest that it is described as 'two parcels' because on the map it is clearly twice the width of other strips in the block and was probably made up of two amalgamated strips. Richard Bulmer died rather young and his brother Charles inherited the strip. (see 375 and 382) The connection with 'the Fawkes' has not been elucidated.

377 T (with 379) *Joseph Thomas Woodhouse* *1a.0r.7p.*

At the time of the tithe map strips 377 and 379 were both occupied by the same man, but the earliest information yet found applied only to 379 when it was recorded in the Bishop's Court Rolls of 1791 that Thomas Clark surrendered a cottage, various ridges in the open arable fields in Tupsley and one strip in Lugg Meadow to which he had been admitted in 1786. This is probably a typical example of the type of holding of the small copyhold tenants of the Bishop's manor, each with a small dwelling situated in the settlement, a few ridges of arable land scattered in Tupsley's open fields and one strip in the common meadow to make them reasonably self sufficient.

The strip was surrendered to John Powles 'by way of a mortgage.' This was evidently never repaid for in 1793 Ann Sherborne, daughter and heir to John Powles was admitted, and shortly afterwards she surrendered the strip to James Woodhouse. He was agent for the Guy's Hospital estate and when he made his will in 1809 he owned a lot of property including 'my messuage, farm and lands in Tupsley' which he left to his brother Joseph 'who has assisted me as steward of Guy's Hospital lands.' It seems likely that Joseph Thomas Woodhouse of the tithe apportionment was a nephew of James Woodhouse and inherited his property but it is not known how he acquired strip 379. In 1846 both strips were surrendered by Joseph Thomas Woodhouse to Charles Watkins of Devereux. Ten years later Richard Davies was admitted and in 1857 he enfranchised these two strips along with other copyhold properties. These were put on the market in 1874 after his death together with the Whitehouse Farm in Tupsley.[63]

378 T (see 374) *Charles Bodenham* *1a.3r.26p.*

379 T (see 377) *Joseph Thomas Woodhouse* *0a.3r.20p.*

380 T *'Bakers Acre'* *James Hill* *0a.3r 20p.*

In 1806 Charles Rodd surrendered this strip in the Bishop's Court to James Hill, a husbandman of Preston Wynne. The unusual thing about this transaction was the distance from the Meadow at which James Hill, the copyholder, lived. The strip stayed with the Hill family and James's grandson enfranchised it in 1871 for £17. The origin of the name 'Bakers Acre' which was being used at least by 1784 is not known.

381 T (see 374) *Charles Bodenham* *0a 3r.19p.*

382 T (see 376) *'Tidnors Horn'* *John Gwyllim* *1a.3r.28p.*

This strip, part of the bishopric estate, was in 1752 said to be 'parcel of a customary messuage called the Fawkes'. In 1725 it formed a part of the marriage settlement of Henry Gwillim, clerk, and Winifred his wife. From them it descended to their son John and then to their grandson, another John. This second John Gwyllim surrendered the strip in 1855 to Charles Bulmer who enfranchised it in 1863 (see 375). The history of this strip was thus related to that of 376 but was not quite the same.

383 T *'Shooters Hail / Tidnersherne'* *John Richard Griffiths* *3a.3r 8p.*

This parcel was held as a part of the bishopric estate by lease. The first lease found was for 1625 but during the Commonwealth the parcel had been bought by the Parliamentarian, John Birch, under the description ' lying in Tidnorsherne.'[64] After the Restoration, as a part of the Bishop's estate again, it was leased to William Symonds, a mercer, under the name of 'Shooters hail.' After the Symonds family the lease passed to James Hereford and then to John Lily of Newcourt, lord of the manor of Lugwardine, and his successors the Griffiths family. Two dole stones turned up recently at Newcourt with the initials R.J.G. on them. These had presumably marked out this parcel while Richard John Griffiths of Newcourt was the customary tenant. These stones have been given to the Herefordshire Nature Trust who now own this parcel and they will be returned there to continue marking the boundary. This parcel was still in

church ownership in 1952 when it was sold, probably for the first time ever, by the Church Commissioners to J.D.Watkins of Lower House Farm, Tupsley. No conventional title deeds came with it, only a brief statement that it was a part of the Hereford bishopric and therefore no further documentation would be given or was required.

384 T *Thomas Webb* *3a.2r.39p.*

This parcel, which lies beside the river, was owned by the Custos and Vicars Choral and was leased out with 'Halcott Farm, Above Eign', a farm in the White Cross area of Hereford**. T**he earliest lease that has been found was for 1580, granted to Richard and Elizabeth Giles.[65] A lease of 1692 to Edmund Weaver included the illuminating remark that the clerk was to see to 'the insertion of 7 acres of meadow ground (part of the said farm) in the present lease lying at or near a place called Tidnors Hornes in Lugg meadow which by the neglect or wilful omission of the clerk was left out of the former lease.' Other examples of such omissions have been found and one can but wonder how often they took place and what happened if they were not noticed. Following this lease a whole series of others survive for the farm and that for 1788 includes 'in Lugg Meadow, one piece not survethed, 4a. 0r. 0p.' In 1807 the parcel was leased to Mr. Thomas Hodges and was now said to be 3a. 2r. 12p. The difference between seven acres in 1692 and three and a half in 1807 seems too great to be accounted for by inaccuracy and perhaps the parcel was officially reduced in area at some stage. On the other hand it may have been gradually reduced by encroachment by neighbours, an offence sometimes reported at manorial courts. The presence of dole or mere stones marking the boundaries was no real protection against this since the stones were sometimes deliberately moved. In 1821 the parcel was leased to Thomas Webb and then to his sons.

385 T (with 399) *Sir John Cotterell* *1a.0r.35p.*

Rather little has been found about the history of these two areas. They were certainly Bishop's copyhold land because Sir John Geer Cotterell was admitted at the Bishop's Court in 1802 when they were described as 'all those two parcels of meadow land lying within the manor.' Sir John died in 1846 and his death was presented at three successive Courts 'but no one came' to claim their right to the tenancy of the strips. Earlier on in 1767 Edward Cox had been admitted and later, in 1848, James Johnson.

386 T	*changeable*	*Common Doles' / 'Moorham Meadow'*	*Francis E. Bodenham*	*1a.2r.23p.*
387 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*0a.3r.21p.*
388 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*0a.3r.37p.*
389 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*1a.0r.13p.*
390 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*1a.0r.14p.*
391 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*1a.0r.4p.*
392 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*0a.3r.35p.*
393 T	*changeable*	*"* *"*	*"* *"*	*1a.2r.0p.*

This group of strips (386 - 393) together with 405 A, B and C, are notable for the fact that they were 'changeable' which meant that the ownership rotated every year and this rotation went on right up to the middle of the twentieth century. It is very likely that originally lots for these strips were cast annually — hence the name 'common doles'.

Three of the strips, amounting to 2a. 3r. 34p. belonged at one time to Guy's Hospital and formed a part of Widemarsh Farm. A report made into the condition of the farms on the estate in 1832 stated about this farm that 'there is a right of mowing a portion (which changes every year) of a common-field meadow by the River Lugg in Tupsley about four miles distant belonging to this farm. This amounted to about one and a half acres taken out of strips 386-396, 400 and 405 A.B and C as shown on the map.'[66] These were sold in 1861 to the Vicar of Lugwardine and sold again by auction in 1921.[67] Two more of the strips were owned by the Vicars Choral and leased with their manor of Winston and Brandon to various people from at least 1702 onwards.[68] Three strips were apparently owned by Mr. Freeman of Lugwardine probably with Old Court and he sold these in 1903.[69]

As to the man who paid the tithes, 'Francis E. Bodenham', it seems likely that he was actually Francis Lewis Bodenham, the County Treasurer who lived in Castle Street, Hereford and died in 1877.[70] It has not been established in what capacity he was paying this money.

394 T *Thomas Baker* *0a.2r.7p.*
395 T *Thomas Baker* *1a.0r.39p.*
396 T *Thomas Baker* *0a.3r.34p*

This group of three strips were also changeable, but they changed only among themselves. Thomas Baker was a major in the Herefordshire Militia and lived at Smocks Folly in Folly Road, formerly called Pease Gobbett and now Folly House. He was the copyhold tenant there of the Prebend of Warham and Aylestone and one of these strips in Lugg Meadow went with the tenancy of the house. The first reference to this strip found in the Court Book of the Prebend is before 1670 when John Seabourne was admitted on surrender of Grinsell Burghil.[71] At that time the strip was described as being in Lugg Meadow, below Lugwardine bridge and extending from Simkins Acre (398) to a '*swillow*'. This swillow, a damp depression, formed the curved boundary around these three strips together with 397. Another of the three strips belonged to the Prebend of Gorwall and Overbury. It was enfranchised to Ann Baker, daughter of Thomas Baker, by the Prebendary in 1873.[72] The third of these strips belonged to the Custos and Vicars Choral and was leased by them with a farm at Blackmarston, south of the river Wye, the first recorded tenant here being Morgan Foot of Hereford in 1567.(see 441)

397 T (see also 577, 580, 582, 600) *Charles Bulmer* *2a.3r.38p.*

This parcel of irregular shape was bounded on the south and west by a swilley and was fairly certainly one of a group of strips and parcels bought by Charles Bulmer in 1833 from James Donnithorne of Calcutta. James Donnithorne had inherited these from his grandfather, Rev. Isaac Donnithorne, who was a prebendary of the cathedral and had been given the custodianship of charity land held by the Dean and Chapter. Part of this land had been a bequest in 1712 by Mary Howells, of St.Martin's parish, who left properties and money to be invested in land by the Dean and Chapter. Included in her bequest were six parcels in 'Walney meadow' (probably Upper Lugg Meadow) and 2a.3r.22p. in 'Lugg Meadow' which were to go towards the maintenance of twelve poor maids.[73] It is suggested that the part in Lugg Meadow was parcel 397 partly because the area is nearly right, partly because it is in the right part of the meadow and partly because in 1700 Thomas Howells, Mary's father, had land 'near Simkins Acre', which lies just beside 397. The charity properties were managed by the Donnithorne family who made the annual payments to the twelve poor maids. Then in 1833 the properties were sold and a farm at Preston Wynne bought with the proceeds. It seems that at the same time the charitable payments were all attached to this farm and removed from the land in Lugg Meadow.

398 T *'Simkins Acre'* *Marcellus Newton* *8a.3r.10p.*

This large parcel was part of one of the farms in Warham that had land in Lugg Meadow. This farm belonged to the Custos and Vicars Choral and was leased out by them. The most notable entry in their College Act Book comes in 1672 when the tenant, Mrs. Veynall, a widow, with her children Thomas and Olive, was caught: 'endeavouring to sell as the freehold a parcel of ground in Lugg Meadow called by the name of Simkins Acre belonging to the farm at Warham which the said Mrs. Veynall holdeth by lease for her life under the college.' A subpoena was issued and the sale prevented but Mrs. Veynall continued as tenant nevertheless.[74] By 1729 the lease had come into the hands of William Elfe who also held the lease to the other Warham farm. After him the lease came to Mary Wenland, who had perhaps been his housekeeper. She in turn left the lease to William Vorse, 'now living with me at Warham' and he left all his property, including his copyhold leases**,** to Thomas Cook. By 1837 Thomas Cook was also dead and the lease of parcel 398, probably with that of the whole farm, had passed to Marcellus Newton.

Today this parcel is a very unusual shape but it was just the same in 1807 and probably for long before. In 1857 a number of dole stones were set up to delineate the boundaries and these were inscribed 'Warham 1857' thus recording the name of the farm with the hay rights to the parcel. It is probable that these stones were put up by Mr. Wegg Prosser who about this time leased the Warham estate from the Custos and Vicars Choral. Wegg Prosser was engaged in building Belmont Abbey at the time and perhaps the stones were cut by the stone masons working on that site. Some of them still stand in the Meadow but one was recently found many miles away and was brought back.

399 T (see 385) *Sir John Cotterell* *5a. 0r. 2p.*
This large area looks as though it had been formed by amalgamation of several strips.
400–406 T *The Common Doles* *(see below for areas*)
Despite their name only four of these strips were changeable. The block of land occupied by the strips lies in a loop of the river but separated from it by a long, narrow strip (565). The strips at the two ends of the block lie at right angles to the river but a group in the middle, mostly amalgamated by 1840, seems to have been parallel to it. 400 and 405 A.B and C have been discussed with 386 to 393 but little is known about the other strips which were probably changeable as well originally.

400 T changeable	*Francis E. Bodenham*	*0a.2r.8p.*
401 T	*J.Pritchard*	*0a.2r.8p.*
402 T	*John Freeman*	*0a.1r.8p.*
403 T	*John Freeman*	*1a.0r.33p.*
404 T	*Joseph Pritchard*	*0a.2r.33p.*
405 T (see 374)	*C. Bodenham*	*1a.1r.28p.*
405A T (see 386) changeable	*Francis E.Bodenham*	*0a.2r.29p.*
405B T (see 386) changeable	*Francis Bodenham*	*0a.2r.24p.*
405C T (see 386) changeable	*Francis Bodenhan*	*0a.2r.20p.*
406 T	*John Freeman*	*0a.2r.28p.*

407 (with 412) T *Representatives of late William James* *63a.1r.38p*
This is much the largest parcel on Lugg Meadow and as yet little information referring to this parcel specifically has been found. However it is virtually certain that it formerly formed a part of the demesne lands of the manor of Tupsley. This was an estate belonging to the bishopric but, although a whole series of leases survive, unfortunately none gives details about the actual areas of land being leased. For example the lease for 1715 from the Bishop to Thomas Symonds of Sugwas describes the estate vaguely as; 'All that site of the manor of Tupsley with the demesne lands, meadows, feedings, pastures, edifices, buildings etc at a rate of £10–13–4 p.a. and eight wain loads of good, sweet hay to be delivered within the Palace gate by the feast day of St. Peter (29th June) to be unloaded at such convenient place as the agent or the Bishop shall decide.'[75] The eight wain loads of hay is an unusual feature of this rental and the hay must surely have come from Lugg Meadow which lies very close to the site of the former Tupsley Court. It is perhaps significant that this is the only property on the Bishop's estate for which hay formed a part of the rent. By 1797 William James was tenant and in 1813 the Bishop sold the manor to him, but still unfortunately without giving any detailed description of the land involved. This parcel was owned by John Watkins of Fownhope in 1910.
408 (see also 584, 588 & 592) T 'Canons Doles' Vicar of Lugwardine *8a.1r.9p.*
In 1832 these four areas all formed part of the Lugwardine glebe and were carefully mapped. 584, 588 and 592 were in Lugwardine parish and are described under 584 but 408 is anomalous since it is in Tupsley and nothing has been found to explain how it became a part of Lugwardine glebe or indeed when it was disposed of. In 1910 this area was called 'Canon Doles.' [76]
409 T *Representatives of late William James* *2a.2r.2p.*
This parcel was in the same hands as 407 at the time of the tithe map, viz. Tupsley Court, but it has a different history. It belonged to the 'chaunter' of the cathedral for a long time and in 1687 was a part of his glebe in Tupsley which included a three-bay barn, 15–19 acres in Tupsley's open arable fields, three meadows 'near Lugg Meadow' and rough ground near Baynton Wood. The land was leased out in the 18th and 19th centuries when the meadow was described rather vaguely as '9 acres near the footway from Lugwardine to Hereford.'[77] This description fits parcel 409 so the chaunter's meadow has been assumed to lie there. The road was no barrier at that time as it was not fenced until the 20th century, so the chaunter's land could have extended across the road into 407 as well.

410 T (see 367) *'Warham Hall or Hole'* *M.Newton* *1a 0r.10p.*
This is one of two half-moon shaped parcels lying beside the road but, unlike 411, this parcel was never called 'half-moon'. The distinctive shape of these two parcels has arisen because they both lie on the parish boundary along what must have been meanders of an old water-course, the straight side of the half moon being made by the road from Tupsley to Lugwardine. This parcel probably belonged to the Vicars Choral from very early days as shown by a deed of 1366 held in the Cathedral archives which says that 'seizin was given to five perpetual vicars of Hereford cathedral of all lands and tenements in Warham and 3 acres of meadow in Topesleye.'[78] Around 1850 it came into the hands of Mr. Wegg Prosser and in 1890 it was recorded that 'in the Lugg Meadow there are two pieces of land called Half Moon Acre and Warham Hall containing 2a. 3r. 0p. These belong to the Belmont estate and 'Major Prosser would be glad to exchange them away.' [79]
411 T (see 681 (i)) *'Half Moon Acre'* *John Jones* *0a.3r. 39p.*
This parcel belonged to the Treasurer of Hereford cathedral together with 681 and was part of a farm at Breinton (Details are given in this case under the higher number, 681, because that was much the larger parcel of land).
412 T (see 407) T *Representatives of late William James* *3a.0r.0p.*
Today this area lies between two branches of the Lugg Rhea and it would appear uncertain whether it is a part of Lugg Meadow or not. However a map dated 1721 of the bishopric estate in Hampton Bishop and Tupsley shows that at that time the Lugg Rhea did not divide into two parts and that only the south-eastern of today's two branches were present. This makes it clear that 412 was undoubtedly a part of Lugg Meadow originally.[80]
413 (with 424, 427, 446) *Edward Griffiths* *1a.33r.0p.*
This area, like 412, lies between the two branches of the Lugg Rhea today but formerly lay on the Lugg Meadow side of the Rhea. However, unlike 412, it is shown as cut off from Lugg Meadow by a solid boundary on the 1721 map of the Bishop's estates so had presumably been already enclosed by that date. It belonged to the Bishop and was enfranchised to Edward Griffiths of Newcourt in 1860.

UPPER LUGG MEADOW
414 T This area was probably not strictly a part of Lugg Meadow. It was part of Cot Farm and was owned by the Prebend of Garway and Overbury.
415 T (see also 432, 437 & 684a) *Edward Poole* *0a.0r.38p.*
Edward Poole (1775-1848), a barrister, was son of James Poole of the Homend, Stretton Grandison. The family owned Barrs Court which formerly stood near what is now Hereford station, and earlier generations had lived here and not at the Homend. The Burcot Farm went with Barrs Court and that farm still has a right to cut hay on a part of Lugg Meadow.
416 T (with 417,420 & 429) *'Three day's math'* *Charles Bulmer* *0a.3r.17p.*
These strips were copyhold of the Bishop's Manor and were always described as 'parcel of meadow in Walney containing three days math.' The ancient term 'a day's math' or mowing was really an estimate of the area a man could mow in a day and was sometimes equated with an acre. Although this name sounds as if it were one piece of meadow later notes make it clear that it was in fact four separate pieces that always held together as one in property transactions. In 1806 James Hereford surrendered the strips in the Bishop's Court to the use of James Smith, yeoman of Holmer, who died in 1830 and left the 'three days math' to John Adams of Brookhouse, Marden. He at once surrendered the strips to Charles Bulmer who paid £149 10s. for the copyhold and put up some new dole stones. In 1863, Charles Bulmer enfranchised the strips, still described as 'three days math', along with a lot of other land. On his death they passed to his daughter and were not sold again until after her death.
417 T (see 416) *'Three day's math'* *Charles Bulmer* *1a.0r.2p.*
418 T (with 422, 426, 439 & 444) *Miss Adams* *0a.0r.24p.*
These copyhold strips were part of the Eign Hill estate. Their early history is the same as that for 365 and 373 but diverged later. In 1923 W. Philips of Rock Farm, Lugwardine, the tenant, wrote to the owner, John Sudbury, saying that because his strips were not marked either he or his neighbour ran over the

boundaries when cutting—something that is still a problem today. John Sudbury evidently wrote back that he should mark the strips but W. Philips replied, 'The difficulty that is confronting me with regard to the re-marking of your land is that the patches adjoining are not marked so that your land would have to be re-measured and this I could not do. I would get the posts and send my men to dig the holes and fix them. I would suggest you get Messrs. Stooke and son to measure the land.' This surveying was evidently done and the map that was made survives in the Bishop's Court Books while Messrs. Stooke preserved their side of the correspondence.[81] The posts were put in as promised. They were of oak and had a large 'S' (for Sudbury) carved into them on one, or if appropriate, on two sides. Some of these old posts are still standing in the Meadow today, but will not last much longer. In 1963 V. C. W. Sudbury sold these strips with others to Wm. Thomas Philips of Rock Farm.

419 T (with 421,428, 431, 440, 442 & 682a) John Rogers Esq 0a.0r.25p.

This was one of seven strips in Walney Meadow that formed a part of Gorwall or Cott Farm . These strips belonged to the Prebend of Gorwall and Overbury and were carefully mapped in 1807 together with three others in Lugg Meadow (Sutton) north of the Roman road. In the 19th century this estate seems to have been managed by the bishopric land agent.[82]

420 T (see 416) 'Three days math' Charles Bulmer 0a.1r.19p.
421 T (see 419) John Rogers Esq 0a.0r.27p.
422 T (see 365 & 418) Miss Adams 0a.0r.31p.
423 T (with 425) Late Mrs. Fallows 0a.0r.27p.

This was one of two strips that belonged to St Giles' Hospital which in 1835 were leased to Jane Fallows as 'Two parcels of land in Lugg Meadow containing two half acres and one feather.'[83]

424 T (see 413) Edward Griffiths 0a.3r.14p.

This strip went with Lower House Farm, Tupsley and had been acquired by the Griffiths family with the Newcourt estate. Like the farm itself, this strip and the others with it were copyhold property of the Bishop and they were all enfranchised by Edward Griffiths in 1860. The property all remained with the Griffiths family until sold to J. D. Watkins in 1952.

425 T (see 423) Mrs. Fallows 0a.1r.25p.
426 T (see 365 & 418) Miss Adams 0a.1r.2p.
427 T (see 413) Edward Griffiths 0a.1r.11p.
428 T (see 419) John Rogers Esq 0a.1r.28p.
428a T (with 445) John Wotton 1a.0r.12p.

These strips were copyhold belonging to the Prebend of Warham and Aylestone and information about them is found in the Court Book of that Prebend.[84] The first entry comes in 1677, the year the Book starts, and records that Grinsill Burghill, widow, had been admitted at an earlier date. But in 1677 itself it was recorded that: 'Four acres of customary meadow in Lugg Meadow in Hampton Bishop of which one acre lies near a place called Walney and extends to a stony way called Walney Lane and adjacent to a swillow' were surrendered by John Seabourne to Henry Meredith and Hugh Lewis. It was later described as 'Four acres in two parcels.' At that time these strips were associated with strip 394 in Lower Lugg Meadow from which they later became disassociated. The Brewster and Davies families followed Henry Meredith as tenants and then in 1831 John Wotton was admitted. He died in 1874. His widow inherited and left it to Eliza Hamp of Pontrilas who enfranchised both strips in 1894.

429 T (see 416) 'Three days math' Charles Bulmer 0a.3r.11p.
430 T (probably with 568, 574, 586, 591, 601, 603) Gomond Cooke 0a.2r.8p.

In 1793 Charles Cooke, the elder, leased Winston and Brandon Farm in St Martin's parish from the Custos and Vicars Choral and in 1807 the farm was leased to Charles Gomond Cooke of the same family. A fine map of the farm is held in the cathedral archives.[85] It does not actually show strips in Lugg Meadow but a note says that: 'there are to this estate in the middle Lugg Meadow five parcels of land containing four computed acres and in the Lower Lugg Meadow three parcels containing three acres making the whole eight parcels and seven acres.'

These have rather tentatively been identified as strips 430, 574, 586, 591, 601, 603. In 1844 the lease was granted to Gomond Cooke's daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Samuel Platt.

431 T (see 419) T *John Rogers* *1a.1r.16p.*
432 T (see 415) T *'Swillow Swath'* *Edward Poole* *0a.1r.5p.*
This long, thin, winding strip is marked on a Map of 1801 as 'swillow swath.' As elsewhere the name swillow indicates a wet ditch, probably a former water course.
433 T *Mrs. Price* *6a.3r.8p.*
Mrs. Price must have been the tenant of the Prebend of Huntington whose main estate was the other side of Hereford. This parcel was a detached part of the estate and was marked as such on an estate map of 1855.[86] This map also shows nine acres in Lugg Meadow (Sutton). Earlier on, in 1664, a terrier of the prebendal estate describes 'the remainder being meadow ground, four acres in Holmer and Withington.' It does not mention any meadow in Tupsley but a note signed by Thomas Hodges, the Prebendary of Huntington, adds 'This is the best account which at the present I am able to give concerning this business unto which liberty to add according to future information is desired.' Clearly he felt he had not included all his land and parcel 433 may have been added later. The church held onto this parcel right up to 1993 when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners sold it to the Herefordshire Nature Trust.
434 T (with 436) *'Bull's Horn'* *William Built* *2a.0r.5p.*
These two parcels belonged to the Prebends of Gorwall and Overbury and information about their tenants is recorded in their Court Books.[87] The first tenant found, recorded in 1674, was Grisolda Burghill, daughter of John and Mary Price. In 1697 Robert Clayton was admitted and then in 1751 John Georges, grandson of Robert Clayton. At this time the parcel was described as '8 acres lying in Lower Lugg Meadow at a place called Walney extending to a hedge at Walney Lane between land of Anthony Bullock and land belonging to a farm called Barrs Court.' This description was just the same in 1674 except that at that time it was in Latin. The next tenant was John Taylor Bourne followed by Thomas Knill, Richard Prince and then William Built of the tithe map. He died in 1859 and his widow Mary inherited. On her death it came to James Corner a solicitor who enfranchised it in 1893, and for some time after this it formed a part of Little Walney Farm.
435 T (with 685} *Robert Lane Esq.* *5a.0r.7p.*
Robert Lane, who lived at 'Ryelands', held two parcels in Lugg Meadow in 1840, both quite large. These were owned by the Bishop. The map with the lease shows this farm as lying entirely in the parish of St. Nicholas, Hereford and includes the two parcels in Lugg Meadow. There had been earlier leases of this farm to members of the Lane family: to Ann in 1745, possibly to Theophilus in 1769 and to Robert Lane senior in 1813. In 1718 there is evidence that Nicholas Philpot was the tenant.[88]

In 1801 the farm was called 'Hill farm or Barton farm.' The latter, more informative, name appears to have been dropped and the farm is now marked on the OS map as 'Lower Hill Farm.' This still lies in the parish of St. Nicholas and is not to be confused with 'Upper Hill Farm' just over the boundary in Breinton parish, a farm that was mainly owned by the Vicars Choral in the past and has not been found to have had land in Lugg Meadow.

436 T (see 434) *William Built* *6a.1r.26p.*
437 T (see 415) *E. Poole* *0a.1r.5p.*
438 T *Charles Bulmer* *0a.2r.16p.*
This strip was bought by Richard Bulmer from a William Symonds, Doctor of Medicine, in 1829 together with other parcels of the meadow (see 682). Richard Bulmer died young in 1834, intestate, and his lands passed to his eldest brother, Rev. Edward Bulmer, who gave them to his other brother, Charles.[89] At the time of the 1829 sale this strip was described as freehold and was said to have been purchased by William Symonds from his father, Thomas Powell Symonds. It seems very possible that this was a part of the lands bought by another William Symonds in 1776 from the Price family and that this William was the father of Thomas Powell Symonds. If so then these lands would have been those that had belonged to St. Guthlac's Priory up to the Dissolution. At that time they were conveyed to a John ap Rice Esq. [the eminent Sir John Price *c.*1502-1555] and included ' a meadow called Walney in the parish of Hampton Bishop near the River Lugg, 5 acres.'[90] No other possible owners of this strip have been found and as it

was freehold in 1829 it seems very likely that this strip was indeed part of the old St. Guthlac's lands. If this is so then this strip has the longest recorded history of any on the Meadow, dating back to around 1180 when 'the meadow of Walney' is included in three charters of the St. Guthlac's Cartulary. [91]

439 T (see 365) *Miss Adams* *0a.1r.24p.*

This strip provides evidence that the 'Eign Hill Estate', though administered by the Bishop's Courts, was owned by the Prebend of Eign. The evidence comes from a map of 1829 concerned with the adjoining strip, 438. This map, as was customary, marked the names of the owners of adjacent strips as a guide to identification and has the name 'Prebendary of Eign' written on strip 439.[92]

440 T (see 419) *John Rogers Esq* *0a.1r.24p.*

441 T *'in stoney stile acre'* *Miss Prince* *0a.3r.9p.*

This strip has a long documentary history as part of a farm in Blackmarston in St. Martin's parish which was given to the Vicars Choral in 1379. A series of leases granted by the Vicars Choral to various tenants from 1567 to 1907 is stored in the cathedral archives. In the earliest of these a 'messuage and barn and lands belonging called bonde lands with 1 acre of meadow ground in a place called Walney in Lugg Meadow' were let to Morgan Foot of Hereford. The use of the term 'bond land' is of interest as it harks back to medieval times. Nevertheless, it continues to be used in these leases up to the 18th century and is a useful distinguishing mark for the farm. In 1600 the farm was leased to Thomas Baughan being described as 'a messuage in Blackmarstone with bonds land and 1 acre in Walney.' The rent was 33s. 4d. and four bushels of barley for the messuage and its lands and 2s. and two capons for the Walney land. (In 1681 the rent had gone up to 35s. 4d., the two shillings being in lieu of the two capons.) In subsequent years the farm was leased to John Vaughan in 1605, Edward and then Rachel Witherstone in 1640 and 1669, Thomas Howells and then Mary Howells, presumably his daughter, from 1673–1692, Mary Williams in 1715, followed by Hannah Penner, Edward and then John Penner in 1722 and 1729.[93] They were followed by Gilbert Jones 1783 and then various members of the Prince family starting with Peregrine Prince in 1789, Elizabeth Prince, spinster 1823–1851 and the series of leases ends with another Peregrine in 1907. By this time the farm was being known as Winston and Brandon Farm.

The matter was complicated by the fact that from 1673 onwards another farm in Blackmarston, called Causeway Farm, which was owned by St Ethelbert's Hospital, was being let to the same tenants as those renting the Vicars Choral's farm.[94] As a result the two properties appear to have been being farmed together as one unit and since, for neither of the two farms, do the leases give any indication of the position of the land being let, by the 19th century neither tenants nor owners remembered which land belonged to which farm. The difficulties caused by these intermixed lands were hinted at in a note to the College of St Ethelbert recommending that they should 'pace out if possible their respective rights.' There is no evidence that this advice was ever taken but in 1834 an agreement was made between:

a) the Vicars Choral and their tenant Miss Prince,
b) the Master of St. Ethelbert's Hospital, whose tenant was also Miss Prince
c) Francis Lewis Bodenham

This agreement was needed, it was said, because there were about 142 acres 'in the parish of St. Martin and in Lugg Meadow...which are intermixed and the boundaries undefined and disputed. It would be of great benefit if the said lands were identified and their bounds ascertained.' As a result a survey and a good, clear map was made and the Vicars Choral were awarded three strips in Lugg Meadow with their farm.[95] There was some confusion over which these three strips actually were but they have been identified here as 441 and two changeable strips in Lower Lugg Meadow: 395 and one other probably part of the Common Doles 386-397.

442 T (see 419) *John Rogers Esq.* *0a.2r.0p.*

443 T *J. E. Gough* *0a 2r.0p.*

This was one of two strips owned by the Vicars Choral and always leased out with another area of land called 'Spicers Meadow' which lay elsewhere beside the Huntington Brook. The first lease in this series was granted to James Philips in 1682. In 1805 the three parcels were leased to James Cranstone and a map of Spicers meadow was made showing this strip. The other strip was described as '*changeable'* and was probably part of the Common Doles (386-393). From 1826–1852 these two strips were leased to the

Gough family thus tying them up with the tithe map record. Two earlier leases probably refer to this strip, one in 1594 to Mrs. Piggin, widow, of 'two half acres in Lugg Meadow for a rent of 3s. 4d. and a couple of fat capons' and the other for the same lands at the same rent to John Cirril, Alderman, in 1628.[96]

444 T (see 365 & 418)	*Miss Adams*	*0a.1r.29p*
445 T (see 428a)	*John Wotton*	*0a.3r.34p.*
446 T (see 413)	*Edward Griffiths*	*0a.3r.38p.*

LUGWARDINE

564 L (with 565, 566, 576, 576a and 589) *Edward Griffiths* *2a.3r.38p.*

Edward Griffiths was lord of the manor of Newcourt (Lugwardine) and these strips were probably part of the manorial demesne lands. They were probably the areas that were included in 1649 in a lease of Newcourt and its lands which included '16 acres lying and being in a common meadow there called Kingsey' and another lease of about the same date which includes '18 acres in Kinseys Meadow.' [97]

565 L (see 564) 'The Swilley Swarth' *Edward Griffiths* *0a.2r.39p.*

This long, thin strip runs all along the right bank of the river and lies in Lugwardine parish although all the rest of the parish lies on the left bank and all the rest of Lower Lugg Meadow is in Tupsley. How this anomaly arose is not known but it gave the Lord of the Manor of Lugwardine control over both banks of the river for that stretch. The hay on this strip is always cut first and thus provides a way by which the hay from strips that abut on the Swilley Swarth can be carried without trampling over other people's hay which may still be uncut or lying on the ground. The name indicates that originally this strip was only one swath wide but as hay cutting machines have replaced the scythe and themselves grown wider over the years so too has the Swilley Swarth grown wider and wider.

(There was a similar riverside strip in Wergins Meadow in Sutton. The hay growing on this belonged to the hayward and he always chose the man with the longest arms to scythe it for him).

566 L (see 564) *Edward Griffiths* *2a.0r.11p.*

This was probably a part of the Swilley Swarth at one time.

567 L (see 371 & 430) *'Waste'* *0a.2r.19p.*

The tithe apportionment gives no owner for this parcel but it is possible that it was land given to Lugwardine in 1676 when 'Dr. Sherbourne did grant a rent charge of 20s. yearly to issue out of those plocks called the Meadow Wayes and that half acre in the Lower meadow near Lugwardine Bridge for 3000 years.'[98] The term 'meadow wayes' may refer to what would have been a track across the meadow from Lugwardine to Tupsley, now the A438.

568 L (see 430) *Charles Gomond Cooke Esq* *15a.3r.19p.*

This large parcel was bought by Charles Gomond Cooke from Matthew Cross, yeoman, of Lugwardine in 1817. Charles Gomond Cooke was a customary tenant of other land in the manor of Lugwardine but he was also a large land owner who inherited or aquired by other means a lot of land in Lugwardine and elsewhere. After his death his estate went to his daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Samuel Platt. (see also 564).

569 L (with 581 & 587) *Thomas Turner* *0a.2r.23p.*

This strip went with New House Farm, Lugwardine and may originally have been copyhold of Lugwardine manor.

570 L *Richard Johnson* *1a.0r.23p.*

This strip was certainly copyhold of the manor of Lugwardine and was a part of Hynett Farm, formerly called Black Hole. With the farm it passed in 1814 from Rev. Howell Price, clerk, to his housekeeper, Peggy Bourne who married Rev. Amphlet and from her to William Johnson and then his son Richard and then, in 1894, to Richard's three daughters.[99]

571 L (with 573,590,597,602,605 & 610) *John Freeman Esq* *2a.0r.32p.*

This strip, with the others listed above, went with Rock House and Pound House in Lugwardine all of which were probably copyhold properties of the manor of Lugwardine.

572 L (with 594 & 599) *Elizabeth Pritchard* *0a.3r.11p.*

Miss Elizabeth Pritchard was a customary tenant of the manor of Lugwardine and figures repeatedly in the Lugwardine Manor Court Book.[100] These three strips went with a house that stood formerly where the modern house, called Bramley, stands today**.** Elizabeth Pritchard had inherited the property from her grandfather, John Pember. It seems that, unlike most other copyhold tenants of the manor, she was meticulous in attending or being represented at the manorial courts to record any land transactions involving manorial property. As a result more is known for certain about her lands than about those of the other Lugwardine copyhold tenants. She died in 1878.

573 L (see 571) *John Freeman* *3a.3r.10p.*

574 L (see 430 and 568) *Charles Gomond Cook Esq* *0a.2r.0p.*

575 L *John Black Tye* *1a.3r.19p.*

'*John Black Tye*' was really Dr. John Bleeck Lye of Castle Street. This was not the only time that the clerk writing down the tithe apportionment got a name wrong. One suspects that, when the information on which the apportionment was based was being gathered, if the owner of a strip was not available to give his name the clerk would ask one of those holding strips nearby. Neighbours, who had never seen the name written down, and probably could not read anyway, had little hope of getting such an unusual name as Bleeck Lye correct. Dr. Bleeck Lye sold the strip in 1860 to Charles Bulmer and, when asked for the title deeds, sent a letter explaining that he had none but had been given the strip by his friend, Rev. William Parsons, in 1817. No deeds had been given to him at that time but he had 'continued in the quiet and uninterrupted possession of the said parcel from 1817 onwards.'[101]

576 L (see 564) *Edward Griffiths* *7a.0r.9p.*

576a L (see 564) *Edward Griffiths* *4a.3r.0p.*

577 L (see 397) *Charles Bulmer* *2a.3r.30p.*

578 L (with 583) *Margaret Davies* *1a.1r.14p.*

This strip was possibly one of two bought by John Hill of London for his brother and nephew in 1802 from James Walwyn. James was the son and heir of James Walwyn of Longworth and therefore the strip may have formerly been part of the manor of Longworth. At the time of the sale there was some confusion over whether the strips were copyhold or not. John Hill required some sort of title deeds and was told by his agent 'I have not since then seen the Bishop's steward but believe there is no such thing wanting as when the court is held the present owner prays the court that you or some friend by your power of attorney be admitted into copy which is one of the best titles we have...there can I expect be no doubt about the title to copyhold land.'[102] This sounds rather vague and it seems likely that Lugwardine was actually the manor concerned rather than Tupsley and the agent was confused when he talked of applying to the 'Bishop's steward' since the Bishop's Court would not have been involved. Certainly around this period there are no entries about any John Hill in the Bishop's court books and they are very thorough. The Lugwardine court books, however, are far less detailed and many transactions appear to go unrecorded. The Walwyn family had certainly owned land in Lugg Meadow much earlier on as, for example, when in 1444 they held '20 acres in Kyngushey.'[103] So strip 578 may have been copyhold of the manor of Longworth originally, but the court had become defunct by the time John Hill was buying strips in 1806, hence the uncertainty over which manorial court to apply to.

579 L (see 386 & 441) *F.L.Bodenham* *0a.1p. 20p.*

Francis Lewis Bodenham was the County Treasurer and lived in Castle Street. How he actually acquired this strip is not really known but in 1834 he owned land that he had bought from the Trustees of James Donnithorne (Howells Charity land). It was intermixed with land of the Vicars Choral and St Ethelbert's Hospital and in 1834, after a proper survey was made, the land was divided up in a different way.

580 L (see 397) *Charles Bulmer* *4a.0r.0p.*

581 L (see 569) *Thomas Turner* *1a.0r.23p.*

582 L (see 397) *Charles Bulmer* *1a.0r.19p*

583 L (see 578) *Margaret Davies* *1a.0r.24*

584 L (with 408, 588 & 592) *Lugwardine Glebe* *0a.2r.9p.*

This is one of the three strips in Upper Lugg Meadow belonging to the glebe of Lugwardine. It is not

known how the church acquired this land but one possibility is that they were part of the Stourton's charity land. This charity was founded by William Stourton and remained in the holding of the incumbent by virtue of a copy of the Lugwardine Court Rolls for 1272 to 1307. As well as a messuage and other lands the bequest included: 'three acres of meadow ground lying in Kingshey with appurtenances in Lugwardine of Sokeland, also four acres of meadow ground in Kingsley in Sokeland also two and a half acres of meadow customary lying in Kingsley.'[104]

This was given to found a chantry of our Lady within the parish church of Lugwardine. As already described Kingsley and other similar names were used in the past for the Lugwardine part of Lugg Meadow. It may be that, when the chantries were suppressed in 1547, these three bits of meadow remained with the incumbent to form his glebe. The three strips were sold in 1921.[105]

585 L *Benjamin Gower* *0a.2r.21p.*

This strip was the only one in the meadow owned or occupied by Benjamin Gower in 1840 and it went with a farm in Cott Lane, Lugwardine. The strip had belonged to Joseph South who died in 1834 and left it to his two daughters, Harriet Gower and Ann Hinton.[106] The Gowers handed their interest in the strip over to Ann Hinton and in 1846 she sold it to Charles Bulmer 'free from all incumbrances.' It seems probable that it was originally copyhold along with the farm but had probably become freehold by the time Charles Bulmer bought it.

586 L (see 430) *C.G.Cooke* *0a.2r.18p.*
587 L (see 569) *Thomas Turner* *0a.2r.18p*
588 L (see 408 & 584) *Lugwardine Glebe* *0a.2r.21p.*
589 L (see 564) *Edward Griffiths* *0a.2r.27p.*
590 L (see 571) *John Freeman Esq* *3a.2r.35p.*
591 L (see 430) *C.G.Cook* *0a.2r.5p.*
592 L (see 408 & 584) *Lugwardine Glebe* *0a.2r.3p.*
593 L (see 606)) *Benjamin Wainwright* *5a.1r.18p.*

By its shape this area looks as though it could formerly have been many strips which were subsequently amalgamated. Benjamin Wainwright lived at Cotts Farm, Cott Lane, Lugwardine. He occupied 596, 604, 606 and 608 as well as 593 but there is no evidence that these all went together so they are treated separately here. In 1785 strip 593 was owned by James Walwyn of Longworth according to boundary evidence but the area was also described as 'late Wm. Howells' which may indicate that the area had formerly been subdivided.[107]

594 L (see 572) *Elizabeth Pritchard* *0a.1r.2p.*

Elizabeth Pritchard occupied three strips on the Meadow in all but seems to have inherited them by two different routes. 572 has already been described and came to her from her grandfather but 594 and 599, which were copyhold of Lugwardine manor, were surrendered to her use by Susannah Pritchard, widow of Joseph Pritchard, and her four children in 1832 . Before that, in 1780, they were occupied by James Preece, blacksmith. Elizabeth Pritchard died in 1878 and left her property to a Henry Bishop who sold it to Sarah Johnson whose daughters enfranchised the strips in 1896.[108].

595 (see 397) *Charles Bulmer* *0a.1r.5p.*

This strip was probably part of the Donnithorne land bought by Charles Bulmer in 1833.

596 L (see 593) *B.Wainwright* *0a.1r.8p.*

This strip went with Cotts Farm, Lugwardine and was probably copyhold. Somehow it was acquired by Charles Bulmer after 1840 because his descendants later sold it with the rest of his strips in 1919, but no records have been found of this acquisition.

597 L (see 571) *John Freeman* *0a.2r.10p.*
598 L *Charles Bulmer* *2a.0r.11p.*

This large parcel is listed at the end of the apportionment next to the 'wastes and roads.' Nothing has been found out about how it was acquired by Charles Bulmer and it may be significant that it was probably

land newly formed inside the curve of the meandering stream that forms the parish boundary between Lugwardine and Tupsley.

599 L (see 572)	*Elizabeth Pritchard*	*0a.1r.33p.*
600 L (see 397)	*Charles Bulmer*	*0a.0r.25p.*
601 L (see 430)	*C.G.Cooke*	*0a.0r.31p.*
602 L (see 571)	*John Freeman Esq*	*0a.0r.25p.*
603 L (see 430)	*C.G.Cooke*	*0a.0r.20p.*
604 L (see 593)	*B.Wainwright*	*0a.0r.28p.*
605 L (see 571)	*John Freeman Esq*	*0a.2r.34p.*
606 L (see 593)	*B.Wainwright*	*0a.2r.34p.*

607 L *Charles Bulmer* *0a.1r.5p.*

It seems probable that Charles Bulmer bought this strip, freehold, from the heirs of William Badham of Lugwardine in 1831, William Badham having bought it from Thomas Baker in 1807. The description of the area bought, bounded on two sides by Benjamin Wainwright and also by the River Lugg, fits well with this strip but at that time the area was given as 2a.3r.35p.[109] This is a large, unexplained discrepancy with the area given in 1840 and therefore throws some doubt on the identification.

608 L *Benjamin Wainwright* *3a.2r.2p.*

The earliest reference found to this strip is a note written in 1733 at the back of a later Lugwardine Court Book.[110] John and Elizabeth Richards, customary tenants of the manor surrendered into the hands of the lord 'All those five acres of customary land lying together in Upper Lug Meadow otherwise called Kinsey in the parish of Lugwardine...having the poor's acre on the north, Lugg on the east and lands of Master Phillips of Huntington on the west.' The bounds given for this area fix it as being 608 without doubt. It is a large area and the entry 'all those five acres lying together' implies that five strips, notionally of one acre each, were amalgamated here. This fits with the general pattern of divisions in Lugwardine and gives early evidence of amalgamation of strips.

By 1840 the area was shown as one unit but still in a document of 1848 was being described as in three separate parcels. So it seems amalgamation did not take place all at one time. How Benjamin Wainwright acquired the land is not known nor whether it was ever officially enfranchised, but one suspects not, since the Lugwardine Court Books record so little of that type of transaction. Charles Bulmer bought the area from Wainwright in 1846 and complained that he had never been given the title deeds.[111]

609 L (see 371) *"The Five Rodds"* *Lugwardine Poor* *0a.1r.35p.*

Dr. Sherborne DD., Vicar of Lugwardine, gave this land to the Poor of Lugwardine as recorded in the back of the church register: 'a rent charge of 18s yearly to be distributed on Good Friday' that issued 'out of ye Five Rodds during the lease thereof for 3000 years.' Another entry about this bequest describes the area as 'Two parcels of meadow ground lying...in a meadow called Kingshey in the parish of Lugwardine now commonly called by the name of ye Five Rodds, one and a half acres.'[112] It seems that the area was formerly considerably larger and that, lying as it does on the inside of a meander of the river, a lot of land has eroded away since 1676. In 1829 the money was reported as being paid regularly by Edward Griffiths Esq of Newcourt.[113] The name 'Five Rods' probably refers to the rod with which the width of the strips was measured just before the hay was cut. The use of a rod or chain for this purpose was normal on Lammas meadows.

610 L (see 571) *John Freeman Esq* *0a.3r.5p.*

The shape of this small area seems to indicate that earlier it was bounded by a meander of the river.

HOLMER

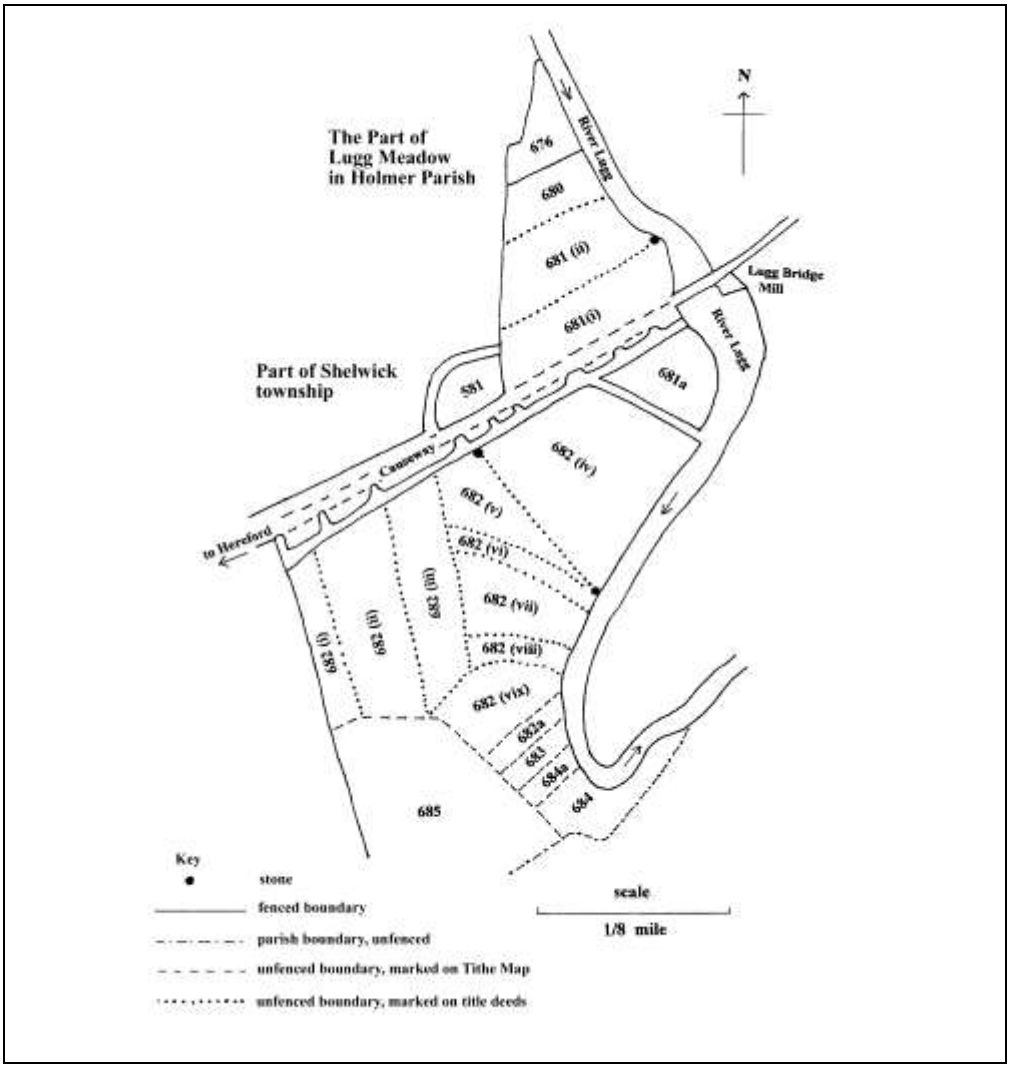

Figure 6. Map showing divisions and sub-divisions of the strips and parcels in Lugg Meadow in the parish of Holmer

676 H 'Walkmill Furlong' Jane Alcott 2a.1r.37p.

This parcel was owned by the Bishop in association with his mill of Lower Shelwick. Remains of the mill are still visible in the river nearby and the name indicates that it was a fulling mill.[114] The parcel was later acquired by Charles Bulmer who enfranchised it in 1863.

680 H 'Midsummer Plocks' Charles Bulmer 3a.0r.17p.

The name 'Midsummer Plocks' was used in the past for a wider area than that shown as parcel 680 as is explained below. This parcel was owned by the Bishop, probably in association with his mill at Lower Shelwick (see 676) and was enfranchised to Charles Bulmer, along with 676, in the Bishop's Court of

Shelwick when it was described as 'one parcel of meadow called Midsummer Plock in Lugg Meadow, 1 acre.'

681(i) H (with 411 & 682(iv) 'in Little Walney' John Holder Matthews 6a.0r 20p.

This parcel was a part of the Breinton estate belonging to the Treasurer of the Cathedral. The Treasurer's lands in Breinton are recorded as having been a part of the estate acquired in that parish by the Dean and Chapter about 1202. At that time the Dean and Chapter set aside a part of this estate to enhance the prebend of their Treasurer and it appears to have remained a part of the Treasurer's prebend up to *c*.1889 during which time it was regularly leased out. An account of the land involved was given in 1649 when, under the Commonwealth, a survey was made of 'The Manor of Breinton belonging to the Treasurer of the Cathedral' which records the manor and its lands 'with the lands belonging to the same lying in the common meadow called Lugg Meadow...and in Lugg Meadow seven and a half doles.'[115] This estate was sold to John Birch in 1649 when it was described as: 'All that Manor of Breinton...and also Breinton Farm called the Farm Place of Breinton' together with lands which included 'all those seven doles and an half of meadow ground lying and being in Lug Meadow.' [116] The term 'seven and a half doles' probably meant seven and a half strips and the use of the word 'dole' implies that these were allocated afresh each year. After the Commonwealth, with the land returned to the Treasurer, it was leased out again to the Booth family, a new lease being granted in 1663 to John Booth, his wife Katharine and son Rudhall which refers to the surrender of a lease of 1588.[117] In 1664 a terrier was made of the land belonging to the Treasurership which appears to be very complete, unlike some of the terriers made by other cathedral clergy at this time, and includes:

'Two other messuages...and one acre and a half of meadow in Walney
One other messuage...with one acre in Walney, both let to William Badham.' [118]

The terrier also includes: 'One close of pasture called Dignity Close near the fryers in the suburb of Hereford city.' This latter information is relevant because, at a later date, the Lugg Meadow land was sometimes let with Dignity Close as a separate property without the Breinton farm, as in 1771.[119] By 1821 the Lugg Meadow land was being described as in three parts and in 1889, by which time the Treasurership estates were owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, these three parts were mapped and clearly identified with their tithe map numbers as:

681 part, in Little Walney, Homer	6a.6r.38p.
682 part (undivided), in Walney, Holmer	4a.0r.0p.
411 Half Moon, in Lugg Meadow, Tupsley	0a.3r.39p.[120]

681(ii) 3a.3r.0p.

In 1915 this parcel was being sold by auction as a part of Church Farm, Breinton and was described as freehold.[121] A note in the conditions of sale states that the 'title of the freehold land for sale starts with a deal of partition dated 1904.' This deed has not been found so as yet the earlier history of this parcel has not been traced.

681a H 'The Tithe Acre' Rectorial Glebe 1a.3r.4p.

In 1759 Margaret Rede of Newcourt was given permission by the Trustees of the Lugg Navigation to build a weir for Luggbridge Mill 'adjacent to the Dean and Chapter's land.' This land was the 'Tithe Acre' which has a fairly detailed record. In 1625 it was leased by the Dean and Chapter to Frances Pember Esq. described as: 'their acre of meadow ground commonly called the tithe acre lying in that part of Lugg Meadow called Walney near to Lugg Bridge.' After this follows a series of about 20 similar leases ending in 1861 with one to Charles Bulmer. The parcel was sold by the Dean and Chapter in 1919 to a William Barratt and in 2000 came into the ownership of the Herefordshire Nature Trust.[122]

'Tithe Acres' occured on other Lammas Meadows in the country, and the name indicates that on those meadows the tithe of hay due on the whole meadow was paid by giving the tithe owner a part of the meadow for his own use. Normally the tithe owner took every tenth haycock and the farmers had to wait to carry their hay cocks from the meadow until the tithe owner had taken his or incur a fine as around 1680 when it was ordered that 'any person carrying away corn or hay before the tithe is set shall pay double.'[123]

682 H 'Part of Walney, changeable land' J.J.Jones, T.Woodhouse, Chas.Bulmer 12a.3r.34p

This is a large area that was undivided on the tithe map. However information in title deeds and sale maps leaves no doubt that it was formerly subdivided and that part, if not all, was in changeable strips. These strips ceased to be 'changeable' between 1840 and 1919, probably by mutual agreement of the owners.[124] Fig. 6 shows the former divisions that have been identifed from various documents combined on one map and divided into sub-sections numbered (i), (ii) etc. The history of each of these is given separately below.

682 (i)

This part of 682 belonged to the Custos and Vicars in 1915 when 'Church Farm', Breinton was sold. On the map accompanying the sale document it was marked as bounding 682(ii) and was plainly labelled 'Custos and Vicars.' This is the only certain information on identification found for this parcel but it seems very probable that it was a part of a farm described in the Cathedral Archives as 'Dubberloes Farm, Above Eign' whose lands included 'half an acre in Lugg Meadow near Lugg Bridge.' The series of leases for this farm begins in 1617, when John Boughan, clerk of the Vicars Choral, leased a tenement with 19 acres of arable in 'the field above Eign together with one little plot of meadow ground half an acre in Lugg Meadow near Lugg Bridge Mill' to Philip Dubberlow of Breinton and continues to at least 1842.[125]

682 (ii)

From 1628 the history of this strip is well documented and because the strip belonged to the Dean and Chapter it is possible to make suggestions that carry its history much further back. In a series of leases starting in 1628 and running to 1864 the Dean and Chapter leased: 'all that site of the Manor of Breinton together with 4 acres in Lugg Meadow in a place called Mill Meadow' to a succession of tenants as follows: 1757 Richard Morse; 1771 Henry Jones; 1785 William Jones of Breinton, yeoman, assignee of Henry Jones; 1824 John Jones son of William Jones; 1851 William Jones; 1857 William Thomas of Breinton, gent, assignee of William Jones, and to the executors of William Thomas in 1864.[126] A condition of the lease was always that the tenant should repair the chancel of the church. This is normally the responsibility of the incumbent, in this case presumably the Dean and it seems a heavy responsibility to place on the tenant. The area of Lugg Meadow included in the earlier leases was always given as 4 acres. However, in 1849 it was described as '4 acres which at a recent admeasurement contained only 2a.2r.24p.' In 1915 the parcel was put on the market in a sale that included Church Farm at Breinton with a lot of land there, and was marked as a parcel of leasehold lammas meadow in Walney. [127]

Because these parcels of Lugg Meadow was described as a part of the 'site of the manor of Breinton' in early documents the history of the farm itself is relevant. Probably the earliest reference to the site is in 1275, when the Dean and Chapter leased the Manor of Breinton with buildings to Thomas le Breton, canon. Although land in Lugg Meadow is not mentioned in the brief early references to the site of this manor, it was probably a part of the estate when it was first acquired by the Dean and Chapter: there is no mention of it being added at a later date, together with the rest of the land going with the estate the Lugg Meadow strips just appear in later documents as these become more detailed.. It thus seems that the Lugg Meadow land could have been a part of the estate when Richard Piran and Richard fitzMaurice sold their interests in the manor to the Dean and Chapter between 1201 and 1204. The manor was in the hands of Richard Piran by right of his wife Joan, who probably represented the family of the Domesday knight.[128]

682 (iii), (vi) & (viii)

These three parcels were all bought by Richard Bulmer in 1829 and their positions were clearly marked on a map with the deed. The areas were given as: 682 (iii)—3a.0r.0p.; 682 (vi)—1a.0r.34p.; 682 (viii)—0a.2r.7p.

They were described as: 'in a common meadow called Walney Meadow and are according to the ancient custom of the said common meadow lying among other lands called the changeable or running acres.' Richard Bulmer died intestate in 1834 and so his elder brother, Rev. Edward Bulmer, was his heir but he handed these parcels on to the other brother, Charles, in 1834, which accounts for 'Charles Bulmer' being named as one of the 'owners' in the tithe apportionment.[129] This deed clearly identifies this part of the meadow as an area where changeable strips formerly existed, and although it is hard to say

how many of these strips there were, their lay-out must have been rather as in the diagram. The curve on the strips is unusual but may have been caused by changes in the meandering of the river.

682(iv) see 681 (i)

682 (v), (vii) & (vix)

No documents have been found that can be firmly identified as relating to these three acres, however two well documented parcels that cannot be placed elsewhere have details that fit the area so they are described below:

(a) The first parcel was sold in 1814 by Thomas Cooke of Hereford to Richard Williams of Shelwick, yeoman: 'a parcel of meadow 1 acre in the common meadow of Walney, part of the changeable land in the said meadow.'[130] Richard Williams died in 1833 and his nieces and nephews, who inherited the land, sold it to Charles Bulmer who thus acquired land in 682 in two different ways, by inheritance from his brother Richard and by purchase from the Williams family.

(b) Information about the second parcel is rather less definite. It comes on a slip of paper held in the Hereford Cathedral Archives and dated by the handwriting to around 1700. Someone associated with the cathedral was jotting down the three areas of land that he held 'in Lugg Meadow.' Two of these have already been identified with 386 and 394 . The third was described as ' Haynes land is one small acre in Shelwick which is in Middle Lugg Meadow two computed acres and a half which is called one hide of land is but one swath at the end next to River Lugg at the other end it is four or five swaths wide. This is but a small half acre. All the above is in Middle Lugg Meadow.'[131] This area is placed in 682 for several reasons: firstly, because at that period 'Middle Lugg Meadow' was the name for the northern part of today's Upper Lugg Meadow; secondly because it lies in the Township of Shelwick and thirdly because the swath described is not parallel-sided as elsewhere on the meadow but four or five times wider at the end away from the river Lugg. Strips of this unusual shape are shown on the map with Richard Bulmer's deeds. (see 682 (vi) & (viii)). This southernmost part of 682 was marked on a map of 1881 as 'Breinton Acre*'* which seems to imply that it was a part of one of the Cathedral's farms at Breinton though which one is not known.

682a H (see 419)	*'in Walney Meadow'*	*John Rogers Esq*	*0a.1r.15p.*

In 1910 this was owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and let with Shelwick farm.

683 H (see 373)		*James Isaac*	*0a.1r.6p.*

It is not known who James Isaac was and this was his only strip on Lugg Meadow. From 1774 this strip appears on all the deeds to do with the Eign Hill estate. All other strips and parcels which were part of this estate were given in the tithe apportionment as being occupied by Miss Adams, and why this one was held by James Isaac instead is not known. (see 365)

684 H (see 366)	*'in Lugg Meadow'*	*William George*	*1a.0r.14p.*
684a H (see 415)	*'in Walney Meadow'*	*Edward Poole Esq*	*0a.0r.38p*
685 H (see 435)	*'in Walney'*	*Robert Lane Esq*	*6a.2r.5p.*

This parcel was certainly owned by the Bishop around 1870 and in 1910 was let with Shelwick Farm.[132]

LUGG MEADOW, NORTH OF THE LUGG BRIDGE CAUSEWAY (A465)

Just as the Hereford to Lugwardine road (A438) today runs across the middle of Lugg Meadow, so in the early 19th century the fore-runner of the Hereford to Bromyard road (A465) would also have crossed the open valley with parts of Lugg Meadow stretching out on either side. The first edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map (surveyed 1811–1817) prints the words 'Lugg Meadow' right across this road and marks the meadow stretching, apparently unenclosed, as far north as Shelwick Court. The whole area is clearly a continuation of Lugg Meadow which, like the part of the meadow south of the Lugg Bridge causeway, all lies below the 50 ft. contour and floods extensively. Most of this area must have been enclosed and divided up between 1817 and 1840, the date of the tithe map, though no evidence of official enclosure of this part of the parish of Holmer has been found. Two parts of the area are still common land, one called 'the Lowes' and the other 'Midsummer Meadow' (which on the tithe map is named Little Walney). Both are still Lammas meadows and registered as common land for only half the year, but Midsummer Meadow differs from other parts of the Meadow in that grazing starts and ends rather earlier.

It starts on Midsummer Day (June 24) rather than Lammas, and ends on Dec. 31 rather than Candlemas. This difference probably dates from 1656 when there is an informative record in the Shelwick Court Rolls. It was ordered then that: 'they should meet together on the Monday after the Feast of St. John the Baptist by nine of the clock to measure, set out and allot the Acres and shall continue until all the same be fully set forth upon pain of 3s. 8d. to be forfeited by anyone making default.'[133] The change in date was being made because the hay was ready to cut here earlier than on the lower parts of Lugg Meadow.

Up to the 19th century there is plenty of evidence in the Bishop's Court books for the Township of Shelwick and elsewhere that the area north of the Lugg Bridge causeway was managed as a Lammas meadow: parcels here were always described as being 'in Lugg Meadow*'* in addition to their other names. Six areas in particular were referred to repeatedly by name in the court books when they changed hands. These were: Midsummer Plocks; Shelwick's Acres; Short Ropes; Long Ropes; Crooked Acre and The Patches. However by 1856 it seems that these names had gone out of general use and were forgotten. This is indicated by entries in the copyhold book for the manors of Holmer and Shelwick of that date.[134] Here the Bishop's land agent was evidently trying to equate the old ways of identifying strips on the ground in Lugg Meadow with the new numbers given on the tithe maps. Every double page spread of the book was set out neatly with information from the court books copied onto the left hand page and the tithe map number written against each of these areas on the right hand page, all in ink. However when it comes to Shelwick Acres and the other areas named above, although the left hand page entries are clearly written in ink on the right hand page there are only very faint pencil notes, question marks or complete blanks. Clearly even at that date, when the tithe maps had only recently been made, the man on the spot could not identify 'Shelwick's Acres' and the other places named above. That being so there is little hope of being able to identify them today, 140 years later! But although the exact position of these areas cannot be ascertained the names themselves are of interest in throwing light on aspects of the management of the meadow.

1) Midsummer Plocke are several, separate sets of references to this area, presumably referring to different parts of the area.The name Plocks certainly implies that the whole was made up of several small areas, possibly strips of meadow, and that these were owned by a variety of people. Some examples are given below:

a) In 1667 the Kedward, Chaunce and Norman Charity was set up in Hereford, and endowed with land called Midsummer Plocks which lay near to a way leading through Lugg Bridge Mills. At that date Lugg Bridge Mill as it stands today had not been built, and its predecessor is known to have stood to the north of the Lugg Bridge causeway. This means it would have been near what is today called Midsummer Meadow. Unfortunately in 1829 the Commission inquiring into Charities said that although the charges were paid by Mr. Hereford of Sufton they could not identify the land on which it was charged.[135]

b) Parts of Midsummer Plocks are mentioned in deeds of 1663 and 1683 when the areas seem to have been associated with the Burcot Farm nearby.[136].

c) One part of Midsummer Plocks belonged to the Vicars Choral, probably from early times. It was mentioned from 1703 onwards when it was always leased out with their farms of Warham and The Hill, both at Breinton, and described as 'three acres in Lugg Meadow.' In 1703 the farm was let to William Elfe and he was followed as tenant first by Mary Wenland and then by William Vorse.[137] After Vorse the tenant was Thomas Cooke. He was a land owner in his own right and owned several adjacent areas**.** His lands and those belonging to the Vicars Choral were much intermixed, and because this was difficult to manage there was an exchange of land in 1812 between the two of them which rationalised the distribution of the strips. As a result of this agreement Thomas Cooke was given: 'The parcel of meadow ground lying in Lugg Meadow, 3 acres called Midsummer Plocks.'[138] After this the 'Midsummer Plocks' no longer featured in the Warham leases.

d) Two specific plocks were mentioned in 1711 when tithes were due on 'the hay in a meadow called Booths Meadow bounded by Lugg Bridge Causeway on the south...Mill Meadow and Mr. Wellington's Midsummer Plocks on the west and Mr. Wadeley's Midsummer Plocks on the north.' [139]

It is not possible from these scattered references to work out the size or position of the Midsummer

Plocks, or to know how many of them there were, but the area so named was extensive and certainly lay north of the Lugg Bridge Causeway (A465), on or near the part of Lugg Meadow known today as 'Midsummer Meadow.'

2) *Shelwick Acres*

This name fairly certainly refers to an area of Lugg Meadow that had been at some time assigned to the use of the people of Shelwick. The association of one part of a Lammas meadow with a particular township was quite normal, as indeed in Lugg Meadow where 'Breinton Acre' belonged to the people of Breinton.

The hay crop from Shelwick Acres was valuable. The Dean and Chapter owned the tithes of hay from meadows in the lower Lugg valley, and the right to collect these was let out to various people. Records for the value of the tithes from different meadows exist from 1625 and the hay from 'Shelwick Acres' (with 'Slakes Meadow' as yet unidentified) was always of the highest value.[140] Tithes from the grass were also due to the Vicar of Holmer, who in 1711 wrote that 'There is yearly due to the Vicar the herbage or Tithe of all grass eaten by the unprofitable cattle of Butchers, Graziers, Innkeepers, Drovers and others.'[141] One doubts if he ever got any money from them. The record of drovers, presumably from Wales, coming down the Lugg valley is of interest.

3) *The Crooked Furlong or Crooked Acre*

These were alternative names for one particular parcel in this part of the meadow and the name probably indicated that the area was of an unusual shape. On most Lammas meadows the areas into which it was divided were rectangular but sometimes the shape of the whole meadow meant that some individual strips were an odd shape which in this case was described as 'crooked.'

4) Short Ropes and Long Ropes

These two names for two different areas in the meadow refer to the method used to measure out the strips and may indicate that the strips were unusually narrow or wide. 'The Ropes' referred to would have been those used used to measure out strips of equal width when the meadow was being 'set out.' In Lammas meadows elsewhere it is recorded that they used chains or poles for the same purpose. In Puxton, Somerset, the chain was measured afresh each year in the church between marks cut in the stone before it was used.[142]

If the area being measured was not rectangular and had one side longer than the other, a triangular strip or gore would be left at one end and on many meadows a gore acre or strip is mentioned. Such gores could be avoided, however, as was done on a meadow in Brotherton, Yorkshire, by using a longer rope down the long side and a shorter rope down the short side. [143] In this way strips of equal area could be laid out although they had converging sides. Such a situation was indeed described for an unidentified part of Lugg Meadow in an undated, unsigned bit of paper saved in the Cathedral archives: 'Haines land...1 acre in Shelwick, one swath wide by the River Lugg, four or five swaths wide at the other end.'[144]

5) *The Patches*

This was probably an alternative name for Midsummer Plocks, and the name implies that the area was made up of small bits of land which could well at one time have been strips. 'One acre in the Patches above Lugg Bridge' was sold in 1814 and again in 1833 when it came into the ownership of Charles Bulmer.[145] It seems that the commoners still retained a memory of the name when, at a meeting in 1906 held in the Swan Inn, a new agreement of rights was read out which stated that 'The three meadows called the Midsummer Meadows otherwise the Patches in Holmer and Shelwick shall be commonable only to commoners residing in Holmer and Shelwick' and in 1910 'the patches' was written over a map in this area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the archivist and staff of the Hereford Cathedral Library, the staff of the Herefordshire Record Office and Mrs. Liz Philips for a great deal of help with this work.

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The Ladmore Family

By JOHN C. EISEL

Hereford is an unlikely place as a centre for the gun-making industry, but for a time in the nineteenth century this was so. This was due to Edwin Ladmore, a member of a family from Kington, who had an extensive trade in firearms, mainly designed for the colonial trade.

On 21 October 1813 John Ladmore married Mary Jackson at Kington. Over the next few years their sons were all baptised at Kington: John (28 August 1814), Edwin (18 February 1816), Thomas and William (28 May 1819) and Frederick (16 December 1821). At this period he was working as a gunsmith in Kington, Pigot's *Directory* of 1830 recording him as working in Bridge Street. Soon after this John Ladmore moved to Hereford, and advertised in the *Hereford Journal* of 21 March 1832:

> EIGN GATE, HEREFORD. J. LADMORE, Whitesmith, Bell-hanger, Locksmith, &c. Begs most respectfully to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and Public in general, that he had commenced Business in the above branches, and trusts by strict attention to those who honour him with their commands, to merit a continuance of their support. J.L. takes this opportunity most respectfully to return his grateful thanks to those Friends who so kindly supported him when in Business in Kington, assuring them it will be his greatest study to merit any further commands they may be pleased to favour him with. – Guns neatly repaired.[1]

When John Ladmore moved from Eign Gate to Widemarsh Street in 1835 he advertised that he was not only a whitesmith and bell-hanger, but also a gunmaker.[2] His business as a gunsmith obviously prospered and when in 1838 he advertised his thanks for custom received, he described himself as a gun- and pistol-maker. It was stated that new guns were made to order, and that gunpowder, shot, caps etc. were available for the sportsman's use.[3] It was, of course, still the era of the muzzle-loading gun, fired by percussion cap.

There was soon a change in direction, as in 1839 John Ladmore and his sons had opened an iron foundry.

> IRON FOUNDRY, CITY OF HEREFORD. JOHN LADMORE and SONS Respectfully informs the Public, that every description of CASTINGS in IRON and BRASS, suitable to the country, can be manufactured on their Premises, in a style equal to that of any other Foundry. They trust, by a fair system of business, to ensure a share of Public Patronage.[4]

The advertisement also stated that they manufactured Dr. Arnott's stoves, and that general smith's work and bell-hanging was undertaken.

This enterprise did not include all of John Ladmore's sons, for in the same year Edwin Ladmore took over the gun manufacturing side of the business. This clearly prospered, and in 1847 he advertised his thanks for custom received: [5]

> TO SPORTSMEN. - E. LADMORE, **GUN AND PISTOL MAKER,** BEGS to tender his best thanks to his numerous friends, for the liberal patronage he has received at their hands

the last eight years; also to inform them that he has on hand a well-assorted Stock of ELEY'S UNIVERSAL RED and GREEN CARTRIDGES, well adapted for the approaching season.
N.B. Every article for the Sportsman's use; all kinds of Ammunition from the best houses.
(Drawing of hand) Several good DOGS for sale.

In 1850, in an effort to expand his business, Edwin Ladmore targeted emigrants to the colonies:[6]

TO EMIGRANTS AND OTHERS. EDWIN LADMORE, GUN, RIFLE & PISTOL MANUFACTURER, Begs leave to call the attention of Emigrants and others to his STOCK of Single and Double-barrelled Guns, well adapted for the Colonies, and at prices hitherto unprecedented.
E.L. desires to call attention to his SINGLE GUNS WITH RIFLE BARREL FITTED TO THE SAME STOCK, thereby combining Single Gun and Rifle at a little additional cost.
Widemarsh-street, Hereford, March, 1850.
In a recent case of the bursting of a gun-barrel, it was forcibly pressed upon the attention of the Public, by competent authorities, the necessity of purchasing from *practical and experienced Gun Makers.* - *Times*, December 24th, 1849.

This approach was evidently successful, and Edwin Ladmore set about expanding his business, although his commercial success was marred by tragedy, as his wife Eliza died in January 1851 at the early age of 31.[7] On 11 June 1851 it was announced that he was about to expand:

WIDEMARSH-STREET.-----MR. E. LADMORE, GUN MAKER, being about to extend his Connexion, through the medium of an Establishment in Birmingham, in conjunction with his Business in Hereford, has deputed Mr. WILLIAM JAMES, TO SELL BY AUCTION, on Monday, the 16th day of June, without reserve the whole of the neat and modern HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, which may be seen one week prior to the Sale.
Catalogues to be had of the Auctioneer, King-street.
A PORTION OF THE HOUSE TO BE LET, with private entrance; Terms moderate.

This expansion was announced in the *Hereford Journal* on 20 August 1851:

E. LADMORE, **GUN, PISTOL, AND RIFLE MANUFACTURER,** 12, WIDEMARSH-STREET, HEREFORD,[8] AND 73, HIGH-STREET, BIRMINGHAM, BEGS to inform Gentlemen and the Sporting World generally, that he has added to the capability of his Business in WIDEMARSH-STREET, a MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENT IN BIRMINGHAM, where (under his own immediate inspection from the earliest stages) will be produced all descriptions of FIRE-ARMS and SPORTING IMPLEMENTS.
Gentleman will at once see that, with opportunities as above, their esteemed commands can be executed in a style of finish second to none, and with the greatest despatch. He therefore with confidence begs to solicit a continuance of favours, which will at all times receive prompt attention.
Caps, Wadding, Ely's Cartridge, and all kinds of Sporting Ammunition.
August 15th, 1851.[9]

A very similar advertisement appeared in Lascelle's *Directory* of 1851.
Edwin Ladmore continued to advertise in the *Hereford Journal*, and in an advertisement that appeared in September 1852 he stated:

> ‘For Emigrants, E.L. begs to recommend his REVOLVING SIX-SHOT Pistol from 27s.’

The demand for these ‘pepperpot’ revolvers was such that a news item appeared on 18 May 1853:

> REVOLVERS. - We understand that Messers. Ladmore, of this city, now manufacture twelve six-shot revolving pistols weekly; and since last November they have bored 600 barrels, all most correctly drilled with the lathe, and made 200 revolvers complete, all for the Australian market.

Figure 1. A pepperpot revolver manufactured by Edwin Ladmore, of the type which was exported to Australia. (*Author’s Collection*)

Edwin Ladmore was not only concerned with sporting weapons and weapons for emigrants, but also with military firearms, and in 1856 he patented a method for securing the ramrod on a military firearm:

> THE ENFIELD RIFLE. - Mr. Edwin Ladmore, of Birmingham, and this city, has taken out a patent for an improved method of securing the ramrods of military firearms, on a plan so simple, inexpensive, and effectual, that it cannot fail to be adopted by every government in Europe. It has long been a subject of complaint that on service the ramrods of the Minie or Enfield rifles are liable to injury and inconvenience from the springs which hold them in the stock, and from the wood swelling, evils which are effectually obviated by Mr. Ladmore's invention.[10]

Trials of this device were reported in the *Hereford Journal* of 21 May 1856.

At about this time he seems to have closed his establishment in Birmingham. By 1853 he was resident at 5 Caroline Street, St. Paul's, and White's *Birmingham Directory* of 1855 stated that he was then Assistant Superintendent of Small Arms. This seems to imply a connection with the Birmingham Proof House, but if so, it was short lived as his name does not appear in the *Post Office Directory* of 1856[11] or later trade directories for Birmingham, either in business or as a private resident, and the latest notice so far found of his Birmingham connections was in an advertisement that appeared in September and October 1856. At that time he was clearly at the forefront of his trade:

> TO SPORTSMEN AND OTHERS. ----- EDWIN LADMORE, **GUN MANUFACTURER,** *HEREFORD AND BIRMINGHAM,* INVITES attention to his STOCK of GUNS for the PRESENT SEASON. Breech-loading Guns, on any principle extant, *MADE TO ORDER.* RE-STOCKING, BROWNING, &c., WITH DESPATCH. List of Prices forwarded on application.[12]

At this period breech-loading guns were the latest development, and would supersede muzzle loaders within the next 10 or 15 years. The Dreyse system, the ancestor of all modern bolt-action rifles, was adopted by the Prussian army in 1842 but was never used in England. It was the pin-fire system, invented by the French gunsmith Houiller in 1847, followed by the rim-fire system, invented between 1835 and 1846 but not used until 1855 by Smith and Wesson, that introduced the breech-loading system into more general use. However, it was not until the metallic cartridge was developed in the 1860s that the system received the impetus to take over from the old muzzle loaders.[13] Examples of pin-fire revolvers bearing Ladmore's name survive, but these have Liège proof marks and so were imported.

At this period he had problems with competition from his own family. On 24 February 1858 and for two succeeding weeks his younger brother William advertised his services as a gunmaker:

> WM. LADMORE, *GUN MANUFACTURER*, 1, BRIDGE-STREET, HEREFORD (St. Nicholas-square) BEST GUNPOWDER, SHOT CAPS, Patent WIRE CARTRIDGES, every description of WADDING, and all necessary implements.
> General repairs. Gentlemen's orders attended to with proper despatch.

This must have had an adverse effect on trade, and Edwin Ladmore made haste to disclaim any connection:

> NOTICE. TO SPORTSMEN AND OTHERS. **EDWIN LADMORE,** GUN AND REVOLVING PISTOL MANUFACTURER. Finds it necessary (in consequence of mistakes frequently occurring) to inform his numerous Patrons that his business is still carried on at 12, WIDEMARSH-STREET, near the NEW CATTLE MARKETS, and that he has no connexion with any other House in Hereford.[14]

Figure 2. Edwin Ladmore in 1858, at the age of 41. A copy made by F. C. Morgan of a photograph in its frame. (*Hereford Reference Library*)

The fine photograph of Edwin Ladmore (Fig. 2) was taken in Birmingham in 1858, and this indicates that he kept up some sort of connection with that city, even if his business connections had lapsed.

At the same time the other twin brother Thomas was going into business on his own:

> THOMAS LADMORE, WEST-STREET, *(Three doors from Broad-street, near the "Grapes",)* BELLHANGER & LOCKSMITH, manufacturer of every description of SMOKE JACKS. All kinds of Roasting Jacks, Chubbs, Bramah and other Locks repaired.[15]

By 1867 William Ladmore had moved his gunsmith's business to 10 West Street—perhaps the premises where Thomas had worked—and the firm of Thomas Ladmore and Son was working from 17 King Street. However, Thomas had changed his line of business and was then working as a photographer.[16] Examples of his work can be found in the *Transactions* from 1866 onwards, in the series of photographs of remarkable trees, the captions of which state that he was photographer to the Club. Other early examples of his work can be found in Havergal's *Fasti Herefordensis*, published in 1869.[17]

In Littlebury's *Directory* of 1867 Edwin Ladmore was advertising that he was a 'breech loading gun maker' at 21 Widemarsh Street, so he had moved premises to the other side of the street.[18] Still in Widemarsh Street in 1870, by 1876 he had moved to 4 High Street. However, he had closed his business by 1879, and the 1881 census shows that he was then living in retirement in Portsea, Hampshire. The premises at 4 High Street were later used again as a gunsmith's shop. Although in 1885 the only gunmakers working in Hereford were Zachariah Bowen at 84 High Street, and William Ladmore at 18 Church Street, by 1891 4 High Street was the location of a gun-making business run by Mrs. B. E. Ebrall. She was no doubt connected with the Samuel Ebrall who, in 1885, had a gunsmith's business in Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury. However, there was no continuity with Edwin Ladmore's business.

And what happened to the other family businesses? William Ladmore continued to advertise until at least 1885 when he had moved premises to 18 Church Street, but the business closed soon afterwards. Thomas Ladmore and Son carried on the photography business for many years and were still advertising as such just before the first world war. Afterwards the business changed into a cycle dealers under the same name, and then *c*.1930 into a radio and cycle business under Frederick Thomas Ladmore. This clearly needed more space, and the building between the Orange Tree and the original premises (used as a ladies' school in 1902) was absorbed into the business. The cycle business under Frederick T. Ladmore was still advertised in the Hereford and District Directory for 1950-51, but closed not too long afterwards. The shop was knocked down in the late 1950s and offices built on the site.[19]

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[3] *HJ* 19 August, 19 September 1838.
[4] *HJ* 30 October, 6&20 November 1839.
[5] *HJ* 25 August, 1 September.
[6] *HJ* 13 & 27 March 1850.
[7] *HJ* 15 January 1851.
[8] At the time Widemarsh Street was numbered consecutively along the east side, starting at High Town, almost as far as what became New Town Road, and returned along the west side. Ladmore's premises were on the corner of Maylord Street, in the building on the site of the Angel, the public house where David Garrick was born. Subsequently it became the Raven Hotel.

[9] Curiously, a Birmingham trade directory of 1851 states that Edwin Ladmore's Birmingham address was 74½ High Street.
[10] *HJ* 15 January 1856.
[11] 5 Caroline Street had been taken over by a jeweller.
[12] *HJ* 3,10,24 September 1,8 October 1856.
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[14] *HJ* 17 & 24 March, 3 April.
[15] *HJ* 24 March, 7 April 1858. At this period the division between East Street and West Street was at the junction with Church Street.
[16] *Littlebury's Postal and Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Hereford* 1867, pp.251, 256. Also advertisement in supplement, *p.*11. The shop was next door but one to the Orange Tree public house.
[17] Plates XVI and XXII.
[18] Widemarsh Street was renumbered between 1858 and 1867, the natural assumption that it was a consequence of the renaming of various streets in 1855 being incorrect. (See William Collins, *Modern Hereford* Part II, 1911, p.38). This time it was numbered consecutively on the west side, starting at the High Town end, almost as far as the Race Horse Inn (later the Hereford Bull and now called Karlo's), returning along the east side. Ladmore's premises were three doors south of J.D.'s, better known to older residents as the Wellington Inn.
Widemarsh Street was renumbered yet again in the 1950s, starting at High Town, with odd numbers along the west side and even numbers along the east side.
[19] For a photograph of the Orange Tree and Ladmore's shop, taken in 1939, and the site after the shop had been demolished, see Anne Sandford, *Hereford in Old Photographs* (1987), p.50.

Reports of Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 2004

By R. SHOESMITH

I have looked back to the Sectional Recorders Report that I first prepared for the *Transactions*, back in 1967. This was a mere three pages, but within it was: Roger Pye's work on Dorstone Hill; Stan Stanford's fascinating excavations at Midsummer Hill Camp on the Malverns and his equally important work on the Roman bath house at Leintwardine and, perhaps not least, the work on the western defensive ramparts of Hereford that Frank Noble and I undertook before the Inner Relief Road was constructed.

Few members of the Woolhope Club can remember those heady times when relatively large-scale excavations with mainly volunteer diggers was the order of the day. By modern standards the excavations were rather primitive: samples of each feature were not often taken; a Global Positioning System to record the location of the features was a thing of the future; dating by pottery analysis was just beginning and carbon-14 was the latest scientific breakthrough in scientific dating of archaeological features. But even so, the results were of country-wide, if not international, importance. The results were disseminated broad and large—they were the subject of many talks and were published in books and periodicals throughout the country.

In this Report I have included a section for each of the archaeological groups working in Herefordshire that have provided information. The reports are mainly of small 'evaluation' excavations and of 'walk over' site visits. To me they do not have the sheer excitement of the discoveries that occurred in the 1960s and '70s. But they are the basis on which modern archaeology—a total understanding of the landscape, past and present—is based. Each parish in Herefordshire has a history that goes back in documentary terms for almost 1,000 years: the archaeological resource takes it back many more millennia. It is this work that is recorded in the following pages.

Each archaeological organisation is recorded separately and in each section all their main sites are recorded alphabetically. Sites that have not produced any archaeological evidence are listed at the end of each section. The reports on some sites may be or have been included in a relatively large variety of national journals, but inclusion in the Woolhope Club *Transactions* is the only simple and straightforward summary available for residents of Herefordshire and neighbouring counties. In each section I have indexed each report by city, town or parish and site name with a six-figure grid reference where appropriate. References and further reading, again where available, are included at the end of each entry. Many of the references are to internal unit publications, some of which are available in the City Library; others may be consulted in the Sites and Monuments Record maintained by the County Archaeological Service of Herefordshire Council. Where County Sites and Monuments Record numbers are given they are prefixed by HSM; Scheduled Ancient Monument numbers are prefixed SAM. For convenience the report of the County Archaeological Service is treated separately.

Once again I would like to offer my most grateful thanks on behalf of the members of the Woolhope Club to the staff of all the organizations who have willingly provided the information that has made this report a valuable source on work in the county during 2004.

GROUP AND UNIT REPORTS

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

The 1993 New Library Building excavation

The final stages of this project are now being undertaken by the Worcestershire Archaeological Service. It is anticipated that the final report, which will be ready in 2006, will include a series of radio-carbon dates that will help to confirm that the mass burials found during the excavation are the result of the Black Death. Meanwhile, Bradford University is continuing to work on the skeletal material. The dating of the pit burials will become a major part of the overall story and it is anticipated that the results will be published as a scientific/popular work. I have suggested that various local people, including the Cathedral archivist, should be involved in the production of some of the chapters in this report to ensure that it is as comprehensive as possible.

Organ

The Willis organ has been completely restored and is now back in full working order. There are no above ground remains of the earlier hydraulic-powered system remaining *in situ*, but the cathedral archivist has gathered together some additional material.. The various pipes and valves underneath the grille in the north aisle are apparently associated with an old fire-fighting system. This may also be the case with a similar feature near the vestry.

The Lady Chapel

Work has been completed on the interior of the Lady Chapel. Whilst it was scaffolded, the opportunity was taken to record photographically the various bosses and carvings when they had been cleaned. Before the scaffolding was erected, a full photographic survey was made of the pillars in the Crypt and a short report produced, so that any consequent damage was fully and completely recorded. The east face of the Lady Chapel is also clear of scaffolding; the new stonework is greatly admired. An archaeological report will eventually be produced on both the internal and external work. It is hoped to incorporate sections from the various specialists involved.

Statue of Sir Edward Elgar

The proposal to erect a statue of Sir Edward Elgar in the northern side of the Close is well under way. An archaeological assessment report has been produced and the trench for the base of the statue will be archaeologically excavated.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS LTD.

BARTESTREE, Court Barns (SO 565 412)

Nineteenth-century farm buildings at Bartestree Court Farm were to be converted for residential use. The excavation of underpinning holes, foundations and services were recorded. A building survey was also carried out which defined the phases of construction and recorded the condition and general appearance of the buildings prior to alteration. Four main phases of development to the farm complex were recorded. Phase 1 includes the 17th-century timber

barns; phase 2 encompasses the brick buildings built prior to 1839; phase 3 includes the agricultural building and the lean-to on the west of the hop building which was built by 1886, and phase 4 includes the timber extensions to the hop building done between 1929 and 1971. The watching brief proved that no archaeological finds or features were present within the excavated areas of the site (Rouse, D., Hereford Archaeology Series, henceforth HAS, 636).

BROMYARD, 25 High Street, (SO 654 547)

A watching brief and building survey were carried out at this site. A clay floor of probable early post-medieval date was present near the back of the building. A stone wall, possibly associated with the clay floor, was also present. A stone-lined tank was located that cut the wall and floor. Post-medieval pottery and bone were found in the fill of the stone tank. Two stone foundations related to the outbuildings were located aligned north-east/south-west. No dateable evidence was present in association with the wall. An ovoid brick dome topped a well that was located on the east side of the outbuildings. No pottery was found in association with these features (Rouse, D., HAS 643).

BROMYARD, Pump Street (SO 654 546)

An evaluation excavation at the corner of Pump Street and Little Hereford Street revealed a large late medieval post pit in the middle of the site. A further posthole might not have been associated with it. Two substantial rubbish pits were also present, one of which contained a sherd of Brill/Boarstall ware (Crooks, K., HAS 630).

COUGHTON, near Ross-on-Wye (SO 596 213)

A number of trial trenches were dug at the former Welsh Water Depot in Coughton. Archaeological deposits, including a ditch with pottery dating from the late Iron Age or early Roman period and a large ditch with Severn Valley ware were present. Although structural remains such as walls and postholes were not present the amount of late Iron Age pottery recovered from the ditch suggests that occupation was probably present in the immediate area. The construction and stratigraphy of substantial stone drains suggested that these might also be early, though it was not possible to confirm their date (Crooks, K., HAS, 618).

GOODRICH, The Castle

A programme of additional building recording was carried out on the solar arch at Goodrich Castle in order for remedial works to be conducted on the decaying stonework. The work involved enhancement of existing drawings and the production of moulding profiles of major architectural elements (Mayes, S.R., HAS 639).

HEREFORD, 53 St. Owen's Street, (SO 514 398)

Two small trial holes were excavated at the rear of 53 St. Owen's Street. The first contained a build up of garden soil with later post-medieval pottery overlying a soil layer that contained a single sherd of 13th-century pottery. The second trench contained a large pit with 16th-century pottery and other finds (Crooks, K., HAS 649).

HEREFORD, 43 Bewell Street (SO 509 404)

A small trench was dug at 43 Bewell Street immediately prior to construction work. A number of features of medieval date, some containing 12th- to 13th-century pottery, cut natural gravel in the base of the trench. They were sealed by a number of levelling deposits dating from the 13th to the 16th centuries. Cutting the levelling deposits were two 16th- to 17th-century pits. The levelling dumps can probably be related to similar deposits recorded during the evaluation (HAS 600) (Crooks, K., HAS 652).

HEREFORD, 39-42 Bewell Street (SO 508 500)

Evaluation trenches revealed a number of features dating from the 16th century or earlier, many of them containing tap slag and smithy waste indicating that the site was used for small-scale iron working. Several yard surfaces were identified, suggesting multiple phases of activity. The earliest pottery found on the site was dated to the 11th or 12th centuries (Porter, S., HAS 637, HAS 683).

HEREFORD, Gaol Street/Bath Street (SO 514 319)

Monitoring of eight archaeological boreholes and four engineers' holes provided evidence for the line of the city ditch, and for the environment in the area at the time when the ditch was open. Waterlogged conditions had led to the good preservation of seeds and pollen. Little charred grain was present but seeds of over 50 species of water, marginal and land plants were found (Crooks, K., HAS 654).

No features of archaeological significance were encountered during the following excavations and watching briefs:

DOCKLOW, Hampton Wafre Farm (SO 574 568) (Rouse, D., HAS 626)

HAMPTON BISHOP, The Stank (SO 559 380) (Crooks, K., HAS 621)

HEREFORD, Blackfriars Friary, Widemarsh Street (SO 512 404) (Rouse, D., HAS 623)

HEREFORD, Cantilupe Street Gardens (SO 513 397) (Poole, B., HAS 619)

LEOMINSTER, Leisure Centre (SO 597 585) (Crooks, K., HAS 629)

LEOMINSTER, 27-31 South Street (SO 497 587) (Rouse, D.)

LUSTON, Land at the rear of the Balance Inn (SO 487 631) (Crooks, K., HAS 628)

MARDEN, Manor Farm (SO 521 483) (Rouse, D., HAS 651)

PEMBRIDGE, Townsend (SO 394 581) (Rouse, D., HAS 645)

ROSS, Vine Tree Farm (SO 594 227) (Crooks K., HAS 617)

ARCHENFIELD ARCHAEOLOGY

ALLENSMORE, St. Andrew's Church (SO 466 359) [HSM 31952]

Monitoring of small trenches for improvement of rainwater and drainage discharge from the church building was undertaken. The excavations revealed that burials in the churchyard are within 0.25 m. of the ground surface. The top of a brick-lined grave was exposed in one trench and a further burial was identified in another. The only other archaeological feature identified

within the trenches was a posthole close to the SE. corner of the chancel. It is possible that burials were disturbed in the trench running south from the church. At least one leg bone was observed in the east section, and bones were recovered from the spoil heap. However, given the size of the trench, and that disarticulated bones are common in graveyards, it is difficult to establish whether the bones were from an articulated burial (Lewis, D., Archenfield Archaeology, henceforth AA/04/72).

HEREFORD, Wesleyan Chapel, 12-13 Bridge Street (SO 351 240) [HSM 39314]

An evaluation excavation and a borehole survey in the yard behind the chapel was conducted to assess the significance of archaeological remains preserved below the modern surfaces and the possibility of waterlogged deposits. The borehole survey consisted of 6 cores which were drilled down to the natural gravel, the results showing that as well as sloping down towards the river, the gravel inclines down from east to west, presumably into the feature known as the 'King's Ditch'.

A trench excavated in the Wesleyan chapel showed truncated features of possible post-medieval date whilst another lying along the street frontage only revealed natural clay and gravel, showing that cellaring had destroyed any significant features. A third trench was excavated through the former dance floor of the Crystal Rooms. Below the modern floor were walls and floor surfaces possibly relating to 18th-century stables and warehouses. The earliest feature of the trench was a pit that had cut into the natural red gravel containing a large ceramic tile, possibly of 14th to 15th century date. The results indicate that archaeological remains are preserved in the area of the development from the 14th to the 18th centuries, with pottery indicating high-class occupation of the area in the post-medieval period (Lewis, D., AA/04/73).

KINGTON, Kingswood, Pound Farm (SO 289 542) [HSM 32136] [SCM 2002-40]

A survey consisting of structural recording and monitoring of all building activities including ground work disturbance was carried out at this Grade II* listed timber-framed building. The house contains the remains of a four-bay hall building, of which four of the five original cruck trusses dating from the 14th and 15th centuries survive *in situ.* Dendrochronological dating indicated that the timbers used in the construction of the building were felled between 1451 and 1461. At the time of the survey one of the original cruck frames and most of the western stone elevation had collapsed, bringing down with it parts of the first floor and the middle section of the stairs. The whole of the building at the north end had also collapsed.

The lowering of internal floor levels revealed archaeological features associated with the house, some possibly pre-dating the later standing walls. Beneath the room south of the fireplace a stone-lined drain contained 19th-century pottery including some black slipware and clay pipe bowls, 3 with stamps, dating from 1660 to 1710. A substantial hearth stone from the main fireplace was removed exposing a small fragment of 19th-century pottery and a button.

The floor level within the byre was also lowered. Removal of red clay revealed a layer of small stone flags and cobbles embedded vertically in the ground to form a boundary on the north side of the surface. This was a pathway separating two areas of the room, possibly the kitchen from the cattle byre. The preservation of the house, with its lack of modern amenities, has allowed a clearer understanding of its development through the ages. The continuing restoration will not only add to the building's history but will also enable the cruck framing to stand for the foreseeable future (Lewis, D., Williams, R., AA/03/50).

MADLEY, Stoney Street Industrial Estate (SO 418 371)

A walk-over survey and monitoring of trial pits was carried out on the proposed site of an integrated waste treatment and recycling facility. Analysis of aerial photographs and the available archaeological and historical records show that the site lies close to a number of archaeological features identified from aerial photography. The site itself lies within the area formerly occupied by RAF Madley, a Second World War airfield. An evaluation was also carried out and the results suggest that although archaeological remains have been demonstrated in close proximity to the site none were present within the areas investigated by this evaluation (Lewis, D., AA/03/59).

TURNASTONE, Turnastone Farm (NGR 466 359) [HSM 38498]

A walk-over survey of the upland areas was undertaken. Features of archaeological interest were recorded photographically; survey maps and interpretative data and management advice were produced A programme of building recording as part of on-going research into the history and archaeology of the Turnastone Court estate was also carried out (Sherlock, H., Lewis, D., AA/04/69).

WEOBLEY, The Old Corner House (SO 402 516) [HSM 1070]

The unit conducted an evaluation excavation in the orchard of Old Corner House which is roughly half-way between the de Lacy castle and the church. Deposits were found to date from the medieval to the Victorian periods, stretching from the Broad Street frontage through to the rear boundary of the property. Demolition rubble, found close to Broad Street, may be associated with buildings shown on the 1838 tithe map. Further back from the street frontage, post-medieval pits and postholes cut through a layer with little archaeological activity. This layer sealed stone rubble containing green-glazed roof tile probably dating from the 14th to 15th centuries. The stone rubble covered earlier *in-situ* burning.

Linear features running east-west were found towards the rear of the property with a medieval ditch and its possible terminus occurring just inside the western boundary hedge of the orchard. This ditch could represent a boundary to one of the burgages shown on the tithe map. Dating evidence from the fill of the ditch shows that it was open for some 200 to 300 years (Lewis D., Sherlock, H., Pikes, P.J., AA/04/66).

BIRMINGHAM ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, Bradbury Lines (SO 510 382)

An archaeological excavation was carried out on land within the former military base called Bradbury Lines, which is situated in Bullingham Lane. The work followed on from an archaeological desk-based assessment undertaken by John Samuels Archaeological Consultants, and two phases of trial trenching by Birmingham Archaeology that had indicated Iron Age activity on the site.

The earliest evidence for activity on the site was a circular feature that measured 18 m. in diameter and was 1.78 m. deep, with steep sides and a flat base. This unexpected discovery has been interpreted as what is traditionally classified as a ‘pond barrow’. Pond barrows are rare and, although a few have been excavated at a national level, this is the first known example of

its type in Herefordshire. The ceramic evidence dates it to the Early Bronze Age, although Late Bronze Age and residual Middle and Late Neolithic pottery, animal bone and fired clay were also recovered from its fills. A rectangular area of charred oak timbers was uncovered in the centre, below a charcoal-rich deposit that may have been the remains of a pyre.

A wide, shallow ditch, also containing pottery of this date, was located to the south-west and a group of pits of Mid to Late Iron Age date were also excavated. One contained slag and fired-clay hearth fragments suggesting iron-smithing being carried out in the vicinity during this period.

The site also revealed evidence for successive phases of linear and curvilinear ditches, which were probably parts of enclosures. Other ditches appeared to be field boundaries and drove-ways. The majority dated to the Roman period, with the exception of one ditch, which was Mid to Late Iron Age in date. The ditches continued to the north-west, beyond the limits of excavation, suggesting that they were part of an extensive complex of Iron Age and Roman field systems. Shallow features within the enclosures, including curvilinear ditches, gullies and truncated pits, relate to domestic activities and further sub-division of the enclosures. Close to a probable entrance of one enclosure, of Roman date, was a cluster of charcoal-rich features that have been interpreted as ovens. There was also evidence for small-scale iron working taking place close to the site during this period, as smithing slag, hearth fragments and a crucible fragment were recovered. The latter had been re-used in a cobbled surface.

It is hoped that further analysis of the charcoal samples taken from the site will give evidence for local woodland species, fuel sources used in both ritual and domestic activities, as well as information regarding the exploitation, management and utilisation of woodland during the Bronze Age and Roman periods. Unfortunately, only small quantities of other types of plant remains were recovered, which means that there is only limited information for crop cultivation and processing; similarly, animal bone did not survive well (Duncan, M. and Jones, L., Birmingham Archaeology Report No. 1117).

BORDER ARCHAEOLOGY

BRIERLEY, Brierley Court Farm (SO 487 561)

In May and June 2004, excavations were undertaken on the site of a former hop yard located about 700 m. west of Brierley Court Farm, on behalf of S. & A. Produce, in order to expand upon results gathered during an evaluation in March 2004. A substantial concentration of Roman pottery indicative of settlement activity had been found in an adjoining field during a field-walking survey carried out by the then Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Unit in 1983.

The project encompassed two open areas: area A, 2,300 square metres at the west of the evaluation site, and area B, 150 square metres at the east of the evaluation site.

Within area A were 41 features of archaeological significance, including a pen-annular ditch of unspecified prehistoric date; seven boundary ditches, one of which was prehistoric, and five of Roman date (based on the pottery evidence); a series of 23 pits and postholes, including five Iron Age pits and three pits of Roman date.

Within area B were 17 features of archaeological significance, including two substantial Roman grain-drying ovens, a Roman enclosure ditch and a series of postholes and linear features of uncertain date. A substantial pottery assemblage of Iron Age/Roman date was found in both areas, including significant quantities of black burnished ware and Severn valley ware.

It was concluded that the substantial nature of the features and the quality of the pottery assemblage found during this excavation could represent a cluster of small domestic enclosures, associated with a settlement or high status farmstead continuously occupied from the late Iron Age until about the 4th century AD.

PEMBRIDGE, Court House Farm Moated Site (SO 391 580)

During September and October 2004, a limited-scale excavation was carried out under Scheduled Monument Consent on behalf of the Pembridge Amenity Trust.

The site consists of a large, irregular D-shaped mound 40 m. wide and 50 m. in length, surrounded by a moat about 15 m. wide and 2.5 m. deep. Little is known about the early history of the site; the earliest documentary reference to it occurs in a royal grant of 1222 in which it is described as the 'castrum de Penebrug.' The buildings on the mound were probably enlarged in the late 13th to early 14th century, when it appears to have been a favoured seat of the Mortimer family, and the site is described as a 'capital messuage' in a survey of 1336.

Excavations were carried out in the moat and on the summit of the mound. Evidence was found of early stone buildings on the mound, probably dating from the late 11th/early 12th century. These structures were destroyed or severely damaged by fire on two separate occasions during the medieval period. Following both of these destruction events, the moat was scoured and deepened and the upcast soil deposited on top of the mound, prior to a substantial rebuilding of the structures there. It is unclear exactly when these phases of destruction and rebuilding occurred. However, the pottery evidence suggests that the first destruction occurred at an early point in the history of the site—probably in the 12th century—while the second event took place at a considerably later date, possibly in the early 15th century. Documentary evidence shows that the buildings on the mound continued to be repaired until the 16th century. However, occupation had certainly ceased by 1655, when the antiquary Silas Taylor described 'the remains of a small keep or fortified castle' on the site.

MARCHES ARCHAEOLOGY

HEREFORD, Safeway store (now Morrisons), Commercial Road (SO 513 403)

A watching brief revealed features and deposits dating from the 13th to the 15th centuries. The area is believed to have belonged to the medieval Monkmoor Mill complex. Medieval features included a drainage ditch or field boundary and two pits of unknown function. Medieval soil layers were also excavated. A medieval deposit situated at the south-western edge of the site could be part of a boundary bank to the mill complex or alternatively a medieval soil layer. In the post-medieval period the site was either a meadow or orchard until the 19th century (Wainwright, J., Marches Archaeology Series, henceforth MAS 335).

LEINTWARDINE, Water main refurbishment (SO 404 741) [HSM 35533]

A watching brief revealed a post-medieval deposit surviving under the road down Dark Lane and part of Watling Street. Other more isolated deposits were also recognised, but the archaeological importance of these was not clear. Deposits and features on Mill Lane indicated the presence of the Roman town ditch and rampart and a wall related to the bath house. Most of the High Street has been heavily reduced in order to decrease the slope of the road and little archaeology survives here (Kenney, J., MAS 325).

LOWER BROCKHAMPTON, The Moat, (SO 687 560) [HSM 34721

Work to repoint and rebuild revetments along the edge of the moat was subject to a watching brief. A redeposited clay layer was identified at the edge of the moat, but no features were seen nor were any significant finds recovered (Kenney, J., MAS 318).

LOWER BROCKHAMPTON, The new car park (SO 689 559) [HSM 38500]

Prior to work commencing on constructing a new car park, five evaluation trenches were excavated to determine whether there were any archaeological remains associated with the house in the proposed development area. The results of the evaluation were negative with only modern features being found (Appleton-Fox, N., MAS 356).

PEMBRIDGE, Market Hall, (SO 390 581)

The Market Hall is a three-bay, rectangular structure in the centre of the village. It comprises an open ground floor of eight paired oak posts with a hipped roof of stone tiles. Dendrochronological dating has confirmed that the structure dates from the early 16th century, a period previously suggested on stylistic grounds. A further four phases of alteration or restoration have been identified, the two major phases consisting of the replacement of the roof structure, probably in the later 18th century, and a major programme of restoration work that took place in 1927 (Fielding, S., MAS 361).

HEREFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY

Staff of the County Archaeological Service continued and completed a number of projects in 2004. These projects were in receipt of grant-aid from a number of partner organisations, including English Heritage, the National Trust, the Forestry Commission, DEFRA, and the Woodland Trust. Two Local Heritage Initiative archaeology projects also sought assistance from Herefordshire Archaeology. These are at Upton Bishop and Whitbourne, but since the fieldwork will take place mainly in 2005, the results will be reported in a later volume of the *Transactions*.

ASHPERTON, Lower Town Farm (SO 632 426) [HSM 42923]

As part of the Frome Valley Archaeology, Landscape Change and Conservation project (English Heritage and LEADER+ funded), a crop-mark enclosure, first recorded from the air in 2003, was sample evaluated. The enclosure was sited on the crest of a hill slope overlooking the Frome valley from the south The aerial photograph, taken as part of the Herefordshire Aerial Archaeology project funded by English Heritage, indicated that the enclosure was broadly oval in plan, with three large circular features/pits within it. A ditch that appeared more faintly in the crop showed that on the south-western side a smaller circular enclosure was appended to the main enclosure at a later date.

Three trenches, located to bisect the main enclosure ditch, established a complex sequence of activity at the site. The enclosure ditch was first dug in the middle to late Iron Age.

It was then recut in the later Iron Age/Romano-British period. However, the nature of the occupation changed during the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD, with a shift to the 'annexe' area to the west, the quarrying of the pits within the main enclosure, and the dumping of domestic waste in the eastern part of the ditch circuit of the main enclosure (White, P. and Ray, K., Herefordshire Studies in Archaeology, henceforth HSA 3).

As part of the same project, a field system on the farm, also noted from the air (SO 628 425) [HSM 42924], was sample evaluated. A series of trenches intercepted a sample of the linear features that divided up the area concerned, now lying within large arable fields. It had been thought possible that the linear features, on a markedly different alignment, and much smaller than the fields whose hedges still survive, might have pre-dated medieval farming of the area.

The excavations revealed the presence of ridge-and-furrow of medieval form and likely date. However, the ditches that defined the enclosures seen from the air were found to post-date the open field furlongs. This surprising discovery has important implications for the dating of post-medieval 'enclosure' of the formerly open fields. As hypothesised in the Herefordshire Historic Landscape Characterisation project, 'survey-planned' field boundaries shown on the earliest Ordnance Survey maps do not necessarily represent the earliest post-medieval organised enclosure of the open field landscape. Using such 'historic' maps as a primary means to define the nature and extent of post-medieval enclosure is therefore shown clearly here to be a risky enterprise (White, P. and Ray, K., HSA 3).

AVENBURY, Brook House Farm (SO 667 524) [HSM 42925]

As part of the Frome Valley Archaeology, Landscape Change and Conservation project, a site discovered by James Dinn as part of the Herefordshire Valleys study in the 1990s was revisited. In 2004, numerous sherds of Romano-British pottery were retrieved from the field surface on the crest of a knoll within the part of the Frome Valley here constrained within steep-sided hills. Subsequent test pitting revealed the ditches of a hitherto unsuspected circular/oval enclosure, with occupation material deposited within and across its ditch. The site began to be used in the Iron Age, and continued through to the later Romano-British period (White, P. and Ray, K., HSA 3).

AYLTON, Ast Wood (SO 373 383) [HSM 38740]

The survey of Ast Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. A rapid site identification survey was carried out in the wood concerned, using a hand held Global Positioning System to record the location of the features that were recognised as having archaeological significance. Earthwork features were recorded within the wood that illustrate the intensive use of the woodland resource in the late and post-medieval periods. These included saw pits, charcoal burning platforms, quarries and woodland management boundaries. Medieval ridge and furrow was recorded covering a large area within the wood, indicating that at least part of the wood was under the plough probably up until the middle or end of the 14th century (Hoverd, T., Herefordshire Archaeology Report, henceforth HAR 161).

AYMESTREY, Mere Hill Wood (SO 408 654) [HS 39292]

The survey of Mere Hill Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Earthwork features were recorded that indicate agricultural activities dating from at least the medieval period, and a history of post-medieval woodland resource management, including charcoal burning platforms, sawpits and holloways, and woodland boundaries. Of particular interest is the survival in the present woodland of evidence of agriculture in the form of field lynchets (Lello, R., HAR 141).

BREDWARDINE, stone head - (SO 32 44) [HSM 42918]

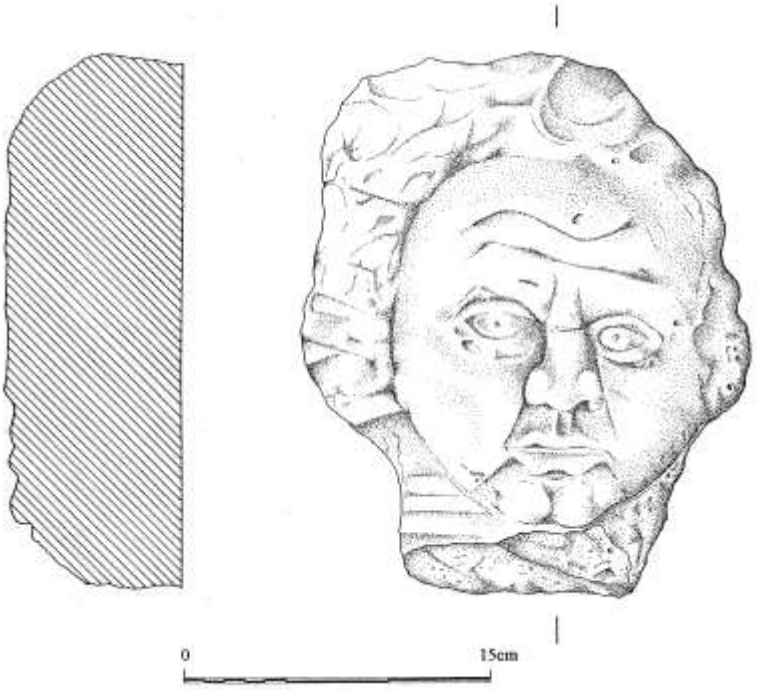

Figure 1. Carved head found at Bredwardine

A discovery of a carved stone head some 30 years ago was reported to a staff member following an evening talk. The find spot was specified as being in a ploughed field to the west of the village. The head has a flat dorsal surface, and the head-dress/hair appears to have been deliberately defaced. Possibly an architectural piece, it is most likely of medieval date (Hoverd, T., HAR 188).

CANON FROME, Childer Wood and Meephill Coppice (SO 592 366) [HSM 38277]

The survey of Childer Wood and Meephill Coppice formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast

Wood, Aylton, above. The wood divides topographically between the western slopes and the eastern valley bottom. This delineation was also evident in the archaeological remains identified during the survey.

The western slopes contain substantial and well-preserved evidence of medieval farming in the form of numerous lynchets and ridge and furrow. The post-medieval features identified include extensive quarrying along the hill top and a small but impressive memorial building erected in 1935 and dedicated to Colonel John Dutton Hopton. This westerly portion of the survey area appears to have been wooded in the late medieval/early post-medieval period. In the valley bottom, to the east, any medieval traces that may have been present appear to have been removed by later activity. Several linear ditches were located within the wood that may represent woodland compartment boundaries, but the most datable evidence was that this section of the wood was located within the existing and surrounding post-medieval field system (Williams, D.N., HAR 162).

CASTLE FROME, Medieval Castle, Early Enclosure (SO 592 366) [HSM 930] [SAM 00058]

As part of the Frome Valley project, conservation works involving tree-felling and vegetation clearance were undertaken. The opportunity was taken to make an initial measured survey of the site. A broad, circular mound stands at north centre within an elliptical bailey enclosure on a scarp overlooking the parish church from the east. Elaborate scarping produced a tiered effect to the slope to the west, up which a hollow-way ascended by a series of straight lengths, before entering the bailey from the south-west.

The scale of the mound is commensurate with a castle built to protect the medieval de Lacy holdings in the Frome valley. The form of the mound, with a central depression, mirrors the earthwork castle standing within British Camp on the Malvern Hills to the east, with which it is inter-visible. The position of the mound within the enclosure suggests that the enclosure preceded the mound. This raises the further possibility that the enclosure is an Iron Age construction. If so, it would fill the ‘gap’ in the distribution of such enclosures that exists in the Frome valley, between Wall Hills, Thornbury, north of Bromyard, and Backbury Camp, Stoke Edith, to the E (White, P. and Ray, K., HSA 3).

CLIFFORD, The Moor Estate (SO 250 435) [HSM 42308]

The survey of the woodland on the Moor Estate formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. A rapid site identification survey was carried out in the Moor Estate woods, including Cwm-bach Wood, the western part of Hawkswood, Grove Wood, Pontfaen Dingle, Newhouse Wood and Coy Cae Wood as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Earthwork features were observed within the woods that illustrate a long history of human activity including agricultural production, woodland management, mineral extraction, and water management, dating from the medieval period to the 19th century. Recorded archaeological features and monuments include field lynchets, charcoal burning platforms, quarries, holloways, a lime-kiln, a dam, a well, and leats associated with a mill and a landscape park (Lello, R., HAR 153).

CROFT, Croft Castle (SO 344 265) [HSM 76000]

A fourth and final season of excavation brought the field component of this project to a close. Several trenches were opened to the south of St. Michael's Church. No traces of the medieval churchyard were located. The parkland here had been subject to considerable landscaping during and after construction of the formal gardens. Traces of medieval domestic structures were located, but the position of settlement activity was most evident from the locally dense scatters of medieval pottery retrieved.

Further information about the formal gardens and later landscape garden works was obtained from the excavations. The late 16th/early 17th-century formal gardens were extended over sloping ground to the south of the house. Here they encountered pits filled with rubble from the demolition of the late 16th-century mansion. A foundation for the formal gardens was simply rafted over these pits, and beds and other features were then constructed on this foundation. A curving earthwork to the east of the formal gardens had been interpreted as a prospect walk in the 2001–2 Croft estate survey. This was sectioned, and was found to carry a broad track surfaced with crushed limestone. It is therefore likely that the 'walk' was also used as a service track to and from the gardens. A hollowed, linear feature had been interpreted in the 2001–2 estate survey as the course of the early ha-ha of 18th-century date, abandoned when the ha-ha was remodelled *c.*1820. A subsequent survey by a garden design historian re-interpreted this feature as a landscaped track intercepted by the later course of the ha-ha. A trench across this feature confirmed the first interpretation (Ray, K., HSA 6).

EWYAS HAROLD, Callow Hill Wood (SO 395 281) [HSM 42844]

The survey of Callow Hill Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above.

Earthwork features were recorded within the wood that illustrate the intensive use of the woodland resource in the late and post-medieval periods. These included saw pits, charcoal burning platforms, quarries and woodland management boundaries. Of particular interest was the presence of well-preserved earthworks thought to represent a Civil War breastwork relating to the first documented skirmish in the county (Hoverd, T., HAR 138.).

FOWNHOPE, Haugh Wood (North) (SO 590 370) [HSM 39130]

The survey of the northern portion of Haugh Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above.

Earthwork features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a history of intensive woodland management since the post-medieval period, including wood boundaries, charcoal burning platforms, and networks of deeply cut holloways with associated collection/storage platforms. Evidence of industrial activities was recorded in the form of mineral extraction pits. Of particular interest is the survival of a linear bank that may be a relic of the clearance of woodland alongside the Woolhope to Mordiford road to prevent banditry during the 13th century (Lello, R., HAR 159).

FOWNHOPE, Limbries Wood (SO 592 378) [HSM 42876]

The survey of Limbries Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a long history of woodland management dating from the medieval period. It appears that the central and eastern portion of the wood was enclosed by a medieval woodland boundary bank, whilst the western part of the wood contained an earthwork enclosure relating to a medieval field system. During the post-medieval period the woodland seems to have expanded and was managed more intensively, resulting in the identification of a number of features relating to woodland management and industry; e.g., charcoal burning platforms, saw pits, holloways, and quarrying (Hoverd, T., HAR 156).

KENCHESTER, The Weir (SO 438 419) [HSM 42254]

A measured earthwork survey of the land to the south and south-west of Old Weir farmhouse was carried out on behalf of The National Trust. The earthworks associated with the Roman road and its causeway as it descends to and across the floodplain of the Wye were recorded. The survival of a counterscarp bank beyond the eastern agger is a rare feature.

An extensive terraced field system along the steep slope above the north side of the flood plain was recorded. This either pre-dates, or may be contemporary with, the Roman road. It is overlain in turn by the furlongs of an open field system, surviving as ridge and furrow in what became parkland between Old Weir and The Weir (Ray, K. and Hoverd, T., HAR 188).

KNILL, Knill Wood (SO 293 620) [HSM 39046]

The survey of Knill Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a long history of woodland management since the post-medieval period, including woodland boundaries, the intensive use of woodland resources, e.g., charcoal burning platforms, saw pits and holloways, and industrial activities including quarrying. Of particular interest is the survival of a bank marking the national border between and England and Wales that may date from the medieval period (Lello, R., HAR 164).

LETTON, Parish church of St. John the Baptist (SO 335 464) [HSM 1705]

A topographic survey of the churchyard of the parish church of St John the Baptist, Letton was undertaken in partnership with the 'Caring for God's Acre' project in the Diocese of Hereford. The aims of the survey were to produce an accurate plan of the churchyard and to investigate topographic features and their relationship to the archaeology and geology of the churchyard and its environs. A plan of the churchyard was drawn at a scale of 1:200. Extensive areas of levelling and boundary re-definition were recorded (Lello, R., HAR 136).

LINGEN, Lingen Vallets Wood (SO 360 670) [HSM 37025]

The survey of Lingen Vallets Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Earthwork features illustrate the intensive use of the woodland resource in the late and

post-medieval periods. These included saw pits, charcoal burning platforms, quarries and woodland management boundaries. Evidence also suggests the presence of an early medieval field system, which predates parts of the wood comprising an enclosure and five lynchets (Ducket, T. and Hoverd, T., HAR 160).

LLANGARRON, Parish church of St. Deinst (SO 530 211) [HSM 6766]

A topographic survey of the churchyard of the parish church of St Deinst was undertaken in collaboration with the 'Caring for God's Acre' project in the Diocese of Hereford. The aims of the survey were to produce an accurate plan of the churchyard, and to investigate topographic features and their relationship to the archaeology and geology of the churchyard and its environs. A plan of the churchyard was produced at a scale of 1:200. Based on field observations and archival research, an interpretation of topographic features is offered that identifies changes in the boundaries of the churchyard, and suggests a mid-first millennium date for its foundation (Lello, R., HAR 135).

MADLEY, Brampton Hill Wood (S0 401 355) [HSM 42919]

The survey of Brampton Hill Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. The earliest features identified are a series of medieval lynchets. The most impressive group of these are located on the east-facing slopes and consisted of four substantial lynchets stepping down the hillside. The most significant sections of lynchet, however, are located near the boundary of the wood. Gaps within the lynchet boundary were filled by post-medieval field boundaries, suggesting that in the post-medieval period farmland around the wood was formalised, but these field boundaries did not continue into the survey area. As a consequence it is possible to suggest that the wood dates to the late medieval/early post-medieval period. The limited number of woodland management sites would also suggest that the primary function of the wood was extraction rather than processing (Williams, D.N., HAR 147).

MADLEY, Kiln Wood (S0 372 378) [HSM 42920]

The survey of Kiln Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. This wood is located on an east-facing slope and was inserted into a post-medieval field system. Two substantial kilns were located on the top of the hill, along with an associated working area and holloway that extended away to the north It was noted however, that there was no evidence of quarrying within the survey area, although the lower slopes especially were heavily overgrown (Williams, D.N., HAR 150).

MADLEY, Lady Coppice and Steep Hill (S0 410 347) [HSM 42921]

The survey of Lady Coppice and Steep Hill formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. These two woods were only separated by a very narrow strip of open ground, but their histories could not be more different. Lady Coppice, although surrounded by a post-medieval field boundaries, had evidence of lynchets, at least on the south-facing slopes. This suggests a late medieval/early post-medieval foundation for the wood. Steep Hill to the

north was also surrounded by post-medieval field systems, but in this instance this system continued throughout the wood. This clearly indicates that the wood is at least post-medieval in date. Along the eastern side of the wood there were numerous and significant quarries, along with numerous building platforms and associated trackways. This indicates that the wood was founded post-quarrying and most likely in the last 200 years (Williams, D.N., HAR 148).

MORDIFORD, Bear's Wood (SO 584 378) [HSM 39093]

The survey of Bear's Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a long history of woodland management since the post-medieval period, including in some areas the intensive use of woodland resources, e.g., charcoal burning platforms and associated trackways, and the presence of woodland boundary features (Lello, R., HAR 158).

MORDIFORD, Timbridge Wood (SO 585 382) [HSM 39116]

The survey of Timbridge Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a history of woodland management since the post-medieval period, including woodland boundaries, holloways and trackways. Of particular interest is the possible indication of medieval agricultural activities in the form of a field lynchet (Lello, R., HAR 157).

MUCH BIRCH, Parish church of St. Mary and St. Thomas à Becket (S0 504 305) [HSM 6477]

During grave-digging activities the top of a medieval preaching cross was discovered to the south of the parish church. The fragment is carved from oolitic limestone and is well preserved, depicting the crucifixion on the northern face, Thomas à Becket on the southern face, the bishop of Hereford on the western face and the Virgin Mary on the eastern face. Each figure is within a carved ogee niche. The fragment is currently being recorded both photographically and by scale drawing prior to its conservation (Hoverd, T., HAR 189).

MUCH COWARNE, site investigation (S0 619 473) [HSM 42926]

As part of the Frome Valley Archaeology, Landscape Change and Conservation project a series of test-pits were opened in an area to the north-east of Much Cowarne church, where Romano-British pottery had been found. Further finds of ceramics, including some of medieval date, were made. However, no traces of any structures or deposits were located (White, P. and Ray, K., HSA 3).

RODD, NASH & LITTLE BRAMPTON, Nash Wood (SO 305 627) [HSM 38975]

The survey of Nash Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a long history of woodland management since at least the post-medieval period, including the intensive use of woodland resources, e.g., charcoal-burning platforms and holloways, and of mineral extraction including the quarrying of

limestone. Of particular interest is the survival of a bank marking the national border between England and Wales, which may date to the medieval period (Lello, R., HAR 163).

SHOBDON, Shobdon Hill Wood (SO 390 643) [HSM 39206]

The survey of Shobdon Hill Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. Earthwork features were recorded within the wood that illustrate agricultural activities dating from the medieval period, a long history of woodland management, including woodland boundaries, the intensive use of woodland resources, e.g., charcoal burning platforms and holloways, and industrial activities including the quarrying of rock and the extraction of clay. Of particular interest is the survival of evidence of agriculture in the form of lynchets, of early woodland management systems in the form of medieval woodbanks, and of a large number of post-medieval charcoal-burning platforms on the steep north-facing slopes, despite recent intensive forestry activities (Lello, R., HAR 166).

TYBERTON, Woodfield Barn Coppice (S0 384 386) [HSM 42922]

The survey of Woodfield Barn Coppice formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. The wood is small and post-medieval in date; it fits within the surrounding post-medieval field system, and practically the entire wood covers extensive but shallow quarrying. The only other feature within the survey area was a holloway along the northern boundary that linked these quarries to the existing road (Williams, D.N., HAR 151).

UPTON BISHOP, Coldborough Park Wood (S0 639 295) [HSM 38338]

The survey of Coldborough Park Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. The wood was split topographically between the western slopes and the eastern valley bottom. This delineation was also evident in the archaeological remains identified during the survey. The western slopes contained evidence of medieval farming in the form of lynchets, holloways and ridge and furrow. That few post-medieval features that were identified may suggest that this extreme westerly portion of the survey area was wooded in the late medieval/early post-medieval period

In the valley bottom, to the east, any medieval activity that may have been present, appears to have been replaced by a post-medieval field system. This later field system has itself been modified by the addition of short sections of wood bank where the pre-existing field boundary (current wood edge) has been straightened. This modification tells us that the woodland within this area has been planned, and the name of the wood indicates the creation of a 17th-century Landscape Park. No conclusive evidence for this was identified during this limited survey, and it is possible that, as today, the site was created as a plantation, possibly in the late 18th century to provide timber for the Napoleonic wars (Williams, D.N., HAR 143).

UPTON BISHOP, Queenswood (SO 675 275) [HSM 38869]

The survey of Queenswood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above.

Earthwork features were recorded within the wood that illustrate a long history of woodland management since the medieval period, including woodland boundaries, charcoal-burning platforms and holloways, and also of industrial activities including mineral extraction. Of particular interest is the survival of evidence of earlier agricultural activities within the present woodland (Lello, R., HAR 142).

WIGMORE, Woodhampton Wood (S0 405 675) [HSM 38391]

The survey of Woodhampton Wood formed part of a study that was conducted in partnership with the Forestry Commission. The survey was carried out as described in Ast Wood, Aylton, above. The earliest feature identified was a possible medieval dyke located on the south side of the wood. This was aligned roughly north-south and extended down the slope away from the wood. This is thought to represent the earliest feature on site as the existing wood edge boundary (see below) overlies it.

No wood bank was identified at any point around the wood; the southern boundary being marked by a medieval lynchet and the north side a post-medieval field boundary. This differentiation between boundaries was noted either side of the parish boundary, which is aligned roughly east-west through the centre of the wood. To the north is Wigmore parish and in the south is Aymestry parish. This suggests that the wood has extended northwards over time, starting on the southern side of the parish boundary in the late medieval/early post-medieval period, and extending northwards in the late post medieval/early modern period.

Woodland management features are minimal, the majority being located on the north side of the wood. This suggests that firstly wood extraction was the primary activity and processing secondary, and secondly that there was possibly a different emphasis by different owners to woodland management on either side of the parish boundary (Williams, D.N., HAR 134).

City of Hereford Conservation Area Advisory Committee
Report of the Club's Representative, 2003–2004

By JEAN O'DONNELL

This year saw the beginning of two large residential redevelopments on the former hospital sites that were sold when the new buildings of the County Hospital were opened.

The important site of the former General Hospital is being redeveloped by Laing Homes with a variety of apartments, houses and some low-cost housing for first time buyers. The plans are pleasing and the sympathetic retention of the original central block will mean that the view from across the river is not spoiled. The General Infirmary was founded by Rev. Dr.Thomas Talbot, rector of Ullingswick, in 1783, with the gift by the Earl of Oxford of the riverside site and £5,000 raised from gifts and legacies. It was extended over the years and the site of the Castle mill was added in 1865 for a lodge and gardens.

The Victoria Eye hospital is to be converted into 6 dwellings with 18 other houses to be built behind with landscaping and parking. It is to be regretted that some community use could not have been found for it as it was largely built and run from public subscriptions. It was first established in 1882 as an Eye and Ear hospital in a cottage in front of the present Baptist church in Commercial Road. Funds were raised and a new purpose-built hospital was designed by E. H. Lingen Barker. a Hereford architect. This opened in 1889. Victoria House is included but much of the additional hospital features have been demolished.

The major scheme for the refurbishment of the City centre and the Cathedral green was dropped when Advantage West Midlands would not fund it. This was a great disappointment and left both areas in decline and general shabbiness.

The year saw frequent discussions on the plans for the redevelopment of the Cattle Market or the *Edgar Street Grid.* The site is 43 hectares (100 acres) immediately north of the City centre. The present population is 56,000 and provides a service and employment centre for the large surrounding area. There has been a decline in manufacturing and the City centre has failed to grow over the past twenty years. There is also a lack of civic and cultural facilities. The challenge is to provide positive redevelopment with enough commercial investment to finance the scheme. It is proposed to link Barr's Court station with a regenerated canal basin and a green walkway to Coningsby hospital continuing to the Courtyard Theatre. All of this depends on the removal of the cattle market to a new out-of-town site.

The removal of Victorian houses continues, and Southbank House, 33 South Bank Road is to be replaced by a block of eleven flats. There was opposition from residents but the overall advantages meant that the plan was approved. In Folly Lane and other nearby roads that were developed during the nineteenth century large family houses built for the gentry and middle-classes of Hereford are rapidly being demolished. In Folly Lane, Uplands, Folly House and Hattrell House have all vanished and Prospect House is so dilapidated that its end must soon come. Most of this property has been sold off by the City Colleges which inherited them when they were divorced from Local Authority control. This year Athelstan Hall was also sold, but its status as a listed building has preserved it from the same fate. It is to be used for residential

courses in security and will be restored after a period of decline. The whole character of Folly Lane has been changed by this devastation. It now is a bland area of closely built modem housing with little distinction.

Plans for a new Learning Village on the colleges' campus in Folly Lane were announced in March. The main structure is threatened by concrete decay and rebuilding is being financed by the Learning and Skills Council that now funds Further Education. The plans for this will be welcomed to provide modern facilities for students.

In November 2003 the Conservation Area award was presented to the Junior Department of the Cathedral school for the new classrooms backing on to Castle Green. They were applauded for listening to the local protests about the height and materials to be used, and changing the design by Angus Jamieson who produced an excellent substitute.

Other matters of concem continue to be the condition of the Saxon Wall behind St. Owen's Court, which was cleared but not restored; the Precentor's Barn on Cathedral Close, and the plaques on historic buildings that are missing and have not been replaced after many requests. These items all add to the general appearance of neglect of our City.

Buildings, 2004

By J. W. TONKIN

This year the Old Buildings Group had talks on the Houses of the Hundreds of Radlow, Wigmore, Wolphy, Webtree and Wormelow.

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated though in some cases the two need to be read together.

HOLMER

HUNTINGTON HOUSE, S0 485 419 Tithe No. 6

The house is situated in the valley of the Yazor Brook just above the 200 ft. contour still within the boundary of the city of Hereford surrounded by good farming land which once had a number of orchards on it.

Externally from the front which faces south-west the main, central part of the house is built of brick in Flemish Garden Wall bond. The two-storey west wing is timber-framed in square panels with the corner posts at the west end having jowled heads. The east wing is single-storied of coursed sandstone rubble.

The brick centre is of two storeys plus attics. There is a fine front doorway with double fan-lights under a pentice roof which extends over a bay window on each side. The first-floor windows are elliptical-headed with vertical sashes and those in the attics also have vertical sashes, but these are only one pane deep. This part has a slate roof and on the east gable is an outbuilt brick chimney.

The west wing has a doorway adjoining the main house and a two-light window in the second panel from the east on the first floor. The roof of both wings are of darkish red Victorian tiles with a row of darker tiles across the centre of each, that on the west with a single square set diagonally in the middle.

The house is of the double-pile type with red sandstone coursed rubble walls on the east gable slightly battered with two elliptical-headed windows with brick lintels, one each on the first and attic floors. The barge-boards on both gables are dentilled and on the eastern is a pendant while on the western is an outbuilt gable chimney serving two fireplaces; this gable has been raised a few courses in brick to equal the height of the other.

The west timber-framed part of the house is four panels long and five panels wide with jowled posts, the ground floor being used as a garage with a room above.

The north front is of coursed sandstone rubble with a doorway in the centre which has a hood over it. There is a comparatively recent two-light window on the ground floor east of the doorway. To the east of the doorway is an outbuilt blocked chimney also of layered rubble and to the west of this a narrow window on the ground floor. Above the doorway and above the window to the east are two two-light windows the one at attic level smaller than that at first-floor level. The west wing has the cider mill and press in it and a garage beyond. Above the cider mill is the lounge.

The lounge has a corner fireplace in the south-west corner. The truss is a late derivative of the base-cruck though with no curved timbers. It is an upper base-cruck of the type used in granaries during the late seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which was still in

use in a few places in the early twentieth century. It carries two through-purlins, the upper being trenched into the principals. The collar appears to be of re-used timber probably from another building on the site. There is a short tie-beam from the top of the post to a straight diagonal upper-base cruck. The room is lit by a window above the fireplace.

What was bedroom 7 is now a dressing room lit by a skylight on the north side. A doorway in the west wall leads through to bedroom 6. This has cut through the tie-beam and uses the collar as its lintel. The roof has been raised and a collar inserted on each side just above the trench of the original trenched-purlin.

The breakfast room, sitting room and kitchen have transverse beams as have bedrooms 2 and 3 above. These have a 3 in. chamfer with run-off stops. This width of chamfer usually dates from the early seventeenth century, pre-1640, and the timber-framed panels between bedrooms 2 and 3 appear to be of the same period. The timber-framing in the attics is of smaller panels and the beam in the bathroom has no stops.

Surprisingly there are very few carpenter's assembly marks to be seen, but in the garage are the short, punched marks of the late seventeenth century, 1675 plus and probably 1680-1700.

At first sight the house appears to be of fairly early eigheenth-century date with timber-framed service wings, but there has been a lot of alteration, and an examination of the interior shows that parts date back to the early seventeenth century. The west wall of the breakfast room has timbers 9 ins. wide and the west wall of the sitting room has inserted timbers in the first and third panels from the west. This implies that there were two doorways in this wall.

Thus it seems that there is a house here dating back to the great rebuild of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The north-east rooms date from the late seventeenth century. The front door is mid-eighteenth century very similar to those found in Dublin and Edinburgh.

Thus it seems that this was a farmhouse, but later, probably in the mid-nineteenth century became of the home of somebody with interests in the city probably being driven in and back every day.

LLANROTHAL

THE CWM, SO 488 177 R.C.H.M. 4 Tithe No. 241

The Cwm is situated in the valley of the river Monnow almost on the 400 ft. contour and less than a mile from the boundary with Wales which for some miles follows the river itself. The land slopes quite steeply down to the river and there is little nearby habitation, the nearest being Upper Cwm Farm almost half a mile away to the south-east.

The original house was probably built in the sixteenth century of sandstone rubble. Very little of this still remains, but on the first floor is an upper-cruck truss.

Soon after 1600 it became the headquarters of the Jesuit Mission in South Wales and in 1622 the main residence of a Jesuit province. In 1678 Captain Scudamore raided and ransacked the house after the Titus Oates plot. Father Lewis was martyred at Usk and Father John Kemble was taken to Pembridge Castle. He later travelled the county and surrounding area ministering to recusants.

The remains were incorporated in a new house built in 1830 with a Greek Doric porch and windows with fine glazing-bars typical of the time. This seems to imply an owner wealthy enough to be up-to-date with the latest fashion of the period.

The mirrored balusters on the main stairs could date from the late seventeenth century/early eighteenth century, but are quite probably part of the *c.*1830 house.

The original cellars at the west end have a single-transomed window in the south wall. In these cellars are what appear to be ovens. It has been suggested that these were for baking unleavened bread for consecration for Mass and in the west wall are two niches with segmental heads and about 8 ins. in diameter.

The house is now double pile with the lounge in front of the dining room on one side of a passage from the front door to the kitchen with an office on the left-hand side. The stairway rises between the office and the kitchen.

The wide eaves with a parapet are again typical of the period *c.*1830.

Thus here we seem to have some remains of an early sixteenth-century pre-Reformation house which suffered as a result of religious persecution in the seventeenth century and was almost completely rebuilt in the early nineteenth century.

UPPER CWM, SO 495 174 Tithe No. 51

This house is situated just below the 500 ft. contour looking south over the valley of the river Monnow.

It is not mentioned in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in its Inventory volume I published in 1931 nor in Pevsner or the Royal Commission volume on *English Vernacular Houses*, but certain features seem to belong to pre-1715 which the Royal Commission was using as its termination date.

The cellars have beams with 4 in. chamfers with Wern Hir stops and the windows are of the single mullion, single transom type which are usually from the period *c.*1680 to *c.*1740.

WEOBLEY CASTLE PROJECT

The following buildings were looked at on the west side of Hereford Road and are published in *Looking Beyond The Castle Walls: The Weobley Project* edit. George Nash & Brian Redwood, BAR British Series 415 ch. 10, pp.167–73.

Name	*Grid. Ref.*	*R.C.H.M. No.*	*Tithe*
2 The Archway	403 516		
Old Grammar School	404 515	50	624
Castle End	403 515		625
Castle House	403 515		625
Old Bank	403 515		626
Nurses Cottage	404 515		626
Castle Green Cottage	404 515		628
Stone Cottage	404 515		627
South Place	404 514		629
Millbank Cottages	403 515		634
Chamberwell	402 514	51	633

Geology, 2004

By MOIRA JENKINS

Soft Bodied Fossils from the Silurian – the Herefordshire *Lagerstätte*

In Herefordshire there is a recently discovered geological site of global significance. Usually only hard parts of animals, such as the shells or bony parts are preserved as fossils. In animals such as shrimps or arthropods the hard carapace may be fossilised. There is very little chance of soft-bodied creatures such as jellyfish, or a rudibranch gastropod with no shell, becoming a fossil. However, between 60% and 70% of ocean communities are soft bodied and with such a small proportion being fossilised, a huge part of the evidence of ancient communities is missing from the fossil record. *Lagerstätte* is the name given to sites, where soft-bodied fossils are found providing a unique window on ancient environments. The occurrence of such layers of exceptional preservation is exceedingly rare. Herefordshire *Lagerstätte* is one of the few sites in the whole world where soft body parts have been preserved and one of only three *Lagerstätte* in the world where there are soft-bodied fossils of Silurian age. The fossils are marvellously preserved, showing incredible detail in three dimensions including leg hairs, eyes and gills.

During the Silurian Period, Avalonia, which included the area which is now Herefordshire, split off from the Southern Hemisphere continent of Gondwana, and moved northwards, later colliding with North America. The area where the *Lagerstätte* formed was on the slope of the outer continental shelf and upper continental slope in about 150–200 m. of water with deep water to the west (the Welsh trough) and shallow water to the east. At this time there was an Irish landmass. About 425 million years ago in late Wenlock stage, a volcano erupted and deposited a layer of ash over the area. In this layer, also called a bentonite band, the fossils have been preserved.

Animals were washed down into the bentonite on the seabed. Quickly forming nodules encapsulated the creatures before the body parts decayed. As decay products leaked into the matrix an external mould was created. The surrounding clay was thixotropic, sticky, and the build up of gases as the creature decayed may also have helped to maintain the shape of the void. The decaying body parts were replaced by $CaCO_3$ minerals, fibrous or sparry calcite. This happened very, very quickly or the three dimensional shapes would not have been preserved. The nodule was strong enough to prevent squashing by the weight of overlying sediments. The fossils are only found in nodules, preserved as calcite, quartz, dolomite, silica or clay minerals. There are gastropods, sponges and graptolites. There are trilobite appendages with cetae. There is no other locality in the world where trilobite appendages are found. Other fossils include a starfish with tube feet preserved. There is a brachiopod with a pedicle to tether it to the substrate and a crinoid with epifauna on it. There is a two-millimetre radiolarian.

There was a 2 mm. fossil similar to specimens which had been found before. It was thought to be an ostracod, but the soft parts of this had previously not been known. This fossil can be seen to be bivalved and the eye, mandibles, gills, internal organs and antennae can be seen. Even valves are preserved and it can be related to modern day ostracodes. In the *Sun* newspaper on 5th December 2003 this was reported under the headline, ‘Old Todger’. The specimen is male as can be seen from the oldest copulatory organ known, 425 million years old. A sea spider found at the site has pincers and spindly appendages with cetae, which are

wonderfully preserved, though incredibly delicate. This is a male as the males carry the eggs. Sea spiders are only known from four other sites in the world and the Herefordshire site is the best preserved.

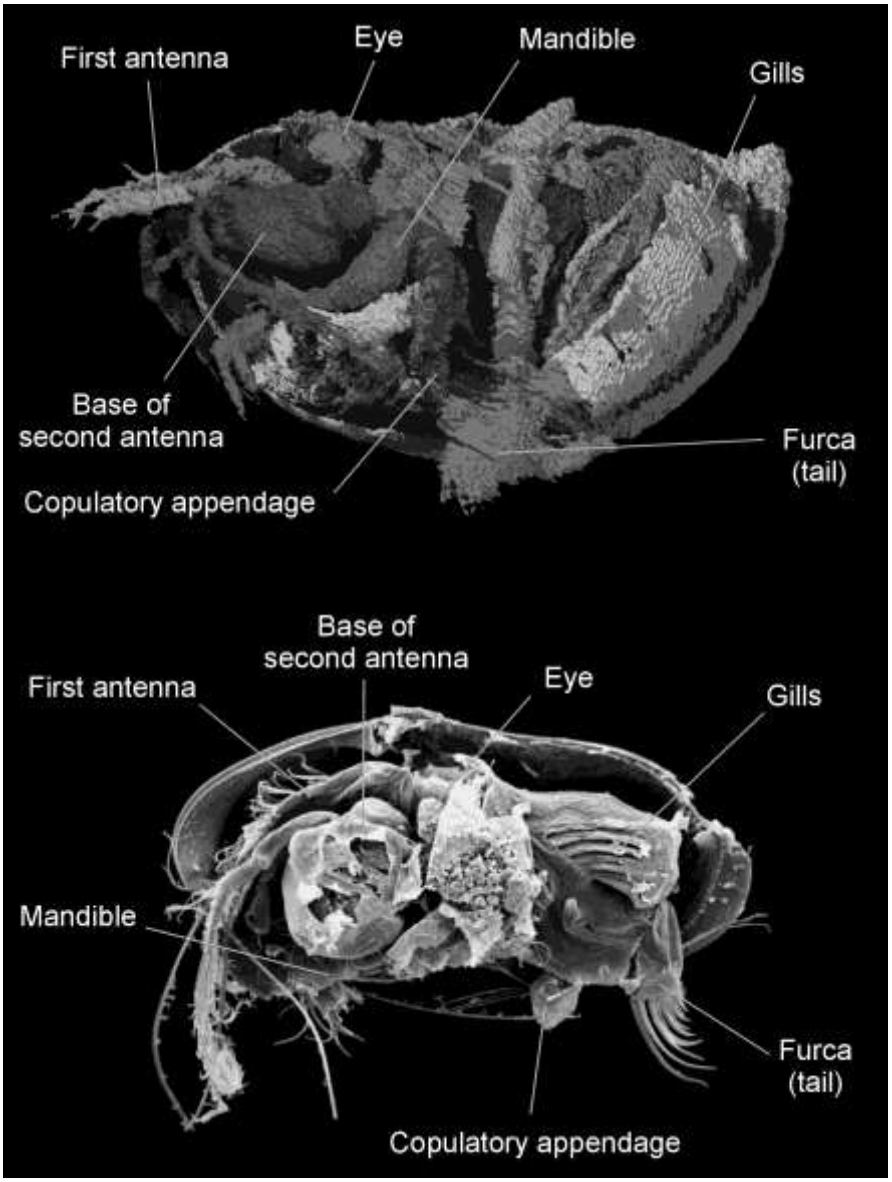

Figure 1. The picture shows a computer generated 3-D image of a Silurian fossil ostracode (above) and a modern day ostracode (below). This picture is reproduced by the kind permission of Dr. Derek Siveter. Further details can be found in the papers listed at the end of this report, especially reference 2. ©Derek Siveter

The location of this site has not been divulged. A similar site at Lesmahagow in Scotland has been plundered by fossil collectors and valuable scientific information has been lost. There are hundreds more nodules but the exposure is small. This is a treasure trove with many fossils showing details that have not been seen elsewhere and with species which are only known from this site.

Splitting a nodule reveals a creature which was hard to identify so a novel technique has been developed to investigate and record the specimens. Radiolaria are formed of silica and so can be put in an acid bath to dissolve the surrounding sediment. Most of the fossils in the Herefordshire *Lagerstätte* are preserved as calcium carbonate with the same mineral in the sediment around them so this method was not feasible. A dentist's drill with a fine needle was tried but was too slow. The technique invented uses serial sectioning, grinding and the power of the modern computer. A specimen is cut square and put in resin in a slide holder in wax, raised above the rim by 20 microns (20 thousandths of a millimetre). Carborundum is used to grind it down 20 microns. Digital photos are taken and repeated to produce 200 to 500 images. A computer programme has been developed to stitch it all together and make a model of the actual fossil which has been destroyed. It takes one to two weeks to grind and photograph, then a few months to edit the digital photos and a couple of months with the computer.

The Herefordshire *Lagerstätte* was discovered by the curator of mineralogy at Leicester University. While looking for minerals, he found nodules some 10–20 cms. across, some 3 or 4 cms. in a bentonite band, a band of volcanic ash, about 1 m. thick. He cracked open a nodule and found calcite in an organic form. This specimen was stored in a drawer at the museum in Leicester. Sometime later someone showed it to Professor David Siveter, who, because he could see arthropod appendages, contacted his brother Dr. Derek Siveter at Oxford University. The site was investigated further by them, Dr. Mark Sutton also of Oxford University and Dr. Derek Briggs of Bristol University. One in three or four of the nodules were found to contain fossils in the central, unweathered part of nodules or perhaps to one side, sometimes more than one in a nodule. The nodules have grown and captured fossils such as arthropods with appendages preserved in calcite, fibrous at the edge and sparry in the centre. There are clay minerals round the edge and apatite and pyrite. There is calcite in the background sediment and enrichment of elements in the body. The gut is enriched in phosphorus, probably by bacteria.

The location of the volcano which laid down the bentonite is not known. In the Prague area are thick volcanics but this is not close to the site. It could be the Dingle Peninsula where there are trace fossils and volcanics. Moon's Hill Quarry in the Mendips has volcanic rocks but these are mid Wenlock so there is a discrepancy in age. More research work is needed. Work is continuing on investigating the fossils in the nodules from the Herefordshire *Lagerstätte* and exciting new discoveries are continually being made at this truly remarkable site in Herefordshire. Further details can be viewed on the website:
www.earth.ox.ac.uk/herefordshire/fossil.htm

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Natural History Section, 2004

By BERYL HARDING

5 April. On a chilly, blustery day a spring plant survey was made of four churchyards in the southern part of the county.

Aston-under-Penyard - St. Lawrence's Church
The churchyard is well above the village roadways with high drystone retaining walls and extended to the south for more recent burials. The grassland in this latter section is not particularly herb-rich unlike that in the older part. Where the gravestones are mostly of sandstone they carry a good lichen growth. Nine species of trees were identified including both Irish and English yew and forty-six species of herbaceous plants.

Lea - the Church of St. John the Baptist
Unfortunately, the church was locked so we were unable to see the remarkable 12th/13th century font, unique in Herefordshire, with the stoup attached to a shaft supported by an elephant.

The churchyard boundaries were low drystone walls except where flanking the busy A40. Again, the older gravestones had a rich lichen flora and the turf was comparatively herb rich with thirty-nine species of herbaceous plant. The trees included several Irish yews and fourteen of the wider-spreading English yews.

Aston Ingham church
This is also dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Located in a quiet, small village amid rolling, wooded hills, the churchyard is flanked by buildings to the south and east, by low drystone walls with high walls to the west and north and by banks of primroses and cultivated daffodils to the west. The turf is closely mown and not very herb-rich but thirty-two species of herbaceous plants were found, and eight trees species including a large lime and, unusually, four acacias. Again, the sandstone gravestones had good lichen cover. There was also a free-standing sundial which functioned well for G.M.T., despite the clouds.

Linton-by-Ross, St. Mary's Church
After lunch, this was reached via a long ridge with wide views over rolling countryside. The church is in the centre of the village with a steep retaining wall on the roadside, and drystone walls or hedges flanking the other sides. The grass is mown regularly and only herb-rich in the western quarter which gave twenty six species of plant. Among the trees is a very old, large, hollow yew of about 15–20 ft. circumference. The central cavity, large enough for several people to stand in, had a vigorous new bole growing up and carrying much of the upper foliage. Unfortunately, someone had made a fire inside and totally destroyed this new growth.

May 9. A visit was made to a home in Little Dewchurch with kind permission of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Richard King. This sixteen-acre site of woodland and semi-natural grassland was purchased some ten years ago, with the intention of using it for conservation purposes.

Three ponds of varying sizes have been dug out, the largest 300 sq. m. and 2.75 m. deep.

They needed no lining and being on a slope they were banked at the lower edges and retained water depth naturally via percolation from the woods above. The smallest tends to have abundant frog spawn, the second is used by smooth newts for breeding and the third and largest by toads, some frogs and crested newts. It also attracts hawker dragonflies. Amid the reeds, moorhen and mallard nest, making good use of the cover.

Bur-reed came in naturally and spreads a lot, but supports a varied beetle population. The greater reed-mace also came in naturally and greater spearwort, which can be a problem. Amid the edge-plants are marsh marigold, ragged robin, ladies smock, common spotted orchid and bog bean, an attractive flower which was in full bloom at the time. Around the ponds are water trefoil, knapweed, meadow sweet, hemp agrimony and water parsnip, which later gives a mass of colour so attracting butterflies. The water parsnip seems beloved by greater crested newts for egg-laying so that almost every leaf can be found curled by the mother around the individual eggs laid. Bladderwort, yellow water lilies and floating pondweed can be seen in the water.

Yellow rattle was seeded in the surrounding grass, which, being parasitic on grass, helps to keep it down. At the lower level of this field a thick hedge of blackthorn, hazel and dogwood has been planted, giving shelter and in which birds nest, including warblers. In various corners piles of logs are left for invertebrates, and tin sheets provide shelter for slow worms and grass snakes. A further small pond by the house contains all three species of newt: the common, the smooth and the greater crested, and also fringed water lilies and glaucous sedge (*Carex flacca*).

The orchard of three to four acres in old unimproved grassland contains cider and cooking apple trees: parts of the grass are herb-rich containing, among other species, alchemilla, birds-foot trefoil, black knapweed, orchids, devil's bit scabious and dyers greenweed. Such areas need to be fenced in summer to seed freely until September and then cut for hay. This can make grazing management difficult but the sheep graze the remainder of orchards and other fields, and being the attractive badger-faced Welsh mountain species they can cope with the tougher late grass. Quaking grass grew in the past as a result of liming from the limekilns built in the woods above, but no longer. Altogether 151 species of plants have been recorded in the meadows and hedgerows.

There are more than twenty nest boxes in the orchard and woods plus a newly-erected owl box. Many of these are taken up by nuthatches which seem to do very well. The parents of both these and the spotted-woodpeckers bring their young to the nut feeders to initiate them into the use of such a ready food source.

Ballis Wood, a woodland of several acres of ash and alder with silver birch at the lower levels, is on the hillside above the house. Wood anemone, bluebells and yellow archangel were abundant. Many of the silver birch are mature so providing a habitat for the silver-birch moth. Much coppicing took place in the past and this is continued: one five-branched stool is 50–60 years old. Four small areas have been cut to allow regeneration with the increased light—bluebells, foxgloves and ferns have re-grown, but also brambles which now need attention.

Old track ways are still visible in the woodland and at the upper levels old marker stones have been found which would have divided the woodland into strips—presumably lots were cast for respective ownership of each strip, as in the case of the hay management in the Lugg meadows.

22 June. Further churchyard surveys were made at:

St. Clodock's Church, Clodock

This is situated in a small village with hilly surroundings. The church itself is on a mound—inside it still has box-pews and a Jacobean pulpit with its sounding board. This Norman site is beside the river Monnow and still has many of its old gravestones in place: there are *c*.850. Many of these and the old lychgate are of Old Red Sandstone, so the lichen cover is good. With so many old graves and horizontal slabs the grass is fly-mown and the cuttings remain in place: nevertheless, the turf is fairly herb-rich with forty-eight species of herbaceous plant identified. Around the churchyard are English Yew, sycamore, rowan, maple and cypress trees. Beside the river are quite a few alder trees—some, unfortunately, showing signs of the fungal disease attacking these trees at present and several had been killed. This disease has been around for the last twenty years and it was first believed that it would decimate the alders, rather like the effects of Dutch elm disease. However, it seems that if the trees are cut back they can re-grow.

The churchyard boundaries are a drystone wall to the east with railings flanking the Monnow and a weir, to the west a drystone retaining wall with pennywort, to the south a newer drystone wall and the side of the adjacent public house and to the north a managed hedge with ash, hawthorn, elder, willow and rose.

Such wildlife as was seen consisted of the small brown and speckled wood butterflies, a parasitic Solitary Bee and several yellow ants' nests abutting the gravestones.

St. Mary's Church, Walterstone

This is also in a small village and sheltered. Again it is a Norman site and appears to be built on a mound.

To the east, south and west the walls have been repaired and mortared but that to the north is a drystone wall much covered with ivy and flanking a very steep-sided lane. The ivy provides a good shelter for invertebrates. Again the non-marble gravestones and the preaching cross have good lichen cover.

The turf was heavily mown with the cuttings cleared to a compost heap. About 90%.is herb-rich on the north side in particular. Overall, twenty-six species of herbaceous plants were identified including the seldom-found Salad Burnet with its attractive, fringed flowers.

The trees were English Yew and sycamore with ornamental plantings of laurel, rhododendron and rose-elder had moved in naturally.

St. Michael's Church, Ewyas Harold

This is situated in a rapidly expanding village on a 13th-century site.

The boundaries are marked by a drystone wall and hedge to the south a partly-mortared wall to the north with an adjacent house and another such wall to the east beside the school. To the west beside railings, the Dulas book flows through a steeply-cut little channel.

The management of the grass shows three levels of maintenance. Around the entrance and paths it is mown and cleared. In the main old churchyard to the south it is left unmown around the graves so the plants can seed, and on the north side the grass had been mown earlier and then left to grow several inches. Fifty-three species of herbaceous plants were identified giving a herb-rich yield in the southern section especially. A newer churchyard had been made to the north-east: all well mown with marble gravestones. Again lichen cover is abundant on the older stone gravestones and yellow ants' nests occurred. The trees were English and Irish

Yew plus ornamental conifers, weeping prunes and lilac in the older sections and thick, high hedges in the newer churchyard.

6 July.
A visit was made to Moccas Park led by Dr. David Boddington.

Moccas Park is considered one of the five most important areas of relict wood pasture in England, and thus provides an ecosystem linked to the past. Many of the trees in the Park reach a grand old age but they all die eventually. Rejeuvenation is assisted by pollarding so reducing the upper weight. Some new tree planting has taken place and these are protected by trunk caging but the average age for many is 300–400 years.

The majority of the trees are oak, which acts as home to more types of insect than any other tree in Britain. There are some beeches which are not so long-living, and four old ash trees, some horse-chestnut and sweet chestnut. Both the latter grow quickly, producing dead wood quite soon which is invaluable to invertebrates. At the restoration of the monarchy in the 17th century numerous sweet chestnut were planted across the whole country, but many were felled in Moccas in the 18th and 19th centuries. Of the oak trees, the Knoll Oak (tree no. 267) is the tallest in the Park at 27.5 m. The Woolhope Oak (no. 259) was measured by the Woolhope Club members in 1870, 1932 and 1985, and has started to draw in its branches with advancing years. The bark is very strange with long ridges which twist anti-clockwise, closely resembling that of a sweet chestnut. The English Oak (no. 8) is one of the oldest trees in the park, reckoned to be 615 years old, and the Stag's Horn Oak or the Moccas beetle tree is the most famous, firstly because it is the oldest tree, at least 660 years, and secondly it was the first place in the country where a very rare beetle was found in 1934. It has still not yet been found elsewhere in Britain, hence its name as the Moccas Beetle

It was not until 1940 that the Park was recognised as important, and not until 1963 was it recognised as an S.S.S.I. In 1977 it became a Grade 1 site; in 1981 a National Nature Reserve and in 1986 a Grade 2 site, mostly for its parkland, but still not then recognised for its unique beetle fauna. At Moccas there are more than 900 different species of beetle, 241 of which live in dead wood. In the past, if a tree or branches fell, the villagers had a right to the timber itself. That right exists no longer, so now all drop-wood is stacked to the north side of a tree for the beetles and their larva to use. Some prefer the wood to be dry and others prefer it damper, so both conditions can be obtained in this way. The park is unique not only for its variety of beetles, but also other invertebrates One species, the 'round fungus beetle' *(Colon dentipes)* was found by Jonathan Cooter at Moccas in 1992, recorded in only three counties since 1969.

Dead wood is a valuable habitat with 2,000 different invertebrate species in Britain relying upon it, as do many fungal species. It provides a stable habitat thus leading to invertebrate specialisation, each in their particular niche, so giving a complex ecosystem: we may never really know the full complexities. Beetles are able to lay their eggs on the bare wood so the grubs can burrow into the tree after hatching. Some eat the wood, others burrow through looking for other invertebrates to feed on until they are ready to emerge from their burrow. The males emerge first, then the females, with the eggs subsequently laid amid the rotting wood. Nourishment is obtained from the breakdown of the wood fibres by their strong mouthparts, and also from the pollen protein of nearby flowers, including that of the chestnut and lime trees. Many thistle flower-heads were seen with numbers of tiny young beetles feeding on the pollen.

At one time Moccas Park was top of the list for British lichens, but the number has dropped considerably lately. It is thought that this was due to the use of fertilisers: this was stopped six years ago. This has been shown to have an adverse effect at Holme Lacey College where cattle slurry was sprayed as grass top-dressing too near trees, and splashed up the trunk ruining the lichen cover. Too much clover growing nearby can have a similar effect, and it is now believed that clover can give off nitrogen gas, as well as its nitrogen input into the soil, so affecting lichen growth. Lichens are extremely sensitive to pollutants which is why they are such good indicators of the purity of the surrounding atmosphere.

The lower, flatter area of the Park is known as the Lawn. It contains hollows and bumps left during the last ice-age, and is part of the continuing morainic ridge around Staunton-on-Wye. It is thought that the hollows may have been formed by melting lenses of ice trapped below the morainic debris, as in kettle-hole lakes. Another theory is that these hollows may be relics from an old course of the Wye. Tests with boreholes trace late glacial vegetation changes which are determined from pollen records. Written records show that there were three main ponds. One of these has dried to a marsh in the summer, another is dry and encroaching vegetation is turning it into a carr with oak, alder and willow. The third and main Lawn Pool is long and tortuous in shape, very reminiscent of an old stream bed, but it had also dried up considerably. No maintenance appears to be carried out to keep the pools water-fed all year. Most of the flora and fauna are able to cope by going into egg or encystment stages during drought. The Lawn Pool is one of the best ponds for the growth of Bladderwort, an insectivorous water plant that produces tiny bladders on its stems to entrap its prey. All three species of *Lemna*, or duckweed, can also be found.

The Upper Park lies above the bracken line where the ground begins to rise more steeply. The herd of fallow deer in the Park are kept in good condition by culling to maintain a population of about 150 animals. One or two were seen but most kept to the upper levels of the oak woods, although fawns could have been lying-up hidden in the bracken nearby.

A few nest boxes were visited and looked at inside—it had been a moderately successful year there. There were fewer Pied Flycatchers nesting but the fledging results of those were good. The various holes and crevices in the trees provide nesting sites for many species of birds. The Wellingtonia with its soft bark is a particular favourite of Nuthatches which will travel up to two miles for strips of the bark for nesting material. Presumably before 1873 when these trees were introduced into Britain the nuthatches must have used honeysuckle strands.

An interesting point was made by Dr. Boddington that all trees have a wide expanse of roots surrounded by fungal threads, or mycorrhiza, this in turn extends further the area of the root systems and also form extensive networks with those of nearby trees. These increase both the water-absorbing power of the roots and root hairs, but can also pass chemical messages from one tree to another in times of stress or defoliation by invertebrates, so allowing the adjacent trees not yet affected to produce more tannins in their own defence.

7 August. A visit was made to the Sned Wood area near Aymestry.

A small group of members met on a sunny morning at Lyepole Bridge. Before setting off through the Sned Wood gorge we reminded ourselves that the gorge, separating Mere Hill from Sned Wood, followed the line of the Leinthall Earls fault and that it was possibly cut, or at least deepened, when the Lugg was diverted from a former course through the Covenhope valley during the last glaciation of the area. The valley is steep-sided and flat-floored as it is infilled with fluvio-glacial gravels, so in its hey-day it must have been much deeper than at present. F.

W. Kendrick once told me that the gravels are over 100 ft. thick near Aymestry.

The object of the visit was partly to see how many plants were still flowering and what butterflies were flying. Birds were quiet on this morning visit in late summer but Buzzards were calling, as was a lone Nuthatch. We neither saw nor heard any of the river birds which haunt the valley in spring, including kingfishers.

Butterflies were not plentiful despite the number of Creeping Thistles in bloom and the presence of some blackberry flowers. Nevertheless, Small Whites were seen but only one Tortoiseshell, several Ringlets and one Speckled Wood. Pride of place went to half-a-dozen or so Silver-Washed Fritillaries enjoying the remaining blackberry flowers.

The flora was mostly going to seed but about thirty-five flower species were still recognisable including the Autumn Hawkbit and Cat's Ear. The small Teazel, although scarce in the county, was fairly common beside the track and seems to favour the section of the Lugg valley from at least Kinsham to Aymestry. Nettle-leaved Bellflower was still doing well but the Spreading Bellflower which is usually present on the north-east facing side of the hill was not seen, probably because of the vigorous growth of other species. Upright Hedge Parsley was flowering well as were Hogweed and Angelica. Wood Vetch is a plant which is widespread, but localised nationally, however, it particularly favours Herefordshire woodland rides and was still showing a few late flowers. (Peter Thomson)

23 September. A visit was made to Wellington Gravel Pits with Keith Mason.
Before any extraction was allowed the making of a nature reserve for the largest pool had to be agreed. The pits have been made as a result of gravel extraction leaving deep hollows to the level of the water table, so they remain water-filled throughout the year. They provide one of the best sites in the county for water birds. Notices show that the site is important for breeding birds listed in Schedule I of the Wildlife and Countryside Act of 1981, and consequently disturbances are forbidden.

The first pool had six Herons resting along the banks, more than thirty Coots, one Little Grebe and thirty-one Mute Swans—these were an adult group of non-breeders tending to gather together. Swallows were swooping and feeding overhead, no doubt gathering for their southward migration, and a flock of Long-tailed Tits were calling from the nearby trees.

At a second, larger pool twenty or more Coots were feeding and diving amid stretches of weed, which provides differing forms of plant and invertebrate food: also numerous were Mallard and Tufted Duck. There was a Great Crested Grebe and six Shovellers, no longer in their chestnut plumage as they had finished breeding. There were also seven Mute Swan, one pair with four well-grown cygnets, at the far side of the water and three juvenile Lesser Black-backed Gulls.

A third pool is a fisherman's lake with various coloured floats to discourage birds landing. At the fourth pool clusters of Black-headed Gulls were to be seen. At this time of the year they no longer have black heads, merely a black spot beside the eye.

In winter these ponds can carry a large, although temporary, population of water birds.

Ornithology, 2004

By BERYL HARDING

January was a mild but damper month than usual but with some snow and strong winds by the end of the month. Nevertheless, Goldcrest first song was heard by 17 January, and a Hoopoe was seen at Dinmore on 23 January. Small flocks of Brambling were sighted during January-March with more reported in the Bromyard area than for several years. Goldfinches were also seen in small flocks during January-March with some feeding on lavender seed heads at Holme Lacy.

February started mild, then soon turned cold and dry with two light falls of snow in the southern part of the county—the coldest month of the winter. Even so, some Coal Tits were trying to mate by 16 February. Coal and Marsh Tits over-winter in their same environment, and are therefore ready to start nesting activities earlier than Blue or Great Tits, which scatter in winter and then need to re-establish territories. Some Skylarks were displaying from 13 February: 100+ Linnets were gathered at Wyevale Garden Centre on 31 January; on 5-6 February about 50,000 Starling were in a large roost of two flocks at Portway and 90+ Lesser Redpoll were seen on a silver birch tree in a Bodenham garden. As is becoming frequent, single Chiffchaffs were seen during the winter, with some in song by 17 March.

One and two Greylag geese were seen at the Foy and Backney parts of the Wye, also a Snow Goose at Kenchester Pool on 28 March. When an unusual goose or duck is sighted in the county it is often dismissed as an escape. However, a survey (repeating work previously done in 1991 and covering 1,594 sites nationally) concentrated mainly on Canada and Greylag geese, but also included non-native species as well, gave the figures of:-

Canada Geese	54,587	Snow geese	86
Greylag	26,640	Bar-headed	52
Barnacle	693	Pink-footed	36
Egyptian	575	Emperor	14

With these numbers flying around the country it may be that the Herefordshire sightings of Barnacle, Egyptian and Snow geese may not be random escapes, but the beginnings of a natural population. Two Egyptian Geese were also seen at Kenchester Pool in July and August.

March continued cold with sharp frosts and cold winds contributing to the chill factor. April was cool and wet but with no frosts. Oyster Catchers were seen at various pools in singles and pairs in April and May with six later in June at Wellington gravel pits. Swifts were noted in April with two at Hereford old bridge. The return of Swifts from Africa is triggered by day length, so arrival is a bit earlier nowadays. They did arrive in April but left during the cold May and not all had returned by later in the month. This may have been caused by the low-pressure systems over Spain throughout much of May, which could also have affected House Martin returns.

A notable feature of the 2003/04 winter was a major influx of finches and winter thrushes as well as some waterfowl, tits and buntings into rural gardens in the New Year when natural foods were prematurely diminished. Nationally, an impressive 81 species were recorded. The garden bird feeding figures in winter, recorded by the Herefordshire Ornithological Club (HOC) members, gave 65 species over the quarter to March, including Red-legged Partridge, Buzzard, Kestrel, Grey Wagtail, Little Owl, Moorhen, Lesser Spotted

Woodpecker, Kingfisher and Racing Pigeon as well as the usual eighteen species of garden birds.

Winter feeding benefits birds most but food shortages can occur at any time, especially in the spring. Feeding around the year gives birds a better chance to survive. In spring and summer, birds need high protein foods, especially when they are moulting later on, also feeding lets adults eat quickly so that they have more time to find suitable food for their young

The arrival of spring brings a large turn-over in our bird population with winter visitors departing and summer migrants arriving from the south. The British Trust for Ornithology (BTO) has set up a Migration Watch to monitor these movements. One example of this recording has shown that by the end of April most Fieldfares, Redwing and Brambling have moved out of Britain to their breeding grounds in Scandinavia. Another record shows that each spring the Wheatear is one of the earliest migrants to arrive from West Africa south of the Sahara, arriving in March/early April. Then in late April/early May another batch arrives, presumably birds of the larger Greenland race passing through Britain and Ireland en route to breeding in Greenland and Iceland. They need to time their movement carefully to arrive when conditions are right, both ice-free and with a steady supply of food. A third peak is recorded in late June which could be adults returning south after their first brood, or following an unsuccessful breeding attempt

May had rain in the first week and was then mainly dry with very variable weather. June was warm and dry during the first week then wetter, cloudy and cool. July was also variable but mostly dry becoming finally warm and sunny.

The Herefordshire Nest Box Recordings Scheme

The results for the last six years are as follows: (With no recording in 2001 due to foot and mouth disease.)

	2004	**2003**	**2002**	**2001**	**2000**	**1999**	**1998**
Sites recorded	29	23	16	-	24	28	28
Boxes available	766	824	567	-	842	833	954
Boxes used	467	431	282	-	423	475	591
Percentage used	**60.9**	**52.3**	**49.7**	**-**	**50.2**	**57.0**	**61.9**

Success rate in fledging in 2004.		**Ditto for 2003**
Pied Flycatcher	71.4% on14 sites	53.1% on 14 sites
Blue Tit	78.4% on 24 sites	62.5% on 23 sites
Great Tit	68.7% on 21 sites	64.6% on 22 sites
Marsh Tit	100% on 1 site	85.4% on 6 sites
Coal Tit	100% on 1 site	28.2% on 1 site.
Wren	78.0% on 3 sites	22.2% on 2 sites
Nuthatch	78.7% 6 sites	64.0% on 4 sites
Tawny Owl	Unknown results on 1 site	-
Redstart	None this year.	Unknown results on one site

Pied Flycatcher Only Results

	Sites	Nests	Eggs	Fledged	% success
2000	24	140	669	494	73.8
2002	13	97	685	263	38.4
2003	14	209	708	376	53.1
2004	14	89	620	443	71.4

As can be seen, the results were better than the disappointing returns for 2003, but Pied Flycatcher results still follow a downward trend. At one site at Mary Knoll, 217 young were fledged and ringed in 1987 but in 2004 only 42 were ringed.

For most nest box recorders and ringers 2004 was a busy season, with many species having a successful breeding year after the below-average season in 2003. March started off with high pressure producing sunny spells and over-night frosts. April and May were generally fine, mild months but with periods of heavy rain and some flooding. The first half of June was mild and July started unsettled, but by mid month high pressure had moved in. August was the wettest month since 1956.

Given this mix of weather, productivity was quite good for most species. Wren, Dunnock, Robin, Blackbird, Song Thrush, Blackcap, Chiffchaff, Long-tailed Tit, Great and Blue Tit showed a significant increase compared with 2003, which was below average. Thus, for many species breeding success was above average. Blackbirds had a low start with some failures of first broods, but overall productivity was 10% above the long-term average. The Song Thrush had an excellent season with productivity 40% above the long-term average giving a most welcome upturn. Only the Willow Warbler and Goldfinch showed a significant decline between 2003–04.

One of the effects of climate change is that a number of our common species are nesting significantly earlier, such as the Long-tailed Tit which is now two weeks earlier than twenty-five years ago. Will they become multi-brood rather than single-brood species as the length of the nesting season extends? There are other nesting patterns which may eventually become affected: some begin in January and February such as Grey Herons, Tawny Owl, Dipper, Song Thrush, Raven and Crossbill. Some single-brood species that lose their early clutches usually lay repeat clutches, sometimes in the same nest, e.g. Sparrow Hawk, Kestrel, Lapwing, Little Owl, Great Tit, Chaffinch and Willow Warbler. Some species raise two, three or even more broods with suitable conditions such as Coot, Kingfisher, Swallow, Robin, Stonechat and Greenfinch. Others are more opportunist laying whenever food supplies are plentiful or during periods of warmth, e.g. Mallard, resident doves, Barn Owl, Blackbird, Skylark and House Sparrow.

The number of Song Thrushes now breeding is about one-third of that thirty years ago, with a continuous decline apart from 1974–79 and 1983–87. Nesting records show that, if anything, brood sizes are increasing and nest failing occurs less often, so it seems likely that there are changes in the number of birds surviving each year. Depressingly, records show that half of all Song Thrushes fledged from the nest will be dead within forty-five days and two-thirds within seventy days. Most succumb to predators, or are unable to find sufficient food. Cold, snowy weather in winter provides a hazard for young thrushes and also hot or dry weather in summers when it is too difficult to find sufficient food in the soil. As farmland becomes less suitable for Song Thrushes so, in turn, gardens become more important but the

use of pesticides may be affecting them. Thus the environment is changing in a number of ways, and in poor weather they find it difficult to cope. For a species living at the edge there are too few good years for recovery to be sustained, although this year will prove beneficial.

Ravens continue to be noted to the west of the county in the summer, but ones and twos have now reached as far east as Fownhope, Madley and Hereford City.

August was a temperate month with a reasonable amount of rainfall but in some places this was high and ruined crops. Nationally, it was the wettest August on record since 1912, with one hundred flood warnings. September was also temperate with a dry spell at first then cloudy with some rain.

In September 2004 the Government announced a reduction in the level of evidence required to prove serious damage by Cormorants to a fishery. No proof of damage will be necessary. The new policy could see up to 3,000 birds being killed each year, out of a total English wintering population of 17,000. The R.S.P.B. is determined to reverse this policy. The Minister for Nature Conservation has ignored advice from his scientific advisors that research has shown that Cormorants have little real effect on fish stocks nationally and DEFRA's own research has shown that fish shelters on still-water fisheries can reduce any Cormorant damage by up to 86%.

The areas of pasture in the U.K. has decreased by 10% during the last thirty years, but the decline in some grassland feeders such as Starlings and the thrushes has exceeded that percentage many times over, whereas others such as Crows and Jackdaws have flourished. With increasingly intensified farm management and diverse-species pasture replaced by rye grass monoculture, a dense, fast-growing sward of longer grass is being produced. Both Starlings and corvids (the crow family) prefer foraging in short swards. These contain more preferred prey such as earthworms and leather jackets in the top few centimetres of soil, and are easier to move through and allow a view of predators. By testing it has been found that Starlings forage by randomly pushing their beaks into the ground, opening it and creating a hole, if prey is detected they repeatedly stab the area to retrieve it. Many probes are needed for success. Between probes they lift up their heads to scan for predators or gather information from their flock mates.

The Starling's eye has adapted to allow both near and distant objects to remain in focus simultaneously. Long swards act as a barrier to observing distant objects giving less time for probing for food, whereas in short swards foraging-bursts last longer with fewer scanning interruptions so giving better feeding. Being larger, the corvids can still feed successfully in the increasing number of longer sward pastures compared with the Starlings.

October was rather mild and also proved the sunniest October on record but latterly the coldest for ten years, also wetter than average by the end of the month with 143 mm. of rain rather than the average of 83 mm. November had low rainfall but was cloudy and cool. However, 6 November was the warmest November day on record but it turned colder by the middle of the month. December had a cold spell mid-month with persistent frosts and a little snow which killed off the garden annuals that had persisted during the milder winter months. This winter had a large influx of Waxwings into the county.

BTO volunteers and the BBC's Today programme listeners joined forces to find the earliest garden birds on 21 December, the shortest day of the year. The Blackbird was earliest at 13.0 minutes after first light, the Robin at 16.0 minutes, the Blue Tit at 19.5 minutes, the Song Thrush at 21.9 minutes, the Dunnock at 22 minutes and the Wren at 23.2 minutes so continuing to the Starling at 29 minutes, the Greenfinch at 30 minutes and the Goldfinch at

30.2 minutes. The early presence of the Blackbird, Robin and Song Thrush was no surprise as all three are known to sing at night, affected by street lighting, and even feeding under the lighting. The last three late risers often arrive in flocks and dominate the feeding stations so the early risers benefit by getting there first!

Autumn brought a bumper crop of berries and fruits which gave bountiful feeding to many bird species—most of the berries had been cleared before mid-December and Christmas. Flocks of up to twenty Yellowhammers were seen in the countryside in December, and Pied Wagtail flocks of fifty or more were seen roosting in Hereford City—far fewer than in previous years. Are they finding it warm enough to roost in the countryside?

Weather Statistics, 2003

Month	*Max. temp. shade ºC*	*Min. temp. shade ºC*	*Nights air frost*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in one day mm.*		*Days with rainfall*
January	13.5	-4.5	11	46.5	18.3	(1st)	
February	13.0	-5.5	10	20.8	8.5	(10th)	
March	15.5	-1.0	5	24.8	10.1	(7th)	
April	23.3	-1.0	3	29.4	5.0	(27th)	
May	21.0	2.5		44.3	10.0	(1st)	
June	29.5	6.5		49.4	27.5	(22nd)	
July	33.5	11.0		44.3	13.6	(26th)	
August	33.5	7.5		9.5	7.0	(28th)	
September	25.0	3.0		28.0	26.0	(26th)	
October	17.5	-3.0	1	53.1	25.3	(30th)	
November	14.0	-2.5	2	64.1	14.4	(2nd)	
December	13.0	-5.0	8	72.4	16.8	(1st)	
Total			40	484.6			231

Highest day temperature:	33.5ºC	14th July, 9th August
Lowest night temperature:	-5.0ºC	7th December

Wettest day:	22nd June
Wettest month:	December
Driest month:	August

Recorded by E. H. Ward at Woodpeckers, Much Marcle.

Weather Statistics, 2004

Month	*Max. temp. shade ºC*	*Min. temp. shade ºC*	*Nights air frost*	*Rainfall mm.*	*Max. rainfall in one day mm.*	*Days with rainfall*
January	10.0	-3.0	1 air	68.5	not known	18
February	13.5	-4.5	11 air 2 ground	26.3	7.0 (5th)	12
March	17.0	-5.0	1 air 2 ground	37.5	11.5 (11th)	19
April	21.0	0.0	1 ground	61.7	13.0 (16th)	17
May	27.0	3.5		55.8	13.0 (6th)	13
June	29.0	7.5		37.9	24.3 (22nd)	12
July	27.5	8.0		42.0	25.0 (7th)	13
August	31.0	8.0		118.6	25.6 (3rd)	20
September	26.0	7.5		55.6	21.0 (13th)	12
October	16.5	3.5		115.4	15.8 (3rd)	20
November	13.5	0.0	2 ground	36.9	12.0 (18th)	13
December	11.5	-4.0	4 air	41.3	8.6 (21st)	13
Total				697.5		182

Highest day temperature:	31ºC	(7th August)
Lowest night temperature:	-5.0ºC	(1st March)
Wettest day:	3rd August	(25.6 mm.)
Wettest month:	August	(118.6 mm.)
Driest month:	February	(26.3 mm.)

Recorded by E. H. Ward at Woodpeckers, Much Marcle.

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